

DENKARD, Book 4

ZOROASTRIAN RELIGIOUS WRITINGS FROM THE ARSACID AND
SASANIAN PERIODS.

Translated by

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Contents

Preface.....	v
The Fourth Book of the Denkard.	1
[Emanation of the Amesha Spentas from the First Principle.].....	1
[The role of the good sovereign in furthering the religion.] .	3
[Compilation and preservation of the written Avesta.].....	4
[Propagation of the religion by later sovereigns.].....	5
[Emanation of the Amesha Spentas (continued).].....	7
[The function of created beings; time, fate, and free will.] .	8
[Observations of physicians.].....	10
Questions:.....	11
Replies.....	13
[The moral education of all humanity.].....	22
[Considerations for the after life.].....	23

Preface

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, reconstructing it from a partially destroyed work compiled earlier in the ninth century by Ādurfarnbag ī Farroxxādān.

The work of publishing a complete edition of the Pahlavi text, with translations into Gujarati and English, was undertaken by Dastur Peshotaji 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.

Volume IX of the Sanjanas' edition contains the end of Book 3, chapters 414-420, plus Books 4 and 5. It was published in 1900 by the son, based on the papers of his late father.

Book 4 is the shortest of the books of the *Denkard*, and is somewhat disorganized. It describes the “emanation” or “issuing” of the Amesha Spentas, the role of royalty in defending and even spreading the religion to neighboring countries. It also discusses the reason beings were created, fate vs. free will, music, metaphysics, meteorology, astronomy, medicine, the importance of moral education, and the afterlife.

The title describes it as the “writings of the Dasturs of the Ashkanian and Sasanian periods.” The former is Persian term for the Arsacids, the Parthian dynasty which ruled ca 250 B.C. to ca. 224 A.D. The Sasanian empire ruled from 224 A.D to 650 A.D.

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 normalize 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.

The Fourth Book of the Denkard.

1. I make obeisance to the Mazda-worshipping religion which is opposed to the demons (and) is the ordinance of Ohrmazd.

2. The matter of the fourth book (of the *Denkard*) is composed from sentences selected from *Ayinin Amuk Vazin*¹ by Adurfarnbag i Farrozzadan, the leader of the faith² of the family of the educated-in-the-faith, and saintly Adarbad Mahraspandan.

[Emanation of the Amesha Spentas from the First Principle.]

3. Be it known that the One God is the cause of the beginning (of creation) and is the causer of causes. Cause is not for Him (i.e. He is uncaused.)³

4. Among those connected with (God) the second as the second (if we regard Ohrmazd as the first), (and) first among the original creation is Vohuman (5) The commencement of creation was with Vohuman. And the origin adverse to him (i.e. Vohuman's adversary) is (Ahriman) the blemish giving cause of the creation.

6. Seeing with complete vision (i.e. on careful inquiry) it is found that the other with the perverse understanding (i.e. Ahriman) conducts things in this world (in the path of evil). At times several original (creations) are destroyed through him. Because this creation separating itself from the wish of close connection with its original master (i.e. God) has taken the side of his adversary. And it is become unfit through not caring to keep up its connection with its true Maker. And by harming the moderate party (of God) it is broken (from its own party). For the same reason that substance which is on the adverse side of harming the side (of God) is not fit to receive the gifts (of God). Again a substance which has received its life from the one life-giving God becomes unfortunate through the same cause. Any person who turns against Him from whom he got his birth is not able to improve himself (morally) through his connection with that one (i.e. Ahriman). Because he is connected with his (i.e. Ahriman's) substance.

1 According to *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, the specific text referred to here (and in Dk. III) is "a chapter on instruction (*āmōg*) from an *ēwēn nāmāg* of Ādurfarnbag Farrozzādān."

2 "The leader of the faith," known in the *Avesta* is styled Zarathushtrotema, a title given to the Head Dastur of the Zoroastrians. According to the Zoroastrian faith the community needs two leaders, one secular the other religious.

3 Cf. Vd. 22 and Yt. 1. "I who am Ohrmazd is the Creator of the good creation." "Mine is the name of the creator, nourisher, and preserver."

7. Again that evil one is not, as the creation of Vohuman is, the second creation of God. From this it appears that the great self-existing God who is a law unto Himself is one and alone.

And one (creation) after another is made by Him. Hence no one else can be his equal as an adversary (*i.e.* Ahriman can never equal Him). The one God is He who through that one (*i.e.*, Vohuman) has given birth to innumerable other creations.

8. The creation connected with that other (*i.e.* Ahriman) is without religion; how can it be said to have connection with the second (creation, *viz.* Vohuman)? But that one (*i.e.* the creation connected with Ahriman) can be said to be separated from the One (God).

9. Third – The creation-increasing origin (*i.e.* God) keeps the second (creation) Ardwhisht under the supervision of one who is among those connected with Him (*i.e.* under Vohuman). Among the Amahraspands, Ardwhisht has the third rank. And he is obedient to the first creation (Vohuman). The reason of his being third (in rank) is that Ohrmazd Himself is the first. And as being the first creation, Vohuman is the second (in rank). And his (*i.e.* Vohuman's) obedient servant Ardwhisht is considered the third (in rank). From this, Vohuman having obtained his life from Ohrmazd is (Ohrmazd's) obedient servant. And the good custom and law of (men) obeying the authority of Ohrmazd and of living as His obedient servants has (prevailed in the world) from the beginning of creation through the thought of (Vohuman). Again the good custom of life-possessing men publicly obeying and respecting religious rulers is (prevailing in the world through Vohuman).

10. Among those connected with the perfect authority of Ohrmazd the fourth in rank called Shahrewar is worthy of being blessed through his possessing life according to Ohrmazd. And he is a worthy servant of the worker of pure deeds, Ardwhisht. And this second (creation, Ardwhisht) is obedient to Vohuman the first creation. (Shahrewar) presides over metals. And these give strength for generosity and nourishment to men living a life of piety. And thereby is (acquisition of) honor, (attainment of) one's desires, propagation of the faith, attainment of (both) knowledge and the intuitive wisdom of the good-thought Vohuman. And thereby is the springing up (in the heart) of the desire of obedience to God, the conducting of oneself towards Ardwhisht to one's (own) advantage, and the making one's friends do likewise. And to conduct the people by the authority of Ohrmazd and the leadership of the faith is to disgrace the blemish-giver (Ahriman).⁴ And hence the blessed are exalted.

4 The spiritual agents were created one after the other. The good-thought-power Vohuman was created first and since harmony, order, and purity depend upon good

[The role of the good sovereign in furthering the religion.]

11. Again he who keeps up the divine religion in this world and rules the people according to the precepts of religion is the (king or priest) the maintainer of religion and of the true and temperate authority of God.

12. The state through the (inspired) strength of the knowledge of religion is worthy of the trust (of the people) and those who in truth and purity propagate the knowledge of religion among the pious are strong through the strength of the state.

