

## The Memorial of Vazurgmihr Āyādgār ī Vazurgmihr (AV)

The AV is the only text of the wise counsellor of Husrō (531-579) that, in spite of some lacunae, has survived in its original Pārsīg language. It is in the form of questions and answers, most of which are “comparative”.<sup>1</sup> There is one folio missing at the end of the text.

The AV was translated into Arabic in an almost early period by a Persian scribe –possibly Dādveh (Ibn al-Muqaffa’).<sup>2</sup> An Arabic version is found in the *Jāwēdān Xraδ* of Muškōya (Ibn Miskawayh, d. 1030 A.D.), in which the Memorial (ما اخترتہ من آداب بزرجمهر) is the first of the three collections of advice which belong to Vazurgmihr. Another Arabic version is known under the title of حکم بزرجمهر. Firdōsī translated the Memorial into Persian in verse form (پند دادن بزرجمهر انوشیروان), and published it as the eighth collection of advice of Vazurgmihr in the *Šāhnāma*. Strange is the inclusion in the Book of Bilawhar and Būdāsf of much of the Arabic version of the *Āyādgār ī Vazurgmihr* which is put into the mouth of Bilawhar. An Arabic version of a treatise dealing with some questions put to Vazurgmihr by Husrav, the *Nihāyat al-‘arab*, has sayings related to those in the AV. Another Persian version of the AV is found in the book *Kōšnāma* –here two wise men answer the questions put forward by Kāmdād.

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<sup>1</sup> . MK, 108r-111r ; Suppl. persan 2044, 99-110.

Peshotanji B. Sanjana published the *Ganj-i Shāyagān* and three other short Pārsīg treatises, that occur in old Mss., in 1866 (Bombay), with Gujarati and English translations. E. W. West made a transcription and French translation of the conclusion of the text in *Le Muséon*, vi, 1887, (“Notes sur quelques petits texts Pehlevis”, 263-272), 265-66. The whole text was edited in the *Pahlavi Texts* (Bombay, 1913), 85-101. See also:

J.C. Tarapore, *Pahlavi Andarz-nāmak*, containing Chītak Andarz ī Pōryōtkēshān or the selected Admonitions of the Pōryōtkēshān and five other Andarz Texts, Transliteration and Translation into English and Gujarati of the original Pahlavi Texts with an Introduction, Bombay, 1933, 37-57.

ماهیاری نوایی، ”یکی از منابع پهلوی شاهنامه“، دانشکده ادبیات و علوم انسانی، دانشگاه فردوسی،  
(مجموعه مقالات، ۲۵۳۵/۱۹۷۶، ۳۲۶-۲۷۵)؛ ”یادگار بزرجمهر“، نشریه دانشکده ادبیات تبریز، ۳/۱۱،  
۱۳۳۸ (مجموعه مقالات، ۴۵۵-۴۰۷).

<sup>2</sup> . « Qui est l’auteur de cette version arabe ? Peut-être Ibn al-Muqaffa’ . »  
D. Gimaret, 1971, 39.

## Translation

May it be good fortune!  
May (you) be good in body and soul and wealth!  
May it be so!

(1) I, Vazurgmihr son of Bōxtag, the master of ceremonies<sup>3</sup> in the gynaeceum of the kingdom<sup>4</sup>, confident of Husrō<sup>5</sup>, chief of Court<sup>6</sup>, made this memorial with the help and strength of the Yazata and all the other good spirits<sup>7</sup>, and at the command of Husrō king of kings, as a textbook for the betterment of the education of him<sup>8</sup> who, with the welcome of those who work above<sup>9</sup>, has been created in a well-destined and worthy manner, and I deposited it in the royal treasury.

(2) Since all worldly thing is ephemeral, liable to destruction and changeable, even he who is from the royal family, and Fortune is given to him by chance, and even endeavour of least pain helps him, and he accumulates much wealth, and attains to the most important position and authority, reaches the highest status, seeks very great fame, and performs the most illustrious deeds which illuminate the house and home(-stead), and enjoys longevity and increase of progeny and lineage, is of great hope and of good luck in affairs and cases, and (moreover) profit of men, continuity of the creation (/ the world), and work of rule, and all other bliss in the world of life one by one testify and agree, (3) [so that] he relying on these many things displays excessive self-esteem; however, [even] if he is longest(-lived), within a period of a hundred years his body will come to an end, and his rule to naught, and within a period of four-hundred years family will become destroyed, and name will fall into oblivion and non-remembrance, and the house and home into decay and pollution, and descent and lineage will face lowness and lack of protection, and efforts will become useless, labours and toils will remain vain, rule will belong to the lords of the period, and wealth to the one whom Time has destined bliss at that time.

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<sup>3</sup> . His title is nivēped or āyēnīg. Cf. the inscription of Šābuhr, ŠKZ 22 : Pers. āyēnīg ≈ Parth. nywdpty /nivēδpad/ ≈ Gr. δειπνοκλήτορος. Cf. also the inscription of Abnōn : abnōn ī ped šabestān āyēnīg.

<sup>4</sup> . šahr ≈ ērān-šahr.

