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Published in English in 1884, this is the posthumous third edition of an 1862 study by the German orientalist Martin Haug (1827–76). He produced this groundbreaking analysis and comparison of Sanskrit and the Avesta while professor of Sanskrit at the Government College of Poona. His time in India enabled him to make an unprecedented study of Zoroastrian texts, becoming the first to translate the seventeen Gathas into a European language, thereby helping to highlight that they were composed by Zoroaster. Edward William West (1824–1905), an engineer and self-taught orientalist, met Haug in India. Having read this work's first edition, he was inspired to study further the Pahlavi language. On his and Haug's return to Europe in 1866, they worked closely together in translating and publishing Zoroastrian texts. West's edition of Haug's *Essays* includes several updates, unpublished papers from Haug's collection, appendices of further translations, and a biography of the author.

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ESSAYS

on

THE SACRED LANGUAGE, WRITINGS, AND RELIGION OF THE PARSIS.

BY

MARTIN HAUG, PH.D.

LATE PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH.

Third Edition.

EDITED AND ENLARGED BY

E. W. WEST, Ph.D.

TO WHICH IS ALSO ADDED,

A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE LATE DR. HAUG BY PROFESSOR E. P. EVANS.

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то

THE PARSIS OF WESTERN INDIA

THIS REVISION OF THE

FIRST ATTEMPT, IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE,

TO GIVE A CORRECT ACCOUNT OF THEIR

ANCIENT ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND LITERATURE,

Is Inscribed

IN MEMORY OF THE OLD TIMES OF FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE ENJOYED BOTH BY THE AUTHOR AND BY

THE EDITOR.

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PREFACE.

THE author of these Essays intended, after his return from India, to expand them into a comprehensive work on the Zoroastrian Religion; but this design, postponed from time to time, was finally frustrated by his untimely death. That he was not spared to publish all his varied knowledge on this subject, must remain for ever a matter of regret to the student of Iranian antiquities. In other hands, the changes that could be introduced into this second edition were obviously limited to such additions and alterations as the lapse of time and the progress of Zoroastrian studies have rendered necessary.

In the first Essay, the history of the European researches has been extended to the present time; but, for the sake of brevity, several writings have been passed over unnoticed, among the more valuable of which those of Professor Hübschmann may be specially mentioned. Some account has also been given of the progress of Zoroastrian studies among the Parsis themselves.

In the second Essay additional information has been

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given about the Pahlavi language and literature; but the technical portion of the Avesta Grammar has been reserved for separate publication, being better adapted for students than for the general reader,

Some additions have been made to the third Essay, with the view of bringing together, from other sources, all the author's translations from the Avesta, except those portions of the Gâthas which he did not include in the first edition, and which it would be hazardous for an editor to revise. Further details have also been given regarding the contents of the Nasks.

Several additional translations, having been found among the author's papers too late for insertion in the third Essay, have been added in an Appendix after careful revision, together with his notes descriptive of the mode of performing a few of the Zoroastrian ceremonies.

Some apology is due to Sanskrit scholars for the liberties taken with their usual systems of representing Sanskrit and Avesta sounds. These deviations from present systems have been made for the sake of the general reader, whether English or Indian, who can hardly be expected to pronounce words correctly unless they are spelt in accordance with the usual sounds of the letters in English. Probably no European language can represent Indian consonants so easily as English; but as every English vowel has more than one characteristic sound, it is necessary to look to some other European

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PREFACE.

language for the best representation of Indian vowels. The system now generally adopted by Englishmen in India, and followed in these Essays, is to use the consonants to represent their usual English sounds, the vowels to represent their usual Italian sounds, and to avoid diacritical marks as much as possible, because they are always liable to omission. In applying such a system to the Aryan languages of India, Englishmen require very few arbitrary rules. They have merely to observe that g is always hard and ch always soft, that th and phare merely aspirates of t and p (not the English and Greek th and ph), and that a represents the short vowel sound in the English words utter, mother, come, and blood. As this use of a is often repugnant to Englishmen, it may be remarked that all the other vowels have to be appropriated for other sounds, and that it is also strictly in accordance with the Sanskrit rule that when one a coalesces with another the resulting sound is \hat{a} , which could not be the case unless there were a close relationship between the two sounds.

