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**Persian Heritage Series**

Edited by Ehsan Yarshater

Number 34

**The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages**

*(Dēnkard VI)*

by

**Aturpāt-i Ēmētān**

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**Westview Press**

Boulder, Colorado

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## Acknowledgements

A first draft of the present edition was prepared between the years 1961 and 1963, while I was collecting materials for a Ph.D. thesis on the Pahlavi *andarz* literature. The book as it now stands was ready for the press in 1971, having undergone extensive revision. The long period which elapsed between its completion and its publication has brought but little benefit to the book. Some of the recent discussions by scholars have touched upon points which I had earlier elaborated on in the commentary: in the process of the final editing I have tried to eliminate elaborate discussion of matters which have in the meantime been satisfactorily treated by others, and to incorporate references to recent scholarly literature. However, because of the long period of time involved, I cannot claim either completeness or consistency in these matters.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Mary Boyce, who read and corrected most of the early draft of this edition and translation, and gratefully recall her help and encouragement. Professor D.N. MacKenzie (now in Göttingen) and Dr. Ilya Gershevitch (Cambridge) kindly gave me important suggestions for improving the translation of a number of passages. None of them can be held responsible for the final result.

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This book, and I myself, owe a great deal to my wife, Miriam.

Jerusalem, 1971-1978





## Preface

The present volume, the second in a projected series of five, is an annotated translation of Book VI of the *Dēnkard* (the Acts of Religion), an important Zoroastrian work in Middle Persian, together with a transcribed edition of its text. The *Dēnkard* is a large compendium of varied material, totaling about 169,000 words,<sup>1</sup> focusing on a defense of the Mazdeyansian faith and an exposition of its doctrines, tenets, and lore. It describes the dogma, traditions, customs, history, legends, and literature of the Zoroastrians as known to its chief author, Adurbād-i Ēmētān, a high priest of Persia in the ninth century. Book VI contains the largest collection of Zoroastrian moral maxims and precepts and is the fullest exposition of the ethical wisdom of Zoroastrian Iran in late Sasanian times.

Although the *Dēnkard* is based on pre-Islamic material and draws on Sasanian sources, its actual redaction took place in the ninth century—a time of particular significance in the history of Zoroastrian literature. Persia had fallen to the invading Muslim armies in the mid-seventh century. The fall of Ctesiphon, the Sasanian capital; the flight of the last King of Kings; and the subsequent crumbling of the Sasanian state and collapse of its institutions heralded the most profound religious, social, and cultural change that Persia has sustained during its history. The Zoroastrian faith, under the pressure of the Arab army and the attraction of a creed free from the encumbrances of age-old traditions, began to give way to Islam, and in about a century the majority of Persians had embraced the new faith. The Zoroastrian community, once supreme, was reduced to a depressed minority. In the meantime, the Persian language, reflecting deep social transformations, assumed a new coloring, and the Middle Persian script, known for its exasperating ambiguity, was abandoned by the state in favor of the Arabic alphabet.

All these changes tended to isolate the Zoroastrian legacy and weaken appreciation of its tradition. Adding to the problems of the declining Zoroastrian community was its continual exposure to the theological

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<sup>1</sup>According to E. W. West, *Gr. Iran. Phil.*, II, p. 91.

attack of erstwhile brethren now turned Muslim. The monistic faith of Islam, which above all else exalts the unity of God, would not relent in its onslaught on what it conceived as the Magian dualism. At this point, the concern of the leaders of the community for the defense of the faith and the instruction of the faithful in religious dogma and tradition can be readily appreciated. Inspired by a deep-seated faith, Zoroastrian scholar-priests undertook to write for their community in the traditional tongue and script. In fact, almost all the extant works of Zoroastrian literature in Middle Persian were compiled, edited, revised, or written in this century. The *Dēnkard* is the chief of these.

According to a statement by Adurbād in the last chapter of Book III,<sup>2</sup> early in the ninth century, because of the loss and dispersion of Zoroastrian holy writings, the need was felt to reconstitute a comprehensive work of Sasanian times called the *Dēnkard* Scriptures (*Dēnkard nipīk*). This seems to have been a canonized collection that included the Avesta, the Zoroastrians' holy scripture, and the *Zand*, its Middle Persian translation and commentary.<sup>3</sup> The reconstituted *Dēnkard* was begun by Ādur-farnbag Farrokhzādān, the high priest of Persia during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813-33), and completed by Adurbād-i Ēmētān, who assumed the position of high priest in Pārs after Ādur-farnbag's son. He calls this reconstituted work the "Dēnkard of One Thousand Chapters," apparently to distinguish it from the original *Dēnkard* Scriptures. This explains the abundance of citations in the *Dēnkard* from older works in Pahlavi (i.e., Middle Persian), particularly from the *Zand* and from a work the authors designate as the "Exposition of the Good Religion."

The *Dēnkard* is no doubt the most important as well as the most extensive work in Middle Persian. It is an encyclopedic treasurehouse of information that contains, among other things, a number of older works in reduced or paraphrased form. The extant *Dēnkard* consists of seven books, III to IX. The first two books are lost, and the beginning of Book III is missing. There is no way of knowing the exact extent of the original work. Books III, IV, and V are generally grouped together and are

<sup>2</sup>See *Le troisième livre du Dēnkard*, tr. J. de Menasce, Paris, 1973, pp. 379-80.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

characterized by their apologetic approach.<sup>4</sup> They contain answers to questions about Zoroastrian doctrines and conduct; exposition of Zoroastrian beliefs; religious history and instructions; a life of the Prophet Zoroaster; a description of the wrongdoings of the Evil Spirit and his agents; a history of the holy scriptures; and a description of the development and division of the races of mankind. By and large, it aims at a defense of the faith and a refutation on rational grounds of other higher religions.

Books VI through IX, on the other hand, purport to provide knowledge and furnish instruction for the faithful. Book VI is a work of gnomic literature and contains a collection of religious dicta and moral maxims, rules of conduct, and a description of the characteristics of good and evil. The sayings are chiefly attributed to the "Early Men of Faith" and the "Ancient Sages," who carry great weight in Zoroastrian works of this genre.

The main topics of Book VII are the marvelousness of the Zoroastrian religion; a detailed account of the wonderful career of the Prophet; a foretelling of the events that would befall the community in the millennia after Zoroaster; and an account of the coming of the Saviours to battle evil; and the coming of the final Saviour, which brings about the defeat of the wicked and restores the world to its original purity and peace.

Book VIII contains summaries of the 21 *Nasks* (treatises) of the Avesta as it existed in the *Zand*. This book is an important part of the *Dēnkard*, since it gives an account of the *Nasks* on worldly knowledge,<sup>5</sup> notably medicine, that were included in the Sasanian Avesta and *Zand* but subsequently lost, the extant Avesta being confined largely to liturgical texts.

Book IX is almost entirely devoted to a paraphrase of three Avestan *Nasks* on religious doctrine and practice.

If the arrangement of the *Dēnkard* and the treatment of topics appear to a modern reader somewhat unsystematic and unbalanced, or

<sup>4</sup>J. P. de Menasce, *Une encyclopédie mazde'enne, le Dēnkart*, Paris, 1958, p. 7; M. Boyce, in *HBuch der Orientalistik, Iranistik*, II, 1968, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup>For a division of the Sasanian Avesta into religious, worldly, and intermediate knowledge, see W. E. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV (The Sacred Books of the East), p. xxxix.

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even at times confused or arbitrary, it is partly because he or she is dealing with a religious and cultural tradition whose norms and premises are not readily grasped by outsiders. It must also be remembered, as J. de Menasce rightly pointed out,<sup>6</sup> that in a work of this kind, aiming as it does to prevent an erosion of faith, it is not the firmly established doctrines and practices that become the focus of discussion, but what is controversial or in danger of being doubted or forgotten. Hence a certain imbalance in the *Dēnkard*.

A poor manuscript tradition and an imprecise and difficult script, coupled with the complexity and dryness of the Middle Persian theological idiom, combine to make a clear understanding of many passages of the *Dēnkard* a task beyond the capability even of experts. It is no wonder, then, that after more than a century of serious research in Middle Persian literature, and many worthy efforts, a complete, satisfactory translation of the *Dēnkard* is still lacking.<sup>7</sup>

Some ten years ago, the Persian Heritage Series decided to encourage and facilitate the publication of a new annotated translation of the *Dēnkard* that would reflect the latest research in the field. Major progress was made in this respect when the late Jean-Pierre de Menasce completed his French translation of Book III, which comprises just under half the text of the *Dēnkard*. This was published in our Series in 1973 (Librairie Klincksieck, Paris) in conjunction with L'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de Paris.

Professor Shaked's painstaking edition and annotated translation of Book VI, another major section of the *Dēnkard*, is the second volume to be published in the Series. It is hoped that it will not be too long before the set is complete and students of Zoroastrian religion and of ancient Iran can benefit by it.

Ehsan Yarshater  
Columbia University

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<sup>6</sup>*Une encyclopédie mazde'enne*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup>For an account of the editions and translations of the *Dēnkard*, see *Une encyclopédie mazde'enne*, p. 4; and *HBuch der Orientalistik, Iranistik*, p. 44.

**D. H. Baneth  
W. B. Henning**

**In Memoriam**



# Introduction

## I. Dēnkard VI and the Andarz Literature

The sixth book of the *Dēnkard* ("The Act of the Religion"), that huge compendium of Zoroastrian theology and traditional lore,<sup>1</sup> constitutes the largest collection of gnomic sayings which has survived in Pahlavi. It is also without doubt the most important collection of its kind from the point of view of its contents.

It is possible, in general, to distinguish between two types of gnomic, or *andarz*, literature in Pahlavi.<sup>2</sup> A distinction can be made between compositions containing mainly pragmatic advice and those which have primarily religious character. Although one cannot expect absolute separation of themes, since, on the one hand, there is very little that is entirely secular in early Iranian literature,<sup>3</sup> and, on the other, some religious writings sometimes deal with problems of everyday life, the separation is not too difficult to make. It is indeed surprisingly clear and valid.

One of the most celebrated sages of the Sasanian period, Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, is supposed to have been the author of quite a number of *andarz* compositions. Two of the main treatises which bear his name, *Andarz ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān* (= *AdMah*) and *Wāzag ēcand ī Ādurbād ī Mahras-*

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<sup>1</sup> On the *Dēnkard* cf. E.W. West, in *GIPh*, II, 91 ff.; J.C. Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 45 ff.; J. de Menasce, *Encyclopédie*. In Persian there is a book by Moḥammad Javād Maškūr, *Goftāri dar bāre-ye Dinkard*, Tehran 1325 H/1946.

<sup>2</sup> On the *andarz* literature in general see the works by West, Tavadia and de Menasce quoted in the preceding note as well as Christensen, *Iran*, 431 ff.; Eckhardt Fichtner, "Untersuchungen zu den mittelpersischen *Handarzhā*", *Trudy XXV meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov*, II, Moscow 1963, pp. 328-329; "Über sprachliche Form und Rythmik mittel- und neupersischer Sprüche", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung*. Berlin, XI (1965), 55-70.

<sup>3</sup> Though there are, of course, the heroic romances, pieces of historical narrative, and compositions of what one may call *Unterhaltungsliteratur* (such as *King Xusrō and his page*, *Draxt asūrīg* etc.).