<sup>5</sup> . ōstīgān ī husrav ≈ Syr. ܐܘܨܬܝܓܢ ܝܗܘܨܪܒ.

<sup>6</sup> . darīgbed, Pers. (History of Qum) دريگبد ≈ Gr. κουροπαλάτης (δαρυβιδούμ).

<sup>7</sup> . Av. mainyu vaṅhu.

<sup>8</sup> . lit. 'those' = Husrō.

<sup>9</sup> . Av. uparō.kairya.

The things pertaining to Frašō.kərəiti (‘Renovation’) last and will not be destroyed; only the creation (/ world) of righteousness pertains to Frašō.kərəiti, and the upright deed of any person can not be stolen.

(4) Now as my will is to work righteousness and abstain from committing sin, so except what has happened from the actions and orders due to the bad rule of the kings of the period I am remediless, however I at will have abstained from intentional sins to the extent of my knowledge, I am without doubt about the existence of the Yazata and the non-existence of the Daēva, about the Daēnā<sup>10</sup> and the (individual) soul<sup>11</sup>, the Best [Existence] (/ heaven) and the bad existence (/ hell), the settling of the accounts of the deceased [at the end of “the three nights”], and the Resurrection and the Final Body, I prefer righteousness to the ease of my body and [breathing] soul and [individual] soul and [also to] all goodness of both worlds of thought and life.

For worldly fame also I have written a few words in this memorial, thus:

(5) What man is more (/ most) fortunate?

(6) He who is more (/ most) sinless.

(7) Who is more sinless?

(8) He who is more abiding by the law of the Yazata and more refraining from the law of the Daēva.<sup>12</sup>

(9) What is the law of the Yazata and what of the Daēva?

(10) The law of the Yazata is good and the law of the Daēva evil.

(11) What is good and what is evil?

(12) Good is Humata (good thought), Hūxta (good word), and Hvaršta (good deed); evil is Dušmata (bad thought), Dužūxta (bad word), and Dužvaršta (bad deed).

(13) What are Humata and Hūxta and Hvaršta, and what are Dušmata and Dužūxta and Dužvaršta?

(14) Humata is moderate thinking<sup>13</sup>, Hūxta generosity, Hvaršta truth(fullness). (15) Dušmata is immoderate thinking, Dužūxta meanness, and Dužvaršta lie(fulness).

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<sup>10</sup> . ‘religion, vision soul’.

<sup>11</sup> . ruvān, Av. urvan.

<sup>12</sup> . Cf. RP 62.15, 27.

(16) What is moderate thinking, what is generosity, and what is truth(fullness)? What is immoderate thinking (or, thought of excess), what is meanness, and what is lie(fulness)?

(17) Moderate thinking is this that one sees the transience of worldly things and desires that thing through which the body might not be punished and the soul might not go to hell.<sup>14</sup> (18) Generosity is this that one does not take back the share of the body from the body, and the share of the soul from the soul. (19) Truth(fullness) is this that one conducts oneself in a truthful and undeceitful way. (20) Immoderate thinking is this that one regards the world of life as dwelling (place) and the world of thought to be violent, and desires that thing whose end is decay of the body and punishment of the soul. (21) Meanness is this that one keeps away the share of the body from the body, and the share of the soul from the soul. (22) Lieffulness is this that one takes the body for (attaining his) desire and the soul for deceiving.

(23) Who is more perfect in goodness?

(24) He who is more learned.

(25) Who is more learned?

(26) He who knows the end of the body, recognizes the opponent of the soul, and more knows how to protect oneself from the opponent of the soul and to keep it fearless.

(27) What is the end of the body? Which is the opponent (of the soul) whom the learned can know more?

(28) The end of the body is the destruction of the (bodily) form. The opponent of the soul consists of these several lies<sup>15</sup> which were procreated by Angra Mainyu (Evil Spirit) to deceive people and lead them astray and to act against people.

(29) Which ones and how many are the Lies?

(30) Greed<sup>16</sup>, and Drought<sup>17</sup>, and Wrath<sup>18</sup>, and Envy<sup>19</sup>, and Disgrace<sup>20</sup>, and Lust<sup>21</sup>, and Revenge<sup>22</sup>, and Lethargy<sup>23</sup>, and the Lie of Heresy<sup>24</sup> and Calumny<sup>25, 26</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> . Opp. *apeymān-griftagīh*, cf. Dk iii M 197.

<sup>14</sup> . Cf. CHP 57.

<sup>15</sup> . *druz*, Av. *druj-*.

<sup>16</sup> . *āz*, Av. *āzi-*.

<sup>17</sup> . *hēz*, Av. *haēcah-*.

<sup>18</sup> . *xēšm*, Av. *aēšma-*.

<sup>19</sup> . *arešk*, Av. *araska-*.

<sup>20</sup> . *nang*, Av. *\*namka-*.

(31) Of these several Lies which one is more impetuous?

(32) Greed is more discontented and more remediless. (33) Drought is more tormenting and more sorrowful. (34) Wrath is more tyrannical and more merciless. (35) Envy is more desirous of evil and more malevolent. (36) Disgrace is more contentious. (37) Lust is more self-loving and more disturbing. (38) Revenge is more terrible and more cruel. (39) Lethargy is more indolent and more forgetful. (40) The Lie of Heresy is more concealing and more deceiving. (41) Calumny is more ungrateful.

