

شک‌زدایی‌کننده

مردان‌فروخ

šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār

The **Doubt-removing** book of
Mardānfarrox

Introduced, translated, and edited by
Raham Asha

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The ŠGV is a treatise in which the author intends to present the arguments to refute in detail the alien schools and sects, establish the teaching of the two principles, and lead us to believe the veracity of the Religion, Daēnā Māzdayasni, and that of the teachings of the old Aryan guides, the Paoiryō.ṭkaēša. The complete original Pārsīg text is irretrievably lost, and we only possess its transcription into Pāzand (the vernacular Pārsī language written in Dēn-dibīrīh) and its translation into Sanskrit, made by the Pārsī high-priest Neryōsang Dhaval.¹

The name of the author of the treatise is Mardānfarrox son of Ohrmazddād. He makes him known as a suitor and researcher of truth who does not like to follow a religion by inheritance, but he seeks that which is more reliable and acceptable before the philosophy and logic. Although he crosses many lands and seas, he only mentions the name of India (*hindūgān būm*). In his quest, he meets many different sects, examines other doctrines, and reads other scriptures. But in this period of self-doubt, he falls into the depths of the gloom and ill-solvable doubtfulness, and it seems that the doctrine of Mani seduces him more, until a time when, owing to the books and memoranda of the wise Magi, he escapes from much doubtfulness, error and deceit of doctrines. In Spāhān, he meets a certain Mihrayyār who asks him a few questions about the two independent coeternal principles, the assault of evil, the cosmic battle between the

¹ . There is a Pārsīg version of the earlier part of the treatise (the fragments 1-5), but it is based on the Pāzand version. There are a few copies of two Gujarati versions of the fragments 1-11. There is also a Persian paraphrase of the Prelude (1.1-31).

forces of good and evil, and the finite and infinite times. He first writes a small pamphlet (fragments 2-4) which consists of answers to questions posed, in a friendly manner, by Mihrayyār who was skeptical, but when he saw the answer, was apparently convinced. Then Mardānfarrox decides to insert it into a larger treatise the aim of which is to answer the doubts and queries of the Mazdayasnian neophytes concerning the cosmic dualism, in contrast with its opponents.

The title of this treatise is: *śak-ud-gumānīh-vizār* ‘doubt-removing’. Notice that Neryōsang has erroneously transliterated this name into Pāzand and Sanskrit², and now the treatise is known among the “scholars” by its mis-spelt title.³ The words *śak* and *gumān(īh)* are synonymous meaning ‘doubt’. The word *śak* comes from Arabic شك /*šakk*/ ‘doubt; mistrust; suspicion’, although its root is not certain.⁴ And the word *gumān* comes from the old Perso-Aryan **ui-man-(ah-)*⁵. In Persian literature *śak* and *gumān(īh)* occur frequently together. For example, in the manuscript MU 29, 83 we read thus: شک و /*śak ud gumān*/. In the Pārsī manuscripts it is not unusual to see شک و

². شک و گمانیگزار: سکندگومانیگزار. یادکرد.

³. For example, Menasce calls it Škand-Gumānīk Vicār (Škand-Gumānīg Vizār) which is non-sense. The proposition of Sheriarji D. Bharucha is interesting : « The meaning of the original Pahlavi name, if we decipher it Shak-i-Gūmānīk-vijār, would be “convincer of the sceptic’s doubts (regarding the truthfulness of Zoroastrian religion)”. » *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, Part IV, Bombay, 1913, Preface, i.

⁴. It is possibly cognate with Skt. *śanka-* m. ‘doubt; fear; distrust’ (*śānk* ‘to doubt, fear, distrust’).

⁵. Cf. Av. *aγəm uparōvīmanōhīm* (Vd 1.15), Skt. *vi-manas(-ka-)* ‘perplexed in mind’, *vi-mati-* m. ‘difference of opinion’, adj. ‘of different opinion’, cf. Śikṣāsamuccaya (Kārikā 16), *bodhisatvaḥ prasannaḥ syāddharme vimatiṃ utsṛjet*.

šak u gumān/.⁶ In Persian, the use of شک و گمانی /*šak ud gumānī*/ is also common.⁷ The last word of the title, °*vizār*, is used in a number of the compounds.⁸ The idea of removing doubts is a familiar one in the teaching of the Magi, and the Pārsīg expression for “removing-doubt” is used without the loan-word *šak*: *gumān-vizār*.⁹ This reminds us the epithet of the Jina (‘victor’, a designation for a Buddha) in the Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā: *vimati-cchedaka* ‘doubt-dispelling, removing perplexity’ (Skt. *vimati* is cognate with Pers. *gumān*).¹⁰ In the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra, 69, the mantra of all buddhas (or, bodhisattvas) is thus: *Namaḥ samantabuddhānāṃ, sarvathā vimativikiraṇa dharmadhātunirjāta saṃ saṃ ha svāhā* ‘Homage to all Buddhas! O you who dispel doubt in every way! you who are born of the Dharma realm! saṃ saṃ ha! svāhā!’¹¹ As for Mardānfarrox, his text incarnates the *gumānvizār* who dispels the doubts of the Mazdayasnian neophytes to show the path of truth and measure (Av. *aša*). The path of *Aša* is only one, while the non-path of *druj* is multiple; it takes many forms and

⁶. For example, see the Persian manuscript of AVN (Ms Khudabakhsh L. n° 3771, fol. 59a) شک و گمان, or that of the Persian Rivāyāt (Ms Khudabakhsh L. n°3771, fol. 12a) شک و گمان.

⁷. Cf., for example,

شک و گمانی: الربیب (علی بن محمد بن طاهر الکریمی، مفتاح الإشراف لتکملة الأصناف، محمد حسین تسیحی،

اسلام آباد، ۱۳۷۲، ۵۰۹)

⁸. For example, *frašn-vizār* ‘problem-solving’, *x^vamn-vizār* ‘interpreter of dreams, oneirocritic’. Cf. also *kām(ag)-vizār*, *varan-vizār*, *vināh-vizār*.

⁹. Cf. Dk iv, M 429 *harvispāgāh ī gumānvizār*, DD 38.15 *x^varraḥ ī gumānvizār ī abēzag dēn*.

¹⁰. *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā, sūtra du Mahāyāna*, ed. L. Finot, St. Pétersbourg, 1901, 5.

¹¹. *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sutra*, translated from the Chinese (Taishō Volume 18, Number 848) by Rolf W. Giebel, 2005, 64.

engenders different sects and schisms. He deals with two types of opponents: One, gnostic dualism, viz. Manichaeism and Neoplatonism – unfortunately the book breaks off abruptly at 16.111 before the critical portion of his discussion of the tenets of the Manichaeans is completed. Two, Monism, either atheistic, i. e., the schools of the Dahrī, the sophists and the atheists, and theistic, i. e., the monotheistic orthodoxies of Christianity, rabbinic Judaism and Islam. Notice that the Magi consider Christianity as “second Judaism” (*didīgar jehūdīh*) and Islam as “third Judaism” (*sidīgar jehūdīh*).¹²

Mardānfarrox gives himself as a man in search of the knowledge of the truth, a student of the wise Magi, and his book effectively popularizes the teaching of his masters, especially a certain Ādarpādyāvandān¹³, whose name is not mentioned in any existing Pārsīg literature. He acknowledges to have derived his knowledge from the *Dēnkird* of Ādarfarrōbay son of Farrozzād and the *Rōšn-nibēg* of Rōšn. The *Dēnkird* which is in our hands today is its final compilation, by Ādarbād son of Emēd, after the calamity that befell Zardušt son of Ādarfarrōbay. Mardānfarrox refers to the *Dēnkird* of a thousand chapters prepared by Ādarfarrōbay, and moreover he inserts two chapters of that book which are not found in the portion of the *Dēnkird* known to be extant: one, probably from the first two books (12); and the other, from the third book (9). Mardānfarrox quotes some sayings from the book of Rōšn, the elder son of Ādarfarrōbay, the *Rōšn-nibēg* ‘the book of Rōšn’ (a word play on *rōšn*: ‘light’ and Rōšn). The title of this book occurs in the

¹² . Cf. Dk iii, M 257.

¹³ . Ādar son of Pādyāvand ? Or, Ādarbād son of ... ?

*Fihrist*¹⁴, and it seems that Rayḥānī had rendered the book of Rōšn in Arabic.¹⁵

Mardānfarrox writes his treatise in a tumultuous period, in the middle of the 9th century A. D., that is some time after the calamity (ألم 'pain, suffering', i.e., murder) which befell Zardušt who had succeeded his father Ādarfarrōbay as *hudēnān pēšobāy* 'the leader of those of the good religion', and the library of the Magi was destroyed in Baydād and the pages of the Dēnkird were scattered or simply disappeared. When, in the 10th century, Ādarbād ī Emēdān tried to bring together the scattered fragments of the copy of the Dēnkird, he no longer had access to the two chapters quoted by Mardānfarrox –only the title of one chapter (9) is found in the extant Dēnkird.¹⁶

The extant treatise consists of some words introducing the subject and the author and thirteen chapters.

Prelude (1)

Mardānfarrox gives a résumé of the religion: the world of thought (*mēnōg*) and the world of life (*gētiīg*); the five-part pattern of the religion (*dēn*) and the five-part structure of the

¹⁴ اخبار علی بن عبیدة الريحاني ... وله من الكتب ... كتاب مهراذرجشنس كتاب كيلهراسف الملك ... كتاب روشن نبيک ... (كتاب الفهرست، گ. فلوجل، ۱۸۷۱، ۱۱۹).

¹⁵ . See M. Inostranzev, *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature*, transl. From Russian by G. K. Nariman, Bombay, 1918, ch. vii, 89-91. See also م. محمدی ملایری، تاریخ و فرهنگ ایران در دوران انتقال از عصر ساسانی به عصر اسلامی، چهار، تهران، ۱۳۸۰، ۳۱۹-۳۲۰.

¹⁶ . See Dk iii, M 262:

ابار استیہ ت دām /abar astīh ī dām
hamēstār ud pēšīh ī hamēstār az dām/

Aryan society and the five-part pattern of the microcosm (*gēhān ī kōdak, mardōm*).

Response to some questions: First chapter (2-4)

The first chapter is in the form of replies to some questions that had been put to Mardānfarrox by a certain Mihrayyār of Spāhān. It is divided in three segments:

One (2). Mardānfarrox first responds to this question: As Aṅgra Mainyu who is not of the same substance as the world of light how could he attack and harm the Light? This segment resembles the second chapter of the Jāmāspīg.

Two (3). The question to which this segment answers is as follows: Why did Ahura Mazdā not prevent Aṅgra Mainyu from doing and wanting evil, when He is able to do so? Mardānfarrox explains that the omnipotence of Ahura Mazdā is limited to all that which is possible.

Three (4).¹⁷ Mihrayyār puts forward this question: How is it possible to reconcile the astrological doctrine of the determination of earthly events by the celestial sphere, stars and planets, and the religious cosmogony based on dualism? Who created the celestial sphere, Aṅgra Mainyu, or Ahura Mazdā, or both? Mardān farrox gives the five-part pattern of the lords of the fixed stars and their opponents thus:

Peg-on-High	Saturn
Haftōring	Jupiter

¹⁷ . See Degener, A., “Neryosanghs Sanskrit-Übersetzung von Škand gumānīk Wicār”, *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of D. N. MacKenzie*, Peter Lang, 1991, 49-58.

Vanand	Mars
Sadvēs	Venus
Tištār	Mercury

Mihrayyār puts another question as regards the unlimitedness and limitedness (of time and place). Mardānfarrox leaves the answer to this question for another chapter.

Atheism: Second chapter (5-6)

The second chapter begins with some definitional ground to expose the existence of the Holy Spirit and His adversary. Then he refutes the arguments of the “alien” atheists, those who are called σοφιστής ‘sophist’ and also *dahrī*. This chapter is contained in the fifth and sixth fragments of the book. R. P. Karkaria resumes the first fragment (5) thus:

Mardānfarrox points out (5.1-9) the necessity of understanding the nature of the sacred being as well as of admitting his existence. He then details (5.10-45) in a general manner the various modes of acquiring such knowledge, and these modes are (5.46-91) applied to prove the existence of a wise and benevolent Creator, from the evident existence of design in creatures, and their various organs and appliances. In the sixth fragment, the argument from design is continued with a special rebuke at its close to the Sophists who argue that there can be no certainty about spiritual matters because our knowledge of them is merely subjective illusion.

Then Karakaria points out that this chapter presents a very close resemblance to the argument of M. Lucillius Balbus, the spokesman of the Stoics in the famous dialogue of Cicero, called the *De Natura Deorum*:

In the first book the representative of the Epicureans, C. Velleius, gives their views; he believes in the existence of the gods, but denies the government of the world by them. C. Aurelius Cotta, on behalf of the Academics, says, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty with regards to the divine natures. The second book is entirely taken up with the Stoic argument of Balbus. He gives, (1) proof of the divine existence, (2) of the divine nature, (3) of the providential government of the universe, and (4) of the providential care for man. Providential government is inferred from the consideration of the Universe itself, as embodying an intelligent principle first imported into it by a creative energy. A detailed review is given of the wonders of Nature, viz., the earth, the sun, moon, stars and planets; also wonders of vegetable and animal life. Then the hand of Providence is shown to be most plainly visible in man, in the provision made for supporting his life by food and air; in the fragment of his body and his erect position; in the organs of sense; in the gift of reason; in the gift of speech through the wondrous mechanism of the vocal organs; in the capacity for action through the mechanism of the hand; and finally in the capacity for the meditation and worship. This entire section of Cicero presents a resemblance to the two fragments of the second chapter; and this can be clearly seen by reading the two side by side. Karakaria gives one instance: Both Cicero and Mardānfarrokh take the instance of the human eye to show the adaptation of means to ends in the human body as well as the Universe.¹⁸

¹⁸ . R. P. Karkaria, « The Teleology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum », *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIX, 1895-1897, 215-23. See also Filippone, E., *The "pupil of the eye" in the Iranian languages*, Napoli, 1995.

Then he succinctly reviews (6.5-34) the doctrine of the Dahrī, that is, the principle of infinite time, the denial of heaven and hell, and materialism, and he ends (6.35-45) by saying a few words about sophists.

Adversary: Third chapter (7-8)

There exists, in the world of thought as well as in the world of life, an adversary (*Av. paityāra*), the evil spirit, as a different principle and essence, competing with the Holy Spirit. Mardānfarrokh divides this chapter into two fragments:

One (7). About the existence of the contrary of different substance.

Two (8). About the existence of the contrary of different principle. “God is good: that is the first Zoroastrian dogma, and to this Mardānfarrokh returns again and again. In the chapter (8) ..., he develops three main lines of thought. First the existence of good and evil is empirically verifiable and this dichotomy is traceable to first causes. Secondly since God is by definition a rational (and omniscient) being his creation must have a rational motive. Thirdly, if it is admitted that God is good, then it necessarily follows that evil cannot proceed from Him, however indirectly. ... Mardānfarrokh then goes on to argue that since good and evil are demonstrable facts in the material world and since the latter derives from a spiritual or unseen prototype, it follows that there is a dichotomy in that world too, -a dichotomy that leads inevitably to two first causes which are mutually antagonistic and irreconcilable.”¹⁹ « La position mazdéenne

¹⁹ . R. C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi. A Compendium of Zoroastrian Beliefs*, London, 1956, 567.

telle qu'elle s'exprime dans les chapitres qui suivent a ceci d'original qu'elle s'efforce d'intégrer le mal, conçu comme de l'être dans une métaphysique qui entend respecter à la fois le principe de contradiction et le principe de la finalité. »²⁰

Proof of the existence of the adversary of the creatures, and the precedence of the adversary in comparison with the creatures: Fourth chapter (9)

The whole chapter 5 (fragment 9) is a quotation from the third book of the Dēnkird, only the title of which is found in the extant Dēnkird (iii, M 262). It is about the existence of the contrary of the creatures, and the precedence of the contrary in comparison with the creatures.

Monism versus dualism: Fifth chapter (10)

This chapter is about the theoretic system of the monists (monotheists) in which Mardānfarrox presents a new proof of dualism. The opportunity is taken to speak of his personal quest, his travels, how he escaped from doubtfulness especially from Manichaeism, and those who inspired him, viz. Ādarpādyāvandān, Ādarfarrōbay and Rōšn. He also gives a brief summary of the history of the Religion, *daēnā māzdayasni*, viz. the coming of the religion, the conversion of Vīštāspa and the wise of his court, the conversion of Spəntōdāta and Zairi.vari and other governors, the ordeal of Ādarbād and the defeat of his hypocrite adversaries, colloquies with the “Roman” Atheists and the prevalence of the wise of Ērānšahr (Persia). It ends with a prelude to next chapter on Islam (10.78-80)

Islam: Sixth and seventh chapters (11-12)

²⁰ . Menasce, 84.

The sixth and seventh chapters are devoted to Islam. Neither the name of Muḥammad is mentioned nor the name of his sect, Islam. Mardānfarrox gives numerous texts from the Qur'ān, called *Nibēg*. He only mentions one of the numerous sects of Islam, the Mu'tazilites.

I. N° 11 (sixth chapter)²¹

About the inconsistency of the discourses of the monotheists: Four virtues are requisite for godhead, viz., omniscience, omnipotence, goodness, and mercifulness. Monotheism, and especially Islam, traces both good and evil to a divinity whose attributes are incompatible with the latter. Allah fails to be a divinity worthy of worship.

II. N° 12 (seventh chapter)

From the Dēnkird

This is the only chapter of the first two books of the Dēnkird that has been preserved. Mardānfarrox has cited it by way of authority after the chapter on Islam. It is about the inconsistent discourses of the Muslim doctrines as regards God, and concludes that Islam is incompatible with a measured religion. It then

²¹ . « Ce chapitre, le plus long et le plus mal composé de tout l'ouvrage, est, à certains égards, le plus intéressant. La théologie musulmane y est prise à partie, l'auteur renvoyant dos à dos motazélites et ašarites, invoquant, contre les premiers, les textes qoraniques qui affirment l'action de Dieu sur tout ce qui est, contre les seconds, les arguments des motazélites (et des sceptiques) en quête d'explication du mystère du mal. Le commentaire permettra de juger de la fidélité de ce texte comme témoignage de l'extérieur sur le grand débat de la théologie musulmane. » Menasce, 125.

compares the god of the (Muslim) monotheists with the god of the (Mazdayasnian) dualists.

Zoroastrian dualism “absolves God from any breath of evil and explains how it could be that creation was actually necessary. It stands wholly opposed to Islam which was to supersede it and there could not really be any *modus vivendi* between the two, since Zoroastrianism stands squarely on the goodness of God and cares not at all for his unity whereas Islam asserts above all things the absolute unity and the unicity of God, his absolute transcendence and total incomprehensibility; and since the Moslem god is as capable of leading astray as he is of guidance, it is no accident that among his ninety-nine names that of ‘good’ is absent. The Zoroastrian God is reasonable as well as good; there is nothing ‘numinous’ about him. Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazdā) and Allāh are not compatible, and inevitably the good God of reason was forcibly ejected by the *mysterium tremendum* imported by the Semites.”²²

Judaism: Eighth and ninth chapters (13-14)

Mardānfarrox proceeds to a polemical critique of Judaism in two chapters. After the edition of the text by Jamasp-Asana and its translation by E. West the critique of Judaism aroused the curiosity of some scholars of the Semitic world. James Darmesteter first wrote about it (with a French translation of the text).²³ According to him, this critique is much older than any old Christian refutation of the middle Ages. At the same time, it

²² . Zaehner, op. cit., 58-9.

²³ . J. Darmesteter, « Textes relatifs au judaïsme », *Revue des études juives*, I, 1889, 1-15.

is different in spirit and in character. The Christians in their polemic against Judaism are on the defensive, because they admit that which is admitted by the Jew; they only admit more, and this is their sole raison d'être. A Christian polemicist, when he attacks, he indeed defends his belief and tries to justify it. The position of a Pārsī is quite different. He has nothing in common with the Jew and he judges his belief according to his own knowledge and principles.²⁴ Then Darmesteter puts this question that transcends the problem of the use of Hebrew Scriptures by Mardānfarrox. Louis Gray²⁵, Jean de Menasce (in

²⁴ . « Cette réfutation est plus ancienne qu'aucune des réfutations chrétiennes du moyen âge. Elle en diffère absolument, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, d'esprit et de caractère. Le Chrétien en polémique contre le juif est en réalité sur la défensive, car il admet tout ce qu'admet le Juif ; sa croyance n'existe que par celle du Juif ; seulement, il admet en plus, et c'est là sa seule raison d'être, des choses que le Juif repousse, parce qu'il ne les trouve pas dans le texte commun, de sorte qu'en réalité le polémiste chrétien, en ayant l'air d'attaquer, ne fait que se défendre et se justifier. La position du Parsi est tout autre. Il n'a rien de commun avec le Juif et juge sa croyance avec ses propres lumières et ses propres principes. Sa position est celle du libre penseur, toutes les fois qu'il ne fait pas intervenir – fort imprudemment sans doute, s'il a trouvé qui riposte – ses propres principes métaphysiques et autres. Aussi, bien des passages des pages suivantes auraient pu être écrites par Celse et les auteurs des contre-évangiles et semblent des fragments de la Bible enfin expliquée, remanié à l'orientale. L'auteur déploie d'ailleurs une réelle force de logique et de dialectique, qualité ordinaire chez les théologiens de toute religion quand ils ont l'offensive. L'intérêt de curiosité n'est pas le seul qu'offrent ces textes. Ils en offrent un autre plus sérieux : c'est un élément nouveau dans l'histoire de l'exégèse biblique en Orient. D'où sont prises les nombreuses citations de la Bible que contient la réfutation du docteur Parsi ? Il est peu vraisemblable qu'il les ait tiré directement du texte hébreu : il avait donc sous les yeux une traduction au moins partielle de la Bible ? Quelle est cette traduction ? Y avait-il une traduction pehlvi de la Bible ? A quelle école d'exégèse se rattachait-elle et se ramène-elle à une branche connue ? D'où a-t-il pris les midrashim étranges du second chapitre ? » (4-5)

²⁵ . L.H. Gray, "The Jews in Pahlavi Literature", *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1906, I, 177-92.

his Introduction to Chapters thirteen and fourteen), Jacob Neusner²⁶, Shaul Shaked²⁷, etc.²⁸ have tried to resolve this problem.

I. Introduction 1-4

The first part essentially contains an epitome of stories of creation and the fall of Adam as described in the Genesis. 5-47

Objections 48-149

II. Introduction 1-3

The second part is about the qualities of Adonai as described in a series of Scriptures and Agadot: He is vengeful, raging, heavy-hearted, wrathful, deceitful even of those who serve him best, warlike and cruel, capricious and mean to men; he does not even tolerate the protestation of the angels; he dismisses his own angels to a fiery river in hell; he engages in bloody battles against men; in the end, he comes to regret his creation. 4-86

Christianity: Tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters (15)

Three chapters of the *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār* are devoted to the critique of Christianity. Mardānfarrokh speaks of three Christian groups, that is, the Nestorians, the Melkites, and the Jacobites; the origin of all three is, according to him, Judaism.

²⁶ . J. Neusner, "A Zoroastrian Critique of Judaism", JAOS, 1963, 283-94 ; "Škand miscellanis", JAOS, 1966, 414-16.

²⁷ . Sh. Shaked, "Zoroastrian Polemics against Jews in the Sasanian and Early Islamic Period", *Irano-Judaica*, II, Jerusalem, 1990, 85-104.

²⁸ . See for example

حمید حمید، "شکند گمانیک و پیچار و نقد کلامی بر یهودیگری" (۲۰۰۴)، ایرانشناسی، دوره، جدید،

سال ۱۵، ۷۲۶-۷۳۴.

This corroborates the thesis of the Dēnkird that ranks Christianity as the “second Judaism”.

I. Introduction 1-3

This chapter treats of a set of the dogmas of the Christian church: Incarnation, Trinity, Crucifixion and Redemption.

The homeland of the Christian creed: Jerusalem.

The Immaculate Conception and the Annunciation to a Jewish woman: The announcement by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin woman that she is impregnated by the Pure Wind (Holy Spirit), and she would conceive Messiah. 4-8

About the testimony of the Virgin woman 9-17

About the Pure Wind (Holy Spirit) 18-23

About Messiah as Son of God 25-30

About Messiah as God and his Incarnation 31-39

About the crucifixion of Messiah 40-45

The doctrine of the Trinity: Father and Son and Pure Wind 46-62

Salvation 63-70

II. Introduction 71

This chapter cites a number of sayings from the “Canonical Scriptures” of the Christians. The central concept in this chapter is the Freedom of Will. 72-90

III. Introduction 91-92

This chapter cites a number of sayings from Paul and other authorities. The central point of the critique is the “duality” of the Christian discourses. Mardānfarrox argues that the New Testament really confirms the existence of two Principles, Good and Evil; and he concludes that: Although Jesus claimed that he had not come to abolish the Laws of Moses, his sayings and commands really dissipate these laws. 93-155

Manichaeism: Thirteenth chapter (16)

The final chapter of Mardānfarrox's treatise, is devoted to Manichaeism. Since the *editio princeps* of the Pāzand version and Neryōsag's Sanskrit rendering by JāmāspAsānā and the English translation by West (1885) this chapter has attracted the attention of Western scholars, and they have translated the whole chapter or various passages of it²⁹, and or discussed some of technical terms in it.³⁰ J. de Menasce in his revised French edition gives a detailed introduction to this chapter, with giving most of the passages which refer to Mani in Pārsīg literature. However, in spite of revised translations and revisions the technical terms that have been wrongly transcribed in Neryosang's Pāzand version are not yet correctly deciphered. The head of the chapter 1-3

Expository portion:

Mani's doctrine of the three times 4-7

Initial: The infinity of the principles 4

Middle: Mixture 5

The world is the corporeal body of Aṅra Mainyu 8-9

²⁹ . C. Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück Manichaeischen Schriftums im asiatischen Museum*, St.- Pétersburg, 1904, 16-26; W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, New York, 1932; R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvān, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955, 392-96; C.G. Cereti, "Notes on the Škand Gumānīg Wizār", *Languages of Iran: Past and Present*, Wiesbaden, 2005, 1-15.

³⁰ . W. Sundermann, "Das Manichäerkapitel des Škand gumānīg wizār in der Darstellung und Deutung Jean de Menasce", *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, ed. by J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger & G. Wurst, Leiden, 2001, 325-37; D. Taillieu, "Pazand Nišāmī between Light and Darkness", *Iranica Selecta. Studies in honour of W. Skalmowski*, Turnhout, 2003, 239-46.

virtues, the reading *x^varīgq* is not certain. West translates it by ‘glorious’, that is it is derived from Pers. *x^varraḥ* ‘glory, fortune’. Jackson and de Menasce follow him. However, *x^var(r)īg* cannot be the adjectival form of *x^varraḥ* (read *x^varəhe* by Neryōsang). Sundermann proposes another derivation: *x^varīg* ‘solar; sun-like’ from *x^var* ‘sun’.⁴¹ We do not find this word anywhere else in the Persian or Parthian Manichaean texts. It is possible that in the original ŠGV the word was written thus: 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 /*nax^vrēg*/ or /*noxrēg*/ ‘first-born’; and Neryōsang read 𐭪𐭥𐭥. The word *nax^vrēg* is a technical term that is found in Turfan Pārsīg fragments.⁴² Then we can translate *dvāzdahān nax^vrēgān duxtarān ī zurvān* by ‘Twelve First-born Daughters of Zurvān (Time)’. Soul-Light is bound and imprisoned within the body. 38-39

It ought not to procreate and propagate lineage, nor even to cultivate plants and grain. 40-41

It ought not to kill any creature whatsoever. 42-45

Victory of God and end of the world 46-50

The doctrine of the two primeval principles 51-52

For Mani, there are two principles, both infinite, that coexist along a common border; they are not separate by an intermediary space, read by Neryōsang *nišāmī u vašādāī: āsanatvaṃ viśleṣataṃca*.

⁴¹ . W. Sundermann, op. cit., 327.

⁴² . ^TM 28 II V, ^TM 612 V. See also W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin, 1973, 17 (113).

According to the old (Aryan) teaching (*paoirya fkaēša*) between the two principles there was open space (Pers. *višādagīh*) or void (Pers. *tuhīgīh*); its Avesta name was *vayu*. It was the place of mixture, or material creation (Pers. *dahišn*).

The word read by Neryōsang *nišāmīh* seems to be a “ghost” word.⁴³ Neryōsang himself interpreted it as *nišēmīh* and translated it by *āsanatva*- ‘resting-place’. Others have emended it to *nišānīh*, *niyām*, *višāmīh*, etc.⁴⁴ However, if we consult the Mazdean and Manichaean texts, the convenient word would be 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 /*vēhmīh*/ ‘breadth; expanse, area’ (Pers. *vēhm* ‘broad’ < **yaǰg-ma-*).

For example: VZ 2.11 *vēhmīh ī andarvāy* ‘the expanse of the atmosphere’; Gōišn abar pahrēzišn rōzān (Boyce, y 30): *ka x’ arxšēd andar ōy vēhmīh ī hāmkišvar ped asmānān bārist* ‘When the sun is in that area of the cosmos in the highest of the skies ...’. Then we have to read:

u-šān nē būd ēc vēhmīh ud višādagīh meyān ‘And between them there was not any breadth (/expanse) and width (/ open space).’

Critical portion:

Mardānfarrox criticizes Mani’s conception of the infinite 53-

⁴³ . We find, however, the Parthian word *nišām*.

⁴⁴ . West : *nišānīh* ‘demarcation’ ; Salemann : *niyām(ag)* ‘Scheidewand’; de Menasce: *nišāmīh* ‘intervalle, transitions, (entre jour et nuit)’; Taillieu: *višāmīh* ‘open space, void’. See also Ch. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1906, 97-8.

The most complete Mss. (JJ and JE) break off abruptly at §111, without concluding the chapter.

Neryōsang Dhaval brought with him to India a copy of the Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār.⁴⁵ He translated it into Sanskrit, and moreover transcribed it into the Avesta writing (*dēndibīrīh*), for the use of the Pārsī priests of India. It seems that Neryōsang translated it into Sanskrit, not from his own Pāzand version, but from the original pārsīg text.⁴⁶

The first attempts to make known the treatise were sterile⁴⁷ until the edition of its Pāzand version (and its “Pahlavi” text)

⁴⁵ . See B. T. Anklesaria, *The Pahlavi Rivāyat of Āturfarnbag and Farnbagsrōš*, II, Bombay, 1969, Introduction, 15.

⁴⁶ . Indeed, we can find a number of differences in these two texts as for his deciphering of some Pārsīg words. For example, in the Pāzand text, 8.10, 11.154, he has correctly transcribed 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 /*āzādīh*/ (opp. *must*) in 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 ‘freedom’, but in the Sanskrit version we read संपत्तिश्च (*sampatti*- ‘prosperity, welfare’), and ऋद्धत्वं (*rddhatva*- ‘prosperity, abundance’) both corresponding to Pers. ābādīh; in 14.4 he has transcribed 𐬀𐬀𐬀 /*tam*/ ‘darkness, gloom’ in 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 ‘?’, but has correctly translated it into Sanskrit: तमसि (*tamas*- ‘darkness, gloom’).

⁴⁷ . For example, see the description of the book by Anquetil du Perron:
« Scheken (ou Schekand) Goumani.

Roulot Pehlvi & Persan, en bon état & bien écrit.

Dans ce Traité, dont le nom signifie ‘le doute brisé’, le Persan est écrit en caracteres Zend sur le Pehlvi ; mais la plûpart des mots Pehlvis un peu difficiles sont simplement écrits sur le Pehlvi en caracteres Zends sans traduction. Le Scheken Goumani est un Ouvrage Théologique & Moral, dont l’objet principal est d’établir que le mal ne vient pas d’Ormuzd ; que l’impureté d’Ahriman a sa source dans lui-même, ainsi que celle de l’homme dans sa propre volonté. L’Auteur, pour prouver ces deux points, entre dans quelques détails sur l’origine des êtres ; il parle du Ciel, des Astres, de la nature de l’homme, des différens états qui partagent le Genre humain ; il pose pour principe fondamental de la Morale, la pureté de pensée, la pureté de parole, la pureté d’action, & recommande surtout d’honorer Dieu & de pratiquer la Loi de Zoroastre. Cet Ouvrage commence par ces mots : vispann

that was prepared by Hōšang Jāmāspji Jāmāsp-Āsānā in 1860, and arrangements were made for the publication of Pāzand and “Pahlavi” texts, with the Sanskrit version.⁴⁸ Šeriārji Dadabhai Bharucha prepared a new edition of the Sanskrit text and subjoined to it two Gujarati versions for the collection of the “Sanskrit writings of the Parsis”.⁴⁹ An English translation of the book by E. W. West was published in the series of the “Sacred Books of the East”.⁵⁰ Sadegh Hedayat who studied the text with Behrāmgore Tahmuras Anklesaria published a partial Persian transcription and translation of it.⁵¹ A French translation of the whole book was provided by Pierre Jean de Menasce.⁵² In 2004 I presented a new edition of the Pārsīg text with a translation in English. I hope that this new edition will be of interest and importance to those Parsis interested mainly in their own religion.

Ihan minvadan setihan etc. Il finit par ceux-ci, qui sont sur le revers du roulot : avadih o rastih din avardar ena anitounad. » (A. du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, tome premier, Paris, 1771, xl)

⁴⁸ . Hōshang J. Jāmāsp-Āsānā & E. W. West, *Shikand-Gumānik Vijār. The Pāzand-Sanskrit Text together with a Fragment of the Pahlavi*, Bombay, 1887.

⁴⁹ . Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part IV. Skanda-Gumānī-Gujāra*, Bombay, 1913.

⁵⁰ . E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts, Part III (SBE xxiv)*, Oxford University Press, 1885.

⁵¹ . صادق هدایت، مردان فرخ: چهار باب از کتاب شکندگمانی ویچار، تهران، ۱۹۴۳.

⁵² . P. J. de Menasce, *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IX^e siècle : Škand-gumānīk Vicār. La solution décisive des doutes*, Fribourg, 1945. See also his *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, Paris, 1973. The Persian translation of Parvin Shakiba is based on the work of de Menasce :

پروین شکیبیا، گزارش گمان شکن. شرح و ترجمه، متن بازند، چمپین، ۲۰۰۱.

Translation

vizāriṣṇ

Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār

Doubt-removing

नाम्ना सर्वांगशक्त्याच साहाय्येनच स्वामिनो अहुरमज्दस्य महाज्ञानिनः सिद्धिः

शुभा भुयात् प्रवृत्तिः प्रसिद्धिश्च उत्तमदीनेर्माज्दईअरुया वपुषिच पाटवं दीर्घं

जीवितंच सर्वेषां उत्तमानां उत्तममनसां ॥

इदं स्कंदगुमानीगुजारनाम पुस्तकं मया नयरिओसंधेन धवलसुतेन

पहिलवीभाषायाः संस्कृतभाषायामवतारितं विषमपारसीकाक्षरेभ्यश्च

अविस्ताक्षरैलिखितं सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिक्षाश्रोतृणां सत्यचितसां ॥

प्रनामः उत्तमेभ्यः शुद्धमतेभ्यः स्तयजिद्वेभ्यः सत्यसमाचारेभ्यः ॥ ॥

‘In the name and through the omnipotence and by the favour of the Lord Ahura Mazdā, may there be success, prosperity and fame of the Good Mazdayasnian Religion, health and long life of all the good (and) benevolent. This book, called ⁺Šak-ud-Gumānīh-vizār, is translated by me, Nairyōsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and

transcribed from the hard [to decipher] Pārsī writing into the Avesta writing, for the easy understanding of the good hearers of the teaching, the right-minded.

Salutation to the good, the pure-thinking, the true-speaking, the just-acting!’

Prelude

1

§ 1-6. ¹Homage to Ahura Mazdā, the lord, the most great and wise, universal sovereign, omniscient and omnipotent, Who is the <holy> spirit among the spirits.² From His selfhood (or, essence) that is One, steadfast in [His] unity³, He spiritually created. And, through His unrivalled power, He created the six supreme Aməša spənta (holy Immortals)⁴, and all the Yazata of the world of thought and of the world of life, and the seven

¹. Cf. the beginning of the Nām Stāyišn 1 nām (nam?) yazd spennāg mēnōg. Pers. nam ‘homage (to)’ (Av. nəmah). Or: nām ‘(His) name (is)’.

². kē andar-z mēnōgān mēnōg (kə andarica mainyuə mainyō : यः अंतश्च अदृश्येषु अदृश्यतरः lit. ‘who is a spirit among the spirits’). Cf. Vr 2.4 θβam ratūm āyese yešti yim ahurəm mazdām mainyaom mainyavanam dāmanam mainyaoyā stōiš ahūmca ratūmca ... ‘I approach Thee, the ratu, with praise, who art Ahura Mazdā, the spirit of the spiritual creatures, the ahu and ratu of the spiritual existence’, Zand: tō rad x^vāham ō ēn yazišn kē ohrmazd mēnōg hē andar hān ī mēnōgān dāmān mēnōgān stī ox ud rad [kū x^vadāy ud dastvar he]. NS 1 ī andar-z mēnōgān mēnōg, u-š x^vadīh ēk, ud nām ohrmazd-iz, x^vadāy ī mahist,...

³. ēk ped ēkīh ōstīgān (yak pa yakī ōstyā: एकस्मात् एकतयाच सूत्रधार). Cf. Dk iv, M 409 ēk ī ped ēkīh ōstīgān abrīn. See 1.33, 16.62.

«اگر حقیقت توحید خواهی به دان که هر چه در تو محال است در ربوبیت صدق است، چون یکی ای که هر که یکی را به حقیقت به دانست از شرک بری گشت». قابوسنامه، غ. یوسفی، تهران، (۱۳۴۵)، ۱۱، ۱۳۷۵.

⁴. abardar šaš amehrspond (aḅartar haft aməšāspənd: उत्कृष्टतरात् सप्त अमरान् गुरुन्). Cf. NS 2 abardar šaš amehrspond.

material signs (or, creations)⁵, namely the (primordial) Man⁶, Holy Cow⁷, Fire⁸, Metal⁹, Earth¹⁰, Water¹¹ and Plant¹². He created man as master of the creatures in fulfilment of His will.

7-10. He likewise sent, age after age, through his beneficence and mercifulness, to His creatures the *Scientia divina* of purity and mixture, naturalness and willingness; and likewise the wit¹³,

⁵ . daxšagān (dašaga/ JJ, JE dahišnaḡ: चिह्नानिच). Pers. daxšag ‘mark, sign, stamp, indication; memory’.

⁶ . mardōm (mardum: मनुष्याः) ≈ Av. gaya marətan. Cf. Y 19.2 narəm ašavanəm ‘the Righteous Man’.

⁷ . gōspend (gōspənd: गोपशवश्च) ≈ Av. gao aēvō.dāta. Cf. Y 19.2 gaṃ.

⁸ . ātaš (ātaš : अग्नयश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 ātrəm ahurahe mazdā puθrəm ‘the Fire, Ahura Mazdā’s son’, Y 37.1, ašəm ‘Truth’.

⁹ . ayōxšust (ayaoxšust: घातवश्च) ≈ asmān. Av. ayōxšusta/ ayaoxšusta- ‘molten metal’, cf. Yt 13.2 aom asmanəm ... yō hištaite ... ayaṅhō kəhrpa x^vaēnahe ‘yonder Sky ... which is established ... with the appearance of a bright metal’.

¹⁰ . zamīg (zamī: भुवश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 zaṃ ‘Earth’.

¹¹ . āb (āβ: आपश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 āpəm ‘Water’.

¹² . urvar (urvar: वनस्पतयश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 urvarəṃ ‘the Plants’. These are the primordial material creations related to the six annual festivals (Gāhāmbār).

¹³ . vīr (vīr: चैतन्यस्य. Skt. caitanya- nt. ‘consciousness; intelligence’). Pers. vīr ‘wit’, it is the faculty of intellectual awareness and perception ≈ Arab. الذهن. Pers. بیر ‘learning by heart’, Gazī vīr, NBal. gīr ‘memory’. Cf. 5.83-85 dānišn ī ayābāg, ud vīr ī x^vāstār abespārdār, ud uš ī ganzvar nigāhdār, Dk iii, M 48 vīr nirōg x^vāstār ud ayāftār (PDK 31 ayābāg vīr, DD 2.13 vīr ī ayābāg), Dk vi, M 474 xrad ... xēm ... vīr. See 4.58, 5.5, 84, 8.113.

intelligence¹⁴, wisdom¹⁵ and knowledge¹⁶, consciousness¹⁷ and fravahr-soul¹⁸ which are the organs of the soul that are seeking information of these five immaterial organs¹⁹ –i.e., sight,

¹⁴ . uš (hōš: स्मृतिश्च. Skt. smṛti- f. ‘remembrance, memory’). Pers. uš ‘comprehension; intelligence; memory’, it fulfils mainly the function of memory ≈ Arab. الحفظ. ¹Parth. uš ≈ Gr. πρόνοιας, Syr. ܘܫܝܓܢ. Pers. ušīgān ‘intelligences, intellectuals’ (Dk iv, M 409). uš and vīr are related to Aša Vahišta (ŠnŠ 22.3 urdvahišt ... uš ud vīr). Notice that vīr and uš are interchangeable. Cf. Dk iii, M 48 ped uš ōz dāštār ud pādār, DD 2.13 uš ī pāyāg, CHP 58 x’āhišn az uš, but in VZ 30.36 vīr x’āhed. AV 53 uš dāštārdar, Dk vi, M 484 uš kār ēd ganzvarīh kirdan ud tis ī vīr x’āst nigāh dāštan. See 4.58, 5.5, 85, 8.113.

¹⁵ . xrad (xard: बुद्धिश्च. Skt. buddhi- f. ‘intelligence, reason, intellect’). Pers. xrad ‘wisdom, intellect; admonition; philosophy’. Cf. Dk vii, M 623 abāg hān ī visp-^xvizōh ōz uš, hān ī hamāg-ayāb nīrōg vīr, ud hān ī harv vizīn pettūgīh xrad, Dk iii, M 48 ped xrad zōr nigerīdār vizīngar ud kārīgēnīdār ast ī dānišn, PDK 5 vizin ped xrad, DD 2.13 xrad ī vizīnāg, AV 53 xrad vēnāgdar (Pahlavi Texts 79-80 didār ī xrad), MX 16.50 xrad ud uš ud vīr, Dk vi, M 527 xrad pedyārag drōzanīh u-š brādrod varanīgīh. See 1.25, 4.58, 5.5, 82, 8.113, 10.61.

¹⁶ . dānišn (dānašni: ज्ञानस्यच. Skt. jñāna- nt. ‘knowledge’). Pers. dānišn ‘knowledge, science’. Cf. ¹M 49 (DGO, Dk vi, M 515) xrad ud dānišn ≈ Arab. الحكمة والعلم. See 8.113-114.

¹⁷ . bōy (bōi: जीवस्यच. Skt. jīva- ‘life, existence’). Pers. bōy (Av. baōdah- nt. ‘consciousness, perception, awareness, waking’). Cf. VZ 30.22, 43 gyān bōy fravahr, Dk iii, M 48 dād ēsted avišān ayyārīh az andarōn tan bōy ud fravaš, Dk iii, M 122 bōy ī tan vēnāgēnāg. See 5.86.

¹⁸ . fravahr (fravaš: वृद्धिश्च. Skt. vṛddhi- f. ‘growth, increase’). Pers. fravahr ‘fravahr-soul/ nature; air’ (Av. fravaši ‘preference, choice; confession of faith; other-soul’). Cf. VZ 30.35 frāzvaxšēnīdār fravahr, DD 2.13 gyān ī zīvēnāg ud fravahr ī vaxšēnāg (dārāg?). ¹M 292 I frāvahr ped srōšāyī aziš uzīhed (fravahr/ Parth. ardāw frawardīn ≈ Sod. frān, Gr. (Copt.) ἄηρ, Syr. ܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ, Arab. التسيم). See 8.60, 87.

¹⁹ . ruvān abzārān (rvā aβazārā: आत्मनः शस्त्राणि), abzārān ī mēnōg (aβazārān ī mainyō: शस्त्रानां अद्रुश्यानां) ≈ Syr. ܠܘܚܘܣܐܝܬܐ, Arab. الخواص الباطنه. vīr,

hearing, smell, taste and touch²⁰ – by the five material organs²¹ – i.e., eye, ear, nose, mouth and hand–, the whole bodily senses. And [simultaneously] together with these organs, He created man for the guidance of the creatures²².

11-19. He created the Mazdayasnian religion of omniscience like a tree, with one trunk²³, two boughs²⁴, three branches²⁵, four

uš, xrad ud dānišn, bōy, fravahr: Cf. Y 26.4 (= Yt 13.155) ahūmca (= uštana/uštāna) daēnəmca baoḍasca urvānəmca fravašīm, Dk iv, M 415 fravahr ud bōy ud ox ud uš ud xrad, NS 5 šaš zōrān ī gyān –menišn, gōbišn, kunišn, vīr, uš ud xrad. Cf. also the five members of the Great Nous in Manichaeism (Parth. bām, manohmed, uš, andēšišn, parmānag). Bar Bahlul: ܩܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ. Ebedjesu: ܩܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ.

²⁰ . vēnišn, ašnavišn, hambōyišn, caxšišn, permāhišn (vīnašni šnaβašni anbōišni cāšašni padarmāišni: निरीक्षणं च श्रवणं च आघ्राणं च आस्वादं च स्पर्शनं च) ≈ Gr. ἡ ὄψις, ἡ ἀκοή, ἡ ὄσφρησις, ἡ γεῦσις, ἡ ἀφή (cf. Aristotle's Περὶ ψυχῆς, 424b), Lat. visus, auditus, olfactus, gustus, tactus, Syr. ܩܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ. Arab. اللّمس، المذاق، الشّم، السمع، البصر.

« آدمی فزونی یافت بر دیگر جانوران به ده درج که اندر تن او است: پنج درون و پنج بیرون. پنج نهانی چون: اندیشه و یاد گرفتن و نگاه داشتن و تخیل کردن و تمییز و گفتار. و پنج ظاهر چون: سمع و بصر و شّم و لمس و ذوق. » قابوسنامه، ۲۸

²¹ . abzārān ī gētīg (aβazārā i gēθī: शस्त्रैः दृश्यैः) ≈ tan mārārān (tan mālādārā : तनोः त्वक्) ≈ Syr. ܩܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܝܬܐ, Arab. الحواس الظاهرة.

²² . rāyēnīdārīh ī dāmān (rāinīdārī i dāman: प्रवृत्तिकारितायै सृष्टीनां). Cf. NS 3.

²³ . stūnag (stūnaa: प्रकांडः. Skt. prakāṇḍa- ‘the trunk of a tree’. Pers. stūn(ag) ‘pillar’.

²⁴ . baxšišn (baxšašni : स्कंधविकाशौ. Skt. skandha- ‘the stem or trunk of a tree; a large branch or bough’, vikāśa- ‘brightness; appearance’). Pers. baxšišn ‘distribution, appointment, bestowal, division; branching (off), bough’.

²⁵ . azg (azg: शाखाः. Skt. śākhā- ‘a limb of the body; division’). Pers. azg ‘branch, twig, shoot, sprout’.

stems²⁶ and five roots^{27, 28}. The one trunk is measure²⁹; the two boughs are action and protection³⁰; the three branches are *humata*, *hūxta*, *h_uvaršta*, that is, good thought, good word, and

²⁶ . sāg (dōšaa : जटाः. Skt. jaṭa- ‘a fibrous root; the hair twisted together’). Pers. sāg ‘stem; foreleg’ (TD2, 422; StSr 23), Pers.-Arab. ساقه, ساق. Cf. PDK

43.4 dōša: शाखा (urvarān kē-šan huzihrīh ud hupēdāgīh ud abēbīmīh / varg, viškōb ud bar ud abārīg abāyišnīg gāh ped bālist ī tāg ud sāg ‘the trees which their becomingness, appearance, †leaves, blossoms, fruits, and other desirable things hold the place on the top, namely in the twigs and stems’), Dk iii, M 326 **𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩** (urvarām tāg ud sāg ud varg ud viškōb du bar ‘the twigs and stems and leaves and blossoms and fruits of the tree’), StSr 23 **𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩** (dār ī vazurg-tāg frāx-sāg ud zufr-rēšag ‘trees with mighty branches, wide stems, and deep roots’).

²⁷ . rēšag or gabr-rēšag (brīšaa: मूलानि. Skt. mūla- ‘root’). Pers. rēšag ‘root, fibre’.

²⁸ . In the Mahābhārata 5, 29, 46 the Pāṇḍava are compared to a tree:
yudhiṣṭhiro dharmamayo mahādrumaḥ; skandho 'rjuno bhīmaseno 'sya śākhāh/

mādrīputrau puṣpaphale samṛddhe; mūlaṃ tv ahaṃ brahma ca brāhmaṇās ca// ‘Yudhiṣṭhira is a big tree (druma-) consisting merely in dharma (‘law; religion’), Arjuna is its trunk (skandha-); Bhīmasena its branches (śākhā-); the sons of Mādrī its abundant flowers and fruits (puṣpa-phala-); Kṛṣṇa the Veda (brahman-), and the brāhmans its root (mūla-).’

²⁹ . peymān (paemaḥ: प्रमाणं). Pers. peymān ‘(right) measure; bond; stature; moderation; maturity; agreement, contract, solemn-pledge’ ≈ Gr. μέτρον, μετριότης, Syr. **ܩܡܝܢܐ**, Arab. اعتدال، قصد.

³⁰ . kunišn ud pahrēzišn (kunišni u paharōžašni: कर्मच प्रतियत्नश्च. Skt. karman ‘act, action; duty’, prati-yatna- ‘care bestowed upon anything, effort’). Pers. kunišn ‘act, action, work, deed, practice’ (it renders Av. śyaoθana) ≈ Gr. ἔργον, Syr. **ܩܘܢܝܫܢܐ**, Arab. عمل، اختيار. Cf. Dk viii, M 677 dēn dānišn ud kunišn, Hn 2.9 hān ī x^vēš dēn kunišn ī x^vēš. See 8.117. Pers. ¹pahrēzišn ‘abstention, abstinence’ (ŠnŠ 10.8 škeft pahrēzišn), ²pahrēzišn ‘care, protection’ (pahrēzišnīg ≈ Av. vīdant adj. ‘caring for’), cf. NS 5 āsnīdag kunišn ud pahrēzišn, Dk iii, M 162 kunišn ud pahrēzišn ī az dēn hamōg, ³pahrēzišn ‘course; orbit’ (cf. Syr. **ܩܘܢܝܫܢܐ**), cf. [†]S 9d 12-14 ravišn ud pahrēzišn.

good deed³¹; the four stems are the four classes³² of the Religion by which the world is well-ordered, that is, priesthood³³, warriorship³⁴, husbandry³⁵ and artisanship³⁶; the five roots are the five lords³⁷ whose scriptural names are house-lord³⁸, village-lord³⁹, district-lord⁴⁰, country-lord⁴¹ and pontiff⁴². And [there is]

³¹ . Cf. Y 19.16 θri.afsməm ... humatəm hūxtəm hvarštəm.

³² . cahār pēšagān (cihār pēšagā: चतस्रो विद्या) ≈ Av. caθru.pištrəm.

³³ . āsrōnīh or āsrōgīh (āsrūi: आचार्यता).

³⁴ . arsēštārīh (aratištārī: क्षत्रियता).

³⁵ . vāstryōšīh (vāstryōšī: कुटुंबिकता).

³⁶ . hudoxšīh (hūtuxšī: प्रकृतिव्यवसायता). Cf. Y 19.17 āθrava raθaēštā vāstryō fšuyas hūitiš.

³⁷ . panz pedān (pañja vadā: पंच पतयो). Cf. Av. pañca.ratu.

³⁸ . mānbed (mañavaṭ: गृहपतिः). Av. nmānō.paiti ‘lord of the house’.

³⁹ . vīsped (vīsvaṭ: वीसपतिः). Av. vīs.paiti ‘lord of the village; master of the tribe’.

⁴⁰ . zandbed (zandavaṭ: जंदपतिः). Av. zantu.paiti ‘lord of the district’.

⁴¹ . dahebed or dahyubed (dehavaṭ: ग्रामपतिः). Av. dañhu.paiti ‘lord of the land/country’.

⁴² . zarduštrōdum (zaraθuštrōtəm: जरथुस्त्रोतिमश्च). Av. zaraθuštrō.təma ‘the most like that of Zaraθuštra’, the title of those who replaced Zaraθuštra after his death.

Cf. the pentad of the sons of the Living Spirit (mīhr yazd) in Manichaeism: mānbed (ὠμοφόρος, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, Atlas), vīsbed (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 ‘the Adamas of Light’, Adamas), zandbed (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 ‘the king of Glory’, Gloriosus rex), dahebed (Φεγγοκάτοχος, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, Splenditenens ‘the keeper of splendour’), and pahr(ag)bed, Sogd. smānxšēd (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, Rex honoris ‘the king of honour’).

one master of masters⁴³, that is, the king of kings, the lord of this world⁴⁴.

20-30. He made manifest the microcosm⁴⁵ that is man in the likeness of these four classes of the world:

The head corresponds to priesthood;
The hand to warriorship;
The belly to husbandry;
And the feet to artisanship.

So too the four virtues (/ qualities)⁴⁶ that are in man i.e. temper (or, character)⁴⁷, skill⁴⁸, wisdom⁴⁹ and diligence⁵⁰:

⁴³ . sarān sar (sarā sar: शिरसां शिरो). Cf. Syr. ܣܪܐܢ ܣܪܐܝܢ ‘princeps principum, (title) chief Vizir’.

⁴⁴ . dahebed ī gēhān (dehavaṭ i gēhā: स्वामी पृथिव्याः). Cf. Yt. 10.145 miθrēm vīspanam daṅyunaṃ daṅhupaitīm yazamaide, RS 3.13.5 fkvāno agnīm indhate hótāraṃ višpātīm višām.

⁴⁵ . gēhān ī kōdak (gēhā kardaa: भूमौ कीर्त्तनं) ≈ šahr īg kōdak, kōdakbūd, Parth. zambūdīg kašūdag, Gr. μικρόκοσμος, Syr. ܠܝܠܐ ܠܥܠܐ ܠܝܝܐ. Cf. PDK 28. See 16.24.

⁴⁶ . cahār hunarān (cihār hunarā: चत्वारो गुणाः. Skt. guṇa ‘thread; species; quality’). Or perhaps: cahār ahunvarān (Av. caθβārō ahuna vairya). Cf. Bhagavad-gītā, XVIII, 41 brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-viśām sūdrāṇām ca parantapa karmāṇi pravibhaktāni svabhāva-prabhavaṅ guṇaiḥ.

⁴⁷ . xēm (xīm: शीलं. Skt. śīla ‘habit, custom; disposition, character’). Pers. xēm ‘character, temperance, temper, disposition; morale; morals; personality’. Cf. Vd 13.44 asti šē haēm yaṯa aṯaurune ‘He has the character of a priest’.

⁴⁸ . hunar (hunar: शौर्यं. Skt. śaura ‘valour, heroism’). Pers. hunar ‘skill, talent; learning; virtue’ (Av. hunara- m. ‘virile strength ; beauty; skill’, OPers. uvr /ūnara-/ nt. ‘quality, talent’) ≈ Gr. ἀρετή. Cf. Pahlavi Texts 79-80 xēm ud hunar ud vehīh, DGO hunar ped toxšāgīh.

Priesthood corresponds to temper, for temper is the most proper function of the priests, that they do not commit sin on account of shame and fear.

Warriorship corresponds to skill, for the most proper embellishment of the warriors is skill which is explained “manliness by itself”⁵¹.

Husbandry corresponds to wisdom, for the wise action is the cultivation of the world and the linking with the eschatological renovation [of the existence]⁵².

Artisanship corresponds to diligence, for diligence is the greatest propagation of their class.⁵³

⁴⁹ . xrad (xard: बुद्धिश्च). Pers. xrad ‘intellect, wisdom (Av. xratu-/ xraθβ- m. ‘mental power; will; intellect’, OPers. xratu-/ xraθu- ‘id.’, Skt. krātu- ‘power ; will’). See 1.8, 4.58.

⁵⁰ . toxšāgīh (tuxšāi: अद्यवसायश्च. Skt. adhyavasāya ‘mental effort, apprehension’). Pers. toxšāgīh ‘diligence, zeal’ (Av. θβaxšah- nt. ‘zeal’, Skt. tvákṣas- nt. ‘energy, vigor’) ~ Syr. ܬܘܚܫܐܝܗܘܬܐ, Arab. الاجتهاد. Cf. DGO pursīd kū: xrad ped cē vēš abzāyed, ud hunar ped cē vēš baved, ud xēm ped cē vēš vīrāyed? guft: xrad ped hamōzišn, ud xēm ped hunsandīh, ud hunar ped toxšāgīh. Cf. also Cicero, *De Inventione* II, 159 Nam virtus est animi habitus naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus. Quamobrem omnibus eius partibus cognitis tota vis erit simplicis honestatis considerata. Habet igitur partes quattuor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam.

⁵¹ . Popular etymology interprets hunar as follows: “narīh ī az x^vadīh”, that is, honar < *hva-nar-. The correct etymology is thus: hunar < hu-nar < hu-nara- < *su-h₂ner lit. ‘good in manliness’ or ‘with good heroes’ (hu- ‘well-, good’, nar- ‘man’), cf. Skt. sūnāra- ‘mighty, fortunate’.

⁵² . fraškird/ frašegird (frašēkard: शओसीओश). Pers. fraškird (Av. frašō.kərəiti ‘making brilliant ; Renovation’, Armen. Հրաշալիքըրս ‘extraordinary’). Cf. Dk iii, M 256 ped ham tōhmag abāzpeyvannišnīh ō frašegird peyvastan, Dk vi, M 492 se peyvann ... peyvann ī gēhān ... peyvann ī dēn ... peyvann ī fraškird. See 4.11.

All these diverse establishments are upon one trunk, truth-and-measure⁵⁴, opposed to its rival, lie⁵⁵ and its organs.

31-34. I noticed this, multifariously and of many kinds, that many religions and beliefs in the world that all are discordant, rival, breaker and enemy one as regards the other, in spite of their discord, breaking and hostility to one another, they combat however, in alliance and with united force, against the sole truth. The essence of truth is one force, steadfast in unity, which is

⁵³ . Here is the scheme :

<i>hannām</i>	<i>pēšag</i>	<i>ahuna vairya</i>
sar	āsrōnīh	xēm
dast	arsēštārīh	hunar
aškamb	vāstryōšīh	xrad
pāy	hudoxšīh	toxšāgīh

Cf. Dk iv, M 429 andar-šān tan ī mardōmān cahār pēšag ī gēhān ped baxšīšn : abar sar āsrōnīh; ud abar dast arsēštārīh; ud abar aškamb vāstryōšīh; ud abar pāy hudoxšīh. ud azabar cahār pēšag gyān, abar-z gyān ox ud x^vadāyīh guft. Cf. also Rg-Veda, x, 90.12 brāhmaṇò 'sya múkham āsīd bāhú rājanyāh kṛtāh ūrú tād asya yád vaiśyaḥ padbhyām śūdró ajāyata 'The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth (mukham 'mouth; head'); of both his arms was made the Rājanya ('warriors'); of both his thighs the Vaiśya ('husbandman; trader'); from his two feet was produced the śūdra ('the servile class')'.

⁵⁴ . Persian terms rāstīh 'truth' and peymān 'measure' correspond to Avesta aša 'truth; (cosmic) order; harmony'. Cf. Dk iv, M 410-411 u-šān ravāgx^vadāyīh ravāgdēnīh ī ast rāstīh peymān.

⁵⁵ . druz (drūž: द्रुजस्य). Pers. druz '(female) demon; lie, deceit, fiend' (Av. druj, druxš f. 'lie, deceit; demon', the evil principle represented by the Daēva), opp. rāstīh, cf. CHP 38.

Truth. The lie⁵⁶ is manifold, which may be in numerous adverse forms, but all these are from one base, that is Lie⁵⁷.

35-53. ⁵⁸I, who am Mardānfarrox son of Ohrmazddād⁵⁹, provided this composition⁶⁰. For, I observed in the world (in this period)⁶¹, numerous kinds and many religious views and many discussions⁶² of the sects⁶³. From childhood on I have always been fervent-heartedly a suitor and researcher of truth. That is

⁵⁶. drōv (drōg: अनृतच). Pers. drō/ drōv adj. ‘false, deceitful’, subst. ‘falsehood, lie, deceit’ (Av. draoga/ draoγa ‘false ; the Lie, deceit’, OPers. drauga), opp. rāstīh (Dk iii, M 233), vizurdīh (Dk viii, M 713).

⁵⁷. drōzanīh (drōžanī: अनृतस्य). Pers. drōzan ‘liar, deceitful; lying, fraudulent, wicked’ (Av. draojina ‘lying, liar’, OPers. draujana ‘adherent of the Lie’) ≈ Syr. ܕܪܘܙܢܝܗ. Pers. drōzanīh ‘deceitfulness, lie, falsehood’, opp. rāstīh (see 11.5, 15.138). Cf. J 18 drōzanīh ud drōdādvarīh ud zūrgugāyīh.

⁵⁸. Cf. MX, I.34-41.

⁵⁹. mardānfarrox ī ohrmazddādān (mardāfrōxa ī hōrməzddāt: मर्दानफरोषो होर्मिज्जदादस्य पुत्रो).

⁶⁰. pesāzišn (pasāžāšni: आरचनां). Pers. pesāzišn ‘composition, formation; component, constituent’ ≈ Gr. σύνθεσις, Syr. ܕܪܘܙܢܝܗ ‘(literary) composition’, Arab. تركيب، تأليف.

⁶¹. See 9.16.

⁶². vasuskārišnīh (vas x^vaškārašnī: बहुसमालोचनत्वं). Pers. uskārišn ‘consideration; deliberation’ (سكالش).

⁶³. kēšān (kōšā: दर्शनानां). Pers. kēš (Av. tkaēša ‘teacher; doctrine’), cf. F 5, KKZ kēš ī dēvān, J 16 vas kēš ud dād ud vurravišn, AVN 1.9 ped tis ī yazdān gumān būd hend ud vas ēvēnag kēš ud vurravišn, judristagīh ud gumānīh ud juddādestānīh andar gēhān bē ō pēdāgīh āmad. In the Manichaean texts also kēšān means ‘alien or false teachings’, cf. ^TM 2.1 pedīrag kēšān raft. See 10.38, 12.31, 15.4.

why I have travelled in many lands and seashores⁶⁴. And I have collected and selected these summarized discourses, some of which are questions of those who seek after the truth and some are from the writings and memoranda of the ancient sages, true priests⁶⁵, especially those of the blessed “Ādarpādyāvandān”. And I have appointed to this memorandum the title **Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār**, “Doubt-and-doubtfulness-removing”. Because it is verily requisite for removing the doubts of neophytes⁶⁶ about the knowledge of the truth and the trustworthiness and truthfulness⁶⁷ of the good religion, in contrast with the miserable⁶⁸ opponents. I have composed and arranged it not for the wise and expert, but for the students and novices⁶⁹, so that

⁶⁴ . zrehvimand (zrih vīmaṇḍ: समुद्रसीमासुच.). ḍ-z vas kišvar ud zrehvimand franaft ham, cf. MX 1.35 ped xradx^vāstārīh andar ēn gēhān šahr šahr ud pāygōs pāygōs franaft.

⁶⁵ . pešēnīg dānāgān rāstān dastvarān (pēšīnī dānāgā rāstā dastūrā: प्राक्तनेभ्यो ज्ञानिनां सत्यानां आचार्याणां). Pers. rāst ‘right, straight’ may translate Av. ərəši- m. (Skt. ṛṣi ‘singer (of sacred hymns), (inspired) poet, sage, seer’). However, rāstān dastvarān could refer to the true religious authorities, cf. Dk iv, M 412, NM 1, 4, 10 rāst-dastvarīh. Cf. also X^vR II.17 pēš dānāgān ud hērbēdān ud dastvarān, NM II.2.11 rāstān ud dānāgān, ^TM 9 I dānāgān ud vizīddādestānān.

⁶⁶ . nōghamōzagān (nō āmōžagān : नूतनशिक्षावतां). Pers. nōg-hamōzag ‘neophyte, abecedarian’. See 10.78.

⁶⁷ . rāstīh ud vābarīgānīh (rāstī u vāfrīngānī: सत्यतायाः प्रसिद्धतायाः), cf. Dk iv, M 411.

⁶⁸ . škōh (škōh: समूहेषु). Pers. škōh ‘poor, miserable’(OPers. škauθi ‘poor, weak’, opp. tunuva_nt ‘powerful, mighty’), opp. hangad (HAM 152), grāmag (Dk iii, M 234), tuvānīg (Dk viii, M 686). Pers. škōh renders Syriac ܫܟܘܗܐ (The Book of Psalms, 131.15).

⁶⁹ . u-m nē dānāgān ud abzārumandān bē frahangīgān ud nōgabzārān rāy kird ud ārāst (vaem nō dānāgā u aβazārmaṇḍā bē farahangīq nōaβazārā rā kard u ārāst: अहं न ज्ञानिनां शस्त्रवतां किंतु विद्यार्थिनां नूतनशस्त्राणां हेतवे चकार आरचंयश्चा).

many of them may acquire more certainty regarding the wonder and the trustworthiness of the good religion and the discourses of the old teaching⁷⁰. As regards distinguished sages, I ask of those wishing to consider it, not to consider the little knowledge of the narrator and composer, but the greatness, the truthfulness, and the trustworthiness of the logical discourses⁷¹ of ancient sages. For I, who am the composer, belong not to the rank of the teachers⁷², but to the rank of the students.⁷³ And it seemed to me justified to bestow, liberal-heartedly, a theological treatise on neophytes. Because he who bestows the little knowledge that he has on those who are worthy is more acceptable than he who

Pers. *dānāg* ‘wise, sage’ (X^VR, II.17) is rendered by Skt. *jñānin* ‘wise; astrologer’. Pers. *abzārumand* ‘skilled, expert’ (AVN 1.7 *abzārumandān ud dānāgān*) is rendered by Skt. *śastravat* ‘provided with a weapon’. Pers. *frahangīg* ‘student, pupil’ (SS 20 *cē an frahangīgdar*) is rendered by Skt. *vidyārthin* adj. ‘desirous of knowledge’ (≈ Pers. *dānišnkāmag*); m. ‘student, pupil’. Pers. *nōg-abzār* ‘beginner, novice, debutant’ (Dk iii, M 406) is rendered by Skt. *nūtana-śastra* ‘with new instrument’. The two ranks of the school are:

<i>dānāg</i>	<i>frahangīg, dānišngāmag</i>
<i>abzārumand</i>	<i>nōgabzār</i>
<i>hamōzāg, hamōzgār</i>	<i>(nōg)hamōzag</i>

⁷⁰ . *pōryōdkēšīg* (*paoiryōtkaešī*: पूर्वन्यायवत्याश्च). Pers. *pōryōdkēš* ‘doctor of the earliest times’ (Av. *paoiryō. tkaēša* ‘first teacher/ doctor’), cf. CHP 1 *pōryōdkēšān ī fradumdānišnān*. See 5.93.

⁷¹ . *vimandgōbišnīh* (*vīmaṇdagaβəšnī*: सीमावत्याश्च). Pers. *vimand-gōbišnīh* ≈ *vimand-soxanīh* (see 5.2, 10.65). Cf. Dk vii, M 598 u-š (*ōšnar*) *āhuft <ud> hamuxt vimandgōbišnīh, hān-z ī vas mardōm sūd frahang*.

⁷² . *hamōzgārīh* (*āmōžgārī*: शिक्षापनायाः). Pers. *hamōzgār* ‘teacher’ ≈ Syr. ܚܡܘܙܓܐܪܝܗ. Pers. *hamōzgārīh* ‘teaching’, cf. Dk ix, M 791 *hamōzgārīh ī mānsrspend*, see also 4.105 *pāyag ī hamōzgārīh*.

⁷³ . *hamōzišnīgīh* (*āmōžašnī*: शिक्षायाः). Pers. *hamōzišnīg* ‘learner, student’ ≈ Syr. ܚܡܘܙܓܐܪܝܗ. Pers. *hamōzišnīgīh* ‘learning’, see 4.105.

knows much, but from whom those who are worthy do not receive benefit or help.

The previous sages stated that: Liberality⁷⁴ is of three kinds, of thought, of word and of deed.

Liberality of thought: to desire good for whoever is alike, just like for him.

Liberality of word: to teach to those who are worthy all the righteous knowledge and information acquainted by him. As a certain sage said that: “I want to acquaint all advantageous knowledge and teach it to those who help (the other), and acquire a desirable profit”.

Liberality of deed: [to bestow] the good that he has acquired something on those who are worthy.

