

# DENKARD, Book 9

Details of Nasks 1-3, 21 (The Original  
Gathic Texts)



Translated by Edward William West

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## Foreword

The *Denkard* is a ninth century encyclopedia of the Zoroastrian religion, but with extensive quotes from materials thousands of years older, including (otherwise) lost Avestan texts. It is the single most valuable source of information on this religion aside from the Avesta.

This volume contains detailed contents of the Gathic Nasks of the Ancient Canon, much of which is now lost in the original Avesta. Note however, that (as Dr. West says) “it is abundantly clear to the practised translator that Avesta phrases often underlie the Pahlavi passages which seem to be quoted at length from the original Nasks, especially in Dk. 9; but, for some of the details mentioned, there may be no older authority than a Pahlavi commentary, and this should be ever borne in mind by the sceptical critic in search of anachronisms.”

I have added some comments in {} and [[]], mainly to facilitate searches. Spelling of technical terms have also been [normalized](#) to conform with other texts in this series. Wherever possible I have used the spellings of F.M. Kotwal and J. Boyd, *A Guide to the Zoroastrian Religion*, Scholars Press, 1982. The original S.B.E. volumes used a system of transliteration which was misleading to the casual reader, and no longer adopted. As an example “chinwad” (bridge) (Kotwal and Boyd) was transliterated in S.B.E. as “Kīnvad.”

-J.H. Peterson

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A selection from the whole Yasht referring to the developer: containing many unidentified statements by Ohrmazd, Zartosht, Soshyant, Vohuman, and Spandarmad; and concluding with a long series of short quotations, from the Pahlavi Gathas, concerning what every one shall do, or know, in the future existence (69).....155

## **Introduction (1)**

1. Satisfaction (shnokhar) to the creator Ohrmazd, and obeisance to the Mazda-worshipping religion.

2. The ninth book (baba) is about the Has and Fargards of the various Nasks; the object of procuring the division of those portions which exist being owing to the quantity of what is in each one of the Nasks; also an explanation of a suitable selection therefrom, such as is an epitome (nisangag-1) of the abundant detail therein.

## **Nask 1: Sudgar (gathic/religious)**

### **Fargard 1. Use of various repetitions of the Ahunwar, and the division of the Nasks according to its lines (2)**

1. Glorification for the Mazda-worshipping religion which is the ordinance of Ohrmazd opposed to the demons.

2. Of the Sudgar there are twenty-two fargards. and the first fargard is the Yatha-ahu-vairyō, just as the Yatha-ahu-vairyō formula is as it were the beginning (bunih) of the religion, and from it is the formation of the Nasks which, though about the first six sciences (danishno), have also demonstrated the existence of the highest of other sciences in its own place.

3. And here it speaks about the power and success owing to uttering the Yatha-ahu-vairyō formula at the beginning of actions. 4. One utterance when one wishes to say anything to any one; one when he wishes to beg of any one; and one when he goes to work. 5. Two when he wishes to confer his blessing. 6. Four when it is for the homage of the chiefs of creation (rado franamishnih), or the ceremony of a season-festival [Gahambar]. 7. Five when it is for carrying off the fiend. 8. Six when it is for power; and six when it is for the success of a battle. 9. Seven when it is for the ceremonial of the archangels, or when one wishes to perform the ceremonial of the archangels. 10. Eight when it is for the ceremonial of a guardian spirit of the righteous. 11. Nine when one wishes to cast seed; into his land. 12. Ten when one wishes to allow procreation. 13. Eleven when one goes to ask for a wife. 14. Twelve when one expects to go up on a mountain. 15. Thirteen when one wishes to go to an inhabited district (rudastik-1); twelve when he goes out pathless; and one when he wishes to proceed by a ford through the water.

16. About the place where one has to utter the first Yatha-ahu-vairyō for smiting the demons. 17. About the good results (dahishnan) of a

suitable recital of the words of the Ahunwar, the summary of everything for Zartosht to utter. 18. And about the fact that, through chanting forth every single word of the Ahunwar with a virtuous intention, a demon is disabled, and there is protection of person and property from the adversary.

19. About the division of the twenty-one Nasks, likewise, according to the first, second, and third lines (gas) of the Ahunwar. 20. About the increase of the creatures owing to the liberal thought, word, and deed of a righteous person; owing to the priests having become numerous, and the reverence of him who is making them numerous, and owing to the perpetual meditation of righteousness and the existence of its recompense.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

## **Fargard 2. The Ashem Vohu (3)**

1. The second fargard, Ashem-vohu, is about the praise of righteousness which is the reward of the religion, and the want of praise at the bridge of judgment owing to enmity (patyanih) to righteousness.

2. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

## **Fargard 3. Formation, decline, and death of human beings; illiberal opulence (4)**

1. The third fargard, Yenghe-hatam, is about the formation of mankind by slow increase, and, when they live on for fifty years, their slowly becoming dust; the coming of death even to him who is very pleasantly living, as regards mankind, at the climax (barino) of his life; and the happiness of the worldly existence is given only to the worthy, on account of their love of righteousness; the rest are passed by. 2. And also this, that he who is produced by the demons, or is proceeding to the demons, or has committed falsehood, is the opulent person who gives nothing to a worthy supplicant.

3. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

## **Fargard 4. Utilizers and misusers of life, defects of Zohak; the vices driven away by Yim [Jamshed], what is to be avoided, the distresser and the distressed, and the mode of relieving the latter (5)**

1. The fourth fargard, Yanim-mano [= the first 2 words of the introduction to the first Gatha], is about where a gradual development (der-zahishnih) of that which is for the future existence is best; and, secondly, that which occurs now when the wisdom, instructed

eloquence, diligence, and energetic effort, which are the utilizers of life, are with one, and these five misusers of it – greediness, want of energy, indolence, defilement, and illicit intercourse – are not with one. 2. This, too, that these five defects existed in Dahak [Zohak], and owing to that, moreover, Faridoon is irritated with him, and smites him in revenge for Yim [Jamshed].

3. About the heinousness of these four vices, which are drunkenness, knavish companionship, apostasy, and selfishness, and the grievous results therefrom. 4. And this, too, that Yim [Jamshed] drove away these four vices from the world, and then was able to prepare immortality. 5. About avoidance of him who, through any statement, is producing a thief as an orator (akhun), and of acquiescence with a hasty unoratorical statement of a companion. 6. And this, too, that he who propagates very evil commands in the world gives stout-heartedness to the fiend.

7. About the clamor of a poor distressed one for a perfect remedy, and the repelling derangement (lakhvar-pafshirishnih), unacceptableness, unblestness, and want of Gatha lore of the distresser arisen from the clamor of the distressed one. 8. About the connection of satisfying distress on true and reasonable complaint, and the reasonable complaining of true complainers, by him who has been an inferior judge, and gradually up to the highest adjudicator who is Ohrmazd.

9. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

## **Fargard 5. Forgetfulness of kinsfolk and unforgetfulness of the Gathic spirit, complaint and power of that spirit (6)**

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibya, is about the forgetfulness of a father for a son, a son for a father, a brother for a brother, a friend for a friend, a husband (manpato) for a wife (narik), and a wife for a husband in a measurable time, through excess and festivity (khang); and the unforgetfulness of the spirit of the Gathas for so many reciters and chanters of the Gathas. 2. About the complaint of the spirit of the Gathas when a high-priest, although priest of the country-folk (dehigano), passes away in an out-district, and the body of that man does not come back to his own land; whatever is relating to that, and, besides that, what is to be born in that land, and the oppressiveness of apostates which arises. 3. About the superior power of the spirit of the Gathas, and also that of liberality, in preserving the soul from hell.

4. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

## **Fargard 6. The five excellences, distribution and acquirement of fortune, grief of an old man, things to be amassed in youth, storeholders of excellence, how one should drink and eat (7)**

1. The sixth fargard, Ad-ta-vakhshya, is about the perfection of the five excellences: the first through righteousness, the second through virtuous offspring, the third through land producing vegetation, the fourth through flocks of sheep, and the fifth through training in industry. 2. About the distribution of fortune to the diligent; and of destitution to the indolent. 3. About the acquirement of fortune singly sitting, two-fold even walking, three-fold hastening, four-fold even running, five-fold even carrying on a horse, six-fold even driving on a road, seven-fold by understanding legal proceedings, eight-fold by good protection even of wealth, nine-fold by intelligence and diligence in the cultivation of land, and ten-fold by providing the teaching of the bounteous texts [the liturgy = mansar-spend].

4. About the grievous sorrow of an aged man, owing to the indolence of any one in youth. 5. About the four things through which, when a man has amassed them in his youth, he becomes very pleased in old age: first, virtuous learning; second, productive wealth; third, a good wife; and fourth, a prosperous dwelling. 6. About the five store-holders of perfect excellence: industry, diligence, contentment, guileless understanding (nirikht-hushih), and provision of means.

7. About abstaining from sitting with drunkards. 8. And this, too, that he does not drink varieties of wine (mae-gunagano) with the approval of the sacred beings, who becomes a viciously-disposed assailant and annoyer of others, and a disturber (kepinidar) of duties, through drinking varieties of wine. 9. And this, too, that thou shouldst eat that which is your food where there is a suitable place. 10. And where it is eaten by thee it should be lightly, it should not be heavily, so that, when it is eaten by thee, a good work is performed, and there is abstinence from sin. 11. And, so that what thou eatest shall be immortally joyful to thee, where there are poor, provide them a share, and the poor will bless thee; and, as to a poor man who is righteous, the opinion is that his blessing is best.

12. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

## **Fargard 7. The four periods in Zartosht's millennium (8)**

1. The seventh fargard, Te-ve-urvata, is about the exhibition to Zartosht of the nature of the four periods in the millennium of Zartosht. 2. First, the golden, that in which Ohrmazd displayed the religion to

Zartosht. 3. Second, the silver, that in which Vishtasp received the religion from Zartosht. 4. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Adarbad Mahraspandan, was born. 5. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate and other villains, as regards the destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness and virtue, and the disappearance of honor and wisdom from the countries of Iran. 6. In the same period is an account of the many perplexities and torments (zakhami-hastano) of the period for that desire of the life of the good which subsists in seemliness.

7. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

### **Fargard 8. Abstinence from sins due to reverence for the arch-demons, meals, want of a priest, proper times for ceremonials (9)**

1. The eighth fargard, Hvaetumaiti, is about the abstinence of mankind, for special propitiation, from being unreliable upon religion, on account of reverence for the evil spirit; that from the habit of being ungirdled [[i.e. without kustī]], on account of reverence for Andar [=Indra] and that for Shovar [Av. Sauru]; that from walking with one boot, on account of reverence for Taurvo [Av. Tauru] and Zaricho [Av. Zairicha]; that from being fully inquisitorial, on account of reverence for Akatash [Av. Akatasha]; and that from the habit of being without a serpent-scourge, on account of reverence for all the demons.

2. About the hungry intention (gushnako-minishnih) of him who eats and drinks chattering; the delight of the demons on that account; and advice as regards not speaking a word during eating and drinking.

3. As to the praise and gratification of the sacred beings before eating and drinking, and also on finishing; and the purity of the mouth owing to its praise of righteousness. 4. About him whose ownership of any good work, that they may perform, does not attain to the best existence, on account of not possessing a high-priest by habit.

5. About the period of the ceremonial of Srosh, the righteous, being mostly on the passing away of the first half of the night, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator (yashtar) is for his protection from the fiend spirit. 6. The period of the ceremonial of Rashn and Ashtad is mostly after that, in the jurisdiction (radih) of the Ushahin, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is abundance of grain. 7. The period of the ceremonial of Mihr of the wide cattle-pastures, and of Rama Hvastra [West: "the spirit of the pleasure of eating"], is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Havan, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a flock of sheep. 8. The period of the ceremonial of Ardwhisht, and also of the fire of Ohrmazd,



is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Rapithwin, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is an assemblage of righteousness. 9. The period of the ceremonial of the lofty lord of females, the descendant of waters [Ahura Berezant Apam Napat], and also of the water created by Ohrmazd is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Uzerin, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a troop of heroes (viran ramako). And the period of the ceremonial of the guardian spirits of the righteous [Arda Frawash], of the females with troops of heroes and years of pleasant dwelling, of the might which is well-formed and handsome, as well as victorious and created by Ohrmazd, and of the fighting which is in the ascendant, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Aiwisruthrem, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is the origin of all excellence, and the produce of all manifestation of righteousness.

11. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

### **Fargard 9. Heinous sinfulness of sodomy (10)**

1. The ninth fargard, Yathaish, is about the devilry, the blighted destiny, the complete pollution, the grievous stench, the heinous sinfulness, and the annoyance to all spiritual and worldly virtue of the sodomite. 2. The atonement for grievous sinfulness and the appropriation of great good works by him who is a molester, and the awful sinfulness of him who is a propitiator, of that sinner. 3. Of the seven one mentions as evil, who are accounted equal to the evil spirit in vileness – such as Az-i Dahak [Zohak] in witchcraft, the serpent Srobar in violence, Vadak in producing evil progeny, Tur-i Bradar-vakhsh in destroying a righteous man, and an apostate in grievous sinfulness – the permitter and performer of unnatural intercourse are unique in heinous sinfulness.

4. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

### **Fargard 10. Complaint of fire against people who injure it; (§10) proper and improper fire, its wish to leave the world resisted, attention to it is the best worship, the righteous are to be pleased (11)**

1. The tenth fargard, Ya-shyaothana, is about the complaint of the spirit of fires to Ohrmazd owing to seven descriptions of people. 2. First, owing to domestics considering it as contemptible and in an unresisting state (ajangih), molesting it immoderately, and making use of it with unwashed hands; also the damsel who has introduced fire into the sole of her foot, and the bursting of the blister (avilag); and a weapon brought out into its splendor. 3. Second, the complaint owing to the

carriers of fire from that abode [where the provision of care for fire is as a law to them, to that abode] where the provision of care for fire is not as a law to them. 4. And there, owing to the arrival and preparation of the demons, it lay stupefied, like a powerful youth who is feverish and in a languid state; and its cure from that sickness (ayoyakih) was by bringing forward to it their pure sandalwood, or benzoin, or aloe-wood, or pomegranate, or whatever there was of the most odoriferous of plants. 5. Third, the complaint owing to the hussy [jeh] unto whom it happens, through menstruation, that the stench and filth owing to the menstruation is brought to it (the fire); and its sickness and stupefaction owing thereto are as written above. 6. Fourth, the complaint owing to the hussy who, dropping her knee on to the fire-stand, arranged her curls; the falling of damp and moisture from her head, with the hair and filth therefrom, into the fire; the consumption of it discontentedly, and the sickness and stupefaction owing thereto. 7. Fifth, the complaint owing to the father, or guardian, of a child for not keeping the child away from the fire; and the bodily refuse and other unlawfulness that come upon it from such children. 8. Sixth, the complaint owing to the adversity which the unpurified infidel (agdeno) may bring upon it, by blowing the breath of his mouth upon it in directing its use, and it becomes incalculable. 9. Seventh, the complaint – which, one says, is more awful and more grievous – owing to those who use it as an ordeal for a falsehood, and, when it is made evident thereby as to the acquitted and convicted, they become of a different opinion about it.

10. At the place of complaint that which is polluted is put forward together with that which is pure, and the increase of it (the fire) is through lawful and unlawful operation, its burning alone and increasing are such as when both would be as a necessity for it, and undesired and rapid burning and increasing are those which are polluted by burning and insatiably consuming; and in that which is an operation unlawfully – the burning alone and increasing being [such as when] both would be as a necessity [for it] – the increase is troubled.

11. This, too, he says: “I am not of the world here, and from here I will extricate myself, from the earth up to the sky; I am also thy son, more to thee than any of the other creatures.” 12. And Ohrmazd spoke to him thus: “so thou shouldst stand over the fire, in thy proper duty as [a spirit], carrying that club; [it is a substantial means, because I produce it, through which] thou turnest off [the whole bodily existence], some to the endless light, and some to the endless darkness.”

13. This, too, that he who shall provide care for fire has paid the greatest reverence unto Ohrmazd. 14. The propitiation of the righteous is the best thing, and their vexation is the worst; when pleased they

favor one, and it is the law of the sacred beings that they promote; [when vexed they wound, and it is the demon that they restrict.

15. It is righteousness that is perfect excellence.]

**Fargard 11. Petition of fire for removal to the sky or to Eranvej, the propitious fire Gushnasp; reward of the promoters of fire, and sin of its injurers; (§10) evil of maintaining fire by extortion, and of neglecting it; all good to be consecrated, opposition of the fiend to worship, three grades of ceremonial, sin of not reciting the Gathas, coming of the demon of death, disbelief of the wicked; (§20) mourning the dead prohibited, different desires of body and soul, self-injury of a liar, sin of employing or being an improper Zot, controllers of sin; (§30) wondrous to be brought before four priests, promises not to be broken (12)**

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna [Haptanghaiti], is about the assembly of the angels of the spiritual existences on account of the complaint of fire, and the complaint of fire in the assembly, with its statement of this, too: "I am not of the world here, and from here I will extricate myself, from the earth up to the sky, and there I will shine on to the earth of seven regions, like the moon and sun and even the divinely-produced stars when they shine with their own light." 2. The words of Ohrmazd about the just complaining of fire as regards the contamination of the creatures, the impossibility of keeping the fire undisturbed, and satisfying the fire concerning the creation of the creatures for the worldly existence, along with the disturbed condition of fire, too, owing to the impossibility of maintaining the uncreated state which, with the freedom from disturbance of fire also, was better; likewise proclaiming the care of it. 3. And the speech of the fire was thus: "If there be not that one mode whereby I may thus shine, owing to those that have acted according to my request, thou art aware, O Ohrmazd! there are some among the creatures that I cannot grant so much to; therefore carry me away, O Ohrmazd! then give me away there! and be thou carrying me away into the midst of Eranvej!"<sup>1</sup>

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1 The primeval home of Mazda-worship, the abode of Yim, and the scene of Zartosht's first promulgation of the religion, the Airyanem vaeja of the Avesta (see Vd1.1,3 Vd2.21, Bd20.32, Bd32.3).

4. The propitious<sup>2</sup> fire is from the creator Ohrmazd, and it is produced by him in a dwelling, without being handled (*bara sudako*),<sup>3</sup> by aid of bringing together.<sup>4</sup> 5. And so he spoke in words thus: 'such is thine own growth, thou who art my fire! in every dwelling where thou comest, and in every village, every community, and every province; and as exalted as thou are the water and plants, and he, too, who is a guardian spirit of the righteous, when they shall bring forward holy-water for delivering up to thee;<sup>5</sup> and, when they shall bring forward to thee firewood which is dry, a person – through the light which he observes – has spoken of it thus: "This is the Gushnasp<sup>6</sup> fire."'

6. About so much reward of the hewer and inspector and kindler of the firewood – when all three shall do it for the sake of affection – as they are possessing righteousness. 7. About the character and reward of the washer (*asnotar*) and the producer of the purity and cleansing of that which the fire *has* dropped,<sup>7</sup> of the introducer of the firewood and the washer upwards,<sup>8</sup> of the stirrer of the fire and the carrier-away of the firewood, who are strictly directed; the lawful work done with a *cooking-pot and* such-like, and the sin of him who is a disturber of it. 8. About the destroyer of that which the fire *has* dropped, and the introducer of damp firewood into it. 9. About the blessing of fire for people by whom it is satisfied.

10. About advice as regards not bringing to the fire that which is due to theft, or the power of extortion, and the grievous bridge-judgment<sup>9</sup> of him who is bringing it; *also* the defilement (*aludan*) and hurting of the fire from that which *occurs* when he likewise consecrates his hoard (*hanbarishno*), owing to the corruption by the demons<sup>10</sup> thus arisen. 11. This, too, that it is owing to want of attention to fire when it is not at

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2 Pahl. *afzunik*; the *spenishta* ('most bounteous') fire of Y17.11, Y36.3. According to Pahl. Yas. 17.67 it 'stands in heaven before Ohrmazd in a spiritual state.'

3 Or it may mean '*being* rubbed out,' that is, 'by friction; but compare the use of the word *sudakih* in Dk8, Chap.37.19.

4 Referring probably to the establishment of a sacred fire by bringing together every possible variety of fire that can be obtained.

5 Merely as a formal offering, or for purifying the fire-stand, not for mingling with the fire itself.

6 One of the three original sacred fires, which is said to have been established, in the time of king Kay Khusraw, upon the Asnavand mountain in Atur-patakan, not far from Lake Chechast (see Bd17.7; Zs11.8-10).

7 B *srakhto*, K *srakhto*, both here and in #8; compare Av. *srasc*.

8 Pahl. *fraz asnatar* must mean one who washes in the mode defined by the Av. *frasnaiti*, as distinguished from *upasnaiti*, in Vd8.98, 99, Ep. II, 3.2; this mode is explained as *lalaik*, 'upwards,' and distinguished from the *frodguno*, 'downward mode,' in Ep. II, 4.2.

9 B inserts 'thus arisen through the demons,' the same phrase as concludes the section.

every menstrual excitement they produce, *in* a woman assisted by a propensity for a son (pus radih), that the progeny is a son. 12. And about the penalty for<sup>11</sup> the progress of other impropriety which occurs to fire; also *about* the person who has attained to the guardianship of fire and does not lawfully control it.

13. About an admonition to Zartosht as to consecrating to the sacred beings anything whatever which one eats, and not eating *what is* unconsecrated. 14. About the wish of the evil spirit that no one shall be performing (vadidunan-ado) worship and obeisance to the sacred beings, and *that the people* shall possess no ruler and high-priest, so that no desire of theirs shall arise for any virtuousness. 15. About an admonition as to indispensably worshipping the sacred beings with the best ceremonial, that of a priest (asruko) without sin; *or with* an average one of a priest whose sin is not more than one Aredush<sup>12</sup> without a basis (a-bun); *or with* the lowest one, that of a priest whose *sin* is not more than one Khor<sup>13</sup> on a basis (pavan bun). 16. Whoever, in a village of Mazda-worshippers, *has* not chanted the sacred hymns after fifteen years *of* age, through sinfulness, is as a dog they *have* thrown provisions to, and it *has* occurred for a basis of the sin of unseasonable chattering;<sup>14</sup> also the inadmissibility of his soul by Mahrspand.<sup>15</sup>

17. About the coming of Astwihad,<sup>16</sup> at all to mortals whom death has reached,<sup>17</sup> and also whom *it has* not 18. About the ideas of the wicked, that the best existence does not exist, that the production of the renovation *of the universe* does not occur, *that there are* no dead whom they raise up thereby, and *it is* not that change *one* attains. 19. This, too, that is false, for the same *reason* they observe, *being* wicked; because the best existence exists, *there* occurs a production of the renovation which is good, they raise up the dead thereby, and thus *one* attains that change.

20. About an admonition as to not making lamentation and weeping over those passed away; and, after the passing away of every righteous one of the religion to the spirits, *one* is not to augment the distress of

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10 K has 'owing to a single word of the demons,' substituting aevak gobishno for ahukinishno.

11 Assuming that pa stands for pavan.

12 See Bk. 8, Chaps. 20.64, 31.39.

13 A sin twice as great as an Aredush (see Bk. 8, Chap. 31.39).

14 The sin of talking while eating, praying, or any other occasion when a prayer (*vaj*) has been taken inwardly, as a spell, and is not yet spoken out.

15 A personification of the liturgy, Av. māthra spenta, 'the bounteous text.' [Holy Word].

16 Av. Asto-vidhotu, one of the demons of death (see Bd28.35; Dd37.44).

17 Those who have attained old age, the natural time of death.

the very spirit of life by making lamentation and weeping over the departed. 21. And this, too, that the guardian spirits of the righteous claim no lamentation and weeping after their own ceremonial and the blessing of righteous men. 22. This, too, that the body of every one is not of like will with the soul; food is the desire of the body, and also a store of wealth; righteous action is the desire of the soul, and also the gifts which they give away.

23. About an inquiry of the righteous Zartosht as to who it is who has banished (aparinido) all goodness and perfection from his own *self*, but thinks *them* not banished, and does not complain of that loss.<sup>18</sup> 24. And the reply of Ohrmazd, that it is he who is deceived<sup>19</sup> by his own tongue through the utterance of words, so that, through speaking falsely, he has become worthy of death. 25. This, too, that for him it is the weapon of the evil spirit; even so complete mindfulness is the reign of Spandarmad,<sup>20</sup> and thus a liar is more a power for the religion a man, when a man, on account of dullness of thought, *gives* no reply, so that he *may* not speak falsely through dullness of thought.

26. This, too, that he worships the demons with thousand-fold holy-water, who establishes him who is not a member of the community<sup>21</sup> in the Zoti duty,<sup>22</sup> sooner than him who is a wise Zoti. 27. And this, too, that thou shouldst fetch him who is a member of the community for the Zoti duty, not him who is not a member of the community, for thus thy advance is to the supreme heaven (Garothman). 28. Also this, that a bad Zoti is worse from the Zoti duty.

29. This, too, that that which is the earliest controller (ayukhtar) of sin is thought *which* is subdued,<sup>23</sup> then forgiveness, then shame, and then listening; and afterwards, through the sinfulness of the fiend,<sup>24</sup> *one* becomes a promise-breaker. 30. This, too, that they shall bring every man who is a wounder before the convocation *composed of* any priest who is a controller of recitation (srayishno ayukhtar), any priest who is of the district (adehik), any priest who is of an out-district (auzdehik), and any priest who is the *man's* own kinsman.

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18 B has 'and there is no complaint of the loss.'

19 K zivinido.

20 The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Sls. 15.20-24); she is a personification of Av. Spenta Armaiti, 'bountiful devotion,' of which phrase the latter word is translated by Pahl. bundak-minishnih, 'complete mindfulness.' See also Bk 8, Chap. 9.3, and S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp.393, 396.

21 K adahm; B has kheshm, 'wrath,' here, but not so in § 27.

22 See Bk. 8, Chap. 7, 5, 9.

23 B has 'he who is a controller of sin is Vohuman, owing to thinking of the spirits, which is subdued.'

24 K has 'only through sinfulness.'

31. "Thus say I unto thee, O Spitaman! let *there* no breach of promise; neither when the conversation, that they would make a support, *was* with the wicked, and there is no great judiciousness in it; nor when *it was* with those of thine own religion, the righteous, as to anything of great judiciousness; because both of them are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous."<sup>25</sup>

32. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

## Sudgar Nask

### **Fargard 12. Advantage of satisfying water, impure recitation, impurity of greed, birds kill snakes, effectual invocation, goodness of archangels and Zartosht, gifts to his disciples (13)**

1. The twelfth fargard, Ushtavaiti,<sup>26</sup> is about the exaltation of Zartosht through the satisfaction of water, and the hope of all creatures for him. 2 And about the impure recitation of a text, when<sup>27</sup> the text is not uttered by a high-priest. 3. This, too that the text which a man who is corrupted may offer is an impropriety (adinaih) for that which is an uncorrupted place. 4. This, too, is declared, that a greedy man whose belly is filled by accumulation – and the end of every sin is, to him, only for the gratification of the body – one considers just like a gallows to which there is a foundation (sipo) of every impurity. 5. This, too, that a bird (vae) practices that habit (shan) even that it kills those outright which have become large in our midst, which are the serpents produced by the demons. 6. This, too, that for invocation (azbayishno) of the sacred beings thinking with speaking, speaking with acting, and acting without deceitfulness are effectual.

7. About the pure goodness of the archangels, the union of their thoughts, words, and deeds together; their bountifulness, nurturing, and protection are the cause<sup>28</sup> of the prosperity of the world. 8. About the production of Zartosht by Ohrmazd with a goodness like his own. 9. This, too, that whoever gives anything to the disciples of Zartosht, his

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25 This admonition occurs repeatedly (see Chap. 20.5; Yt10.2; AV52.7).

26 The appellation of the first ha of the second Gatha (Y43) which begins with the words "ushta ahmai yahmai ushta;" it is here written *aushtavaito* in Pahlavi.

27 Assuming that *mun*, 'which,' stands for amat; the Pazand of both words being practically the same. Or, it may be, 'also him who does not utter the text through a high-priest.'

28 B omits shan, 'the cause of.'

reward and recompense are just as though the thing had been given by him to Zartosht.<sup>29</sup>

10. It is perfect excellence that is righteousness.

### **Fargard 13. The spirit of the sacred cake attacks demons when the cake is consecrated, men who pray are righteous if not deceitful, a heinous sin no obliterator of other sin (14)**

1. The thirteenth fargard, Tat-thwa-peresa,<sup>30</sup> is about the strength and mightiness of the spirit of the sacred cake.<sup>31</sup> 2. This, too, that every night the demons rush from hell<sup>32</sup> into the world, to injure and cause the death of the creatures; and, when *people* consecrate a sacred cake, that spirit descends to attack and keep back the demons, and to engage in combat with the demons ninety-nine times during every night; he also smites and stupefies them, and keeps *them* back from destroying the world.

3. This, too, that any one whatever of those men who utter these words<sup>33</sup> in prayer becomes righteous, except those men who shall contentedly, *or* wishfully, carry out a command for evil deeds, and they deceive (sutfend), or make *others* deceive, by statements proposed to them; *and* whose evil thoughts are thus more than *their* good thoughts, their evil words more than *their* good words, and their evil deeds more than *their* good deeds. 4. About carrying off the reliance produceable that a sin worthy of death is the obliteration (*fraz* mushtano) of other sin, like an awful *and* mighty wind when it sweeps swiftly over the plain.<sup>34</sup>

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

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29 Compare: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' (Matthew 25.40.).

30 The first three words of the second hâ of the second Gatha (Yas. 44.1), here written tat-spâ-pêres in Pahlavi.

31 See Bk. 8, chap. 29.2.

32 K omits 'from hell,' and B omits 'night.'

33 Meaning probably Yas. 44.

34 A favorite metaphor derived from the Avesta text (see Pahl. Vend. 3.149; MX.52.19).



## **Fargard 14. The torment of Kersasp's soul, notwithstanding his heroic deeds, owing to smiting the fire which opposes his soul, though befriended by Goshorun, until Zartosht intercedes (15)**

1. The fourteenth fargard, Ad-fravakhshya,<sup>35</sup> is about Ohrmazd's showing to Zartosht the terrible condition of the soul of Kersasp;<sup>36</sup> the dismay of Zartosht owing to that terrible condition; the sorrowful speaking of Kersasp as regards the slaying of multitudes, for which mankind extol him, whereby abstentions from sin *occurred*; and the recognition of him by the creator, Ohrmazd, as smiting his fire. 2. The supplication of Kersasp *for* the best existence from Ohrmazd for those exploits when the serpent Srobar<sup>37</sup> *was* slain by him, and the violence of that adversary; when Gandarep<sup>38</sup> with the golden heels *was* smitten by him, *and* the marvellousness of that fiend; when the Veshko progeny<sup>39</sup> who *were descendants* of Nivik *and* Dashtanik *were* slain by him, and the grievous harm and disaster owing to them; and when the mighty wind<sup>40</sup> *was* appeased by him, *and* brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures; and for that which *happens* when owing to confinement,<sup>41</sup> Dahak [Zohak] becomes eager, rushes on for the destruction of the world, and attempts (girayedo) the annihilation of the creatures; when he (*Kersasp*) is roused to smite him, and to tame that powerful fiend for the world and creatures.

3. The enmity of fire to Kersasp, through the distress which he occasioned to it, and the keeping of him away<sup>42</sup> [from heaven; also the

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35 The first two words of the third hâ of the second Gatha (Y45.1), here written ad-fravakhshya (B) and ad-fravakhsha (K) in Pahlavi. This chapter has been already translated in S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp. 370-372.

36 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.12; S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp.369-382.

37 See Bk. 8, Chap. 35.13.

38 Av. Gandarewa of Yt.5.38, 15.28, 19.41; the 'watery demon' of MX. 27.50.

39 Reading hun Veshko, the Av. hunavo Vaeskaya of Yt5.54, 57, who were enemies of the warrior Tusa; but the hunavo of Nivika and of the Dashtayani were slain by Keresaspa (see Yt19.41). It is also possible to read khuno-dako, 'blood-producing.'

40 When it becomes a storm-demon, the vato-daeva of Vd10.14, instead of being the angel of useful wind.

41 In the volcano, Mount Damawand, where he was confined by Faridoon in olden times, and whence he is expected to break loose hereafter (see Bd12.31, Bd29.9; Byt3.55-61).

42 The words in brackets occur only in K; their meaning is, however, given in the Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying Dd. and quoted in S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp.379, 380. The enmity of the fire to Kersasp was owing to its having been extinguished (when kindled upon the serpent Srobar) by the upsetting of Kersasp's cauldron, as described in Y9.11 and Yt19.40.

friendship of *Goshoran*<sup>43</sup> for him, through the prosperity which he occasioned to it, and the protection of him] from hell. 4. The petition of Zartosht to the fire to have compassion upon what *was* owing to *Kersasp's* sin; the compliance (*hanjaftano*) of the fire *with* that petition, and the departure of the soul of *Kersasp* to the ever-stationary existence.<sup>44</sup>

5. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

## **Fargard 15. Proceedings of the demon of death, the soul alone sees the events of the spiritual state, treatment of the corpse and misery of its consciousness; (§9) worldly happiness seldom lasts a century, ordainable supplies, the seven immortal rulers in Xwaniratha (16)**

1. The fifteenth fargard, *Kamnamea*,<sup>45</sup> is about the arrival of *Astwihad*<sup>46</sup> upon the spot, and the insecurity of any one from him; also the non-continuance of the mortal body and decaying (*farsavand*) wealth of any one of the mortals summoned is death.<sup>47</sup> 2. And this, too, that *Astwihad* shall carry off all mortals by that awful and proclaimed marvel, and they are not saved from him;<sup>48</sup> each one, indeed, saves only that which is the soul. 3. This, too, that the soul alone sees the reward and bridge<sup>49</sup> of the spiritual *existence*, and embodied it does not see such *things*; if; *when* embodied, it could have seen like that, then it would not have committed the sin really originating with it, even for

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43 Av. *geus urva*, 'the soul of the ox,' the spirit which departed from the primeval ox when the evil spirit attacked it; she is supposed to be the heavenly protector of all animals, and is also called *Drvaspa* (see *Yt9.1*; *Bd3.14, 18*, *Bd4.2-5*; *Sls22.14*).

44 A locality intermediate between heaven and hell, where the souls of those whose sins and good works exactly balance remain in a passive and immovable state till the resurrection (see *Sls6.2*; *MX7.18*, *MX12.14*; *Dd20.3*).

45 The appellation of the fourth, and last, *ha* of the second *Gatha* (*Y46*), which begins with the words *kam nemoi zam*; it is here written *kamnamezo* in *Pahlavi*.

46 See *Chap. 12.17*. The connection of the demon of death with *Y46* is that the first few words of that *ha* are supposed to be repeated by the wicked soul in despair after death (see *Yt22.20*, *W.*; *MX2.159*; *AV17.7*).

47 *K* has *mardum*, 'human (?).'

48 *B* has the whole of this first clause thus:- 'And the unconsumed (*apakhshino*) property of him who is surprised by the invisible marvel that he shall endure, they have not saved from him.' This marvel is probably the supposed casting of a noose by *Astwihad* around the neck of the dead to drag him to hell, which only the righteous are able to cast off.

49 See *Bk. 8*, *Chaps. 14.8, 24.10*.

anything whatever *of* the ease and comfort of the worldly existence, nor shrunk (manshido) from the first good work.

4. About the hideousness and frightfulness of the body of man after death, and only that which is considered by every one the most precious of desirable things is undecaying (afarsak). 5. As regards the casting away of the dust, and also living people, that which is more nearly connected therewith is uninhabitableness<sup>50</sup> and its duration. 6. And when, too, this way, the consciousness is in the vicinity of the body,<sup>51</sup> and the dog and bird go forth for the dismemberment of the body, the frightening of the consciousness by them is like that of a sheep by a wolf; also its disputing with the dog and bird about the dismemberment of the body, the reciting (mardano) of words spiritually at first repelling them, thinking the body is alive. 7. And, afterwards, when the body is dismembered by them, the hastening of the consciousness to the vicinity of the dismembered body, just like a female (denudako) sheep when it hastens on to *its* young ones; *and* its noticing – with grievous unhappiness<sup>52</sup> for the body – and recounting where the features (demagano) of that body were in happiness, and to what misery it has now come. 8. And, when that body became sinful in its lifetime, about its not accepting, during that lifetime, that which the consciousness repeatedly well-endeavoured to promote for that body, as regards abstaining from sin and practising good works.

9. This, too, that thy time of worldly happiness *has* occurred, and that of misery is long. 10. This, too, that the people who live on, in the worldly *existence*, a hundred years are less than those who do not live a hundred years; the progress of a lifetime, little *by* little, and the rushing on *of* a lifetime; wife and property and the rest *of* worldly *things* all leaving you at once, and coming to another person. 11. And this, too, that – when mankind mostly keep up any statement (*nisang-ich*) or register (aevarjo) which they have drawn out (nazi-hend)<sup>53</sup> about ordainable supplies in a friendly or inimical (patyanmond) way, which is more particularly expedient for them – a supply, suitable for the discreet, of the rest of that which is constantly desirable, is to be extracted therefrom, and *one* is to keep up *its* preparation with his own.

12. About the seven immortal rulers who are produced in the region of Khwaniras,<sup>54</sup> and also about the ordaining of their glory and the goodness, too, of their assistants living *and* privileged in both

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50 Corpses are to be deposited in an uninhabited place (see Vd6.44-51, Vd7.45-50; Dd18).

51 Compare Dd16.7.

52 Pahl. ashadih in K, but B has ayadakh, 'remembrance.

53 Or 'they offer up (uzdahend).'

54 See Bk. 8, Chap. 8.2. And, regarding these seven rulers, compare Bd. 29.5, 6; Dd.90.

existences. 13. The tree opposed to harm<sup>55</sup> is on Eranwej,<sup>56</sup> in the place of most excavations (*freh-niganan gas*). 14. Gok-pato<sup>57</sup> is in foreign<sup>58</sup> countries. 15. Peshotan,<sup>59</sup> son of Vishtasp, is in Kangdez<sup>60</sup> the hundred-moated (*sad-gandak*), wherein *there are* a myriad spears (*drafsh*), those of the exalted who wear black marten *fur*, who are righteous listeners of the religion,<sup>61</sup> out of the retinue (*akharih*) of Pehshotan, son of Vishtasp. 16. Fradakhsho, son of the mortal Khumbiks,<sup>62</sup> who is predominant on the waters flowing in channels. 17. Ashavazd, son of Porudakhsho,<sup>63</sup> who is predominant over the most manifest among uplands, the plain of Peshinas.<sup>64</sup> 18. Barazak<sup>65</sup> the causer of strife. 19. "And the eighth Kayan<sup>66</sup> who *was* renowned, O Vishtasp! it is he whom *one* calls Kay-Khosraw, who produces even an advance of thy religion of the Mazda-

55 The many-seeded tree in the wide-formed ocean, whence the seeds of all wild plants are brought by the rain (see Yt.12.17; Bd.27.2, 3; MX42.37-42).

56 See Chap. 12.3.

57 Gopatshah in Bd. 29.5, 31.20, 22; Byt.2.1; Dd. 90.3, 4; Gopaitoshah in MX. 62.8, 31; and Gopaito in MX. 44.35. All these forms of the name imply that he was a king, or master, of oxen; and MX. describes him as a Mazda-worshipping minotaur on the sea-shore, probably the Caspian, or the river Oxus, as Bd. makes him a brother, or nephew, of Frasiyav the Turanian. His country is called Saukavastan in Bd., and Gopato in Dd.

58 Pahl. *an-Airan* which corresponds with the position of Saukavastan being between Turkistan and Chinistan, as stated in Bd.29.13, and that of Gopato being coterminous with Eranwej, as in Dd.90.4. But K, by omitting the negative prefix, places it 'within the countries of Iran;' and MX. makes Gopato a chief of Eranwej.

59 Av. Peshotanu, commonly written Peshyotanu in Pahlavi.

60 A fortified settlement, to the east of Iran (see Bd.29.10), formed by Siyavakhsh (see Bk.8, Chap. 13.14) who was first cousin of Vishtasp's great-grandfather (see Bd. 31.25, 28, 29).

61 Who are expected to be led into Iran by Peshotan in future times, when he is summoned by the angels to restore religion to the world after the conflict of the nations (see Byt.3.25-42).

62 K has 'Fradakhsho, son of Khumbik the son of Hoshang.' He was evidently the Fradhakhsho Khunbya of Yt.13.138, who might have been considered as a descendant of the Haoshyangha mentioned before him in Yt13.

63 Av. Ashavazdangh Pourudhakhshayana of Yt5.72, Yt13.112.

64 Said to be in Kavulistan where Sama Keresaspa lies asleep till summoned to kill Dahak [Zohak] in the latter times (see Bd.29.7, 11; Byt.3.59-61). It maybe connected with the *vairi Pisanangh* of Yt.5.37, where Keresaspa offered sacrifice, and with the Pishin valley southeast of Qandahar; but Chap. 21.20 seems to place it between Mazendaran and Iran, and MX.62.20 also describes it as near Mount Demawand. Its name is variously written Peshinash, Peshansih, Peshyansai, Peshandas, Peshanigas, &c.

65 Possibly Av. Varaza of Yt.13.101.

66 Kavi Haosravangh (Kay-Khosraw) is the eighth and last in the list of Kavis, or Kayans, in Yt.13.132; and was celebrated for his opposition to idolatry (see Yt.5.49,50; Bd.17.7). This section appears to be an actual quotation from the Pahlavi version of the Nask, professing to give the words of Zartosht.

worshippers, and also understands about it; who gives my good practices further blessings, so that the world<sup>67</sup> maintains my doings with benedictions.”

20. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

## **Fargard 16. Bridge-judgment of sinners, merit of certain good works, punishment of certain sinners, Gathas for an ordeal (17)**

1. The sixteenth fargard, Spenta-mainyu,<sup>68</sup> is about effecting the bridge-judgment of sinners, as declared by revelation. 2. About performing the ceremony (yashto) for a man and a woman, and it is ordered *for* the woman before the man; the fitness for the supreme heaven (garothman) arisen through the liturgy (yashto) to be recited itself, or *through* purchasing *heaven in the worldly existence*.<sup>69</sup>

3. About the immunity of the soul from hell through the righteousness *of having* respectfully given a horse of a *good* race, the land of a cultivated field, *or* a virtuous woman, to a righteous man; and also the woman who gives herself in marriage to the righteous man; and that liberal good work increases *from time to time*,<sup>70</sup> and *from day to day*.

4. About the bridge *penalty* of him who is a mourner (navinidar) and *self-wounder* in the three nights *after a death*, and how it is as though *they* who are living *should* again pour melted ore on a human being. 5. About the punishment for a woman who gives herself in marriage to a righteous man, *and* comes away<sup>71</sup> from him; such as when a hedgehog<sup>72</sup> should be constantly going in and coming out by her sexual organ; and the cutting off of her way from the best existence. 6. About the non-deliverance of a soul of the wicked from hell till the future existence. 7. About the punishment of the wicked *there is* this, too, it is as though a sheep which is alive should be remaining tied by the legs, head downwards, and *there* should be a specific exudation of its toes through running at the nose.<sup>73</sup>

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67 K has dehik, 'a provincial.'

68 The first two words of the first ha of the third Gatha (Y47.1), which are converted into the Pahlavi appellation Spendmaito.

69 By providing for the performance of the proper ceremonies for the benefit of one's own soul.

70 Pahl. vidanaanag vidanaanag, a hybrid equivalent of zamanak zamanak (see Bk.8, Chap. 35.6 n).

71 B has 'relapses.'

72 Compare AV. 70.

8. About the Gathas for an ordeal<sup>74</sup> of the spiritual *existence*, which is concealed in every mode, *being* without a footing (apa-pastako), as it were, for him who is a righteous chanter of the Gathas.

9. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

## **Fargard 17. Where seven particular classes of sinners have to go (18)**

1. The seventeenth fargard, *Yezi*,<sup>75</sup> is about where he is who shall commit *any of these five sins*,<sup>76</sup> and, thereby perverted from the religion, has diminished his own life and destiny:<sup>77</sup> – A human being when he contentedly reverences a demon in spiritual lordship (ahuih) and priestly authority (*radih*), *one* steadfast in religion when he *so reverences one* un-steadfast in religion, a teacher when *he so reverences one who* is no teacher and ignorant, *one* acquainted with the Gathas when he *so reverences one* unacquainted with the Gathas and unintelligent (anashnas),<sup>78</sup> and a helpful *one* when *he so reverences* an unhelpful and unwise *one*.

2. This, too, where also they are who unlawfully slaughter a sheep, or *beast of burden*, which diminishes their life and destiny. 3. And so, too, those also who think scornfully of Ohrmazd, O pure and righteous Spitaman! and their own religion, the strength of the righteous *and* thy disciples.

4. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

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73 Pahl. afash angusto zahih-1-i mayaganik pavan vinik-taj ae. For mayaganik, 'specific' (which occurs, however, in Bk.8, Chap. 20.166), we can read masanik, 'tumerous or coagulating,' or we may consider it equivalent to muyishnik, 'lamentable.'

74 Compare the reference to the ordeal by fire in Pahl. Yas. 46.6; the earlier part of the chapter is also somewhat of a homily upon the references to the wicked and righteous in the same ha.

75 The first word of the second ha of the third Gatha (Yas. 48.1), here written yezik in Pahlavi.

76 B omits 'sins.'

77 Or 'glory.'

78 So in K, but both MSS. give this clause imperfectly.

**Fargard 18. Pregnancy of the fiend due to certain sins; the soul blesses the body when righteous, and curses it when wicked; proper times for reciting the Ahunwar and Ashem, the corruption of the wicked (19)**

1. The eighteenth fargard, Ad-ma-yava,<sup>79</sup> is about the pregnancy of the demon from him who *has* eaten and chattered in sinfulness *towards* Hordad and Amurdad,<sup>80</sup> or who makes water *when* standing,<sup>81</sup> or who heedlessly sees *his* semen. 2. And the hussy<sup>82</sup> who spills (*juyedo*) anything after sunset (*huk-frashmok-dad*), or who scatters a morsel (*dandar*) of food to the north, at night, without a recitation of the Ahunwar.<sup>83</sup>

3. This, too, that only the soul is constantly desirable for the body, even through this alone, that this perishable body<sup>84</sup> [is a worldly state of righteousness, and, by rousing up (*lala-payamishnih*)<sup>85</sup> when thou wouldst sleep on, the righteousness] is on the advance when thou wouldst have retreated; and the righteousness, in arising, is like thee in every coming *and* departure; through fetching and delivering the breath it shall become good reward, abundant reward, and the reward of righteousness. 4. When the body shall act so, the soul is rejoiced and shall utter a blessing for the body thus: "Happy may it be *for* thee, O perishable body! whom I have made tall, and whom I have brought near to the best existence." 5. And when the body shall not accept the progress (*afra*s) of the soul, and says *it is* evil progress on rousing up, evil progress on advancing, [and evil progress upwards, the soul is a

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79 The first three words of the third ha of the third Gatha (Y49.1), here written ad-ma-iyubo in Pahlavi.

80 Av. Haurvatat, 'completeness, or health,' and ameretat, 'immortality;' the archangels who have special charge of water and plants, respectively (see Sl.s.15.25-29), and are said to be injured by the sin of talking while eating and drinking those things (see Chap. 9.2).

81 Thereby polluting more ground than is necessary (see Sl.s.10.5).

82 See Chap. 11.5 n.

83 K does not mention the latter sinful action. The reason of the sin of such actions is that they may be considered as offerings to the demons (who are supposed to come from the north and to be powerful at night) unless protected by the Ahunwar (see Bk. 8, Chap. 1.7) used as an exorcism (see Sd.30.1, 2; Sl.s. 10.7, 12.18).

84 B has 'even through the assertion that this is corporeal and perishable.' The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

85 This appears to be the most probable reading of the word which occurs again in § 5, where it is written *lala-upayamishnih* in K, which form is also found in Hn.1.23, where it translates Av. *ustryamno*. For the latter member of this compound see also Chap. 20.6, 7. For the syllable *yam* we might substitute *gam* or *gam* without much alteration of meaning, or even *dam* if we translate by 'fanning up, exciting.'

demon] and shall offer [lamentable]<sup>86</sup> words thus: “Evil *art* thou, O perishable body! whom I made dwarfish (gashuk), *and* whom I have brought near to the worst existence.”

6. About where *there are* unaccustomed (aveshako), imperfect, and secret signs of short life, and the healthfulness of uttering the Ahunwar<sup>87</sup> and Ashem<sup>88</sup> for it. 7. This, too, that, when thou wouldst squat for making water, thou recitest the Ahunwar, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldst stand up; so that any demon, *or* fiend, shall least injure thee. 8. And when thou wouldst go in unto thy wife (narik), thou recitest first the Ahunwar, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldst be coming together;<sup>89</sup> for so thou wouldst be making that, too, *which* arises – which is thy son – more righteous and more successful through the Ashem. 9. This, too, that, when thou wouldst go into a house, thou shouldst be offering homage, and do thou utter the Ahunwar, for the spirit of the house and *for* everything of the material *existence* of the righteous which is and was and *will* be in that dwelling.

10. Also about the corruption (tavashtano) of the wicked, and the calamity (sur) which is unjustly distributed by them in the realm.<sup>90</sup>

11. Excellence *that* is perfect is righteousness.

## **Fargard 19. The souls praise a virtuous high-priest, miseries of hell, the Chinwad bridge, promises not to be broken, not even those to a courtesan, in which case the penalty is childlessness in hell (20)**

1. The nineteenth fargard, Kad-moi-urvu,<sup>91</sup> is about where the souls, when they come together, extol the soul of him who *was* a virtuous high-priest, a friend of the soul, because he did not injure it, *and* guarded it from hell.

2. About the darkness, the intensity (bur'zvo homandih) and far-reaching bottomlessness of the blackness, and the absence of goodness

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86 The words in brackets are omitted in K.

87 See Bk.8, Chap. 1.7.

88 See Chap. 3.1 ; here, and in §§ 7, 8, it is expressed by Pahl. *aharayah*, 'righteousness,' being an abbreviation of its usual appellation, 'praise of righteousness,' in Pahlavi.

89 Pahl. '*amat andarg hakhto vadidunah ae.*'

90 Like Y.49 this *fargard* begins with special references to the wicked, and returns to them towards the end.

91 The first three words of the fourth, and last, *ha* of the third Gatha (Y50.1), here written *kad-mok-ravako* in Pahlavi.



in hell; and the proximity to stench, close concealment,<sup>92</sup> sleet-pelted clambering (pishnako-balinih), frozen advancing, painful condition, distressed state, and awful fear of those in hell. 3. This, too, that is thrown open (lakhvar ramitund) over it, from the Daiti peak,<sup>93</sup> which is in Eranwej, to Alburz,<sup>94</sup> and below the middle of which is the gate of hell, is the Chinwad bridge<sup>95</sup> which is the route (vidar) of every one, righteous *or* wicked; the width across the route of the righteous is a breadth of nine spears, each one the length of three reeds, *but* the route for the wicked becomes like the edge of a razor.

4. 'Thus say I<sup>96</sup> unto thee, O Spitaman! that the man of truth steps forward over the Chinwad pass. even the far-famed happy bridge; for Ashtad,<sup>97</sup> the good promoter of the world, and Mihr<sup>98</sup> of the vast cattle-pastures save only the man possessing truth from that distress, as though they *were* a regiment (sipah) a thousand strong. 5. So I say unto thee, O Spitaman! that thou shouldst not become a liar unto Mihr, neither when thou wouldst converse with the wicked, nor when *thou wouldst* with those of thine own religion who are righteous; for both of those are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous; there is a promise, O Zartosht! even *of* a wolf with young animals, but that which is a lascivious (jehik) promise is more awful, O Spitaman! 6. So I say unto thee, O Spitaman! that thou shouldst not seize a wanton (jehik) for use – that is, do not make her *thy* wife – and with compulsion (upayamishnih) of her<sup>99</sup> – that is, do not let *thysel*f lie with her. 7. And if thou shouldst seize a courtesan for use, and with compulsion *of* her, thou mayst not dismiss *her* afterwards, neither in adversity, nor in prosperity, neither on account of fondness for self, nor for life; because *he* who seizes a courtesan for use, and with compulsion, and shall dismiss her on account of fondness for self, *or for* life, becomes thereby a breaker of promises *to* the house, village, community, *or* province,

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92 Compare AV. 54.5-8: - 'As close as (tang-ich) from the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs a horse has in his mane, so many in number the souls of the wicked stand, but they do not see, nor do they hear a sound, one from the other, and every one, therefore, thinks that he is alone.' For a description of hell see also Dd27.

93 Or Chakad-i Daiti (see Pahl. Vend. 19.101; Bd. 12.7).

94 Av. hara berezaiti, the range of lofty mountains supposed to surround the world (see Bd. 5.3-5).

95 Here called Chinako-puhal, and Chish-vidarg in § 4; for a fuller description of it see Dd.21.2-7. Allusion is made to it in Y50.7.

96 Ohrmazd, speaking to Zartosht, The whole of this paragraph appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

97 See Chap. 9.6.

98 See Bk. 8, Chap. 44.16.

99 Or, perhaps, 'with approach to her' (see Chap. 19.3 n). If padamishnih were read, it might mean 'aspiration, or attachment' for her.

that gives her life (valman zivinedo), *and to the soul that animates her.*<sup>100</sup>

8. So breaking the promise comes upon the children that are theirs, through evil teaching; *and he who is wicked is lying down without children at the bottom of hell.* 9. *That is, there is nothing whatever of<sup>101</sup> happiness for the wicked, that happiness which is produced abundantly by him who is Ohrmazd.*

10. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

**Fargard 20. Zohak's oppressiveness, the people's reproaches contrasting him with Yim [Jamshed], Faridoon's smiting and binding him; (§11) gradual submission of most of the regions, war with the Mazendarans; (§22) their defeat and slaughter by Faridoon, since which time none of them have entered Xwaniratha, except two men who came to consult Frashostar (21)**

1. The twentieth fargard, Vohu-khshathrem,<sup>102</sup> is about the oppressive actions of the sovereignty which Dahak [Zohak]<sup>103</sup> exercised over the earth of seven *regions*, and the forward progress of his commands owing to a surrounding of terrors.

2. About Dahak's enquiry of the members of the assembly, regarding the reason of the affliction of the collected people, after the cutting *up* of Yim [Jamshed]<sup>104</sup> and the accession (khudayih) of Dahak; and the people's saying, *in reply* to Dahak, that Yim had kept away want and destitution, hunger and thirst, decay and death, lamentation and weeping from the world, *besides* the cold and heat of the immoderate mingling of the demon with mankind. 3. And this, too, that<sup>105</sup> 'a giver of

100 This implies that the woman, being a notorious sinner, cannot reasonably complain of bodily injury on being dismissed; but her soul and the community are grievously injured by her being thus driven into further sin, and for this injury the man's soul will be made responsible.

101 K has 'none even of this.'

102 The first two words of the fourth Gatha (Y51.1), here written vohûk-khshatar (B) and vohûk-khshatar (K) in Pahlavi.

103 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.8.

104 As mentioned in Yt.19.46; Bd.17.5 ('when Yim was cut up by them the fire Frobak saves the glory of Yim from the hand of Zohak') and 31.5. Regarding Yim see Bk. 8, Chap. 13.6-8.

105 What follows, as far as the end of § 7, appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

comfort was Yim – that is, those things *were* produced by him which are the comfort of mankind – and he was a giver of desire for them, so that his happiness *was* through the gratification produced – that is, mankind gratified him through virtue. 4. And Audak,<sup>106</sup> who made Yim the splendid and rich in flocks – who *was* struck down by you through violent assault – unauthorisedly desirous (varak<sup>107</sup>) and eager for the world, produced want and destitution, distress and greed, hunger and thirst, and the sanctifier<sup>108</sup> of Wrath the wounding assailant, Want without pastures, Terror, Destruction the secret-moving, Decay the decrepit,<sup>109</sup> and the seven arch-demons.<sup>110</sup> 5. And this, too, that 'those who look *for* a son *are* made devoid of pregnancy by thee; evil-destined is the monster (shipist) self-made, the uncompleted demon that it is impossible to seek a remedy for, who does not extend (la valed) from himself, that is, no lineage proceeds from him. 6. And thou *art* a sheep that is a wide-traveller, *and* keeps the dog *away* from mankind; thou *hast* snatched away from us the bright radiance of Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks, who came out on every evil contingency, at the approach of every winter, or scorched by extreme heat, so as to act for the benefit of his place.<sup>111</sup> 7. Thou art intelligent, O Bevarasp!<sup>112</sup> do thou even tell how this opinion is so, that a bad ruler is a thing which is so bad; he who is a good ruler is our desire, we *will* give the revenue of taxation (bahar-i madam-dedrunishnih) to him, and anything which is necessary *for* good government when he shall achieve it.'

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106 The demon Uda who tries to make people talk when they ought to be silent (Bd28.19), and who seems to be identified (in Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 70) with the fiend who confesses her amours to Srosh, and is said (in Bd.31.6) to have been the mother of Zohak, there named Udai or Aud, but more commonly called Vadak (see Chap. 10.3; Dd. 72.5, 78.2), whence possibly the matronymic Vadakan (MX.57.25, the Av. vadhaghana of Vd19.6) of that monarch. The text here appears to allude to an amour with Yim.

107 Av. vara; or it may be a miswriting of vardak, 'astray' (Av. vareta).

108 Pahl. aizishn-homond, 'one holding ceremonies,' alluding to Zohak himself as the progeny of Audak.

109 These five demons are Aeshm, Niyaz, Saham, Sej, and Zarman in Pahiavi, who, with the exception of Saham, 'terror,' are described in Bd.28.15-17, 23, 26.

110 The seven arch-demons are the six mentioned in Bd.1.27, 28.7-13, 30.29, whose Avesta names are Akem-mano, Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairika (see Vd10.9, 10, Vd19.43), together with either Mithaokhta or Anghra Mainyu himself (see Bd1.24).

111 K has only 'who came out at every place to act for *its* benefit.'

112 'With a myriad of horses,' a title of Dahak.

8. About the smiting *by* Faridoon,<sup>113</sup> for the sake of killing Dahak [Zohak]; the striking of *his* club upon the nape of the neck<sup>114</sup> (*pilik*), the heart, and even the skull; and Dahak's not dying from that beating.

9. Then smiting *him* with a sword, and the formation (*vashtano*) of noxious creatures of many kinds, from the body of Dahak, at the first, second, and third blow. 10. The exclamation of the creator Ohrmazd to Faridoon thus: 'Thou shouldst not cut him who is Dahak, because, if thou shouldst cut him, Dahak would be making this earth full of serpents, toads (*khan-galak*), scorpions, lizards, tortoises, and frogs;' with the mode *of* binding *him* with awful fetters, in the most grievous punishment of confinement.<sup>115</sup>

11. This, too, *that* when Az-i Dahak was bound, the report of the same proceeded thus through all the regions, which are seven, that down-stricken is Az-i Dahak, but he *who* smote *him* is Faridoon the Aspikan,<sup>116</sup> the exalted *and* mighty. 12. And *in* the tenth winter those particulars were believed, and thus they spoke, that it was owing to<sup>117</sup> Yim that Az-i Dahak is now smitten by them, because the tidings which are good are not yet gathered unto all the regions, which are seven, and those which are evil do not mention *Az*, nor demand the virtuous maiden (*charatik*) with importunity, nor even coveted wealth.<sup>118</sup> 13. This, too, that, when information came to him of women, *or* property, that seemed to him desirable to possess, they *were* then admitted by him into a golden cage,<sup>119</sup> and that, which was completely impregnable (*airishto*), came on through immaterial space (*mainog-divakih*) to the den (*grestako*) of Az-i Dahak.

14. This, too, that, though<sup>120</sup> he who smote him *were* his brother, or descendant, or kinsman, or any one whatever *of his* nearest relations, it did not seem to them as that which is grievous, and it, *was* not thought *of* in their minds, so that it did not occasion them even a reminiscence again; and thus they talked, that if a householder *be* he that smote, he *is one* for whom all the fires of the religion are suitable, *but* that

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113 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.8, 9.

114 Or, perhaps, 'the reins.'

115 In Mount Demawand (see Chap. 15.2 n).

116 Av. Athwyana, a patronymic derived from Athwya who, according to Y9.7, was the father of Thraetaona (Faridoon); but Bd.31.4, 7, 8, Bd32.1 n, make it a family name for many preceding generations.

117 Or *min* may mean '*apart* from.'

118 Demands often made by Dahak, as stated in § 13.

119 Pahl. *sulak-homand*, '*something* having apertures;' compare the *sulak-homand* which translates Av. *sufрам* and *suwraya* in Vd2.7, 18, 30, and has sometimes been understood as a 'signet-ring.' Also compare § 19 below.

120 Assuming that *mun*, 'who,' stands for *amat*, as in Chap. 13.2.

householder being a monarch, he that smote is *one* who is every way their ruler. 15. This, too, that at every place where he came on, and upon which his horse's hoofs (safo) fell, the dense fire from them *was* for the protection of the horse's body. 16 This, too, that through his confused (gumezako) practising of good deeds *arose even* the evil deeds of *Az-i Dahak* [Zohak].

17. About those of the Mazendaran<sup>121</sup> country *having* consulted, after the smiting of Dahak, as to turning (gashtano) to Khwaniras<sup>122</sup> and driving out Faridoon therefrom, and as to the residence offered *by* the same place through the great number fallen; also, on account of their tallness, there are *parts* of the wide-formed ocean<sup>123</sup> that come up to *their* mid-thigh, there are *others* that *are* up to the navel, and the deeper places *are* up to the mouth. 18. And, when they have come to this region, their producing grievous harm and destruction to the poor,<sup>124</sup> and the coming of the people with complaints to Faridoon, and *their* speaking thus: 'Why didst thou smite *Az-i Dahak*, who was a good ruler as to prerogative, so that danger *was* kept away by him, and an inquisitor (vijoyidar) from him protected this region from those of the Mazendaran country?' 19. And they also said this, about the vileness of the Mazendarans, and the wretched state of the people of this region as regards them, that is, they then speak thus: 'since their habits are thus, since they are filthy (dosh-homond) – that is, dirt (karak) is theirs – possessing holes<sup>125</sup> (sulak-homond) – that is, holes are theirs – and having appellations (karitunishno-homond) – that is, they call to one another – we men (vir) think, *and* consider upon this, that they also are human beings.'

20. About the encountering of Faridoon with those of the Mazendaran country on the plain of Peshanigas,<sup>126</sup> and disputing with them thus: 'You are of the Mazendar country, *and* I (anmano) *have* destroyed *Az-i Dahak* by the swiftest ruin, him who was a grievous sovereign of every one, demons *and* men; for that smiting of him I am produced by Ohrmazd more overpowering than his limbs made paralyzed by his own enmity, and then you destroy this country of mine, you who are of the Mazendar country.'

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121 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.9.

122 See Bk. 8, Chap. 8.2. Mazendaran was considered to be outside of Khwaniras because it is separated from Iran by lofty mountains.

123 The Caspian is probably meant here, being considered a portion of the circumambient ocean.

124 K omits 'to the poor.'

125 Burrows, caves, and similar underground habitations are probably meant.

126 See Chap. 16.17.

21. And the Mazendarans thought slightly (sapuko) of Faridoon, *and* spoke in a tone of derision thus: 'should it be so, that thou destroyedst *Az-i Dahak* by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a good sovereign of both demons and men, and thou art produced by Ohrmazd, for that smiting of him, more overpowering than his limbs, even then we *will* settle in this *place* and *will* stay in this *place*; and *it is* not thou that *art* exalted, who *art* an over-grown (kaped-royishno) huge sheep with the speech of a hero among other people, *and* we would not admit thee here.'

22. This, too, that 'nevertheless they afterwards fled, and the victorious Faridoon pursued *them* to the foremost upland, and his nostrils flamed *upon* it so that they split it through; from his right nostril is the cutting and sharp scorching of the ice that has fallen and of all the cold of winter; and from his left nostril is the cutting and sharp scorching of the rock *that* has fallen, which is similarly burning to a fire the size of a house, carrying the dust from the feet of the male ox, Barmayun<sup>127</sup> of the obstructed victor, the mighty Faridoon. 23. And he made it rush up on the ascent, whereby they are made figures of stone, and they who *are* of the Mazendar country are destroyed by him through the smiting of fifties, the smiting of hundreds, the smiting of thousands,<sup>128</sup> the smiting of myriads, and the smiting of *multitudes* innumerable.'<sup>129</sup>

24. 'Thus *there* are destroyed by him, the victorious *and* mighty Faridoon, two-thirds *of* those of the Mazendar country, and one-third came out beaten and sick; and never afterwards, O Spitaman Zartosht! have they who *are* of the Mazendar country marched upon this region of Khwaniras, and it *has* not *been* imagined by them, even in thinking about *it*, that they<sup>130</sup> should go *there*, except those<sup>131</sup> whose names were thus, Spitiyosh, *son* of Spansnayosh,<sup>132</sup> and Arezraspah, *son* of

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127 This appears to have also been the name of a brother of Faridoon (see Bd. 31, 8).

128 B omits 'the smiting of thousands.'

129 Compare Yt. V, 54, 58, 117; Pahl. Vend. 7.137, 139.

130 Literally 'we.'

131 K has 'the two.'

132 These first two names are only in K, because B repeats here a previous phrase by mistake. The second name is written Sansnayosh here, but is spelt correctly on its next occurrence.

Spansnayosh,<sup>133</sup> who have wandered (tajido) in search of wisdom and have proceeded unto Frashostar<sup>134</sup> of the Hvobas.<sup>135</sup>

25. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

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## Sudgar Nask

**Fargard 21. The four best prayers; the Dahman Afrin making a good man infinitely more splendid than the finest woman, horse, ox, or sheep, and a bad man infinitely worse. The reign of Kay-Ush, his success and ruin; (§10) his flight followed by the spirit of Kay Khosraw and the angel Neryosang (22)**

1. The twenty-first fargard, Vahishtoishti,<sup>136</sup> is about where the best prayers<sup>137</sup> of the good religion are: unto Mihr<sup>138</sup> once every night for dismissing and lessening Wrath in the whole world, and a second time for doing so with Lethargy; a third unto Srosh<sup>139</sup> the righteous, and the fourth is the Dahman Afrin<sup>140</sup> for further gifts and increasing gifts; and the most preservative of them was the Dahman Afrin. 2. And this, too, that the most admirable of shapes of women *was* Humai<sup>141</sup> of the noble family of Vishtasp, of horses the splendid horse of Vishtasp, of oxen the

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133 These two sons of Spansnayosh were the *spiritual* chiefs, or supreme high-priests, of the two northern regions, Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh. They are named Spitoid-i Ausposinan and Aerezrasp-i Ausposinan in Bd. 29.1; and the statement that they came from Mazendaran, made in the text here, identifies that country with the two northern regions. The names of these two high-priests are evidently derived from the Avesta genitives Spitoish Uspasnaosh and Erezraspahe Uspasnaosh in Yt.13.121, persons concerning whom it is only stated that their fravashis, or guardian spirits, are to be revered.

134 See Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68.

135 Av. Hvova, the family name of Frashostar, Jamasp, and several other ancient personages (see Bk. 8, Chap. 29, 25).

136 The appellation of the fifth Gatha (Yas. 53) which begins with the words vahishta ishtish; it is here written yahistok-ishto in Pahlavi.

137 The Pahlavi explanation of Av. vahishta ishtish.

138 See Bk. 8, Chap. 44.16.

139 See Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3.

140 'The blessing of members of the community.' The Dahman Afrinagan consists of Y60.2-7 with Af. 1.14-18; but the Afrin is another formula, otherwise called 'the Afrin of the seven Amahrapands,' and it is uncertain which of the two is meant here.

141 Av. (gen.) Humayau of Yt13.139.

male ox Barmayun,<sup>142</sup> of sheep the very much celebrated<sup>143</sup> sheep that is fat, white-jawed, and star-spotted, *with its* upper half in a manufacture (pashakhtako) embroidered with gold and the topmost part yellow; and yet not one of them attains an equality to even a single thousandth *part* of the glory of a righteous man, a member of the community, by whom the Dahman Afrin of the good *is uttered*. 3. And this, too, as much as *its* goodness for the man and his wife is *its* evil *for* a villain and *his* paramour.<sup>144</sup>

4. About the exercise of sovereignty *by* Kay Us<sup>145</sup> with triumph, over the earth of seven *regions*; the advancement of his commands, by the people of the creation,<sup>146</sup> more swiftly than a wave of the hands; the construction of his seven dwellings (man)<sup>147</sup> in the midst of Alburz,<sup>148</sup> one of gold, two of silver, two of steel, and two of crystal (avginakino); the restraining of the many Mazonik [[Mazendaran]] demons<sup>149</sup> who are the ruin of the world, and confining *them* to their own duty; the arrival at those dwellings of his, and the swift winding (vafinidano) around those dwellings, of a person whose strength is overpowered by decrepitude, and the approach of *whose* life to departure from the body *has* taken place; the reduction (khusani-hastano) of the decrepitude thereby, and the return of his strength and manhood, that is, a command is given by him thus: 'Keep no people away at the door!' and he might make a domestic of fifteen years *of age*.

5. Afterwards, the consultation of the demons about the death of Kay-Us, and the coming of Eshm<sup>150</sup> to Kay-Us, approving his death, and, therefore, making *him* wretched in his mind *about* the great sovereignty which *was* possessed by him over the seven lands, and causing him to long for the sovereignty *of* the heavenly region (asamano gas) of the archangels [[Amahraspands]].<sup>151</sup> 6. And, owing to the seductiveness of

142 See Chap. 21.22.

143 Reading *freh-okhtar* (for *freh-okhttar*), as Bd. 24.3 states that 'the black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep.' It might be 'the sheep of Frashokhtar,' and this name might be a miswriting of Frashoshtar, but we have no record of any such sheep of his.

144 It is easy to trace a connection between §§ 1, 2 and Y53.1, and between § 3 and the Pahl. version of Y53.6a.

145 Av. Kava Usa (see Bk. 8, Chap. 13.13).

146 K has 'by demons and men.'

147 Probably the origin of the legends of the seven halting-places of Rustam and Isfendiyar in the *Shah-Namah*.

148 Here meaning the mountain-range south of the Caspian (see Chap. 20.3).

149 Av. Mazainya daeva, the idolators of Mazendaran.

150 The demon of wrath (see Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3 n).

151 §§ 5-9 are evidently a summary of the original form of the legend of Kavus's attempt to reach the sky, otherwise described in the *Shah-Namah*.



Eshm, and the other demons who remained his co-operators for that undoing, Kay-U*s* *was* even *engaged* in opposing and molesting the sacred beings. 7. Also his not returning across Alburz, but rushing upwards, with many demons and wicked people, unto the *outer* edge of darkness;<sup>152</sup> and the reason of the glory of the Kayanians<sup>153</sup> becoming a figure of clay on that border. 8. The previous separation (madam rejihastano) of Kay-U*s* from the troops, and *his* not turning from that ill-advisedness even on renewed strife aloft<sup>154</sup> *with* the supreme sacred beings. 9. Afterwards, the creator's calling back the glory of the Kayanians to himself, the falling of the troops of Kay-U*s* to the earth from that height, and the flying of Kay-U*s* to the wide-formed ocean.<sup>155</sup>

10. This, too, it says, that, besides him, someone<sup>156</sup> flew behind him, thus associated with him; *and* after him flew Neryosang,<sup>157</sup> the promoter (freh-dadar) *of* the world, for diverting that person *from* him. 11. And the cry of him, the unborn Khosraw, who *was* thus associated with him, like that of a regiment (sipah) a thousand *strong*, *was* thus: 'Thou shouldst not smite him, O Neryosang, promoter *of* the world! for if thou shouldst smite this man, O Neryosang, promoter *of* the world! *there will* not he afterwards obtained, for acquirement, a thorough destroyer *of* the high-priest of Turan;<sup>158</sup> because owing to this man will be born *him* whose name is Siyavakhsh,<sup>159</sup> *and* owing to Siyavakhsh I *shall* be born, who am the Khosraw who *will* entice the most heroic<sup>160</sup> *one* of Turan – who is mostly the destruction of champions and troops – to the numerous heroes of the religion, so that I *may* accomplish the destruction of his champions and troops, when<sup>161</sup> I would occasion a distant flight of the sovereign of Turan.' 12. Through these words the

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152 Where the endless light commences. Reading par-i tom; or it might be 'to the utmost,' if we read fretum as equivalent to frehtum.

153 K omits 'of the Kayanians.' It is the royal glory of Yt.19, which descended from heaven and accompanies the faithful rulers and champions of the religion, successively (see Chap. 24.3).

154 B has 'pitying strife;' khvaparik being written instead of avarik.

155 Meaning the Caspian, as in Chap. 21.17.

156 It will be seen, from what follows, that this was the fravashi, or guardian spirit, of his future grandson, Kay-Khosraw. Every being and object belonging to Ohrmazd's creation is supposed to have its spiritual representative, created before the universe and perpetually existing (see Bd.1.8; MX49.23).

157 Av. Nairyosangha, an angel who is supposed to be the usual messenger of Ohrmazd to mankind (see Byt. III, 25, 26, 59, 60). K has only 'besides him *and* behind him flew Neryosang.'

158 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.15.

159 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.14.

160 A single particular hero appears to be meant, although this is not quite certain.

161 Assuming that mun, 'who,' stands for amat, as in Chap. 13.2.

guardian spirit of Khosraw delighted Neryosang, the promoter of the world; and, on these words, *the latter was* releasing him and that Kay-U who thereby became discreet.

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## **Fargard 22. Kay Khosraw riding upon Vae in the form of a camel, his finding Haoisht, Tus, and Kay-Apiveh, his meeting Soshyant, who praises him for his exploits; Kersasp, exhorted by Tus, adopts the religion, and so all the producers of the renovation are united (23)**

1. The twenty-second fargard, Airyaman,<sup>162</sup> is about the meeting of Kay-Khosraw<sup>163</sup> and Vae, the long-continuing lord<sup>164</sup> next to the renovation of *the universe*, and Kay Khosraw's asking Vae, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting so many of the ancients who have been the highest of mankind in splendor and glory. 2. The reply of Vae, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting them; and, upon that answer, Kay Khosraw's taking Vae, the long-continuing lord, and transforming *him* into the shape of a camel, mounting *him*, and going, with the Iranian levies (*hanjamanoikan*), to the place where the immortal Haoisht, *Son of Geurva*,<sup>165</sup> lies in strength,<sup>166</sup> and his letting him lie; also his going beyond (*kadmon*) him to the place where Tus,<sup>167</sup> the banisher of strife, lay in strength, and his letting him also lie; and his going beyond him to the place where Kay Apiveh<sup>168</sup> lies, and his letting him also lie.

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162 The appellation of Yas. 54 which begins with the words *a airyema ishyo*; it is here written *airêmano* (B) and *airemano* (K), in Pahlavi.

163 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.14.

164 Pahl. *vae-i derang khudai* = Av. *vaya daregho hvadhata* who is mentioned as a good spirit in Ny.1.1. There are, however, two Vaes (see Dd. 30.4; MX2.115), the good Vae who assists the departed soul, and the bad Vae who opposes it; the former is closely connected with the angel Ram in Yt.15.0, 58, and the latter with Asto-vidhotu, the demon of death, in Vd5.8, 9; Bd. 28.35. They appear to be personifications of the upper and lower air, respectively; the former being considered pure through its connection with the sacred beings, and the latter impure through contamination by the demons. Possibly the legend about Vae in our text may have been suggested by the words *vayu-beredubyo* and *vayoi* in Y53.6, 7; in which case, this fargard must be considered, to some extent, as a continuation of the preceding one. According to Dd36.3 Kay Khosraw was made to pass away by Vae.

165 Compare Av. *Yushta Gaurvayana* of Yt.13.118. But *Yavisht i Friyan* of Yt.13.120, is one of the immortals mentioned in Byt. II, 1; Dd.90.3.

166 Reading *hang*, which can also mean 'a cave;' but we can likewise read *hug*, 'spiritual life.'

167 Av. *Tusa* of Yt.5.53, 58; he is one of the immortals mentioned in Bd.29.6; Dd.36.3.

3. His proceeding beyond them, and meeting on e road with that beneficial victor Soshyant,<sup>169</sup> and *being* asked by that beneficial victor thus: 'What man art thou who sittest aloft on Vae, the long-continuing lord, so that thou makest Vae fly, the long-continuing lord transformed into the shape of a camel?' 4. The speaking of Kay Khosraw, in reply to Soshyant, thus: 'I am Kay Khosraw.' 5. The extolling of Kay Khosraw, by Soshyant, as regards his *having* extirpated the idol-temples on the shore of Lake Chechast,<sup>170</sup> and his smiting the wizard Frasiyav.<sup>171</sup>

6. The glorifying of the Mazda-worshipping religion by Kay-Khosraw; the coming of the powerful being Kersasp,<sup>172</sup> club in hand, advancing towards them at the dwelling of that wizard Ges;<sup>173</sup> the standing up of Tus, the banisher of strife, and his calling to Kersasp for reliance upon the Gatha lore and *for* union with them; and the praising of righteousness<sup>174</sup> by Kersasp, and his throwing *away* arm-breaker.

7. As to these, too, it says that so those men come together *for* producing the renovation *of the universe who* are mentioned in this fargard, and also in other places, *and* are all experienced *and* eminent doers, and all powerful and brave; and they shall produce the renovation through a desire for an existence undecaying, immortal, hungerless, and thirstless for ever and everlasting.

8. It is perfect excellence that is righteousness.

**{End of the account of the contents of the ancient Sudgar Nask}**

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168 Av. Kavi Aipivanghu of Yt.13.132, Yt19.71. He was son of Kay Kobad, brother of Kay-Us, and great-grandfather of Vishtasp's grandfather (see Bd.31.25, 28, 31, 34).

169 See Bk. 8, Chap. 14.14.

170 Apparently the present Lake Urumiyah (see Bd. 17.7, Bd.22.2; MX.2.95).

171 See Bk. 8, Chap. 13.11.

172 See Chap. 15.

173 Written 'Ū', but the reading is uncertain; possibly the name may be connected with 'the Veshko progeny' in Chap. 15.2.

174 Reciting the Ashem Vohu formula, as a token of adhesion to the religion.

## Warsht-mansr Nask

**Fargard 1. Zartosht relates the incidents of his birth to Maidok-mah; his first three utterances that routed the demons; (§12) his profession of the religion, Ohmazd's advice and its acceptance, grumbling of the evil spirit, creation by Ohrmazd, reverencing fire, water, and a spirit (24)**

1. Of the Warsht-mansr<sup>175</sup> there are twenty-three fargards, *and* the first is the Aethrapaitish,<sup>176</sup> on the asking of Zartosht, by Maidok-mah,<sup>177</sup> about the nature of the birth of *Zartosht*, and his coming to the religion.

2. And the reply of Zartosht about the combative coming together of the life-causing and death-causing spirits at his birth.<sup>178</sup> 3. This, too, that when the fellow-villagers<sup>179</sup> of her who bore *him* saw his head<sup>180</sup> *they* considered *it* the shoulder of<sup>181</sup> Arduisur<sup>182</sup> *and* his chest and back *those* of Ashishwangh,<sup>183</sup> and when *they* saw his full<sup>184</sup> bosom *they* considered *it that* of the spirit of liberality;<sup>185</sup> and by *his* side *was* the Kayanian glory<sup>186</sup> to rub (mushtano) *his* bosom.

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175 The second of the Nasks and third of the Gathic division (see Bk. 8, Chap. 1.9, 12). It is a second commentary on the Gathas, devoting a fargard to each ha of the Gathas and to each Gathic formula, as in the Sudgar Nask, but beginning with an extra fargard about the birth and calling of Zartosht. Its chief object appears to be the quotation of texts, both from the Gathas and from sources no longer known.

176 Here written asrapaitish (B) and asrapaitish (K) in Pahlavi, which, no doubt, stand for Av. aethrapaitish, Pers. herbad, 'a Zoroastrian priest.' This name may either refer to the general subject of the fargard, or have been the first word of its Avesta text; as it seems not intended to quote any section of the Yasna, although the guardian spirits of the priests are revered in Yas. 26.7, 8, before commencing the recitation of the Gathas.

177 Av. Maidhyo-maungha; he was first cousin of Zartosht, and also his first disciple (see Bd. 32.2, 3; Zs. 11.10 n).

178 B has 'at the birth of his life.'

179 B has ham-visagih, K ham-disagiih.

180 Assuming that vagano stands for vagdano, which word occurs in § 4, according to K.

181 B omits "the shoulder of".

182 Av. Aredvi Sura of Yt. 5, a title of Anahita, the female angel of the waters.

183 See Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3.

184 Pahl. aurukspar = Av. uruthware.

185 Av. Rata, who is associated with the archangel Spenta Armaiti in Yt. 2.3, 8; S.1,5, S2.5, and with Ashi Vanguhi in Yt 24.8.

186 Av. kavaem hvareno (see Chap. 22.7).

4.. The speaking of Zartosht spiritually, on the grievous bringing forth of his head,<sup>187</sup> thus: “As a spiritual lord is *my* desire, do thou who art the Zoti speak forth to me;”<sup>188</sup> and the reply from Ohrmazd thus: ‘so shouldst thou be the priestly master as regards whatever righteousness I speak forth with righteous intelligence; thou art of very much value, thou *art* very righteous, thou *art* most intelligent, and thou *wilt* state the religion of the Mazda-worshippers to creatures of every kind.’ 5. Through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, just as from a mighty chief warrior of Kay Vishtasp,<sup>189</sup> like him in a mountain dwelling (garano man) who *has* shot an arrow for an attack (patkopishno) opposing those in coats of mail. 6. The evil spirit grumbled (dandido) to the demons thus: ‘Evil *has* it become *for* you *who* are demons, but you are unobservant.’ 7. Even so Zartosht proclaimed life *free* from the control of the demons, when this same *saying was* uttered by him, thus: ‘As a spiritual lord is *my* desire;’ and, *at* the falling of the demons upon Zartosht for *his* destruction, an incarnation (tanu) of *its* spiritual existence stood opposed to them, in that weapon *proceeding* from Zartosht, to keep them back.

8. And he spoke again thus: ‘The religion of the beneficers progresses there in him who, through good actions, *has* joyfulness owing to his righteousness;’<sup>190</sup> and, through that saying, an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to ten *of* that which *was* first spoken, and, at the falling of the demons upon Zartosht for *his* destruction, it stood spiritually opposed to them, and that weapon *proceeding* from Zartosht kept *them* back.

9. The third utterance of Zartosht, on the bringing forth of *his* arms, *was* thus: “That which the first existence produced is to be so practiced, with attention, through actions to be concealed *by* him who is a priestly authority (rado);”<sup>191</sup> and through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to one hundred *of* that which *was* first spoken; and, at the falling of a demon upon Zartosht for *his* death, *its* spirit, *as* a sacred being, kept the demon away from Zartosht.

10. And, when the whole body of Zartosht *was* brought forth, trouble (asipo) fell among the demons, and the demons rushed back to hell in haste; light increased among the creatures, and every creature of the beneficent sacred being is pleased and talked of virtuous conduct. 11. And Ohrmazd took away Zartosht with joyfulness to provide security for

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187 B has ‘whenever *his* birth occurred.’

188 This, with the first clause of the response, is the Pahlavi version of the concluding formula of Y26.11, without the extra Pahlavi glosses.

189 See Bk. 8, Chaps 11.1-4, 13.15.

190 This is the Pahlavi version of Y.34.13b, without the glosses.

191 This is the Pahlavi version of Y. 33.1a, b, without the glosses and incomplete.

him, and Arduisur, Ashishwangh, and the primitive and Kayanian glory in the body of Zartosht spoke to Zartosht of its production by Ohrmazd thus: 'Thou shouldst think of him who is wise.' 12. Thereupon Zartosht spoke spiritually, in reply, thus: 'I am a Mazda-worshipper, I profess the Mazda-worship of Zartosht;<sup>192</sup> and this means that I am an apostle of Ohrmazd, and am sent by Ohrmazd.'

13. And Ohrmazd spoke to Zartosht thus: 'As to the sacred beings of the worldly existence, do thou beg companionship from them; but as to the demons, do thou long for (dosh)<sup>193</sup> separation from every one of them; practice good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and abstain from evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 14. Also about vigilantly reverencing the sacred beings, and the reward thereof; not strengthening the vile, nor weakening<sup>194</sup> the good; expounding for the disturber of religion (dino-padresh), and producing liberality for the accepters of religion; and not turning away from the religion on account of fondness for body and life.

15. The accepting of such advice spiritually by Zartosht, and his glorifying Ohrmazd, for creativeness, sovereignty, and all goodness, and the primary archangels and other good creations, each separately, for their own special glory.<sup>195</sup> 16. And, afterwards, the grumbling of the evil spirit maliciously, at that vexation, thus: I have produced, for the annoyance<sup>196</sup> of any upholder of that religion of thine, 99,999 wizards, 99,999 wolf-worshippers,<sup>197</sup> and 99,999 apostates.'

17. Ohrmazd spoke to Zartosht thus: 'Maintain this religion steadfastly, for through the assistance of this religion I, who am Ohrmazd, will be with thee, and the omniscient wisdom becomes thine, and extends to thy disciples, Maidok-mah,<sup>198</sup> Parshadgavo,<sup>199</sup> Seno,<sup>200</sup>

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192 This is the Pahlavi version of part of Y12.7, 8 (XIII, 25 Sp.) without the glosses.

193 B has 'hope for' (nyosh).

194 Assuming that nizorinidano (K) stands for nizarinidano; B has zorinidano, which is synonymous with the previous niruchinidano, 'strengthening.'

195 Or it may be 'in his own particular soul (nisman).'

196 Pahl. reshidarih, which B omits.

197 This term, gurg-yazako (=Av. vehrkayaza), does not occur in the extant Avesta.

198 See § 1.

199 Av. Parshad-gau of Yt. 13.96 (compare Paz. Parshadga of Bd. 29.5). This name can also be read Fradadayano and be compared with Av. Fradhidaya of Yt. 13.97.

200 Av. Saena of Yt. 13.97, who is said to have 'first set forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.' Further details about him are given in Chap. 33.5. In the third and seventh books of the Denkard his name is written Shenov (for Shenok or Shenoe) which has been read Dayun by Peshotan (Dk. pp. 308-314 of English translation), as pointed out by Darmesteter in his *Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 3, n 2. In Dk. 7 he is said to have been a high-priest who was born in the 100th year of the religion, and died in its 200th year.

Kay Vishtasp, Frashostar, and Jamasp,<sup>201</sup> the teacher of public observance and will to the righteous, *besides* many of the people who are diligent and even those who are idle, and their good works and praise *will* be owned by thee.' 18. Likewise about the worldly display of the religion to Zartosht *by* Ohrmazd, the accepting of the religion *by* Zartosht through recitation and faith, and the reverence of the Ahunwar<sup>202</sup> by Zartosht.

19. Also about Ohrmazd *having* created the creatures in the spiritual *existence*, and their allotment out to the worldly *existence*, the superiority of the righteous man as compared with other creatures, and, among mankind, *of* him who is relying on the provisions of the law and *its* unchangeableness from goodness, and who is a teacher and provider of teaching *as to* the pre-eminent existence of the good religion of the sacred beings.

20. And a summary about the bringing together of that fire which is the residue of a fire in a house, for the reverence of that water which is nearest to the dwelling, and *of* any spirit of a kinsman; and as to *him* who leaves that fire, water, and spirit, and, on account of a similar desire, reverences another fire, water, and spirit, but none of them can accept that ceremonial, and the acceptance of that man's ceremonial by the others *will have* occurred just when the *former* three are revered by him.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

## **Fargard 2. Worthiness of a ruler and high-priest (25)**

1. The second fargard, Yatha-ahu-vairyō,<sup>203</sup> is about the worthiness, as to worldly and spiritual virtue, in a ruler and in the production of a high-priest's efficiency; and they have been suitable for leadership and priestly authority with whom *there is* an existence of it; *also* other talent through which sovereignty and priestly authority are appropriated, and *which* the ruler or high-priest himself possesses.