(42) This is revealed too that: Angra Mainyu (Evil Spirit) did something even more grievous against Ahura Mazda's creations when he concealed the reward of good deeds and punishment for sins at the end from the mind of people. (43) The creator Ahura Mazda for keeping away these several Lies and for the help of mankind created a few spiritual keeping things: innate wisdom, acquired wisdom, character (or, disposition), hope, contentment, religion (or, religious vision), and consultation of the wise.

(44) What is the function of these spiritual (things), one by one?

(45) The function of innate wisdom is to protect the body from the fear of committing intentional sins and from useless pains, to remember the transience of worldly things and the end of the body, not to reduce one's own things pertaining to Renovation, and thereby not to increase one's own things pertaining to transience. (46) The function of acquired wisdom is to know the upright path and way and to abide by it, to ponder the thing which has occurred before, to be aware of that which will occur afterward, not to believe anything impossible, and not to undertake the work which could not be brought to an end. (47) The function of character (or, morale) is to protect the body from bad habit and (bad) desire and lust and to do according to it (i.e., morale), to adjust one's good character and habit and to remember it. (48) The function of hope is to connect the share of action to the body (or, self), to devote oneself to upright effort and work. (49) The function of contentment is to protect the body (or, person) from immoderate desire, to remember the pain

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<sup>21</sup> . varan, Av. varəna-.

<sup>22</sup> . kēn, Av. kaēnā-.

<sup>23</sup> . būšāsp, Av. būšyastā-.

<sup>24</sup> . ahlemōgīh, cf. Av. ašəmaoya- 'heretic'.

<sup>25</sup> . spazgīh, Av. spazga-.

<sup>26</sup> . The ZVY 8.2 gives a list of seven Lies.

from discontentment and the fear of immoderateness, not to give (up) that thing whereby there will be one's final trust by no means, not to highly admire the thing which has passed away, and not to experience pain and suffering for that which cannot be changed. (50) The function of religion is to inform the person of the punishment for sins and the reward for good deeds, and to separate the path and way of the Yazata from that of the Daēva. (51) The function of consultation of the wise is to protect (one-)self from lust and self-love (or, egoism), to direct (oneself) in such a way that if he may be afflicted with calamities his actions may not be tarnished.

(52) Of these several spiritual (things) in the person of men which is more powerful?

(53) Wisdom is more seeing, mind more flaming<sup>27</sup>, intelligence more preserving, (54) character more awe-inspiring, habit more arranging, (55) contentment more reliable, (56) hope more patient, spirit purer, consciousness more knowing, *fravarti* more painstaking.

(57) For men which talent (or, virtue) is better?

(58) Knowledge and wisdom.<sup>28</sup>

(59) Which one is better?

(60) That which knows how to direct the person more fearless, more sinless, and more painless.

(61) In men is wisdom better or chance?

(62) Wisdom is the acquaintance of an affair, and chance is the approval of an affair.

(63) [For men] which substance (nature) is better?

(64) Humility and sweet talk.

(65) Which habit is better?

(66) Eloquence (heroism) and peacefulness.

(67) Which law is better?

(68) Goodness.

(69) Which desire is more virtuous?

(70) Sinlessness.

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<sup>27</sup> . āyiftagdar from āyēb- : āyift 'to catch fire, burst into flame'. Cf. also taftīg-menišn 'fervent-hearted, passionate' from tab- : taft 'to become hot, burn'.

<sup>28</sup> . Cf. HOD 2.

(71) Which good deed is better?

(72) Satisfaction with one's possessions.

(73) Which ceremonial act is better?

(74) The recitation of Religion (or, the Avesta).

(75) Which instruction is better?

(76) That whereby one knows better how to organize the time, and thereby redeem the soul.

(77) Which honour is better?

(78) Friendship of the good and majesty.

(79) Which name is greater?

(80) Duty.

(81) Which opponent is more oppressive?

(82) Bad deed.

(83) For men is education better or natural wisdom?

(84) Growth of body (the person) is through education, and dwelling of disposition (or, character) is (one's) natural wisdom; education is the establishment of the body (person), and disposition the shelter of body and (breath) soul.

(85) How do disposition and habit and wisdom and all the other virtues in the person of people, become of less adversity and less prejudicial?

(86) Wisdom when there is no arrogance.<sup>29</sup> (87) Talent (or, skill) when there is no insolence. (88) Scholarship when there is no heresy. (89) Eloquence (heroism) when there is no vengeance. (90) Contentment when there is no illiberality (petty-mindedness). (91) Good character when there is no meanness. (92) Good harmony when there is no disturbance. (93) Truth when there is no misbehaviour. (94) Hope when there is no indolence. (95) Generosity when there is no wasting. (96) Majesty when there is no discontentment. (97) Protection of body (person) when there is no affliction. (98) Humility when there is no deceit. (99) Reverence when there is no negligence. (100) Friendship of the good when there is no simulation.<sup>30</sup> (101) Loyalty when there is no back-down. (102) Duty when there is no slackness. (103) Diligence when there is no jealousy (envy). (104) Sagacity when there is no hypocrisy.