54-57. Furthermore, [I have composed it, so that] those who are good may remember me, saying “may his soul be saved”. For this reason, I have arranged it, so that the sages, through their beneficence and kind observation may remember me, saying “may his soul be immortal (and happy)”. Since it is said that: “He who observes all the good creatures with good eyes,

⁷⁴ . rādīh (rādī: दक्षिणा). Pers. rād (Av. ²rāiti- ‘generous, liberal, munificent’, Skt rāṭī- ‘id.’), opp. apparag (Dk iv, M 427), vinīgar (Dk vi, M 579), cf. ĀfM rād bed cōn tištar. rādīh ‘generosity’ (Av. ¹rāiti ‘gift; munificence ; generosity’, Skt rāṭī- ‘id.’) ≈ Arab. السخاء, opp. vinīgarīh (Dk vi, M 549), penīh (Dk viii, M 733), cf. Dk iii, M 135 rādīh ud rāstīh, Dk vi, M 589 dād ī hurdad rādīh.

his eye is [like] the eye of the sun”. For the sun, indeed, observes and illuminates all creatures with a benevolent eye.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ . Cf. Y 68.22 *nəmō ābyō dōiθrābyō yā ahurahe mazdā* ‘Homage unto these two eyes of Ahura Mazda’ Zand: *namāz ō dōisr ī ohrmazd [dōisr ī ohrmazd guft, kū: niyāyišn ō man ōy kird baved kē hamāg dām ī ohrmazd ped hucašmīh abar nigered, ēc kas ped dušcašmīh abar nē nigered ud hixr ō āb nē bared* ‘Homage unto the (two) eyes of Ahura Mazda [“the eyes of Ahura Mazda” is said, that is: he will have offered praise unto me –he who looks upon all creatures of Ahura Mazda with a good eye and does not look upon any with an evil eye, and does not carry impurity to water]’. Av. *hūdōiθra-* adj. ‘having good eyes’, *duž-dōiθra-* adj. ‘having evil eyes’. Cf. also Dk iii, M 248 *veh-dēn ... cašm cōn [hān ī] x^varšēd abar dāmān ī ohrmazd* ‘the eye of him who is of the Good Religion resembles the eye of the sun upon the creatures of Ahura Mazda’.

First Chapter

2

1-2. Chapter one: On some questions that the ever-successful Mihrayyār son of Muḥammad¹ from Spāhān², put forward not out of absurd curiosity, but with good intentions, and the answer thereto.

§ 3. As for that which he asked: “Why did Angra Mainyu (harmful spirit) harm the Light and how was that possible? Since it is so that he is not of the same substance³, and we always observe that a thing avoids that which is not of the same substance as itself⁴, as the water does the fire”.

¹. « This person, who is not mentioned elsewhere, was probably a layman and evidently a Mazdā-worshipper, although his father’s name seems to be Muhammadan, either Maḥmūd or Muḥammad. The Parsis under a Muhammadan government often adopted Muhammadan names, as they also took Hindu names in India; but, in this case, it is perhaps more probable that the father had become a convert to Muhammadanism, and changed his name accordingly, after his son had grown up». (West, 122-123). « Mihrayyār b. Muhammad est évidemment musulman. Son objection apparaît dans toute sa portée à la lumière de la controverse d’Abū’l-Hudāil avec les mazdéens » (Menasce, 36). I much suspect that Mihrayyār –described as a truth-lover (1.38) and well-intentioned (2.2) – was a Muslim!

². Cf. Y colophon az farrox būm ī spāhān.

³. hamgōhr (hamgōhar : एकरत्नः) ≈ Gr. ὁμοούσιος; Syr. ܗܡܓܘܗܪܐ; Pers. gōhr ≈ οὐσία, Skt. द्रव्य, Arab. جوهر.

⁴. judgōhr (jatgōhar : विभिन्नरत्न). Pers. jud-gōhr ≈ Syr. ܐܘܢܐܘܬܐܘܪܐ. Cf. TM 9 II ēn-z abāg tan hamgōhr būdan ‘the being of the same substance of this (mēnōg) also with the body’, gyān az tan judgōhr ‘Soul and body are of

§ 4-18. The answer is this: The Angra Mainyu's harm to the Light is precisely because⁵ of their difference of substances. It is by reason of his desire of hostility which is a constant aspect of his substance that he is hostile to all that is of a different substance. Harmedness and harm, of whatever kind may they be do not take place except from difference of substance and those of different substances. For between those of the same substance there is consensus and concord, and not mutual harm and harmedness. Those of different substances, because of their substantial contrariness⁶, every time they meet one another, become hostile⁷ and harmful to each other. While those of the same substance, because of their concord, and their community of substance, when they meet one another, become lively and

different substance', VZ 30.23 gyān ... hamgōhr ī ātaš 'the soul is of the same substance as the fire'. See also 1.15: az bunēšt-ē judgōhr 'from a substantially different principle'.

⁵. vahān (vahān: कारणं). Pers. vahān ≈ Gr. αἰτία; Lat. causa; Syr. ܘܠܠܐ; Arab. السبب\العلة.

⁶. hamēstār-gōhrīh (hamēstārgōharī: प्रतिद्वन्द्विरत्नत्वात्). Pers. hamēstār (Av. hamaēstar- 'suppressor, remover') ≈ Gr. ἐναντίος, Syr. ܘܠܠܐ. Pers. hamēstārīh ≈ Gr. ἐναντιότης, Syr. ܘܠܠܐܘܬܐ. The words hamēstār, pedīrag, and hambidīg are often interchangeable.

⁷. zadār (zadār: हंता), zadārīh (zadārī: निहंतुता). Pers. zadār translates Av. aka- 'evil'; and gennāg translates Av. aṅra- 'harmful' (gl. zadār). Cf. Bd. 48 gennāgīh ī ast zadārīh, ō abzōnīgīh (hamēstār) 'harmfulness, that is zadārīh, [is opposed] to excellence', DD 36.101 pas az fraškird ... nē baved angramen cē nēst zadārīh 'After the Renovation ... there is no Angra Mainyu because there is no zadārīh'.

efficient⁸ and assist each other⁹. The disturbance and discord and disunion of those of different substances¹⁰ are just as heat and cold which, on account of their substantial opposition, are mutually hostile, harmful, striving and disturbing, through their perpetual substance.¹¹ Because every disturbance comes from the natural properties of coldness and dryness, heat and moisture, there are hostility, harmfulness and opposition of one another.¹² For the disturbance of bodies comes from the perpetual combat of heat and cold, dryness and moisture.¹³

⁸ . kāriḡihend (kāri hēnd: कार्ययति). Pers. kāriḡ ‘active; efficient; effectual; soldier’ (it renders Av. yāhī, cf. Y 46.14); kāriḡih ‘activity’, opp. agāriḡ. Cf. Dk iii, M111.

⁹ . Pers. hamayyār ‘auxiliary ; co-operating’, cf. Bd 183 hamkār ud hamayyār.

¹⁰ . judīḡ ud anhamīḡ ī judḡōhrān (jadī ī hamḡōharā anahamī ī jatḡōharā:

विभिन्नत्वं यत् एकरत्नानां अनेक्यात् विभिन्नरत्नानां). West and Menasce follow

Neryosang’s reading. Pers. judīḡ, opp. hamīḡ. Pers. jud° ≈ Gr. διάφορος, Syr.

ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ; Pers. hamīḡ ≈ Gr. διαφορά, Lat. differentia, Syr. ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ, Arab.

فصل, Gr. ὀλλοίωσις. Pers. ham° ≈ Gr. ὄμο-, Syr. ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ; Pers. hamīḡ ≈ Syr.

ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ; Pers. an-hamīḡ ≈ Syr. ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܢ. For judīḡ ī hamḡōhr, cf. Dk iii,

M121.

¹¹ . Cf. Jāmāspīḡ 2 hamḡōhr ped x^vēš ḡōhr hamēstār nē, bē abzāyēnīdār ud nirōḡ-iz-dādār bavend. ēdōn cōn āb ka ō āb rased, ud vād ka ō vād rased, ud ātaš ka ō ātaš rased, hamḡōhrīḡ rāy ēk didīḡar rāy abzāyišn kuned . ēd rāy cē judḡōhr hend, rōšnīḡ ka ō tāriḡīḡ, hubōyīḡ ka ō gennagīḡ, garmīḡ ka ō sardīḡ, ud huškīḡ ka ō tarrīḡ rased, nirfsišn ud kāhišn kuned.

¹² . ristagān (rastagā: संवासिनां). Pers. ristag ‘humour; element; elementary property’. The four “elementary properties” are: hot and wet (Ahuric properties), cold and dry (Daēvic properties). These are the “elements” of the temperaments (āmēzišn ≈ Gr. κρᾶσις, Lat. Complexionem, Arab. مزاج). Cf. Dk iii, M121 cahār ristagān āmēzišn ī zīndagān (≈ Gr. θερμόν, ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, ξηρόν). See 9.14. See also Job of Edessa, Book of Treasures, I, 1:

ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ ܥܕ ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ ... ܩܘܨܠܗܘܬܐ

¹³ . Here is the scheme :

Bodies become disturbed and disabled, owing to their combat, one with the other. Of water and fire, as regards their substance, no harm whatever does appear. But the cold that is closely related to¹⁴ the moisture, is mingled with the moisture of water, and is an opponent of the heat in fire; and the dryness that is related to the heat, is mingled with the heat of fire is opponently harmful to the moisture in water.

3

§ 1-3. As for that which he asked: “Why did Ahura Mazdā the creator not prevent Angra Mainyu from doing and wanting evil, when He is able to do¹⁵ so? For if we say He is not able, that would mean that He is not perfect, and even He is feeble”.

4-15 The answer is this: The evil actions of Angra Mainyu come from the evil substance and evil will which are always his, as the Lie. The omnipotence of Ahura Mazdā the creator is

<i>garmīh</i>	hamēstār	<i>sardīh</i>
brādrod	nē-hambidīg	brādrod
<i>huškīh</i>	hamēstār	<i>x^vēdīh</i>

¹⁴ . brādrodīg (brādarōdī: ब्रादरोदस्य) . Pers. brād(a)rod means ‘like a brother’, but in this passage it is used to denote a ‘false’ brother. Pers. brādrodīh ‘relation, connexion’; brādrodīg ‘connected, related’ ≈ Syr. ܒܪܐܕܪܘܕܝܗ ‘relation, connection; related, similar’ from ܒܪܐܕܪܘܕ ‘brother’.

¹⁵ . tuvān-kirdār (tvā kardār: शक्तः कर्ता) ≈ Fars. توانکن.

limited to all that which is possible.¹⁶ The question of knowing whether or not one is able or unable to do¹⁷ that which is not possible does not make sense. Whoever says so, is not within the limits¹⁸ of rational discourse¹⁹. For he who says first “it is impossible”, and next “God is able to do it”, then by that removes its impossibility, because now it is not impossible but possible. As His ability is limited²⁰, so is His will²¹. For He is

¹⁶ . šāyed būdan. Pers. šāyed(-būd) ‘possible’ ≈ Gr. δυνατόν, Syr. ܫܝܝܝܢܐ, Arab. يمكن. Pers. nē šāyed (būdan) ≈ Gr. οὐ δυνατόν, Syr. ܠܫܝܝܝܢܐ, Arab. لا يمكن. Pers. būdan-nē-šāyistan ≈ Gr. τὸ ἀδύνατον, Syr. ܠܫܝܝܝܢܐ ܠܫܝܝܝܢܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M 199 ēn-z pēdāgīh ka tuvān harv andar šāyed parvann, Dk iv, M 418 šāyed-būd kanāragumand ayāb nē ? ud tuvān-dānāgīh and-cand šāyed-būd ayāb frāy ? ud ēk ō did parvannāg ayāb nē ? ud agar šāyed-būd nē kanāragumand, hān ī nē-šāyed-būd xʿānend cē, ud cē vimand ud tuvān, cē hān ī šāyed-būd ? RP 62.14 šāyed-būd kirdan.

¹⁷ . tuvān atuvān (tvā atvā: शक्तोऽशक्तो). Pers. tuvān ‘power; probable’ (it renders Av. zastavat) ≈ Gr. ἐνδεχόμενον, Syr. ܡܝܝܢܐܘܬܐ (Ps 129.3), Arab. محتمل ، قدرة (δύναμις). Pers. a-tuvān, nē-tuvān ‘not probable, improbable’ ≈ Gr. οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον, Syr. ܠܡܝܝܢܐܘܬܐ, Arab. لا محتمل. Pers. tuvān-abzārīh ≈ Syr. ܡܝܝܢܐܘܬܐ ܠܡܝܝܢܐܘܬܐ. Cf. Dk iv cē vimand ī tuvān, cē hān ī šāyed-būd ?

¹⁸ . vimand (vīmaṇḍ: सीमायाः). Pers. vimand ‘border; definition’ (Parth. wimand wistambag ‘border rebel’), sāmān (Parth. sahmān) ≈ Gr. ὄρος, ὀρισμός, Syr. ܫܝܝܝܢܐ, Arab. حد; Pers. vimandīg ‘bounded, definite’ ≈ Gr. ὀριστικός.

¹⁹ . soxan-šnāsīh (saxunšnāsī: वचसो ज्ञानी). Pers. soxanšnāsīh ≈ Gr. ἡ διαλεκτική. [Pers. gōbāgīh ≈ Gr. ἡ λογική, Syr. ܡܝܝܢܐܘܬܐ] Pers. soxanšnās translates Av. uxda-šnan- adj. ‘who knows (how to interpret) the statements (of the law)’. Pers. soxanšnās ‘who know how to speak’, Fars. سخنشناس ‘well-versed in literature’, cf. VZ 31.1 ped vēšgīrīšnīh ī gētīg zōr soxanšnās baved ud frāzraftār.

²⁰ . tuvān sāmānumand (tvā sāmānumand: शक्तः सीमावान्). Pers. tuvān-sāmān ‘in proportion to one’s capacity’ (cf. šāyed-sāmān), cf. Dk iv, M431. Pers.

wise²²; and the will of the wise is [confined] to that which is possible, and his will does not encroach on what is impossible; because he only wills all that which is possible and contingent²³.

16-28. If we say that “Ahura Mazdā the creator is able to prevent Angra Mainyu from the evil which is his constant substance”, then we might as well say that it is possible to change the demonic substance into the divine, and the divine to the demonic; and that it is possible to make darkness light and light darkness. Those who speak of the changing of a substance from its essence [into another] are not physicists²⁴ i.e. those who

tuvān-sāmānīhā ‘to the best of one’s ability’ ≈ Arab. مع إمكان القدرة. Cf. MX 31.12 ; REA, 5.14, NS 6. Sad-dar B 22 «گر توان سامانها به گویند»

²¹ . kām (kām: कामः). Pers. kām ‘desire; will’ (rendering Av. vasah-) [cf. also FO 19 cakana: kāmāg] ≈ Gr. προαίρεσις, Syr. ܟܡܐ, Arab. إرادة. Cf. MX 2.28 kām ud kunišn ī mardōmān ... kāmāg ī yazdān.

²² . frazānag (faržānaa: निरव्वाणज्ञस्य). Pers. frazānag ‘wise, sagacious, learned’ (Parth.), Pers. dānāg ‘id.’ ≈ Gr. φιλόσοφος, Skt. ज्ञ, cf. Dk iv, M 429 ērān hamē peymān stāyed, frāybūd abēbūd nikōhed. ped hrōm filāsōfā, ud ped hindūgān dānāg, ud ped abārīg gyāg šnāsag hān abērdar stāyīd kē gōbišn-nizūmānīh azišān pēdāgīhist, frazānagān ī ērānšahr pessannīd ēstād.. Pers. frazānagīh (rendering Av. masti) ≈ Gr. πρόνοια, Arab. الحكمة.

²³ . sazed būdan (sažəṭ būdan: संयुज्यते भवितुं). Pers. sazed būdan ‘it is proper/ convenient’ ≈ Syr. ܠܚܘܒܐ, nē sazed būdan ‘it is not proper’ ≈ Syr. ܠܘܠܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M95 hān ī vurravišn andar hān ī šāyed-būd hān ī sazed būdan ... hān ī nē vurravišn andar hān ī šāyed-būd hān ī nē sazed.

²⁴ . gōhr-nē-šnāsān (gōhar nēšnāsā: रत्नस्य अज्ञातारो). Pers. gōhršnās ‘physicist; expert in jewellery’, gōhrag-dānāg (DD 90.3) ≈ Gr. φυσικός.

«گوهری ... جواهرشناس را هم گفته اند». (برهان قاطع) «گوهری ... به معنی ... گوهرشناس نیز

آمده». (فرهنگ جعفری)

cannot discern substance²⁵ in action²⁶ and accidents²⁷, and count wolf (and) monster as beneficent. Since the calamity and evil which arise from man and cattle are not substantially their own, but are owing to the corruption²⁸, deception, delusion of the Lie, and owing to the evil of other demons such as Revenge (or, Crime)²⁹, Wrath³⁰ and Lust³¹ which are mingled with man. Just as taking a bitter medicine, which is mingled with poison, is not for the maintaining of well-being, but for the removal of the pain and sickness which are owing to an extraneous substance³². [Another] example: a true statement and a false statement. Sometimes, a righteous man is saved from much calamity by a false statement and is condemned by a true statement. That

²⁵ . gōhr (gōhar : रत्नस्य). Pers. gōhr ‘jewel, stock, substance’ (opp. jadišn) ≈ Gr. οὐσία, Syr. ܓܘܗܪܐܘܪܐ, Arab. العيين، الجوهر. Cf. Dk iv, M 412 gōhr ud jahišn, Dk vi, M 495 gōhr ... frahang.

²⁶ . andar kunišn (aṇdar kunišni : अंतः कर्मणि) ≈ Gr. ἐνεργεία, Syr. ܐܢܕܪܟܘܢܝܨܢܐ, Arab. بالفعل.

²⁷ . jadišn or jahišn (gadašni: चलन). Pers. jadišn ‘chance ; accident’ ≈ Gr. συμβεβηκός, Syr. ܓܝܕܝܫܢܐ, Arab. العرض. ŠGV 12.79 vihirišn ī jadišn, cf. Dk iii, M 161 vihirišn ī jadagān. Pers. jahišn ī nēk (ŠnŠ 19.10) ≈ jadag ī nēk (AV 0)²⁸ . See 9.15.

²⁹ . kēn (xīn/ var. kīn: द्वेषश्च). Pers. kēn ‘revenge’ (Av. kaēnā- ‘atonement (for a crime); revenge for someone’) ≈ Gr. ποινή. Pers. kēn also translates Av. aēnah- ‘crime, sin’. In this case, we should read xēn.

³⁰ . xēšm (xašm: क्रोधश्च). Pers. (x)ēšm ‘wrath’ (Av. aēšma- ‘wrath, fury, cruelty’) ≈ Gr. οἶμα. Cf. HAM 8 xēšm ud kēn.

³¹ . varan (varun: कामश्च). Pers. varan ‘desire, lust’. Av. varəna-/ varana- ‘preference, choice’ is translated by Pers. kāmāg ‘will, desire’. Cf. Dk vi, M477 varan ud xēšm.

³² . bē-gōhr (bē gōhar: विभिलरत्नात्). Pers. bē-gōhr; ant. xʿad-gōhr, cf. Dk iii, M21 vattarīh gennāg-mēnōg^{ig} ped rasišn ī az bē-gōhr.

benefit does not come, mostly, from the lying, but from the removal of the hostility and evil which are mingled with the evil ones, and that calamity is not from the veracity, but from the evil which is mingled with the evil ones.

29-37. Considering that the opponents have been constituted in order to repel each one its own contrary, each one is [only] capable to keep away that which is its own opponent, such as light darkness, fragrance stench, good-deed evil-doing, erudition ignorance. The light is not capable to keep away stench, nor the fragrance darkness, but they have been constituted in order to keep away each of them its own opponent. As for that which they say:

“In the dark night a righteous man is saved from the lion, wolves, dogs and robbers, while in the light day he is captured by them”.

It is not proper to consider that as a benefit owing to darkness, nor yet as a calamity owing to light. Because light is created to repel darkness, not to keep away the lion, wolf and monsters and many others alike.

38-39. On account of tediousness, I contented myself to explain succinctly. You, the successful, may your appreciation of benefit be such that you may obtain much from Religion.

4

1-6. And as for that which he asked: “We always observe that everything is generated from the celestial sphere³³ and stars³⁴, then He who created this sphere is the same that, the Believers claim that ‘He created Good and Evil’. If Angra Mainyu created, how was he able to create these wonder things? For there are stars by which, and with accordance with them, benefit is bestowed. If Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu created in consultation with each other, then so it is obvious that, Ahura Mazdā is an accomplice and partner, with Angra Mainyu, in the sin and evil which arise from the celestial sphere”.

7-15. The answer is this: The celestial sphere is the place of gods (= luminaries)³⁵ who bestow benefits, and every bestowal

³³ . spihr (spihir: चक्रात्). Pers. spihr ‘(celestial) sphere; fate’ (< *spiθra-, cf. Σπιθρα-δάτης a personal name, OPers. *spiça-; Skt. श्वित्र-), gird-asmān ≈ Gr. σφαῖρα > Parth.- Pers. (Man.) ‘spyr.

³⁴ . stāragān (stāraga: तारकाभ्यश्च). Pers. °stārag ‘star’ = star/ stār (Av. star-m., stārō nom./3), Ideogram: kwkb’ (Akkad. kakkabu, Aramaic , כַּכְבָּב , כַּכְבָּב), cf. Frahang ī Pahlavīg, 1: ووه سلوا: واوره . Cf. VZ 30.1 gōydēs asmānīg spihr ī gardišnīg, Dk iii, M278 ruvāncihr θβāš ī rah-iz ī ped gēhānīg ēvāz spihr-s x^vānīhed. Cf. also “از روایت دستور برزوجی”

«در کتاب بندهشن چنین گفته است که: هر چه به مردم رسد از سبب هفت کوکب و دوازده برج می رسد».

³⁵ . bayān or bān (baṃa: दातृणां). Pers. bay ‘god; Majesty; luminary’ (< *baga-. Av. бага-/ baṃa-, Skt. bhāga- ‘lord, patron’. Av. baṃa is sometimes

of benefits by them is done always justly. The seven planets³⁶ are star-form witches³⁷ who roam about beneath them (luminaries), rob³⁸ and distribute amiss, whose scriptural name is Robber³⁹. Ahura Mazda the creator prepared, skilfully and sagaciously, these creatures, with the idea of conveying them to the eschatological Renovation⁴⁰. When the Harmful Spirit winded in the sky, that demon, ignorantly and hypocritically, together with the various sinful demons, who are those of a gloomy seed, encircled the Light and mingled with it, expecting that: “I either will annihilate these creatures of Ahura Mazda, or may take possession of them”. The luminaries⁴¹, the supreme among the good, were aware, thanks to their omniscience, of the absurd action and hypocrisy of that Demon, and of this too that,

translated by baxtār ‘dispenser, distributor’). Cf. KKZ bayān gāh, Dk iii, M 205 bayān baxtārīh, M278 rah-ravišn rōšn bayān. See 9.17.

³⁶ . haftān ‘the seven, planets’(haftā: सप्त) ≈ Gr. *πλάνητες*, Syr. *ܫܒܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܬܐ*, *ܫܒܬܐ ܗܘܬܐ*. Cf. Bd. haftān ud dvāzdahān (dvāzdahān ‘the twelve, the zodiac’), KAP 3.4 cē hamē vēned ped tis ī haftān ud dvāzdahān?

³⁷ . starkirbān perīgān ‘star-form witches’ (star-karfā faryā: ताराकलेवरा: दुष्टग्रहा:). Pers. perīg < Av. pairikā- f. ‘demoness; witch, sorceress’. Cf. Jāmāspīg iv u-š haft perīg kē ped starkirbīh ravend ...

³⁸ . appurdārān (apurdārā: अपहर्त्तारो). Pers. appurdār ‘robber; planet’, cf. Dk iii, 205 appurdārān kē hend abāxtarān.

³⁹ . gayōgān (gadūgā:). Pers. gay(ag)/ gayōg ‘robber, bandit; planet’ (< Av. gāda-), cf. VZ 32.4 rāhdārān ud gayagān; opp. bay, cf. Dk iii, M 278 azēr-rah-ravišn-bayān pešān kārih pedyāragīh, dvārāg gayōg ī abāxtar-z x^vānīhed. Pers. gayōgīg, opp. bayīg, cf. Dk iii, M 279.

⁴⁰ . frašegird (frašōkard: अक्षयकृते: ‘making undecaying’). See 1.28.

⁴¹ . rōšnān (rōšanā: रोचिष्मंतः). Pers. rōšn ‘light; luminary’ (opp. Av. tēmā) = Av. raoxšna- adj. ‘light’; rōšnān ‘lights; luminaries’ (Av. raocā). Cf. Cim ī kustīg 42 vahišt gāh ī rōšnān, TM 1208. Man. rōšnān x^vārist ‘Friend of Lights’ ≈ Syr. *ܫܒܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܝܬܐ*, Arab. حبيب الانوار.

to what extent is this power of his, from which the absurd action and harmfulness come out, so that, henceforth, no power remains for his restoration from the complete perception⁴² of bondage and pain, and winding inside the sky.

16-20. When this Demon encircled and winded round the Light, then [Ahura Mazda], sagaciously, for the purpose of not allowing the forces and organs [of the Demon], that is, the whole sinful demons, to fulfil their proper will, some of these demons are mingled with the realm⁴³ of the luminaries, such as the demonic poison pertaining to monsters which is clad with the four divine elements⁴⁴. For if this demonic poison pertaining to monsters had not been winded in the four divine corporeal elements, that is water and fire and clay (/ earth) and wind⁴⁵, then they would have come to the immaterial sky. If they had

⁴² . mārđārīh (māladārī: मारजनात). Pers. mārđār ‘sentient; an organ of sense’. Cf. 1.9. mārđārīh ≈ Gr. αἰσθησις, Syr. ܡܪܕܐܪܝܗ.

⁴³ . stī (stī: पक्तिश्च). Pers. stī (Av. sti-) ‘realm; entity; individual self’ ≈ Gr. ὑπόστασις, Syr. ܫܬܝܐ; Pers. ped stī ‘in person’ ≈ Syr. ܫܬܝܐܢܝܐ. Pers. stī ī rōšnān, cf. Dk iii, M 18 rōšn stī ō tār stī vaštan nē šāyed.

⁴⁴ . cahār zahagān (cihār zahaga: चतुर्भिः संभूतिभिः). Pers. zahag ‘birth, begetting; progenitor; element’ (Av. zaθa) ≈ Gr. στοιχεῖον (Syr. ܫܬܝܐܪܝܐܢܝܐ from στοιχος), cf. Dk iv, M 416 tōhmag zahag. Pers. cahār zahagān ≈ Syr. ܫܬܝܐܪܝܐܢܝܐ, ܫܬܝܐܪܝܐܢܝܐ; Pers. ܫܬܝܐܪܝܐܢܝܐ; Arab. الأسطقسات اربع, الامهات الاربع. Cf. Dk iii, M170 cahār zahagān ī gēhān (Syr. ܫܬܝܐܪܝܐܢܝܐ ܫܬܝܐܪܝܐܢܝܐ, Arab. عناصر العالم). See 9.15.

⁴⁵ . āb ud ātaš ud gil ud vād (āβ u ātaš u gil u vāt: जलं ज्वलनश्च मृत्तिकाच पवनश्च). Pers. āb ≈ Gr. ὕδωρ, Syr. ܐܒܝܐ. Pers. ātaš ≈ Gr. πῦρ, ܐܝܘܐ. Pers. gil ≈ Gr. γῆ, Syr. ܕܝܝܐ. Pers. vād ≈ Gr. ἀήρ, Syr. ܝܪܝܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M121 u-š dēsag ī fradum būdag ī ped dādār peymāngārīh az bavišn. u-š dēnīg nām bavišnravišnīh, u-š nāmcīšt cahār zahagān ī hend vād ud ātaš ud āb ud gil, bun gētīgān cihr.

attained to immateriality and incorporeality, then it would have not been possible for the creatures of Ahura Mazdā to protect and escape from the demonic poison of theirs, and it would be so mingled [with the creature] in the pledge and detention that the establishing and bearing, increase and growth of mankind would not be possible.

21-27. Likewise also the planets⁴⁶ are clad with light, as the demonic poison of the monsters in the realm of the luminaries. On account of that, too, the existence of a certain advantage is manifest from the serpent species that are poison-melting, and from the other wild animals and monsters, so also some benefit is manifested from the planets, on account of their commingling below the radius⁴⁷ of the luminaries. By analogy, these planets

⁴⁶ . abāxtarān (aβāxtaraḥ: दुष्टग्रहान्), gayōgān. Pers. abāxtar (< *upāxtar), Sogd. pxryy/ pnxry ≈ Gr. πλάνητες (Gr. πλάνης ≈ Arab. منجّير), Syr. ܐܒܚܬܪܐܢ, Armen. apaxtar ‘foretelling by the table of planets’. Cf. HKR 14 pez tis ī stāragān ud abāxtarān, VZ 2.18 tārān abāxtarān, MX 38.5 apparīšn ī haft abāxtar.

⁴⁷ . azēr-brāhīh ī rōšnān (azēr brihī i rōšanaḥ: अधो रोचिषो रोचिष्मतां). West: ‘the inferior splendour ...’, Menasce: ‘sous l’influence ...’, Degener: ‘unter dem Glanz der Lichter’. Cf. 4.46 azēr brāh ī do rōšnān (azēr brih i du rōšanaḥ: अधो रोचिषो द्वयोः रोचिष्मतोः), 4.47 azēr brāh ī mihr (azēr brih i mihir: अधः तेजसा सूर्यस्य), Degener: ‘unter dem Fahrzeug (*rah*) der Sonne’. D.N. MacKenzie imagined that the Pazand word brih (Skt. rocis) in the ŠGV “may be no more than a misreading or ‘correction’ of the lhy of the GB(undahišn)”. “Zoroastrian Astrology in the Bundahišn”, BSOAS, 1964, (511-29), 516. But azēr-brāh(īh) corresponds to Arab. تحت الشعاع ‘under the rays’. See Bērōnī :

that bestow benefit, are like the brigands and highwaymen who cut off the way of the caravan of merchants, steal many important things, and bestow and give them, not to the dutiful and worthy, but to the sinner, undutiful, harlot, prostitute and unworthy.⁴⁸

28-38. The benevolence which astrologers⁴⁹ attribute and state (that they come) from the planets, is for this reason that, they have not discriminated the quality⁵⁰ of the gods (/ luminaries) who bestow benefit, and that of the five divine (/ Ahuric) fixed stars –which are the Highest Peg which is a

«چون کواکب علوی از حدّ تصمیم بیرون آیند و سفلیان هم ولكن به میان رجوع، ایشان را همه محترق ای سوخته نام کنند تا دوری از آفتاب شش درجه شود و آن گه سوختگی از وی برخیزد و تحت الشعاع نام کنند.» بیرونی، التفهیم، تهران، ۱۳۵۳، ۴۶۱.

See also:

ح. تقی‌زاده: گاهشماری در ایران قدیم، تهران، ۱۳۱۶، ۳۳۸: زیربراد: تحت الشعاع یا احتراق.

For brāh, cf. KAP, 4.6 māh ... azēr brāh ī mihr ēsted ‘The Moon ... stands below the radius of the Sun’. For rah, cf. ^TT III 260 gird-asmān ēv, ped axtarān ud estāragān, ud rah do ī x^var ud māh ‘And one celestial sphere with the signs of the zodiac and the stars, and two chariots, that of the sun and that of the moon’, ēg ohrmezdbay ... az rah ī māh yazd āxēzed, ud ō rah ī x^varšēd adīhed ‘The God Ohrmazd rises from the chariot of the Moon God and comes up to the chariot of the Sun’, Bd 53 azēr x^varšēd ... ō rah ī x^varšēd ‘beneath the sun, [bound] to the chariot of the sun’.

⁴⁸. Cf. MX 12.7-10, 24.9.

⁴⁹. starhangārān (starangāra: तारागणकाः). Pers. star-hangār ‘star-observer’, cf. NM II.2.9. Pers. starušmār ‘star-reckoner’ (Dk iv, M420)/ axtarmār ≈ Syr. ܘܫܡܝܐܢܝܐ. Pers. star-gōbišn (Dk iv, M 412) ≈ Gr. ἀστρολόγος, Syr. ܘܫܡܝܐܢܝܐ. Cf. DD 68 hangārag ī axtarmārān.

⁵⁰. cōnīh/ cīyōnīh (cūnī: यथास्थत्वं) ≈ Skt. गुण-, Gr. ποιόν, ποιότης, Lat. qualitas, Syr. ܩܘܠܝܬܐ, Arab. الكيفية. Cf. Dk iv, M 414 cōnīh ī dahišn.

measuring-mark (= Polaris)⁵¹, the stars Haptō.iriṅga established by Mazdā (= Ursa Maior)⁵², Vanant⁵³, Satavaēsa⁵⁴ and Tištrya⁵⁵

⁵¹ . mēx ī bālistīg ī handāzišnīg (məh i bālistī i aṇdāžašnī: महत्यः उच्चैस्तराः

दृश्यतराः), mēx ī gāh. West: ‘the great one that is supreme and measurable’, Menasce: ‘la Grande au plus haut du ciel, le repère’, Degener: ‘der Polarstern, nach welchem gemessen wird’. Pers. mēx ‘peg, nail’ [Ops. mayuxa- m., Skt. mayūkha- m. ‘a kind of peg; a ray of light; flame’] ≈ Av. mərəzu-, Arab. الميخ (= المسمار): « Le clou (الميخ), l’Étoile polaire et le pôle sont comme un alif (l) horizontaux [ou] verticaux, mais jamais obliques. On appelle celui-là le Clou ou le Vis du Gāh parce qu’il cloue l’étoile polaire au pôle ». (ms. 2292 du fonds arabe de la BNF, au folio 94 verso, 1.1-2) G. Ferrand, *Introduction à l’astronomie nautique arabe*, Paris, 1928, 163. « الميخ (‘le clou’) est Piazzī O^b220 = Hevel₄₃ Cephei = ₂Ursae minoris = N°249 de Ambronn. ... L’étoile que de Saussure avait inexactement identifié au 122 de Piazzī, est appelée Clou dans les Instruments nautiques des arabes ». G. Ferrand, “Iranica”, *Oriental Studies in honour of C.E. Pavry*, Oxford U.P., 1933, (123-26), 125.

Pers. bālist ‘highest; height; exaltation’ [Av. barəzišta- (adj.) ‘highest, most elevated’; barəzəman- ‘elevation, elevated thing’] ≈ Gr. ὑψωμα, Arab. شرف. Cf. KAP 3.5 stārag ī ohrmazd abāz <ō> bālist āmad ‘The star Jupiter has again come to (its) exaltation’. bālistīg ‘highest; in exaltation’, cf. Bd 193 ohrmazd bālistīg, ahrmen zufāyīg.

Pers. handāz- ‘to reckon; measure; cast; happen’. handāz ‘incident; comaprison’ cf. 11.40 ped handāz ‘by chance’, Dk vi, M 521 az handāz ī ‘by comaprison with’. handāzag ‘analogous; comparison; measuring’, ped handāzag ‘by comaprison’, Cf. X^vārazmī (مفاتيح العلوم) اندازه با اخترماری باید انداززه با اخترماری باید. handāzišn ‘happening; evaluation; throwing; measuring’, cf. Dk vi, M570 handāzišn ōn būd kū ... ‘It so happened that’, Dk iv, M 417 handāzišn ī vēnišnīg andarvāyīgān, Dk viii, M 735 nigerišn ud handāzišn. handāzišnīg ‘incidental; measuring-mark’, cf. VZ 1.3 handāzišnīg ul ō abar āmad ‘then, incidentally, he came up’. Neryōsang reads aṇdāžašnī, which he understands to mean ‘very visible’.

⁵² . haftōring mazdadād . Av. haptō.iriṅga-, cf. Sr 1.13 aoe (ave Yt 12.28) stārō yōi haptō.iriṅga mazdadāta x^varənaṅ^yhaṅta baēšazya ‘to the stars which

– from the quality of the robbers (= the wandering celestial bodies) who distribute calamity, and that of the five planets which roam about beneath them, in the form of stars⁵⁶, and are clad with light, that is Saturn⁵⁷, Jupiter⁵⁸, Mars⁵⁹, Venus⁶⁰ and

are haptō.iriṅga, established by (Ahura) Mazdā, the fortunate (and) healing⁷. Cf. also Bērōnī:

«به پارسی هفتورنگ و به تازی بنات النعش بزرگ». بیرونی، التفهیم، تهران، (۱۳۱۸) ۱۳۶۷، ۱۰۱.

⁵³. vanand. Av. vanant-. Cf. Yt. 21.1 vanaṅtəm stārəm mazdaḏātəm ‘the star Vanand established by Mazdā’, RP 18b ēn-z pēdāg kū cōn byaspānān x^vrasišn ō vanand, yazdān-z rasišn ō mān ī ātaš ī varhrān ‘This also is revealed: Just as the arrival of the (royal) envoys is (thanks) to Vanant, so also is the arrival of the Yazata (thanks) to the dwelling of the Victorious Fire.’ For the couple of Vanant and Haptō.iriṅga, see Yt. 8.12.

⁵⁴. sadvēs. Cf. Yt. 8.0 satavaēsahe frāpahe sūrahe mazdaḏātahe xšnaoθra ‘for the satisfaction of Satavaēsa ‘[the star] who follows the [celestial] river, the strong [star] established by Mazdā’. The Manichaeans identified Satavaēsa with the Virgin of Light (kenīg-rōšn, ܟܢܝܓ ܪܘܫܢ).

⁵⁵. tištar. Av. tištrya- (m.), cf. Yt. 8.2 tištrīm stārəm raēvaṅtəm x^varənaṅ^vhaṅtəm ‘the star Tištrya endowed with wealth and fortune’. Sogd. tyš /tiš/ ‘the thirteenth day of the month’. Skt. tiṣṭā- (m.) ≈ the asterism 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎴.

⁵⁶. ped starkirbīh (pa starkarfī: तारकाकलेवरतया). Cf. Jāmāspīg 4 haft perīg kē ped starkirbīh ravend, azēr stāragān ō stāragān kuxšend ‘The seven witches who move, in the form of stars, beneath the [divine] stars, and strive towards the [divine] stars’.

⁵⁷. kēvān (kaevān: शनिश्चर). Pers. kēvān ‘Saturn’ < Akkad. kajjamānu ‘constant, normal; Saturn’ ≈ Heb. 𐤍𐤊𐤏, Syr. ܟܝܝܡܢܘܢܐ, Arab. زحل. Its scriptural name was dūrpedyārag (from a forgotten Avestan word, *dūraē-paityāra-), cf. Dk iii, M205 hān ī abāxtar ī starušmārān kēvān x^vānend, u-š dēnīg nām dūrpedyārag. But, its popular name was Zurvān ‘time’ (Armen. զրուան, according to Anania Shirakatzi) ≈ Skt. ¹kāla ‘a black colour; the planet Saturn’; ²kāla ‘time’.

⁵⁸. ohrmazd (avarmazd: बृहस्पति). Pers. ohrmazd ‘Jupiter’ ≈ Syr. ܘܚܪܡܙܕܐ, Arab. مشتري.

retrogression⁶⁷. The length⁶⁸ of the rope of some is longer⁶⁹, such as Saturn and Jupiter, and that of some others is shorter⁷⁰, such as Mercury and Venus.⁷¹ Whenever they go to the end of the rope then they are pulled back, they are not permitted to go according to their own will, so that they may not damage the creatures.⁷²

ī šahriyārān. Pers. bann (ī mēnōgīg), Skt. vāta-raśmi ‘bonds of wind’. Zādsprahm states that the benefit of Jupiter is due to its bondage to the luminaries, cf. VZ 2.21 ohrmazd stārag zīndagīh tar dām nē x^vēšgōhrīhā bē andar bann ī rōšnān būdan rāy. In the Bundahišn it is said that the five planets are tied only to the chariot of the sun (53); and it is also said that all of the stars are tied to the sun and the moon (28). Cf. also the Persian Rivāyāt, II, 62-6, and Bērōnī:

«رأى القدماء في رباطات الكواكب بالشمس و رجوعها ...» تمهيد المستقر ...، ١٦.

⁶⁷. frāzravišnīh (frāžraβəšnī: पुरः प्रवृत्तिः). Pers. frāz-ravišnīh ‘forward motion, progression’ ≈ Skt. ṛju-gati-, Arab. الاستقامة.

abāzravišnīh (aβāžraβəšnī: पश्चात् व्यावृत्तिः). Pers. abāz-ravišnīh ‘backward motion, retrogression’ ≈ Skt. viloma-gati-, Arab. الرجوع. [abāz-estādag ‘stationary’, Arab. مقيم] Cf. Bd. 54.

⁶⁸. drahnāy (drānāe: दीर्घत्वेन).

⁶⁹. drāzdar (drāžtar: दीर्घतरं).

⁷⁰. kehdar (kəhtar: ह्रस्वतरं).

⁷¹. Cf. Bd 53 ... ō ham rah ī x^varšēd ped dagrandīh ud kastagīh bast este(n)d. ‘[the five planets] are tied to the same chariot of the sun in their elongation and diminution’.

⁷². See B. Lincoln, « Anomaly, Science and Religion : Treatment of the Planets in Medieval Zoroastrianism », *History of Religions*, 48/4, 2009, (270-82), 280.

46-49. Those two demons who are greater in strength, that is the planetary sun and moon⁷³, move in opposition below the radius⁷⁴ of the two luminaries (Sun and Moon)⁷⁵. Another star<-form> robber that is called Mūšperīg⁷⁶, is likewise bound below the radius of the sun. When she gets far from bond, and enters into a zodiacal constellation⁷⁷, she commits damage and calamity to the quarter which is the proper function of that constellation⁷⁸, until it becomes again subject and pledged of the sun.

50-59. The reason given [by the sages] is this:

⁷³ . mihr ud mäh ī abāxtarīg (Bharucha: Is this an allusion to राहु and केतु ?). Cf. Bd 52 mihr ud mäh temīg [temīg ≈ Skt. chādita- ‘obscured (the moon)’], DD 68 donān gōzihrān ī tār.

⁷⁴ . azēr brāh. Cf. 4.23.

⁷⁵ . do rōšnān (du rōšanaḥ: द्वयोः रोचिष्मतोः). Pers. donān rōšnān ‘Duo Lumina’, Arab. نورين. Cf. ^TM1208: donān raheyān rōšnān ‘the two light chariots’.

⁷⁶ . mūš-perīg (əž vahī : उत्तमत्वात्) Bharucha’s emendation. Pers. mūš-perīg, Av. mūš ... pairikayāi (Y 16.8). Cf. Bd 53 az avēšān abāxtarān mihr ī temīg ud mūš-perīg ped hampeymānagīh azēr x^varšēd, andar gumēzišn ō rah ī x^varšēd, mäh ī temīg ō rah ī mäh bast ēsted ‘Of those planets the dark sun and Mūš-perīg are tied by the same measure, during the Mixture, beneath the Sun to the chariot of the Sun and the dark moon to the chariot of the Moon’, mūš-perīg dumbumand parrvar jast ‘Mūš-perīg was tailed (and) winged’, 188 mūš-perīg ī dumbumand.

⁷⁷ . axtar (axtar: नक्षत्र). Pers. axtar ‘(fixed) star; constellation; sign of the zodiac’; opp. abāxtar ‘planet’, cf. Bd 54 u-šān abāxtarān-nāmīh ēd kū nē axtar hend ‘Their being named abāxtar is for this that they are not axtar’. dvāzdah axtar ‘twelve signs of the zodiac’ (MX 12.5) ≈ dvāzdahān, Syr. حلاله. Pers. axtarīg ‘sidereal’ (ŠnŠ 14.5).

⁷⁸ . ped kust ī hān kē hān axtar x^vēškārīh. Cf. KAP 3.5 ped kust ī haftōiring, Bd 97 az hān kustag ī star ī haftōiring.

The battle of the superior beings⁷⁹ occurs in the star station⁸⁰.
Beneath them, there is the battle of Tištrya against the demon
Spəñjayri⁸¹, of the fire Vāzišta (the cloud-fire)⁸² against the
demon Apaoša⁸³, and of other good Spirits⁸⁴ against gloomy

⁷⁹. abarīgān (aḅarīgā: उपरिष्ठानां, Skt. upariṣṭha- ‘staying above’. Pers. abarīgān ≈ Syr. ܐܒܪܝܓܐܢ ‘celestial things’.

⁸⁰. star pāyag (star pāeaa: तारापदे). Cf. Sr 10 (Z) ardvīsūr avinastīh ēd kū-š bunxān ped star pāyag ī rōšn ‘The undefiledness of Anāhitā is this that her source is in the light star station’, RP 65.1 ēn-z az abestāg pēdāg kū: az zamīg dā ō star pāyag <hān ī> hamestagān, ud az star pāyag dā ō x^varšēd pāyag hān ī pahlum oxān, ud az x^varšēd pāyag dā ō asmān hān ī asarrōšnīh, ud garōdmān andar hān ī asarrōšnīh ‘This also is revealed in the Avesta that: from the earth to the star station is Limbo; from the star station to the sun station is the Best Existence; from the sun station to the sky is the Endless Light, and Garōdāmāna is in the Endless Light’.

⁸¹. spenzagr or spenzaruš (spəñzagar: स्पेजग्र). Av. spəñjayri- m. (Bharucha: The demon who keeps off the rain from falling). Cf. Vd 19.40 ātrəm vāzištəm ... daēum.janəm spəñjayrīm ‘the fire Vāzišta the smiter of the Daēva Spəñjayri, Bd 50 andar-z abr pāyag spenzaruš ō ātaš ī vāzišt ‘in the cloud station Spəñjayri is (opposed) to the fire Vāzišta.’

⁸². ātaš ī vāzišt. Av. vāzišta-, ātrəm vāzištəm, Pers. ātaš ī vāzišt the cloud-fire. Y 17.11 enumerates these five fires: ātrəm bərəzisavaṅhəm, ātrəm vohu.fryānəm, ātrəm urvāzištəm, ātrəm vāzištəm, ātrəm spəñištəm.

⁸³. apōš/ abōš. Av. apaoša- m. demon of drought. Cf. DD 93 dēv ast apōš nām, ī vizārīhed āb-ōš ‘There is a Daēva Apaoša by name, which is interpreted as “death-of-the-water”’, Dk iii, M109 apōš dēv ud spenzagr druz ‘the Daēva Apaoša, and the druj Spəñjayri’, Bd 50 andar-z abr pāyag spenzaruš ō ātaš ī vāzišt, apoš dēv ō tištar <ud> hamkārān ī ōy ī tištar mad ‘And in the cloud station Spəñjayri came to oppose the fire Vāzišta and the Daēva Apaoša to Tištrya and the collaborators of Tištrya’, 64 andar hān vārānkirdārīh espenzaruš ud abōš kuxšīd hend, ātaš vāzišt gaḍ abar vašt ud āb tāzēnīd ‘During the making of rain, Spəñjayri and Apaoša fought, and the fire Vāzišta turned up its club and caused the water to run’.

⁸⁴. veh mēnōgān (vahə mainyuḅ: उत्तमानां अदृश्यानां). Cf. Y 48.8 vaṅhəuš mainyuš ‘of good spirit’.

ones⁸⁵, for the making of rain and allotment of profit to the creatures. Below them, that of man and cattle [against] monsters and felons⁸⁶, and of other good creatures against bad ones. Because, accidents are mingled with man, that is: Greed⁸⁷, Lust⁸⁸, Revenge⁸⁹, Wrath⁹⁰ and Sleepness⁹¹, Wisdom, Character, Virtue, Science, Recollection and Wit⁹², as the yoking together

⁸⁵ . temīgān. Av. tōmah- ‘darkness’, opp. raocah-; Sogd. tam ‘hell’. Cf. T [*Kosmogonische Texte*, 3.3] tamīg dēvān ... dēvān ī tamīgān.

⁸⁶ . mar (mar, MH19, JJ, JE, R mār: नृशंसानां). Pers. mar (opp. mardōm), Av. mairya- ‘(bad) man; knave’.

⁸⁷ . āz (āz: लोभ). Pers. āz (ant. hunsandīh, HOD 48), Av. āzi- m. ‘concupiscence, greed’, āziš daēvō.dātō (Vd 18.19) ‘the demon-spawned Āzi’, āzōiš daēvō.dātahe (Y 16.8). Cf. Dk ix, M 801 āz ī dēvāndād, MX 2.14 āz dēv, Dk iii, M 65 ped xrad pedīrag varan, ped hunsandīh ī pedīrag āz, ped srōšīgīh pedīrag xēšm, ped dādīgīh pedīrag arešk, ped x^vābarīh pedīrag kēn, M 142 xrad frārōn ... varan abārōn, Dk vi, M 477 āz ud arešk ud varan ud xēšm ud nang, CHP 38 āz ped hunsandīh bē zaned, VZ 30.41 āz ud varan ud xēšm ud kēn. In Manichaean doctrine Āz corresponds to Gr. ὄλη, and also to Syr. ܐܙܘܢܝܐ (Lat. Nebroël). Cf. S 9 āz ... kird anād ēn nasāh.

⁸⁸ . varan (varun: काम). Pers. varan (opp. xrad, Dk vi, M 473) ‘craving, lust; cupidity’, Av. varəna- m. ‘preference, choice; belief’ translated by Pers. kāmāg. Pers. varan is rendered by Arab. شهوة. Pers. varan abārōn (opp. xrad frārōn), cf. Dk iii, M 142.

⁸⁹ . kēn (xīn, PB3, MH19, R kīn: द्वेष). Pers. kēn ‘revenge, rancour, malice’ (opp. x^vābarīh), Av. kaēnā- f. ‘revenge (for someone)’. Pers. kēn is rendered by Arab. انتقام.

⁹⁰ . xēšm (xašm: क्रोध). Pers. xēšm ‘anger, wrath, fury’ (opp. vehīh, MX 16.22, vahman, ŠGV 8.128-129, srōšīgīh, Dk iii, M 65, srōš, CHP 38), Av. aēšma- m. ‘wrath; the demon Wrath’, the opponent of sraoša- ‘obedience’. Pers. xēšm is rendered by Arab. غضب.

⁹¹ . būšyāsp. Pers. būšyāsp/t ‘lethargy; procrastination; (bad) sleep’, Av. būšyāstā- f. ‘the demoness of indolence’. ped būšāsp ‘in (a) dream’, cf. AV 111 tis ī ped būšāsp vēned.

⁹² . See 1.8, 8.113.

with good and the yoking together with evil are called, which are the causes of good deed and sin.

60-62. All the benefit of the creatures come, mostly, from the creator of the creatures, who is Himself the healer and physician⁹³, the guardian and keeper and nourisher and protector and saviour of His own creatures. He has given to His creatures and taught them all the means of being delivered from calamity, and the instruments of abstaining from crime.

63-72. He is like a wise garden-owner and gardener that pernicious destructive beasts and birds are intent on damaging the garden by spoiling the fruit of the trees, and the wise gardener, for the sake of diminishing his trouble and keeping those pernicious beasts out of his garden, prepares instruments whereby to be able to capture those beasts, like traps, net and bird-grains, so that when the beast sees the bait, and wishes, greedily, to catch it, is captured therein, not knowing of the trap or net. It is obvious that, if the beast falls into the net, this event is not the triumph of the net, but that of the arranger of the net. The beast is captured in the net because the master, garden-owner and arranger of the net knows, sagaciously, that to what extent the beast is strong and for how long. The bodily strength and force of that beast are exhausted by striving [in the net], and

⁹³ . bizešk ud drusbed (bažašk u drustvaṭ; वैद्यः आरोग्यपतिः). Pers. bizešk/ bišehk ‘physician, doctor’, Av. biši-, °biš-, Skt. bhiṣaj-, Sogd. βēc, Armen. Բժիշկ ≈ Syr. ܒܝܫܝܫ. Cf. FO 16 bišiš framātō: bizešk ī frāzuzmūdār, Dk iii, M 38 šnāsag bizešk.

Pers. drustbed ‘chief physician; therapist’, cf. Dk iii, M 159 drusbed ... bizešk, 161 ērān-drustbed. Syr. ܒܝܫܝܫܐܝܢ translates Gr. ἀρχίατρος ‘chief physician’ (Syn. Or. 562).

«... جراثيل درستاباذ لانه كان طبيب كسرى...» كتاب اخبار العلماء بأخبار الحكماء، القفطى، القاهرة، ٩٣.

it becomes infirm in endeavouring, as much as it is able, to destroy the net and rend and demolish the trap. Since its strength is not sufficient, when its power of striving is gone out and it becomes powerless, then the wise gardener, taking successfully possession of his fruits, throws wisely the wounded and powerless beast out of the net, and consigns his net and trap, rearranged and undamaged, back to his storehouse.

73-80. Similar to Ahura Mazdā the creator, the saviour of creations and (re-)arranger of creatures, who makes the principle of Evil disabled, is the gardener who protects his garden from the injurer. The pernicious beast which ruins the garden is similar to Angra Mainyu the accursed who oppresses the creatures and is adverse to the good creation. The trap and net which make disabled the pernicious beast to fulfil its wish are similar to the sky in which good creations dwell, and in which the Harmful Spirit and his abortions⁹⁴ are captured. The time of Angra Mainyu and his forces and instruments, for the combat, is similar to the duration of the beast, for the striving in the trap and net, so that its power is exhausted. The salvation of the creatures from adversity, and the establishment of the eternal beatitude, are similar to the rearrangement of the net and trap by that owner of the garden.

81-86. Moreover, the lack of strength and want of courage of the Demon, in his strife against the luminaries, is manifest from this too: When he thought hypocritically thus:

⁹⁴ . višūdagān or guhūdagān (vašūdagā: दुष्टसृष्टि). Pers. višūdag ‘abortion, misborn; spawn’ (opp. zādag), cf. CHP, 50 dā tan ī pasēn gennāg mēnōg ud višūdagān az ēn dām judāg nē bend, ŠnŠ, 13.24 stāyišn ī ohrmazd ud amehrspondān, zanišn ī gennāg mēnōg ud višūdagān, ZVY 3.23 ahrmen ud dēvān ud višūdagān, 7.35 višūdagān ud vattōhmagān.

“Either I will annihilate this sky and earth and the creatures of Ahura Mazdā, or I will change their substance and take possession of them”.

Then, in spite of his fiendish strength⁹⁵, desire of hostility, and perpetual combat, as far as possible and in spite of the strife of the devils, there exist the earth and sky and the creatures that are increasing from few to many, as is manifest, and all acknowledge it. For, if in this combat there had not been any triumph, it would have been impossible to come from few to many.

87-101. If it is manifest that the death occurs after the worldly birth, however that death may not be the complete cease of existence, but rather is the movement from place to place, or from act to act. For, it is obvious and manifest that, since the generation⁹⁶ of all these creations is from the four elements which [constitute] their material body, they are to be mixed again with the four elements. The Spirits which are all the instruments of the breathing soul and agents within the body, are mingled with the soul, and on account of being of one nature, they do not be disturbed. The soul will be reckoned for its own deeds. The treasurers unto whom are deposited its good and evil deeds arrive for a test. If the treasurer of the good deeds is

⁹⁵ . druz-nirōgh. See 1.30.

⁹⁶ . bavišn (bvašni: समुत्पत्तिः). Pers. bavišn ‘becoming, coming into existence, genesis, generation’ ≈ Gr. γένεσις, Syr. ܒܘܫܢ, Arab. كون. Ant. vināhišn ≈ Gr. φθορά, Syr. ܒܘܫܢ, Arab. فساد. Cf. Dk iv, M 412 bavišn ud vināhišn. See 9.15.

greater in strength⁹⁷, then it is, triumphantly, saved from the hands of the adversity, and it ascends to the great seat and all-blissful luminaries⁹⁸, and it is delighted eternally in beatitude.⁹⁹ And if the treasurer of the evil deeds¹⁰⁰ is greater in strength, then it is, triumphantly, dragged from the hands of the helper, and it is entrusted to the cleaning-and-washing place, that is, the purifying¹⁰¹ hospital¹⁰². There, even those feeble good deeds practised in the material world, are not ineffectual to it. For this

⁹⁷ . ka ganzvar ī kirbag meh-ōz. Pers. ganzvar ‘treasurer, ἐπίτροπος’ (Skt. गज्जवर gañjavara, Syr. ܟܘܒܪܐ gzbr’). Cf. DD 23.5 nigāhbed ganzvar ī kirbag, VZ 30.49 nigāhbed ud ganzvar ... ī kirbag.

⁹⁸ . ō mehghāhīh ud rōšnān ī hām^vašīh ahrāmed (महास्थानतां रोचिष्तां सर्वसुखतामासादयति). Pers. rōšnān ī hām^vašīh ≈ Y 9.19 raocaṇhām vīspō.x^vāθrēm translated by rōšn ī hamāgx^vārīh, Sr I.27 raocaṇhō vīspō.x^vāθrō. Cf. NS 4 hān ī pahlum oxān ī ahlavān ī rōšn ī hubōy ī bāmīg ī hamāgx^vārīh, MX 2.145-146 pas fradumm gām ped humat, ud didīgar ped hūxt, ud sidīgar ped hvaršt abar ahrāmed; ud cahārum gām bē ō asarrōšnīh ī hamāgx^vārīh abar rased.

⁹⁹ . jāyēdān nēkravišnīhā (jāβadaṇ nyakraβəšnihā: अनंतकालं शुभप्रवृत्त्या). Pers. nēkravišnīh translates Av. uštātāt- f. ‘state of having one’s wishes fulfilled, success’, a benediction containing the auspicious word ušta, cf. Vr 18.2 vīspāyūmca uštātātəm: hamāg-āyū nēkravišnīh ‘ever lasting state of enjoying oneself’. Cf. also ŠGV 4.80 jāyēdān nēkravišnīh, 11.359 nēkravišnīh ī jāyēdān.

¹⁰⁰ . ganzvar ī bazag. Cf. DD 24.5 nigāhbed ī-š vināh.

¹⁰¹ . sardgar or yōždāhrgar (dardgar: पीडाकरे). Pers. sardgar ‘cold-maker, purifier’ (West: ‘agonizing’, Menasce: ‘qui inflige une douleur’), yōždāhrgar ‘purifier’, cf. ŠGV, 4.101 yōždārgarān, the Persian Rivāyāt, I, 93-4:

«ز دیدن او آبهایی که از دوزخ ناپاک شده باشد، پاکتر و سردتر می شود.»

¹⁰² . vēmārestān (vīmārstaṇ: रोगिणि). Pers. vēmārestān ‘hospital’ (Arab. مارستان. West ‘abode of disease’, Menasce: ‘lieu de la maladie’), cf. Dk iii, M 38 vēmārestān ī abēāhōg.

reason, the washing and cleaning and punishment are proportionate to the sin, and not arbitrarily. For, [these good deeds practised in the world] protect it from the [arbitrary] infliction of its punishment. Finally, the beneficent creator, who is the forgiver of the creatures, does not leave any good creature in captivity in the hands of the enemy. He saves both, the righteous and even the sinful, through atonement for sin, from the hands of the purifiers, and leads them to the eternal beatitude.

In brief: The creator is the healer and physician, the keeper and nourisher and guardian and saviour of the creature, and not the one who inflicts disease and pain, and punishes his own creatures. This has been more extensively written below [in the chapters] on the proof of Two Principles and against the atheists and monists¹⁰³.

104-107. I prepared [this chapter] as you (Mihrayyār) commanded and requested. May you consider it with kind regards. Because, as I have written above, I belong not to the rank of the teachers, but to the rank of the students.¹⁰⁴ I have presented here, these religious teachings which I found, despite my little wisdom, from the books of “Ādarpādyāvandān”, and his teachings are extant in the book Dēnkird of the excellent wise Ādarfarrōbay son of Farrozzād, who was the Leader-of-Mazdayasnians¹⁰⁵, and explained out of the knowledge of the religion, [and this book Dēnkird] contains a thousand chapters.

¹⁰³ . See 10.1.

¹⁰⁴ . See 1.44.

¹⁰⁵ . hudēnān pēšobāy ‘the leader of those of the good religion’, title of the head of all Mazdeans responsible to the Calif (similar to Aram. ריש גלוחא ‘exilarch’). Cf. Dk M 946: ... dēngird nibēg ... az peccēn-ē kē andar dēnān

108. As for the unlimitedness and limitedness that you asked,
I will write, God willing¹⁰⁶, below.

dēn ast cōn hufravahrān, hudēnān pēšobāyān ī az dūdag ī hufravard ādurbād ī
mahrspondān ...

¹⁰⁶. ped yazdān kām ≈ Syr. ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Arab. انشاء الله.

Second Chapter

5

1. Another chapter: Against the atheists¹, and about the existence of the God² and His rival.

§ 2-9. The existence of the God and His rival is a judicious statement according to the science³ and logic⁴ acceptable by wisdom. In brief, you should know this that: the supreme, a priori and most inevitable science is *Scientia divina* (theology)⁵. He, of whom this science is not the leader of science, is helpless by other sciences. Knowing the god is possible through undefiled intelligence, “swift” memory and analytic reason. Because, for knowing the god it is not sufficient to know that the

¹. nēstyazdgōbān (nēstyazaṭ gōeṭ: नास्तिकत्वोक्ति). Pers. nēst-yazd-gōb ‘one who asserts the non-existence of the one worthy of worship (Yazata), atheist’ ≈ Gr. ἄθεος, Syr. ܢܠܟ ܢܠܐ.

². Pers. yazd, Av. yazata ‘one worthy of worship, venerable ; divine being’ ≈ Syr. ܢܠܟܟܐ.

³. dānišn (dānašni: परिज्ञेया) ≈ Gr. γνῶσις, Syr. ܢܠܟܟܐ, Arab. علم.

⁴. gōbāgīh (guβāī: ससाक्ष्य). Pers. gōbāgīh ‘faculty of speech; logic’ ≈ Gr. λογικόν, Syr. ܢܠܟܟܐ, Arab. منطق. We can also read dānišn ī gōbāgīh ≈ Arab. علم المنطق.

⁵. yazd šnāxtan ‘to know the Yazata’ ≈ Gr. θεολογία, Syr. ܢܠܟܟܐ ܢܠܟܟܐ (ܢܠܟܟܐ ܢܠܟܟܐ ܢܠܟܟܐ ܢܠܟܟܐ).

god exists. Whoever is aware of the existence⁶ of such a thing, and is unaware of its qualities⁷ – such as that thing is good or bad, erudite or ignorant, antidote or poison, cold and frozen or hot and melting, dry and parching or moist and damp–, his only knowledge of its existence is vain. For, it is possible to praise or blame someone or some thing, not through its existence, but through its qualities.

10-11. You should know this too that: There are three modes of knowing anything:

Knowledge by necessity⁸;
 Knowledge by syllogism and analogy⁹;
 [and Knowledge] by possibility¹⁰ and
 convenience¹¹.

⁶ . astīh (hastī: सत्तया). Pers. astīh ‘existence, being ; reality; substance’ ≈ Gr. οὐσία, Syr. ܐܫܬܝܗ, Arab. وجود. Opp. pēdāgīh, cf. 13.74, Dk iv, M 420.

⁷ . cōnīh/ cīyōnīh (cūnī: यथास्थत्वात्). Pers. cōnīh ‘quality ; manner, mode; character’ ≈ Gr. ποιότης, Syr. ܥܘܢܝܗ, Lat. qualitas, Arab. صفة، كيفية. Cf. Dk iii, M 102 abar astīh ud cōnīh ī yazdān ud dēv(ān).

⁸ . acārdānišnīh (acārdānašnī: अनुमानज्ञानतया). Pers. acār ‘helpless; inevitable, necessary’, (impers.) ‘it is necessary’ ≈ Gr. ἀναγκαῖον, Syr. ܐܥܘܪܕܐܢܝܫܢܝܗ, Lat. necessities, Arab. واجب. Pers. acār-dānišnīh, cf. Syr. ܐܥܘܪܕܐܢܝܫܢܝܗ ‘axioms’. Cf. also VZ 29 .9 acārīg-dānišnīh.

⁹ . hangōšīdagdānišnīh (aṅgōšīdaadānašnī : दृष्टान्तज्ञानतया). Pers. hangōšīdag ‘image, likeness ; (inference by) analogy; allegory ; syllogism’ ≈ Gr. συλλογισμός, Syr. ܗܘܢܓܘܫܝܕܘܕܐܢܝܫܢܝܗ, Arab. فرينة، قياس. ped hangōšīdag ‘through inference by analogy, *per syllogismum*’ (PDK 48).

¹⁰ . šāyed (būdan) (šāyat: शक्तोति). Pers. šāyed ‘possible; it is possible’ (tuvān ‘power; powerful; probable; it is probable’) ≈ Gr. δυνατόν, Syr.

12. Necessary knowledge is such as

$$\begin{aligned} 1 \times 1 &= 1, \\ 2 \times 2 &= 4. \end{aligned}$$

13-14. For, within the limits of necessity, it is not possible to say that: there was, or there will be a time or a place where twice two are said to be five or three.

15-17. Knowledge by syllogism is that by which is manifested from anything manifest something non-manifest, and convinced by analogy the vision of wisdom, out of anything obvious something obscure, that is through complete comparison, or resemblance, or partial comparison.

18. Complete comparison¹² is such as that of a man of Persis to a man of another province.

19. Resemblance¹³ is such as that of cheese to the white of an egg.

شأنه (شأنه) 'it is possible'), Arab. يمكن. Cf. Dk iii, M 134 šāyed būd, RP 62.14 amargīh vinārdan ped rāh ī āštīh šāyed-būd kirdan.

¹¹. sazed (būdan) (sažəṭ būdan: युज्यते). Pers. sazed 'proper, convenient; it is convenient/ proper' is rendered by Skt. yujya ≈ Syr. ܣܝܕܐ . Sogd. s'cy-mycy' 'what is proper' renders Syr. ܣܝܕܐ 'that which is right/ due'. Pers. saz- ≈ Gr. ἄξιόω, Syr. ܣܝܕܐ; ped sazed būdan ≈ Gr. ἄξιός, Syr. ܣܝܕܐ ܣܝܕܐ. Cf. HOD 39 ped hān emēd dāred ī sazed būdan.

¹². spurrīgmānāgīh (spurī mānāī: पूर्णोपमानेन). Pers. spurrīgmānāgīh is rendered by Skt. pūrṇōpamāna. The four special instruments (Pramāṇa) of valid knowledge are: upamāna, upameya, sādharma-dharma, and sādṛśya-pratipādaka.

20-26. Partial comparison¹⁴ is such as that of cheese to plaster. For this comes from the definition¹⁵ of partial similitude.

Because cheese is similar to plaster only in whiteness, but it is similar to the white of an egg in whiteness and also as food. Sometimes a resembling is said more resembling, and a partially similar more partially similar. But that which is more-complete-similar is never spoken about, because complete does not become more complete. About this kind, details are enough; and on account of tediousness, [more details] are left aside.

27-30. To show a thing obscure from a thing obvious is such as: from a thing made and kept whose maker and keeper is not present, and from a thing written whose writer is not manifest, are necessarily manifested a maker of that which is made, a keeper of that which is kept, and a writer of that which is written, so that those which are manifest and obvious show those of non-manifest and obscure.

31-35. Information of that which is within the possible and contingent is something believable¹⁶. For, one who says that “I

¹³ . humānāg (humānā: उपमानं). Pers. humānāg ‘resembling, like’ ≈ Gr. ὁμοιος, Syr. ܘܡܝܘܢܐ, Arab. شبيه; humānāgīh ‘resemblance; comparison’, Skt. upamāna ‘comparison, identifying instrument’ ≈ Gr. ὁμοίωμα, Syr. ܘܡܝܘܡܐ. See 9.6.

¹⁴ . humānāgbahr (humānābahr: उपमानविभागश्च). Pers. humānāgbahr corresponds to luptōpamā in Indian logic.

¹⁵ . vimand (vīmaṇḍ: सीमायाः). Pers. vimand ‘limit ; definiton’ (also sāmān) ≈ Gr. ὅρος, Syr. ܘܡܝܘܢܐ, Arab. حد. Cf. Dk iv, M 418 vimand ī tuvān.

¹⁶ . vurravišn (grōišnī: संवित्तिः). Pers. vurravišn ‘belief; faith; doctrine’ ≈ Gr. δόξα, Syr. ܘܪܪܘܒܝܫܢܐ, Arab. تصديق, cf. Jāmāspīg 16 vas kēš ud dād ud

saw a man who slew a lion, or lion who slew a man”, this may be false¹⁷ within the limits of possibility and contingency. If a man who is renowned for truth and tested in verity announces that information, then it is within the limits of truth¹⁸ and reality. But if a man announces it, who is notorious for falsehood and tested in non-verity, then it is within the limits of falsehood and unreality.

36-45. Another mode, outside these [three modes of knowing], is within the limits of necessarily-non-existent¹⁹ and or impossible²⁰. For example, to state: “it is possible to bear the world hidden into an egg”, or “it is possible that an elephant passes into an eye of a needle, so that none of them become greater nor smaller”, or “substance is something without

vauravišn. Pers. vurravišnīg ‘believing; dogmatic; believable’ ≈ Arab. مؤمن. Cf. Dk iii, M 95 hān ī vurravišn andar hān ī šāyed būd hān ī sazed būd.

¹⁷ · drōv (drōg: अनृतं). Pers. drōg/ drōv ‘false; lie, deceit’ ≈ Gr. ψευδής, Syr. ܕܪܘܓܐ, falsum, Arab. باطل, كاذب, (ant. حَقّ, صادق). Cf. Jāmāspīg 16 abārōnīh ud drōv, Dk vi, M 559 anast ud drōv.

¹⁸ · rāstīh (rāstī: सत्यस्य). Pers. rāst ‘right ; straight’ ≈ Gr. εὐθύς, Syr. ܪܐܫܬܝܗ, rectus, Arab. مستقيم, مستوي. HOD 13 vurravišn ī rāst (cf. Syr. ܪܐܫܬܝܗܘܬܐ). Pers. rāstīh ‘uprightness, rectitude; truth’ ≈ Syr. ܪܐܫܬܝܗܘܬܐ, ܪܐܫܬܝܗܘܬܐ. Cf. MX 4.4 rādīh ... rāstīh.

¹⁹ · acārīg nē būd (acārī nā bū: अनुमानस्य नाभूत).