## INTRODUCTION

*pandān* (= *WāzAd*), are textually related to each other, but from the point of view of the typology suggested here they belong to two different groups: the former is definitely secular and pragmatic, the latter is markedly pious.<sup>4</sup> The three other pieces of *andarz* which are attributed to Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān also belong to the 'pious' class. The only other surviving *andarz* compositions which can be said to have a definitely secular character are *Ošnar* and *Weh-zād*.<sup>5</sup>

The great bulk of *andarz* books surviving in Pahlavi seem to have belonged to the type of compositions which could be used in religious instruction. That much else must have existed in the Sasanian period which was lost and did not come down to us can be seen from fragments quoted in the Islamic literature,<sup>6</sup> as well as from such books which are closely related to the *andarz* type, that is to say, books which are meant to be instructive or edifying, besides being entertaining, though they use a narrative style, not the style of short gnomic sayings, like *Xusrō ud rēdag*,<sup>7</sup> *Wizārišn ī catrang*,<sup>8</sup> or *Draxt asūrīg*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The correspondences between *WāzAd* and *AdMah* are as follows:

<i>WāzAd</i> §21f.	=	<i>Admah</i> §149
§39	=	§5
§48f.	=	§11
§69	=	§16

*WāzAd* has a particular affinity with *PN*, which latter text probably borrowed from *WāzAd*. As far as the contents are concerned, one can notice a definite relationship between *WāzAd* and chapter 199 in *Dk* III, which contains the admonitions of Ādurbād. As opposed to the worldly nature of *AdMah*, one has hardly an instance of pragmatic advice in *WāzAd*.

<sup>5</sup> For the abbreviations used here and throughout the book cf. the List of Abbreviations at the end.

<sup>6</sup> The best collections of Sasanian *andarz* material in Arabic and Persian are Misk., *JX*; *'Ahd Ardašīr* (ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1967); *The Letter of Tansar* (ed. Mojtabā Minovi, Tehran 1932; trsl. M. Boyce, Rome 1968); and the great collections of Islamic *adab* like Mas'ūdī, Tha'ālibī, Ibn Qutayba, Tawhīdī etc. Cf. K.A. Inostrantsev, *Persidskaja literaturnaja traditsija v pervie veka islama*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 8e série, vol. VIII, No. 13, St. Petersburg 1909. (An English translation under the title *Iranian influence on Moslem literature*, by G.K. Nariman, Bombay 1918, is available.) Also Muḥammad Muḥammadī, *Al-tarjama wa-l-naql 'an al-fārisiyya fī l-qurūn al-islāmiyya al-ūlā*, I, Beirut 1964.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. West, *GIPh*, II, 118; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 134 f.

<sup>8</sup> West, *GIPh*, II, 119; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 139 f.

<sup>9</sup> West, *GIPh*, II, 119; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 133 f.



Within the fairly large group of *andarz* books of religious character, *Dēnkard* VI forms quite clearly a category by itself. All other *andarz* compositions, whether religious or secular, can be said to possess popular character. They are all meant for instruction on a fairly elementary level, whether for young people or for adults. *Dēnkard* VI, in contrast, is evidently addressed to an audience on a higher intellectual level. It contains many sayings of a sophisticated nature, based on allusions which contain literary associations or puns,<sup>10</sup> sometimes hard for us to understand, and it also contains a small number of quite obscure hints which seem to possess some esoteric significance.<sup>11</sup>

The *Dēnkard* was compiled in the ninth century A.D.<sup>12</sup> There can be, however, little doubt that much of the material contained in the sixth book (as well as in some of the other books) is based on oral traditions, possibly also on written literary documents, of the Sasanian period, while some of it seems to go even further back in antiquity.<sup>13</sup> The book is introduced as presenting "what has been done and held by the orthodox and the utterance of the Mazdean religion", that is, of the Avesta. And indeed, we know that the Avesta did contain portions of *andarz* character;<sup>14</sup> in addition certain portions in *Dēnkard* VI seem to be formulated in the unnatural Middle Persian style typical of translations from the Avesta.<sup>15</sup>

The "orthodox" (*pōryōtkēšān*) are glossed as being "the early sages" (*dānāgān pēšēnīgān*).<sup>16</sup> The sayings in the first part, all anonymous, are introduced by the formula: "They held this too thus", which relates them to the same traditional source. Similar formulae are used in other parts of the book. It is hard to tell what authorities are precisely designated by the title *pōryōtkēšān*, which derives from the Avesta. Besides these general attributions, there are a number of sayings which are ascribed to specific sages by name. These are Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, Ādurbād ī Zarduštān, Xusrō of Immortal Soul,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. below in chapter II of the Introduction.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Shaked, *Esoteric trends*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. West, loc. cit. (above, note 1).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 37 ff.; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 65 f.

<sup>14</sup> Menasce, op. cit., 38 f., and some further passages in *Dk* VIII and IX.

<sup>15</sup> This may be the case, for example, with sections 12, 45, 69, 93 and other sections, although it is by no means easy to identify such cases with any certainty.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. commentary 1a. 2.

## INTRODUCTION

Baxt-Āfrīd, Ādurfarnbag, all of whom are familiar as authors of *andarz* from other texts as well. Other sages mentioned are Ohrmazd ī Sigzīg, Wehdād ī Ādur-Ohrmazdān, Ādur-Mihr and Ādur-Narseh, Ādur-Bōzēd.<sup>17</sup> All identifiable persons are of the Sasanian period. This does not necessarily mean that the sayings attributed to them are all Sasanian. It is possible to suppose that in some cases earlier wisdom bears the name of the Sasanian sage who transmitted it; and it is equally possible to argue that there may have been cases of late gnomic sayings attributed pseudepigraphically to Sasanian sages. However, as neither hypothesis can be proved, there is no point in denying authenticity to these attributions, especially as they do not go against our knowledge of Sasanian literature. As far as one can see, the usual attributions of *andarz* compositions are quite consistent in the various, seemingly independent, sources.<sup>18</sup> This fact strengthens the impression that on the whole the attribution of individual pieces of *andarz* can be trusted as reflecting a sound tradition.

It has been stated above that the Avesta contained sayings of the *andarz* type, though the portions of the Avesta where such sayings must have existed are lost in their original language, and only summaries in Pahlavi preserve in some cases the general contents of the Avestan text. *Dēnkard* VI preserves in some of its sections echoes of an Avestan *andarz*; much more frequently, however, it presents what seems to us an exegetical elaboration on Avestan passages, that is to say Zand, though this is seldom explicitly said. Some of this can be guessed from the fairly common use of a *midrashic* style of commentary on religious concepts; this developed presumably from the exegesis of the Avesta, and examples of this kind can be seen in actual commentaries in Pahlavi on Avestan passages.<sup>19</sup> *Dēnkard* VI itself abounds in instances of spiritualized commentary similar to that encountered in the Jewish *midrash* literature.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Details of these persons (in so far as known) will be found in the commentary.

<sup>18</sup> It is possible to refer for example to the various texts attributed to Ādurbād, discussed above (cf. note 4), or to the numerous Wuzurgmihr texts, in the Pahlavi and Arabic versions.

<sup>19</sup> A good example for this procedure is afforded by the interpretation of Avestan *ərəš* as if it were to refer to *ariš*, the demon; cf. Molé, *Culte*, 204.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the notes in *Esoteric trends*, 199 f., and the remarks in section II of this Introduction about puns and other literary devices and about the spiritualized interpretations of *Dk* VI.

## II. Structure of the Book

*Dēnkard* VI is obviously a compilation drawn from various sources. That it is not a homogeneous collection of sayings done originally by a single author can best be seen by the fact that it contains a number of large sections each of which could have constituted a collection by itself. These sections are distinguished from each other by their recurring opening formulae. This formal feature was used by Sanjana, the first editor of the text, for dividing the book into parts and further into small sections, a division which has been retained in the present edition for the convenience of reference. Although these opening formulae are a good and reliable guide in most cases, it is nevertheless obvious that they can be misleading in a small number of cases. In some cases the saying does not begin in the place marked by the opening formula,<sup>1</sup> and in other cases the absence of the opening formula led Sanjana to group together sayings which are quite clearly separate.<sup>2</sup> When trying to distinguish between the large parts of the book the shift from one formula to another does not always mark the beginning of a new collection of sayings.<sup>3</sup> Despite these disadvantages it has seemed best to retain Sanjana's system of numbering the paragraphs, as this facilitates reference from this edition to Sanjana's, though when necessary further division into sub-sections has been introduced.

Another point which may serve as an indication that the book is not the homogeneous composition of a single author is the fact that there are quite a number of duplicate passages in the book, that is to say, several sayings occur more than once in identical or similar versions in different parts of the book.<sup>4</sup> Many, if not all, of the sayings contained in *Dk* VI must have circulated independently, whether orally or in written form, and some of them presumably formed part of other *andarz* collections. This assumption would account for the fact that isolated passages from *Dk* VI are found in Miskawayhi's *Jāwī-dān Xirad*, in Arabic version, and sometimes small groups of *Dk* VI sayings

<sup>1</sup> For example, D7e, which forms in effect the first part of D8, though the opening formula *gōwēnd* comes only at the beginning of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for example E45, which contains a number of sayings not marked by any formula.

<sup>3</sup> As will be noticed below, B48-C47 form one collection, although B48-B53 seemingly belong to the group of sayings beginning with *ud ēn-ez paydāg*, while C1 ff. have the formula *ud ēn-ez ēdōn*.

<sup>4</sup> References are given in the commentary.

## INTRODUCTION

come there together (though in a different order),<sup>5</sup> while in other cases, usually whole *andarz* compilations are given in full, and seem to preserve their original order even through the Arabic version.<sup>6</sup> Order in this kind of text is a particularly precarious matter, as the sayings are for the most part only very loosely related to each other.

The assumption that *Dk VI* consists of what used to be separate collections of sayings is strengthened by the fact that certain phrases which seem to indicate the end of a book or a collection occur in the middle of *Dk VI*. An example for this kind of statement is:

A person who knows how to heed these several subjects which are written in this book is better acquainted with his own self and that of others (66).

This would appear to be an appropriate closing or opening formula for a collection, but appears somewhat out of place where it stands. A similar statement can be made with regard to the following:

This constitutes a copy (made) from the book of Ādurbād, son of Mahraspand, which they came and set out to do by the consultation of the orthodox (A6d).

This remark, one may be entitled to assume, once served as colophon to one of the manuscripts from which the compiler of *Dk VI* culled a whole group of sayings — perhaps the whole of Part Two (i.e. A1-A6d), if not Parts One and Two (i.e. 1-A6d), of *Dk VI* — which he incorporated in the composition of his book without bothering to remove the label attached to it.

The book as it now stands can be said to consist of several well defined divisions which may have constituted formerly individual collections of *andarz*. The divisions which can be distinguished in the book are the following:

- I From the beginning to the end of A6d. All of this constitutes one large division, devoted mainly to religious matters, with emphasis on inner piety and devotion to the gods. Small groups of sayings which belong together can sometimes be noticed to exist inside this division.

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<sup>5</sup> E.g. Misk., *JX*, 38.18–39.6, where the following sequence of sayings can be established: *Dk VI* 31; unidentified passage; D1c; another unidentified passage; 131; 224.

<sup>6</sup> The best example for this is *Ayādgar ī Wuzurgmīhr*, found in a complete Arabic version in Misk., *JX*, 29-37.

A tentative list of such small coherent units inside this division may be drawn as follows:<sup>7</sup>

1a-47 (?)	162-164
48-49	165-170
50-54	171-185 (?)
55-58	189-198
59-66 (?)	199-200
67-71 (?)	208-209
77-79	215-217
80-81	221-224
104-105	235-237
113-120 (?)	239-240
128-132	255-256
134-135	264-265
138-140	276-280; 281-283; 284-294 (?)
141-152	302-325 (?)
158-161	A5-A6d

- II There follow a number of smaller units. **B1-B47** is a collection which begins by stating the difference between the creation of Ohrmazd and that of Ahreman, the function of Zoroaster in relation to the Renovation, the difference between truth and lie, righteousness and sin. The two types of wisdom are discussed, and the various practical applications of the faculty of wisdom in discerning excess from the right measure are enumerated. This division ends with a warning to practise great circumspection in one's behaviour in this world.
- III **B48-C47** is a large division which contains sayings with an identical structure: "One should not do A, for he is (or does) B who does A". This division may have belonged to the same collection as that of the preceding division, **II**, for both divisions are mainly concerned with judging the various human qualities. Against this observation one may point out that, in contrast to the order of qualities in this division (**III**), the approach of **B14ff.** is much more systematic, and seems to be based on the principles

<sup>7</sup> While some of the units indicated here may be questioned, some additional groups of paragraphs could be suggested as belonging together.

