

## Denkard VI and Status of Sassanid Kings

Mehrangiz Kiani Haft Lang

PhD candidate in the field of Ancient Culture Languages at the Science and Research Branch of Islamic Azad University .Tehran, Iran

---

### ABSTRACT

The sixth book of denkard contains a lot of advices that promise people future prosperity with justifying good and evil. Although, none of the Sassanid kings are explicitly addressed in the book, some sayings imply to the circumstances of sassanian dynasty in different periods. Advices in denkard VI are mainly quoted by early sages (Poryōtkēšān) and some topics raised in advices are considered as a guide for people and rulers in material and spiritual life. In this article it will be tried to present a detailed discussion on religion, consultation, wisdom, moderation, heresy, dervishes and contentment in sassanid period based on denkard VI.

**KEYWORDS:** people, religion, world, good, evil.

---

### INTRODUCTION

Advices in denkard VI mostly quoted worldview and beliefs of ancient sages for improvement of society. In fact, they expressed their ideas and experiences in form of advice for guidance or warning of people. What kings said upon their accession to the throne, or on departing the material world could also be regarded as advice. Some rulers tended to record their opinions even on their personal accessories in order to dominate their will over people. Xšaθra Vaīrya signifies a favorable reign that is based on the God's will, heeds the poor and overcomes the evil. According to gahanic concept, people demanded rulers who were symbol of ideal monarchy:

“Let good rulers assume rule, do not let bad rulers assume rule over us” [1]

On the basis of an old belief, good kingdom was along with religion and justice [2] and Ohrmazd's satisfaction was resulted from satisfaction of the mass of people.[3] Hence, rise and fall of sassanid dynasty in Estakhr temple could be a sign of religion influence on rulership which continued during 420 years of their kingdom. Looking deep into the past events, some of the advices in denkard VI in relation with the incidents of sassanid period will be surveyed under the following topics: religion, consultation, wisdom, moderation, heresy, dervishes, and contentment.

#### Religion (dēn)

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku farrox ō mard ke pad rāh ī šāh rawēd ce ka-z abēr nihānīhā rawēd ēg ez pad zamān ō xān rasēd ud duš-farrog awe mard ke pad rāh ī abē-rāh rawēd , cē cand tuxšāgītha-tar ēg ō xān dūr-tar ud rāh ī šāh dēn ud wahišt. [4]

As it is mentioned, religion's path and king's path are defined as the route leading people to paradise. The Mazdyasnan religion was considered as the twin brother of the kingdom and Ardeshir stabilized and spread its rituals, though, he was lucky to have Tansar(Tosar) as his chief priest, an efficient man whose duty was Ardeshir propagandist [5].

Restorations or innovations done by Ardeshir were such as: establishment of a single canon of avesten texts, creation of a single zoroastrian church under direct authorization and control of Persia, calendar changes, campaign against images and founding more sacred fires. [6] Obviously, as a king Ardeshir believed in political and religious dominance and so did he recommended to his subsequent rulers. He was well aware of the fact that separation of religion and ruler ship was not the kings interest and it would likely result in social movements. Thus, in order to strengthen and extend his empire, he took advantage of religion. In military dimension by remarkable victories, Ardeshir stabilized his position as a powerful ruler. However, late in his life, he proceeded to worship in a fire-temple[7] and gave over the throne to his crown prince, Shapur. His retirement, leaning toward gnostic life and his political advices about country administration ascertain his deep thinking and insight. In this respect, Ardeshir acquired a special place among the kings as a good paradigm.

At the beginning, Shapur declared his loyalty to Ardeshir principles and Mazdyasnan religion[8]but before long, he was absorbed by Mani's speech, was after him more than ten years and forced people to follow Mani, too.[9] Mani's new ideas caused Shapur to doubt about his own faith, but zoroastrian priests humiliated Mani by naming him" the portrait worshiper".[10] That was probably a

---

\*Corresponding Author: Mehrangiz Kiani Haft Lang, PhD candidate in the field of Ancient Culture Languages at the Science and Research Branch of Islamic Azad University .Tehran, Iran

sarcastic allusion to Ardeshir's campaign against images in temples which were then replaced by fires. However, Shapur liked universality of Mani's religion and permitted him to travel anywhere within the country for preaching. Furthermore, Mani took advantage of Shapur's expedition to Rome and propagated his religion by his envoys (Adda&Pattag) in Rome. In this way, many Romans became his followers and Manichaeism advanced in Rome, too.