13. Unholiness, and the intense prevalence of unholy utterances (in state and church) is through the rival efforts of the adversary (*i.e.* Ahriman) to (keep himself) in touch (with men). In the same way the method of (men's) speech and deed is like unto fire. Just as burning fire (first) dries up the wet firewood and (next) after drying up the firewood acknowledges the ruddy light (as akin to itself), so too in both ways (*i.e.* the two referred to above) the people of the world by their holiness are fit to drive away the unholy Druj from among them (*i.e.* the fire first expels the adverse principle of water from the wet fuel so too piety first drives out the unholy element; next the fire makes the fuel glowing hot and absorbs the fuel into itself and so too piety absorbs that which remains after the unholy element has been driven off and makes the remnant akin to itself). It behooves the people to acknowledge their obligations to the agents (*i.e.* the Mobeds and Dasturs) who give them an insight into the nature of the different kinds of unholiness and of those who give rise to different sorts of harms. In the same manner people ought to be always extremely grateful to the good triumphant kings, the defenders of the faith. Because he (*i.e.* such a king) is the believer in the religion loved of God and more specially because he explains the wisdom underlying the Mazda-worshipping faith. Hence his good Government is safe and permanent. And by the adornment derived from his and the Yazads' mutual connection he is secretly sheltered (and protected). And the continuance of his authority one after the other (in his own family) is through divine assistance. And so people should look upon the religious kings who have faith in their religion as courageous, as being the good kings of religion. And the kings who are of the law of the (good) faith should attempt to spread in the world the exalted law-abiding wisdom of the Mazda-worshipping faith.

thought, Ardwhisht was created next. And farther since a ruler's authority depends upon physical and moral order in his dominions Shahrewar was the third to be created. Corresponding to Vohuman, Ardwhisht, and Shahrewar a king of this world if he wishes to govern well must have good thought, purity, and wealth.

[Compilation and preservation of the written Avesta.]

14. When king Vishtasp became relieved from the war with Arjasp he sent messages to other kings to accept the (Mazda-worshipping) faith. And to spread (among the people) the writings of the Mazda-worshipping religion which are studded with all wisdom and which relate to the acquisition of knowledge and resources of various kinds, he sent all together (*i.e.* at the same time) Spiti and Arezrasp⁵ and other mobeds who had studied the language relating to these (writings) and who had returned from Khwaniras [=Xwaniratha] after a complete study of the knowledge of the faith under Frashostar.

15. Darai [Daray] son of Darai [=Darius III]⁶ ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole *Avesta* and its commentary according as it was accepted by Zartosht from Ohrmazd, one in the Ganj-i-hapigan [Royal Treasury] and the other in the Dez-i-Napesht [National Archives].

16. The Ashkanian government⁷ got the *Avesta* and its commentary which from its (original) pure (and sound) condition had been, owing to the devastation and harm⁸ (inflicted by) Alexander and his general of the plundering Aruman army, separated into parts and scattered about, to be copied out. And any (work) which remained with the Dasturs for their (own) study and the writings subsequently obtained in the city were ordered to be preserved and copies of them to be made out for other cities.

17. (After this) Ardashir-i Papakan in his time got a true Dastur named Tosar [Tansar] to arrange together all the scattered writings relating to the *Avesta* and its commentaries. On this (order) Dastur Tosar devoting his attention to (this subject) made one harmonious work after comparison with other writings. And (he) entrusted the Dasturs with the work of making other copies of it. (18) And (the king) also ordered that other writings relating to the Mazda-worshipping faith which might be obtained after him and of which no information or clue was to be had then should be preserved in the same way.

5 The two brothers Spiti and Arezrasp flourished in the reign of Vishtasp and studied the *Avesta* at Khwaniras under Frashostar the disciple of Zartosht. In the 121st Section of the Frawardin Yasht their holy Fravashis are thus remembered. We remember the holy Fravashis of Spiti and Arezrasp the sons of Uspasnu.

6 Darius III ruled from 336-331 B.C. DkM. 412.3-415.3. Text and tr in Zaehner, *Zurvan* (ZZZ), pp. 7-9. Cp. tr. of M. Shaki, *Archiv Orientalni*, 1981 114-25 in Boyce, *Textual Studies*, p. 114. -JHP

7 ZZZ: Valaxsh (Vologeses), the Arsacid. -JHP

8 ZZZ: pillage and looting.

19. Shahpuhr⁹ son of Ardashir king of kings collected together, from Hindustan [India], Arum [the Byzantine Empire], and other places where they had got scattered, writings other than those of the faith (i.e. other than those on prayer, worship, precepts, and law), (such as) those relating to medicine, astronomy, geography, minerals, the increase of the glory of the life-possessing kinds, the parts of the soul, and (writings relating to) other arts and sciences.

And he ordered a correct copy of them after collocation with the *Avesta* to be deposited in the Ganj-i-Shaspigan [Royal Treasury]. And he ordered (the Dasturs and Mobeds) to deliver sermons and speeches to draw the faith of the people without religion to the Mazda-worshipping faith.

[Propagation of the religion by later sovereigns.]

20. Shahpuhr king of kings, son of Ohrmazd [Hormizd] [Shahpuhr II] warred with the kings of all countries and made them believers in Ohrmazd. And he created a taste (for religion) among all people by means of speeches. And he made them investigators of religion. And at last Adarbad¹⁰ by his admonitions [trial by ordeal] made the people religious and secured their salvation from hell. And this supreme high priest placed before all the non-Zoroastrians an explanation of all the different Nasks of the *Avesta*. Upon which some who accepted the faith confessed to this effect – “we have seen with our eyes every point of the faith and hence every one of us is sure to abandon his evil religion, and we shall keep up our efforts for the faith.”¹¹ And they did accordingly.

21. Now Khosraw, king of kings, son of Kobad drove out from among the four divisions of (the people of) the faith (i.e. from the Athornan, Artheshtar, Vastriosh and Hutokhsh) any priest of the evil religion and ruler of the evil religion who seemed to be full of enmity to the faith, (in fact he drove out) all these evil men. And he has exalted the Zoroastrians (through their faith) by giving them from

9 Shahpuhr's mother was the daughter of Ardwan the last of the Ashkanian kings. He was as zealous for the faith as his father.

10 Adarbad Mahraspandan was a famous and learned Dastur who by his exposition of the faith and by his miracles brought over many to the Zoroastrian faith. The Pahlavi prayers Patet Pashemani, Nam-Setayashne, Setayash-i-haft Ameshaspenta are his compositions.