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of Aristotelian ethics.<sup>8</sup> The qualities mentioned in **B48-C47** also seem to be different from those of division **II** by being more mundane and pragmatic.

**IV C48-C83** might have belonged to one collection. Much of this division consists of sayings which enumerate various qualities or activities which lead to other qualities or attitudes, good or bad. The division concludes with a number of lists of various qualities.

**V D1-D12** is a distinct group of sayings which are characterized by the fact that most of the paragraphs refer to authors by name. This division is marked also by the fact that it contains a number of anecdotes serving as *exempla* with a moral.

**VI E1-E45n** constitutes a collection of miscellaneous sayings on religious subjects, mostly anonymous.

Although *Dk VI* seems to be made up of what was previously several distinct divisions, the order of sayings inside each group being generally more or less arbitrary,<sup>9</sup> it is not an altogether aimless collection of miscellaneous sayings. Its general religious character is well defined, and in contrast to other religious *andarz* compilations, it deals less with ceremonial duties, the confession of faith and the right belief, and tends towards themes of mental devotion, one might almost say contemplation.

Some points of literary interest may perhaps be made. Instances of figurative speech are fairly common in *Dk VI*, and examples for the kind of similes used are:

Character is "numerous" like the grass on hills and plains (186).

Joy should be held in as much gentleness as one keeps a young boy (189, 222, E30b).

A teacher is like a mirror (224).

People desire to get away from poverty just as they try to avoid the expenses involved in providing a cistern for rain-water or in building a wall against an attack (304).

Religion and the sacred word are like flesh and skin (324).

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 52 f.

<sup>9</sup> Though there are often some sequences which are meaningful. It is on the strength of these sequences that the attempt to discover groups of sayings in the first division of the book, made above, is based.

The body should be made like a cavity, not like a peak (208, E35b).

These similes are apparently typical of Middle Persian literature. One encounters similar devices in Manichean literature in Middle Persian,<sup>10</sup> as well as in the Islamic literary fragments reflecting Sasanian antecedents.<sup>11</sup>

A feature which characterized the style of some passages of *Dk VI* is that of introducing a theme by means of a riddle, which is subsequently solved:

There is [one] thing [with regard to which the following is true:] One who stands inside it does not long (to be) away from it, and one who does not stand inside it longs for it (57).

Every one who stands in the religion does not long (to be) away from where he stands (58).

Without 58 the preceding paragraph is obscure, and seems to be deliberately phrased in an unintelligible manner. It is possible to surmise that this was not originally a literary device, but that we have here a reflection of the oral way of teaching. It is a well known technique of instruction to arouse interest and puzzlement by first making a statement which sounds paradoxical or unintelligible and then interpreting it in the manner desired.<sup>12</sup> The same technique may be useful as a rhetorical device in public preaching.<sup>13</sup> There are a number of other examples for such riddles in *Dk VI*.<sup>14</sup>

There are several instances for the use of puns as a device for driving home a moral or religious point.<sup>15</sup> Thus we have a play on the similarity of *mehgārīh*

<sup>10</sup> For example, in *MirMan I*, 203, where the creation of the world is likened to the work of various artisans. Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian verse abounds in examples of such devices.

<sup>11</sup> One need only recall the famous parables in Burzōyē's introduction to *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Similar devices are found in the *Testament of Ardashir*, or in passages from *Šāhnāma* clearly derived from Middle Persian literature; for a particularly striking example see the commentary 304. 5. where the corresponding *Šāhnāma* passage is quoted.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. L. Renou, "The enigma in the ancient literature of India", *Diogenes*, 29 (1960), 32-41.

<sup>13</sup> This seems to be the basis for some passages in the Jewish *midrash* literature which are phrased like a riddle followed by its solution. Cf. I. Heinemann, *Darke ha-aggada*, Jerusalem 1954, 12.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 53, 131, A3, E13-E14.

<sup>15</sup> Etymological (or pseudo-etymological) explanations are very common in early and later Indian literature. For the Jewish *midrash* cf. Heinemann, *op. cit.* (above, n. 13), 110 ff.

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and *med-kārīh* in 46; on the two meanings of the word *ox* “mind” and “lord”, in 30; on the similarity of *kār* “action” and *kārān* “people” in 132; of *hōg* and *āhōg* in 260. The word *māndag* “sin” is defined as that which “remains” (*mānēd*) in 37. The term *hunsand-xīr*, which means “content, satisfied”, is treated in the context of 197 as if it meant “satisfied with (material) things”, taking the second part of the compound as if it had its full etymological value.

In some cases we also have instances of spiritualized interpretations of common terms. “To eat a hearty meal” and similar phrases in 319 are given a religious sense; a spiritualized definition of generosity is given in 23 and 91. Drinking *haoma*, drinking wine and wearing the sacred girdle are defined spiritually in 108, and the vices of evil thinking, theft, etc., are similarly treated in 269.<sup>16</sup>

### III. Some Themes in Dēnkard VI

It is difficult to deal with the themes which come up in this book in isolation from the rest of Zoroastrian literature. It is also difficult to impose a systematic point of view on a book like this, which is essentially a collection of sayings and was not meant to present a continuous argument. The following notes are therefore only valid with a certain reservation.

Wisdom (*xrad*), knowledge (*dānišn*, *dānāgīh*), and associated terms figure prominently in the sayings of *Dk VI*. In contrast to other texts in Pahlavi where the concept of Wisdom is extolled, and where it becomes an independent divine hypostasis equal to or higher than the Amahraspands<sup>1</sup> (the six divine entities which serve as companions to Ohrmazd) or where it seems to hold the position of a pragmatic instrument for achieving high position and success in life,<sup>2</sup> in *Dk VI* the use of this term is part of a complete religious system. Thus we have the sequence ‘knowledge’ (*dānāgīh*), ‘sagacity’ (*fra-zānagīh*) and ‘manliness’ (*mardābagīh*) by which the world was created and is

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<sup>16</sup> Further examples for the same process are: 3, 113, 267, 322, D1c. An analogy to this could be adduced, for example, from the interpretation of water as a symbol of the Law in Jewish midrash; cf. Heinemann, *op. cit.*, 132 f.

<sup>1</sup> This is the case in *Mēnōg ī Xrad* “The Spirit Wisdom”, where the first chapter especially puts wisdom above everything else.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the spirit of the two poetic compositions on wisdom, cf. “A Hymn to Wisdom” and “A Poem in Praise of Wisdom”, published by me in *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 395 ff.



maintained, and by which it<sup>3</sup> will become joyful or renovated (311). This is interpreted by the following section (312), which seems to transpose 'wisdom' (*xrad*) for 'knowledge' (*dānāgīh*); the ethical and eschatological interpretation of the initial statement in 311 is strengthened by 313, which compares 'wisdom' to the fire (of ordeal).

Knowledge is a prerequisite of religion. It constitutes an essential distinction between the two powers: it is the desire of Ohrmazd to be known, while it is Ahreman's wish not to be known (31).

One aspect of wisdom, so it seems, is the frequently uttered admonition that every person should get a clear and definite notion of his own position with regard to his origins, divine or demonic affiliation, and ultimate end. The requirement for self-knowledge is uttered more than once in *Dk VI* (e.g. in 227, 302, D6a, 136), and has numerous parallels in other books.<sup>4</sup> The classical formulation of this requirement is made at the beginning of the text known under the title of *Pand-nāmag* or *Cīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān*:

The orthodox, namely the adherents of the first knowledge,<sup>5</sup> have said in the Revelation which comes from the Religion.<sup>6</sup> Every man, when he reaches the age of fifteen, should know these several things: "Who am I? Whose am I? From whence did I come? Whither shall I return? Of what lineage and seed am I? What is my duty to this world? What is the reward of the other world? Did I come from the other world or did I originate in this world? Do I belong to Ohrmazd or to Ahreman? Do I belong to the gods or to the demons? Do I belong to the good or to the wicked? Am I a man or a demon? How many ways are there? Which religion<sup>7</sup> is mine? What is my benefit, and what is my harm? Who is my friend and who is my enemy? Is there one principle or two? From whom is there goodness and from whom evil? From whom is there light and from whom darkness? From whom is there fragrance and from whom stench? From whom is there lawfulness and from whom lack of law? From

<sup>3</sup> Or, as translated in the body of this book, "He", i.e., Ohrmazd.

<sup>4</sup> *PhlT* 57 (§11); 39 (*APeš* II §5); *ŠGV* X, beginning.

<sup>5</sup> *fradom-dānišnān*, cf. 1a. 2.

<sup>6</sup> I.e., from the Avesta.

<sup>7</sup> *dēn* means not necessarily an established religion in the conventional sense, but a faculty of the individual which represents the person's religious consciousness. Cf. further in this Introduction.

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whom is there forgiveness and from whom lack of compassion?  
(*PhIT* 41).<sup>8</sup>

In addition to this emphasis on self-knowledge, there is considerable emphasis also on a candid statement of one's knowledge. One should honestly state that which one does not know (2, 183, E36), and ask the right authorities about such things (154). In character with the nature of the Zoroastrian religion, wisdom should be turned towards action (24), and must be supplemented and restrained by goodness, for otherwise the dangers of heresy and tyranny are inherent in it (128; *PhIT* 151f. *WāzAd* §68). "Character" (*xēm*) in certain contexts seems to hold a more important position in the hierarchy than wisdom (6, E8, 253), while in other contexts we seem to have *dēn* ("religion") or *ruwān* ("soul") as the notions above wisdom in a hierarchical setting (3).

In contrast to this, the notion of wisdom comes first in the hierarchy of abstract notions in *andarz* texts of the popular-religious type, such as *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmīhr* "The Memorial of Wuzurgmīhr",<sup>9</sup> or the *Pand Nāmāg* "The Book of Counsel" or "The Selected Admonitions of the Orhtodox".<sup>10</sup> In these texts the function of Wisdom is to direct Man towards a recognition of his religious duty in life, leading to reward and punishment in the afterlife:

The Creator Ohrmazd, in order to hold back those several demons, and to help Man, created so many watchful things of the spirit: innate wisdom, acquired wisdom, character, hope, contentment, religion (*dēn*), and the consultation of the wise.

What is the function of each one of these spirits? The function of innate wisdom is to guard oneself from causing fear,<sup>11</sup> from deliberate sin, and fruitless toil; to pay heed to the decay of the things of this world and the end of the body; not to decrease that which pertains to the Renovation and not to increase that which pertains to one's transience.

The function of acquired wisdom is to recognize the righteous path and

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<sup>8</sup> The text has been edited and translated several times. Cf. particularly A. Freiman, in *WZKM*, 20 (1906), 149-165, 237-280; Nyberg, *Hfsb.*, I, 17-30; H. Corbin, *Poure Davoud Commemoration Volume*, II, Bombay 1951, 129-160; Zaehner, *Magi*, 20-28; M. Nawabi, *RFLT*, 12 No. 4 (Winter 1339), 513-535; M.F. Kanga, Bombay 1960.

<sup>9</sup> Cf., e.g., *PhIT* 92 (*AW* §53-58).

<sup>10</sup> E.g. *PhIT* 46f. (*PN* §37-38).

