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INDO-IRANIAN SERIES

EDITED BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Volume Twelve

ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES

BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

A complete list of the volumes in this series
will be found at the end of this volume

ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES

THE IRANIAN RELIGION AND VARIOUS MONOGRAPHS

BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
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TO MY FRIENDS

DOCTOR AND MRS. FREDERIC S. LEE

AS A TOKEN OF MY SINCERE REGARD
AND IN APPRECIATION OF THEIR INTEREST
IN INDO-IRANIAN SUBJECTS

PREFACE

This volume of studies represents researches spread over a period of many years, the preparation of the separate monographs having often been interrupted by other demands which had to take the precedence. Several of the studies have already appeared, but in another form.

Part I, on the Iranian Religion, now makes available for the first time the original English text that was translated into German by my former student, now colleague, Professor Arthur F. J. Remy, in order to form the somewhat elaborate section published as 'Die iranische Religion' in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 612–708, Strassburg, 1903; but my original copy has since then undergone so many alterations, or has been expanded by so many additions (generally indicated by enclosure in square brackets), that this part may be regarded in large measure as a new contribution. Part II, on the Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Freedom of the Will, has never before been published. Part III, Miscellaneous Zoroastrian Studies, is likewise entirely new, except the last two sections, which have been revised and in some respects enlarged.

The final work upon the book has occupied much time since my return, in the summer of 1926, from a seventh journey to the Orient for purposes of scholarly research. During my absence, Dr. George C. O. Haas, sometime Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, kindly and skilfully put in shape a considerable portion of my original manuscript of the Iranian Religion, so that I found eight chapters in galley proof waiting to greet me on coming back from the East. I wish to express my appreciative thanks for the assistance which he so generously rendered.

I was then able to take up the matter of preparing for press the rest of the manuscript of Part I, besides making some addi-

tions or changes in those galleys which had been set up. In this task, extending in fact to the end of the book, besides help with proofreading, valuable suggestions, and advice, I had the constant and untiring aid of my two associates in the Indo-Iranian Department, Dr. Louis H. Gray, Professor of Oriental Languages, and Dr. Charles J. Ogden, Lecturer in Indo-Iranian Languages, both of whom had formerly been pupils of mine. To each of them I am more indebted than I can here express. They know, however, my gratitude. A special acknowledgment is due also to Mrs. L. H. Gray, who compiled the elaborate index to this work; those who may have occasion to consult the book will share in this appreciation.

It had first been suggested by some of my Parsi friends that a part of these studies might appear earlier in a learned periodical printed in Bombay, but they generously yielded to my wish to wait until all could be published together as a volume of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series. This might not have been so soon possible except for the special interest and encouragement shown by two of my Columbia friends, whose names grace the dedication page that adorns this volume and to which I refer with peculiar pleasure.

There is one other name which I wish to mention. It is that of my wife, who accompanied me on my last three journeys in the Land of the Dawn, often amid hardships, and has ever been my source of inspiration and my helpful adviser. To her I may add in Shakespeare's words:

'I can no other answer make but thanks,
And thanks, and ever thanks.'

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
May 1, 1928.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AF.	*Arische Forschungen* (Bartholomae).
Āfr.	Āfrīngān.
A. H.	(*Anno Hegirae*), Muhammadan era.
AirWb.	*Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Bartholomae).
AJP.	*American Journal of Philology.*
AJSL.	*American Journal of Semitic Languages.*
Aog.	Aogemadaēchā.
Av.	Avesta, Avestan.
AV.	Arda Viraf (in titles of books); cf. AVN.
AVN.	Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak.
BB.	*Bezzenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.*
Bd.	Bundahishn (Indian recension).
Bh.	Behistan inscriptions of Darius.
bk.	book.
Bthl.	Bartholomae (Prof. Christian).
BYt.	Bahman Yasht.
DD.	Dātastān i Dēnīk.
Dk.	Dēnkart̲.
EA.	*Erānische Alterthumskunde* (Spiegel).
Enc. Brit.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
Epist. Man.	Epistles of Manushchihar.
ERE.	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. Hastings, etc.
Ét. ir.	*Études iraniennes* (Darmesteter).
EZ.	*Early Zoroastrianism* (Moulton).
fl.	(*floruit*), flourished.
Frag.	Fragment.
GAv.	Gāthā Avestan.
GIrPh.	*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.*
Hdt.	Herodotus.

HN.	Hadhōkht (Haδōxt) Nask.
ibid.	(*ibidem*); in the same work.
id.	(idem); the same writer.
IF.	*Indogermanische Forschungen.*
Iran. Bd.	Iranian Bundahishn.
JA.	*Journal asiatique.*
JAOS.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JBBRAS.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JRAS.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
KZ.	(Kuhn's Zeitschrift=) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, founded by A. Kuhn, ed. E. Kuhn, J. Schmidt, etc.
LeZA.	*Le Zend Avesta* (Darmesteter, French translation).
loc. cit.	(*loco citato*), at the place previously cited.
MX.	Dātastān i Mēnūk i Xraṯ (Mainyō-i-Khrad).
n. d.	no date.
Nīr.	Nīrangastān.
NP.	New Persian.
Ny.	Nyāishes.
O. P.	Old Persian.
op. cit.	(*opus citatum*); the work previously cited.
Pāz.	Pāzand.
Pers.	Persian.
Phl.	Pahlavi.
PhlVd.	Pahlavi Vendīdād (Vīdēvdāṯ).
Phl. vers.	Pahlavi version.
PWb.	Böhtlingk and Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, St. Petersburg.
SBE.	*Sacred Books of the East.*
SD.	Sad Dar.
Sīr.	Sīrōzah.
Skt.	Sanskrit.
ŠNŠ.	Šāyist nē-Šāyist (Shāyast lā-Shāyast).

ŠVV.	Škand-vimānīk Vičār (Shikand Gumānīk Vijār).
TPhl.	Turfan Pahlavi.
vb.	verb.
Vd.	Vendīdād (Vīdēvdāṭ).
vers.	version.
Visp.	Vīspraṭ (Vīspered).
VYt.	Vishtāsp Yasht.
VZsp.	Vičītakīhā i Zāṭsparam (Vichītakīhā, or Selections of Zāṭsparam).
WZKM.	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Y. Av.	Younger (later) Avesta.
YF.	Yōsht i Fryānō (Gōsht-i Fryānō).
Ys.	Yasna.
Yt.	Yasht.
ZA.	*Zend Avesta* (Darmesteter, English translation).
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZPGl.	Zand-Pahlavi Glossary.
Zor.	*Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (Jackson).
[ ]	Square brackets (in Part I and sometimes elsewhere) indicate material added later. Occasionally they are employed in passages cited and translated to denote words inserted by the present writer to supply omissions in the original text.
( )	Parentheses indicate words and phrases inserted in translated passages to round out the grammatical structure of the English or to clarify the sense.

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NOTE ON
TRANSCRIPTION AND PRONUNCIATION

The system previously followed in this Series as regards the scientific transliteration of Avestan, Pahlavi, and Modern Persian words has here been retained, except as noted below. It is substantially that employed by various scholars in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* and in particular by Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (see especially his introduction, page xxiii).

Italics have been used in transcribing Iranian words quoted in the text or cited in the footnotes. On the other hand, Iranian proper names, titles of Avestan texts, and the like, are printed in roman type, and in a more popular form (š being replaced by 'sh,' x by 'kh,' č by 'ch,' θ by 'th,' and so on). In designating the divisions or books of the Avesta, the more familiar form Vendīdād has been kept instead of adopting the more exact Vīdēvdāṯ, while in Pahlavi works (perhaps inconsistently, but to be defended), the treatise which is often known as Mainyō-i-Khrad is allowed to assume its more scientific form as Dātastān i Mēnūk i Xraṯ, 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom'; and again the well-known Book of Ardā Vīrāf is referred to more precisely as the Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak. Such instances will easily be recognized and, it is hoped, will cause no particular trouble.

It is not necessary here to go into the matter of pronunciation so far as the specialist is concerned, but the few suggestions that follow may be of service to the non-specialist, if particularly interested.

The vowels *a*, *i*, *u* have in general the Italian value; moreover, when long they are marked with the macron (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*), the corresponding 'vriddhied' *i*- and *u*-strengthenings, moreover, as *āi*, *āu*, being comparable in English to 'aisle' and German 'Faust.' The conventional symbol *ə* (an 'inverted *e*,' and common in Avestan) is employed to represent a short 'neutral vowel' like

that in English 'gard*e*ner,' 'tot*e*m,' 'hist*o*ry,' 'meas*u*rement,' and it often corresponds also to the anaptyctic vowel in the vulgar pronunciation of 'chim^{e}ney,' and 'rheumatis^{u}m.' In *ər*^{ə} it somewhat resembles the *r̥*-vowel in English 'butt*er*-milk' when exaggerated by trilling. The character *å* (or $\overset{s}{å}$—more exactly $\overline{āə}$, for *āə*) is generally pronounced *āo* (cf. 'house'), but may possibly have once had a more muffled sound, as in English 'all, fault, extr*ao*rdinary.' The hooked *ą* is a nasalized *a* or *ā*, as in French 'sans,' but probably with a fainter coloring of the *n* or *m* sound in Avestan.

The consonants in general are pronounced as in English, but *g* is always hard as in 'get,' and *s* always sharp as in 'sister.' Observe, however, that the particular designation *č* is to be sounded like *ch* in 'church,' *ǰ* as in 'judge,' while *t̰* represents a sound intermediate between *t* and *d*. The letter *š* (voiceless) is to be pronounced like English *sh*, in 'sheepish'; similarly, *ž* answers to the voiced *zh*-spirant sound of *z* in 'azure' and French 'jour.' The other spirants, however, deserve further comment. The letter *x*, as now generally adopted, has the voiceless spirant *kh*-sound to be heard in German 'ach' or in the Scottish 'loch.' In like manner x^{v} is a composite of the spirant *kh* + *v*. The three Greek characters generally adopted for the other spirants are: *θ*, to represent the voiceless *th*-sound in English 'thin'; *δ*, for a voiced dental spirant *dh*, as in 'breathe'; *γ*, a roughened *gh*-sound, as in North-German 'Tage,' and also in Dutch. The conventional *w* (pronounced as English *v*) has been retained, because it is generally adopted by scholars to represent the corresponding voiced sound of an original spirant *bh* in the series of spirantized consonants. The sign *ṽ* (*ṅ*) is usually pronounced *ng*, as in 'long.'

PART I

THE IRANIAN RELIGION

I

THE IRANIAN RELIGION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION*

§ 1. **Importance of the Persian Religion.** The religion of Ancient Iran, or the faith of Persia in its broadest sense, is one of the great religions of antiquity. This faith, which centered about a belief in the god Ormazd, was established by the ancient Iranian prophet Zoroaster; and the study of the development of its teachings is important not only because they form the religious belief of the Parsis at the present day, but particularly also because of their historic interest and their intrinsic value. The sacred books of but few peoples contain so clear a grasp of right and wrong, or so ethical a conception of duty, as the Zoroastrianscriptures. Few creeds inculcate more strongly than that of Persia the need for purity of body and soul. Outside of Judaism and Christianity it is impossible to find in antiquity so true, so noble, so ideal a belief in the resurrection of the body, the life hereafter, the coming of a Savior, and the rewards and punishments for the immortal soul, as is to be found in the scriptures of Ancient Iran, which are illumined by the spirit of the great teacher Zoroaster (Zarathushtra), one of the early religious leaders of the East.

The Persian religion is of real interest to the student

* [Consult the remarks in the Preface as to publishing this monograph now, for the first time, in the original English form from which the German translation was made. Square brackets draw attention in most cases to later additions.]

of the Bible in consequence of the numerous points of resemblance to Judaism and Christianity, the not infrequent allusions to Media and Persia in the Old Testament, the contact between the Hebrews and Iran, and the instances of possible reciprocal influence. The principal allusions in the Bible to contact with the Medes and Persians are found in Daniel 6. 8–12; 2 Kings 17. 6; 18. 11; Ezra 6. 2–5; Esther 1. 19; 6. 1; 10. 2; perhaps in the apocryphal book of Tobit with its Asmodaeus (Av. *aēšma daēva*, 'Demon of Fury') and with its scene laid in Media; and in Judith with its reference to Rhages (Av. *Raγā*). The Jews came into direct touch with Persia in the Babylonian exile. Cyrus, the Persian king, the 'righteous one, the shepherd of the Lord,' the 'anointed of God,' gave orders that the temple at Jerusalem be rebuilt and that the Jews be returned from captivity to their own city (Isaiah 45. 1–3, 13; 44. 28; 41. 2; 2 Chron. 36. 22–23; Ezra 1. 1–11; 3. 7; 4. 3). Darius, the worshiper of Ormazd, favored the rebuilding of the temple and commanded that the decree of Cyrus be carried into effect. Judea became one of the provinces of the Persian Empire and remained so until the overthrow of the Iranian kingdom by Alexander the Great. References to the ancient faith of Persia are perhaps contained in Ezekiel 8. 16 and Isaiah 45. 7, 12. Lastly, and of the greatest interest to us, the wise men from the East who came to worship Jesus, the babe in Bethlehem, may have been Magi, followers of the Persian faith; and it is actually stated in the Apocryphal New Testament that they came in accordance with a prophecy of Zoroaster (Apocr. N. T. Infancy 3. 7, cf. Matthew 2. 1–2). It is a fine thought to associate the two faiths in this adoration of the Magi—the worshipers of light itself bowing before the majesty of the new-born Light of the World. In the third century of our era it was Manichaeism, in great part an offshoot of Zoroastrianism, with which Christianity had most vigorously to

contend. At the same time those zealous adherents of the Zoroastrian faith, the Sasanian rulers, not infrequently persecuted their Jewish subjects (cf. Toy, *Religion of Israel*, p. 140). Their persecution of the Christians in Persia is well known [cf. J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 43–82, 104–130, 177–181, Paris, 1904; W. A. Wigram, *Assyrian Church*, p. 56–76, 113–120, 138–141, 199–209, London, 1910]. So much as to possible relations between Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity—a subject which has really only begun to be studied in recent years [1900].[1]

The importance of a knowledge of the religion of Persia for the general historical study of religions is unquestioned, the specialist in Muhammadanism must pay regard to its influence, and researches into the earliest stages of religious thought in India are greatly aided by it. The philosopher finds in it certain phases of speculation that engage his attention, and the Magian faith is of interest likewise to the student of the classics. The idealism and spirituality of Persian religious conceptions were often remarked upon by the Greeks,[2] and there was more or less connection between Iran and Greece dating from the time of the Graeco-Persian wars, and similarly later with Rome.

§ 2. **Name of the religion.** Various names have been employed to designate the ancient Iranian faith, or the religion of Persia in its broadest sense. The designation Mazdaism, derived from the name of the supreme god, is already to be found in the Avesta; later it is also called *Bah Dīn*, 'good religion'; it is referred to likewise as Magism, Parsiism, Dualism, and Fire-worship. The best designation, however, is Zoroastrianism, from the name of its prophet, founder, or reformer, just as Buddhism, Con-

[1] Cf. Cheyne, Kohut, Lagarde, Meyer, Mills, Moulton, Stave [and Scheftelowitz] in the General Bibliography, above.

[2] Herodotus, 1. 131; Deinon, Fragm. 9; Diogenes Laertius, Prooem. 6; Plutarch, Is. et Os. 46; Porphyrius, Vita Pythag. 41.

fucianism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity derive their names from their respective founders. A pre-Zoroastrian religion of Iran is hardly known,[2a] and the faith of Persia within historic times is ineffaceably stamped with the personality of the great Prophet. Hence the name Zoroastrianism.

§ 3. **General characteristics of the religion of Iran.** The religion of Iran may be termed a personal religion, i.e. a religion that has an individual founder and a system which is built on the basis of doctrinal teachings promulgated by one person. Like Buddhism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity, however, Zoroastrianism contains older material and has included new elements in the course of its historic growth. Three principal phases may roughly be recognized in its make-up:—

(1) the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) foundation;
(2) the Iranian side, or purely individual features;
(3) foreign elements adopted at different periods.

Broadly speaking, the chief characteristics of Persia's religion are the following. Primarily, there is a notable presence of at least a quasi- if not real dualism, or the concept of constant warfare raging between the good principle, Ahura Mazdāh (Ormazd, Ὡρομάσδης) and the evil spirit, Aŋra Mainyu (Ahriman, Ἀρειμάνιος) and their respective kingdoms. The duration of this conflict is limited. At the end of the world good will finally triumph and evil will be annihilated; a general resurrection of the dead will take place; the new life will begin. In addition to dualism, and in part connected with it, the religion possesses a distinct cosmology and cosmogony, an elaborate system of angelology and demonology, and a pronounced doctrine of eschatology. Nature-worship and elemental worship are other characteristic features of this faith, to which must be

[2a A book on this subject by L. H. Gray is now in press, *Foundations of the Iranian Religions* (Katrak Lectures, Oxford).]

added a deification of sun, moon, and stars, a religious veneration for fire, earth, and water, and a scrupulous awe regarding preservation of these elements from defilement, especially from the pollution arising through contact with dead matter: these are features that seem to point back to an earlier time. Lastly, the religion is characterized by a rigid dogmatism which inculcates the necessity of preserving the purity of the body, the care of useful animals, especially the cow, the practice of agriculture and husbandry, the observance of a strictly defined ritual (in which the preparation of the sacred plant *haoma*, Indic *soma*, plays an important part), and the performance of certain acts which are distinctly peculiar to Iran and to Mazdaism.

CHAPTER II

PERIODS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGION OF IRAN—METHOD OF TREATMENT

§ 4. **Introduction.** What we must recognize and distinctly emphasize, from the very first, is that the Iranian religion—or the Iranian religions, if we prefer to employ the plural—presents stages of development, like every other living organism, and that various periods are to be distinguished in its history. It would be just as absurd to disregard this in the case of Iran, as it would be vain to deny the operation of this law elsewhere. Three stages may be postulated in the Iranian faith: first, the presumable pre-Zoroastrian period; second, a distinctly Zoroastrian stage, which is the most characteristic of all; third, a post-Zoroastrian evolution. Although it is unquestionably necessary to assume these stages, we must acknowledge at the same time that it is impossible to delimit these sharply in all respects or to define them with precision.

§ 5. **The presumable pre-Zoroastrian religion.** Media, Bactria, and Persia are the names of the historic nations that come into consideration in a discussion of the religious beliefs of Iran. Although the religious development, as far as we can actually trace it, begins with the appearance of Zoroaster, there must have been a period of religious evolution preceding his time. What the nature of this pre-Zoroastrian stage really was, we are not now in a position to say. Students of the history of religion are accustomed to assume, first, a stage of primitive animism, mingled with spiritism, fetishism, magic, and ancestor-worship; then an advance one step farther, to a stage of natural religion, a worship of the powers of nature and an elaborate personifi-

cation of natural phenomena, merging into polytheism and polydaemonism. Traces of these stages are unquestionably recognizable as surviving in the Avesta. Herodotus, too, relates in the well-known passage (1. 131) that the Persians worshiped the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the stars from ancient times. In this we see evidences of the period of Aryan (Indo-Iranian) unity, which we can infer in part from allied beliefs of the Persians and the Hindus, and in some instances it has even been possible to trace an Indo-European origin of religious conceptions. Agathias (2. 24) quotes the authority of Berosus, Athenocles, and Simacus for his statement that before the Zoroastrian reform the Persians had the same gods as the Greeks under other names; and old elements in the religion, as contrasted with newer features, were recognized by Herodotus in the passage cited above. After this early stage there must have followed, then, a more specific Persian development on Iranian soil, which gave rise to the particular faith promulgated or reformed by the prophet whose name is attached to the religion of ancient Iran. A more detailed discussion of this difficult problem is reserved for a later chapter.

§ 6. Brief historical sketch of the religion of Iran. The legendary history of Iran, or of Media, Bactria, and Persia, extends back into remote antiquity. What may have been the religious status of the land before Zoroaster appeared, will be discussed hereafter. The time of Zoroaster himself cannot be placed later than the sixth century B.C.; and although the origin and exact historical rise of his faith are in many respects still obscure, yet it seems probable that the religion which he founded or reformed became the faith of the Achaemenian kings. It then entered upon its long history as one of the important early religions of the world. If it had not been for Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, the worship of Ahura Mazdāh might have spread into Europe.

The national power of this faith was first broken by the invasion of Alexander the Great. Although the sacred books of Persia were burned, Zoroastrianism recovered from the blow and still persisted under the Seleucid rule of Iran and under the Parthian sway until the third century of our era. It once more rose to supremacy through the Sasanian empire (226–651 A.D.), and even flourished more gloriously than ever. Schismatic syncretistic movements, like that of Manichaeism, arose to threaten its unity; and heresies, like the pernicious teachings of Mazdak, crept in. But these did little harm. The overthrow and ruin of Zoroastrianism came from without, from Muhammadanism, when Islam began its victorious career in the seventh century of our era. The religion of Ormazd was in time almost extirpated on Iranian soil by the Arab conquest and by the fanatical persecution of its adherents and their enforced conversion to the faith of Allah. Only a few true followers of Zoroaster (about 10,000 Gabars) are still to be found scattered here and there in their old Persian home. A number preferred exile to conversion and sought refuge in India, where they found among the Hindus a place of safety, of peace, and of freedom to worship Ormazd. The Parsis of Bombay at the present time are the veritable Zoroastrian descendants of these persecuted faithful worshipers; and although their number hardly amounts to 100,000, they constitute a flourishing and respected community, true to the faith of their Prophet. Together with the Gabars of Persia they are the conservators of the sacred literature, which has naturally also suffered greatly from the various vicissitudes and crises through which the religion has passed. For convenience of reference the general stages which can be recognized in the historical development of the faith may be summarized as follows:—

1. Aryan Period, or Period of Indo-Iranian Unity—presumable pre-Zoroastrian religion.

2. Medo-Bactrian Stage—the Gāthā period and further development of Zoroastrian teachings.
3. Persia and the Achaemenian Dynasty (559–330 B.C.).
4. Shattering of Zoroastrianism by Alexander's Invasion—Seleucid rule (330–250 B.C.).
5. Parthian or Arsacid Sway—the dark ages of Zoroastrianism (250 B.C.–226 A.D.).
6. The Sasanian Empire—revival of Zoroastrianism for four centuries (226–651 A.D.).
7. Muhammadan Conquest (651 A.D.) and later fate of the Zoroastrian faith.

§ 7. **Ancient sources of information.** There are various sources from which we can draw information regarding Iran in antiquity. These are primarily those grouped under the following six heads. First in importance comes (*a*) the Avesta, supplemented by the Pahlavi writings and by all the later Persian Zoroastrian literature, as well as amplified by the Old Persian Inscriptions.[1] Among other Oriental sources, although the authorities are not Iranian, must be mentioned, secondly, (*b*) a number of allusions in Semitic texts, in Syriac, Arabic, and other writings.[2] Thirdly, (*c*) the classical authors of Greece and Rome, such as Herodotus, Theopompus, Strabo, Plutarch, Cicero, Pliny, Ammianus Marcellinus, Agathias, are of special value, for some of their accounts are based on personal observation.[3] Furthermore (*d*) Biblical allusions may be

[1] For details, see *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, vol. 2, § 1–5.

[2] Considerable material is to be found in Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature,' in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, p. 24–51, New York, 1894. Cf. also the Armenian Passion of St. Hiztibuzid, tr. T. C. Conybeare, *Armenian Apology and Acts of Apollonius*, p. 261–271, London, 1896; [also ed. and tr., with a valuable introduction, by P. Peeters, in *Acta Sanctorum*, 4. 191–216, Brussels, 1925 (volumen Novembris).]

[3] A valuable collection of classical references was made by J. F. Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anhang zum 2. Band, 3. Teil, Leipzig and Riga, 1783. Important likewise is the material in Rapp, 'Die Religion der

adduced, and chance references in the early monuments of Assyria and Babylonia may be cited. Besides, (*e*) several incidental mentions in miscellaneous or remote sources, like the Scandinavian, are worthy of attention, since they serve to give hints in various connections or enable us to test and verify other sources. Lastly (*f*) the related literature of India must constantly be kept in view, not for direct references, because these are almost completely wanting, but on account of the kinship existing between India and Iran, and on account of the material which the Veda especially affords for better understanding of the earlier stages of the Aryan religion dating back to Indo-Iranian times.

§ 8. Difficulty of the subject; purpose of the present investigation. The subject of Iranian religion is not an easy one to handle. The historic importance of the religion of Persia and of its influence is unquestioned. Nevertheless, many points and many details connected with its origin and development and history are still shrouded in darkness which, to the cautious investigator, sometimes seems to be hopelessly impenetrable. Questions come up that are simply unanswerable in the present state of our knowledge. Theories which have been propounded have frequently proved to be false. Notwithstanding this, the progress has

Perser und der übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen', *ZDMG.* 19. 1–89; 20. 49–140. Valuable also is F. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 260–313, Berlin, 1863. In addition, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, appendix v (L. H. Gray), p. 226–273, where the text of nearly all the classical passages mentioning Zoroaster is reprinted, and L. H. Gray, 'Zoroastrian and other Ethnic Religious Material in the Acta Sanctorum,' in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, 1913–14*, p. 37–55. [Most important now are the two books by Carl Clemen, (1) *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae*, Bonn, 1920; (2) *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, Giessen, 1920. All the classical material, translated into English by President W. Sherwood Fox, of Western University, Ontario, will soon be published in Bombay.]

been steady and marked, though gradual. Each attempt, even though abortive, has served to add something to the existing fund of knowledge; even negative results frequently have a positive value. Our equipment for the task is better than ever before, and however imperfect and unsatisfactory the results may prove to be, it is still worth while to bring together the general facts that may be regarded as fairly certain. The purpose and scope of the present monograph is, therefore, to present the main results of modern research in the field of Iranian religion, to examine the subject as a whole, and to survey it in its general aspects. As far as possible the method will be historical, and an attempt will be made, within human limitations, to be impartial and objective.

§ 9. Arrangement and method of treatment. With this orientation and with the given material in hand, we may adopt the following general disposition of the subject. Having made some mention of the presumable pre-Zoroastrian religion (§ 5), we shall direct our attention first to the great teacher Zoroaster himself, to his life and his teachings. Next we shall consider the fundamental tenets of the faith, passing thence to a detailed account of the host of heaven and their diabolical counterpart, the legions of hell. Thereupon it will be natural to take up, in turn, Zoroastrian cosmology and related matters, the moral and ethical teachings, Zoroastrian eschatology, and the doctrine of a future life. A chapter will then be devoted to the problem of the religion of the Achaemenians, after which the subsequent development of Zoroastrianism and its history down to the present time will be traced. The treatment will conclude with some account of the worship, rites, and ceremonies, as well as of other observances connected with the religion.

§ 10. Conclusion. Since we have now made a rapid survey of the history and development of the national re-

ligion of Iran and have outlined the divisions of the subject and the treatment of the material, we may turn to the prophet Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, himself and consider his life and his so-called reformation. The entire religious system turns about Zoroaster; he was its founder and its animating spirit, and it is only right that he should have first place in an exposition of the faith. At the same time we must always keep in mind what we have said above regarding the presumable period of pre-Zoroastrian religion.

CHAPTER III

ZOROASTER, THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN

§ 11. Introduction. We are now prepared to take up the question of the life of the Prophet of Ancient Iran. Zoroaster is the true founder of the national religion of Ancient Persia. He stands out in antiquity as the type of a great Magus, or wise man of the East. He may be regarded as a representative of the law of the Medes and Persians of old, and at the present day he is the Master whose teachings the modern Parsis still faithfully cherish.

As I have treated the subject of Zoroaster's life and prophetic career in a special volume devoted to that purpose, I shall confine the present sketch simply to general points, referring for further particulars to the work just mentioned.[1]

§ 12. Sources of information. Zoroaster is a historic personage, one of the great religious teachers of the East. The purpose of the volume just referred to is to present his figure in its historic outlines as a living personality. The Gāthās, or older part of the Avesta, portray him as a man of stirring individuality, teaching, exhorting, and filled with holy zeal, unquestionably exercising an influence upon all that come into his presence. The later portions of the Avesta represent him in a more distant light, with somewhat of a veil of sanctification thrown around him, which serves rather to conceal than to reveal his personality. The Spend Nask of the Avesta dealt with the circumstances of his life, and its loss is therefore specially to be deplored. But perhaps its contents are not wholly lost, for a considerable

[1] Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York (Columbia University Press), 1899.

part of its material seems to be preserved in the Pahlavi patristic literature. The portions of this literature which deal with Zoroaster, especially the Dēnkarṭ and the Selections of Zātsparam, are now easily accessible to all in the valuable translations of E. W. West.[2] Other material relating to Zoroaster's life, derived from older classical or Oriental sources, will be found collected in the volume by the present writer to which reference has already been made.

§ 13. Zoroaster's name, date, and native place. Zoroaster's name in its original form is found in the Avesta as *Zarathushtra* (*Zaraθuštra*) or, more fully, as *Spitama* (or *Spitāma*) *Zarathushtra*. The form *Spitama* is a family name which is found also at an early date in Media.[3] The cognomen thus designates a descendant of the family of Spitama ('White' or 'Whiting'). The etymology and the meaning of the appellative *Zarathushtra* are alike uncertain. The element *uštra* signifies 'camel.' Among various explanations that have been suggested we may mention 'possessor of old camels,' 'tormenting a camel,' and the like. I have treated this subject in detail elsewhere and recorded the diverse forms which the name assumes in various literatures. The form with which the Occident is familiar is based upon the Greek and Latin forms Ζωροάστρης, *Zoroastres*.[4]

As to the age in which the Prophet lived there has been

[2] See particularly 'The Marvels of Zoroastrianism,' in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 47. Consult likewise West's translations of other Pahlavi texts, *SBE.* vols. 5, 18, 24, 37.

[3] See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 309, 'Spitama,' p. 379–80, 'Zarathushtra.' [The name Ispîtâmmu occurs in Babylonian business documents; cf. A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the Reign of Darius II*, p. 25, Philadelphia, 1912.]

[4] On the forms of the name and the various explanations that have been suggested see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 12–14, 147–149. [Probably, 'he whose camels are old' is after all best; cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1676, and consult the article below in the Third Part of the present volume, p. 247–248.]

much debate. The principal reason for the diversity of opinion which has prevailed is found in a contradiction between the classics and tradition. The classics commonly assign to Zoroaster the extravagant date of about 6000 B.C., although they sometimes imply a somewhat later era. An explanation of this exaggeration is not hard to find. The Zoroastrian tradition, on the other hand, as found in the Pahlavi text of the Bundahishn and elsewhere, places Zoroaster between the seventh and the sixth centuries before the Christian era. A special monograph devoted to the whole question of Zoroaster's date and presenting the different views on the subject has been published.[5] Since

[5] Jackson, 'On the Date of Zoroaster,' *JAOS.* 17. 1–22 (reprinted in *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, p. 150–178). [The subject has since been discussed by a number of scholars. A strong case in favor of the date 660–583 B.C. according to the Pahlavi books and later sources has been made, for example, by Meillet, *Trois conférences sur les Gāthā* (Paris, 1925), p. 21–32. Hertel, *Die Zeit Zoroasters* (Leipzig, 1924), adopting the old view that Zoroaster's patron Vīshtāspa must be identical with Hystaspes the father of Darius, argued to advance the period of Zarathushtra even somewhat later, contending that he must have been alive in 522 B.C., and probably also after that date. A refutation of this theory was published by Charpentier, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London, 1925), 3. 747–755, who favors a very much earlier date, namely (p. 754) 'somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1000–900 B.C.—or perhaps even somewhat earlier.' This view, as he remarks, he is inclined to hold 'with Eduard Meyer, Andreas, Clemen, Bartholomae, and others,' concluding that Zoroaster preached the religion of Ahura Mazdāh in Bactria 'at some time about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. at the court of a certain princeling called Vīštāspa.' Bartholomae's view was previously expressed in an address as Rector of the University of Heidelberg, entitled *Zarathuštras Leben und Lehre*, prepared for delivery on Nov. 22, 1918, but not issued till long afterwards, owing to conditions sequent upon the war. Bartholomae (*op. cit.* p. 10*) sums up his opinion as to the reformer's date, 'so werden wir *Zarathuštras* Tätigkeit auf mindestens rund 900 v. Chr. hinaufrücken müssen.' Geldner (in 1895), as I know from our talks when I was working on the problem, formerly favored the traditional date but afterwards (1911), if we may

its appearance West has fixed the years even more precisely, at least on the basis of the Bundahishn chronology, as 660–583 B.C. Some of the pioneer Avestan scholars, such as Anquetil du Perron, were inclined to make Zoroaster a contemporary of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, or even to identify Zoroaster's patron with this Hystaspes. Later scholarship, however, has not been in favor of this view.

With regard to Zoroaster's native place and the scene of his prophetic activity, authorities have been considerably at variance. A rather strong claim has been made for Bactria, but the more general consensus of modern scholarly opinion on the subject tends to agree with tradition, which consistently places at least his origin in Western Iran. Āzarbaijān is the particular region that is named. Those who uphold this traditional view believe that he must have taught in the east of Iran as well. This would allow also for the Bactrian claim, and such a compromise relieves an embarrassing situation. This view depends upon our accepting the existence of a Bactrian kingdom prior to the Median empire. This latter point, however, has been strongly combated by several prominent specialists. Refer-

judge from *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 28. 1041, went over to Eduard Meyer's conjecture, like Duncker before him, as to 1000 B.C. as the date of Zoroaster, adding, however, that 'this may be too high; but in any case Zoroaster belongs to a prehistoric era.' This is sufficient to show how the pendulum has swung back to favoring an earlier date, at least on the part of a number of highly qualified authorities, as against those who, a generation ago and afterwards, accepted with approval the later dating of Zoroaster's era. Whilst prevented here from entering into a discussion of the various arguments or of the actual material historically available (all duly weighed), I still find that the traditional date of Zoroaster has for me the most to commend it. Future discoveries may perhaps correct this and serve, for all time, to settle the much-mooted question which has been discussed again recently by A. Christensen, 'Sur les plus anciennes périodes du Zoroastrisme,' in *Acta Orientalia* (1925), 4. 81–92, 115. See also below, p. 249–251.]

ence is made again, for a fuller discussion of the subject, to the work mentioned above.[6]

§ 14. Zoroaster's early life and religious preparation. Numerous details, based chiefly upon the Avestan Spend Nask, have been preserved in Pahlavi literature regarding the family and the early history of Zoroaster. He is the son of Pourushaspa and Dughdhōvā. His lineage and ancestry are traced in detail. His life, as portrayed in the Dēnkart̲ and the Selections of Zātsparam, is a series of marvels. Omens and prodigies attend upon his birth. Sorcerers and enchanters endeavor to destroy the young child, but their efforts are fruitless. Necromancy, sorcery, and the black art seem to have been the order of the day. Zoroaster defies all these arts and rebukes even his father for yielding to such influences. At the age of twenty, or thereabouts, he withdraws from the world in order to give himself up completely to meditation. This is the period of preparation common to all great religious leaders. A number of stories are told about it. When he reaches the age of thirty, the Revelation comes and he enters upon his ministry.[7]

§ 15. Revelation of the religion. If we may believe tradition, Zoroaster seems as a prophet to have received the first inspiring revelation under the influence of a religious festival or at the season of such a celebration. Apparently he had left his home in company with others to attend a holy gathering. He was thirty years old at the time.[8] A divine manifestation, which recalls a vision of

[6] Jackson, *Zoroaster*, appendix IV, 'Zoroaster's native place and the scene of his ministry,' pages 182–225. [The linguistic monograph by P. Tedesco, 'Dialektologie der West-iranischen Turfan-texte,' in *Le Monde oriental* (1921), 15. 184–258, comes to the result that the language of the Avesta finds closest cognates in the Northwestern Iranian dialects.]

[7] For details see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pages 10–35.

[8] According to the Bundahishn chronology, this was in 630 B.C., cf. West, *SBE.* 47, introd., § 55.

the prophet Daniel, appears before him when he reaches the river Dāityā. Various identifications have been suggested for the Dāityā, or Zoroastrian Jordan. Pahlavi tradition is most probably right in locating this river in Āzarbaijān.[9] The archangel Vohu Manah (Good Thought), the Gabriel of the Faith, appears unto him in beatific vision and leads him before the throne of God. Here he is vouchsafed a conference with Ahura Mazdāh, which is the first of the seven great visions, with hallowed communings, which he enjoys during the next ten years. After this opening interview and manifestation he preaches reform to the ancient priesthood of the realm. These priests are known as Kīks and Karaps (Av. *Kavi* and *Karapan*). His teaching has no effect. He then seeks for hearers among the rulers of Turan and elsewhere. The names of the monarch Aūrvāītā-dang and the Karap Vaēdvōisht are mentioned; but here, too, his words do not find fruitful soil. He also proclaims his creed in the southeast of Iran, in Sagastān (Seistān), before Prince Parshaṯ-gāu,[10] but with little success. The doctrine of next-of-kin marriage, which Zoroaster appears to have advocated, influenced many of his hearers against him.[10a] We have evidence that these two years especially were a period of wandering and of missionary endeavor. During the next seven or eight years he appears to have been again in Northwestern Iran. The scenes of the six remaining visions, which complete the Revelation, are apparently laid in Media and Āzarbaijān.[11]

§ 16. Triumph: the conversion of Kavi Vīshtāspa. At the end of ten years the Revelation is complete, but Zoroaster at first succeeds in making only a single convert.

[9] But some scholars, such as Geiger, place the Dāityā in the East. For a discussion of the matter see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, appendix IV.

[10] Dk. 7. 4. 31. For other individuals of this name see Yt. 13. 96, 127, and cf. below, p. 280–281.

[10a] [Cf. further art. 'Marriage' in *ERE.* 8. 456–459.]

[11] For particulars see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 36–55.

This zealous follower is his own cousin Maidhyōi-māoṅha, the St. John of the Faith. The Prophet is disheartened at the lack of more general success. A note of this discouragement still lingers in the Gāthās. But at Ormazd's bidding he goes to the court of Vīshtāspa (Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp).[12] Here for two years he devotes himself to the task of winning the king over to the new creed. He encounters innumerable obstacles and unbounded opposition. The ruling priests bar the way of access to Vīshtāspa. The later accounts—such as the Persian Zartusht Nāmah (which is based chiefly upon the Pahlavi Dēnkarṭ and the Selections of Zātsparam)—give a picture of his first meeting with the king. The scene is heightened by Oriental coloring. Vīshtāspa is evidently interested in the apostle of Ormazd, but intrigue now begins to play its role. Through the machinations of the false priests Zoroaster is thrown into prison. Only a miracle releases him. This is the marvelous cure of the king's favorite black horse, which he restores to soundness, as narrated in a curious story. The king is won over to the Faith, the queen is converted likewise, and the entire court follows their example. This momentous event occurs in the twelfth year of the faith, or 618 B.C., according to West's calculation of the traditional chronology. Zoroaster is forty-two years of age at the time of his triumph.[13]

§ 17. Conversions at the court; the Gāthās, or Psalms of Zoroaster. The Avestan Gāthās give us a picture of the personages who move about the throne of Kavi Vīshtāspa, patron of the Faith. We see the grand vizir Jāmāspa, the wise counselor, and his brother Frashaoshtra, the king's adviser. Zoroaster's favorite daughter Pouruchistā is

[12] On the question of the location of Vīshtāspa's realm see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, appendix IV.

[13] Reference is made to Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 56–68, for all details relating to this paragraph.

married to Jāmāspa. Frashaoshtra, in turn, has given his daughter Hvōvī to be the Prophet's wife. The Gāthās make these personages real, and the situations are often impressive, as in the Psalms of David. We hear the ringing voice of the Reformer as he curses the Daēvas (demons) and misguided personages or anathematizes the ungodly Dregvants, but promises to the righteous Ashavans the reward of Heaven, of Ormazd, and of the Archangels. The later chapters of the Avesta (Yt. 13), and also the Pahlavi texts, augment the list of the 'righteous' whose spirits, or souls (*fravaši*), are blessed for eternity. Among these are the king's sons, especially the ideal hero Spentō-dāta (Spend-dāt, Isfandiyār), a champion of the Faith, and the king's brother Zairi-vairi (the Zarēr, Zarīr of the epic). Later tradition even includes as a zealous convert the aged Lōhrāsp, who has abdicated the throne in favor of his son Vīshtāspa. The Avesta, however, makes no mention of this.[14]

§ 18. Development of the religion; later events; Zoroaster's death. Conversions seem to have followed in rapid succession. We are told of religious propaganda throughout Iran. Portions of Turan are claimed to have been won over to the Faith, and later tradition includes even parts of India and of Greece or Asia Minor. Perhaps in this latter there may be some reminiscence of the spread of Mithraism. There is no question that religious crusading was extensively undertaken in early Zoroastrianism, although today there is little if any of the spirit of proselytizing among the Parsis.[14a] Some of the details that fill up the latter part of Zoroaster's life may be found in the volume to which reference has frequently been made.[15] The Holy Wars against the Hyaonian leader Arejaṭ-aspa (Arjāsp of Turan, in the later

[14] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pages 69–79.

[14a] [Cf. L. H. Gray, 'Missions (Zoroastrian)' in *ERE.* 8. 749–751.]

[15] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pages 80–101.

accounts), who twice invaded Iran, form the great event of the last decade of the Prophet's life. We have considerable traditional material on the subject.[16] The victory of the Faith is decisive; the religion becomes finally established; but Zoroaster seems to have perished in the war. The Shāh Nāmah states that this occurred in the storming of Balkh by the Turanians. The Pahlavi texts always speak of a miscreant, Tūr-ī Brātarvakhsh, as his murderer. Zoroaster was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death in 583 B.C.[17]

§ 19. **History of the faith after Zoroaster's death.** In the Pahlavi texts there is considerable information which may be combined with actual history so as to fill up the years that followed Zoroaster's death down to the time of Alexander. Vīshtāspa seems to have outlived the Prophet, and Jāmāspa appears to have been chosen as Zoroaster's pontifical successor. The names of a half-dozen of Zoroaster's followers and later disciples are also recorded in the Selections of Zātsparam.[18] Among the number are Zoroaster's two other daughters 'Frēno and Srīto'; these were children by his first wife. From other texts, including the Avesta, we know the names of a son by this wife and of two sons by his second wife. Zoroaster's oldest son is said to have become a priest; the second was a soldier; the third became head of the agricultural class. By his third wife, Hvōvī, Zoroaster had no children; but three sons are to be born in the future millenniums as saviors of the world.[19]

With regard to the priestly successors of Zoroaster, even the Greeks were able to give typical names of Magians who are said to have been later Zoroastrian pontiffs and teachers. But of all the teachers that followed in Zoroaster's footsteps

[16] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pages 102–123.

[17] According to West, *SBE.* 47, introd., § 55. See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 102–132.

[18] VZsp. 23. 11, tr. West, *SBE.* 47. 166.

[19] See Chapter IX, on eschatology, below.

Saēna is named in the Avesta and in Pahlavi literature as the greatest. He is said to have lived from the first to the second century after Zoroaster.[20] It was his disciples whom the conquering Alexander ('the accursed Iskandar') overthrew when he burned the archetype copy of the Avesta and brought ruin upon the Faith. This latter fact is historic. There has been considerable question as to whether the first Achaemenian monarchs were true Zoroastrians. As to Cyrus there may be doubt. Darius, however, was a most pious worshiper of Mazdāh, and the majority of scholars believe that he was a professed follower of Zoroaster. But this point also has been questioned.[21] It is certain, however, that the last Achaemenians were Zoroastrians. This subject will be taken up hereafter. The fortunes of the religion during the Seleucid, Parthian, Sasanian, and Muhammadan periods have been briefly outlined above.

§ **20. Conclusion.** Zoroaster is now believed, in accordance with the traditional dates, to have flourished between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C. He was a native of Western Iran, probably of the Median Atropatene, or Āzarbaijān. He entered upon his ministry at the age of thirty. The Revelation of the religion came to him in that year through the medium of a heavenly vision, seven times repeated. At the age of forty-two he converted Vīshtāspa, who became the Constantine of the Faith. The influence of the religion extends throughout Iran and even beyond its borders. A holy war with Turan follows as a result of a vigorous crusading policy. Zoroaster seems to have died by violence at the age of seventy-seven. The religion,

[20] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pages 133–139.

[21] Especially by de Harlez. For details regarding the religion of the Achaemenians see below, Chapter X; also Gray, 'Achaemenians,' in *ERE.* 1. 69–73. [In favor of their having been Zoroastrians see now the exhaustive treatment by Clemen, *Griech. u. lat. Nachrichten üb. d. pers. Religion*, 54–94, Giessen, 1920.]

however, is firmly established and enters upon the long course of its history, which has already been briefly outlined (§ 6).

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CHAPTER IV

ZOROASTRIANISM AS A FAITH—DUALISTIC TRAITS AND MONOTHEISTIC TENDENCIES

§ 21. Introduction. The historical figure of Zoroaster in its general outlines, and the stamp of his personality upon the religion of Iran, are now clear. The spark of regeneration kindled by his teaching burst into flame presumably in Bactria. But as to the home and migration of the new doctrine scholarly opinion is still divided and uncertain. The Zoroastrian reform must have found fertile soil, and it seems to have taken root in a short time all over Iran.[1] At all events history presents no record of profound religious conflicts between Iranians.[1a] The next step leads us to a consideration of the characteristics of this new religion, to a study of its main features, and to an examination of the elements which may be recognized in its composition.

§ 22. Zoroastrianism as a new faith. In accordance with historical principles, it is obvious that Zoroastrianism cannot have sprung up mushroomlike in a single night. Its very existence, as already stated, implies the presence of an antecedent stage of belief or a soil upon which the new

[1] Cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 82–83; 123–142.

[1a] The killing of Gaumāta the Magian by Darius, and the resulting μαγοφόνια, or slaughter of the Magi (O. P. Inscr. Bh. 1. 35–71; 4. 80–86; Hdt. 3. 61–79; Ktesias, ed. Gilmore, p. 149), was probably more a political matter than a religious one. Gaumāta, as a *Magus*, may well have held a priestly office, but he seized the throne as a usurper and 'became king.' To Darius and his followers this act of the rebel meant an attempt to restore the ancient power of Media. The whole subject has been much discussed and variously interpreted; see, for example, Gray, 'Festivals and Fasts (Iranian),' in *Encycl. Relig. and Ethics*, 5. 874–875; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 186–187.]

seed is sown. We are justified in assuming that we are dealing with a vigorous creed which supplants an older, perhaps a decadent, faith. The Pahlavi Dēnkarṭ, for example, seems to imply that Zoroaster especially had to contend with gross superstition, sorcery, and devil-worship. Portions of the Avestan texts bear witness to the same fact. Zoroaster, in the Gāthās, himself states that his desire is to purify the religion.[2] The presumable existence of a pre-Zoroastrian faith has already been mentioned, and this problem will be discussed more fully hereafter. Whatever the character of this belief may have been, we know that the new branch which is engrafted, or the new shoot which the Prophet plants, far outgrows the parent stock and bears fruit manifold.