²⁰ · nē šāyed (nā šāyat: नाधिकरोति). Pers. nē šāyed (būd) ‘(it is) not possible; impossible’ ≈ Gr. ἀδύνατον, Syr. ܐܕܘܢܐܬܝܗܘܬܐ, Arab. لا يمكن. Pers. nē šāyed baved ≈ Gr. ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν; Syr. ܐܕܘܢܐܬܝܗܘܬܐܐܝܬܝܗܘܬܐ. Cf. Dk iv, M 418 hān ī nē šāyed būd x’anend cē.

origin²¹” and “[the time of] combat is not limited”, and “there is some existing thing²² which is not temporal²³ nor localised²⁴”, or “it is localised but not limited (by time)²⁵”, and “movement²⁶ is the displacement²⁷ of the void²⁸”. [These statements] and others alike, are false²⁹ and untrue and not worthy to think and say.

²¹ . bun (bun: मूलं). Pers. bun ‘base, bottom, origin, fundament’ (Av. buna) ≈ Gr. ἀρχή, Syr. ܒܘܢܐ, Arab. مبدأ، رأس. Cf. Dk viii, M 786 bun ... sar, Dk ix, M 794 bun ... bar, Dk iii, M 185 bar az bun ‘a priori’.

²² . astag tis (hastaa θis: सत्तास्थं किञ्चित्). Pers. astag tis ‘existing thing, entity; *existens, ens*’ ≈ Gr. τὸ εἶναι, Syr. ܐܫܬܘܓܬܝܫܐ, Arab. موجود. Cf. Dk vi, M 522 astagīh ‘existence’.

²³ . zamānumand (jamaṇmaṇd: कालवत्). Pers. zamānumand ‘temporal, temporary’ ≈ Gr. χρονικός, Syr. ܐܫܬܘܓܬܝܫܐ, Arab. الزماني الأمدي. Cf. ^TM 9 I hamāg anāgīh gumēg ud zamānumand ud kanāragumand ud viderišnīg.

²⁴ . gyāgumand (jāmaṇd: स्थानवत्). Pers. gyāgumand ‘local, localised’ ≈ Gr. τοπικός, Syr. ܓܝܝܓܘܡܢܕܐ, Arab. متحيز.

²⁵ . kanāragumand (kanāraomaṇd: सीमावत्). Pers. kanāragumand ‘limited, finite’ ≈ Gr. ὀριστός, Syr. ܐܫܬܘܓܬܝܫܐ, Arab. محدود. Cf. Dk iv M 418 šāyed-būd kanāragumand ayāb nē? Bd 10 zamān ī kanāragumand.

²⁶ . jumbišn (juṇbašni : अवलंबनं). Pers. jumbišn ‘motion, movement, *motus, motio*’ ≈ Gr. τὸ κινεῖσθαι, Syr. ܐܫܬܘܓܬܝܫܐ, Arab. حركة, Gr. κίνησις, Syr. ܐܫܘܢܐ. Cf. Dk iv, M 420 cannišn jumbišn ī tisān.

²⁷ . vihēzag (afaē: तालिकया). Pers. vihēz(ag) ‘displacement; departure’ ≈ Syr. ܝܝܗܝܙܐܓܐ. Cf. MX 49.27 vihēzag ī x^varšēd ud mäh.

²⁸ . tuhīg (θihī: आकाशे). Pers. tuhīg ‘empty, vain’ (rendering Syr. ܬܘܝܓܐ), tuhīgīh ‘empty; void; space’ ≈ Gr. τὸ κενόν, Cf. Aristotle, Phys., IV.8. Arab. خا. Cf. Aog. 60 tuhīgīh ī asmān, Dk iv, M 422 abar tuhīgīh astīh.

²⁹ . zīfān (zaspā: कुत्सितं). Pers. zīfān from Syr. ܙܝܦܐ /zīfānā/ ‘false (esp. of teaching); counterfeit, forged (as coin)’ (Pers. زيف ‘being bad or clipped

46-56. Moreover, the existence of the God who is (spiritual) creator³⁰, apart from perception and other evidences, and through the necessary and analogical sciences, is as much obvious before the vision of wisdom as: from the partition, constitution and composition of the things which are of many different kinds [is manifested] the constitution of the world and man from those things which are the parts and organs [of the world and man], such as body and [breathing] soul, and the elements from which [body] is composed and constituted; that is, fire, water, wind and earth³¹, each of them is so appointed nature³² and made proper³³ for its own management that, the operation of fire by its own nature³⁴ and property³⁵, is so that [the fire] is not capable of managing the operations of water and wind and earth. So also the operation of water, through its own

(money)'); opp vābar (Syr. ܩܘܢܝܢܐ). Cf. Y 65.9 cōn bavād agar ped adādestānīh yazed [kū-š vāzag zīfān].

³⁰ . āfurāg (āfrāā : आदेष्टुः). Pers. āfurāg ‘creating (in the spiritual state); who invokes blessing on’ ≈ āfrīdār (Dk iv, M 420; ŠGV 15.25 dādārīh ud āfrīdārīh ud parvardārīh). See 9.27.

³¹ . ātaš ud āb ud vād ud zamīg (ātaš āβ u vāt zamī: ज्वलनो जलंच पवनश्च पृथ्वीच).

³² . Pers. cihrēn- : °īd ‘to appoint nature, constitute ; form’ (rendered by Skt. rūp ‘to form’), cf. Syr. ܩܘܢܝܢܐ Pa.

³³ . Pers. vāspuhragān- : °īd ‘to make proper, allocate, appropriate’ (rendered by Skt. pra-kāś ‘to make visible/ manifest’).

³⁴ . cihrīh (ciharī: रूपतया). Pers. cihr ‘seed; *natura*; form’ ≈ Gr. φύσις (also γένος), Syr. ܩܘܢܝܢܐ, Arab. طبيعة, طبع.

³⁵ . vāspuhragānīh (vāspuhargānī: प्रकाशतया). Pers. vāspuhragān ‘proper, peculiar, *proprius*’ ≈ Gr. ἴδιος, Syr. ܩܘܢܝܢܐ, Arab. خاص. Pers. vāspuhragānīh ‘*proprietas*’ ≈ Gr. ἰδιότης, Syr. ܩܘܢܝܢܐ. Cf. VZ 29.9 bazišn, vāspuhragānīh ud ēvēnag.

nature and property, is so that it is not [capable of managing] the operation of wind and fire and earth. So also wind is not [capable of managing] the operations of fire and water and earth. So also earth is not capable to manage the operations of these [others]. But each of them is made, for its own operation proper and natural, by Him who, sagaciously and skilfully, appoints nature, composes and makes proper, according as He composed, arranged, appointed nature and made proper to that operation which is requisite and suitable.

57-62. So, as to man and the other creatures who are embodied of these elements, and composed of bone, flesh, sinew, veins and skin, their junction to each other is obvious. So also the property and natural disposition of the internal organs, such as the liver, spleen, lungs, kidneys, gall-bladder, and other organs for every one of which a function is manifest. They are made natural and proper for their functions, according to the [natural] edict.

63-64. So also is the function of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, mouth, hand, foot and other external organs, whose natural appointments are obvious and manifest, inasmuch as if one of these organs is disabled, the other does not deserve for the operation of that [organ], for which it is not appointed.

65-76. Let us examine the composition of only one of the organs of the body to see how it is wonderful and sagaciously composed:

So the eye in many ways has different names and different functions, such as the eyelash³⁶, the eyelid³⁷, the white³⁸, the eyeball³⁹, the black⁴⁰ and the pupil of the eye⁴¹. As the white is sinew⁴², the black is water, and in the veins⁴³ of sinew⁴⁴ is

³⁶ . mijag (mazg: म्रु). Pers. mij(ag) or miz(ag) ‘eyelash’, Sogd. mz’ ‘id.’, Gil. miji(k) ‘id.’, cf. VZ 1.25 cand mij-ē ī ka ēk ped did frōd nihend, 30.35 mizag, brū ud vars. Cf. Syr. ܡܝܓܐܢܐ.

³⁷ . tōb (tōβ: पुटे). Pers. tōb ‘layer; eyelid’, do-tōb ‘double-layered’, cf. VZ 34.37 harv tōb-ē do baxt, Vd 5.4 gl. ka-š hixr abar rased ka hamāg hān ī and gyāg, ka nē hamāg pērāmōn tōb-ē bē tāšišn. Cf. Syr. ܬܘܒܐܢܐ ‘eyelid’.

³⁸ . spēdag (spōdaa: पक्ष्मं). Pers. spēdag ‘the white of an egg, the white of the eye, sclerotic & cornea; dawn’, Armen. սպիտակ ‘white, ceruse’. Cf. Syr. ܣܦܝܕܐܐ ‘albus’.

³⁹ . xāyag (xāeaa: अंडकं). Pers. xāyag ‘egg, eyeball’, cf. OPH 6 xāyag ī vay (Yt 13.2 vīš aēm), Bd 112 xāyag zardag ... spēdag. Cf. Gr. ὄφον, Syr. ܟܝܝܐܓܐ.

⁴⁰ . syāhag (sāeaa: तारका). Pers. syāh ‘black’, syāg, syāhag ‘the black; minute; eye-socket’. Neryōsang has translated it as tārakā ‘pupil of the eye’. Cf. Bab. Aram. וּבְבֵית גִּילְגְּלִיָּהּ דְעֵינָהּ. See also

سیاهه و سپیده چشم: شحمة العين. سیاهه و سپیدی چشم (دیده) چشم و يقال سیاهه و سپیدی چشم): المقلة. سیاهه چشم: الخندر. سیاهه چشم: الحدقة. (مفتاح الإشراف، ۳۹۲)

⁴¹ . tēdag (θōdaa: बिंबं). Neryōsang has translated it as bimba ‘image, shadow; any disk, orb’. Pers. tēdag ‘pupil (of eye)’, cf. Gr. κόρη, Syr. ܬܝܕܐܓܐ. See also

مردمک ... در آذربایجان تینته خوانند. (برهان قاطع)

⁴² . pay (pōγ: व्यजनं). Pers. pay ‘sinew, tendon, nerve’, cf. Bd 222 mōy ud pōst ud nāxun ud xūn ud pay ud cašm ud gōš ud abārīg tis. Cf. Gr. νευρά, Syr. ܦܝܝܐܝܢܐ.

⁴³ . rag (raγ: सिरया). Pers. rag/ rahag ‘nerve, vein, artery’, cf. Bd 189 ragān cōn rōdihā, VZ 29.6 ragān ud ragīzagān. Cf. Gr. ἀρτηρία, Syr. ܪܗܝܓܐ ‘arteria, vena’.

disposed in such a way that it permits the turning of the eye, from one side to the other, the pupil is itself the vision⁴⁵, like a vision (or, reflection) in the water, the black stands in the veins of the white just as the standing of water in the veins of sinew, and the pupil inside the black is like the reflection of a thing in the limpid water, and the seeing of a shape in a clear mirror. The white in the hollow⁴⁶ is so disposed for the reason that when a particle of dust from the air arrives at the eye, shall not fall in it, but shall deflect towards the outer corner⁴⁷ of the eye, and shall not spoil the sight of the eye.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ . pay (pih: वसाया). Neryōsang has translated it as vasa ‘marrow, fat’.

Notice that *rag* and *pay* often occur together, cf. ŚGV 6.14, Bd 196, VZ 29.2, Dk iii, M 278.

⁴⁵ . vēnāgīh (vīnāi: निरीक्षणं). Pers. vēnāgīh ‘seeing, sight, vision; reflection’, cf. VZ 29.6 vēnāgīh ī cašmān, Dk iv M 421 cašmān vēnāg-nirōgīh. Cf. Syr. ܩܫܝܘܢܐ, ܩܫܝܘܢܐ.

⁴⁶ . gabrīhā. Pers. gabr ‘deep’ = zafr (Av. jāfra), ant. bālist, cagād, cf. Bd 121, Dk vi, M 517.

⁴⁷ . dumb ‘tail’, dumb ī cašm. See

دنباله، چشم: ذنب العين، الذنابي (مفتاح الإشراف، ٢٨٦)

⁴⁸ . Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, LVII (142) Quis vero opifex praeter naturam, qua nihil potest esse callidius, tantam sollertiam persequi potuisset in sensibus? Quae primum oculos membranis tenuissimis vestivit et saepsit; quas perlucidas fecit, ut per eas cerni posset, firmas autem, ut continerentur. Sed lubricos oculos fecit et mobiles, ut et declinarent, si quid noceret, et aspectum, quo vellent, facile converterent; aciesque ipsa, qua cernimus, quae pupula vocatur, ita parva est, ut ea, quae nocere possint, facile vitet; palpebraeque quae sunt tegmenta oculorum, mollissimae, tactune laederent aciem, aptissime factae et ad claudendas pupulas, ne quid incideret, et ad aperiendas, idque providit ut identidem fieri posset cum maxima celeritate. (143) Munitaeque sunt palpebrae tamquam vallo pilorum, quibus et apertis oculis, si quid incideret, repelleretur, et somno coniventibus, cum oculis ad cernendum non egeremus, ut qui tamquam involuti quiescerent. Latent praeterea utiliter et excelsis undique partibus saepiuntur. Primum enim superiora superciliis obducta sudorem a capite et fronte defluentem repellunt;

77-79. Likewise, the auricles are crooked for the reason that the dust and winged noxious insects shall not directly enter therein, not even the moisture and discharge of the ear, nor the venom of insects.

80-91. It is manifest that, when the organs of breath [of life] and soul are observed, such as the smell, hearing, sight, taste and touch which are informers of living beings⁴⁹; as also the wisdom, interpreted as ‘every judge’⁵⁰, which is discriminator⁵¹; the knowledge which is acquiring⁵²; the wit (faculty of intellectual awareness and perception) which is seeker and deliverer⁵³; the intelligence which is treasurer and keeper⁵⁴; the

genae deinde ab inferiore parte tutantur subiectae leviterque eminentes; nasusque ita locatus est ut quasi murus oculis interlectus esse videatur.

⁴⁹. Cf. 1.8.

⁵⁰. xrad ī harv rad vizārīhed popular etymology. Pers. xrad ‘wisdom, reason’ (Paz. xard) < xratu-, Av. xratu-/ xraθβ-, OPers. xratu-/xraθu-, Skt. krātu- ‘(mental) power, understanding, judgment, will’ < *krētu- (cf. also Gr. κράτος ‘force of body, vigor’).

⁵¹. xrad ... vizingar. Cf. ŠGV 5.5 xrad ī vizināg, PDK 33 vizingar xrad, Dk vi, M 484 xrad kār ēd : vizīdārīh kirdan, DD 2.13 vīr ī ayābāg ud uš ī pāyāg ud xrad ī vizināg.

⁵². dānišn ī ayābāg. Cf. Dk vi, M 584 abardum dānišn hān baved ī ō tis ayābed.

⁵³. vīr ī x^vāstār abespārdār. Cf. Dk iii, M 48 vīr nīrōg x^vāstār ud ayāftār, Dk vi, M 484 vīr kār ēd : tis x^vāstan, VZ 30.36 dānišnīg si : vīr x^vāhed, uš pāyed, ud xrad vizined.

⁵⁴. uš ī ganzvar ī nigāhdār. Pers. uš ‘intelligence’; it fulfils the function of memory (Av. uš). Cf. Dk vi, M 484 uš kār ēd: ganzvarīh kirdan ud tis ī vīr x^vāst nigāh dāstan, AV 53 uš dāštārdar (cf. Pers. uš-dāštār name of a mountain, rendering Av. uši.darəna), HOD 55 rāyēnīdārīh ud ganzvarīh ī dēn kirdan ušīyārdar abāyed būdan. See Avicenna:

وكما أن للحسن المشترك خزائنة هي المصوّرة فكذلك للوهم خزائنة تسمى الحافظة والمتذكّرة. وعضو هذه الخزائنة ومؤخر الدماغ. ابن سينا، عيون الحكمة، ٢٨.

consciousness⁵⁵ which is itself the faculty of vision of the soul; the Fravahr-nature⁵⁶ which is itself a maintainer of the body; the Ahu⁵⁷ which is pure; and the other immaterial agents that are maintaining the body, which are constituted, in that manner, for their special operation and function; they are perfect in their own operation, as to function such as they are specialized and constituted for, as to that [operation] for which they are not constituted, they do not deserve.

92-95. The details of each of these [subjects] are [extant] in the book Dēnkird, as the excellent wise [Ādarfarrōbay] explained them out of the knowledge of the religion, and on account of tediousness are here left aside. Whoever wishes to know the wonder of the Mazdayasnian religion and the words of the old teaching⁵⁸, may refer to that unparalleled book, and shall know the wonder and truth of the superior religion.

⁵⁵ · bōy ī x^vad vēnāgīh ī ruvān. Cf. F 16 baoḍaṅhō: vēnāg. Cf. also AV 56 bōy āgāhdar. See 1.8.

⁵⁶ · fravahr ī x^vad cihr ī dāštār ī tan. The word fravahr is intended here to mean fravahr-cihr, one of the natural elements of the body (opp. fravahr-ruvān, cf. Āfrīn). Cf. Dk iii M 241-42, ŠGV 8.60, DD 2.13 gyān zīvēnāg ud fravahr dārāg, VZ 30.35 frāzvaxšēnīdār fravahr, AV 56 fravahr ranzvardar. About fravahr-cihr, see

راسته، ر. اشه، م. میرشاهی، تهران، ۱۳۷۲ یزدگردی، ۸۵-۷۶.

⁵⁷ · ox ī abēzag. Pers. ox (Av. ahvā/ aṅ^vhā) means ‘spirit’ and also ‘chest’ (place of heart or mind). Cf. Dk iii, M 51 rāh ī az ox ō menišn, vi, M 473 andar ox menišn-ē, ŠnŠ 15.16 ox ud dil ī abēzag, VZ 21.6 ox ī abēzag, AV 56 ox abēzagdar. About ox-cihr, see

رهام اشه، آموزه، بزشکی، مغان، یک، اخو و منش، ۱۱۰-۱۱۸.

⁵⁸ · See 1.41.

6

1-4. Again: the delusion of the atheists called “Dahrīs”⁵⁹, who are disengaged from religious work and effort in doing good, and they abundantly utter their illogical⁶⁰ talks.

5-8. You should observe that: they consider this world with its manifold revolutions⁶¹ and dispositions of its members⁶² and organs⁶³, and the opposition of one to another, and the mixture

⁵⁹. dahrīg (dahaṛī : दिग्बरान्). Neryōsang has translated it as digambara ‘quite naked ; a naked mendicant’. Arabic دهر /dahr/ ‘time’ (≈ Gr. αἰών) possibly comes from Pers. dagr/ dēr ‘long; late’ < *dagra- < *darga- (for -h- < *g, cf. drahnā < *darga-n-aθua-). Cf. Dk iii M 250 u-š andar dēn nām ped dēvesn ahlemōg anēr bared, ēn ī ped ēvāz ī šahr sofištāg dahrīg-iz x^vānend ‘In the Religion (= Avesta), he bore the name of *daēvayasna* ‘Daēva-sacrificer’, *aṣəmaoya* ‘heretic’ and *anairya* ‘non-Aryan’, and in the vulgar tongue, he is called σοφιστής ‘sophist’ and also *dahrī*’.

⁶⁰ . abēvimand ‘indefinite, un-delimited, devoid of rational definition’ ≈ Gr. ἄοριστος, Syr. ܐܒܝܘܡܢܕܐ, ܐܒܝܘܡܢܐ. Cf. 15.1 abēvimand gōbišn.

⁶¹ . vardišn ‘change, alteration; revolution, cycle; inversion; *conversio*’ (vardišni: परिवर्त्तेनेन) ≈ Gr. ἀντιστροφή, Syr. ܠܘܬܝܘܬܐ, Arab. انعكاس، رجوع، انقلاب.

⁶² . hannāmān (anḍamaḥ: अंगानां). Pers. hannām ‘limb, member’, Parth. handām, Armen. անդամ, Aram. ܡܢܝܢ, Syr. ܡܢܝܢ ≈ Gr. μέλος. Cf. VZ 30.35 hannāmān ī abzārīg.

⁶³ . abzārān (aḅazārā: शस्त्राणां). Pers. abzār ‘materials, instrument, organ, ritual implements; pieces (of the game of chess); spices’, Parth. abzār ≈ Gr. ὄργανον, Syr. ܐܒܘܘܪܐܢܐ, Arab. آلة. Cf. Jāmāspīg 4 vas abzār ud cār.

of one with another, as a Principle⁶⁴ of infinite time⁶⁵. And further that: there is no reward of virtue, no punishment of sin, no Heaven and Hell, and no one who conducts [the judgement of] virtue and sin. And further that: There is only the world of life, and not the world of thought.

9-16 As I have written and shown above that: A thing to be without a maker, or a thing to be chosen without a chooser is just impossible as a written work to be prepared without an author, or a house [to be built] without a builder or architect. It is impossible for anything to be made without a maker. The material world is composed, selected, and made of a mixture of contrary forces⁶⁶ as well as numerous things of different nature, colour, smell, characteristic and species, just as I have said above concerning the body⁶⁷ that: it is composed and made of many things such as: bone, sinew, flesh, vein, and skin⁶⁸, blood,

⁶⁴ . bunēštag (bunyaštaa: मूलास्पदं). Pers. bunēšt(ag) ‘principle, foundation’ ≈ Syr. ܒܘܢܝܫܬܐ, cf. Dk iii M 217 gētīg bunēštag nē dāštan, CHP 1 bunēštag ēk ayāb do?

⁶⁵ . akanārag-zamān (Av. zrvānəm akaranəm), cf. Dk iv M 422.

⁶⁶ . gumēzišn ī zōrān hambidīgān. Pers. zōr/ zāvar ‘strength, force, power, (physical) capacity, faculty’ (Av. zavar/ zāvar) ≈ Gr. δύνάμις, Syr. ܕܝܢܐ, Arab. قُوَّة. Cf. NS 5 šaš zōrān ī gyān, Dk iii, M 170 cahār zōrān ī gyān, PDK 45 zōr ī āhenzāg ud gīrāg ud gugārāg ud spōzāg.

⁶⁷ . tan (tan: वपुषि). Pers. tan ‘body; self; person; subject’ (Av. tanū) ≈ Gr. σῶμα, Syr. ܛܢܐ, Arab. جسد، حنة، بدن. Cf. F 3.8 tan husravīh ud ruvān dagroxīh, Bd 223 tan kirb.

⁶⁸ . ast ud pay ud pid ud rag ud pōst. Cf. 5.58, Dk iii M 278 cōn mardōm tan: mazg ud xūn ud rahag ud pay ud ast ud pid ud mōy.

wind, bile and phlegm⁶⁹, hands, feet, head, stomach, and other external and internal organs. The impossibility of uttering that “these various things of different substances and forces are never made” or “they are without a maker” is certain.

17-21. Likewise: Other creatures like plants, trees, water, fire, earth, and wind: their conduct is not according to their own will, and they are not themselves conductors, but they have a conductor, builder, and maker. It is necessary that He who is changing and conducting the (beings) from management to management, from manner to manner, and from time to time, does thus not according to the will and wish of made things, but rather of Himself who is conducting and making. Thus too is

⁶⁹ xūn ud vād ud viš ud drim are the four humours of the Persian medicine. Cf. Dk iii M 278 cōn mardōm tan ristagān: xūn ud vād ud viš ud drim. See also

المرّة والدم والبلغم والريح، كليلة و دمنة؛ باب برزويه المتطبب

xūn (xūn: रक्त). Pers. xūn ‘blood’, Parth. guxn ≈ Gr. αἷμα, Syr. ܚܘܢ, Arab. دم. Cf. Bd 189 xūn andar tan cōn āb andar zreh.

vād (vāṭ: पवनश्च). Pers. vād ‘wind; air; blow; breath’ (Av. vāta- m., Skt. vāta- m. ‘wind; wind as a humour of the body’, Khot. bāta- ‘wind’, bātā/i- ‘(the humour) wind’). Cf. VZ 30.3 vād kadag ped dil.

viš (vas: रसश्च). Pers. viš ‘poison; bile’, گش (Av. viša- nt.) ≈ Gr. χολή, Syr. ܚܝܫܐ. Cf. VZ 30.14 viš ī suxr ud viš ī syā.

drim (daryam: निष्ठाच). Pers. drim ‘phlegm, *pituita*’ (rendering Av. °driβi- and dərəβδa-) ≈ Gr. φλέγμα, Syr. ܚܠܝܡܐ, Arab. بلغم. Cf. VZ 30.14 xūn ud drim, 30.16 kaf ... drim (kaf = Skt. kapha ‘watery froth or foam; phlegm’)

the revolution of the years, months, days, and hours⁷⁰ which is with conventional signals, and the revolution of the celestial Sphere and the fixed stars and the established and sleeplessly-progressing Sun and Moon which is natural. This demonstrates that all natural movements⁷¹ come from one who constitutes them, from Him by whom the natural movement is constituted.

22-25. From the other differences and different managements in the world, and from the world itself in its different times and ages, it is possible to know that this world is not without a manager (/ conductor). Is not its manager the God, rational in action, of infinite force, and of unlimited miraculous power⁷²? Also since the increase, old age, and death of the living world are so obvious that man and cattle, together with seeds and trees naturally proceed from youth to old age, and from old age to death. But no one has been seen to come back from old age to youth or from death to life, nor can anyone say so.

26-28. Nor yet is it right to think, say or believe that: there is no retribution of virtue, and punishment of sin, nor the nature of

⁷⁰ · zamānān (jamaṇa: मुहूर्तानां). Pers. zamān ‘time; hour; epoch; expiring date; death; horoscope; day’, Syr. ܙܡܢܐ ‘time; age’. Neryōsang has translated it as muhūrta ‘the 30th part of a day’.

⁷¹ · cihrīg cannišnān (ciharī candišna: रूपचंचलता). Pers. cannišn ‘movement’ ≈ Gr. κίνησις, Syr. ܟܢܝܫܢܐܢܐ. Cf. Dk iv, M 420 cannišn jumbišn ī tisān.

⁷² · asāmānvarz (āsmaṇvarz: आकाशकर्त्ता). Pers. varz (Av. varəcah ‘prestige, dignity; illuminating power, radiance’).

all creatures is the comprehension⁷³ of the Creator⁷⁴ and the perception⁷⁵ of the destroyer⁷⁶.

29-34. Further that: The honour of compliment is more preferable to them than the dishonour of abuse and evil. For, when good is done to them, they are thankful, but when they experience violence, they complain. From there, it is manifest that fate and fortune are impossible to come into existence except from the spiritual beings that are immaterial. Likewise, through the nature of all those who feel hungry, in every oppression and trouble, the desire of boon, hopefulness and consideration of the higher are typical of mankind, to the exclusion of wild beasts, birds and quadrupeds.

35-42. As to this that the Sophists say: “There is no confidence in nothing [in the world]. For, all are bitter. Because, one who says that ‘honey is bitter’, and [the one who says that] ‘honey is sweet’, both are right, since it is bitter to the bilious, and sweet to others. Also ‘bread is savoury’ and ‘bread is unsavoury’ are both true, since it is savoury to the hungry, and unsavoury to the full. And many other [sayings] like this.

⁷³ . ayābišnīh (ayāβašnī: अवलोकता). Pers. ayābišn ‘apprehension, understanding’ ≈ Syr. ܐܝܘܒܝܫܢܐ ‘understanding’ (rendering Gr. φρόνησις, λογισμός); ayābišn(īg)īh ‘attainableness, endowment with acquiring power’.

⁷⁴ . dādār, Av. dātar ‘who puts; who gives; creator’.

⁷⁵ . mārđārīh (māladārī: विमार्जयित्री). Pers. mārđār ‘sentient; sense, an organ of sense’, mārđārīh ‘endowment with the faculty of sense’ ≈ Gr. αἴσθησις, Syr. ܐܝܘܒܝܫܢܐ ܝܘܐ ‘perception, sensation’.

⁷⁶ . murnzēnīdār (marōcinīdār: विनाशकर्तृश्च). Pers. murnzēnīdār ‘destroyer’ (Av. marəxtārō ‘destroyer’), cf. Dk iii, M 340 x^varraḥ marnzēnīdār.

43-45. In reply to their illogical talks, it should be said, in a word: As the wise have said: “This word of you, sophists, about the bitterness of everything is itself bitter, and there is no truth in it”.

46-48. Many other things are said against them. This that we indicated here is for your information, O victors, so that you may obtain much from Religion.

Third Chapter

7

1. Another [chapter]: Concerning the existence of the contrary¹ of different substance²

§ 2-6. As I have demonstrated above³: From the composing, constituting and appropriating of things so sagaciously, as well, from their parts which are connected, it is clear, necessary, convincing, and manifest that their agent, composer⁴, connector and constitutor is sagacious. The sagacity of His composition⁵ of each of them is manifest through the constituting and appropriating of their own separate functions. And the sagacity of His action demonstrates that His action is reasonable (/with a

¹. hambidīg (hambidī: विपक्षस्य). Pers. hambidīg ‘competitor, rival, antagonist, *contrarium*; partner’ ≈ Gr. τὸ ἐναντίον, Syr. ܠܗܡܝܕܝܓܐ, Arab. متضاد، ضد. Cf. Dk iii M 162 višōbišnīgīh ī hambidīgān ped cihr. Pers. hambidīg-gōbišn (Dk v.22) ≈ Syr. ܠܗܡܝܕܝܓܐ ܠܗܡܝܕܝܓܐ. Pers. ēc-iš hambidīg nē (ŠGV 15.114) ≈ Arab. لا شريك له.

². Cf. Dk iii, ch. 147.

³. Cf. ŠGV 4. 11-12, 5.54-56.

⁴. pesāxtār (pasāxtār : आरचयिता). Pers. pesāxtār ‘composer, compiler’ ≈ Syr. ܠܗܡܝܕܝܓܐ. Cf. 1.43, 5.55.

⁵. pesāxtagīh (pasāxtaī: आरचितत्वं). Pers. pesāzišn ‘composition, formation; component, constituent’, pesāxtagīh ‘*compositio*; synthesis’ ≈ Gr. σύνθεσις, Syr. ܠܗܡܝܕܝܓܐ, Arab. تركيب.

motive) and causal. Because, every action of the sagacious should be reasonable and causal. The reason⁶ and cause⁷ of an action⁸ arise first, and then the action itself arises.

§ 7-10. From the manifoldness of His action, it is manifest that His action is voluntary and desired. For, there are two modes of action by an agent: either, voluntary, it is manifold corresponding to his will⁹; or, natural, it is monotype as it is naturally constituted¹⁰.

⁶. cim (cim : अर्थः). Pers. cim ‘reason, purpose, meaning, motive’ ≈ Syr. ܥܡܝܢܐ, ܥܡܝܢܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M 107 cim ud vahān, AV 109 cim ud vahānag.

⁷. vahān (vahān: कारणं). Pers. vahān ‘cause; means; illness’ ≈ Gr. αἴτιον, αἰτία, Syr. ܥܠܡܐ, Arab. علة, سبب. Neryōsang translates cim as artha, kāraṇa, and hetu, and vahān(ag) as kāraṇa and hetu. It is not without reason that Menasce has said: “Il est parfois assez difficile de distinguer exactement cim ‘motif’ et vahān ‘cause’, car si cim est bien la cause finale, vahān se situe également dans la ligne de la finalité.”

⁸. kunišn (kunišni: कर्मणः). Pers. kunišn ‘act, action, deed, practice, opus’ ≈ Gr. ἔργον, Syr. ܥܡܠܐ, Arab. فعل; (ἡ πράξις, ܥܡܠܐ, عمل, kirdag); Gr. ἐνέργεια, Syr. ܥܡܠܐܘܬܐ, Arab. فعل, kunišn(īgīh). Cf. Dk iv, M 418 ped kunišn cōn xānag az mardōm, Hn 2.9 kunišn ī x^vēš, Dk vi, M 588 kunišn ud baxt, Jāmāspīg 16 kird ud kunišn.

⁹. kām (kām: कामस्य). Pers. kām ‘will, desire, wish; lust’ (Av. kāmā-) ≈ Gr. βούλησις, Syr. ܥܡܠܐ, Arab. إرادة. kāmāgīg ‘voluntary, willing’ ≈ Gr. ἐκούσιον, Syr. ܥܡܠܐ, Arab. اختياري. Cf. F 19 cakana: kāmāg, MX 2.28 kām ud kunišn ī mardōmān ... kāmāg ī yazdān, Dk vi, M 574 kāmāg ud ārzōg ī tan.

¹⁰. cihr (cihar: रूप). Pers. cihr ‘seed; nature; form, shape’ ≈ Gr. φύσις, Syr. ܥܡܠܐ, Arab. طبع, طبيعة; cihrīg ‘natural’ ≈ Gr. φυσικός, Syr. ܥܡܠܐ, Arab. طبيعي.

§ 11-21. From the manifold actions of the creator, it is manifest that His actions are voluntary and desired. His will is different in definition from His desire¹¹. Because, His will is a desire, in potential¹², of the Principle. The reason and cause of an action are before its desire. Because until the reason of the desire of an action does not occur, the desire does not exist. The reason of an action proceeds from the cause which incites the desire of that action. “To desire” is to be willing of a causal thing. The cause of desiring something does not arise from it-self¹³. Because the cause arises from without, therefore, the reasonable action of the sagacious is demonstrated. The reason comes from a cause; the cause from a pressure¹⁴; the pressure from without¹⁵;

Pers. cihrēn-īd (ciharanīṭ ʾəstāt: रूपीतमस्ति) ≈ Syr. Pa. ܥܘܨܬܐ. ‘*exstare fecit ut rem naturalem*, to give nature, constitute; give shape’.

¹¹. abāyist (āβāyast: रुचितात). Pers. abāyist ‘desire, need, requirement, request; it was incumbent (upon)’. Cf. Aog. 63 ped kām ud abāyist ī x^vēš. Pers. abāyistīg ‘desired, desirable; required; necessary’ ≈ Syr. ܥܘܨܬܐ.

¹². nirōg (nīrō: बलेन). Pers. nirōg ‘strength, potency’ ≈ Gr. δύναμις, Syr. ܥܘܨܬܐ, Arab. قُوَّة; (ped) nirōg ‘in potential’ ≈ Gr. κατὰ δύναμις, δυνάμει, Syr. ܥܘܨܬܐ, Arab. من القوة, بالقوة. Cf. Dk iii, M 51 nirōg ... zōr, M 167 gyān nirōgān.

¹³. az x^vadīh (əž x^vadī: स्वत्वात्). Pers. x^vad ‘self; *ipse*’ ≈ Gr. αὐτός, Syr. ܥܘܨܬܐ. Pers. x^vadīh ‘selfness; essence’, az x^vadīh ≈ ܥܘܨܬܐ. Pers. andar x^vadīh ‘*per se*’ (11.308), ped x^vadīh (Dk iii, M30).

¹⁴. avištāb (x^vaštāβ: उद्वेगश्च). Pers. avištāb ‘oppression, tyranny; hurry, haste; pressure’ ≈ Syr. ܥܘܨܬܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M 168 avištāb ī cihr az hān ī x^vēš hamēstār, M 373 abāyišn nē baved bē az niyāz ī az avištāb ō avištābspōzīh, ī nē az ēk x^vad u-š abēzag x^vēšīg bē az x^vad u-š x^vēšīg sazed, iv, M 418 abāyišn hamāg az avištāb.

the outside from an injurer¹⁶; and the injurer from an opponent¹⁷; *sine controversia*¹⁸.

22-25. I have shown, in this chapter, through necessary knowledge and through syllogism, that the world and its parts and organs are made and naturally constituted. From the making and constitution of the world are manifested an agent who naturally constituted it, and the making through the reasonable action of the sagacious Creator. From the making through the reasonable action is manifested the existence of an Injurer from without.

¹⁵ . az bē (əž bā : विभेदात्). Pers. bē ‘but; out, forth, away, off’, az bē ‘from outside, outwardly’ ≈ Gr. ἔξωθεν, Syr. ܒܗ ܠܗܘܢ, Arab. من خارج. bē-gōhr, opp. x^vad-gōhr (cf. Dk iii, M 21); bē-cihr (Dk iii, M 108) ≈ Syr. ܒܗ ܠܗܘܢ.

¹⁶ . vizūdār (vazūdār : विरोधयितुः). Pers. vizūdār ‘diminisher, injurer’.

¹⁷ . az hamēstār (əž hamōstār : प्रतिपक्षात्). Pers. hamēstār ‘opponent, contrary’, (subst.) ‘the adversary’ (Av. hamaēstar). Cf. CHP 54 dēn hamēstārān, Jāmāspīg 2 hamēstār ud hambasān, Dk iii, M 167 hamjuxt ... hamēstār(īg) ... brādrod.

¹⁸ . abēsoxan (aβōsaxun: अनुक्तापि). Pers. abē-soxan ‘undisputed, indisputable’ ≈ Gr. ἀναμφισβήτητος.

8

1. **Further: Concerning the existence of the contrary of different principle.**

2-14. This is manifest through good and evil in the world, and especially through the good agent having His own definition. Such as darkness and light, erudition and ignorance, fragrance and stench, life and death, sickness and health, justice and injustice, offence and freedom, and other contrary factors which exist and are visible in every country and land at all times, so that no country or land whatever exists, nor yet any time has been or shall be wherein these names, and especially those of good and evil have not existed or do not exist. And nowhere and never is it possible to say that good and evil change their own quality essentially.

15-23. There are also other contraries whose difference is not of substance, but of operation, kind and or nature, such as the difference of those of the same substance, one as regards the other, such as the male and female nature, the [different] scents, tastes and colours, the sun, moon and stars whose difference is not difference of substance, but of operation, nature and composition, each being required to its own operation. The difference of good and evil, light and darkness, and other substantially different things, is a difference not of operation, but of substance; their incompatibility of nature and mutually injuriousness are manifest. So that where goodness is, evil

undoubtedly is not; when light has entered, darkness is expelled.¹⁹ Similarly there are other contraries, incompatible and mutually injurer, owing to the cause of difference of substance. Thus in the material world is manifest the contrariety of substance and mutually injuriousness of things.

24-34. The world of life (material world) is the result²⁰ of the world of thought (immaterial world), and the world of thought is its base²¹. For result is obtained through a base. Likewise, it is clear to any knowing that [the result] gives testimony [of the base]. The world of life is the result and the world of thought the base is manifest by the fact that: every visible and tangible thing comes from an unmanifest state to a manifest state. This is explicitly manifest. Because, man and other creatures, who are visible and tangible, are known to be generated from the world of thought which is invisible and intangible. Such as the (external) body form²² that in the mirror has the same length, breadth and depth as itself. The body²³ of man and other creatures is unmanifest and invisible in the seed of their fathers.

¹⁹ . Cf. Dk iii, M 385.

²⁰ . bar (bar: **फलं**). Pers. bar ‘fruit; result; effect; benefit; revenue’ ≈ Syr. **ܒܪܐ**. bun ud bar ‘base and bearer; root and fruit; (principal) capital and interest; cause and effect’, cf. Purs. 26, Petit I.2 bun ud bar ī x^vāstag, Dk iii, M 185 bar az bun ‘a priori’, bun az bar ‘a posteriori’.

²¹ . bun (bun: **मूलं**). Pers. bun ‘base, bottom, foundation; *principium* ; *initium*; stock, capital; original; cause; beginning’ (Av. būna/ buna ‘bottom’) ≈ Gr. ἀρχή, Syr. **ܒܪܐ**, (**ܒܪܐ**).

²² . kālbod (kālbūt: **कलेवरं**). Pers. kālbod ≈ kirb (Av. kəhrp ‘visible body; bodily form’). Man. kālbed through Aramaic form (Syr. **ܕܠܒܘܕܐ**) from Greek **καλοπόδιον**.

²³ . tan (tan: **तनोः**). Pers. tan (Av. tanū ‘(containing) body; self; person’). See 6.13.

The seed itself became manifest and visible and tangible in the back of the fathers. It is now necessary and possible to know that: This world which is visible and tangible has been created from the world of thought which is invisible and intangible. Similarly, [to return] from visibility and tangibility into invisibility and intangibility which are proper to an immaterial state, is unquestionable.

35-38. Since we have seen in the material world contrariety of substance and constitution, and mutual injuriousness, there can be no doubt that it is the same in the things of the world of thought, which is the base of the world of life, and the material things are its results. This is that which is manifest as regards the contrariety of substance.

39-45. Moreover, I have shown above that²⁴: The reason and cause for the sagacious action of the Creator, who created the creatures, indicate the existence of the Antagonist. For it is well-known that, action proceeds from an agent in two modes:

- voluntary;
- or, natural.

The voluntary action is of three modes:

Two are due to the wise and sagacious:

Either, for seeking and appropriating the advantage and benefit;
or, for repelling and withholding the loss and harm which are from without.

And one is due to the ignorant and foolish, done absurdly and without reason.

²⁴ . See 7.

48-51. From the wise and sagacious, it is not right to arise actions without any reason and cause. Since the wise creator, omniscient and of perfect power, is complete and perfect in Himself, then He has no need to seek any advantage or increase from without. Therefore, it is possible and worthy to know that the reason and cause for His actions is all of one mode:

– to repel and ward off whatever harm which there might be from the external Antagonist and Injurer, which is itself the reason and cause for creation.

52-56. This too: The sagacious Creator's will is good. His will is all good. He created creatures in accordance with His will. The complete success of that sagacious whose will is good is the abolition and annihilation of evil. For so long as evil is not abolished, He whose will is good has not perfectly realised His will.

57-63. This too: The goodness of the sagacious Creator is manifest: through creativeness, nourishing, and protection, and teaching the way of cutting off the path of evil and the means of defending oneself against crime; and also through the four powers of the body²⁵ to repel and withhold the pain and sickness from without, and the malady²⁶ that is the opponent of the body[-health], whenever they come to the body; and through maintenance, maturation and growth of animals and plants by

²⁵ . cahārān zōrān ī tan (ciharā u zōrā ī zōr tan:) cf. Gr. δυνάμεις ὑπερηλεκταί, Syr. ܥܢܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. For cahārān zōrān ī tan, cf. VZ 30.21 cahārān zōrān ī tan ham-iz ōn pediš cōn tazāgān āb ped vād ... For zōr see 6.12.

²⁶ . Pers. vahān, see 7.6.

the preserving and nutritive power²⁷ – this power cooperates with Nature, and its scriptural (Avesta) name is Fravaši –²⁸; and through the four growth-promoting powers²⁹, that is, the attractive³⁰, the retentive³¹, the digestive³², and the propulsive³³, which, owing to the Creator’s all-sagacity, withhold, jointly and with moderate power, the pain and sickness of various kinds inflicted by the Antagonist who acts at random and whose will is evil; and [through] other [powers] which are united in strength

²⁷ . zōr ī dārāg ud parvarāg (zōr ī dārā farβarā: प्राणेन धात्रा प्रतिपालयित्रा). Pers. zōr ī dārāg ‘preserving/ maintaining power/force’ ≈ Arab. قُوَّة حافظة. Pers. zōr ī parvarāg ‘nutritive power’ ≈ Syr. ܦܪܘܒܪܐܝܬܐ ‘*facultas nutritiva*’, Arab. قُوَّة معَدِّيَّة. Cf. DD 2.132 fravahr ī dārāg, Dk iii, M 347 parvarāg ud pāyāg x^varrah abar tōhmag ud tan ...

²⁸ . Pers. fravahr (Av. fravaši-) rendered by Skt. vṛddhi- ≈ fravahr-cihr. See 1.8, 5.87.

²⁹ . zōr ī frabihišngar (zōr ī faržidašnigar: प्राणैः). Pers. frabihišngar ‘who makes corpulent, who makes grow’ ≈ Syr. ܦܪܒܝܗܝܫܢܐ, Arab. مربيَّة. Cf. Dk iii, M 308 ... andarōn tan ped frabihišn ud dārišn ..., M 360-361 vinārišn ī ped frabihišn ud dārišn-abzārīh.

³⁰ . zōr ī āhanzāg (zōr ī āhaṇzā: प्राणः आकृष्ट). Pers. āhanzāg ‘attractive’ ≈ Gr. ἐλκτικὴ, Syr. ܦܪܘܒܝܗܝܫܢܐ, Arab. جاذبة. Cf. VZ 30.28

³¹ . zōr ī gīrāg (zōr ī gīrā: प्राणः धर्त्ता). Pers. gīrāg ‘seizing, retentive’ ≈ Gr. καθεκτικὴ, Syr. ܦܪܘܒܝܗܝܫܢܐ, Arab. ماسكة. Cf. VZ 30.27, 29.

³² . zōr ī gugārāg (zōr ī guhārā: प्राणः विहारयिता). Pers. gugārāg ‘digesting, digestive’ ≈ Gr. ἀλλοιωτικὴ, Syr. ܦܪܘܒܝܗܝܫܢܐ, Arab. هاضمة. Cf. VZ 30.27.

³³ . zōr ī spōzāg (zōr ī spōžā: प्राणः पोष्ट). Pers. spōzāg ‘expulsive, propulsive, excretory’ ≈ Gr. ἀποκρικτικὴ, Syr. ܦܪܘܒܝܗܝܫܢܐ, Arab. دافعة. Cf. 12.65, VZ 29.6 zōr ī spōzāgīh.

and cooperate with each other, the good will of the Creator is manifest.

64-80. Further that: Pain and death that are the disturber and destroyer of the body, do not come from the Creator whose will is good, and who preserves and nourishes the body. This is manifest from this too, that the sagacious Creator neither repents or regrets His acts, nor does He disturb His own creatures or make them disabled, for He is sagacious and omniscient. It is proper to attribute repentance and regret to one of deficient knowledge, imperfect wisdom, and ignorance of the final outcome. For from the wise and sagacious does not arise an action without reason or cause. Similarly, the actions of the unwise, unenlightened who is ignorant of the final outcome are all absurd, without reason or cause. The Sagacious acts and arouses, with sagacity and skill, to withhold from His creatures the one whose actions are absurd and who is ignorant of the final outcome; and He has made the one of absurd actions hedged in and entangled into the net [of the material world]. For it is well-known that: it is not possible to withhold or annihilate a moving and living substance within a limitless void, nor is it possible to become fearless from injuriousness unless he is entangled, hedged in, and made captive. In entanglement and captivity, the “remedy” (against the one of absurd action) is suffering pain and grievous punishment. But until he becomes full conscious of his suffering pain and fully aware of his own ignorant activity, he thinks falsely as to what has befallen him; and the complete power of the omnipotent Creator [becomes manifest through this] perception of suffering and pain. After the complete perception of suffering and pain, under the omnipotence of the sagacious Creator, [the Creator] casts him idle into the limitless

Void. Then the good creation will have no fear of him; it will be immortal and free from hostility. That is the complete and skilful sagacity and foreknowledge of the remedy of the omniscient Creator of the good.³⁴

81-83. Through observation of things the difference³⁵ of things is manifest. The difference [of things] is of two modes as mentioned above:

- One is difference in operation³⁶;
- The other is difference in substance³⁷.

84-91. Difference of operation involves cooperation and union of forces. Difference of substance involves discordance and opposition. It is manifest that [different] things cannot be in one place. If the things were one, then One would be nameless. For it is through the possession of a name that one thing can be recognised from another. The existence of evil as different in principle from good means that neither is the cause of the other. For, each one is existent through its own essence, as is manifest from the perpetual injury and opposition between the two.

³⁴ . Cf. 4.16-20.

³⁵ . judāgīh (judāi: विभिन्नत्वं). Pers. judāgīh ‘separation, *differentia*’ (opp. hamīh, cf. Dk iii, M 111) ≈ Gr. διαφορά, Syr. ܕܝܘܟܘܬܐ, Arab. فصل, فرق. Cf. VZ 22.5 doīh ī bunēštān ud judāgīh ī abar harv rāyēnišn.

³⁶ . judgārīh/ judkārīh (jaṭkāri: विभिन्नकार्यत्वं). Pers. judgārīh ‘difference of act, dissimilarity in function’. Cf. VZ 30.18 cahār āmēzišn ī judcihrag judgār, Dk iii, M 122 jud hend harv se pez judgārīh.

³⁷ . judgōhrīh (jaṭgōharī: विभिन्नरत्वं). Pers. judgōhrīh ‘difference of substance, dissimilarity in substance’. Cf. Jāmāspīg 2, VZ 1.3, 2.2. Pers. judgōhr (opp. hamgōhr, Syr. ܕܝܘܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܟܘܬܐ, cf. ^TM 9 II gyān az tan judgōhr.

92-102. If someone were to object that: “Since there is a multiplicity of contraries, such as good and evil, darkness and light, fragrance and stench, life and death, sickness and health, pleasure and sorrow, and many others, so there should be a great number and variety of principles”, then the reply is that:

Even if the contraries may have many names and be of many kinds, yet all are comprised³⁸ under two names, and these names are the seeds comprising them, that is: good and evil. The [contraries] of different names and kinds are tokens of these two names. There has not been, nor will be anything which is neither good nor bad, or a mixture of the two. Hence it is explicitly manifest that there are two principles, not more; and also that good cannot proceed from evil, nor evil from good.

103-116. From this too it is possible to know that: what is complete and perfect in goodness, no evil can proceed from it. If it could, then it would not be perfect. For if a thing is said to be perfect, there is no place for anything else. If there is no place for anything else, nothing else can proceed from it. If God is perfect in goodness (- wisdom) and knowledge, then it is known that ignorance and evil cannot come from him. If they could come from Him, then He would not be perfect. If He were not perfect, He should not be praised as God and completely good. If both good and evil could proceed from God, then He would be incomplete as far as goodness is concerned. If He is incomplete in respect of goodness, then He is incomplete in respect of

³⁸ . parvastag (faraβastaa : समुद्रतानि). Pers. parvastag ‘surrounded; comprised’ ≈ Syr. ܩܘܪܕܘܢܐܘܬܐ, Arab. محصور. Cf. Dk iii, M 17, iv, M 418 ped dānāgīh parvastag ayāb nē. Pers. parvastagīh ‘comprising; comprisal’, cf. Dk iv, M 411 parvastagīh ī harv dānāgīh andar dēn mazdesn.

knowledge. If He is incomplete in respect of knowledge, then He is incomplete in respect of intellect, intelligence, science, wit and other organs of wisdom. If He is incomplete in respect of intellect, intelligence, wit and science, then He is incomplete in respect of wholesomeness. If He is incomplete in respect of wholesomeness, He is apt to become sick. If He is apt to become sick, He is incomplete in respect of life.

117-123. If someone should object that: “I see that both good and evil, indeed³⁹, proceed from a single substance, such as man”, then [the reply is thus:]

This is because man is not at all perfect. And because of his incompleteness in respect of goodness, evil proceeds from him. And because of incompleteness in respect of wholesomeness, he falls sick; and for the same reason he dies. For the cause of death is the conflict of two contrary accidents in one substance. Where there are two contrary accidents in one substance, the occurrence of sickness and death is acknowledged.

124-135. If someone should object that: “Good and evil are actions, which do not exist until they are performed”, then the reply is that:

An action can no more exist without an agent than an accident without a substance, in which it belongs⁴⁰. Moreover, it

³⁹ . ped kunišn (pa kunišni: कर्मणा). Pers. ped kunišn ‘in action; indeed; reapse’ ≈ Syr. حصيد, Arab. بالفعل. Cf. Dk iv, M 418 ped kunišn cōn xānag az mardōm.

⁴⁰ . ped gōhr (pa gōhar: रत्नेन). Pers. ped gōhr ‘belonging to the substance; of good stock’ ≈ Gr. οὐσιωδῶς, Syr. ܪܬܢܐܘܬܐ. Cf. Dk vi, M 529.

is acknowledged that its own existence and establishment cannot be of itself. For when a man is angry, Good-Thought⁴¹ is far from there. When Good-Thought takes room, anger is not there. When a man tells a lie, truth is far from there; [and that man is called liar]. When he speaks the truth, falsehood has no place there; and that man is called truthful. Similarly, when sickness comes, health is not there. When health has come, sickness departs. For a substance which does move is possible, but no movement is possible except when it belongs to a substance.

136-137. Concerning this chapter, too, I contented myself to explain succinctly. May you observe subtly and distinctly thereon.

⁴¹ . vahman (vahman: ग्वह्मनः). Pers. vahman ‘good thought; the divinity Vohu Manah’(Av. vohu manah), Man. voũç.

Fourth Chapter

9

§ 1-3. Another [chapter]: It is just as well to quote, for your information, some chapter of the book Dēnkird that testifies to the existence of the Contrary. For that which is written above, and that which will be written are all grown from the seed that the blessed “Ādarpādyāvandān” sowed. And thanks unto his relative, the excellent wise Ādarfarrōbay, son of Farrozzād.

4. The fourth chapter, which is from the Dēnkird:

Concerning the existence of the contrary of the creatures, and the precedence of the contrary in comparison with the creatures, from the exposition of the Good Religion (= Avesta).¹

§ 5-13. The existence of the contrary of the creatures is perceptible by sight and understandable by knowledge from the innermost of the body of man even to the outermost of the body, and beyond is certain within the limits of resemblance (one of the means of correct knowledge)². The innermost of man, which is the innermost of the breathing soul, is seen, through complete

¹ . In that portion of the Denkird known to be extant (Dk iii, M 262/ Menasce, 239 a), we only find the title of the chapter.

² . humānāgīh (humānāi: उपमान°). Pers. humānāgīh ‘resemblance, likeness, *similitudo*; comparison’ ≈ Gr. ὁμοιότης, Syr. ܠܚܘܒܐ ‘likeness; example’. See 5.20.

contemplation, within the same limits. For example, ignorance is the opponent of knowledge, deceit of good morals, mendacity of veracity, and other vices which are the cause of the wickedness of the soul are opponents of the virtues which are the seed of knowledge, good morals and veracity.

§ 14-18. Further: The morbid humours³, comprised in the body, are opponents of the humours⁴ which establish the body; these morbid humours are the cause of the disturbance of the body. Furthermore: Among the elements⁵, cold is the opponent of heat, dryness is of moisture, and the other agents of corruption⁶ are opponents of the agents of generation⁷. In the

³. abēristagān (aβārastagā: व्याधयः). Neryōsang renders abē-ristag by Skt. vyādhi- ‘disorder, disease’. It rather corresponds to the Skt. doṣa ‘morbid element, disease (especially of the three humours of the body, applied also to the humours themselves)’.

⁴. ristagān (rastagā: अंतरंगानां). Pers. ristag ‘element; humour; elementary properties (hot, cold, wet, dry)’. Cf. Dk iii, M 170 ristagān ī tan, M 278 tan ristagān. See 2.12.

⁵. zahagān (zahagān: जनानीनां). Pers. zahag ‘birth, begetting; progenitor; element’. See 4.18.

⁶. vināhišngārān (vanāsašnigarā: विनाशकराणि). Pers. vināhišn ‘corruption, decay’ ≈ Gr. φθορά, Syr. ܩܫܝܬܐ, Arab. فساد. Pers. vināhišngār ‘corruptor, destroyer’, cf. Dk iv, M 422 az-iz mehmānīh ī vināhišngārān cōn sardīh ud huškīh.

⁷. bavišngārān (bvašnikārā: संभूतिकार्याणां). Pers. bavišn ‘becoming, coming into existence, generation’ ≈ Gr. γένεσις, Syr. ܩܝܡܐ, Arab. كون. See 4.88. Pers. bavišngār ‘agent of becoming, generator’, cf. Dk iv, M 422 az-iz bavišngārān cōn garmīh ud x^vēdīh.

temporal world⁸, darkness is the opponent of light, stench of fragrance, ugliness of handsomeness, unsavouriness of savouriness, poison of antidote, the noxious wolf of the munificent cattle, and the bad villain of the good man. Beyond the world, the work of the Robbers⁹ (Planets, etc.) is the opponent of the work of the divine Bestowers (fixed stars, constellations)¹⁰. Beyond all this legion, perceptible by sight and understandable by knowledge, this general information is certain within the limits of resemblance: the Daēva are the opponents of the Yazata.

19-26. The existence of the opponent is prior to the creation, and his arrival to the creatures is posterior to the creation. The Creator created, intelligibly¹¹, with the motive of the desirable creation, and through provision of a remedy, the creation, and

⁸ . āvām (ōṃam: युगो). Pers. āvām (hangām) ‘time, age; season, period; point of time; *universitas*, (temporal) world’ ≈ Syr. ܐܘܡܐ ‘whole; world’ (Cf. Book of Ps., 96C). Cf. Dk ix, M 792 ēvēnag cahār āvām, NM 1, 4, 10 āvām frazānagān. Pers. andar āvām ‘in the world; in our times’, see 1.35.

⁹ . gayōgān (gadūga: ग्रहाः). See 4.10.

¹⁰ . bay-baxšēnīdārān (baṃa baxšīnīdāra: दानविभक्तृणां) ≈ bay-baxtārān, cf. Dk iii, M 205 bayān baxtārīh. See 4.8.

¹¹ . dānišnīg (dānašnī: ज्ञानेन). Pers. dānišn ‘knowledge, science’, dānišnīg ‘knowledgeable; intelligible; rational; spiritual’ ≈ Gr. νοητός, νοερός, Syr. ܕܢܝܫܢܝܓ, Arab. معلوم, معقول. Cf. CHP 58 uš az mēnōg ī dānišn dānišnīg

put into operation. This one statement¹² consists of five parts of definition¹³:

- A. He created intelligibly.
- B. He created with motive.
- C. The motive of the creation was the necessity of creation.
- D. He created the creation as a remedy.
- E. The creator put the creatures into [their own] operations.

27-35. The existence of these five terms is manifest through creations, both spiritual¹⁴ and material¹⁵. The “intelligible” sign [of His creation] is testified by the sagaciously arrangement of the creatures. “Creation with motive” is manifest owing to the same sagacity. “The motive was the necessity of creation”: For,

¹² . vāzag (vāžaa: वाक्यं). Pers. vāzag ‘word, statement, proposition, *oratio*; utterance; precept’ ≈ Gr. λόγος, Syr. ܠܘܓܘܣܐ, ܠܘܓܘܣܐ, Arab. قول. Cf. Dk iii, M 47 andar hān vāzag, viii, M 734 vāzag cāšīdan.

¹³ . sāmān (sāmān: सीमाः). Pers. sāmān ‘limit, term, *terminus*; definition; part of proposition’ (Armen. սահման) ≈ Pers. vimand, Gr. ὄρος, ὄρισμός, Syr. ܥܘܣܘܬܐ, Arab. حد. Cf. Dk viii, M 735 sāmān ī vāng.

¹⁴ . āfurišnān (apurašna: सृष्टिश्च). Pers. āfurišn ‘(spiritual or conceptual) creation; hymn of praise’. Cf. Dk iii, M 202 āfurišn ēvāz ī dām fradum ped meyānjīgīh ast māyag ud tōhmag mēnōgīg ud ped nirōg gētīg nimāyišn ... ‘The āfurišn of the creatures is first only in the spiritual state, their matter and seed being spiritual, and showing the material world in potential ...’. See 5.46.

¹⁵ . dahišnān (dahišnān: दातिभिः). Pers. dahišn ‘(material) creation, production; gift, charity (dāšn)’. Cf. Dk iii, M 203 dahišn ēvāz ī dām az mēnōgīgīh ō gētīgīh vardēnīdan ud ast dēsag az māyag ī-š ped nirōg būd ‘The dahišn of the creatures is solely the conversion of them from the spiritual to the material state, their forms developed from the matter in which they existed in potential’.

the arrangement of the creation so skilfully ought to arise from the requirement of creation. The necessity testifies that the creation itself is according to natural order with motive. “He created [the creation] as a remedy” is demonstrated through the intelligible creation. Because knowledge implies voluntary, and voluntary natural. “He put into operation”, is manifest through the functions of the creatures, one by one, both naturally and voluntarily.

36-39. The evidences of the existence of the opponent (antagonist) prior to the creation are many. One of them is the necessity of the creation of the creatures. Because the definition of “necessity” is not applied to anything except “need”. Consequently, from necessity is need, from need hurry (oppression), from hurry the existence of the opponent who is prior to the necessary operation, that is, creation¹⁶.

40-45. The arrival of the Onslaught¹⁷ on the creatures, posterior to the (material) creation, shows the constitution of (the creatures as) the means of the Creator, for encountering the Opponent, before the onset of the Opponent, which is in accordance with the omnisciently pre-creation by the Creator. The instrument itself demonstrates that the creatures are arranged to combat against the Opponent similar to the natural arrangement. The operation of the creatures is similar to the natural removal of sorrow. Their establishment is similar to the preparation of a battle against the enemy and adversary. And

¹⁶. See 7.21.

¹⁷. ebgad (aibigaṭ: प्रतिपक्षस्य). Pers. ebgad ‘onslaught, aggression’ (Av. aiβi.gaiti ‘arrival, onset’) ≈ abarrasišnīh. Cf. Dk iii, M 279 abarrasišnīh ī judgōhr ī dēnīg ebgad nām.

their operation, both natural and voluntary, is [similar to]
repelling all pressure.

Fifth Chapter

10

1. **Another chapter: Concerning the colloquies of the monists¹, from which even the proof of the duality² is manifested.**

§ 2-12. It should be known that: whoever wishes to know the Creator, he should give trouble to his own life, should meditate in a subtle way, and first he should know about his own body and soul, that is: “Who created them, out of what, and for what operation? Who is his opponent and adversary? And who is his friend and assistant? Who hastens him to commit crime? Of what substance is he? And how can he be saved?”³ If not he is unable to know the Creator, according to His qualities of being⁴, and come to himself.

¹ . ekīhskārān (yakī x^vaškāraḥ: एकत्वसमालोचिनां). Pers. ekīh-uskār ‘monist’ ≈ Pers. ēk-bunēšt-uskār ‘one who considers that there is only one principle’ (11.3). See 4.103.

² . doīh (duī: द्वित्वस्य). Pers. doīh ‘duality; dualism; duplicity’ ≈ do-bunīh (Dk iii, M 104), see 12.33 dobunēštāghangār ‘dualist’. Cf. Dk iv, M 409 do doīh ī nax^vist, PDK 48 nišān ī doīh.

³ . Cf. CHP 1.

⁴ . cōnīh (cūnī: यथास्थतया). Pers. cōnīh ‘quality; manner, mode; character’ ≈ Gr. ποιότης, Syr. ܩܘܢܝܬܐ, Arab. كَيْفِيَّة. Pers. ped cōnīh (Dk iv, M 418) ≈ Gr. ἐν τῷ ποίῳ ἐστιν, Syr. ܩܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܩܘܢܝܬܐ, ܩܘܢܝܬܐ.

§ 13. For, when he bore the name of “Creator”, then, at the same time he bore these three names: creation, religion and soul.

§ 14-19. Because the derivation of the name of “Creator” from that of “creation” is well known. The Creator of the creation created the creations with the view to the (special) functions, and does not let them without function. The function of the creature is: to know and perform the will of the Creator, and to abstain from what is not His will. From performing the will of the Creator and avoiding doing what is not His will results the salvation of the soul.

§ 20-27. The will of the creator cannot be known, except through the *daēnā* (religion)⁵ of the Creator. The Religion is doubtless made (or, destined) by the Creator. Now, it is worthy to know that: God made the religion so as to make known His will. From the knowledge of His will in order to save the soul are manifested the beneficence and mercifulness of God. And from the religion as saviour for the soul are manifested the grandeur and value of the religion. From the necessity of the salvation of the soul are manifested the deception and delusion of the soul. From the deception and delusion of the soul are manifested a deceiver and deluder of the thoughts, words and deeds of man, and, at the same time a spoiler of souls is manifested.

28-32. Now it would be expedient for us to understand and know that: Of what substance is that deluder who spoils the souls? Because if he is said to be of the same substance that the

⁵ . *dēn* (*dīn* : दीनि). Pers. *dēn* ‘religion, religious vision; conscience; the Avesta and Zand’ (Av. *daēnā*).

material and spiritual creations of God, given that God made the religion for the salvation of the soul, then it is not right for Him to create the deceiver and deluder of souls knowingly and voluntarily. For if He be Himself the creator, and be Himself the deceiver and deluder of souls, and nothing occur except by His will, then, when we desire salvation from [this] God, whom shall we make as a support?

33-37. Now every intelligent man should know and recognize that: From whom should we flee and avoid, and to whom should we seek shelter, and in whom should we hope? The remedy of this matter is nothing else but to know God through His qualities. Because, as I wrote above⁶, it is necessary not only to know His existence, but also His qualities (or, attributes) and His will.

38-42. I have examined, in the world, all the doctrines and beliefs⁷ that belong to the doctrinaires. One [doctrine] asserts that: All the good and evil in the world are due to God. And one asserts that: All the good of the world, besides the hope of saving the soul, is due to God, and the cause of all evil of the body, besides the fear of the soul, is Aṅra Mainyu. All [the doctrines] are derived from the division of these two original [doctrines] into schisms and sects.

43-77. I was ever fervent-hearted to know God, as I wrote above⁸, and inquiring in the research of His Religion and will. Likewise, for the sake of research, I travelled in foreign countries, in the land of Indians, [meeting] many different sects.

⁶. See 5.6-9.

⁷. kēš ud vurravišn. See 1.35.

⁸. See 1.35-38.

Because, I did not like [to follow] a religion by inheritance, but I sought that which is more reliable and acceptable before the testimony of wisdom, I went also along with many different sects, until a time when, owing to the beneficence of the divinities, and the strength, fortune and power of the Good Religion, I escaped from the depths of the gloom and ill-solvable doubtfulness. By the same power of the divine science⁹, and the books and colloquies of the wise, and the matchless books of the wise “Ādarpādyāvandān”, and the book written by the blessed Rōšn, son of Ādarfarrōbay, named the “Rōšn-nibēg”, and also the book of the excellent wise and righteous Ādarfarrōbay, son of Farroxzād who was the Leader of those of the good religion, explained parts of the Religion (or, the Avesta) and called it the “Book of the Dēnkird”, I was saved from much doubtfulness, error, deceit and wickedness of (false) doctrines, and, especially, from that one who was greater, more monstrous and more evil-teaching than [all] the deceivers, that is the hard-headed¹⁰ Mani, whose doctrine was sorcery, religion deceitfulness, teaching malice, and habit secretiveness. I knowingly professed, by the power of philosophy and the strength of the divine science, not fanatically, but through the holy religion, the Ahuric laws of breaking off with the demons, that the creator Ahura Mazdā taught to the righteous Zaratuštra.

⁹ . dēn-dānāgīh (dīm dānāi: दीनिज्ञानस्य). Pers. dēn-dānāg ‘wise in religion, versed in the Avesta and Zand; theologian’ renders Av. daēnō.sāc (Dēn. Viz. f 8v cand dastvarān az dēndānāgān), dēn-dānāgīh ‘knowledge of the religion, Scientia divina’, cf. 1.45 dēn-dānišnīh. See 5.92.

¹⁰ . vardmasturg mānī (ratmatarag mānāe: गुरोः मस्तर्गमानस्य). Pers. vard (Av. varəta, Parth. vard ‘cairn, stone’, Kurd. berd ‘stone, rock, boulder’, Waxī γwrt ‘Pounding-stone’); Pers. masturg/ mastirg (Av. mastərəγan ‘brain; skull’), cf. Dk ix, M 811.

Zaraθuštra came alone, as a true apostle, to the court of Kai Vīštāspa, with sublime insight. He taught the religion to Kavi Vīštāspa and the wise, with a powerful tongue, through testimony of wisdom, convincingly, eloquently, through resolving many doubts, and through giving visible testimony of the Aməša Spənta, together with many [other] wonders, and much greatness which were beyond the power of worldly beings, and he whose Fravaši is worshipped saw them. Kay Spəntōdāta and Zairi.vari and other governors, and numerous sons of the warlike and sanguinary adopted the Religion. They even wandered to abroad, Rome (Greece, or Byzantium) and India, in propagating the Religion. Since then It passed on, by succession, to the lords and kings of the Kavi race, the exalted ones, until the ordeal with melted metal (lit. zinc) pouring upon the breast of the blessed Ādarbād, son of Mahrspend, in the reign of his (late) Majesty Šābuhr son of Ohrmazd, the king of kings, in a controversy with heretics of different species of many kinds, and especially with the greatest heretics among them who were also known as the Peccībāstag¹¹; [in that ordeal and those controversy, Ādarbād] acquitted himself well. The Roman (or, Greek) [philosophers] who have been, as ever, named “Anāst”¹², asked many knotty questions about this religion. There was no question making doubtful this religion that has been shelved.

¹¹. peccībāstagān (paca āβāyastagaḥ: अभीप्सुभिः). Pers. peccībāst(ag) ‘hypocrite’, cf. Dk iii, M 3 pursued peccībāst ahlemōg, Dk vi, M 485 vas-abzār mardōm vadcihrag peccībāst. Pers. peccībāstīh ‘hypocrisy’, cf. Dk vi, M 481 x^v adāydēnīh ayāb x^v āstagdēnīh ayāb peccībāstīh ayāb ahlemōgīh. Cf. also peccībāgīh ‘hypocrisy; treachery’(AV 104).

¹². anāst (anāst: नास्तिक). Neryōsang translates anāst as nāstika- m. ‘atheist, unbeliever’ (nāstika- adj. ‘atheistical’).

The sages of the Land of the Aryans (Ērānšahr, Persia) won them over. Not like other faiths that propagate their religious vision, secretly, deceivingly, delusively for the deceived, and undutifully among the nations and peoples with little knowledge, vulgar and demonic who have heard nothing from wisdom and philosophy and science. They won't yield to appearance until they have sufficiently deceived and deluded. Immediately they have deluded a sufficient group of little knowledge, they will appear with much inconsistent discourse, falsehood and deficiency [inherent in] their religion.

78-80. I here present a few of their much inconsistency and deficiency for informing the neophytes¹³ of the dispute¹⁴. Seeing that the books of the sagacious ancients have much wisely discoursed of these things, guided by the desire of precision and acuteness, I contented myself to explain succinctly. May you observe it with kind regards.