1-šwd hynd 'w hrwm dyd ws hmwg phyk'r 'b'g dyn'n prhyd wcydg'n 'wd nywš'g'n wcyd.....2-  
'd' pd 'wyn šhr'n ws rnz bwrđ nš'st ws m'nyst'n'n.....wpr'yhyst dyn'y prystg pd hrwm.[11]

Though, history showed that Mani's religion could not succeed in Rome for a long time. Later, Diocletian in a edict against the sects dated (302 AD), called Manichaeism a new sect in opposition to their older creeds which disturbed tranquility of Romans by its damnable customs like poison of a malignant serpent which was initiated from their enemy, Persians and perpetrated evil deeds in the society.[12]

u-šan ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez nēst ke ēn dēn petyārag-tar hēnd ce'ōn hān ī ahlamōg, ce jud az hān ahlamōgān kas-ez petyārag nēst ke tar ī parisp ast ke be-z ō dēn be-tom andar tawān āmadan awe ī ahlamōg pad nām ī mānsar-barīh tar ī parisp ī be-tom andar āyēd, ast ke be-z ō dēn xwadīh ud nazdīh rasēd.

u-šan ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku frēhbūd ud sāstarīh petyārag ī dehbadān abēbūd ud ahlamōgīh petyārag ī āhrōnān [13]

According to the above, Mani was a heretic, the enemy of clergymen, who overcame the traditional religion by attacking it. If we assume outer wall, the king (religion protector), then it was the power of Mani's doctrine and his attractive words that influenced on Shapur and deviated him from the religious path.

#### Consultation (hampursagīh)

Emphasis on consultation in denkard VI could be considered as an obstacle against the tyranny and autocracy of kings especially when good people were consulted. On the other hand, consultation was manifestation of immortality and activity, symbol of which was Amešā Spentā Amordād. It also involved gods' satisfaction:

u-šan ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pahlom ciš ham-pursagīh ī wehān cē ham-pursagīh ī wehān šnāyīšn ī yazadān.

.....dād amurdād ham-pursagīh ud paymānīgīh

u-šan ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tarsagīh ī yazdān ēd bawēd ke ne hān ī kōdag ud ne hān ī wuzurg ciš jud az ham-pursagīh ī wehān ne kunēd.[14]

Consultation of Ohrmazd with Zarthusht and Yima was of great importance.[15]

Suppression of Arabs, conflicts with Romans, reaction of Iranian Christians to declaration of Christianity in Rome and remainders of Manichaeans made it difficult for Shapur II to bring everything under his control. Doubt (Gumānīg) about country religion grew in society and lack of a powerful religious leader led to confusion and disputes.[16] However, Shapur II clearly expressed his opposition with Christians and put them to torture.[17] Then, the young king coordinated his power and intelligence with experiences of the sages and clergymen through consultation. To remove any doubt regarding legitimacy of Mazdayasnan religion, a prominent priest named Adurbad Mahrspand accepted to be examined by undergoing molten metal on his chest (hot var) after which he was proud without any pain and hence, people became doubtless about the pure religion. [18] It is worthy of mention that Adurbad submitted himself to such an ordeal as he believed in erosion of body and eternity of soul:

Ādurbād ēn-ez guft ku .....ku-m anāgīh-ē ō tan ī frasāwand mad ne ō ruwān ī hamēyig.

u-šan ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku farrox mard ruwān pahrēzēd, duš-farrog ne ruwān [be] tan pahrēzēd.[19]

His religious protection on the basis of intellect and knowledge made the worldly pain easy for him since the body was assumed as the shield of religion [20]. The concept of human origin and destiny was a continual question mentally preoccupied people and made them concerned about their religious rituals. Actually, they wished to know whether they were behaving as a man or demon and where their deeds would guide them to, heaven or hell? And who they were after good ones or evil ones?

