

# **DENKARD, Book 6: Wisdom of the Sages**

*by Aturbad I Emedan*

Translation by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, 1907.

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## Introduction

The *Denkard* is a ninth century encyclopedia of Zoroastrianism, but with extensive quotations from materials thousands of years older, including (otherwise) lost Avestan texts. It is the single most valuable source of information on the Zoroastrian religion aside from the Avesta itself. It was edited by Ādurbād Ēmēdān.

The work of publishing a complete edition of the Pahlavi text, with translations into Gujarati and English, was undertaken by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana (1828-98), and completed by his son Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana (1857-1931). Both were prominent Zoroastrian head-priests, and among the best Pahlavi authorities of their time.

Unfortunately, this masterpiece has been largely neglected. Copies of it are extremely rare, fragile, and voluminous, running to nineteen volumes. In making this edition available to a wider audience, I have confined it to the English translations, and frequent valuable footnotes.

I have taken the liberty to normalized the spelling in this edition, in order to be consistent with other documents in this series, and to facilitate searches. Wherever possible I have used the spellings of F.M. Kotwal and J. Boyd, *A Guide to the Zoroastrian Religion*, Scholars Press, 1982. Comments set in {}, or marked “-JHP” have been added by me, mainly to facilitate searches.

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[May there be] the propitiation of the Creator Ohrmazd through faith in the Revelation established by the Laws pertaining to the (Zoroastrian) worshippers of Mazda, as well as to the primitive believers in that creed.

The Sixth (Book) is about the doctrine which was practiced and upheld [or preserved] by (those) ancient adherents to the creed, as the sayings of the Revelation for the belief of the worshipper of Mazda.

1. (1) The ancient sages among the early followers [poryotkesh] of the (Mazdayasnian) creed thought thus: namely, in the thought (arising) in the life of men, as a good spirit keeps a place (i.e., abides in it), so, also, an evil spirit holds the way (to it). (2) And in the, expression of the mind, as a good spirit keeps a place, so, also, an evil spirit holds the way (to it). (3) And in the practical action resulting from the thought, as a good spirit keeps a place, so, also, an evil spirit holds the way (to it). (4) And in the life-prompted emotion or reasoning, (as) Vohuman keeps a place, (so, also), Akoman holds the way (to it). (5) And in a desire resulting from the heart, (as) Srosh keeps a place, (so, also), Aeshma {Eshm} holds the way (to it). (6) And (as) in a thought resulting from the desire Spandarmad keeps a place, (so, also), the druj Taromat holds the way (to it). (7) And (as) in an expression or utterance of the thought, wisdom keeps a place, (so, also), lust holds the way (to it). (8) And (as) in the action resulting from word, conscientiousness keeps a place, (so, also), self-willedness



holds an access (to it). (9) And in these several paths and ways (there happens) the struggle of the druj with men. (10) And whosoever is redeemed in these several paths and ways, is redeemed in every place. (11) And whosoever is allured there, comes then into the grasp of the druj and is not able henceforth to rule himself, but thereafter he would act as the druj would order him. (12) And we, men, ought to be alert, so that we may adhere to the path of God, and may not go after (i.e., follow) the druj.

2. (1) This (i.e., the following), too, was thus thought upon by them namely, that nature is good in which one would not do for another what is not good for oneself.<sup>1</sup> (2) And that one (kind of) wisdom is good (which belongs to him) who, (when) a benefit has accrued to him, discerns the fruit (of it) and knows how to taste it (i.e., to derive advantage from it), and who does not purchase (i.e., bring on himself) a calamity or injury that has not reached him. (3) And that one (kind of) intelligence is good (which belongs to him) who perceives, in the case of what he does not understand, thus: "I comprehend it not".

3. (1) They held even this thus: namely, Love all; that should be wisdom for thee. (2) Hold them for kindred; that should be conscience for thee. (3) Unto them do good; that should be spirit for thee [lit. 'soul'].

4. (1) They held even this, thus: namely, True Nature is that which does not mislead another [lit. 'a person']. (2) And Wisdom is that which does not mislead itself. (3) And Conscientiousness is that which when it recognizes (a thing) as virtue, performs it.

5. (1) They held even this thus: namely, that which when it recognizes that (a thing) is no virtue, and (still) performs it, is Perversion. (2) Perversion is opposed to Nature. (3) And that which while it recognizes that (a thing) is sin (and still) performs it, is Folly. (4) Folly is opposed to Wisdom. (5) And that which while it does not recognize whether (a thing) is virtue or sin, and before it arrives at knowledge, performs it, is Self-willedness. (6) And Self-willedness is opposed to Conscientiousness.

6. (1) They held even this thus: namely, Nature is not (implied) in Wisdom, while Wisdom is (implied) in Nature. (2) And Conscientiousness is implied in both Wisdom and Nature. (3) Spiritual things are known to be regulated according to Nature; the body is preserved by Wisdom (while) the spirit is redeemed by the union of both these.

7. They held even this thus namely, Shame is that in which they do not cease performing sin; Honor (Nang) [Nang 'honor'; it also means

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Andarz-i Aturpat* by Dastur Peshotanji, # 8: "Do not do that for others which is not good also for thyself". [Cp. The Golden Rule -JHP]

'disgrace'] is that in which they do not cease performing virtue.

8. They even held this thus: namely, the essential thing in the Primitive Religion is Sinlessness.

9. They even held this thus namely, dutiful can be he who is discriminating.

10. They even held this thus namely, the controversy<sup>2</sup> about religion is carrying into effect all that is in one's memory<sup>3</sup> (or, retention) as much as one knows.

11. They held even this thus: namely, Ohrmazd, the Lord, produced this world according to Nature, and maintains it on Wisdom, and turns it back upon Himself by means of Conscientiousness (Daena).

12. (1) They held even this thus: namely, Ahriman produced everything with a view to the damage of Ohrmazd; but when he had produced it, (he found it) of damage to himself, and of advantage to Ahriman. (2) (Whereas) Ohrmazd produced everything with (simply) a view to the advantage of Himself, (but) when He had produced it, (it was) of advantage to Himself and (also) of damage to Ahriman.<sup>4</sup>

13. (1) They held even this thus: namely, there are these three things for men: most dutifully to keep an eye on the world; not to honor<sup>5</sup> the sinner who through sin is opposed<sup>6</sup> to creation; and to pray for the reward of virtue from the divine ones. (2) As regards keeping an eye on the world they said this that every (person) should observe unto oneself thus: What shall be desired by me? How shall I be acting?

14. (1) They held even this thus: namely, to render three things highly strict; thus even this is one, not to honor the sinner because of his sin. (2) And one is, despite his power and wealth not to exalt a person of false creed. (3) And one is to wish for the reward of meritorious acts from the heavenly beings (or, spiritually) and not from the worldly beings (or, in the affairs of the world).

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2 Cf. Pers. *shikālīsh*, 'care'. Or, "Care for religion (is shown when) that much knowledge of faith, as one knows, one is carrying out into action."

3 *Kīrūkīh* may also mean 'revealed knowledge of faith'; cf. Pers. *kīrū*, 'knowledge of a secret'.

4 The idea is that Ahriman had evil intention in the creation of his things and aimed at the damage of Ohrmazd, but the result of his production was quite the reverse of his intention; and he failed in the creation of his things. Whereas though Ohrmazd desired nobody's evil and proposed simply to win advantage to Himself, the result of this creation, besides being a benefit to Himself, was in its nature also a damage to Ahriman. Apart from the application of this circumstance to Ahriman and Ohrmazd, one may see in it a fact of constant human experience.

5 Reading: *khūnīnītan*, 'to cause to be famed', cf. Pers. *khunīdan*, 'to obtain fame'.

6 *Paskhār*, 'an enemy'; it may be read *pīshyār*, cf. Pers. *pīshyār*, 'a servant' who serves to produce sins; perhaps *paīdīyār*, a substitute for *paītyār*.

15. They held even this thus: namely, one should not connive at what is unpardonable, nor should uphold what is connived at.

16. (1) They held even this thus: namely, every man should bear in mind, in every place and at every time, the spiritual circumstance of the blessedness of heaven and the misery of hell. (2) On that occasion when peace, blessedness and joy should have come to him, he should reflect even thus: Behold! There should be blessedness even in heaven when it is thus blessed even here. And on that occasion when distress, harm, misery, and pain should have come intensely to him, he should reflect even thus: Behold! there should be misery even there in hell, when it is so even here. (3) Whereas owing to the manifold blessings of Ohrmazd if they be with one, there shall be no misery there, even though here it be so miserable.<sup>7</sup>

17. (1) They held even this thus namely, among men he is the most blessed who during the health of his understand<sup>8</sup> should have undertaken and performed such a thing that on the last day when earthly objects pass away, his desire should be thus; “Oh! would that it might have been done more by me!” (2) And that thing should most be avoided for which on the last day (there) should be this desire thus: “Oh would that it might not have been undertaken and performed by me!”

18. They held even this thus namely, righteousness should be kept in advancement, and sin in depression and neglect.<sup>9</sup>

19. They held even this thus: namely, the essential thing in righteousness should be that which every person would be able to perform, and which even Ohrmazd, the Lord, desires in every person, and which one should not perform unwillingly.<sup>10</sup>

20. They stated that thing as follows: namely, whoever is a friend unto the worshipful God, never perverts<sup>11</sup> the thought from the friendship of the Lord.

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7 This sentence is added here to clear a misunderstanding if it should arise; when it is said that the experience of misery here should make one reflect that misery is possible even hereafter, it is not meant that misery here should always be followed by misery hereafter. Indeed, however miserable one should have been here, if one should deserve the blessedness of God, one shall be free from all misery whatever in the state after death.

8 Or, ‘during the physical wholesomeness or vigor of his vision or foresight.’

9 Cf. Pers. *spūzgār*, ‘negligent’. Cf. Andarz-i Khōsrū-i-Kavātān: *Bazak pavan rani spūj*: “Take pains to free yourselves from sins” or, “regard sin as the affliction of this transitory world (ranj-i-sepanj)” or, thus: “regard sin as (a thing) to be thrust off with great pains.”

10 Reading: *aqarūkihā*; it can be read also *aderangīhā* ‘without delay or hesitation’; perhaps, *adarūgihæ*, ‘without any false motive.’

11 Or, ‘corrupts the thought for His friendship’. *Naksōnatan*, ‘to corrupt,’ ‘to destroy’.

21. (1) They held even this thus: namely, the fountain-source of apostasy must be destroyed.<sup>12</sup> (2) When it first approaches the world, mankind mostly maintain faith in the soul; and for the reason that it (apostasy) has not acquired power, they prosper. (3) But when it has come to power, they mostly go out of faith even with the influence it has. (4) And even at length for the reason that mankind have departed from the faith, they do not prosper.<sup>13</sup>

22. They held even this thus namely, goodness should be done unto every person; evil should not be done unto any person whatever.

23. (1) They held even this thus: namely, in the Religion, five best of things are even these namely, Truth, Charity, Virtue, Competence (or Industry), and Intercession. (2) That truth is best which if one among the creatures of God should perform, then that one who acts up to it should be so much the more benefited according as one follows it out. (3) That charity is best in which when one makes a gift unto a person, one has no expectation that from the person to whom it is made, there should come to one as recompense anything whatever in the world; and there is nothing for him even in this that one to whom it is made should entertain a wish for thanksgiving and prosperity, (4) And that virtue is best in which one struggles with the spiritual vices (druj), and does not permit within oneself any vice whatever, particularly these live vices Avarice, Jealousy, Folly, Passion, and Infamy. (5) That competence (or, industry) is best in which when a work is being done, it be so done that every moment one should feel confident within oneself that if one should die that very moment, even then nothing different need be done from what is done already. (6) That intercession is best in which one says words in behalf of that person for whom others do not speak, and who is unable himself to state his misery and complaint; that man utters (or addresses) the voice of his own soul and of the suffering poor, and (expresses) the woeful sorrow of another man, or of the world, unto the six Bountiful Immortals (Amahraspands).

24. They held even this thus namely, wisdom is manifested in work, nature in government, and a friend in difficulty.

25. (1) They held even this thus: namely, the wisdom of wisdom, the best one, is that by which one is able so to maintain this body that not even the least harm might come to the body on account of the soul, and so to maintain the soul, that not even the least harm might come to the soul on account of the body. (2) Whereas, if, on the other hand, one is not able to do so, one should give up the body and preserve the soul.

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12 Or, "the source of the stream of apostasy can be done away with."

13 Here is the constant Zoroastrian view that peace, health, prosperity, and happiness are essentially related and connected with, or rather included in, Virtue.

26. (1) They held even this thus: namely, power is a halter to wealth, and wealth is a halter to the body, and the body is a halter to the soul; and mankind unto whom harm comes regarding these four things, should for the removal of them give up (all) worry, wealth, and power. (2) And if one cannot dispense with power, one must thus let go even wealth (for it); (and) if one cannot dispense even with wealth and power, one must even thus forego the body withal; and (whereas) as for the soul after all, it should not thus be disclaimed.

27. They held even this thus namely, you must accordingly conceive the abode of righteousness and religion in yourselves as that of plenty and contentment.

28. They held even this thus: namely, every person should make one's own self devoutly faithful,<sup>14</sup> and should resign oneself to God, and thenceforward one should be grateful<sup>15</sup> unto Him, so that there shall not ever come unto one anything, on occurrence whereof there might be injury.

29. They held even this thus: namely, those who feed upon the produce of the land<sup>16</sup> should be hospitable,<sup>17</sup> should extol (God) by striving in virtue, and pray for grace from the spiritual existences.

30. They held even this thus: namely, the spiritual head must be so regarded as the (religious) lord and obeyed that the ruler and the sovereign should also do nothing without (the advice of) the spiritual lord, the Head-priest.<sup>18</sup>

31. (1) They held even this thus namely, Ohrmazd, the Lord, desires this from men: viz., “Do ye know Me?” because He understands this: viz., “If they should (fully) know Me, everyone would come after Me”.<sup>19</sup> (2) Ahriman has this desire viz., “Know ye not me”, because he understands this: viz., “If they should know me, not even a single person would come after me.”<sup>20</sup>

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14 *Aūstōfrīr*; Av. *avi-stu*, 'to praise', 'to admire', 'to be devoted to'; and *frī*, 'to love', 'to pray'; 'to devoutly pray to, or love (God)'.