11 ZZZ: “The King of Kings, Shapuhr, son of Ohrmazd (Shapur II), summoned men from all lands to an unprejudiced (?) disputation to examine and investigate all creeds. After Adurbad had been vindicated by the consistency of his argument, he issued a declaration before all those representatives of the different sects, doctrines, and schools in this wise: ‘Now that we have seen the Religion upon earth, we shall not tolerate false religion and we shall be exceedingly zealous.’ And thus did he do.”

time to time encouragement and instruction regarding the faith.¹²

22. Again (Khosraw) has given this order about the (priests gifted with) divine wisdom – that the clever men who explain the truth of the Mazda-worshipping faith should through their good judgment and foresight encourage the ignorant by teaching them the faith and make them as steadfast as possible in their faith. And the learned supreme high priest, the Dastur of the Dasturs should not enter into religious discussion with the people. But he should through pure thought, word, and deed be on the side of the good spirits. And he should piously worship and pray to God through the Manthras that by (his) worshipping with the Manthras we might always call to our mind the leader of our people *i.e.* of the Magus¹³ to wit Ohrmazd; The Lord (God) is manifest unto us through spiritual understanding. And the Lord shows us through spiritual thought the measures for our salvation so as to be understood of us of the world. We will continue to love Him fully from among the Yazads by both the agencies (of the spiritual and bodily faculties). And we will continue to remember the Yazads who work for the prosperity of God's world in order that religious merit might accrue to those of the good faith.¹⁴

23. Again that king (*i.e.* Khosraw) in addition to this (work) sent the inhabitants of Iran studying the Mazda-worshipping faith to Khwaniras¹⁵ to study under teachers of exalted wisdom, so that we might acquire full adornment through knowledge of the divine religion. These keep aloof from perverse discussions, exhort (men to lead a good life) through the words of the *Avesta* and compose books of wisdom. And people through their wise writings keep themselves

12 ZZZ: "His present Majesty, the King of Kings, Xusrau (Chosroes I), son of Kavadh (Cabades, Qubab), after he had put down irreligion and heresy with the greatest vindictiveness according to the revelation of the Religion in the matter of all heresy, greatly strengthened the system of the four castes and encouraged precise argumentation."

13 Magus *i.e.* the Mazda-worshipping Zoroastrians.

14 ZZZ: "and in a diet (?) of the provinces he issued the following declaration: 'The truth of the Mazdayasnian religion has been recognized. Intelligent men can with confidence establish it in the world by discussion. But effective and progressive propaganda should be based not so much on discussion as on pure thoughts, words, and deeds, the inspiration of the Good Spirit, and the worship of the gods [Yazads] paid in absolute conformity to the word. What the chief Magians of Ohrmazd have proclaimed, do we proclaim; for among us they have been shown to possess spiritual insight. And we have asked and ask of them the fullest exposition of doctrine both of that which concerns spiritual insight and of that which deals with conduct on earth, and for this we give thanks to the gods [Yazads].'"

15 From this it appears that Khwaniras [= Xwaniratha] which was the chief center of Zoroastrian studies in the time of Vishtasp maintained the same position in the time of Khosraw. Here lived Zoroaster's disciple Frashostar son of Habub, Isadvastar, and the supreme high priest Adarbad Mahraspandan.

moderate and honored by obeying those who enlighten them. Again for this reason all men regard the Mazda-worshipping faith of divine wisdom as meant for the final existence. Hence intellectual strangers continue coming to this place (*i.e.* Iran) for (studying) the Ohrmazd-worshipping divine religion. Explanation of the Mazda-worshipping faith is afforded to people from the outside who continue coming to obtain connection with and zeal for the new religion. And the Dasturs after many (religious) researches with still greater zeal travel and instruct those who cannot come there (*i.e.* to Iran) for the work of obtaining the benefit of the faith.

24. Again (Khosraw) thus addressed all the mobeds who are evidently servants of God and of virtuous disposition – I order you with the best wish (*i.e.* most sincerely) that you should create a taste for the *Avesta* and its exposition [Zand] with new and new zeal. And by the acquisition of its knowledge (*i.e.* of the *Avesta*) the worthy people of the world should be made exalted in rank. They should fully instruct such, as are capable of learning, from among the people of the world, who do not understand the Creator, nor the details regarding his miraculous spiritual creation. Such as are wanting in intelligence and are of perverse thoughts should be instructed in the faith in the way that seems best, to wit, by comparisons (and examples) And be who can instruct (people) in the faith with such wisdom should be regarded as the instructing (priest).

25. The profession of that instructor in the faith, who is a teacher fit for the above (work), who has spiritual gifts, who instructs (men) in every wisdom of the faith and who likewise plainly tells with wisdom the vices of the world to every one, is the only one which makes men (incline) to the divine faith. He should not expound anything on the authority of the faith which is not in agreement with the exposition of the faith. Likewise he should teach on the authority of the faith everything that is found in the faith as a duty he owes to his office.

[Emanation of the Amesha Spentas (continued).]

26. (The Creator Ohrmazd) for (the maintenance of) His authority produced and gave being to the increase-giving Spandarmad of obedient thought, the fifth among his holy relatives. This is the begetting power for begetting spiritual and earthly creation (in the world). Through Spandarmad is the strength of the earthly body, the sense of feeling, courage and every kind of foresight. Man is obedient to God and possessing His glory on account of the presence in him of thought, word, and deed which makes him obedient to God. For in pious men is the lodgment of the Yazads for the complete recompense

of virtue and the presence of the Yazads vanishes (from among men) on account of their connection with impiety. Moreover in men is the relation of exalting foresight and five other substances (life, soul, intellect, conscience, and guarding spirit) whose names are mentioned in religion.

27. Ohrmazd created among (His) relatives (*i.e.* the Archangels [Amahraspands]) the essence of (archangel) Hordad sixth in high dignity, always bestowing gifts and endowed with the thought of obedience. This creation on account of its communion with many earthly substances (especially time and water) yields good thought to the good creation in its allotted work, takes proper care of it, as a faithful companion keeps itself in communion with the essence of (the good creation,) and out of the feeling of kinship keeps itself united with (the good creation) to show it the full and proper path in every work and process. In the same manner, the hidden qualities, which are with Hordad – viz., the resplendent Farohar, conscience, life, intelligence, wisdom, and others pertaining to the affairs of the soul, – remain as the corrector and manager of the body. The invisible physical senses give intimation unto the soul, of sinful actions which the body commits with regard to the soul. These invisible (senses) are called the mediators between body and soul. And these senses yield happiness to both body and soul by making these two assist each other.

28. The seventh (related to Ohrmazd) is (the Archangel) Amurdad, which, besides yielding protection unto men, always keeps living men immortal and connected with the (faithful) flock. He is the promoter of thoughtful, meditating nature, bestower of progeny to the warriors, and begetter of good thought among those who are born. He yields radiance to the bodies of those who are born good and is of many natures through the mingling of wisdom.