Some unfortunate representations of Indian sounds have become too inveterate to be lightly tampered with; so it is still necessary to warn the general reader that every w in the Avesta ought to be pronounced like an English v, and that every v in Sanskrit or the Avesta closely resembles an English w, unless it be followed by i, i, e, ri, or a consonant, in which case it has a sound

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somewhere between v and h. Again, Sanskrit has two sets of letters represented by t, th, d, dh, n, sh; one set is extremely dental (pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the extremities of the teeth, or as close to them as possible in the case of sh), the other set is lingual (pronounced with the tip of the tongue far back upon or near the palate). The English t, d, n, sh are pronounced between these two extremes, but all natives of India consider the sounds of these English letters as decidedly lingual, so that they always represent them by Indian linguals when transliterating English words. Unfortunately, European scholars have been of the opposite opinion, and have represented the dental t, th, d, dh, n as unmodified, and the linguals as modified, either by a diacritical dot (as in this work) or by using italics. For the sake of uniformity, this practice has been here extended to sh; but there can be no doubt that the dentals ought to be modified and the linguals unmodified, though neither group can be exactly represented by European sounds. Further, the letters ri do not adequately represent that peculiar Sanskrit vowel as pronounced in Mahârâshtra, where the Brahmans have been least disturbed by foreign influences. They say there that the correct sound is ru, and the tendency in colloquial Marâthî is to corrupt it into u. The nearest European approach to this sound appears to be the English re in pretty, which word is never pronounced petty when the

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r is indistinctly sounded, but has a tendency to become *pootty*.

In Avesta words th has the same lisping sound as in English and Greek, n and \dot{n} have the sound of ng, q ought to be sounded like *khw*, *zh* bears the same relation to *sh* as *z* to *s* (that is, it has the sound of *s* in *pleasure*), and *shk* is pronounced *sh* by the Parsis. They also pronounce the other sibilants *s* and *sh* as written in this work, and there seems no sufficient reason for departing from their traditional pronunciation, which is corroborated, to a great extent, by Pahlavi and Persian words derived from the Avesta, such as *Zaratusht*, *dtash*, &c.

The author's principal object in publishing these Essays originally was to present, in a readable form, all the materials for judging impartially of the scriptures and religion of the Parsis. The same object has been kept in view while preparing this second edition, giving a larger quantity of such materials collected from a variety of sources, which I may now leave to the reader's impartial judgment.

E. W. WEST.

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MÜNCHEN, February 1878.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

<u>.</u>....

MARTIN HAUG was a native of Ostdorf, an obscure Würtemberg village, situated not far from the famous castle of Hohenzollern, in the picturesque and fertile region extending between the Neckar and the Danube, from the chalk-cliffs of the Swabian Alps to the fir-clad hills and romantic valleys of the Black Forest.¹ He was born January 30, 1827, the eldest of six children. His father was a simple peasant of more than average intelligence, and in quite comfortable circumstances for a person of his class, and was especially proud of being able to trace his pedigree for many generations through an unbroken line of sturdy, and, for the most part, stolid peasant ances-It was this feeling that caused him to deprecate try. the extraordinary love of study which was shown at an early age by his first-born, and which threatened to divert the youth from the hereditary agricultural occupations and obligations strictly imposed upon him by primogeniture. That the heir to a few acres of arable land should freely renounce his birthright, and wilfully refuse to spend his days in guiding the plough and swinging the ox-goad, was, to a German Stockbauer, a matter of no less astonishment than if a prince "apparent to the crown" should

¹ The events of Haug's life until the twenty-seventh year of his age, *i.e.*, until his habilitation as *privat*docent in the University of Bonn in 1854, are narrated in his unpublished autobiography, from which source, supplemented by letters, diaries, and oral communications, the facts of this sketch are chiefly derived.

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reject "the round and top of sovereignty" and refuse to wield the sceptre of his forefathers.

Fortunately, however, the unusual tastes and talents of the boy were appreciated by his maternal grand-uncle, the village bailiff (*Schultheiss*), a man who was remarkable for his liberal opinions, his sound judgment, and the strict rectitude and even-handed justice with which he discharged his official duties, and whom Auerbach might have taken for the prototype of "Lucifer" in the "Black Forest Village Tales." These noble qualities left upon the boy's mind an impression which was never effaced, and exerted a decisive influence upon the formation of his character by inspiring him with the unimpeachable integrity and disinterested devotion to truth for which he was distinguished.

In the sixth year of his age Martin was sent to school, and one of the teachers, observing his zeal and ability, offered, for a hundred florins (eight pounds) a year, to take the entire charge of his education and to prepare him for the schoolmaster's career. This proposal did not suit the wishes of the father, and still less those of the mother, who, with the narrow prejudices and religious concern of a pious *Bauerfrau*, expressed her solicitude lest through much learning her son should become "as great a heretic as Strauss." But the intervention of the granduncle decided the question in opposition to the parents, and in 1838 the boy became *Schulincipient*, and received the extra instruction in branches pertaining to his future calling.