2. 'My wish (dosh), O Zartosht! is that thou *be* in spiritual lordship and priestly authority, because thou art, O Zartosht! provided with a spiritual lord *and* possessing priestly instruction – that is, they consider thee, too, as high-priest – and it is because thine is the accomplishment of rites, that thou art quite preserved when *there is* an encounter of the demons with thee – that is, a dispute of apostates with thee.' 3. It is

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201 See Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68.

202 See Bk. 8, Chap. 1.7.

203 The Ahunwar (see Bk. 8, Chap. 1.7) upon which this fargard is a commentary quoting some text on the subject in § 2.

non-possession of a ruler and high-priest, *or* non-possession of a ruler,<sup>204</sup> *that* became the nature and law of the demons; and the maintenance of Ohrmazd *and* the archangels, as ruler and high-priest, and the dominion of Ohrmazd *are* combined with beneficence.

4. This, too, that through righteousness a priestly instructor (rado) is a ruler at will, a sage and benefactor, a cherisher and cleanser (asnidar) of the poor; also the fitness for the supreme heaven (garothman) of all those who *are* accepting the religion which *proceeds* from Zartosht.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

### **Fargard 3. In praise of righteousness (26)**

1. The third *fargard*, Ashem-vohu,<sup>205</sup> is about admonition as to the praising of righteousness; which is itself the production of true awe of Ohrmazd, the perfection of existences, the better state of prayers,<sup>206</sup> and the greatest assemblage of righteousness, good breeding, humility (avopatagih), awe of the spiritual *existence*, extreme joyfulness, and comfort and enlightenment of soul. 2. *Also* the equipment (padmukih) of him who is practicing as a high-priest is righteousness and the maintenance of the worship *and* obeisance for the spirit of righteousness.

3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

### **Fargard 4. Worship of Ohrmazd and the archangels (27)**

1. The fourth *fargard*, Yenhe-hatam,<sup>207</sup> *states that* Ohrmazd spoke to Zartosht the Spitaman thus: “Utter the words of the ceremonial *and* obeisance *for* us who are Ohrmazd *and*<sup>208</sup> the archangels, because they are, O Zartosht! thy ritual for water,<sup>209</sup> ritual *for* plants, ritual for a guardian spirit of the righteous {Asho Farohars}, and ritual *for* an angel of a spiritual *existence*, *or* who is even appointed for a worldly *existence*.”

2. And Zartosht spoke thus: 'I *will* utter the words of Ohrmazd, which are opposed to harm *and are* the ordinance of Ohrmazd, those of the ceremonial and obeisance *for* you who are archangels.'

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204 K omits these five words, and B has a blank space for the letters khud in khudai, 'ruler.'

205 See Chap. 3.1 n.

206 K omits 'of prayers.'

207 See Chap. 4.1 n. The texts quoted in this *fargard* appear to be no longer extant.

208 B omits 'Ohrmazd and.'

209 K omits 'ritual for water.'



3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

### **Fargard 5. Worthiness of Zartosht and obeisance to the sacred beings, the supreme heaven, praise of Zartosht and Frashostar, assisting others, good works, wisdom of Zartosht (28)**

1. The fifth fargard, Yanim-mano,<sup>210</sup> is about the beneficence *and* worthiness of Zartosht, through the virtuousness of his thoughts, words, *and* deeds;<sup>211</sup> the priority of Ohrmazd,<sup>212</sup> and the first possession of obeisance (niyayeshno) to him; the mindful performance of obeisance *to* the sacred beings, *and* all the merit of obeisance *to* the sacred beings; the excellence of receiving a righteous man, *of* bringing fire together, *and of* maintaining the good religion; the elementary (kham) wisdom<sup>213</sup> of the creator, and the consideration of every duty towards his will and creation; the outward indication as to propitious discrimination *and of what* is done by those who are propitious; *and* the existence of every kind *of* self-attraction *by* Zartosht towards the religion, from first to last, through the complete reasoning thought that arose solely through obeisance *to* the sacred beings.

2. This, too, that 'thou art come to the supreme heaven (Garothman),<sup>214</sup> O righteous Zartosht! thou art aware of the deeds, O Zartosht! which *were* practiced by those in the bodily existence, *and* which still they practice, and the sacred beings *have* placed upon mankind acquiring the power of good works.' 3. And about the wonderfulness of the supreme heaven *there is* this, too, that whoever is in that abode is not any one that passes away after his birth; at the time of the renovation *of the universe* the supreme heaven is lowered down to the star station,<sup>215</sup> the earth *being* up to there, and Vohuman<sup>216</sup> is summoned for every purpose to the conference, and, when they call him, Mihr's<sup>217</sup> investigation as regards the existence of righteousness is on the spot; through the coming of that archangel<sup>218</sup> of true statements for assistance, and through the cooperation of the *other* archangels and

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210 See Chap. 5.1 n.

211 See Pahl. Yas. 28.o.

212 Ibid. 1 b.

213 Ibid. 1 c.

214 Ibid. 4 a.

215 The lowest grade of heaven (see Sls. 6.3 n).

216 See Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3 for both angels.

217 See Bk. 8, Chap. 44.16.

218 Vohuman.

Srosh the righteous, is the overpowering of the vexing of distressers;<sup>219</sup> and the assistance of the archangels for Zartosht *was* when he went forth for disabling the vicious law of Iran. 4. Concerning Zartosht *there* is this, too, in the words of Ohrmazd, that is: 'Thou art our own, O Zartosht! and this liberality *to* thee is ours; anything *one* gives to thee is given by him *to* us;' *also* the announcement to Zartosht, *and* the bringing *of him to* Vishtasp<sup>220</sup> for his assistance and likewise the strength<sup>221</sup> of his sovereignty for him.

5. The discipleship and veneration of Frashostar<sup>222</sup> also, and the laudation of Frashostar for making the religion progressive and for *its* true transmission in the words of Ohrmazd; also the whole righteousness of those whom Frashostar attracted to the religion.

6. About the laudation of Zartosht *there* is this, too, that is: "*Thou art* not astray *from* us, neither in life, nor in inquiry, nor *in* openly announcing, even when demonstrating<sup>223</sup> the religion to others, nor in anything whatever, O Spitaman! *from* us who are archangels; and the donation of benefit to supplicants is the food, and the clothing for us, who are in the ceremonial *of* the sacred beings, is unworn (asudako)."<sup>224</sup>

7. About guarding a friend, managing an unfriendly *person*, and affording a person shelter for the sake of protection, justice, and rectitude;<sup>225</sup> also the unworthy condition of that man who, requiring to perform those duties and good works that are important, shall perform those that are trivial. 8. And this, too, that is: 'Thou art likewise aware, *and* thou also understandest it, O righteous Zartosht! through the sagacity of my wisdom, which was the first among existences,<sup>226</sup> and which is also so unto the last existence.'

9. Righteousness is excellence that *is* perfect.

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219 See Pahl. Yas. 28.6 c.

220 See Bk. 8, Chap. 11.1; and compare Pahl. Yas. 28.6b, 7b, c.

221 So in K, but B has 'also his announcement on being brought *to* Vishtasp, and Zartosht *was* an assistance to him *and* the strength, &c.'

222 See Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68, and compare Pahl. Yas. 28.8 b, c.

223 K has 'when thou wouldst demonstrate.'

224 See Pahl. Yas. 28.10 c.

225 Ibid. 11 a.

226 Ibid. 11 c.

## **Fargard 6. Complaint and petition of Goshorun, the reason of her creation, her colloquy with Ohrmazd; (§9) nourishment of cattle, punishment of their oppressor, wisdom of Ohrmazd, benefit of the liturgy, goodness of Zartosht (29)**

1. The sixth fargard, Khshmaibya,<sup>227</sup> is about the complaint of Goshorun<sup>228</sup> to Ohrmazd, when she sat at the creation in the assembly of the archangels, as regards the abundant disease and misery which she saw spiritually *would* come upon her in a bodily existence, through beating, slaughtering, *and* wounding, stealing, plundering, and presenting, by him of vicious actions *and* worse desires, as a bribe to him who is an evil-ruling villain (*mar*), and the operation thereof: the bad ownership, wrongful investigation, false evidence, and making captive (*vardako*), by him who is wrathful *and* oppressive through greed and envy, from the warm cowshed *and* the effective *and* diligent guardianship of the herd's dog (*pasush-haurvo*), to that which is a cold *and* hastily-constructed place ; *or by* him who is seeking meat *with* a merciless hand through making her distantly separated from *her* young.

2. Also *their* explanation and extenuation (*kastano*),<sup>229</sup> and the causing of misery of many kinds thereby, 'which is no affliction to them when the wind that is cold,<sup>230</sup> *or* even that which is hot, comes upon me; *which* is no affliction to them when, the *untimely offspring of my* womb *being* cast away, they slaughter me; and is no affliction to them when the serpent, the leech (*khun-garai*),<sup>231</sup> *or* even the foulest of noxious creatures gnaws me.' 3. And the petition of Goshorun *was* thus: 'Do not appoint me to a worldly *existence*, and that awful misery, or, if thou appointest me to a worldly *existence*, produce it for me without life (*auzushtaniha*), so that I *may* be without feeling and may want that distressing<sup>232</sup> pain; *it* is created for the mighty, through whose assistance there is a capability of affording protection to me, even though the Kay and Karap<sup>233</sup> exist.'

4. And, *together* with the just complaint of Goshorun, and the compassion of the archangels as to that complaint, *there* is then the

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227 See Chap. 6.1 n; it is here written *khshmaiba* (B) and *khshmaibe* (K) in Pahlavi.

228 See Chap. 15.3; Pahl. Yas. 29.1.

229 Or it may be 'fining and beating,' as K has *kustano*.

230 B has 'when *some* of that *which* is cold,' writing *aito* for *vado* in this first clause, and *amat min* for *amatam* in the first and third clauses.

231 Doubtful.

232 K has 'ill-passing.'

233 See Bk. 8, Chap. 35.13 n.

creation of the creatures, among whom the greatest and best<sup>234</sup> is mankind, for fighting and subduing the destroyer, even though joined together with a complaint of wounding and affliction like *that of Goshorun*, and Goshorun arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with freedom from disturbance by the Kays;<sup>235</sup> on account of the necessity of preparing *for* the living of mankind through the assistance of cattle, Goshorun *was* produced for the material bodily existence and assistance of mankind. 5. And, on account of little feeling for her worldly misery, the breeding (mayinidano) of cattle *was* the arraying of strife; the advancement of the Mazda-worshipping religion of Zartosht in the world by Goshorun, on the production of Zartosht for the assistance of cattle; and the preservation of cattle and other good creations through complete satisfaction *at* the progress of the religion.

6. This, too, *was* said to Goshorun, that is: 'I assert unto thee the passing away of devastation, that is, the existence of a remedy for the misery owing to the evil spirit,<sup>236</sup> *for* which no creature would be produced by me – me who am Ohrmazd – when a remedy for the misery owing to him had not been known to me.' 7. This, too, that the wish of the evil spirit was thus: 'Thou shouldst never produce a creature, O Ohrmazd! and *there* should be here no spiritual lordship, no priestly authority, and no desire for perfect righteousness, or necessity for duty and good works.' 8. The inquiry of Goshorun, thus: "For whom am I appointed and formed?"<sup>237</sup> and the reply to her, thus: "For him who is diligent *and* moderate."<sup>238</sup>

9. Also the friend and nourishment (srayishno) begged for cattle by Goshorun, the righteous man produced for the assistance of cattle *by* Ohrmazd, and the sweetness in water and plants for the nourishment of cattle, so that he is privileged to feed *and* keep cattle who gives them pasture in reality, and is also diligent *in* the production of cattle, that is, he gives them pasture, and is thereby proclaimed a cattle-guardian (pasush-haurvo) for them who makes the cattle fully develop;<sup>239</sup> and also he who gives the wicked Wrath, the foreigner, a beating, so that he may make *him* stupefied.<sup>240</sup> 10. The development of cattle by Ohrmazd,

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234 B has 'or whom the best.'

235 The obnoxious tribe, or class, mentioned in § 3. After the word 'affliction' K completes the clause to this point as follows: 'just as Goshorun arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with an adversity of the primitive tendency.'

236 See Pahl. Yas. 29.6 a.

237 Ibid. 1 a.

238 Ibid. 6 c.

239 Ibid. 2 b.

advice to mankind as to moderate eating,<sup>241</sup> and the grievous bridge *judgment* of him who *has* unlawfully produced distress *for* the cattle whom Goshorun is kindly regarding, with loving eyes,<sup>242</sup> in the spiritual *existence*, in bodily contact with (ham-kerpo-i) the archangels and in bodily contact with the light of the sun, so that her hands are more powerful; she who replies to the sacred beings, and the sacred beings reply to her.<sup>243</sup>

11. About the statements of Ohrmazd *there is* this, too, that is: 'I am a calculator of those words<sup>244</sup> by which they assert *that* the existence of worldly beings is for the sake of that of both existences; I am aware of the actions which are practiced by those in the material existence, *both* demons and men; of whatever they practice<sup>245</sup> I am the decider *and* lord, and it is such as my will *requires*,<sup>246</sup> even for the last change of existence; and I look upon all that with that wisdom and sagacity of mine which was, which is, and which ever *will* be.'

12. The formation of a reward for worldly beings *by* Ohrmazd, through the propitious liturgy (Mahraspand)<sup>247</sup> which has become the precursor of the beneficers; that is, their high-priest, who *has* a propitiousness and intelligence that are all-beneficial, is he *with* the liturgy. 13 And about the uniqueness and incomparableness of Zartosht among mankind, through *his* desire for righteousness and *his* understanding the means of defeating the destroyer<sup>248</sup> and teaching the creatures.

14. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

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240 See Pahl. Yas. 29.2 c.

241 Ibid. 7 b.

242 Pahl. kamako-doisar = Av. vouru-doithra, an epithet of Rata, 'liberality' (see Chap. 24.3), and Saoka, 'prosperity;' but here applied to Goshorun.

243 Some words in § 10 occur also in Pahl. Yas. 29.3.

244 See Pahl. Yas. 29.4 a.

245 Ibid. 4 b.

246 Ibid. 4 c.

247 Ibid. 7 a.

248 See Pahl. Yas 29.8 c.

**Fargard 7. Benefits of worship, advice to man, falsehood of the demon Aresh about the origin of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, their difference of motive and action, the demons' want of discrimination, their deception of man; (§10) monarchy and religion provided for the creatures who triumph in the end, the producers of the renovation and future existence, the doers of good, advice to man (30)**

1. The seventh fargard, Ad-ta-vakhshya,<sup>249</sup> is regarding the maintenance of the worship and obeisance of the religion and the spirit of the liturgy; and this, too, that the spirit of the ceremonial of him who is a right-thinking, intelligent, and wise<sup>250</sup> man is quickly mixed up with the light of the sun, and connected with the accomplishment of the wishes and the joy of the archangels.

2. About the choice of will by mankind, and the existence of a way to reward through *their* decision.

3. About advice to mankind as to seeking that position in which it is possible to remain long with fondness, and *as to* reciting and teaching<sup>251</sup> the revelation of the sacred beings.

4. And, from the statement of Zartosht, about the shouting of the demon Aresh<sup>252</sup> to mankind, *thus*: 'Ohrmazd and Ahriman have been two brothers in one womb,<sup>253</sup> and out of them the archangel<sup>254</sup> liked that which is evil,<sup>255</sup> through what *occurs* when the understanders of it *have* mentioned the worship of the demons and this, that, after it, you *should* present cattle to the planetary *bodies and* the demons.' 5. About the falsity of the demon Aresh, the separate origin of light and darkness, the goodness of the material *existence* of light for determining what is done, and the evil of that of darkness.

6. The grumbling of the evil spirit thus: 'I am he whose thoughts *are* evil, O beneficent spirit! he whose words *are* evil, *and* he whose deeds

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249 See Chap. 7.1 n; it is here written at-tag-vakhshe in Pahlavi in both MSS.

250 See Pahl. Yas. 30.1 a, c.

251 Ibid. 2 c.

252 See Chap. 31.6; the demon or envy, or malice, called Areshk, or Arashk, in Bd. 15.18, Bd. 28.16.

253 See Pahl. Yas. 30.3 a. This materialization of the Gathic text here reported as the utterance of a malicious demon, corresponds very closely with the statement of the Armenian Eznik quoted in Haug's essays, p. 13.

254 That is, the arch-demon who was archangel of the demons.

255 See Pahl. Yas. 30.5 a.

are evil;<sup>256</sup> what is dark is my garment which is very thick, with lower corners where, so far as many go, it is *still* darker;<sup>257</sup> evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are my food, and I love those *of* them who are in *that place* through evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 7. And the speaking of Ohrmazd thus: 'I am he whose thoughts *are* good, O evil spirit! he whose words *are* good, and he whose deeds *are* good;<sup>258</sup> the sky is my garment, which *was* first produced from that substance of the worldly *existences* which is created as the stone above all stones,<sup>259</sup> that is, every jewel is set in it; good thoughts, good words, and good deeds are my food, and I love those *of* them who are in that *place* through good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds.'

8. This, too, that true discrimination is not for them, the demons<sup>260</sup> astute in evil; and they never truly discriminate whose will is that of Akoman.<sup>261</sup> 9. And about the sickening (vimaridinano) of the patron spirits of mankind, *by* the demons,<sup>262</sup> through the deceit of man towards man owing to the deceit of the demons; and the approach of mankind to evil proceedings *on the part* of the spiritual lordship, through those patron spirits.<sup>263</sup>

10. Also the sending of monarchy and the wisdom of religion, by Ohrmazd, for the preservation of the creatures; the recurrence of the mission<sup>264</sup> whereby *there are* injury and affliction for the demons and sovereignty again for Ohrmazd, and they possess the reward of Vohuman<sup>265</sup> and *what* is required by the sacred beings; and the predominance *of* man over demon, in the end, the good over the evil, and the righteous over the wicked; also about the nature of those *who* are producing the renovation *of the universe*. 11. This, too, that is a declaration: 'They are those, O Zartosht the Spitaman! who shall produce the renovation, they have escaped (girekhto) among the existences, they are vigilant<sup>266</sup> in seeking righteousness, and gentle-voiced; and, as regards righteousness in thought, they convert into

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256 Ibid. 3 b.

257 Referring to hell.

258 See Pahl. Yas 30.3b.

259 Ibid. 5 b.

260 See Pahl. Yas. 30.6 a.

261 Evil thought (see Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3).

262 See Pahl. Yas. 30.6 c.

263 The ahu, or patron spirit, having become diseased and incapable of true ahvoih, or spiritual lordship, through the action of the demons.

264 Reading lakhvar petami-hastano (or petam gastano) which probably refers to the later missions of Ushedar, Ushedarmah, and Soshyant (see Bk. 8, Chap. 14.12-14).

265 See Pahl. Yas. 30.8 b.

266 Pahl. zen-havand=Av. saenangha.

righteousness anything virtuous which *belongs* to them.' 12. About the statement of *those* praised it is recited that it is thus mentioned in the Gathas: "so we are with *those* who are thine – that is, we are thine own – by us this renovation is to be produced in the existences."<sup>267</sup> 13. About the perpetual convocation *held* by the archangel regarding the production of the future existence.<sup>268</sup>

14. This, too, that he is an extender of the days of those who defeat the army of the fiend<sup>269</sup> and clothe themselves *with* deeds of shining light, and also those of a virtuous body, who are these: the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the man who is a ruler; with whom are Ashishwagh<sup>270</sup> and the spirit of liberality (*radih*);<sup>271</sup> they meditate with good thoughts (*hu-minishnih*)<sup>272</sup> and joy, and, with pleasure to themselves they give the world into the guardianship of Ohrmazd, and also of Ardwhisht,<sup>273</sup> when they possess the religion of Ohrmazd as a ruler. 15. This, too, that he, whose thoughts are through a high-priest who possesses a patron spirit, always thinks that which is virtuous, and his sagacity increases.<sup>274</sup>

16. And about advice to mankind as to three things, through which the renovation and happy progress of the creatures arise, namely, seeking the true religion, abstaining from injuring the creatures, and striving for the benefit of mankind.

17. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

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267 See Pahl. Yas. 30.9 a.

268 Ibid. 9 b.

269 Ibid. 10 a.

270 The female angel of perfect rectitude (see Book 8, Chap. 9.3).

271 See Chap. 24.3.

272 See Pahl. Yas. 30.10 b.

273 Ibid. 10 c and Book 8, Chap. 37.14.

274 See Pahl. Yas. 30.9 c.



**Fargard 8. Reciting revelation, benefit owing to Ohrmazd and misery to Ahriman, the actions of both spirits; (§6) colloquy of the demon Aresh and Zartosht, power of the liturgy, creation by Ohrmazd, benefits from Vohuman, merit of benefiting cattle, hypocrisy, work of the creator; (§17) complete mindfulness, liberality, the worst ruler, judges and guardians, conflict of good and evil, apostates; (§24) the three nights, Hordad and Amurdad, the good ruler (31)**

1. The eighth fargard, Ta-ve-urvata,<sup>275</sup> is about advice as to reciting<sup>276</sup> the revelation, the information therefrom for the faithful, about which *they have* to report to the unfaithful, by mentioning conspicuous specimens *and* explanatory knowledge, and *by* thinking of anything whatever which *they have* to accept, *or* even which *they have* not to accept;<sup>277</sup> *also*, for one called to the religion, the advantage owing to the attraction of mankind to the numerous actual disciplehood of the religion, and the increasing greatness materially, and further reward spiritually, owing to the numerous disciplehood; and the progress of the religion of Ohrmazd even among the irreligious (adenoan)<sup>278</sup> and actual apostates.<sup>279</sup>

2. This, too, that the life of the creatures of Ohrmazd and also all other benefit are owing to Ohrmazd<sup>280</sup> and the inclination (kamvarichako) of Ohrmazd thereto; moreover, reward and recompense come from Ohrmazd. 3. And the creatures of Ahriman proceed from Ahriman, all misery is owing to Ahriman, and Ahriman becomes worse and more oppressive and a further producer of misery when they worship him.

4. About the continuance and arranging of both spirits as to their own creations (sti) and the self-acting of their own appliances; the achievement of each one through his own natural resources and through the trifling (gadaganik) operation of the other the spiritual lordship and priestly authority, true confession *and* the progress of the good religion, *being from* Ohrmazd, *and*, through enmity to the creatures of Ohrmazd, Ahriman is contesting these. 5. Ohrmazd, for

275 See Chap. 8.1 n; it is here written tag-va-rato in Pahlavi in both MSS.

276 See Pahl. Yas. 31.1 a.

277 B omits these last eight words.

278 K has akdenoan, 'infidels.'

279 See Pahl. Yas. 31.1 c.

280 Ibid. 2 c.

setting aside that contest, is the producer of true intelligence. *and* gave language and also the ritual of ordeal;<sup>281</sup> the invocation of the sacred beings<sup>282</sup> for assistance, and the arrival of an angel for the assistance of the invokers; the overcoming of their affliction, the production of their immunity and *even* righteousness, and also *of* that good ruler<sup>283</sup> who is a reminder of Ohrmazd, and the restoration of bodies, *which* is the hope of all good creations, *are* through the sacred beings *being* invoked for assistance and *their* arrival where the diffusion<sup>284</sup> is that of virtuous knowledge through Vohuman,<sup>285</sup> the good religion which is whatever *may be* the knowledge<sup>286</sup> *of* all those who are, *and* were, *and* will be.

6. About the shouting of the demon Aresh<sup>287</sup> to Zartosht and the reply of Zartosht as to the advice of Ohrmazd and whatever is on the same subject. just as revelation (deno) states it, that the demon Aresh spoke to him thus: 'Then the Franamam,<sup>288</sup> O Zartosht! is *applicable* to the assembly of demons who sit in the same place three nights and four days on account of thee.' 7. Zartosht inquired of him thus: 'O Aresh, *thou* most deceitful to me! what recompense *would* there be for it *to* me, if I *should* worship you in words?' 8. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, spoke to him thus: 'Thou *wouldst* become predominant among mankind, through producing at will among the existences just as is requisite for thyself; and thou *wouldst* become immortal, O Spitaman!' 9. Zartosht also inquired of him thus: 'O Aresh, most deceitful of demons *as to* the people by whom you are worshipped, whether for the birth of a son, *or* even for a concubine sought for enjoyment, so that *the*

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281 See Pahl. Yas. 31.3 b, c.

282 Ibid. 4 a, b.

283 Ibid. 4 c.

284 K has 'ceremonial.'

285 See Pahl. Yas. 31.5 b.

286 K has hu-danakih, 'sagacity.'

287 The demon of envy, as in Chap. 30.4. The occurrence of his dialogue with Zartosht in this place explains the word [.....] which is found twice in Pahl. Yas. 31.5 b, and has been read hu-varih, 'good judgment,' or hu-vaharih, 'good fortune.' In the MSS. called Pt4 and Mf4, in Geldner's edition of the Avesta, this Pahlavi word is both times separated into two thus: [. ...] which may be read avo Aresh, 'to Aresh,' and the whole § 5 b may be translated as follows: 'The gift of understanding through Good Thought is that *which* thou shouldst give unto me (that is, that wisdom thou shouldst proclaim to me as virtuousness), which is *to* me (through what *pertains* to it) that which is for Aresh (that is, through that wisdom which is virtuousness it shall become possible for me to give a reply to Aresh).' The reply here mentioned appears to be that given in § 11 of our text; and the name Aresh explains the word *ereshi* in the original Avesta text as meaning 'envy' and being equivalent to *araska*.

288 The Mazda-worshipper's profession of faith, beginning with word Av. *fravarane* (Yas. 1.23) = Pahl. *franamam*.

*favor* is considered by them as your property, how can any one of them be immortal?' 10. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, could not tell him who had the more intelligence. 11. So Zartosht spoke thus: 'I am *for* that *being* and I like him, that is, I am his own and would transact his *affairs*, and I *will* recite the law and the benedictions of the sagacious Ohrmazd, the gratifier of desires.'

12. About the deliverance of all creatures through the liturgy,<sup>289</sup> and, so long as it is continued by them, *it is* for the power through which the immortality of the separate creations is prepared in the renovation *of the universe*; the increase of the good creatures through the complete continuance of the liturgy, *and* the existence of purity and development of goodness in the world when he who is a good ruler arrives.

13. The arising of the spiritual creation, the first thought of Ohrmazd; *and, as to* the creatures of Ohrmazd, first the spiritual achievement, and then the material formation and the mingling of spirit with matter; [the advancement of the creatures thereby, through his wisdom *and* the righteousness of Vohuman being lodged<sup>290</sup> in the creatures,] and all good creatures being goaded (*zakhami-hastano*) thereby into purity and joyfulness. 14. This, too, that a complete understanding of things arises through Vohuman having made a home in *one's* reason (*varom*).

15. About the great reward of him who shall produce benefit for cattle;<sup>291</sup> also the deceitfully and seductively assuming of religion and coloring of thought, talking of righteousness and adopting evil practices, through the recitation of righteousness even hypocritically (*davansihach*); *and* an instance *of* the reward of an undutiful (*avar'zidar*) apostate.<sup>292</sup> 16. About the work of the creator; *and, for* the completion thereof, the most eminent is understood *to be* when the world *and* religion *were* formed<sup>293</sup> by him, when life *was* given by him to those possessing bodies,<sup>294</sup> and<sup>295</sup> he provides instruction and employment<sup>296</sup> for it, and when spiritual life (*huko*)<sup>297</sup> *was* given by him to the wishful

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289 See Pahl. Yas. 31.6 b.

290 Ibid. 6 c. The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

291 Ibid. 10 a, b.

292 See Pahl. Yas. 31.10 c.

293 Ibid. 11 a.

294 Ibid. 11 b.

295 So originally in B, but altered into 'when,' by the repairer of the MS., so as to agree with K.

296 See Pahl. Yas. 31.11 c.

297 B has *kamak*, 'desire,' with 'the wishful' in the plural, and this might agree better with Pahl. Yas. 31.11 c, but not with the next clause in the sentence here, where both nominative and verb are in the singular.

*man*, so that he may more *fully* appropriate a share of the worldly and spiritual *existences*.

17. *He* who makes complete mindfulness<sup>298</sup> lodge in *his* body consults complete mindfulness, and,<sup>299</sup> through the much investigation of *his* spiritual life (*ahvo*) and mind into the attraction of both spirits – *that* which is good and also that which is evil – each separately for its own appliances, and into the duties of the religion of Ohrmazd, is explaining the inefficiency of mankind, as regards the dissipation of their sin, because Ohrmazd is aware of all they practice, that which is public and that, too, which is concealed.<sup>300</sup> 18. The great reward of him who is liberal of gifts (*dasar*) from his own property to a righteous man;<sup>301</sup> and this, too, that whoever gives him who is wicked<sup>302</sup> a gift, for the sake of improper expectations, assists darkness and not light.

19. This, too, that the worst ruler is he of evil religion *and* evil deeds, who even *for* a bribe<sup>303</sup> would not occasion happiness; he who is a destroyer of an innocent man; also the grievous state of punishment *of* that person, in hell, who shall make that wicked *one* a ruler.<sup>304</sup> 20. And advice to mankind as to providing a judge and guardian over every dwelling, the probation of a man for appointment 'a that important duty, *and* the development of all creations in the world when its ruler is sagacious.<sup>305</sup>

21. Also causing the disturbance (*va-shiklinidano*) of the evil spirit for satisfying a man who is rightly thinking, rightly speaking, *and* rightly acting; the opposition *to* a righteous *man* of a wicked *one belonging to* the evil spirit, who is an evil-reciting *and* improperly-disputing apostate; the enticement (*lusinidano*) of mankind to devious *ways* (*avariha*), *by* an apostate, *being* more than that which attracts to the true way for a righteous *man*, and afterwards also, in the end the defeat of the army of the fiend *by him* who is beneficial *to* mankind. 22. Advice to mankind about abstaining from the suite of him who is an apostate, not hearing and not solemnizing the Avesta and Zand of the

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298 See Pahl. Yas. 31.12 c. This term is the Pahl. equivalent of Av. Armaiti which is usually personified as the female archangel Spandarmad.

299 The MS. K is left unfinished at this point, merely adding the words expressed by 'into the attraction of,' in this translation. For the remainder of Book 9 the only known MS. authority is B.

300 See Pahl. Yas. 31.13 a.

301 See Pahl. Yas. 31.14 b.

302 Ibid. 14 c.

303 Ibid. 15 b.

304 Ibid. 15 a.

305 Ibid. 16 a.

sacred beings from him;<sup>306</sup> also the evil behavior (dush-barishnih), slander, strife, death, and fear in the world owing to apostates.<sup>307</sup> 23. Advice to upholders of the religion about the means of thoroughly understanding apostates, and preparing *and* keeping a weapon for them,<sup>308</sup> go that he who is authorized and fearless *may* be more eager for truthful speaking; and, when the religion *of Ohrmazd* is liked by him, his truthful speaking and other righteousness have then allured (*kamakinido*).<sup>309</sup>

24. Also *what* happens in the three *nights*,<sup>310</sup> for the assistance and preservation of the righteous, through *what* is accomplished by the propitious fire;<sup>311</sup> and the progress of his lamentation who deceives and vexes a righteous man,<sup>312</sup> *and* is leading the wicked by their own befitting deeds to hell<sup>313</sup> 25. This, too, that the complete worthiness which *exists* in Hordad and Amurdad<sup>314</sup> arises in him who maintains the prerogative which is his<sup>315</sup> through virtuousness, who must become such a friend of whatever is his own spirit, through *his* actions,<sup>316</sup> as the creator is of his own creatures. 26. This, too, that whatever is thus in the world is perfect, when every one thinks, speaks, *and* shall act just like his spiritual lord *and* high-priest;<sup>317</sup> so that a good ruler is he with whom virtuous speaking arises, as well as proper action.<sup>318</sup> 27. *And* this, too, that the lodgment of Ohrmazd in the worldly *existence* is most in the person of that ruler,<sup>319</sup> and that lodgment in him is manifest.

28. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

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306 Ibid. 18 a.

307 Ibid. 18 b.

308 Pahl. Yas. 31.18 c.

309 Ibid. 19 b.

310 After death.

311 See Pahl. Yas. 31.19 c and Chap. 12.4.

312 Ibid. 20 a.

313 Ibid. 20 c.

314 Ibid. 21 a and Chap. 19.1.

315 Ibid. 21 b.

316 Ibid. 21 c.

317 Ibid. 22 a.

318 Ibid. 22 b.

319 Ibid. 22 c.

**Fargard 9. Three deceitful demons and their colloquy with Ohrmazd; (§8) arrival of demons in the world, their evil doings and those of their followers, evil of burying a corpse, its impurity; (§17) evildoers of the ninth and tenth centuries, their evil deeds; (§25) the final punishment in melted metal, at the renovation, is the end of evil (32)**

1. The ninth fargard, Hvaetumaiti,<sup>320</sup> is about the coming of three deceitful demons, and their making supplication (*lajak-karih*) to Ohrmazd,<sup>321</sup> so that he should consider and reward those aggrieved by him, and it would amount to strength for them in destroying the creatures. 2. The disgorging (*akhvardano*) of supplication by those demons clamorously upwards from an abyss, and the statement of one that he is<sup>322</sup> the kindred that is undeceitful, of *another* one that he is the serfdom that is undeceitful, and of the *third* one that he is the confederacy that is undeceitful, *was* in these *words*, namely: 'We are those spirits when the kinsman, confederate, and serf [2] do not break promises, one with the other; we are not really these that are no implements of thine, but our religion *and* law are thine, and we do thy will; we become assistants of *him* who is thy friend, and injurers of *him* who is thy enemy;<sup>323</sup> *and* from thee we beg a position in the existence that is best, the reward that is a reward of the worthy.'

3. The reply of Ohrmazd to them *was* thus: 'You rush out, astute in evil, to the extremity (*bun*) of that horrible gloom;<sup>324</sup> so you are all from the demon, your race is really from Evil Thought, that is, your race is from there where Evil Thought,<sup>325</sup> as well as Lust the destroyer and also Greed the well accumulating, *resides*, and *where*, moreover, Indar the fighter is the spirit of the religion of apostasy and further deceives the worldly *existence* of mankind, as to proper living and immortal

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320 See Chap. 9.1 n.

321 See Pahl. Yas. 32.1 a.

322 Literally 'I am'.

323 See Pahl. Yas. 32.1 c.

324 Compare Pahl. Vend. 19.147.

325 See Pahl. Yas. 32.3 a. For the demons here mentioned, Akomano, Vareno, and *Azho*, see Book 8, Chaps. 9.3, 31.44; Indar is the same as Andar (in Chap. 9.1), the arch-demon who perverts from virtue and despises the sacred shirt and girdle [[*sudre and kusti*]] (Bd. 1.27, Bd. 28.8). With reverence to the good old schism-hypothesis, that identified the Av. daeva Indra, or Andra, with the Sans. deva Indra, it is worthy of note that he is here represented as the pervading spirit of an apostate religion, and is termed the *kushidar*, 'fighter, slayer.'

progress,<sup>326</sup> and first confines their thoughts. 4. He shall first do this, so that he *may* restrain the thoughts of men from virtuous things,<sup>327</sup> and their further words and perverted further deeds from the ceremonial of us who are archangels; they further lose their wisdom,<sup>328</sup> and further consider even as perfect righteousness that which is loved *by* the demons; they utter the false words and consecrate with the worse deeds of mankind; *and* with the holy-water which *one* consecrates most to you, more falsely *and* more arrogantly<sup>329</sup> than that falsity and arrogance, do they enhance the greatest ceremonial, so that they shall make more of the most. 5. Owing to discord, through that love of you who are demons, they smite with destruction *him* who shall not be a satisfaction to you in the presidency; *and* the leader they take (girend) becomes a destroyer, so in the sequel, too, there is *some one* that smites *him*; even though they consider *him* as your follower, they shall occasion his destruction. 6 You are evil demons for a congregation when they speak of avoiding you, and worse for the ceremonial, *or* obeisance, when it occurs that which becomes all clearness to the utterer of righteousness, in *this* existence, you utterly destroy; *and* the lodgment of complete mindfulness in the body is for admonition to human beings about abstaining from the demons.'

7. This, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Evil *are* you *who* are wicked *and* worship the demons with good holy-water *and* with words; through them the holy-water obtains evil recompense, even the hell that is horrible.' 8. This, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'Concerning those malicious demons<sup>330</sup> I *will* first mention intelligibly to thee when they have come to the world, that is, first when they have rushed in, how their jurisdiction arose. 9. *For* thirty centuries<sup>331</sup> those of my world were immortal *and* undecaying. O Zartosht *but* when the thirtieth century was accomplished,<sup>332</sup> O Spitaman! the sweat (khvae) produced by the demons then came on to my Gayomard,<sup>333</sup> for his affliction, so long a time as a man speaks forth these words *of* the *Yatha-ahu-vairyō*,<sup>334</sup> relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master. 10. And when he issued

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326 See Pahl. Yas. 32.5 a.

327 See Bd. 28.8.

328 See Pahl. Yas. 30.4 c.

329 Ibid. 3 b.

330 See Pahl. Yas. 32.7 a, 8 a.

331 See Bd. 1.20, 21 But from § 10 it appears more probable that these are the three millenniums mentioned in Bd. 1.8.

332 Bd. 3.3.

333 Ibid. 19.

334 See Book 8, Chap. 1.7 n.

from that sweat he was shadowless, that is, darkness had entered;<sup>335</sup> and the words of the formula (ayin) relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master *were* spoken forth by me, and when *vastarem*<sup>336</sup> was uttered by me the demons then fell<sup>337</sup> into the gloom.'

11. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'The destructiveness of the evil spirit is *his* evil teaching *by* statements<sup>338</sup> to my creatures; and my riches (ishto) plundered by him are the proportion of the production *and* possession of wealth *for* which a desire exists through Good Thought; that is, when they possess *it* with propriety *it* is desirable.<sup>339</sup> 12. And mankind *were* gratified by that son of Vivanghau who *was* Yim [[Jamshed]],<sup>340</sup> and cattle *were* gratified by him, producing thus *the phrase* "you are mankind" in words, O Zartosht when he spoke to mankind thus: "You are the mankind for cattle, that is, you *who* are mankind eat meat of your own subdivision, and through subdivision by you there is a superabundant occurrence of meat;<sup>341</sup> you are mankind, neither for Greed (Az), nor for Envy (Areshko),<sup>342</sup> do thou throw away the warm entrails (taftog rudik), nor do thou throw *them* away warm on account of custom (pishako), now you slay for slaughtering, so that thus *it may be* beneficial for you and your servant."

13. This, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Even that man is produced for the destruction of mine,<sup>343</sup> who is possessed by the wicked evil spirit; the want of discernment of that man is a tedious life, in which the utterance of the praise of righteousness is the want of ceremonial of which a righteous man spoke *thus*: "At *the place* where their pasture is you are the mankind, the all-producer that fully develops *them*, *and* the all-collector that would thoroughly set *them* moving; in their pasture you are the mankind, *and* they all remain;<sup>344</sup> with hospitality for the body they remain on account of their pasture, *and* in fighting they strike *their*

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335 Bd. 3.20.

336 The last word of the formula In Bd 1.21, 22 this utterance seems to be placed before the attack upon *Gayomard* but until the complete text of the Iranian Bundahishn has been examined some doubt as to the exact sequence of its statements may be entertained.

337 Pahl. ziflunid, for yiflunid formed from the aorist of Ch. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎 instead of the usual neflunast, formed from the preterit.

338 See Pahl. Yas. 32.9 a.

339 Ibid. 9 b. Instead of *avordo*, 'plundered,' *B* has the miswriting *spordo*, 'consigned.'

340 Ibid. 8 a and Book 8, Chap. 13.6.

341 Ibid. 8 b.

342 Alluding, perhaps, to the legend detailed in Bd. 15.8, 19.

343 See Pahl. Yas. 32.10 a.

344 Or, perhaps, 'and they remain astonished,' (va-sipo manend).



heads together; you are the mankind of their pasture, it is expedient and you deprive it of moisture<sup>345</sup> through fire; as to other things, it was also you that made one altogether believe that untrue statement which is a lie – the possession of material *existence by* life – owing to external seduction by the fiend who has come chiefly to you.”

14. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Their accomplishment of arrogance over these creatures of mine, and also the unfitness for heaven (*avahishtih-ich*) of a righteous man, *and* that, too, of a valiant *one*, are *due* to the burial of a corpse. 15. This, too, namely: 'They who drag away a corpse<sup>346</sup> are most hurtful for men, as regards the wealth of the religion in this world, *and* as regards sheep and beasts of *burden*.' 16. This, too, namely: 'As to the people, assisted by *one* living in terrible difficulty, who deliver the corpse of a dead *person*, on a sheep or beast of *burden*, at a village where they shall convey it, they distress the fire and also the water flowing *from* the hills,<sup>347</sup> likewise those liquids of the body which are ten,<sup>348</sup> and those saps (*aevano*) of *plants* which are fourfold in thousands, that is, they come out a thousand at one time.'

17. 'They are giving more assistance when<sup>349</sup> *it is* the corpse of a wicked *person*; concerning them, too, I tell thee, O Zartosht the Spitaman! that they *shall* arrive in the ninth and tenth centuries<sup>350</sup> who are the spawn of the fiend (*drujo hunoyako*) and the cesspool (*rikhdar*) of the evil spirit; even one of them is more to be destroyed than ten idolaters (*deviyasto*) by him they shall make pure, that is, *the people* shall make him quite void of wealth who is a priest without recitation *and* commendation. 18. And they, who *will be* full many in the future, shall bring prostration upon him who is an innocent person, the husbandman who watches the frog of the ditch (*zak-i gilugo vazagh*) so that he *may* keep it away from mankind; and they execute ill-contrived

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345 Pahl. *viyavanined* which, with *vastar*, 'pasture,' occurs in Pahl. Yas. 32.10 c.

346 They who carry a corpse alone, like the *iristo-kasha* of Vend. 3.15.

347 Pahl. *geran-tajishno Av. hebvainti* in Yas. 38.3 and *Av. thraoto-stad* in Yas. 68.6, &c. It is the second species of liquid in Bd. 21.1.

348 Only nine are mentioned in Bd. 21.1, namely: semen, urine, sweat, skin-fluid, tears, blood, oil, saliva, and milk.

349 Assuming that *mun* stands for *amat* as in Bk. 8, Chap. 21.10.

350 If these centuries are dated from 'the coming of the religion,' according to the incorrect Arabian chronology of the Bundahishn, they extended from A.D. 393 or 435 to 593 or 635 (see Byt. 3.11 n). In the ninth century lived king Yazdakard (A. D. 399-420), surnamed 'the sinner' by the priesthood because he tolerated other religions, and the heretic Mazdak who was put to death in A.D. 528. In the tenth century the Muhammadan religion arose, and the Sasanian dynasty tottered to its fall. If it were not for the manifest errors in the Bundahishn chronology, this passage in our text might be important for fixing the age of the Pahlavi version of this Nask.

commands. 19. They also produce destruction for these of mine, *and* speak of the living state, to these of my religion, thus: "When living is an expediency *it is* in our way;" they are wicked, they dwindle through greatness and even terror, that is, they shall commit sin through leadership and vassalage<sup>351</sup> who are smiting thee, and they speak folly who are smiting this pure religion of thine, O Spitaman!