<sup>11</sup> That is, from doing things which are reprehensible in the religion, and which therefore entail fear of demons and eschatological punishment.

way and to stand in it; to consider that which has passed before and to be cognizant of that which will come after; not to believe in that which cannot be, and not to begin a work which cannot be completed (*PhlT* 90f. *Aw* §43-47).<sup>12</sup>

In the group of writings which we have termed the secular texts of the *andarz* type, quite a different notion of wisdom occurs. As an example we may quote a short passage from the text attributed to Adurbād ī Mahrspandān:

To you, my son, the fortunate, I say: The best thing for men is wisdom. For if, heaven forbid, wealth is gone, or the cattle dies, wisdom shall remain. Be diligent in the profession of religion, for contentment is the greatest knowledge, and the greatest hope is the spirit (*PhlT* 67 *AdMah* §104f.).

Religion is of course advocated, but wisdom is mentioned in a more prominent position, and in a somewhat pragmatic function, as that which is capable of sustaining a person even when his wealth is gone.<sup>13</sup>

Two practical ways by which wisdom can be acquired and developed are often mentioned: education (*frahang*) or discipleship (*hāwištīh*); and the consultation of the wise or good people (*hampursagīh ī dānāgān*, *hampursagīh ī wehān*). Both ideas are associated with that of the *ērbadestān*, the place of learning, and sometimes with the fire-temple (*mān ī ātaxšān*, *dar ī ātaxšān*).

Education must be sought and cultivated. It is the seed of knowledge and its fruit is wisdom.<sup>14</sup> From education, through wisdom, one attains to right conduct and to the fulfilment of Man's duty in the world, which is to drive out the demons from the world (C49-C50). Responsibility for educating one's wife and slaves lies with the head of the family, who ought to treat them well (the notion of *frahang* obviously entails also the idea of reprimanding and chastising those who committed an error).<sup>15</sup> One should love

<sup>12</sup> The text goes on to enumerate the function of the other faculties.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the "Hymn in Praise of Wisdom" (above, note 2), and *Ošnar* §39.

<sup>14</sup> *PhlT* 47 (*PN* §41).

<sup>15</sup> *PhlT* 59 (*AdMah* §13). It should be noted that *zan ud frazand ī xwēš jud az frahang be ma hil* does not mean "Do not withhold your wife and child from culture" (R.N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, New York 1975, p. 20 with note 44 on p. 250); it signifies rather "Do not let your wife and child be without correction (or discipline)".

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them without being excessively passionate, and avoid constantly mentioning to them their faults, obviously in order not to discourage them (C33-C38). The guilt for sins committed by untaught children accrues to their parents.<sup>16</sup> One *andarz* passage in the “secular” group of texts urges one to send his children to the writing school, the *dibīristān*, “for writing is happiness”.<sup>17</sup>

Adults are enjoined never to cease attending the *ērbadestān* as a way of ensuring right faith (98, 84). A somewhat differently formulated advice is to make oneself a disciple (110). It is not made clear whether this implies specific attachment to an individual master, or just a general attitude of submissive willingness to learn. It seems possible to assume that the requirement concerning the *ērbadestān* is such as may apply to every member of the Zoroastrian community, while the one mentioning discipleship is restricted to those who are or intend to become priests. The term “disciple” (*hāwišt*) does indeed occur specifically as a grade in the preparation for priesthood,<sup>18</sup> and detailed advice on how to behave towards one’s master occurs in a treatise which describes the character of priests (*Abar panj xēm ī āhrōnān*):

First, to behave in a manner deserving good fame so as to give one’s chief, teacher, judge and father their due of good fame. [The second admonition is to avoid bad fame.] Third, that which one has not heard from one’s teacher not to utter in his name, so as not to hurt him and afflict him with a very long stick. Fourth, that which has been taught by one’s teacher to impart generously to the worthy, so as not to take away from the righteous the manifestation of (their) name (*PhIT* 130 §7, 9, 10).<sup>19</sup>

Education cannot change a person’s character, but those whose character is not fixed for good or bad can be changed by it (68). The character of some people is hard to determine, and only with great effort of education is it possible to see whether they are good or bad (104, 102). The best education is by personal example, for which the simile of a mirror is used (223, 224).

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<sup>16</sup> *PhIT* 46 (*PN* §34).

<sup>17</sup> *PhIT* 63 (*AdMah* §58).

<sup>18</sup> On *hāwišt* see my note in *Esoteric trends*, 203 ff.

<sup>19</sup> There is no evidence to support the theories of ecstatic groups of disciples following their masters in Iran as argued, for example, by G. Widengren, *Orientalia Suecana*, 2 (1953), 60 f.

One comes across frequent injunctions to consult good people. "It is necessary to direct a man's soul mostly to three places, to the houses of sages, to the houses of good people, and to the houses of fire" (323), in order to become wiser, more pious and free from demons. Similarly we are told: "Go forth every day to the assembly of the good for consultation. For to him who goes forth more to the assembly of the good for the sake of consultation they (scil. the gods) allot more good deeds and righteousness".<sup>20</sup> It is important not to withdraw anything from the consultation of good people in order to correct one's faults and to obtain the virtues which other people possess in addition to those which one already has (251, 255, 294, 95; *PhIT* 91 *AW* §51).

On the mundane level, the company of the good or of the wise is often praised and enjoined in the *andarz* texts, both in those which are 'secular' and in the 'religious' ones. Thus, in the former group, we are told: "Consult and be a friend to a man of noble extraction, skilful, intelligent and of good character",<sup>21</sup> and the advice is given to give one's daughter in marriage to a wise man.<sup>22</sup>

"Good people" (*wehān*) often form a pair with "gods" (*yazdān*). One should surrender oneself to the gods and to good people, as a result of which goodness inhabits one (C77). The good are presented as being in the material world like gods in the spiritual world: "One who is here with the good will be there with the gods" (133). Those who are on the highest religious level associate with the gods, those who are on a lower level associate with the righteous, and those still lower associate with worthy people (206). Gods and good people are here seen to be, as it were, on one continuum. What separates them is a question of degree, not of substance. The same applies to the relationship between the wicked and the demons. This is not surprising, in view of the conception that the soul is itself a deity; the soul of a righteous person would certainly be divine.

The phrase "to eat with the gods" may be interpreted to mean "to eat with good people" (319). In the catechism contained in the *Pand-Nāmag* the questions one asks oneself include the following: "Am I Ohrmazd's or Ahreman's?

<sup>20</sup> *PhIT* 152 (*WāzAd* §70-71); *PhIT* 47 (*PN* §44). In a similar sense also 251.

<sup>21</sup> *PhIT* 60 (*AdMah* §31). Also to keep the company of the wise: *Ošnar* §27; *PhIT* 99 (*AW* §204); to respect the wise: *PhIT* 61 (*AdMah* §36).

<sup>22</sup> *PhIT* 62 (*AdMah* §50); 65 (91).

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Am I the gods' or the demons'? Do I belong to the good or to the wicked? Am I a man or a demon?" (*PhlT* 41).

The kernel of the religious life is of course faith (*warrawišn*). It is the prerequisite for achieving the state of righteousness (*ahlawīh*, *ahlāyīh*), which is linked, in terms of religious law, to being "innocent, not-guilty, acquitted" (*buxt*), as against the state of guilt (*ērangīh*).<sup>23</sup>

Real faith entails constantly thinking of the good spiritual and earthly beings (E4), and is described as being as ardent and glowing as a blacksmith's iron (E22f, D10). The purpose and realization of faith is the religious action; there is no value, it seems, to devotion without religious action (E15). This is the sense of the Zoroastrian triad: thought – speech – action, where the first constituent paves the way and leads through the second to the third, in which thought is realized. However, doing one's duty acquires its full sense from the intention accorded to it. The current expression for this is that one does something "for the sake of the gods" or "for the sake of the soul" (A2). In fact, if one does everything for the sake of the gods alone, one becomes righteous (*ahlaw*) no matter how one does it (273-274). In the "assembly of the spirits" those good actions not accomplished by someone who did as much as was in his power and desired to do more are also taken into account. Similarly, with regard to a wicked person, even evil deeds not committed are taken into account (140).

One of the important expressions for faith is the phrase "to surrender oneself to the gods" (28, 166). There is an element of dependence on the gods implied in those passages which speak of one's surrendering oneself to them (E1), the gods tending and caring for that person, but one is warned not to stop striving and expending effort, for the things of the soul are a person's own responsibility (291). Slipping off from the faith and turning to the demons is a negative act, but the Pahlavi texts contain expressions which show compassion for the grief of the wicked man who realizes how he has been deluded by the demons (E12).

"Religion" (*dēn*) in Zoroastrianism has a connotation which makes it similar to "soul": it is, namely, an aspect of the individual person's *mēnōg*, a power of one's soul. However, the religious language of Zoroastrianism never loses the other connotations of the term. It also denotes the abstract notion

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<sup>23</sup> The terms were treated by me in *Mon. Nyberg*, II, 216 ff.

of religion, and the collective or institutional idea of religion, and is the proper name of a cosmic entity. At the same time it is also a term which designates the text of the Avesta, in expressions such as: *pad dēn paydāg* "It is manifest in the Avesta".

The dearest thing to man, which he has to put in order, and which assures him of happiness even though other things are not in order, is religion (33). It seems possible "to stand in the religion" by doing various things in conformity with one's own disposition: to desire to be rich or poor, learned or ignorant (310). The substance of the religion is like a mirror, and by looking at it one sees all the goodness and the evil which are in him (261). Another simile used is that of light and darkness: righteous acts done by man cause light to guide one towards religion, while sinful acts cause one's religion to be covered with darkness (290). It is said that the religion is like the king's road (173), or that there is a certain reciprocal movement between man and his religion: if you step forward towards it, it comes forth a thousand steps towards you (61). Using a different metaphor, if you turn your face towards the religion, it discloses to you many things which you have never heard from anyone and which prove to be correct (63). Seemingly in contrast with the preceding, but not really in contradiction, it is stated that unlike the possession of material goods, where there is variation according to needs between being content with much or with just a little, there is no such variation over the possession of the religion: one either disposes of it wholly or not at all. This seems to be the sense of 175-176. With regard to both kinds of possession, that of material things and that of the soul, it is impossible to possess something just "moderately" (174).

The passage 266 speaks more highly of the consideration of "religion" than of that of the scriptures, but its precise intention is not clear. It would certainly not seem right to conclude from it that personal religion is more important than the traditionally formulated one. The thrust of the passage seems rather to be that it is more wholesome to cultivate one's "religion", in the sense of one's religious attitude and actions, than to concentrate on mere recitation of the scriptures. As regards the relationship between "religion" (*dēn*) and the sacred word, one both finds them forming a pair of contrasting notions (E45d) and mentioned as being interconnected and non-contradictory (324). The latter occurrence, not less than the former, leads one to think that

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the two notions were not always considered as being harmonious and devoid of inner conflicts. In one passage the scripture is described as a wall protecting the religion, the farthest out among seven such walls (215). Here too "religion" carries more weight, while the scripture and its interpretation (Zand) are considered as a protection around it. Probably a similar idea, though with a different simile, is expressed by stating that "the sea of religion is the sacred word" (259).

From knowledge of the religion, through the recitation of the sacred word and several other steps, one ultimately achieves the goal: immortality, the Renovation and the Resurrection (C75). It seems possible to conclude from here, and from similar passages, that the scriptures, their knowledge and frequent recitation, are an important means for manifesting and for realizing the "religion", *dēn*, as well as for protecting it. Knowledge of the whole Avesta and Zand is not sufficient to make one a priest (E45c), but this knowledge is highly extolled in many passages (e.g., E38e, D3, D5, D10).