When scarcely twelve years old, although physically quite delicate, his enthusiasm was such that he often studied during the greater part of the night. His father complained of this waste of oil, and, taking his lamp away, drove him to bed; but he quietly rose again and continued his studies, so far as possible, by moonlight. Even at his meals he could not divest his thoughts from his all-absorbing pursuits; his eagerness for knowledge seemed to blunt every lower appetite; he always kept a

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book by his plate, and was more anxious to feed his mind than his body. He was particularly desirous of learning Latin and Greek; the schoolmaster encouraged him in this purpose, but could not assist him, and he therefore applied for aid to the pastor of his native village. This clerical gentleman, who, like Pfarrer Stollbein in Heinrich Stillings Jünglings-Jahre, "loved humility in other people uncommonly," not only refused to help him, but sternly rebuked the peasant's son for his unseemly ambition, discoursed to him about the sin of arrogance, ridiculed him for trying to get out of his sphere, and, finally, insinuated with sarcastic sneer that perhaps the *Bauerbub* would "even have the presumption to think of studying theology."

It is a noteworthy and significant fact, that of the clergymen with whom Haug came in contact during his long and severe struggle to get an education, and from whom, as university men, he would naturally expect sympathy and advice, not one deigned to cheer him by a single word of encouragement or friendly counsel. The best that he can say of any of them is, that "Pastor B—— was a humane man, and did not lay many obstacles in my way." Surely no extraordinary merit attaches to a virtue so purely negative and a humanity so cold and colourless as that which animated the bosom of this exceptionally good shepherd.

Fortunately, the young student, in addition to good pluck, was endowed with a remarkably tenacious memory, and soon mastered the Latin Grammar and Dictionary, and read such texts as he could get hold of. Before he was fourteen years old, he began also to study Hebrew; his earliest instructors being Jew boys, who visited Ostdorf as rag-buyers and dealers in second-hand clothes; the *honorarium* for this tuition he paid in old linen and other scraps purloined from the family rag-bag. The mother, as a thrifty housewife, mourned over the loss of her *Lumpen*, but the father, now for the first time, showed

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some interest in his son's studies, since he regarded the desire to read the Holy Scriptures in the original as a thing well-pleasing to God, and accordingly bought him Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, and permitted him to take three lessons a week in Hebrew from a candidate of theology in the neighbouring town of Bolingen. He paid six kreutzers (twopence) a lesson; and, owing to this " great expense," his father soon compelled him to reduce the number of lessons to one a week.

In May 1841 Haug passed a public examination for admission into the Schulstand, i.e., into the class of officially recognised and certificated teachers. For two years he performed intermittingly the duties of schoolmaster in his native village, and in November 1843 was appointed assistant teacher at Unterensingen, where he had about a hundred children under his charge, and was confined to the schoolroom from five to six hours daily. In compensation for his services he received forty florins (three guineas) a year, with board and lodging. His sleeping and study room had no fireplace, and could not be heated, and he suffered severely from the cold as soon as the winter set in. The head-master was a dull pedagogue, and the village parson a coarse and arrogant person. Neither of these men had the least sympathy with Haug's nobler aims and aspirations. Indeed, the parson having received an intimation that the new assistant was engaged in reading Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, warned him to desist, and threatened him with dismissal in case of persistency. Haug gave no heed to these admonitions, and only continued his pursuit of knowledge with increased energy and stricter privacy; and as Vesalius investigated the laws of organic structure and the principles of anatomy by stealthily dissecting the human body with the constant fear of the Inquisition before his eyes, so Haug analysed Hebrew forms and phrases in secret, and cautiously kept his daily acquisitions in learning out of the sight of his pastoral and pedagogical overseers. For this

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purpose he took refuge in the garret of a grist-mill belonging to a distant relative, and there read Tacitus, Plato, and Isaiah, in what was anything but "the still air of delightful studies." Occasionally, too, the miller's daughters discovered him in his retreat; but these apsarasas had no power to turn away the young muni from his austere devotion to science. Only for a short time did one rustic beauty threaten to prove the fatal Menakâ capable of diverting his ardour to herself, and thus blighting by her fascinations the fruits of his past efforts, and destroying the prospect of still greater achievements in the future; but he soon saw the folly of his passion, and returned with all the fervour of undivided affection to his first love—Philologia.