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<sup>29</sup> . Cf. HOD 22.

<sup>30</sup> . Cf. HOD 36.

(105) Do the things that happen to man happen through fate or through action?

(106) Fate and action jointly are like body and (breath) soul.

(107) For a body separate from (breath) soul is like a useless carcass, and the (breath) soul separate from the body an impalpable wind, and when they are mixed to each other they are powerful and greatly beneficial.

(108) What is fate and what is action?

(109) Fate is indeed the reason and action the cause of the things that happen to man.

(110) What does the worldly wealth resemble?

(111) To the things which one sees in a sleep, whether good or bad, and when he wakes up from sleep nothing is there.

(112) In the world of life who is more esteemed?

(113) The lord of the land (= king) who is strong, victorious, and pious (lit. 'who desires to do good').

(114) And who is more indigent?

(115) The miserable who is wretched (physically weak) and (mentally) wicked.

(116) Who is more unfortunate?

(117) The one versed in the religion who is infidel.

(118) Who is less needy?

(119) He who is more contented.

(120) Who is more contented in wealth?

(121) He who is more majestic (or, with more dignity).

(122) Who is more majestic?

(123) He to whom reproaches of men seem worse than neediness.

(124) Who is more hopeful?

(125) A diligent man who is lucky.

(126) What is diligence and what luck?

(127) Diligence is this: to follow virtue, and to be diligent in doing a work which he has undertaken without sin or pain. (128) Luck is the good fame (during one's life) and the good completion of work.

(129) Who is more sovereign?

(130) The (celestial) sphere which makes distribution [of good things] to this world.

(131) What is more true?

(132) The destined time (or, the decisive time).

(133) Who is more wonderful?

(134) He to whom Time comes more.

(135) Who is more discriminating?

(136) The wise man who has much experience.

(137) Who is more tranquil?

(138) He who has been saved from grievous fear and distress.

(139) Who is more worthy of approval?

(140) He who keeps lust mostly under the control of shame (or, indigence), wrath under the control of patience, envy under the control of good reputation (or, friendship), greed under the control of contentment, and stroke (or, repression) under the control of law.

(141) Who is of better repute?

(142) He who considers doing good to men as more lawful.

(143) Who is more renowned?

(144) He who is more competent and more triumphant.

(145) Who is [more competent and] more triumphant?

(146) He who has better luck in his (religious and secular) acts.

(147) Who is more propitiating?

(148) A competent (or, meritorious) child and a wife who desires (or, loves) her husband.

(149) Who is more forbearing?

(150) A necessitous man, helpless and ungreedy (without family?), who strives not for [his own] benefit but for the sake of great hope.

(151) Who is more discontented?

(152) A revengeful (man) who is powerful and has been irritated.

(153) Who is more tormenting?

(154) A terrible and misbehaving husband, and a wandering child.

(155) Who is more terrible?

(156) A delicate (or, proud) ruler who is killer.

(157) Who is more sorrowful?

(158) A capable man who loses his capacity, a powerful man who loses his power, a hopeful man who loses his hope, and a self-loving man who arrives at the end of his work (= life).

(159) Who is more painful?

(160) A powerful man who has no child, a wise and competent man who has an incompetent (or, undeserving) and wandering child.

(161) Who is more distressful?

(162) A competent man over whom an incompetent one prevails, a wise one of whom an ignorant one is in command, a good man when he is under the rule of a bad one.

(163) Who is more forgivable (worthy of pity)?

(164) An oppressed man, hopeless and innocent.

(165) Who is more regretful?

(166) A self-loving man who has reached the end of his work, one who is learned in the science of soul but is infidel, a lustful man who is wise after the event, and an ungreedy man who strives for the ungrateful (in the hope of) benefiting.

(167) Who is more blameworthy?

(168) He who is grateful towards that one from whom he obtains a favour.

(169) Who is more infamous?

(170) He who regards causing calamity to men as more lawful.

(171) In the (material) world what does seem more requisite to man?

(172) He who so long as the body is healthy (looks for) success, and when the body is ill for good health, and when the body is hopeless for the salvation of the soul.

(173) What do men desire more?

(174) Enjoying one's wishes (fruition) and freedom from want.

(175) What is fruition and what freedom from want?

(176) Fruition is this: to obtain every thing for which one expresses a wish. Freedom from want is this: [to obtain] what is required.

(177) What is [that thing] for which man is more thirsty?

(178) That thing on which one has a good trust (or, that thing of which one has good hope).

(179) In the world about what should man be more worried?

(180) About bad times, unjust deeds, deceitful friend, and infidel pitiless ruler.

(181) Of what should one be more confident?

(182) Of good times, upright deeds, an undecitful friend of the same religion, and a merciful leader who is law-abiding.

(183) What time is better?

(184) That in which the victory and dominance of the wicked less occur.

(185) Which religion is good?

(186) That whereby the divinity of the Yazata and the devilry of the Daēva, the reward of good deeds and punishment for sins are more manifest, its path and way is more upright, and in it good deeds are more lawful.