15 Reading: *stīshn* for *stāyishn* (*yehvūnishn*), 'one ought to be thanksgiving (unto God)'. It can also be read *stīyān*, 'worldly existences'; according to K. 43, perhaps, *vīstān*, 'boastful', or, *vastahān*, 'striving', 'endeavoring best' or, *vastān*, 'glorifying the name of the Lord', cf. Mod. Pers. *vastā* corrupted from *avastā*.

16 Reading *galak*, 'corn', 'land-produce', cf. Pers. *galah*; it may be *yalak*, 'a hero'.

17 *Navitar*, cf. Pers. *navīd*, 'hospitality'.

18 This sentence can also be interpreted thus: “Life (ahū) should be so kept after the Lord and obedient to him that the ruler and the monarch should not do ever the least thing without (the advice of) the Head-priest of the world.” Comp. Chap. 163 of the *Denkard*, Vol. IV, p. 200, edited by Dastur Peshotanji.

19 Cf. MX 40.24-27.

20 The point is that the holy nature of God is so good and love-inspiring that if men understood it correctly, they would never depart from it whereas the wicked

32. (1) They held even this thus: namely, Ohrmazd desires this of men, viz., “Whatever you should do, do it for your own selves if you would do it according to your desire”. (2) Whereas Ahriman desires this, viz., “You need not do for your own selves what you would do according to your desire”.

33. (1) They held even this thus: namely, for every person there is an object which is more honorable and dearer to him than anything else; and when he regards that thing as his co-helper, and when there lies nothing else in the midst, only then is one full of gladness therefrom. (2) That thing is Religion.

34. They held even this thus namely, (real) Religion is that which is being practiced.

35. They held even this thus: namely, he who believes in an intercession for the soul is less wicked than he who believes in nothing whatever.<sup>21</sup>

36. They even held this thus: namely, Religion is that which creates happiness unto every creature.<sup>22</sup>

37. They held even this thus namely, crime is that which (is in relation) with the Law; and sin is that which (is in relation) with utility; and perversion and fault are those which abide.

38. They held even this thus: namely, the essence of sin is the Excess and the Deficiency; whereas the essence of virtue is the Mean.<sup>23</sup>

39. They held even this thus namely, the Religion is the (Golden) Mean.<sup>24</sup>

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nature of Ahriman is so bad and repulsive that if men understood it, they would never pursue it.

21 The dictum, “Man is the maker of his own destiny,” is never held more strongly by any other Religion than Zoroastrianism. So it is most repugnant to its spirit to believe that some one can intercede on behalf of one’s adherents and procure them heaven, despite all their sins, for no other reason but that they are that one’s followers. Now, such an opinion, if absolutely carried out, should take all moral responsibility away from a person, and allow him to sink into degradation and sin. Still, wrong or right, the belief in this opinion is not absolutely devoid of the moral instinct, even though misguided in this case whereas people who have no faith whatever, right or wrong, are absolutely devoid of the moral instinct, and therefore decidedly worse than the former.

22 The proof of a Religion’s truth is the peace and happiness it procures in its followers.

23 The *Patman*, the *farehbut*, and the *Aibibut* are the same as Aristotle’s the Mean, the Excess, and the Deficiency, respectively. For their explanation, see Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, Bk. II, Ch. 8. For their Pahlavi definition, see *Ganj-i Shayagan*, §§ 6-7, edited by Dastur Peshotanji.

24 The Religion is most profoundly identified with Virtue’s essential nature and therefore with Virtue itself.

40. (1) They held even this thus: namely, everything should be faultless in the mean. (2) And from this Religion, it is thus manifest that Virtue is the supreme (Golden) Mean, and the (Golden) Mean is this: good thought, good word, and good deed.

41. They held even this thus: namely, whosoever is pious is pious through the Revelation.<sup>25</sup>

42. (1) They held even this thus: namely, Excess is that wherein one thinks, speaks and does what is no (good) thought, no (good) word, and no (good) deed.<sup>26</sup> (2) Deficiency is that wherein one does not think, speak and do what is the thought, the word, and the deed.<sup>27</sup> (3) And the Mean is that wherein what one thinks, speaks and does is the thought, the word, and the deed.<sup>28</sup>

43. (1) They held even this thus: namely, in religion three things are most essential – the communion,<sup>29</sup> the ardent love,<sup>30</sup> and the mean. The communion is that wherein with regard to the thought, the word, and the deed, and with all rectitude, one is attached to (the worshipful) God and the good ones, and does not ever corrupt that attachment. (2) And the ardent love is that wherein with regard to improbity and sin one severs oneself from Ahriman, the demons<sup>31</sup> and the wicked ones. (3) And the mean is that wherein one is a watch<sup>32</sup> on the communion and the ardent love, and does not ever corrupt them.

44. (1) They held even this thus: namely, abstinence' of men is of many kinds. (2) The highest is that wherein one should hold (or worship) the Deity so much in oneself without apprehension of the people of the world that all that one would wish He would exhibit unto that person.

45. (1) They held even this thus: namely, care for fire is of many kinds. (2) Of the two kinds of that care, the greater is the one when people guard it sinlessly and truthfully. (3) And the other is the one when what men do for it is of high value.

46. (1) They held even this thus: namely, in (any) work that might present itself, one should view one's highest employment. (2) And

25 Or, 'in relation to Religion'. True Religion again is identified with Piety or Righteousness.

26 That is, in this altitude people do act, but their activity is wrongly directed.

27 That is, in this altitude people do not act, because they lack the virtuous quality.

28 That is, in this altitude people are active in the fittest things.

29 Reading: *hamūh*, 'attachment', 'mutual friendship', or 'communion' (with God).

30 *Nizak-haitagīh*, comp. Mod. Pers. *nīzh*, or *nizhah*, 'ardent love', 'perfume', 'a spear'. Perhaps, *vak-haitagīh*, 'pious life'.

31 Reading: *shaēdān*, vide 'Sassanian Inscriptions,' pl. form *shīdān*, *Paikuli*, Frag. III, 2.

32 *Pānak*, 'a protection', 'a guard'.

whoever would not recognize this to be the highest employment should (at least) so regard (all) work of lovingness.<sup>33</sup>

47. They held even this thus: namely, when Ahriman throws up one of these four stratagems, then he gains for himself worship of power, or worship of wealth, or vulgar help-giving, or apostasy.

48. (1) They held even this thus: namely, one should be reverent to one's great ones and patronize one's inferiors, and should give benefit to one's coadjutors. (2) And of these three this one thing is excellent when one renders happy one's coadjutors, because if one do not give benefit to one's helper, it is manifest that owing to that one's terror in one's dealings with one's superiors, one (may in one's confusion treat) one's inferiors (with) reverence.

49. They even held this thus namely, in the conduct of oneself this thing is excellent when one regards one's inferior as one's equal, and one's equal as one's superior, and one's superior as one's master.

50. (1) They held even this thus namely, through expiation, there remains no passage to hell. (2) And through non-expiation, there remains no passage to heaven. (3) Expiation is that wherein one is in contrition with repentance for a sin committed, and does not commit that sin again.

51. (1) They held even this thus: namely, these three persons are the greatest in righteousness. (2) One is he who has the longing of the liberal. (3) One is he who has the nobility of the truth-speaker. (4) And one is he who does not afflict the afflicted.

52. (1) They held even this thus: namely, in the case of every person that may have died, one should be guarded from him, thus: 'I will not touch or come in contact with the decomposed matter therein, and will not be polluted'. (2) But if one comes in contact with it, one's own body contracts pollution; and the living humanity should be so on guard against the sickness and disease in such other people, as from the corpse of a person in the case of a deceased.

53. (1) They held even this thus: namely, every person should desire the arms of righteousness.<sup>34</sup> (2) And he who should put the

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33 The point is that if one is in search of employment, one should not allow minor employments to pass away in hope of some greater work, but should take up the very first work that might present itself to one for the highest employment one should aspire to. If, however, one should not agree with this opinion, one will, after all, accept that all work that lovingness inspires is the highest and the sweetest. Here the Pahl. *mitrō* = Av. *mithrō*, 'love'. It can also be read *matan*, 'reach', and may mean 'an advent', or 'approach'.

34 Cf. MX43.6-14, wherein virtue, are compared to arms: "(6) That is, when they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back, (7) and wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armor and valor, (8) and make the spirit of truth a shield, (9) the spirit of thankfulness a club, (10) the spirit of complete



arms of meritorious acts on the waist would thenceforward cause increase in merit and disappearance of sin. (3) And the wise apostles of the Religion have so spoken of the arms of meritoriousness and made them the accompaniment of rectitude.

54. (1) They held even this thus: namely, if one performs (apparently) meritorious acts for these four things, those cannot (really) be meritorious acts (viz.), an evil name, or an immoral name, or shame, or the fear of someone else.

55. (1) They held even this thus: namely, sermons should be delivered to the faithful, and the Religion should be explained to co-religionists. (2) And virtue and vice should be pointed out to every person.

56. They held even this thus: namely, he should deliver sermons whose intelligence is such as to further advancement, and comprehension is such as not to be confounded, and wisdom is such as to be able to turn good one who is different.<sup>35</sup>

57. They even held this thus: namely, the (real)<sup>36</sup> thing is that which, when one stands within, one does not miss; and which, when one does not stand within, one misses.

58. They held even this thus: namely, everyone who stands within (the pale of) Religion, in so far as one stands within it, does not miss it.

59. (1) They held even this thus: namely, men should be cautious and the most on (their) guard against the demon who is expectant of authority over the wicked existences. (2) That demon is the existence of every vice, and such is (his) demonism, because the entire vices which the man who commits, commits in being expectant of supremacy over the wicked existences, so that one does not know that I do not speak the fair mind. (3) But if anyone should understand it, I shall be observant of the embellishment thereby; and if I should be free (from all danger), then I shall stand up and (boldly) say thus: 'That is what I ought to have done'.

60. They even held this thus: namely, if thy tongue be holy or

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mindfulness a bow, (11) and the spirit of liberality an arrow; (12) and they make the spirit of moderation like a spear, (13) the spirit of perseverance a gauntlet, and they put forth the spirit of destiny as a protection". (14) "In this manner it is possible to come to heaven and the sight of the sacred beings, and to escape from Ahriman, the wicked, and hell, the depreciated". These sections, Dr. West observes, "bear some resemblance to *Isaiah* LIX, 17, and *Ephesians* VI, 14-17, so far as mode of expression is concerned". (Vide *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIV., p.84.)

35 Reading *tanid*; perhaps, *tang*, and so it may mean, 'one who is in difficulties, or embarrassed'.

36 Meaning, of course, that that real thing is Religion.

pious, and if thou should'st say unto a hillock,<sup>37</sup> 'Move forth,' then it must move (indeed).

61. They held even this thus: namely, even when you should move three steps towards Religion, it shall come forward a thousand steps to meet.

62. They held even this thus: namely, if one should have performed a righteous deed with special reference to one's own self or to one's ancestors, then its principle is not according to the Primitive Creed.

63. They held even this thus: namely, whosoever turns (one's) virtuous face to Religion and embellishes one's nature (accordingly), then unto that person Religion reveals a thousand truths,<sup>38</sup> such as one has never heard from anyone; and if one should religiously think upon them with the doctors of the Religion (or, the head priests) and with wise men, (they must really be found) true.

64. (1) They held even this thus: namely, the function of intelligence is to search out the thing. (2) And the function of understanding is to treasure up and guard the thing intelligence has sought. (3) And the function of wisdom is to discriminate things and recognize good and evil, and to adopt what is good and reject what is evil.

65. (1) They held even this thus: namely, that everything is made (the appropriation of) him owing to whom it is performed, and the reward and recompense therefor are (also) assigned unto him owing to whom it is performed. (2) And men should highly be striving in this manner: 'May we perform virtuous deeds that there may be (attained) unto us the reward from Ohrmazd the Lord; because whatever recompense proceeds from Ahriman, that recompense is assuredly harmfulness.

66. They held even this thus namely, that he who learns to observe these several sections which have been written in this treatise, recognizes the good of himself and of others.

67. They held even this thus: namely, that a thing has these five elements [lit. essentials] – the generic essence, the material substance, the consciousness,<sup>39</sup> the energy,<sup>40</sup> and the specific essence.<sup>41</sup>

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37 Lit. 'a mountain.'

38 Reading: drenjishn, Av. rt. drenj 'to meditate,' 'to recite'.

39 Pahl. kīrūk (see *Pand-nāmak ī ātrōpāt Mahrāspendān*, §§ 142-143, edited by Dastur Peshotanji); comp. Mod. Per. kīrū, 'memory'.

40 ātāsh: as energy in nature manifests itself into the heat principle everywhere the same term signifies both in the Old Iranian languages.

68. (1) They even held this thus: namely, the elements in men are of these three kinds. (2) One, that which is good for germination (3) One, that which is bad for germination. (4) And one, that which is mundane. (5) That which is good for germination is the one wherein though no instruction be imparted to one, even then it manifests itself. (6) And that which is bad for germination is the one wherein though much instruction be imparted to one, even then it does not manifest itself. (7) Whereas that which is mundane becomes good or bad according to instruction. (8) It becomes good by chaste instruction and bad by corrupt. (9) There is (however) a case wherein one utilizes chaste instruction for corrupt ends, such as the apostates (do with) the teachings of Religion.

69. They held even this thus: namely, neither through anxiety nor through fear should any person seek remedy out of depravity.

70. (1) They held even this thus namely, spiritual anxiety is owing to the transgression of those who are versed in the Gathic lore (gāsānīgān). (2) And the earthly (one) is owing to the ill-repute of those who are versed in the Hadha-Manthric lore. (3) And the fear (of punishment) at the (Chinwad) Bridge and much affliction are owing to the sins of those who are versed in the Datic (legal) lore, and who do not (barā) protect themselves (from such sins).<sup>42</sup>

71. (1) They held even this thus: namely, if the worth of things is inquired into and recognized by a man, certainly he should not take noted power and great wealth for goodness, nor (also) should he praise little wealth and indigence as goodness. (2) Because if worth be taken not according to the goodness or wickedness of a person, but according to little or great wealth, then it shall so happen in the world that an ill-natured man of manifold means would, in spite of his being depraved, sinful, and corrupt, entertain desire for reputation, and who compared with his desire for reputation values (or regards even) wealth less. (3) He who is needy, discontentedly and corruptly robs (even) poverty; and he who is a gambler squanders away whatever he possesses; and he who is indolent makes no wealth, but even flatters other people who are evil in many ways, and scorns the illustriously wealthy and munificent man. (4) And still the indigent niggard<sup>43</sup> evidently sets himself off owing to the illustrious, and whatever defect there is in him he renders less conspicuous through the bounty of that illustrious person. (5) Whereas the munificent man is he who

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41 Lit. 'the essence or any kind whatever.'