29. The one existence of God perfects and completes itself in seven (including the six spiritual archangels.) It befits all to thank God for perfection in all deed. (as every nature obtains capacity to enjoy life) and for being engaged in their proper work. God gets victory (over Ahriman) through the thanks given unto Him by the creatures for being able to occupy themselves in their proper work. This thanksgiving (from men) is due on account of the nature they have received from Him (*i.e.* on account of the useful life obtained from Him.)

[The function of created beings; time, fate, and free will.]

30. Learned arch-priests must impart a knowledge of religion to the creatures of God. From the scholars of the Manthra-utterances

well-versed in religion is attained a proper understanding of the industry each man ought to engage in and of the way he should work.

31. The creatures are not informed as regards the infinite time connected with God, its nature being understood only by the unique existence (*i.e.*) the Creator himself.

32. The creation of finite time on earth is for (bringing about) the improvement of the creatures having existence by means of a change from one (condition) to another (the change being from the material world, into which man is born from the spiritual, back into the spiritual state.) As regards the cause of creation) it is said in religion that every one comes into being from Him who has being (*i.e.* God) and every creature that is created obtains existence from the existent (*i.e.* God.)

33. The utterances of God (*i.e.* the sayings of the Mazdayasnian religion) are a law unto the existing (*i.e.* to men.) There is nothing without order. Some of the substances are finite. Moreover the substance wanting in order is from the blemish giver (*i.e.* is on the side of Ahriman,) and is said to be the substance following the law of wicked similitude. (*i.e.* of Ahriman) and existing without rule and limit (*i.e.* without the restriction of law.) Just as the period of the Creator's existence is infinite so is the exalted soul; how can it (ever) have non-existence?¹⁶

34. The creation which is produced receives by its actions gifts of a high order from God.

35. Moreover men perform meritorious actions on account of fate or destiny and it is on account of (destiny) that a being of the earth is considered famous among the spiritual Yazads.¹⁷ Through the performance of actions pertaining to the spiritual world is man's high destiny. In this world a man of greatness receives the favor of God so long as he has faith in the shining Yazads. In the same manner a man following the reverse path turns to meanness and degradation through worldliness. The good thought power Vohuman which gives

16 DkM. 416. 14 ff. ZZZ, p. 215: "Concerning the manifestation of the infinity of Time one of their views is that one cannot speak of creation except (as existing) in Time: for them the regularity of the passage of finite time is continuity (existing between) the past and the future. Its manifestation is said (to consist in this) that everything past is (at some time) future and everyting future is (at some time) past. For them matter(?) is (founded) on space: nothing exists independently of Space. Things *qua* things are infinite. All Space is from the Void. The Void *qua* Space is said to be infinite through being non-contingent just as the being of the Creator (is said to be infinite) through Time. *Sub specie aeternitatis*, it is said, there is no such things as present and past."

17 DkM. p. 417.3. Tr. ZZZ 306: "Fate controls that which is from the spiritual beings, and action controls that which is from the material."

light to the eye (*i.e.* the understanding) of man is (obtained) by loving the powerful wealth (*i.e.* course of life) which makes for improvement. He who is without this wealth is without the above mentioned things (for the improvement of wisdom.)

36. Men ought to raise themselves to illustrious positions by worldly knowledge and by education (which enables them) to read and write. They should keep themselves within the bounds of law and order by the precepts of the faith and purchase many books containing wise sayings. For obtaining immortality (in the next world) they should duly praise the helping Yazads and struggle with (the wicked.) Many virtuous men improve and exalt the one substance (*i.e.* the soul) by praising the Yazads. (The arch-priests) explain to the people the nature of the several (wicked beings) who are always for quarrel, inimical to the creations of (Ohrmazd) and helpful to the creatures of darkness.

37. (Men) ought to remember as the giver of existence the Creator who endowed living men with bodies possessing complete supremacy, with the help of fire and water.¹⁸

38. Those who do not turn to the faith of the Daevas (*i.e.* those who cling to the religion of Mazda-worship with firm faith) must be rewarded. Those who lead mankind with the intention of making them recognize one God must be made the governors of the world, and those who keep to the mandates of religion must be called (men) of pure origin. In the same manner the contemplators of Divine knowledge must be rewarded with such gifts as they desire.

[Observations of physicians.]

39. Things which are fit to be supplied at some place for (keeping up) the existence (of animate beings) must be most certainly borne there in any way (that is possible;) as for instance, the water of the river which gives strength to life, and medicine prepared in cold and warm water for (removing) discomfort from the soul (both in life and at the time of death.) It is the good thoughtful (physician) who knows the proper medicine for (giving) blood, shining (complexion), consciousness, and taste.

40. Just as the flame is through live fire, light through flame, and twilight after light, in the same manner, the greater or less recovery (of animate beings) from many a disease, takes place by means of medicinal herbs.

41. Just as the date tree grows up from the date-stone, in the same

¹⁸ DkM p. 417.15. Tr ZZZ: "The composition of animals is through the union of fire and water."

manner the production of man is through the act of procreation.

42. For the connection of progeny (*i.e.* for begetting offspring) the sexual congress of one person with another is (essential.)

43. Permanence of life depends on the soul's connection with the body.

44. Rain or the Yazads bestowing rain are the cause of prosperity to living beings.

45. The permanence of friendship and amity is through seeing and conversing with one another.

46. How is existence brought about? Just as one substance is evolved out of another according to its own laws and in the finite time (fixed for it.)¹⁹

47. What the produce of a certain city is, or what grows up in its lands is understood by a knowledge of (the city.)

48. The first gift of life-giving Creator is as regards the soul. The students of the Manthra properly understand the different gifts relating to the soul, bestowed by the Creator. Nor are the proper remedies for the last pangs of the soul hidden from them.

Questions:

49. The following are the questions of those who retail scandal against honest religious beliefs.

50. Is the potent being (God) finite or not?

51. Is the potent being (God) capable of wisdom to a limited extent or more than that (*i.e.* is He omniscient or not?)

52. Does (God) irradiate His glory through intermediaries?

53. If the potent being (God) be infinite, how can He be called potent being? Again how can one possessing finite power be called the potent being?

54. Should all works be done at their proper (*i.e.* destined) time? Can they be done at other times? Can a good work be without reward?

55. Are all works done at present in accord with knowledge and wisdom? If a work is connected with the original strength (*i.e.* has come from the source of goodness, God) how can it be said in light of the faith to belong to infinite time?

56. How can the leader of darkness be truthful? By whom is the

19 See Shaki, *Elements in Zoroastrian Religion*; Lincoln, Bruce. "The Center of the World and the Origins of Life." *History of Religions* 40(4) (May 2001): 311-326.

true leader led astray?

57. How does the life-giver (God) give outward form (to all substances?)

58. How can the faithful of this world perform actions the aim and object of which would be the same as (the aim and object) of (the Yazads and Amahraspands) the radiant beings who always carry out God's wishes?

59. In what ways is the worshipper of God distinct from the one who scorns Him? (60) Why should one who has power of endurance complain (against pain?) (61) How can a substance become very famous?