(187) which king and ruler is better?

(188) He who is more friendly to people, who is more auspicious with regards to his time, and who considers doing good to men more lawful.

(189) Which friend is better?

(190) He who comes more to another rescue, and renders more help in distress.

(191) Who has more friends?

(192) He who is more humble, and more tolerant, and more sweet-voiced.

(193) Who has more enemies?

(194) He who is haughty, arrogant, illiberal (petty-minded), and coarse-voiced.

(195) Who is one's friend [at the time] of Renovation?

(196) Upright deed.

(197) Who is one's enemy [at the time] of Renovation?

(198) Bad deed.

(199) What thing pertaining to Renovation lasts and [never] will be destroyed?

(200) The store of good deeds.

(201) What is nicer?

(202) Association with the good.

(203) What is more beneficial?

(204) To keep company with the wise.

(205) What is more reliable?

(206) The tongue of truthful ones.

(207) What is sweeter?

(208) Fearlessness.

(209) What is more fearless?

(210) Good time and duty.

(211) What is more fortunate?

(212) Sinlessness and good completion.

(213) What is more comfortable?

(214) Satisfaction with one's possessions.

(215) What is worthier?

(216) Friendship with the wise and the good.

(217) What is more bright?

(218) Deed of the wise.

(219) What is broader (or, more extended)?

(220) Hand of the generous.

(221) What is narrower?

(222) Hand of the stingy.

(223) What is more trustworthy?

(224) Law of the Yazata.

(225) What is more reasonable?

(226) Recompense of the benefactor.

(227) What is more unreasonable?

(228) Reward for the sinner.

(229) What is more moderate?

(230) Desire of those contented in wealth.

(231) What is more fragrant?

(232) Good reputation.

(233) What is dearer?

(234) Being received by lords and leaders, and compliment from comrades and friends.



(235) What is worse?

(236) Eye of the greedy.

(237) What is more futile?

(238) Gift to the ungrateful, and associating with the wicked.

(239) What is more empty?

(240) Hand of the stingy.<sup>31</sup>

(241) What is more painful?

(242) To serve a sovereign who is slow-witted.

(243) What is swifter?

(244) Mind of the lustful.

(245) What is more disagreeable?

(246) Being with the wicked.

(247) What is more delicate?

(248) Mind (or, heart) of rulers.

(249) What is more fearful?

(250) Vexation of pitiless rulers.

(251) What is harder?

(252) The learned one who is unlucky.

(253) What is more surprising?

(254) The ignorant one who is lucky.

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<sup>31</sup> . Cf. § 222.



ped օstīgānīh ī hān ī and tis andar dūr-menīdārdum; ud ka dagrdum<sup>36</sup> andar dranā ī ē-sad sāl tan օ frazām ud pādixšāyīh օ nēstīh, ud andar dranā ī cahārsad sāl dūdāg օ višōbišn ud nām օ framōšīh ud anāyādīh, ud mān ud mēhan օ avīrānīh ud ālūdāgīh, ud nāf ud peyvann օ frōttarīh ud <sup>x</sup>abāsīh (a-pāsīh)<sup>37</sup>, ud toxšišn օ abēbarīh, ud ranz ud bār օ tuhīgīh, ud pādixšāyīh օ āvām x<sup>v</sup>adāyān, xīr օ օy māned kē zamān farroxīh andar hān ē brihēnīd ēsted. ud tis <sup>x</sup>frašegirdīg pettāyed<sup>38</sup> ud nē višōbed, ēvāz ahlāyīh dām fraškirdīg, ud kunišn ī frārōn ped ēc kas appurdan nē tuvān.

(4) nūn man cōn-um kāmāg toxšišn ī ped ahlāyīh varzīdan ud pahrēz az vināh kirdan, ēdōn bē hān ī andar jast ēsted az kunišn framāyīšn ī āvām x<sup>v</sup>adāyān dušpādixšāyīh pediš acārag ham enyā az vināh nigerišnīg ped kām cand-um dānišn pahrixt ēsted. ped astīh ī yazdān ud nēstīh ī dēvān, ud dēn ud ruvān, ud vahišt ud dušox, ud āmār ī stwš, ud ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn abēgumān hum. u-m ahlāyīh <sup>x</sup>az x<sup>v</sup>ārīh ī<sup>39</sup> tan ud gyān [ud] ruvān ud harv nēkīh ī gētīg ud menōg kāmāgdar. u-m nām-iz gētīg rāy vāzag ēcand abar ēn āyādgār nibišt kū:

(5) mardōm kadār farroxdar?

(6) hān ī avināhdar.

(7) kē avināhdar?

(8) hān kē ped dād ī yazdān rāsttar ēsted, ud az dād ī dēvān vēš pahrēzed.

(9) kadār dād ī yazdān ud kadār dād ī dēvān?

(10) dād ī yazdān vehīh, ud dād ī dēvān vattarīh.

(11) cē vehīh ud cē vattarīh?

(12) vehīh humat ud hūxt ud huvaršt, ud vattarīh dušmat ud dužūxt ud dužvaršt.