Instances in which a new creed supplants and outstrips an older faith are numerous. The history of the development of such religions is highly instructive for our knowledge of Zoroastrianism. A teacher arises at the right moment. A voice in the wilderness may, or may not, have proclaimed his coming. Reformation begins. Radical changes are introduced, but not without the granting of many concessions to gain the point. It is thus that we find old elements, ideas, practices, and survivals still lingering on or allowed to live on beside the new. A prophet exhorts his people, as does Zoroaster, to repent and turn from the error of their ways. He will be their guide.[3] Light illumines the new path, the path of salvation, the path of righteousness.[4] We may therefore turn to the task of tracing the course of this path and enter upon a discussion of Zoroastrianism in detail.

§ 23. **Summary of characteristics.** The more striking characteristics of the religion of Persia, when viewed as a

[2] Yasna 44. 9.

[3] Yasna 31. 2.

[4] Ys. 51. 13 *ašahyā paθō*; 43. 3 *savaŋhō paθō*; 53. 2 *ərəzūš paθō*; 31. 2 *advå aibī.dərəštā*.

whole, during the entire course of its history, have already been enumerated (§ 3). For convenient reference they are again briefly summarized here: (1) dualistic features, (2) angelology and demonology, (3) worship of the elements, naturalistic traits, (4) cosmology and cosmogony, (5) eschatology, (6) possession of a highly developed code of morality and ethics, together with certain peculiar prescriptions and usages and tenets.

§ 24. Dualism and monotheism. 1. Dualistic traits: the two principles, good and evil. The Mazdāh-religion, as Geldner well expresses it, 'is distinguished from the nature-religion of other peoples by its dogmatic character and by the unity of its structure.'[5] And if there be in every religion some note more dominating than the rest, dualism is this keynote in Ancient Persia. This does not mean an extreme dualism to the exclusion of other elements, for there is also a strongly marked monotheistic tendency in Mazdaism, just as in Christianity, on the other hand, we find beside its monotheism certain pronounced dualistic traits. But in Persia dualism is on the whole perhaps the most striking feature. The war of the two spirits, the antagonism of the principles of good and evil, is a fundamental idea in Zoroastrianism. It is the dogma of this conflict that is constantly preached by the Prophet himself, and this is doubtless the product of his own invention.

The universe is divided by a mighty gulf; on the opposite sides of this gulf stand the contending kingdoms of light and of darkness, the domains of good and of evil, the realms of truth and of falsehood. In this conception of the cleavage of the universe we see an attempt to solve the problem of life, the enigma of existence. Ormazd makes all that is good in the world; Ahriman mars it. God dwells in endless light; Satan lurks in infinite darkness. The home

[5] Geldner, article 'Zoroastrianism,' in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 4. 5437.

of the blessed is in the south; whereas the abode of the damned is in the north. And to such an extreme of ingenuity has this dualistic scheme of the universe been elaborated that, in a number of instances, a double vocabulary has been developed and a distinct set of terms is employed for the expression of Mazdean and of Ahrimanian concepts.[6]

The most striking passages in the Zoroastrian scriptures which bring out the dualistic scheme of the world and the war of the opposing principles are found in the Gāthās, in the Vendīdād, and in the Bundahishn. In Ys. 30. 3–5, or the Iranian Sermon on the Mount, the antithesis of the two primordial spirits (*mainyū pouruyē*) is definitely enunciated, and their contrasted natures are expressly pointed out. In the Gāthās, Ahura Mazdāh is god, with Spenta Mainyu as his 'Holy Spirit'; on the other hand, Angra Mainyu is the 'Evil Spirit' or devil, and the Druj, 'Lie, Falsehood,' is the principle of Untruth. In Vd. 1. 2 ff. the action and counteraction of Ahura Mazdāh and Aŋra Mainyu are described; and in the Pahlavi treatise Bundahishn (Bd. 1. 3 ff.) an elaborate account is given of the original creation and of the war between Aūharmazd and Aharman.

The classical writers give us their views on the subject. According to the statement of Diogenes Laertius (Vit. Philos., Prooem. 8), Aristotle recognized the conflict between the two primordial principles (*ἀρχάς*), the good

[6] For example, expressions used in speaking of good creatures, *vaγδana* 'head,' *zasta* 'hand,' *vač* 'to speak,' *i* 'to go,' *ɨriθ* 'to die,' have the counterparts *kamərəδa* 'skull,' *gava* 'claw,' *du* 'to howl,' *dvar* 'to hurtle,' *avamar* 'to perish,' in relation to evil beings. [See Frachtenberg, 'Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words in Avestan,' in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, p. 269–289, Bombay, 1908; and H. Güntert, *Über die ahurischen und daēvischen Ausdrücke im Awesta*, Heidelberg, 1914 (*Sitzb. der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1914, 13. Abhandlung); Gray, "The 'Ahurian' and 'Daevian' Vocabularies in the Avesta," in *JRAS.* 1927, p. 427–441; cf. also Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 218–219.]

spirit and the evil spirit (*ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα*), or between the god Zeus-Ormazd and the devil Hades-Ahriman (*Ζεὺς καὶ Ὡρομάσδης, Ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος*). Plutarch (Is. et Os. 46–47) acknowledges the same sharp division of the world between Ormazd and Ahriman and their creatures. Agathias (Hist. 2. 24 ff.), who is writing in Sasanian times (570 A.D.), comments at some length upon *Ὀρμισδάτης* and *Ἀριμάνης* as the two first principles (*δύο τὰς πρώτας ἀρχάς*). The most elaborate discussion, however, is found in the Arabic writer Shahrastānī (1086–1153 A.D.), who enters into a philosophic examination of Magian dualism and its phases.[7]

The general presence of dualism in Zoroastrianism has been sufficiently proved. There still remain one or two special points, however, to consider in connection with the subject. First arises the question, did dualism prevail before Zoroaster or did he first evolve this dogma? This question cannot be answered categorically. Dualism may be claimed to be early Iranian or even Indo-Iranian in its origin, or at least latent in the religion of that period.[8] But we may believe that dualism in its characteristic Persian form and especially in its moral and ethical aspects was first taught by Zoroaster himself. It was he who made it a typical unit in his great system. The obscure question as to what possibly may have suggested this doctrine to Zoroaster's mind will be examined in a later chapter. A second question, as to how far the doctrine of Spenta Mainyu, as a separate personality emanating from Ahura Mazdāh, may enter into the Gāthā teachings, will be discussed below. Notice will also be taken of Zrvan Akarana and of other monotheistic tenets and dogmas. But one point must be emphasized here, namely, that

[7] See Haarbrücker's German translation, 1. 275 ff. (reprinted by Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature,' in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, New York, 1894).

[8] Cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 315.

Zoroaster's dualism is a monotheistic and optimistic dualism, since it inculcates that Ormazd will be exalted and will gain the victory, and that good will ultimately triumph over evil. This will be brought out in greater detail in the chapters devoted to ethics and to eschatology.

Finally, there is considerable doubt as to whether dualism is to be recognized in the Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings. In any case its presence there is not pronounced, and some scholars have claimed that the earlier Achaemenian monarchs were not Zoroastrians or that they did not believe in dualism.[9] This point will be noticed more fully later. Suffice it to say that the reasoning is chiefly based upon *e silentio* grounds. Darmesteter accepts it as a fact that the Mazdāh-worshiper Darius was a Zoroastrian, and so does Geldner. The absence of Ahriman in the inscriptions of Ancient Persia is hardly more conspicuous than non-occurrence of the term 'Devil' in a royal edict or a presidential proclamation of our time. A closer examination will show that *Drauga*, 'Lie, Falsehood,' is almost as much a Satanic personage in the Achaemenian Inscriptions as is *Druǰ* in the Zoroastrian Gāthās. Furthermore the evil verb *duruǰ-*, used of those who revolt against the divine right of kings, is as dualistic in its content and import as our vulgar expressions 'play the devil' and 'raise hell,' which approximate the meaning of this root. The language of the Inscriptions thus leads us to infer knowledge of the Evil One. The evil genius of Famine, *Dušiyāra*, in the Inscriptions has its counterpart in *Dužyāirya* of the Avesta. Other points will be referred to hereafter.

§ 25. **Dualism and monotheism. 2. Monotheistic tendencies: a striving toward unity.** Dualism as one of the

[9] Especially de Harlez, *Avesta trad.*, introd., p. ix–xiv and ccxi, and also later pamphlets; and already Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, introd., p. 16, 17. See more recently Spiegel, *ZDMG.* 52. 187–189. [Consult Casartelli, 'Dualism (Iranian),' in *ERE.* 5. 111–112; cf. also the added references in § 19 n. 21 above.]

characteristics of Zoroastrianism is thus an established fact. How generally it was accepted throughout Iran in early times is another matter. We have evidence for believing that there were different opinions held on the subject of dualism at different periods in antiquity and in different places. Allusion has already been made to the question of the Achaemenian view on this point, as shown in the Inscriptions. We have plenty of ground for believing that, at least in later times, the faith of Iran was split up into sects on this question. The striving of the human mind in its reflection on the idea of god is generally toward unity. Monotheism is evolved out of polytheism. The quasi-monotheism in Zoroastrian dualism has already been alluded to. The monotheistic tendency in Mazdaism is evidenced especially in the acceptance of a single great Primal Cause, regarded as Time, Space, Fate, or Light, in the systems which were evolved later, more particularly by the sects.[10]

The modern Parsis see in the Spenta Mainyu of the Gāthās a phase of Ahura Mazdāh's being which they regard as the antithesis of Aŋra Mainyu; and they conceive of Ormazd as comprising within himself the two spirits, the good and the evil, or the two poles of the magnet, the positive and the negative.[11] There is no question that Spenta Mainyu, or the 'Holy Spirit,' in opposition to Angra Mainyu, is often conceived of in the Gāthās as an effluence or emanation from Ahura himself.[12] In such

[10] Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 315–337.

[11] J. J. Modi, 'Religious System of the Parsees,' in *The World's Parliament of Religions*, 2. 900–902, Chicago, 1893; Firoz Jamaspji, footnotes in Casartelli's *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 3–19; and N. F. Bilimoria, *The Open Court*, 11. 377–388, Chicago, June 1897. [Rastamji Edulji D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra and Zarathushtrianism in the Avesta*, p. 140–159, Leipzig, 1906; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 24–25, 45–48, 155–157, New York, 1914.]

[12] Ys. 30. 5; 44. 7; 45. 2; 43. 5; 57. 17; Yt. 13. 13; 15. 3, 43, 44; 19. 44, 46.

cases this spiritual power becomes personified almost as an individual, as a being that plays the role of intermediary, especially in creative activity, somewhat like Vohu Manah, or the Archangel of Good Thought.[13] As Spenta Mainyu is of the same nature and substance as Ahura Mazdāh, the subtle relation between the two is as hard to define as that between the Holy Ghost and the Father in the New Testament. The contrast between Ahura Mazdāh and Spenta Mainyu, on the one hand, and the Druj and Aŋra Mainyu, on the other, as may be noticed in the Gāthās, has already been mentioned above. It is for this reason especially that Haug characterizes Zoroaster's theology as monotheism, his speculative philosophy as dualism. I have examined the question of Spenta Mainyu elsewhere in an article on Ormazd, and I may therefore refer to that article (as well as to § 47 below) instead of repeating the discussion here.[14] Inasmuch as the Parsis hold that Ormazd comprises a dual nature within himself, and as they so interpret the Gāthās, their view certainly deserves consideration. But reasons are given in the article referred to, especially on the basis of the classical allusions, for believing that the modern view is rather a later development, along more sharply defined lines, of what is only latent in the Gāthās.[15] That the view is as old as Sasanian times may be shown from literary sources, as will now be explained.

Going back, in the first place, to the twelfth century of our era, we find it recognized as Iranian by the Arab writer Shahrastānī (1086–1153 A.D.). In his work on Religious Sects and Philosophic Schools (Germ. trans. by Haarbrücker, 1. 275–285), Shahrastānī distinguishes three sects

[13] Thus, for example, Ys. 43. 2, 6; 45. 6; 47. 1, 5; 51. 7.

[14] Jackson, 'Ormazd, or the Ancient Persian Idea of God,' *The Monist*, 9. 161–178, Chicago, Jan. 1899.

[15] Cf. in this connection Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion*, 2. 135, 156; Justi, *Die älteste iranische Religion*, p. 72; Spiegel, *ZDMG.* 52. 194.

of the Magi, namely the Zarvanites, the Gayomarthians, and the Zardushtians, or followers of Zoroaster. The Zarvanites accept Time as the origin and source of all things, whence Ormazd and Ahriman both are sprung. The Gayomarthians, on the other hand, conceive of Ormazd as God, from whom in a moment of doubting thought Ahriman sprang forth. The modern Persian treatise 'Ulamā-ī Islām is distinctively Zarvanitic, but it recognizes that there are also other theories as to the origin of Ahriman. The authority of the Greek writer Theodorus of Mopsuestia and of the Armenian authors Eznik and Elisaeus, of the fifth century of our era, expressly recognizes this doctrine of Zrvan, or 'Boundless Time,' as prevailing in the Sasanian period. From several allusions in later parts of the Avesta we may assume that the doctrine of Boundless Time (*zrvan akarana*) was not unknown when they were composed.[16] Theodorus of Mopsuestia (c. 360–428 A.D.) goes further and identifies Ζαρουάμ with Destiny (Τύχη), which is the Avestan *baxta* and the Pahlavi *baxt*.[17] Damascius (c. 500 A.D.) makes it synonymous with Space (Τόπος). The germ for this interpretation is likewise to be recognized in the Avesta; and these variations of Time, Space, Destiny, and Light are but phases of the original idea of the sky-god, as Darmesteter rightly observes.[18] The whole subject of these philosophic and monistic aspects of dualism has been much discussed, and abundant material is accessible. It will suffice simply to give the general references and to add that we have proof enough in the Iranian sects to show that there is good ground for the existing views and monotheistic tendencies of the Parsis of the present day, and that it is not without reason that they object to having dualism empha-

[16] Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 128; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 316 ff. [Consult now I. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System,' referred to in note 19 below.]

[17] Justi, *Handbuch*, p. 208; Mēnūk-ī Khrat, 27. 10, *SBE.* 24. 57.

[18] Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 338.

sized too strongly as a characteristic tenet of their faith, which resembles Christianity in more than one respect.[19]

§ 26. Conclusion. Zoroastrianism represents a new faith, but the real nature of the reform and the precise relation between this religion and the older one are not clear. Concessions were undoubtedly made; survivals of older elements from an earlier stage of development are clearly recognizable; the presence of new elements is likewise unquestioned. Dualism is a characteristic feature of Zoroaster's creed. Whatever may have suggested it, the teaching of this doctrine, in its fullest sense, is doubtless a product of his own insight. Zoroaster's dualism, moreover, is monotheistic and optimistic, since it postulates the ultimate triumph of Ormazd and the annihilation of all evil. Finally, there is abundant evidence of monotheistic tendencies in the development of the religion, especially in the sects of the Magi and in the faith of the modern Parsis. In the light of the present chapter we shall be better able to understand the division between the Kingdom of Good and the Kingdom of Evil, which are now to be considered.

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[19] Shahrastānī, tr. Haarbrücker, 1. 275 ff.; 'Ulamā-ī Islām, tr. Vullers, *Fragm. über die Religion des Zoroaster*, p. 42–67, and tr. in Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, p. 560–568. So also Eznik, tr. in Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 542–551, and in Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, 2. 369 ff.; and Elisaeus in Langlois, *op. cit.* 2. 189 ff. For fuller discussions and references see Haug, *Essays*, p. 13; Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 175 ff.; Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 5–14, 52–53; and see especially the chapter in Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 314–338, and West in *SBE.* 5, introd., p. lxix. [Important now to refer to is I. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System,' in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in Honour of D. D. P. Sanjana*, p. 61–81, London, 1925; N. D. Khandalavala, 'The Two Spirits—Spenta and Angra—in the Avesta,' *ibid.* p. 213–219.]

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CHAPTER V

THE HOST OF HEAVEN

§ 27. Introduction. In Zoroastrianism the line that divides the powers of good from the forces of evil is sharply drawn. Goodness, Light, and Heaven wage incessant warfare against Darkness, Evil, and Hell. The host of heaven and the celestial hierarchy are portrayed in clear color. The host of hell and the infernal crew are less distinctly drawn, but they are not so spectral and dim that their outlines cannot be recognized. The armies of the two kingdoms are marshaled in warlike array. There is leader to meet leader, rank to face rank, and division and subdivision are set over against each other in formal opposition.

§ 28. Ideality of the Iranian conception of divinity. The Greeks, with their anthropomorphic idea of the pantheon of heaven, were struck by the ideal and spiritual nature of the Iranian conception of the godhead and divinity. Abundant allusions in the classics, from the time of Herodotus onward, prove the truth of this statement, which is also in keeping with the actual facts.[1] It is the purity and the abstract character of the Persian celestial hierarchy that distinguish its pantheon so greatly from the divinities of other Aryan nations. It must be admitted that we often recognize some survival or naturalistic trait from an earlier religious stage, but it is always spiritualized in Iran. The Greeks also were particularly impressed by the absence of statues and images of the gods among the ancient Persians.[2]

[1] Herodotus 1. 131; 3. 29, 37; 8. 109; Diogenes Laertius, Prooem. 6.

[2] Hdt. 1. 131; Deinon, Fragm. 9; Maximus of Tyre, Dissertat. 2. 4; cf. Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.*, part ii, 3, p. 104. [See later, Jackson, 'Images and Idols (Iranian),' in Hastings, *Enc. Relig. and Ethics*, 7. 151–154; cf. also Clemen, *Gr. Lat. Nachr. Pers. Relig.* p. 97–99.]

It is true that in later times Strabo mentions images of some of the gods; and Ormazd himself is sculptured on a Sasanian bas-relief, as well as also on the rock at Behistan in Achaemenian times.[3] But this was not customary, as the Greek statements imply. In effect these art productions differ little from our own carvings of angels, cherubim, and seraphim, or from representations of the Deity himself in medieval Christian art.

§ 29. **The celestial hierarchy.** The word *yazata*, 'adorable, worshipful one,' cf. New Persian *yazdān*, is employed in the Avesta as a general designation of divinity. This attribute, however, is not used to convey the idea of god in the abstract; it is rather employed in a specific way as a designation of various members of the heavenly host. 'Angel' is perhaps the best rendering for the word. It is applied to the deity Ahura Mazdāh;[4] but then it serves rather to characterize Ormazd as a member of the hierarchy of which he is the supreme and governing head. The Old Persian Inscriptions designate Auramazda as *baga* (compare the rare Avestan word *baγa*), which they apply also in the plural to the minor deities.[5] Xenophon, Plutarch, and other Greek writers, speak of 'the gods' (*οἱ Θεοί*), or 'Zeus and the other gods'; and they place these expressions or similar ones upon the lips of Persians. Some account

[3] See Jackson, 'Ormazd,' *The Monist*, 9. 161–178, Chicago, Jan. 1899; and Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 1. 8. Geldner has suggested that possibly Vd. 19. 20–25 might be interpreted after Strabo's allusion to an image of *Ὠμανής*, cf. *GIrPh*. 2. 39 n.

[4] Ys. 16. 1, *mazištəm yazatəm*, 'the greatest divinity (of all.)' [Especially see Yt. 17. 16, 'Ahura Mazdāh, the greatest and best of the Yazatas'.]

[5] See Spiegel, *Die altpers. Keilinschriften*, s. v. *baga*. [Add Tolman, *Cuneiform Supplement* (Lexical Index), p. 36. Note that O.P. pl. in *-āha* is used only in *bagāha* = Av. *baγāϑhō*; both borrowed from a common source, cf. Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, Paris, 1915, p. 6, 157.]

may be taken of Hellenic coloring,[6] but the Greeks were undoubtedly right in thus also recognizing certain polytheistic traits in the Persian religion. We recognize, for example, a sort of Zoroastrian pantheon. Nevertheless, this is of a very spiritual nature, as is sufficiently proved by the supersensuous and transcendental nature of Ahura Mazdāh, the head of the celestial hierarchy.

We now come to discuss the several constituents of the heavenly host: (A) the godhead supreme, (B) the group of archangels, or Amshaspands, and finally (C) the remaining angels and good spirits.

§ 30. (A.) Ahura Mazdāh, or Ormazd, the Lord God of Iran.—Introduction. At the head of the host of heaven, as supreme ruler over the kingdom of good, of truth, of light, stands Ahura Mazdāh, or Ormazd, the Lord God of Iran.[7] The name *Ahura Mazdāh*, Phl. *Aūharmazd*, NP. *Ormazd* or *Ormuzd*, signifies the 'Lord Wisdom,' the 'Sovereign' (*ahura*) who is 'knowledge' (*mazdāh*, cf. Skt. *medhā*).[8] Knowledge and 'intelligence' (*xratu*) are prime characteristics of Ahura Mazdāh. The spirituality and loftiness of the conception of Ormazd is remarkable, as a study of the epithets, attributes, and functions of the god shows. Only

[6] Rapp, *ZDMG.* 19. 46–47.

[7] Beside *Ahura Mazdāh* we often find in the Gāthās *Mazdāh Ahura*, or the names separated or alone. For statistics, see West, *JRAS.* 1890, p. 508 (quoted by Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 435), and also Baunack, *Studien . . . Die drei wichtigsten Gebete*, p. 346; Tiele, *Over de oudheid van het Awesta*, p. 379.

[8] On the name, see especially Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 26–29; P. von Bradke, *Dyaus Asura, Ahura Mazda*, p. 84–87, Halle, 1885; Jamaspjee Minocheherjee Jamasp Asana, 'On the Avestic Terms Mazda—Ahura Mazda—Ahura,' *Travaux de la 6e session du congrès internat. des Orientalistes à Leide*, 2. 1–14, Leiden, 1885; and cf. Justi, *Handbuch*, s. v. *ahura, ahu.* [See also Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 286–294; furthermore, for the form of the Assyrian divine name *As-sa-ra Ma-za-aš*, see Hommel, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.* 1899, p. 132; also cf. Moulton, *EZ.* p. 30–32, 422–424.]

a summary of these can be given here; a more detailed account will be found in my monograph on Ormazd.[9]

§ 31. **Characteristics of Ormazd.** Ahura Mazdāh is an all-wise god, an omniscient lord, a spirit most benign and bounteous, righteous, immutable and unchanging, undeceiving and undeceived. He is a watchful guardian and protector, a giver of rewards and punishments, and he is the father and creator of all good things, especially the creator of light and of the cow.[10] His throne is in the heavens, in the realm of eternal light; his presence is manifested by splendor and glory; and he is surrounded by a company of ministering angels who carry out his commands. It is Ahura Mazdāh who was, and is, and will be. The relation of his 'Holy Spirit' (Spenta Mainyu) to the 'Evil Spirit' (Aŋra Mainyu) has already been noticed. Traces of some older naturalistic survivals or of mythological traits may be recognized in the figure of Ormazd, which point to a connection between him and the old idea of a god of the sky. Resemblances between Ahura Mazdāh and the early conception of Varuṇa in India have been especially emphasized by Darmesteter and others.[11] These resemblances may be regarded as traits preserved from a common Indo-Iranian period. While the likenesses are undoubted, they nevertheless pass into the background when the figure of the

[9] See Jackson, 'Ormazd, or the Ancient Persian Idea of God,' *The Monist*, 9. 161–178, Chicago, January, 1899.

[10] In this connection it may be mentioned that it is, after all, best to regard the conception of *Gəuš Tašan* always as an emanation of Ahura Mazdāh, in the same way as the 'Intelligence of the Holy Spirit' (*xratuš mainyəuš*), which expresses the creative activity. It is thus understood by Justi, 'Die älteste iranische Religion,' *Preuss. Jahrb.* 88. 77; otherwise by Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, 2. 134.

[11] Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 52–86, and Oldenberg, *Vedische Religion*, p. 29 ff., discuss this relation. [See also later, H. D. Griswold, *Religion of the Rigveda*, p. 111–118, London, 1923; R. Zimmermann, 'The Identity between Varuna and Ahura Mazda,' in *Proc. and Transact. Third Or. Conference*, p. 113–125, Madras, 1925.]

Persian godhead comes out in its full glory. He is more spiritual than the supreme god of any other Aryan nation and approaches nearest to Jehovah. But Ahura Mazdāh, although omniscient and omnipresent, is never omnipotent. Aŋra Mainyu, or Ahriman, his co-eval, if not co-eternal, rival is ever hampering, limiting, and confining his action, until the millennium shall banish evil from the world and Ormazd shall be all in all.

§ 32. **Conclusion.** Ahura Mazdāh, or Ormazd, is the supreme god of ancient Persia. This figure of Mazdāh is so typical, so characteristic, so exalted in its majesty, that the designation 'Mazdaism,' after the name of the deity itself, is often used for the entire religious system.

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§ 33. (B.) The Amesha Spentas, or the archangels of Zoroastrianism.—Introduction. Before the throne of Ahura Mazdāh stand a number of attendant spirits or ministering angels to carry out his commands. The heavenly hierarchy is conceived after the manner of an Oriental monarch with his grandees. The vizirs of the king are the Amesha Spentas, 'Immortal Holy Ones,' or 'Beneficent (*spənta*) Immortals (*amərša*),' as their name signifies. In later Persian they are called Amshaspands. The number of these auxiliary divinities who wait upon the Supreme Being is six; and together with Ormazd they constitute a sevenfold group or celestial council.[12] The relation of these to their lord, Aūharmazd, as it is expressed in Pahlavi literature, is that of servitors to sovereign; they are ministering spirits to whom God issues his divine commands.[13] Their names are personifications of abstract concepts or virtues: Vohu Manah, 'Good Thought,' Asha Vahishta, 'Best Righteousness,' Khshathra Vairya, 'Wished-for Kingdom,' Spentā Ārmaiti, 'Bountiful Devotion,' Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, 'Saving Health' and 'Immortality.'

§ 34. General concept of the Amesha Spentas. The idea of archangels (Amesha Spentas) that exist by the side of the angels (Yazatas) and are a little lower than the Supreme Being (Ahura Mazdāh) seems to us a very natural one. We are familiar with it in Judaism,[14] and some investigators have seen in these figures a strong likeness to the Ādityas of ancient India.[15] In Zoroastrianism the idea can be traced

[12] Yt. 2. 1; 19. 16; VZsp. 21. 17, 23 (*SBE.* 47. 157–158, n. 5).

[13] Cf. Pahlavi Gōsht i Fryānō 2. 55–59; Bahman Yasht 3. 32.

[14] Cf. especially A. Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 100–105, Leipzig, 1866. [Concerning parallels see Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Religion*, p. 132–136.]

[15] Especially Darmesteter and also Roth, and later Oldenberg, *ZDMG.* 50. 43 ff. [Compare the references below (§ 38, Bibliog.) to Pettazzoni and B. Geiger; cf. likewise Griswold, *Relig. Rigveda*, p. 145–149.]

back as far as the opening of the Christian era, and undoubtedly farther back, or even to Zoroaster himself as the probable original proponent of this conception. The Greek writer Plutarch (about 50–120 A.D.) expressly recognizes this class of six divinities as a characteristic feature of the Magian Zoroaster's belief.[16] His authority perhaps was Theopompus (4th century B.C.). The correspondence between Plutarch and the Avestan names is as follows:

AVESTA	PLUTARCH
Vohu Manah	εὔνοια
Asha Vahishta	ἀλήθεια
Khshathra Vairya	εὐνομία
Spentā Ārmaiti	σοφία
Haurvatāt	πλοῦτος
Ameretāt	τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργός[16a]

The hypothesis which was advanced by Darmesteter,[17] that the doctrine of the Amesha Spentas is late and is to be ascribed to the influence of Neo-Platonic ideas, has not met with favor generally among scholars.[18]

[16] Plutarch, Is. et Os. 47.

[16a] [In the text of Plutarch, the words εὔνοια etc. are in the genitive case, depending on θεούς preceding or δημιουργόν following, so that the exact meaning would be 'the god (or maker) of Good Will' etc. See Moulton's translation of the passage, *EZ.* p. 401, and his comments, n. 1, and compare also Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 164.]

[17] *LeZA.* 3, pages liii–liv, lxxxviii, and *SBE.* 4 (2d ed.), introd., p. lvi–lvii.

[18] Darmesteter himself formerly maintained that the Amesha Spentas were identical with the Ādityas, and that the idea of these angels was accordingly of common Indo-Iranian origin (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 38–86, especially p. 83). Before his death he abandoned this view and advanced a theory that the idea of Vohu Manah in the Gāthās is a reflection of the Θεῖος Λόγος of Philo Judaeus; that the parallels of the other Amshaspands were to be found in Philo's δυνάμεις, 'Powers'; and that the Gāthās are not older than the first century of

§ 35. Characteristics of this sevenfold group. As already stated, the Amesha Spentas are six in number, Plutarch's

the Christian era. F. Max Müller, *Contemporary Review*, 1893, p. 369 ff., *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1895, p. 173; Tiele, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1894, p. 68 ff. (energetically); Geldner, *GIrPh.* 2. 39; and especially Stave, *Über den Einfluss des Parsismus*, p. 2 ff. (in great detail), and later again Tiele, *Archiv f. Relig.* (1898) 1. 337–360, as well as Oldenberg and others, have commented on this radical hypothesis and given their reasons for rejecting it. In addition to the reasons given by these scholars, it may be worth observing that Strabo (about 63 B.C. to 25 A.D.), who lived nearly a century earlier than Plutarch, mentions Ameretāt ('Ανάδατος, i.e. 'Αμάρδατος) as well as 'Ωμανής (Strabo 11, p. 512 c, cf. Windischmann, *Anahita*, p. 36, Munich, 1856, also note 49 below).

Certainly *aša* is the Vedic *ṛtá*. Since we find in Armenia, as early as 239 B.C. (Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 38–39), the theophoric name of a King Artavazdas, of which the Avestan philological equivalent is *Ašavazdah* (cf. esp. also the Gathic adj. plur. *ašahyā važdrəng*, 'furtherers of Righteousness,' i.e. of the Zoroastrian Religion, Ys. 46. 4), it is apparent that the fundamental idea of the archangel Asha already existed at that time, just as the proper names Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael presuppose a belief in the archangels of the Bible. The Achaemenian 'Αρτάβανος, furthermore, necessarily presupposes *Ašavan;* and Ktesias's 'Οξυάρτης involves the concept *Uxšyaŧərəta*. [Possibly one might suggest for the former *Arta-pāna*, 'Protection of that which is Right.' The second name is compared with Av. *huxšaθra* by Justi, *Namenb.* p. 233, while the coins of O. read *NaHUŠaTR*, de Morgan, *Numismatique*, p. 281–282. For the various Iranian names in *Arta-* (Gk. 'Αρτα-, as attested by Herodotus), see Justi, *Namenb.* p. 31–40, and cf. Stonecipher, *Graeco-Persian Names* (Vanderbilt Or. Ser. vol. 9), New York, 1918, p. 22–29 and especially his discussion of O.P. *arta-*, p. 11–13.]

The common occurrence of these names by the close of the Achaemenian period implies that the doctrine of archangels existed and was accepted at that time. It is certain, moreover, that *Vohūman*, as the name of an archangel, was borne by Ardashīr Dirāzdast (Artaxerxes I), son of the hero Isfandiār who died for Zoroaster's faith. The entire Zoroastrian system, finally, from beginning to end, presumes the existence of the Amesha Spentas as a cardinal tenet of the faith. They certainly give the impression of being an integral part of the religion, and we seem hardly entitled to doubt their antiquity or to believe that

ξξ *θεοί*.[19] Ahura Mazdāh is the seventh member; otherwise Sraosha is admitted to complete the holy number.[20] The individual names of these abstractions are met with in almost every verse of the old metrical Gāthās.[21] The relative frequency of their occurrence corresponds to the order given above, and the list of their names in this order is often found in the sacred literature.[22] The designation Amesha Spenta presumably means 'Undying Beneficent Ones' (Av. *amәša*, 'immortal'=Skt. *amṛtá;* and Av. *spәnta*, 'augmenting, bountiful, holy,' if from a root *span*, 'to profit, further, increase').[22a] As a class designation of this band, the title does not occur in the metrical Gāthās. It is found first in the Yasna Haptanghāiti (Ys. 39. 3), which is composed (at any rate in its present form) in Gāthā prose.[23] All the attributes which are applied to these abstract personifications are well suited to the pure quality of such allegorical figures.[24] The adjectives *vohu*, *vahišta*, *vairya*,

this doctrine is of foreign origin. [The whole theory of Darmesteter as to the lateness of the Gāthās, and consequently also as to the late origin of the idea of the Amesha Spentas, is now generally abandoned. In this regard consult A. Meillet, *Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā*, p. 9–11, Paris, 1925.]

[19] Yt. 2 (Haft Amshaspand); 19. 16 = 13. 83.

[20] Yt. 10. 139; Ys. 57. 12; Yt. 3. 1; Bd. 30. 29.

[21] Compare, for example, Ys. 45. 10; Ys. 47. 1. In some instances in the Gāthās (like Ys. 28. 7; 34. 12, 14) the personification is slight, but it is nevertheless to be recognised. On this subject, cf. Geiger, *Eastern Iranians*, transl. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, vol. 1, p. xxxiv; see Easton, 'Divinities in the Gāthās,' *JAOS.* 15. 189–206.

[22] For example, Ys. 1. 2; Yt. 1. 24–25; Sīr. 2. 2–7, and often in Pahlavi, e.g. Bd. 1. 25–26.

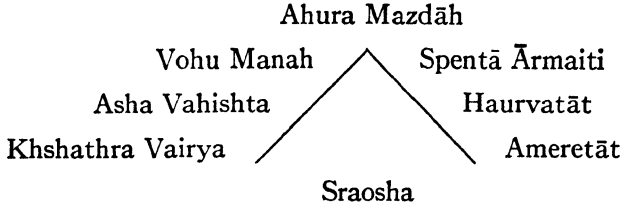
[22a] [This etymology is rejected by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1621, note 15. More recently B. Geiger, *Die Amәša Spәntas*, p. 6–31, suggests connecting *spәnta* etc. with a Rigvedic root *pan*, with the sense of 'to praise, glorify,' and concludes (p. 31) that the Amesha Spentas are either 'die unsterblichen Herrlichen' or preferably 'die herrlichen Unsterblichen.']

[23] Cf. Ys. 42. 6.

[24] Ys. 39. 3; Visp. 9. 4; 11. 12; Ys. 4. 4; 24. 9; 58. 5; Yt. 13. 82–83; etc.

spənta, which are the most common titles of the first four respectively, have in later times become the standing epithets inseparable from each. No attribute seems ever to be assigned to Haurvatāt or Ameretāt; the two are commonly mentioned together as a dvandva dual.

In heaven, according to the Iranian Bundahishn,[25] the Amesha Spentas sit before the throne of Ormazd, three on each side, ranged according to their age and sex (or rather gender):[26]



The admission of Sraosha to participation in the council has been noticed above. The Iranian Bundahishn names also the auxiliaries or minor divinities, such as Sun, Moon and Tishtrya, who attend each Amshaspand.[27] In some late passages the list of the Amesha Spentas is augmented by the inclusion of other names as archangels, as will be noticed below, but this is not strictly Zoroastrian.

With regard to the origin and the functions of the Amesha Spentas we must remember that Ahura Mazdāh is their father and creator.[28] He brought them forth to aid him in his work and labors. The creative and organizing activity of the Amshaspands is in keeping with their character as Ormazd's agents.[29] By preference he acts through their

[25] Cf. Jackson, 'Note on the Amshaspands,' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1. 363–366 (1898).

[26] The first three (neuter) are regarded as males; the last three as females; see Phl. BYt. 2. 64 and Iran. Bd., tr. Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 306.

[27] See the translation by Darmesteter in *LeZA*. 2. 306 ff.

[28] Yt. 19. 16 = Yt. 13. 85; also Yt. 1. 25; Bd. 1. 23–28.

[29] Yt. 19. 18; Ys. 58. 5; Visp. 11. 12; ŠNŠ. 22. 1–7.

ministering hands.[30] They are also entrusted with the guardianship of various elements in the world.[31] To Vohu Manah is assigned the care of useful animals; to Asha Vahishta, the fire; to Khshathra Vairya, the metals. Spentā Ārmaiti is the goddess of the earth; Haurvatāt and Ameretāt care for the waters and plants. This idea of each being a tutelary genius or guardian angel over some material object is undoubtedly old. We can see it foreshadowed in the Gāthās. Nevertheless, no satisfactory explanation has yet been given for the special connection, although numerous suggestions have been offered.

The Amesha Spentas receive special worship in the ritual. They are said to descend to the oblation upon paths of light.[32] According to the Dēnkarṭ and other writings, they visibly appeared before King Vīshtāspa and took part in his conversion, as well as dwelt afterwards at the royal mansion.[33] In the Persian Zartūsht Nāmah they are even described as riding upon wonderful steeds, which perhaps explains the phrase *zəvīštyāng aurvatō*, 'swiftest chargers,' in the Gāthās (Ys. 50. 7).[34] Even Aūharmazd is represented in a Sasanian bas-relief as mounted on horseback.[35] In paradise the Amesha Spentas sit upon thrones of gold.[36] They are all worthy of worship. In the pontifical calendar each Amshaspand has a special month assigned to his honor—thus the second month (April–May) to Ardabahisht, the twelfth (February–March) to Spendarmat, etc.[37] Each

[30] Yt. 19. 46; Vd. 19. 9; cf. Bd. 30. 29.

[31] Cf. ŠNŠ. 13. 8, 14; 15. 1–31, and Iran. Bd. in Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 305–322, and especially VZsp. 22. 1–13 (*SBE.* 47. 159–162).

[32] Yt. 13. 84 = Yt. 19. 17.

[33] Dk. 7. 4. 75; 7. 6. 13; VZsp. 23. 7.

[34] Cf. Zartūsht Nāmah, tr. by Eastwick in Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, p. 510; also later tr. by F. Rosenberg, *Livre de Zoroastre* (*Zarātusht Nama*), p. 57, St. Petersburg, 1904.

[35] See above, p. 38, and Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 8.

[36] Vd. 19. 32 et passim.

[37] For example, Bd. 25. 20; and cf. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 33–34.

has a special day as holy day—thus the sixth was sacred to Khordāt, the fourth to Shahrēvar.[38] The Bundahishn tells also of special flowers appropriate or consecrated to each of these archangels, as the musk to Spendarmat and the white jasmine to Vohūman.[39]

It is needless to refer to the relevant passages individually; they are clearly in evidence in the Bundahishn and are easily to be found in West's translation. In the Yashts, moreover, there is an entire chapter (Yt. 2) devoted to the praise of the Amesha Spentas, but it is of late origin and of little intrinsic value. Finally, in the Yashts and in the Bundahishn each of these archangelic cardinal virtues has an archfiend to contend against as opponent, over whom victory will be won at the time of the Resurrection and the Day of Judgment.[40]

§ 36. The Amesha Spentas individually. V o h u M a n a h (Av. *Vohu Manah*, Phl. *Vohūman*, Pers. *Bahman*, Neryosangh *Gvahmana*, *uttamamanaḥ*, *utkṛṣṭataraṁ manaḥ*, Plutarch εὔνοια, lit. 'good thought'). This archangel in the spiritual world represents a personification of Ahura Mazdāh's good spirit and divine wisdom working in man and uniting him with God. Vohu Manah is Ormazd's first creation, the adviser who sits upon his right hand and who is the chief promoter of the kingdom. He presides in Paradise; he rises to welcome the souls of the blessed, and thus Vohu Manah is the archangel who leads Zarathushtra's soul in trance before the throne of heaven. As auxiliaries by the side of Vohūman, according to the Great Iranian Bundahishn, stand Māh (the Moon), Gōshūrūn (the genius of cattle), and Rām (the giver of good pasturage). Vohu Manah's name, moreover, is associated with peace (*āxšti*) as opposed to discord.[41] In the material world Vohu

[38] For example, Sīr. 1. 1–7.

[39] Bd. 27. 24, tr. West, *SBE.* 5. 103–104.

[40] Yt. 19. 96; Bd. 30. 29.

[41] Sīr. 1. 2; Iran. Bd. (Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 307); ŠVV. 8. 128–9 (*SBE.* 24. 161).

Manah, furthermore, has charge especially of useful animals. His ritual worship is mentioned in the sacred literature, and a special cult of Vohu Manah as Ὦμανής (Ὦμανός) had spread as far as Cappadocia in the time of Strabo (11, p. 512; 15, p. 733). In Pahlavi literature (SNŠ. 10. 9) the cock is assigned to him as sacred bird;[42] allusion has been made to the white jasmine as his appropriate flower, while white garments are peculiarly sacred to him. The second day and the eleventh month are consecrated to his name. The likeness between Vohu Manah and the Λόγος has also been commented on above. Finally, the chief antagonist of Vohu Manah is the archfiend Aka Manah.

Asha Vahishta (Av. *Aša Vahišta*, Phl. *Ašavahišt*, *Artavahišt*, Pers. *Ardabahišt*, Neryosangh *Aśavahista*, *puṇya*, *dharma*, *satya*, *bhakti*, Plutarch ἀλήθεια, lit. 'best righteousness'). This archangel is the second of the celestial group and personifies Right. He represents the divine law and moral order in the world, together with good works, purity, truth, and holiness, in short, all that is meant by the Sanskrit cognate *ṛta* or by its synonym *dharma*. The Zoroastrian ideal is to live 'according to Asha';[43] such a man is *ašavan*, 'righteous,' as opposed to the *drəgvant*, 'wicked, ungodly, or one who belongs to Satan.' In Ys. 29 Asha acts as an intercessor with Ahura Mazdāh. Near by this archangel in heaven stands also Ātar, the fire, according to the description in the Iranian Bundahishn. Upon earth all fires are under Asha's special care. The second month of the Zoroastrian year, or April–May, and the third day of each month, are consecrated to this archangel. The idea of Asha must be as old fundamentally as the Sanskrit *ṛta*. The word *aša* (Gk. Ἀρτα-) is particularly common as an element in ancient Persian names (cf. n. 18 above). The special foe of Asha is the archfiend Indra.

[42] Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* 74.

[43] For example, Ys. 31. 2 et passim.

Khshathra Vairya (Av. *Xšaθra Vairya*, Phl. *Xšatravēr*, Pers. *Šahrēvar*, Neryosangh *Saharevara*, *rājya*, e.g. Ys. 28. 3; 45. 10; *svāmitva*, e.g. Ys. 49. 8 et al., Plutarch εὐνομία, lit. 'desirable sovereignty, wished-for kingdom'). This abstract figure, 'the good kingdom' (*vohu xšaθra*), as it is also called, or 'the kingdom of desire' (*išti*), represents a personification of Ahura Mazdāh's might, majesty, dominion, and sovereignty, in short, the kingdom of heaven, or, on earth, that triumph of regal power and authority which will care for the poor and will bring about an annihilation of evil. This Amesha Spenta is perhaps the least material and most abstract of all the six cardinal virtues. In the court of heaven Khshathra Vairya has as auxiliaries the Sun, Mithra, Heaven (Asmān), and Anīrān (*anaγra raocå*).[44] In the material world it is this archangel that presides over the metals, which stand as his sign and symbol. The 'basil royal' is the special flower consecrated to Khshathra, according to Bd. 27. 24; and the sixth month (August–September) is dedicated to this genius; the fourth day of the month bears his name. Khshathra has the arch-fiend Saurva or Sauru (Phl. *Sārvar*) as his particular antagonist.

Spentā Ārmaiti (Av. *Spəntā Ārmaiti;* Phl. *Spendarmat*, Pers. *Asfandarmad*, Armenian *Spandarmat*, Neryosangh *Spindāramada*, *pṛthivī*, *sampūrṇamanasī*, Plutarch σοφία, lit. 'beneficent Ārmaiti, bountiful devotion'). The name Ārmaiti itself is identical with the Vedic Arámati, which, according to the statement of Sāyaṇa, is also to be regarded as a name of the earth once in the Rig-Veda. The Pahlavi tradition conceives of the name as meaning 'perfect wisdom,' *būndak mēnišnīh*, hence Neryosangh's *sampūrṇam manaḥ*. This Amshaspand is a feminine being, the daughter of Ahura Mazdāh and Heaven. She sits first upon the left hand of the deity. The name *ārmaiti*, lit. 'fit-mindedness'

[44] Iran. Bund. passage tr. by Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 313–315.

(cf. Skt. *aramati*), in the moral world is opposed to the fiend of 'Presumption' (Tarōmaiti) or 'Crooked-mindedness' (Pairimaiti, Ys. 32. 3). Especially does she represent a personification of faithful obedience, religious harmony, and worship, as shown especially in the care of the earth, over which she presides and with which her name is synonymous in the physical world. To Ārmaiti also is sacred a month, day, and flower (musk), and the earth is her hallowed possession as a symbol of patience and gratitude. Her foes, already named, include likewise Nāoŋhaithya, the arch-fiend of Untruth.

Haurvatāt and Ameretāt (Av. *Haurvatāṯ, Amərətāṯ;* Phl. *Xūrdaṯ, Amūrdaṯ;* Pers. *Xurdād, Murdād;* Neryosangh *Avirdāda* (*udaka*), *Amirdāda* (*vanaspati*), Plutarch, respectively πλοῦτος and ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργός). These two feminine archangels are always mentioned together, and they form an inseparable pair, often as a dvandva dual. They are not named as frequently as the other Amshaspands, but they occur often enough to give a clear idea of their characteristics and their functions. The abstract *haurvatāt* (from Av. *haurva*, 'whole, entire, perfect' = Skt. *sarva*) literally means 'wholeness, completion, fulness, totality.' This genius is a personification of the conceptions of saving health, perfection—in short, of salvation. On the other hand *amərətāt* (that is, *a-mṛta-tāt*) literally signifies 'deathlessness,' the cessation of death and its cause, i.e. immortality. In the spiritual world Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are a prototype of the vigor and endurance (Av. *təvīši* and *utayūiti*) in this earthly life, and they are the promised reward of the blessed, after death, in Paradise.[45] The name of Ameretāt is especially associated with the *gaokərəna*, or sacred white *haoma* tree, from

[45] Ys. 47. 1; Yt. 1. 25; Ys. 31. 6; 34. 11; 45. 5, 7, 10; 44. 17; 51. 7, and cf. Ys. 32. 5 (*hujyāiti*), also Dk. 9. 43. 2; cf. likewise Darmesteter, *Haurvaṭāṯ et Ameretāṯ*, p. 41–48.

which is extracted the draft of ambrosia which bestows immortality at the Resurrection.[46] In the material world the special charge of these archangels is the care of the water and the plants.[47] This association of their names with water and the vegetable kingdom is certainly as old as the Gāthās (Ys. 51. 7). The concept which gave rise to the association is supposed to be very primitive, because in the Indo-Iranian period, and probably even in the Indo-European epoch, the waters and plants are looked upon as a source of life and health.[48] It is the old idea of the tree of life and the fountain of youth. From the material blessings which Haurvatāt and Ameretāt bestow, we may perhaps account for Plutarch's rendering of the names as given above. As for the worship of these archangels, we know that in later times it must have reached as far as Cappadocia if we rightly understand the allusion to Ἀνάδατος (read Ἀμάρδατος) in Strabo (11, p. 512) as referring to Ameretāt.[49] In the pontifical calendar, the third month (May–June) and the sixth day bear the name of Haurvatāt; the fifth month (July–August) and the seventh day are called after Ameretāt. The names of their auxiliaries, of the flowers consecrated to them, as well as other points, may be found in the passages mentioned above. Their enemies are 'hunger and thirst' (*aγəm šudəmča taršnəmča*) or the fiends Tauru and Zairicha in the Avesta (Phl. *tāūrvŏ* and *zārīčŏ*).[50]

[46] Sīr. 1. 7; cf. Bd. 30. 25.

