

Introduction to Zoroastrianism

by

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Old Iranian Religion, Zoroastrianism

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- The same web site contains a number of other translations, as well, some of which are quite up to date.

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Note on pronunciation

A circumflex means long vowel, e.g., Gâthâ approximately “garthar” (as in Bostonian *car*) without pronouncing the *r*.

zh like the *s* in leisure, treasure, etc.

kh like Persian and Arabic خ, German *ch* in *ach* (not like *ch* in *ich*!) and Spanish *j* in *bajo* (not like Hispanic Spanish *j* = *h*). Also not like Indic *kh* = *k-h*.

In other publications:

Long vowel is indicated by a “macron,” e.g., *ā* = long *a*.

A haček is used as follows: *č* = *ch*, *ǰ* = *j*, *š* = *sh*, *ž* = *zh* (as above).

x is usually *kh* (as above).

Greek *β* = *v*, *γ* = Arabic and غ Spanish *g* in *haga*, *δ* = *th* (in *the*), *θ* = *th* (in *think*).

ZOROASTRIANISM. A BRIEF OVEVIEW

From an inscription by King Darius

Ahuramazdâ is the great god
who set in place this earth,
who set in place yonder sky,
who set in place man,
who set in place peace for man,
who made Darius king,
one king over many, one commander of many.

The Avestan Ashem Vohu prayer

Order is the best good reward there is.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one
when one's Order is for the best Order.

From another inscription by King Darius

King Darius announces:
When Ahuramazdâ saw this earth being in turmoil, he gave it to me.
He made me king. I am king.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
I set it down in its place.
They did whatever was told them by me,
as was my wish.

Zoroastrianism is one of the oldest religions in the world, going back to the 2nd millennium B.C.E. and the Iranian tribes still living in Central Asia, before they moved south onto the Iranian Plateau.

The ancient Iranians imagined a world in which **Order** and **Chaos** constantly vied for supremacy. The partisans of Order were heavenly powers with **Ahura Mazdâ**, the All-knowing Ruler,¹ at their head, who combated Chaos in the form of Darkness, Decay, and Death to reestablish Order in the form of Light, Growth, and Life.

Both Order and Chaos had their followers among living beings. In fact, all living beings had to make a choice of which side they wanted to support. The good would declare for Ahura Mazdâ, imitating and following the example of the first living being to worship him, **Zarathustra**, chosen for that purpose at the beginning of time.

With the help of His human followers, especially, the priests who perform sacrifices for Him, Ahura Mazdâ becomes the ruler of the universe and reinstalls His cosmic Order by making the sun rise and the rains fall. The sun brings light and warmth to the earth, His daughter, and the rains fertilize her, making her produce all good things for living beings.

In the Achaemenid period, the king similarly acted as Ahura Mazdâ's chosen, who by his sacrifices supported the deity, who in turn supported the king, bestowing upon him the power to reestablish Order on earth.

¹ Av. *ahura* = OInd. *asura*. Av. *mazdâ* is an adjective meaning literally "one who puts everything in his mind." The precise meaning of OInd. *asura*, Iran. *ahura*, is not known; "(ruling) lord" seems to be the implication in Avestan, but it may originally have meant "engenderer," hence "master (of the family), *pater familias*." Traditionally, the name is rendered as the Wise Lord. See Skjærvø, 2002, "Ahura Mazdâ and Ârmaiti."

INTRODUCTION TO ZOROASTRIANISM

There were other deities beside Ahura Mazdâ, both good and bad. The bad ones were the *daêwas*, the “old gods,” who had chosen to side with evil. Their ruler was the **Evil Spirit**, whose main agent was the **Lie**, the female principle of cosmic deception. The Lie would tell living beings that Ahura Mazdâ was not the true ruler of the universe and that Order was not good.

While Ahura Mazdâ and his helpers had made and arranged the Ordered universe, it was the Evil Spirit and his agents that had made all bad things and inserted them into Ahura Mazdâ’s world.

It was this aspect of Zoroastrianism that the West found so interesting. While Christian theologians strove to explain why God’s perfect world seemed imperfect, the Zoroastrians had a simple answer: it had always been that way, but would not always remain so.

In the *Avesta*, Zarathustra is presented as a mythical poet and priest, to whom Ahura Mazdâ confided the sacred ritual texts and the other ingredients of the sacrifice for him to take them down to proclaim and use among mortals. For the later Zoroastrians, he was the one who received Ahura Mazdâ’s word and transmitted it to mankind. This would qualify him as a “prophet” in the Classical Greek, Biblical, Muslim, and modern senses.

Zarathustra is not a “historical” person in the sense that he belongs in a known historical context or that there are recognizable historical details associated with him. He is also not represented as a “real” person in the texts, much less so than, for instance, Jesus in the Gospels. There is therefore no advantage in assuming that he was a historical person who lived in such and such a place at such and such a time. The futility of such assumptions is indicated by the disagreements among Western scholars on these points.

The Greeks called Zarathustra Zoroaster, hence the name of the religion. The followers of this religion are also called Mazdeans (or Mazdayasnians) after the Old Iranian term *mazda-yasna*, which literally means “he who sacrifices (performs a ritual of offerings) to Ahura Mazdâ.” Correspondingly, the religion is also called Mazdaism or Mazdayasnianism.

In the Avestan pantheon, there were several great gods, who also deserved sacrifices, though Ahura Mazdâ was **the greatest** of them. Among them were Mithra and Anâhitâ, to whom Ahura Mazdâ himself sacrificed.

Mithra battles the powers of Darkness so that the sun can rise and travel across the sky; in late Zoroastrianism, he is identified with the sun.

Anâhitâ is the heavenly river, presumably the Milky Way, the greatest female deity, who is in charge of fertility.

Beside these two and several other great deities, Ahura Mazdâ was closely related to six divine beings that he had sired himself and whose father he was. These are the Amesha Spentas, or **Life-giving Immortals**. The Life-giving Immortals originated from Ahura Mazdâ’s first cosmic sacrifice, by which the world of the gods came into being. They have correspondences in the world of living beings, however, for instance, Spentâ Ârmaiti, of **Life-giving Humility**, is Ahura Mazdâ’s daughter and wife, but also the Earth.

The role of humans in the cosmic scheme is to support Ahura Mazdâ and His world, which they do by “thinking good thoughts, speaking good speech, and doing good deeds.”

Those who “think bad thoughts, speak bad speech, and do bad deeds” support the Evil Spirit.

At the end of their lives, everything a person has thought, spoken, and done is added up on a balance. If the good thoughts, etc. weigh the most, the person goes to paradise, but if the bad thoughts, etc., weigh the most, the person goes to hell.

At the end of the world, however, all humans will be cleansed of evil and be in paradise forever.

The oldest stage of the Iranian religion is known from the *Avesta*, the holy book of the Zoroastrians, which is a collection of texts of different dates and various contents that were *orally* transmitted for centuries and even millennia before they were finally written down about 500 C.E.

The texts are in two forms of the language, one older and one younger; accordingly, we divide the *Avesta* into the *Old Avesta* and the *Young (Younger) Avesta*. The language of the *Old Avesta* may have been spoken in Central Asia in the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. and that of the *Young Avesta* in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. The oldest manuscripts were written in the 13th century, but most of them are much younger.

From 520 B.C.E. on we have the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings, who worshipped Ahura Mazdâ and followed the religion of the *Avesta*. From then until the Arab invasion in the 7th century C.E., Zoroastrianism was the religion of the Iranian kings. It survived the foreign invasion, but, in the tenth century, a number of Zoroastrians traveled to India to escape oppression in Iran and became the ancestors of the modern-day Parsees, the Indian Zoroastrians.

From the ninth century on, Zoroastrian theologians began writing down their knowledge and discussions about the religion in the language of the time, Pahlavi. These texts, often referred to as the Pahlavi Books, constitute the largest corpus of Zoroastrian writings. The manuscripts are the same age as those of the *Avesta*.

1. THE INDO- IRANIANS

Stepping back in time, the scattered evidence indicates that, sometime in the third millennium B.C.E., the Iranians had separated from their cousins, the Indo-Aryans,¹ with whom they originally shared a common religion and oral literary traditions reaching back into Indo-European times,² although, in the oldest texts, there are great differences between the two religions, clearly the result of diverging developments over many hundreds of years.

These were probably nomadic, later in part settled, peoples occupying the steppes of southern Russia and the Central Asian republics at a remote prehistoric period (before 3000 BCE?).

1.2. The Indo-Aryans

Some time about 2000 B.C.E., the Indo-Aryans migrated southeastward into what is today's Pakistan and western India, while the descendants of the second-millennium Iranians migrated onto the Iranian plateau.

This simple picture is complicated, however, by linguistic evidence from Mesopotamia, Palestine, and even Anatolia of Indo-Iranian, even Indo-Aryan, presence in those areas.

In the El-Amarna tablets from Palestine dating from the middle of the 15th century B.C.E. contain the Indo-Iranian-looking royal names: Arta-manya ("he who thinks Order") and Suwar-dâta ("given by the sun").³

In the early 14th century B.C.E. a treaty was concluded between the Hittite king Shupiluliuma and the Hurrite king of the Mitanni, Mati-waza, in which the Mitanni gods are listed, among them: Mitra-Varuna, Indara, and the two Nasatya, which are some of the principal gods of the Old Indo-Aryan pantheon.⁴

Finally, a text by a Mitanni named Kikkuli about horses and horse races written in Hittite contains Indo-Iranian technical terms, but their linguistic form is typically Indic, for instance, *aika-wartana* "one round" contains the numeral *aika*, Old Indic *eka*, different from Avestan *aewa*, Old Persian *aiva*.

1.3. The Iranians

Seeking for the origin of the Iranians, that is, the peoples who spoke Iranian languages, there are two mutually supporting approaches. One is the archeological approach, which consists in trying to identify Iranian-speaking peoples

¹ These are called Indo-Aryans, to distinguish them from other population groups in the Subcontinent speaking non-Indo-European languages and *not* related to the Iranian languages, such as the Dravidic and Tibeto-Burmese peoples. — On the question of the Indo-Aryans, their dates, and migrations, see the summary and discussion in Lamberg-Karlovsky, 2002.

² See, e.g., Mallory, 1989, for a survey of the Indo-Europeans. On their myths and literature, see, e.g., Puhvel, 1987; Watkins, 1995, and the entire work of Georges Dumézil.

³ <http://www.specialtyinterests.net/ae.html>

⁴ <http://www.geocities.com/indoeurop/tree/indo/mitanni.html>, <http://ids0100.lib.iup.edu/WestCivI/Hurrian/mitanni.htm>

with archeological sites and remains, a second is the linguistic approach, by which the point of origin of the oldest Iranian literature and language is sought, and the third is the literary approach.

Since the Iranians did not have writing, it has not been possible to identify them securely in the archeological record of Central Asia and Iran, although there have been speculations.¹ As for the *Avesta*, it never refers to historical events, but it does contain series of geographical names.²

1.3.1. Geographical names in the Avesta

The Avesta contains two lists of geographical names in two texts: the hymn to Mithra and the first chapter of the Videvdad, in which lands made by Ahura Mazdâ are listed. The principal names in these two lists are the following:

1. Haraivian Margu (Margiane), Sogdian Gava, and Khwârazm (Chorasmia).
2. Gava inhabited by Sogdians, strong Margu, Bâkhdhri (Bactria) the beautiful with uplifted banners, Nisâya, which is between Margu and Bâkhdhri, Haraiva, Xnanta, inhabited by Verkânas (Hyrceanians), Harakhvati (Arachosia) the beautiful, and Haetumant (Helmand), rich and glorious.

Several of these place names are well known from historical documents, and several of them have, indeed, survived till today. Looking at the map, which is made after the information of Greek historians and Iranian texts, we see that the western-most of the names mentioned in the Avesta, is Hyrcania, which in historical times was an area and an Achaemenid province to the southeast of the Caspian Sea. All the other identifiable names are to the east of this area:

- Haraiva, the Greek Areia and modern Herat in southwestern Afghanistan;
- Harakhvati, the Greek Arachosia in the area of modern Qandahar in southeastern Afghanistan;
- Haetumant, the river Helmand in southern Afghanistan;
- Bâkhdhri, the Greek Bactria, modern Balkh, in northern Afghanistan;
- Nisâya in southwestern Turkmenistan;
- Margu, the Greek Margiane, modern Merv, in southern Turkmenistan;
- Sogdiana, in southern Uzbekistan, with the cities of Samarqand and Bukhara;
- Khwârazmi, the Greek Chorasmia, modern Khwarazm, south of the Aral Sea.

We see that the horizon of the Avestan texts is Central Asia between the Caspian and Aral Seas and the Helmand basin in southern Afghanistan.

From the historical and linguistic evidence, as well as the geographical horizon of the *Young Avesta*, we can therefore tentatively conclude that the oldest Avestan texts originated among the ancient Iranians who inhabited the area between the Aral Sea and modern Afghanistan in the second millennium B.C.E., that is, in the area of the modern Central Asian republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The younger texts, however, were probably composed in the area of modern southern Afghanistan and eastern Iran.

1.3.2. The evidence of the Achaemenid inscriptions

The empire of the Achaemenid kings, as described in their inscriptions, as well as by the Greek historian Herodotus, contained many of the same lands that are listed in the Avesta. The inscriptions differ from the *Avesta* mainly in listing lands and peoples inhabiting the western part of the empire, as well, among them the Persians, Medes, and Parthians, well known from the Greek and Latin literature. In addition, the inscriptions list several types of Sakas, whom the Greeks called Scythians, who inhabit the areas from north of the Black Sea to the east of the Aral Sea as far as the Issyk K  l.

¹ They have tentatively been correlated with various pottery found on the Iranian Plateau and, most recently, with the "Bactria-Margiana Complex" ca. 2100-1750, characterized by cities with massive fortifications with a fortified central building complex surrounded by artisans' quarters, etc..

² <http://members.aol.com/ahreemanx/page16.html>

These various Iranian tribes were the remote ancestors of the modern Persians, Tajiks, Kurds, Afghans, Baloch, etc.

1.3.3. Persians and Medes

The earliest evidence for Persian and Median presence on the Plateau comes from the Assyrian annals, records of the campaigns by Assyrian kings, in which peoples they came into contact with or subdued are mentioned. The annals give us a good chronology, but the geography is poor. Often, the peoples can be located only within a very general area, and personal names are rare.

Here, Parsuwash and Mâtai are first mentioned in the 9th century in the area of Lake Urmia in the records of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.E.), who, in 835 B.C.E., is said to have received tributes from 27 kings of Parsuwash. Subsequent kings, Shamsi-Adad V (823-811 B.C.E.) and Adad-Narari III (810-783 B.C.E.) also campaigned against them; in the annals of Shamsi-Adad for the year 821 B.C.E., a civil war is mentioned in a land stretching from Bît Bunaki to Parsamas.

Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 B.C.E.), who campaigned as far as Mount Bikni = Mount Alvand (q.v.), refers to the Medes as the “mighty Medes” or the “distant Medes.”

From Sargon II's reign (721-705 B.C.E.) we have the mention of a nephew of King Dalta of the Ellipi by the name Aspabara, which can hardly be other than Iranian *aspabâra* “rider, knight,” but his uncle's name is un-Iranian.

At the battle of Halule on the Tigris in 691 B.C.E. Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.E.) faced an army of troops from Elam, Parshumash, Anzan (Anshan, q.v.), and others.

Also in the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (680-69 B.C.E.) and elsewhere “kings” of the Medes are mentioned (for the sources, see Waters, 1999).

2. IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND PEOPLES

The oldest known Iranian languages are Old and Young Avestan and Old Persian. These languages permit us to reconstruct proto-Iranian as a branch of Indo-Iranian, an eastern branch of the Indo-European group of languages. Proto-Indo-Iranian (the parent language of Iranian and Indic or Indo-Aryan) may have been spoken in the area south and southeast of the Aral sea in the 3rd millennium B.C.E.. It split into Iranian and Indo-Aryan some time before 2000 B.C.E.

2.1. Avestan

Avestan is the language in which the most ancient Iranian religious texts are written, the Avesta. The Avesta is collection of miscellaneous texts first compiled and committed to writing in the mid-first millennium of our era. Before this time it had been transmitted orally by specially trained priests. This text corpus was subsequently, after the Muslim conquest, considerably reduced in volume.

The extant texts of each part of the collection go back to a set of single manuscripts dating from the 11th-12th centuries. Our earliest extant manuscripts date only from the latter half of the 13th century, although most of them are of much later date. This situation always has to be kept in mind when we discuss the Avesta and the Avestan language.

While both history and linguistics indicate that Old Persian was the language spoken in modern Fârs in southern Iran (hence Farsi = Persian), the language of the Avesta must have belonged to tribes from northeastern Iran. The Avesta contains a few geographical names, all belonging to northeastern Iran, that is, roughly the area covered by modern Afghanistan plus the areas to the north and south of Afghanistan. We are therefore entitled to conclude that Avestan was spoken primarily by tribes from that area. Only once is a possibly westerly name mentioned, namely Raghâ, if this is modern Rey south of Tehran, which in antiquity was regarded as the center of the Median Magi, but this

identification is not compelling.¹

We distinguish between texts in “Old Avestan” (OAv.) and texts in “Young(er) Avestan” (YAv.).

The Old Avestan texts comprise the *Gâthâs* and the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, both of which are contained in the section of the Avesta called the *Yasna*, as well as various fragments scattered throughout the *Yasna*.

The Young Avestan texts are the other texts. Among these we must distinguish between genuine, old Young Avestan texts, that is, texts written in a consistent, correct language, and texts in late Young Avestan, compiled at a stage when Young Avestan was no longer a living language and the authors and compilers only had an incomplete knowledge of it.

The texts contain no historical allusions, so they cannot be dated exactly, but Old Avestan is a language closely akin to the oldest Indic language, found in the oldest parts of the Rigveda, and should therefore probably be dated to about the same time. This date has been much debated, but it seems probable—on archeological, as well as linguistic grounds—that the oldest poems were composed in the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.E.

Compared with Old Avestan, Young Avestan represents a changed form of the language, linguistically close to Old Persian, and we may assume that it too was spoken in the first half of the 1st millennium, perhaps through the Median period, i.e., roughly the 10th-6th centuries. Such a dating, on one hand, accounts for the absence of references to western Iran in the texts (with the possible exception of Median Raghâ); on the other hand, it provides the necessary time span for Avestan to go through an “intermediate” period after the Old Avestan period before it developed into Young Avestan.

2.2. Median and Scythian

Beside Old Persian and Avestan other Iranian languages must have existed in the 1st millennium before our era. Of these Median, spoken in western Iran and presumably “official” language during the Median period (ca. 700-559), is known from numerous loan-words in Old Persian. Old northwestern languages, probably spoken by the Scythian Alan tribes are known from early inscriptions and personal and place names. In addition the Scythian tribes in central Asia must have spoken variants of Iranian that differed from Old Persian and Avestan. A few names of Scythian gods are mentioned in Herodotus’s *Histories*, as well as the Median word for “dog,” *spaka*.

2.3. Old Persian

Iranian tribes calling themselves Parswa (i.e. Persian) are found in (north)western Iran from the 9th cent. B.C.E. onward,² but the extant Old Persian texts, written in a cuneiform script, are from the Achaemenid period (ca. 558-330; the texts date from between 522 and ca. 350 B.C.E.) and represent a language spoken in southwestern Iran (Persia). The cuneiform script was probably invented under Darius for the purpose of recording his deeds. It was the first cuneiform script to be deciphered and provided the clue to all the other cuneiform scripts. The Old Persian language as we know it from the inscriptions (5th-4th cents.) was already about to change to Middle Persian. It is therefore probable that Old Persian had already been spoken for a few centuries before this time, that is, throughout most of the first half of the first millennium B.C.

2.4. Middle Iranian Languages

Middle Iranian is the common name for numerous Iranian languages, now extinct, that were spoken throughout Iran and central Asia from about the 4th century b.c.e. up to after the Islamic conquest. They can be grouped together with Old Persian, on one hand, into a southwestern group, and with Median and Avestan, on the other, into a northern and northeastern group.

¹ See Skjærvø, 1995, “The Avesta as Source.”

² See Waters, 1999.

Among the Middle Iranian languages is Parthian, spoken in Parthia, east of the Caspian Sea, which became an official language under the Parthian (Arsacid) rulers of Iran (ca. 247 B.C.E.-224 C.E.). It is known mainly from a few royal Parthian inscriptions dating from the last couple of centuries of Parthian rule and from the Manichean texts.

2.5. Middle Persian, Pahlavi

The Middle Iranian language most closely related to Old Persian is Middle Persian, which is known from a variety of sources: inscriptions and Manichean texts, the earliest of which date from the 3rd cent. c.e., and from the Zoroastrian scriptures, most of which were written down in the 8th-9th century, although transmitted orally for a long time. The Middle Persian inscriptions, most of them located in southern Iran, are written in a script derived from Aramaic, and the Zoroastrian texts in a still more developed form of this script. The language of the Zoroastrian texts is commonly referred to as Pahlavi.

The Pahlavi manuscripts all come from either India or Iran.

A few pages from a Middle Persian translation of the Psalter (the Psalms of Solomon) were also found there. It is written in a script situated between the script of the inscriptions and the Pahlavi script, though closer to the former.

The Avestan script is based upon the Pahlavi script with elements from the Psalter script.

3. SOURCE TEXTS

The Old Iranian religion is known from a variety of sources, the oldest of which is the *Avesta*, which contain texts composed in two different, but closely related, Old Iranian languages. One is grammatically quite similar to the language of the oldest Indic texts, the *Rigveda*, which dates from the second millennium B.C.E., the other is grammatically more similar to the language of the Achaemenid inscriptions, Old Persian, which dates from the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. There is also a translation of most parts of the *Avesta* into Middle Persian (Pahlavi), the official language of the Sasanian empire (224-637 C.E.).¹ The importance of these facts for the dating of the texts will be discussed later on.

3.1. The Avesta

The *Old Avesta* contains the five *Gâthâs* (literally, “songs”) and the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* (literally, “the sacrifice in seven sections”).² In the present state of the text, it is embedded in the middle of a long Young Avestan text called the *Yasna* (Y.), which is the text recited during the daily morning sacrifice, also called *yasna* (= Old Indic *yajña*). The text of the *Yasna* is divided into seventy-two sections (*hâitis*) in the manuscripts and, in Western editions, further subdivided into smaller sections (often referred to as strophes or stanzas).

The five *Gâthâs*, named after their opening words, are the *Ahunawaitî Gâthâ* “the song containing the *Ahuna Vairiya* (prayer)” (Y.27.13 + Y.28-34), the *Ushtawaitî Gâthâ* “the song containing Wishes” (Y.43-46), the *Spentâmanyû Gâthâ* “the song of the Life-giving Inspiration” (Y.47-50), the *Vohukhshathrâ Gâthâ* “the song of the Good Command” (Y.51), and the *Vahishtôishti Gâthâ* “the song of the Best Ritual” (Y.53 + Y.54.1).³ In the regular *yasna* ceremony, the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* (Y.35-41) is placed between the first and second *Gâthâs*.⁴

¹ Old Persian and Middle Persian are the “grand-parent” and “parent” of modern Persian (Farsi). See Skjærvø, 1994, pp. 203-4, 1999, pp. 8-9, on the question of the origin of this translation.

² Not “Worship of the Seven chapters,” as Boyce, 1996, p. XIII.

³ The fact that the *Vahishtôishti Gâthâ* (Y.53) differs some from the other *Gâthâs* in meter and contents, has sometimes led scholars to suggest it was not composed by Zarathustra himself. In my opinion, its form and contents agree perfectly with the fact that it is the conclusion of the Old Avesta.

⁴ Below, the *Gâthâs* are referred by prefixing their number before the *Yasna* number, e.g., 2.46.3 = second *Gâthâ*, Y.46, strophe 3. Similarly, YH.37 = *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, Y.37.

Western scholars from about the turn of the century on began using the term *gâthâ* for each of the sections (*hâiti*) into which the *Gâthâs* are subdivided (the fourth and fifth consist of only one *hâiti* each), altogether seventeen (7 + 4 + 4 + 1 + 1) *hâitis*. This practice provided the basis for various attempts to put the “*Gâthâs*” (= *hâitis*) in chronological order.

The *Young Avesta* contains a miscellany of texts, among them the *Yasna* (Y.), which is the text recited during the *yasna* ritual;¹ the *Yashts*, hymns to individual deities; the *Videvdad* (also spelled *Widêwdâd*, *Vendidad*, etc.), which contains ritual prescriptions for dealing with pollution by dead matter, such as blood and corpses; and various other texts. The *Young Avesta* also contains evidence that allows us to locate the peoples among whom it was composed. Two Young Avestan texts contain lists of countries known to their authors, *Yasht* 10 and *Videvdad* chap. 1. Among these countries are Khorasmia, Marv, Sogdiana, Haraiva (area of modern Herat), Arachosia (area of modern Qandahar), and the Helmand river, that is, countries in the area stretching from the Aral Sea through modern northeastern Iran and Afghanistan.²

The name of Zarathustra (Avestan Zarathushtra) is mentioned several times in all five *Gâthâs*, but is absent from the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*. It is omnipresent in the *Young Avesta*, where Zarathustra is a mythological figure fighting evil and to whom Ahura Mazdâ communicates all the knowledge needed by mankind. By the end of the nineteenth - beginning of the twentieth centuries, Western scholars had decided – on minimal evidence – that Zarathustra was an historical prophet, who reformed the inherited religion of the Iranians, thus providing Zoroastrianism with a counterpart to other historical (and some non-historical) founders of religions. The *Gâthâs*, it was decided, were his work and contained his teachings; the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* was the work of his more or less immediate followers; and the *Young Avesta* represented, on one hand, pre-Zoroastrian, “pagan,” beliefs and, on the other, a relapsed and corrupt form of Zarathustra’s teachings.

The Avestan texts were first written down about the fifth century C.E. and the Pahlavi texts in the ninth-tenth centuries C.E., but both are now only known from manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries.

3.1.1. Contents of the Avesta

According to the tradition, under Khosrow (531-79 C.E.), the Avesta was divided into 21 books, or *nasks*, the contents of which are given in the *Dênkard*, a Pahlavi text compiled in the ninth century. From this it appears that only one of the books have been preserved virtually complete: the *Videvdad*; of most of the others only smaller or larger parts are now extant. The loss of so much of the Sasanian Avesta since the ninth century must be ascribed to the effect of the difficulties that beset the Zoroastrian communities after the Muslim conquest of Iran.

The *Avesta* is traditionally divided into several parts (details see \$):

The *Yasna* (Y.) A miscellany of texts recited during the *yasna* ritual, among which are.

The *Yashts* (Yt.): collection of hymns to individual deities.

The *Khorda Avesta* (KhA.) “little *Avesta*”: a miscellany of hymns and other ritual texts for common use.

The *Niyâyishns* (Ny.) “prayers” to the sun, Mithra, the moon, Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ (the waters), Âtash Bahrâm (the fire).

The *Videvdad* (V.) (also *Vendidad*) literally “the law(s) or regulations (serving to keep) the demons away.” mainly a collection of texts concerned with purification rituals. It also contains some mythological material.

The *Hâdôkht nask* (HN.): a text about the fate of the soul after death.

The *Êhrbedestân* and the *Nîrangestân* (N.): religious legal texts.

¹ In the extended *Videvdad sadeh* ritual, some parts of the *Yasna* are substituted by a set of texts called *Vispered* (Vr.) here the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* is inserted also between the fourth and fifth *Gâthâs*.

² For a recent interpretation of these lists, see Witzel, 2000.

3.2. *Non-Avestan texts*

Sources for Zoroastrianism other than the Avesta comprise the following.

Achaemenid period (550-330 B.C.E.):

- the cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian of the Achaemenid kings;
- various economical records in Elamite¹ and Aramaic found at Persepolis, capital of the Achaemenids;
- letters to and from a Jewish community at Elephantine (an island in the Nile) during the Achaemenid hegemony;
- references to Iranian religions by Greek authors;
- artistic and architectural remains.

Seleucid (305-247? B.C.E.) and Arsacid/Parthian (247? B.C.E. - 224 C.E.) periods:

- a few inscriptions, including on coins;
- references to Iranian religions by Greek, Roman, and Jewish authors;
- artistic and architectural remains.

Sasanian period (224-636 C.E.):

- royal and private inscriptions from the 3rd-4th centuries;
- other, especially funerary, inscriptions;
- coins and seals;
- texts in Middle Persian, the “Pahlavi books.”
- artistic and architectural remains.

3.2.1 The Achaemenid period

The Achaemenid kings describe in their inscriptions how they sacrificed to Ahura Mazdâ and fought against the Lie and altogether endeavored to be good Zoroastrians.

The official records in Elamite from the palaces at Persepolis contain religious terminology in connection with provisions for sacrifices.

The Aramaic texts from Persepolis contain inventories of implements used in the haoma sacrifices: pestles and mortars

The letters from Egypt, written in the fifth century B.C.E., contain theophoric names, that are clearly Zoroastrian.

The writings of Greek (later also Roman) historians and philosophers sometimes describe Iranian religious practices or make various references to them.

3.2.2. The Seleucid and Arsacid/Parthian periods

The most important sources are the writings of Greek and Roman historians who write about the wars between the Romans and Iranians.

Among archeological remains, those at Nimrud Dagħ stand out. This was built by Antioch (Antiochos) King of Commagene (69-34 B.C.E.), a kingdom north of Antioch, modern Antakya in eastern Turkey.

3.2.3. The Sasanian period: inscriptions

Several inscriptions from the 3rd cent. C.E. have survived, in which religious matters are touched upon or described in great detail and are our main sources for Iranian religion from this period.

In the inscription of Shâpûr I (242-72), engraved on a tower-like building at Naqsh-e Rostam in front of the tombs of Darius and other Achaemenid kings, we are told at length how Shâpûr successfully fought off three attacks by Roman

¹ A language written in cuneiform script, used by the pre-Iranian rulers of southwestern Iran. It is unrelated to other known languages from the area.

emperors, expanding his own empire considerably in the process. We are then told in great detail how he arranged for religious ceremonies to be performed for his royal relatives.

The most remarkable inscriptions from this period are those of the high priest Kerdîr (also written Kirdêr, Kartîr, etc.), who probably served under six Sasanian kings: Shâpûr, Ohrmazd I (272-73), Wahrâm I (273-76), II (276-93), III (293), and perhaps Narseh (293-302). In his inscriptions, Kerdîr describes, on the one hand, his career, and, on the other hand, how his double traveled into the beyond during a kind of seance to see with his own eyes that their religious teachings were indeed true.

Finally, in the inscription of Narseh, we catch a glimpse of the royal ideology toward the end of the 3rd century.

There are hundreds of seals inscribed in Middle Persian, providing titles of religious officials and other religious information. Magical seals and bowl inscriptions are also found. The main problem: absence of dating.

3.3. *The Pahlavi texts*

Most of the extant Pahlavi texts were probably compiled in the 9th century, although parts of them must have been composed much earlier, even as early as the 3rd century. The corpus can roughly be divided into three categories:

- translations of Avestan texts;
- texts with religious contents, sometimes incorporating translations from the extant or lost Avesta;
- secular texts.

Translations have been preserved of most of the Avestan texts (referred to as the Pahlavi *yasna*, Pahlavi *Videvdad*, etc.), with the important exception of some of the *yashts*. All the translations contain glosses and commentaries, especially the Pahlavi *Videvdad*, which incorporates lengthy legalistic discussions.

Among the religious texts, the *Dênkard* and the *Bundahishn* stand out as veritable encyclopedias of Zoroastrian religion, but there are numerous other important texts, as well.

A special category are the collections of letters exchanged between the Zoroastrians in Iran and those in India (Parsis).¹ Two collections exist, one in Pahlavi and one in Persian.

Secular texts include a text on how to write letters, a poem of a verbal competition between a date palm and a goat, and various other texts.

3.4. *The Manichean literature*

Another source for early Sasanian religion is the Manichean literature, which contains numerous elements taken over from Zoroastrianism. Also, the Manichean church history overlaps with the 3rd- and 4th-century Sasanian history and provides some details.

These texts can be used, but with caution, as the teachings adopted from other religions were adapted by Mani and his followers to their own concept of the world.

4. ORIGINS OF IRANIAN RELIGION

The Indo-Europeans: their language and religion

The second approach to the origin of the Iranians is through their languages. To understand this approach, some historical background is required.

In the 17th century, European scholars had begun to notice that foreign languages, recorded primarily by missionaries, exhibited some curious similarities, and, in the first half of the 18th century, these similarities became the object of systematic research to discover their reasons. At this time, the Tower of Babel scenario was being

¹ In the face of pressure from the Muslim conquerors of Iran, a group of Zoroastrians emigrated to the west coast of India in the tenth century, founding what later became known as the Parsi (Parsee) community there; see Boyce, 1979, pp. 166-68.

increasingly abandoned, according to which all languages are descended from Hebrew, which was the language of Adam, etc., and so a different reason had to be sought. What scholars came up with, was an origin in the languages of the three sons of Noah, who had survived the flood and settled in different parts of the world. It was from their languages that the languages of the modern world had developed into three different language families: the Semitic from Shem, the Hamitic from Ham, and the Japhetic from Japhet. the Semitic languages comprised Hebrew and Arabic and various others; among the Hamitic languages were Egyptian and Coptic; and the Japhetic languages were the rest, among them the European languages, but also the languages of Asia.

This large group of Japhetic languages was further identified with the Scythian and Sarmatian languages, which according to the Greek historians were spoken north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus (not far from where the Ark landed on Mt. Ararat), and it was thought that both the European and the Asian languages were descended from them.

During the 18th century, however, it became increasingly clear that it was possible to compare languages and determine their precise genetic relationships to each other. This was developed into a science, which was called comparative linguistics, and, in particular, comparative Indo-European¹ linguistics, because it comprised most of the languages between India and the western edge of Europe.

One important impetus for the new science was the discoveries of the ancient Indic and Iranian languages and literatures in the 17-18th centuries. The result, as presented in several comprehensive, multi-volume descriptions in the mid- and late 18th century, was that the Indo-Germanic language family comprised most of the European languages, as well as several Asian ones, notably, Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Italic, Greek, Armenian, Iranian, and Indic. The oldest of these were the Indic and the Iranian with their *Vedas* and *Avesta*, with Greek with its Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as a runner-up.

Scholars in the twentieth century compared the Old Iranian religion with that of the Indo-Aryans in an attempt to recover common Indo-Iranian beliefs. Attempts were also made to isolate comparable data throughout the Indo-European literatures to identify elements that might be ascribed to the remote ancestors of all the Indo-European peoples, the proto-Indo-Europeans. By this research, it was established that the proto-Indo-Europeans sacrificed² to heavenly gods, denoted by the word **deiwo*, known in a variety of Indo-European languages: Old Indic *deva*, Avestan *daêwa* and Old Persian *daiva*, Latin *deus*, Old Norse *Tyr*, contained in the day name (Norwegian) *tys-dag* “Tues-day,” plural *tivar*. This word was in turn related to another word, **dyew*, denoting the bright sky, which was probably worshipped as a high god by several Indo-European peoples: Old Indic *dyau* “heaven” and *dyâus pitâ* “father heaven,” Avestan *dyao* “heaven,” Latin *Juppiter* from the vocative **dyeu-pater* “O father heaven,” Greek *Zeus* from **dyêus*.

Most divine names differ in the various languages, however, and comparative religion and mythology has concentrated on the *functions* of gods and mythical characters to establish deeper relationships. This tendency for names to differ in the various traditions can be seen even in closely related, notably the Indo-Iranian, ones.

The Indians and their religion

As the corpus of Old Indic texts, the *Rigveda* and the other *Vedas* and the somewhat later *Brahmanas*, is much more voluminous than the *Old* and *Young Avesta*, the Old Indic religion is also much better known. The Rigvedic religion is a polytheistic religion, populated by a variety of gods – *devas* and *asuras* – to whom worship and sacrifices are offered. There are, on the one hand, the two high *asuras*, Varuṇa and Mitra, both of whom watch over the cosmic Order (Old Indic *ṛta*); on the other hand, there are a number of *devas*, including Indra, the warrior god who, together with his companions, the Maruts, gods of winds and rains, releases the heavenly waters, allowing them to fertilize the world;

¹ It was actually called Indo-Germanic at the time, when most studies were in German.

² The term *sacrifice* is used throughout this introduction without necessarily implying *immolation* of a sacrificial victim; rather it is used to denote ritual offerings to gods and other entities in the divine world. See, e.g., Henninger, 1987, esp. pp. 544-45. The Avestan verb implies worship of the gods, consecration of the elements of the ritual, and the offering up the elements of the ritual to the gods as gifts.

Agni, the fire god, materialized in the sacrificial and heavenly fires; Vâyu, the god of the intermediate space between heaven and earth; Apâm napât, Scion of the Waters, the fire in the heavenly waters; and Soma, the divine plant and drink prepared in the sacrifice and offered to the gods to replenish their cosmic creative powers. Beside these, a multitude of other divine beings are made the target of worship and sacrifices, among them the heavenly waters, the couple heaven and earth, dawn and the sun, and others, among them a number of deified “abstract” concepts. They all contribute to the rejuvenation of the world, the ordered cosmos, maintaining it full of light, life, and fertility and protecting it from darkness and death.

The principle of the ordered cosmos is again Order, characterized by light and life, but which is regularly replaced by darkness and chaos. The cover of darkness is sometimes said to be that of the lie (*druh*, e.g., Rigveda 7, 75, 1). The sacrifices offered to the deities, serve to aid the gods in re-establishing Order after periods of chaos.

5. FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

The religious thought of the ancient Iranians is based on the opposition between order and chaos, good and bad, truth and falsehood, as manifested in the thought, speech, and activity of gods and men.

Many aspects of the earliest beliefs of the Iranians can be retrieved from the *Avesta* and the Old Persian inscriptions, supplemented by information provided by the Greek authors, while later beliefs are spelled out in greater detail in the Pahlavi texts (for instance, in the *Bundahishn*, the “establishment in the beginning”). The following is an overview based primarily on the Avestan texts.

5.1. The poet-sacrificer's thought

The large number of words derived from the verb *man-* “think, remember,” etc., and other terms denoting some kind of mental activity is one of the most striking features of the Old Avestan poems.

The term (*vohu*) *manah* “(good) thought” is one of the most frequent in all the *Gâthâs* (in third place after *Ahura Mazdâ* and *asha*, according to Kellens-Pirart) and is clearly at the center of the poet's world, being, as we shall see, the guiding principle of words and actions and, therefore, that of the poet-sacrificer, for which he is rewarded.

To understand the profound significance and meaning of this term, we need only consider what takes place in the thought of the poet: it is where all of the oral poet's knowledge about the cosmos and the ritual is stored. Thus the poet-sacrificer's “good thought” is the prerequisite for a good ritual, including good songs of praise, as in 1.30.1 “the praises and sacrificial (actions/utterances) of (my) good thought.” Most importantly, his thought/mind is necessarily where and that by which the oral poet composes his poems.

Thus, to the Avestan poet his thought must have been his most treasured asset. It was therefore quite appropriate that *Ahura Mazdâ*'s abode, the House of Song, should also be called the House of Good Thought (1.32.15), that is, the house of the being with the best thought of all, namely *Ahura Mazdâ*, but also the house of those who have the good thought = poetic competence required to compose the songs of praise that fill it! This role of the poet's thought was seen clearly by Paul Thieme:

... fundamentally every song is artistic poetry and pretends to be valued as such. It is the result of a long education (about which the *ṛsis* reveal as little as the Homeric singers) and supreme concentration of the thoughts, which the poets achieve with ascetic exercises and a certain exuberance which they often help out with the use of stimulants (*soma*), if we are to believe their words. One should try to imagine oneself in the situation of illiterate people and imagine how they must have struggled to force their thoughts into the metrical forms of spoken language, while following the unwritten rules of a standard language lacking the support of a written language, and finally to

maintain it all in one's mind. Need we wonder that they call their formulations god-given and that they glorify the action of forming itself as a divine, god-performed.¹

According to the Avestan texts, at the beginning of time, Ahura Mazdâ formed his thought into the words of the *Ahuna Vairiya* prayer, which he recited and thereby stunned and incapacitated the Evil Spirit (Pahlavi Ahrimen or the Foul Spirit). He then "created," that is, thought forth, engendered, and/or expertly fashioned (as a master artisan) and then ordered the world so that it contained no evil elements: no darkness, disease, death, or deception, but instead was full of light, life, and fertility.

The *manyu* "inspiration, spirit"

The Old Avestan *manyu* plays a crucial role in the Zoroastrian myths. It is a violent and dominating mental force, good or bad, that grasps and carries along gods and humans by its own will. It may be translated as "mental impulse" or "mental force," but the intrinsic meaning, on the whole, I think is close to "(poetic/religious) inspiration."

In the later texts, the term refers to the two original creative forces of the universe: the Life-giving Spirit (*spenta manyu*) and the Evil (Destructive) Spirit (*angra manyu*).

Performance and audience.

Another point that needs to be kept in mind is that, as oral poetry, our text was by necessity performed to an audience. That is, they are poems spoken to be heard. While the poets expression of the poems was purely oral, the audience's perception of them was exclusively aural, hence the insistence on "speaking," "hearing," and "making heard" in the poems. An especially important function is that assumed by the root *srao-*, which in its various forms, in addition to conveying the notion of "hearing." The performer makes the poems heard (*srâwaya-*), and the audience (human or divine) hears them (or not). Similarly, the performer himself "is heard," as are the poems and, also, everything in the poetic tradition, such as the myths told by the singers, which have been heard, that is, through the performances of poets and story-tellers only.

5.2. *The world*

Order (*asha*)

Ahura Mazdâ's world was ordered according to the principle of (micro/macro)cosmic Order (Avestan *asha*),² which is manifested in the light of day, the diurnal sky, and the sun. Along with the poet-sacrificer's thought, this is the single most important concept in the old Indo-Iranian poetry and its mythical world of reference. In this introduction, the term is rendered as "Order" and its derivatives accordingly: *ashawan* "sustainer of Order" ("detainer or upholder of Order" is also possible). The "Order" probably originated by a "thought" of Ahura Mazdâ's and was imposed on the cosmos by him when it was first established. It was also Ahura Mazdâ who, by his thought, made the luminous spaces of Order, which are the bright diurnal sky. In fact, Order *contains* the sun (1.32.2), and in the Young Avesta, the sun is said to be Ahura Mazdâ's eye. Ahura Mazdâ is said to be the father of Order, and he *upholds* it.

The term *asha* thus has three fundamental references in the Old Avestan texts:

1. The cosmic Order, including the Order of nature and mankind.
2. The visible aspect of Order, that is the diurnal sky, heaven, and the lights of heaven, the most significant feature of which is the sun; any communication between the divine and human spheres must necessarily travel through this space.
3. The Order is also that of the ritual, that is of the ritual actions and words, as well as of the thoughts of the poet-sacrificer, which are materialized in his poems.

¹ P. Thieme, "Brâhman," *ZDMG* 102, 1952, pp. 91-129 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden, I, 1984, pp. 113-14).

² This word is rendered as "truth" by some authors, but Iranists tend to use "order." I discuss the arguments for one or the other in Skjærvø, 2003, "Truth and Deception."

It has been common practice to translate *asha* (*rta*) as “truth,” but in the *Avesta* and later texts *asha* (and later forms) is never used in expressions such as “speak the truth.”

The (new) world/existence (*ahu*)

To the Old Iranian poet-sacrificer existence is divided into different types of “states” of existence. In time there are three: the first; the current (with its past, present, and future); and the last states. In space there are two: that “with bones” or that “of living beings,” which is that of man, the world in which we live, and that “of the thought,” which is that in which the gods and the dead dwell. All these states of can be “good” or “bad.”

The first good existence is the state of the Ordered cosmos, while the first bad existence corresponds to the first Attack, as described in 1.29.

The last existence, as related in the Old Avesta, refers to the dead, who will go to a good (the best) or a bad (the worst) existence, in accordance with their behavior in the world. Both the first and the last existences are unique (*aêwa*- 1.29.6), as opposed to the past, present and future ones of (mankind), which are recurring phenomena.

The poet-sacrificer and his people are in charge of these recurring existences, their “job” being to make each and every one of them be like the good first existence. Their rivals and adversaries, on the other hand, are responsible for the decline—the sickening and destruction—of each of the present existences, thus making the regeneration and revitalization of the existence necessary.

The two worlds

The ordered world is divided into two spheres: *the world (existence) of thought* and *the world with bones* or *the world (existence) of living beings*. The world of thought contains what humans can only apprehend by thought, while that of living beings contains what can be apprehended by means of the senses (seeing, hearing, feeling).

Zoroastrianism is therefore characterized by a double duality: between the original good and evil principles and between the “created” worlds of thought and living beings.

The principle of Order applies to both the world of thought and that of living beings. In the former it applies to the cosmic processes, established and upheld by Ahura Mazdâ; in the latter it applies to the behavior of men, both in daily life and in the ritual. All entities in the universe, including mankind, that conform to this principle are said to be “sustainers of Order” or “Orderly” for short (*ashawan*).¹

Note: the two worlds are sometimes called the “spiritual and material” worlds, but these terms are relatively modern, have many different and partly very misleading implications, and should be avoided.

The struggle

The primordial chaos regularly (at night, in winter) re-enters Ahura Mazdâ’s ordered cosmos, however, and the ordering process has to be repeated. It is the duty of humans to assist Ahura Mazdâ in this process, especially the “poet-sacrificers,” who compose the hymns and perform the rituals. Thus, the texts present us with a world view organized about the eternal battle between the forces of order (championing light, life, fertility), represented by the high god Ahura Mazdâ, “the all-knowing ruler,” and his fellow deities, and the forces of chaos (producing darkness, death, and barrenness), represented by the cosmic Deception, or Lie (see below), and its various agents.

Ahura Mazdâ’s companions include the six “Life-giving Immortals” and great gods, such as Mithra, the sun god, and others (see below).

The forces of evil comprise, notably, Angra Manyu, the Evil Spirit, the bad, old, gods (*daêwas*), and Wrath (*aêshma*), which probably embodies the dark night sky itself.

¹ In (Zoroastrian) Persian this became *ashô*, which is the form commonly used by Parsis (*ashô* Zardosht). The Old Persian form is *artâwan*, which became (Zoroastrian) Persian *ardâ*.

Zoroastrianism is therefore a dualistic and polytheistic religion, but with one supreme god,¹ who is the father of the ordered cosmos.

Truth and reality (*haithya*)

In a universe in which the two opposing powers of good and evil, truth and lies, constantly vie for supremacy, the average human being is constantly prone to being misled as to what is right behavior, and the poet-sacrificer, even, is not exempt of this weakness. His concept of reality, that is, what “really, truly is” (Av. *haithya*, OInd. *satya*) as formed by observing the sensory data of nature and the inherited knowledge of his trade can still be wrong, and although he knows—he thinks—what is real, the danger of delusions caused by the powers of the Lie is ever-present. Therefore, he must always take precautions when conducting the ritual, to prevent any potential damage caused by a misunderstanding or error in his knowledge. The precautions can only be of a verbal nature and consist either in set “safety clauses” inserted in the verbal part of the ritual or in questions about what is “real.”²

The Lie (*druj*)

The adversary of the Ordered cosmos is the cosmic Deception, or Lie (Avestan *druj*, Old Persian *drauga*). Descriptions of various aspects or manifestations of the Lie found in the texts help define it. The origin of the Lie is not stated explicitly, but it must have come into “existence” the first time somebody thought or uttered the proposition that Ahura Mazdâ’s Order is not the true Order. It must therefore “logically” have happened after the establishment of the first Ordered cosmos, that is, during the first state, causing its “sickening” and “destruction.” It is tempting to identify this first Lie with the choice of the *daêwas* described in 1.30.6.

The domain of the Evil Spirit was ruled by the principle of Deception (*druj*), by which one may be confused as to the true nature of the world and fail to make the right choices about whom to ally oneself with: the forces of good or those of evil. According to the *Old Avesta*, this is what happened to the old gods, the *daêwas*, who were confused and made the wrong choices (1.30.6), and, according to Darius’s inscriptions, this was also what happened to his political adversaries (e.g., DB 4.33-36). Zoroastrianism shares with the Old Indic religion this concept of cosmic Order, which regularly has to be re-established with the help of sacrifices performed by humans.

The “models” (*ratus*)

A link is provided between beings in the worlds of thought and living beings in that all objects in the latter have a model or prototype (Avestan *ratu*) in the world of thought, a category of entities reminiscent of the Platonic *ideas*. Thus, the divisions of the year, which recur ever anew, all have their unchanging Models in the world of thought, and Ahura Mazdâ (or other gods) fashioned a prototypical man, cow/bull, year, and so on, to be the blueprints, as it were, for men, animals and the divisions of time in the world of living beings.³ Altogether there are thirty-three Models connected with the *haoma* ritual (see the litanies in Yasna 1 and 6).

The concept expressed by the word *ratu* is closely connected with Order and is perhaps linguistically related to *asha* (OInd. *rta*).⁴ “Artistically,” I think we may imagine Order as a vast network or web of harmonious relationships, in which the “nodes” are the *ratus*, the divine models or prototypes “dominating” all phenomena in the world of the living, or, “scientifically,” as a 4-dimensional space where the *ratus* are the coordinates of objects in time and space. Combining this with etymology, we may note that Latin *artus* is a “joint,” a “node, nexus” about which a system is articulated.

¹ Such systems are also called *henotheistic*.

² To say “speak the truth” the Old Iranians used words meaning “straight” versus “crooked,” originally the characteristics of paths.

³ The Avestan *ratus* are therefore in some ways related to later philosophical concepts such as Plato’s ideas.

⁴ Etymologically it is presumably related to Old Indic *rtu*, whose meaning became specialized as “right moment.”

5.3. The Gods

Ahura Mazdâ.

Ahura Mazdâ, by his thought (and words and actions) first ordered the cosmos and still upholds the true/real cosmic Order, the visible image of which is the day-lit sky with the sun as its center piece. Ahura Mazdâ is also the one who engendered many of the elements in the cosmos, and he is its ruler. His two epithets, *ahura* and *mazdâ*, which also make up his name, refer to these functions.

In the *Gâthâs*, these epithets are still independent of one another, although either of them is likely to be followed by the other in the same strophe. In the *Young Avesta*, Ahura Mazdâ is clearly the name of the divinity, and whether there still was a feeling for what the words originally meant is uncertain. By the Achaemenid period the univertation process was complete, and the name appeared as Ahuramazdâ, which in turn became Parthian and Middle Persian Ôhrmazd, Ôhrmezd, and, still later, Hormazd.¹

Ahura Mazdâ is closely associated with the six “Life-giving Immortals.” These were originally parts of Ahura Mazdâ’s sacrifice, but then became deities in their own right. They are still more complex entities, however, as they also represent parts of the cosmos and serve as “guardians” of things in this world.

The Life-giving Immortals

No gods other than Ahura Mazdâ are mentioned by name in the *Gâthâs* and the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, but Airyaman is invoked in the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* prayer (5.54.1), which concludes the *Gâthâ* collection,² and several physical entities are invoked as divinities in the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, among them the heavenly fire and the heavenly waters. Instead, in the *Old Avesta*, we find a number of concepts with divine status that we would term “abstract” (human senses, emotions, etc.).³ Sometimes referred to as “entities,” these include:

vohu/vahishta manah “good/best thought”
asha (vahishta) “(best) order”
khshathra (vairiya) “(choice/well-deserved) command”
(spentâ) ârmaiti “(life-giving) humility”
haurwatât “wholeness”
amertatât “non-dyingness” (not dying before one’s time)
âtar, the fire
sraosha “readiness to listen” (men to gods, gods to men)
airyaman, god of harmonic unions and healing
ashi “(heavenly) reward”

In the *Young Avesta*, the first six constitute a fixed series: Vohu Manah, Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairiya, Spentâ Ârmaiti, Haurwatât and Amertatât; Sraosha is a warrior god whose assigned task is to protect Ahura Mazdâ’s creation against the forces of darkness, especially Wrath (*Yasna* 57), and presides over the punishment of sin in the hereafter; and Ashi a goddess who protects Zarathustra in his battle with the Evil Spirit (*Yasht* 17).

Prefixed by Ahura Mazdâ, this group of “entities” constituted the seven *amesha spentas*, the seven “Life-giving Immortals,” one of the corner-stones of post-Gathic Zoroastrianism. Of these, Ârmaiti, daughter and wife of Ahura

¹ In eastern Iran, the name continued to be associated with the sun and even came to mean “sun” after foreign religions had dethroned the Zoroastrian supreme deity: in Buddhist Khotan *urmaysde* means “sun,” and so does Choresmian *rêmazd* and modern Sanglechi *remozd* in the Muslim period.

² For this reason scholars have been reluctant to assign it to the Old Avesta and ascribe it to Zarathustra. Boyce, for instance, does not join them, however, and assumes that both the *Ahuna Vairiya*, which introduces the *Gâthâ* collection, and the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* were composed by Zarathustra.

³ In India we find similar deities, e.g., Aryaman, god of harmonic unions; Bhaga, the distributor, that is, of appropriate shares of rewards; Purandhi, goddess of plenty = *pârendi* in the **YH**.

Mazdâ, is also the genius of the Earth, a connection that is Indo-Iranian.

Good Thought (*vohu manah*, Pahlavi Wahman)

The most frequent of all the derivatives of the verb *man-* is *manah* “mind, thought,” and especially *vohu manah* “good mind, good thought.” One of the functions of the thought is, apparently, as “receptacle” of the inspiration (*manyu*, see above). Thus, once he has obtained the inspiration, the poet will question or converse with his good thought to find the knowledge now contained therein about how to perform his ritual and will then no doubt interpret it, that is, decide what it means and how to use it. During this questioning and consultation, by virtue of his “readiness to listen,” the poet will then hear the “announcements” of Ahura Mazda:

In the Old Avestan creation myth, Good Thought also appears to represent the covering of the day sky, which is stretched out by the poet-sacrificers. In the Young Avestan texts, Good Thought can also be used to refer to a living being, and in the Pahlavi texts Wahman is said to be the protector of animals.

Best Order (*asha vahishta*, Pahlavi Ardwhisht, Ashwhisht)

Thought (forth) and engendered by Ahura Mazda, this is the cosmic Order imposed on the universe by Ahura Mazda through his primordial sacrifice and constantly renewed by him with the help of human sacrifices. One of the most sacred prayers in Zoroastrianism is the following:

Order is the best good (reward/possession) there is.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one
when one's Order is for the best Order.

What this prayer says, is that the sacrificer's (and every human's) duty is to support Ahura Mazda's Order. When the order of the sacrifice (and the correct behavior of humans) regenerates Ahura Mazda's Order, chasing evil, this will be their best reward.

In the Old Avestan cosmological myth, Order also refers to the sun and the heavenly spaces illuminated by the sun. In the Pahlavi texts Ardwhisht is said to be the protector of humans.

The Choice/Well-deserved Command (*khshathra vairiya*, Pahlavi Shahrewar)

The Command is, more precisely, the ruling power, the power of command possessed by a general who leads his forces against an adversary. It was by his original command that Ahura Mazda first defeated Evil, and the sacrificer, having obtained the command by a successful sacrifice, is able to overcome his competitors and transfers the command to Ahura Mazda, who thereby again overcomes death and darkness and produces life and light and fertility for the earth/Ârmaiti and a good reward for his followers.

In the Old Avesta, the Command is also closely associated with Ârmaiti, in which case it may refer specifically to human rulers who keep enemies and other scourges away from the land, maintaining a state of peace and prosperity.

The bad poet-sacrificers use their twisted command to make the evil state return and to maintain lack of peace and prosperity.

In the Young Avestan texts, Well-deserved Command can also be used to refer to metal tools, and in the Pahlavi texts Shahrewar is said to be the protector of metals.

Life-giving Humility (*spentâ ârmaiti*, Pahlavi Spandârmad)

Ârmaiti, Humility, is the daughter of Ahura Mazda. Already in the Old Avestan texts, she is clearly the deity of the Earth, as she is in the later Avestan texts and in several other Old Iranian mythologies (Persian, Sogdian, Khotanese). She is therefore the counterpart of the celestial Order, with which she is frequently associated, and this couple therefore corresponds loosely to the Old Indic couple Heaven and Earth.

If *ârmaiti* is, as always assumed, derived from the verb *aram man-*, it must literally mean “thinking in correct measure, balanced thinking,” as opposed to “too much” or “too little,” as implied by its opposite “thinking beyond its measure,” especially “think (too) little (about), scorn.”¹ More probably, its meaning is “humility” and refers to the earth’s “humble” role as the daughter and spouse of Ahura Mazdâ.² Note that *humble* is from Latin *humilis*, which is derived from *humus* “earth.” Hence the ritual action of “homage” (*nemah*), that is, bending down to the earth, is regularly associated with *Ârmaiti*.

Wholeness and Non-dyingness (*haurwatât* and *amertatât*, Pahlavi Hordad and Amurdad)

These two refer to the fact of not having defects and blemishes and not dying before one’s time. They represent the desired state of the world and are generated by the sacrifice.

In both the Old and Young Avestan texts, they can be used to refer to water and plants, whose protectors they are said to be in the Pahlavi texts.

Fire (*âtar*, Pahlavi *âdur* and *âtash*)

The sacrificial fire, belongs to Ahura Mazdâ (in the Young Avesta it is the son of Ahura Mazdâ), the messenger who goes between the worlds of thought and of living beings, bringing the offerings of the worshiper to the gods and the gifts of the gods to the worshiper (see on the Ritual).

Other gods

In the *Young Avesta*, sacrifices and worship are offered to a number of deities, among them Mithra, the sun god; Anâhitâ, the heavenly river; Vayu, the god of the intermediate space between the spherical heaven and the earth suspended in its center; Tishtriya, the Dog Star, who fights the demon of Drought to release the rains; etc. On these see below.

Evil gods and demons

Ahura Mazdâ’s opponents are the cosmic Deception, or the Lie (*drug, druj*), and her principal agent, the Evil Spirit (*Angra Manyu*, literally, “the dark, black spirit/inspiration”?), whose creations and followers tell lies about Ahura Mazdâ and his Ordered universe. They are therefore said to be “filled with/possessed by the Lie, Lieful,” (*drug-want*). When Ahura Mazdâ established the Ordered universe, sunny and healthy, the Evil Spirit in turn polluted it with all kinds of evil things, darkness, death, sickness, etc.

The agents of the Evil Spirit are the old (Indo-Iranian) gods, the *daêwas*, or demons (OPers. *daiva*, OInd. *deva*). These are the old Indo-Iranian (and Indo-European) celestial gods, who were demoted in Iran, where they were assigned to the world governed by the Lie. In the myth, their demotion was caused by their making the wrong choices.³

This feature in particular distinguishes Zoroastrianism from Indic (and Indo-European) beliefs, and the fact that the Avestan *daêwas* and Old Persian *daivas* are no longer beneficent heavenly beings, but rather the agents of chaos, deception, and evil, has been explained by scholars variously. Most commonly, it has simply been assumed that the reversal of the fortunes of the *daêwas* was the work of a single man and due to a conscious and planned departure from earlier beliefs. That man, they decided, must have been Zarathustra, and the “new” beliefs must have been part of his “reform” of the traditional religion. See below on Zarathustra.

Others are:

Aêshma “Wrath,” the principal opponent of Sraosha; he probably personifies nocturnal darkness and the night sky,

¹ According to Louis Renou, Rigvedic *aramati* is literally “thought put in correct form, thought ready (for the poetic games)” but also a deity. Its “abstract” meaning is therefore closely connected with poems and poetry.

² See Skjærvø, 2002, “Ahura Mazdâ and *Ârmaiti*.”

³ In the Rigveda *deva* is a term applied to most gods, including those who are also called *asura*.

and his “bloody club” may refer to the sunset, in which the sun seems to be sinking into blood.
 Nasu, the Carrion demoness, the greatest polluter of Ahura Mazdâ’s world.
 Bushyanstâ, the demoness of sloth, with long fingers, who keeps telling men “there will be another (day)” and not to bother to get up in the morning to do Ahura Mazdâ’s work.

In the Pahlavi texts, the *dêws* (from *daêwa*) and *druzes* (from *druj*) are male and female demons.

5.4. *Mankind*

Both Ahura Mazdâ and the Evil Spirit have their agents among the humans. Ahura Mazdâ’s principal agent, the first human to “praise Order,” to “discard the *daêwas*” as not worthy of sacrifice, and to “sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ” was Zarathustra, the first human poet-sacrificer. Later poet-sacrificers imitate Zarathustra in order to perform a successful sacrifice. Zarathustra’s primary adversaries in the *Gâthâs* are the *kawis* and *karpans* (Pahlavi *kaygs* and *karbs*) “poetasters and mumblers(?).”

Duality and choices

The cosmic duality as reflected in mankind manifests itself through man’s choices as regards his thoughts, words, and acts. The sustainer of Order will think good thoughts, speak good words, and do good deeds, the one possessed by the Lie will think evil thoughts, speak evil words, and do evil deeds.

Here we have to be cautious not to identify these terms with those of modern religions, such as Christianity, with which the Old Avestan concepts only partly overlap. In the Old Avestan religion “good thought,” etc., means exactly “thought which is in conformity with Order,” and “evil thought,” etc., means “thought which is opposed to good thought, which is in conformity with the Lie.”

The “established rules/laws” (*dâta*) and the “deals” (*urwata*)

Once he has chosen his sides, the poet-sacrificer expects Ahura Mazdâ and the other divine beings to be on his side as well. This mutual dependency is well expressed by Darius, in his statement “I am Ahura Mazdâ’s, Ahura Mazdâ is mine.” The relationship between the poet-sacrificer and the divine world is regulated by the rules that obtain for the Ordered cosmos in general and which also regulate the natural cycles and social relationships. In this bipolar structure, which is valid for relations between the divine and human worlds, as well as among humans in society, both participants have their assigned job to do, and until the job is done they remain in debt to the other part. Thus the job is part of the elaborate system of gift exchange found in ancient and “primitive” societies and which has been identified and well studied for instance in the Greek and Old Indic literatures, but also in the wider Indo-European context.

The reciprocity of divine and human contributions to the maintenance and re-establishment of Order is governed by two sets of rules: the *dâtas*, the rules or laws (apparently) established by Ahura Mazdâ in his function as king for everybody to follow, and the *urwatas*, the deals between gods and gods, gods and men, or men and men, corresponding, respectively, to Rigvedic *dharman*- “upholding, (cosmic) rule” and *vrata*-.

While the *dâtas* are eternal established rules for behavior established by Ahura Mazdâ, the deals are eternal (OInd. *prathama*- “first, primeval”) conventions that regulate divine and human interaction to which both the divine and the human parts must conform. The *mithra* “contract,” on the other hand, seems to be a deal concluded between humans.

Rivalry and the social conflict.

In the society of our poet-sacrificer, the cosmic conflict translates into a number of oppositions, which we may characterize as those between rich and poor, strong and weak, patron and dependent, the poet-sacrificer and his rivals. In the Ordered cosmos, these two groups were created equal, as it were, in the mixed state, however, the rich and strong are often found to be possessed by the Lie, as are many of our poet-sacrificer’s colleagues. The paradox is that, by

everything he has been told, the poet-sacrificer knows that in the Order of things the cow and the pastures were made and assigned to the sustainers of Order (3.47.3), but in actual fact the poet and his people are—allegedly—constantly faced with the problem of the maldistribution of the means of production and wealth. Again and again he stresses that the sustainers of Order lack the means of subsistence, while the others have plenty.

This “social” aspect of the conflict, which pervades the Old Avestan texts, was emphasized by Antoine Meillet, who maintained that Zarathustra preached for the poor, the oppressed cattle-tenders.

The sustainers of Order are the men here and now who accept Ahura Mazdâ and abide by his Order, as well as men of the past, among them heroes and poets, and men of the future, among them the future “revitalizers.” Their principal function is to uphold and maintain Order in the worlds of men and gods. The Lie, on the other hand, is served by the *daêwas* and men who are possessed by the Lie.

The poet-sacrificer and his people will repeatedly pray to Ahura Mazdâ to be considered as belonging to the former group.

The criterion for classifying men and gods into one of these two groups is whether they are or act in conformity with the two sets of rules laid down by Ahura Mazdâ, his established laws and the “deals.”

The opposition between Order and the Lie and sustainers of Order and those possessed by the Lie and the struggle to overcome the Lie and those possessed by it are the all-pervasive themes in the *Gâthâs*, which is likely to be introduced at any point in the poem, with varying functions within the structure. Thus, the poet may first announce what he already knows about this matter, about the origin, present status, and end of the conflict and the participants; then he inquire about the same; and, finally, announce the fate of the competitors in the ritual competition.

There are three sub-themes of this general theme, namely the origin of the cosmic conflict, the origin and nature of the social conflict (including the ritual conflict), and the eschatological theme, which is closely connected with the themes of the *competition* and *chariot race* (see below).

In the larger social context, the enemies of the good are the rich and mighty who possess the things needed by the weak and poor, among whom our poet-sacrificer counts himself. More specifically, his direct enemies are his rival poet-sacrificers, as well as the patrons who do not pay him the salary they owe him. Both groups are criticized in the strongest terms in the *Gâthâs*. The existence of numerous poet-sacrificers other than ours is made clear by plural references to “poets.” It follows logically that in a society where the poet-sacrificers vie for the attention, approval, and gifts of the gods, any other poet-sacrificer is bound to be a rival. That is not to say that they are all considered as bad, as well, but the absence of any mention of friendly poet-sacrificers leaves this point in darkness. The existence of other poets is well documented also from the Rigveda, in which it is commonly recognized that there are many, all of whom vie for the gods’ attention and favors.

In the *Gâthâs*, as well, the rival poets “falsely” call themselves “poets” (*kawis*), and their patrons become possessed by the Lie and thereby ruin both the livelihood and the reputation of the real poets. The exigencies of the belly play an important role in the *Gâthâs*, as we see from the emphasis on the kinds of food that are in store for the sustainers of Order and the Lie, respectively. See more on this issue below on the Poet’s Complaint and under Rewards.

There are several terms used for the rival or bad poet-sacrificers. Two of these have exact equivalents in Old Indic: *kawi* and *usij* ~ Old Indic *kavi* and *ushij*, while the others are only Old Avestan: *karpan* “*mumbler,” *grêhma* “*glutton,” *vaêpiya* “*trembler,” *kewîna* “*poetaster,” *bêndwa-* “*binder, tier (of knots?).”

The Old Indic term *kavi* is one of the commonest words for “poet,” and even in Old Avestan times it must have been a term of repute, as it is borne by the famous *kawi Vishtâspa*. In fact, our text implies that it is the bad-poet-sacrificers who have given this term, as well as that of *karpan*, a bad name.

The cow

The cow plays an extremely important role in the world of the Old Avestan poet, as she represents his subsistence, providing many of the things necessary for his and his family’s survival, as well as for the ritual. Having many cows is a guarantee of well-being and a symbol of being favored by the gods. Hence, the object of revitalizing Ârmaiti, the

earth, is to ensure peace and pasture, without which no stable human community is possible.

The cow was created by Ahura Mazdâ, but, as we are told in 1.29, no special *ratu* was provided for her within the original scheme of Order established during the first existence, hence she has no human protector and provider of forage, only the heavenly Ahura Mazdâ himself. For this reason Zarathustra, Ahura Mazdâ's favorite poet-sacrificer, is sent down among humans and is instituted as her master and protector and provider of forage.

According to the poet, the cow was thus created and intended for the sustainers of Order. Social disorder and conflict is therefore to a large extent apparently based upon the fact that those whom the poet considers to be possessed by the Lie are frequently those who actually own the most cows and controls the pastures. By these the cow is obviously mistreated, fettered, and even killed, as reflected in 1.29, 32.14 and in various YAv. text passages (Y.12.2, Yt.10.38, 86, V.3.11, 5.37, 18.12).

5.5. *Man – body and soul*

Man consists of a tangible body and various intangible parts, foremost among them the mind or thought. In the Old Avesta, two principal constituents of the body are “bones” and “life breath” or “vitality” (*ushâtâna*).

Man also has three “souls”:

- the *frawashi* or “pre-soul,” which is made in the world of thought and preexists the person, being sent down to the world of the living when a person is conceived;
- the *urwan* or “(breath-)soul,” which leaves the body at death and wanders into the beyond to be judged;
- the *daênâ* or “vision-soul,” the mental constituent of man that allows him to “see” into the world of thought.

The *daênâ* also represents the totality of a persons thoughts, words, and deeds in life, for which he is judged in the beyond.

Avestan *daênâ*, Pahlavi *dên*, is often translated as “religion,” but we must keep in mind that “religion” can not have had the same implications in the early periods as it has in modern times.

The “Ford of the Accountant.”

According to the Old Avesta, “at the final turn of the existence,” each person is required to pass over the “Ford of the Accountant,” imagined as a passage across a river or a chasm, before which the register of one's thoughts, words, and deeds is made. The soul (*urwan*) comes to this ford accompanied by the *daênâ*, which takes on an appearance congruent with the thoughts, words, and deeds it represents. In the later tradition, the thoughts, etc., are weighed on a scales by the heavenly judge, Rashnu, and according as the balance tips, the ford or bridge becomes wide or narrow, and the soul will pass safely on to heaven or fall into hell.

5.6. *The (re)vitalization of the world*

Healing of the cosmos

The Old Iranians viewed the natural processes of time—the change between day and night and summer and winter—as the result of a cosmic battle, fought between Ahura Mazdâ and the Lie with the assistance of their divine and human followers. The battle was renewed every night and every winter, and its purpose was to reestablish the first state of the cosmos, that is, the way it was when Ahura Mazdâ first ordered it. Since the daily and yearly changes cause nature to sicken (1.30.6) or be destroyed, what is clearly needed to remake the first existence is a good portion of healing and revitalizing/regenerating/reinvigorating strength.

The healing of the cosmos is also the purpose of the *videvdâd sâde* ritual.

The healing power of Ahura Mazdâ and the poet is referred to by the term “healer of (this) existence.”¹ The revitalizing strength, on the other hand, is the underlying theme of the entire Old Avestan text corpus and religion.

Swelling of the cosmos

When Ahura Mazdâ and the other immortal gods rule the world according to Order, it is full of life and fecundity. The terms for this state are derived from the root *span*, which literally implies “swelling with vital juices.” This may imply the conception of the world as “dried out, deflated,” like trees and plants and the ground itself during periods of non-growth, as opposed to periods of growth, when nature is reborn and swells with life-giving juices. Similarly, the female breast, deflated during periods of non-fecundity, is inflated with milk before and after birth and the male penis inflated before releasing its fertilizing semen.

The most important of these words are *spenta*, which is the epithet of everything that has (at least potentially) the power to “revitalize” the cosmos in this manner; *sawa(h)*, the “strength” by which the powers of darkness and death can be overcome and the revitalizing take place; and *saoshyant* “(he) who shall make (the existence) *spenta*, i.e., swell (with the Juices of Life),” that is, the competent and successful poet-sacrificer here and now, and (according to the *Young Avesta*) the various future mythical poet-sacrificers, notably the three sons of Zarathustra, who shall each of them sacrifice at the beginning of the last three millennia in order to reestablish the first state of existence permanently. In practice this refers to remaking the world in its pristine, unsullied form, as established and made in the beginning by Ahura Mazdâ.

The good deities in the world of thought, first of all Ahura Mazdâ, are all “life-giving, vitalizing” (*spenta*), that is, they are responsible for maintaining the universe in its pristine state, as originally established by Ahura Mazdâ himself. The term is frequently rendered in Western literature as “beneficial” or “holy,” but the latter is a very imprecise term and should be avoided. Humans contribute to this maintenance of the Ordered universe through their behavior and their rituals.

At the end of the final battle the final “life-givers” or “revitalizers” (*saoshyants*) will stand forth and by their victory over the forces of Evil render the world “juicy” (*frasha*), that is, full of fertile, juices, like it was in the beginning. In the *Gâthâs*, this adjective characterizes the supreme exchange gift produced by Ahura Mazdâ for a successful sacrifice, namely the remaking of the pristine state of the world. The event is also referred to as the “Juicy-making” (*frashô.kerti*), a term which later becomes reserved for the final event, at the end of the world, when Ahura Mazdâ performs the final sacrifice, producing the permanent “Juicy-making,” a state which is explained in Yt.19.11 as “incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, unrotting, ever-living, ever-swelling.” The term is commonly rendered as “Renovation.” Here it is rendered as “Perfectioning.”

6. THE YOUNG AVESTAN GODS

While the Old Avestan texts mention few divine beings by names, the pantheon of the Young Avesta and the later texts is quite crowded with deities. All the beings of the world of thought are referred to as “deserving of sacrifices,” *yazata*, which becomes the regular term for “god.” The principal deities in the Young Avestan pantheon, other than Ahura Mazdâ are the following.

Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ (Pahlavi Ardwîsûr, Anâhîd)

This is a female deity identified with the Heavenly River, that is, probably the Milky Way.

The goddess has her source on (the mythical) Mount Hukairyâ (“the mountain of good deeds”), whence she came down when Ahura Mazdâ asked her to. She is a fertility goddess and purifies the semen of the males and the wombs of the females so that they can conceive. Much of her *yasht* (Yt. 5) is devoted to the enumeration of her worshippers,

¹ It is, of course, this aspect of holiness that underlies the Germanic terms for “holy” (cf. *hale*, *whole*).

which will be discussed below. The rest is devoted to descriptions of the goddess. She is partly described as a river and partly as a richly dressed woman.

Mithra (OInd. Mitra, OPers. Mithra, Mitra; Pahlavi Mihr)

A feature common to the Rigvedic Mitra and Avestan Mithra is that they are both concerned with the relationships between men. Thus Rigvedic Mitra is called “he who makes people take up their proper place.” The original function of Mitra may thus have been that of overseeing the agreements and treaties regulating the social and political relationships between groups of men. This function is not particularly prominent in the Rigvedic hymns but all the more so in the Avestan one. Here we find Mithra as the guardian of all kinds of agreements, concluded by all kinds of groups of people, social (homes, families) and political (tribes, countries). Mithra is the friend of the truthful and the sworn enemy of the untruthful who break the agreement. The sanctity of the contract even transcends the good-bad duality: in Yt. 10.2 a contract is said to be respected whether concluded with a sustainer of Order or someone possessed by the Lie!

To perform the function of overseer, Mithra never sleeps, has an inordinately large number of eyes and ears, and is able to survey vast areas.

On the other hand both Rigvedic Mitra and Avestan Mithra are associated with the sun. In the Rigveda, the sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, by which they keep an eye on the affairs of men. In the Avesta, Mithra precedes the Sun at dawn, flying over the golden mountain peaks to survey the land of the Iranians.

Mithra is the god invoked by warriors before the battles to make him strike fear into the hearts of the enemies, who are those who broke the peace treaty.

In the world of thought Mithra is the sworn enemy of the *daêwas* and others possessed by the Lie, and even the Evil Spirit himself fears him.

In the beginning, Ahura Mazdâ assigned to Mithra a position as exalted as his own (Yt. 10.1). Mithra dwells on the top of Mount Harâ in a house fashioned by Ahura Mazdâ and the Life-giving Immortals, the mountain in the middle of the earth (around which the heaven rotates) and which is unsullied by evil (Yt. 10.59-51). When the sun rises, Mithra goes forth over Harâ in front of the sun, surveying the Aryan lands and the Seven Continents (Yt. 10.12-16).

He drives in a chariot drawn by four white horses and is accompanied variously by Rashnu, Cistâ, and the Likeness of the Mazdayasnian Daênâ (124-126). When he drives into battle he is accompanied by Rashnu, Sraosha, and Ashi, who acts as his charioteer (41), or Sraosha, Ashi, and Nairyô.sangha (52). Before him drives Verthraghna, the god who smashes the resistance/valor of the enemy, in the shape of a ferocious wild boar (his fifth incarnation) who wreaks havoc among the enemies who stand in his way.

Mithra supervises the contracts and the consequences of their breaking and keeping (2-3). He watches over the social order (17-21), as well as the political order (35-40). In general, he battles the powers of the Lie (95-98).

Ashi, goddess of the rewards, also Ashish Wanghwî “good Ashi” (Pahlavi Ahrishwang)

As the goddess of the personified “reward” she acts as charioteer of Zarathustra, a notion probably derived from the Gathic “poetic race for reward.” From there she also became the charioteer of the gods, notably Mithra. She wants excluded from her worship women not yet nubile, and like Anâhitâ she is connected with the legends of the Naotairyas. The *yasht* to her (Yt. 17) contains an enumeration of her worshipers. The rest of the hymns contains descriptions of the goddess, an episode with Zarathustra and his fight with the Evil Spirit, and allusions to a myth involving the Naotairyas.

Haoma (Pahlavi Hôma)

The Rigvedic hymns to Soma primarily deal with the soma ritual and the effects upon the participants of the ritual who have drunk the soma juice. They feel uplifted, extremely strong, and immortal. The effect upon Indra himself is particularly potent: in one hymn (10.119) the god imagines himself larger than the sky and the earth, and deliberates with himself where he wants to set the earth down.

The Avestan hymn to Haoma is different. It is placed in the *Yasna* collection (Y. 9-11), as the pressing of the *haoma*-plant is an important part of the ceremony. Parts of the hymn itself are, in fact, reminiscent of the Rigvedic hymns to Soma. Thus, in Y. 9.17-21, the powers induced by the intoxicating drink are described, among which are victory in battles, bodily strength, and longevity.

Other parts, however, are linked with the mythological and legendary history of Iran. This is quite typical of Avestan hymns to deities. Thus, in Y. 9.1-13, the mythical sacrificers are listed, starting with Yima and ending with Zarathustra's father!

Other similarities between the Rigvedic Soma and the Avestan Haoma concern the description of the plant. The attempts at identifying the plant have created a lot of controversy, and no agreement has so far been reached. The problems connected with identifying the plant are indeed numerous. We must keep in mind that we are dealing with a mythical plant described by two different peoples living in two different places and probably changing habitats throughout the period during which the poems were composed. The identity of the plant may in fact have changed throughout the prehistoric period, as it has in historical times.

Haoma (Pers. Hûm) also entered the epic tradition (Yt. 9.16-19 = Yt. 17.36-39) as a hero who was granted the privilege of capturing Frangrasyân (Pers. Afrâsiyâb), the arch-enemy of the Iranians, and bringing him Kawi Haosrawah (Pers. Key Khosrow). In the *Hôm yasht* there is a brief reference to this episode toward the end (Y. 11.7).

Tishtriya (Pahlavi Tishtar)

Tishtriya is the Iranian name of the star Sirius, the Dog Star, which brings drought, personified as the demon Apaosha. The hymn to Tishtriya (Yt. 8) is quite unique in the *yasht* collection, having little material in common with any of the other hymns.

The battle with Apaosha is described in two parts: 1. the rising of the Dog Star; battle between Tishtriya and Apaosha in the form of a black stallion, with Apaosha gaining the upper hand; 2. the sinking of the Dog Star and Tishtriya gaining the upper hand.

Among other mythological elements in the hymn a feat of the archer Erkhsha, Tishtriya's fight with the witches who fall from heaven, and his fight with the Witch of Bad Seasons.

Verthraghna (Pahlavi Wahrâm)

The victorious warrior god of the Avesta. The god who smashes the resistance/valor of his opponents is not an individual god in the Rigveda, where the word is most commonly used as an epithet of Indra. In the Avesta, the name is used as an epithet of several divinities and heroes, notably Thraêtaona, who, like Indra, was a great dragon-slayer.

Vayu (Pahlavi Wây)

This is the god of the wind that blows through the intermediate space and the intermediate space itself, through which the breath soul (*urwan*) and vision-soul (*daênâ*) of the dead must travel to get to the Bridge of the Accountant. Vayu is therefore associated with inflexible destiny and has both a good and a bad side. The stern side of Vayu is expressed in some verses of the *Aogemadaêca*.

Sraosha (Pahlavi Srôsh)

Sraosha, originally the readiness of the worshipper and the god to listen to one another, is in the Young Avesta the god presiding over the rewards, as his standard epithet *Ashiya* (< *Ashi* "reward") seems to imply.

In the Young Avesta he is a warlike god, whose main function is to destroy *daêwas* and other harmful beings in the camp of Evil. In particular his special opponent is "Wrath with the bloody club."

In addition Sraosha is said to have been the first sacrificer and the first to recite the *Gâthâs* in the world of thought.

Like Haoma, the hymn to Sraosha is included in the *Yasna* (Y. 57), where it plays a crucial role in combating the powers of darkness.

Rashnu (Pahlavi Rashn)

This is the god of straight and correct behavior and, in the beyond, the judge who weighs the deeds of the dead on a balance.

Druwâspâ

This goddess is a pale figure in the Young Avesta. Her *yasht* is called *Gôsh yasht*, and she plays no important role in the Avestan pantheon. She may originate from eastern Iran, where Bactrian coins with her name, Lrouaspo, have been found.

Apâm Napât (Old Indic the same), “scion of the waters”

This may be the deity of the fire in the clouds.

Airyaman (Old Indic Aryaman) (Pahlavi Êrman)

This is the god of harmonious unions, being invoked at weddings, and of peace and healing (see *Videvdad* 22).

Nairya Sangha, Nairyô.sangha “the heroic announcement” (Pahlavi Nêryôsang)

The divine messenger (see *Videvdad* 22)

The khwarnah (OPers. farnah, Pahlavi xwarrah and xwarr)

This is not a deity, but a substance(?) that is somehow crucial for maintaining the Command. It has been translated in various ways. (Divine) Fortune or (divine) Munificence (plural: the divine gifts of fortune) cover some of the implications of this concept, but perhaps not all. Traditionally, the term is often translated as Glory, referring in part to “fame and glory” and in part to a luminous nimbus surrounding the heads of heroes, especially kings. It is an indispensable qualification for kingship to possess this Fortune (see *Yasht* 19).

Numerous beings in the world of thought are enumerated in the *Yasna*, many of whom are difficult to identify and who belong to the category of “genius” rather than “god,” such as the genius of the home, of the year, etc.

Rigvedic gods = Iranian demons

When the *devas* were assigned in Iran *en masse*—as *daêwas*—to the camp of Evil, some of the Rigvedic gods went with them, Indra, Sharva, and the twin Nâsatyas (Ashvins), who are explicitly mentioned in Vd. 10.9 and 19.43 in an enumeration of *daêwas*. In the Pahlavi books, this series of demons is assigned as opponents of the forces of Good as follows:

| <u>Demons</u> | | <u>Deities</u> | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------|
| Angra Manyu | Akôman | Vohu Manah | Wahman |
| Indra + Saurwa | Indar + Sâwul | Asha Vahishta | Ardwahasht |
| Nânghaithya | Nânghait | Khshathra Vairiya | Shahrewar |
| [Ârmaiti] | Tarômat | Spentâ Ârmaiti | Spandarmad |
| Taurwi | Tarich | Haurwatât | Hordad |
| Zairi | Zêrich | Amertatât | Amurdad |
| Aêshma | Êshm | Sraosha | Srôsh |

7. ZOROASTRIANISM UNDER THE ACHAEMENIDS

The question most commonly asked by historians of Iranian religion throughout this century, and one of those most hotly debated, has been whether the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians or not. The answer to this question has commonly been sought in terms of similarities and differences between Zoroastrianism and the Achaemenid religion as expressed in their inscriptions. The differences have often been defined in terms of “omissions and discrepancies” in the inscriptions as compared with Zoroastrianism: it is argued that, since many key terms and notions of Zoroastrianism are absent from the Old Persian inscriptions, the Achaemenid religion was at least not “pure” Zoroastrianism. Such points of view, however, do not take sufficiently into account the fact that the Avesta, our principal source for the oldest Iranian religion, and the Old Persian inscriptions are two fundamentally different kinds of texts: royal proclamations versus ritual texts, as well as in different languages. There is therefore no particular reason to expect the mention of Zarathustra, for instance, who, we may note, is also not mentioned in the Sasanian inscriptions, which are clearly “Zoroastrian.”

To answer such a question one must, of course, carefully describe and define both “Achaemenid religion” and “Zoroastrianism.” For our purpose, we shall loosely define the former as the religion expressed in the various primary and secondary sources at our disposal and the latter as the religion expressed in the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. We shall see that there are so many similarities between Achaemenid religion and Zoroastrianism defined in this manner that it is hard to conclude that the latter was not the religion of the Achaemenid kings, at least from Darius on.

The original question then has two possible answers. Either the Achaemenids had always been Zoroastrians, or there was a religious reform by which the early Achaemenids became Zoroastrians. Mary Boyce argues for the first solution by simply pointing out that there are no indications in our sources that there was any kind of religious reform at that time; and so it would be a plausible conclusion that by the 6th century the Avesta was known in western Iran and that from Darius on, at least, the Avesta was bodily in Persis. On the whole, this seems to be the better solution, although other scenarios are thinkable. If, for instance, the religion was brought by Persian conquerors, there would be no reform, just the superimposition of their religion upon that of the conquered, and there are indications (in the genealogy) that this may be the case.

7.1. Sources

Our sources for the Achaemenid religion are:

1. Primary sources:

The Old Persian inscriptions.

Akkadian and Elamite inscriptions.

The Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions from Persepolis (ca. 509-458 b.c.e.).

Aramaic letters (late 5th cent.).

Achaemenid art and archeology.

2. Secondary sources: Greek sources: Herodotus and others.

Since the Old Persian inscriptions only start with Darius I,¹ information about history and religion before this period—including, of course everything about the Medes and other early Iranian tribes, such as the Scythians—has to be sought in other sources .

¹ The Old Persian inscriptions ascribed to his predecessors: Cyrus, Ariaramnes, and Arsames all date from after Darius; the Old Persian version of Cyrus's inscriptions at Pasargadae may have been added under the later Achaemenids, and those of Ariaramnes and Arsames may be modern fabrications.

7.2. *The Cyrus cylinder*

The only extensive text from an Iranian king before Darius is the Cyrus cylinder written in Akkadian, in which Cyrus describes his religious policy. This cylinder, which was found in Babylon in 1879 and is now in the British Museum, as well as a fragment formerly at Yale, but now reunited with the main piece, describes Cyrus's religious activities. Unfortunately this text does not tell us much about Cyrus's own religion or his religious policies at home, and there are no other direct sources. The question of Cyrus's religion has therefore been hotly debated, though there are no conclusive arguments for any of the current opinions.

7.3. *The Elamite texts from Persepolis*

The Elamite texts found by the Oriental Institute at Persepolis during excavations in 1333-34 led by Ernst Herzfeld and published as the Fortifications tablets (dating from the years 509-494 of the reign of Darius I) and the Treasury tablets (dating from the years 492-458 of the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I) provide a wide range of information about the religion, not all of which is yet clearly understood. Numerous gods are mentioned in the texts, as well as several kinds of religious services, several types of priests, and they describe the amount of produce bought for religious services. Most of the gods are clearly Iranian, but there are also some Elamite and Babylonian ones.

Gods

Persian gods and divinities:

Ahuramazdâ

Visai Bagâ "All Gods"

Ispandâramaiti "Life-giving Humility"

Naryasanga, Av. Nairyâ Sangha

Ertâna Fraverti "pre-souls of the Orderly"

*Druvâ, either the god of Time (Av. Zruvâ "time") or a god or goddess of Health (cf. OPers. *duruva* "healthy, unharmed," Av. Druvâspâ "she who keeps the horses healthy")

Mizhdushi, apparently a female deity "the reward-granting one" (Av. *mizhda* "reward")

Bertakâmiya, deity referred to as "he/she through whom one's wish is obtained"?

Huwarîra, deity of sunrise?

divinities of rivers, mountains, places, and cities.

Elamite gods (Koch, 1977, pp. 101-9):

Humban: chief Elamite god

Napir irshara "the Great God";

etc.

Babylonian gods (Koch, 1977, pp. 109-12):

Adad: weather god

KI: "Earth."

Rituals

The principal service was the *lan* service (Elamite *d.lan*; Koch, 1977, pp. 129-40). This is the only service that seems to have been celebrated on a grand scale, judging from the large quantity of provisions recorded for it.

In the tablets the term *d.lan* is often listed together with names of deities, e.g., PF 1956, where it is listed together with *Druva, *Huwarîra, the Earth, and *Visai Bagâ.

As Ahura Mazdâ himself is only rarely mentioned in these tablets, it is usually assumed that the *lan* service was the service for the supreme deity, who therefore was not mentioned by name himself (Koch, 1977, p. 138).

Among the other types of services were the *daussa* “libation service” (Av. *zaothra*) or *daussiya* and *baga-daussiya* “libation service for the god(s)” (Koch, 1977, pp. 125-29).

Religious officials

Among officials in charge of or participating in the services the following may be mentioned (Koch, 1977, pp. 154-70):

shaten “priest” (Elamite), the most commonly mentioned term.

magush (OPers. *magush*), chiefly involved with the *lan* service, exceptionally services for Visai Bagâ, Druvâ, a river, and a mountain

yashtâ (Av. *yashta*), “sacrificer”

âterwakhsha (Av. *âtrewakhsha*), originally in charge of the fire. This official is also only mentioned in connection with *lan* services.

7.4. The Aramaic texts from Persepolis

The Aramaic texts found by the Oriental Institute’s excavations at Persepolis in 1936-38 are limited to inscriptions on utensils for preparing the haoma, such as the *hâwan* “mortar” (Av. *hâwana*) and *abishâwan* “pestle.”

7.5. The Aramaic letters from Elephantine

These letters from the military colony at Elephantine in the Nile mostly date from the 5th century. The most important evidence in these letters is that of the personal names, some of which clearly reflect the Avestan religion, e.g.,

Artaxwant “*possessing Order”

Âterfarna “enjoying the munificence of the fire”

Ârma(n)tidâta “given by (Life-giving) Ârmaiti”

Bagafarna “enjoying the munificence of the gods”

Bagazushta “in whom (in whose sacrifice) the gods take pleasure, approved by the gods”

Hômdâta “(child) given by Haoma”

Mazdayazna “who sacrifices to/worships (Ahura) Mazdâ”

Mithradâta “(child) given by Mithra”

Mithrayazna “who sacrifices to/worships Mithra”

Spentadâta “(child) given by Life-giving (Ârmaiti?)”

Tîripâta “protected by Tîri.”

Zhâmâspa, epic name

7.6. The Achaemenid inscriptions

In the Achaemenid inscriptions, the kings are portrayed as worshipping, i.e., sacrificing to, the great god (*baga*) Ahuramazdâ, who produced and maintains the ordered cosmos and who bestowed the royal command upon them, so that they might (re)establish and maintain order on earth. The purpose of the established order is to provide *happiness* for man and guide his life so that he may be among Ahuramazdâ’s chosen after death.

The Old Avesta itself is fundamentally the poet-sacrificer’s oral announcement of his knowledge, praise of Ahura Mazdâ and his work, and blame, that is, denunciation of those on the side of (possessed by) the Lie. Among the technical terms for the god’s announcements, the most common is the simple word “speak,” but there is also “command, instruct, ordain” (*sâh-*) and “announce” (*sangh-*) which is used about both the sacrificer and Ahura Mazdâ.

His announcements are, in fact, by themselves capable of combating the Lie and its evil and protect all living beings (2.44.14), And it is by his announcements that the sacrificer will bring back dawn once again (2.46.3).

The equivalent of Avestan *sangh-* in Old Persian is *thangh-*, the standard term for the king's statement or announcement: King Darius announces (*thâti*) ... These statements of the Achaemenid kings announce their knowledge, praise of Ahuramazdâ and his work, blame of the followers of the Lie, and his purpose, and thus serve to uphold the Order of the land.

By his announcement, the king states his identity and his side in the battle against evil. Thus, in the Bisotun inscription, we have, put simply:

- the king's self-presentation by stating his name and his ancestry (cf. DNa 8-15).
- a statement about the king's appurtenance to Ahura Mazdâ, who bestowed the royal command upon him.
- a statement about the king's activities: supporting the work of Ahuramazdâ and combating the forces of the Lie.¹

While Darius's statement about his identity (I am Darius, the great king, etc.), Darius's opponents all present themselves falsely, as in DB 1.77-78: And a certain Babylonian, Nidintu-Bêl, son of Ainaira, rose up in Babylon. He lied to the people: "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus."

Darius states his appurtenance to Ahuramazdâ in no dubious terms in DSk: King Darius announces: Ahuramazdâ is mine, I am Ahuramazdâ's. I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ. May Ahuramazdâ bear me aid!

Here the relationship between Ahuramazdâ and the kings is portrayed as one of *possession* between god and his worshipper/sacrificer, in which Ahuramazdâ in return for worship/sacrifice assists the king in maintaining his land. It is difficult to state more explicitly the function of the sacrifice and the mutual indebtedness of the two participants: the sacrificer and the divinity (see below on the Ritual).

Throughout his inscriptions, Darius assures us that he was an active participant in the battle against the Lie (cf. DB 1.34-35, DB 4.33-40), and he regards his opponents as having been bewildered and deceived by the Lie and so become its minions.

Being on the side of the Lie also manifests itself in the worship of the wrong gods, the *daivas*. Darius and Xerxes both used the proscription of the worship of wrong gods (*daiva*) as a means of subduing and punishing local rebellions, and Darius explicitly prescribes punishment for the evil-doer (e.g., DB 4.67-69).

The king represents himself as a just king, however, treating everybody equally and justly (DB1.20-22, DNb 16-24), and he rewards those who behave according to the Law (*dâta*) he has laid down (DB 1.23, cf. OAv. 1.28.10), but punishes those who do not.

Thus, the kings fulfill their duties to Ahura Mazdâ by upholding his law and pursuing and punishing those who do not, who are liars and rebels or foreigners who worship the wrong gods, and his advice to other kings is to behave in the same manner (DB 4.61-65).

The basic acceptable behavior consists in speaking only what was real, true (*hashiya*), behaving with rectitude (*ershtâ*), and doing what is straight (*râsta*), as opposed to lying (*durujiya-*), doing wrong or erring (*vinâthaya-*), behaving crookedly (*zûra kar-*), deviously or erratically (*mitha*),. In addition, the king is to protect the land from foulness, the evil stench of the Lie (*gasta*). Abiding by the Law, that is, by what has been established as true and correct behavior, also means not leaving the straight path in rebellion against the authorities (DNa 58-60).

The man who behaves well, that is, according to the established law of Ahuramazdâ, will receive a reward both in life and in afterlife. The goal of man is to act in such a way that he becomes happy (*shiyâta*) while alive (which is what Ahuramazdâ intended for him) and at one with Order (*artâvan*) when dead (DB 5.18-20, XPh, and cf. Y.71.13-16).

The king obviously performs god's will on earth, and his achievements in the world of the living parallel and match those of Ahura Mazdâ in the world of thought. There is no explicit statement to this effect in the inscriptions nor in the

¹ The similarity with 2.43.7-8, in which the Old Avestan poet-sacrificer identifies himself and states his side is remarkable.

artistic representations, but it is implicitly clear.¹

Thus, the king's principal function is to overcome chaos and evil and reestablish and consolidate political order, peace, and fertility in his realm. The prerequisites are the knowledge of the mysteries or, rather, the basic truths of existence, as well as the command (*khshassa*), which the sacrificer must work hard for, but the king is endowed with by god himself.

Foremost of this esoteric knowledge is the knowledge of the importance of Ahuramazdâ, of his supremacy among the gods, his ordering of the cosmos, including establishing happiness for man, and his bestowal of the royal command on Darius (and his successors).

Like Ahuramazdâ, then, the king's function is to maintain Order in his land, and, indeed, whenever Darius saw chaos reign in the land, he would put it back in order (DNa 31-36, XPh 30-35). Thus it is up to the *king* to maintain the peace established for mankind by Ahuramazdâ, as it is the job of the sacrificer to maintain (YH.35.4, 3.47.3).

We see that the simple term *shiyâti* in Darius's inscriptions corresponds—structurally—closely to the Old Avestan concept of peace and pasture. The *Gâthâs* span the history of the world and the sacrifice: from (1) the ordering act of Ahuramazdâ: the establishment of Order as seen in the diurnal sky with the sun, of the earth, of man, and of good things for man: the pleasure-giving cow, to (2) the replication of this act in the sacrifice: the establishment of the ritual Order, the weaving and spreading out of the sacrificer's good thought (corresponding to the heaven), the establishment of the sacrificer's humility and the sacred ground (*Ârmaiti* = the earth), the Life-giving Man (the qualified and successful poet-sacrificer) and the Goal: good things for man: "peace and pasture." Similarly, but much more briefly, Darius's inscriptions: (3) establishment of heaven, earth, man, and good things for man: happiness (*shiyâti*).

| <u>history of the world</u> | <u>sacrifice</u> | <u>inscriptions</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| the sun | Order | |
| diurnal sky | good thought | earth |
| earth | Ârmaiti | heaven |
| man | Life-Giving Man | man |
| pleasure-giving cow | peace and pasture | happiness |

Finally, the king has an "esthetic" function. Just as the ultimate purpose of the Old Avestan sacrifice is to make this existence "Juicy" (*frasha*) in anticipation of the final "Juicy-making" or "Perfectioning" at the end of the world, so also does Darius endeavor to produce "perfect" (*frasha*) work on earth (DSf 55-57).

In conclusion, that the Achaemenid king performs his Zoroastrian duties faithfully should be perfectly clear:

- He praises Ahuramazdâ and his ordered cosmos,
- he worships Ahuramazdâ and the other gods, those, that is, that are worthy of worship,
- he discards the wrong gods, the *daivas*,
- he repeats time and again that Ahuramazdâ is the greatest of the gods,
- and he represents himself as having all the good qualities of a follower of Order and Ahuramazdâ.

He is truly in the tradition of Zarathustra, indeed, in his function as mediator between the gods and men, as supreme sacrificer, he, like the Old Avestan sacrificer, becomes Zarathustra permanently.²

Moreover, unlike the Old Avestan sacrificer, he need not worry about proving himself competent before obtaining the ritual command, since, like Zarathustra, he is Ahuramazdâ's chosen and was endowed with the royal command by the god himself:

¹ Only in the Sasanian period do we find the idea expressed in the royal reliefs, where the victory of the king's enemy is equal to Ahura Mazdâ's victory over the Evil Spirit.

² Similarly, in the Young Avesta, it is said that for the sacrificer to succeed he should sacrifice like Zarathustra, model or prototype of sacrificers (Yt.13.41).

Darius in fact reunites in one and the same person the functions of supreme king—prototype Yima—and supreme sacrificer—prototype Zarathustra. In the later, Sasanian literature, this constellation, is said to introduce the end of time, when the world will again be made *frasha* (the Renovation), which, as we have seen, Darius has already done. Thus, Darius fits into a long line of Iranian kings who expect the end of the world and the Renovation to be, as it were, around the corner.

7.7. Religion of the Persians according to Herodotus (ca. 425 B.C.E.)

Among the details furnished by Herodotus about the Persian religion, note the following, most of which are known from either the Avesta or the later Zoroastrian tradition:

Sacrifices must only take place in the presence of a Magus. After the victim had been cut in pieces and the flesh had been boiled it was laid out upon soft grass. A Magus chanted a hymn, which was said to recount the origin of the gods (1.132).

The Persians considered it the most disgracing thing in the world to tell lies, the next to owe a debt. They revered the rivers and never polluted them with dirt from their own bodies, including by washing themselves in a river (1.139). The bodies of the dead male were buried only after they had been torn by dogs or birds of prey. The Magi covered the bodies with wax before burying them (1.140). The Magi would kill animals other than dogs and men of all kinds, especially ants and snakes and other flying or creeping things, with their own hands (1.140).

7.8. Other Classical authors on the Old Persian religion

Another Classical source is Xanthus of Lydia, who lived slightly before Herodotus and who gives us two important pieces of information:

1. the Persians claimed that it was Zoroaster who had made the rule against burning dead bodies or otherwise defiling the fire;
2. the Magians cohabit with their close female relatives.

It is also Xanthus to whom the earliest testimony about the date of Zarathustra is credited. The late writer Diogenes Laertius in his *Life of the Philosophers* quotes Xanthus as saying that there were 6,000 years between Zoroaster and Xerxes's Greek expedition, and Hermodorus, of the Platonic school, as stating that Zoroaster the Persian ruled five (or six) thousand years after the capture of Troy.

8. ZOROASTRIANISM UNDER THE SELEUCIDS AND ARSACIDS (PARTHIANS)

Sources for the Seleucid period: coins, inscriptions (in Greek and Aramaic), and the Classical authors.

Alexander and his soldiers are credited with great harm done to the Iranian religion: by killing the priests *(the magi), by destroying and dispersing the holy scriptures, and by damaging and destroying holy places and temples. The indigenous literary tradition, which has preserved most of these stories, can of course not be trusted to have preserved actual records of what happened, as all historical events recorded in this tradition were recast in traditional literary forms. The Greek historians, on the other hand, were probably not particularly interested in transmitting horror stories about Alexander and his troops, even if they had committed crimes against the clergy, etc., so they cannot be trusted either. Finally, the archeological record provides little information about what actually happened.

As a matter of fact, considering the growing chaos in the imperial succession and administration, similar conditions may be conjectured for the clergy, too, and the church may well have been as much its own enemy as Alexander.

At the death of Alexander the empire quickly disintegrated. Alexander's generals, who became governors of the various parts of the Achaemenid empire, had taken Iranian wives, and their offspring was therefore partly Iranian. Thus Seleucus's son and successor was Antiochus I (ca. 280-262).

One thing to note about the Seleucid kings is that they begin calling themselves *theos* “god,” as well as *sôtêr* “savior.” The potential importance of this titulature should not be underestimated. There is a long tradition in Iran of new kings inaugurating new dynasties who considered themselves as having conquered the Evil Spirit himself and thus considered themselves as saviors and inaugurators of the era of the Perfectioning (Renovation), predicted in the Avesta.

The Parthian dynasty established its control over Iran with Mitridates I's (ca. 171-138) conquest of Seleucia on the Tigris in 141, and this control was expanded and consolidated under Mitridates II (ca. 123-87). Both kings were no doubt Zoroastrians and regarded Mithra as their protective deity.

The Arsacids were the first to introduce Hellenistic anthropomorphic iconography in public and on their coins, although the deities were represented by their Greek names.

It is in the Arsacid period that Zoroastrianism gains a foothold in Armenia, and Armenian sources have preserved valuable evidence about the religion of those times.

From the first century of the new era, we have the important testimony of Strabo, the Herodotus of his day, who tells us (15.3.15) that the Iranians had both temples to their gods [Parth. *bagin*] and fire temples [Parth. *âtrôshan* < **âtrwaxshana* > Arm. *atrushan*]. And we also have the description by Pausanias, a Greek traveler who saw Zoroastrian communities in Lydia.

The most interesting of the kings from this period is vassal of the Parthians, Antiochus of Commagene, who called himself *theos dikaios epiphanes philoromaïos philhellen*. His grave, located at a site called Nimrud Dağ, is fronted by a row of seated deities, whose names are inscribed in Greek letters. In the inscription accompanying the statues Antiochus says:

I chose to consecrate this place as a sacred seat for all the gods to share, so that there may be not only this heroic band of my ancestors which you see established by my care, but also the divine semblance of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and so that this spot may be a witness that shall not fail to tell of my piety. Wherefore, as you see, I have set up these divine images (*agalmata*) of Zeus Oromasdes and of Apollo Mithra Helio Hermes and of Artagnes Heracles Ares and also of my all-nourishing homeland Commagene. And from the same stone, throned likewise among the gracious daemons, I have consecrated the features of my own form, and thus admitted a new Tyche to share in the ancient honours of the great gods.”

Antiochus's advice to future kings goes as follows:

It is commanded to the generations of all men whom boundless time (*chronos apeiros*) shall, through its destiny for the life of each, set in later possession of the land, that they keep it inviolate.

It is from the Parthian period that we have for the first time an extensive description of the Iranian cosmology. This is found in the work *On Isis and Osiris* by Plutarch (ca. 46-120).

Among the archeological remains from the Parthian period the remains of several fire temples dating from several successive centuries into the Sasanian period on the Kûh-e Khwâja in the Hâmûn lake in Sistan.

At Bisotun in western Iran there is a relief of Hercules, who corresponded to Parthian Warthragh, the epithet of Avestan Thraetaona (Thraêtaona), which had taken on a life of its own. The Greek inscription is dated to 147 B.C.E.

The same identification between Hercules and Warthragh is seen in a Parthian-Greek inscription from the mid-2nd cent. C.E., by the king Arsakes Vologeses, son of Mitridates, who seized the province of Mesene from Mitridates son of Pakores. The inscriptions are placed on the thigh of a statue, which the Greek identifies as Hercules and the Parthian as Warthragh. As the inscriptions make clear, the statue was part of the booty acquired by a Parthian king and brought back from Mesene to be put in the temple (*bagin*) of the god Tirî.

It is also to the Arsacid or earlier periods that the establishment of the three major sacred fires may be dated: Âdur Burzênmihr, Âdur Farrôbag (or Farnbag), Âdur Gushnasp. Most of our information about these fires comes from the

later Zoroastrian books and is therefore to some extent legendary.

Âdur Burzênmihr was placed on Mt. Rêwand, known already from the Avesta. M. Boyce suggests that the mountain was identified with some mountain in Parthia in eastern Iran. Whether there was actually a nationally known fire temple to this fire in Parthia, we do not know. We should note that the literary tradition locates the fire in various places, and in the *Book of Kings* it is also said to have been founded at Balkh by Wishtâsp's father Lohrâsp.

The second great fire, Âdur Farrôbag, according to the late tradition was brought from Khorasmia to Fârs during Wishtâsp's reign.

The third great fire, Âdur Gushnasp, was associated with Lake Chêchasht (Urmia) in western Iran (Azarbaijan) in the tradition, but a temple was built for it at Takht-e Soleymân. This temple plays an important role in the stories of the Sasanian kings.

The most important written corpus from the Parthian period is that discovered at ancient Nisa, east of the Caspian Sea. Hundreds and hundreds of labels on wine jars, bear evidence to toponymy, calendar, onomastics, etc. Among other things, the word *âyazan* is mentioned, which must mean a sacred place for worship. In the pantheon we must note the presence of the old Mesopotamian goddess Nanai, who is mentioned in the Nisa documents and became extremely popular in central Asia, including Bactria, where she is the principal protective deity of Kanishka. She probably replaced Anâhitâ, and the phonetic (acoustic) similarity of the two names probably played some part in this identification.

9. ZOROASTRIANISM UNDER THE SASANIANS

The founder of the Sasanian dynasty was the last in a line of local kings in southern Iran, the so-called Frataraka dynasty. Nothing much is known about these kings, but they struck coins. From their names – Dârâyân, Manuchihr, Wâdfradâd, Ardashahr – we can gather that they basically continued the Achaemenid religious traditions.

The Sasanian kings entitle themselves *bay* from the old *baga* “lord, god” and state they are “descended from the gods.” This probably continues the practice of the Seleucid kings, who imitated Alexander and called themselves “god” (Greek *theos*)

From the Parthian period we have the ruins of a temple at Persepolis belonging to the Fratarakas, where a votive tablet was found bearing the names of the highest Greek deities, probably covering those of Iranian Ahura Mazdâ, Mithra, Anâhitâ, and Ashish Vanghwi. On one of the walls there is a carving showing a priest holding the barsom in one hand.

An interesting fact about these coins is also that the script form changes under the last predecessors of Ardashahr I, from a typically Aramaic script form, to the Middle Persian form seen in the Sasanian inscriptions. It is tempting to see in this change the trace of a—perhaps nationalist—reform, out of which the usurper/liberator emerged.

From the inscriptions of Ardashahr (Ardashîr) I, it is clear that he, like his remote ancestor Darius, represents himself as the true carrier and protector of the Mazdayasnian religion. His titulature includes: “the Mazdayasnian Lord,” where the word for “Lord” is *bay* < OPers. *baga*, the common epithet of Ahuramazdâ; “who is of the race of gods,” a title which clearly confirms their belief in a divine connection. In his reliefs the King is represented as receiving the royal diadem directly from Ohrmazd. Finally, in his victory relief, where he depicts his victory over his predecessor Ardawân, he sits on his horse opposite Ohrmazd, under the hooves of whose horse lies the vanquished Evil Spirit himself. It is clear that here again the king considered himself as God's representative and as having ousted the Lie from the realm and established God's will on earth. In this way he represents himself as God's principal ally in the divine scheme of overcoming and abolishing the primordial evil.

Most of the extant Zoroastrian literature aside from the Avesta is from the Sasanian period.

10. THE AVESTA

10.1. *The writing down of the Avesta*

The Avestan texts known to us today represent only a small part of the oral traditions that were committed to writing in the Sasanian period (224-651 C.E.): as little as one-fourth has been conjectured. Sometime during this period a phonetic alphabet was invented, which was used to write down in minute detail the known texts.

At this time, all the available Iranian alphabets were consonant alphabets descended from Aramaic (except the Bactrian alphabet, which was Greek), which were quite unsuitable for recording a largely unfamiliar language. A new alphabet was therefore invented based, apparently, on the cursive Pahlavi script of the Zoroastrian literature, but with the addition of earlier forms of some letters, taken from the script found in the *Pahlavi Psalter*, a Middle Persian translation of the *Psalms of David* found in Chinese Turkestan.

It must be kept in mind that our earliest mss. are all, probably, over 500 years younger than the “proto-manuscript” of the Avesta, what Karl Hoffmann called the “Sasanian archetype.” Thus, we do not know exactly what forms the letters had.

According to the indigenous tradition contained in the Pahlavi texts (especially the *Dēnkard*) about the Avesta, after Alexander had destroyed or dispersed the text written in gold on bulls’ hides, it was then reassembled, presumably on the basis of oral traditions and, perhaps, surviving manuscripts, under Walāsh, one of the Arsacid kings, again under Shāpūr I (240-272 C.E.), and finally under Shāpūr II (309-79 C.E.).¹

10.2. *The zands*

It is important to realize that already by the Young Avestan period the *Old Avesta* can no longer have been well understood and was in need of translation and commentary, and we actually do find in the extant Avesta commentaries in Young Avestan on Old Avestan texts. Only the commentaries on the three holy prayers have been preserved (Yasna 19-21), but there also existed commentaries on the remaining Old Avestan texts, some of which have been preserved in Pahlavi translation in the ninth book of the *Dēnkard*, which contains Pahlavi versions of Avestan commentaries on the *Gāthās*.

Similarly, as the Avestan texts were adopted by other Iranian population groups than those who had originally composed them, commentaries and translations into local languages became a necessity. Thus we can safely assume that there were at one time early Bactrian, Parthian, Median, etc. versions of the texts. If, by the Achaemenid period, the Avesta was in Persis, such a tradition of local versions and exegesis in local languages must have been established there too.²

Whether any of these “local versions” were ever written down we do not know—though it is possible—but the transmission of the holy texts, like that of the secular literature that has not survived, must have been fundamentally oral. We can easily imagine that instructors taught the texts to the students by reciting the original text in small portions and adding the translation and the commentary as they went along. This is what we see in our extant manuscripts of the Avesta.

By the Sasanian period the Avestan text itself was largely incomprehensible to the reciters, but translations into the spoken languages had already been made, which must have been current as early as the 3rd century C.E., when one of the *nasks* of the Avesta was quoted by the high priest Kerdīr in one of his inscriptions. The *nasks* of the Avesta are also referred to in a Manichean text, dating from the 3rd-4th century. In another Manichean text the five *Gāthās* are mentioned by name.

¹ M. Shaki, “The Dēnkard Account of the History of the Zoroastrian Scriptures,” *Archív Orientální* 49, 1981, pp. 114-25. – Note that the authors of the Pahlavi books had little idea of historical chronology.

² On possible Avestan “citations” in Old Persian, see Skjærvø, 1999, “Avestan Quotations?”

It is quite probable that the Middle Persian translation of the Avesta with commentaries and additional material (the *Avesta* and its *zand* > the Zand-Avesta) had already been written down by this time, but probably not the Avestan texts themselves.

10.3. “Corruption” of the Avestan text

The manuscripts of the *Avesta* all go back to single manuscripts for each part (*Yasna*, *Yashts*, etc.), which the colophons permit us to date to around 1000 C.E. For some parts of the text, we have manuscripts from the 13th-14th centuries, for others the tradition does not go beyond the 16th-18th centuries.

We should also remember that the proto-text of our *Avesta* is based on “final performances.” The question of *how* the Avestan texts were committed to writing once the alphabet had been invented around 500 C.E. has not been raised, but is of paramount importance for understanding the state of the text. There are, in fact, only two possibilities (or a combination of them): either a person who knew the text was taught the alphabet and wrote down what he knew, or a person who knew the text dictated it to someone who knew the script. Either procedure would obviously influence the recorded text adversely, as with both procedures the fluency of the recitation would be interrupted. On the other hand, dictation would give the reciter time to remember more text than he might otherwise include during a recitation.

The text is an “edited” text and does not in every detail reflect a genuine linguistic system. During its 1000 to 1500 years of oral transmission, the text was standardized, and, once written down, it was modified by scribes who spoke dialects with phonological systems fundamentally different from that of the originals. Thus, the Old Avestan texts contain many YAv. elements and the YAv. texts contain both Old Avestan (“pseudo-OAv.”) elements and phonetic features introduced from the scribes’ languages (incl. Gujerati). This makes it almost impossible to determine which of the sound changes we observe in our extant texts already belonged already to the original language.