u-šan ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw mardom ēn 5 ciš xwēškārīh ud ke nē dānēd ērangīhā ēwag ēn ku cē hēm, mardom hēm ayāb dēw ud ēwag ēn ku az ku mad hēm, az garōdmān ayāb az dušaxw ud ēwag ēn ku aber cē ēstēm abar ciš yazdān ayāb abar ciš dēwān ud ēwag ēn ku pas ī ke hēm pas ī wehān ayāb pas ī watarān ud ēwag ēn ku abāz ō šawēm abāz ō wahišt šawēm ayāb abāz ō dušaxw šawēm. [21]

It is evident that conflict of good and evil motivated people for the final judgment and since the spiritual world was regarded as the judgment place for worldly deeds, after consulting, the clergymen decided to send a pious man (Viraz) to the other world so as to dispel doubts and suspicious in the society. At that time doubt was a major concern, therefore, such decisions seemed inevitable for preserving the national religion and the sacred book (Avesta). The result of Viraz's spiritual trip and his observations of compensation and punishment in Heaven and Hell was a message from Ohrmazd to people telling them to follow the way of ancient sages (Poryōtkēšān) which was the way of piety and the correct law and avoid the incorrect law [22] However, among people, ancient sages (Poryōtkēšān) were introduced as master, teacher and lord, on the other hand, people were recommended to follow and obey them. [23]

The way of ancient sages was innocence meaning adherence to the God's law and avoidance of demons' law.[24] Two ways and two laws implicitly refer to Ohrmazd's and Ahriman's. Ahriman that left people in despair with his evils and mortality, whereas Ohrmazd was source of goodness, hope and vitality.[25]

Viraz' account of his trip to Heaven and Hell provided detailed evidence of how the virtues and vices were judged. Since human beings were free to choose any of the two ways, [26] so, after realizing the fair judgement of the worldly deeds, they could arbitrarily determine their destiny as they were responsible for what they did in the everyday life. Obviously, policy of Shapur II in consulting with Adurbad and other clerics saved the country from crisis and alliance of religion and state was resumed.

### Wisdom (xrad)

“Ohrmazd created good government to protect creatures, whereas Ahriman created bad power to oppose good power.....” [27]

Rule and power are inseparable parts often lead to despotism. Tyrannous behavior of Yazdgird I spread terror among people and they wished to get rid of him. Disregarding various classes of society and making snap judgements drove Yazdgird to corruption. He demanded people's properties with pressure and put them in poverty. [28] Yazdgird punished people violently, so no one was left for him and zoroastrian priests were suffering from his behavior. Though, in a good rulership the emphasis is on recognizing, preserving and rewarding the good ones and reproaching, uprooting and punishing the bad ones:

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mehān ud padexšāyān ciš ī pahlom, ēn-ez ēdōn dārišn wēhān ud a-rōyišn ī wattarān kardan.

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku .....xrad abzār ēd bawēd dārišn ud tarsāgīh ī wehān.  
u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku.....xrad kār ēd wizīdārīh kardan ud weh ud wattar šnāxtan ud hān ī weh kardan ud hān ī wattar hištan.[29]

Yazdgird's tolerance and negligence of religious minorities' concerned zoroastrians, on the other hand, as his wife (Bahram's mother) was jew, [30] he took the jews side and apparently some priests were agreeable with him:

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān ī yahūd ēwāz yahūdīh ud abārīg ag-dēn ēwāz ag-dēnīh rāy druwand ne bawēnd. [31]

In denkard VI , it seems to be no exemption from the sin of offending people as contamination of people's corpse is considered cleaner than pollution caused by the sin of annoying people:

Az āzār ud bēš ī pad kasān kardan dūr-tar pahrēz ku az nasāh ī mardom, cē ālūdāgīh ud rīmanīh ī ō tan rasēd šustan ud pāk kardan xwār-tar šāyēd ku hān ī ō ruwān rasēd ī pad padīdīgīh ud puhl ud pazd ī garān ud dušwār ēnyā šustan ud pak kardan ne šāyēd. [32]

Yazdgird was a hard-tempered, cruel, immoral, harmful and profitless king [33] who annoyed people with his bad intellect.[34] According to old texts, wisdom is manifestation of right selection, foresight and fair judgement, [35] all which was neglected by Yazdgird due to lack of wisdom. Anyway, people were desirous to get rid of him, while his sudden and suspicious death (falling down the horse) released people from the torment of the tyrant king.[36] And following statement by Ibn-Miskawayhi could be applied to Yazdgird I:

“.....and it deserves kings and rulers understand that they don't have sublime power, so people can discover their faults and criticize their deeds.” [37]

**Moderation (paymān)**

Learning from father's mistakes, Bahram chose a different policy in governing the country. Due to his childhood training under Arabs, Bahram was much interested in music and poetry. Therefore, he persuaded people to enjoy themselves and live in pleasure at the expense of king's treasure.[38] Though, lack of moderation in country affairs caused shortage in industry, agriculture and trade. In addition, overflowing attention to hunting and music kept him away from moderation. By changing the place of mistrels in the society, Bahram disturbed the social classification established by Ardeshir and created disorder in society.