[47] Sīr. 1. 6–7; ŠNŠ. 15. 29; VZsp. 22. 11–12 (West, *SBE.* 5. 377–378; 47. 162) and the Iran. Bund. passage in Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 319–322.

[48] See the monograph on this question by Darmesteter, *Haurvatāṭ et Ameretāṭ*, Paris, 1875 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études).

[49] Consult Windischmann, *Die persische Anahita*, p. 36 (in *Abh. d. bair. Ak. München*, 1858), and Darmesteter, *Haurvatāṭ et Ameretāṭ*, p. 43; yet see Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 366.

[50] Yt. 19. 96; Bd. 30. 29; Dk. 9. 9. 1; and cf. Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, s. v. *tauru*. [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* s. v. *taurvay*, 643.]

§ 37. Apparent additions to the number of the Amesha Spentas. In later usage, either the term Amshaspand (Phl. *ameš̄ospend*) is employed in a looser and more general sense, so as to include angels also, or other members of the celestial hierarchy are counted as sufficiently allied with the group to receive the archangelic title. The latter supposition is more probably the truth of the matter, because, as we have already seen, the passage in the Iranian Bundahishn assigns an auxiliary or subaltern to each Amesha Spenta in the heavenly council. The translation of that passage by Darmesteter should be consulted. We have also called attention to the fact that Sraosha is practically admitted as a member of the group in Ys. 57. 12; and he acts in concert with the other members in Bd. 30. 29. As the genius of religious piety he is a mediator between heaven and earth. Similarly in another passage of the Avesta (Ys. 1. 2), the epithet of the angel Ātar, 'Fire,' *yaētuštəma amə̄šanąm spəntanąm*, is traditionally interpreted 'the most prompt to come of the Amesha Spentas.'[51] In the Iranian Bundahishn passage, Ātar sits by Asha Vahishta near Ahura Mazdāh.

In two later passages the title of archangel (Phl. *ameš̄ospend*) is actually given to two angels (or *yazata*, *īzad*)—a further proof of the fact that the term was used in a broader or looser sense. The first of these passages is SNS. 22. 14; in this, Gōshūrvan is spoken of as an 'archangel,' although elsewhere usually regarded as an angel, as West notes.[52] The second passage is in the Iranian Bundahishn, where the Avestan angel Ashi Vaṅuhī is referred to as 'the Amshaspand Ashishvang.'[53] This is doubtless owing to the fact that in the Avesta Ashi Vaṅuhī is spoken of as the sister (*xᵛaŋhar*) of the Amesha Spentas and daughter of Ahura

[51] See also Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 9, note 14.

[52] *SBE.* 5. 402. Bartholomae's note (*AF.* 3. 26) needs modification.

[53] Iran. Bund., tr. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 322.

Mazdāh and Spentā Ārmaiti, and is closely associated with the archangels.[54] The same Iranian Bundahishn passage calls Aērmān (i.e. Av. Airyaman) an Amshaspand, and Airyaman (Vedic *aryaman*) seems, even in the Gāthās, to play almost the part of an archangel.[55]

Perhaps in MX. 1. 53 the 'Spirit of Wisdom' is looked upon as one of the Amshaspands.[56] Attention has been called above to the looser use of the term 'archangel' in Bd. 27. 4, for there each *ameš̄ospend* of the thirty days of the month has a special flower consecrated to him.[57] A later formula even speaks of 'thirty-three Amshaspands.'[58]

§ **38. Conclusion.** The doctrine of the Amesha Spentas, or Archangels, is a characteristic feature of the Zoroastrian faith. This tenet may have originated with the Prophet himself; in any case it is not to be considered as of late origin. There are doubtless resemblances between the Amshaspands of Iran and the Ādityas of India; but they are too vague and not conclusive for an identification. On the other hand, the analogies between the doctrine of the Amesha Spentas of the Zoroastrian Scriptures and the Biblical teaching regarding the archangels is most striking.

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[54] Yt. 17. 2 (*x^{v}aŋhar*). Cf. Ys. 60. 6; Ys. 31. 4.

[55] Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 319; Tiele, *Geschichte*, 2. 152.

[56] Cf. Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 34.

[57] West, *SBE.* 5. 103.

[58] Cf. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 13, note 36, end; Bd. 27. 24, cf. Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 74 n.

214–226, Paris, 1880. See also Rapp, 'Die Religion der Perser nach gr. und röm. Quellen,' *ZDMG.* 19. 60 (tr. into English by K. R. Cama, *Religion and Customs of the Persians*, p. 117, Bombay, 1876–1879); Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, tr. from French by Firoz Jamaspji, p. 42–49, 74–75, Bombay, 1889; P. Horn, 'Meder und Perser,' p. 326–327, in Hellwald's *Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 1, 4th ed.; Ferd. Justi, 'Die älteste iranische Religion,' *Preuss. Jahrb.* 88. 72–77; Edv. Lehmann, *Die Perser*, p. 221–224, in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 2, 4th ed.; Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, 2. 139–155. [R. Pettazzoni, '*Amesha-spentas e Ādityas*' (*Studi Ital. Filolog. Indo-Iranica*, 7. 3–14, Florence, 1908); B. Geiger, *Die Amәša Spәntas*, Vienna, 1916 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, Bd. 176, Abh. 7); Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Religion*, p. 132–136.]

§ 39. (C.) **Yazatas, or angels, and other deifications.—Introduction.** The Zoroastrian faith recognizes the existence of a number of divinities who rank third in order below Ahura Mazdāh and the Amesha Spentas. These are the angels of the Iranian hierarchy, the Yazatas (Av. *yazata* = Skt. *yajata*, NP. *īzad*), lit. 'adorable beings, or worshipful ones,' as they are called. Like the Amshaspands, they serve to transmit the will of the Divine Lord to mankind and to carry it out in detail. Plutarch alludes to the Yazatas when he speaks of the twenty-four other gods who are created after the six archangels.[59] They are also apparently identical with the θεοὶ πατρῷοι and the θεοὶ βασίλειοι of those Greek writers who discuss Persian beliefs; they are doubtless also the *viθaibiš bagaibiš* of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions.

§ 40. **Characteristics of the Yazatas.** The number of Yazatas is theoretically legion; Yasht 6. 1 speaks of them as hundreds and thousands; Diogenes Laertius (Prooem. 6, 7) states that, according to the Persian belief, the whole air is peopled by spirits. In reality, however, the only prominent

[59] Plutarch, Is. et Os. 47, ἄλλους δὲ ποιήσας τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι θεούς.

Yazatas are those to whom a day in the month is assigned as a holy day or to whom a special season or form of ritual worship is consecrated. Plutarch is not far from the truth when he speaks of 'twenty-four gods,' for this number is approximately correct if we take the thirty days of the month and deduct Ormazd and the six Amshaspands from the whole number.

In the Avesta two classes of Yazatas—spiritual and material, or *mainyava* and *gaēθya*—are recognized. At the head of the heavenly division stands Ahura Mazdāh himself, whom the text calls 'the greatest Yazata' and 'the greatest and best of the Yazatas' (Ys. 16. 1; Yt. 17. 16). The chief of the earthly Yazatas is Zarathushtra. The Yazatas, or Īzads, are the guardian spirits of the sun, moon, stars, and heaven, of earth, air, fire, and water; or they are personifications of abstract ideas, like Victory, Blessing, Truth, Uprightness, Peace, Power, and kindred conceptions. An enumeration of the principal names is to be found in Yasna 16. 3–16, in Sīrōzahs 1 and 2, and in Bundahishn 27. 24. Like the other lists, the Sīrōzah catalogue answers to the order and partial contents of the Yashts. The Yashts themselves are dedicated to the principal Yazatas, but the Sīrōzahs include also many of the minor Yazatas. From the Yashts, however, we obtain most of our details regarding the Yazatas, and we may supplement these by the passage in the Iranian Bundahishn, as already stated.[60]

Herewith is given a list of the principal Īzads, or angels of the Zoroastrian creed. It follows the order of the days of the month in the Sīrōzahs, omitting, however, the days of Ormazd and the Archangels.

1. Ātar (Pers. *Ādar*), 'Fire,' is usually the first of the Yazatas to be mentioned (cf. Ys. 16. 4; Bd. 27. 24). He is the son of Ahura Mazdāh and the deity who presides over

[60] Translated by Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 307–322.

the ninth day of the month and the ninth month itself (Nov.–Dec.), both of which are called after his name.[61] The very nature of the ancient Iranian religion gives special prominence to fire in its various manifestations, whether in heaven or on earth (cf. Ys. 17. 11; Sīr. 1. 9; Bd. 17. 1–9).

The Avesta recognizes five different forms or manifestations of fire. The five fires are: (1) *bərəzisavah*, or the Bahrām fire; (2) *vohufryāna*, the spark of life in the human body; (3) *urvāzišta*, the fire contained in wood; (4) *vāzišta*, the fire of lightning; (5) *spāništa*, or the fire in heaven, which burns in the presence of Ahura Mazdāh. The essence of fire manifests itself also in the form of the *hvarənah*, which represents the splendor and glory of kings and priests. The doctrine of this flaming majesty has an analogy in the Shekhīna of the Jews. Lastly, simultaneously with the fires, the Avesta invokes an angel, or Yazata, who bears the name Nairyōsaṅha (cf. the Vedic *Nárāśáṁsa*). This is the divine messenger who brings down the divine word (*saŋha*) that is intended for mankind (*nairya*). Cf. particularly Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 1. 149–157.

2. Apō (Pers. *Ābān*), 'Water,' in its various forms may be regarded as the second Yazata. The tenth day and the eighth month are hallowed to this angel. The fifth Yasht, in praise of the celestial stream Ardvī Sūrā Anāhitā (the Ἀναΐτις of the Greek writers who touch on Persian topics), is dedicated to Water. Other characteristics of this genius, whose worship was widespread in Western Iran, may be gathered from the passages cited above. Reference may further be made here to the detailed investigation by Windischmann (*Die persische Anahita oder Anaïtis*, Munich, 1856). A male water deity which approximately corresponds to the female Ardvī Sūrā Anāhitā is the Iranian Apąm Napāt, or 'Child of the Waters' (cf. the Vedic Apāṁ Napāt). Later Pahlavi tradition localizes his abode in the region of the Caspian Sea.

[61] Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 1. 34–35; al-Bīrūnī, tr. Sachau, p. 211.

3. Hvarekhshaēta (Pers. *Xūršēd*), 'Sun,' is praised in the Avesta as the 'immortal, shining, swift-horsed sun,' or as 'the eye of Ahura Mazdāh.' No special month bears the name of the sun, but the eleventh day (*xūr*) is set apart as his day and the sixth Yasht is composed in his honor (cf. also Sīr. 1. 11). The sun plays an important part in the Persian religion, as is evident from Herodotus; but as an independent Yazata he is less prominent than other solar spirits, such as Mithra.

4, 5, 6. Of hardly less interest are the Moon, Māh, and the star called Tishtrya, to each of whom a day (the twelfth and the thirteenth respectively) is dedicated and in praise of each of whom a special Yasht (seventh, eighth) is composed. The star Tishtrya (Pers. *tīr*, Plutarch's Σείριος, Is. et Os. 47) is the opponent of the demon of Drought, Apaosha, cf. § 57. 24. The companion of these two angels is Drvāspā (Persian *Gōš*), who is the sixth Yazata and is apparently identical with Gēush Urvan, or the Soul of the Kine (Ys. 29). Drvāspā personifies the animal creation; she is worshiped on the fourteenth day of the month as well as on the same day as the Moon and Vohu Manah (cf. also Sīr. 1. 14; Bd. 27. 24), and the ninth Yasht is the Drvāsp Yasht.

7, 8, 9. Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu are divinities of prime importance, particularly Mithra, and they play a part in the development of the religion as judges of the souls after death. This triad forms an Iranian group somewhat like that of Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthus. To these three divinities are respectively dedicated the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth days of the month, and three Yashts (Yt. 10, 11, 12) extol their praises. The violet of every species is in later literature the flower consecrated to Mithra, and special flowers are dedicated likewise to the other two angels (Bd. 27. 24).

The greatest of these three divinities is Mithra. He

is the god of light, of truth, and of good faith. He is the ally of Ahura Mazdāh, and according to Yasht 10 he is almost equal to Ormazd in power. As the god of light and the day, he is especially the foe and punisher of perjurers and those who break their word. The Avesta constantly mentions his name, but it does not occur in the Gāthās. The later Achaemenian Inscriptions record him together with Anāhitā by the side of Auramazda. The Greek writers consider him as a typical Persian divinity; and the extent of his worship is proved by the spread of the Mithraic mysteries as far as the West in the time of the Roman emperors.

The second of the three, Sraosha, 'Obedience,' is a joint-assessor at the Judgment in the world hereafter. As angel of religious obedience, Sraosha acts as a sort of priest-god, an embodiment of the divine service, a guardian spirit that protects the sleeping world from evil (see especially the Srōsh Yasht, Ys. 57).

Rashnu, the other member of this group, is the angel of Justice. He is always called 'Rashnu the most just,' and he represents a deification of the purely abstract idea of justice. He holds the golden scales in which the souls of the dead are weighed at the Judgment (MX. 2. 120–122).[62]

10. The Fravashis. Quite characteristic of the faith of Iran is the belief in the existence of a mighty army of spirits known as the Fravashis. The Avestan word *fravaši* (Phl. *fravāhar*, Pers. *farvar*) is generally explained as meaning 'protection' (*fra-var*, 'cover'), or else 'confession of faith' (*fra-var*, 'profess'). [It may, however, be from **pra-vart-ti*, in the sense of a 'pre-existence'.] The *fravaši* designates one of the spiritual elements in the constitution of man, and the word denotes a sort of guardian angel. The Fravashi exists ideally in heaven before birth, for, according to the Bundahisn (Bd. 1. 8), Aūharmazd first produced all imma-

[62] For bibliographical references on Mithra see below, page 65.

terial existences, which remained in a spiritual state until he created the material universe. At death the Fravashi is united with the soul. In this way the souls of the dead are regarded as identical with the Fravashis of the righteous (Ys. 26. 7; 71. 23). The belief in these genii may date from ancient Median or pre-Zoroastrian times; at all events the Iranian proper name Fravartish, Φραόρτης, which is found at least a century before Darius, seems to point in that direction. But some believe otherwise.[63] In certain respects the Fravashis resemble the Pitṛs of India and the Manes of Rome. They help Ahura Mazdāh as well as mankind by warring against evil, keeping guard, and promoting all that is useful and advantageous in the world (cf. Yt. 13). Special worship is paid to these good spirits. The first month of the year is sacred to their name; they are worshiped particularly on the nineteenth day of each month and during the last ten days of the year;[64] and the Fravardīn Yasht (Yt. 13) of the Avesta is devoted to their praise and glorification. The Fravashis are not mentioned in the metrical Gāthās. Cf. further N. Söderblom, *Les Fravashis*, p. 1–79, Paris, 1899. [Moulton, *EZ.* 254–285; Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Religion*, p. 152–158.]

11. Verethraghna, or Bahrām, is the Genius of Victory. Neryosangh in his Sanskrit version of Ys. 16. 5 (ed. Spiegel, 17. 31) renders the title by *vijayapati*. Verethraghna's name appears to have been especially prominent in Zoroastrianism during Sasanian times, and it is comparatively common even earlier on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins. Some elements of the Hindu deity Indra Vṛtrahan survive in this divinity, although he

[63] For comments see *JAOS.* 17. 18, note 2. [The name is found as *FRVRT* in Elephantine Papyrus 65. 12.]

[64] See also al-Birūnī, tr. Sachau, p. 210, who, however, assigns their worship to the eighth month, Ābān.

is genuinely Iranian in his principal characteristics. The fourteenth Yasht (Yt. 14) is dedicated in his honor, and the twentieth day of the month bears his name.

12, 13. There are two divine spirits, R ā m a H v ā s t r a and V ā t a , who act as genii of the sky region and of the air.

R ā m a H v ā s t r a , or 'the genius that bestows or possesses good pastures' (for so the tradition explains the name), is best to be identified with the 'good Vayu,' or spirit of the atmosphere, who is glorified together with Rāma Hvāstra in the Rām Yasht (Yt. 15). A flower and a day are also sacred to this angel (Bd. 27. 24).

The angel V ā t a (*Bād*), 'Wind,' has no special Yasht that has been preserved, probably because the Rām Yasht is practically devoted to the spirit of the atmosphere, Vayu (§ 64, 66); but as a deified being, Vāta is invoked as 'the holy beneficent Wind' (Ys. 16. 5), 'the mighty Wind created by Mazdāh' (Vd. 19. 13), and as 'the Wind victorious' (Yt. 10. 9; 13. 47). These attributes distinguish the good wind from 'the evil Wind,' which belongs to the power of Ahriman, as will be mentioned hereafter. Herodotus (1. 131) includes the winds (ἄνεμοι) among the objects which the Persians worship, which would agree with the fact that a day and a flower are consecrated to this Yazata in Bd. 27. 24. Cf. further M. A. Stein, *Indian Antiquary*, 17. 91 (1888).

14, 15, 16. The three following personifications of abstract ideas are Yazatas that may conveniently be grouped together here. These are first, D a ē n ā (*Dīn*), 'Religion,' an embodiment of the Mazdayasnian Faith; secondly, A s h i V a n̊ u h ī (Ashishvang or Ard), 'the Good Ashi,' an incarnation of Piety and the blessings arising therefrom, or the reward of Virtue; and finally A r s h t ā t , 'Rectitude,' the guide of celestial and terrestrial beings, as the Iranian

Bundahishn declares.[65] The honors specially shown them resemble those of the other minor angels, and they are glorified in three Yashts (Yt. 16, 17, 18).

17, 18. The two Yazatas Asmān and Zem represent personifications of heaven and of earth. Both are honored with days (the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth), and each has a flower sacred to him (Bd. 27. 24). The Zamyād Yasht (Yt. 19) is assigned to the Earth (*zəm*).

19, 20. Finally, Manthra Spenta (Mahraspand), or the 'Holy Word of Ormazd,' and Anaghra Raochāo (Anīrān), 'Infinite Light,' are deified and worshiped as angels (Ys. 16. 6; Sīr. 1. 29–30; Bd. 27. 24).[66]

21. Haoma (Hōm). Among the most striking of all the deifications, and certainly one of the most prominent factors in the Zoroastrian ritual, is the personification of the sacred plant and drink *haoma*, the *soma* of the Hindus. In both religions the name indicates the god as well as the hallowed extract. The worship also dates back in both religions to a common Indo-Iranian time. It is certainly pre-Zoroastrian, but neither the genius Haoma nor the plant *haoma* is mentioned in the Gāthās. On the other hand, the name appears constantly in the younger Avestan texts and in Pahlavi literature. So much has been written upon the subject of Haoma and Soma that a brief paragraph will here suffice. Mention will be made below (§ 103) of the ritual use of the plant in the sacrifice. Plutarch (Is. et Os. 46) also mentions the ceremonies and rites with which the plant was prepared at the celebration of worship. There is likewise a special kind of 'White Hōm,' made from the *gaokərəna* tree, out of which is to be extracted the ambrosia that will bestow immortality at the Resurrection. As a deity, Haoma is glorified and his worship described in four chapters of the Avesta (Ys. 9, 10, 11, and in the

[65] Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 611.

[66] For bibliographical references in general see below, page 66.

abridged Yt. 20). Haoma manifests himself to Zoroaster in a vision in Ys. 9, and portrays the benefits which accrue from his worship.[67]

§ 41. **Other deifications.** The number of heavenly and of earthly Yazatas is said to be thousands (Yt. 6. 1). Just as each of the principal Yazatas is associated with some Amesha Spenta, so there are a number of lesser divine beings associated with the various Yazatas themselves. They are the auxiliaries, coadjutors, or fellow-workers (*hamkār*, as the Pahlavi writings call them) of the angels. A glance at Sīrōzah 1 will show the extent of the list. Space forbids more than a mere mention of the chief names. Most of these spiritual creations are embodiments of virtues or personifications of noble traits. Thus Ā k h s h t i, 'Peace,' for example, is associated with the archangel Vohu Manah and with K h r a t u, 'Wisdom.' A i r y a m a n, or Airyaman Ishya, 'the desired comrade,' is an incarnation of the healing power. C h i s t ā, 'knowledge,' attends upon Daēnā (the good Religion); P ā r e n d i, a goddess of riches, together with H v a r e n a h, 'Glory,' accompanies Ashi Vaṅuhī, or 'Piety.' There is D a h m ā Ā f r i t i (Dahmān Afrīn), or 'Benediction,' by the side of D ā m ō i s h U p a m a n a, or 'Malediction,' which represents the anathema of the priest, or 'the imprecation of the wise.' Both are related to Manthra Spenta, or the Holy Word. S a o k ā, moreover, is a form of 'Prosperity.' Nairyōsaṅha (Nēryōsangh) is, as already indicated above, a messenger of Ahura Mazdāh and a form of fire. Furthermore the star Tishtrya has, as companion stellar spirits, S a t a v a ē s a, V a n a n t, and other stars (Sīr. 1. 13; 2. 13; Yt. 8. 12; Yt. 21. 1). A dozen additional deified powers might be recorded from the Sīrōzahs; some of them

[67] For bibliographical references on Haoma see Justi, 'Die älteste iranische Religion,' *Preuss. Jahrb.* 88. 58, no. 7. [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1734, note.]

are personifications of time and space, like Zrvan Akarana, 'Boundless Time,' Zrvan Dareghō-hvadhāta, 'the Sovereign Time of the Long Period'; but more than enough names have already been given.[68]

§ 42. **Fabulous or mythological creatures.** The religious system of Mazdaism recognizes several fabulous beings or mythological creatures. The belief in these was perhaps tolerated because they were survivals from an older state of the religion. The most bizarre of these creatures is the three-legged ass Khara, 'the holy ass which stands in the middle of the Sea Vouru-Kasha' (Ys. 42. 4). This curious creature was supposed to be an animal of stupendous size. From the description in the Bundahishn (Bd. 19. 1–12) it seems to be of mythological origin. It constantly lends its good services in helping forward the right management of the world.[69] Some meteorological phenomenon appears to lie at the basis of this myth.[70] Perhaps Ḳazwīnī contains a hint of the actual fact of the matter.[71] Second is the ox Hadhayāsh, or Hadhayaosh ('ever pure'), from whose fat, when mixed with the white Hōm juice, ambrosia will be prepared at the Resurrection.[72] This creature is under the protection of a sort of righteous Minotaur, Gōpatshāh, half man and half ox, who dwells in the country adjoining Aīrān-vēj and watches over the Sea Vouru-Kasha.[73]

Three fabulous birds, moreover, are mentioned in the Avestan and Pahlavi writings: the Saēna Meregha (Pāz. Sīnmrū, Pers. Sīmurgh), who sits on the Tree of Healing in the middle of Vourukasha and causes it to scatter

[68] See Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 296–322.

[69] Bd. 19. 1–12; MX. 62. 26.

[70] Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 148–151; West, *SBE.* 5. 67 n. 4.

[71] Somewhat similarly Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 54.

[72] Bd. 19. 13; 30. 25; DD. 37. 99, 119; 48. 34; 90. 4.

[73] MX. 44. 35; 62. 8, 31; DD. 90. 3. 4.

its seeds; the Čamru (Phl. Čamrōsh), who collects the seeds for the fertilization of the earth,[74] and the bird K a r s h i p t a , which was gifted with speech and brought the law into the Vara of Yima.[75]

§ 43. **Conclusion.** We have mentioned only the most important names from among the host of lower angels or deified virtues, which are known as Yazatas, 'worshipful ones.' These occupy the place of angels beside the archangels (Amesha Spentas) and even beside the god Ahura Mazdāh himself. Together with a few fabulous creatures, or mythological beings, which belong to the good creation, they constitute the celestial hierarchy.

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[74] Yt. 12. 17; Bd. 19. 15; 24. 29; 27. 3; MX. 61. 9; 62. 37–42. [In Yt. 13. 109 there occur the personal names Amru and Čamru, with which compare Sīnmrū and Čamrōsh; the traditional identification of these with the two birds has been rejected by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 147, 531, but without sufficient reason.]

[75] Vd. 2. 42; Visp. 1. 1; Bd. 14. 23; 19. 16; 24. 11; MX. 61. 9 n.

Cama, p. 105–117. [H. S. Jones, 'Mithraism,' in *ERE.* 8. 752–759.]

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CHAPTER VI

THE LEGIONS OF HELL

§ 44. **General introduction.** Opposed to the principle of Goodness and Right is the principle of Evil and Wrong; the forces of Hell and of Darkness are marshaled against the host of Heaven and of Light. The great power of Evil as a factor in the world's history, especially by its incessant warring against the Good, as already noticed, is a prominent feature in the religion of Iran. The present chapter deals with the Forces of Darkness which contend against the Realm of Light.

§ 45. **The Infernal Council and its organization.** The most common name for the evil spirits in the Avesta is *daēva*, 'demon' (Mod. Pers. *dīv*). This is the same word as the Sanskrit *deva*, 'god,' Latin *divus*, although the meaning of this word in the Avesta is diametrically opposed to that of the Sanskrit word *deva*, as will be discussed hereafter. In the Gāthās, as in the later Avesta, the *daēvas* are mentioned together with evil *mašya*, 'men,' and *xrafstra* creatures. The latter seem to correspond with the Biblical conception of the 'generation of vipers,' since the term later becomes a general designation for all kinds of vile creatures and noxious animals. The element of Evil itself is broadly recognized under the name of *druǰ*, 'deceit,' Old Pers. *drauga;* this term is, however, restricted in the later texts to a definite class of female fiends. Besides these there are numerous other designations for wicked creatures, sin, and evil, as will be evident from this chapter.

Plutarch (Is. et Os. 47) says that after Ormazd had created twenty-four gods and placed them within the cosmic egg, Ahriman in turn produced an equal number of

evil spirits to penetrate into the egg and mingle evil with the good. As a matter of fact, in the Avesta and in the later Zoroastrian literature the number of demons and fiends is practically legion. The organization of these countless hordes of evil spirits, however, is neither so well-planned and well-ordered nor so complete as that of the angelic host. They surpass the latter in numbers, it is true, but they prove ultimately far inferior in individual prowess. The figures of the band of Evil, moreover, are less clearly defined than are the personages of the world of Good, being shadowy in outline and often mere names. They are not so fully individualized; they generally act in bands and hordes. In general, however, their diabolical character is sharply drawn and depicted with lively hatred. There are, to begin with, crews of actual demons and fiends and legions of their wicked followers, infidels and heretics (Daēvas, Drujes, Dregvants or Drvants, Kavis, and Karapans), and besides these there are hosts of evil spirits, hobgoblins, spooks, monsters, necromancers, and enchantresses (Yātus, Pairikās, etc.). But at the head and front of these hordes, as their leader, to whose command they render implicit obedience, stands Aŋra Mainyu, or Ahriman, the devil of Ancient Iran.

We shall now discuss the several constituents of the infernal host, considering successively (A) Ahriman, the devil, (B) the hordes of demons, and finally (C) the other evil spirits and monsters.

§ 46. (A.) Aŋra Mainyu, or Ahriman, the devil of Ancient Iran.—Introduction. The idea of a devil, or a wicked spirit who, planning evil, is ever luring, tempting, beguiling, and betraying, is familiar to us from the remarkable figure of Satan which appears in the book of Job and in the New Testament. We recognize it more remotely in the Māra of the Buddhist scriptures. It is therefore of special interest to study the conception of an Evil Spirit which Zoroastrianism embodied in the figure of Ahriman.

§ 47. Relation between Aŋra Mainyu, Ahura Mazdāh, and Spenta Mainyu. The origin of evil. In treating of Ahriman, we must in the first place revert again to a subject that has been discussed above in Chapter IV (§ 24–25). This is the question of the exact relation between Aŋra Mainyu, Ahura Mazdāh, and Spenta Mainyu, or the Holy Spirit which forms part of the essence of the godhead.

As explained above, most scholars assume that Ahriman is the direct opponent of Ahura Mazdāh himself, that Spenta Mainyu, at least in the later texts, is merely an attribute of Ormazd, and that Ahura Mazdāh is called Spenta Mainyu only when he is specially contrasted with Aŋra Mainyu, as in his creative activity.[1] This is, as a matter of fact, the impression one receives in reading the Zoroastrian scriptures; it is also in accord with what Aristotle relates regarding Ὡρομάσδης and Ἀρειμάνιος, and with the statements of Plutarch. It represents unquestionably the position of the Avestan Vendīdād (Vd. 1. 2 ff.), which in turn is thoroughly in harmony with the cosmogonic system of the Pahlavi Bundahishn. In this latter work, Aharman is pictured as warring directly against Aūharmazd his rival (Bd. 1. 2–28, etc.). The Pahlavi version, moreover, of specific passages in the Gāthās interprets Ahriman as the direct antagonist of Ormazd without resorting to the existence of the intermediary Spenta Mainyu, or Spēnāk Mēnūk (e.g. Ys. 30. 3). Allusion has furthermore been made in Chapter IV, above, to the additional argument that the monotheistic view of the Parsis of today seems to be in part a later development along the line of the sects.[2]

[1] Cf. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 21 n. 4; *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 89 § 80; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, introd., p. cxxvi; Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, s. v. *aŋra*, *mainyu*, *speñta*, but cf. his subsequent remarks in *Preuss. Jahrb.* 88. 72; Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 22. [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 292 note*].

[2] See § 25, above, and also Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 187; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 315 ff.; Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 52–53.

On the contrary, however, as also stated in Chapter IV, the Parsis strenuously maintain that this is a mistaken idea, at least insofar as the Gāthās are concerned. The orthodox view of the Parsis, as shown by their interpretation of their Sacred Psalms and as presented by Haug's succinct characterization of Zoroaster's philosophy as dualism and of his theology as monotheism, has been given above.[3]

It is worth while, however, briefly to repeat here what has been previously stated. Ahriman, the majority of the Parsis believe, is not the direct adversary of Ormazd in the oldest Zoroastrian belief. They insist that the right interpretation of the Gāthās is to be found in the antithesis between *angra mainyu* and *spənta mainyu* as two spirits which form part of Ahura Mazdāh's own being and which unite in counter-operative activity. These are the 'twins' of Ys. 30. 3 and of Shahrastānī's account of the Persian religion. Thus Aŋra Mainyu is made the adversary not of Ahura Mazdāh himself, but of the latter's Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu. The modern followers of Zoroaster support this view by interpreting in this manner such passages as Ys. 43. 16 and Ys. 19. 9. They hold, furthermore, that the substitution of the person of Ahura Mazdāh for his own creative spirit, Spenta Mainyu, in such passages as Vd. 1. 1 ff., is a development of the later Avestan texts.

Geiger has perhaps best and most clearly stated the relation of Aŋra Mainyu to Spenta Mainyu and Ahura Mazdāh in the Gāthās: 'Now so far as Ahura Mazda is the

[3] Haug, *Essays*, p. 303; Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 'The Religious System of the Parsis,' in *The World's Parliament of Religions*, 2. 902; Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, *Zoroastrian Religion and Customs*, p. xliv–xlv, Bombay, 1893; N. F. Bilimoria, 'Mazdaism,' *The Open Court*, 11. 377, June 1897; cf. also the editorial notes added by Firoz Jamaspji in his translation of Casartelli's *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 5 n. 4; 51 n. 1; 54 n. 3. Cf. also N. M. Kanga, cited in *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 8. 224–228.

positive, to which evil forms the negative, He is called Spenta-mainyu; evil or its personification is Angra-mainyu or Akō-mainyu. Both, Spenta-mainyu and Akō-mainyu, are therefore described as twins (Ys. 30. 3), since they do not exist singly by themselves, but each in relation to the other; both merge in the higher Unity, Ahura Mazda. They exist before the beginning of the world, but it is in the visible world that their opposition finds expression. Ahura Mazda is the Creator of the universe, but when as Spenta-mainyu He creates anything whatsoever, the negative antithesis is necessarily postulated, or, as the poet says in popular form: Angra-mainyu, the evil spirit, produces evil in opposition to good (Ys. 30. 4 ff.).'[4]

As a matter of fact, the difference between these two views—the one placing Ahriman and Ormazd in direct personal opposition, and the other placing Ahriman in opposition to Ormazd's Holy Spirit (Spenta Mainyu)—is ultimately not very great. On the one hand the Parsi tradition undoubtedly deserves serious consideration; on the other hand, however, we may safely state that there is no real need for the Parsis to be concerned about the dualistic element in their religion and to attempt to veil it or to eliminate it. Such a dualism exists also in the Christian religion; and, however we may conceive of the relation of the two primal spirits, Zoroastrian dualism is undoubtedly a monotheistic dualism, an optimistic dualism, and a dualism in which the Good has a decisive preponderance.

From his first appearance, Ahriman represents the principle of evil. Ahriman was not conceived of as a fallen angel. Whether he was thought of as co-eval with Ormazd from the beginning (*mainyū paouruyē* 'the two primal

[4] Geiger, 'Zarathushtra in den Gāthās,' a lecture printed only in Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Greek and Roman Classics*, p. 195, with translation by Sanjana from the German (here slightiy revised), p. 54–55.

spirits') or as emanating from Ormazd, he is, for a time at least, co-equal with Ormazd in power. But his sway is not eternal like that of Ormazd, for Zoroastrianism in all its stages of development teaches the ultimate annihilation of the Kingdom of Evil by the Kingdom of Good.

§ 48. Name of Ahriman, his attributes and characteristics. The name *Ahriman* is derived through the Modern Persian and Middle Iranian forms from the Avestan *Aŋra Mainyu*, or *Angra Mainyu*, as the Devil is called respectively in the Younger Avesta and in the Gāthās (cf. § 49–50, below). The name does not occur in the Old Persian inscriptions, as will be noted hereafter (cf. also p. 31, above); among the Greeks it was first mentioned by Aristotle as 'Αρειμάνιος.[5] In Latin the form is *Arimanius*.

As regards the etymology and meaning of the title Aŋra Mainyu, the element *mainyu*, 'spirit,' is quite clear; but considerable uncertainty prevails with regard to *aŋra, angra*. The Pahlavi ideogram for *Angra Mainyu* is read in various ways, usually as *Ganrāk Mēnūk, Ganā, Gannāk*, or *Zannāk Mēnūk*.[6] Other readings of the obscure first element in Pahlavi have been suggested.[7] Neryosangh's Sanskrit rendering systematically reproduces the word *angra, aŋra* by *hantar*, 'smiter, slayer.' Should we accept this, Ahriman would properly be conceived of as the spirit of destruction. Accordingly, on the basis of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit renderings, the word *aŋra, angra* has sometimes been explained as connected with the root Av. *ah*, Skt. *as*,

[5] See § 24, above. Cf. also a note on 'Αρειμάνιος by Moulton, *The Thinker*, 2. 500, London, 1892.

[6] See Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 55; Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 21 n. 4; West, *SBE.* 5. 3, n. 1.

[7] Thus, for example, *drvāk*, from *drvant, drəgvant*, by Andreas (oral communication), and *zūrāk* by Bartholomae, *IF.* 12. 93. [Later, Bartholomae proposed to explain it as *dawāk* (*davāk*), 'betrügend, betrügerisch,' in *Sitzb. Heidelberger Akad. Wiss.* Jahrgang 1916, 9 Abhdl. p. 22, Heidelberg, 1916.]

'throw, hurl.'[8] But this explanation has not been commonly accepted. Darmesteter conjectured that the word contained a radical *ang*, *ąz* and that it conveyed etymologically the idea of 'confinement, narrowness, distress.'[9] This suggestion has, however, been rejected likewise as being at variance with phonetic laws. It is important to note that Ahriman embodies in the most marked manner the idea of hostile and spiteful opposition, and his name has accordingly been associated with the presumable root **ans* = Av. *aŋh*, *ah*, *ąs* in the sense of 'oppose, hate, be inimical.'[10] According to this explanation, Aŋra Mainyu would be the 'Enemy Spirit' or the Spiritual Adversary, as in the Bible. But the solution of this difficult etymological problem has probably yet to be found.

§ 49. **Aŋra Mainyu in the Gāthās.** In the Gāthās the well known name of the Evil Spirit *mainyu* actually occurs with the attribute *angra* only once.[11] The wicked personality of Ahriman is, however, distinctly recognized also on several other occasions in these hymns. He is known also by the title of *drəgvant*, 'the Wicked One,' which the Pahlavi version several times glosses as *Aharman*.[12] The same is true also of *duš-sasti*, 'the Evil Teacher,' and of 'the False Speaker' and 'the Ignorant One.'[13] The

[8] Thus, for example, Justi, *Handbuch*, p. 13; observe also the use of *uzâŋhaṭ*, Yt. 8. 39.

[9] Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 93–95.

[10] Geldner, *Drei Yasht*, p. 135; *BB.* 14. 27; Jackson, *JAOS.* 14, Proc., p. cxxvi; Bartholomae, *IF.* 9. 259–260, [likewise see id. *AirWb.* 104–105, note].

[11] Ys. 45. 2. But it is likewise adjectively implied in Ys. 44. 12, *angrō*, and as a general adjective, acc. pl. *angrəng*, Ys. 43. 15; also dat. sg. fem. *angrayā*, Ys. 48. 10. Cf. furthermore Ys. 30. 3, 5, *aka-*, *drəgvant-*. [For a valuable list of demonic as well as divine epithets in the Avesta see Gray, *JAOS*, 46. 97–153.]

[12] For example, see Phl. version of Ys. 30. 5; 46. 7. [But the Av. text is interpreted differently by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 776.]

[13] Ys. 45. 1; 31. 12, in the Pahlavi version.

sinful nature of the Evil Spirit and his perverseness are clearly expressed in several verses of the Gāthās. His character is summed up in the one word *aka*, 'evil, harmful'; under any circumstances he chooses all that is worst (*ačišta*); he is opposite in every regard to the Holy Spirit. The ruin and destruction of the world is his aim.[14] He stands beside the Druj (*druǰ*), 'Falsehood, Deceit,' or the female embodiment of evil in principle, just as Ahura Mazdāh has by his side Asha, or the embodiment of right.[15] This Druj is *par excellence* the adversary of Asha, and the 'abode of the Druj' is hell.[16] It is the same evil element that is called *Drauga* in the Old Persian inscriptions and which represents the evil principle there.[17]

It is generally assumed that the 'Evil Spirit' who is mentioned once in the Gāthās (*Aka Mainyu*, Ys. 32. 5) is Ahriman himself (but see note 18); the expression 'Evil Thought' (*Aka Manah*, Ys. 32. 3; 47. 5; cf. Ys. 32. 5; 33. 4) or 'Worst Thought' (Ys. 30. 6; 32. 13, *ačištahyā dəmānē manaŋhō*) may also be regarded as referring to him, unless this latter expression actually refers to the arch-fiend who is later called Akōman.[18] It is from this same 'Evil Thought'

[14] Ys. 30. 3–6; Ys. 44. 12; Ys. 45. 1–2.

[15] The Phl. Version seems to identify Ahriman with the Druj in Ys. 30. 10.

[16] For example, Ys. 30. 8; 49. 11; cf. Yt. 19. 95; Bd. 30. 29. For other characteristic passages regarding Druj in the Gāthās, see Ys. 32. 3; 33. 4; 46. 11; 51. 10, 14, and look up the Phl. Version of Ys. 30. 10; 46. 7; 48. 1.

[17] Bh. 1. 34; 4. 34, 37; H (Dar. Pers. e) 17, 20, and cf. *drauǰana*.

[18] Later each archangel has an arch-fiend placed in opposition to him. I regard it as by no means improbable that the germs of this doctrine of the arch-fiends (Yt. 19. 96; Bd. 28. 7 f.; Dk. 9. 21. 4; 9. 32. 3) were already present in the Gāthās, or, in other words, that the *Aka Mainyu* of the Gāthās (Ys. 32. 5) actually represents the arch-fiend *Aka Manah* through whose 'evil thought' and 'evil word' (*akā manaŋhā . . . akā vačaŋhā*) the Demons were beguiled and misled to do evil. In that event *Aka Manah*, *Aka Mainyu* (Ys. 32. 5), and *Ačišta Manah* (Ys. 30.

that the demons are sprung (Ys. 32. 3); the wicked will go ultimately to the abode of 'Worst Thought' (Ys. 32 13), which is the same as that of the Druj; and 'Evil Thought' is a peer of evil spirits or personifications such as 'Presumption' (*Tarəmaiti*, Ys. 33. 4, cf. Phl. *Tarōmat*, Bd. 28. 14; 30. 29), of 'Crooked-mindedness' (*Pairimaiti*, Ys. 32. 3), as well as of 'Falsehood' (*Druǰ*). But of all the demons that attend upon Ahriman, the arch-fiend Aēshma (GAv. *aēšma*, YAv. *aēšma daēva*, regarded by some as the Asmodaeus of the Book of Tobit) is the most feared and the most diabolical.[19]

§ 50. Aŋra Mainyu in other parts of the Avesta. Like Goethe's Mephistopheles, the Zoroastrian Aŋra Mainyu may be concisely defined as 'der Geist, der stets verneint.' In opposition, harm, trouble, and derision, in short, the evil in the world, he finds his real element. With imperturbable pertinacity he skulks behind Ahura Mazdāh to spoil or soil all his beneficent activity and, since he cannot abolish it, at least to weaken it. When the world of goodness was created, Ahriman took a hostile attitude toward it and sought to blight it; 'he crossed the creation of the Good Law' (cf. Yt. 13. 76–78). Each time that Ormazd

6), as names of the arch-fiend 'Evil Thought,' would answer exactly as counterparts to *Vohu Manah*, *Vohu Mainyu* (Ys. 45. 5), and *Vahišta Manah*, and the 'abode of the Worst Thought' or Hell (*ačištahyā dəmānē manaŋhō*, Ys. 32. 13) would be the counterpart of Vohu Manah's abode, or Heaven (*vaŋhāuš ā dəmānē manaŋhō*, Ys. 32. 15). Yet such a view of the relationship of Aka Manah does not meet with the approval of Geiger (*Zarathushtra in den Gāthās*, tr. Sanjana, p. 53, 194); cf. doubtfully, Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 127. [Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Awesta*, p. 121, accepts A k a M a n a h (in Ys. 32. 3) as a demon, the opposite of Vohu Manah; but A k a M a i n y u (in Ys. 32. 5) he takes as equivalent to Angra Mainyu, see his *AirWb.* 45.] The doctrine of the Archfiends as opponents of the Amshaspands is generally regarded as of later origin, cf. Darmesteter, *The Zend Avesta*, I, introd. § 34 (1st ed.), *SBE.* 4, p. lxxii; cf. *Ormazd et Ahriman*, § 207–208. I do not regard this view as correct.

[19] Ys. 30. 6; cf. aiso Ys. 29. 1, 2; 48. 7; 49. 4; and 56. 7, below.

brought something good into existence, Ahriman called forth some evil creation to offset it (Vd. 1. 1 f.). His counter-creations are called *paityāra*, or 'adverse moves.' Therefore Ahriman is known as the 'one of evil creation' (*dužd*ā*man*, Ys. 61. 2), and the Ahrimanian creatures are the predestined opponents of the creatures of the Holy Spirit (*aŋrō.mainyava*, opp. *spəntō.mainyava*, and cf. Yt. 13. 76; 15. 43; Vd. 13. 1). When Ahura Mazdāh gave life, Aŋra Mainyu ordained death counter to it, as emphasized even in the Gāthās (Ys. 30. 4). In the later portions of the Avesta he therefore receives the attribute 'deathful, baleful' (*pouru. mahrka*, e.g. Yt. 3. 14; Vd. 19. 1; etc.). He is also known as the 'wicked one' (*drvant*, Ys. 27. 1; Yt. 13. 78; cf. GAv. *drəgvant*), the 'malign one' (*dužd*ā*h*, Yt. 17. 19), and the 'doer of evil deeds' (*dužvarštāvarəz*, Yt. 19. 96). He it was who called into existence the fearful monster Azhi Dahāka to aid in destroying the creatures of Asha (Ys. 9 8); he stirs up the meteors to oppose the natural order of the stars of heaven (Yt. 8. 39); and he holds back the waters from flowing in their natural courses (Yt. 13. 78). To afflict mankind Ahriman brings into existence myriads of sicknesses and diseases; the divine power has to heal them (Vd. 20. 1; 22. 2; Yt. 3. 13–14; Vd. 2. 29).

Aŋra Mainyu is 'the demon of demons' (*daēvanąm daēvō*, Vd. 19. 1), the 'deceitful lord' (*mairyō ratuš*, Yt. 19. 12), and the leader of all demons (Ys. 27. 1; Yt. 10. 97). His abode is in 'endless darkness' (Yt. 22. 33). In the Aogemadaēchā (28) the word *vara* (enclosed place) is used of his abode; it is the same word that is employed for Yima's ideal Vara on earth. But on the earth Ahriman gathers the other demons about him at Mount Arezūra, which is apparently situated in the North, like hell in ancient Germanic mythology. Thence he and the demons hurtle to attack men (Vd. 19. 1, 44). The birth of Zoroaster is the signal of Ahriman's overthrow; he and the demons must

now hide themselves in the earth (Ys. 9. 15, Yt. 17. 19; 19. 81). Aŋra Mainyu comes from the North to tempt Zarathushtra, but the Prophet withstands all the temptations and puts the foul fiend to flight (Vd. 19. 1 f.). In reality Aŋra Mainyu is a coward who dreads Mithra as the lord of light (Yt. 10. 97). Although he never tires of injuring Ormazd and always endeavors to destroy the Fire (Yt. 19. 46), he must nevertheless yield at last to the Holy Spirit, and he will be vanquished in the final battle of the two spirits at the Day of Judgment (Yt. 19. 12, 96; cf. 13. 13; 18. 2). On that day he and his crew shall be utterly routed and he will have to seek refuge in the earth or be destroyed (Frag. 4. 2; Yt. 19. 12, 96).