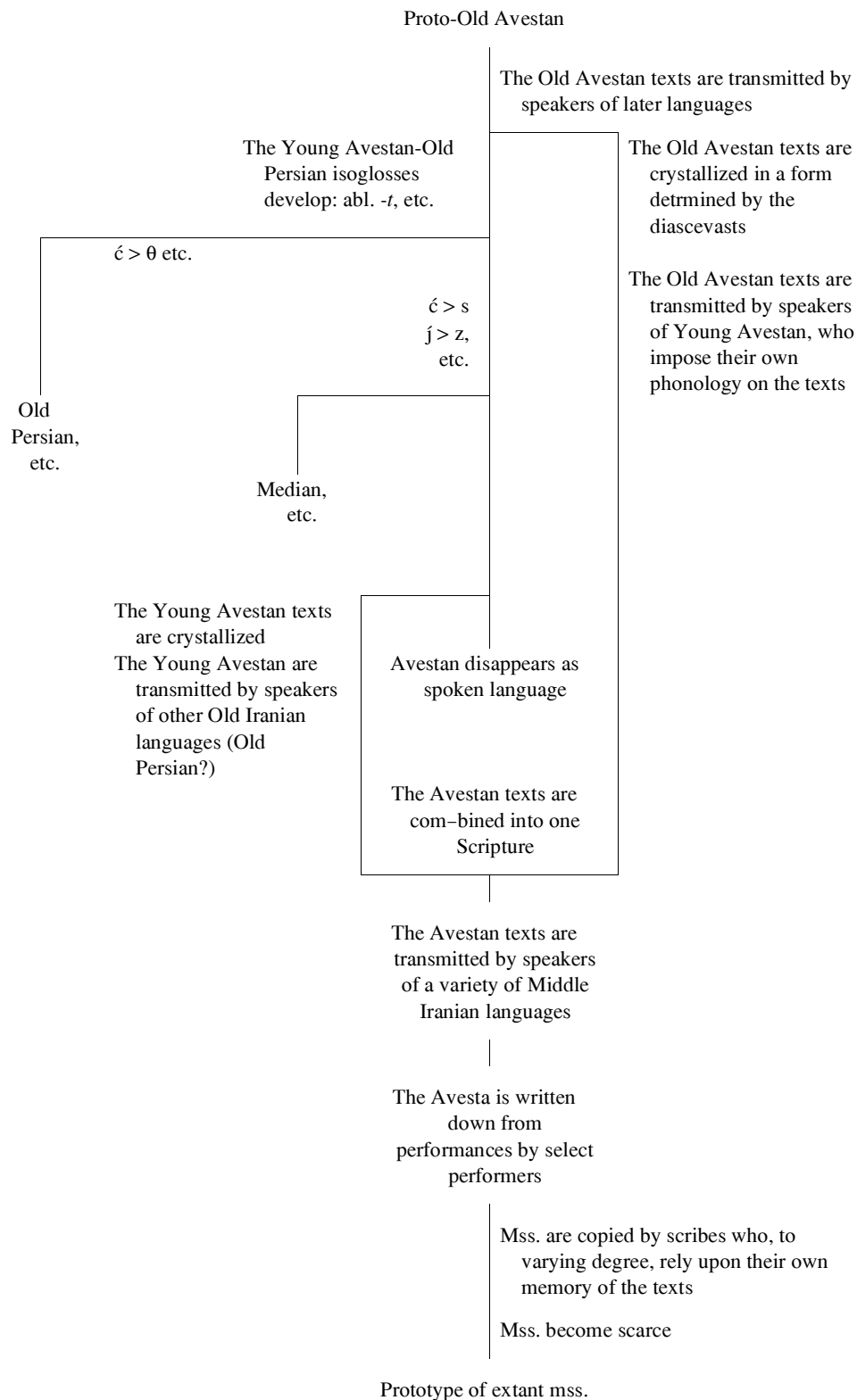
Many of the Young Avestan texts are in ungrammatical (or incorrect) language, but it must be kept in mind that it must have ceased being a spoken language probably some time in the (pre-)Median period, when the texts were “crystallized,” that is, no longer linguistically updated from generation to generation.¹ Thus, they were orally transmitted for at least a thousand years before they were written down, which, obviously, gave ample opportunity for them to be changed, especially by the less well trained reciters. In fact, we see that the most corrupt texts are those that were presumably recited most often.

The history of the text is approximately as follows:

- Composition of texts that were to lead to the Old Avestan texts, constantly linguistically updated (recomposed) in performance (mid-2nd mill. B.C.E.).
- Composition of the Young Avestan texts, constantly linguistically updated, etc. (end of 2nd/early 1st mill.).
- Crystallization of the Old Avestan text as unchangeable with introduction of editorial changes (early YAv. period?).
- Crystallization of the Young Avestan text as unchangeable (1st half of 1st mill.?).
- Canonization of select texts (under the Achaemenids?).
- Transmission of the entire immutable text with introduction of linguistic novelties and changes made by the (oral) transmitters (up to ca. 500 C.E.), with several attempts at “reassembling the scattered scriptures” (?).
- Creation of an unambiguous alphabet in which the entire known corpus was written down to the extent it was deemed worthy.
- Written transmission of the text influenced(?) by the oral tradition; copying of manuscripts contributes to deterioration of the text.
- The Arab conquest causes deterioration of the religion and its texts; ca. 1000 C.E. there is only one single manuscript in existence of each part of the extant *Avesta*, from which all our extant manuscripts are descended.

¹ This is the phenomenon by which an orally composed text, from being constantly *recomposed in performance*, at some stage, for some reason, is no longer *recomposed* but *fixed in (re)performance*.

10.4. The Transmission of the Avestan texts and Languages



11. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY

The Avestan texts frequently refer to the cosmogonic myth, the story of how the world came into being, but the story itself is never told. The earliest narrative is that of Plutarch, who, in his *About Isis and Osiris*, recounted a story told by the Magi about the origin of our world. After that, we must wait for the Pahlavi literature for the (more or less) complete story, which is told in the *Bundahishn* and various other texts.

Nevertheless, it is possible on the basis of the allusions in the Avesta and the later traditions to fill in much of the greater picture that the Old Iranians had of the origin of the world.

11.1. Ordering of the cosmos

In both the Old and Young Avesta, as well as the Achaemenid inscriptions, the making – or creation – of the world is depicted as an ordering of elements that are themselves “created” or made in some way or other (by thinking, engendering, or fashioning). The verb designating the divine action of creating order is *dâ-* (Old Indic *dhâ-*), which literally means “place, set down, establish.” The objects that were put in order by Ahura Mazdâ, had been engendered by him or fashioned by various artisans, such as the divine Carpenter (*thwarshhtar*) and the more specific Fashioner (*tashan*) of the Cow. These are the ones who actually formed the objects which Ahura Mazdâ then put/set in their proper place. Ahura Mazdâ himself is also said to have fashioned the cow, the waters, and the plants.

The same concepts are found in the Rigveda, where the world is depicted as having been measured out and established by the gods, like a building, but many of its elements also as having been engendered or generated by the gods.

In the Old Avesta.

References to the cosmogonic ordering process are found in all the Old Avestan poems, except the fifth Gatha, which is concerned with the victory over Evil. The reference in the fourth Gatha, which is concerned with the success of the sacrifice and the rewards, is also brief. The Gathic poet, however, is, as always, reluctant to state anything simply and clearly, while the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* presents the process in a relatively orderly fashion in YH.37.1-2.

The Achaemenid king Darius echoes this description in his inscriptions, in DNa 1-8, and it continues into the Pahlavi books, e.g., *Bdh*.3.20-21.

In the *Gâthâs* the most explicit cosmogony is in 2.44.3-7:

Ahura Mazdâ

engendered Order

established the road of the sun and of the stars

started the phases of the moon

held the earth down below and the heavens above

Heaven and Earth

established the waters and the plants

harnessed the two quick coursers to the wind and the clouds

is the Web-master of good thought

Heaven

established lights and darkness, sleep and wakefulness, etc.

Day and night

established

dawn, noon, and evening

Ârmaiti by her actions *thickens (the web of) Order

Earth

Ahura Mazdâ

fashioned the milk-giving cow, which makes happiness

Cow for man

Elsewhere, we have the following references to the cosmogony:

1.31.7-9:

| | |
|--|--------|
| Ahura Mazdâ | |
| thought the lights of the free spaces, thought Order | |
| Web-master of good thought | Heaven |
| Ârmaiti (the earth) was Ahura Mazdâ's | Earth |
| Ahura Mazdâ(?) fashioned for man | Man |
| the cow, etc. | Cow |

2.44.3-7

3.48.3

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Order | |
| Good thought: good and bad | Heaven |
| Ârmaiti | Earth |
| Cow for man | Cow for man |
| Ârmaiti | Earth |
| gives youth, *thickens (the web of) Order, produces plants | |

4.51.7

you who fashioned
the cow
the waters
the plants

In the Young Avesta.

Ahura Mazdâ's creation is described or alluded to in many passages in the Young Avesta, among them Y.19.2, Y.19.8, and Yt.13.86.

The ordering process is referred to in a variety of other contexts, as well, for instance, at the beginning of the *yasna* ritual in Y.1.1.

Occasionally, the ordering activity is ascribed to other deities, for instance, in Yt.19.52, the Scion of the Waters (Apâm Napât) is said to have fashioned and set in place men.

11.2. *Birth of the cosmos*

The creation act is also described as an engendering and birth process, as in 2.43.5, 2.44.3, 2.45.4, 3.48.6. In these texts, we see that the objects engendered by Ahura Mazdâ are, on the one hand, the Life-giving Immortals, on the other hand the *ahu*. Producing the *ahu* is in fact the goal of the sacrifice, and the production of the *first ahu* was presumably the result of Ahura Mazdâ's first sacrifice.

The birth scenario is particularly prominent in *Yasht* 13, the hymn to the pre-souls (fravashis), which begins with a description of how Ahura Mazdâ with the help of the Pre-souls made the world of the living from the sky down to the fetuses in the wombs. The description is presented by a repeated formula plus the respective basic elements of the "creation."

The birth scenario plays a prominent role also in later accounts of the Old Iranian cosmogony. Thus, the *Pahlavi Rivayat* (PR.46) describes the creation of the world of thought, and in the *Bundahishn* (Bdh.1.58-59) we are told the story of the gestation of the world of the living in the world of thought and its subsequent birth into the world of living beings.

11.3. *The two spirits*

According to the Avesta, Ahura Mazdâ was not the only one to “set things in place.” Already in the Young Avesta we find the notion of a dual “creation” by the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil Spirit, notably in the hymns to the pre-souls, to Vayu, and to Sraosha:

Yt.13.76 (to the pre-souls) = Y.57.17 (hymn to Sraosha)
when the two spirits established the “creations,” the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one.

Yt. 15.43 (to Vayu)
both “creations,” both the one that the Life-giving Spirit established and the one the Evil Spirit established.

This creation scenario obviously intrigued the neighbors of the Iranians, notably the Greeks, who assigned it to the teachings of the Magi, as seen from the version told by Plutarch.

The dual creation is also the “standard” version in the Pahlavi texts, and can therefore be assigned to Zoroastrianism throughout most of its history. The question is then how old it actually is. More about this below.

11.4. *Creation in the Pahlavi texts.*

The dual creation is the “standard” version in the Pahlavi texts, where the act of creation is described in great detail. In the *Bundahishn*, for instance, we find the completely developed Mazdean dualist creation myth, according to which two principles existed from time immemorial, one good, Ohrmazd, in the heights, which are the endless lights, and one evil, Ahrimen, in the depths, which are endless darkness. For some reason or other, the Foul Spirit in the depths came to notice and subsequently desire the good up above and attack it in order to mix with it and thereby destroy its purity. Together with Ohrmazd were eternal time (without beginning or end) and the Endless Lights.

Ohrmazd realized that only through battle could Ahrimen be overcome and planned how to proceed and fashioned the “creation” (*dâm-dahishnih*) he needed for his purpose. To start the process, he cut out a piece of eternal time, the Time of Long Rule, during which the battle between good and evil would be fought.

At this point Ohrmazd gave Ahrimen a chance to withdraw from his destructive scheme by sacrificing to his “creation,” which Ahrimen of course rejected. Ohrmazd then knew that a time schedule for the remaining course of the world was needed in order to prevent evil from reigning forever, and offered the evil one a pact whereby the time of the final battle would be after 9000 years, a pact which Ahrimen accepted, being too slow-witted to see its purpose. According to the pact, 3000 years would pass according to the will of Ohrmazd; for 3000 years the world would be in a state of mixture, according to the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahrimen, and in the last battle the evil spirit would be rendered powerless.

Ohrmazd then recited the *Ahunwar* prayer, by which Ahrimen was stunned and fell back into the darkness.

The complete creation of the world took 6000 years. During the first 3000 years, a “creation” in/of thought – without thought, without movement, and without touch – was established in the “world of thought.”

During the next 3000 years, another “creation,” this one “with bones” or “containing living beings” was established, but also in the “world of thought.” At the end of the second 3000 years, this second “creation” was transferred to the “world of living beings.”

During this period, the Foul Spirit for his part fashioned forth a destructive “creation” to use for the battle, and, as soon as the “creation of living beings” was transferred to the “world of living beings,” he attacked and introduced his evil “creation” into Ohrmazd’s creation, so that the two were mixed. Hence the next 3000 years are called the Mixture.

THE “CREATION” IN/OF THOUGHT IN THE WORLD OF THOUGHT

This is a “creation” that by necessity is performed in and with thought. Thus, the “creation of thought” was made by Ahura Mazdâ by his *thought*, especially the principle of Order itself, already in the Old Avesta:

1.31.7

He who was the first to think those thoughts: “The free spaces are blending with the lights”—

1.31.19

He who first thought Order has now listened to my words(?), namely, you, the knowing one, the healer of this state, O Ahura ...

Compare:

*Bdh.*1.35 [19]

And his first “creation” was “*self-established well-being, that spirit by which he made his body better when he *thought* the “creation,” for his being “ruler” is from establishing the “creation” (*dâm-dahishnih*).

In the various narratives, the creation always proceeds in a more or less fixed order, as in *Bundahishn* chap. 1:

Ohrmazd’s “creation”

essence of the gods
time of the long dominion
permanence
from his own essence the form of the creatures
from it the good Vây
from material light true speech
from endless light endless form
from endless form the Ahunwar
from the Ahunwar the spirit of the year
the six Amesha Spentas
the three judges

Ahrimen’s “creation”

from material darkness lying speech
in the form of black *coal
Waran
by which the creatures were set in motion
the essence of the demons

“CREATION” OF THE LIVING IN THE WORLD OF THOUGHT

the six Life-giving Immortals

Wahman
Ardwahasht
Shahrewar
Spandarmad
Hordad
Amurdad
true speech
Srôsh, etc.

“creations” in the world of the living

the sky
the water
earth
plants
cow
man

opponents

Akôman
Indar and Sâwul
Nânghait
Tarômat
Tarich
Zêrich
dispute

“CREATION” OF THE LIVING IN THE WORLD OF THE LIVING

endless lights > fire
fire > wind
wind > water
water > the earth

1 sky as defense
2 water to smite down the demon of thirst
3 plants for the kine
4 earth
5 kine for the blessed man
6 the blessed man to strike down the Foul Spirit
7 fire from endless lights
8 wind

1 in the form of an egg, aided by joy
2 an arm-length deep, aided by wind, etc.
4 smooth, aided by water and fire
3 totally smooth, containing minerals and metals
5 the bull in Êrânwêz, aided by water and plants
6 Gayômar, aided by sleep

11.5. The ritual “recreation” of the world

With this scenario as background, it is easily seen that the creation is also implied by the *Yasna*, the text that accompanies the *yasna* ritual, that is, the morning sacrifice, since the *yasna* is a replica of Ahura Mazda’s primordial sacrifice. After various introductory texts and actions the first main part of the *yasna* consists of a relatively immutable list of entities which are acted upon in various ways, as indicated by set formulas:

- I make known/introduce (*niwaêdhayemi*), I assemble/count X, a Model (*ratu*) of Order.
- In this libation and barsom (sacred plant twigs), by my sacrificing I harness (*âyese*) ...
- By my sacrificing I harness ... for winning the favor of ...
- Thus we make them known to (*âwaêdhayemi*) ...
- We sacrifice (*yazamaide*) ...
- I place in Orderly fashion (*ashaya dadâmi*) ... for winning the favor of ...

With various additions and variants, the objects of these formulas are the following:

- Ahura Mazda and the six Life-giving Immortals
- The models for the units of time. These are accompanied by their own assigned geniuses of social divisions and deities in charge of cosmic phenomena:

| time | genius of | genius of | deities |
|-------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| of haoma pressing | Increase (<i>Sâwanghi</i>) | the town (<i>vis</i>) | Mithra, Peace with Good Pasture |
| noon | Cattle-furthering | the tribe (<i>zantu</i>) | Best Order, AM’s fire (= the sun) |
| afternoon | Man-furthering | the land (<i>dahyu</i>) | Scion of the Waters, the Water |
| evening | Furthering-all-good-living | the one most like Zar. | the Pre-souls of the Orderly, the women to be won by men, the yearly good settlement, the well-fashioned Force, the Obstruction-smasher, Victorious Superiority |
| late night | Berjiya | the house | Sraosha, the obstruction-smasher furtherer of living beings, straightest Rashnu Rectitude, furtherer of living beings increaser of living beings |

the months and their divisions: new moon, full moon, the moon of the 23rd day.

the seasons: spring, mid-summer, harvest, fall, mid-winter, New Year.

the years

3. Ahura (Mazdâ) and Mithra

the stars, Tishtriya, the moon, the sun, Mithra, Ahura Mazda, the Pre-souls of the Orderly

the fire of ahura Mazda with all the fires, the good waters with all the waters, all the plants

the life-giving poetic thought (*manthra*), the Law discarding the *daêwas*, the long *Tradition,

the good Daênâ of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda

Mt. Crack of Dawn and all the mountains, the Fortune of the Poets, the Unseizable Fortune

Good Ashi (Reward), etc.

Places, settlements, grazing grounds, dwellings

waters, grounds, plants, this earth, yonder sky

the Orderly wind, stars, moon, sun, the Endless Lights

We see that the list begins by establishing the models for the divisions of time, that is of Time of Long Rule, and then goes on to the various “creations” of thought, which are the basic components of the Ordered cosmos.

11.6. *The twin spirits*

The scenario from Plutarch with the wily Evil Spirit shows up in the so-called “Zurvanite” myth known from the early Muslim period, told by Armenian historians and some others, which in its main elements, goes as follows:

Before the world existed there was Zurvan. He sacrificed for 1000 years to have a son who would create heaven and earth. Seeing his sacrifice had no effect he doubted its value, and from his doubt Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were conceived. Seeing he would bear two sons he decided that the first-born would be king. Ohrmazd knew what his father was thinking and told his brother, who tore open his progenitor’s womb and emerged. Ahrimen, insisting upon his rights, was grudgingly accorded 9000 years of rule, after which Ohrmazd would rule. They both then began creating.

What is remarkable here is the fact that the good and the evil creators are twin brothers. The myth of the twin brothers is also quite old, however; it can at least be followed back to the Sasanians, when it was cited as “heretical” by Zoroastrian scholars, notably in an exegesis of 1.30.4:

Dk.9.30.4

And from the saying of Zardusht about the demon Arsh, how he howled to people:
Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were brothers from one womb!

The same statement is cited in a Manichean polemical hymn in Middle Persian, probably from the 3rd-4th cents.:

M28IRii1-4

And they say that Ohrmezd and Ahrimen are brothers.
And on account of this speech they will come to destruction.

The myth of the two spirits (*manyu*) is already in the *Gâthâs*, however, where we find the two *manyus* conversing (2.45.2ab). This reminds us of the Zurvanite myth, in which Ohrmazd and Ahrimen are speaking in the womb. The conversation between the two also seems to be preserved in another Manichean fragment, which appears to contain a version of the Zoroastrian creation myth close to that of Plutarch. This fragment is also in Middle Persian, which indicates a relatively early date:

BT 4, no. 23 (Sundermann, *Berliner Turfantexte 4*, pp. 79-80)

... the mixture.

And in this manner they consider that they were from one egg and from one seed.

And he shows in his book concerning all the gods and *mârâspands* (the Life-giving Immortals) that the gods ... with gods and ...

[*long gap in the text*]

[... when] we came out from ...

Then that egg was divided into two parts. From the one part of that egg that was upward, which was split and divided, heaven [was spread out? ...]

[*long gap in the text*]

And all creatures that move about on it (= the earth) came from that.

In this manner, by (their) ..., they mix together good and evil, light and darkness.

Here we note the statement in direct speech “we came out,” which strongly recalls the conversation between the two *manyus* in 2.45.2 and which must “logically” refer to the two spirits discussing how to assign the parts of the cosmos between them.

One of the most discussed passages in these poems is the following:

1.30.3a

Thus, those two inspirations in the beginning, which have been renowned (as) “the twin sleeps” ...

Long ago I proposed that “sleep” here is used metonymically for sleeping fetuses, comparing the following Indic text:

Manu-smṛti 1.5

This (thing) *was*, risen from darkness, unknown, with no distinguishing marks, inconceivable, incomprehensible, like asleep all over.

Thus, the myth of the two spirits would seem to be part of the cosmic birth scenario.

Another strophe referring to the two spirits and which has caused a lot of speculation in Iranist circles is **1.30.4**:¹

Thus, also: whenever the two inspirations come together in competition one determines/receives (*dazdai*) for the first time

both life (*gaya*) (for the good) and lack of living (*ajyâti*) (for the bad) and how the(ir) *ahu* shall be at last:

The worst *ahu* will be that of those possessed by the Lie, but for the sustainer of Order there will be best thought.

Remarkably, the Pahlavi version of this strophe interpreted *gaêm* as referring to Gayômar (see below on the Creation of living creatures):

1.30.4ab Pahl.

And thus those two spirits came together to the first establishment, i.e., the two spirits came to Gayômar.

This interpretation is not to be rejected off-hand, because, also in the *Young Avesta*, *Gaya Martân* is referred to simply as *Gaya*, and, since “lack of living” is nearly synonymous with *martân* “what contains what is dead, mortal,” the Old Avestan text may contain the same reference.

Gaya Martân, however, has Indo-Iranian forebears, having been compared with Old Indic *Mârtânda*, whose birth from Aditi is described as follows in the *Shatapatha-brâhmaṇa*:

ŚB III.1.3.3-4 (after Jamison)

She bore an eighth, unshaped: *Mârtânda*. He was a lump, as broad as he was tall.

(The Âdityas said,) “Come on, let us shape him!” They shaped him as man here (on earth).

This description of *Mârtânda*’s size is identical with that of Gayômar in *Bdh*.1.A.13: “his width was equal to his height.” *Mârtânda* is variously represented as an aborted fetus or the *afterbirth* of the birth of the Âdityas from Aditi

The name of *Gaya Martân*, which, to my knowledge, has not been closely analyzed, in fact, seems to mean “life with a dead thing,” which perfectly describes the products of the birth process: the living new human followed by the dead afterbirth, the placenta.

Applying this scenario to the two primordial twin spirits is then completely unproblematic, and it is, indeed, strengthened by the fact that in modern Iran the afterbirth is called *joft* “twin.”

Yet another element potentially linking the Indic and Iranian myths is a passage from the *Kâthaka-samhitâ*, in which the embryo speaks, provoking the rivalry of its brothers:

KS XI.6 (after Jamison)

She (Aditi) became pregnant (*garbham adhatta*).

The embryo, (still) within (her), spoke.

The Âdityas [= his brothers] thought, “If this one will be born, he will thrive here.”

¹ In Old Avestan texts **bold** type is used for words actually in the text, while regular type are words added by the translator.

they smashed him out [= aborted him].

Expelled/aborted he lay there.

A second remarkable correspondence between the Old Avestan and Old Indic texts here is the use of *dhâ* “place” in the middle to express “become pregnant,” which we can perhaps compare with Old Avestan *dazdê* in the Old Avestan myth. If we apply this meaning to our passage, we obtain the remarkable sense: 1.30.4ab’ “and when those to inspirations come together, then one first becomes pregnant with life and non life.” Note also the expression “expelled,” literally “thrown out” (*nirasta*) and the fact that a notorious complication of birth is that of “retained” afterbirth, which then needs to be “thrown out,” as, for instance, the Babylonian terminology has it.

Without arguing further, I would therefore simply suggest that the Iranian creation myth is a complete birth myth and that the “radical dualistic” element originated in the observation of the dual birth: of the new living being and of the lifeless afterbirth.

11.7. *The creation of living creatures.*

The beginning of mankind is not described in the extant Young Avesta, but, according to the later tradition, among living creatures Ahura Mazdâ created first (Pahl.) Gayômar and the Uniquely-created Bull (Pahl. *Gâw î êkdâd*).

Gayômar is Avestan Gaya Martân, who often heads lists of created beings in the Young Avesta. In the later tradition Gayômar is killed by the Evil Spirit during the primeval attack upon the creation of Ohrmazd, but his semen is emitted into the earth and eventually gives rise to mankind. Note also Yt.13.87, where Ahura Mazdâ is said to have “fashioned forth the umbilical cords of the Aryan lands, the descent of the Aryan lands” from Gaya Martân.

The Pahl. Uniquely-created Bull has a pendant in the Young Avesta as well, where the Uniquely-created Bull is mentioned together with the Bull of Many Species. In the later tradition the Uniquely-created Bull is killed by the Evil Spirit during the primeval attack upon the creation of Ohrmazd, but his semen is emitted into the earth and eventually gives rise to all the animal species.

In the Young Avesta Gaya Martân is also mentioned together with the Cow/Bull of Good Gifts, or simply the Cow/Bull, e.g., in

Y.13.7

We sacrifice (to) the Pre-soul of both the Cow of Good Gifts and the Orderly Gaya Martân.

and

Vr.21.2

We sacrifice the sacrifice and the hymn of the Bull and Gaya.

11.8. *Cosmic structures and weaving*

There is finally some evidence that the cosmos itself seems to have been conceived of in terms of a pair of huts, an upper one and a lower upside-down one. The cosmos was therefore quite probably imagined as a sphere.

Inside the upper hut, Ahura Mazdâ has placed the celestial lights: the sun, the moon, and the stars, all of which measure out time, as well as mankind, the cow, and other objects of the world of the living, and assigned to them all their proper duties according to the Models.

The covers of these “huts” are said to be woven, and the ancient Iranian creation myth seems to be one of weaving, with Ahura Mazdâ weaving the luminous covers of the day sky every morning as the birth tissues of the new life (*ahu*).

11.9. The World according to the Young Avesta

The world is clearly conceived as a great sphere, in the middle of which lies the earth surrounded by the great world ocean, the Vourukasha Sea. In the middle of the earth stands Mount Haraitî, around which the vault of heaven with the sun, moon, and stars revolves.

The earth is divided into seven “climes” (*karshwar*), six of which are arranged around the central clime of Khwaniratha. The seven-fold division is mentioned in the *Gâthâs*, in 1.32.3, where a seventh of the earth seems to be referred to as the dwelling place of the *daêwas*.

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|--|
| Vourubarshti | | Vourujarshti | |
| Sawahi | Khwaniratha | Arzahi | |
| Vidadhafshu | | Fradadhafshu | |

Yasht 12 to Rashnu contains a list of the important things the world contains, described as Rashnu flies over them:

- 9 the continent of Arzahi
- 10 the continent of Sawahi (of Life-giving strength?)
- 11 the continent of Fradadhafshu (the cattle-furthering one)
- 12 the continent of Vidadhafshu (the cattle-finding one)
- 13 the continent of Vourubarshti (of
- 14 the continent of Vourujarshti
- 15 this continent of shining Khwaniratha
- 16 the Vourukasha Sea
- 17 that tree of the Falcon, which stands in the middle of the Vourukasha Sea, which is called All-Healer, on which
he placed the seeds of all the plants,
- 18 the *waters of the (river) Ranghâ
- 19 the rise of the (river) Ranghâ
- 20 the borders of this earth
- 21 the middle of this earth
- 22 wherever of this earth
- 23 Harâ the tall, with many *turns, bright, rising above the clouds
- 24 Mount Hukairya, from which Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ falls down to me a thousand men in height,
- 25 the ridge of high Haraitî, around which my stars, moon, and sun turn,
- 26 the star Vanant (Vega?) created by (Ahura) Mazdâ
- 27 the star Tishtriya (Sirius), wealthy and glorious
- 28 the stars Haptôiringa (Big Dipper)
- 29 the stars containing the seed of the waters
- 30 the stars containing the seed of the earth
- 31 the stars containing the seed of the plants
- 32 the stars belonging to the Life-giving Spirit
- 33 yonder moon containing the seed of the cow/bull
- 34 the sun with fleet horses
- 35 the endless lights which have their own law
- 36 the best Existence of the Orderly ones, light and all good breathing space
- 37 the luminous House of Song

In the later, Pahlavi, texts, the continents are described in greater detail. For instance, in the *Mênôy xrad* 8.6, it is said that it is not possible to go from continent to continent without the guidance of the gods or the *dêws*.

See, also, for instance, *Pahlavi Rivayat* 46.9.

12. THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF IRAN

In the Young Avesta, especially the *Yashts*, a number of legendary characters are listed, always in the same order. In the later tradition these figures are depicted as rulers of the land of Iran. The last of these rulers is Kavi Vishtâspa, who in the later tradition is depicted as having been converted by Zarathustra and becoming his royal patron. In the still(?) later times, the Avestan Vishtâspa was sometimes identified with Darius's father Vishtâspa (Hystaspes), which provided a link between the legendary Avestan period and historical times.

12.1. The mythical age

This first period stretches to the end of the rule of Yima:

Haoshiyangha paradhâta (Hôshang Pêshdâd)

He was the first ruler of the seven-fold earth.¹ Judging from his epithet *paradhâta* Haoshiyangha may be the primordial sacrificer. Old Indic *purohita* in the Rigveda Agni the Fire is frequently referred to as the sacrificer of the gods. The epithet may later have been re-interpreted as meaning “created before (all others)” or “created in the beginning.” He is described in Yasht 9.3-4, 19.25-26.

Taxma Urupi (Tahmûraf)

He mounted the Evil Spirit as his steed and rode on him to the ends of the world. According to the later tradition he saved mankind from extinction. He is described in the Young Avesta in Yt.15.11-12, 19.27-29.

Yima, Pers. Jamshîd.

Yima is one of the figures of common Indo-Iranian mythology to have survived into both Indian and Iranian literature (OInd. Yama). The Indian Yama is the son of the solar figure Vivasvant, while Yima is the son of Viwanghwan(t) (slightly different form: Viwanghwah, in the *Gâthâs*) < *Vivasvan.

Yima is a primordial hero, who was associated with a variety of myths in India and Iran. In the Avesta his main characteristics are the following:

1. He makes men and animals immortal, including his father and himself.
2. He expands the earth three times to prevent overpopulation.
3. Yima saves the earth's population of living beings, as well as plants and fires, from complete annihilation by building an enclosure, in which select specimens are housed during the winter.
4. Yima teaches mankind how to use clay form making things.
5. In an act of eugenics Yima is told by Ahura Mazdâ not to let any defective human beings into the enclosure.

In the second chapter of the *Videvdad*, Yima is depicted as the first ruler of living beings: Ahura Mazdâ offers him the function of protector of the Religion, which Yima refuses. Ahura Mazdâ then offers him the function of protector of his creatures, which Yima accepts.

Under Yima's rule the world prospers and the number of people and cattle increases, and as a consequence of the immortality of living beings, the earth becomes too crowded, and so Yima receives two implements from Ahura Mazdâ by which he expands the earth three times: once every 300 years.

After this—any further expansions being apparently impossible—Ahura Mazdâ decides to decimate the population of the earth by a severe winter. Ahura Mazdâ warns Yima of a coming, very severe, winter and describes to him how to make a fortress in which to keep all creatures of Ahura Mazdâ alive during the winter.

¹ According to the later tradition he had two brothers: Wêgerd (Av. Vaêkerta, a land) and Tâz (father of the *tâzîgs* = Arabs).

Among other mythological details contained in the story are the following:

1. Yima makes lights that shine of themselves in the enclosure.
2. In the enclosure the *daênâ* was disseminated by the Karshihta bird.
3. Urwatatnara and Zarathustra were the Life and Model for the inhabitants of the enclosure.

A detail from the beginning of this story is found in the *Hôm yasht* (Y.9.3-5), where we are told that both father and son remained 15 years old.

As ruler of the world Yima is endowed with the Fortune (*khwarnah*). According to the tradition the Fortune left him, however, allegedly on account of a particular sin.

A slightly different version of the story is found in the *Zamyâd yasht* (Yt. 19.30-34), in which the wanderings of the Royal Glory are described, and in particular how it left Yima when he turned his thoughts to uttering a lie:

12.2. *The heroic age*

After Yima we have the following succession:

Azhi Dahâka (Pers. Zahhâk, Zohhâk): the Giant Dragon (king), who was killed by:

Thraëtaona son of Âthvi (Pahl. Frêdôn): slayer of Azhi Dahâka. According to the later tradition Frêdôn divided the world between his three sons: Salm, Tûz, and Êrij, named after the peoples listed in the *Avesta* in *Yasht* 13.143 as Aryas, Tûiriyas, and Sairimas.

Thrita of the Sâmas: the first healer.

Kersâspa of the Sâmas (Pers. Garshâsp): dragon slayer; exacts revenge upon Hitâspa for the slaying of his brother Urwâkhshaya.

12.3. *The Kayanids*

With the beginning of the succession of the Kawis (cf. Yt. 19.71), which now follows, we enter the time of the great war between the Iranian Kawis and the Turanian leader Frangrasyân, which culminates in the final battle during the reign of Vishtâspa.

In the *yashts*, Frangrasyân's constant intent is said to be the defeat of the Aryan countries. He is, however, never granted any support by the deities whom he implores for help and is finally captured by Haoma during the reign of Kawi Haosrawah. The evidence is obviously too tenuous to allow any conclusions as to who the Turans were or at what time the conflict took place.

This kind of universal battle is commonplace in Indo-European literatures, and the story does not permit us to draw any conclusions about the prehistory of the Iranians and their neighbors. On the contrary, the stories of all the wars the Iranians fought during their early history were probably amalgamated with the traditional story of the Great Battle.

Frangrasyân (Pers. Afrâsiyâb): the Turanian, constant enemy of the Aryan lands in the Kayanid period.

Kawi Kawâta (Pers. Key Qobâd): first Kawi-king.

Kawi Aipivohu.

Kawi Usan (Pers. (Key) Kâ'ûs, Qâbûs).

Kawi Arshan.

Kawi Pisina.

Kawi Biyarshan.

Kawi Siyâwarshan (Pers. Siyâvosh).¹

Kawi Haosrawah (Pers. Key Xosrow): takes revenge for his father Siyâwarshan.

¹ According to Ferdousi Siâvosh was the son of Kay Kâus and a woman descended from Feridun; this son was desired by Kay Kâus's first wife Sudâbe—the wife of Potiphar motif—and later allied with Afrâsiâb but killed by a Turanian. After Kay Khosrow became king he swore a mighty oath to revenge Siâvosh.

It has been a matter of some speculation whether any of these rulers were actually historical figures. If they were, then the Avesta would have preserved valuable historical information about the prehistory of the Iranian tribes in Central Asia after their separation from the Indians. The most exhaustive study on this subject was done by Arthur Christensen in his book on the Kayanian dynasty of Iran, *Les Kayanides*. In it he argued that the rulers who are styled Kawi in the Avesta (Kawi Kawâta, etc.) were most probably historical figures, in contrast to those preceding them, who did not carry this title and were probably just mythological figures (Yima, Thraêtaona, etc.).

That the latter group is comprised of mythological figures is easily proved by the fact that they are common to both the old Indians and the old Iranians and therefore must have belonged to the pre-Iranian traditions of the Indo-Iranians. They can therefore clearly not belong to the early history of the Iranians after they separated from the Indians.

But the list of Kawis, as well, contains at least one figure that is also found in Indian tradition, as shown by Lommel and Dumézil, namely Kawi Usan, who both by name and by the legends associated with him corresponds to Kavi or Kāvya Ushanas in the Indian tradition. There is therefore good reason to conclude that the list of Kawis, as well, contains only mythological figures.

As for the title *kawi* itself, although in the later Zoroastrian tradition and, especially, in the Persian epic tradition, it designates political rulers, there is no evidence in the Avesta that it is used other than as a designation of a special kind of priest. In the *Gâthâs* it is closely related to terms such as *karpan* and *usij*, which both designate special kinds of priests, and its Indian relative *kavi* has nothing to do with political power, but designates the poet priest. The *kawis* listed in the *yashts* are also not described as rulers, for which Avestan has a series of very specific terms consisting of a word for territory plus *paiti* “lord,” e.g., *dahyupaiti* “lord of the land.” When *kawi* is not used as a title it is commonly found in lists of opponents of the Zoroastrian religion, a notion inherited from the *Gâthâs*, where the *kawis*—other than Kawi Vishtâspa—are portrayed as opponents of Zarathustra.

It seems likely that the Avestan *kawis* were what the term implies, namely poets, that is, the legendary poets of old, frequently referred to in the *Rigveda*.

After Kawi Haosrawah, we reach the time of Zarathustra himself. The principal characters in this part of the legendary history are the following:

Kawi Vishtâspa (Pahl. Kay Wishtâsp, Pers. Goshtâsb)

Zairiwairi (Pahl. Zarêr): brother of Wishtâsp

Jâmâspa: counselor of Wishtâsp

Arjataspa (Pahl. Arzâsp): enemy of Vishtâspa

Spentôdhâta (Pahl. Spandyâd, Pers. Esfandiyâr): son of Vishtâspa.

Humâyâ (Pers. Homâ): daughter of Wishtâsp or daughter and wife of Wahman, mother of Dârâ

In the later tradition Wishtâsp is a king who, together with his minister Jâmâsp, goes to battle against the Khiyonian Arzâsp in the defense of the new faith. Western scholarly literature commonly project this tradition back into Old Avestan times, as well, but there is no evidence in the *Gâthâs* for it.

The Young Avesta, however, contains numerous references to the great battle against the Khiyonians. Thus, in Yt. 5.68, Jâmâspa is said to have sacrificed to Anâhitâ as he confronted an army of followers of the Lie and *daêwa* worshipers, and in Yt. 19 Kawi Vishtâspa is said to have fought for the good Religion. The Avestan passages provide no basis for any interpretation of Kawi Vishtâspa's position other than as a supporter of the *daênâ* of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra, however.

13. ZARATHUSTRA

The name of Zarathustra (Av. Zarathushtra) is mentioned several times in all five *Gâthâs*, but is absent from the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*. It is omnipresent in the *Young Avesta*, where Zarathustra is a mythological figure fighting evil and to whom God communicates all the knowledge needed by mankind. By the end of the nineteenth - beginning of the twentieth centuries, Western scholars had decided — on minimal evidence — that Zarathustra was an historical prophet, who reformed the inherited religion of the Iranians, thus providing Zoroastrianism with a counterpart to other historical (and some non-historical) founders of religions. The *Gâthâs*, it was decided, were his work and contained his teachings; the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* was the work of his more or less immediate followers; and the *Young Avesta* represented, on one hand, pre-Zoroastrian beliefs and, on the other, a relapsed and corrupt form of Zarathustra's teachings.

One of the features that particularly distinguishes Zoroastrianism from Indic (and Indo-European) beliefs is the fact that the Avestan *daêwas* and Old Persian *daivas* are no longer beneficent heavenly beings, but rather the agents of chaos, deception, and evil. To explain this divergence, scholars simply assumed that the reversal of the fortunes of the *daêwas* was the work of a single man and due to a conscious and planned departure from earlier beliefs. That man, they decided, must have been Zarathustra and the new beliefs part of his reform of the traditional religion.

Other features of the beliefs expressed in the Old Avesta diverging from Indian beliefs were classified in the same manner. Thus, the absence from the *Old Avesta* of the names of deities such as Mithra and of the *haoma*, as well as passages apparently implying criticism of the killing of animals, led Western scholars in the first half of the twentieth century to conclude that both the *haoma* sacrifice and the bloody sacrifice were condemned by Zarathustra and that he abolished the worship of gods other than Ahura Mazdâ. Rather, Zarathustra taught monotheism and replaced the ancient ritual practices and “superstitions” by modern-type “meditation” on abstract qualities, “good thought,” etc., interpreted as *ethical* qualities. The presence in later time of the ancient deities, as well as the *haoma* and bloody sacrifices was explained as a *return* to “pagan” practices.

The possibility of historic development and organic evolution on both the Iranian and Indic sides was never seriously discussed.

13.1. History of the world and the Life of Zarathustra in the Zoroastrian tradition

To understand the position of Zarathustra in the ancient Iranian world view, we need to take a look at the way the Iranians imagined the history of the world.

The *Avesta* contains no systematic cosmology or eschatology. For this we have to turn to the Pahlavi texts. These are considerably later and, although conservative, obviously present a more developed and “modern” version of the religion. Nevertheless, in the light of the Pahlavi texts, the isolated references in the *Avesta* can be fitted into larger contexts, as well.

According to the Pahlavi texts, in the beginning, there was a good first principle (Pahlavi *bun*), an upper area, characterized by light and life and inhabited by Ohrmazd. The nether area was characterized by darkness and death and inhabited by Ahrimen, the Foul Spirit (*ganâg mênôy*). At one point in the history of the world, Ahrimen became aware of the world of light and wished to possess it. Ohrmazd devised a plan by which evil would be, in the end, permanently incapacitated.

The plan involved establishing our world: its components were made and put in their proper places, and functions were assigned to them. This “creation” proceeded in several stages, each lasting three thousand years (see Table 1). At the beginning of a first trimillennium, Ohrmazd incapacitated Ahrimen by reciting the *Ahunavairiya* prayer; then, by performing a sacrifice, he established the *world of thought* (*mênôy*), which contained all the heavenly beings.

During a second trimillennium, the *world of living beings* (*gêtfîy*) was established, first in the world of thought, like a fetus; then, at the beginning of the third trimillennium period, it was established in the world of living beings itself, like

a thing born. The transition between the two stages coincided with the attack (*ēbgat*) of Ahrimen upon Ohrmazd's creation, which introduced the tri-millennia of "mixture" (*gumēzishn*) of good and evil in the world of living beings.

For another trimillennium, mythical heroes battled human and non-human villains to maintain the creation of Ahura Mazdā, while it slowly assumed its present shape. One of them was Yima (Old Indic Yama; in Young Avestan also called *Yima khshaēta* "radiant Yima," Pahlavi Jamshêd, Persian Jamshid), during whose reign living beings were immortal, which caused a population explosion that had to be halted by a series of natural catastrophes (harsh winters, floods). Yima's rule was followed by the millennial rule of the Giant Dragon (Avestan *azhi dahâka*, Pahlavi Azhdahâg, Persian Zohâq), who was finally killed by the dragon-slaying hero Thraētaona (Pahlavi Frêdôn, Persian Feridun); and so on.

The last millennium of this age witnessed the battle between a succession of *kawis*, poet-sacrificers, against the arch-villain Frangrasyân (Pahlavi Frâsiyâb, Persian Afrâsiyâb). The death of Frangrasyân and the end of the rule of the last of the great *kawis* fighting him (Avestan Haosrawangha, Pahlavi Husrôy, Persian Khosrow) close this trimillennium and prepares for the next, characterized by the "coming of the *dên*."¹ The two periods are bridged by Kawi Vishtâspa (Pahlavi Kay Wishtâsp, Persian Key Goshtâsp), during whose reign Zarathustra is born.

In the Pahlavi texts, Kay Wishtâsp is followed by two rulers: Wahman, son of Spandyâd (Persian Esfandiyâr), and a queen, Humây. In the modern Persian epic, Ferdousi's *Shâh-nâme*, Book of Kings (ca. 1000 C.E.), which, for the pre-Achaemenid period, is to a large extent based upon the Zoroastrian tradition, Key Goshtâsp, last of the Kayanid dynasty, comes just before the Achaemenids. His daughter Homâ is said to be the mother of Dârâ (Darius).

The linking of the dynasties of the legendary Kayanids and the historical Achaemenids may, in fact, have taken place when Darius's father Vishtâspa was identified with Kawi Vishtâspa in the post-Achaemenid tradition.

13.2. *The Life of Zarathustra in the Zoroastrian tradition.*

The *Avesta* contains few details about Zarathustra. In the *Young Avesta*, Zarathustra is presented as a mythical figure, a first human poet-sacrificer, a founder of society, and law-giver, as well as an epic hero, who aids Ahura Mazdā and the good deities in protecting the world of living beings from evil by banning the evil spirit and the "old gods" (*daēwas*) from this earth. On the "Zarathustra image" in the *Old Avesta*, see below.

In the Pahlavi books, especially in book seven of the *Dēnkard* (discussed in detail by Molé [posthumously 1963] and edited and translated with detailed commentary by him [posthumously 1967]), Zarathustra (Pahlavi Zardusht or Zardukhsht) is presented as a mythical figure made by Ohrmazd and sent down into the world of living beings at the end of the three millennia of "mixture" to combat evil in the world and initiate the return of the cosmos to its original state. According to the Pahlavi books, this process will occupy the last trimillennium of the world.

The making of Zarathustra is told in the *Dēnkard* in some detail: Ohrmazd first transmitted Zarathustra's "fortune" (*xwarrah*) via the fire to his birth mother (*burdâr*) (*Dk.* 7.2.2-3); then his "pre-soul" (*frawahr*, which had been fashioned at the time of the attack by the Evil Spirit) came via the *hôm* (= *haoma*) to his parents (*Dk.* 7.2.14); and finally his "body substance" (*tan gôhr*) via the rain (= water) to the plants (*Dk.* 7.2.37-38) and from the plants into the milk of a cow (*Dk.* 7.2.40). Zarathustra's mother mixed the milk with the *hôm*, and this mixture was then drunk by his parents (*Dk.* 7.2.46-47). When his mother conceived, the "fortune," "pre-soul," and "substance" all came together (*Dk.* 7.2.52). We see that the birth of Zarathustra is parallel to the Zoroastrian sacrifice. The *Dēnkard* also reports that he laughed at birth (*Dk.* 5.2.5, 7.3.2), a story also found in non-Zoroastrian sources.

According to the Pahlavi texts, the living Zarathustra was brought by Wahman to his first meeting with Ohrmazd at the age of thirty, at the turn of the millennium.

The last trimillennium, thus introduced by the appearance of Zarathustra, will be punctuated by the birth of his three

¹ Although often translated as "religion," we must keep in mind that "religion" can not have had the same implications at this time as it has in modern times.

sons, by whose sacrifices the world will gradually return to its pristine, perfect, state, that of the original world of thought, the Perfectioning (Avestan *frashô.kerti*-, Pahlavi *frashkerd*).

In the still later tradition, as reflected in the Muslim-period *Shâh-nâme*, the entire cast of Avestan mythical and legendary characters are presented as historical rulers and heroes. Here we also find Zarathustra (Zardusht) in the role of prophet (*payghambar*).

13.3. *The life of Zarathustra in the Classical Sources*

In the Greek and Latin literature, Zoroaster's time is variously given as some time in the Achaemenid period or 6000/5000 years before the war of Troy, Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont, or Plato.¹ Other details about Zoroaster are scarce. The authors often mention him as the source of various religious practices; for instance, Xanthus, who wrote in the fifth century B.C.E. even before Herodotus, has the following note, quoted in the first century B.C.E. by Nicolaus of Damascus (Jackson, 1899, p. 232; Fox and Pemberton, p. 1):

As for Zoroaster, the Persians claim that it was from him they derived the rule against burning dead bodies or defiling fire in any other way, and that after this rule had been followed for a long time they finally established it as a custom.

Herodotus himself, who actively sought information about Iranian religions, mentions Zoroaster nowhere, either in his description of the history of the Achaemenid kings or in those of the Median, Persian, and Scythian religions; nor does Ctesias of Cnidus, who was a hostage and physician at the court of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.E.) and whose *History of the Persians* was probably written in the second half of the fourth century; and nor does Xenophon (ca. 430-354 B.C.E.), who wrote about his journey through Iranian Mesopotamia as a mercenary in the defeated army of Cyrus the Younger in 400 B.C.E. and the upbringing of Cyrus the younger and his religious customs.

Plato (428/7-349/8), in the tenth book of the *Republic* according to Clement of Alexandria (Jackson, 1899, p. 240; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 73-74), reports that Zoroaster himself had written that he was the son of Armenius of Pamphylia and had written an account of what he learned from the gods on a trip to Hades. According to Plato, Zoroaster was supposed to have lain on the pyre for twelve days before he came back to life.

Aristotle (384/3-322) in various places cites the date of Zoroaster as 6000 years before Plato and also that of the Magi, whom he "juxtaposed ... to Pherecydes as well as to Empedocles and Anaxagoras, therefore to Greek philosophers of the 6th and 5th centuries" and "stated in book I of *On Philosophy* that the Magi were older than the Egyptians, as Diogenes Laertius attests in his Proem (I, 8)" (Gnoli, 2000, p. 95).

In the pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades*, reference is made to the teaching of "the magic doctrine of Zoroaster, (son) of Horomazdas."² "The doctrines of Zoroaster, the son of Ormazdeus" are also mentioned by Agathias (ca. 536-82), who adds that the modern Persians say he lived at the time of Hystaspes, but that it is impossible to tell whether this was Hystaspes the father of Darius or another of the same name (Jackson, 1899, p. 248; Fox and Pemberton, p. 115).

Pliny the Elder's (23-79 C.E.) *Natural History* contains the story about Zarathustra's laughter on the day he was born, also known from the Zoroastrian tradition (see below), and that he lived in the desert on cheese so carefully cured for twenty years that he did not perceive its age, as well as his date as 6000 years before the death of Plato. He also cites Hermippus to the effect that "Zoroaster composed two million lines of verse in the indices to his books" and that his teacher was a certain Azonaces (Jackson, 1899, p. 234; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 44-46). Zoroaster's laughter at birth is later mentioned by Augustine (354-430) in the *City of God* (Jackson, 1899, p. 246; Fox and Pemberton, p. 99). Augustine points out that his laughter portended nothing good, since he was then defeated by the Assyrian king Ninus

¹ See Jackson, 1899, *Zoroaster*; Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* III, 1991, "Excursus"; Gnoli, 2000, *Zoroaster in History*; Kellens, 2001, "Zoroastre dans l'histoire ou dans le mythe?"

² Fox and Pemberton, 1929, p. 22, have "the prophet of Horomazus," but the Greek text has only the genitive of the god's name, which usually means "son of."

(see below).

Another miracle story was told by Dio Chrysostom (b. ca. 50 C.E.) in connection with his discussion of the chariots of the sun and Zeus (Jackson, 1899, p. 236; Fox and Pemberton, p. 48). In search for wisdom, Zoroaster withdrew to a mountain (perhaps related to Pliny the Elder's story just cited), after which a fire fell down upon it from the sky and set it on fire. When the king and his followers came there to pray, Zoroaster emerged unharmed and told them to offer certain sacrifices.¹ Subsequently he joined the Magians.

From around 100 C.E. and onward, Zoroaster is depicted as a Bactrian king and a contemporary of Queen Semiramis of Babylon and the adversary of Ninus (see Jackson, 1899, pp. 154-57). The same tradition is mentioned by Justin in the *Epitome* of Trogus Pompeius's *Histories* (Fox and Pemberton, p. 69) and by Aelius Theo in his list of women who were stronger than their male adversaries (Jackson, 1899, p. 237; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 59-60). This story was reported earlier by Diodorus Siculus on the authority of Ctesias (ca. 400 B.C.E.), according to whom, however, Semiramis's adversary was called Oxyartes (Fox and Pemberton, p. 30).² It eventually made its way into King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon chronicle by Paulus Orosius (5th cent. C.E.) and the preface of Snorri's *Younger Edda*.

Zoroaster's connection with the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia is reported from Alexander Polyhistor (1st cent. B.C.E.) by Georgius Syncellus (d. after 810 C.E.): "Zoroastres and the seven kings of the Chaldeans who succeeded him ... reigned in all for one hundred and ninety sun-years" (Jackson, 1899, p. 252; Fox and Pemberton, p. 121).

The popular etymology of Zoroaster's name as "someone who sacrifices to the stars" (*astrophûtês*) is found for the first time in Diogenes Laertius (fl. ca. 210 C.E.; Jackson, 1899, p. 241; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 80-81); it is interpreted as "living star" in Gregory of Tours (ca. 538-93; Jackson, 1899, p. 250; Fox and Pemberton, p. 117). The Classical sources also give his name as Zaratas or Zaradas.

We see that the oldest Greek sources are barely cognizant of Zarathustra and that historical connections are of two kinds: connections or synchronisms with Greek thinkers and with an otherwise unknown Bactrian-Babylonian conflict. The Classical sources, therefore, are as inconclusive on this subject as the Zoroastrian tradition itself.

13.4. Historicity of Zarathustra

By the turn of the century, the view had taken firmly root that the Old Avestan Zarathustra was historical: a prophet, reformer, thinker, etc., while the Young Avestan and later Zarathustra was a myth or legend, but with several surviving historical details.

It was also about this time that the argument from the vivid and personal description of Zarathustra in the *Gâthâs* became common. Thus, Karl Friedrich Geldner, author of the chapter on the Avestan literature in the *Grundriss*, put it as follows:

In the *Gâthâs*, [the personality of Zarathustra] appears far less legendary and comes closer to us as human ... The relationship to his patrons, especially King Vishtâspa and his advisors, stands out in more lifelike fashion and more clearly. The subjective and personal emphasis prevails. ...³

As we shall see, this argument remained for the whole of the twentieth century and was gradually coupled with the opinion that the poems show such an advanced level of abstraction and ethical contents that Zarathustra *must* have been an historical person.

The problem of the historical Zarathustra is not a simple one, however, but a complex of questions: Does the *Old*

¹ Both stories are related to the story of Zarathustra's conversion of Wishtâsp in *Dk.* 7.4.63-86 (see Molé, 1967, *La légende de Zoroastre*).

² This was also the name of a noble Bactrian, the father of Roxana, whom Alexander married. The occurrence of the name in Ctesias may therefore be an indication that the text was adjusted after Alexander (Ctesias of Cnidus, *Histoires de l'Orient*, ed. J. Aubberger, Paris, 1991, p. 145 n. 16; see also Gnoli, 2000, pp. 43-44). Ctesias does not mention the name of Zoroaster.

³ Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss*, vol. II, p. 29.

Avesta present Zarathustra as its author?¹ Does the text itself contain indications that Zarathustra was an historical person? If so, does it present a reformed religion? If so, what does the reform consist in, and is there evidence that the reform was that of a single historical individual or the result of a gradual development? If Zarathustra was a historical reformer and the author of the *Old Avesta*, is there any evidence that this text contains his entire teaching?² Notably, was what is not in the *Gâthâs* deliberately excluded by Zarathustra — for instance, deities such as Haoma, Mithra, Anâhitâ, Vayu, etc.? And so on.

Since the world view of the *Young Avesta*, which post-dates the *Old Avesta* probably by a few hundred years, perhaps as much as half a millennium, is commonly agreed to contain elements that were *not* part of Zarathustra's reform, yet continues Indo-Iranian traditions, one has assumed that the Young Avestan religion to a large extent reflects *post-Zarathustrian* developments or even a return to *pre-Zarathustrian* — sometimes referred to as “pagan” — beliefs kept intact outside of the community of the followers of the prophet. Most importantly, the mythical image of Zarathustra — the only one found in the Young Avesta — is regarded as a post-Zarathustrian development. This view was already in place about the turn of the century and remained common throughout the first half of the century. It was expressed by Lommel as follows:

In the *Gathas*, [the personality of Zarathustra] appears far less legendary and comes closer to us as human ... The relationship to his patrons, especially King Vishtâspa and his advisors, stands out in more lifelike fashion and more clearly. The subjective and personal emphasis prevails. ...³

In more recent times, scholars have rarely discussed Zarathustra's historicity, but the above arguments are occasionally quoted, cf. Boyce (1992, p. 113):

Yet he is also drawn into the divine and mythic worlds, and thereby piously transformed from the recognizably real figure of the *Gathas* into a revered, semi-legendary one.

We must not forget, however, that these opinions were based upon interpretations of the *Gâthâs* as understood at the time, especially a few “pillar passages”; but, like the rest of the *Gâthâs*, these passages contain their fair share of, if not more than usual, words of uncertain or unknown meaning and unclear syntax and so permit various interpretations.

Few scholars in the second half of the twentieth century tried to replace or add to the old argument with other arguments (only Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, see below), and the historicity of Zarathustra was not usually questioned or discussed among Western scholars. Thus, a typical introduction to the study of Zarathustra is that of Lommel (1930, p. 3): “When and where Zarathustra lived, no one knows.” The absence of a third question (which ought to be the first): *whether* Zarathustra lived, leaps to the eye. Similarly, for instance, Gnoli (1987, p. 557): “Other than the names of his father ... and of his mother ... we know almost nothing of Zarathustra's life.” The implication of these statements is obviously that there is no historical or archeological evidence for his existence, which must therefore be deduced in other ways.

Recently, an argument has also been put forward based on the form and structure of the poems to the effect that the high degree of sophistication of the poetic techniques involved point to Zarathustra as their author.

The poet's complaint.

The *Gâthâs* contain the topos of an (apparent) “self-dramatization” of the poet as poor, persecuted, etc., which

¹ Obviously, the *Gâthâs* had an author, but the notion of “author” in oral traditions is very vague.

² Bartholomae, in fact, suggested they might be “*excerpts* from sermons” rather than complete sermons.

³ Lommel, 1930, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, p. 4: “Nevertheless, the teacher who, in the *Gâthâs*, speaks to us as a living real person, is, in the Young Avesta—also in what are presumably its older parts—a completely legendary and mythical personality.”

belonged to the center piece of the proof of Zarathustra's historicity to Bartholomae, Lommel, Boyce, etc.

A Poet's Complaint is found in *Gâthâs* 1-4. It is missing in the fifth *Gâthâ*, the structure of which differs from that of the others, and in the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, which is a "collective" hymn.

In the second *Gâthâ*, the Poet's complaint comes in Yasna 46, which contains the themes of the Social Conflict, the Contest, and the Conclusion. The Complaint itself is brief (2.46.1-2), serving as an introduction to the larger theme of the Social Conflict. The poet-sacrificer complains about his weakness and poverty, caused by his lack of earth, men, and animals, as well as lack of approval, apparently, by his own people. In the first line of 2.46.1 traditional scholarship has seen an indication of Zarathustra's intent to leave his home land and go to preach his message in another "land"; however, *zam* never means "land" in the sense of a political unit and "foreign land," but only "earth, ground," especially in connection with "working the earth." The connection of *zam*- with *nem*- "bend, bow" is also typically used together with Ârmaiti, genius of the earth or the earth itself. In the second strophe (2.46.2), the poet-sacrificer complains about his "weakness," recalling the Soul of the Cow's complaint about Zarathustra's "weakness." This then serves as a pretext for asking for support and a munificent reward.

All these passages have serious problems of interpretation and can obviously not be used to reconstruct Zarathustra's life.

13.5. Non-historicity of Zarathustra

Not all nineteenth-century Iranists endorsed the historicity of Zarathustra – Spiegel was an exception, but in the twentieth century the assumption was only challenged in the late nineteen-fifties early nineteen-sixties by Marijan Molé (Molé, 1963). Molé concluded that it was impossible to make inferences about history from the Zoroastrian texts (p. 524), but he died young, and his work was later not often referred to.

More recently, however, a few scholars have continued this approach and tried to show that it is possible to discuss and describe the Avesta and the ancient Iranian religion without the assumption of an historical Zarathustra. In this way the problem has been transformed into one of determining *which description is the more likely to represent a real religion in the time and place in question*.

One cannot, of course, to produce rigorous arguments and proofs. The texts simply do not permit that. In our case, however, not only the fact that scholars in, say, the second half of the twentieth century have not re-examined the original arguments, which were obviously representative of their times, in order to make a new case using modern methodologies (in history, the history of religions, comparative mythology, oral literature, etc.) for Zarathustra's being an historical person, that his religion broke with that of his parents, etc., but also the fact that the assumption of Zarathustra's historicity has not led to a relative consensus among scholars about the basic data of his life or teaching – all of this leaves the doors open for *other* possible interpretations of the sources at our disposal.

The main question is also not whether the Zarathustra of the *Gâthâs* was a historical person, however, but, once we assume he was, what then? Assuming his historicity, whether we place him in the second millennium B.C.E. or in the Median-Achaemenid periods, there is no supporting historical or archeological evidence for his existence in time and place and hence for the society in which he grew up or what influences he was exposed to during childhood and adolescence. As we shall see, the textual evidence is minimal, and, in the past, all this has been supplied by those who reconstruct his life and thought, and the results have depended on each scholar's personal opinions. The alternative is obviously to approach the texts without the presumption about Zarathustra and read them on their own premises as a specimen of ancient Indo-Iranian literature. If such an "objective" reading of the texts leads one to assume an historical Zarathustra, then all is well; if not, one may as well leave him out of the equation.

13.6. Approaches to the Old Avesta

The debate in the West over Zarathustra's reform and teaching has also made the texts assumed to have been composed by him, the Old Avestan *Gâthâs*, recently with promotion of the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, one of the most controversial of ancient Indo-European texts, and there is less general agreement about what they mean grammatically than about what they refer to. This state of affairs is usually – and often justifiably, of course – ascribed to the obscurity of the language and the esoteric contents. Thus M. Boyce (1975, p. 20) characterized “the teachings of Zoroaster himself” as “enveloped in the sublime obscurities of his great *zaotar* verses” and the *Gâthâs* (1978, p. 603) as “magnificently obscure hymns.”

The obscurity, however, is, in my view, also caused in part, at least, by the effort to interpret them according to what is *thought* to be the teaching of their author, Zarathustra. In fact, while pointing out the obscurity of the texts, scholars have yet proceeded to determine in great detail what their author felt, thought, and taught.

Far into the second half of the century, the interpretation of these texts was basically that from around the turn of the nineteenth century, when major publications on Zarathustra and the Avesta cemented the already existing opinion that the *Gâthâs* represented a break with tradition, a new and reformed religion that was the work of a single man, a prophet, philosopher, and reformer. This image of the prophet and his life and Bartholomae's translation of the *Gâthâs*, Zarathustra's “sermons in verse,” were widely accepted, and subsequent scholarship mainly occupied itself with refining them.¹

On the other hand, it was recognized early on that, on the whole, the style of the *Gâthâs* was that of Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European poetics. The fact, however, that the Old Avestan poet used the same terminology of the sacrifice and poetic formulas as the Rigvedic poet was interpreted by some as a conscious choice on the part of Zarathustra (see Lommel, below), an opinion that also endured.²

More recently, Thieme (1975, p. 35 = *Kleine Schriften*, p. 1127) described the pre-Zoroastrian elements in the *Gâthâs* as “new wine in old bags,”³ and Puhvel (1987, pp. 38-39) suggested that Iran is less directly useful for the reconstruction of Indo-European myth “owing to the dislocation and overlays of the Zoroastrian reform,” but “[s]craping off the barnacles of the Zoroastrian sea change, we reach a readily inferrable Proto-Iranian level.”

Though Bartholomae's grammatical analysis of the Old Avestan texts was seriously criticized and modified in the early nineteen-fifties, especially by the work of Helmut Humbach, who considered many of Bartholomae's text emendations arbitrary and syntactical analyses wayward, yet his ideas about the contents of the texts are still very much in vogue. Humbach, like others before him, in his German edition of the *Gâthâs* (1959), emphasized the importance of comparing the *Gâthâs* with the Vedic hymns, but also the fact that the poems were not priestly sermons, but hymns of praise addressed to God, for which the poet was entitled to a reward, and he stressed their ritual character.

Scholars still differed significantly about such details of Zarathustra's life as his date (ranging from ca. 1500 B.C.E. – the “early date”, via ca. 1000 B.C.E., to ca. 500 B.C.E. – the “late date”), as well as details of his teaching, and, in his contribution to a colloquium on the Achaemenid religion in 1987, Kellens suggested that the fact that it has not been possible for scholars, on the basis of Bartholomae's premises, to agree on the details of Zarathustra's life and teaching shows this approach to be inadequate (Kellens, 2000, *Essays*, p. 29):

The fact that the research, by postulating a founder, has not been able to articulate the various manifestations of

¹ For a survey of modern attitudes, see J. Kellens and C. Herrenschmidt, “La question du rituel dans le mazdéisme ancien et achéménide,” *Archives de Sciences sociales des Religions* 85, 1994, pp. 45-48; Skjærvø, 1997, p. 106.

² The same scenario has been suggested in Christian studies, cf. Schweitzer in the introduction to the English 3rd ed.: “Critical study cannot remain blind to the Jewish eschatological material found in the utterances of Jesus according to the two oldest Gospels ... It was originally thought possible to reconcile this with the conviction that he wanted to be a purely spiritual Messiah and set himself to found a purely spiritual Kingdom of God, by supposing that he used the traditional terminology in order to make himself understood.”

³ Thieme, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 1127: “Who will reject the thought that we are dealing with old wine filled into new bags?”

Mazdaism in a coherent picture that might receive a relative consensus ought to make us extremely skeptical toward the premises.

It has been said that Zoroastrian studies have been through even more revolutions and reforms than Zoroastrianism. This is not quite true, however, since Zoroastrian studies have remained remarkably stable for almost a century in scholars' approaches to Zoroastrianism and the results obtained – however they may have translated the *Gâthâs*.

14. ESCHATOLOGY

In the *Gâthâs* “last things” are frequently mentioned. Put most simply, the Gathic concept is that the good will go to the house of Ahura Mazdâ and live on in bliss, while the bad will go to the house of the Lie (hell), where they will live in misery until the end of the world.

Life is frequently conceived of in terms of a giant (horse) race, the winners of which are declared at the “final turn.” This image is also used of the poet and his poems, which vie with those of the competitors for first place in the race toward the gods. It is therefore not always clear which of the two big “races” are being alluded to, but probably the last one is reflected or foreshadowed by the first.

At the Ford of the Accountant (the Chinwadpuhl of the later tradition), a questioning takes place, at which the “tallies” for good thoughts, etc., are counted up. As a result of the accounting, the rewards are distributed: good or bad.

The story of what happens to the soul after death is told in several Avestan (*Videvdad* chap. 19, *Hâdôkht nask*) and Pahlavi texts (e.g., *Bundahishn* chap. 30, *Mênôy Khrad* chap. 2).

According to the Pahlavi texts, the damned suffer unspeakable punishments in hell. The *Book of Ardâ Wirâz*, in particular, contains a catalogue of such punishments that closely resembles Dante's *Divina Commedia*. In this text, the Righteous (*ardâ*) Wirâz is sent into the beyond to verify the credibility of the religion as practiced at his time (3rd cent. C.E.). He visits heaven and hell, as well as the intermediate area reserved for those whose good thoughts, etc., equaled their bad thoughts, etc.

In the later tradition, the course of the world passes through four periods of 3,000 years, but it is not clear from the Young Avesta to what extent this scheme had been developed already at that time. According to the later tradition human history takes place in the third millennium, and during the last millennium three sons of Zarathustra,¹ whose semen has been preserved in Lake Kiyânsê, are born from three virgins who come down to the lake to bathe. These three sons are the *saoshyants*, “Life-givers” or “Revitalizers” become the leaders in the final battle against Evil

| | |
|--|------------|
| Av. | Pahl. |
| Ukhshyat-erta “he who makes Order grow” | Ushêdar |
| Ukhshyat-nemah “he who makes reverence (the earth) grow” | Ushêdarmâh |
| Astwat-erta “he through whom Order receives bones” | Sôshâns |

Most of the known details of the Young Avestan *saoshyant* Astwaterta are from the *Zamyâd yasht* (Yt. 19), in which the story of the “(divine) Fortune” (*khwarnah*) is told, while the Pahlavi books, notably the *Bundahishn*, contain details about all three.

By the sacrifices of each of the three, the world will start returning to its original state, and the third and last of the three sons, the *saoshyant* par excellence, Pahlavi Sôshâns, will bring about the return to the origins, bringing about the “Perfectioning” (*frashkerd*).

The world experiences several setbacks, however.

During the millennium of Ushêdar, there will be a terrible rain followed by a harsh winter lasting three years, during

¹ Other sons of Zarathustra include Urwcontinent V.2.43, Yt.13.98) and Isaṭ.vâstra (Yt.13.98, Bdh.34.10).

which almost all of mankind is killed. The world is then filled up from Yima's (Jamshêd's) enclosure.

Toward the end of Ushêdarmâh's millennium, the Giant Dragon, Azhdahâg, breaks his chains and causes much devastation in the world. Several heroes who have been lying sleeping in various places are awakened to combat each their opponents. The dragon-slayer Kersâspa is awakened to slay Azhdahâg.

Toward the end of human existence, the Fortune will come to the *saoshyant* Astwaterta, son of Vîspa.taurwairî (she who will overcome all (evils),” and he will lead the battle against Evil. He will raise the dead, and Zarathustra's son Isadwâstar gathers all mankind, whose good and bad deeds are revealed. For three days and nights the evil will be tortured in hell. Then the heavenly dragon Gôchihr falls down from heaven and sets the earth on fire. The metal in the mountains is smelted and pours into a giant river, through which humanity must pass. The good pass through without discomfort, while the evil have the rest of their evil burnt out of them.

The final sacrifices in the world of the living will be performed by Zarathustra and Wishtâsp and in the world of thought by Ohrmazd and Srôsh. Thereby, the Final Body will be produced, and the world will be Perfect. The Lie will be overcome and banished to its original abode, and the Evil Spirit shall no longer have any power. Death will be overcome and banished, and mankind will return to the state it lived in under the rule of Yima, being again indestructible.

15. THE SACRIFICE (YASNA)

The Old Avestan texts are ritual texts in the sense that they are recited during the *yasna* ritual, the Zoroastrian *haoma* sacrifice. The vocabulary is to a large extent ritual, that is, it contains specific terms for addressing the gods and for ritual actions and objects.

The ritual is the means of communicating with the other world and the sacrificial ground the place where this happens. The communication is vital, because it keeps the world going, upholding the values of good existence and withstanding the pressures from evil existence. For this purpose the gods must be supported, as they are the guardians of the cosmic order and the principal opponents of the forces of evil. The sacrifice is therefore directed at the gods, and they are the ones that receive its “first fruits.” The all-important immortality of the gods is conferred upon them and maintained by the sacrifice, and they in turn bestow well-being: freedom from illnesses and long life on the commissioner and performer of the sacrifice and peace and fertility on their community. There is thus complete interdependence between the two spheres: that of men and that of gods.

The sacrifice is not a binary system, however, but a trinary one. This is not seen very clearly in Iran, but in India, the this-worldly participants in the sacrifice are two: the *yajamâna* “sacrificer,” or “patron,” as we would call him, and the poet-sacrificer who performs the ritual, the “libator.” The patron is the one who has commissioned the ritual, who will reap the benefits from it, and who will have to pay the performer of the sacrifice—here referred to as the poet-sacrificer—his fee. In Iran, the role of the patron is never emphasized either in the texts or in studies of Iranian religion. The latter omission is commonly explained by assuming that Zarathustra's (alleged) message or teachings are too lofty to be distracted by such material concerns as jobs and salaries. In the Old Avestan texts, however, the patron is clearly present as the one in charge of the material fee (*mizhda*), only obscured by the mythico-ritual identifications among the actors in the tripartite drama that is being played out.

The poet-sacrificer's job is to perform a successful ritual, a performance of “sympathetic magic” in a religious setting, whereby the desired cosmic events are reenacted and so made happen. There always exists, however, the possibility that his ritual may not be successful and so produce the opposite result, cf. S. Lévi's summing up of the Old Indic sacrifice as described in the late Vedic texts, the Brahmanas:

... the sacrifice, which regulates the relations between man and the gods, is a mechanical operation that acts by its own internal energy. It is hidden deep inside the nature, and only comes out by the magical action of the priest. The worried and evil gods find themselves forced to capitulate, overcome and subjected by the very force that gave them their greatness. In spite of them, the sacrificer rises all the way up to the heavenly world and secures for

himself a definitive place: man becomes superhuman. But, although the gain is considerable, it is a tricky role to play. Once the force of the sacrifice is released, it acts blindly. He who does not know how to tame it is broken by it, and the jealousy of the gods who are awaiting their chance willingly takes upon itself to complete the work. Being experts in rituals they hasten to turn the errors to their profit in order to defend their threatened positions.

The poet-sacrificer has several means of preventing the sacrifice from backfiring: he can ask the gods for a sign by which he can be confident that his ritual is correct; he can insert in the text of his hymns a “safety clause,” inserted at various places in the hymns to obviate the possibility that his performance might 1. not be adequate or flawed, 2. arouse the gods’ anger, 3. omit important names. The poet-sacrificer states that his performance is according to his means and powers, and he asks for the gods’ leniency and mercy and forgiveness for “sins,” i.e., (ritual) errors.

The purpose of the sacrifice.

The ritual reproduces Ahura Mazdâ’s primeval sacrifice, by which he established the Ordered cosmos, and its purpose is the revitalization of this cosmos, now constantly under attack by the forces of darkness and destruction. During the ritual the poet-sacrificer, on behalf of his patron and community, returns to Ahura Mazdâ what he, during his first ordering action, gave to the world to use, but which still belongs to him. These sacred objects—sacred because of divine origin—by their circulation between the divine and human spheres as gifts and counter-gifts, confer upon these two spheres all the profits of the gift exchange.¹

There are three kinds of sacred objects: 1. the ritual thoughts, words, and actions; 2. the objects manipulated during the actions, among them the ritual refreshments intended for the gods; 3. the constituent substance of the world/macrococosmos and men/microcosmos: its vital spirit and bones. All three types are explicitly said to have originated with Ahura Mazdâ and to be returned to him during the ritual. Once made by Ahura Mazdâ these sacred objects were brought down to earth by Zarathustra, and the worshippers consecrate them and offer them in return to Ahura Mazdâ for his enjoyment.

Bad poets and inefficient rituals.

How could evil have gotten into the Ordered cosmos of Ahura Mazdâ? By a wrong ritual, a ritual inviting the wrong gods, informed by the bad *manyu*, based on the wrong choice. *Our* poet exhorts the sustainers of Order not to listen to them, as in 1.31.18, where “But let no one among you keep listening to the formulas and the teachings of the one possessed by the Lie!,” which echoes 1.29.8 “who ... listens to our ordinances, Zarathustra Spitâma.” In 2.44.20 the *karpan* and the *usij* are said to “give the cow to Wrath,” and in 3.48.10 our poet expresses his disgust at them for working ineffective rituals, unable to bring back the sun and make the earth prosper (see below), for this they are condemned to failure because (4.51.14) “the mumblers (do) not abide by the deals” and to failure and ridicule in 5.53.8.

The performance of the bad poet-sacrificer is characterized by mediocrity and wrong performances, expressed in part in the vocabulary of the Old Avestan texts by a special set of words or forms reserved for them.

The Contest, chariot race

The poet-sacrificer, getting ready to assist Ahura Mazdâ in his fight against the Lie and to improve his own circumstances, prepares his sacrifice and sends his sacrifice and praises up to the other world. The praises take the shape of chariots with his tongue as charioteer. But the rival poet-sacrificers prepare their own sacrifices and send their own praise songs. The competing praises therefore take the form of a contest or competition, more specifically, a horse and chariot race, in which the quality of the poems and the poets determine who will be the winner.

The same holds true of the Rigvedic poet according to Louis Renou: “in order to restore the ambiance in which the hymns moved, we must recover, beneath the description of the actions of the cult or the mythical facts, the poet’s major

¹ See M. Godelier, *L’énigme du don*, Paris, 1996; Eng. transl. N. Scott, *The Enigma of the Gift*, Chicago, 1999.

concern, upon which his future and that of his community depended, namely, success in the literary contest.” And, finally, “the poet thinks about his work, about the demands of the rhetoric contest (*lutte oratoire*), he fears failure, he hopes for success ... The composition, the poetic technique, in this sense, becomes a purpose in itself.”

Mutual dependence

To reestablish and maintain cosmos and Order, Ahura Mazdâ needs the assistance of his creatures, specifically humans, among whom this function is assigned to the poet-sacrificer, who performs the function as Ahura Mazdâ's assistant through his ritual: the hymns and the sacrifices, but only after he has been approved, declared competent, by winning a(n imaginary) poetic competition.

The gift-giving principle of “gifts and counter-gifts” presupposes a situation of mutual dependence between the divine and the ritual spheres, and it is the poet-sacrificer who is in charge of seeing to it that the relationship functions. Thus, Ahura Mazdâ and the poet-sacrificer constitute the two poles of the ritual-mythical universe, between which everything else is arranged and, like in a battery, is energized through them. The poet-sacrificer who is approved by Ahura Mazdâ is the one who knows what was, is, and will be, knowledge imparted to him by Ahura Mazdâ, something that defines him as a “seer” or “prophet” in Western terminology.

In this perspective, then, the poet-sacrificer is the communicator, without whom the society would be cut off from divine favor and support, on one hand, and without whom the Order of nature could not be reestablished, at least not properly. The communication between the two spheres is maintained by means of “speaking/hearing” and “seeing,” on both sides: both the poet-sacrificer and the gods who are the targets of his ritual, with its acts and words, must be able to “see” and, especially, “hear.” The existence of a hearing and seeing performers and audience, is therefore a key concept.

If the poet-sacrificer is approved by Ahura Mazdâ it means that he has the necessary knowledge about the origin and nature of the world. Thus, he knows that in the beginning there were two twin, but antagonistic, mental forces/inspirations, asleep or in *statu nascendi*, and that Ahura Mazdâ by the agency of the life-giving inspiration is the god who originally established or by engendering brought forth Order in the universe, making it into an Ordered cosmos, by assigning their proper place and time (*ratu*) to all objects in it. It was Ahura Mazdâ who determined what would be good life and behavior for human beings. The poet-sacrificer also knows that Chaos, that is, the denial of Order, or the Lie, by the agency of the evil, or destructive mental force, periodically takes over, as it was not removed from the world through Ahura Mazdâ's cosmogonic/cosmetic activities and is reactivated by the rituals of the poet-sacrificers who are the partisans of the Lie, being themselves possessed by it, as it were. The cosmos must therefore also be periodically reestablished.

But he also knows that his ritual space—with its hallowed ground, its ordered arrangement, its fire, its officiating priests, and its sacrifices—is an exact counterpart of the original Ordered cosmos, he is himself filled with life-giving strength, and he becomes the *Life-giving Man* (see below), whereby he also obtains the same command that allowed Ahura Mazdâ to overcome Chaos the first time. Endowed with this command he joins, through his perfect ritual, Ahura Mazdâ in the fight against the forces of evil and darkness, strengthening Ahura Mazdâ and his cosmos sufficiently to bring back its pristine condition. Once this has happened, he asks for his reward: for himself good livelihood and absence of illness and untimely death, as well as his professional fee and, for his patron and his community, peace and fertility.

The ritual is thus the poet-sacrificer's contribution to the cosmic struggle between good and evil, for either of which he has to take sides. The partisans of Order will take side for Ahura Mazdâ and everything he stands for: truth, peace, and fertility, etc., while the partisans of the Lie, by advocating and supporting the other side, contribute to everything that is bad: lies, strife and war, sickness and death, both among humans and beasts and in the universe itself.

The Life-giving Man

When the poet-sacrificer has all the knowledge needed, has proved himself to abide by Ahura Mazdâ's deals, and has won the competition, he becomes, on account of his good thought, the life-giving man and revitalizer, capable of assisting Ahura Mazdâ.

In the *Gâthâs*, the poet-sacrificer/Zarathustra obtains this status so by offering Ahura Mazdâ his own life breath and bones to serve as material for the regeneration of the cosmos. The idea seems to be that the worshiper contributes to the rejuvenation of the cosmos by returning to Ahura Mazdâ as a gift the substance of his own body, namely his life breath—through his poems—and his bones—through the sacrificial food—to use as substance for his recreated cosmos, originally given to him by Ahura Mazdâ and expected to be (re)given after the revitalization. Thus, the reward is expected to be the same for the worshippers and other sustainers of Order.

By his action the cosmos returns to its original Ordered state: When Order ~ the diurnal sky is revitalized, becomes “full of vitality,” dawn can pull out through the luminous spaces, Ârmaiti ~ the earth, when again in view of the sun, resumes her mother-earth functions, and Ahura Mazdâ is again in command and is encouraged to produce in exchange a new, true existence which is “juicy” in exchange value (1.34.15; 2.46.19; 3.50.11).

Corresponding to the revitalization of the cosmos by the revitalizers' remaking it full of vitality, the process also provides for the humans who have been involved in the process, either directly or as associated with Zarathustra, “vitalizing strength,” occasionally also, it seems, the gods receive it.

Thoughts, Words, Actions.

The external aspect of a sacrifice consists of its words and actions, what can be heard and what can be seen. Thus the sacrifice is often defined as consisting of these two elements, that is, both the actions consisting of movement and gestures and the verbal actions, consisting, notably, of songs.

Words and actions do not spring from nothing, however. A sacrifice is something that has to be performed precisely and according to set rules, and in preliterate societies it is therefore obvious that knowledge and memory are crucial. Both knowledge and memory are contained in one's mind or thought, which therefore serves the purpose of a “store of information” or “memory bank” (S. Tanbiah) for everything the professional poet-sacrificer needs. Consequently words and actions both presuppose thought, which directs and arranges, and so underlies, the other two.

Basically the terms thought, word, and action imply thinking true thoughts and speaking true words about reality as the Ordered cosmos established by Ahura Mazdâ and performing the actions required to maintain this ordered cosmos. “Sin” basically consists in thinking and saying things that disagree with this reality, and so are untrue. Those who do this “lie” and thereby become partisans of the Lie.

In the microcosmos of the ritual, these terms, which pervade the entire corpus, clearly refer to ritual activities. The poet-sacrificer's “good speech” is that of uttering his utterances correctly, and his “good actions” are those of performing the ritual actions correctly—both crucial for his success in contributing to the revitalizing the world, and both are dependent upon his “good thought” (singular).

Thus, during the ritual performance the poet-sacrificer produces ritual actions and utterances through the effort and talent of his “(good) thought,” and it is for this production he will be judged worthy or unworthy by Ahura Mazdâ and his other critics.

There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of the word *yasna*, which is commonly translated as “sacrifice” or simply “worship.” Some of this uncertainty is inherent in the semantics of “sacrifice” itself. Some authors use this word to refer to animal (human) sacrifices, while others equate it with “religious ritual” in a general way. L. Renou specifically defines Old Indic *yajña* as the “oral part” of the sacrifice, as opposed to the “material part.” From the Old Avesta, however, it is relatively clear that the ritual performance consists of *yasna* and utterances, which indicates that *yasna*, in fact, refers to the material part of the sacrifice, that is, the various “acts.” More probably, perhaps, *yasna* refers to the entire sacrifice (hence my translation), including, especially, the utterances. Such a meaning is in

harmony with the all-purpose use of the verb *yaza-* in both Old and Young Avestan.

Ethics in the *Gāthās*

There is thus clearly a double system of references in the *Gāthās*: to the ritual and the divine sphere, and most concepts are represented in both. Whether there are also references to human society in general, is much more difficult to determine. There are, however, numerous references to “mortals” and “mortal men (and women),” represented as being in the service of the forces of good or evil. Among the more revealing passages is 2.46.11, which tells how bad poet-sacrificers use mortals as their coursers in the race for victory. It is therefore likely that the notion seen in the much later Zoroastrian books that humans participate in the cosmic struggle by performing in the world the same actions that the gods perform in heaven and the priest in the ritual. Hence we are allowed to apply the Old Avestan concepts—for instance, the two triads good/bad thoughts/words/actions—in a much wider context, even if this context only rarely appears explicitly in the poems.

The “homage” (*nemah*).

One of the most important actions is that of bending down in homage. This action has a two-fold symbolism. It aims at reproducing the bending of the fire and the movement of the earth bulging and bending, thereby expanding to provide more living space. Exactly what kind of motion the term refers to is not clear, whether a bending of the body forward and downward or a bending of the whole body, including the knees—which would both be a better imitation of the fire and produce contact with the earth—is not clear. The gesture of bent knees, however, is probably of Indo-European date.

The homage is closely related to the earth, Humility, who bends and undulates, as well as the fire, who does the same.

The sacrificial refreshments.

The foodstuffs offered during the ritual to the gods consist mainly of milk products, which are libated into the fire for transporting into the beyond. The libation par excellence is the fat dripping, and the action of libating devolves on the chief performer of the ritual, the libator. The other libated substance is the milk libation, which travels to heaven leaving its footprints along the way.

The sacrificer is offering the gods hymns and sacrificial food, as well as his own body and soul, and in return expects a reward from the gods. The distribution of the sacrificer’s gifts and those of the gods takes place at the Gift Exchange.¹

Gifts and counter-gifts.

The sacrifice is conceived as a great offering of gifts to Ahura Mazdâ and the other gods together with their creations. Its purpose and function is to support the gods and especially Ahura Mazdâ in sustaining and maintaining the ordered cosmos. Since the entire universe was originally ordered by Ahura Mazdâ and all human knowledge, including that of the mysteries of the sacrifice and the cosmos, was originally given to men by him, whatever gifts they give to the gods in the sacrifice originated with them. The gifts are material and/or “symbolic,” although the latter are of course no less real than the former. Both belong to the poet-sacrificer’s *imaginaire*, that is, his conception of total reality, their discrete elements together with their interactions.

The outcome of the ritual and the (imaginary) competition determines the rewards for gods and men, good and bad, also determined by Ahura Mazdâ at the beginning of the world (2.43.5). They are a part of the deal agreed upon

¹ Note especially: 1.282-7, 30.4, 34.12-13, 2.43.1, 4-8, 12, 16, 44.18-19, 46.10, 19, 3.48.4, 9, 49.9, 4.51.6, 14-15, 21, 5.53.7, 54.1.

between Ahura Mazdâ and his followers, a *quid pro quo* or *do ut des*,¹ according to which the worshipper will supply Ahura Mazdâ with fame, provided by the hymns of praise, and the sustenance needed to invigorate the divine sphere and its inhabitants, the sacrificial food (concrete or symbolic), including the substance and spirit of his own body. In return Ahura Mazdâ is to bring about the revitalization and stabilization of Order and Ârmaiti, that is, the return of the sun as symbol of cosmic Order and the fecundity of the earth. This return of Order and life will supply the world of the living and its inhabitants with well-being, provided by the fecundity of the earth and men and animals, as well as absence of illness and untimely death and freedom from war and destruction, but also, because of an abundance of livestock, guarantees that he will be paid a handsome fee. Thus, the theme of mutual gifts and rewards constitutes the pragmatic axis, not only of the Old Avestan poems, but of the poet-sacrificer's conceptual universe, as they do in the Rigveda

where the sacrificer is promised wealth both temporal and in the world to come in return for his sacrifice, and his gifts to the priests, and where the gods are invoked to delight themselves with the offering and to reward their votaries.

... this theory of the sacrifice and its result as an exchange of gifts, of strength for strength, is the fundamental fact of the whole Vedic religion.²

Thus, the ritual, with its acts and words, represents the poet-sacrificer's—and through him— his entire community's—supreme gift to Ahura Mazdâ and the other gods. By the rules and deals for “gift and counter-gift,” poet-sacrificer and Ahura Mazdâ are friends and Ahura Mazdâ, the friend, is therefore obliged to provide a counter-gift that matches in exchange value the gift of his friends, the poet-sacrificer and his community.

The principle of gifts and counter-gifts permeates the Avesta in general, and, in particular, constitutes the ideological fundament of the Old Avestan poet-sacrificer's world:

In the conclusion of the poem the theme of the reward becomes the theme of the poet's fee, which may consist in cows, horses, and camels. Non-payment of the fee when the poet has fulfilled his part of the “bargain” is considered breach of contract or of the deals and is a punishable offense.

The rewards, or, at least, the promises of gifts, are given according to this arrangement at the *maga* (OInd. *magha*), the ceremony of exchange, which takes place at the end of the competition and the audition. In charge of the *maga* is the Master of the Exchange (gifts).

The gift given in return for another gift should match—or, preferably, surpass—it in exchange value (*vasnâ*).³

15.1. The yasna sacrifice

The Zoroastrian daily morning sacrifice is centered around the *haoma*, the Iranian counterpart of the Old Indic *soma*.⁴ In the *Rigveda*, this is a plant which, when pounded, filtered, and mixed with milk, is offered as a drink to the gods, who obtain enormous strength through it. It is what enables Indra to smash the obstructions that prevent the heavenly waters to come down and fertilize and rejuvenate the world. The function of the Zoroastrian *haoma* is similar, and it is similarly prepared during the sacrifice (*yasna*), the central act of which is the mixing of the *hôm* with milk and water into a drink (*parahaoma*) subsequently drunk by the priest. Although the *haoma* plays a crucial part in the Young

¹ It is not simply a matter of *do ut des* (Latin: “I give so that you shall give”), however, that is, since *I* give, *you* should also give, but the maintenance of a enduring cycle of *quid pro quo* of mutual indebtedness between god and his creation, starting and ending with Ahura Mazdâ's sacrifices.

² A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1925; repr. 1989, Delhi, vol. I, chap. 18 §1: “The sacrifice as a gift,” p. 259 (with refs.).

³ This seems to be the original meaning of the Indo-European concept of **wesno-/*wosno-*, seen in Latin *venum dare* (French *vendre*)

⁴ The identity of this plant has been much discussed. In historical times, the Iranians have used twigs of ephedra. In fact, the ephedra can be a powerful hallucinogenic (see the recent and current discussion surrounding the use of ephedra as “nature drug”; check “ephedra” in Google). On the *haoma*, see also Boyce, 1970.

Avestan ritual, the word is absent from the *Old Avesta*, but its common epithet *dūraosha* (Old Indic *durosha*) of uncertain meaning is found once (1.32.14).¹

The purpose of the Avestan sacrifice, as reflected in the *Yasna*, is to regenerate the *ahu*, the living existence, after periods of darkness, sterility, and death (night, winter). During the ritual, the sacrificer constructs a microcosmic model of the cosmos as it was ordered by Ahura Mazda the first time: the first *ahu*. For this, all the models, or prototypes (*ratu*), of all the ingredients of the first *ahu* are invoked, invited, and ordered. The *haoma* sacrifice is performed, apparently in order to regenerate Zarathustra in the personality of the current sacrificer.² Once that is done, the sacrificer recites the *Gâthâs*, as they were first recited in the world of the living by Zarathustra, in order to smash and remove evil from the cosmos. The divine “readiness to listen,” Sraosha, who recited the *Gâthâs* for the first time in the world of thought, is praised in order to strengthen him in his battle against the forces of darkness, embodied in Wrath. The heavenly waters are invoked, as the birth waters of the new existence about to be born, and the sun, which is about to be born out of the world ocean as the symbol of Ahura Mazda’s Order.

In the *Yashts*, sacrifices of horses, cattle, and sheep are regularly offered to the deity worshipped, and, in historical times, bloody sacrifices were commonly practiced, although it is not clear whether the *yasna* also involved the actual immolation of a sacrificial animal or just a “symbolic” offering.

15.2. The Young Avestan Ritual

The Young Avestan ritual is known only from the texts that accompany it, the Vispered and the Yasna, both of which contain numerous indications of the ritual actions themselves.

The rituals known from modern times (from the time of Anquetil Duperron onward) may not be identical with those of the Median and Achaemenid periods, let alone of the Young Avestan period in eastern Iran, where the texts were presumably first composed, but they do follow the Yasna very closely.

According to the Vispered eight priests (ideally) participated in the ritual:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Hâwanan | Pressing priest |
| Âterwakhsh | Fire-lighting priest |
| Frabertar | Presenting priest |
| Âbert | Tending priest |
| Âsnatar | Washing priest |
| Raêthvishkara | Mingling priest |
| Sraoshâwarza | Auditing priest “most talented and of most correct words” |
| Zaotar | the Libating priest, says forth the <i>Yathâ ahû vairiyô</i> (the <i>Ahunavairiya</i> prayer) |

Ritual invocations.

Just as in the Yasna Haptanghâiti, the Young Avestan texts (Yasna and Vispered) contain invocations listing large numbers of divine entities who are invited to come down and enjoy the benefits of the ritual. The formulas used are the following (cf. Cosmogony):

Yasna.

1. I announce to, I assemble for ... Model(s) of Order.
2. In this libation and barsom, by my sacrificing I harness ...
3. By my sacrificing I harness ... for winning the favor of ...
4. Thus we make them known ...

¹ Various meanings have been proposed for Av. *duraosha*, Old Indic *durosha*, among them “death-avert,” which is how the word is interpreted in the Pahlavi translations, apparently referring to the *haoma*’s (*soma*’s) ability to make the consumer feel immortal; “pungent,” referring to its taste; etc., but there are serious problems with all.

² This interpretation of the *haoma* sacrifice is suggested by the description of Zarathustra’s birth in *Dênkard* book 7.

6. We sacrifice ...
7. I place in Orderly fashion ... for winning the favor of ...

15.3. *The modern yasna ceremony*

The Parsi ritual described by Darmesteter basically consists of the offering of haoma before the fire but takes place in a room separate from that in which the fire is usually placed. The ceremony is basically the recitation of “the yasna in 72 chapters,” accompanied by occasional ritual actions.

Two priests are required, the *zôt* (Av. *zaotar*), and the *raspî*. The *zôt* is the primary reciter, while the *raspî* sometimes provides answers. The main function of the *raspî* is to feed the fire.

The ceremony has the following structure:

I. Preparations for the sacrifice (Paragra).

1. Preparation of blessed water.
2. Preparation of barsom: These were originally twigs from a special tree (ca. 40 cm ~ 15” long, judging from representations in art), but in India metal twigs are used. — The barsom may originally have symbolized the vegetal nature, complementary to the water.
3. Preparation of the string (*aiviyângam*, modern *evanghin*) used to tie the barsom. It is made from a date palm leaf cut into six strands, which are braided and tied together and deposited in a vase with sacred water.
4. Preparation of the plant (*urwarâm*): A shoot from a pomegranate is cut off and put into the vase.
5. Preparation of the milk (*jîwiyâm*): A goat facing east (direction of the rising sun) is milked by a priest (mowbed) facing south (turning his back on the evil forces).
6. Preparation of the ghee (*gôshudô*, from Av. *gâush hudaw* “the cow giving good gifts”).
7. The bread (*darûn*, Av. *draonah*, OInd. *droṇas*, the solid offering), round cakes.
8. Preparation of the *hôm* (*parahôm*). Branches of ephedra are washed in sacred water. A mortar is prepared by striking the walls, especially the northern side (direction of the evil forces), with the pestle. The *hôm* is placed in the mortar with the pomegranate twigs and pounded, and water is added. The juice is then filtered through a net made of hairs from a sacred bull (now a metal ring with 3, 5, or 7 hairs).

II. The sacrifice.

- Y.1-2: Invitation of the deities.
- Y.3-8: Offering of the *darûn*, at the end of which the chief priest, the “libator” (Av. *zaotar*, Pahl. *zôt*) consumes the *darûn* and the *gôshudô* (ghee).
- Y.9-11: Offering of the *haoma*, at the end of which the *zôt* consumes the *parahôm*.
- Y.12: Libation of the waters, profession of faith.
Praise of the three holy prayers.
- Y.22-24: Beginning of the offering of the *hôm* (*homâst*).
- Y.25-27: Preparation of the *hôm*.
- Y.27: Recitation of the *Ahunwar* (the *Ahunavairiya* prayer).
- Y.28-53: Recitation of the *Gâthâs*, etc.
- Y.54: Recitation of the fourth holy prayer, the *Airiyâma ishiyô* prayer.
- Y.54-55: Praise of the *Gâthâs* and the *Staota yesniya* texts.
- Y.56-57: Praise of Srôsh (Av. *Sraosha*), greatest fighter of the powers of darkness.
- Y.58-61: Various prayers.
- Y.62: Praise of the fire and offering of *hôm* to the fire, in anticipation of the rebirth of the sun.
- Y.63-69: Consecration of the waters: Water is mixed with the *hôm* and milk, is poured over the barsom, etc. – The sun is about to be born out of the heavenly (birth) waters.
- Y.70-72: Conclusion: Untying of the barsom. Some of the sacred water (*parahôm*) is returned to the well.
The rest of the *parahôm* is drunk by the one who ordered the sacrifice or by one of the assistants.

15.4. Other rituals

The longest ritual is the *videvdad sade*, which is performed from midnight on and whose purpose is to heal the ailing world of Ahura Mazdâ, indeed, the ailing Ahura Mazdâ himself, and the *yasna*, the morning ritual, which regenerates the world and re-engenders to heavenly fire. During the *videvdad sade*, a modified *Yasna* with the substitutions of the *Vispered* is recited, and the *Old Avesta* is embedded in the *Videvdad*.

Other ritual performances include the five *niyâyishns* “songs” and the five *gâhs* “times (of the day).” The *niyâyishns* are hymns to the sun, Mithra, the moon, the waters, and the fire. The *Song to the sun*, is recited three times a day, at daybreak, noon, and sunset; the *Song to Mithra* at daybreak following the *Song to the sun*; the *Song to the moon* three times every month, at new moon, the full moon, and the last quarter; the *Song to the waters* is performed during the day, near water (rivers and wells) and when one sees running water; and the *Song to the Fire*, which is performed five times at day and night by the priest who oversees the fire. The *gâhs* are hymns in honor of the five divisions of the day (see below).

The individual deities also have special rituals devoted to them. According to the hymn to Mithra, the libations to this deity should be consumed only after two days of washing the entire body and undergoing rigorous austerities including twenty whiplashes daily.

Animal sacrifices were probably common, but not often mentioned. In the hymn to Haoma, the deity complains about the sacrificers who do not give him the portion of the victim that his father Ahura Mazdâ had assigned to him, namely, a cheek with the tongue and the left eye.

According to the *yashts*, the mythical sacrificers sacrificed to their deities hundreds of stallions, thousands of bulls, and ten thousand sheep.

There are numerous private rituals that have to do with human life. Among them are the ritual of tying the sacred girdle, the *kusti* ritual, and the great purification ritual, the *barshnâm* ceremony (see below).

Zoroastrians wear a white shirt (*vastra* “garment”) made out of one large piece of woven fabric and a girdle (*aiviyânghana*, modern *kusti*), a long string, woven on a hand-loom in a particularly complex manner. In the later tradition, the shirt is said to symbolize Good Thought and the girdle the *daênâ mâzadayasni*. The *kusti* is tied several times a day (after washing the hands) in an elaborate ritual. It is tied for the first time at the age of fifteen (today earlier) in a coming-of-age ceremony, and omission to wear it after that is a grave sin.

15.5. Prayers

Several short texts are frequently recited during official or personal ceremonies. The most important are the *Yatâ ahû vairiyô* (*Ahuna vairiya*) and the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* (*Airyaman ishiya*) which are the first and last strophes of the first and fifth *Gâthâ*, respectively, and the *Ashem vohû* and *Yenghyê hâtâm*, which are short versions of the first and last strophes of the second and fourth *Gâthâ*, respectively. The *Yatâ ahû vairiyô* is about generating the royal command for Ahura Mazdâ, the renewing of the ordered world after the model (*ratu*) of Ahura Mazdâ’s first ordered world (*ahu*), and making him the protector of the poor; the *Ashem vohû* is about the benefit of contributing to the renewal of Ahura Mazdâ’s order and the *Yenghyê hâtâm* about the rewards for the sacrifice; and the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* expresses the result of the Old Avestan ritual of healing and reordering the world.

By Young Avestan times, the exact meaning of much of the *Gâthâs* had been forgotten, however, and, especially, that of the elliptic *Yatâ ahû vairiyô*, and the terms *ahu* and *ratu*, in particular, which in the later tradition were understood to mean spiritual and secular master.

These prayers are very potent weapons against the powers of evil. Ahura Mazdâ recited the *Yatâ ahû vairiyô* against the Evil Spirit in the beginning, before the creation of the world of the living (Y.19.1-4), and Zarathustra recited the *Ahuna vairiya* to drive the *daêwas* underground (Y.9.14-15) and to heal the world of the living (V.19.10), and he recited the *Ahuna vairiya* and the *Ashem vohû* against the Evil Spirit to chase him from the earth.

In the *Avesta*, one of more *Ashem vohûs* are said before and after most texts, and the *Yathâ ahû vairyo* is frequently recited in tandem by the two priests (see below); the *Yenghyê hâtâm* is frequently recited at the end of text sections, notably in the *yashts*; and the *Airyaman ishiya* is recited in particular against illnesses.

Another commonly recited text is the *Frawarânê* and the related *Jasa mê awanghyê Mazda* “Come to my aid, O (Ahura) Mazda,” in which the good Mazdayasnian forswears evil and allies him/herself with Ahura Mazda.

Gathic citations are also commonly used as prayers.

Pollution and purification rituals

Pollution results from contact with “dead matter,” of which there are many kinds. The most obvious are carcasses of humans and animals, but all excretions from the body, as soon as they have left the body, are also considered to become infected by the corpse demon. Among these are blood, hair, nails, spilled semen (V.18.46), urine, and feces.

According to V.17, when one combs and cuts one’s hair and cuts one’s nails, one should dispose of the hair and nail pairings properly. If disposed of properly, they will become weapons against the *daêwas*; if not, evil things will grow from them.

A special case is that of the person who disposes of corpses for a living. On the one hand, he is completely polluted by death, but, on the other, he is doing the community an enormous service. When he is judged after death, what counts is the total of other activities beyond serving as an undertaker.

The female demon of pollution (*nasush*) attacks the body through its openings, beginning with nose and eyes and ending with the penis and anus.

Pollution does not occur if a person has no way of knowing that he/she has come in contact with dead matter; in particular, dead matter transmitted by wind, dogs, birds, wolves, or flies does not pollute (V. 5.1-7).

Menstruation

The menstrual period is divided into three stages characterized by the nature of the menstrual flow, when the woman is “having the signs [having clear flow?], having the marks [?], and having blood” (*chithrawaitî daxštawaitî vohunawaitî*). When she is in a state of impurity, she presents a danger to the good creations (water, fire, the “orderly” man) and must be isolated from them in a “quiet place” (V.16). The nature of her place (*gâtu*) is not specified in the *Avesta* other than its distance from the good creations. Her period normally lasts eight nights. More than that means that the *daêwas* are at work, and a purification/exorcism ritual is performed.

Purification

The principal purification agents are water and urine. The urine is usually from a cow/bull (*gêush maêsman*, mod. *gômêz*), but urine from people is sometimes used. Both people and objects, for instance, garments (V. 7.11-15) and ritual implements are washed in this manner (V. 7.73-75). Occasionally, urine is specified to be from a bull (V. 19.21) or water rather than urine is specified (V. 8.39).

Washing people means exorcising the *nasush*, and the procedure follows the order with which she pollutes the body. Thus, when the top of the head is washed, the *nasush* runs to the space between the eyebrows, via the right eye and the left eye, etc., and, in the end it hides under the sole of the foot in the shape of a fly’s wing. Pouring water on the toes finally disposes of her. This ritual is called *barshnûm* from the word for “top of the head,” described in chap. 9 of the *Videvdad*. This ritual takes place in a space demarcated by a complex pattern of furrows, dividing it into three areas, in each of which three holes (*magha*) are dug and stepping stones of the hardest kind, permitting the person to be purified to move to the holes without stepping on the ground.

Some purification rituals also involves killing harmful animals, for instance, in the case of protracted menstruation, when one should kill a “grain-pulling ant” in summer, but 200 harmful animals in winter.

16. THE PARTS OF THE AVESTA

According to the tradition, under Khosrow (531-579), the Avesta was divided into 21 books, or *nasks*, the contents of which are given in the *Dênkard*, a Pahlavi text compiled in the 9th century. From this it appears that only one of the books have been preserved virtually complete: the *Videvdad*; of most of the others only smaller or larger parts are now extant. The loss of so much of the Sasanian Avesta since the 9th century must be ascribed to the effect of the difficulties that beset the Zoroastrian communities after the Muslim conquest of Iran.

The *Avesta* is traditionally divided into several parts (details see \$):

16.1. The Yasna

A miscellany of texts recited during the *yasna* ritual, among which are:

Hôm-yasht (Y.9-11), prayer or hymn in praise of Haoma;

Frawarâne, the Zoroastrian profession of faith (Y.12);

Baghân yasht, a commentary on the sacred prayers (Y.22-26);

three sacred prayers (Y.27): *Yenghyê hâtâm*, *Ashem vohû*, *Yathâ ahû vairiyô* (*Ahunwar*);

the *Gâthâs* “songs” (Y.28-34, 43-51, 53): poetry ascribed to Zarathustra in Old Avestan;

Yasna Haptanghâiti “the sacrifice in seven sections” (Y.35-41): Old Avestan composed in an archaic kind of metrical prose;

Srôsh-yasht (Y.57), hymn addressed to Sraosha, god of obedience and judge in the hereafter;

Âb zôhr (Y.63-72)

Vispered (Vr.): a miscellany of ritual texts, mostly invocations;

16.2. The yashts

Yashts (Yt.): collection of hymns to individual deities:

Yashts 1-4 to Ahura Mazdâ and the Amesha Spentas;

Yasht 5 to Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ, the heavenly river and goddess of the waters;

Yasht 6 to the sun;

Yasht 7 to the moon;

Yasht 8 to Tishtriya, the star Sirius, who controls the weather and the rain;

Yasht 9, *Gôsh yasht*, to Druwâspâ;

Yasht 10 to Mithra (Mithra), god of contracts and agreements, of dawn, etc.;

Yasht 11 to Sraosha;

Yasht 12 to Rashnu, judge in the beyond

Yasht 13 to the Frawashis (fravashis), the pre-souls (cf. *frawarâne*);

Yasht 14 to Verthraghna (Verthraghna), god of victory who manifests himself in 10 different incarnations;

Yasht 15, according to its title dedicated to Râm, but actually about Vayu, the personification of the space between heaven and earth, who has two sides, one good and one evil;

Yasht 16, *Dên yasht*, to Cistâ;

Yasht 17 to Ashi, the goddess of good fortune and protectress of the family;

Yasht 18: *Ashtâd yasht*;

Yasht 19, according to its title dedicated to the genius of the earth but actually about the Kavian Fortune (*khwarnah*);

Yasht 20 to Haoma;

Yasht 21 to the star *Vanant*.

16.3. *The Khorda Avesta*

Khorda Avesta (KhA.) “little *Avesta*”: a miscellany of hymns and other ritual texts, among which are:

The *Niyâyishns* (Ny.) “prayers” to the sun, Mithra, the moon, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ (the waters), Âtash î Bahrâm (the fire);

The *Sîrôzas* (S.), invocations of the deities in charge of the 30 days of the months.

The *Âfrînagân* (Âfr.), various invocations.

16.4. *The Videvdad*

Videvdad (V.) (also *Vendidad*) literally “the law(s) or regulations (serving to keep) the demons away”: mainly a collection of texts concerned with purification rituals. It also contains some mythological material:

chap. 1: contains a description of how Ahura Mazdâ created the various provinces of Iran and how the Evil Spirit, as his counter-creation, made a scourge for each province;

chap. 2 contains the myth of Yima, the first king, who built a fortress to house mankind during a coming winter;

chap. 19 contains a description of the struggle between Zarathustra and the Evil Spirit;

16.5. *Smaller texts*

Hâdôkht nask (HN.): a text about the fate of the soul after death;

Aogemadaêca (Aog.): an eschatological text;

Êhrbedestân and *Nîrangestân* (N.): religious legal texts;

Pursishnîhâ (P.): a collection of questions and answers regarding religious matters.

16.7. *Modern Avestan texts*

The following three are late (modern) compilations but contain some fragments not found elsewhere:

Âfrîn-e Payghambar Zardosht: Zarathustra’s advice to Vishtâspa;

Vishtâsp yasht: Vishtâspa’s words to Zarathustra;

Vaêthâ nask.

16.8. *Fragments*

There are numerous *Fragments* from extant and lost Avestan texts quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the other Avestan texts and in Pahlavi texts. Of special interest is the so-called *Frahang î ôim êk* (FO.), which is a vocabulary of Avestan words and phrases with their Pahlavi translation. The first entry is Avestan *ôim* = Pahlavi *êk*, whence the name.