(13) cē humat ud hūxt ud huvaršt, ud cē dušmat ud dužūxt ud dužvaršt?

(14) humat peymān-menišnīh, ud hūxt rādīh, ud huvaršt rāstīh. (15) dušmat freh-būd-menišnīh, ud dužūxt penīh, ud dužvaršt drōzanīh.

<sup>36</sup> . ܣܠܘܕܝܢ SP, ܣܠܘܕܝܢ JU.

<sup>37</sup> . ܣܠܘܕܝܢ. Cf. Dk iii, M 344.

<sup>38</sup> . ܣܠܘܕܝܢ ܣܠܘܕܝܢ.

<sup>39</sup> . ܣܠܘܕܝܢ ܣܠܘܕܝܢ.

(16) cē peymānmenišnīh, cē rādīh, ud cē rāstīh ? cē frehbūdmenišnīh, cē penīh, ud cē drōzanīh ?

(17) peymānmenišnīh ēd kē frasāvandīh ī xīr ī gētīg vēned, kāmag abar hān tis bared kē rāy tan ō puhl ud ruvān ō dušox nē rased. (18) rādīh ēd kē bahr ī tan az tan, bahr ī ruvān az ruvān abāz nē gīred. (19) rāstīh ēd kē ō ruvān ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš rāst afrēftārīhā<sup>40</sup> raved. (20) frehbūdmenišnīh ēd kē gētīg ped mehmānīh ud menōg ped mustegar dāred, ud kāmag abar hān tis bared kē frazām višōbišn ī tan ud pādīfrāh ī ruvān aziš bed. (21) penīh ēd kē-š bahr ī tan az tan, bahr ī ruvān az ruvān abāz dāred. (22) drōzanīh ēd kē tan ped kāmag, ruvān ped frēb dāred.

(23) ped vehīh kē bavandagdar ?

(24) hān ī dānāgdar.

(25) kē dāngdar ?

(26) hān kē frazām ī tan dāned, hamemāl ī ruvān šnāsed, x<sup>v</sup>ēštan az hamemāl ī ruvān pādan ud abēbīm dāštan abērdar dāned.

(27) cē frazām ī tan, kadām hamemāl <ī ruvān> kē dānāgān pediš abērdar tuvān šnāxtan ?

(28) frazām ī tan višōbišn ī kirb, ud hamemāl ī ruvān ēn and druz ī gennāg menōg ped frēftan viyābān kirdan ī mardōmān rāy ped hamēstārīh ī ped mardōmān frāz dād.

(29) kadār ud cand hān druz ?

(30) āz ud x<sup>v</sup>hēz<sup>41</sup> ud xēšm ud arešk ud nang ud varan ud kēn ud būšāsp ud druz ī ahlemōgīh ud spazgīh.

(31) az ēn and druz kadām stahmagdar?

(32) āz ahunsanttar acāragdar; (33) x<sup>v</sup>hēz bēšēnīdārdar ud bēšumanttar; (34) ud xēšm dušpādixšādar ud x<sup>v</sup>anabaxšāyišnīgdar<sup>42</sup>; (35) arešk anākkāmagdar ud vad-umēttar; (36) ud nang kuxšīdārdar; (37) ud varan x<sup>v</sup>addōšagdar ud višuftārdar; (38) ud kēn sahmendar ud an-abaxšāyišnīgdar; (39) būšāsp ažgahāndar ud framōšēndar; (40) ud druz ī ahlemōgīh nihuftārdar ud frēftārdar; (41) ud spazgīh anespāstar.

(42) ēn-z pēdāg kū: gennāg menōg ped dāmān ī ohrmazd tis-iz ēn grāndar kird ka-š kirbag mizd ud vināh pādīfrāh ped

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<sup>40</sup> SP. سره دلره ماسلووید، MK. سره لعه ماسلووید.

<sup>41</sup> . نیاژ/niyāz/.

<sup>42</sup> . سره ماسلووید.

menišn ī mardōmān ped frazām ī kār bē nihuft. (43) dādār ohrmazd ped abāz dāštan ī hān and druz ayyārīh ī mardōm rāy cand tis ī nigāhdār ī menōg dād: āsn xrad ud gōšōsrūd xrad ud xēm ud umēd ud hunsandīh ud dēn ud hampursagīh ī dānāg.

(44) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī ēn ēk ēk menōg cē?