20. "They, too, who recite this thy revelation of the Mazda-worshippers, say that the distinction (nishon) of those *others* from those *who are* thine, even those whom they hurt, is this, that they plunder, they *also* think scornfully *of* this thy ceremonial, and think scornfully *of* the obeisances (Niyayeshno) and of both those blessings from me, the Avesta and Zand which I, who am the most propitious of spirits, spoke forth to thee. 21. They also injure the ceremonial of him who is perfectly righteous,<sup>352</sup> even the obeisance arisen from a disciple of Zartosht the Spitaman; *and* they chant that which is a settled effusion (bara-hankhetunto regih) is very evil, *as* a perfect deed for mankind,<sup>353</sup> those of very evil deeds call joy."<sup>354</sup>

22. "They seek sovereignty as a devouring (grehmako), that is, they seek privilege for a bribe, and in their abode is he who is very evil in thought, that is, they seek with this design, that, for the hundred which another gives up, they *may* take two hundred away *from* the other;<sup>355</sup> they destroy the best existence,<sup>356</sup> they destroy their own souls, and they destroy the world of material beings. 23. Then they who are privileged shall convey that sovereignty of the Kik and Karb,<sup>357</sup> even those that are the worst-ruling who are in the country, unto him who is best-ruling in house, village, community, and province; *and* then both shall keep up an uproar, he who is well-ruling and also he who is ill-ruling, and he who is ill-ruling is beaten, and he is delivered up to the best-ruling ruler. 24. *And* then, among them, he who seeks for a devouring (grehmako) of all that which is animate, as well as that which is inanimate, is he who is desirous of assault *and* complaint; *and* he who fears him who is a righteous man of mine allots him comfort, and is *he* who watches those

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351 Pahl. Yas. 32.11 a.

352 Ibid. 11 c.

353 Ibid. 12 a, which has corrupted regih into resh; the former, corresponding better with the original Av. raunghayen, can be compared with Pers.. rihidan, rezidan ; or it might mean 'imposture,' compare Pers. rigan.

354 Ibid. 12 b.

355 See Pahl. Yas. 32.13 a; the exact meaning of grehmako (Av. gerehma) is uncertain, and the last verb is literally 'I may take.'

356 Ibid. 13 b.

357 Ibid. 14 a, 15 a, and Book 8, Chap. 35. 13 n.

who are an exposition of righteousness,<sup>358</sup> and who would be wizards or witches, so that the *authorities* shall inflict punishment upon them.”

25. And this, too, is *stated*, namely: 'The malice of many malicious ones demands that they shall afflict punishment on sinners<sup>359</sup> when they put (pad-mujend) life into the body, that is, they give life back to the body; but for that purpose the metal, melted forth, arises full upon the earth, which does not wreak vengeance on him who is righteous, and does wreak vengeance on him who is wicked, when I, who am Ohrmazd, produce the renovation among the existences.<sup>360</sup> 26. Thus, too, that *which* becomes a healthful world – a healthful one that is thus mine – never first becomes that further sick one which, apart from me, is even now the immortal and manifest place where vengeance exists;<sup>361</sup> and they become also aware, through that sovereignty of name, that, apart from me, even now immortal is the material world of righteousness.'

27. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

### **Fargard 10. The renovation and Soshyant, merit of a good priest, avoidance of oppressors, the Chinwad bridge; Zartosht, taught by Ohrmazd, is Zot of the world at the renovation; the names of his assistant priests (33)**

1. The tenth fargard, Yathaish,<sup>362</sup> is about the renovation of the universe in the words of Ohrmazd to Zartosht, thus: 'I have produced the effector of the renovation, the causer of righteousness, Soshyant, of whom mankind say that he does not come; and yet he will come, for the righteous, with that glory which becomes all-brilliance.'

2. About the scrutiny and consideration for moderation in a high-priest's performance of every duty there is this, too, that the desire of that non-assailant, who is a producer of benefit among kinsmen, among confederates, and among serfs,<sup>363</sup> as regards anything whatever, is accomplishing the will, and is a friend, of Ohrmazd; and the spirit lodging in him is not deceived by him. 3. And advice about distance from him in whom similarity of disposition to the fiend and arrogance

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358 Ibid. 13 c.

359 Ibid. 16 c.

360 At the resurrection all men are said to be purified in melted metal which hurts only those who have been wicked (see Bd. 30.19, 20).

361 That is, the earth never becomes hell.

362 See Chap. 10.1 n; it is here written yasaish in Pahlavi.

363 See Pahl. Yas. 33.3 a, b.

are oppressive, *and who* is scorning kinsmen, a sharp liar with serfs,<sup>364</sup> giving offense (*veshin-dahishno*) to confederates, careless of cattle,<sup>365</sup> *and unfriendly* to the wretched.

4. About the bridge on which *there* is access to Ohrmazd,<sup>366</sup> and he who reaches the best existence is visibly, *or* invisibly, proceeding *while* offering up (*auzdahan-sagitun*). 5. And the teaching of the primitive faith to Zartosht by Ohrmazd, who remained embodying the Ahunwar (*ahunavair-tanu*) as the *Zoti*<sup>367</sup> of the world; *and* at the time of the renovation Zartosht, who *was* from the sons of Aezemno, is in the position of *Zoti*<sup>368</sup> of the whole world; Vohuvasto, *son* of Snoe, from the countries of those of the religion, in the post of Havanan;<sup>369</sup> Isvand, son of Varaz, from the countries of Turan, in the post of Atarevakhsh; Seno, son of Humstuv, from the countries of the Senan,<sup>370</sup> in the post of Frabardar; and Vishtasp, who *was* from the sons of Nodar,<sup>371</sup> in the post of Sroshavarez. 6. About the power and triumph which that ceremonial becomes, even through the all-brilliance of the immortal renovation of the whole creation in that existence.

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364 Ibid. 4 b.

365 Ibid. 4 c.

366 Ibid. 5 c.

367 Ibid. 6 a. It is said, in Bd. 30.30, that Ohrmazd comes to the world as *Zoti*, or chief officiating priest, with Srosh as assistant priest, just before the renovation. Here it is not absolutely certain whether Ohrmazd, or Zartosht, is meant as *Zoti* on this first occurrence of the word.

368 Reading *min Ae-zemnoan pavan zot gas*; Ayanem being an ancestor of Zartosht, eleven generations back, the grandfather of Spitama, and the name being variously written Aiazemn, Ayazem, Nayazem, and Aizim in different MSS. Another reading is *min 3 zamon khupo zot gas*, 'from three-fold procreation, has the happy position of *Zoti*,' referring to the legendary account of Zartosht's origin, as detailed in the seventh book of the Denkard. The position of the *Zoti* is at the north end of the ceremonial area.

369 This and the two following persons are the Vohvasti *son* of Snaoya, Isvad *son* of Varaza, and Saena *son* of Ahum-stud, of Yt. 13.96, 97.

370 In the great ceremonies of ancient times the Havanan appears to have been the priest who attended to the Hom-mortar, and his position was near the north-west corner of the ceremonial area; the Atarevakhsh was the priest who fed the fire, and his position was near the south-west corner; the Frabartar was the priest who brought the necessary utensils, and his position was near the north-east corner; and the Sroshavarez was the priest who kept general order, his position being at the south end, facing the *Zoti* at the north end. Besides these five priests, mentioned in our text, there were three others enumerated in Visp. 3.1; Vend. 5.58, Vd. 7.17, 18, the water-bringer near the south-east corner, the washer on the west side, and the cleanser on the east side. In modern times the *Zoti* retains his ancient duties of chief priest, while the Raspi (Bk. 8, Chap. 7.5, 9) combines the duties of the seven others, being called by the *Zoti* (in Visp. 3.1) to take the place of each of them in succession.

371 Av. Saininam of Yt. 13.144, probably the people about Samarkand (see Bd. 12.13 n, 15.29).

7. This, too, that the evil spirit<sup>372</sup> .....

.....<sup>373</sup>

**Fargard 11. Vohuman reports to Ohrmazd thrice a day, the demons trying to seduce man are vexed by his resistance, Armat and Taromat, opposition to the demons, advantage of religion and its reward (34)**

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. . . it is possible to come through virtuous deeds *and* through virtuous thoughts.' *n.* And this, too, he *spoke*, namely: 'That Good Thought<sup>374</sup> of mine proceeds *and* notices the thoughts of the embodied existence, *and* of the good words and the deeds he reports again those referring to me, as often as three times in the same day, both *of those* who are liberal *to thee* [1], O Spitaman! and *of those* who are illiberal to thee.'

*o.* The struggling of the demons,<sup>375</sup> for the putting down of all benefit from mankind, has not produced the obtainment of their capability for that benefit which arises *for* mankind through the future existence; so that that one evil is more grievous than every evil which the demons imagine for mankind, when *the latter* are frightened by them from the way of the sacred beings, and are wicked; and harder for them *are* the praisers of righteousness among the apostates *and* the rest *of* the creation, through *their* praise of righteousness, even when very many praise *it*.

*p.* About the progress of Armaiti<sup>376</sup> and Taromat perpetually among the creatures, the disclosure of Armaiti to mankind, and *of* righteousness *to* Taromat; the listening of that vile Taromat to falsehood, and the distance<sup>377</sup> of righteousness from him who is vile is like that *of* a sheep fled (*sishd*)<sup>378</sup> from mankind. *q.* And this, too, that

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372 See Yt. 5.98.

373 One folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps one-fourth belonged to this chapter and three-fourths to the next.

374 See Pahl. Yas. 34.7 a.

375 Ibid. 10 c.

376 Ibid. 9 a, 10 b, 11 b. Av. Armaiti, 'devotion,' the female archangel Spendarmad, entitled 'complete mindfulness' in §§ q, s. Taromat (Av. Taromaiti), the arch-demon of contempt and disobedience (Bd. 28.14), is her special opponent.

377 See Pahl. Yas. 34.8 c.

378 Ibid. 9 c.

the evil spirit is beaten<sup>379</sup> by complete mindfulness, in the struggle of those having mighty ones, just as a powerful man beats him who is a reverent creation (niyayin dahishno);<sup>380</sup> *and* the pure Zartosht is produced by Ohrmazd, *as well as* the power of Hordad *and* Amurdad,<sup>381</sup> which *acts* forcibly for giving value (farg) and preparing the creatures.

r. About the opposition of Ohrmazd to the demons,<sup>382</sup> and the valuation of the deeds of mankind *which* exist for greater jurisdiction<sup>383</sup> *and* more advantage of the primitive good creation; and in any doubtfulness *one is* to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings. s. About *cases* where the good-will *of* the spirit of complete mindfulness makes mankind attain to the good religion; and their spiritual joy<sup>384</sup> arises from the purification of their own religion through virtuous exercise of will.

t. About the desire for a reward *for* anything whatever, and the great advantage owing to a reward of the desires *of* mankind; *also* the appropriation of the reward through the operation of the sacred beings: 'Even through the ruler (*pad*) of that dominion of yours do I produce the renovation *of* the existences by *my* will,<sup>385</sup> I who am Ohrmazd.'

u. Excellence is righteousness that *is* perfect.

## **Fargard 12. Benefits of religion; mutual service of men, cattle, and the sacred beings; evil deeds prohibited, worship by the righteous is the best, begging for life; (§11) duties to fire, Zartosht's seeing the future existence, benefits of worship; (§17) colloquy of Ohrmazd and Zartosht (35)**

1. The twelfth fargard, the Yasna,<sup>386</sup> is about the manifestation of good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds by the religion;<sup>387</sup> the lodgment of the religion in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; *and* whoever possesses good thoughts, whoever *has* good words, *and* whoever *has* good deeds, by him righteousness and the reward of the

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379 Ibid. 10 c.

380 Ibid. 8 b.

381 Ibid. 11 a and Chap. 19.1.

382 Ibid. 11 c.

383 Ibid. 12 a.

384 Ibid. 13 b.

385 Ibid. 15 c.

386 See Chap. 13, 1 n; it is here written yast in Pahlavi.

387 See Pahl. Yas. 35.4-6.

righteous are possessed. 2. This, too, that neither is he, who is not to be born for Zartosht, an issue from parents who are not righteous, nor yet is he, for him, who is a manifestation of the righteous.

3. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou shouldst give a glad-thinking desire for a spiritual lord, and an easy-bodied constitution, to their minds, the religion which I spoke forth to thee; so that the greatest, best, and most beneficial of existences,<sup>388</sup> that *are* those which cattle *are* wanting from men, *are* water, pasture, and freedom from danger;<sup>389</sup> *and* those which men *are wanting* from cattle are also food and clothing.' 4. This, too, that that which mankind ought to give to the sacred beings is a power for completeness *of* control; and that which the sacred beings ought to give to men is ever that which is good for them. 5. And this, too, that thou who *art* Ohrmazd also suppliest it from those sacred beings, and thou *who art* Zartosht also teachest it thoroughly to that best-ruling sovereignty<sup>390</sup> and authority.

6. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Let no *one* practice ill-perpetrated deeds, even though in a wilderness when far from publicity, nor in distress, O Spitaman! because Ohrmazd, the observer of everything, is aware of them; and the rule is *that* just as any one whatever *of* the embodied existence thinks, speaks, *and* practices, so great is his punishment.' 7. And this, too, that the best ceremonial and obeisance<sup>391</sup> are the ceremonial *and* obeisance of a righteous man.

8. About begging for life and receiving it, *there* is this, that it *is* customarily due to two methods (*baba*): one, through leadership of righteousness, is that *through* which it is evident that it *is* owing to virtuousness; and one, through service of righteousness,<sup>392</sup> is that which is not an evidence that it is owing to viciousness. 9. About the *case* where virtuousness is producing authority over truth, and truth over the tongue, so that thou speakest words through the will of Ohrmazd. 10. And this, too, *is said* namely: 'I am the propitious spirit who *was at* first *and ever will* be, and am not really deceived by anything.'

11. About fire *being* given by Ohrmazd for shelter and assistance by the protection of mankind; its maintenance and assistance *by* mankind; and the open-heartedness of the spirit of fire for him who shall perform obeisance to it, and for him who is to perform obeisance to it.<sup>393</sup> 12. The work which is the greatest that exists, and is accomplished in the future

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388 Ibid. 9.

389 Ibid. 11.

390 Ibid. 13.

391 See Pahl. Yas. 35.19.

392 Ibid. 22.

393 See Pahl. Yas. 36.4, 5.

existence<sup>394</sup> by the creatures become pure, occurs through fire; *and one* prays for it for the sake of the requirements which mankind acquired from the sacred beings. 13. This, too, *is said*, namely: “since thou *art* thus, O Zartosht! most propitiatory, that is, able to perform most for our pleasure, we are more promptly coming than Manuschihar *was* able to come, when thou beggest of us who are archangels, O Zartosht!”<sup>395</sup>

14. About Ohrmazd’s exhibiting the creatures in the future existence to Zartosht. 15. *And* this, too, namely, the all-brilliance *of* the earth, the all-brilliance of the cattle, the all-brilliance *of* the plants, and the all-brilliance *of* every excellence<sup>396</sup> which is a manifestation of righteousness. 16. About the worshipping of Ohrmazd by worshippers, through advancing<sup>397</sup> in the religion of Ohrmazd’s covenant (padmano), which gave the world his righteousness; also the good protectiveness of his rule, and *of* the greatness therein, is owing to it,<sup>398</sup> and the name of the ruler is Wisdom;<sup>399</sup> likewise his ceremonial – performed while the creations owing to him live, when possessing bodies and possessing life<sup>400</sup> – is a benefit *to* all the worldly and spiritual *existences*.

17. *And* this, too, *is said*, namely: “Thou art our own,<sup>401</sup> and also *our* confederate, O Spitaman! likewise unto us thou comest with the reverence that is good;<sup>402</sup> thine, O Zartosht! are the greatness and completeness in performance,<sup>403</sup> so that they become thy greatness and completeness, that is, they are thine, O Zartosht! and are boundless onwards from the middle, that is, we give thee a reward<sup>404</sup> so enormous that, when thou shouldst stand in the middle *of* it, thou *wouldst* not see to *its* limits, the width of the earth, the length of a river, and the height of the sun.”<sup>405</sup>

18. Zartosht begged of Ohrmazd thus: ‘Give unto me him who becomes a disciple of men<sup>406</sup> of the mighty through meditation for the

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394 Ibid. 6.

395 See Pahl. Yas. 36.9-14. For Manuschihar see Bk. 8, Chap. 13.10, 12, 18.

396 See Pahl. Yas. 37 (=5).1, 2.

397 Ibid. 4.

398 Ibid. 3.

399 Ibid. 6.

400 Ibid. 7.

401 See Pahl. Yas. 39.13.

402 Ibid. 14.

403 See Pahl. Yas. 40.1.

404 See Pahl. Yas. 40.3.

405 This expression for boundless extent occurs in Yas. 60.4, Yt. 13.32.

406 See Pahl. Yas. 40.7.



religion, *of them* who shall produce the actual progress of this my religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* who *will* also explain the good practices to this *one* of mine, even the blessings set forth by me in the benedictions they possess. 19. *And* Ohrmazd spoke thus: 'I *will* give unto thee him who becomes a disciple of other men of the mighty; they are thy kinsmen and those confederates *of theirs*, and thine are their companions and their serfs,<sup>407</sup> who produce the progress of this thy religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 20. Mostly thine, O Zartosht! are their worship and their homage; and, through their ceremonial and obeisance, the liberality of him who is worshipped is given to thee, *and* righteousness for the soul is with thee; also thy life exists owing to us, and likewise thy body,<sup>408</sup> O Zartosht! 21. Forth to thee *will* I, who am the creator Ohrmazd, come in both existences,<sup>409</sup> as assistance; thou becomest worthy, O Zartosht! through Hordad and Amurdad,<sup>410</sup> both of them, *and* through the gratification of me, who am Ohrmazd, by those sayings *and* deeds which I, *who* am the most propitious of spirits, proclaimed unto thee.'

22. Zartosht spoke thus: "They have become applicants on him who is powerful *with* thee."<sup>411</sup> 23. *And* Ohrmazd spoke thus: "Thou becomest an applicant and powerful in the embodied existence." 24. Zartosht spoke thus: "*Be* thou a gratification to us in the slow progress *of* life, *thou* most beneficent (hu-dahaktum) of existences! that is, thou shouldst give to us."<sup>412</sup> 25. *And* Ohrmazd spoke thus: "I *will* gratify thee, O righteous Zartosht! in that best existence."<sup>413</sup>

26. Excellence that is perfect *is* righteousness.

### **Fargard 13. Reward and tokens of righteousness (36)**

1. The thirteenth fargard, Ushtavaiti,<sup>414</sup> is about the great reward of him who, through virtuous procedure, may occasion the benefit of a man<sup>415</sup> and *of* the religion of righteousness also. 2. This, too, that the maintenance of righteousness<sup>416</sup> is through the practice *of it*.

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407 Ibid. 10.

408 See Pahl. Yas. 41.7.

409 Ibid. 8.

410 See Chap. 19.1.

411 See Pahl. Yas. 41.10.

412 Ibid. 11.

413 Ibid. 15.

414 See Chap. 13, 1 n.

415 See Pahl. Yas. 42.1 a.

3. About the tokens of a righteous man – that is, the evidence of him – and *his* reverence for duty *and* good works; also his imperceptible perversion (kastarih) – that is, not a single sin is manifest in him – and he is an accomplisher *of* the stipulations of Vohuman,<sup>417</sup> good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and a comprisal of every goodness in the propitiation of the righteous. 4. About<sup>418</sup> . . . . .

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**Fargard 14. Ohrmazd’s creativeness, threat of the evil spirit, praise of religion, the wicked in hell, the demons (37)**

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. . . . 'produced the dawn *and* noontide (aush repisp).<sup>419</sup> *e.* I fashioned sovereignty and the desired complete mindfulness together,<sup>420</sup> *and* produced, for more advantageous disclosure, a son (bermanar-ae) for a father;<sup>421</sup> the disclosure that discloses a male and the impregnation of a female, and in that disclosure a son *was* produced by me for the father, O Zartosht!' *f.* So the evil spirit observed, and he called upwards from the abyss thus: 'O beneficent spirit! thou art the creator of all creatures, *but I will* make all thy creatures old, O beneficent spirit!

*g.* About the religion becoming progressive<sup>422</sup> in every one, through its renovation *of* the *universe and its* future existence, *there* is this, too, namely: 'This thy religion of Zartosht is the width of the world, *and* righteousness is the best of religions; this thy religion of Zartosht is the improvement of the world, which is first supplied by righteousness *and* complete mindfulness in the reason (varom) of those who recite this thy revelation (deno)<sup>423</sup> of the Mazda-worshippers, O Zartosht! this thy good religion is the best which it is possible to provide with righteousness for one’s own. *h.* Thou shouldst proclaim this to kinsmen

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416 Ibid. 1 d.

417 See Pahl. Yas. 42.2 d.

418 Another folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps three-fourths belong to this chapter and one-fourth to the next.

419 See Pahl. Yas. 43.5 d: aushahino va-rapispino = Av. ushau arem-pithwa.

420 Ibid. 7 b.

421 Ibid. 7 c. The verbal causative stem vindin, 'cause to find, or obtain, disclose,' is twice spelt without its first letter, out of four occurrences; and bermanar is hybrid Zvarish for pumar, in which berman = pus.

422 See Pahl. Yas. 43.8 c.

423 Ibid. 11 d.

*and confederates, to priests and him who is most active in the country; as to those who will dispute<sup>424</sup> this thy religion of the Mazda-worshippers, thou shouldst proclaim this over the earth of seven regions, unto that which is the furthest of houses, villages, communities, and provinces: "Do thou openly curse<sup>425</sup> these who are heretical towards me, thou united Mazda-worship of Zartosht, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Ohrmazd!"<sup>426</sup>*

i. Ohrmazd spoke thus: 'I *will* exalt this which is beloved by thee, the religion of the Mazda-worship of Zartosht, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Ohrmazd. j. If this which is thine had not been further loved by me, the Mazda-worship of Zartosht, that is opposed to the demons *and is* the ordinance of Ohrmazd would have lapsed into disaster (vinasishno),<sup>427</sup> so that *the* profession of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers would be destroyed, that is, the religion would not have become progressive, *and no one would be* after the benefitters. k. But, owing to that *love*, O Zartosht! the religion of the Mazda-worshippers becomes progressive<sup>428</sup> even then up to the production of the renovation of *the universe*, even then until the perpetual life of the existences, even then till the raising up of the dead, *and* even then up to the full atonement of the spirits.'

l. About *being* despised in hell; the wicked are scornful to a wicked one, *and* to the spirits *apart* from the wicked ; and it is the creator who, even after saving the others from hell, and the three nights stewing in hell,<sup>429</sup> is to cause the preservation of them also – after those three nights – from that misery, and *every one* attains to happiness. m. This, too, that Zartosht inquired of Ohrmazd thus: 'How have the ignorant demons, O Ohrmazd! ever been good rulers?<sup>430</sup> How do they think of them in the world thus, that their happiness arose from them?' n. And Ohrmazd spoke thus: "They have been demons, O Zartosht! *and* evil-ruling; not well-ruling, even for a reward, do they produce the work of righteousness."<sup>431</sup>

o. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

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424 Ibid. 13 c.

425 Assuming that naforino stands for nafrino.

426 See Pahl. Yas. 1.65.

427 See Pahl. Yas. 43.19 d.

428 See Pahl. Yas.43.15 d, 17 d.

429 The three nights' final punishment of those worthy of death, to be inflicted at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. 30.13, 16).

430 See Pahl. Yas. 43.20 a.

431 Ibid. 20 e.

## **Fargard 15. The seven perfections of religious advice, power and contempt for the demons given to the creatures, praise of Zartosht (38)**

1. The fifteenth fargard, Ad-fravakhshya,<sup>432</sup> is about the seven<sup>433</sup> perfections *of* the admonitions of the religion. 2. First, association with the beneficent spirit of the creator, through hearing,<sup>434</sup> learning, *and* practicing his religion; and this, too, that thereby arises the preservation *of* the good creation when the destroyer is separated (vanjid). 3. Second, about separation from the destructive evil spirit,<sup>435</sup> *and* the contempt which is due to his arrogance and falsehood, the chief of all his vice. 4. Third, governing the temper<sup>436</sup> by good thoughts, good words, and good deeds: and this, that, whoever of you does not so use this liturgy as thought and word,<sup>437</sup> they *will* not allot him light, they *will* not allot *him* the best existence, *and* he is miserable up to the last.<sup>438</sup> 5. Fourth, about the perfection *of* the nature of next-of-kin marriage,<sup>439</sup> which is when it is a giving of one's own (khudih-dahishnih) and the decision given *about* it, which is the goodness of one's own progeny for the manifestation of progeny; also the relationship, sturdiness, effectiveness, advantageousness, ownership, and giving in next-of-kin marriage. 6. *Its* first accomplishment *was by* the creator Ohrmazd in the fatherhood of Vohuman<sup>440</sup> who *was* the first progeny, and from that arising of the practice (var'z-yehevunih) *came* the progress of the spiritual and worldly creatures and much connected *therewith*, such as the arising of splendor from light, radiance from splendor, *and* lustrousness from radiance, *and* the fully progressive diffusion and succession of mankind till the renovation of *the universe*; also, through spiritual and worldly passing on in the spiritual and worldly *existences*,

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432 See Chap. 15, 1 n; it is here written ad-fravakhshe in Pahlavi.

433 Only six are numbered in our text, but the seventh seems to be detailed in § 9.

434 See Pahl. Yas. 44.1 a.

435 Ibid. 1 d, e.

436 Ibid. 3 a.

437 Ibid. 3 c, d.

438 Ibid. 3 e.

439 Ibid. 4 a. There is nothing whatever about next-of-kin marriage in the original Avesta text of this Gatha, but the Pahlavi translators (in order to interpolate authority for such marriages) took advantage of the Avesta speaking metaphorically of Mazda being father of Good Thought (Vohuman), and of Bountiful Devotion (*Spandarmad*) as being Mazda's daughter; while they ignored the old tradition that Vohuman was created *before* Spandarmad (see Bd. 1.23, 26). A translation of the Pahlavi version of this Gatha passage is given in S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp.392, 393.

440 See Pahl. Yas. 44.4 c.

Spandarmad's<sup>441</sup> acceptance of the motherly glory *was* an ennoblement. 7. Fifth, about providing and maintaining the high-priests<sup>442</sup> who are provided with a spiritual lord and possessing priestly instruction the *listening* of his authorities of every kind to Ohrmazd, and the reward of the beneficent good works<sup>443</sup> of the high-priesthood, *are* authority for Ohrmazd; *and* the reward of the good works of the high-priesthood is *their* relation *to* the best existence. 8. Sixth, about the praise, obeisance, *and* ceremonial<sup>444</sup> *for* the creator Ohrmazd; and this, too, that further conference *with* Vohuman<sup>445</sup> arises, and wisdom and advantage<sup>446</sup> are taught by him thus: 'Thou shouldst be a supplicant for the immortal progress of the soul,<sup>447</sup> O Zartosht! so that Ohrmazd *may be* lord of the creatures,<sup>448</sup> and the practice of propitiation by mankind *may be* that *for* him, also a proportion of the ordering of obeisance.'<sup>449</sup> 9. About the sovereignty of Ohrmazd<sup>450</sup> – even through the reward given at the bridge *of judgment* {Chinwad} – which is in his good assemblies,<sup>451</sup> those of the restorer of the world, the destroyer of the evil *one*, *and* the benefiter.

10. This, too, *is said*, namely: "Thou becomest, through complete mindfulness, O Spitaman! a perpetual adopter (giriftar) of this ceremonial of mine."<sup>452</sup>

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441 Ibid. 4 d.

442 Ibid. 5 a.

443 Rather doubtful, as the repairer of the MS. has omitted the first two Pahlavi letters of kirfako, 'good works,' when writing the word on a patch.

444 See Pahl. Yas. 44.6 a, b, d.

445 Ibid. 6 d.

446 Ibid. 6 e, 7 a.

447 See Pahl. Yas. 44.7 c.

448 Ibid. 7 e.

449 Ibid. 8 a.

450 Ibid. 9 c. This appears to be the seventh "perfection" mentioned in § 1.

451 Assuming that hu-hambamiha stands for hu-hangamiha, just as hanbam is a common variant of hangam. It might also mean 'good times,' but it seems to represent the incorrect word amavandih in Pahl. Yas. 44.9 e, which each of the four MS. authorities spells differently. Mf4 has hu-dandih which, no doubt, stands for an original hu-zandih, 'good community,' a fair translation of Av. haozathwa, and well expressed by 'good assemblies.'

452 See Pahl. Yas. 44.10 a.

11. About Ohrmazd *having* given power<sup>453</sup> to the creatures, the preparation<sup>454</sup> of the power, and the contempt<sup>455</sup> *for* the evil spirit and his appliances; Ohrmazd and the creations gave that contempt back to the evil spirit and the primary (kadmon) demons who are those produced by the demons.

12. About the glorification of Zartosht *there is* this, too, namely: 'Thou art beneficial, thou art high-priest and master, and through thee exists the religion which is propitious;<sup>456</sup> thou art brother and companion of all the beneficers, and thus thy friend<sup>457</sup> is Vohuman.'

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

**Fargard 16. Worship not to be neglected on any account, want of spirituality in men, liberality of the archangels, promises for the future, praise of the renovators; (§13) characteristics of the heretic Mani, attracters to the religion, the last millenniums, disturbers of religion; (§20) praise of the Fryanaks, liberality for the archangels, praise of Vishtasp, advice to the Spitamas, four marvels in the other world, advice to Zartosht (39)**

1. In the sixteenth fargard, Kamnameza,<sup>458</sup> about departure to any land whatever,<sup>459</sup> in renewed search of fortune, *there is* also this, namely: 'Do not stay *away* discontentedly from this thy ceremonial and obeisance, O Zartosht! through love of us, when they do not satisfy thee – neither thy own, nor the confederate, nor the companion, nor the serf, nor the wicked tyrant<sup>460</sup> – by whom those who are demons are *wont* to be worshipped. 2. And where and when thou art far from us, even then do not stand aloof from our affairs; and also when the affairs of the worldly *existence* shall not stand well for thee, even then thou shouldst reverence us and shouldst pay us homage.' 3. So also this, that the wish of the evil spirit is thus: 'Thou shouldst not reverence and shouldst not

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453 Ibid. 10 e, in which *zako-i* ought to be *zor-i* according to Pt4, Mf4, with which J2 partly agrees.

454 Assuming that *nivaruno* stands for *nivardano*.

455 See Pahl. Yas. 44.11 b.

456 See Pahl. Yas. 44.11 d.

457 Ibid. 11 e.

458 See Chap. 16.1 n; it is here written *kamnamezo* in Pahlavi.

459 See Pahl. Yas. 45.1 a.

460 Ibid. 1 b, c, d.

pay homage to the archangels [[Amahraspands]]; and here<sup>461</sup> *the people* shall possess neither lordship, nor priestly instruction – that is, ruler and high-priest – and their desire is not *for* perfect righteousness.

4. And this, too, *is said*, namely: “*of* the contracted<sup>462</sup> spirituality and deficient wealth,<sup>463</sup> owing to the little progress of men who are self-gratifiers, thou art aware, O Zartosht! *thou* who art no seeker *of* this – that is, this want of opulence of thine – because thou dost not know *it*;<sup>464</sup> but I perceive those words of complaint of thine, of which I demand an account from thee.”<sup>465</sup> 5. And this, *too*, namely: “Thou art aware *of* the gratification of desire [9] *by* us who are archangels, and which we give for the gratification that thou bringest forth (zihih); we also give thee the liberty which a friend gives to him who is a friend.”<sup>466</sup>

6. About *what* occurs in *future* ages:<sup>467</sup> the experienced (arvandan) who are beneficial through teaching and practicing wisdom,<sup>468</sup> and the thirst of youths is increased by them; by the assistance of complete mindfulness they improve the world of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; and the advantage due to virtue extends to them.<sup>469</sup> And this, too, that he who is evilly oppressive has died off through his own deeds.<sup>470</sup> 8. About always opposing villains with as much strength as exists, so that he who is a good ruler,<sup>471</sup> whose high-priest is the bounteous !liturgy (Mahraspand), my become predominant<sup>472</sup> over Wrath.

9. About the praise of the renovators there is this, too, namely: “Blessings on good understanding and also on Mihr, whose punishment of sinners they shall inflict for this consideration, that *he* is intelligent and friendly (mitro-pan).”<sup>473</sup> 10. And, *about* adjudication *as to* a kinsman (nafshman) of any one whatever, *there* is this, too, namely: “Through a revival of Rashn, whoever is righteous and also whoever is

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461 In this world.

462 Assuming that tak stands for tang.

463 See Pahl. Yas. 45.2 b.

464 Ibid. 2 a.

465 Ibid. 2 c.

466 Ibid. 2 d.

467 Ibid. 3 a.

468 Ibid. 3 c.

469 Ibid. 3 d.

470 Ibid. 4 c.

471 Ibid. 4 d.

472 Ibid. 5 a.

473 See Pahl. Yas. 45.5 b. For Mihr see Book 8, Chap. 44.16 n.

wicked – that is, every one – is to be kept for judicial investigation.”<sup>474</sup>  
11. This, too, namely: “A kinsman is to be considered as virtuous,<sup>475</sup> by whom his own soul is preserved from wickedness.”<sup>476</sup> 12. *And* this, too, namely: “so thy high-priest is he whose own religion is pure.”<sup>477</sup>

13. About the characteristics of the fiend, the broken-down (khastako) Mani,<sup>478</sup> and the destruction of the wicked who *were* listening to him, that which came from him who *was* monarch. 14. *And* this, too, namely: “The wicked *one*, who gives my world to that which the malicious<sup>479</sup> Ahriman has established *as* supremacy (lalah), is he who is a self-wounding<sup>480</sup> demon that is set going for the death of the world of righteousness which he praises. 15. The ceremonial of righteousness is not such as that he praises, O Zartosht! the priestly authority of the worldly settlements (gehanan) that he mentions thus: “In priestly authority and high-priestship I *am* better (shapir) *and* *am* better suitable;” and not so, O Zartosht! is that excretion (mutrishno)<sup>481</sup> he stirs up for mankind; that *which* he mentions to them becomes a perpetual effusion from him, and they who stirred up the excretion afterwards think it theirs, and that which is a perfect ceremonial of the demons occurs. 16. Through the opposing arrival of Srosh,<sup>482</sup> the righteous, the ruler is in vexation with that person; that ruler who is a protection of these *others* through good emanation [\*living]<sup>483</sup> – not through evil living – and at every time a distresser of the wicked.”<sup>484</sup>

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474 Ibid. 5 c. For Rashn see Bk. 8, Chap. 20.153 n.

475 Ibid. 5 d.

476 Ibid. 5 e.

477 Ibid. 7 e.

478 The arch-heretic who *was* born in A. D. 215-6, first preached his doctrines on the coronation day of king Shahpur I (20th *March*, 242), and was put to death by order of Bahram I in A.D. 276-7 (see Nöldeke’s *Gesch. der Sas.* pp. 47, 412, 415). From the mode in which he and his followers are mentioned in §§ 13-16, it would seem that the original Pahlavi version of this Nask must have been made at a time when this heresy was still fresh in men’s memories, as it would have been in the first half of the fourth century, when Adarbad Mahraspandan was collecting and revising the sacred books.

479 See Pahl. Yas. 45.8 a.

480 Ibid. 8 b.

481 Compare Pahl. Yas. 47.10 b.

482 See Bk. 8. Chap. 9.3 n.

483 See Pahl. Yas. 45.8 c, d. This last word (hu-zahishnih) ought certainly to be hu-zivishnih, “good living.”

484 Ibid. 8 e.



17. About the peculiarity of attracters to the religion, and the good works of those attracted.<sup>485</sup> 18. About the signs of the last times, which *are* the millenniums of the sons of Zartosht.

19. This, too, that they cause disturbance (aâramend) unto the sovereignty, and *they* who are Kays and Karbs,<sup>486</sup> those even who are the most evil-ruling in the country – who by villainous deeds are those *who* destroy the existence of mankind through statements, and destroy their own souls<sup>487</sup> – *also* destroy the material world which, confused by them, is more beloved than righteousness; even the sovereignty is a scanty shelter, among the existences, from those whose command is villainous, when they produce *that* which is vicious and deliver their pupils (amukhtagano) to that which is *their* end (afdum), to the fiendish abode.<sup>488</sup>

20. And here, too, about the praise of the family of the Fryanaks<sup>489</sup> it speaks thus: “Righteousness comes up, O Spitaman! from the descendants and posterity of Turan; when extracted by the Fryanaks it is stated<sup>490</sup> just as *though* it were by Turan: through the assistance of complete mindfulness they develop the world<sup>491</sup> of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; they likewise think about it with Good Thought, O Zartosht! *and* thou shouldst bring forth (*zayesh*) their gratification<sup>492</sup> from us, who are archangels, by words, that is, do thou demand it.”

21. This, too, *is said*, namely: “This liberality which is *for* thee is *for* us who are archangels; by him who shall provide liberality for thee,<sup>493</sup> it is provided for us.” 22. About the praise of Vishtasp there is this, too, namely: “Kay Vishtasp<sup>494</sup> has propitiated thee, among the existences, by liberal giving; that Vishtasp, whose coming forth to thee in distress is through the reign of Vohuman, has developed the material world of righteousness; thou shouldst think of him, the good companion, O

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485 Ibid. 10 d, e.

486 Ibid. 11 a; also see Bk. 8, Chap. 35.13 n.

487 Ibid. 11 b, c.

488 Pahl. Yas. 45.11 e.

489 A Turanian family of Mazda-worshippers, of whom Yoishta is specially mentioned in the Avesta (see Bk. 8, Chap. 13.18 n); and it appears from Dd. 90.3 that Ashem-yahmai-ushta of Yt. 13.120 was another member of the same family.

490 See Pahl. Yas. 45.12 b.

491 Ibid. 12 c, and compare § 6.

492 Ibid. 12 d, e.

493 Ibid. 13 a.

494 See Bk. 8, Chaps. 11.1, 13.15.

Zartosht the pure friend who is Kay Vishtasp;<sup>495</sup> such is that Kay Vishtasp, the active, who, when he praises the religion, is attracting fellow-dwellers and converts them, that is, he brings them on to the religion.”<sup>496</sup>

23. About attracting the Spitamas to the religion *there* is this, too, namely: “Thou shouldst speak thus to the Spitamas: “Praise righteousness with much homage about *it* mentally; and a concession is to be discriminated by you, as well as whatever is no concession ; even for those deeds *of yours* righteousness is the reward given unto you that reward which is much given by Ohrmazd.”<sup>497</sup> 24. About the place of the four marvels produced by Ohrmazd *in yonder world*: there where is the reign of Vohuman,<sup>498</sup> there where is the hospitality of Ohrmazd,<sup>499</sup> there where religion is *along* with complete mindfulness,<sup>500</sup> *and* there where are the souls of the liberal.<sup>501</sup>

25. About advice to Zartosht as to speech, made for mankind, which is proportionate – abandoning want of proportion – which is an appropriation of liberality with humility and a wise proportion<sup>502</sup> for good works. 26. This, too, namely: “To him who gives himself mentally up to thee in discipleship, thou also shouldst give up the best which *thou hast* to give of thine own; and thou shouldst give wealth to him who shall give wealth to thee,<sup>503</sup> because so thy soul would be perfect, O righteous Zartosht! when it shall act thus.” 27. This, too: “Thou shouldst select this religion of mine with wisdom *and* also with thought.”<sup>504</sup> 28. This, too, that *as to* him who *has* to act with the freedom from effort (apesitunagih) of righteousness<sup>505</sup> *and* owing to *it*, for the good works done by him the gift is good. 29. This, too, that whoever seeks by good works, *and* seeks good works by innocence, obtains freedom from harm (a-nasih); *and* whoever is liberal to the sacred beings<sup>506</sup> is free from destruction (a-nasinishno), owing to the liberality of the sacred beings.

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495 See Pahl. Yas. 45.13 e.

496 Ibid. 14 c, d.

497 Ibid. 15 b, c, d.

498 Ibid. 16 d.

499 Ibid. 16 e.

500 Ibid. 16 c.

501 Ibid. 16 a.

502 Ibid. 17 a, b, c, e.

503 Ibid. 18 a, b, c.

504 See Pahl. Yas. 45.18 e.

505 Ibid. 19 a. All but the last syllable of apesitunagih is written by the repairer of the MS. on one of his patches, but the word is a strange equivalent for Av. haithim.

506 Ibid. 19 d.

30. *And* this, too, namely: “These *are* the rewards I am aware of,<sup>507</sup> which have been, which still are, and which ever *will* be.”

31. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

## **Fargard 17. Praise of truth, cattle, good works, ordeals (40)**

1. The seventeenth fargard, Spenta-mainyu,<sup>508</sup> is about this, that Ohrmazd produced the creatures through wisdom, and maintains them in truth. 2. This, too, that the best thing<sup>509</sup> *for* every one is thought in a high-priest who is the tongue of a spiritual lord;<sup>510</sup> in a high-priest, who *has* to maintain thought, no appliances of the body *are* to lie unto the spiritual lord on account of affection *for* the

worldly *existence*. 3. Also that the spiritual lord is always true; of the tongue – when he (*the* priest) speaks falsehood with the tongue – are those words which he does not believe through the spiritual lord, and it is owing to this, too, when, of all the body, the tongue first dies. 4. “I say unto thee, O Spitaman! that thou shouldst speak with the tongue just as thou thinkest with the mind, and thou shouldst accomplish work with both hands in complete mindfulness,”<sup>511</sup> 5. And this, too, that he who shall act thus is sagacious, and he is the father of righteousness through wisdom;<sup>512</sup> and whoever would do that which has happened, thoroughly observes it on account of that *which* has not happened. 6. Also this, *that* in the person of him who shall do that which he understands, *and* asks again about that which he does not understand, the propitious spirit of wisdom is lodging.

7. About cattle *being* produced for the assistance of mankind, and the pastures of pleasure for the assistance *of* cattle.<sup>513</sup> 8. This, too, that the archangels injure the evil demon and wicked people, but they do not injure righteous people<sup>514</sup> and the sage. 9. This, too, is *said*, namely: “In scanty opulence do not murmur (al mang) owing to good works,<sup>515</sup> and thus in great opulence much good work arises.” 10. This, too, that

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507 Ibid. 19 e.

508 See Chap. 17.1 n; it is here written spend-mato in Pahlavi, and is called the 18th fargard by mistake.

509 See Pahl. Yas. 46.2 a.

510 Ibid. 2 b.

511 See Pahl. Yas. 46.2 c.

512 Ibid. 2 d.

513 Ibid. 3 c.

514 Ibid. 4 a, b.

515 Ibid. 4 c.

beneficence gives all to the good, and it is no further the villain whom the sacred beings maintain.<sup>516</sup>

11. About the tongue *of* a true speaker being for the satisfying (vijarishno) of disputants,

*and for* declaring who is acquitted *or* incriminated; and the ordeal that is a demonstrator, to acquit *or* convict, which he whose tongue is truthful *has* accepted – and it shall make his statement current – has developed its jurisdiction in the world, and diminished distress. 12. *And* this, too, is *said*, that he gives out fire for disputes. so that it may make manifest the acquitted and incriminated, when he in whom are his immense complete mindfulness, and also righteousness, is guardian of the ordeal; and, when many inspect it; that which is the ritual of the ordeal believes them wicked.<sup>517</sup>

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

**Fargard 18. Evidence of the future existence, four triumphs of the sacred beings over the demons, inquiring about religion, avoiding apostates; (§12) mankind attaining wisdom, care for cattle, oppression by wrath and envy; (§21) progress of righteousness, the renovation, next-of-kin marriage, girdling (41)**

1. The eighteenth *fargard*, *Yezi*,<sup>518</sup> is about the existence of certain and doubtful evidence and indication as to the future existence<sup>519</sup> arising. 2. About the great dignity *of* the spirit of good works, and that also of the person doing good works through the lodgment of that spirit in him. 3. This, too, that they praise, recount, and practice the religion of Mazda-worship at the time of the renovation of *the universe*, that of which the demons through deceitfulness, and then also wicked mankind deceived by those who are demons, *have* said that it does not occur.<sup>520</sup>

4. About the triumph of the sacred beings over the demons at the end of *various* periods. 5. First, that which *occurs* when, on account of the preservation of mankind from hell, they praise the religion of Mazda-worship; and that which *occurs* when Zartosht the Spitaman, *whose* guardian spirit is revered, came to the obedient king Kay

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516 Ibid. 5 b, c.