INTRODUCTION TO ZOROASTRIANISM

HISTORY OF THE IRANIANS

| | | |
|--------------------|--|---|
| ca. 2100 | Oxus civilization | |
| ca. 2100-1750 | The Bactria-Margiana Archeological Complex (BMAC) | Population of Margiana and Bactria; massive fortifications with outer and inner walls. |
| ca. 2000 | Splitting up of Indian and Iranian tribes?? | |
| 1900 | End of Indus civilization | Arrival of the Aryan Indic tribes in the Indus valley?? |
| ca. 1500- | Nomadic Iranians in southern central Asia-northern Afghanistan | Elevation of Ahura Mazdâ to supreme deity and composition of earliest Indian and Iranian, Old Avestan, texts 1. The Yasna Haptanghâiti (the sacrifice in 7 chapters) 2. The 5 Gâthâs ascribed to Zarathustra |
| 9th cent. 800 - | The Persians (Parauwa) and Medes (Amâdai, Mâdai) are attested for the first time in (north)western Iran | The Gathic religion moves southward into Sistan(?), where it influences the Iranian heroic literature, which becomes encapsulated in a Zoroastrian framework. Composition of oldest Young Avestan texts in the area of Sistan. |
| 700 | The Medes under Deioces form first Iranian empire, center in NW Iran (capital at Ecbatana). His son Fraortes/Fravarti | Religion and literature starts spreading west. Continuing composition/compilation of Young Avestan texts. |
| 614 612 | Capture of Assur by Cyaxares Capture of Niniveh by Cyaxares | |
| 550 | The Persian Cyrus overthrows the Medes under Astyages, son of Cyaxares. He establishes the Achaemenid empire with center in southern and southwestern Iran, Persis. | Cyrus pursues policy of religious tolerance. Religion and literature starts spreading south into Fârs. Continuing composition and compilation of Young Avestan texts. |
| 547 | He defeats the Lydian king Croesus. | |
| 539 530 | Capture of Babylon. Falls in a battle against the Massagetae (Her.) | |
| 530-522 | Cambyeses; conquers Egypt. | |
| 522-486 | Darius, whose family possibly originated outside Persis, usurps the power. | Restoration of the Gathic, monotheistic, teachings? Invention of the cuneiform script and composition of the Old Persian inscriptions. |
| 490 | Battle at Marathon | |
| 486-465 | Rule of Xerxes | Strictly imposes the worship of Ahuramazdâ on the conquered lands |
| 479 | Defeat at Salamis and Platea | |
| ca. 425 | Herodotus's <i>Histories</i> | |
| 404-358 | Artaxerxes II: Rebellion of Cyrus the Younger. Xenophon's <i>Anabasis</i> | Restoration of the "Sistanian" pantheon and renewed interest in the Young Avestan texts?? Composition and compilation of the last Young Avestan texts?? |
| 331-330 | Alexander topples the Achaemenid empire, burns Persepolis | The Avesta is allegedly burnt! |
| 305 | Alexander's general Seleucus becomes king of Iran (the Seleucid dynasty) | |
| 247? | Arsaces (Arshak) founds the Arsacid (Parthian) empire. | |
| 54-78 CE | Vologeses (Walakhsh) I | First effort to assemble the scattered religious texts led by the kings brother Tiridates a magus and high priest, invested by Nero as king of Armenia ? |
| 224 | Ardashahr (Ardashîr) founds the Sasanian empire. | Second effort to assemble the scattered religious texts supervised by the high priest Tôsar/Tansar. |

HISTORY OF THE IRANIANS

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| 242 | Shâpûr succeeds Ardashîr. | Mani takes his religion to the king. Kerdîr initiates the restoration of Mazdaism. |
| 273 | Wahrân I is succeeded by Wahrân II | Mani is executed at the instigation of the Mazdayasnian clergy, among them Kerdîr. |
| 293 | Narseh accepts the crown from the dignitaries of the realm, who express the wish he may rule “ to the time of the Perfectioning. ” | The religion is still in confusion. |
| 309 | Shâpûr II | The high priest Âdurbâd î Mahraspandân undergoes the ordeal to prove the soundness of the Mazdayasnian religion. The Avesta is (allegedly) expanded by the inclusion of Western and Eastern scientific literature and codified. |
| 350-359 | Attacks by Chionites | |
| 531-579 | Khosrow Kawâdân | Invention of the Avestan alphabet and the Avesta committed to writing? |
| 636 | Battle of Qâdisiyya, Muslim conquest of Iran. | Mazdayasnians go underground, emigrate to India. |
| 9th cent. | Caliph al-Muʿmin | Final redaction of the great Pahlavi books. |
| ca. 1020 | | The earliest known Avestan manuscript, that of Mâhwindâd. |
| 1258/78, 1323 | | Date of the earliest extant manuscripts. |

INTRODUCTION TO ZOROASTRIANISM

COSMIC TIME

I. THE INITIAL CREATION: 3000 YEARS

Videvdad: creation in world of thought
Bundahishn: creation in world of thought

DURATION OF THE PACT: 3 x 3000 YEARS:

II. THE CREATION OF THE WORLD OF THE LIVING

Videvdad: in world of living beings without the Adversary
Bundahishn: creation of the world of living beings in world of thought, unthinking, unmoving, intangible; with Opposition but according to the will of Ohrmazd

III. MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY ERAS

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Videvdad</i> : from the coming of the Adversary to the coming of the Religion <i>Bundahishn</i> : with opposition, according to the will of both | 1000 years: Entry of the Adversary to end of Jam (Yima) |
| | 1000 years: Reign of Dahâg |
| | 1000 years: Reigns of Frêdôn and the Kayanids until the appearance of Zardusht. |

IV. MILLENNIA OF ZARATHUSTRA AND THE REVITALIZERS

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Videvdad</i> : from the coming of the Religion to the Final Body <i>Bundahishn</i> : during which Ahrimen would be undone | 1000 years: From the appearance of Zardusht to the coming of Pishôtan. |
| | millennium of Ushêdar |
| | millennium of Ushêdarmâh |

MYTHICAL TIME

FIRST AND SECOND MILLENNIUM OF THE MIXTURE: THE MYTHICAL PERIOD

| | | |
|---------------|--|---|
| 3001 | The Assault | |
| 3030 | Death of Gayômar, First Man. Birth of first two humans, Mashî and Mashyânî. | |
| 3030-3070 | 40 years M and M grew up | |
| 3030-3080 | 50 years M and M did not have intercourse | |
| 3120-3213.5 | 93.5 years M and M had intercourse, until Hôshang came of age | |
| 3213.5-3253.5 | 40 years rule of Hôshang | For 70 years Hôshang and Tahmûraf both killed demons. |
| 3253.5-3283.5 | 30 years rule of Tahmûraf | |
| 3283.5-3900 | 616.5 years rule of Jam (= Yima), until the khwarrah left him | |
| 3900-4000 | 100 years flight of Jam | ending with the demons sawing Jam in two. |
| 40001-5000 | 1000 years: rule of Dahâg (Azhi Dahâka) | Ending with Frêdôn seizing and chaining him. |

TIME

THIRD MILLENNIUM OF THE MIXTURE: THE LEGENDARY PERIOD

| | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| 5001-5501 | 500 years: rule of Frêdôn | Frêdôn divided his realm between Salm and Tûs. |
| 5501-5520 | 12 years: rule of Êrij + 8 years ? | They were killed by Êrij, who destroyed their descendants and families. |
| 5520-5640 | 120 years: rule of Manushchihr 12 years: Frâsiyâw 5 years: Uzaw 15 years: Kay Kawâd | Manushchihr took revenge for Êrij. Then Afrâsiyâb came and overcame Manushchihr and the Iranians at Padishkhwârgar. After Afrâsiyâb killed Manushchihr Iran was thrown into confusion and misfortune, keeping rain away from Iran. Uzaw son of Tahmâsp overcame Afrâsiyâb and made rain. Afrâsiyâb caused much misfortune until Kawâd became king. |
| 5640-5790 | 150 years: rule of Kay Us (Kay Kâwûs) 75 years: before he went to the sky 75 years: after that | The demons became oppressive and came to kill Ôshnar. Kay Us's mind was deranged, and he went to battle the sky, but fell down, and the khwarrah left him. A Tâzig named Zêngâw became ruler over Iran. Frâsiyâb came back, killed Zêngâw, and again became ruler. Many people were resettled from Iran to Turkestan. Rôstahm came from Sagestân, released Kay Us, etc. Afrâsiyâb came back, and Kay Siyâwakhsh battled Frâsiyâb. Because of Sûdâbî, wife of Kay Us, he did not return to Iran, but went to Turkestan, where he married a daughter of Frâsiyâb. Their son was Kay Husrôy. They also killed Siyâwakhsh. |
| 5790-5850 | 60 years: Kay Husrôy | Kay Husrôy killed Frâsiyâb, went to the Kangdiz (castle of Frâsiyâb), and passed on the rule to Kay Luhrâsp. |
| 5850-5970 | 120 years: Kay Luhrâsp | |
| 5970-6000 | 30 years: Kay Wishtâsp to the coming of the Dên | When Kay Wishtâsp had ruled for 30 years the millennium ended. |

THE DATES OF ZARATHUSTRA ACCORDING TO THE PAHLAVI TEXTS

| | |
|------------|--|
| 3000 years | The establishment of the world of thought (<i>mênôy</i>). |
| 0-3000 | The establishment of the world of living beings in the world of thought. |
| 3-6000 | The establishment of the world of living beings in the world of living beings (<i>gêty</i>). Entry of the Assault. Ohrmazd fashions Zardusht's pre-soul. 1000 years: From the entry of the Assault to end of the reign of Jam (Av. Yima) 1000 years: Reign of Dahâg (Av. azhi dahâka) 1000 years: Reigns of Frêdôn (Thraêtaona) and the Kayanids (kavis) until the appearance of Zardusht. |
| 5955 | 45 years before Zardusht's conversation with Ohrmazd: Frênî bears Dughdôw. |
| 5940 | Dughdôw age 15 shines with Zardusht's khwarrah. |
| 5970-6000 | 30 years: rule of Kay Wishtâsp until the coming of the Dên. |
| 5970 | Zardusht is born. |
| 6-9000 | Millennia of Zarathustra and his three sons. |
| 6-7000 | 1000 years: From the appearance of Zardusht to the coming of Pishyôtan (son of Wishtâsp). |
| 6000 | Zardusht age 30: Wahman reveals himself to Zardusht on the shore of the river Dâitî and brings him to the assembly of the Seven Life-giving Immortals. |
| 6000-90 | 90 years: rule of Kay Wishtâsp after the coming of the Dên. |
| 6047 | Violent death of Zardusht at the age of 77 years and 4 days. |
| 6090-6232 | 112+30 years: rules of Wahman, son of Spandyâd, and Queen Humây. |
| 6232-6258 | Achaemenids: 12 +14 years: rule of Dârâ son of Chihrazâd and Dârâ son of Dârâ |
| 6258 | Arrival of Alexander (258 years after Zarathustra's revelation. |

TIME

| | |
|--------|---|
| 7-8000 | 1000 years: millennium of Ushêdar (Ukhshyaterta). |
| 8-9000 | 1000 years: millennium of Ushêdarmâh (Ukhshyatnemah). |
| 9000 | Arrival of the Saoshyant (Sôshâns) and the Perfectioning. |

FOURTH MILLENNIUM OF THE MIXTURE: ZARDUSHT'S PROPHECY

| | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| 6001-6091 | 90 years: rule of Kay Wishtâsp | Zardusht received and brought the Religion from Ohrmazd. Kay Wishtâsp received and propagated it and fought a war with Arzâsp. |
| 6091-6203 | 112 years: rule Wahman son of Spandâd | Much infighting in Iran. |
| 6203-6233 | 30 years: rule of Humây, daughter of Wahman | |
| 6233-6245 | 12 years: rule of Dârâ son of Chihhrâzâd | |
| 6245-6259 | 14 years: rule of Dârâ son of Dârâ | Arrival of Alexander, who killed King Dârâ, destroyed the families of rulers and magi, extinguished a great number of fires, seized the books of the Mazdayasnians, which came to Rome, burned the Avesta, and divided Iran into 90 parts. |
| 6259-6273 | 14 years: rule of Alexander the Roman | |
| 6273-6557 | 284 years: rule of the Arsacids | |
| 6557-7017 | 460 years: rule of Ardashêr and the Sasanians to the Muslim conquest | Arrival of Ardashêr, son of Bâbag, who killed the petty rulers, organized the sovereignty, propagated the Mazdayasnian religion. |
| | | During the reign of Shâpûr (II), son of Ohrmazd, the Tâzîgs came, but they were overcome by Shâpûr. |
| | | During the reign of Pêrôz, son of Yazdegerd, there was no rain for 6 years. Khoshnawâz, king of the Hephthalites came and killed Pêrôz. Kawâd and his sister gave the Hephthalites a fire altar as security. |
| | | During the reign of Kawâd Mazdak, son of Bâmdâd established the Mazdakian law. He deceived Kawâd and promoted communal ownership of wives and children. |
| | | Husraw, son of Kawâd, Anôsharuwân killed Mazdak and reinstated the Mazdayasnian religion. |
| | | 20 years: rule of Yazdegerd until the invasion of the Tâzîgs. |
| | yr. 447 PE (= 636 C.E.) Muslim conquest | Introduction of a the religion of sorcerers, weakening of the Mazdayasnian one. From the beginning of the creation to this day no greater calamity has befallen Iran, for on account of their misdeeds, and evil religion only Iran has been at the prey of nothing but disasters. |
| 7097 ?? | yr. 527 PE = NOW | |

TIME

FIFTH MILLENNIUM: THE MILLENNIUM OF USHÊDAR

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 7000-8000 | <p>Ushêdar (Ukhshyaterter), son of Zardusht, will come from Ohrmazd bringing the Religion. Hard times and drought will disappear.</p> <p>The river Vâtaêni will flow the depth of a horse, and springs, and oceans, and the Kayânsê will flow again.</p> <p>For 10 days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky, and the wolf species will perish.</p> |
| | <p>At the end of the millennium Malkûs, of the race of Tûr î Brâtrôrêsh, who killed Zardusht, will reappear and will produce the terrible Malkûsân winter lasting three years, and most men will perish.</p> <p>Men and animals will then be reorganized from the Jam's War (the Vara of Yima), which was built for this purpose.</p> |
| | <p>The curative power of the 1000 species of plants opposing 1000 kinds of illnesses will be assigned to two, and no one will die from sickness, but still from old age and if killed.</p> |

SIXTH MILLENNIUM: THE MILLENNIUM OF USHÊDARMÂH AND THE COMING OF SÔSHÂNS

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 8000-9000 | <p>Ushêdarmâh, son of Zardusht, will come from Ohrmazd bringing the Religion.</p> <p>For 20 days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky.</p> <p>The trees will stay green for 6 years.</p> <p>The descendants of the Druz (snakes and noxious creatures) will perish.</p> |
| | <p>Toward the end of the millennium Dahâg Bêwarasp will run free of his chains, causing much damage.</p> |
| | <p>Then Sôshâns will appear guided by Êrmân.</p> <p>For 30 days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky.</p> |
| | <p>The Resurrection will begin:</p> <p>First the body of Karsâsp, son of Sâm, who will smash Bêwarasp (Dahâg) with his mace and kill him.</p> <p>Sôshâns will converse with the Spiritual beings for 30 years, and the action of Renovation will spread throughout the Seven Continents in 57 years.</p> |

THE ACHAEMENID CALENDAR

The Achaemenid calendar as attested in the Old Persian and Elamite inscriptions was a farmer's calendar, with names of months referring to climate and seasonal activities. The order of the months is guaranteed by their Babylonian equivalents:

| | <u>Old Persian</u> | <u>Elamite</u> | <u>Meaning</u> |
|----|--------------------|----------------|--|
| 1 | Ādukanaisha | Hadukannash | [month of] sowing? |
| 2 | Thûravâhara | Turmar | rejuvenating spring? |
| 3 | Thâigerchî | Sâkurrizish | [month of] garlic (harvesting)? |
| 4 | Garmapada | Karmabatash | station of heat |
| 5 | *Dernabâji | Turnabazish | [month of] harvesting |
| 6 | *Kârapâssiya | Karbashiash | [month of] army review(?) |
| 7 | Bâgayâdi | Bakeyatish | [month of] worship of the (other?) gods/the god (Mithra) |
| 8 | *Varkashâna | Markashanash | [month of] the scattering leaves(?) |
| 9 | Āssiyâdiya | Hashiyatish | [month of] the sacrifice by fire |
| 10 | Ānâmaka | Hanamakash | [month of] him who is/those who are to be worshiped by name(?) |
| 11 | *Thâviyauva | Samiyamash | [month of] warming up(?) |
| 12 | Viyakhana | Miyakannash | [month of] cleaning the canals(?) |

THE AVESTAN CALENDAR

The Avestan calendar is first attested within the Achaemenid empire as the calendar of Cappadocia, which was cited by the Greek astronomers:

| | <i>Cappadocian</i> | <i>Avestan</i> (genitives) | <i>Middle Persian</i> | <i>Mod. Persian</i> |
|----|--------------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Artana | Ashâ(u)nâm frawashinâm “[month] of the fravashis of the Orderly” | (Ardâw) Frawardîn | Farvardîn (March-April) |
| 2 | Artêuetê | Ashahe vahishtahe “[month] of Best Order” | Ardwahisht | Ordîbehesht |
| 3 | Aroatata | Haurwatâtô “[month] of Wholeness” | Hordâd | Khordâd |
| 4 | Teiri | Tishtriyehe “[month] of Sirius” | Tîr | = |
| 5 | Amartata | Amertâtô “[month] of Non-dying” | Amurdâd | Mordâd |
| 6 | Ksathriorê | Khshathrahe vairyehe “[month] of the Choice Command” | Shahrêwar | Shahrîvar |
| 7 | Mithrê | Mithrahe “[month] of Mithra” | Mihr | Mehr |
| 8 | Apomenapa | Apâm *Napâtô “[month] of the Scion of the Waters” | Ābân | = |
| 9 | Athra | Āthrô “[month] of the Fire” | Ādur | Ādhar |
| 10 | Dathusa | Dathushô “[month] of the Orderer” | Day | Dey |
| 11 | Osmana | Vanghêush Mananghô “[month] of Good Thought (Heaven)” | Wahman | Bahman |
| 12 | Sondara | Spentayâ Ârmatôish “[month] of Life-giving Humility (Earth)” | Spandârmad | Esfand[ârmod°] |

THE LITURGICAL-COSMOGONIC YEAR

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|--------|----------------|---------|-----------|
| | Frawardîn | Ardwahisht | Hordad | Tir | Amurdad | Shahrewar |
| 1 Ohrmazd | SKY 3/21 | 4/20 | 5/20 | 6/19 | 7/19 | 8/18 |
| 2 Wahman | 22 | 21 | 21 | 20 | 20 | 19 |
| 3 Ardwhisht | 23 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 21 | 20 |
| 4 Shahrewar | 24 | 23 | 23 | 22 | 22 | 21 |
| 5 Spandarmad | 25 | 24 | 24 | 23 | 23 | 22 |
| 6 Hordad | 26 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 23 |
| 7 Amurdad | 27 | 26 | 26 | 25 | 25 | 24 |
| 8 Day | 28 | 27 | 27 | 26 | 26 | 25 |
| 9 Adur | 29 | 28 | 28 | 27 | 27 | 26 |
| 10 Abân | 30 | 29 | 29 | 28 | 28 | 27 |
| 11 Khwar | 31 | Mêdyô- 30 | 30 | Mêdyô- 29 | 29 | 28 |
| 12 Mâh | 1-Apr | May 1 | 31 | 30 | 30 | 29 |
| 13 Tir | 2 | 2 | 1-Jun | July 1 | 31 | 30 |
| 14 Gôsh | 3 | zarm 3 | 2 | sham 2 | 8/1 | 31 |
| 15 Day | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 9/1 |
| 16 Mihr | 5 | WATER 5 | 4 | EARTH 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 17 Sôsh | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| 18 Rashn | 7 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| 19 Frawardîn | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 |
| 20 Warahrân | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| 21 Râm | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 |
| 22 Wâd | 11 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 8 |
| 23 Day | 12 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 9 |
| 24 Dên | 13 | 13 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 10 |
| 25 Ard | 14 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 11 |
| 26 Ashtâd | 15 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 13 | Pati- 12 |
| 27 Âsmân | 16 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 14 | shah 13 |
| 28 Zamyâd | 17 | 17 | 16 | 16 | 15 | 14 |
| 29 Mahrspand | 18 | 18 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 15 |
| 30 Anagrân | 19 | 19 | 18 | 18 | 17 | 16 |

TIME

| | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------|---------|--------|------------|-----------------|
| | Mihr | Âbân | Âdur | Day | Wahman | Spandarmad | 5 epagomena |
| 1 Ohrmazd | <u>PLANT</u> 10/17 | <u>CATTLE</u> 11/17 | 11/16 | 12/16 | 1/15 | 2/14 | 3/16 |
| 2 Wahman | 18 | 18 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 15 | Hamaspah- 17 |
| 3 Ardwhisht | 19 | 19 | 18 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 18 |
| 4 Shahrewar | 20 | 20 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 17 | maydim 19 |
| 5 Spandarmad | 21 | 21 | 20 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 20 |
| 6 Hordad | 22 | 22 | 21 | 21 | 20 | 19 | |
| 7 Amurdad | 23 | 23 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 20 | |
| 8 Day | 24 | 24 | 23 | 23 | 22 | 21 | |
| 9 Âdur | 25 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 23 | 22 | |
| 10 Âbân | 26 | 26 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 23 | |
| 11 Khwar | 27 | 27 | 26 | 26 | 25 | 24 | |
| 12 Mâh | 28 | 28 | 27 | 27 | 26 | 25 | |
| 13 Tîr | 29 | 29 | 28 | 28 | 27 | 26 | |
| 14 Gôsh | 30 | 30 | 29 | 29 | 28 | 27 | |
| 15 Day | 10/1 | 31 | 30 | 30 | 29 | 28 | |
| 16 Mihr | 2 | 11/1 | 12/1 | Mêd- 31 | 30 | 3/1 | |
| 17 Sôsh | 3 | 2 | 2 | Jan 1 | 31 | 2 | |
| 18 Rashn | 4 | 3 | 3 | yâr 2 | 2/1 | 3 | |
| 19 Frawardîn | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | |
| 20 Warahrân | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | |
| 21 Râm | 7 | 6 | 6 | MAN 5 | 4 | 6 | |
| 22 Wâd | 8 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 7 | |
| 23 Day | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 8 | |
| 24 Dên | 10 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 9 | |
| 25 Ard | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 10 | |
| 26 Ashtâd | Ayâsrim 12 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 11 | |
| 27 Âsmân | | 12 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 12 | |
| 28 Zamyâd | | 13 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 13 | |
| 29 Mahrspand | | 14 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 14 | |
| 30 Anagrân | | 15 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 15 | |

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YASNA 0: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTORY PREPARATIONS

Y.0.0 = the *Ashem vohu*

Order¹ is the **best good** reward/possession² **there is**.³
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one
when one's Order is for the best Order.⁴
 (3 times)

Y.0.1 (the *Fravarânê*)

I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ
 (= a Mazdayasnian) like Zarathustra did.⁵
 I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.

For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
 for (its) sacrifice and hymn
 and satisfaction⁶ and glorification.⁷
 For the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the
 House, a model of Order,
 for (its) sacrifice and hymn
 and satisfaction and glorification,—

Y.0.2

(and for that) of the fire, (you,) O son of Ahura Mazdâ,⁸ —
 by the satisfaction of you, O fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
 for (your) sacrifice and hymn
 and satisfaction and glorification,—
 by the satisfaction of you, O fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
 for (your) sacrifice ... glorification.

Y.0.3

The chief priest⁹ says forth to me:

In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...

He who is the chief priest says forth to me:

In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...

Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:

thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...¹⁰

¹ Order (Av. *asha*): see Introduction.

² The best good thing: that which can be achieved by humans and their reward for their efforts.

³ Passages in **bold** type face are citations from the Old Avesta. “...” here means “etc.”

⁴ When humans behave so that Ahura Mazdâ's Order is upheld, then they will obtain their heart's desire.

⁵ Literally: “a Zarathustra-son.”

⁶ Satisfying the gods makes them favorable to the sacrificer.

⁷ Spreading the fame of the gods makes them stronger.

⁸ The heavenly Fire = the sun.

⁹ Av. *zaotar*, Pahl. *zôt*, the priest who pours the libations of water and milk.

¹⁰ The *Ahuna vairiya* prayer, see before 1.28.1.

I SAY FORTH WITH MY PRAISE

Y.0.4

I say (it) forth with my praise
 with (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done,
 and (thoughts) to be well thought, (words) to be well spoken,
 and (acts) to be well done.
 I regard as worthy of songs of praise
 all (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done.
 I regard as worthy of being left out
 all (thoughts) badly thought, (words) badly spoken, (acts) badly done.

Y.0.5

I have given to you, O Life-giving Immortals,
 (my) sacrifice and hymn
 (together) with (my) thought, with (my) word, and with (my) act,
 (together) with (my) *essence (life thread?),
 and (together) with
the life breath of nothing less than (my) **own body**.
 (1.33.14)

Y.0.6

I praise Order.
Order is the best good ...

Y.0.7 = Y.0.1

Y.0.8

(By the satisfaction) of Ahura Mazdâ,
 wealthy and munificent,
 of the Life-giving Immortals,
 of Mithra, who provides wide grazing grounds,
 and of Peace with good pasture,—

Y.0.9

(by the satisfaction) of the radiant, immortal sun,
brilliant, with fleet horses,—
of Vayu, whose work is above,¹
set beyond the other Creations,
this (side) of you, O Vayu,
which (is) what you have (that is) of the Life-giving Spirit,—
of straightest Cistâ, sustainer of Order, set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ,
of the good *daênâ*² of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,—

Y.0.10

(by the satisfaction) of the Orderly life-giving poetic thought
with invigorating *essence(?),³
of the law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
of the long *tradition, (and)
of the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
of the confidence in the life-giving poetic thought,
*the holding in (one's inner) hearing⁴ of the *daênâ* of those
who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
*of the *finding ability of the Life-giving poetic thought,
of the inborn guiding thought set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
of the ear-heard⁵ guiding thought set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ,—

Y.0.11

(by the satisfaction) of the fire, (you,) O son of Ahura
Mazdâ,—
of you, O fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
of Mount Crack of Dawn set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
(which reaches up) into the good breathingspace of Order,⁶

Y.0.12

by the satisfaction of all the sustainers of Order worthy of

sacrifice

in the world of thought, in the world of living beings,
of the pre-souls of the sustainers of Order,
strong (and) unshakable,
of the pre-souls of the first guides,⁷
of the pre-souls of (our) closest relatives,
for (their) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

Y.0.13

The chief priest says forth to me:

In as much as a new life is a worthy one

He who is the chief priest says forth to me:

In as much as a new life is a worthy one

Let a sustainer of Order who knows (it) say forth:

thus its Model is just in accordance with Order ...

Y.0.14

Order is the best good ...

By (my) satisfaction of Ahura Mazdâ,

by (my) disdain of the Evil Spirit,

**on account of my true action/utterance may what is most
perfect in exchange value be produced!**

Order is the best good ...

Y.0.15 = the *Ahuna vairya* prayer

(see Y.27.13)

¹ Vayu is the space intermediate between the earth and the sky. Since the sky envelopes the earth like the shell of an egg, Vayu lies inside the sky but also envelopes the earth. This makes Vayu double: the good Vayu, up above, through which the souls travel to Paradise, and the bad Vayu, below, through which they travel to Hell.

² The "vision-soul," see The introduction. Among other things, the *daênâ* represents the totality of a person's thoughts, words, acts.

³ The "vigorous" may refer to the heavenly waters, in which things are "recharged," as it were. The word "essence" means bow-string in its only clear attestation. Perhaps it means "string of life."

⁴ The (inner) hearing (*ushi*) may be what permits one to hear thoughts and words in the world of thought. Later it comes to mean "consciousness" or similar. — Note that *ushi.dartheta* "holding in one's (inner) hearing" is also the explanation of the name *Ushidarna* "Mount Crack of Dawn," understood as "holding of the *ushi*."

⁵ There are two types of "guiding thoughts": one with which one is born and one that one acquires.

⁶ I.e., where there is no constriction, no *anxiety*, see Y.8.8.

⁷ The Avestan word is sometimes translated as "first believers, first teachers," but the exact meaning is not known.

YASNA 1: I ANNOUNCE

Y.1.1

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to/of Ahura Mazdâ,¹ who has set (everything in its proper
place),
the wealthy and munificent one,
the greatest, the best, the most beautiful,
the firmest, the one with the best guiding thought,² the best
shaped,
the one who gets closest to Order (?),
the one of good Creations,³ of wide support,
who has set us in (our) place, who has fashioned us,
who has *structured us,⁴
who is the most “Life-giving” Spirit.

Y.1.2

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for (regenerating) Good Thought,
for Best Order,
for Well-deserved Command,
for Life-giving Humility,
for Wholeness and Immortality,⁵
for the Fashioner of the Cow, the Soul of the Cow,
for the fire of Ahura Mazdâ,
the one of the Life-giving Immortals
who most often takes up his (ritual) position.

Y.1.3

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for (or: by?) the daily models of Order:⁶
(firstly) for the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour (Hâvani),⁷ a
model of Order.⁸
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)

for the Orderly Morning Hour (Sâvanghî)⁹ and the (Protector)
of the House, a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Mithra¹⁰ who provides wide grazing grounds, with 1000
ears, 10,000 eyes,
the one worthy of a sacrifice in which his name is uttered,¹¹
(and) peace with good pastures.¹²

Y.1.4

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Noon-time (Rapithvina), a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly Cattle-furthering One and the (Protector) of
the Tribe, a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to Best Order and the fire, (son) of Ahura Mazdâ.¹³

Y.1.5

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly Evening Hour (Uzayeirina), a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly man-furthering one and the (Protector) of the
Land, a model of Order,
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the exalted lord, the Scion of the Waters¹⁴
and the water set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.¹⁵

Y.1.6

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly *oncoming Midnight (Aiwisruthrima
Aibigaya),¹⁶ a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly one who furthers all good living and the one
most like Zarathustra, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the pre-souls of the Orderly¹⁷
and the women to be *won by men¹⁸

¹ The exact meaning of the genitive is not clear. It could refer to the fact that the sacrificer is assembling his sacrifice like Ahura Mazdâ's primordial sacrifice (see Bdh.3.23).

² Acc. to 2.46.3, the guiding thoughts of the Revitalizers help pull the sun across the sky.

³ Literally “webs,” the covers from within which all the creatures are born?

⁴ See Yt.13.28.

⁵ These are the six Life-giving Immortals, the seventh of whom is Ahura Mazdâ himself, hence the “Seven Life-giving Immortals.” In addition there are innumerable (lower-case) “life-giving immortals.”

⁶ That is, in order to “satisfy” the divine models for the first, heavenly, sacrifice of Ahura Mazdâ.

⁷ Time of the morning sacrifice, beginning before sunrise, and Peace with good pastures is his beneficent companion, representing the reward to humans for assisting Ahura Mazdâ.

⁸ Here the sacrificer is repeating the ordering sacrifice by which the world was ordered, beginning with the fashioning of “limited time,” see Bdh.1.21-22.

⁹ Literally “the one providing life-giving strength.”

¹⁰ Mithra guides the sun as it rises out of the waters under the earth.

¹¹ It is important that the sacrifice has an address, since otherwise it might go to someone for whom it is not intended.

¹² Armies, among other things, plunder and ravage the pastures.

¹³ At noon, the heavenly fire, the sun, is at the zenith.

¹⁴ The fire in the clouds and heavenly waters, Apâm Napât.

¹⁵ The sun is getting ready for its journey through the waters.

¹⁶ Also possible: Time for listening and singing?

¹⁷ Depicted as female warriors who fight in the battle against the Evil Spirit, but also act as birth assistants and conductors of the heavenly waters. See Y. 23, 26, Yt.13.

¹⁸ That is, as prizes for victory in the battle against the powers of darkness? Or: “the women to be desired by men”?

and the seasonly good dwelling¹
and the well-fashioned, well-shaped force
and the obstruction-smashing² strength, set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ
and the victorious superiority.³

Y.1.7

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly Hour of Dawn (Ushahina),⁴ a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly *Admirable⁵ one and the (Protector) of the
Home, a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to obstruction-smashing Sraosha⁶ with the rewards,
possessing rewards, furtherer of living beings,
Rashnu⁷ the straightest⁸
and Rectitude, furtherer of living beings, increaser of living
beings.

Y.1.8

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
by the monthly models of Order:
for the Orderly new moon, a model of Order,
the Orderly full moon and the seventh day,⁹ a model of
Order.

Y.1.9

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
by the seasonly models of Order:
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Mid-green, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Midsummer, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Harvest time, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Autumn equinox, *marking the turning (of days),

time for releasing the males,¹⁰ a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Mid-season (midwinter), a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Spring equinox, a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for (all) the yearly models of Order.¹¹

Y.1.10

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for all these models
which are the models of Order,
thirty-three, the nearest, those *surrounding the hour of the
haoma pressing,
which are those of Best Ode Urwata.nara (Vd. 2) claimed by
Zarathustra.

Y.1.11

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the two exalted ones, Ahura (Mazdâ) and Mithra,
*unthreatening and Orderly,
and to the stars, the Creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
and to the star Tishtriya (Sirius), wealthy and munificent,
and to the moon containing the seed of the cow¹²
and to the radiant sun with fleet horses,
the eye of Ahura Mazdâ,
(and) to Mithra the land-lord of lands.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to Ahura Mazdâ, the wealthy and munificent.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the pre-souls of the Orderly.

Y.1.12

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to you, the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
together with all fires.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the good waters,
(the sacrifice) to all the waters, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
and all the plants, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.1.13

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the Orderly life-giving poetic thought with invigorating
*essence(?),¹³
the law for discarding the old gods, the law transmitted by
Zarathustra,
the long *tradition, (and)

¹ Perhaps a reference to transhumance?

² This epithet refers to the obstructions set in place by the powers of darkness to prevent the birth of the new light and day, but which are “smashed” and destroyed by the victorious good deities.

³ These are the principal fighters of darkness and evil.

⁴ The time period preceding dawn.

⁵ We do not know what this word means.

⁶ The deified Listening, principal fighter of the powers of darkness, arch enemy of Wrath, the embodiment of the night sky.

⁷ The deified Straightness, judge in the beyond who judges the souls, weighing their thoughts, etc., on his scales, and sends them to heaven or hell.

⁸ Making straight paths for the sun?

⁹ 8th and 23rd days of the month.

¹⁰ That is, to fertilize the females, ensuring spring young.

¹¹ I.e., those of the days, months, and seasons.

¹² Cf. Bdh.3.14, 6e.2.

¹³ See Y.0.10.

FROM THE YASNA

the good *daêṇâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.1.14

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to Mount Crack of Dawn, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
providing good breathing space through(out) Order,¹
and all the mountains
providing good breathing space through(out) Order,
providing much good breathing space,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
and the Fortune of the poets, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
and the *unseizable Fortune, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to good Ashi (reward),
good Cisti (illumination?),
good Erethe (generosity?),
good *Arrival of munificence(?)²
(and) life-giving strength, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.1.15

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the good Qualified Invitation,³
and (that) of the qualified Orderly man,⁴
the strong, rigid one worthy of sacrifice in the image of the
Web-holder.⁵

Y.1.16

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to these places and settlements
and grazing grounds and dwellings and *stables
and the waters and the earths and the plants
and this earth and yonder sky
and the Orderly wind,
the stars, the moon, the sun,
the Endless Lights set in place by themselves,
and all the Orderly Creations of the Life-giving Spirit, male
(or) female, models of Order.⁶

Y.1.17

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the exalted model, that of Order,
by hourly, daily,
monthly, seasonally, and yearly models,

¹ As opposed to narrowness and constriction, see Y.8.8. "Order" represents the vast heavenly spaces, with the sun as their center-piece.

² Several of these entities are mentioned only in this list and are otherwise not known.

³ "Invitation," that is, as a guest friend, who receives gifts and gives gifts in return.

⁴ See Y.61.1 and PR.46.4.

⁵ The function of this deity is unknown. It is probably also a constellation. The "web" is no doubt the cosmic web (tissue) woven by Ahura Mazdâ, in which his creations are born.

⁶ The sacrificer is repeating the ordering sacrifice by which the spatial components of the world were ordered.

which are the models of Order,
to the model of the Haoma-pressing Hour.

Y.1.18

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the strong, unshakable pre-souls of the Orderly,⁷
the pre-souls of the first *guides,
the pre-souls of our closest relatives,
for the pre-soul of (my) own breath-soul.

Y.1.19

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
by all the models of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for all the ones worthy of sacrifice whose gifts are good,
both those in the world of thought and those in the world of
the living,
who are worthy of sacrifice and hymns⁸
according to the best Order.

Y.1.20

O Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Morning Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Noon-time, model of Order!
O Orderly Evening Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Midnight Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Hour of Dawn, model of Order!

Y.1.21⁹

If I have ever offended you,
through thought, speech, (or) act,
whether because it pleased me or whether it did not,
I say it forth in (my) praise to you (to atone) for it,
I make it known to you,
if I have ever omitted (anything) from this of yours,
the sacrifice and the hymn.

Y.1.22

O all greatest models! O Orderly model of Order!
If I have offended you (all)
either through thought, speech, (or) act,
whether because it pleased me or whether it did not,
I say it forth in (my) praise to you all (to atone) for it,
I make it known to you,

⁷ On the role of the pre-souls in the creation, see Yt.13.

⁸ They deserve to receive the strengthening sacrifices and to be woven into the poet's poetic webs. Thereby they obtain strength and fame and are again placed in command. The woven hymn is also the microcosmic counterpart of Ahura Mazdâ's great poetic web, which is his ordered cosmos.

⁹ In the following section the sacrificer makes sure that he has no imperfections or flaws that might invalidate the sacrifice or, worse, make it backfire and put the forces of darkness back in command.

if I have barred you from this,
the sacrifice and the hymn.

Y.1.23

I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ
like Zarathustra did.

I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.
For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

For the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the
House, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.
For the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of the models of the hours and the days
and the months and the seasons and the years.

YASNA 6: WE SACRIFICE

Y.6.1

We sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, who has set (everything in its
proper place).

We sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals, who bestow good
command and give good gifts.

Y.6.2

We sacrifice to the Orderly daily models of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of
Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector)
of the House, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
with 1000 ears, 10,000 eyes, the one worthy of a sacrifice
in which his name is uttered.

We sacrifice to peace with good pastures.

Y.6.3

We sacrifice to the Orderly Noon-time, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly Cattle-furthering One and the
(Protector) of the Tribe, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Best Order and the fire of Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.4

We sacrifice to the Orderly Evening hour, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly Man-furthering One and the
(Protector) of the Land, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the exalted lord, the powerful, radiant Scion
of the Waters, with fleet horses.

And we sacrifice to the Orderly water set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ.¹

Y.6.5

We sacrifice to the Orderly *oncoming Midnight hour, a
model of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly One who Furthers all Good Life

and the One most like Zarathustra, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly,
rich in life-giving strength.

We sacrifice also to also the women to be desired by men.

We sacrifice also to the seasonly good dwelling.

We sacrifice also to the well-fashioned, well-shaped Strength.

We sacrifice also to the obstruction-smashing strength, set in
place by Ahura Mazdâ.

We sacrifice also to the victorious superiority.

Y.6.6

We sacrifice to the Orderly hour of Dawn, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly *Admirable one and the
(Protector) of the Home, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the well-shaped Orderly, obstruction-
smashing Sraosha with the rewards,
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Rashnu the straightest.

We sacrifice also to Rectitude,
furtherer of living beings, increaser of living beings.

Y.6.7

We sacrifice to the Orderly monthly models of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly new moon, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly full moon, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly seventh day, a model of Order.

Y.6.8

We sacrifice to the Orderly seasonly models of Order.

We sacrifice to Orderly Mid-green, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Orderly Midsummer, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Orderly Harvest time, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Orderly Autumnal equinox, *marking the
turning, time of releasing the males, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Orderly Midseason, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to Orderly Spring equinox, a model of Order.

We sacrifice to the Orderly yearly models of Order.

¹ The heavenly waters, the Vourukasha Sea, and the heavenly river,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ (see Yt.5).

Y.6.9

We sacrifice to all the models of Order,
which are the first thirty-three models of Order,
*surrounding the hour of the haoma pressing,
which are those of Best Order,
taught by Ahura Mazdâ, uttered by Zarathustra.

Y.6.10

We sacrifice to the two exalted ones,
Ahura (Mazdâ) and Mithra, *unthreatening and Orderly,
and the stars, and the moon, and the sun
(standing) by(?) the plants providing barsom.¹
We sacrifice to Mithra, the land-lord of lands.
We sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy and munificent.
We sacrifice to the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly,
rich in life-giving strength.

Y.6.11

We sacrifice to you, the Orderly fire, the son of Ahura
Mazdâ, model of Order,
together with all fires.
We sacrifice to the Orderly good, best waters, set in place by
Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to all the Orderly waters, set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to all the Orderly plants, set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ.

Y.6.12

We sacrifice to the life-giving poetic thought of great
munificence.
We sacrifice to the law for discarding the old gods, the law
transmitted by Zarathustra.
We sacrifice to the long *tradition.
We sacrifice to the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to
Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.13

We sacrifice to Mount Ushidarena, set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ, providing good breathing space through Order.
We sacrifice to all the mountains providing good breathing
space through Order, providing much breathing space, set
in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the poets, set in place by
Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to the *unseizable Fortune, set in place by
Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to good Ashi, radiant, exalted, strong, well-
shaped, *bounteous.
We sacrifice to the Fortune set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to the life-giving strength, set in place by Ahura

Mazdâ.

Y.6.14

We sacrifice to the good Qualified Invitation
We sacrifice also to the qualified Orderly man.
We sacrifice to the strong, rigid one worthy of sacrifice in the
image of the Web-holder.

Y.6.15

We sacrifice to these waters and earths and plants.
We sacrifice to these places and settlements and grazing
grounds and dwellings and *stables.
And we sacrifice to this lord of the settlement: Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.16

We sacrifice to all the greatest models,
the hourly, daily, monthly, seasonly, and yearly ones.

Y.6.17

We sacrifice to Wholeness and Immortality.
We sacrifice to the cow who gives good gifts.
We sacrifice to Orderly, obstruction-smashing Sraosha with
the rewards, well-shaped
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order.

Y.6.18

We sacrifice to the haoma and the pre-haoma.
We sacrifice here to the Reward and pre-soul of Orderly
Spitama Zarathustra.
We sacrifice to the firewood and the incense.
We sacrifice to you, the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ!

Y.6.19

We sacrifice to the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly,
rich in life-giving strength.

Y.6.20

We sacrifice to all the Orderly ones worthy of sacrifice.
We sacrifice to all the models of Order:
the model *for the Haoma-pressing Hour,
the model *for the Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the
house,
the model *for all the greatest models.

Y.6.21

The chief priest says forth to me:
As it is the well-deserved Life ...
He who is the chief priest says forth to me:
As it is the well-deserved Life ...
Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:
thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

¹ Sacrificial branches spread out before the fire altar.

YASNA 8: I PLACE IN ORDERLY FASHION

Y.8.1

I place in Orderly fashion
the *myazda*¹ to be eaten:
Wholeness and Immortality,
the cow who gives good gifts,
the haoma and the pre-haoma
the firewood and the incense
with the glorification of Ahura Mazdâ,
of the *Ahuna vairya*, the correctly spoken word,
of the good Qualified Invitation
of the strong one in the image of the Web-holder,
of the haoma and the poetic thought
and of Orderly Zarathustra.
May he/it(?) in return come to us in Orderly fashion.

Y.8.2

Eat, men (= gods?), this *myazda*,
whoever (among you) has deserved it
by Order and by *coming forth(?).

Y.8.3

O Life-giving Immortals! O *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to
Ahura Mazdâ!
O Good men/gods and women/goddesses! O libations!
Whoever declares he too sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ among
these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
(but actually) while *seeking victory(?)
with a *composition of Order
destroys by sorcery the living beings of Order,
point him out, you, O waters, plants, and libations.²

Y.8.4

And whoever among these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
being adult (and) *having participated in the invocation(?),
is not willing to say forth these words,
he comes to these *in a mind of sorcery.

Order is the best good ...

In as much as a new life is a worthy one ...

Y.8.5³

May you, Ahura Mazdâ, (now) rule at will
and according to your wish over your own Creations,
You, O waters, you, O plants,
you, O all good (things) whose seed is of/from Order,
place the Orderly one in command,
the one possessed by the Lie out of command!⁴

Y.8.6

May the Orderly one have command at will!
May the one possessed by the Lie not have command at will!
(May he be) gone, discomfited, removed
from the Creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
restrained, with no power at will.

Y.8.7

May I, too, who (am another) Zarathustra,
*lead the foremost (people) of the homes, houses, tribes, and
lands
to help the *daênâ* along
with their thoughts, words, and acts,
the one of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.

Y.8.8

I invite expanse and good breathing space
for the entire being of the Orderly one.
I invite constriction and bad breathing space
for the entire existence possessed by the Lie.⁵

Y.8.9

Order is the best good ...
for the satisfaction and glorification
of the haoma, which brings Order.
(etc.)

¹ A kind of cake.

² Again, precautions against a flawed sacrifice.

³ The following passage obviously expresses the basic purpose of the *yasna* sacrifice.

⁴ Cf. Yt.19.96.

⁵ The time stretch when the existence is under the rule of the powers of darkness.

YASNAS 9-10: THE HYMN TO HAOMA

Y.9.1

At the proper time, at the Haoma-pressing Hour,
Haoma¹ went up to Zarathustra,
who was purifying² the fire and chanting the *Gathas*.
Zarathustra asked him:
Who are you,
the most beautiful I have ever seen
in the entire bony existence,
with your sunny immortal life?

Y.9.2

Thus he answered me,
the Orderly death-averting³ Haoma:
I am, O Zarathustra,
the Orderly death-averting Haoma.
Ask me hither, Spitamid,
press me forth to drink.
Praise me for strength,⁴
like the future Revitalizers too will praise me.

The first sacrificers

Y.9.3

Then Zarathustra said:
Homage to Haoma!
Who was the first man, O Haoma,
to press you for the bony world of the living?
What reward was sent to him?
What prize came to him?

Y.9.4

Thus he answered me,
Orderly death-averting Haoma:
Vîwanghwant was the first man
to press me for the bony world of the living.
That reward was sent to him,
that prize came to him
that a son was born to him:
radiant Yima with good herds,⁵
the most Fortunate among those born,
like the sun to look at among men.
Under his command he made
cattle and men indestructible,

waters and plants indesiccable,
(and) savory food imperishable.

Y.9.5

Under Yima the *brave's command
there was never cold, never heat,
there was never old age, never death,
never envy set in place by the old gods.
Fifteen (years) in shape the two went forth,
father and son each,
for as long as he ruled,
Yima with good herds, Vîwanghwant's son.

Y.9.6

Who was the second man, O Haoma,
to press you for the bony world of the living?
What reward was sent to him?
What prize came to him?"

Y.9.7

Thus he answered me,
Orderly death-averting Haoma:
Âthviya was the second man
to press me for the bony world of the living.
That reward was sent to him,
that prize came to him
that a son was born to him:
Thraêtaona of the house rich in life-giving strength.

Y.9.8

He smashed the giant dragon
with three mouths, three heads,
six eyes, a thousand tricks,
the mighty strong, deceiving Lie,
that evil (affecting) the living beings, possessed by the Lie:
the mighty strong Lie
that the Evil Spirit whittled forth,
against the bony world of the living,
for the destruction of the living beings of Order.

Y.9.9

Who was the third man, O Haoma,
to press you for the bony world of the living?
What reward was sent to him?
What prize came to him?

Y.9.10

Thus he answered me,
Orderly death-averting Haoma:

¹ It is hardly possible in this text to distinguish between the god Haoma and the *haoma* plant used in the sacrifice.

² I.e., preparing it for the sacrifice.

³ The meaning of *dûraosha-*, OInd. *duroscha-* has not been established; "death-averting" is just a stop-gap translation. The word could perhaps mean "he who opens the doors of dawn"?

⁴ Note the effect of the praise.

⁵ See Videvdad 2.

Thrita of the Sâmas, most rich in life-giving strength,¹
 was the third man to press me
 for the bony world of the living.
 That reward was sent to him,
 that prize came to him
 that two sons were born to him:
 Urwâkhshaya and Kersâspa,
 one a *guide regulating the law,
 but the other had his work *above,²
 the curly-headed, mace-bearing youth.

Y.9.11

He smashed the horned dragon,
 the horse-devouring, man-devouring one,
 the venomous, yellow one,
 over whom the yellow venom rose up
 to the height of a spear;
 on whom Kersâspa cooked his meal
 in an iron pot at noon time.
 The villain started to get hot and to sweat.
 He shot out from under the pot
 and scattered the boiling water.
 Frightened he ran off and away,
 Kersâspa, whose thoughts were those of heroes.

Y.9.12

Who was the fourth man, O Haoma,
 to press you for the bony world of the living?
 What reward was sent to him?
 What prize came to him?

Y.9.13

Thus he answered me,
 Orderly death-averting Haoma:
 Pourushâspa was the third man
 to press me for the bony world of the living.
 That reward was sent to him,
 that prize came to him
 that you were born to him,
 you, O upright Zarathustra,
 of the house of Pourushâspa,
 who said no to the old gods
 and took Ahura Mazdâ as your *guide.

Y.9.14

Renowned in the Aryan Expanse³
 you were the first, O Zarathustra,
 to chant the *Ahuna vairya*⁴

¹ Cf. V.20.2.

² That is, in the world of thought? See Bdh.33.35, Dk.7.1.32.

³ Av. *airyanem vaêjô*, the mythical homeland of the Iranians, where Zarathustra was born. The exact meaning is not known.

⁴ See Videvdad 19.10.

with *pauses and repeated four times,
 the last time with stronger enunciation.

Y.9.15

You made hide in the ground
 all the old gods, O Zarathustra,
 who before that went about on this earth
 in the shape of men,
 (you) the strongest, the firmest,
 the most active, the fastest,
 who were the greatest obstruction-smasher
 of the *two Creations of the two spirits.

Praise of Haoma

Y.9.16

Thus said Zarathustra:
 Homage to Haoma! Good (is) Haoma,
 well set up (is) Haoma, set up straight,
 good, healing according to the established rules,
 of good shape, giving good invigoration,
 an obstruction-smasher,
 golden-colored with pliable twigs,
 the best when they drink (him)
 and the best flight-maker for the breath-soul.⁵

Y.9.17

I call down, O golden one, your intoxication
 and your might and your obstruction-smashing power,
 your talent, your healing,
 your furthering, your increasing,
 your strength in the whole body,
 your all-adorned wisdom.
 (I call) down (all) that so that I may go forth
 among the living beings commanding at will,
 overcoming hostilities, conquering the Lie!⁶

Y.9.18

(I call) down (all) that so that I may overcome
 the hostilities of all hostile ones,
 old gods and men,
 sorcerers and witches, false teachers,
 *poetasters, and *mumblers,⁷
 villains on two feet,
 obscurantists¹ on two feet,

⁵ It makes the breath-soul fly up to heaven.

⁶ Note the effects of drinking haoma. Cf. Y.10.6.

⁷ *Poetasters, and *mumblers, *kawis* and *karapans*: originally *kawi* was “poet,” then “competing > bad poet”; *karapan* presumably a “mumbler” or a kind of “sacrificer,” then “competing > bad poet-sacrificer.” According to the later tradition they tried to destroy the infant Zarathustra. See Denkard 7.4.64-67.

wolves on four feet,
and (their) army with wide front,
deceiving and falling (all over).²

Five requests

Y.9.19

This I ask you as my first request,
O death-averting haoma:
the Best Existence (Paradise) of the Orderly ones,
luminous and all good breathing space.
This I ask you as my second request,
O death-averting haoma:
health of this body.
This I ask you as my third request,
O death-averting haoma:
long life for (my) life breath.

Y.9.20

This I ask you as my fourth request,
O death-averting haoma:
that I may stand forth upon the earth
strong, mighty, satisfied,
overcoming hostilities, conquering the Lie!
This I ask you as my fifth request,
O death-averting haoma:
that I may stand forth upon the earth
smashing obstructions, conquering in battles,
overcoming hostilities, conquering the Lie!

Y.9.21

This I ask you as my sixth request,
O death-averting haoma:
May we be the first to notice the thief and the robber,
the first to notice the wolf!³
May no one notice us first!
May we notice all first!

Generosity of Haoma

Y.9.22

Haoma bestows endurance and strength
on those fleet coursers who run
in pairs along the race course.
To those in labor Haoma
gives radiant sons
as well as Orderly (sons as) offspring.
On those who in their homes

sit asking about the holy texts, Haoma
bestows insight and wisdom.

Y.9.23

On the young women
who go long without becoming pregnant,
Haoma bestows a master and lord,
(being) quickly well-*disposed when implored.

Y.9.24

Haoma also set down Kersâni
away from his command,
him who complained in his desire for command,
who lied:
No shall a priest again go about
in my land for increasing studies(?!)
He shall conquer all of the increases.
He shall strike down all of the increases.⁴

Y.9.25

Lucky you, who by your own strength,
O haoma, are in command at will!
Lucky you, the one informed about
the correct utterances containing many words!
Lucky you! You do not ask with a *tortuous question
about something spoken straight(?).

Y.9.26

Mazdâ brought you the belt with knots,
star-adorned, fashioned in the world of thought:
the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
And with that you are girded⁵
on the heights of the mountains
(enabling you) to hold the reins
and handles of the poetic thought.⁶

Y.9.27

O Haoma, O house-lord, O town-lord,
O tribe-lord, O land-lord,
O *possessor of life-giving wisdom, O master of knowledge,
for the sake of obtaining force and obstruction-smashing
strength
I address you: for me, for (my) body,
and the prosperity that gives much *enjoyment.

Curses

Y.9.28

Take away from us the hostilities of the hostile ones!

¹ I.e., who obscures, darkens Order; traditionally translated as
"heretic."

² Typical mode of locomotion of the followers of the Lie.

³ "Wolves" could be "on two feet" or "on four feet." Human
"wolves" were criminals such as murderers.

⁴ We do not know what this story is about.

⁵ Cf. Bdh.6j.1.

⁶ The poetic thought appears to act as the chariot(?) of the sun.

Take away the thought of the irate ones!
 In this house or in this town
 or in this tribe or in this land—
 whatever sinful mortal there is,
 take endurance away from his feet!
 Cover his ears!
 Shatter his thought!

Y.9.29

May you not be able (to walk) forth with the legs,
 may you not at all be able (to grasp) with the hands!
 May he not see the earth with his eyes!
 May he not see the cow with his eyes,
 he who makes our thought sinful,
 he who makes our body sinful!

Y.9.30

Against the yellow dragon, spurting venom,
 for the benefit of Orderly one who wishes to maintain (his)
 body(?),
 strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!
 Against the robber seeking to bloat (his possessions),
 bloody, raging,
 for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his)
 body,
 strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!

Y.9.31

Against the man possessed by the Lie,
 the false teacher who (arrogantly) tosses his head,
 for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his)
 body,
 strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!
 Against the unordered one who darkens Order, who destroys
 (this) existence,
 who heeds in speech this *daênâ*,
 (but) does not *follow up in acts,
 for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his)
 body,
 strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!

Y.9.32

Against the evil woman possessed by sorcerers
 whose deeds are for pleasure, who offers her lap,
 whose thought flutters forth
 like a cloud traveling with the wind,
 for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his)
 body,
 strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!
 When (it is) for him,
 for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his)
 body,
 strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!

Praise of Haoma

Y.10.1

Let them go away from here,
 old gods and deceptive females!
 Let good Sraosha make his dwelling,
 let good Ashi dwell here!
 Good Ashi *rested
 here in this home, in which Ahura Mazdâ is sacrificed to,
 which (is that) of Haoma, conveyor of/through Order.

Y.10.2

Also, the foremost (part of) your mortar
 I approach praising with speech,
 O you of good guiding thought,¹
 (that) which receives (your) twigs.
 Also, the uppermost (part of) your mortar
 I approach praising with speech,
 O you of good guiding thought,
 (that) in which (the haoma) is pounded
 with the strength of a man/hero.

Y.10.3

I praise the fog and the rain,
 who make your body grow
 on the tops of the mountains.
 I praise the high mountains,
 where, O Haoma, you have grown up.

Y.10.4

I praise the earth, broad and wide,
 with invigorating *essence, *bountiful,
 the carrier/womb² of you, O Orderly Haoma.
 I praise the earths, where, O Haoma, you grow,
 fragrant, *fleetly-moving.
 By the good growth of Mazdâ
 you have grown on the mountain,
 and so may you also prosper along the path of the bird.³
 And truly you are the wellspring of Order!

Y.10.5

Increase by my word in all (your) *roots
 in all (your) buds, and in all (your) protuberances!

Y.10.6

Haoma grows when he is praised.
 Thus the man who praises him
 becomes a greater obstruction-smasher.

¹ The reference of this epithet here is not clear. Compare “flight-maker” in Y.9.16?

² The earth carries all that is on her, but she is also the womb from which Haoma is born.

³ Compare “flight-maker” in Y.9.16?

The very least pressing of you, O Haoma,
the very least praise of you, O Haoma,
the very least consumption of you, O Haoma,
is for the smashing of a thousand old gods.¹

Benefits of the haoma

Y.10.7

As soon as it is produced
a(ny) blemish disappears from this house,
where he repeatedly brings in,
where he repeatedly praises
the *offspring, the *talent,
the healing of healing Haoma,
in his house and dwelling.

Y.10.8

For all other intoxications
are accompanied by Wrath with the bloody club,²
but the intoxication of Haoma
is accompanied by Order (and) bliss.
The intoxication of Haoma quickens
the man who would honor
Haoma like a young son.
Haoma enters these bodies to heal them.

Y.10.9

O Haoma, give me (those) of the remedies
by which you are the best (disease-)smasher through
remedies!
O Haoma, give me (those) of the obstruction-smashing
(remedies?),
by which you are the greatest obstruction-smasher.
I shall be ready to keep your deals (and) to praise you
(so that) you can make me better keep your deals (and) praise
you.
(Thus) spoke Ahura Mazdâ:
as (is) the Order that is best.

Y.10.10

The artisan god had fashioned you
as the fleet one set in place by the Web-master.
The artisan god had set you down
as the fleet one set in place by the Web-master
on high Haraitî.³

¹ Cf. Y.9.2.

² The bloodiness may refer to the color of sunset. It is possible
Wrath, the evil force of the dark night sky is responsible for
killing the day and the sunset is its death blood.

³ These are references to myths we do not know. We may also be
dealing with constellations.

Y.10.11

Thus the life-giving birds launched there
carried you out in various directions:
to Ishkata Upairi.saêna,
to Staêra Starô.sâra,
to Kusrâdha Kusrô.patâdha,
to Pavrâna along the path of the birds,
to the two *White-color Mountains.⁴

Y.10.12

And on those mountains
you grow in many varieties,
as the milky, golden-colored haoma.
Your remedies have been *mixed
by the *creative magic* of Good Thought.
So fling thought away from the one
who announces bad things about me!
And *depress the thought of the one
who stands up to announce bad things about me!

Y.10.13

Homage to Haoma! For he makes
the thought of a poor man as large
as that of even the most wealthy.
Homage to Haoma! because he makes
the thought of a poor man as large
as this (entire) knowledge of the ... (?).
You give plenty of men/heroes
to the one who has more life-giving knowledge,
who has more insight,
who, O golden Haoma, ever and again
gives shares of you mixed with milk.

Y.10.14.

Do not, like the bull banner ...
Let your juicy intoxications go forth!
Let them go with invigorating *essence!
I place all around, O Orderly Haoma,
this body of yours, invigorator of Order,
which appears to me well-shaped.

Y.10.15

I relinquish the aperture of the woman,
the villainess, whose dirt has not been removed,⁵
who thinks she is deceiving
the priest and Haoma,⁶
she who (herself, however,) deceived goes to perdition,
she who sits down devouring
the *draonah*¹ which belongs to Haoma.

⁴ Mountains in Central Asia and modern Afghanistan.

⁵ Perhaps a reference to a menstruating woman.

⁶ Cf. V.18.62.

(Haoma) does not *give her priests as sons,
nor indeed any good sons.

“Profession of faith”

Y.10.16

I belong to five, to five I do not belong:
I belong to (thought) well thought,
I do not belong to (thought) not well thought.
I belong to (speech) well spoken,
I do not belong to (speech) not well spoken.
I belong to (action) well done,
I do not belong to (action) not well done.
I belong to readiness to listen,
I do not belong to lack of readiness to listen.
I belong to the Orderly one,
I do not belong to the one possessed by the Lie.
and that (will be so) until when in the end
the victory between the two spirits comes about.

Zarathustra praises Haoma

Y.10.17

Then Zarathustra said:
Homage to Haoma, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
Good is Haoma, who was set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
Homage to Haoma!
I praise all the haomas,
even when on the heights of the mountains,
even when in the depths of the streams,
even those in the narrow passes of ravines,
in the *clutches of women.
From a silver bowl
into a golden one I pour (you).
Let me not send you into the earth.
In this way you are worthy of a *wealthy one.

Y.10.18

These are your songs, O Haoma.
These are (your) praises.

...

These are the words correctly spoken,
*fulfilling our obligations,²
rich in obstruction-smashing strength,
countering hostilities, healing.

Y.10.19

And you too, (give) me these (songs, etc.?)!
Let your juicy intoxications go forth!
Let your luminous intoxications go forth!

The intoxications fly more fleetly, smashers of obstructions,
(when) he praises the one who is, at the same time as this
word from the *Gathas*(?).

Y.10.20

Homage to the cow! Homage to the cow!
For the cow an utterance!
For the cow a *stable!
For the cow food!
For the cow *pasture
**may be produced, for the cow! You keep tending her
for food for us! (< 3.48.5)**

Y.10.21

We sacrifice to tall, golden Haoma.
We sacrifice to ruddy³ Haoma, furtherer of living beings.
We sacrifice to *death-averting Haoma.
We sacrifice to all the haomas.
We sacrifice here to the reward and pre-soul
of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...⁴

Three curses

Y.11.1

Three who are truly Orderly, whose words are not inviting,
are (here) cursing:
the cow and the horse and Haoma.
The cow curses the priest:
May you have no offspring and be followed by bad fame,
who do not share me (when) well cooked.
Thus you fatten me
(as if) belonging to (your) wife or son or his own *belly.

Y.11.2

The horse curses the rider:
May you not be able to harness the fleet (coursers),
nor mount the fleet (coursers),
nor rein in the fleet (coursers),
who do not ask me for strength
in the plentiful assembly of a ... with many men.

Y.11.3

Haoma curses the eater:
May you have no offspring and be followed by bad fame,
who keep me for yourself when pressed,
as (if I were) a thief whose head is forfeit.
For my head is not forfeit,
mine, the Orderly death-averting Haoma.

¹ Some kind of ritual food.

² That is, to the gods.

³ The color of the sunset.

⁴ The *Yenghye hâtâm* prayer, see Y.27.15.

Y.11.4

My father sent forth to me, Haoma, as my share of the sacrifice
—(he) Orderly Ahura Mazdâ—
the cheeks together with the tongue,
as well as the left eye.

Y.11.5

He who robs me of or steals or grabs it away that share which Orderly Ahura Mazdâ gave me,—
the cheeks together with the tongue,
as well as the left eye,—

Y.11.6

in that home will not be known
either a priest or a warrior or a husbandman.
Thus in his home will be born
*stinging and crawling (things)
of many kinds, as well as

Y.11.7

In the firmament you fashioned forth
for firmest Haoma the share of the cow.¹
May not Haoma bind you like he bound the villain,
the Turian Frangrasyân, in the middle third of this earth,
fettered in iron.²

Zarathustra praises Haoma

Y.11.8

Thus spoke Zarathustra:
Homage to Haoma set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
Good is Haoma set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to Haoma!
...

Y.11.10

I place all around, O Orderly Haoma,
this body of yours, O you vigorous through Order,
which appears to me well-shaped.
for energy, for Haoma, for intoxication,
for well-being, for Orderliness.
May you too assign to me,
O Orderly death-averting Haoma,
the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
light and all good breathing space!

Y.11.11

Order is the best good ...

¹ "Cow" = "meat"?

² See Yt.9.17-19.

Y.11.12

In as much as a new life is **a worthy one**
May you, Ahura Mazdâ, (now) rule at will (etc., = Y.8.5)

Y.11.13

May the Orderly one have power at will! (etc., = Y.8.6)

Y.11.14

May I, too, who (am another) Zarathustra (etc., = Y.8.7)

Y.11.15

I pray for spaciousness (etc., = Y.8.8)

Y.11.16

I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices (etc., = Y.1.23)

The chief priest says forth to me:

In as much as a new life is **a worthy one**

He who is the chief priest says forth to me:

In as much as a new life is **a worthy one**

Let a sustainer of Order who knows (it) say forth:

thus its Model is just in accordance with Order ...

I say forth with my praise

Y.11.17 = Y.0.4

I say (it) forth with my praise
with (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done,
and (thoughts) to be well thought, (words) to be well spoken,
and (acts) to be well done.
I regard as worthy of songs of praise
all (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done.
I regard as worthy of being left out
all (thoughts) badly thought, (words) badly spoken, (acts) badly done.

Y.11.18 = Y.0.5

I have given to you, O Life-giving Immortals,
(my) sacrifice and hymn
(together) with (my) thought, with (my) word, and with (my) act,
(together) with (my) *essence (life thread?),
and (together) with
the life breath of nothing less than (my) **own body**.
(1.33.14)

Y.11.19 = Y.0.6

I praise Order.

Order is the best good ...

YASNA 12: PROFESSION OF FAITH (*FRAWARĀNĒ*)

Y.12.1

I scorn the old gods.

I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ like Zarathustra did.

I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.

(I am) a praiser of the Life-giving Immortals, a sacrificer to the Life-giving Immortals.

To Ahura Mazdâ, (himself) good and possessor of good (things),

I assign **all good things**, (to him,) the Orderly one, wealthy, (and) munificent,**which ever are the best**, (< YH.37.1)

to whom belongs the cow, to whom Order,

to whom the lights,¹ to whom**The free spaces are *blending with the lights.** (< YH.37.1)

Y.12.2

I (now) choose **Life-giving Humility**,² **the good one. She shall belong** to me! (< 1.32.2)

By my praise of the cow I (herewith) remove (her) from theft and violence,

(by my praise) of the towns of of those who sacrifice to

Ahura Mazdâ (I remove them)

from damage and devastation.

Y.12.3

You are giving to the *homes

ability to go where they wish, to settle where they wish,

the ones by which they **dwell** on this earth **together with** (their) **cows** (< YH.37.2)

set up in reverence for Order.

In return I praise (all) that.

I shall not (leave) that (profession of faith and) enter upon (the path to) damage or devastation

against the towns of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, not (even) for love of (my) bones or life breath.

Y.12.4

I (herewith) say no to the company with the evil old gods, who have no good (things to give),

whose (sacrifice) has/produces no Order,

who give evil gifts,

the most lying of all beings,

the foulest of all beings,

who of all beings have the least good (things to give).

I (herewith) say no the company with old gods,

with those possessed by old gods,

with sorcerers, with those possessed by sorcerers,

with the *opposite (qualities) of each and every one of all beings:

in thoughts, in words,

in acts, in (their) brilliant (gifts?).

Indeed, I say no to the company with him

*steadfastly³ just like with (any) *offensive one possessed by the Lie.

Y.12.5

And thus again and again

Ahura Mazdâ would *imprint on Zarathustra

in all the questionings, in all the meetings,

in which they discussed,

Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.

Y.12.6

And thus again and again Zarathustra

would say no to the company with the old gods,

in all the conversations, in all the meetings,

in which they discussed,

Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.

And thus do I too, as someone who sacrifices to Ahura

Mazdâ in the tradition of Zarathustra,

(herewith) say no to the company with the old gods,

like he would say no to them,

the Orderly Zarathustra.

Y.12.7

The choice by which the waters,

the choice by which the plants,

the choice by which the cow who gives good gifts,

the choice by which Ahura Mazdâ,

who set in place the cow,

who (set in (his) place) the Orderly man,

the choice by which Zarathustra was (someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ),

the choice by which Kawi Vishtâspa,⁴

the choice by which the (brothers) Frashaoshtra and

Jâmâspa,⁵

the choice by which each of the Revitalizers,

who produce what is truly real, Orderly,

by that choice and *guidance

I am someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ.

¹ The first creations.² Daughter and wife of Ahura Mazdâ, is the genius of the earth. Her humility is that of a daughter and wife, but also the patience of the earth who carries all life upon herself.³ Lit., "by (my) firm stance" (on the chariot)?⁴ See Yt.13.99-100.⁵ According to the tradition two brothers. Jâmâspa married Zarathustra's daughter after she was married to her father.

Y.12.8

I shall choose to sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ in the tradition of
Zarathustra.

Having presented myself (to him) as a praiser(?)
and having made my choice,

I present my well-thought thought in praise,

I present my well-said word in praise,

I present my well-performed act in praise.

Y.12.9

I present my *daênâ* in praise

as that of someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ,
throwing off (her) harness, laying down (her) weapons,

(and) as my Orderly wedded daughter/wife,
who, of those that are and those that shall be,

(is) the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
which (is) worthy of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.

I assign all good things to Ahura Mazdâ.

This is how I present my *daênâ* in praise

as that of someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ.

THE SECTION ON THE *AHUNWAR*

Y.19.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:

O Ahura Mazdâ, O most Life-giving Spirit,

O Orderly establisher of living beings with bones!

Which was yon word, Ahura Mazdâ,

that you said forth to me—

Y.19.2

(as being) before the sky, before the water,
before the earth, before the cow, before the plant,
before the fire, the son of Ahura Mazdâ,
before the Orderly Man,¹
before old gods, creeps, and men,
before every Life with bones,
before all the good things established by Ahura Mazdâ,
whose seed is from/according to Order?

Y.19.3

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

That was this Section (consisting) of the *Ahuna vairiia*,

O Spitama Zarathustra,

that I said forth to you—

Y.19.4

(as being) before the sky, before the water,
etc.

Y.19.6

And whoever in this Life with bones, O Spitama Zarathustra,
recites my Section (consisting) of the *Ahuna vairiia*,
or reciting it remembers it,
or remembering it makes it heard,
or making it heard sacrifices it—
even three times across the bridge
to the Best Life I shall convey his soul,
I, Ahura Mazdâ,

up to the Best Life, up to Best Order, up to the best lights.

Y.19.7

And whoever in this Life with bones, O Spitama Zarathustra,
while memorizing my Section (consisting) of the *Ahuna*
vairiia leaves out

either a half or a third or a fourth or a fifth,

I, shall stretch around him,

I, Ahura Mazdâ,

his soul away from the Best Life.

To such an extent in thickness and breadth I would stretch (it)
as this earth.

For this earth is as much in thickness as in breadth.

Y.19.8

And this word which contains “Life” and “model”
has (always) been said forth

before the foundation band² of yonder sky,

before (that of) the water,

before (that of) the earth,

before (that of) the plant,

before the foundation band of the cow with four legs,

before the birth of the two-legged Orderly Man,

before (the foundation band of) yonder sun in fashioned
form,

after the foundation band of the Life-giving Immortals.

...

Y.19.17

Which (are) the occupations?

The Priest, the Warrior, the Husbandman, the Artisan,
which are the daily (tasks? to be) pursued

by the Orderly Man, thinking straight thoughts,

speaking straight words, performing straight actions,

remembered according to the models,

¹ I.e., Gayômar.

² A weaving term: the beginning of the new fabric (birth tissue),
which is woven more tightly than the rest of the weave.

*promoting the Daênâ,
(he) **by whose actions the herds are being furthered
through Order.**

Y.19.18

Which (are) the models?
The one of the house, the one of the town,
the one of the tribe, the one of the land,
(and) the fifth: Zarathustra,
(are the models) of these lands—other than (in) Zarathustrian
Raghae:

Zarathustrian Raghae has four models.
Which (are) *its* models?
The one of the house, the one of the town,
the one of the tribe, (and) the fourth: Zarathustra.

Y.19.19

What (was) the Well-thought (thought)?
The Orderly (man?), the first (creation of Ahura Mazdâ's)
thought.
What (was) the Well-spoken (word)?
The Life-giving poetic thought.
What (was) the Well-performed (action)?
The praises according to Order and the first creations.

Y.19.20

Mazdâ said forth (the *Ahuna vairiia*?).
Whom did he say forth?
The Orderly (man?), both in the world of thought and in the
world of the living.
How great (was he to) say forth the word to be said forth?
(As) the best with the command (to do so).
How great (did he say forth) the Orderly (man?)?
As the best, but without command at will.

Y.19.21

We offer up in sacrifice the section of the *Ahuna vairiia*.
Of the *Ahuna vairiia* we offer up in sacrifice
(its) proclamation and recitation
and incantation and (its) sending forth in sacrifice.
**Thus, he among those that are, in return for whose
sacrifice ...**

YASNA 23: HARNESSING THE PRE-SOULS

Y.23.1

By (my) sacrifice I harness:¹
the pre-souls of *those who were the first,
those of the houses, of the towns,
of the tribes, and of the lands,
who held out² the sky,
who held out the water,
who held out the earth,
who held out the cow,
who held out the sons in the wombs,
enclosed and not dying beforehand.

Y.23.2

By (my) sacrifice I harness:
the pre-souls of the following:
of Ahura Mazdâ,
of the Life-giving Immortals
together with all the Orderly pre-souls
of those worthy of sacrifice in the world of thought.

By (my) sacrifice I harness the pre-souls of the following:
of Gaya Martân,
of Spitama Zarathustra,
of Kawi Vishtâspa,
of Isat.vâstra, the Zarathustra-son,³
together with all the Orderly pre-souls,
those of the first *guides.

Y.23.3

By (my) sacrifice I harness:
all the Orderly pre-souls
of whosoever is anywhere on this here earth before departed:⁴
qualified (men) and women,
boys and girls,
farmers and settlers
going away from this here home,—
(those) who commemorate (them),
who *make (them) obtain(?)
good sacrifices and hymns.

¹ That is, to the chariot that is going to convey the sacrifice up to the gods? – The pre-souls are indispensable in the making of new life, from conception to birth. We are now preparing the rebirth of Zarathustra through the haoma, and the pre-souls are of crucial importance in the process.

² The verb refers to the creative act, see Yt.13.

³ See Bdh.34.10.

⁴ This passage is in a strange form (corrupt, colloquial?) of Avestan.

Y.23.4

By (my) sacrifice I harness:
the pre-souls of the Orderly,
strong (and) unshakable,
the pre-souls of the first *guides,
the pre-souls of our closest relatives,
for the pre-soul of (my) own breath-soul.
By (my) sacrifice I harness (the sacrifice):
for all the models of Order,
for all those worthy of sacrifice whose gifts are good,

both those in the world of thought
and those in the world of the living,
who are worthy of sacrifice and hymns
according to the best Order.

Y.23.5

I shall choose to sacrifice (etc., = Y.11.16)

YASNA 24-25: PRESENTATION OF THE HAOMAS

Y.24.1

We make known the haomas to Ahura Mazdâ,
these haomas, *myazdas*, libations
and barsom spread out in Orderly fashion
and the cow who gives good gifts
and this milch cow set up in Orderly fashion,
and this plant, the pomegranate, set up in Orderly fashion.

to the pre-souls of the Orderly ones
and to the breath-souls of the Orderly ones
and to the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
and to the lofty model
and to altogether the entire time span of the Orderly one,
for (their) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

Y.24.2

(We make known) to the good waters
these libations containing haoma and milk and pomegranate,
set up in Orderly fashion.
(We make known) to the good waters
both the haoma water
and the stone mortar
and the iron pestle—

Y.24.5

Thus I make them known
to the pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra,²
seeker of the (first) existence, lover of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,
together with all the Orderly pre-souls,
the ones of the departed Orderly ones
and those of the living Orderly ones
and those of the unborn men,
the Revitalizers who will make (the existence) Perfect.³

Y.24.3

and this barsom plant
and the pleasing of the models which has now come¹
and the recitation and *invigoration
of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
and the listening to the *Gathas*
and the pleasing of the models of the Orderly model of the
Order which has now come
and these firewoods and incense
yours, the fire's, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ with/from
the seed of Order
we place all around and make them known.
Then we make them known

Y.24.6

These haomas, *myazdas*, libations
and barsom spread out in Orderly fashion
and the cow who gives good gifts
and this milch cow set up in Orderly fashion,
and this plant, the pomegranate, set up in Orderly fashion,—

Y.24.7

for the good waters⁴
these libations containing haoma and milk and pomegranate,
set up in Orderly fashion
to the good waters and the haoma water,
to the stone mortar and the iron pestle—

Y.24.4

to Ahura Mazdâ,
to Sraosha with the rewards,
to the Life-giving Immortals,

¹ That is, the divine models of the elements of the sacrifice have all been satisfied.

² See Dk.7.2.14-21, 46.

³ *frasha*, literally “juicy,” that is, with the juices of life and fertility.

⁴ The insistence on the waters here may also be as the birth waters for the birth of Zarathustra.

Y.24.8

and this barsom plant
 and the pleasing of the models which has now come
 and the recitation and *invigoration
 of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
 and the listening to the *Gathas*
 and the pleasing of the models of the Orderly model of the
 Order which has now come
 and these firewoods and incense
 yours, the fire's, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
 and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ with/from
 the seed of Order
 we place all around and make them known.

Y.24.9

Then we make them known
 to the Life-giving Immortals, who bestow good command
 and give good gifts
 as ever-living, ever-life-giving,
 those of the male followers of Order who dwell on the
 side of good thought
 and those of the female followers of Order who do so. (<
 YH.39.3)

Y.24.10

Then we make them known
 as the more numerous ones of this house,
 for the furthering of this house,
 (those) of cattle and men,
 both those Orderly ones who have been born and those yet to
 be born:
 to whomever/whichever (house) this one (belongs) they
 belong.

Y.24.11

Then we make them known
 to the pre-souls of the Orderly,
 who are both strong and unshakable,
 for the help of the Orderly.

Y.24.12

Then we make them known
 for the sacrifice and hymn
 and satisfaction and glorification
 of Ahura Mazdâ, who has set (everything in place),
 wealthy and munificent,
 the (greatest?) spirit in the world of thought,
 (and for that) of the Life-giving Immortals.

Y.24.13

Then we make them known
 to the daily models of Order:
 to the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order
 for (its) sacrifice and hymn

and satisfaction and glorification.

Then we make them known
 to the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the
 House, a model of Order.
 for (its) sacrifice and hymn
 and satisfaction and glorification.
 Then we make them known
 for the sacrifice and hymn
 and satisfaction and glorification
 of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds, with a
 thousand ears, with ten thousand eyes,
 the one worthy of sacrifice whose name is uttered,
 (and) of peace with good pastures.

...

Y.24.34

Then we make them known to
 all the models of Order,
 all the ones giving good gifts, worthy of sacrifice,
 both those in the world of thought
 and those in the world of the living,
 who are worthy of sacrifice and hymns
 according to the best Order.

Y.25.1

We sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals
 bestowing good command and giving good gifts.
 We offer up in sacrifice this haoma
 set up in Orderly fashion.
 We offer up in sacrifice also this milch cow
 set up in Orderly fashion.
 We offer up in sacrifice also this pomegranate plant
 set up in Orderly fashion.

Y.25.2

For the good waters:
 we offer up in sacrifice these libations
 containing haoma and milk and pomegranate,
 set up in Orderly fashion.
 For the good waters:
 we offer up in sacrifice the haoma water,
 and we offer up in sacrifice the stone mortar,
 and we offer up in sacrifice the iron pestle.

Y.25.3

We offer up in sacrifice this barsom plant
 and the pleasing of the models which has now come
 and the recitation and *invigoration
 of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
 and the listening to the *Gathas*
 and the pleasing of the models of the Orderly model of the
 Order which has now come

and these firewoods and incense,
yours, the fire's, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,—
and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
whose seed are from/according to Order.

Y.25.4

We sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy and munificent.
We sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals,
who bestow good command and give good gifts.
We sacrifice to Mithra, who provides wide grazing grounds.

We sacrifice to peace with good pastures.
We sacrifice to the radiant immortal, bright sun with fleet
horses.

Y.25.8

And we sacrifice to every (other) Orderly one
in the world of thought worthy of sacrifice,
and we sacrifice to every (other) Orderly one
in the world of the living worthy of sacrifice.

YASNA 26: SACRIFICE OF THE PRE-SOULS

Y.26.1

The good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-
giving strength,
I praise, I invoke, I weave (into my hymn).¹
We offer (them) up in sacrifice,
those of the house, the town, the tribe, the land,
those most like that of Zarathustra.

Y.26.2

And here we offer up in sacrifice,
of all these first pre-souls:²
yonder pre-soul, that of Ahura Mazdâ,
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
the hardest, the one with the best guiding thought, the best
shaped,
the one by which one most often reaches Order.

Y.26.3

We offer up in sacrifice the good, life-giving pre-souls of the
Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,
those of the Life-giving Immortals,
radiant, with invigorating eyes,
lofty, overpowering,
firm, following Ahura Mazdâ,
posing no threats and Orderly.

Y.26.4

Here we offer up in sacrifice
the (first) life,³ the *daênâ*, the consciousness, the breath-soul,
and the pre-soul
of the Orderly males and Orderly females

(who were) the first *guides,
the first to hear the commandments,
who have (always) won for Order.
We offer up in sacrifice the breath-soul of the cow who gives
good gifts.

Y.26.5

(We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of those) who have
won for Order.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-soul of the Orderly Gaya
Martân.
Here we offer up in sacrifice the reward and pre-soul of
Spitama Zarathustra.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-soul of Kawi Vishtâspa.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-soul of Isat.vâstra the
Zarathustra-son.⁴

Y.26.6

Here we offer up in sacrifice—of (our) Orderly closest
relatives, male and female—
the (first) life, the *daênâ*, the consciousness, the breath-soul,
and the pre-soul
(of those) who have (always) won for Order,
together with all the Orderly pre-souls,
the ones of the departed Orderly ones
and those of the living Orderly ones
and those of the unborn men,
the Revitalizers who will make (the existence) Perfect.⁵

Y.26.7

Here we offer up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the departed,
which are the pre-souls of the Orderly,
of all the ones in this house,
of the previously departed ones of the closest family,
of the teaching-masters, of the students,

¹ The web of the poet's hymns probably matches the birth-tissue of the fetus of Zarathustra.

² Every being in both worlds has a pre-soul. Each successive new being apparently combines all the pre-souls of earlier beings. Hence, they are all invoked again and again.

³ Perhaps embryo or fetus, but in any case, that which receives the life breath and bones to make it into a living being, cf. 1.34.14, YH.37.3, etc.

⁴ See Bdh.34.10.

⁵ Av. *frasha*, literally "juicy," that is, filled with the juices of life, or "fluffy," like a thick weave.

of men (and) women.

Here we offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly men
(and) Orderly women.

Y.26.8

We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly
teaching-masters.

We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly
students.

We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly men.

We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly
women.

Y.26.9

We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the children made
by the qualified.

We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly ones in
the land.

We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly ones out
of the land.

Y.26.10

And we offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly men.
And we offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly
women.

We offer up in sacrifice all the good, life-giving pre-souls of
the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,
those from Gaya Martân
to the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer.

Y.26.11

We offer up in sacrifice all the good, life-giving pre-souls of
the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength.

We offer up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the departed,
which are the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

The chief priest says forth to me:

As it is the well-deserved Life ...

He who is the chief priest says forth to me:

As it is the well-deserved Life ...

Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:

thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

YASNA 27: SACRIFICE OF THE HAOMA

Y.27.1

This (we do?), for him to be set in place as the greatest
first life of all and (its) model:

Ahura Mazdâ,

for the striking of the Evil Spirit possessed by the Lie,

for the striking of Wrath with the bloody club,

for the striking of the giant old gods,

for the striking of all the old gods

and the greedy ones possessed by the Lie,¹ —

Y.27.2

for the furthering of Ahura Mazdâ,

wealthy and munificent,

for the furthering of the Life-giving Immortals,

for the furthering of the star Tishtriya,²

wealthy and munificent,

for the furthering of the Orderly Man,

for the furthering of all the Orderly creations of the Life-
giving Spirit.

Y.27.3

As it is the well-deserved Life, just like that is the Model
an example to follow—**just in accordance with Order.**

¹ A group of evil beings about whom nothing else is known. They are often mentioned together with the giant old gods.

² Tishtriya conducts the heavenly (birth) waters and make them rain down to fertilize the earth and produce a new existence. See Yt.8.

Y.27.4 = 1.34.15

**O Mazdâ, thus say my poems conferring fame and my
actions are the best!**

Say, **you**, that my **repayment** in the form of **praises** is best
on account of **that good thought** of mine **and the Order**
of my ritual.

**You now make by the command of you all, O Ahura, this
existence Perfect in exchange value, the real one.**

Y.27.5 = 5.54.1

**Let speedy Airyaman come here for support
for men/heroes and women/heroines, for the support of
Zarathustra's
good thought, by which his vision-soul may gain a worthy
fee.**

**I am now asking for the reward of/for Order, which
Ahura Mazdâ shall *deem worthy of being sped hither.**

Y.27.6

The haomas are about to be filtered,
containing the command of Ahura Mazdâ,
containing the models of Order.³

Good Sraosha, who is followed by *Ashi who bestows
riches—

³ Note the importance of the haoma pressing: it puts Ahura Mazdâ back in command and provides the models for the reordering of the cosmos.

let him too have taken up his position here.¹

Y.27.7

We select the ... of good creative magic of change of the

Ahuna vairya,
proclaimed in Orderly fashion
and of the mortar and the pestle, moved in Orderly fashion,
and of the words correctly spoken.

For in that way they shall have even greater creative magic of
change for us.

As it is **the well-deserved Life**, just like that is the **Model**
an example to follow—**just in accordance with Order**.

Y.27.8-11 = 1.33.11-14

Y.27.12

I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ
like Zarathustra did.

I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.
For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

For the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the
House, a model of Order,

for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

For the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of the models of the hours and the days
and the months and the seasons and the years.

Y.27.13

In as much as a new life is a worthy one by the example of
the first existence, thus its Model is just in accordance
with Order.

The Model **of good thought and of the actions of the first**
existence is always **established for him who is Mazdâ**
“Memorizer,”

and the royal command is always assigned to him who is
Ahura “reigning Lord,” whom one shall thereby establish
as pastor for the poor.²

Y.27.14

Order is the best good reward/possession there is.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one
when one’s Order is for the best Order.

Y.27.15

We offer up in sacrifice the *Ahuna vairya*.

We offer up the *Ashem vohu*, the most beautiful Life-giving
Immortal.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities—
and to him among them whom Ahura Mazdâ knows to be
according to Order—
in return for whose sacrifice we will obtain the better
reward.

² The sacrificer (and other humans) must strive to uphold the world created by Ahura Mazdâ. The model (heavenly prototype and divine protector against chaos/evil) for their thoughts and actions should be the thought of Ahura Mazdâ, who established the world in the beginning = the *first* state (of existence), in which by her actions Ârmaiti, the earth and daughter and consort of Ahura Mazdâ, supported by the actions of the successful sacrificer will produce ideal conditions for good life on earth. – The new world = *this* state (of existence) will be the well-deserved reward [cf. 5.54.1]—in the sacrificial sphere—for their sacrifice successfully performed and—in the social sphere—for behavior befitting the creatures of Ahura Mazdâ. – When they believe in Ahura Mazdâ and live according to his laws and rules, Ahura Mazdâ will—like a great general—lead the fight against evil in the world, but at the same time take care of his worshippers, like a shepherd tends his flocks [this theme is elaborated in 1.29 and occurs for the last time in 5.53.9].

¹ Sraosha is the greatest enemy of the forces of darkness.

THE AHUNAWAITÎ GÂTHÂ

Introduction and presentation

Y.28.0

The Life-giving Immortals accepted the *Gathas*
as the boon-producing thought, boon-producing word, boon-
producing action
of Orderly Zarathustra.
Homage to you, O Orderly *Gathas*!

Ahuna vairya[†]

1.28.1¹

**With hands upstretched in homage to him, my support, I
ask
you all for the first state of the inspiration, O Mazdâ, life-
giving through my/your Order, by my action,
on account of which you may listen favorably to both the
guiding thought of my good thought and the cow's
breath-soul,—**

1.28.2²

**I who want to circumambulate you all, O Mazdâ Ahura,
with my good thought
for you to give to me the spoils of both existences, both
that which has bones and that which is of thought,
in accordance with Order, spoils by which one may place**

[†] All five Gathas begin with a general statement presented in a particularly elaborate (and difficult) style. The *Ahuna vairiya* prayer introduces and sums up the themes of the *Ahunauaiti Gâthâ*, but it also introduces the entire Old Avestan corpus; indeed, together with 5.53.9 and 5.54.1, it frames the collection.

¹ The priest performing the *yasna* sacrifice prays to Ahura Mazdâ and the other divine beings who are with him. He asks him for divine inspiration comparable to the first inspiration, that of Ahura Mazdâ, when he performed the first *yasna* sacrifice in order to make the Cosmos out of Chaos. May the inspiration guide his thoughts and actions in order for his sacrifice, performed according to the rules of Ahura Mazdâ, to be successful and re-energize the world, so that it may be favorably noted and rewarded by Ahura Mazdâ.

The cow symbolizes the animals created by Ahura Mazdâ to serve and help humans. Her breath soul is comparable to the ritual songs of the priest.

The strophe recalls the introduction to a play, where the favor of the audience is requested.

² The priest expresses the wish that his performance, as staged by his good thought, will reach the gods and that they will deem it worthy of rewards, both in this life and in the beyond. He promises that he will in turn use the rewards to bring comfort (i.e., freedom from distress, etc.) to his supporters, that is (probably), to the gods, presumably by an even better sacrifice, and to his patron, the one who shoulders the expenses for the sacrifice.

one's supporters in comfort.

1.28.3³

**I who want to weave with Order you all and the good
thought that had none before it,
as well as Mazdâ Ahura, into my poetic web, all of you for
whom Humility shall then increase (both Order?)
and their royal command so as to make it
*undiminishing,—come to my calls for support for me!**

1.28.4⁴

**I, who am now paying attention to my breath-soul for my
song, with my good thought in one and the same place,
and to the rewards for my actions, am the knowing one of
Ahura Mazdâ.
As much as I shall be able and capable, so much I want to
look sharply in search for Order.**

1.28.5⁵

**Shall I see you through Order, I wonder(?), finding both
good thought for myself
and, as the route for the Ahura with greatest life-giving
strength, my readiness to listen offered to Mazdâ,
which is greatest by that poetic thought of yours(?): “May
we *classify evil beings by their tongue!”**

1.28.6⁶

**Come now on account of my/with your good thought!
Give me now on account of my/by your Order the gift of
a long life span!**

³ He further hopes that his newly-composed, and so impressive, song of praise in the form of a tapestry depicting Ahura Mazdâ and his work will persuade them to support and aid him, with the result that Ârmaiti, deity of the earth and daughter and consort of Ahura Mazdâ, will again produce all good things coming from the earth.

⁴ He keeps trying to convince Ahura Mazdâ of the excellence of his performance: his breath, which will allow his songs to reach the gods; his thought, which is concentrated on this one thing: that the performance be in accordance with Ahura Mazdâ's laws and rules; and keeping in mind what will be the rewards.

⁵ The priest wonders whether he will find the good thought that will inspire him to a successful performance, allowing him to see Ahura Mazdâ through his work, especially the heavenly spaces illuminated by the sun. He hopes that his willingness to listen to Ahura Mazdâ will open up a path along which the most life-giving heavenly Fire may cross the heavens, all the while listening for dissonant words and songs produced by the opponents of good. — 1.28.5-6 are echoed in 1.33.5

⁶ Prayer for the reward of long life. Prayer that Ahura Mazdâ may give the priest and the other worshippers the kind of support he once gave to Zarathustra, whereby they may keep the evil forces at bay. [First mention of Zarathustra and his role, preparing for the whole myth in 1.29.]

On account of his capacious utterances, you gave, O
Mazdâ, support with strength to Zarathustra.
Give to us, too, O Ahura, support by which we shall
overcome the hostilities of the one hostile to us.

1.28.7⁷

Now give on account of my Order *that* reward: the spoils
of my good thought!
Give, you, O Humility, the invigorant to Vishtâspa! To
me, too,
you have now given it, O Mazdâ. Command, too, O
Mazdâ, for us your generous gifts, which we wish to
hear about through your poetic thought, yours, O
Mazdâ, and that of those with you.

1.28.8⁸

You, the best one, who have the same pleasure as the best
Order, I ask for the best things, you whom,
as the Ahura, I as the *winner am here and now asking, for
them to be given to the hero Frashaoshtra and to me
and to those from whom you shall *receive it for the whole
life span of their good thought.

1.28.9⁹

May we not, O Mazdâ, with those requests to you, anger
you all, as well as Order
and *your* thought, the best, we who have taken our places
*to fulfill our obligations in the form of praises.
You all are the fastest invigorants, and yours is the
command over the life-giving strengths.

1.28.10¹⁰

Thus those whom you know to be, from the point of view
of Order and good thought, following the established
rules,
and so according to the models—I shall fill for them, O
Mazdâ, O Ahura, with attainments their wish.
Thus, I know for *you* all songs bringing fame *full of life-

giving power for *you* all, having their own chariot
horses and victorious.

1.28.11¹¹

You, who with the help of these songs/men are guarding
Order and good thought for the duration of a life span,
teach *you me*, O Mazdâ, O Ahura, to speak in accordance
with *your*
inspiration, by your mouth, the words by which the first
existence will be here every time.

Installation of Zarathustra as first human sacrificer

1.29.1¹

To you gods the breath-soul of the cow complains: “For
whom have you carved *me*? Who has fashioned *me*?
Wrath and violence, obstruction keep me bound, as well
as fetter and oppression.
I have no pastor other than *you* gods, so appear to *me*
with a good forager!”

1.29.2²

Then the fashioner of the cow asks Order: “How was your
model for the cow,
when you gods who are in command established her
together with her pasture as “cow-nourishing activity”?
Whom do you all wish to be an Ahura for her, someone
who may push back, together with those possessed by
the Lie, Wrath?”

1.29.3³

Him one who is not a smasher of union(s) with(?) Order
and not hostile to the cow shall answer:
“Among yonder things nothing is to be found that might
move those who have much toward the needy.
He is strongest of all beings for whom I shall come to his

⁷ Further passionate outbursts: Request for reward for his good thought, which has ensured the successful sacrifice. Mentioning the rewards his *yasna* sacrifice has provided for the great priest-heroes of the past, Vishtâspa, etc., he imagines that his reward has already been assigned to him, and the worshippers are waiting for Ahura Mazdâ to tell them that the rewards are already on their way.

⁸ Further prayers for rewards to be assigned to the worshippers, like to the priest-heroes of old, Frashaoshtra, etc. In return the worshippers will do their best to support Ahura Mazdâ and his work.

⁹ At the end of these ardent prayers, the priest expresses the concern that he may have overdone it.

¹⁰ The songs are compared to horses pulling chariots in a race through the heavenly spaces, in which they compete against those of other sacrificers.

¹¹ At the end of these introductory prayers, the priest asks Ahura Mazdâ for instructions for how to perform the *yasna* so that it may succeed in making the powers of light and goodness victorious over those of evil and darkness, and so remake the original state of the world, as created by Ahura Mazdâ in the beginning.

¹ The cow complains to the gods that she is being tortured by the powers of evil. Having no protectors other than the gods, she asks for an earthly protector.

² The Fashioner of the cow passes the question on to his superior, Order: what was the model, the heavenly prototype, for the cow when she and her pasture were assigned their place in the newly-Ordered cosmos, the heavenly opponent of the powers of evil that, after the first attack, target her and her pasture?

³ Order(?) answers that in the world of the cow there is currently nothing that might make those with power and means support those without. Instead, the poor, however, weak, should put his trust in Order.

calls even if they are weak.”

1.29.4⁴

“Mazdâ” is he who remembers best the *verses. For those that have been performed whenever till now by old gods and men, as well as those that will be performed whenever hereafter, *he*, the “Ahura,” is the one who discriminates between them (= passes judgment on them). It shall be for us in the way that *he* shall wish!

1.29.5⁵

Thus, with hands upstretched *toward you all, we two were there presenting ourselves as friends to the Ahura, *my* breath-soul and that of the milch-cow, when we submitted Mazdâ to our questions: “Is there no way for the one of straight living to *improve his life or for the cattle-tender among those possessed by the Lie?”

1.29.6⁶

Thus he has said, Ahura Mazdâ, who knows the webs by their *texture: “Neither has a model been found through this one period of existence nor one just in accordance with Order. For the carpenter fashioned you for the cattle-tender and the forager.”

1.29.7⁷

The Ahura, who has the same pleasure as Order, fashioned *that* poetic thought to be that of the fat dripping for the cow, as well as the milk, *he*, Mazdâ. *He* is vitalizing for the meager ones by his ordinance.

⁴ The narrator(?) reflects upon Ahura Mazdâ: He is, as his name Mazdâ “the one who keeps everything in mind” indicates, the one who remembers all that humans have ever spoken, and since he is the one with supreme command and judgment, as his name Ahura indicates, he will make the final decision.

⁵ The priest and the cow, representatives of all living beings, ask Ahura Mazdâ how to improve their life among all the adversities facing them [cf. 5.53.9].

⁶ Ahura Mazdâ, who knows all the macro- and microcosmic arrangements answers the questions of the fashioner of the cow in str. 2, slightly out of synch: There was no heavenly prototype for the cow in the first ordering of the universe. On the contrary, the idea was that the cow would be taken care of by her human owners.

⁷ Ahura Mazdâ (or the heavenly—sacrificial—fire?) has already prepared the constituents of the sacrifice, however, including speech, which when used correctly will ensure good things in the human world. So, they must be brought down to earth, and Ahura Mazdâ asks who can do that.

“Whom do you have, (O fashioner of the cow?) who by his good thought shall bring them down to the mortals?”

1.29.8⁸

“This one is the one found by me who alone listens to our ordinances, Zarathustra Spitama. He wishes, O Mazdâ, to make heard for us and for Order poems of praise, if only(?) I am *tied (as) the good breath/control of his speech organ.”

1.29.9⁹

And, thus promised, the breath-soul of the cow lamented: “Am I one who would *direct a forceless voice at the *pleasing (of the arbiters?), the voice of a man without life-giving power. He whom I wish here and now to have command through this invigorant—when shall *he* ever be there who shall give *him* help with his hands?”

1.29.10¹⁰

You all, O Ahura, shall now establish for *these* men, by your Order, strength, as well as for yourself(?) *yonder* command by your/on account of my good thought, by which command one shall establish good dwellings and peace. *I* for my part now consider *you*, O Mazdâ, to be the first finder of *this* good thought/existence.

1.29.11¹¹

Where are Order and good thought and command? *Remember me, O gods! In foreknowledge acknowledge, O Mazdâ, *me*, O gods, for

⁸ Someone answers that Zarathustra Spitama is ready to take the sacred objects—libations and hymns of praise—down to earth and offer them up in sacrifice to the gods (cf. Dk.7.2.15-21), provided somebody helps him with the oral performance [cf. Moses and Aaron].

⁹ The cow is not satisfied, complaining that Zarathustra is too weak and needs help [cf. 1.29.1-2].

¹⁰ The priest is back: The ceremony is now about to be performed, and, once that has been done successfully, Ahura Mazdâ will reward his worshippers with well-being.

¹¹ Rhetorical question: Where is a *yasna* possessing sufficient Order and a poet possessing sufficient good thought to provide the command for Ahura Mazdâ? — Answer: None other than this one that is being performed. — Being omniscient, you, Ahura Mazdâ, know the outcome, so acknowledge me without further ado for the exchange of gifts: sacrificial offerings—libations and hymns of praise—for the gods, well-being for the worshippers. — So may the gods now come down to the sacrifice to bring and receive the gifts.

the great gift exchange,
**O Ahura! Come now hither to us in foreknowledge of the
 gift worthy of ones such as you all presented by us!**

The two inspirations

1.30.1¹

**Thus, I shall speak, O you who wish to come, those words
 which even a knowing man should pay attention to:
 the praises and ritual performances of my good thought
 performed for the Ahura,
 O well-attentive ones, and for Order, on account of which,
 through the lights, gladdening things can now be seen.**

1.30.2²

**Listen, all of you, with your ears to the best utterances!
 Observe, all of you, through this flame by your thought
 the *preferences of discrimination (= judgment) made
 man-by-man for his own body,
 before the great audition, for their discrimination to be
 announced to us in return when you perceive ours.**

1.30.3³

**Thus, those two inspirations in the beginning, which have
 been renowned as “the twin sleeps,”
 the twin thoughts and speeches—they are twin actions: a
 good one and a bad one.
 And between those two those who give good gifts (or:
 establish good things) have discriminated rightly, not
 those who give bad gifts.**

1.30.4⁴

**Thus, also: whenever the two inspirations come together
 one receives for the first time
 both life for the good and lack of survival for the bad and**

¹ And, while you are on the way, I shall now tell you what I know of the secrets of the universe and thus show you I am indeed worthy of your rewards, which I can in fact already glimpse: the return of dawn and the light of day.

² Just listen to our words and watch our actions through the mounting fire of our sacrifice, and you will see that we have made the right choices, making us worthy to participate in the gift exchange.

³ The priest explains to Ahura Mazda the importance and significance of the “choice,” by retelling the myth of the two “inspirations,” conceived of as “sleeping” potentials of good or evil thought, speech, and action that each person must face and choose between.

⁴ By choosing between these two potentials, one determines how the existence will be. The followers of the Lie will produce darkness, death, and destruction by their sacrifice, and that will be their lot in the beyond, too. The follower of Order, deploying his good thought, will perform a successful sacrifice and thereby obtain the best thought, that of Ahura Mazda, and be admitted to his presence.

how their existence shall be at last:

**The worst existence will be that of those possessed by the
 Lie, but for the sustainer of Order there will be best
 thought.**

1.30.5⁵

**At the choosing between these two inspirations you, who
 are possessed by the Lie, would produce the worst
 words/actions.**

**The most life-giving inspiration, which is clad in the
 hardest stones, chose to produce Order,
 and so do whoever shall favor the Ahura by their *true*
 actions, him, Mazda, *again and again.**

1.30.6⁶

**Especially the old gods did not discriminate straight
 between these two, because deception
 would come over them as they were asking one another,
 so they would choose the worst thought.
 Thus, they would scramble together to Wrath, with which
 mortals sicken this existence.**

Poet-sacrificer's participation in revitalizing the Cosmos

1.30.7⁷

**But for this one he comes with command and Order on
 account of his good thought.
 Thus, *tissue-connectedness gives him form, Humility
 breathing (saying):
 “Of these rewards there shall be for you there according as
 you shall request them, if first in line, on account of your
 *assignments(?)”**

1.30.8⁸

**And also, when the retribution comes for these sins:
 then, O Mazda, he shall constantly present the command
 to you by his good thought
 for you to announce it to these, O Ahura, who shall be**

⁵ The right choice is to choose the good inspiration, which means declaring oneself a follower of Ahura Mazda. According to the myth, the good inspiration originally had to be smashed out of the rock (every poet knows how hard it is to obtain).

⁶ At the original choosing, the old gods chose wrong, and the humans who follow them only make existence sick (and in need of a physician, cf. 1.31.19).

⁷ But the worshipper of Ahura Mazda by the perfection of his sacrifice obtains the command needed to overcome evil. When Ahura Mazda judges the performances of all the worshippers, our worshipper will be the winner.

⁸ Our worshipper will also leave it to Ahura Mazda to pass judgment on those who sin by pretending theirs is the best sacrifice, and Ahura Mazda will put his worshippers in charge of overcoming evil.

placing the Lie in the hands of Order.

1.30.9⁹

**And also: may we be the men (of those?) who shall make it Juicy, this existence,
O Mazdâ and you(?), the Ahuras, here through the bringing of ...(?), and through our Order,
when one's thoughts shall be in one and the same place where one's understanding shall at first be one way, then another.**

The chariot race

1.30.10¹⁰

**For at that time will come down upon you, O evil ones, the deflation of the *tumescence of the Lie.
But the fastest coursers shall then be harnessed up to the good dwelling of good thought,
that of Mazdâ and of Order, who shall be leaving the others behind in the race for good renown.**

Winners and losers: Rewards

1.30.11¹¹

**Because you now *master the deals that Mazdâ establishes with you, O mortals:
(namely regarding) both good going and non-going and what is long-lasting harm for those possessed by the Lie and what are the life-giving strengths for the sustainers of Order—therefore, henceforth by those deals wished-for things shall be for you.**

Reward for knowledge about the cosmic secrets

...

1.31.6⁶

For him there shall be the best who, knowing it shall

⁹ So may we be your worshippers, you who shall fill the world with life-giving juices, once we have realized the changing aspects of this world are just appearance and that truth is only one.

¹⁰ And when the world is filled with life-giving juices, the pretended swelling of the Lie will subside.

Then, our *yasna*, with its offerings and hymns of praise, will race up to Ahura Mazdâ, passing all others also on their way, and we will be the ones to be honored for having helped Ahura Mazdâ in his battle against evil, against darkness and sickness.

¹¹ The priest talks to the other worshippers: You are Ahura Mazdâ's true people, those who behave according to the covenant (mutual agreement) with him—the one regulating good things for the faithful, but bad things for the unbelievers—, so you shall be granted what you wish for. [Cf. 4.51.8-9.]

⁶ Once informed, in return we, your worshippers, shall give Ahura Mazdâ the very best we can, so that he can combat darkness and death on the cosmic scale and produce light and life.

speak to me the true

poetic thought, the one which he said is of wholeness of Order and immortality.

For Mazdâ there shall be yonder command (= over yonder things), which shall grow for him by my good thought.

1.31.7⁷

He who was the first to think those thoughts: “The free spaces are blending with the lights”—

it was by his guiding thought that he, the Web-master, thought Order, by which he upholds best thought.

By that inspiration you grow, O Mazdâ, who still here and now are the same, O Ahura.

1.31.8⁸

Thus, I now think with my thought of you as being the first, O Mazdâ, yet youthful,

father of good thought—since I have grasped you in my eye

as the true Web-master of Order and seen you in the actions of this state as the Ahura.

1.31.9⁹

Ârmaiti was with you. Yours was the inspiration of great guiding thought there

in the form of(?) the fashioner of the cow, O Mazdâ

Ahura, when you were giving her the choice of paths:

to come to the forager or to him who shall not be a forager for her.

...

1.31.16¹⁶

I ask you about yonder thing: how he will be, the generous one who strives for furtherance of the command of the home or the settlement or the land through Order, when he shall be there, one like you, O Mazdâ Ahura, and with what actions will he come?

⁷ It was Ahura Mazdâ who in the beginning by a mental act produced the heavenly spaces full of light. He laid the world out in a harmonic network of physical and mental relations, good thought functioning as the sky. Even though he was there in the beginning, Ahura Mazdâ is still the same: eternally youthful, and it is the same mental act (now performed by us) that makes him and his work grow.

⁸ And this is how I too think of you, Ahura Mazdâ: “Mazdâ” because you are the model of good thought and “Ahura” because you are in command of good actions in the world.

⁹ Armaiti, through whose actions the earth produces everything life-giving, belonged to you, and it was through you that the cow was given the possibility to choose someone who would feed her.

¹⁶ When will an earthly patron(?) come, somebody as generous and as beneficial as Ahura Mazdâ himself?

1.31.17¹⁷

Whether the sustainer of Order or the one possessed by the Lie will be allowed to retain for himself the greater part of the reward,—

let him who knows say to the one who already knows!

May no one who does not know keep deceiving us

[calling us deceivers?] hereafter!

Be, O Mazdâ Ahura, the launcher of *our* good thought!

1.31.18¹⁸

But let no one among you keep listening to the unpoetic thoughts and the ordinances of the one possessed by the Lie!

For he has placed the home or house or settlement or land in bad settling and destruction. Teach them, you all, a lesson thus: with a blow!

1.31.19¹⁹

He who first thought Order has now listened to my words(?), namely, you, the knowing one, the healer of this existence, O Ahura,

being in command of your tongue at will for the correct uttering of the words,

you who, through *your* glowing fire, O Mazdâ, provide a the firm stance to my legs in the race for good renown.

1.31.20²⁰

Whoever shall *come to the sustainer of Order, *brilliant fame will be his in the future. Lamentation, a long life span of darkness, bad food, your only word the word “woe!”—

to that existence your vision-soul will lead *you* all, O you possessed by the Lie, on account of your own actions.

¹⁷ Let Ahura Mazdâ tell his follower—although he already knows—what the rewards will be for the good and the bad, respectively. Don’t let the unbelievers try to tell us otherwise!

Ahura Mazdâ, inspire our good thought, i.e., how we should perform the *yasna* and altogether behave to please you.

¹⁸ May Ahura Mazdâ and his companions not pay attention to the hymns and the *yasna* of the unbelievers, since they aim only at destroying Peace and Pasture. On the contrary: teach them a lesson!

¹⁹ Ahura Mazdâ, who was the first to produce Order by a sacrifice in the world of thought, has now scrutinized my performance and has decided that it is a perfect repetition of the original one and that it will, indeed, serve to heal and rejuvenate this state of existence, specifically bring back the day and the sun. In the ritual race to obtain Ahura Mazdâ’s approval—and so good fame as an expert sacrificer—his tongue = the charioteer is in full command, and his stance on the chariot is perfectly steady (he will not lose balance and fall off).

²⁰ Whoever becomes a follower of Ahura Mazdâ will be rewarded with brilliant fame and fortune. The unbelievers will be led down to dark sorrow and suffering by their own thoughts, words, and actions.

1.31.21²¹

Ahura Mazdâ gives—out of his plenty of wholeness and immortality

and Order and out of his union with command, which produces good posterity—

***fattiness of his good thought to him who abides by *his* deals by his inspiration and actions.**

1.31.22²²

They are brilliant for the giver of good gifts who finds by his *effort, by his thought

good things. He there is here and now, by his command, *strengthening Order, by his speech and action.

He there, O Mazdâ Ahura, will be your most invigorating guest.

...

The race and the judgment

1.33.5⁵

I, who shall be invoking your readiness to listen, the greatest of all, at the unharnessing, having obtained long life, having obtained the command of/over good thought, and the straight paths up to Order to those among whom Mazdâ, the Ahura, dwells,—

1.33.6⁶

There is he, your libator who is straight by the Order of his ritual, who performs, out of *this* best

inspiration, yonder *desirable actions which Ahura Mazdâ(?) by his thought first thought forth as those to be performed by the forager.

Those are the things to be expected(?), O Ahura Mazdâ, from seeing you and conversing with you.

²¹ Ahura Mazdâ rewards his follower with absence of illness and untimely death, as well as offspring and all kinds of success.

²² In return for the gifts Ahura Mazdâ bestows on his followers, the sacrificer has given Ahura Mazdâ his best gifts (libations, etc., and hymns). By his perfect *yasna* the sacrificer is now assisting Ahura Mazdâ in reestablishing Order in the world, so let him come and see you. He will be a guest giving you as much as you give to your guest.

⁵ I follow your model, Ahura Mazdâ, and my *yasna* will therefore go directly up to you. When the race is run and I am in your presence I shall listen to you.

⁶ By following Ahura Mazdâ’s instructions, I shall be able to reproduce the actions which will reestablish the first state of existence, as originally established by him.

1.33.7⁷

Ask *me* for my **best** utterances, O Mazdâ and you others,
ask me for utterances **both** *having their own
command(?) and uttered **strongly**
through the Order of my sacrifice and **by my good**
thought, by which I am at this very moment **being heard**
before the master of the gift exchange.
Let there appear among us brilliant gifts with homage!

1.33.8⁸

Inform me, you all, about **those things to be gained toward**
which I shall be moved by my good thought,
about **the sacrifice, O Mazdâ, of one like you all or else, by**
my Order, words of praise.
All these things are **laid out for you, as well as immortality**
and wholeness with *tissue-connectedness: **the**
sacrificial cake.

1.33.9⁹

Thus, let it(?) bring you, O Mazdâ, that inspiration for the
rejuvenation of the two *masses that *make Order
grow,
let **the creative change bring the** *ever-changing comforts
through your best thought.
The *sequence of these two has been set in motion whose
*guidance(?) **the breath-souls are following** at this very
moment.

1.33.10¹⁰

All good *gains of yours—namely, **both those that have**
been and those that are,
and those, O Mazdâ, that are in the process of becoming—
make them now your share, make them be to your
pleasure!
Keep growing in body at wish through my good thought,
through my/your command and Order!

⁷ I am ready for my command performance. In fact I am already performing, so let the rewards appear: the sun with its light and fertility and abundance for the earth.

⁸ Keep telling me what you want, and I shall provide what you need to renew the existence!

⁹ Let my *yasna* provide you with the inspiration you need to recreate the original Ordered state of the cosmos: heaven and earth and the cosmic wheel of the divisions of time(?), which our souls are following on their way up to you.

¹⁰ Now reap the benefits of my sacrifice, O Ahura Mazdâ!

1.33.11¹¹

You, who have the greatest life-giving strength, who are
Ahura and Mazdâ, and you who are Humility
and you who are Order, which furthers the herds, listen all
of you
to my good thought and command! Be merciful in return
for my every presentation!

1.33.12¹²

Rise up before me now, O Ahura! Through my/your
Humility receive strength!
By my/your most Life-giving inspiration, O Mazdâ,
receive quickness through my good presentation,
forceful violent power through the Order of my ritual,
***creative power through my good thought.**

1.33.13¹³

You shall show me now for support for the far-seeing sun
the ford by which I shall *cross over to you.
Along that path(?) of my/your command, O Ahura, along
which the reward of (= for) my good thought shall
arrive,
launch, O Humility, our vision-souls through Life-giving
Order!

1.33.14¹⁴

Thus, Zarathustra is giving as gift the life breath of
nothing less than his own body
as the foremost share of his sacrifice and the gift of his
good thought to Mazdâ,
as well as what is the foremost share of his action through
Order
and that of his utterance: his readiness to listen and the
command generated by his sacrifice.

¹¹ Listen all you divine beings: Ahura Mazdâ—both Ahura/Lord-ruler and Mazdâ/remember of all things past, Ârmaiti, genius of the earth, and Order, whose visible aspect is the sun and the bright sky, listen to my perfect hymns and look at the total command generated for you by my *yasna*. In return, judge my performance with mercy.

¹² Rise up now, Fire/heavenly fire = sun! Receive life and strength through the fertility of the earth! By my inspiration and *yasna*, you, Ahura Mazdâ, can now have all it takes to rejuvenate the world.

¹³ Now open up the path for the sun. Along that path my breath-soul shall bring you my *yasna*, guided by my *daênâ*, and along that path may the rewards for my *yasna* come down to us.

¹⁴ The *yasna* is being completed: “Zarathustra” is sacrificing himself to provide Ahura Mazdâ with the building material of the new world at the new dawn.

Victory and pay time1.34.1¹

This **action, the speech, and the sacrifice through which you now receive immortality as well as Order for yourself, O Mazdâ, and the command of wholeness,—**
the foremost share **of these is being given to you, O Ahura, by us gathered here in greatest numbers.**

1.34.2²

And, thus, through our(?) thought, they have been given to you, all these things/utterances and the good inspiration,
as well as the actions of the life-giving man, whose breath-soul is at this very moment with Order
in a hymn that goes around the world of living beings to one like you all with songs consisting of praises, O Mazdâ.

1.34.3³

Thus, we have now placed in homage as food offering for you, O Ahura, and for Order—
there in your command—all our herds, which *he assembled for us by his good thought.
For life-giving strength has been sent on its way, O you who give good gifts, with all good things soon to arrive among those like you all, O Mazdâ.

1.34.4⁴

Thus, we wish your fire to be powerful, O Ahura, through the Order of our ritual,
***instructing and forceful and of brilliant help for him who supports you/us,**
but for the one hostile to you/us, O Mazdâ, we wish his sins to be clearly seen through the bad things set in motion by his hands.

¹ The *yasna* performed by all the believers is providing Ahura Mazdâ with the elements needed for the rejuvenation of the world.

² The priest has won the competition and has been acknowledged by Ahura Mazdâ, whereby he has now become life-giving like Ahura Mazdâ. His breath soul, having successfully made the trip, is performing the hymns in the very presence of Ahura Mazdâ.

³ As food offering we have given you all our livestock—which you gave us in the first place—for you to dispose of at will, for it to invigorate you.

⁴ The offerings are brought to you by the sacrificial fire as our contribution to the rejuvenation of the world by the heavenly fire. But the light of day will also reveal the failed performances of our competitors.

1.34.5⁵

What is your command, all of you? What is your wish for action to be performed, O Mazdâ, or for how I sleep?
Tell me for **your** (=all the gods') **poor one to be protected by the Order** of my ritual and **by my good thought.**
We have always declared you all to be over and above all the creepy old gods as well as their(?) men.

1.34.6⁶

For if you are all truly in that way, O Mazdâ, with respect to(?) Order and good thought,
then make that a permanent(?) mark for me—for all things of this existence are one way or another—
so that I shall come before you even more confident, praising and also sacrificing to you all.
...

1.34.12¹²

What is a *straight utterance for you? What do you want: What of praise or what of sacrifice?
Say forth to us that word for it to be heard, O Mazdâ, on account of which he may distribute the rewards for my *straight utterances.
Teach us the paths through Order, the ones easy to go (for one) of good thought.

1.34.13¹³

Teach us **that road which you, O Ahura, told me is that of good thought,**
the well-made one along which the vision-souls of the life-givers first(?) strode, precisely the one through Order,
toward the fee which was first assigned to those of good gifts and whose depository you are, O Mazdâ.

⁵ What is your wish for how I act at day or at night? Our opinion is that we should protect the poor and set Ahura Mazdâ and those with him above the divine beings who do not follow him, as well as their followers.

⁶ And if I am right in my assumptions about you and how to perform the *yasna* for you, then please give me a sign so that I may be more confident in my praise and worship (cf. the Inscription of Kerdîr at Naqsh-e Râjab).

¹² Once again: how should the *yasna* be performed? What actions and what words do you want? Tell us all that so that the master of the exchange (?) [cf. 1.33.7] may present the rewards appropriately. Again, let us know how to reach you.

¹³ Let us know which is the path along which we should send our perfectly performed *yasna* to you, to assist you in the rejuvenation of the cosmos and receive the reward for it.

1.34.14¹⁴

For, O Mazdâ, you all shall give for my life breath and bones that well-deserved fee on account of the action of my good thought. For to those who are in the household of the milch-cow you all give *your* good understanding of my guiding thought, O Ahura. Through your Order you further the households.

1.34.15¹⁵

O Mazdâ, thus say *my* poems conferring fame and my actions are the best!
 Say, **you**, that my **repayment** in the form of **praises** is best **on account of that good thought** of mine **and the Order** of my ritual.
You now establish by the command of you all, O Ahura, this existence as Juicy in exchange value, the *true* one.

¹⁴ Indeed, in return for my supreme sacrifice, of my entire being, I am sure you will present me with a fitting fee. Of course, you are the special protector of those who have a milch-cow (hint, hint!) to care for.

¹⁵ Let me know, then, Ahura Mazdâ, at last, that my *yasna* was successful and that I have richly repaid you for the blessing you have bestowed on me and mine—let me know it by making the world again full of life and growth according to your standards, a more than matching value for the exchange of services we have performed.

THE YASNA HAPTANGHÂITI

Introduction and presentation

YH.35.2²

**Of the (thoughts, words, and acts) that have been thought,
spoken, or performed
both here and elsewhere,
both those that are being thought, spoken, or performed
and those that have been thought, spoken, or performed,
we are the singers of songs of welcome
—we are not blamers—in our effort to obtain good things.**

YH.35.3³

**Thus, we now prefer that, O Ahura Mazdâ, O you
beautiful through your Order:
that we may now think, speak, and perform them,
the ones which—among all the actions of all those who
are—
we wish to be the best ones for both existences.**

YH.35.4⁴

**For the sake of the cow, by our presentations (?), by/with
these actions,
our best ones, by which we are here and now sending them
forth
in order for peace and pasture to be established for her,
both toward those who listen and those who do not listen,
toward those who command and those who do not
command.**

YH.35.5⁵

**Indeed, it is for one with best command that—to the
extent we can—
we are herewith establishing, assigning, and generating
command,
when we establish (etc.) it for Mazdâ Ahura and best
Order.**

² This hymn is for the praise and exaltation of Ahura Mazdâ's work in ordering the cosmos. We will not here be concerned with scorning our competitors. We hope the hymn is good enough to contribute to the rejuvenation of the cosmos and so deserve a reward.

³ We hope that our performance will benefit both gods and men.

⁴ We are singing this song in the hope that it may contribute to furthering peace for our community, fertility of our lands, and plenty of food for our live-stocks, especially the all-important cow [cf. 1.29.10, 3.47.3]. We are aiming our song at all divine beings in Ahura Mazdâ's sphere, whether they listen or not, whether they have command (= rule) or not.

⁵ In fact, we hope that by our song we may reinforce the command of Ahura Mazdâ and the supremacy of *his* cosmic Order.

YH.35.6⁶

**Thus, in the same way that a man or a woman knows a
thought/word to be true,
in that way he or she knows it as being good.
Let him or her therefore both produce it for him/herself
and make it known to these,
who can then produce it as indeed is.**

YH.35.7⁷

**For it belongs to the Ahura! But for you we have thought
the sacrifice and hymn to Mazdâ
as the best thing and pasture as the best thing for the cow.
Thus, we are now producing that for you and making it
known (to you/these?)
to the extent we are capable.**

YH.35.8⁸

**Thus, he has (or: I have) ever said that the best for both
existences,
for whoever of all those who are is the desire to be
winners
in the race for the union of Order, and to be in the
household of Order.**

YH.35.9⁹

**Thus, these words to be uttered, O Ahura Mazdâ,
we will now proclaim with better imagination (?) as
Order—
thus, we are now adopting you as both (constant) returner
and (original) launcher of these words—**

YH.35.10¹⁰

**in accordance with Order and good thought and good
command—
be it through praises, O Ahura, for our/your praises,**

⁶ A true word is a "good" word, so let us send our true words (= our song) to Ahura Mazdâ and those with him, so that they can make it "come true."