(45) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī āsn xrad tan az bīm ī kunišn ī<sup>43</sup> vināh nigerišnīg ud ranz<sup>x</sup> abēbar<sup>44</sup> pādan, ud frasāvandīh ī xīr ī gētīg frazām ī tan ped daxšag dāštan, ud az xīr ī fraškirdīgīh ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš nē kāstan, ud ped hān vider(āg)īh ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš nē abzūdan. (46) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī gōšōsrūd xrad pand ud ristag ī frārōn bē šnāxtan ud pediš ēstādan, tis ī pēš bē videred bē nigered, ud hān ī pas aziš āgāh būdan, tis ī būdan nē šāyed nē vurravistan, ud kār ī frazāmēnīdan nē šāyed andar nē griftan. (47) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī xēm tan az xōg ī vad ud ārzōg ī varan pādan ud pediš kirdan, xēm ud xōg ī nēk virāstan ud ped daxšag dāštan. (48) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī umēd bahr ī kunišn ō tan peyvastan, tan ō ranz ud kār ī frārōn rāyēnīdan. (49) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī hunsandīh tan az frehbūd-x<sup>v</sup>āyišnīh pādan, ud ranz az ahunsandīh, ud bīm az frehbūdīh ped daxšag dāštan, ud hān tis kē rāy abdum abestām aviš baved ped tis-iz tis rāy [bē] nē dādan, tis ī uzīd ēsted rāy vahāg <nē burdan>. (50) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī dēn tan az vināh puhl ud kirbag mīzd āgāhēnīdan, ud pand ud ristag ī yazdān az hān ī dēvān judāg dāštan. (51) x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh ī hampursagīh ī dānāg tan az varan ud x<sup>v</sup>addōšagīh pādan, ēdōn rāyēnīdan kū ped anāgīh ī šāyed madan kunišn ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš āhōg nē baved.

(52) az ēn and menōg ped tan ī mardōmān kē ōzumanttar?

(53) xrad vēnāgdar, ud menišn<sup>x</sup> āyiftagdar<sup>45</sup>, ud uš dāštārdar, (54) ud xēm huškōhdar, ud xōg virāstārdar, (55) ud hunsandīh avistvārdar, (56) ud umēd bārestāndar, ox abēzagdar, ud bōy āgāhdar, ud fravahr ranzvārdar.

(57) ped mardōmān hunar cē veh?

(58) dānāgīh ud xrad.

(59) ēd kadār veh?

(60) hān kē tan abēbīmīhādar ud avināhdar ud aranzagīhādar dāned rāyēnīdan.

(61) ped mardōmān xrad veh ayāb jahišn?

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<sup>43</sup> . ۱۱۹۳۰۳۰۳

<sup>44</sup> . ۱۱۹۳۰۳۰۳

<sup>45</sup> . ۱۱۹۳۰۳۰۳ /ayāftagdar/. Corr. ۱۱۹۳۰۳۰۳

(62) xrad šnāxtārīh ī kār, ud jahišn pessennišn ī kār.

(63) gōhr kadār veh?

(64) ērmenišnīh ud carbēvāzīh.

(65) xōg ī cē veh?

(66) vyāxanīh ud āštīh-x<sup>v</sup>āhīh.

(67) dād ī cē veh?

(68) vehīh.

(69) kāmag ī kadār frārōndar?

(70) avināhīh.

(71) kirbag ī kadār veh?

(72) hunsand-xīrīh.

(73) kirdār cē veh?

(74) dēn-ušmārišnīh.

(75) frahang kadār veh?

(76) hān kē āvām pediš rāyēnīdan, ud ruvān pediš bōxtan abērdar dāned.

(77) āzarm kadār [veh]?

(78) veh-dōstīh ud huškōhīh.

(79) nām cē meh?

(80) xvēškārīh (husravīh ?)<sup>46</sup>.

(81) hamemāl ī kadām stambagdar?

(82) kunišn ī vad.

(83) ped mardōmān frahang veh ayāb gōhr xrad?

(84) abzāyišn ī tan az frahang, ud xēm mehmānīh ped gōhr xrad; <frahang> vinārišn ī tan, ud xēm pānag ī tan ud gyān.

(85) xēm ud xōg ud xrad ud abārīg-iz hamāg hunar andar tan ī mardōmān cōn kam-pedyāragdar ud abēzyāndar?

(86) xrad ka-š menīdārīh nēst; (87) ud hunar ka-š tarmenišnīh nēst; (88) vīrumandīh ka-š ahlemōgīh nēst; (89) vyāxanīh ka-š kēnvarīh nēst; (90) hunsandīh (hunsandxīrīh) ka-š x<sup>v</sup>ardag-nigerīšnīh nēst; (91) vehxēmīh ka-š penīh nēst; (92) nēk husāzagīh ka-š višuftārīh nēst; (93) rāstīh ka-š duš-barišnīh nēst;

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<sup>46</sup> . Cf. *Kōšnāma*, 4435 :

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به پرسید ک: ز نامها به کدام؟



(125) toxšāg mard ī jahišnayyār.

(126) cē toxšāgīh ud cē jahišnayyārīh ?

(127) toxšāgīh hān kē pēšag ī frārōnīh kuned ud kār-z ī pāyimār baved avināhīhā ud aranzagīhā pediš toxšed. (128) jahišnayyārīh nām ī nēk ud hufrazāmīh ī kār.

(129) kē pādixšādar ?

(130) spihr ī gēhān baxtār.

(131) kē rāsttar ?

(132) zamān ī brīn.

(133) kē abddar ?

(134) hān kē zamān abērdar mad ēsted.

(135) kē vizīdārdar ?

(136) dānāg ī vas-uzmāyišn.

(137) kē pedrāmišndar ?

(138) hān kē az bīm ud astānag ī grān bōxted.

(139) kē pessannišnīgdar ?