517 See Pahl. Yas. 46.6 b, c, d.

518 See Chap. 18.1 n; it is here called the 19th fargard by mistake in the MS.

519 See Pahl. Yas. 47.1 a.

520 Ibid. 1 b.

Vishtasp.<sup>521</sup> 6. Second, when the power and triumph of renewed sovereignty are again connected with the religion, and mankind, on that account, return to the good religion and this occurs on the near approach of Ushedar,<sup>522</sup> son of Zartosht, when the righteous Chitrag-miyan<sup>523</sup> arrives. 7. Third, when mankind contentedly praise the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, and this occurs as Ushedarmah,<sup>524</sup> son of Zartosht, arrives. 8. *And* fourth, that which *occurs* when every one shall practice the religion *of* Mazda-worship with eagerness; at that time arrives the beneficial *and* triumphant producer of the renovation, Soshyant,<sup>525</sup> son of Zartosht; *and* this becomes the consummation (sarhomondih) *and* supreme triumph of the sacred beings.

9. About inquiring of him who is acquainted with religion and a wise priest concerning the religion, and hearing *of* it from him;<sup>526</sup> also well understanding it through wisdom. 10. About abstaining from the secret proceedings (nihan-homondih) *of* a deceitful *and* seductive apostate.<sup>527</sup> 11. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou shouldst also not fall into the downcast imprisonment (nikun alakib) through the teaching they deceive, where they thus mislead thee to the downcast imprisonment which is hell.'

12. About mankind attaining to the wisdom of an angel (yedato danogih)<sup>528</sup> through the grades of intellect, ability, *and* religion. 13. This, too, *is said*, namely: "*It is* for that way when mankind cause the disturbance (siklinend) *of* that which is a vile religion for want of a way, when even this is produced from among the creatures, in which is the opening of a passage *for* mankind to him, where the evil spirit is dwelling *and* making thee surrender, and on account of the stupefying Akoman."<sup>529</sup> 14. This, too, that, through the sovereignty of sagacity, every one at last arrives at that way. 15. And this, too, that *by him*, who shall persistently perform good works or sin *with* fearlessness, *it is* to be

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521 See Bk. 8, Chaps. 11.1, 13.15.

522 See Bk. 8, Chap. 14.12.

523 A title of Peshyotanu, son of king Vishtasp, who remains immortal as chief high-priest of Kangdez, whence he is expected to come to restore the religious rites in Iran and the rest of the world (see Bd. 29.5, Byt. 3, 25-32, 36-39, 41, 42, 51, 52).

524 See Bk. 8, Chap. 14.13.

525 Ibid. 14.

526 See Pahl. Yas. 47.3 a, b.

527 See Pahl. Yas. 47.3 c.

528 The use of ô for â sometimes occurs in MSS. from Iran. The word can also be read shavandagih, 'existence,' but this meaning is less likely.

529 See Bk. 8, Chap. IX, 3 n.

hereupon considered that his performance is mindful,<sup>530</sup> *and* that the best thing for mankind, after birth, is purification from sin.<sup>531</sup>

16. This, too, that the food *and* maintenance of the priests *depend* upon the husbandmen.<sup>532</sup> 17. This, too, that coveted is now the pleasure and strength of mankind due to the cattle of Hordad *and* Amurdad.<sup>533</sup>

18. About the oppressiveness of Wrath and Envy, *and* the destruction of both through complete mindfulness and possession of Good Thought.<sup>534</sup>

19. *And this is said*, namely: "I made the religion of righteousness a combining desire (voyak-i ham-dahishno<sup>535</sup>), and all mankind's own selves *are* to be forced into that desire; also its involuntary seeking of immortality is the reign of the will of all mankind, and advantage always arises from it."<sup>536</sup> 20. This, too, that the care of cattle is reverence of Ohrmazd.<sup>537</sup>

21. About the progress of righteousness *there* is this, too, that that greatness<sup>538</sup> is generated therefrom, and its seekers – who are human beings – have demanded the supreme predominance in the best existence. 22. About the praise of the period of the renovation *of the universe there* is this, too, that, at that time, those who are doubtful about it are all disclosed to publicity;<sup>539</sup> *also* the last reward and bridge *judgment* of the worthy. 23. About the lawfulness of that which *occurs* through the destruction by Vohuman,<sup>540</sup> who is himself the spiritual lord of the arrangement, there is this, too, that the wicked, at that time, become aware of their own wickedness, when their bodies are dissipated. 24. About the destruction of the good works of the wicked, also that of their own souls, that of *their* spiritual existences, and that of *their* material bodies.<sup>541</sup> 25. And this, too, that at the time of the

530 See Pahl. Yas. 47, 4 c.

531 Ibid. 5 c.

532 Ibid. 5 d.

533 See Pahl. Yas. 47.6 a, b; also Chap. 19.1.

534 Ibid. 7 a, b.

535 Ibid. 7 c, where, however, this last word can be read *asaminishno*, 'unalarms' (*asahaminishno* in Pt4, Mf4), and the corresponding word in Pahl. Yas. 34.10 b can be read *asamishno*, 'intrepid;' but, as these meanings are difficult to reconcile with those of the original Av. *hithaosh*, *hitham*, it seems more probable that the first syllables *asam* or *asaham*, should be read *hisam* or *hisâm*, a mere transcript of Av. *hithâm*.

536 Ibid. 8 a.

537 Ibid. 8 b.

538 Perhaps these two words, *rubakih*, 'progress,' and *rabaih*, 'greatness,' should be alike, but it is doubtful which is correct.

539 See Pahl. Yas. 47.9 b.

540 Ibid. 9 c.

541 See Pahl. Yas. 47.11 c.

renovation *of* the *universe* occurs the approach *of* the wisdom of our sovereignty to that of the best of mankind, and that glory is put on by it through which the destruction *of* the bad and the development of the good arise; *also* the sagacity which *exists* in Vohuman extends to those who are its friends.<sup>542</sup>

26. This, too, that *there* are those who are extenders of the days, and they are beneficial in the country;<sup>543</sup> and their custom, where they have arisen, is an opponent of him who is a wrathful person.<sup>544</sup> 27. And this, too, that they shall thereupon excite (lala vadidunand) a brother and sister with mutual desire, so that they shall form a next-of-kin marriage with unanimity; and before midday they generate a sublime radiance, centered in the face, *and* trembling passion,<sup>545</sup> and they make the radiance grow up, openly manifest, to an altitude of the height of three spears of the length *of* three reeds *each*;<sup>546</sup> and after midday they have learnt expulsion (ranakih),<sup>547</sup> *and* shall remove the fiend who *was* before a destroyer. 28. About *those who* girdle themselves where they shall perform *their* proper duty, and are thus all-beneficent for *being* seen.

29. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

## **Fargard 19. Protection at the renovation, belief necessary for being convinced, evil of a wicked judge and vicious people; praise of Zartosht, Frashostar, and Jamasp; punishment of the wicked (42)**

1. The nineteenth fargard, Ad ma-yava,<sup>548</sup> is about the protection by a protector for the protection *of* the distressed *ones* of the renovation *of*

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542 Ibid. 11 d.

543 Ibid. 12 a.

544 Ibid. 12 d.

545 Reading as follows:- lala zerkhund roshano pavan miyan rod buland navendako khros, but some of the words can be read otherwise, as in S.B.E., vol. xviii, p.395, or with further variations; and it is doubtful if the verb is to be construed with the words that follow it, contrary to the usual Pahlavi rule, as there is no other trace of Avesta construction in this section. Neither the Avesta, nor the Pahlavi, version of this chapter of the Gathas makes any allusion to the subjects mentioned in §§ 27, 28.

546 It appears from Dd. 43.5 that this total of nine reeds would be about forty-eight human feet of fourteen finger-breadths (see Farh. Oim, p. 41, l 1), or 10 1/2 inches, each; so that the height here mentioned would be about forty-two English feet.

547 The capability of expelling fiends.

548 See Chap. 19.1 n; it is here written ad-mag-yuv in Pahlavi.

*the universe*.<sup>549</sup> 2. About the impossibility of convincing those who have not attained to the fundamental reason (bun chim) of belief, before making them comprehensibly reliant upon the existence of the creator, which is the fundamental reason of belief.

3. About the grievous suffering (vimarih) of the religion owing to him who is a wicked judge, whose effusions (rezidano) on the judgment seat are injudicious, malevolent, *and* enemies of wisdom; also wounding is owing to truth,<sup>550</sup> and *his* annoyance owing to the truthful, and the evil spirit is lodging in him; *likewise* the advantage *to* the religion and great reward of just judges, and the introduction

(madam-barishnih) of a desire for leadership in virtuousness.<sup>551</sup> 4. About separation from the friendship of a wicked, ill-judging, unintelligent, and idle *person*, in whom wrath and envy are coiled up (avarpeko).<sup>552</sup> 5. About the good government of securers of their own necks (chavarman) from viciousness, and the bad government of those repeatedly culpable (lakhvar-ahugan) owing to viciousness. 6. And this, too, that the wicked themselves are wicked to their own and make them fit for hell, even as to those who<sup>553</sup> are precious to them and more beloved than righteousness; and *their* reign, too, is a scanty protection (gashuko srayishno).

7. About the praise of Zartosht *there* is this, too, namely: “Thy sweetness and mildness are shown to the worldly existences, thy leadership of the religion is through Vohuman, *and* thou art well conversant with righteousness.”<sup>554</sup> 8. About the praise of Frashostar’s ardor in the leadership of good works, in virtuousness,<sup>555</sup> listening *to* instruction, and truthful speaking, and in pasturing (fshegih), cultivating the world, achieving benefit (sudo tashidarih), and not giving leadership to villains.<sup>556</sup> 9. About the praise also of the energy *and* high-priestship of Jamasp.<sup>557</sup> 10. About the protection of the good creations by Vohuman, and that, too, of the souls of righteous by Spandarmad also.<sup>558</sup>

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549 See Pahl. Yas. 48.1 a.

550 Ibid. 2 a, b.

551 See Pahl. Yas. 48.3 b, c.

552 Ibid. 4a.

553 Assuming that amat stands for mun, their Iranian equivalents being much alike.

554 See Pahl. Yas. 48.5 a, b, c.

555 Ibid. 8 a, b, c and Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68 n.

556 Ibid. 9 a, b, in which Pt4, Mf4 have tashidar instead of the khvastar of K5, J2; regarding fshegih (= Av. fshengh'hyo) see Bk. 8, Chap. 22.6 n.

557 Ibid. 9 d and Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68 n.

558 See Pahl. Yas. 48.10 a, b, c and Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3 n.



11. About the punishment of the wicked *ruler* is seizing anything unlawfully in his realm. 12. Also about the grievous punishment of the wicked, evil- thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, heretical (dush-deno), evil ruler in hell.<sup>559</sup> 13. About reply of the archangels to Zartosht, as to the reward begged by him, to make *him* satisfied about it.<sup>560</sup>

14. It is righteousness that is perfect excellence.

**Fargard 20. Assistance by the archangels, reward given to the righteous in the other world when unattainable here, cattle for warriors, advancement of religion by force, assisters, of the dead righteous, reason for certain movements of the Zot, worship of archangels, merit of Zartosht, reward of good works (43)**

1. The twentieth fargard, Kad-moi-urva,<sup>561</sup> is about anything whatever being begged as provision for the soul,<sup>562</sup> and as to the speaking of Shahrewar<sup>563</sup> to Zartosht thus: 'Thou shouldst think thus, O Spitaman! that Ohrmazd assists thee.' 2. This, too, *is said*, that the creatures of Ohrmazd live through Hordad, are immortal through Amurdad,<sup>564</sup> possess complete mindfulness of Ohrmazd through Spandarmad,<sup>565</sup> and possess him as ruler through Shahrewar.

3. About wealth *being* begged owing to virtuousness *there* is this, too, that, to him who, owing to virtuousness, begs that which is not allowed to him owing to the oppressiveness *of* the vile, or on account of *some* other opposition, they then give essentially that reward, in the spiritual *existence which* is greater *and* better than that wealth. 4. About the cattle suitable *for* that warrior who possesses virtuous habits *and* strength,<sup>566</sup> through the assistance of the will of the sacred beings and for the benefit of Iran *and* the defeat of the diminishing foreign force (kastarih-i an-Airano).

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559 Ibid. 11 a, b.

560 Ibid. 12 b, d. In Pt4, Mf4, § b is as follows: "Mun Zaratushto chigun lak Vohuman;" being correctly limited according to the Avesta text.

561 See Chap. 20.1 n; it is here written kad-mog-ravako in Pahlavi.

562 See Pahl. Yas. 49.1 a.

563 An archangel who is a personification of the Avesta phrase khshathra-vairyra, "desirable dominion."

564 For these three archangels see Chaps. 12.25 n, 19.1 n, and Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3.

565 See previous note.

566 See Pahl. Yas. 49.3 a, c.

5. About the seizure<sup>567</sup> of mankind for the advancement of the admonition *and* command *of* the sacred beings, so far as force is an assistant to them in knowledge due to the sacred beings;<sup>568</sup> *and* their appropriation *of* the best existence through the advancement of that admonition and command.

6. About the assistance of the righteous, on the passage to the best existence, by the spirit of the wisdom of sovereignty, liberality, *and* truth, Ashishwangh<sup>569</sup> and the angel Hom.<sup>570</sup>

7. About the reason of the three steps walked forward by the Zot from the place of the Zot, while uttering the Avesta (avistako-gobishniha), after the end of the ritual for the fire, on delivering (parvazishno) the offering of holy-water {zohr} to the water,<sup>571</sup> *being* the leading up of the archangels, always at the end of an assembly of conference *with* Zartosht, by three steps from the earth to the sun station, through *the places of* good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.<sup>572</sup>

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567 Ibid. 7 d.

568 This proviso implies some faint perception of the absurdity of trying to assist almighty beings by human force.

569 See Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3 n.

570 A personification of the Av. Haoma plant, an infusion of the dried twigs of which is used in the religious ceremonial. Yas. 9 and 10 are devoted to his praise.

571 See Pahl. Yas. 49.8 a. This refers to the proceedings of the chief officiating priest in the ceremonial, after the conclusion of the Atash Niyayesh (Yas. 62) and just before the beginning of the Aban Niyayesh (Yas. 65), during the recital of Yas. 64 which chiefly consists of a repetition of §§ 6-11 of this Gathic ha (Yas. 50 = 49 of the Pahlavi version). These proceedings are detailed in the rubrics, partially in J2 and more fully in Pt4, Mf4, as follows: After reciting Av. Yas. 50, 7 d 'the barsom (Av. baresman, see Bk. 8, Chap. 44.65 n) is to be taken up from the Mah-ru'i, or crescent-topped barsom-stand, 'and one step is to be set forth in the direction of the Frabardar' (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the north-east corner of the ceremonial area, or to the left of the Zot, see Chap. 33.5 n), 'at this place of taking up the barsom from the Barsom-stand, and of going on to the position of the Frabardar, a beginning of Yas. 50.8 a is to be made in walking towards the beginning of the fire place, until Yas. 50.11 d is to be uttered,' in the following manner: - After 'mad vau one step is to be set forth, and homage to be offered to the holy-water;' after 'padaish one step, and homage to be offered to the holy-water;' after 'ya frasruta izhayau one step is to be set forth, and he is to go on to the position of the Abard' (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the south-east corner, so that the progress of the Zot towards the fire is along the left-hand side of the ceremonial area), and, after reciting the rest of the Gathic text to the end of Yas. 50.11 d, "homage is to be offered to the fire, and he is to go away to the position of the Zot."

572 The three lower grades of heaven, intermediate between the earth and the best existence or supreme heaven (Garothman), and situated in the stations of the stars, moon, and sun, respectively (see A.V. 7-10, MX 7.9-12).

8. Advice to Zartosht also as to the nature of the archangels; likewise a reminder to worship on *their* account after separation from the sight of *them*. 9. And this, too, is said, that *there* arises therefrom a conception (ham-giriftari), by him whose disposition and character are sagacious,<sup>573</sup> also as to the adaptation of his own deeds to that nature of his. 10. And about the good affinity of Zartosht, even for abundance of good works, *there* is this, too, namely: 'so, *for* all those deeds which *thou hast* to accomplish, *and* which are also accomplished, there is reward for thee through their righteousness, O Zartosht!'

11. And about the advice to Zartosht *there* is this, too, namely: '*Thou hast* to become reverent to them,<sup>574</sup> so that mankind *may* become reverent to thee.' 12. About considering the time of the days *and* nights as all for good accumulation in good works *there* is this, too, that whoever is diligent *and* always doing good works, *and* that whoever shall perform as many good works as is possible for him, is given as much reward<sup>575</sup> as is his desire.

13. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

**Fargard 21. Desire for a good ruler; where the best wealth, prayer, and sovereignty exist; favors from the sacred beings, memory and discrimination, attraction of spiritual mercy and leadership in heaven, good works and wealth, submission to the priesthood meritorious, creations for the benefit of the creatures, comfort for the spirit of the liturgy; (§10) the wicked deceiver, man prepared for future existence by fire, the supreme heaven for the righteous only, enmity of Akht the heretic, Kay and Karb excluded from virtue; praise of Vishtasp, Frashostar, Hvov, Jamasp, Maidok-mah, and Zartosht (44)**

1. *In* the twenty-first fargard, Vohu-khshathrem,<sup>576</sup> it is said by Ohrmazd thus: "I produced, O Zartosht! the desire *for* a good ruler;"<sup>577</sup> and this, too, *is said*, that, when *there* is a desire *for* a good ruler

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573 See Pahl. Yas. 49.9 d.

574 Ibid. 10 d.

575 Ibid. 11 d.

576 See Chap. 21.1 n; it is here written vohu-khshatar in Pahlavi, and is called the 22nd fargard by mistake.

577 See Pahl. Yas. 50.1 a.

suitable for a share of the world, whoever is suitable for a share of the world [is a development of that character also, owing to the share which is given him, and by him who is himself also developing the character, by giving him a share],<sup>578</sup> giving the share is producing a helper (vijidar), production of a helper is a perfect action,<sup>579</sup> and superiority of action is owing to thought *and* speech.

2. About *the place* where the best wealth is the produce of water, earth, and plants; also its best supplication is lamentation for the religion. and the sovereignty is liberality. 3. About favors *being* begged from the sacred beings, even with words controverting the response of the sacred beings; the favors *for* the worthy are to be contended *for* worthily. 4. About the connection of the power of intelligent remembrance and wise discrimination, one with the other. 5. About the attraction of the mercy of the spirit *and* leadership,<sup>580</sup> together, into the supreme heaven (Garothman), for observation regarding the good creatures.

6. About the begging and teaching of that intelligence which is with the increase of good works; also the imperceptible acquirement<sup>581</sup> of wealth occurs thereby. 7. This, too, that whoever gives himself up, with humility and reverence, to him who is a high-priest of the true religion, is proficient (far'-zanaki-aito) in the religion;<sup>582</sup> and the benefit produced by him, for him who is good, is the liberality *which* is provided for the sacred beings.<sup>583</sup> 8. About Ohrmazd having created water, plants, animals,<sup>584</sup> *and* the law of the primitive religion for the nourishment, arrangement, and succession of the creatures. 9. About the comfort *of* the spirit *of* the liturgy of the religion when he who is a man of credible wisdom and superior disposition utters it.<sup>585</sup>

10. This, too, that the wicked *one* who does not believe the deception that he teaches to others, which is his through his own spiritual lord, yet, when he teaches multitudes (kabedan), is convinced by it, attains – as the end of that teaching – eminence (padgahih) for bare-faced deceit (barahnako fradipih), public falsehood, and disjointed belief.

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578 The passage in brackets was at first omitted in the MS. by mistake, and subsequently interlined and written in the margin with a different ink.

579 See Pahl. Yas. 50.1 c.

580 Ibid. 4 a.

581 Ibid. 5 a.

582 Ibid. 5 c.

583 See Pahl. Yas. 50.6 a.

584 Ibid. 7 a.

585 Ibid. 8 c; nêvagtâr is written by mistake for nêvagtâr, “superior,” in the MS.

11. And about mankind being bodily prepared also for the future existence by fire and melted ore;<sup>586</sup> in the worldly *existence* the acquitted and incriminated, as regards the law, *have* become thereby manifest,<sup>587</sup> and, in the future existence, the torment of the wicked *and* the gratification of the righteous.<sup>588</sup> 12. About Vohuman *and* Ardwhisht being invoked<sup>589</sup> for assistance also in danger from the wicked, and about appropriating the best existence through righteousness alone. 13. And this, too, that a happy coming of men to the supreme heaven exists *for* the righteous, but no<sup>590</sup> coming of any one from the wicked.

14. About the enmity of the Kay<sup>591</sup> sodomite (vaepo)<sup>592</sup> Akht, the heretic of the dark existence,<sup>593</sup> to Zartosht; and the causing of disturbance (siklinidano), *by* him and the wicked of similar kinds to him, among those who *follow* Zartosht is extreme, and the primeval hellish existence is *for* them.<sup>594</sup> 15. About the closing of the abode of the Kay and Karb from virtuousness,<sup>595</sup> *and* this, too, that they do not develop the worldly *existences*, nor attend to the spirit, but they contract the world *and* dissipate the spirit.<sup>596</sup>

16. About the worthiness of the sovereignty of Kay Vishtasp,<sup>597</sup> on account of great ability and activity, apart even from superintending. 17. About the praise of Frashostar<sup>598</sup> for his *having* given Hvov<sup>599</sup> in marriage to Zartosht, the praise of Hvov for her complete reverence of Zartosht, and admonition to Zartosht as to making Hvov privileged for the post of house-mistress.<sup>600</sup> 18. About the praise of Jamasp<sup>601</sup> for begging fortune and *for* wisdom in appropriating the excellence of the

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586 Ibid. 9 b and Chap. 32.25.

587 Ibid. 9 a.

588 Ibid. 9 c.

589 Ibid. 10 c.

590 Assuming that rai stands for la.

591 See Bk. 8, Chap. 35.13 n.

592 See Pahl. Yas. 50.12 a.

593 Akhtyo duzhdau temanguhau of Yt5.82; the wizard Akht of the [tale of Yavisht-i Friyan](#).

594 See Pahl. Yas. 50.14 c.

595 Ibid. 14 a.

596 Ibid. 14 b.

597 Ibid. 16 a and Bk. 8, Chap. 11.1.

598 Ibid. 17 a and Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68.

599 Ibid. 17 b. Av. Hvovi of Yt13.139, Yt16.15; she was daughter of Frashostar and wife of Zartosht.

600 Ibid. 17 c.

601 Ibid. 18 a and Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68.

primitive righteousness; *also his* affection for the sovereignty and for the recitation of revelation, in which *there* is assistance of Zartosht through command of Vohuman.<sup>602</sup> 19. About the praise of Maidokmah<sup>603</sup> for his accepting *and* exercising – and on account of his exercising – the upholding and propagation of the religion; *also* the yelling, united assault, evil food, *and* other affliction owing to the wicked *in* the earlier half of the night, which is that which Zartosht had, for a like reason, to bear; and the reciting of the law of Ohrmazd,<sup>604</sup> for the joy of the sacred beings, and his appropriation of the best existence.

20. About the abounding of Zartosht in complete mindfulness of the origin of learning, and its development by him;<sup>605</sup> both the object and the advantage of knowledge – which is the reigning of Vohuman in the body – being the means *of* developing the world in righteousness.<sup>606</sup> 21. About the perfection of the ceremonial<sup>607</sup> and obeisance of Zartosht, *and* the superiority<sup>608</sup> of his recompense;<sup>609</sup> *also* advice to him as to worshipping Ohrmazd preeminently, and the primeval angels by their own names<sup>610</sup> according to their greatness.

22. It is the excellence *of* righteousness that *is* perfect.

## **Fargard 22. Perfection of prayers, glory of the Spitamas, praise of Pouruchast and Hutos, characteristics of the preparers and disturbers of the end, the apostle and follower of the demons is to be smitten by the righteous ruler (45)**

1. The twenty-second fargard, Vahistoishti<sup>611</sup> is about the perfection of the prayers<sup>612</sup> of the good religion, and information thereon.

2. About the glory of a family of some houses that has come to the Spitamas,<sup>613</sup> even before the coming of Zartosht; the knowledge and

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602 See Pahl. Yas. 50.18 b.

603 Ibid. 19 a and Chap. 24.1.

604 Ibid. 19 c.

605 Ibid. 21 a.

606 Ibid. 21 b.

607 Ibid. 22 a.

608 Assuming that avartih stands for avartarih.

609 See Pahl. Yas. 50.22 b.

610 Ibid. 22 c.

611 See Chap. 22.1 n.

612 See Pahl. Yas. 52.1 a.

613 The family from which Zartosht, Maidokmah, and Pouruchast were descended. Its name originated with Spitama, an ancestor of *Zartosht* nine generations back.

habit of organization and priestly authority of those *arising* from that family; the existence therein of houses, villages, communities, *and* districts; *its* attracting *and* exalting mankind, from vice to virtue, by propriety *of* words and actions; *and* it convinces those of the world even till the arrival of the good religion. 3. And this, too, that the existence *of* Kay Vishtasp – that desire of Zartosht<sup>614</sup> – and *of* Frashostar of the Hvovas,<sup>615</sup> is owing to it.

4. About the praise of Pouruchast,<sup>616</sup> daughter of Zartosht, for loving the good religion with wisdom and acting *by* the advice of the religion, *having* given herself contentedly in womanly service (zanoi*h*) to Zartosht;<sup>617</sup> *her* complete accomplishment of duty and reverence for bin,, and, after Zartosht, *her* also performing womanly service (zani*h*) and reverence *for* Jamasp;<sup>618</sup> *likewise* her great reward from *Ohrmazd* for religiousness and self-devotion (khveshi*h*) to the sacred beings. 5. About the praise of Hutos<sup>619</sup> for the arising of the progress of the Mazda-worshipping religion through her, by the growth of righteousness and smiting *of* the primeval fiend; *also* the good works and advantage which have arisen in the world from *her* great possessions, and her equal praise and grand position here *and in* yonder world.

6. About the characteristics of those who are preparing the end *of time* and arranging its period *there* is this, too, namely: They are a manifestation *of* those, O Spitaman Zartosht! who shall cause this renovation in the existences; they are observant, little afflictive in tormenting, *and* fully mindful, so that, when milk reaches them, they thoroughly digest it; they *have* no fear and accouterments (afzar), *nor* yet do they mention false *and* irreverent (anasto) statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.' 7. About the characteristics of those disturbing the end *of time and* opposing *its* period there is this, too, namely: 'They are a manifestation of those, O

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Compare Chap. 39.23.

614 Perhaps we ought to read "the Spitama Zartosht," substituting Spitamak for kamak, "desire," which latter word is written on a patch by the repairer of the MS. who must have found the original word defective. See Pahl. Yas. 52.2 c.

615 See Chap. 21.24.

616 See Pahl. Yas. 52.3 a. Av. Pourukista who became the wife of Jamasp, prime minister of king Vishtasp.

617 Ibid. 4 a. It seems unlikely that zanoi*h* means "marriage" here (the term being applied to her relation both to Zartosht and Jamasp), unless we were to suppose that she married Jamasp after her father's death, which the phrase akhar min Zartosht, "after Zartosht," might possibly imply. And if zanoi*h* means merely "womanly service" here, its Zvarish equivalent nesmani*h*, applied to the seven sisters of Arda Viraf in AV.2.10 may also not imply marriage, which is a view already suggested in S.B.E., vol. xviii, p.398 n.

618 See Pahl. Yas. 52.4 b.

619 Ibid. 5 a. Av. Hutaosa, the wife of king Vishtasp, see Yt9.26, Yt15.35.

Spitamán Zartosht! who are destroying the existences;<sup>620</sup> they are swiftly remedied, that is, they become very quickly devoured (*khaido*) and *are* in the torment of the vicious *and* grievous abode; they are not fully mindful, so that *it* is not possible for them to digest milk, their fear is inevitable (*achar*), *and* they mention even false *and* irreverent statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.

8. About the craving for the fiend, the assistance of the fiend, and the gratification of the fiend by him who is an apostle of the demons, and his rendering the creatures of Ohrmazd helpless<sup>621</sup> even through the want of progress (*anasachishno*) which they lament; also the confusion owing to his speaking deceitfully in the world, *and* the connection with him of an awful and swift death,<sup>622</sup> and the most grievous *and* hellish punishment. 9. About that wicked follower and assistant of theirs *in* defeating righteousness, and also in destroying the greater religiousness (*freh-denoih*) of the world and making the soul wicked in the end.

10. About the occurrence of the dissipation of the glory of him who is a well-ruling man, and the pacification (*asudano*) of the creatures of the world by the sacred beings, it says this, too, namely: “The persuader *to* evil<sup>623</sup> and the organizer of distress (*veshishno*) – where they shall make pain and distress current in the world – are the weakener (*nerefsinar*) and corrupter (*alayidar*) for the righteous ; it is the ruler that is righteous who smites them and opposes them – that is, restrains them from sin – and causes hatred for them through his will;<sup>624</sup> that, O Ohrmazd! is this dominion of thine *by* which you give benefits (*vehigano*) *to* him who is justly living and poor.”<sup>625</sup>

11. It is perfect excellence that is righteousness.

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620 See Pahl. Yas. 52.6 e.

621 Or it may be “maintaining the affliction of the creatures,” if we read *azardarih* instead of *akargarih*.

622 See Pahl. Yas. 52.8 d.

623 Ibid. 9 a. B has *avehiih verenakinidar*, but *avehiih*, “want of goodness,” ought to be *dushiih*, “evil,” which it resembles even more in appearance than in meaning, in Pahlavi letters.

624 See Pahl. Yas. 52.9 c.

625 Ibid. 9 d. Compare Chap. 47.17.



## **Fargard 23. Benefits of the Airman supplication (46)**

1. The twenty-third *fargard*, Airyaman,<sup>626</sup> is the Airyaman supplication<sup>627</sup>:-'That is the greatest, I tell thee, O Spitaman! of the pure sayings of every kind, in so much Avesta lore, this is the best, because it is given forth by him who is a very eminent producer (*madam-kartar*) of sayings of every kind. 2. Which Airyaman supplication they should recite who are beneficial, *and* the benefiter,<sup>628</sup> through the recital of it aloud, O Spitaman! becomes predominant. 3. The evil spirit who is heretical (*dushdeno*), O Zartosht! with his own creatures, O Spitaman! becomes buried *in* the earth; the evil spirit is among *those* buried in the earth – who are the demons – where their bodily form (*kalpudo*) is completely shattered. 4. And up the dead are arrayed by it; through its assistance they give life back unto the body, and the embodied life they then possess is such that they do not die.'

5. It is perfect is the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence that is righteousness.

*(End of the account of the Warsht-mansr Nask)*

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## **Bag Nask**

**Fargard 1. The Ahunwar produced before the creation; its divisions, goodness, and use; benefit of its proper recital and sin or imperfect recital; (§12) it was the first creature and teaches submission to the king, the reward of Vohuman, dominion given to Ohrmazd, assistance to the poor, entrance of the destroyer; use of this saying by the degrees, classes, and chieftainships; the summing up of liberality (47)**

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Ohrmazd and all angels.

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626 See Chap. 23.1 n; it is here written Airemano in Pahlavi.

627 See Pahl. Yas. 53.1 and Bk. 8, Chap. 44.81.

628 Pahl. sud-homond = Av. saoshyas [Soshyant], referring to the future restorer of religion to the world, just before the renovation of the universe.

2. The first of the twenty-two fargards of the Bag<sup>629</sup> is the Ahunwar<sup>630</sup> of the Bagan,<sup>631</sup> about the production *by* Ohrmazd, before every creation apart from the archangel,<sup>632</sup> *and* on the solicitation of the archangel, of the form *of* words (*rastako milaya*) which is the innermost and most comprehensive encompassment (*parvand*) and best-congregated embodiment (*veh-ramaktum kerpo*) of the intelligent omniscience of the religion.<sup>633</sup>

3. The divisions of *this* germ of germs, *and* the origin of the other primitive sayings of the good religion, are the divisibility of the portions (*bako*) *of* the Ahunwar. 4. The Ahu of the Ahu-vairyo of the Ahunwar is the first creature<sup>634</sup> which, as regards the first, is specially that creature which is really *derived* from the creator Ohrmazd, and its adaptation is owing to mankind. 5. The thought (*mit*)<sup>635</sup> that exists with the first is with the word that is Vairyo, his 'will,' which is in the second created existence (*damih*), which, as regards the first, is specially the primitive secondary state (*dadigarih*) of those who are specially characterized by it, who exist as *it were* with *that* character, *and* have become, *in* that way, in association *with* the second creature. 6. The conjunction of the first creature – whose origin (*yehevunishno*), which is the liturgy, is a existence whose origin *had* occurred-is the source for the saying; and the distribution of the portions thereof is the whole saying of a liturgical kind; also its name is Yatha-ahu-vairyo, the spirit through which it is set going is the lore *of* the religion, needful among the creatures, the creations *arose* through wisdom for that purpose, and they, too, *were* produced on the solicitation of the archangel,<sup>636</sup> besides this, that

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629 The third of the Nasks and fourth of the Gathic division (see Bk. 8, Chap. 1.9, 12). It is an analytical commentary upon the Gathas and the texts associated with them in the two preceding Nasks, devoting a separate fargard to each ha, and selecting very short phrases, or portions (*Av. bagha*), for explanation and comment; so short that it is usually difficult to identify them in their Pahlavi disguise. The first three fargards are still extant in Yas. 19-21, and a translation of their Pahlavi versions will be found in the Nask Fragments at the end of this volume; but whether the Pahlavi versions, consulted by the writer of the Denkart, were identical with those in the present Yasna is uncertain.

630 The name of the Yatha-ahu-vairyo formula (see Bk. 8, Chap. 1.7). This fargard is still extant in Yas. 19.

631 That is, "of the apportionments," or "of those analyzed."

632 Possibly the archangel Vohuman, the first of the creatures, may he meant; although the Bundahishn places his creation after the recitation of the Ahunwar (see Bd. 1.21-23). That it was recited before the other creations is clearly stated in Pahl. Yas. 19.2-5, 17-20.

633 See Pahl. Yas. 19.24-27.

634 Ibid. 29.

635 Ibid. Paz. mit = Av. maiti = manas.

636 See Pahl. Yas. 19.20.

archangels *are* wise in speaking, and through wisdom are they archangels.

7. And this, too, about the same words, that the statement is the best-worded which is spoken, *or* to be spoken;<sup>637</sup> and the obscurity is not about the sound of the word-elements, but about the manifold nature of the actual meaning (kabeledih-i sang-icho), which is the character of the statement, in the words of the epitome. 8. This, too, that mankind guard the soul from hell by learning, reciting, and practicing *it*, and the body from death<sup>638</sup> by likewise perpetually persevering therein.

9. This, too, that, *as to* the first apportionment of the Ahunwar, whose name is the Bagan Ahunwar, when, thoroughly accomplishing it (avavidar) unanxiously (asudakiha), *one* chants *it* in a ceremonial, the good work is as when *one* chants a hundred authorities (radih) of the Gathas, thoroughly accomplishing *them* unanxiously;<sup>639</sup> and when, accomplishing *it* (vidar) anxiously, *one* chants it, such a ceremonial amounts to *as much* as ten *with any other authority*.<sup>640</sup> 10. This, too, that, through the same apportionment, while one solemnizes the summing up of the first completion,<sup>641</sup> which is the Stud-yasn, as it becomes the rite of *one* newly initiated (navak-napar),<sup>642</sup> on that day they make the soul of the solemnizer pass three times into the supreme heaven.<sup>643</sup>

11. About the grievous sinfulness of imperfectly accomplishing (avidar) the Bagan Ahunwar.<sup>644</sup>

12. This, too, that it is made by him in subjection *to* Ohrmazd, as the first creature made, who gives the body in service to him who is the ruler, *and* in discipleship to him who is the high-priest of the religion;<sup>645</sup> for this reason, because they are suitable *for* lordship and mastership in the worldly *existence*. 13. He who is the highest lord *and* master is the creator Ohrmazd, and, owing to the same reason, when it made their subjection that *to* the creator Ohrmazd, he has made *it* as the first creature made.

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637 Ibid. 24.

638 Ibid. 25, 26.

639 Ibid. 6, 7. The MS. has drk instead of drz "100" by mistake.

640 Ibid. 8. The MS. has "unanxiously" by mistake.

641 Possibly Yas. 59.32-34.

642 Commonly called Nonabar (see Sls. 10.2, 13.2; Dd. 79.4, 11, 12).

643 See Pahl. Yas. 19.9-11.

644 Ibid. 12-15.

645 Ibid. 28, 29.

14. This, too, that it is taught by it to keep the body in the service of the king of kings,<sup>646</sup> whose origin Ohrmazd keeps in *his* possession; for this reason, because, when *his* origin is kept in the possession of Ohrmazd, Ohrmazd is over his own if a good ruler is made; him who is thus prepared, when also the worldly existence is necessary *for* Ohrmazd, he maintains as ruler when the creation is instructed.

15. This, too, that the reward of Vohuman is appropriated (khvesinido) by him who indicates anything which is virtuous, who also utters virtuous recitation, and who likewise teaches perfect abstinence from sin to mankind.<sup>647</sup> 16. For this reason, because the indication of anything virtuous, the utterance of recitation wisely, *and* abstinence from sin are, as *it were*, a lodgment materially in good people owing spiritually to the archangels, Vohuman *being* more particularly the instigator therein; and, owing to the same reason, *he* in whom there is a like proficiency is of like good works with Vohuman, and adapted to the good works arises the like reward.

17. This, too, that the dominion is given to Ohrmazd by him who may perform those *works*, manifest from *the phrase* Tad Mazda tava khshathrem, &c. and its meaning, which is this: "That, O Ohrmazd! is this dominion of thine, by which benefits (vehagano) are given *to* him who is justly living *and* poor."<sup>648</sup> 18. *Which* is a deliverance this reason, because Ohrmazd created no dominion for the more particular preservation of the poor *and* the creatures of the worldly *existence* from the destroyer; but, for the purpose of control over the dominion of *him* whose strength of rule is the cause of preservation for the poor – which is continually the wish of Ohrmazd – the dominion is given to Ohrmazd.

19. *And* this, too, that, through preservation from the adversary, he has assisted his poor who have preserved friendship for the Spitaman;<sup>649</sup> the adversity *of* the creatures is the advancement of religion, by supporting the religion; and a friend of the Spitaman becomes an assistant of the supporters of religion. 20. About the entrance (den yatundakih) of the destroyer of the creatures from without,<sup>650</sup> *and* the helplessness of the beneficent spirit thereto.

21. About the girding on of this saying of the religion of Ohrmazd by the three degrees (padman), which are good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; by the four classes, which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship; and by the five chieftainships, which are

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646 Ibid. 30.

647 Ibid. 31, 32.

648 See Pahl. Yas. 19.35, Yas. 53.9 d, and Chap. 45.10.

649 Ibid. 36.

650 Ibid. 39.

house-rule, village-rule, tribe-rule, province-rule, and the supreme Zartoshtship [[Zarathushtrótēma]]; and the one summing up (hangerdikih) which is the liberality of the good ruler.<sup>651</sup>

22. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

## **Fargard 2. Excellence is producing suitably, reward of good works (48).**

1. The second fargard is the Ashem<sup>652</sup> of the Bagan;<sup>653</sup> it is by *that* perfect excellence is produced for everyone who produces for anyone else that which is suitable for him;<sup>654</sup> for this reason, because, for the sake of perfect production, *there is* much unprofitable production, but profitable production is suitably producing. 2. This, too, that the reward of every good work is given by it to mankind, which keeps mankind in diligence when it instructs;<sup>655</sup> because, as the business of all good works is that which instructs and keeps mankind in diligence. the reward of good works which mankind can appropriate by diligence is appropriated by it. 3. And this, too, that advancement is given by it to every good work.<sup>656</sup>

4. He who is understanding good works, and *yet* a suppliant, has thereby made the learned foolish (azan akhanidinido); whoever possesses authority through virtuousness<sup>657</sup> is more particularly for rewarding the doers of good works; whoever, too, can make true decision<sup>658</sup> and adjudication is more particularly for causing the bridge *judgment* of a criminal, and *for* thrusting *him* aside owing to the exhaustion of *his* good works; and whoever, too, can exercise mediation *and* wisdom is more particularly for the good government of the world.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

## **Fargard 3. Worship of Ohrmazd and the archangels, particulars regarding worship (49)**

1. The third fargard is the Yenhe-hatam:<sup>659</sup> there is here taught by it the worship of Ohrmazd, which is the law of Ohrmazd, that is, its law is

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651 Pahl. Yas. 19.44-55.

652 See Chap. 3.1 n; it is here expressed by its Pahl. equivalent aharayih. This *fargard* is still extant in Yas. 20.

653 see Chap. 47.2.

654 See Pahl. Yas. 20.1.

655 Ibid. 2.

656 See Pahl. Yas. 20.3.

657 Ibid. 4.

658 Ibid. 5.

virtuous. 2. This, too, that the worship of Ohrmazd is occasioned by it, which is the asking for life for beings by mankind.<sup>660</sup> 3. And this, too, that the ritual of the males and females of the righteous occurs through it, which is the obeisance for the archangels.<sup>661</sup> 4. And the atonement for crimes (vajagano), because it is a gratification, is all for Ohrmazd personally therefrom; and in connection therewith it amounts to a gratification for Ohrmazd.

5. Here one mentions three particulars<sup>662</sup> which are in one's worship of Ohrmazd of every description. 6. One is when the design (dado) of the person is virtuous, because it is restrained by some virtuousness of thought; this is that which amounts to worship and obeisance for Ohrmazd personally. 7. One is when it teaches an asking for life for mankind, and its ordinance is the protection, nourishment, and other assistance and gratification of mankind; a friend of the primitive worldly creation of mankind produced it, and it comes into connection with the bridge judgment of mankind, for the worship and gratification of Ohrmazd. 8. And one is when one would celebrate the obeisance for the archangels, which is for the sake of strengthening the archangels, each separately, in their control of the business of preparing and managing the world; because it is declared by revelation that to worship is this, that the ceremonial may reach this bridge<sup>663</sup> in company with one (padvand), for the worship and gratification of Ohrmazd; the archangel who is to be strengthened by the ceremonial is one, and mankind are developed by the strength of the archangel.

9. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

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659 See Chap. 4.1 n; it is here written Yanhe-hatam in Pahlavi. This fargard is still extant in Yas. 21.

660 See Pahl. Yas. 21.1.

661 Ibid. 2, 3.

662 See Pahl. Yas. 21.3.

663 The Chinwad bridge (see Chap. 20.3).

**Fargard 4. Praise of Zartosht, giving joy to Ohrmazd, good work of reverence, wisdom of Vohuman, benefit of cattle and the worthy, prosperity of the worthy, (§10) reverence of the good, supplicants should be contented, the way to heaven, reverence, acquaintance with religion, teaching righteousness, seeing the throne of Ohrmazd, welcoming him, recommending to rulers for benefit, the way of prosperity; (§20) a suitable sovereign solicited, the praiser, religion made progressive, zealously for good works, the man praised above others, assister of the ignorant, wisdom for Ohrmazd; the past, present, and future periods (50).**

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Ohrmazd, and a scornful dole for the evil spirit.

2. The fourth fargard is the Yanim-mano<sup>664</sup> of the Bag, about the praise of Zartosht, that is, his jurisdiction, invocation of blessing (yano)<sup>665</sup> and speaking *in* reply were such as are declared by the *sacred* text. 3. This, too, that that jurisdiction of his arose before the blessing, that is, this one decision is made by him about his own, that his own person is first made deserving by him through virtue, and then virtue is prayed for by him.<sup>666</sup>

4. This, too, that he has attributed the source *and* result to Ohrmazd, who gives joy to Ohrmazd; for the source *and* result of various advantages *and* various joys are desirable for joy itself, as joy is the acme (roeshman) of every happiness of *him* whose joy *has* made an offering (austofrido) to Ohrmazd, because his decision is this, that by him whose joy arises from that thing which is the will of Ohrmazd, its source *and* result are attributed to Ohrmazd. 5. This, too, that the good work, which is a gratification *by* lawful gratifiers,<sup>667</sup> becomes appropriated by him who shall perform that which is truly reverent; even for this reason, because he who is a lawful gratifier of others, through true reverence, has intended to gratify through the practice of his reverence, and, when thus the gratifier of those persons, the good work of gratification *by* lawful gratifiers becomes appropriated. 6. This,

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664 See Chap. 5.1 n.