62. The Sun shines on the earth according to the time of the season, Why are (then) some places without the heat of the illuminator? Although (substances) improve by means of the illuminating Sun, some places are (even) at noontide moist and dirty. Why should it be that one place is moist in spite of the noonday heat whereas another gets more than its portion of the light of the Sun?

63. How is the inability to look at the effulgent light (of the Sun to be explained?) Why is the weakening and enfeebling of the eyesight thereby? How can pain proceed from the luminous Sun which derives its power from God?

64. Do the Yazads guarding the earth give up the work of man's salvation, through fear of the wicked?

65. How can the expelled Blemish-giver be (present) in him who is innocent? If God should recompense them and make them of great worth how can the truthful ever think of sorrow and the charitable bestowers of corn [i.e. grain] ever suffer from hunger?

66. People consider the evidence of (persons) of high descent as throwing more light than that, of untrue speakers; but why should they be considered of high descent and lofty dignity if they serve the will of sovereigns of low worth. One whom God has not declared to be of (royal) family in the *Avesta* is not to be considered royal. But if (such a person) serve not the will of wicked sovereigns should his royal descent be acknowledged?

67. How can the Emperor Ardashir Papakan's sovereignty be acknowledged in spite of the severance of authority from several of his direct ancestors?

68. The arch-priests acquainted with religion understood beforehand the object of these questions and hence all the questions were not attended to, but those questions, whose replies seemed to

them to be productive of profit to the earthly people and in consonance with the soul's improvement, have been answered as detailed below:

Replies.

69. A. – The answer is this that the leader of religion (the chief arch-priest) remains glorious by receiving God's halo of exalted worth. In the same manner he is the agent (of God) to encourage people to perform works of religion by means of his far-seeing understanding. Therefore by actions unworthy of a leader he does not lose his previously obtained position as a leader of religion.

70. A. – The star-readers (i.e. astrologers) understand the worth of the allotment (of destiny by the stars).

71. How long are the chief allotting (stars) to move in bad aspects? How long are they in conjunction with the malignant owner of bad aspects? how long does the man (influenced by such stars) work in the way of wisdom? The laws relating to these and other (astrological) details the astrologers learn from writings on the earth (i.e. from astrology). Astrologers can foretell the good events of a man's (life) from his horoscope. And physicians can explain the details (regarding) the health of the body, the safety of the body and the connection of the soul with the body. Those who are connected (with a man) infer from his outward movements his life, the destruction of his life, his actions and his investigations. A knowledge of the substances and of the creation of time and place is (attained) by (the explanation of) the creator (i.e. by inspiration.) Through the nature (of the substance) is (attained) the knowledge of its qualities and through creation its existence (is known). A knowledge of perverse substances is attained through understanding the nature of acceptable substances.

72. A. – The obedient soul (created by) the Almighty is so on account of the connection and radiance of the immortal (Yazads) whose knowledge the holy God has bestowed on (the obedient soul). With the blessing of that radiance that (man) becomes famous by performing every earthly action according to his will. And through unanimity with the opponent (Ganamino) man prevents his nature (from virtuous actions). And he who completely reforms the different natures of the adversary's (connections) renders himself fortunate. His progeny keeps to the original (nature from which he is sprung). The race of horses is (sprung up) from the first horse; the production of orange is from the first orange tree. In the same manner, that a man should completely improve his progeny, for its safety and continuance, is necessary for making his race famous.

73. Through abiding by the mandates of God (*i.e.* observing the precepts of religion on earth) the soul of man and his progeny acquire an insight into the things relative to the good creation (*i.e.* the spiritual world), eternal wisdom and (eternal) time (as naturally as) the eye (acquires) the power of vision. By means of this every nature keeps his material existence connected with God, in the same manner as twilight is connected with light.

74. The religious governor conversant with religion is a great instrument, for the worship and praise of God.

75. Firstly – (The king) must be susceptible of beneficent wisdom, and useful to those related with him. Secondly – The king is supposed to pay respect to worthy beings (*i.e.* men walking in the path of God). Thirdly – (The king) is supposed to be without deviation from divine mandates, fulfilling God's wish, and is reckoned superior through (possessing) God's wisdom. Fourthly – (The king) does not become supreme by disowning the superiority of the potent Yazads, but is supposed to perform other dishonest actions, through adverse intentions. (The king) who deals justice, according to the precepts of God's revelation, has an effective remedy for the griefs of the people of this world and keeps his subjects well off by means of justice. And that (king) preserves his dignity with permanent fame by means of these (his) actions, (which are) without harm and bring on prosperity. It behooves the king to inflict on men two kinds of punishment for their offenses in order to establish his fame. The one (punishment) is bodily (*i.e.* giving physical labor to the body) and the other is the infliction of fine. The sage judges, studying the Manthra, know every kind of punishment. The man under the dominion of (the demons) the instructors of sins, declares (in a court of justice) that he is a witness, and gives harmful evidence, in spite of not seeing (anything). How can that man receive salvation from the sin of unfaithfulness? The students of justice discern the (real) thoughts of these men of (wicked) connection, on account of the lodgment of the Yazads among them, (which lodgment is) like the lodgment of water in clay. The connection of adverse (*i.e.* unjust) judges is harmful (to the Yazads), therefore they are regarded as not connected (with the Yazads). For this same reason the substance under the dominion of the Yazads is considered to be of exalted (*i.e.* supernal) existence, and the substance not under their dominion is called (the thing) of darkness (infernal) and non-existent. Again, the substance under the dominion of (Ganamino) the despoiler of existence, enjoys the (wicked) existence of its master. The substance possessing the wisdom of the Yazads acts in the creation, just like an effulgent supernal power. And so long as the substance during its life does not excite (itself) (with Ahriman's power), it is said to be of proper connection. And those men of whom

Yazads are supposed to be the masters and the servants of God, enjoying His favor; harm cannot reach them.

76. (In reply to the questions: Has God who is worthy of (eternal) existence any limit? and in knowledge is He capable to a certain extent or is His capability beyond limit?) The explanation thereof is that God has concern with finite time, and is Lord of finite knowledge, but He being (Himself) without limit as to knowledge and time, is said to be of unlimited time and unlimited knowledge.

77. (Is there any transmission of Light from one to another? The answer to which is that) the God of Existence is the best leader (of the world temporal and spiritual) and He is capable of imparting His own Light to another.

78. To the people who have existence, God, through His chief creation (*i.e.* through the good-thinking angelic power), giveth a comprehension of the end of the Creation.

79. Those that are dwellers in Hell have been mentioned as (inmates) of Darkness, not of Light. (80) Whatever elements there are of heat, cold, moisture, and dryness in the bodies of those (*i.e.* men) living as the companions of the Yazads, they have been created (by God) for doing the work of the body. They thus serve to keep in good order the vitality and are the means of keeping the body sound.