(140) hān kē varan azēr ī nang, ud xēšm azēr ī burdīh, ud arešk azēr <sup>+</sup>husravīh (dōšārmīh?)<sup>49</sup>, ud āz azēr hunsandīh, ud zanišn azēr dādestān abērdar dāred.

(141) kē husrōdar ?

(142) hān kē nēkīh ped mardōmān kirdan ped dāttar dāred.

(143) kē nāmīgdar ?

(144) hān ī <sup>×</sup>šāyendagdar<sup>50</sup> ud abarvēzdar.

(145) kē abarvēzdar ?

(146) hān kē jahišn ped kār ud dādestān nēktar.

(147) kē šnāyēnīdārdar ?

(148) frazend ī šāyendag ud nārīg ī šōy-kāmag (šōygāmag).

(149) kē bārestāndar ?

(150) niyāzumand ī acārag ud an-āz (a-nāf?)<sup>51</sup> kē ...<sup>52</sup> umēd ī vazurg rāy toxšed.

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<sup>49</sup> . ۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰ JU.

<sup>50</sup> . ۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰. Cf. CHP 43.

<sup>51</sup> . opp. āzvar, cf. Dk vi, M 564.





(194) abarmenišnān ud abardanān ud x<sup>v</sup>ardag-nigerišnān ud društ-āvāzān.

(195) dōst ī fraškirdīg kadār ?

(196) kunišn ī frārōn.

(197) dušmen fraškirdīg kadār ?

(198) kunišn ī vad.

(199) cē hān ī fraškirdīg pettāyed ud nē višōbed ?

(200) hambār ī kibag.

(201) cē nēktar ?

(202) hamīh ī abāg vehān.

(203) cē sūdumanttar ?

(204) nišastan abāg dānāgān.

(205) cē ōstīgāndar ?

(206) uzvān ī rāst-gōbišnān.

(207) cē x<sup>v</sup>aštar ?

(208) abēbīmīh.

(209) cē abēbīm(īhā)dar ?

(210) āvām ī nēk ud x<sup>v</sup>ēškārīh.

(211) cē farroxīhādar ?

(212) abēvināhīh ud hufrazāmīh.

(213) cē āsānīhādar ?

(214) hunsand-xīrīh.

(215) cē arzumanddar ?

(216) dōšārm abāg dānāgān ud vehān.

(217) cē rōšndar ?

(218) kunišn ī dānāgān.

(219) cē frāxdar ?

(220) dast ī rādān.

(221) cē tangdar ?

(222) dast ī penān.

(223) cē <sup>x</sup>vābarīgāndar<sup>63</sup> ?

(224) ēvēn ī <sup>x</sup>yazd<sup>64</sup>.

(225) cē cimīgihādar ?

(226) pādāšn ī kirbakkarān.

(227) cē abēcimihādar ?

(228) pādāšn ī bazakkarān.

(229) cē peymānīgihādar ?

(230) kāmag ī hunsandxīrān.

(231) cē hubōydar ?

(232) husravīh.

(233) cē grāmīgdar ?

(234) pedīrišn ī az x<sup>v</sup>adāyān ud sālārān ud nivāzišn<sup>65</sup> ī az hamālān ud dōstān.



(235) cē vattar ?

(236) cašm ī āzvarān.

(237) cē abēbardar ?

(238) dahišn ī ō anespāsān ud peyvannišn ī abāg vattarān.

(239) cē tuhīgdar ?

(240) dast ī penān.

(241) cē ranzagihādar ?

(242) peristišn ī pādixšāy ī<sup>66</sup> dušvīr.

(243) cē tēzdar ?

(244) menišn ī varanīgān.

(245) cē dušx<sup>v</sup>ārdar ?

(246) būdan ī abāg vattarān.

(247) cē nāzūktar ?

(248) menišn ī pādixšāyān.

(249) cē bīmgendar ?

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<sup>63</sup> . ۱۰۳۰۳۰

<sup>64</sup> . ۱۱۱۳۳

<sup>65</sup> . ۳۰۳۱

<sup>66</sup> . ۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰ SP, ۳۰۳۰۳۰۳۰JU.

(250) āzārišn ī pādixšāyān anāmurzīd.

(251) cē škefttar ?

(252) dānāg ī vadjahišn.

(253) cē abddar ?

(254) dušāgāh ī hujahišn.

(255) cē grāndar ?

(256) menišn ī mihrdruzān.

(257) cē astānagumanttar ?

(258) hamīh abāg vattarān ud dušāgāhān.

... tis ī ped mardōmān frārōn.

(259) cē vattar ?

(260) anāstavānīh ud viyābānmenišnīh.

(261) cē carbdar ?

(262) rādīh ī yazdān.

(263) cē hān ī azabar harv tis ?<sup>67</sup>

(264) vizīr ī yazdān.



anōšagruvān bavād vazurgmihr ī bōxtagān ud avēšān kayān ud yalān ud  
vīrān kē gyān-abespārīh ī dēn ī mazdesnān kird hend. gāh ped asar rōšn  
bavād. ēdōn bavād. ēdōndar bavād.

frazaft ped drod.

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<sup>67</sup> . Cf. MX 2.92.