¹³ . nōghamōzagān. See I.39, 45.

¹⁴ . dādestānāgāhīh (dāestā āgāhī : न्यायपरिचितये). Pers. dādestān 'judgment; case; civil law; legal affair; dispute' (Khot. Lāstana 'dispute', Bactr. λαστανο 'id.'). Cf. Dk ix, M 791 dādestān šnāxtārīh ud vizārdārīh.

Sixth Chapter

11

1-2. From here on I write about the inconsistency of their (insane) discourses. May you cast an upright glance on it with wise eyes.

3-5. First about the monotheists¹ who state thus: “There is only one god², who is benefactor³, wise⁴, powerful⁵, clement⁶

¹. ēk-bunēšt-uskār (yak bunyašt x^vaškār: एकमूलास्पदसमालोचिनः) ‘one who considers that there is only one principle, monist’ ≈ Arab. موحد. See 4.103 ēkīhuskārān.

². ēk ast yazd ≈ Arab. الله واحد, or الله احد. Cf. Q 2.163 وَإِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ. قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ 112.1, الرَّحِيمُ.

³. kirkakkar (kərbagar: पुण्यकरो) ≈ Syr. ܟܪܒܐܝܬܐ, Arab. (محسن), لطيف. Cf. Q 12.100 إِنَّ رَبِّي لَطِيفٌ لِّمَا يَشَاءُ إِنَّهُ هُوَ الْعَلِيمُ الْحَكِيمُ.

⁴. dānāg (dānā: ज्ञानी) ≈ Arab. العالم الحكيم, عالم (الغيب والشهادة). Cf. Q 36.38 الْعَزِيزُ الْعَلِيمُ.

⁵. tuvānīg (tvānī: शक्तिमान) ≈ Arab. الله... هو القوى العزيز, الله على كل شيء قدير, عزيز. Cf. Q 5. 118 وَأَنْتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ, 11.66 إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ الْقَوِيُّ الْعَزِيزُ, 51.58 وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ الرَّزَّاقُ ذُو الْقُوَّةِ الْعَزِيزُ الْمُتَعَدِّبُ 54.42, الْمُتَعَدِّبُ.

⁶. x^vābar (x^vāβar: रक्षकः) ≈ Arab. رؤوف, رحيم, cf. Q 19.93, 57.9 وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ بِكُمْ لَرَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ. x^vābarīh ≈ Syr. ܪܟܝܡܐܝܬܐ.

good¹² and evil¹³ has arisen from god”, then there is no possibility except if they separate from him these four virtues which are requisite for divinity, i.e., omniscience¹⁴, omnipotence¹⁵, goodness¹⁶ and mercifulness¹⁷. When only one of these four virtues is separated from him, then he is not complete in his divinity (godhead). For, he who is not omniscient, or not omnipotent, or not good, or not merciful is not god.

17-19. Further: When he is a successful ruler over every person and thing¹⁸, then why did not he exempt his world and kingdom from every enemy and adversary of his activities, so that there would not be anything whatever of offence, oppression, injustice and complaint for any one in his kingdom? Since the kingdom and or lordship of a human king and or lord is at that time esteemed when he can protect and take care of his country and kingdom, through his wisdom, so that the enemies of his activities may not dare to rise up against him, and to commit sin and harm; or, when the enemies of his activities rise up against him, then he can keep them away from his bosom friends, and make every one exempt from offence.

¹² . nēkīh (nākī: शुभं) ≈ Arab. خير.

¹³ . anāgīh (anāī: अन्यायं) ≈ Arab. شر.

¹⁴ . harvispāgāhīh (haravistāgāhī: सर्वज्ञानत्वं). Cf. Q 2.29 . وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ

¹⁵ . visptuvānīh (vīspṭvānī: सर्वशक्तित्वं). Cf. Q 2.20 . إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

¹⁶ . vehīh (vahī: उत्तमत्वं) ≈ Arab. فضل.

¹⁷ . abaxšāyandīh (aβaxšāīndī: क्षमावत्त्वं). Cf. Q 2.173 . إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

¹⁸ . Cf. Q 2.107 . وَهُوَ رَبُّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ 6.164 , مَلِكِ النَّاسِ 2 . 114 . 2 , اللَّهُ لَهُ مُلْكُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ

20-26. Further: If he be victorious, prevailing and dominating¹⁹, then over whom are his victory, prevalence and domination? For victory and prevalence are over the enemies who take the opposite side in a conflict. It is not proper to be oneself the enemy who takes the opposite side towards his own. As long as there is no enemy and opponent over whom he becomes victorious and prevalent, victory and prevalence will not be attributed to him. For even cattle and sheep, when they have no adversary and injurer, are prevailing and victorious over themselves!

27-29. Further: Is he contented²⁰ and acquainted with²¹ his divinity and grandeur²², or not? If he be contented and acquainted with, then he is contented to make enemies and criminals knowingly and voluntarily, and to cause a disturbance in the world, and to be content with the misery of the world and creatures. But is it proper to want them crime and calamity, and to be indeed their enemy and curser, and to make man calamitous and hellish?

30-33. Further: Whatever he says, does he speak truthfully and credibly, or not? If he speak truthfully and credibly, then when he says that “I am a friend of good deed²³ and an enemy of crime^{24,25}”, and however he creates more crime and criminals

¹⁹ . Cf. Q 54.55 في مَقْعَدِ صِدْقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُّقْتَدِرٍ 12.39, اللَّهُ الْوَاحِدُ الْقَهَّارُ

²⁰ . hunsand (x^varasand: संतोषी) ≈ Arab. راضي.

²¹ . dānāg ud hunsand (dānā x^varasand: ज्ञानी संतोषी) ≈ رضی اللہ ... فعلم.

²² . vazurgīh (vazurgī: महत्त्वेन). Cf. Q 4.34 إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيمًا كَبِيرًا

²³ . kirbag (kərbaa: पुण्ये) ≈ Arab. إحسان.

²⁴ . bazag (bažaa: पापे) ≈ Arab. (فساد), سوء.

than good deed and benefactors, then where is his truthful speaking?

34-36. Further: Is his will good, or evil? If his will be evil, then from what is his divinity? If his will be good, then why are the evil ones and evil more than the good ones and good?

37-44. Further: Is he merciful, or not? If he be not merciful, then from what is his divinity? If he be merciful, then why does he say that “I sealed²⁶ the heart, ears and eyes of men, so that it is not possible for them to think, speak or do anything but that which is desired by me”²⁷. Some of them were by chance²⁸ made great and free (noble); and some others were killed and annihilated by many kinds of death, and were thrown to eternal hell. “So that those whom I make anew, become good and pious”. Now those who were made anew, are, except a few, much more criminal and more sinful than those who were before.

45-51. Further: If whatever he does, he does with wisdom and with (good) reason, then when he had no opponent and adversary, as soon as he prepared the creation of the first [man],

²⁵ . Cf. Q 2.195 فَآتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ نُورًا وَخَشَنَ نُورًا 3.148 (5.93) وَأَخْبَيْنَا إِنَّ اللَّهَ جُحِبُ الْمُحْسِنِينَ 2.205; وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْفَاسِقِينَ 2.205; وَاللَّهُ جُحِبُ الْمُحْسِنِينَ 2.205.

²⁶ . *āvišt* (haḅast: विमुद्रितवान्). Pers. *āvāš*- ≈ Arab. حتم.

²⁷ . Cf. Q 2.7 6.46 وَخَتَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ وَعَلَىٰ سَمْعِهِمْ وَعَلَىٰ أَبْصَارِهِمْ غِشَاوَةً وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ 45.23 . ثُمَّ هُمْ يَصْدِفُونَ إِلَهًا غَيْرَ اللَّهِ يَأْتِيكُم بِهِ انظُرْ كَيْفَ نُصَرِّفُ الْآيَاتِ اللَّهُ سَمِعَكُمْ وَأَنْصَارَكُمْ وَخَتَمَ عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِكُمْ مَنْ إِنْ أَخَذَ مِنْ بَعْدِ سَمْعِهِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ عَلَىٰ بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَنْ يَهْدِيهِ إلهٌ هُوَا وَأَضَلَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ عِلْمٍ وَخَتَمَ عَلَىٰ أَفْرَاطٍ مَنِ اتَّخَذَ 45.23 . اللَّهُ أَفَلَا تَذَكَّرُونَ . Cf. also Deut. (Deḅarim) 29.3.

²⁸ . *ped handāz* ‘incidentally’.

why did his servants turn, to demoniacal disobedience toward the (first) man²⁹, and to the infidelity deserving hell?

If he did not know that they would turn, then it is convenient (to suppose that) he resorted to trial [and error]. Because he has prepared many thousands and ten-thousands so that they may serve him and honour his lordship³⁰, but all have become disobedient and heedless³¹. For people, with their little knowledge, cannot prepare and fashion (things) according to their will, and however, if they prepare and fashion something which does not so appear and become as is their will, they do not insist to prepare it again, but they keep themselves from doing it again. Whereas the omnipotent and omniscient lord, of the numerous and innumerable things he has hitherto made and prepared, not even one appears and becomes as is his will, and yet still he does not keep himself from preparing and creating anew.

52-60. As the creator prepared the first angel³², on account of respect out of fire³³, for several thousand years, as they say, [the angel] served him through worship. At last, (the first angel) did disobey only one command that was given by him thus: “Pay

²⁹ . mardōm ‘man; mankind’ [nax^vistēn mardōm ‘the first man’ = (Man.) noxvīr] ≈ آدم.

³⁰ . Cf. Q 51.56 . وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ

³¹ . a-niyūš-handarz lit. ‘not-listening-to-admonition’.

³² . frēstagān (frīstaga: गणान्). Pers. frēstag ‘messenger, apostle; angel’ ≈ Arab. ملائكة. Cf. 7.11, 15.31, 17.61, 18.50, 20.116, 38.74. Sogd. fryštg translates Syr. مَلَكٌ ‘messenger; angel’.

³³ . ātaš ≈ نار, cf. Q 7.12 قَالَ أَنَا خَيْرٌ مِّمَّنْ خَلَقْتَنِي مِنْ نَّارٍ

homage to this first man whom I prepared out of clay!”³⁴ And he, reasonably, apologized as to what ought not to pay (homage).³⁵ Then he (the creator) despised and humiliated him with hurt and curse and wrath³⁶, and turned him into the state of a demon and a devil³⁷, and sent him out of heaven, and gave him several millennia of perpetual life and dominion³⁸, so that: “I will go and make your servants astray and deluded”³⁹. Thus [god] made him voluntarily injurer and adversary.⁴⁰

61-75. Later on, the man to whom the supreme angel and many other worshippers were ordered to pay homage, on account of respect and honour, was put in the garden of paradise⁴¹, so that he may cultivate and eat all the produce, except of that one tree of which he ordered thus: “You shall not eat of it!”⁴² He prepared with them (the first man and woman) a deceiver and seducer, and let him into the garden. Some say he is a serpent⁴³, and some say he is Ahrmen (Satan)⁴⁴. God himself gave to men the nature of eating and greediness. Then the seducer deceived them saying: “Eat of that tree!” Some say [he addressed] Adam. And they ate through the nature of eating.

³⁴. Cf. Q 2.34, 7. 11-12. Cf. Dk iii, ch. 241.

³⁵. Cf. Q 7.13, 15.26-28, 38-76.

³⁶. Cf. Q 2.18.

³⁷. dēvīh ud družīh (dāβī u drūzī: देवत्वे द्रूजत्वेच). Cf. Q 2.34 إبليس.

³⁸. Cf. Q 15.37-38.

³⁹. Cf. Q 2.16-17, 7.16-17, 15.39, 38.82.

⁴⁰. Cf. Q 58.10.

⁴¹. bōyesān ī vahišt (bōstān ī vahāšt: उद्यानेच स्वर्गभुवनस्य) ≈ جنات الفردوس، حنة ‘the gardens of Paradise’.

⁴². Cf. Q 7.19. Cf. also Gen. (Béréšit), 2.15-17.

⁴³. mār (mār: सर्प) ≈ Arab. حية, Syr. ܡܪܝܢܐ.

⁴⁴. ahrmen (Av. aṅra mainyu) ≈ شیطان (Aram. šēḏā, ܫܝܬܢ = dēv).

Having eaten, they became so knowing that they discerned and knew good and evil⁴⁵. Because of that one injunction which they forgot, and he himself was the cause of that forgetfulness, he deprived him of that enormous respect and honour, and he forced him with his wife out of the garden of paradise by grievous wrath and disrespect⁴⁶, and delivered them to the hands of the enemy who is deceiver and seducer, to impose his own will on them and to gain control of them.

78-87. Now, which injustice, unreasonable order⁴⁷, slowness-in-wisdom⁴⁸, and little knowledge are more wrongful and more calamitous than that? Moreover, why did not he make that garden so fortified and firm that that seducer could not have gone into it? Henceforth, he (the seducer) has seduced and seduces many servants and worshippers [of the creator]. And, for this reason [the creator] has sent from time to time, many apostles and prophets to the world, so that: “They may save my servants from the hands of that seducer, and bring them into the right path and way⁴⁹”. The apostles and prophets whose duty was the bringing of mankind into the right way and path were all

⁴⁵ . Cf. Gen. 3.1-7. Cf. also Q 2.36, 7.20-27, 20.120-126.

⁴⁶ . Cf. Gen. 3. 23-24.

⁴⁷ . abēcimframānīh (aβōcimfarmānī: निःकारणादेशत्वं) ‘command without purpose’.

⁴⁸ . pasxradīh lit. ‘after-wisdom’ (pasxardī: अनुतापिबुद्धित्वं) ≈ pas-dānišnīh ‘knowledge after the event’, an epithet of Anra Mainyu (Bd 3, 9), cf. AV 166 durvand varanīg ī pasxrad.

⁴⁹ . rāh ud ristag ī rāst (rāh u rastaa i rāst: मार्गं प्रवाहेच सत्वे), cf. Q 1.6 اهدنا الصراط المستقيم. Cf. also Sam (Šemūel) I 12, 23 אתכם בדרך הטובה והישרה. See 11.84 rāh ud pand ī frārōn.

slain by a horrible death or banished according to (creator's) own will⁵⁰, the original seducer and deluder is left alive for ever, and till now his will to seduce and delude is more victorious and successful than that of god. Because, those seduced and astray are much more numerous than those in the right way and not seduced.

88-92. Further: Does he do whatever he does with a motive, or not? If he does it without a motive, then he acts at random, and it is not convenient to praise him who acts at random as a wise god.⁵¹ If he does it with a motive, then, when he had no opponent and adversary, what is the motive and reason of creating all these creatures, such as demons and men who are disobedient, who strive against his will, and who are seducer, and these innumerable useless creatures?

93-97. Further: If he knows all that is, was and will be, then he ought not to create, through his knowledge and will, anything of which he may be regretful⁵², and which opposes his will and command, and becomes an adversary of his apostles who fulfil his will. If they say that: "This adversary was created good and nice in the beginning, but afterwards changed into evil and the deluding of the creatures". Then you should reply that: If he be omnipotent, why is the will of the adversary, in changing into evil and the deluding of the creatures, more prevailing and more

⁵⁰ . Cf. Luke 11.49 Ἀποστελῶ εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν. Cf. also Matthew 23.34.

⁵¹ . Cf. VIII.48.

⁵² . Cf. VIII.65-68.

dominating than that of god? For in the (temporal) world⁵³ the evil is more powerful than the good.

98-102. Further: If the criminal too be out of his will, and he himself led the minds of criminals astray, and he himself sowed the seed of crime, when [the seed of crime] grew from the root, he slew one, and rewarded another, where then is his power of law-abidingness?

103-108. Further: Did he make and create this world with a motive, for his beatitude and for the sake of the ease and benefit of men, or without a motive, for his distress, and [for the sake of] the oppression, guilt, suffering and death of men? For if he made it without a motive, then he acted at random. An act without a motive is not acceptable on behalf of the wise. If he made it with a motive and he created for his own beatitude and for the ease and benefit of men, why then did he not bring forth prosperity and much-benefit? If his beatitude and benefit arise from the preparation of man and animal, what profit will he gain out of their slaughter and destruction?

109-114. If it was not he himself who gave the thought of crime to man, then who is he who dared to give the thought of crime contrary to his command and will? If it was he himself who gave it, and now he considers it a fault, then where is his rightfulness and intercession?

While man, with little knowledge and small wisdom, does not, as far as he is able, allow lion and wolf and other beasts into

⁵³ . āvām (ōḡam: युगे) ‘time, age, epoch; world’.

his plantations⁵⁴ and barren lands⁵⁵, lest they may spoil them, why has the merciful god let (/ thrown) Ahrmen (Satan) and the demons upon his own creatures, so that they have made them blind and deaf⁵⁶, astray, deceitful, and hellish?

115-117. If he did (so) for testing – as they say that “he created the evil for testing the creatures”⁵⁷–, then why did he not know in advance man and animal? Because he whose authority is (dependent upon) testing is not to be called omniscient.

118-124. In brief: If god had no opponent and adversary, and was able to create all the creatures and creations free from harm, then why did he not create so? Or maybe did he wish it, but he was not able to do so? If he wished it, but he was not able, then he is not completely powerful. If he was able (to do so), but he did not wish it, then [he acted] unmercifully. If he knew “there will be something or someone, among these creatures and creations which I create that will not be according to my will”, and however he made (the world of life), then, it is unreasonable

⁵⁴ . ābastān (ābastān: गोस्थानेषु. Skt. gosthāna ‘cow-pen’). Fars. آبست /ābast/ ‘prepared land or soil’, cf. Dk iii, M195 mardōm nasā ud hixr ud rīmanīh az ābast zamīg bē barend.

⁵⁵ . rēdagān (rēdagān: र्दिभेषु. Skt. ḍimba- ‘new-born child; young animal’) ‘uncultivated lands’ (or, rēdakān ‘young ones?’).

⁵⁶ . kōr ud karr renders Av. kaoyam karafnamca (Cf. Y9.18. Zand: kayak ud karab – hān kē ped tis ī yazdān kōr ud karr). Cf. ^TS9 cōn-š kōr ud karr kird abē-uš ud vīftag ...

⁵⁷ . Q 67.3 says that God created death and life so that he may try men – which of them is best in deeds. Cf. also 21.35 كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ وَنَبَلُّوكُم بِالسُّرِّ وَالْحَيْرِ فِتْنَةً بالسُّرِّ وَنَبَلُّوكُم بِالسُّرِّ وَالْحَيْرِ فِتْنَةً ‘every soul (person) will taste of death. We try you by evil and good by way of temptation’.

to be constantly so discontented and angry⁵⁸ with his own (creatures), and to curse⁵⁹ them, and to cast them away for punishment in hell.⁶⁰

125-131. Further: If the crime in thought, crime in word, crime in deed, and the sin which man thinks, speaks, and does, as well as aching, illness, poverty, and the punishment and calamity of hell, all of these are not possible to exist except through the will and command of god, as long as the will and power of god are eternal, because his essence is also eternal, it is then certain that, for ever, there is no hope for any one to be saved from calamity and punishment.⁶¹ For it is thoroughly evident that there is no teacher or master whatever who keeps him away from this wicked and evil will, if, Heaven forbid, that (poor man) follow the advice of the apostles and religious authorities, i.e. “Commit no crime and sin!”. For they intend to reject the will and command of god.

⁵⁸ . xēšm (xašm: क्रोधः) ‘anger, wrath’ ≈ Arab. غضب. Cf. Q 4.93 وَعَظِيبَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ ‘God is wroth against him and he has cursed him and prepared for him an awful doom.’ See 5.60.

⁵⁹ . nifrīngārīh (nifrīngārī: शापश्च) ‘cursing’. Pers. nifrīdan ≈ Arab. لعن . Cf. Q 2.88 لَعَنَهُمُ اللَّهُ ‘God has cursed’, cf. also Q 4.52, 11.18, 33.57.

⁶⁰ . pādīfrāh ī dušox (pādafrāh i dōžax: निग्रहे नरकस्य). Cf. Q 4.93 فَخَزَاؤُهُ حَهَنَّمَ ‘his reward is hell for ever’.

⁶¹ . Cf. Q 4.14 يُدْجِلُهُ نَارًا خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَلَهُ عَذَابٌ مُهِينٌ ‘he will make him (infidel) enter fire (= hell), where he will dwell for ever; his will be a shameful doom’, 4.169 طَرِيقَ حَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدًا ‘the road of hell, wherein they will abide for ever’. Cf. also Q 5.85, 43.74, 72.23, 98.6.

132. Likewise: As both crime and good deed are his will, it is not clear whether he approves the good deeds of the good doing, or the crimes of the criminal.⁶²

133-143. Likewise: The physicians who, in the hope of (the salvation of) the soul, prepare medicines for the sick, and remove and dispel their pain and sickness, so that owing to that action they possess merit; however they are made ready for the punishment of hell. Those who, for the love of the soul, give something to the poor, needy, helpless, and thereby remove want and poverty from them and release them from (these calamities), so that owing to that action they possess merit; however they certainly have (charge of) grievous sin. If they state that: “The physicians who concoct remedies, and those who give things to the poor and helpless, all this is through the will of god⁶³”, then if god be without an adversary and without an opponent, then it is easier and more reasonable and more appropriate for him not to create sickness and poverty, than this: He himself makes them sick and poor, and he commands people thus: “Do make them healthy and free from want”.

144-148. If they say that “His will is this that he may recompense the physicians and donors, in gratitude for their

⁶² . According to the Qur’ān Allah himself leads astray the “hypocrites” (مُتَّقِينَ) and “wrong-doers” (ظَالِمِينَ). See Q 4.88 أَلَمْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ مَنْ أَضَلَّ اللَّهُ ‘See ye to guide him whom Allah has led astray?’, 14.27 وَيُضِلُّ اللَّهُ الظَّالِمِينَ وَيَفْعَلُ اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاءُ ‘God led wrong-doers astray –God does what he will’. Cf. also 4.143, 7.186, 17.97, 30.29, 45.23. Anyway Allah leads astray whom he wills, and he guides whom he wills, cf. Q 14.4 فَيُضِلُّ اللَّهُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ.

⁶³ . According to the Qur’ān Allah does what he wills, cf. Q 2.253 اللَّهُ يَفْعَلُ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ ‘All things are from Allah, cf. Q 4.78

goodness⁶⁴, and make them proceed to Paradise and eternal beatitude⁶⁵, then notice that: How unlawfully and weakly he acts when, willing beneficence and prosperity for only one servant, he makes many innocents indigent (/ oppressed), poor, needy, sick, and calamitous! Moreover, if he be not able to bring beneficence and prosperity to one, except by indigence (/ oppression) and pain and harm to the other, then he does not deserve to be empowered, successful, and free from opposition.

149-154. If they say that: “He makes the sick and the poor proceed in the world of thought, and as a recompense⁶⁶, to Paradise and eternal beatitude”, then (notice that), if he be not able to give the recompense in the world of thought, except through the calamity in the world of life, then he is not almighty. Moreover, his production of indigence (/ violence) in the world of life is doubtless, precipitate, and unreasonable, but the recompense (in) the world of life is doubtful, unbelievable and after the production of indigence (/ violence). Since the previous violence is without a motive, the subsequent recompense will be alike without a motive and absurdly. Moreover, no subsequent liberty (/ nobility) is found after a previous violence without a cause.

155-158. Further: One of these three states is inevitably right: The things that are, or were, or will be in the world, are all by his will, or they are not, or there are some that are by his will

⁶⁴ . Cf. Q 4.114 . *بَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَمَنْ يَفْعَلُ لِحُؤَاهُمْ إِلَّا مَنْ أَمَرَ بِصَدَقَةٍ أَوْ مَعْرُوفٍ أَوْ إِصْلَاحٍ أَوْ خَيْرٍ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِّنْ نَّعْمَاتِ اللَّهِ فَسَوْفَ نُؤْتِيهِ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا ذَلِكَ لِيُبَيِّنَ اللَّهُ لَكُمُ الْآيَاتِ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ*

⁶⁵ . Cf. Q 5.85 . *فَأَنبَأَهُمُ اللَّهُ بِمَا قَالُوا خَتَابِ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا ذَلِكَ جَزَاءُ الْمُحْسِنِينَ*

⁶⁶ . pādāṣṇ (pādadaḥiṣni: प्रसाददानं) ≈ Arab. أحر.

and there are some that are not. For nothing whatever is found which is not good, or evil, or a mixture of both.

159-176. If they say that “all (things are according to) his will”⁶⁷, then good and evil are both his will. If good and evil be both his will, he is of imperfect will, he is not perfect even as to one (good or evil). He who is of imperfect will may be of imperfect essence, as is shown above.

If nothing be according to his will, on account of nothing being according to his will, he is will-less. He who is will-less, his action is natural (or, instinctive). He whose action is natural, he has received a nature and is made. If some be according to his will, and some be not according to his will, (and if) nothing be found in the world which is neither good nor evil⁶⁸, then, if god be of good will, it is acknowledged that he is not malevolent, and that which is evil is not according to his will; and if he be of evil will, then he is inevitably not benevolent, and that which is good is not according to his will. If that which is good be according to the will of god, it is acknowledged that that which is evil is from the will of another one. If that which is evil be according to his will, then that which is good is inevitably from the will of another one. It is (then) inevitable and manifest the contrary of the will of god.

177-196. If one says that “the evil originates from man”⁶⁹, then since the essence of man did not always exist, it is

⁶⁷ . Cf. Q 4.78 كَلُّ مَنْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ

⁶⁸ . Cf. Q 8.100.

⁶⁹ . Cf. Q 4.79 أَصَابَكَ مِنْ حَسَنَةٍ فَمِنَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ سَيِّئَةٍ فَمِنَ نَفْسِكَ ‘whatever of good befallerth thee (O man) it is from Allah, and whatever of evil befallerth thee it is from thyself.’

inevitable that evil existed before man, or after, or it was concomitant with man. If they say that “it was before man”, then, since there was no other creator of spiritual and material (worlds) apart from god, then, either god created evil, or it created its own essence, or it was itself eternal. If they say that “it was after man”, then, since human substance is likewise a creation of god, and god did not create the evil of man in his substance, how does evil originate, by (human) activities, from him? If by his activities man produced evil in spite of the will of god, and god was well aware of this production by man, then it is manifest that god is imperfect in his will, and man is prevailing and victorious in repelling the will and command of god, and in committing evil contrary to the will of god, and the power of god in his own will and his servants is feeble. If they claim that “he makes them proceed afterwards to the hard punishment⁷⁰ of hell^{71,72}”, then, if god be an agent endowed with power, then not to let men commit crime but to expel it from their hearts (/ thoughts) would be more advantageous and more befitting to the clemency of god than to let them commit. It is inevitable that he was contented with it (i.e., with the committal of crime by man); and afterwards he contentedly punishes his own creatures. Indeed, (if) I consider one (principle), then either

⁷⁰ . (duṣox) pādifrāh (dōžax pādafrāh: नरकनिग्रहेषु) ≈ Arab. عذاب.

⁷¹ . duṣox ≈ Arab. جهنم.

⁷² . In fact the Qur’ān says “he forgives whom he will, and punishes whom he will.” Cf. 3.129 يَغْفِرُ لِمَن يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَن يَشَاءُ. In another passage it is said that Allah will afflict the infidel in the world and the Hereafter, cf. 9.74 يُعَذِّبُهُمْ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعَذَابِ). Anyway, Allah is sever in punishment (إِنَّ اللَّهَ جَامِعُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْكَافِرِينَ فِي جَهَنَّمَ جَمِيعًا 4.140 Cf. also 2.165, 2.196). Cf. also 9.68 نَارُ ‘Allah will gather hypocrites and disbelievers, all together, into hell’, 9.68 نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ ‘fire of hell for their eternal abode’.

impotence, or little knowledge, or scanty goodness becomes manifest.

197-204. If they say that: “God spiritually and materially created evil for the reason that man may appreciate goodness”, then you should notice that, if evil be requisite and advantageous for appreciating goodness, then his will is (both) good and evil. If his will be evil and good, and (evil) be requisite and advantageous, then this is in contradiction with what they say that “evil is not (through) his will”.⁷³ Concerning that also which they say that: “He created death, pain and poverty for the reason that people may much more appreciate life, health and opulence, and become more thankful unto god”, you should notice that, taking such actions is unreasonable, after the manner of him who gives poison to people for the sake of increasing the value and price of an antidote⁷⁴, so that he may sell the antidote more expensive and more costly. What kind of interceding act is this that in order to make known the value of goodness to some people, he lets pain and death and calamity come on some innocent people?

205-216. Further: A group of them state that: “God is sovereign over every creature and creation, because the creations all belong to him. If he exercise [his authority] over them as he

⁷³ . From the book of Aš‘arī (concerning the Mu‘tazilites):

«بسیاری از معتزله گویند: خدا کودکان را رنجور سازد تا بزرگسالان عبرت گیرند، سپس در آخرت ایشان را پاداش دهد ... پیروان نظریه لطف گویند خدا کودکان را در این جهان اساساً به خاطر پاداشی که بدیشان خواهد داد عذاب دهد. البته اگر بی آن که آزارشان دهد مشمول پاداش قرار دهد بهتر است. ولی خدا مجبور نیست که در همه کارها بهترین را برگزیند.» ابوالحسن الاشعری، مقالات الاسلامیین و اختلاف المصلین، م. مؤیدی، تهران، ۱۳۶۲، ۱۳۶.

⁷⁴ . For the analogy of “God & Hyle: antidote & poison”, cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XXI, 16.

desires, and whatsoever he desires, he is not oppressor. Because, oppression is that which one inflicts upon something which does not belong to him. Then, he who possesses all things, exercises over them as he desires, and is not oppressor”.⁷⁵

You should therefore know this that: If, on account of sovereignty, he who oppresses is not to be called oppressor, then he who is a sovereign and tells a lie, is veracious; and he who, on account of sovereignty, commits crime, sin, theft and robbery is not to be called a sinner. As the blessed Rōšn, son of Ādarfarrōbay⁷⁶, related as a parable:

«They saw a man who was fucking an ass. When they asked him:

Why do you commit this obscene act?

He replied thus, in excuse: The ass belongs to me. »

217-221. Again, you should ask them: Is god a friend, or an enemy, to these creatures and creations which he has created?

If he be a friend of creatures, then it is not convenient to him to desire and create the misery and calamity of the creatures, and

⁷⁵ . This is the opinion of the Ahl al-Uṣūl (lit. ‘fundamentalist’). Cf.

Šahrestānī

«وأما العدل فعلى مذهب أهل السنة أن الله تعالى عدلٌ في أفعاله، بمعنى أنه متصرف في ملكه وملكه، يفعل ما يشاء و يحكم ما يريد. فالعدل: وضع الشيء موضعه، و هو التصرف في الملك على مقتضى المشيئة والعلم، والظلم بضده، فلا يتصور منه جور في الحكم وظلم في التصرف.» الملل والنحل، الجزء الاول، (القاهرة، ١٣٩٦ / ١٩٧٦، ٤٢).

Aš‘arī says the same thing:

«قال: ... وهو المالك في خلقه يفعل ما يشاء، ويحكم ما يريد. فإو أدخل الخلاق بأجمعهم الجنة لم يكن حيفاً. ولو أدخلهم النار لم يكن جوراً، إذ الظلم هو التصرف فيما لا يملكه المتصرف. أو وضع الشيء في غير موضعه، وهو المالك المطلق فلا يتصور منه ظلم، ولا ينسب إليه جور.» (١٠١)

⁷⁶ . See 10, 53-54.

to be never satisfied of the disturbance and calamity of his own creations. If he be an enemy of the creatures, then it is not convenient to him to create, through his power and knowledge, that thing which behaves like an enemy, and strives against his will.

222-244. This also you should ask: Is god always an erudite, good sovereign, and producing freedom (/ nobility), or an ignorant, bad sovereign, and oppressor, or sometimes an erudite, good sovereign, and producing freedom, and sometimes an ignorant, bad sovereign, and oppressor?

If he be always an erudite, good sovereign, and producing freedom, then there is not, in his kingdom and sovereignty any tyranny, oppression, or complaint; and his friendship towards the creatures and the friendship of the creatures towards him are sincere. For this reason, he is merciful to his creatures, and his creatures are thankful, praise him, and are sincere friends towards him. Thus he deserves the name of “god”⁷⁷.

If he be an ignorant, bad sovereign, and oppressor, then he is a true enemy to the creatures, and his creatures are alike (enemy) to him. For that very reason, he is a corruptor, destroyer, and seducer of the creatures, and his creatures complain of him, strive against him, and are his true enemies. And he does not deserve the name of “god”. Since he is eternal, the creatures have no hope to be made free from fear of oppression and calamity to all eternity.

⁷⁷ . yazd (yazaṭ; इअजदः). Pers. yazd (Av. yazata- ‘worthy of worship’) ≈ Syr. ܝܙܕܐ.

If he be sometimes a good sovereign, erudite, and producing freedom, and sometimes the reverse, then his friendship towards the creatures is mingled. From a mingled friendship appears mingled action, and from a mingled action a mingled essence. His creatures also are mingled friends towards him. One's rival, not if he be a friend, is not an enemy, not if he be a thankful, is not a complaining one, not if he be a praiser, is not one who blames him, that's the way it is among all natural creatures, it is manifest.

245-249. Further: Since all things, in the world (of life), are not outside of these two (descriptive) names, good and evil, if good and evil be said to be from god and out of god's will⁷⁸, then the poor Ahrmen (Satan) who is not sinful nor the principle (of evil), and never was, nor will be evil and rebellious, is unreasonably defamed. That which is mentioned in the Qur'ān⁷⁹ that "Ahrmen (Satan) became rebellious, and they (= He) put him out of heaven"⁸⁰ is unreasonable. Because even that rebellion and disobedience were likewise out of god's will.

⁷⁸ . Cf. بیان الادیان , concerning the belief of the Sunnites :

«گویند نیکی و بدی به ارادت ایزد تعالی است.» ابوالمعالی، تهران، ۱۳۷۶، ۴۶.

⁷⁹ . nibēg (niβā : आगमे). Pers. nibēg 'writing, book, scripture'. Fars. نیبی، 'scripture; Qur'ān'. (nivē) نوی

«نوی کلام خدا و مصحف و قرآن مجید باشد» (برهان قاطع). «عامر با پیغمبر حدیث اسلام همی کرد و از ذکر و نوی همی گفت. و پیغمبر علیه السلام آیتی چند بر او خواند». تاریخنامه طبری (گردانیده منسوب به بلعمی)، ویراسته م. روشن، ۱، تهران، ۱۳۶۶، ۳۰۱.

⁸⁰ . Concerning the disobedience of Satan and his expulsion from Paradise, cf. Q 7.11-18, 15.31-34, 17.61-63, 18.50, 20.116, 38.74-77.

250-252. Even if it be said that “the good comes from god, and out of god’s will, and the evil from man”⁸¹, then Ahrmen is not the principle (of evil) nor he is sinful; and the curse on him and the blame of him are unreasonable. If, Heaven forbid, all this calamity and evil be, not out of a different substance, but out of one substance and from the essence of god himself, then god is his own enemy and adversary.

253-254. Further: To speak of “the existence of crime without a substance of crime” is very puzzling, as it is puzzling to suppose evil out of the substance of good is deluding, then it is more puzzling to suppose Ahrmen who is the origin and principle of every crime out of the spiritual and material creation of god.

255-259. In short: If there be nothing which is not within the will of god, and if everything be out of the will of god⁸², no one is sinner, and also there is no reason to send the prophet and religion. If it be convenient to condemn any one for sinfulness, it is more convenient to condemn him who is the original agent, keeper and creator of every evil and crime. If it be said that evil and crime come from Ahrmen or man, and since they are likewise created by god, then the source – i.e., he who is the source (original cause) of evil– is worse than evil.

260-263. This also you should notice that: All sects attribute this saying to their (religious) authorities and apostles prescribed

⁸¹ . Cf. Q 4. 79 مَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ حَسَنَةٍ فَمِنَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ سَيِّئَةٍ فَمِنْ نَفْسِكَ .

⁸² . Cf. Q 4.78 كُلُّ شَيْءٍ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ . ‘all things are from Allah’.

to their own “community”⁸³: “Perform good deeds, abstain from crime!” On account of seduction, they do not think this that: From where and from what principle does proceed the crime about which it is commanded that “You shall not commit it, and I will cast him who commits it into eternal hell”? For if (the crime) be out of god, then it would be easier for him not to create it, than, after having created it and made it manifest, to command us to abstain from it. Thus, I do not find any advantage and cause in the spiritual and material creation of evil.

264-279. Moreover: In their Scriptures about good deed and crime there are contradictory statements, (for example) : “Good deed and crime proceed both from me. Neither demons, nor sorcerers are capable to harm any one, no one who accepts religion or does good, and no one who walks in infidelity or commits crime, except through my will”. In the same scripture (Qur’ān), he threatens a lot and utters curses on the creatures thus: “Why do men will and commit that crime which I will for them?” The will and act are in his own hands, and even so he frightens them with punishment in body and soul. In another place he states thus: “I myself am the seducer of people. For if it be my will, I would show them the right way, but it is my will that they go to hell”⁸⁴. And in another place he states thus: “Man himself is the agent of crime”⁸⁵.

⁸³ . ram (ram: यूथेषु). Pers. ram ‘herd, crowd, people, community’ ≈ Syr.

ⲓⲁⲓ ‘people, nation; populace, crowd’, Arab. امة.

⁸⁴ . Cf. Q 7.178, 14.4, 6.125.

⁸⁵ . Cf. Q 4.79.

In these three manners, god gives different evidences about his creatures:

- One is this that he himself is Ahrmen (Satan).
- One is this that he is himself the seducer of the creatures.
- On the other hand, he himself falls in with Ahrmen in seducing the creatures, when he states thus: “Sometimes I do (commit crime), sometimes Ahrmen does”.

Through that which he states that “Man himself commits crime”, he joins his own with Ahrmen in avoiding crime. For if men commit crime because of their substance and their own misleading, then god, with Satan, is far from the crime. Because, as it is not because of god, it is not even because of Ahrmen.

280-281. Again: You should ask those celled Mu‘tazilites thus: Is it the will of god for people to abstain from crime, through their free will, to be saved from hell, and to lead them forward to heaven⁸⁶, or not?

282-287. If one says that “it is not (his will)”, then he affirms the little goodness of god and the wickedness of his will. For this reason, he is not worthy to be praised as a divinity. If one says that “it is his will”, then he affirms the good will of god. For this reason, he is worthy to be praised as a divinity.

288-294. Besides: “Is he capable to fulfil his will, or not?”

If one says that “he is not”, then he affirms the incapability of god (to fulfil) his will. For this reason, he is not worthy to be

⁸⁶. Cf. the concept of *aṣlah* proposed by Abū l-Hudayl.

praised as an almighty divinity. If one says that “he is capable of fulfilling his will”, then he affirms the capability of god (to fulfil) his will. For this reason, he is worthy to be praised as an almighty divinity.

295-302. Further: When he is capable of fulfilling his will, does he fulfil it, or not? If one says that “he fulfils it”, then the abstaining from sin, being saved from hell, and attaining heaven would be manifest for all people. But the reality is not manifest so, and makes (or, proves) his religion false.

If one says that “he is capable of fulfilling his will, but does not fulfil it”, then he affirms the mercilessness of god, his misanthropy, and his failure to fulfil his will. For if he fulfil it, then it is no loss to him, and is a profit to people, and his will is fulfilled. If he do not fulfil it, then it is no profit to him, and it is a loss to people, and he fails to fulfil his will.

303-308. Further: Does he not fulfil it willingly, or unwillingly? If one says that “he does not fulfil it willingly”, then he affirms that god is good-willed, but has no will to do good. Since this statement is contradictory, to think it is even wrong.

If one says that “he is unwilling, therefore does not fulfil it”, then he affirms the weakness of god *per se*, or the existence of the injurer of his will.

309-317. In short: [If] this world of life had a director who was without opponent, without rival, and perfect in wisdom and goodness and power, then there would not be all these unfair deeds, oppression, calamity, pain and sorrow (of which suffer)

most of men and other creatures. Because, when a director is without opponent, and perfect in wisdom, he knows means for evil not to exist, and also remedies for removing evil. When he is perfect in goodness and merciful, he first of all has no will for the existence of evil, but rather the will for its non-existence. When he is perfect in power, he has the power (to prevent) any evil from coming into existence.

Now, as in the world of life whose director is god, the existence of evil is undoubtedly obvious, we are faced with this alternative: Either the director has an opponent, or has not an opponent. When he does not know means for evil not to exist, and remedies for removing evil, the imperfect wisdom of god is thereby proved. Or, his will is both evil and good, the imperfect goodness of his will is proved. Or he is not able to prevent the existence of evil, and to remove it, then the imperfect power of god is proved. When he is imperfect in even one (of the qualities), wisdom, goodness, or power, then he is not worthy to be praised and worshipped as a divinity that is omnipotent, all-good, and omniscient.

318-328. You should know this also: Since any existing thing which is acting and willing, is not capable (of acting or willing) except if it be provided with qualities, then if the original existence of the creator be divinity, and his attributes be light, beauty, fragrance, purity, goodness, and wisdom, then darkness, ugliness, stench, filth, wickedness, and ignorance, which are the demoniacal qualities, ought to be far from him. If his original existence and quiddity be devilry, and his qualities be darkness, ugliness, stench, filth, wickedness and ignorance, then the qualities of divinity remain strange to him. If there be any existing to whom all these (attributes) belong, and they are

mingled, inseparably, with his essence, then because of this inseparability, there is no distinction between his goodness and his own evil. In this case, the hope of the hopeful is gone out. For, he who goes to heaven through doing good, is even there in evil and calamity. Because, there also, goodness is not distinct and separate from evil. If there be the least goodness which is distinct from evil, then there will be also the evil which is distinct and separate from goodness. This is acknowledged that the difference of good and evil is because of difference of substance. When the difference and separation of the two principles, from each other, are proved, then the hope of the hopeful will be true, and wisdom will be their guide.

329-336. You should know this also: Every word which is not (used) according to its definition (limit)⁸⁷, is amorphous and meaningless (?). Likewise, the limit of “divinity” is principally wisdom. The limit of “wisdom” is one (thing, i.e.,) beneficial action. A beneficial action is not an action inflicting loss. There are three manners of inflicting loss:

- One is that which does not benefit oneself and inflicts loss to oneself.
- <One is that which does not benefit another, but inflicts loss to oneself>.
- One is that which inflicts loss to oneself and also to another.

337-338. From the creation of Ahrmen and the demons there is no benefit for the god who acts wisely, but there is even loss

⁸⁷ . vimand ‘limit; definition’ ≈ Arab. حدّ. See 3.8.

for others; and failure to fulfil his own will, owing to his own action, is revealed.

339-351. Moreover: If the will of god be goodness, and his will be perpetual, and he be able (to fulfil) what is convenient to his will, then, from the beginning to the end, all the goodness and righteousness in the world would have proceeded (according to) the will of god. Now it is manifest that wickedness and unrighteousness proceed much more. Therefore, we are faced with this alternative: Either they proceed through the will of god, or against his will. If they proceed through the will of god, then it is manifest that his will is for wickedness as well as for goodness. Or he is feeble and changeable in will. Since a will does not change, unless because of a cause or because of a changer, then, one of these two [is true]: Either, his will changes because of a cause; or, there is another one who changes his will. If they do not proceed through the will of god, then it is manifest that god is poor in his own will, and his will is not perfect; or, there is some injurer who wards his will off.

352-358. As to this also which they say that “god commanded Adam thus: You should not eat of this one tree which is in paradise”, you should ask them: The command which god gave to Adam, i.e. “you should not eat of this tree”, was it good or evil? If the command were good, it is manifest that the tree was evil, and it is not proper for god to create any thing that is evil. If the tree were good, the command was evil, then it is not proper for god to give an evil command. If the tree were good, and in spite of this, he commanded them to not eat it, then it is not proper for god’s goodness and mercifulness to keep a benefit away from his own innocent servants.

359-370. As to this also which they say that: “God guides every one whom he wills to the right way and belief, and, as the recompense, he leads him to the eternal beatitude; and him whom he does not will, he leaves him in irreligion and godlessness, and for this reason, he casts him into the eternal hell and calamity”⁸⁸, you should ask them: Is he good whose desire and will are for the religion and faith in god and the right way, or he whose desire and will are for the misguidance, irreligion and godlessness? If one says that “he is good whose desire and will are for the religion of god and the right way”, now as to that man god wills him to be left in irreligion and misguidance and godlessness, [but] an apostle or another philanthropist invite him to adhere to the religion of god and the right way, is god better and more advantageous to that man, or that apostle and or that man (philanthropist)? If he says that “the will of god is better to him”, then he implicitly affirms that “not acknowledging god, not adhering to the religion, and being misguided are good”. This is false and unacceptable [and not worthy to be taught]. But if he says that “coming to the right way and acknowledging god are better and more advantageous to him”, then he explicitly affirms that “the apostle and philanthropist are better to him than god”. Because, a man who desires and wills the right way and theism for men, is much better than that god, who wills error and agnosticism and irreligion for them; hence god is much worse than that man.

371-373. Further: If the crime in thought and the crime in action of men be according to god’s will, now that god created the crime in thought and sowed crime in their mind, and Ahrmen (Satan) merely invites and hastens them to the committal of

⁸⁸ . Cf. Q 14.4.

crime, then the crime in thought which is out of god and god's desire for it is even stronger and worse than the invitation of Satan. If their listening to Satan as to the committal of crime is due to the crime in thought which god created, and [their committal of crime] is likewise out of [god's] desire, then it is acknowledged that god is much worse and more sinful than Ahrmen.

374-377. As regards these sayings which we have enumerated, there are three possibilities:

- Either, all [sayings] are true;
- or, all are false;
- or, some are true and some are false.

378-382. If all be true, every saying that does not agree with these sayings is false. One of these two things [must be satisfied]: truth and falsehood. If all be false, every saying that does not agree with these sayings is true. [For] one of these two [must be satisfied]. If some be true and some be false, then, the true [sayings] are from the substance and family of truth, and the false [sayings] are from the substance and family of falsehood.

383. There are two origins: One from which proceeds truth, and one from which proceeds falsehood.

Seventh Chapter

12

1. Another [chapter]:

Concerning the inconsistency of their discourse, some sayings from the book of the Dēnkird.

2-30. As to that which they say that: “God is around everything¹, but nothing is inside him; he is inside everything, but nothing is around him; he is above everything, but nothing is below him; he is below everything, but nothing is above him; he sits upon a throne, but is not localised; he is inside heaven, but has no whereabouts; he is nowhere, and at the same time somewhere; he is in any place, and yet he has no place; everything is according to his will, and thus belongs to him. He is the principle of both evil and good. He is eternally merciless and clement. He prepares violence and is not violent. He has commanded him who is unable to perform (and him who is unable) to reject divine commands. He has created hellish him who is innocent, and (nevertheless) he is not cruel. He is aware of the infidelity and hellishness of some men, and he wills them thus. The good that he wills (he does not do it) or he does not will it. He has created a remedy, and is himself affliction. Or rather he has created want of remedy, and not a remedy. And yet he is free from opposition. He needs to take [men] on trial, and

¹ . Cf. Dk iii, M 130-131.

yet he is omniscient. He who rejects [his] commands does it according to his will. And he who rejects his principle, he makes him sovereign. His commands are all executed, and yet can be found those who tread on his commands, and there is some of his will which is not fulfilled. He who rejects his will, does not injure his will. He has commanded that which is not his will. The command which is not inconsistent with his will and the command which is inconsistent with his will are both righteous. His will is good, and not unfair; and his will is evil, that makes evil things, [and nevertheless] that is lawful.

31-33. There are also many other inconsistencies in the discourses of the (Islamic) sects². Therefore, it is impossible that a measured religion come from these manifold inconsistent statements.

33-63. Moreover, as to that which they state thus “the dualists³ suppose the acts of god weak and feeble, and not compatible with the grandeur of god”, on this subject, I shall clearly state some words, thus:

You should know that: Which one [of these two] has supposed divine acts weaker and feebler?

² . kēšān (kēšā: दर्शनानां). See 1.35.

³ . do-bunēštaghangārān (dubunyaštaaangāra: द्विमूलास्यदसमालोचिनां). Pers. do-bunēštag-hangār ‘one who considers two principles, dualist’ ≈ Arab. أصحاب الاثنون. Syr. ܕܘܒܢܝܫܬܘܓܗܘܘܪܐܢ ‘dualists; Manichaeans’. Cf. Dk iii, M 104 do-bunīh ‘dualism’, VZ 1.21 āstavānīh ī abar do-bunēšt(ag)īh. Pers. doīh ‘duality; dualism; duplicity’, see 10.1, 16.61.

– The one who states that: His own creations that were created by him, all have become disobedient to him and heedless of his advices, till even the smallest creatures strive against his will. Besides, they slew and crucified many prophets and apostles who were sent by him; and they abused, humiliated and treated with disrespect some of them. Moreover, not only his own dominion was not protected by him from the wicked created by him, but even he has himself counteracted his own dominion, and himself disturbs irremediably his own activities, and himself smites his own creations, and himself smites, by reason of his sinfulness, his own sinless servants. He himself makes his own loyal friends weak, needy, sinful, and seduced. [On account of his] anger on one sinless servant, that is Ahrmen (Satan), he makes his own innumerable creatures confused and astray. For a limited sin which is out of his own action, he puts the sinless to unlimited punishment. He shuts eternally the door of forgiveness. He is not filled with the pain, affliction, and calamity of his own creatures. He has perpetually in his possession the activity and management [of affairs]. Yet he is unable to persist in the commands which he gives in the beginning, middle or end.

– Or, the one who states thus: He is the deity (lit. ‘worthy of worship’) who is eternally lord, omniscient and omnipotent, whose dominion, knowledge and power are perpetual and of unlimited time. And benefit comes out of his goodness. His activities are with a motive, and his commands are advantageous. He is clement and compassionate as regards his servants, and bestows more rewards on the servant who succeeds [in dispute⁴], and forgives the sinful who, on account

⁴. See 10.74.

of his own sinfulness, becomes captive in the hands of the enemy, through absolution and cleansing from crime and filth; finally, he does not leave any good creature in captivity in the hands of the enemy. He is, with all his heart, their protector, keeper and nourishing in their battle and strife with enemies. He guards heavily his kingdom against the opponent of a different substance. His troop and army become victorious in the strife and battle, and he makes his creatures succeed, as regards every crime.

64-70. When it is observed to light, knowledge, sight, life, health and other divine creations, [it is manifest] that they are dominating and increasing over darkness, ignorance, blindness, death, sickness and other demoniacal accidents. Because, this is acknowledged that light expels all darkness, and knowledge is victorious over ignorance, and life is powerful and increasing over death. For, owing to the powerfulness and increase of life, there is the increasing of population from the [first human] couple⁵; and all acknowledge it. Likewise, the victory and power of sight and health over blindness and sickness are manifest.

71-76. It is also convenient to observe this that: what does the demon (*druj*) that is the adversary (of Yazata) want? Against what does the army of God strive?

The adversary wants thus: “Either I will annihilate this earth and sky and the creatures and luminaries, or I will bring them into my possession, and will change them from their own substance, so that God shall not be capable to prepare the

⁵. do mardōm ≈ حواء و آدم ‘Adam & Eve’.

resurrection and to bring about the renovation⁶, and to restore his own creatures”.

The armies of God strive for this purpose that the adversary shall not be according to his desire and will. Moreover, the armies of God have been, since the primal creation, triumphant in strife and successful.

77-81. From this it is manifest that: God has destined this earth and sky; and it would be possible for him to annihilate all creatures and creations; but he is unable of annihilating even one of the smallest creatures of God. Because, if, by reason of death, the body be separated from the breathing soul, it is not the annihilation and change of substance from its essence, but rather is the change of accidents and the movement from place to place, from act to act. Moreover, each one of the substances of one's body and (breathing) soul will be again, in its own substance, for other functions, as is revealed. These creatures and creations will subsist increasingly and perpetually active and advantageously until the requisite time, [as] is revealed.

82. As far as here, concerning this chapter, it seems [to me] complete.

⁶. See 1.28.

Eighth Chapter

13

1-4. Another [chapter] :

Concerning the inconsistency and false discourses of the first scripture, which they call Ōryātā¹; and about which all of them are of the same opinion, that god wrote it by his own hand and gave it to Moses. Since it comprises many errors from every evil, I shall here reveal, for your information, a few of many it contains.

5-13. In the beginning of the scripture it states thus: “At the beginning were the earth where there was chaos², and darkness, and black water, and the spirit of god was gliding upon the face of that black water³. Then god said: ‘Let there be light!’ and

¹. āzād (āzāt: स्वतंत्रं. Skt. sva-tantra- nt. ‘self-will, freedom’). Cf. the beginning of the commentary of Išo‘dād: .ܐܘܪܝܢܐ .ܐܘܪܝܢܐ .ܐܘܪܝܢܐ .ܐܘܪܝܢܐ .ܐܘܪܝܢܐ .ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ‘Ōryātā, i.e. the light has come (into the world). Ōrešlem, i.e. light and peace’. See also 14.80.

². boh ud toh (āβxūn u tən: पयोरुधिरा विस्तीर्णा) ≈ Heb. תהו ובהו, Syr. ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ‘inanis et vacua’. Cf. Gen. 1.2

³. Cf. Gen. 1, 2. Pers. āb ī syāh ≈ Mand. mayā siyāvā; Hebr. תהו ‘deep abyss; the depth (of a well, river, sea)’. Pers. abar rōy ī hān āb ī syāh ≈ Syr.

there was light.⁴ And the light seemed very good to him.⁵ And he separated (the light from the darkness, and placed) the light for the day, and darkness for the night.⁶ And, in six days, he created this world, the heaven(s)⁷ and the earth. For, on the seventh day he was reposing and at rest^{8,9}.

14. In like manner¹⁰, nowadays the Jews are at rest on the Sabbath day¹¹.

15-17. This also: “He created Adam and his woman Eve¹², and put them into the Garden of Paradise¹³ so that Adam might do work in this garden and keep it”¹⁴.

18-20. “Adonay¹⁵, who is god himself, commanded Adam thus: “Of every tree of the garden thou mayest eat, except of that

ܠܗܘܘܢ ܢܘܨܚ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܘܢ. Pers. *vaxš* ≈ Heb. ַוַּח. Cf. Išo'dād, 14: ܘܚܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ.

ܘܚܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܘܢ.

⁴. Cf. Gen. 1, 3.

⁵. Cf. Gen. 1, 4.

⁶. Cf. Gen. 1, 4-5.

⁷. *asmān* (*āsmaṇ* : आकाशं) ≈ Heb. ַשָּׁמַיִם.

⁸. *haftum rōz haspīn ud āsān*. Cf. MS^hR *rōz ī āsān* ≈ Syr. ܗܘܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ‘a day of rest, Sabbath’.

⁹. Cf. Gen. 2, 1-2.

¹⁰. *ped hān ham rāz* (*pa ḡ ham rāz*: तेन सर्व्वरहस्यतया) ‘in like manner’, cf. ²*rāz* ‘pattern’ (and not ¹*rāz* ‘mystery’).

¹¹. *šambad* (*šunbat*: शनैश्वरीये) ‘Sabbath, Saturday’, Heb. ַשַּׁבָּת, Syr. ܫܒܘܬܐ.

¹². Cf. Gen. 1, 27.

¹³. *bāvestān ī vahišt*, cf. XI.62 *bōyestān ī vahišt* ≈ Heb. ַגַּן ַעֵדֶן, Syr. ܒܘܝܥܬܐ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ.

ܘܚܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ.

¹⁴. Cf. Gen. 2, 15.

tree of knowledge. For when thou eatest thereof thou shalt die.”¹⁶

21-22. “Afterwards, he put a serpent into the garden. That serpent deceived Eve, saying: Pick [fruits] from this tree so that I eat, and give to Adam.”¹⁷

23-28. “She did likewise. As soon as Adam ate, his knowledge was such that he distinguished good from evil. They did not die. [Adam] looked and knew that he was naked. He was hidden under a tree. And, on account of the shame of his nakedness, he put the leaves of trees on his body”¹⁸.

29. “Afterwards, Adonay went to the garden, and called Adam by name, thus: Where art thou?”¹⁹

30. “Adam replied thus: Here I am, under the tree, because I am naked.”²⁰

31-33. “Adonay became angry. He said: Who informed thee that thou wast naked, unless thou hast eaten from the tree of knowledge, whereof I said thee that thou shouldest not eat?”²¹

¹⁵ . ādōn אֲדֹנָי (ādīnō: आदीनः), cf. ^TM 28.10 'dwny, Hebr. אֲדֹנָי ‘master, lord’, Syr. ܐܕܘܢܐ ‘dominus meus’ (ܐܕܘܢܐ). Adonay is the god of the Jews, אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

¹⁶ . Cf. Gen. 2, 16-17.

¹⁷ . Cf. Gen. 3, 1-6.

¹⁸ . Cf. Gen. 3, 7-8.

¹⁹ . Cf. Gen. 3, 9.

²⁰ . Cf. Gen. 3, 10.

²¹ . Cf. Gen. 3, 11.

34. “Adam said: The woman whom thou gavest to me beguiled me, and I did eat.”²²

35. “And Adonay asked Eve: Why hast thou done this?”²³

36. “Eve said: The serpent beguiled me.”²⁴

37. “He expelled from the Garden of Paradise Adam and Eve and the snake, all three, under curses.”²⁵

38-40. “He said to Adam thus: Thy eating shall be by the outpouring of thy sweat and the heaving of the nostrils, until the end of thy life, and thy land shall grow all thorns, worms, and snakes.”²⁶

41. “Then unto Eve he said: Thy pregnancy shall be in pain and suffering, and thy giving birth in grievous sorrow.”²⁷

42-45. “And unto the serpent he said: Thou shalt be cursed from among the quadrupeds and beasts of the plain and mountain, and thou shalt not have feet, and thy movement shall be upon thy belly, and thy food shall be dust, and between thy offspring and the woman’s there shall be such hatred and enmity that they will <smite> the head of thy offspring, <and thy offspring> will bite <the heel of the offspring of woman>.”²⁸

²² . Cf. Gen. 3, 12.

²³ . Cf. Gen. 3, 13.

²⁴ . Cf. Gen. 3, 13.

²⁵ . Cf. Gen. 3, 17-19.

²⁶ . Cf. Gen. 3.17-19.

²⁷ . Cf. Gen. 3, 16.

²⁸ . Cf. Gen. 3, 14-15.

46-47. This also, they state that: “He made and created this material world, and all that is in it, for mankind, and he made man sovereign over all creatures and creations, wet and dry”²⁹.

48. Now I will say a little against their speech, and [about] the falsehood of their discourses:

49-58. Where and with which limits were the earth of bohū-and-tohū, darkness, god and his spirit, and the black water? Or, how was god himself? It is manifest that, he was not light. For, when he saw the light, because he had not seen it before, it seemed good to him. If they state “he was dark”³⁰, then it is manifest that darkness is [his] origin and family and not light. If they state “he was not dark, but light”³¹, then if he himself were light, why when he saw the light did it seem astonishing to him? And if they state “he was neither light nor dark”, then they have to make known a third [state] which is neither light nor dark.

59-63. Moreover, he whose place and dwelling was in darkness and dark water, and who had never seen the light, how was he able to see light? From what is his divinity? For, even now, any one who remains in darkness, cannot see light. Further: If his base and dwelling were darkness, then how could he stand opposite the light? For, this is known that darkness cannot stand opposite the light, for [light] repels and drives it away.

64-67. Furthermore: Was that earth of bohū-and-tohū limited or unlimited? If it were limited, then what was outside of it? If it were unlimited, then whither did his unlimitedness reach? As we

²⁹ . Cf. Gen. 1, 26-29.

³⁰ . Cf. Ps. 18, 12.

³¹ . Cf. Tim. 1 6, 16.

see, this earth and material world are not the same as the primal [earth and world].

68-77. As to that which Adonay said that “let there be light”, and it was, it is convenient to conclude that: Adonay was before [the existence of] light. When he willed to make the light, and he commanded that it come into being, then, in mind, he thought, how might this light be, beautiful or hideous? If the light, by its qualities, was found in the knowledge and thought of Adonay, then it is manifest that light was ever alike in the knowledge and mind of Adonay, and, alike outside of him. For, it is not possible to know and find anything unless its existence be manifest. If the light were ever, then it could not have been the creation of Adonay. If they say that “light was not, by its qualities, in [his] knowledge”, then he besought light without knowing how it is, [he was] totally ignorant. Or, how is it possible ever to imagine in mind something about which one has never thought or known?

78-91. This also: That command for the becoming of light, did he give it to something, or to nothing³²? For, this is certain, that it is possible to give a command (only) to someone who is commanded. If he gave it to an existent light, then light itself already existed. And if he gave a command to a non-existent, then how did a non-existent hear the command of Adonay? Or, then how did he know that Adonay thus willed that “I should become light”? For, what did not (yet) exist did not hear the command of Adonay, since he had not yet created it. For, it is not possible to think, in any way, a non-existence. The non-

³² . a-tis/ adis (aθis: न कस्यचित्) ‘nothing, Nihilum’, see 15.63 nē-tis ≈ Syr.

אין כל.

existent is destined non-existent, but the existent was wise and foresighted [so] that he knew “how Adonay wants me to become”, and he became in the manner [Adonay] wanted him to become. If they state: “The light became from the word of Adonay that he said ‘thou shalt become’, and it became”, since Adonay and his essence were dark, and he had never seen light, then how was it possible for that light to become from that word? For it is acknowledged that: word is born from mind (/ thought). If they state “his word was light”, this is very astonishing. For, it would signify that light will then be the fruit of darkness, and darkness is the seed [of light], and light is its mark. The light was hidden in the darkness. As I mentioned [above³³], it is not possible to give a command except to someone who is commanded, [then] it is known that, light existed first, and then he could give a command.

92-99. Further: He has arranged and created these creatures and creations, the heaven(s) and earth, in six days. The seventh (day) he rested therefrom. If he created this world not from something, but only from this command, ‘thou shalt become’, and it became, what is then the reason of this length of six days? For, if his labour were only as much as to say ‘thou shalt become’, then that length of six days was very unlikely, and [so much] toil could not have come to him therefrom. If it be possible to make the non-existent exist, he is capable to create even without delay. And if he be incapable to create except through the days and hours, then it is not fitting to say that he created out of non-existent³⁴.

³³. See 12.79.

³⁴. az nēst ‘ex nihilo’, see 15.63 az nē-tis ≈ Syr. אֵל מֵאֵין.

100-105. Further: Since the reckoning of days is known from the sun, then before creating the sun, how did he know the number of the days, and their names? For, they state: “He created on the fourth day, that is, Wednesday³⁵”. This also: On the seventh day, why did he have to rest and repose? Since in creating the world, the length and toil were only so much as that he spoke thus: “Thou shalt become”, how then were contented the days that he had to rest and repose when his toil should be removed? For, if in the same moment that he said “thou shalt become” [and it became], then the day of rest³⁶ should also have taken place instantaneously.

106-113. Further: For what purpose and cause did he create Adam and Eve, so that they perform his will, and why did he not so make them that they would not turn from performing his will? For if before making [them] he knew that they would not listen to his commands, and nonetheless he made them, then it was unreasonable for him to become ill-humoured and angry with them. It appears that Adonay himself was not satisfied with the realization of his will, and he was manifestly an opponent and adversary of his own will. If he did not know them before making them, and did not know that they would not listen to his commands, then he is ignorant and ill-informed. If they state that “his will itself was that they not (listen)”, why then did he give the command that they do (listen to) him? Then why is not(-listening to his commands) a sin? How does a horse move whom they harness to a chariot and hurry on with a whip?

³⁵ . It refers to the creation of the lights in the arch of heaven, on the fourth day, יום רביעי, cf. Gen. 1, 14-19.

³⁶ . rōz ī āsān. See 12.13.

114-115. From these statements are manifested the signs and marks of deceivers, whose will and command are inconsistent and incompatible one to the other.

116-120. If his will and desire were such that they shall not turn away from his will, then nonetheless their power and desire for turning away from his will were much stronger and more predominating than his [power] for not tuning away. If the will for their turning away from his will, and the knowledge of it, were his, and he gave the command for not turning away, then poor Adam, how could he not turn away? He is not even worthy to be the principle of that. For by turning away from his command, he only made a command into a lie; while by not turning away are made both will and knowledge into a lie.

121-134. Further: This garden which he prepared, for what purpose and advantage did he create it? As to the tree of knowledge itself, concerning which he commanded “Ye shall not eat”, and issued the injunction for not eating of it, why then did he desire to create it? It appears from his injunction and command, that he prefers more little knowledge and ignorance, and wills them more than knowledge and wisdom, and his advantage is greater from ignorance. For while they had not eaten from the tree of knowledge, they were ignorant, and neither disobedient nor mischievous unto him. But as soon as they acquired knowledge, they became disobedient. He did not care about their ignorance, but as soon as they acquired knowledge, he became ill-humoured and angry, and expelled them from Paradise with grievous unhappiness and pitilessness. Briefly: The cause of the birth of man’s knowledge in the world is the deceit of the serpent. They also say this: All things were created for man, wherefore it is apparent that he created the tree

for man, and that he made man dominant over all creature and creation. If that were so, why then did he injure [them] when they desired [to eat] from that tree which was theirs?

135-147. From these statements, it appears that: He had not a bit of knowledge. For, if he came forth to the garden, and cried, and called Adam by name, “where art thou”, it is as if he were unaware of the place where Adam was. He did not a bit foresee whether or not [Adam] had eaten from the tree, and he was unaware of this also: Who had eaten and what and how and when he had eaten, and by whom he had been deceived. If he were aware, then why had he to ask thus: “Mayest thou not have eaten of that tree about which I commanded: Thou shouldest not eat?” At first, when he came forth, he was not ill-humoured, but after he knew that he had eaten, he then became ill-humoured and angry. His little knowledge is [manifest] from this also: He created the serpent, as his own adversary, and put it into the garden with them. Or else, why did not he make the garden so fortified that the snake and other enemies might not enter it. His mendacity is manifest from this, when he said: “When you eat from this tree, you will die”. They ate and did not die, but became knowledgeable, and they distinguished good from evil. This also [shows] how inconsistent and opponent is his knowledge with his will and command. If he willed them to eat from the tree, and nonetheless he gave the command of not eating it, and knew that they would eat, then it is manifest that all [these] three are inconsistent, one towards the other: will and knowledge and command.³⁷

³⁷ . See 11.93-102.

148-149. This also: When Adam committed sin, the curse which [Adonay] inflicted applies unlawfully to all, age after age. By whatever respect in which I deliberate, [I find Adonay] dull, ignorant, and nonsensical.

150. Concerning this chapter, on account of length, this much seems enough.

Ninth Chapter

14

1-3. I intend to write a little of the much inconsistency and abundant fallaciousness of the same Scripture, which is full of every evil and demonism. And I shall expose a summary, one-thousandth of it.

May you observe [subtly] thereon.

4-8. First, this is what he says about his own quality: “I am Adonay, seeking vengeance, and repaying vengeance.¹ I will repay vengeance upon the children so far as the seventh generation², and, nonetheless, I do not forget the original vengeance”.

9-17. Somewhere else he states: “[He is] raging, and heavy-hearted. His lips are full of poison, his tongue a burning fire, and his breath as an overflowing stream³, and his voice as a thunder⁴ – it is even more like the voice of demons. His seat is in the

¹ . Cf. Deut. 32, 35 ושלם לעת תמוט; Romans 12, 19 חַמַּד סֵם לְיָדוֹ
וְאֵל לֹא יִשְׁכַּח וְיִשְׁכַּח וְיִשְׁכַּח אֲדֹנָי אֲבִיבֵי וְיִשְׁכַּח אֲדֹנָי אֲבִיבֵי

² . haft āvādag (haftanbādaa: सप्तवैयत्यं). Cf. Ex. 20, 5 אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל קַנָּא 5
פֶּקֶד עוֹן אֲבֹת עַל-בְּנִים עַל-שְׁלֵשִׁים וְעַל-רִבְעִים לְשֹׁנָאִי

³ . Cf. Deut. 4.24, Is. 30.27-28.

⁴ . Cf. Ex. 23.22, Ps. 77.19, 104.7.

gloom, dew and cloud⁵. His mount is the parching wind⁶. From the movement of his feet arises the whirlwind⁷. When he walks, behind him arises the fire⁸.

18-20. Elsewhere, he said about his wrathfulness: “I was forty years in wrath about the Israelites”. And he said: “The Israelites are erring-in-heart”⁹.

21-23. Elsewhere, he said: “Who is blind¹⁰ but my servant? Who is deaf¹¹ but the messenger whom I am destining? Who is blind as he that is sovereign?”¹² – It is clear that their sovereign is Adonay himself¹³.

⁵. Cf. Ps. 97.2, King I 8.12. Pers. tam ud nazm ud abr ≈ Hebr. חשך ענן וערפל (Deut. 4, 11).

⁶. Cf. Ps. 18.10; 104.3.

⁷. Cf. Nahum 1, 3.

⁸. In the Ps. 50.3 a fire burns before Yahvé, and store-winds are round him. In the Is. 66.15 Yahvé will come in fire, and his chariots like the whirland, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire.

⁹. Cf. Ps. 95, 10

ארבעים שנה אקוט בדור -- ואמר עם תעי לבב הם והם לא-ידעו דרכי

cahal sāl rēšken būdam ped [hān āvād,]

u-m guft kū, ram hend kē-šān [vīftag-]dīl

u-šān nē dānist [rāh ī man.]

¹⁰. kōr ≈ Syr. ܟܘܪܐ.

¹¹. karr(ag) ≈ Syr. ܟܪܪܐ.