665 See Pahl. Yas. 28.o.

666 Ibid. 1 a.

667 Ibid. 2 c.

too, that the wisdom of Vohuman<sup>668</sup> is advanced by him who utters a discourse through Vohuman; for this reason, because the wisdom of Vohuman and its advancement are mostly through discourse. 7. This, too, that the plentifulness and satisfaction of cattle [5] are taught by him who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession; even for this reason, owing to the multitudes thus *belonging* to *him* who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession, he gains his profit *and* measure therefrom, *and* others, who see that gain, are instructed, even as much as he, about the proper maintenance of cattle for their own profit *and* pleasure.

8. This, too, that benefit<sup>669</sup> *being* given for the benefit *of* the worthy *man* is taught by him who keeps the benefit that is his as the property *of* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because he gives the benefit that is his unto the worthy *man* for the purpose of keeping it for the advantage of the sacred beings, and others are instructed about it. 9. This, too, that prosperity<sup>670</sup> *being* given, in both existences,<sup>671</sup> to him who is generous *and* worthy is taught by him who gives benefit to a worthy *man* possessing body and life; even for this reason, because a worldly *existence* and a spiritual one are both his, also his worldly *existence* is in this existence, *and* the spiritual *one* in that existence wherefrom satisfaction for the giving of benefit arrives. 10. This, too, that by him who shall cause reverence<sup>672</sup> of the good, even this is taught, that the sacred beings gratify him who is practicing their will; even for this reason, because good for him, by whom the reverence is practiced, becomes the reply of satisfaction, *and* the throne of the sacred beings is certain.

11. This, too, that he who *was* at first has taught even this to mankind, that supplicants<sup>673</sup> *for* the favor of the sacred beings gratify the sacred beings by being contented (*padvaz*); even for this reason, because the welcome of a sacred being, supplied by command from the religion, is a virtuousness in the world distinct from that, and the production of a course of generosity, from the sacred beings to mankind, arises really through the contentment of the favored; *and* mankind thereby become freer from doubt, and believe more in the sacred beings.

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668 See Pahl. Yas. 28.1 c, where Pt4 and Mf4 have Vohuman instead of valman.

669 Ibid. 2 b.

670 Ibid. 2 c.

671 Ibid. 2 b.

672 Ibid. 4 b.

673 See Pahl. Yas. 28.4 c.



12. This, too, that his soul is delivered, *or will* be delivered, into the supreme heaven,<sup>674</sup> who *has* given something to him who praises the sacred beings *and* the good ; even for this reason, because even through liberality as to wealth, and the production of a way to the supreme heaven, it is manifest that anything given to the praisers of the sacred beings *and* the good is a greater liberality. 13. This, too, that the reverence<sup>675</sup> of those needing reverence is occasioned by him who teaches the *sacred* word (*vachako*) to the good; even for this reason, because he who is a good teacher of revelation (*deno*) can bring it into use for the reverence, advantage, and joy of the sacred beings *and* the good.

14. This, too, that acquaintance with the religion of Ohrmazd<sup>676</sup> is disposed to his own by him who loves Vohuman<sup>677</sup> even for this reason, because true knowledge arises from the discrimination of pure wisdom, and the pure attainment of the most discriminative spiritual lord (*ahvo*) to the mind, through the purity that constitutes the way within the mind of a spiritual lord, the purity which becomes that way through the lodgment of Vohuman there. 15. This, too, that righteousness is taught<sup>678</sup> *by* him who keeps *his* mind connected with righteousness; even for this reason, because his mind attains to an effort for authority, and, ridden by the effort, *attains* to *its* acquisition. 16. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Ohrmazd, this is also taught to mankind, namely, when *one* sees the throne of Ohrmazd;<sup>679</sup> even for this reason, because it is possible to see that throne through the complete progress *of* the will of Ohrmazd in the world; *and* whoever gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Ohrmazd, the will of Ohrmazd is necessary in him, the progressive share of those concerns for the people of the world being shown, which is seen even through that foundation of completeness that becomes the throne of Ohrmazd for mankind.

17. This, too, that by him who welcomes Ohrmazd in himself,<sup>680</sup> matters only known by even a high-priest are then taught to mankind; even for this reason, because instruction and knowledge are mostly those through a high-priest, and by him who welcomes Ohrmazd in himself, a spiritual lord is then prayed for, who becomes glorious and praised for that which is to be taught, and mankind are taught by him.

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674 Ibid. 4 a.

675 Ibid. 4 b.

676 Ibid. 4 b.

677 Ibid. 4 b.

678 See Pahl. Yas. 28.4 c.

679 Ibid. 5 b.

680 Ibid. 6 a.

18. This, too, that by any one good, who is a servant *and* pleaser of a good ruler, a good person may be brought forward, to him, who is the ruler, for benefit;<sup>681</sup> even for this reason, because a good man associates other good people with him in the benefit that happens to him, and *his* character, temper, *and* disposition are thus due to that; but when bringing himself forward to rulers, through reverence *and* gratification of the rulers, other good people may also be brought forward by him for that benefit. 19. This, too, that by him *who* shall virtuously make an accumulation, the way of prosperity<sup>682</sup> from the sacred beings is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because virtuous accumulation is provided through unnumbered (apenavado) grants of a decider, and, when *it is* so, he becomes the treasurer of the sacred beings.

20. This, too, that by him who produces advantage for the archangels, the gift of him who is suitable for the sovereignty<sup>683</sup> of the immature (kham) world is solicited; even for this reason, because the advantage which is produced for the archangels *being* for the sake of his own, the advantage of the immature creation solicited – the supreme advantage of the primitive good creations – becomes a virtuous ruler.

21. This, too, that by him who is a praiser *of* an archangel, the good religion is praised; even for this reason, because the good religion is praise of the archangels, and the praise of the archangels is the good religion. 22. This, too, that the religion of the sacred beings is made progressive<sup>684</sup> by him who shall make an offering (austofrido) *to* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because making an offering to the sacred beings strengthens the up-holders of religion, and the progress of religion occurs through upholders of religion.

23. This, too, that by him who shall make mankind quite zealous (garemoko) for doing good works, the reward of the good works is also made liberal for mankind; even for this reason, because the producer of the origin is also the producer of the result. 24. This, too, that above the multitude is the praise of the man who is assisting those of virtuous will, who is also the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness, and whose accumulation is also owing to virtuousness; even for this reason, because whoever is assisting those of virtuous will is an increaser of virtuousness in the world, whoever is the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness is a producer of the paternity of creatures, *and he* whose accumulation is owing to virtuousness becomes an improver of the world. 25. This, too, that by him who assists him who is ignorant

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681 See Pahl. Yas. 28.6 b.

682 Ibid. 7 a.

683 Ibid. 7 c.

684 Ibid. 7 c.

(khasht), is given and taught to supplicants that which is suitable for them. 26. To assist him who is ignorant is this, such as forming the province, district, domain, *and* family; maintaining the abode *and* house of a follower of Vishtasp (Vishtaspano), the fortress *and* stronghold, and the homestead (khan) of the agricultural peasant; repairing a rugged road; building bridges over rivers; managing a river, aqueduct, *or* brook; populating desolate places; *and* doing other things, owing to which any retention (girift-ae) of the comfort and advantage of mankind in the world occurs. 27. And by him who shall do these things, the assistance even of him who is born afterwards, the making of that which is a very advantageous thing suitable *for* mankind, and also the doing *of this* for others, are taught.

28. This, too, that it is revealed (chashto) of the spiritual existence *that* that which is wisdom is for Ohrmazd, for him who is wisdom – that is, it teaches *that* acquired *wisdom* is for him whose innate wisdom is good – even for this reason, because the spirit, this that has come into his possession, which is acquired wisdom, is given by it to the progeny of Ohrmazd, which is innate wisdom, to increase *it*; *and* Ohrmazd is gratified thereby.

29. Of a summary about the continuance *that* was, the progress of the material *existence*, *and* the continuance *that will* be,<sup>685</sup> *there* is also this: about the continuance *that* was, which is the beginning, *there are* the essential thought *and* beneficent production of the good and evil material *existence* of its good goodness, and that of *its* evil vileness; about the progress of the material *existence*, which is intermediate, *there are* the dutiful doing of good works, righteousness, and having reward, the committal of crime, wickedness, *and* having the bridge *penalty*; *and* about the continuance *that will* be, which is the last, *there are* the government, with wisdom, of that supremely good *one* who is the origin of all the multitudinous *creatures* (vasikan), the triumph of goodness over vileness, the admissibility *of* the good, the inadmissibility of the bad, *and* the purity of the restoration of the good creatures.

30. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

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685 The three periods of the universe: the past eternity, the present existence, and the future eternity.

**Fargard 5. Complaint of Goshorun, care of cattle, the cattle-master, keeping animals properly, admitting the male, not slaughtering the young, he whose power is most useful, power for worship, reward stimulates perseverance; (§10) a virtuous mouth, religious duty develops knowledge, teaching the good, obtaining a throne in heaven, preventing damage From want of resources, recommending the righteous to rulers, what is taught by true service for the king (51).**

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibya,<sup>686</sup> is about this, that complaint is made by Goshorun<sup>687</sup> *that there* did not exist *anyone* who properly keeps the cattle that are in his possession; even for this reason, because cattle are increased by such, and others, through design (ahang) and a desire for that increase, act by his example *and* keep cattle properly; *but* the complaint of Goshorun is *that* he does not exist. 2. This, too, that by him who gives orders about the advancement *of* the concerns of the sacred beings, the care of cattle is produced, and his soul attains to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the care of cattle is a principal thing in the advancement of the concerns of the sacred beings, and also for the preservation of the soul. 3. This, too, that by him who keeps cattle with a controller (dastobar) who is a cattle-master,<sup>688</sup> even a friend of him who is the creator of cattle is taught to the cattle – the cattle-master and he who is wise in the nourishment, protection, and multiplication of cattle – even for this reason, because when his cattle are kept with a controller who is a nourisher, protector, and multiplier of cattle, the friendship of a nourisher for the nourished, of a protector for the protected, and *of* a multiplier for the multipliable is also exhibited by him; *and* the design of the creator for the creation, through affection, is that of a nourisher for the nourished, *of* a protector for the protected, *and of* a multiplier for the multipliable.

4. This, too, that by him who maintains an animal with propriety, it is presented to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because when *it* is maintained by him with propriety, the will of the sacred beings drives him on, and when the will of the sacred beings drives him on, it is presented by him to the sacred beings. 5. This, too, that when *one* shall admit the male of animals at the *proper* time, the mastery (sardarinidano) of the animal is also taught by him; even for this

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686 See Chap. 6.1 n; it is here written khshmaibe in Pahlavi.

687 See Pahl. Yas. 29.1.

688 Ibid. 2 a.

reason, because the admission of the male *of* the animals is the essential business in the multiplication of cattle, and he who is a multiplier has also taught the mastery of the animals. 6. This, too, that by him who does not slaughter an animal until it attains to full growth, the formation of a store for cattle is also taught; even for this reason, because, from the increasing cattle produced, the profit of mankind arises, *and* on account of the liking of mankind for profit, they persevere more fully in cultivating cattle, and provide a store for them.

7. This, too, that *it is he* who is the more powerful of beings – that is, strength is what is more in use *by* him<sup>689</sup> – whose proceeding is for him who is his own, so that he supplies that which it is necessary to supply; even for this reason, because needful bountifulness *to* one's own needy ones arises through lawful thoughts, lawful thoughts are provided by expelling greed, lust, wrath, disgrace, envy, *and* other fiends from the body, and a man expelling a fiend from *his* body becomes of efficient strength. 8. This, too, that he is a very powerful person, for invocation [4], supplication: and attaining to good works, who possesses wealth for the high-priest of the priests, who shall also procure decisions and judgment always justly, and who likewise becomes humble *and* reverent *to* the good; even for this reason, because the wealth of multitudes of mankind is for maintaining the desires and pleasure of the body, for procuring decisions and judgment whereto their wishes tend, *and for* others becoming humble and reverent *to* them even when *their* design is vicious; *but he* who possesses wealth *for* invocation and connection *with* the wisdom of the religion, through the high-priest of the religion, and shall procure just decisions and judgment, *and* becomes humble and reverent *to* the good, is a putter away of that design and *one* who, through the putting away of that design, becomes a capable and very powerful person.

9. This, too, that everyone is made to persevere at *his* proper duty, *as to* any excellent thing, by him who holds the reward of the diligent, as the sacred beings are proceeding *with* a pure needy *one*; for this reason, because the toiling of the body of a person at *his* proper duty is induced *by* a desire of reward. 10. This, too, that by him whose mouth (yong)<sup>690</sup> and *its* appliances are for virtue, the possession of Vohuman is then explained, through this mode, because the maintenance of the mouth and *its* appliances as virtuous becomes so, when, through protection and assistance of the good, *and* defeat and smiting of the vile, the reformation of the world occurs; and this, too, is so, when *there is* an existence of preparation. of the friend of the good and the enemy of the vile, and of friendship of the good and enmity of the vile, through understanding good and evil; and the understanding of good and evil is

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689 See Pahl. Yas. 29.3 c.

690 See Pahl. Yas. 29.7 c.

through possession of Vohuman, *and* that possession of Vohuman becomes also an explainer of Vohuman.

11. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of the sacred beings, his own knowledge of every kind is also developed; even for this reason, *because* the command being necessary *for* the personal duty of the good, they also develop the knowledge of every kind for which that commanding of duty and *its* auspiciousness are suitable. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the good, the good work is then appropriated which is also an assistance of Zartosht through speaking of the religion; even for this reason, because, on account of those of the religion of Zartosht who really constitute the renovation *of the universe*, the speaking connected with Zartosht – through the teaching of the good *and* teachers not of the same religion – and the assistance through speaking of the religion become the good work appropriated.

13. This, too, that by him who gives anything to that person who praises the sacred beings *and* the good, a throne is appropriated *in yonder world*<sup>691</sup> even on the mention *of it*. 14. This, too, that by him who is teaching that which is for the propitious, the damage that is owing to want of resources<sup>692</sup> in religion is shut out of the world; even for this reason, because, owing to that, he increases the resources of religion of every kind *and* the advantage therefrom, in the world. 15. This, too, that by him who is bringing him who is righteous forth to the rulers, for beneficence, the utmost assistance is then afforded; even for this reason, because an expectation of the utmost beneficence is further attached by him to the place of obtainment.<sup>693</sup>

16. This, too, that by him who gives himself in service unto him who is the supreme king of kings, the *way* of good thinking,<sup>694</sup> *of* the assistance of pleasure, and *of* the production of sovereignty by Ohrmazd is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because the original reason of virtue is the worthiness *of* mankind owing to the creator *and* their service unto the creator, and, therefore, as he who is a well-ruling monarch is a creator in the *worldly existence*, *and* a recompensing (pado-dahak) leader of the creatures who steadfastly give *themselves* in service to him, it is then given by him to the creator also; and I teach, besides, *that* the origin of the virtue of worthiness, which is attached by the creator to his own, is the way that is stated above, and other virtue is also disclosed to his own thereby.

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691 See Pahl. Yas. 29.8 c.

692 Ibid. 9 b.

693 See Pahl. Yas. 29.10 c.

694 Ibid. 10 b; we should probably read hu-manishnih, 'pleasant dwelling,' instead of hu-minishnih.

17. Righteousness is excellence that is perfect.

**Fargard 6. Enlarging the priestly assembly, glorification of Ohrmazd, worship of Vohuman, the ceremonial becomes greater through virtue, the extender of religion, discrimination as to duty, giving to the needy, granting the leadership; selecting the better of two ways; (§10) the discriminator of sagacity, thinking of eternity, preventing reverence of demons, practicing liberality, persistence in virtue and attachment to the sacred beings for sake of reward, advantage of the righteous (52).**

1. The sixth fargard, Ad-ta-vakhshya,<sup>695</sup> is this, that by him who is a wise upholder of the dignity of a priest's leadership, the priestly assembly<sup>696</sup> wanted *for* performing religious rites (deno) is enlarged; for this reason, because the nature of the person, whose resources are bounty for the needy, eagerly becomes a causer of exertion for the teaching (amuko) of accomplishments. 2. This, too, that by him whose habits are virtuous the glorification of Ohrmazd<sup>697</sup> is accomplished and taught; even on this account, for the sake of whatever advantage *and* pleasure are due to virtue, they, indeed, whose habits are virtuous, glorify him, moreover, who is the creator of those virtuous habits, who is *Ohrmazd* himself. 3. This, too, that by him who speaks virtuous words the performance even of the worship of Vohuman<sup>698</sup> is also taught; even on this account, because of the comeliness and desirableness of virtue, the good make it an example and speak virtuous words, *and* virtuous speaking is the worship of Vohuman. 4. This, too, that the ceremonial which he whose way is virtuous shall accomplish becomes greater<sup>699</sup> thereby; even for this reason, because the sacred beings come more particularly to the ceremonial of those of pure dispositions *and* virtuous ways, and accept *it*.

5. This, too, that he who is a producer of benefit for promoters of good works becomes an extender<sup>700</sup> of the teaching of religion; even for this reason, because from producing benefit for promoters of good

695 See Chap. 7.1 n; it is here written at-takhshe in Pahlavi.

696 See Pahl. Yas. 30.1 a.

697 Ibid. 1 b.

698 Ibid. 1 b.

699 Ibid. 1 c.

700 Ibid. 2 a.

works *arises* an increase of good works, from an increase of good works *arises* further progress of the will of the sacred beings, from further progress of the will of the sacred beings *arises* more progress of the good religion, and from more progress of the good religion arises an extension of the teaching of the good religion in the world. 6. This, too, that by him who possesses authority through virtue, discrimination<sup>701</sup> as to the regulation of duties is taught to mankind; even for this reason, because the possessor of authority through virtue is a man *who* becomes a decider and ruler, and mankind learn and practice to exercise the disposition, habits, and custom of rulers.

7. This, too, that he who is a giver of the needful *to* his own needy ones has given himself to Zartosht; even for this reason, because the needful being given *to* one's own needy ones is the existence of true liberality, which is a compendium of the religion of Zartosht; by him who is thereby ennobled (*vaspu-harakani-aito*) the religion of Zartosht is then put on, and whoever *has* put on the religion of Zartosht [*has given himself to Zartosht*. 8. This, too, that by him who] gives the leadership [*to him who is suitable for the leadership*]<sup>702</sup> even the wisdom *of* that man is increased; for this reason, because even the wisdom of the suitable, through which they accomplish that leadership, when the leadership comes to them, grows further with the glory of that duty.

9. This, too, that he who has to select the better of two ways, which are good and bad,<sup>703</sup> is assisted to do *so* by the benefiter's ordeal of fire and ore; even for this reason, because that is discrimination by the eye of wisdom, which is the way of good intention, and the benefiter is decisive declarer of acquittal and incrimination through fire and metal, the two good discriminators; and when the business is *of* a different kind, even then both *are* associates in discriminating, and are powerful connections of one another. 10. This, too, that he who shall do that thing from *which* advantage of the sacred beings *arise* is empowered to discriminate truly that which is sagacious<sup>704</sup> in thought, word, *and* deed; even for this reason, because from doing anything for the advantage of the sacred beings *arises* the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world, from the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world *arises* the freedom from danger of the temporal existence of the world, and the

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701 See Pahl. Yas. 30.2 b.

702 The words in brackets are the translation of a passage that was inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched. The original copyist of the MS. has evidently omitted a passage, but whether the repairer has made the insertion merely by guessing from the context (which is quite possible), or by referring to some other MS., is uncertain.

703 See Pahl. Yas. 30.3 b.

704 See Pahl. Yas. 30.3 c.



freedom from danger of the temporal existence of the world contributes also to the power of him who is sagacious in discriminating truly as to thought, word, *and* deed.

11. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of Ohrmazd the eternity (hamayikih) *of* Ohrmazd<sup>705</sup> and also the consideration of his own eternity *by* Ohrmazd are thought of; even on this account, because mankind mind and serve Ohrmazd for the sake of even the hope<sup>706</sup> of eternal benefit from him; *and* they who think of him, through the eternal benefit due to him, are themselves increasing that benefit which is eternal, and it is thought eternal by him that thinks of that eternal thing his own eternity. 12. This, too, that *he* who restrains a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted him from making the world sickly; even for this reason, because whoever *has* restrained a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted a demon from making the world anarchical and from making the world sickly. 13. This, too, that by him who shall practice liberality benefit for the sun is caused, and by him who shall cause benefit for the sun benefit is caused also for the nature of the body of mankind; even for this reason, because it *is* declared that the sun *has* progressed through the radiance and glory of the liberal, and the nature of the body of mankind is preserved by the sun.

14. This, too, that by him whose desire is for anything virtuous, and who possesses authority through virtue, mankind are controlled to persist (maninidano) in virtue for receiving a reward;<sup>707</sup> even for this reason, because *he* whose desire is virtuous seeks happiness for everyone – a preeminent desire for the happiness of human existence *being* the desire of mankind for virtue – and by him who requires that, *and* strives for it fully, so far as possible for him, anyone whatever is brought to persist in virtue and to constrain the spirit for reward; and by him who possesses authority through virtue the continuance of mankind in authority and *their* persistence *and* instruction in virtue are attached to good works and are brought to reward. 15. This, too, that by him who possesses happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings mankind are attached to the sacred beings for receiving a reward;<sup>708</sup> even for this reason, because, on account of the possession of happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings, he possesses *it* through the assistance and gratification of the good, and mankind shall therefore make him an example; it also becomes a good work for them, and they adhere to the sacred beings for receiving a reward.

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705 Ibid. 4 c.

706 Ibid. 4 c.

707 See Pahl. Yas. 30.10 b.

708 Ibid. 10 c.

16. This, too, that by him who produces the benediction *of* him that is a conductor of investigation *and* a righteous judge, and who shall also occasion the reverence of the good, the teaching of the advantage of the righteous<sup>709</sup> is likewise performed; even for this reason, because the essentials (madigan) of the advantage of the world are two – one owing to justice, *and* one owing to generosity – and it is declared that the advantage of *him* who possesses the blessings of the judges is owing to the justice of the judges, and the advantage of *him* who is reverent to the good is owing to the generosity of the good in developing the world, and the righteous teach about it.

17. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

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709 See Pahl. Yas. 30.11 c.

**Fargard 7. The world freed from destruction, apostates forced to make the religion progressive, triumph of the priests, miraculousness of Ohrmazd, decision of acquittal or conviction, rite of ordeal, appointing a priest, reciter of revelation; (§10) teaching employers their responsibility, thinking of religion, teaching the nature of the sacred beings, giving a sheep to the diligent and moderate, development of the world and sheep, inward prayer, keeping animals and men as property, giving predominance to those of Gayomard's nature, telling rulers the truth; (§20) keeping sovereignty within Ohrmazd's will, illustrating the information due to religion, the virtuous course of the liturgy, he whose Vohuman is Ohrmazd's progeny, the good creation is Ohrmazd's, a ruler as to actions, giving Spandarmad to Ohrmazd, wisdom that arises through care of cattle, admitting the male; (§30) the way to heaven, assistance to the renovation, a heart and mind for not being misled, he who sees his sin mingled with good works, giving a loan, non-injury of the innocent, he who makes Ohrmazd ruler in himself, a decider informs others, a proper nurturer is an indicator for others, the demeanor for virtuous statements; (§40) indicating the acquitted and convicted, immortal and complete progress, making the soul immortal, persisting in good works, maintaining predominance as high-priest, growth and increase owing to Vohuman, welcoming Ohrmazd in oneself, evidence of the well-informed (53).**

1. The seventh fargard, Ta-ve-urvata,<sup>710</sup> is *that* by him who possesses advantage through virtue, the world of righteousness is *freed* from<sup>711</sup> destruction;<sup>712</sup> even for this reason, because the possession of advantage through virtue arises through the non-participation of the demons *and*

710 See Chap. 8.1 n.

711 Assuming that mun, 'which,' stands for min.

the vile therein, and the participation of the sacred beings and the good; and, when one shall act so, the advantage of spiritual origin becomes more powerful through guarding the advantage from the destroyers. 2. This, too, that, by him who welcomes Ohrmazd in *his* person, apostates are likewise forced to make the religion of Ohrmazd progressive;<sup>713</sup> even for this reason, because owing to<sup>714</sup> the apostasy of apostates being a religion produced *by* Ahriman, *they are* only able to make the religion progressive through the appellation of Ohrmazd; apostasy *and* priesthood, *and* the apostates and priests, are fraternal opponents, and whenever the priesthood and multitudes of the priesthood are triumphant, multitudes of the apostates of apostasy perish (aoshend), and when the multitudes of the apostates of apostasy are bold, the priests of the priesthood are weak; and the priests are superior in power and success when their priesthood is properly limited, and their properly limited priesthood, too – which can arise through mankind – consists in the welcome precedence of Ohrmazd.

3. About the completeness (sporikih) *of* the priesthood in that quality now, when the priests of the multitude are the habitation (mehono) of Ohrmazd, and the power of the priests of the priesthood *has* increased, the valor of the apostates of apostasy is smitten, and the apostates are defeated by the abundant splendor of the priests, also their power as regards making the religion of Ahriman progressive through the appellation of Ohrmazd is fettered, *and* they keep apostasy concealed.<sup>715</sup>

4. And then also they, with the appellation of priests, truly speak and teach the religion of Ohrmazd, and make *it* progressive, just as it is solemnized and made easy by them, even though the will *of* the sacred beings be unheard and undesired through apostasy.

5. This, too, that he proclaims the miraculousness of Ohrmazd,<sup>716</sup> who shall appoint for ordeal that which is certainly a doubt; even for this reason, because, through accomplishing an ordeal, that which is doubtful is forcibly rendered visible (venavdahaki-aito) to the eyes, *as* certain clearness, through the power of the spirit, *which* is itself a miracle of Ohrmazd. 6. This, too, that by him who shall make a public decision thereon, *as to* the acquitted and convicted,<sup>717</sup> gratification is

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712 See Pahl. Yas. 31.1 b.

713 See Pahl. Yas. 31.1 c.

714 Assuming that la, “not,” stands for rai.

715 The passage in the Pahlavi commentary on this Nask, which is here described, must evidently have been written shortly after some great triumph of the priesthood over some heresy, probably either that of Mani, or that of Mazdak.

716 See Pahl. Yas. 31.2 b.

717 Ibid. 3 a.

afforded to him whose maintenance of the dispute<sup>718</sup> is righteous; even for this reason, because the needful is delivered by him to its own requirer *who* thereby becomes even renowned. 7. This, too, that even the rite of ordeal [is produced] by him [who is an advantage to the righteous; for this reason, because the rite of ordeal is for the advancement of the ordeal, and the religious ordeal]<sup>719</sup> proceeds through sovereignty; these righteous are those of the good religion, and their advantage is that belonging to the multitude, which is the sovereignty now, *and* everyone who is given for that advantage, to the righteous of those of the good religion, becomes the performer of any rite of ordeal really produced, because the origin of that giving of advantage is even the rite of ordeal. 8. This, too, that by him who gives a priest and righteous *man* for propagating the religion, the rite of ordeal is also proclaimed; even for this reason, because the teacher and *one* rightly merciful (hu-amur'zidar) give<sup>720</sup> the sacred text by which even the rite of ordeal is declared.

9. This, too, that *he* who recites the revelation of Ohrmazd, and who shall do it with exceeding goodness, becomes an increaser of wisdom; even for this reason, because the wisdom of a man increases in these two ways, either he speaks *and* teaches himself, or he exemplifies the excellence of a portion to the wise who become speakers and teachers of wisdom. 10. This, too, that his homage is for Ohrmazd, who thoroughly teaches a righteous employer of animals and human beings (kira vavir) that he considers *him* as their controller (dastobar); because, since the productiveness of the completion of the creatures is produced through the nourishment of the creatures *by* Ohrmazd through his fulfilling his own productiveness, that righteous employer *in* the world is *intend* for the nourishment of his creatures, owing to that outward subjection and propitiation of theirs, *and* the righteous employer is connected with their subjection and propitiation for the creator.

11. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zartosht, the soul is given to Zartosht; even for this reason, because with a man's *having* given thought to the religion of Zartosht is connected the receiving of his soul *by* Zartosht for preservation from hell. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the nature of the sacred beings to mankind, consultation with Ohrmazd is also further taught; even for this reason, because the nature of the sacred beings is consulting a spiritual lord, *and* becomes also the consulting of Ohrmazd.

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718 Ibid. 3 a.

719 Ibid. 3 b. The words in brackets translate a passage inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched, like that in Chap. 52.7, 8.

720 Assuming that yehevund, "they are," stands for yehabund.

13. This, too, that by him who keeps the produce of sheep as the property of Ohrmazd, a sheep is given to him who is diligent *and* moderate;<sup>721</sup> even for this reason, because produce kept as the property of Ohrmazd is for *being* given for good works, *being* given for good works is *being* truly kept as a beginning for the possession of produce, and a beginning truly kept is kept even through a sheep, as a beginning of excellence, in the control (dastobarih) of him who is a diligent *and* moderate shepherd.<sup>722</sup> 14. This, too, that by him who is liberal to the liberal the increase owing to developers is brought into the world; even for this reason, because a liberal *man*, on account of even that gift given back to the worthy, becomes even for us – through the development of the world – him who is first praised therein with the sacred beings. 15. This, too, that whoever shall form a store for sheep, becomes an agent even in the development *of* sheep *by* the creator; because, on account of the increase of sheep through the existence of nourishment for them *having* arisen, whoever has arranged nourishment for sheep, becomes an agent even in the development *of* sheep *by* the creator. 16. This, too, that by him who teaches *inward* prayer (vachako) to the good, it is also taught to eaters; even for this reason, because, everything connected with eating *being* declared by the religion, when the religion is taught by *any* one to the good, in which even that information is proclaimed, even eaters are taught about it. 17. This, too, that whoever maintains a sheep, *or* human being, as our property, is taught to maintain it through the high-priest of Zartosht; even for this reason, because it *is* so maintained as the property of the sacred beings, when he maintains it as the property of Zartosht.

18. This, too, that by him who gave predominance to those of the nature of Gayomard,<sup>723</sup> the sovereignty also of those of the religion of Zartosht is desired; even for this reason, because the religion of Zartosht is the nature of Gayomard, and the nature of Gayomard is the religion of Zartosht. 19. This, too, that when *one* is alone among rulers a way of speaking to the rulers such words *as are* really true is thereby provided; even for this reason, because the utterance *of* blessings by a solitary *person* is for advantage. 20. This, too, that by him who keeps the sovereignty which is his within the will of Ohrmazd, the best thing is done unto Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because a sovereignty is so kept within the will of Ohrmazd when he who is the ruler gives to Ohrmazd the individuality in which is the sovereignty, and when its proximity and closeness have given to Ohrmazd that thing which is best *and* supreme.

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721 See Pahl. Yas. 31.10 a.

722 Ibid. 10 b.

723 See Pahl. Yas. 31.11 b, and Bk. 8, Chap. 13.1.

21. This, too, that when *one* teaches the sayings (vachako) of the beneficers, the information which is owing to the religion is illustrated<sup>724</sup> by him to his own; even for this reason, because the knowledge of religion, which is in its causing liberality by him, is increased even by the repeated inquiry of disciples. 22. This, too, that by him who teaches an applicant the virtuous way and doctrine (pand) the liturgy is then taught; even for this reason, because knowledge arises through the virtuous course of the liturgy.<sup>725</sup> 23. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of virtue, the liturgy is maintained *and* taught with virtuousness;<sup>726</sup> even for this reason, because the maintenance of the liturgy with virtuousness arises through virtuous thinking.

24. This, too, that whoever shall provide the nourishment of creatures with propriety, his Vohuman (*good thought*) is Ohrmazd's progeny;<sup>727</sup> and whoever properly maintains those which are in his keeping, his position becomes Ohrmazd's fatherhood of Vohuman;<sup>728</sup> even for this reason, because every proper nourishing is that in which the nourished becomes an offspring such as Vohuman unto Ohrmazd; and every proper protection of the creatures, over those which are protected by it, is a fatherhood such as that of Ohrmazd over Vohuman. 25. This, too, that by him who shall provide nourishment with propriety for the creation which is good, it is taught that the good creation *was* produced by Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because from the nourishment of the creation with propriety, *together* with the discriminating action of the nourisher, the goodness of the nourished is also evident, from the goodness of the nourished creation the goodness of him who is its creator is evident, and the creator of the good creation is Ohrmazd himself.

26. This, too, that whoever shall spiritually make Ohrmazd the ruler over his own person becomes a ruler as to actions;<sup>729</sup> even for this reason, because whoever is making Ohrmazd ruler over his person is a leader of wisdom, a leader of wisdom is a decider taking account of sin and good works, taking account of sin and good works is abstaining from sin and practicing good works, and owing to abstinence *from* sin and practicing good works one becomes a ruler over actions. 27. This, too, that Spandarmad<sup>730</sup> is given to Ohrmazd by him who is as reverent unto Ohrmazd as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because

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724 See Pahl. Yas. 31.6 a.

725 Ibid. 6 b.

726 Ibid. 6 b.

727 Ibid. 8 a.

728 Ibid. 8 b.

729 See Pahl. Yas. 31.8 c.

730 Ibid. 9 a, and Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3.

the Spandarmadic nature (Spandarmadih) is provided by him for Ohrmazd.

28. This, too, that for him *who* thinks of the care of cattle *there* arises that wisdom<sup>731</sup> which the control (patih) of cattle gives; even for this reason, because the nature of the wisdom for a production of cattle is provided in mankind, and, when mankind apply *their* thoughts to seeking that wisdom, they obtain *it*. 29. This, too, that by him who is admitting the male *to* cattle at the *proper* time, the care of cattle is also thought of; even for this reason, because the admittance of the male becomes productiveness, and whoever<sup>732</sup> would cause productiveness thinks also of nourishment.

30. This, too, that by him who has prepared himself for the priests the way to yonder<sup>733</sup> *world* is taught; even for this reason, because the way to yonder *world* is declared by the religion, and its indicator is the priest; therefore, by him who is prepared for the priests, through discipleship, that way is known and is made known. 31. This, too, that *in* him who shall do that which is something that is an assistance to the renovation *of the universe*, thoughts of the bounty (dahih) of the creator arise; even for this reason, because creativeness is through thinking of the renovation, thinking of the renovation arises through the renovation, the renovation arises through anything which is done that is an assistance of the renovation, the doing of anything that is an assistance of the renovation is through thinking of sagacity, and thinking of sagacity becomes thoughts of the bounty of the creator.

32. This, too, that by him who loves the affairs of the archangels a heart and mind,<sup>734</sup> *for* not being misled from the way of the sacred beings, are recommended to mankind; even for this reason, because from the religion of the sacred beings *being* loved *arises* increasing power of the sacred beings, from the increasing power of the sacred beings *arises* their greater authority among mankind, and from the greater authority of the sacred beings among mankind arises the resistance of heart and mind of mankind, even in their not being misled by the very demons. 33. This, too, that whoever shall act with reverence to Vohuman sees the sin which is concealed in *him* mingled with good works thereby;<sup>735</sup> even for this reason, because reverence for Vohuman becomes submission (herih) in virtuousness, with virtuous submission

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731 Ibid. 9 a.

732 Assuming that min, 'from,' stands for mun.

733 See Pahl. Yas. 31.9 b.

734 Ibid. 12 b.

735 See Pahl. Yas. 31.13 c, where, after homanilh, J2, Pt4, and Mf4 insert the following words: vinas den avo kirfako gumikhto yekavimunedo, madam aharayih ac sardar homanilh.



are connected freedom from Kikship and from Karbship,<sup>736</sup> and with freedom from Kikship and from Karbship *is connected one* sound of life *and* eye, whereby he is an observant decider, and atonement for sin arises from good works.

34. This, too, that by him who shall provide liberality for the liberal, the giving of a loan<sup>737</sup> to mankind is also taught; even for this reason, because liberal giving by anyone is accounting for his own debt, and he endeavors to repay *it* fully observantly and with complete gratification; besides that, the power of liberality becomes extendible among mankind, *and* through loans and other gifts<sup>738</sup> of generosity (dahishnikih) they become ardent. 35. This, too, that by him who pays homage (franamedo) to the affairs of Ohrmazd, as much as he is able, the non-injury of the innocent is also taught; even for this reason, because to intervene further (frovaftano) with the affairs of Ohrmazd, as much as possible, is first *to commit* no sin *and* to perform as many good works as possible, *and* abstaining from the essentials of sin is non-injury of the innocent. 36. This, too, that by him who possesses a ruler and high-priest Ohrmazd is spiritually made ruler over his person;<sup>739</sup> even for this reason, because, through the requirement of Ohrmazd, the angels are lord and master of the worldly *existence* of that man.

37. This, too, that whoever decides duty and opinion becomes also an informer of others; even for this reason, because it informs others that he is possessing wisdom, and this is what is said, that “the wisdom of a man is evident from his deciding as to affairs.” 38. This, too, that whoever shall provide nurture with propriety becomes also an indicator (dakhshakinidar)<sup>740</sup> *for* others; even for this reason, because the happiness of the nurturer becomes also a happy indicator even *for* thee; and this, too, is what *one* says, that “always good, happy, and free from serfs<sup>741</sup> is he who is not a master of vagabonds (pado-i puan).”

39. This, too, that by him who is a ruler who, by a command given, appoints him who is liturgical (mansarik), and gives anything to him which it is desirable to give, the necessary demeanor for true and

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736 Pahl. akikih va-akarapih; see Bk. 8, Chap. 35.13 n for the two idolatrous priestly tribes here alluded to. On its second occurrence the first word is corrupted into akas which closely resembles akigih in Pahlavi letters.

737 See Pahl. Yas. 31.14 b.

738 See Pahl. Yas. 31.14 b.

739 See Pahl. Yas. 31.16 a.

740 Ibid. 17 c.

741 Pahl. avaruno; but, as freedom from servants is not exactly an Oriental idea of happiness, the word may also be read analono, a possible variant of analano, “unlamenting.”

virtuous statements<sup>742</sup> is taught; even for this reason, because the uttering of true and virtuous statements, in fearlessness<sup>743</sup> of rulers, is owing to a well established sovereignty, and their well-established sovereignty is more particularly through these two *things*, good commanding and helpfulness; when they establish that liturgical one by a command given it is good commanding, and when they give anything to him which it is desirable to give the helpfulness is provided; also, owing to their good commanding, the helpfulness is a good establishment *of* the sovereignty, owing to a well established sovereignty *there* is fearlessness also in uttering true and virtuous statements, and, owing to freedom from concealment in uttering true and virtuous statements, the necessary demeanor for true and virtuous statements arises. 40. This, too, that *he* who gives personal service unto the king of kings, and who considers the product (bar) as the property of Ohrmazd, is empowered for indicating the acquitted and convicted<sup>744</sup> *by* the spirits, his indicators of the acquitted *and* convicted; even for this reason, because the person *being* given in service to the king of kings is the preparation (nivarishno) of subjection, and the product being considered as the property of Ohrmazd is to consider the innocence of *its* origin (bun) and to make the product well-selecting (hu-chinako) through virtuousness; owing to the progress of these two, the virtuousness in the world becomes great *and* increasing productiveness for all the good spiritual and worldly *existences* which are in it, even those who are angels indicating the acquitted and convicted.

41. This, too, that by him who becomes immortal progress for him who is immortally progressive, complete progress<sup>745</sup> is given to him who is completely progressive; and its routine (dadistan), too, is even this, that by him who wishes<sup>746</sup> to make that which is his own soul immortal, and would afford it assistance, every benefit is given to him who is a supplicant *for* every benefit *and* becomes a giver of every benefit which he begs, which becomes an assistance to him whom he asks in attaining thereto. 42. This, too, that whoever gratifies that which is enjoyment renders his soul immortal; even for this reason, because the soul subsists through good works, and good works are all those which gratify enjoyment. 43. This, too, that whoever keeps himself always in good works<sup>747</sup> has produced perfection and happiness by any goodness and

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742 See Pahl. Yas. 31.19 b.

743 See Pahl. Yas. 31.19 b.

744 See Pahl. Yas. 31.19 c.

745 Ibid. 21 a; amarg-rubishnih and hamak-rabishnih are Pahlavi translations of Av. Ameretat and Haurvatat, as may be seen in Ibid. 6 b.

746 Written yetibuned with mu above it as a partial correction into yezbemuned which is evidently the proper word.

747 See Pahl. Yas. 31.21 a.

worthiness of his; even for this reason, because keeping oneself always in good works becomes perfect diligence in industry, within perfect diligence in industry is also comprised opposition to any harm whatever, and it is opposite to harm and perfect goodness that are worthy of every happiness.

44. This, too, that by him who possesses wealth as high-priest of the priests, predominance as their high-priest is maintained<sup>748</sup> and taught; even for this reason, because the provision of sovereignty and its progress are really through wealth. 45. This, too, that by him who would act for the pleasure of others, owing to virtue, the growth and increase owing to Vohuman<sup>749</sup> are produced; even for this reason, because that which has given virtuous pleasure is the nourishment of the creatures by the producer of increase and growth.

46. This, too, that by him who welcomes Ohrmazd in *himself*,<sup>750</sup> and teaches good works to mankind, every virtuous instruction is taught; even for this reason, because the welcoming of Ohrmazd in *oneself* is the non-committal of sin, and the teaching of good works to mankind is more particularly the performance of good works oneself; innocence and the practicing of good works are the end of every instruction, and he in whom they exist becomes a teacher of every goodness. 47. This, too, that by him who shall occasion benefit through him who is a propagator of good works, the evidence of him *who is* well-informed<sup>751</sup> is taught through *one* well-informed; even for this reason, because the chief evidence as to sagacity is to occasion benefit for the good. 48. This, too, that by him who gives commands as to the affairs of Ohrmazd, Ohrmazd is made welcome in *his* person;<sup>752</sup> even for this reason, because the throne of Ohrmazd in the worldly *existence* is more particularly in a ruler of well-commanding person.

49. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

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748 Ibid. 21 b.

749 Ibid. 21 c.

750 See Pahl. Yas. 31.22c.

751 Ibid. 22 a.

752 See Pahl. Yas. 31.22c.

**Fargard 8. Not being deceived by an apostate, making Spandarmad an archangel, wisdom teaches not to destroy, teaching how to learn, strengthening the archangels and the good, loving Vohuman, giving thought to religion, keeping wealth in Zartosht's control, destiny controlled by self, good works becoming one's own (54).**

1. The eighth fargard, Hvaetumaiti,<sup>753</sup> is that by him who teaches wisdom to others the not being deceived by an apostate into confusing a righteous *one* (aharubo-barishih) is also taught;<sup>754</sup> even for this reason, because he who has taught is not deceived.

2. This, too, that by him who is as reverent *unto* Ohrmazd as a daughter *unto* a father, and who is also a gratifier of virtuous doers, Spandarmad<sup>755</sup> is *made one* of the archangels, and *one* is also made to love *her*; even for this reason, because through that Spandarmadic *one* being reverent *unto* Ohrmazd, and the gratification of the good by him, the archangels love and preserve her Spandarmadic nature (Spandarmadigih). 3. This, too, that he who is loving Vohuman is taught by his wisdom not to destroy (nasaninidano)<sup>756</sup> the religion of Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because wisdom maintains the religion in virtue, and others are taught about it.

4. This, too, that by him who gives himself in discipleship unto the priests, and who asks again that which he does not understand, learning (amuko) is taught; even for this reason, because the asking *for* knowledge again *by him* who *has* given himself in discipleship to a wise priest, increases knowledge; and the friends of knowledge, therefore, make him an example, and shall practice asking again, that which they do not understand, *from* the disciples of the priests.