From a number of sayings it seems possible to conclude that propagation of the knowledge of the scriptures, but particularly of the Zand, of the exegesis to the Avesta done in the current language, was to be somewhat restricted (254). The reason for this lies almost certainly in the dangers of heresy inherent in indiscriminate publication of the methods, style and contents of the Zand; the exegesis was the way by which different doctrines, which sought official Zoroastrian sanction, tried to gain admission as valid presentations of the scripture (C26-C28). One has frequent warnings to be careful about Zand and particularly about the persons one teaches it to. We have also injunctions about not teaching the Avesta to all, though this restriction is less forceful in the texts than the one which refers to Zand. The point of such restrictions is more easily understood when it is recalled that the texts were mostly studied orally (even though a written text of the Avesta may well have existed in the Sasanian period in a very limited number of copies), and that the exegesis was transmitted in all likelihood only by way of oral instruction. Being able to recite a considerable amount of Avesta and Zand must have been a proof of adherence to the group of learned priests. Sectarian propagandists, who were often people of the same group, would have tried to display their erudition in order to gain the confidence of their audience.

That the problem of heresies worried those who regarded themselves as



upholders of orthodoxy is evident from many passages in the Pahlavi literature. We have similar evidence to show that it was deemed a major problem in the management of the state, and as such it figures prominently in the manuals of politics, lost for the most part in Pahlavi, but preserved in the Arabic versions.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the wariness which Sasanian authors display with regard to the propagation of heresies which might undermine the religion, one also comes across certain ambiguous utterances which seem to refer to some doctrines which are to be kept secret. The allusions are so veiled as to make it practically impossible to know whether we have here a genuine esoteric tradition or merely references to incidental doctrines which may have been marginal to the mainstream of the tradition. The terms by which this restricted part of the religion is referred to are "the word" (*wāzag*), "the secret" (*rāz*). I have elsewhere attempted<sup>25</sup> to connect these terms with the method of spiritualized exegesis of the religious terminology so strongly present in the *Dēnkard* and in other Pahlavi books, and have suggested, though as a guess rather than on positive evidence, that the "secret" may refer to this method of interpretation. Spiritualized, as opposed to concrete, understanding of religious truths may have been considered unwholesome to those who have not had thorough theological training. Though this theory cannot be substantiated by explicit textual references, it seems to me a reasonable explanation of the puzzling use of seemingly esoteric terminology. If this is accepted, it may be said that even though the Zoroastrian tradition may not contain an esoteric current within it, in the proper sense of the term, it nevertheless insisted on a distinction between levels of instruction according to the capacity of the individual. The higher type of instruction, reserved to relatively few people, interpreted some of the concepts of the religion in a figurative and spiritualized manner, and may have therefore been considered potentially dangerous if taught to unsophisticated members of the community.

A discussion which was vigorously conducted some time ago but seems since to have subsided concerns the question of whether the Zoroastrian books contain a layer with a pronounced ascetic tendency; this question was closely associated with that of the supposed existence in the Sasanian period

<sup>24</sup> Cf. my *Esoteric trends*, Appendix D (p. 214 ff.)

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the article referred to in the preceding note.

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of a major heresy placing the figure of Zurvan "Time" as a deity in a supreme position above those of Ohrmazd and Ahreman. The prominent participants in that debate were R.C. Zaehner and M.-L. Chaumont, against whom M. Molé took a critical (and to my mind correct) attitude.<sup>26</sup> It would not be right to go into a detailed discussion of the whole problem of Zurvanism here, but I think I should state my view that the problem of a Zurvanite variety of the Iranian religion has little or no bearing on the question of whether the Pahlavi books contain expressions of a pessimistic view of the world and recommend asceticism. There is no indication at all that Zurvanism, if it existed at all as an organized body of faith and practice (a proposition which still awaits proof), also possessed a negative view of the world. This connection is not based on any positive evidence, and there seems little need to introduce it even by way of hypothesis. Faith in Zurvan as "father" of the two major deities, who are made to be twins, seems to me to be a popular variant of the Zoroastrian myth, not sanctioned by the established clergy of the Zoroastrian religion, but at the same time not entailing the necessary assumption of the existence of a sect or anything like an organized heresy. The invention of a whole body of theology around the myth of Zurvan seems to me hardly called for. As far as we can tell, the Zurvan myth circulated in versions which are theologically naive.

The various passages adduced, from the sixth book of the *Dēnkard* and from other Zoroastrian texts, for a far-reaching negation of this world, for a blind faith in fate (which need have nothing to do with the former attitude), and for a tendency to renounce the material world in favour of the other world by way of rigorous asceticism, prove upon inspection to contain nothing of the sort. None of these ideas is really present in the Zoroastrian texts.

The best summary of the attitude of *Dēnkard* VI and of Sasanian Zoroastrianism in general concerning the things of this world is expressed by the saying: "One should not embellish the things of the material world in excess of the measure, for a man who embellishes the material world in excess of the

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<sup>26</sup> R.C. Zaehner in his two major works, *Zurvan* and *Dawn*. M.-L. Chaumont, "Vestiges d'un courant ascétique dans le zoroastrisme sassanide d'après le VI<sup>e</sup> livre du *Dēnkart*", *RHR*, 156 (1959), 1-23. A criticism of Zaehner's attitude on this point was made by M. Molé, "Un ascétisme moral dans les livres pehlevi?", *RHR*, 155 (1959), 145-190.

measure becomes a destroyer of the spiritual world" (149). Here and elsewhere we render *gētīg* and *mēnōg* by "material" and "spiritual" respectively, though one has to bear in mind the differences in connotation between the English terms and the Zoroastrian ones.<sup>27</sup> The attitude advocated here is for cultivating the things of the visible world "in measure", so as not to infringe on one's concentration on the invisible, or spiritual world, which represents the world of religious devotion. The things of the material world should be done in time, or in a leisurely way, while the things of the spiritual world should be accomplished in haste, as if one knew one were to die the next day (151). In time of need one may give up various possessions, even one's body, but never the soul (25-26). A fortunate man serves the soul, an unfortunate one serves the body (207). It is of benefit to the soul not to fulfil the desire of the body (89), and in view of what has already been said it is clear that what is meant is that it is better not to fulfil the complete desire of the body, in excess of the measure. We are not enjoined to deprive the body of its needs.

The transience of this world is strongly emphasized (200, 198, 199, A6, D12). A similar view is present in the "pragmatic" *andarz* texts too: worldly wealth is like a bird which never stops in one place (*PhIT* 65 *AdMah* §89). Yima possessed the things of the material world more completely than any one else, and even with him they diminished every day, "and his sole trust was in the soul" (152).

The correct inference to be drawn from this is not that one should give up the material world altogether, but that one ought to find the right balance between the two worlds. "That man is most fortunate who mixes the transient things of this world with that which is intransient" (180). This advice to "mix" the two aspects of human existence is often repeated, and one passage seems to refer to the same idea by saying that one ought to try and turn the things of the material world into one's friend (322), though the expression remains obscure. The constant admonition to keep joy in one's body with as much care and fondness as one keeps a young boy (189, E30b) may also belong to the same heading, although the more direct connection of this theme is with the idea that Ahreman is best fought by joy and that despondency is a

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<sup>27</sup> For an extensive treatment of these concepts I would refer to *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 59-107.

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symptom of Ahreman's victory. More problematic is the allusion, repeated twice in this book, to the need to "keep one's eye on the world" (13, 228), which possibly indicates the desire to have a balanced relationship with the world.

Property is not shunned. If one has it, it should be enjoyed (C32). One of the sinners described in the book of *Ardā Virāf* is a person who amassed great wealth, but did not enjoy it himself and did not share it with good people (*AVn* Ch. 31). The consumption of the earthly goods is the best service which can be given to them, provided it is being done by the worthy (88; cf. also 142). It is right to expect good things from the spirits (102, 291). If we are encouraged not to strive after the material things of this world the reason given is not that they are to be avoided, but that they are cared for by the spirits, while we should endeavour to achieve spiritual things (291; *Dk.* III Ch. 199).

Material success is an outcome of one's religious effort (C67-C70, E35c). The proper religious use of one's property includes giving it to worthy people and keeping it away from wicked people (E23-E24 and other places). Desiring authority and wealth for the benefit and good of men is praised, and one who does it is made powerful (156). The treatment of good fame and social status is similar to that accorded to wealth and authority: it is a desirable thing attained through righteousness (140, 148), but one should not seek it for its own sake (77, E20, E22c).

Despite the preceding summary of positive utterances concerning various aspects of this world, with merely a warning for moderation and with a reservation concerning the right motivation and the correct use to be made of the wealth, power and fame obtained, we also come across a good number of sayings in the various Zoroastrian books in which this world is presented as something to be viewed with great suspicion. Among the chief examples in *Dēnkard* VI are the following: "A man who does not neglect this does not grasp that. . . 'This' is the material world and 'that' is the spiritual world" (E22b). It is necessary to walk about in this world as if one were barefoot in a place full of snakes, scorpions and other noxious reptiles (B47). The world is full of dangers, and one tries to have as little to do with them as possible.

There is a sense in which suffering in this world is beneficial from the religious point of view. Any unpleasantness borne by a person in this world is de-

ducted from the punishment due to him in the world to come (81, 305, 106, A5, D7b). A degree of discomfort in this world is considered a virtue. This world is partly the domain of Ahreman, and it is better to undergo the evil of Ahreman while here, and thus diminish somewhat its sting, rather than postpone it to the next world, where it is sheer evil. At the same time one gains respect and gratitude from spiritual and material beings. This is the justification given by the two learned *ērbads* in the curious story, in which they were noticed to be carrying fire-wood from the mountain, a hard work and possibly one considered unworthy of their dignity (D5). Another story in the same group tells of two priests who were on their way to the court in pursuit of some affair, but they never got to the end of their journey because by chance they halted in a deserted place and learned the edifying lesson that the fiercest of demons, *Āz*, is best overcome by the simplest of food and drink. The edifying lesson they learnt from this experience taught them that they had nothing to seek in the centre of power, in the court, where people went to look for wealth and luxury (D2). There is an element of social criticism in this story, and it is more strongly felt in another anecdote told in the same collection, where two pious and learned priests, who again impressed a highly placed priest by the fact that they were engaged in manual work, spoke harshly to their visitor of the luxury in which he lived, and refused his gifts (D3). The chief priest seems to have received these admonitions with humility, acknowledging their truth. A symbolic story told in D11 also points to the same moral: eating the fruit of the trees removes discontent and puts off pain.

These passages, and others like them, advocate a mode of life which uses as little luxury as possible. It would not be right to characterize this behaviour as ascetic — the rigours recommended do not go beyond the hardship of manual work and simple food, and there is no suggestion that the enjoyment of ease and luxury is bad in itself, only the warning that excess of good things brings about greed. The term best explaining the attitude towards excess is *paymān* “the right measure”. One of the passages in our book explains that there are different kinds of measures. According to that passage (206) there are three groups, identified with the three divisions of the Avesta — *Gāthā*, *Hadha Mānthra*, and *Dād*. Each one of these groups has a different way of association and separation, a different measure of possession, and a different punishment for sins committed by them. The first group, which occupies the

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highest position from the point of view of religious achievement, is that of the *Gāthā*, whose measure of possession is no more than evening and morning meals; the second has as its measure anything done righteously; the third is characterized by regarding its measure of desired possession to consist of anything which one may lawfully do. The difference between the various kinds of emphasis which we notice in the text we are considering can therefore be associated with the Zoroastrian distinction between various levels of religious accomplishment.

A saying such as 229 seems to represent the more rigorous kind of right measure: "The fruit of material things is a meal. The fruit of a meal is the preservation of the body", this ultimately leads to the fruit of the future body, in the eschatological period, which is "intransient joy that always is and always will be". Relinquishing anything in the material world which is beyond the bare minimum measure, thus following the standard of the *Gāthā*, seems to underlie the passage E22a, which again uses the symbolic name "He Who Puts off Pain": when such people possess the material world, they abandon it, and in a seeming paradox, when they abandon it, it is still possessed by them. The same idea is expressed by another saying of the same sage, Baxt-Āfrīd, which is also phrased in a paradoxical manner (E22d). The moral seems to be that one does not really lose the material world by giving it up, while one may actually lose it by being too keen on keeping it.