There is an old saga that tells how Ahriman assumed the form of a horse and was subdued by the legendary king Takhma Urupi, who bridled and rode him thus transformed for thirty years (Yt. 15. 12).[20] The allegory is not an unnatural one. From the Pahlavi texts also we learn that Ahriman could assume other shapes at will, though his natural form seems to have been that of a frog or toad (hardly that of a lizard)—Milton's toad, the Biblical serpent.[21] In this connection one need merely think of the well-known representation of the evil principle in the form of a monster or an Ahrimanic animal on the Achaemenian monuments, itself borrowed from Babylonian concepts.

§ 51. Aharman in Pahlavi literature. The picture of Aharman in Pahlavi literature closely resembles that in the

[20] See the note by Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 586. Cf. also Kaikhoshroo Jamaspji, in *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 123; Carnoy, 'Iranian Mythology,' in *Mythology of All Races*, ed. Gray, 6. 301–302.

[21] Cf. Bd. 3. 9; 28. 1. For the representation of the spirit of evil as a serpent on a seal, see Dr. W. H. Ward, 'Bel and the Dragon,' in *Hebraica* = *AJSL.* 14. 104 (fig. 15). [For Av. *vazaγa*, Phl., NP. *vazaγ*, as 'frog,' see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1389, and consult the glossarial index (s. v. *vazag*, 'frog'), by Gandevia, to Dastoor Hoshang Jamaspji, *Vendidad*, vol. 2, p. 242, Bombay, 1907.]

Younger Avesta. He is throughout the same wicked, sinful, ignorant, cowardly, malicious, and baleful destroyer and betrayer. The attributes attributed to him by the Pahlavi texts are almost identical with those applied to him in the Avesta.[22] He is co-existent with Aūharmazd and in the beginning he abode in eternity in the abyss of endless darkness. He arose thence and beheld Aūharmazd, and began at once to attack the light amid which Ormazd dwells. The two rival spirits meet in the air, and their conflict dates from that event. Aharman, who is ignorant and after-knowing and backward in knowledge, is here, as always, too late and flees into hell in great confusion. As soon as he recovers his senses he begins to produce a band of fiends (Bd. 1. 1–28). These are his attendants and his agents in carrying out his evil designs (Bd. 1. 24, 27; 28. 12; DD. 37. 44–50, and elsewhere). The wicked incarnation Jēh, a personification of the impurity of menstruation, becomes Aharman's female paramour. He transforms his 'log-like frog's body' into the likeness of a young man and cohabits with her.[23] Afterwards he and his confederate demons burst through the rampart of the sky and diffuse blight over the whole earth (Bd. 3. 10–26, etc.). He destroys Gayōmarṭ, the primal man, as well as the primordial ox; all creation shows traces of Ahriman's taint. Aharman's final defeat and destruction, if not annihilation, are likewise prophesied in the Bundahishn (Bd. 1. 3; 30. 30–32).[24]

§ 52. **Analogies to Ahriman in other religions.** Darmesteter sought to bring out certain likenesses between Ahriman and the myth of Ahi, the sky-serpent of ancient India, but these are too few and too remote to deserve much

[22] Cf. Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 54–61.

[23] Cf. *Hamlet*, 2. 2, near end: 'The devil hath power | To assume a pleasing shape.'

[24] Cf. esp. Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 64–68.

consideration.[25] Analogies to the Buddhistic conception of Māra have also been noticed. But the nearest resemblance that can be found is that between Ahriman and Satan. Like the adversary and spiritual enemy in the Scriptures, he is the opponent of God, the tempter of the Savior, the foe of mankind, the author of lies, a traitor and deceiver, the arch-fiend in command of hosts of demons, and the lord of the infernal regions and of the principalities of hell.[26]

§ 53. Conclusion. However we may picture to ourselves the relation of Aŋra Mainyu to the general pantheon of the ancient Aryan faith, or his similarity to Māra or to Satan, one point must be acknowledged as true, namely that in the great personality of Ahriman, a spirit of evil—fiendish, diabolical, unlike Ormazd in every respect, but sometimes almost equaling him in power—we have a figure that is as striking in its individuality as it is markedly characteristic of Zoroastrianism in its originality.

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[25] Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, § 86 f.; *The Zend Avesta*, introd. § 32 (1st ed.), *SBE.* 4, p. lxxi. See the adverse criticism by de Harlez, *Origines du zoroastrisme*, p. 74 f., 192, 228 = *Journal asiatique*, nos. 3, 8, Paris, 1878–1879.

[26] Consult Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 62–72, and Stave, *Über den Einfluss des Parsismus*, p. 235–277. The points of difference are clearly presented by de Harlez, 'Satan et Ahriman,' in *Proc. Bibl. Archaeology*, June 1897, and also in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article 'Satan'; cf. also Geldner and Cheyne, 'Zoroastrianism,' in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 4. 5432–5433, 5438–5439. [Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Relig.* p. 51–61.]

Rapp, 'Die Religion der Perser nach gr. und röm. Quellen,' *ZDMG.* 19. 77–81 (tr. K. R. Cama, *Religion and Customs of the Persians*, p. 149–171, Bombay, 1876–79); Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, tr. from French by Firoz Jamaspji, p. 50–68, Bombay, 1889; P. Horn, 'Meder und Perser,' p. 323, in Hellwald's *Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 1, 4th ed., 5; Ferdinand Justi, 'Die älteste iranische Religion,' in *Preuss. Jahrb.* 88. 234; Edv. Lehmann, 'Die Perser,' p. 230–231, in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 2, 4th ed.; Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 48–72; Stave, *Uber den Einfluss des Parsismus*, p. 235–280, Haarlem, 1898; Jackson, 'Ahriman,' *ERE.* 1. 237–238. [Consult now the references indexed under 'Angra Mainyu,' in Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism.* p. 449; Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Relig.* p. 233; Clemen, *Die gr, u. lat. Nachrichten*, p. 227.]

§ 54. **(B.) The Daēvas, or Demons.—Introduction.** We shall now turn to the rest of the evil spirits, the demons, fiends, and malevolent creatures which make up the infernal host; and I shall treat this subject in somewhat greater detail, since I have not discussed it anywhere else. The Avesta speaks of Daēvas, Drujes and Drvants, Pairikās, dragons, and other fiendish apparitions or hideous monsters and similar progeny of Hell. The organization of this horde, as already stated, is not regular, nor are the figures so clearly and sharply drawn as are those of the heavenly host. Nor again is the Zoroastrian fondness for dualistic formalism carried out so fully as one might expect, by making the principal demons, or Daēvas, precisely the opposites of the Amesha Spentas, and the minor demons and Drujes the exact antitheses of the Yazatas. A symmetrical opposition, or at least an approach to such an opposition, is found only in the case of the six principal Daēvas, or Arch-demons, as will be explained below.

§ 55. **General characteristics of the Daēvas.** As for the Daēvas in general, they answer in the Gāthās, in the Younger Avesta, in the Pahlavi books, and in Firdausī's

Shāh Nāmah (cf. *dīv*) approximately to the idea conveyed by the word 'demon.' The contrast in meaning between Av. *daēva* and Skt. *deva* will be discussed elsewhere. From the gender of the word *daēva*, which is masculine, the demons are commonly conceived of as male creatures, but not without exception.[27] On the other hand the Drujes and Pairikās are feminine. The collocation *šēdāān va drūǰān* or *šēdāān va drūǰān va parīkān*, 'demons and devils and sorceresses,' is very common in Pahlavi.[28]

As regards their origin the demons are 'sprung from Evil Thought, from the Fiend, and from Wrongmindedness,'[29] and by nature they have in them 'the seed of darkness,' as the Avesta puts it.[30] They were created by Ahriman to war against good and against mankind.[31] As one might naturally suppose, the demons are generally conceived of as spirits (*mainyava daēva*).[32] There are, however, also those that appear in human form (Ys. 9. 15, *vīrō-raoδa*); and men who are particularly sinful in life count as Daēvas before their death, and after death they become spiritual Daēvas (Vd. 8. 31). Furthermore, the worshipers of the devils are known as *daēvayasna* in contrast to the *mazdayasna*, or worshipers of Mazda.

[27] For example, the fiend Būshyanstā is generally feminine, although once the masculine form is used. The form *daēvī* fem. occurs as an adjective attribute of *druǰ* in Ys. 57. 15; Vd. 8. 21 (new ed.), and it is similarly applied, *daēvīm druǰəm*, to Azhi Dahāka, Ys. 9. 8; Yt. 5. 34; 14. 40. In Ys. 10. 1 *daēvayō* is to be taken with the Phl. as masc. adj., cf. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 98 n. 2. [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 667, with notes 1, 3, regards the form as a fem. pl. of a noun *daēvī*, unique beside *daēva*].

[28] For example, AVN. 70. 3 and YF. 4. 15; cf. also Persian *dīv u murγ u parī*, Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers, 1. 23. 4.

[29] Ys. 32. 3, *aṯ yūš daēvā vīspąŋhō akāṯ manaŋhō stā čiθrəm . . . drūǰasčā pairimatōiščā.*

[30] Vd. 8. 80, *daēvanąm təmasčiθranąm.*

[31] Bd. 1. 9; 28. 1–46; cf. also Plutarch, Is. et Os. 47, ὥσπερ ἀντιτέχνους.

[32] Yt. 10. 68, 97; Vd. 8. 31, 80. See also Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 56 and note.

The birth of Zoroaster was to all Daēvas a terrible disaster and the signal for them to hide themselves beneath the earth (Ys. 9. 15). It is needless to add that they returned again to practise their wiles on mankind. They lurk about, ready to pounce upon any one who puts himself within their influence and their power. All uncleanness attracts them; they abound, for example, in the vicinity of the Dakhmas where dead bodies are exposed. As already remarked, the region whence they come is the north. The gateway of Hell, at which they assemble, is especially Mount Arezūra, a mountain in the Alburz chain and named after a son of Ahriman slain by Gayōmarṭ.[33] The territory to which most of them belong is the savage district of Māzandarān.[34] These are the 'Māzanian devils' of the Avesta, of the Pahlavi writings, and of the Persian epic.[35] The district itself is localized in Tabaristān, to the south of the Caspian Sea, whatever may be the etymology of the name *māzainya*.[36] As will be explained below, these Māzanian Daēvas are associated with the group of fiendish beings that are called Varenyan Drvants.[37] The number of the various demons, fiends, goblins, and imps defies all computation (Yt. 4. 2; Vd. 7. 53).[38] A rough list of the

[33] See below, and cf. Vd. 3. 7; 19. 45; Bd. 12. 2, 8; DD. 33. 5, and the note in Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 35 n. 71.

[34] See especially Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 373 n. 31–33. [Cf. also Gray, 'Māzandarān,' in *ERE*. 8. 506–8.]

[35] Cf. Av. *daēva māzainya*, Phl. *māzanīkānŏ šēdāān;* Pers. *dīvān-i māzandarān.*

[36] Cf. Justi, s.v. *māzana;* from *maz*, 'great' (?). Windischmann (*Zor. Stud.* p. 229) connected the adjective, correctly, with Anc. Pers. *Māda*, 'Media'; cf. also Brunnhofer, *Iran und Turan*, p. 143; but differently Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 373 n.

[37] Av. *varənya drvantō;* these latter are only once called *daēva*, and that in a passage which is grammatically corrupt, Vd. 10. 14, *varənya daēvō* (!). But notice the close collocation in Ys. 27. 2, *vīspaŋm daēvaŋm varənyaŋmca drvataŋm*, and cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, p. 314 n. 1; see also § 57. 9 and § 59. 1, below.

[38] An interesting list of fiends in English is given by C. P. G. Scott,

demoniacal band, however, may be assembled from various parts of the Avesta and from the Bundahishn.[39] Such Daēvas are for the most part simply personifications of sins, distresses, and diseases (e.g. Vd. 20. 3). They are those evil forces which stalk abroad and assail mankind unless they are banned by the superior power of righteousness or exorcised by religious ceremonies or put to flight by the light of day.[40] Clemens Alexandrinus asserts that the Magi boasted that they could bring the demons under their power and compel these evil spirits to serve them. The same thing is asserted likewise by Minucius Felix, and according to the Shāh Nāmah the Dīvs were actually brought under the dominion of Jamshīd.[41]

The names of the demons and evil spirits occur more generally in the Vendīdād than anywhere else. This book, as its name implies, is the 'anti-demoniac law' (*vīdaēva dāta*). As is natural, some of the Daēvas play a more prominent part than the others. A group of six (or seven) is mentioned first after Ahriman in the Bundahishn (Bd. 28. 7–12). These six are said to be 'arch-fiends of the demons'; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them (Bd. 28. 12). We may therefore begin with these six arch-demons.

§ 56. **The six Arch-demons.** The chief and head of all Daēvas, 'the demon of demons,' Aŋra Mainyu, has been sufficiently described; we now turn to his principal subordi-

'The Devil and his Imps,' *Transactions Am. Philol. Association*, 26. 79–146.

[39] Vd. 10. 9–17; 19. 40–47; Yt. 3. 14–16; 5. 22; 19. 97; Bd. 28. 1–46.

[40] For example, Yt. 6. 3–4, and many passages in the Vendīdād.

[41] Cf. Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers, 1. 23, and Rapp, 'Die Religion der Perser,' *ZDMG.* 19. 80 (tr. K. R. Cama, p. 154). See Clemens Alex. Protrept. p. 39C = Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 8, 1 col. 157–158; id. Stromata, 3. 6, 48, 3 = Migne, *P.G.* vol. 8, col. 1151–1152; also Minucius Felix, Octav. 26. 10.

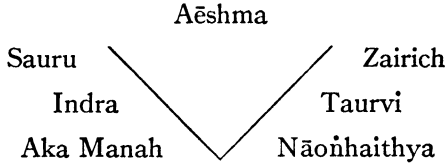
nates. The group of six demons (or seven, if we include Ahriman), just referred to, form a hellish band or troop, much as the Amesha Spentas, or ministers of Ahura, constitute a heavenly group together with Ormazd. In Dk. 9. 21. 4 'seven (arch-demons)' are spoken of. As was the case with Ormazd and the Amshaspands (§ 35, above), Ahriman is here the seventh, or rather Aēshma is included in order to complete the number.[42] As a group which constitutes a formal antithesis to the Amesha Spentas, we meet with these demons only in later texts of the Younger Avesta; after that references to them are more numerous. But there is warrant for believing that the idea of this juxtaposition, although only hinted at and not clearly developed, is already to be found in the Gāthās (cf. § 49, note 18). The two Vendīdād passages in which these names are found arranged in a group, as well as the most important Pahlavi passages which give this list, are here given in a footnote.[43] The Avesta does not seem to contain any special generic designation for this group, such as is found for the Amesha Spentas, unless a reminiscence of such a title is contained in the word *kamārīkān* in the Bundahishn (Bd. 28. 12, 44).[44] For convenience, however, we may call this infernal cohort by the name of 'arch-demons.' The list of their names, the spelling of which varies somewhat in the different Avestan manuscripts, is as follows: *Aka Manah*, *Indra*, *Sauru*, *Nåŋhaiθya*, *Taurvi*, and *Zairič*, together with the demon *Aēšma*. These seven are respectively the opponents of Vohu Manah, Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, Spentā Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Ameretāt, and of Sraosha (cf. Yt. 19. 96; Bd. 30. 29). We find no passage in the text as authority for arranging these demons around the standard

[42] See also West's note on Dk. 9. 21. 4 in *SBE.* 37. 213.

[43] Vd. 10. 9–10; 19. 43; Bd. 1. 24, 27; 28. 7–13; 30. 29; cf. Dk. 9. 21. 4; 9. 32. 3 (*SBE.* 37. 213, 253); Epist. Man. 1. 10. 9 (*SBE.* 18. 319).

[44] Cf. West, *SBE.* 5. 15 n. 3, and *ibid.*, p. 107 n. 2.

of Aŋra Mainyu as we arranged the Amshaspands about Ormazd; but owing to their antagonism to the Amshaspands we may conceive of their occupying some such order as the following (cf. § 35, above):—



Aŋra Mainyu.

It will be observed that three of these six names correspond to names of gods in the Hindu pantheon (*Indra*, *Śarva*, *Nāsatyā*, dual). This point has often been commented upon by others and it will be reverted to below. [The problem has since been further complicated through a discovery made by Winckler in 1907, at Boghaz-köi in Cappadocia, of the names of Indra (*in-dar*, v. l. *in-da-ra*, sing.) and Nāsatya (*na-š[a]-at-ti-ia-an-na*, plur.) beside those of Mitra and Varuṇa on a clay tablet, to be dated about 1400 B.C., as gods invoked in a treaty between a Hittite king and a king from Mitanni.][44a] Although the material for a complete description of the Daēvas is wanting, such details as can be gathered regarding them will be presented here.

1. Aka Manah (Av. *aka manah*, Phl. *akōman*, Pers. *akōman*, Nēryōsangh *nikṛṣṭamanas*, e.g. Ys. 32. 3, 5, beside *akamanas*, Ys. 47. 5). This arch-demon is the one that

[44a] See H. Winckler, 'Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Ausgrabungen in Boghazkiöi im Sommer 1907,' in *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Nr. 35, p. 1–59, Berlin, 1907. The importance of this discovery was immediately recognized, and a number of articles, discussing the whole subject from various viewpoints, subsequently appeared; consult, for example, the list given by Jackson in *The Cambridge History of India*, 1. 320, n. 2, and add an article later by W. E. Clark, 'The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions,' in *Am. Journ. Semitic Langs. and Lits.* 33. 261–282, Chicago, 1917.

is encountered more frequently than most of the others, especially in the Gāthās. He is the special foe of Vohu Manah and, in the words of the Bundahishn, he represents the embodiment of 'vile thoughts and discord.' The Gāthā passages in which the name occurs, and apparently not as a mere abstract, but as a personal title (Ys. 32. 3, 5; 33. 4; 47. 5), have been discussed above (§ 49, note 18). Some of the most characteristic Younger Avesta and Pahlavi occurrences of the name, which bring out clearly the opposition of Aka Manah to Vohu Manah, are worth looking up (e.g. Vd. 19. 4; Yt. 19. 96; Bd. 1. 23, 27; 28. 7; 30. 29; DD. 37. 44, 53; Dk. 9. 30. 8; 9. 41. 13; 9. 69. 21; VZsp. 14. 8–11). The occurrence of the name together with that of Aŋra Mainyu in Vd. 19. 4–5 deserves special emphasis.

2. Indra, or Andra (Av. *indra, andra*, Phl. *indar, andar*, Pers. *andar*, Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 147). This demon is mentioned in only two passages of the Avesta, and in these the two forms of the name mentioned above are found as manuscript variants (Vd. 10. 9; 19. 43). Most manuscripts have the form *Indra* rather than *Andra*. Neither from these passages nor from the Pahlavi allusions is it possible to gain a clear idea of the position occupied by this arch-demon. The likeness in name to the Sanskrit Indra has naturally often been discussed,[45] but owing to the scanty material on the subject in the Zoroastrian texts we can go but little farther than comparing the names. [See also above, §56, note 44[a], on 'In-da-ra,' on a tablet from Boghaz-köi.] From the Pahlavi texts (e.g. Bd. 1. 25–27; 30. 29) we learn that this arch-demon was the adversary of the archangel Asha Vahishta. In the Dēnkarṭ 'Indar the fighter' (or 'slayer,'

[45] For example, Haug, *Essays*, p. 272, 287 f; Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 127–128; id., *Arische Periode*, p. 194–195; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 261–263; id., *LeZA.* 3, p. xliii, xlv; *SBE.* 4, 2d ed., p. liii; Hovelacque, *L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le mazdéisme*, p. 304. [Furthermore consult (1923) Griswold, *Religion of the Ṛigveda*, p. 177, 199.]

kūšītār) is 'the spirit of apostasy'; furthermore he deceives the world of men as to their proper mode of life on earth and progress toward immortality.[46] The Bundahishn also says that he turns the thoughts of men away from virtue.[47] Another Pahlavi text simply mentions him by name,[48] while according to an allusion in the Sad-dar Bundahish he is one of the demons who punish souls in hell.[49] A distant likeness to the Vedic Indra has been spoken of above in connection with Verethraghna (§ 40, 11).

3. Sauru (Av. *sauru*, v. l. *saoru*, *sāuru*, Phl. *sāvar*, Pers. *sāval*) is merely mentioned in the two Avestan passages already referred to (Vd. 10. 9; 19. 43). According to the Bundahishn (28. 9), Sauru is the arch-demon of misgovernment, anarchy, and drunkenness and the special antagonist of Khshathra Vairya. The name has been associated with the Vedic word *śara* and with *'arva*, the attribute of Rudra-Śiva. The views on this subject are exceedingly varied, and more material is needed before a definite opinion can be given.[50]

4. Nāonhaithya (Av. *nåŋhaiθya*, Phl., miswritten, *nāīkīyas*, *nākahēt*, *nākišīyyā*, Epist. Man. 1. 10. 9, Pers. *nākāīt*, *nāūnhas*, *nānikahēt*). This is the name of the fourth arch-demon, and the word is identical with the Sanskrit *nāsatya*, an attribute especially of the Aśvins.[51] In the Veda this word where it is applied to these twin divinities is always found in the dual, with only one

[46] Dk. 9. 32. 3, *SBE.* 37. 253.

[47] Bd. 28. 8, *SBE.* 5. 106.

[48] Cf. Aīndar (*'Indar*) in Epist. Manuschihar 1. 10. 9, *SBE.* 18. 319.

[49] So Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 127–128, based on the Sad-dar Bundahish.

[50] See Haug, *Essays*, p. 272; Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 128–129; id., *Arische Periode*, p. 216–218; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 263; id., *LeZA.* 3, p. xliii, xlv; *SBE.* 4, 2d ed., p. liii.

[51] The formation of the word is commented on by C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, introd., p. cxxx; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 264, and *LeZA.* 3, p. xlv n. See also *PWb.* s.v. and Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 83 n. 3.

exception. In the Avesta, on the other hand, in the two passages in which *nåŋhaiθya* occurs (Vd. 10. 9; 19. 43), the word is in the singular, as in the Mahābhārata.[52] [In the Boghaz-köi tablet the name 'Na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na' has the god-sign *ilāni* prefixed in the plural.] A discussion of the possibility or impossibility of a connection between the Iranian demon and the two Indian divinities will be found in the works already referred to. Besides its occurrence in two passages of the Avesta, the name is mentioned also in the Epistles of Manuschihar (1. 10. 9), and the Bundahishn (28. 10) adds that this demon is the embodiment of discontent. In Bundahishn 30. 29, moreover, Nāūnhas is identified with Tarōmaṯ (i.e. Tarōmaiti), 'presumption, disobedience, insubordination, contempt.' This identification seems the more probable inasmuch as Tarōmaṯ is associated with Spendarmaṯ in DD. 94. 2; Dk. 9. 34 *p*. See also, in the Avesta, Ys. 33. 4; 60. 5. In Bd. 28. 14, on the other hand, Tarōmaṯ is regarded as a demon distinct from Nāūnhas.

5–6. Taurvi (or Tauru) and Zairich—a pair. The two (dvandva dual), as the fifth and sixth arch-demons, are named in the same Avestan passages as the preceding (Vd. 10. 10; 19. 43), as well as in the Pahlavi writings. The forms of their names are respectively Av. *taurvi* (or *tauru*), Phl. *tāirēv*, Bd. 1. 27, *tārēv*, Bd. 30. 29, *taprēv*, Bd. 28. 11, *tāūirēv*, Epist. Man. 1. 10. 9, *tāūrvŏ*, Dk. 9. 9. 1; and Av. *zairiš*,[53] Phl. *zāirič*, Bd. 1. 27; 28. 11; Epist. Man. 1. 10. 9; Bd. 30. 29; DD. 37. 52; *zārič*ŏ, Dk. 9. 9. 1. With regard to derivation, these names are etymologically con-

[52] Cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 264.

[53] Or *zairi*, according to Darmesteter, but the *ča* seems to belong to the stem, to judge from the Pahlavi and the Av. proper name *zairičī*. See also Spiegel, *EA*. 2. 130 n. [Bartholomae, *AirWb*. 1680, better connects *zairiš* with the idea of 'yellowish, greenish,' leaving *taurvi* (644) doubtful, but regards the pair together as the generators and distributors of poisons.]

nected with the idea of vanquishing (Skt. *tūrv*) and, perhaps, of wasting and decay (Skt. *jar*, *jaras*), destruction and old age.[54] These two demons are regularly mentioned together,[55] just as are Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, whose special adversaries they are. The Avesta says that Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, as divinities of waters and plants, overcome 'hunger and thirst.'[56] In a similar collocation the Bundahishn states that Horvadāt and Amerodāt overcome Tārēv and Zāirīč.[57] In Bd. 28. 11 (cf. also DD. 37. 52) Tārēv mingles poison with plants and animals; Zāirīč engenders the poison. A sinful act which is especially pleasing to this demon is committed when a person walks about with one boot (Dk. 9. 9. 1).

So much for the six arch-demons which, together with Ahriman, make up the group of adversaries to the Amshaspands. There is, however, still another demon who may be associated with these six and who is perhaps even more terrible than any of the others. This is the demon Aēshma, of whom we have next to speak.

7. A ē s h m a (Av. *aēšma*, Phl. *aēšm*, Pers. *xišm*, *xēšm;* Nēryōsangh renders the word by the Skt. *kopa* or *krodha*). This is the demon of wrath, fury, rapine, and outrage, and no figure in the entire Zoroastrian literature is depicted as more dreadful than he. In the Gāthās, where the word *aēšma* occurs seven times, the name may best be regarded as a personification rather than as an abstraction. The special Gāthā which treats of the primeval warfare between good and evil describes how the Daēvas rush to the standard of Aēshma in order to destroy the life of man (Ys. 30. 6). In these hymns *aēšma* denotes the incarnation of wrath and fury, especially as these manifest themselves in brutality

[54] Cf. Darmesteter, *Haurvatāṭ et Ameretāṭ*, p. 33–34.

[55] An exception is DD. 37. 52, where Zāirīč is mentioned without Tāirēv.

[56] Yt. 19. 96, *šudəmča taršnəmča.*

[57] Bd. 30. 29; cf. Darmesteter, *Haurvatāṭ et Ameretāṭ*, p. 33–34.

toward cattle.[58] In the Younger Avesta Aēshma with his blood-stained weapon (*xrvīdru*) receives such titles as 'wicked, inglorious, malign, outcast.'[59] Throughout Zoroastrian literature this demon is the leader of all assaults and violence, whether in war or in drunkenness.[60] With his attendant forces he is constantly endeavoring to stir up war and hostile invasion.[61] For that reason he is associated, in the Avesta and the Pahlavi books, with the image of death (especially *astō-vīδōtu*) [62] and other demons. The Bundahishn states that 'seven powers are given to Aēshm, in order that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith.'[63] It is Aēshma, moreover, according to the same text, who 'contrives all evil for the creatures of Aūharmazd' (Bd. 28. 7), and when he fails in this he even stirs up strife among the demons themselves (DD. 37. 104). He complotted against Kāī-ūs (Av. *Kava Usa*) and caused several of the noble Kaianian heroes to fall into evil ways.[64] To avert the evil which Aēshma brings about, the Avesta invokes the fravashi of the sainted Fradhākhshti (Yt. 13. 138). A Pahlavi text also adds that the power of Aēshma is thwarted by certain religious festivals created by Aūharmazd himself and by practising the rite of *xvētūkdas*.[65] The special angel, however, who holds in check this awful demon is the Yazata Sraosha, the incarnation of religious obedience and

[58] Note the association of *aēšma* and *rəmō*, *rāməm* in Ys. 29. 1, 2; 48. 7; 49. 4.

[59] Yt. 10. 93, *drvataŧ aēšmāŧ;* Yt. 19. 95, *aēšmō xrvidruxš dušx^{v}arənå̊;* Yt. 10. 97, *aēšmō duždå̊ pəšōtanuš.*

[60] For example, Yt. 10. 93; Ys. 10. 8 (drunkenness).

[61] Bd. 28. 15–17; Dk. 7. 4. 87–88; 7. 7. 7.

[62] Ys. 57. 25; Yt. 10. 93, *mahrka* and *vīδōtu;* cf. also MX. 2. 117; DD. 37. 44–52. [Cf. Pavry, *Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, p. 12, 83.]

[63] Bd. 28. 15; cf. also Dk. 7. 1. 18.

[64] Dk. 9. 22. 5–7; cf. also Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 3. 37–39; and Bd. 28. 17, West, *SBE.* 5. 108.

[65] ŠNŠ. 18. 1–3.

devotion (for example, Ys. 57. 11, 25 f.); and in the final combat between the archangels and the arch-demons at the end of the world, Aēshma will be overthrown by Sraosha.[66] He is one of the demons, moreover, who join in assailing the soul of the dead as it approaches the judgment at the Chinvat Bridge.[67] In conclusion it must be pointed out again that some scholars maintain that the Asmodaeus of the Book of Tobit [68] is none other than a form of this same Aēshma, the Daēva, of Zoroastrian demonology.[69]

§ 57. **Other Daēvas and demons.** Many other Daēvas or demons are mentioned in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings, but we know little about them except their names. For the sake of completeness, it is necessary to mention them; and in enumerating them we may follow as far as possible the order in which they are given in a list found in the Bundahishn (Bd. 28. 14–46), supplemented by the Avesta (especially Vd. 19. 43) and by various Pahlavi texts.

1. The first in order is the demon Tarōmaiti, 'arrogance, presumption' (Phl. *Tarōmaṭ*), who, like Pairimaiti (e.g. Yt. 11. 8), has already been mentioned among the arch-demons (§ 56. 4; cf. also § 36).

2. Similar is the personification of the 'falsely spoken

[66] Bd. 30. 29; MX. 8. 14; cf. Yt. 19. 95.

[67] MX. 2. 115–117. [Cf. Pavry, *op. cit.*, p. 12, 83.]

[68] See Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 138 f; Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 75 f; Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 132; Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 90 n. 8; Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus*, p. 263 f; J. H. Moulton, 'The Iranian Background of Tobit,' *Expository Times*, 11. 258 f.

[69] The combination *aēšma daēva* does not actually occur in the Avesta, but the corresponding term is found at Bd. 28. 15, and there can be no doubt that, next to Ahriman, Aēshma occupies the head position among the demons. Cf. also E. K. Antia, in *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 162–163. [Stave, 'Aeshma,' in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901), 1. 221; L. Ginsburg, 'Asmodeus,' *op. cit.* (1902), 2. 219. The suggestion to connect Aēshma and Asmodaeus is regarded as doubtful by Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Relig.* (1920), p. 61.]

word,' the Avestan *Miθaoxta Vāč* (Ys. 60. 5; Yt. 19. 96) or *Draoga Miθaoxta* (Vd. 19. 46), or again the demon *Mīṯōxt* of the Pahlavi books, one of Ahriman's first creations (Bd. 1. 24; 28. 14; MX. 19. 6; DD. 37. 50, 53).

3. As the third we may mention Araska, 'malice, envy, jealousy,' which is called a 'creation of the demons' (Ys. 9. 5; Yt. 15. 16, *araska daēvō-dāta*), the demon *Arašk* of the Pahlavi (Bd. 28. 14, 16). In the passage last cited this demon and the preceding are associated with Aēshma. (Cf. also *Ƶrəši*, below). [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 187, concedes that both tradition and etymology point to the meaning 'envy' for *araska*, but queries whether the word might not be a corruption of *yaska*, 'sickness,' as more suitable.]

4. Fourth comes the demon *Vīzarəša* (Vd. 19. 29; Phl. *Vīzarēš*, Bd. 28. 18), who struggles with the souls of the wicked for three days and three nights after their death, binds them (Vd. 19. 29), drags them away to torment—hence his name—and then sits at the gate of hell (Bd. 18. 18; MX. 2. 161–167; DD. 32. 4, 7; 37. 44; [cf. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, p. 34, 38, 63 n. 21]).

5. The fifth demon is named *Aūṯak*, *Udaī* or *Uda* in the Pahlavi texts. This is the evil spirit who disturbs men when performing their physical functions, and who seeks to make them speak when they should be silent (Bd. 28. 29). This wicked incarnation is apparently a female demon, for the Pahlavi Vendīdād (18. 70, Spiegel) identifies the fiend Druj with this abominable creature. In the Pahlavi texts this demon, under the name of Udaī, Aūṯak, or Vaṯak, is regarded as the mother of Dahāk and as a fiend of incest (Bd. 31. 6; DD. 72. 5; 78. 2; Dk. 9. 10. 3; cf. also VZsp. 12. 12–13; Dk. 7. 2. 64). For that reason the matronymic Vaṯakān (MX. 57. 25), like the Avestan *Vaδaγana* (Vd. 19. 6; *ZPGl.* 22. 12) is applied to Dahāk. In Dk. 9. 21. 4 there seems to be an allusion to some seduction of Yim by Aūṯak. On the whole this hideous being appears to be a half-human,

half-fiendish monster who must be associated rather with the other creatures to be mentioned below than with the demons.[70]

6. The sixth demon, one who is mentioned both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi texts, is *Akataša*, or *Aγataša*. Both spellings of the name are found as variant readings in the two Avesta passages in which the name occurs (Vd. 10. 13; 19. 43). In both of these Akatasha is mentioned directly after Aēshma. The meaning of the name is probably 'one who shapes evil,' 'one who makes bad'; this is borne out by the Pahlavi. The Bundahishn describes *Akatāš* as 'the fiend of inquisitiveness (of meddlesomeness, cf. *SBE.* 37. 182 n.) who makes the creatures averse to proper things' (Bd. 28. 20; cf. also Dk. 9. 9. 1).

7. *Zaurvan*, or 'decrepitude which maltreats parents' (Vd. 19. 43),[71] is the demon of old age, a cruel personification of wasting and decay—Phl. *Zarmān* (Bd. 28. 23; DD. 37. 44, 52; Dk. 9. 21. 4).

8. The demon *Čēšmak* of the Pahlavi texts (Bd. 28. 24; Dk. 7. 2. 44–45; 7. 4. 61) is the evil spirit of the whirlwind and of destruction. One of the transformations of this demon, 'Chēshmak the Karap,' is mentioned below (§ 59. 6). The name has not yet been identified in the extant Avestan texts.

9. The demon *Varenō* of the Pahlavi texts (Bd. 28. 25; DD. 37. 44; 94. 2; Dk. 8. 9. 3; 9. 32. 3) is the demon of lust who causes illicit intercourse. Compare Av. *varənya daēvō* (Vd. 10. 14), the Varenyan Daēvas or Drvants (§ 55, n. 37; 59. 1, below).

10. *Būšyaŋstā* (Yt. 10. 97; 22. 42; Vd. 18. 16; 11. 9, 12)

[70] For all these details consult the notes on these passages by West in *SBE.* 5. 109, 131; 18. 217, 228; 24. 103; 37. 185, 212–213; 47. 32, 136. Cf. also Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 332.

[71] Vd. 19. 43, *zaurva duždąm fəδrō kərənaoiti*—so Justi, s.v., and Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 275. [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 758, 1684, 'das Alter macht die Väter unverständig.']

plays a role in the Avesta as the demon of lethargy, long sleep, and sloth. This is the evil genius that causes men to oversleep and to neglect their religious duties. Būshyanstā is spoken of as 'the long-clawed' (*darəγōgava*) or as 'the yellow' (*zairina*, perhaps from a sickly jaundiced condition). This demon is a female rather than a male; the masculine gender is found only once (Yt. 18. 2). The Pahlavi form of the name is *Būšāsp* (Bd. 28. 26; DD. 37. 44, 51).

11. *Iθyejah Maršaona* (Vd. 19. 1, 2, 43; Yt. 6. 4; 13. 130; Vd. 18. 8), which the Pahlavi renders as 'Destruction the secret-moving' (*sēǰ nīhān ravišn*) is 'the fiend who causes annihilation' (Bd. 28. 26) and who 'brings about misfortune' (SD. 32. 5), a personification of pestilence. Mention is also made of *Sēǰ* in Dk. 9. 21. 4 and 7. 4. 37 (a rendering of Vd. 19. 1).[71a]

12. The *Nīyāz* of the Pahlavi text (Bd. 28. 26) is the demon of want, distress—an evil spirit of scarcity. The name is also mentioned in DD. 37. 52; 77. 8; Dk. 9. 21. 4.

13. *Āzi* (Vd. 18. 19, 22; Ys. 16. 8; 68. 8; Yt. 18. 1) is the demon of greed, selfish craving, and avidity (Nēryōsangh *lobha*), Phl. *Āz* or *Āžō*, cf. NP. *āz* (Bd. 28. 27; DD. 37. 51; MX. 8. 15; Dk. 8. 9. 3; 9. 32. 3).[72] With Bd. 30. 2 we may perhaps compare also Plutarch's λιμόν, Is. et Os. 47.

14. *Pūš* of the Pahlavi text (Bd. 28. 28) is the embodiment of miserliness and of hoarding.

15. The demon *Nasu* (Phl. *Nas*) will be discussed below (§ 59. 2).

16. *Frēftār*, 'the deceiver,' found as yet only in the Pahlavi texts, is a demon who seduces mankind (Bd. 28. 30).

17. *Spazga* (Yt. 3. 8, 11, 15) is slander, calumny, back-

[71a] [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1153, *maršaona-*, *maršavan*, regards this demon as the one 'who causes forgetfulness' and produces backsliding from the true faith.]

[72] [Cf. also Haas, 'The Zoroastrian Demon Āz in the Manichaean Fragments from Turfan,' in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in Honour of . . . Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana*, p. 193–195, London, 1925.]

biting, gossip, Phl. *Spazg* (Bd. 28. 31; MX. 2. 8, 11, 12, etc.).

18. *Arāst*, 'untrue, not right,' of the Pahlavi text (Bd. 28. 32), is a demon of falsehood.

19. *Aγaši* (Vd. 20. 3, 7) is a demon of the evil eye (the name, according to Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 278, being *aγa-aši*). The Pahlavi has *Aīγāš* (Bd. 28. 33; Dk. 7. 4. 2). For another demon of the evil eye cf. Bd. 28. 36.

20. *Būiti* (Vd. 19. 1, 2, 43, cf. Dk. 7. 4. 37–38) is the demon *Būt* of Bd. 28. 34, whose idol-worship among the Hindus is especially alluded to by the author of the Bundahishn. Suggestions connecting this demon with the name of Buddha have been made, notably by Darmesteter.[73]

21. *Astōvīδōtu*, lit. 'divider of the body' (Vd. 4. 49; 5. 8, 9), or *Vīδōtu daēvōdāta* (Ys. 57. 25; Yt. 10. 93; 13. 11, 22, 28), the red demon of death who binds the soul and separates it from the body, is mentioned particularly in connection with Aēshma (cf. § 56 and note 62, above). He is called 'the creation of the demons' (*daēvōdāta*) and is often alluded to in the Pahlavi writings (cf. Phl. *Astō-vīdāṭ*, Bd. 3. 21; 28. 35; DD. 37. 44, 51, 52, 81, 98, 106, 108; MX. 2. 115, 117, 153; Dk. 9. 12. 17; 9. 16. 1–2; YF. (GF.) 2. 41, 42, 48). His association with Vayu is noticed in the next paragraph.

22. *Vaya* (Vd. 5. 8, 9), or rather *Vayu* (Aog. 77–81), is known as 'the merciless' (*anamarəždika*, Aog. 77–81) and as 'the evil Vāē' (Bd. 28. 35, *vāē ī saritar*) in contradistinction to the good Vayu of Yt. 15. 5 (cf. also § 40. 13, above, and MX. 2. 115; 47. 8; DD. 30. 4; 37. 44, 52; Epist. Man. 2. 3. 15; 2. 8. 5). The struggle between 'the good Vāē' (*vāē ī vah*) and 'the bad Vāē' (*vāē ī vatar*), when the soul of the righteous comes to the Chinvat Bridge, is alluded to in MX. 2. 115; 47. 8 [cf. Pavry, *Zoroastrian Doctrine of a*

[73] *LeZA*. 2. 259 n. 4 and 3, p. xlvii; but cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Observations on M. J. Darmesteter's Theory*, p. 19 f, Leipzig, 1898; J. J. Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, p. 24, Bombay, 1896; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 177–178.

Future Life, p. 83]. In Bd. 28. 35 this demon is apparently identified with Astō-vīdāṯ, but in the Vendīdād passage to which reference has been made (Vd. 5. 8, 9) the two are clearly distinguished.

23. A demon of the 'malignant eye' (Phl. *sūr-čašmīh*) is named in Bd. 28. 36. This maleficent power appears to be different from that mentioned above (19). Compare also the Avestan *duždōiθra* (Yt. 3. 8), a demoniacal personification of the evil eye.

24. *Apaoša* (Yt. 8. 21, 22, 28; 18. 2, 6), Phl. *Apāōš*, is the mighty demon of drought who contends with the rain-god Tishtrya, but is finally worsted in the fight. This conflict is frequently alluded to (e.g. Yt. 8. 21–29; Bd. 7. 8, 10, 12; 28. 39; DD. 93. 11).

25. *Spənǰaγri* (Vd. 19. 40) is associated with Apaosha (Bd. 28. 39) and personifies the storm demon who is vanquished by Vāzishta, or the fire of the lightning. The name appears in the Pahlavi texts as *Aspenǰargāk*, Bd. 7. 12, *Spēnǰargāk*, Bd. 17. 1, *Aspenǰarōgā*, Bd. 28. 39, *Spenžagar*, ŠVV. 4. 52. Cf. also Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 309, on *Spiñǰauruška*. [Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1619, *Spənǰaγrya-*.]

26. *Kunda* (Vd. 19. 41; Yt. 24. 26) is 'the demon who is drunk without drinking,' and as Phl. *Kūndak* he is said to be the steed of the wizards (Bd. 28. 42). He is evidently the same as *Kundi*, Vd. 11. 9, 12; Phl. *Kunī*, ŠVV. 16. 13–19.[74] [Note also the reference to 'the column of Kūndag' in Dk. 3. 200. 8; see Jackson, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 224.]

27. *Kundiža*—see the preceding.

28. *Arəzūra* (Vd. 3. 7; 19. 45) is the Pahlavi *Arzūr* (Bd. 12. 8), and according to a reference to the name in MX. 27. 14–15, the title seems to have been the name of a demon or fiend slain by Gayōmarṯ.[75] The name was afterward

[74] Cf. West's note in *SBE.* 24. 244 n. 1; 47. 165 n. 1.

[75] See also the account in Albīrūnī, 100. 1 (108, 398), where Sachau reads *Xrūra* instead of the *Xzūra* of the text, cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 173. Albīrūnī calls him the son of Ahriman.

applied to Mount Arezūra, which is the gate of hell (cf. also DD. 33. 5).[76]

29. *Ƶrəši* (Ys. 31. 5) is the demon of envy, malice, or incredulity, according to Dk. 9. 30. 4–5; 9. 31. 6–10, Phl. *Areš* (*Arēšk* or *Arašk* in Bd. 15. 18; 28. 16—see 3, above).[77] He disputes with Zartusht on the subject of immortality.

30. *Vātya daēva* (Vd. 10. 14; cf. Dk. 9. 15. 2) is the demon of the storm wind as opposed to the good wind of Ys. 16. 5 (cf. also Vaya, no. 22 above).

31. *Zəmaka* (Vd. 4. 49, without the word *daēva;* cf. also *zyąm daēvō-dātəm*, Vd. 19. 43) typifies the evil power of winter. See especially the winter of the sorcerer Mahrkūsha, Fragm. 8. 2; Vd. 2. 22; cf. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, 2. 205.

32. The *Vyāmbura daēva* (Yt. 14. 54, 55, 56) represent a class of demons, but we must be content to guess at their character. T. D. Anklesaria, in *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 315 n., compares them with vampires.

33–42. There remain a few more names: *Būiδi* and *Būiδiža* (Vd. 11. 9, cf. above), *Frazīštō* and *Nizīštō* (MX. 2. 115), two demons that have not thus far been found in any other passage; and a series of four devils (Vd. 19. 43), namely *Driwi daēva*, or 'demon of beggary'; *Daiwi daēva*, or 'demon of lying'; *Kasvi daēva*, or 'demon of spite'; and *Paitiša daēva*, who is spoken of as 'the most devilish of the demons' (Vd. 19. 43), the demon of counteraction or of opposition, who personifies Ahriman's power to mar the world.[78] The Pahlavi version, at Vd. 21. 17, identifies the

[76] See West, *SBE.* 24. 58 n. 1; Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 35 n. 11; and cf. § 50, above. [See also J. J. Modi, 'Mount Arezūra of the Avesta, a Volcanic Mountain,' in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, p. 188–196, Bombay, 1908. For the idea of Arezūra as a volcano god, cf. the forthcoming treatise by L. H. Gray, *Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, bk. 2, chap. 3, § 10.]

[77] Cf. West, *SBE.* 37. 246 n. 7.

[78] Cf. Darmesteter, *SBE.* 4, 2d ed., p. 224 n. 24. [On these four names consult also Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 461, 680, 778, 836.]

names *Kaxuži* and *Ayehyā* with Ahriman. [Cf. Bartholomae, 161, 432, both taken as fem. stems.]

43–53. Four other names also deserve to be mentioned: *Haši*, *Γaši* (v.l. *Baši*), *Saēni*, *Būǰi* (Yt. 4. 2–3)[79]; and also *Xrū*, *Xrviγni*, apparently a personification of murder (Vd. 11. 9, 11), and *Mūiδi* and *Kapasti* (Vd. 11. 9, 11).[80] In Ys. 60. 5 *Asrušti*, 'Disobedience,' *Anāxšti*, 'Discord,' and *Arāiti*, 'Stinginess,' are spoken of as if they were demoniacal opponents of personified angelic virtues. But all of these are little more than empty names.

54. Some additional names might perhaps be added to this long list (e.g. from Vd. 20. 9, *Ašire*, *Aγūire*, etc.), for the demons are spoken of as if they were countless. It will suffice, however, to emphasize only one. This is *Šēṭāspīh*, 'a fiend, Shētāspīh, of the Kilisyākīh, from the countries of Salmān' (BYt. 3. 3).[81] According to West, this fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or of ecclesiasticism.[82] The name recalls the White Demon *Dīv-i Sipīd*, the leader of the hosts of Māzandarān, who, according to the Shāh Nāmah, was slain by Rustam in his seventh labor.[83] This much will suffice; an enumeration of the other names of demons occurring in Firdausī is unnecessary.[84]

In a general way to be associated with the demons is *Spityura*, brother of Yima, who is mentioned with other devils in Yt. 19. 46. He is there said to have 'sawed Yima in two'—a tradition which later accounts support.