42 Read in connection with this, Dastur Peshotanji's Edition of the *Denkard*, Vol. I., Question IX, pp.1-3; and the note to the *Denkard*, Bk. VIII., Chap. 1, § 5, pp. 4-5. by Dr. E. W. West in *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXVII.

43 This probably refers to the indolent man who, though he pretends to despise wealth in excuse of his indolence, has still so much to depend on the bounty of the munificent man.

becomes regretful for whatever he is taking,<sup>44</sup> and who should have entertained (even) him who offers up prayer for the decrease of the bounty of his charity towards the world, and thus craves such a loss to it.

72. They held even this thus: namely, whoever lies with a woman married (to another), although he does not fall verily into the sin which is inexplicable, even still by the action of that man peacelessness and affliction swell in the world; and because peacelessness and affliction swell in the world owing to the action of that man, he should be made to expiate them.

73. They even held this thus: namely, one should humbly lie down within the threshold (of a sacred place), or else confusion shall come unto him, because the man who (squanders away his time) outside that threshold becomes the demon's own.<sup>45</sup>

74. They even held this thus: namely, there is nothing more beneficial than Religion, because whoever exalts the glory of Religion, never becomes an affliction unto men.

75. They even held this thus: namely, there is no person more liberal than Tishtar,<sup>46</sup> because no person performs liberality so excellently and perfectly as Tishtar.

76. They held even this thus: namely, according to this Religion,<sup>47</sup> one instruction is even thus: there is no reason that all persons should be unique, and he that is unique must be ascertained (to be such).

77. They held even this thus: namely, there is never a person born in whom these six spiritual things do not struggle – good mind and bad mind, virtuous moral sense and passion, and honor and scorn.

78. (1) They held even this thus: namely, one who has the good mind as guest within himself has verily this mark that one is warm in virtue and in confidence with the good, and continues in peace, and promotes intercession towards the Lord. (2) And one who has Akoman (Evil Mind) as guest within himself, has then his characteristic such that he is benumbed in point of meritorious actions, forms evil relations, gets troublesome with good people, and

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44 The munificent man is so very anxious to keep always the current of his own liberality running that he almost feels shame if he has to borrow something or even receive it as gift.

45 It is every man's duty to have provided himself a sacred home to ease his soul therein; and none should squander away the hours of leisure, seeking life of dissipation, for that would lead him into the company and relationship of demons.

46 Cf. Afrin i Buzorgan: Rād bīd chūn Tishtar, 'Be liberal like Tishtar' (the Agency in Nature that procures rain). Surely, the bounty of rain to the world is great.

47 Namely, the Religion revealed by Zarathushtra Spitama.

in himself becomes an opponent to peace-making and its progress. (3) And (when) anybody has Sraosha (Pious Obedience) as guest within himself, then his mark is this that words are always uttered (by him) with politeness, and when they are uttered he is verily listened to, and when (they are) defective, they are withdrawn, and he utters no falsehood for the acceptance and embellishment of others, nor does he smite anybody who is innocent, but smites moderately anybody who is sinful. (4) And whoever has Aeshma (Wrath) as guest within himself, has then his characteristic such that there is (by him) always the conversation of an improper subject, and when he speaks (upon it) he is not listened to, and when he has uttered what is offensive as well as blemished, then it is not withdrawn; he speaks manifold lies for the aggrandizement of others, and much smites the sinless ones. (5) And (when) anybody has Spentomad as guest within himself, then his characteristic is this that there is plentiful devotion, and when people persuade him to commit a sinful act he commits it not; and when even plenty of the share of the wealth of this world reaches him, even then he turns not away from the wealth of the good spirits; and he desires for the reward of merit from the spiritual existences and not from the material ones. (6) And whoever has the druj (i.e., the vice) of Tarokmat ("Perverted Conception") as guest within himself, has then his characteristic such that his thinking is rash, and when they persuade him to commit a crime, he is led to commit it; even when a small share of the wealth of this world reaches him, then he stands away from the wealth of the good spirits; he desires for the reward of merit from the material existences and not from the spiritual ones.

79. (1) They held even this thus namely, Ardwhisht is seven months in the material world, and five months in the spiritual world. (2) And when he is in the spiritual world he sits invisibly in the body of vegetation, watches the seeds of plants and nourishes and rears them, and in those five months he produces trees. (3) In those seven months when he manifests himself in the material world in the body of vegetation, the trees put forth blossoms and produce fruits. (4) So that for this reason there is the manifestation of the period of Rapithwin of the genius of Ardwhisht in the seven months of the year and not (so) in the (remaining) five (months).

80. (1) They held even this thus: namely, (when) any-body should voluntarily submit himself to troubles and distress for the sake of the Law of Religion, and then should recognize it as some act different from an apt deed of merit, still (then) that meritorious act thereby develops itself, i.e., even through the sin he would commit owing to any fear from those troubles and distress. (2) But there is no absolution from the sin of unnatural sexual intercourse and other sins of that nature which are committed by one, because through one's

share in them one does not pass over (the {Chinwad} Bridge) even by suffering the troubles and distress to which one has approved to submit in this world (for the sake of Religion).

81. They held even this thus namely, (when) anybody submitted himself, for that faith, to (such) troubles and distress in this world, and then also perceived those troubles and difficulties as other than meritorious acts, even (then) among the invisible (heavenly) spirits those toils and pain people suffer on account of any such thing are regarded as not included in the other sins committed (by them).

82. (1) They held even this thus: namely, there was one who asked this (question) thus: "What is that spiritual faculty which leads a man from straightforwardness to dishonesty and from dishonesty to rectitude". (2) And the Aerpats {ervads} (priests) said that (it was) the ragīh (will-power<sup>48</sup> in man). (3) And the pious people<sup>49</sup> inquired thus: "What is that ragīh (will-power) in man? (Is it) the head, or the eye, or the ear?" (4) And the Aerpats said thus: "Ragīh is verily something which (exists) in the body of mankind". (5) And (still) the pious people did not comprehend what ragīh was. (6) And, finally, the sages that were amongst them said thus: "Ragīh is produced in every man, because he who has ragīh (in him) invokes Him Who is Ohrmazd and also invokes him who is Ahriman and when he likes he follows Ohrmazd, the Lord, and when he likes he goes after Ahriman." (7) In this world their proportion is said to be such that for the man who wishes not to perform perverse acts there is much goodness (or happiness), and for him who desires to do perverse acts there is worst evil; regarding him they say (that) even he, also, would not do perverse acts at the end (of life)<sup>50</sup> . . . .<sup>51</sup>

83. (1) They held even this thus: namely, there is nobody who stands upon (or maintains) both those objects, (and) who is as he

48 The word may be read in several ways: (1) radkā (Semetic), meaning 'true', 'fact', 'truth', 'extension', 'rule', 'chastisement', and 'assistance' (vide s.v. The Pahlavi-Pazend Glossary). (2) Rahīh, 'veins', 'will', 'wish', 'effusion'; see *Denkard*, Bk. 9, Chap. XXXII. § 21, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXVII. (3) Lakīh (cf. Mod. Pers. lakkah), 'spot', 'blemish', 'slur', 'disgrace'. (4) Lakash (for Mod. Pers. lakāsh), money.

49 Or, 'the noblemen'.

50 After this some text seems to me to have been omitted, as will be observed from the context of the following passage.

51 Words similar in reading and spelling to the ragīh mentioned in section LXXXII., occur in the Pahlavi version of the Gathas 46.8b, and 48.11c. In 46 the text runs thus: "on account of that deed of his innocent will-power [(the deed) which the ragīh would cause by the (media of) the body, the life, and the soul], I am not to drive (him) off, [that is, it is not possible (for me) to inflict the original punishment (upon him)]." In 48: "who produces in the wicked a cruel [will-power] and [the inactivity of an] invalid condition." In the Gatha 49.2b, the word represents the Pahlavi rendering of the Avestan word rāreshō and, therefore, ought to be read rēsh 'wound.' The reading rēsh of the word in the first two references is distinctly incorrect.

ought to be for the one and (also) for the other; that happens so when it is not possible to understand, namely, what is better and more honest. (2) Since these two ways are one: in other words, one attains to self-culture through one's own wisdom, that is, he is wise who attains to that virtue whence he becomes knowing.

84. They held even this thus: namely, (if) one proceeds to educate (people) in theology (or in religious knowledge), he should do it if he is highly persevering (or self-sacrificing), and then he will be able to save (their) souls by the infallibility that exists in the Revelation of God.

85. They held even this thus: namely, the superior salvation of the soul, (to express it) in the most concise way, (is) this that one should act so that the Deity is adored and not the demon.

86. They held even this thus: namely, he who cohabits with a menstruating woman, is sinful even if he has done it blindly in darkness.

87. (1) They held even this thus namely, mankind ought to be vigilant so that, as far as possible, no injury might happen unto them, since when in anyone's body deterioration abides, then Akoman settles itself in the body; and no sooner Akoman sits in the body than Vohuman goes away from that body; and then every object is perceived through the evil mind and the evil thought of everything that appears worst. (2) And he who is versed in evil thoughts, has then his path (leading) into Hell; and out of those who go into Hell, while some come back, some do not return.

88. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the greatest care of the Amahraspands<sup>52</sup> for the things of this world (gaetā) is (due to) this (that)<sup>53</sup> the person who enjoys and appreciates them, (is) worthy of that which he enjoys and appreciates.

89. (1) They considered this, too thus namely, desires pertaining to the body and other earthly objects have access to men; (but) if they do

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52 Vide Bk. VI., § 79, Vol. X., p. 22; – “In those seven months when Ardwhisht (Amahraspand) manifests himself in the material world in the body of vegetation, the trees put forth blossoms and produce fruits.”

53 This is according to the text given in K43; but according to DM. and DE. the passage may be translated thus: “They considered this, too, thus: namely, the things of this world are under the greatest protection of the Amahraspands in this: When they come (to this world) the person who enjoys and appreciates (the things of the world) becomes worthy of what he enjoys and appreciates.” (Pāhrij also means “abstinence” or “forbearance.”) If we read in DM. and DE., amat gehān yātūnd for amaishān yātūnd, the meaning would be: “when they (viz., the Amahraspands) come to his world .....” – The word gaētā means generally “the material world,” hence here “the material objects of this world.” The text of this eighty-eighth Section is rather ambiguous.

not fulfill the desires pertaining to the body,<sup>54</sup> it is more beneficial to the soul. (2) At the time (when such desires occur) this is the best remedy which is represented (by man) thus: namely, “I will not do it today, but tomorrow”; and then on the next day and thenceforward, in the hope of the future, he postpones (the fulfillment of) that religious object. (3) And when it so happens that as far as possible he postpones it in that manner from day to day and never performs it. (4) And then (at death) when that man passes away from this world, demons and fiends become close-girded and evilly-joyful. (5) And this they howl thus: he acted (so) even deliberately; and he acted (so) when nothing was possible for us to do in his case (patash)”.

90. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, greatness (is) from plenty, and it is manifest also from this that just as in this world, in the case of the horse, the ox, the sheep, the goat and other varieties of small cattle, whichever has a large male the female yields a good offspring and just as in the case of the bowls of gold, silver and other metals, whichever is more clean and untarnished has then the more delightful clink; so also is the case of a man who (is) more pious in the midst of worldly riches and unblemished in his own person, and who knows to maintain a little good, to him therefore Sraosha would convey the best utterance, and he is more esteemed in greatness (than others).

91. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, these five things (are) highly virtuous, and these (are) as follows: Liberality and truth and moral heroism and eloquence and prudence. (2) Liberality is this: whose yields up his person to God obviously for the love of the soul and for the Religion. (3) And truth is this: whose speaks anything speaks what be ought to speak, and speaks so with caution as though God and the Amahraspands stood near behind him listening to his utterance and observing him. (4) And moral heroism is this whoso lodges faithfulness – and faithfulness for the Religion – in his own person, and stuns the evil within his body. (5) And eloquence is this: whoso would intercede for that person for whom if he (were) not an intercessor no body else would be an intercessor; and the person (who intercedes) should intercede for the sake of his own soul. (6) And prudence is this: whoso knows (how) to bring to an end anything that he would begin.

92. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, regarding these three obligations whoso is a sinner in the case of anyone (of them) is a darvand.<sup>55</sup> (2) One (of these) is (his) obligation towards the world, and one is (his) obligation towards the Religion, and one is (his) obligation

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54 It may mean “personal wish;” lit., “the wish of the body,” Pahl. *kāmak ī tan*.

55 Compare Avesta *darvand*, which literally means “a deviator” from the Doctrine of Zarathushtra.



towards the Renovation {Frashegird} (of the world.) (3) (His) obligation towards the world is this: helpfulness, and his door open (sharitunt) so that one might associate with another. (4) (His) obligation towards the Religion is this: whoso appoints (one) a straightforward head-priest of the time, and does not turn away from (the decisions of) that head-priest. (5) The obligation towards the Renovation (of the world) is this: whoso marries in (due) time, and longs for children and continues on a lineage.

93. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, a woman who possesses these several marks of distinction is a lady : (namely, she is) an ornament to (her) husband, an embellishment of hospitality (or festivities), and herself a protection to home-life, and (who) manifestly keeps unsullied herself and her own person and judgment. (2) And whoso possesses these several (evil) characteristics in her is a harlot: (namely,) sorcery (yātūgīh) or intrigue or idol-worship (aūzdis-paristīh) or obscene talk or adultery or masquerading {or prostitution} and (the habit of) not keeping pure her own person and judgment.

94. They considered this, too, thus: namely, these several characteristics subsist in him who drinks wine to satiety<sup>56</sup> (namely)

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56 Pahlavi *sīr* generally means “sufficiently;” it can also be read *āir*, signifying “moderately,” or *hīr*, signifying “costly.” According to Pahlavi writers, especially the compilers of the *Denkard* and the *Menog i Khrad*, wine among the ancient Iranians was drunk “moderately” (patmān vashtamūnt), or “sufficiently” (*sīr* vashtamūnt), or “immoderately” (apatmān vashtamūnt). See the *Denkard*, vol. I (Dastur Peshotanji’s Edition, p. 11; and the *Dinai i Menog i Khrad*, (edited by me) Chap. XVI, p. 83-85, §§ 20-63. The Eleventh Question and Reply of the *Denkard* Book III, states: “The (next) Question of the heretic (aharmōg) runs thus: ‘Why do you call the excessive (drinking) of wine a sin, since wine cannot be drunk in moderation?’” “Answer: Be it known that we should call the excessive drinking of wine a sin, just as the Religion says: – ‘he who eats food to satiety, probably drinks liquor to satiety, thereby he is fermented and commits the sin of not chanting the *Gathas*; and owing to the defect of sore-throats of the heretics, there is a change in their voice and a contraction of great disorder (in their physical systems).”