⁷ As far as we have been told the *yasna* is the best gift we can give Ahura Mazdâ and those with him and the best counter gift is fertility for our lands. So that is what we are no doing: sending you our *yasna*, our sacrifice and our songs.

⁸ All followers of Ahura Mazdâ are intent upon winning the competition in order to contribute to the rejuvenating of the worlds of both gods and men.

⁹ We will try to think (= compose) our song as concretely as we can as a representative of the cosmic Order for you to make it come true in return—

¹⁰ after the model of the Order you made in the beginning by your good thought and your command—and then reward us with praise, words, or a cosmic sacrifice by which the world is rejuvenated.

be it through an utterance for our/your utterances,
be it through a sacrifice for our/your sacrifices.

YH.36.1¹

With the household of this fire, standing in front, we are
now circumambulating *you*, O Mazdâ Ahura,
you with *your* most life-giving inspiration,
which is pain for him whom you shall receive for pain.

YH.36.2²

You there, who invigorate us the most, may you in return
come to *us* for what you have received as your share,
O fire of Mazdâ Ahura.
On account of our invigorating of you, the most
invigorating one,
on account of our reverence to you, the most
bending/bendable one,
may you in return come to *us* for the greatest of auditions.

YH.36.3³

You are definitely “the fire of Mazdâ Ahura.”
You are definitely “*his* most life-giving inspiration,”
or whichever of your names is the most invigorating,
O fire of Mazdâ Ahura,
with that we are now circumambulating *you*!

YH.36.4⁴

You with our good thought,
you with our good Order,
you with the actions and words of our good
understanding we are now circumambulating.

YH.36.5⁵

We are bending to you,
we are now repaying you, O Mazdâ Ahura,
you with all thoughts well thought by us,

with all words well spoken,
with all actions well done we are now circumambulating
you.

YH.36.6⁶

Thus, as *your* form, the most beautiful of forms,
we are making known, O Mazdâ Ahura,
these lights as the same as yonder highest of heights,
as high as yonder sun has been said to be.

YH.37.1¹

Thus, in this manner we are sacrificing to Ahura Mazdâ,
who put in their places both the cow and the Order,
who put in their places both the good waters and the
plants,
who put in their places both the lights and the earth
and all good things in between,—

YH.37.2²

by his command and greatness and artistries.
Thus, to him we are sacrificing with the foremost share of
the sacrifices
of these who dwell here on the side of the cow.

YH.37.3³

Thus, up to *him* we offer up in sacrifice (his) Ahurian
names:
O “Mazdâ,” O “good one,” O most “life-giving one”!
To *him* we are sacrificing with nothing less than *our* bones
and life breath.
Up to *him* we are offering up in sacrifice the pre-souls of
the sustainers of Order, men and women.

YH.37.4⁴

Thus, we are sacrificing to best Order,
which is most beautiful,
which is life-giving, immortal,
which is full of light,
which is all good things.

YH.37.5⁵

And we are offering up in sacrifice to you our good

¹ All the members of this household are worshipping you with fire of the household, through which Ahura Mazdâ’s inspiration is transmitted to the believers, but his punishment to the non-believers.

² May the fire, Ahura Mazdâ’s greatest creation (as the sun), who gives us good things, come back to us to receive his share of the sacrifice in return. When we make you happy, O fire, who make us happy, when we bend in homage to you, who bend the most of all, may you in return come to assist us when we present our *yasna* to Ahura Mazdâ to be judged.

³ We know you well by your various names, O fire, which we are announcing as we walk around you.

⁴ We present to you our best *yasna*.

⁵ Through our *yasna* we are repaying Ahura Mazdâ for all the good things he has given us.

⁶ The fire is in fact the same as the fire in the sky, the sun, and both are Ahura Mazdâ’s most beautiful form.

¹ We praise Ahura Mazdâ for his work—

² and thank him with the best parts of the *yasna*,—

³ among them his names, which they pronounce and send up to him... their own very beings; and the pre-souls of all the faithful.

⁴ We worship the best Order of the *yasna* and the cosmos, both of which are provide light and life.

⁵ We present you in our *yasna* with all these inner things of ours, notably our humility (which brings us to the Earth):

thought
and our good command
and our good vision-soul
and our good creative power
and our good Humility/humility.

YH.38.1¹

Thus, we are offering up in sacrifice together with its
divine women this earth
which is carrying us,
and the women who are yours, O Ahura Mazdâ,
his choice rewards in accordance with Order,
those we are sacrificing to.

YH.38.2²

O milk offerings, O purifications, O juifications, O
Humilitys—
the good reward on account of these divine women,
the good invigoration,
the good fat oblation,
the good fame,
the good fecundity we are offering up in sacrifice.

YH.38.3³

Thus, we are sacrificing to the waters,
*glittering and *nectar-pouring,
which flow forth, consorts of their divine lord, whose art
works they are,—
with good fords, good *flooding, and good washing places,
we offer you all as gifts/support to both existences,—

YH.38.4⁴

“unquote”—those names, whichever Ahura Mazdâ
establishes for you all, O good ones,
whenever he establishes you all as givers of good things,
with those we are sacrificing to you all,
with those we are making you friendly,
with those we are revering you,
with those we are repaying you.

YH.38.5⁵

You also as waters
and you as milk-giving cow
and you as mother cows,
not to be harmed nourishers of the poor,
giving everybody to drink, we call hither,
O best ones, O most beautiful ones!
I, with long arms, shall offer you my help,
O good ones, in return for the attainments of the gift,
O you whose presentations reach far and wide(?), O you
who show your pleasure in return,
O mothers, O winnings.

The race and the judgment

YH.39.1¹

Thus, we are offering up in sacrifice in this way
both the breath-soul of the cow and its fashioner,
thus also, *our* breath-souls and those of the domestic
animals,
of those who wish to win us,
of those for whom they shall be there
and of those who shall be there for them.

YH.39.2²

We are also offering up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the
undomesticated animals, when harmless.
Thus, we are offering up in sacrifice the breath-souls of
the sustainers of Order, men or women, wherever born,
whose vision-souls, better than those of the rivals are at this
very moment winning, shall win, or have won.

YH.39.3³

Thus, in this way we are offering them up in sacrifice
as *both* the good breath-souls(?) *and* the good *daênâs*(?),
as life-giving and immortal,
as ever-living, ever-life-giving,
those of the male sustainers of Order who dwell on the
side of good thought

⁵ We call upon the life-giving waters (= the rain) to come here like cows suckling their calves. In return for their precious gift of life-giving water I shall be generous in my gifts to them. [Many unknown words in the last lines.]

¹ We present you in our *yasna* with the earth and all the other female things you placed upon it for our benefit and which we will receive as well-deserved prizes once the race is run and won.

² We present you in our *yasna* with all our special offerings, including the reward you give us.

³ Especially the waters,

⁴ We present you in our *yasna* with all these good things by pronouncing their exact names.

¹ We offer up in sacrifice/sacrifice to the breath-soul of the cow and the fashioner of the cow, known from the myth [I.29], and the breath-soul of the other useful animals who seek our protection,—

² as well as the breath-soul of animals who do no harm... finally, also the breath-souls of the believers, which are now conveying our hymns of praise to Ahura Mazdâ, guided by their good *daênâs*, who always overcome all adversities and obstacles on their way up.

³ We offer up our breath-souls and *daênâs* to you as contributions to the rejuvenation of the cosmos.

and of the female sustainers of Order who do so, “unquote.”

YH.39.4⁴

In the same way that you, O Ahura Mazda,
have thought them and spoken them,
established and performed what are good thoughts, etc.,
in that way we are giving them to you,
in that way we are assigning them to you,
in that way we are sacrificing to you with them,
in that way we are bending down to you with them,
in that way we are *repaying you with them,
O Mazda Ahura.

YH.39.5⁵

With the word “own” of our good family,
with that of our good Order we are circumambulating you,
of our good *creative power,
of our good Humility/humility.

Victory and pay time

YH.40.1¹

Thus, in return for these our presentations, O Mazda
Ahura,
make it something to keep in your mind and producing
abundant good things for you
by a gift *befitting you,
to the extent we deserve it(?),
when you all shall provide a fee worthy of me
to our vision-souls, O Mazda Ahura.

YH.40.2²

You there, give us now some of this—
both for this existence and for the one of thought—
that of this one, by which we may come to that,
namely your company and that of Order
for a whole life span.

YH.40.3³

Thus, do make now, O Mazda Ahura, our men
sustainers of Order, loving Order, harmless foragers,—
for long, *numerous company *worthy of hymns
of support for us through us,—

YH.40.4⁴

⁴ With our *yasna* we are now repaying you with the things you have given us.

⁵ We offer up in sacrifice to you our family as its owner, as well as the land from which we live.

¹ We hope our *yasna* is good enough for you to record in your memory and to deserve a worthy reward.

² As reward, may we be with you for as long as we live.

³ So make our men believe in you, Ahura Mazda!

in that way make the families,

in that way the households.

In that way may the companies be which we keep.

In that way may we be for you, as well, O Mazda Ahura,
sustainers of Order by our *desire to obtain what is
desired by our gift to you.

YH.41.1¹

Our praises, songs, and hymns
we are placing, we are assigning, and we are making
known
to Ahura Mazda and to best Order.

YH.41.2²

May we now attain your good command, O Mazda Ahura,
for a whole life span.

May a man or a woman of good command command us
in both existences,

O you give the best gifts among those who are.

YH.41.3³

We regard you as having good creative change, as
*worthy of hymns, worthy of sacrifice, in the company
of Order.

And so may you be our life and boniness

in both existences,

O you give the best gifts among those who are.

YH.41.4⁴

May we win the prize and leave the others behind, O
Mazda Ahura,

in the race for *your* support, which ensures a long life
span,

and may we *through you* become both strong and forceful,
and may you support us long and as much as it is in your
wish,

O you the most generous of those who are.

YH.41.5⁵

⁴ May we all believe in you, and may you in return for our faith reward us with our hearts' desire.

¹ We are offering Ahura Mazda our *yasna*.

² May we thereby become *your* subjects, Ahura Mazda! And may those divinities that are with you also rule over us, both in this world and in the beyond.

³ Since you, Ahura Mazda, are the one who make days and life-making new seasons return, you are the one we offer our *yasna* to. May you in return allow us to be what we are both here in life and in the hereafter.

⁴ May our *yasna*—our sacrifice and our hymns of praise—win the race up to you for your rewards.

⁵ We are your chosen worshippers, so please give us worthy rewards.

**Your praisers and your masters of poetic thoughts, O
Ahura Mazdâ,
we are declaring ourselves and wanting and ready to be,
when you all shall provide a fee worthy of me
to our vision-souls, O Mazdâ Ahura.**

**YH.41.6⁶
You there, give us now some of this—
both for this existence and for the one of thought—
that of this one, by which we may come to that,
namely your company and that of Order
for a whole life span.**

⁶ Cf. YH.40.2.

THE USHTAWAITÎ GÂTHÂ

Introduction and presentation

2.43.1¹

Wished-for things are in the wish for him, to whomever
Mazdâ Ahura, commanding at will, shall give them.
I am wishing for strength to come with youthfulness
for Order to be upheld. You now give me that, O
Ârmaiti,
the rewards consisting of wealth, the material life of
(someone of?) good thought.

2.43.2²

And so may a man/hero receive for himself
the best of all things: well-being even if already in well-
being,
once knowledgeable through your most life-giving
inspiration, O Mazdâ,
of the creative changes/pleasures of good thought which
you established by your Order,
in *confidence of long living for all his days.

2.43.3³

Thus, may *that* man/hero come to what is better than good
who would teach us the straight paths of life-giving
strength
both of this state containing bones and of that of thought
true paths and drivable, up to those with whom dwells the
Ahura,
a heavenly arbiter, one like you, of good lineage, life-
giving, O Mazdâ.

2.43.4⁴

Thus, I shall consider *you* as such, as well as the firm
one, you, the life-giving one, O Mazdâ,
when those helps that you hold firmly in your hand shall
come:
the rewards which you first established for the one
possessed by the Lie and for the sustainer of Order,
through the heat of *your* fire, strong through the Order of
my ritual,

¹ Ahura Mazdâ is the supreme ruler and in charge of the rewards. I now wish for the reward of Order (= the sun and the new day) and for the boons of Ârmaiti (= earth), due to me for my perfect *yasna*.

² Once a man is inspired by Ahura Mazdâ and becomes aware of the secrets of the universe he will be confident about Ahura Mazdâ's plan for him, notably that he will be rewarded both here and in the hereafter.

³ Whoever in heaven teaches us how to get there will be well rewarded as well.

⁴ When thoroughly inspired, may the ritual fire of the convey Ahura Mazdâ's rewards along the paths opened by the *yasna*.

when the violent force of good thought comes to me.

2.43.5⁵

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdâ Ahura,
when I now see you at the engendering of the new
existence, when you established,
for the first time, actions as fee-earning, as well as the
words that are to be uttered,
and established a bad fee/existence(?) for the bad and a good
reward for the good—
by your artistry—at the final turn of = about(?) the Web-
master.

2.43.6⁶

The turn at which you come with *your* life-giving
inspiration,
O Mazdâ, and your command, at that turn *he* is on
account of his good thought,
he by whose actions the herds are being furthered
through Order.
For *these* actions Ârmaiti is announcing the models
of *your* guiding thought, whom/which no one can cause to
lie.

2.43.7⁷

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdâ Ahura.
When one *surrounds *me* with good thought
and asks *me* "Who are you? Whose are you?
How would you *submit your daily-*mark-earnings for
questioning
*regarding *your* herds and persons?"—

2.43.8⁸

then I declare myself to him first as Zarathustra,
the real one; second, that I wish to command hostilities for
the one possessed by the Lie,
but for the sustainer of Order I wish to be support and
strength,
because I would like to receive the *adornments of one
who commands at will;
and, third, that to the extent that I can I am praising you, O

⁵ Rewards for actions were determined in the beginning and will be awarded in the end [3.48.6].

⁶ The recipient of the best rewards is he who supports Ahura Mazdâ's plan for the world.

⁷ I realize that Ahura Mazdâ questions his followers as to their qualifications and sincerity.

⁸ My answers: I am the real Zarathustra, the one who helped Ahura Mazdâ once; I am on Ahura Mazdâ's party against the Lie; my business is to praise Ahura Mazdâ [YH.41.5, 3.50.11].

Mazdâ, and weaving you into hymns.

2.43.9⁹

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdâ Ahura.
Whenever he *surrounds *me* with good thought

I then ask about this: “To whom do you wish right now
gifts to be made known?

Thus, here, to *your* fire I wish to give as a gift of reverence
and to Order: *me*, to the extent I am capable and can
think it(?)”

2.43.10¹⁰

Thus, *you have* now shown *me* Order, which I call hither
to *me* again and again:

together with Ârmaiti I now set *it* in motion hither.

Also, ask *us* again about those things which are the
questions already asked *us* by *you*!

For that which has been asked *you* *energetically, that is
something that belongs to the forceful ones,
so that the one who commands might make *you* powerful
and forceful.

2.43.11¹¹

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdâ Ahura,
when he *surrounds me with good thought
for me to learn what was *at first on account of the words
uttered by *you* all:

“Faith in us among men appears to me a disaster!”—
in order for *that* to be produced which you all tell *me* is
the best.

2.43.12¹²

And when you come in *foreknowledge of that which you
tell *me* is the best reward: Order,

then, you keep declaring words to me that were received
not in a state of *lack* of readiness to listen

for my words to rise up even before there comes to me
your readiness to listen/Sraoša accompanied by wealth-
bestowing Reward,

who shall distribute the rewards to the legs in the race for

life-giving strength.

2.43.13¹³

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdâ Ahura,
when he *surrounds me with good thought.

in order for the things to be gained of my wish to be
found, lay down for me now that path
of long lifespan which no one has actually *seen you gods
go,

the path of choice existence—past, present, future—that has
been said to be in *your* command.

2.43.14¹⁴

That which a man/hero who finds it is in charge of, may
he give it to a friend.

So give to *me*, O Mazdâ, *your* support and foreknowledge
of the rewards,

which you have all attained through *your* command O
Ahura Mazdâ in accordance with Order,

and whereby you *drive away the *rivals of my
announcement for it to rise up

together with those of all those who are reciting “poetic
thoughts” for you.

2.43.15¹⁵

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdâ Ahura,
when he *surrounds me with good thought,

*silent thinking *benefits my *hearing as the best:

May no man/hero be someone who wishes to please the
many possessed by the Lie.

For *they* claim that all the evil ones are sustainers of
Order.

2.43.16¹⁶

Thus, he there, Zarathustra, O Ahura, prefers your
inspiration

whichever, O Mazdâ, is most life-giving for you.

May Order have bones through my/his life breath and be
strong!

May Humility be in command and in full sight of the sun!

⁹ In turn I ask: Whom should I give my gifts to? Here I am ready to offer my perfect *yasna* and even my own being to you.

¹⁰ In the past my *yasna* has always brought back light and life, so this time, too, I shall succeed. May Ahura Mazdâ keep testing my competence, to make sure I am the one who can successfully reestablish him in command of the world.

¹¹ By your inspiration I now know that the gods are worried about men’s involvement, and I shall therefore do my best to reestablish their trust by performing according to their rule for a successful *yasna*.

¹² You know you can rely on me. I have always listened to your instructions in the past, so this time I know exactly what to do to achieve the desired results: my hymns will win the prize!

¹³ Prepare the hidden path up to you for my performance so it may fetch the rewards—so that I may find the things I wish to gain: long life and the good life that it is in your power to give.

¹⁴ By the rules of friendship, reward me, your friend. Help me win the prize for my performance by discarding my rivals and their pitiful performances.

¹⁵ But when your inspiration reaches me, even I remain silent to listen to your words regarding your (and my) adversaries [1. 32.10].

¹⁶ Only Ahura Mazdâ’s inspiration can make the world full of light and life. It is by his inspiration that I perform the *yasna* that makes the sun and its life-giving light reappear and make the earth fertile and productive, so she can reward us by her actions.

May she by her actions give me my reward for my good thought!

Question time

2.44.1¹

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
O Mazdâ, may one like *you* announce to a friend like *me*, from the example of your(?) reverence how reverence is to be done to one like you all!
Thus, for friendly guides(?) to be placed for us through Order—
tell me how your reverence(?) shall come to us on account of my/our good thought.

2.44.2²

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
How is the first thought? of the best existence to be revitalized *as desired for? him who wishes to come to them (= my life-giving strengths?) in return?
For that one, life-giving through his Order, is the one who *inspects for all
the ... they have *achieved. By your/his inspiration he is the healer of this existence, the one who abides by (your) deals, O Mazdâ.

2.44.3³

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
What hero is, by his engendering, the first father of Order?
What hero first put in its place the road of the sun and of the stars?
Who is he through whom the moon is now first waxing then waning?
Just those things I wish to know, O Mazdâ, as well as these others:—

2.44.4⁴

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
What hero first held the earth down below and the clouds above
keeping them from falling? Who fashioned the waters and

the plants?
Who yoked the two fleet coursers to the wind and the clouds?
What hero, O Mazdâ, is the *dâmi* of good thought?

2.44.5⁵

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
Which artisan first put in their places both lights and darknesses?
Which artisan put in their places sleep and wakefulness in/for man?
Who is he through whom there is dawn, noon, and night, moments that remind the one with *desires of something to be gained?

2.44.6⁶

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura,
the words which I am about to pronounce! —For if they are true in this manner,
then, clearly, it is on account of our/by her actions that Humility is currently thickening Order
and on account of/through our good thought that she(?) assigns the command to *you*.—
For whom did you first fashion the milk-giving cow, which makes happiness for us?

2.44.7⁷

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
Who fashions Humility, the *esteemed one, together with command?
Who first made in the covering of the womb a *vigorous son for the father?
Knowing beforehand the answers to the questions, O Mazdâ, I am here offering *you* my help with these things,
who through the life-giving inspiration are the establisher of them all.

...

2.44.13¹³

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura,
how we shall dispel (?) here from us the Lie

¹ The sacrificer reminds Ahura Mazdâ of their long-standing friendship (which obliges) and asks him how to perform correctly the ritual reverence strengthening the earth, so that the *yasna* shall pass easily from earth to heaven.

² Further questions about the *yasna*: How to bring back light and life? It is the sun (Mifra), Ahura Mazdâ's eye, who sees all and goes according to the rules of the ordered cosmos, who will bring back light and life to this existence [1.31.13].

³ Further questions about the origins: From whom was Order born? Who arranged the world according to the Order?

⁴ Further questions about the arrangement of the world.

⁵ Further questions about the arrangement of the world.

⁶ Further questions: If it is true that our *yasna* has the desired effects for you, then (hint, hint!) for whom did you intend the cows?

⁷ Further questions: Who remakes the earth every year? Who made for the first time a son? — But he already knows the answers and so is able to perform a perfect *yasna*, assisting Ahura Mazdâ in the rejuvenation of the world.

¹³ Another question: How shall we turn the Lie away from us and upon those who strengthen it: those who do not listen to Ahura Mazdâ, do not follow his rules, and do not look in their thoughts for his commandments.

and bring it's evil **down upon those who full of refusal to listen**
are not obtaining heavenly fame (?) through company with Order
 and **take no pleasure in the questioning of their good thought?**

2.44.14¹⁴

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
How might I deliver the Lie into the hands of Order
for it to be wiped out by the poetic thoughts of *your*
announcement,
 in order **to make a rupture (?) with force among those**
possessed by the Lie
 and **to bring them to torments, O Mazdâ, and miseries?**

2.44.15¹⁵

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
For if you together with Order are now in command of
this existence in order to protect it
when two armies have come together in mutual dislike,
by yonder deals which you, O Mazdâ, wish to keep firmly,
to which side of these two do you go and to whom among
them do you give victory?

2.44.16¹⁶

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
Who is the smasher of obstructions fit to protect all who
are by *your* announcement?
Let brilliant assistances/gifts(?) be given to *me*! Assign, O
healer of this existence, me as(?) a model winner(?)!
Thus, let readiness to listen/Sraosha come to *him* on
account of my/his good thought,
O Mazdâ, to *him*, to whomever you wish!

...

2.44.18¹⁸

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
How shall I earn that fee by the Order of my ritual:
ten mares with a stallion, as well as a camel,
a reward which has been *inspired to me, O Mazdâ, as

¹⁴ Another question: How can I bring the Lie as a vanquished enemy to Order the king, so that he may pronounce its sentence: "destruction," and so get them what they deserve?

¹⁵ Another question: Since you, Ahura Mazdâ, are in command of your Ordered universe, in the battle we are fighting, whom do you favor and to whom do you award victory? (We hope to us!)

¹⁶ Another question: Who is qualified to be your warrior, though not to fight with arms, but with your words? I hope it is I, but whomever you choose, let him be well instructed with your commands!

¹⁸ Another question: How shall I earn my fee for the benefits you are now reaping from my sacrifice? [2.46.19]

wholeness
and immortality in the way you now receive them for yourself.

2.44.19¹⁹

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura!
He who shall not give *that* fee to him who earns it,
the man/hero who obtains it for himself by a correct
utterance—
which shall be the first requital to reach(?) him for this?—
 this I ask, while **knowing yonder requital that shall be the**
last to reach(?) him.

Story time

2.45.1¹

And so I shall proclaim! Now hear! Now listen,
both you who are approaching from near and you who
from afar!
Now, all, pay attention to it, for it is brilliant!
May the one of bad announcing not destroy a second time
this existence
by his bad preference, the one possessed by the Lie,
***impeded by the utterances of his tongue.**

Myth of the *manyus*

2.45.2²

Thus, I shall proclaim the two inspirations at the
beginning of this(?) existence
of which two the life-giving one shall tell him whom you
know to be(?) the Evil one:
"Neither our thoughts, nor announcements, nor guiding
thoughts,
nor preferences, nor utterances, nor actions,
nor vision-souls, nor breath-souls go together."

2.45.3³

Thus, I shall proclaim the *first* announcement(?) of (=
about?) this existence,
the ordinance(?) which the knowing one, Mazdâ Ahura,
has now spoken to me:

¹⁹ The payment of fees for services rendered is part of the rules in Ahura Mazdâ's ordered universe, so what is the punishment—both here and now and at the end of the world—for not paying the fee to someone who has earned it?

¹ The poet-sacrificer begins proclaiming his knowledge. Let not the incompetent poet-sacrificers ruin this good state, as they did—at least—once before.

² The myth of the two *manyus*, the two inspirations, among which men must choose.

³ The first thing to know about the existence is what the rewards will be for each and everyone at the end of their existence. [1.31.20]

those of you who shall *not* produce it in this way, the poetic thought, the way this ordinance(?) is and I shall think and speak it, for those the last word of this existence will be “*woe!”

2.45.4⁴

Thus, I shall proclaim the *best* announcement of (= about?) this existence in accordance with Order: He is “Mazdâ” because he knows him who established it to be the father of the good thought which invigorates you, while his daughter is Humility of good actions. He is “Ahura” because he *keeps an eye on all things for them **not to be deceived**.

2.45.5⁵

Thus, I shall proclaim the word that the most “life-giving” one tells *me*, which is the best for mortals for it to be heard: Whosoever shall give readiness to listen to this one of mine, shall come to wholeness and immortality. By the actions of his good inspiration the Ahura is Mazdâ.

2.45.6⁶

Thus, I shall proclaim the greatest one of all, praising *him* with Order who is generous to all those who are through his life-giving inspiration. Let Ahura Mazdâ listen, in whose hymn I discuss with my good thought. Let him teach me the best thoughts/utterances/actions by *his* guiding thought,—

2.45.7⁷

to whose life-giving strengths of generosity they shall wish to come, namely, those who are living, as well as those who have been and those who shall become, and the breath-soul of a sustainer of Order, strong in the race for immortality and in the race for youthfulness, which (strengths), however, come down as “disaster!” upon the men of the one possessed by the Lie.

The poet’s complaint

2.46.1¹

To what earth/ground am I bending? Where shall I go to find(?) a *grazing land? They are setting me apart from the family and it community. The household which I want to pursue (= devote myself to?) has not favored me with its generosity nor the rulers of the land, who are possessed by the Lie. How shall I win your favor, O Mazdâ Ahura?

2.46.2²

I know the reason why I am weak, O Mazdâ: it is because of my lack of cattle and because I have few men. I am complaining to you: look hither at it, O Ahura, at the kind of support that a friend, having offered it, may give to his friend! You now look hither down through Order/because of its Order at the ritual of my good thought.

⁴ The best thing to know about the existence is the meaning of the name Ahura Mazdâ and who Ârmaiti is. Mazdâ “the memorizer” refers to him who knows that the maker of the universe is the father of the life-giving Good Thought = Heaven, whose daughter (and wife) is Ârmaiti = the Earth, by whose produce we live. Ahura “the Lord” refers to the celestial fire = the sun, his eye, which sees everything. [1.31.13]

⁵ And here is the best thing for mortals according to what Ahura Mazdâ told me: Listen to my poet-sacrificer, and you shall be rewarded with the best rewards. For Ahura Mazdâ being “Mazdâ,” has put his inspiration to good use and produced light and life in the universe, of which he is therefore the Lord and Master “Ahura.” [1.28.11]

⁶ The greatest one of all is Ahura Mazdâ, who gives generously to all beings for which I praise him with a hymn inspired by his utterances, which I find in my thought.

⁷ Ahura Mazdâ puts his enormous powers to good use in producing all kinds of well-being, which is the reward all living beings have always desired. The follower of Order is a good contender in the competition for these rewards. [2.45.10] But Ahura Mazdâ puts these strengths to terrible use against the followers of the Lie. [1.34.7] By his command over these powers Ahura Mazdâ rules the universe. [1.28.9] He holds from above the ropes to which are attached the created universe. [1.31.8]

¹ In preparation for the conclusion of the hymn, the poet-sacrificer explains to Ahura Mazdâ that he has hardly anything, so he would like a handsome fee for his services. He has no land to till and no pastures. He has not been well remunerated in the past by those who should have done so, and certainly not by the followers of the Lie.

² More of the same, but recalling the guest-friend relationship between him and Ahura Mazdâ, which obliges both of them to give gifts.

2.46.3³

When, O Mazdâ, will those who are the bulls of the days move forth for the upholding of the existence of Order by our announcements now grown more powerful, namely, the guiding thoughts of the revitalizers?

To whom will he come for support for *what is to be aided/woven with good thought?

I, O Ahura, am herewith choosing *you* to come to *me* for the announcing of the announcement.

2.46.4⁴

But the one possessed by the Lie will keep those whom I know to be the conveyors of Order, the bulls, from their moving forth, being the bad invoker of the settlement or the land and *repugnant by his own actions.

Whoever *removes him from his command, O Mazdâ, or his livelihood, *he* will *put those bulls before the flight of his good understanding.

...

2.46.11¹¹

The “mumblers” and “poets” have harnessed by their bad commands mortal man to evil actions in order for the present existence to keep being destroyed, they whom their *own* breath-soul and their *own* vision-soul will make shudder in anger when they have come to where the Ford of the Accountant is and become, for their entire life span, guests *in the house of the Lie.

2.46.12¹²

But when the winner has come up through Order among the *great-grandchildren and grandchildren *to be declared as those of Tura *son of Friya, you, O Ahura Mazdâ, further his herds with the energy of Humility.

Thus, Mazdâ Ahura has *harnessed them on account of their good thought for these our men for their support in order for them to announce it to others.

2.46.13¹³

He who once(?) favored Zarathustra Spitama with his generosity among mortals, that man/hero is according to the models and ready to be renowned by my/his song.

Thus, for *him* Mazdâ Ahura establishes the present existence,

for *him* he furthers his herds on account of his good thought.

We now think of him as a good companion of Order.

2.46.14¹⁴

O Zarathustra, which sustainer of Order abiding by the deals is for you

for the great gift exchange? Or, who wishes to be renowned by my/your song?

Well, *he* there is Kawi Vishtâspa at the audition.

In fact, all of those whom you, O Mazdâ Ahura, *sustain in *one and the same house as yourself,

those I want to invoke with the utterances of my good thought.

...

2.46.18¹⁸

He who assigns to *me* the best things of a full life span, to *him*, as the best parts

of *my* ritual, I have now assigned by my good thought even (= nothing less than) my bones,

but miseries to *him* who would receive us in order to give us over to misery,

O Mazdâ and you others, seeking to win the favor by the Order of my ritual of *your* approval.

That is the discrimination (= judgment) of *my* guiding thought and thought.

³ When will the thoughts of the sacrificers, in the form of the heavenly bulls that pull the light of day across the sky, bring back light and life? [3.50.10]

⁴ The *yasna* of the followers of the Lie will have the opposite effect: it will prevent light and life from reappearing, so whoever is able to take away their resources and thwart their efforts [5.53.9], will by his own thought, in the form of the heavenly bulls, bring back light and life.

¹¹ The bad poets use their command to make humans do bad things, so that the cycle of good and evil is maintained. Their reward will be to spend the rest of their lives (after death) in hell.

¹² When the winner has taken his place among his illustrious predecessors, then Ahura Mazdâ will see to it that the earth rewards him well, and also his community.

¹³ That was and still is the reward of Zarathustra Spitama's human patron (Vishtâspa?), so him I will praise in my song as he sits among the other long departed heroes.

¹⁴ Among them: Zarathustra, Vishtâspa, and all the others whom Ahura Mazdâ has accepted into his home. All those whose names are worthy to be praised in my song.

¹⁸ As proper exchange gifts I give Ahura Mazdâ my own self to serve as material for the reconstruction of a new state of existence in return for a full life span. The competitor shall suffer defeat.

Victory and pay time

2.46.19¹⁹

He **who shall now produce for me the *true* existence in
accordance with Order**

**for Zarathustra, the one which is the most Juicy in
exchange value,**

shall produce **for this one (= me), who thereby earns it as
his fee, a higher existence:**

**a bull and a cow together with all things to be found in/by
one's thought.**

**You, O Mazdâ, appear to me as the one who finds for me
most often just those things.**

¹⁹ On account of my performance here and Zarathustra's original performance (repeated in heaven before Ahura Mazdâ at this moment?) the new day will appear and I will be rewarded handsomely, since Ahura Mazdâ is the one who is truly in charge of the best rewards.

THE SPENTÂMANYŪ GĀTHĀ

Introduction and presentation

3.47.1¹

On account of the life-giving inspiration and best thought in accordance with Order, on account of the action and speech

they shall give to this one wholeness and immortality.

By his/my command Mazdâ together(?) with Humility (or: throughout the earth?) is the Ahura.

3.47.2²

He produces the best of this most life-giving inspiration by the utterances of his good thought to be sped along by his tongue,

and the actions of Humility by his hands,

through *this* understanding: He there is the father of Order: Mazdâ.

3.47.3

***You* belong to *this* inspiration. Through *it* you are the life-giving one**

who fashioned together the pleasure-giving cow for this one.

Thus, for him you establish Humility as peace for his pasture

when he has consulted, O Mazdâ, his good thought.

3.47.4⁴

Those possessed by the Lie are *moving away from *this* inspiration,

the life-giving one, O Mazdâ—not so <the man?> of a sustainer of Order.

A man, even if possessing little, shall be *desirable for the sustainer of Order;

a mighty man, even if possessing much, but bad, shall only be *desirable for the one possessed by the Lie.

3.47.5⁵

And through that life-giving inspiration, O Mazdâ Ahura, you assign rewards to the sustainer of Order: namely

whatever things are best.

The one possessed by the Lie too shall give out gifts, but without obtaining *your* pleasure,

because of dwelling—on account of *his* own actions—on the side of bad thought.

3.47.6⁶

Through that your life-giving inspiration, O Mazdâ Ahura, you now make

through your fire a firm stance for the two legs in the race for good renown,

through Humility's thickening and that of Order, for *she* shall classify the many who wish to come.

3.48.1¹

For when he has overcome the Lie with his

***presentations, by the Order of his ritual,**

when at the sending forth of the premiums of victory,

which are the prizes(?) proclaimed as those *of old

by old gods and men in the race for immortality,

then he will magnify his hymn with life-giving strengths for you, O Ahura.

...

3.48.5⁵

Let now those of good command be in command! Let not those of bad command now command *us*!

By the actions of my/your(?) good understanding, O Humility,

you make mortal women ritually pure after birth. May the best things

be produced for the cow! You keep tending *her* for food for *us*!

¹ Through Ahura Mazdâ's inspiration I hope to perform a perfect *yasna*, which will earn me rewards and put Ahura Mazdâ in command, bringing light and warmth back in the universe and making the earth produce her gifts. [2.45.5]

² By knowing that Ahura Mazdâ was the original Orderer of the cosmos I shall perform the correct *yasna*, including the actions that will reproduce Ahura Mazdâ's first *yasna* and have the same effect.

⁴ Not accepting the good inspiration is typical of the bad poets, accepting it is typical of the good poets. The classification by Orderliness takes precedence over that by wealth.

⁵ To those who accept the good inspiration and perform their *yasna* accordingly you assign good rewards, but the bad poet-sacrificer will get nowhere with his ritual offerings.

⁶ The good poet-sacrificers will be prepared for the race by Ahura Mazdâ through his fire [1.31.19].

¹ When I have successfully and safely made the trip up to you and have received the prize of immortality, then I shall sing for you a song that will enable you, Ahura Mazdâ, to recreate the first state of existence.

⁵ I wish those will rule the world who can produce light and life and so growth and fertility on earth.

3.48.6⁶

For *she* (= Humility) has given *us* *happiness, *she* has given *us* youthfulness.

She has given us the strength of good thought, you, O esteemed Humility!

Thus, for *her* Mazdâ through Order shall now make plants grow,
he, the Ahura, at the rebirth of the first existence.

3.48.7⁷

Let Wrath be tied down! Cut back obstruction
you who wish to stretch out hither and hold firmly the
*covering of good thought

through Order, whose Cord-master is the life-giving man,
while its warp is there in *your* dwelling, O Ahura.

...

3.50.6⁶

The holder of the poetic thoughts who is lifting his voice,
O Mazdâ,
he who abides by your deals by the Order of his ritual, in
homage, is I/he Zarathustra.

May the maker of the guiding thought instruct it through
his good thought how to be the chariot-horse
of this tongue of *mine* (and its) guide string.

3.50.7⁷

Thus, I shall now harness for you the fleetest coursers—
broad-chested by the victories of my hymn to you,
O Mazdâ, strong by the Order of my ritual, by my good
thought,

through which victories/hymns you all shall take away the
spoils. May you all be for *my* help!

⁶ For Ârmaiti/the earth gives us prosperity and happiness, and it is Ahura Mazdâ who can make it happen.

⁷ But in order to raise the good tent (= bring back the sun-lit sky) between the poet-sacrificer, who supports it from below, and Ahura Mazdâ, who holds it from above, the evil tent of darkness must be dismantled.

⁶ In fact, he whose vice you hear right now is none other than Zarathustra. Once more: teach me, O Ahura Mazdâ, how to perform an effective *yasna*!

⁷ For then my hymns of praise and glorification will bring your fame everywhere and you and your heavenly companions will be enriched by the spoils of victory resulting from my victory over the evil forces and at the audition.

Victory and pay time

3.50.8⁸

With the steps that are renowned as those of the milk libation

I shall now circumambulate you all, O Mazdâ, with
upstretched hands.

Thus, I shall circumambulate you all with the Order of my
ritual and in reverence for the heavenly arbiter.

Thus, I shall circumambulate you all with the talent of my
good thought.

3.50.9⁹

With those sacrifices I shall come before you praising you
all,

O Mazdâ, with the Order of my ritual(?), with the actions
of my good thought,

when (= as soon as) I shall command *my* own reward at
will,

Thus, growing in vigor may I be in the longing of a
generous one.

3.50.10¹⁰

Thus, the actions that I shall now perform, both those that
you have wished for

and those that our eyes on account of our good thought
deserve to see, are

the bringing back of the lights of the sun. The bull of the
days is the *driver

for the hymn to you all through Order, O Mazdâ Ahura.

3.50.11¹¹

Thus, I shall declare myself *your* praiser, O Mazdâ and
you others, and I shall be—

to the extent I by the Order of my ritual can and am
able—

the establisher of the first existence *successfully by my
good thought!

On account of my true action/utterance may what is most
Juicy in exchange value be produced!

⁸ I am ready to perform.

⁹ As soon as I know I am the winner and know I will be handsomely rewarded, you will be praised more than ever.

¹⁰ And the supreme reward is the making of the new state of existence.

¹¹ And it is I who shall perform the *yasna* that enables you to make the new state of existence, so produce it now in return for my efforts!

THE VOHUKHSHATHRÂ GÂTHÂ

Introduction and presentation

4.51.1¹

The good command is what is the best bringer of the worthy share to him who wishes to distinguish it clearly(?). The milk libation itself is at this very moment walking between heaven and earth through Order by our actions, O Mazda. That best action/command of ours I am just now about to produce.

4.51.2²

Thereby I shall produce for you all the first existence, O Mazda Ahura, both for Order and for you, O Humility. I shall show you the command of my ritual/wish! Give, O Ahura Mazda/Humility, now to our hymn, on account of our good thought, your, O Ahura Mazda and you others, command over life-giving strength!

4.51.3³

Let the Ahura (= the fire) steer up to your ears the words which are uniting themselves with our actions, up through Order/by the Order of my ritual, by the utterances of my good thought steered by my tongue, the thoughts and utterances whose first launcher you are, O Mazda.

Question time

4.51.4⁴

Where is *creative power in right quantity? Where will one stand by for mercy? Where is Order which brings Fortune? Where is life-giving Humility? Where is best thought? Where will you come(?) with your command, O Mazda?

4.51.5⁵

I am asking about all those things: how does he *find (= been able to find?) a cow in accordance with Order, the forager, being of capacious resources by his actions and of good guiding thought by his homage to him who, being in command correctly and so holds the rewards, has marked me for himself as model for those who abide by the rules?

4.51.6⁶

He who is now receiving what is better than good and he who *directs it to his approval, by his command Mazda is the Ahura(?). But, for him there will be worse than bad who shall not distribute to him (= Ahura Mazda) his share of command(?) at the last turn of this existence.

4.51.7⁷

Give me now, you who fashioned the cow, the waters, and the plants, immortality and wholeness through your most life-giving inspiration, O Mazda, strength and youthfulness for me to announce them with my good thought.

¹ If one wishes to see the world rejuvenated, a *yasna* is needed that reestablishes the worshippers' and Ahura Mazda's good rule. The *yasna* is already in course, the sacrifice already on its way to heaven, so the desired result is soon to be obtained.

² By his *yasna* the world will surely be rejuvenated: the sun and the day will reappear, and the earth will again be fertile and produce her gifts [3.50.10]. Therefore, may the gods give to his songs of praise the command by which this can be achieved.

³ Let the fire be the charioteer who steers his *yasna*, his songs of praise, sped along by his tongue up through the heavenly spaces [or: by virtue of the perfection of the *yasna*]. These are modeled after Ahura Mazda's initial thought and utterances during the primeval *yasna*, when he made Order out of chaos [1.31.17, YH.35.9].

⁴ Will my performance win the favor of the gods? Will it bring me fame? Will it make the earth again fertile? Is my thought sufficient to perform a perfect *yasna*? Will it reestablish the good rule of Ahura Mazda? [1.30.7].

⁵ And a final question: A believer whose principal resource is his ability to perform a good *yasna*, how can he also obtain material goods, especially the indispensable cow? Hopefully, Ahura Mazda has noticed him and approved of him!

⁶ The recipient of the *yasna* being celebrated at this instance is Ahura Mazda. If he also approves of it, it will reestablish his good rule. If it is less than perfect, it will not have the desired effect: rejuvenating this world of light and life when it comes to an end and faces the period of darkness and lifelessness.

⁷ May Ahura Mazda, who established nature's life-giving elements in the beginning, inspire the worshipper to compose his best song in praise of Ahura Mazda's gifts.

Story time

4.51.8⁸

**For thus I shall tell you, O Mazdâ,—for a man/hero may tell the one who already knows—
what there will be for the one possessed by the Lie at his evil turn, but there will be wished-for things for him who has grasped and upholds Order.
For that one is the holder of the poetic thoughts, who—when prosperous—shall tell the one who already knows.**

4.51.9⁹

**By the *sharpening which you give to his legs by your blazing fire, O Mazdâ,
in order for a brand(?) to be placed with molten metal upon their *beings
in order to mark the one possessed by the Lie for harm, you keep providing life-giving strength for the sustainer of Order.**

4.51.10¹⁰

**Thus, the “man/hero” who, differently from this, shall try to destroy me, O Mazdâ,
he is the brood of the warp-holder of the Lie, thereby also who gives evil gifts among/to those who are.
For me I shall invoke Order to come with good reward.**

4.51.11¹¹

**Which man/hero abiding by the deals is for Spitama Zarathustra, O Mazdâ?
Or who has consulted Order? With whom has life-giving Humility consulted?
Or who—someone with capacious resources—has marked me for himself for the exchange of gifts for good thought?**

The poet’s complaint

4.51.12¹²

The “shaker,” the poetaster, did in spite of(?) that good

⁸ The worshipper proceeds to show Ahura Mazdâ that he knows the secrets: what will be the rewards of the winners and the losers.

⁹ By rejecting the unbelievers—removing the strength from their legs in the race [5.53.8]—and branding them for final punishment, Ahura Mazdâ confirms the success of the believer.

¹⁰ The worshipper’s opponents and rivals is of evil lineage (like the daêwas), and their gifts are as evil as themselves. *He*, however, being a believer, will receive *good* rewards.

¹¹ The worshipper asks Ahura Mazdâ whether Zarathustra has supporters in heaven, who would reward him for his performance.

¹² Which leads us to the story of Zarathustra’s trials and tribulations, which is as true today as it was then!

**thought(?) not favor him with his generosity at the passage in winter,
Zarathustra Spitama, when(?) his messenger *obstructed him at it,
when his two draught animals exhausted from both the *walking and the *cold were *angry with him(?).**

4.51.13¹³

**Thereby the vision-soul of the one possessed by the Lie shall divert the true poetic thought from the straight path to the detriment of him,
whose breath-soul will therefore make him shudder in fury when in view of the Ford of the Accountant, having because of its own actions and the words of his tongue for ever gone astray from the path of Order.**

4.51.14¹⁴

**The “mumblers” do not abide by the deals and are not(?) *in agreement with he established rules and pasture *in right quantity for the cow, yet being *boastfully pleased with their own actions and announcements—
the announcement that shall at last place them in the house of the Lie.**

The race and the judgment

4.51.15¹⁵

**The fee which Zarathustra assigned before to the masters of the gift exchange,
in the House of Song Ahura Mazdâ comes forward for/with it as the first in line.
On account of that fee I have assigned *myself* through my good thought with life-giving strengths to you all and to Order.**

4.51.16¹⁶

**Kawi Vishtâspa first *reached that understanding by the command of the gift exchange
along the paths of his good thought,—the understanding which he first(?) thought through Order:
“Mazdâ Ahura is life-giving!” in order for the wished-for things to appear to us too in that manner.**

¹³ When you come to the place of accounting, however, you will be rewarded according to your actions. there is no getting away!

¹⁴ So, opponents and rivals, beware!

¹⁵ The fee which became standard through Zarathustra’s experience is presented by Ahura Mazdâ himself, leading the procession of congratulants. To obtain this fee the worshipper makes the supreme sacrifice of his own self to rejuvenate Order.

¹⁶ The great poet-sacrificer Vishtâspa performed a *yasna* with the desired result—opening a path for it up to heaven with his good thought—after realizing that it is Ahura Mazdâ who maintains light and life in the world.

4.51.17¹⁷

Frashaoshtra the Hwogwid again and again shows me the form of his *daênâ*(?), esteemed for her merits.

Let Ahura Mazdâ now give to my good vision-soul a yearning (= the yearned-for reward?) which is speedy for her,—

Mazdâ Ahura, who commands,—for our yearning for Order to be attained.

4.51.18¹⁸

Djâmâspa the Hwogwid is now choosing that understanding as the *good gains(?) of his ritual

by the Order of his ritual: “*That* command of thought you shall now find as your(?) good rewards!”

Assign to *me* now that command, O Ahura Mazdâ, which is supportive of *you*!

4.51.19^{19,20}

That hero, O Maidhyôî.māngha(s), is now determining *that* command to be for *this* Spitâma, finding it for himself by his vision-soul, (he) who, wishing to reach by prayer the first existence, that of Mazdâ, tells me: “Through actions he shall receive/you shall establish the better thing of material life.”

4.51.20²⁰

In order for that life-giving strength of *yours*, O all you who have the same pleasure, to be given to *us*, we are sacrificing to Order with our good thought and with our utterance, by all of which Humility will be here, we are offering them up in sacrifice by our homage to obtain the gifts(?) of Mazdâ, who offers support as his gifts.

Victory and pay time

4.51.21²¹

This one is now a vitalizing man by the understanding: “By my utterances are produced the actions of Humility; by my vision-soul, Order is again full of vitality; by my good thought Mazdâ Ahura establishes his command.”— So now I am asking *him* for a good reward.

4.51.22²²

He who in return for my sacrifice to him knows the best thing that is in store for me in accordance with Order, (is) Mazdâ Ahura. All those who have been and those who are, those I shall now sacrifice to with their own names and circumambulate in *victory (or: as the winner).

¹⁷ Similarly, the successful *daênâ* of Frashaoshtra Hwôgwa provides another example. May Ahura Mazdâ reward the worshipper's *daênâ* and so also the worshippers themselves.

¹⁸ Similarly, Djâmâspa Hwôgwa realized that good thought was the instrument by which the good rule could be reestablished and the rewards for it would be presented. May Ahura Mazdâ similarly give me that command so I can give it to him in turn.

¹⁹ And so he *is* giving the worshipper the command, like he did to Zarathustra, and he will get it when his *daênâ* has arrived in heaven, as did that of Zarathustra, who reminds the worshipper that it is through his actions that he will obtain the rewards of a good life.

²⁰ By their *yasna* both the worshippers and Ahura Mazdâ will receive the strength to rejuvenate Order and the earth, making them worthy of a good reward.

²⁰ By their *yasna* both the worshippers and Ahura Mazdâ will receive the strength to rejuvenate Order and the earth, making them worthy of a good reward.

²¹ The worshipper now knows all the secrets and is invested with the sacred function of reenacting Ahura Mazdâ's primordial *yasna*.

²² Ahura Mazdâ knows the appropriate reward for my *yasna*. I shall now praise all living and dead (deities, poet-sacrificers, heroes, believers). — This strophe is followed by Y.52, which is not part of the Old Avesta, but contains the promised worship of named entities.

THE VAHISHTÔISHTÎ GÂTHÂ

Introduction and presentation

5.53.1¹

The best ritual is thus renowned as that of Zarathustra Spitama. For when Ahura Mazda shall give to him as prizes in accordance with (its?) Order the possession of a good existence for an entire life span, but also that of those who *imitate and *master the utterances and actions of *his* good vision-soul.

5.53.2²

And so let *them* all pursue (= devote themselves to) by their thought, utterances, and actions *his* favor, that of Mazda—opting for his hymn—and the sacrifices to him, as both Kawi Vishtâspa, a Zarathustrid and a Spitamid, and Frashaoshtra pursued the straight paths of the gift awaiting the vision-soul which Ahura establishes as that of the revitalizer.

5.53.3³

Let Pouru.cistâ, a Haêca†.aspid, —she a Spitamid and the youngest of the daughters of Zarathustra— *draw firmly the bow for the return-shot of his good thought and that of Mazda. She has now given *you* her union with Order. In that way consult *your* guiding thought, the most life-giving one! Produce for yourself the actions of Humility as generous good things(?).

5.53.4⁴

For it is that one among you, O rivals, whom I shall *reserve for her who shall therefore distribute rewards to her father and her master, to the foragers, thus also to the family: a woman sustaining Order to the sustainers of Order. Seeking to gain the sun-filled *mind-bliss of my good thought, Mazda Ahura gives it as reward to my good vision-soul for all my life span.

Story time

5.53.5⁵

I am speaking to you, the young women who are about to be carried off, two instructions, —and to you young men(?)—those of the *singer. And pay attention to them!

The first: Keep finding for yourself by your vision-souls and for these our women the state which is that of good thought!

The second: When going through Order let each of you *illuminate the other! For that shall be a good gain for him!

5.53.6⁶

In this way mark them well as true, O heroes/men! In that way mark them well as true, O women!

The “*composition” in accordance with the Lie—which you, who are possessed by the Lie, now *regard as *worthy of furthering,

but on which(?) in the *harness of the Lie you *monstrously fattened your bodies *of old—is foul food for you driving through the intermediate space.

Comfort has been lost for you, possessed by the Lie and with crippled Order. Through those actions/utterances of yours you are destroying here and now the state of thought.

The race and the judgement

5.53.7⁷

And thus for *you* O sustainers of Order shall be the reward of this gift exchange as long as your, O young man(?) *axle, most faithful,

shall be going back and forth at the bottom of your loins, O young woman(?),

where the “inspiration” of the one possessed by the Lie has already been spent.

You, who are possessed by the Lie, shall *miss that gift exchange/hole. Thus, *your* last word shall be “woe!” not “woven.”

¹ Because of the effectiveness of Zarathustra’s *yasna*

² all his successors should follow his lead.

³ In his original *yasna* Zarathustra presented his youngest daughter (and spouse?), “remarked by many,” to be wedded to Ahura Mazda as the ritual representative of Ârmaiti, Ahura Mazda’s daughter and spouse and the source of all goodness on earth. The successors of Zarathustra should act the same way.

⁴ She will bring rewards for her father and spouse (= Zarathustra).

⁵ At the outset of the first race, which presumably was a real one, involving real persons, rather than just the ritual representatives, Zarathustra addresses the participants, the young men and women of his family and community.

⁶ On the dangers of being deceived by the Lie.

⁷ On the importance of keeping the yoke-axle straight between the wheels of the chariot and managing their energy(!). The incompetent competitors will fare badly.

5.53.8⁸

On account of those utterances/performances of theirs let them be there at the judgment, as men of bad virility, *dupes,
and ridiculed all of them! Let *them* be *howled upon!
By those who have good commands let *them* now be
 *smashed and *bled!
 —And let *this one*(?) give peace by these actions of ours to the settled towns!—
 Let *torment huddle *them* off as their greatest share(?),
 the one with the fetter of death, and let it be soon!

5.53.9⁹

The *foul one together with the ones of bad preferences/wool(?) is *composing for you the *frayed *ropes
 of one having forfeited his body with a *puny *invocation with crippled Order.
 Where is an Ahura who follows Order, who might deprive them of their livelihood and freedom to roam?
 That, O Mazdâ, is *your* command, by which you shall give the better of this existence to the poor living a straight life.

Victory and pay time5.54.1¹⁰

Let speedy Airyaman come here for support for men/heroes and women/heroines, for the support of Zarathustra's
 good thought, by which his vision-soul may gain a worthy fee.
 I am now asking for the reward of/for Order, which Ahura Mazdâ shall *deem worthy of being sped hither.

⁸ They will be unmanned, booed, and hazed. The winner will bring peace and pasture to the settlements, while the losers will suffer eternal punishment.

⁹ These incompetent competitors, having made the wrong original choice, will be unable to produce finely-woven hymns and ordered sacrifices. Let them be confined and prevented from doing harm! Give your poor poet and his community the wherewithall to live a good life.

¹⁰ Let the genius of peace and harmony support our people and the talent of Zarathustra and his successors. If my poem has won, then please send me quickly my reward! — Note: according to V.22.6-26 (the conclusion of the Videvdad), Airyaman was also the primordial healer, healing, at Ahura Mazdâ's request the 99,999 diseases that the Evil Spirit had loose upon the world. this may be his function here, as well: as the primordial and supreme "healer of the this state" (cf. 1.31.19, 2.44.2, 16)

YASNA 54: PRAISE OF THE HOLY TEXTS

Y.54.2

We sacrifice (to) the *Â Airyema Ishyo*
strong, smasher of obstructions,
discarding hostilities,
the greatest famous word of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly life-giving *Gathas*,
whose command is according to the models.
We sacrifice to the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*,
which you all established as (the models)
of the first existence (< 1.33.1)

Y.55.1

All (our) herds and bodies
and bones and vital energies
and forms and *tissue strengths
and (our) consciousness and breath-soul and pre-soul
we place all around and make them known.
Then we make them known
to the Orderly life-giving *Gathas*,
whose command is according to the models.

Y.55.2

The songs which are our guardians and protectors and food in
the world of thought,
which are for our breath-soul both food and clothing,
those songs are for us the guardians and protectors and food
in the world of thought,
those are for our breath-soul both food and clothing.
May they bring us good rewards, great rewards, the reward of
Order,
for tomorrow's new existence,
after the wrenching apart of bone and conscience!

Y.55.3

For us, by that force and obstruction-smashing strength,
by that mastery and remedy,
by that furthering and growth,
by that good existence and *rejuvenation,
by that good gift-giving and Orderliness,
by that generosity and distribution.

May they come up, the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*,
as Mazdâ brought them forth,¹
he the richest in life-giving strength,
obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
for the protection of the living beings of Order,
for the guarding of the living beings of Order,
of both those to be Revitalized and of those who shall
Revitalize
and of the entire time span of the Orderly one.

Y.55.4

On account of this pleasing of the models, every Orderly one
who comes with good *strength of youth, (him) you (Ahura
Mazdâ?) endorse
for (his) well-thought (thoughts), well-spoken (words), and
well-performed (acts).²

Y.55.5

And we offer up in sacrifice (our) Order and good thought.
We offer up in sacrifice the Orderly life-giving *Gathas*,
whose command is according to the models,

Y.55.6

We offer up in sacrifice the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*,
which is established (as the model) **of the first existence**
as they are remembered, performed,
mastered, taught, held, *practiced,
commemorated, recited, sent forth in sacrifice,
*receiving (in return?) **a perfect new life in exchange value.**

Y.55.7

We offer up in sacrifice the section (consisting) of the
Sacrificial Texts of Praise.
Of the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise* we offer up in sacrifice
(their) proclamation and recitation
and incantation and (their) sending forth in sacrifice.
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities—

¹ May they reach him, coming from us, in the same form that he first sent them to us.

² These are also the three stages on the way up to Paradise (cf. H.2.15).

YASNA 57: HYMN TO SRAOSHA

Y.57.2

We sacrifice to Orderly, obstruction-smashing Sraosha with
the rewards,
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order,
who the first of Mazdâ's creation
(standing) by the barsom spread out
sacrificed to Ahura Mazdâ,
sacrificed to the Life-giving Immortals,
sacrificed to the *protector and the fashioner
who fashion all the creations.¹

Y.57.3

On account of his wealth and munificence,
on account of his force and obstruction-smashing strength,
on account of his sacrifice to those worthy of sacrifice
I shall sacrifice to him with audible sacrifice,
Sraosha with the rewards, with libations,
and good exalted Ashi,
and the well-shaped Nairya Sangha (Heroic Announcement).
May he come to our help,
obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards.

Y.57.4

We sacrifice to Sraosha with the rewards.
We sacrifice to the lofty model—Ahura Mazdâ—
who, in the world of Order, is most often obtained(?),
who, in the world of Order, has come the most often(?).
We offer up in sacrifice all the words spoken by(?)
Zarathustra.
We offer up in sacrifice also all the well-performed acts,
both those performed and those that will be performed.

Y.57.5

We sacrifice to the well-shaped Orderly,
obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards,
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order,

Y.57.6

who was the first to spread his barsom
with three twigs, with five twigs,
with seven twigs, with nine twigs,
knee-length and mid-leg-length,
for the sacrifice of the Life-giving Immortals. (cf. Y.1.23)
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Y.57.7

We sacrifice to ... Sraosha ...

Y.57.8

Who was the first to proclaim the *Gathas*,
the five of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra,
with *measures and *formulas,
with *examples and counter-questions,
For the sacrifice of the Life-giving Immortals.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Y.57.9

We sacrifice to ... Sraosha ...

Y.57.10

who timbers the strong home
of the poor man and woman,
who, after the sun has set,
with (his) paralyzing weapon strikes Wrath²
(inflicting it) a bloody wound.
So long he thrashes his head
having struck it repeatedly
like **the one of great strength the one weaker** than him (<
1.34.8)
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Y.57.11

We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
the firm, fast, strong, daring one,
rich in life-giving strength, who *sees* on high,

Y.57.12

who returns from all battles
after having won
to the *gathering of the Life-giving Immortals.
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.13

We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
the strongest of youths, the firmest of youths,
the quickest of youths, the fastest of youths,
the one of youths most feared by the *other side.
*Approach, O you who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
the sacrifice to Sraosha with the rewards!

Y.57.14

Far from this house,

¹ Sraosha was the first to sacrifice in the world of thought after Ahura Mazdâ.

² Wrath is probably the dark cover of night, which Sraosha battles to allow the bright cover of day to take its place.

far from this town,
 far from this tribe,
 far from this land
 evil, fearful scourges go,
 in whose house obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the
 rewards
 is satisfied (and) recognized
 and the Orderly man
 thinks more good (thoughts), speaks more good (words), and
 does more good (acts).
 On account of his wealth ... **those men and those women**
 we sacrifice to.

Y.57.15

We sacrifice to ...
 who is the one who *overcomes the magician,
 who is the one who *overcomes the female magician,
 who is the striker of the deceiving Lie,
 of great strength, destroyer of (this) existence,
 who is the guardian and overseer
 of the entire *mobile(?) world of the living.

Y.57.16

Unsleeping in wakefulness
 he protects the Creations of Mazdâ,
 who unsleeping in wakefulness
 guards the Creations of Mazdâ,
 who protects with raised weapon
 the entire bony existence
 after the sun has set.

Y.57.17

He has never slept since
 the two spirits set in place their Creations:
 the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one,
 (instead) watching over the living beings of Order,—
 who all days and nights
 battles with the giant old gods.

Y.57.18

He does not, frightened, yield
 before the hostility (coming) from the old gods.
 Before him all the old gods,
 loosing their will (to fight), yield frightened.
 Frightened they run (down) to (their) darkness.
 On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.19

We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
 the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
 a model of Order,
 to whom he sacrificed,
 ruddy, healing Haoma,
 beautiful, in command, with golden eyes,

on the highest peak,
 on high Haraitî.

Y.57.20

His words are good, his words are always *protective,
 his words sing all around,
 *mastering the all-adorned learning
 that (uses?) numerous *examples
 and the foremost part of the poetic thought.
 On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.21

We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
 the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
 a model of Order,
 whose house, rich in obstruction-smashing strength,
 is set up with a thousand columns,
 on the highest peak,
 on high Haraitî,
 having its own light inside,
 star-adorned underneath.

Y.57.22

For him the *Ahuna vairya*
 was ready to be his weapon,
 as well as the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*
 and the *Fshûsô manthra* rich in obstruction-smashing
 strength,
 and all the performances of sacrifices.
 On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.23

We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
 the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
 a model of Order,
 on account of whose force and obstruction-smashing
 strength,
 good lineage and knowledge,
 the Life-giving Immortals came down
 to the earth with its seven continents,
 who are the guides for the *daênâ*.

Y.57.24

With command according to his own will he goes forth
 to the bony world of the living.
 Orderly Ahura Mazdâ
 made his choice by this vision-soul,
 as did Good Thought
 and Best Order
 and the Well-deserved Command
 and Life-giving Humility
 and Wholeness
 and Immortality
 and the questioning of Ahura Mazdâ,

and the *guidance of Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.57.25

(He) chose (it) then for both existences.
May you protect us through both existences,
both this existence **which has bones**

and that which is of thought,

O well-shaped Sraosha with the rewards,
from Destruction possessed by the Lie,
from Wrath possessed by the Lie,
from the *armies possessed by the Lie
who raise the bloody banner
before the *deceptions of Wrath,
which Wrath, giver of evil gifts, *produced
together with the Dismemberer set in place by the old gods!

Y.57.26

May you give us then, you, O well-shaped Sraosha with the
rewards,
endurance for (our) teams,
health for (our) bodies,
ability to espy many hostile ones,
the ability to strike back at (our) enemies,
the ability to lay low at once (our) opponents,
the hostile ones who do not abide by the deals.
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.27

We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
whom four coursers convey,
white, bright, and brilliant,
life-giving, knowing, shadowless,
whose place is in the world of thought.
Benailed are their hooves,
golden, *finely carved—

Y.57.28

faster than horses
faster than winds,
faster than rains
faster than clouds,
faster than birds on wings,
faster than a well-shot (arrow) when shot,—

Y.57.29

who overtake all those
whom they fly after from behind.
Not are they overtaken from behind
who, flying with both weapons,
convey forth to take up his position
good Sraosha with the rewards,
both the (weapon) he raises at eastern River

and the one that is struck down in the western one.¹

On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.30

We sacrifice to ...
who, tall, girded high
ever sits down *in the establishment of Mazdâ,—

Y.57.31

who thrice in one day or one night
flies hither to this continent, the brilliant Khwaniratha,
holding a weapon in the hand
with sharpness of the blade, which can be well brought down
upon the head of the old gods,—

Y.57.32

for the striking of the Evil Spirit possessed by the Lie,
for the striking of Wrath with the bloody club,
for the striking of the giant old gods,
for the striking of all the old gods,—
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.33

We sacrifice to ...
here and elsewhere,
here and on this entire earth,
we offer up in sacrifice(?) all (the ...) of Sraosha with the
rewards,
the firm one, who stretches the poetic thought (between earth
and heaven?),
the firm one, the courageous one,
the strong-armed charioteer,
the head-smasher of the old gods,
(as well as) the victorious men and women,
the Orderly victorious ones,
the victorious men and women,
and the victorious superiority,
both that of Sraosha with the rewards
and that of the Spear (of the one?) worthy of sacrifice.

Y.57.34

We offer up in sacrifice all the houses protected by Sraosha,
throughout (each of) which(?) Sraosha with the rewards
is a friend to be befriended, (and) recognized,
and (where) the Orderly man
thinks more good (thoughts), speaks more good (words), and
does more good (acts).
On account of his wealth ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

**As it is the choice Life, thus the model—just in
accordance with Order ...**

¹ Apparently the rivers at the end of or surrounding the world, see
Bdh.6.22.

YASNA 61: THE POWER OF THE HOLY TEXTS

Y.61.1

We send forth the *Ahuna vairya*
between heaven and earth,
and we send forth the *Ashem Vohu*
between heaven and earth,
and we send forth the *Yenghye hâtâm* well sacrificed
between heaven and earth,
and we send forth also the *Qualified Good Invitation*¹
of the qualified Orderly man
between heaven and earth,

Y.61.2

for the discomfiture and removal
of the Evil Spirit, with (his) Creations,
he of bad Creations, full of destruction,
for the discomfiture and removal
of male and female *ghosts.

Y.61.3

for the discomfiture and removal
of the male and female *wizards,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the male and female *wizard,
for the discomfiture and removal
of thieves and violators,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the *zands* and those *possessed by sorcerers,
for the discomfiture and removal
of those who destroy the contract and the one whose contract
is deception,

Y.61.4

for the discomfiture and removal
of those who smash the Orderly ones and those who are
hostile to the Orderly ones,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the unorderly one who darkens Order
and the commander who causes much destruction,
for the discomfiture and removal
of each and everyone of the one possessed by the Lies,
whose thoughts are not according to the models,
whose words are not according to the models,
whose acts are not according to the models,
O Spitama Zarathustra.

Y.61.5

How we shall dispel (?) here from us the Lie
We shall *dispel (it, we,) the Revitalizers.
How shall we dispel the Lie
so that we can smash it,
as he who commands (dispels her) who does not command
from all the seven continents,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the entire existence possessed by the Lie?²
**Praising him with Order who is generous to all those
who are.**

¹ The *Āfrîṇagân* ^ *Dahmân* (Y.60).

² I.e., past, present, and future.

YASNA 62: PRAYERS TO THE FIRE AND THE WATERS

Y.62.1

I invite as guest friends
the sacrifice and hymn,
the good offering, offering of wished-for things,
offering of *things won,
of you, the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ.
You are worthy of sacrifice and hymns.
May you be worthy of sacrifice and hymns
in the houses of men!
May there be wished-for things for this man
who ever and again sends the sacrifice forth to you
with firewood in the hands, with barsom in the hands,
with milk in the hand, with the mortar and pestle in the hand!

Y.62.2

May you have the prescribed firewood!
May you have the prescribed incense!
May you have the prescribed food!
May you have the prescribed reclining place!
May you have care by adults!
May you have care by those old enough to be qualified,
(you,) the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,—

Y.62.3

for being burning in this house,
for being with burning in this house,
for being alight in this house,
for being growing/blazing in this house
for a long time after indeed,
until the Perfectioning rich in life-giving strength,
together with the good Perfectioning (of the existence) rich in
life-giving strength.

Y.62.4

May you give me,
(you,) the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
fast good breathing space, fast protection, fast gain,
much good breathing space, much protection, much gain,
learning, life-giving wisdom, (and) a quick tongue,
(and) after that, for (my) breath-soul, guiding thought in my
inner ear(?),
large, great, (and) *non-erring,—

Y.62.5

(and), after that, manly courage,
with upright legs, sleepless,
wakeful, never lying in a bed,
(and) progeny of one's own
eager to *nurture (theirs in turn?),
drawing straight furrows, *capacious,
making grow, possessing good water,

delivering out of constrictions, consisting of good men
which will make prosper for me
(my) house, town, and tribe,
(my) land and the *renown of (my) land!

Y.62.6

May you give me,
(you,) the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
(that), by which shall be permanent for me
both now and for eternity
the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space.
for being a winner
in (the race for) a good fee and (for) good fame
and (for) long well-being for (my) breath-soul!

Y.62.7

The fire of Ahura Mazdâ
brings acclaim to all those
for whom this one cooks
the evening and morning meal.
From all of them he desires
good offering, offering of wished-for things,
offering of *adoration,
O Spitama.

Y.62.8

The fire has always looked into
the hands of all those who walk by:
What does the friend carry to the friend,
the one walking to the one sitting still?¹
We sacrifice to the life-giving fire,
firm when acting as (our) charioteer.²

Y.62.9

Thus if this one carries to him
either firewood carried in Orderly fashion
or barsom spread out in Orderly fashion
or the pomegranate plant,
afterwards the fire of Mazdâ Ahura
invites him as a friend,
(he himself) satisfied (and) unantagonized (inviting his)
*meal-mate(?).

Y.62.10

May you be accompanied by a herd of cattle,
by a multitude of men!

¹ The fire sits (enthroned) on its altar, expecting firewood and incense from passers-by.

² The fire conveys the gifts of the sacrifice up to the gods.

May you be accompanied by both invigorating thought
and invigorating vitality!
May you live enjoying vitality of life
for (as many) nights as you shall live!
This is the befriending of the fire
(of him) who carries firewood to him,
dry, gleaned by the lights (of day),
purified by (my) *exaltation of good Order.

Libation of the Waters

Y.62.11

Order is the best good ...

We long for
the going forth and meeting and welcoming

of the good waters.

I shall choose to sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ in the tradition of
Zarathustra.

I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.
For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,—
for the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the
House, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,—
for the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of the models of the hours and the days
and the months and the seasons and the years.

YASNA 68: PRAYER TO THE WATERS

Y.68.1

This, O lady of the Lord,
we place for you to deflect (the requital) for this
in which we have offended you.
May this libation of yours come in return,
O lady of the Lord,
with haoma and milk and pomegranate.

the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space,
May you give me, lady of the Lord,
manly progeny of my own,
which will make prosper for me
(my) house, town, and tribe,
(my) land and the *renown of (my) land.

Y.68.2

May it in return come for milk and for ghee
for me, as well, The chief priest,
for fitness and for healing,
for furthering and for growth,
for good life and for Orderliness,
for good fame and the possession of a good breath-soul,
obstruction-smashing and world-furthering.

Y.68.6

We sacrifice to you, the lady.¹
We sacrifice to the Vourukasha Sea.²
And we offer up in sacrifice all the waters,
the ones that stand still and those that flow forth,
those in wells and those that flow in *rivers,
those in *canals and those in bays.

Y.68.3

We offer you up in sacrifice, O lady of the Lord,
with the libations of (our) good thought.
We offer you up in sacrifice, O lady of the Lord,
with the libations of (our) good speech.
We offer you up in sacrifice, O lady of the Lord,
with the libations of (our) good action,

Y.68.7

*By this sacrifice and hymn
as is most according to their prescribed
sacrifice and hymn
according to best Order.
we sacrifice to the Orderly, good, best waters set in place by
Ahura Mazdâ
We offer up in sacrifice the “of the good waters.”

Y.68.4

for clear sight for (our) thought,
for clear sight for (our) speech,
for clear sight for (our) action,
for good *vitality for (our) breath-soul,
for furthering of living beings,
for good vitality of things according to Order.

Y.68.8

We offer up in sacrifice the milk and the fat libation,
which make the waters flow and the plants grow
through the discomfiture of the *contest set by the old gods,
of that Mûsh,
of that Witch,
to stand against and mount defenses against (them),

Y.68.5

May you give me, O lady of the Lord,

¹ The heavenly river.

² The sea of heavenly waters.

to overcome (them) in turn and to answer the hostilities
of both the unordered one who darkens Order
and the commander who causes much destruction,
for the resistance of the hostile old gods and men.

Y.68.9

May you hear our sacrifice,
O lady of the Lord!
May you approve of our sacrifice,
O lady of the Lord!
May you take a seat at our sacrifice!
May you come to our help
on account of (our) abundant sacrificing, (our) good
sacrificing,
and (our) good offering of libations.

Y.68.10

He who shall offer up in sacrifice you, the good waters,
the ladies of the Lord,
with the best libations,
with the most beautiful libations,
with libations filtered by a qualified person,—

Y.68.11

(give) to him riches and the gifts of Fortune,
to him health of body,
to him *fattiness of body,
to him valor of his body,
to him (his) wish for much good breathing space,
to him nothing but progeny of his own,
to him long longevity,
to him the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space—

Y.68.12

give, O good waters, (these things to him)
and to me, The chief priest, who is sacrificing (to you),
and to us who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
who send forth the sacrifice
and (our) companions and disciples,
and the teaching-masters and the students,
and the men and women,
and the boys and girls,
and those who cultivate the pastures,—

Y.68.13

(and those) who *stay *settled—
for the dispersal of constriction,
for the dispersal of hostility (against them),
and against the scourges of the army
and against the hostile ones who do not abide by the deals:
(make me) strong and knowledgeable of the straightest path,
which is the straightest there is up to Order
and the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,

full of light and all good breathing space.

As it is the choice Life ...

Y.68.14

With good dwelling, peaceful dwelling, long dwelling
I announce (it to you) as friends to come into the town
from which these libations (go to you).
With good dwelling, peaceful dwelling, long dwelling,
I announce (it to you) as friends into every town of those who
sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
with (my) good offering, offering of wished-for things,
offering of *adoration
with (my) good sacrificing to you, O Lady, I announce (it to
you).

Y.68.15

I invite as my guest friend peace with good pastures in this
land.
I invite as friends fitness and healing.
I invite as friends all (those things?) of yours, the qualified
Orderly men,
which are the good Orderly (things)
between heaven and earth:
a thousand healings, ten thousand healings.
...

Y.68.21

Here we thus call hither and down
the good recompense, the good reward.
The milk offerings, the *purifications ...
Thus, we are sacrificing to the waters ...
“unquote”—those (names), whichever (Ahura Mazdâ
establishes for you), O good ones ...
You also as waters ...

Give us when you are requested (to do so), having the
command (to do so):
riches and Fortune.
O waters, grant us that request
which was obtained from you *before.

Y.68.22

Homage to Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the Life-giving Immortals!
Homage to Mithra who provides broad grazing grounds!
Homage to the brilliant sun with fleet horses!
Homage to these eyes that are those of Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the cow!
Homage to Gaya (Martân)!
Homage to the pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra!
I do *homage to the entire Orderly existence,
the one which is, which is becoming, and which shall
become.

YASNA 71-72: CONCLUDING PRAYERS

Y.71.13

May he there, Orderly Zarathustra,
wish for someone abiding by the deals to be a protector.
I say to you: an Orderly one is to be obtained from an Orderly
one,
someone abiding by the deals from someone abiding by the
deals.

For that is the better (alternative):

For that one was defined as **follower of the Lie who is
best to the follower of the Lie,**
and **that one** as **a follower of Order for whom a follower
of Order is a friend.**

Y.71.14

For these (were) the words (that) Ahura Mazdâ pronounced
as the best to Zarathustra,
Therefore, O Zarathustra, pronounce these (words) at the last
turn of (your) life.

Y.71.15

For if, O Zarathustra, *you pronounce these best words at the
last turn of (your) life,
I, Ahura Mazdâ,
shall stretch
your soul away from the worst existence.
To such an extent in thickness and breadth
may I stretch (it) as this earth.
For this earth is as much in thickness as in breadth.

Y.71.16

As you desire, O Orderly one,
here you shall be Orderly.
You shall convey your soul
across the Ford of the Accountant to the Best Existence,
arriving Orderly,
proclaiming the *Ushatawaiti Gâthâ*,
calling down possession of all things wished for.
**The wished-for things are in the wish for him, to
whomever
Mazdâ Ahura, commanding at will, shall give them.**

Y.71.17

We offer up in sacrifice the invigorant and the possession of
good thought.
We offer up in sacrifice the possession of good thought and
the invigorant,
for withstanding darkness,
for withstanding weeping and *illness.
We offer up in sacrifice the invigorant ... and *illness.
And we offer up in sacrifice *fitness and healing,
and we offer up in sacrifice furthering and growth

for withstanding agues and *paralyses.

Y.71.18

We offer up in sacrifice the (two?) words to be assembled.
We offer up in sacrifice the (words) of the *Gâthâs* that (may
have been accidentally) omitted.
We offer up in sacrifice the Orderly life-giving *Gâthâs*,
whose command is according to the models.
We offer up in sacrifice the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*,
**which you all established as the models of the first
existence.**

We offer up in sacrifice the whole structure of the Sacrificial
Texts of Praise

We offer up in sacrifice (our) own breath-soul.

We offer up in sacrifice (our) own pre-soul.

...

Y.71.23

We offer up in sacrifice (you), the Orderly fire, the son of
Ahura Mazdâ, model of Order.
We offer up in sacrifice the barsom spread out in Orderly
fashion, Orderly model of Order,
with the libation, with the girdle.
We offer up in sacrifice the Scion of the Waters.
We offer up in sacrifice Nairyâ Sangha.
We offer up in sacrifice the firm one in the image of
the Web-holder.
We offer up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the departed,
the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.

...

Y.72.9

To him riches and munificent gifts,
to him health of body,
to him *fattiness of body,
to him valor of his body,
to him (his) wish for much good breathing space,
to him nothing but progeny of his own,
to him long longevity,
to him the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space,

Order is the best good ...

a thousand healings, ten thousand healings.

Order is the best good ...

Come to my help, O Mazdâ,
(for the help of?) the well-fashioned, well-shaped force,
the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ,
the victorious superiority,—

ZOROASTRIAN TEXTS

Y.72.10

of peace with good pastures,
of Vayu, whose work is above, set beyond the other
Creations,—
this of yours, O Vayu,
which you have of the Life-giving Spirit,—

of the Firmament, which has its own law,
of boundless Time,
of Time, which long has its own law.
Order is the best good ...

Y.72.11

One is the path of Order.
All (those) of the others are *non-paths.
*The *daênâ* of the Evil Spirit leads the most astray.
Destruction of those who sacrifice to the old gods!
Fame for (our) men!

YASHT 1 TO AHURA MAZDÂ

Yt.1.0

*In the name of the gods.*¹*May the Lord Hôrmезд, the increaser**increase his miraculous power and munificence.**May Hôrmезд the creator come, the wealthy and munificent,*
*the supreme Spirit among Spirits.**I repent and regret all my sins,**all bad thoughts, words, deeds,**that I have thought, spoken, or performed in this world**or have fallen unto or that have accrued to me.**I repent and regret the three kinds—forgive!—**all those sins of thinking, speaking, and acting,**those of body or soul, in this world or in the other.*

Through (my) satisfaction of Ahura Mazdâ,

through (my) disdain of the Evil Spirit.

**On account of my true action/utterance may what is
most Perfect in exchange value be produced!**I say forth with my praise

= Y.11.17

I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ
like Zarathustra did.

I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.

*According to the time of the day:*For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

For the sacrifice and hymn

and satisfaction and glorification

of Ahura Mazdâ, the wealthy and munificent.

The chief priest says forth to me:

As it is the choice Life ...

Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:

thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

Yt.1.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:

O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,

(you) who have put in their places all things in the bony
world of the living, O Orderly one!What (is) the most forceful (aspect) of the life-giving poetic
thought?

What (is) the most valorous?

What (is) the most munificent?

What (is) the most effective at the heavenly audition?

Yt.1.2

What (is) richest in obstruction-smashing strength?

What (is) richest in healing power?

What overcomes the most the hostilities
of old gods and men?What of *thine² has gone farthest and widest
of the entire bony existence?What *stretches farthest the *thread of life
of the entire bony existence?

Yt.1.3

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

Our name, Spitama Zarathustra,

that of the Life-giving Immortals.

That (is) the most forceful of the life-giving poetic thought.

That (is) the most valorous.

That (is) the most munificent.

That (is) the most effective at the heavenly audition.

Yt.1.4

That (is) richest in obstruction-smashing strength.

That (is) richest in healing.

That overcomes the most the hostilities
of old gods and men.That of mine has gone farthest and widest
of the entire bony existence.That is it (that) *stretches farthest the *thread of life
of the entire bony existence.

Yt.1.5

Then Zarathustra said:

Do tell me that name of yours,

O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,

which is your

greatest, best, and most beautiful,

the most effective at the heavenly audition,

the richest in obstruction-smashing strength,

the richest in healing,

the one that overcomes the most the hostilities
of old gods and men,

Yt.1.6

so that I shall overcome

all old gods and men,

so that I shall overcome

all sorcerers and witches,

so that no one shall overcome me,

neither an old god nor a man,

¹ The passages in *italics* are in modern Persian.² The text has “mine.”

neither sorcerers nor witches.

Yt.1.7

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

I am called: the one who stands first/forth, O Orderly

Zarathustra,
second: herder,
third: down-stretcher(?),
fourth: through Good Order,
fifth: all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ whose
seed is from/according to Order,
sixth: that I am the guiding thought,
seventh: having guiding thought,
eighth: that I am insight,
ninth: insightful,

Yt.1.8

tenth: that I am life-giving knowledge,
eleventh: having life-giving knowledge,
twelfth: lord,
thirteenth: richest in life-giving strength,
fourteenth: most discarding this hostility,
fifteenth: unconquerable,
sixteenth: reciter of the things won,
seventeenth: who keeps an eye on all things,
eighteenth: rich in healing,
nineteenth: that I am set in place,
twentieth: I am that I am called Mazdâ.

Yt.1.9

Sacrifice to me, O Zarathustra,
by day and by night,
with libations bringing renown.
I shall come to help and support for you,
I, Ahura Mazdâ.
He shall come to help and support for you,
good Sraosha with the rewards.
They shall come to help and support for you,
both the waters and the plants
and the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.

Yt.1.10

If you wish, O Zarathustra,
to overcome yonder hostilities
of old gods and men,
of sorcerers and witches,
of false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
villains on two feet
and those who darken Order on two feet,
wolves on four feet,—

Yt.1.11

and (their) army with wide front,
with wide banners, with upright banners, with raised

banners,
carrying a bloody banner,
then say forth these names, reciting (them)
all days and nights.

Yt.1.12

I am also protector and establisher/giver.
I am also defender and knower.
I am also the most Life-giving Spirit.
I am called rich in healing.
I am called richest in healing.
I am called Priest.
I am called Highest Priest.
I am called Lord.
I am called Wise.
I am called Orderly.
I am called most Orderly.
I am called munificent.
I am called most munificent.
I am called seer of much.
I am called seer of most.
I am called seer (of things) far in the distance.
I am called seer of (things) farthest in the distance.

Yt.1.13

I am called espier.
I am called pursuer.
I am called establisher/giver.
I am called protector.
I am called defender.
I am called knower.
I am called most knower.
I am called rich in cattle.
I am called the *Fshûshô.manthra*.
I am called having command as I desire.
I am called having most command as I desire.
I am called having command by (my) name.
I am called having most command by (my) name.

Yt.1.14

I am called non-deceiving.
I am called dispeller of deceit.
I am called watchman.
I am called overcomer of hostilities.
I am called conqueror here and now.
I am called conqueror of all.
I am called fashioner of all.
I am called provider of all good breathing space.
I am called provider of much good breathing space.
I am called rich in good breathing space.

Yt.1.15

I am called he whose glow is invigorating.
I am called he whose life-giving strength is invigorating.

I am called rich(est) in life-giving strength.
 I am called the ones rich in vitalizing strength.
 I am called richest in life-giving strength.
 I am called (the one who is) with Order.
 I am called (the one who is) with the lofty one.
 I am called (the one who is) with the one in command.
 I am called (the one who is) with the one most in command.
 I am called bountiful.
 I am called most bountiful.
 I am called he whose eyesight reaches into the distance.
 And those are these names.

Yt.1.16

And whoever in this bony existence,
 Spitama Zarathustra,
 *utters these names of mine, reciting (them)
 by day or by night,—

Yt.1.17

*utters (them)
 standing up or lying down,
 lying down or standing up,
 girded or with loosened girdle,
 or going forth from the place,
 or going forth from the tribe,
 or going forth from the land,
 coming down to (another) land,—

Yt.1.18

(then) in this day, in this night,
 may not, O man,
 the hooks or *daggers
 of someone driven by rage, with lies in his thought, cut him
 down,
 nor may (his) arrows, knives, or cudgels,
 nor stones cut (him) down as he comes in.

Yt.1.19

And these twenty(?) names
 serve as both backing and bulwark
 against the Lie in the world of thought
 and the demoness of Greed possessed by the Lie
 and the magician who has (always) harmed (us?)
 and against the one possessed by the Lie who is all
 destruction:
 the Evil Spirit,
 just like a thousand men
 would watch over one man.

Yt.1.20 = 2.44.16

**Who is the obstruction-smasher fit to protect all who
 are by *your* announcement?
 Let brilliant assistances/gifts(?) be given to *me*! Assign,
 O world healer, me as(?) the model winner(?)!**

**Thus, let readiness to listen come to *him* on account of
 my/his good thought,
 O Mazdâ, to *him*, to whomever you wish!**

Yt.1.21

I do homage to the Fortune of the poets.
 I do homage in the Aryan Expanse.
 Homage (to you), O glow set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
 Homage to the water of the (Good) Dâityâ!
 Homage to that of the unattached water on high!¹
 I do homage to the entire temporal being of the Orderly one.
In as much as a new life is a worthy one ...
Order is the best good ...

Yt.1.22

We sacrifice (to) the *Ahuna vairya*.
 We sacrifice (to) the *Ashem Vohû*, the most beautiful Life-
 giving Immortal.
 We sacrifice (to) force and prosperity
 and (to) strength and obstruction-smashing strength and
 fortune and might.
 We sacrifice (them) to Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy and
 munificent.
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

*May Hôrmезд the Lord, the increaser
 of men, the species of men, of all species,
 let the company of the good,
 knowledge, faith, and goodness
 of the Good Mazdayasnian Dîn come to me!
 So be it!*

Yt.1.23

In as much as a new life is a worthy one ...
 I pray for the sacrifice and hymn and strength and force
 of Ahura Mazdâ, the wealthy and munificent,
Order is the best good ...

Yt.1.24

May you defend the man who abides by the deals
 for ever, O Zarathustra,
 against the enemy who does not abide by the deals.
 Do not expose him, the one who abides by the deals, to the
 blow of weapons,
 not to bad treatment (making him incur) damage!
 Do not ask yonder lawful man in order to take away from
 (him)
 who may sacrifice (with) the greatest sacrifice,
 (but) the smallest (part) of (whose) sacrifice shall reach
 us, the Life-giving Immortals!

¹ The heavenly waters, which do not fall down although they have
 nothing to hold them up (like the sky). The word here translated
 as “unattached” also, apparently, means “unsullied,” cf. Yt.10.88.

Yt.1.25

Here is Good Thought
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here is Best Order
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here is Well-deserved Command
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here is Life-giving Humility
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here (are) Wholeness and Immortality,
who are the recompense of the Orderly ones
who come before (me?) as *guests
in my house, O Zarathustra.

Yt.1.26

I know and have taken notice (of them),
O Orderly Zarathustra
by my guiding thought and insight
(the words) by which the first existence will be here
every time
and how their existence shall be at last.

Yt.1.27

A thousand healings, ten thousand healings!
Come to my help, O Mazdâ,
(to the help?) of the well-fashioned, well-shaped Force,
of the Obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ,
of the Victorious superiority,
and of Life-giving Humility.
And with Life-giving Humility
do you all break the hostility of these!
Block (their) inner hearing!
Tie down (their) hands!
Grind together (their) jaws!
Tie fetters(?) onto them!

Yt.1.28

Shall, I wonder, O Mazdâ, the follower of Order
overcome the follower of the Lie?
The Orderly one conquers the Lie.
The Orderly one conquers the one possessed by the Lie.
We sacrifice to the (inner) hearing of Ahura Mazdâ
for holding the life-giving poetic thought.
We sacrifice to the guiding thought of Ahura Mazdâ
for the memorizing of the life-giving poetic thought.
We sacrifice to the tongue of Ahura Mazdâ
for the saying forth of the life-giving poetic thought.
We sacrifice to yonder mountain:
the ridge Crack of Dawn,
by day and by night,
with libations bringing renown.

Yt.1.29

Then Zarathustra said:
Thereby to *put you back into the earth!
By the eyes of Life-giving Humility
the villain was laid low.

Yt.1.30

As a thousand remedies,
ten thousand remedies
we sacrifice to the pre-soul of this Orderly Man
whose name is Sunny-sky.
I shall sacrifice the (questions)
asked(?) by the other Orderly ones
having chosen(?) (the plant) Gaokarna,
rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to (the plant) Gaokarna,
rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.¹

Yt.1.31 = Yt.1.28

We sacrifice ... with libations bringing renown.

Order is the best good ...

We sacrifice to the pre-soul of this Orderly Man ... with
libations bringing renown. (= Yt.1.30-31)
(3 times)

Order is the best good ...

Yt.1.32

We sacrifice to the Web-holder
(and?) Life-giving Humility,
in whom are the two(?) containers of both Order and the
Orderly ones,
(all) the Creations, with Order as the first.

This (we do?), for him to be set in place as the greatest (etc.,
= Y.27.1)

for the furthering of Ahura Mazdâ (etc., = Y.27.2)

Yt.1.33

Order is the best good ...

To him riches and the gifts of Fortune ... and all good
breathing space (= Y.68.11)

May it come as I invite (it).

¹ Cf. V.20.4.

A thousand healings, ten thousand healings!

Order is the best good ...

Come to my help, O Mazdâ!

¹*I do good deeds for reward,
for my sins to pass away,
out of love for my soul to be blessed.
And may also the good deeds of all the good people
in the earth with its the seven continents,
as wide as the earth, as long as a river, as high as the sun,
come in all perfection!
Be blessed! Live long!*

(Come for the help of?) the well-fashioned, well-shaped
force
and the obstruction-smashing strength, set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ

and the victorious superiority.—
of peace with good pastures,
of Vayu, whose work is above, set beyond the other
Creations,—

this of yours, O Vayu,
which you have of the Life-giving Spirit,—
of the Firmament, which has its own law,
of boundless Time,
of Time, which long has its own law.

Order is the best good ...

¹ This passage is in Pazend.

YASHT 3: TO BEST ORDER

Yt.3.0

*In the name of the gods ... munificence.
May Ardibehesht, the Life-giving Immortal, come!*

I repent and regret all my sins ...

Through (my) satisfaction of Ahura Mazda ... I praise Order.
Order is the best good ...

I shall choose to sacrifice ... and the glorification.
Through the satisfaction of the most beautiful Best Order,
of *Airyaman Ishya*,
rich in life-giving strength, set in place by Ahura Mazda,
of the good Glow with far(-ranging) eyes,
the Orderly one set in place by Ahura Mazda,
for (their) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

The chief priest says forth to me:

As it is the choice Life ...

Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:

thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

Yt.3.1

Ahura Mazda said to Spitama Zarathustra:
Then, as you would bring (them) forth through Best Order,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
O praiser, O libator, O invoker,
O holder of the poetic thought, O sacrificer, O inviter, O
glorifier,
the radiant lights will *shine
and the invigorants containing the sun,
for the sacrifice and hymn to us,
the Life-giving Immortals.

Yt.3.2

Then Zarathustra said.
So, say the word, you whose words are straight,
O Ahura Mazda,
how they will be as *I would bring (them) forth through
Best Order,
*I Spitama Zarathustra,
*as praiser, libator, invoker,
as holder of the poetic thought, sacrificer, inviter, and
glorifier,
(so that) the brilliant lights and the sunny invigorants will
*shine,
for sacrifice and hymn to you,
the Life-giving Immortals'.

Yt.3.3

Then I (herewith) say it forth, Best order,
(For) if I say forth Best Order
then the good route of the other Life-giving Immortals,—
the one that Mazda protects with (thoughts) well-thought,
the one that Mazda protects with (words) well-spoken,
the one that Mazda protects with (acts) well-performed,¹
the good route (leading) to the House of Song of Ahura
Mazda.

Yt.3.4

The House of Song is what there is for the Orderly Men,
and there is no going there for the one possessed by the Lies
to the House of Song,
the brilliant route *for Order
through the free spaces (up) to Ahura Mazda.

Yt.3.5

*He shall smash (the hostilities?) of all (hostile ones?), of
the Evil Spirit,
of sorcerers and witches,
the *Ā Airyama Ishyō*, greatest of poetic thoughts,
best of poetic thoughts,
most beautiful of poetic thoughts,
most 'most beautiful' of poetic thoughts,
the strong (one) among poetic thoughts,
the strongest of poetic thoughts,
the steadfast (one) among poetic thoughts,
the most steadfast of poetic thoughts.
The one of obstruction-smashing strength among poetic
thoughts,
the one of greatest obstruction-smashing strength among
poetic thoughts.
the healing (one) among poetic thoughts,
the most healing among poetic thoughts.

Yt.3.6

Among poetic thoughts
the one that heals with Order,
the one that heals with the Law,
the one that heals with knives,
the one that heals with plants,
the one that heals with a poetic thought,²
the most healing of healing remedies:
the healing life-giving poetic thought,
which heals from the innards of the Orderly Man.
For this is the most healing of healing remedies.

¹ The three stages up to Paradise.

² Very archaic medicine, see C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*, New York and Oxford, 1995, chap. 7.59.

Yt.3.7

Diseases, run away!
 Destructions, run away!
 Demons, run away!
 Adversaries, run away!
 Unorderly ones who darken Order, run away!
 You) men (who are) false teachers, run away!

Yt.3.8

Brood of snakes, run away!
 Brood of wolves, run away!
 Brood of two-footed (villains), run away!
 Despised ones, run away!
 Distraught ones, run away!
 Fever, run away!
 Slanderer, run away!
 Sowers of discord, run away!
 You with the evil eye, run away!

Yt.3.9

You most lying with lying speech, run away!
 Evil woman possessed by sorcerers, run away!
 Evil woman, female magician, run away!
 Southerly (and) northerly wind, run away!
 Southerly (and) northerly wind, get lost!
 And any of these broods of snakes, (get away from) me!

Yt.3.10

He who smashed of these old gods
 a thousand for a thousand,
 ten thousand for ten thousand,
 he smashes diseases,
 he smashes destructions,
 he smashes old gods,
 he smashes adversaries,
 he smashes the unorderly one who darkens Order,
 he smashes the man (who is) a tyrant.

Yt.3.11

He smashes the brood of snakes.
 He smashes the brood of wolves.
 He smashes the brood of two-footed (villains).
 He smashes the despised.
 He smashes the distraught.
 He smashes the fevers.
 He smashes the slanderers.
 He smashes the sowers of discord.
 He smashes the ones with the evil eye.

Yt.3.12

He smashes the most lying, the one with lying speech.
 He smashes the evil woman consorting with sorcerers.
 He smashes the evil woman, the female magician.
 He smashes the southerly (and) northerly wind.
 Southerly (and) northerly wind get lost!
 And any of these broods of two-footed (wolves), (get away from) me!

Yt.3.13

He who smashed of these old gods
 a thousand for a thousand,
 ten thousand for ten thousand.
 He fell headlong from heaven¹
 the most lying of old gods,
 the Evil Spirit full of destruction.

Yt.3.14

He lied,
 the Evil Spirit full of destruction:
 Woe to me! Blast you Best Order!
 He will smash the most disease-inflicting of diseases.
 He will be the enemy of the most disease-inflicting of diseases.
 He will smash the most destructive of destructions.
 He will be the enemy of most destructive of destructions.
 He will smash the worst one among the old gods.²
 He will be the enemy of the worst one among the old gods.
 He will smash the most adverse of adversaries.
 He will be the enemy of the most adverse of adversaries.
 He will smash the unorderly one who darkens Order.
 He will be the enemy of the unorderly one who darkens Order.
 He will smash the greatest of false teachers of men.
 He will be the enemy of the greatest of false teachers of men.

Yt.3.15

He will smash the worst brood of snakes among the broods of snakes.
 He will be the enemy of the worst brood of snakes among the broods of snakes.
 He will smash the worst brood of wolves among the broods of wolves.
 He will be the enemy of the worst brood of wolves among the broods of wolves.
 He will smash the worst brood of two-footed (wolves) among the broods of two-footed (wolves).
 He will be the enemy of the worst brood of wolves among the broods of wolves.

¹ This is the only place where the archaic word for heaven, *dyau*, is used in the Avesta.

² Literally, the most *daêwa* among *daêwas*.

He will smash the despisers.
 He will be the enemy of the despisers.
 He will smash those of distraught minds.
 He will be the enemy of those of distraught minds.
 He will smash the one most feverish among those with fever.
 He will be the enemy of the one most feverish among those with fever.
 He will smash the worst slanderer among those who slander.
 He will be the enemy of the worst slanderer among those who slander.
 He will smash the worst sower of discord among those who sow discord.
 He will be the enemy of the worst sower of discord among those who sow discord.
 He will smash the one with the worst evil eye among those with evil eyes.
 He will be the enemy of the one with the worst evil eye among those with evil eyes.

Yt.3.16
 He will smash the most lying, the one with lying speech.
 He will be the enemy of the most lying, the one with lying speech.
 He will smash the evil woman possessed by sorcerers.
 He will be the enemy of the evil woman possessed by sorcerers.
 He will smash the evil woman magician.
 He will be the enemy of the evil woman magician.
 He will smash the southerly (and) northerly wind.
 He will be the enemy of the southerly (and) northerly wind.

Yt.3.17
 The Lie will get lost, the Lie will be lost,
 the Lie will run (away), it will lose itself in the north.
 You get lost!
 Do not destroy the material living beings of Order!

YASHT 5: TO THE HEAVENLY RIVER

Ahura Mazdâ describes the goddess to Zarathustra.

Yt.5.1

Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
May you sacrifice to her for me,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
her, Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ,¹
with broad *front, healing,
who said no to the old gods
and took Ahura Mazdâ as her guide,
worthy of being sacrificed to by the bony existence,
worthy of being hymned by the bony existence,
the Orderly one furthering the grains,
the Orderly one furthering the flocks,
the Orderly one furthering the herds,
the Orderly one furthering the settlements,
the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.2

She makes ritually pure the semen
of all the males, of all females.
She makes ritually pure the wombs for giving birth.
She gives easy delivery to all females,
and brings down milk to all females
in conformity with the established rules and the models.

Yt.5.3

She, the large one audible from afar,
is as much in extent as all these waters
that flow forth upon the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth
from Mount Hukairya to the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.5.4

All the shores of the Vourukasha Sea
are in commotion,
the entire interior rises up in commotion,
when she flows forth into them,
when she rushes into them,
Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
who has a thousand bays,
who has a thousand outlets,
and each of these bays
and each of these outlets (is) a forty days' ride
for a man riding a good horse.

Yt.5.5

And (now) the flow of this single water of mine

shall go out to all the seven continents,
and (the flow) of this single water of mine
comes down in one and the same way
both in summer and in winter.
She purifies my waters,
the semen of the males,
the wombs of the females,
and the milk of the females.

Yt.5.6

I, Ahura Mazdâ, carried her up by the impetus of my
tongue(?),
for the furthering of the house, the town, the tribe, and the
land,
for (their) protection, guard, and overseeing,
to protect and guard (them).

The goddess asks who will sacrifice to her and says who
should.

Yt.5.7

Then, O Zarathustra, she went forth,
Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
from Mazdâ, who had set (her) in (her) place.
Beautiful, indeed, were (her) arms,
white (and) thicker than (the thighs) of a horse.
Two beautiful *armlets she wore,
thicker than (her) *delicate arms.
She thinks in her thought(s):

Yt.5.8

Who will praise me? Who will sacrifice to (me)
with libations full of haoma and milk,
purified and filtered?
Whom shall I follow close behind
for *composure and *attention
and *bestowal and for possession of good thought?²

Yt.5.9

On account of her wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice.
I will sacrifice to her with well-performed sacrifice,
Orderly Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ, with libations.
May you thereby rule when invoked!
May you thereby partake of a better sacrifice,
O Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
(one performed) with haoma (mixed) with milk (and) with
barsom,
with the skill of the tongue and with poetic thought,

¹ Lit.: the Orderly unattached (water) on high. — Pahl. gloss: "I.e.,
"unattached" means that she is in a state of unattached-ness in
that place, on the star-level."

² That is, as help for the poet? The terms used are found only here.

with speech and action and libations
and with correctly spoken words.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.10

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands!

Yt.5.11

She recalls man who drives in front on his wagon
(and) holds the reins of the wagon,
driving on *his* wagon
she thinks in her thought(s):
Who will praise me ...

On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.12 = Yt.5.1

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands!

Yt.5.13

She has four draught-horses,
white, all of the same color, of the same breed, and tall.
They overcome the hostilities
of all hostile old gods and men,
sorcerers and witches,
false teachers, poetasters, and mumblers.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.14

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.15

She is forceful, radiant, lofty, well-shaped,
whose *falling waters rain down
in as great quantity
by day and night
as all these waters that flow forth over the earth,
(to her) who forceful flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.16

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.17

Ahura Mazdâ, who has set all in its place,
sacrificed to her
in the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful (river),
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.5.18

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I shall induce the son of Pourushâspa,
Orderly Zarathustra,
to help my *daênâ* along
with his thoughts, words, and acts!

Yt.5.19

She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
the giver of a prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

The poet-sacrificers of the past:

Yt.5.20

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.21

Haoshyangha Paradhâta
sacrificed to her
on the foothill of Mount Harâ
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.22

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest command
over all the lands
over old gods and men,
over sorcerers and witches,
over false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
that I may smash down two-thirds
of the giant old gods
and the greedy ones possessed by the Lie.

Yt.5.23

She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).

On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.24

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.25

Radiant Yima with good herds
sacrificed to her
from tall Mount Hukairya
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.26

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest command
over all lands
over old gods and men,
over sorcerers and witches,
over false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
that I may take away
from the old gods
both (their) *wishes and (their) *burning desires,
both *flocks of sheep and herds (of cows?),
both satisfaction and glorifications.

Yt.5.27

She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.28

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.29

The three-headed Giant Dragon
sacrificed to her
in the land of the *Beaver
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.30

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,

O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may make (everything) devoid of men
all over the seven continents!

Yt.5.31

She gave him not that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.32

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.33

Thraêtaona of the house rich in life-giving strength
sacrificed to her,
the son of the house of Âthviya,
by four-cornered Varna
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.34

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may overcome
the giant dragon
with three mouths, three heads,
six eyes, a thousand tricks,
the mighty strong, deceiving Lie,
the evil possessed by the Lie (affecting) the living beings:
the mighty strong Lie
which the Evil Spirit whittled forth
upon the bony world of the living
for the destruction of the living beings of Order,
and also that I may carry off his two beloved women:
Sanghawâcî and Arenawâcî,¹
the two most beautiful of the same shape
to be won for the world of the living,
those two, who are (also) the most wonderful!

Yt.5.35

She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).

¹ She whose words are praise and She whose words are
faults/blame.

On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.36

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.37

Kersâspa, whose thoughts were those of heroes,
sacrificed to her
on the *shore of Lake Pishinah
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.38

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may overcome
the yellow-legged Gandarva,¹
(that) I may run up to the billowing shores
of the Vourukasha Sea,
the ... (?) house of the one possessed by the Lie,
of this wide (earth),
round (and) with distant borders.

Yt.5.39

She gave him then that prize,
Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.40

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.41

The Turian villain, Frangrasyân, in (his) pit,
sacrificed to her,
*inside this wide earth,
round, (and) with distant borders,
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.42

Thus he asked her:

Give me that prize,

O good, Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I (may) obtain that Fortune,
which is swimming in the middle
of the Vourukasha Sea,
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and the unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.5.43

She gave him not that boon,
Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.44

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.45

The fleet Kawi Usan of great magic
sacrificed to her
on the Eagle mountain
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.46

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest power
over all lands
over old gods and men ... and mumblers.

Yt.5.47

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwi Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.48

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.49

The virile hero of the Aryan lands,
sacrificed to her,
Haosrawa, *pretender to the command,

¹ A malevolent water spirit. Cf. Yt.19.41.

on the *shore of Lake Chaêchasta,
the deep, with surging waters,
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.50

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest command
over all the lands
over old gods and men ... and mumblers (= Yt.5.22)
(and) that of all chariots pulled by two horses
I may be the one to drive the foremost one
(along that) race course, the long one,
but may we not cut through(?) the forest
of the villain who now fought
against my thought near by the horses.

Yt.5.51

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.52

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.53

The steady Tusa, the charioteer
sacrificed to her,
by the manes of the horses,
asking for strength for the coursers,
health for the bodies,
much ability to espy the hostile ones,
ability to strike back at the enemies,
the ability to lay low at once the opponents,
the hostile ones who do not abide by the deals.

Yt.5.54

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may overcome
the fleet sons of *Visaka,
at the power-shining gate,
the most accessible(?) in Kanghâ,

tall (and) Orderly,
(and) that I may smash down
of the Turian lands
for the striking of fifty, and by striking a hundred
for the striking of a hundred, and by striking a thousand
for the striking of a thousand, and by striking ten thousand
for the striking of ten thousand, and by striking countless
ones.¹

Yt.5.55

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.56

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.57

The fleet sons of *Visaka
sacrificed to her,
at the power-shining gate,
the most accessible(?) in Kanghâ,
tall (and) Orderly,
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.58

Thus they asked her:
Give us that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that we may overcome
the firm Tusa, the charioteer
(and) that we may smash down
of the Aryan lands
for the striking of fifty ... by striking countless ones.

Yt.5.59

Them she gave then not that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.60

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one

¹ The syntax of this recurring passage is not well understood, but its meaning is clear.

furthering the lands.

Yt.5.61

Pârwa the clever skipper,
sacrificed to her,
when firm Thraêtaona, obstruction-smasher,
tossed him up in the air
in the shape of a vulture.

Yt.5.62

He flew in that manner
for three days and three nights
without being able to turn downward
toward his own home.
At the dawning of the third night
he came to Dawn, rich in life-giving strength,¹ as it shone
out.
At dawn he invoked
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:

Yt.5.63

O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
come quickly to my help!
Bring me assistance now!
I shall bring you a thousand libations
rich in haoma and milk
purified and filtered,
to the water: to Ranghâ,
if only I reach alive
the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
(and) my own home!

Yt.5.64

She came running,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
in the shape of a beautiful young woman,
mighty strong, well-shaped,
girded high, standing tall,
of splendid seed, high-born,
shod with sandals reaching up her legs
with golden laces, radiant.

Yt.5.65

She seized his arms.
Quickly that was (done. It was) not long
before she delivered him in haste
upon the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
to his own home
healthy, unharmed, unhurt,
in one and the same way as before.

¹ Third part of the night: from midnight to the first light
(Bartholomae).

Yt.5.66

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.67

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.68

Jâmâspa sacrificed to her
when he espied the army
of the one possessed by the Lies who sacrifice to the old
gods,
coming from afar in battle lines
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.69

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may be equipped with as much valor
as (all) the other Aryans (together)!

Yt.5.70

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.71

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.72

Ashawazdah son of Pourudhâkhshti
sacrificed to her,
and Ashawazda and Thrîta,
sons of Sâyuzhdri,
*approaching the lofty lord,
the one in command, the radiant
Scion of the Waters with fleet horses,
a hundred stallions, a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.73

Thus they asked her:
Give us that boon,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that we may overcome
the *eloquent Dânu Tûras:
Kara Asabana
and Vara Asabana
and Dûraêkaêta, the firmest
in battles in this world of the living!

Yt.5.74

She gave them then that boon,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.75

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.76

Vistauru son of Naotairya
sacrificed to her
by the water Vîtanghwaitî
with speech correctly spoken,
speaking thus with words:

Yt.5.77

By that Order, indeed, by that correctly spoken (word),
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
that I have smashed down as many who sacrifice to the old
gods
as I carry hairs on the head,
so do you,
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
convey me across a dry ford
over the good Vîtanghwaitî!

Yt.5.78

She came running,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
in the shape of a beautiful young woman,
mightily strong, well-shaped,
girded high, standing tall,
of splendid seed, high-born,
shod with sandals reaching up her legs
with golden laces, radiant.

Some of the waters she made stand still,
others she made flow forward.
She conveyed him across a dry ford
over the good Vîtanghwaitî.

Yt.5.79

She gave them then that boon,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.80

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.81

Yôishta, the one of the Friyanas,
sacrificed to her
... of the Ranghâ
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.82

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may overcome
Akhtiya, giver of evil gifts, wrapped in darkness
and also (that) I may answer his questions,
(all) ninety-nine
of the hard hostile questions
that he asked me,
Axtiya, giver of evil gifts, wrapped in darkness.

Y.5.83

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Ahura Mazdâ addresses the goddess

Yt.5.84

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.85

Come to where Ahura Mazdâ, the artisan invited you,
 come down, O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
 from yonder stars
 to the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
 The fleet lords will sacrifice to you,
 landlords (and) sons of landlords.

Yt.5.86

Even the firm men
 will ask you for fleetness for their horses
 (and) superiorities of Fortune.
 The priests memorizing,
 the priests *who guard the roads
 will ask you for *learning and life-giving *wisdom,
 for the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura
 Mazdâ
 and for victorious superiority.

Yt.5.87

The nubile young women
 and the ripe females shall ask you good works
 and a firm houselord.
 The women in labor
 shall ask you for easy birth.
 You shall confer those things on them, having the power (to
 do so),
 O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.

Yt.5.88

Thus she went forth, O Zarathustra,
 Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
 from yonder stars
 to the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
 Thus she spoke,
 Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:

Yt.5.89

O upright, Orderly Spitama-son!
 Ahura Mazdâ set you in (your) place
 as the *ratu* of the bony world of the living.
 Ahura Mazdâ set me in (my) place
 as the protectress of the entire time span of the Orderly one.
 By my wealth and munificence
 sheep and cattle
 roam over the earth
 as well as two-footed men.
 And so shall I protect
 all those good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ whose
 seed is from/according to Order
 like a shepherd (his) sheep.

Zarathustra and the goddess

Yt.5.90

Zarathustra asked her in turn,
 Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:
 O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ!
 With what sacrifice shall I sacrifice to you,
 with what sacrifice shall I send you forth in sacrifice?
 The course which Ahura Mazdâ made yours
 (is) in the space between
 over the radiant sun
 so that they shall not belie you
 with snakes, *spiders, and wasps,
 and *spinners and poisons from *spinners.

Yt.5.91

Thus she spoke,
 Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:
 O upright, Orderly Spitama-son!
 With this sacrifice you may sacrifice to me,
 with this sacrifice you may send me forth in sacrifice,
 from sun-rise till sunset.
 Then you may drink of this my libation,
 with speech (as) asked by a priest,
 with words asked in return, attentive,
 possessed of talent, stretching the poetic thought.

Yt.5.92

Let not drink of this my libation a ...,
 someone with fever, a *fat person,
 ..., someone with pimples,
 or a woman or a qualified (man) who does not perform the
 Gâthâs,
 or a leper whose body has been secluded.

Yt.5.93

I do not accept those libations
 of which (females) drink for my sake
 who are blind, deaf,
 ..., ..., ..., epileptic,
 carrying the mark (made) with *that* mark ...

Yt.5.94

Zarathustra asked her in turn,
 Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:
 O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ!
 *How do the libations of yours become here
 which they offer as yours,
 the one possessed by the Lies who sacrifice to the old gods,
 after the sun has set?

Yt.5.95

Thus she spoke,
 Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:

O upright, Orderly Spitama [Zarathustra]!
as to be “woe”d down, to be (ground) under the heels,
as to be *laughed back, to be howled back,
are they accepted,
these (libations) that fly after me
by six-hundreds and a thousand,
which are not accepted
at the sacrifice of the old gods.

Sacrifice to Mount Hukairya

I will sacrifice to Mount Hukairya,
*containing all hymns, golden,
from which she flows down to me,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
a thousand men in depth.
She commands large Fortune,
as (much as) all these waters
that flow forth over the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Sacrifice by the Hwôwas and the Naotairyas

Yt.5.97
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.98
All around her the those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
stood with barsom in their hands.
The Hwôwas sacrificed to her.
The Naotairyas sacrificed to her.
The Hwôwas asked (her to grant) a wish for them,
the Naotairyas (asked) for fleetness for their horses.
Soon afterward the Hwôwas
became the most rich in life-giving strength with respect to
(their) wish.
Soon afterward the Naotairyas.
In (all) these lands, Vîshtâspa
became the one possessing the fleetest horses .

Yt.5.99
She gave them then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Description of the goddess

Yt.5.100
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.101
She has a thousand bays
and a thousand off-flows,
and each of these bays
and each of these off-flows
are a forty-days ride
for a man riding a good horse.
In each and every outlet
stands a well-made home
radiant with a hundred windows,
well made with a thousand columns,
with ten thousand supporting beams, rich in life-giving
strength.

Yt.5.102
Also, in each and every home,
one lies on a couch spread out,
well-scented, equipped with pillows.
She flows hither, O Zarathustra,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
a thousand men in depth.
(So) much she commands munificence,
as all these waters
that flow forth over the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Zarathustra sacrificed to her

Yt.5.103
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.104
Zarathustra, the Orderly one,
sacrificed to her
in the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful (river),
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.5.105
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I shall induce
the son of Aurwat.aspa,
the firm Kawi Vîshtâspa,

to help my *daênâ* along
with his thoughts, words, and acts!

Yt.5.106

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Vishtâspa and others sacrificed to her

Yt.5.107

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.108

Kawi Vishtâspa who *saw* on high
sacrificed to her
at the heel of the river Frazdânu
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.109

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome in battles
Man of Darkness of bad *daênâ*
and Fighter, who sacrificed to the old gods,
and Arjat.aspa possessed by the Lie
in battles in this world of the living!

Yt.5.110

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.111

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.112

Zairiwairi, the horse fighter,
sacrificed to her

at the heel of the river Daîtyâ
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.113

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome in battles
*Battle-Lover with eight ...,
*Good Magician, who sacrificed to the old gods,
and Arjat.aspa possessed by the Lie
in battles in this world of the living!

Yt.5.114

She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.115

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.116

Arjat.aspa Vandremainish
sacrificed to her
by the Vourukasha Sea
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.117

Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome
the strong Kawi Vishtâspa
(and) that I may smash down of the Aryan lands
for the striking of fifty ... by striking countless ones. (= str.
54)

Yt.5.118

She gave him then not that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Ahura Mazdâ fashioned four males for her

Yt.5.119

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.120

Ahura Mazdâ fashioned together four males for her:
the wind, the rain, the fog, and the hail.
For by (their) *care,¹ O Spitama Zarathustra,
they rain, snow, drip, and hail on her for me,
who has as many armies as nine hundred and a thousand.

Sacrifice to Mount Hukairya

Yt.5.121

I will sacrifice to Mount Hukairya,
*containing all hymns, golden,
from which she flows down to me,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
a thousand men in depth.
(So) much she commands munificence,
as all these waters
that flow forth over the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Description of the goddess

Yt.5.122

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.123

She, the good one, stands holding
a golden mouth-cloth,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
recalling the word (in answer) to The chief priest:
thus thinking in her thought(s):

Yt.5.124

Who will praise me? Who will sacrifice to (me)
with libations full of haoma and milk,
purified and filtered?
Whom shall I follow close behind
for both *composure and *attention,
and *bestowal and for possession of good thought?
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

¹ Release of semen?

Yt.5.125

May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.126

Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
who stands exhibited
in the shape of a beautiful young woman,
mightily strong, well-shaped,
girded high, standing tall(?),
of splendid seed, high-born,
*wearing a coat with long sleeves,
with rich *designs, (embroidered) with gold.