At this period Haug began to take a lively interest in religion, or rather in religions, their origin and development. He even discoursed on Sunday afternoons on these topics to the inhabitants of Hardthof, a cluster of farmhouses where he was employed as schoolmaster to about thirty children. It is quite characteristic of him that, on these occasions, he was not content with Luther's translation, but read the Bible from the original text. No doubt the young preacher of sixteen had to aim very low in order not to shoot over the heads of his rustic auditors; but he spoke from the fulness of his heart, and his sermons seem to have won general approbation, although a few of his hearers, who were of a more rigidly theological and dogmatic turn of mind, or more distinctively pietistic in sentiment, complained that he was too historical, and laid too little stress on the cardinal doctrines. What more adequate exegesis of specifically Christian truth could be expected from one who had already learned to look at all sacred scriptures and traditional creeds from a comparative standpoint?

Although, in preparing for the university, he was obliged to devote special attention to classical philology, he still kept up his Oriental studies. He procured a copy

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of Bopp's edition of Nala and Damayanti, containing the Sanskrit text with a literal Latin translation. By comparing the proper names in the translation with the corresponding combinations of signs in the original, he succeeded in gradually constructing for himself the Sanskrit alphabet and acquiring a knowledge of the grammatical forms, and thus learned to read and interpret the text by the same laborious process that was used by scholars in deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia and restoring the lost language of Akkad. Subsequently he procured Rosen's Radices Sanscrita, Bopp's Kritische Grammatik der Sanskrita-Sprache and Ewald's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache. The last-mentioned work, on account of its rational system and comparative method, had peculiar attractions for him; and in order to impress it more indelibly on his mind, he read it through, section by section, and wrote it out from memory. He often studied all night, bathing his head occasionally to cool his heated brain; and during the heat of summer he was accustomed to refresh his jaded nerves and ward off sleep by keeping his feet in a tub of cold water.

With impatient and almost feverish longing, Haug read each new list of lectures of the Tübingen University published semi-annually in the *Swabian Mercury*, and fixed his eyes particularly on Ewald's announcements. His highest ideal of human happiness, he tells us, was to sit at the feet of this great teacher and to learn of him. Once, in passing through Tübingen, he could not resist the temptation of dropping into one of Ewald's lectures on Hebrew antiquities. He drank in with avidity every word, and the excitement produced such a wonderful tension of his faculties and put him into such a state of intellectual exaltation, that on leaving the auditorium he could repeat the entire lecture verbatim. Shortly afterwards (in April 1847) he addressed a letter to Ewald, expressing his high esteem and admiration, and stating

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his own aims and desires. A very friendly and cheering reply, which was soon received, determined him to free himself without further delay from the galling yoke and intolerable thraldom of pedagogy. It was one of the noble traits in the character of Ewald, himself the son of a poor weaver, that he never forgot the poverty of his birth and the severe struggles of his early life, and never failed to extend his hearty sympathy and helping hand to those who were in like circumstances.

In the autumn of 1847 Haug signified to the school inspector his intention of trying for the university, whereupon that official flew into a towering rage, and upbraided him for his conceit in imagining himself to be "too good for a schoolmaster." This outburst of impotent anger, so far from deterring Haug from his purpose, only served to strengthen him in it. Fearing lest, in a moment of dejection or physical weakness, he might prove untrue to himself and return to his old servitude, he resolved to render such a relapse impossible by not only ceasing to teach, but by divesting himself also of the public character and legal status of a teacher. He felt that he had undertaken a desperate enterprise, from which he must cut off all hope of retreat by burning every bridge behind him. By this step he severed himself from a source of sure though sour bread; but he had faith and foresight to cast aside all pennywise prudence and bondage to the rule of three, and to follow the calling that was in his character and not in his circumstances. He was already Oriental enough to trust something to his star and to the power of fate, believing that with the necessity would come also the ability to work the miracle of the loaves and the fishes.

Immediately, therefore, on recovery from a dangerous illness caused by over-study, he surrendered his certificate, and laying down for ever his rod of office, the birchen sceptre, with only two florins (forty pence) in his pocket, entered, in March 1848, the Gymnasium at Stutt-

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gart, where he also had access to the treasures of the Royal Library. He rented a small room in a garret for two florins a month, and supported himself chiefly by giving private lessons in Hebrew. In the seclusion of this poor attic he worked on with a diligence and cheerfulness which no destitution could depress, and by his earnestness and efficiency soon won the recognition of his instructors, among whom he often mentioned Professors Zeigler and Klaiber with the warmest expressions of gratitude.