5. This, too, that whoever is in *accordance* with Zartosht, through pure affection, becomes, in like manner, *him* who is giving strength *to* the will of the archangels and the commands *of* the good; even for this reason, because these two capabilities *are* of the special nature of Zartosht. 6. This, too, that through the discrimination of him who loves<sup>757</sup> Vohuman, Ohrmazd is gratified; even for this reason, because

753 Compare Yas. 31.14; Byt. 1.1-5. See Chap. 9.1 n; it is here written khvamaito in Pahlavi.

754 See Pahl. Yas. 32.1-4.

755 See Pahl. Yas. 32.2 c, and Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3.

756 Ibid. 4 c.

757 Ibid. 8 c. It is possible to read the verbal stem gosh, "here," instead of dosh (Av. zush); but this is hardly possible in § 2, and goshidano is not the usual Pahlavi for "to hear."

one loving Vohuman is loving wisdom and *has* taught wisdom, wisdom taught is discrimination, and the discriminator becomes a gratifier of Ohrmazd.

7. This, too, that whoever gives thought to the religion of Zartosht is taught wisdom; even for this reason, because all the wisdom of the good religion is taught to him by giving thought. 8. This, too, that whoever *has* kept wealth in the control<sup>758</sup> of Zartosht becomes taught, *and* is *one* who is reverent to the benefitters; even for this reason, because whoever is reverent *to* the supporters of religion keeps wealth in the control *of* the supporters of religion, *and*, when kept by him in their control, it is kept by him in that of Zartosht.

9. This, too, that his destiny is connected with himself who practices industry. 10. This, too, that his good works for arranging the creation become his own who has fully prepared his own person.

11. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

**Fargard 9. The Gathic lore, priestly-controlled action, command of the liturgy, personal assistance to the creatures, reverence, causing progress for one's own, benefit for a cultivator through cattle, making righteousness one's own, three things promoted by submission, pleasure of energy (55).**

1. The ninth fargard, Yathaish,<sup>759</sup> is that by him who praises Ohrmazd *his* work in the Gathic lore<sup>760</sup> is taught; even for this reason, because the reason of the praise even of Ohrmazd is for his works, and by him who extols any work the performance of that work is also taught; *moreover* the work of Ohrmazd, *which* is the Gathic lore, is pure goodness. 2. This, too, that by him who increases the propagators of good works priestly-controlled action (radik-kunishnih)<sup>761</sup> is taught; even for this reason, because the advancement of merit and the action of priestly chieftainship are the two maxims (vachako) of one who, when *there* is reason, exalts progressive merit when he increases the propagators of good works; and when progressive merit is exalted priestly-controlled action is praised and also taught.

3. This, too, that what is worthy, and what is coveted for every worthy man, is produced by him for whom the command of the liturgy is the reckoning for him who is habitually sagacious; and this statement

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758 See Pahl. Yas. 32.9 b.

759 See Chap. 10.1 n; it is here written yatayish in Pahlavi.

760 See Pahl. Yas. 33.1 a.

761 See Pahl. Yas. 33.1 b.

also indicates the explanation of rulers *and* all who are needing those of the world for one combined effort, who, in the immature world, *have* to trust a command that is at one time sagacious. 4. This, too, that personal assistance is liberally given (*radinido*) to the creatures of the good *beings* by him whose deeds are an assistance of the renovation of *the universe*; and this statement, too, also indicates the great power of any good work whatever, because every good work, *being* an assistance of the renovation, becomes liberality to the immature (*kham*) creation.

5. This, too, that whoever teaches to a son reverence unto *his* father has also appropriated the reward for reverence unto the creator for teaching that person; even for this reason, because express reverence unto parents and service to them are connected with reverence unto the creator and service to him.

6. This, too, that whoever is personally progress for him who is his own<sup>762</sup> – that is, for any one whatever among those who are needing him – becomes the happiness of the creator who is the maker of the original good creations; and this statement also indicates as to whom *it is*, when, through him whose decision is progress – which *arises* through that which *occurs* when the decision is given that becomes for every one that which is needful for him – there is happiness that is concentrated. 7. This, too, that by him who is causing benefit for him who is a cultivator cattle<sup>763</sup> are multiplied; even for this reason, because a gratifier of the performers of tillage is multiplying tillage, and cattle are the chief tillage of the world.

8. This, too, that the religion which is the way of righteousness is made his own<sup>764</sup> by him who is a good thinker about the religion of righteousness.; and this statement, too, also indicates the limit of reliance (*astishno*) upon the good religion; because whoever is not a good thinker about the good religion, even though he be a reciter of revelation, becomes really an apostate; whoever is a good thinker, *but* not about the good religion, become really an infidel; and whoever thinks truly becomes a good thinker about religious righteousness and the statements in the good religion. 9. And about three statements, the bringer forward *for* all mankind is your submission to the sacred beings; one is of the produce (*bar*), one of the origin (*bun*), and one of the body and life; that of the produce is the exertion from which *there* is produce, that of the origin is the advantage for which the origin is requisite, and that of the body and life is the thought of the proposer (*rayinidar*), which considered both as submission to the sacred beings. 10. This, too, that connected with the sitting-place of the sage is the

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762 See Pahl. Yas. 33.3 a.

763 Ibid. 3 b, c.

764 Ibid. 5 c.

excessiveness of the pleasure<sup>765</sup> for those causing pleasure, for the upper classes (avarigano) of Iran, *and* for the energy (patukih) [7] of the diligent.

11. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

**Fargard 10. Advantage of doing good works, injuring an apostate, he who is eager for knowledge, slaying an apostate, development by Vohumanic rule, the ceremonial a great ordinance, a ceremonial of the needy, the way of righteousness, reward of a teacher of professionals (56).**

1. The tenth fargard, Ya-shyaothana,<sup>766</sup> is *that* for him who is practicing good works<sup>767</sup> as much as it is possible for him *to do*, an efficacious reason *for* the renovation *of the universe* is afforded assistance; even for this reason, when every good work is an assistance to the renovation, then – according to the declaration that whoever does much more good work is more assisting the renovation – by him who is practicing good works as much as it is possible for him to do, an efficacious reason for the renovation is afforded assistance. 2. This, too, that the apostate,<sup>768</sup> who is the seduction of mankind, is injured by him who devotes himself to Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because he is dislodged and is elucidated (adivagi-aito roshani-aito), *and there* arises a class of mankind *who* see the admission (parva-nakih) *of* the apostate into hell, and he is disabled when *it is* seen by them.

3. This, too, that by him who is eager<sup>769</sup> for knowledge, knowledge is grasped and taught; even for this reason, because knowledge is taught through that which is the instruction of every science *and* the original desire for it, and mankind shall extol his knowledge; it is also coveted by them for *being* taught, and they mount and grasp it. 4. This, too, that to slay<sup>770</sup> an apostate is taught by the good *one* who is united (hami-ait) with a good *man*; even for this reason, because the destruction (aosh) of Ahriman arises from the union of the good. 5. This, too, that by him who is a disturber (vishuftar) as to Vohuman the production of development

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765 See Pahl. Yas. 33.13 a.

766 See Chap. 11.1 n; it is here written ya-shaotno in Pahlavi.

767 See Pahl. Yas. 34.1 a.

768 Ibid. 8 a.

769 See Pahl. Yas. 34.9 a.

770 Ibid. 10 c.

through Vohumanic rule<sup>771</sup> is taught; sinners lawfully subjected to the bridge *judgment* (puhalinido) *for* Vohumanic disturbance, and the command for it by rulers and high-priests, being a preparation *for* the development of the world.

6. This, too, that a great ordinance<sup>772</sup> is taught by him whose ceremonial<sup>773</sup> is for Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because a comprehension of Ohrmazd and serving him are the foundation of joy (parkan bun), and the ownership and concentration (hangerdikih) of all good works are themselves the great ordinance of the faithful whose preparation is through the ownership, and their welcome is more particularly in the ceremonial; owing to the same reason, the original possession of the great ordinance of the ceremonial which is Ohrmazd's own, and *of* other good works – even though *relating* to the ceremonial of Ohrmazd of every kind owing thereto – is necessary for the manifestation of the great ordinance, and is incorporated (ham-tanu) *with it* when it becomes manifest as a great ordinance, or as more than a great ordinance; even then its extent (valishno) is over this joy. 7. This, too, that the performance (sakhtarih) of a ceremonial<sup>774</sup> *of* the needy is a gift to the worthy of the creation, and a gift to the worthy of the creation is the attraction (hakhtarih) of a ceremonial of the needy.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness,<sup>775</sup> also that through which that way is seen, *and* likewise the reward of those lonely-laboring (aevaz'zikan) therein are taught by him whose deeds are an advantage *to* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the advantage of the sacred beings is the advantage of the multitude, and the advantage of the multitude, which is itself the religion of the sacred beings that is a guide, is the way of righteousness and also that through which is the reward of those lonely-laboring. 9. This, too, that even the reward of a teacher of professionals, which is the profit of the profession, is liberally given and appropriated for the professionals taught; even for this reason, because the business of the sacred beings has profited by the instruction (amuko).

10. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

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771 Ibid. 11 b.

772 Ibid. 12 a, b.

773 Ibid. 12 a.

774 See Pahl. Yas. 34.12 a.

775 Ibid. 12 c.



**Fargard 11. All good works belong to him who teaches virtue, doing the best for one's own, he whose work is good work, he for whom the best occurs in both existences, the worship of Ohrmazd, a leader in religion, a server of religion, the authorizer of a wish for life; (§10) giving acceptance, hints, and words to Ohrmazd, teaching the words of Ohrmazd, providing care for fire, teaching the religion with joyfulness, obeisance, strengthening fire for its greatest work, being informed as to religion, sagacity of teaching words and actions, praising the perfection of Ohrmazd's body, all excellence is both root and fruit; (§20) invoking Ohrmazd as lord, invoking by name, benefit for one race is felt by all, he who is the sacred beings' own, and when his own is in their guardianship, giving life to mankind, obtainer of Ohrmazd's friendship, causing righteousness and the propitiousness of Ohrmazd, his perpetual guardianship (57).**

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna,<sup>776</sup> *is that* the whole of the good works *which are* to accomplish, *and* those, too, which are accomplished,<sup>777</sup> are appropriated by the righteous man who teaches virtue<sup>778</sup> to the righteous; even for this reason, of the good works which *one* accomplishes, *and* those, too, which are accomplished, *there* is all one store (anbar), from the work (var'zo) of the original good creation even to the renovation *of the universe*, *and* ever afresh the teaching of virtue *by those* who are righteous comes to the accumulation of the righteous and the accomplishment of that store, *and* they, too, are in possession of that store, in partnership with the other righteous. 2. This, too, that *it is* because he would do the best for his own,<sup>779</sup> whose meditation of the liturgy is for those who are archangels, and who also maintains, for the assistance of the good, the strength which is his for the existences. 3. And this statement indicates the great participation of any one in that store, because when that store is really an accumulation of work on the way, for the partners in that store who *have done* more,

776 See Chap. 12.1 n; it is here written yasto in Pahlavi.

777 See Pahl. Yas. 35.5.

778 Ibid. 4.

779 Ibid. 6.

and also *those* who *have* accomplished less, *and* remains, moreover, in the possession of them all, then, *as to* those accomplishing more of it, through the original possession of most of that work, and also through that which *occurs* when the accomplishers have attained to that plenty more particularly owing to their more labor, and likewise through the property. liberally, largely, and lordlily, of those accomplishing more, and the indigence, unafflictedly,<sup>780</sup> scantily, and subordinately, of those accomplishing less, *it is* reasonable to speak of that store *as* in their possession, and *of their* superiority *as* greatly over those accomplishing less. 4. This too that his work is good work whose liberality is for the archangels; even for this reason, because through a little labor *for* the sacred beings, which is itself that liberality, he contributes duty and good works.

5. This, too, that it becomes best for him, in both existences,<sup>781</sup> who teaches a wishing for living in diligence to mankind; even for this reason, because he is a preserver of them through the wishing for living, and *his* soul, through the diligence owing to him attains perfection, here from mankind *and in yonder world* from the sacred beings. 6. This, too that the ceremonial and obeisance of Ohrmazd<sup>782</sup> are performed by him who is in the way of like thinking and like praising of the law of Ohrmazd with all the worshippers of Ohrmazd. 7. This, too, that he is in the leadership of his religion<sup>783</sup> who makes the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because every item of knowledge which he provides increases some greatness of it. 8. This, too, that he is in the service of his religion<sup>784</sup> who demands the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because so long as he demands more, he becomes nearer to a knowledge of religion.

9. This, too, that mankind's wishing for life is authorized (dastovarinado) by him who authorizes the production of anything for mankind; even for this reason, because authority (dastobarih) over the production of anything is conjoined with that which is for the wishing for life; so that whosever production of anything is authorizedly, their life is *free* from any discomfort; and whosever wishing for life is authorizedly, his production of anything is also authorizedly. 10. This, too, that acceptance, hints, and words are given<sup>785</sup> to Ohrmazd by him who asks again, that which he does not understand of the religion, from him who does understand; even for this reason, because knowledge is

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780 Pahl. abeshiha, but it should perhaps be aveshiha, "unabundantly."

781 See Pahl. Yas. 35.9.

782 Ibid. 19.

783 Ibid. 22.

784 Ibid. 22.

785 See Pahl. Yas. 35.25.

completed through these three *things*: obtainment, hints, and speaking, and all three are asked again by him who does not understand. 11. This, too, that the words of Ohrmazd<sup>786</sup> are taught by him who teaches the acceptance, remembrance, and speaking *of* the religion; even for this reason, because this is the recital of that compendium (hangerdikih).

12. This, too, that the care<sup>787</sup> *and* reverence of fire are provided by him who is liberal to a fire as regards anything he supplies for the care and reverence which *others* shall provide for the fire, and he becomes equally rewarded for it 13. This, too, that by him who teaches the religion of Ohrmazd with joyfulness,<sup>788</sup> the care and reverence of fire are provided as declared by the religion; even for this reason, because even that *which* is taught by him combines with the action due to that teaching. 14. This, too, that the obeisance<sup>789</sup> *to* those requiring obeisance is arranged *by him* who loves Vohuman. 15. This, too, that fire is strengthened – for that work, achieved in the future existence, which is the greatest<sup>790</sup> that exists – by him who invokes fire with the title of fire; even for this reason, because the title is put by him upon a nature that is laudable, and when invoked by him with that title the praised *one* is then strengthened by him.

16. This, too, that he becomes informed as to the religion of Ohrmazd,<sup>791</sup> who teaches the religion of Ohrmazd with pleasure; even for this reason, because every knowledge is exercised *and* increased by teaching. 17. This, too, that Ohrmazd is propitiated by the excellent sagacity of him who teaches virtuous words and actions;<sup>792</sup> even for this reason, because sagacity *has* two parts, the speakable and the workable. 18. This, too, that the bodily form (kerpo) of Ohrmazd is praised as perfection (nevakotumih)<sup>793</sup> by him who elevates (balistinedo) his own soul<sup>794</sup> to the station of the sun;<sup>795</sup> even for this reason, because that bodily form of Ohrmazd exists, and becomes the loftiest and most perfect in the station of the sun.

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786 Ibid. 27.

787 See Pahl. Yas. 36.1. This section implies that the attendant who feeds a fire with fuel supplied by others, obtains an equal share of merit with them.

788 Ibid. 4, 5.

789 See Pahl. Yas. 36.5.

790 Ibid. 6.

791 Ibid. 7.

792 Ibid. 11.

793 Ibid. 14.

794 Ibid. 15.

795 Ibid. 16; the highest grade of heaven below the supreme heaven, which latter is called Garothman (see Sls. 6.3 n).

19. This, too, that all excellence is purely produced for Ohrmazd by him who has root in the possession *of* Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because, when a root is given to him, fruit is also produced by him, and all excellence is *both* root and fruit.<sup>796</sup> 20. This, too, that Ohrmazd is invoked with the title “lord”<sup>797</sup> by him whom Ohrmazd calls; even for this reason, because the interpretation of “Ohrmazd” is really with the *words* “greatly wise lord” (mas danak khudai). 21. This, too, that the names of the sacred beings *which are* invoked<sup>798</sup> are the praise glorified by *any* one, and by him who glorifies them they are named; even for this reason, because the names of the sacred beings are the glorification due to their names of praise. 22. This, too, that among those of the same class (ham-goharan), when he shall do it for one race,<sup>799</sup> benefit is produced by him for other races within that class; among those of the same races (ham-tokhmakanan), when he shall produce benefit for one species, it *is done* by him also for other species within that race; and among the same species (ham saradako), when he shall produce benefit for one individual (kerpo), it *is done* by him for other individuals within that species.

23. This, too, that his personality (khudih) is the sacred beings’ own,<sup>800</sup> who maintains the rites<sup>801</sup> with the assistance of the righteous. 24. This, too, that his own is in the guardianship<sup>802</sup> of the sacred beings, whose vehemence is through Good Thought; even for this reason, because his bravery is for the law. 25. This, too, that life is given to mankind by him who shall do that which is able to remain good for them. 26. This, too, that the friendship of Ohrmazd is appropriated by him who has Ohrmazd as a guardian, and perpetual guardianship is appropriated by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their perpetual guardianship in yonder *world*.

27. This, too; that he causes righteousness<sup>803</sup> who thinks of anything which is virtuous. 28. This, too, that he has caused the good commands and propitiousness<sup>804</sup> of Ohrmazd, who gives *his* body and life<sup>805</sup> to the sacred beings; and body *and* life are given to the sacred beings by him

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796 See Pahl. Yas. 37.2 (= 5.2).

797 Ibid. 6.

798 See Pahl. Yas. 38.10-12.

799 Ibid. 13-15.

800 See Pahl. Yas. 39.13.

801 Assuming that atan stands for ayinan, as mun atan is ungrammatical.

802 See Pahl. Yas. 39.15.

803 See Pahl. Yas. 40.7.

804 See Pahl. Yas. 41.6.

805 Ibid. 7.

who affords friendship to the religion of Zartosht. 29. And this, too, that to him who affords friendship to Ohrmazd it occurs owing to the guardianship of Ohrmazd; and that guardianship is perpetually<sup>806</sup> connected with him who teaches to others that thing which always constitutes their companionship with the sacred beings.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

**Fargard 12. Benefits, pleasing superiors, the best for one's own in every mode, teaching virtue to all, one whose spirit is connected with Ohrmazd, whose words are through Vohuman, who produces long-continued joy, who teaches the proper way to man, who gives heat to fire; (§10) assistants of the renovation, the progeny of Ohrmazd, defeating the bad and accepting the good, transformation of the creatures, teaching religion like a priest, wisdom of Ohrmazd, complete mindfulness that is not deceived, maintaining the destinies of the body, conveying to the rulers for benefit; (§20) benefit of sovereignty for that which arises, liberality to fire, thinking of righteousness, interrogating religion, progress of religion, pleasure given to a friend, gratification from Ohrmazd, indication of intellect in a vigorous-minded man, the spirit of Ohrmazd, reward taught in the publicity of the sun (58).**

1. The twelfth fargard, Ushtavaiti,<sup>807</sup> is that the benefit of him who is reverent *to* the benefiter is the benefit of anyone whatever;<sup>808</sup> even for this reason, because the benefit of the immature creation is owing to carrying out the commands of a benefiting spiritual lord. 2. This, too, that whoever pleases superiors by submission, is pleased by inferiors. 3. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zartosht, that which is best for his own in every mode<sup>809</sup> is produced, because he has attained to the religion who is listening best. 4. This, too, that virtue is taught by him to all the creatures of the beneficent spirit, *to* the righteous whose stepping forth (*fravamishno*) is for the righteous; even for this reason, because the creatures of the beneficent spirit are all *of*

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806 Ibid. 17.

807 See Chap. 13.1 n; it is here written *aushtaito* in Pahlavi.

808 See Pahl. Yas. 42.1 a.

809 See Pahl. Yas. 42.2 a.

one nature, *and* the stepping forth (fragamishno) and hastening of the limbs of one body become those of the whole *of* that body. 5. This, too, that his spirit is connected with Ohrmazd,<sup>810</sup> and his knowledge is accepted, who loves Vohuman; even for this reason, because the spirit *who* is the original spiritual lord of knowledge is Vohuman. 6. This, too, that just giving is taught by him whose words are through Vohuman;<sup>811</sup> even for this reason, because the speaking of virtuous words becomes the teaching of knowledge in which *there* is also just giving.

7. This, too, that joy which is of long duration is produced<sup>812</sup> for his own by him who brings forth strength through virtue, and who also assists him who is unborn; even for this reason, because joy which is perpetual increases by both. 8. This, too, that by him who is an assistance of those in the proper way, the proper way is taught to mankind;<sup>813</sup> even for this reason, because he *is* making mankind long for that way. 9. This, too, that heat is given to fire<sup>814</sup> by him who *tells* truth to the invokers; even for this reason, because the adversary – owing to the heat of the fire achieved by the indicator of truth – is more particularly subdued by the strength of that just *one*.

10. This, too, that the assistants for the renovation *of the universe* are the decrees of Vishtasp<sup>815</sup> – which are through Vohuman – of Soshyant<sup>816</sup> and Kay Khosraw;<sup>817</sup> even for this reason, because the fragments are possessing a renewer which is their own completion,<sup>818</sup> and the completion – which is through the assistance of the renovation by Vishtasp – is through what *occurs* when the religion is set going by him, through which the renovation arises; and the triumph of the completion, which is through an ordinance by Soshyant, is through what *occurs* when through the ordinance *there* is thus a decree which sets aside all distress from the creatures, and gives the ordinance *to* the whole material existence, that which is living and also that which is dead. 11. This, too, that whoever entrusts it with a command given – which command given entrusts him who supplies the command from

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810 Ibid. 2 c.

811 Ibid. 2 d.

812 Ibid. 2 e.

813 Ibid. 3 b.

814 See Pahl. Yas. 42.4 d.

815 See Bk. 8, Chaps. 11.1, 13.15.

816 See Pahl. Yas. 42.4 e, and Bk. 8, Chap. 14.14.

817 In the MS. the letters sro are omitted from this name which might, therefore, be read Kayanag; but Kay Khosraw (see Chap. 23) is considered as one of the assistants of the renovation (Dd. 36.3), probably on account of his opposition to idolatry (Bd. 17.7).

818 Pahl. mahan baharano kashtar-homond-i nafshman sporikih.

revelation – and it worships what is necessary to worship, is thereby displayed among the existences as the progeny of Ohrmazd.<sup>819</sup>

12. This, too, that the defeat of the bad and the acceptance of the good<sup>820</sup> are taught by him who shall provide a righteous gift for the worthy; because both are therein. 13. This, too, that ability for even the transformation of the creatures<sup>821</sup> of Ohrmazd is taught by him who loves Vohuman; even for this reason, because the forward-dragging, and also the backward-dragging, power – which is in mankind – is qualified, through changeableness of will, for even the actions of the Vohumanic nature. 14. This, too, that power is taught, to that spirit through whom the creatures are changed, by him whose wisdom is for that which is wisdom; even for this reason, because that spirit is wisdom, *and* increases in mankind through instruction. 15. This, too, that by him who praises the religion like a disciple, and who also teaches *it* like a priest,<sup>822</sup> it is shown *that* Soshyant<sup>823</sup> really comes; even for this reason, because the religion, from the first praiser and teacher *down* to the last praiser and teacher, is connected by discipleship and priesthood, *and* Soshyant becomes a disciple *in* the end, and the last priest.

16. This, too, that the wisdom of Ohrmazd<sup>824</sup> is taught by him who shall supply decisions and adjudication from the religion; even for this reason, because the decision of religion is the wisdom of Ohrmazd. 17. This, too, that complete mindfulness, so that they are not deceived,<sup>825</sup> is taught through wisdom by him who is as reverent to Ohrmazd as a daughter to a father; even for this reason, because the reverence of a daughter unto a father arises mostly through natural sympathy (ahang-i chitrik), *and* through the intellectual complete mindfulness of the daughter.

18. This, too, that maintaining the destinies (vakhtan) of the body through the command of the creator is taught by him who teaches the righteous *man* and the wicked *one* that thing *which* becomes comfort to them, *to* the righteous *man* as to *his* body, *and to* the wicked *one* as to *his* soul; even for this reason, because he becomes a friend of the creatures, a friend of the creatures is also a friend of creativeness, *and* a friend of the creator maintains body *and* wealth through the command

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819 See Pahl. Yas. 42.5 b.

820 Ibid. 5 d.

821 Ibid. 5 e; assuming that dam-var'zishnih, “accomplishment of the creatures,” stands for dam-wardishnih.

822 Ibid. 6 d.

823 Ibid. 6 d.

824 Ibid. 6 e.

825 Ibid. 6 e.

of the creator, *and* others are taught by him. 19. This, too, that joy owing to him who is powerful is taught him who is righteous only by him – that is, he is conveying him to the rulers for benefit<sup>826</sup> – who is an assistance of him who is righteous through capability, that is, he shall do it through exertion of power; even for this reason, because, when he *has* provided as much assistance as *it* is possible for him *to do*, his praise arises through that benefit which is preeminent through his exertion. 20. This, too, that the benefit *of* sovereignty for that which arises<sup>827</sup> is taught only by him who always thoroughly teaches authority (patih) up to dictatorship (vispo-far-manih); that is, he teaches to others that thing which always arises for them up to dictatorial authority; this is where it is connected by them with the renovation *of the universe* through the control which is in the tree of germs.<sup>828</sup>

21. This, too, that he becomes liberal to fire<sup>829</sup> who shall perform work for fire that is its protection, and so it is taught about *it* through the obeisance by him whose liberality – that is his through the obeisance – becomes liberal, *and* whose declaration, that arises as to Vohuman, possesses wealth through virtue. 22. This, too, *that* this thinking as to righteousness<sup>830</sup> is taught only by him – that is, he thinks – whose petition for righteousness is ever afresh. 23. This, too, that the religion is interrogated<sup>831</sup> by him who is submissive *to* superiors and similarly situated (ham-jak) *to* inferiors.

24. This, too, that the state of the present *world* (latammanih) for the Mazda-worshipping religion is thoroughly taught where whatever becomes a progress<sup>832</sup> of the religion is whatever is purification *for* mankind; even for this reason, because the want of progress of the religion is owing to the want of purification of mankind as to the fiend, and when a human being is purified from the fiend, the progress of the religion becomes different. 25. This, too, that pleasure is taught to him who is a friend<sup>833</sup> only by him – that is, he gives it – who is a pleasure to him who is a friend; and its routine is really this, that by him who causes

826 See Pahl. Yas. 42.8 c.

827 Ibid. 8 d.

828 Evidently the many-seeded tree of all germs, opposed to harm and called the proper-curing, energetic-curing, and all-curing; it is renowned in Eranwej and grows in the wide-formed ocean near the Gokereno, or white-Hom plant, which latter is one of the ingredients of the elixir producing immortality in the future existence (see Bd. 9.5, 6, 18.9, 27.2, 29.5).

829 See Pahl. Yas. 42.9 d which Pt4 and Mf4 supply as follows: Aeduno avo hana-i lak atash rado homonam pavan niyayishno.

830 Ibid. 9 e.

831 Ibid. 10 c.

832 Ibid. 11 d.

833 Ibid. 14 a.



pleasure to friends, his *having* caused pleasure is taught also to them. 26. This, too, that, owing to him whom Ohrmazd teaches joy, it is taught *that* gratification<sup>834</sup> comes from Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because he is exalted, even in the worldly *existence*, through that joy which is supreme, and mankind are thereby taught.

27. This, too, that the augmentation of indications as to intellect is taught to him who is a vigorous-minded (tushto-minishno) man,<sup>835</sup> by him whose own progress is that towards his own sacred beings; even for this reason, because he fully considers, *and* delivers the decision, of his own powers, of those, too, of *his* contemporaries (ham-budikano), *and* likewise of the chivalry (chirih) of the age; and others are taught about it by him. 28. This, too, that the spirit of Ohrmazd<sup>836</sup> is expounded only by him – that is, he loves it – whose close exposition is of Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because he becomes similarity loved with Ohrmazd, so that<sup>837</sup> . . . 29. And this, too, that the reward is taught in the publicity of the sun<sup>838</sup> by him whose friendship is for the Spitaman, which also increases in the day – that is, it is necessary to perform duty and good works in the day – but he does not put it aside the second day; even for this reason, because friendship for the religion is through kind regard; and duty in *one* day, only to put it aside for the second day, becomes affliction (vesh) at the bridge *of judgment*; also the sun is the most kindly-regarding and swiftest of those visible.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect is righteousness.

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834 See Pahl. Yas. 42.14 b.

835 Ibid. 15 c.

836 Ibid. 16 a.

837 Some clause appears to be omitted here.

838 See Pahl. Yas. 42.16 d.

**Fargard 13. Obeisance to the archangels, seven kinds of men, Vohumanic attainment to religion, perfection of the first of existences, nourisher of good works; (§10) development in virtue, words and actions through complete mindfulness, exposition of the renovation, deciding about duty and opinion, propagation and progressiveness of the religion, protection from the annoying spirit, exploits of the archangels, people shall become supplicant, interested liberality (59).**

1. The thirteenth fargard, Tad-thwa-peresa,<sup>839</sup> is *that* the obeisance<sup>840</sup> of the archangels is performed by him who is educated in the recitation *for* the archangels of *one* learned in the religion, which is when *he has* to understand the recitation and to maintain the recitation of revelation with propriety, which is when an enumeration, or form (ainako), as to the qualities of the archangels exists, which is the obeisance *for* the sacred beings. 2. For, on this subject, *one* mentions seven kinds of *men*,<sup>841</sup> educated, or well-educated, or ill-educated, who are connected with it in statements by those of the world; the merely educated man, particularly also the physician, explains this which is not mentioned and does not occur, that it *is* well, or ill, disposed;<sup>842</sup> the merely well-educated man, particularly also the physician, explains this which is mentioned and occurs, that *it is* well-disposed; the merely ill-educated *man*, and also the physician, explains this which is mentioned *and* occurs, that it *is* ill-disposed; and the merely uneducated *man* explains anything whatever that is really life.<sup>843</sup> 3. *One* educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, who when – on account of the necessity of speaking evil about a learned man – he is mischievous (anag), so that he keeps in viciousness and *has* remained in the obeisance *for* the sacred beings, is called not ransomed (la takhtik).

4. *One* ill-educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, which is when it *happens* that he keeps in viciousness, becomes even an apostate who is acquainted with the religion. 5. *One* uneducated in what *pertains* to the sacred beings is of two kinds, either good<sup>844</sup> and void of learning,

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839 See Chap. 14.1 n; it is here written tad-spag-peres in Pahlavi.

840 See Pahl. Yas. 43.1 b.

841 These appear to be the four kinds of ordinary men, and the three kinds of physicians, detailed in the following clauses.

842 Khu (Paz.) ayov dushim.

843 Apparently khaya-ch badly written in B.

844 Paz. khu.

or an evil *one* who is void of knowledge; the good and void of learning worships the sacred beings unobservantly with the proper rites, and the evil *one* who is void of knowledge thinks to worship the sacred beings unobservantly with improper rites, and *has* no means of trustworthy reliance upon the religion of the sacred beings and their obeisance. 6. And *one* well-educated in what *pertains* to the sacred beings, through the three words of the connected series (ham-padvandishnih) which is good (khu) and learned,<sup>845</sup> and through what *pertains* to the sacred beings, expounds faithfully the object of the obeisance *for* the sacred beings.

7. This, too, that, by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their hope of eternity, mankind are taught to come to the religion of the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the Vohumanic attainment<sup>846</sup> to the religion of the sacred beings is to be required wisely for them, its requirement wisely for them is a benefit for the steadfast and becomes a consideration (minih) for them, and the consideration of the benefit of the steadfast is through hope of the eternity which is provided for the benefit, on account of which the hope of eternity – which is the basis – is the reason even of the acceptance of the religion.

8. This, too, that the perfection of the first among the existences<sup>847</sup> is taught by him who *has* retentively remembered his words; even for this reason, because remembrance is the acme of every perfection. 9. This, too, that he becomes a nourisher of good works who shall perform good works publicly; even for this reason, because others are taught thereby, and good works increase in the world. 10. This, too, that by him who has fruit in the possession of Ohrmazd the development of the world in virtue<sup>848</sup> is taught; even for this reason, because a lawful preserver and a producer of liberality arise through the fruit, they enlarge the root of the power of the angel of liberality, and pluck *its* fruit; the world is improved thereby, *and* mankind are taught about it. 11. This, too, that, through complete mindfulness, words *and* actions<sup>849</sup> are truly taught by him whose ceremonial is for complete mindfulness; even for this reason, because there are both words *and* actions in the ceremonial.

12. This, too, that the sagacious creativeness (far'zanak dahih) of Ohrmazd is taught, which is the exposition, to Ohrmazd,<sup>850</sup> of the production of the renovation; even for this reason, because the

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845 Probably “good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.”

846 See Pahl. Yas. 43.1 e.

847 Ibid. 2 b.

848 Ibid. 2 d.

849 Ibid. 6 c.

850 See Pahl. Yas. 43.8 b.

advantage of the sagacity of Ohrmazd is the consequence of its beginning, and *its* middle is through the power of the goodness and knowledge of him himself, and because it *is* destiny as regards the creations; and whoever possesses that power for the assistance of the renovation, is extolled for that sagacity, and *people* are taught thereby. 13. This, too, that the reward of Zartosht is appropriated by him who decides about duty and opinion;<sup>851</sup> even for this reason, because, through that discrimination, *he is* similar to Zartosht.

14. This, too, that the recitation of revelation is performed *for* mankind by him who extends the propagation of the religion;<sup>852</sup> even for this reason, because, owing to the gratification of virtuous practisers, virtue increases. 15. This, too, that the religion of Ohrmazd is made progressive<sup>853</sup> by him who shall perform the ceremonial of Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because through that performance of his occurs the blessing of the provider of the rite (niranginidar). 16. This, too, that that perfectly righteous *man* of just judgment is protected from the annoying spirit<sup>854</sup> by him who possesses the resemblance (angunagih) unto Vohuman that they behold and resources through virtue; even for this reason, because the vexation which is partaken by him (the *spirit*), owing to the just judgment among those of the nature (chiharikan) of mankind, is redoubled (dokani-aito) by their pleasure owing to the Vohumanic resemblance, and the annoying spirit is disabled (akarihend)<sup>855</sup> by that accumulated vexation which occurs for his annoyance.

17. This, too, that the exploits of the archangels are taught by *him* who is really capable in what *pertains to* the archangels; even for this reason, because they become the hope of a consoling (vedvar) end, and are also indicative of the renovation *of the universe*, the hope of a virtuous end. 18. This, too, that the words of him who is Zartosht, that '*people shall become supplicant*,' are taught by him who is for the benefitters; even for this reason, *because* they who are benefitters, on account of an inclination for the religion, make others eager for the religion, and make them mount for prayer. 19. And this, *too*, that by him who gives anything to a righteous man, this is also done that some one else *may* give even to him who is vile; even for this reason, because a foundation of liberality is thereby prepared for him.<sup>856</sup>

20. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

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851 Ibid. 17 c.

852 Ibid. 15 d, 27 c.

853 Ibid. 17 c.

854 Ibid. 11 e.

855 The Paz. equivalent of akarih-homand.

856 Implying that he is himself vile who gives to the righteous merely to induce others to give to himself.

**Fargard 14. Instruction to be heard, perfection of the first next-of-kin marriage, the teaching of it, daughterhood of Spandarmad, this is taught by him who is completely mindful, attraction to good works, reverence for Vohuman, ceremonial taught with complete mindfulness (60).**

1. The fourteenth fargard, Ad-fravakhshya,<sup>857</sup> is that whatever is instruction is to be listened to<sup>858</sup> here as much as is possible, *and* he who is not to be taught is allowed an opportunity *for* listening by Zartosht.

2. This, too, that by him who would be a causer of procreation for performers of labor, the perfect nature of the performance of the first next-of-kin marriage<sup>859</sup> is praised; because causing the procreation of performers of labor is the fatherhood of mankind, the proper fatherhood of mankind is through the proper production *of* progeny, the proper progeny of the producer is through the accomplishment of progeny among his own, according to the disposition of the first creatures, and the accomplishment of progeny among one's own is next-of-kin marriage; and that which *occurs*, when a causer of the procreation of performers of labor praises the fatherhood of mankind, *is that* next-of-kin marriage is also praised by him. 3. This, too, that by him whose creatures are in virtue, owing to his virtuous nourishment *of* the creatures, the performance of next-of-kin marriage<sup>860</sup> is taught, *and* the virtue is his virtue; even on this account, because, for the sake of keeping the creatures in virtue, he allows (andazedo) for the virtuous disposition pertaining to the multitude, *and* that which is born he produces (dahedo) as lineage from the next-of-kin marriage pertaining to the multitude.

4. This, too, that Spandarmad is in daughterhood<sup>861</sup> to Ohrmazd is taught by him whose wisdom is through complete mindfulness; even for this reason, because his wisdom and complete mindfulness are within limits which are Ohrmazd and Spandarmad, the wisdom being that of Ohrmazd, the complete mindfulness that of Spandarmad, and the complete mindfulness *being* the offspring of the wisdom just as Spandarmad is *of* Ohrmazd; and, owing to this, the assertion is reasonable that, by him whose complete mindfulness is connected with wisdom, it is taught *that* Spandarmad is in daughterhood to Ohrmazd.

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857 See Chap. 15.1 n; it is here written ad-fravakhshe in Pahlavi.

858 See Pahl. Yas. 44.1 a.

859 See Pahl. Yas. 44.4 a.

860 Ibid. 4 c. §§ 2-5 have been already translated, somewhat differently, in S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp. 395, 396.

861 Ibid. 4 d. For Spandarmad see Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3.

5. This, too, that thus the exercise of that daughterhood is taught by him whose righteousness is through complete mindfulness, and whose ceremonial is also through complete mindfulness; that is, he shall perform the ceremonial and other good works fully mindfully.

6. This, too, that mankind are attracted to religious good deeds by him who shall provide benefit for the people through actions and words; even for this reason, because those actions are religious good deeds, and, when instituted by him, *others* are also taught by him. 7. This, too, that reverence for Vohuman<sup>862</sup> is taught by him who shall make that which is contaminated obvious to the eye, so that what is dark *becomes* light; even for this reason, because the display of the work of Vohuman thereby has also taught the offer of reverence *for* Vohuman. 8. And this, too, that the ceremonial is taught with complete mindfulness<sup>863</sup> only *by him* who teaches words and actions with complete mindfulness.

9. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

**Fargard 15. To what lands one should step, diligence in good works, teaching religion, even in an exhausted province, protection of fire, giving oneself in discipleship, he who so gives men and women, goodness taught to the good by him whose Chinwad passage teaches them to step forth; (§10) the world produces abundance through complete mindfulness, the wicked man becomes unprivileged, as in the case of Arjasp, contentment of the archangels, he who thinks of Zartosht (61).**

1. The fifteenth fargard, Kamnamea, <sup>864</sup> is about the reply of Ohrmazd to Zartosht, as to that which *was* asked by him thus: “To which lands do I step?”<sup>865</sup> and it is *thus*: “Do thou march (sagitun) there where the man, in whose person righteousness is *connected* with complete mindfulness, is welcome; this, too, is where happy is he from whom there is no complaint.”

2. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in good works by him who produces progress for good works; even for this reason, because mankind attain progress *in* manifest duty who engage more particularly in good works. 3. This, too, that the teaching of religion is the public

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862 See Pahl. Yas. 44.9 e.

863 Ibid. 10 a.

864 See Chap. 16.1 n; it is here written kamnamezo in Pahlavi.

865 See Pahl. Yas. 45.1 a; reading *val* kadar damikan vamam (= gamam, see Chap. 58.4).

action which is prescribed by him who would produce exertion for the righteous, that is, benefit for those of the good religion; even for this reason, because the multitude (kabedan) approach the religion, and are taught and practice *it*, on account of a desire for benefit. 4. This, too, that it is in a province of even exhausted production<sup>866</sup> that it is taught by him who appoints a virtuous governor over the province; even for this reason, because a virtuous governor of a province becomes a teacher of ability and good works to those of the province.

5. This, too, that the good protection of fire<sup>867</sup> is taught by him whose words are through Vohuman, *and* who also would provide a time for the ordeal of that which is doubtful; even for this reason, because *he* whose words are utterable through Vohuman, *and* who would provide a time for the ordeal of that which is doubtful, teaches the provision of care for the operative fire, owing to that *which occurs* when *what* is accomplished, about *one* acquitted or convicted by the fire, is declared, *and* mankind shall provide more particularly for the brilliancy of the fire, and the wicked more for assistance and protection from it.

6. This, too, that whoever shall provide about him who liberally gives himself in discipleship<sup>868</sup> unto the priests, has thereby taught even by the mention of the high-priest; even for this reason, because the person being given in discipleship unto the priests, the religion practiced by the high-priest arises also for mention, *and* whoever shall provide generosity for that person, has increased *and* also taught that action, which is religion, even by the mention made. 7. This, too, that men and women<sup>869</sup> are taught as being given in discipleship<sup>870</sup> to Zartosht by him who keeps his own males and females in the control of Zartosht. 8. This, too, that goodness is taught by him to those (valman) who are good, so that they produce it who give to that righteous *one* the worthiness which is through that wealth; the righteous *one* who is worthy is *one* of the good religion for whose production of the worthiness which is through that wealth it is sought, and that wealth which is coveted is wealth of little trouble and much advantage, through the goodness and idea of virtue of the giver to the account of him who is the acceptor of the good worthiness. 9. This, too, that through his Chinwad passage (Chishvidarg) it is taught that they shall step forth (frovamand);<sup>871</sup> *and* by him who goes on through anything (chish) openly, when he *has* proceeded

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866 Ibid. 4 b.

867 See Pahl. Yas. 45.7 c.

868 Ibid. 9 d.

869 Ibid. 10 a.

870 Ibid. 10 b.

871 See Pahl. Yas. 45.10 e, and Bk. 8, Chap. 14.8.

publicly on the right path, *one* passed *away* on the Chinwad passage is taught.

10. This, too, that by him whose ceremonial is through complete mindfulness it is taught that the world produces abundance through complete mindfulness;<sup>872</sup> even for this reason, because it is taught by him, through that disposition of his *for* the sacred beings (pavan zak-i valman yazdano khim), that the developed world is shown *to be* theirs; *and* here *below* it is fully taught by him, *that* Hordad and Amurdad<sup>873</sup> – that is, the sacred beings – produce it for the benefiter. 11. This, too, that thus he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged at that time when every one understands, that is, when righteousness is aloft. 12. This, too, that when he who is privileged is Vishtasp,<sup>874</sup> likewise he who is privileged is the righteous Zartosht,<sup>875</sup> *and* so he who is the wicked Arjasp<sup>876</sup> is unprivileged.

13. This, too, that creation is taught by him to Ohrmazd, so that he creates, and this, too, that the archangels are taught by his will, whose contentment<sup>877</sup> is through that of the archangels, so that he observes the conclusion in the affairs of the archangels. 14. And this, too, that wisdom is taught to him who is Zartosht – so that it becomes his – by him whose thoughts are for Zartosht<sup>878</sup> *and* for the religion of Zartosht.

15. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## **Fargard 16. The wise, practicing the deeds of complete mindfulness, nourishing good works and the creatures with propriety, giving pasture, he who becomes a benefit to the good, sentence according to declaration of acquittal or conviction, a strong foundation for learning (62).**

1. The sixteenth fargard, Spenta-mainyu,<sup>879</sup> is *that* the religion is lodging in him who is himself wise, or becomes a hearer of the wise. 2. This, too, that the deeds of complete mindfulness are practiced<sup>880</sup> and

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872 Ibid. 12 c.