In the same way some (evil agencies) that do harm (to the body) cause the elements of cold and dryness to dwell in the body, and permeate the human system to the injury of the elements of heat and moisture that do the work of vivifying the body. The coexistence of these four elements in equitable relations with each other tends to the amelioration of the body. (81) Unfair and defective agencies cause harm to the body. The Life-giving One (God) is not the sustainer of the adverse creation. All men oppose, obstruct, and fight with one another for the existence of the principle with which they are connected (*i.e.* are either for Spenamino or Ganamino). Nay, the different opponents who fully grace the principle to which they belong are related to their kind (*i.e.* to the side to which each has given his choice). Thus a thing of cold (essence) is known to suppress heat, and a thing of dry (essence) to suppress moisture. When the representative of one side comes into contact with the representative of the other, it is not for the purpose of suppressing him altogether, but with the motive of obstructing the work assigned to him by (natural) Law. The uniform state of the blood is due to the dryness which is related to heat and moisture which is related to cold. In the same way an organic body is rendered unfit when heat accompanies moisture, and cold accompanies dryness; the blood stops in

consequence, and at once flows in the opposite direction. As the sources of the elements bring about dryness connected with heat, and moisture connected with cold, there is such a commingling of heat with cold and of dryness with moisture, that this relation being kept up in the body, it conduces to the proper animation of the same, and the body always remains busy at its work along with the connected Yazads. All misunderstandings and quarrels which now occur at times between individuals, are due to the related influences becoming unworthy. This is brought about by the lower existences (*i.e.* the evil powers of the demons) commingling in the body. When those of one kind make a sudden attempt to make the body unfit, it is brought into affinity with death. And the ruin of the body is through its being enfeebled in many ways by destructive evil tendencies. Also the spirit that is opposed to the vital action of the body is the (invisible) one that tries to make the body act contrary to uniform laws. The man works for the good life of his body through the spiritual powers which work for his (virtuous) existence. The cessation of the work of existence, pertaining to the good recompense of the soul, is due to the body becoming lightless (*i.e.* lifeless). By the development of the work of the destructive forces (in the body) the enfeebling powers therein get strengthened. The good bright Yazads that have relation with men keep them from contact with the adverse forces (*i.e.* the demons). It is mentioned in the religious books that it is through the influence of the spiritually existing Yazads residing in men, that they (men) are free from various kinds of harm and evil.

82. Again, among the various professions the choicest is that of the heads of the religion, and the one pertaining to the attainment of the love of the Yazads, and that of loading oneself to the performance of noble actions in this, world.

83. The knowledge of what man's duties are and what they are not is acquired by man through there being a sufficient number of the family of the religious leaders (*i.e.* through there being a sufficient number of Dasturs and Mobeds informed in religion), who are the ardent (*i.e.* careful) preservers of the *Avesta* and its commentaries. And they are thus the expounders of the religion in public to the people of the world, the instructors of the philosophy of the Religion to the people, and the proclaimers of the (religious) truth to those that argue perversely against it. They are those that embarrass all famine-producers and ravagers of fertility. They are those that attract people to the worship of God, and make them obey their kings and honor the decisions of their judges. They are those that make the people of the four divisions (the *Athornans*, the *Artheshtars*, the *Vastriosh* and the *Hutokhsh*) illustrious in their respective occupations. And by means of questions and answers pertaining to Ohrmazd, they make them

devoted to religion, students of religion, and worshippers of God. They keep in currency the requirements of the other Athornans, (*i.e.* they supply them the things they want), and fulfill their wishes, whereby good and respectable families are maintained honorably. And so those (men) that are the instructors in the Zartoshti [= Zoroastrian] religion are the promoters of the desire for religion and the disseminators of the knowledge of it. (84) The other thing pertaining to the Mazdayasnian faith, (*i.e.* wisdom), which, in so far as it serves the purpose of clearing up all misunderstanding (*i.e.* doubts), is pleasing to those that tread the path of God, is to be kept pure. And the new seekers after knowledge must, by being put in the way of acquiring it, be kept above want. In him that does not advance his community, and forbids not men from immoral acts, good faith should not be placed. And he should never be regarded as a leader (of the community) or as one who can remove the apprehensions of each individual, or as one who can make the other creation (*i.e.* the atheists) obedient to God.

85. Through repentance of sin is attainable the receiving of the recompense for righteousness and the discarding of sin. And after that there is no occasion for punishment. Connection with the meed for a single act of righteousness is the cause of the reduction of the punishment for the sins (of that man). It is God's object to make those, who disobey the commands of the king, deserving of various kinds of punishment by way of justice. Among them, the one who disobeys the commands (of the king), and the one who is imprisoned for all the offenses relating to the soul, are to be released by order of the State. Also, if a prisoner has been put in imprisonment by recourse to ways contrary to orders, (*i.e.* in contravention of the laws of justice), for causing grievous wrong to his soul, it is a kind of oppression. Again, at the bidding of the physician that heals the disorders of the soul (*i.e.* the Dasturs of the religion), it would be conformable to religion to let off a highway man from capital punishment.

86. For the leaders of the world – those that are crowned with supreme majesty (*i.e.* the king and the Dasturs) – the equitable Government of Iranshehr is feasible through illustrious judges – the dispensers of justice. The maintenance of the sovereignty over the seven regions by the Zoroastrians is due to there being an abode within them of Religion, the Kayanian majesty, and other glories. Again, the means that they have for living in exuberance (*i.e.* in comfort), and the cause of all their pristine greatness and supremacy are due to their having within them the coming and the going of the Yazads (*i.e.* to their intercourse with the Yazads and Amahraspands). And it is on account of this very sovereignty (endowed with Yazadi

majesty) that such a king of Iran is able to invest with power the rulers of the seven regions. As the flame of a fire is due to its relation with the inward glow, and as light is due to its relation with the flame, in the same manner is Wisdom due to Religion, and superior power is attainable (by man) by his relation with the instructor of the Religion. And through an insight into (*i.e.* comprehension of) it is the (righteous) existence of man. And through his connection with the open path (of religion) is the test (of man). And through such power (of religious wisdom) is the body able to perform the functions necessary to the soul. And through soundness of the body is the preservation of the soul. All Iranians (*i.e.* Mazdayasnians) by so regulating themselves can live with a superior kind of strength. Those of the citizens that give instruction in (the acquirement of) knowledge, spiritual forces, art, courage, physical strength, and prosperity, make the rule of the king of Iran supreme, auspicious, and honored.