[79] On these names consult Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 359. Are we to compare *Āxš*, *Āxšī* in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 12 ?

[80] Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 182 n. 14. [Cf. Bartholomae, 436, 1188.]

[81] He is also given the epithet *drūǰ*, cf. *The Text of the Zand-i-Vōhūman Yasht*, ed. Kaikobād Ādarbād Dastūr Nosherwān, p. 15, Poona, 1900.

[82] See *SBE*. 5. 215 n. 4, 6. [Salmān (Av. Sairima, i.e. Sarmatia) represents the country (Bd. 20. 12) above the sources of the Tigris.]

[83] Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, 1. 424–430.

[84] For example, *Akvan dīv*, *Arzang*.

[55. The demon *Mahmi* is mentioned only by Eznik (tr. J. M. Schmid, p. 109, Vienna, 1900), who says that this evil being told Ormizd that if he had intercourse with his mother the sun would be born to him, and by having similar relations with his sister the moon would be born. This had been unknown to Ormizd, but was known to Ahrmn.—L. H. GRAY.]

§ 58. **Conclusion.** Although the number of demons is very considerable, we are nevertheless obliged to admit that our knowledge of their nature is very limited. On the whole, there is little more to be said about them than that they have a malevolent and malicious character and are constantly scheming to injure mankind.

§ 59. (C.) **The Druj and other fiends; the Pairikās, Yātus, and similar evil beings.—Introduction.** Beside the Daēvas, we may make up still another group of evil beings, fiends, enchantresses, sorcerers, monsters, and similar evil creatures that belong to the host of Hell. These represent in various forms the principle of evil and wickedness, especially the Druj, or Fiend *par excellence*.

1. The Druj and other Drujes.—The name *Druǰ*, 'Falsehood, Deceit,' OP. *drauga*, in the Gāthās and elsewhere stands as an embodiment of the spirit of evil whose work Ahriman represents (§ 44, 49).[85] For that reason the Druj is sometimes identified with Ahriman.[86] The opponent of the Druj, as mentioned above, is Asha; and at the end of the world Asha will destroy this foul fiend and her teachings. Like the Old Persian *drauga* (masculine), the

[85] The characteristic passages have already been cited. We may add to them also Yt. 13. 13; Vd. 19. 12.

[86] Cf. the Phl. version of Ys. 30. 10; 51. 10; 46. 6, 7; also Yt. 11. 14, *druǰō . . . spəništahe* (cf. Justi, *Handbuch*, s.v., and *Die älteste iran. Religion*, p. 235; also Darmesteter, *LeZA.*, ad loc.). See furthermore Bd. 2. 11; VZsp. 1. 28. Cf. also Darmesteter's notes on Vd. 18. 3, *LeZA.* 2. 247 n. 41.

word *druǰ* is found almost exclusively in the singular.[87] The Drujes as a class will be noticed below. The gender of the word is feminine, and for that reason the several other fiends to whom the epithet *druǰ* is applied are usually conceived of as females, just as the Daēvas are generally regarded as males. There is nothing extraordinary in the employment of the title 'demoniacal fiend' (*daēvī druǰ*) as a designation of the monster Azhi Dahāka, who is elsewhere conceived of as a male creature. Since the word *druǰ* is feminine, the Vendīdād speaks of four male evildoers who make her pregnant with a brood of fiends.[88] As the *druǰ*, moreover, like other fiends, is a spirit, the adjective *mainyava*, 'spiritual,' is sometimes added as an epithet.[89] But the more frequent attribute is 'devilish,' i.e. *daēvī druǰ*, 'demoniac Druj.'[90] In later usage the term *druǰ* even becomes more generalized. The phrase *vīspa druxš*, 'every Druj' (Yt. 2. 11), implies that the Drujes were numerous, but their exact number is not known.

An important adjective GAv. *drəgvant*, YAv. *drvant*, is derived, according to Bartholomae, from the word *druǰ*. The plural of this word, the Dregvants, is employed in the Gāthās to denote 'the wicked' or the unrighteous as opposed to the righteous or Ashavans.[91] In the Younger Avesta the equivalent form of this plural is found especially in the collocation *varənya drvantō* (e.g. Yt. 10. 68, 97, etc.).

[87] Yt. 4. 7, *druǰinąm* is, however, gen. pl., unless it is to be explained as an adj., as did the author in *JAOS.* Proc. 1889, cxxvi. Yt. 24. 29 is too corrupt a text to argue from. The plural *drūǰān* frequently occurs in the Pahlavi texts, e.g. AVN. 53. 4; 70. 3; YF. 4. 15; 5. 6.

[88] Vd. 18. 30–59; cf. also ŠNŠ. 10. 7; 12. 18.

[89] Yt. 1. 19 = 13. 71; Yt. 11. 3; cf. ŠNŠ. 20. 9.

[90] For example, Vd. 8. 21; 18. 31; Ys. 9. 8; 57. 15; Yt. 5. 34; 14. 4.

[91] The plural of *drəgvant* may best be explained everywhere in the Gāthās as referring to the wicked. A possible exception is Ys. 44. 14, where the Pahlavi version sees a reference to Ahriman. Notice the use of the plural in Vd. 19. 44, 45.

This denotes the wicked fiends of Varena (cf. § 57. 9), an allusion to the demon of luxury and vice, and refers particularly to the inhabitants of Gīlān, to the south of the Caspian Sea, who are represented as fiends incarnate.[92]

2. Nasu, or Druj Nasu (Av. *druxš yā nasuš*, cf. Greek νέκυς), the Corpse Fiend, is the most commonly mentioned of all Drujes. This is a personification of the spirit of corruption, decomposition, contagion, and impurity, which, in the shape of an abominable fly, takes possession of the dead body and spreads contagion everywhere.[93] It is expelled from the corpse by means of the glance of a dog (*sagdīd*), or from the living body by the Barashnūm ceremony, a lustration lasting nine nights.[94]

3. Azhi Dahāka, a Druj (Av. *Ažī Dahāka*, Phl. *Až-ī Dahāk*, NP. *Až Dahāk*), half man, half monster, known also to Arabic writers as Ḍaḥḥāk Baiwarāsb, and also in Armenian as Azhdahak Biurasp,[95] is one of the chief representatives of the fiendish race. Mythological as well as fabulous elements are combined with the human in the make-up of this horrible being. In the Avesta he is spoken of as a monster with three heads, six eyes, and three jaws (Ys. 9. 8, etc.). The Shāh Nāmah explains this by describing him as having two serpents growing out of his shoulders. In Ys. 9. 8 and elsewhere he is called a 'demoniacal fiend' (*daēvī druǰ*) created by Ahriman to bring destruction upon the world. In the Bundahishn (Bd. 31. 6) his fiendish lineage is traced back to Ahriman[96]; and he is said to have committed incest with his mother Aūṯak, or Uda, who is herself a demon (cf. § 57. 5). Similarly, his matronymic name in the Avesta is *Vaδaγana* (Vd. 19. 6).

[92] Cf. also Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 373 n. 3.

[93] Vd. 5. 27 f; 7. 1 f; ŠNS. 2. 1–2; DD. 17. 7–8.

[94] Vd. 8. 14–22, etc.; Vd. 8. 41 f.

[95] Cf. Stackelberg, *WZKM*. 12. 237.

[96] Similarly Macbeth, according to the old Scottish Chronicle of Wynton, is descended from the devil.

His traditional epithet in the Pahlavi and elsewhere, *Bēvarāsp*, is interpreted as 'possessing ten thousand horses.' [97] The seat of his empire is Babylon, where his palace and his citadel were.[98] According to the ancient legend he dethroned and slew Yima (Jamshīd), whose glory he tried to seize.[99] His rule of a thousand years seems to represent the domination of some foreign power and is synonymous with terror.[100] Finally Thraētaona, the hero Farīdūn of the Persian epic cycle, puts an end to this reign, and Azhi Dahāka is chained beneath Mount Damāvand.[101] He will be unfettered once more at the end of the world, and then ultimately slain by the valiant Keresāspa, the Sāma, who will be miraculously restored for the purpose.[102] There are abundant passages in the Pahlavi literature (e.g. Dk. 9. 21. 1–21), as well as in the Shāh Nāmah, to supplement the Avesta in describing this partly human and partly superhuman fiend. The Shāh Nāmah sees in Azhi Dahāk an inhuman monster that is vested with sovereignty.

4. S ē j (Av. *Iθyeǰah Maršaona*) is spoken of in the Bundahishn (Bd. 28. 26) as a 'fiend' (Phl. *drūǰ*). But this evil being has already been included above in the list of demons (§ 57. 11).

5. J a h i (Av. *ǰahi*, Phl. *ǰēh*, *ǰah*) is a female fiend of evil life and debauchery; hence the word *ǰahi* is applied in the

[97] Cf. also Justi, *Namenbuch*, s.v. *Baēwarāspa.

[98] Yt. 5. 29, *Bawri*, and Yt. 15. 19, *Kviринta*. Cf. especially Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 584 n. 16.

[99] Yt. 19. 46; Bd. 31. 5–6; 34. 5–6; Dk. 9. 21. 2. [Cf. Carnoy, 'Iranian Mythology,' in *Mythology of All Races*, ed. Gray, 6. 305–311.]

[100] West says 'probably Semitic,' *SBE*. 5. 131 n. 8; Darmesteter understands the Chaldeans and then the Arabs, cf. *LeZA*. 2. 375 n. 39; 3, introd., p. xlix.

[101] Cf. Ys. 9. 7–8; Bd. 31. 7; 34. 6; DD. 37. 97; 65. 5; Dk. 7. 1. 26; 7. 11. 3 and various passages in the Shāh Nāmah. [In Armenia he was confused, or identified, with Astyages, the last king of the Medes. Justi, *Grundriss*, 2. 408 n. 9, 415; id. *Namenbuch*, p. 47–48.]

[102] Bd. 29. 7–9; BYt. 3. 58–62.

Avesta to a woman of impure life, as is also the derivative *ǰahikā*, 'harlot, prostitute.'[103] The name is associated with sorcerers, wizards, and heretics.[104] The virgin Eredaṯ-fedhrī is invoked against the evil which Jahi brings into the world (Yt. 13. 142). In the Bundahishn this fiend *J̌ah* is the paramour, and corresponds to the personification of Sin in Milton's Paradise Lost. From a kiss, moreover, which Jah received from Ahriman, the uncleanness of menstruation came into the world.[105]

6. Another female fiend.—In the Dēnkaṛt (Dk. 7. 4. 55–61) there is mentioned a female fiend similar to Jah. She is the temptress that meets Zoroaster, in order to betray him, as he returns from his heavenly conferences with Aūharmazd. She is described as having a body like gold, with a full bosom; she is fair in front, but hideous and foul behind. This vile and seductive creature, who seems to be 'Chēshmak the Karap' in disguise (Dk. 7. 4. 61), is utterly routed by Zoroaster.[106]

§ 60. Yātus, Pairikās, and similar malevolent powers. Beside the Daēvas, the Avesta mentions also a list of malevolent powers and evil personages grouped under the general designations of 'Yātus, Pairikās, oppressors, Kavis and Karapans, bandits, heretics, wolves, and invading, ravaging hordes.'[107]

1. The first of these, the Y ā t u s (Av. *yātu*, Phl. *yātūk*, Pers. *ǰādū*, Nēryōsangh *śākinī*, *rākṣasa*), are wizards and black magicians; the term seems to refer to human beings rather than to supernatural creatures. The chief of these is the vile sorcerer Akhtya, who propounds ninety-nine

[103] Cf. Vd. 18. 62; 21. 1, 17; Ys. 9. 32; Yt. 22. 36; etc.

[104] Av. *yātumaitī* and *kaxᵛarəδaine*, Vd. 21. 17; Yt. 3. 9, 12, 16; cf. *ašəmaoγa*, Vd. 21. 1.

[105] Bd. 3. 3–10.

[106] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 53, and cf. § 51. 8, above.

[107] Ys. 9. 18; Yt. 1. 10; cf. also Yt. 10. 34; 14. 4; 15. 12; and cf. Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 1. 90–91.

riddles, which are, however, solved by Yōishta of the Fryānas, a pious Turanian.[108] According to tradition, this wizard, Phl. *Axt*, was killed some thirty years after Zoroaster's death.[109]

2. Pairikās. The second name Pairikā (Av. *pairikā*, Phl. *parīk*) is familiar in its Modern Persian form Perī. It is given to a class of beautiful and seductive enchantresses and seems always to refer to supernatural creatures.[110] According to the Avesta, the malicious influence of the Pairikās is exerted upon the earth, water, fire, cattle, and all vegetation (Vd. 11. 9). Ahriman, moreover, employs the Pairikās to bewitch the stars in order to prevent rain; and to their malevolent influence meteoric showers are also apparently due.[111] Three Pairikās are especially mentioned by name. One of these is the Mūsh Pairikā,[112] which seems to denote a comet or some malign planet, if we may judge from the Bundahishn.[113] In the Avestan passages in which the name occurs the waters are invoked against the Pairikās.[114] For a similar reason the rain-star Tishtrya is invoked to hold in check the Pairikā Duzhyāiryā, 'bad harvest, famine, sterility, drought.'[115] This personification is identical with the evil Dušiyāra of the OP. inscriptions (Dar. Pers. d. 17 – 19 = H. 17 – 19). The third en-

[108] See Yt. 5. 81 f.; BYt. 2. 1; DD. 90. 3; Dk. 3. 195 (*SBE.* 18. 411); Dk. 9. 44. 14; and especially the Pahlavi tale Yōsht-ī Fryānō, cf. West, *Grundriss*, 2. 108, and Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 335 n. 38; 2. 266 n. 14; 386.

[109] VZsp. 23. 10, *SBE.* 47. 166 n. 1.

[110] Cf. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 90–91.

[111] Yt. 8. 39; cf. also VZsp. 22. 9.

[112] Ys. 16. 8; 68. 8, *avaiwhå mūš avaiwhå pairikayāi.* Cf. Plutarch's *μῦς ἐνύδρους*, Is. et Os. 46. [Güntert, 'Ar. *mušti-* "Faust" und die Hexe *Mūš*,' *KZ.* 45. 193–204.]

[113] Bd. 5. 1–2; 28. 44. See also West's notes on ŠVV. 4. 46–47. Cf. also DD. 39. 11, and see § 60. 5, below.

[114] See the passages referred to in note 112.

[115] Yt. 8. 51–55; cf. also Yt. 8. 36.

chantress mentioned by name is the Pairikā Khnanthaitī (*Xnąθaitī*), a creation of Aŋra Mainyu, an evil genius who attached herself to Keresāspa.[116] This pernicious spirit represents an embodiment of foreign idolatry at Vaēkereta, or Kābul; possibly she personifies nothing more or less than the seductive blandishments of some foreign princess.[117] Her heinous influence will be brought to an end by Zoroaster.

3. To the same class belong also a set of female fiends of vice and malady, the J a i n i s [118]; and with the Pairikās and Drujes there are also associated a number of personifications of pride, sickness, fever, and the like.[119]

4. There is little to be said about the other malevolent beings named at the beginning of this section. The Sātars of the Avesta primarily represent foreign tyrants. The Kavis and Karapans, who are constantly mentioned in the Avesta and who are explained by the tradition as persons that are blind and deaf to the law, are priests of the opposing faith.[120] The Ashemaoghas are heretics; the Kahvaredhas and Kayadhas are sorcerers [121]; and the Zandas are apostles of the Yātus.[122] Furthermore the Avesta *haēnā*, OP. *hainā*, is a personification of the evil and misery of a hostile in-

[116] Vd. 1. 10 (9); 19. 5.

[117] See Darmesteter on Vd. 1. 10; 19. 5; and cf. West in *SBE.* 18. 373.

[118] Ys. 10. 17; Vd. 7. 59; 20. 10; Yt. 19. 80. With the Jainis Spiegel compares the Arabic Jinns, cf. *EA.* 2. 139. [Bartholomae, 603, 608, takes *ǰaini*, *ǰąni* simply as a woman in the bad sense.]

[119] Yt. 3. 8; Vd. 20. 9–10; Ganjeshāyagān 11, ed. Peshutan D. B. Sanjana, p. 7, Bombay, 1885.

[120] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 28, 42. The names point back to Indo-Iranian times, cf. Vedic *kavi*, 'wise one,' and *kalpa*, 'ritual.' See likewise below, § 61 end, for Av. *usiǰ*, Vedic *uśij*.

[121] Cf. Ys. 61. 2–3; 57. 15; Yt. 10. 2; 13. 71; and Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 363, 384.

[122] For the Zandas (Av. *zanda*) cf. Ys. 61. 3; Vd. 18. 55; *ZPGl.* p. 30. 9.

vasion. Possibly the fragmentary word *sar* . . . in the Old Persian inscriptions belongs here likewise.[123]

5. The evil stars and planets.—It remains only to draw attention to another evil force in nature which is embodied in the form of planets or evil stars. These are arrayed with the forces of Ahriman to exert their pernicious influence upon mankind. Allusion has already been made to the Pairikās (§ 60. 2) and to Apaosha, the demon who contends against the good star Tishtrya (§ 57. 24). According to the Bundahishn (Bd. 3. 25), 'the planets, with many demons, rushed into the celestial sphere' and marred the order of the universe at the time when Ahriman waged war against Heaven.[124] They are seven in number and are Ahriman's own creation.[125] According to the statement of the 'Ulamā-ī Islām, they originally bore the names of demons; but when Ormazd brought them under his power he gave them new names.[126] One of these names is his own. This explains away the paradox that good names are assigned to many of them in Bd. 5. 1 (for example, *Tīr*, *Vāhrām*, *Aūharmazd*, and *Anāhīt;* the other names are *Kēvān*, i.e. Saturn, *Gōčihar*, and *Mūš Par*, cf. § 60. 2, above). They are held in check by the good stars which are the guardians of the sky, chief of whom are Tishtrya, Satavaēsa, Vanant, and Haptō-iringa, all of whom help to guard the gates of hell.[127]

§ 61. Monsters and fabulous evil creatures. In the same way as the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, the

[123] NRa. 52, cf. Jackson, *JAOS.* 20. 55. [Consult, however, Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1563.]

[124] Cf. also Bd. 28. 43–44, 48; VZsp. 2. 10.

[125] For example, MX. 8. 17–21; VZsp. 4. 3.

[126] 'Ulamā-ī Islām, tr. Blochet, *Revue de l'hist. relig.* 37. 44, and the translation by Vullers, p. 52.

[127] Yt. 8. 8, 9, 12, etc.; Yt. 12. 26–32; Sīr. 1. 13; Bd. 2. 7; 5. 1–2; VZsp. 4. 3, 7–10; MX. 8. 17–21; 12. 7–10; 24. 8. See especially Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 140–141; Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 99–100. [Cf. Jackson, 'Sun, Moon, and Stars (Iranian),' in *ERE.* 12. 85–88.]

ancient faith of Iran conceived of the existence of a number of horrible monsters and evil spirits in awful shapes.[128] We need only think of the mural sculptures of Persepolis, which so frequently represent a combat of the Achaemenian kings with fearful beasts. Among these Ahrimanic monsters, the first is naturally (1) Azhi Dahāka, who has already been sufficiently described. The second of them is (2) 'the horned dragon' Azhi Srvara (Av. *ažĭ srvara*, Phl. *ažŏ srōbar*, *srōbŏvar*, Nēryōsangh *ahi srubara*), a terrible serpent reeking with poison, whose size and appearance are described in Ys. 9. 11; Yt. 19. 40; Dk. 7. 1. 32; 8. 35. 13; 9. 15. 2.[129] He is slain by the valiant Keresāspa, whose deed of prowess is several times alluded to. With him is also associated (3) Gandarewa (Av. *gandarəwa*, Phl. *gandarepō*), a monster who is spoken of as 'having golden heels' and whose head touches the sky, though he himself is in the waters (Yt. 5. 38; 15. 28; 19. 41; MX. 27. 50; Dk. 7. 1. 32).[130] The same hero slew (4) a titanic monster named Snāvidhka, a creature belonging to the horned race and whose hands were like stone (Yt. 19. 43–44).[131] The Dēnkart speaks of him as a Druj.[132] The monster boasted that he would confound heaven and earth and even put Ormazd and Ahriman to confusion. The quelling of this creature was one of Keresāspa's greatest acts.[133] (5) Other evil creatures or enemies personified as monsters are mentioned by name in Yt. 19. 41–44, e.g. the Hunus descended from Nivika and Dāshtayāni, also Hitāspa, Vareshava, Arezōshamana, and

[128] Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 263 f.

[129] Cf. West, *SBE.* 18. 370–375; 37. 111, 198; 47. 12.

[130] On Gandarewa cf. Spiegel, *Arische Periode*, p. 210 f; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 110; Stackelberg, *WZKM.* 12. 239.

[131] On his epithet *srvō-zana* cf. Remy, *JAOS.* 20. 70.

[132] Dk., ed. Sanjana, 5. 223. 21, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 305.

[133] For the view of A. Weber on Snāvidhka see *Sitzungsberichte Berl. Akad.* of July 17, 1890, p. 903, and of July 12, 1894, p. 10.

the wicked 'Pitaona with many witches.'[134] To the latter class belong also the inimical Zainigāu (Yt. 19. 93; Bd. 31. 6; Dk. 7. 11. 3) and perhaps also Tūr-ī-Brāṭarvakhsh, the slayer of the prophet Zoroaster (references in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 128–129), as well as possibly also the enigmatical Gāthā names Grəhma and Usij (Ys. 32. 12–13; 44. 20; cf. Vedic *Uśij*). Special mention must be made here of the tyrant Keresāni, the enemy of Haoma, as to whose identity divergent views are still held.[135]

§ 62. Conclusion. We have now given a survey of the extent of the Iranian demonology, which rivals the evil hosts of Babylon and Assyria with their *utukku*, *shedu*, *namtar*, *ašakku*, and the like, with which some comparisons might perhaps be made. Only the hosts of angels and the watchfulness of man hold in check the hordes of Ahriman, his demons and fiends. Any lapse from the path of righteousness, any act of wrongdoing or carelessness, any neglect of goodness or lack of attention to the prescribed mode of living places man in the power of some demon or of some other evil force which constantly lurks ready to take possession of him and to destroy his body and his soul. The demon lore of Zoroastrianism is, as will be evident from what has been said, very comprehensive and deserves a more detailed consideration than could be afforded it in this limited space.

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[134] Yt. 19. 41–42; Dk. 9. 15. 2; cf. West, *SBE.* 18. 370; 37. 198; and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 22, 80, 130, 230, 254, 354.

[135] Cf. especially Darmesteter's suggested identification with Alexander the Great (*LeZA.* 1. 80–82), which has been extensively discussed; see below. Cf. also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 161.

Hovelacque, *L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le mazdéisme*, p. 303–325; Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, tr. Darab D. P. Sanjana, 1, introd., p. 61–63. See also Rapp, 'Die Religion der Perser,' *ZDMG.* 19. 80–81 (tr. K. R. Cama, *Religions and Customs of the Persians*, p. 153–155); Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 88–93; Ervad S. D. Bharucha, *Zoroastrian Religion*, p. 28–32, xliii–xliv; Edv. Lehmann, 'Die Perser,' p. 231–234, in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 2, 4th ed.; Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 72–105; Stave, *Über den Einfluss des Parsismus*, p. 235 f. Cf. also the account of demons in Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 260–273, Boston, 1898. [See also Albert J. Carnoy, 'Iranian Mythology,' in *Mythology of All Races*, ed. L. H. Gray, 6. 263–283, 302–312; A. Grünwedel, *Die Teufel des Avesta und ihre Beziehungen zur Ikonographie des Buddhismus Zentral-Asiens*, Berlin, 1924; Louis H. Gray, 'A List of the Divine and Demonic Epithets in the Avesta,' *JAOS.* 46. 97–153, and 'The Iranian Pandemonium' in his *Foundations of the Iranian Religions.*]

CHAPTER VII

THE UNIVERSE AND MAN

COSMOLOGICAL, ANTHROPOLOGICAL, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IDEAS OF ANCIENT IRAN

§ 63. Introduction. The religious speculations of the peoples of antiquity endeavored in manifold wise to explain the origin of the world. The cause was variously sought in the elements of water, fire, night, love, or strife. The conception of a cosmic egg or of a supermundane tree is present in more than one of the early cosmologies. Among the Zoroastrians cosmogonic speculation is closely connected with the fundamental religious problems. According to the Zoroastrian doctrine the universe is solely the product of Ormazd; his work of creation is marred only by Ahriman, whose malicious attacks pervert the pure world of Ormazd. The earth is the scene of the conflict between these two. Man is the center of the universe, and his soul is at stake; it is the prize for which the two spirits contend. We shall now consider in detail the conceptions which the ancient Iranians had of the constitution of the universe, their cosmological ideas, and their anthropology.

§ 64. Cosmology and chronology; the history of the universe. The general system of Iranian chronology is best represented in the Bundahishn, which deals especially with 'the original creation,' as the name Bundahishn implies. The account that is found in this work, when supplemented by allusions in other Pahlavi texts and combined with such references as occur in the Avesta, gives us a fairly complete insight into the Zoroastrian ideas of cosmology.

The Avesta and the Pahlavi writings postulate the two

primeval spirits as existent at the beginning of things.[1] Of these two, as we learn from the Bundahishn and the Selections of Zātsparam, the good spirit, Aūharmazd, dwells above in 'eternal light'; the evil spirit lurks in the abysm of 'eternal darkness.'[2] Between the two there is a void (Phl. *vāē* = Av. *vayu, vaya*); this is the intermediate space, the scene of their meeting and their struggle in the realm of Time.[3] In the Avesta and in Pahlavi literature there are two kinds of time: first, 'boundless time,' or eternity; secondly, 'sovereign time of the long period,' which Ormazd has carved out as a special period for the history of the world.[4] This latter period of time forms a great eon of twelve thousand years. This mighty cycle is divided into four great periods of three thousand years each. Each of these millenniums, moreover, is presided over by a sign of the Zodiac.[5] In this way we have a cosmic period that corresponds to the cycle of an enormous celestial year.[6]

[1] Ys. 30. 3; 45. 2; Bd. 1. 1 f; VZsp. 1. 1–2.

[2] On 'endless light' and 'endless darkness' in the Avesta, cf. Yt. 22. 15, 33.

[3] On 'Time and Vāē' see the summary of the Great Iranian Bundahishn by West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philolog.* 2. 100. Concerning the conflict between Ormazd and Ahriman, cf. Bd. 1. 1–5; VZsp. 1. 1–27; and 'Ulamā-ī Islām, transl. Vullers, p. 46–52; cf. also Blochet in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 37. 23–49. [Consult likewise the summary of the Iranian Bd. 1, by T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, *Būndahishn*, introd. p. xxi–xxii, Bombay, 1908.]

[4] Av. *zrvānəm akaranəm* and *zrvānəm x^{v}aδātəm* (e.g. Sīr. 1. 21), and cf. Phl. Bd. 34. 1 f. On Aūharmazd as the author of Time see VZsp. 1. 24 and Iran. Bd. 1 (West's Summary, *Grundriss*, 2. 100). [Also Iran. Bd. ed. Anklesaria, introd. p. xxii, top, cf. text p. 9–10, on this matter of boundless and finite time; observe likewise Blue, in *Indo-Iran. Studies in Honour of D. D. P. Sanjana*, p. 64–66, London and Leipzig, 1925.]

[5] Bd. 34. 2; cf. 'Ulamā-ī Islām, tr. Vullers, p. 46. [Blochet, in *Rev. de l'hist. relig.* 27. 23–49.]

[6] Some scholars believe that traces of Babylonian influence are to be recognized in this zodiacal system.

1. The first 3000 years: spiritual creation.—The first division of the great eon is the period of spiritual creation. From the beginning Aūharmazd knows, through his omniscience, of the existence of Aharman. He therefore produces the whole of his creation at first in a spiritual state, and these creatures remain in this transcendental form for the first three thousand years of time.[7] This primordial spiritual creation by Aūharmazd is exemplified in the Fravashis and is alluded to in the Avesta.[8] Subsequently Aharman, ignorant and tardy as usual, emerges from the darkness and is confounded upon beholding the light. Aūharmazd offers Aharman peace, but the latter declines; thereupon Aūharmazd proposes to the evil spirit a struggle for a period of nine thousand years, because he knows that at the end of this time the evil spirit will be undone.[9] Upon the acceptance of this offer, Aūharmazd at once routs Aharman, who flees back into darkness and remains for three thousand years in a state of confusion. The weapon which Ormazd uses in this first hostile encounter is, according to the Zoroastrian scriptures, the sacred prayer Ahuna Vairya. This holy word exists before the creation of the world.[10] In certain respects the conception resembles that of the Λόγος and the *Vāc* of Indian cosmology.[11]

[7] Bd. 1. 8; VZsp. 1. 22.

[8] Yt. 13. 1 f, and see especially Av. *mainyava sti, gaēθya sti* (e.g. Ys. 35. 1; Fragm. Vd. 2. 2; cf. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 3. 41, and cf. *manaspaoirya dāmąn.* Furthermore, on the spiritual prototype of which the material form is a copy, see the Persian view alluded to by Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata, 5, p. 593C = Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 9 col. 137–138; cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* 20. 66 (= tr. Cama, p. 210); Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* 2, part 3, p. 108.

[9] Bd. 1. 9–20; VZsp. 1. 10; cf. Avesta, Yt. 11. 14.

[10] Ys. 19. 1–3; Bd. 1. 21–22. Cf. J. Oppert, 'L'Honover, le verbe créateur de Zoroastre,' p. 13, 22, in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne,* January, 1862.

[11] See Darmesteter, *Essais orientaux,* p. 197–201; *LeZA.* 3, p. liv–lvi. [L. H. Mills, *Zaraθuštra, Philo, the Achaemenids and Israel,* p. 72–208 (esp. 90–171, 181–185), Chicago, 1906.]

2. The second 3000 years: material creation.—As yet the material world has not come into existence. During this second period Aūharmazd brings into being in tangible shape the creation which had hitherto existed only in spiritual form. At the same time Aharman produces demons and fiends which are to aid him in his warfare against Heaven.[12] The first of Aūharmazd's material creations, after the Amshaspands and the spirits, is the sky; the second is the water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animal life; the sixth, mankind.[13] The Fravashis, or celestial prototypes, also aid in this creation, as they do likewise in the management of the world. It is by deliberate choice, moreover, that those guardian spirits, the Fravashis of men, elect to be born into the world in order to aid in the overthrow of Aharman and in order to win joys eternal.[14]

3. The third 3000 years: irruption of Ahriman; earliest history of mankind.—The third three thousand years now begin with the seventh millennium. This is the period of 'the intermingling of the wills of Aūharmazd and Aharman.'[15] It is that period in the history of mankind which precedes the coming of the Revelation. Having recovered from his confusion, and being encouraged by his foul paramour, the demoness Jah, who answers to Milton's conception of Sin,[16] Aharman heads his fiendish hosts and springs like a snake through the sky down to the earth.[17] The vault of heaven is shattered; the earth is in dire distress. Blight, corruption, disease, and noxious creatures

[12] Bd. 1. 21–28.

[13] Bd. 1. 28; VZsp. 1. 20; and Avesta, Yt. 13. 86; Ys. 19. 2; Yt. 13. 28.

[14] Bd. 2. 10–11; cf. Yt. 13. 28–29.

[15] Bd. 1. 20.

[16] Bd. 3. 1–9; see § 59. 5, above.

[17] Cf. Bd. 3. 10–19; 6. 1–4; VZsp. 2. 1–4; and Avesta, Yt. 13. 13, 77.

are spread throughout the world. The evil spirit assaults the water, the earth, the plants, and the fire; he pollutes them and brings defilement upon them. He slays the primeval bull (*gōš*) and the primal man (*Gāyōmarṯ*). The conflict endures for a time, but the heavenly angels finally succeed in routing the fiendish crew and hurling them into hell beneath the earth, while they themselves lend aid in building a rampart around the sky to protect it against the adversary.[18] But as the primordial bull and man, Gōsh and Gāyōmarṯ, pass away, they become the progenitors of all animal life and of mankind. The remainder of these three thousand years is occupied by the history of the human race and of the kingdoms of the earth, particularly that of Yima (cf. Skt. *Yama*), until the coming of Zoroaster and the acceptance of the Religion by Vīshtāspa.

4. The last 3000 years: from the advent of Zarathushtra until Day of Judgment.—The tenth millennium is opened by the revelation of the Religion to Zaratūsht and its acceptance by Vishtāsp. This millennium of Zaratūsht and those of his posthumous sons Aūshētar and Aūshētarmāh (Av. *Uxšyaṯ-ərəta*, *Uxšyaṯ-nəmah*), together with the coming of the Messiah Sōshāns (Av. *Saošyant*), fill up the fourth period of the twelve thousand years. At the close of this time doomsday will come; the general resurrection of the dead will take place; Aūharmazd will triumph over Aharman; the good will reign supreme everywhere in a new and perfect era.[19] The same idea of a struggle between

[18] Bd. 3. 10–27; 6. 2; VZsp. 2. 1–11; 5. 1; cf. Avesta, Yt. 13. 45, 76–78; and for Av. *Gao* and *Gaya Marətan* see Ys. 29. 1 f; 30. 6; 13. 7; Yt. 13. 87; 7. 1 (*mąθwh gaočiθra*). Cf. also B. N. Dhabar, *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 84.

[19] See Chapter IX, below. Consult also Bd. 30. 2–33; Dk. 4, p. 246–247 (tr. in ed. Peshotun Dastur Behramjee Sunjana). Cf. furthermore the extract from the Iran. Bd. translated by Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 398–402. [See now text Iran. Bd. by T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, fol. 112a–116a = p. 220 bottom–228 top.]

the two principles of light and darkness, good and evil, as the cause of the universe, and the connection of this idea with the doctrine of 'Boundless Time' (*zrvan akarana*) as a characteristic tenet of Zoroastrianism, are recorded, among others, by the Armenian writers Eznik, Elisaeus, and Thomas Artsruni, as noted above.[20]

This is the outline of world history according to the Zoroastrian religion. An admirable presentation of the entire chronology in tabular form is given by West, *SBE.* 47, introduction, § 56–57. Reference may be made here also to the Appendix on the Iranian Calendar (§ 72, below), for which I am indebted to my pupil, now colleague, Prof. Louis H. Gray.

§ 65. Greek notices of the cosmological ideas of the Persians. Herodotus makes no special statement regarding the cosmological conceptions of the ancient Persians; he states merely that the Persians called the whole circle of the heavens Zeus,[21] and incidentally he mentions a chariot sacred to Zeus and drawn by eight white horses, which formed part of the procession of Xerxes.[22] This chariot was a hallowed symbol and represented the rolling car of the heavens, as we see from Xenophon's allusion to the chariot in the procession of Cyrus,[23] as well as from Dio Chrysostom's fine description of the Persian allegory which conceives of the universe under the guise of a chariot that is divinely managed and circles through eternity.[24] The revolutions of the sun and the moon are but part of the universe, and neither Homer nor Hesiod, says Dio, have sung of this chariot so beautifully as Zoroaster. According to his description, the chariot is drawn by four gigantic

[20] See Chapter IV, end. Cf. also Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 542 f., and Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 276–278.

[21] Hdt. 1. 131.

[22] Hdt. 7. 40.

[23] Xen. Cyrop. 8. 3. 12.

[24] Dio Chrysostomos, Orat. 36.

steeds, each swifter and mightier than the other. These coursers speed on in concentric circles and represent the spheres of the sky, air, sea, and earth. The whole is governed by νοῦς, which permeates the world and absorbs and produces again all that exists.[25] The conception may have received some Greek coloring in its transmission.

There is no doubt that Aristotle and likewise Hermippus were acquainted with the Zoroastrian doctrine of the two primordial principles (ἀρχαί) as the source and origin of all things.[26] The first person whom we know to have had an insight into the cosmogonic and chronological system of the Magians was Theopompus, for he was familiar with their doctrine of the millennial cycles. This we learn from Plutarch's brief but comprehensive description of the Magian religion, the correctness of which is confirmed on almost all points by the native literature. Plutarch's account, which is based in part upon Theopompus, is substantially as follows (Is. et Os. 46–47):—

The Magians recognized Horomazes as the god of goodness and of light; they look upon Areimanios as the demon of evil and of darkness; between these two stands Mithra, whom the Persians therefore call 'the intermediary' (τὸν μεσίτην).[27] Horomazes sprang from the purest light, Areimanios from darkness, and these two waged war against each other. Horomazes created six beneficent divinities (i.e. the Amshaspands), and then, waxing three times as great as before, he withdrew from the sun just as far as the sun is distant from the earth.[28] He thereupon adorned the

[25] Cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* 20. 63, 67–68 (= tr. Cama, p. 203, 210–213). For special remarks on this conception see Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* 2, part 3, p. 23 n. 43; p. 32 n. 65–66; p. 97 n. 2. [See now Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 44; yet cf. also id. *Gr. Lat. Nachrichten* (1920), p. 152–155.]

[26] Cf. § 24, above.

[27] Cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 112; Windischmann, *Über Mithra*, p. 57.

[28] An allusion to the heavenly spheres, which are to be recognized in Zoroastrianism, as will be shown hereafter.

heaven with stars, the chief of which is Sirius. The supreme deity now created twenty-four other divinities whom he placed in an egg.[29] In order to counteract these, Areimanios in turn created an equal number of evil beings to join his side. They pierced the egg, and in this way evil became mixed with the good.[30] On the authority of Theopompus, Plutarch then adds that, according to the Magian doctrine, one of the two gods (i.e. Horomazes) rules for three thousand years while the other is worsted; after that they contend and fight together for three thousand years and mutually destroy each other's works; finally (*τέλος*) the good god will vanquish the devil (*τὸν Ἀιδην*), the good will be triumphant, and the millennium will be ushered in. This latter passage clearly alludes to the doctrine of the twelve thousand years which, as has been shown above, is one of the tenets of the Zoroastrian faith.

§ 66. Order and arrangement of the universe; laws of nature. With regard to the order and arrangement of the universe, it is probable that the ancient Iranian system was based upon a geocentric conception of the world. The sky is created before the earth, but the earth is in its midst. The sky itself, according to the Dātastān-i Dēnīk, is regarded as threefold: the uppermost heaven, the gloomy abyss, and that which is between these two.[31] It seems not improbable that the old familiar idea of a cosmic egg was current also in ancient Iran.[32] The atmosphere (*vayu*) is about the earth; above this comes the celestial sphere (Av.

[29] A reference to the Yazatas and to the idea of a cosmic egg.

[30] To be explained from Bd. 3. 10–27; VZsp. 2. 1–11.

[31] DD. 37. 24–33 (West, *SBE.* 18. 86–89; cf. 24. 17 n. 4).

[32] So Spiegel, *EA.* 1. 452–453, and other writers (cf. likewise Yt. 13. 2). The idea is, however, questioned by Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 107–108. [The notion of a cosmic egg is found in the Persian Rivāyat of Dastūr Barzū (*Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat*, ed. M. R. Unvālā, 2. 64. 1, Bombay, 1922) which states that 'Ormazd created the world in the shape of a ball.']

θwāša, Phl. *spihar*) in which the stars, the constellations, and the signs of the zodiac are set [33]; the moon and the sun in the Zoroastrian system, in consequence of an astronomical misconception, are believed to occupy spheres beyond the stars [34]; above all, in the supreme heaven, dwells Ahura Mazdāh. Various constellations guard the four quarters of heaven and the zenith; each of these is presided over by a particular star.[35] The planets and shooting stars mar the order of nature and are regarded as the creatures of Ahriman.[36] Ahura Mazdāh is pre-eminently the lord of law, of eternal order in nature, and of righteousness in the world.[37] The laws of nature are subject to him or to his agents.[38] Annually, for example, the rain (Av. *vāra*, Phl. *vār*) is poured down by the star Tishtrya after his victory over Apaosha, the demon of drought.[39] Through hidden channels Ahura Mazdāh conducts the water from the cleansing sea Pūitika to the mighty reservoir Vourukasha, in the midst of which stands the mythical tree Hvāpī; in

[33] [Bd. 2. 2, cf. Spiegel, *EA*. 2. 13–16, de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, introd. p. lxxxvii, cxxxviii, and especially Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 10, 94–97. All these scholars interpret *θwāša*, *spihar* as the heavenly vault, the firmament above the material sky (*asmān*). An Iran. Bd. passage translated by Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 310 and n. 45, seems to place the *spihar* below the star region or 'track' of *Ardvīsūr*, the female genius of the waters (*op. cit.* 2. 387 n. 96), and another passage of the same text (p. 315 and n. 84) might be interpreted to mean that the *asmān* is the highest heaven, between the sphere of the sun and the Endless Light. Cf. also AVN. 7. 5–10. 5. The references to the works cited should in any case be consulted.]

[34] Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak 8. 4; 9. 6.

[35] For example, Yt. 8. 1, 12; Bd. 2. 7; 5. 1; for details see Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 308–314 (= *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, 1. 135–142), and Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 95–96. [See Jackson, 'Sun, Moon, and Stars (Iranian),' in *ERE*. 12. 85–88.]

[36] For example, Yt. 8. 8, 39; Bd. 3. 25–26; 28. 43–45; MX. 8. 17–21.

[37] Ys. 31. 7, 8; 44. 3.

[38] For example, Ys. 44. 3–4.

[39] Yt. 8. 1 f.; Bd. 7. 1–10; VZsp. 6. 9–14.

this way the seeds of all the earth receive the nourishment of heaven.[40] The fire of lightning (Av. *vāzišta*, Phl. *vāzišt*) is produced from the cloud which contends with the demon Spenjaghri (Av. *spənǰaγri*, Phl. *spēnǰargāk;* cf. § 57. 24, 25). The other phenomena of physical and mundane life equally reveal divine order and design.

§ 67. Ideas concerning creation. With regard to the creation and organization of the material world, the Zoroastrian teaching represents the universe as one of intelligence and definite plan. In the Gāthās Ahura Mazdāh is extolled as the creator who has established and ordered all with wisdom (*xratu*) with the aid of his Holy Spirit (*spənta mainyu*) or of his Benevolence (*vohu manah*).[41] One passage in the Gāthās, in particular, which glorifies him as the author and the guiding hand in the whole economy of nature (Ys. 44. 3–5), recalls, in its simple grandeur, the utterances of the psalmist David. He it was who created (*dā*) the path of the sun and of the stars, who causes the moon to wax and to wane, who has upheld the earth without a support and who keeps it from falling, and who created the water and the plants. It is he, moreover, who has yoked swiftness to the winds and the clouds; he it is, finally, who, as wise demiurge, has produced light and darkness and the divisions of the day.[42] In a somewhat similar manner, moreover, the inscriptions of Darius and of the other Achaemenian kings magnify Auramazda as having created (*dā*) heaven, earth, and man.[43] In a narrower sense Ahura Mazdāh's activity is represented, in the creation chapter of the Younger Avesta (Vd. 1. 1 f.), as forming (*θwars*) various lands and places, which Aŋra Mainyu then mars (*frakərənt*)

[40] Cf. Vd. 5. 17–20.

[41] Ys. 44. 3–4.

[42] It is to be noticed that Ahura Mazdāh is here represented as having created the darkness (*təmå*), just as is implied apparently in the reference to Persian doctrines in Isaiah 45. 7.

[43] For example, Dar. Alv. (O) 1–11, and elsewhere; cf. Vd. 1. 2, etc.

by his counter-creations. These ideas are more fully carried out in the Pahlavi Bundahishn, which, as already stated, is a sort of Iranian Genesis founded on the older Avestan Dāmdāṯ Nask.

In this connection it is appropriate to speak briefly about the nature of the Avestan words *dā*, *θwars*, *kərənt*, *taš*, which are used to denote various aspects of creative activity. The verbal roots *θwars* and *kərənt* in their original significance convey the idea of 'cutting'; and *taš* denotes 'shaping.' These three verbs are not restricted exclusively to the activity of Ahura Mazdāh or of Ahriman in contradistinction to human activity.[44] The nearest approach to a word conveying the idea of real creation is *dā*, the typical word for 'creating.' The general opinion is, it is true, that the Zoroastrian conception of creation was rather that of a forming or shaping of something pre-existent than a real creation *ex nihilo*[45]; but this seems to be contradicted by a remarkable passage in the Bundahishn (30. 5–6). Aūharmazd there explains to Zaratūsht how He originally had brought into being the visible world, created out of nothing that had previously existed.[46]

It may be added that, according to tradition, the creation of the material of the world took place in six periods, the so-called Gāhānbārs, and occupied the time of a solar year of 365 days (see § 72, below). Both Spiegel and Darmesteter lay great weight upon certain striking likenesses to the Semitic theory of creation, and both claim that the Avesta is in this respect under the influence of Jewish thought.[47]

[44] On the Avestan words for creating, see the notes by Jackson in H. T. Peck's *Semitic Theory of Creation*, p. 25–27, Chicago, 1886.

[45] See the notes by Jackson cited in note 44, and the view of Spiegel, *EA.* 1. 454; West, *SBE.* 5. 9 n. 2; Bharucha, *Zor. Religion*, p. 17; and cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 24, 84 n.

[46] See Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 28, and cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, introd., p. cxxxviii.

[47] Spiegel, *EA.* 1. 455; Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 3, p. lvii (= *SBE.* 4, 2d

§ 68. The earth and its physical organization. We are not quite certain what the Zoroastrian idea of the form of the earth was. It is generally assumed that the Iranians imagined the earth to be circular and flat, consisting of three layers or strata[48]; there is some evidence, however, for thinking that they may have conceived of the earth as a sphere.[49] Its surface was believed to be divided into seven zones or circles (Av. *karšvar*, Phl. *kēšvar*)—a division that is as old as the Gāthās.[50] For the ideas as to the arrangement of the Karshvars and the distribution of the rivers, lakes, and seas, we must, for reasons of space, refer to the Avesta and the Bundahishn; the relevant material there contained has been discussed critically in a number of works.[51] The same may be said of the organization of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, or the ancient Iranian ideas on zoology, botany, or geology.[52]

§ 69. Man and the ancient Iranian ideas of anthropology. As the animal kingdom is supposed to have sprung from the primeval bull (Gōsh) which was slaughtered by Ahriman, so the human race is believed to have originated from Gāyōmarṭ as progenitor. When dying, he emitted his seed,

ed., p. lviii). [As to the analogies cf. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Relig. u. das Judentum*, p. 217, 228.]

[48] Cf. Ys. 11. 7; Yt. 13. 2; and see Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 110–111; Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 301 (= *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, 1. 128); Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 506 n. 10.

[49] Dk. 1, p. 12, according to Peshotun Behramjee Sunjana's translation; but see Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 111 n. 1.

[50] Ys. 32. 3; see also Justi, *Handbuch*, s.v. *karšvar*. Note that Nēryōsangh renders the word *karšvar* by Skt. *dvīpa*. Comparisons have been drawn between the seven Indian Dvīpas and the seven Iranian Karshvars, cf. Justi, s.v., and Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 303 (= *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, 1. 130 n. 2).