Yt.5.127

Ever and again, when she (sacrificed to?) me with barsom in
her hands,
wearing four-sided ear-hangings,
she wore a golden broach,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ of noble birth,
upon that beautiful neck.
She would pull tight her waist(band),
both so that her breasts should (appear) well-formed
and that they should be *pendulous.

Yt.5.127

On (here head) she bound a crown,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
with a hundred *stars, golden,
with eight *crenelations, with rings like wheels(?),
with *droplets,² beautiful,
*virginal, well-made.

Yt.5.129

Garments of beaver fur she wore,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
of three hundred beavers
about to give birth for the fourth time,
because the female beaver is most beautiful
when she is *adorned most colorful.
The female beaver lives in water
normally for a determined period of time.
(Then her) furs shine (in the eyes) of the beholder
on account *of the wealth of silver and gold.

The poet asks the goddess for his reward

Yt.5.130

Then here I ask for that prize,
O you most rich in life-giving strength,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,

² or "little banners."

that, well-invited as (your) friend,
with large command, I may win for myself
*well-cooked, copious shares,
snorting horses, singing wheels, swishing whips,
with much to chew, with stored meat, fragrant.
In (my) pantries I lay away at will
plentiful (...) providing everything needed for good living.
(For) when one dies the command leaves.

Yt.5.131

Thus here I ask for two coursers,
O you (most rich in life-giving strength)
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
one with two legs
and one with four legs:
that two-legged courser,
which shall be fast when mounted,
well turning the wagons in the battles;
that four-legged one,
which shall make both sides
of the army with broad front turn,
both the left and the right,
both the right and the left.

Yt.5.132

On account of this sacrifice, of this hymn,
come down in return for this,
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
from yonder stars
to this earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
to The chief priest who is performing the sacrifice,
to (his) full (and) overflowing (hand?), for (his) help,
you, the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors),
in order that all your coursers
may come back having won,
as (did those) of Kawi Vishtâspa.

On account of her wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice.
...

YASHT 6 TO THE SUN

Yt.6.1

We sacrifice to the radiant Sun, immortal, resplendent, with
fleet horses.
Then, when *he makes the sun shine in the light,
then, when *he makes the sun illuminate the light,
(then) those worthy of sacrifice in the world of thought stand
a hundred and a thousand.
They bring together that Fortune.
They convey down that Fortune.
They apportion that Fortune
over the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
And it furthers the living beings of Order.
And it furthers (them) for the body of Order.¹

Yt.6.2

Thus, when the sun rises,
there is purification of the earth set in place by Aura
(Mazdâ),
there is purification of the flowing water,
there is purification of the water of the wells,
there is purification of the water of the seas,
there is purification of the standing water,
there is purification of the Orderly living beings
that are those of the Life-giving Spirit.

Yt.6.3

For if the sun does not rise,
then all the old gods destroy (all the living beings)
that are in the seven continents,
and not one (of) those worthy of sacrifice in the world of
thought
(or) in the bony existence
will find any retreat, any refuge.²

Yt.6.4

He who sacrifices to the immortal sun,
brilliant, with fleet horses,
for the resistance of the darkesses,
for the resistance of the old gods spawned by darkness,
for the resistance of thieves and robbers,
for the resistance of sorcerers and witches,
for the resistance of ... danger
he sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ,
he sacrifices to the Life-giving Immortals,
he sacrifices to (his) own soul,
he satisfies all ones worthy of sacrifice, both those in the
world of thought and those in the world of the living,
he who sacrifices to the sun,
the immortal, brilliant, with fleet horses.

Yt.6.5

I will sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing
grounds,
with a thousand ears, with ten thousand eyes.
I will sacrifice to (his) cudgel well swung down
upon the head(s) of the old gods.
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds.
I will sacrifice to the companionship, as well,
which is the best of all companionships:
that between the moon and the sun.

Yt.6.6

On account of his wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to him with audible sacrifice,
to the immortal sun,
brilliant, with fleet horses,
with libations.

We sacrifice to the sun, the immortal, brilliant, with fleet
horses

with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

¹ Perhaps the ordered world.

² Note the importance of the sun!

YASHT 7 TO THE MOON

Yt.7.1

Homage to Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the Life-giving Immortals!
Homage to the moon containing the seed of the bovine!
Homage to (him when) seen face to face!
Homage (to him) with (our) seeing (him) face to face!

Yt.7.2

When does the moon wax?
When does the moon wane?
Fifteen days the moon waxes.
Fifteen days the moon wanes.
Whatever its waxings, those (are its) wanings.
Those (are its) wanings, which (are) also its waxings.
**Who is he through whom the moon is now first waxing
then waning?**

Yt.7.3

We sacrifice to the Orderly moon containing the seed of the
bovine, Model of Order.
Then I see the moon face to face.
Then I *wish to see the moon face to face.
I look at the luminous moon.
I wish to look at the luminous moon.
The Life-giving Immortals (go and) stand (there).
They hold the Fortune.
The Life-giving Immortals (go and) stand (there).
They apportion the Fortune
over the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Yt.7.4

Then when *he makes the moon shine in the light—
by (its) *care¹ the greenery of green plants
grows up all over the earth,
at every new moon, full moon, and seventh day,—
We sacrifice to the Orderly new moon, Model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly full moon, Model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly seventh day in the middle,
Model of Order.

Yt.7.5

I will sacrifice to
the distributor god, wealthy and munificent,
rich in possessions, rich in good burning,
rich in miraculous power, rich in ...,
with (power to grant) wishes, with many skills,
rich in glow, rich in *verdure,
shining hither good things, the healing distributor god.

¹ Cf. Yt.5.120.

YASHT 8 TO TISHTRIYA

Yt.8.1

Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
You shall take into your protection *ahu*-ship and *ratu*-ship.
We sacrifice to the moon, the dwelling, and the solid
offering,
in order that the munificent stars may follow me
(and) also may distribute Fortune to men.¹
I will sacrifice to the distributor god of (good gifts to) the
settlement,
the star Tishtriya, with libations.

Yt.8.2

We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who provides peaceful dwellings (and) good dwellings,
(who is) white, bright, and brilliant,
radiating, healing,
*floating through space,² lofty,
radiant from afar with (his) rays,
with unattached/unsullied(?) lights,
as well as to the water, (filling) broad seas
and the Good (Water?) famed from afar,
as well as to the name of the cow, set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ,
the mighty Fortune of the poets,
and the pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra.

Yt.8.3

On account of his wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to him with audible sacrifice,
to the star Tishtriya with libations.
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.4

We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
containing the seed of water, rich in life-giving strength,
lofty,
forceful, whose eyesight reaches into the distance,
lofty, whose work is above,
the tall one from whom (comes) good fame.
From the Scion of the Waters (is its?) seed.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.5

We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
whom sheep and cattle recall

(when) faced with violent men,
(when) faced with lying magicians:
When will he rise for us
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent?
When will new springs of water flow
deeper than (the length of) a horse's (legs)?
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.6

We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who yonder flies as speedily
to the Vourukasha Sea
as the arrow whose place is in the world of thought
which Erekhsha³ of speedy arrows shot
—the one among the Aryans with the speediest arrows—
from Mount Airyô.khshutha
to Mount Sunny.

Yt.8.7

Then Ahura Mazdâ ... (?)
and the waters and the plants.
Around it Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
laid out the path.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.8

We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who overcomes the witches,
who sends the witches (back) through (to where they came
from)
who fall like *falling stars
between heaven and earth.
Ever and again he comes to a bay
of the Vourukasha Sea,
forceful, well-shaped,
deep, with surging waters,
in the form of a horse, Orderly.
And he makes those waters swell,
and the winds blow over (it) like (chariots) with yoked
horses.

Yt.8.9

Thus Satawâesa pushes those waters forward
over the <earth> with its seven continents,
when he comes among the coverings, beautiful,
he stands *attaching peace
to the lands with (= giving them) good seasons.

¹ Cf. Yt.7.3.

² Or: with quick snorts (like a horse)?

³ A mythical archer.

When shall the Aryan lands
have good seasons?
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.10

We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who said to Ahura Mazdâ,
saying:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!

Yt.8.11

For if people were to sacrifice to me
with a sacrifice in which my name is spoken,
like the other ones worthy of sacrifice
are sacrificed to with a sacrifice in which their names are
spoken,
then I would have gone forth to the Orderly men
for a time span of fashioned time
(as long as?) my own sunny, immortal life.
I would have come
for one night or two or fifty or a hundred
(nights) of fashioned time.

Yt.8.12

We sacrifice to Tishtriya,
and we sacrifice to the Tishtriyaênî stars.
We sacrifice to the star Upa.paoirya,
and we sacrifice to the Paoiryaênî stars.
We sacrifice to the Seven *Markers/Big Dipper
for the resistance of sorcerers and witches.
We sacrifice to the star Vanant set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and for the well-fashioned force
and the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ
and for the victorious superiority
for the dispersal of constriction,
for the dispersal of hostility.
We sacrifice to Tishtriya with healthy eyes.¹

The battle between Tishtriya and Apaosha.

Yt.8.13

The first ten nights,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
takes on a (new) form—
flying through the lights
in the form of a man of fifteen,
radiant (and) shiny-eyed,

tall, overpowering,
forceful, of heroic talent,—

Yt.8.14

at that time of life when first
a man receives the girdle,—
at that time of life when first
a man becomes forceful,—
at that time of life when first
a man comes of age.

Yt.8.15

Here he deliberates.
Here he wonders:
Who will now sacrifice to me
with libations full of haoma and milk?
Whom should I grant
his desire for men, a herd of men,
and purification for his own soul?
Now I am worthy of being sacrificed to
and hymned by the bony existence
according to best Order.

Yt.8.16

The second ten days,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
takes on a (new) form—
flying through the lights
in the form of a bull with golden hooves.

Yt.8.17

Here he deliberates.
Here he wonders:
Who will now sacrifice to me
with libations full of haoma and milk?
Whom should I grant
his desire for cows, a herd of cows,
and purification for his own soul?
Now I am worthy of being sacrificed to
and hymned by the bony existence
according to best Order.

Yt.8.18

The third ten days,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
takes on (yet another) form
flying through the lights
in the form of a white horse,
beautiful, with golden ears,
with golden bridle.

¹ Whose eyes bring health?

Yt.8.17

Here he deliberates.
 Here he wonders:
 Who will now sacrifice to me
 with libations full of haoma and milk?
 Whom should I grant
 his desire for horses, a herd of horses,
 and purification for his own soul?
 Now I am worthy of being sacrificed to
 and hymned by the bony existence
 according to best Order.
 ...

Yt.8.20

Then in response he comes down,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
 to the Vourukasha Sea
 in the form of a white horse,
 beautiful, with golden ears,
 with golden bridle.

Yt.8.21

Then there rushes down to meet him
 the old god Apaosha,
 in the form of a black horse,
 mangy with mangy ears.
 mangy with mangy mane,
 mangy with mangy tail,
 bald, reined with fright.

Yt.8.22

They start fighting man to man,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
 and the old god Apaosha.
 The two of them struggle,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 for three days and three nights.
 Then he gains the upper hand,
 the old god Apaosha,
 then he overcomes
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent.

Yt.8.23

He chases him away from there,
 from the Vourukasha Sea,
 the distance of a league.
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent
 calls down woe and misfortune:
 Woe to me, O Ahura Mazdâ,
 (what) misfortune, O waters and plants,
 (what evil) fate, O *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
 Mazdâ!

People are not now sacrificing to me
 with a sacrifice in which my name is spoken,
 like the other ones worthy of sacrifice are sacrificed to
 with a sacrifice in which their names are spoken.

Yt.8.24

For if people were to sacrifice to me
 with a sacrifice in which my name is spoken,
 like the other ones worthy of sacrifice are sacrificed to
 with a sacrifice in which their names are spoken,
 (then) they would have conferred upon me
 the strength of ten horses,
 the strength of ten camels,
 the strength of ten bulls,
 the strength of ten mountains,
 the strength of ten rivers in spate.

Yt.8.25

I, Ahura Mazdâ,
 shall sacrifice to Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
 with a sacrifice in which his name is spoken.
 I shall bring him
 the strength of ten horses,
 the strength of ten camels,
 the strength of ten bulls,
 the strength of ten mountains,
 the strength of ten rivers in spate.

Yt.8.26

Then in response there comes down,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
 to the Vourukasha Sea
 in the form of a white horse,
 beautiful, with golden ears,
 with golden bridle.

Yt.8.27

Then there rushes down to meet him
 the old god Apaosha,
 in the form of a black horse,
 mangy with mangy ears.
 mangy with mangy mane,
 mangy with mangy tail,
 bald, reined with fright.

Yt.8.28

They start fighting man to man, Spitama Zarathustra,
 at noon time.
 Then he gains the upper hand,
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
 then he overcomes
 the old god Apaosha.

Yt.8.29

He chases him away from there,
 from the Vourukasha Sea
 the distance of a league.
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent
 calls down Success:
 Success for me, O Ahura Mazdâ,
 Success (for you), O waters and plants,
 Success (for you), O *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
 Mazdâ!

Success there shall be (for you), O lands!
 From now on your grains
 shall come up unimpeded
 both (those) of the barley with big seeds
 and of the grass with small seeds
 and of the bony world of the living.

Release of the waters.

Yt.8.30

Then in response he comes down,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
 to the Vourukasha Sea
 in the form of a white horse,
 beautiful, with golden ears,
 with golden bridle.

Yt.8.31

He makes the sea swell hither.
 He makes the sea swell to the sides.
 He makes the sea surge hither.
 He makes the sea surge to the sides.
 He makes the sea rush hither.
 He makes the sea rush to the sides.
 All the shores of the Vourukasha Sea
 are in commotion,
 the entire interior rises up in commotion.

Yt.8.32

Then in response he stands up from there,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
 from the Vourukasha Sea.
 Satawâsa too stands up from there,
 wealthy (and) munificent,
 from the Vourukasha Sea.
 Then clouds assemble there
 on Mount Us.hendawa,
 which stands in the middle
 of the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.8.33

Then there he pushes the Orderly,

fog-making clouds,
 He in front conveys forth the wind
 along the paths along which ruddy Haoma comes,
 furtherer of living beings.
 There, behind him, blows
 the impetuous wind set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
 (bringing) rain, fog, and hail
 to the places, to the settlements,
 to the seven continents.

Yt.8.34

Those waters the Scion of the Waters,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 distributes to the bony existence,
 distributed by settlements,¹
 as (does) the impetuous wind
 and the Fortune placed in the water
 and the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.
 On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.35

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
 who flies forth from there,
 from the radiant dawn,
 upon a road winding into the distance,
 along the route assigned by the distributor god,
 along the course cut out (for him)
 for the pleasure of Ahura Mazdâ,
 for the pleasure of the Life-giving Immortals.
 On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.36

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
 whom the *men sowing according to the seasons
 and the lords who (wish to) increase (their) guiding thought
 and the wild animals following (trails) in the mountains
 and the *shy ones that roam in the wide spaces
 watch as he rises,
 coming up (as he does) with both good seasons
 for the land and with bad seasons:
 When shall the Aryan lands
 have good seasons?
 On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.37

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
 with fast speed, with speedy flight,
 who yonder flies as speedily

¹ Cf. Yt.13.65.

to the Vourukasha Sea
as the arrow whose place is in the world of thought
which Erekhsha of speedy arrows shot
—the one among the Aryans with the speediest arrows—
from Mount Airyô.khshutha
to Mount Sunny.

Yt.8.38

Then Ahura Mazdâ *helped (it),
the Life-giving Immortals *helped (it).
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
*instructed it in plenty of roads.
And just behind it flew
Good Ashi the tall
and Abundance with fast chariots
until this (arrow)
reached in its flight
Mount Sunny.
It came down on (Mount) Sunny.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.39

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
who overcomes the witches,
who sends the witches (back) through (to where they came
from),¹
whom the Evil Spirit, tossed up,
*having thought (them?),
to oppose all
the stars, which contain the seed of water.

Yt.8.40

Tishtriya overcomes those.
He blows them away
from the Vourukasha Sea.
Then the mists will float up
carrying waters for good seasons,
in which clouds releasing fine rain(?)
going far and wide,
*rain down upon(?) the seven continents.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.41

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
whom the waters recall
the ones that stand still and those that flow forth,
those in wells and those that flow in *rivers,
those in *canals and those in bays:

Yt.8.42

When will he rise for us
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent?
When will springs of water come rushing, rushing
deeper than the (size of) a horse's (legs)
toward the beautiful places, settlements
and come flowing toward the grazing grounds?
toward the roots of plants?
They will grow with growth rich in life-giving strength.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.43

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
who washes away all *fears.
In the water he grows ... (?).
He, the one most rich in life-giving strength, heals
all those living beings
if he is sacrificed to,
satisfied, befriended, (and) recognized.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.44

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
whom Ahura Mazdâ brought forth
as model and overseer
of all stars,
—like (he did) Zarathustra (as model and overseer) of
men—
whom the Evil Spirit does not destroy,
nor sorcerers and witches,
nor the sorcerers among men,
nor all the old gods altogether
dare target for destruction.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.45

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
for whom Ahura Mazdâ
brought forth a thousand crafts,
for the one most rich in life-giving strength (among the
stars) which contain the seed of water,
who comes to the (stars) which contain the seed of water
flying among the lights.

Yt.8.46

He comes to all the bays
of the Vourukasha Sea,
forceful, well-shaped,
deep, with surging waters,
and all the beautiful inlets
and all the beautiful outlets

¹ Cf. Yt.19.12.

in the form of a white horse,
beautiful, with golden ears,
with golden bridle.

Yt.8.47

Then the waters rain down,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
*falling, delicate, healing.
He distributes them there
to these lands, he the most rich in life-giving strength,
if he is sacrificed to,
satisfied, befriended, (and) recognized.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.48

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
whom they all recall,
the Creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
both those under ground and those above ground,
both those in water and those on earth
both those flying on wings and those running in the wild,
and what is called the boundless, endless being of the

Orderly,
which is above those (others).

On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.49

We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
*careful, skillful, and crafty,
in command of, in charge of
a thousand prizes,
who gives to the one who endeavors to satisfy him many
prizes,
both to the man who asks (him) and (to him) who does not
ask (him for himself).

Tishtriya and the Witch of Bad Seasons.

Yt.8.50

I made,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
yonder star, Tishtriya,
as great and deserving of sacrifices,
as great and deserving of hymns,
as great and deserving of satisfaction,
as great and deserving of glorification
as myself, Ahura Mazdâ,—

Yt.8.51

for him to stand against and mount defenses against (them),
to overcome (them) in turn and to answer the hostilities

of that witch, the one of bad seasons,
whom people of evil speech
call by name the one “of good seasons.”

Yt.8.52

For if I had not made,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
yonder star, Tishtriya,
as great and deserving of sacrifices,
as great and deserving of hymns,
as great and deserving of satisfaction,
as great and deserving of glorification
as myself, Ahura Mazdâ,—

Yt.8.53

for him to stand against and mount defenses against (them),
to overcome (them) in turn and to answer the hostilities
of that witch, the one of bad seasons,
whom people of evil speech
call by name the one “of good seasons.”

Yt.8.54

(then) indeed here in one and the same day
or in one and the same night,
that witch, the one of bad seasons,
would have cut off the *thread of life
of the entire bony existence
before it had run its course(?).
(But now), back and forth she runs.

Yt.8.55

For Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
chains that witch
with invincible (chains strong enough to hold)
for two feet, for four feet, and for all feet,
just as if he were to chain the one man among the thousand
men
who were the strongest in bone-strength.

Benefits of sacrificing to Tishtriya.

Yt.8.56

For if, O Spitama Zarathustra,
the Aryan lands had prepared for Tishtriya,
wealthy and munificent,
a sacrifice and a hymn according to the established rules,
as is the sacrifice and hymn to him
most according to the established rules,
according to best Order,
here no army or scourge
would reach the Aryan lands,
neither *swooning nor *falling sickness
nor an army chariot
or one with an uplifted banner.

Yt.8.57

Zarathustra asked in turn:
What is indeed, Ahura Mazda,
the sacrifice and hymn of him
most according to the established rules,
for Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent
according to best Order?

Yt.8.58

Then Ahura Mazda said:
The Aryan lands
should bring him libations.
The Aryan lands
should spread out barsom for him.
The Aryan lands
should cook a sheep for him,
white or of good color
or whichever color it resembles.

Yt.8.59

May not a villain seize it
nor a witch or a ... (?)
who has not performed the *Gâthâs*,
who destroys (this) existence, who opposes
this *daênâ*, that of Ahura Mazda, that of Zarathustra.

Yt.8.60

For if a villain should seize it
or a witch or a ...
who has not performed the *Gâthâs*,
who destroys (this) existence, who opposes
this *daênâ*, that of Ahura Mazda, that of Zarathustra,
(then) Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent
will go away taking the healing with him.

Yt.8.61

Straightway scourges will come
upon the Aryan lands.
Straightway armies will fall
upon the Aryan lands.
Straightway the Aryan lands will be smashed
for the striking of fifty, and by striking a hundred
for the striking of a hundred, and by striking a thousand
for the striking of a thousand, and by striking ten thousand
for the striking of ten thousand, and by striking countless
ones.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

YASHT 9 TO DRUWÂSPÂ

Yt.9.1

We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by (Ahura) Mazdâ.
She gives us healthy sheep and healthy cattle,
healthy partners, healthy children.
She enables us to espy (enemies) from afar.
She gives us good breathing space
and long companionship.

Yt.9.2

She gives us yoked horses and *enclosed chariots
with singing wheels.
She *herds our *flocks,
forceful and well-shaped,
self-glowing and healing.
She gives us a steady *stance on our *enclosed chariots—
(all this) for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.3

Haoshyangha Paradhâta sacrificed to her
on the foothill of high Mount Harâ the beautiful,
set in place by (Ahura) Mazdâ,
a hundred horses, a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams,
and also bringing a libation.

Yt.9.4

Give me that prize, good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome all the giant old gods,
so that I may not yield frightened
before the hostility of the old gods.
Before *me may all the old gods,
loose their will (to fight) and yield frightened.
Frightened they shall run (down) to (their) darkness.

Yt.9.5

She gave him then that prize,
Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by (Ahura) Mazdâ.
the protectress, the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).

Yt.9.6

On account of her wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice.
Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength (etc.).
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.7

We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the
Orderly men.

Yt.9.8

Radiant Yima with good herds sacrificed to her
from high Mount Hukairya
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.9

Give me that prize, good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
so that I may bring both flocks of sheep and herds (of cows?) down
to the Creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,
so that I may bring non-destruction down
to the Creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,—

Yt.9.10

and also (that) I make take away
both hunger and thirst
from the creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,
and also (that) I make take away
both old age and death
from the creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,
and also (that) I make take away
both heat and cold
from the creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ
for a thousand years.

Yt.9.11

She gave him then that prize ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.12

We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the
Orderly men.

Yt.9.13

Thraêtaona (etc., = Yt.5.33)
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.14

Give me that prize, O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome (etc., = Yt.5.34)

Yt.9.15

She gave him ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.16

We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the
Orderly men.

Yt.9.17

To her ruddy, healing Haoma sacrificed,
he the beautiful, commanding, golden-eyed one,
on the highest peak, on high Haraitî,
Thus he asked her:

Yt.9.18

Give me that prize,
O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may bind the Turian villain Frangrasyân
and (that) I may lead him bound
and I may bring him bound (before) Kawi Haosrawangha
(and that) Kawi Haosrawangha may kill him
on the *shore of Lake Caêcasta
the deep, with wide waters,
as revenge for (his) son, Siyâwarshan,
the hero killed through deceit,
as well as Aghraêratha, *son of Naru.

Yt.9.19

She gave him ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.20

We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the
Orderly men.

Yt.9.21

The virile Haosrawa sacrificed to her,
*pretender to the power over the Aryan lands,
on the *shore of Lake Caêcasta,
the deep, with surging waters,
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.22

O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength, give me
that prize,
so that I may smash down
the Turian villain Frangrasyân
on the *shore of Lake Caêcasta,
the deep, with surging waters,
as revenge for (my) son, Siyâwarshan,
the hero killed through deceit,
as well as Aghraêratha, *son of Naru.

Yt.9.23

She gave him ...

Thus, he among those that are ...

Yt.9.24

We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the
Orderly men.

Yt.9.25

Zarathustra, the Orderly one, sacrificed to her
in the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful (river),
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)
Thus he asked her:

Yt.9.26

Give me that prize, O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-
giving strength,
that I shall induce the good, noble Hutaosâ
to help the *daênâ* along
with her thoughts, words, and acts,
(she) who has believed in and is informed about(>)
my *daênâ*, the one of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
who has given good fame to my *household.

Yt.9.27

She gave him ...

Thus, he among those that are ...

Yt.9.28

We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the
Orderly men.

Yt.9.29

Kawi Vishtâspa who *saw* on high sacrificed to her
on the shore of the Good Lawful (river),
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.30

Give me that prize, O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-
giving strength,
that I may conduct battles
with Ashta.urwanta, son of Vîspa.thaurwô.ashti,
the *subduer of all, with wide helmet,
with wide breast-plate, with sturdy *collar,
who has seven hundred camels ...!
So that I may conduct battles
with the Khiyonian villain Arja†.aspa,
so that I may conduct battles
with *Daredevil, who sacrifices to the old gods.

Yt.9.31

May I smash down Man of Darkness of evil *daênâ*!
May I smash down
the Spinjaurushka, who sacrifices to the old gods!
May I bring back home Humâyâ and Vardhkanâ
from the Xiyonian lands!
And may I smash down of the Xiyonian lands
for the striking of fifty ... by striking countless ones.

Yt.9.32

She gave him then that prize,
 Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength, established
 by (Ahura) Mazdâ,
 the protectress, the giver of prizes
 to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying libations
 who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
 with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.32

In as much as a new life is **a worthy one**
 I invite as friends the sacrifice and hymn and the strength
 and power
 of Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength,
 established by (Ahura) Mazdâ.

Order is the best good ...

(Give) to (the sacrificer) riches and the gifts of Fortune,
 to him health of body,
 to him *fattiness of body,
 to him valor of his body,
 to him (his) wish for much good breathing space,
 to him nothing but progeny of his own,
 to him long longevity,
 to him the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
 full of light and all good breathing space.

YASHT 10 TO MITHRA

Yt.10.1

Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
 When, O Spitama, I brought forth
 Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
 then I made him
 as great and deserving of sacrifices,
 as great and deserving of hymns,
 as myself, Ahura Mazdâ.

The contract and the consequences of breaking or keeping
 contracts

Yt.10.2

He destroys the entire land,
 the contract-belying villain, O Spitama,
 like a hundred magicians,
 just so much does he smash the Orderly.
 Do not smash the contract, O Spitama,
 neither the one you ask from one possessed by the Lie,
 nor the one (you ask) from an Orderly one (who follows)
 your own *daênâ*.
 For the contract applies to both:
 the one possessed by the Lie and the Orderly one.

Yt.10.3

Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
 gives fleetness to the horses (of those) who do not belie the
 contract.
 The fire of Ahura Mazdâ
 gives the straightest path
 (to those) who do not belie the contract.
 The good strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly ones
 give progeny of their own
 (to those) who do not belie the contract.

Mithra surveying the Aryan lands and the Seven Climes.

Yt.10.12

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
 with straight speech, *eloquent,
 with a thousand ears, well-fashioned,
 with ten thousand eyes, the lofty one
 who surveys far and wide, rich in life-giving strength,
 sleepless (and) wakeful.

Yt.10.13

He is first of beings in the world of thought worthy of
 sacrifice,
 to rise beyond Mount Harâ
 in front of the immortal sun with fleet horses.
 He is the first to seize the gold-adorned, beautiful heights.

From there he looks upon the entire area inhabited by the
 Aryans,
 he, the most rich in life-giving strength.

Yt.10.14

Here the brave rulers lay out in straight lines (their) many
 *palisades.
 Here tall mountains with plenty of grass and water
 would further the ... (?) for the cow.
 Here deep bays stand with surging waters.
 Here flooding waters hurry, broad, with a swell
 to Ishkata and Pouruta, to Marghu, Haraêwa, and Gawa,
 to Sughdha and Khwârizm,—

Yt.10.15

toward Arezahi and Sawahi,
 toward Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu,
 toward Vourubareshti and Vourujareshti,
 toward this continent:
 radiant Khwaniratha,
 the area where Gawas dwell, the healing settlement of the
 Gawas,
 (that) Mithra rich in life-giving strength looks upon.

Yt.10.16

He, the one in the world of thought worthy of sacrifice,
 flies through all the continents,
 giving the gifts of Fortune.
 He, the one in the world of thought worthy of sacrifice,
 flies through all the continents
 bestowing command.
 He increases the obstruction-smashing strength of these
 who, qualified (and) knowing Order,
 sacrifice to him with libations.
 On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Watches over the social order.

Yt.10.17

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
 ... wakeful.
 He is not to be deceived by anybody:
 not by the houselord of the house,
 not by the town-lord of the town,
 not by the tribe-lord of the tribe,
 not by the land-lord of the land.

Yt.10.18

But if someone deceives him:
 a house-lord of the house,

a town-lord of the town,
 a tribe-lord of the tribe,
 a land-lord of the land—,
 (then) Mithra angered and enraged
 (comes) forth (and) breaks up
 both the house and the town
 both the tribe and the land
 both the house-lords of the houses
 and the town-lords of the towns
 and the tribe-lords of the tribes
 and the land-lords of the land
 and those of the lands called “first.”

Yt.10.19

Mithra angered and enraged
 will come up (upon him) to that side
 where the contract-belier
 is not at all watching in his mind.

Yt.10.20

The horses that belong to the contract-beliers
 become *rebellious:
 running they do not reach (their goal),
 carrying (a rider) they do not move ahead,
 carrying (a load) they do not keep moving ahead.
 Backward flies the arrow
 which the anti-Mithra shoots
 on account of the wealth of bad unpoetic thoughts
 which the anti-Mithra performs.

Yt.10.21

Even when he shoots it well,
 even when it reaches the body,
 even then it does not harm him
 on account of the wealth of bad unpoetic thoughts
 which the anti-Mithra performs.
 The wind carries away the arrow
 which the anti-Mithra shoots
 on account of the wealth of bad poetic thoughts
 which the anti-Mithra performs.
 On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Watches over the political order.

Yt.10.35

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
 ... wakeful,
 who ... (?), who finds the army,
 who has a thousand crafts, who rules,
 who is in command, who knows all,—

Yt.10.36

who pushes the battle forth,

who (goes and) stands in the battle,
 who standing in the battle
 breaks up the battle lines.
 All the edges of the battle line
 are in commotion, buffeted by the battle.
 He causes the entire interior
 of the bloody army to *pull apart.

Yt.10.37

Having the power (to do so), he shall
 bring upon them terror and fear.
 He throws away the heads
 of the contract-belying men.
 Off fly the heads
 of the contract-belying men.

Yt.10.38

The earthen dwellings are destroyed,
 (thus made) uninhabitable and not to be lived in,
 in which the contract-beliers live,
 the one possessed by the Lies who smash the truly Orderly
 ones.

The cow who should be grazing in the pastures
 is led captive along an earthen path,
 who, in the *clutches of the contract-belying men,
 (is) pulled alongside (their) chariot.
 As *she is being driven along (her) tears stand
 along (her) dripping jaw.

Yt.10.39

Even their arrows with eagle feathers
 flying from a well-drawn bow propelled by the string
 have no points with which to pierce(?),
 when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
 angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.
 Even their well-sharpened spears,
 sharp, long-shafted flying from (their) arms
 have no points with which to pierce(?),
 when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
 angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.
 Even their sling stones, flying from their arms,
 have no points with which to pierce(?),
 when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
 angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.

Yt.10.40

Even their well-*wielded axes,
 which are smashed down upon the heads of men,
 have no points with which to smash(?),
 when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
 angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.
 Even their well-brandished cudgels,
 which are smashed down upon the heads of men,
 have no points with which to smash(?),

when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.

Mithra's companions I.

Yt.10.41

Mithra frightens (them) one way.
Rashnu frightens (them) back.
Sraosha with the rewards blows them together from all
sides.
The guardian (gods) worthy of sacrifice leave the battle
lines,
when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.

Yt.10.42

(Thus they speak) saying to Mithra who provides wide
grazing grounds:
O Mithra who provide wide grazing grounds,
These our fleet horses are led away from(?) Mithra!
These knives, O Mithra, break our strong arms!

Mithra's dwelling

Yt.10.49

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful,—

Yt.10.50

Ahura Mazdâ, who has set everything in place,
fashioned forth for him a habitation on Harâ the tall,
where the many (heavenly bodies) turn, radiant,
where neither night nor darkness keeps falling,
(where there is) neither cold wind nor warm,
neither much-destructive pain
nor defilement set in place by the old gods.
Nor do rain-clouds go up
on high Haraitî.

Yt.10.51

The Life-giving Immortals,
all having the same pleasure as the sun,
turned to foreknowing thought (of what the reward will be),
with faith (and) desire for (a new) existence,
made (this house for him)
who surveys the entire bony existence
from atop High Haraitî.

Yt.10.52

When the one of evil gifts rushes forth,
the one of evil works, in rapid walk,
(then) Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
yokes (his) rapid wagon,
as well as Sraosha with the rewards, rich in life-giving

strength,

and Nairyâ.sangha, rich in creative magic.
He smashes (the evil one) in the battle line,
or else in the attack.

On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Mithra's companions II.

Yt.10.64

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful.
In his *lineage mighty *greatness has been laid down,
for the *daênâ*, beautiful, of broad outlook.
In him a brilliant (face) is set up (to shine)
upon all the seven continents.

Yt.10.65

He is the quick one among quick ones,
who is the expert (poet-sacrificer) among expert (poet-
sacrificers),
the firm one among firm ones,
the *eloquent one among *eloquent ones.
He gives *juiciness and fat libations.
He gives flocks and bestows command.
He gives sons and life.
He gives good life and Orderliness.

Yt.10.66

He is accompanied by good Ashi and Abundance with the
fast chariot,
the strong Manly *Courage and the strong Fortune of the
poets,
the strong Speedy One who has his own law¹
and the strong one in the image of the Web-holder,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
and the one who *gathers(?)
the many who sacrifice to (Ahura) Mazdâ.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.10.67

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful.
He flies in a high-wheeled wagon
fashioned in the world of thought,
from the continent of Arezahi
to (this) continent, Khwaniratha the radiant,²
accompanied by ... (?) according to the models
by Fortune set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,

¹ Or: who has set himself in place = the firmament.

² I.e., all the climes in the standard order, cf. Yt.12.9-15, not
necessarily the logical order.

and by the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by
Ahura Mazdâ.

Yt.10.68

Ashi the tall takes hold of his wagon
for which the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
lays out the paths (for it) to go easily.
Coursers from the world of thought,
white, bright, and brilliant,
life-giving, knowing, shadowless,
whose place is in the world of thought, convey it,
when the One in the image of the Web-holder
now and again lets it go!
This they fear, all the old gods in the world of thought.
as well as the *Greedy ones possessed by the Lie.

Yt.10.69

May we not here come up against
the thrust of the lord when angered,
whose one thousand thrusts
go against the opponent,
who has ten thousand watchers, he the one rich in life-giving
strength,
all-knowing, undeceivable.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.10.70

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful.
In front of him flies
the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ,
in the form of a boar, aggressive, with sharp fangs,
male, with sharp tusks,
a boar who (only needs) to strike once,
unapproachable (when) angered,
with *speckled forehead, firm,
with hind legs and forelegs of iron,
with sinews of iron, with tail of iron,
with jaws of iron.

Yt.10.71

When he runs forward *to face the opponent
accompanied by *single-mindedness,
together with Manly *Courage,
with one *blow he strikes down the opponents.
And he does not think he has struck
(anything) or even seems to be striking
until he crushes
both the marrow (that is) the column of life,
and the marrow (that is) the source of the life breath.

Yt.10.72

With one blow he cuts them all out together,
and at once mingles together all over the ground
the bones and the hair, the brains and the blood
of the men who break the contract.

On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Battles the powers of the Lie.

Yt.10.95

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful.
He goes *out the width of the earth after the sun has set.
He touches both sides of this wide earth,
round (and) with distant borders.
He surveys all this which is between heaven and earth.

Yt.10.96

He holds a cudgel in the hand
with a hundred bosses, with a hundred sharp edges,
felling a man in its forward thrust,
cast in golden bronze, forceful, made of gold,
the most forceful of weapons,
the strongest obstruction-smasher among weapons.

Yt.10.97

The Evil Spirit full of destruction fears it.
Wrath, giver of evil gifts, whose body is forfeit, fears it.
Sloth with long hands fears it.
All the old gods in the world of thought fear it,
as well as the *Greedy ones possessed by the Lie.

Yt.10.98

May we not here come up against his thrust when angered,
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds!
May you not when angered reject us,
O Mithra who provide wide grazing grounds,
who (as) the strongest among those worthy of sacrifice,
the firmest among those worthy of sacrifice,
the most *active among those worthy of sacrifice,
the fastest among those worthy of sacrifice,
the greatest obstruction-smasher among those worthy of
sacrifice
stands forth upon this earth,
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

How to sacrifice to Mithra

Yt.10.119

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful.
May you sacrifice to Mithra, O Spitama!

May you tell the students!

May those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ sacrifice to you
with sheep and cattle,
with small birds and big birds,
(all those) who fly forward with wings!

Yt.10.120

Mithra ... -s (?) all those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
the sustainers of Order,
both upright and ... (?)
The haoma (has been) made known (and) *allocated as The
chief priest.
Let them allocate (him) and send (him) forth in sacrifice.
Let the orderly man consume the purified libation.
May he who makes him whom he sacrifices to (satisfied and
unantagonized):
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,—
(himself) be satisfied and unantagonized.

Yt.10.121

In turn Zarathustra asked:
How, O Ahura Mazdâ,
shall the orderly man consume the purified libation?
(How) may he who makes him whom he sacrifices to
(satisfied and unantagonized):
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,—
(himself) be satisfied and unantagonized?

Yt.10.122

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
For three days and nights they should wash (their) body,
they should undergo austerities amounting to thirty
whiplashes
for the sacrifice and hymn to Mithra who provides wide
grazing grounds.
(Then) for two days and nights they should wash (their)
body,
they should undergo austerities amounting to twenty
whiplashes
for the sacrifice and hymn to Mithra who provides wide
grazing grounds.
Let no one consume these libations of mine
who is not well-versed
in all the models of the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Mithra's chariot and weapons.

Yt.10.123

We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful,
to whom Ahura Mazdâ sacrificed
at the luminous House of Song.

Yt.10.124

Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
flies forth with raised arms against non-destruction
from the luminous House of Song,
having mounted a beautiful wagon,
altogether steady, all-adorned, made of gold.

Yt.10.125

By this wagon fly four coursers,
white, all of the same color,
whose food is from the world of thought, immortal.
They have front hooves with golden shoes,
but hind (hooves) with silver (shoes).
And they are all yoked
with yoke and yoke pin and yoke strap,
bound to the *saddle blanket with a fastened,
well-made hook made of Well-deserved Command (=
metal).

Yt.10.126

On his right side flies straightest Rashnu,
the most rich in life-giving strength, the most defensive,
but on his left side flies straightest Cistâ,
the Orderly one, bearing libations.
White (herself) she wears white garments,
the likeness of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
Mazdâ.

Yt.10.127

The rigid one in the image of the Web-holder came flying,
in the form of a boar, aggressive, with sharp fangs,
male, with sharp tusks,
a boar who (only needs) to strike once,
unapproachable (when) angered,
with *speckled forehead, firm,
..., running about.
Hot on his heels flew the fire that had been lit
(and) the strong Fortune of the poets.

Yt.10.128

There stand in that wagon of Mithra who provides wide
grazing grounds
a thousand *bows, well-made,
some of which have strings made of sinews of gazelles.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.129

There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand arrows, well-made, with vulture feather,
some of which have stems made of bone.

They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.130

There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand spears, well-made, with cutting edges.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.
There stand in that wagon of Mithra who provides wide
grazing grounds
a thousand axes made of steel, double-edged, well-made.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.131

There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand double-edged knives, well-made.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.
There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand clubs made of bronze, well-made.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.132

There stands in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a beautiful cudgel well thrust down,
with a hundred bosses, with a hundred sharp edges,
felling a man in its forward thrust,
inlaid with golden bronze, forceful, made of gold,
the most forceful of weapons,
the greatest obstruction-smasher among weapons.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

YASHT 13 TO THE FRAVASHIS (PRE-SOULS)

Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra

Yt.13.1

Ahura Mazdâ said
to Spitama Zarathustra:
So I shall proclaim to you, O upright Zarathustra,
the endurance and strength,
the munificence, the help and support
of the pre-souls of the orderly,
strong, unshakeable,
how they came to my help,
how they brought me assistance,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.

Description, cosmological function

Yt.13.2

By their wealth and munificence
I held out, O Zarathustra,
yonder sky (which is)
above, luminous and visible afar,
which covers and surrounds this earth
like a bird (its) egg;
which stands stood in the world of thought,
firmly held together, with distant borders,
in the form of shining bronze,
shining over the three (spheres?).¹

Yt.13.3

Ahura Mazdâ dons it as his robe—
star-adorned, fashioned in the world of thought—
accompanied by Mithra and Rashnu
and Life-giving Humility.
Its two surrounding borders are visible to nobody.

Yt.13.4-8 = Yt.5.1-5

By their wealth and munificence
I held out,² O Zarathustra,
Ardwî Sûra Anâhitâ
with broad *front (etc.).

Yt.13.9

By their wealth and munificence
I held out, O Zarathustra,
the wide earth, placed (here) by Ahura Mazdâ,
both large and broad,
the carrier/womb of much that is beautiful,³

which carries the whole bony existence,
both living and dead,
(and) the high mountains
(and their) *waterways providing much pastures.

Yt.13.10

Upon it, flowing with (powerful) *thrust,
the waters flow in spate.
The many kinds of plants grow up all over the earth,
for the protection of cattle and men,
for the protection of the Aryan lands,
for the protection of the cow/bull of five kinds.
for the help of Orderly men.

Yt.13.11

By their wealth and munificence
I held out, O Zarathustra,
the sons in the wombs,
enclosed and not dying beforehand,
(and,) until the destined delivery,
I *assembled in the coverings *in right order
the bones and the hairs,
the *muscles and the intestines,
the sinews and the limbs.

Yt.13.12

For if the strong pre-souls of the Orderly
*had not given me assistance,
then beasts and men here would not have been mine,
who are the best of species.⁴
The strength would have belonged to the Lie,
the command would have belonged to the Lie,
the bony existence would have belonged to the Lie.

Yt.13.13

Of the two spirits the lying one would have been sitting
between heaven and earth;
of the two spirits the lying one would have won
between heaven and earth:
Thereafter, as conqueror, he would no longer be surrendered
with the conquered,
the Evil Spirit to the Life-giving Spirit!

Yt.13.14

By their wealth and munificence
the waters flow forth in their *courses
from inexhaustible sources.

¹ Cf. *Bdh.* 1.46.

² Cf. *Bdh.* 4.10 “the water, which I said was held up below this earth.”

³ Cf. Yt.19.10 and V.2.11 “O (Life-giving Ârmaiti) carrier of small and large domestic animals and of men.”

⁴ Cf. V.2.27.

By their wealth and munificence
the plants grow up all over the earth
from inexhaustible sources.
By their wealth and munificence
the winds blow floating with the clouds
from inexhaustible sources.

Yt.13.15

By their wealth and munificence
the females enfold the sons;
by their wealth and munificence
they give birth in easy births—
by their wealth and munificence—
when they are blessed with many sons.

Yt.13.16

By their wealth and munificence
the *eloquent man is born
who makes (people) listen to what is spoken in the
assemblies,
who is *appreciated for his guiding thought,
who *at the audition comes out of the questioning
ahead of the inferior Gaotema.¹
By their wealth and munificence
the sun goes along yonder path.
By their wealth and munificence
the moon goes along yonder path.
By their wealth and munificence
the stars go along yonder path.
...

Function in creation

Yt.13.28

Ahura Mazdâ invoked them for the help
of yonder sky—(when) he (stretched and) held (it) out—
of the water and the earth and of the plant,
when the Life-giving Spirit held out the sky,
and the water and the earth,
and the cow and the plant,
when he held out the sons in the wombs,
enclosed and not dying beforehand
(and,) until the destined delivery,
he *assembled in the coverings *in right order
the bones and the hairs,
the *muscles and the intestines,
the sinews and the limbs.

Yt.13.29

The Life-giving Spirit held (them) out
the strong (pre-souls), sitting silent,

¹Unknown.

with good eyes, with invigorating eyes,
listening, long *appeasing,
the lofty ones, girded high,
who with good roads, wide roads,
who, *floating fleetly,
*fulfilling their obligations (to the sacrificer),
(and) widely famed held up the sky.
...

Role in rain-making

Yt.13.43

They release Satawâsa between heaven and earth,
who *fills the waters when hearing the invocation,
who makes the waters fall, who makes the plants grow,
for the protection of beasts and men,
for the protection of the Aryan lands,
for the protection of the cow/bull of five kinds,
for the help of orderly men.

Yt.13.44

Far and wide between heaven and earth
Satawâsa will go about,
who *fills up the water when hearing the invocation,
who makes the waters fall, who makes the plants grow,
beautiful, rich in rays and light,
for the protection of cattle and men,
for the protection of the Aryan lands,
for the protection of the bovine of five kinds,
for the help of orderly men.

Yt.13.45

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
with bronze helmets, with bronze weapons, with bronze
breastplates,
who fight in victorious (battles)
on (horses) with shining saddle-gear,
carrying drawn *lead-(pointed arrows?)
for the striking of a thousand old gods.
...

Request for sacrifice

Yt.13.49

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who fly hither throughout the town
at the temporal node of the vernal equinox.
Thus they move about here for ten nights
wishing to know that they will receive that aid (to which
they are accustomed?):

Yt.13.50

Who will praise us? Who will sacrifice to us? Who will
weave us (into hymns)?

Who will befriend us? Who will recognize us
with milk in the hands and with garments,
with homage by which one reaches Order?
Whose name among us will be offered in song here?
Whose soul will be sent forth to you by (our) sacrifice (to
you)?

To whom among us will that donation be given
which will be for him imperishable savory (food)
for ever and ever?

Yt.13.51

But the man who does send them forth by a sacrifice
with milk in the hands and with garments,
with homage through which one reaches Order?
him they befriend
(when) favored, *unoffended, unantagonized,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.

Yt.13.52

May there be in this house herds of cattle and men!
May there be a fleet horse and a solid wagon!
May there be a man, *stalwart (and) *eloquent,
who will ever and again sacrifice to us
with milk in the hands and with garments,
with homage through which one reaches Order!

Cosmic function

Yt.13.53

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who show (their) beautiful paths
to the waters established by Ahura Mazdâ,
which before this stood
brought forth, (but) not (yet) flowing forth,
in one and the same place for a very long time.

Yt.13.54

But now those flow forth
along the path established by Ahura Mazdâ,
along the way assigned by the distributor,
along the (water?) course cut out (for them)
for the pleasure of Ahura Mazdâ,
for the pleasure of the Life-giving Immortals.

Yt.13.55

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who, to the plants of *good cutting,
show (their) beautiful growths,
(to them,) which before this stood
brought forth, (but) not yet growing forth,
in one and the same place for a very long time.

Yt.13.56

But now those grow forth

along the path established by Ahura Mazdâ,
along the way assigned by the assigner,
along the time cut out (for them)
for the pleasure of Ahura Mazdâ,
for the pleasure of the Life-giving Immortals.

Yt.13.57

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who, Orderly, showed (their) paths to the moon, the sun,
(and) the Endless Lights with their own law,¹
which before this stood without forward motion
in one and the same place for a long time,
before the hostility of the old gods,
before the *deceptions of the old gods.

Yt.13.58

But those now fly forth
reaching the turn of the road that turns in the distance,
which (is that) of the good Perfectioning.

Yt.13.59

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder sea, radiant Vourukasha,
nine and ninety and nine hundred and nine thousand
and nine times ten thousand.²

Yt.13.60

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder stars,
the Seven *Markers (the Big Dipper),
nine and ninety ... ten thousand.

Yt.13.61

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder body,
that of Kersâspa son of Sâma, the curly-haired club-bearer,
nine and ninety ... ten thousand.

Yt.13.62

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder semen,
that of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra,³
nine and ninety
and nine hundred ... ten thousand.

Yt.13.63

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who fight to the right of the lord in command⁴

¹ Or: "set in place by themselves."

² The highest known number (see [1.3] n. 36Ñ)?

³ See *Bdh.*33.36. Cf. V.19.5 "against which the Revitalizer,
obstruction-smasher, will be born from Lake Kansaoya."

⁴ I.e., of victory and so also of the rewards; cf. 2.43.1.

if he favors the Orderly one(s),
 if they are unangered and satisfied by him,
 *unoffended, unantagonized,
 the strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly.

Yt.13.64

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
 who are bigger, stronger, and firmer,
 more forceful and obstruction-smashing,
 more healing and better at the audition
 than they can be said (to be) with (word(s),
 when come flying by ten thousands
 right into the middle of the food offerings.

Yt.13.65

Then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 when the waters are carried up,
 from the Vourukasha Sea,¹
 as well as the Fortune placed there by Ahura Mazdâ,
 then the strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly move
 forth,
 numerous—many hundreds,
 numerous—many thousands,
 numerous—many ten thousands,—

Yt.13.66

seeking water, each for her own family,
 for her own town, tribe, and land,
 saying: Is our own land to be needy and to dry out?

Yt.13.67

They fight in battles over their own place and settlement,
 according as (each has seized and) holds
 a place or habitation for settling,
 just like a firm man standing in a chariot
 girded with his quiver-belt would smash back (the enemy
 attack)
 from a well-assembled treasure.

Yt.13.68

Then those of these who are victorious,
 they lead away the water, each for her own family,
 for her own town, tribe, and land,
 saying: Our own land shall prosper and grow!

Yt.13.69

Thus when he is *targeted
 —the ruler of a land with single command—
 by hostile (enemies) not abiding by the deals,
 (then) he is the one to call upon them,
 the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.

¹ Cf. Yt.8.34.

Yt.13.70

They will come to his help if they are unangered by him,
 favored, *unoffended, unantagonized,
 the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.
 They *float down to him, just like a bird with good wings.

Yt.13.71

They serve him as weapon and shield,
 as backing and bulwark
 against the Lie in the world of thought
 and the demoness of Greed possessed by the Lie
 and the magician who has (always) harmed (us?)
 and against the one possessed by the Lie who is all
 destruction:
 the Evil Spirit,
 just as if one were to have smashed down
 a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand ears of grain.

Yt.13.72

In return (?) neither a knife well jabbed,
 a cudgel well brandished,
 an arrow well drawn,
 a spear well thrown,
 nor stones thrust by the arm may cut (him) down.

Yt.13.73

They are ready for that and are also ready,
 (when) sitting in peace and quiet just *biding their time(?),
 the strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-
 giving strength,
 wishing to know that *help:
 Who will praise us? Who will sacrifice to us? ... for ever
 and ever? (= Yt.13.50)
 ...

Yt.13.76

For they are the best at the audition
 in the *creation of (each of) the two spirits,
 the good life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly ones, rich in
 life-giving strength,
 who then stood tall (and straight)
 when the two spirits set in place the creations:
 the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one.

Yt.13.77

When the Evil Spirit was about to pass
 the *foundation of good Order,
 (then) Good Thought and the fire
 came down between (and held him) at bay.

Yt.13.78

They overcame his hostilities,
 those of the Evil Spirit, possessed by the Lie,

so that he did not stem the waters from (their) flowing,
nor the plants from (their) growing.
At once the waters flowed forth, rich in life-giving strength,
those of him who had established them, the one rich in life-
giving strength,
Ahura Mazdâ, the ruler,
and the plants grew up.
...

Sacrifice to the pre-souls of the Orderly

Yt.13.85

We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
and the one of the most *invigorating fire,
life-giving and *eloquent,
and the one of Sraosha with the rewards,
the firm one, who stretches the poetic thought,
the one with the defiant mace, he the Ahurian one,
and the one of Nairya Sa'ha,—

Yt.13.86

and the one of straightest Rashnu,
and the one of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
and the one of the life-giving poetic thought,
and the one of the sky, the one of the water,
and the one of the earth, the one of the plant,
and the one of the cow, the one of Gaya (Martân),¹
and the one *of the Orderly ones *full of life-giving power.

Zarathustra

Yt.13.87

We sacrifice to the pre-soul of Orderly Gaya Martân,
who was the first to listen
to the thought and commandments *of Ahura Mazdâ,
from whom (Ahura Mazdâ) fashioned forth
the *umbilical cords of the Aryan lands,
the seed of the Aryan lands.
We sacrifice to the Reward and pre-soul of Orderly Spitama
Zarathustra,—

Yt.13.88

who was the first to have thought good (thoughts),
who was the first to have spoken good (speech),
who was the first to have performed good (acts),
the first priest,
the first charioteer,
the first husbandman,
the first to make known (to others),
the first to make known to himself,
the first to have gained for himself,

¹ Cf. Y.13.7 “We sacrifice to the Pre-soul of the cow giving good gifts and the Orderly Gaya Martân.”

the first to have gained for others
the cow, the Order, the word to be spoken,
**as well as his readiness to listen to your(?) utterance
and the command (= 1.33.14)**
all good things established by Ahura Mazdâ whose seed is
from Order.

Yt.13.89

He was the first priest, the first charioteer,
the first husbandman.
He was the first to turn his seed
away from old gods and men and (their) *brood.
He was the first in the bony existence
to praise Order and blame the old gods,
to choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ like
Zarathustra did,
and to say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as his
guide.

Yt.13.90

He was the first in the (temporal) bony existence
to say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as his guide.
He was the first in the bony existence
to say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as his guide.
He was the first in the bony existence
to have (for ever) declared the old gods as a whole
to be unworthy of sacrifices or hymns,
(he) the one rich in life-giving strength, providing all good
life,
the first *guide among the lands.

Yt.13.91

In him every poetic thought
containing the word/fame of Order was made known,
(he) the Lord and Model of living beings,
praiser of Order
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
and the one who “stood up”(?) for the *daênâ*
that (was) the best of those that are,—

Yt.13.92

whom the Life-giving Immortals wished (to have)—
all of the same pleasure as the sun,
turned to foreknowing thought (of what the rewards will be),
with faith (and) desire for (new) Life—
(as) Lord and Model of living beings,
(as) praiser of Order
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
and (as) the one who would “stand up”(?) for the *daênâ*,
the best of those that are,—

Yt.13.93

at whose birth and growth
the waters and plants felt great(?),

at whose birth and growth
the waters and plants grew,
at whose birth and growth
all the creations established by the life-giving (Spirit)
called down “lucky for us:”

Yt.13.94

Lucky for us! A priest is born:
Spitama Zarathustra.
He will send forth our sacrifice with libations,
Zarathustra, having spread out the barsom.
Here, henceforth, will go far and wide
the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
to all the seven continents.

Yt.13.95

Here, *henceforth, Mithra who provides wide grazing
grounds will further
all that is called foremost of the lands,
and he will pacify those that are in commotion.
Here the Scion of the Waters, rich in life-giving strength,
will further
all that is called foremost of the lands,
and he will keep a firm hold on those that are in commotion.
...

Sacrifice

Yt.13.97

We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Saêna, son of
Ahum.stut,
who was the first to stand forth
upon this earth with a hundred students.
...

Yt.13.98

We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Isa†.vâstra, son
of Zarathustra.
We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Urwatad.nara,
son of Zarathustra.
We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Hwarchithra,¹
son of Zarathustra.
...

Yt.13.99

We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Kawi
Vishtâspa,
the firm one, who stretched the poetic thought,
the one with the defiant mace, the Ahurian one,
he who sought free space for Order in tree and stone,
who found free space for Order in tree and stone,

¹ “He through whom the sun is brilliant,” “he who contains
(guards?) the seed of the sun,” or “he whose seed is in the sun.”

who served as arm and support of this *daênâ*,
that of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra,—

Yt.13.100

he who, when she was exhausted and bound,
extracted her from (her) *bonds.
He set her down sitting in the middle,
making straight lines on high,
without running forth (ahead of her companions?), Orderly,
to be satisfied with cattle and grass,
to be made friendly with cattle and grass.
...

Yt.13.128

We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Raocascashman
(Light-eyes).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Hwarecashman
(Sun-Eyes).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly
Frâdat.khwarenah (Furtherers Fortune).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly
Vîdhat.khwarenah (Finds Fortune).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Vouru.nemah
(Whose reverence is wide).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Vouru.sawah
(whose life-giving strength is wide).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Ukhshyat.ereta
(Makes Order grow).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Ukhshyat.nemah
(Makes Reverence grow).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Astwat.ereta
(who gives Order bones),

Yt.13.129

who shall be called the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer and
Astwat-erta:
thus “Revitalizer” because he will revitalize the existence
(and make it?) bony;
thus “Astwaderta” because, when possessing bones and life
breath,
he will seek again bony freedom from danger
for withstanding the Lie that is the offspring of two-footed
beings,
for withstanding the hostility dragged *against the Orderly
ones.
...

Yt.13.145

We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly men of all the
lands.
We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly women of all
the lands.
We sacrifice (to) all the good life-giving the pre-souls of the
Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,

those from Gaya Martân
to the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer.

Yt.13.146

But let now the pre-souls of those
who are Orderly quickly seek us out,
let them come to our aid.
They protect us even when we are in constriction
with aids that are clearly to be seen,
being aided by Ahura Mazdâ
and Sraosha of the Rewards, rich in life-giving strength,
and the life-giving, knowledgeable poetic thought,
who is the messenger who dispels the old gods
of Ahura Mazdâ who (himself) dispels the old gods,
(the messenger) whom Zarathustra sent forth
as a *good helper for the bony existence.

Yt.13.147

Come here, dwell with (us), O good ones,
(you) the waters and the plants,
as well as (you) the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.
Here in this home may you be befriended and recognized.
Here the priests think about the good Order of the lands.
Lift up (your) hands to help (us),
O you rich in life-giving strength,
*in (our) sacrifice to you, O you most rich in life-giving
strength!

Yt.13.148

And among all these (pre-souls) of Orderly women and
Orderly men,
here we sacrifice (to) the pre-soul (of the Orderly ones)
whose breath-souls are worthy of being sacrificed (to)
and (whose) pre-souls are worthy of being invoked.
And among all these orderly women and men,
here we sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly ones,
at our sacrifice of/to whom
Orderly Ahura Mazdâ knows which (reward) is best,
and of all these (that) we have (always) heard
Zarathustra (was) the first
(and) best to have Ahura Mazdâ as his *guide.

Yt.13.149

Of the Orderly males and Orderly females
(who were) the first *guides,
here we sacrifice (to) the *ahu*, the *daênâ*, the consciousness,
the breath-soul, and the pre-soul
the first to hear the commandments,
who have (always) won for Order.
Here we sacrifice (to) the *ahu*, the *daênâ*, the consciousness,
the breath-soul, and the pre-soul
of (our) Orderly closest relatives, male and female,
who have (always) won for Order.
Yt.13.150

We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands
who were (before).

We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands
who have (just) become.

We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands
who are (now).

Yt.13.151

We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands,
who gained for (their) house, who gained for (their) town,
who gained for (their) tribe, who gained for (their) land,
who gained for Order, who gained for the life-giving poetic
thought, who gained for (their) souls,
who gained good things through all good things.

Yt.13.152

We sacrifice to Zarathustra, the *ahu* and *ratu*
of the entire bony existence,
as the first *guide,
who gave the best gifts among (all) beings,
who had/produced the best command among (all) beings,
who was the wealthiest among (all) beings,
who was the most fortunate among (all) beings,
who was most worthy of sacrifice among (all) beings,
who was most worthy of being hymned among (all) beings,
who was most worthy of being favored among (all) beings,
who was most glorified among (all) beings,
the hero who, when sacrificed to,
has (always) been said to be worthy of sacrifice and hymns,
just as one (does) to whoever of those who are:
“according to Best Order.”

Yt.13.153

And we sacrifice (to) this earth,
and we sacrifice (to) yonder sky,
and we sacrifice (to) the good things that are in between,
(which are) worthy of sacrifice and hymns,
and should be sacrificed (to) by the Orderly man.

Yt.13.154

We sacrifice (to) the souls of the undomesticated animals, if
harmless,
thus we sacrifice (to) the souls of the Orderly ones,
wherever they were born, men and women,
whose good *daênâs*
are winning, shall win, or have won.

Yt.13.155

We sacrifice (to) the *ahu*, *daênâ*, consciousness, breath-soul,
and pre-soul

of the Orderly males and Orderly females who *promote the
daênâ,
 who are winning, have just won, or have (always) won,
 who have (always) won for Order.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

In as much as a new life is a worthy one ...

Yt.13.156

Of the pre-souls of the Orderly,
 strong (and) unshakable,
 strong, rich in obstruction-smashing strength,
 the pre-souls of the first *guides,
 the pre-souls of (our) closest relatives,
 may the pre-souls, satisfied, come to this home!
 May they satisfied move about in this home!

Yt.13.157

Satisfied may they invite good, *bountiful Ashi
 hither to this house as a friend.

Satisfied may they leave this house.

May they carry (with them our) praises and straight
 utterance

for Ahura Mazdâ, who has established (everything)
 (and) for the Life-giving Immortals.

May they not leave complaining this house
 of ours, we who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

...

YASHT 17 TO ASHI

Ashi's family

Yt.17.1

We sacrifice to good Ashi,
radiant, tall, well-shaped,
well worthy of being sacrificed to, with singing wheels,
forceful, in whom *glow has been placed(?),
healing, of broad *understanding,
rich in vitalizing strength.

Yt.17.2

The daughter of Ahura Mazdâ,
the sister of the Life-giving Immortals,
she conducts (her coursers) forth
by the perfect guiding thought of all the revitalizers.
And she bestows inborn guiding thought at will upon him
—and she comes to his help
both when he invokes (her) from near
and when he invokes (her) from afar.
He who sacrifices to Ashi with libations,
he sacrifices to Mithra with libations (as well).

Yt.17.3

By *her wealth and munificence
I shall sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice,
I shall sacrifice to her with well-performed sacrifice,
good Ashi, with libations.
We sacrifice to good Ashi
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.17.4

We sacrifice to good Ashi, radiant ... of broad
understanding, strong.

Yt.17.5

Homage to the haoma
and to the Holy Thought and to Orderly Zarathustra!
So far then: homage to Haoma!
Wrath with his bloody club accompanies all other
intoxicants,
but the intoxicant of Haoma is accompanied by its own
Order.

Description of Ashi's favorites.

Yt.17.6

O good Ashi, beautiful Ashi,
rich in rays, peaceful, radiant with (your) rays,
O Ashi, giver of good Fortune to these men whom you
follow.
That home smells with good scent where good Ashi

sets down (her) strong feet, ... (?) for long succession.

Yt.17.7

Those men are in command with the command
which provides much to chew, stored meat, fragrant,
in which (there are) spread-out seats
and other admirable spoils,
whom you follow, good Ashi.
Well, lucky he whom you follow!
And you follow close behind me, too,
with broad ... (?) and forceful.
...

Yt.17.9

Their seats stand with good spreads, well scented,
well made, with pillows, with gilded legs,
whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.10

Their wives lie on seats (like those) in the world of thought,
beautiful, with pillows, *tightly woven(?),
adorned with clasps,
wearing four-sided ear-hangings,
and a golden broach (wondering:)
'When will our house-lord come to us?
When shall we in joy *find pleasure
in (his?) dear body'
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.11

Their girls sit with laced feet, slim waists,
*sinuous bodies, long fingers,
with bodies of such beauty
that (they are) the pleasure of (whoever) sees (them),
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.12

Their horses are fearsome—
quick, with fast snorting,
they make roll the fast wagon,
they tug the soft leather,
they carry the firm praiser with (his) quick horse team, and
solid chariot,
with pointed spear, with long spear-shaft,
with vibrating arrows which find their aim,
pursuing from behind the opponent,
striking from in front the enemy—
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.13

Their camels are fearsome,
with towering humps, of fearful temperament,
*irresistible, fighting along the ground, when in heat,
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.14

She brings silver (and) gold as gifts to be ... to those
from the neighboring countries,
and resplendent garments (and) coats,
whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.15

Look to me, turn hither to me (your) mercy!
Exalted Ashi, you are well-made, good-looking.
At will you command what is according to the law
for body and for munificence.

Ashi's divine family

Yt.17.16

He is your father: Ahura Mazdâ,
the greatest of gods, the best of those worthy of sacrifice.
(Your) mother (is) Life-giving Humility.
He is your brother: good Sraosha with the rewards,
as well as tall, forceful Rashnu
and Mithra who provides good grazing grounds,
who has ten thousand spies, a thousand ears.
(Your) sister is the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
Mazdâ.

Ashi and Zarathustra

Yt.17.17

Praised among those worthy of sacrifice,
not to be moved away from the straightest (paths),
she stood on (her/his) chariot,
good Ashi the tall, thus speaking with words:
Who are you who invoke me,
whose voice among those who invoke (me) the most
resounds in my ear as the most beautiful?

Yt.17.18

Then he *drove forth from there (speaking) thus,
Spitama Zarathustra,
he, the first person to praise Order, the Best,
sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals,
at whose birth and growth the waters and plants rejoiced,
at whose birth and growth the waters and plants grew.

Yt.17.19

At his birth and growth the Evil Spirit ran away
from the earth, wide, round, with distant borders.

Thus he spoke, the giver of evil gifts,
the Evil Spirit full of destruction:

All those worthy of sacrifice could not *catch up with me
against my will,
but Zarathustra, all alone, reaches me against my will.

Yt.17.20

He smashes me with the *Ahuna vairya*,
(as) with as great a weapon
as a stone the size of a house.
He heats me with the Asha Vahishta
just like metal.
He makes me flee from this good earth,
who alone *comes against me:
Spitama Zarathustra.

Yt.17.21

Then she *drove forth from there (speaking) thus,
good Ashi, the tall:
Stand closer to me,
O upright Orderly Spitama,
lean against my wagon!
He stood closer to her,
Spitama Zarathustra,
he leaned against her wagon.

Yt.17.22

(Standing) above she stroked him all around
with (her) left hand and (her) right,
with (her) right hand and (her) left,
speaking thus with words:
You are beautiful, O Zarathustra,
you are well-made, O Spitama.
You have good calves, long arms.
Fortune has been laid down in your body
and long well-being to (your) soul,
just like I foretold you.
By his munificence ...
...

Excluded from the sacrifice to Ashi

Yt.17.53

We sacrifice to good Ashi ... of broad understanding, strong.

Yt.17.54

Thus said good Ashi, the tall:
May no one partake in these libations of mine
which they *repay me (for my favors):
neither a man with blocked semen,
nor a bad woman beyond her period,
nor a tender child,
nor girls not yet approached by men.

Yt.17.55

(For), when the Turanians *pursued me
and the Naotaras with swift horses,
then I hid myself beneath the foot of a ... (?) bull,
but the tender children revealed my hiding place
and the girls not yet approached by men.

Yt.17.56

Once again when the Turanians *pursued me
and the Naotaras with swift horses,
then once again I hid myself
beneath the *throat of ram with a hundred *horns,
but once again the tender children
revealed my hiding place
and the girls not yet approached by men.

Ashi's complaints

Yt.17.57

The first complaint good Ashi, the tall, complained,
about the bad woman without children:
Don't direct (your) foot in her direction!
Don't lie down on her bed! What shall I do about these!
Shall I go forth to heaven? Shall I burrow into the earth?

Yt.17.58

The second complaint good Ashi, the tall, complained,
about that bad woman who bears the son
made for another
(and then) presents it to (her) husband.
What shall I do about these!
Shall I go forth to heaven?
Shall I burrow into the earth?

Yt.17.59

The third complaint good Ashi, the tall, complained, was:
This is the grossest act that men perform ... (?),
(namely) that they lead girls (from their homes)
(and then) for a long time approach them without making
them pregnant.
What shall I do about these!
Shall I go forth to heaven? Shall I burrow into the earth?

Yt.17.60

Thus said Ahura Mazdâ:
O beautiful Ashi, set in place by the Web-holder,
don't go forth to heaven, don't burrow into the earth.
Stay here with me inside (my) house,
beautiful and made by (my) command.

Yt.17.61

With such a sacrifice I shall sacrifice to you,
with such sacrifice I shall send my sacrifice forth to you,
as Vishtâspa sacrificed to you with
on the shore of the water Dâtyâ.
Let The chief priest raise his loud voice
standing behind the barsom.
With such a sacrifice I shall sacrifice to you,
with such sacrifice I shall send my sacrifice forth to you,
O beautiful Ashi, set in place by the Web-holder,
On account of her munificence ...

YASHT 19 TO THE EARTH AND THE DIVINE FORTUNE

Invocation and praise

Yt.19.9

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place
by Ahura Mazdâ,
worthy of great *honor, whose work is superior,
*careful, skillful, and crafty,
set beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.10

which belongs to Ahura Mazdâ,
(who used it) when he set in place the creations, Ahura
Mazdâ,
many and good, many and beautiful,
many and wonderful, many and perfect,
many and radiant.

Yt.19.11

With it they would make the existence perfect,
incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, unrotting,
ever-living, ever-life-giving,
having command at will,
so that when the dead arise again he will come,
vivifying and free from destruction,
(and) the existence will be made perfect in exchange value.

Yt.19.12

Living beings who hold the *announcements of Order
will be indestructible.
The Lie will be destroyed and dispelled
to the very place it had come from
for the destruction (of) the Orderly,
as well as yonder seed and being.
and the villainess will *cower in fear,
and the villain will be destroyed:
thus is the model.

Yt.19.13

For its wealth and munificence
I shall sacrifice to it with audible sacrifice,
the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ, with libations,
the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ,
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.19.14

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place
by Ahura Mazdâ,
worthy of great *honor, whose work is above,
*careful, skillful, and crafty,

set beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.15

which belongs to the Life-giving Immortals,
radiant, bright-eyed,
exalted, mighty strong,
firm, children of Ahura Mazdâ,
who are *unthreatening and Orderly,—

Yt.19.16

the seven with the same thoughts,
the seven with the same speech,
the seven with the same deeds,
who have the same thought, same speech, same deed,
the same father and commander,
namely Ahura Mazdâ, who has set (everything in its proper
place).

Yt.19.17

They look at one another's soul
as it *proceeds through (thoughts) well thought,
(words) well spoken and (deeds) well performed,
as it *proceeds to the House of Song.
Their paths (are) bright
as they come flying down to the libations.

Yt.19.18

They are the ones who shaped and set in place
these living beings of Ahura Mazdâ's,
who oversee, protect and guard them.

Yt.19.19-20

precisely those who will make the existence perfect in
exchange value,
incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, and unrotting.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.19.21

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.22

It belongs to the deities in the world of thought
and those in the world of the living,
to the born and the (as yet) unborn
Revitalizers, who will make (the existence) perfect.

Yt.19.23-24

Those are the ones who will make the existence perfect in
exchange value,
incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, and unrotting.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Myth of the Fortune

Yt.19.25

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.26

It followed Haoshyangha Paradhâta
for a long time indeed,
while he ruled on the sevenfold earth
over old gods and men, sorcerers and witches,
false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
he who smashed two-thirds of the giant old gods
as well as the greedy ones possessed by the Lie.
On account of its wealth ... (= Yt.19.13)

Yt.19.27

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.28

It followed Takhma Urupi with the fox-hide,
while he ruled on the sevenfold earth
over old gods and men, sorcerers and witches,
false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,

Yt.19.29

so that he was able to subdue
all old gods and men, all sorcerers and witches,
so that he rode the Evil Spirit
changed into the form of a horse
for three hundred years around both borders of the earth.
On account his wealth ...

Myth of Yima

Yt.19.30

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.31

It followed radiant Yima with good herds
for a long time indeed,
so that he ruled on the sevenfold earth
over old gods ... and *mumblers.

Yt.19.32

He carried away from the old gods
both (their) wishes and *burning desires,
both sheep and herds,
both satisfaction and glorification,
under whose command both savory foods

were imperishable;
cattle and men (were) indestructible,
waters and plants indesiccable.

Yt.19.33

Under his command
there was no cold, no heat,
no old age, no death,
no envy set in place by the old gods,
before (that is), when he had not yet lied,
before this one (insidiously) brought him the word
Deception,
for him to understand (the world) as it was not really.

Yt.19.34

But when this one (insidiously) brought him the word
Deception,
for him to understand (the world) as it was not really,
(making itself) visible the Fortune ran away from him
in the form of a bird.
No longer seeing the Fortune ... (?),
radiant Yima with good herds.
Yima roamed unhappy in despondency.
Senseless he ... (?) on the earth.

Yt.19.35

The first time the Fortune turned away,
the Fortune went away from radiant Yima.
The Fortune (went away) from Yima, son of Vîwanghwan,
in the form of a Vâreghna bird.
Then Mithra of broad grazing grounds
seized that Fortune,
he whose ear hears (everything), of a thousand crafts.
We sacrifice to Mithra, the land-lord of all lands,
whom Ahura Mazdâ brought forth
as the most munificent of the deities in the world of thought.

Yt.19.36

The second time the Fortune turned away,
the Fortune went away from radiant Yima.
The Fortune (went away) from Yima, son of Vîwanghwan,
in the form of a Vâreghna bird.
Then the son of the House of Âthviya,
Thraêtaona, of the house rich in vitalizing strength,
seized that Fortune,
he who was among valorous men
the greatest obstruction-smasher other than Zarathustra.

Myth of Kersâspa

Yt.19.37

He smashed the giant dragon ...
for the destruction of the living beings of Order. (= Y.9.8)

Yt.19.38

The third time the Fortune turned away,
the Fortune went away from radiant Yima.
The Fortune (went away) from Yima, son of Vîwanghwan,
in the form of a Vâreghna bird.
Then manly Kersâspa
seized that Fortune,
he who was among strong men
the strongest other than Zarathustra,
before (even) Manly *courage.

Yt.19.39

because strong Manly *courage followed him.
We sacrifice to Manly *courage
with tall legs, unsleeping,
wakeful, never lying in a bed,
who followed Kersâspa.

Yt.19.40

He smashed the horned dragon ...
Kersâspa, whose thoughts were those of heroes. (= Y.9.11)

Yt.19.41

He smashed the Gandarva,¹
the yellow-heeled one
who ran with open jaws
wishing to destroy the bony world of the living of Order.
...

Yt.19.43

He smashed Snâwidhka,
the one with bony cheeks and stony hands,
who argued thus:
I am a child, not an adult.
If I become an adult
I will make the earth (my) wheel,
I will make the sky (my) chariot.

Yt.19.44

I will lead down the Life-giving Spirit
from the luminous House of Song,
I will make the Evil Spirit fly up
from the horrible Hell.
They shall pull my wagon,
the Life-giving and the Evil Spirit.
If he does not smash me, manly Kersâspa!
Him manly Kersâspa did smash,
to the last of his life,
to the ... of his life breath.²
On account his wealth ...

¹ A malevolent water spirit. Cf. Yt.5.38.

² Cf. Yt.10.71.

Myth of the two spirits and the Fire³

Yt.19.45

We sacrifice to the strong *unseizable Fortune set in place
by Ahura Mazdâ,
worthy of great *honor, whose work is above,
*careful, skillful, and crafty,
set beyond the other establishments,

Yt.19.46

over which they fought, the Life-giving and the Evil Spirit,
over this, the *unseizable one.
Thence they sent forth (their) messengers,
each of them (their) fastest.
The Life-giving Spirit sent forth as (his) messenger(s)
Good Thought and Best Order
and the fire, son of Ahura Mazdâ.
The Evil Spirit sent forth as (his) messenger(s)
Bad Thought and Wrath with the bloody club⁴
and the giant snake (Azhi Dahâka)
and Spitiyura, the Yima-cutter.⁵

Yt.19.47

Thence the fire, son of Ahura Mazdâ,
stretched himself forward,
(suddenly) thinking as follows:
I want to take for myself this *unseizable Fortune!
Then the dragon with three mouths, with evil *daênâ*,
ran forth after him speaking in his lying manner:

Yt.19.48

Ho! Think about this, O fire of Ahura Mazdâ:
If you take this, the *unseizable,
(then) I shall *fall over you.
Henceforth you shall not light up
on the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
for the protection of the world of Order.
Then the fire in response withdrew his hands
in foreknowledge through love of his life breath,
(seeing) how fearful the dragon *was.

Yt.19.49

Thence the dragon with three mouths, with evil *daênâ*,
ran forth thinking as follows by himself:
I want to take for myself this *unseizable Fortune!
Then the fire, son of Ahura Mazdâ,
stretched himself forward after him
speaking the following words:

³ Note how the preceding comic relief passage leads into this myth.

⁴ Cf. Bdh.5.1.

⁵ At the end of his exile Yima is supposed to have been cut in half.
Note that his name means "twin" and that in India and in some
Iranian texts he has a twin sister.

Yt.19.50

Ho there! Think about this,
 O giant dragon with three mouths!
 If you take this, the *unseizable one,
 (then) I shall burn you up to your hind cheeks.
 I shall light up your mouth.
 Not again shall you fall forth
 upon the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
 for the destruction of the world of Order.
 Then the dragon in response withdrew his hands
 in foreknowledge through love for his life breath
 (seeing) how fearful the fire *was.

Yt.19.51

This Fortune swelled forth to the Vourukasha Sea.
 Then there and then the Scion of the Waters with fleet
 horses seized it.
 And the Scion of the Waters with fleet horses
 desired it (thinking):
 I want to take for myself this *unseizable Fortune
 (and bring it) to the bottom of the profound sea
 at the bottom of the deep lakes.

Yt.19.52

We sacrifice to the tall lord, commanding,
 radiant, Scion of the Waters with fleet horses,
 male, life-giving when invoked,
 who set in place men,
 who fashioned men,
 the deity whose place is in the waters,
 who listens the most when he is sacrificed to.

Myth of the Unseizable Fortune

Yt.19.53

Therefore may each of you men
 —thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
 O Orderly Zarathustra,
 seek the *unseizable Fortune.
 Thus may he among gifts seek to obtain
 bright satisfaction of (his) soul.
 Thus may he among gifts seek to obtain
 much satisfaction of (his) soul.

Yt.19.54

Ashi full of good breathing space shall follow it,
 ... (?), rich in vitalizing strength,
 for cow and pasture.
 Valor shall follow it all of his days,
 smashing down (the enemy) in its force throughout the
 seasons.
 Thus followed by that valor
 he shall conquer the bloody armies.
 Thus followed by that valor

he shall conquer all (his) enemies.
 On account of his wealth ...

Myth of Frangrasyân the Turanian

Yt.19.55

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
 beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.56

The Turian villain Frangrasyân sought it
 *from the Vourukasha Sea.
 He threw off (his) clothes and naked
 sought that Fortune which belongs to the Aryan lands,
 to the born and unborn, and to Orderly Zarathustra.
 Then that Fortune rushed forth,
 that Fortune ran away,
 that Fortune *evaded (him).
 Then that stream came into being,
 flowing out
 of the Vourukasha Sea,
 the lake called Haosrawah (Famed).

Yt.19.57

Then Frangrasyân flew up,
 the greatly skilled Turanian,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 from the Vourukasha Sea,
 speaking evil deception:
 Pish and tish¹ to him!
 I did not obtain that Fortune
 which belongs to the Aryan lands,
 to the born and unborn,
 and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.19.58

I shall mingle together all (things) *dry and wet
 in greatness and goodness and beauty.
 Ahura Mazdâ will be *upset
 (when) set in place the corresponding Creations(?).
 Then Frangrasyân flew down,
 the greatly skilled Turanian,
 O Spitama Zarathustra,
 to the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.19.59

For the second he threw off (his) clothes and naked
 sought that Fortune which belongs to the Aryan lands,
 to the born and unborn,
 and to the Orderly Zarathustra.
 Then that Fortune rushed forth,

¹ Imitating the Avestan *inja tinja*, the meaning of which is unknown.

that Fortune ran away,
that Fortune *evaded (him).
Then did that stream come into being,
flowing out of the Vourukasha Sea
the lake called Vanghyazdâ (Giver of what is better).

Yt.19.60

Then Frangrasyân flew up,
the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
speaking bad deception:
Pish and tish to him!
Wish and tish to him!
I did not obtain that Fortune
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.19.61

I shall mingle together all *dry and liquid
in greatness and goodness and beauty.
Ahura Mazdâ will be *upset
(when) set in place the corresponding Creations(?).
Then Frangrasyân flew down,
the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
to the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.19.62

For the second he threw off (his) clothes and naked
sought that Fortune which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.
Then that Fortune rushed forth,
that Fortune ran away,
that Fortune *evaded (him).
Then did that stream come into being,
flowing out of the Vourukasha Sea
the water called Avzhdânwâ (Water flow).

Yt.19.63

Then Frangrasyân flew up, the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
speaking bad deception:
Pish and tish to him!
Wish and tish to him!
Woe and tish to him!
I did not obtain that Fortune
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.19.64

He did not obtain that Fortune
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.
On account of his wealth ...

The Haêtumant river basin

Yt.19.65

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.66

It follows him who stands forth from
the Kansaoya Sea with (many) *fords,
where the mountain is: the Ushadhâ,
around which plentiful waters
come together *pouring down from the mountains.

Yt.19.67

Toward it there flow together,
toward it there run together
Khwâstrâ (Giving Good Pasture) and Hwaspâ Fradathâ (the
Furthering with Good Horses)
and Khwarenanghwaitî (the Fortunate) the beautiful
and Ushtawaitî (Full of wished-for things) rich in vitalizing
strength
and Urwadhâ with plentiful pasture
and Erezî (the Silvery) and Zarenumaitî (the Golden)
Toward it flow together,
toward it run together
the wealthy, munificent *Haêtumant,
swelling into white surfs,
throwing down copious floods.

Yt.19.68

The strength of a horse follows him,
the strength of a camel follows (him),
the strength of a man follows (him),
the Fortune of the poets follows (him).
And there is in there, O Orderly Zarathustra,
so much Fortune of the poets
that he could at once make the non-Aryan lands
get carried away (by the flood).

Yt.19.69

(If not, then) here afterwards they would have *floated,
experiencing hunger and thirst,
experiencing cold and heat.
That (then) is the Fortune of the poets:
protection of the Aryan lands
and the cow/bull of five kinds
for help to the Orderly men

and the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
On account of his wealth ...

The Kavanids

Yt.19.70

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.71

Which followed Kawi Kawâta
and Kawi Aipi.vohu,
and Kawi Usadhan
and Kawi Arshna,
and Kawi Pisina
and Kawi Biyarshan,
and Kawi Siyâwarshan,

Yt.19.72

so that they all became brave, all firm,
all possessing wondrous powers, skillful,
all performing daring deeds, *of the lineage of kawis.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.73

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.74

which followed Kawi Haosrawah
with the well-fashioned force
and the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ
and the victorious superiority
and the well-commanded command
and the irremovable command
and the invincible command
and the ability to conquer the opponents then and there

Yt.19.75

and the strength of the healthy
and the munificence set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and the health of the body
and the good progeny of one's own,
clever (and) *expansive,
radiant (and) shiny-eyed,
delivering out of straits (and) rich in men (understanding?)
... (?),

Yt.19.76

and with the radiant power
and with long longevity
and with all the boons
and with all the healings,

Yt.19.77

... (?).
As the lord Kawi Haosrawah
overcame them all,
he fettered Kersawazda
and the Turian villain Frangrasyân,
a son as revenge for (his father) Siyâwarshan
(and) the hero Aghraêratha, son of Naru,
killed through betrayal.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.78

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.79

It followed Orderly Zarathustra
(causing him) to help the *daênâ* along
with his thoughts, words, and acts,
so that he was in the entire bony existence
in Order the most Orderly,
in Command the one with best Command.
in wealth the wealthiest,
in Fortune the most Fortunate,
in valor the most obstruction-smashing.

Yt.19.80

Before that the old gods would run about in full view.
(Their) pleasures would *take place in full view.
In full view they would drag off
the women from the humans.
Then the old gods would by force debase
them weeping and complaining.

Yt.19.81

Then a single *Ahuna vairya* of yours,
which Orderly Zarathustra chanted,
with partitions (spoken) for times,
the last with stronger enunciation,
drove all the old gods under ground
depriving them of sacrifice and hymn.

Yt.19.82

His was the Fortune
that the Turian villain Frangrasyân sought
in all the seven continents,
in the seven continents in which
the villain Frangrasyân ran about
seeking the Fortune of Zarathustra.
Then he rushed upon that Fortune
pursuing it to the *wide water,
(calling:) Ho, get back here!
...
howsoever was your pleasure

—(namely) of me, Ahura Mazdâ,
and the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.83

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.84

It followed Kawi Vishtâspa
(causing him) to think according to the *daênâ*,
to speak according to the *daênâ*,
to act according to the *daênâ*,
so that he elected to praise this *daênâ*,
chasing the enemy, sending the old gods on their way,

Yt.19.85 = Yt.13.99

he who sought free space for Order in tree and stone,
who found free space for Order in tree and stone,
who served as arm and support of this *daênâ*,
that of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra,—

Yt.19.86 = Yt.13.100

he who, when she was exhausted and bound,
extracted her from (her) *bonds.
He set her down sitting in the middle,
making straight lines on high,
without running forth (ahead of her companions?), Orderly,
to be satisfied with cattle and grass,
to be made friendly with cattle and grass.

Yt.19.87

He, the firm Kawi Vishtâspa, overcame
Man of Darkness of bad *daênâ*
and Fighter, who sacrificed to the old gods,
and Arjat.aspa possessed by the Lie
and the other bad guys as well,
the Xiyaonas of evil praise.
On account of his wealth ...

On the Saoshyant/Revitalizer

Yt.19.88

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.89

It followed the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer,
as well the other companions,
so that he would make the existence perfect,
incorruptible, indestructible,
undecaying, unrotting,
ever-living, ever-life-giving
having command at will,

so that when the dead arise again
he will come, making life and free from destruction,
(and) the existence will be made perfect in exchange value.

Yt.19.90 = Yt.19.12

Living beings who hold the *announcements of Order
will be indestructible.

The Lie will be destroyed and dispelled
to the very place it had come from
to destroy the Orderly,
as well as yonder seed and being.
and the villainess will *cower in fear,
and the villain will be destroyed:
thus is the model.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.91

We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.92

When Astwaterta shall stand forth
from the Kansaoya Sea,
the messenger of Ahura Mazdâ,
the son of Vîspa.taurwairî,
brandishing (his) obstruction-smashing weapon,
which the firm Thraêtaona carried
when the giant Dragon was smashed,

Yt.19.93

which Tura Frangrasyân bore
when Zainigao, possessed by the Lie, was smashed,
which Kawi Haosrawah bore
when Tura Frangrasyân was smashed,
which Kawi Vishtâspa bore
as he was about to gather the armies of Order,—
(then) with it he will remove there the Lie
from the living beings of Order.

Yt.19.94

He will see with the eyes of the guiding thought.
He will look out for all the living beings,
*chasing her, the one of evil seed.
He will see the entire bony existence
with the eyes of the Milk Libation.
He will make firmly indestructible
the entire bony world of the living.

Yt.19.95

The companions of obstruction-smashing Astwat.erta
will come forth,
(those) of good thought, good speech,
good deeds, good *daênâ*,
who none of them have ever once spoken something wrong

with their own tongue.
Before them Wrath with the bloody club,
he of evil Fortune, will retreat.
By Order he shall overcome the evil Lie,
the one of darkness, of evil seed.

Yt.19.96
He overcomes even evil thought.
(His) good Thought overcomes it.
He overcomes the wrongly spoken speech.
(His) correctly spoken word overcomes it.
Wholeness and Immortality shall overcome
both hunger and thirst.
Wholeness and Immortality shall overcome
the evil hunger and thirst.
The Evil Spirit commanding nothing,¹
performing evil deeds shall retreat.
On account of his wealth ...

¹ Cf. Y.8.8.

VIDEVDAD 1: CREATION OF THE LANDS

V.1.1

Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
I have made, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a place obeying laws and not *lacking happiness.
For if I had not made, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a place obeying laws and not *lacking happiness,
(then) the entire bony existence
would have gone forth to the Aryan Expanse.

V.1.2

As the best of places and settlements I first fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful
(river).
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
a dragon, the red, and the winter made by the old gods.

V.1.3

There ten months are winter, two summer;
then all the water is frozen,
and all the earth and all the plants.
Thus it is in the middle of winter,
in the heart of winter,
then, indeed, the winter falls all around,
then there is most floods.

V.1.4

As the best of places and settlements I second fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Gâwa settled by Sogdians.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
*thistles and ... (?) full of destruction.

V.1.5

As the best of places and settlements I third fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, strong Orderly Marghu.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist

V.1.6

As the best of places and settlements I fourth fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, beautiful Bâxdhî with upraised banners.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist ...

V.1.7

As the best of places and settlements I fifth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Nisâya which is between Marghu and
Bâxdhî.

Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
bad *agnosticism.

V.1.8

As the best of places and settlements I sixth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Haraêwa,
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
spittle and phlegm.

V.1.9

As the best of places and settlements I seventh fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Vaêkerta the lair of hedgehogs.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
the witch Xnanthaite, who followed Kersâspa.

V.1.10

As the best of places and settlements I eighth fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Urwâ with abundant pasture.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
bad *supervisors.

V.1.11

As the best of places and settlements I ninth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Xnenta settled by Vehrânas.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
bad inexpiable acts: male intercourse.

V.1.12

As the best of places and settlements I tenth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, beautiful Harakhwaitî.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
bad inexpiable acts: irregular exposure of corpses.

V.1.13

As the best of places and settlements I eleventh fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy munificent Haêtumant.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
bad sorcerers.
...

V.1.15

As the best of places and settlements I twelfth fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Raghâ of three tribes.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
the bad ...

V.1.16

As the best of places and settlements I thirteenth fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, strong Orderly Caxra.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
the bad inexpiable acts: burning of corpses.

V.1.17

As the best of places and settlements I fourteenth fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Varena with four corners,
in which Thraêtaona was born, the smasher of the giant
Dragon
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
untimely menses and the un-Aryan ... of the land.

V.1.18

As the best of places and settlements I fifteenth fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the Seven Rivers.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
untimely menses and untimely heat.

V.1.19

As the best of places and settlements I sixteenth fashioned
forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Ranghâ on the ...,
which protectionless ...
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its
antagonist
the winter made by old gods and the ... of the lands.

V.1.20

There are also other places, beautiful,
profound, *admirable, precious, and brilliant.
...

VIDEVDAD 2: YIMA AND THE FLOOD

Yima becomes the first ruler on earth

V.2.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
 O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
 Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living,
 with whom among men did you first converse, you, Ahura
 Mazdâ,
 other than me, Zarathustra?
 To whom did you exhibit the *daênâ*, the one of Ahura Mazdâ
 and Zarathustra?

V.2.2

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
 With beautiful Yima with good herds, O Orderly Zarathustra.
 He was the first among men with whom I conversed, I, Ahura
 Mazdâ,
 other than you, Zarathustra.
 To him I exhibited the *daênâ*, the one of Ahura Mazdâ and
 Zarathustra.

V.2.3

Then I said to him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazdâ:
 Be prepared, O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
 to be the reciter and upholder of the *daênâ*.
 Then he answered me, O Zarathustra, beautiful Yima:
 I am not set in place, not assigned
 to be recite and uphold the *daênâ*.

V.2.4

Then I said to him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazdâ:
 If you are not prepared, O Yima, to be the reciter and
 upholder of the *daênâ*,
 then further my herds, then make my herds grow,
 then be prepared to be the protector, guardian, and overseer
 of my herds!

V.2.5

Then he answered me, O Zarathustra, beautiful Yima:
 I shall be prepared to be the protector, guardian, and overseer
 of your herds.
 Under my command there shall be no cold not heat,
 nor illness, nor destruction.

V.2.6

Then I gave him two tools, I, Ahura Mazdâ:
 a golden pick and a goad adorned with gold.

V.2.7

Yima is in possession of the two commands.

Overpopulation and expansion of the earth

V.2.8

When Yima had ruled for three hundred winters,
 then this earth became full
 of animals, small and large, and men,
 of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
 They found no place to be(?),
 animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.9

Then I informed Yima:
 O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
 This earth is full because of the gathering
 of animals, small and large, and men,
 of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
 They found no place to be(?),
 animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.10

Then Yima went forth
 toward the lights, at noon, on the path of the sun.
 He pushed this earth with the golden pick.
 He goaded it with the goad, saying:
 O lovable Life-giving Humility,
 go forth and bow far and wide,
 O carrier/womb of animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.11

Thus Yima made this earth expand by one-third
 in size from what it had been before.
 Here went forth
 animals, small and large, and men,
 each according to his own wish,
 howsoever his pleasure.

V.2.12

When Yima had ruled for six hundred winters,
 then this earth became full
 of animals, small and large, and men,
 of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
 They found no place to be(?),
 animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.13

Then I informed Yima:
 O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
 This earth is full because of the gathering
 of animals, small and large, and men,
 of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
 They found no place to be(?),

animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.14

Then Yima went forth
toward the southern lights, on the path of the sun.
He pushed this earth with the golden pick.
He goaded it with the goad, saying:
O lovable Life-giving Humility, go forth and spread wide, O
carrier
of animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.15

Thus Yima made this earth expand by two-thirds
in size from what it had been before.
Here went forth
animals, small and large, and men,
each according to his own wish,
howsoever his pleasure.

V.2.16

When Yima had ruled for nine hundred winters,
then this earth became full
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),
animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.17

Then I informed Yima:
O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanhwan,
This earth is full because of the gathering
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),
animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.18

Then Yima went forth
toward the southern lights, on the path of the sun.
He pushed this earth with the golden pick.
He goaded it with the goad, saying:
O lovable Life-giving Humility, go forth and spread wide, O
carrier
of animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.19

Thus Yima made this earth expand by three-thirds
in size from what it had been before.
Here went forth
animals, small and large, and men,
each according to his own wish,
howsoever his pleasure.

Gods and men take counsel

V.2.20

Ahura Mazdâ, who has set everything in place,
convoked a gathering
together with those worthy of sacrifice in the world of
thought,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).
Radiant Yima with good herds
convoked a gathering
together with the best humans,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).

V.2.21

To that gathering Ahura Mazdâ came.
he who has set everything in place,
together with those worthy of sacrifice in the world of
thought,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).
To that gathering radiant Yima
with good herds came
together with the best humans,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).

V.2.22

Thus Ahura Mazdâ said to Yima:
O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanhwan,
Bad winters will come over the bony world of the living,
together with which (one) harsh, horrible winter.
Bad winters will come over the bony world of the living,
together with which snow will accumulate
on the tallest mountains, in the deepest of the *valley.

V.2.23

And threefold cattle will perish here, O Yima:
that which is in the most *fearful places,
that which is on the heights of the mountains,
and that which is in the depths of the rivers (and) in the most
solid homes.

V.2.24

Before this winter the land will have rich pasture
(and) plenty water to flow (over) it after the snow melt,
and wondrous it will seem here to the bony existence, O
Yima,
that the trace of a sheep should be seen here.

Yima makes the bunker

V.2.25

So make that enclosure:
 the length of a race course on each of its four sides.
 Bring together there the seeds
 of animals, small and large, and men,
 of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
 Then make that enclosure:
 the length of a race course on each of its four sides
 as a dwelling for men,
 the length of a race course on each of its four sides
 as a keep for cattle.

V.2.26

Make water flow forth there the length of a league.¹
 Place meadows there,
 with green ... (?),
 with inexhaustible savory foods.
 Place homes there, with roof and *awning,
 *porch and *fence.

V.2.27

Bring together there in the same place the seeds
 of all the men and women
 who are the greatest, and best,
 and most beautiful on this earth.
 Bring together there in the same place the seeds
 of all the cattle species
 that are the greatest, and best,
 and most beautiful on this earth.

V.2.28

Bring together there the seeds of all the plants
 that are the tallest and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
 Bring together there the seeds of all foods
 that are the most tasty and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
 Make those into pairs—imperishable
 as long as these men are in the *enclosures.

V.2.29

May no one with humps, in front or in the back,
 nor an impotent or a ...,
 nor a driveling one, deceitful one,
 one with pustules, or a crooked one,
 nor one with irregular teeth, or one with blotches
 whose body has been excluded,
 nor any of the other marks
 that are the mark of the Evil Spirit put on man.

¹ The actual length of Avestan *hāthra* is unknown.

V.2.30

In the first section of the land make nine passages,
 in the middle six, and in the last three.
 In the first passage bring
 a thousand seeds of men and women,
 the middle six hundred, the last four hundred.
 And goad them with the golden pick
 and stroke the enclosure from behind
 (to make) a door admitting light,
 self-shining from within.

V.2.31

Then Yima reflected:
 How I shall make those into an enclosure,
 the way Ahura Mazdâ told me?
 Thus said Ahura Mazdâ to Yima:
 O beautiful Yima son of Vîwānghwan,
 tread apart this earth with (your) heels,
 kneed it apart with (your) hands,
 just like also now people *step about in wet earth.

V.2.32

Then Yima did exactly
 the way Ahura Mazdâ wished him to.
 He trod apart this earth with (his) heels,
 he kneeded it apart with (his) hands,
 just like also now people *step about in wet earth.

V.2.33

So Yima made that enclosure:
 the length of a race course on each of its four sides.
 He brought together there the seeds
 of animals, small and large, and men,
 of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
 So Yima made that enclosure:
 the length of a race course on each of its four sides
 as a dwelling for men,
 the length of a race course on each of its four sides
 as a keep for cattle.

V.2.34

He made water flow forth there the length of a league.
 He placed meadows there,
 with green ... (?),
 with inexhaustible savory foods.
 He placed homes there, with roof and *awning,
 *porch and *fence.

V.2.35

He brought together there the seeds
 of all the men and women
 who are the greatest, and best,
 and most beautiful on this earth.
 He brought together there the seeds

of all the cattle species
that are the greatest, and best,
and most beautiful on this earth.

V.2.36

He brought together there the seeds of all the plants
that are the tallest and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
He brought together there the seeds of all foods
that are the most tasty and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
He made those into pairs—imperishable
as long as these men are in the *enclosures.

V.2.37

No one with humps, in front or in the back,
nor a castrated one or a ...,
nor a driveling one, deceitful one,
one with pustules, or a crooked one,
nor one wit irregular teeth, or one with blotches
whose body has been excluded,
nor any of the other marks
that are the mark of the Evil Spirit put on man.

V.2.38

In the first section of the land he made nine passages,
in the middle six, and in the last four.
In the first passage he brought
a thousand seeds of men and women,
the middle six hundred, the last four hundred.
And he goaded them with the golden pick
and stroked the enclosure from behind
(to make) a door admitting light,
self-shining from within.

V.2.39

O Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the
living!
But which *were these lights,
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
which shine hither in that way
in these *enclosures that Yima made?

V.2.40

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
there are lights established by themselves
and those made in time.
For once it (?) has gone down,
the stars, the moon, and the sun seem to come up(?).

V.2.41

And they think it is a day what is a season.
In forty years from two humans two humans are born,
pairs: a man and a woman.
And the same holds for these cattle species.
And those humans live the most beautiful life
in these *enclosures that Yima made.

V.2.42

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who thus brought the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
Mazdâ wide and far
in these *enclosures that Yima made.
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
The Karshipta bird, O Orderly Zarathustra.

V.2.43

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who is their first life and model?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Urwatat.nara, O Zarathustra, and you, Zarathustra.

VIDEVDAD 3: THE PLEASURES AND DISPLEASURES OF THE EARTH

Places where the Earth is happy

V.3.1

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where firstly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, an Orderly man goes forth
with firewood in his hands, with barsom in his hands,
with milk in his hands,
with the haoma mortar (and pestle) in his hands,
pronouncing in peace words according to the *daênâ*
and beseeching Mithra with wide grazing grounds
and Peace with good pastures.

V.3.2

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where secondly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever an Orderly man raises a home
with fire, with cattle, with wife, with sons, with good herds.

V.3.3

Then afterwards that home (has)
cattle in abundance, Order/flour in abundance,
pasture in abundance, dogs in abundance,
women in abundance, children in abundance,
fire in abundance, and all other things for good living.

V.3.4

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where thirdly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, one sows
the most barley and grass and food-bearing plants,
or where one irrigates dry land
or drains waterlogged land.

V.3.5

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fourthly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever animals, small and large, defecate the most.

V.3.6

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fifthly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever animals, small and large, urinate the most.

Places where the Earth is unhappy

V.3.7

Where firstly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
On the ridge of (Mount) Arezûra, O Spitama Zarathustra,
because on it the old gods run together from the den of the
Lie.

V.3.8

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where secondly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever the most dead dogs and dead men lie interred.

V.3.9

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where thirdly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever tombs are built
in which the most dead men are laid down.

V.3.10

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fourthly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever there are most dens
housing the creatures belonging to the Evil Spirit.

V.3.11

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fifthly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, the Orderly man
and (his) woman and child
are dragged as captives along the road
raising plaintive voices with dry mouths full of dust.

What satisfies the Earth the most

V.3.12

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who firstly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever they dig up the most (places)
where dead dogs and dead men lie interred.

V.3.13

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who secondly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Wherever the most tombs are destroyed

in which dead men are laid down.

Digression on corpse-carriers

V.3.14

Let no one carry alone what is dead.
But if he carries alone something that is dead, for certain the
corpse will contaminate (him)
from the nose, from the eye,
from the tongue, from the jaw,
from the penis, from the anus.
This lie-demon, the corpse, will then rush upon their nails.
Afterward they become impure
for ever and eternity.

V.3.15

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Were shall the place of this man be, the *corpse-cutter?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever this earth is most devoid of water,
most devoid of plants,
where the earth is most purified,
where the earth is driest,
and wherever most rarely
animals, small and large,
and the Orderly man go forth on these paths
with the fire of Ahura Mazdâ,
and with barsom spread out in Orderly fashion.

V.3.16

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
How far from the fire, how far from the water,
how far from the barsom to be spread out,
how far from the Orderly men?

V.3.17

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Thirty steps from the fire,
thirty steps from the water,
thirty steps from the barsom to be spread out,
three steps from the Orderly men.

V.3.18

Here on this earth these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should build enclosures for him.
Afterward these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should
approach with foods.
Afterward these sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should approach
with garments.

V.3.19

Among the poorest, among the most emaciated
let him eat these foods, let him don these garments
ever until he becomes old, or senile,

or his semen is dried out.

V.3.20

Then, when he becomes old, or senile,
or his semen is dried out,
afterward those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, as strongly
and as quickly
and as expertly (as possible), on the *top of the heights,
should *cut off his head as the width of... (?),
exposing the body to the most ravenous
of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
the scavengers, the vultures, saying:
every bad thought, word, or act (is paid for).

V.3.21

And if he has committed other bad deeds,
he must pay the penalty.
But if he has committed no other bad deeds,
then that man has paid for ever and eternity.

V.3.22

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who thirdly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Wherever one destroys the most the dens of the living beings
of the Evil Spirit.

V.3.23

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who fourthly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, one sows
barley and grass and food-bearing plants the most,
or where one irrigates dry land
(or drains waterlogged land).

Digression on agriculture

V.3.24

For this earth is not happy
which lies long unplowed,
which should be plowed by the plower,
wishing for that boon: to be dwelled upon.
(Like) a good-looking (woman) who goes about,
bearing no sons,
wishing for that boon: males.

V.3.25

One who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathustra,
with the left hand and with the right,
with the right hand and the left.
He brings gain to it,
just like a loving man a loving wife,
lying on a spread-out bed.
He brings her a son or (some other) benefit

V.3.26

He who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathustra,
with the left hand and with the right,
with the right hand and the left,—
then this earth says:
O man, who cultivate me,
with the left hand and with the right,
with the right hand and the left,—

V.3.27

at times I shall take counsel (?) with the lands here,
at times I shall come carrying all foods.
Let them bring the harvest before the barley.

V.3.28

He who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathustra,
with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and
the left,—
then this earth says:
O man, who cultivate me,
with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and
the left,

V.3.29

at times you stand here leaning against the door of another
among those begging for food.
At times succulent dishes are carried past your mouth:
they are brought to those who (already) have plenty of good
things!

V.3.30

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
What is the “heart” of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to
Ahura Mazdâ?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Strong sowing of barley, O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.3.31

He who sows barley, he sows Order,
he furthers the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
with furtherance,
he makes this *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
swell forth (to?)
a hundred refuges, a thousand retreats(?),
in return for(?) ten thousand performances of the sacrifice.

V.3.32

When the barley is *laid down the old gods sweat.
When the *sprout is made the old gods become empty.
When the *stalk is made the old gods howl.
When the *ear is made the old gods fart.
Here it shall dwell in this house to smite back the old gods(?).
They shall burn their mouths on the loaf(?).

They seem to be compacted into the ground(?),
when the barley is full.

V.3.33

Then he should recite the following poetic thought:
You (shall) have nothing that does not provide nourishment:
either strong Orderliness, strong pasture,
or strong desire for sons.
For the entire bony existence lives by nourishment,
it dies from lack of nourishment.

V.3.34

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who fifthly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra,
one cultivates this earth for the Orderly man
(and) puts (it) in Order.

V.3.35

Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra,
one cultivates this earth for the Orderly man
(but) does not put (it) in good Order,
he throws Life-giving Humility into darkness,
into rot and the worst existence,
and also into all kinds of sharp *reeds.¹

V.3.36

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Wen dead dogs and dead men are interred in this earth
for half a year without being dug up,
what is the penalty for it?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
One should give him five hundred strokes with the horse
whip, five hundred with the bastinado.²

V.3.37

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Wen dead dogs and dead men are interred in this earth
for a year without being dug up,
what is the penalty for it?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
One should strike a thousand strokes with the horse whip, a
thousand with the bastinado.

V.3.38

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Wen dead dogs and dead men are interred in this earth
for two years without being dug up,
what is the penalty for it?

¹ Cf. V.1.4.

² Hitting someone under the feet.

What is the payment for it?
What is the purification for it?

V.3.39

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
There is neither penalty for it,
nor is there expiation for it.
There is no purification for it.
In accordance with “non-atonable deed”
for ever and ever.

V.3.40

Where exactly (does that leave us) if it be somebody who
professes or listens attentively to the *daênâ* of those who
sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ?
This applies to somebody who does not praise or listen
attentively to the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
Mazdâ.
For these (sins?) are thrown away for those who do praise the
daênâ of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ (and)
thenceforth do not practice undue deeds.

V.3.41

For the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
throws away the bond of the man who praises (it),
throws away the ... (?),
throws away the crime of murder,
throws away the crime of killing a sorcerer,
throws away the crime of killing an Orderly (man),
throws away the crime of throwing out a corpse,
throws away the crime of committing an inexpressible deed,
throws away the crime of a debt to be absolved in chains,
throws away all those criminal deeds, whichever are being
performed.

V.3.42

Just like that, O Spitama Zarathustra, does the *daênâ* of those
who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ wipe off the Orderly man’s
every bad thought, every bad word, every bad deed, like
the strongly speeding wind would wipe clear from the right
the firmament.
(When) here, O Zarathustra, a good deed well performed (is)
being performed, the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to
Ahura Mazdâ cuts off the penalty of an adult.

VIDEVAD 5: ON POLLUTION

V.5.1

A man dies *there,
in the depths of rivers.
A bird flies up there, from the tops of the mountains
to the depths of rivers.
It nibbles at that body, that of the dead man.
A bird flies up there, from the depths of rivers
to the tops of the mountains.
It flies up on that tree,
a hard tree or a soft tree.
It vomits on it, it urinates on it, it defecates on it.

V.5.2

A man goes forth there,
from the depths of rivers
to the tops of the mountains.
He goes to that tree, which that bird (flew up on).
He seeks firewood for the fire.
He strikes it, he cuts into it, he cuts it down.
With it he lights the fire, the son of Ahura Mazdâ.
What is the penalty for it?

V.5.3

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Neither dog-borne, nor bird-borne, nor wolf-borne,
nor wind-borne, nor fly-borne
dead matter makes a man guilty.

V.5.4

For if these corpses,
namely, dog-borne, bird-borne, wolf-borne,
wind-borne, and fly-borne,
were to make a man guilty,
right away my entire bony existence—
*at once his Order would be crippled,
every soul would be shuddering (in anger and fear),
every body would be forfeit,
by the large amount of these corpses
which lie dead upon this earth.
...

About dead bodies

V.5.8

O Orderly creator ...
Does water kill a man?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Water does not kill a man.
The Dismemberer binds him.
Vayu leads him bound.
The water carries him up,

the water carries him down.
The water leaves him.
Then the birds nibble at him.
There then he goes forth,
distributed then he goes down.

V.5.9

O Orderly creator ...
Does fire kill a man?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Fire does not kill a man.
Astô-vidhōtu binds him.
Vayu leads him bound.
The fire burns up the bones and the life breath.
there then he goes forth ...

V.5.10

O Orderly creator ...
Two summers pass, thus two years.
How should these ones behave,
who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In every house, in every village, let them set up three huts
for this one that is dead.

V.5.11

O Orderly creator ...
How large should these huts be?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
So that when one sits up it does not strike against the his
head,
nor should the feet protrude, nor the hands stick out on the
sides.
For this is the lawful hut
for this one that is dead.

V.5.12

Here they should insert the body whose consciousness has
left it
for two nights or three nights or a whole month,
until birds fly away from it and plants grow up from it,
the waters flow down, and the wind raises the dust.

V.5.13

Then, when birds fly from it and plants grow up from it,
the waters flow down, and the wind raises the dust,
here these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should expose this his body to the sun.

V.5.14

If these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ do not

expose this body to the sun for a whole *season,
you will exhibit a penalty for so much harming of the Orderly
until the corpses have been *plowed (into the ground?),
and the tombs and the filth,
and the birds have eaten it all.

V.5.15

O Orderly creator ...
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, release the water
from the Vourukasha Sea¹
together with the wind and the cloud?

V.5.16

Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the corpse?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the tomb?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the filth?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, ... it upon the ... (?)?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, make what must not be float away?
Will you make all those things float away together toward the
Pûitikâ Sea?²

V.5.17

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Yes, in that way, O Zarathustra,
like you *say, O upright one,
I release the water, I, Ahura Mazdâ,
from the Vourukasha Sea
together with the wind and the cloud.

V.5.18

I, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the corpse.
I, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the dakhma.
I, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it upon the pollution.
I, Ahura Mazdâ, ... it upon the ... (?).
I, Ahura Mazdâ, make float away what must not be.
I make all those things float away together toward the Pûitikâ
Sea.

V.5.19

They stand churning within the Vourukasha Sea.
Purifying flow the waters
from the Pûitikâ Sea into the Vourukasha Sea,
to the tree Of Good Waters.
There all my plants grow in all species,
in hundreds, thousands, and then thousand times ten
thousands.

V.5.20

(All) those together I, Ahura Mazdâ, make rain far and wide,
both as food for the Orderly man

and fodder for the cow of good gifts.
The mortal man shall eat my barley,
the cow who gives good gifts (shall eat) the fodder.
...

About the Law

V.5.22

O Orderly creator ...
How much greater, better, and more beautiful is
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

V.5.23

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Well, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like the Vourukasha Sea is above and beyond other
waters.

V.5.24

Yes, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like a greater water sweeps away a smaller water.
Yes, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like a greater tree covers a smaller tree.

V.5.25

Yes, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like (yonder sky) covers and surrounds this earth
like a bird (its) egg.³

V.5.26

The Model has been spoken,
the exaction of punishment has been spoken

¹ The heavenly waters, which come down as rain.

² The sea of "rotten" (waters).

³ Cf. Yt.13.2.

at the *drôn*¹ lifted up or not lifted up,
 at the *drôn* placed or not placed,
 at the *drôn* set up or not set up.
 Is this Model afterwards capable
 of forgive one-third of the penalty for it?
 And if he has committed other bad deeds,
 he must pay the penalty.
 But if he has committed no other bad deeds,
 then that man has paid for ever and eternity.

About pollution by contact

V.5.27

O Orderly creator ...
 Men who lie on the same bed,
 or the same bedspread, or the same pillow,
 and in addition there are two more men,
 or five or fifty or a hundred having the same wife,
 and then one of these men dies,
 among (these) men how much does this lie-demon of dead
 matter
 achieve in terms of pain, ... (?), and pollution?

V.5.28

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
 If it is a priest,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the eleventh, she contaminates the tenth.
 And if it is a charioteer,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the tenth, she contaminates the ninth.
 And if it is a husbandman,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the ninth, she contaminates the eighth.

V.5.29

And if it is a sheep-guarding dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the eighth, she contaminates the seventh.
 And if it is a village-guarding dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the seventh, she contaminates the sixth.

V.5.30

And if it is a Vohunazga (= ?) dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,

this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the sixth, she contaminates the fifth.
 And if it is a young dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the fifth, she contaminates the fourth.

V.5.31

And if it is a Sukerna (= ?) dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the fourth, she contaminates the third.
 And if it is a Jazhu (= ?) dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the third, she contaminates the second.

V.5.32

And if it is a Aibhizu (= ?) dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the second, she contaminates the first.
 And if it is a Vîzu (= ?) dog,
 then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
 this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
 If she reaches the first, she contaminates the first.

V.5.33

O Orderly creator ...
 And if it is a Urupi dog (the fox?),
 How much does this dog, the Urupi, contaminate
 of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
 how much does it pollute?

V.5.34

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
 Not does this dog, the Urupi, contaminate (any)
 of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
 nor does it pollute them,
 other than him who strikes it and kills it.
 Then it attaches itself to him for ever and ever.

V.5.35

O Orderly creator ...
 And if it is a two-legged villain possessed by the Lie,
 and so an unordered one who darkens Order,
 How much does he contaminate
 of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
 how much does he pollute?

V.5.36

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
 Just as much as the frog, (which lies) dried out (and) dead for
 a year (at a time).

¹ A round sacrificial cake.

For alive, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a two-legged villain possessed by the Lie,
and so an unorderly one who darkens Order,
contaminates the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
alive he pollutes them,

V.5.37

alive he strikes the water,
alive he blows out the fire,
alive he drives the cow in captivity,
alive he strikes the Orderly a blow
that leaves him unconscious and bereft of life breath.
Not so if dead.

V.5.38

For alive, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a two-legged villain possessed by the Lie,
and so an unorderly one who darkens Order,
carries off from the Orderly man
what he has gained(?) in food, clothing,
wood, *felt, and iron.
Not so if dead.

V.5.39

O Orderly creator ...
These houses that we assemble,
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
in this bony existence,
and (this) fire and barsom,
cups, haomas, and mortars and pestles,—
and then a dog or a man in this house dies,
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
behave?