873 See Chap. 19.1.

874 See Pahl. Yas. 45.13 e.

875 Ibid. 14 a, which is supplied by Pt4, Mf4, thus: Zartoshto mun lak aharubo dosto.

876 See Bk. 8, Chap. 11.4.

877 See Pahl. Yas. 45.19 e.

878 Ibid. 19 b.

879 See Chap. 17.1 n; it is here written spendmato in Pahlavi.

880 See Pahl. Yas. 46.2 c.



taught by him who becomes himself completely mindful. 3. This, too, that *whoever* shall openly perform good works becomes a nourisher of good works.

4. This, too, that the spirit of fatherhood becomes lodging in him who nourishes the creatures with propriety.<sup>881</sup> 5. This, too, that pasture is given<sup>882</sup> to cattle is taught by him who shall provide care for cattle, because the giving of pasture to them with care is advantageous.

6. This, too, that all for his good who becomes a benefit to him who is good<sup>883</sup> – *through* that which has come to him – is every benefit which occurs to him who is good; all *for* his good every benefit is given to every *one* good by way of similarity in race, species, and nature, and every benefit is given in the way of complete giving which is possible for it.

7. This, too, that whoever shall justly inflict sentence and judgment. really according to the declaration regarding *one* acquitted or convicted,<sup>884</sup> becomes praiseworthy; even for this reason, because the origin of the judgment is the ritual of the ordeal. 8. And this, too, that by him who gives to him who is wise that which is needful for him, an immense<sup>885</sup> *and* strong foundation for learning is produced, *and* the knowledge in the world is augmented.

9. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

**Fargard 17. Maintaining the benedictions of religion, making known the Chinwad passage, causing a change from evil to good, generosity to tillers, developing the world, formation of creatures and devastation by Vohuman caused by him whose rule is for Ohrmazd, he who increases virtue in a province, he who loves Vohuman, virtuous deeds set going (63).**

1. The seventeenth fargard, Yezi,<sup>886</sup> is *that* whoever maintains the benedictions of the religion,<sup>887</sup> and shall uphold its commands, has thereby made even others learn it; even for this reason, because through

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881 Ibid. 2 d.

882 Ibid. 3 c.

883 Ibid. 5 b.

884 See Pahl. Yas. 46.6 b.

885 Ibid. 6 c.

886 See Chap. 18.1 n.

887 See Pahl. Yas. 47.1 d.

this it is much more possible for him to attract others to the religion; *and, as to* the origin and means of attraction, the attraction is this, that he himself maintains the benedictions of the religion, and the means of attraction are this, that he is an upholder of the commands of the religion.

2. This, too, that by him who shall perform the ritual of an order which is accomplished, the Chinwad passage<sup>888</sup> is made known; even for this reason, because those even who *have* accomplished what is a work of the spirit become witnesses, one about the other, as to the facts. 3. This, too, that by him who shall perform that thing whereby a change occurs from evil to good,<sup>889</sup> even that change which is the renovation *of* the *universe* is made known, by means even of the evidence of a partial change as regards a perpetual change.

4. This, too, that by him who shall produce generosity for the tillers<sup>890</sup> of the world it is then developed; even for this reason, because they become more diligent in tilling the world. 5. This, too, that by him who shall produce benefit for the poor, a development<sup>891</sup> of the world is produced for them; even for this reason, because through that reason they increase more.

6. This, too, that the creature-forming (damih) of Ohrmazd<sup>892</sup> is occasioned by him whose rule<sup>893</sup> is for Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because he becomes a holder and attendant of good works. 7. This, too, that the devastation by Vohuman<sup>894</sup> is taught by him whose rule is for Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because he smites sinners and destroys among villains.

8. This, too, that virtuous people are increased in a province<sup>895</sup> by him who appoints a virtuous governor of the province. 9. This, too, that virtuous instruction is provided and explained by him who loves Vohuman.<sup>896</sup> 10. And this, too, that virtuous deeds<sup>897</sup> are set going by him who teaches learned sayings and virtuous deeds to him who is good; even for this reason, because the reception *of* the progressive supply of virtue by the learned becomes more complete.

888 See Pahl. Yas. 47.2 b.

889 Ibid. 4 a.

890 Ibid. 5 d.

891 Ibid 6 c.

892 Ibid. 7 d.

893 Ibid. 8 a.

894 Ibid. 9 c.

895 Ibid. 12 a, and compare Chap. 61.4.

896 Ibid. 12 b.

897 See Pahl. Yas. 47.12 c.

11. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

**Fargard 18. He who makes people intelligent through his complete mindfulness, how this occurs, discriminating through wisdom, teaching joyfulness in righteousness to Frashostar, and ardor in good works, supplying guardianship, a master of all commands, Vohuman's guarding the creatures of Ohrmazd, the arrival of the wicked in the fiend's abode, (§10) reverence coming to assistance through invocation, the supplicant for what is coveted from Ohrmazd; Ohrmazd's statement about one's own, confederate, and serf (64).**

1. The eighteenth fargard, Ad-ma-yava,<sup>898</sup> is *that*, through his complete mindfulness,<sup>899</sup> the teaching of mankind in virtue is by him, and they become properly intelligent<sup>900</sup> through him, whose actions are those which are more daughterly, that is, as reverent unto Ohrmazd as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because his display of the complete mindfulness which is instinctive (asnik) is through action, *and* that action, acquired (srutik) for the thoughts of mankind, is kindled by him and *has* become properly intelligent. 2. This, too, that proper intelligence of things arises for *one* completely mindful,<sup>901</sup> even for a daughter to a father, through that complete mindfulness which is instinctive, whereby that lust is excluded which is most violently revered by the male (kushno), and, devoid of that, the reverence is assimilated (angunihinido) most strongly to one's reverence unto the creator.

3. This, too, that discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through wisdom<sup>902</sup> is taught by him whose learning is in the affairs of the sacred beings; even for this reason, because discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings is specially that which is advantageous *in* the end, and the advantageousness *in* the end is seen through learning; and, apart from that, he who is learned in the affairs of the sacred beings has

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898 See Chap. 19.1 n; it is here written ad-ma-yuv in Pahlavi.

899 See Pahl. Yas. 48.5 c.

900 See Pahl. Yas. 48.5 c.

901 See Pahl. Yas. 48.5 c.

902 Ibid. 6 b.

taught discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through his wisdom.<sup>903</sup>

4. This, too, that the joyfulness in righteousness is taught to Frashostar by him – that is, he would make him ardent in the performance of duty, and good works<sup>904</sup> – who *has* thoroughly expounded Hordad and Amurdad to Frashostar<sup>905</sup> that is, he maintains *him* as his high-priest. 5. This, too, that he who shall perform good works ever afresh, has taught him to become ardent in duty and good works.<sup>906</sup> 6. This, too, that Ohrmazd supplies guardianship<sup>907</sup> to him who gives pleasure to Ohrmazd; even for this reason, because a giver of pleasure to Ohrmazd is any one *who* is a true servant of Ohrmazd, and Ohrmazd becomes the guardian of a true servant.

7. This, too, that they ever amount to a master of all commands<sup>908</sup> for him who is a benefit *and* sovereignty for that which arises; even owing to this reason, because, in establishing *and* arranging that which is an absurd (ashkun) or a virtuous law, the command issued, which is another and further observation of the advantage of the creatures, prepares that which is ever an attainable benefit among the creatures, by means of which, even after symptoms of the life of one's body, it is governed through setting going, the usage of that law, and is connected *with* his mastery of command and his sovereignty. 8. This, too, that Vohuman's *having* guarded the creature-forming (damih) of Ohrmazd<sup>909</sup> is taught *by him* whose rule is for Ohrmazd; on this account, because he whose rule is for Ohrmazd has taught the inclination for (padisai) *being* guarded, on this account, because the inclination of the creatures of that ruler for *being* guarded by the power of goodness, and the creatures being guarded by the power of goodness have published the power of goodness, which is Vohuman, to the multitude.

9. Here is about the reply to Zartosht concerning the wicked, thus: "Upon arrival in the fiend's abode,<sup>910</sup> through an immature (kham) death, they are unprivileged, so that every misery is theirs, and it is not possible for them to seek a remedy."

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903 Assuming that ar'jo, "value," stands for khirado, which is very similarly written in Pahlavi letters.

904 See Pahl. Yas. 48.8 a.

905 See Chap. 19.1, and Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68.

906 See Pahl. Yas. 48.8 a.

907 See Pahl. Yas. 48.8 b.

908 Ibid. 8 d.

909 See Pahl. Yas. 48.10 a, b, and Chap. 63.6.

910 Ibid. 11 d.

10. This, too, that the spirit of reverence comes through invocation to the assistance<sup>911</sup> of him who is reverent unto the benefiter; even for this reason, because the spirits respond more particularly to that invoker who becomes their worshipper preponderantly (*vaspuharakaniha*); and for each one of the spirits there is preponderantly a *form* of worship, as the spirit of liberality is more particularly worshipped through helpfulness (*vijidar-dahishnih*), the spirit of truth through exact truth (*hu-rastih*), the spirit of a promise through true promising (*hu-mitroih*), and the spirit of sovereignty through good sovereignty; and, even so, the worship of the spirit of reverence consists preponderantly in reverence unto the benefiter. 11. This, too, that he whose rule is for Ohrmazd becomes a supplicant *for* that which is coveted (*ishto*) *from* Ohrmazd;<sup>912</sup> even for this reason, because what is wisely begged from the sacred beings and rulers, for rendering one's own self worthy, occurs as a benefit owing to the sacred beings *and* rulers.

12. About the reply of Ohrmazd to Zartosht, when asked by him about his own, his confederate,<sup>913</sup> and *his* serf, thus: "He is thine own, he thy confederate, and he thy serf, even when and where he is a righteous offspring who produces the progress of this thy religion of Mazda-worship, and recites *it* openly even unto *him* he knows, who provides the public benedictions, this good practice of thine, that is, he maintains what is provided *by* thee as benedictions."<sup>914</sup>

13. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

**Fargard 19. Sheep-nature, mankind nourished, he who produces joyfulness and provides the ceremonial, displaying wisdom, instructing the tongue, teaching preparation and the virtuous way; (§10) obeisance for the archangels, taking assistance, within the day till dawn made as a signal, complete mindfulness among the existences (65).**

1. The nineteenth fargard, Kad-moi-urva,<sup>915</sup> is *that* the sheep-nature (*pahih*)<sup>916</sup> is taught to him *who is a sheep* (*gospend*), even for this

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911 Ibid. 12 a.

912 See Pahl. Yas. 48.12 d.

913 Ibid. 7 c.

914 Ibid. 7 d.

915 See Chap. 20.1 n; it is here written kad-mok-ravo in Pahlavi.

916 See Pahl. Yas. 49.1 b. The distinction made in the Pahlavi text, here and in § 3, by using the scriptural term *pah* and the general word *gospend* for the sheep, might

reason, because the sheep is still among sheep (pah-ich den). 2. This, too, that by him who provides pasture for sheep, mankind are nourished (srayinido)<sup>917</sup> through the sheep; even for this reason, because the nourishment of mankind is through the sheep, and that of the sheep through pasture. 3. This, too, that the sheep of the present *worldly* state is expounded to him who is a sheep (pah) to Zartosht, that is, he has Zartosht as a high-priest; even for this reason, because still a sheep (pah-ich) is a sheep.

4. This, too, that strength in virtue is increased *and* taught by him who produces joyfulness<sup>918</sup> through seeking gradual development, so that he would do that thing which gives him joyfulness, that is, he would do that thing which becomes his long-continued joy; even for this reason, because increase of strength arises more particularly from pleasure, the pleasure that *one is* gradually attaining (der-padai). 5. This, too, that by him who shall provide the ceremonial of the sacred beings, the joyfulness owing to the sacred beings is then connected with his own; even for this reason, because the coming of the sacred beings to it occurs.

6. This, too, that the wisdom<sup>919</sup> of Zartosht is taught *and* displayed by him who gives thought to the religion of Zartosht. 7. This, too, that the tongue<sup>920</sup> is instructed (farhanjinido) in speech by him who becomes discriminating through wisdom. 8. And this, too, that preparation<sup>921</sup> is taught to them who are beneficers of Zartosht, *or* who are *so* of the religion; even for this reason, because, owing to that action, disposition, and attraction which are now theirs, they prepare mankind for the religion of Zartosht. 9. This, too, that whoever teaches the virtuous way to others, they become his through the knowledge of being instructed; even for this reason, because through the enlightenment of that way, they see and act, and are thereby instructed.

10. This, too, that the obeisance<sup>922</sup> *for* the archangels is performed by him who is a praiser *of* the archangels. 11. This, too, that assistance is taken<sup>923</sup> from the sacred beings by him who gives to him who is a supplicant that which is dear to him, because he himself is made worthy by his assistance, and, when made worthy by it, it is then taken by him;

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perhaps be imitated in English by using the word 'flock' for pah, but this would not express the meaning exactly.

917 See Pahl. Yas. 49.1 b.

918 Ibid. 5 b.

919 Ibid. 6 c.

920 Ibid. 6 c.

921 Ibid. 6 d.

922 See Pahl. Yas. 49.7 b.

923 Ibid. 7 d.

and the supplicant is he who is not a supplicant through his mouth, but through worthiness, and *what* is dear is that which is good about him.

12. This, too, that *its being* within the day till dawn (val aush)<sup>924</sup> is taught by him – that is, he would make *it* as a signal (dakhshako)<sup>925</sup> – who is in obeisance, so that he may not neglect till another day the duty and good works which it is requisite for him to perform within the day; even for this reason, because to cause the preservation of the dawn from debased incompatibility (her hanbeshih) of duties, it is made exalted by him over the duties. 13. This, too, that complete mindfulness is taught among the existences<sup>926</sup> by him whose thought among the existences is that he shall perform that thing which is possible to remain good in the world, such as the provision of good sovereignty, orthodoxy, the law of virtuous usage, and others, through which the dwelling, preparation, and living of mankind in the world arise, *and* the appropriation of any complete mindfulness of that performer is the exaltation which is his owing to that great performance.

14. It is righteousness that is perfect excellence.

**Fargard 20. Ohrmazd's command about smiting the deceiver and giving sovereignty to him who is good, providing complete mindfulness, the coveted thing expedient for sovereignty to give away, words of Vohuman, innocence from discontinued good works, causing goodness, way of righteousness not concealed, repletion unnecessary for cattle, housewifery, loving religion through knowledge, gratification of Ohrmazd (66).**

1. In the twentieth fargard, Vohu-khshathrem,<sup>927</sup> *it is* also stated by Ohrmazd to Zartosht the Spitaman thus: 'They who are now in sovereignty are privileged, the human being who is a wicked lying tyrant *being* not now in sovereignty; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite (bara vanin-ae) him who is causing deception in the embodied world by lamentation (shivan), and they cause the preservation of death, ruin, and falsehood because they would cause the preservation of his effects (mamanash var ae bojinend).' 2. And this, too, namely: 'When the sovereignty should be given by them unto him

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924 Ibid. 10 c.

925 Ibid. 10 c.

926 Ibid. 11 c.

927 See Chap. 21.1 n; it is here written vohu-khshatar in Pahlavi.

who is good,<sup>928</sup> *they* would be preserved through that sovereignty of his; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite him who is made deceitful by lamentation, and *so also* death, ruin, and falsehood.'

3. This, too, that by him who shall provide complete mindfulness<sup>929</sup> for his own, righteousness is produced; even for this reason, because, through complete mindfulness, the discerning eye of life, which is righteousness, is enlightened. 4. This, too, that the coveted *thing* (ishto) which it is expedient for sovereignty to give away<sup>930</sup> is taught by him who shall provide sovereignty for him who is all-progressive (hamak-rubishno); even for this reason, because the observation, consideration, and action of him who is an all-progressive ruler are about that which is coveted *by* the multitude and is an ad-vantage for the sovereignty which it is expedient to produce.

5. This, too, that *what* is produced by the words of Vohuman<sup>931</sup> is taught by him who shall perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the thoughts of Vohuman; even for this reason, because, the mind *being* with the thoughts of Vohuman, the tongues of the faithful are habituated (khukinidako) in the statements of Vohuman. 6. This, too, that innocence from discontinued (amand) good works is taught by him who remains in virtue; even for this reason, because they *are* atoned for by him even among important good works.

7. This, too, that the original causer of goodness is assisted in causing goodness by him whose fundamental gift (bun dahishno) among the existences is that he supplies that which it is requisite for him to give; even for this reason, because in a work, upon which *one* remains with a thousand men, when one *man* is bringing his own strength to the labor therein, the 999 *other* men are assisted by him in that work.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness<sup>932</sup> is not concealed, *but* taught, by him who is a good consider as to righteousness; even for this reason, because the sap and root of his righteousness are owing to undiverted thought. 9. This, too, that its *being* unnecessary to provide repletion for those who are cattle<sup>933</sup> is taught by him who keeps cattle as a controller *for* beneficers; even for this reason, because they teach and command him.

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928 See Pahl. Yas. 50.1 a.

929 Ibid. 2 b.

930 See Pahl. Yas. 50.2 b.

931 Ibid. 3b.

932 Ibid. 13 c.

933 See Pahl. Yas. 50.14 b.



10. This, too, that housewifery<sup>934</sup> *being* performed is taught by that wife who shall joyfully pay reverence *to her* husband; even for this reason, because her housewifery is for the satisfaction of the husband, the satisfaction is through her reverence, and the reverence arises through joy. 11. This, too, that to love the religion through knowledge<sup>935</sup> is taught by him who is peaceful (padmanik) *and* Vohumanic *to it*; even for this reason, because Vohumanic peacefulness is understood *as* religion. 12. And this, too, that the gratification of Ohrmazd<sup>936</sup> is caused by him who teaches for Ohrmazd.

13. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

**Fargard 21. Performing the ceremonial, spirits lodging in the body, teaching the religion, diligence in good works, loving the beneficial way, giving a daughter in daughterhood, authority of Vohuman, a daughter given to a father for womanly service, reverence of a wife for her husband, producing origin and effect, dominion in the house (67).**

1. In the twenty-first fargard, Vahishtoishti,<sup>937</sup> it is proclaimed by the righteous Zartosht, that the ceremonial is performed by him owing to whom our worship is good thinking. 2. This, too, that Vohuman and the liturgy are lodging in the body of him in whose body the religion is lodging; and *so* is the spirit of goodness, which is peace (padman). 3. This, too, that the good religion is taught in word and deed by him who shall achieve the giving of thought (minishn-dahih) *to* Vohuman *in* the ceremonial. 4. This, too, that the archangels become lodging in the body of him who loves Vohuman; even for this reason, because their lodging is in light, purity, and perfume, and the body is illuminated, purified, and perfumed by Vohuman.

5. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in the performance of good works by him who shall provide gifts for the doers of good works. 6. This, too, that by him who loves the beneficial way,<sup>938</sup> even others are put in the same way *and* taught. 7. This, too, that he gives his daughter in daughterhood *to his* fatherhood,<sup>939</sup> who teaches *to the* daughter

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934 Ibid. 17 c.

935 Ibid. 18 b.

936 Ibid. 20 c.

937 See Chap. 22.1 n.

938 See Pahl. Yas. 52.2 d.

939 Ibid. 4 a. In § 9 (as in Chap. 45.4) there appears to be no confinement of the meaning to matrimony.

reverence towards her father; even for this reason, because she is made steadfast in daughterhood by him. 8. This, too, that the authority of Vohuman is taught by him who keeps the talent which is his for virtue; even for this reason, because from the authority of goodness arise the advantage *and* freedom from strife of the sciences (hunarano).

9. This, too, that a daughter is given to a father for womanly service (neshmanih),<sup>940</sup> and so also a wife to another man, by him who teaches reverence, towards and husband, to the daughter and the other woman; and so, too, *by him* who instructs the wife of a man in housewifery; because the advantageous womanly service of a woman *for* a man arises through reverence towards *her* husband and good training in housewifery. 10. This, too, that even the reverence *of* a wife towards a husband is produced by him *who* gives a woman unto a man; because the giver of possession (khudih) becomes praiseworthy even by the act of *having* given that possession.

11. This, too, that origin and effect (bun va-bar) are produced for Ohrmazd by him who gives *what* is necessary unto Ohrmazd and teaches perpetual preservation; *what* is properly necessary *being* the origin of the preservation *which* is the effect of *what* is properly necessary. 12. This, too, that dominion is acquired for the house of him who keeps the door of the house an opening for the wise; the house being the body, and the door of the house being the ear, eye, and mouth.

13. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

## **Fargard 22. Giving delight to him who is a right-living poor man (68).**

1. The beginning of the twenty-second fargard, the Airyaman,<sup>941</sup> is the last question (frashno) beyond the five Gathas; it is taught for the dominion of Ohrmazd only by him – that is, it is making him ruler of himself-who shall do that which is declared by the passage: – Ya erezejyoi dahi drigaove vahyo:<sup>942</sup> who gives delights (vayagano) to him who is a right-living poor *man*<sup>943</sup> – preservation from the destroyer, *and* the consummation of every happiness.

2. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

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940 See note above.

941 See Chap. 23.1 n; it is here written airemano in Pahlavi.

942 See Yas. 53.9 d.

943 See Pahl. Yas. 52.9 d, and Chaps. 45.10, 47.17.

## Stud-Yasn Nask

**A selection from the whole Yasht referring to the developer: containing many unidentified statements by Ohrmazd, Zartosht, Soshyant, Vohuman, and Spandarmad; and concluding with a long series of short quotations, from the Pahlavi Gathas, concerning what every one shall do, or know, in the future existence (69).**

1. About a selection from the whole Yasht<sup>944</sup> referring to the developer (vakhshinidar-homond).

2. Those are beneficial who increase for the developer, that is, they shall occasion benefit (nevakih) for him who would occasion that benefit which is for others.<sup>945</sup> 3. Thus the righteous *man* who produces perfect thought is he who comes upon it through Vohuman,<sup>946</sup> *and* the benefit of him who is an open annoyer<sup>947</sup> – the righteous man who is a smiter *of* the wicked, *and* who develops as to what is Ohrmazd's and as to what is Zartosht's – is that he slays in moderation.

4. Regarding him who is an oppressive man who is righteous, the reply spoken is *thus*: “The reward of the smiter and developer – that man of whom one knows the smiting and developing – is the very evil reward of him who is wicked; just as his smiting, as an evil reward for him from those two spirits, is that very evil practice loved by him who is wicked; even for this reason every righteous individual is Gathic,<sup>948</sup> because, when privileged (padokhshai), he who is wicked is thus he *who* is righteous, *and* also he who is privileged is unprivileged.”<sup>949</sup>

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944 The twenty-first Nask, or original Yasna (see Bk. 8, Chap. 46.1). It is not very clear, from this chapter and from what is stated about it in Chap. 1.2, whether this selection was compiled by the author of the Denkard, or by some earlier writer. So far as its statements have yet been traced, nearly all of them originate in the Gathas, or in the Yasna Haptanghaiti; but § 45 quotes a passage from the Bag Nask (Yas. 19).

945 Compare Pahl. Yas. 42.1 a.

946 Compare Pahl. Yas. 28.2 a, where J2, Pt4, Mf4 have bara yehamtunane pavan Vohuman.

947 Compare Pahl. Yas. 42.8 b.

948 Bk. 8, Chap. 1.5 n.

949 See Chap. 61.11.

5. Zartosht proceeded with the smiting at the wicked, *and* as to that proceeding Ohrmazd spoke thus: 'Thou shouldst thus proceed with smiting at the wicked by ordinance (dadistan), because thus they have thee and the righteous of every kind as ruler. 6. Also through my decree (pavan-ich man vijir) *one* produces the ritual of ordeal, which realizes that which is real, so that *one* may make that which is dark fully light. 7. Thine, too, is so much the sovereignty of Ohrmazd, tkws through worship, that it's requisite (khvastako) privilege is thus maintained through virtue, because thou, who *art* thus, *art* more unconfined (*anakoshidar*) to the world through the furtherance *and* development of righteousness; great, indeed, is he who trusts the righteous *man* for righteousness, and great is he who *trusts* the wicked *man* for wickedness.'

8. As to that utterance (farmayishno) Zartosht spoke thus: 'An open annoyner is the righteous man – the benefiter disclosed by Ohrmazd – that loves the embodied world of righteousness, and demands its reverence (tarsakayih) for the proportion of righteousness therein, that is, he knows the proportion of duty and good works.' 9. Regarding the worldly *existence*, the reply spoken is thus: That which is again contaminated (gumikhted) by the demons becomes abundant so long as that which is proper is again contaminated with the demons; *and*, so long as *there is* a developer, they subsist *for* their own substances, so that it is possible for them to seek benefit for their own, *and* they are smiters of the righteous.'

10. Regarding him who is a wise smiter, Soshyant<sup>950</sup> spoke *in* reply thus: 'It arises through his way when it is again contaminated.'

11. As to that mischief (drujishno) Ohrmazd spoke thus: "Happy is he from whom there is no mischief." 12. Regarding<sup>951</sup> him who has come, the Yim of splendor {Jamshed},<sup>952</sup> he spoke thus: "He attains his reward who is no smiter and no developer, not privileged and not unprivileged."

13. As to that disclosure (hachishno) Vohuman<sup>953</sup> spoke thus: "I aggrandize that spiritual lord and that priestly master who is my righteousness in person."

14. As to that utterance Spandarmad<sup>954</sup> spoke thus: "so do thou perfect (bara vadidun) him whose information subsists – a man that becomes wise – who is as an emblem of my religion; because he *has*

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950 See Bk. 8, Chap. 14.14.

951 Assuming that la, "not," stands for rai.

952 Av. Yima Khshaeto (see Bk. 8, Chap. 13.6, 7).

953 See Bk. 8, 9.3.

954 See Bk. 8, 9.3.

worshipped that which is ours, so that he has retained property in our possession, through whose words *there* is a furtherance of the world of righteousness. 15. That is my arrangement, and that my wish that is, what is necessary for me – and I love that which thou fully understandest, that is, that arrangement which is righteousness; also whatever discourse and perfect performance, thou askest of us, O Zartosht! in complete mindfulness, I now practice by the work of each hand; observe thoroughly that which I *am* performing, and thou, too, *art* accomplishing. 16. In worship thou, O Zartosht! art liberal, who art liberal in ceremonial; for thee, whose body believes, controversy is not lavish (rad) for the sake of the wealth bestowed; the reward of Zartosht the developer is for developing, the reward of Zartosht the smiter is for smiting, and the reward of Zartosht the smiter and developer is for smiting and developing. 17. At the bridge *judgment* of him whose name the fire calls for participation, as when they repeatedly pour the melted ore upon him in the throat, thou shouldst pray near him alive – him whose love is for virtue – so that he may perform duty and good works with fearlessness; with his desire, too, it is expedient to know that it *is* done by him on account of necessity.”

18. As to that utterance Ohrmazd spoke thus: “Such is the upward attraction (lala-hanjishnih) of Shahrewar<sup>955</sup> for him who is ours.” 19. As to that question (frashno) Ohrmazd spoke thus: “Such has happened to him who is ours through Vohuman; he ought to come to our religion through virtue. 20. Truly he, O Zartosht! is privileged for the sovereignty, who confines *his* ears to this religion. that he may make it fully progressive; who is given immortality through this, and kind regard *for* the will of him *who* is the best of that religion of mine, O Zartosht! *and* who assists the furtherance of this world of mine in righteousness.”

21. As to those of that *other one*<sup>956</sup> Ohrmazd spoke thus: “As regards that which is great evidence, when wicked they consider *it* as unattested for him who is wicked himself; *and* the thoughts<sup>957</sup> of him, whose deeds are those of that *other one*, are due to Akoman.<sup>958</sup> 22. Owing also to this, when both Hordad and Amurdad<sup>959</sup> are given to thee, *it is* in that way – when thou art of the propitious spirit and the best thought – that what thou understandest thou shouldst be accomplishing, and what thou dost not understand thou askest again.”

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955 See Chap. 43.1. It is here written Shatrover.

956 The followers of Ahriman.

957 Assuming that manishno, “dwelling,” stands for minishno.

958 See Bk. 8, Chap. 9.3 n.

959 See Chap. 19.1.

23. Of him whose wisdom exists (*aito*) – of Ohrmazd – he whose wisdom arises (*yehevuned*) – Zartosht – inquired concerning him who is unreal (*an-aito*) *and* who does not subsist (*yehevuned*) hereafter, who *has* thus never become a material *existence* for those *on* the side of virtue, and does not subsist for them henceforth.

24. As to that reverse description (*padirako nisanishnih*) Ohrmazd spoke thus: “Among men of every kind say unto the righteous who are smiting the wicked, *that* we improve the measure of any milk they propitiate, even by the holy-water which is the sustenance (*barishno*) of milk, *in* order to cause much happiness of life.”

25. As to that utterance Ohrmazd spoke thus: “Happy is he from whom there is no complaint, and a life which is like this the text Gerezoi ... *akhso* ... <sup>960</sup> implores. 26. To thee, O Zartosht! my protection is given *in* the reply of the *Kem-na*<sup>961</sup> which, before the companionship of Kay Vishtasp<sup>962</sup> – that righteous friend of mine<sup>963</sup> – *was* a published thing of those which are used, and of those such as it is requisite to use. 27. The talk of a man which is immoderate is false, everything immoderate is *so* for this reason, everything is not that which the good man possesses, because, when privileged, the wicked *one* is he who is righteous, and he who is privileged becomes unprivileged; he who is righteous is thus he who is wicked, and becomes him who is privileged and unprivileged, so that he is fully incriminated, and they shall carry off his possessions.”

28. Regarding the beneficers the reply spoken is *thus*: 'They are owing to the reward of the smiter and developer; those are beneficial whose smiting and developing are those of the developer Ohrmazd, who understands smiting and development.'

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960 Yas. 46.2 c-e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. 45.2 c-e) may be translated as follows: “I complain to thee, behold it and this *one*, O Ohrmazd! (that is, seek a remedy for me); *that* pleasure is my desire, which a friend gives to his friend; through the instruction of Vohuman (when I am instructed in virtue) is the coveted *thing* of righteousness (thou shouldst give me).” The words in parentheses have no equivalents in the Avesta text.

961 Yas. 46.7; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. 45.7 a-e) may be translated as follows: “Who is given to me (and mine, my disciples) as protector by thee, O Ohrmazd when that wicked (Ahriman) retains malice *for* me in possession (that is; maintains malice with me? Who shall provide me protection), other than thy fire and Vohuman? (Because I know that they would provide me protection for your sake) when I nourish righteousness through deeds *for* them, O Ohrmazd! (that is, should I perform duty and good works, who shall provide me protection?) Thou shouldst proclaim to me that high-priest of the religion; (this thou shouldst state thus: ‘Maintain the religion as high-priest’).”

962 See Pahl. Yas. 45.13 e, and Bk. 8, Chaps. 11.1, 13.15.

963 Compare Ibid. 14 a which is given in Pt4, Mf4, as follows: Zaratushto mun lak aharubo dosto.

29. When through smiting by Ohrmazd, on account of the wicked, a question (*frashno*) about it arose, the reply spoken, as to the smiting of the present *world* by means of him who is ruler, was: “The reward which the judgment that is perfect teaches is thus, that he who is the smiter and developer, Soshyant,<sup>964</sup> shall make the decision.” 30. Zartosht spoke *in* reply thus: “He gives a reward.” 31. And that wise smiter, Soshyant, spoke *in* reply thus: “He shall inflict punishment.”

32. Even he who is an ox of many cattle has openly *and* publicly wailed this complaint<sup>965</sup> on account of the righteous *one*: ‘How long is it till the time when a developer arises, even he who is an irresolute ruler (*akamako khudai*)? How long is the time till he arises, until the wicked *one* who is a smiter *and* privileged corrupter is he *who is* unprivileged?’ 33. Because, for the sake of producing resolution (*kamak-dahih*), he complains that, until the developer shall arise, even he who is irresolute is ruler, that is, until he who is the developer shall become privileged.

34. As to that complaint of his Ohrmazd spoke thus: “Not so *as by* this complaint is the obtainment of spiritual lordship (*ahuikih*), for this reason, when they do not consider the ruler as a ruler, and *there is* no giving of priestly authority (*radoih*) by any righteousness whatever,<sup>966</sup> it is requisite, on account of the many righteous, to speak henceforth, until *the time* when the developer arises, even *of* him who is an irresolute ruler.”

35. On account of the many statements of the spirits, even as to thought, word, *and* deed, it is requisite to say that they shall always render an account until even some obtainment *of* a smiter and developer, privileged *or* unprivileged. 36. Some arise *of* whom it is requisite to ask this question (*frashno*)<sup>967</sup> while he who is righteous *and* he who is wicked are two witnesses, *and* they make the righteous *one* manifest by his evidence, *or* they molest him who is righteous by smiting. 37. Some arise when it is requisite to speak this reply<sup>968</sup> during the smiting *of* the maintainer of strife and *of* the kinsman. 38. *And* some arise while that individual<sup>969</sup> is loved, though a righteous *one and* a developer arise, *and* it is requisite to produce a provider of benefit on account of the many, both wicked and righteous, so long as a wicked one of the smiting which is maintaining strife is privileged.

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964 See § 10.

965 Compare Pahl. Yas. 29.1, 9.

966 See Pahl. Yas. 29.6 b.

967 That in § 32.

968 That in § 34.

969 The irresolute ruler.

39. Because, regarding the production of resolution, *it* is proclaimed that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that Ohrmazd discriminates truly, *and* Ahriman does not discriminate truly. 40. And that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that the punishment of the wicked is for teaching *them* that they will attain to the existence of darkness, that even *to* him who belongs to the ever-stationary they *may* give his reward, that they are for smiting the wicked *one*, that they are very powerful to give, that they *should* kill the apostate, that *one has to be* converted from vileness to goodness, that he who would be wicked is made to believe by the tongue, that for the sake of proper nurture of the creatures next-of-kin marriage is provided, that the demons are despised, that thus he who is evil-ruling is wicked, and that they are approaching the *place* where Ohrmazd shall provide for the account of sin and good works.

41. They shall become more diligent in the performance of duty and good works, and abstain more from sin, always until *one* attains even to some acquirement *for* those in life and those in a lifeless state.<sup>970</sup> 42. And they shall not inflict their punishment completely in the embodied state, and the fiend does not pity the worldly *existence*; every individual is counted up, and everyone is fully completed for the affairs of Ohrmazd, *but* the fiend is not smitten, and they shall not fully inflict the punishment.

43. No one thinks thou shouldst remain for the propitious Ohrmazd, and no one completely presents himself; they attack through the fiend, and arise for the foolish *one* 44. No one arises for the goodness of him who is good, *but* for the vileness *of* the fiend they destroy *what is* good, and do not understand evil *and* good; they recite the revelation for a wicked one, they do not bestow friendship for labor, but are for the evildoer.

45. And the righteous *one*, who is the best of spiritual and worldly existences, becomes a privileged developer, even he who is an irresolute ruler;<sup>971</sup> and so he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged, at that time when one gives the soul of every one unto the supreme heaven {Garothman},<sup>972</sup> and when thou shouldst, everyone, know that the affliction of the annoyers arises,<sup>973</sup> so that when, owing thereto, they beseech the sacred beings, *it is* only hell that they supply.

46. When everyone shall provide the ceremonial of the archangels unworriedly, and when everyone knows that Goshorun complained<sup>974</sup> – so that he who is the fashioner of cattle inquired thus: “Whose is the

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970 By accumulating more good works than are necessary to balance one’s own sins.

971 See Pahl. Yas. 19.58, 20.10.

972 See Pahl. Yas. 28.4 a.

973 Ibid. 6 c.



guardianship of cattle?”<sup>975</sup> and “Not without annoyance” was the reply of Ardwahisht, “that is, they shall inflict his punishment”<sup>976</sup> – everyone also knows that in their light is joyfulness for the sight.<sup>977</sup>

47. When every individual (kola aish-1) becomes aware of the priestly authority of Ohrmazd; and when every individual knows that his remedy for the devastation owing to the evil spirit is comprehensibly stated;<sup>978</sup> when every individual knows that Ohrmazd fashioned the propitiousness in the liturgy;<sup>979</sup> and when everyone knows that the priest is perfect, that Ohrmazd enhances both of them in spirituality,<sup>980</sup> that Vohuman is the offspring of Ohrmazd,<sup>981</sup> that Spandarmad is Ohrmazd’s own,<sup>982</sup> that all three of them are the life of him who has wandered forth<sup>983</sup> – that is, life is given by the thought and wisdom<sup>984</sup> which are his own – and that the sacred beings are they who are supporting it.

48. When every one of this existence must act for the sake of that other existence, and knows how to act; when every one is a friend, through deeds, of the spirit which is his own;<sup>985</sup> and when every one becomes a person supporting Ohrmazd.<sup>986</sup> 49. When every individual knows that they give no reward to him in whose body a demon is lodging who is not listening;<sup>987</sup> when every one shall make his own soul immortal;<sup>988</sup> and when every one has advantage through possession of Ohrmazd.<sup>989</sup>

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974 See Pahl. Yas. 29.1 a, and Chap. 15.3.

975 Ibid. 2 a.

976 Ibid. 3 a, and Bk. 8, Chap. 37.14.

977 See Pahl. Yas. 30.1 c.

978 See Pahl. Yas. 29.6 a.

979 Ibid. 7 a.

980 See Pahl. Yas. 31.7 c.

981 Ibid. 8 a.

982 Ibid. 9 a.

983 See Pahl. Yas. 31.10 a.

984 Ibid. 11 b, c.

985 Ibid. 21 c.

986 Ibid. 22 c.

987 Compare Pahl. Yas. 33.4 a, 43.13 c.

988 See Pahl. Yas. 34.1a.

989 Ibid. 3 a.

50. When everyone becomes a Zoti unsullied in righteousness;<sup>990</sup> when everyone gives a sacred cake to the archangels;<sup>991</sup> when every one knows that cooperation is due to him who is their servant; and when they are together in soul.<sup>992</sup> 51. When every individual gives *his* body;<sup>993</sup> when every one proceeds to their ceremonial and glorification;<sup>994</sup> when every individual knows that 'other than they' is *meant by* naechim tem anyem;<sup>995</sup> and when every one knows that, through that sovereignty of his, the renovation *of the universe* is produced by *his* will among the existences.<sup>996</sup>

52. When every one knows the elucidation (ro-shano) of the religion; when every one considers the religion as governor and serf;<sup>997</sup> when every one knows that the manifestation of this ought to arise in him; when every one thinks Ohrmazd auspicious;<sup>998</sup> and when every one knows that, when it occurs, benefit is produced, through resolute sovereignty,<sup>999</sup> where and when it gives him a reward for the performance of the duty and good works they should call for. 53. When every one gives<sup>1000</sup> the sacred beings *and* the good a sheep; when every one knows that, for him whose righteousness is in action, immense *and* complete mindfulness arises;<sup>1001</sup> when every one thinks of much assistance from Ohrmazd;<sup>1002</sup> when every one speaks to restore *his* temper;<sup>1003</sup> when every one speaks to provide the ceremonial;<sup>1004</sup> and when every one produces that advantage by liberal giving.<sup>1005</sup> 54 When

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990 See Pahl. Yas. 33.6 a, and Bk. 8, Chap. 7.5.

991 Ibid. 8 c.

992 Ibid. 9 c.

993 Ibid. 10 c.

994 See Pahl. Yas. 34.6 c.

995 Yas. 34.7 c, the Pahlavi version of which may be translated as follows: "I am aware of no one (above), other than you (that is, I know no one from whom my benefit is such as from you, and when they shall cause) righteousness (that is, they shall perform duty and good works, it) thus produces shelter for us." The MS. has naechid.

996 See Pahl. Yas. 34.15 c.

997 See Pahl. Yas. 35.22.

998 See Pahl. Yas. 42.7 a.

999 Ibid. 8 d.

1000 Assuming that yehevuned, "becomes," stands for yehabuned.

1001 See Pahl. Yas. 43.6 c.

1002 Ibid. 7 d.

1003 See Pahl. Yas. 44.3 a.

1004 Ibid. 6 a.

1005 Ibid. 7 a.

every one knows that *one* grants him the obeisance which is *due to* him when in a condition for the supreme heaven [[Garothman]] (*amat den garodmanikih*);<sup>1006</sup> when every one knows that it is done by those in the realm of Ohrmazd;<sup>1007</sup> and when every individual knows that, so long as the religion of the first creation<sup>1008</sup> shall exist (*ae*), this characteristic is to be considered thus: *Hvo zi dregvau, &c.*<sup>1009</sup>

55. When every individual keeps no wealth for a high-priest of the apostates;<sup>1010</sup> when every one knows that, when above, *there* is righteousness;<sup>1011</sup> when they shall make intercession<sup>1012</sup> *for* every individual, and when every individual becomes aware<sup>1013</sup> *of it*; when every individual sees that he is a father of righteousness;<sup>1014</sup> and when every individual knows that the propitious spirit is in him.<sup>1015</sup> 56. When every one knows that, when a supplicant, he is more a smiter of the wicked;<sup>1016</sup> when every individual utters the salutation (*Niyayeshno*) of Ohrmazd;<sup>1017</sup> when every individual knows that that is our comfort,<sup>1018</sup> *and* that it is Ohrmazd's own creature;<sup>1019</sup> and when every individual is taught<sup>1020</sup> *and* every individual joins in the perfect religion.<sup>1021</sup>

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1006 Ibid. 8 e.

1007 Ibid. 9 c.

1008 See Pahl. Yas. 45.6 e.

1009 Yas. 46.6 c-e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. 45.6 c-e) may be translated as follows: "For he is wicked whose best nature is for the wicked, and he is righteous whose homage (*franamishno* in Pt4, Mf4) is for the righteous (in any doubtfulness, whoever gives anything to the wicked is to be considered as wicked, and whoever gives to the righteous is to be considered as righteous) so long as the religion of the first creation, O Ohrmazd! (until the *time* when *Soshyant* arrives *one* is ever to be considered in this way)."

1010 See Pahl. Yas. 45.8 a. The MS. has "the righteous" by mistake.

1011 Ibid. 12 a.

1012 Compare Pahl. Yas. 48.6 a.

1013 Compare Pahl. Yas. 45.17 e.

1014 See Pahl. Yas. 46.2 d.

1015 Ibid. 3 a.

1016 Ibid. 4 d.

1017 See Pahl. Yas. 47.1 d.

1018 Ibid. 6 a.

1019 Ibid. 7 d.

1020 Ibid. 12 c.

1021 See Pahl. Yas. 48.9 c.

57. When every individual knows that Vohuman guards the creatures;<sup>1022</sup> when every individual becomes privileged by will<sup>1023</sup> for the reward; when every individual knows that gain is through giving away;<sup>1024</sup> when every individual transacts, or shall transact, the affairs of the archangels;<sup>1025</sup> and when every individual knows that when he who is intelligent speaks to him,<sup>1026</sup> it becomes a possession for the benefit of righteousness.<sup>1027</sup>

58. When, for equal meritoriousness, it is necessary to give sooner to Magian men<sup>1028</sup> – so that on account even of the Magianship of Kay Vishtasp *he was* suitable for the sovereignty,<sup>1029</sup> that Zartosht *was* given a wife by Frashostar,<sup>1030</sup> that *it was* the learned Jamasp<sup>1031</sup> that Ohrmazd gave – and that every individual shall provide the ceremonial of Ohrmazd.<sup>1032</sup> 59. And when every individual knows *that they are* the best prayers which are the words of Zartosht,<sup>1033</sup> and, even so, his is a wise reward for those which are yours.<sup>1034</sup>

60. It is perfect is the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

*(End of Denkard)*

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1022 See Pahl. Yas. 48.10 a, b.

1023 See Pahl. Yas. 49.9 c.

1024 See Pahl. Yas. 50.1 b. The MS. has bun, instead of bara, by mistake.

1025 Ibid. 3 c.

1026 Ibid. 8 a.

1027 Ibid. 8 b.

1028 Ibid. 15 a.

1029 Ibid 16 a, and Bk. 8, Chap. 11.1.

1030 Ibid. 17 a, and Bk. 8, Chap. 38.68.

1031 Ibid. 18 a.

1032 Ibid. 20 c.

1033 See Pahl. Yas. 52.1 a.

1034 Ibid. 7 a.