¹². Cf. Is. 42.19. The Isaiah speaks of « Yahwè's servant » (עֶבֶד יְהוָה) , Syr. (ܥܒܕ ܝܗܘܗ) and not of Yahwè himself.

¹³. יהוה מלכנו (Is 33, 22).

24. Elsewhere, he said thus: “The fire-worshippers are misled¹⁴”.

25-26. This also: “His action produces smoke and (live) coal¹⁵; and his strife bloodshed”.

27-28. This also: “I incite men, one against the other. I sit upon the sky, and laugh at them”¹⁶.

29-31. This also: “In one night, he slew 160 000 of the army and troop of the giants, with a horrible death¹⁷. Another time, he slew 600 000 men, besides women and young children, out of the Israelites, in the wilderness,¹⁸ except two men who escaped”¹⁹.

32-33. Further, this demonstrates that: His final outcome is all regret. For, he said: “He was regretful”. And he said: “I regret making men on the earth.”²⁰

34. This also, he said: “He sits upon a throne which four angels hold on their wings, so that from each one of their stone wings flows out a river of fire.”²¹

¹⁴ . peristagān ī ātaš (firīstagaḥ ī ātaš: आराधकाः अग्नेः). Cf. Ez. 8.16: “... their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east.”

¹⁵ . Cf. Ps. 18.6.

¹⁶ . Cf. Ps. 2.4.

¹⁷ . Cf. Is. 37.36: The angel of Yahwè went out and put to death in the army of the Assyrians 185 000 men; when the people got up early in the morning, there was nothing to be seen but dead bodies.

¹⁸ . Cf. Ex. 12.37.

¹⁹ . Cf. Num. 14.30.

²⁰ . Cf. Gen. 6.6-7.

35. Now, if he be spiritual, and not physical, then why does he trouble these four poor small [angels] who suppress complaint?

36-39. Furthermore: Every day, he prepares, with his own hand 90 000 angels, and they worship him until night-time, and then he dismisses them to a fiery river in hell²². When violence and injustice of this description are seen, how then is it convenient, for the worldlings, to live through the exercise of virtue and good deed? When he casts poor angels who are respectful, obedient, and pure-in-action, together with others who are sinners, to eternal hell, it is like that which another group says that: “God, on the day of the resurrection, gives the sun and moon both together with sinners to hell, because there are men who have offered homage to them”²³.

40-43. Elsewhere, it is stated that: “When the eyes of the elder Abraham, the friend of Adonay, were afflicted, Adonay himself went to pay him a visit, and sat at his bedside, and inquired after his health. Abraham secretly summoned his dearest son, Isaac, and said: “Go out to Paradise, and bring beer that is light and pure!”

44-46. He went and brought it. Abraham prayed much Adonay: “Please drink beer (or, wine and bread)²⁴, in my house!”

²¹ . Cf. Dan. 7.9.

²² . Cf. Babylonian Talmud Ḥagigah 14a, Lamentations 3.23.

²³ . Cf. Acts 2.20.

²⁴ . may jō lit. ‘wine (of) barley’.

47. Adonay said: “I will not taste it. For, it is not from Paradise, and [then] is not pure”.

48. Then Abraham attested that: “The wine (of barley) is pure, and Isaac, my dearest son, brought it from Paradise”.

49-50. Thereupon Adonay, convinced by Isaac, and because of Abraham’s attestation tasted the beer. Then, when he desired to go, he would not let him until he took a solemn oath, one to the other.

51-57. [If we] observe this “speech” of abundant fallaciousness, not even one of its statements will be worthy [of god], such as his coming corporally to the house of Abraham, and eating bread, and drinking wine, none of these [statements] is worthy of him. It appears that the ailment of Abraham was not from Adonay, but from another agent. His want of knowledge and lack of intelligence were such that he knew nothing about the purity and origin of wine. And his lying was this that he said he would not drink the wine, but at last drank it, then he admitted that [wine] was pure. Now, he whose quality is this, how is he worthy of worship as a divinity that is omniscient and omnipotent?

58-61. Elsewhere, it is stated that: “There was one, among the sick, who with his wife and children, was poor and unfortunate. He was ever very diligent and active in prayer, fasting and the services of god. One day, in prayer, he begged a favour: Give me affluence in my daily bread, so that it may be easier for me to live!

62-65. An angel descended, and said: God has not allotted thee, through the constellations, a daily bread more than this, and a new allotment is impossible. But [he says] I have created for you in Paradise a jewelled throne with four legs, as recompense for thy service and prayer. If you desire, I will give you one leg of that throne”.

66-69. The prophet asked advice of his wife. The wife said: It is better for us to be content with the little daily bread and distress in this world than that our throne in paradise among our equals be three-legged. But if it is possible for thee, then tell [him to bestow] us a daily bread otherwise.

70. The angel came again and said: [He says:] Unless I disturb the celestial sphere, and create anew the heavens and earth, and fashion and set the motion of the stars anew, still before it is not known that thy destiny will fall out good or bad.”²⁵

71-74. From this word, it is so manifest that: He himself is not the bestower of daily bread; and fate and destiny are not by his will, and he cannot change destiny; the revolutions of the celestial sphere, the sun and moon and stars are not within the

²⁵. Ta'anith, 25a: «Once his (Hanina's) wife said to him: How long shall we go on suffering so much: He replied: What shall we do? –Pray that something may be given to you, [she replied]. He prayed, and there emerged the figure of a hand reaching out to him a leg of a golden table. Thereupon he saw in a dream that the pious would one day eat at a three-legged golden table but he would eat at a two-legged table. Her husband said to her: Are you content that everybody shall eat at a perfect table and we at an imperfect table? She replied: What then shall we do? – Pray that the leg should be taken away from you, [she replied]. He prayed and it was taken away.»

Cf. Also Berahot, 17.

enclosure of his knowledge, or will, or command. This also: The throne as to which he announced “I will give it in Paradise” is not [the result] of his action or creation.

75-76. Elsewhere, he himself spoke thus: “I have slain the herd of sinners as much innumerable as the innocents”.

77-78. When the apostles (/ angels) protested this much unreasonable action, then he spoke thus: “I am Adonay, with absolute power, supreme, without rival, and successful. No one dares to complain against me.”²⁶

79-86. There are much more statements, of abundant fallaciousness, it seemed to me too long to mention them. Whoever would deny or return from these words, should refer to the canon²⁷, that is the Āzād (Ōryātā), until he becomes aware of

²⁶ . Cf. Babylonian Talmud Tractate Sanhedrin, folio 38b : « Rab Judah said in Rab's name: When the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to create man, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and said to them: Is it your desire that we make a man in our image? They answered: Sovereign of the Universe, what will be his deeds? Such and such will be his deeds, He replied. Thereupon they exclaimed: Sovereign of the Universe, What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou thinkest of him? Thereupon He stretched out His little finger among them and consumed them with fire. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him: Sovereign of the Universe, what did it avail the former [angels] that they spoke to Thee [as they did]? the whole world is Thine, and whatsoever that Thou wishest to do therein, do it. When He came to the men of the Age of the flood and of the division [of tongues] whose deeds were corrupt, they said to Him: Lord of the Universe, did not the first [company of angels] speak aright? Even to old age I am the same, and even to hoar hairs will I carry, He retorted. »

²⁷ . Pers. dastvar. According to Perikhanian āzād dastvar means ‘a person competent in (the texts of the Jewish) tradition’, i.e. ‘a rabbi’.

the qualities (/contents) of the same book, and of the truth of that which I have stated. Now, if there be a god to whom these signs and marks apply, then truth is far from him, forgiveness strange to him, knowledge is not bestowed upon him, because he himself is the Demon of the hell, the Archont of the dark dwelling (of demons) of the gloomy seed, whom those misled by the demonic evil praise by the name of Adonay, and pay him homage.

87. This chapter is here completed.

1-3. Another (chapter):

About the inconsistency and illogical discourses and unformed disputations of Christian groups¹, I express [my thoughts in] a few [words]. Since all three² are from one origin, which is Judaism, if anything be said against the one, it helps [to show] the error of all [three].

4-6. You should know whence the origin of the Christian doctrine has come forth: In the country of Jerusalem, there was a woman of the same Jews who was known as “the Virgin”³, and yet she was found pregnant.

7. When they asked her: “Who is your pregnancy by?”

8. She replied: “The angel Gabriel came unto me, and he spoke thus: You are pregnant by the Pure Wind⁴”.

¹ . Cf. DD 36.75-76 hambasāngōbišnīh-iz ī abēbrahm ī tarsāgān.

² . viz., the Melchites, Jacobites and Nestorians.

³ . dušīzagīh (dušāžai: दुश्चरितया). Pers. dušīzag ‘maiden, virgin’ / duxš ≈ Gr. παρθένος, Syr. ܕܘܫܝܓܝܗ. Cf. Matthew 1, 23.

⁴ . vād ī pāk (vāt ī pāk: वायोः पवित्रात्) ‘holy spirit, Spiritus Sanctus’ ≈ Syr. ܕܘܫܝܓܝܗ ܕܘܫܝܓܝܗ, Sogd. zprt w’t, Parth. w’’d pw’g, Gr. Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Cf. Matthew 1, 18.

9. Then you should notice this: Who saw the angel Gabriel, apart from that woman wherefore it ought to consider that woman veracious?

10-11. If they say that, “On account of the noetic state⁵ of that angel, no one was able to see him”, then, if the cause of not seeing the angel be the noetic nature (of the angels), that woman also, for the same reason, was not capable to see him.

12-17. If they state that, “On account of the dignity of that woman, god made [the angel] visible to her, and he did not grant [this favour] to anyone else”, however where is the evidence that the woman has spoken veraciously? Or [even] if that woman were well-known for veracity, then it is expedient to show [the angel] to other persons, so that, they might consider that testimony much more veracious. Now he has shown (the angel) to that woman only, and (for this reason) no one considered her as veracious. Now, you should notice that: All their religion is based on the saying of a woman who has given this evidence about herself.

18-24. Further: If they state that, “Messiah received existence from the Pure Wind of god”, then if that [wind] be the only pure wind which comes from god, then the other winds, which are different from that, do not come from god, and are not pure, and inevitably another creator is demonstrated. If the winds be all from god and divine, they ought to be all pure. If only that one wind be pure, and the other winds filthy and not divine, as there is no creator whatever except god, that filth and impurity of the other winds are likewise from god. And if the other winds be

⁵. Pers. *mēnōg(i)g*īh ‘spiritual state, immateriality’ (Av. *mañyu- m.* ‘nous’, *mañyava-* adj. ‘noetic’).

those of god and divine, they ought to be all pure. Now, why do they consider that one as pure, and the other [winds] as impure?

25-30. Further: If Messiah were the son of god⁶, for the reason that god is, through material production and spiritual creation and nourishing, the father of all, then Messiah, as a son of god, is not different from a minor (or, negligible) creature produced materially or created spiritually by god. If he were born by means of generation (male nature) and conception (female nature), and if the birth of god ought to be through male and female, then, in like manner, as the spiritual archangels⁷ are born, they ought to die too. Then, as regards the god also, [his] death will be doubtless. Because, where there is birth in such a manner, eating and drinking and even death will be certain.

31-35. Some even claim that “Messiah is god himself”.⁸ Now this (claim) is more astonishing, that the great god⁹ who holds and maintains both worlds (of thought and life)¹⁰, became with

⁶ . pus ī yazd ≈ Gr. υἱὸν θεοῦ, Syr. ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ. Cf. Matthew 14.32-33: “And when they climbed into the boat, the wind died down. Then those who were in the boat worshiped him, saying, ‘Truly you are the Son of God.’ ”

⁷ . amehrspendān mēnōgān ≈ Syr. ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ.

⁸ . Cf. John 10.30-33: “ ‘I and the Father are one.’ Again the Jews picked up stones to stone him, but Jesus said to them, ‘I have shown you many great miracles from the Father. For which of these do you stone me?’ ‘We are not stoning you for any of these,’ replied the Jews, ‘but for blasphemy, because you, a mere man, claim to be God.’ ”

⁹ . yazd ī vazurg (yazaṭ i guzurg: इअजदो यो महान) ≈ الله أكبر

¹⁰ . do oxān (du āxan: उभयोर्भुवनयोः. Skt. bhuvanadvaya ‘the two worlds (heaven and earth)’).

human nature¹¹, and went into the womb of a Jewish woman. He left the royal throne and abandoned the government and protection of the sky and earth and the celestial sphere, etc., and fell, in secret, into a filthy and narrow place, and, finally, delivered himself to smiting, crucifixion, in the hands of enemies who, apart from death, perpetrated much obscenity and iniquity.

36-39. If they state that “He was inside the womb of a woman¹² because god exists in every place”, then, being inside the womb of a woman, through existence in every place, is not different from being in any very filthy and very foul place. Although, saying “every place has been the essence of god” is an enormous fallacy. For if it be so, then any speech about the existence of anything except god would be false.

40-42. Thereupon they state thus: “He submitted himself to death and crucifixion, for the sake of demonstrating the resurrection to men”. If he were not able to demonstrate the resurrection to men, except through that infamy and death and obscenity, then he does not deserve (the quality of) omnipotence. Or if he were without an opponent or adversary, then why did not he make men enlightened, insightful and without doubt as to resurrection, so that there would have been no need of perpetrating such obscenities, infamies, troubles which succeed to the wishes of his enemies.

¹¹ . cīhr ī mardōmīh. Cf. Syr. ܥܝܗܪ ܝܡܪܕܘܡܝܗ ‘human nature’, ܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܗ ‘divine nature’.

¹² . Cf. Luke 1.30-31: [30] “The angel said to her: Don't be afraid, Mary, for you have found favor with God. Behold, you will conceive in your womb, and bring forth a son, and will call his name Jesus.”

43-45. If he submitted himself, through his will, to death, [for the purpose of] innovating (or, for making available the New Covenant)¹³, then it is not now reasonable to invoke woe and curse upon his slayers, and to vent his anger upon the Jews. They indeed ought not to invoke curse and woe upon them, but ought to reward them for their action.

46-50. Further, they state this, that: “Father and Son and Pure Wind are three names which are not different one from the other¹⁴, nor one is before the other”¹⁵.

This also: If “the son is not less than the father, but in all knowledge equal to the father”¹⁶, what then is the reason of calling him by a different name? If it be proper for three to be one, then it is certainly possible for three to be nine and for nine to be three,¹⁷ and it may be said, in this sequence, illogically for other numbers.

¹³. Pers. nōg-ēvēnagīh ≈ Arab. بدعة. Pers. nōg ēvēn ‘new law(s)’ ≈ Syr.

ܢܘܓܝܘܢܝܘܬܝܗ. Cf. Hebr. ברית חדשה ‘new covenant’, Gr. διαθήκη καινή.

¹⁴. Cf. John’s First Letter 5.7-8 “For there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and the three agree as one.”

¹⁵. Cf. Babai’s example of the Sun : The flame, heat and light of the sun cannot be separated. One is not prior to the other, but not one and the same thing. Although Father, Son and Holy spirits are not ܘܚܕܝܢܝܘܬܝܗ, but only Powers ܘܩܘܘܘܬܝܗ. The divinity, ܘܚܕܝܢܝܘܬܝܗ, is inseparably united. Babai Magni Liber de Unione, 30, 25. See G. Chediath, The Christianity of Mar Babai the Great, Kottayam, 1982, 116. See also the Athanasian Creed (Quicunque Vult).

¹⁶. Cf. Philippians 2.6 “...to be equal with God.” Pers. hāvand ≈ Gr. ἴσος, Syr. ܘܩܘܘܬܝܗ.

¹⁷. A. Périer, « Un traité de Yahyâ ben ‘Adî, défense du dogme de la trinité contre les objections d’Al-Kindî », R.O.C., XXII, 1920, 1-19, 9.

«قال الكندي: اما قولهم أن ثلثه واحد وواحداً ثلثة فهذا ظاهر الخطأ...»

51-58. Besides: If the son be not less than the father, then the father is not greater than the son.¹⁸ Then it is possible to say either that the father is from the son, or that the son is not from the father. This is certain, that anyone who is from him who is indeed his matter and seed, ought to be less than him from whom he is, either through time or through filiation. If the son be no less than the father, then the maker is not before what he has made, nor yet is greater; both ought to be principles, and the creature is not less than the creator, nor the creator greater than the creature. Whatever is said of this kind is illogical.

59-62. This also: If the son be equal to the father in all knowledge, then the father also is as ignorant as the son who was unaware of his death and crucifixion until they captured him and caused him infamy and outrage and put him to a tragic death.

He did not know (the answer) when they asked him: “When is the day of resurrection?”

And he responded: “Of this no one knows but the father”¹⁹.

62. Since therefore the nescience of the son is certain, the father likewise (is ignorant).

63-68. This also: He created all the creatures and creations, and even his own adversary, out of nothing²⁰, and led astray the slayers of his son. If god himself created the slayers of his son,

¹⁸ . Cf. DD 36.76 mašihā ... ped pus ī yazd ēdōn dārend kū pus nē keh az pid.

¹⁹ . Cf. Mark 13.32: “But of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father.” Cf. also Matthew 24.36.

²⁰ . See 13.78.

and even, his own adversary, without a motive and without a cause, and they slew the son in spite of the knowledge of his (father), then it ought to be without doubt that, he himself was the slayer of his son. If he knew that, “when I create a son, they will then slay him”, and finally, he created him, [he acted] absurdly and unwisely. But if he did not know it, he is of little knowledge.

69-70. Furthermore: If god produced these creatures and creation out of nothing, and also produced and created the Adversary out of nothing, then their substance ought to be one. So why will not he save the Adversary in the same manner as the other creatures?

**71. Another (chapter):
About the inconsistency of their discourses.
From their canonical¹ scriptures.**

72. It is said that: “Nothing falls from a tree, and no voice arises in a land, nor two birds strive together, unless by the command of the father”².

73-76. This statement demonstrates that: There is one principle, and everything is by his will. Then, for what purpose did he fashion (/ “send”) Messiah, who is his son; and which way did he fail [to show, and now the son] should show it? If all be by his will, and never were unsuccessful, the same explanation implies this that: The Jews slew his son, Messiah, through the will of the father.

¹. Pers. *dastvar/ dastōr* ‘an entitled person; having mandate; high-priest; spiritual guide; text; canon’, adj. ‘canonical’, ped *dastvar dār-* ‘to accept as forming the canon of scripture’; Bactr. *λίστοβαρο* ‘manuscript’. Pers.-Arab. مسؤده، دستور

«دفتری را که نخستین بار از خامهء یک دانشمند می تراوید به زبان فارسی دستور می خوانده اند.»
م-ت. دانشپژوه، المنطق لابن مقفع، تهران، ۱۳۵۷، هشتادودو.

². Menasce thinks that “le text actuel me paraît provenir d’une mauvaise dictée.” He has tried to correct it according to the Matthew 10.29-30: *nē ōfted vay tis az draxt, ud nē baved vars ped sar, ud nē do murv ēk dram frōšend bē framān ī pid* ‘Aucun *oiseau ne tombe de l’arbre, aucun cheveu n’est sur la tête*, et deux oiseaux ne se vendent une drachme que par ordre du Père.’

77-78. Again, it says inconsistently about the free will³ of the individuals (or, the bishop⁴ states?): “He has created man with free will”.⁵

79-84. Thus, the fault and sin which mankind commit are [the effects of] the freedom of will. He himself has given the freedom of will to man. Then, it ought to consider him as a sinner who is the original cause of sin. If man, by their free will, commit sin and crime, and not through the will of god, then, the sin and crime which, by nature⁶, proceed from the lion, serpent, wolf, scorpion and [other] stinging and slaying monsters, where is the freedom of will, and whose sin is it? Besides, the deadly poison which is in the aconite and other species of plants, the cause of which is not owing to free will, what is its principle?

85-88. If they state that, “these poisons are useful and necessary in many medicines which expel the disease of the sick”, then you should ask them: Who has created the disease itself and its noxious effect, and what is its necessity, that, afterwards, he created and needed the medicine of the deadly poison? Or, would (not) be more proper if he had created an elixir for removing that disease than a medicine of poison?

³. Pers. āzād-kām ≈ Gr. προαίρεσις, Syr. ܐܙܐܕܟܐܡܝܗ, Lat. liberum arbitrium. Pers. āzād-kāmīh ≈ Syr. ܐܙܐܕܟܐܡܝܗ.

⁴. Pers. ōstīgān ‘firm, reliable, confident’. Armen. նստիկաւն renders Gr. ἐπίσκοπος ‘bishop ; overseer’. I prefer to read stīān ‘persons, individuals’.

⁵. This statement is not found in the Gospel. See Ephraim’s first discourse addressed to Hypatius: “For God to Whom nothing is difficult has created in us something which is difficult to explain, and that is, Free will.” S. Ephraim’s Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, C. W. Mitchell, London, 1912, xi.

⁶. Pers. cihrik-kunišn ‘acting naturally’, opp. āzād-kām.

89. This also: From what origin is the name “noxiousness”⁷ whose antonym, “usefulness”⁸, will be necessary?

90. Upon this chapter, it is possible to speak abundantly. I contented myself to explain succinctly.

⁷ . Pers. zyāngārīh ≈ Syr. ܙܝܢܓܪܝܗ.

⁸ . Pers. sūdumandgārīh ≈ Syr. ܣܘܕܡܢܕܓܪܝܗ.

91-92. Another (chapter):

From the discourses of their (religious) authority Paul, which are in contradiction with their proper principles.

93-96. They say this also: “The good that I desire, I do not do; but the evil which I do not desire, I do. It is no more I that do [it], but [sin] which dwells in me. For, I see [it] quarrelling against me, day and night.”¹

97-98. Again, they say, from the discourse of Messiah: “God is the principle of the light and goodness, in him are no evil and darkness at all”².

99-104. This also: “Just as a shepherd who provides protection for an hundred sheep, if the wolves carry off one of them, he goes after that one which the wolves carried off until he

¹ . Cf. (the Gospel according to Paul:) Romans 7.19-23: “For the good which I desire, I don't do; but the evil which I don't desire, that I practice. But if what I don't desire, that I do, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwells in me. I find then the law, that, to me, while I desire to do good, evil is present. For I delight in God's law after the inward man, but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members.”

² . Cf. John's first letter 1.5: “God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.”

leads it back to the flock, and leaves the ninety and nine in the wilderness³. So I came to lead the misled, not the righteous. Because, those who are righteous have no need to be brought into the right way.”⁴

105-107. If the principle be one, and his will be wholly [fulfilled], then no one shall be astray and misled; even the wolf’s slaying of the sheep is likewise his will, and he himself created the wolf too.

108-109. The extremely inconsistent discourse of Messiah may appear in the case of the two principles. As they say, from the same discourse of Messiah: “There is another principle, an enemy of my father. I am the benevolent god.”⁵

³. Cf. Matthew 18.12-14: “What do you think? If a man has one hundred sheep, and one of them goes astray, doesn't he leave the ninety-nine, go to the mountains, and seek that which has gone astray? If he finds it, most assuredly I tell you, he rejoices over it more than over the ninety-nine which have not gone astray. Even so it is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.” Cf. also Luke 15.4-5: “Which of you men, if you had one hundred sheep, and lost one of them, wouldn't leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go after the one that was lost, until he found it? When he has found it, he carries it on his shoulders, rejoicing.”

⁴. Cf. Matthew 9.12-13: “When Jesus heard it, he said to them: “Those who are healthy have no need for a physician, but those who are sick do. But you go and learn what this means: ‘I desire mercy, and not sacrifice,’ for I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.” ” See also Mark 2.17, Luke 5.31-32.

⁵. Another principle is “the prince of this world” (רמ רמלא רמאיר, ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, cf. John 12.31: “Now is the judgment of this world. Now the prince of this world will be cast out.”), or, “the devil” (רמ, διάβολος, cf. Matthew 13.39: “The enemy who sowed them is the devil. The harvest is the end of the age, and the reapers are angels.”). Satan is also called

110. It is manifest, from this discourse, that he (Messiah) separates and distinguishes his own father from that enemy.

111-113. This also: “God has fashioned (“sent”) me for truth and through truth⁶. The evil-doer Evil Spirit⁷ came to me to transgress (the law), and he desired to deceive me in many ways”⁸.

114-116. Well, if the principle be one, and there be no contrary to it, why then was the Evil Spirit so powerful that he dared to make wander the son of god? If god himself created that evil-doer, then that making wander (“temptation”) was knowingly through the will of [god] himself, and he himself made wander (/ was the “tempter” of) the son.

117-118. This also, it says, that: “When the Jews disputed against him, he said to the Jews: ‘Ye are from beneath; and I am from above. You are from this world; I am not of this world’.”⁹

119-121. This also he said: “I know that you are Abraham’s seed, who was homicide from before. You desire to kill me. I do

the “prince of the power of the air” (ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος) in Ephesians 2.2.

⁶. Cf. John 18, 37: “Pilate therefore said to him: “Are you a king then?” Jesus answered: “You say that I am a king. For this reason I have been born, and for this reason I have come into the world, that I should testify to the truth. Everyone who is of the truth listens to my voice.” ”

⁷. Pers. ahrmen, Gr. πνεύματος.

⁸. Cf. Matthew 4.1-11: “Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. ...”

⁹. Cf. John 8.23: “He said to them: “You are from beneath. I am from above. You are of this world. I am not of this world.” ”

that which I have seen with my father; you do that which you have seen with your father”¹⁰.

122-129. This also: “If god be your father, you would be my friend. For, I have proceeded forth from god; neither have I come of my own desire. He has fashioned (“sent”) me as a benevolent god. Then why do you not bear my word? Because you are from the evil-doer, you cannot bear [it]. And the will of your father you will do. He was not in the truth, whatever he spoke, he spoke a lie. For, you are liar, you and your father. I that tell the truth, you believe me not¹¹. He who is of god, hears god’s words. But you do not hear my words, because you are not of god”¹².

130-131. By all these words, it is demonstrated that: There are two principles: “One that fashioned (“sent”) me; one that

¹⁰ . Cf. John 8, 37-38: “I know that you are Abraham's seed, yet you seek to kill me, because my word finds no place in you. I say the things which I have seen with my Father; and you also do the things which you have seen with your father.”

¹¹ . Cf. John 8.42-45: “Therefore Jesus said to them, "If God were your Father, you would love me, for I came out and have come from God. For I haven't come of myself, but he sent me. Why don't you understand my speech? Because you can't hear my word. You are of your Father, the devil, and you want to do the desires of your father. He was a murderer from the beginning, and doesn't stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaks a lie, he speaks on his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it. But because I tell the truth, you don't believe me.”

¹² . Cf. John 8.47: “He who is of God hears the words of God. For this cause you don't hear, because you are not of God.”

fashioned the Jews”. He called this [second] principle, the evil-doer¹³, and not the benefactor.

132. This also he said: “A tree of good cannot bring forth the fruit of evil, neither can a [tree] of evil bring forth the fruit of good.”¹⁴

133-140. This also: He either makes the whole tree with fruit of good, or makes the whole tree with fruit of evil. For, every tree is known by [its own] fruit, either of good or of evil.¹⁵ He said “the whole tree”, and not “half the tree”. How is it convenient that half of a tree be light and half dark, half good and half evil, half veracity and half mendacity? If these two contend with each other, they cannot be one tree.

141-143. He also called the Jews “the hill-serpent Jew”¹⁶, and he said that: “How can you do good, when you are Jewish evil-doers?”¹⁷ And he did not call his own father “the evil-doer”.

144-145. This also, he says that: “Every tree which the father has not sown should be hewn down, and be cast into the fire”¹⁸.

¹³ . Pers. bazakkar ‘evil-doer, criminal’, Gr. ἀνθρωποκτόνος ‘murdering man, homicide’, Syr. ܒܙܟܟܪܐ.

¹⁴ . Cf. Mathew 7.18: “A good tree can't produce evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree produce good fruit.” Cf. also Luke 6.43.

¹⁵ . Cf. Mathew 7.17: “Even so, every good tree produces good fruit; but the corrupt tree produces evil fruit.” Cf. also Mathew 12.33, Luke 6.43-44.

¹⁶ . mār ī kōfīg jehūdak. Cf. Mathew 3.7: “generation of vipers” (ܐܘܪܝܫܝܡܐ, Γεννήματα ἔχιδνῶν), Mathew 23.33 “serpents, generation of vipers” (ܐܘܪܝܫܝܡܐ ܐܘܪܝܫܝܡܐ, ὄφεις γεννήματα ἔχιδνῶν). Cf. also Luke 3.7. Hedayat : مار كوهستان يهودا; Menasce : “serpents des monts de Juda”.

¹⁷ . Cf. Mathew 12.34 : “You offspring of vipers, how can you, being evil, speak good things? For out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaks.”

It may be known, from this saying, that there is a tree, which the father has not sown, and it should be hewn down and cast away.

146-147. Furthermore: "I came unto my own, and my own received me not"¹⁹. It may be known, from this word, that what is his own and what is not his own are two.

148-150. This also, it says, that: "Our father that are in heaven, may your kingdom come. May your will be done in earth, as in heaven. Give us daily bread! And do not bring us to temptation!"²⁰ It is known, from this saying, that his will is not pure on earth as in heaven.

151. This also: "The temptation of mankind is not out of god."²¹

¹⁸ . Cf. Matthew 3.10 : "Even now the ax lies at the root of the trees. Therefore, every tree that doesn't bring forth good fruit is cut down, and cast into the fire." Matthew 15.13 : "But he answered, "Every plant which my heavenly Father didn't plant will be uprooted."

¹⁹ . Cf. John 1.11 : "He came to his own, and those who were his own didn't receive him."

²⁰ . Cf. Matthew 6.9-13: "Pray like this: Our Father in heaven, may your name be kept holy. Let your kingdom come. Let your will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us today our daily bread. Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. Bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. For yours is the kingdom, the power, and the glory forever. Amen." Pers. gumāngarīh, Gr. πειρασμόν, Lat. temptatio.

²¹ . Cf. The Letter from James 1.13-14: "Let no man say when he is tempted, "I am tempted by God," for God can't be tempted by evil, and he himself tempts no one. But each one is tempted, when he is drawn away by his own lust, and enticed."

152-153. This also, he initially said, that: “I have not come to disturb the Law²² of Moses, but I have come to make it more complete”²³.

153-154. Nevertheless all his words and commands were inconsistent with the ordinances and laws of Moses and disturbed these laws.

155. On this chapter, as far as here is complete.

²² . Pers. *ēvēn*, Armen. *ōrēn* ≈ Gr. νόμος, Syr. ܠܘܚܘܬܐ. Aram. אוריתא
/ōrāytā/ ‘the Law (of Moses), the Torah’.

²³ . Matthew 5, 17: ““Don't think that I came to destroy the law (νόμον,
ܠܘܚܘܬܐ) or the prophets. I didn't come to destroy, but to fulfil.”

1-4. Moreover, is here written about the errors of Mani, one out of a thousand and ten thousand; because I am unable of more completely writing of the errors, (insane) speech, and deceit of Mani and the Manichaeans, much pain and long life would be necessary for me therein.

§ 4-7. Now, O Mazdayasnians of Zaratūštra, you should know that the initial discourse of Mani is about the infinity of the principles; and the middle is about the mixture; and the final is about the separation of Light from Darkness –that which is more similar to non-separation.¹

¹ . This statement refers to Mani’s doctrine of the two primeval principles and the three times :

The idea of the two principles represents the base of Mani’s ontology: do bun vazurg; Syr. ܩܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ (cf. Theodorus bar Kōnai Liber Scholiorum, ed. by A. Scher, Paris, 1912, 311-312 ܩܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ ܩܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ ܩܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ .ܩܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ ܩܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ); OTurk. öki yiltiz (cf. X^vāstvānīft VIII A/ 158); Chin. (da) erzong (cf. the Manichaean Treatise from Dunhuang III).

The three times (OTurk. üç öd, cf. X^vāstvānīft VIII A/ 158-199; Chin. san-ji, cf. Sanji jing ‘Scripture of the Three Times’) of the “History” of the world are: initial separation (Pers. bun, L. initium); mixture (meyān, L. medium); and final separation (frazām, L. finem). Cf. Augustine, Contra Felicem I, 9-10 Venit Manichaeus et per suam praedicationem docuit nos initium medium et finem.

§ 8-9. Moreover, [Mani states that]: This world is the corporeal body of Aṅra Mainyu; every corporeal being is a production of Aṅra Mainyu.²

§ 10-20. In detail: The sky is from the skin, the earth from the flesh, the mountains from the bones, and the plants from the hair of the Flayed Demons. The rain is the sperm of the Giant Demons who are bound on the celestial sphere.³ Mankind are two-legged demons, and cattle (/ animals) four-legged. The Flayed [demons] are the commanders-in-chief of Aṅra Mainyu, who, in the beginning, in the first battle⁴ robbed the light from the god Ohrmazd (i.e. the First Man) and swallowed it.⁵ In the second battle, [the sons of light] captured the Flayed Demons (i.e. the sons of darkness) together with many demons, and bound some [of them] to the celestial sphere⁶; and slew the

². Cf. Theodorus, 313 $\text{ܩܘܪܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ}$.

³. Pers. māzandar ≈ Gr. ἄρχοντος. The Greek Formula of Abjuration speaks of the « sweat of the wicked Archots » (ιδρώτων πονηρῶν ἀρχόντων). According to the Kephalaia 56 (137, 23-24) the sin (= sperm) which was spurted out from the Archonts was in fact the matter (ὕλη).

⁴. Pers. fradum ardīg ≈ Sogd. pyrnmcyk 'x's.

⁵. See gōiṣn abar astvand (M. Boyce, A Reader in Manichaeism Middle Persian and Parthian, y 22) : hān rōšnīh ud x^vašn īg yazdān, ī az nox āz ud dēvān ud perīgān narān ud māyagān jūd ud ōbārd u-š nūn-z grift dārend. Cf. Ephraim (S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, by C. W. Mitchell, Oxford, 1912, 32):

$\text{ܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ}$
* ܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ

Cf. also Augustine, Contra Faustum, 13.18 Lucem a tenebris devoratum et ligatam et inquinatam.

⁶. According to the Kephalaia of the Teacher 69 the twelve signs of the zodiac (Copt. pmntsnaus nzōdion) were fashioned from the five worlds of darkness (tiou nkosmos), and bound on the sphere; the other five stars (= Planets) too came about from the five worlds of the land of darkness. The fashioning of the zodiac was called the “crucifixion of the Archonts”. See Hegemonius, Acta Archelai 8, 11 11 Τὸ Ζῶν Πνεῦμα ... κατελθὸν ἀνήνεγκε τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐσταύρωσεν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν (τὸ) σῶμα ἢ

Flayed demons, and maintained and made from them this Great Creature (i.e. macrocosm)⁷.

§ 21-27. The sun and moon were placed outside the sky [of stars], in the highest⁸, so that, little by little, the light which the demons swallowed, be raised and purified through the leading up and purification by the sun and moon.⁹ Afterwards Anra Mañyu, through foresight, knew that that light, through the leading up by the sun and the moon, would be purified and separated.¹⁰ He quickly arranged, this Little World (/ microcosm)¹¹ –that is, man and cattle and other animals – like a

σφαῖρα τότε πάλιν τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα ἔκτισε τοὺς φωστῆρας ἃ ἔστι τῆς ψυχῆς λείψανα.. See also Joannis Damascenus, *Contra Manichaeos*, 29.

⁷. Pers. dām ī vazurg ‘great creation, macrocosm’ / gēhān ī vazurg ≈ Pers. nasāh vazurg, Parth. zambūdīg vuzurg.

⁸. Cf. Gōbišn īg pahrēzišn rōzān (Boyce, y 7): gird-asmān ēv, ped axtarān ud estāragān, ud rah do ī x^var ud māh ...; (y 30) x^varxšēd andar ōy vehmīh ī hām-kišvar ped āsmānān bārist ...

⁹. It refers to two chariots for the transportation of liberated light-particles. Cf. Gōbišn īg pahrēzišn rōzān (y 23). For “two chariots” (Pers. rah, Parth. wardyōn, Sogd. warten) we find in other texts “ships” (Syr. ܩܝܘܢܐ ܩܝܘܢܐ ‘ship of light’), “palaces of light” (X^vāstvānīft T II D 178 III R 40 ‘ikii yaruq), “lamp” (yamagān rōšnān do cirāy vazurgān), “boat” (in the Acta Archelai, 13 Beeson 21, 1.10-12 the sun is the great πλοῖον, and the moon the small πλοῖον).

(y 24) rah ī māh yazd ... rah ī x^varxšēd ≈ Bd 53 rah ī x^varšēd ... rah ī māh.

Pers. pālāy-/ pāray- ‘to filter, purify’ ≈ δωλιζω; صَفَى.

Pers. ahrāmēn- ‘to lead up’/ ul ahrām- ≈ صعد.

Cf. Šābuhragān G ... pāk bavād u ō x^var ud māh ahrāmād ud ped cihr ī ohrmazdbay yazd bavād u az x^var u māh hamis ō vahištāv ahrāmānd. Cf. also Kephalaia 71.

¹⁰. Pers. pāl- ‘to purify’ ≈ استصفاء. Pers. vizār- ‘to separate’ ≈ Syr. ܩܝܘܢܐ; Arab. خلاص.

¹¹. Pers. gēhān ī kōdak ≈ Pers. šahr ī kōdak/ kōdakbūd, Parth. zambūdīg kašudag. See 1.20. Pers. gēhān ī kōdak ... hampeccēn ud hangōšīdag ī gēhān ī vazurg. Cf. Kephalaia 70 “On the Body, that it was made after the pattern of

copy and an example of the Great World, with the other corporeal creation, so that the light might not be separated from the dark; he bound and imprisoned the soul and light in the body, so that that light which ascends to the sun and the moon, shall again be restrained through the copulation and birth of living beings, and the separation shall be postponed.

§ 28-37. The rain was the semen of the Giant Demons, for the reason that when the Giant Demons were fastened to the (celestial) sphere they who had swallowed the light, in order to separate the light from them, by a new manner, skill and art of Zurvān¹², they show the twelve First-born Daughters of Zurvān¹³ before the male Giant Demons, so that the lust of those Giant Demons is aroused from seeing them, and semen is separated from them; the light which is within the semen is poured upon the earth; plants, trees and grain are grown therefrom; the light which is within the Giant Demons is separated through the semen; [the light] which [falls] on the earth, is separated from the earth by means of the plants.

the Cosmos”. See also Kosmogonische Texte (Sundermann, 1973) 1.8 u-š ēn nasāh šahr īg kōdak kird.

¹². Pers. zurvān ‘time’ = pid ī vazurgīh ‘Father of Greatness’.

¹³. Neryōsang’s rendereing: द्वादशराशी: दुहितरः कालस्य ‘the twelve signs of the zodiac, (i.e.) the daughters of Time’. Pers. dvāzdahān nax^vrēg-duxtarān ≈ Syr. ܩܘܕܫܬܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܬܐ, Parth. dvādes šahrδārīft, Arab. عناصره الاثني عشرة. These virgins who accompany the Third Messenger are: šahrδārīft / ܩܘܕܫܬܐ; žīrīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; bōxtagīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; hunsandīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; abrang/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; rāštīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; hamvadēndīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; darymanīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; razvarīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; kirbagīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; hvabsāgīft/ ܩܘܫܬܐ; rōšn/ ܩܘܫܬܐ. This series of divinized virtues are also known as “twelve helmsmen” (δώδεκα κυβερνήται). See Acta Archelai 13.2. See also Ibn al-Nadīm (كتاب الفهرست, G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, 332):

قال: ولله في هذه الارض عظمت اثني عشر يستون الابكار صورهم كصورته كلها علماء عاقلون.

§ 38-41. Furthermore, about the difference of substance of (vital) soul and body [they state] thus: Soul is bound and imprisoned within the body.¹⁴ Since the creator and maintainer of all corporeal and material beings is Aṅra Mainyu¹⁵; for this reason it ought not to procreate and propagate lineage¹⁶, because the maintaining of man and cattle means collaboration with Aṅra Mainyu and the retaining of soul and light into bodies –nor even to cultivate plants and grain.¹⁷

§ 42-45. Furthermore, they inconsistently state thus: The destroyer of creatures is likewise Aṅra Mainyu; for this reason, it ought not to kill any creature whatsoever¹⁸, because it is a work of Aṅra Mainyu.

§ 46-50. Moreover, whereas Aṅra Mainyu maintained the world, God is finally victorious, through the separation of (vital) souls from bodies.¹⁹ This world will be destroyed in the end²⁰, a

¹⁴ . Cf. ^TM 9 II R (Boyce, ae 3) gyān az tan judgōhr, ud abāg mēnōgīh ī tan, ī ast xēšm ud āz ud āvarzōg, andar tan aōn āmixt ud pesāxt ud bast ēsted cōn ... Cf. Dk iii, M 218 ⁺gyān ped tan mehmān nē baved bē andar tan bastag ast.

¹⁵ . Cf. ^TS 9 (Boyce, aq 2) ... āz, hān durvend mād ī vispān dēvān ... az nas īg dēvān, ud az rīm ī druxšān, kird anād ēn nasāh.

¹⁶ . Cf. ^TM 2 I (Boyce, h 6) hān vaxš guft cē ast dēn ī āvarē? man guft pit ud may nē x^varam, az zan dūr pahrēzam. Cf. Dk iii, M 217 zan <az tōhmag> ud zan az bē-tōhmag ped peyvann rāyēnīdan ō veh vizīdagān bazagīh.

¹⁷ . Cf. Dk iii, M 217 ... gēhān avarzišnīh ..., dārišn ī hāmis mardōm ānāftan, gōspend abāg mardōm abesihēnīdan. The harvesters who harvest resemble the Archonts who, from the beginning, dwelt in the Darkness. Cf. *Acta Archelai* X. In China « Li's poems against the Manichaeans are found together with a collection of ten poems of similar length urging the common people not to neglect their agricultural duties. » S.N.C. Lieu "Polemics against Manichaeism as a subversive cult in Sung China (A.D. c. 960- c. 1200)", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 1979, 62/1, (132-67), 152.

¹⁸ . Cf. X^vāstvānīft V A-C/ 79-90.

¹⁹ . Cf. ^TM 2 II peyvahan ud vindišn īg vispān šahrān nizēhed.

new [one] will not be arranged²¹, nor will there be the Resurrection and the Future Body.²²

§ 51-52. Moreover, the two principles coexist perpetually and contiguously²³ just as sunshine and shadow²⁴, and not any width and breadth²⁵ exist between them.

§53-55. Now, I shall first speak about the impossibility of any existent thing being unlimited, except only Space²⁶ and

²⁰ . Concerning the destruction of the world in the end, see Coptic Manichaeism Homilies (Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, Stuttgart, 1934, 39).

²¹ . Concerning the construction of a new world (*navāg šahr dištan*), see TM 2 II (Boyce, ac 7).

²² . Pers. *tan ī pasēn* ≈ Parth. *estomēn yazd*; Copt *tandreias traē*. Concerning the Resurrection (/ liberation of the light, Sogd. *mwr̥t'jw'ndy*, Pers. *murdāxēzīn*), see TM 140 and TM 1501 (Sogdian). Mani denied the restoration of the corporeal body, and asserted that the resurrection of the fleshly bodies was the belief of the “Doctors” (Sogd. *qyšyk-t* ≈ Pers. *kēšdārān*) ; the resurrection of man was, for him, the redemption of the soul. See Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 45 *Venisse ad animas, non ad corpora, liberandas*. See also Theodorus (Scher, 313):

✠ 𐭀𐭃𐭄𐭅 𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿

²³ . Cf. Ephraim (61):

✠ 𐭀𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿

Pers. *ham-vimand* ≈ 𐭀𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿.

²⁴ . Cf. Šahrestānī

وفي الخيز متحاذيان تحاذي الشخص (الشمس) والظل. (الملل والنحل، الجزء الاول، م. س. كيلاني، القاهرة،

.1396 / 1976، 244).

Cf. also Ephraim (98) :

✠ 𐭀𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿

²⁵ . Pers. *vehmīh* ‘width, breadth’, cf. VZ 2.11 *vehmīh ī andarvāy*. Cf. also Gōbīšn īg pahrēzišn rōzān (Boyce, y 30) *x^varšēd andar ōy vehmīh ī hāmkišvar ped āsmān bārist*. Pers. *višādagīh* ‘being open, expansion; open space’, cf. VZ 1.1 *rōšnīh azabar ud tāriḡīh azēr u-šān meyanag ī harv do višādagīh būd*.

²⁶ . Pers. *tuhīgīh* ‘void ; space’, see 8.73 *akanārag tuhīgīh*.

Time²⁷, which I call unlimited. The existent things which are within locality²⁸ and temporality²⁹ are seen to be limited.

§56-65. This also: If one says unity or duality about them, whereas unity does not exist except through the total comprising of a thing, for one is that which is not two, and two is the original one and the separation of this one from the other which is not called two; if one be not conceivable except through the total comprising of unity, and duality cannot occur except through the separation of unit from unit, the one is that which is one in unity, and is steadfast in its unity³⁰; one and two are in the seed of quantity and numerality; and quantity, numerality, totality, and separation, as I have said, cannot occur except [through] limitation. This is clear even to those with average knowledge.

§ 66-76. Furthermore, the unlimited is that which is not comprised by the science.³¹ If it be not possible to be comprised in any science, then it is inevitably not possible to be comprised in the science of god. Thus the essence of God and that of the Dark principle are not totally comprised within the science of god. If his own essence be not comprised within his own science, then to call him all-good and all-seeing is untrue. For, “all” means totality. A totality, because it comprises on all sides, is called “totality”. The limitedness of that which is comprised on all sides is inevitable. A god, who is aware that he is

²⁷ . Pers. zamān ‘time ; hour’, cf. Dk iv, M 416 akanāragīh ī zamān.

²⁸ . Pers. gyāg ‘place’ ≈ Gr. τόπος; Syr. ܟܘܢܐ / ܟܘܢܐܝܟ; Lat. locus; Arab. مكان. Pers. gyāgumand ≈ متجيز.

²⁹ . Pers. zamān ‘time’ ≈ Gr. χρόνος; Arab. زمان; Lat. tempus; Syr. ܝܘܡܐ. Pers. zamānīg ≈ Syr. ܝܘܡܐܝܟ.

³⁰ . See 1.3.

³¹ . Cf. Dk iii, M 293.

comprised on all sides, ought to be considered as limited. If he be unlimited, he is unaware [of it]. The first knowledge of a knowing one concerning himself is the indispensable knowledge of his own essence, quality, and quantity. If one who be unaware of total essence, quality, and quantity, then to state that he is knowing concerning the [essence,] quality, and quantity of others, is untrue.

§ 77-78. This also: Since an unlimited [being] which is not comprised, is not comprised by the science, then he is unaware whether his total essence is wise or ignorant, light or dark, alive or dead.

§ 79-85. Moreover: The light and soul, which we find out hither, is it a particle from that same [essence of] Zurvān or not? If it be a particle from the essence of Zurvān, then we should point them out that: A thing from which a part can be divided, can be itself divisible. That which is divisible cannot be unless it is composite. That which is composite cannot be without a composer by which it is composed. Since a divided part is visibly limited, so also the origin from which the part is made is undoubtedly limited, in accordance with the statement that has been put forward that every result and part bears witness of its origin. Since we find the divided part limited, so also the origin from which [derive] the division [to parts] and the composition of parts, cannot but be limited.

§ 86-93. This also: The unlimited is not divided. For the part is divided from the totality, and totality bears witness of limitation. As I have demonstrated above, we cannot find out the existence and quality of the origin except by comparison and analogy with the result. Whatever is found out in the result (or,

effect), must certainly, in like manner, apply to the origin.³² When the division and limitation are found out in the result, it may undoubtedly be deduced that the origin from which the result derives is also limited.

§ 94-101. Further: The unlimited is that which is endless in space, and boundless in essence; there is no other place or area that is devoid of it. If it be said that the two principles are unlimited and boundless in essence, then the heavens and earths together with all corporeal beings, spirits, souls, lights, gods, elements³³, and the numerous abodes –whose different names are owing to the difference of one from the other – cannot be bounded. Then inside what, and where, have all these things been created, if the two principles were always endless in space, and how is that possible unless their unlimited essence be made limited, and the place of all that is and was and will be?³⁴ If it be possible that an ever-unlimited substance become limited, it is certainly possible that it may also become non-existent. What they say about the immutability of substance is untrue.

§ 102-111. You should know that: the unlimited is that which does let nothing be from the first devoid of it; anything else than it cannot exist separate from it. Apart from the limit, the infinity cannot be known. Or, he (i.e. Mani) confusedly discusses and contends and bandies words, about the thing of which he does not know what it is, for leading astray the immature and those of immature knowledge to a road which leads to a well. If he foolishly asserts that: Its essence is unlimited, and its science is

³² . See 8.24-34.

³³ . amehrspendān lit. ‘holy immortals’ ≈ Syr. ܐܡܗܪܫܦܢܕܐܢ, Parth. panj rōšn, Sogd. marḏāspend .

³⁴ . See 11.7.

unlimited, it knows, through its unlimited science, that it is unlimited, that is untrue and doubly untrue. For, once science is about the things which are found out by science, and comprised within science; and nothing can be perfectly known except that which is totally comprised within science and found out by it. Science of a thing is [obtained] by the total knowledge of it; and the total knowledge of a thing is [obtained] by the total comprehension of it within science.

<...>

mādayān

Text

شك-ود-گومانہ-ویزار

šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār

ped-bun

1


(1) nam¹ ohrmazd x^vadāy ī mahist ud dānāg, [vispx^vadāy, vispāgāh ud visptuvān, (2) kē andar-z mēnōgān mēnōg. (3) u-š az x^vadīh –ped ēkīh oštīgān – āfrīd². (4) u-š dād, ped x^vēš anhambidīg zōr, abardar šaš³ amehrspond,]⁴ ud vispān yazdān ī mēnōgān gētīgān ; (5) ud haft gētīg daxšagān ī hend mardōm, gōspend, ātaš, ayōxšust, zamīg, āb ud urvar. (6) u-š dād mardōm ped sālārīh ī dāmān, ō kāmrvāgīh. (7) u-š frēstīd⁵, āvām āvām, dēndānāgīh⁶ ī abēzagīh ud gumēzagīh, cīhrīgīh ud kāmīgīh. (8) ēdōn-z vīr, uš, xrad ud dānišn, bōy, fravahr, ī hend ruvān abzārān ; ī hend āgāhīhx^vāstār ī ēn abzārān ī mēnōg panz, ī hend vēnišn, ašnavišn, hambōyišn, caxšišn, permāhišn, (9) ped panz abzārān ī gētīg, ī hend cašm, gōš, vēnīg, dahan, <dast>, hamāg tan mārđārān. (10) u-š, ped ēn abzārān abāgīh, mardōm dād ō rāyēnīdārīh ī dāmān.

¹ . nam : nāma. Jāmāspji's emendation is not necessary: pa nam: nāmnā. Cf. the beginning of the Nām Stāyišn.

² . āfrīdan: samāracanāya.

³ . haft : sapta. Cf. Nām Stāyišn 2.

⁴ . « The passage in brackets is omitted in several Pahl. MSS., many of which commence at this point, but it is found in K28, BM, and others, and also in the Pāz. MSS. and Sans. version. The first epithet, 'all-ruling', which it contains is likewise omitted in a few Pāz. MSS., while others add a further laudatory passage at that point, which is evidently a modern interpolation. The seven archangels include Aūharmazd himself. » West, 117

⁵ . āmaṭ: āyāte (Jāmāspji's emendation: āyāyate). "Should perhaps be , as both words are alike in Huz." Jamaspasana 4

⁶ . u dīn u dānāi : dīnešca jñānasyaca.

(11) u-š dād dēn ī harvispāgāhīh ī mazdesn⁷ draxt humānāg,
 (12) kē-š ēk stūnag, do baxšišn, se azg, cahār sāg⁸, panz rēšag⁹.
 (13) u-š ēk stūnag peymān, (14) do baxšišn kunišn ud
 pahrēzišn¹⁰, (15) se azg humat hūxt ud huvaršt, ī ast humenišnīh
 hugōbišnīh ud hukunišnīh, (16) cahār sāg cahār pēšagān ī dēn
 kē-š gēhān pediš virāyīhed, (17) ī ast āsrōnīh, arsēštārīh,
 vāstryōšīh ud hudoxšīh, (18) panz rēšag¹¹ panz pedān ī-šān
 dēnīg nām mānbed, vīsped, zandbed, dahebed, zarduštrōdum.
 (19) ud ēk sarān sar, ī ast šāhān šāh dahebed ī gēhān.

(20) u-š andar gēhān ī kōdak, pēdāgēnīd ped humānāgīh ī ēn
 cahār pēšagān ī gēhān : cōn abar sar āsrōnīh, (22) abar dast
 arsēštārīh, (23) abar eškamb vāstryōšīh, (24) abar pāy hudoxšīh.

(25) ēdōn-z cahārān hunarān ī andar mardōm, ī ast xēm,
 hunar, xrad, toxšāgīh: (26) abar xēm āsrōnīh, cōn mahist
 x^vēškārīh ī āsrōnān xēm, ī šarm ud bīm rāy, vināh nē kunend.
 (27) abar hunar arsēštārīh, ī ast vāspuhragāndar peyrāyišn ī
 arsēštārān hunar ī vizārīhed “narīh ī az x^vadīh”. (28) abar
 vāstryōšān xrad, ī ast xradīkkārīh¹² varzīdan ī gēhān ud
 peyvastan ī ō frašegird. (29) abar hudoxšān toxšāgīh, ī ast
 mahist ravāgēnīdārīh ī-šān pēšag. (30) ēn harv ēvēnag vinārišn
 abar ēk stūnag, rāstīh ud peymān, pedīrag druz, u-š abzārān ī
 hambidīg hend.

(31) ēn ī-m ušmurd vasēvēnagīhā, vassardagīhā, cōn
 vasdēnīh, vasvurravišnīh ī andar āvām kē hamāg ēk abāg did

⁷ . mahōst : mahā.

⁸ . dōšaa: šākhāh.

⁹ . brīšaa: mūlāni.

¹⁰ . West : ‘performance and abstinence’, Menasce : ‘agir et s’abstenir’.

¹¹ . brīšaa : mūlāni.

¹² . ardīkārī : balištakāryīnī.

hambasān, hambidīg, škastār ud kastār¹³ hend, (32) abāg hambasānīh ud škastārīh ud zadārīh ī-šān ēk ō did, pas-iz ēvkirdagīhā, ped ēvzōrīh, pedīrag ēk rāstīh stēzend. (33) rāstīh x^vadīh, ēk zōr, ī ōstīgān ped ēkīh, ī rāstīh. (34) drōv vasēvēnag, ō vas brahm hambasān šāyist būdan hamāgīh az ēk bun ī drōzanīh ast.

(35) hān man ī mardānfarrox ī ohrmazddādān¹⁴ hom, ēn pesāzišn kird. cōn man dīd andar āvām vassardagīh vasdēnīh vasuskārišnīh ī kēšān. (36) ā-m andar ham aburnāydādīh¹⁵ hamvār taftīgmenišnīhā x^vāstār ud vizustār ī rāstīh būd hom. (37) im cim rāy ō-z vas kišvar ud zrehvimand franaft hom. (38) u-m ēn hangirdīg gōbišnān ī aziš ast pursišn ī rāstīhkāmagān, aziš az nibēg ud āyādgar ī pēšēnīg dānāgān rāstān dastvarān, ud nāmcišt hān ī hufravard ādarpādyāvandān¹⁶, cīd ud vizīd, ud ō ēn āyādgar “šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār”¹⁷ nām nihād. (39) cōn ped gumānvizārīh ī nōghamōzagān abēr abāyišnīg ast abar bē dānistan ī rāstīh, ud vābarīgānīh ud rāstīh ī veh dēn, ud andarg škōh¹⁸ judpehikārān. (40) u-m nē dānāgān ud abzārumandān, bē frahangīgān ud nōgabzārān rāy kird ud ārāst, (41) kū dā vasān abar abdīh ud vābarīgānīh ī veh dēn ī pōryōdkēšīg gōbišn abēgumāndar bēnd.

¹³ . xastār : kadhathayitārah. West: xastār ‘injurer’, Menasce: ‘nuisible’. Pers. kastār ‘diminisher; enemy’ (rendering Av. kayaða), cf. Dk iii, M 82, M 107.

¹⁴ . hōrmæzddāt : hormmijdadādasya putro.

¹⁵ . aβarnāedārī : apūrnanaradātau. Cf. Dk vii, M 621 zardušt ped hān ī aburnāydādīh. Another possible reading: aburnāy-sālīh.

¹⁶ . ādarpādyāβaṇḍā : ādarapādiāvamdasya.

¹⁷ . škaṇdgumānīvazār: skaṇdagumānīgujāra.

¹⁸ . škōh : samūheṣu. West: ‘dignity’, Menasce: ‘la misère’.

(42) az-iz vizīdag dānāgān x^vāhišnīg hom (43) kū, kē nigerīdan x^vāhed, mā ō nihangmāyagīh¹⁹ ī guftār ud pesāxtār, bē ō vazurgīh ud²⁰ rāstīh ud vābarīgānīh ud vimandgōbišnīh ī pēšēnīg dānāgān ē nigered. (44) cē an kē pesāxtār hom, nē pāyag ī hamōzgārīh, bē hān ī hamōzišnīgīh dārom.

(45) u-m rādmenišnīhā gōbišn az hān ī dēndānišnīh ō-z nōghamōzagān baxtan cimīg sahist. (46) cē kē az andak dānišn ī-š ast ō arzānīgān baxšed, pedīrišnīgdar kū kē vas dāned (bē) arzānīgān aziš asūdīh ud anayyārīh. (47) cōn avēšān vizīrēnīd pēšēnīg dānāgān (48) kū rādīh se ēvēnag: menišnīg, gōbišnīg ud kunišnīg. (49) menišnīg rādīh hān kē kadār-z-ē hamgōhrān rāy nēkīh abāyistan ōn cōn x^vēš rāy. (50) rādīh ī ped gōbišn hān kē az harv frārōn dānišn ud āgāhīh ī-š mad ēsted ō arzānīgān hamōzed. (51) cōn hān ī dānāg-ē guft (52) kū: “kāmom kū dānom vispāgāhīh ī sūdbar, ud hamōzom ō frayādān, ud ayābom bar ī abāyišnīg.” (53) rādīh ī ped kunišn hān kē az nēkīh ī-š mad ēsted kadār-z-ē ō arzānīgān nēkīh.

(54) didīgar, āyādēnīdārīh ī vehān ped bōxtruvānīh. (55) im cim rāy man ārāst kū-m dā dānāgān, ped x^vēš x^vābarīh ud hucašmnigerišnīh, ped anōšervānīh āyādēnend. (56) cē guft ēsted kū: kē visp dām ī veh, hucašmīhā, nigered, cašm ī ōy cašm ī x^varšēd ast. (57) cē x^varšēd ō visp dām, hucašmīha, nigerīdār ud brāzēnīdār.

¹⁹ . dīn ī mādagī: dīnīm lakšmyāḥ. West: ‘the religion of the particular’, Menasce: ‘l’essentiel de la religion’. Cf. SS 20 cē man xrad nihang.

²⁰ . i.

darag ī fradum

2

(1) *darag ī fradum* (2) *abar pursišn ē-cand ī hamē pērōzgar, mihrayyār¹ ī muḥammadān, az spāhān, vehmenišnīhā, nē halagx^vāhišnīhā pursīd, pāsox :*

(3) *hān ī pursīd kū : « ahrmen cē rāy ō rōšnīh vizāyed, ud cōn šāyist būd ka-š nē hamgōhr, ka amā hamē vēnem kū harv cē nē hamgōhr, az judgōhr ōn pahrēzed cōn āb az ātaš ? »*

(4) *pāsox ēn kū : ahrmen vizāyišn ī-š ō rōšnīh x^vad vahān judgōhrīh ; (5) ud zadārkāmagīh ī-š hamēšagīhā ped gōhr būdan rāy² ō judgōhr-š zadār. (6) vizūdagīh, vizāyišn harv cōn baved bē az judgōhrīh ud judgōhrān enyā³ nē baved. (7) cē hamgōhrān, ēk ō did, hamkāmagīh ud hamsāzagīh beved, nē vizāyišn ud vizūdagīh. (8) ud judgōhrān, hamēstārgōhrīh rāy, harv cōn ō ham rasend, ēk ō did zadār ud vizūdār bend. (9) hamgōhrān, hamsāzagīh ud hamgōhrīh rāy, ka ō ham rasend zīvīhend⁴ ud *kārīgīhend⁵ ud hamayyār hend. (10) višōbišn ud judīh⁶ ud anhamīh ī judgōhrān, (11) ōn cōn garmīh sardīh, kē hamēstārgōhrīh rāy, hamēšaggōhrīhā, ēk ō did zadār ud vizūdār, kuxšāg ud višōbāg hend. (12) cē harv višōbišn az sardīh ud*

¹ . mihirayār. Syr. ܡܝܚܪܝܝܐ rendered by Sogd. mrxyl.

² . būṭ.

³ . aṇdā : anyathā. Menasce : tāk. Pers. bē ... enyā nē ‘except ... no’.

⁴ . zīβihənd : jīvīyamti. West : ‘are lively’ ; Menasce : zēvīk hend ‘demeurent en vie’.

⁵ . kārī hənd : kāryīyamti. Cf. Dk ix M 789 zīndagīh kārīgēnīdārān.

⁶ . jadī i hamgōharā : vibhinnatvaṃ yat ekaratnānām.

huškīh ud garmīh ud x^vēdīh ristagān, (13) ud ēk ō did zadārīh ud vizūdārīh ud hamēstārīh. (14) cē višōbišn ī tanān az hamēšakkuxšīšnīh ī garmīh ud sardīh, huškīh ud x^vēdīh. (15) az kuxšīšn ī avēšān, ēk ō did, tanān višōbīhend ud agārīhend. (16) āb ud ātaš, x^vadgōhrīhā, ēc vizūdārīh nē pēdāg. (17) bē sardīh ī brādrodīg ō x^vēdīh ī āb gumixt ēsted, hamēstār ī garmīh ī ātaš, (18) ud huškīh ī brādrodīg ō garmīh ī ātaš gumixt ēsted hamēstārīhā ō x^vēdīh ī āb vizūdār.

3

(1) hān ī pursīd (2) kū : « cim dādār ohrmazd ahrmen az vad kirdan ud vad x^vāstan abāz nē dāred ka tuvānkirdār ast ? (3) ka gōbem kū nē tuvānkirdār, pas nē bavandag, abādyāvand-iz ast. »

(4) pāsox ēn (5) kū : ahrmen vadkunišnīh az vadgōhrīh ud vadkāmagīh ī-š hamēšag ped druz. (6) dādār ohrmezd vīsp⁷tuvānīh hān ī abar vīsp šāyed būdan⁷ sāmānumand. (7) hān ī-š nē šāyed būdan, tuvān atuvān abar nē gōbīhed⁸. (8) kē gōbed, nē andar vimand ī soxanšnāsīh. (9) cē ka guft kū « nē šāyed būdan », did gōbed kū « yazd pediš tuvānīg », ā-š az vimand ī nē-šāyed-būdan burd. (10) cē pas nē nē-šāyed, bē šāyed būdan. (11) cōn-š tuvān sāmānumand, ōn-z aziš kām. (12) cē frazānag. (13) ud kām ī frazānag harv ō hān ī šāyed būdan. (14) u-š kām ō

⁷. šāyed būdan: śaktīti bhavitum.

⁸. juṇbihəṭ : avalambati. West : 'is not stirred up', Menasce : jumbihēt 'agiter (une question)'.

hān ī nē šāyed nē videred. (15) cē harv hān kāmed ī šāyed ud sazed būdan.

(16) agar gōbem kū « dādār ohrmazd ahrmen az vattarīh ī-š hamēšag gōhrīg abāz dāštan tuvān », (17) ā gōhr ī dēvīg ō yazdīg ud hān ī yazdīg ō dēvīg vardēnīdan šāyed, (18) ud tār rōšn ud rōšn tār kirdan šāyed. (19) gōhr ped x^vadīh vaštan gōhr-nē-šnāsān gōbend, (20) kē vizīhišn⁹ ī gōhr andar kunišn ud jadišn (jahišn)¹⁰ anešnās, (21) ud gurg xrafstar ped nēkīh hangārend. (22) cōn anāgīh ud vad ī az mardōm ud gōspend, nē x^vēšgōhrīhā, bē az vināhišn, frēbišn, vībišn¹¹ ud viyābānīh ī druz, (23) az ham vattarīh ī abārīg druz, cōn kēn (/ xēn) ud xēšm ud varan ī gumixtag ō mardōm. (24) cōn x^vardan ī dārūg ī taxl ī zahrgumixtag, nē nēkīhpardazišnīh¹², bē spuxtān ī dard ud vēmārīh ī az bē-gōhr rāy. (25) cōn soxan ī rāst ud drōv (26) ī ka, ast ī ka¹³ ped soxan-ē ī drōv, ahlav mard az vas anāgīh bōxted, ud ped hān ī rāst ēraxted. (27) frāyist hān nēkīh nē az drōvgōbišnīh, bē az spuxtān ī zadārīh ud vattarīh ī gumixtag ō

⁹ . vazīhašni : parīkšāyāh. As Neryōsang uses Skt. parīkṣā ‘investigation, inspection’ to translate the Pārsīg word, he must have assumed that it stood for vizīhišn. West : « Pāz. vazīhašn, probably a misreading of Pahl. uzdaḥišn. ’ Pers. vizīhišn ‘distinction, act of keeping apart’, cf. Dk iii M 181 abar vizīhišn ī andarg yazdīg nīrang ud var abdīh dēvīg abārōn nīrang ud jādūgīh vidimās.

¹⁰ . gadašni : calaneca. Menasce : gatišn ‘propriété, qualité’.

¹¹ . nyāžašni : nāstikyāt. Menasce : nyāzišn ‘concupiscence’. Pers. /viyēb-, viheb-, vīb-/ (^MPers. wyyb-) ‘to seduce, allure, deceive, err’, viyēbišn/ vībišn ‘deception, delusion, error, πλάνη’, cf. 10.26 vīftagīh ud viyābānīh ī ruvān.

¹² . nēkīfrīžašni : śubhasya visphītaye. West’s emendation : nēkī-pardazišnī ‘accomplishment of happiness’. Menasce : nēvakīh-frēpišn.

¹³ . hamtan : samgram tanuḥ. West : ‘connected (with)’, Menasce : ‘ensemble’. For ast ī ka, see VZ 29.8.

vattarān ; (28) hān-z anāgīh nē az rāstgōbišnīh, bē az vattarīh ī gumixtag ō vattarān.

(29) az-iz hān ī ka hamēstārān ēk ēk x^vēš hambidīg spuxtan cihrēnīd ēstend, (30) harv ēk hān ī x^vēš hamēstār abāz dāštan ādōg hend. (31) cōn rōšnīh tārīkīh, hubōyīh dušgennīh, kirbag bazag, hudānāgīh dušdānāgīh. (32) hān nē ādōg rōšnīh dušgennīh, ud nē hubōyīh tārīkīh abāz dāštan. (33) bē jud jud hān ī x^vēš hamēstār abāz dāštan cihrēnīd ēstend. (34) hān-z ī gōbend kū ped šab ī tārīk ahlav mard az šagrān ud gurgān ud sagān ud duzān bōxted, (35) ped rōz ī rōšn andar dast-išān¹⁴ grav baved, (36) hān nē ped nēkīh ī az tārīkīh, nē-z ped anāgīh ī az rōšnīh dāštan sazed. (37) cē rōšnīh ped spuxtan ī tārīkīh dād ēsted, nē ped abāz dāštan ī šagr ud gurg ud xrafstarān ud abārīg vas ī ped ēn šōn.

(38) dagrandīh rāy ō hangirdīg handāxt, ašmā pērōzgarān nēkīh šnāxtārīh (39) ōn kū az dēn vas ayābed.

4

(1) ud hān ī pursīd (2) kū : « ka hamē vēm kū hamāg tis az spīhr ud stāragān hamē baved, (3) ud ēn spīhr kē dād, pas ham hān ast ī vurravišnīgān¹⁵ gōbend kū nēk ud vad ōy dād. (4) agar

¹⁴ . dast vašq (JJ, JE dast šq) : hastešu tešām.

¹⁵ . vīrōt.dīnīq (ویرودین) : gvīrodadīnīyāh. Bharucha's emendation. Arab. مؤمنین 'believers ; Muslims'. Degener makes this strange remark : « ... anscheinend mit einer bewußt korrupten, 'verspottenden' Pazand-Transkription des geläufigen Pahlavi-Wortes. »

ahrmen dād, ēn abd tis kār ōy cōn tuvān būd dādan ? (5) cē rāy ka ast stārag kē-šān nēkīh abāgīh aziš hamē baxšīhed. (6) agar ohrmazd ud ahrmen ped hampursagīh dād, pas ōn pēdāg kū ohrmazd ped vināh ud vad ī az spihr hamē baved, abāg ahrmen hamvināh hambāy. »

(7) pāsox ēn (8) kū : spihr gyāg ī bayān ī nēkīh baxtārān kē-šān harv nēkīhbaxtārīh aziš hamē baxšend rāstīhā. (9) ud haftān starkirbān perīgān ī azēr avēšān dvārend, appurdārān ī judbaxtārān, (10) kē-šān dēnīg nām gayōgān. (11) dādār ohrmazd nizūmānagīhā¹⁶ frazānagīhā ārāstārīh ī ēn dām ud dahišn ud peyvastārīh ī <ō> frašegird rāy, (12) cōn gennāgmēnōg andarōn asmān pēcīd, ōy druz dušdānāgīhā zūrmihōxtīhā abāg vas sardag bazagān ud druzān ī tamtōmagān ō rōšnīh parvast¹⁷ ud gumixt kū « ēn dām dahišn ī ohrmazd anast kunum, ayāb ō x^vēš šāyum kirdan. » (13) avēšān rōšnān abardum ī vehīgān, harvipāgāhīh rāy, ō hān ī druz halakkārīh ud zūrmihōxtīh āgāh būd ; (14) ēn-z kū-š ēn nirōg kē-š ēn halakkārīh ud viznedgārīh aziš uzīyed¹⁸ cē sāmānag, (15) ōn kū-š az nūn ēc nirōg ī ped abāzārāstārīh ī az bavandagmārdārīh¹⁹ ī bann ud dard ud pēcīdagīh ī andarōn asmān nē baved. (16) ā-š frazānagīhā cōn-š ōy druz ō rōšnān parvast ud pēcīd, ēgiš hamāg zōrān abzārān ī-šān²⁰ bazagān druzān ī vas sardag jud jud ped x^vēš kāmišngārīh nē hištan rāy, ast ī ō stī ī rōšnān gumixtag, (17)

¹⁶ . vicumānahihā : vivekatayā. Menasce's emendation : nēzūmānīhā 'avec habileté'. Cf. 5.55, 8.71, 9.31.