V.5.40

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Let them carry out of these houses, O Spitama Zarathustra,
the fire and barsom,
cups, haomas, and mortars and pestles.
Let them carry out from it the dead,
like when a lawful man carries and eats
according to the law.

V.5.41

O Orderly creator ...
How should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
carry this fire back into this house,
where this man dies?

V.5.42

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Let these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ wait for nine
nights in winter.
but for one month in summer.
Then let these Ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ

carry this fire back into this house,
where this man died.

V.5.43

O Orderly creator ...
And if these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
carry this fire back into this house,
where this man dies,
within nine nights, within the length of a month,
what is the penalty for it?

V.5.44

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In return for this, upon him who is guilty of this capital
crime
one should apply two hundred strokes with the horse whip,
two hundred with the bastinado.

About pregnant women

V.5.45

O Orderly creator ...
If in this house belonging to one who sacrifices to Ahura
Mazdâ
a woman comes to be pregnant
for one month or two,
for three months or four,
for five months or six,
for seven months or eight,
for nine months or ten,
then here this woman turns out to have no child,
and no life breath,¹
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
behave?

V.5.46

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
If (this comes to happen)
in this house belonging to one who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ
(then she should be brought to)
where the earth is most purified ...
barsom spread out in Orderly fashion. (= V.3.15)

V.5.47

O Orderly creator ...
How far from the fire and water,
from the barsom to be spread out,
and from the Orderly men?

V.5.48

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

¹ Presumably the child is still-born.

Thirty steps from the fire and water,
thirty steps from the barsom to be spread out,
and three steps from the Orderly men.

V.5.49

Here these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should build
enclosures of this earth for her.
Afterward they should approach with foods, these who
sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
Afterward they should approach with garments, these who
sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

V.5.50

O Orderly creator ...
What kind of food should this woman eat first?

V.5.51

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Cow's urine that is not polluted with ... (?)
or three ..., or six or nine.
She shall then release these tombs from within
into the wombs, into the intestines. (??)

V.5.52

And afterward (she shall eat) *boiling
and mare's milk and cow's milk,
and ewe's milk and goat's milk,
... (?)
and cooked dehydrated meat
and dehydrated barley flour and dehydrated honey.

V.5.53

O Orderly creator ...
How long should they wait
How long should she sit *waiting,
eating meat, barley, and honey?

V.5.54

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They shall wait for three nights.
She shall sit *waiting for three nights,
eating meat, barley, and honey.
Then, after three nights,
she shall wash her body,
she shall wash her *clothes with cow's urine and water,
at nine ritual holes.
Thus they make her ritually clean.

V.5.55

O Orderly creator ...
How long should they wait
How long should she sit *waiting
after these three nights.
with separate bed, food, and clothes,
separate from the other ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

V.5.56

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They should wait for nine nights,
she should sit *waiting for nine nights,
after these three nights.
with separate bed, food, and clothes,
separate from the other ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
Then, after nine nights,
she shall wash her body,
she shall wash her *clothes with cow's urine and water,
at nine ritual holes.
Thus they make her ritually clean.

V.5.57

O Orderly creator ...
After the purification, can she wash the clothes
for the Libating priest, the Pressing priest,
the Fire-lighting priest, the Presenting priest,
the Tending priest, the Washing priest,
the Mingling priest, the Auditing priest,¹
or for the man who is a High priest, a Warrior,
or a Husbandman.²

V.5.58

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
After the purification, she can not wash the clothes
for the Libating priest, the Pressing priest,
the Fire-lighting priest, the Presenting priest,
the Tending priest, the Washing priest,
the Mingling priest, the Auditing priest,
nor for the man who is a High priest, a Warrior,
or a Husbandman.
...

¹ These are the different priests who participated in the original
yasna.

² These are the representatives of the three main social classes.
There was also a fourth class: the artisans.

VIDEVDAD 6: ON DEAD BODIES

V.6.1

How long there should this earth be *untouched
when dogs and men die on it?

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

This earth should be *untouched
for one season,¹ O Orderly Zarathustra,
when dogs and men die on it.

V.6.2

Afterward the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should not
plow that earth
nor release water (upon it),
when dogs and men die on it,
within one season.

Afterward the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should
plow that earth at will,
they should release water (upon it) at will.

V.6.3

If the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ plow that earth at
will,
if they release water (upon it),
when dogs and men die on it,
within one season,
then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ sin
against the water, the earth, and the plant(s)
and incur the sin of irregular exposure of corpses.

V.6.4

O Orderly creator ...

If the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ plow at will that
earth,
if they release water (upon it),
within one season,
when dogs and men die on it,
what is the penalty for that?

V.6.5

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

In return for this, he who is guilty of this capital crime
shall receive two hundred strokes with the horse whip,
two hundred with the bastinado.

V.6.6

O Orderly creator ...

If the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ wish to irrigate,
plow, and dig out
earth for growing,

how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
behave?

V.6.7

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

Here these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should search the earth for bones and hairs,
excrements, urine, and bloodiness.

V.6.8

O Orderly creator ...

if they do not search for bones and hairs,
excrements, urine, and bloodiness.
what is the penalty for that?

V.6.9

In return for this, he who is guilty of this capital crime
shall receive two hundred strokes with the horse whip,
two hundred with the bastinado.

...

V.6.26

O Orderly creator ...

if these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
while walking or running or riding or driving
come upon a body in running water,
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
behave?

V.6.27

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

They shall take off their shoes,
lay down their clothes
and then *attend to the task, O Zarathustra.
One shall go forth and take up the dead from the water, O
Zarathustra,
from water reaching him to the calves,
from water reaching him to the knees,
from water reaching him to the waist,
from water the height of a man,
until he reaches the dead body.

V.6.28

O Orderly creator ...

and if this corpse is *decomposing and rotting,
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
behave?

V.6.29

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

they shall take out of the water as much of it t

¹ It is not clear how long this is. The term seems to denote a period
of time between month and year, see Y.1.17.

as hey can grasp with their hands
and deposit it on dry earth.
Then they will not incur sins against the waters
by throwing the bones or hairs about,
or throwing excrements, urine or bloodiness about.

...

V.6.42

O Orderly creator ...
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
how will those haomas be purified,
which have touched carrion of a dead dog or man?

V.6.43

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They will be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
A haoma that has been pressed
causes no pain nor destruction,
nor does carrion brought onto unpressed ones,
if only they deposit four fingers of these in the earth
inside the house
until a whole season has passed.
Then after a whole season
they can be consumed at will by Orderly men
just like before.

V.6.44

O Orderly creator ...
Where shall we bring the body of dead men, O Ahura
Mazdâ?
Where shall we deposit them?

V.6.45

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
On the highest places, O Spitama Zarathustra,
so that flesh-eating dogs or flesh-eating birds
will notice him as often as possible.

V.6.46

Here then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should tie down this corpse
by its own two feet by its own hair
with a metal (fetter) or a wooden one
or one made from twigs,
if no flesh-eating dogs or flesh-eating birds
come upon someone carrying these bones
unto the waters or the plants.

V.6.47

O Orderly creator ...
if they do not tie down this corpse,
then, if these flesh-eating dogs or flesh-eating birds
come upon someone carrying these bones unto the waters or
the plants,
what is the penalty for that?

V.6.48

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In return for this, he who is guilty of this capital crime
shall receive two hundred strokes with the horse whip,
two hundred with the bastinado.

V.6.49

O Orderly creator ...
where shall we carry the bones of dead men, O Ahura
Mazdâ?
Where shall we deposit them?

V.6.50

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
One should make a tumulus
over a dog, a ... (?), or a wolf,
so that no rain water may rain on top of it.

V.6.51

If these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ are capable,
if in stony (...), ... (?)
if these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ are not capable,
they should deposit them (them)
with their own bed-spreads, their own pillows, (?)
on the earth with the lights (of heaven)
as their (only) covering, in full view of the sun.

VIDEVDAD 7: ON THE CARRION DEMON

V.7.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, O most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
How does the demon Carrion rush upon dead men?

V.7.2

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Immediately after death, O Spitama Zarathustra,
the consciousness will go out
(and) this Carrion demon rushes in from the north
in the form of a disgusting fly, knobly-kneed,
flat-assed, ... (?), driveling,
like the most repulsive evil creeps,—

V.7.2a

until a dog looks at (them) or nibbles (at them)
or a flesh-eating bird flies up (and lands) on him.
Then, when a dog looks at them or nibbles (at them)
or a flesh-eating bird flies up (and lands) on him,
this demon Carrion rushes back to the north
in the form of a disgusting fly, knobly-kneed,
flat-assed, ... (?), driveling,
like the most repulsive evil creeps.

V.7.3

As for these who are killed by dogs or by wolves,
by sorcerers or by enemies,
by stones or by men, by wrongs or by straits,
how long a time afterward
does this demon Carrion rush upon them?

V.7.4

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
for a period of a another day afterward
this demon Carrion rushes upon them.
...

V.7.11

O Orderly creator ...
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
how will those clothes be purified,
which have been brought onto carrion
of a dead dog or man?

V.7.12

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They will be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
But how?
If there are spots of sperm or urine,
of feces or vomit,

then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
shall cut up these clothes and bury them.

V.7.13

But if there are no spots of sperm or urine,
of feces or vomit,
then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
shall wash these garments with cow's urine.

V.7.14

If they are made of leather,
then they shall wash them three times with cow's urine,
cover them with earth three times,
and wash them three times with water.
For three months they shall air them
at the window of the house.

V.7.16

But if they are woven,
then they shall wash them six times with cow's urine,
cover them with earth six times,
and wash them six times with water.
For six months they shall air them
at the window of the house.

...

V.7.23

O Orderly creator ...
How will those men be purified,
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
who have eaten from carrion
of a dead dog or man?

V.7.24

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They will not be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
Those men shall be cut to the *grist and to the heart! (?)
One should remove the eyeball from their eyes.
This lie-demon, the corpse, will then rush upon their nails.
Afterward they become impure
for ever and eternity.
...

V.7.36

O Orderly creator ...
When these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ drive forth to
perform healing,
which should they first experiment on:
on those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ or on those who
sacrifice to evil gods?

V.7.37

Then Ahura Mazda said:

They should experiment on those who sacrifice to the old gods

prior to those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda.

If one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods

a first time and he dies,

if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods

a second time and he dies,

if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods

a third time and he dies,

then this one will be considered to be inexperienced

for ever and eternity.

V.7.38

May they not thereafter

... (?) those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda even when ...(!)

Nor let them cut those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda!

Nor let them, while cutting, wound them!

If thereafter

... (?) those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda even when ...(!),

if they cut those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda,

and if, cutting them, they harm them,

then they shall pay for the wound of the wounded man

with the penalty for a premeditated crime.

V.7.39

If one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods

a first time and he survives,

if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods

a second time and he survives,

if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods

a third time and he survives,

then this one will be considered to be experienced

for ever and eternity.

V.7.40

Thereafter they should at will

... (?) those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda even when ...(!),

Let them cut those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazda at will!

Let him heal by cutting at will!

V.7.41

He shall heal a priest for a *Dahmân Âfrîn* (prayer)

He shall heal a house-master

for the price of a small ox.

He shall heal a town-master

for the price of a medium ox.

He shall heal a tribe-master

for the price of a premier ox.

He shall heal a land-master

for the price of a wagon with four draft animals.

V.7.42

He shall heal the wife of a *premier house-master
for the price of an ass and his female.

He shall heal (that of) a town-master
for the price of a bull and his female.

He shall heal (that of) a tribe-master
for the price of a stallion and his female.

He shall heal (that of) a land-master
for the price of a camel and his female.

V.7.43

He shall heal a the son of a town(-master)
for the price of a premier ox.

He shall heal a premier ox for the price of a medium ox.

He shall heal a medium ox for the price of a small ox.

He shall heal a small ox for the price of a sheep.

He shall heal a sheep for the price of a meal of meat.

V.7.44

When many remedies are considered(?),

O Spitama Zarathustra,

healing with knives, plants, or with the poetic thought,
then the life-giving poetic thought is considered to be
healing.

For this is the most healing of remedies:

the healing life-giving poetic thought,

which heals from the innards of the Orderly Man.

V.7.45

Orderly creator ...

How long do dead men lie deposited upon the earth,
with the lights (of heaven) as their (only) covering,

in full view of the sun,

(before) they become (part?) of the earth?

V.7.46

Then Ahura Mazda said:

For one season, O Orderly Zarathustra.

Then dead men deposited upon the earth,

with the lights (of heaven) as their (only) covering,

in full view of the sun,

become (part?) of the earth.

V.7.47

Orderly creator ...

For how long do dead men lie buried in the earth,

(before) they become equal with the earth?

V.7.48

Then Ahura Mazda said:

After fifty years, O Orderly Zarathustra.

Then dead men buried in the earth

become equal with the earth.

V.7.49

Orderly creator ...
For how long do dead men lie deposited on a tomb,
(before) they become equal with the earth?

V.7.50

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Not until, O Orderly Zarathustra,
this (corpse?) mingles with the dust,
O Orderly Zarathustra,
should you incite anybody of the bony existence
to dig up these tombs.

V.7.51

And if someone digs up a tomb
as large as his own body,
his thought shall be forgiven,
as well as his words and deeds.
His thought shall be made up for,
as well as his words and deeds.

V.7.52

For the two spirits shall not take up a firm stance
(of competition) over this man.
*He shall go forth to the Best Existence,
O Zarathustra.
The stars, the moon, and the sun
shall *strengthen him.
And I too shall *strengthen him,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, who have set all in place.
Lucky man who have passed
from the perilous existence
to the existence free from peril!

V.7.53

Orderly creator ...
Where is an evil god,
where is one who sacrifices to the evil gods,
where do evil gods run together,
where do the evil gods come together,
where do the evil gods run together,
those of the Turian lands ...
by striking countless ones. (= Yt.5.54)

V.7.54

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In these tombs, O Spitama Zarathustra,
these structures that are built up all over this earth
in which dead men are deposited,
that is where the old god is.
That is where one who sacrifices to the old gods is.
That is where the old gods run together,
that is where they come together.
There the old gods run together,

those of the Turian lands ...
by striking countless ones. (= Yt.5.54)

...

V.7.76

Orderly creator ...
How will that cow be purified
who has eaten from carrion?

V.7.77

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
It will be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
Her milk or cheese (shall not be used) for a libation.
Her meat (shall not) be brought to a libation or to the barsom
until a whole season has passed.
Then, after a whole season,
they can be eaten at will by Orderly men
just like before.

V.7.78

Who would he be, O Ahura Mazdâ,
who, thinking Order, seeking Order, loses Order,
and thinking Order finds the Lie?

V.7.79

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
O Spitama Zarathustra,
he who, thinking Order, seeking Order, loses Order,
and thinking Order finds the Lie,
that would be he who offers water containing carrion
(and so) inappropriate for libations,
he who in dark nights
offers water inappropriate for libations.

Order is the best good.

VIDEVDAD 17: ABOUT NAILS AND HAIR

V.17.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
Ahura Mazdâ, Orderly ...
*Which mortal's sacrifice to the evil gods
brings the strongest destruction (and) death?

V.17.2

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
O Orderly Zarathustra,
that is he who in this bony existence
combs his hair and cuts his hair
and cuts his nails and then empties them out
in holes and *crevices.

V.17.3

Then in these *dark places of the earth evil gods arise.
Then in these *dark places of the earth creeps arise,
which mortals call by the name louse,
which gobble up the barley in the barley bins for mortals
and the clothes in the wardrobes.

V.17.4

But when you, Zarathustra,
in this bony existence,
comb your hair and cut your nails
and then carry them away
ten steps from the Orderly men,
twenty steps from the fire,
thirty steps from the water,
fifty steps from the barsom to be spread out,—

V.17.5

then you should dig a hole there,
ten finger-widths in hard earth,
a span (= 12 fingers) in soft earth.
Thither you should carry it.
Then you should say forth
these obstruction-smashing words, Zarathustra,
**Thus, for her Mazdâ through Order shall now make
plants grow. (3.48.6)**

V.17.6

With Well-deserved Command (= metal)
you should make a furrow all around,
four or six or nine,
and you should recite the *Ahuna vairyâ*,
four or six or nine.

V.17.7

With two nails you should dig a hole
outside the house
as much even as the first joint of the smallest finger.
Thither you should carry it.
Then you should say forth these obstruction-smashing words,
Zarathustra,
**through the Order of my sacrifice and my good thought,
by which I am at this very moment being heard before
the master of the exchange.**¹ (1.33.7)

V.17.8

With Well-deserved Command (= metal) you should make a
furrow all around,
four or six or nine,
and you should recite the *Ahuna vairyâ*,
four or six or nine (and then say:)

V.17.9

To you, O bird, favored by Order,²
I exhibit these nails, I make known these nails.
May these nails be for you, O bird, favored by Order,
spears and knives,
bows and arrows with eagle feathers,
and sling stones against the giant evil gods.

V.17.10

If they do not exhibit (them),
then those nails will afterward be
spears and knives,
bows and arrows with eagle feathers,
and sling stones for the giant evil gods.

V.17.11

All those who are possessed by the Lie,
with the Lie in their bodies,
do not follow the guidance (of Ahura Mazdâ).
All those who do not follow his guidance
have no readiness to listen.
All those who have no readiness to listen
are unorderedly.
All those who are unorderedly
have forfeited their bodies.

¹ There is a word play: *sruyê* = "I am being heard" and "nails."

² Traditionally thought to be the owl.

VIDEVDAD 18: SRAOSHA AND THE EVIL SPIRIT

Who is a priest?

V.18.1

For many men
—thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra,
wear another mouth-covering.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*¹
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.2

Someone carries another fly-whisk.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.3

Someone carries another plant.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.4

Someone *wields a ... whip.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.5

He who lies (sleeping) throughout an entire night
without sacrificing, without chanting,
without reciting, without performing,
without learning, without teaching,
*gathering his life breath for victory(?),
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.6

Him you shall call a priest,
—thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra,
who throughout an entire night
shall ask the Orderly guiding thought,
which delivers out of straits, places one in expanse,²
(about) the Bridge of the Accountant,
which places one in the good life,
where one reaches (the new) Life,
where one reaches Order,
where one reaches the best things
of the Best Existence.

V.18.7

Consult me in turn, O upright (Zarathustra),
me, the creator, the most life-giving,
the most knowledgeable
and the one who has the best answers when asked.
Thus you shall have the better (reward),
thus *I shall be more life-giving,
if you consult me in turn.

...

The rooster

V.18.14

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who is the Auditing priest of firm Sraosha with the rewards,
the firm one, who stretches the poetic thought,
the one with the defiant mace, the Ahurian one?

V.18.15

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
The bird called Fore-seer,³ O Spitama Zarathustra,
whom people of evil speech call “chicken.”
And that bird lifts its voice
toward dawn full of life-giving strength.

V.18.16

Get up, men!
Praise best Order! Scorn the old gods!
This (lie-demon) Sloth with long hands is running upon you.
She puts the entire bony existence
to sleep as soon as the lights have awakened (saying):
Sleep long man! You have time.

¹ Cf. Y.9.26.

² Cf. Y.8.8.

³ The rooster.

V.18.17

Don't be concerned with the three best things:
well-thought thought, well-spoken speech, well-performed
action!
Be concerned with the three worst things:
badly thought thought, badly spoken speech, badly performed
action!

V.18.18

Then, during the first third of the night,
the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
asks the master of the house:

V.18.19

Get up, master of the house, to assist (me)!
Put on your clothes!
Wash your hands!
Go seek firewood!
Bring it to me! Kindle me
with purified firewood,
with clean hands!
The *competition set in place by the old gods
seems to cut off my life
even before it has run its course.

V.18.20

Then, during the second third of the night,
the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
asks the husbandman:

V.18.21

Get up, husbandman, to assist (me)!
Put on your clothes!
Wash your hands!
Go seek firewood!
Bring it to me! Kindle me
with purified firewood,
with clean hands!
The *competition set in place by the old gods
seems to cut off my life
even before it has run its course.

V.18.22

Then, during the third third of the night,
the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
asks Sraosha with the rewards to assist (him).
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards!
Then he brings me of the bony existence
whatever firewood is purified,
with clean hands.
The *competition set in place by the old gods
seems to cut off my life
even before it has run its course.

V.18.23

Then Sraosha with the rewards wakens that bird
called Fore-seer, O Spitama Zarathustra,
whom people of evil speech call "chicken."
And that bird lifts its voice
toward dawn full of life-giving strength.

V.18.24

Get up, men!
Praise Order, the best! Blame the old gods!
This (lie-demon) Sloth with long hands is running upon you.
She puts the entire bony existence
to sleep as soon as the lights have awakened (saying):
Sleep long man! You have time.

V.18.25

Don't be concerned with the three best things:
well-thought thought, well-spoken speech, well-performed
action!
Be concerned with the three worst things:
badly thought thought, badly spoken speech, badly performed
action!

V.18.26

Then the companion *says to the companion,
lying together on the pillows:
Get up! He rouses me.
Whichever of the two gets up first
goes beyond to the Best Existence.
Whichever of the two first brings to the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
whatever firewood is purified,
with clean hands,
him the fire will bless,
satisfied and unantagonized ...

V.18.27

May you be accompanied by a herd of cattle, a multitude of
men!
May you be accompanied by both invigorating thought and
invigorating vitality!
May you live enjoying vitality for (as many) nights as you
shall live!
This is what makes the fire friend
(of him) who carries firewood to him, dry, *inspected in the
light,
purified with *strengthening of Order.

V.18.28

And he who, O Spitama Zarathustra, gives a pair of these
birds of mine,
one female and one male to an Orderly man
in good Orderly fashion,
may think (of himself) as having given a house
with a hundred columns, a thousand beams,

ten thousand ..., ten thousand windows.

V.18.29

And he who gives meat the size of the body
of this bird of mine,
never will I, Ahura Mazdâ,
be asking him a second word in return,
You shall go forth to the Best Existence.

Sraosha and the Lie

V.18.30

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
indeed you alone
of the entire bony existence
make your brood without being approached (by a male).

V.18.31

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
But I do not (alone)
of the entire bony existence
make my brood without being approached.
Even I have regularly four males.

V.18.32

They cover me in the manner
that males do other females as well:
they *pour their semen into the females.

V.18.33

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
who is the first of these males of yours?

V.18.34

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the first of these males of mine:
a man who does not give in good Orderly fashion
even the small(est share of the) prizes won at the audition
to the man who follows Order those (he has) asked for.

V.18.35

He covers me in the manner
that males do other females as well:
they *pour their semen into the females.

V.18.36

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:

How can this be undone?

V.18.37

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
That is the way to undo it:
when a man gives even of the small (shares of the) prizes
won at the audition
in good Orderly fashion to the follower of Order those (he
has) asked for,—

V.18.38

(then) he strikes wounds into me in the manner
that a four-legged wolf
tears a child out of the womb.

V.18.39

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
Who is the second of these males of yours?

V.18.40

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the second of these males of mine:
a man who urinates along the front side of his leg
the length of one foot forward(?).¹

V.18.41

He covers me in the manner
that males do other females as well.

V.18.42

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
How can this be undone?

V.18.43

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
it can be undone in that manner:
when a man, after getting up, takes three steps
and praises Order three times,
recites twice **“Of the things that have been thought”**
(YH.35.2)
and three times **“Indeed, it is for one with best command”**
(YH.35.5),
then recites an *Ahuna vairyâ*,
(and) offers up in sacrifice
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

¹ That is, standing up.

V.18.44

He strikes wounds into me in the manner
that a four-legged wolf
tears a child out of the womb.

V.18.45

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
Who is the third of these males of yours?

V.18.46

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the third of these males of mine:
a man who lets flow forth his semen when asleep.¹

V.18.47

He covers me in the manner
that males do other females as well.

V.18.48

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
How can this be undone?

V.18.49

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
it can be undone in that manner:
when a man after awaking from his sleep
praises Order three times,
recites twice **“Of the things that have been thought”**
and three times **“Indeed, it is for one with best command,”**
then recites an *Ahuna vairya*,
(and) offers up in sacrifice
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

V.18.50

He strikes wounds into me in the manner
that a four-legged wolf
tears a child out of the womb.

V.18.51

Then he *says to Life-giving Humility: O Life-giving
Humility,
I leave this man to your care.
May you take care of this man of mine
up to the Perfectioning rich in life-giving strength,
knowing the *Gathas*, knowing the *yasna*,
with words asked in return, attentive,
possessed of talent, stretching the poetic thought.

V.18.52

And may you make him the name
Fire-given or Fire-seed
or Fire-tribe or Fire-land
or any other name (like) Fire-given.

V.18.53

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
who is the fourth of these males of yours?

V.18.54

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the fourth of these males of mine:
the bad woman who, after her fifteenth year,
goes about without tying the girdle
and without *donning the shirt(?).

V.18.55

After she has taken the fourth step,
immediately afterward, we the old gods,
at once we ... tongue and fat.
Thenceforth in command she destroys
the bony living beings of Order,
like a *zand* and someone possessed by sorcerers
destroy the living beings of Order.

V.18.56

Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
How can this be undone?

V.18.57

Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
it can not be undone.

V.18.58

When a whore after her fifteenth year goes about
without tying the girdle and without ...

V.18.59

after she has taken the fourth step,
immediately afterward, we the old gods,
at once we ... tongue and fat.
Thenceforth in command she destroys
the material living beings of Order,
like a *zand* and a performer of sorcery
destroy the living beings of Order.

¹ Intentionally or unintentionally?

V.18.60

Consult me in turn, O upright (Zarathustra),
me, the creator and the most life-giving,
the most knowledgeable and the one who has the best
answers when asked.

Thus you shall have the better (reward),
thus *I shall be more life-giving,
if you consult with me in turn.

Other bad women

V.18.61

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit, Orderly,
who *upsets you with the greatest *upset,
who harms you with the greatest harm?

V.18.62

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Well, the whore, O Orderly Zarathustra,
who mingles the semen
of the (religiously) qualified and unqualified,
of those who sacrifice to the old gods and those who do not,
of those who have forfeited their body and those who have
not.

V.18.63

She causes to stand still one-third
of the rushing waters flowing in *riverbeds
by her looking at them, O Zarathustra.
She takes away the growth of one-third
of the plants growing up, beautiful, green,
by her looking at them, O Zarathustra.

V.18.64

She takes away one third
of the *wool of Life-giving Humility¹
by her looking at them, O Zarathustra.
She takes away one-third
of the good thoughts that the Orderly man
has thought more (than others),
the good speech he has spoken more,
the good deeds he has performed more,
of his bodily strength and obstruction-smashing strength,
and of his Orderliness
when she falls upon him, O Zarathustra.

V.18.65

And those (females) I say to you,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
are more worthy of smiting
than the winding snakes

¹ The Earth is like a good mother and wife, who spins and weaves
what her children need.

or than the wolves with *sharp claws(?),
or than the female wolf ... who falls upon the flock
or than the frog with a thousand spawns
which falls upon the water.

V.18.66

Consult me in turn, O upright (Zarathustra),
me, the creator and the most life-giving,
the most knowledgeable and the one who has the best
answers when asked.
Thus you shall have the better (reward),
thus *I shall be more life-giving,
if you consult with me in turn.

V.18.67

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit, Orderly,
He who releases his semen
in a woman having the marks(?), in menses, bleeding,
(a man) consciously knowing it, having noticed it, and
cognizant about it,
(in a woman) knowing it and being well aware of it,

V.18.68

how can he repent it
how can he atone for it,
how might one drive away the deeds this one has performed?

V.18.69

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
He who releases his semen
in a woman having the marks(?), in menses, bleeding,
(a man) consciously knowing it, having noticed it, and
cognizant about it,
(in a woman) knowing it and being well aware of it,

...

V.18.73

He should kill a thousand snakes crawling on their bellies,
two thousand other ones.
He should kill a thousand frogs puffing themselves up,
two thousand of them living in the water.
He should kill a thousand ants pulling grains,
two thousand other ones.

V.18.74

He should set up thirty beams across the deep water.
One should give him a thousand strokes with the horse whip,
two thousand with the bastinado.

V.18.75

Thus he can repent it, thus he can atone for it,
thus he one might drive away the deeds this one has

performed?

V.18.76

If he does drive them away,
he will *master the existence
that is that of the Orderly ones.

If he does drive them away,
he will *master the existence
that is that of the one possessed by the Lies,
darkness full of darkness, spawned by darkness.

VIDEVDAD 19: ZARATHUSTRA AND THE EVIL SPIRIT

V.19.1

From the northern region, from the northern regions
the Evil Spirit, full of destruction, ran forth,
the greatest among the old gods.
Thus he spoke, he, the Evil Spirit, giver of evil gifts, full of
destruction:
Come, O Lie, run and destroy the Orderly Zarathustra!
The lie ran around him,
the old god Bûitî,¹ dangerous, destructive, deceitful.

V.19.2

Zarathustra performed the *Ahuna vairya*:

In as much as a new life is a worthy one ...

He sacrificed to the good waters of the Good Lawful (river).
He chose as his the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
Mazdâ.
Stricken the lie ran away from him,
the old god Bûitî, dangerous, destructive, deceitful.

V.19.3

The Lie spoke to him in turn:
O ... (?) Evil Spirit,
I see no death for him, the Orderly Zarathustra.
Orderly Zarathustra is full of Fortune.
Zarathustra looked around in his mind:
the old gods possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts, are
plotting my death!

V.19.4

Up rose Zarathustra, forth went Zarathustra,
undaunted by the vicious spirit (and) the vileness of (his)
hateful plots,
carrying stones with (his) hand—they are the size of a
house—
Orderly Zarathustra, (which) he obtained from Ahura Mazdâ
the creator
Where are you carrying them
of this earth, wide, round, (and) with distant borders,
on the shore of the Drejya
of the home of Pourushâspa?

V.19.5

Zarathustra made the Evil Spirit a promise:
O Evil Spirit, giver of evil gifts, I shall smash the creation
made by the old gods,
I shall smash the corpse made by the old gods, I shall smash
the witch Xnanthaiî
against which the Revitalizer, obstruction-smasher, will be

¹ In the past it was supposed that this referred to the Buddha, but that
is impossible for various reasons, linguistic and historical.

born from Lake Kansaoya,
from the southern region, from the southern regions.

V.19.6

The Evil Spirit of the bad creation spoke to him in turn:
Do not destroy my creation, O Orderly Zarathustra!
You are the son of Pourushâspa,
*conscious from (the time of) the womb.
Un-praise² the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
Mazdâ
(and) you shall obtain a boon such as the one the land-lord
Vadhaghana obtained.

V.19.7

He, Spitama Zarathustra, spoke to him in turn:
I shall not un-praise the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to
Ahura Mazdâ,
not if (my) bones, my life breath, and my conscience were to
wrenched apart!

V.19.8

The Evil Spirit of the bad creation spoke to him in turn:
With which word will you overcome, with which word will
you take away—
with which weapon with well-made ...—the creation
belonging to me, the Evil Spirit?

V.19.9

He, Spitama Zarathustra, bobbed³ forth to him in turn:
With the mortar, with the bowl, with the haoma,
with the word spoken by Ahura Mazdâ.⁴
(That) is my weapon, the best.
With that word I shall overcome,
with that word I shall take away,
with that well-made weapon!
The Life-giving Spirit made (it).
He made it for endless time.⁵
The Life-giving Immortals brought (it) forth,
who bestow good command and give good gifts.

V.19.10

Zarathustra performed the *Ahuna vairya*:

In as much as a new life is a worthy one ...

Orderly Zarathustra pronounced

I am asking you this: tell me straight, O Ahura! (2.44.1)

² Remember the effects of praise (see Y.9.2, etc.).

³ Image of man on chariot, bobbing up and down as he drives forth.

⁴ That is, with a haoma sacrifice.

⁵ That is, it existed before the creation of the world and will remain at
the end of the world.

V.19.11

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ
on the shore of the Drejya,
for good Ahura Mazdâ,
sitting in the middle of good (things),
for Best Order, for Well-deserved Command,
for Life-giving Humility:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of the bony world of the living,—

V.19.12

how can I make them (safe) from yonder Lie,
from the Evil Spirit, giver of evil gifts?
How can I do (away with) contamination and pollution?
How can the demon Carrion be turned away
from the village of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ?
How can I purify the Orderly man?
How can I bring the Orderly woman purification?

V.19.13

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Call hither you, O Zarathustra, the good *daênâ*
of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ!
Call hither you, O Zarathustra—
may the Life-giving Immortals come down
upon the earth with its seven continents!
Call hither you, O Zarathustra, the Firmament
set in place by itself,
unlimited Time, (and) Vayu whose work is above.
Call hither you, O Zarathustra, the brave wind
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
(and) the Life-giving beautiful daughter of Ahura Mazdâ!¹

V.19.14

Call hither you, O Zarathustra,
yonder pre-soul, that of Ahura Mazdâ,
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
the hardest, the one with the best guiding thought, the best
shaped,
the one by which one most often reaches Order,²
whose breath-soul is the life-giving poetic thought itself.
You yourself, O Zarathustra, call hither this creation,
that of Ahura Mazdâ!

V.19.15

Zarathustra ... my growth.
I call down Orderly Ahura Mazdâ, set in place by the Web-
master.
I call down Mithra with wide grazing grounds,
who has good weapons,

the most munificent among weapons,
the greatest obstruction-smasher among weapons.
I call down well-shaped Sraosha with the rewards,
who holds a weapon in the hand
(to be brought down) upon the head of the old gods.

V.19.16

I call down the Firmament, set in place by itself,
unlimited Time, (and) Vayu whose work is above.
I call down the brave wind set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
(and) the Life-giving beautiful daughter of Ahura Mazdâ.
I call down the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura
Mazdâ
(and) the law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra.

V.19.17

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
..., O Ahura Mazdâ,
with which sacrifice shall I sacrifice,
with which sacrifice shall I send my sacrifice forth (to?)
this creation, that of Ahura Mazdâ?

V.19.18

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
You will come down, O Spitama Zarathustra,
to beautiful, grown, strong growths of plants,
pronouncing this word to be uttered:
Homage to you, O good, Orderly plant set in place by Ahura
Mazdâ.

Order is the best good reward/possession there is.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one
when one's Order is for the best Order.

(3 times)

V.19.19

He should have (them) carry up barsom
the length of a plow, the width of a yoke.
You should not cut cuts in (?) the barsom.
The Orderly men should be taking (it) with (their) left
hand(s),
sacrificing to Ahura Mazdâ, sacrificing to the Life-giving
Immortals,
as well as the golden, tall haoma
and beautiful Good Thought
and the good Gift of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
Orderly, the best.

V.19.20

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O all-knowing Ahura Mazdâ,
you are sleepless, you are ...-less, you, Ahura Mazdâ.

¹ That is Life-giving Humility, the Earth.

² Cf. Y.26.2.

(If someone) contaminates Good Thought,¹
pollutes Good Thought with body stricken by old gods,
if the old god contaminates it,
can Good Thought become purified?

V.19.21

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
You should take a bull's urine, O Zarathustra.
You should carry a *spade
made according to the law, purified,
out upon the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
This man who is to be purified
should dig an encircling furrow all around.

V.19.22

You should pronounce in praise a hundred praises of Order.
You should perform the *Ahuna vairya* twofold.
He should wash with four washes in a bull's urine,
twice in water set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

V.19.23

Then Good Thought becomes purified,
the man becomes purified.
*You should take up Good Thought
with the left arm and the right,
with the right arm and the left.
Then you should set down Good Thought
in the lights fashioned so as to be life-giving²
so that the stars made by the Distributor
may shine upon him
until nine nights shall pass for him.

V.19.24

Then, after nine nights,
you should bring libations to the fire.
You should bring hard firewoods to the fire.
You should bring well-scented incense to the fire.
It should make Good Thought all fragrant.

V.19.25

Then Good Thought becomes purified,
the man becomes purified.
He should take up Good Thought
with the left arm and the right,
with the right arm and the left.
Good Thought pronounced:
Homage to Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the Life-giving Immortals!
Homage to the other Orderly ones!

V.19.26

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O all-knowing Ahura Mazdâ,
shall I urge the Orderly man,
shall I urge the Orderly woman,
shall I urge (even) the one possessed by the Lie,
who sacrifices to the old gods,
(and) the short-lived humans,
(so that) they may cause to expand over the earth
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
running water (and) the growth of grains
and cause other *property to expand (as well)?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
You should urge (them), O Orderly Zarathustra.

V.19.27

Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Were will those gifts be,
where will they pay those remunerations,
where will they obtain those gifts,
where will those gifts be *totaled,
(so that) a man (already) during the bony existence
may set them aside for his own soul?

V.19.28

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
After a man is departed, after a man has passed away,
after (that) the old gods possessed by the Lie,
givers of evil gifts, tear at the departed.
As it becomes light after the third night,
the brilliant dawn lights up.
It ascends the mountains whose good breathing space
is in (the luminous spaces of) Order,
it makes Mithra with good weapons, the sun, come up.

V.19.29

The old god Drag-off, O Spitama Zarathustra,
leads the soul bound,
(even that) of the one possessed by the Lies
who sacrifices to the old gods,
(and that) of the short-lived humans.
It comes along the paths set in place in/by Time,
to the one possessed by the Lie or the Orderly one,
to the Ford of the Accountant set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
They in return ask for(?) the conscience and breath-soul
(as?) the share of living beings
set in place in the bony existence.

V.19.30

She, beautifully made, brave, well-shaped, will come,
with (her) dogs, brilliance, diadem, arts, (and) talents.
She drags the vile souls of the one possessed by the Lie
into the darknesses.
She rises *with the souls of the Orderly ones

¹ Good Thought here represents domestic animals and humans.

² Or: fashioned by life-giving one.

above tall Harâ,
she supports (them) across the Ford of the Accountant,
*at the passage of the deities in the world of thought.

V.19.31

Up rose Good Thought from (his) golden throne.
Good Thought pronounced:
When did you come hither to us, O Orderly one,
from the perilous existence to the existence without peril?

V.19.32

Thus welcomed the souls of the Orderly ones go forth
to the golden thrones of Ahura Mazda,
of the Life-giving Immortals, to the House of Song,
the abode of Ahura Mazda,
the abode of the Life-giving Immortals,
the abode of the other Orderly ones.

V.19.33

The Orderly one who is to be purified—
after (his) passing away the old gods possessed by the Lie,
givers of evil gifts, fear (his) smell just
like a ewe frightened by the wolf fears the wolf.

V.19.34

The Orderly men gather together,
Nairya.sangha joins them,
the messenger of Ahura Mazda.
Say Nairya.sangha!
You yourself, O Zarathustra, call hither this creation,
that of Ahura Mazda!

V.19.35

Zarathustra *announced growth for me.
O Orderly Ahura Mazda,
I call down (the ...) set in place by the Web-master.¹
I call down the earth set in place by Ahura Mazda,
the water set in place by Ahura Mazda,
the plant set in place by Ahura Mazda.
I call down the Vourukasha Sea.
I call down the sky with the sun.
I call down the Endless Lights set in place by themselves.

V.19.36

I call down the best existence of the Orderly ones, full of
light and all good breathing space.
I call down the House of Song, the dwelling of Ahura Mazda,
the dwelling of the Life-giving Immortals, the dwelling of
the other Orderly ones.
I call down the Place of ... set in place by itself,
the Bridge of the Accountant set in place by Ahura Mazda.

¹ Or: I call upon Orderly Ahura Mazda set in place by the Web-master?

V.19.37

I call down the good Glow with broad eyes.
I call down the strong pre-souls of the Orderly ones, all the
living beings possessing vitalizing strength.
I call down the Resistance-smasher set in place by Ahura
Mazda, the Fortune-bearer set in place by Ahura Mazda,
I call down the star Tishtriya, wealthy, munificent, in the
shape of a bull with golden hooves.

V.19.38

I call down the Orderly life-giving *Gâthâs*, whose power is
according to the models.
I call down the *Ahunawaitî Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Ushawaitî Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Spentâ.mainyû Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Vohukshathrâ Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Vahishtëishti Gâthâ*.

V.19.39

I call down the continents Arezahi and Sawahi.
I call down the continents Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu.
I call down the continents Vouru.barshti and Vouru.jarshti.
I call down the continent brilliant Khwaniratha.
I call down the Haêtumant (river), wealthy and munificent.
I call down the Good Ashi.
I call down the straightest Cistâ.
I call down the Fortune of the Aryan lands.
I call down the Fortune of radiant Yima with good herds.

V.19.40

(May) Sraosha with the rewards,
well-shaped, Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smasher, (be) sacrificed to,
satisfied, recognized!
You should bring libations to the fire.
You should bring hard firewoods to the fire.
You should bring well-scented incense to the fire.
You should sacrifice to the Most Conveying² fire,
the smasher of the old god Spenjaghriya.³
You should bring tender food,
to the full (and) overflowing (...).

...

V.19.42

I call down the Kara fish, living in the waters
at the bottom of the deep bays.
I call down the Peg (in the middle of the sky),
first to be set in place by itself,

² Or; most invigorating.

³ An atmospheric god (of lightning?).

the strongest in the fight of the two creations
in the world of thought.
I call down the brilliant Seven Horns (Little Dipper),
its shining sons—they are (its) crowns/*tails.

V.19.43

He exhorted, he dissuaded,
he took courage, he lost courage,
the Evil Spirit full of destruction,
the greatest among the old gods.
(There were) the old god Indra, the old god Sâurwa,
the old god Nânghaithya,
the old gods Taurwi and Zairi,
Wrath with the bloody club,
the old god Evil-fashioner,
the Winter set in place by the old gods,
dangerous, destructive Senility—it makes for bad deceit,
the old god Bûiti, the old god Drivel,
the old god Deceit, the old god Pustule,
the old god Cutter, the worst old god of them all.

V.19.44

Thus spoke the old god, deceptively,
he, the Evil Spirit full of destruction:
Let us *gather, O old gods, possessed by the Lie,
you who give evil gifts,
on the top of Arezûra.

V.19.45

They ran thither all a-chatter,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
howling all a-chatter,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
They chattered evil deception,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
Let us gather on the top of Arezûra.

V.19.46

Orderly Zarathustra is born,
of the house of Pourushâspa.
How shall we find death for him?
He is the smiter of old gods,
he is the opponent of old gods,
he is the one who destroys the old gods.
Down (tumbled) the ones who sacrifice to the old gods,
the Corpse set in place by the old gods,
the falsely spoken Untruth.

V.19.47

They ran thither all a-chatter,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
to the bottom of the fearful existence of Hell.

VIDEVDAD 20-22: MYTH OF ORIGIN AND HEALING OF DISEASES

Thrita, the first healer

V.20.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of the bony world of the living,
who was the first among men
rich in *care, skills, crafts,
rich in sorcery, wealthy, brave, made before,
to keep disease for disease,
to keep destruction for destruction,
to keep the flying spear and the heat of fire
away from the body of man.

V.20.2

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Thrita was the first among men¹
rich in *care, skills, crafts,
rich in sorcery, wealthy, brave, made before,
(who) held disease away from disease,
held destruction away from destruction,
held the flying spear away,
held the heat of fire away
from the body of man.

V.20.3

He took as his rewards Well-deserved Command
from the seed of the bird (of heaven?)
for resisting disease,
for resisting destruction,
for resisting burning,
for resisting fever (etc.: long list)
for resisting the evil eye,
(all the diseases) that the Evil Spirit whittled forth
against this body, that of mortals.

V.20.4

Then I, Ahura Mazdâ, brought up healing plants,
hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands,
but only the one Gaokarna.²

V.20.5

All that we make friendly (to us).
All that we send (up to you in our sacrifice).
All that we bend down to,
for the sake of this body, that of mortal men,

V.20.6

for resisting disease,
etc.

V.20.7

Disease, I tell you to go back!
Destruction, I tell you to go back!
Burning, I tell you to go back!
Fever, I tell you to go back!
etc.
Evil eye, I tell you to go back!

V.20.8

... by the increase of which we may overcome the Lie,
May we overcome the Lie with growth,
command with strength for *me*, O Ahura.

V.20.9

May I conquer and chase (various diseases)!
May I conquer and chase destruction!
etc.
May I conquer and chase the evil eye, (which is) rot and filth,
(the diseases) which the Evil Spirit whittled forth
against this body, that of mortal men.

V.20.10

May I conquer and chase every disease and destruction,
all sorcerers and witches,
all women possessed by the Lie!

V.20.11 = Y.54.1.

**Let speedy Airyaman come here for support
for men/heroes and women/heroines, for the support of
Zarathustra's
good thought, by which his vision-soul may gain a well-
deserved fee.**

**I am now asking for the reward of Order, which Ahura
Mazdâ shall *deem worthy of being sped hither.**

V.20.12

Let the *Â Aryemâ ishyô* (prayer) smash
every disease and destruction,
all sorcerers and witches,
all women possessed by the Lie!

V.20.13-14

In as much as a new life is a worthy one
May you not destroy the bony living beings of Order!
Order is the best good ...

¹ Cf. Y.9.10.

² Cf. Yt.1.30.

Spells against diseases

V.21.1

Homage to you, O life-giving Cow!
Homage to you, O Cow giving good gifts!
Homage to you, O furthering one!
Homage to you, O increasing one!
Homage to you, O giver of his befitting share
to the best Orderly one,
to the Orderly one without progeny(?),
You who destroy the evil woman,
the unorderly one who darkens Order,
the mortal possessed by the Lie,
and the false teacher.

V.21.2

*Bring (waters), O clouds,
bring them forward, down, upon (the earth?),
in a thousand streams, in ten thousand streams!
May you, O Orderly Zarathustra, tell
disease to get lost,
destruction to get lost,
the disease of women to get lost,
the destruction of women to get lost,
the ... (?) and the ... (?) to get lost!

V.21.3

If he is destroyed in the morning,
it will heal (him) by day.
If he is destroyed by day,
it will heal (him) by night.
If he is destroyed by night,
it will heal (him) before dawn.
May they rain in rains far and wide,
new water, new earth, new plants,
new remedies, and new *healings.

V.21.4

As (?) the Vourukasha Sea
is an assembly place of the waters (?),
rise and take up your position(?)—
in (your) course above the earth,
above the earth in (your) course!
Rise and go about,
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ laid down (your) course.

V.21.5

Rise with your rising, O sun with fleet horses!
Over tall Harâ you shall make light among the living beings.
Rise, even if you are held fast in the mountain,
along the path set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
along the route assigned by the assigner,
along the course cut out (for you).

V.21.6

And before him ... (?),
and before him the life-giving poetic thought.¹
Here I shall wash your birth and growth,
I purify your body and (tissue-)strength,
I make you pregnant, (I fill your breasts?) with milk.²

V.21.7

Full of *butter, full of milk,
full of milk, full of butter-oil,
full of marrow, full of offspring,
I shall wash you here with a thousand springs,
flowing into your breasts,
which is the nourishment for your son.

V.21.8

As (?) the Vourukasha Sea ...
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ set in place the earth.

V.21.9

Rise with your rising, O moon with the seed of cattle,
Over tall Harâ you shall make light among the living beings.
Rise, even if you are held fast in the mountain ...
along a course cut out (for you).

V.21.10

And before him ...
I make you pregnant, (I fill your breasts?) with milk.

V.21.11

Full of *butter, full of milk ...
which is the nourishment for your son.

V.21.12

As (?) the Vourukasha Sea ...
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ set in place the rising (of the sun, etc.).

V.21.13

Rise at your rising, O stars, deep, containing the seed of the
waters!
Over tall Harâ you shall make light among the living beings.
Rise, even if you are held fast in the mountain ...
along a course cut out (for you)

V.21.14

And before *them ...
I make you pregnant, (I fill your breasts?) with milk.

¹ Cf. Y.9.26.

² Addressed to Dawn, who is pregnant with the sun and whose
udders (image of the mother cow) are frequently mentioned in the
Rigveda.

V.21.15

Full of *butter, full of milk ...
which is the nourishment for your son.

V.21.16

As (?) the Vourukasha Sea ...
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ set in place the rising (of the sun, etc.).

V.21.17

Rise with your rising!
You are called away, O ...,
you are called away, O ...,
you are called away, O evil woman full of sorcery.

V.21.18-33

May I conquer and chase ... (long list)
May you not destroy the bony living beings of Order!
Order is the best good ...

The Evil Spirit makes diseases, Airyaman heals them

V.22.1

Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the giver/maker of good things,
when I made that house, beautiful, luminous, visible
going up, going away (into the distance?),—

V.22.2

then the villain looked at me,
then the villain, the Evil Spirit full of destruction,
made against me 99,000 diseases.
So may you heal me, O life-giving poetic thought,
you of great munificence!

V.22.3

For this I shall give you at one and the same time
a thousand fleet, *firmly-running horses.
I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly Good Glow (= Dawn?),
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
For this I shall give you at once
a thousand ... camels, with ... humps.
I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly good Glow,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

V.22.4

For this I shall give you at once
a thousand black bulls whose bodies are not forfeit.
I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly Good Glow,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
For this I shall give you at once

a thousand sheep ... of all colors.

I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly good Glow,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

V.22.5

And I invite you
with the beautiful qualified Invitation,¹
with the friendly qualified Invitation,
which makes what is empty full,
and what is full overflowing,
(and) which binds that which is not sick,
and makes healthy that which is sick.

V.22.6

The life-giving poetic thought of great munificence
answered him:
How shall I heal you?
How shall I ward off from you 99,000 diseases?

V.22.7

Ahura Mazdâ, the creator, *called Nairya Sangha:
O eloquent Nairya Sangha, go away!
Drive up to the house of Airyaman!
Tell Airyaman this:

V.22.8

Orderly Ahura Mazdâ tells you this:
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the giver/maker of good things,
when I made that house, beautiful, luminous, visible
going up, going away (into the distance?),—

V.22.9

then the villain looked at me,
then the villain, the Evil Spirit full of destruction,
made against me 99,000 diseases.
So may you heal me, O life-giving poetic thought,
you of great munificence!

V.22.10-12

For this I shall give you at once ...
and makes healthy that which is sick.

V.22.13

In obedience to his word
eloquent Nairya Sangha went away.
He drove up to the house of Airyaman.
He told Airyaman this:

V.22.14-18

Orderly Ahura Mazdâ tells you this:
I, Ahura Mazdâ ...

¹ Cf. Y.1.15.

and makes healthy that which is sick.

V.22.19

Quickly that was (done. It was) not long
before speedy Airyama, hurrying,
reached Mount Spenta.frasnah,
to the forest Spenta.frasnah.

V.22.20

He brought the *benefit¹ of nine male horses,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought the *benefit of nine male camels,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought the *benefit of nine male bulls,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought the *benefit of nine male sheep,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought nine channels.
He brought nine *furrows.

V.22.21-26

May I conquer and chase ... (long list)

May you not destroy the bony living beings of Order!

Order is the best good ...

I scorn the old gods.

One is the path of Order.

All (those) of the others are *non-paths.

*The *daênâ* of the Evil Spirit leads the most astray.

Destruction of those who sacrifice to the old gods!

Fame for (our) men!

¹ Cf. V.3.25, which shows that the word has to do with fertilization.

HÂDÔKHT NASK 1. PRAISE OF ORDER

H.1.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Which is that speech of yours in which there is
the utterance of all good things,
of all good things from the seed of Order?

H.1.2

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
The praises of Order, Zarathustra.

H.1.3

He who praises Order
turned to foreknowing thought (of what the rewards will be),
with faith (and) desire for (new) Life—
he praises me, Ahura Mazdâ,
he praises the water and the earth,
he praises the cow and the plants,
he praises all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
from the seed of Order.

H.1.4

For when the *Ahuna Vairya* is uttered,
then this word of power and obstruction-smashing strength
revitalizes breath-soul and *daênâ*.

H.1.5

For this single praise of Order,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
or one satisfaction of an Orderly one
is worth the hundred (nights) of sleep,
the thousand meals of meat, ten thousand of mutton
of any single one of these bodies
that comes before (me) as guest (in my house?).

H.1.6

Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth ten other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.7

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) when eating:
with Wholeness and Immortality he praises Order,
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought,
(words) well spoken, and (acts) well done,
while discarding (thoughts) badly thought,
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.8

Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth a hundred other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.9

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) after eating:
he praises the Order of the pressed haoma,
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought ...
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.10

Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth a thousand other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.11

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) stretching himself before sleep:
going to sleep he praises Order
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought ...
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.12

Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth ten thousand other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.13

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) waking from sleep
waking up he praises Order
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought ...
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.14

Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth this entire continent of Khwaniratha
with its cattle, its chariots, *full of (heroic/virile) men,
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.15

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) at the last turn of (his) life:
he praises Order
saying (it) forth in praise (thoughts) well thought, (words)

well spoken, (acts) well done,
discarding (thoughts) badly thought, (words) badly spoken,
(acts) badly done.

H.1.16

Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth all this which is between heaven and earth,
as well as this earth and those lights,
and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
whose seed is from Order,

with cattle, chariots, *full of (heroic/virile) men,
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.17

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) that one (a man utters)
when he turns away from (thoughts) badly thought,
(words) badly spoken, (acts) badly done.

HÂDÔKHT NASK 2. MYTH OF THE BREATH-SOUL AND THE VISION-SOUL AFTER DEATH

H.2.1

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
When and Orderly one dies,
where does his soul dwell that night?

H.2.2

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
It sits near the head,
proclaiming the *Ushtawaitî Gâthâ*,
calling down the prayer with **Wished-for things**:
Wished-for things are in the wish for him, to whomever
Mazdâ Ahura, commanding at will, shall give them.
(2.43.1)

During this night the soul *enjoys as much joy
as in this entire existence of being alive.

H.2.3

Where does his soul dwell this second night?

H.2.4

Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the soul *enjoys as much joy ...

H.2.5

Where does his soul dwell this third night?

H.2.6

Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the soul *enjoys as much joy ...

H.2.7

At dawn of the third night
it seems to the breath-soul of the Orderly man that it gets
light.
It seems (to him) he is passing through plants and perfumes.
A wind seems to blow toward him
from the southern direction,

from the southern directions,
fragrant—more fragrant than (all) other winds.

H.2.8

Then it seems to the breath-soul of the Orderly man
that he *breathes that wind through his nose (thinking):
Wherefrom does that wind blow,
the most fragrant wind I have ever smelled?

H.2.9

Through that wind there seems to him
to be coming forth his own *daênâ*
in the form of a beautiful, *radiant, young woman,
with white arms, powerful, well-shaped,
*slender, tall, with high breasts,
with *sinuous body, high-born, of wealthy stock,
fifteen-year-old in looks, in form so much more beautiful
than the most beautiful living beings.

H.2.10

Then the breath-soul of the Orderly man asks her saying:
What woman are you, the most beautiful of women
I have ever seen?

H.2.11

She, his own *daênâ*, says to him in turn:
Well, I am, O youth, your good thought,
good speech, good action, good *daênâ*,
your own *daênâ* of your own body.
(The breath-soul:)
And who loved you with such greatness,
goodness, and beauty,
such fragrance, victory, obstruction-smashing strength,
as you appear to me?

H.2.12

(The *daênâ*:)
You loved me with such greatness ...
as I appear to you.

H.2.13

When you saw another making burnt offerings
and offerings of incense and ...
and spreading out plants (flowers?)
then you sat down performing the *Gâthâs*,
sacrificing to the good waters,
(nurturing) the fire of Ahura Mazdâ,
and seeking to please the Orderly man (coming) from near
(and far).

H.2.14

Then (you made) me,
(already) befriended (even) more befriended,
(already) beautiful (even) more beautiful,
(already) *praiseworthy (even) more *praiseworthy.
You seated me (already) sitting on a superior seat
on an (even) more superior seat,
by this (thought) well thought, (speech) well spoken,
and (deed) well done.
Then afterward (other) men (too) sacrifice to me,
Ahura Mazdâ, with long sacrifices and consultations.

H.2.15

The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a first step,
set it down in Good Thought.
The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a second step,
set it down in Good Speech.
The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a third step,
set it down in Good Deeds.
The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a fourth step,
set it down in the Endless Lights.

H.2.16

Then an Orderly one who had died before asks him:
How, O Orderly one, did pass on?
How, O Orderly one, did you go away
from the settlements full of milk
and from the ... full of pleasures,
from the bony existence to the existence of thought,
from the perilous existence to the existence free from peril?
How was your long (journey of) in wished-for (space)?

H.2.17

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Don't ask him whom you are asking,
for he has come along the tortuous, fearsome, bloody road
which is the wrenching apart of bone and consciousness.

H.2.18

Let some of (the best) foods be brought him,
some spring ghee.
That is the food after death for the youth
of good thought, good speech, and good action.
That is the food after death for the woman

who thinks more good (thoughts),
speaks more good (words), does more good (deeds),
the Orderly (woman) who is easy to *instruct,
whose command is according to the model.

H.2.19

Zarathustra asked ... Orderly one!
When one possessed by the Lie dies,
where does his breath-soul dwell that night?

H.2.20

Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Well, it runs about near the head of the bed,
O Orderly Zarathustra,
proclaiming words of *Kamnamaêza* from the *Gâthâs*,
To what ground am I bending?
O Ahura Mazdâ,
Where shall I go to find(?) a *grazing land? (2.46.1)
During that night the breath-soul *enjoys as much unjoy
as this entire living existence.

H.2.21

Zarathustra asked ... Orderly one!
When one possessed by the Lie dies,
where does his breath-soul dwell that second night?

H.2.22

Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the breath-soul *enjoys as much unjoy ...

H.2.23

Zarathustra asked ... Orderly one!
When one possessed by the Lie dies,
where does his breath-soul dwell that third night?

H.2.24

Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the breath-soul *enjoys as much unjoy ...

H.2.25

At dawn of the third night,
O Orderly Zarathustra,
it seems to the breath-soul of the man possessed by the Lie
that it gets light.
It seems (to him) he is being stretched out
through *impassable places and stench.
A wind seems to blow toward him
from the northern direction,
from the northern directions,
stinking—more stinking than (all) other winds.

H.2.26

Then it seems to the breath-soul of the man possessed by the
Lie

that he *breathes that wind through his nose (thinking):
Wherefrom does that wind blow,
the most stinking wind I have ever smelled?

H.2.27-33

...

The breath-soul of the man possessed by the Lie took a fourth
step,
set it down in the Endless Darknesses.

H.2.34

Then one possessed by the Lie who had died before asked
him:

How, O you possessed by the Lie, did you die?
How, O you possessed by the Lie, did you go away
from the settlements full of milk ...
from the perilous existence to the existence free from peril?
How was your long (journey) in woe?

H.2.35

Then the Evil Spirit howled:
Don't ask him whom you are asking,
for he has come along the tortuous, painful, bloody road
which is the wrenching apart of bone and consciousness.

H.2.36

Let foods be brought him of poison
and with the stench of poison.
That is the food after dying for the youth
of bad thought, bad speech, bad action.
That is for the food after dying the evil woman
who thinks more bad (thoughts),
speaks more bad (words), does more bad (deeds),
who is difficult to *instruct,
whose command is not according to the Models,
the one possessed by the Lie.

H.2.37 = Yt.1.30

H.2.38 = Yt.1.28, 31

H.2.39

Orderly creator ...

*Wherefrom are the pre-souls of the dead,
which are the pre-souls of the Orderly?

H.2.40

Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
From the Life-giving Spirit, O Zarathustra,
is their seed and from best thought.

H.2.41

Then, before the rising of the dawns,
this bird the Fore-seer,
this bird with *fangs like knives(?),
hears the voice of the fire.

H.2.42

Then the villainess Sloth with long hands rushes forth
from the northern direction
from the northern directions,
speaking thus, lying thus:
Sleep O men!
Sleep, O you short-living ones!
Sleep, O you short-lived ones!

THE CYRUS CYLINDER

[...] a weakling was established as ruler over his land and [...] a similar one he appointed over them, like Esagila he made [...] to Ur and the rest of the cities, like Esagila he made [...] to Ur and the rest of the cities, a command dishonoring them [...] he planned daily and in enmity, he caused the daily offering to cease; he appointed [...] he established within the city.

The worship of Marduk, king of the gods [...] he showed hostility toward his city daily [...] his people; he brought all of them to ruin through servitude without rest.

On account of their complaints, the lords of the gods became furiously angry and left their land; the gods, who dwelt among them, left their homes, in anger over his bringing into Babylon. Marduk [...] to all the dwelling places, which had become ruins, and the people of Sumer and Akkad, who were like corpses [...] he turned and granted mercy.

In all lands everywhere he searched; he looked through them and sought a righteous prince after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. He called Cyrus, king of Anshan, by name; he appointed him to lordship over the whole world. The land of Qutu, all the Umman-manda, he cast down at his feet. The black-headed people, whom he gave his hands to conquer, he took them in justice and righteousness.

Marduk, the great lord, looked joyously on the caring for his people, on his pious works and his righteous heart. To his city, Babylon, he caused him to go; he made him take the road to Babylon, going as a friend and companion at his side. His numerous troops, in unknown numbers, like the waters of a river, marched armed at his side. Without battle and conflict, he permitted him to enter Babylon. He spared his city, Babylon, a calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, Sumer, and Akkad, princes and governors, fell down before him and kissed his feet. They rejoiced in his sovereignty; their faces shone. The lord, who by his power brings the dead to life, who amid destruction and injury had protected them, they joyously blessed him, honoring his name.

I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world, son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; eternal seed of royalty whose rule Bêl and Nabû love, in whose administration they rejoice in their heart. When I made my triumphal entrance into Babylon, I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace with joy and rejoicing; Marduk, the great lord, moved the noble heart of the residents of Babylon to me, while I gave daily attention to his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. In all Sumer and Akkad I permitted no enemy to enter.

The needs of Babylon and of all its cities I gladly attended to. The people of Babylon [and ...], and the shameful yoke was removed from them. Their dwellings, which had fallen, I restored. I cleared out their ruins.

Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced in my pious deeds, and graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and Cambyses, my own son, and all my troops, while we, before him, joyously praised his exalted godhead.

All the kings dwelling in palaces, of all the quarters of the earth, from the Upper to the Lower sea dwelling [...] all the kings of the Westland dwelling in tents brought me their heavy tribute, and in Babylon kissed my feet.

From [...] to Asshur and Susa, Agade, Eshnunak, Zamban, Meturnu, Deri, with the territory of the land of Qutu, the cities on the other side of the Tigris, whose sites were of ancient foundation—the gods, who resided in them, I brought back to their places, and caused them to dwell in a residence for all time.

And the gods of Sumer and Akkad—whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon—by the command of Marduk, the great lord, I caused them to take up their dwelling in residences that gladdened the heart.

May all the gods, whom I brought into their cities, pray daily before Bêl and Nabû for long life for me, and may they speak a gracious word for me and say to Marduk, my lord: May Cyrus, the king who worships you, and Cambyses, his son, their [...] I permitted all to dwell in peace [...]

From <http://www.kchanson.com/ANCDOCS/meso/cyrus.html>

FROM THE ACHAEMENID INSCRIPTIONS (6TH-4TH CENTURIES B.C.E.)

**FROM DARIUS'S BEHISTUN/BISOTUN
INSCRIPTION**

DB 1.1-3

I am Darius, the great king, king of kings,
king in Persia, king over the lands,
the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames,
an Achaemenid.

DB 1.3-7

King Darius announces:
My father is Hystaspes, Hystaspes' father was Arsames,
Arsames' father was Ariaramnes, Ariaramnes' father was
Teispes,
Teispes' father was Achaemenes.

DB 1.7-8

King Darius announces:
For that reason are we called Achaemenids.
From old we have been distinguished,
from old *our* family have been kings.

DB 1.8-11

King Darius announces:
Eight of my family were kings before. I am the ninth
From then till now, nine of us have been kings.

DB 1.11-12

King Darius announces:
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I am king.
Ahuramazdâ conferred the royal command upon me.

DB 1.12-17

King Darius announces:
These are the lands that came to me.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I was their king.
Persia, Elam, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt,—
those by the sea: Sardis, Ionia,—
Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Areia,
Chorasmia,
Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia,
the Makranians.
All in all 23 lands.

DB 1.17-20

King Darius announces:
These are the lands that came to me,
by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
they were my bondsmen.

They brought me tribute.

Whatever was announced to them from me, that they would
do.

DB 1.20-24

King Darius announces:
In these lands, any man who was *praiseworthy,
him I treated well.
Whoever was evil,¹ him I punished well.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
these lands behaved according to *my* law.
As was announced to them from me,
thus they would do.

DB 1.24-26

King Darius announces:
Ahuramazdâ conferred the royal command upon me.
Ahuramazdâ brought me support until I held this royal
command together.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I (now) hold this royal
command.

DB 1.26-35

King Darius announces:
This is what I have done after I became king.
Before, Cambyses, son of Cyrus, of our family, was king
here.
That Cambyses had a brother called Smerdis,
with the same mother and father as Cambyses.
Then Cambyses killed that Smerdis.
When Cambyses killed Smerdis, the people/army did not
realize that Smerdis had been killed.
Then Cambyses went to Egypt.
When Cambyses had gone to Egypt, then the people became
impious,
and Deception became rampant in the lands,
both in Persia and Media and in the other lands.

DB 1.35-40

King Darius announces:
Then there was a man called Gaumâta.
He rose up from Mount Arakadri in Paishiyâuvâda.
It was on the 14th of the month of Viyaxana when he rose up.
He lied to the people as follows:
"I am Smerdis, son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses."

DB 1.40-43

Then the people in its entirety conspired against Cambyses.

¹ Possibly: siding with the Evil Spirit.

They went over to that (other) one,
both Persia and Media and the other lands.
He seized the royal command.
It was on the 9th of the month of Garmapada that he seized
the royal command.
Then Cambyes died from natural causes.

DB 1.43-48

King Darius announces:

This royal command that Gaumâta the Magian took from
Cambyes,
this royal command belonged to our family from old.
Gaumâta the Magian took it from Cambyes.
He appropriated Persia, Media and other lands.
He made (them) his own. He became king.

DB 1.48-54

King Darius announces:

There was not a (single) man,
either Persian, Median, or anyone of our family,
who could have taken the royal command from that Gaumâta
the Magian.
The army feared him strongly.
He would kill in large numbers the people who had known
Smerdis in the past.
For the following reason he would kill the people (thinking):
“May it (they) not learn that I am not Smerdis son of Cyrus!”
Nobody dared say anything about Gaumâta the Magian until I
arrived.

DB 1.54-61

Then I called upon Ahuramazdâ for help.
Ahuramazdâ brought me support.
It was on the 10th of the month of Bâgayâdi,
then I killed that Gaumâta the Magian with just a few men,
as well as the men who were his foremost followers.
I killed him in the fortress of Sikayauvati in the land of
Nisâya in Media.
I took the royal command from him.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I became king.
Ahuramazdâ conferred the royal command upon me.

DB 1.61-71

King Darius announces:

I put back in its place the royal command that had been taken
away from our family.
I set it in its proper place, just like before.
I did the same for the sacrifices that Gaumâta the Magian had
destroyed.
I restored to the people the pastures, the cattle, the household
(slaves),
and together with the homelands that Gaumâta the Magian
had taken from them.
I put back in its place the people,

both Persia and Media, and the other lands,
just like before.
I brought back whatever had been taken away.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ I did this.
I exerted myself until I had put back in its place our home,
just like before.
In that manner I exerted myself by the greatness of
Ahuramazdâ
so that Gaumâta the Magian did not take away our homeland.

DB 1.71-73

King Darius announces:

This is what I did after I became king.
...

DB 4.31-32

King Darius announces:

These are the nine kings I seized in these battles.

DB 4.33-36

King Darius announces:

These lands which conspired, the Lie made them conspire, so
that these (men) deceived the people.
Then Ahuramazdâ put them in my hands.
As was my wish, thus I [did to] them.

DB 4.36-40

King Darius announces:

You who will be king in the future, guard strongly against the
Lie.
The man who is possessed by the Lie, punish him well if
you think:
“May my country be healthy!”

DB 4.45-50

King Darius announces:

By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ and by my (greatness) much
other has been done.
That has not been written in this inscription.
It has not been written in order that what I have done may
seem (too) much
to him who reads this inscription in the future,
and he may not believe it and think it is said to deceive.

DB 4.50-52

King Darius announces:

Those who were kings in the past, did not do as much while
they were (kings)
as I have done in one and the same year,
by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ.

DB 4.52-57

King Darius announces:

Believe now what I have done!

Likewise, do not hide it from the people/army!
If you do not hide this testimony and tell the people/army,
(then) may Ahuramazdâ favor you, and may you have much
family, and may you live long!

DB 4.57-59

King Darius announces:
If you hide this testimony and do not tell the people/army,
(then) may Ahuramazdâ smite you,
and may you have no family!

DB 4.59-61

King Darius announces:
this which I did in one and the same year,
that I did by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ.
Ahuramazdâ bore me aid,
as well as the other gods who are.

DB 4.61-67

King Darius announces:
For this reason Ahuramazdâ bore me aid,
as well as the other gods who are,
because I was not *evil.
I was not possessed by the Lie,
I did nothing crooked, neither I nor my family.
I wandered in rectitude.
I did wrong to neither the poor nor the mighty.
The man who exerted himself in my homeland, him I treated
well.
Whoever did evil, him I punished well.

DB 4.67-69

King Darius announces:
You who are king in the future, shall not favor the man who
is a liar
or him who does crooked deeds,
(but) punish him well.

DB 4.69-72

King Darius announces:
You who in the future see this inscription
which I have written or these reliefs,
do not destroy them,
(but) preserve them as long as you can!

DB 4.72-76

King Darius announces:
If you see this inscription or these reliefs
and do not destroy them
and preserve them as long as you can,
may Ahuramazdâ favor you!
And may you have much family,
and may you live long!

DB 4.76-80

King Darius announces:
If you see this inscription or these reliefs
and destroy them
and do not preserve them for as long as you have a family,
may Ahuramazdâ strike you!
And may you have no family!
And may Ahuramazdâ destroy whatever you do!
...

DB 5.14-18

King Darius announces:
Those Elamites were *evil
and did not sacrifice to Ahuramazdâ.
I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
I did with them as I wished.

DB 5.18-20

King Darius announces:
He who sacrifices to Ahuramazdâ,
he shall get his wish,
both (while still) alive and (when) dead. ...

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS AT ELVAND

DE 1-11

Ahuramazdâ is the great god
who set in place this earth,
who set in place yonder sky,
who set in place man,
who set in place peace for man,
who made Darius king,
one king over many, one commander of many.

DE 11-19

I am Darius, the great king, king of kings,
king over lands of many kinds, king over this earth,
the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS AT HAMADAN

DH 1-3

Darius, the great king, king of kings,
king over lands,
the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

DH 3-7

King Darius announces:
This is the royal command that I hold—
from the Scythians who are beyond the Sogdians,
from there all the way to Kush,
from Hindu, from there all the way to Sardis—

which Ahuramazdâ gave me, he the greatest among the gods.
Let Ahuramazdâ protect me and my homeland.

**TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TOMB OF DARIUS AT
NAQSH-E ROSTAM**

DNa 30-38
King Darius announces:
When Ahuramazdâ saw this earth was in turmoil,
then he gave it to me.
He made me king. I am king.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
I set it down in its place.
They did whatever was told them by me,
as was my wish.

DNa 38-47
And if you think:
“How were those countries which Darius the king held?”
—then look at the figures that carry the throne.
Then you will know, then you will realize how far the Persian
man’s spear has gone.
Then you will realize how far the Persian man has fought
battles back from Persia.

DNa 47-55
King Darius announces:
This that has been done, I did it all by the greatness of
Ahuramazdâ.
Ahuramazdâ bore me aid until I was able to do it.
Let Ahuramazdâ protect me from the evil stench,
as well as my house and this land.
This I ask of Ahuramazdâ.
Let Ahuramazdâ give it to me!

DNa 55-60
O man, may not Ahura Mazdâ’s intent seem evil to you!
Do not leave the straight path!
Do not be obstinate!

DNb1-5
The great god is Ahuramazdâ,
who set in place this perfection that can be seen,
who set in place peace for man,
who bestowed upon Darius guiding thought and fleetness.

DNb 5-13
King Darius announces:
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ I am of such a sort that I
favor what is straight,
I do not favor what is devious.

It is not my wish that a poor man should be wronged
on account of the mighty,
nor is it my wish that the mighty should be wronged
on account of the poor.
What is straight, that is my wish.
I am not a friend of the one who lies.

DNb 13-15
I do not anger easily.
I control firmly by my thought whatever conflict arises in me
.
I am firmly in command of myself.

DNb 16-24
I treat the man who exerts himself according to his
achievement.
I punish according to his evil deed him who does evil.
It is neither my wish that a man should do evil,
nor is it my wish that a man who does evil should not be
punished.
I do not believe what a man says against (another) man
until I hear the *testimony of both (of them).

DNb 24-27
I am satisfied with whatever a man does or brings about
according to his powers.
That is what I really wish and what makes me pleased.
(...)

DNb 27-32
And my understanding and intent are of such a sort as you
see or hear from what I have done,
both at home and abroad.
This is my agility in thought and understanding.

DNb 32-40
And this, in addition, is the fleetness of which my body is
capable.
As a battle-fighter I am a good battle-fighter.
Once it is clearly established in my understanding whether
what I see is something conspiratorial,
with my understanding and intent,
at that time I consider myself less fearful
—when I *see* something conspiratorial—than if I do not.

DNb 40-45
I am in control of my hands and feet.
As a horseman I am a good horseman.
As an archer I am a good archer,
both on foot and on horseback.
As a spear-man I am a good spear-man,
both on foot and on horseback.

DNb 45-50

And I was able to carry these manly qualities
which Ahuramazdâ bestowed upon me.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
what I have done, I did with these manly qualities
which Ahuramazdâ bestowed upon me.

DNb 50-55

Young man, make it perfectly clear to yourself of what sort I
am!

Do not let it seem [...] to you of what sort your manly
qualities are and of what sort your behavior is.

Listen to whatever someone says in your ear!

...

DNb 55-57

Young man, do not let that which [...] does seem [...] to you!
Also look at what the poor man does!

INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS AT PERSEPOLIS

DPd 1-5

The great Ahuramazdâ,
the greatest among the gods,
set Darius in place as king.
He gave him the royal command.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, Darius is king.

DPd 5-12

King Darius announces:
This land of Persia, which Ahuramazdâ gave to me,
which is beautiful, which has good horses and men,
by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ and me, King Darius, fears
no one else.

DPd 12-20

King Darius announces:
Let Ahuramazdâ together with all the other gods bring me
aid!
And let Ahuramazdâ protect this land from armies, famine,
and the Lie.
May neither armies, famine, or the Lie come to this land!

DPd 20-24

For this I ask Ahuramazdâ together with all the other gods.
Let Ahuramazdâ together with all the other gods grant me
this wish.

INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS AT SUSA

DSf 55-58

King Darius announces:
In Susa much perfect work was ordered done,
(and) much perfect work was done.

Let Ahuramazdâ protect me, my father Hystaspes, and my
land!

DSk

I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king over lands,
the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

King Darius announces:

Ahuramazdâ is mine.

I am Ahuramazdâ's.

I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ.

Let Ahuramazdâ bring me aid.¹

INSCRIPTIONS OF XERXES AT PERSEPOLIS

XPh 28-35

King Xerxes announces:

When I had become king, there was among the lands that are
written above one that was in turmoil.

Then Ahuramazdâ brought me aid.

By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,

I smashed that land and set it down in its place.

XPh 35-41

And among these lands there was a place where previously
foreign gods² were sacrificed to.

Then, by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I destroyed that den
of foreign gods and proclaimed:

"The foreign gods are not receive sacrifices!"

Where previously the foreign gods had received sacrifices,
there I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ according to the Order up
on high.

XPh 41-46

And there was much other evil that had been done,
which I made good.
All this that I did, I did by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ.

XPh 46-56

If you who come hereafter should think:

"May I be happy while alive and one with Order when
dead!"—

(then) behave according to the law which Ahuramazdâ set
down.

You should sacrifice to Ahuramazdâ according to the Order
up on high.

The man who behaves according to the law which
Ahuramazdâ set down.

and sacrifices to Ahuramazdâ according to the Order up on

¹ The principles of mutual dependency and gift exchange.

² That is, non-Zoroastrian. He uses the term *daivas*, the Avestan old
gods.

high,
he will both be happy while alive and one with Order when
dead.

XPh 56-60

King Xerxes announces:

Let Ahuramazdâ protect me from the evil stench,
as well as my house and this land!

INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES II AT SUSAN

A²Sa 1-3

Artaxerxes announces,

(he) the great king, king of kings,
king over lands, king over this earth,
the son of King Darius,
of Darius, the son of King Artaxerxes,

of Artaxerxes, the son of King Xerxes,
of Xerxes, the son of King Darius,
of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

A²Sa 3-4

Darius, my great-grandfather made this colonnade.

Later on, under Artaxerxes, my grandfather, it burnt down.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, Anâhitâ, and Mithra, I
ordered this colonnade to be made.

A²Sa 4-5

Let Ahuramazdâ, Anâhitâ, and Mithra protect me from all
evil stench!

And let not a sorcerer or magician destroy this that I have
made!

LETTER FROM DARIUS I TO HIS SATRAP GADATAS

This inscription is in the Louvre, Paris.

(transl. after Crawford-Whitehead 1983, 95B)

The King of Kings, Dareios son of Hystaspes, says this to his slave (*doulos*) Gadatas:

I find that you are not obeying my commands in all respects.

Insofar as you are cultivating my land and planting the furthest parts of Asia with the fruit-trees from across the Euphrates, I
praise your design and as a result great favor will lie in store for you in the house (*oikos*) of the King.

But insofar as you are flouting my arrangement (*diathesis*) with respect to the gods, I shall make you experience the wrath
of my spirit unless you change your course.

For you are exacting tribute from the sacred gardeners of Apollo and ordering them to cultivate profane land, ignorant of
my ancestors' attitude to their god, who enjoined strict uprightness (*atrekeia*) on the Persians and ...

ELAMITE AND ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM PERSEPOLIS

PF 336

40 *bar* barley at the disposal of Bakumira was obtained by Baqabana. He made a divine libation for the goddess Mishdushi.
Afterward the *workers consumed it. Year 19.

PF 337

80 *bar* barley at the disposal of Bakumira (*Bagawîra) was obtained by Baqabana (*Bagapâna). He made a divine libation:
40 *bar* for Ahuramazdâ, 40 *bar* for the goddess Mishdushi. Afterward the *workers consumed it. Year 22.

PF 338

16 jugs of wine at the disposal of Shâ-ru-uk-ba were obtained by the priest Ap-pîr-qa. He made it for Ahuramazdâ and the
Visai-bagâ and Simut. Year 21.

PF 339

5 jugs and 7 *qa* of wine at the disposal of U-shá-ya were obtained by the priest Tur-*qa-ma: 7 *qa* for Ahuramazdâ, 2 jugs for Humban, 1 jug for the River Hu-pu-ti-ish, 1 jug for the River Shá-u-shá-nu-ish. He made it for (these) gods.

PF 757

12 jugs of wine at the disposal of Bar-ni-iz-za (*Farnaicha) were obtained by the magush Kur-qa, the performer of the *lan* (*lan lirira*) in Mar-sa-ish-kash, as libation (*daussa*) for the *lan* from the 6th to the 5th month, altogether 12 months. Year 17.

PF 760

1.5 jugs of wine at the disposal of Ma-ra-za were obtained by the *yashta* (*ya-ish-da*) as libation for the *lan* in Ma-te-iz-zí-ish for the 11th month. Year 23.

PF 761

4 *bar* of flour at the disposal of Ú-pir-ra-da (*Hufrâda) were obtained by the *yashta*, the *âterwaxsha* in Ma-te-iz-zí-ish, as libation for the *lan*—year 23—for the 4th month.

PF 774

50 *bar* of barley at the disposal of Hi-ki-ud-da were obtained by the priest Ir-tam₅-man-nu-ú-ish (Artamaniyush) in Bat-ra-qa-tash (Pâthrakata, Pasargadae) as *akrish* for the gods. Month 6, year 23.

PF 1942

50 (*bar* of barley) were obtained by the priest A[~]rtamaniyush in Pâthrakata as *akrish* for the gods...

In total 2326 *bar* one *qa* of barley were consumed. Year 19. At the control of Ha-da-râsh Mas-da-ya-âsh-na (Mazdayasna). At the disposal of Me-sa-ak-qa (*Vaisaka).

NN-2200

10 *irtiba* (of grain) Irdaupirriya (Ertâwa-friya) the magus, the *âterwaxsha* received, 3 rations for (the place) of Kurpabattishu, ... for Ahuramazda, 1 for the water (river?), 1 for ..., 1 for Ispandâramaiti, 1 for..., ... Irdanapirrurutish (Erdâna-frawertish), 1 for ..., for a whole year

NN-2362

4 (*marrish* of wine) Kambatish the magus daily received as ration of gods 1 for Narîsanga 1 for Irdanapirrurutish (Erdâna-frawertish), 1 for the mountain Battinasha one for Vise-baga, in total, it was for a whole year.

THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM PERSEPOLIS

No. 10

In the administration of the Fortress (= Persepolis), under the authority of Mithrapâta, the segan (official) Vahufarna made this large pestle of stone together with a large mortar under the authority of Dâtamithra, the treasurer.

Delivery of year 13.

THE IRANIAN CREATION MYTH ACCORDING TO PLUTARCH (1ST-2ND CENTS. C.E.)

This is the opinion of the majority and the wisest of men. Some believe there are two gods, rival craftsmen (*antitekhnoi*), as it were, the one the creator (*dēmiourgos*) of good things, the other of evil things. Others call the better divinity god (*theos*) and the other demon (*daimôn*), as does Zoroaster the Magian, who they say lived five thousand years before the Trojan war. Zoroaster called the former Horomasdes and the latter Areimanios. Furthermore, he showed that one was more like light than anything else apprehended by the senses, the other more like darkness and ignorance, and Mithrês midway between the two; hence Mithrês is known to the Persians as the Mediator (*mesitês*).

Zoroaster taught them to make to the one vows and thank offerings, to the other sacrifices for averting evil and things of depressing appearance. For example, while pounding in a mortar, a certain herb called Omômi, they appeal to Hades and to darkness; then they mix it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, take it to a place where the sun never shines, and throw it away. The reason for this is because they regard some plants as belonging to the beneficent god and others to the evil demon; some animals, such as dogs, birds, and hedgehogs, pertain, they hold, to the former, but water animals to the latter, and for this reason they account him fortunate who has killed most.

None the less, they too tell many mythological tales about the gods, such as the following. Horomasdes and Areimanios, the one begotten of the purest light, the other of darkness, are at war with each other. The first created six gods, the first of good will (*eunoia*), the second of truth (*alêtheia*), the third of good laws (*eunomia*), and, of the rest, one as creator (*dēmiourgos*) of wisdom (*sophia*), one of wealth (*plouton*), and one of pleasure in fine things.

And Areimanios created a similar number to be, as it were, the rivals of these. Then Horomasdes, having increased himself threefold, moved as far away from the sun as the sun is away from the earth and decorated the heaven with stars. He set up among them one star, Sirius, before the rest, to be, as it were, sentinel and scout. He also created twenty-four other gods and placed them in an egg (*ôôn*). But the gods who were created by Areimanios, who were equal in number, bored a hole in the egg ... whence evil has become mingled with good.

But the destined time will come, when Areimanios will bring a plague and famine and inevitably perish by them utterly and disappear. Then the earth will become level and flat, and all men will be happy and speak one tongue and live one life under one form of government. Theopompos says that, according to the Magians, for three thousand years, each of the two gods is alternately supreme and in subjection and that, during another period of three thousand years, they fight and are at war, each upsetting the work of the other. But, in the end, Hades is left behind, and mankind will be happy, neither needing food nor casting shadows, and the god who brought this to pass (*mêkhanêsamenos*) is quiet and at rest for a time, on the whole not a long one for a god, but a reasonably long one for a man asleep. Of this kind then, is the mythology of the Magians.

THE MYTH OF ZURVÂN

From a Manichean hymn (M28IRii1-4)

And they say that Ohrmezd and Ahrimen are brothers.
And on account of this speech they will come to destruction.

From the *Denkard* (Dk.9.30.4)

And from the saying of Zardusht about the evil god Arsh, how he howled to people:
Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were brothers from one womb!

The myth of Zurvân in Armenian literature

Before the world existed there was Zurvân. He sacrificed for 1000 years to have a son who would create heaven and earth. Seeing his sacrifice had no effect he doubted its value, and from his doubt Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were conceived. Seeing he would bear two sons he decided that the first born would be king. Ohrmazd knew what his father was thinking and told his brother, who tore open his progenitor's womb and emerged. Ahrimen, insisting upon his rights was grudgingly accorded 9000 years of rule, after which Ohrmazd would rule. They both then began creating.

FROM THE MIDDLE PERSIAN (SASANIAN) INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTION OF SHABUHR (SHAPUR; 242-72 C.E.) I ON THE KA'BA-YE ZARDOSHT AT NAQSH-E ROSTAM

Conclusion

Now, in the same manner that We exerted Ourselves in the matters and services of the gods and are the property of the gods, so that, with the help of the gods, We sought and held all these lands and obtained great fame, in the same manner let he who comes after us and is fortunate also exert himself in the matters and services of the gods, so that the gods may help him too and make him their property!

FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF Kerdîr (CA. 276 C.E.)

INSCRIPTION OF Kerdîr ON THE KA'BA-YE ZARDOSHT AT NAQSH-E ROSTAM

Career under Shabuhr I (242-72)¹

And I, Kerdîr, the high priest (*mowbed*), served the gods and Shabuhr, king of kings, well and received their good favor. And in return for the service I had performed for the gods and Shabuhr, king of kings, Shabuhr, king of kings, gave me full control and authority among the other priests over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the realm.

And at the order of Shabuhr, king of kings, and with the help of the gods and the king of kings, the number of services for the gods was increased, many Victorious fires were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, many fires and priests received official letters of recognition, and, altogether, there was great profit for Ohrmazd and the other gods, while Ahrimen and the foreign gods² suffered great distress.

And, for all these fires and services that are listed in this inscription, Shabuhr, king of kings, appointed me in particular, stating: "Let this be your basis! Keep doing that which you know is best for the gods and Us!"

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Shabuhr, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written "Kerdîr, the religious teacher (*êhrbed*)."

Under Ohrmazd I (272-73)

And then, when Shabuhr, king of kings, went to the place of the gods and his son Ohrmazd, king of kings, ascended the throne, then Ohrmazd, king of kings, gave me my hat and my belt, and he made my rank and importance higher. And he gave me still greater control and authority over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the realm. And he gave me the title "Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd," after the name of Ohrmazd the god.

And then, at that time, too, throughout the realm, the number of services for the gods was increased, many Victorious fires were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, and many fires and priests received official letters of recognition.

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Ohrmazd, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written "Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd."

Under Warahrân I (273-76)

And then, when Ohrmazd, king of kings, went to the place of the gods and his son Warahrân, king of kings, ascended the throne, then Warahrân, king of kings, too, held me in esteem and honor. And he likewise gave me control and authority over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the realm.

And then, at that time, too, throughout the realm, the number of services for the gods was increased, many Victorious fires

¹ This follows just below the end of Shabuhr's inscription.

² The *dêws*.

were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, and many fires and priests received official letters of recognition.

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Warahrân, son of Ohrmazd, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written “Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd.”

Under Warahrân II (276-93)

And then, when Warahrân, king of kings, son of Shabuhr, went to the place of the gods and his son Warahrân, king of kings, son of Warahrân, ascended the throne and was generous, truthful, friendly, beneficent, and a well-doer in the land, then, out of love for Ohrmazd and the gods and his own soul, he elevated my position and honor in the land. And he gave me the rank of a Grandee.¹ And he gave me still greater control and authority over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the entire realm than I had at first. And he made me high priest and judge of the whole realm and made me master of ceremonies and put me in charge of the fire of Anâhid-Ardakshahr at Stakhr.

And he gave me the title “Kerdîr, high priest of Ohrmazd, whose soul was saved by Warahrân.”

And throughout the entire realm, the services to Ohrmazd and the gods were heightened; the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the clergy was greatly honored in the realm; and in the realm great blessing came to the gods, the water, the fire, and the cattle.

And in the realm Jews, Buddhists (*shaman*), Hindus (*braman*), Nazorean Christians and other Christians, baptists (*magdag*), and Manicheans (*zandîg*) were struck down, idol temples were destroyed, and the dens of the foreign gods were ruined and turned into thrones and seats for the gods. And throughout the realm, services to the gods were greatly increased. Many Victorious fires were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, and many fires and priests received official letters of recognition.

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Warahrân, son of Warahrân, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written “Kerdîr, high priest of Ohrmazd, whose soul was saved by Warahrân.”

Kerdîr's achievements

From the beginning, I, Kerdîr, have labored hard for the sake of the gods, rulers, and my own soul. And I have made many fires and priests prosperous in the realm. And also in the neighboring lands, wherever the horses and men of the king of kings went to pillage, burn, and lay waste the land, by the order of the king of kings, I organized the fires and priests who were there in that land. I did not allow any of them to come to harm or be taken away as captives, and whoever had already been made captive, those I sent back to their own lands.

And I furthered the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the good priests in the land and honored them. But the heretics and unbelievers among the clergy who did not live correctly by the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the services to the gods, those I punished. And I “reprimanded” them until I had made them better.

And I issued official documents for many fires and priests, and with the help of the gods I managed to have many Victorious fires established in the realm. Many marriages between close relatives were celebrated, and many who did not have the faith² received it. There were many who believed in the foreign gods, but I managed to have them give up the faith in the foreign gods and take the faith in the gods. And many sacrifices were celebrated, and the *dên* was recalled in various ways.

And many other services to the gods have been increased and heightened as well, which are not mentioned here, because if it had been written down, it would have been too much.

And from my own funds I established many Victorious fires in various places, and, at all those fires that I had established from my own funds, I sacrificed at each *gâh*³ 1133 *ratus*, and in one year it was 6798 *ratus*. And I performed many other various other services to the gods, too, from my own funds, which it would have been too much to mention in this inscription.

But I wrote this inscription in order that, whoever may see any of these documents in the future, he should know that I am that Kerdîr whom Shabuhr, king of kings, named “Kerdîr, the religious teacher,” whom Ohrmazd, king of kings, and

¹ One of the highest social ranks.

² The same word that is translated as “guidance” in Avestan.

³ Ritual moments of the days and years.

Warahrân, king of kings, named “Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd,” and under Warahrân, son of Warahrân, king of kings, was named “Kerdîr, high priest of Ohrmazd, whose soul was saved by Warahrân.”

And whoever sees and reads this inscription, let him be generous and truthful with respect to the gods and the rulers and his own soul, in the same way that I have been, so that fame and prosperity may befall this his material body and blessedness may befall that his material soul.

KERDÎR’S JOURNEY INTO THE BEYOND

Request for a vision

And when I asked the gods for help, I pointed out:

“If it is possible for you gods, then show me the nature of heaven and hell. And in the way it says in the holy scripture, namely, that, *When people pass on, then [...],¹ and he who is good, his own dên will come toward him in the form [of a young woman]. And he who is good,² his own dên will lead him to heaven, but he who is evil,³ his own dên will lead him to hell*, let it be revealed to me in the same way here in life. In this way, when I pass on, then my own *dên* may come toward me in that same way. And if I prove to be good, then may my own *dên* appear like the one who leads to paradise. And if I prove to be bad, then may my own *dên* appear like the one who leads to hell.”

And when I had inquired from those in the beyond regarding the sacrifices and religious services and the Mazdayasnian *dên* as it is performed here in life [...], then I performed strong⁴ services. And in Pârs and Sagestân and various other places, and many priests were rendered happy and prosperous.

Preparations for the vision

After I had asked the gods for help in the manner it is written in this inscription, then, [at the time(?)] of Shabuhr, king of kings, I made a *seance⁵ for the sake of the gods and my own soul: “May I prove to be good! But if I do prove to be bad, then may I took this faith in you, gods!”

And I also *insisted that: “If I prove to be good, then, do you gods show me now how it is in the beyond with those who are good, and so I will hold on to this faith in you, gods! And if I prove to be bad, then, do you gods show me now how it is in the beyond with those who are bad, and so I will hold firmly on to this faith which I received from you, gods, for all time!”

The vision

Then those *mediums that I had *put in a trance in that seance*, spoke as follows:

“We see a shining, princely horseman seated on an excellent horse, and he holds a banner in the hand.⁶ And now a man has appeared, sitting on a throne with golden *ornaments, who looks exactly like Kerdîr. And a *servant boy stands [beside him]. And now a woman has appeared, coming from the east, and we have seen no woman more beautiful than her. And the road she is walking on is [very] luminous. And now she comes forth, and she and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr touch heads [and ...]. And that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr hold hands and proceed toward the east on that luminous road where the woman came. And that road is very luminous, indeed.

“And on that road, where that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr and that woman are walking, now a princely man appears, sitting on a throne with golden *ornaments. And a balance stands before him, just like [a man who] *weighs [...].⁷ And now that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr stand before that princely man [...].”

¹ [...] means that the text is erased or broken out of the stone.

² Originally: sustainer of Order.

³ Originally: possessed by the Lie.

⁴ The Pahl. term *abzâr* renders Av. *sûra* “life-giving.”

⁵ The exact words with * are not well understood; they are translated here from the context.

⁶ This may be a fravashi (pre-soul), see Yt.13.37.

⁷ This is the god Rashnu.

And (the mediums) said:

“That woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr are now passing that princely man [...] and keep walking on that [very luminous] road.

“Now another shining, princely man has appeared, [...] and on a throne with golden *ornaments. And he has a ladle¹ in the hand. And he is more excellent than the ones we saw first.”

And when they [had ...], they said:

“The ladle has become *extended downward like a bottomless well. And it is full of serpents, scorpions, lizards, and other evil animals.”

And those *mediums that had been *put in a trance in that seance*, when they saw that [...] structure of hell, then they became very alarmed, but [...] said] to them: “[Do not be afraid, but] there is no other way for you than [across that bridge that lies] over that well! But you just keep telling what you see!”

And they said:

“A wooden beam goes over that well like a bridge. And now that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr are [coming] forth [to the bridge]. And there a [...] is standing. And that bridge is [now] becoming wider. And now it is greater in width than in length. And that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr [have now come to the bridge].”

And they said:

“Another shining, princely man has appeared, who is more excellent than the ones we saw first. And he is coming from the other side forth to the bridge. And now he has arrived at the bridge. And now [he has crossed] the bridge to this side. And he has taken the hands of that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr. And that princely man [...] goes forth to the bridge. And that princely man goes before the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr, and the woman goes behind. and now they have crossed the bridge over to the other side and are proceeding toward the east. [And the] is excellent and beautiful.

“And now a palace has appeared, [and a ladder] has appeared in the sky.² And that princely man is going before the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr, and the woman goes behind that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr. [And now] they have arrived [at that palace] and [all three] together enter that palace.”

And they said:

“We have seen nothing more excellent and more luminous than this! [...] And now ... has appeared [...]. And that princely man goes forth. And a throne with golden *ornaments stands before that palace. [...] back [to ... And now the man who looks exactly like] Kerdîr and with the woman in front are going upward to the heights.

“And far up [...] another palace has appeared. And] a throne with golden [*ornaments stands before that palace. ... And the man who] looks [exactly like Kerdîr ...] and the woman has entered and sat down in the window of Warahrân.

“And now that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr has taken meat and wine. [And now] a great [throng] is coming forth, and that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr is making portions and giving to them.

“And that [woman?] and that princely man [...], and he keeps pointing toward that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr and smiles. [...] paid [homage to ?...].”

¹ Used for putting firewood on the fire.

² Cf. Bdh.30.26.

INSCRIPTION OF Kerdîr AT NAQSH-E RAJAB

I Kerdîr have lived in truthfulness in the realm and I have served the gods well and obtained their favor.

And I prayed to the gods as follows: If you gods once made me, Kerdîr, outstanding in this life, then do show me, too, in afterlife, the nature of heaven and hell! And show me, too, how it will be in afterlife with respect to these services as they are performed in the land, so that I may be more confident about them!

And as I had prayed to the gods and had indicated, so they did show me heaven and hell and the nature of good and evil of these services.

But, then, since the gods did show me in this manner how it is in afterlife, I also served the gods even better and obtained greater favor from them, and I was even more generous and truthful for the sake of my own soul. And I became much more confident about these sacrifices and other services that are performed in the land.

And whoever sees and reads this inscription, let him be generous and truthful with respect to the gods and the rulers and his own soul, and let him be confident about these sacrifices and other services and the Mazdayasnian *dên* that are performed in the land. And let him not be agnostic about afterlife, but let him know well that heaven and hell exist. And he who is good, will go to heaven, but he who is evil, will be thrown down to hell. And he who is good and behaves well, fame and prosperity will befall this his bony body, and oneness with Order will befall that his bony soul, like it did me, Kerdîr.

...

CHAPTER 7: MERITS OF THE GOOD RELIGION

- 7.1 Also this:
When someone of the Good Religion is confronted with something and he is unsure whether doing it may cause merit or sin, if it is something he can push away if he does not do it and he can push it away, then he should not do it, but push it away. If it is something he cannot push away, if a dastur has been sought and asked about it (and has been deemed) to cause no sin if he goes ahead and does it, then it does not accrue to his account. If it is deemed to cause sin, then it would accrue to him, but when it is solved(?), it is removed from the account in the usual way. (?)
- 7.2 He who goes from the law in which he stands to another law, is *margarzân* for the reason that he abandons this law of being a Weh-dên and because he takes a bad law. One becomes *margarzân* because of having taken a bad law.
- 7.3 For one does not oneself become a sinner by the law which has come to one through inheritance. And this *means that*, if takes one that belongs to another, one becomes a sinner by it.
- 7.4 And if someone who is *margarzân* comes to the law of the Good Religion, he becomes righteous right away.
- 7.5 The greatest merit of belonging to the Good Religion is that, when one takes it and then performs an offering, then that offering wipes away all his sins and removes them from his account and sweeps them out like the swift impetuous wind when it goes over a plain and sweeps things up and carry them away.¹ That is how clean an offering makes the soul of (even) a *rogue.
- 7.6 It is well known that, on the day one makes one ...(?) offering, the (Seven) Immortals come down from Garôdmân and carry his soul three times in that one day to its own place in Garôdmân. And they show him goodness and give him his fee and counter-gifts.

CHAPTER 8: ON NEXT-OF-KIN MARRIAGE

- 8a.1 And the greatest good deed of one of evil Religion is to come from the law of the evil Religion too the Good Religion. And after someone of the Good Religion has made an offering, the greatest good deed he can do is to perform *xwêdôdah*. For on account of that *xwêdôdah*, which is so valuable and seemly, the *dêws* are smitten greatly.
- 8a.2 And the following is well known about Ohrmazd and performing *xwêdôdah*. Once Zarathustra sat before Ohrmazd and Wahman, Ardwhisht, Shahrewar, Hordad and Amurdad, and Spandarmad were sitting around Ohrmazd, then Spandarmad sat beside him and his hand was placed on her neck. Then Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd:
“Who is this one who is sitting beside you and loves you so much and you her?”
- 8a.3 Neither do you, Ohrmazd, turn your eyes away from her nor does she turn hers away from you. Neither do you, Ohrmazd, let her out of your arms, nor does she you.”
- 8a.4 Ohrmazd said:
“This is Spandarmad, my daughter, my lady of the house of Garôdmân, and the mother of the creatures.”
- 8a.5 Zarathustra said:
“Among living beings, this one thing is said to be more horrifying than anything else, so what do you say if you are asked?”
- 8a.6 Ohrmazd said:
“Zarathustra, this would have been the best thing ... for mankind—

¹ Cf. V.3.42.

- 8a.7 “if, from when the world was first established, when Mahlî and Mahlîyânî did this thing, you humans, too, had done this thing. For then, when mankind changed that thing around, they would not have changed it around.
- 8a.8 “Mankind would have performed *xwêdôdah* the way Mahlî and Mahlîyânî did. All mankind would have known their own lineage and descent, and never would a brother have left a brother or a sister a sister out of their love.
- 8a.9 “For all destitution, hate of parents, and lack of love came to mankind from that rogue, when men came from other lands, districts, and towns and ‘did’ their women. and when they carried off the women, the parents wept over their daughters, who were carried off in servitude.”
- 8b.1 There is also this: *xwêdôdah* is so wonderful it is the escape from hell for the most grievous sins, such as the *margarzân* sin of sorcery.
- 8b.2 And, at the time (of performing *xwêdôdah*), one will no longer have any share of hell or of Ahrimen and the *dêws*, even if one committed the evil *margarzân* sin of sorcery.
- 8b.3 When they perform *xwêdôdah*, they escape from hell, the prison of Ahrimen and the *dêws*, and will have no share in it. Such a wonder is *xwêdôdah*.
- 8c.1 It says in a place that Ohrmazd said to Zarathustra:
“The four best things are the following: sacrificing to Ohrmazd, the lord (of the world); giving firewood, incense, libations to the fire; propitiating the righteous man; and he who performs *xwêdôdah* with one’s birth mother, daughter, or sister.
- 8c.2 “And the greatest, best, and foremost of those four is he who performs *xwêdôdah*.”
- 8c.3 So wonderful is *xwêdôdah*.
In order to make evil among mankind and to *harm Ohrmazd, the lord, and all the (other) gods, Ahrimen and the *dêws* practice anal intercourse with all the (other) *dêws* all the time.
Hunger, peril, (thirst, old age, sickness, diseases, desolation, the oppression coming from harmful animals, and all the other evil in the world— anal intercourse is more (harmful).
- 8c.4 It is well known that, if all the harmful animals in the world were to die and (be piled up) to the height of a mountain and all the poison, rot, and filth were to come to one place, the stench would not reach Ohrmazd and paradise.
- 8c.5 But when people practice anal intercourse, the stench from the anal intercourse goes all the way to the realm of the Adversary.
- 8c.6 Today most evil comes from the anal intercourse, but, in the same way, when Sôshâns comes, all mankind will practice *xwêdôdah*, and all the lie-demons will be destroyed by the wonder and power of *xwêdôdah*.
- 8d.1 It is also well known that, when one man (performs) a *xwêdôdah* (with) his birth mother and another with his female child, then he who does it with his birth mother takes precedence over the other, because the one from whose body he came is closer (to him).
- 8d.2 For it is well known that, when the accursed Ahrimen performed anal intercourse with himself, it was a heavier (sin) than when he did it with the *dêws*.
- 8d.3 That (*xwêdôdah*) which he performs with his daughter takes precedence over that which he performs with his sister, *unless she is also his daughter.
- 8d.4 As for a daughter, it is clear that when a father does it with a daughter born from his mother, when he himself has engendered her, as long as he is with her not as a brother(?).
- 8d.5 When a sister and a brother have the same father, but different mother, then the same holds for them. And when they have the same mother, but different father, then the same holds for them.
- 8d.6 When a man has a daughter born from another man’s wife, when it was not his duty to do so, if the brother is her *dastur* when he marries her, then the merit for *xwêdôdah* (accrues to) the brother. And the (sin) of *mihrodruz* (= contract-breaking) is the responsibility of(?) the *parent, as is the (merit for?) *xwêdôdah*.

- 8d.7 The soul of a child who dies before reaching the age of seven is on the sun level. If its father is righteous, then it goes with the father to paradise. If the father is with the Lie, but the mother is righteous, then it goes with the mother to paradise. If both the father and the mother are with the Lie, then it goes with them to hell.
- 8d.8 One *dastur* said that, if they assemble a fire in (the child's) name and kills an evil animal for its soul, then the soul is separated from the parents and does not go to hell.
- 8d.9 One *dastur* said that, that will be on account of its own good deeds. For it is known from the *Avesta* that Ohrmazd made the love a father has for a child which he raises so that until the age of seven the soul is with the parents, but the soul of a child not yet an adult is the responsibility of(?) the *parent.
- 8e.1 So wonderful is *xwêdôdah*.
It is known about Jam (= Yima) that, when the fortune of lordship had left him, he fled together with his sister Jamag from the assemblies of Dahâg, mankind, dêws and witches and went to a bay¹ of the ocean.
- 8e.2 And she sought him in hell, but did not see him. They sought him among men, in water and earth, among beasts, plants, mountains, and rivers, but did not see him.
- 8e.3 Then Ahrimen howled: "I think Jam is going in a bay of the ocean!"
- 8e.4 And a dêw and a witch volunteered to go and seek Jam.
- 8e.5 And they rushed away. When they came to that bay where Jam was, the water was *dark. Jam said: "Who are you?"
- 8e.6 They said: "We, like you, have escaped from the dêws. We are one another."
- 8e.7 (The dêw said:) "Give me this sister of yours as wife, and I shall give you mine."
- 8e.8 And, because Jam did not know dêws from men, he made the witch his wife, and gave his sister to the dêw as his wife.
- 8e.9 And from Jam and the witch a bear, a monkey, a *gandarv*, and a ... were born, and from Jamag and the dêw a turtle, a cat, a cheetah, a frog, and a leech were born.
- 8e.10 One day, when Jam and the dêw were drinking wine, (Jamag) switched places and clothes with the witch. When Jam came, he was drunk, and, unaware, slept with Jamag, who was his sister. The merit of *xwêdôdah* came into play, many dêws were broken and died, and those (two) rushed away on, one carrying the other(?), and fell back into hell.
- 8f.1 This too is known from the *Avesta*: Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd:
"You, Ohrmazd, have said that one should think much good thought, speak much good speech, and do much good work. Of all thought, speech, and work, which is it best to think, speak, and do?"
- 8f.2 Ohrmazd said:
"As for the much good thought, much good speech, and much good work I told you one should think, speak, and do, the best and most excellent is to practice *xwêdôdah*."
- 8f.3 "For it is well known that, the first time he approaches her, a thousand dêws will die and two thousand sorcerers and witches. When he approaches her twice, two thousand dêws will die and four thousand sorcerers and witches. If he approaches her three times, three thousand dêws will die and six thousand sorcerers and witches. If he approaches her four times, it is clear that both the man and the woman become righteous."
- 8g.1 He, the son, says to his birth mother:
"Give yourself to me to mingle our bodies, so that we shall have no fear of hell and whatever sins we have committed is stricken from our account, so that we become ... (?) and obtain a nice and good place (in paradise), and so that we please Ohrmazd and annoy Ahrimen!"

¹ *war* ~ Av. *vara*, Yima's bunker; *vouru.kasha* the Vourukasha (Pahl. War-kash) sea; and *vairi* "bay."

- The birth mother says to her son: “You speak in righteousness! I will give (myself) to you to mingle our bodies,” like the son said.
- She, the daughter, says it to her father. He, the brother, says it to his sister. She, the sister, says it to her brother, like I have written.
- 8g.2 By the “action” of that, the *dēws* are struck and harmed so much that, if, afterward, either the man or the woman or both become sorcerers and kill one thousand sheep and horses at the same time and give *zōhr* to the *dēws*, it is still not enough to give them complete relief from the blows and harm they received from the *xwêdôdah*, and they have no hope that the souls of those (two people) will come to them.
- 8h.1 Whoever practices *xwêdôdah* with his wife for one year will be like one who had given a third of the entire world with its water, plants, and grain as alms to a righteous man.
If he practices *xwêdôdah* with his wife for two years, he will be like one who had given two-thirds of the entire world with its water, plants, and grain to a righteous man.
- 8h.2 If he practices *xwêdôdah* with his wife for three years, he will be like one who had given this entire world with its water, plants, and grain as alms to a righteous man.
- 8h.3 If he practices it with his wife for four years and he has performed *yasnas*, then it is clear that his soul will go to Garôdmân. If he has not (*yasnas*?), then it will go to paradise.
- 8i.1 Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd:
“A man who practices *xwêdôdah* and has performed a *yasna* and has offered a sacrifice, will the merit for it be the same as if he had offered it without practicing *xwêdôdah*? How is it?”
- 8i.2 Ohrmazd said:
“As if a hundred men who do not practice *xwêdôdah* had offered it.”
- 8i.3 Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd this, too:
“How is it if a man who practices *xwêdôdah* performs an *âfrîn*?”
- 8i.4 Ohrmazd said:
“The merit for it will be as if a hundred men who do not practice *xwêdôdah* had offered it.”
- 8j.1 He asked Ohrmazd this, too:
“What is the merit of those who assist and who encourage and induce others to perform *xwêdôdah* with the result that someone performs *xwêdôdah*?”
- 8j.2 Ohrmazd said:
“The merit for it will be as if he had kept a hundred *hêrbads*, each with a hundred students, with food and clothes for a whole winter.”
- 8k.1 Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd this, too:
“What is the sin incurred by those who prevent a man from performing *xwêdôdah* with the result that he does not do it?”
- 8k.2 “Then his place will be hell!”
- 8l.1 It is known from some place that the *dēws* have less power over a man who practices *xwêdôdah* and has performed a *yasht* than over the wisest among the wise and the most virtuous among the virtuous who render them powerless with thought, speech, and deeds.
- 8m.1 From the Religion it is clear that when Zarathustra came from where he was before Ohrmazd, lord (of the world) and into this world, then, everywhere he went, he said: “Praise the Religion! Practice *xwêdôdah*!”

- 8m.2 And I speak of the good ... (?)
The evil ones who did not perform their duties said in consternation: “This is soemthing so terrible and heavy (with sin) in our law, not to practice *xwêdôdah*!”
- 8m.3 This too ... (?) one says about this most excellent of all things, that one should practice it in the usual way.
- 8m.4 This is clear to me too: When one professes the entire law and belief of the Religion, then that it is said to be their heaviest sin which is said to be the most excellent good deed in this law and belief of good (people), the Mazdayasnian.
- 8n.1 This too is clear from the Religion:
Ohrmazd said to Zarathustra: “Do good deeds!”
And Zarathustra said: “Which good deed shall I do first?”
- 8n.2 Ohrmazd said: “*xwêdôdah*, for of all those good deeds it is to be practiced as the first. For the last events come through *xwêdôdah*, when they induce all in the world to (come to) the Religion.”
- 8o.1 Zarathustra said to Ohrmazd: “It looks to me like it’s going to be an arduous, difficult, and hard job to propagate *xwêdôdah* among mankind!”
- 8o.2 Ohrmazd said: “That’s how it looks to me, too! But because it is the most excellent of all things, don’t let it seem difficult and hard to you!
- 8o.3 Be diligent in performing *xwêdôdah*, and people will be doing it diligently, too!”

CHAPTER 46: ON THE CREATION

- 46.1 About this matter: how and from what was the sky made?
- 46.2 The tool was something like a cinder of fire of pure light, which was fashioned from the Endless Light.
- 46.3 And he made all the creations and creatures from it. And when he had made it, then he brought it into (his) body.
And he kept it for 3000 years in the body, making it grow and making it better. And then he kept fashioning (things) from his own body.
- 46.4 And first he fashioned the sky from (his) head. And its substance is of white *crystal. And it is as wide as it is high. And the depth to its foundation is as much as the depth of the emptiness. And it is held up and out by the Orderly Man and the Qualified Invitation;¹ and it has no support in the world of the living. Ohrmazd sits inside it with his creations and creatures.
- 46.5 Then he fashioned the earth from (his) feet. It is held up and out by the mountains. And he filled it with Fortune, and from that filling the mountains grew for 18 years both upward and downward. Then they stopped growing downward and only grew upward for another 800 years, until they reached the sky. The sky lies around the whole earth, like an egg with a chick in it.² The earth has no support in the world of the living, either.
- ...
- 46.9 After Ahrimen attacked the world of the living, only Zarathustra had seen seven continents.
There are seven continents. Inside the sky is Mount Hariburz (which lies around the earth). It consists of 2244 mountains.
- 46.10 The Vourukasha Sea lies in the middle of the earth and makes up one-third of it.

¹ Cf. Y.1.15, 61.1.

² Cf. Yt.13.2.

- 46.11 Then he fashioned the water from the tears and placed some of it inside the earth, some on the earth, and some up in the air. And all of it moved.
- 46.12 The water that contains more libations than polluted water, goes back to the Vourukasha Sea in three years; that which has as much of the one as the other, goes back in six years; and that which contains more polluted water than libations, goes back in nine years.
- 46.13 Then he fashioned the plants from the hair. The first one was tall as the width of a hand and two fingers, and it contained all plants except one. This plant he placed in the Aryan Expanse. Then birds, water, and men carried the plants from place to place.
- ...
- 46.15 Then he fashioned the bull from the right hand and placed it in the Aryan Expanse. It was one ell high and wide. When Ahrimen attacked it, it died right away, but its semen fell on the ground, and Ohrmazd fashioned all the animal species from it. First he fashioned a male and female of every species, and they multiplied. And they rejoice when they get water and fodder both summer and winter, but suffer when men kill them without law and order and give them no water and fodder and do not protect them from enemies, thieves, and wolves (killers).
- ...
- 46.36 Then he fashioned a man from the clay from which Gayômarđ had been fashioned. This clay had been deposited in Spandarmad (the earth) in the form of semen, and Gayômarđ was then fashioned and born from Spandarmad. He remained immobile for 3000 years, and when Ahrimen rushed in, it took thirty years before he died. He was killed on the first day of the year. His semen fell on the earth and lay in the earth for forty years.
- 46.37 Then Mahlî and Mahliyânî grew up from the earth in the form of a rhubarb, straight up with their hands in the back. Then they were turned into human shape and bore six sons and six daughters. Some of them lived, and some died, and from them humanity is descended.

FROM THE *BUNDAHISHN*

CHAPTER 1: ON THE CREATION

Introduction

- 1.0 That knowledge from the *zand* (religious tradition) is first about the first establishment of Ohrmazd and the Opposition of Ahrimen. Then about the nature of the establishment of the world of the living from the primeval establishment (\approx creation) until the end, as it is revealed in the Mazdayasnian *dên*. Then about the objects that the world of the living contains and an explanation of what and how they are.

About Ohrmazd and the Foul Spirit

- 1.1 It is so revealed by the good *dên*: Ohrmazd was above in omniscience and goodness for an unlimited time in the light.
- 1.2 That light is the throne and place of Ohrmazd. Some say “the endless lights.” That omniscience and goodness was (there) for an unlimited time, that is, there were Ohrmazd, his goodness, the *dên*, and the time of Ohrmazd.¹
- 1.3–4 Ahrimen was in darkness with backward knowledge² and desire to kill in the depths. And his desire to kill is his *nature and that darkness his place. Some say “endless darkness.”
- 1.5–6 And between them there was emptiness—some (say) “Wây”³—in which they both—what is limited and what is unlimited—mingle.
- 1.7 When it says “highest” it means the “endless lights,” that is, they have no “head” (= end). And the depth is the “endless darkness,” and that is what has no limit.
- 1.8 And at the border they are both limited, for between them is emptiness, (so) they are not connected with one another.
- 1.9 Next, any *other being in the world of thought is limited in its body.
- 1.10 Next, as for the “omniscience” of Ohrmazd: everything that is in the knowledge of Ohrmazd is limited, because he knows the measure of *both the spirits. (?)
- 1.11 Next, the total rule of the creation of Ohrmazd at the Final Body (is) for ever and ever, and that is something unlimited.
- 1.12 At that time, he will annihilate the creation of Ahrimen until the coming into being of the Final Body.⁴ And that too is something limited.
- 1.13 Ohrmazd in his omniscience knew: “The Foul⁵ Spirit exists. He is plotting in his envy how to mingle (with my creation) from the beginning to the end (and) with what and how many tools.”
And he brought forth that creation that he needed as a tool for that.
- 1.14 For 3000 years the creation remained in the world of thought—which are over—unthinking, unmoving, untouchable.
- 1.15 The Foul Spirit, because of his backward knowledge, was unaware of the existence of Ohrmazd. Then he rose up

¹ *The Indian Bundahishn* has: That omniscience and goodness is all of Ohrmazd. Some call it “the *dên*,” which means the same thing. All that was (there) for an unlimited time, for Ohrmazd and the *dên* and the time of Ohrmazd were, are, and shall (always) be.