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wināh mādiyān frēhbūd ud abēbūd ud kirbag mādiyān paymān.

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn paymān.

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ciš an-āhōgīh paymān. ud az en dēn a'ōn paydāg ku mahist paymān kirbag ud paymān ēn humat hūxt huwaršt. [39]

The zoroastrian religion was based on moderation and avoiding sin which was defined as good thinking, good speaking and good acting. These were probably the best principles to preserve rulers from deviation and prevent them from committing sin. Bahram didn't hurt people as his father did, but he was not moderate in ruling either. He came out of balance and fell into extremes that destined him a suspicious death (falling down into a swamp), too.

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku rāh ī ō garōdmān dēn paymān. ud ka ohrmazd hān rāh wirāst, ēg-eš ahreman 2 rāh abāg frāz nihād, ēwag frēhbūd ud ēwag abēbūd, u-š ēn harw tā ō tam wirāst ud az hān wēš ne tawān wirāstan. [40]

The above mention to dark and Ahriman path implies an evolutionary dead end path that is resulted by deviation from moderation. However, like other kings, Bahram's deed was originated from the moral principles upheld by him and this sentence was on his ring: "by action, they make splits large." [41]

**Heresy (ahlamōgīh)**

When Ardeshir established his government on the alliance of religion and kingdom and organized the social classification [42] clergymen who were already in charge of arbitration, increased their influence in ruling more than before. However, in different periods, sassanid kings were dissatisfied with their intervention and tended to reduce their power particularly if they accessed the throne in childhood or adolescence, because in that case, their intervention was inevitable. Kavad began his reign in his youth [43] while the country was about to collapse. Drought, unsuccessful wars and heavy tribute, fanatical priests, unstable economical and social conditions, intense class differences and high taxes, little by little, spread discontent among people and after a few years [44] Mazdak could absorb the poor with his slogans in connection with justice and social welfare. Mazdak deceived young Kavad and misled him. So, he ordered the abolition of the Mazdyasnan religion [45] and this was not the first deceit as other humans were already deceived, too. [46] Ohrmazd was the only one who neither deceived nor was deceived. [47] Kavad accepted Mazdak's religion and placed him beside himself against the priests [48] and Mazdak provoked their anger by distorting the religious rules and from their point of view, he was a great heretic rising up against the traditional religion.

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku.....ast az-eš ke hān ī frārōn frahang pad abārōnīh ō kār barēnd ce'ōn ahlamōgān ōšmarišn ī dēn.[49]

According to denkard VI heresy was one of the manifestations of Ahriman which absorbed and seduced people:

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka ahreman az ēn 4 rang ēwag abar abganēd ēg-eš be ō xwēš barēd. Xwadāy-dēnīh ayāb xwāstag-dēnīh ayāb pazībāgīh ayāb ahlamōgīh [50].

According to Saalebi, as a heretic, Mazdak personified a satan with charming appearance and unpleasant mind that approached Kavad with plenty of tricks and enchanted him with his words. [51] Mazdak's creed was based on nullifying the personal ownership and wife sharing and with these slogans; he instigated the poor to rise up against the kingdom.