¹⁷ . faraβast : prasrptaḥ. West's emendation : parvast 'encompassed'. Menasce : frajast 'ayant bondi (vers)'.
¹⁸ . x^vazəṭ : apayāsyati.

¹⁹ . buṇdaa māladārī : sampūrnamārjjanāt. West : 'complete daubing', Menasce : bavandak mālitārīh 'l'usure complete'. Pers. mār- : -d 'to perceive, notice, feel, sense', cf. Dk ix, M 804.

²⁰ . ašq : tešām. Menasce : āšān.

cōn družīg zahr ī xrafstarīg kē cahār zahagān ī ohrmazdīg peymuxt dārend. (18) cē agar ēn družīg zahr ī xrafstarīg ō cahār zahagān ī tanēgirdīg ī ohrmazdīg, ī ast āb ud ātaš ud gil ud vād, pēcīd nē ēstend, ham-cōn ō asmān mēnōgīg mad hend. (19) agar ped mēnōgīh ud a-tanīh būd hend, ah dām ī ohrmazd pahrixtan, ud rastan az hān ī avēšān zahr ī dēvīg nē šāyist hē ; (20) ud andar gravīgīh²¹ ud nihaxt²² ōn gumixt hād ī mardōm ud abārīg dām vinārišn ud barišn ud abzāyišn ud vaxšišn nē šāyist hād.

(21) ōn-z avēšān abāxtarān rōšnīh peymuxt dārend cōn družīg zahr ī xrafstarān andar stī ī rōšnān. (22) hān-z rāy az mārsardag ī zahrvidāz ud az abārīg dadān xrafstarān vasān sūdīg tis astīh pēdāg, (23) ōn-z az abāxtarān hamgumēzišnīh ī azērbrāhīh ī rōšnān rāy nekīh azišān pēdāgīhed. (24) hangōšīdag ī ēn abāxtarān nekīh ī avēšān hamē baxšend, (25) ōn cōn gayōgān ud rāhdārān ī andar kārevān ī vāzāragānān rāh brīnend, (26) vasān tis ī māyagīg apparend, (27) nē ō x^vēškārān ud arzānīgān, bē ō vināhgārān ud ax^vēškārān ud jahīgān ud rūspīgān ud anarzānīgān baxšend ud dahend.

(28) ēn-z kū : ēn kirbakkarīh ī starhangārān az avēšān abāxtarān hangārend ud gōbend, hān cim rāy (29) ka-šān cōnīh ī bayān, ī nekīhbaxtārīh, ud hān-z ī panz stārag ī ohrmazdīg, ī ast mēx²³ ī bālistīg ī handāzišnīg, haftōring ī mazdadād, vanand, sadvēs ud tištar stārag, andar gayōgān anāgīhbaxtārān nē vizīd ēstend, (30) ud hān panz abāxtar ī ped starkirbīh azēr avēšān dvārend ud rōšnīh peymuxt dārend, ī ast kēvān ud ohrmazd ud

²¹ . grōhī : grāhe.

²² . vāt : pavane. West : vād ‘breath’, Menasce : u hakar ‘et si’. Pers. nihanz-/ nihenz- (Parth. nihenj-) : nihaxt ‘to hold back, refrain ; retain’ (Armen. nahanj-im ‘to retire, fall back, retreat’).

²³ . mēh : mahatyah, mēh ī bālistī : mahatyah uccaistarāh.

vahrām ud anāhīd ud tīr. (31) cōn stārag ī bālistīg mēx (32) pedīrag kēvān ; haftōring ī mazdadād pedīrag ohrmezd ; (34) vanand ī xrafstarzadār pedīrag vahrām ; (35) star ī sadvēs pedīrag anāhīd ; (36) tištar stārag pedīrag tīr ī abāxtarīg. (37) nekīh ī az avēšān gayōgān gōbend az hān panz stārag ī ohrmazdīg, (38) cōn vēšnirōgīh ud kamvizūdārīh ud pērōzīh ayābend.

(39) ud ēn panz abāxtar, dādār ohrmazd, x^vēškāmagīhā nē hištan rāy, harv ēk ped do zīg ō mihr ud māh bast ēstend. (40) u-šān frāzravišnīh ud abāzravišnīh az ham cim. (41) ast kē-š drahnāy ī zīg drāzdar cōn kēvān ud ohrmezd <ud vahrām> ; (42) ud ast ī kehdar cōn tīr ud anāhīd. (43) harv ka ō abdum ī zīg šavend, ped pas abāz āhanzend. (44) u-šān x^vēškāmagīhā raftan nē hilend, (45) kū dām nē vināhend.

(46) ud hān do druz ī meh-ōz, ī hend mihr ud māh ī abāxtarīg, hamēstārīhā, azēr brāh ī do rōšnān ravend. (47) anī hān-z ī x^vānīhed mūšperīg, ī ast stārag gayōg, azēr brāh ī mihr bast est ; (48) ud ka az bann dūr baved, ped hān axtar ī-š andar jahed, ped kust ī hān kē hān axtar x^vēškārīh, vizend ud anāgīh kuned, (49) dā did abāz bannag ud gravīg²⁴ ī mihr baved.

(50) soxan ī pediš barend (51) ēn ast : ardīg ī abarīgān andar star pāyag. (52) ud azēr²⁵ ī avēšān ardīg ī tištar ud spanzaṽr dēv, (53) ud ātaš ī vāzišt ud apōš dēv, (54) ud abārīg veh mēnōgān ī abāg tamīgān, ped vārānkirdārīh ud sūdbaxtārīh ī ō dāmān. (55) azēr ī avēšān mardōm ud gōspend xrafstar ud mar ud abārīg dām ī veh ud vattar. (56) cē jadišn abāg mardōm gumixt ēsted, (57) ī

²⁴ . baṇdaa grōhī : baṁdhagrāhe. West : ‘bound *and* fettered’, Menasce: bavandak grawīh ‘complètement sous l’emprise (de)’.

²⁵ . əž ažēr : adhastāt.

ast āz ud varan ud kēn ud xēšm ud būšyāsp, (58) ud xrad ud xēm ud hunar ud dānišn ud uš ud vīr, (59) cōn juxt²⁶ ī veh ud juxt ī vattar ī gōbīhed ī vahān hend ī kirbag ud vināh.

(60) ēn hamāg nēkīh ī dām frāyist az dādār ī dām (61) kē ast x^vad bizešk ud drustbed, pānāg ud dāštār ud parvarāg ud pahristār²⁷ ud būzāg ī x^vēšān dāmān ; (62) u-š ō x^vēšān dāmān cār ī az anāgīh bōxtan, ud abzār ī az bazagīh pahrixtan, bavandagīhā dād ud hamuxt ēsted.

(63) u-š hangōšīdag ōn cōn bāv x^vadāy, ud bōyestānbān ī dānāg kē-š dad ud murv ī vināhgār ud zadār ped tabāhēnīdan ī bar ī draxtān ō bāv kāmend²⁸ vizūdan, (64) ud ōy bāvban ī dānāg, pedisāy kamranzīh ī x^vēš abāz dāstan ī hān dad ī vināhgār az x^vēš bāv rāy, abzār ī ped griftan šāyed ī hān dad ārāyed. (65) cōn talag ud dām ud cīnag ī parrendag (66) kū ka dad cīnag vēned, u-š ruzdagīhā²⁹ kāmed raftan, ped anāgāhīh ī talag ud dām andar-š gravīhed. (67) ēn āšnāg kū dad ka ō dām ōfted, nē abarvēzīh ī dām, bē hān ī dām ārāstār. (68) ped hān dad andar dām gravīhed (69) ī mērag bāv x^vadāy ī dām ārāstār ped dānāgīh āgāh kū hān dad nirōg dā cē sāmānag ud cand zamān. (70) hān

²⁶ . vīnāxta : guṇāḥ. West : nīvāxta ‘influence’, Menasce : vēnāxt

‘tempérament’. The original word could have been written 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 /juxt/, see DD 0.10 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 /juxtīh/. Cf. Y 46.11 (the yoking of a man with evil actions) and Y 49.9 (yoking together with truth).

²⁷ . paharōxtār : prayatnayitā. Pers. pahrēz- : pahrist (Parth. parxēz- : parxāšt) ‘to protect, take care of, tend, care for’. (pahrēz-: pahrixt ‘to abstain, restrain oneself’)

²⁸ . kāməṭ : apekṣeta.

²⁹ . ranjaihā : āyāsatayā. West : ‘with suspicion’, Menasce : ‘avec peine’ (« elle s’efforce de ... »). Pers. ruzd ‘greedy’ (رُزْد, رُزْد, ‘glutton ; voracious’), cf. AJ 11 ped marzišn ī zanān ruzd baved. Pers. rwzdyh. ’rwytky’ /ruzdīhā <par> āruyḍakyā/ (Henning, Sogdica, 46).

dad nirōg ud zōr ī-š andar tan ped kuxšīdārīh agārīhed, ud rebīhed³⁰, candiš tuvān ped dām kandan ud talag škastan ud tabāhēnīdan kuxšīdan. (71) ud ka-š abavandagnirōgīh rāy, nirōg ī kuxšāg uzīyed³¹ ud agārīhed, pas hān bāvān ī dānāg, ped x^vēš kāmāghanzāmīh³², bar x^vēš, dānāgīhā hān dad az dām bērōn abganed, xastgōhrīhā³³ ud agārnirōgīhā³⁴. (72) x^vēš dām ud talag abāzārāstārīhā ud avizendīhā abāz ō ganz abespāred.

(73) ōy-iz mānāg ast dādār ohrmazd ī dahišnān bōxtār ud dām ārāstār ud vad bunēštag agārēnīdār ; ud bāv ī x^vēš az vizūdār pādār. (74) dad ī vināhgār ī bāv tabāhēnīdār ōy guzastag ahrmen ī dām avištāftār³⁵, pedyāragēnīdār ī (75) dām ī veh. asmān kē-š veh dahišnān andar mehmān hend, (76) kē-š gennāg mēnōg ud vihūdāgān hāmis andar gravīg hend, (77) ōy talag ud dām ī dad ī vināhgār az x^vēš kāmīšngarīh agārēnīdār. (78) zamān ī ped kuxšīdārīh ī ahrmen, u-š zōrān ud abzārān, dagrand (79) ī ped kuxšīdārīh ī dad andar talag ud dām ī agārīhed ī-š nirōg (80) abāz dādār, ī dāmān bōxtan ī-š az pedyārag, jāyēdānag

³⁰ . rāžihəṭ : riktāyate. West : ‘(is) poured out’, Menasce : virēcīhet ‘s’ēpuisent’. Pers. rebīh- passive denom. ‘to become infirme’ from reb ‘defective’ < *rapah- nt. ‘bodily defect’ (Skt. rapas- ‘bodily defect, infirmity, disease’, Sogd. ryph/ ryβh ‘defectiveness, disease’, pw ryph ‘without bodily defect or disease’, ryp’w ‘defective, infirm’), cf. Dk viii, M 726 vēmār ud rišt ud rebag ud āhōgumand gōspend.

³¹ . x^vazəṭ : vyayati.

³² . kām u anjāmī : (svīy)ecchayā paripākāya. Cf. AV 172, Ēvēnag ī nāmāgnibēsišnīh 16.

³³ . hastgōharihā : ratnasattayā. West : ‘with existing nature’ (Dagener : ‘in einem Zustand, in dem sein Wesen existiert’). Menasce’s emendation: xast-gōhrīhā. Pers. xast ‘wounded’.

³⁴ . āgārnīrōihā : vilīnaprāntayā.

³⁵ . dāmaṣ štāftār : sṛṣṭīnām samtāpayituḥ.

nēkravišnīh vinārdan, abāz³⁶ ārāstan³⁷ ī ōy bāv x^vadāy ī dānāg
x^vēš dām ud talag.

(81) enyā, kamnirōgīh ud abēhangīh ī ōy druz andar kuxšišn
ī-š rōšnān az-iz ēn pēdāg (82) ka cōn-š zūrmihōxtīhā mened kū
« ēn asmān ud zamīg ud hān ī ohrmazd dām anast kunum, ayāb
az x^vēš gōhr vardēnum ud ō x^vēšīh barum », (83) ēg-iz abāg
druz-nirōgīh ud zadārkāmagīh ud hamēšakkuxšišnīh ī az
tuvānsāmān ēc rāy³⁸, ud kuxšišn ī dēvān, ast ēn zamīg ud asmān
ud ēn dām, (84) ī az andak ō vas āzāyišnīg³⁹, cōn pēdāg. (85)
amaragān-z pediš xustūgīh⁴⁰. (86) cē agar andar ēn kuxšišn ēc
abarvēzīh frāyist būd hē, az andak ō vas madan a-šāyist hē.

(87) agar-z zāyišn ī gētīg frāyist pediš margīhrasišnīh pēdāg,
ēg-iz vēnīhed kū hān margīh nē astīh bavandag agārīh, bē
vihēz⁴¹ ī az gyāg ō gyāg ud az kār ō kār. (88) cē cōn hāmōyēn
dahišnān bavišn az cahār zahagān ī-šān⁴² gētīg tan, abāz ō cahār
zahagān gumēzīhistan ōy vēnābdāg pēdāg. (89) mēnōgān ī tan
rāyēnāg, gyān hāmīš abzārān, ō ruvān gumēzīhend. (90) ēvcīhrīh
rāy nē višōbīhend. (91) ud ruvān az hān ī x^vēš kunišn āmārīhend.
(92) u-š ganzvar kē-š kirbag ud bazag aviš abespārd, ānōh frāz
rasend pediš kuxšīdārīh. (93) ud ka ganzvar ī kirbag meh-ōz, ā-š
ped abarvēzīh az hamēmāl dast būzed, ō mehgāhīh ud rōšnān ī

³⁶ . aβāž (K 28, S om.) : Skt. om. West: āβāž ‘sole’.

³⁷ . ārāeṭ : āracayati.

³⁸ . hōci nō. Cf. X^vR I.8 ēc rāy pid ud mād mā bēšed !

³⁹ . azāišnī : upaciti. West’s emendation. āzāy- = abzāy- < abi-gu.

⁴⁰ . amaragānica padaš x^vastuī : anekānāmca tena pratyayah. Cf. Cim ī
kustīg, 51.

⁴¹ . nyāž : daridratvañ. West : ‘necessity of going’, Menasce: vixāz
‘tendance’. Cf. Dk v, M 457 hambidīg ped vihēz ī az gyāg ō gyāg andar
tuhīgīh mad.

⁴² . ašā : tāsām-ca. Menasce’s emendation.

hāmx^vašīh ahrāmed⁴³ ; (94) ud jāyēdān nēkravišnīhā frayādīhed. (95) ka-š ganzvar ī bazag meh-ōz, ā-š ped abarvēzīh az ayyār dast kašīhed, (96) ō gyāg ī pāzišn ud šōyišn, ud vēmārestān ī sardgar⁴⁴ abespārīhed ; (97) u-š ānōh-iz hān x^vazārag kirbag ī-š gētīgīhā varzīd nē agārīhed, (98) cē-š, im cim rāy, hān šōyišn ud pāzišn ud pādīfrāh, vināhsāmānīhā, nē adādīhā. (99) cē-š pādīfrāhēnīdan pādār. (100) ud abdum, x^vābar dādār ī dām abaxšāyīdār, ēc dām ī veh andar dastgravīh ī dušmen nē hiled ; (101) ud hān-z ī vināhgār jumā hān ī ahlavān ped vizārdārīh ī vināh az yōždāhrgarān dast būzed ud ō nēkravišnīh ī jāyēdānag zāmēned.

(102) hangird ēn kū : dādār, bizešk ud drustbed ud dāštār ud parvardār ud pānāg ud būzāg ī dāmān, nē vēmārgar ud dardēnīdār ud pādīfrāhgar ī x^vēš dām. (103) ud ast ī gōvizārdar azēr nibišt abāg do bunēštāg vinārdārīh, andarg nēstyazdgōbān ud ēkīhuskārān.

(104) cōn-tān framūd ud x^vāst, peyrāst ēsted. hucašmīhā framāyed nigerīdan⁴⁵ ! (105) cē cōn-mān azabar nibišt, nē pāyag ī hamōzgārīh, bē hān ī hamōzišnīgīh dārum. (106) ēn-z dēnīhā hamōz, ī-m ped nihang xrad⁴⁶, az nibēg ī ādarpādyāvandān ayāft ud ēdar nišānēnīd. (107) u-š hamōzagān andar dēngird nibēg ī agrī frazānag ādarfarrōbay ī farroxzādān, ī hudēnān pēšobāy būd, az dēn dānāgīh vizārd ī ast hazārdarag.

⁴³ . hamx^vašī ārāβəṭ (JE ārāməṭ) : sarvvasukhatāmāsādayati. hāmx^vašīh = hamāgx^vārīh (Av. vīspō.x^vāθra). Cf. MX 2. 145-146.

⁴⁴ . dardgar : pīdākare. West : ‘agonizing’, Menasce : vīmārestān ī dartkar ‘lieu de la maladie et de la torture’.

⁴⁵ . u nigarēt : paśyeta.

⁴⁶ . dīn ī xrad : dīnyā buddheḥ. West : ‘the religion of wisdom’. Cf. SS 20 cē man xrad nihang.

(108) hān-z ī-tān abar akanāragīh ud kanāragumandīh porsīd,
azēr nibišt-um. ped yazdān kām.

darag ī didīgar

5

(1) *anī darag andarg ī nēst-yazd-gōbān, ud abar astīh <ī>
yazd u-š hambidīg.*

(2) astīh ī yazd u-š hambidīg xrad-pedīrišnīg dānišn ud gōbāgīh vimandsoxanīhā. (3) hangird ēn ē framāyed dānistan¹ kū: abardum, fradum, ud avizīrišnīg² dānišn yazd šnāxtan ast. (4) kē-š ēn dānišn nē pēšobāy ī dānišnān, ā-š abārīg dānišn a-frayād. (5) yazd šnāxtan ped uš ī avinast, ud vīr ī tēz (ud ayābāg)³ ud xrad ī vizināg šāyed. (6) cē yazd šnāxtan nē ēn and vas kū dāned kū yazd ast. (7) cē kē vahmān tis ped astīh āgāh, u-š az cōnīh anāgāh, ēn kū hān tis veh ayāb vattar, hudānāg ayāb dušdānāg, anōš ayāb zahr, sard ud afsurd ayāb garm ud vidāzāg⁴, hušk ud hōšēnāg ayāb x^vēd ud namēnāg⁵, (8) ud ka-š az cōnīh anāgāh, ēgiš ast ēvāz dānistan a-sūd. (9) cē stāyišn ud nikōhišn ī kas ud tis nē ped astīh, bē ped cōnīh šāyed kirdan.

¹. ē farmāyast dānōt : samādištaṃ jānīyāt.

². x^vazīrašnītum : sūkṣmataraṃ. West : ‘most suitable for the well-discerning’, Menasce : huzīrišnīktōm ‘le plus spirituel’. Pers. a-vizīrišnīg ‘inevitable, indispensable, unavoidable’ (Dk iii, M 246, iv, M 424, ix, M 805) ≈ Syr. ܐܘܨܝܪܝܢܝܘܬܐ.

³. tāβāā : tīvratareṇa. West : ‘fervent’, Menasce : tāpāk ‘ardent’. Cf. HAM 147 frazend ī tēz-vīr ī nēk, MX 28.11 vīr ī mardōmān tēzdar, PDK 31 ayābāg vīr, DD 2.13 vīr ī ayābāg.

⁴. tāβāā : sadravam. West : ‘scorching’, Menasce : tāpāk ‘brûlant’. Pers. vidāzāg ‘melting, molten’.

⁵. mīnāā (Skt. om.). Menasce : mīnāk ‘crystalline’. Pers. namēnāk (نمناک) ‘damp’.

(10) ēn-z ē framāyēd dānistan⁶ kū: dānistan ī tis ped se ēvēnag: (11) ped acār-dānišnīh, ayāb hangōšīdag-dānišnīh, ayāb ped šāyēd ud sazed būdan.

(12) acārdānišnīh ōn cōn ēk bār⁷ ēk ēk, do bār do cahār. (13) cē andar vimand ī acārīgīh-iz nē šāyēd guftan (14) kū: būd ud baved zamān-ē ayāb gyāg-ē kū do bār do panz ayāb si gōbīhed.

(15) hangōšīdagdānišnīh hān kē az pēdāgīg tis, hān ī nē pēdāg pēdāgīhed. (16) ud az vēnābdāg tis a-vēnābdāg tis, ped hangōšīdag ī dast-abar-nihād⁸ āvared ō handēmānīh ī vēnišn ī xrad, (17) ped spurīgīmānāgīh, humānāgīh⁹, ud humānāgbahrīh. (18) spurīgīmānāg¹⁰ ōn cōn mardōm ī pārs ō mardōm ī anī šahr. (19) ud humānāg ōn cōn panīr ō spēdag ī xāyag. (20) ud humānāgbahr ōn cōn panīr ō gac. (21) cē ēn az vimand ī humānāgbahr, cōn panīr ō gac ēvāz ped spēdīh mānāg; (22) spēdag ī xāyag ped spēdīh ud x^varišn-z (x^varišnīgīh-iz)¹¹. (23) ud ast-iz kē humānāg humānāgdar, ud humānāgbahr humānāgbahrdar gōbīhed. (24) hān ī spurīghumānāgdar abar nē gōbīhed. (25) cē spurīg spurīgdar nē baved. (26) az ēn ēvēnag gugān¹² vas, dagrandīh rāy, frāz hišt.

(27) az vēnābdāg tis avēnābdāg nimūdan ōn cōn az kirdag ud dāštāg tis kē kirdār ud dāštār nē handēmān, ud az nibištāg tis kē-š nibištār nē pēdāg, (29) pēdāgīhed kirdār ī hān kirdag, ud dāštār

⁶ . ē farmāyast dānəṭ : samādištaṁ jānīyāt.

⁷ . bahar : vibhāga. Bharucha's emendation. Menasce : bahr. Cf. Bērōnī :

«سه بار دو بار، یا دو بار سه بار، شش بار بود.» تفهیم، ۲۴

⁸ . dast abar nahāt : hastauparinyastena. See 10.65.

⁹ . humānā : upamānena.

¹⁰ . spurī mānāī : pūrṇopamānām.

¹¹ . x^varašnica : khādyenaca.

¹² . dugā : vistīrṇām.

ī hān dāštag, ud nibištār ī hān nibištāg acārīg, (30) cōn-š nimūd
tis ī pēdāg ud vēnābdāg hān ī abēdāg ud avēnābdāg.

(31) hān ī andar šāyed ud sazed būdan āgāhīh vurravišnīg.
(32) cōn kē gōbed kū-m dīd mard-ē kē-š šagr-ē, ayāb šagr-ē kē-š
mard-ē bē ōzad. (33) ud ēn hān ī andar šāyed ud sazed būdan
vimand šāyed drōv. (34) bē ka hān āgāhīh mard gōbed kē ped
rāstīh husrav, ud ped vizurdīh uzmuđag, ā andar rāstīh ud astīh
vimand. (35) agar mard gōbed kē ped drōzanīh dusrav, ud ped
avizurdīh uzmuđag, ā andar vimand ī drōvīh ud anastīh.

(36) anī ēvēnag ī az ēn bērōn vimand ī acārīg nē būd (ud) nē
šāyed. (37) cōn kē gōbed kū: “gēhān ped nihānīgīh andar
andarōn xāyag-ē burden šāyed”, (38) ayāb “pīl-ē andar sūrāg-ē ī
sōzan vidurdan šāyed, (39) ōn ka ēk-iz nē meh baved ud nē
keh”, (40) ayāb “gōhr tis ī nē-bun”, (41) ud “kuxšīšn ī nē
kanāragumandīhā”, (42) ud “astag tis ī nē zamānumand ud
gyāgumand”, (43) ayāb “gyāgumand nē kanāragumand”, (44) ud
“jumbišn vihēzag¹³ ī tuhīg”, (45) ud abārīg ī az ēn šōn guftan ud
handēšīdan zīfān¹⁴ ud drōv ud nē šāyed.

(46) enyā astīh ī āfurāg¹⁵ yazd, jud az hān ī cihrmārišnīh¹⁶ ud
anī gugāyīh, ped acārīg ud hangōšīdagīg dānišn, (47) pēš vēnišn
ī xrad ōn vēnābdāg cōn az bahrumandīh ud kirdagīh ud
pesāxtagīh ī az vas ēvēnag judsān¹⁷ tis, kirdagīh ī gēhān ud

¹³ . afaē : tālikayā (Skt. tālika- ‘the palm of the hand’). West: hapa-ē ‘a
palm of the hand’, Menasce : apē (apē tūhīk ‘sans qu’il y ait de vide’).

¹⁴ . zaspā : kutsitam.

¹⁵ . āfrāā : ādeštuh. West : ‘exalted’, Menasce : afrāz ‘très haut’. Pers.
āfurāg ‘creating (in the spiritual state) ; who invokes blessings on’, cf. Dk iii,
M 169.

¹⁶ . ciharmālašnī : rupasparśanatvañ.

¹⁷ . jaṭ saxun : vibhinna-vacana-. Cf. Dk viii, M 720 dah judsān ayyār.

mardōm kē-šān bahrān abzārān ī aziš, cōn tan, gyān, zahagān kē aziš pesāxt ud kird ēstend, (48) ī ast: ātaš ud āb ud vād ud zamīg, (49) ī jud jud ped x^vēš kār rāyēnišn ōn cihrēnīd ud vāspuhragānēnīd ēstend (50) kū, ātaš ped x^vēšcihrīh ud vāspuhragānīh kār ōn kū-š kār ī āb, vād, zamīg nē ādōg rāyēnīdan. (51) ēdōn-z āb ped x^vēšcihrīh <ud vāspuhragānīh> kār ōn cōn kū-š kār ī vād, ātaš, zamīg nē [ādōg]. (52) ēdōn-z vād kār ī ātaš, āb, zamīg nē. (53) ēdōn-z zamīg kār ī avēšān rāyēnīdan nē ādōg. (54) bē jud jud ped hān ī x^vēš kār cōn vāspuhragānēnīd ud cihrēnīd ēstend, (55) az ōy ī cihrēnīdār ud pesāxtār ud vāspuhragānēnīdār frazānagīhā ud nizūmānagīhā, (56) cōn ō hān kār abāyišnīg ud pessazag pesāxt, virāst, cihrēnīd ud vāspuhragānēnīd.

(57) ōn-z mardōm ud abārīg dām kē zahagumand ī ēn zahagān, (58) kē-šān pesāxtagīh ī ast ud pid¹⁸ ud pay ud rag ud pōst jud jud, (59) ēk ō did abyuxtagīh¹⁹ āgenīn vēnābdāg. (60) ēdōn-z vāspuhragānīh ud cihrēnīdagīh ī hannāmān ī andarōnīg, (61) cōn jagar, spul²⁰, šuš, gurdag, ud zahr pōšišn, abārīg abzārān kē harv ēk az-išān x^vēškārīh-ē pēdāg, (62) avišān pādemār cihrēnīd ud vāspuhragānēnīd ēstend ped hān ī-šān x^vēš kār.

(63) ēdōn-z cašm, gōš, vēnīg, uzvān, dahan, dandān, dast, pāy, ud abārīg abzārān ī bēronīg kē-šān jud jud x^vēškārīh cihrēnīdagīh (64) vēnābdāg pediš pēdāg, ōn ka ēk az avēšān hannāmān agār, hān ī did ped kār ī ōy ī did kē-š aviš nē cihrēnīd

¹⁸ . paṭ : medo. West: 'fat'. Cf. FO 10 pitum : pid ud gōšt.

¹⁹ . aβēvīnāxtaī : anaikyam. West : 'want of sympathy', Menasce : apēvēnāxtakīh 'la disparité'. Pers. abyōz-: abyuxt 'to join, attach; mix', abyuxt(ag) 'joined; mixed', cf. Dk iv, M 410, 415.

²⁰ . daβur : kālakhmaḍam. Jāmāspji : For Pl . دابور, Pers. سپرز.

ēsted nē šāyed. (65) ud ka ēvāz ō pesāxtagīh ī ēk az hannāmān ī tan nigerīhed kū cōn abd frazānagīh pesāxt ēsted :

(66) cōn cašm ī az vas ēvēnag judnām ud judkār. (67) cōn mijag²¹ ud tōb²², spēdag ud xāyag, syāhag²³ ud tēdag. (68) ōn kū spēdag pay²⁴ ast, (69) syāhag āb, ī ped rag²⁵ ī pay²⁶ ōn ēstadag kū-š vardišn ī cašm az kust ō kust pediš baved. (70) tēdag x^vad vēnāgīh ast cōn vēnāgīh ī andar āb. (71) syāhag ped rag ī spēdag ēsted cōn ēstišn ī āb ped rag ī pay²⁷. (72) ud tēdag andar syāhag cōn vēnāgīh ī tis andar rōšn āb, (73) ud dīdan²⁸ ī kālbod andar āyēnag ī rōšn. (74) ud spēdag ī gabrīhā²⁹ vināristan ped hān cim kū xāk gard ī az andarvāy ka ō cašm rased pediš nē ōftād³⁰, (75) ō dumb³¹ ī cašm vardād, (76) ud vēnišn ī cašm mā tabāhēnād.

²¹ . mazg : bhrū (Skt. bhrū ‘eyebrow’).

²² . tōβ : puṭe (Skt. puṭa ‘hollow space, pocket ; eyelid’). West: ‘eyelid’, Menasce: tuf ‘salive; humeur’. Pers. tōb ‘layer’, (توب ‘the eye’), cf. VZ 30.4 tanegirdīg ped haft tōb.

²³ . sāēaa : tārakā (Skt. tārakā ‘the pupil of the eye’). West ‘shadow, iris of the eye’, Menasce: sahīk ‘translucide’.

²⁴ . pāγ : vyajanaṁ (Skt. vyajana ‘a palm-leaf used for fanning, fan’). West: “Assuming that Pāz. pēγ, as well as pih in § 69 and peh in § 71 stands for Pahl. pīk (Pers. pī), ‘fat’.” Pers. pay ‘sinews, tendons, nerves’, cf. Bd 196 rahag ud pay.

²⁵ . raγ : sirayā (Skt. sirā ‘nerve, vein, artery’). West: lag ‘prison’, Filippone: rag ‘layer’.

²⁶ . pih : vasāyā (Skt. vasā ‘marrow, fat’).

²⁷ . pih : vasāyāḥ.

²⁸ . stūn : stāmbhasya. West: ‘column’. Menasce’s emendation : dīt[an].

²⁹ . daβargāh : ubhayoḥ sthānayoḥ (‘of both places’). West : ‘orbit’, Menasce : gawrgās ‘orbite’. Pers. gabr ‘deep; deep valley, depressed land’ = zafr, gabrīhā/ zafrīhā adv., cf. Dk v, M 460.

³⁰ . nahuftāt : prāvīnoti. West : ‘be concealed’.

³¹ . guṇb : golaka (Skt. golaka ‘ball, globe’). West: gumb ‘lid (of the eye)’, MacKenzie (BSOAS, 32/2, 398): “gunb is probably to be read *dmb= damb ‘shore, edge’.” Pers. dumb ‘tail; extremity’ (دمچه/ دنباله ‘the outer corner of the eye’), dumb ī cašm ≈ Arab. مؤخر العين.

(77) ēdōn cōn varg³² ī gōš x^vahl³³ pesāxt³⁴ ped hān cim (78) kū xāk gard, parrvarān³⁵ xrafstar, rāstīhā, pediš andar nē šavād, (79) ud x^vad nam ud guzd³⁶ ī gōš ud zahr ī xrafstarān.

ēdōn pēdāg (80) ka ō abzārān ī gyān ud ruvān nigerīhed, (81) cōn hambōyišn ud ešnavišn ud vēnišn ud caxšišn³⁷ ud permāhišn³⁸ āgāhegar³⁹ ī gyānumandān, (82) ēdōn-z xrad, ī “harv-rad” vizārīhed, vizingar (83) ud dānišn ī ayābāg, (84) ud vīr ī x^vāstār abespārdār, (85) ud uš ī ganzvar nigāhdār, (86) ud bōy ī x^vad vēnāgīh ī ruvān, (87) fravaš ī x^vad cīhr ī dāštār ī tan, (88) ud ox⁴⁰ ī abēzag, (89) ud abārīg mēnōgān ī tan dāštār kē-šān jud jud kār ud x^vēškārīh ped hān ēvēnag cīhrēnīd ēstend, (90) ped x^vēškārīh cōn vāspuhragānēnīd cīhrēnīd ēstend ped x^vēš kār bavandag hend, (91) ped hān ī nē cīhrēnīd ēstend nē šāyend.

(92) ud gugān⁴¹ ī jud jud andar dēngird nibēg ī cōn agrī frazānag az dēnāgāhīh vizārd, ēdar dagrandīh rāy frāz hišt. (93) kē-š kāmāg kū abdīh ī dēn mazdesn⁴² ud pōryōdkēšīg gōbišn bē

³² . ray : sirāyāh. West : rag ‘tube’. Pers. varg ‘leaf’, varg ī gōš ‘auricle’, cf. برگ چشم (the leaf of the eye), the eye-lid’.

³³ . avāhar : vakrataram. West : afāhal ‘undilated’. Menasce’s emendation.

³⁴ . pasāxtan : viracanaṃ.

³⁵ . faraβarā : utpataṃtaśca.

³⁶ . guzg : malaśca. West : guzg ‘secretion’, Menasce : guzag. Pers. vazd/ guzd (Av. vazdah- nt. ‘fatness’), guzd ī gōš ‘earwax, cerumen, ear discharge’.

³⁷ . cāšašni : āsvādanaṃ.

³⁸ . padarmāišni : sparśanaṃ.

³⁹ . āgāhīgar : avabodhakaram. Menasce : ākāškār.

⁴⁰ . «و» : prajnyonmeśaś ca. Jāmāspji’s emendation.

⁴¹ . dugā : vistīrṇaṃ.

⁴² . mahōst : mahattām.

dānistan, (94) ped hān abēhangōšīdag⁴³ nibēg pediš nigered,
(95) abdīh ud rāstīh ī dēn abardar ē dāned.

6

(1) *ud anī viyābānīh ī avēšān nēstyazdgōbān*, (2) *kē-šān*
“dahrīg” x’ānend, (3) *kē az arg ī dēnīg ud ranz ī ped kirbag*
varzīdan vaxt ēstend, (4) *ud drāyišn ī abēvimand vasīhā*
drāyend.

(5) ēn ē nigered (6) kū: ēn gēhān abāg vas-ēvēnag vardišn ud
ārāyišn ī-š hannāmān abzārān, ud pedyāragīh ī ēk ō did, ud
gumēzišn ī-š ēk ped did, akanārag zamān bunēštag hangārend.
(7) ud ēn-z kū nē kirbag mizd, ud nē vināh pādifrāh, ud nē vahišt
ud dušox, ud nē rāyēnīdār ī kirbag ud bazag ast. (8) ēn-z kū: tis
ēvāz gētīg ast, ud mēnōg nēst.

(9) cōn man azabar nibišt ud nibēsēnīd (10) kū kirdag bē az
kirdār, ud vizīdag bē az vizīdār būdan ōn nē šāyed cōn nibištāg
bē az nibištār virāstan, mān bē <az> rāz⁴⁴ dēsāg. (11) hāmōyēn
kirdag tis bē <az> kunāg būdan nē šāyed. (12) ud ēn gētīg az
gumēzišn ī zōrān hambidīgān, (13) ōn vasān xīrān judcihrān,
judgōnān, judbōyān, juddaxšagān, judsardagān ōn pesāxt ud
vizīd ud kird ēsted cōn man azabar abar tan guft (14) kū, az vas
tis ī cōn ast ud pay⁴⁵ ud pid⁴⁶ ud rag ud pōst ud xūn ud vād ud

⁴³ . angōšīdaa : mahādr̥ṣṭām̥ta. Jāmāspji’s emendation. Cf. 10.52. We can
also read : an-hangōšīdag.

⁴⁴ . rāz u : sūtradhāreṇa. Pers. rāz ‘building ; architect’.

⁴⁵ . pae : medas ca. (Skt. medas ‘fat, marrow’).

viš⁴⁷ ud drim⁴⁸ ud dast ud pāy ud sar ud eškamb ud abārīg hannāmān andarōnīg ud bēronīg pesāxt ud kird ēsted. (15) andar davistan⁴⁹ ī vas ēvēnag tis ī judgōhr ī judzōr rāy hamēšag-nē-kirdag, (16) ayāb bē-kirdār būdan, nē šāyistan ēvar.

(17) ud ham ēvēnag, abārīg dām, urvar, draxt, ud āb ud ātaš ud zamīg ud vād, u-šān rāyēnišn ī nē x^vad ō x^vēš kām⁵⁰, ud nē rāyēnīdār hend, (18) bē-šān rāyēnīdār ud dēsāg⁵¹ ud kunāg ast, (19) ud acār⁵² kē-šān az rāyēnišn ō rāyēnišn, ud az sān ō sān⁵³, ud az hangām ō hangām vardēnāg ud kunāg. (20) ēdōn-z vardišn ī sālān, mähān, rōzān, zamānān, ī daxšagumandīg, vardišn ī spihr ud stārag ī pesāxtag, ud x^varšēd ud mäh ī vinārdag ī anhaspīnravišn⁵⁴ ī cihrīgvardišn. (21) ēn-z nimūdārīh kū harv cihrīg cannišnān az cihrēnīdār-ē kē-š ōy cihrīg cannišn cihrēnīd.

(22) az abārīg juttarīh ud judrāyēnišnīh ī andar gētīg, (23) az gētīg ped zamān zamān, hangām hangām, šāyed dānistan kū, ēn gētīg nē abērāyēnīdār. (24) ayāb-iš⁵⁵ rāyēnīdār nē yazd ī

⁴⁶ . paṭ : māmśam ca. (Skt. māmsa ‘flesh’).

⁴⁷ . vas : rasaś ca (Skt. rasa ‘liquid secretion; poison’). West : varas ‘hair’.

⁴⁸ . daryam : niṣṭhā ca (niṣṭha ‘state’). West : dar-ī dum ‘fundament’.

⁴⁹ . du stūn : dvayoh stambhayoh. West : ‘two series’, Zaehner : ‘two pillars’, Menasce : bastan.

⁵⁰ . kār : kārye. West : ‘duty’, Menasce : ‘opération’. Neryōsang confused Pers. kām ‘will’ (Skt. kāma-) with Ind. kām ‘work, function’.

⁵¹ . dōšāā : dharttā.

⁵² . vāzār : haṭṭavyavahāraś ca. West : vāzār ‘usage’, Zaehner : ‘intercourse’, Menasce : vāc-ār nom d’agent ‘impulsion’.

⁵³ . əž saxun ō saxun : vākyāt vākye. West: ‘from statement to statement’, Menasce: ‘d’un état à l’autre’.

⁵⁴ . hvaspīn raβəšni : śobhanaśca pracari°. West : ‘a well-horsed progress’ (alluding to the supposed horses of the sun), Menasce : xuspīn (‘tranquille, régulier’) ravišn.

⁵⁵ . ayāš : atha cet. Menasce: *ēwāzaš.

cimīkkunišn ī akanāragzōr ud asāmānvarz⁵⁶? ōy-iz ī ka gēhān frāyumandīh ud zarmānīh ud marg ēdōn vēnābdāg kū ham mardōm ud gōspend, ud ham cihrān ud draxtān az juvānīh ō pērīh, ud az pērīh ō margīh madan cihrīg. (25) az pērīh abāz ō juvānīh, ud az margīh abāz ō zīndagīh madan kas-iz nē vēnīhed ud guftan nē tuvān.

(26) nē-z ēn menīdan ud guftan ud vurravistan sazed (27) kū: pādāšn ī kirbag, ud pādīfrāh ī bazag nēst, (28) nē-z cihr ī hamāg dāmān ayābišnīh ī⁵⁷ dādār ud murnzēnīdār mardārīh.

(29) ēn-z kū-šān grāmīgīh ī nivāzišn⁵⁸ dōsttar kū x^vārīh ī dušnām, vattarīh. (30) cē-šān nēkīh ī pediš kunend spāsdār, (31) ud ka must vēnend garzīdār bend. (32) az-iz ēn baxt ud jahišn⁵⁹ bē az mēnōgān mēnōgīg nē šāyed. (33) ēdōn-z ped cihr ī harv šuyišnumandān, (34) ped harv avištāb ud vidang āyaftx^vāhišnīh, umēddārīšnīh, ō-abardar-nigerīšnīh, abar mardōmān, bē abar dadān ud murvān ud cahārbāyān pēdāgīg.

(35) ēn-z ī sofistāgīh gōbend (36) kū: tisān ēk-iz ōstīgānīh nēst. (37) cē hamāg taxl hend. (38) cē kē gōbed kū “angubēn taxl” ud “angubēn šīrēn”, harv do rāst. (39) cē taxl ō višabzūdān, šīrēn ō abārīgān. (40) ud “nān x^vaš” ud “nān ax^vaš” harv do rāst. (41) cē x^vaš ō gursagān, ax^vaš ō sagrān. (42) ud abārīg vas ped ēn šōn. (43) ā ēn gōbīhed ped pāsox ī avēšān drāyišn hangirdīg:

⁵⁶ . āsmānvarz : ākāśakartā. West : ‘illuminating the sky’, Menasce : ‘auteur du ciel’.

⁵⁷ . ayāβašnī : avalokatā (°kitā). Menasce: ayāpišnīk <▷>.

⁵⁸ . nyāžašni : nirddhana. West : ‘penury’, Menasce : ‘la gêne’.

⁵⁹ . dahišni : dānāt. West : ‘dispensation’, Menasce : ‘le bienfait’.

(44) cōn-šān guft dānāgān (45) kū: ēn-z soxan ī ašmā sofistāgān
abar taxlenīh⁶⁰ ī harv tis ham taxl ast, u-š rāstīh nēst.

(46) abārīg vas andarg ī avēšān guft ast. (47) u-mān ēn kū
nišānēnīd, pedisāy šnāxtārīh ī ašmā pērōzgarān (48) kū az dēn
vas ayābed.

⁶⁰. tahalūnī : kaṭukatve.

darag ī sidīgar

7

(1) *anī abar astīh ī hambidīg ī judgōhr*

cōn azabar nimūd (2) kū: az ōn frazānagīhā-pesāxtagīh, cihrēnīdagīh, vāspuhragānīh ī tisān, az-iz bahrān ī hamēnīdag, rōšn, acārīg, dast-abar-nihād, pēdāg kū-š kirdār, pesāxtār, hamēnīdār, cihrēnīdār frazānag. (3) u-š frazānagīhā-pesāxtagīh az jud jud, ped xvēš jud jud kār cihrēnīdan ud vāspuhragānēnīdan pēdāg. (4) u-š frazānagīhā-kunišnīh nimūdār kū-š kunišn cimīg ud vahānīg. (5) cē az frazānagān kunišn harv cimīg ud vahānīg sazed būdan. (6) pēš, cim ud vahān ī kunišn baved; pas, kunišn.

(7) az vasēvēnagīh ī-š kunišn pēdāg kū-š kunišn kāmagīg ud abāyistīg. (8) cē kunišn az kunāg do ēvēnag baved: (9) ayāb, kāmagīg, vasēvēnag ī-š kām; (10) ayāb, cihrīg, ēkēvēnag ī cōn cihrēnīd ēsted. (11) az vasēvēnag kunišn ī dādār pēdāg kū-š kunišn kāmagīg ud abāyistīg, (12) u-š kām az abāyist judvimand. (13) cē-š kām, ped nirōg, ī bunēštag abāyistag.

(14) cim ud vahān ī kunišn pēš az abāyist. (15) cē dā cim ī abāyist ī kunišn nē rased, abāyist nē baved. (16) cim ī kunišn az vahān baved kē-š hān kunišn abāyist aviš nixvāred¹. (17) abāyistan, kāmistan ī tis ī vahānīg baved, (18) ud vahān ī abāyistan ī tis az x^vadīh nē hangēzīhed². (19) cē az bē-rasišnīh

¹ . nax^vārəṭ : virodhīyati. Pers. nix^vār- ‘to hasten, hurry ; urge, incite’ (Parth. nišfār-).

² . hūsažihəṭ : surupayate. Menasce’s emendation.

vahān baved. (20) kē rāy nimūdār cimīkkunišnīh ī frazānag. (21) cim az vahān, ud vahān az avištāb, ud avištāb az bē, ud bē az vizūdār, ud vizūdār az hamēstār, abēsoxan.

(22) u-m ped ēn dar nimūd acārdānišnīhā ud hangōšīdagīhā kirdagīh ud cihrēnīdagīh ī gēhān, u-š bahrān abzārān. (23) az kirdagīh ud cihrēnīdagīh ī gēhān pēdagīhed kirdār ud cihrēnīdār, (24) ud cimīkkunišnīhā kirdagīh ī frazānag dādār. (25) az cimīkkunišnīhā kirdagīh pēdagīhed astīh ī vizūdār ī az bē.

8

(1) *did abar astīh ī hambidīg judbunēšt*

ēn (2) kū: az nēkīh ud vattarīh ī andar gēhān pēdag, (3) ud nāmcišt ī nēkkirdār ī x^vēš vimand. (4) ēdōn cōn tārīkīh ud rōšnīh, (5) hudānāgīh ud dušdānāgīh, (6) bōy (hubōyīh) ud genn (dušgennīh), (7) zīndagīh ud margīh, (8) vēmārīh ud drustīh, (9) dād ud adād, (10) must ud āzādīh, (11) abārīg hambidīg kirdārān ī-šān ēvarīg astīh dīdārīh ped harv šahr, būm, ud harv zamānag. (12) ōn kū nē ayābīhed ēc šahr ud būm, ud nē-z būd, bād ēc zamānag (13) ka ēn nām, ud nāmcišt ī nēk ud vad, nē būd ud nē ast, (14) ud nē ped ēc gyāg ud zamānag šāyed guftan kū nēk ud vad az x^vēš cōnīh ped x^vadīh vardišnīg baved.

(15) ēdōn-z abārīg hambidīgān kē-šān judīh nē <judgōhrīhā bē> judgārīhā ud judsardagīhā ud judcihrīhā. (16) cōn judīh ī hamgōhrān ēk andar did ōn cōn narīh māyagīh, (17) bōyān, mizagān, gōnān, ud x^varšēd, māh, stāragān, kē-šān judīh nē judgōhrīhā, bē judgārīhā ud judcihragēnīdīhā ud judpesāxtīhā, ī

cōn ō kār kār abāyišnīg³. (18) nēk ud vad, ud rōšn ud tār, abārīg judgōhrān ēg-išān judāgīh nē judgārīhā, bē judgōhrīhā. (19) asāzišnīgcīhrīh ud vizūdārīh ī-šān ēk ō did pēdāg. (20) ōn ka nēkīh ānōh, vattārīh nēstīh abēgumān; (21) ka rōšnīh mad, tārīkīh spōzīhed. (22) ēdōn-z abārīg hambidīgān kē-šān asāzišnīgīh ud vizūdārīh ō āgenīn az judgōhrīh vahān. (23) cōn andar gētīg hambidīggōhrīh ud vizūdārīh ī tisān ēk ō did pēdāg.

(24) gētīg bar ī mēnōg; u-š mēnōg bun. (25) cē bar ayābīhed ped bun, (26) ham ēvēnag būd gugāyīh-dādār, andar šnāsagān rōšn. (27) gētīg bar, mēnōg būdan, pēdāgīh ēn (28) ka: harv vēnišnīg, gīrišnīg tis az abēdāgīh ō pēdāgīh madan, gōvizār pēdāg. (29) cōn mardōm ud abārīg dām ī vēnišnīg ud gīrišnīg az mēnōg ī avēnišnīg ud agīrišnīg būdan, āšnāg; (30) ōn cōn kālbod, <andar> āyēnag⁴, drahnāy, pahnāy, ud zahā⁵ ī x^vad; (31) ud tan ī mardōm ud abārīg dām pēdāgīh andar tōm ī az pidarān abēdāg avēnišnīg būd. (32) x^vad-iz tōm andar hān ī pidarān pušt⁶ ō pēdāgīh ud vēnišn ud gīrišn mad. (33) nūn acārīg šāyed dānistan kū: ēn gētīg ī vēnišnīg ud gīrišnīg az mēnōg ī avēnišnīg ud agīrišnīg dād būd ēsted. (34) ham ēvēnag az vēnišn ud gīrišn ō avēnišnīgīh agīrišnīgīh ī x^vad mēnōg būdan abēgumān.

(35) ka-mān dīd ped gētīg hambidīggōhrīh ud (hambidīg-)sāxtārīh⁷ ud vizūdārīh ī ēk ō did, pez mēnōg xīr (36) kē bun ast ī gētīg, (37) u-š gētīg xīrān bar, ham ēvēnag būdan nē gumānīg. (38) ēn hān ī az hambidīggōhrīh pēdāg.

³ . ayābašnī : abhīspā. Jamaspasana's emendation.

⁴ . āinaa : darpaṇe (Skt. darpaṇa- 'mirror'). Menasce: 'l'espèce'.

⁵ . zahā: piṇḍena (Skt. piṇḍa- 'ball, embryo'). West: 'emanation', Menasce: zāyak 'progéniteur'.

⁶ . pōst : carmme. Jamaspasana's emendation.

⁷ . sāxtārī : saṁsparddhanatvaṁ.

(39) enyā-m azabar nimūd cim ud vahān ī frazānagīhā-
kunišnīh ī dādār (40) kē dād dām ī nimūdār ast astīh ī hamēstār,
(41) cē āšnāg kū: kunišn az kunišngar do ēvēnag, kāmagīg ayāb
cihrīg. (42) hān ī kāmagīg se ēvēnag: (43) do, az dānāgān ud
frazānagān, (44) ayāb ped x^vāstan, ō xvēš kirdan ī sūd ud nēkīh,
(45) ayāb spuxtān, ayāb dāštan ī zyān ud anāgīh ī az bē; (46) ud
ēk, az dušāgāhān ud adānān, (47) halagīhā ud abēcimīhā. (48) az
dānāgān ud frazānagān kunišn abēcim avahān nē sazed būdan.
(49) cōn dādār ī frazānag ī vispāgāh ī bavandag-tuvānīg, ped
x^vadīh bavandag ud spurīg, hān ī-š nē niyāz ō sūd-ē ud abzōn<-
ē> ī az bē x^vāstan⁸. (50) pas šāyed dānistan kū cim ud vahān⁹ ī-š
kunišnān hān ēk ēvēnag: zyān ī-š az hamēstār ud vizūdār ī az bē,
šāyed būdan, spuxtān, abāz dāštan, ī x^vad cim ud vahān ī
dāmdahišnīh.

(52) ēn-z kū: ōy dādār ī frazānag vehkām; (53) u-š kām
hamāg vehīh; (54) u-š dād dām pedisāy x^vēš kām, (55) ud
bavandag-ravākkāmīh¹⁰ ī ōy ī vehkām frazānag ped ānāftan ud
anast kirdan ī vattarīh. (56) cē dā vattarīh nē ānābīhed, ōy ī
vehkām nē spurīkkām.

(57) ēn kū: ōy dādār ī frazānag vehīh az dādārīh ud
parvardārīh ud pānāgīh, rāh ī anāgīh bē kirdan, ud pahrēz ī az
bazag kirdan, cārag framūdan hamuxtān, pēdāg. (58) az-iz
cahārān¹¹ zōrān ī tan ī ped dard ud vēmārīh ī az bēron, (59) ud
ped vahān ī tan (60) hamēstār ī ō tan rased bē spuxtān, abāz
dāštan, dāštārīh ud pezāmēnīdārīh ud vaxšēnīdārīh ī gyānvarān
ud rōymānān ped zōr ī dārāg parvarāg ī cihr hamkār, ī dēnīg

⁸⁸ . x^vāst : iyeša.

⁹ . vahān : kāraṇānāmca.

¹⁰ . bundaaraḥāī kāmī : samṇapurvṇtikāmī.

¹¹ . cihrā u : rūpāvayavebhyah. West : ‘the qualities and’, Menasce : ‘les
natures et’.

fravahr x^vānīhed; (61) ud ped hān cahār zōr ī frabihišngar¹², ī ast zōr ī āhanzāg, gīrāg, gugārāg, ud spōzāg, (62) kē az hāmōyēn dādār frazānagīh, hamkārīhā, ped peymānīg zōr, ped abāzdāštārīh ī dard ud vēmārīh ī sardag sardag ī az hamēstār ī halakkunišn ī anākkām, (63) ud anī hamzōr ud hamayyār hend, pēdāg vehkāmīh ī dādār.

(64) ēn-z kū: ēn dard ud margīh, ī tan višuftār, nē <az> dādār ī vehkām ī tan dāštār ud parvardār. (65) pēdāgīh az-iz ēn ka dādār ī frazānag nē abaxšdār ud pašīmānīh-kunišn, (66) ud nē višuftār ud agārgar¹³ ī x^vēš āfurišnān; (67) cē frazānag ud vispāgāh. (68) ēn ō abaxšīh, pašīmānīh ī az x^vēš kunišn abar ōy kamdānišn, abavandagxrad ud afrazāmešnās sazed guftan. (69) cōn az dānāgān ud frazānagān kunišn abēcim avahān nē baved. (70) hamgōnag az adānān ud dušāgāhān ud afrazāmešnāsān kunišn hamāg halag, abēcim ud avahān. (71) ud ōy ī frazānag ped abāzdāštārīh ī hān halakkunišn ud afrazāmešnās az x^vēštan dāmān frazānagīhā nizūmānagīhā¹⁴ kunišnīg ud hangixtār¹⁵. (72) ōy ī halakkunišn parzīnumand¹⁶ pēcīdag andar dām-vandag kird¹⁷. (73) cē ēn āšnāg kū: ōy ī jumbāg zīndag gōhr andar akanārag tuhīgīh ōn nē šāyed abāz dāštan, abesinnīdan¹⁸, az vizūdārīh abēbīm būdan, (74) bē ka pēcīdag ud parzīdag¹⁹ ud

¹² .faržidašnigar (Skt. om.). West : parjasashnigar ‘accumulative’, Menasce : parcītišnkar ‘assimilateur’.

¹³ . āgārgar : vilāyayitā.

¹⁴ . vicumānahihā : vivekatayā.

¹⁵ . andāxtār : daršayitā. West : ‘contriver’, Menasce : ‘qui projète’.

¹⁶ . farzīnmaṇḍ : gumphitaṁ.

¹⁷ . dām niβō kard : sṛṣṭau ālekhī cakāra. Menasce : dām ōfted.

¹⁸ . aβōfsūidan : samkocayitum. West: apasažainīdan ‘to disorganize’, Menasce: awasahinīdan/apasīhēnītan ‘détruire’.

¹⁹ . farahīdaa (JJ faržīdaa) : gumphito. West: parkhīdaa ‘fenced in’, Menasce: faržīdaa/ parcītak ‘traqué’.

gravīg²⁰ nē baved. (75) andar pēcīdagīh ud gravīgīh dardmār²¹ ud grān pādīfrāh cārag. (76) bē dā bavandagmārdārīh²² ī-š dard ud bavandagāgāhīh ī az x^vēš dušāgāhgārīh nē baved, ped hān ī-š peyvasted zūrmihōxtīhā mened; (77) ud bavandagtuvānīh ī visptuvān dādār dardmārdārīh; (78) az bavandagmārdārīh ī dard andar visptuvānīh ī frazānag dādār agārīhā abāz abganed dā ō hān ī akanārag tuhīgīh. (79) hān ī veh dām aziš abīm, anōšag, abēš baved; (80) bavandag nizūmānīhā frazānagīh ud cāragvēnīh ī ōy harvispāgāh dādār ī vehīgān.

(81) ud az cašmdārišnīh ī xīrān pēdāg judāgīh ī tisān. (82) ud judāgīh do ēvēnag, cōn guft azabar: (83) ēk judgārīh, ud didīgar judgōhrīh. (84) judgārīh az hamayyārīh ud hamzōrīh; (85) ud judgōhrīh az asāxtārīh ud hamēstārīh, (86) ud ped ēv-gyāg nē ēstišn ī xīrān pēdāg. (87) agar tis ēk hād, ēk nēst-nām hād. (88) šnāxtārīh ī tisān ēk az did nāmdārišnīh rāy. (89) vad ped judāgīh ī az nēk astīh bunēštagīhā ōn ī ēk-iz nē vahānag ast ī ōy ī did. (90) cē harv ēk ped x^vēš x^vadīh astagumand²³. (91) az hamēšagvizūdārīh pedyāragīh ī-šān ēk ō did pēdāg.

(92) agar kas gōbād kū: “cōn hambidīgān hambidīg vas (93) –cōn nēk vad, ud tār rōšn, ud bōy genn, ud zīndagīh margīh, ud vēmārīh drustīh, ud rāmišn bēš, (94) abārīg vas – ōn bunēštag vas-marag, vas-sardag sazend būdan.” (95) ēg-iš²⁴ pāsox dahend (96) kū: ka-z²⁵ hambidīgān vasnām ud vassardag hend, ēg-iz

²⁰ . grōhī : grāhī.

²¹ . dardmāl : duḥkhasya vimārjjanaṁ. West: ‘spreading anguish’, Menasce: dardmāl ‘usure douloureuse, plaie’.

²² . buṇḍaa māladārī : saṁpūrṇavimārjjatā. West: ‘a complete wiping away’, Menasce: ‘usure complète’.

²³ . hastaahand : sthitāni sarīti. West: hastmand ‘existent’.

²⁴ . anyē : apareca.

²⁵ . kaca ō. ka-z ōy ī?

hamāg andar parvastag ī do nām. (97) u-šān ēn do nām tōmag ī parvannāg, ī ast nēk ud vad. (98) avēšān judnāmān ud judsardagān daxšag²⁶ hend ī ēn do tōmag. (99) nē ēc tis ī nē parvast ī ēn do nām. (100) nē būd ud nē-z baved tis ī nē nēk ayāb vad ayāb gumixtag az harv do. (101) kē rāy pēdāg gōvizār kū bunēšt do, nē vēš. (102) ēn-z kū, nēk az vad ud vad az nēk būdan nē šāyed.

(103) az-iz ēn šāyed dānistan (104) kū: hān tis ī ped nēkīh bavandag spurrīg, vadīh aziš būdan nē šāyed. (105) agar šāyed, pas nē bavandag. (106) cē ēk tis ka bavandag guft, anī tis gyāg nē baved. (107) ud ka gyāg ī anī tis nē baved, anī tis aziš nē uzīhed²⁷. (108) agar yazd ped vehīh ud dānāgīh spurrīg, ā-š adānīh ud vattarīh aziš nē būdan, āšnāg. (109) agar-š aziš būdan šāyed, pas nē bavandag. (110) agar nē bavandag, ped yazdīh ī spurrīg vehīh stāyīdan nē šāyed. (111) agar yazd veh ud vad aziš uzīhed, ped vehīh abavandag. (112) agar ped vehīh abavandag, ped hudānāgīh abavandag. (113) agar ped hudānāgīh abavandag, ah-iz²⁸ ped xrad, uš, vīr, abārīg-iz abzār abavandag. (114) agar ped xrad, uš, vīr, dānišn abavandag, ped drustīh abavandag. (115) agar ped drustīh abavandag, vēmār sazed būdan. (116) agar vēmār sazed būdan, ped zīndagīh abavandag.

(117) agar kas gōbād kū: “hamē vēnom kū, az ēk gōhr, ī cōn mardōm ham nēkīh ud ham vattarīh ped kunišn az-išān hamē uzīhed”, (118) ā ē rāy cē mardōm ped ēk-iz nē bavandag. (119) ud nē-bavandagīh ī ped nēkīh rāy vadīh azišān uzīhed. (120) ud nē-bavandagīh-iz ī ped drustīh-iz rāy vēmārīhend. (121) im cim

²⁶ . dašaa : cihnāni. West: ‘token’, Zaehner: dēšaa ‘branch’, Menasce: ‘émanation’, Boyce: ‘development’.

²⁷ . huzīrihəṭ : prabhavati. West: ‘are improved’, Menasce: ‘provient’.

²⁸ . aβanica.

rāy mīrend. (122) cē vahān ī margīh kuxšišn ī do hambidīg jadišnān, andar ēk gōhr. (123) ānōh kū do hambidīg jadišnān andar ēk gōhr bavend, vēmārīh ud margīh būdan, āšnāg.

(124) agar kas gōbād kū: “nēk²⁹ ud vad kunišn hend ī dā kunīhed nēst.” (125) ēgiš pāsox dayend (126) kū: kunišn bē az kunāg būdan ōn nē šāyed būdan cōn ēc jadišn bē az gōhr, ud ped gōhr. (127) enyā-š ped x^vēš xvadīh ēstišn ud vinārišn nē būdan, āšnāg. (128) cē ka mard xēšm kuned, vahman az ānōh dūr; (129) ud ka vahman gāh dāred, xēšm ānōh nē. (130) ud ka mard drōv gōbed, rāstīh az ānōh dūr [ud hān mard drōv x^vānīhed.]³⁰ (131) ud ka rāst gōbed, drōzanīh ānōh gāh nē dāred, ud hān mard rāst x^vānīhed. (132) ēdōn-z ka vēmārīh mad, drustīh ānōh nē; (133) ud ka drustīh mad, vēmārīh šud. (134) cōn gōhr ī nē jumbāg būdan šāyed; (135) bē jumbišn bē ped gōhr būdan nē šāyed.

(136) abar ēn dar-z ō hangirdīg handāxt. (137) dārmagīhā ud vizīdārīhā pediš nigerīdan³¹ framāyed.

²⁹ . nēkī : súbhāni.

³⁰ . JE.

³¹ . nigarōt; pašyeta.

cahārum darag

9

(1) anī abar astīh ī hambidīg, hamgugāyīhā, az dēnkird nibēg, āgāhīh ašmā rāy ēdar nišānēnīd xūb. (2) cē ēn-z ī abar nibišt, ud hān ī nibēsīhed, hamāg az tōm rust ī hufravard ādarpādyāvandān¹ kišt. (3) ud bun spās ī ōy agrī frazānag ādarfarrōbay ī farroxzādān x^vēš !

(4) cahārum² darag ī dēnkird

*abar astīh ī dām hamēstār, ud pēšīh ī hamēstār az dām,
az nigēz ī veh dēn*

(5) hād. astīh ī dām hamēstār az andardum ī mardōm tan dā bēdum ī aziš³ vēnišn, mārišn⁴, dānišn, ayābišnīg, (6) ud azabar hān ī andar humānāgīh vimand ī ēvarīg. (7) andardum ī mardōm, ī andardum ī gyān baved, (8) vēnihed ped bavandagnigerišnīh andar ham vimand. (9) ē cōn dušāgāhīh ō hudānāgīh, (10) ud frēftārīh ō huxēmīh, (11) ud drōzanīh ō rāstīh, (12) abārīg āhōgān ī <ō> hunarān ī hudānāgīh, huxēmīh, rāstīh tōhmag hamēstār, (13) ud ruvān durvandīh vahān.

(14) did ēn : andar tan parvann, abēristagān, ī ristagān ī tan-
vinārišn hamēstār, ud tan višōbišn vahān. (15) did ēn : andar

¹ . ādarpādyāβaṇḍa : ādarapādiāvāmdena.

² . ardiūm : baliṣto me. ardiūm is a misreading of 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 /cahārum/. « We have corrected the mistake by चतुर्थः in the text. » Bharucha

³ . aṇḍā nē θūm ī vaš : yāvat bījaṃ asya. Jamaspasana's emendation.

⁴ . mālašnī : saṃsprīyā. West: 'susceptible', Menasce: mālišnik.

zahagān, sardīh ī garmīh, huškīh ī x^vēdīh, abārīg vināhišngārān ī bavišngārān hamēstār. (16) andar āvām, tārīkīh ī rōšnīh, ud genn ī bōy, dušcīhrīh ī huzīhrīh, dušmizagīh ī humizagīh, ud zahr ī anōš, xrafstar gurg ī hudāg gōspend, vattar mar ī veh mardōm hamēstār. (17) azabar āvām, gayōgān ī bay-baxšēnīdārān kār hamēstār. (18) azabar hamāg ēn gund vēnišn-mārišnīg, dānišn-ayābišnīg, hān ī andar humānāgīh vimand, amaragān āgāhīh ēvarīg : dēvān ī yazdān hamēstār.

(19) hamēstār astīh pēš az dāmdahišnīh, u-š rasišn ī ō dām (20) pas az dāmdahišnīh. hav-iz⁵ dādār, dānišnīg, ped cim ī abāyišnīg⁶-dahišnīh, cārakkunišnīhā dād dahišn ī ō kār. (21) ēn ēk vāzag dāred panz sāmān : (22) ēk, dānišnīg dād ; (23) ud ēk, ped cim dād ; (24) ēk, cim ī dahišn abāyišnīgīh ī dahišn būd ; (25) ud ēk, cārīg dād ī dahišn ; (26) ud ēk, ō kār dād ī dādār dām. (27) astīh ī ē panz sāmān ped x^vad dahišnān āfurišnān pēdāg. (28) dānišnīg dēsag⁷, dānāgīhā vīrāstagī dāmān abargugāy⁸. (29) ped cim dād ī az ham dānāgīh pēdāgīh. (30) ud cim abāyišnīgīh ī dahišn būd, (31) abāg ōn nizūmānāgīhā vīrāstagīh ī dahišn az abāyišnīgīh ī dahišn būdan sazed. (32) ud abāyišnīgīh⁹ cimīgīh ī x^vad dahišn ped cihr dāred gugāyīh¹⁰. (33) cārīg dād dānišnīgdahišnīh nimūdār. (34) cē dānišn kāmāgīg, ud kāmāgīg cihrīg baved. (35) ō kār dād, ped x^vēškārīh ī dahišn, jud jud-iz cihrīg-iz kāmāgīg pēdāg.

⁵ . ōca: iyañca.

⁶ . ayāβašnī: abhīpsāyāh. “Doubtful; compare § 24.” Jamaspasana

⁷ . dahī: dānam. West: ‘presenting’, Menasce: dahīk ‘créature’.

⁸ . aβar dugāe : upari vipulatve. Jamaspasana: Better aβar guβāi. Cf. Dk viii, M 711 abar-gugāyīh.

⁹ . ayāβašnī : abhīpsāyāh.

¹⁰ . guβāi : sāksyañ. Paz. guβāi could render gugāyīh and or gōbāgīh. As we see, Neryōsang has correctly translated it.

(36) astīh ī hamēstār pēš az dāmdahišnīh pēdāgīh vas, (37) u-š ēk abāyišnīgīh ī dāmdahišnīh. (38) cōn vimand ī abāyišn nē hangēzīhed¹¹ ō tis bē az niyāz, (39) ā az abāyišn niyāz, az niyāz avištāb, az avištāb hamēstār astīh ī pēš az abāyišnīg kār ī ast dahišn. (40) rasišn ī ebgad ō dām pas az dāmdahišnīh pēdāgīh abzār sāxtan ī dādār ō pedīrag ī hamēstār pēš az hamēstār rasišn, (41) ī vispāgāhīhā, pēšdānišnīh ī dādār pessazag. (42) ud ham abzār ī dām nimūdār ast ī virāst ī ō hamēstār pedīrag kuxšāgīh ped cīhr vīrāyišn. (43) kār-ē ī dāmān cīhr hāvand bēš-ānābīh ; (44) u-šān vinārišn razm –ī pedīrag hamēstār dušmen – sāzišnīh mānāg. (45) u-šān kār cīhrīg ud kāmagīg, hamāg avištābspōzišnīh ast.

¹¹ . hūsažihəṭ: surūpāyate. West: ‘is well suited’, (Menasce: husacītan ‘convenir, s’adapter’).

panzum darag

10

(1) *anī dar abar uskār ī ēkīhuskārān kē-š vinārišn-z ī doīh
aziš pēdāgīhed*

(2) ē dānīhed kū: kē dādār-ē kāmed šnāxtan, bē ka ranz ō x^vēš gyān dahed, (3) dārmagīhā ē handēšed, (4) nax^vist tan ud ruvān ī x^vēš bē šnāsed (5) kū : kē, az cē, ud ped cē kār dād ? (6) u-š hamēmāl ud pedyārag kē ? (7) u-š dōst ud ayyār kē ? (8) u-š ō bazag kirdan kē nix^vāred ? (9) ud az kadām gōhr ? (10) u-š rastan cōn šāyed ? (11) enyā-š nē tuvān dādār ped cōnīh šnāxtan, u-š ō x^vēš madan.

(12) cē ka « dādār » nām burd, ēgiš ēn se nām abāg burd :

(13) dahišn ud dēn ud ruvān.