87. The greatness of the Iranians (*i.e.* the Mazdayasnians) is owing to truthfulness in all matters, kind regard, and meditation on the design of Providence in all powerful creations. By these means they keep in affinity to their source (*i.e.* their Creator), and obtain victory over men of the opposite nature and over the ignoble and wild-looking subject nations of other cities. Again the Mazdayasnians should give good advice to the people that be of harsh and abominable traits, evil-worshippers, and enfeebled, so that these may not waste their life in vain actions. And they should form men, who are not of good essence (*i.e.* are evil), into being good men, like the present good-thinking pious men, who are particularly careful in their adherence to noble speech and in keeping aloof from base things.

88. Had not the people of the good Creation put themselves at first into an awkward position before the rulers, by the use of (inept) expressions, they would never have become uncircumspect, but could have remained with their faculties on the alert. And had they not in this way come to disregard the Divine commands, and to deprive themselves of the intellect guarded over by the Yazads, they would have been able to understand what things are to be done and what not to be done. And they would have known that the Yazadi effulgence of the luminous soul cannot for long dwell in the body; just as the sun refrains from making luminous (for all time) the good things that shine by the sun's light. (The Yazadi radiance) has been known to be interrupted by the man's being very careless. Therefore it is that for certain reasons contradictory words should not be uttered in the presence of rulers; and in order to keep oneself in good repute one should, in their presence, give expression to one's thoughts after mature consideration.

89. Premeditation is necessary in questioning and in answering, and then the question may be put, or the reply given, in the proper way. It is the way of the priests of the false religions not to act with good sense, before they are overpowered.

90. Before putting a question in one's turn, one should catch the drift of the opponent's argument. Again, in a discussion, he that speaks much should not be checked, but his reasoning should be well listened to. Also, in a discussion, if there be a question, it should be satisfactorily answered. If there be many such questions they should be dealt with in various ways.

91. The perfect glory (*i.e.* the Divine gift) that fits men for leadership is of this nature, *viz.* that such people take upon themselves to answer properly the questions of those that argue well; but he that has the faculty for (mere) fault finding is not convinced thereby (*i.e.* by such right explanation); because such a disputant does not argue for self-improvement. Nor is his discussion pertaining to the soul, and therefore such discussion should be dropped. But (the discussion) which is beneficial, and pertaining to the salvation (of the soul) from Hell, and for the welfare of the soul, should not be set aside, but should be carried out to the solution. Nor should one refrain from exposing falsehood, wrong ideas, and wickedness. To secure their deliverance from Hell, they (the people) should be led, by all kinds of truth, to have implicit and unshaken faith; and from this there should be no turning aside for whatsoever reason. And like the spring season one should show himself at his best in his ardor (for expounding the religion). If the signification of anything (pertaining to religion) be not clear, it should be given out as unintelligible. And in the argument whatever is worth esteeming should be appreciated in detail. Moreover, no wrong deed that might have been done should be admired. But the right action only that has been performed by the help of God should be accepted as beneficial.

92. The foremost leader of the religion (*i.e.* the Dasturan Dastur [= Zarathushtrotema]) should imbue the people with ardor for the religion, and should induce them to be very industrious, in order to make them excel in their routine of work, and should exhort them to acquire other noble arts.

93. Those that have been in touch with the Yazads (*viz.* the believing Mazdayasnians), should, by girding themselves for the fight, making use of the right understanding (about Spenamino and Ganamino), ward off one of them (the Ganamino), and follow the other (the Spenamino). And with the strength and courage derived from the Spenamino they should attack the other (Ganamino), and (by the help of the Spenamino) they should obtain the nourishment of

their nature. Till the end, the fight should be maintained with Ganamino, who should never be regarded as having received good training.

94. The charitable man is he who bestows in charity from his own (acquired) wealth. And the truthful man is he who never speaks untruth on behalf of or about another person.

95. The grateful man is he who recognizes an obligation. Gratitude should be shown towards him to whom one, like a dependant, is under obligation for his life. And, secondly, gratitude should be shown towards him who having the power to harm hath done no harm; and finally, when one has experienced all possible good from him, one must assuredly show one's gratitude by words and deeds.

96. Those that are engaged in the inquiry (*i.e.* search) after immortality, acceptable to God, and (are the friends) of the benevolent (*i.e.* the imparters of religious instruction), and of other benefactors, are the procurers of other felicities for their kith and kin; and by not bearing any ill-feeling towards robbers and other harm-doers, towards prisoners, and other criminals and wretched people, and by making them happy and faithful, they prove themselves possessors of the good strength worth being grateful for. (*i.e.* Those who showing compassion towards robbers, prisoners, and sinners, lead them to improvement, really bring them under their obligation by making them staunch believers (in the faith). But by cherishing hatred towards them they are held to be in danger of becoming guilty.

97. A father ought to reform his son, if he be unworthy, by inculcating in him noble thoughts (*i.e.* by religious instruction). So, if a man from want of assistance be incapable of doing any work, he should, in order that he may surmount all kinds of wretchedness, be given the means to acquire more wealth.

98. A discussion on religion may be entered into with those of the controversialists on religious subjects, who are so (learned) as to be able to give authoritative decision on all subjects. Thus the truth on their side being known, they may have no occasion to punish, according to the dictates of the Nasks (of the *Avesta*), the priests of the false religion.

99. A certain nation's scriptures, known by the name of Ture²⁰ [=Torah] (*i.e.* the scriptures of the Jews *viz.* the Torat or the Injil) have been regarded as the words of the devils, and are not worthy of belief. Nothing mentioned therein deserves to be done for the benefit of the creation. Because the writing makes mention of irrelevant

20 Ture – Moulvi Fazleali in his *Persian English Dictionary*, ed. 1885, gives the meaning of tureh as Law. Torat – The Book of Moses.

matters which ought not to have been introduced therein. Whatever therein is not good writing is the concoction of various writers, and therefore such writing is said to be of soul-cramping tendency. And these concocted accounts the Jews regard as the revelation of the original creation (*i.e.* pertaining to the celestial Yazads).

100. To the Rumis who help the Yazdan-worshippers of good wisdom (*i.e.* who help those of the Mazdayasnian faith) and to others who live a similar (good) life, should be expounded the original text of the “Ganj-i-Shapigan.” (In other words, the Jews and the Greeks who wish to believe in the Mazdayasnian religion), and such of them as have no faith in their own, and want to improve, should be thoroughly instructed in the religion.

101. If in other countries there be any writings (respecting our religion) worth reading, new, ameliorating, good, and divinely inspired, these should be procured; and there should be no backwardness in the study of them and in the researches into them. And whatever in the writings of other nations is unbelievable should not be accepted.

102. The nature that has concern with the greatest development of wisdom (*i.e.* is studious) must be admired. Attention should be given to the writings of (the men of) other countries, and the same should not be destroyed.