The ideas of the ancient Iranians regarding wine and the effects produced by drinking it moderately or immoderately, are mentioned in MX, Chap. XVI, §§ 20-63:14. Regarding wine it is evident that it is possible for good and bad temper to come to manifestation through wine. The goodness of a man is manifested in anger, the wisdom of a man in irregular desires; for he whom anger hurries on is able to recover himself from it through goodness, he whom lust hurries on is able to recover himself from it through wisdom, and he whom wine hurries on is able to recover himself from it through temper. It is not requisite for investigation, because he who is a good-tempered man, when he drinks wine, is like a gold or silver cup which, however much more they burn it, becomes purer and brighter. It also keeps his thoughts, words, and deeds more virtuous; and he becomes gentler and pleasanter unto wife and child, companions and friends, and is more diligent in every duty and work. And he who is a bad-tempered man, when he drinks wine, thinks and considers himself more than ordinary. He carries on a quarrel with his associates, displays insolence, makes ridicule and mockery, and acts arrogantly to

righteousness subsists (in him) provided he is most liberal, and (he is) most good-thinking and most devoted (to God) and most prudent-speaking.

95. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, that is the meritorious work of him who cherishes that good work within himself;<sup>57</sup> that is the good work which he should perform himself, and which he should perform in this world, and which becomes entirely his own.<sup>58</sup> (2) And that meritorious deed (is) such through (his) communion with the righteous ones; since by communion (*ham-pūrsaqāh*) with the pious a man knows God, and thoroughly knows also the Demon. (3) And whoso has fully recognized God will never turn back from God; and whoso has fully known the Demon is not after the demons.

96. They considered this, too, thus: namely, whatever (sacred) language thou mayest have command over (for realizing thy obligations to God, still) this one act is good (that) thou shouldst (always) meditate on the divine nature<sup>59</sup> (*haēm i yazdān*) in this world.

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a good person. He distresses his own wife and child, slave and servant, and dissipates the joy of the good, carries off peace, and brings in discord.

“But every one must become intelligent through the moderate drinking of wine; because from the moderate drinking of wine thus much benefit happens to him: since it digests food, kindles the fire of life, increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, removes vexation, and inflames complexion. It causes recollection of things forgotten, and goodness takes a place in the mind. It likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue, and the work which it is necessary to do and expedite, becomes more progressive. He also sleeps pleasantly in the bed, and rises light.” – “And, on account of these contingencies, good repute for the body, righteousness for the soul, and also the approbation of the good come upon him.”

“And in him who drinks wine more than moderately, thus much defect becomes manifest, since it diminishes his wisdom, understanding and intellect, semen and blood; it injures the liver and accumulates disease, it alters the complexion and diminishes strength and vigor, and the homage and extollings of God are forgotten” “The sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue become less. He distresses Hordad and Amurdad, and entertains a desire of slothful sleep. That, also, which it is necessary for him to say and do, remains undone; and he sleeps in uneasiness and rises uncomfortably. And, on account of these contingencies, himself, wife and child, friend and kindred are distressed and unhappy, his troubles are uppermost and enemy glad. God, also, is not pleased with him, and ill-repute comes to his body and even wickedness to his soul.” See *S.B.E.* vol. XXIV., pp. 46-49, by E.W. West. One of the monitions of Adarbad Mahraspandan is: “Drink wine temperately, for he who indulges in it immoderately commits thereby many kinds of sin.” See Dastur Peshotanji’s *Pand Namak i Atropat*, § 112.

57 Lit., “the meritorious act of him who lodges it within himself as a guest.”

58 Meaning that that work is regarded as meritorious in the Religion, which a man sincerely appreciates as such and performs it personally in this world.

59 Probably meaning thereby the divine laws of nature regulating this world.

97. They considered this, too, thus: namely, we men ought to toil hard for the personal gratification of the pious people and for the joy and thanksgiving (Niyayesh) to God, so that as long as (we are) in this world we are uncorrupted; since when we are thus (uncorrupted) in this world, the good spirits enter our bodies in this world and, consequently, our bodies become joyful.

98. They considered this, too, thus: namely, religious education should not be abandoned; because when one prosecutes religious studies for many years on this one subject (of the Religion) that one may be doubtless as to the Almighty<sup>60</sup> – that God exists (to eternity) and (that) the Demon does not (so) exist-then Ohrmazd the Lord does not smite (one) at the (Chinwad) Bridge.

99. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should endeavor strenuously for these three things – for truth and temperance<sup>61</sup> and helpfulness (to others). (2) And one should earnestly turn away from these three things-from falsehood and non-assistance (to others) and intemperance.

100. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in an unremedied and inexpiated (state) there are some for whom it is necessary to know that a sin has been committed – a sin of which the perpetration is unremedied and unatoned for. (2) That is, whoso has any sins unremedied and inexpiated, does neither attain permanent greatness, nor the fulfillment of (his) desire by means of (his) worldly riches; or (if) he does attain (them, still) he is afflicted (by the sting of his conscience), and considerable harm of other kinds in addition reaches him in this world; and that is the sin (*mandavam*, which is said to be) unremedied and inexpiated. (3) If the opposite (i.e., its expiation) is not done, then this (is) the dread (of him) therefrom that with the help of his own material person it is not possible (for him) to maintain (his own) life and health (in immortality); and the sin owing to its being unremedied and unatoned for is (after death), consequently, inexpiable. (4) He should, therefore, not commit a sin which (becomes) inexpiable, in consequence of its not being remedied and atoned for (in his lifetime).

101. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, an honest desire should be formed, and then adequate speech as well as action should be observed with that honest desire. (2) And whose would do so when he is gifted with this good fortune (*far(r)akhūih*) that even in (his usual) speech and action there is nothing distinctly afflicting, then (only) should he be regarded as righteous. (3) And if it so happens to

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60 That is, when religious training is continued on for many years, a firmly rooted conviction is naturally established in one's mind, which refuses to doubt the existence of the Almighty Ahura Mazda in the Universe.

61 *Patmān* also means “a marriage compact” in Pahlavi; comp. Mod. Pers *paēmān*.

him that there is something distinctly conflicting, then he should be in contrition (for it) so that in the end God may not abandon with the demons the man who (is) in that position, under the judgment of spiritual beings [maīnyūgān]. (4) Indeed they (will) say this: namely, “Since we ourselves are created by the Good Spirit, so we are favored and exalted by Him; whereas the gin which the Fiend produced is handed down to us (by him alone), and he (*viz.*, the druj) through that cause becomes familiar (with us, and) drags (us) to himself.”

102. They considered this, too, thus: namely, belief in the good spirits is of many kinds; and this, too, is a belief regarding the good spirits: whoso practicing good deeds believes in the good spirits, (believes) that it is possible for them (i.e., for the good Spirits) to allot worldly happiness to mankind, and they (i.e., mankind, therefore) seek from them the happiness of this world.

103. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the essential object (mātigān) in the body of man is (his) essence (gaōhar<sup>62</sup>) and after that other faculties. (2) And (those) faculties<sup>63</sup> are requisite in (mankind) for this use that as much as they: make the essence manifest so much do they bring it into use.

104. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the object of annihilation should be recognized as most adverse, that is to say the essence of man is either good or bad; since (there is) many a man whose essence is thus vitiated (by that object of annihilation) and (he) is ruined. (2) For that reason a very highly cultured faculty of judgment and manifold learning are requisite (in man), whereby it could be manifested that good or bad, what is abundant or what is scarce, should be essayed and (properly) recognized.

105. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the intellect of man should above all recognize this one thing, *viz.*, when superior learning is communicated, it should be made known with an honest motive. (2) And the religious belief (being thus) established, one either performs a meritorious act or a sinful act; and when (that act is) under a test then only is the nature (of the man) revealed.

106. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, when a man stands by the Religion of God, and then he sees circumstantial troubles (*lit.* the troubles allotted (to him)) which (occur) in this world, he should pass (his) life, in the course of the troubles that approach him, with agility and in superior endeavors. (2) The suffering (on account) of hunger and thirst and calamity and sickness that approach him (in this world) is, however, considered at the reckoning of the good spirits with whatever else he may have suffered.

62 *Gaōhar*, which means. “essence,” also “nature.”

63 *Afzār*, comp. Old Pers. rt. *har*. In. Mod. Pers. it also means “an organ”, “an instrument”, “a weapon.”

107. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the goodness of the good ones should be for him who makes amends for that goodness; material goodness (is) that which (emanates) from a good desire.

108. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, three things are exceedingly good for men. (2) And these (are) as follows: The drinking of Haoma, and the drinking of wine, and the leading of a secluded life.<sup>64</sup> (3) The drinking of Haoma (is) when it stands in the mortar (havanīm);<sup>65</sup> and the drinking of wine (is) when supreme tranquillity (*madam āshtīh*) subsists; and the leading of a secluded life (is) when one is isolated (*juīt*) from the evil ones.

109. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, some good people inquired thus: “What (is) the safeguard of the body? What the safeguard of the soul? And what the safeguard of fame?” (2) The Paoiryō-tkaesha answered thus: “The safeguard of the body (is) orderliness; the safeguard of the soul (is) sinlessness; and the safeguard of fame (is) pre-eminence in eloquence.”

110. (1) They considered this, too, thus; namely, (there are) several things which (are) best for men. (2) And these are as follows: An abundance of hospitality, an abundance of honor, a sufficiency of discrimination, and a longing for the recompense of good deeds from the good spirits, and a profession of discipleship (in the Religion). (3) Because, out of those virtues this one object is the best, *viz.*, to profess discipleship, since it is possible to recognize all the five (virtues aforesaid) in the practice of the discipleship (of the Prophet).

111. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, when (there are) two persons who are equal in goodness, and one believes more (in the Religion) than the other, consequently when (both are) together (they are) of different natures. (2) As to the former he ought to discern why (it is) so; since if he does not discern (it), then his spiritual wealth diminishes thereby for this reason (that) the other one thinks little (of that spiritual wealth.)

112. They considered this, too, thus: namely, (every) man makes (his) account-book (*dastak*) himself; because if the deeds of a man (are) straightforward, then the good spirits (Yazads) would approach him and regard (him) as much as though (they were) most virtuously beneficent towards that man.

113. (1).They considered this, too, thus: namely, for men seven things are best. (2) And these are as follows: Renown and piety and

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64 *Kūstak barishnīh*, lit., “to lead one's life aside or apart from the world”; *i.e.*, to lead a private life thinking of goodness and meditating on God.

65 The writer probably here refers to the drinking of the Haoma juice which is prepared by pounding small bits of a Haoma twig in a mortar during the consecration thereof in the yazishna {Yasna} and other like ceremonies. Lit., “The drinking of Haoma (is) this (or thus) when.....”

nobility and controlling power and sovereignty and soundness and appreciation (of God). (3) Renown is this: whoso always keeps his door open for the apt pleasure of the good ones. (4) Piety is this: whoso performs meritorious acts for the soul. (5) Nobility is this: whoso makes offerings to the pious and the deserving ones. (6) Controlling power is this: whoso having withheld the body from sin, keeps back (from it). (7) Sovereignty is this: whose causes the maintenance of the good and the stunting of the evil. (8) Soundness is this: whoso keeps the body and soul apart from evil people (*hūnutak*) and adverse natures, and keeps company with the nature like his own. (9) Appreciation (of God) is this : whose for the happiness that has reached (him ) regards with complete reverence the good spirits and the Deity; and if he has not attained the divine recognition, they, *viz.*, the good spirits bring him up to it, and drive away from him the affliction which besets him; and what is good always comes to him from God (Ahū).

114. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, these things are best for men: Friendship of man and longing for paradise [Vahisht khvāhisht], and truth and aid unto kinsmen, and perfect devotion and polite bearing, and charity and sincere gratefulness, and (religious) conference and moderation. (2) The law of Ohrmazd (is) friendship of man; and the law of Vohuman (is) longing for paradise; and the law of Ardwhisht (is) truth; and the law of Shahrewar (is) aid unto kinsmen; and the law of Spandarmad (is) perfect devotion and humility; and the law of Hordad (is) liberality and sincere gratefulness; and the law of Amurdad (is religious) conference and moderation.

115. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, for men (there are) these several things which are greatly good. (2) And these are as follows: Conscience and good nature and wisdom and moral goodness and glory. (3) If they (are) not in accord with (their) own faculties, they do not attain the objects enumerated. (4) The faculty of conscience (Phl. *daēna afzār*) is this whoso (is) faithful; and faithfulness (is) this: whoso holds a friend who is good-natured, who is pious, who is a good man, as a supreme guide to his own person, and speaks (to him) thus: “whatever defect thou mayest discern (in me) declare (unto me), so that I may (thereby) improve; and whatever he says (he) keenly and willingly listens to and obeys. (5) The faculty of good nature is: an honest disposition to move with the virtuous and to adopt virtue from every one, and not to embrace vice from any body whatever. (6) The faculty of wisdom is, the entertainment of an awful regard for the pious., (7) The faculty of excellence embodies industry and diligence. (8) The faculty of honor embodies truthfulness and sincere love.

116. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, (there are) three

things which are exceedingly good in regard to the heavenly good spirits (*mainyugan yazdan*). (2) And these are as follows: Love and veneration and hope.

117. They considered this, too, thus: namely, for man these two principles are best: To be good himself and to do good to others.

118. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, for great men and kings (there are) two things which are best. (2) And these are as follows: To uphold the virtuous and to suppress the wicked.

119. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the unique virtue is this: an excellent openness in thought and word and deed; for this reason that a sin is committed clandestinely, not (so) a righteous act.

120. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, the soul could be much redeemed<sup>66</sup> by four virtues. (2) And these are as follows: By gratefulness and peacefulness and deviation from vices and pious actions.

121. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the soul is for righteous (*frārūn*) principles (*khūg*), and wealth for helping the afflicted, and ingenuity for perseverance.

122. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in the Religion these (things) are thus recommended. (2) One is the love of sovereigns; and another is (the accomplishment) of that (man) who keeps his person with minute care and liveliness, and clean from guilt, and practices divine worship at the risk of life and following religious authorities.