### **Dervishes (driyōših)**

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku driyōših ēd bawēd ke tawān xwāstag ī gētīg rāy tan padēxw ud bowandag, ud ox az-ēz āhangīg menišnīg pad-ēs hundand, ud tund ne andar bawēd, ud andar awe ī cašmag tawānīg ne tar-menišn be a'ōn kunēd ku abāg cašmagih ud tawānigih ī awe driyōših ī man pas-ez hān ham ku an hēm. [52]

According to denkardVI, dervish-like means satisfaction with worldly conditions and enjoying spiritual peace. A dervish considered himself as a part of the rich, in other words, they were like warp and woop. [53] Though, the role of dervishes in society was to find a way to heaven by contempt of the rich and enduring the earthly disasters with consent:

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku agar driyōšān ēn ciš-ē be wirāyēnd tar-menišnih andar mehān tawānigān ēg pad satō-zem-ē ēwag ō dušaxw ne rasēnd. [54]

It seems that this advice was due to the point that seeing the rich, would remind the poor their deficiencies.[55] It is noteworthy that in the religious texts, Ohrmazd's emphasized on supporting dervishes. [56] So, helping and housing the dervishes was equated with defeating the demons.[57] Mazdak took advantage of conditions and gathered the poor around him. After a while, the defect of his doctrine especially questioning the family base was evident.[58] At first, people didn't realize what Mazdak actually meant due to the hatred the poor always had to the rich, but eventually they found out sharing wives was something beyond fair distribution of wealth. However, Kavad didn't lose any money and any of his wives in that period. A point that deserves mention here is that for the kings justice had a different significance since they considered wealth as their indisputable right. Kavad believed that wealth would make him powerful as it increased his justice, mercy and forgiveness toward people and authority over enemies.[59] In order to settle the unfavorable situation caused by Mazdak's revolt, Khusro who was initially against him, arranged a debate in attendance of clergymen and Mazdak which ended with Madak's defeat.[60] As a matter of fact, zoroastrian priests mostly felt responsible for the traditional religion and as Kartir pointed out they found it their duty to fight heresy.[61] Most of the time, in Sassanian empire, debate was ultimate solution to dispel the religious doubts and clergymen, winners of the debate had the potency to save kingdom, people and religion from heresy in certain periods. However, Kavad who was not pleased with their intervention at the beginning of his reign, in the end, he inclined to support religious values and consequently, dervishes were subject to his generosity, too. [62]

### **Contentment (hunsandih)**

Khusro Anushirvan, the king of steel period, [63] after strengthening his reign, along with the clergymen, he stabilized the national religion and prohibited the disputes and controversy among religions.[64] He proceeded to justice and reforms, developed the foreign relations, encouraged people to defend the country,[65] obtain knowledge and avoid ignorance.[66] The remaining books (Ahde-Anushirvan, Andarze-Khusro Ghobadan, Karnameh) divulge his interest in moral, social and political advices. Also, it is said that Khusro had a gilt tablecloth on which his advice concerning feeding the poor was written. The phrases on the Khusro's ring such as contemplation, hope and justice showed his point of view just like advices written on his crown that on the audience day, the court harbinger called people to follow them.[67] According to Tabari, Khusro sat in his terrace where the crown was like a large dish adorned with ruby, emerald gold and silver hung to ceiling with a golden chain as his neck could not tolerate its weight.[68] The noteworthy point is that Khusro on his crown, the symbol of his power guided people. He probably intended to demonstrate both his power and his knowledge. He also wished to draw people's attention to head of the country, rulership and the king's thoughts and ideas

And on his death, he conveyed the other beliefs to people. Khusro Anushirvan advised people to avoid guilt, endeavour to right deed and hold in contempt the mundane affairs. He warned them of corruption of his body which death would destroy its glory and splendor and everyone should avoid touching it due to contamination.[69] In ancient times death was equated with pollution of human's body, hence, people avoided the corpse so as not to be contaminated:

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku har mardom ka murd ēstēd a-s xwēš-tan az-eš pahrēz jahēd ku tā-š pad-eš ne paykābēm ud rīman ne bawēm. ud ka-š pad-eš paykābēd xwēš-tan pad rīman dārēd ud zindag-ez mardom az āzār ud bēš ī awe did mardom a'ōn be pahrēzišn ce'ōn pad murd az nasāh ī awe mard. [70]

According to religious beliefs, the impurity of corpse was so much that even after the burial, ground was polluted up for fifty years and farming in it was banned for one year [71] and people touching the corpse had to clean themselves pursuant to the religious rules.[72] Since ceremonious

purification was mentioned in avesta more than any other subject, it is understood that it had great importance. However, if the ceremonious purification (baršnum) was not performed, then, water, fire, sheep, plant, pious man and all Ohrmazd creatures would be annoyed, diminished and disturbed.[73] In addition to body corruption, khusrow Anushirvan advised people to keep in mind contentment and to be satisfied with calamities. In this way, he believed people would be released from demanding while their resistance would increase in confronting the misfortunes:

Gōwēnd ku xusrō ī anōšag-ruwān guft ku ēn 3 wāzag wāzag xwadāyān ud pādexšāyān ud tawānīgān ud abārīg-ez harw kas be šnāxtan-----ewag frasāwandīh be šnāxtan ud ēwag ērmenišnīh, ud ēwag hunsandīh.-----ud pad hunsandīh kas-s anāgīh-ē pad hān ēwēnag aweš rasēd ī cārag xwāstan ne šāyēd kāmagīhā pad-eš hunsand bawēd ud wad dōgānag be ne kunēd, ēwag hān ī az anagīh ī frāz rasēd ud ēwag hān ī az a-hunsandīh [74]

It was probably pursuant to this idea that Khusro observed Mazdak's religion as destroyer of social class differences [75] that would eliminate contentment from the poor. So, he suppressed it. Indeed, from his statements it is understood that resistance against hardships was regarded as a religious value, a challenge with demons as it is said in denkard VI:

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hu-pattōg bawēd pad astānag ud škeftīh ī aweš rasēd, ce abēastānag mard dēwān-xweš bawēd. [76]

In comparison with some other kings such as Bahram Goore and Khusro Parviz who were pleasure-seeking men, Khusro Anushirvan had a different point of view revealed in his personal and social behavior. His gnostic words pertaining transitory world and humiliation of wealth on his death time, indicated his inner change and profound thinking about mortal and immortal life. He expressed his opinions to guide and warn people and to promote piety and sublime spirituality. The memory of Mazdak's revolt and people's attempt to access the place of affluent class likely influenced Khusro on his last moments.

Khusro Parviz was the prominent evidence of greed and mammonism. In contrast to his grandfather (Anushirvan), he was not much concerned about after life world and he always tried to enjoy the life pleasures. He was so proud of his deed that he showed his general view on his rings as follows: "satisfaction and prosperity", "wealth brings happiness" [77]

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke xwadāyīh ud xwāstag xwāhēd ud aweš rasēd ud andar sūd ud nēwagīh ī mardomān dārēd hān yazdān andar gēhān pādexšāy kunēnd ud ke pad driyōšīh ud hugārīh ul ēstēd ud pad-eš rāmīšn hān yazdān ō gēhān āstēnēd. [78]

On this basis, stability and durability of wealth and authority was equated with people's benefit and goodness and this was disregarded by Khusro Parviz as people were in hard condition due to enormous expenses of his court and pressure of heavy taxes. In accordance with religious concept, reliance on earthly properties could not maintain preservation and permanence of kings' authority and splendor as it happened to Yima. Abundant wealth made Yima selfish and proud, annihilated his power, people rose up against him, he lost God's mercy and faced many disasters.[79]

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad xīr ī gētīg wēšīgān wistāx ud niruzd ne bawīšn ce xīr ī gētīg kas-ez bawandag-tar ne bawēd ku yim ud yim-ez harw rōz ī raft kam būd ud abdom hāmōyēn xīr ī gētīg az-eš abar ud abastān ēwāz ō rūwān būd. [80]

However, the sovereignty of Khusro Parviz diminished because of greed and autocracy and since then the decline of Sassanian dynasty began.

## Conclusion

In different periods, advices were reflection of sages' view of the events and individuals in their environment and due to their political position, kings were at the center of attention. Whether advices were influential or not, doesn't lessen their value as they are part of the official literature and include all segments and classes. Emphasis on heavenly thought kept people and rulers away from mundane dependencies and actuated them to moderation. Advices were mainly to confirm the notion of Heaven, Hell and the final judgement among people and guide them to goodness while badness, greed and avidity was taken away from them:

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku-----ud kirbag pādāšn az mēnōgān xwāstan----

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kadāmjan-ez mardom andar harw gāh ud zamān ciš ī mēnōg pad ayād dārišn nēwagīh wahišt ud anāgīh ī dušaxw-----

u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku-----hunarmandīh ēd pahlom ke abāg druz ī mēnōg kōšēd, kadām-jān-ez druz, nāmcišt ēn 5 druz andar ō tan ne helēd az ud arešk ud waran ud xešm ud nang--  
--[81]