² knowledge after the fact?

³ Av. Vaiiu, god of the intermediate space between heaven and earth.

⁴ Since each new period of existence is like a living thing, a body, this is the last such “body.”

⁵ Literally, “stinking.”

- from those depths and came to the border where he could see the lights.
- 1.16 When he saw that light of Ohrmazd's, untouchable and *blazing forth, because of his desire to kill and his constitutional envy, he attacked it in order to destroy it.
- 1.17 But when he *saw valor and victory greater than his own, he rushed down to the darkness, whittled forth many evil gods and lie-demons, that destructive creation that was suited for the battle.
- 1.18 Ohrmazd saw the establishment of the Foul Spirit, and he did not like it: a terrifying, rotten creation of evil desire, (and) he did not honor it.
- 1.19 And then the Foul Spirit saw the creation of Ohrmazd, and he liked it: a great creation, profound, *victorious, all-informed, and he honored Ohrmazd's creation.
- 1.20 Then Ohrmazd, although he knew how the creation would be at the end of everything, offered the Foul Spirit peace, saying: "Bring my creation aid, and praise it, and you shall have as reward that you will not die or grow old, you will not deteriorate or be impaired."¹
- 1.21 The meaning of this is that if he were not to provoke the battle, then he would not himself become undone, and profit would accrue to both spirits from it.
- 1.22 The Foul Spirit howled: "I shall not bring your creation aid, I shall not praise it, rather, I shall destroy you *and* your creation for ever and ever. I shall incite all your creations to unfriendliness to you (but) friendliness to me.
- 1.23 And the explanation for it is this: he thought that Ohrmazd could do nothing against him, therefore he was offering peace, (so) he refused and even made a threat.
- 1.24 And Ohrmazd said: "You are not omnipotent, Foul Spirit, so you cannot destroy my creation. And *you can also not cause my creation *not* to come back to my possession."
- 1.25 Then Ohrmazd in his omniscience knew: "If I do not set a time for the battle with him, then he can do to my creation as he threatened, and there will be struggle and mixture forever from it. He can sit down in the mixture of the creation (and) make it his own,² in the way that there are many people now in the mixture who do more evil than good things, so that they always do the will of the Foul Spirit.
- 1.26 And Ohrmazd said to the Foul Spirit: "Pick a date for the battle. By this pact we will delay it to 9000 years from now!" For he knew that by setting the date thus he would undo the Foul Spirit.
- 1.27 Then the Foul Spirit, who could not see what the end would be, agreed to that deal, the same way that two men set the time for a duel: "Let us do battle on such and such a day until night-fall!"
- 1.28 Ohrmazd knew this too in his omniscience that, during these 9000 years, for 3000 years it would all go (according to) the will of Ohrmazd, for the 3000 years of the mixture it would go (according to) the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahrimen, and in the final battle it would be possible to undo the Foul Spirit and remove adversity from the creation.
- 1.29 Then Ohrmazd recited the *Ahunwar*, i.e., he said forth the 21 words of the "**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ...," and he showed the Foul Spirit his own final victory, the undoing of the Foul Spirit, the annihilation of the evil gods,³ the resurrection of the Final Body, and the freedom of Opposition for the creation for ever and ever.
- 1.30 When the Foul Spirit saw his own undoing together with the annihilation of the evil gods, he was stunned and lost consciousness. He fell back to the darkness.

¹ Cf. Y.9.4-5.

² Cf. Yt.13.12-13.

³ The old gods, Av. *daêwa*, OPers. *daiva*, Pahl. *dêw*, Pers. *dîv*.

- 1.31 As it is said in the *dên*: “When one-third was spoken, the Foul Spirit blanked out(?) for fear; when two-thirds were spoken the Foul Spirit fell to his knees; when it was all spoken, the Foul Spirit become undone.”
- 1.32 From his inability to do harm to the creation of Ohrmazd the Foul Spirit lay in a stupor for 3000 years.

The creation of the world of thought

- 1.33 First I shall discuss the creation of the creatures in the world of thought, then in the world of the living.
- 1.34 Before the creation of his creatures Ohrmazd was not Lord, but after the establishment of the creation he became Lord, profit-seeker,¹ wise, harm-discarding, apparent,² all-arranging, increasing,³ and all-observing.
- 1.35 And his first creation was “*self-established well-being,” that being in the world of thought by which he made his body better when he *thought* the creation,⁴ for his being lord is from establishing the creation.
- 1.36 And, by his clear-sight, he saw that the Foul Spirit would never turn away from bringing Opposition; that that Opposition would not be undone other than by establishing the creation; that the creation would not come into motion other than through time; and that when he fashioned time, then the creation of Ahrimen would also come into motion.
- 1.37 And having no other way out, he fashioned forth time in order to undo the Opposition.
- 1.38 And the meaning of this is: the Foul Spirit can only be undone through battle. The meaning of “battle” (*kâr-châr*) is this: an action (*kâr*) must be performed by a means (*châr*) and according to one’s means (*châragômandîhâ*).
- 1.39 After unlimited time, he established “time of long rule.” Some call it limited time. From time of long-rule he established “non-passing-away,” so that nothing made by Ohrmazd would pass away.
From non-passing-away “the state of lack of comfort” appeared, so that the evil gods should have no comfort.
From the state of lack of comfort “non-turning away” appeared in the world of thought, that is the being in the world of thought (by which) the things of Ohrmazd do not turn away from what he established at the primeval establishment.
From non-turning away in the world of thought “the perfect desire of the creation of the living creatures” appeared, that is, the establishment of the good creation and concord.
- 1.40 Ahrimen was in his evil establishment of creation, in lack of knowledge and lawlessness.
- 1.41 And its meaning and explanation is: when Ahrimen fights with Ohrmazd, the lordly wisdom, reputation, excellence, and non-passing-away of Ohrmazd and the undoing, self-loving, un-excellence, and backward knowledge of the Foul Spirit appeared when he established the creation.
- 1.42 For (Ohrmazd) fashioned forth time of long rule too as his first creation. For (time) was unlimited before the contamination of Ohrmazd’s eternity. He (now) fashioned limited (time) from the unlimited (time).
That is, from the primeval establishment when he established the creation to the end when the Foul Spirit becomes undone, there is a measure of 12,000 years, which is limited. Then it returns to the state of unlimitedness, that is, the creation of Ohrmazd will then be with Ohrmazd forever in a state of purity.
- 1.43 As it says in the *dên*: Time is stronger than both creations, the creation of Ohrmazd and that of Ahrimen. Time allows you to plan work and law. Time is the more informed. Time is more achieving than those who achieve, better informed than those who are informed, that is, one can make a decision in time. Time brings down houses.

¹ Av. *sewishta* “richest in life-giving strength.”

² Av. *haithya* “true, real.”

³ Av. *spenta* “life-giving.”

⁴ Note that Ahura Mazda *thinks* the creation, while Yahweh *speaks* it.

In time a nut is cracked. No one among mortal men escapes from it, not if he were to fly up, nor if he were to dig a well down into the ground and sit in it, nor if he were to huddle beneath a spring of cold waters.

- 1.44 From his own selfdom, from living light, Ohrmazd fashioned forth the form of his own creatures, in the form of fire, white, round, visible from afar.
- 1.45 From the living form of the being in the world of thought that is capable of removing the Opposition in both creations, that is Time—he fashioned forth the form of Good Wây, since Wây was needed.
- 1.46 Some say it was Wây of long rule and (that) he fashioned forth the creation with the help of Wây of long rule. For when he established the creation, Wây too was one of the tools he needed.
- 1.47 The Foul Spirit whittled forth from living darkness, his own body, his creation in that black form the color of ashes, worthy of darkness, lying, like the most sinful evil creature.
- 1.48 And from living self-love he whittled forth Greed (Waran) in the form of the worst *daênâ*;¹ for Greed was needed.
- 1.49 And as the first selfness of the evil gods he established evil-doing, the being in the world of thought from which Foulness came to the creatures of Ohrmazd. For he established the creation by which he made his body worse, *so that he will become undone*.
From living darkness, the endless darkness, he fashioned forth lying speech; it appeared from the evilness of that Foul Spirit. From endless darkness he whittled forth that form, and he established his creation inside that form, *he will be undone from the creation he established himself*.
- 1.50 From living light Ohrmazd <brought forth> straight speech. And from straight speech the creator's ability to increase appeared, which he fashioned forth from the endless light. And the creation too was established inside an endless (headless?) form.² The endless form (was) separate *from the passing of time.
From the endless form the *Ahunwar* appeared, the “**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ...” in the world of thought, from which the establishment and the end of the creation appeared. That is the *dên*, as the *dên* was established together with the establishment of the creation.
From the *Ahunwar* the year in the world of thought came forth, which now in the Mixture is half light and half dark, 365 days-and-nights, which is the division of the time of long rule.
- 1.51 And in the struggle both creations were set in motion by it.
- 1.52 As it is said: the creation of Ohrmazd has a ruler and a teacher, it has a law, it is in the height in comfort. The creation of the Foul Spirit was in *obstinacy and violence and sinfulness in a deep place in discomfort.
- 1.53 Through the Amahraspands,³ Ohrmazd obtained parts, when he had established three Models,⁴ whom he needed to forward to the world of the living. More recently, at the Final Body, they shall make disappear and remove evil from it.
And he maintained the world of thought. in the world of thought.
And he established the world of the living in the world of thought, and then he passed it on to the world of the living.
- And (of the creation in the world of thought), first he established the Amahraspands, first six, then the others. The seventh was Ohrmazd himself.

¹ Cf. *Hādōkht nask*, etc.

² Cf. the *Pahlavi Rivayat*.

³ The Av. Life-giving Immortals.

⁴ It is not clear which ones these are.

Of the creation of the world of the living in the world of thought, first six, the seventh was he himself. For Ohrmazd belongs to both creations in the world of thought.

First, the world of the living *comes from the Amahraspands, then from time of long rule.

First (of them) he fashioned forth Wahman, from whom the creatures of Ohrmazd came into motion.

The Foul Spirit first (whittled forth) Akôman by uttering a false statement.

Of the creation of the world of the living, first there was the sky.

And first he fashioned forth Wahman from the goodness of the living light, together with whom was the good Mazdayasnian *dên*. This implies that he knew what was going to befall the creation until the Perfectioning of the world.

Next Ardwhisht (Av. Best Order), next Shahrewar (Av. Well-deserved Command), next Spandarmad (Av. Life-giving Humility), next Hordad (Av. Wholeness), next Amurdad (Av. Undyingness), the seventh Ohrmazd himself;

the eighth straight speech, the ninth Srôsh-ahlaw (Av. Sraosha with the rewards), the tenth the Holy Word (Av. the life-giving poetic thought), the eleventh Nêryôsang, the twelfth the Exalted Model, (Av.) Rathvô Barzayt, the thirteenth Rashn the straight, the fourteenth Mihr Frâygyôd (Av. Mithra with wide grazing grounds), the fifteenth good Arshishwang (Av. good Ashi/Reward), the sixteenth Pârand (Av. Plenty), the seventeenth sleep, the eighteenth the wind, the nineteenth lawfulness, the twentieth debate, prosecution and defense, peace, and ability to grow.

The creation of the world of the living in the world of thought

- 1.54 Of the world of the living first the sky, second the water, third the earth, fourth the plants, fifth the cattle, sixth mankind, seventh Ohrmazd himself.
And he fashioned forth the creation with the help of Wây of long rule, for when he fashioned forth Wây of long rule, he too was a tool, and he was needed for the establishment of the creation.
- 1.55 As counter-creations to it, the Foul Spirit whittled forth first Akôman (Av. bad thought), next Endar (Av. Indra), next Sâwul, next Nângaith, next Tarômad (Av. disrespect), next Tôrij and Zêrij,¹ next the other evil gods, the seventh the Foul Spirit himself.
- 1.56 Never does he think, say, or do anything good. And he has no use for the goodness of Ohrmazd's creation, and Ohrmazd has no use for the "goodness" of the Foul Spirit's creation.
- 1.57 Ohrmazd does not think something that he cannot do. The Foul Spirit thinks what he cannot do and even threatens to do it.

Gestation of the world of the living in the world of thought

- 1.58 Ohrmazd nurtured his creation in the world of thought in such a way that it was in *moisture, unthinking, *unseizable, unmoving, like semen. After the state of moisture, there was a mixture like semen and blood; after the mixture there was a *rolled-up lump, like a fetus. After the *rolled-up lump there were *protrusions, like hands and feet. After the *protrusions there were cavities, like eyes and mouth. After the cavities there was motion, when it came into the light. Still, in the world of the living, they are formed in the womb of the mother and born and nurtured in that way.

¹ Cf. V.19.43, Bdh.5.1.

- 1.59 And by the establishment of the creation Ohrmazd is father and mother of the creation, for when he nurtured the creation in the world of thought, that was being its mother, when he put it into the world of the living, that was being its father.

The world of the living is established in the world of the living

- 1a.0 How the creation was set in place in the world of the living.
- 1a.1 When the Foul Spirit was undone and lying unconscious, as I wrote above, he lay stunned for 3000 years.
- 1a.2 During that inactivity of the Foul Spirit, Ohrmazd fashioned the creation into the world of the living. From the endless light he fashioned forth fire, from fire wind, from wind water, and from water the earth with all things having bones.
- 1a.3 As it says in the *dēn*: the first creation was a drop of all waters, that is, everything was from water, except the semen of men and animals, for that semen is from fire.
- 1a.4 And first he established the sky to keep back. Some say “first.”
Second he established water, to strike the *druz* of thirst.
Third he established the earth with all things having bones.
Fourth the plants, to help the beneficent cow.
Fifth the cow, to help the Orderly Man (i.e., the perfect sacrificer).
Sixth he established the Orderly Man, to strike and undo the Foul Spirit together with the evil gods.
And next he established the fire as living cinder, and he attached to it the shine of the endless light. Thus it has a good form, as is the fire’s wish.
And next he established the wind in the form of a fifteen-year-old youth, to carry and uphold this water and plants and the cow and the Orderly Man and everything else.
- 1a.5 And I shall say how they are.
- 1a.6 First he established the sky,¹ light, visible, very far and *in the shape of an egg*,² made of shining metal, that is steel, male. And he connected its top (head) to the endless lights. And he established the entire creation inside the sky, like a fortified *camp, in which have been placed all the tools needed for the battle, or like a house in which everything is stored.
- The foundation, bottom, of the sky is of the same thickness as its length, the same length as its height, the same height as its depth; with uniform measure, with a good covering like a mace-bearing (soldier?); thinking, speaking, doing, aware, causing increase, flying (or: discriminating) (is) the sky in the world of thought. And it received a firm bulwark against the Foul Spirit, so that it would not allow him to run back. Like a heroic soldier dressed in armor, so that he is saved from the battle without fear, in this way the sky in the world of thought upholds the sky (in the world of the living?).
- And to help the sky he established heavenly *bliss, for by means of it he established heavenly *bliss, for even now in the Mixture the creation is in heavenly *bliss.
- 1a.7 Second, from the substance of the sky he fashioned water, as much as when a man puts his hands on the earth and walks on hands and feet, then the amount of water reaches him to the stomach. At that height the water flowed. And to help it he established the wind, the rain, *fog, *mist, and snow.
- 1a.8 Third, from the water he established the earth, round, with its passages reaching far into the distance, without

¹ Cf. Yt.13.2.

² The manuscripts are not clear, but the reading is fairly certain

depressions, without elevations, even, its length equal to its width, its width equal to its depth. He set it up in the middle of the sky.

- 1a.9 At is said: First he fashioned forth one-third of this earth, hard like *stone wood (= ebony); second he fashioned forth one-third of this earth and filled in *dust; third he fashioned forth one-third of this earth soft like clay.
- 1a.10 And he placed as substance in the earth the mountains, which afterward expanded and grew out of the earth. And to help the earth he established iron, copper, sulfur, borax, and all the hard essence of the earth, except ...(?), for they are of opposite essence. That hard. The earth was fashioned like a man whose various garments are placed close to all parts of his body. Beneath this earth there stands water everywhere.
- 1a.11 Fourth he established the plants. First one grew up above the earth as high as a stride without branches, without bark, without thorns, moist and sweet. And it contained the power of all the plant species in its seed. And to help the plant he established water and fire, for every single species of plants has a drop of water at the end and a fire four fingers long(?) before it. By that power it kept growing.
- 1a.12 Fifth he fashioned the uniquely-established Bull in the Aryan Expanse (Êrânwêz)¹ in the middle of the world on the shore of the Weh Dâitîy river, where the middle of the world is: white, luminous, like a moon that measures three spears in height. And to help it he established the water and the plant, for during the mixture it receives strength and growth from them.
- 1a.13 Sixth he fashioned Gayôpard, luminous like the sun, and he measured 4 spears in height; his width was equal to his height: on the shore of the Weh Dâitîy river, where the middle of the world is, Gayôpard on the left side, the Bull on the right side. And the distance between them and the distance from the Weh Dâitîy river was as much as their respective heights. He possessed eyes, ears, a tongue, and a mark. The “mark” of Gayôpard is the following: mankind is born from his lineage in that manner.
- And to help him he established sleep, the relaxation of the creator. For Ohrmazd fashioned forth that sleep in the shape of a luminous tall young man of fifteen. And Gayôpard together with the Bull he fashioned from the earth. And from the light and turquoise color of the sky he fashioned forth the semen of humans and cattle, as these two seeds are from fire, not from water. He put them in the bodies of Gayôpard and the Bull, in order that it produce plenitude of people and cattle.²
- 1a.14 And these six creations he established in the six *gâhs* of the *gâhânbâr* festival. In one year are counted 365 days, twelve months, each month 30 days and one month 35 days. To each day he assigned the name of an Amahraspand.
- 1a.15 And I shall say how that is.
- 1a.16 First he fashioned the sky in 40 days, that is, from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Frawardîn to this day of Âbân in the month of Urdwahišt. Five days remained till the day of Day pad Mihr. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Mêdyôzarm. And the meaning is: men’s dwellings (*mêd*) and greenery (*zarm*) appeared in it.
- 1a.17 Second he established the water in 55 days, that is, from the day of Mihr in the month of Urdwahišt to the day of Âbân in the month of Tîr. Five days remained till the day of Day in Mihr. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Mêdyôsham, whose meaning is: he made the water luminous, because at first it was dark.
- 1a.18 Third he established the earth in 70 days, that is, from the day of Mihr in the month of Tîr to the day of Ard in the month of Shahrewar. Five days remained till the day of Anagrân. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called

¹ Av. *airyanem vaêjô*, the mythical homeland of the Iranians, where Zarathustra was born. Cf. Yt.5.17.

² Cf. Y.62.10 May you be accompanied by a herd of cattle, by a multitude of men!.

- Patishah. And the meaning is: the creatures' walking on foot on the earth appeared in it.
- 1a.19 Fourth he established the plant in 25 days <that is, from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Âbân to the day of Ard in the month of Âbân>. Five days remained till the day of Anagrân. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Ayâsrim, whose meaning is: its leaves, smell, and green color appeared (in it).
- 1a.20 Fifth he established the cattle in 75 days, that is, from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Âbân to the day of Day in Mihr in the month of Day. Five days remained <till the day of Wahrâm>. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Mêdyâr, whose meaning is: the storing of goods for the winter for the sake of one's creatures appeared in it.
- 1a.21 Sixth he established mankind, that is, Gayômar, in 70 days, that is, from the day of Râm in the month of Day to the day of Anagrân in the month of Spandarmad. Five days remained <till the day of Spandarmad>. Those five days are *gâhânbâr*. Some say: "the five purloined days," others "stolen." And they are called Hamaspahmaydim, whose meaning is this: going about in the same army appeared in the world, for the pre-souls (*frawahr*) of men went about in the world of the living in the same army.
- 1a.22 The names of those "five purloined days" some say are the five *gâhs* of the *Gathas* others the good pentad. In the *dên* these are: *Ahunwayt gâh*, *Ushtawayt gâh*, *Spandomên gâh*, *Wahushahr gâh*, *Wahishtôysht gâh*.
- 1a.23 Those 30 days that are set down in the months are called as follows: Ohrmazd, Wahman, Ardwhisht, Shahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordad, Amurdad, Day, Âdur, Âbân, Khwar, Mâh, Tîr, Gôsh, Day, Mihr, Srôsh, Rashn, Frawardîn, Warahrân, Râm, Wâd, Day, Dên, Ard, Ashtâd, Âsmân, Zamyâd, Mahrspand, Anagrân.
- 1a.24 The names of those 12 months are from the same Amahraspands: the month of Frawardîn, the month of Ardwhisht, the month of Hordad, the month of Tîr, the month of Amurdad, the month of Shahrewar, the month of Mihr, the month of Âbân, the month of Âdur, the month of Day, the month of Wahman, the month of Spandarmad.
- 1a.25 And I shall say how they are further on.

CHAPTER 3: ON THE REASON FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CREATION FOR THE FIGHTING

- 3.1 Ohrmazd gave the names of 30 Amahraspands to the 30 days:
The first is Ohrmazd, then six Amahraspands, altogether seven.
The eight is Day, that is, the Creator.¹ And then six Amahraspands, altogether seven.
The eight is Day, that is, the Creator. And then seven Amahraspands, altogether eight.
The ninth is Day, that is, the Creator. And then seven Amahraspands, altogether eight.
That is, Ohrmazd had fitted his own name into the months in four places.
And those three Day's have one name, one is place, one *dên*, and one time, which have always been.
- 3.2 When the Foul Spirit came against Ohrmazd, he fashioned time of long rule in the form of a 15 year-old man, luminous, white-eyed, tall, strong, whose strength is from skill, not from theft and violence.
- 3.3 And he himself donned a white garment and held the *office of High Priest.² For all knowledge is with the high priests, who then teach people, and everybody learns from them. And Ohrmazd's proper function was to establish the creation. The creation can be established with knowledge. Therefore he donned the office of knowledgeable men, that is, that of High Priest.
- 3.4 Good Wây donned a gold and silver, diamond-studded garment, variegated, multicolored. <He held> the office of warriorhood, for he was to go after the enemies to smash the Opposition and protect the creation.
- 3.5 As it is said: Wây's proper function is that he removes the Opposition that is in both creations, both the one the Life-giving Spirit and the one the Foul Spirit established, so that when they start the battle, then Ohrmazd's creation will be increasing, while that of the Foul Spirit will be destroyed.
- 3.6 From time, he fashioned the firmament, Zurwân of long rule, of good body, the assignment of fates. And he donned a dark blue garment. He held the office of Husbandry, for his proper function is like that of husbandmen to cultivate herds(?) and to deliver(?) appropriately.
- 3.7 As Ohrmazd had fitted his creatures into each group of six Amahraspands, he established the world of thought and world of the living in the same manner. That is, Ohrmazd and those six Amahraspands—Wahman Ardwhasht, Shahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordad, Amurdad—are in the world of thought.
Thus also the sky (was established) with six levels, the first of which is the cloud-level, the second the firmament of the stars, the third the unmingled stars; the fourth Paradise, the moon is on that level; the fifth Garôdmân, which is called the endless light, the sun is on that level; the sixth the thrones/place of the Amahraspands; the seventh the endless light, the throne/place of Ohrmazd.
Thus, too, he fashioned seven creations in the world of the living: first the sky, second the water, third the earth, fourth the plant, fifth the cattle, sixth man, seventh the fire, whose shine is from the endless light, the throne of Ohrmazd.
- 3.8 And he filled fire into each creature he fashioned forth, like a house-master who goes into the house and puts his clothes down neatly in the house.
- 3.9 And he ordered the fire, during the Assault, to serve men, to make food, and strike away pain. When one gathers it from various things it comes out. When one puts firewood on it, it seizes it.
- 3.10 And he appointed and positioned all the Amahraspands to take part in the battle of the creatures, so that when the Assault <comes>, each takes on his own opponent to fight, that is, no new command is needed.
- 3.11 And I shall say how they are further on.

¹ Literally, he who has set all things in place.

² Pahl. *âsrôn*, Av. *âthrawan*, the principal priest, who leads the performance of the sacrifice.

Creation of the seven Life-giving Immortals and their corresponding helpers and their charges in the world of the living

- 3.12 The first of beings in the world of thought is Ohrmazd, and of the beings in the world of the living he in the beginning took mankind as his own.
And his collaborators are the 3 *Days*: one is place, one is *dên*, one is time; every *Day* has a name. He who is in the world of thought, every creation is from him.
- 3.13 He brought forth mankind in 5 parts: body, breath-soul (*gyân*), soul (*ruwân*), frame (*êwênag*), and pre-soul (*frawash*, *frawahr*). That is, the body is what is living. The breath-soul is what <is connected> with the wind, *inhaling and exhaling. The soul is that which in the body together with consciousness hears, sees, talks, and knows. The frame is what is on the sun level. The pre-soul is what is before the Lord Ohrmazd; it was fashioned for this reason: so that, when men die during the period of the Assault, the body is connected with the earth, the breath-soul with the wind, the frame to the sun, and the soul to the pre-soul, so that it will not be possible for the *evil gods to destroy the soul.
- 3.14 Second of beings in the world of thought is Wahman, and of beings in the world of the living he took the cow species as his own. And to help him he gave him Mâh (the moon), and Gôsh, the Lord Firmament, limitless Time, and Time of long rule.
He brought forth the cow in 5 parts: body, breath-soul, soul, the frame, and the “spirit” (*mênôy*), so that during the period of the Assault, Gôshurûn,¹ would receive the seed of cattle from the moon level and with the help of good Râm (= Wây) would propagate it in the world of the living.
When they die, the body is attached to Gôshurûn, the soul to Râm, the frame to the moon, the “spirit” to Wahman, so that it will not be possible for the evil gods to destroy them.
- 3.15 Third of beings in the world of thought is Urdwahišt (Ardwahišt), and of beings in the world of the living he received the fire as his own. And to help him he gave him Âdur (Fire) and Srôsh and Warahrân and Nêryôsang, for the reason that, during the period of the Assault, Warahrân would provide a stronghold for the fire that is established and arrayed in the house, and Srôsh would protect it. When it goes out, it goes from Warahrân to Srôsh, from Srôsh to Âdur, and from Âdur it is again attached to Ardwhisht, so that it will not be possible for the evil gods to destroy it.
- 3.16 Fourth of beings in the world of thought is Shahrewar, and of beings in the world of the living he took the metals as his own. And to help him he gave him Khwar (the sun), Mihr, the Sky, the Endless (lights), the good Glow, Ardwišûr, Hôma-yazd (the god Haoma), Burz-yazd (the exalted god), and Dahmân Âfrîn.²
For the solidity of metals is from the sky. The primeval substance of the sky is ... (?) metal. And it is set up from the Endless (lights). In the Endless (lights) there is a luminous house of gold, studded with precious stones, and it is connected upward to the place/throne of the Amahraspands, so that it will not be possible for the evil gods in the period of the Assault to destroy it.
- 3.17 Fifth of beings in the world of thought is Spandarmad, and of beings in the world of the living she took the earth as her own. And to help her he gave her Âbân (the Waters), the Dên, Ard (Av. Ashi), Mahrspand (Av. the life-giving poetic thought), Arshishwang (Av. good Ashi), and Ardwišûr Anâhîd.
As for Arshishwang, she is the being in the world of thought that purifies the earth (and) the seed of the waters(?). And before her is Mahrspand or Mânsarspand,³ the speech of Ohrmazd.

¹ The mythical soul of the cow, see Bdh.4.29-34.

² Av. “the Qualified Invitation” (*dahmâm âfritîm*).

³ The life-giving poetic thought, Av. *manthra spenta*.

And Ard and Dên are in the Fortune of the house. From Arshishwang one says (comes) the Fortune of Paradise, one-ness with Order (*ahlâyih*).¹

Ardwîsûr Anâhîd is father and mother of the waters.

With these assistants (Spandarmad) she is set up. And these (her) helpers in the world of thought safeguard the Fortune.

- 3.18 Sixth of beings in the world of thought is Hordad, and of beings in the world of the living he took the water as his own. And to help him, he gave him Tîr, Wâd (the wind), and Frawardîn (the pre-souls)— for Tîr is Tishtar (Av. Tishtriya)—so that in the period of the Assault, with the help of Frawardîn, some (say) the pre-souls of the Orderly (*ahlaw*), he may take that water and deliver it in the world of thought to the wind. The wind drives those waters *quickly to the various regions and makes them pass (from one to the next), and by means of the clouds with their helpers they rain it down.
- 3.19 Seventh of beings in the world of thought is Amurdad, and of beings in the world of the living he took the plant as his own. And to help him he gave him Rashn, Ashtâd (Av. Rectitude), and Zamyâd (the genius of the earth), the 3 Fortunes who are there at the Chinwad bridge, who in the period of the Assault bring the souls of men to account for their good and bad deeds.
- 3.20 Then there are innumerable beings in the world of thought with whose assistance the creations are set up, as written above with regard to the stars in the firmament.
- 3.21 And each of the days in the months he divided into five times, and over each time he appointed one in the world of thought, that is, Dawn, which Hâwan in the world of thought holds as his own; Noon, which Rabiwin in the world of thought; Evening, which Uzêrin in the world of thought; Before midnight, which Aybisrûsrim in the world of thought; and After midnight, which Ushahin in the world of thought holds as his own.
- 3.22 And those, too, he assigned to help (some others): for he set up Hâwan to help Mihr, Rabiwin to help Ardwasht, Uzêrin to help Burz-yazd, Aybisrûsrim to help the pre-souls of the Orderly and Warahrân, and Ushahin to help Srôsh and Rashn.²
- For he knew that when the Assault came, the day would be divided into these five times: until the Assault came it was always Midday (*nêmrôz*). Some (say) Rabiwin.

Ohrmazd's sacrifice and the pre-souls

- 3.23 At Midday Ohrmazd with the immortal gods prepared the sacrifice in the world of thought. During the performance of the sacrifice the entire creation was established.
- With (him) were pre-souls of men, with *considered wisdom (*khra*d), omniscient, brought down to men(?). He said: Which seems more profitable to you, that I fashion you forth to the world of the living so you will fight in bodily form with the Lie (until) the Lie is annihilated and I will redress you immortal in the end and again give you to the world of the living (where) you will forever be deathless, ageless, without opponents, or should I make you the eternal protection against the Assault.
- 3.24 And the pre-souls of men saw by the omniscient wisdom the evil from the Lie and Ahrimen that would befall (them) in the world of the living, (but) because finally the opposition from the Adversary would disappear and they would again become sound and immortal in the Final Body for ever and ever, they <agreed> to go <to the world

¹ Cf. XPh 46-56.

² Cf. Y.1.

of the living>.

CHAPTER 4: ABOUT THE RUSH OF THE ASSAULT AT THE CREATION

The Evil Spirit is roused

- 4.1 It is said in the *dên* that when the Foul Spirit saw his own undoing together with the evil gods from the Orderly Man, he had been stunned. For 3000 years he lay stunned.
- 4.2 During that stupor, the (animal-?)headed evil gods one by one lied: “Rise up, our father, for we will do that battle, from which there will be straits and evil for Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands!”
- 4.3 One by one they enumerated their evil deeds.
- 4.4 The Foul Spirit was not pacified by it, and he did not rise from that stupor for fear of the Orderly Man until the Whore, possessed by the Lie, came at the completion of the 3000 years. She lied:
“Rise up, our father, for in that battle I shall let loose so much harm upon the Orderly Man and the toiling Bull that by my doing their lives will not be worth living. And I shall steal their Fortune, I shall harm the water, I shall harm the earth, I shall harm the fire, I shall harm the plant, I shall harm the entire creation established by Ohrmazd.”
- 4.5 And she enumerated her evil-doings in such detail that the Foul Spirit was pacified. He jumped out of his stupor and placed a kiss on the Whore’s head. This filth they call “menses” then appeared on the Whore.
- 4.6 The Foul Spirit lied to the Whore: “Ask for whatever you want, and I will give it to you!”
- 4.7 Then Ohrmazd knew in his omniscience that at that time the Foul Spirit was able to give the Whore what she wanted and she would acquire much profit thereby.
The body of the Foul Spirit was in the form of a frog to look at(?). And he showed a man like a 15-year-old youth to the Whore and bound the Whore’s mind to him.
- 4.8 And the Whore lied to the Foul Spirit: “Give me the desire of man, so that I can sit down as mistress in his house!”
- 4.9 And the Foul Spirit lied to her: “I shall not tell you what to ask for, for you only know how to ask for profitless, bad things.” But the time had passed, and if she had asked for it, he would not have been able to give it to her.

The Assault upon the sky

- 4.10 Then the Foul Spirit rose up together with numerous evil gods to oppose the lights. And he saw that sky which they had shown him when in the world of thought at a time when it had not yet been established with bones (in the world of the living). In his envious wish he attacked it.
The sky stood on the star level; he dragged it down into the empty space—which, as I wrote at the start, was in between the foundation of the lights and the things of darkness, so that one-third of it stood above the star level (?).
And in the likeness of a snake, the sky having jumped below this earth, he threshed it and it broke(?).
In the month of Frawardîn on the day of Ohrmazd he rushed in at Midday. And the sky feared him like a sheep fears the wolf.¹
Next he fell upon the water, which I said was set up below this earth.
Next he pierced the center of the earth and came inside.
Next he fell upon the plant.
Next he fell upon the Bull and Gayômar.
Next he fell upon the fire in the likeness of a fly.

¹ Cf. V.19.33.

Thus he rushed upon the entire creation.

- 4.11 And he made the world of the living, (even) at Midday, as hard to find(?) as in a dark night.
And he made the sky beneath and above the earth dark.
- 4.12 And the sky in the world of thought said to the Foul Spirit: "For the utmost length of time I must stand guard so that I do not let you get out."

The Assault upon the water

- 4.13 He made the water devoid of taste.
- 4.14 And the water in the world of thought said: "*Where is it to be given, Wahman, Ardawahisht, and Shahrewar, that is, make it come to me! Now that the Opposition has come, where is that taste?*"¹

The Assault upon the earth

- 4.15 And he let loose evil creeps upon the earth. In that manner the bony (creations) were *filled with them, biting and venomous evil creeps, such as dragons and snakes, scorpions and lizards, tortoises and frogs, so that the earth was not free from evil creeps even (the amount of) a needle-point.
- 4.16 And the earth said: "For this creation they established my malice/revenge will come upon this malicious ones!"

The Assault upon the plant

- 4.17 And he brought poison upon the plant in such a manner (that) it dried out immediately.
- 4.18 And the plant in the world of thought said: "It was by that respect of his that Ohrmazd made the plant grow."²

The Assault upon the Bull

- 4.19 And he let loose upon the Bull and Gayômdard greed and need, danger, pain and disease, lust and sloth.
- 4.20 Before he came to the Bull, Ohrmazd gave the it healing bang (hashish?) to eat, which some call **banj*, and he smeared it before its eyes so that the evil, damage, and discomfort from the striking might be less. It immediately became weak and sick, and its milk came out, and it passed away.
- 4.21 And the Bull said: "Cattle should be established, excellent work and labor should be ordered for them!"³

The Assault upon Gayômdard

- 4.22 Before he came to Gayômdard, Ohrmazd brought sleep upon Gayômdard for as long as it takes to say one Gathic strophe. For Ohrmazd fashioned that sleep in the form of a luminous, tall 15-year-old man.
- 4.23 When Gayômdard came out of the sleep, he saw that the entire world of the living was dark like night. The earth was like scorched. It was no longer free from the running around of evil creeps. The firmament was turning, the sun and the moon were moving, the world of the living was resounding with the thundering of the giant evil gods fighting with the stars.
- 4.24 And the Foul Spirit thought: "I have undone all the creations of Ohrmazd, except Gayômdard."

¹ This is the Pahl. rendering of the first line of Y.29.11, but with substitution of *mizzag* "taste" for *mizd* "reward," which are written the same way.

² Cf. 3.48.6.

³ Apparently another citation.

And he let loose upon Gayômdard the Dismemberer with 1000 death-making evil gods, but because of his appointed time(?) they found no means to kill him.

4.25 As it says: At the first establishment, when the Foul Spirit came to Oppose it, the time for Gayômdard to live and rule was fashioned to be 30 years. That is, after the coming of the Opposition he lived for 30 years.

4.26 And Gayômdard said: "Now that the Assault has come, mankind will be from my seed/lineage. One good thing will come from it when they perform the appropriate good deeds."

The Assault upon the fire

4.27 Next he came to the fire, and he mixed smoke and *darkness into it.

First victory of the gods

The seven planets with numerous collaborators were mixed into the firmament (for) the battle with the stars.

And he sullied the entire creation as when from a fire smoke rises everywhere, and he fought to (reach) the place of those whose actions are above in order to mix with them too.

For 90 days and nights the gods in the world of thought were fighting with the Foul Spirit and the evil gods, until they overcame them and threw them back into hell.

He made the sky into a stockade, so that the Opposition was unable to mix with them.

4.28 Hell is the center of the earth, there where the Foul Spirit pierced the earth and ran through.

For everything in the world would now be by twos: opposition and fighting, up and down, and mixture (of those).

The complaint of the Soul of the Bull/Cow

4a.1 It also says: When the uniquely-established Bull passed away, *he* fell on the right.

After Gayômdard passed away, *he* fell on the left.

4a.2 Gôshurûn, that is, the soul of the uniquely-established Bull, came out of the body of the Bull, stood before the Bull, and with a voice as when 1000 men cry together complained to Ohrmazd: "To whom have you entrusted the *ratu*-ship of the creation, since the earth is lying trembling, the plant is dry, the water fouled? Where is that man of yours whom you said you would give so that he would utter care?"

4a.3 And Ohrmazd said: "You are sick, Gôshurûn, with the Foul Spirit's sickness and the malice the evil gods have brought upon you. If it had been possible to bring forth that man at that time, then the Foul Spirit would not have possessed this power to do violence."

4a.4 And Gôshurûn went forth to the star level and complained in the same manner. It went forth to the moon level and complained in the same manner. It went forth to the sun level and complained in the same manner.

4a.5 And then they showed it the pre-soul of Zarathustra, saying: I (we) shall establish in the world of the living (this one), who shall utter care."

4a.6 Gôshurûn was contented and accepted (the following): "I shall nurture the creation"—that is, it agreed to establish cattle in the world of the living.

CHAPTER 5: ABOUT THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO SPIRITS

That is, in what way did the (animal-?)headed evil gods come to compete with the gods in the world of thought?

The competition in the world of thought

- 5.1 That is, Ahrimen with Ohrmazd,
Akôman/Evil thought with Wahman/Good thought,
Endar ¹ with Urdwahišt/Best Order,
Sâwul with Shahrewar/Worthy command,
Nânghaith, whom they also call Tarômad/Scorn, with Spandarmad/Life-giving Humility,
Tôrij with Hordad/Wholeness and Zêrij with Amurdad/Immortality,
Wrath with readiness to listen/Srôsh,
lies and false statements with truth,
spells of sorcery with the pure poetic thought,
excess and lack with moderation, which is the good *dên*,
evil thoughts, words, and deeds with good thoughts, words, and deeds,
the Dismemberer, whom they call the bad Wây, with Râm, that is, the good Wây,
Waran/Greed of no roads with inborn wisdom (*khrad*),
casting the evil eye, that is lack of regard, with the regard in the world of thought
laziness with zealous activity, sloth with sleep,
revenge with peace, harm with peacefulness,
stench with good scent,
darkness with light,
poison with nectar,
bitterness with sweetness,
stinginess with generosity,
waste with judicious giving,
winter with summer,
cold with warm,
dryness with wetness,
being in hell with being in paradise,
Lieffulness with Orderliness (*ardâyih*),
obscurantism/heresy with being Orderly (*ahlâyih*)
old age with youth,
night with day,
mercilessness with forgiveness,
stinkiness, that is destruction, with ability to make increase,
filth with cleanness,
impurity with purity,
discontentedness with contentedness,
- 5.2 and the other terms of evil gods with the other terms of gods: evil gods, lie-demons, and giants with gods (*yazdân*),
deities (*bayân*), and Amahraspands.

¹ Cf. Bdh.1.55.

The competition in the world of the living

- 5.3 In the world of the living (there compete):
 darkness with the sky,
 thirst with water,
 offal, evil creeps, and frogs with the earth,
 scorching with the plant,
 hunger and thirst with the cattle,
 death and danger, need and miscellaneous pains with people,
 cooling and ...? with the fires, that which is when people and cattle kindle it with dry (wood).

Among creatures with bones (there compete):
 the lion and wolf species and the thieves with dogs and cattle,
 frogs with fishes,
 owls and the other winged evil creeps with the birds,
 the “satanity” (*ahrimenīgānih*) of those possessed by the Lie with Orderly men,
 whores with women,
 immoral living with moral living,
 the destruction by the Lie with having offspring,
 and all the other Lies in the world of the living came upon the deities of the world of the living.

The competition among the heavenly bodies

- 5.4 In the Firmament, too, the dark Mihr came upon the sun and the dark moon upon the moon with the seed of cattle,
 and they tied them to their chariots by a mutual contract.¹
 The generals of the other sorcerers and witches² together with 30 destroyers (came upon) the stars.
 And the generals of the seven planets upon the stars, that is:
 Tîr/Mercury upon Tishtar/Sirius,
 Ohrmazd/Jupiter upon Haftôring/Ursa Major (the Big Dipper),
 Warahrân/Mars upon Wanand/Vega,
 Anâhîd/Venus upon Sadwês/Fomalhaut(?),
 Kêwân/Saturn, who is the general of the planets, upon the Peg in the middle of the sky,
 Gôchîhr and Mûshparîg with the tail came upon the sun, the moon, and the stars.
- 5.5 The sun tied Mûshparîg to his chariot by a deal, so that it could do only little harm. When she gets loose, she will
 distribute much evil before being captured again.
- 5.6 And also on the star level (there competed):
 Aspanjarûsh (the demon of thunder and lightning, came) upon the Wâzisht fire,
 Apaosh the demon (of drought) came upon Tishtar/Sirius (and his) collaborators.
- 5.7 Other evil gods with countless eyes(?) came upon the deities in charge of winds and rain.
- 5.8 (It would be) long (to enumerate) their (doings) in detail, and their behavior and fight with ...? is also explained in
 astrology.

¹ This, of course, explains eclipses.

² Cf. Yt.8.8: falling stars and comets.

CHAPTER 6: ON THE BATTLE OF THE CREATIONS

The battle of the sky

- 6a.1 It says in the *dēn*: As the Foul Spirit rushed in and saw the logical establishment of the creation, the supremacy of the deities, and his own impotence, he wished to rush back.
- 6a.2 The sky in the world of thought, that is, that brave warrior who wears the steel armor that is the very sky that was set up against the Foul Spirit, presented a threat (to him?) until Ohrmazd had made a fortification harder than the sky around the sky.
- 6a.3 And he appointed the warrior pre-souls of the Orderly, with valiant horses and spears in the hands around that stockade (numerous) as hairs on the head of(?) those who mount the guard of the fortification. And the stockade which the Orderly are in they call the Knowledge of the Orderly.
- 6a.4 And the Foul Spirit did not find a passage to rush back through. He saw the destruction of the evil gods and his own undoing as clearly as Ohrmazd did his future victory and the Perfectioning of the world for ever and ever.
- 6a.5 This was the first battle, (the one) which the sky in the world of thought fought with the Foul Spirit.

The second battle the water fought.

- 6b.1 Because the star Tishtar was in the watery Cancer in the (9th) lunar mansion they call .Azarag, (in) that of the Souls (the 1st l.m.), on the same day that the Assault rushed in, in the evening, it rose again in the west.
- 6b.2 There one constellation belongs to each month.
The month of Tîr is the fourth month of the year. Cancer is the fourth constellation from Aries, that is, the property of Cancer, in which Tishtar happened to be, came as the mark of rain-making, and he drove the water up to the clouds by the strength of the wind.
- 6b.3 The assistants who stood with Tishtar: Wahman and Hôm-yazd for guidance, Burz-yazd for assistance, the pre-souls of the Orderly to set up the right measure.
- 6b.4 Tishtar changed into three bodies: that of a man, a horse, and a bull. For 30 days and nights he flew in the light and produced rain for 10 nights and days in each form. As the astrologers say: each star has three forms.
- 6b.5 That rain poured down water, each drop as large as a large ... (?) cup, and on the entire earth there stood water the height of a man.
- 6b.6 Those evil creeps of the earth were all killed by that rain, aside from some small winged ones, who went into the holes of the earth.
- 6b.7 Next the Wind in the world of thought, as it had not been mixed ...?, like the wind-soul that moves in the body, the wind in the intermediate space moved forth. And its wind-soul swept that entire water and carried it to the borders of the earth, and from it there was the Vourukasha Sea.
- 6b.8 Those dead evil creeps that remained on the earth and whose poison and stench mingled on the earth, in order to remove that poison from the earth, Tishtar went down into the sea in the shape of a white, long-tailed horse. And the demon Apaosh in the likeness of a black horse with stunted tail hastened against him, and he violently pushed Tishtar back three miles.
- 6b.9 Tishtar asked Ohrmazd for strength. Ohrmazd bestowed strength upon him.
- 6b.10 As it says: Immediately Tishtar received the strength of ten young horses, ten young camels, ten young bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers.
- 6b.11 And he violently drove the demon Apaosh three miles away.
- 6b.12 And this is the reason why they say that the power of an arrow is equal to Tishtar.
- 6b.13 And by using the clouds as a barrel for measuring—a tool for that work, so they say—he takes up the water and makes it rain as hard as possible by drops the size of a bull's head or a ram's head, the depth of a ...? and the

- depth of a ...? both big and small.
- 6b.14 During that rain-making Aspanjarûsh and Apaosh fought, the fire Wâzisht brought up his mace and heated the water in the clouds. From the smashing with that mace, Aspanjarûsh thundered and shouted, as even today that battle over the rain-making thunder and lightening appear.
- 6b.15 And he made rain in that manner for 10 days and nights. That poison of the evil creeps that was in the earth was all of it mixed into that water and that made it greater (than) what remained in the earth. From that seed all evil creeps are spawned.
- 6b.16 Next the wind in the same manner, within three days, made that water settle down in all places of the earth. Three great seas and 20/30 small seas came from it, and two springs of the sea appeared from it. One was Chêchast, one Sawr, whose springs are connected with the springs of the sea.
- 6b.17 And he made two rivers flow from the north, one went toward the east and one toward the west, namely, the river Arwand and the river Weh.
- 6b.18 As it says: two sources of two water-courses were born the depth of one of Ohrmazd's fingers.
- 6b.19 And both those rivers encircle both ends of the earth and mingle back into the Vourukasha Sea.
- 6b.20 And when those two rivers had flowed forth, thereafter 18 deep rivers flowed forth from the same source as those two. Next the other waters flowed forth from those deep ones. And all those too pour back into the Arwand and Weh rivers, from which came the beneficence of the world of the living and the long life of the creatures.
- 6b.21 This was the first battle the water fought with the Foul Spirit.

The third battle was the one the earth fought.

- 6c.1 When the Foul Spirit rushed in, the earth shook, and that substance of the mountains that had been established in the earth began to shake, and immediately the mountains started to move about.
- 6c.2 First Hariburz the God-given, then the other mountains in the middle of the earth, for, when Hariburz grew forth, all the mountains started to move, for all grew forth from the root of Hariburz.
At that time they came up from the earth, like trees which run their branches down to the roots(?), and their roots have passed into one another (that) they are arranged by being tied together.
- 6c.3 After that the earth was no longer able to shake in place, as it says in the *dên*: The mountains are a great band (around) the earth.
- 6c.4 Passages for the waters in the mountains were made beneath and above the roots of the mountains, so that they could flow through them, in the same way that the roots of trees pass through the earth, like the blood in the veins, which gives strength to the entire body.
- 6c.5 Aside from Hariburz, in 18 years, all the mountains came up from the earth from which there is help and profit for mankind.
- 6c.6 As it says: They have been brought forth as a banquet(?) for the priests and husbandmen.
- 6c.7 This was the first battle that the earth fought with the Evil Spirit.

The fourth battle the plant fought, the one that had been dried out.

- 6d.1 The Amahraspand Amurdad—since the plant belongs to him—pounded that plant finely, mixed it with the water from Tishtar, and Tishtar rained that water down on the entire earth.
- 6d.2 On the entire earth plants grew up like the hair on men's heads.
- 6d.3 And there were 10,000 from it. One special species grew forth to withstand the 10,000 illnesses that the Foul Spirit whittled forth against the creatures.
- 6d.4 From those 10,000, plants grew forth in 130 species among the species.
- 6d.5 From all that seed of the plants, the tree of many-seeds was brought forth. It grew forth in the Vourukasha Sea, and

the seeds of all plants grow from on that tree.

- 6d.6 Near that tree, the Gôkarn tree was brought forth to withstand ...? old age. And the complete furthering of the world of the living came from it.
- 6d.7 This was the first battle the plant fought with the Foul Spirit.

The fifth battle the uniquely-established Bull fought.

- 6e.1 When it passed away, because it contained the semen of the plants, from the limbs of the Bull there grew out of the earth 55 species of grain and 12 species of healing plants.
- 6e.2 And their light and the strength that was in the seed of the Bull was transferred to the moon.
- 6e.3 That seed was purified by the light of the moon, was set up in various kinds/colors, and a soul (*gyân*) was inserted in it.
- 6e.4 From there one pair of kine, one male one female, appeared on the earth, and then from each species 2, that is 282, in the same way that 2 miles are said in the *dên* to be 18 *hâsar*.
- 6e.5 The cattle (took) their abodes on the earth, the birds in the atmosphere, and the fish swam in the water, from which there was (enough) for abundant nourishing of the creatures.
- 6e.6 This was the first battle the Bull fought with the Foul Spirit.

The sixth battle Gayômarî fought.

- 6f.1 It was revealed in the firmament about(?) Gayômarî that he lived *30 years in the period of the Assault, during the struggle between the stars and the planets.
- 6f.2 As it has been said (about?) the time before the coming of the Assault: "To brave Gayômarî 30 winters' life and rule had been allotted."
- 6f.3 At the coming of the Assault the planet Ohrmazd/Jupiter happened to be in watery Cancer in its own exaltation; owing to his superiority over his opponent he allotted life to Gayômarî.
- 6f.4 And the planet Kêwân/Saturn was in Libra, in the fourth house, where the Peg below the earth is in its own exaltation. Because of its superiority over its adversary, it fashioned (decreed) death (for Gayômarî).
- 6f.5 Because Ohrmazd/Jupiter was in his own exaltation, at the *tip of (the lunar mansion) of the Souls, and because of his superiority over Kêwân/Saturn, he pushed the death of Gayômarî forward to 30 years.
- 6f.6 Then Kêwân/Saturn came back to Libra, which is its exaltation, at that time Ohrmazd/Jupiter happened to be in the Lamb, where his declination is. Because of the superiority of Kêwân/Saturn over Ohrmazd/Jupiter, mortality came upon Gayômarî, and he fell on the left side.
- 6f.7 As he passed away, his seed went into the earth, as now, too, all men pour out their seed at their passing away.
- 6f.8 Because the body of Gayômarî was made of metal, 6 metals appeared from the body of Gayômarî.
- 6f.9 And the seed that went into the earth, after 40 years, Mashî and Mashyânî (= mortal man and woman) grew up (from it), from whom came the filling up of the world of the living, the destruction of the evil gods, and the undoing of the Foul Spirit.
- 6f.10 This was the first battle Gayômarî fought with the Foul Spirit.

The seventh battle the fire fought was the one against Aspanjarûsh.

- 6g.1 The fire Wâzisht (is) for making rain, the fires Farrôbay, Gushnasp, and Burzênmîhr to protect the world of the living and guard the creation, and the other fires, like the one in plants, men, and animals, to keep them alive and make them grow, and the setting up of the establishment of the world of the living is from them.
- 6g.2 This was the first battle the fire fought with the Foul Spirit.

The eighth battle the stars fought against the deceiving planets.

- 6h.1 Each of them was in battle with its own opponent. They were set up against their adversary until the Perfectioning of the world, as I wrote in the horoscope of the world.
- 6h.2 This was the first battle the stars fought with the Foul Spirit.

The ninth battle the gods in the world of thought fought with the Foul Spirit

- 6i.0 The ninth battle the gods in the world of thought fought with the Foul Spirit, when they smote him, overcame him, and threw him into hell.
- 6i.1 As it says: For 90 days and nights the gods in the world of thought were sleepless and *untiring in fighting that battle.

The tenth battle the unmingled stars fought

- 6j.0 The tenth battle the unmingled stars fought when they did not allow darkness and sinfulness to be mixed into the *upper action sphere(?).
- 6j.1 As it says: The Fortune of the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ¹ was held like a girdle, that is a *kusti*, star-adorned, fashioned in the world of thought, with three lengths, and *four knots, around the sky.
- 6j.2 Those stars were in battle with (him) until the end, as already written.
- 6j.3 There (you have) the principal components of the battle, which is called the pure elements in the mixture.

CHAPTER 14: ON THE NATURE OF MANKIND

- 14.1 It says in the *dên*: I fashioned forth mankind in ten species, first that luminous, white-eyed one, Gayômar, and so forth till the tenth, that is, Gayômar was one, nine remained from Gayômar. The tenth was the monkey, whom one calls the lowest of mankind.

What came from Gayômar

- 14.2 When illness befell Gayômar, he fell on the left side.
- 14.3 There appeared from his head lead, from his blood tin, from his brain silver, from his feet iron, from his bones copper, from his fat crystal, from his arms steel, and from the soul as it went forth gold, which even now people give to accompany their souls because of its high value.
- 14.4 Through his left side mortality entered Gayômar's body. Mortality thus came upon all creatures (to last) until the Perfectioning.
- 14.5 When Gayômar gave up his seed, they cleansed it with the light of the sun. And one half was preserved by Nêryôsang, and Spandarmad received the other one. It was placed in the earth for 40 years.

¹ Cf. Y.9.26.

Mashî and Mashyânî, the first two humans

- 14.6 At the completion of 40 years, Mahlî and Mahliyânî (= Mashî and Mashyânî) grew up from the earth as a plant in the shape of a rhubarb with one stem and 15 leaves, in such a way that their hands were in the back and they were attached to one another. They were of the same height and same appearance.
- 14.7 Between them Fortune came up, and they were of the same *stature, so that it was not apparent which was the male and which was the female and which was that Ohrmazd-given Fortune that was with them, there is one who says: the Fortune of mankind which was placed in them.
- 14.8 As it says: Which was made first: the Fortune or the body? And Ohrmazd said: The Fortune was made first, then the body was made for it, placed in the body,¹ that is, once one's duties had been fashioned, the body was made for performing one's duties.
- 14.9 And the explanation of it is as follows: the soul (*ruwân*) was made first, then the body. The soul inside the body guides its duties.
- 14.10 Then they both changed from rhubarb-form to people-form. And that Fortune that is the soul (*ruwân*) went into them from the world of thought. Even now a tree has grown up, whose fruits are the ten kinds of humans(?).
- 14.11 Ohrmazd said to Mashî and Mashyânî: You are humans. You are the parents of the world of the living. You must perform work and law with perfect thought! Think good thought, speak good speech, perform good action, do not sacrifice to the evil gods!
- 14.12 The two of them first thought as follows, when they thought about one another: He is human.
- 14.13 And the first deed they did was as follows: When they walked they urinated.²

The first humans learn to lie

- 14.14 And the first speech they spoke was as follows: Ohrmazd gave (us) the water, the earth, the plants, the cattle, the stars, the moon, the sun, and all prosperity whose appearance is from Orderliness. —He mentions origin and fruit (cause and effect).
- 14.15 Then the Adversary rushed into their thoughts, and he made their thought sinful,³ and they howled: The Foul Spirit gave (us) the water, the earth, the plants, and the other things.
- 14.16 As it is said: that was the first lying speech of theirs that went astray. It was said at the instigation of the evil gods. This was the first bliss the Foul Spirit took from them. By that lying speech they both became possessed by the Lie, and their soul will be in Hell until the Final Body.
- 14.17 And for 30 days they had to winnow(?) their food, and they wore grass as garments.
- 14.18 After 30 days, in the wilderness they came upon a white-haired goat. And with their mouths they sucked the milk of here udder.
- 14.19 When they had drunk the milk, Mashyânî said: My peace of mind at the time when I had not yet drunk that seed milk was greater than it is now when I have drunk it and my body feels bad.
- 14.20 And that was the second lying speech, from which the evil gods received strength.⁴ And they stole the taste of the food so that only 1% remained.

¹ Cf. Yt.17.22.

² Cf. V.3.6.

³ Cf. Y.9.29.

⁴ Note the effect of lying.

The first humans perform their first sacrifices, one good, one bad

- 14.21 Then, after another 30 days and nights, they came upon a young sheep with white cheeks, and they killed it. And with firewood from lote(?) and box tree by the guidance of the (gods) in the world of thought, they built a fire, for those two trees are the best givers of fire. And again they kindled the fire with their mouths (blowing on it) and as the first firewood they burnt (wood from various trees).
And they roasted that sheep. And they left a three-fist-sized piece of meat in the fire. They said: It is the fire's share. And of that one piece was shot up to heaven. They said: This is the gods' share.
- 14.22 A vulture dove for it and carried it of from them, that is, this was the first meat the dogs ate(?).
- 14.23 And the first garments they wore were from skins. Then, in the wilderness, they wove cotton cloth(?). The woven cloth they made into clothes and put them on.
- 14.24 And they dug a *kiln in the ground, smelted iron, struck the iron with stones, made a blade out of it, cut trees with it, and prepared wooden bowls from it.
- 14.25 From these pious actions the evil gods experienced much misery.
- 14.26 And by themselves they brought evil envy upon one another. They set upon one another, striking and tearing and pulling out hairs.
- 14.27 Then the evil gods bellowed from the darkness: You are humans, sacrifice to the evil gods, so that envy may find a seat in you!
- 14.28 Mashyânî hurried forth, milked a cow, and poured the milk in the northern direction.¹
- 14.29 By that sacrifice to the evil gods, the evil gods became strong. And they made both of them so dry-assed (= impotent) that for 50 years they had no desire to get mingle together. And even when they did mingle together, no children were born from.
After 50 years, they thought about getting children, first Mashî, then Mashyânî. Mashî said to Mashyânî: When I look at your belly this thing of mine grows and rises up. Then Mashyânî said: Brother, when I see your that dick of yours, my belly flutters(?).
- 14.30 Then they got their desire together, and as they were performing their desire they thought: we should have been doing this for 50 years already!
- 14.31 After nine months a pair of twins were born, a girl and a boy, but because they were so sweet, the mother devoured one, the father the other.
then Ohrmazd removed the sweetness of the children from their thoughts and left only enough for the parents to raise them.
- 14.32 Six pair of twins were then born from them, males and females, and all the brothers married their sisters.
- 14.33 Each couple bore a child after fifty years, and they themselves died at the age a hundred.
- 14.34 Of those six pair of twins, one was Siyâmag, the boy, and Washâg, the girl.
- 14.35 From them 15 pair of twins were born, each of which was one species. And their descendants filled the world.
- ...

CHAPTER 30: ON THE CHINWAD BRIDGE AND THE SOULS OF THE DEPARTED

- 30.1 It says in the *dên*: There is a ridge a hundred men high in the middle of the world of the living that they call the Ridge of the Law (Chagâd î Dâytîy), which is the yoke of the scales set in place by Rashn. One edge is at the bottom of Mount Hariburz on the northern side, and one edge at the top of Mount Hariburz on the southern side.
In the middle of that is the Ridge of the Law.
- 30.2 In the middle of it there is a place like the edge of a sword, which is nine spears long and wide.

¹ Cf. V.19.1.

- 30.3 And there stand the gods in the world of thought who purify the souls of the Orderly by means from the world of thought. And a dog from the world of thought is at the end of that bridge, and Hell is below that bridge.
- 30.4 When people pass on, for three nights the soul sits near the body, where the head used to be. In that night it experiences much *torment from the demon Drag-off (Drag-off) and his collaborators. It keeps turning its back to the fire that is lit there.
- 30.5 Therefore, for three nights until day (comes) they keep a fire burning there where his head used to be. And when there is not that fire, he turns his back to the Warahrâm fire or the *ever-burning fires.
- 30.6 In those three nights, when cutting and destruction comes upon the body, it seems so hard to him as to a man whose house they demolish.
- 30.7 Those three nights the soul sits at the top of the bed with the body with the hope: If it comes to pass that the blood flows and the wind enters the body, then maybe it will be possible to go back!
- 30.8 And then on the third night at dawn, if the soul is Orderly, it says: Lucky he from whom any goodness (comes)! That is, I am good, from my goodness everyone is good. And Ohrmazd has made me absolute king.
- 30.9 And if that soul is possessed by the Lie it says: This is that body, breath-soul (*gyân*), and form in which I used to run about, so from here where shall I run?
- 30.10 And if he is Orderly, then quickly upon those words a wind comes to meet him which is better and nicer and more sweet-smelling and victorious than all winds in the world of the living, which gladdens the soul.
- 30.11 And if he is possessed by the Lie, a wind comes to meet him which is fouler and more rotten and non-victorious than all winds in the world of the living, which makes the soul unhappy and frightened.
- 30.12 Then they carry off all those souls, whether Orderly or possessed by the Lie.
- 30.13 If that soul is Orderly, then on the way a cow-shape comes to meet him, fat and full of milk, from which the soul gets prosperity and fattiness.
- 30.14 Next a woman-shape comes to meet him, well-shaped, with white garments, 15 years old, and who is beautiful from all sides, at which the soul is gladdened.
- 30.15 Next a garden-shape comes, full of fruits, full of water, full of fruits from trees, full of prosperity, from which the soul receives gladness and prosperous thoughts. Some say: the land of Paradise. He sees this in the world of the living, before the accounting, as signs. Some say: that soul asks them one by one. When they come to meet him he asks: Who are you who seem to me to contain all happiness and comfort?
- 30.16 In this way they answer him one by one: I am your Orderly *dên*, the deeds you performed when you did that goodness. It is because of you that I am here.
- 30.17 If that soul is possessed by the Lie, then a cow-shape comes to meet him, dry, scrawny, and terrible, from which the soul gets dryness and un-fattiness.
- 30.18 Next a woman-shape comes to meet him, terrible, ill-shaped, covered in reproach, and who is terrible from all sides, from which the soul is frightened and terrified.
- 30.19 Next a garden-shape comes, devoid of water, trees, and comfort, from which the soul receives bad thoughts. Some say: the land of Hell. He sees this before the accounting as signs. Some say: It asks them one by one. When they come to meet him he asks: Who are you, the most evil I have ever seen in the world of the living?
- 30.20 It answers him: O you possessed by the Lie, I am your *dên*, who am your deeds, when you performed bad ones. It is because of you that I am here.
- 30.21 So it is clear that everybody's deeds come to meet him.
- 30.22 Then they convey that soul to the foot of Mount Hariburz, above which there goes the edge of a yoke, up to the top of the ridge, where that sharp edge is.
- 30.23 Then, if he is Orderly, that sharp edge remains as wide as it is. The Farrôbay fire strikes the darkness and in the form of fire conveys that soul over that ridge, and the gods in the world of thought purify it. It conveys it over another yoke up to the top of Hariburz, and good Wây takes it by the hand and brings it to his own place, that is,

- he who receives the soul, delivers it there.
- 30.24 Also when they purify a body in the world of the living, (they do it) in like manner in the world of thought.
- 30.25 If that soul is possessed by the Lie, when it comes over that yoke up to the ridge, that sharp edge becomes a sharp blade and does not give passage. And unwillingly he must go over that sharp blade. After taking three steps forward, that is, evil thought, evil speech, and the evil deeds he has performed, it cuts him down and he falls head first down to Hell and experiences every evil.
- 30.26 It says this too: he who has been Orderly in generosity, when that wind comes to meet him, in that wind he sees a woman-shape, and he asks her. And the woman shows the way and brings him to a ladder, which has three levels. And by that ladder he goes to Paradise in three steps, that is, good thought, good speech, and good action. The first step takes him to the star-level, the second to the moon-level, and the third to the sun-level, where Paradise is.
- 30.27 If he has been possessed by the Lie and niggardly, when that wind comes to meet him, in that wind he sees a woman-shape, and he asks her.
There are some who say: That action becomes like a sharp edge, which is all sharp edge(?). It says to that soul: O you possessed by the Lie, whether you wish or not, you must step on this edge.
- 30.28 Then the soul says: Were you to cut me with a very sharp knife, it would seem better to me than to step on this edge.
- 30.29 A second time it says the same. He answers: If you were to shoot me with an arrow, it would seem better to me than to step on this edge.
- 30.30 A third time it says the same. He answers: If you were to strike my soul out of my body, it would seem better to me than to step on this edge.
- 30.31 But his actions (in the world) become like a wild untamed beast and stands before the soul. That soul becomes so afraid that it steps on that edge, and it cuts him down and he falls to Hell.
- 30.32 Those whose sins and good deeds are equal they consign to the Intermediary place.
- 30.33 About the Intermediary place it says that it is a place like the world of the living.
- 30.34 They assign to everyone a place in it that is on the level of their good deeds.

CHAPTER 33: ON THE HARM THAT BEFELL IRAN IN EACH MILLENNIUM

The first millennium of the Mixture

- 33.1 When the Foul Spirit rushed in, at the beginning of the first millennium in the mixture, there were the Bull and Gayôpard.

When Mashî and Mashyânî performed that good sacrifice/service for 50 years, then they had no children.

In the same millennium, for 70 years, Hôshang and Tahmûraf both killed evil gods.

It was at the end of the millennium that the evil gods cut Jam in half.

The second millennium of the Mixture

- 33.2 It was at the beginning of the second millennium that Azhidahâg ruled his evil rule. He did so for a hundred years. When the end of the millennium came, Frêdôn seized and bound him.

The third millennium of the Mixture

- 33.3 It was at the beginning of the third millennium that Salm and Tûz shared Frêdôn's land. Then they killed Êrij and destroyed his children and family.

- 33.4 In the same millennium, Mânushchîhr was born and sought vengeance for Êrij.

- 33.5 Than Frâsyâb came and pushed Mânushchîhr and the Iranians back to Padishkhwârgar and destroyed them with much harm, damage, and destruction. He killed Mânushchîhr's sons Frîy and Nôdar, until Iran was taken from Frâsyâb by another lineage.

- 33.6 When Mânushchîhr had departed, Frâsyâb once more came and caused much disturbance and devastation in Iran. He kept rain back from Iran until Uzaw, son of Tahmâsp came and pushed Frâsyâb back and made the rain which they called new-rain.

- 33.7 And after Uzaw, Frâsyâb once more caused heavy sin to Iran, until Kawâd sat upon (the throne of) kingship.

- 33.8 During the kingship of Kâyus in the same millennium, the evil gods were very violent, and Ôshnar came to smash them. And (Kâyus's) thought was deranged to the extent that he went to do battle with the sky. He fell down, and the Fortune was robbed from him.

Then he devastated the world of the living with horses and men, and they (seized and) bound him by deceit in the land of Shambarân together with the ...?

- 33.9 There was one whom they call Zênigâw, who had poison in his eyes. He had come from the Tâzîgs (Arabs) to be king over Iran. Whomever he looked at with his evil eye was killed. The Iranians went to seek out Frâsyâb, and Dashtan killed that Zênigâw and ruled over Iran. He carried many people off from Iran. He settled them in Turkestân and laid Iran waste and brought confusion until Rostam raised (an army?) from Sagestân and seized the Shambarânians. He released Kâyus and the other Iranians from their imprisonment.

By the river *Hurîy, which they (also) called Spâhân, he fought a battle with Frâsyâb. He was defeated from there, and he fought many other battles with him until he pushed him back and threw him back to Turkestân.

Iran was again made prosperous.

- 33.10 Frâsyâb made another attempt. Kay Siyâwakhsh came to do battle.

By the sin (ful accusations) of Kay Kâyus's wife, Sûdâbîy, Siyâwakhsh did not go back to Iran. He remained with Frâsyâb, because he had granted him protection, and did not come back to Kay Kâyus, but went to Turkestan himself.

He married one of Frâsyâb's daughters, from whom Kay Husrôy (Khusraw) was born.

Siyâwakhsh was killed there.

- 33.11 In the same millennium, Kay Husrôy killed Frâsyâb. He himself went to the Kangdiz, passing the kingship on to

Luhrâsp. And when (Luhrâsp's son) King Wishtâsp had ruled for 30 years, the millennium came to an end.

The fourth millennium of the Mixture: the current millennium

- 33.12 Then it was the beginning of the fourth millennium. In that millennium, Zarathustra received the *dên* from Ohrmazd, brought it, and King Wishtâsp received it and propagated it. He fought a fierce battle with Arzâsp. Iranians and Non-Iranians were greatly *decimated.
- 33.13 In the same millennium, the kingship came to Wahman, son of Spandyâd. There was (internal) *struggle(?). The Iranians *decimated one another. And there was no (man) left of the royal lineage who could become king. And they made Wahman's daughter Humâ queen.
- 33.14 Then during the rule of Dârâ son of Dârâ, Alexander rushed in from Rome and came to Iran. He killed king Dârâ. He annihilated the entire royal family, the Magians, and the *nobles of Iran. He extinguished numerous fires, took the Mazdayasnian *dên* and its *zand* (commentary), and so it came to Rome. The Avesta was burned. Iran was divided among 90 petty kings.
- 33.15 Then in the same millennium Ardakhshahr son of Pâbag appeared. He killed the petty kings, set up the kingdom, propagated the Mazdayasnian *dên*, and instituted many customs. It continued in his lineage.
- 33.16 During the rule of Shabuhr (II), son of Ohrmazd, the Tâzîgs came and they took the river *Hurîy. They had spent many years marauding and plundering, before Shabuhr became king. He pushed those Tâzîgs back, took their cities, destroyed many a Tâzîg king, and ... them in large numbers(?).
- 33.17 During the rule of Pêrôz, son of Yazdegerd, for six years there was no rain. People experienced severe evil and hardship.
- 33.18 Then *Hashnawâz, king of the Hephthalites came, killed Pêrôz, and carried off Kawâd and his sister and a fire as hostages to the Hephthalites.
- 33.19 During the reign of Kawâd, Mazdak, son of Bâmdâd, appeared and laid down the laws of Mazdakism. Kawâd was deceived and led astray. He ordered that wife, children, and property should be held in common and be shared. He abolished the Mazdayasnian *dên* until the blessed Husrôy, son of Kawâd, came of age, killed Mazdak, reestablished the Mazdayasnian *dên*, and pushed back the Chionites, who were always making incursions into Iran, closed the passes, and made Iran free from fear.
- 33.20 And when Yazdegerd became king, he ruled for 20 years. Then the Tâzîgs rushed upon Iran in large numbers. Yazdegerd did not *challenge(?) them in battle, but went to Khorâsân and Turkestân, where he called horses and men to help, and was killed there.
- 33.21 Yazdegerd's son brought a large army to India, but before he reached Khorâsân he passed away, the large army was thrown into confusion, and Iran remained in the hands of the Tâzîgs. And they propagated their own law and evil *dên*, and threw into confusion many customs of old. The Mazdayasnian *dên* was weakened, and it became customary to wash, bury, and eat corpses.
- 33.22 From when the world was first established till today, no heavier evil had ever occurred, for through their evil-doings, because of need, devastation, oppression, evil laws, and evil *dên*, danger and destitution and other evils made their home (among us).
- 33.23 It says in the *dên*: Their evil rule will end!
- 33.24 A group will come with red signs, red banners, and will seize Pârs and the other provinces of Iran all the way to Babylon. They will weaken the Tâzîgs.
- 33.25 Then one will come from the area of Khorâsân, an evil man. He will push back the inhabitants of Padishkhwârgar. He will exercise his evil rule for some years. Under his leadership people will be destroyed in Pârs. No one will be left except a few on the shores of the Kâzerûn sea.

- 33.26 Then the Chionites and Turks will rush into Iran in large numbers with numerous banners and lay waste this prosperous, sweet-smelling Iran. And they will ruin many houses of noblemen, will perpetrate much evil and oppression upon the people of Iran, will destroy many houses, and seize (property) until God has mercy.
- 33.27 When the Romans arrive, they will exercise kingship for one year. At that time one will come from the area of Kâwarestân, in whom the Fortune lodges, of the same lineage as the gods. They will call him Kay Wahrâm. And all the people will rally to him, and he will also rule everywhere in India, Rome, and Turkestân. He will eradicate the ones of evil beliefs, restore the Mazdayasnian *dên*, and no one will be able to come forth with a (new) belief.
- 33.28 In the same period Pishôtan son of Wishtâsp will come from the fortress of Kang with 150 Orderly men. He will destroy that idol temple of mysteries of theirs. He will seat the Wahrân fire in its pristinity, he will pronounce the entire *dên* correctly, and restore it.

The fifth millennium of the Mixture: that of Ushêdar

- 33.29 Then the fifth millennium begins, that of Ushêdar. Ushêdar, son of Zarathustra, will come from Ohrmazd to show the *dên* and bring the right message. Like Zarathustra brought it, he will bring it. Destitution and dryness will decrease, and generosity, peace, and absence of hate will grow in the whole world of the living. He will give plants three years of greenery, and the river Vâtaêni will flow deep as a horse, and the springs will flow back to the Kayânsîy sea.

For ten days and nights the sun will stand still in the sky, and all the wolf species will be destroyed.

- 33.30 Then when the millennium of Ushêdar ends, Malkûs will arrive, the brood of destruction, of the lineage of Brâtrôresh, who was the murderer of Zarathustra. By his *dên*, which is that of sorcerers, by his desire, which is that of witches, he will produce that terrible rain which they call “that of Malkûs.” (It will rain) for three years, both in winter, when it is cold, and in summer, when it is warm, with innumerable amounts of snow and hail to destroy the creation, so that all people except a few will be destroyed.

And then people and animals will be repopulated from Jam’s bunker, which is in hiding for this very purpose.

- 33.31 This too: At that time the healing power that had been laid down in a thousand kinds of plants to fight the 1000 kinds of illnesses will come into two kinds of plants and one kind of land, and no one will die from illness, but from old age or when killed.

The sixth millennium of the Mixture: that of Ushêdarmâh

- 33.32 And then the sixth millennium begins, that of Ushêdarmâh. It is called the millennium of Ushêdarmâh. And in that millennium, Ushêdarmâh, son of Zarathustra, will come from Ohrmazd to bring the right message. Like Zarathustra brought the *dên*, he will propagate it in the world of the living.

For twenty days and nights the sun will stand still in the sky. He will give greenery to the plants for six years. The Lie, brood of Desire, will be destroyed, that is, snakes together with (other) evil creeps will be destroyed.

- 33.33 Then close to the end of the millennium of Ushêdarmâh, Dahâg¹ will come loose from its chains, and Bêwarâsp (= Dahâg) will cause much damage to the creation by his demonic desire.

- 33.34 And at that time Sôshâns, son of Zarathustra, will appear.

For thirty days and nights the sun will stand still in the sky.

- 33.35 As the first of dead living beings, Garsâsp (Av. Kersâspa), son of Sâm, will be resurrected. He will smash Bêwarâsp with his mace and kill him and (thus) keep (him) away from the creatures.

¹ Azhidahâg, Av. Azhi Dahâka, the Giant dragon.

The millennium of Sôshâns will begin when the millennium of the maker of the (Final) body is 55 years(?).

Origin of the Zarathustra's three sons

- 33.36 About those three sons of Zarathustra, that is, Ushêdar, Ushêdarmâh, and Sôshâns, they say: Formerly, when Zarathustra was speaking, then they deposited the Fortune of Zarathustra in the Kayânsîy sea for safe-keeping, entrusting it to the Fortune of the waters, that is the divine Anâhîd.
- 33.37 Now, too, they say that they keep seeing at night three lights that blaze at the bottom of the sea.
- 33.38 And one by one, when their time comes, it will happen that a young woman will go to the water of the Kayânsîy to wash her head, and the Fortune is mixed into her body, she becomes pregnant, and those three will be born from her one by one in due course.

CHAPTER 34: ON THE RESURRECTION AND THE FINAL BODY

Mankind and food before the end of the world

- 34.1 It says in the *dên*: As for Mashî and Mashyânî, when they had grown up from the earth, first they drank water, then they ate plants, then milk, and then meat. And people, too, when they are to die, first stop eating meat and milk, then bread, and then, until they die, they drink only water.
- 34.2 And in this manner, in the millennium of Ushêdarmâh, the strength of the needs of the body will decrease, so that people will be satisfied with eating one meal every three days.
- 34.3 After that they will stop eating meat and eat plants and drink the milk of domestic animals. And after that they will stop drinking milk, too. Then they will stop eating plants, and drink only water. Ten years before Sôshâns comes, they will stop eating altogether and not die. Then Sôshâns will raise the dead.

Zarathustra asks Ohrmazd about the resurrection

- 34.4 As it says: Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd: The body which the wind winnows, the water carries off, from where will they raise it and how will the resurrection come about?
- 34.5 And (Ohrmazd) answered:¹
 The sky (is erected) without pillars, standing in the world of thought, with its borders in the distance, and from the substance of shining metal.² Similarly, when I established the earth, which carries the entire bony existence, it had no support in the world of the living.
 When I led the sun and the moon and the stars into the intermediate space in the form of light,
 and when I gave (men) grain for them to cast into the ground and it grows up again and becomes manifold,
 and also when I gave the plants colors of many kinds,
 and also when I gave the plants and other things fire so that it does not burn,
 and also when I established sons in the wombs of their mothers and protected them, and gave them individually hair,
 skin, nails, blood, sinews, eyes, ears, and the other limbs,
 and also when I gave the water fattiness so that it flows,
 and also when I established clouds in the world of thought to carry the water of the world of the living and to rain wherever it pleases,

¹ Cf. Book of Job chap. 38.

² Cf. Yt.13.1.

and also when I established the wind, which blows up and down as it pleases plain to see by the power of the wind,
and it is impossible to seize it with one's hands,
every single one of these it was more difficult to establish than performing the resurrection, for in the resurrection I
have the assistance of those who were not when I did those other things.
Have a look! Since I made that which was not, why should it not be possible to do that which was? For at that time
I shall call the bones from the earth in the world of thought, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants,
the soul from the wind, as they received them at the first establishment.

The resurrection

- 34.6 The first bones he will raise are those of Gayômar, and then those of Mashî and Mashyânî, and then he will raise those of other persons.
- 34.7 And for 57 years, Sôshâns will raise the dead; and they will raise all people, whether good or bad, everybody will be raised from wherever their soul departed or they first fell to the ground.
- 34.8 And then, when they have restored the entire bony existence with a body, then they give them a frame. And (of) the light which is with the sun, they give one half to Gayômar and one half to the other people.
- 34.9 Then people will recognize other people: souls will recognize other souls, bodies other bodies, (thinking:) this is my father, this is my brother, this is my wife, this is one of my closest relatives.
- 34.10 Then the assembly of Isadwâstar (son of Zarathustra) will take place, that is, people will stand up on this earth.
- 34.11 In that assembly everybody will see their own good and evil deeds. The good will be apparent among the bad like a white sheep among the black.
- 34.12 In that assembly, a good person who befriended a bad person in the world, that bad person complains to the good one: Why did you not tell me about the good deeds which you yourself performed in the world? If the good one informs him accordingly, then he has to experience shame in the assembly.
- 34.13 Then the good are separated from the bad, and the good are led to paradise, and the bad are thrown into hell. And for three days and nights, they experience in hell in their bodies and souls the punishments of hell. And for three days and nights, the good will experience in paradise bliss in their bodies.
- 3.14 As it says: On that day, when the good and bad are separated, everybody's tears will reach as far as their calves, when sons are separated from company with their fathers, brothers from brothers, and friends from friends.
- 34.15 Everybody will experience their own deeds. The good will weep for the bad. The bad will weep for themselves. There are cases where the father is good and the son bad or one brother is good and one bad. Those who committed ...?, like Dahâg, Frâsyâb, and *Wâman, and other high criminals of their ilk, undergo ten-fold punishment of the kind no man undergoes, which they call "the punishment of four nights."

The final ordeal

- 34.16 During that Perfectioning of the world, those good men, about whom it is written that "they are alive," 15 men and 15 women, will come to the help of Sôshâns.
- 34.17 And the snake Gôchîhr, that is, the one in the firmament, will fall down to earth from the sharp edge of the moon. The earth will feel such pain as a sheep does when a wolf tears off its fleece.
- 34.18 The Fire and the divine Êrman (Av. Airyaman) will melt the metal in the hills and mountains, which will stand on the earth like a river.
- 34.19 And then all people pass through that molten metal and become pure. Whoever is good, to him it will seem like he walks through warm milk. And if it is a bad person, then it will seem to him just like he walks through molten metal.
- 34.20 Then all people come together in great love for one another. Fathers, sons, brothers, all men who were friends, ask

- other men: Where were you all those years, and what judgment did your soul receive? Were you good or bad?
- 34.21 First the soul will see the body and will ask it. When it answers, they will all shout loudly together and bring praise to Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands.

The final sacrifices

- 34.22 At that time Ohrmazd's creation will be completed, that is, there is no need for further action in that restoring of the dead.
- 34.23 Sôshâns and his helpers will perform the sacrifice to raise the dead. In that sacrifice they kill the bull Hadayansh, and from the fat of that bull they prepare an immortality drink, the white *hôm*, which they give to all people. People become immortal for ever and ever.
- 34.24 This too it says: If they have reached the age of "man," then they will be restored as 40 year-old. And the small children, who were not yet of age, then they will put back as 15 year-old. They give everybody a wife and children, and they enjoy their wives as they do now in the world, but there will be no children born.
- 34.25 Then Sôshâns, according to the command of the creator, will give rewards and prizes befitting their actions. There are some that are so good that they say: Lead him to Ohrmazd's paradise! — and he takes on a form as befits him and stays with that for ever and ever.
- 34.26 This too it says: He who has performed no sacrifices, has ordered no masses for his soul, has given no garment of goodness to the deserving, will be naked there. And having sacrificed to Ohrmazd, the *Gathas* in the world of thought will serve him as clothes.
- 34.27 Then Ohrmazd will seize the Foul Spirit, Wahman will seize Akôman, Urdwahasht Endar, Shahrewar Sâwul, Spandarmad Tarômad (whom some call Nânghaith), Hordad and Amurdad Tôrij and Zêrij, true speech false speech, and Srôsh with the rewards will seize Wrath with the bloody club.¹
- 34.28 Then two evil beings will remain in the world of thought: Ahrimen and Âz.
- 34.29 Ohrmazd goes down into the world, himself as officiating priest (*zôt*) and with Srôsh with the rewards as assistant priest (*râspîy*), bringing the girdle in his hands.
- 34.30 The Foul Spirit and Âz will be greatly and exceedingly smashed by the magic power of the *Gathas*, and <they fall> back to the darkness and gloom through the passage through the sky through which they first rushed in.²
- 34.31 And the snake Gôchihr will be burnt by that molten metal. The metal will flow into hell, and that stench and filth in the earth where hell was will be burnt by that metal and become pure.
That *hole through which the Foul Spirit rushed in will be closed by that metal.
- 34.32 That earth in which hell was located will be brought back to the expanse of the world of the living. The Perfectioning of the world (will be) in the two existences as the living beings wish for ever and ever.
- 34.33 This too it says: This earth will have no high or low spots and will become flat. And there will be no mountain ridges or deep valleys, nothing above to support and nothing below to hold up.

¹ Cf. Bdh.1.36, 5.1.

² Cf. Yt.19.12.

CHAPTER 36: ON THE DESCENT AND LINEAGE OF THE KAYS

- 36.1 Hôshang, son of Frawâg, son of Siyâmag, son of Mashî, son of Gayôpard.
- 35.2 Tahmôraf, son of †Wîwanghân, son of *Ayanghat, son of Hôshang.
- 35.3 Jam, Tahmôraf, Spitûr, and Narseh—whom they also call *Rashn-chîn—were all brothers.
- 35.4 From Jam and his sister Jamag one couple was born, man and woman. And they were husband and wife together.
And the male spouse's name was Âspiyân, and the female spouse's was *Zrêshom. Their lineage started.
- 35.5 Spitûr was the one who with Dahâg cut Jam in half.
- 35.6 Narseh, too, lived then. And the call him Narseh the errant. It says that the Fortune had been established in him that
he would pass through the markets daily and make all food clean and pure.
- 35.7 Dahâg, son of Arwadâsp (Khrudâsp?), son of Zaênîgâb, son of ...? son of Tâz, son of Frawâg, son of Siyâmag on the
mother's side.
Dahâg, son of Ôdag, daughter of Bayak, daughter of Tambayak, daughter of Ovôikh, daughter of Pairiurvaêsm,
daughter of Gadvithv, daughter of Drujaskân,¹ daughter of the Foul Spirit.
- 35.8 Frêdôn, son of Âspiyân with many cows, son of Âspiyân with *shining cows, son of Âspiyân with brown cows, son
of Âspiyân with black cows, son of Âspiyân with white cows, son of Âspiyân with *grey cows, Âspiyân with
cows in herds, son of Âspiyân ...?, son of Âspiyân, son of Jam, son of Wîwanghân.
- 35.9 That is, leaving aside Âspiyân with many cows, they were 10 generations. Each one lived 100 years, to a total of
1000 years. Those 1000 years were the evil rule of Dahâg.
- 35.10 From Âspiyân with many cows Frêdôn was born, who sought revenge for Jam. Other siblings were Barmâyôn and
Kadâyôn. Frêdôn possessed Fortune in greater measure than they.
- 35.11 From Frêdôn 3 sons were born: Salm, Tûz, and Êrij. And from Êrij 2 sons and one daughter were born.
- 35.12 The twin sons were called Wânîdâr and ...?. The daughter was called *Gûzag.
- 35.13 Salm and Tûz killed all the relatives and descendants of Êrij. Frêdôn kept the daughter hidden, and she had one
daughter. They were told of it and killed the mother of that girl. And Frêdôn kept hiding them for ten
generations, when Mânush with the sun in his nose was born from his mother. For when he was born, the light of
the sun fell upon his nose.
- 35.14 From Mânush and his sister Mânushkhwarnar and from Mânushkhwarnar and his sister Mânushchihr was born, who
killed Salm and Tûz and (thus) sought vengeance for Êrij.
- 35.15 From Mânushchihr were born Frîy, Nôdar, and Dûrâsraw.
- 35.16 That is: Mânushchihr, son of *Mânushkhwarnar, son of Mânushkhwarnâg, whose mother was Gûzag, daughter of
Êrag, daughter of Thridag, daughter of Bidag, daughter of Frazushag, daughter of Zushag, daughter of Frên.²
- 35.17 Frâsyâw, son of Pashang, son of Zaêshin, son of Tûrag, son of Spaêniasp, son of *Durwishab, son of Tûz, son of
Frêdôn. That is: (Frâsyâw and) Karswaz,³ whom they call son of Kêd, and Agrêrad were all three brothers.
- 35.18 Pashang and Wêsag⁴ were brothers.
- 35.56 From Zarathustra (were born) three sons and three daughters: Isadwâstar, Urwatadnar, and Khwarshêdchihr.
Isadwâstar was chief of priests and high priest of high priests; he died a hundred years after the (coming of the)
dên. Urwatadnar was chief of the husbandmen in the enclosure that Jam (Yima) made in the earth.
Khwarshêdchihr was a warrior and a general. Pishôtan, son of Wishtâsp, lives in the (castle of) Kangdiz.

¹ Cf. V.3.7 *drujas kana* "den of the Lie."

² Yt.13.139 Hwôwî, Frênî, Thritî.

³ Kersawazda Yt. 19.77.

⁴ Yt. 5.57-58 Vaêsakaya.

35.60 As it is said: Three times Zarathustra approached Hwôw. Each time the semen went onto the ground. The god Nêryôsang kept receiving the luminous strength of that semen and entrusted it to the god Anâhîd for safekeeping. In due time he will mingle it with the mother. 99,999 pre-souls of the Orderly are appointed to guard it so that the evil gods do not spoil it.

DENKARD BOOK 7: THE LIFE OF ZARATHUSTRA

CHAPTER 1. THE COMING OF THE *DÊN*

- 7.1.2 Seventh (book): about the marvels of the greatest messenger of the Mazdayasnian *dên*, Spitama Zarathustra: that which befell that miraculous one as the messenger of Ohrmazd and the acceptance of his *dên* as being according to the saying of Ohrmazd among the landsmen of King Wishtâsp. From the teaching of the Good *dên*.
- 7.1.3 But before that it is sensible to write about the nature, establishment, and propagation of the good *dên*, the first who accepted it in the world of thought and in the world of the living, and, after that, about those who brought the Word, messengers and those who brought (it) in time until Zarathustra whose Frawahr we Sacrifice (to). And one section about their speech and miraculous works through which they were accepted among men as those who brought the Word.

The *dên* comes to Gayômar

- 7.1.4 Now, according to the teaching of the good *dên*, the nature of the *dên* is the temperament of Ohrmazd, and its establishment by the *collaboration of the first creation, Wahman the amahrspand. And (its) propagation was first in the world of thought among the Amahraspands and the other gods, the gods in the world of thought. In the world of the living, (it came) to Gayômar, the first man, who received it completely and totally from Ohrmazd the Creator and explained it properly in his own time, who thought it and used it to conquer the Lie of that time and the Adversary. And his (first) thinking (and) education (received) from the Creator (was) the first utterance of the entire *dên* of Ohrmazd.
- 7.1.5 It is revealed in the good *dên* how the praise came into existence of him who made things be and set them in place: the Life-giving Spirit;¹ what is the first proper thing for man to do: “It is good for us that we are the creation of Ohrmazd”—and the last one, concerning the foremost means of salvation: “Performing *gaya*...n ‘life’ is foremost, now that he has sickened the lineage of the life of mankind, now that the Assault has come upon the creations.”
- 7.1.6 For men—of the lineage of Gayômar—the best thing is to do one’s worldly and religious duties. And what one must do is to conquer the Lie that is one’s own opponent to the extent it is *enjoined upon those of (his) lineage(?): “It is the duty of each of you to conquer the Lie that is your own opponent, whereby the creation will be free from the Adversary and pure from the Assault.” And that is the work for which the Creator created the creation.
- 7.1.7 This too is shown in the good *dên* that, by that correctly spoken utterance, Gayômar attained to the good existence of the Amahraspands, namely that of Garôdmân (Paradise).
- 7.1.8 And after Gayômar, in each age until Zarathustra, whose pre-soul we sacrifice (to), a few parts (were revealed) of the knowledge and science and action that was needed for the salvation of the people who appeared in that period, be it through conversation with the Creator, be it through the *prophecy from on high, from the gods, at the order of the Creator. In the good *dên* the names of the successive bringers of the Word who received and organized (the *dên*) are enumerated:

¹ Spenâg Mênôy, Av. Spenta Manyu.

The *dên* comes to Mashî and Mashyânî

- 7.1.9 When Gayômarð passed away, the second time the speech of Ohrmazd was revealed to the creatures of the world of the living (it was) to Mashî and Mashyânî, the first offspring of Gayômarð, as saying to them when he had created them: “You are men. I created you as parents of the entire bony existence, and thus, you men, do not sacrifice to the evil gods! For I created for you as the best thing to keep my Rightmindedness,¹ so that with rightmindedness you may look after your work and justice.”
- 7.1.10 And they praised Ohrmazd’s work of creation and went about their duties. And they did the will of the Creator (and) laid the foundation of much activity that was to benefit the world: marriage to one’s closest relatives, which is the best of people’s pious deeds, as regards giving birth, establishing lineages, and fullness among the creatures of the world.
- 7.1.11 The Creator showed them how to sow barley, as it is revealed by the speech of Ohrmazd: “This, Mashî, is your ox, and this is your barley, and these are your other tools, which from now on you should know well!”
- 7.1.12 And this too is revealed in the good *dên* that Ohrmazd said to Hadish (genius of the homestead) Worthy in Orderliness—one of the gods—: “Hadish Worthy in Orderliness, go up to Mashî and Mashyânî, and ask from Mashî and Mashyânî that bread made of barley. Bless that (bread) of theirs: ‘May this barley go out from you! As it came to you from Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands, (so) may this barley go out from you to (your) descendants, to keep off the Adversity coming from the evil gods. In order for evil gods and the Lie to stay away two *Ahunwars* should be recited!’”
- 7.1.13 Hadish Worthy in Orderliness went forth to Mashî and Mashyânî and asked from Mashî and Mashyânî that bread made of barley. He blessed that (bread) of theirs: “May this barley go out from you! As it came to you from Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands, (so) may this barley go out from you to (your) descendants, to keep off the Adversity coming from the evil gods.” In order for evil gods and the Lie to stay away he recited two *Ahunwars*.
- 7.1.14 And, from the teaching of the gods, Mashî and Mashyânî came as far as making clothes, animal husbandry, iron smithing, and carpentry, which together with agriculture and husbandry constitutes the foremost activities of their specialties and craft. And from them it went on to be known by transmission throughout the generations and be spread throughout the world to reach its completion as the (most important) class among the classes.

The *dên* comes to Siyâmag, son of Mashî and Mashyânî

- 7.1.15 And, after that, the transmission of the Word came to Siyâmag, their son, and those of the same lineage, for (them) to move to the various continents and districts, to the extent that the Creator had chosen for that continent and district. People went to each continent and district, spread out there and filled them.

The *dên* comes to Hôshang and Tahmûraf

- 7.1.16 And in that era it came to Wêgird (and) Hôshang Pêshdâd (for them) to organize in the world the justice of land holding (for) the cultivating of the world and landlordship (for) the protection of the world.
- 7.1.17 And, through their collaboration, the justice of (their) religion, and power of (their) hymns (*wahm*) landlordship (for) the cultivating of the world was organized for the lineages of creatures of Ohrmazd to propagate and organize the *dên* and justice of Ohrmazd.
- 7.1.18 And, by that Fortune (of his), Hôshang smashed two-thirds of the giant evil gods (and) the seven *minions of Wrath.
- 7.1.19 After that it came to Tahmûraf with the Weapon. And through that Fortune he conquered evil gods and evil men, sorcerers and witches. He tore down again the sacrifice to idols and propagated among the creations praying (*niyâyishn*) and sacrificing to the Creator.

¹ Rendering of Av. Ârmaiti “(Life-giving) Humility.”

And the Evil Spirit turned himself into the form of a horse and carried him for thirty winters.

The *dên* comes to Jamshêd

- 7.1.20 And it came in that period to Jamshêd (Yima) son of Wiwanghân for him to converse with Ohrmazd. And of the four classes of the *dên*—priests, warriors, husbandmen, and artisans—he received all four, being priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan. And therewith he expanded, increased, and made grow the world and organized by the power of moderation the creatures to be deathless and ageless, undeteriorating and unrotting ...
- 7.1.21 And in the Good *dên* it is revealed according to the Creator Ohrmazd’s speech to Jam as follows:¹ “Further my world (i.e., make it more numerous), and then make my world prosper (i.e., make it more prosperous), and then accept from me to protect and nurture and superintend my world and conserve it so that nobody will be able to harm or damage another!”
- 7.1.22 And he agreed. And Jam did as Ohrmazd had commanded him. And by the same Fortune he expanded the earth twice as large as it had been before.
- 7.1.23 And during his kingship he made animals and men immortal, water and plants indesiccable, and eating of foods uninterrupted.
- 7.1.24 And this too is revealed in the Religion that he made the world as beautiful as Paradise. And he (received) from the Creator, who issues all orders, to protect the creatures from the destruction of the winter of Malkûsân (and so) constructed the fortress called Jamkerd. And many other wonders are revealed in the Good *dên*.

The *dên* comes to Frêdôn

- 7.1.25 And in that era there came by order of Ohrmazd the Creator to Frêdôn of the Âspiyâns—when he was in the womb of his mother—(his) share from Husbandry, a class of the *dên*, when Jam’s Fortune was divided. And through it he was made victorious.
- 7.1.26 And, by thus being made victorious, Frêdôn was able to respond to Dahâg from within the womb of his mother. And he afflicted him with pain and stunned him, that Lie of great might. When he was nine years old he went forth to smash him, and by that victoriousness of his he conquered Dahâg and delivered the creatures from him and made them breathe easily. In particular, he conquered the Mâzandarânians and pushed back their harm and damage from the continent of Khwanirah. He divided Khwanirah between his three sons.
- 7.1.27 And from Husbandry, the third class of the *dên*, he hid disease and sickness that plague the body. He showed people the art of healing. And he made many other wonders and acts benefiting the world.
- 7.1.28 And during Frêdôn’s lifetime the transmission of the same Word came to his son Êrij from the Creator. And by it he spread and cultivated the Aryan justice. He chose that best boon by asking it from his father Frêdôn. And that boon came from the Creator by the blessing of Frêdôn.
- 7.1.29 And in the same period it came to Waêz (daughter?) of Êrij, and then too it went with the god Nêryôsang to Manushêr, from whom came the fullness of the family of Êrij.
- 7.1.30 And it came to Manushchihr Landlord of the Iranians, who by it performed many miraculous deeds. He conquered Salm and Tûz as revenge for Êrij. He responded to the Friyânas, a non-Iranian land. He organized the rule over the Iranians and extended and cultivated Iran. He made the land of Iran victorious over the non-Iranian lands.

The *dên* comes to Uzaw

¹ Cf. Videvdad, chap. 2.

- 7.1.31 At that time it came to Uzaw son of Tûmâsp of the family of Mânushchîhr, land-lord of Iranians. By that word and Fortune, as soon as he was born he performed the work of adults and the measure of men. While not yet of age, by agriculture he opened the mother(?) of rain for the Iranian lands. He went off to subdue the non-Iranians and *chase them from Iran. And he killed the Dahian sorcerer who caused *famine in Iran (and) two of whose sibling brood had frightened Frâsiyâb, the Turian. And he made Iran grow and prosper and increased many rivers and streams in Iran.

The *dên* comes to Karsâsp

- 7.1.32 At that period it came to Karsâsp the Samid, from the share of warriorhood, the second class of the *dên* by the division of the Fortune of Jam. By it he smashed the horn-bearing, horse-swallowing, man-swallowing dragon, as well as the demon Gandarva, son of Zâiripâshn and many other counter-creations of the evil gods and the Lie that were destroying the creation.

The *dên* comes to the Kays (kavis)

- 7.1.33 At that period it came to Kay Kawâd, the ancestor of the Kays, who with it organized the kingship of Iran. He attached the kingship to his own lineage, through the descent of the Kays. By it he performed many wondrous deeds that benefited the creations.
- 7.1.34 And it came to Pâdsraw ... Tâz, king of the Tâzîgs, by the messengership of the Amahraspand Ardwhisht. And by it he chased from his flock the evil god Âz, who with his family members had overrun that flock of his in order to destroy it. It is revealed how the share went up on high to the Exalted Model from the Amahraspand Ardwhisht (and) how it is told how that share in the form of a fish fell into a river and came to be the food of Zarathustra.
- 7.1.35 At that period it came to Kay Arsh and his brothers, who were of the family of Kawâd. By it every one of them was a fleet, brave, watchful Kay, who performed marvelous deeds.¹ The oldest of those brothers, Kâyus, seized the kingship over the seven continents and, being full of Fortune, performed many marvels.
- 7.1.36 And at that period it came to Ôshnar, who became full of wisdom from the Fortune of Jam while he was in his mother's womb. By his teaching from his mother's womb, he taught his mother many wonders. And at his birth he smashed the Evil Spirit by responding to the questions of the deceiving villain, who sacrificed to evil gods.
- 7.1.37 And it (he?) came to the commandership of Kâyus. During his kingship he became the ruler of the seven continents. He discovered and taught the art of telling boundaries,² which for mankind was a very useful art. And the non-Iranians were overcome by his responses. The Iranian land was instructed by those most well-informed instructions of his.
- 7.1.38 And it came to Kay Siyâwaksh the splendid, who with it built the miraculously built Kangdiz, in order to keep within it for protection much marvel, Fortune, and mysteries of the *dên*, from which —it is revealed—the generation was established, and the kingdom of Iran was again arranged, and strength and victoriousness was again united with the *dên* of Ohrmazd.

¹ Cf. V. 20.1, Yt. 19.72.

² See Dk.7.2.62-66.

- 7.1.39 It came to Kay Husrôy (Husraw), son of Siyâwakhsh, who with it conquered Frangrasyâ (= Frasyâ, Frasyâb), the Turanian sorcerer, and his evil sibling Wigêragân Kerswazd and many others who destroyed the world of the living. He *attacked the idol-temple on the shore of Lake *Chêchast.¹ He broke and smashed that harsh Liedom.
- 7.1.40 Because it was needed as a tool for the Perfectioning of the world, by the ... of that Word, he was *secluded to a secret place for his body to be kept there immortal until the Perfectioning of the world, as willed by the Creator.

Zarathustra receives the *dên* from Ohrmazd

- 7.1.41 And after that Spitama Zarathustra came to the Interview with Ohrmazd, the Creator, and he received from Ohrmazd, the omniscient Creator—altogether complete as well as in detail—awareness about the knowledge and practice of priesthood, warriorhood, husbandry, and artisanship, all the parts of the *dên*. At the command of the Creator he brought (it) to King Kay Wishtâsp. He illuminated by that great illumination the wise men in the country of that supreme ruler of the *world. He propagated (it) in the seven continents so that it could no more be separated from its union with the creation until the Perfectioning of the world.
- 7.1.42 And the performance of the Perfectioning of the world among the (two) existences of the creatures of Ohrmazd (and making them) immortal by it through his sons Ushêdar, Ushêdarmâh, and Sôshyâns. And in greater detail about their marvels, Fortune, and miracles a chapter is written below in which they are praised.
- 7.1.43 And there were also others who brought the Word before Zarathustra, whose names have not been spoken in the Mazdayasnian *dên*, for it is revealed that at times a number of beings in the world of thought came to assume leadership. People were just as eager to learn those things as they are now to learn the *dên*. At that time it was necessary. Now it is not necessary because everybody has been informed about the *dên* and the hymns (*niyâyishn*) of Spitama Zarathustra whose pre-soul is one with Order.
- 7.1.44 And now it is being written about the wonders and Fortune and miracles of Spitama Zarathustra whose soul is sacrificed to, the most excellent of creatures, who brought the Word of the *dên* of those who sacrifice to Ohrmazd, that were revealed in the world. It is revealed here in ten chapters according to the knowledge found in the Avesta, the true *dên* of Ohrmazd.
- 7.1.45 What was before his birth here (in the world), that Fortunate one.
- 7.1.46 What was from his birth, that wondrous one, until he went to the Interview with Ohrmazd.
- 7.1.47 What was from his Interview until he was acknowledged in the world as one who brought the Word and the exalted Kay Wishtâsp received the *dên*.
- 7.1.48 And what happened to him from then on until his pure soul dwelt in the most excellent of existences.
- 7.1.49 And what happened afterward, also afterward during the rule of the King of Peace Kay Wishtâsp.
- 7.1.50 And what happened afterward until the rule of the Iranians *came to an end.
- 7.1.51 And what will happen afterward until the end of the millennium of Zarathustra and the coming of Ushêdar.
- 7.1.52 And what will happen afterward until the end of the millennium of Ushêdar and the coming of Ushêdarmâh.
- 7.1.53 And what will happen afterward until the end of the millennium of Ushêdarmâh and the coming of Sôshyâns.
- 7.1.54 And the wonders that will happen after the arrival of the victorious beneficent one,² the Perfectioning of the world, the Final Body: individual chapters about them.

¹ In the tradition, this is identified with a sea in western Iran.

² This renders Av. “obstruction-smashing Revitalizer.”

CHAPTER 2. THE BIRTH OF ZARATHUSTRA

- 7.2.1 About the miracles that were revealed about him from the birth from the mother of that most Fortunate of those born.
- 7.2.2 One thing that was revealed: The Creator transferred the Fortune of Zarathustra through the side of the *womb (*mâdish*) to Zarathustra when the order came from Ohrmazd that that Fortune should go from the world of thought to the world of the living and to the *womb (containing?) Zarathustra.
- 7.2.3 Many great miracles were revealed to many, as the *dên* says: Then, when Ohrmazd had fashioned forth the creature (*dahishn*) of Zarathustra, the Fortune was then before Ohrmazd. The creature of Zarathustra fell down upon the Endless Lights; from the Endless Lights it fell down upon the sun; from the sun it fell down upon the moon; from the moon it fell down upon the stars; from the stars it fell down upon the fire in the house of Zôish; and from that fire it fell down upon the wife of Frahîm-ruwânân(?) Zôish, when that girl was born who became Zarathustra's birth mother.
- 7.2.4 From that light the space between earth and heaven came together. It revealed a ... without any holes(?), so that they said: "In the house of Frahakht-ruwânân(?) Zôish fire blazes of itself (i.e., no fire-wood is needed)."
- 7.2.5 Then they went to that soothsayer, and he interpreted it for them (i.e., he said to them): "The fullness of Fortune of the bony existence (comes) from the Fortune of the body (i.e., every duty is propagated from this)."
- 7.2.6 It is revealed: On account of the beating the evil gods took from that Fortune, they brought three plagues down upon that village to make adversity for that girl: a winter, all kinds of dangers, and oppressive *disrespect. And they threw into the thoughts of the villagers: "This harm has come upon the village from the sorcery of this girl," so that the villagers accused the girl of sorcery, and the parents came under sharp attack to expel her from that village.
- 7.2.7 The father of the girl—among many things he said about the accusation of sorcery being completely without justice—also told the villagers the following about the girl: "When this girl was born in my (house) that all-blazing one (i.e., the fire) appeared, which produced light after it, so that it brought light upon everything in the dark night.
- 7.2.8 "When this girl sits in the most interior room of the house, in which there is no fire and one lights a tall fire in the great hall, (then) there where this girl sits it is brighter than there where they light the tall fire from the light that shines from this body. One so Fortunate has never been a sorcerer."

Zarathustra's mother-to-be goes to the village of her husband-to-be

- 7.2.9 And even then, on account of the incitement by the evil gods, the *kays* and the *karbs*¹ in the land were not satisfied. The father ordered the girl to go to Padêrêdarâsp, the *chief of a family in the Spitamid village in the county of Arâg. And the girl obeyed her father's order.
- 7.2.10 That confusion, which the evil gods had caused *out of spite for the purpose of exiling that girl, the gods by their miraculous power made the cause for that girl's coming to be the wife of Pôrushâsp, the father of Zarathustra, (namely) by the father's sending the girl to the house of Padêrêdarâsp, father of Pôrushâsp.
- 7.2.11 This is revealed: When that girl, was on her way to that family, she stood on the highest place in the land of the Spitamas, and she looked, and a great wonder was revealed to that girl. As the *dên* says: The gods called to her: "Go to that village which is *higher in height and wider in width, for in that most living creatures and cattle are assembled. That village a munificent god (*bay*) fashioned to help you."
- 7.2.12 Then that woman stood and looked: "I have to remember clearly the revelation of this speech (i.e., I have to do also as my father ordered me to do)."

¹ The Avestan poetasters and mumblers.

- 7.2.13 Then that woman washed her hands and went from those (of her own village) to yonder village, which was that of Padêrêdarâsp. And that Fortune came to Pôrushâsp, son of Padêrêdarâsp.
- 7.2.14 Then this is revealed: Ohrmazd the Creator sent Zarathustra's pre-soul through the haoma to the parents of Zarathustra by a wonder-working miracle.

Zarathustra's pre-soul is fashioned by the Amahraspands

- 7.2.15 Another thing the *dên* says: It was the conclusion of the third millennium, at the end of the 3000 years of (the creation's) being in the world of thought without the Assault—after the creation's being in the world of thought (but) before the Lie came upon it—, then the Amahraspands fashioned together the pre-soul of Zarathustra. It sat down among them with mouth and tongue, speaking and ...
- 7.2.16 Then Zarathustra for three millennia appeared frequently to (their) eyes and *hearing in the identical shape of the Amahraspands (i.e., he was like an amahrspand).
- 7.2.17 And when it was the conclusion of the third millennium after the fashioning together of Zarathustra and before Zarathustra was brought down to the world of the living, at the end of the 3000 years of the world of the living being *without the Assault,¹ then Ohrmazd discussed with Wahman (and) Ardwhisht: "Have you seen a mother for Zarathustra so that I/we can place/give Zarathustra (in/to her)?"
- 7.2.18 And Ardwhisht answered: "You also know that, O Beneficial one. Let us make Zarathustra. You made us too, Ohrmazd, you know who the other Amahraspands are. You reveal the place, for you know its revelation, O Ohrmazd, Life-giving Spirit!"
- 7.2.19 Then Ohrmazd argued to Wahman, the best, Ardwhisht, Shahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordad, and Amurdad: "It is not seemly that we should send Zarathustra down to the living creatures, equipped with a mouth, tongue, and speaking.
- 7.2.20 "If we send Zarathustra down to the living creatures, equipped with a mouth, tongue, and speaking in a man's body, (then) his origin will be apparent (as being) from me. They will say about him: 'It is the Orderly Man!' Therefore we shall fashion him together in water, earth, plants, and animals.
- 7.2.21 "And we shall bring him to Pôrushâsp's village, so that they shall say Zarathustra has two good origins, one from the Amahraspands, (namely) Nêrôsang, and one from men, (namely) Jam."

The Amahraspands place the pre-soul of Zarathustra in a haoma plant

- 7.2.22 Then the Amahraspands fashioned together a stalk of haoma, the height of a man, good, of superior color—it was moist—and they brought the pre-soul of Zarathustra into that stalk. Then the Amahraspands made it move from the Endless Light and placed it there on Mount Asnwend.
- 7.2.23 And they brought an enclosure around it. And they set up a wall around it (saying): "Rise up!" Ever the *haoma had a mouth (?) (i.e., it was seemly). Ever water poured from the haoma (i.e., it was moist).
- 7.2.24 And when 330 years were left of the 3000 years of (the creation's) being in the living state without the Assault, then Wahman and Ashwhisht arranged *what was to be. They went down to the existence of those with bones and came to where two birds were sitting, seeking to obtain children. Seven years earlier, snakes had devoured their child.
- 7.2.25 And Wahman and Ashwhisht went to their abode. The birds discussed: "We must go out. We must seek that haoma!"
- 7.2.26 And their method (for doing this was) by the (planned) arrangement. And they sought the haoma, and the haoma

¹ That is, it was still in the world of thought.

fell two ells. One of them seized it with its two legs, the other with one, and they brought the haoma and placed it there on that tree in the nest.

7.2.27 And snakes climbed up (i.e., they went for the child of the bird). Then Zarathustra's pre-soul went forth, and whatever snakes were on that tree ran out on the branches. The pre-soul of Zarathustra smote them in their mouths. The snakes fell down and died. And those of them who were in holes were necessary for the semen of that one species (?).

7.2.28 That haoma took root in that tree and kept growing on the top of the tree, where the nest of the birds was, ever moist and green.

Zarathustra's father gets the haoma

7.2.29 After Zarathustra's birth mother came to marry Pôrushâsp, Wahman and Ashwahasht made the following arrangement: They went forth to where Pôrushâsp was in the grazing grounds of the Spitamas, and they brought *him to the haoma and thus bound his thoughts (to it?).

7.2.30 Then Pôrushâsp went forth according to the will of those in the world of thought—for it behooves those in the world of thought to walk in the world of thought, where there is always profit for those in the world of thought—to the water of the Dâitîy (river). And he caught sight of that haoma which was growing on that tree in the nest.

7.2.31 Then Pôrushâsp thought: "I have to get to it, and, since I cannot reach up to that haoma, I have to cut down that tree, for you seem moister than (the other creatures) of Ohrmazd, for the goodness of something from you is better (than everything else)."

7.2.32 Then Pôrushâsp went forth and he washed those garments ... And here a great wonder was revealed to Pôrushâsp.

7.2.33 About this it is said that by the time Pôrushâsp had washed those garments the haoma had gone forth from the top third to the middle of the tree, which means it wished to be picked up by Pôrushâsp.

7.2.34 Then Pôrushâsp went forth to it with clean garments, and then he shore all of it and then brought all of it with him, like someone who might hold a two-year-old or a three-year-old in ... And he seemed to experience pleasure from it.

7.2.35 And Pôrushâsp carried those haomas to his oldest wife and said: "Dugdôw, you take care of the haomas until those haomas are ready for action and law!"

Other parts of Zarathustra are transmitted to his parents

7.2.36 Another thing that has been revealed: The Creator transmitted the body substance (*gôhr*) of Zarathustra via water and plants <into his parents. When the order was issued that the body substance of Zarathustra should enter> into his parents' body a great miracle was revealed to many.

7.2.37 As the *dên* says: Then when Ohrmazd had fashioned forth the creature of Zarathustra, the his body substance, then the creature of Zarathustra fell <from> before Ohrmazd¹ upon Hordad and Amurdad, upon a cloud.

7.2.38 Then the cloud brought (its) water down, again and again, drop by drop and in equal measure and warmth. By this there was joy for beasts and men. (The rain produced?), as much semen as 2 plowing oxen. Thereupon all the plants grew up, of all species, at a time when other plants are wilted and even upon dry (ground). And the substance of Zarathustra came from that water to those plants.

7.2.39 Another revelation: In order that the substance of Zarathustra should come to his parents, by the instigation of the Amahraspands, Pôrushâsp was induced to drive six white, yellow-eared cows to those plants.

7.2.40 And here a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: Among those cows (there were) two heifers (which) began to lactate, and the substance of Zarathustra came from the plant into that cow and was mingled with the milk of

¹ Cf. Yt.3.13.

the cow.