123. They considered this, too, thus: namely, whoso would grieve over a fault should pronounce a blessing on Ohrmazd the Lord and the Amahraspands and the kings, and the righteous and virtuous who are born and will be born, and should denounce a curse on Ahriman (Evil Spirit) and the demons and the wicked.

124. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, Ohrmazd the Lord has produced nature and Religion most excellent. (2) Whoso has no good nature has no religion; and whoso has no virtuous friendship has no goodness; and whose is a friend of the virtuous for the sake of virtue is goodness himself.

125. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, Whoso desires to be glorious, shall adore the sun with reverence. (2) Whoso desires that the Yasna ceremony he performs may reach God best, shall wash the hands clean and shall keep pure himself and (his) clothes (3) And whose wishes to acquire best whatever he solicits from God, shall

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66 Here we have the doctrine that virtue is coupled with sincerity and frankness. For virtue, which consists in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, has no motive to conceal its operation, whereas vice needs hypocrisy for its success.

perform divine worship with veneration. (4) And whoso desires that good words may reach (the heart of) a well-chosen assembly, shall solemnly recite the important *Avesta* texts.<sup>67</sup>

126. They considered this, too, thus: namely, whose for the affliction that has reached (him), and even for that which has not reached (him), is awfully reverent towards God, is freed from that which has reached (him), and that which has not reached him does not approach him forthwith.

127. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in life man's appreciation (of it is) good, and in appreciation physical soundness (is) good. (2) Secondly, character (is) good, and in character steadfastness to the true and good Religion (is good). (3) Thirdly, wisdom (is) good, and in wisdom endurance and vigilance (are) good. (4) Fourthly, opulence (is) good, and in opulence contentment and worthiness<sup>68</sup> (are) good. (5) Fifthly, happiness is good, and in happiness a woman who (is) a respectable materfamilias and a beloved of (her) husband, (is) good. (6) Sixthly, friendship (is) good, and in friendship unity (is) good. (7) Seventhly, charity with truthfulness (is) good, and in charity which (is) coupled with veracity the bestowal of great benefits (is) good. (8) Eighthly, even apart from the salvation of one's own soul, (it is) good to endeavor for the salvation of the souls of others. (9) Ninthly, (it is) good to do meritorious acts, to abstain from sin, to do much more meritorious acts according to great religious tenets, and to greatly abstain from sin and (especially) from the sin which is grievous. (10) Tenthly, a happy end (is) good, and in the happy end the salvation of the soul from Hell (is) good.

128. They considered this, too, thus: namely, apostasy from its very import should be much abstained from; and even he who is a great observer and wise man should not be proud thus: "It (*i.e.*, apostasy) is not able to fetter me"; since this dust which is so minute and soft is wholly made out of a hard and compact stone.

129. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one might wish for an evil (*druj*) in one's own abode, not in the abode of actions.<sup>69</sup> (2)

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67 Purity of body and purity of mind go together (*cf.* Section 122 with this.) In 121 we have the glorification of worldly wealth as a medium of relieving the affliction of the poor. There is thus a harmony of bodily and mental and spiritual gifts in man which alone can constitute the highest good.

68 That is, one is worthy of worldly possessions when the latter are utilized for alleviating the miseries and afflictions of the needy and destitute. Charity, for charity's sake and not for any personal motive or honor, is enjoined by the Zoroastrian religion on its followers and may be regarded as one of its cardinal virtues. Compare the seventh sentence in the same section.

69 This Section hints at an ancient belief in demonism. There is an allusion to a superstitious idea of the primitive Zoroastrians, as of other nations of antiquity,



Because whose invites it to his own (abode) overpowers it, and is able, when he desires, to remove it from the abode. (3) And whoso desires it in his actions does not overcome (it).<sup>70</sup>

130. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, an evil (druj) should be removed from such a place that when removed from that place, (it) would be cast out from the whole of this world. (2) And, also, a good spirit should be lodged in such a place that when lodged in that place, (it) would be lodged in the whole of this world; and that place (is) thus (hand) one's own person and family.

131. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, a person rises to an essential place to adorn (it) and when that essential place is adorned, the whole world is then adorned by him; and when that essential place is not adorned, no place whatever is then adorned by him. (2) And they called that essential place one's own person.

132. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, for men (there are) four things which (are) highly good. (2) And these (are) as follows the food of the soul, and the word of the soul, and the deed of the soul, and the female consort of the soul. (3) The food of the soul is this: whoso enjoys and preserves (his) share of life, so enjoys and preserves it as though he were discharging a duty (towards the soul). (4) The word of the soul is this whoso is an intercessor for his own soul. (5) The deed of the soul is this: whoso struggles with the evil (druj) of the soul, and not with the evil (druj) in his actions; since whoso struggles with the druj in his actions gets inclined to fighting (cp. 129). (6) The female consort of one's soul is this: whoso in every act of piety is of the same desire (with the soul).<sup>71</sup>

133. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, whose (associates)

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that the devils (the belief in whose existence was then rampant) are at the root of all sorts of mischief and the supposed generators and upholders of all struggles and conflicts waging in this world. Hence the Section exhorts not to suffer the evil influences (druj) or wicked tendencies to mix with one's actions lest one might acquire devilish proclivities. But such was not the idea with regard to one's abode, since, as the ancients supposed, if the druj found his way into one's abode or into one's body (reading *katag ī nafshā*, meaning the "abode of the soul") it was possible to cast him out by reciting the Yasna, Niyayeshs, and other ritualistic prayers; but these were of no avail when one's actions were prompted by evil designs and wicked intentions. An almost similar belief in the literal existence of demons and the demoniacal possession obtained among the primitive and the medieval Christians. Considered metaphorically, the constant indulgence in devilish practices and wicked motives is no doubt sufficient to debase a good character to a real extent. The character of Macbeth, described by Shakespeare, is a good illustration of a noble character degraded to the utmost pitch of wickedness by adhering to and following evil influences.

70 Compare Section 132.6.

71 That is, that wife helps the soul of her husband in the next world, who is unanimous with him, and helps him in every act of merit achieved by him in this world.

with the righteous here (in this world, associates) with the angels there (in the next world). (2) And whose (mingles) with the wicked here (mingles) with the demons there. (3) And whoso moved here with both the good and the evil, this was said of him that he (was) one with (them) in thought and word and deed.

134. They considered this, too, thus: namely, Ohrmazd the Lord has (deemed) it requisite for every living man to be with these several faculties within (him): (*viz.*) with the nose, and the vocal organ, and the eyesight, and the reasoning (faculty.)

135. They considered this, too, thus: namely, Ohrmazd the Lord has produced all (His) creatures, likewise, for these two beneficial results: for the annihilation of the Blemish-giver (Ahriman) through them, and for the evidence of Himself (*i.e.*, of His Supreme Being).

136. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, one should always choose out one's own motive in connection with a passing event, and see whether it is achieved (by him) certainly with an honest or a dishonest purpose. (2) He should estimate (it) thus: "Have I an honest or a dishonest motive?" (3) If his own actual wish be honest, he should stand to it accordingly; and if the reverse, then he should turn away from it.

137. They considered this, too, thus: namely, every person should desire spirituals wealth, since whoso solicits it, may obtain it.

138. They considered this, too, thus: namely, these several regardable things should be much looked after: an honored man, and a glorious day, and an illustrious deed.

139. They considered this, too, thus: namely, this one characteristic of righteousness is greatly manifest, (*viz.*,) much renown.

140. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, as to a person whose renown is great, they say that the manifestation of goodness in his acts is owing to this (that) when he does honest acts as much as he can, the desire that occurs to him is: "Would to Heaven (*kāch*), I were able to do more (such deeds)." (2) And as to every man whose ill-fame is great, they say that evil is manifest in his actions owing to this that when he does harm as much as possible, the desire that occurs to him is: "Would to Heaven, I were able to do more (such evil acts)." (3) In the assembly of the good spirits they have regard for that man who in the above manner has done those acts of goodness, and who has not deliberately done harm (to others); and, in this world, they glorify (him) through the mouths of men.

141. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in the *Andarz ōl Anshūtān* ("*Admonitions unto Men*"), it is said thus "Thou shouldst practice (righteous) poverty which (is) best for the great ones"; and

hence hard is the superior kind of poverty, which (is) the best of objects. (2) And whoso (is) not helpless, but prosperous, stands in poverty for the goodness and sublimity of, (that) poverty, he who is Ahriman is (then) cast out from the world with the most wicked among the demons; and the maintenance and progress through him of every righteous act which (is possible) in this world, (are) like unto a river which is ever navigable. (3) And this, too, is said thus: namely, “In poverty he could remain glorious who, for whatever (is) requisite for this body, would be more delighted with what is most poorly attained than with what is most superbly gained.” (4) And he who acts thus can remain prosperous in poverty, whereas he who practices the reverse is held back from the splendor of (such) poverty.

142. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, nobility is this whoso possesses mighty earthly resources in full abundance for the use and benefit (of others), and appreciates and consumes and bestows (those) mighty resources which are for him on others, for (averting) afflictions, for which, from whatever cause they may arise, (he is) an intercessor for the drivishes (*drigūshān*), and causes their happiness thereby. (2) He who (is) a drivish and practices (drivishism) acts in such a way that all persons consider themselves happy owing to his splendor and mighty riches, and are proud thus: “If troubles and difficulties come upon us, then he will bring (us) the desired remedies”.

143. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the state of a drivish is this: whoso on account of (the) potent earthly riches<sup>72</sup> is personally and fully devoted to God (Ahū), whose thoughts are centered in God, and who is therewith contented and is not harsh within. (2) And for him who is illustrious and opulent (he has) no disregard, but contemplates in this manner: namely, “(Compared) with his splendor and resources, my poverty is eventually just the same wherever I am.”

144. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, karpīh<sup>73</sup> is this

72 That is, for the physical resources of this world, which he attributes to God as a blessing conferred by Him on mankind.

73 Comp. Avesta Karapan, an enemy of the Zoroastrian doctrine, who turns a deaf ear to its religious precepts (see Yasna 32.12.) The proper name refers to the descendants of some one whose lineage is traced to the sister of Manuschihar (see Y46.11 seq.) His five sons, three of whose names are almost alike, are called Bratarvakhsh, Bratroyish, Bartarush, Azan and Nasm; and the first one Bratarvakhsh is often mentioned in Pahlavi writings as the murderer of the Prophet Zarathushtra. They belonged to the Turanian priesthood. The name is Karap in Pahlavi, and Karapāh in Neriosangh’s Sanskrit Version. The Karaps generally mentioned in Pahlavi writings are Durasrob, Bratrok-resh, Vaedvoisht and Jeshmak. They are frequently mentioned with the Kavigs (Av. Kavi or Kavans), the name of an equally hostile class, and are designated “demon-worshippers and idolaters.” Afterwards the words Kavigs and Karbs came to be applied in a metaphorical sense to the blind and the deaf people respectively, who

whoso consumes immoderately and keeps (for himself) the powerful earthly means which are amply attained. (2) On account of his splendor and resources others are afflicted; for him who is a drivish and contented person (he has) a dislike; he hates and despises them, and regards poverty as an affliction. (3) Men have no such hope of him as the following: "If troubles and difficulties come upon us, then he will bring (us) the remedies wished for."<sup>74</sup>

145. They considered this too, thus: namely, indigence (*shekunāih*)<sup>75</sup> is this: whose has not adequately the mighty wealth of (this) world, (and) is discontented with it, considers himself unfortunate (has) a hatred for him who is rich and glorious, (and) himself always conflicts with splendor and power.

146. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, counteractions are four: two of the wealthy nobles, and two of the drivishes having no powerful wealth. (2) If those counteractions do not exist, they together will be equal in meritorious deeds; and the counteractions of the drivish-nobles (are) counteractions of the wealthy nobles. (3) (Of the four influences), one (is) nat to exalt drivishism; one (is) to distress the drivishes, and not to release the drivishes from it (*i.e.*, from distress); one (is) arrogance, (namely), not to teach the great ones about the soul-substance; and one (is) a distracted mind.

147. They considered this, too, thus: namely, if among (themselves) the drivishes prune off this one thing, (namely), arrogance which (is prevalent) amongst the powerful great, then for hundred years<sup>76</sup> they do not come to Hell.

148. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in this world there is nobody whatever to whom lordship and riches (are) reverential. (2) He who (is) happy is (so) owing to straightforwardness, while he who (is) unhappy is (so) through every path of avarice (Az).

149. They considered this, too, thus: namely, material wealth should not be immoderately embellished; since the man who immoderately embellishes material (wealth), is a destroyer of spiritual (wealth).

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winked at and would not listen to the Religion. *Vide* the Denkart Book 8, chap. 35.18; Book 9, chap. 29.3, etc.

74 Comp. 142.2

75 It can also be read "an ostentatious or pompous fellow." While *drīgūshin* is devoted to the divine cause for the ample resources and physical blessings conferred by the Deity on mankind, *shekunāih*, the opposite character, is without any gratitude for the divine blessings which humanity enjoys in the material wealth; on the contrary, it is dissatisfied with them. The former takes a favorable view of the physical world; the latter inclines to pessimism.

76 The expression here indicates an indefinite point of time. The passage alludes to an ancient belief or idea now unknown and consequently as it stands, is not intelligible.

150. They considered this, too, thus: material wealth should be embellished to such an extent that spiritual wealth may not waste away (thereby).

151. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the wealth of this world shall be so employed during the period (of thy life) as if thou knewest thus: "I may live a thousand years, and whatever I may not perform today I shall then perform the next day." (2) And spiritual objects shall always be so employed thoughtfully and diligently as if thou knewest thus: "I (may) live for a day, and whatever I may not perform today I cannot perform thereafter."

152. They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should not be proud and greedy of material wealth and (its) excesses; because the earthly wealth of nobody whatever becomes more ample than Jamshed's (Yim);<sup>77</sup> and even Jamshed's (wealth) became less (as) each day passed on, and the entire wealth of (this) world at last became remote from him, and (his) cry for help was for the soul.

153. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, these three kinds of (human) nature are heavenly (garothmanig). (2) One (is) this: whoso, when he has seen too much harm and affliction from anyone, is not even then inimical and malevolent to that man. (3) And one (is) this: whoso for the food that has already come to him, being not abundant, holds no anticipation thus: "It will reach me" (in abundance); and if a man who has already had no food comes to him (for it), this one partakes of these victuals with him as he should. (4) And one is this: when a woman and a man have come to a desert-place, they have eaten sufficient food and are cheerful, and they are much enamored of each other, and even if they were then led away by love which none might be aware of, still the man would not cohabit with the woman on account of the voice (aivāj rāi) of (his) conscience (rübān).<sup>78</sup>

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77 Yima Khshaeta of the Avesta, the third king of the Paradhata dynasty, known as the Pishdadians in the Shah Namah and in the Persian literature. According to Vd2.5, he was the richest and most powerful king that one could imagine, rich enough to nourish, rule, and watch over the whole world. In the same Fargard, Yima speaks to Ohrmazd: "Yes! I will make Thy world increase, I will make Thy world grow. Yes! I will nourish, rule, and watch over Thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind, nor hot wind, neither disease nor death." It is stated in the Bundahish, Chap. 34.4, that the Aryan Glory (Airyanem Khwareno) followed Yima for a long time, for 616 years and 6 months; and according to the Zamyad Yasht, §§ 31-38: "When Yima began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth, the Glory was seen to flee away from him..... When his Glory had disappeared, then the great Yima Khshaeta {Jamshed}, the good shepherd, trembled and was in sorrow before his foes" (Azi Dahaka {Zohak} and his followers); "he was confounded, and laid him down on the ground." See the Bundahish, Chap. 17.5, and 31.5. References to Yima are also found in the Denkard, Book 7, Chap. 1.20-24; Chap. 2.59-61; Book 9, Chap. 21.2.

78 Generally means "the soul" in Pahlavi.

154. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, good nature is this: whose does not wish to commit a sin. (2) And wisdom is this: whose, when he desires (to commit a sin), nevertheless will not allow (the desire to be fulfilled). (3) And the lack of good nature is this: whoso speaks what he does not understand. (4) And the lack of wisdom is this: whoso questions what he does not comprehend.

155. They considered this too, thus: namely, (it is) God in Whom every one has his trust (or hope) regarding his own affair, except him who has no wisdom.

156. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, whose, seeking chieftaincy and riches, comes by them, should preserve them for the benefit and happiness of men, and make them qualified in the world. (2) And whoso stands exalted in drivishism and good deeds (or, “(religious) meditations”), brings thereby the good spirits into (this) world with rejoicing.

157. They considered this, too, thus: namely, a man who has not the nature of the kavigs and the karbs<sup>79</sup> (in him), and who, likewise (has an) intuitive sense (*asno-ich*), is virtuous as long as he is self-reliant.

158. They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should not perform too many acts of small merit, because from him who does many acts of small merit, sublime meritorious acts are then remote.

159. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the characteristic of apostasy (is) this: whose regards a superior act of merit (as) small, and an inferior act of merit as great.

160. They considered this, too, thus: namely, an act of small merit is a covering for a sin, because an enormous crime which might be committed, being a little apparent owing to a small act of merit, attains thereby little diminution.

161. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely when a highly talented man performs many acts of such small merit, it will not be possible (for him) to be holy thereby; but when an act of very great merit is performed by (such) a man, he becomes holy thereby. (2) And we men ought to be nobly striving, so that an act of sublime merit may be our own.

162. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, every person has a conscience (*ahū*); and when that person's conscience remains healthy and uninjured, the thing (*viz.*, the faculty of conscience, is) then an intermediary for an object. (2) And when the reverse, then that thing is destroyed, (even) if an object which is highly-spoken of be declared highly good and practiced.

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79 Vide the footnote on the Kavigs and the Karaps on §144.

163. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the spirit (ahū) of the Religion (is) Zarathushtra, the spirit of holiness (is) Manthra, and the spirit of nobility is magnanimity.

164. They considered this, too, thus: namely, every object has a source; the source of knowledge is good nature, and the source of light is the Sun, and the source of water is Vourukasha,<sup>80</sup> and the source of the soul is the spirit.<sup>81</sup>

165. They considered this, too, thus: namely, a sublime wish is friendship with the Religion, because an ever-attached friendship is the friendship with the Religion, and because he who is friendly to the Religion (and the Religion) are both together here and there.

166. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, everyone should devote himself to the Religion, or what he believes in, and should thoroughly judge about his own desire (for devotion) thus: "What is that object in which he should believe self-devotingly." (2) And in the Religion (there are) several things to which he should be self-devoting. (3) And that one is steadfast in the Religion who, whenever he attains anything (enumerated in the Religion,) to which he should be devoting, does devote himself, and does not perform those several things by which an act of self-devotion (results in) a sin which is inexpressible. (5) This is he who devotes himself to the Religion, to the wife and the offspring, as well as to the holy ones, and priests and other good ones, when they approach (him).

167. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, (there is) a saying in this Religion, which is very essential, and this (is) as follows: "Doubtlessness in the Religion of the Deity." (2) And doubtlessness in the Religion of the Deity should be such that although they mitigate sins after sins, still they do not stand aloof from the wealth of the good spirits.

168. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, when a man commits a thousand enormities (or, 'helplessly commits an illicit intercourse') (he) is sorrowful and in contrition for it, and says (to himself) thus: "In the end I shall not be (one of) Ahriman's own (adherents); but I shall act so that I may be (one of) Ohrmazd's own (adherents); then Ahriman will think little of me and can boast little of me." (2) Whereas another man is humbled (even) by a very insignificant crime, and is (as it were) dumbfounded regarding his acts of merits on account of the sin, and speaks thus: "Now what (are) my acts of merit, if in the end I shall also be (one of) Ahriman's own (adherents)."<sup>82</sup>

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80 Av. Vouru-kasha, the sea mentioned in the Aban Yasht, 8.116, etc., and identified with the Caspian Sea. In Pahlavi, it is called *Frākhān-kart*.

81 *Ahū*, "the divine element."

169. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, a man considers all (other) men in this world as wicked; however, he does not consider himself as wicked but as holy, (saying) thus: “I am (one of) Ohrmazd’s own (adherents), Ahriman therefore will bring little trouble on himself (for me).” (2) Whereas a man with a trivial crime of his own helplessly (done) says: “I am wicked.” (3) Since in the world although many a man may be opposed to the wickedness of a man, still it is never possible (for them) to discern the wickedness of that man as fully as when the man himself relates his own wicked acts.

170. They considered this, too, thus: namely, whoso, during the approach of harm and affliction to him who is a strangers, solicits (for him) a favor from God (has) an inborn (āsnō) faith in the divinity (maīnūg), for this reason that even if the acts (of the afflicted one) be foolish and dishonest, still he believes regarding the Deity that God is able to achieve what is good and what is bad.

171. They considered this, too, thus: namely, this little and much, and near and far, and comfort (khvār) and discomfort, he who (is) eminently wise comprehends.

172. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the path which (leads) to Garothman (the highest Heaven, is) the covenant<sup>83</sup> with the Religion. (2) When Ohrmazd prepared that path, Ahriman then laid out two paths together: One farehbut, and one aibibut. (3) He (Ahriman) prepared both of these as far as the dark region, and it was not possible (for him) to prepare further than that.

173. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, fortunate (is) that man who walks in the main (divine) path; because whosoever treads (it) very religiously reaches in consequence the heavenly abode in time. (2) And unfortunate (is) that man who walks in an out-of-the-way path;<sup>84</sup> because, howsoever much industrious (he may be), still farther (he is) from the abode. (3) And (that) main road (is) the Religion, and (that) abode (is) Paradise.

174.<sup>85</sup> They considered this, too, thus: namely, the soul (is) to be estimated according to power,<sup>86</sup> but power is not to be estimated

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82 In this passage a distinction is drawn between a depraved character who, after a slight contrition for his crimes, deems himself absolved from them, and a virtuous man who feels so much for an insignificant crime that he gives up hope of doing acts of merit, and gaining salvation in the future. *Vide* the following Section.

83 Pahl. *Daēna-pāimān*, or “faith in the Religion.”

84 *Rās i avīrās*, *lit.*, “The path which is no path”, that is, a devious path; comp. Pers., *bī-rah*, “bewildering.”

85 Sections 174 and 175 are somewhat obscure and unintelligible.

86 The true power does not fail in the acquisition of one’s object; since the higher the soul is in the scale of virtue and excellence, the higher the degree of such power. Of Section 174 an admissible free rendering may be: “They considered this, too, thus



according to wealth, (because) it<sup>87</sup> may help or may not help.

175. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, it may help and it may not help, (since it is an object that) transforms things and persons. (2) There are some (whom) it does not help, even though they possess splendor and wealth, and gold, silver, and other riches abundantly. (3) There are some whom it helps when they possess nothing beyond a single head of cattle,<sup>88</sup> and (their) desire does not go further.

176. They considered this, too, thus: namely, it is thus to help and not to help the Religion; as it is helped when they commit no sins; but it is not (so) helped except when they perform acts of merit.

177. They considered this, too, thus: namely, even in money-making these qualifications are good: whoso is diligent, well-preserving, and contented.

178. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, men are of four kinds: two of the experienced, and two of the inexperienced (kind). (2) Of the two kinds of the experienced, the one (includes) those who (are) good in the company of the righteous, and another (includes) those who (are) wicked in the company of the evil. (3) Since, it possibly happens that he who has stayed among the virtuous, (turns) worse when (he happens to be) among the wicked; and he who has stayed in the company of the wicked, (turns) better when he has access to the virtuous. (4) And of the two varieties of the inexperienced, one (includes) those who were in the company of the good and eventually (turned) worse; and another (includes) those who were in the company of the wicked and eventually (became) better.

179. They considered this, too, thus: namely for man an object (which is) very excellent is a straight forward habit; because a habit becomes nature and nature becomes conscience (*daēna*).

180. They considered this, too, thus: namely, that man is most fortunate who so mingles this decaying wealth of the world with that which is undecaying that, when he passes away from (this) world, he

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namely, the capacity of the soul-measure is not possible to determine by the wealth-measure.

87 Namely, the wealth of this world.

88 A man of the lowest aspirations would believe that wealth is power, but the great righteous man values it much less than spiritual virtue and excellence. Of Section 175 an admissible free rendering may be: "They considered this, too, thus: namely, to help or not to help hinges on objects and persons; and there are some who will not help unless they possess plentiful wealth in brilliants, in gold and silver, and other objects; and there are some who will help when they have a single strong bull, and their desire does not go further." Or, "there are some to whom it may be of help if their desire does not go further than (the possession of) a solitary head of cattle."

attains Heaven (maīnūg).

181. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in the sayings of the Religion (there are) four which are much mentioned. (2) And these are such: Not to connive at (*lit.* see) a sinner in regard to (his) sin, and not to elevate a man of wicked judgment on account of power and wealth; to seek a reward from the heavenly beings for an act of merit, and to be a religious disciple. (3) Especially, to be a religious disciple, because everything is known by discipleship (in the Religion).

182. They considered this, too) thus: namely, there should be more longing for these three precepts than for the entire Avesta and Zand: One (is) not to connive at a sinner in regard to (his) sins; one, not to elevate a man of wicked judgment on account of power and wealth and one, to seek a reward for an act of merit from the spiritual and not from the material existences.

183. They considered this, too, thus: namely, he who, regarding a precept which he does not understand, says: "I understand it;" then, on account of that precept being obscure, a thousand (other) precepts which he knows go out of him.

184. They considered this, too, thus: namely, if he who is a non-entity;<sup>89</sup> conceives: "I am non-existent," it will be so.

185. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, one should be deserving, since fortunate is he who is deserving and knows the principles (*āīnīh*) of the Religion; namely, where (and) to whom one should take<sup>90</sup> something (for a gift). (2) Because both, the spiritual and the material, have concern with the Religion; and he is, likewise, most delighted when he bestows something on the deserving from the beneficence (*spenāgīh*) and wisdom and delight and prosperity and abundance, which (are) in the Religion.

186. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in a person good nature is something more than all the vegetation in a hilly wood. (2) In that person, likewise, that good nature is inborn (*āsnō*) (and) when he makes (it) a guiding spirit (*pīshōpāē*),<sup>91</sup> (his) whole disposition then turns towards straightforwardness.

187. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should keep one's door open for men; because people do not approach the dwelling of him who does not keep his door open for men. (2) And when<sup>92</sup> people do not approach his dwelling, there is no cherishing then of the good spirits in the house. (3) And when there is no advent

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89 *Zak mūn levīt*, which literally means "that one who is not," or "that which does not exist;" that is, the spiritual non-entity.

90 The question as to where and by whom one should guide one's spiritual self.

91 Generally, "a leader", comp. Mod. Pers. *pīshvā*.

of the good spirits in the house, then (there) is no (divine) splendor for him. (4) Because men are after bread and the good spirits are after men, and splendor follows the good spirits.

188. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, endeavor much for association and messing with the virtuous. (2) Because, if thou shouldst know any one who, howsoever good for companionship and boarding with the virtuous, has not obtained so much as may be offered suitably to the pious, then thou shouldst take thy bread and go amongst the pious (*shapīrān*), and eat it with them.

189. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should entertain as much delight for (the receipt of) a present as a juvenile slave (does), and should endeavor so highly that the delight may never depart from oneself. (2) And when one desires pleasure in that object from which, when obtained according to wish, a sin is (incurred), then not in that object but in some other object (one should desire pleasure) which, when obtained, (will be) an increase of joy. (3) One should not commit a sin and, as a consequence, relinquish joy for oneself; because even a slave boy longs for much of that object which, when he obtains to his satisfaction, occasions much grievous sin through it. (4) Hence, in the nature of the object, there is so much eatable matter as (is) in a date, or a walnut, or in any other object which is given, and therewith he is contented and in gaiety.

190. They considered this, too, thus: namely, men ought to be vigilant in order that spiritual comfort (*yazdān rāmishn*) may abide in the body; since the object of that comfort is to long for and help the meritorious deeds (mentioned) in the Religion.

191. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the propitiation of the good spirits (is) the delight of him for whom there is no harm in the end.

192. They considered this, too, thus: namely the propitiation of the good spirits (is) the personal delight and glory of the good ones.

193. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely one should keep the body in joy, and hold back the hands from sin; since when the body (is) in joy, Vohuman then lodges (*māhmān*, lit. "is a guest") in the body. (2) When Vohuman (is) a guest in the body, (it is) then difficult to commit a sin, and (there is) much withholding from (bodily) disorder. (3) Because whoso allows disorder in the body, then Akoman enters into (his) body; and into whosoever's body Akoman enters, then it is difficult to perform the acts of integrity.

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92 Here *mūn* is used for *amat*. In Yasna, Chapter 57.6, the angel Sraosha is spoken of as visiting the house in which he is invoked, honored and propitiated, and which is inhabited by a holy person. Such a dwelling is termed *Sraoshō-pāta*, i.e., "guarded by the (angel)."