It is essential to note that taking advantage of historical experiences sometimes prevented rulers from repeating the mistakes. For instance, Bahram Goore was well instructed by Yazdgird's bad actions, by the same token, religious leaders knowing the Mani's story discharged Kavad and tried to suppress Mazdak. About heresy, it is supposed in some periods, lack of coordination between the king and clerics and their intervention in rulership was a reason for the king to give up protecting the official religion. Second, attractions of the new creed that approached the king and impressed him a lot (Mani dedicated his book "Shapurgan" to Shapur I) and third, the rituals stressed by the fanatic priests, also king's weak beliefs in the ancestral religion were some reasons for outbreak of heresy in different periods. By and large, excessive wealth and luxurious life mostly created a gap between kings and their people, therefore they couldn't understand the conditions of the deprived groups and deviated from the right path. However, time is the best and most explicit instructor that always teaches human beings a new lesson and kings are not excluded from this rule.

#### REFERENCES

- 1- Pouredavoud, E., 2005, *Gathas*, Asaatir Publication, Tehran, yasna 48.5; Humbach, H., 1991, *The Gathas of Zarthushtra & the older texts*, Part I Heidelberg, Carl Winter University, yasna 48.5
- 2- Pouredavoud, E., 1998, *Introduction to the Yashts*, Asaatir Publication, Tehran, Hormazd Yasht 13
- 3- Rashed Mohassel, M.T., 1987, *Gozidehayeh Zadespram*, translation and edition, Institute of cultural studies & research, Tehran, part 1, No.18
- 4- Shaked, Shaul, 1979, *The Wisdom of the Sassanian Sages (Denkard VI) Aturpat-I-Emetan*, Translation, Westview Press Boulder, Colorado, No.173
- 5- Boyce, M., 2001, *Zoroastrian: Their beliefs & practices*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis group, p.103
- 6- Ibid., p.104, 108
- 7- Masoudi, A. 1986, *Morouj-al-zahab vol.I*, translated by A. Payandeh, Elmi & Farhangi Publication, Tehran, p.242
- 8- Nyberg, H.S., 1964, *A manual of Pahlavi vol.I-II*, Wiesbaden, p.123; Sprengling, M., 1953, *Third century Iran Sapor Kartir*, *Oriens Ins.* UN.Chicago, p.7; Herzfeld, 1924, 96
- 9- Yaaghoubi, A., 1977, *Tarikh-e-Yaaghoubi vol.I*, translated by M.E. Ayati, Bongah tarjomeh va nashr e Ketab, Tehran, pp.195-7
- 10- Ferdowsi, A. 2007, *Shahnameh*, edited by H. Saeedian, Nashre Ghatreh, Tehran, p.919
- 11- Boyce, M., 1976, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, *Acta Iranica* #9, *biblioteque Pahlavi*, Tehran, Liege, pp.39-40(h,1-2)
- 12- Lieu, Samuel N.C & Lain Gardner, 2004, *Manichaean texts from the Roman empire*, Cambridge University Press, pp.116-118
- 13- Denkard VI, 216, 245
- 14- Denkard VI, 262, 114, 251
- 15- Razi, H., 1997, *Vendidad*, (translated from Pahlavi), Entesharate Fekre Rooz, Tehran, *Vendidad II*, No. 1-3
- 16- Gignoux, Philip., 2003 *Le livre d'Ardaviraz*, (translated from Pahlavi), Jaleh Amouzegar, Institute Francais de Recherche en Iran, Editions Moin, pp 42-43 part 1, 8, 9, 11
- 17- *Shahnameh*, 918