- 7.2.41 And Pôrushâsp drove the cows back and said to Dugdôw: “Dugdôw, Those two heifers began to lactate, so milk those two cows, from whichever (of them there is) Fortune for the world of the living!”
- 7.2.42 And Dugdôw got up and took a pot ... and milked the milk in those two and gave it to them. And they gave (milk) to her(?). She added water. And the substance of Zarathustra was in that milk.
- 7.2.43 Another thing: During the struggle of the Adversary to make that milk disappear and ineffective it was revealed as the *dên* says: Then at that time he assembled the evil gods and said, that greatest one among evil gods: “You will be annihilated, O evil gods, through the setting up of that food (i.e., it was made and placed), so that a man would come into existence in it, the Orderly Zarathustra. Who among you accepts to destroy him as long as he is ... (i.e., easier to render ineffective)?”
- 7.2.44 The ignorant Chishmag said: “I accept to destroy him.”
- 7.2.45 That ignorant one ran with 150 evil gods looking like Chishmag, and they both destroyed and captured that town and broke its wood and walls, but he could not break that great opponent who was in it (i.e., he was warded off by him).
- 7.2.46 It is revealed: Afterward, Pôrushâsp asked that haoma back from Dugdôw, and he pounded it and poured it into that cow’s milk into which the body substance of Zarathustra had come. Here the pre-soul and the body substance of Zarathustra came together.
- 7.2.47 This is revealed: When that haoma and milk were mixed and it had been announced¹ to Ohrmazd, (then) Pôrushâsp and Dugdôw drank it. And here the complete assembly (*hangerdîgih*) of the Fortune, pre-soul, and body substance of Zarathustra, (was) in his parents.

Zarathustra’s parents try to make a child

- 7.2.48 And a great wonder was revealed to both of them, according to what it says in the *dên*: The two of them lay down for the first time trying to obtain a son. The evil gods *howled at them with their voices of villains (i.e., in order to harm them): “O Pôrushâsp, what are you doing and why?” Thereupon they became contrite, like people who are ashamed.
- 7.2.49 And they lay down a second time. The evil gods howled at them with their voices of villains. Thereupon they became contrite, like people who are ashamed.
- 7.2.50 And they lay down a third time trying to obtain a son. The evil gods howled at them with their voices of villains. Thereupon they became contrite, like people who are ashamed.
- 7.2.51 And they spoke to one another and got to work. And they ... (i.e., they embraced) (saying): “We shall not do this kind of thing (again), not if Râg and Nôdar (East and West) were to come together here!”
- 7.2.52 Then that man was conceived, namely Orderly Zarathustra. And here, in the womb of (his) mother, the body substance, the pre-soul, and the Fortune of Zarathustra came together.
- 7.2.53 This too is revealed: After the conception of Zarathustra in the mother’s womb the evil gods again strove hard to destroy Zarathustra in the belly of the mother, and they made her womb sick with the sharpest and most painful pain, so much so that she consulted the witch doctors about how to seek healing.
- 7.2.54 And here a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: Then they spoke loudly to her from there, the highest direction, from Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands: “Young woman, don’t go where you are going! There is no healing from this their illness by the witch doctor’s medicine. Wash your hand, take firewood in that hand, and bring meat to that child and cow’s fat, and bring fire and heat him with the fire and ... on the bed, and you shall be

¹ Cf. Yasna, chap. 1.

well!”

- 7.2.55 Then that young woman washed her hand, and she did as she had heard, and she became well.
- 7.2.56 Another thing was revealed to many: When three days remained before his birth—in the manner of the sun, when it is rising and coming close to when its first light is being spread out then its body appears—as the *dên* says: Then in those last three nights when Zarathustra was in the womb, when three days remained, after which he would be born, that house of Pôrushâsp’s was all alight.
- 7.2.57 Then they said as they were running away, the horse- and sheep-master Spitamas: The house of Pôrushâsp is bound to be destroyed; there are flames licking out of its every nook and cranny!
- 7.2.58 Then they said as they were running back together: The house of Pôrushâsp has not been destroyed; flames are not licking out of its every nook and cranny! In that house a wealthy man has been born!
- 7.2.59 And this too was one of the wonders when the renown of the wondrous birth of that man of great Fortune had gone out from the speech of Jam and other miracle-workers as they brought the Word from the gods:
- 7.2.60 Jam said to the evil gods: “Here the pure, Orderly Zarathustra shall be born, who shall give to you, O evil gods, that which is not your desire¹ (i.e., he shall render you incapable), who shall give to you inability to act (i.e., you cannot seek it for yourselves, nobody will seek it for you).”
- 7.2.61 It is revealed: The renown about the birth of Zarathustra and his bringing of the Word was made known not only by Jam and Frêdôn and many learned men, but the gods too proclaimed it through the language of animals and propagated it in the world so that it too might be witness to his bringing the Word.

Kâyus and his bull

- 7.2.62 As it is revealed: When Kâyus was king, there was a bull, which had received in its body a talent from the gods. And whenever there was a dispute between the Iranians and the Turanians about the border line, they brought that bull, and it showed correctly the border between the Iranians and the Turanians.
- 7.2.63 And from the way the Iranians sought (and received) justice over the Turanians in the dispute, they became liars. The Turanians were constantly defeated in the border-showing of the bull and were beaten by the Iranians. In addition, there was also their envy of Kâyus and, on account of his owning such a wondrous thing, the Turanians set out to strike and harm that bull. And, by sorcery and witchcraft, they perverted Kâyus’s mind about that bull, and he sent a warrior by the name of Srid and commanded him to kill the bull. And that man came to kill the bull.
- 7.2.64 And here a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: The bull spoke to him with a mighty voice: “Do not kill me, Srid (i.e., i.e., the Third), as he will exact revenge for the flocks, he who—among the living—his greatest wish is Orderliness. And he will speak your evil-doing in the *dên*, and such misery will befall your soul as is revealed in that passage: ‘As it becomes for Wadagan,² such destruction will there be for him.’”
- 7.2.65 It is revealed: When he saw that miracle of the bull, he did not kill it, but returned to Kâyus and told him what he had seen.
- 7.2.66 Even after that, on account of the perverted deceit of the evil gods and sorcerers, Kâyus commanded the same man to kill the bull. And again that man went to the bull. When it again began to talk a lot, he did not pay attention and killed it.
- 7.2.67 And about the uniquely-established bull it is revealed: It spoke against the Evil Spirit’s striking: “Even if you think, O Evil Spirit, that you can overcome everything by this killing, even so you cannot overcome us by this killing

¹ Cf. Yt.5.26.

² Cf. V.19.6.

(i.e., you are not be able to destroy (me)) so that I do not come back to life. I shall proclaim even now: At the last turn,¹ that man shall come, Zarathustra Spitama, who shall give affliction to the evil gods, to the helpers of the evil gods, and also to two-footed ones possessed by the Lie.”

- 7.2.68 And about the wonder of Zarathustra’s striking the evil gods through his Fortune and the consciousness he had obtained before being born into the world: When the sorcerer Frâsyâb struggled fiercely in his demonic desire to obtain that Fortune, as it says in the *dên*, then Frâsyâb the Turanian of many talents, O Spitama Zarathustra, flew to the Vourukasha Sea, once, twice, three times, and sought to obtain that Fortune, both that which belonged to the Iranian lands, born and unborn, and that which belonged to the Orderly one, but he did not obtain it.²
- 7.2.69 And this too: The villain Frangrasyâb flew to all seven continents, seeking the Fortune of Zarathustra.
- 7.2.70 Thus it is appropriate to enumerate the family of Zarathustra.

Strange events at the birth of Zarathustra

- 7.3.1 On the wonders that were revealed after the birth of that one most Fortunate of those born from a mother until he came to converse with Ohrmazd.
- 7.3.2 This is one revelation: He laughed at birth. The seven *nurses (?) who were sitting around him were frightened and said in fear: “What was this? Was it on account of greatness or disrespect that, like a valuable man who gets pleasure from his duties, that this young child laughed at his birth?”
- 7.3.3 And Pôrushâsp said: “Take this man to a bed with soft wool. (It is) on account of something of yours—on account of your goodness— O Dugdôw, that this man saw Fortune and well-being coming when he laughed at birth.”

The sorcerer Dûrasraw

- 7.3.4 This is revealed: Afterward Pôrushâsp went to a *karb* named Dûrasraw, who was the most famous for his sorcery in that village. He informed him about the wonders that had been revealed about Zarathustra after his birth, and he brought him home to see Zarathustra.
- 7.3.5 The sorcerer was harmed by the Fortune in Zarathustra, and he plotted evil. Ingloriously he wished to squeeze with his own evil hand the tender head of that Fortunate child and kill him.
- 7.3.6 And here a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: Then that villain turned his hands backward, that is, they withered, and never after was that villain again (to take) meat with his evil hand (and) chew it with his evil mouth.
- 7.3.7 That *karb* in addition evilly declared the signs upon Zarathustra to be marks of evil. He frightened Pôrushâsp sorely by the destruction that might come from Zarathustra and incited him to annihilate Zarathustra.
- 7.3.8 This is revealed: By his sorcery, the *karb* Dûrasraw so filled the mind of Pôrushâsp with fear of Zarathustra and so perverted Pôrushâsp’s mind that on account of that fear he sought the death of Zarathustra from that very *karb*.
- 7.3.9 Pôrushâsp consulted Dûrasraw about how to destroy (him) in such a manner that he himself would not be affected by the destruction that might arise from the deed. The *karb* evilly said to carry together much firewood and to place Zarathustra in the middle of that firewood, to light the fire, and to burn him with the firewood. That would help. Pôrushâsp did as told.
- 7.3.10 And here a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: The fire did not fall upon the plant (i.e., it does not come out), and the plant did not catch fire. At dawn that son-loving mother came running and approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. (?)
- 7.3.11 And this too is revealed: After this Pôrushâsp told the *karb* Dûrasraw about the fact that the fire had not burned him

¹ Cf. 4.51.6.

² Cf. Yt.19.55-64.

and again asked him about destroying Zarathustra. That *karb* said lyingly that it would help Pôrushâsp to put Zarathustra in a narrow passage and drive many cows through that passage so that he would be trampled under their feet. And Pôrushâsp did so.

- 7.3.12 And here too a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: That cow went up to him which had concern (for him) (i.e., its concern was greater than that of the other cows) and ... And it went in front of him (i.e., before the leader cow). It ran before him (i.e., it stood before Zarathustra). It spared him all day (i.e., it kept the cows away from him). It was the first to go there, the last to leave. At dawn that son-loving mother came running and approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. (?)
- 7.3.13 And this is revealed: And there, again, Pôrushâsp came to the *karb* Dûrasraw also about the fact that the cows had not trampled Zarathustra and again asked him about a way of destroying Zarathustra. That *karb* said lyingly that it would help Pôrushâsp to put Zarathustra in a watering place among the herds and drive many horses to that watering place so that he would be trampled under the horses' hooves. And Pôrushâsp did so.
- 7.3.14 And here too a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: The horse with hooves (i.e., its hooves were harder) and with golden ears went up to him. And it goes in front of him (i.e., before the leader horse). And it runs before him (i.e., it stood *guard before Zarathustra). It was the first to go there, the last to leave. At dawn that son-loving mother came running and approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. (?)
- 7.3.15 And this is revealed: And again Pôrushâsp told the *karb* Dûrasraw also about the fact that the horses had not trampled Zarathustra either and again asked him about a way of destroying Zarathustra. That *karb* said lyingly that it would help Pôrushâsp to *throw Zarathustra into a den with slaughtered wolflings so that when the wolf came and saw the slaughtered wolflings, as revenge for her young, in her rage, she would tear apart and eat Zarathustra. And Pôrushâsp did so.
- 7.3.16 And here too a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: When the wolf had come *within a few meters, then Zarathustra with the help of the gods smashed the jaws of the wolf (i.e., its jaws hung slack and dry(?)).
- 7.3.17 And this is revealed: Srôsh with the rewards and Wahman came to him, and they brought him a ewe. And she suckled him all through the night.
- 7.3.18 At dawn that son-loving mother came running. And the ewe came out of the *passage. And Zôishân said: "You have eaten, (and) you run away satiated!" For she thought it was the wolf. "Thus it is well for that son (i.e., you are good for me) when they place you in sight, bones or blood(?)."
- 7.3.19 She approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. And Zôishân said: "From now on I shall not let them take you from me, not if both Râg and Nôdar come together."

The sorcerer Brâdrôrêsh

- 7.3.20 And it is revealed: Next the *karb* Dûrasraw together with the other sorcerers came to the same village, and he pondered how to manage Zarathustra. And the only means they had for ruining and destroying someone so full of strength and so wonderful was the following, as it is revealed: The *karb* Brâdrôrêsh howled:
- 7.3.21 "I am of the people in our village on account of my sorcery the one who sees the farthest. I see in their village good command (i.e., someone who knows well how to command), prosperity (i.e., from whom there is greater prosperity: whoever has come or shall come), possessing good cattle (i.e., he knows well how to keep cattle), possessing good herds (i.e., he knows well how to keep the cattle of others), possessing good ability to learn (i.e., he knows well how to perform the work of others), being good soldier (i.e., he knows well how to do battle), and munificent (i.e., he knows well how to perform generosity): the brood of Pôrushâsp, to whom upon three nights after he is born from his parents—
- 7.3.22 to him Wahman shall come, into the world of the living (i.e., Wahman comes to Zarathustra), and he leads him to the Interview. His Good *dên* will reach out over the seven continents of the earth. And I cannot with my mind

conceive of (i.e., he does not know) how I shall destroy him. And the token of this (i.e., that he speaks the truth) is this which I am saying to you. Quickly after the hearing of this saying (i.e., when you have heard this saying) (he) comes forth.”

- 7.3.23 Pôrushâsp was driving in (his) four-horse chariot. No sooner did they hear this saying (i.e., when they had heard this saying) than Pôrushâsp went forth driving in (his) four-horse chariot.
- 7.3.24 And Pôrushâsp said to Brâdrôrêsh the *karb*: “What do men see when they weep at birth?” And he (?): “The placement of the body in (eternal) rest at death is what they see when they weep at birth.” — “And what did my son see when he laughed at birth?” —
- 7.3.25 “And that which your son saw when he laughed at birth was—
- 7.3.26 when Wahman will come to him in the world of the living.”— He had spoken. Pôrushâsp responded: “You have thus seen it completely, O *karb*, about my son (i.e., you have seen it in knowledgeable fashion).”
- 7.3.27 And Tûr Brâdrôrêsh, when Pôrushâsp asked him: “What happened to you when you looked at my son and you looked far away from him upward, and you looked far away from him downward, and you looked far away from him in various (directions)?”
- 7.3.28 He answered: “When I brought my eye to bear upon the boy and I looked away from him far upward, then I saw extending from him wealth and Fortune all the way to yonder sun. On every side of him I followed (with my eyes) wealth and Fortune (i.e., I saw this): that peoples’ soul by his word will arrive to the sun level, but I did not see this: what justice there will be in Garôdmân.
- 7.3.29 “When I brought my eye to bear upon your son and I brought it away from him (and) looked far downward, then I saw extending from him wealth and Fortune all the way to the heaven (sky) that is below this earth. On every side (there was) wealth and Fortune for him. I did not see this: what justice there will be in that heaven.
- 7.3.30 “When I brought my eye to bear upon your son and I brought it away from him (and) looked far in various directions, then I saw extending from him wealth and Fortune (enough) to adorn this earth. On every side of him I followed (with my eyes) wealth and Fortune (i.e., I saw this): that by the actions of this one the Final Body will come about, but I did not see what justice of the Final Body would be.
- 7.3.31 “This son of yours is thinking: ‘I shall do greater things than the rest of the world of the living,’ and so he shall do. Think about this wherever you go! This son of yours will stay with Wishtâsp, the great protector, not with you.”

Zarathustra at seven

- 7.3.32 This was revealed: When Zarathustra was seven years old, Dûrasraw together with Brâdrôrêsh the *karb* came to the village of Pôrushâsp to see Zarathustra. And they saw Zarathustra nearby playing with the children. And they sat down in their evil Fortune thinking about how to harm Zarathustra with sorcery. And on account of that they scared and frightened the children.
- 7.3.33 Here a great wonder was revealed to them showing the powerful intelligence, prudence, and miraculous power of Zarathustra, as the *dên* says: When the other children were frightened away to their own ..., Zarathustra did not close his eye in the world of thought to them.
- 7.3.34 Here this is revealed: When these two *karbs* came to the house of Pôrushâsp he ordered food to be prepared for them to eat. And he made the meal and poured a bowl full of mare’s milk.
- 7.3.35 And he said to Dûrasraw: “In our village you are the most learned in how to sacrifice to the evil gods. Sacrifice this of mine!”
- 7.3.36 A great wonder showing the knowledge of Zarathustra in that tender age (was revealed), as the *dên* says: Zarathustra said: “I shall sacrifice this, O father. Not shall this one sacrifice that which I ought to sacrifice.”
- 7.3.37 And Pôrushâsp said: “You shall not sacrifice mine. Let him sacrifice mine!”
- 7.3.38 Three times those men exchanged these words. Zarathustra stood up and said to them, breaking (the jar) with his right foot: “I sacrifice for the Orderly men and women, I sacrifice for the poor men and women. If Pôrushâsp

- shall engage anybody among men and women possessed by the Lie to perform the sacrifice, the sacrifice will *pollute the sacrificers (i.e., he should sacrifice who ought to sacrifice)!”
- 7.3.39 This is revealed: Then Dûrasraw the *karb* howled to Zarathustra: “Your death was evil (?), who first in the world of the living between Râg and Nôdar made me *un-worthy of winning a share ... (i.e., you took that share from me). Now ... and this shall be (i.e., I look with my evil eye at that sin of yours which you do not have).”
- 7.3.40 And here a great wonder was revealed showing how Zarathustra was able at that tender age to give a knowledgeable answer to that villain, as the *dên* says: Zarathustra said: “I look at ... from the villain with beneficence and equanimity (i.e., I look at that sin of yours which you have).”
- 7.3.41 This is revealed to Dûrasraw the *karb* after this reply of Zarathustra’s, as the *dên* says: The villain was undone and stunned for as long a time as it takes one milker to milk the milk of 10 mares.
- 7.3.42 This is revealed: When the sorcerer emerged from the stupor, then he howled at Zarathustra once more in the same fashion. Zarathustra gave the same answer. Again the villain was undone and stunned for as long a time as it takes one milker to milk 20 mares full of milk.
- 7.3.43 This is revealed: Once more, when the sorcerer again emerged from the stupor, then he howled at Zarathustra in the same fashion. Zarathustra gave the same answer. Again the villain was undone and stunned for as long a time as it takes one milker to milk 30 mares full of milk.
- 7.3.44 This is revealed: When the sorcerer emerged from the stupor, then he stammered: “Bring us that horse and turn it to the chariot (i.e., tie it to it), for this deceiver destroys me with his reciting of (evil) poetic thoughts and his (evil) justice!” And they brought that horse and bound it to the chariot.
- 7.3.45 And here a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: When he had gone a few yards from them, he felt a pain to be frightened of. This I shall now relate. His semen burst forth (i.e., his semen came up through his skin) and broke, and thereby his side split open from the thigh up. Then he fell dead, and so did his brood, and so did the brood of his brood.
- 7.3.46 Another thing was revealed: Even before he came to the Interview there was revealed in him thought broader than all the world, more superior than anything in the world, together with strength that would *embrace everything and a power (*nêrôg*) and intelligence (*wîr*) that would reach everything, and a patient wisdom (*khrad*) that would sort out everything and the extensive Fortune of the *kawis* which knows all defense and the Fortune of the religious teachers (*êhrbed*): the complete desire for Orderliness.
- 7.3.47 And mighty effort, and lordship, and superiority in fleetness and speed, and beauty of body and perfection of strength in the form of these four classes: priesthood, warriorhood, husbandry, and artisanship. Foremost friendship with the good gods, fearful opposition of the evil gods.
- 7.3.48 That was the quality by which was established his lawfulness among two-footed men, the excellence and perfection of the gods according to Ohrmazd’s instruction, and his being a messenger,—
- 7.3.49 so that the gods were able to propagate throughout the world by the tongues of many kinds of knowledgeable good men of their time the fame of his superiority to all those who are, have been, and shall be, his becoming the messenger of Ohrmazd, his being the *ahu* and *ratu* of living beings,¹ and his being the one who would save the creatures from the Assault and render them free from danger.
- 7.3.50 And as the evil gods associated with themselves many *kaygs* and *karbs* in order to harm and hurt him, still the good people kept the agreement (with Ohrmazd) and practiced friendship (with him).

Wahman brings Zarathustra at thirty to his first Interview

- 7.3.51 And when Zarathustra was thirty years old, then Wahman the Amahraspand was sent by Ohrmazd and came to him

¹ Cf. Yt.8.1.

as he was carrying water with haoma from the Êwtâg river, as the *dên* says: When he came to the third affluent of the Weh Dâitîy, he went into it. When Zarathustra came out of it, he saw a man who was walking from the southern direction.

- 7.3.52 That was Wahman. And Wahman seemed to him of outstanding body (i.e., more pleasing to the eye in body), outstandingly beautiful (i.e., he was outstanding in every thing). Wahman seemed to him as tall as three men as tall as spears. Wahman seemed to him to be carrying a branch of ..., which he had removed from that plant without harming the plant. That was the branch of the *dên* in the world of thought. By it he indicated that one should behave according to the *dên* thus, without harming anything.
- 7.3.53 Some say: It was the messenger-ship in the world of thought. By it he indicated that one should behave in the world thus, without harming anything, so that there would be peace upon everybody.
- 7.3.54 When Zarathustra came to the fourth affluent, to the Good Dâitîy (river), the *Hôshân river, then Zarathustra took water with haoma from the middle of it. And lifted his right foot up from that *Hôshân river he and put his garment over it, and at that moment, in front of him, Wahman came to meet and join him.
- 7.3.55 And that man asked him: “Who are you, from whom are you (descended)?” — “I am Zarathustra of the Spitamas.”
- 7.3.56 The word of Wahman: “O Zarathustra of the Spitamas, what are you laboring for? (i.e., what do you need to labor about?), what are you striving for, and what do you make your desire?”
- 7.3.57 Zarathustra’s answer: “I labor for Orderliness, I strive for Orderliness, I make Orderliness my desire (i.e., I ought to (labor and strive) for that thing), and Orderliness I am thinking about as much as I seek it.”¹
- 7.3.58 The speech of Wahman: “O Zarathustra of the Spitamas: “What is and he who has Orderliness (i.e., he who has something and he who has Orderliness (i.e., something which is, like he who has Orderliness), how much more he who has Orderliness (i.e., who possesses it)!”
- 7.3.59 Zarathustra said: “There is someone who has Orderliness. I am perfectly clear and aware of that (i.e., like of that which comes through Wahman).”
- 7.3.60 Wahman said to him: “O Zarathustra of the Spitamas, give away this garment which you are carrying, as we shall consult him who made you, who made me, who is the most beneficent of the beings in the world of thought, who is the most munificent of beings, whose speaker I, Wahman, am (i.e., I am his emissary).”
- 7.3.61 Then Zarathustra thought: “Good is he, the creator who is better than this emissary.”
- 7.3.62 Then they went together Wahman and Zarathustra; Wahman, Zarathustra, in front and behind (respectively).

Various doings of Zarathustra’s at the time of the Interviews

- 7.4.1 About the wonders that were revealed from the first Interview to the end of the last Interview, which lasted ten years: his acceptance as one who brought the Word among the living; the exalted Kay Wishtâsp’s reception of the *dên*; how (it was) after the ten years in Interviews.
- 7.4.2 In two years, this is revealed: When he was back from the first Interview, then—according to the first command of Ohrmazd’s, the lord and creator—then, alone in the flock of *kaygs* and *karbs*, he proclaimed that he was one who brought the Word of the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the messenger of Ohrmazd. As he announced with loud voice, he called people to Ohrmazd’s *dên*,—
- 7.4.3 as the *dên* says: Then Zarathustra made preparations to see to it that the living existence, with settlements and cattle, was induced to follow (the *dên*).
- 7.4.4 And when their homes came to listen to (his) speech, then Zarathustra proclaimed loudly to the world of the living Orderliness, praising Orderliness, blaming the evil gods,—
- 7.4.5 professing the Mazdayasnian *dên* of Zarathustra, sacrificing to the Amahraspands and not sacrificing to the evil gods, and marriage to one’s closest relatives, which is to be recognized as the very best (i.e., of the knowledge

¹ Cf. 1.28.4, 2.43.9.

- you have been given) good deed of the faithful (and) the greatest and most ... of which are: father and daughter, son and his birth mother, and brother and sister.
- 7.4.6 It is revealed: Paying no attention to that speech, the *kaygs* and *karbs*, who sacrificed to the evil gods, were incited against Zarathustra and sought his death, as the *dên* says: Then the villains *plotted (i.e., they sat down near (him)), Tûr's brood and *wife and the brother of Tûr, like people who are ashamed (i.e., they were ashamed to perform family marriage as they were told to).
- 7.4.7 This Tûr was Tûr Urwâtâsang son of Usikhsh. As he was a great king in that territory, he had a great army and war-force. And the villain said — taking a ... which was *diminished (?) —
- 7.4.8 the brood of Tûr Urwâtâsang Usikhsh: "I shall strike this ... down upon him who mixes our beneficial speech so that a thing about which we are so certain that it should not be done, such as family marriage — so that we become uncertain about how we should act."
- 7.4.9 And Tûr Urwâtâsang son of Usikhsh said: "You shall not strike that man, who has the most desired eyes I have seen in the entire world. And he is coming(?). For it did not seem to me on account of this that if you strike him wisdom will endure for very long, so that on this earth there will be no knower of sins who is as eloquent as this one (i.e., when they strike an eloquent man, wisdom will not endure for very long)."
- 7.4.10 And the *brood of Tûr Urwâtâsang son of Usikhsh said: "To me it is *unclear who would be eloquent."
- 7.4.11 And Zarathustra said: "I shall never not proclaim that which he said to me: the most beneficial inducement to follow (the *dên*), the exclusion (of undesired individuals), the adornment of character, family marriage, teaching, and sacrificing."
- 7.4.12 And here (about) the good nature, Fortune, and power of Zarathustra fitting for a messenger of the supreme lord and creator Ohrmazd was revealed a great wonder to many. Was made visible his great priority over (other) *speaking creatures, who must be governed with ... person, secrecy and deceiving *manner good ... hidden.
- 7.4.13 Then, like ..., induced to follow (the *dên*) one by one innumerable people with fearful and heretical practices. And when he came to have a large group, little by little, they too began to exhibit (the truth) and strive and seek to become greater. — It is revealed: By that courage and superior mentality and by (his) Fortune, he called to the *dên* of Ohrmazd that ruler of strong armies, massed up wealth, and many sons—
- 7.4.14 Tûr Urwâtâsang among the *furious throng of *kaygs* and *karbs* that were incited to kill him. As the *dên* says: And Zarathustra said: "Praise Orderliness, Tûr Urwâtâsang son of Usikhsh, scorn the evil gods, profess yourself Mazdayasnian Zarathustrian!"
- 7.4.15 And Tûr Urwâtâsang son of Usikhsh said: "Zarathustra of the Spitamas, do not induce me to follow this evil that is also in you!"
- 7.4.16 Zarathustra said: "Ohrmazd asked me: 'Zarathustra, when you came to us in the world, then whom did you see in the world of the living among people with great might and among military people (to be) most seeking profit, most seeking cattle, most famed, possessing most cattle (i.e., gives most), and possessing most gates (i.e., entrance and exit gates)?' — I answered him: 'Tûr Urwâtâsang son of Usikhsh.'
- 7.4.17 "And he answered me thus: 'Him, Zarathustra, you should induce as the first among warriors to follow the superior thinking, speaking, and acting of this *dên* of Ohrmazd and Zarathustra.
- 7.4.18 'If he, Zarathustra, follows it and believes in it and gives this of yours freedom to spread and sits down before (you) (i.e., as (your) student, that is, he speaks and acts as your student), and listens to the *dên*, and propagates it, then he shall be (forever) after the first among warriors (to be) most seeking profit, most seeking cattle, most famed, and possessing most gates, both among those who have been born till now and those who shall be born from now on.
- 7.4.19 'And if he does not follow it and does not believe in it and does not give your *dên* freedom to spread and does not sit down before you (i.e., that he does not sit down before (you) means he is one to be known by me as someone who will not be induced to follow), upon him say, Zarathustra: 'You are he through whom Orderliness is stricken and a

- giver to (your) soul of the torture of the punishment of someone having committed the worst of capital crimes. For thus it is, and therefore he will be found guilty, for he knew the existence of the *dên*.
- 7.4.20 “‘For I say to you, Tûr Urwâtâsang son of Usikhsh, that you are he through whom Orderliness is stricken and a giver to (your) soul of the torture of the punishment of someone having committed the worst of capital crimes.’”
- 7.4.21 A horrible sign appeared, a *karb* called Vaêdwôisht (Wêdwôisht), an enemy of everything of the gods and not following (the *dên* of) Ohrmazd.
- 7.4.22 Ohrmazd said: “That man is so shameless, Zarathustra, who has made a name after me, who proclaims: ‘I am Ohrmazd, for I am he who by Orderliness keeps harm away (i.e., by my good behavior I keep harm away from the creatures), an amahrspand *keeping harm away.’
- 7.4.23 “So go, Zarathustra, ask from him for me (i.e., hold as my property) a hundred young men and women and a chariot with four horses. Say to him thus: ‘Wêdwôisht, Ohrmazd asks from you a hundred young men and women and a chariot with four horses. If you give (them) to him, you shall have wealth and Fortune for that giving. But if you do not give (them) to him, (then) you shall have evil Fortune for not giving.’”
- 7.4.24 Then Zarathustra went to that Wêdwôisht ... and said to him: “‘Wêdwôisht ..., Ohrmazd asks from you a hundred young men and women and a chariot with four horses. If you give (them) to him, you shall have wealth and Fortune for that giving. But if you do not give (them) to him, (then) you shall have evil Fortune for not giving.’”
- 7.4.25 And in reply that *karb* howled at Zarathustra: “My hostility is not from you (i.e., the might I possess is not of your doing), nor from Ohrmazd. I am more god (i.e., I am superior in might) than Ohrmazd even, and I have obtained a great herd of a thousand pigs.”
- 7.4.26 Zarathustra went to Ohrmazd, to the Amahrspands, and said: “Ohrmazd, beneficial spirit, creator of the world of the living with bones, Orderly, thus he answered me: “My hostility is not from you, nor that from Ohrmazd. I am more god than Ohrmazd even, and I have obtained a great herd of a thousand pigs.”
- 7.4.27 Ohrmazd said: “Zarathustra, that man has obtained a superiority complex with regard to our wealth and Fortune (i.e., we made cattle, he fancies himself possessing much cattle).
- 7.4.28 “And then this is his reward for that. If not, (then) on the third night, when life comes to an end, on that third night, those souls were placed *aside (i.e., they were deprived of having helpers). The seven bright, white-eyed ones, they made him run upward. There, up above, ... he was devoured(?)”
- 7.4.29 One thing that was revealed is the great healing power of the water mixed with haoma that Zarathustra took from the river Dâitîy on the day when Wahman brought him to the Interview.
- 7.4.30 As it is revealed in Ohrmazd’s words to Zarathustra: “Those waters mixed with haoma that you are carrying, Zarathustra, let not those who sacrifice to the evil gods perform sacrifice to the evil gods with them or sprinkle them upon (their) space of sacrifice. (Instead) bring it to a four-year-old cow with broken ..., black hair, ..., and (by) drinking the water that cow will be healed of that sickness.”
- 7.4.31 Afterward Zarathustra went, as the first in the world of the living, to this (cow) called Parshêdgâw, which dwelt on the top of *Siyâstân.
- 7.4.32 And Parshêdgâw said to him: “Spitama Zarathustra, give me the water mixed with haoma which you carry.”
- 7.4.33 And Zarathustra said to her: “Praise Orderliness, Parshêdgâw, and scorn the evil gods, profess the Mazdayasnian *dên* of Zarathustra, say you keep the evil ones apart (from you)!”
- 7.4.34 Parshêdgâw praised <Orderliness>, scorned the evil gods, did not accept the Mazdayasnian *dên* of Zarathustra, (but) said she would keep the evil ones apart.
- 7.4.35 Zarathustra brought that water mixed with haoma that he was carrying not to those who sacrifice to the evil gods who sacrificed to evil gods, but to that four-year-old cow with broken .., black hair, and ..., and (by) *drinking the water that cow was healed of that sickness.

- 7.4.36 One thing that is revealed is about the running forth of the Foul Spirit to kill Zarathustra, as the *dēn* says: From the northern direction ran forth the Foul Spirit full of destruction, and he spoke thus, the Foul Spirit of evil knowledge full of destruction: ‘Demons, run and destroy the Orderly Zarathustra!’”¹
- 7.4.37 The evil gods ran upon him, the *dēw* But and the secretive, deceptive Harmfulness.
- 7.4.38 But Zarathustra recited the *Ahunwar*, at which the evil gods were stunned. They ran back, the *dēw* But and the secretive, deceptive Harmfulness.
- 7.4.39 And the evil gods spoke thus: “You don’t see straight, the Foul Spirit (i.e., you do not see things the way they are), and you order that done which cannot be done. We could not find a way to kill Spitama Zarathustra.”
- 7.4.40 Being filled with Fortune, Orderly Zarathustra saw in his mind that the evil gods, possessed by the Lie, of evil knowledge were plotting his death. Up rose Zarathustra, forth went Zarathustra.
- 7.4.41 Here a great wonder was revealed to many, according to what it says: Orderly Zarathustra took a stone in his hand—it was the size of a house—which he had gotten from Ohrmazd the creator (i.e., the “**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ...” in the world of thought).
- 7.4.42 This thing is revealed, not only in Iran, but in the entire earth and to every species: the breaking of the bodily frames of the evil gods (at) Zarathustra’s reciting the *Ahunwar*.

Zarathustra chases the old (evil) gods from the earth, but people still sacrifice to them

- 7.4.43² As it says: I sacrifice to the ... of the Kayanian Fortune, which followed him, Orderly Zarathustra in his superior thinking, speaking, and acting of the *dēn*, who was in the entire living world the most Orderly in Orderliness, the most commanding in command, the wealthiest in wealth, and the most Fortunate in Fortune.
- 7.4.44 And before that the evil gods moved about visibly, and their pleasures took place visibly. And they dragged from people the *women, who were lamenting and complaining, but the evil gods *chained them even more brutally.
- 7.4.45 The *Ahunwar* which Zarathustra recited against them drove all the evil gods into the hollows of the earth (i.e., he broke their bodily frames).³
- 7.4.46 It is revealed: After the breaking of their bodily frames they were no longer able to appear in the world in the shape of evil gods in order to cause harm, (so) they appeared to people in the figures of gods. (But) these knew that they were not gods but evil gods.
- 7.4.47 Zarathustra unveiled it to people according to the words of Ohrmazd, and it says in the *dēn* in the words to Zarathustra: “How is it in the world of the living that people turn to the evil gods for advice (i.e., for guidance)? How are they who say that one should hold them to be counselors?”
- 7.4.48 And Ohrmazd said to Zarathustra: “How is it, Zarathustra, that those people turn to the evil gods for advice? How are they who say that the evil gods say: ‘You have done,’—what the evil gods say: ‘It will come to you.’?”
- 7.4.49 Zarathustra said: “Ohrmazd, men run thither to that uninhabited place and ... (i.e., where nobody lives) from the appearance of light until the sun starts appearing (i.e., when 2 *hāsars* remain of the night) or from the twilight until it disappears completely (i.e., when 2 *hāsars* of the night have passed), where they hear the sound of neither *cattle, men, or dogs.
- 7.4.50 “Then they say when they return: ‘We have consulted with the evil gods there. When we ask them for rule (i.e., leadership), they give it to us. When we ask them for possession of ... and might, they give that to us.’”
- 7.4.51 “How does this thing get done by them, Zarathustra, that it is given (and) given? How does it come to them that they say ‘It came to us’?”

¹ Cf. Videvdat, chapter 19.

² From Yt. 19.78-81.

³ Cf. Y.9.15.

- 7.4.52 Zarathustra said: “They say differently about that well-being, O Ohrmazd. Some say: ‘I have had more herds ever since I consulted the evil gods.’ Others say: ‘I have been more miserable and had worse Fortune ever since I consulted with the evil gods.’” — “How do they consider being separated from the evil gods (i.e., when they become separated from the evil gods, what do they say)?”
- 7.4.53 Zarathustra said: “Ohrmazd, thus they say about that: ‘Look over there, where one of us is returning. Either he is ... (i.e., he holds his head down to one side), or he is ... (i.e., he looks to one side), or he falls happy.’ And in that they distinguish the evil gods from the company of men.”

Zarathustra and the devil impersonating Spandarmad

- 7.4.54 Ohrmazd said: “As you wish, Zarathustra, look upward from your head, downward from your feet, and to your side, in different directions, in depth, before and aft, and in every direction. For we will not be distinguished from you by becoming invisible, like the evil gods from men. But (they distinguish) the evil gods by (their) *appearing when they run, but by (their) not seeing (them) they distinguish (them).
- 7.4.55 “And the demon will run upon you too, Zarathustra, in the form of a female, with golden crown (i.e., wearing a bra), and she asks you for commerce. And she runs in the form of a female, with golden crown, and she asks you for an interview, and she asks you for “action” with her.
- 7.4.56 “And do not grant her any commerce, no interview, and no “action”! Command her to turn around, reciting those victorious words: ‘**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ...!’”
- 7.4.57 Zarathustra went to the world of habitations and friends (?) to see to the inducement of the world of the living to follow (the *dên*). Then he came to the demon, who sat near the cup (i.e., that cup which he had put down when Wahman brought him to the Interview), in the form of a female, with golden crown, and she asked him for commerce and action with her and said: “I am Spandarmad (Av. Life-giving Humility).”
- 7.4.58 Zarathustra said: “I have looked at Spandarmad in broad day light with no clouds, and that Spandarmad seemed to me good on this side, good on that side, good all through (i.e., she was beautiful everywhere). Turn around so that I can verify whether you are Spandarmad!”
- 7.4.59 The demon said to him: “Spitama Zarathustra, we are of those whose females are beautiful in front but very ugly in the back. Do not command me to turn my back to you!”
- 7.4.60 After he insisted a third time the demon turned around, and Zarathustra saw her from the back, between the thighs, that she was crawling with (i.e., full of) serpents, snakes, lizards, weevils, and frogs.
- 7.4.61 And Zarathustra recited those victorious words: “**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ...” Then the demon was *reduced and ran away in the shape of an eyelet.
- 7.4.62 And she said as she disappeared: “Miserable he who gets what I got here! For about you (I) thought: ‘(It will be) more lamentable for you than the fighters who go to hell through slaying.’ I go more *lamentably upon body and soul (i.e., I shall deceive you in body and soul, and I did not deceive you).”
- 7.4.63 And Zarathustra revealed this secret to people and trained them, and (they) recognized the evil gods thereby. There was revealed about it (in) the same chapter a great wonder to people: the running about in full view of the evil gods before Zarathustra in the world. The breaking of their bodily frames thereafter by Zarathustra’s recitation of the *dên*. From the Avesta is revealed the acceptance *of the truth by the land-lord Wishtâsp and the people of that time. For if it were not thus, Wishtâsp and his contemporaries would have considered the Avesta, from which these circumstances are revealed, to be untruth and would not have accepted it, (and) it would not have been transmitted to us.

Wishtâsp is tricked into throwing Zarathustra in jail

- 7.4.64 This thing too in addition: Zarathustra was aware that the *karb* of Wishtâsp—that brood full of destruction who had turned from the *dên* to evil—as well as the other *kaygs* and *karbs* at Wishtâsp’s court, all of them were plotting Zarathustra’s death, upon which heavy damage (would befall) Wishtâsp, and their inciting Wishtâsp to cause his death, (so that) by the command of Wishtâsp he would come to horrible incarceration and punishment.
- 7.4.65 Then also, on account of his awareness that he would be delivered from it, his revelation of wonders, and his testimony to how he came to become one who brought the Word, after that last question and when 10 years of Interviews had passed, upon the advice and command of Ohrmazd he proceeded alone to Wishtâsp’s court and the *ordeal of that cup (?) and battle.
- 7.4.66 At Aspânwar, Wishtâsp’s (residence) he spoke forcefully and victoriously about himself being the one who brought the Word of Ohrmazd, and he called Wishtâsp to the *dên*. But in spite of Wishtâsp’s great intelligence, his perfect thinking, and belief in the world of thought, he would have listened to Zarathustra’s words (and) would have called him to prepare for bringing the Word,—
- 7.4.67 but then, before he heard Zarathustra’s words (and) learned the nature of Zarathustra, by the machinations of that brood full of destruction and the other *kaygs* and *karbs* through slandering and perversions, Wishtâsp <turned> against Zarathustra and then delivered him to that prison and punishment as it says in the words of Zarathustra: “They spoke thirty-three evil-doings upon me, and they bound me with thirty-three chains, those possessed by the Lie, villains who sacrifice to the evil gods.”
- 7.4.68 That fast weakened me and cut off the strength of my feet. It cut off the power of my arms, the hearing of my ears, and the seeing of my eyes. And my *ribcage joined my back (i.e., it touched my back), by the persistence of that weakening fast full of destruction.
- 7.4.69 And here it was revealed about the stamina of Zarathustra, who all alone went to ... cup and battle(?) that his life endured (even) in such punishment of hunger, thirst, heavy chains, and other sufferings, the endurance of which is not laid down in the natural strength of men. A great wonder was revealed to King Wishtâsp and his courtiers, when they found (his) body full of Fortune in horror and imprisonment and alive (because of) his courageous withstanding of long fasting.
- 7.4.70 Another thing: As a pretext for his deliverance from that horror the gods had prepared a body with breath-soul (*gyân*) (i.e., a part of it). Then, in the great seating of Wishtâsp and the assembly of all the world, Zarathustra restored this body anew by the might and acceptance of the true word. Compare also the wonder about the chestnut-colored horse of Wishtâsp in ...
- 7.4.71 Another thing: His ability to tell and reveal, by his *seeing* in the world of thought, the thoughts of King Wishtâsp and the courtiers and many other hidden things.

Evil things in Babylon

- 7.4.72 Another thing: Various marvelous things that Dahâg had made by sorcery in Babylon caused the people to stray and adore idols to the extent that the world was being destroyed thereby. By the victorious proclamation of the *dên* that Zarathustra said forth against that sorcery, it was all destroyed and undone.
- 7.4.73 One thing is this which was revealed about Zarathustra with a wonder: In the contest over the *dên* with famous scholars of the land, among whom the Babylonians were famous throughout the world for their scholarship and among whom by far the strongest contestants were those who told the 12 stars, who were named after the 12 stars, he saved the *dên* and revealed himself as possessing the knowledge of truth.

Wahman, Ashwahasht, and the Beneficial Fire visit Wishtâsp

- 7.4.74 And in order to save the *dên*, to reveal its truth and wisdom and to convince King Wishtâsp together with those scholars about the truth of the *dên*, Ohrmazd the creator sent some: Wahman, Ashwahasht, and the Beneficial Fire as messengers to Wishtâsp concerning Zarathustra's being the one true bringer of the Word and Ohrmazd's wish that Wishtâsp should receive the Mazdayasnian *dên* and propagate it in the world.
- 7.4.75 A miracle was revealed to the countrymen of Wishtâsp when the Amahraspands flew down from heaven to earth and into the house of Wishtâsp, as it is said in the *dên*: And then he said to them, Ohrmazd the creator to Wahman, Ashwahasht, and the Fire of Ohrmazd: "Go forth, O Amahraspands, to the house of Wishtâsp, strong in cattle, famed afar, in order to make him steadfast in the *dên*, so that he abides by this *dên* and gives (the right) answer to Zarathustra follower of Order, the Spitamid, who has accepted their word."
- 7.4.76 The Amahraspands went to the house of Wishtâsp, strong in cattle, famed afar. Their *chariot seemed to Wishtâsp in that tall dwelling to be all light. On account of their great might and victoriousness this (happened) that, when he saw them thus, the exalted Kay Wishtâsp trembled. All his members trembled. His entire ... from the upper part, like a horse pulling a chariot.
- 7.4.77 And the Fire of Ohrmazd spoke with the speech of men: "Do not fear, exalted Kay Wishtâsp, for there is nothing to fear. It is not the superior messenger, the herald of Arzâsp,¹ who has come by your house, and it is not two men *like Arzâsp to collect tax and tribute, and it is not the all-conquering, thrashing thief, the bandit and highway-robber.
- 7.4.78 "We are three who have come through your house: Wahman, Ashwahasht, and the fire of the beneficial lord. Be aware of this most clearly, most knowledgeably! (?)
- 7.4.79 "If you follow seerdom (?) (i.e., you have the knowledge needed), then *praise the Mazdayasnian *dên*, which spreads in pure fashion by memorization, which (is that of) Spitama Zarathustra.
- 7.4.80 "Recite the *Ahunwar*, praise best Orderliness, say the evil gods should not be sacrificed to! For it is Ohrmazd's wish, as well as that of the Amahraspands and the other gods who are beneficent and Orderly with regard to you that you stay in this *dên*.
- 7.4.81 "And as a favor, as reward if you praise the pure good *dên* of the Orderly Spitama Zarathustra, (then) we shall give you long reign for (your) kingdom and long life for your soul (i.e., 150 years). We shall give you Ahrishwang and warriorhood to last as long as you wish to be with you forever and good accompaniment to be with you forever and it will never pass away. We shall give you a son, Pishôtan by name, immortal is he and unaging, undeteriorating is he and unrotting, in both existences alive and king, both in the world of thought and in the world of the living.
- 7.4.82 "And as a favor, as reward if you do not praise the pure good *dên* of the Orderly Spitama Zarathustra, (then) we shall make you fly up in the air, and we shall send after you vultures thinking of old age. They shall eat your bones, and your blood shall reach the earth, but water shall not reach your body(?)."

Wishtâsp's vision

- 7.4.83 Another thing: Together with the acknowledging in Wishtâsp of the *dên* also by the coming of the speech of the Amahraspands, also afterwards, because of his concern for the ... through the bloodshed caused by the ... of Arzâsp the Khiyôn throughout ..., he was *doubtful about accepting the *dên*.
- 7.4.84 And in order to exhibit visibly to Wishtâsp that knowledge about his victory over Arzâsp and the Khiyôns and himself attaining to a higher station and his imperishable kingdom and wealth and Fortune Ohrmazd the creator sent in the same epoch the divine Nêryôsang (messenger of the gods) to the house of Wishtâsp as messenger to

¹ King of the Turanians and arch enemy of the Iranians and Wishtâsp.

- Ashwahišt the amahrspand for him to make Wishtâsp drink the drink which would illuminate his eye to see into the world of thought, on account of which Wishtâsp saw a great Fortune and mystery.
- 7.4.85 As the *dên* says: And Ohrmazd the creator said to the divine Nêrôsang: “Go, fly, eloquent Nêrôsang to the house of Wishtâsp, strong in cattle, famed afar, and say this to Ashwahišt: ‘King Ashwahišt, take the pretty cup, which is prettier than (any) other cups that have been made (?) (i.e., it is seemly to make such pretty cups for royalty), bring us haoma and hemp for Wishtâsp, and make Wishtâsp the land-lord drink from it!’” And his speech was accepted.
- 7.4.86 Ashwahišt took the pretty cup from him and made Wishtâsp the land-lord drink from it, and he lay down, the exalted land-lord Wishtâsp. When he got up from the bed, he said to (his wife) Hudôs: “Let Spitama Zarathustra come to me quickly! Let Spitama Zarathustra by his diligence quickly teach me the *dên* of Ohrmazd and Zarathustra!”
- 7.4.87 Another thing is revealed: When Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*, praised Orderliness, the evil gods were tormented by his speech, and the demon Wrath ran to the Khiyonian lands to the Khiyonian villain Arzâsp, as he was the greatest among the tyrants of that epoch. And in the Khiyonian lands he called with the ugliest voice and incited them to do battle.
- 7.4.88 And here too a great wonder was revealed to the people of Êrân who were there, coming to the court of Arzâsp the Khiyon, as the *dên* says: In the ... assembly the idiot Wrath, son of Him Whose Body is Forfeited, howled. He complained like ..., and he ...: “Woe upon you, O Khiyonians! You will fight without victory henceforth.
- 7.4.89 “From now on there will be no *other victory than that of the Iranians over the evil-doers. Zarathustra the most brave and his following has come to us (in the world).” — When the Khiyonian villain Arzâsp of ugly rule heard this, he struck his hand against the villain (i.e., he struck one against the other), and they went at each other *kick for kick and blow for blow.
- 7.4.90 And the bitter ... of the Khiyonian seethed (i.e., he was tortured more, that villain). He struck his hands against his thighs and howled in his ugly royalty: “Come quickly together to me, O Khiyonian lands! Come quickly together to me! The Iranian has come!”

After Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*

- 7.5.1 On the wonders that were revealed from the time Wishtâsp accepted the *dên* until Zarathustra’s pre-soul went back to the best existence. When it left, it was 77 years from his birth, 47 from the Interview, and 35 from when Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*.
- 7.5.2 Another thing is revealed: When Zarathustra recited the *dên* in the house of Wishtâsp it was revealed to the eye that bliss was also disclosed to small and large animals, to the fires, and also to the being in the world of thought protecting the dwelling and the house.
- 7.5.3 In addition (?) a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: All the small and large animals and the burning fire—it seemed to them great bliss (that) there *grew up a well constructed house in the world of thought, it seemed to them to be something powerful (i.e., from then on the house was made powerful by the *dên*), when they heard that speech that the Orderly Spitama Zarathustra spoke.

On the ordeal

- 7.5.4 Another thing: That among arbitrators and judges Zarathustra submitted to the ordeal to show who was acquitted and who was condemned in the case of things that were legally hidden, 33 kinds according to the *dên*.
- 7.5.5 Another thing: That the pupils of Zarathustra practiced it, even after that, until the kingdom of Iran came to an end. One method is to pour molten brass on the chest, as in the case of Âdurbâd ī Mahraspandân of blessed pre-soul who submitted to the ordeal to prove the *dên* and was acquitted, as is widely known in the world. And it was also

revealed by that great wonder concerning the *dên*, as it says in the same chapter, that those many Lie-followers who see it, the rite of the ordeal makes them believe.

- 7.5.6 Another thing: That afterward, after it was predicted that Zarathustra would proclaim the *dên* to Wishtâsp and his countrymen, it was revealed how Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*, that of Zarathustra, *from the bottom of his heart and said from the revelation of the *dên* to the land-lord: “Kay Wishtâsp, you should assemble (i.e., accept) this essential character, this *dên*, which is the treasury of the caller(?). You should maintain (i.e., propagate), O land-lord, this essential character, this *dên*, which is what is the learning of (all) learnings, you who hold up this essential character, like the new pillar by its support holds up the mill-stone. The supporting pillar of this *dên* are you!”
- 7.5.7 And Wishtâsp’s victory over Arzâsp the Khiyôn and the other non-Iranians in that hard battle, as Zarathustra taught Wishtâsp from the *dên* and much (other) that is revealed in the *dên*.

What Zarathustra taught his followers

- 7.5.8 One thing: That Zarathustra disclosed to be seen completely both medicine and natural science and the other branches of the crafts, both secretly and completely, which it is possible to exhibit by knowing the law and seeing the world of thought, which are from the rites in the *dên* concerning how to repel plagues, overcome evil gods and witches, and undo sorcery and witchcraft.
- 7.5.9 (He revealed) how to heal illness, fight wolves and reptiles, open rains, obstruct hail, *tûns*, locusts, and other scourges that attack the grain, plants, and animals; a wondrous rite which also concerned Hordad and Amurdad (waters and plants), as well as many other rites, which were practiced until the Iranian kingdom came to an end. There are some that have been preserved till now even, together with a few of the wonders of the fires.
- 7.5.10 He revealed and made known to men many good waters, wondrous amulets, and remedies for illnesses, which was free from the *speculations of physicians, many world-benefiting secrets of the world of thought, the firmament, the intermediary space, the earth, and others, which one may get to by the wisdom of the gods.
- 7.5.11 One wonder is the Avesta itself, which by its most excellent uniqueness is the supreme utterance of every knowledge of the entire world.
- 7.5.12 One thing: That there came to Wishtâsp also this which the Amahraspands had indicated to him would be his reward for accepting the *dên*: how he saw (his) son Pishôtan, the fortunate land-lord, the undying, unaging one, having no need for food, of great body and complete strength, full of Fortune, powerful, victorious and the equal of gods. The ... of Pishôtan to the fortress of Kang as ruler there, as Ohrmazd had allotted to him. And the revealing thereby of many other wonders to many.

About Srid and his chariot

- 7.6.1 About the wonders that were revealed after the departure of Zarathustra, whose pre-soul is sacrificed (to), to the Best Existence during the lifetime of Wishtâsp.
- 7.6.2 One thing that is revealed: About how Srid son of Wisrab equipped this chariot by the well-known wonder, how the fame of the wonder of that chariot came to Wishtâsp, how Wishtâsp asked Srid for that chariot, and how Srid answered Wishtâsp that he had *promised that chariot to a Orderly Man whose body during the lifetime of that body would come together visibly in the world of the living with the soul of Srid during the lifetime of Srid,—
- 7.6.3 and how the soul of Srid would become in order to donate the chariot of Srid to that man, in whom Orderliness was visible to the naked eye, and otherwise it could not be done!
- 7.6.4 When the exalted Kay Wishtâsp became aware that this wonder from the *dên* would happen in that epoch—in order that also this wonder might be more widely revealed to the people of the whole world, the Mazdayasnian *dên*

- might be accepted, and he might proclaim it more widely—he asked that it might be seen from his countrymen.
- 7.6.5¹ Right away a great wonder was revealed to Wishtâsp and the people of the world, as it says: Then the Amahraspands sent forth his soul from Light Garôdmân down to the earth created by Ohrmazd. From the light, the soul of Wishtâsp went forth. And in the light Wishtâsp went to meet it, in the direction of beneficial Noon (south),
- 7.6.6 which is more *seemly than everything *seemly, which is more curious than everything curious.² Everything they saw they told, and as they told they listened. When they saw the view of each other they stopped, the soul and body of Wishtâsp, and they exchanged homage.
- 7.6.7 Subsequently, not long after, the soul of Srid, son of Wisrab, came running from the northern direction, horrible, killing horribly (i.e., it was black, and its action too was black), the most horrible of evil gods.
- 7.6.8 And it *ruled thus, and it howled thus, the soul of Srid: “Give this chariot for driving, which will be for you, O Wishtâsp, for good company and society, and for it in Orderliness the pure is proper, not for something worthy (i.e., not for the reward of the world of the living), for love of Orderliness, which is the best of those that are.”
- 7.6.9 When Srid, son of Wisrab, heard this speech, he stood before the chariot, and he spoke thus: “I shall give you in Orderliness, O valorous Kay Wishtâsp, this chariot for driving, only for the sake of Orderliness, which is the best of those that are.
- 7.6.10 And thus for Orderliness as it is best in Orderliness, and for the soul of those that are, as it is best for souls.” Also, he announced a gift (i.e., he revealed its acceptance) three times.
- 7.6.11 Then that chariot became two, one in the world of thought, the other in the world of the living, and the exalted Kay Wishtâsp drove forth in the world of the living to the town of (his clan) the Nôdars in bliss and good thought. And in the world of thought the soul of Srid, son of Wisrab, drove forth to the Best Existence.
- 7.6.12 Another thing that is revealed: Fifty-seven years after Zarathustra received the *dên*, the coming forth of the *dên* in the seven continents was revealed during the lifetime of Wishtâsp. Thus it is revealed that (they) came from the (various) continents in search of the *dên* to Frashôshtar of the Hwôws, as the *dên* says: Two (men), called Spitôish and Arzarâsp hurried in search of wisdom to Frashôshtar of the Hwôws.
- 7.6.13 And this one about the coming of the Amahraspands from heaven to earth to bear witness before Wishtâsp about Zarathustra’s being the true bringer of the Word. And also the things seen about Pishôtan and the chariot of Srid and other chapters written above that are revealed in the Avesta, who also received Zarathustra and accepted his sayings as those of Ohrmazd.
- 7.6.14 And if these miracles, and Fortune, and wonders that are written above had not been revealed by the Avesta for the learned men of the land to see and had not been seen by Wishtâsp and those learned men of the continents who have the Avesta, in which all these miracles and wonders were revealed to them, they might have held it to be unacceptable and abandoned it, and it would not have come down to us.

...

The evils that are befalling and will befall Iran

- 7.8.1 About the wonders that were revealed and will be revealed after the coming to an end of the kingdom of Iran (and its departure from) the land of Iran, at the end of the century of Zarathustra and the coming of Ushêdar son of Zarathustra.
- 7.8.2 That is, this wonder is also the acknowledgment of the knowledge acquired through prediction about the ninth and tenth centuries revealed in the Avesta, the nature of which is now visibly exposed, such as the coming to an end of

¹ Cf. the vision journey of Kerdîr.

² Literally, “worth asking about”; the word renders Av. *frasha* “juicy, perfect.”

- the kingdom of Iran (and its departure) from the land of Iran, the destruction of law, practice, and custom, and the rule of the long-limbed Christians with disheveled hair.
- 7.8.3 And the mixing and connecting together of all four (classes). And the elevation to more elevated rank of the unknown of their time together with their small and dark underlings, and the destruction and degradation of ... and known people in their own time.
- 7.8.4 And the non-Iranians' removal of intellect and moral fiber from the Iranian lands, that is, the truth of the *dên*, morals, affection, gratitude, peace, and generosity and other good things which should be established as intimate parts of wisdom (*khṛad*) and personality (*khêṃ*).
- 7.8.5 And the enormity and superiority of heresy, liefulness, idolatry, calumny, pride, lying, ingratitude, discord, and avariciousness and the other evil things which are connected with wisdom and personality. And they relinquish the care of fire and water, the Amahraspands of the world of the living.
- 7.8.6 And there is preponderance of tyranny, evil *dên*, idolatry, and little *culture. Desire rules the body of men. There is much abundance of contrary judgments on sorcery, much evil talk about the oppression of the gods and the *dên*.
- 7.8.7 People will destroy each other's kingdoms, and places and territories are devastated by the violence of the victors. And evil kings capture one another. And there is severe harm and destruction of cattle, and peacefulness in the world of thought abandons the Iranian lands. Weeping, crying, lamentation, and complaining are commonplace in the land. People *obtain no profit from their work, their strength is destroyed, their Fortune is struck down, and their life short.
- 7.8.8 And there are many various enemy armies. And the heretics are accepted among the rulers, while those of good moral fiber and wise are not. In quick succession there is distress and plagues and other adversity and oppression and slavery even in the lands and places of the Iranian lands through the victor.
- 7.8.9 And the *dên* of the gods will be considered a "non-way,"¹ and those of good *dên* will suffer and be pained, the propagators of the *dên* will be ridiculed and *denigrated. There will be much liefulness and destruction of good works in the Iranian lands.
- 7.8.10 And also much other evil has been recalled in the Avesta, some of it passed, some of it still visible, and some of it revealed as (still) to come.
- 7.8.11 And there is this chapter from it as the *dên* says: That epoch which is mixed with iron (i.e., wherever one looks it is of iron), in which those heretics who seek coarseness are born.
- 7.8.12 That is, their "coarseness" consists in their making no difference between that which pleases them and that which is blameworthy to them. And their "seeking" consists in doing evil to people whenever they can, when ... of youths an old man appears, on account of the bad times, in which men are born, who are unfriendly toward the learned (i.e., they are not friends of the school teachers).
- 7.8.13 And they are full of courteous speech (i.e., they speak politely), yet they are followers of the Lie. And they are full of ... speech (i.e., they undo the speech of professors and teachers, and they pay no attention(?) to having an *ahu* and a *ratu*.² And they treat being the teacher of lords badly. And they construe as bad ...
- 7.8.14 anything anybody may say at any time. And the land that did have judges—they throw them down to hell into that putrid pool. That is, they also perform evil upon them so that they come to become followers of the Lie. In their religious recollection they support that heretic of evil offspring, himself conceived in sodomy, that bad wolf full of calamity and badness.
- 7.8.15 Here friends strike down their friend, and they take from him what he has made himself (i.e., whenever they can they take his possessions and give them to whoever they make prosper with it, when they do not seek ...). And they rob the poor of (his) ... (i.e., they take his possessions), and they ... him when he complains:
- 7.8.16 "It remains (?), and we shall not give it to you!" — Here neither will a friend counsel his friend, nor a brother his

¹ Cf. Y.72.11!

² See Dk.7.3.49.

- brother, nor a son his father, nor a father his son: “Make me believe!” (?) — Places are dwelt in according to wish (i.e., every single place it pleases them to dwell they behave in every manner they please). And ... on the road of acknowledgment (of the *dēn*), and they say beneficial learning is (just) ... knowledge:
- 7.8.17 “We know these three to be among our beneficial learning: that the inferior (should be held) in superiority, the superior in inferiority, and that the inferior should be taught by the inferior (i.e., in every matter he follows in the footsteps of the ruler).”
- 7.8.18 They think all kinds of thoughts (?), like a ruler. A young woman has the nature of a bride, and the bride has the nature of a young woman who herself goes after the males (?).
- 7.8.19 Then when nature and sense go downhill and disappear from the Iranian lands (i.e., it goes away) then, on account of the proximity of the *vōighn* (scourge), then they run together, destitution, the demon-made winter full of snow (i.e., also rain becomes less), and the secretive and deceptive plague (i.e., there is greater incidence of deaths). Thus, also those possessed by the Lie ... and the heretic possessed by the Lie run together in company.
- 7.8.20 They mutter the same that he mutters (?): “Strike and smite, O land-lord, for you must strike and smite. Also strike the fire, and strike a blow to those whose only protection are the judges, and they lead them forth, the poor whose law is Orderly—
- 7.8.21 (i.e., they make him oppressed), and they strike him and unjustly carry off his possessions (i.e., that is, when they carry off his possessions, then it is carried off unjustly by them).
- 7.8.22 And into that epoch you will not wish to come, O pure Orderly Spitama, nor should that ... of the *word go (about) (i.e., one should not bring and carry off the ... of those who have made it). The heretics bring this your fame to perdition (i.e., Avesta and the Zand; they belittle those who have made it). The heretics torture their own soul for love of the possessions they have made.
- 7.8.23 And about the ninth and tenth centuries it says this too: That time will come (i.e., that is it will arrive), O Spitama Zarathustra, that many will say it is a fact of following Orderliness that the heretics are masters and teachers, and few (that it is) a fact of following the Lie. And they foul up the waters, dry out the plants, and destroy all prosperity (i.e., which is revealed (as being) from Orderliness).
- ...

FROM SELECT ADMONITIONS OF THE TEACHERS OF OLD

or

THE BOOK OF ADVICE OF ZARATHUSTRA

1. The teachers of old,¹ who have the foremost knowledge about the revelation in the *dēn*, have said that each human being, when he/she reaches the age of fifteen, should know the following matters:

Who am I, and to whom do I belong?²

Where did I come from, and to where will I go back?

And of what lineage and family am I?

And what are my duties in the world of the living, and what is my reward in the world of thought?”?

And did I come from heaven, or have I (always) been on earth?

Do I belong to Ohrmazd, or do I belong to Ahrimen?

Do I belong to the gods, or do I belong to the evil gods?

Do I belong to the good, or do I belong to the bad?

Am I a human or a *dēw*?

How many are the paths?

And which is my *dēn*?

And what is good for me, and what is bad for me?

And who is my friend, and who is my enemy?

Are the Principles one or two?

And from whom is goodness and from whom badness?

And from whom is light and from whom darkness?

And from whom is fragrance and from whom stench?

And from whom is right and from whom wrong?

And from whom is forgiveness and from whom mercilessness?

2. Now, he who can explain the meanings has taken this in hand, and this is his conviction, as it has been transmitted to him by the path of wisdom (*khra*d):

Indeed, one should know without any doubt the following:

I have come from heaven, I have not (always) been on earth.

I am something created, not something that has (always) been.

I belong to Ohrmazd, not to Ahrimen.

I belong to the gods, not to the *dēws*.

I belong to the good, not to the bad.

I am a human, not a *dēw*.

I am the creature of Ohrmazd, not the creature of Ahrimen.

And my lineage and family is from Gayômar.

And my mother is Spandarmad, and my father is Ohrmazd.

And my humanity is from Mahlî and Mahliyânî, who were the first (of) the lineage and family (descended) from Gayômar.

¹ See footnote to Y.0.12.

² Cf. Y.10.16.

3. And what I have to do, my duties and obligations are to think about Ohrmazd as being, having always been, always to be, that he is the immortal ruler, limitless, and pure, (while) Ahrimen is not and shall be destroyed.
I have to consider myself as the property of Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands.
I have to separate myself from the evil gods and consideration of the evil gods.
4. And on earth, firstly, I have to be ally myself by my praise to the *dên*, to perform and sacrifice according to it and not to turn away from it, to believe in my mind in the Good *dên* of the Mazdayasnians; to distinguish what is good for one from what is bad for one, evil-doing from well-doing, and goodness from badness, and light from darkness, and being someone who sacrifices to Ohrmazd from one who sacrifices to the evil gods.
5. Secondly, I have to take a wife and see to one's lineage on earth diligently and constantly.
6. Thirdly, I have to plow the earth and cultivate it.
7. Fourthly, I have to tend cattle according to the rules.
8. Fifthly, I have to go to school (*hêrbedestân*) one-third of the day and one-third of the night in order to question the wisdom of the Orderly; to cultivate the land one-third of the day and one-third of the night; and to eat, have a good time, and rest one-third of the day and one-third of the night.
9. And I have to have no doubt that good deeds are good for me, and bad deeds are bad for me; that my friend is Ohrmazd, but my enemy is Ahrimen; and that the path of the *dên* is one:
10. One is the path of good thought, good speech, and good action; Paradise is the light and purity and limitlessness of Ohrmazd the Creator, who has always been and shall always be.
11. One is the path of evil thought, evil speech, and evil action; (this) is the darkness and limitedness and complete evil and destruction and badness of the one possessed by the Lie, the Foul Spirit, who once upon a time was not in this creation and who once in the future shall not be in the creation of Ohrmazd, and in the end he will be annihilated.
12. And I have to have no doubt about this too, that the Principles are two: one the Creator and one the Destroyer.
13. The Creator is Ohrmazd, from whom all goodness, all light (emanates).
14. The Destroyer is the Foul Spirit, possessed by the Lie, who is all badness and full of death and possessed by the Lie and deceiving.
15. And I have to have no doubt about these things, that, other than Sôshâns and the seven Kays, every person is mortal;
16. and about the extermination of the soul and destruction of the body and the accounting that (takes place) at the third dawn; and that the Resurrection and the Final Body will come; and about the passing of the Chinwad Bridge; and the coming of the Sôshâns and the making of the Resurrection and the Final Body.
17. And (about) the Law of the Iranians, and the *dên* of the teachers of old, and thinking of rectitude, and keeping my tongue in truth and my hand at doing good.
18. And (about) abiding by the Law of the Iranians together with all good people.
19. (About) peace and harmony in all daily and religious activities (*kâr ud kerbag*).
20. (About) abiding by the law together with all good people in a way that makes everybody content.
21. To follow the example of whoever has been, whoever shall be, whoever is in good deeds and lawfulness.
22. And the good deed performed according to the Law reaches much higher than the one they perform themselves; they become more Orderly thereby. [?]
23. And he said: He received the Good *dên* of the Mazdayasnians. I have no doubt about that. I shall not leave the Good *dên* of the Mazdayasnians either for love of body and soul or for good living or for long living or when my consciousness departs from the body. I have no doubt about that. And I will not praise or exalt teachings

- different (from this), and I will not believe in them.
24. For it is revealed that: Of thoughts, words, and actions, count the action (as the most important),
25. for the unattached thought¹ is intangible, while the action is tangible. For it is by action that men act.
26. And this too: Three paths are laid down in the body of men.
27. These three paths are the places of three beings in the world of thought, and three evil gods bar the paths. In thought there is the place of Wahman, and Wrath bars the path. In speech there is the place of wisdom (*khrađ*), and Greed bars the path. In action there is the place of the Life-giving Spirit, and the Foul Spirit bars the path.²
28. People must remain firmly on these three paths; they must not relinquish the reward in Heaven for possessions, wealth, and desire in the world.
29. For the man who has these three *paths which I have explained, he protects in his own body thought from bad thought, speech from bad speech, action from bad action.
30. Next I have to be grateful. It is by gratitude that one is able to cause the soul not to go to hell.
31. For people ... when he goes from the father's loins to the mother's womb, then the Dismemberer throws a rope around his neck in the world of thought; for the duration of his life he cannot remove that rope from his neck, neither by a good spirit, nor by the Foul Spirit.
32. But after his passing away that rope falls off the neck of the Orderly on account of his own good actions. And those possessed by the Lie they lead to hell by that same rope.
33. For one should know how much each and everyone in the world has sacrificed and (how much) sin he has in hands and feet, except for those who are deaf or dumb (in which case) it is right (to do so) only when they are caught (in the act?).
- Also, I have to go to school and know the *zand*.
34. A father and mother should teach all these daily and religious actions to their own child before it reaches fifteen. And when they have taught all this to the child, (then) every daily and religious action that the child performs reflects on the parents. And if they do not teach it to him, when the child becomes an adult and commits a sin, (then) it accrues to the parents.
35. Go for good deeds and against sin; be grateful when life is good, and be content in adversity; be patient in misfortune and diligent in the obligatory duties!
36. Confess all sins, and do not let a mortal sin within a mile of you!
37. And strike down with wisdom evil greed and desire!
38. Strike down Lust with contentment, Wrath with readiness to listen (*Srôsh*), envy with benevolence, need with resignation, strife with peace, and lying with truthfulness!
39. Know that the place of the Best (Existence) is best, the world of thought most pleasant, the city of the sky lightest, the house of light is Paradise, the performing of good deeds is greatest, and (your) hope is the Final Body, which shall not pass away.
40. To the extent of your ability and capability do not exalt evil people. For from the exalting of evil, badness will come unto your body, and you will drive away goodness.
41. Be diligent in the acquisition of learning. For learning is the seed of knowledge, and its fruit is wisdom. And by wisdom things belonging to both worlds should be governed.

¹ That is, it is not supported on anything in the world of the living, cf. PR.46.4-5.

² Cf. Bdh.5.1.

42. It is said that learning is an adornment in times of plenty and a protection in times of hardship, and in misfortune a helping hand, and in times of dearth an occupation.
43. One person should not scorn another person. For those who scorn will be scorned, unfortunate, cursed, and they will have few children (who become) worthy warriors.
44. Every day you should go to the assembly of good people to converse with them. For to him who goes most frequently to the assembly of good people they give most good deeds and Orderliness.
45. And every day you should go to the house of the Fires and recite the hymn to the Fire. For he who goes most frequently to the house of the Fires and most frequently recites the hymn to the Fire, to him they give most wealth and Orderliness.
46. Beware strongly of hurting your parents and guardian, so that your body shall not be infamous and your soul not belong to the Lie.
47. Know that, of the innumerable adversities that the Foul Spirit brought forth, the following three are the most serious: blindness, deafness, and, third, the demon Lie of strife.
48. For it is revealed that for this reason the sun orders people in the world three times daily.
49. At dawn he says: "Ohrmazd says to all of you who are men: 'Be diligent in your performance of secular and religious work so that I can produce life in the world among you!'"
50. At noon he says: "Be diligent in the acquisition of a wife, the making of children, and your other duties, for until the Final Body the Foul Spirit and his brood will not leave this creation."
51. At the evening *gâh* (fifth of the day) he says: "Confess the sins that you have committed, so that I may forgive you!" For it is revealed that: "In the same way that the light of the sun arrives upon earth, (so) also his speech comes to earth."
52. In the existence with bones, do not in thought, speech, or action think, speak, or do anything wrong.
53. And by the strength of the gods and the path of wisdom be carefully diligent in the teaching of the *dên*, and be aware that after this too, when the value of (your) good actions is so great and limitless, (then) the Foul Spirit is the one who incites to perform evil deeds in secret, and Ohrmazd is the one who strives thus (for all to be done) in all openness. Whoever knows the *dên*, then, being diligent in secular and religious deeds, he will be irremovable from it.

FROM THE *MÊNÔY KHRAD*

CHAPTER 1

- 1.1 The wise man asked the wisdom (*khra*d) in the world of thought:
- 1.2 “How can one seek the maintenance and prosperity of the body without injury to the soul and salvation of the soul without injury to the body?”
- 1.3 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:
- 1.4 The one who is smaller than you, consider him as an equal and the one equal to you as superior;
- 1.5 the one superior to you as your chief and your chief as your ruler!
- 1.6 And toward rulers, be loyal and obedient and speak the truth!
- 1.7 Toward opponents, be humble, gentle, and benevolent!
- 1.8 Do not commit slander, so that dishonor and sin may not come upon you!¹
- 1.10 For it is said that slander is more grievous than witchcraft.
- 1.11 And, in Hell, every demon Lie moves forward, (but) the demon Lie of slander, because it is such a grievous sin, moves backward.
- 1.13 Do not harbor lusty desire, so that the demon Lust (Âz) may not deceive you and the things of the world of the living may not become tasteless to you and those of the world of thought are destroyed for you!
- 1.16 Do not harbor wrath, for a man who gets wroth forgets to do work and good deeds (*kâr ud kerbag*) and homage and service to the gods, and every kind of sin and crime comes to his mind until his wrath subsides.
- 1.19 (Wrath) is said to be the equal of Ahrimen!
- 1.20 Do not harbor hostility, for peace in both the world of the living and that of thought is destroyed for the one who harbors hostility, and his body and soul are diminished!
- 1.23 Do not harbor greed, so that harm and regret may not reach you from your own actions!
- 1.25 Do not harbor evil envy, so that your life may not become tasteless to you!
- 1.27 Do not be sinful on account of shame, for goodness, adornment, wealth, sovereignty, honor, and worthiness are not by people’s will and doing, but by the destiny of the firmament and the will of the gods!
- 1.29 Do not practice sloth, so that the work and good deeds that you have to do may not remain undone!
- 1.31 Choose a wife of (good) lineage, for, in the end, that one is the better who has the better reputation!
- 1.33 Do not talk while eating, so that you may not incur a serious transgression against the Amahraspands Hordad and Amurdad!
- 1.35 Do not walk about with your *kusti* untied, so that harm may not befall your men and animals and injury your children!
- 1.37 Do not walk with one shoe, so that your soul may not incur a serious transgression!
- 1.39 Do not urinate standing, so that you may not become captive of the law of the evil gods and, because of this sin, the evil gods drag you off to Hell!
- 1.42 Be diligent and moderate, eat by your own effort to do good, and give (their) share to the good gods! And such behavior is the best good deed you can do within your proper function.²
- 1.46 Do not steal from people’s property, so that your own effort to do good may not be destroyed for you! For it is said: “He who does not eat by his own effort to do good, but by that of another, is like one who holds a human head in his hand and eats human brains.”
- 1.50 Stay away from other people’s wives, for it possible for these three to be destroyed for you: wealth, body, and soul!

¹ In Anklesaria’s edition this sentence counts 1.8-9, etc.

² That is, in agreement with your station in life.

- 1.52 With enemies fight according to the law, with friends act to what pleases them!
- 1.54 Do not fight with a vengeful man, and do not in any way anger him!
- 1.56 Do not be partners with a covetous man, and do not appoint him to leadership!
- 1.58 Do not go to the court of kings with a slandering man!
- 1.59 Do not bond with men of bad reputation!
- 1.60 Do not become partner and associate with a negligent man!
- 1.61 Make no dispute with a fool!
- 1.62 Do not walk on the road with a drunken man!
- 1.63 Do not take a loan from a man of bad nature!

- 1.64 Be diligent and devoted in giving thanks to the gods, in sacrifice and singing hymns, in sacrificing and invocation,
and in the learning culture.
- 1.65 For it is said:
- 1.66 When it comes to giving help to people, wisdom is best.
- 1.67 When it comes to seeking fame and saving one's soul, generosity is best.
- 1.68 When it comes to organizing work and justice, right-mindedness is best.
- 1.69 When it comes to accusing and defending at law, truth is best.
- 1.70 When it comes to going about one's work, diligence is best.
- 1.71 When it comes to trusting people, confidence is best.
- 1.72 When something good comes to one, gratitude is best.
- 1.73 When it comes to keeping oneself blameless, moderate speaking in the path of truth is best.
- 1.74 When it comes to keeping back the opposition of the Assault from oneself, performing one's proper function is best.
- 1.75 Before lords and kings moderate speech is best and in assemblies speaking well.
- 1.76 When it comes to friends, friendship that thinks of peacefulness is best.
- 1.77 When it comes to attracting comrades to oneself, giving *profit is best.
- 1.78 When it comes to superiors, gentleness and humility are best.
- 1.79 When it comes to inferiors, *accommodation and affability are best.
- 1.80 When it comes to the mighty, giving praise and congratulations are best.
- 1.81 When it comes to one's relatives, benevolence is best.
- 1.82 When it comes to physical health, moderate eating and keeping the body fit are best.
- 1.83 When it comes to those who recognize praise, action is best.
- 1.84 When it comes to chiefs, obedience and seeking advantage (for them) are best.
- 1.85 When it comes to those obedient to one and to servants, keeping (them) well and instilling fear are best.
- 1.86 When it comes to oneself, having less aggravation and being content are best.
- 1.87 When it comes to leadership, knowing the good by (their) goodness and the bad by their badness and rewarding the
good and reproaching the bad are best.
- 1.88 In every place and at all times, refraining from sin and being diligent in doing good deeds are best.
- 1.89 Every day thinking about and remembering Ohrmazd as the creator and Ahrimen as the destroyer is best.
- 1.90 In order not to be dishonored, knowing oneself is best.

- 1.91 All this is well and true and all the same.
- 1.92 But one's proper function and watching one's tongue is above all else.

- 1.93 Stay away from the worship of idols and evil gods!
- 1.94 For it is revealed:
- 1.95 If Kay-Husrôy had not destroyed the idol temple at lake Chêchast, in these three millennia of Ushêdar, Ushêdarmâh

and Sôshâns, one of whom comes at the beginning of each millennium to reorganize the world of the living and will strike down the contract-breakers and idol-worshippers in the land, then the Opposition would have been so much more powerful that the Resurrection and the Final Body would not have been possible.

- 1.96 Be diligent in storing good deeds, so that they may help you in the world of thought.
- 1.98 Do not rely on any goodness in the world of the living, because the goodness of the world of the living is like a cloud that comes on a spring day and does not remain on any mountain.
- 1.100 Do not be too preoccupied with the world of the living, because a man who is too preoccupied with the world of the living ruins the world of thought.
- 1.102 Do not rely on much property and wealth, because in the end you have to leave it all.
- 1.104 Do not rely on kingship, because in the end you have to be without king.
- 1.106 Do not rely on respect and love, for in the world of thought respectfulness is of no help.
- 1.108 And do not rely on a large family and much offspring, for in the end you must lean on your own deeds.

Fate after death

- 1.110 Do not rely on life, for death will finally come upon you, dogs and birds will tear your corpse, and your bones will fall to the ground.
- 1.114 And for three days and nights, the soul sits at the head-rest of the body.
- 1.115 But on the fourth day at dawn, (the soul) goes accompanied by Srôsh with the rewards, good Wây, and mighty Wahrâm, but opposed by the Dismemberer, bad Wây, the demons Drag-off and Drag-down and exposed to the malevolence of evil-doing Wrath with the bloody club, up to the terrifying high Chinwad bridge, which every good and evil person will come to and where many opponents bide.
- 1.117 (The soul) goes exposed to the malevolence of Wrath with the bloody club and the Dismemberer, who swallows all creation and knows no satisfaction, but with the mediation of Mihr, Srôsh, and Rashn.
- 1.119 (Then there comes) the weighing by Rashn the straight on a balance in the world of thought that does not dip to any side, neither for the good nor for the bad, neither for lords nor for rulers. And it does not diverge as much as a single hair's breadth and has no respect (for anybody), but holds a lord and a ruler equal by the law to the least of men.
- 1.123 And when the soul of the Orderly cross that bridge, the bridge becomes as wide as one mile, and the soul of the Orderly one crosses accompanied by Srôsh with the rewards.

The *dên*

- 1.125 Then his own good deeds come to meet him in the form of a young woman, who is more beautiful and better than any young woman in the world of the living.
- 1.127 And the soul of the good says:
- 1.128 "Who are you, the most beautiful and best young woman I have ever seen in the world of the living?"
- 1.129 In reply, that person in the form of a young woman answers:
- 1.130 "I am not a young woman, I am your good deeds, O youth of good thoughts, good speech, good deeds, good *dên*!"
- 1.131 For when you saw someone perform sacrifices for evil gods in the world of the living, then you sat down and performed sacrifices for the gods.
- 1.132 And when you saw someone oppressing, robbing, harming, or despising good people and acquiring wealth from evil-doing, then you refrained from oppressing or robbing the creations.
- 1.133 And you thought of good people and provided lodging, entertainment, and gave gifts to whoever came from near or also from afar.

- 1.134 And you accumulated wealth by goodness.
- 1.135 And when you saw someone practicing false justice, taking bribes, and giving false testimony, then you sat down and uttered speech of truth and goodness.
- 1.136 I am these good thoughts, speech, and deeds of yours, which you thought, spoke, and performed.
- 1.137 For, when I was *praiseworthy, then you made me more *praiseworthy, and, when I was dear, then you made me even dearer, and when I was Fortunate, then you made me even more Fortunate.”
- 1.140 And when he continues from there, a fragrant wind comes to meet him, which is more better smelling than all good smells.
- 1.141 The soul of the Orderly asks Srôsh:
- 1.142 “What is this wind, which is more fragrant than any other wind I have ever smelled in the world of the living?”
- 1.143 Then Srôsh with the rewards answers the soul of the Orderly:
- 1.144 “This wind that smells so good is from the Best (Existence).”
- 1.145 Then he takes a first step up to good thought, a second to good speech, and a third to good deeds. And, at the fourth step, he arrives in the Endless Light which is all comfort.
- 1.147 And all the gods and Amahraspands come to meet him and question him:
- 1.149 “How did you come from that perilous, fearsome, evil-filled existence to this existence, free from peril and Opposition, O youth of good thoughts, good speech, good deeds, good *dên*?”
- 1.150 Then the lord Ohrmazd says:
- 1.151 “Do not question him, for he has been separated from that dear body and has come by that fearsome road. Bring him the most delicious of foods, spring butter, so that his soul may rest after the fear of that bridge in those three nights, which was brought upon him by The Dismemberer and the other evil gods. And seat him upon an all-adorned throne.”
- 1.155 As it is revealed:
- 1.156 After the consciousness has been wrenched from the body, they will bring the Orderly man and woman the most delicious of the foods of the gods of the world of thought, mead, that is spring butter, and they will seat him upon an all-adorned throne.
- 1.157 And he will remain forever in complete comfort together with the gods of the world of thought for ever.
- 1.158 And when a person possessed by the Lie dies, his soul runs around near the head-rest of that person possessed by the Lie and cries: “Where should I go? With whom do I take refuge now?”¹
- 1.160 And, in those three nights and days, he sees with his own eyes every kind of sin and crime that he committed in the world of the living.
- 1.161 On the fourth day, the demon Drag-off comes and binds the soul of the evil person with a *noose, and, opposed by Srôsh with the rewards, he leads (the soul) to the Chinwad bridge.
- 1.163 Then Rashn the straight reveals that soul of the one for what it is.
- 1.164 Afterward, the demon Drag-off takes the soul of the person possessed by the Lie in an unfriendly and wrathful manner and beats and soils it.
- 1.155 And the soul of the person possessed by the Lie cries loudly, weeps, pleads, and struggles greatly for (his) life (*gyân*) to no avail.
- 1.166 When struggling and pleading do not help, and no one from the gods (*bay*) or even the evil gods comes to his aid, the demon Drag-off drags him full of evil down to Hell.

¹ Cf. 2.46.1.

- 1.167 And then a young woman unlike other young women comes to meet him.
 1.168 The soul of the evil person says:
 1.169 “Who are you, the most evil and ugly young woman I have ever seen in the world of the living?”
 1.170 And she answers him:
 1.171 “I am not a young woman, I am your deeds, O you ugly one of evil thoughts, evil speech, evil deeds, evil *dên*.
 1.172 For when you saw someone perform sacrifices for the gods, then you sat down and performed sacrifices for the evil gods and served the evil gods and demon Lies.
 1.174 And when you saw someone who provided lodging for good people and received them well and who gave gifts to whoever came from near or also from afar, then you despised and treated with disrespect the good people, gave no gifts, and even shut your door.
 1.176 And when you saw someone practicing justice and not taking bribes, giving truthful testimonies, and uttering good speech, then you sat down and practiced false justice, gave false testimony, and uttered evil speech.
 1.178 I am this evil thought, speech, and deed of yours, which you thought, said, and performed.
 1.179 For when I was unpraiseworthy, then you made me even more unpraiseworthy.
 1.180 And when I was disrespected, you then made me even more disrespected.
 And when I sat on the seat of the notorious, then you made me even more notorious.”
- 1.182 Then he takes one first step down to evil thought, a second to evil speech, a third to evil deeds, and with the fourth step he runs down to the Foul Spirit possessed by the Lie and the other evil gods.
 1.184 And the evil gods ridicule and mock him, saying:
 1.185 “What did you have to complain and lament about Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands and the fragrant, peaceful Best (Existence), that you longed to see Ahrimen and the evil gods and the dark Hell, since we will harm and not forgive you, and you will experience evil for a long time?”
 1.187 And the Foul Spirit howls to the evil gods:
 “Do not question him, for he has been separated from that dear body and has come along that very worst of passages!
 1.190 Bring him the filthiest and worst of foods, the food that is served in Hell!”
 1.191 And they bring poison and snake venom, scorpions and other evil creeps of hell and give him to eat.
 1.193 And he must be in Hell in much evil and various punishments until the Resurrection and the Final Body.
 1.194 And god forbid that one should eat the food there, since it resembles putrid blood!

The spirit of inborn wisdom told the wise man:

“This that you asked, as to the maintenance of the body and salvation of the soul, and about which I have told and advised you well, accomplish it well and practice it, for it is the greatest way for maintaining the body and saving the soul.”

CHAPTER 2

- 2.1 The wise man asked the wisdom in the world of thought :
 2.2 “What is best: generosity, truth, gratitude, wisdom, rightmindedness, or contentment?”
- 2.5 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:
 2.6 For the soul generosity is best. For all living beings truth is best. Toward the gods gratitude is best. For a man’s body wisdom is best. For all deeds rightmindedness is best. For the comfort of the body and for striking down Ahrimen and the evil gods contentment is best.

CHAPTER 3

- 3.1 The wise man asked the wisdom in the world of thought :
- 3.2 Which single good deed is greatest and best?
- 3.3 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:
- 3.4 The greatest good deed is generosity, and the second is truth and marriage with ones closest family.
- 3.5 The third is observing the *gâhânbâr* festival, and the fourth is the entire *dên*.
- 3.6 The fifth is sacrificing to the gods and providing lodging for travelers.
- 3.7 The sixth is that everybody deserves happiness.
- 3.8 And the seventh is benevolence toward good people.

CHAPTER 6

- 6.1 The wise man asked the wisdom in the world of thought :
- 6.2 How is Paradise, and how large? How is the intermediate stage, and how large? How is Hell and how large?
- 6.5 What is the judgment of the Orderly in Paradise, and from what is their happiness?
- 6.6 What is the misery and Opposition of those possessed by the Lie in Hell?
- 6.7 And what and how much is the judgment of the ones in the intermediate stage?
- 6.8 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:
- 6.9 Paradise is, firstly, from the star station to the moon station; secondly, from the moon station to the sun station; and thirdly, from the sun station to Garôdmân (House of Song), where Ohrmazd resides.
- 6.12 Paradise is, firstly, good thoughts; secondly, good speech; and, thirdly, good deeds.
- 6.13 The Orderly ones in Paradise know of no old age, death, fear, hostility, or Opposition.
- 6.14 And all places are full of Fortune, fragrant, blissful, peaceful, and all goodness.
- 6.15 At all times, a fragrant wind and a scent like that of flowers meets them which is more delicious than every other delight and smells better than every other good smell.
- 6.16 They do not get enough of being in the Best (Existence).
- 6.17 They sit, walk, see, and take pleasure together with the gods and the Amahraspands and the Orderly ones for ever and ever.
- 6.18 Regarding the intermediate stage, it is revealed that it is from the earth to the star station, and their only Opposition is cold and heat.
- 6.20 And Hell is, firstly, bad thoughts; secondly, bad speech; and, thirdly, bad deeds.
- 6.21 At the fourth step, the one possessed by the Lie arrives in the darkest Hell.
- 6.22 And they lead him to Ahrimen, possessed by the Lie.
- 6.23 And Ahrimen and the evil gods ridicule and mock him, saying:
- 6.24 “What did you have to complain and lament about Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands and the fragrant, peaceful Best (Existence), that you longed to see Ahrimen and the evil gods and the dark Hell, since we will harm and not forgive you, and you will experience evil for a long time?”
- 6.26 And then they punish and do evil to him in various ways.
- 6.27 There is a place which in coldness is like the coldest ice and snow, and there is a place where its heat is like the hottest and most burning fire.

- 6.29 There is a place where an evil creep tears at them as a dog tears at a bone, and there is a place where the stench is
 such that they tremble and fall.
- 6.31 And darkness always seems so thick to them, as if it were possible to grasp it with the hand.

SOME SAYINGS OF ÂDURBÂD SON OF MAHRASPAND

- 1 These are some sayings that Âdurbâd son of Mahraspand of immortal soul uttered and taught to those in the world of the living as he passed away. Remember this, and learn something from it!
Do not hoard things, so that you may not feel need! For hoarding things does not lead to less need.
- 2 Strive only to store more Orderliness, that is, in deeds and good works, for the only good thing you should store up is Orderliness.
- 3 Do not think of vengeance, so that enemies may not reach *you*. And keep in mind what kind of hurt and harm and destruction may come upon you through slaying an enemy as vengeance. Keep vengeance for yourselves, and do not strike an enemy as vengeance, for it is revealed that he who forgets the smallest vengeance will be saved at the Ford of Lamentations.¹
- 5 Speak the truth in accusing and defending in court, so that you may be more often saved by the law! For, by giving truthful testimony, a man becomes Orderly. For he who has information he does not give becomes possessed by the Lie.
- 7 Eat in moderation, so that you may be long-lasting! For eating in moderation is best for the body and speaking in moderation best for the soul. And the man who has least wealth is mighty if he is moderate of disposition. Think more about your souls than your bellies! For the man who accumulates for the stomach, does most to ruin the spirit.
- 11 Take a wife from your own family, so that your family may not be *dissipated.² For the most ruin and vengeance and harm came upon the creation of Ohrmazd when they gave their daughters (to other people's sons) and they asked for other people's daughters in marriage for their sons, so that the family was completely spoiled.
- 13 Guard yourselves strictly against eating the fat of cattle and sheep, for it will lead to strict reckoning for you both here (in the world of the living) and there (in the world of thought). For he who has eaten meat of cattle and sheep has his hand in sin and sin is whatever he thinks, speaks, or does. And when someone has eaten ... and has his hand in sin, then, compared to someone in another place kills a camel, he becomes like a man who has killed a king with his own hand.
- 16 Receive traveling people well, so that you may be well received both here and there. For he who gives, receives, and he will grow thereby. At receptions, sit wherever they seat you. And the most important position is where a good man sits.
- 18 Do not fight for position, for a man who fights for position, does most to ruin the world of thought.
- 19 Agree with what is good deeds, disagree with what is sinful action, be grateful for goodness, and be content in adversity, stay away from enemies, do not harm good deeds, and do not befriend someone bad!
- 20 When the most terrible things happen, do not have doubts about the gods and the *dên*. Do not be too happy and content when goodness befalls you, and do not be too offended when evil befalls you!
- 23 Be content in adversity, patient in misfortune, and do not trust life, but good actions! For a person's good actions are his defenders, while a person's bad actions are his accusers. For of thoughts, words, and actions, actions are best.
- ...
- 48 Do not trust women, because you may come to shame and regret. Tell no secrets to women, because you may have no profit from your toil.
- ...

¹ This name for the Chinwad bridge (For of the Accountant) is based on a folk etymology of one of the possible readings of the Pahlavi word.

² Lit. "so that your family may go far." (?)

- 60 Do not be too happy when something good happens to you, and do not be too upset when something bad happens to you, for both good and bad things are bound to happen to people. Thank the gods for whatever good has happened to you and give the gods and good people a share of it. Leave it to the gods, for gifts come by themselves wherever they come from.
- 63 Cultivate the earth, and do good, for all men live and are nourished by cultivating Spandarmad, the Earth.
- 64 Do not sin against water, fire, cattle, sheep, or dogs, and do not harm animals of the dog family, so that the road the Best (Existence) and to Paradise may not be closed to you.
- 65 When it comes to doing good deeds, keep your door open to whoever comes from near or from afar. For he who, when doing good deeds, does not keep his door open, will find the door to the Best (Existence) and to Paradise closed to him.
- 66 Be diligent in seeking culture, for in times of comfort education is an adornment, in times of difficulties it is a refuge, in misfortune it lends a helping hand, and in hard times it is a craft. Act as you know is best. But knowing more and believing less makes for greater sins. Wisdom with much knowledge unaccompanied by goodness will turn good sense (*wîr*) to heresy and wisdom to false teachings.
- 69 Do not despise anybody, for he who despises shall be despised. His fortune will be struck down, and he will be cursed and have fewer offspring destined to be king or warrior.
- 70 Every day you should go to the assembly to discuss with good people, for, he who most often goes to the assembly to discuss with good people, will receive the most of good deeds and Orderliness.
- 72 Every day you should go three times to the house of the fires and pray to the fire. For he who most often goes to the house of the fires and most often prays to the fire, will receive the most good deeds and wealth.
- 74 Be very careful to keep your bodies away from deceitful evil actions, from menstruating women, and prostitutes, so that your bodies may not be polluted or, even worse, evil may befall your souls.
- 75 Do not neglect any sin for which penance is demanded, even for a moment, so that the pure *dên* of those who sacrifice to Ohrmazd may not be your competitor (*hamêmâl*).
- 76 The body is mortal. Look after your souls, and perform good deeds. For the soul *is*, not the body. The spirit world *is*, not the world of the living. Do not relinquish or forget your souls for love of the body. Do not set your hearts on something for the love of people or things, for it will bring your body to the Bridge and your soul to punishment. Do not relinquish your love of your souls for the love of a person, so that you may not have to suffer cruel punishments.

THE RIDDLE CONTEST OF JÔISHT Î FRIYÂN AND AKHT THE SORCERER

CHAPTER 1

- 1.1 May this book of Jôisht î Friyân (the youngest of the Friyânas) be fortunate by the help of the gods.
- 1.2 So they say that, at the time when Akht, the sorcerer, went to the city of the Riddle-solvers with an army of seventy thousand, ³he howled:
“I will let the city of Riddle-solvers be trampled by elephants!”
- 1.4 When he arrived, he asked for persons who were not older than fifteen years of age, ⁵and he asked them riddles.
⁶Everyone who was not able to solve it, he seized and killed.
- 1.7 Then, there was a man in that city of the Riddle-solvers called Mâraspend. ⁸He said to Akht, the sorcerer:
“Do not let the city of Riddle-solvers be trampled by elephants, and do not kill these innocent people. ⁹For in this city of Riddle-solvers, there is a man called Jôisht î Friyân, who is not more than fifteen years of age. ¹⁰He will explain any riddle you ask him.”
- 1.11 Then Akht, the sorcerer, sent a message to Jôisht î Friyân:
¹²“Come to my court, so that I may ask you thirty-three riddles! ¹³And if you give no answer or say you do not know, then I will kill you right away.”

- 1.14 And Jôisht î Friyân came to the residence of Akht, the sorcerer, ¹⁵but, because Akht, the sorcerer, kept a human corpse under the carpet, he did not go inside.
- 1.16 Instead, he sent the following message to Akht, the sorcerer:
¹⁷“You keep a human corpse under the carpet; ¹⁵but, when I go inside, the (six) Immortals are before me, and when I go inside where the human corpse is, ¹⁹then the Immortals will no longer protect me. ²⁰After that I shall not be able to solve the riddles that you ask me.”
- 1.21 Then Akht, the sorcerer, gave orders to have the carpet and the mat taken away and a new carpet to be brought and spread out. ²²And he asked Jôisht î Friyân to come in and said:
²³“Come! Here is a mat and cushion for you to sit on. Then explain correctly the riddles I ask you!”
- 1.24 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “Lying rogue and tyrant! I will not sit on this cushion, for in this cushion is a human corpse. ²⁵With me are the gods and the Immortals, who are my protection. ²⁶If I sit down on this cushion, then the heavenly beings will no longer protect me. ²⁷After that I shall not be able to solve the riddles that you ask me.” After that I shall not be able to solve the riddles that you ask me.”
- 1.28 Then Akht, the sorcerer, gave orders to have the cushion taken away and a new one to be brought. ²⁹Jôisht î Friyân sat down up that new cushion.

CHAPTER 2

- 2.1 The first riddle Akht, the sorcerer, asked Jôisht î Friyân, was this:
²“Which is the better: paradise in the world of the living or in the world of thought?”
- 2.3 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ⁴For paradise in the world of the living is better than that in the world of thought. ⁵And the proof is that, if one performs no good deeds in this world, (then no good deeds) will help one in the other world. ⁶And another proof for you is that, if you have done something not good in this world, then you will not get to the good paradise.”
- 2.7 When Akht, the sorcerer, heard those words, he was stunned, ⁸⁻⁹and he said:
 “Woe has come upon me, Akht, the sorcerer, from you, Jôisht î Friyân. You have beaten me! ¹⁰As a brave man the bravest man, and a good horse the best horse, and a good bull the best bull, and as the sky (rules over) the earth, you rule!
¹¹“For with this riddle I killed nine hundred Magians, ¹²who had performed so many *yasnas* for the gods that their bodies had become yellow from all the *parâhôm* they had drunk.
¹³“I also killed nine daughters of the Spitâma family, who wore golden tiaras inlaid with pearls, which the lords of the land had given them in appreciation of their praise of the *dên*. ¹⁴When I asked them, they all said that paradise in the other world is the better one, ¹⁵and so I said: ‘If that is the way you feel, then you might as well go to that paradise!’ ¹⁶And so I seized them and killed them.”
- 2.17 The second riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which creature of Ohrmazd’s is taller when it sits on its butt when than it stands on its feet?”
- 2.18 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
¹⁹That is the dog!”
- 2.20 The third riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which creature of Ohrmazd’s walks without steps?”
- 2.21 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
²²That is a sparrow, which walks without steps.”

- 2.23 The fourth riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which creature of Ohrmazd’s has teeth of horn and a horn of flesh?”
- 2.24 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
²⁵That is what they call that a rooster, the bird of Srôsh the righteous. ²⁶When he crows, he keeps the Adversary away from Ohrmazd’s creatures.”
- 2.27 The fifth riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which is better: a small knife or little food?”
- 2.28 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ²⁹A small knife is better than little food. ³⁰For one can cut and collect the *barsom* with a small knife, ³¹but little food does not get to the belly, and if it does, it only produces wind.”
- 2.32 The sixth riddle he asked, was this:
 “What is it that is full, and what is it that is half full, and what is it that never becomes full?”
- 2.33 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
³⁴That which is full is the powerful rich man whose soul becomes one with Order when he passes away. ³⁵That which is half full is the moneyless poor man who leads a bad life, but whose soul becomes one with Order when he dies. ³⁶And that which is empty, which never becomes full, is that moneyless man, who leads a bad life and whose soul will belong to the Lie when he dies.”
- 2.37 The seventh riddle he asked, was this:
 “What is that thing which men wish to conceal, but is not possible for them to conceal?”
- 2.38 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
³⁹That is old age, which no one can to conceal, ⁴⁰for old age reveals itself for all to see.”
- 2.41 The eighth riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which is that living man who, when he sees Astwihâd¹ and dies, wishes that he may go back to the living, ⁴²but, when he sees Astwihâd again and dies, then it appears to him easy?”
- 2.43 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
⁴⁴That is the man who has performed no *yasna* and has drunk no *parâhôm*. ⁴⁵Another is that man who has come to a woman’s bed, but has not done any woman. ⁴⁶And a third is that man who has celebrated no *zîndag-ruwân*² ceremony, has given no alms, and has performed no *yasna* to the gods. And, giving alms to good people, he would promise to give, but gave none. ⁴⁷When he dies, he wishes he might go back to the living. ⁴⁸And when he dies again and sees Astwihâd, it appears to him easy.”
- 2.49 The ninth riddle he asked, was this:
 “After how many months do elephants, mares, camels, asses, cows, ewes, women, bitches, sows, and cats give birth?”
- 2.50 Jôisht î Friyân said:

¹ The “bone-untier,” demon who “unties” the bones of the dead.

² Expensive ceremony performed for somebody’s soul while still alive.

“May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —

⁵¹The elephant gives birth after three years; horses, camels, and asses give birth after twelve months; cows and women give birth after nine months; ewes give birth after five months; bitches and sows give birth after four months; and cats give birth after forty days.

2.52 The tenth riddle he asked, was this:

“Which man lives in greater comfort and greater ease?”

2.53 Jôisht î Friyân said:

“May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —

⁵⁴That man lives in greater comfort and greater ease who is less worried and more content with what he has.”

2.55 The eleventh riddle he asked, was this:

“What is that thing in this world that is like Ohrmazd and the Immortals?”

2.56 Jôisht î Friyân said:

“May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ⁵⁷In this world, the lord of the land is like Ohrmazd and the Immortals. ⁵⁸And the abode of the lords of the land is like Garôdmân, full of light; ⁵⁹their ministers are like the Immortals, ⁶⁰and their *court is like the constellation they call Parwêz (Pleiades). ⁶¹Other men, when they perform their duties and are steadfast, are like the other small stars in the sky.”

2.62 The twelfth riddle he asked, was this:

“Which is the more tasty and savory of foods?”

2.63 Jôisht î Friyân said:

“May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —

⁶⁴That is the more tasty and savory of foods which is accumulated by honest exertion and which one eats and keeps with good deeds.”

2.65 The thirteenth [to twenty-second] riddles he asked, was this:

“Which is one? Which is two? Which is three? Which is four? Which is five? Which is six? Which is seven? Which is eight? Which is nine? And which is ten?”

2.66 Jôisht î Friyân said:

“May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —

⁶⁷One is the good sun, which keeps the whole world light. ⁶⁸Two is breathing in and out. ⁶⁹Three are good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. ⁷⁰Four are water, earth, plants, and beasts. ⁷¹Five are the five epagomena.¹ ⁷²Six are the six times of the Gâhâmbârs.² ⁷³Seven are the Seven Immortals. ⁷⁴Eight are the eight ... ⁷⁵Nine are the nine openings in men’s bodies. ⁷⁶And ten are the ten fingers on men’s hands.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 The twenty-third riddle he asked, was this:

“What is colder?”

3.2 Jôisht î Friyân said:

“May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ³It is not the way you think, but the way I know. ⁴You think the snow is colder which lies on the mountain where the sun never shines on it. ⁵But it is not the way you think, for the mind of a man of the Lie is colder. ⁶And the proof

¹ The five intercalary days at the end of the year before New Year’s day.

² The seasonal festivals.

- is that you, Akht the sorcerer, have a brother who is with the Lie. ⁷And there is as much as a handful of poison in his heart, which you cannot melt, either with the sun or with fire, ⁸but when I take it in my fist, it will melt.”
- 3.9 Then Akht, the sorcerer, gave orders that his own brother should be brought and killed and the poison be taken from the heart, ¹⁰but he was not able to melt it, either with the sun or with fire. ¹¹But Jôisht î Friyân took it in his fist and melted it.
- 3.12 The twenty-fourth riddle he asked, was this:
 “What is warmer?”
- 3.13 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
¹⁴The palm of the hand of a righteous man is warmer. ¹⁵And the proof is that it was not possible to melt your brother’s poison, either with the sun or with fire, ¹⁶but when I took it in my hand, it melted.”
- 3.17 The twenty-fifth riddle he asked, was this:
 “What is better when it goes down? What is better when it is frozen? And what is better when it dies?”
- 3.18 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
¹⁹Water is better when it goes down. Fire is better when it is frozen. And a lying rogue and tyrant like you, is better when he dies. ²⁰Because, if water did not go down, and fire did not freeze, and a lying rogue and tyrant like you, did not die, ²¹then the whole world would be full of water and fire and full of lying rogues and tyrants like you, and it would not be possible to maintain the world.”
- 3.22 The twenty-sixth riddle he asked, was this:
 “What is heavier than a mountain? ²³What is sharper than a steel knife? ²⁴What is sweeter than honey? ²⁵What is fatter than a sheep’s tail? ²⁶What is more generous than the generous? ²⁷And what is straighter than the straight?”
- 3.28 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
²⁹Crookedness and falsehood are heavier (sins) than a mountain. ³⁰The tongues of men are sharper than a steel knife. ³¹A blessed child is sweeter than honey to its father and mother. ³²Spandarmad, the earth, and rain have more fat than a sheep’s tail. ³³The divine Tishtar is more generous than the generous. ³⁴Good Rashn is straighter than the straight, he who favors no one, takes no bribes, and holds a lord and a slave to be equal to one another.
- 3.35 The twenty-seventh riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which foot is the nicer and prettier? ³⁶For, of the many feet that I have seen, the nicest and prettiest feet that I have seen are those of Hufri, your sister and my wife.
- 3.37 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
³⁸Water’s feet are nicer and prettier. ³⁹And the proof is that wherever Water places her foot, moist plants will grow, ⁴⁰but where Hufri places her foot, it will be dry.”
- 3.41 The twenty-eighth riddle he asked, was this:
 “What gives women great pleasure?”
- 3.42 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ⁴³It is not the way you think, but the way I know. ⁴⁴You think that women take great pleasure in various kinds of dress and appropriate housework, when they have them. ⁴⁵But it is not so. Women take great pleasure from being with their own husbands.”
- 3.46 Akht, the sorcerer, said:

- “You lie! And by this riddle I will kill you. ⁴⁷Come along now, and let us go to Hufri, your sister and my wife. ⁴⁸She has never lied and never will, so let us go by what she says!”
- 3.49 Jôisht î Friyân agreed, and Akht the sorcerer went with Jôisht î Friyân to Hufri ⁵⁰and said: “Sit down, and explain this riddle as straight as you can.” ⁵¹Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “Is the great pleasure of women in various kinds of dress and appropriate housework, when they have them, ⁵²or is their great pleasure from being with their own husbands?”
- 3.53 Then Hufri thought:
 “This is terrible! This lying rogue and tyrant, the sorcerer, will not let me go until he kills me. ⁵⁴And if I lie, then he will kill my brother, and I will have made a liar of myself! But it is better that I speak the truth, ⁵⁵rather than make a liar of myself and have him destroy the law, the religion, and the custom. and if he kills me because I speak the truth, I shall be more righteous.”
- 3.56 And she covered her head with a veil, and said:
⁵⁷“The great pleasure of women is in various kinds of dress and appropriate housework. ⁵⁸But when these things come without intercourse, women are in pain and unhappiness, and there is no pleasure in those things, only pain and unhappiness. ⁵⁹But when these things come with intercourse, then they take greater pleasure.”
- 3.60 When, Akht, the sorcerer, heard those words, he became angry, and killed Hufri on the spot.
- 3.61 But Hufri’s soul at once went to Garôdmân, ⁶²and it cried:
 “I am good! Until now, I have been righteous, and now I am still more righteous. ⁶³Woe on you, Akht, the sorcerer! Until now, you have been with the Lie, and now you are even more so!”
- 3.64 The twenty-ninth riddle he asked, was this:
 “What is it that has ten feet, three heads, six eyes, six ears, two tails, three pair of testicles, two hands, three noses, four horns, three backs, and from which the life and preservation of the whole world comes?”
- 3.65 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ⁶⁶It says clearly in the religion that when one needs to relieve oneself and they ask a riddle, it is not the custom to explain it.”
- 3.67 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus:
 “Go and sit down somewhere close, relieve yourself, and come back quickly. Then explain the riddle as straight as you can! ⁶⁸If you lie or say you do not know, I will kill you at once.”
- 3.69 And Jôisht î Friyân went and sat over a hole, ⁷⁰and he thought in his mind: “This is terrible! This lying rogue and tyrant, the sorcerer, will not let me go until he kills me. ⁷¹Even if those who are dead come alive again, this riddle can not be solved.”
- 3.72 Then the lord Ohrmazd sent the divine Nêryôsang with a message to Jôisht î Friyân ⁷³and he said to him:
 “Give the answer of the riddle as a team of oxen with a man plowing.”
- 3.74 When Jôisht î Friyân heard the voice, but saw no one, he became doubtful ⁷⁵and he thought in his mind:
 “What if it is Ahrimen and the demons, whose only duty and wish is to kill me? ⁷⁶If I answer this riddle as I was told, then that lying rogue and tyrant will kill me.”
- 3.77 Then the divine Nêryosang approached Jôisht î Friyân ⁷⁸and said:
 “Do not be afraid! I am the divine Nêryôsang who have come to you. ⁷⁹He who is the lord Ohrmazd said: ‘Give the answer of the riddle as a team of oxen with a man plowing.’”
- 3.80 When Jôisht î Friyân heard those words, he was very pleased. ⁸¹Straightaway, he approached Akht, the sorcerer, and said:
⁸²“Hey, you lying rogue and tyrant, the answer of this riddle is a team of oxen with a man plowing.”

- 3.83 As soon as Akht, the sorcerer, heard those words, he lost consciousness and remained unconscious for three days and nights. ⁸⁴After three days and nights, he regained consciousness, and said to Jôisht î Friyân:
⁸⁵Congratulations, Jôisht î Friyân, who placed your hope in the lord Ohrmazd, whose support and help is instantaneous!
- 3.86 The thirtieth riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which horse is better?”
- 3.87 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ⁸⁸A trained male horse with a good pedigree, is good, which they can to keep together with the horses of the king.”
- 3.89 The thirty-first riddle he asked, was this:
 What is it that is dry, but does not burn, and what is it that is damp, but burns?
- 3.90 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
⁹¹Dust is dry, but does not burn, and grease is damp, but burns.”
- 3.92 The thirty-second riddle he asked, was this:
 “Which king is better?”
- 3.93 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! —
⁹⁴That king is better who shows more mercy, has good wisdom and knowledge, and brings aid to his creatures.”
- 3.95 The thirty-third riddle he asked, was this:
 “How much wealth do you have, Jôisht î Friyân?”
- 3.96 Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — ⁹⁷I have three: one is what I eat, one what I wear, and one what I give to the poor and worthy.”

CHAPTER 4.

- 4.1 Then Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “The thirty-three riddles you asked me are all truthfully solved. ²Now I ask you three riddles. If you do not answer, I will kill you on the spot.
- 4.3 And Akht, the sorcerer, said:
 “Ask, so that I may solve them!”
- 4.4 And Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “What is the value of the land (sown with) one handful of seed?
⁵The second question was: “What is the value of one ox for plowing?”
⁶And the third question was: “What is the value of the good deeds (accruing) from one next-of-kin marriage?”
- 4.7 Akht, the sorcerer, did not know (the answers) and said:
 “When one needs to relieve oneself it is not the custom to explain riddles they may ask.”
⁸Jôisht î Friyân said:
 “Go and sit down somewhere close, relieve yourself, and come back quickly. Then explain the riddle as straight as you can! ⁹If you lie or say you do not know, I will kill you at once.”
- 4.10 By sorcery, Akht, the sorcerer, rushed into hell, ¹¹and he howled to Ahrimen:

- “O accursed one! What is the value of the land (sown with) one handful of seed?”¹²Second: “What is the value of one ox for plowing?”¹³And third: “What is the value of the good deeds (accruing) from one next-of-kin marriage?”
- 4.14 The accursed Ahrimen howled to Akht, the sorcerer:
 “I cannot answer these riddles of yours.¹⁵For, if I tell (you the answers), my creatures will all depart with the male and female demons and the witches.¹⁶And I do not love you more than my own creatures.¹⁷Should I give you the answer to these riddles that you have asked me,¹⁸all my creatures will have nothing more to do, and there will be no more adversity.¹⁹Ohrmazd’s creatures will gain the upper hand(?), and the resurrection and the Last Body will occur right away.²⁰Go and take the breach of promise on your own neck, as is the custom.²¹When time has come, one cannot reverse it.²²Your place is hell, and your punishment is more severe than that of all those with the Lie.”
- 4.23 Akht, the sorcerer, rushed up from hell, without hope, and was brought, for his destruction, into the presence of Jôisht î Friyân.
²⁴And Akht, the sorcerer, said to Jôisht î Friyân: ²⁵Congratulations, O Jôisht î Friyân! Ohrmazd and the Immortals were with you. What you did not know, they told you.²⁶But I, who placed my hope in Ahrimen and the *daêwas*, asked three riddles of Ahrimen and the demons, and they gave me no answer.”
- 4.27 Then, on the spot, Jôisht î Friyân incapacitated Akht, the sorcerer, with the knife for gathering *barsom* and a spell from the religion, and also incapacitated the Lie in his body.
- 5.1 Whoever connects this story and reads all of it and says one *Yatâ-ahû-wêryô* at the end, his soul will have gained as much good work as if he were to kill a snake with a spell from the Avesta.³His soul will have gained as much *ahu* as when he performs *yasnas* and recites *Gâthâs* for three years.
⁴There was a Dastur who said: (As much) *ahu* (as for) one year, (and) no sin for not having performed *yasnas* accrues to him.
- 5.5 Completed in health, pleasure, and joy.
- 5.6 May Akht, the sorcerer, be smitten with all the male and female demons, sorcerers, and witches!
- 6.1 Completed and brought to completion is this book of Jôisht î Friyân together with this *Ardâ Wirâz*, on the day of Amurdad, month of Shahrewar, in the Parsi year 618 [= 18 July 1249 C.E.].
- 6.2 I, the servant of the religion, Rustom son of Mihrbân, son of Marzbân, son of Dahishnayâr, the hêrbad, wrote it from the manuscript of Hêrbad Mihrpanâh, son of Srôshyâr, hêrbad of Nîshâpûr.³May it please the gods!
- 6.4 Completed and brought to completion is this *Ardâ Wirâz* and this book of Jôisht î Friyân, on the day of Frawardîn, the month Vohuman, in the year 766 of Yazdegird [= 20 November 1397 C.E.], king of kings, son of Ohrmazd.
- 6.5 I, the servant of the religion, the hêrbad’s son, the teacher Pishyôtan, son of Râm, son of Kâmdîn, son of Shahriyâr, son of Nêryôsang, son of Shâhmard son of Shahriyâr, son of Bahrâm, son of the Môbad Ohrmazdyâr, son of the Hêrbad Râmyâr, wrote it from the manuscript of Hêrbad Rustam, son of Mihrbân.⁶May it please the gods!
 From the city of Bhroch.