[51] For example Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 67; Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 303 (= *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, 1. 130) and *GIrPh.* 2. 387–394; Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 110–117.

[52] See especially Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 117–128.

and from this, as the Bundahishn narrates, there sprang two beings, Mashya and Mashyōī, who became the parents of mankind. At first they grew up together in the form of the shoots of an intertwining *rīvās* plant; but afterwards they assumed the independent shapes of man and woman. Their first offspring were twins, male and female; these they devoured, but they suffered their following seven pairs of children to live. From one of those seven pairs the human family is descended.[53] But besides the one tree which sprang from Gāyōmarṭ's seed, there arose also a second scion from the same source. This, however, brought into the world human monsters, which are outlawed and accursed.[54] The Bundahishn, like the Bible, gives long genealogies of the noble and ignoble races of the world, but for lack of space we must be content merely to refer to these lists (Bd. 31. 1 to 33. 9).

§ 70. **Physiological and psychological conceptions.** Man consists of body and soul; the elements which constitute him are accordingly material and spiritual. The spiritual part of his being existed prior to the material part, and it does not perish like the latter at death. The physical constituents of the human being (*gaēθā*) which enter into combination at birth and undergo dissolution at death are: (1) *tanu*, or the entire body with its various anatomical portions; (2) *ast*, the bones or frame; (3) *gaya* or *uštāna*, 'vital energy, vitality,' which is lost at death (Vd. 5. 9). Although the corporeal body is resolved into its elements at death, the form (*kəhrp*, *tanu*) will nevertheless be restored anew at the Resurrection (cf. Yt. 13. 61; Fragm. 4. 3 [55]), and the individual assumes the new body of the hereafter

[53] Bd. 15. 1–26.

[54] Bd. 15. 5, 31. On the vegetable origin of the races of mankind cf. Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 130–134.

[55] [Cf. Haas, 'An Avestan Fragment on the Resurrection,' *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, p. 181–187, Bombay, 1908.]

(Phl. *tanū-ī pasīn*) at the renovation of the world (*frašōkərəti*).

The usual classification of the spiritual faculties of man is fivefold in the Avesta: (1) *ahu* (Phl. *ahū*), 'spirit, inspiration, reason'; (2) *daēnā* (Phl. *dēn*), 'religion, conscience, revelation,' the moral life of man; (3) *baoδah* (Phl. *bōd*), 'consciousness, perception, sensation'; (4) *urvan* (Phl. *ruvān*), 'soul'; and (5) *fravaši* (Phl. *frōhar*), 'fravashi, guardian spirit.' The most important of these faculties, after *daēnā*, are the *urvan* and the *fravaši*. The *urvan*, or soul, is that faculty in man which gives him freedom of will to choose (*var*) between good and evil and holds him responsible for his deeds, and which is united after death with his Fravashi.[56] The *fravaši*, or guardian angel, is the heavenly reflex of man, his archetype or pattern 'in the presence of Aūharmazd,'[57] guiding his soul as a spiritual helpmeet and somewhat resembling the Platonic doctrine of the idea.[58] Nothing is said about the Fravashis of evil beings. In some of the passages which analyze the spiritual organism of man, the Avesta sometimes substitutes *təviši*, 'physical force'; and in later enumerations we also find *ǰān*, 'life,' employed as an equivalent of Av. *ahu*, *daēnā*; occasionally *hōš* (Av. *uši*), 'sense, feeling,' is added besides. There are several other traditional classifications of the psychic and ethical elements; in some cases, for example, eleven faculties are recognized. Among this number are: *xratu*, 'wisdom' (which is of two kinds, *āsna xratu*, 'innate wisdom,' and *gaošō-srūta xratu*, 'acquired wisdom'); *čisti*, 'knowledge'; *manah*, 'thought'; *vačah*, 'word'; *šyaoθna*,

[56] Cf. Iran. Bd., tr. Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 500; West, 'Notes on Zarathuśtra's Doctrine regarding the Soul,' *JRAS.* 1899, p. 605–611; [Casartelli, 'Avestan *Urvan*, "Soul",' in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, p. 127–128, Cambridge, 1922; Wesendonk, *Urmensch und Seele*, p. 191–202.]

[57] Cf. Iran. Bd., see note 56.

[58] Cf. also § 40. 10, above.

'deed'; *vasah*, 'will'; *kāma*, 'desire'; and the like. It will suffice to refer here to discussions of this philosophical subject.[59]

§ 71. **Conclusion.** The moral responsibility of the human soul, just mentioned, which forms a cardinal tenet of Zoroastrianism, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

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§ 72. The Iranian Calendar

Appendix by my Pupil [now Colleague] Professor Louis H. Gray

The ancient Iranian calendar was twofold, Persian and Avestan. In the Avestan time-reckoning there was a year of twelve months, each containing thirty days.[60] To this

[59] Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 298–300 (= *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, 1. 121–127); Darab D. P. Sanjana, 'The Avesta Doctrine Regarding Man in relation to his Body and Soul,' *Bombay Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1882; Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 134–144; Jackson, *JAOS.* 13, Proc., p. ccxiv, Oct. 1887; Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, *Zor. Religion and Customs*, p. 20–22; Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 2. 501, 555; J. J. Modi, *JBBRAS.* 19. 365–370; cf. also E. K. Antia, in *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 154–158.

[60] See West, *SBE.* 47, introd., p. 42–47; *Academy*, 49. 348. Cf. also

number of 360 days there were added at the end of the year the five Gāthā days (*Gāh, Andargāh*).[61] These were called *Ahunavaiti, Uštavaiti, Spənta Mainyu, Vohu Xšaθra*, and *Vahištōišti*. To allow for the quarter-day which was thus lost each year, a month was intercalated every hundred and twenty years. In the time of religious persecution by the Muhammadans after the fall of the Sāsānid rule, this system of intercalation was neglected. An attempt was, however, made in the year 1745, long after the greater number of Zoroastrians had sought refuge in India, to reform the calendar, but this endeavor eventually gave rise to serious religious differences among the Parsis. The Indian reckoning of the Avestan year is now a month behind the Persian reckoning.[62] With regard to intercalation in the ancient Persian year nothing is known.

The year began in the spring and consisted of the following months: *Fravarṯīn, Arṯavahišt, Horvadaṯ, Tīr, Amerōdaṯ, Satvaīrō, Mitrō, Āvān, Āṯarō, Dīn, Vohūman, Spendarmaṯ*.[63] It is thus self-evident that the Avestan calendar is essentially hieratic. It is remarkable that the year began with Fravartīn rather than with Dīn, and that the regular order of Ahura Mazdāh and the Amshaspands (§ 35, 36 above) is totally disarranged. No satisfactory explanation of either of these phenomena has yet been found.

In the case of the thirty days of each Avestan month, on

on the Vedic calendar, Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 360–374; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, 1, 2d ed., p. 985–986.

[61] Cf. Quintus Curtius, 3. 3, 10.

[62] Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, 1. 105–116; West, *Academy*, 49. 348. See also below § 100, p. 183–184.

[63] Haug-West, *Glossary and Index of . . . Arda Viraf*, p. 87. Note also the Greek forms of the names of the Avestan months given in Lagarde's *Gesamm. Abh.* p. 230, and the Cappadocian forms, *ibid.* p. 258–263; M. Schmidt, *Neue lykische Studien*, p. 142–144. Further, the passage of Chrysokokkes in Hyde, p. 186. The list of Avestan months given in Firdausi's Shāh-Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, p. 1110. 781–789, should also be consulted.

the contrary, the customary sequence of Ormazd and his archangels is strictly observed. The names of the days of the month are as follows: *Aūharmazd, Vohūman, Arṯavahišt, Šatvaīrō, Spendarmaṯ, Horvadaṯ, Amerōdaṯ, Dīn pavan Āṯarō,*[64] *Āṯarō, Āvān, Xūršēṯ, Māh, Tīr, Gōš, Dīn pavan Mitrō, Mitrō, Srōš, Rašnū, Fravarṯīʀ, Vahrām, Rām, Vāṯ, Dīn pavan Dīn, Dīn, Ārṯ, Āštāṯ, Āsmān, Zamyāṯ, Māraspend, Anīrān.* Here again the sacerdotal character of the names of the days is noteworthy. From the fact that the first, eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of each month were sacred to Ahura Mazdāh, some scholars have inferred that the Zoroastrian religion divided the month into weeks. Since, however, the number of days in these weeks is $2(7 + 7) + 2[(7 + 1) + (7 + 1)]$, such a view seems scarcely tenable. The true division of the Avestan month was into 14 + 16 days, and of each period the first day (i.e. the first and fifteenth of the month) was sacred to Ormazd, as was also the middle day of each part (i.e. the eighth and twenty-third of the month). The names of the Avestan months are not found in the Avesta itself, except that six appear in the addenda to Āfrīngān 3. 7–12 as found in certain manuscripts.[64a] They are all recorded, however, in the Pahlavi texts, in al-Bīrūnī, and elsewhere.[65] The

[64] Or *Dai pa Āṯarō*, etc. The Khorazmian form of this word *Daδū*, as well as the Soghdian *Dast*, and the Greek and Cappadocian forms Νται ($\nu\tau = \delta$, as in Modern Greek) and Τεθουσια (or Δαθουσα) are of interest in this connection. Note also the variant *Dīn* for *Dai* as a month-name in the Shāh Nāmah, 1509. 229. If the reading *Dai*, supported by *Daδū*, *Dast* (for **Dats* ?), Νται, Τεθουσια, be adopted, then the Avestan forms *daθušō* and *daδvå*, both epithets of Ahura Mazdāh, constitute the origin from which the name of the day is to be derived. Consult further Haug-West, *Glossary and Index of . . . Arda Viraf*, p. 281, 167; Justi, *Bundehesh*, p. 151–152.

[64a] See the edition of Geldner, *Avesta*, 2. 272–275; and cf. the German translation by F. Wolff, *Avesta übersetzt*, p. 310–311.

[65] Bd. 25. 20; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. and ed. Sachau, p. 52, 82. Note also al-Bīrūnī's list of the months according to the statements of

thirty days of the month, however, are enumerated both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings, as well as in al-Bīrūnī.[66]

The Avestan year contains six festivals, called Gāhānbārs,[67] which commemorated the six periods of creation.[68] This is, however, a later ritualistic interpretation, for the Gāhānbārs seem originally to have been popular festivals, corresponding possibly to the seasons of the year.[69] The names of the Gāhānbārs are as follows: *Maiδyōi.zarəmaya* (corresponding to the days *Xūršēṯ* to *Dīn pavan Mitrō* in the month of *Arṯavahišt*), *Maiδyōišəma* (corresponding to *Xūršēṯ* to *Dīn pavan Mitrō* in the month of *Tīr*), *Paitiš.hahya* (corresponding to *Āštāṯ* to *Anīrān* in the month of *Šatvaīrō*), *Ayāθrima* (corresponding to *Āštāṯ* to *Anīrān* in the month of *Mitrō*), *Maiδyāirya* (corresponding to *Mitrō* to *Vahrām* in the month of *Dīn*), and *Hamaspaθmaēdaya* (the five Gāthā days).[69a] The last day was the Gāhānbār

the inhabitants of Sijistan, of Sughd, and of Khwarazm, *ibid.* p. 52–53, 56–57, 82. See also Sachau's notes, *ibid.* p. 383–384; Hyde, *Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.* p. 191, 203–205; Lagarde, *Gesamm. Abh.* p. 229–232.

[66] Ys. 16. 3–6; Sīr. 1. 1–30; 2. 1–30; Bd. 27. 24; ŠNŠ. 22. 1–30; 23. 1–4; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. and ed. Sachau, p. 53, cf. also p. 56–57.

[67] Ys. 1. 9; 2. 9; 3. 11; 4. 14; 6. 8; 7. 11; Visp. 1. 2; 2. 2; Āfr. 3. 2–12; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. and tr. Sachau, p. 204, 207, 210, 212, 217; cf. also the Khorazmian names, *ibid.* p. 225, and Sachau's notes, *ibid.* 425–426. See also the Sanskrit and Persian translations of the Āfrīngān Gāhānbār in Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, 2. 318–333.

[68] Bd. 25. 1.

[69] West, *Glossary and Index . . . of Mainyō-i Khard*, p. 81; *SBE.* 24. 27 n. 1; Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 321.

[69a] [If we assume in accordance with the usual view that the Avestan year began at the vernal equinox, March 21, the Gāhānbār festivals would fall on the following dates: *Maiδyōi.zarəmaya*, originally a spring feast, April 30–May 4; *Maiδyōi.šəma*, summer solstice, June 29–July 3; *Paitiš.hahya*, harvest feast, Sept. 12–16; *Ayāθrima*, pastoral feast, Oct. 12–16; *Maiδyāirya*, winter solstice, Dec. 31–Jan. 4; *Hamaspaθmaēδaya*, spring equinox, March 16–20. On the other hand, if we accept Bartholomae's assumption (*AirWb.* 1118, 838, 160,

par excellence. These festivals came at irregular intervals of 45, 60, 75, 30, 80, and 75 days respectively. Perhaps the best explanation of this apparently strange phenomenon is that offered by Cama.[70] We know that the Avestan year was divided into a summer (*ham*) of seven months, which commenced on the first day of Fravartīn (March 21), and a winter (*zayana*) of five months, which began on the first day of Āvān (October 17).[71] There was also a later division of the year into four seasons of three months each: spring (*vahār*, Fravartīn to Horvadat), summer (*hāmīn*, Tīr to Shatvaīrō), autumn (*pātīz*, Mitrō to Ātarō), and winter (*zamistān*, Dīn to Spendarmat).[72] According to Cama's very ingenious theory, the first, second, and fifth Gāhānbārs fell in mid-seasons, i.e. in the middle of the spring of three months, of the summer of seven months, and of the winter of five months. The third, fourth and sixth Gāhānbārs, on the other hand, came at the end of seasons, i.e. of the summer of three months, of the summer of seven months, and of the winter of three months. The sixth Gāhānbār was accordingly the last day of the year. [Professor Gray is now inclined to believe that these season-festivals were introduced at various periods in the history of the calendar. As they actually stand, their arrangement is inconsistent, for if one begins the year with March 21 (the vernal equinox), the solsticial feasts do not fall at the right times; and if one commences with March 8 to meet the requirements of the summer and winter solstices (June 21, December 22), the vernal equinox is incorrectly placed. He thinks, therefore, that the year originally began with the vernal equinox, and that the solsticial festivals were introduced later when the actual beginning of the year had

1117, 1776) that the year began on March 8, the festivals would fall thirteen days earlier in each case.]

[70] *Actes du VI. congrès internat. des orientalistes*, 3. 583–592.

[71] Gloss on Vd. 1. 4; Bd. 25. 7.

[72] Bd. 25. 20; cf. also Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 40.

receded by thirteen days (i.e. to March 8). It would seem, furthermore, that at one period the intercalary days were inserted, not at the end of the year, but at the termination of Maidhyāirya, for the intervals should probably be 45, 60, 75, 30, 75 + 5, and 75, in view of the common multiple 15.]

As for the day, we know from the Avesta that it was divided into five parts, which were called in the Avesta *asnya ratavō* or *ayara ratavō*, and in Pahlavi *gāhān*. The Gāhs were as follows: *Hāvani* (dawn till noon), *Rapiθwina* (noon till 3 P.M.), *Uzayeirina* (3 P.M. till dusk), *Aiwisrūθrima Aibigaya* (dusk till midnight), and *Ušahina* (midnight till dawn). The Gāhs are enumerated both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi texts.[73] From these passages we learn that in winter the day has but four Gāhs, for the Rapithwin Gāh is then omitted and the Hāvan Gāh lasts from dawn till 3 P.M.[74]

The calendar of the ancient Persians differed materially from that which is described in the Avestan texts. Only nine of the twelve months of the Old Persian year happen to be mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions. These are, in the order adopted by Oppert: *Bāgayādi*, *Adukani*, *Āθᵛriyādiya*, *Anāmaka*, *Margazana*, *Viyaxna*, *Garmapada*, *Θūravāhara*, and *Θāigarči*. These months cover the period from the middle of October to the middle of July. The sequence of the months according to Justi is very different from that of Oppert, and it runs as follows (beginning, as in the Avestan calendar, with the spring): (1) *Θūravāhara*, (2) *Θāigarči*,[75] (3) *Adukani*, (4) unknown, (5) *Garmapada*,

[73] Ys. 1. 3–7; 2. 3–7; and especially the five Gāhs and Nīr. 46–51; Bd. 25. 9–10; Dk. 9. 9. 6–10; ZPGl. 27. Cf. also West, *Glossary and Index . . . of Mainyō-i Khard*, p. 87–88; Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 26–33. [Blochet, *Rev. hist. relig.* (1895) 32. 106.]

[74] See the naïve explanation of this in Bd. 25. 10–14.

[75] Or *Θāigrači*, Justi, *ZDMG.* 51. 242–245. Otherwise Foy, *ZDMG.* 54. 356–360. Note also the New Elamitic form of the word, *Sākurriṣiš* [and see Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, p. 48, 51–52, 55, 153, Paris, 1915.]

(6) unknown, (7) *Bāgayādi*, (8) unknown, (9) *Āθ'riyādiya*, (10) *Anāmaka*, (11) *Margazana*, (12) *Viyaxna*. The ancient Persian year apparently began in October–November (Bāgayādi) instead of in the spring, as was the case in the Avestan calendar, and the days of the month were numbered instead of named as in the Avestan system, with the exception of the last day of the month, which was called *ǰiyam(a)na*,[76] a term that recalls a kindred idea in the Greek phrase μὴν φθίνων for the last ten days of the month. The names of the months which correspond to the Babylonian Tammuz, Ab, and Elul are not given in the rock inscriptions. In the Avestan calendar all the month-names are specifically religious in character, whereas in the Old Persian system only three, Bāgayādi, Āthriyādiya, and presumably Anāmaka, are connected with the religious cult. It seems probable on the whole that the Old Persian calendar represents the older Iranian time-reckoning, for Darius Hystaspis still employed it in the earlier part of his reign, even though—in the opinion of Dr. West—he seems later to have adopted the Avestan calendar in its place, possibly at the suggestion of his priestly councilors.[77] [On the whole question involved as to the computation of time eras and dates see A. Cavaignac, 'Note sur l'origine du calendrier zoroastrien,' *JA.* 202 (1923). 106–110, who derives the Zoroastrian calendar from the Egyptian between the years 477 and 424 B.C., especially because the system of the presiding genius for each particular month and day proves it to be of Egyptian origin. In the year 521 B.C. Darius I. was still using dates in the Persian calendar corresponding to Babylonian. Consult also below, Bibliography, end.]

[76] Bh. 2. 62.

[77] West, *Academy*, 49. 348; *SBE.* 47, introd., p. 42–47.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE MORAL AND ETHICAL TEACHINGS OF THE ANCIENT ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION [1]

§ 73. **Introduction.** The moral and ethical code of a people may be taken as an indicator by which its social, physical, and spiritual condition can be judged. The history of the people of ancient Iran affords a fair illustration of this truth; and the moral status of Persia throughout its earlier history, including the period of the Achaemenian kings and the sway of the Sasanian rulers (226–651 A.D.), will now be briefly sketched.

§ 74. **Free will and responsibility.** A characteristic tenet of the old Zoroastrian faith was dualism, and the incessant warfare and constant struggle between the two primeval spirits, Ormazd and Ahriman, is evinced at every turn in human life. This cardinal doctrine is one of the hinges on which the entire system of Zoroastrian ethics turns. The moral and ethical law of this religion is based, indeed, upon a systematic theory of morality and is founded on philosophic principles.

A contrast may aptly be drawn between India and Iran with regard to the effect produced on each nation by the working of its respective philosophic ideas. The ancient Iranian, by influence of his creed, was characterized by

[1] This chapter, instead of being reproduced in the form in which it appeared in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, is reprinted, with further amplifications, from the *International Journal of Ethics*, 7. 55–62 (1896), and cordial acknowledgment is here made to the Editorial Board for the privilege of reproduction. In a similar revised form the chapter is included also in a volume (p. 143–155) entitled *The Evolution of Ethics as revealed in the Great Religions*, edited by E. Hershey Sneath, New Haven, 1927.

action, exertion, and practical views of life; the Indian has tended rather towards inaction, introspection, and meditation. The Hindu, with his pantheistic speculation, evolved the quietism of the Upanishads; the Persian, whose sacred books ring with the call of 'up and doing,' was summoned to fight the good fight in the mighty struggle between the warring powers of Good and of Evil.

As a prime factor in the dualistic tenet of the contending kingdoms of Ormazd and Ahriman, as taught by Zoroastrianism, we must recognize the great doctrine of the freedom of the will.[2] This article of the faith forms the basis and foundation of the ethical and moral part of Zoroaster's religious system. Man is Ormazd's creature, and by birthright he belongs to the kingdom of Good; but, created as a free agent, he has the right to choose. Upon that choice, however, his own salvation and his share in the ultimate triumph of good or evil in the world depend.[3] Every good deed that man does increases the power of good; every evil act he commits augments the kingdom of evil. His weight thrown in either scale turns the beam of the balance in that direction. Hence man ought to choose the good. It was to guide him in this choice that Zoroaster believed himself to be sent. How far he succeeded in fulfilling his mission must be judged from the character of the faith that he founded, and from its effect and influence in ancient days and in later times.

As a second important element in the general ethics of the religion, we must notice the doctrine of man's responsibility to account. A strict watch over each man's actions was believed to be kept by the divinities. All good deeds were carefully recorded; all sinful acts were sternly set down. No doctrine of a recording angel could be clearer

[2] See the special study of this doctrine which forms Part II of the present volume.

[3] Cf. Casartelli, article 'Salvation (Iranian),' *ERE.* II. 137–138.

and more precise than this of the Zoroastrian creed. These actions were written in an Account-Book [4] and were heaped up to be weighed in the balance at the time of the Individual Judgment.[5] Allusions to such a record and weighing are found throughout the sacred books of Zoroastrianism from the earliest to the latest times.

§ 75. **Humata, hūkhta, hvarshta.** To pass from the general to the particular, however, the quintessence of the moral and ethical teachings of Zoroaster may best be summed up in that doctrinal triad, so familiar to every reader of the Avesta, *humata, hūxta, hvaršta*, 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds.' This brief triad forms the pith and kernel of the ancient Prophet's teaching.[6] 'I practise good thoughts, good words, good deeds; I abjure all evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds,' is the watchword of the faith, the ever-recurring phrase in the sacred liturgy, the note on which constant changes are rung from the period of the Gāthās to the latest recorded utterances of the religion.

At the judgment after death, as will be mentioned in the succeeding chapter, the soul of the righteous man is met by a beautiful maiden, personifying his *daēnā*, 'conscience and religion,' as shown by his thoughts, words, and deeds in life. These serve to guide him forward to final beatitude. On the contrary, the soul of the wicked man is confronted by a hideous hag, embodying his threefold evil qualities, to hurry him to damnation. Moreover, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, gathered together respectively, form the

[4] Cf. Jackson, 'A New Reference in the Avesta to the Life-Book Hereafter,' *JAOS.* 14, Proc., p. xx–xxi (1888); also, for a Manichaean reference to a life-account, see Jackson, *JAOS.* 43. 22–24. For full presentation of the sources see Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, p. 49–53, 60–62, 72–77, 99–100, New York, 1926.

[5] The idea that souls were weighed in the balance (Av. *hənkərətā*) is very old in Zoroastrian ethics. See, for example, such Gāthic passages as Ys. 31. 14; cf. Ys. 46. 10, 15–17; 33. 1. References in the later Pahlavi texts are abundant (see the volume by Pavry cited in note 4).

[6] See M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 30–33, New York, 1914.

three mansions or stages through which the soul of the righteous man ascends in onward steps after death into the infinite light (*anaγra raoδā*) of heaven. Evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are the grades through which the spirit of the damned falls to endless darkness and perdition. In the Avesta, the man who practises this triple doctrine of the holy faith is the *ašavan*, or 'righteous man'; he is the man who lives according to the Law of Righteousness, as opposed to the *anašavan*, or 'wicked man,' the *drəgvant*, or follower of Falsehood.

§ 76. **Virtues and vices.** Space does not permit of cataloguing the virtues and duties that are inculcated and enjoined, or the vices and faults which are denounced as to be shunned.[7] The virtues may be summed up, in general terms, as purity alike of body and soul, uprightness, charity, generosity, and benevolence; and no people of the East are more renowned, perhaps, for their princely generosity today than are the Parsis or modern Zoroastrians of Bombay. In addition to these good qualities, the ancient religion laid particular stress upon the faithful keeping of one's word and pledge, the avoidance of all deceit, especially of lying, and the importance of keeping out of debt, as well as of shunning theft and robbery. According to Herodotus (1. 136), the Persians taught their sons three things, 'to ride horseback, to use the bow, and to speak the truth.' And next to the sin of lying they considered it the greatest disgrace to be in debt, because this fault implied also an additional evil, the necessity of telling lies, 'for a man who is in debt,' says Herodotus, 'must of necessity tell lies.' In the magnificent Behistan rock-inscription of the great king Darius, there is hardly a line that does not emphasize the ideals of this mighty monarch as a foe of duplicity and a lover of truth.

Connected with the spiritual side of the Persians' education was also the side of physical obligation, the duty of

[7] Cf. Casartelli, article 'Sin (Iranian),' *ERE.* 11. 562–566.

out-door exercise, which played a prominent part in the theory of education. In the conduct of life, moreover, from the very beginning, the importance of maintaining soberness and chastity was not lost sight of, although the ideas were undoubtedly more liberal than those entertained at the present day. Incontinence, sexual excesses, seduction, abortion, and unmentionable sins are evils that are strongly denounced in the Avesta; the outcast woman is anathematized. But it must be remembered that among the ancient Iranians polygamy and concubinage were doubtless the rule, or at least they were not uncommon. The Persians appear to have drunk wine freely; still, the vice of intemperance seems to have been severely punished, if we may judge from some classical allusions to the subject[8]; and Strabo speaks of the Persians as being moderate in most of their habits. It is true that no Brahmanical asceticism was practised in ancient Iran, and, as the Avesta shows, the Zoroastrian religion allowed a wholesome and wholesouled enjoyment of life. The family was the unit in the state, and a large family of children was a virtue rewarded by the king as a bulwark to the throne.[9] But with all this, in the oldest days, temperance, discretion, restraint, and a certain self-control seem in general to have been a racial characteristic. The whole tone of the Avesta, for example, and of the Pahlavi writings is exceedingly chaste. The position of woman in ancient Iran was apparently in nowise inferior to her standing in the Vedic times of early India.[10] As among other Oriental nations, however, submission to her lord and master is taken for granted, and the woman who is 'obedient' comes in for a

[8] See Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *Wine among the Ancient Persians*, Bombay, 1888 (Gazette Steam Press).

[9] Hdt. 1. 136.

[10] Cf. D. D. P. Sanjana, *Position of Zoroastrian Women in Remote Antiquity*, Bombay, 1892.

special meed of praise in the Avesta and elsewhere [11]; but it is perfectly evident from the Zoroastrian scriptures that there was not that subjection which results in loss of personality and individuality.

Among general virtues, also, a feeling of national pride was cultivated, as we gather from the Avesta and from classical authors.[12] Submission to those in civil and religious authority was insisted upon. Contentment, industry, courage and valor, love of wisdom and of knowledge—all were instilled; and reverence for the divine power and practice of religious rites and ceremonies were strictly enjoined. In short, we may find in the Zoroastrian moral and ethical code almost every article of our own duty toward God and duty toward our neighbor.

§ 77. **Prescriptions and Prohibitions.** Among the various special rules that were rigidly enjoined by the ancient Persian faith during its entire history may be mentioned those that were designed for preserving the purity of the elements, earth, fire, and water, and for freeing these from defilement, especially from pollution arising through contact with dead matter.[13] It was the rigid observance of this law, doubtless originally in part a sanitary precaution, that so markedly characterized the Zoroastrian belief in the eyes of antiquity. In carrying out these prescriptions in daily life, however, not a few practical difficulties and predicaments arose, as the Greek and Latin writers and the Persian scriptures themselves tend to show. Equally praiseworthy in the eyes of modern times would be the Zoroastrian duty of preserving and fostering useful animal life, especially of giving care to the cow and to the dog, for both these animals were of importance to an early pastoral

[11] Visp. 3. 4; Gāh 4. 9; AVN. 13. 1.

[12] Hdt. 1. 134; cf. Ys. 26. 9; Visp. 16. 2; Āfr. 1. 8–12 (1. 14–18); Dk. 5. 3. 2 (tr. Sanjana, 9. 619).

[13] The Avesta and the Pahlavi writings abound in references to this subject.

people.[14] But this avoidance of injury to animal life was carried to no absurd extreme, as among the Jains of ancient India. The Zoroastrian creed taught that it was especially meritorious to destroy noxious animals, like serpents, toads, rats, and vermin.[15] By destroying these evil creatures, the power of Ahriman is reduced and the kingdom of Ormazd is expanded. Expiation for faults and atonement for sins might in this way be effected, as is indicated in the Avesta.[16]

Throughout all ages, the Persian faith upheld the practice of each of 'the good deeds of husbandry,' of irrigation, of agriculture, and of farming occupations, as opposed to the wild nomadic life of the marauding mountaineers.[17] The parks, or garden paradises, of the Persian kings have been famous from time immemorial, and the few Zoroastrians that are left today in their old Iranian home are largely employed in gardening and in peasant life, although their Parsi kinsmen in India have been drawn principally into mercantile pursuits. Each class in the constitution of the Zoroastrian state and in the different walks of life—the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the craftsman—had its own moral obligations to fulfil and its own particular duties incumbent upon it to perform. The work of Zoroaster was in part a social reform as well as a religious and ethical reformation.

§ 78. A darker side. The ideal picture must not, however, be overdrawn. It cannot be denied that there was a darker side as well as the bright side. Millennial days come not at once with a reformer. It cannot be gainsaid that

[14] Cf. likewise Buch, *Zoroastrian Ethics*, p. 80–84, and the references there.

[15] Vd. 14. 5–6; 18. 73; cf. likewise Hdt. 1. 140; Plutarch, Is. et Os. 46; Agathias 2. 24; and consult the notes by Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2. 212–213.

[16] Vd. 14. 5–6.

[17] A chapter in the Avesta, Vd. 3. 1–6, 23–33, rings with the praise of tilling the soil.

certain practices existed, were overlooked, or recognized, which today would meet with general condemnation. The list, moreover, of sins, vices, and faults that were prevalent was no meager one, as a glance at a passage in that Dantesque vision of hell, seen by the holy Artāk Vīrāz, will show. Some of the offenses recorded in that Pahlavi work—like walking barefoot, lamenting excessively over the dead, or a woman's performing her hair-dressing over the fire—strike us as trivial, while the enormity of other sins may appear to us to have been underrated.[18] But in general the Zoroastrian standard was a high one; a strain of idealism flowed in Iranian veins. A certain custom, however, which was undeniably practised with religious zeal by the worshipers of Ormazd, is in our eyes incestuous. This was the practice of next-of-kin marriages.[19] Whatever may be the meaning of the much-discussed word *x^{v}aētvadaθa* in the Avesta, or of *xvētūk-das* in the Pahlavi patristic writings of Sasanian times, there can be no doubt that marriage among relatives, even between parents and children, brothers and sisters, occurred among the Iranians from the earliest ages. It doubtless originated in part from a desire of preserving the unity and perpetuating the religious strength of the faithful community. It is needless to add that such close marriages as those within the nearest degrees of kinship would not be tolerated by the modern Zoroastrians, nor have they been for centuries.

[18] Consult Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak, chapters 18–100, translated by Jamaspji-Haug-West, *Book of Arda Viraf*, London, 1872; also the French translation by Barthélemy, *Livre d'Arda Viraf*, Paris, 1887.

[19] On this point there is a fairly extensive literature. Cf. West, in *SBE.* 18. 389–430; Casartelli, *Philos. Mazd. Relig.* p. 156–160; Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, *The Alleged Practice of Next-of-Kin Marriages in Old Iran*, London, 1888 (reprinted in *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, appendix, Leipzig, 1897); Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 1. 126–134; Hübschmann, *ZDMG.* 41. 300–312; cf. also Rapp, *ZDMG.* 20. 112 (= tr. Cama, p. 306–307). See particularly L. H. Gray, *ERE.* 8. 456–459; Buch, *Zoroastrian Ethics*, p. 129–132.

It must be allowed, also, that a few grossly ignorant superstitions worked their way into the faith, which to our mind were not without unfavorable influence upon the moral and ethical stamina of the people; and certain unpleasant customs were recognized, or at least were not deemed improper, which meet with disapproval in our sight. It must likewise be acknowledged that the ancient Iranians did not shrink from cruel practices, and from inflicting horrible punishments;[20] but in most cases these were ordered, it must be remembered, with a distinct purpose, to deter from national crimes or to punish great offenders. Other nations of antiquity have not acted in a manner that is greatly different. Mercy was a virtue inculcated by the Avesta.[21] It cannot be denied, finally, that with the decadence of the Achaemenian dynasty the moral vigor of Iran was weakened by the wave of luxury and voluptuous indulgence that swept over the land between the Tigris and the Indus, carrying away the ethical bulwarks of the people and swallowing up those sterling traits of the hardy mountain race that had made Persia under Cyrus the mistress of Asia. But to offset this, it must be added, the faith contained within itself the sovereign remedy against dissolution; and in the opening centuries of our era, under Sasanian rule, the pristine ideals of Zoroastrian Iran once more returned in all their majesty, until Persia sank before the rising power of Islam, on the day when the Muhammadan conquest wrought a change, or rather a revolution, in the religious spirit of the Iranian folk. But today the New Persia, with its national aspirations and revival of the best standards, its tolerance and its breadth, gives every sign of promise for the future.

[20] Cf. for example, Vd. 3. 20–21; Ktesias, Pers. Fragm. 5. 59; Plutarch, Pythag. 16; Hdt. 9. 120, cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* 20. 132–133 (= tr. Cama, p. 350); and the Behistan inscription of Darius, 2. 74–76, 88–91; 3. 52.

[21] Cf. Visp. 21. 3; Dk. 5, tr. Sanjana, 9. 643–644.

§ 79. **Conclusion.** Taken for all in all, it may be said that no better proof of the real merit of the Zoroastrian faith as a working hypothesis can be found than is illustrated in the character of those who profess it today. These are the community of the Parsis in India, religious exiles from Iran since the days of the Muhammadan invasion, and the small remnant of Zoroastrians that still survives in Persia. Together they number somewhat more than 110,000 souls, and of these nearly a hundred thousand reside not in the land of their birth but in the neighborhood of Bombay. They are the living exemplification of the true worth of the doctrines taught by the ancient Persian sage. They piously uphold the best of the tenets of the old faith with regard to religious observances; they live in love and charity with their neighbors; their life is marked by temperance, soberness, and chastity; and their fame for acts of liberality and generosity is world-wide. Among them there is no practice of polygamy; they are strict monogamists; unfaithfulness to the marriage vow is almost unknown; and prostitution among Parsi women is hardly to be found. The horror of falsehood, of duplicity, and of debt is as keenly felt by the Parsis today as it was over two thousand years ago. In Teheran, for example, a Zoroastrian was for years entrusted by his Muhammadan colleagues with the expenditure of large funds for municipal purposes, because of his reputation for honesty in the discharge of public office.

To conclude, if we take the Zoroastrian religion in its entirety and view it in the light of the early period to which it belongs, we shall come to the conviction that outside of the Jewish and Christian scriptures it would be hard to find a higher standard of morality, a nobler code of ethics, than that embodied in the teachings of the great prophet of Ancient Iran.

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CHAPTER IX

ESCHATOLOGY: THE ANCIENT PERSIAN DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE[1]

§ 80. Introduction. Among the nations of antiquity there seems to have been none that had a more clearly developed system of eschatology, a firmer conviction of the immortality of the soul, and a surer belief in a resurrection and a future life, than had the ancient Iranians so far as we can judge from their sacred literature. Through all the writings of Zoroastrianism runs a strain of hope that the good will be rewarded hereafter and the wicked punished; that right will triumph and evil will be vanquished; that the dead shall arise and live again; and that the world will be restored to perfection so that joy and happiness may reign supreme.

In the Gāthās themselves, the pious expectation of a new order of things is the motif upon which Zoroaster rings continual changes. A mighty crisis is impending; every man ought to choose the right and seek to attain the ideal state; mankind shall then become perfect and the world

[1] [This chapter (written and sent for printing in 1901) is reproduced here, with some additions and changes, in the shortened form in which it appeared in a German translation in the *Grundriss* (1903), having been abridged at that time from a fuller article which I published in *The Biblical World*, 8. 149–163, Chicago, 1896. That article, in a revised form, was reprinted, by permission, in a volume edited by E. Hershey Sneath, *Religion and the Future Life*, p. 121–140, New York, 1922. The latest treatment of the theme, covering the first half of the subject, is a book by my Parsi pupil Dr. Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life, from Death to the Individual Judgment*, New York, 1926 (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, volume 11), numerous references to which have been added in the footnotes below.]

renovated (*fərašəm . . ahūm, fərašōtəma, frašōkərəti* etc.).[2] This event will be the establishment of the power and dominion of good over evil; it will be the beginning of the complete rule of the sovereignty divine—'the Kingdom' (*xšaθra*) or 'the Good Kingdom' (*vohu xšaθra*) as it is called. It is at the coming of this blessed era that the resurrection of the dead will take place.[3] A general judgment is to follow and this will be accompanied by a flood of molten metal in which the wicked will be punished, the righteous cleansed, and evil be banished forever from the earth (cf. § 85).

§ 81. **Sources of information.** In addition to the sacred literature of Iran itself we have also the testimony of early Greek writers in regard to this subject. The authority of Theopompus (flourished B.C. 338), and also of Eudemus of Rhodes (same century) in confirmation, is quoted to this effect by Diogenes Laertius (fl. c. A.D. 210), *Prooem.* (6), 9, as well as by Aeneas of Gaza (early sixth cent. A.D.), *Theophrastus*, 77; and Plutarch earlier (c. A.D. 46–120), *Isis and Osiris*, ch. 47, drew likewise upon Theopompus, whom he mentions by name.[4] The combined statements bear witness to the recognized doctrine of a coming millennium, a general resurrection of the dead, and a complete restoration of the world. A passage in Herodotus (*Hist.* 3. 62), as far back as the fifth century B.C., has been presumed to allude to the Persian doctrine of a resurrection of the dead, but this interpretation of the sentence has been questioned.[5] With regard to the immortality of the soul

[2] References will be found below, § 85.

[3] Cf. § 85, below.

[4] [The Greek text of the passages concerned is now easily available in Clemen, *Fontes Hist. Relig. Pers.* p. 49, 75, 95; cf. likewise the discussion by Clemen, *Die gr. u. lat. Nachrichten*, p. 123, 128–131, 167–169, 215. Consult also (with translations) Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 415–417 and p. 403–406.]

[5] [Personally I believe that the passage (note especially ἀνεστέασι)

we must also consider the speech which Xenophon (*Cyrop.* 8. 7. 17–22) puts into the mouth of the dying Cyrus, although this seems to have the coloring of Greek ideas. The Zoroastrian Gāthās, the Younger Avesta and the Pahlavi Books, together with later texts, have abundant references to the future life, including also the idea of the resurrection.

§ 82. The fate of the soul and the individual judgment. The fate of the soul after death and the individual judgment, as already indicated, are favorite themes in the Zoroastrian Scriptures. There are dozens of allusions to the journey of the spirit from this world to the one beyond. Only a brief mention of these can be made here. The typical passage is found in the Hāṯokht Nask (Yt. 22. 1–36; and compare Vishtāsp Yasht, Yt. 24. 53–64).[6] For the first three nights after the breath has left the body the soul hovers about the lifeless frame and experiences joy or sorrow according to the deeds done in this life.[7] On the dawn of the fourth day the soul takes flight from earth amid the waftings of a perfumed breeze or stifled by a blast of stench, according as the individual has been righteous or wicked. It is then met either by a beauteous maiden or by a hideous hag. The image is in either case a

contains an allusion to the doctrine of the resurrection. It has thus been interpreted by Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 236; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* 3. lxvii; Söderblom, *La Vie future*, p. 245; Bertholet, in *Festschrift Andreas* (1916), p. 58; likewise the latest comments by Clemen, *Nachrichten* (1920), p. 123, would seem to favor such a view. The interpretation has been questioned by Lagrange, 'La Religion des Perses,' in *Revue biblique*, 1904, p. 236.]

[6] Cf. also Vd. 19. 28–34; Arṯāk Vīrāz Nāmak, 4. 8–35; 17. 2–27; MX. 2. 114–194; DD. 24. 1–6; 25. 1–6. [Consult now, more fully, Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine, etc.*]

[7] Yt. 22. 1–6, 19–24; 24. 53–54; Vd. 19. 28; Arṯāk Vīrāz, 4. 8–14; 17. 2–9; MX. 2. 114; 158–161; DD. 24. 1–4; 25. 1–4; cf. also Scherman, *Visionslitteratur*, p. 120. [See also Pavry, *op. cit.* p. 9–27.]

reflection of the man's former life, conscience, and religion (*daēnā*).[8] The soul thus arrives at the fateful Judgment Bridge (*činvatō pərətu*, lit. 'Bridge of the Separater'). The individual judgment now takes place in the presence of the three angels, Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu.[9] These are the joint-assessors before whom the life account is rendered and the good and bad deeds respectively are weighed in the balance. According to the impartial scales the final decision is rendered. The pangs of conscience experienced at this ordeal, even by the righteous soul, and its terror at the assaults of the demons may be imagined.[10]

§ 83. The Chinvat Bridge. Next comes the awful crossing of the Chinvat Bridge, that judgment span which stretches over Hell between the divine Mount Alburz and the Dāityā peak, near the Dāityā river.[11] This bridge plays an important role throughout all ages of Zoroastrianism. The difficulties of the passage across it are often alluded to and dilated upon from the Gāthās onward to

[8] Yt. 22. 7–14, 25–32; 24. 55–60; Vd. 19. 30; Arṭāk Vīrāz Nāmak, 4. 15–36; 17. 10–26; MX. 2. 125–144; 167–181; DD. 24. 5; 25. 5 [Pavry, *op. cit.* p. 28–48]. It is noteworthy that the Mēnūk-ī Khrat (loc. cit.) places this meeting of the soul with its counterpart *daēnā* (*dēn*) after crossing the Chinvat Bridge, whereas all the other Pahlavi texts state that the maiden or the hag escorts the soul over the bridge. [Cf. also, Pavry, *op. cit.* p. 39 n., with ref. to Ir. Bd. 30. 11.]

[9] [Full references now available in Pavry, p. 67–68; 82–83.]

[10] AVN. 5. 6; MX. 2. 119–122; DD. 8. 1. Cf. also Jackson, *Actes du X^me^ Congr. Internat. des Orient.*, 2. 65–74. [For fuller details now consult Pavry, p. 49–111.]

[11] The location of this peak and river is evidently to be placed in Northwestern Iran, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 40, 196–197, 211. Compare further, Dk. 9. 203, 'the Chinvat Bridge is from the Dāītī peak, which is in Ērān Vēzh, to Alburz (*Harburz*), and below its middle is the gate of Hell'; cf. also Bd. 12. 7; DD. 21. 2. Probably Mount Damāvand is implied. Cf. likewise Schermann, *Ind. Visionslit.* p. 102–111, 117–119. [Consult now, with additional references, Pavry, *op. cit.* p. 79–80.]

the latest Persian writings.[12] According to the orthodox doctrine the bridge grows broader and easier of transit, a pathway 'nine javelins' or a 'league' in breadth, as the soul of the righteous ascends over it to heaven; but it grows narrower as the wicked passes along, until it presents an edge like 'the thinness of the blade of a razor,' so that the lost soul falls into the abysm of hell within the bowels of the earth.[13]

§ 84. Stages to Heaven, to Hell, or to the Intermediate Place. After the individual judgment has taken place descriptions portray the progress of the righteous man on the spirit-journey through the mansions of Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds—*humata, hūxta, hvaršta.*[14] These abodes are depicted as lying respectively in the spheres of the stars, the moon, and the sun.[15] At last the pious soul enters into heaven, the place of 'Eternal Light' (*anaγra raočå*), or the blissful Garōnmāna, 'the house of song,' the 'fair abode' (*hušiti*) which is 'the dwelling of Good Thought' (*vaŋhāuš dəmānəm manaŋhō*), that 'Best Life' (*aŋhu vahišta*), or paradise eternal, 'where Ahura Mazdāh dwells in joy.'[16]

In sharp antithesis to this is the fearful descent of the wicked soul through the grades of 'Evil Thoughts, Evil Words, and Evil Deeds,' into a Hell of darkness so thick

[12] Ys. 46. 10–11; 51. 13; 19. 6; Vd. 13. 3; 19. 30; 19. 27; 13. 8–9; Dk. 21. 1–7; [Iran. Bd. 30. 9–10, ed. Anklesaria, p. 199 = fol. 104b; tr. Modi, *Asiatic Papers*, p. 231–232, Bombay, 1905]; and elsewhere in Phl. and earlier literature.

[13] DD. 21. 1–8; MX. 2. 123; AVN. 5. 1. [For fuller references to the Chinvat Bridge in the Gāthās, Later Avesta, Pahlavi Books, and later literature, see now Pavry, *op. cit.* p. 53–59; 69–70; 79–97; 101–111.]

[14] Yt. 22. 15–18; 3. 3–4; MX. 7. 1–12; AVN. ch. 7–11.

[15] See above, Chap. VII, § 66, n. 33, 34, regarding the astronomy, with references.

[16] Cf. Yt 22. 15; Ys. 45. 8; 30. 14; 32. 15; 46. 16; MX. 7. 11; AVN. 11. 1–9. [Cf. also Pavry, p. 50, 52, 55, 112.]

that it can be grasped by the hand.[17] This is a place so foul, so gloomy, so lonely, that although the suffering souls be as many and as close together 'as the hairs in a horse's mane,' still each one in despair thinks that he is alone.[18] This scene of frightful torment which rivals Dante's Inferno[19] is 'the house of Falsehood' (*drujō dəmānəm*), 'the dwelling of the Worst Thought' or 'the Worst Life,'[20]— it is Hell!

With perfect logic Zoroastrianism taught also the existence of an intermediate or third place which was suited to the special cases in which the good and evil deeds, done in life, exactly balanced. This is known in Pahlavi as the place of the Hamēstakān (perhaps read *Hamyastakān*?), 'the commingled, or equilibrium.' The name is foreshadowed in the Gāthās[21] and the idea is old.[22] This third state, somewhat resembling a limbo, is conceived of as located between the earth and the stellar region. Here the soul suffers no torment more severe than the changes of heat and cold due to the seasons, and here it must

[17] Described in Bd. 28. 47; see further in the Gāthās, Ys. 31. 20, for the darkness, misery, foul food, and woful words in Hell; cf. also the paraphrase in Vd. 5. 62.