194. They considered this, too, thus: namely, (there are) two (actions) which (are) virtuous; and these are as follows: the embellishment of the pious,<sup>93</sup> and the conversion (*vashtārih*) of the immoral (*varūn*, to the right path).

195. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the fruit of every goodness is delight; the fruit of every harmful action is distress.

196. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, the essential of joy is the contentment of the good mind, and the essential of pain is discontentment. (2) Since, if Ohrmazd the Lord is not satisfied with the goodness which is His, then He is not happy; and if Ahriman is not dissatisfied with his own affliction, then he is not distressed.

197. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the wealth-contented (have) a dissatisfaction for wisdom and learning.

198. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, a man into whose body the spirit of greedy desire enters, displays, consequently, a longing for worldly riches. (2) This, then, is the best remedy (for him) when the material wealth of this world seems to be a surplus to a man, he should think thus: “Consider that what is held by me why should I hold if it be necessary to relinquish it soon henceforth I will not hold it, so that the love of it which remains apart from me may not return; since, not to hold the material wealth is much more glorious (*khvārtar*) than to relinquish it.”

199. They considered this, too, thus: namely, a perfectly wise man remains everywhere mindful of the end of the world.

200. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, worthless (*khvār*,<sup>94</sup> are) the worldly riches; because within a day it is possible that a man (who) was this morning a healthy artisan, and (is) now with remote aspirations, becomes ill and disabled and hopeless within six hours, and before the night (falls) that one dies, and even his entity becomes nil on the third day when it mingles with the earth and becomes dust. (2) Mankind should reflect (from this) thus namely, “when it was possible in the case of that man, it might happen to me who am (in this world), in the same manner as to him consequently, why should I exert myself excessively (*frehbūtiha*) for (such) material wealth?”

201. They considered this, too, thus: namely, when one has money and keeps it for the (mere) sake of possession, then that one seeks in the end absolution for (undue) actions.

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93 Reading: *ashōg*; it can be also read *ahūg*, meaning “conscience,” “nature”, etc.

94 Khvār “insignificant” or “worthless.” This section rather savors of pessimism. A sort of contempt is shown for the physical wealth and its futility, considering the short period of human life on this earth, which, as is the strain of the Sixth Book throughout, should qualify a human being for the supposed spiritual existence.

202. They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should keep as much wealth as<sup>95</sup> would not, consequently, stop one's industry.

203. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, with this money or provision if it is possible that a man attains at a nargarjan sin for an immoderate keeping of that money and provision; (2) how is it possible that he whose wealth is (such) money and provision, and exhausts the wealth and provision that he has, could attain meritoriousness; (3) who would not offer gifts from it and thereby transgresses?

204. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, men are of three kinds: one, redeemed, one (who has) not transgressed, and one (who has) transgressed. (2) Redeemed is he who brings into action anything he listens to from God. (3) Unerring is he who follows him who has listened to the (inward) matter.<sup>96</sup> (4) And the transgressor is he who turns away from head priests.<sup>97</sup>

205. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, men of these three sorts attain Paradise. (2) One, a sage; one, a sage-helper; and one a non-opponent to a sage.

206. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, men are of these three kinds: one (is) the *gāsānig* {Gathic}; one, the *hadha-mansrig* {Hadha-Manthric, i.e. scientific}; and one, the *dātig* {legal}. (2) He who (is) *gāsānig*, (has) a union with the good spirits, and an aversion from the demons and fiends; (his) wealth-measure (is) due to (his) piety (*dāhm*)<sup>98</sup> and commonsense (*givar*);' and, for the sin which he commits, (he has) a sense of shame and (is in) latent anxiety of the (future) punishment. (3) And he who (is) *hāta-mānsrig* (has) an association with the righteous, his aversion is from the wicked, his wealth-standard (is) what is performed with honesty; and for the sin which he might commit, is (obligatory) the destruction of pernicious creatures (*khrafstas*) with the weapon (*ashtra*) of Sraosha-charana – the atonement to save himself from the punishment of Hell. (4) And he who (is) *dātig*, has an association with the humble (*airān*), his aversion is from the arrogant (*an-airān*), the standard of his wealth

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95 The sentence means that one should keep as much wealth as is sufficient for continuing on one's business.

96 Probably meaning "conscience."

97 Or, religious authorities.

98 Pahl. *dāhman*. See the use of the word *dāhm* or *dahām* in the Denkard, Book 8, chap. 43.1, where the words *dāhm* and *an-air* are contradistinguished. *Dahma* means a member of the Zoroastrian priesthood, or a holy man, in the Mihr Yasht and in other places in the Avesta. With reference to the use of the word in the Avesta, see Prof. Geldner's interpretation of the Av. word *dahma* in his "Studien Zum Avesta," 1852, p.14; as well as Prof. Ch. Bartholomae's explanation in his "Altiranisches Wörterbuch," *sub voce*.]

(is) by the court of law, that is, it is necessary (for him) to act according to law and for the sin which he might commit, the smashing of an idol temple (*kang*)<sup>99</sup> on the Daena day<sup>100</sup> is (obligatory) as a punishment.

207. They considered this, too, thus: namely, a fortunate man preserves the soul (from impurity); an unfortunate (one) cherishes not the soul, (but) the body.

///208. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, one should make this body a (barren) plain, and not a peak. (2) The water which rains on a plain entirely remains in (it), and that which rains on a peak and on other (altitudes) which are higher, entirely passes down from them; what does not rain on (the top) does not then reach it (*viz.*, the plain) first. (3) They said this regarding *gaōbar*: (it implies) much friendliness, (that is) to keep to oneself the surplus of wealth which is necessary for others (in their need, and) to be satisfied thereby.<sup>101</sup> (4) They said this regarding *chikāt*: (it implies) much hostility, (that is) to keep the surplus (of wealth) to oneself (for personal use, as being) not needed by others, (and) to be distressed thereby.

209. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, as to a man of much friendliness, of all the acts of merit which are accomplished in this world, owing to the proportion of what he would himself perform he remains as exalted as a plain; the water that rains on it reaches it for the same reason from other places. (2) As to a man of much hostility, of the entire acts of merit of this world so much is within him that whatever he would perform himself so passes away from him and does not correspondingly reach him from other places as the water on a peak.

210. They considered this, too, thus: namely, whoso for the divine voice (within him) greatly relies on the soul in good faith, although the object which he relies on is neither the Religion nor the Path of

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99 Comp. Mod. Pers. *kang* in the sense of “a pagoda,” or “a temple.” West reads *kūg zīvishn*, “the lifetime of a fowl.”

100 Pahl. *Daēna yōm*. West reads *dēvō yōm*, “the day of a demon.” This whole Section is translated into English by the late Dr. E. W. West in *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 4, footnote 2. This note is interesting in connection with the Pahlavi terms *gāsānig*, *hāta-mānsrīg*, and *dātīg*.

101 The idea is that one should not appropriate the surplus of one's wealth for personal gratification, but should preserve it for helping those who are in embarrassed circumstances, so that by helping other people and making many friends he may have spiritual comfort. Here one might prefer to liken much friendliness to a peak and much hostility to a plain, since the plain receives and keeps for itself the surplus water flowing down the mountain-top and is thereby fertilized.

God, and still he would hold unto God,<sup>102</sup> has (then) the well-being thereby that he will follow the Religion and the Path of God.

211. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should persevere in piety, and should be doing good acts and be well-awarded in provisions and properties with whatever is most active, most meritorious and most well-working. (2) And a less diligent man, when he comes to the reckoning of the spiritual beings, has then this desire namely, “I should have enjoyed little and kept little, and I should have done much.”

212. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, every body should practice and carefully observe (these) two principles. (2) As to one principle, he should look to his own life (and) endeavor as much as possible for (its) improvement. (3) As to the second principle, he should observe moral virtues in actions, appropriate (them), be gratified therewith, and learn a superior lesson therefrom.

213. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, the soul of man never (permanently) remains in one single place; since, according to its principle; it is progressing or regressing. (2) As to its progress and regress this is said thus: “As long as man follows spiritual desires (*rūbān-kāmag*), it is progressing; when he follows bodily desires, then the soul deteriorates.”

214. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one ought to be worthy by innate wisdom (*āsnīh*) of all the mysteries of the acts of God and the good spirits. (2) When a man becomes worthy (of them), the good spirits themselves then render (him) cognizant of the mysteries (of God) and the conflicts of the soul; because they seek the treasure which is reliable, and then the divine mysteries and the conflicts of the soul are not hidden from any one whatever; because it is well known that as much more men know, so much more ably civilized they are. (3) As to those who were worthies, this is declared thus: “You will be pious men to such an extent that there may be a passage of the good spirits into your bodies, who will well reveal the secrets of the wealth of (your) soul.”

215. They considered this, too, thus namely, as to the Religion there are seven impostors; of them the most severe (*badtūm*)<sup>103</sup> is said

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102 Here the reference is to a man with little or no education, who has a good deal of superstition and hazy notions about God and the Religion, yet has a faith in both. He, therefore, should not be classed with the skeptics, since his religious conceptions are not in exact conformity with the religious precepts.

103 Reading: *badtūm*. This word occurs in the Pahlavi Version of the Gathas, Yasna 49.1, wherein *badtūm damān* is the Pahlavi rendering of the Avesta proper name Bendva, and is translated by Mills: “the worst time.” Pahl. *badtūm* “worst,” or “most severe,” as here, is found rarely used for *vadtūm* in Pahlavi books. I believe that *badtūm* may be taken as a corrupt form of the Pahlavi *bandtūm* which can be

to be the destroyer of the Manthras (Mānsar-vazand).

216. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, there is no one whatever who (is) most counter-working, for this Religion as the heretic; since it is found (that) from amongst the heretics there is no opponent whatsoever who is a base impostor and indeed most severe to the Religion (for whom) it is possible to come into (the Religion). (2) He who is an heretic, a base impostor and most severe (to the Religion), comes into (the Religion) with the (seeming) desire of propagating the Manthras; (but) it is he who really brings selfishness and dissensions in the Religion.

217. They considered this, too, thus: namely, "Thou (art) of the race of the heroes of mankind, that is of that most glorious (khwartar) race which recognized the instruction of the Avesta and Zand as requisite."

218. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, there is nobody who does not toil in this world for the fruit of the object which he possesses (or) spurn it for the trouble therein; and when in a state of poverty everybody does spurn it in this world. (2) When he who is the best male driwish arrives at the reckoning of the good spirits (to receive judgment on his acts of merit or demerit), such is his wish: "Would that I had been righteously poorer (still, so that) my present reckoning might have been still more shining and more glorious."

219. They considered this, too, thus: namely, (if) a man for the reckoning of the good spirits has not performed other acts of merit which he ought to have performed on this earth, he for not having performed (them) brings so much contrition and penitence on himself as though this occurred to him thus: "Alas! that I consigned to the fire for burning and to the waters what (was the real) human blessing (*rām*, namely) several acts of high merit, otherwise (there would have been) less punishment for the soul (I am) just like one who has stolen the treasure of a person and is distressed thereby."

220. They considered this, too, thus namely whoso copulates with a harlot is thereby sinful of copulating with a menstruous woman.

221. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the good spirits do not so tend an angelic-natured [*Yazdān haēm*] man in this world as he wishes himself (to be). (2) They preserve (him) in his person so much virtuous and take so much care (of him) as is most beneficial to the soul.

222. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the good spirits so

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compared to Av. *banda* and Sanskrit *bandh* "a tie," hence *bandhu* means "a kinsman". Read in this connection Mills' note on the word, in page 577 of his "Gathas." *Bad* is also the Persian form of the Pahl. *pat*, Av. *paiti* "lord," "chief," as in the Pers. *spāh-bad* and Pahl. *spāh-pat* respectively. In the Avesta Religion, I believe, the Manthras form the best link or connecting support of the religionists.



take care of a man of angelic nature (that) they would not likewise cause nor allow him to be led according to (his) personal desire, just like a man who has some stale food for (his) offspring, which appears to him very delicious, and when he eats it he dies; in other words, the rottenness of the food is of more serious consideration for the man's offspring when he does not gratify (the child's) desire for that food.

223. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, for the instruction of him who is a stranger the one thing (which is) excellent (is) this that one should embellish one's own nature and make oneself a mirror and place it before him who is a stranger. (2) He who is a stranger looks and gazes into it, (and) therefrom receives superior instruction.

224. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, he who, besides embellishing himself in goodness, lives to attain success in (his) labors, then anybody who does not learn from him, does not become better, for this reason that a man observes (his own) defect from the standard of him who is polished in judgment, (and for this reason) that in this world he sees himself in that object which is brighter and more shining than himself. (2) Hence, many a time a man does not see himself in a goblet of iron entirely clean, while he sees himself clearly in a mirror which is pure, on this account that the metal (of the mirror) is brighter for the man's vision and the goblet of iron is darker.

225. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should exert oneself; and (when) any person during one-third part of the interval of night keeps fire burning in, all the evil influences are thereby everywhere destroyed. (2) And as long as the fire stands burning, everywhere that fire opposes gloom and darkness, cuts them off entirely, and renders them invisible and unknown. (3) That action, moreover, brings help in the spiritual world for whomsoever is appointed to break darkness and render gloom invisible. (4) And that light which causes darkness unseen and not apparent, rises upward in the spiritual world before the soul of the man for whom the light subsists, and renders the man's soul enlightened (*rūshan*), happy and comfortable.

226. They considered this, too, thus: namely, in a collection (of religious precepts) there is a very essential sermonette, and it is as follows: "Who always performs that action by which he attains fame and publicity in the eyes of many persons, mankind in this case will not speak about him thus: 'Thou hast done immoral and bad actions (in life)'."

227. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, every man when

he invokes the Sun three times<sup>104</sup> every day, shall then give himself up entirely to God, and shall avow the existence of the Religion and the Deity, and the non-existence of Ahriman and the demons. (2) For every sin that he conceives he is (as it were) renounced on the day (on which it is committed, and) solicits God in contrition for the forgiveness of (his evil) thought, word and deed. (3) He should every day estimate himself thus: "What have I consumed and saved this day? What duties have I discharged, and what sort of deeds have I done? This day have I been an instrument of the good spirits or of the demons?"

228. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, to do these three things is the function of men, and whoso would not do them (is) a sinful person. (2) One (is) to embellish thoroughly one's own nature; and one (is) not to look into the defects of others; and one (is) to trust in God.

229. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the fruit of the wealth of this world (is) vital protection; the fruit of vital protection (is) the maintenance of the physical body; the fruit of the body and the fruit of the soul (is) the Renovation (and) the fruit of the Renovation (is) the undecaying joy, and it has always been and will be for ever.

230. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the coming of the invisible spirits from the spiritual to the physical world is first to the Atash I Warharan (Atash-i Behram),<sup>105</sup> and then to other places.

231. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, if apostates come into the Religion, and hold dispute regarding the existence and non-existence of the God of the Good Religion, then only he who is a priest and whose function that is, (is) capable of saving (his) soul from the heresy (*aīrangih*) expressed by the apostates. (2) Consequently, other people when they long for (the Religion) will inquire of him (about it); they themselves then shall not enter into a contest with their own spiritual leader nor should speak anything; (but) whoso does speak (anything) thereby brings on the wounding (of his conscience, and)

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104 It is incumbent on a Zoroastrian to recite the Khwarshed and Mihr Niyayeshes three times every day during the gahs of Hawan, Rapithwin, and Uzerin, when the sun is above the horizon. A true and sincere Zoroastrian is required to say his prayers five times during day and night, during the five successive gah or divisions of time into which the diurnal period is divided in the *Avesta*.

105 That is, to the most sacred place (Sanctum Sanctorum). The Warharan Fire, looked upon from the Zoroastrian standpoint as the most sacred object and visible emblem of the Deity in the physical world, was naturally regarded as the first object of visit by angels during their terrestrial sojourn. An almost identical belief obtained amongst the Israelites, by whom the Holy Land of Palestine, being the most favored of God, was believed to be frequently visited by angels. Also comp. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book III., (ll. 532-534).

himself atones for it. (3) Moreover, when people long for it and inquire (about it), then as long as there is a desire for life they should titter everything which is true; (but) whoso does not speak (the truth. is) in the position of an apostate.

232. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the greatest (or Mazdayasnian) act of merit, too, should not be performed when the order has been given by him who is the sovereign lord that it shall not be performed; and whoso performing it, should then relinquish it. (2) Know that (otherwise) it is no act of merit but a great sin; for one's share (is) the position of disloyalty, and as to (the lot of) sovereignty (it) is undermined.

233. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, when the king asks (the head priest) whether drons should be consecrated or not, (and) if sins (accumulating) through sins are thereby mitigated (the priest) shall not say that they should not be consecrated. (2) But if the king gives an order to a man thus: "Don't consecrate the drons," (and) if he consecrates (them), it is no yazishn {Yasna} but a sinful act; just as (in the case of) the draona ceremony and every other act of righteousness, if the king asks as to these whether these should be done or not, one should thus abide by (the ruler's judgment): if the king orders "Don't do it," they should abide by it.

234. They considered this, too, thus: namely, whoso begins that act for the performance of which sanction has been granted by the king, atones for it if any wrong happens through him, just as he suffers who is fearless of the enemy, self-willed, and does not act according to (religious) decisions; and there is no protection and prosperity for such a one except that he is under the old affliction to which he has been subject; he passes away, dies or is struck (by some calamity); he himself atones for (his sins), being himself struck with pestilence.<sup>106</sup>

235. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, the ruin of a family is in some oases through adverse circumstances, and in some cases through the breach of trust. (2) Prudent is he who, when he sees two families ruined, realizes which one was ruined through adverse circumstances and which one through the breach of trust.

236. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, spiritual wealth (is) always in the mind. (2) He who does not stand to it, ought to so

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106 From these passages it would appear that a Zoroastrian monarch, in the days of Persian supremacy, besides being the temporal lord was to some extent supreme in religious matters. On certain occasions, for the performance of religious rites, such as the consecration of drons, his sanction was necessary and, in such cases, a head-priest was supposed to give his consent if he thought according to the then prevalent idea that by so doing there would be a reduction of sinful acts. The performance of a ritual without a royal consent when necessary was, therefore, tantamount to a sin.

rely on this that never should an improper object be thought of in the mind. (3) With regard to the mortal state of mankind, which approaches nearer every single hour, inward dread at the time when death (takes place) approaches the man who is always thinking of immoral objects especially earlier than (it would approach) the man who performs straightforward deeds; (and) then he proves (himself) to be the enemy of (his) soul. (4) Since, as long as a man contemplates the meritorious acts of piety, the good spirit in (his) body abides in the body, and the demons are overpowered and go out (of it). (5) And if he contemplates immoral objects, then the demons rush into (his) body; and when the man dies, at that time the druj gets into the body, (and) then it is most oppressive to the soul. (6) And, consequently, it is as difficult for the good spirits (*yazdān*) to take hold of the body from the hands of the druj, as (for that man) to have overpowered the druj out of the body in his material existence.

237. They considered this, too, thus: namely, there is also marvellousness (in this) he who worships and is reverent towards the good spirit that renders him every kind of protection is thereupon saved from harm, and he spoke of the good spirit thus: “This is my own soul” (that directs me to goodness.)

238. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, in every object one should acknowledge (one's) delight. (2) In what is good one should admit (it) for this (reason) thus: “I, too, have therein a share for the soul.” (3) In what is evil one should admit (it) for this (reason) thus: “Goodness, too, has been produced wherein I have no (share) for my soul.”

239. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, the life of the soul is from straightforward habits and the life of (one's) habits is from (good) nature; and the life of good nature is from friendliness with men. (2) And if a man is gifted with other good objects, but his nature is evil, then, through that man's actions, there is no (happy) existence for his soul.

240. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the life of wisdom (is) from endurance; the life of conscience (is) from truthfulness; the life of the soul (is) from the adoration of God with ardor; and the life of worship (is) from the (recital of the) sacred formulae (*nirang*);<sup>107</sup> and the life of the sacred formulae (is) from the head priest; and the life of the head-priest (is) from the ties of the Religion through love (*mitrō*).

241. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, an exceedingly vicious person does not believe in spiritual things; since for him who

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<sup>107</sup> Originally, *nirūg*, comp. Av. *niru*, the formula or prayer that produces moral strength in the reciter of it. and serves as a sort of charm against evil.

has not listened in this world to any sacred teaching is then no salvation. (2) Whoso in the least possesses spiritual wealth does not disbelieve to this extent that a sacred teaching of every description exists.

242. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, love develops friendship of one with another. (2) The love of that man who has no regard for others, entirely listens to (his own) fame. (3) The love of that man who is very talented is to this extent that when such a one meets in sight another, it increases a hundredfold as much as before. (4) And when (he meets) another in mutual conversation, it increases a hundredfold as much as when they meet for dining together, and it develops manifold as much as before. (5) And then every day people undergo much labor for increasing it (*viz.*, that friendly love, saying) thus: "We shall develop love and friendship to that extent; because in the end it will be possible to exterminate every single druj on account of such love and friendship (as are cherished)".

243. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, nobody should be an injury-contemplating enemy to a man who commits a sin, (since) for the sin which becomes manifest he ought to ask pardon (of God). (2) This, too, should be considered that he who is Ahriman is also miserable in thus deceiving and inducing him (to commit sins.)

244. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, there is no man whatever by whom (when) anything is done that thing is not done for his own sake, whether it be an honest or a dishonest (act); since whosoever does (anything) in (this world), increases or decreases (thereby, the merit of) his soul. (2) All kinds of acts are performed by them (*viz.*, men) for (their) own souls. (3) And we men ought to be highly exerting thus: "We long for our own soul's happiness, not misery."

245. They considered this, too, thus: namely, a farehbut is a tyrant who is an opponent of kings; an aibut is an apostate who is an opponent of priests.

246. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the opponent of the Religion is skepticism and non-Aryanism, its ally is apostasy; the opponent of wisdom is deception, its ally is lust; the opponent of good-nature is arrogance, its ally is self-love.

247. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, (there are) ten (kinds of) propensities (in man); these are mostly comparative, such as charity, persevering energy, truthful utterance and diligence; and stinginess and boasting and immorality and fearlessness and indolence- (2) A man ought to know what these are, (and) what those are.

248. They considered this, too, thus: namely, nobody should do anything without an observation of the creatures (of this world), but if he does before observing (them, there) is no decadence.

249. They considered this, too, thus: namely, both Ohrmazd and Ahriman fix (their minds) on the desires of men; and he whom Ohrmazd (is) a promoter (has) then his reward from Ohrmazd; and he whom Ahriman (is) a supporter (has) then his reward of affliction from him.

250. They considered this, too, thus: namely, whoso wishes that he may become a sage should first of all do this one thing, *viz.*, he should be reverent towards God and should move with the wise, he should always be devoting to his own mental capacity, just as when a delicious food is eaten by him and his own body kept in (healthy) preservation; so that the druj may not become triumphant and powerful in his body.

251. They considered this, too, thus: namely, reverence for the Deity is this: whose does not do anything (however) insignificant without consulting the good.

252. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, this friendship is most excellent: whose holds his own soul in friendship and never quits its friendship, either in prosperity or in adversity. (2) And this guidance is most excellent: whose holds his own conscience as a leader and never forsakes its guidance. (3) This refuge is good: whose holds his own good nature as a refuge and never forsakes (its) protection.

253. They considered this, too, thus: namely, it is not goodness which is not manifest unto men spiritually and hence also materially; since the vehicle of this world (is) nature, the vehicle of nature (is) an honest habit, the vehicle of (an honest) habit (is) wisdom, the vehicle of wisdom (is) conference with the pious people, the vehicle of skill (is) diligence, the vehicle of glory (is) truth, (and) the vehicle of the soul (is) the invocation of the good spirits.

254. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, one should reconcile (oneself) with every creature and creation, relate acts of merit to every one, and explain the sacred commentaries in a religious seminary, and declare (their) mysteries to the faithful. (2) And one should observe decorum and established principles in an assembly, should render the (sacred) place (*gās*) of *myazd*<sup>108</sup> full of joy, and perform the (ritualistic) invocations of the good spirits in the *aurvisgāh*.<sup>109</sup>

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108 Av. *myazda*, "sacred offerings to the good spirits, such as dron, fruit, milk, etc.

109 A term used technically in the Rivayats for the room specially set apart for the Baj,

255. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, there is no one in whose essence these (elements) may not exist at all, (namely) wickedness and lasciviousness, sorcery and disobedience. (2) And for any one whatever it is not possible to improve, unless improvement (is) through the religious communion with the pious.

256. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, wickedness implies tyranny, oppression. (2) Lasciviousness implies deceitfulness, and total affliction. (3) Sorcery implies concealed nature, and the exhibition of oneself differently from what one (really) is. (4) Disobedience implies the smiting and harassing of him who is more valiant than himself.

257. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, so long as male Mobeds are lax in (maintaining) the barashnom (qualification),<sup>110</sup> they shall not perform the yazishn {Yasna} ritual; since (if they did), the impurity of women in this world which was (ere now) very little would become irremediable. (2) So long as they did not leave the barashnom defiled (by a transgression), the mortality of youths was much less.<sup>111</sup>

258. They considered this, too, thus: namely, when Ahriman beheld the creatures and the creation of Ohrmazd, he became languid; and when he beheld (His) work of Renovation, he fell on his knees; and when he beheld the Resurrection, he was dumfounded and hid himself for three thousand years.

259. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the source of every greatness is humility or devotion towards the King of Kings; and the source of the Religion (is) Manthra; and the source of light is the Sun.

260. (1) They considered this, too, thus namely, when a thing is looked upon with an honest character then all (its) modes and defects are perceived – an honest character (implies) the maintenance of good will. (2) (But) when a thing is looked upon with an impious (motive), no excellence whatever is discerned (in it).

261. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the essence of the Religion is of such a kind (that) when anything is observed through it one's own self is seen through it; this, likewise, is such that whoso

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Yazishn {Yasna} and Vendidad rituals. The Pahlavi word is here read *jāk i yasna*, a contraction of *jīvāg i yasna*, “the place set apart for the Yasna ritual.”

110 The same spelling is also used for the word *barsom*, Av. *Baresman*.

111 Otherwise (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, so long as male Mobeds do not perform the yazishne ritual with barsoms tied up, the female impurity in this world which was (ere now) very little becomes irremediable. (2) So long as they did not use the unconsecrated barsoms, the mortality of adult males was much less.” *Barsam sharituntag* for “barsoms tied up” might convey the same meaning as the Avestan phrase *hacha baresman frasiairyāt*, “with barsoms tied up,” in the Srosh Yasht.

knows how to observe sees through it every goodness and evil.

262. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, masculinity and femininity (are) of many kinds and the following, too, (have) masculine and feminine characters: asna khratu (inborn wisdom) and gaoshosruta khratu: (acquired wisdom.) (2) Since gaoshosruta khratu is placed in the class of males, and asna khratu is placed in the class of females. (3) And as much is the (proportion of) asna khratu in the body of a man, so much is (the proportion of) whatever is understood by him by means of that asna khratu. (4) And whoso does not acquire gaoshosruta khratu understands nothing whatsoever; but when he acquires it, as much is then understood (by him) as is perceived through good nature and asna khratu. (5) And asna khratu, (when it) is not coupled with gaoshosruta khratu, is like a female who does not couple with a male, and does not become pregnant and bear fruit. (6) And he in whom asna khratu is not perfect, is just like a female whom a male would not accept (for a wife); since a female whom a male would not accept, produces no offspring in the same way as when she has no male for procreation.<sup>112</sup>

263. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the most excellent thing (is) the religious conference with the pious; since a religious conference with the pious (is) an appreciation of God.

264. (1) They considered this, too, thus: namely, Ahriman should be thus cast out from the world; everyone for the sake of self shall extract (him) from the body, since Ahriman has his abode in human bodies in this world. (2) Consequently, when he has no lodgment in the bodies of men, he will be exterminated from the whole world; since so long as in the body of any one whatever in this world a dwelling is made by a (druj), Ahriman (will be) in the world.

265. They considered this, too, thus: namely, the good spirits have made their abode in such a place that when they have their abode in that place, they have (as it were) their abode in the whole of this world; since when Ahriman is exterminated from the bodies of men he is destroyed from the whole of this world, and the good spirits will then predominate in human bodies.

266. They considered this, too, thus: namely one ought to endeavor most for meditations (hūskārishn) on the Religion, that is, on the *Avesta* and Zand; since meditations on the Religion are an armor for the soul.

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112 Similes, as a rule, are not rare in Pahlavi writings, and the comparisons drawn are generally appropriate and felicitous; but in some cases, as here, they are somewhat far-fetched, and to a modern reader would appear extraordinary.