Poverty is especially praised, it being a way of life by which one subsists on the minimum level of material possession. Poverty undertaken voluntarily, out of devotion, is particularly good (141). So good is poverty considered that the poor must be warned not to regard the wealthy with contempt (147, 143). The rich are equally warned not to regard the poor with contempt, a grave sin (281). The rich should not be regarded as devoid of goodness merely because they are rich, and the poor should not be regarded as virtuous only by reason of their poverty (71, 282, C23-C24), and the reality behind these warnings seems obvious. A long passage, 304, describes poverty as one of those things which are initially hard and unpleasant to bear, but the benefit of which is ultimately great. The same set of ideas concerning poverty is present in other Pahlavi *andarz* texts too.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *PhIT* 73.12-14; 81 (§3) (where possessing wealth is also presented as a position which can lead to virtue).

Poverty is a special privilege, which not every one can undertake (141). This last saying is the beginning of a whole group, a small treatise of *andarz*, all devoted to poverty (141-148), and enumerating the virtues as well as the vices of the poor, compared to those of the rich. The two main defects of the poor are to treat the wealthy with contempt, and thus not teach them what they need to know in matters of the soul, and the other, to complain of their own situation (146). "The poor" as a category tend to be confused with "the good", those who should teach virtues to others. They have power to bless other people.<sup>29</sup> The term "poor" can be used metaphorically, since it indicates something blessed or holy, as in A3: "Every person has at (his) root a poor one for keeping. That poor one is his own soul". This is reminiscent of another saying (237), where the soul is referred to as a god. These associations of the term "poor" which imply a certain sanctity and spiritual force are connected with a tradition which invested such a meaning on the term already in the language of the Avesta, and which continued down into the Islamic period under the form *darvish*; in the Islamic period this became part of the Judaeo-Christian tradition which also provided antecedents in the same sense.<sup>30</sup> Pahlavi distinguishes between the good term for poverty, *driyōšīh*, and the bad term, *škōhīh*.<sup>31</sup>

It is on this background that we should understand the epithet accorded to certain distinguished groups of people, notably the judges of the province of Fars, as well as of other districts, "intercessor for the poor".<sup>32</sup>

To conclude this discussion of poverty in our book and in other pious

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *DkM* 791.22-792.2 (missing in B). West's rendering, *SBE*, 37, p. 180 (*Dk* IX, ch. VII, 10), seems to me inadequate. The whole passage should be translated, I believe: "This, too: the food which you eat, this (*ēd*) [should be eaten] in a worthy manner, so that what you have eaten should become light, not heavy. That is (*ēd ku*) when you eat do good deeds and abstain from sin, so that what you have eaten [should be] eternally joyful. That is, share it with the poor, and the poor will bless you. A poor man whose law is righteous, his blessing is best".

<sup>30</sup> Cf. K. Barr, "Avestan *drəgu-*, *dri-yu-*", *Studia Orientalia I. Pedersen. . . dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 21-40, and the remarks by J. de Menasce, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 282-287.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the contrast between 143 and 145.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Menasce, in the article quoted above (note 30), as well as Shaked, *Mon. Nyberg*, II, 213 ff.; Gignoux, *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses*, t. 83 (1974-75), 234; *Studia Iranica*, 5 (1976), 305.

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books in Pahlavi, it may be of interest to note that in the pragmatic *andarz* books poverty occurs as a condition which is not at all desirable. Thus the wisdom attributed to Ošnar says: "And one thing which is evil, which is the hardest of all evil, and which is impossible to hide, is poverty".<sup>33</sup> The same collection of wisdom sayings contains also some sentences with a favorable attitude towards poverty.<sup>34</sup>

The notion of the right measure (*paymān*) has already been mentioned. Sin is defined as excess or deficiency, good works as keeping the right measure. "Religion is the (right) measure" (38-39). The idea is repeated several times in this and in other books in Pahlavi. Although we would associate the idea of the right mean with Greek thought,<sup>35</sup> it is considered in the Sasanian texts to be a typically Iranian idea:

Iran has always praised the measure and criticised excess and deficiency.

In Byzantium the philosophers have been mostly praised, in India the knowers, in other places the cognizant have been mostly praised, those from whom skill of speech is manifest. The Kingdom of Iran has approved of people with insight (*DkM* 429.11-15; B 335).<sup>36</sup>

The question whether the idea of *paymān* is originally Iranian or a borrowing from the west is somewhat complex. There can be little doubt that there was an Aristotelian influence in the formation of the Iranian ideas around the concept of the right measure; at the same time it seems a strong possibility that there existed an Iranian idea with a similar meaning which may have co-existed alongside the Greek philosophical formulation, and was perhaps blended together with it. This can best be seen in the examination of various lists of virtues and vices. As was already mentioned, a virtue is defined as *paymān*, and vices are by definition excesses or deficiencies. Such lists arrange virtues and vices in such a way that the virtue is found in the middle, and the vices on both extremes. This is of course the well-known Aristotelian scheme. But there also exist a type of list for which no clear western antecedent is known. This is a list which is based on the division of both virtues and vices

<sup>33</sup> *Ošnar* §6; "evil" (*anāgīh*) should be understood here in the sense of hardship, rather than that of moral evil. Further sayings critical of poverty in *Ošnar* are §16, 19.

<sup>34</sup> *Ošnar* §17, 49. The text of the latter passage is given in C82. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Menasce, *Apologétique*, 30 f., and *Encyclopédie*, 54; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 251 ff.

<sup>36</sup> A slightly different translation in Bailey, *ZorPr*, 86; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 252 and note 2.



into two groups: “forward-inclined” (*frāz-āhangīg*) and “backward-inclined” (*abāz-āhangīg*). The former type indicates qualities of energy, initiative and activity, both good and bad, and the latter groups together qualities of restraint and withdrawal. A wise man has virtues of both types in the right measure (*paymānīhā*), allotted to him by the Creator. There are also two types of time, ascendance and depression (*abrāz, nišēb*), the first one generally requiring forward-inclined virtues, the other backward-inclined ones, though there are exceptions according to occasions and people (*hangāmīgā ud kasīhā*). On these lines there are two lists of virtues, each followed by its corresponding excess. The two lists are carefully correlated, so that by combining them we may get a list with four parallel columns, two for the two types of virtue, and two for their corresponding excesses on either side. In such a way we obtain not a single mean, occupying the centre between two extremes, but two middle qualities, both positive, each one with its own exaggeration. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, this type of scheme, which is represented by a number of texts in the third book of the *Dēnkard*, as well as by our passage **B14** and what follows, may be regarded as either originally Iranian, or as an Iranian development of the Aristotelian scheme, perhaps by incorporating into it the traditional Iranian notions.<sup>37</sup>

Alongside such elaborate lists, which evidently follow some philosophical formulation, although they probably give it a local shape, we also find lists of virtues and vices which are very clearly traditional, and completely innocent of philosophical interference. Such is the list in Chapter 203 of *Dēnkard* III, or in the *Ayādgar ī Wuzurgmīhr*.<sup>38</sup>

A point which deserves mention in this book, and in related Pahlavi texts, is their attitude towards the question of the freedom of the will. This again has been incorrectly tied up with other issues which have nothing to do with it, namely the problem of Zurvanism.

Fate (*baxt, brēh, brihēnišn, zamān*) is an ambiguous concept in the Zoroastrian texts. It indicates both divine predestination, and that element which is outside of human control and which is also outside of the determined order of things, which comes about unexpectedly, sometimes perhaps arbitrarily,

<sup>37</sup> A fuller discussion of some problems connected with these lists is reserved for another occasion.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. a discussion of various lists in Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 37 ff.

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and affects human destinies. It is also often indicated by the precise term *jahišn* – that which springs, which comes about by a quirk, from the verb *jastan* “to jump”. The classical epitome of the Zoroastrian attitude on fate is *gētīg pad baxt, mēnōg pad kunišn (PhlVd 5.9)*<sup>39</sup> “The material world is (governed) by fate, the spiritual world by action”. The second term, “action”, denotes human capacity and endeavour.

This division between fate and human action is however much too simple to account for the Zoroastrian view of the world. A more detailed account is given in **D1a**, where under five headings twenty five functions are enumerated. The five groups are fate (*brēh*), action, habit, substance and heritage. Under fate we have: living, wife, children, authority and wealth – that is, what one manages to acquire in one’s lifetime, including the length of one’s own life. Matters relating to the way one discharges one’s religious and social duties in life are relegated to “action”. The other functions are both outside the scope of human freedom, and also outside the scope of the intervention of fate: these are the natural functions (“habit”), qualities of character (“substance”), and qualities of intellectual capacity and bodily appearance (“heritage”). A large portion of what constitutes human existence is not subject to voluntary action or even to fortune: it is fixed and determined. What may change are those things which belong to either of the two categories, “fate” and “action”. The division between them is indeed strongly reminiscent of the distinction between “the material world” and “the spiritual world”

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<sup>39</sup> Cf., in the same vein, *DkM* 284.13 ff., quoted by Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 407, and Shaki, *ArOr*, 41 (1973), 16. Cf. Menasce, *Troisième livre*, 271. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 406, quotes a passage which seems to him to represent exactly the opposite point of view, though I doubt whether this is correct. The text reads as follows: *baxt-šān abar hān ī brihēnīdārīh pad kunišn, ud kunišn abar hān ī kerdārān, brīn-ez andar mēnōgān, gētīgīg xwad \*ēw wizēd. hamīhā guft baxt abar hān ī az mēnōgān, kunišn abar hān ī az gētīgān (DkM 416. 22-417.4; B 325.7-10)* “Fate, according to them, (applies) to that which has been decreed for doing, and action (applies) to that which those who act (do). Even that which is decreed among the spirits, an earthly being should choose by himself. In sum it has been said: Fate (applies) to that which (comes) from the spirits, action to that which (comes) from earthly beings”. The gist of this passage seems to be that a decree of fate applies to that which comes from the world of *mēnōg*, while people, creatures of *gētīg*, can only act by the principle of free choice, which is termed “action”. The distinction is thus based on totally different principles from those which underlie the idea of *gētīg pad baxt, mēnōg pad kunišn*, but there is no necessary contradiction between the two.

respectively, as given in the simple definition quoted first. This division is valid because so much of what appertains to human existence in the material world as well as in the spiritual world is unchangeable.

The way in which fate (*brēh*) affects people is described in the following terms: "When fate helps that slothful, ignorant and bad man, his sloth becomes like diligence, his ignorance becomes like wisdom, and his badness becomes like goodness. When fate opposes that wise, capable and good man, his wisdom turns to lack of knowledge and foolishness, his capacity turns into ignorance. (His) knowledge, skill and capacity are manifest as weak" (*MX* 51).<sup>40</sup> There is a difference between the two parts of the passage, which does not seem to be fortuitous: the effect of fate on the negative qualities of the first man makes them to be "like" their opposites; the effect of fate on the positive qualities of the second man turns them into their opposites – but goodness is not mentioned as part of those qualities which change. That sloth becomes like diligence evidently means that even without doing much a slothful man may find himself achieving beneficial results by the decree of *brēh*, while a wise and capable man may find that he has lost his wisdom and capacity. The same basic idea is repeated in various formulations in other texts. "For every thing which has been decreed by fate an occasion comes about concerning it, which pushes aside all other things" (*MX* 53.8-9). The relationship between fate and action is described elsewhere in the following terms: "fate and action together resemble body and soul. For a body without a soul is an inactive shape, and a soul without a body is a wind which cannot be grasped, and when they are mixed together they are powerful and greatly beneficent" (*PhlT* 94 *AW* §105-107).<sup>41</sup> The relationship is more accurately defined as follows: "Fate is the reason (*cim*) and action is the occasion (*wa-hānag*) of that which comes to man" (*PhlT* 94 *AW* 108-109).<sup>42</sup> To use the

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 258, 403 f.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 404 f.