103. In these writings (of men of other countries) if there be any passages and aphorisms pertaining to the service of the one God, it is not every comment thereon or every maxim that is to be indiscriminately given publicity out of the body of those writings and maxims; but we should make from them a selection of the original (sacred) passages and maxims (pertaining to our religion). And the books in the Ganj-i-Shapigan should be read with careful attention to all the passages.²¹

104. In these writings (*i.e.* those pertaining to our religion) the

21 DkM p. 428.15-429.8. Tr zzz139: “The - - - *kosa* of the Indians and the *Megiste* of the Greeks and other (writings) of that sort were combined with the original literature (the *Avesta*?) in the Royal Treasury because they offered a reasonable corrective to students of this particular science. Their writings have recently been arranged by scholars, for they were brought from foreign countries: they have been considered and studied, nor have they been neglected or slightly received on account of their inferiority and foreign name. It happened indeed that with the growth of knowledge they became more highly esteemed, and they did not suffer on account of the outlandish names attached to the books. No single book or volume was discovered which contained in its entirety all the science and learning (contained) in (other) books and volumes: but each (school) carried out research on the basis of its own original book or volume. They call the book in the Royal Treasury which deals with all topics the *Compendium*(?).”

human body is treated of in four parts, of which the head is said to be presided over by the Athornan (*i.e.* the priestly) class, the hand by the Artheshtar (*i.e.* the warrior) class, the stomach by the agricultural class, and the leg by the people who follow good avocations for livelihood.²²

105. The human soul is said to have the chief control over all the above-mentioned four classes, and the soul itself is said to be under the dominion of God.

[The moral education of all humanity.]

106. The words and deeds of every man are evidently influenced by a twofold object. His first object is to qualify himself for the final (welfare), and his second object is to endow himself with noble thoughts by so training himself for the profession (of piety.)

107. The Iranians (*i.e.* the God-fearing Mazdayasnians) are deserving of praise on account of all their honest dealings, while dishonest and blemishful men deserve to be condemned.

108. The celebrated erudite Senecas²³ of Rum, and the savants of India have shown an appreciation of and have much admired the foresighted persons of Iran. They adopted their expressions and ideas, and on seeing the great worth of these wise men of Iran showed their preference for them.

109. For the same reason many scholars became worthy to obtain high position and favor from the (Iranian) rulers. And by obtaining high recompense and support (from the Iranian leaders), they, in order to get a full reward of their merit, much dreaded these leaders in this world, and were much afraid of punishment in the next. And they abstained from these blemishes, so that they might continue (to receive) honest recompense from their Iranian superiors who could hold them back (from such blemishes.)

And they themselves, (*i.e.* the leaders), in their desire to obtain a good recompense for their souls, abstained from any carelessness that might cause them to be miserable in the abode or palace, village or city of the next world; and they never gave way to any lustful passion. But they cherished the learned men, with the view of securing distinction as men of worth. And they were held in high esteem among the rulers; for from the illiterate is not to be expected the

²² *Ib.*: "Among them the body of man is, as it were, divided between the four castes on earth; Priesthood (corresponds) to the head, Warriorhood to the hands, Husbandry to the belly, and Artisanry to the feet."

²³ The very able philosophers of Rome were called by the Romans, in their speeches and writings, Senecas.

approval of a noble action, or mature consideration; nay, on the contrary, there proceed from them various evils. The unwise have not the tact to acquire the desirable sufficient independence pleasing to the rulers. So an honored ruler, by keeping aloof from the unwise, can put himself in the way of acquiring the desired degree of excellence. His endeavors should not be directed towards any base or injurious ends, but he should strive by counteracting such tendencies to attain to a high position in the next world. Such a ruler gives good attention to the orders he issues and to other regulations (pertaining to the State); and thereby ensures a pleasant enjoyment of his dignity.

110. The (State-administering) chiefs should choose as their king a person of high rank and good repute. None but a man of worth should be elected king. For this purpose a distinguished person related to the chiefs should be secured. Individual predilections should have no weight in the choice of a king. Further, if the person (fixed upon) be not of kingly descent, another one should be procured from a different place, as in the interests of justice the election (of a king) is indispensable.

111. To those wise men who choose to retire from the post conferred on them by the king, or who, in order that they may live in contentment, give up the business or service which was entrusted to them, – to those that entertain such good notions of securing happiness, no benefit can accrue in life by this relinquishment (of their work). Because, if against their wishes they be again forcibly carried off by order of the State, and be forced to resume their work, they would find no enjoyment in it. Therefore they should stick to and perform faithfully whatever works appear to them to be of public or private benefit.

112. The learned kings of the State, with the view of ruling with a high degree of efficiency, should strive (for the fulfillment), by Divine Grace, of new and noble aspirations, such as: – encouraging the learned, the illustrious, and the charitable; being grateful towards those who are loyal to and have affection for the State; conferring of bounty on the suppliants, and on those that are in solicitude owing to poverty; gratifying with a good and befitting remuneration annually the learned men who may be in constant anxiety for having to labor for their food and livelihood; and the giving of everyday donations, according to the needs of their circumstances, and for the glorification of the (next) spiritual world, to the conspicuous true-believers who come into the (royal) presence.

[Considerations for the after life.]

On those that are misers greedy for amassing worldly pelf

[wealth], on those that have no reverence for the soul, and on those that abstain not from sins, nothing should be bestowed, so that they might not get facilities for taking to drink and of robbing the wise of their due.

113. Every man that has a material body should regard his own marriage as a good work incumbent on him to perform.²⁴ He should strive diligently at his avocation that he may live in happiness. He should take good care of the materials of power (*i.e.* good deeds for the next world) that his lifetime may pass in contentment. And he should promote the marriages of others.

114. If thou wishest to be educated, give thy choice to the works of the foresighted (*i.e.* works pertaining to God). If thou wouldst avoid hard times, refrain from giving thy approval to works involving afflictions of various kinds.

115. Who are our instructors? The Dasturs learned in religion.

116. In what subjects have they to instruct us? In noble things (belonging to) three (places.)

117. In noble things of what places? This world, the next world, and Tane-pasin (*i.e.* the final imperishable embodiment).

118. Of what thing should we choose the good recompense? Of righteousness.

119. How can we get instruction in this subject? From what the Dastur of the religion says.

120. On our soul's parting from the body, who will take us (to the spiritual world), and by what path? The good-contriving guest (*i.e.* the guardian angel of the good conscience) by way (of Heaven.)

121. By what powers can we attain to the lodgment (within us) of good thoughts? By the resolve of obedience to God.

122. How can we acquire the resolve of such obedience?

123. By concentrated meditation through the acuteness of the intellect. I, for once, teach you two words of wisdom – that you should do good deeds, and should refrain from doing deeds which should not be done.

124. What deeds should we eschew and what deeds should we do? Evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds we should eschew; and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds we should adopt. Each of these

24 In Vendidad 14.15 God has laid strict injunctions on every man and woman attaining the age of 15 to make arrangements about marriage. It therefore behooves a Zoroastrian to marry at this age, and provide for the continuance of his progeny in this world. (Translator)

maxims is good for you.

(End of Book 4)