(14) cē dādār nām az dahišn būdan āšnāg. (15) ēn kū dādār ī dahišn dahišnān ō x^vēškārīh dād, (16) bē az xvēškārīh nē hiled. (17) ud x^vēškārīh ī dāmān, kām ī dādār šnāxtan ud kirdan, (18) az agām pahrixtan ; (19) az kām ī dādār varzīdan u-š az agām pahrixtan ruvān bōxtan.

(20) kām ī dādār bē az dēn ī dādār nē šnāsīhed. (21) dēn ped dādār brihēnīd, abēgumān. (22) nūn sazed dānistan kū yazd brihēnīd dēn ō šnāxtārīh ī-š kām. (23) ud az šnāxtan ī-š kām ō bōxtārīh ī ruvān, pēdāgīhed x^vābarīh ud abaxšāyišngarīh ī yazd. (24) ud az bōxtārīh ī dēn ō ruvān pēdāgīhed vazurgīh ud arzumandīh ī dēn.

(25) az bōxtan abāyistan ī ruvān pēdāgīhed vīftagīh ud viyābānīgīh ī ruvān. (26) az vīftagīh ud viyābānīgīh ī ruvān pēdāgīhed vīftār ud viyābānēnīdār¹ ī menišnān, gōbišnān, ud kunišnān ī mardōm. (27) ō ham pēdāgīhed tabāhēnīdār ī ruvānān.

(28) u-mān nūn sazed uzvārdan ud dānistan kū : hān vīftār ī ruvānān tabāhēnīdār az kadām gōhr ? (29) cē agar az ham gōhr ī dahišn ud āfurišn ī yazd gōbīhed, ēg cōn yazd dēn ō bōxtārīh ī ruvān brihēnīd, (30) ā-š nē sazed vīftār ud viyābānēnīdār ī ruvānān ped x^vēš dānišn ud kām āfrīdan. (31) cē agar ōy x^vad ast dādār, ud x^vad ast vīftār ud tabāhēnīdār ī ruvānān, jud az kām ī ōy tis nē baved, (32) ēg ka-mān az yazd bōxtārīh abāyed, pušt² ud panāh ō kū kunem ?

(33) nūn harv ušiyār mardōm ēn and abāyed šnāxtan ud dānistan (34) kū-mān az kē virīxtan ud pahrixtan abāyed ? (35) u-mān panāh ō kē ud umēd ō kē dārišn ? (36) cārag ī ēn xīr anī tis nēst bē yazd ped cōnīh šnāxtan. (37) cē cōn man azabar nibišt kū nē ēvāz astīh dānistan, bē cōnīh u-š kām abāyed šnāxtan.

(38) u-m nigerīd andar gēhān harvisp kēšdārān kēš ud vurravišn ī dārend (bun ī do)³. (39) ēk, hān kē gōbed kū : hamāg nēkīh ud anāgīh ī ped gēhān az yazd. (40) ud ēk, hān kē gōbed kū : hamāg nēkīh ī <ped> gēhān, umēd-iz ī ped ruvān bōxtan az yazd, (41) ud hamāg anāgīh ī tan, bīm-iz ī ruvān, az ahrmen

¹ . u vyāḅānīdār : vimohakaśca.

² . naḅaštan: samālikhitum. West: 'to write', Menasce: nipištan. Pers. pušt-panāhīh 'support' (HV 10), پشت و پناه (Šāhnāma, M 12d, 2460).

³ . bun i du (JE) : mūle ime dve eva.

vahān, (42) hamāg az baxšišn ī ēn do bun ō kardag kardag, brīnag brīnag⁴ franaft hend.

(43) nūn an harv gāh ped yazd šnāxtan, cōn azabar nibišť, taftīgmenišn ped vizustārīh ī-š dēn ud kām pursīdār būd hom, (44) hamcōn vizustārīh rāy ō bē-kišvar ud hindūgān būm ud vasān judsardagān franaft hom. (45) cē man dēn nē hān ī ped abarmānd dōšīd, (46) bē hān x^vāst ī ped xrad gugāyīh ōstīgāndar ud pedīrišnīgdar. (47) ō-z abāgīh ī vasān judsardagān šud hom, (48) dā ē-bār (49) ka an az hān ī yazdān x^vābarīh, ud dēn ī veh ōz ud x^varrah ud zōr, az vas zufāy ī tamag ud gumānīh ī dušvizār rast hom. (50) az ham zōr ī dēndānāgīh, (51) ud nibēg ud uskār ī dānāgān, (52) ud abēhangōšīdag⁵ nibēgān ī frazānag ādarpādyāvandān⁶, (53) ud az hān nibēg-ē ī-š kird hufravard rōšn ī ādarfarrōbayān (54) ī-š « rōšn-nibēg » nām nihād, (55) hān-z ī ōy agrī frazānag ahlav ādarfarrōbay ī farroxzādān (56) ī hudēnān pēšobāy (57) az dēn vizārd ud⁷ dēnkird nibēg nām nihād, (58) bōxt hom az vas gumānīh ud ērang ud frēb ud dušīh ī kēšān⁸, (59) ud nāmcišt az hān ī frēftārān mehdar, mazandar⁹, dušhamōzdar, vardmasturg¹⁰ mānī, (60) kē-š kēš jādūgīh ud dēn frēftārīh ud hamōz dušīh ud brahm nihānravišnīh.

⁴ . brīnana brīnana : bhedaṁ bhedaṁ. Menasce: brīnēnak. Cf. Dk viii, M 677 u-š bazišn bahr ud bahr brīnag.

⁵ . aṣṭaṅgōšīdaa : mahādr̥ṣṭāmtebhyaḥ.

⁶ . ādarpādyāṣṇḍa: ādarapādiāvamdasya.

⁷ . əž dīn vazārdan: dīnervivicya.

⁸ . dōšī i kēšq : duṣṭatvebhyo darśanānām. Menasce: 'l'attrait des doctrines'.

⁹ . mazūtar: mukhyatarasya.

¹⁰ . raṭmastarag (raemastarag AK, PB₃, MH₁₉) : guroḥ mastargga. West: 'empty-skulled', Menasce: 'cerveau-fêlé'.

(61) āstavānīhist hom, dānišnīhā, ped hān ī xrad zōr ud dēn dānāgīh ōz. (62) nē saxtvurravišnīhā, bē ped abēzag juddēv dēn ī ohrmazd dādestān, (63) kē-š dādār ohrmazd ō ahlav zardušt cāšt.

(64) zardušt ped rāstfrēstagīh, ēvtāg ō dar ī burzāvand kay vištāsp mad. (65) u-š ped ōzumand uzvān, xradgugāyīhā¹¹, dastabarnihādīhā¹², ud vimandsoxanīhā, ud vas gumānvizārīhā, ud amehrspondān vēnābdāg gugāyīhdādārīhā, dēn ō kay vištāsp ud frazānagān cāšt abāg vas abdīh (66) ud mehīh, ī andar tuvān ī gētīgān nē vaxt ī-šān ōy yaštfravahr¹³ dīd. (67) ud kay spendōyād¹⁴ ud zerīr¹⁵ ud abārīg kišvarīgān, vas ardīgjumbišnīh ud xūnrēzišnīh zādag dēn ō grīv¹⁶ pedīrift, (68) dā-z ō hrōm ud hindūgān bē-kišvar ped dēn ravāgēnīdārīh franaft hend.

(69) az hān frāz ped peyvann ō bayān¹⁷ x^vadāyān ī kaytōhmagān ī burzāvandān mad. (70) dā-z pesāxt ī ped vidāxt rōy ī abar-var-rēzišnīh ī ōy hufravard ādarbād ī mahrspondān andar x^vadāyīh ī ōy bay šābuhr, ī šāhān šāh, ī ohrmazdān¹⁸, ped pehikār ī abāg vas sardag judsardagān ahlemōgān, (71) az avēšān mazandum ahlemōgān ī-šān peccībāstagān¹⁹ x^vand²⁰

¹¹ . xardguβāihā : buddhisākṣitayā. West: ‘through testimony of wisdom’, Menasce: ‘avec une éloquence pleine de sagesse’. See 10.46.

¹² . dastāβarnahādihā : hastoparivinyastatayā. West: ‘through manual gestures’, Menasce: ‘avec un jugement posé’. See 5.16.

¹³ . saxt fravaš: gāḍhatarām vṛddhim. West ‘the vehement guardian spirit’, Menasce: yasn fravaš.

¹⁴ . spudāxt : spudākhto.

¹⁵ . zargar : jaragarašca.

¹⁶ . ōca ōi: etasmāt. West’s emendation.

¹⁷ . bayāṇa : mahatsu.

¹⁸ . hōrmezd. Jamaspasana’s emendation.

¹⁹ . paca āβāyastaga : abhīpsubhiḥ. West: ‘even by the name of their desires’, Menasce: ‘fataliste’ (litt. les “nécessitants”). Cf. Dk vi, M 481 peccībāstīh ayāb ahlemōgīh.

²⁰ . x^vānīṭ : ākārītāh.

hend bōxt. (72) ud hrōmāyīgān kē ped āvām āvām « anast » nām būd hend vas frašn ī dušvizār az ēn dēn pursīd, (73) nē būd ēc frašn gumānīg ī az dēn vizārīhist, (74) ud frazānagān ī ērānšahr hamē andar avēšān pērōzīhburdār būd hend. (75) nē cōn abārīg kēšān kē-šān dēn nihānravišnīhā ud frēftārīhā ud frēftagān-viyābānēnīdārīhā ax^vēškārīhā andar ristag ud ram ī kamdānišnān ud anešnāsān ud dēvcīhrān kē-šān az dānāgīh ud xrad ud šnāsagīh tis-iz āgāhīh nē būd. (76) ēg cand-išān ram ī vas nihānīhā frēft ud viyābānēnīd tan ō āškāragīh nē dād. (77) pas az vasān grōh ī kamdānišn ī anāgāhdādestān ī-šān viyābānēnīd āškāragīhist hend abāg vas hambasāngōbišnīh ud drōzanīh ud škastagīh ī-šān kēš.

(78) cōn az vas hambasānīh ud škastagīh dādestānāgāhīh ī nōghamōzagān rāy ēdar nišānēnom. (79) az hān cim ī ka nibēg ī frazānag pēšēnagān (mardān²¹) frāyist bārīg ud dārmag-dōš dānāgdum²² soxanīhist ō hangirdīg²³ handāxt. (80) hucašmīhā framāyed nīgerīdan²⁴.

²¹ . mardā (JE).

²² . bārīk u dārmaa dušdānātum : bārīkaiḥ dāramīyaiḥ duštajñānatve. See DD 0.24 bārīg-vēnišnān ud dārmag-dānišnān.

²³ . hūdānāi: uttamajñānatve. West: 'good knowledge', Menasce: 'la vraie doctrine'. See 15.90 ō hangirdīg handāxt.

²⁴ . farmāyast nīgarōt : samādiṣṭam paśyeta.

šašum darag

11

(1) *az ēdar nibištom hambasānīh ī-šān drāyišn. ud
rāstnigerišnīh (2) ē handāzed ped hān ī dānāg cašm.*

(3) *nax^vist ōy ī ēk-bunēšt-uskār (4) kē gōbend kū : ēk ast
yazd ī kirbakkar ud dānāg ud tuvānīg ud x^vābar ud
abaxšāyišngar, (5) kū kirbag bazag, ud rāstīh drōzanīh, ud
zīndagīh margīh, ud vehīh vattarīh [hamāg] az ōy.*

(6) *nūn az-išān pursed (7) kū: yazd hamēšag x^vābar
abaxšāyend, ud kirbakkar dādestānīg, ud harvisp ast ud būd ud
baved dāned, ped harv cē-š kām kāmrvāg ? ē-z kū dādestānīg
meyānjīg, ayāb ka ēdōn, <ka> ēdōn nē ?*

(8) *cē agar x^vābar, kirbakkar, ud abaxšāyend, ēgiš ahrmen ud
dēv ud dušox ēn hamāg vad ud drōšag¹ ped x^vēš x^vābarīh ud
kirbakkarīh ud abaxšāyendīh ō x^vēš dāmān cim abgand ? (9)
agar-š nē dānist, ā-š dānāgīh ud harvispāgāhīh kū ? (10) agar-š
nē kāmīst anāgīh ud vad az dāmān abāz dāštan, ud harv kas
ēkānag nekīh dādan, ā-š dādestānīgīh ud meyānjīgīh kū ? (11)
agar-š nē šāyist kū nē dād hē, ā-š visptuvānīh az cē ? (12) ī harv
cōn nigerān ud uskārān², (13) hamē ka harv nekīh ud anāgīh az*

¹ . vīrōšaa : āmnāya. West : for 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 /vīrōiā/ ‘believing’. Cf J 16.34 ēn
and vad ud drōšag ī ped hazārag sar ī zarduštān.

² . 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 . 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀. “So K 28, S ; but in AK, MH 19, JJ, JE
both verbs end with 𐬀𐬎𐬀, which may, perhaps, stand for Pl. 𐬀𐬎𐬀 of 3rd person
optative.” Jamasp-Asana.

yazd būd gōbend, bē ka ēn cahār hunar ī ped yazdīh andar abāyed, ī ast harvispāgāhīh ud visptuvānīh ud vehīh ud abaxšāyendīh, aziš judāgēnend, (14) enyā cār nēst. (15) ka-z-iš ēk az ēn cahār hunar aziš jud kunend, ped yazdīh nē bavandag. (16) cē agar yazd hān baved ī vīspāgāh ud vīspuvān ud veh ud abaxšāyišngar, ēg hān ī nē vīspāgāh ud nē vispuvān ud nē veh ud nē abaxšāyišngar, nē yazd.

(17) did ēn kū : ka ped harv kas ud tis kāmrvāg x^vadāy, ā-š šahr ud šahriyārīh ī x^vēš az harv dušmen ud pedyārag ī az x^vēš kunišn, cim ōn abēzār³ nē dāšt kū-š ēc kas andar šahriyārīh tis-iz must ud stahm ud adādīh ud garzišn nē hē ? (18) cē x^vadāy ud šahriyār mard x^vadāyīh ud šahriyārīh, ēg burzišnīg ka-š x^vēš šahr ud šahriyārīh ped x^vēš xrad ōn pādan ud dāštan tuvān kū-š az x^vēš kunišn dušmen āxistan⁴ ud vināh ud zyān kirdan nē ayārend ; (19) ayāb ka-š az x^vēš kunišn dušmen āxēzed⁵, ā-š az x^vēš menišnīg dōstān abāz dāštan ud harv kas abēm⁶ust kirdan tuvānēned.

(20) did ēn kū : ka abarvēz ud cēr ud pādyaāvand, (21) ā-š abarvēzīh ud cērīh ud pādyaāvandīh abar kē ? (22) cē abarvēzīh ud cērīh abar dušmenān hambidīg baved. (23) hambidīg dušmen x^vad nē ō x^vēš sazed⁶ būdan. (24) dā ka-š dušmen hambidīgīh nēst kē-š abar abarvēz ud cēr baved, (25) ā-š abarvēzīh ud cērīh

³. aβēcār : nirupāyam.

⁴. xahastan : kdarthayitum. West : ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲓ ‘to detract’; Menasce : peut-être *x^vāstan ‘fouler’.

⁵. nyāžəṭ : kšīnayati. West ‘covets’ ; Menasce: *vixāžet ‘se force’.

⁶. « K28 adds ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲓ, and JE ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲓ, having misunderstood AK’s correction in S. » Jamasp-Asana.

abar nē gōbīhed. (26) cē abar x^vēš tan gāv-iz ud gōspend, ka-šān hamēstār ud vizūdār nēst, cēr ud abarvēz hend !

(27) did ēn kū : ped yazdīh ud vazurgīh ī x^vēš dānāg ud hunsand ayāb nē ? (28) agar dānāg ud hunsand, ēgiš ped x^vēš dānišn ud kām, dušmen ud bazakkar kirdan, hamāg andar šahr višōb abgandān, ped vadagīh⁷ ī šahr ud dāmān hunsand būdan, (29) bazag ud anāgīh-išān x^vāstan, x^vad abar-šān dušmen ud nifrīngar būdan, mardōm anāgīhmadār ud dušoxīg kirdan cē sazed ?

(30) did ēn kū : harv cē gōbed, rāstīhā vābar gōbed ayāb nē ? (31) agar rāstīhā vābar gōbed, hān ī gōbed kū kirbagdōst ud bazagdušmen ham, (32) hamē bazag ud bazakkarān vēš dahed kū kirbag ud kirbakkarān, ā-š rāst gōbišn kū ?

(34) did ēn kū : -š kām vehīh ayāb vattarīh ? (35) agar-š kām vattarīh, ā-š yazdīh az cē ? (36) agar-š kām vehīh, ēg cim vattarān ud vattarīh vēš hend kū vehān ud vehīh ?

(37) did ēn kū : abaxšāyišngar ast ayāb nē? (38) agar-š nē abaxšāyišngar, ā-š yazdīh az cē ? (39) agar-š abaxšāyišngar, ēg cim gōbed kū : -m dīl, gōš, cašm ī mardōmān bē āvišt⁸ kū-šān nē tuvān menīdan, guftan, ud kirdan, bē hān ī man abāyed.

(40) ast ī-š, ped handāz⁹, meh ud āzād kird; (41) ast ī-š, ped vas ēvēnag marg, ōzad¹⁰ ud abesihēnīd ud ō dušox ī jāyēdānag

⁷ . nākī : śubhena.

⁸ . haβast : vimudritavān. West : hanbast ‘shut up, close’ ; Menasce : *ōbast ‘lié’.

⁹ . anyāž : animnatvena. West : ‘without want’.

¹⁰ . « All جاسپاسانا; but corrected in JE. » Jamasp-Asana.

abgand. (42) « kū dā hān ī abāz kunam, veh ud kirbakkardar bend. » (43) nūn-z hān ī abāz kird bē x^vazārag enyā¹¹ (44) az hān ī pēš vas bazakkardar ud vināhgārdar hend.

(45) did ēn kū : agar harv cē kuned dānāgīhā ud ped cim kuned, (46) ēg ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, cim āfurišn ī nax^vistēn ī-š vīrāst peristagān ō dēvīg aburdframānīh ī-š andar mardōm ō durvandīh ud dušoxīgīh vašt hend ? (47) agar-š nē dānist kū vardend¹², ā-š uzmāyišn kār sazed framūdan. (48) cē nūn vasān hazārān, bēvarān ī-š vīrāst kū-š peristend, u-š x^vadāyīh mehēnend¹³, hāmōyēn aburdframān, aniyūšhandarž¹⁴ būd hend. (49) cē abāg hān kamdānišnīh ī mardōm, ī nē ōn vīrāyīhed pesāzīhed kū mardōm kāmag, (50) agar-z baved tis ī pesāzend ud vīrāyend ī nē ōn abar āyed ud baved (/ šaved)¹⁵ cōn-šān kāmag, did abāz ō virāyišn ī hān tis nē ēstend ud aziš pahrēzend, (51) ā ōy x^vadāy ī visptuvān ud vispāgāh dā nūn vasān amar tis kird ud vīrāst, ēk-iz nē ōn abar āyed ud baved cōn-š kāmag ; pas-iz az vīrāstan ud dādan ī nōg nōg nē hamē pahrēzed.

(52) cōn ka-š hān ī nax^vistēn frēstagān dādār ī-šān, grāmīgīh rāy az ātaš vīrāst, cand hazār sāl (53) ī cōn gōbend kū peristišn ī ōy hamē kird ; (54) abum ped ēk framān agird ī-š dād kū « namāz ō ēn mardōm ī nax^vistēn ī-m az gil vīrāst bared ! » (55) u-š būzišn ī ped nē sazed burdan cimīgīhā guft, (56) ēg-iš ped

¹¹ . x^vazār kunənd : apakāram kurvvanti.

¹² . vardinənd: viparyayīšyamti.

¹³ . mastənd: mādyamti.

¹⁴ . anōkīandarž : aśubhopadeštārah.

¹⁵ . 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 AK, MH 19.

vīr¹⁶ ud nifrīn ud xēšm tar ud x^vār kird, (57) ud ō dēvīh ud družīh vardēnīd ud az vahišt bēron kird, (58) hazāragīhā zīndagīh ud x^vadāyīh ī jāyēdānag dād (59) kū « šavom, bannagān ud peristagān ī tō¹⁷ abērāh ud viyābān kunom ! » (60) u-š ō x^vēš kām vizūdār ud pedyārag kird.

(61) abdu m hān-z mard kē-š, grāmīgīh ud āzarm rāy, ōy ī frēstag mahist, abāg vasān peristagān, namāz aviš¹⁸ burd framūd, (62) ō bōyestān ī vahišt kird (63) kū varzed ud harvisp bar x^vared, (64) bē hān ēk draxt ī-š framūd kū mā x^vared. (65) u-š abāg avēšān frēftār ī viyābān(ēn)īdār vīrāst (66) ud andar bōyestān hišt. (67) ī ast kē mār gōbed, ast kē ahrmen. (68) u-š cihr ī x^vardārīh ud āzvarīh ham x^vad ō ōy mardōm dād. (69) pas hān viyābāngar frēft hend kū « az hān draxt x^vared ! » (70) ast kē ādam gōbed. (71) u-šān ped hān cihr ī x^vardārīh x^vard. (72) pas az x^vardan ōn dānišnumand būd hend kū-šān veh ud vattar šnāxt ud dānist. (73) az hān ōn āzarm ud grāmīgīh ped hān ēk handarz ī-šān framōšīd, (74) ud hān framōšīdārīh ham az ōy vahān, (75) abāg zan, avēšān ped grān xēšm ud anāzarmīh az vahišt bōyestān bēron kird (76) ud ō dast ī ōy dušmen ī frēftār ud viyābāngar abespārd hend, (77) kū-šān kām ī x^vēš abar rāyēned¹⁹ ud abar-šān kārēned²⁰.

(78) nūn kadām ast adādīh, abēcimframānīh, pasxradīh ud kamdānišnīh ī az ēn zīfāndar ud anāgdar ? (79) ēn-z kū-š hān

¹⁶ . vīr : karddamena. Pers. گویر rendering Arab. بث ‘misfortune, sadness’

(قرآن پاک، یوسف، ۸۲).

¹⁷ . mən.

¹⁸ . haš.

¹⁹ . rāinīṭ.

²⁰ . kārīnīṭ.

bōyestān cim ōn drubušt ud avistvār nē kird kū hān viyābāngar andar nē šud hād ? (80) nūn-z vasān bannagān ud peristišngarān ī ōy viyābān kird ud kuned. (81) u-š ped ham cim vasān peygāambarān ud vaxšvarān āvām āvām ō gētīg brihēnīd (82) kū « bannagān ī man az dast ī ōy viyābāngar būzānd²¹, (83) ō rāh ud ristag ī rāst āvarānd. » (84) u-š avēšān-z frēstagān ud peygāambarān ī x^vēš kē-šān x^vēškārīh mardōm ō rāh ud pand ī frārōn āvurd būd hāmōyēn ped x^vēš kām ped vad marg ōzad ud ānāft hend, (85) hān ī bun viyābāngar ud abērāhēnīdār jāyēdān zīndag hišt ēsted. (86) dā-z nūn kām ī ōy ped viyābāngarīh ud abērāhēnīdārīh abarvēzdar ud kāmīgārdar kū hān ī yazd. (87) cē viyābānān ud abērāhān vas frāydar hend kū rāstrāhān ud aviyābānān.

(88) did ēn kū : harv cē kuned ped cim kuned ayāb nē? (89) agar abēcim kuned, halakkunišn. (90) ud ōy ī halakkunišn ped yazdīh ī frazānag nē sazed stāyīdan. (91) agar ped cim kuned, (92) ēg ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, ēn hamāg dām ī cōn dēv-iz ud mardōm ī aburdframān ī pedīrag kām ī ōy kušāg ud viyābānēnīdār ud amar dām ī abēsūd cim?

(93) did ēn kū: agar harvisp ast ud būd ud baved dāned, ā-š nē sazed, ped x^vēš dānišn ud kām, tis āfrīdan kē-š aziš pašīmān, u-š pedīrag kām ud framān ēsted, (94) u-š peygāambarān kāmīšngarān pedyārag baved. (95) agar gōbend kū²² “ēn pedyārag az bun veh ud nēk āfrīd, pas ō vattarīh ud dāmān abērāhēnīdārīh vašt”, (96) ā ē gōbed kū ka ōy visptuvān cim kām ī pedyārag ped vaštan ī ō vattarīh ud dāmān abērāhēnīdārīh

²¹ . bōžənd.

²² . u.

cērdar ud pādyāvanttar kū hān ī yazd? (97) cē vattarīh andar āvām nirōgdar kū vehīh.

(98) did ēn kū: ka bazakkar ham ped kām ī ōy, (99) u-š menišn ī bazakkarān x^vad vīft, (100) u-š tōhm ī bazag x^vad kišt (101) kū (ka)²³ rust az bunēšt²⁴, (102) ēk ōzad, ēk pādāšnēnīd, az kadām nirōg ī dādestānumandīh?

(103) did ēn kū: -š ēn gēhān, ped cim, ō rāmišn ī x^vēš, āsānīh ud nēkīh ī mardōmān rāy kird ud dād, ayāb abēcim, ō dušrāmīh ī x^vēš, ud avištāb ud ērang ud dard ud marg ī mardōmān <rāy>? (104) cē agar-š abēcim kird, halakkārīhā; (105) abēcim tis az dānāgān nē pedīrišnīg. (106) agar-š ped cim kird, u-š ō rāmišn ī x^vēš, ud āsānīh ud nēkīh ī mardōmān dād, (107) ā-š ābādān ud purnēkīh cim nē kird? (108) agar-š az vīrāyišn ī mardōm ud dām rāmišn ud nēkīh, ā-š az ōzanišn ud višōbišn sūd cē?

(109) agar-š menišn ī bazag nē x^vad ō mardōmān dād, ā kē ast kē jud az framān ud kām ī ōy menišn ī bazag dahed? (110) agar-š x^vad dād u-šān nūn āhōg abar dāred, ā-š rāstīh ud meyānjīgīh az cē? (111) cē ka mardōm abāg kamdānišnīh ud kamxradīh, pas-iz šagr ud gurg ud abārīg xrafstarān, cand-išān tuvān, ō rēdagān²⁵ ud ābastān²⁶ ī x^vēš nē hilend (112) dā kū-šān tabāhēnānd. (113) nūn yazd ī abaxšāyišngar ahrmen ud dēv ped x^vēš dām cim andar hišt (abgand) (114) kū-š kōr ud karr ud vīftag ud durvand ud dušoxīg kird hend? (115) agar uzmāyišn

²³ . kū AK, ka JJ, JE.

²⁴ . kə bun dāšt : kasya mūle dadhau.

²⁵ . rēdagā : ḍimbheṣu. Less likely rēdagān ‘young boys’. Or, rēzagān? Cf. Pers. ریز /rēž/ ‘hilly ground’.

²⁶ . ābastān : gosthāneṣu. West (& Menasce): ‘pregnant females’; Bailey: ōstān ‘dwelling-place’.

rāy kird –cōn hān ī gōbend kū-š vad uzmāyišn ī abar dāmān rāy dād –, (116) ā-š pēš az hān mardōm ud dām cim nē šnāxt? (117) cē kē-š dastvar uzmāyišn, vīspāgāh nē x^vānišn.

(118) hangird ēn kū: yazd ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, ā-š abēvizendīhā harv dām ud dahišn dādan tuvān būd, cim nē dād? (119) ayāb-iš kāmīst, nē tuvān būd? (120) agar-š kāmīst, nē tuvānist, nē bavandag tuvānīg. (121) agar-š tuvānist, ud nē kāmīst, nē abaxšāyišngarīhā. (122) agar-š dānist kū az ēn dām ud dahišn ī daham, tis kas baved ī nē andar kām ī man, (123) ud abdum kird, (124) ēg nūn ēn hamāg ahunsandīhā ped x^vēš <dām> kirdan, peyvastag²⁷ xēšm ud nifrīngarīh ud abgandan ī ō pādīfrāh ī dušox abēcim.

(125) did ēn kū: agar hamāg bazagmenišnīh, bazaggōbišnīh ud bazakkunišnīh, vināh ī mardōm menend, gōbend ud kunend, ēdōn-z dard, vēmārīh, driyušīh, pādīfrāh ud anāgīh ī dušox bē ped kām ud framān ī yazd būdan nē šāyed, (126) yazd kām ud tuvān hamēšag, (127) cē-š x^vadīh-iz hamēšag, (128) nūn kas-iz hamēšagīhā²⁸ az anāgīh ud pādīfrāh bōxtan anemēdīh ēvar. (129) cē gugānīhā²⁹ pēdāg kū ēc frahangbed ud avistād nēst kē-š az ēn anāg ud vadkāmāgīh abāz dāred, (130) agar pargast³⁰ hamgōnag ī avēšān frēstagān ud dastvarān kē ō mardōmān handarz ēn kird kū: “bazag ud vināh mā kuned!” (131) cē kām ud framān ī yazd spuxtān kāmend.

²⁷ . paeβastan : pravarttanena. Possibly pedistīg.

²⁸ . hamēšaī : nityāt.

²⁹ . dugānīhā : prācuryeṇa.

³⁰ . parast : ārādhitah.

(132) ēn-z kū: cōn-š harv do kām, ham bazag ud ham kirbag, nē pēdāg kū kirbag ī kirbakkarān vēš pesanned ayāb bazag ī bazakkarān.

(133) ē-z: avēšān bizeškān kē emēd ī ruvān rāy vēmārān dārūg kunend, (134) u-šān dard ud vēmārīh spōzend ud hilend, (135) kū-šān az hān kunišn kirbag x^vēšīhed, (136) bē ō pādīfrāh ī dušox peyrāst ēstend; (137) ud avēšān kē ruvān dōšārm rāy driyuš niyāzvand³¹ acār³² mardōm tis dahend, (138) u-šān niyāz ud driyušīh aziš ōgārend³³ ud hilend, (139) kū-šān az hān kunišn kirbag x^vēšīhed, (140) bē-šān vināh ī grān baved ped tāšt. (141) agar gōbend kū “avēšān bizeškān darmān ī barend, avēšān kē-z driyušān ud acārān tis dahend hamāg ped kām ī yazd”, (142) ā ka yazd apedyārag ud ahamēstār, ā-š vēmārīh ud driyušīh nē dādan āsāndar ud cimīgdar, ud ō yazdīh pessazagdar (143) az hān kū-šān x^vad vēmār ud driyuš kirdan, ud ō mardōmān framūdan³⁴ kū “ašmāh-išān drust ud abēniyāz kuned!”

(144) agar gōbend kū “-š kām ēn kū avēšān bizeškān ud dādārān ped hān pādāšn ī nēkīh-išān pediš kuned (145) u-šān ō vahišt ī jāyēdānag zāmēned”, (146) ā ē nigered kū: cōn adādestānīhā ud atuvānīhā ka nēkīh ud ābādīh³⁵ abar ēv³⁶ bannag³⁷ kāmag būd rāy vasān avināhān ī mustumand, driyuš, niyāzumand, vēmār ud anāgīhmadār kuned! (147) ēn-z kū³⁸:

³¹ . nyāžaṇd : nāstika. Cf. Sogd. ny'z'wt.

³² . āžār : duḥkhita.

³³ . hugārəṇd : अपहरंति.

³⁴ . farmūt.

³⁵ . āžādī JJ.

³⁶ . han : anya.

³⁷ . buṇdaa (kāmag): saṃpurnakāme.

³⁸ . kuš.

agar-š nēkīh ud ābādīh abar ēk bē ped must ud dard ud bēš ī anī kirdan nē tuvān, (148) ā-š ō tuvānkirdārīh, kāmgarīh ud ahamēstārīh nē pessazag.

(149) agar gōbend kū: avēšān vēmārān, driyušān, ped mēnōg, ped hān pādāšn ō vahišt ud nēkīh ī jāyēdānag zāmēned, (150) ā agar-š pādāšn ī ped mēnōg bē ped anāgīh ī gētīg dādan nē tuvān, nē spurriḡtuvān. (151) ēn-z kū: -š mustkirdārīh ī ped gētīg abēgumānīhā pēšdastīhā³⁹ ud abēcīmīhā; (152) ud pādāšn ī mēnōg gumān(īg)īhā, avurravišn(īg)īhā ud pas az mustgarīh. (153) cōn must ī pēš abēcīm, pādāšn ī pas ham abēcīmīhā ud halagīhā. (154) ēn-z kū: ēc āzādīh ī pas ō must ī pēš ped avahānīh nē ayābīhed.

(155) did ēn kū: az ēn si ēvēnag ēk būdan acār. (156) ēk, harv cē andar ēn gēhān ast ud būd ud baved, hamāg ped kām ī ōy ayāb nē; (157) ayāb ast ī-š ped kām ud ast ī nē. (158) cōn tis-iz nē ayābīhed ī nē nēk, ayāb vad, ayāb āmixtag ī az harv do.

(159) agar gōbend kū “-š hamāg kām, ā-š nēk ud vad harv do kām. (160) agar-š nēk ud vad harv do kām, anuspurrīkkām. (161) ped ēk-iz nē spurriḡ. (162) ud ōy ī anuspurrīkkām, anuspurrīgx^vadīh šāyed būdan, (163) cōn azabar nimūd. (164) agar-š ēc nē kām, (165) ēc kām nē būdan rāy, nēstkām. (166) ud ōy ī nēstkām cihrikkunišn. (167) ud ōy ī cihrikkunišn cihrēnīdag ud kirdag. (168) agar ast ī-š kām ud ast ī-š nē kām, (169) tis-iz andar gēhān nē ayābīhed ī nē nēk ud nē vad, (170) ā agar yazd nēk kām, ā-š vad nē kāmīg, āšnāg. (171) ud hān ī vad nē ped

³⁹ . pāšjastihā : prāk prāptaḡ. West : ‘through previous occurrence’ ; Menasce : ‘prématurément’. Cf. Pers. پیشدستی کردن ‘to perform soon/ quickly’.

kām ī ōy. (172) agar-š vad kām, ā-š nēk nē kāmīg, acār. (173) ud hān ī nēk nē ped kām ī ōy. (174) agar hān ī nēk kām ī yazd, hān ī vad az anī kām būdan, āšnāg. (175) agar hān ī vad kām ī ōy, hān ī nēk az anī kām būdan⁴⁰, acār. (176) acārīg pēdāgīhed hambidīg ī kām ī yazd.

(177) agar vad az mardōm uzed⁴¹ gōbed, (178) ā cōn mardōm nē hamēšag-x^vadīh, ā acārīg ayāb vad pēš az mardōm būd ayāb pas, (179) ayāb abāg mardōm būd. (180) agar “pēš az mardōm būd” gōbend, (181) ā cōn jud az yazd anī āfrīdār ud dādār nē būd, (182) ā vad ayāb yazd dād, ayāb x^vad x^vadīh⁴² dād, ayāb x^vad hamēvīg būd. (183) agar “pas az mardōm būd” gōbend, (184) ā ka gōhr ī mardōmīh ham dahišn ī yazd, (185) ud mardōm vad yazd andar gōhr nē dād, (186) ped kunišn cōn aziš uzīhed? (187) agar-šān vad ped kunišn kird jud az kām ī yazd, (188) ud yazd dānišn ī ped kirdan pediš būd, (189) ā yazd ped x^vēš kām anuspurīg; (190) ud mardōm, ped kām ud framān ī yazd spuxtan, ud hambidīg ī kām ī yazd vad kirdan, cēr ud abarvēz hend, (191) ud yazd andar x^vēš kām ud x^vēš bannagān zōr apādyāvand, pēdāg. (192) agar gōbend kū “-šān pas ō dušox pādīfrāh ī škeft zāmēned”, (193) ā agar yazd tuvānkirdār bazag kirdan nē hištan ud az menišn-šān bē kirdan sūttar, ō-z x^vābarīh ī yazd pessazagdar kū kirdan hišt. (194) acārīhā pediš hunsand būd; (195) pas hunsandīhā x^vēš dāmān pādīfrāhēned. (196) ped kār ēk ī uskāram, ayāb atuvānīgīh ayāb kamdānišnīh ayāb kamvehīh aziš pēdāgīhed.

⁴⁰ . būt.

⁴¹ . x^vāžəṭ : prabhavatīti.

⁴² . x^vadī : svayaṛh. x^vad-iš?

(197) agar gōbend kū “yazd vad dād ud āfirīd ped hān cim kū dā mardōm arzumandīh ī nēkīh bē šnāsend”, (198) ā ē nigered kū: agar vad šnāxtan ī <arzumandīh ī> nēkīh rāy abāyišnīg ud sūdumand, ā-š vad ast veh kām. (199) agar-š vad ast veh kām ud abāyišnīg ud sūdumand, ō hān ī gōbend kū-š vad nē kām hambasān. (200) hān-z ī gōbend kū “-š marg, dard, ud driyušīh hān cim rāy dād kū dā mardōmān arzumandīh ī zīndagīh ud drustīh ud tuvānīgīh abērdar šnāsend, (201) ud andar yazd spāsdārdar bavend”, (202) ā ē nigered kū: cōn abēcimkunišnīhā ped hān ēvēnag ī ōy kē arz ud vahāg ī pādzahr abzōn rāy, zahr ō mardōmān dahed, (203) kū dā pādzahr grāndar ud arzumanttar frōšed. (204) ēn az kadām meyānjīgīhkunišnīh kū šnāxtan ī arzumandīh ī nēkīh ī anī rāy dard ud marg ud anāgīh abar anī avināh hiled?

(205) did hān ī grōh-ē az avēšān gōbend kū “yazd ped harv dām ud dahišn pādixšā. (206) cē-š dahišnān hamāg hān ī x^vēš hend. (207) cōn-š abāyed, cē-š abāyed, abar-šān kuned, nē mustgar. (208) cē must hān ī abar tis ī nē x^vēš kunend. (209) ēg hān kē tisān hamāg x^vēš, cōn-š abāyed, abar-šān kuned, nē mustgar.” (210) ā ē dāned kū: agar pādixšāyīh rāy hān-z kē⁴³ must kuned nē mustgar x^vānišn, (211) ā ōy-iz kē pādixšā (ud) drōv gōbed rāstgōbišn ast, (212) ōy-iz kē pādixšāyīh rāy bazag ud vināh ud duzīh⁴⁴ ud appar kuned nē vināhgar x^vānišn. (213) ōn cōn hān ī hufravard rōšn ī ādurfarrōbayān ped hangōšīdag guft (214) kū: “-šān mard-ē dīd kē xar-ē hamē marzed. (215) ka-

⁴³ . ą ki JJ, ą kə JE.

⁴⁴ . duž : cauryaṃ. We can also read duz adj. ‘thief, stealer’, n. ‘theft’. Cf. Dk viii M 722 juttarīh ī duz az appar.

šān aziš pursīd kū: ēn nikōhīdag⁴⁵ kār cim kuneh? (216) u-š ped būzišn guft kū: xar-ē am x^vēš!”

(217) did ēn az-išān ē pursed (218) kū: yazd ēn dām ud dahišn ī-š kird, avišān dōst ayāb dušmen? (219) agar dām dōst, ā-š nē sazed vad ud anāgīh ī dāmān abāyistan ud dādan, (220) x^vēš āfurišnān az višōbišn ud anāgīh-išān hagriz sagr nē būdan⁴⁶. (221) agar dām dušmen, ā-š nē sazed ped x^vēš tuvān ud dānišn hān tis āfrīdan ud dādan ī-š dušmenyādīhā⁴⁷, u-š pedīrag kām kuxšed.

(222) ēn-z pursed (223) kū: yazd hamēšag hudānāg ud hupādixšā ud āzādīhgar, (224) ayāb dušdānāg ud dušpādixšā ud mustgar, (225) ayāb ast hangām ka hudānāg ud hupādixšā ud āzādīhgar (226) ud ast hangām ka dušdānāg ud dušpādixšā ud mustgar? (227) agar hamēšag hudānāg ud hupādixšā ud āzādīhgar, (228) ā-š nēst andar šahr ud pādixšāyīh stahm ud must ud garzišn; (229) u-š dām dōstīh, ud dām aviš dōstīh, abēzag; (230) az im cim, abar x^vēš dāmān abaxšāyišngar; (231) u-š dām spāhangār, aviš stāyīdār, ud abēzag dōst, (232) u-š nām-iz ī yazdīh arzānīhā x^vēš. (233) agar dušdānāg ud dušpādixšā ud mustgar, (234) ā x^vad ō dām abēzag dušmen, u-š dām-iz aviš hamēvēnag; (235) az ham cim, dām vināstār ud marnzēnīdār ud viyābāngar; (236) u-š dām aziš garzīdār, aviš kuxšīdār, ud abēzag dušmen; (237) u-š nām-iz ī yazdīh anarzānīg nām ax^vēš⁴⁸. (238) u-š hamēšagīh-iz rāy, dāmān

⁴⁵ . nigōīnaa : garhyataram. West : 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭩 ‘execrable’. Menasce: nikōhēnak.

⁴⁶ . būt.

⁴⁷ . (dušman) apatvāh : asānukūlarim. apeyvāh? West : apatūgīh ‘disablement’; Menasce: peut-être *apēvahān ‘sans raison’.

⁴⁸ . haḡaḡdī : saḡnibham.

akanāragzamānīhā az must ud anāgīh abēbīm būdan anemēd.
(239) agar ast hangām ka hupādišā ud hudānāg ud āzādīhgar, ud
ast hangām ka abāzvaštaḡ az ēn, (240) ā-š dōstīh ī dām
gumēzag; (241) az gumēzagdōstīh gumēzag kunišn, (242) az
gumēzakkunišnīh gumēzag x^vadīh-iz pēdāgīhed. (243) u-š dām-
iz aviš gumēzagdōst. (244) az hambāy nē agar dōst ī-š nē
dušmen, ud nē spāsdār ī-š nē garzišnīg, nē-z stāyīdār ī-š nē
nikōhišnīg, ēn ēvēnag abar hamāḡ dām cihrīg pēdāḡ.

(245) did ēn kū: cōn hamāḡ tis ī andar gēhān, az ēn do nām ī
nēk ud vad nē bēron, (246) ā agar nēkīh ud vad harv do az yazd,
ud ped kām ī yazd gōbīhed, (247) ā mustumand ahrmen abēcim
dusravēnīdag, avināh ud abunēšt, hagriz vad ud abāzsār nē būd
ud nē baved. (248) hān ī andar nibēg gōbed kū “ahrmen abāzsār
būd, u-šān az vahišt bēronēnīd” abēcim. (249) cē hān-z
abāzsārīh ud aburdframānīh ham ped kām ī yazd.

(250) agar-z nēkīh az yazd, ud ped kām ī yazd, vad az
mardōm gōbīhed, ēg ahrmen abunēšt ud abēvināh, u-š nīfrīn ud
nikōhišn abēcim. (251) agar pargast⁴⁹ ēn hamāḡ anāgīh ud vad
nē az judgōhrīh, bē az x^vadīh ud ēvgōhrīh ī x^vad yazd, (252) ā
yazd ō x^vēš rōn dušmen ud pedyārag ast.

(253) ēn-z kū: “bē az gōhr ī bazag bazagīh būd” guftan abēr
viyābānīg. (254) cōn bazag az gōhr ī veh hangārdan viyābānīg, ā
ahrmen kē bun bunēšt ast ī harv bazag, az dahišn ud āfurišn ī
yazd hangārdan viyābānīgdar.

⁴⁹ . faraḡast : प्रवृत्तोऽयं, Menasce: fravast.

(255) hangird ēn kū: agar nē⁵⁰ tis ast ī nē andar kām ī yazd, agar harv tis ped kām ī yazd, kas-iz nē vināhgār, (256) peygāambar-z ud dēn brihēnīd abēcim. (257) agar ped vināhgārīh kas ēranzēnīdan⁵¹ sazed, ōy ēranzēnīdan sazāgdar kē bun kirdār ud dāštār (×dādār) ud āfrīdār ī harv vad ud bazag. (258) agar-z vad ud bazag az ahrmen ayāb mardōm gōbīhed, ā cōn avēšān ham āfrīdag ud dādag ī yazd hend, ā-š bunxān⁵² (bun vahān) ham ōy kē bun vahān⁵³ (bunxān) ī vad, (259) az vad vattar.

(260) ēn-z ē nigered kū: hāmōyēn kēšān az x^vēš dastvar ud frēstag⁵⁴ ēn gōbend ka-šān guft ud handarzēnīd ō x^vēš ram kū: “kirbag kuned ud az bazag pahrēzed!” (261) viyābānīh rāy ēn nē handēšend kū: bazag ī-š framūd kū “mā kuned, ud kē kuned ō dušox ī jāyēdānag abganam”, hān az kū ud kadām bun sazed būdan? (262) kū agar ham az yazd, ā-š nē dādan āsānīhādar hād kū pas az dādan ud ō pēdāgīh āvurd(an) aziš pahrixtan framūd. (263) ōh-iz⁵⁵ ka ēc sūd ud vahān ī dādan ud āfrīdan ī vad nē šnāsam.

(264) did: andar-šān nibēgān abar kirbag ud bazag hambasānīhā gōbed (265) kū: “kirbag ud bazag harv do az man. (266) nē dēvān ud nē jādūgān ādōg⁵⁶ hend ped kas vizend kirdan. (267) nē kas dēn pedīrift kirbag kird, ud nē kas ped agdēnīh raft bazag, bē ped kām ī man!” (268) andar ham nibēg

⁵⁰ . fradīm.

⁵¹ . ōrēžinīṭ : avalopitum.

⁵² . bunxān : mūlanidhānaṃ.

⁵³ . bun vahān : mūlakāranaṃ.

⁵⁴ . faražastaa : pravṛttāni.

⁵⁵ . ōca : yadica.

⁵⁶ . atū : samarthāḥ.

vasihā pedist⁵⁷ bared ud nifrīn ō dāmān kuned (269) kū: “cim mardōm hān bazag ī man ped avēšān kāmam kāmend ud kunend?” (270) abar kām ud kunišn ī x^vēš dast baved, u-šān ō pādīfrāh ī abar tan ud ruvān bīmēned. (271) ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: “an x^vad ham viyābāngar ī mardōm. cē agar-am kāmāg hād, ēg-am rāh ī rāst nimūd hend. bē-m kāmāg kū ō dušox šavend.” (272) ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: “mardōm x^vad hend kirdār ī bazag.” (273) ped ēn si ēvēnag, yazd abar x^vēš dām judēvēnag gugāyīh dahed: (274) ēk ēn kū, x^vad ahrmen; (275) ēk ēn kū, x^vad ast viyābāngar ī dām; (276) ped anī brahm, x^vēš abāg⁵⁸ ahrmen ped viyābāngarīh hambāy kuned kū: “ast ka an kunam, ud ast ka ahrmen.” (277) ped hān ī gōbed kū “mardōm bazag x^vad kunend”, ā-š x^vēš tan ped dūrīh ī az bazag abāg ahrmen hambāy kird. (278) cē agar mardōm bazag kunend az x^vēš gōhr ud x^vēš viyābānīh, ā yazd abāg ahrmen az bazagīh dūr. (279) cē cōn nē az yazd nē-z az ahrmen.

(280) did: az avēšān kē-šān mu‘tazalīg⁵⁹ x^vānend ē pured (281) kū: yazd hamāg mardōm ped āzādkāmīh⁶⁰ az bazag pahrixtan ud az dušox bōxtan ud ō vahišt zāmēnīdan kām ayāb nē? (282) agar gōbed kū “nē”, (283) ā-š vizīrēnīd abar kamvehīh ī yazd ud vattarīh ī-š kām. (284) az im⁶¹ cim, ped yazdīh stāyīdan nē sazāg. (285) agar gōbed kū “-š kām”, (286) ā-š vizīrēned abar vehkāmīh ī yazd. (287) az im cim, ped yazdīh stāyīdan sazāg.

⁵⁷ . paeβastan : pracarya.

⁵⁸ . x^vēš dām aβā.

⁵⁹ . muθzarī : muthajarīkāh.

⁶⁰ . āβātkāmī : svatantrakāmatayā.

⁶¹ . ham.

(288) ēn-z kū: agar-š kām kirdan tuvānīg ayāb nē? (289) agar gōbed kū “nē”, (290) ā-š vizīrēned abar atuvānīgīh ī yazd ped hān ī-š kām. (291) az im cim, ped yazdīh ī visptuvān stāyīdan nē sazāg. (292) agar gōbend kū “kām kirdan tuvānīg”, (293) ā-š vizīrēned abar tuvānīgīh ī hān ī-š kām. (294) az im cim, <ped> yazdīh ī vīspuvān stāyīdan sazāg.

(295) did ēn kū: ka-š kām kirdan tuvānīg, kuned ayāb nē? (296) agar gōbed kū “kuned”, (297) ā pēdāgīhist hē abar hamāg mardōm pahrixtan ī az vināh, bōxtan ī az dušox, rasīdan⁶² ī ō vahišt. (298) ēn hān ī-š astīh apēdāg, ud x^vēš-iz dēn drōzangar. (299) agar gōbed kū “-š kām kirdan tuvānīg, bē nē kuned”, (300) ā-š vizīrēned abar anabaxšāyišngarīh ī yazd ud mardōmdušmenīh ud x^vēš kām aravāgīh. (301) cē agar kuned, ā-š x^vad nē zyān, ud mardōm sūd, u-š xvēš kām ravāg. (302) agar nē kuned, ā-š x^vad nē sūd, ud mardōm zyān, u-š x^vēš kām aravāg.

(303) did ēn kū: pad kām nē kuned ayāb akām? (304) agar gōbed kū “pad kām nē kuned”, (305) ā-š vizīrēned kū yazd nēkkām, u-š nēk kirdan nē kām. (306) ēn hambasānīh rāy handēšīdan-z zīfān. (307) agar gōbed kū “akām, ē rāy nē kuned”, (308) ā vizīrēned abar nizārīh ī yazd andar x^vadīh, ayāb astīh ī vizūdār ī-š kām.

(309) hangird ēn kū: ēn gētīg rāyēnīdār ī ahamēstār ī ahambidīg ī spurr ped dānāgīh ud vehīh ud tuvānīgīh hād, ēn hamāg asazākkunišnīh ud must ud anāgīh ud dard ud bēš frāyist mardōm ud abārīg dām nē hē. (310) cē ka rāyēnīdār ud

⁶² . rāstan : samānayanam ca. (pahrixtan i əž gunāh u rāstan əž dōžax u āβardan JE).

ahamēstār ud ped dānāgīh spurr, vad nē būdan cār ud darmān ī vad bē burden-z dāned. (311) ka ped vehīh spurr ud abaxšīdār, vad būdan fradumīh nē kām, ud nēstīh kām. (312) ka ped tuvānīgīh spurr, vad hambun-z nē būdan tuvānīg. (313) nūn cōn andar gētīg kē-š rāyēnīdār yazd ast, vad astīh agumānīhā vēnābdāg, pas az ēn do⁶³ nē jud: ayāb kū rāyēnīdār hamēstārumand, ayāb ahamēstār. (314) agar vad nē būdan cār, ud darmān ī vad bē burden nē dāned, pēdāgīhed aziš⁶⁴ abavandag dānāgīh ī yazd. (315) ayāb-iš vad ast veh kām, pēdāgīhed (aziš) abavandag vehīh ī-š kām. (316) ayāb vad nē būdan, ud bē burdan nē tuvānīg, pēdāgīhed abavandag tuvānīgīh ī yazd. (317) ud ka ped dānāgīh ayāb vehīh ayāb tuvānīgīh ēk-iz nē bavandag, <ā> ped yazdīh ī visptuvān ī vispveh ī vispdānāg stāyīdan ud peristīdan⁶⁵ nē sazāg.

(318) ēn-z ē dāned kū: cōn ēc astag tis ī kunāg kāmāgumand bē cōnīh nē ādōg būd, (319) ā agar dādār bun astīh yazd(īg)īh, u-š cōnīh rōšnīh ud huzīhrīh ud hubōyīh ud pākīh ud vehīh ud dānāgīh, ēgiš hān ī cōn tārīkīh ud dušcihrīh ud gennagīh ud rīmanīh ud vattarīh ud adānāgīh x^vad dēvīh cōnīh, aziš dūr sazed būdan.

(320) agar-š bun astīh tisīh⁶⁶ dēv(īg)īh, u-š cōnīh tārīkīh ud dušcihrīh ud gennagīh ud rīmanīh ud vattarīh ud adānīh, ēgiš hān ī yazdīh cōnīh aziš bēgānag⁶⁷ ēsted. (321) agar ēk ast kē-š ēn harv aziš⁶⁸ andar-š x^vadīh ī avizārišnīg⁶⁹ gumixtag, ā-š aziš⁷⁰

⁶³ . and.

⁶⁴ . vaš.

⁶⁵ . parastan : arc.

⁶⁶ . θisī :kācit. Jāmasp-Asana : θis i.

⁶⁷ . bōgānī : bahir.

⁶⁸ . vaš.

avizārišnīgīh⁷¹ rāy ped nēkīh andar x^vēš anāgīh vizārdagīh nēst. (322) nūn-z umēdvārān⁷² umēd uzed⁷³. (323) cē ōy-iz kē kirbakkarīh rāy ō vahišt šaved, ānōh-iz ped vad ud anāgīh; (324) cē ānōh-iz nēkīh ī az vad jud ud vizārišnīg⁷⁴ nēst. (325) agar hambun-z nēkīh ast ī jud az anāgīh, ā anāgīh-iz ast ī az nēkīh jud ud vizārdag. (326) ēn āšnāg kū: nēkīh ud anāgīh judīh az judgōhrīh. (327) ka-šān judīh ud vizārišn ī <ēk> az did ī judgōhrīhā do bun pēdāg, ā umēdvārān umēd rāst. (328) u-šān dānāgīh parvānag⁷⁵.

(329) ēn-z dāned kū: harv soxan ī nē ped x^vēš vimand, abēbrahm ud apedx^vāh (?)⁷⁶. (330) ēn-z kū: vimand ī yazdīh māyagvar dānāgīh. (331) vimand ī dānāgīh ēk sūdumandkunišnīh. (332) sūdumandkunišnīh nē zyāngārīh. (333) zyāngārīh ēvēnagān si: (334) ēk, hān ī-š x^vad nē sūd, ud anīz zyān; (335) <ēk, hān ī anīz nē sūd, ud x^vad zyān;> (336) ēk, hān ī x^vad zyān, ud anīz zyān.

(337) ud yazd ī dānākkār az āfīrdan ī ahrmen ud dēvān x^vad nē sūd, anīz zyān; (338) u-š kām az x^vēš kunišn aravāgīh hamē pēdāgīhed.

⁶⁹. avazirašnī : aviktāyānī.

⁷⁰. vaš.

⁷¹. avazirašnī : avibhaktatvat.

⁷². ōmēdāra : āšakarānānī.

⁷³. x^vazīt : vilīnā. Menasce : *anāwat ou *anāwihet.

⁷⁴. jatvazārašnī : pṛthak vibhakti. West : ۱۹۲۱ ۱۹۲۲ ۱۹۲۳ ۱۹۲۴ ۱۹۲۵.

⁷⁵. farβānaa : sahhāyīnī. West : parβānaa ‘assistance, passport’ ; Menasce : faržānaa ‘adequate’.

⁷⁶. apaṭx^vāβ (apaṭx^vāh JE) : anabhilaṣaṇīyānī. West : ‘unenquiring’ ; Menasce : ‘irrational’. Cf. Dk iv, M 430 ۱۹۳۱۳۲ ۱۹۳۳ ۱۹۳۴.

(339) ēn-z kū: agar yazd kām vehīh, (340) u-š kām hamēšag, (341) ud ped sazed kām tuvānīg hē, (342) <hān pēdāg> kū az bun dā frazām, andar gēhān, hamāg vehīh ud frārōnīh ī yazd kām raft hē; (343) nūn pēdāg kū, vattarīh ud abārōnīh vas vēš hamē raved. (344) pas az ēn <do> ēk: ayāb ped kām ī yazd hamē raved, ayāb akām. (345) agar ped kām ī yazd hamē raved, <ā> pēdāg kū-š kām-iz ped vattarīh hamcōn ped vehīh. (346) ayāb ped kām atuvānīg ud vardīšnīg. (347) cōn kām bē az vahān, ayāb bē az vardēnīdār nē varded⁷⁷, (348) ā az ēn do ēk: ayāb vahān-ē rāy, ayāb-iš anī ast vardēnīdār ī-š kām. (349) agar nē ped kām ī yazd hamē raved, (350) ā pēdāg kū yazd andar x^vēš kām acārag⁷⁸, u-š kām nē spurīg. (351) ayāb-iš ast vizūdār-ē ī <abāz->dāštār kām.

(352) ēn-z kē gōbend kū “yazd ō ādam framūd kū: az ēn ēk draxt ī andar vahišt mā x^vared!” (353) az-išān ē pursed (354) kū: framān ī yazd ō ādam dād kū “az ēn draxt mā x^vared!” nēk būd ayāb vad? (355) agar framān nēk būd, pēdāg kū draxt vad būd. (356) <ā> nē sazed yazd tis ī vad āfrīdan. (357) agar draxt nēk būd, framān vad dād. ā nē sazed yazd vad framān dādan. (358) agar draxt nēk būd, u-š framān ī ped nē x^vardan⁷⁹ dād, ā ō vehīh ud abaxšāyīdārīh ī yazd nē⁸⁰ pessazag nēkīh az bannagān ī avināh ī x^vēš abāz dāstan (abesihīdan/ abesistan)⁸¹.

(359) ēn-z kē gōbend kū “yazd harv kē-š kāmed, ō vurravišn ud rāh ī rāst āvared, u-š ped hān pādāšn ō nēkravišnīh ī

⁷⁷ . vardinəṭ : viparyayati.

⁷⁸ . āžāraa : pīḍitaḥ.

⁷⁹ . nō xādan : akhādane.

⁸⁰ . bō pasažaa : ananurūpaḥ.

⁸¹ . aβaxšastan : avagopituḥ. Menasce : apaxšāyītan.

jāyēdānag zāmēned; (360) kē-š nē kāmed, ā-š ped adēnīh ud yazd nēšnāsīh hiled, u-š ped hān cim ō dušox ud anāgīh ī jāyēdāng abganed.” (361) az avēšān ē purred (362) kū: ōy veh kē-š abāyist ud kām ped dēn ud vurravišn ī yazd ud rāh ī rāst, ayāb ōy kē-š abāyist ud kām ped abērāhīh ud adēnīh ud yazd nēšnāsīh? (363) agar gōbed kū “ōy veh kē-š abāyist ud kām ped dēn ī yazd ud rāh ī rāst”, (364) nūn ōy mardōm kē yazd kāmag ī pediš ēn kū-š ped adēnīh ud abērāhīh ud yazd nēšnāsīh hiled, peygāambar ayāb anī mardōmdōst⁸² ō-š dēn ī yazd ud rāh ī rāst x^vāned, (365) ā-š yazd pediš veh ud sūdumanttar ayāb hān peygāambar <ud> ōy mardōm<-dōst>. (366) agar gōbed kū “-š kām ī yazd pediš veh”, ā-š guft baved kū “yazd nē šnāxtan ud dēn nē pedīriftan ud abērāhīh veh”, ēn zīfān nē⁸³ pedīrišnīg [ud nē cāšišnīg]. (367) agar gōbed kū “-š ō rāh⁸⁴ ī rāst āmadan, ud yazd šnāxtan, pediš veh ud sūdumanttar”, (368) ā-š āškārag guft baved kū “-š peygāambar ud mardōm<-dōst> pediš veh az yazd”. (369) cē mardōm kē-š abar mardōm rāstrāhīh ud yazdšnāsīh abāyed, u-š kām pediš, vas veh az ōy ī yazd, (370) kē-š abāzrāhīh ud anešnāxtārīh ud adēnīh abar-šān kāmag, yazd vas vattar az ōy mardōm.

(371) ēn-z kū: agar bazagmenišnīh ud bazakkarīh ī mardōm ped kām ī yazd, nūn hān kē yazd bazagmenišnīh dād u-š bazag andar menišn kišt, (372) u-š ahrmen ēvāz ō bazag kirdan x^vāned ud nix^vāred, ā-š bazagmenišnīh ī yazd ud⁸⁵ abāyist-iz ī pediš zōrumanttar ud vattar kū x^vandan ī ahrmen. (373) ka-š niyūšīdārīh-iz ī az ahrmen kirdan ī bazag, ham az

⁸² . mardum i dōst : manuṣyaḥ sakhā.

⁸³ . rā nō.

⁸⁴ . dīn : dīni.

⁸⁵ . vaš.

bazagmenišnīh ī yazd dād, ud abāyist-iz ī pediš, nūn āšnāg kū yazd az ahrmen vas vattar ud vināhgārdar.

(374) abar ēn soxanīhā ī-mān ušmurd, (375) az ēn si⁸⁶ ēk šāyed būdan: (376) ayāb kū hamāg rāst, ayāb kū hamāg drōv, (377) ayāb ast ī rāst ud ast ī drōv. (378) agar hamāg rāst, harv soxan ī ō ēn soxan nē sazed drō. ud tis do: rāstīh ud drōzanīh. (379) agar hamāg drōv, harv soxan ī ō ēn soxan nē sazed rāst. ud tis ham do. (380) agar ast ī rāst ud ast ī drōv, (381) ēg hān ī rāst az gōhr ud nāf ī rāstīh, (382) ud hān ī drōv az gōhr ud nāf ud bunēstag ī drōzanīh. (383) bun do: ēk kē rāstīh aziš, ēk kē drōzanīh.

⁸⁶ . du.

haftum darag

12

(1) *anī abar hambasānīh ī-šān gōbišn, vāzag ēcand ī az dēngird nibēg.*

(2) hān ī gōbend kū : yazd pērāmōn harv tis, ēc tis nē andarōn ōy ; (3) ud andarōn harv tis, ēc tis nē pērāmōn ōy ; (4) azabar harv tis, ēc tis nē azēr ōy ; (5) ud azēr harv tis, ēc tis nē azabar ōy ; (6) abar taxt nišīyed, ud nē gyāgumand ; (7) ud andarōn asmān, ud nē kūmand ; (8) ud andar ēc gyāg nēst ud ast ; (9) harv gāh ast, u-š gyāg nēst ; (10) u-š harv tis ped kām ī x^vēš, x^vēš ōh¹ baved ; (11) bunēštag xēn² ud veh ; (12) ud jāyēdān anāmurz ud x^vābar ; (13) ud mustpeyrāy ud nē mustgar ; (14) u-š framūd ō kē kirdan ud spuxtān atuvānīg yazdīg framān ; (15) u-š hān ī avināh dušoxīg āfrīd nē mustgar ; (16) az durvandīh dušoxīgīh būd ī mardōm āgāh, u-š kām pediš ; (17) ud veh-kām ayāb-iš nē-kām būd ; (18) cārīgīh³ dād bē x^vad⁴ bēš ; (19) ayāb-iš nē cārīgīh, bē acārīgīh dād. < ud > nē hamēstārumand. (20) uzmayišnniyāz ud harvispāgāh ; (21) framānspōz u-š x^vad kām ; (22) ud ōy kē spōzed bunēšt-aš⁵, kuned hupādixšā. (23) u-š framān hamāg ravāg, (24) ud framānspōz ī ōy ayābišnīg ; (25) u-š kām ast ī nē ravāg ; (26) u-š spōzkām, nē vizūdārkām ; (27) u-š framūd hān ī-š nē kām ; (28) u-š framān ō kām nē hambasān, u-š

¹ . ō.

² . xīn : dveṣah. Cf. Av. aēnah- nt. ‘wrong’ ; Toch. A enāk < *ainahaka- ‘evil’.

³ . cārī : upāyena.

⁴ . u nō x^vaṭ : naca svayañ.

⁵ . baṇdayaštī : bandhagrahītam. West : bandak-gaštīh ‘restricted evolution’ ; Menasce : *bandak hast ē.

framān ō kām hambasān, harv do framān ; (29) u-š nēk kām, nē aravākkām ; (30) u-š vad kām, kē tis ī vad kuned, hān ast dādestānīg.

(31) anīz vas hambasānīh ī andar gōbišn ī kēšān. (32) agar peymānīg dēn az ē vas ēvēnag gōbišn nē šāyed būdan abēcār.

(33) enyā hān ī gōbend kū : « dobunēštahangārān kār ī yazd nizār ud apādyāvand, (34) nē cōn ō vazurgīh ī yazd pessazag gōbend », (35) abar-z ēn dar, ast ī gōbem rōšnīhā ē framāyed⁶ dānistan (36) kū :

tis ī yazdīg ōy nizārdar ud apādyāvanttar kuned (37) kū kē gōbed kū : āfurišnān ī x^vēš ī-š āfrīd hamāg andar aburdframān ud aniyūšhandarz būd hend, (38) dā-z x^vārtandum dām pedīrag kām ī ōy kuxšed. (39) ēdōn-z : avēšān vasān vaxšvarān peygāambarān ī ōy ī-š brihēnīd hend, ōzad ud ped dār kird, (40) ud ast ī tar ud xvār ud anāzarm kird. (41) ēn-z kū : nē ēvāz x^vadāyīh ī x^vēš az vattarān ī-š āfrīd nē pāyed⁷, bē x^vadāyīh-iz ī x^vēš x^vad pedyāragēned⁸. (42) ud kirdārīh ī x^vēš acārīhā x^vad višōbed. (43) ud dahišn ī x^vēš x^vad agārēned⁹. (44) ped vināhgārīh ī x^vēš bannagān ī avināh ī x^vēš x^vad zaned. (45) dōst ī ēkānag ī x^vēš x^vad nizār ud niyāzumand ud vināhgār ud viyābān kuned. (46) ud xēšm ī ped ēk bannag ī avināh ī cōn ahrmen, amar dām ī x^vēš vini¹⁰ ud viyābān kuned. (47) abar vināh ī sāmānumand ī-š az x^vēš kunišn anī pādīfrāh ī asāmān abar

⁶ . farmāyast.

⁷ . pāṭ.

⁸ . patyārainīṭ.

⁹ . āgārinəṭ.

¹⁰ . avīn : vikalām.

avināhān nihed. (48) dar ī āmurzišn sarumandīhā¹¹ frāz banned. (49) u-š az dard ud bēš ud anāgīh ī x^vēš dāmān sagrīh nēst. (50) ud hamēšagīhā andar kunišn ud rāyēnišn dāred. (51) ud bun ud meyān ud frazām framānīhā ī dahed abar ēstādan nē šāyed.

(52) ayāb ōy kē gōbed kū : ōy yazd ī hamēšag x^vadāy ī vispdānāg ud visptuvān ; (53) kē-š x^vadāyīh ud dānāgīh ud tuvānīgīh hamēšag akanāragzamān¹² ; (54) u-š nekīh ī vehīh aziš ; (55) u-š kunišn cimīgīhā, framān sūdumandīhā ; (56) abar x^vēš bannagān x^vābar ud abaxšīdār ; (57) ud ōy ī pērōzīhburdār bannag purpādāšnēnīdār ; (58) abar ōy ī vināhgār kē x^vēš vināhīh rāy dastgravīg ī dušmen baved, ped vizārdan-vināhīh, ud šustan az bazagīh ud rīmanīh āmurzīdār ; (59) abdum ēc veh dām andar dastgravīgīh¹³ ī dušmenān nē hištār ; (60) u-šān andar ardīg ud kuxšīšn ī abāg dušmenān ped tan ud gyān pādār ud dāštār ud parvardār ; (61) ud šahriyārīh ī x^vēš az hamemāl ī judgōhr purpāsebānēnīdār ; (62) u-š gund ud spāh ped kuxšīšn ud ardīg pērōzgar baved ; (63) ped frazām, pērōzīhburdār ī x^vēš dām az harvisp bazagīh.

(64) ud ka ō rōšnīh ud dānāgīh ud vēnāgīh ud zīndagīh ud drustīh ud abārīg yazdīg dahišn nigerīhed kū abar tārkīh ud adānīh ud kōrīh ud margīh ud vēmārīh ud abārīg dēvīg jadagān¹⁴ purpādyāvand ud abzōnīg. (65) cē ēn āšnāg kū rōšnīh spōzāg ast ī hamāg tārkīh ; (66) ud dānāgīh abar adānīh pērōz ; (67) ud zīndagīh abar margīh ōzumand ud abzōnīg. (68) cē ōzumandīh ud abzōnīgīh ī zīndagīh rāy amarravišnīh ī dām az do mardōm

¹¹ . sarmaṇdīhā : paryantamattayā. West : ‘finally’ ; Menasce : ‘d’une façon définitive’. But cf. Fars.-Arab. sarmad ‘perpetual’ < Pers. sarumand.

¹² . akanāraajamaṇī JJ, akanāraajamaṇ JE.

¹³ . dast grōhī : hastagrāhe.

¹⁴ . gadašni : cancelatve.

baved. (69) amaragān-z pediš xustōgīh. (70) ēdōn-z vēnāgīh ud drustīh abar kōrīh ud vēmārīh cand pērōzīh ud ōzumandīh pēdāg.

(71) ēn-z nigerīdan sazed kū : hamēstār druž cē x^vāhed, spāh ī yazd abar cē kuxšend ? (72) ōy ī hamēstār ēn x^vāhed kū : « ēn zamīg ud asmān ud dāmān ud¹⁵ rōšnān anast kunum, (73) ayāb ō x^vēšīh barum, az x^vēš gōhr vardēnum, (74) kū mā yazd ristāxēz ud frašegird kirdan ud dām ī x^vēš abāz ārāstan tuvān bād ! » (75) spāh ī yazd abar ēn kuxšend kū ōy ī hamēstār ped abāyist ud kāmag mā jahād. (76) ēn-z kū : spāh ī ohrmazd az bun dahišn ōrōn¹⁶ ped kuxšišn cēr ud ped kām pērōz.