- 18- Ardaviraz, pp.42-43
- 19- Denkard VI, D7b, 207
- 20- Zadesprn, 27,14 ; Oryan, Saeed,1992, Pahlavi Texts, National Library of Iran, Tehran, p.106 No.105
- 21-
- 22- Denkard VI, 298
- 23- Ardaviraz, p.96, part 101 No.7-10
- 24- Dhabar,E.B.N., 1912, Namakiha Manushchihr, Bombay, Letter 3 No.16
- 25- Denkard VI, 8
- 26- Yasna 30, 4,6
- 27- Yasna 30, 3,4,5
- 28- Tafazzoli, Ahmad, Minu ye Xrad, 2000, edited by Jaleh Amouzegar, Toos publication, Tehran, p.36 question 14
- 29- Gardizi, A. 1968, Zein al Akhbar, edited by A. Habibi, Bonyad Farhang Iran publication, Tehran, p.26
- 30- Denkard VI, 118,115,64
- 31- Oryan, p. 68, No.47
- 32- Denkard VI, 321
- 33- Denkard VI, E31b
- 34- Yaaghoubi, p.199
- 35- Yasna 48, 10
- 36- Denkard VI. 199
- 37- Gardizi, p.27
- 38- Ibn-Miskawayhi, A., 1976, Jawidan Xrad, translated by T. Shoostari, Institute of Islamic Studies MacGill University, Toos publication, Tehran,p.86
- 39- Gardizi, p.27
- 40- Denkard VI, 38,39,40
- 41- Denkard VI, 172
- 42- Masoudi, p.256
- 43- Ibid. pp.240-41
- 44- Kavad accessed the throne at 15 years old See, Denvari,A., 2002, Akhbaraltavaal, translated by Mahdavi Damghani, Nay Publication, Tehran, p.93; Shahnameh, p.1026
- 45- Mazdak rose up ten years after Kavad's accession. See, Denvari, p.94
- 46- Bahaar, Mehrdad, 2006, Bundahishn, Toos Publication, Tehran, part 18 No.215
- 47- It refers to deceit of Adam by Eve and Eve by Serpent(devil) See,Hedayat, Sadegh, 1943, Shegandumanig vicar(Mardan Farrokh), translation, Majles Publication, Tehran, chap.13 No 22,34,36
- 48- Hormazd Yasht 14
- 49- Shaahnameh, p.1032
- 50- Denkard VI, 68
- 51- Denkard VI, 47



- 52- Saalebi, A., 2006, *Shaahnameh Saalebi about persian rulers*, translated by M. Hedayat, Majles Publication, Tehran, p.86
- 53- Denkard VI, 143
- 54- *Shaahnameh*, p.1032
- 55- Denkard VI, 147
- 56- Saadi, M., 2001, *Boostan*, edited by M.A. Foroughi, Eghbal Publication, Tehran, p.199
- 57- *Zadesprm*, part 1 No.18
- 58- Rashed Mohassel, 2002, *Srosh Yasn*, translation, Institute for Humanities&Cultural Studies, Tehran, part 5 No.70
- 59- *Shaahnameh*, p.1034
- 60- Ibn Miskawayhi, p.81
- 61- *Revaayaat-e-Darabhormazdyar*, 1922, Vol.II, edited by Modi, Bombay,p.87
- 62- Sprengling, 1953, pp.37-64, (*Kabay-I-Zardusht Inscription*, line 10)
- 63- *Shaahnameh*, p.1035
- 64- Rashed Mohassel, 2006, *Zand-e Bahman Yasn* (edited and translated), Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, Tehran, part 1 No.10
- 65- Masoudi, p.258
- 66- *Shaahnameh*, pp.1044-45
- 67- Anushirvan ordered his learned men to bring the book from India and have it translated to Pahlavi. See, Gharib, A., 2006, *Kalileh Dimneh*, translated by N. Monshi, edited by Danesh Pazoh, Hirmand Publication, Tehran, pp.36-40
- 68- Mostowfi, H., 2002, *Tarikh e Gozideh*, edited by A. Navaee, AmirKabir publication, Tehran, p.118
- 69- Tabari, M., 2006, *Tarikh e Tabari*, translated by A. Payandeh, Asatir publication, Tehran, p.689
- 70- *Oryan*, p.98 No.1
- 71- Denkard VI, 52
- 72- Darmesteter, James, 2003, *Zoroastrian rules or Vendidad*, translated by Mosa Javan, Donyaye Ketab Publication, Tehran, pp.152-3
- 73- *Vendidad* 8 No.35-70
- 74- Dhabar, Letter 1, chapter 4 No.2
- 75- Denkard VI, D4
- 76- *Shaahnameh*, p.1034
- 77- Denkard VI, 73
- 78- Masoudi, p.272
- 79- Denkard VI, 156
- 80- Saalebi, p.8 ; *Zamyad Yasht* 6 No.34
- 81- Denkard VI, 152
- 82- Denkard VI, 13,16,23