[18] AVN. 54. 5–8; cf. Bd. 28. 47.

[19] For torments in Hell see further Yt. 22. 33–36; Vd. 4. 50–54; MX. 7. 20–31; AVN. ch. 18–100.

[20] Cf. Ys. 49. 11; 51. 14; 32. 13; Vd. 3. 35. [See also references to 'hell' and 'heaven' in the index of Pavry, *op. cit.* p. 116.]

[21] Thus, Bartholomae, *ZDMG.* 35. 157–158; Roth, *ZDMG.* 37. 223–229; with criticisms by de Harlez, *ZDMG.* 36. 627–631, *BB.* 9. 294–299, *IF. Anz.* 3. 169–196, and by Casartelli, *Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 194–196. [The view of Bartholomae still holds as right. See in particular now also Pavry, *op. cit.* p. 32, 50, 74 n. 9, 90–91, 93 n. 119, and p. 113, as regards Av. *h*ᵛ*mə.myāsaitē, nanā, misvāna gātu, hamēstakān.*]

[22] Probably compare also Herodotus, 1. 137. [Cf. now likewise, Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 144 n. 1, 170, 174–176.]

abide awaiting the general resurrection and the final judgment day.[23]

§ 85. The doctrine of the last days. We turn now to the ancient Iranian doctrines of eschatology in its stricter sense, which deal with the millennium, the advent of a Saoshyant or Savior, the resurrection of the dead, the punishment of the wicked in a flood of molten metal through which the righteous pass unscathed, the purification of hell, and the establishment of a holy sovereignty that is to be the regeneration of the world. The Avesta and the Pahlavi texts often refer to this new era and rejuvenation as *frašōkərəti* and *fraškarṯ* respectively.[24] In this way the millennium is really the preparation of all mankind for eternity and the perfection of the world, a blessed consummation in which man should have a share.[25] At the great crisis or final change of the world [26] there will be a decisive division and separation of the evil from the good,[27] and a complete establishment of Ahura's sovereignty, 'the Good Kingdom' (*vohu xšaθra*).[28]

This dogma of 'a new heaven and a new earth' is found both in the Gāthās and in the Younger Avesta. It is decidedly a millennial doctrine which is closely associated with the belief in the coming of a Savior (*Saošyant*) and the resurrection of the dead. These teachings were recog-

[23] AVN. 6. 1–12; MX. 7. 18–19; 12. 14; ŠNŠ. 6. 2. According to DD. 24. 6 and 33. 2 Hamēstakān is divided into two parts, one for the slightly righteous and the other for the slightly wicked.

[24] For example, Ys. 62. 3; Yt. 13. 58; Vd. 18. 51; AVN. 64. 13; 87. 9; Bd. 30. 17; MX. 27. 17, etc. [The Manichaean Fragments, later discovered in Turfan, have TPhl. *fraš*[*ēgard*] and *fražēgērdīq*, Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, 2. 23, 49, 50, 51.]

[25] Ys. 30. 9, *atčā tōi vaēm h'yāmā yōi īm fərašəm kərənāun ahūm*, 'and may we be those who shall make this world perfected.'

[26] Ys. 30. 2; 51. 6; 43. 5.

[27] Cf. *vīdāiti-*, Ys. 31. 19; 47. 6.

[28] Ys. 51. 1; 41. 2; 48. 8; cf. 32. 6; 34. 10, etc. [See also refs. in Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 544.]

nized as characteristically 'Magian' by Theopompus [29] and they entered into the hieratic chronology of the Bundahishn, which bounded the history of the world by a great aeon of 12,000 years (see above, Chap. VII). The Pahlavi texts call the last 3000 years of this aeon the millennia of *Aūšēṯar*, *Aūšēṯar-māh*, and *Sōšyans*, or *Sōšāns* (Av. *Uxšaṯ-ərəta*, *Uxšaṯ-nəmah*, and *Saošyant*). At intervals of a thousand years the three millennial prophets are born of three maidens bathing in the 'Sea of Kąsaoya,' the modern Hāmūn or lake in Seistān, where some of the semen of Zarathushtra is preserved.[30]

The entire development of the idea of a Savior in Persia and the use and meaning of Av. *Saošyant*, Phl. *Sōšyans*, or *Sōšāns*, have been discussed by the present writer and by others.[31] The author has attempted in his article in the *Biblical World* to show how much the Messiah-idea in Judaism and the Saoshyant-idea in Mazdaism, probably taught by Zoroaster himself, resemble each other. The most important passage in the Iranian scriptures concerning the events of the last days is preserved in the thirtieth chapter of the Bundahishn,[32] which is based, according to tradition, on the lost Avestan text Dāmdāṯ Nask.[33] Accord-

[29] Cited by Diogenes Laertius, *Prooem.* (6), 9; Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 77; see also above, § 81 n. 4.

[30] Dk. 7. 8. 51–57; 7. 8. 18–19. Cf. also Bd. 30. 1–3; 32. 8–9; BYt. 3. 43–62; Yt. 19. 92; Vd. 19. 2; Yt. 13. 128–129.

[31] Jackson, *Biblical World*, 8. 156–158 [reprinted in Sneath, *Relig. and the Future Life*, p. 131–133] and the passages there referred to; Hübschmann, *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 5. 241–243; cf. also Macler, *Apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel*, p. 110–112. [Consult, further, Söderblom, *La Vie future*, p. 255–260; Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Relig.* p. 201–204. The word Av. *saošyant* is rendered by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1551, as 'Retter, Heiland, *Saošyant*.']

[32] Bd. 30. 1–33, tr. West, *SBE.* 5. 120–130. [Compare now also in the Iranian Bundahishn, ed. T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, chap. 34, p. 220 line 15—p. 226 line 5, and the introd. p. xxvi.]

[33] See VZsp. 9. 1; Dk. 8. 5. 1–5, and West's notes on the passages, as well as in *SBE.* 5. introd. p. xliii; and *SBE.* 37. 465–466.

ing to this account the events connected with the resurrection of the dead (Phl. *rīstāxēz*) and the renovation of the world by the Saoshyant and his assistants, fifteen men and fifteen damsels (Bd. 30. 17), occupy fifty-seven years.[34] Immediately after these follows the general judgment and a flood of molten metal overwhelms the earth to cleanse it from its sin. Through this white-hot stream all men must walk, but to the righteous the metal seems no more terrible than warm milk. When this ordeal is passed, all will become pure, and there will be a happy reunion never to be broken. The final conflict between the powers of good and evil will then take place; Ahriman and his hordes are routed and put down; the serpent is burned in the molten metal; hell itself is purified, the mountains pass away, and (Bd. 30. 32) 'Ormazd brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world; the renovation arises in the universe by his will, and the world is immortal for ever and everlasting.' [35]

§ 86. Conclusion. Such, in brief outline, is the Zoroastrian doctrine of the future life and the end of the world. The similarity between it and the Christian doctrine is striking and deserves more attention on the side of Christian theology, even though much has been written on this subject.

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[34] Bd. 30. 7; Dk. 7. 11. 4 and 7; DD. 35. 5; VZsp. § 9, tr. West, *SBE.* 37. 405. [Concerning the number '57' see Jackson, 'The "Fifty-seven Years" in the Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Resurrection,' in *JRAS.* 1928. 1–6.]

[35] References to all the Av. and Phl. passages drawn upon for this description are found in my article in *The Biblical World*, 8. 158–163 [reprinted in Sneath, *Relig. and the Future Life*, p. 133–139.]

1874; Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, p. 273–286, Erlangen, 1882; Casartelli, *Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 178–200, Bombay, 1889; Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, p. 145–204, Haarlem, 1898; Hübschmann, 'Persische Lehre vom Jenseits und jüngsten Gericht,' in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 5. 203–245, 1879; Brandt, 'Schicksal der Seele nach dem Tode nach mandäischen und parsischen Vorstellungen,' ibid. 18. 405–438, 575–603, 1892; Jackson, 'New reference in the Avesta to the Life-book hereafter,' *JAOS.* 14. Proc. 20–21, 1888; 'On Avestan *ayōkhšusta*, "molten metal," *ayah*, and its significance in the Gāthās,' ibid. 15. Proc. 58–61, 1890; 'Doctrine of the resurrection among the Ancient Persians,' *ibid.* 16. Proc. 38–39, 1893; 'The Ancient Persian doctrine of a Future Life,' in *The Biblical World*, 8. 149–163, 1896 [reprinted in Sneath, *Religion and the Future Life*, p. 121–140, New York, 1922]; also, Kuhn, 'Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewande,' in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, p. 217–221, Stuttgart, 1893; Bousset, 'Himmelsreise der Seele: Die Vorstellungen auf dem Gebiet der eranischen Religion,' in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 4. 155–169, 1901. [Cf. also Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le mazdéisme*, Paris, 1901; Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1902; Gray, 'Zoroastrian Elements in Muḥammadan Eschatology,' in *Le Muséon*, n.s., 3. 153–184, 1902; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 154–181, London, 1913; idem, *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 31–49, 72–74, 104–110, London, 1917; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, 54–63, 174–183, 269–294, New York, 1914; Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, p. 123, 129, 139, 154, 215, Giessen, 1920; J. J. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (passim), Bombay, 1922; Edv. Lehmann, 'Die Perser,' in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch d. Religionsgesch.* 4 ed., 2. 162–233; and especially Jal D. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, New York, 1926.]

CHAPTER X

RELIGION OF THE ACHAEMENIAN KINGS

§ 87. **Introduction.** Researches into the religion of the great Achaemenian Kings are not only interesting and important for the student of the faith of ancient Iran, but they are valuable also for Biblical scholars (cf. § 1 above). There are, however, certain problems connected with the subject which give rise to difficulty, because some Iranian specialists question whether the Achaemenidae were genuine Zoroastrians, or debate how far there were religious differences between Persia proper, Media, Bactria and the rest of Iran.[1] To discuss these problems *in extenso* is impossible in the present sketch; I prepared (in 1900) a treatise on the whole subject, but only the first series of these studies appeared in print.[2]

§ 88. **The Achaemenian Religion according to the Old Persian Inscriptions.** If we leave the Avesta wholly out of account we are still able to draw from other sources material for the study of the ancient Iranian religion. First and foremost, we may study the picture of the religion of the Achaemenians that can be drawn in outline from the Old Persian Inscriptions. This may be further supplemented through the use of material found in the inscriptions which these monarchs caused to be recorded also in

[1] For discussions of this subject see particularly the bibliographical references below to Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, p. 330–386; [also (later) Gray, Moulton, and (latest) Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 54–94; 95–205.]

[2] See Jackson, 'The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings. First Series. The Religion according to the Old Persian Inscriptions,' with an appendix by L. H. Gray, 'The non-Iranian Inscriptions,' in *JAOS.* (1900) 21. 160–184.

non-Iranian languages. Third, numerous suggestions may be derived from the classical allusions to the Achaemenians, although evidence of this character can have only the value that is to be assigned to the statements of foreign writers. Fourth, there are a few allusions to the religion of the later Achaemenians to be gathered from stray passages in the Pahlavi literature and likewise from the Shāh Nāmah. Lastly, these may be supplemented by information derived incidentally from additional Oriental or other sources. A brief summary of the main points in such an investigation is here presented.

An examination of the religion of Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus, purely from the objective standpoint as represented in their Iranian inscriptions, shows how much emphasis is laid on Auramazda as the supreme god of Iran. Beside him, however, other divinities (*baga*) are recognized, and Mithra and Anāhitā are expressly mentioned by name, at least later in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus. In the rock edicts of Darius the principle of Evil may be said to be recognized in the word *drauga* (cf. also *dušiyāra*, *hainā* and perhaps(?) the fragmentary word *sar* . . , § 60, 2 n. 115, and § 60, 4 n. 123 above). The choice between good and evil is implied in the injunction to follow 'the right path' (*paθim tyām rāstām*) and 'the commandment of Auramazda' (*hyā auramazdāhā framānā*). It was formerly suggested, though not without hesitation, to see an allusion to the Avesta in the word read then as *abaštām* or *abištām* (Bh. 4. 64), until Foy (*KZ*. 35. 45) proposed to read *aršTām*, cf. Avestan *aršTāt*, 'Uprightness, Rectitude, Arshtāt.' The correctness of Foy's shrewd conjecture was confirmed through an examination of the rock by the present writer (1903) and again (1904) by King and Thompson.[3] Worship and prayer were regarded as acts

[3] [See Jackson, *JAOS*. (1903) 24. 91–92; id. *Persia Past and Present*,

of piety, and there were definite places of worship (*āyadanā*), regarding which, however, no precise information is given. If the sacred fire was kept up, as we know from classical allusion it was, we may presume that its flame was preserved and protected by some kind of building, even though the Persians had no 'temples' in the Greek sense of the term.[4] The rectangular structure near the Achaemenian tombs at Nakshi-Rustam has been conjecturally identified with the modern *sagri*, or shrine for the holy light that is still kept burning near the Dakhma by the Parsis today.[5] In the inscriptions blessings are invoked and curses are called down, but naturally no details are added. The necessity of speaking the truth, however, is inculcated as a cardinal tenet in the creed and as the very foundation of the code of ethics. The standard of this moral and ethical code, so far as we are able to judge, seems to us to be slightly lowered by the extreme cruelty of the punishments which Darius inflicted, as we know from his own words in the rock-cut edicts. Yet we must remember that in those cases he was dealing with national offenders and traitors amid perilous times. Such at least may be said to be the impression gained from a study of the religion of the Old Persian kings according to the Iranian inscriptions.

§ 89. The Achaemenian Religion according to the Non-Iranian Inscriptions. The Old Persian texts afford but a partial solution of the question of the religion of the Achaemenidae. The non-Iranian inscriptions in Babylonian, Elamitic (New Susian), Egyptian, and Greek, which were carved at the command of these monarchs, add several

p. 204–205; King and Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia*, p. 71, London, 1907.]

[4] Cf. Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, 2. 362–364.

[5] So Andreas (in conversation). [Consult Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 302–303, and cf Modi, *Relig. Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, p. 72, Bombay, 1922.]

data of importance. For a list of these inscriptions see Weissbach, *Gr. iran. Ph.* 2. 63–64. [And see the volume by Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig, 1911]. This material, so far as it bears on religion, has been collected by my pupil [now colleague] Dr. Gray as an appendix to the monograph already referred to;[6] for that reason it need not be repeated here in detail.

From the well-known Babylonian cylinder of Cyrus the Great we learn that this monarch declared himself to be the chosen one of the god Marduk and that he had come to return the exiled gods to their homes and restore the old order of things. With regard to Cambyses, we may refer also to an Egyptian inscription on the naophoric statue in the Vatican, which purports to give through the mouths of the priests the attitude of Cambyses on religious matters.[7] Cambyses gives orders for repairing the desecrated temple of the Goddess Neit, at Sais in Egypt, and for priests and acolytes to be chosen in accordance with Egyptian ritual.[8] Darius was animated by a similar spirit, like Cambyses before him and Cyrus, previously, at Babylon, when he allowed himself to be regarded as the son of Neit.[9] On the Stele of Darius at Chaluf, line 5, there is an allusion to 'an adoration made to God by his seers (i.e. of Darius).' Daressy in his discussion of the passage thinks that these 'seers' were Magians, 'since the Egyptian

[6] Cf. Gray, 'The Religion of the Achaemenians according to their non-Iranian Inscriptions,' in *JAOS.* 21. 177–184. [Consult later, Gray, 'Achaemenians,' in *ERE.* (1908) 1. 69–73; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 39–60, etc.; see likewise the discussion by Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 54–94.]

[7] See Brugsch, *Thes. Inscript. egypt.* p. 693.

[8] [Now consult Gray, *ERE.* 1. 70–71; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 43; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 64–68; Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt from the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties*, New York (1905), p. 361–362.]

[9] Cf. Jackson-Gray, *JAOS.* 21. 183–184; [Flinders Petrie, *op. cit.* p. 365, 367.]

religion had no priests with this name.'[9a] In this same connection it is well to notice a Greek inscription of Darius, which was found in 1886 at Deirmenjik in Magnesia.[10] In this pronunciamento Darius praises his satrap Gadates, ruler of Asia Minor, because of his promoting agriculture and the care of the earth (which is quite Zoroastrian), but he blames him, on the other hand, for exacting taxes from the gardeners of a shrine sacred to Apollo, and forcing them to till ground that was unhallowed, in disregard of the king's attitude toward the gods.[11] One or two other expressions referring to religion in the Elamitic (New Susian) and Babylonian translations of the Old Persian texts are treated in the same monograph.[12] [As documentary evidence supplementing that of the non-Iranian inscriptions it may be observed that the Aramaic papyri which were discovered at Elephantine in Egypt indicate religious tolerance on the part of Cambyses and Darius II towards the Jews, thus bearing out the literary tradition of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.[12a]]

[The Egyptian temple at Hib, in the Oasis of el-Kharga, has on its walls three inscriptions of a Darius, two in honour of Rā, the sun-god, in highly pantheistic phrasing, and a third in which (lines 48–9) the King is termed 'Ntariuš the ever-living, born of the Sun, the support of those who are

[9a] [See W. Golénischeff, 'Stèle de Darius aux environs de Tell el-Maskhovtah,' in *Recueil de travaux rel. à la philol. et à l'arch. égypt. et assyr.* 13 (1890). 99–109; G. Daressy, *ibid.* 11 (1889). 170.]

[10] See G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, *Bull. de corr. hellénique*, 13. 529–542. Cf. Tiele, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 371. [For an English translation of this inscription by C. J. Ogden, see *Records of Civilization*, ed. Botsford-Sihler-Shotwell, p. 162, New York, 1915.]

[11] Cf. Jackson-Gray, *JAOS.* 21. 182–183.

[12] *Op. cit.* 180–182.

[12a] [See A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, Oxford, 1923, Nos. 21, 30–32, where the material will be found, together with full references to the publications of Sachau and Ungnad and the discussions by Eduard Meyer and others.]

in Uas [the Thebaid], the Son of the Sun Ntariuš. . . . Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, beloved of Amon, save thou the Son of the Sun Ntariuš the ever-living.' In the same temple Darius is represented as honouring Osiris, Amon, the gods of Elephantine, Hermopolis Magna, Panopolis, etc. and is called 'friend of Amon of Hib of the mighty arm.' [12b]]

The impression gained from the non-Iranian inscriptions of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius appears to show considerable tolerance, if not almost wide latitude, in their dealings with foreign conquered nations. In each case it seems to have been the attitude of the statesman rather than the religious devotee.

§ 90. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to the Classical Allusions. In treating this topic I must confine myself simply to general results deduced from the material collected in my investigations, as referred to above. In the works of classical authors there are numerous direct or indirect references to the faith of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, and Darius Codomannus. These are, however, again the statements of foreigners, and opinions may differ as to the weight to be laid on such testimony. In point of time the authors range from contemporaries of the later Achaemenidae, such as Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, or Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, down to later classical writers like Strabo, Cicero, Plutarch, Nicolaus Damascenus, Arrian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others.[13] There is space here only to present the main

[12b] [S. Birch, 'Inscription of Darius in the Temple of El-Khargeh', in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 5 (1877), 293–302 (the translation also in *Records of the Past*, 8 [1876]. 137–44); H. Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 23–4, 25, 27–33, 48–52.]

[13] The material is partly accessible also in Kleuker, *Zend Avesta*,

deductions from an exhaustive collection of the material. The results may be formulated as follows.

Statements of the classic writers would tend to show that all the Achaemenian kings were followers of the Magi. Every king also is represented as referring to the gods (*οἱ θεοί*) or to God, the latter under the name Zeus, by which Ormazd is generally understood to be meant.[14] The name *Ὡρομάσδης* actually appears in the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon. The same is true of Ahriman (*Ἀρειμάνιος*), mentioned by Aristotle, who lived during this and the following reign.[15] The name of the Persian divinity Mithra seems to have become more generally known to the Greeks than was the name of the goddess Anāhitā. This would be also in accordance with the allusion by Herodotus; and the cult of this female divinity became more popular from the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon onward.[16] Allusions to sun-worship and to the fire are comparatively common. Sacrifices and omens are not infrequently mentioned, perhaps more often in connection with the earlier kings, though not entirely confined to them. References to acts of worship and ritual observances belong alike to all periods. Temples and images come in rather with the later rulers. The quotation in Aristotle which mentions Ahriman has already been referred to; there is evidence also of latent devil worship in certain acts of Cambyses, of Xerxes, and

Anhang, and in Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix–xx. [Now more complete in Clemen, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae*, Bonn, 1920.]

[14] Although Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 190, following Hesychius, believes that in Herodotus, 1. 131, the sky is meant and not Ormazd. [The *Δία* of Herodotus seems to be the accusative of Zeus, but it is probable that the Old Persian word for sky was actually **diyāuš*, accusative **diyām*, **divam*—cf. the *Δῖαν· . . . τὸν οὐρανόν· Πέρσαι* of Hesychius? —which is the real form underlying *Δία* in this passage; so L. H. G. As favoring the idea of sky-god consult Moulton, *EZ.* p. 60, 391–393.]

[15] Cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 231, 241–242.

[16] See above, § 40, 2.

of Amestris, the wife of the latter. The scrupulous care of the elements, fire, earth, and water, may be noticed in numerous cases; but certain striking violations of these precautions must not go unrecorded. One or two passages seem to contain an implied reference to a future life (cf. above, § 81).

The name of Zoroaster is nowhere directly mentioned by the classical writers in connection with any one of the Achaemenian kings, nor is there a passage which explicitly mentions his creed as the religion of these monarchs, except that the Platonic Alcibiades (121E–122A) states that the children of royal blood were educated 'in the Magism of Zoroaster the Ormazdean.' The Amesha Spentas, moreover, are not specifically alluded to in direct connection with the Achaemenian rulers, but their existence may be traced back as far as Theopompus (4th century B.C.) and it is doubtless much earlier, as I have noted above (§ 34). I refer again in this connection to the suggested explanation of the Achaemenian names Ἀρτάβανος and Ὀξυάρτης (see above, p. 44, § 34, n. 18).

We can conclude that Artaxerxes I, II, III, and Darius Codomannus were genuine followers of Zoroaster if we may judge from the classical allusions to Ormazd, Ahriman, Anāhitā, Mithra, religious rites, and from incidental hints added to our knowledge from other sources. The classics are fully in harmony with all the other material on the subject. With reference to Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes, as they appear in the classics, we may provisionally withhold judgment. The Greek and Roman writers certainly would lead us to conclude that all these sovereigns were worshipers of god, i.e. Ormazd, even if we had not the Old Persian inscriptions to prove they were Mazdayasnians.[17] The classics also represent these earlier monarchs,

[17] [A later conclusion reached by Gray, 'Achaemenians,' in *ERE.* 1. 72 (1908), is that the Achaemenians were 'Mazdayasnians, not

like the later, as followers of the Magi, despite the Magophonia of Darius (see above, chap. IV, n. 1a).

§ 91. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to Pahlavi Literature. In the Pahlavi texts are found only two or three allusions which are of service in this connection; but they have a special value because they represent Zoroastrian tradition. They are found in the Dēnkarṭ, in the Bundahishn, and in the Pahlavi Vohūman or Bahman Yasht. The Dēnkarṭ, in the latest form of its compilation, belongs to the ninth century of our era; the Bundahishn is somewhat older and its material is certainly ancient, as already emphasized, even though the last chapter, which also comes in for consideration in our citations, may be as late as the eleventh or twelfth century;[18] the Bahman Yasht is of uncertain date but based on an old Avestan source.[19] The value of these several references therefore rests not on their antiquity but on the fact that they are based upon old traditions. These scattered allusions, moreover, have a real importance only so far as we can identify the Kaiānian kings of the Pahlavi and later texts with the historical monarchs of the Achaemenian line. A passage in the Bundahishn (Bd. 34. 7–8) which I have discussed in *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 158 seq., gives in

Zoroastrians.' Further discussion as to the religion of the Achaemenians is found in Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 39–60, 203, 217, 239, 394, 434; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, p. 113–156; and particularly in Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 54–204]

[18] See West, 'On the Extent, Language and Age of Pahlavi Literature,' p. 433, 434, 436, in *Sitzb. d. bayr. Ak. Wiss.* Munich, 1888; cf. idem, *Grundr. iran. Ph.* 2. 94, § 34; p. 100, § 94.

[19] West, *SBE.* 5. liv–lvi, points out that in its present form the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht is a composite work of threefold origin, with dates ranging from the end of the seventh century of our era to the beginning of the thirteenth. Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes*, 2. 69, is inclined to place the composition of this work 'between 1099 and the middle of the fourteenth century, and very likely nearer the former than the later date.'

order the names and legendary lengths of the reigns. Like others before me, I have compared these reigns with the historical reigns of the Achaemenians according to Western chronology (cf. *Zoroaster*, p. 158–160); I have given the reasons for identifying the long reign of Vohūman, the son of Spend-dāṯ, whom the Pahlavi texts call also Arṯakhshatr (i.e. Artaxerxes), known likewise in later works as Ardashīr Dirāzdast, 'the long-handed,' with that of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Μακρόχειρ.[20]

Assuming that this identification is correct, there is an interesting passage, besides, in the Bahman Yasht to which attention should be called because of its religious bearing. The passage is BYt. 2. 16–17 (cf. West, *SBE.* 5. 198). The text enumerates the different periods of the religion as follows (BYt. 2. 16–17): 'that which was of silver is the reign of Arṯakhshīr the Kaiānian (Kaī) whom they call Vohūman, son of Spend-dāṯ, who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters them about, and makes the religion current in the whole world. And that which was brazen is the reign of Arṯakhshīr (i.e. Ardashīr Pāpakān), the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpūr.' This allusion to Arṯakhshīr of the Kaiānian line, the one who routs the demons and makes the true religion current in the world, is certainly deserving of attention—whatever be its date. It implies that Zoroastrianism became generally accepted throughout Iran in the reign of Arṯakhshatr Dirāzdast. This reference acquires very special significance when brought into connection with the clearly established Zoroastrianism of Artaxerxes I, II, III, according to the classical writers and the inscriptions, since it gives to the generally

[20] See Bd. 31. 30; BYt. 2. 17, and add also *Shatrōīhā-i-Aīrān*, ed. Modi, § 34, 52, 'Ardashīr of Spendadād'; although Nöldeke, *Grundriss*, 2. 141, evidently does not place much weight on the Pahlavi identification. Cf. also Browne, *Lit. Hist. Pers.* 1. 117.

accepted identification, which rests on a historical foundation, an additional support also from the religious side.

With regard to the religion of the last Darius (Phl. *Dārāī Dārāyān*), or Darius Codomannus, there has been no doubt as to his creed, so far as we may judge from the classics and other sources; and the testimony of the Pahlavi literature substantiates this directly from the Zoroastrian side. The passage relevant to this is found in the Dēnkarṭ (Dk. 4. 23, cf. *SBE.* 37. 413): 'Dārāī, son of Dārāī, ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole Avesta (and) Zand, according to the receiving of it by Zaratūsht from Aūharmazd; one in the treasury of Shapīgān (or Shaspīgān), and one in the fortress of written documents.' [21] This leaves no doubt as to the orthodoxy of the last of the Achaemenians, the sovereign who was overthrown by Alexander.

For two of the Achaemenian line their adherence to the Zoroastrian religion is thus established also by Pahlavi literature. As yet I have not found any special Sasanian text bearing on the religion of the Darius known as Dārāī Chīhar-āzātān, and of Queen Hūmāī. If the latter, as West, Mohl, and others held, though with some hesitation, is to be identified with Parysatis, and if the former is to be connected with Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 362–340), which perhaps also may be open to question, this would at least show that the Zoroastrian tradition regarded both of these rulers as followers of the true faith.

If we could only identify with precision King Vishtāsp, the great patron of Zoroastrianism, all would become much clearer. The subject, however, is open to much discussion

[21] The situation of the treasure chamber seems to have been at Samarkand; the location of the fortress of archives, at Stakhr, or Persepolis. See Modi, *Shatrōīhā-i-Aīrān*, p. 55, 133–136. [So again more fully, Modi, *JRAS.* 1918, p. 311–314, as to the archives at Stakhr (Persepolis) and the probable fire-temple library as treasury at Samarkand. See also below, p. 268–271.]

(see my *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 150, 180–181, 199, 201; and cf. above chap. III, § 13, n. 5) and this makes the religious problem difficult. It is quite uncertain whether the long reign of 120 years is merely a round number, or whether it stands for a short dynasty. In the latter case we might assume that the name of Vishtāsp covers the period of kings Cyrus, Darius I, and Xerxes.[22] Or even we might possibly conjecture that the reign represents the Bactrian rule down to Artaxerxes, and assume that Zoroastrianism then became the faith of Persia (cf. *Zoroaster*, p. 160). But this is quite doubtful. Whoever the historical Vishtāsp may have been, he was in any case the champion and defender of the Zoroastrian religion. There is only one point to which I wish to call attention in Pahlavi literature in connection with the classical writers; it is a passage in the Dēnkarṭ which speaks of Vishtāsp's Magism. The paragraph is Dk. 9. 69. 58 (West, *SBE.* 37. 397) and it states that 'on account of the Magianship of Kai-Vishtāsp he was suitable for the sovereignty.' This is of interest when we take it in connection with the statement regarding the Magian doctrines of Hystaspes, which is found in Ammianus Marcellinus, 23. 6. 32–34, and remember also, as already discussed (§ 90, near end), that the Platonic Alcibiades (122) alludes to the education of the sons of the Persian nobility 'in the Magism of Zoroaster the Ormazdean.' Zoroaster is the Magian par excellence.[23]

To sum up briefly what has been said. The difficulty in dealing with the allusions in these Pahlavi sources lies in the uncertainty that exists in respect to making identifications with the earlier Achaemenians. So far as the later rulers are concerned, however, we have good grounds for

[22] See West, *SBE.* 5. 150–151, and my *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 160.

[23] Cf. Dk. 9. 69. 58 (version of Ys. 51. 15); Dk. 4. 21 and Dk. 4. 34, cf. *SBE.* 37. 412–417.

believing that the Pahlavi texts regard the Zoroastrian faith as the religion of Artaxerxes I, II, III, and of Darius Codomannus. If only Vishtāsp could be identified with surety, we should have more definite guidance for the earlier period.

§ 92. **The Religion of the Achaemenians according to Firdausī's Shāh Nāmah.** The great Persian epic of Firdausī (c. 935–1025) stands much in the same relation with regard to the Achaemenidae as does the Pahlavi literature; it differs little in spirit from the latter, except in having a poetic color instead of a sacerdotal tinge. The royal line, Gushtāsp, Bahman, Humāī, Dārāb, and Dārā, is the same. How much weight is to be laid on its statements may be open to question. It is sufficient here merely to call attention to the more important allusions. For convenience the references to the Vullers-Landauer edition of the Shāh Nāmah (vol. 3), and to the French translation by Mohl (vol. 5) are given side by side.

As regards G u s h t ā s p , the patron of Zoroaster, a discussion concerning his precise identity would be much of the same nature as already indicated in the case of the Pahlavi literature. The story of his conversion to the religion is sufficiently well known through the verses of Daḳīḳī that are incorporated in the Shāh Nāmah, and need not be repeated here.

The next king, B a h m a n , is said to have married his own daughter, 'in accordance with the law of the Pahlavi religion' (ed. Vullers-Landauer, 3. 1756, line 137; tr. Mohl, 5. 11). Firdausī, moreover, in true Zoroastrian fashion assigns him 'Dasturs' as counselors (ed. V-L. 3. 1754, 1755; tr. Mohl, 5. 9, 10). Bahman also acknowledges 'God,' whom he calls the 'Creator,' and refers to the inexorable power of 'Fate' (ed. V-L. 3. 1748, 1754; tr. M. 5. 1, 4, 9, 10). The king's enemy Farāmurz mentions the 'resurrection' (*ristāxēz*, V-L. 1753, tr. M. 5. 8) and

Bahman provides a 'sepulchre vault for the body' of this worthy foeman when slain in battle (V-L. 1755; tr. M. 5. 10).

When Humāī learns that her son Dārāb is still alive (V-L. 1771; tr. M. 5. 30, 33) she celebrates the glad tidings by distributing bounteous gifts at every place 'where she knew there was a Fire Temple, or even a Zend-Avesta, or a place for celebrating the fire-festival of Sadah' (V-L. 1772; M. 5. 32); she crowns him by the grace of 'God,' the 'Creator' (V-L. 1773–1774, M. 5. 34), and commends him to the favor of the 'Mobeds' (V-L. 1773–1774; M. 5. 34, 35).

Dārāb likewise recognizes the 'Zend-Avesta' as the holy scriptures to be learned (V-L. 1763; M. 5. 20). On ascending the throne he delivers an address to the 'Mobeds' and his nobles (V-L. 1775; M. 5. 37) and ascribes all his blessings to 'God' (V-L. 1775; M. 5. 38). At his capital city, Dārābgird, he consecrates 'a fire on the summit of the mountain, and the worshipers gather there in crowds' (V-L. 1776; M. 5. 38). His first wife, although she is a daughter of the king of Rūm, is called Nāhēd, i.e., Anāhitā, by Firdausī (V-L. 1772–1781; M. 5. 42–45); the month 'Mihr' is also mentioned (V-L. 1779; M. 5. 44).

Dārā, the last of his dynasty, is assassinated by two of his 'Dasturs' after he had been defeated by Alexander (V-L. 1799, 1800, 1804; M. 5. 67, 69, 74, 75, 78). His dying speech (V-L. 1803; M. 5. 73) is characteristically Zoroastrian.[24] He alludes to 'the fire of Zardusht,' to the Zend-Avesta, to omens, to the festival of Sadah and of the New Year, to the fire-temple; still further to Ormazd, to the Moon, the Sun, and Mihr (V-L. 1803; M. 5. 73). He emphasizes his devotion to 'the religion,' and commends

[24] See Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 83, 93, London, 1896, and Budge, *History of Alexander*, p. 52, Cambridge, 1887.

his 'soul to God' as he passes away (V-L. 1803; M. 5. 73). Alexander causes a 'tomb' to be constructed for the 'body,' which is covered with camphor, and performs for the royal dead everything that was in accordance 'with the custom of the Kaiānians' (V-L. 1803; M. 5. 73, 74). The general description, especially the mention of the tomb, which is a reminiscence of Naksh-i Rustam, should be compared with the account given by the Pseudo-Callisthenes.[25]

[Simply by way of supplementing Firdausī we may add a few incidental allusions found in Arabic writers. Ṭabarī, *Chronique*, transl. Zotenberg, 1. 507, records that Bahman, 'who was called Ardashīr the Long-handed, spread civilization and the religion of God in the world; he paid adoration to the fire and held the Magian religion in high esteem.' Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, tr. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, 4. 72–73, when enumerating the ten chief fire-temples, states that the third (Kerakarkān, or Karkūyah) 'was built in Sajastān by Bahman, son of Isfandiār, son of Yushtāsp (Bishtāsp).' Not to mention other later Arab authors, as bearing out the Pahlavi tradition, Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, tr. Zotenberg, p. 389, says of Bahman, 'he strengthened the religion of Zoroaster and propagated it.' He furthermore says (p. 398) that Dārā, son of Bahman, 'built fire-temples in Fārs'; and records that when his son, the last Dārā (i.e. Darius Codomannus), lay dying (p. 411) his final adjuration to Alexander was: 'Do not destroy the fire-temples.']

[§ 92a. **Conclusion.** The data presented briefly above give the main points relating to the religion of the Achaemenian kings. The special question as to whether the earlier monarchs of this dynasty were actual followers of the Zoroastrian creed has been left open, because

[25] See Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 83, 93, London, 1896, and *History of Alexander*, p. 52, Cambridge, 1889, as referred to also in the preceding note.

some scholars are inclined to believe that they were not. Possibly the discovery of further documents may help to solve this problem. Concerning the later Achaemenian rulers, everybody is agreed that Artaxerxes I, II, III, and Darius Codomannus were true adherents to the faith of the Prophet of Ancient Iran.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See General Bibliography above, works of Casartelli, de Harlez, Mills, Spiegel, Tiele, etc., and those most often cited in the footnotes in this Chapter. [Later, L. H. Gray, 'Achaemenians,' in *ERE.* 1. 69–73, Edinburgh, 1908; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913 (refs. to Achaemenians in index, p. 447); C. Clemen, *Die gr. und lat. Nachrichten über die pers. Relig.* p. 54–94, Giessen, 1920 (esp. the bibliographical list, p. 54 f.); also, for Xerxes, G. Payn Quackenbos, 'Greek and Latin Allusions to the Religion of Xerxes,' in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, p. 289–305, Bombay, 1918.]

CHAPTER XI

THE RELIGION AFTER ALEXANDER'S INVASION. THE PARTHIAN DOMINION; THE SASANIAN DYNASTY; SECTS AND HERESIES; THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST AND LATER HISTORY OF THE RELIGION INCLUDING MODERN ZOROASTRIANISM

§ 93. **Introduction.** We now proceed to trace the history of the Iranian religion from the time of the Achaemenids down to its overthrow through the Muhammadan conquest in the seventh century A.D., and then to follow the fortunes of the little band of Zoroastrians who continued to hold fast to the ancient creed of the founder and who stand today (happily growing in numbers) as the sole representatives of the Mazdayasnian faith.

To summarize, first in brief form, the religious history of the thousand years between Alexander and the Muhammadan conquest, we may say that Alexander's invasion, which wrought havoc through the destruction of the sacred books, had a chaotic effect on the Faith for the time being, and this doubtless prevailed during the seventy years of the subsequent Seleucid dominion. This condition of affairs, though meliorated, appears to have continued likewise during the first half of the five centuries of the Parthian rule. But in the second half of this period, or beginning from the first century A.D., signs of the renascence of Zoroastrianism became increasingly manifest. These signs blazed forth in full effulgence when the Sasanian dynasty came to the throne and restored Zoroastrianism as the national religion of Iran. The ultimate fall of Zoroaster's religion as the creed of Persia was brought about by the

invasion of the Arabs and the triumph of Islam. We shall now scan anew in more detail the religious aspects of the nearly ten centuries involved.

§ 94. The Invasion of Alexander and the Rule of the Seleucids (330–250 B.C.). We may repeat with emphasis that the appearance on the scene of the Macedonian conqueror brought about a great change both in the religion and in the historical development of Persia. In the eyes of the Zoroastrians Alexander is ever the accursed Iskandar, the predestined tyrant of evil fate who caused the sacred books to be burned and to whom all the later misfortunes of their religion are ascribed. No doubt Alexander is to blame for much that meant disaster for Persia; and changes were inevitable as a consequence of his wars of conquest. The rule of the Seleucids, who held sway for the period of seventy years as his successors, may have exercised a certain influence on the Iranians in general and on their religion in particular; but it is next to impossible to adduce anything really definite on this point.[1]

§ 95. The Parthian Rule. A Period first of Decadence, then of Gradual Rise in the History of Zoroastrianism. During the Parthian rule of the Arsacid dynasty the Zoroastrian religion still lived on, despite the blow of Alexander's invasion which had severely shaken it. We have good grounds for assuming that the Parthians adhered to the Iranian faith and were Zoroastrians from the earliest times. The old Parthian royal names, Artabanus, Mithradates, and Orthagnes (Av. *vərəθraγna*), among others, speak in support of this assumption, while Isidorus of Charax (*Parth. Stat.* § 11) testifies that a perpetual fire burned at Asaak (read, Arsak) where Arsakes was proclaimed as the first

[1] [Compare, somewhat similarly, the summary of Iran under Macedonian rule, namely that of Alexander and the Seleucids, as given by Sir Percy Sykes, *History of Persia*, 2 ed., 1. 302–304, London, 1921.]

Parthian king.[2] Coins of this period show fire-altars likewise, and the figure of Ahura Mazdāh, besides other Zoroastrian divinities, is also found on them.[3] Archaeological remains bear witness to the fact that the Parthians buried their dead in coffins of terra cotta or stone just as the ancient Persians, according to Herodotus, enveloped the bodies of their dead in wax.[4] These receptacles, however, may have been the well-known Astōdāns.[5] It is fully recognized, moreover, that Vologases I (51–78 A.D.), one of the later Parthian kings, lived according to the tenets of Zoroastrianism and that under his rule the gathering of the scattered Zoroastrian scriptures was begun.[6] A revival of Zoroastrianism was at hand. In conclusion we may add that while we have sufficient evidence to prove that the general character of the Parthian faith was that of Zoroastrianism, the subject still awaits a thorough investigation in order to settle the details with more precision.[7] [In this

[2] Cf. Justi, *Grundriss Iran. Ph.* 2. 481; [W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax*, p. 9, 31, Philadelphia, 1914 (Commercial Museum); and Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, p. 301 note, New York, 1911.]

[3] For references to the numismatic evidence see Justi, *Grundriss*, 2. 486 n. 6 and 507 n. 4.

[4] See Herodotus, 1. 140; Strabo, 15. 3. 20 (734); and cf. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, 5. 35, Paris, 1884.

[5] See an interesting paper on the Astōdāns by J. J. Modi, in *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1. 426–441, Bombay, 1889; [reprinted in Modi, *Anthropological Papers*, p. 7–22, Bombay, 1912.]

[6] Cf. Darmesteter, *ZA.* 2d ed. in *SBE.* 4. xxxviii–xl; id. *Le ZA.* 3. xxi–xxiv.

[7] Look up Justi, *Grundriss* 2. 486–487, for some indications of the religion in Parthian times, [and later see J. M. Unvala, *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians*, p. 1–40, Bombay, 1925 (British India Press). He considers the religion of the Parthians (p. 15) to be 'a very relaxed form of Zoroastrianism' and reaches the conclusion (p. 40) 'that the Parthians were Zoroastrians, but that they did not follow the religion in the true spirit of the Avesta and Pahlavi scriptures.']

connection it suffices to recall the well-known allusions by Strabo (512, 539, 533), in the first century B.C., to at least two of the Amshaspands and to Anaitis (Anāhitā), who were recognized in Asia Minor, as referred to above (§ 34 n. 18, cf. § 40. 2); and to this may be added the early use of the Persian calendar in Cappadocia.[8] Still more significant in the first century B.C. is the Greek inscription of King Antiochus of Commagene, in which are equated the divine names 'Zeus Oromasdes and Apollo Mithras, (who is) the Sun, (and) Hermes and Artagnes (i.e. Av. Verethraghna), (who is) Herakles and Ares.' [9] Even earlier (probably 2d century B.C.) is the notable inscription from Arabsun in Cappadocia (written in Aramaic, or, rather, in 'Chaldaeo-Pahlavi,' now called 'Parthian,' the northern dialect of Middle Persian) which twice mentions 'the Mazdayasnian Religion' (*Dēn Mazdayasniš*) as the wife and sister of Bel (probably Mithra, see Reichelt, *WZKM.* 15. 55, on Yt. 17. 16; Ys. 12. 9), united in royal marriage, thus symbolizing an official acceptance of the Persian faith.[10] This allusion to a marriage between sister and brother recalls the interpretation commonly given to Av. *x^{v}aētvadaθa*, cf. § 78, above.]

[It is particularly important to observe that during the Parthian period there must have been some noteworthy recrudescence of the ancient Indo-Iranian worship of Mitra-Mithra (cf. especially Av. Yt. 10), since Persian Mithraism as a recognized cult spread westward by the way of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean into the Roman Empire in the first centuries of the Christian era.[11] We must equally

[8] [Cf. likewise Moulton, *EZ.* p. 102–106; 430–437.]

[9] [Moulton, *EZ.* p. 106–108; cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 135–136.]

[10] [See M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris f. sem. Epigraphik*, 1. 66–69; H. Reichelt, *WZKM.* 15. 51–56; R. Pettazzoni, *La religione di Zarathustra*, p. 18; and recently H. H. Schaeder, *Urform des manichäischen Systems*, p. 137–138, Leipzig, 1927.]

[11] [See Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Eng. transl. from the

keep in mind the influence exercised by Zoroastrianism proper outside of the Parthian domains in an eastward direction, as shown by the occurrence of the names of Zoroastrian divinities on the coins of Kushān kings.[12] This proves that Iranian religious ideas penetrated even into India. While their influence upon early historic India is unquestioned, if not lasting, the claims of the late Dr. D. B. Spooner for 'a Zoroastrian period of Indian history' must be taken with reserve.] [13]

§ 96. The Sasanian Period. The Renaissance of Zoroastrianism. A Period of Efflorescence for Four Hundred Years (c. 226–651 A.D.). With the accession of the national dynasty of the Sasanids to the throne the faith of the Prophet of Iran regained its pristine glory and flourished as perhaps never before. All the members of the House of Sāsān were zealous Zoroastrians and spread the doctrines of Zaratūsht in all directions. In their inscriptions and sculptures these kings represent themselves as receiving the throne by divine right direct from Ormazd, precisely as their Achaemenian ancestors had done before them. Anāhitā is also represented in these sculptures.[14] Zoroaster is the acknowledged founder of the religion and the Avesta with its Pahlavi translation is the law and gospel of Iran. The general history of the Mazdayasnian religion under this

second revised French edition), Chicago, 1903; L. Patterson, *Mithraism and Christianity*, Cambridge, 1921.]

[12] [See especially M. A. Stein (now Sir Aurel Stein), *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, London, 1887; and consult the bibliographical references on this subject given by Professor Rapson, in *Grundr. d. indo-arischen Philologie*, 2. pt. 3B, p. 18, 73 note, end, Stuttgart, 1898. Cf. later, 1925, Unvala, *Observations* (cited above), p. 4–6.]

[13] [See Jackson, in *The Cambridge History of India* (1922), 1. 341, 673, where references to Spooner's articles will be found; cf. also J. J. Modi, 'Ancient Pātaliputra,' in *Asiatic Papers*, 2. 211–286, Bombay, 1917.]

[14] Cf. Justi, *Grundriss*, 2. 519.

dynasty is too well known to render necessary a recapitulation of it here. Its main characteristics have been presented in the description of the faith given above. For details it is sufficient to refer the reader to a collection of material made from the older Pahlavi literature in a work dealing with this subject by Casartelli [15] [and later to the ten chapters devoted to the Pahlavi period in Dastur Dhalla's volume on Zoroastrian theology.] [16]

§ 97. Sects and Heresies; Mānī and his Religion; the Heresy of Mazdak. Although Zoroastrianism was the state religion of Iran under the Sasanians, it was not free from sectarian movements and the disturbing influence of heretical teachings. As in most religions, sects and schisms in Zoroastrianism were inevitable. The Avestan Gāthās allude to heretics such as Grəhma and others, and the very first chapter of the Vendīdād proves that even so Zoroastrian an institution as the Dakhma did not meet with universal acceptance in Iran. We see clearly from the writings of the Armenian Moses of Khorene that in his time (probably fifth century A.D.) there were several sects who held divergent views in regard to dualism and the origin of Ahriman, and statements by this chronicler's fellow-countrymen, namely, Elisaeus, Eznik, and Thomas Artsruni, confirm this.[17] The Arabic theologian Shahrastānī (1086–1153), who wrote on religious sects and philosophical schools, when giving an account of the Magians and the religion of Zoroaster, whose followers are called *Zarādushtīya*, mentions also the Zarvanites (*Zarvānīya*), who maintained that both Ormazd and Ahriman had sprung from Zarvan, because of a doubt, just as the Armenian chronicles had previously recorded, and he likewise alludes

[15] Casartelli, *Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sasanids*, English translation by Firoz Jamaspji, Bombay, 1889.