<sup>42</sup> The Arabic version reads: *al-qadar 'illatu mā huwa kā'in wa-l-'amal 'illatu mā lam yakun* (Misk., *JX*, 33) "Fate is the cause of that which exists, action the cause of that which does not exist", which is not very appropriate. A closer rendering of the same idea occurs elsewhere in an Arabic version: *wa-l-tawfīq wa-l-ijtihād zawj fa-l-ijtihād sababu l-tawfīq wa-l-tawfīq sababu najāhi l-ijtihād* (Misk., *JX*, 77.4 f.) "Fate and effort are a couple. Effort is the cause (or "occasion") of fate, and fate is the cause (or "occasion") of the success of effort."

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preceding example for interpreting this saying, we may say that if fate has thus decreed, a slothful person may act in such a way that he is seemingly diligent, and his action may provide an occasion for the decree of fate to be effective. The same kind of relation between fate and action is evident in another instance: "It is not possible to appropriate a good thing which has not been decreed, but one which has been decreed will soon come through diligence" (*MX* 22).<sup>43</sup> Both fate and action are necessary. The two are complementary, and the metaphor used is that of the two bales on the back of a mule.<sup>44</sup>

It has been necessary to discuss the problem of fate at some length, since it has often been adduced in the argument in favour of extensive Zurvanism in Pahlavi, which can allegedly be recognized by its far-reaching fatalism. It has been claimed that some passages concerning fate in Pahlavi are unorthodox. Therefore, the argument says, they are vestiges reflecting an attitude suppressed elsewhere in the Zoroastrian books.<sup>45</sup> It can, however, be shown, I believe, that the Pahlavi books contain no trace of unorthodox fatalism, and that the utterances concerning fate fall quite harmoniously together. The ghost of this heresy can be safely removed. It is clear of course that some Pahlavi books are much more interested in fate than others, and this trend is also reflected in some compositions of the Islamic period, such as the *Shāh-Nāma*. There is however no solid reason to label these works as heterodox.

### IV. The Text of *Dēnkard* VI and the Present Edition

The text of the *Dēnkard* has been published in its entirety in Pahlavi characters twice: once by Sanjana, father and son,<sup>1</sup> and once by Madan.<sup>2</sup> To facilitate reference to these editions, the volume numbers of *DkS* are indicated in the present edition (as well as the paragraph numbers, which are borrowed from that edition, with some modifications). The page numbers of *DkM*, which is often quoted, are also given in square brackets.

The two basic manuscripts of *Dk* VI can now be conveniently used in facsimile editions. The Bombay manuscript, which is the only nearly complete

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 402.

<sup>44</sup> Tansar p. 45; Boyce's translation, p. 68. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 405.

<sup>45</sup> This was the position of Zaehner who followed and developed (in a somewhat exaggerated manner) the analysis of Nybeg, *JA*, 219 (1931), 61 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *DkS*: cf. the Bibliography for full details.

<sup>2</sup> *DkM*.

manuscript of the whole of the extant *Dēnkard*, has been published by M.J. Dresden,<sup>3</sup> and the Copenhagen manuscript which contains *Dk* VI was published in facsimile as part of the series of volumes from the Copenhagen library done by A. Christensen.<sup>4</sup> A third manuscript, designated by the siglum DP, is described and used by Sanjana in his edition,<sup>5</sup> but I have been unable to obtain a photocopy of it and have had to rely on the variants as given by Sanjana; his indications are not always unambiguous, and judging by the variants of the other manuscripts given by him, they are apparently also not entirely accurate (though on the whole fairly reliable). The beginnings of pages in B and K are given in square brackets in our edition.

K seems on the whole a much better manuscript than either B or DP, and its readings have been preferred for the most part, except when they obviously constituted a mistake. K and B are closely related to each other, and seem to depend on the same source. In 274 both K and B share a dittography:

*mardom ī ne pad dēn dēn ī yazdan ēstēnd. . .*

The dittography may be explained as a gloss *dēn ī yazdān* on *dēn*. DP has only one *dēn*, but this may be explained as a subsequent scribe's correction in DP. This is not the only case of this kind in DP.<sup>6</sup> Similar instances which show the close connection of B and K can be given. In 102 we have in both MSS XNA = *ēd* corrupted into *xw'p*. In 319 all three manuscripts agree on the reading *a-wināhīh ud huniyāgīh*. The two words resemble each other in writing, and it is quite clear that the first word is a mistake (not repeated in the same phrase in the second part of the section), probably first written thus in the manuscript which may have served as the common source to all three extant manuscripts, and then rewritten correctly immediately afterwards. It seems possible that K, B, and DP all go back to the same source. It seems unlikely that B is a copy of K, as B is a complete manuscript of *Dk*, while K has only Book VI.

Apart from the manuscripts that contain the text of *Dk* VI, we also have fragments of the text which are somewhat helpful for establishing the readings. A selection from *Dk* VI occurs in *Dd*; Ms. M 51 has been used for the

<sup>3</sup> *B facs.*

<sup>4</sup> Ms K.

<sup>5</sup> From *DkS* XII onwards.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. variants in 305 (note 7, perhaps also note 8), 306 (notes 1, 2).

## INTRODUCTION

collation.<sup>7</sup> Another selection is found in *ŠnŠ*.<sup>8</sup> NPers. versions of some passages from *Dk VI* exist in the Munich manuscripts M 55 and M 52.<sup>9</sup> Other versions exist in the *Persian Rivayat*<sup>10</sup> and some versified versions exist in M55.<sup>11</sup> A few scattered passages exist in Arabic versions, mainly in Miskawayhi's *Jāwīdān Xīrad*.<sup>12</sup>

The present edition endeavours to give in transcription a reading which would approximately reflect early Sasanian Middle Persian in so far as it can be reconstructed from the Manichean texts and by deduction from the archaising system of spelling used in the Middle Persian inscriptions as well as from loan-words, especially in Syriac and Babylonian Aramaic.<sup>13</sup> As the text of *Dk VI* is readily available in Pahlavi characters, it has not seemed necessary to note in each case the spelling of individual words or to record common variants in spelling (such as *mazdēsnañ* when it is spelled with a -t- instead of -n-). Only such variants as may be of consequence for the reading or interpretation of the text have as a rule been noted. Pahlavi scribes are notoriously careless with such particles as **W** or **Y**, although their absence or presence is apt to make a considerable difference to the sense of the sentence. Allusion to these variants has for the most part been avoided, as they are usually noted in Sanjana's edition, and a full enumeration would have made the apparatus too cumbersome. I am afraid I have not been entirely consistent in noting departure from the manuscripts where *ud* and *izāfa* are concerned, and the reader would be advised to check in the facsimiles whenever this may make a difference. References to a wrong (or different) division of words are also only partly given.

Transliteration is sparsely used; it is employed only in cases when the transcription is insufficient, and is confined in principle to the notes. It is distin-

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<sup>7</sup> As well as K 35. On the quotations from *Dk VI* in chapter XCIV of *Dd* cf. West, *SBE XVIII*, p. 269, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> *SupT ŠnŠ XX*; West, *SBE V*, 393 ff. Cf. Bthl., *Zendhschr.*, 71 f.

<sup>9</sup> Cf Bthl., *Zendhschr.*, 82 f., 270 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Scattered notes on these quotations can be found in B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz*, Bombay 1932.

<sup>11</sup> In the section 1 h. 3 (*Zendhschr.*, p. 180 f.), unnoticed by Bartholomae.

<sup>12</sup> Referred to in the notes to the text.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. W.B. Henning, *Mirisch.*, 120 ff., and MacKenzie, quoted in the next note. This is basically the system of transcription preferred by scholars of the school of F.C. Andreas, and has been followed by several recent editions of texts.

guished from the transcription by being printed in boldface type. In the system used I have been influenced by D.N. MacKenzie,<sup>14</sup> though with some modifications in favour of conservatism. The main features of the system employed here are: a distinction between ideographic *aleph* (rendered **A**) and *aleph* in Iranian words (rendered '); 'ayin (which occurs only in ideograms) is always given ' ; *heh* is rendered by **H**, whereas *heth* is rendered by **X**, **x**. In other matters the system is standard. The general aim of the transliteration has been to give an idea of what is written in the original, interpreting it wherever possible, while aiming at economy in conventional signs; it is no use pretending, I believe, that a transliteration can replace the original in Pahlavi.

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<sup>14</sup> "Notes on the transcription of Pahlavi", *BSOAS*, 30 (1967), 17-29.

# Abbreviations

Common abbreviations of periodicals are not noted.

- ADān* *Andarz ī dānāgān ō mazdēs-nān*, in: *PhIT* 51-54.  
*AdMah* *Andarz ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān*, in: *PhIT* 58-71.  
*APēš* *Andarzīhā ī pēšēnīgān*, in: *PhIT* 39-40.  
*ArOr* *Archiv Orientalní*  
*Av.* Avesta; Avestan  
*AVn* *Ardā Virāf* (or *Virāz*) *nāmag*, quoted from: M. Haug and E.W. West, *The book of Arda Viraf*, Bombay-London 1872.  
*AW* *Ayādgar ī Wuzurgmīhr*, in: *PhIT* 85-101 (quoted from a typescript edition of the text, to be published shortly).  
*AXus* *Andarz ī Xusrō ī Kawādān*, in: *PhIT* 55-57.  
*AZām* *Andarz ī Zāmāspīg*, quoted from: Giuseppe Messina S.I., *Libro apocalittico persiano – Ayātkār ī Žamāspīk*, Rome 1939 [Biblica et Orientalia 9].  
*B* Cf. *Dk*  
*B facs.* Cf. *Dk*  
*Bailey, ZorPr* H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, Oxford 1943 [Ratanbai Katrak Lectures].  
*B.M. Pentateuch* Herbert H. Paper (ed.), *A Judeo-Persian Pentateuch*. The text of the oldest Judeo-Persian Pentateuch translation, British Museum Ms. Or. 5446. Jerusalem 1972.  
*Boyce, Man. Hymn-cycles* M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn-cycles in Parthian* [London Oriental Series 3], London 1954.  
*BQ* Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf Tabrīzī, *Burhān-i Qāti'*, ed. by Muḥammad Mu'īn, 5 vols., Tehran 1963.  
*Bthl.* Christian Bartholomae  
*Bthl., AirWb* —, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904 (Reprint, Berlin 1961).  
*Bthl., ZAirWb* —, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch – Nacharbeiten und*



- Vorarbeiten*, Strassburg 1906 [Beiheft zum XIX. Band der *Indogermanischen Forschungen*].
- Bthl., *ZKMirMund* —, *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, I-VI, Heidelberg 1916-1925 [Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften].
- Bthl., *ZSR* —, *Zum sassanidischen Recht*, I-V, Heidelberg 1918-1923.
- Christensen, *Iran* A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2e éd., Copenhagen 1940.
- DA* *Draxt asūrīg*, in: *PhIT* 109-114.
- Darmesteter, *ZA* *Le Zend-Avesta*, Traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique par James Darmesteter. (Annales du Musée Guimet.) 3 vols. Reproduction photographique de l'édition 1892-93, Paris 1960.
- Dd* *Dādestān ī dēnīg; pūrsišn* I-XL, quoted from: Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria (ed.), *The Datistan-i Dinik*, Part I, Bombay [n.d.] (printed but not published).  
*pūrsišn* XLI-XCIV, quoted from K 35.
- Dhabhar, *Essays* Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar, *Essays on Iranian subjects*, Bombay 1955.
- Dhabhar, *Phly & Vr* —, ed., *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad*, Bombay 1949.
- Dk* *Dēnkard*
- Dk* III *Dk* Book III, quoted by chapter according to the numbering of *DkS* (cf. list in Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 81 ff.).
- Dk* VI *Dk* Book VI, quoted by section number as used in this book.
- Dk* VII *Dk* Book VII, quoted by chapter and section divisions as used by E.W. West, *SBE* XLVII, and Molé, *Légende*.
- Dk* IX *Dk* Book IX, quoted by chapter and section divisions as used by E.W. West, *SBE* XXXVII.
- Dk* B (or *B facs.*) M.J. Dresden (ed.), *Dēnkard — A Pahlavi text*. Facsimile edition of the manuscript B of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay, Wiesbaden 1966. Quoted by the page numbers which run in the book from right to left and which are in the book enclosed in square brackets. The brackets are here omitted.
- DkM* Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan (ed.), *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, I-II, Bombay 1911. Quoted by page, sometimes followed by line numbers.