(77) az ē pēdāg kū : yazd¹⁷ ēn zamīg ud asmān brihēnīd, (78) kū-š hamāg dām ud dahišn anast kirdan tuvān, bē ēk-iz x^vārtandum dām ī yazd anast kirdan atuvānīg. (79) cē agar-z ped vahān ī margīh tan az gyān judāgīhed nē anastīh ud vaštagīh ī gōhr az x^vadīh, bē vihirišn¹⁸ ī jadagān¹⁹ ud vihēzišn²⁰ ī az gyāg ō gyāg, az kār ō kār. (80) enyā tan ud gyān gōhr, harv ēk ped x^vēš gōhrīgīh abāz ō anī x^vēškārīh ēstādan, cōn pēdāg. (81) ud ēn dām ud dahišn purravāgīhā, hamēšakkārīhā dā hangām ī abāyišnīg sūdumandīhā astīh, pēdāg.

(82) dā ēdar abar ēn dar bavandag sahist.

¹⁵ . i.

¹⁶ . hurñ JJ, hrñ JE : eva.

¹⁷ . hast : astī.

¹⁸ . nyārašni : kṣīṇatvañ. West : nihārašni ‘extinction’ ; Menasce : niyārišn ‘dissolution’.

¹⁹ . gadašni : lolatāyāh. Cf. Dk iii, M 161 nirōg ī gōhr ud vihirišn ī jadagān.

²⁰ . nyāžašni : ūnavañ. Menasce : vixāzišn ‘changement’.

aštum darag

13

(2) *did abar¹ hambasānīh ud zīfāngōbišnīh ī nax^vistēn nibēg, (2) ī-š āzād² x^vānend ; (3) u-š hāmōyēn pediš hamdādestān hend kū, yazd ped x^vēš dast nibišt, ō mūše dād. (4) kū cōn purērang az harv dušīh, ud az vas ī-š andar nihang-ē āgāhīh ī ašmā rāy ēdar pēdāgēnam.*

(5) *gōbed ped bun ī nibēg³ (6) kū : fradum būd zamīg ī boh ud toh⁴ ud tārkīh ud āb ī syāh. (7) ud vaxš ī yazd abar rōy⁵ ī hān āb ī syāh hamē vihēzed⁶. (8) pas yazd guft kū⁷ : bād rōšnīh ! (9) ud būd rōšnīh. (10) u-š abēr nekōg⁸ sahist hān rōšnīh. (11) u-š vizārd rōšnīh ō rōz, ud tārkīh ō šab. (12) u-š ped šaš rōz āfrīd ēn*

¹ . JJ aṇdar.

² . āzāt : svatantra ‘free, independent’. West: āzād ‘holy’ i.e. the Old Testament, Menasce: āzāt (“āzāt: ‘libre, noble’ est sans doute une fausse lecture; on peut songer à tōrāt/ ar. taurāt ou, plus probablement à ōraitāk ‘loi’/aram. ōraitā comme en Dk M 253”), Neusner: AWAT (“Since the word AWAT, according to the context, must refer to the book of Genesis only, and to a Hebrew or an Aramaic name ‘called by them’, perhaps the Jews of Babylonia called the Book of Genesis ‘BHT’, Hebrew H’BWT on the basis of Babylonian Talmud ‘Avodah Zarah 25a.’” S. Lieberman, see Neusner, 1966, 414), G. Itō: azād ‘(Book of) Derivation’, Shaked: āwād ‘generation’, Perikhanian: ‘having come down through transmission/ tradition’, i.e., Torah.

³ . pa bun ī niβō : mūlāgamena.

⁴ . āβxūn u taṇ : payorudhirā vistīrṇā. West: afām va tahān ‘without form and void’, Menasce: āp-xūn ‘tohu-bohu’, Neusner: tan ‘unformed substance’.

⁵ . rōt : hrada.

⁶ . nyāβōt : paśyati. West: niyāzēd ‘yearns’, Bailey: nyāβēd ‘had desire’, Menasce: (also Schlerath) niwāzet (niwāz- ‘souffler’).

⁷ . u : yat.

⁸ . ažōr nigōnaa: adho’dhomukhaḥ.

gēhān ud asmān ud zamīg. (13) cē andar haftum rōz haspīn ud āsān būd.

(14) ped hān ham rāz, nūn-z jehūdān rōz ī šambad⁹ haspīnumand¹⁰.

(15) ēn-z kū-š ādam ud zan ī x^vad havā āfrīd, (16) andar bāvestān-ē ī vahišt kird (17) kū ādam andar hān bāvestān varz kunād ud pās¹¹ pāyād.

(18) ādōn¹² ī x^vad yazd ast ō ādam framūd (19) kū : az harvisp¹³ draxt ī andar ēn bāvestān x^var, bē az hān draxt ī dānišn ! (20) cē ka-š aziš x^vared mīred.

(21) u-š pas mār-ē andar bāvestān kird. (22) hān mār havā frēft, ud guft kū : az ēn draxt cin x^varam ud ō ādam daham !

(23) u-š hamgōnag kird. (24) ādam ham cōn x^vard, (25) dānišn ōn būd ī-š vizārd nēk az vad, ud nē murd hend. (26) u-š dīd ud dānist kū brahnag ast. (27) azēr draxt nihān būd. (28) u-š varg ī draxt abar x^vēš tan nihuft šarm ī brahnagīh rāy.

(29) pas ādōn ō bāvestān šud ud ādam ped nām x^vand kū : kū hē ?

(30) ādam pāsox kird kū : x^van¹⁴ ham azēr draxt, ē rāy cē brahnag ham.

⁹ . šuṇbaṭ : śanaīscarīye.

¹⁰ . aspīmaṇḍ : viśrāmi. Menasce: xupīkōmand ‘chômé’.

¹¹ . pāš : praharaka.

¹² . ādīnō : ādīnaḥ.

¹³ . haravist.

¹⁴ . īn.

(31) ādōn xēšm grift¹⁵. (32) guft kū: kē āgāhēnīd hē kū brahnag hē? (33) mā agar-it az hān draxt ī dānišn ī-m guft kū “mā x^vared” x^vard?

(34) ādam guft kū: ēn zan ī-t ō man dād, frēft ham u-m x^vard.

(35) ud ādōn ō havā pursīd kū: -t cim ēdōn kird?

(36) havā guft kū: ēn mār frēft ham.

(37) u-š ādam ud havā ud mār harv si ped nifrīn az vahišt bāvestān bērōn kird hend. (38) u-š ō ādam guft kū: -t x^varišn ped ustarišn ī x^vēy ud damišn ī vēnīg bād (39) dā frazām ī-t zīndagīh! (40) u-t zamīg hamāg xār¹⁶ ud kirm ud mār¹⁷ rōyād!

(41) u-š ō havā guft kū: -t ābustanih ped dard ud dušvār, u-t zāyišn ped grān avištābišn bād!

(42) u-š ō mār guft kū az meyān cahārbāyān ud dadān ī daštīg ud kōfīg nifrīdag bāš! (43) u-t pāy mā bād! (44) u-t ravišn ped eškamb ud x^varišn xāk bād! (45) ud meyān frazendān ī tō abāg zan kēn ud dušmenyādīh¹⁸ ōn bād kū avēšān frazendān sar gazend.

(46) ēn-z gōbend kū: -š ēn gētīg abāg harv cē andar, harv tis, mardōmān rāy kird ud dād. (47) u-š mardōm abar hamāg dām ud dahišn, x^vēd ud hušk, pādixšā kird.

¹⁵ . kard.

¹⁶ . hīhir : mūtra. Neryōsang has read it سويل /hixr/. West: ‘refuse’, Menasce: ‘ordure’.

¹⁷ . kīmār :purīša. West: dumāl ‘dung’, or simār ‘fennel, weeds’, Menasce: kīmār ‘épines’.

¹⁸ . dušmangaštī : duštam mānasatavam.

(48) nūn gōbem nihang-ē abar andarg ī-šān drāyišn ud zifānīh
ī-šān gōbišn (49) kū:

hān zamīg ī boh ud toh ud tārikīh ud yazd u-š vaxš ud āb ī
syāh kū ud ped kadām vimand būd? (50) ayāb x^v ad yazd cē-
ēvēnag būd? (51) pēdāg kū, nē rōšn būd. (52) cē, ka-š rōšnīh
dīd, (53) hān rāy kū-š ¹⁹nē dīd ēstād nekōg²⁰ sahist. (54) agar
gōbend kū “tārik būd”, ā pēdāg kū tārikīh bun ud nāf nē²¹ rōšn
ast. (55) agar gōbend kū “nē tārik, bē rōšn būd”, (56) ā ka x^v ad
rōšn būd, cim ka-š rōšnīh dīd škeft sahist? (57) ud agar gōbend
kū “nē rōšn būd, nē tārik”, (58) ā-šān sidīgar pēdāgēnīdan
abāyed ī nē rōšn ud nē tārik.

(59) enyā: hān kē-š gāh ud mānišn andar tārikīh ud āb ī syāh
būd, u-š hamēšag rōšnīh nē dīd ēstād, ā-š rōšnīh dīdan cōn
tuvānist? (60) u-š yazdīh az cē? (61) cē nūn-z harv kē andar
tārikīh māned, ā-š rōšnīh dīdan nē tuvān. (62) ēn-z kū: agar-š
bun ud mānišn tārikīh būd, ā-š pedīrag rōšnīh ēstādan cōn
tuvānist? (63) cē ēn āšnāg kū tārikīh pedīrag rōšnīh ēstādan nē
tuvān, cē-š spōzed ud ānāmed²².

(64) did ēn kū hān zamīg ī boh ud toh kanāragumand būd
ayāb akanārag? (65) agar kanāragumand būd, ā-š bēron aziš cē
būd? (66) agar akanārag būd, ā-š akanāragīh ō kū šud? (67) ka
cōn hamē vēnam ēn zamīg ud gētīg nē hān ī nax^v istēn ast.

¹⁹ . kiš JJ, kaš JE.

²⁰ . nigōnaa : adhomukham.

²¹ . bun vāžfrāi : mūlaṃ vacaḥ śikṣāpanāyāḥ. West: vāz parās ‘uttering a
word’, Menasce: bun vāž-āfrā, Neusner: važ-afra ‘give brith, cause to
emanate’.

²² . avanāmōt : pracchādayateca.

(68) hān ī ādōn guft (69) kū “bād rōšnīh”, ud būd, (70) pas dānistān sazed kū ādōn pēš az hān kū rōšnīh būd. (71) ka-š rōšnīh hamē kāmīst kirdān, u-š framān ī ped bē būdān dād, pas <ped> menišn handēšīd kū “rōšnīh cē-ēvēnag, huzihr baved ayāb dušcihr?” (72) ud agar-š rōšnīh, ped x^vēš cōnīh, andar dānišn ud handēšišn ī ādōn ayāft, hān pēdāg kū, rōšnīh hamē būd, ham andar dānišn ud menišn ī ādōn, (73) ud ham bēron aziš. (74) cē ēc tis nē šāyed dānistān ud ayāftan²³ bē astīh pēdāgīh. (75) agar rōšnīh hamē būd, hān x^vnē²⁴ āfrīdag ī ādōn ast. (76) ud agar gōbend kū “rōšnīh ped x^vēš cōnīh andar dānišn nē būd”, ā-š rōšnīh x^vāst ī-š nē dānist kū cē-ēvēnag, abēr adānišnīhā. (77) ayāb cōn šāyed hān ī-š hagrīz nē menīd ud dānist, ped menišn handēšīdān?

(78) ud ēn-z kū: hān framān ī ped būdān ī rōšnīh ō tis dād ayāb ō atīs? (79) cē ēn ēvar kū framān ō framāngar šāyed dādān. (80) agariš ō astīh-ē dād ī rōšn, ā rōšn x^vad būd. (81) ud agar-š framān ō nēstīh dād, ēg nēstīh framān ī ādōn cōn ašnūd? (82) ayāb-iš cōn dānist kū: ādōn ēdōn kāmāg kū rōšn bavam? (83) cē nēst framān ī ādōn ham ōn nē šnūd cōn ka-š nē dād. (84) cē nēst ped ēc ēvēnag menīdān nē šāyed. (85) hān ī nēst brihēnīd kū nēst²⁵, bē ast ī dānāg pēšvēn būd kē-š dānist kū: ādōn cē-ēvēnag hamē x^vāhed kū bavam, ped hān ēvēnag ī-š x^vāst būd! (86) agar gōbend kū “rōšnīh az gōbišn ī ādōn būd ī-š guft kū ‘bāš!’ ud būd”, (87) ā ka ādōn, u-š x^vadīh, tārik būd, u-š hagrīz rōšnīh nē dīd ēstād, ā rōšnīh az gōbišn cē-ēvēnag šāyed būdān? (88) cē ēn āšnāg kū: gōbišn zāyišn menišn ast. (89) agar gōbend kū-š gōbišn rōšn būd, ā abēr škeft. cē pas rōšnīh bar ī tārikīh, ud

²³ . Cf. MX 13.3 ayāftan ud dānistān.

²⁴ . rā.

²⁵ . nōst : ’sattā.

tārīkīh tōhmag; u-š rōšnīh daxšag. ayāb ēn kū: rōšnīh andar tārīkīh nihuftag būd. (90) cōn-um guft kū: framān bē framāngar dādan nē šāyed, pēdāg (91) kū: ahī²⁶ rōšnīh būd, pas framān sazist dād.

(92) did ēn kū: -š ēn dām ud dahišn, ud asmān ud zamīg cē-š ped šaš rōz virāst ud dād, (93) haftum haspīd aziš, (94) ēg ka-š ēn gēhān nē az tis dād bēš ēvāz az framān būd kū “bāš!” ud būd, (95) ā-š šaš rōz dagrandīh az cē? (96) cē kē-š ranz ēvāz and baved cand bē bāš ped guftan, hān šaš rōz dagrandīh būd vas dušmānāg. (97) u-š ranz aziš nē sazed būdan. (98) agar nēst ast kirdan šāyed, ^xā²⁷ tuvānīg abēdagrand-iz²⁸ dādan šāyed. (99) ud agar bē ped rōz zamān dādan atuvānīg, ā-š az nēst dād gufan nē sazed.

(100) ud did ēn kū: ka ušmār ī rōzān az x^varšēd dānīhed, ēg pēš az āfrīdan ī x^varšēd rōz mar, nām-iz ī rōzān az cē dānīhed. (101) cē gōbend kū: -š x^varšēd rōz ī cahārum, ī x^vad cahāršambad, dād. (102) ēn-z kū: -š rōz ī haftum āsān haspīn az cē abāyist kirdan, (103) ka-š ped āfrīdan ud dādan ī gēhān dagrand ud ranz and būd cand guft kū “bāš!”. (104) ā-š rōz cōn ušmārīhed kū-š haspīn abāyist kirdan kē-š ranz ōgārīhed. (105) cē agar-š bē bāš ped ham zamān guft, ā-š rōz ī āsān ham zamān sazed būdan.

(106) did ēn kū: -š ādam abāg havā cē cim ud vahān rāy dād? (107) kū dā-š kām varzend? ā-š cim ōn nē dād kū-š az kāmīšngarīh nē vardānd? (108) cē ka-š pēš az kunišn dānist kū-š

²⁶ . haē : tatkālam. Menasce: *ēn.

²⁷ . u

²⁸ . aβāž dōrangica.

framānnuiyūš nē bend, u-š abduṃ dād, ā-š nūn āhīd²⁹ būdan ud xēšm abar-šān griftan abēcim. (109) cē pēdāg kū x^vad ādōn purravāg nē būd ī-š x^vēš kām kāmāgumand, ud ō x^vēš kām hamēstār ud pedyārag, pēdāg. (110) agar-š pēš az kunišn nē šnāxt hend, u-š nē-z dānist kū framān ī ōy nē niyūšend, pas adān ud vadšnās ast. (111) agar gōbend kū-š x^vad kām ped nē kirdan būd, ā-š pas framān ī ped kirdan cim dād? (112) u-š ped nē kirdan cē vināh? ud cōn raved (113) asp-ē kē-š ped rah³⁰ ham-āyōzend, u-š ped tāzānag³¹ avištābend?

(114) az ēn gōbišn nišān ud daxšag ī frēftārān pēdāgīhed,
 (115) kē-šān kām ud framān ēk ō did hambasān ud asāxtār.
 (116) ud agar-š kām ud abāyist ēn būd kū-š az kām nē vardend,
 (117) nūn zōr ud abāyist ī avēšān ped vaštan ī az kām ī ōy vas ōzumanttar ud pādyāvanttar kū hān ī ped nē vaštan. (118) agar-š kām pešān vaštan ī az ōy kām, ud dānišn-z pediš būd, u-š framān ped nē vaštan dād, nūn mustumand ādam <ud havā> cōn tuvānist kū nē vardend? (119) u-š bunēšt-iz³² ()³³ nē sazed būdan. (120) cē-š ped vaštan ī az ōy framān ēvāz³⁴ framān družīd³⁵; ped nē vaštan kām ud dānišn-z harv do družīg baved.

²⁹ . xāhīt : vilakṣita.

³⁰ . ray : rašanābhareṇa (Jamasp-Asana : JJ has रसा, and JE रसा, for रश्ना instead of रशना). West : lag ‘confinement’, Menasce : rasan ‘corde’.

³¹ . tāḅḅanaa : carmmalatayā.

³² . bun dāštaca : mūlasrṣṭīśca. West : ‘the origin and maintenance’. Menasce : « Le passage est obscure ; je traduis comme s’il y avait bunyaštaca. »

³³ . kām JE, kam JJ. Skt. om.

³⁴ . āḅāž pa

³⁵ . družāt.

(121) did ēn kū: -š hān bāvestān vīrāst, cim rāy ud cē sūd rāy dād? (122) ud x^vad draxt ī dānišn ī-š framūd kū “mā x^vared”, u-š handarz-iz ī ped nē x^vardan kird, ā-š āfrīdan cim abāyist? (123) u-š az handarz ud framān pēdāg kū-š kamdānišnīh ud adānīh dōšīdagdar; (124) ud kāmag ī pediš vēš kū dānišn ud dānāgīh. (125) u-š sūd-iz az adānīh vēš būd. (126) cē dā-šān <az> draxt ī dānišn nē x^vard ēstād, adān būd hend, ud andar ōy aburdframān<īh> ud anēkīh nē. (127) hamcōn-šān dānišn būd, andar-š aburdframān būd hend, (128) u-š az adānīh ī avēšān tēmār-ē nē būd, hamcōn-šān dānišn būd, (129) abar-šān āhīd ud xēšmēn būd. (130) u-š ped grān ax^vārīh ud anāzarmīh az vahišt bērōn kird, ō zamīg abgand hend. (131) hangird ēn kū: ēn dānišn zāyišn ī mardōmān andar gētīg vahān az mār frēftārīh būd. (132) ēn-z gōbend kū: hāmōyēn tis mardōm rāy āfrīd, kē rāy pēdāg kū-š hān draxt-iz mardōm rāy āfrīd. (133) ud mardōm ped harv dām ud dahišn pādixšā kird. (134) ā agar hamgōnag nūn az hān draxt, ī-šān x^vēš, būd kāmag, vizūdan cim?

(135) az ēn gōbišn ēn-z pēdāg kū:-š hambun-z dānišn nē būd. cē agar frāz ō bāvestān mad, u-š vāng kird ud ādam ped nām x^vand kū “kū hē?”, ōn cōn ka-š kū-gyāg-astīh anāgāh būd. (137) agar-š apāsox būd hē, kū-gyāg-astīh ī ādam anāgāh būd <hē>. (138) agar-š nihang-iz³⁶ pēšvēnišn nē būd kū-š az hān draxt x^vard ayāb nē, ēn-z kū kē ud cōn ud kay³⁷ x^vard, ud kē frēft, anāgāh būd. (139) agar āgāh būd, ā-š mā hagriz tō az hān draxt ī-m framūd kū mā x^vared x^vard pūsišn kirdan cim? (140) ud ped nax^vist ka frāz mad nē āhīd būd, pas ka-š dānist kū x^vard, abar-šān āhīd (būd) ud xēšmēn būd. (141) u-š kamdānišnīh-iz az ēn ka: mār ī-š x^vad pedyārag āfrīd ud abāg avēšān ō bāvestān kird,

³⁶ . vaḡica : śabdaḥ. Menasce : ‘et s’il n’eût pas élevé la voix’.

³⁷ . kə

(142) ayāb-iš cim bāvestān ōn drubušt nē kird kū-š mār ud anīz dušmen pediš andar nē šavād? (143) u-š drōzanīh-iz az ē pēdāg ka-š guft kū: ka az ēn draxt x^vared mīred, u-šān x^vard ud nē murd hend bē dānišnumand-iz būd hend. (144) u-šān nēk az vad uzvārd. (145) ēn-z kū-š cōn hambasān hambidīg dānišn abāg kām ud framān. (146) cē agar-š kāmist x^vardan az hān draxt, u-š framān ped nē x^vardan dād, dānišn ī pediš būd kū x^vard, (147) nūn pēdāg kū, harv si ēk ō did hambasān: kām ud dānišn ud framān.

(148) ēn-z kū: ka ādam vināh kird, nifrīn ī-š kird, abar hāmōyēn mardōm ī āvām āvām rased, adādīhā. (149) ped harv ēvēnag ī uskāram, abēuš ud adān ud halaggōbišn.

(150) ped ēn dar, dagrandīh rāy, ēn and bavandag sahist.

nōhum darag

14

(1) *u-m kām kū nihang-ē az ham hambasānīh ud purērangīh ī ham nibēg nibēsam¹*, (2) *kū purr az harv bazagīh ud dēvīh, ud az hazār ēk ī aziš pēdāg hangirdīg-ē nigēzam*. (3) *pediš framāyed² nigerīdan*:

(4) *nax^vist ēn ī gōbed abar x^vēš cōnīh* (5) *kū: an ham ādōn kēnx^vāh* (6) *ud kēntōz* (7) *ud kēn ī haft āvādag³ ped fraزندān tōzam*. (8) *u-m bun kēn nē framōšam⁴*.

(9) *ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: āyiftag⁵-xēšm ud grānmenišn*. (10) *u-š lab purrzahr*, (11) *ud uzvān cōn ātaš ī sōzāg*, (12) *ud vaxš cōn rōd ī arang veh⁶*. (13) *u-š vāng ō γarrānāg⁷ humānāg – hān ī dēv vāng-iš humānāgdar*. (14) *u-š nišast⁸ andar tam⁹ ud nazm¹⁰*

¹ . naβaštom : samlikhāmi.

² . farmāyast : samādištaṃ.

³ . haftanbādaa : सप्तत्वयीयं JJ, सप्तत्वयीयं JE. (Jamasp-Asana : saptatvaiyatyam)

⁴ . farmōšəṭ

⁵ . ayāftaa : abhīpsitaḥ. Cf. Dk iii, M 350 az xēšmenīgīh varan āyift akamangārīh.

⁶ . arōvīnā : saratpravāhaḥ. West : arvand nā ‘rapid water’, Menasce : āravēnāk ‘débordant’. Cf. Dk iii, M 394 ارواند /arang ud veh/. Another possible reading : arvand-nāy(dāg) ‘swift and navigable’.

⁷ . grīnā : ākranda ‘crying, weeping’. West: ‘causing weeping’, Neusner: ‘weeping’, Menasce: grīnāk ‘tonnerre’.

⁸ . nišastan

⁹ . gūam : tamas.

¹⁰ . vazm : dhūmalatva.

ud abr (15) u-š bārag vād ī hōšēnāg. (16) u-š az ravišn ī pāy xāk gard āxēzed. (17) ka raved, ā-š az pasī āxēz ī ādur.

(18) ud anī abar xēšmenīh ī x^vēš gōbed (19) kū: cahal sāl abar īsrāēlān¹¹ ped xēšm būd ham. (20) u-š guft kū: vīftag-dil hend īsrāēlān!

(21) anī gōbed kū: kē ast kōr¹² bē agar bannag ī man? (22) kē karrag¹³ bē frēstag ī hamē brihēnam? (23) kē ast kōr cōn pādišā? –pēdāg kū pādišā ī avēšān x^vad ādōn.

(24) anī ēn-z gōbed kū: -š peristagān ī ātaš vīftag hend.

(25) ēn-z kū: -š kunišn dūd ud x^varg¹⁴ bared, (26) ud kuxšišn xūnrēzišnīh.

(27) ēn-z kū: mardōm ēk abar did sārēnam, (28) ud abar asmān nišīyam ud abar-šān xannam¹⁵.

(29) ēn-z kū: -š ped ēk šab sad-ud-šast-hazār az gund ud spāh ī māzandarīgān ped vad marg ōzad. (30) ud anī jār-ē šaš-sad-hazār mard zad, az zan ud rēdak ī aburnāy az īsrāēlān andar vīyābān ōzad, (31) bē do mard ī bē rast hend.

(32) did nimāyed kū-š frazāmgārīh hamāg pašīmānīh. (33) cōn ēn ī gōbed kū “zarīgāvand¹⁶ būd”, u-š guft kū: pašīmān ham ped kirdan ī mardōmān ped zamīg.

¹¹ . asarāsarā : asarāsarešu.

¹² . xōr : daridrī.

¹³ . xarg : rddhaḥ.

¹⁴ . xurg : angārakān.

¹⁵ . aṇḍam : aṅga. Menasce: xaṇam.

(34) ēn-z gōbed kū: abar taxt nišīyed kē cahār frēstag abar parrag¹⁷ dārend, kē-šān az sang bāl¹⁸ harv ēk rōd-ē ī ātašīg aziš hamē raved.

(35) nūn ka ōy mēnōg ast nē tanēgird, ēgiš hān cahār mustumand ī x^vār ī gilagōbār¹⁹ ped ranz dāštan cim?

(36) did ēn kū: harv rōz, ped x^vēš dast, navad-hazār frēsātḡ vīrāyed, u-š dā šabāgāh hamē peristend. u-šān pas ped rōd-ē ī ātašīg ō dušox hiled. (37) ka dīd must ud abēdādīh ī ped ēn ēvēnag, ped kār ud kirbag ud hukunišnīh gētīgān būdan cōn sazed? (38) ka ōy ī mustumand frēstag ī tasagāh ī framānniyūš ī abēzakkunišn jumā abārīg vināhgārān ō dušox ī jāyēdānag abganed, (39) cōn hān-z ī anī grōh-ē gobend kū: yazd rōz ī ristāxēz x^varšēd ud māh jumā abārīg vināhgārān ō dušox dahed, ped hān cim kū ast mardōm kē-šān namāz aviš burd.

(40) anī gyāg ēn-z gōbed kū: ka mahādar abrāhīm, ī dōst ī ādōn, cašm dardīhist, ā-š x^vad ādōn ō pursišn mad. (41) u-š bālēn nišast, ud drod pursīd. (42) ud abrāhīm īshāg²⁰, ī-š dōšist pus, ped nihān x^vand²¹ ud guft (43) kū: ō vahišt šav ud may ī x^vār ud pāk²² āvar!

¹⁶ . zarīgā aṇdā : jarīgāh yāvat. West: zardakān andā, Menasce: zarīkīn tāk.

¹⁷ . farī : skandhe. Menasce: parīk ‘aile’.

¹⁸ . bār : bhāra. West: bār ‘load’, Menasce: ‘poids’.

¹⁹ . garaḡ bār : mahābhāraḡ. Cf. Dk vi, M 579 گیلگوبار /gilagōbār/.

²⁰ . āsīnaa : āsīnakam.

²¹ . مای و پāk

²² . mae i x^vār u pāk : madhuḡ laghutaram pavitrataram ca. (may ud x^vār ī pāk? Cf. Pap. 80 x^vār ud bār ud may.)

(44) šud u-š āvurd. (45) ud abrāhīm vas x^vāhišn ō ādōn kird
(46) kū: andar mān ī man may jō²³ x^vār!

(47) ādōn guft kū: nē x^vāram, cē nē az vahišt, ud nē pāk.

(48) pas abrāhīm gugāyīh dād kū: pāk. hān may az vahišt
īshāg ī-m pus āvurd.

(49) pas ādōn abēgumānīh ī-š ped īshāg ud gugāyīh ī ped
abrāhīm may jō x^vārd. (50) pas ka-š raftan kāmīst, nē hišt dā-š
ped sōgand ī grān ēk ō²⁴ did x^vard.

(51) nigered ō ēn purērang drāyišn ī ēk-iz ped ēk-iz²⁵ nē
pessazag. (52) cōn²⁶ āmadan ī-š ped tanumandīh ō mān ī
abrāhīm, ud nān x^varišn, ud may x^varišn, ī-š ēk-iz aviš nē
pessazag. (53) ēn-z aziš pēdāg kū, hān dard ī abrāhīm nē az ādōn
būd, bē az anī kirdār. (54) u-š bēnīh-iz²⁷ ī az dānišn ud abēušīh
ōn būd kū-š pākīh ud az-kūīh ī may nē dānist. (55) u-š drōzanīh-
iz ēn ka-š nē-xvārišnīh ī may guft ud abum xvārd. (56) pas
xustōgīhed²⁸ kū, abēzag ud pāk ast. (57) nūn ōy kē-š ēn cōnīh,
ped yazdīh ī harvispāgāh ī visptuvān peristīdan cōn sazed?

(58) ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: būd ēk az vēmārān kē abāg x^vēš
zan ud fraزند abēr acārag²⁹ ud driyuš abēbahr būd. (59) hamvār

²³ . še : kṣaṇena. Cf. DA 45 jō hur ud may.

²⁴ . i

²⁵ . yakica : iajade.

²⁶ . pa cuṇ

²⁷ . bavaṇīca: vaikalyaṃ ca. (Jamasp-Asana : S indictaes .
possibly . Menasce : bavanīh ‘existence, état’. But cf. Parth. bēn
‘external’.

²⁸ . xustuhəṭ

²⁹ . āzāraa : duḥkhito. West : ‘suffering’, Menasce: āzārak ‘blessé’.

ped namāz ud rōzag ud peristišn ī yazd abēr toxšāg ud kirdār būd. (60) u-š ē rōz andar namāz ud rāz³⁰ āyāft³¹ x^vāst kū: man frāxīh-ē³² ī ped rōzīg dah (61) ī-m zīvistan āsāndar bavād!

(62) u-š frēstag-ē abar frōd āmad, ud guft kū: -t rōzīg az ēn vēš ped axtar, yazd nē baxt ēsted, ud az nōg baxtan nē šāyed. (64) bē-m tō rāy ped pādāšn ī peristišn ud³³ namāz taxt-ē kē-š cahārpāy az gōhr andar vahišt dād ēsted. (65) agar abāyed dā-t az hān taxt ēk pāy daham.

(66) hān peygāambar āfrāh az hān ī x^vēš zan x^vāst. (67) zyānak guft kū: -mān ped kam rōzīg ud vad zīvišn ī ped gētīg hunsand būdan veh (68) kū agar-mān ped vahišt meyān hamālān³⁴ taxt si-pāy. (69) bē agar-t šāyed, ēg-imān rōzīg-ē az anī dar framāy!

(70) did hān frēstag āmad ud³⁵ guft kū: bē agar spihr višōbam, ud asmān ud zamīg az nōg daham, ud ravišn ī starān az nōg pesāzam ud daham, az hān frāz nē pēdāg kū-t baxt veh ōftād ayāb vattar.

(71) az ēn soxan ōn pēdāg kū nē x^vad ōy ast baxtār ī rōzīg; ud brīn (72) ud baxšišn nē ped kām ī ōy, ud baxt vardēnīdan nē tuvān. (73) ud gardišn ī spihr ud x^var ud māh ud stāragān nē andar parvastag ī dānišn ud kām ud framān ī ōy. (74) ēn-z kū:

³⁰ . rāž : guptam. Menasce lāf ‘lamentation’. But cf. Pers. راز و نیاز کردن ‘to bill and coo’.

³¹ . ayāft : abhīpsita. Menasce: āhast (āhastan ‘lever’).

³² . frōxī : samṛddhatva. Menasce : frax^vīh ‘satisfaction, bēnéfice’.

³³ . i

³⁴ . hamayārān : sahāyinām. Another possible reading: hamayyārān (Pers. ham-ayyār ‘auxiliary ; cooperating’, cf. MX 2.7 andar hamayyārān ērdan).

³⁵ . āmadan.

taxt ī-š nivēyēnīd³⁶ kū andar vahišt daham nē az kunišn ud dahišn ī ōy.

(75) ud anī gyāg abar drāyišn ī x^vēš gōbed (76) kū: man jumā ram ī vināhgārān candān amar avināhān ōzad.

(77) ka frēstagān abēcimkunišnīh ī vas guft, ēgiš³⁷ guft kū: an ham ādōn ī kāmagx^vadāy, (78) ud abargar ud anhmabidīg ud kāmgār ud kas nē ayāred abar man drenzišn guftan.

(79) frāyist vas drāyišn ī purērangīhā ī-m nibištān dagrand shaist (80) kē nigīrā ud abāzvašt³⁸ az ēn gōbišn, hān-š rāy gōbišn ī āzād dastvar-ē bād (81) dā baved āgāh az cōnīh ī ham nibēg ud rāstīh ī hān ī-m guft. (82) nūn agar hān yazd kē-š ēn nišān ud daxšag, ā-š rāstīh aziš dūr, (83) ud abaxšāyišn aziš bēgānag³⁹, (84) u-š dānāgīh abar nē baxt⁴⁰. (85) cē ēn x^vad ast druz ī dušox sālār ī tār⁴¹ gilistag ī tamtōhmag, (86) kē-š vīftagān ī dēvīg vadagān ped ādōn nām stāyend ud namāz barend.

(87) abar ēn dar dā⁴² ēdar bavandag.

³⁶ . nigōinīṭ : niveditaṃ.

³⁷ . aiḡin vas

³⁸ . aβāzdādaḡ : vyastācāraḡ.

³⁹ . bōgānī : bahistaraṃ.

⁴⁰ . vaxt : vibhaktāṃ.

⁴¹ . sār : timira. Menasce tar.

⁴² . 𐬨𐬀

dahum darag

15

(1) *anī abar hambasānīh ud abēvimand gōbišn ud abēbrahm pehikārišn ī tarsāg grōhān¹ x^vazārag nihang pēdāgēnum. (2) cē cōn harv se az ēk bun, ī jehūdīh. (3) hān ī ka andarg ī ēk guft, ā-šān hāmōyēn hamayyārīhā ērang ī x^vēš.*

(4) ē dāned kū : bun ī kēš ī tarsāgīh az kū bē āmad. (5) kū : andar ūrīšlem deh, az ham jehūdān zan-ē ī ped dušīzagīh² āšnāg būd, (6) ābustanīh pediš pēdāgīhist.

(7) ka-šān pursīd kū : -t ēn ābustanīh az kē³ ?

(8) ōy ped pāsox guft kū: -m gabriyēl⁴ frēstag abar āmad, u-š guft kū : az vād ī pāk ābustan hē !

(9) ā ē nigered kū : gabriyēl frēstag, jud az hān zan, kē dīd, kē rāy hān zan <ped> rāst sazed dāštan ?

(10) agar gōbend kū « hān frēstag, mēnōgīgīh rāy, kas dīdan nē tuvān », (11) ā agar vahān ī nē-dīdan ī hān frēstag mēnōgcīhrīh ast, ham cim rāy, hān-z zan dīdan nē ādōg.

¹ . grōišnā /vurravišnān/ : prabodhinām. Menasce : grōihīhān.

² . dušāzāī : dušcāritayā. West : 'incapacity', Hedayat : دوشیزگی, Menasce : dušapākīh 'mauvaise fréquentation'.


³ . ēž ku : kasmāt.

⁴ . spargar : sparagara. Syr. ܣܦܪܓܪܐ.

(12) agar gōbend kū « yazd ō hān zan dīdār kird, arzānīgīh ī hān zan rāy, (13) u-š anī kas arzānīg nē kird », (14) <ā> ēn kū hān zan rāst guft pēdāgīh kū ? (15) ayāb ka-š <ō> hān zan ped rāstīh pēdāg būd, ā-š ō anī kas nimūdan-z sazed, kū-šān hān gugāyīh rāy abērdar ped rāsttar dāšt hē ? (16) u-š nūn ēvāz ō hān zan nimūdan, kas ped rāst nē dāšt. (17) nūn ē nigered cē bun ī-šān dēn hamāg az ēn gugāyīh ī zan-ē bē āmad ī-š abar x^vēš dād.

(18) did kū : agar mašīhā⁵ az vād ī pāk ī yazd būd, gōbend, ā agar ēvāz vād ī pāk ī az yazd hān ēk ast, hān ī abārīg vād ī jud az hān, nē az yazd ud nē pāk ; (19) anī āfrīdār pēdāgīhed acārīg. (20) agar vād hamāg az yazd, ud yazdīg ast, hamāg pāk sazed būdan. (21) agar ēvāz hān ēk vād pāk, abārīg vād rīman, nē yazdīg. (22) cōn bē yazd ēc āfrīdār nēst, hān rīmanīh ud nēpākīh ī abārīg vād ham az yazd. (23) ud agar abārīg vād hān ī yazd, ud yazdīg ast, hamāg pāk sazed būdan. (24) nūn hān ēk ped pākīh dāšt, abārīg rīman būd, cim ?

(25) did ēn kū : agar mašīhā pus ī yazd būd, ped hān cim kū yazd pid ī vispān, ped dādārīh ud āfrīdārīh ud parvardārīh, (26) ā mašīhā ped pūsārīh ī yazd nē juttar kū x^vārtan⁶ dām ī yazd dād ud āfrīd. (27) agar az abzārīh ī narīh māyagīh zād, (28) ā agar yazd zāyišn az narīh ud māyagīh sazed, ā-z abar amehrspondān mēnōgān hamgōnag, zāyišn būdan rāy, margīh-iz būdan sazed. (29) ēdōn abar ham yazd <margīh> būdan nē gumānīg. (30) cē ānōh kū zāyišn ī ped hān ēvēnag, x^varišn ud x^vārišn ud margīh-iz ēvar.

⁵ . mašyāe : mašiāka. Syr. .

⁶ . x^vārtan : laghutarāyāh. Jamasp-Asana & West correct it to x^vārtar. Cf 12.38 x^vārtandum.

(31) ud ast kē-z gōbed kū: « mašihā x^v ad yazd ast. » (32) nūn ēn škefttar ka yazd ī vazurg, ī do oxān dāštār ud parvardār, ped cīhr ī mardōmīh būd, ō eškamb ī zan-ē jehūd šud. (33) x^v adāyīh gāh, asmān, zamīg, spihr, ud abārīg, ham az rāyēnīdārīh ud pānāgīh hišt ud ped nihuftagīh ō rīman ud tang⁷ gyāg ōbast, (34) ud abduṃ x^v ēš tan ō zanišn ud dārgirdīh ud dast ī dušmenān abespārd, (35) dā-šān jud az marg vas zēštīh ud anēvēnīh abar ārāst.

(36) agar-š andar eškamb ī zan-ē būd, ped hān cim gōbend kū yazd harv gyāg ast, (37) ā ped harv-gyāg-astīh andar eškamb ī hān zan nē juttar kū rīmandar ud gennagdar gyāg, (38) abāg hān kū hamāg gyāg x^v adīh ī yazd būd guftan, zīfānīh⁸ vas. (39) cē agar hamgōnag, ā ēc tis ī jud az yazd astīh guftan vaxr⁹.

(40) did hān ī gōbend kū: « -š margīh ud dārgirdīh ristāxēz ō mardōmān nimūdan rāy ō grīv¹⁰ pedīrift. » (41) ā agar-š ristāxēz ō mardōmān nimūdan bē ped hān rusvāyīh¹¹ ud marg ud zēštīh ī x^v ēš enyā nē tuvān būd, ā-š visptuvānīh nē pessazag. (42) ayāb ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, ā-š mardōm cim ōn rōšndānišn ud ped ristāxēz vēnāg ud abēgumān nē kird hānd kū-š niyāz ō ēn ēvēnag zēštīhā, rusvāyīhā, vidangīhā, dušmenkāmagīhā nimūdan nē būd hād ?

(43) agar-š hān margīh nōgēvēnagīh <rāy>, ped x^v ēš kām, ō grīv pedīrift, (44) ā-š nūn vay ud nifrīn ō ōzanāgān x^v andan, avēšān jehūdān ped xēšmenīh dāštan abēcim. (45) nē-z nifrīn ud

⁷ . vadang : višame.

⁸ . zaspānī : katsitatvañ.

⁹ . vaxr (x^v ahl) : anṛtam.

¹⁰ . ōca ōi. Cf. 10.67.

¹¹ . rasūnāi : rajjubandhena.

vay abar-šān kirdan, bē-šān ped hān kunišn pādāšnumand sazed būdan.

(46) did ēn ī gōbend kū : « pid ud pus ud vād ī pāk si nām, ī ēk az did nē juttar ; (47) nē pēš ēk. »

(48) ēn-z kū : ka « pus ī nē keh az pid, ped harv dānišn hāvand kū pid », ā nūn ped nām ī jud x^vandan cim ? (49) agar se ēk sazed būdan, ā se būdan nōh, ud nōh se būdan, šāyistan ēvar. (50) abārīg <vas> marag ped ēn pedisār abēvimandīhā šāyed guftan.

(51) ēn-z kū : agar pus nē keh az pid, ā pid-iz az pus nē meh. (52) ā agar pid az pus, ayāb pus nē az pid gōbīhed šāyed. (53) ud ēn ēvar kū harv aziš, az hān ī-š aziš¹², ī x^vad māyag ud tōhmag, keh šāyed būdan, (54) agar ped zamān, agar-z ped peyvann. (55) agar pus nē keh az pid, ā kirdār az kirdag nē pēš, nē-z meh. (56) harv do bunēštag sazed būdan. (57) ud dahišn az dādār nē keh, ud dādār az dahišn nē meh. (58) harv cōn gōbīhed abēvimand.

(59) ēn-z kū : agar pus ped harv dānišn hāvand kū pid, ā pid-iz ōn adān cōn pus kē az marg ud dārgirdīh ī x^vēš anāgāh būd, (60) dā-šān griftan ud ped vad marg ud zēštīh rusvāy kirdan ōzad.

(61) nē dānist ped hān cē-šān aziš pūrsīd kū : « rōz ī āxēzišn kay ? »

u-š pāsoxēnīd kū : « ēn nē kas āgāh bē pid ! »

(62) cōn ka pus ped nēdānišnīh tāštīg, pid ped ēdōn.

¹² . vaš.

(63) ēn-z kū : -š hamāg dām ud dahišn, x^vēš-iz pedyārag, az nē-tis āfrīd ud dād, ud ōzanāgān ī-š pus viyābānēnīd hend, (64) agar yazd ōzanāgān ī-š pus, x^vēš-iz pedyārag, abēcim abēvahān¹³ x^vad dād, (65) u-šān pus, ped hamdānišnīh ī ōy, ōzad, (66) ā nūn abēgumān šāyed būdan kū, ōzadār ī-š pus x^vad būd. (67) agar-š dānist kū « pus ka brihēnum ēgiš ōzanend » ud abduṃ brihēnīd halagīhā ud adānīhā. (68) agar-š nē dānist, kamdānišn.

(69) did ēn kū : agar yazd ēn dām ud dahišn az nētis āfrīd, u-š pedyārag-iz az nētis āfrīd ud dād, ā-šān gōhr ēk sazed būdan.
(70) nūn cim pedyārag ōn nē būzed cōn abārīg dām ?

¹³ . bō vahān : niškāraṇaṃ.

yāzdahum darag

15

(71) *anī abar hambasānīh ī-šān gōbišn az dastvar nibēg-išān.*

(72) hān ī gōbed kū: « nē ōfted nē tis az draxt, ud nē baved vāng ped šahr, ud nē do murv āgenīn kuxšend, bē <ped> framān ī pid. »

(73) kē nimūdār ast ēn gōbišn kū “bunēštag ēk”, u-š visp ped kām. (74) nūn mašīhā, ī-š pus, ped cē kār brihēnīd, u-š kadām rāh nimūdan ī ōy nē-kām, (75) ka-š vīsp kām, u-š ēc nē-kām nē anād¹. (76) ēn-z az ham vizār kū jehūdān mašīhā ī-š pus ped kām ī pid ōzad.

(77) did : hambasānīh abar āzādkāmīh ī ōstīgān² gōbed (78) kū: « -š mardōm āzādkām dād hend. »

(79) ēdōn, āhōg ī vināh ī mardōm kunend āzādkāmīh ast. (80) u-š āzādkāmīh x^vad ō mardōm dād, (81) ā ham ōy <ped> vināhgār sazed dāštan kē bun vahān ī vināh. (82) agar mardōm vināh ud bazag ped āzādkāmīh ī x^vēš kunend, nē ped kām ī yazd, (83) ā šagr, mār, gurg, gazdum, xrafstar ī gazāg ud ōzanāg, ī cihrikkunišn, vināh ud bazag ī-šān aziš hamē raved, ped kadām āzādkāmīh ud kē vināh? (84) ēdōn-z zahr ī ōzanāg ī andar bīš ud abārīg urvarsardagān, ī-šān nē az āzādkāmīh vahān, kē bunēšt³?

¹ . oxt : avocat.

² . ōstyā : pravīnatarām. /stīan?/

³ . bun dāšt : mūle dadhau.

(85) agar gōbend kū « hān zahrīhā ped vasān dārūg, ī vēmārān vēmārīh spuxtār, sūdumand abāyišnīg », (86) ā ē pursed kū: x^vad vēmārīh ud zyān ī aziš⁴ kē dād, u-š cē abāyišnīgīh (87) kē-š pas ped ōy dārūg ud zahr ī ōzanāg āfrīd ud abāyist? (88) ayāb hān vēmārīh ka-š ō bē burden anōšdārūg dād hē sazāgdar <būd> hē kū zahr dārūg ?

(89) ēn-z kū: x^vad nām “zyāngārīh” az kadām bun kē-š “sūdumandgārīh” pedīrag abāyišnīg?

(90) abar ēn dar vasīhā šāyed guftan. ō hangirdīg handāxt.

⁴ . vaš.

dvāzdahum darag

15

(91-92) *anī az gōbišn ī pāulus¹ ī-šān dastvar, hān ī-šān ō x^vēšīg bun hambasān.*

ēn-z gōbend (93) kū: « nē kirbag ī kāmum, bē bazag (94) ī nē kāmum, kunum. ud nē an kunum, bē hān kuned ī andar man āvurd ēsted. (96) cē hamē vēnum kū-m rōz ud šab abāg kuxšišnīg. »

(97) did az gōbišn ī mašihā gōbend kū: « yazd bunēštag rōšnīh ud vehīh, (98) vattarīh ud tārīkīh aziš jud. »

(99) ēn-z kū: « cōn šubān kē-š gōspend sad andar pānāgīh gīred², (100) ēk aziš gurgān barend, (101) az pas ī hān ēk šaved ī gurgān burd kū³ dā-š abāz ō ram nayed. (102) u-š hān navad-u-nōh ped dašt hiled. (103) ōn-z an ō hāxtan⁴ ī vīftagān āmad hum, nē ō rāstān. (104) cē ōy ī rāst ō rāh āvurdan abēniyāz. »

(105) ā agar bunēštag ēk, u-š vispān kām, ā kas-iz nē abērāh ud vīftag. (106) gurg-iz gōspend kuštan ham ōy kām. (107) u-š gurg-iz x^vad āfrīd.

¹ . pāvarōš. Syr. ܡܘܠܘܫܐ.

² . kunəṭ.

³ . burīṭ kuš.

⁴ . āhixtan : anugrah.

(108) gōbišn ī mašīhā frāyist hambasānīhā abar do bunēšt
nimūdār. (109) cōn gōbend az ham gōbišn ī mašīhā ēn ēk kū:
«ast anī bunēštag, dušmen ī-m pid. an, ōy yazd kirbakkar hum. »

(110) az ēn gōbišn pēdāg kū x^vēš pid az ōy ī dušmen vizāred
ud jud kuned.

(111) ēn-z kū: « yazd ō rāstīh, ud ped rāstīh brihēnīd hum.
(112) u-m ahrmen bazakkar ō vidurdan⁵ āmad. (113) u-š ped vas
ēvēnag frēftan kāmist hum. »

(114) nūn agar bunēštag ēk, u-š ēc hambidīg nēst, ahrmen
cim ēdōn tuvānīg kū-š pus ī yazd kāmist viyābānēnīdan? (115)
agar x^vad yazd dād hān bazakkar, ēgiš hān viyābānīg kirdan ped
dānišn ud kām ī x^vad. (116) viyābāngar-z ī pus ham x^vad.

(117) ēn-z gōbed kū: « ka jehūdān pedīrag pehikār ēstād
hend, ā-š ō jehūdān guft kū: ašmā az ōy ī ērdar; ud an az abardar
hum. (118) ašmā az ēn šahr hed; an nē aziš hum. »

(119) u-š ēn-z guft kū: « dānum kū ašmā az tōm ī abrāhām
hed, hān ī az pēš mardōm ōzad būd; (120) man-z kāmist ōzadan.
(121) an hān kunum ī-m <ped> pidar dīd. ašmā hān kuned ī-tān
ped x^vēš pidar dīd. »

(122) ēn-z kū: « agar yazd ast hān pid ī ašmā, ā-tān man dōst
hād. (123) ē rāy cē, an az yazd uzīd hum, nē az x^vēš kāmīšn
āmad hum. (124) ōy yazd kirbakkar brihēnīd hum, ā ašmā cē rāy
soxan ī man nē niyūšed? (125) bē ē rāy cē az bazakkar hed, ā-
tān nē tuvān niyūšīdan, (126) ud kāmāg ī x^vēš pidar kāmēd

⁵. vadardan. : vyatyaya.

kirdan. (127) ped ōy rāstīh nē anād⁶, harv cē gōbed hān drōv gōbed. ē rāy cē drōzan hed, x^vad abāg pidar-tān. (128) an kē rāstīh gōbum, ā-m vābar nē kuned. (129) ud hān ī kē az yazd, soxan ī yazd niyūšed. bē ašmā, ē rāy cē nē az yazd hed, soxan ī man nē niyūšed. »

(130) u-š ped ēn gōbišn hamāg hān nimūd kū: ast do bunēštāg, « ēk kē-š an brihēnīd; ēk kē-š jehūdān ». (131) u-š hān nē kirbakkar, bē-š bazakkar x^vand⁷.

(132) u-š ēn-z guft kū: « nē ādōg draxt ī kirbag bar ī bazag, nē hān-z ī bazag bar ī kirbag dādan. »

(133) ēn-z kū: ayāb hamāg draxt abāg bar ī kirbag kuned, ayāb hamāg draxt abāg bar ī bazag kuned. (134) cē harv draxt az bar pēdāg baved, agar kirbag ud agar bazag. (135) u-š hamāg draxt guft, nē nēm draxt. (136) nūn cōn sazed nēm draxt rōšn, ud nēm tār; (137) nēm kirbag ud nēm bazag; (138) nēm rāstīh ud nēm drōzanīh? (139) ka ēn harv do āgenīn hambidīg ēstend, (140) ēk draxt būdan nē šāyend.

(141) u-š did jehūdān mār ī kōfīg jehūdak x^vand. (142) u-š guft kū: « cōn-tān kirbag tuvān kirdan ka bazakkar jehūdāg hed? » (143) u-š nē ō x^vēš pid bazakkar x^vand.

(144) ēn-z gōbed kū: « harv draxt ī pidar nē kišt, kanīhād ud ō ādur abganīhād! » (145) kē rāy az ēn soxan šāyed dānistan kū ast draxt ī pidar nē kišt, kandan⁸ ud abgandan abāyed.

⁶. oxt : ukta.

⁷. x^vānīt : ākārayat.

⁸. xadan : khan.

(146) did ēn kū: « ō x^vēšān āmad hum, ud x^vēšān nē pedīrift hum. » (147) kē rāy šāyed dānistan kū x^vēšīh ud ax^vēšīh ast.

(148) ēn-z gōbed kū: « pidar-mān ī ped asmān, a-t bād šahriyārīh, u-t ē bād kām ped zamīg cōn ped asmān. (149) u-mān dah nān ī rōzgārīg, u-mān mā bar ō gumāngarīh. » (150) az ēn gōbišn pēdāg kū-š kām ped zamīg nē ōn abēzag cōn ped asmān.

(151) ēn-z kū: « gumāngarīh ī mardōm nē az yazd. »

(152) u-š ēn-z guft ped nax^vist kū: « nē ped hān āmad hum kū ēvēn ī mūše⁹ višōbum, (153) bē ped hān āmad hum kū bavandagdar bē kunum. » (154) u-š hamāg gōbišn ud framān hān kē ō ēvēn ud dād ī mūše višuftār ud hambasān būd.

(155) abar-z ēn dar dā ēdar bavandag.

⁹. mūšāe : mūšāka. Syr. ܡܘܫܐ.

sizdahum darag

16

(1) *did nibēsīhed abar ērang ī mānī¹ az hazārān bēvarān ēk.* (2) *cē ērang ud drāyišn ud frēb ī mānī ud mānūgān² ped-bavandagdar nibištān anādōg ham.* (3) *u-m ranz ī vas ud rōzgār ī dagrand andar abāyed.*

(4) *nūn ē dāned, mazdesn³ ī zardušt, kū : bun gōbišn ī mānī abar akanāragīh ī bunēštagān ;* (5) *ud meyān abar gumēzišn ;* (6) *ud frazām abar vizārišn ī rōšn az tār, (7) hān ī ō avizārdārīh vas mānāgdar.*

(8) *did ēn kū : gētīg tanēgirdīg ī ahrmen ; hāmis* (9) *tenēgirdīg, dahišn ī ahrmen.*

(10) *u-š gugān ēn kū : asmān az pōst, (11) ud zamīg az gōšt, (12) ud kōf az ast, (13) ud urvar az vars ī kandag dēv⁴. (14) vārān šuhr ī māzandarān ī ped spihr bast ēstend . (15) ud mardōm dēv ī dobāy. ud gōspend <hān> ī cahārbāy. (16) ud kandag <dēv> spāhsālār ī ahrmen (17) kē-š ped nox⁵ fradum ardīg rōšnīh az ohrmazd-bay rubūd ud⁶ ōbārd. (18) u-šān ped didum ardīg kandag dēv abāg vasān dēvān grift. (19) ud ast ī ped*

¹ . mānāe : māneya.

² . mānāeigān : māneyīya.

³ . mahōst : mājdaiasna. Menasce : mahest ‘le meilleur’.

⁴ . kunī dāβ : kūnīdeva.

⁵ . nāxun : nakhaiḥ. West : ‘nails’ ; Menasce : naxun ‘origine’.

⁶ . rāβudan : avālikhya. Salemann : tar , Menasce : rēcēt ‘émané’.

spīhr bast⁷ ; ud kandag dēv ōzad, (20) ēn dām ī vazurg aziš dāšt ud kird.

(21) ud x^varšēd, māh, bērōn asmān ped bālist vinārd ; (22) kū dā hān rōšnīh ī dēvān ōbārd, andak andak, ped ahrāmišn ud pālāyišn ī x^varšēd ud māh pālāyend ud ahrāmēnend. (23) pas ahrmen pēšvēnāgīhā dānist kū ēn rōšnīh, ped x^varšēd ud māh ahrāmišn, zūd pālend ud vizārend. (24) zūd nē vizārišn ī rōšn az tār rāy, ēn gēhān ī kōdak –ī cōn mardōm ud gōspend ud abārīg gyānvar – hampeccēn ud hangōšīdag ī gēhān ī vazurg, abāg abārīg tenēgirdīg dahišn, vīrāst. (25) gyān ud rōšnīh andar tan bast ud zēndānīg kird, (26) kū dā hān rōšnīh ī ped x^varšēd ud māh ahrāmed, did ped marzišn ud zāyišn ī gyānvarān pādīrānīhād, (27) <ud> vizārišn dagranttar bād.

(28) ud vārān šuhr ī māzandarān būd. (29) ped hān cim ka māzandarān ī ped spīhr bast ēstend, (30) kē-šān rōšnīh ōbārd, (31) ud ped nōg ēvēn ud nizūmānīh⁸ ud kīrrōgīh ī zurvānīg rōšnīh azišān vizārdan rāy, dvāzdahān nax^vrēg⁹ duxtarān ī zurvān, handēmān māzandarān ī nar vēnēnend, (32) kū dā hān māzandarān az dīdan ī avēšān varan-šān hangēzīhād¹⁰, (33) ud šuhr azišān vizārihād. (34) hān rōšnīh ī andar šuhr ō zamīg rēzīhed¹¹ ; (35) urvarān ud draxtān ud jōrdāyān azišān rōyīhend¹². (36) ud rōšnīh ī andar māzandarān ped šuhr

⁷ . bastan.

⁸ . viqāmānī : vivekatā. Jackson : vāhmānīh ? Menasce : nihānmañī /nihānmānīh/ ‘déguisement’.

⁹ . x^varīg. Menasce : x^varīk ‘glorieux’.

¹⁰ . ku aṇdā q māzandarā q ēž dīdan ī ēšq varun ašq hūsažihəṭ : yat yāvat tešām Mājandaradevānām daršanāt tāsām kāmaḥ samudeti.

¹¹ . rōvihəṭ : avakīryate.

¹² . rōvihəṭ : samudhavarānti.

vizārīhed. (37) hān ī ped zamīg ped vahān ī urvarān az zamīg vizārīhed.

(38) did abar judgōhrīh ī gyān ud tan, ēn kū: gyān andar tan bast ud zēndānīg <kird>. (39) cōn dādār ud dāštār ī vīsp astumandān tanēgirdān ahrmen ast. (40) im cim rāy nē sazed zāyišn kirdan ud peyvann rāyēnidan. (41) cē hamayyār abāg ahrmen ast ped dāštārīh ī mardōm ud gōspend, ud pādīrān-kirdārīh ī gyān ud rōšnīh andar tanān, nē-z kištan ī urvarān ud jōrdāyān.

(42) did, hambasānīhā, ēn-z gōbend (43) kū: marnzēnīdār ī dām im ahrmen ast. (44) im cim rāy, nē sazed ēc dām ōzadan; (45) cē ahrmen-kunišnīh ast.

(45) did ēn kū: cōn gēhān ahrmen dāšt, frazām pērōz yazd ast, (47) ped vizārdārīh ī gyānān az tanān; (48) ēn gētīg ped abduṃ višōbīhed, (49) nōg nē ārayīhed; (50) ud nē baved ristvirāstārīh ud tan ī pasēn.

(51) did ēn kū: hān do bunēštag hamē, īgīhā-ēstišn¹³ hamvimandīhā ōn būd cōn abdāb ud sāyag; (52) u-šān nē būd ēc vēhmīh¹⁴ ud višādagīh meyān.

(53) nūn gōbem nax^vist abar būdan-nē-šāyistan ī ēc astag tis ī akanārag, (54) bē ēvāz hān ī akanārag x^vānam tuhīgīh¹⁵ ud zamān. (55) hān-z ī ō ast andarōn ped gyāgumandīh ud zamānīgīh astān tisān kanāragumand vēnīhed.

¹³ . hamāihā əstəšni : samagratayā samsthitih.

¹⁴ . nišāmī : āsanatvā. JamaspAsana : Perhaps nišīmī , West : nišānīh ‘demarcation’ , Menasce : nišāmīh ‘intervalle ; crépuscule’ , Taillieu : wišāmīh ‘open space ; vacuum’.

¹⁵ . ōihī : riktatva. Salemann : jāk , Menasce : jā.

(56) ēn-z kū: agar-šān ēkīh ud doīh abar gōbīhed, az hān cōn ēkīh bē ped hamāgīhā-parvastagīh ī tis enyā nē baved; (57) cē ēk ēn kū: nē do. (58) do ēn kū: bun ēk, ud¹⁶ judāgīh ī ēk az did, (59) ī nē do x^vānīhed. (60) ka ēk bē ped hamāg-parvastagīh ī ēkīh <enyā> nē šnāsīhed, (61) ud doīh bē ped judāgīh ī ēk ēk <enyā> nē šāyed būdan. (62) ēk hān ī ped ēkīh ēk, ud ōstīgān ped ēkīh. (63) ēk ud do andar tōhmag ī candīh ud marumandīh. (64) ud candīh ud marumandīh ud hamāgīh ud judāgīh, ī cōn man guft, bē kanāragumandīh <enyā> būdan nē šāyed. (65) ō-z meyanag-dānišnān rōšn.

(66) did ēn kū: akanārag hān baved ī ped dānišn nē parvannīhed. (67) ka ped ēc dānišn parvastian nē šāyed, andar dānišn ī yazd parvastian nē šāyed, acār. (68) ā yazd x^vadīh <ī> x^vēš, hān-z ī tār bunēštag, hamāgīhā andar dānišn nē parvannīhed. (69) ka-š x^vēš x^vadīh andar x^vēš dānišn nē parvannīhed hān visp-veh ud visp-vēn guftan vaxr. (70) cē visp “hamāgīh” vizāred. (71) ud hamāgīh, hamāk-kustag-parvastagīh rāy, “hamāg” x^vānīhed. (72) hamāk-kustag-parvastag kanāragumandīh acār. (73) hān yazd ka az hamāg-parvastagīh <ī> x^vēš āgāh, kanāragumand sazed hangārdan. (74) agar akanārag, anāgāh. (75) fradum dānišn ī dānāg aziš¹⁷ avizīrišnīg¹⁸ dānistan ī x^vēš x^vadīh ud cōnīh ud candīh. (76) kē hān ī x^vēš hamāg x^vadīh ud cōnīh ud candīh anāgāh, abar-z abārīg cōnīh ud candīh dānāg būd guftan vaxr.

(77) ēn-z kū: cōn akanārag, aparvastagīh rāy, ped dānišn nē parvannīhed, (78) ā ēn kū-š hamāg x^vadīh dānāg ayāb ast ī adān,

¹⁶ . i.

¹⁷ . vaš.

¹⁸ . x^vazīrašnī : sūkšmatara. Salemann : huvizīrišnīk , Menasce : huvizīrišnī ‘discriminatrice’.

hamāg rōšn ayāb ast ī tārīg, hamāg zīndag ayāb ast ī murdag,
aziš¹⁹ anāgāh.

(79) did ēn kū: rōšnīh ud gyān ī ēdar ayābum bahr ī az ham
zurvānīg ast ayāb nē? (80) ka bahr ī az x^vadīh ī zurvān ast hān ē
uzvārānd kū tis kē-š bahr aziš baxtan šāyed bahrumand šāyed
būdan. (81) bahrumand bē ka hamēnīdag enyā nē šāyed. (82) ud
hamēnīdag bē az hamēnīdār kē-š hamēnīdag hamēnīd enyā nē
vizīred. (83) ud ka bahr kirdag²⁰ kanāragumand, vēnīhed, bun
kē-š bahr aziš ham ēvēnag kirdag, kanāragumand būdan
agumān. (84) ped hān cē²¹ gōbend kū visp bar, bahr, ō bun
gugāyīh-dādār. (85) hān ka bahr kirdag kanāragumand, ayābum,
hān-z bun bē ka kirdag ud az bahrān hamēnīdag kanāragumand
enyā būdan nē šāyed.

(86) ēn-z kū: akanārag nē baxšīhed. (87) cē bahr az hamāgīh
baxšīhed; (88) ud hamāgīh abar kanāragumandīh gugāyīh. (89)
cōn man azabar nimūd (90) kū astīh cōnīh ī bun bē az
humānāgīh ud hangōšīdag ī bar enyā nē ayābum. (91) harv cē
ped bar ayābīhed, (92) ped bun hamēvēnag būdan ēvar. (93) hān
ka kirdagīh ud kanāragumandīh ped bar ayābišnīg, ham az vizār,
bun-z –kē-š bar aziš – ped kanāragumandīh agumān.

(94) did ēn kū: akanārag hān baved ī apardaxt²²-gyāg, ud
avimand²³-x^vadīh. (95) u-š anī gyāg ud vēhmīh aziš pardaxt nēst.
(96) hān ka do bunēštāg akanārag ud asāmān-x^vadīh gōbīhed,

¹⁹ . vaš.

²⁰ . kardaa : khaṇḍa. Menasce : kartak ‘chose faite’.

²¹ . ci. Salemann : cim.

²² . aparēxt : aparirešita. Menasce : aparrēxt ‘en surplus’, Zaehner :
‘uncircumscribed’.

²³ . avamaṇ : amaryāda. West : asāmān.

asmānān, zamīgān, hāmis tanēgirdān, vaxšān²⁴, gyānān, rōšnān, bayān, amehrspondān, vasān āvarišnān²⁵ kē-šān judnāmīh az judāgīh ī ēk ēk az ōy ī did, nē sāmānumand šāyed būdan. (97) ēg hamāg andar cē, ud kū, dād? (98) ka do bunēštān hamēšagīhā apardaxt-gyāg būd hend, (99) bē agar-šān x^vadīh ī akanārag kanāragumand kird, gyāg ī ēn hamāg astān, būdān ud bavedān kird būdan cōn šāyed? (100) agar gōhr ī hamē-akanārag kanāragumand būdan šāyed, hān ī nēst-iz būdan šāyistan ēvar. (101) hān ī abar avardišnīh ī gōhr gōbend vaxr.

(102) ēn-z ē dāned kū: akanārag hān baved kē-š pardaxt²⁶ ī aziš fradum nē vaxt²⁷. (103) ēc tis jud az ōy, judāg aziš būdan nē šāyed, (104) bē az vimand [ī] akanāragīh nē šnāsīhed. (105) ayāb, sturdagīhā, hān tis ī nē dāned kū cē, hamē gōbed ud stēzed ud soxan abar rāyēned, kōdakān ud kōdakdānišnān pediš viyābānēned, dā rāh ō cāh? (106) agar-š axradīhā²⁸ ēn-z gōbed kū-š x^vadīh akanārag, u-š dnišn-z akanārag, ped akanārag-dānišnīh dāned kū akanārag ast. (107) hān vaxr ud do-bār vaxr. (108) ēk ēn kū dānišn abar tis hān ī ped dānišn ayāftag, ud andar dānišn parvastag. (109) tis-iz bē hān ī andar dānišn hamāgīhā parvastag, ud ayāftag, enyā bavandag nē šnāsīhed. (110) ud tis dānišn, ped hamāg šnāxtan ī tis baved. (111) hamāg šnāxtan ī tis, ped hamāgparvastag<īh> ī tis andar dānišn baved.

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²⁴ . vaxšāšn. Menasce : ‘plantes’, Zaehner : ‘growing things’.

²⁵ . hambarišni : sahasaṃcāra. Menasce : ōbārišn ‘contenant ; demeure’, Zaehner : ‘complex entity’.

²⁶ . parōxt. Salemann : pahrēxt.

²⁷ . See 6.3, 10.66. Salemann (& Menasce) : baxt, Zaehner : bāt.

²⁸ . ax^varaidihā : jaḍatayā. West : ‘uncritically’.

Abbreviations

Af	Āfiṛn
AfM	Āfiṛn ī myazd
AfZ	Āfiṛn ī zardušt
Akkad.	Akkadian
Aog.	Aogəmadaēcā
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Armen.	Armenian
Av.	Avesta(n)
AV	Āyādgār ī vazurgmihr
AVN	Ardā-virāz-nāmag
Bact.	Bactrian
Bal.	Baluchi
Bd	Bundahišn
CHP	Cīdag handarz ī pōryōdkēšān
Chin.	Chinese
Copt.	Coptic
Dan.	The Book of Daniel
DD	Dādestān ī dēnīg
Deut.	The Book of Deuteronomy
DGO	Dar ēcand az gōbišn ī ošnar purxrad
Dk	Dēnkird
Dk, M	Dēnkird (Madan)
Elam.	Elamite
Ex.	The Book of Exodus
Ez.	The Book of Ezekiel
F	Frahang ī oīm
FP	Frahang ī pahlavīg
GAM	Gōbišn ī ādurbād ī mahrspondān
Gen.	The Book of Genesis
Gr.	Greek
Guj.	Gujarati
HAM	Handarz ī Ādurbād ī mahrspondān
Heb.	Hebrew

HKR	Husrav ī kavādān ud rēdak-ē
Hn	Hāḍōxt Nask
HOD	Handarz ī ōšnar ī dānāg
Is.	The Book of Isaiah
J	Jāmāspīg
KAP	Kāmāmag ī ardašēr ī pābagān
Khot.	Khotanese
KKZ	Kirdēr on the Ka'ba of Zardušt
Kurd.	Kurdish
Lat.	Latin
Man.	Manichaeen
Mand.	Mandaic
Mhb.	Mahābhārata
MX	Mēnōg xrad
N	Nīrangestān
NM	Nāmagīhā ī Manušcihr
NS	Nam-Stāyišn
Num.	The Book of Numbers
OPers.	Old Persian
Osset.	Ossetic
Parth.	Parthian (Pahlavānīg)
Paz.	Pāzand
PDK	Pus ī dānišnkāmag
Pers.	Persian (Pārsīg), Fārsī
Ps.	The Book of Psalms
Purs.	Pursišnīhā
Q	Qur'ān
RP	the so-called “Rivāyat ī Pahlavi”
RV/RS	Ṛgveda
Sam.	The Books of Samuel
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Sr	Sīh-rōzag
SS	Sūr soxan (= Sūr āfrīn)
Syr.	Syriac
ŠGV	Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār
ŠnŠ	Šāyist nē-šāyist

T	Turfan
Tim.	The Epistle(s) of Paul to Timothy
Turk.	Turkish
VAM	Vāzag ē-cand ādurbād ī mahrspondān
Vd	Vidēvdād
Ved.	Vedic
Vr	Visprad
VZ	Vizīdagīhā ī zādsprahm
X ^v R	X ^v ēškārīh ī rēdakān
Y	Yasna
Yt	Yašt
Z	Zand (commentary)
ZVY	Zand ī Vahman yasn

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