In the autumn of 1848 Haug was matriculated at the University of Tübingen as candidate of philology. Ewald, to the young student's intense regret, had just accepted a call to Göttingen; but he attended the lectures of Walz, Jeuffel, and Schwegler on classical philology, and read Sanskrit, Zend, and Persian with Ewald's successor, Rudolph Roth. In the winter of 1849-50, Haug himself delivered a course of lectures on Isaiah, at the solicitation of some Prussian theological students to whom he had already given private instruction. He also won, in the following summer (August 9, 1851), the prize proposed by the Philosophical Faculty for the best essay "On the Sources used by Plutarch in his Lives" (In fontes quibus Plutarchus in vitis conscribendis usus est inquisatur, published in 1854). These successes contributed to his fame as well as to his finances, the state of which was soon afterwards further improved by a stipendium procured for him by Professors Schwegler and Keller. In March 1852 he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and a few days later the sudden death of his father recalled him to Ostdorf.

In recognition of his merits as a scholar Haug received from the Würtemberg Government a travelling stipend of three hundred florins (twenty-four pounds), which, with his portion of the family inheritance, enabled him to go to Göttingen (April 1852), whither he was attracted by Benfey (Sanskrit), Hermann (classical philology),

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and especially by Ewald, who gave him private instruction in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Turkish, and Armenian, and encouraged him in every way to devote his life to Oriental studies. He was also treated with the greatest kindness by Frau Ewald (a daughter of the illustrious astronomer Gauss), whom he characterises in his autobiography as "one of the most charming women he ever knew."

On November 9, 1854, Haug habilitated as privatdocent in Bonn with a dissertation on "The Religion of Zarathushtra according to the Ancient Hymns of the Zend-Avesta," which was printed with additional Avestan studies in Die Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for 1855 (vol. ix. pp. 683 sqq.) Although surrounded by pleasant friends and occupied with conge-nial pursuits, he still found himself as an unsalaried tutor lecturing on subjects which from their very nature attracted but few pupils and produced a correspondingly small income from fees, in straitened pecuniary circum-From this financial stress he was relieved by an stances. invitation from Baron von Bunsen to remove to Heidelberg as his private secretary and collaborator on his Bibelwerk, duties which he performed for about three years, conjointly with Dr. Kamphausen, afterwards professor of theology in Bonn. His salary of six hundred thalers (ninety pounds) a year sufficed not only to free him from present solicitude as to what he should eat and drink and wherewithal he should be clothed, but enabled him also, during the summers of 1856 and 1857, to visit Paris and London, and make use of the manuscript treasures of the Bibliothèque Impériale and the East India Company's Library.

Although the *Bibelwerk* claimed nearly all his time and energy, still his industry and facility and goodly store of *Sitzfleisch*, or power of sedentary endurance, enabled him to continue his researches in the Avesta and prepare the results for publication. He translated and annotated

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the first Fargard of the Vendidâd, which, at Bunsen's urgent request, was incorporated in the third volume of "Egypt's Place in Universal History." He also completed a still more important as well as more difficult work, entitled *Die Fünf Gåthås, oder Sammlungen von Liedern* und Sprüchen Zarathushtra's, seiner Jünger und Nachfolger (The Five Gåthås or Collections of the Songs and Sayings of Zarathushtra, his Disciples and Successors), which was published (vol. i. in 1858, and vol. ii. in 1860) by the German Oriental Society in Leipsic. It consists of a translation of the text, an exact Latin metaphrase, and a freer German version, to which are added copious notes, etymological, exegetical, critical, and historical.

In the spring of 1858 an unexpected and most inviting field of labour was opened to Haug by Mr. Howard, Director of Public Instruction of the Bombay Presidency, who, through Dr. Pattison, of Lincoln College, Oxford, offered him the position of superintendent of Sanskrit studies in the Government College at Puna. He resolved to accept this offer, and immediately dissolved his connection with Bunsen, and, pending further negotiations, resumed his former duties in Bonn. In June 1859 he married Sophia Speidel of Ofterdingen, to whom he had been betrothed since 1852, and in July left Bonn for England, whence he set sail for India. After a voyage of ninety-seven days he landed in Bombay early in November, and before the middle of the month was comfortably settled in his bungalow on the Muta, in the ancient capital of the Mahrattas.

Haug's object in going to India was threefold: I. To acquaint himself with the learning of the Brahmans and Parsis, their theological dogmas and ritual observances; 2. To reform native learning by substituting for the old school of Sanskrit and Zend scholarships the freer and more fruitful methods of European science; 3. To collect manuscripts. In the first place, he wished to gather up, as far as possible, the threads of tradition, and