ABBREVIATIONS

- DkS* P.B. (succeeded by D.P.) Sanjana (also spelled Sunjana), (eds.), *The Dinkard*, 19 vols., Bombay 1874-1928.
- Driver, *Aram. Doc.* G.R. Driver, *Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1957.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religion* J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962 ["Mana", Introduction à l'histoire des religions – 1, III].
- Esoteric trends* Cf. Shaked
- FrPhl* Heinrich F.J. Junker, *The Farhang-i Pahlavik*, Heidelberg 1912.
- GBd* *Greater Bundahišn*; quoted from: Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria (ed.), *The Būndahishn*, Bombay 1908 (facsimile of MS TD<sub>2</sub>).
- GBd MS DH* *The Codex DH, Being a facsimile edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht, and part of Denkard*, [Teheran, n.d.] (Iranian Culture Foundation 89).
- GBd MS TD<sub>1</sub>* *The Bondahesh, Being a facsimile edition of the manuscript TD<sub>1</sub>*, [Teheran, n.d.] (Iranian Culture Foundation 88).  
Cf. also *Zand-ākāsīh*
- Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥāt* Muḥammad b. Muḥ. al-Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, Tehran 1351 H.
- Gignoux, *Glossaire* Philippe Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London 1972 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, I).
- GIPh* W. Geiger and E. Kuhn (eds.), *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I-II, Strassburg 1895-1904.
- Gloss. MX* Aḥmad Tafazzoli, *Glossary of Mēnōg ī Xrad*, Tehran 1969 (Iranian Culture Foundation 63).
- Henning, *BBB* W.B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* [Abhandl. der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrg. 1936, Nr. 10], Berlin 1937.
- Henning Mem. Vol.* W.B. Henning Memorial Volume, London 1970.
- Henning, *Mirisch.* W.B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch", in: *Hanbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., 4. Band: Iranistik, 1. Abschnitt: Linguistik, Leiden-Köln 1958, 20-130.
- Henning, *Sogdica* —, *Sogdica* [James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXI, The Royal Asiatic Society], London 1940.
- Henning, "Verbum" —, "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfan-

- fragmente," *ZII*, 9 (1933), 158-253.
- Horn, *Grund. d. neup. Etym.* P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893.
- IOS* *Israel Oriental Studies* (Tel Aviv University)
- J. Cama Or. Inst.* Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
- JN* *Jāmāsp Nāmāg = AZām*
- K* *The Pahlavi codex K43, first part.* Published in facsimile by the University Library of Copenhagen, with an introduction by Arthur Christensen [Codices Avestici et pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, Vol. V], Copenhagen 1936, fols. 177 ff.
- Khareghat Mem. Vol.* M.P. Khareghat Memorial Volume, I, Bombay 1953.
- Lazard, *Langue des plus anc. mon.* G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963.
- Lommel, *Religion Zarathustras* H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras, nach dem Awesta dargestellt*, Tübingen 1930.
- Luṡat Nāma* 'Alī Akbar Dehxodā, *Luṡat Nāma*. Tehran 1325 H.
- MacKenzie, *Phl. Dict.* D.N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London 1971.
- Mayrhofer, *Kurzg. etym. Wb. d. Altind.* Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, 3 vols., Heidelberg 1956-1976.
- Mém. de Menasce* *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, édité par Ph. Gignoux et A. Tafazzoli, Louvain 1974 [Fondation Culturelle Iranienne 185].
- Menasce, *Apologétique* Jean Pierre de Menasce O.P., *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IXe siècle — Škand-Gumānīk Vičār, La solution décisive des doutes*, Fribourg en Suisse 1945 [Collectanea Friburgensia N.S. XXX].
- Menasce, *Encyclopédie* —, *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne — Le Dēnkart*, Paris 1958 [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses LXIX].
- Menasce, *Troisième livre* *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, traduit du pehlevi par J. de Menasce O.P., Paris 1973 [Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de Paris III, 5; Bibliothèque des Oeuvres Classiques Persanes, 4].
- MHD* *Mādigān-i-Hazār Dādīstān*, a photozincographed facsimile, [ed. by] J.J. Modi, Bombay 1901.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Mir Man* F.C. Andreas and W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I-III, Berlin 1932-1934 [Sitzungsb. d. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1932-1934].
- Misk., JX* Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Miskawayh, *Al-ḥikma al-Xāliḍa: Jāwīdān Xīrad*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, Cairo 1952.
- Molé, Culte* Marijan Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien – Le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne*, Paris 1963 [Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes LXIX].
- Molé, Légende* —, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi*, Paris 1967 [Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes iraniennes de l'Université de Paris 3].
- Mon. Nyberg* *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg*, Acta Iranica, I-II, Leiden-Teheran-Liège 1975.
- MPers.* Middle Persian
- MPT* Middle Persian of the Turfan texts, Manichean Middle Persian
- MX* *Mēnōg ī Xrad*, quoted from: T.D. Anklesaria (ed.), *Dānāk-u Mainyō-t Khard*, Bombay 1913, with chapters (= *pursišn*) and sections according to this edition.
- Nir. Facs.* D.P. Sanjana (ed.), *Nirangistan, a photozincographed facsimile*, Bombay 1894.
- NPers.* New Persian
- Hyberg, Hilfsb.* H.S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, I-II, Uppsala 1928-1931.
- Ošnar* B.N. Dhabhar (ed.), *Andar-i Aōshnar-i Dānāk*, Bombay 1930 (Pahlavi Text Series 4).
- Pāz.* Pāzand
- PāzT* Edalji Kersāspji Antiā (ed.), *Pāzend texts*, Bombay 1909.
- PersRiv Hormazyar* M.R. Unvālā (ed.), *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*, I-II, Bombay 1922.  
B.N. Dhabhar (trsl.), *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, Bombay 1932.
- Phl.* Pahlavi
- PhIT* J.M. Jamasp-Asana (ed.), *The Pahlavi texts contained in the codex MX. . .*, I-II, Bombay 1897-1913.
- PhIVd* Hoshang Jamasp (ed.), *Vendidād – Avesta text with*

- Pahlavi translation*, I-II, Bombay 1907.
- PhLY** Phl. *Yasna*, quoted from Dhabhar, *PhLY & Vr*.
- PN** *Pand-nāmag ī zardušt* (= *Cīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān*), in: *PhIT* 41-50.
- PRiv Dd** B.N. Dhabhar (ed.), *The Pahlavi rivāyat accompanying the Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk*, Bombay 1913.
- Pth.** Parthian
- Pursišnīhā** K.M. Jamaspasa and H. Humbach (eds. and trsls.), *Pursišnīhā – A Zoroastrian Catechism*, I-II, Wiesbaden 1971.
- REA** B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Rivāyat-ī Hēmīt-ī Ašavahištān*, Bombay 1962.
- Salemann, MSt** Carl Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien*, I [Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, VIIIe Série, Classe hist.-philol., vol. VIII, No. 10], St. Petersburg 1908.
- SBE** F. Max Müller (ed.), *The Sacred Books of the East*. Vols. V, XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, XLVII constitute *Pahlavi texts* I-V, translated by E.W. West.
- Scholem Festschrift** *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to G. Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967.
- Schulgespräch** *Xwēškārīh ī rēdagan*, edited by A. Freiman, "Andarz ī Kōtakān", *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1918, 482-489.  
Heinrich F.J. Junker, "Ein mittelpersisches Schulgespräch", *Sitzungsb. d. Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-hist. Klasse, Jahrg. 1912, 15. Abhandlung, Heidelberg 1912.
- ŠGV** Hōshang Jāmāspjī Jāmāsp Asānā and E. W. West (eds.), *Shikand-Fūmānīk Vijār, The Pāzand-Sanskrit text of Neryosang*, Bombay 1887.  
See also Menasce, *Apologétique*.
- Shaked, Esoteric Trends** S. Shaked, *Esoteric trends in Zoroastrianism, Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, III, Jerusalem, 1969, 175-221.
- ŠnŠ** J.C. Tavadia (ed.), *Šāyast-nē-Šāyast – A Pahlavi text on religious customs*, Hamburg 1930.
- SupT ŠnŠ** Firoze M.P. Kotwal (ed.), *The supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-Šāyest*, Copenhagen 1969.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Tansar                    *Tansar's Epistle to Goshnasp*, Persian text edited by Mojtabā Minovi, Tehran 1932.  
                               *The letter of Tansar*, translated by M. Boyce, Rome 1968 [Literary and historical texts from Iran 1].
- Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*    Jehangir C. Tavadia, *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier*, Leipzig 1956.
- Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*    Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Baṣā'ir wa-l-dhakhā'ir*, ed. I. Keilani, Damascus [1964], I-IV.
- TPS                        *Transactions of the Philological Society*
- Unvala Mem. Vol.    Dr. J.M. Unvala Memorial Volume, Bombay 1964.
- Vd                        *Vendidad*
- Vr                        *Visperad*
- WāzAd                *Wāzag ēcand ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān*, in: *PhIT* 144-153.
- Widengren, *Hochgottglaube*    Geo Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, Uppsala 1938.
- Widengren, *Iran. Geisteswelt*    —, *Iranische geisteswelt von den Anfängen bis zum Islam*, Baden-Baden 1961.
- Widengren, *Religionen*    —, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965.
- Wissb. Sohn            Heinrich F.J. Junker (ed.), *Der Wissbegierige Sohn – Ein mittelpersischer Text über das Kustīk*, Leipzig 1959.
- Wizīrīhā                *Wizīrīhā ī dēn ī weh ī mazdēsnañ*, in: K.M. Jamaspasa, "The Pahlavi text of *Vicīrīhā ī dēn ī vēh ī Mazdayasnān*", *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 201-218.
- Xēm ud xrad            *Abar xēm ud xrad ī farrox mard*, *PhIT* 162-167.
- Y                        *Yasna*
- Yt.                        *Yašt*
- Zaehner, *Dawn*        R.C. Zaehner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London 1961.
- Zaehner, *Magi*        —, *The teachings of the Magi – A compendium of Zoroastrian beliefs*, London 1956.
- Zaehner, *Zurvan*      —, *Zurvan – A Zoroastrian dilemma*, Oxford 1955.
- Zand-ākāsīh            B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Zand-ākāsīh – Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, Bombay 1956.
- ZII                        *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*.
- Zš                        B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam*, I, Bombay 1964.
- ZWY                     B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Zand-ī Vohūman Yasn and two Pahlavi fragments*, Bombay 1957.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ZXA* B.N. Dhabhar (ed.), *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, Bombay 1927.  
*Translation of Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, by B.N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1963.

## SYMBOLS USED

- ( ) In an edition of text: to be omitted  
In a translation: translator's explanatory addition  
[ ] Conjectural addition to the text  
(( )) A gloss found in the text  
\* Corrected reading, conjectural  
In a translation: conjectural meaning  
+ Corrected reading on the basis of manuscript variants, against the printed edition.