[16] [Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 191–294, New York, 1914.]

[17] See Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 275–278.

to the Gayōmarthians (*Gayūmarthīya*) who ascribe Ahriman's origin to a doubt rather on Ormazd's part and who identify Gayūmarth as Adam.[18] One or two passages in the Avesta may possibly be adduced to prove the existence of these different doctrines or may perhaps be the source from which they arose through individual or erroneous interpretation; but we lack here the material necessary for forming a judgment because the triumph of the orthodox doctrine doomed to oblivion most of the views that deviated from it.

After these prefatory observations we may turn directly to the religious teachings of Mānī, an arch-heretic in Zoroastrian eyes, but really the founder of a religion, long since dead, which came near to shaking the throne just at the moment when the second Sasanid ruler, Sapor (Shāhpuhr) entered upon his reign. We shall then touch likewise on the heretical communistic teachings of Mazdak, which threatened the national peace later at a time when the Empire was almost at its height.

[Owing to the important discoveries of Manichaean documents in Central Asia our knowledge of Manichaeism has increased to such an extent that the former treatment in the *Grundriss* has become entirely inadequate, and the reader is therefore referred to the special Addendum on Manichaeism at the end of this chapter.]

The heresy of Mazdak arose full three hundred years after Manichaeism, to which it bore a relation because Mazdak, in a way, was a successor of Mānī. This new

[18] See Shahrastānī, transl. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien*, 1. 275–277; 277–280. [Cf. E. Edwards, 'Sects (Zoroastrian),' in *ERE.* (1920) 11. 345–347; and further, I. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System,' in *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Dastur D. P. Sanjana*, p. 72–74, Bombay, 1925. Less value is attached to this section in Shahrastānī by Schaeder in Reitzenstein-Schaeder, *Stud. z. antik. Synkretismus*, p. 236–239, 349, Leipzig, 1926.]

schismatic system, known as Mazdakism, was a social as well as a religious movement and, for a short time, its socialistic and communistic ideas menaced both the stability of the government and the supremacy of the Zoroastrian faith. There is found, in fact, a condemnatory allusion to this heresy in the Pahlavi Commentary on a passage in the Avesta (Vd. 4. 49). The Avestan text speaks of 'the unrighteous Ashemaogha (heretic) who does not eat'; the Pahlavi translator adds to his rendering of this the gloss: 'like Mazdak, the son of Bāmdād.' [19] [The later Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (BYt. 1. 6; 2. 21) also speaks of Mazdak as an opponent of the true religion and a causer of disturbance among the faithful, and anathematizes him as 'the accursed Mazdīk' (*sic*).]

Mazdak appeared on the scene as a reformer during the troublous reign of King Kavād (488–531 A.D.) and began to spread his heretical ideas of extreme socialism and an absolute community of goods, which he extended to the sharing of wives in common. But as a higher ideal he preached the value of asceticism, inculcating the renunciation of all pleasures and enjoining a complete abstinence from animal food.[20] The desire for pleasure and possessions he regarded as a universal cause of hatred and strife. His religious teachings, like Mānī's, included the doctrine of the Two Principles, and recognized the old Zoroastrian tenet of preserving the elemental purity of fire, water, and earth.[21] The information regarding his religious dogmas, however, is somewhat scanty, since most of the writers emphasize rather the antinomian aspect of his views. The further spread of these socialistic and communistic doctrines was violently prevented by the treacherous murder of Mazdak and most of his closer adherents (528–529 A.D.)

[19] Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* 2. 62.

[20] Compare the Pahlavi gloss on Vd. 4. 49, cited above.

[21] Cf. Shahrastānī, transl. Haarbrücker, 1. 291–293.

by order of Prince Nushīrvān shortly before he succeeded his father, Kavād, on the throne. Fresh persecutions ensued after his accession as Khusrau I (531 A.D.); but remnants of Mazdak's followers maintained themselves long after, and even in still later times some traces of the movement are believed to have been detected.[22] It may be suggested that the simple fact of the existence of such heretical movements as Manichaeism and Mazdakism is an indication of the presence of those germs of decay which foreshadowed the final downfall of the national faith in Persia.

§ 98. The Muhammadan Conquest and its Effects. The death of Yazdagard III and the overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty (651–652 A.D.) by Islam had also as its consequence the downfall of Zoroastrianism as the national faith of Iran. The time-honored leathern apron of Kāvah the Blacksmith and the eagle, as ancient emblems of the Persian power, sank into the dust before the crescent and the green banner unfurled by Arabia. Ormazd gave place to Allah, Zoroaster to Muhammad; the Avesta was supplanted by the Koran, and the chanting voice of the Magian priest in the fire temple was drowned by the Muazzin's shrill call to prayer from the high minaret of the mosque. The Iranian religion as the creed of the nation had practically ceased to exist, and with this our story of Zoroastrianism might have ended had not embers of the dying

[22] Cf. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1. 312–313.—The chief bibliographical references for the study of Mazdak and Mazdakism are: Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Arab. u. Perser aus Tabari*, p. 455–467; Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 232–235; 3. 390–392; Browne, *Lit. Hist. Pers.* 1. 168–172, 312–313; [J. J. Modi, 'Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist,' in *The Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, p. 116–131, Bombay, 1918; E. Colby, 'Religion and Politics in Early Persia' (Mazdak) in *The Open Court*, 36. 402–413, Chicago, 1922; R. A. Nicholson, 'Mazdak,' in *ERE.* 8. 508–510; and especially A. Christensen, 'Le Règne du roi Kawadh et le communisme Mazdakite,' in *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, vol. 9, nr. 6. p. 1–127, Copenhagen, 1925.]

faith continued to glow beneath the ashes, to burst once again into a clear flame which goes on burning to the present day. We are not to suppose that the conversion of Persia to Islam took place all at once, or that only the choice between death and the Koran was left to the Zoroastrians. Unquestionably, persecutions occurred; but over and above coercion there were various other things that led to the acceptance of the new religion, a step which was ultimately less difficult because the Muslim system itself had taken over a number of elements from the Zoroastrian faith.[23] Hosts of Persians doubtless availed themselves of the opportunity offered them. The relations between Persia and Arabia, which had been growing more active all the while, are likewise to be taken into account as contributory factors.[24] Nevertheless, we have proof enough of the faith during the next three centuries. One needs only to recall the interest shown by Firdausī and the whole of Eastern Iran in Zoroastrianism, not to mention the distinctly visible influence which it undoubtedly exercised in bringing about sectarian movements within Muhammadanism in Persia itself. But in the disturbed conditions of the next cen-

[23] Cf. Gray, 'Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammadan Eschatology,' in *Muséon*, NS. 3. 153–184; Goldziher, 'Islamisme et parsisme,' *Rev. de l'hist. des relig.* 43. 1–29.

[24] Interesting information regarding the spread of Muhammadanism in Persia is found in T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, London, 1896. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, 1. 200–208, emphasizes that the conversion of Persia to Islam was effected not mainly by force. [Recently, G. K. Nariman has published a small brochure, *The Ahad Nameh*, Bombay, 1925 (Iran League), containing two charters, reported to have been granted to the Zoroastrians by the Fourth Caliph, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (cousin of the Prophet and First Imam of the Shī'ites), the tenor of which would show tolerance on the part of the Arabs, although (p. ix) their authenticity may not be wholly beyond question. Cf. also G. K. Nariman's appendix to the second chapter of M. M. Murzban, *The Parsis in India*, 1. 155–159, Bombay, 1917.]

turies Zoroastrianism as a living force well nigh came to an end in its native home. The best evidence of this is furnished by the very limited number of the Zoroastrians in present Persia [to all of whom, however, full religious and civic recognition is accorded by the Constitution today, and who play a role in government affairs], and, likewise, by the presence of the Parsis in India, their chosen home after exile, where they have long formed a flourishing community.

§ 99. **The Zoroastrians of Persia at the Present Day,—often called Gabars (Ghebers).** Those Zoroastrians who remained in Persia and resisted conversion to Islam, electing to abide steadfast by their old religion at whatever cost, number today about eleven thousand souls.[25] They are often designated by the name of Gabr (sometimes spelled Gueber or Gheber), a term which has the derogatory connotation of 'infidel,' like its synonym in Turkish, Giaour (*ǰawur*), but the etymology of the word is uncertain.[26] The Muhammadans frequently use likewise the term *Ātašparast*, 'Fire Worshipers,' to designate these adherents of the old Zoroastrian religion; other designations are *Maǰūs* from the Magi, their ancient priesthood, or also *Fārsī*, i.e. *Pārsī* (Parsee), from Fārs or Pārs, the name of

[25] [For statistics, see Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (1906), p. 425.]

[26] Some would derive it from the Arabic *kāfir*, as applied to 'a Magian,' properly 'one who denies,' i.e. an infidel. If a bold conjecture may be allowed, one might be tempted to connect this designation with the Pahlavi word *gabrā*, 'man,' borrowed from the Aramaic (cf. Syr. *gabʰrā*, Bibl. Aram. *gᵉbʰar*, 'vir'), which, in the Pahlavi texts, is applied to the Zoroastrians in the forms *Mōg-gabrā*, *Magōīgabrā* (Pāz. *Magō-ī-marṭ*), 'Magian man.' Then would follow a generalization of the meaning in the sense of 'people,' 'gentiles,' with the secondary connotation of 'pagan, heathen,' as in the semantic development of those English words from their original etymological signification. Cf. Jackson, 'Ghebers,' in *New Internat. Cyclop.* (1903), 7. 341. [The proposed etymology is questioned by D. Menant, 'Gabars,' in *ERE.* (1913) 6. 147.]

the Persian province. They call themselves *Bah-dīnān*, 'those of the Good Faith.'

The fortunes of these adherents of the ancient Persian faith were subjected to many vicissitudes.[27] Inasmuch as they differed from the recognized Muhammadan faith, they were regarded with mistrust and hatred. They were subject to the *jizya*, or poll tax, which was imposed on those who did not serve in the ranks of the army of Islam, and were excluded from all preferment in the offices of the state. In consequence of the many disadvantages under which they labored, their numbers gradually diminished. So great, in fact, was this decline that they are believed to have retrograded from nearly 100,000 to less than 9,000 in the course of the past two centuries. But all the while, in spite of disabilities, poverty, and lack of education, they clung tenaciously to their oldtime creed. In later years, thanks to the praiseworthy efforts of the Parsis in India and the growth of a more liberal rule in Persia, their fortunes steadily improved. This improvement has made itself felt especially in the last generation. [Since the adoption of a constitutional form of government in Persia (1906), and its subsequent development (particularly, 1909), the Zoroastrians, like other non-Muslim subjects in Persia, have enjoyed religious freedom and the right of an electoral vote in state affairs.[28] The recognition accorded, it may be added, brought forth the appointment of a representative of such merit as to receive the highest positions of trust at the capital from the Muhammadan government itself.]

The Persian Gabars are to be found today, as for centuries

[27] Consult Mlle. Delphine Menant, *Les Parsis*, p. 1–48, Paris, 1898 (Annales du Musée Guimet, tome septième); [see also Eng. transl. (by Miss R. A. F. Vakil) edited with additions and annotations by M. M. Murzban, *The Parsis in India*, 1. 21–154, Bombay, 1917.]

[28] [See E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, p. 387, 400 (Art. 7, 36, of the New Electoral Law of July 1, 1909), Cambridge, 1910.]

past, chiefly in Yazd and Kirmān, and in smaller numbers at Teherān, Isfahān, Shīrāz.[29] They have ceased nowadays to be found in the neighborhood of the naphtha wells at Bākū, whither business interests in early times attracted them.[30] But scattered as they are, oppressed as they once were, they have kept alive the sparks of their faith and still continue to enjoy a high reputation for honesty, uprightness, morality, and obedience to the law. These are the same characteristics which are found preserved among their more fortunate Parsi brethren in India, with whom their relations are becoming closer and closer every day.[31] Like these, the Zoroastrian Iranis can boast that they are men of 'the good faith.'

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§ 100. The Parsis or Zoroastrians in India. As explained in the preceding section, the name Parsi (Persian and Hindustani *Pārsī*) signifies literally an inhabitant of Pārs, the Old Persian province of Pārsa, or Persia proper. Although still occasionally applied to the Zoroastrians in Persia, the name is more generally used to designate the worshipers of Ormazd in India, their adopted home as

[29] [Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 353–400, and the index, p. 467, on Zoroastrians in Persia.]

[30] [See Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, p. 41–51, New York, 1911.]

[31] [Evidence of this is shown by the 'Iran League' society in India today, with its monthly *Bulletin*, Bombay, 1928.]

religious exiles from Iran. The history of these faithful who sought in India religious freedom is extremely interesting. Less than a hundred years after the Arab conquest a considerable number of Zoroastrians decided to leave Persia. They moved, forming with their priests a united community, southward to the city of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf.[32] After they had lived there some fifteen years, they resolved to settle on the coast of India and landed first on the Island of Diu, off the coast of Kāthiāwār. Here they stayed for nineteen years until circumstances led them to push farther south to Gujarāt. They landed at Sanjān (716 A.D.) and found there a resting place among the tolerant Hindus.[32a] They received permission to settle if they would agree to certain simple regulations, which were readily accepted and followed. Thus Sanjān and its surrounding district became then their new home. In the year 775 A.D. a second band of their co-religionists appears to have joined these pioneers, and together they founded an active and prosperous community which flourished for five hundred years. In the year 1315 A.D. the Muhammadans, who were at this time extending their sway in India, made an attack on the Parsis of Sanjān who had allied themselves with their Hindu protectors. The allies were defeated, Sanjān was destroyed, and the Parsis had to flee to the hills of Bhārhut, where, however, they cher-

[32] The history of these fugitives is found sketched in a rhymed chronicle, *Ḳiṣṣah-i Sanjān*, written about 1600 A.D., translated by Eastwick in *JBBRAS.* 1. 167–191; cf. esp. Modi, in the same Journal, 21, Art. II (1900–1902). [See also the translation by S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, p. 82–117, Bombay, 1920.]

[32a] [Upon arriving at Sanjān these Persian Zoroastrians presented to the ruling Hindu raja, Jādī Rānā, a brief memorial in sixteen stanzas summarizing in verse their main religious tenets, manners, and customs. These sixteen traditional stanzas (*ślokas*) have been edited and translated by S. H. Hodivala, in *The Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, p. 70–94; and later, idem, in the volume, *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Dastur D. P. Sanjana*, p. 131–141, Bombay, 1925.]

ished the sacred fire and kept up their ancient customs and ceremonies. When the fanatical Muhammadan rule relaxed and conditions changed, the Parsis seem again to have regained their prosperity, as is clear from their own writings and from contemporary accounts by Europeans in India. So marked was this rise that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find the Parsis widely distributed over Gujarāt, also especially in Surat, Navsāri and Bombay, or at any place where trade offered them opportunity to develop their business interests. The settlement of the Parsis at Bombay, their main stronghold today, goes back to the time of the Portuguese rule (1530–1666 A.D.). Since then the Presidency of Bombay has remained the center of the Parsi population of India, although branches of this community are found as far north as Peshāwar, as far east as Calcutta, and as far south as Madras, or even Ceylon (likewise in Baluchistān, besides small commercial offshoots in the Far East). Almost all the Parsis are well-to-do and some of them are very wealthy. They are often called the Jews of India, and they themselves sometimes allude to this comparison.

In religion these followers of Zarathushtra have remained true, in general, to the teachings of their ancient faith. Conversion to another creed is almost unknown. In consequence, however, of their migration from Persia and living in the midst of Hindus and other non-Zoroastrians, some changes have here and there crept into their customs. Nor have they been able to keep free from religious controversy among themselves, which at times has assumed a very serious character. As early as the year 1686 there appears to have arisen a violent strife as to pre-eminence between the priests of Navsāri and the original spiritual leaders of Sanjān. In the first half of the eighteenth century another controversy arose, this time concerning the calendar. At that epoch the ancient practice of inter-

calating a month every 120 years (cf. § 72 above) had long since ceased to be observed, so that the year began in autumn instead of in spring; but the Parsis in India, having continued intercalation for one cycle longer than their brethren in Persia, were beginning their year one month later in consequence. An attempt, made about 1746, to introduce the Persian system resulted in a division of the Parsi community into two sects, the Shehanshahis and the Kadmis. The Shehanshahis, 'Imperialists,' who claimed they were following the correct calendar of the Emperors of Iran, adhered to the Parsi reckoning that was current in India, and were also known as Rasmis, 'Traditionalists,' or those who held fast to 'custom' (*rasm*) in observing the later date for New Year's Day. The Kadmis, or 'Ancients,' convinced that the reckoning of the Persian Zoroastrians was the correct and ancient (*ḳadīm*) one, adopted it in preference; in point of numbers, however, this sect is greatly outranked by the Shehanshahis.[33] [In recent times a third sect has arisen, that of the Faslis, (from the *Faslī-sāl*, or 'Seasonal New Year' of Jamshīd, who begin their year on March 21st and keep it in accordance with the seasons by intercalating one day every fourth year.] In spite of this and other minor differences in opinion, the several factions are in full agreement with regard to the chief points in their doctrine, the God Ormazd, the Prophet Zarathushtra, their common belief in angels and archangels, the Amshaspands and Īzads; they also observe the same general rites, ceremonies, festivals, customs and usages.[34] In regard to theology they are strictly

[33] See Seervai and Patel, *Gujarāt Parsis*, p. 11–12, Bombay, 1898 (= *The Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 193–194); also consult D. F. Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, 1. 105–117; [esp. now M. M. Murzban, *The Parsis in India*, 1. 200–237, Bombay, 1917 (being an Eng. transl. and enlargement of D. Menant, *Les Parsis*, cited above).]

[34] There are no fasts because Zoroastrianism has always condemned fasting; [cf. also Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 216].

monotheistic; but a belief in the resurrection of the body appears to be less pronounced among them than might be expected, from its having been a recognized doctrine in their sacred scriptures.[35] So far as their doctrine of spiritual authority is concerned, the infallibility of their dasturs has been called in question without hesitation by the less strict conformists; but they all agree in recognizing the religious supremacy of these as their spiritual heads.

The Parsis have, from the most ancient times, as appears from the statements of Herodotus, Strabo and others, held fast to the idea of ceremonial purification. The most scrupulous care is taken to preserve the elements, earth, fire and water, from being defiled by anything impure, especially through contact with a dead body. Even today no orthodox Parsi would spit into the fire or blow out a light, although concessions have to be made at times in practical life, and in fact Parsis are now allowed to serve in the Fire Brigade of Bombay. Many of the less strict have acquired the habit of tobacco-smoking, although this cannot be reconciled with the spirit of the teachings of their faith. Against the name 'fire-worshiper,' so often applied to them, they enter a decided protest and quote the Avesta and the Pahlavi literature to prove the spirituality of their faith in the existence or presence of Ormazd behind the flaming symbol, and emphasize that this is only one of the sacred emblems of his beneficent power. As in the days of the Avesta they still wear the sacred shirt and girdle-cord (now called *Sudrah* and *Kustī*), assumed when initiated into the religion at an early age,[36] and the priestly class is distinguished by the spotless purity of its flowing garments of white linen. In this dress and with their full beard

[35] [Cf. Dhalla, *op. cit.* p. 289–290.]

[36] See Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp Asana, *A Short Treatise on the Navjot Ceremony*, Bombay, 1887; [Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *Religious Ceremonies of the Parsees*, p. 178–196, Bombay, 1922.]

they remind us of the representations of the Magian priests in the old Persian sculptures. Some of the Parsi customs today in connection with birth and marriage may show slight traces of Hindu influence; but the peculiar Parsi usages associated with the disposal of the dead have retained their ancient and striking character practically unimpaired. As is generally known, the Parsis expose the bodies of the dead on the *dakhmas*, or Towers of Silence, to be devoured by vultures. In this they follow strictly the precepts of the Avesta, although circumstances beyond control may compel them to abandon this ancient and unusual mode of disposing of their dead.[37]

From the standpoint of morality and ethics, it is clear that the old Zoroastrian training still continues to bear fruit if one may judge from the Parsis of today (§ 79 above). In matters of upbringing, especially in the better education of their women, the Parsis have long stood first among the Orientals. In fact, they are largely inclined to follow European leads in all that makes for progress. There prevails among them a constantly increasing endeavor to spread the knowledge of their ancient literature, and every year numerous editions and new reprints of the Avesta and the Pahlavi scriptures, or of later Zoroastrian texts,

[37] [In places where the Zoroastrian community is nowadays too small to have a Dakhma, they are obliged to resort to interment, but make every effort to preserve the earth from defilement caused by the inhumation of a corpse. This I learned from the few Parsi representatives at Peshāwar in Northern India (1901) and from a small residue of Iranian Zoroastrians (1903) still living at Shīrāz in Southern Persia. Leaden coffins are employed in India, or an enclosure of the body in stones has to suffice for out-of-the-way places in Persia (cf. Jackson, *Persia*, p. 337). But wherever it is possible the true Zoroastrian still abides faithful to preserving the earth from contamination. For a modern instance of a mausoleum erected in New York by a Parsi with this aim in view, see my article in *Sanj Vartaman* (Evening News), September 4, 1925, p. 14–15. Similar recent instances might be cited.]

as well as translations and interpretations of these, are published by them. Their charity, liberality and philanthropy are renowned; they strive to live according to the Avestan motto—*humata, hūxta, hvaršta*, good thoughts, good words, good deeds. This ideal, and the manner in which they realize it, together with their great wealth, make this small community of something over 100,000 souls—despite its limited numbers—a power for good in the world and a lasting example of certain of those characteristics which were inherent in the faith founded by Zoroaster more than twenty-five centuries ago.

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[ADDENDUM ON MANICHAEISM]

(Supplementary to § 97, middle)

[M a n i c h a e i s m, the first and most important of the two schismatic movements in Zoroastrianism (see § 97 above), arose early in the third Christian century within the Persian Empire itself, and was combated and execrated as violently by orthodox Zoroastrianism as it was by orthodox Christianity when it spread westward into the imperial domains of Rome. Mānī endeavored, by making a synthesis of elements from various existing religions, to form a

new religion, eclectic in character and inspired by the fervor of his own idealistic enthusiasm, one that should not be confined by national borders but be universally accepted. In terms of today, Mānī's aspiration was to bring the world, Orient and Occident, into closer union through a combined faith, based on the creeds known in his day. The history of Manichaeism is too special a subject to allow detailed treatment here, particularly because of the recent remarkable discoveries of actual Manichaean documents in the Oasis of Turfān, Eastern Turkistān, which have thrown unsuspected light on the whole subject. Since the time when these finds were made, early in the present century, the study of Manichaeism has assumed new importance in the history of religions, because we recognize it to have been not only an offshoot of Zoroastrianism, in a way, and the parent of various heretical movements in Christianity, but also a factor for centuries in the religious life of Central and Eastern Asia.[38]

A brief summary of the chief points of the life history of Mānī must here suffice. Mānī was a Persian by blood. His father, well born, was a native of Hamadān. His mother came of the royal stock of the Parthian Arsacids. The father, a religious eclectic, removed from Hamadān to Babylonia, which was at that time, as earlier, a part of the Parthian Empire. Mānī was born in a village near the

[38] [The decipherment and first interpretation of these fragments and texts which were brought back to Europe from sand-buried ruins in Central Asia we owe to the Berlin scholar Professor F. W. K. Müller, in *Sitzb. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* Berlin, 1904 (February), followed by his masterly transcription and translation of a body of the Middle Persian texts involved ('Handschriften-reste') in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for December in the same year (1904). Translations and elucidations of Turkish and Chinese Manichaean texts, by German, French, and Russian specialists, came soon after. Meanwhile the mass of interpretative literature concerning Manichaeism has grown to large proportions. See references in the bibliographical addenda to this section.]

modern city of Baghdād, (215 or) 216 A.D. When about twenty years of age, he came forward as a prophet inspired by divine revelation; the date of his first appearance in public was on the coronation day of the Sasanian King Shāhpuhr (Sapor) I, which is usually reckoned to have been March 20, 242 A.D. Although his preaching seems to have met with favor for a time in Persia, the growing opposition of the Zoroastrian priests to this 'fiend incarnate,' as they called him,[39] led Shāhpuhr some years later to banish Mānī from the Persian realm. During the long period of exile that followed (certainly more than twenty years) he is said to have preached his doctrines in the region of Northern India, Tibet, Chinese Turkistān and Khurāsān, undoubtedly absorbing ideas himself wherever he went. He ventured at last to return to Persia, meeting with royal consideration during the brief reign of Shāhpuhr's son Ormazd I (272–273); but shortly afterward, owing to priestly intrigues at the court, Mānī was put to death by the latter monarch's successor Bahrām I, early in the year (273 or) 274 A.D. The manner of his death was terrible. He was flayed alive, and the body then decapitated, while his skin was stuffed with straw and hung up at the royal gate as a warning to future heretics. Cruel persecution of his adherents immediately followed his martyrdom, but this did not hinder the rapid spread of Mānī's faith westward and eastward.

Among his religious predecessors Mānī especially acknowledged Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus as pioneer revealers of the truth which he came to fulfil.[40] His

[39] [See Jackson, 'The so-called Injunctions of Mani, translated from the Dēnkart,' in *JRAS.* 1924, p. 213–227.]

[40] [See the well-known quotation recorded by al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 190 (tr. Sachau). The accuracy of Bīrūnī's statement as to Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus has received full confirmation through the Iranian, Turkish, and Chinese documents discovered in Central Asia. The most recent publication of Manichaean texts relating to

endeavor was to found a universal religion by uniting into one system the essential elements of Zoroastrianism and Christianity, supplementing these with Indian and especially Buddhistic traits,[41] combined with old Babylonian beliefs that survived among the Mandaeans along the lower reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates, together with marked Hellenistic Gnostic features, all of which were current in the atmosphere of his time.[42]

At the basis of Mānī's conception of the universe lay the old-time doctrine of dualism, the eternal struggle between light and darkness, good and evil, which Zoroaster taught.[43] This doctrine Mānī amplified, modified, developed, and above all spiritualized. Like Zoroaster, he postulated the existence of Two Principles from the beginning to eternity. To Mānī, Light was synonymous with spirit and good, Darkness with matter and evil. He recognized three Ages in the history of beginningless and endless time; they are called 'the Three Times,' that is, the primordial, inter-

Christ in Chinese, etc., together with full bibliographical references, is Waldschmidt and Lentz, 'Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,' in *Abhandlungen d. preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1926.]

[41] [Such for instance are Mānī's doctrine of metempsychosis (see Jackson, *JAOS.* 45. 246–268) and certain aspects of his ethical teachings. In his scheme of church organization the influence of Buddhism is marked.]

[42] [Among the later discussions of the component elements in Mānī's religion may be mentioned I. Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung der manichäischen Religion*, Giessen, 1922; O. G. von Wesendonk, 'Zum Ursprung des Manichaeismus,' in *Ephemerides Orientales von Otto Harrassowitz*, No. 30, p. 1–19, Leipzig, 1926; H. H. Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, Leipzig, 1927. For a modern parallel in the way of an attempt to form a religion by syncretism one might refer to Bahaism which originally arose in Persia in the nineteenth century and claims many adherents elsewhere in the world today.]

[43] [Cf. Jackson, 'Source of the Albigensian Heresy,' in *An Outline of Christianity*, 2. 271–282, New York, 1926 (being a single chapter in a work containing contributions by many writers).]

mediate, and final. During the first of these three, there existed only infinite Light above and infinite Darkness below, regarded as two opposing realms, each presided over by a sovereign ruler. They were separate and independent of each other, but contiguous over a surface of infinite expanse in all lateral directions, which was called the Border. This static condition of the universe was broken when the powers of Darkness made a dash upwards through the dividing expanse to invade the realm of Light, thus bringing the first age to an end. The second, the present age, is a long period marked by the commingling of the dark and light forces of the Two Principles, joining in an inveterate and decisive conflict. It opened when Primal Man, who was not Adam but a celestial prototype of him in ideal form, was 'evoked' (not physically generated) to do battle with the enemy. Temporarily defeated and taken captive in the dark realm he was finally rescued, although bereft of a part of his spiritual armor of light, which had been 'swallowed' or 'devoured' by the demoniacal powers. To effect the release of these robbed and imprisoned luminous elements, the visible world, the macrocosm, was created through an elaborate process, in imitation of which the microcosm, man, was formed by the evil powers. While man's body is thus a part of the kingdom of darkness, he has spiritually in him some of the lost particles of light. By living the true life of purity, as inculcated, these light particles will be released at his death and led upward to return to their pristine abode, uniting forever in the glory of the Light Eternal. For that reason Mānī exacted an ascetic regimen of living from the Elect or Perfect among his followers, while the demands made upon his Hearers or Auditors were somewhat less stringent. He believed that mankind will steadily advance towards perfection through observing his precepts, and that all the imprisoned luminous particles will at last be restored to the Realm of

Light. Signs of the times foretokened the coming of the third age, the end that was near at hand. When the last atom of missing light is recovered, a universal conflagration, lasting 1468 years,[44] will destroy the world. Darkness will then be relegated to its dismal abyss. The 'Third Time' will at last be ushered in, and the primordial ideal condition of the universe will be restored in its original perfection and serenity, in which all that belongs to Light shall reign supreme forever.

After Mānī's martyrdom his religion was soon spread westward by his zealous followers to the extreme limits of the Roman Empire, and later eastward to the kingdom of the Uigurs in Central Asia, ultimately even into China.[45] From the confines of Persia it was officially banned. Its western influence is recognized in the heretical sects of Christianity, such as the Paulicians of Armenia and Asia Minor, the Bogomils of Bulgaria,[46] the Cathari in Northern Italy and especially the Albigenses of Southern France, all of which met with persecution and were finally exterminated. Its disappearance in Central Asia was largely due to the fall of the Uigur Kingdom. As a religion, Manichaeism no longer exists. It is thought that traces of it are still to be seen in certain of the teachings of the Yezidis, the so-called 'Devil-worshipers,' today;[47] and it is possible that some may linger elsewhere.

[44] Exactly why '1468 years' is a problem that still awaits a satisfactory solution.

[45] For the West consult E. de Stoop, *La Diffusion du manichéisme dans l'empire romain*, Ghent, 1909, supplemented by some material and allusions in F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, 3. 175–177; and idem, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (cf. index, p. 219 s.v. Manichaeism), New Haven, 1922. For the spread in the East see Pelliot, in *JA*. 1913. 145–199; 261–384.

[46] See V. N. Sharenkoff, *A Study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria with special reference to the Bogomils*, New York, 1927, containing also a bibliography (printed by Carranza and Company, N. Y. City).

[47] Cf. Spiro, *Les Yezidi ou les adorateurs du Diable*, Neuchatel, 1900; J. Menant, *Les Yezidis*, Paris, 1900.

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CHAPTER XII

WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES, RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES

§ 101. Introduction. From what has been said above we are able to form a general idea of the leading doctrines of the Iranian faith; it remains still to supplement this by a brief description of the rites and ceremonies, the observance of which the Zoroastrian religion in all periods of its history enjoined upon its followers. Most of these usages are observed down to the present day by the small band which clings to the old faith.

§ 102. Belief and Worship. Belief in the 'good religion of the worshipers of Mazdāh' and the practice of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, together with a renunciation of evil thoughts, words, and deeds, was one of the first demands made upon the professing Zoroastrian. The most important articles of the faith are found briefly summed up in Yasna 12, the Confession of Faith of Zoroastrianism. The abjuring of all worship of the Daēvas, a declaration of perfect belief in Ahura Mazdāh as the author of all good, recognition of the Amesha Spentas, the promise to protect the kine and refrain from molesting cattle raisers, to restrain oneself from all deeds of violence, a vow to shun the evil and to practise the good as taught by Zarathushtra—including the belief in *xᵛaētvadaθa* (§ 78) —these are the principal articles of faith enumerated in that chapter. Throughout the entire Avesta the leading ideas—sacrifice, prayer, propitiation and thanksgiving, or the offering of praise to the divine beings (cf. *yasnāiča vahmāiča xšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča*)—occur again and again and indicate the chief characteristics of the worship. In

the Gāthās Zoroaster continually invokes Ahura Mazdāh and the Amesha Spentas, with whom he enters into close communion in his visions. In the Yashts the heroes and defenders of the faith appeal to the divinities for help and offer sacrifices to them in order to propitiate them.[1] The divine powers themselves are by no means indifferent to the assistance which they receive from such acts of worship on the part of the faithful, as is proved in the combat between Tishtrya and the demon Apaosha (Yt. 8).

In the Old Persian Inscriptions Darius prays to A^{h}uramazda to preserve his kingdom and his people, and he gratefully ascribes all his successes to the grace of A^{h}uramazda.[2] The passages quoted above from classical authors confirm in general what has just been said, so far as the Achaemenian kings are concerned, and the Pahlavi books of a later time show that the Sasanian rulers manifested the same devotion of faith.

§ 103. Divine Service and Ritual. The description of the Magian worship and ritual given by Herodotus (I. 131–132) is of value since he bases it on personal knowledge (cf. I. 140), and it is interesting to compare it with the Avesta and the modern rites of the Parsis. Herodotus declares that the Persians had no temples or altars; but his statement cannot be accepted without reservation. There must have been places of worship, as appears from the *āyadanā* of the Old Persian Inscriptions (Bh. I. 63), and the Avesta itself speaks of altars or at least of places intended for the fire (*dāitya gātu*, Vd. 8. 81, 82, 85). In any

[1] Yt. 5. 17, 21, 25, 33, 37, 45, 49, 53, 61, 68, 72, 76, 81, 104, 108, 112; 9. 3, 8, 13, 21, 25, 29; 15. 7, 11, 15, 23, 27, 31, 35; 16. 2–19; 17. 24, 28, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49.

[2] Cf. the ever recurring words *vašnā A^{h}uramazdāhā* in the Bahistān Inscription and see also Dar. Pers. e 13–24; NR. a 40–55. Compare further also the similar prayers of Xerxes in Xerx. Pers. a 18–20, da 17–19, db 25–28, ca 12–15, cb 20–25; likewise of Artaxerxes Ochus, Art. Pers. a 24–26, b 32–35.

case it is reasonable to conjecture with Tiele that some structure or other was used for the protection of the sacred fire.[3] We have already suggested (§ 88 n. 5) that the rectangular building near the tombs of the Achaemenian kings at Naksh-i Rustam may be a *sagrī*, or fire shrine. [On the lower side of the bluff above the tombs, moreover, there are two fire altars hewn out of the living stone.[4] We have fair evidence to show that temples existed in the reign of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), as seemingly proved by architectural ruins at Susa and at Kangavar.] [5] We may safely assume that the fire temples of the Parsis as they are found today, by no means elaborate in construction, actually correspond to the 'places of worship' (O.P. *āyadanā*) or to the 'lawful places' for the fire (Av. *dāitya gātu*) which were in use from early times in this religion.

Herodotus (1. 131) draws special attention to the fact that the Persians ascended to the hill tops when they offered sacrifices. Something similar might be cited from the Avestan Yashts in the case of Haoma (Yt. 9. 17; 10. 88; 17. 37; cf. Ys. 57. 19) and of Yima Khshaēta (Yt. 9. 8; 17. 28). The invocation of the divine beings, the use of

[3] See Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, 2. 362–364, Amsterdam, 1901, [German transl. by Gehrich, *Geschichte der Religion*, 2. 385–388, Gotha, 1903.]

[4] [Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 302–305. A conjecture is there made that the five level spaces cut in the rock higher up on the bluff may have been tables on which the bodies of the Magian priests were exposed, thus serving the purpose of dakhmas.]

[5] [As to Susa see Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 390–419, cf. Tiele, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 364 n. 1; tr. Gehrich, *Geschichte*, 2. 388 n. 1; and later, for a description of the ruined temple at Kangavar, consult Jackson, *Persia*, p. 237–242. Strabo (15. 3. 15), in the first century B.C., refers to Persian temples and certain large shrines, called 'Pyraetheia,' in Cappadocia; and, in the second century A.D. Pausanias alludes (5. 27) to Persian fire sanctuaries in Lydia. See (with comments) I. C. Demarest, 'Persian Allusions in Pausanias, *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, p. 515, Bombay, 1918.]

myrtle leaves (*μυρσίνη*, I. 132) which might correspond to the *urvarā* of the Avesta, the singing of an incantation (*ἐπαοιδή*, I. 132) which must have been similar to the intoning of the Yasna in ancient and modern times—all this gives a picture of the external form of at least one part of the divine service. The use of the *barəsman*, or barsom twigs, was already noted by Strabo; he mentions similarly the covering over the mouth (Av. *paitidāna*, Phl. *pēnōm*) which the priest must wear in the presence of the fire.[6] In this respect the practice of the dasturs at the present day has remained precisely the same as twenty centuries ago. Throughout all the Avesta the maintenance of the holy fire, which must be fed with clean wood, with incense (*baoδa*, *baoiδi*), and with the evergreen sprout of the pomegranate tree (*haδānaēpatā*), is a sacred act and the fire of the domestic hearth was maintained with similar care (Vd. 18. 18–22).

With regard to ritual, the entire Yasna is a liturgical book, the chapters of which are devoted chiefly to the preparation and celebration of the Haoma sacrifice (cf. § 41, 21 above). The consecration of this sacred drink constitutes the central point of the sacrifice. With this is associated the blessing of the consecrated water (*zaoθra*), the offering of milk and butter (*gao ϳīvya*, *gao huδāh*), the sacred cake (*draonah*), and the oblation in general (*myazda*), all of which formed elements of the ritual.[7] Besides the Yasna, or Yazashna (Ijashne) ceremony, there was also in

[6] Strabo, 15. 3. 15, Cas. p. 733: 'They (the Magi in Cappadocia) chant for about an hour before the fire, holding the bundle of rods, wearing felt caps (*τιάρας*) that come down on both sides until the cheek pieces cover the lips.' Cf. Ḳazvīnī, as cited below, p. 285.

[7] See Haug, *Zendphilologie*, p. 14, Stuttgart, 1868; Haug and West, *Essays on the Parsis*, 3d ed. p. 293–409, London, 1884; further on this subject Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* I. introd. p. lxv–lxvi; I. 50. [Consult now esp. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies . . . of the Parsees*, p. 260–329, Bombay, 1922.]

ancient and later times the Nīrang ceremony, or the consecration with a special prayer formula (*nīrang*) of the urine of the sacred bull (Av. *gaomaēza*, Phl. *gōmēz*) which was employed in all purificatory rites in the Avesta precisely as it is today.[8] In the matter of bloody sacrifices, Herodotus (1. 132) mentions the ceremonial slaughter of an animal which was afterwards cooked and eaten by the sacrificer. Vīshtāspa and other heroes, as well as the foes of the faith, offer thousands of heads of cattle, small and large; Zoroaster, however, like Ahura Mazdāh himself, offers only the bloodless sacrifices of pious thoughts and of thanksgiving.[9] Today no animals are sacrificed in the Zoroastrian ritual, although the Parsis in Persia, as also in India, do not abstain wholly from meat food.

§ 104. Religious Observances and Customs in regard to Purification. For most of our information with reference to this head we are dependent upon the Vendīdād, or priestly code of the Avesta, and we have to supplement this from other sources. 'Purity is the best thing for man after birth,' says the Vendīdād (Vd. 5. 21, *yaožd̊ā mašyāi aipi zaθəm vahištā*, [based on the Gāthic phrase in Ys. 48. 5, interpreted as referring to the Mazdayasnian religion].[10]

[8] [For a full discussion, with citations, consult the references in Modi, *op. cit.*, index, s.v. Gaomez, Nirang.] Compare likewise Eugen Wilhelm, *On the use of beef's urine according to the precepts of the Avesta and on similar customs with other nations*, Bombay, 1899; also Anon. 'La Purification selon l'Avesta et le gomez,' in *Muséon*, 9. 105–112.

[9] Yt. 5. 21, 25, 29, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49, 57, 68, 72, 81, 108, 112, 116; 9. 3, 8, 13, 21, 29; as contrasted with Yt. 5. 17, 76, 104; 9. 25. Cf. also Vd. 18. 70, and see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* 2. 154, 254; 3. introd. p. lxvii.

[10] [A similar interpretation of the Gāthic sentence (Ys. 48. 5) on which Vd. 5. 21 is based, is given by Geldner in Bertholet's *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, 2 ed. p. 10, Tübingen, 1926. A somewhat different rendering is offered by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 85, 1236, who takes *yaoždāh-* as an adj. 'vollkommen machend,' and *aipi.zaθəm* as a compound noun referring to the life hereafter, 'die künftige

Everywhere the canonical text enjoins one to exercise the utmost care in keeping the human body and the natural elements, earth, fire, and water, pure from defilement that may arise through contact with anything unclean, especially through contamination by dead matter. This scrupulous care led to a system of purificatory usages that must often have proved most burdensome. Every vessel or utensil that had become unclean in any way, each article of clothing that had been in the least defiled, was immediately laid aside and carefully cleansed by rubbing with earth and with water mixed with cow's urine (*gaomaēza*) or by burying it in the ground for a specified time. The manner of treatment and the length of time varied according to the kind of defilement and the nature of the object polluted. Persons who had become defiled through accident or carelessness, and women during the period of menstruation, had to sit apart in the *armēšt gāh*, or 'place of quiet' (Av. *airime gātu*), until, on priestly authority, they were pronounced clean.[11] All these details, down to the minutest, are set forth in special chapters of the Vendīdād (Vd. 5–12 and 16).

Penances (Av. *paitita*) of various kinds were also imposed for sins or ceremonial offences. Most of these acts of discipline were performed by castigation (Av. *aspahe aštrā*, *sraošō-čaranā*, 'horse-whip' and 'causer of obedience'), the killing of noxious animals (*xrafstra*), gifts to priests (Vd. 4. 11–43, 55; 14. 1–18), and other meritorious deeds, although these penalties were no doubt often commuted by the payment of a fine in money. The ritual practice of the Bareshnūm (cf. Av. *barəšnu*, 'height, peak, top of the

Geburt,' but his translation of both passages (Ys. 48. 5; Vd. 5. 21) results in the same view that purity is found in following the true religion.]

[11] Cf. Vendīdād, 5. 45–56, 59; 9. 33–35; 16. 1–10. [For the orthodox customs to be observed by Parsi women today see Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies*, p. 171–179.]

head') was a very elaborate purification which required nine nights, in a place specially set apart for the purpose, and consisted in a ceremonial sprinkling from head to foot with cow's urine, accompanied by ritual observances. It is described *in extenso* in the Vendīdād (Vd. 8. 35–72; 9. 1–57) and was undergone by those who had come in contact with a corpse, or by a woman that had been delivered of a dead child. As a higher form of purification it is carried out down to the present day by the priests [on their initiation into office or when engaged in certain ceremonies; it is obligatory also in the case of the regular corpse-bearers, both before joining the profession and after leaving it.] [12] A number of the Vendīdād regulations remind one of the Mosaic law and many parallels between the two codes may be drawn.

Both in ancient and in modern times investiture with the sacred shirt and cord (§ 100) was equivalent to a confirmation of vows and initiation into the religious community. With reference to the ceremonies of marriage no details are found in those portions of the Avesta which have been preserved, but the last one of the Gāthās (Ys. 53, espec. v. 3–5)—a nuptial psalm in its content—alludes quite clearly to the marriage of Zoroaster's youngest daughter, Pouruchistā, to the court counselor Jāmāspa. It is probable that the marriage rites observed by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia today may keep up certain ancient customs together with others developed later.[13] Other regulations with regard to the daily life, even to the cutting of the hair and nails (Vd. 17. 1–18), are found in the priestly

[12] [See J. J. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies*, p. 102–153.]

[13] With reference to the modern marriage ceremonies of the Parsis, see J. J. Modi, *Marriage Customs of the Parsis*, Bombay, 1900; Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, 1. 174–191; Menant, *Les Parsis*, p. 144–178; [more recently, Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies*, p. 14–50; Jackson, *Persia*, p. 384–387].

law-book, and these are further supplemented by the Pahlavi texts Shāyast lā (nē)-Shāyast, Dāṭastān-ī Dēnīk, Arṭā Vīrāz Nāmak, Mēnūk-i Khraṭ, and others. The most striking of all these customs, however, is the Zoroastrian method of disposing of dead bodies, the dead being exposed to be devoured by birds and dogs. This is expressly commanded in the Vendīdād, is referred to by classical writers, and has been an outstanding feature of the religion from the earliest times. The *daxmas* themselves, or so-called 'Towers of Silence,' are so generally known that no detailed description of them is necessary here.[14] As for religious feasts and celebrations, the orthodox Zoroastrians have observed from of old certain feast-days and festivals. As examples may be cited the six Gāhānbārs, each lasting five days and occurring at stated intervals in the year; the Farvardīgān, a period of ten days or more at the end of the year, in commemoration of the dead; and Nauroz, or New Year's Day, an occasion of special rejoicing. The observance of these is general alike among the Parsis of India and of Persia.

§ **105. Conclusion.** The preceding outline may serve to give some idea of the ceremonial side of the religion. For fuller information regarding the worship, ritual, and customs sanctified by religious usage, one should consult the works referred to in the list that follows.

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[14] [On the subject of funeral rites of the Parsis see Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies*, p. 51–86; regarding those of the Persian Zoroastrians see Jackson, *Persia*, p. 387–400; 439–440, also the numerous references to dakhmahs in the index to that volume, p. 453.]

Avesta, Paris, 1892–1893; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, London, 1884; Sheriarji D. Bharucha, *Zoroastrian Religion and Customs*, Bombay, 1893; J. J. Modi, 'The Religious System of the Parsis,' in *The World's Parliament of Religions*, 2. 898–920, Chicago, 1893; D. Menant, *Les Parsis*, Paris, 1898. [Consult now particularly the work oft-cited above by J. J. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1922.]

CHAPTER XIII

RELATION TO OTHER RELIGIONS

THEORIES REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF ZOROASTRIANISM AND THE COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE FAITH

§ 106. Introduction. Reference has been made above (§ 3) to the various phases which may be presumed to have existed in the development of the religion of Persia. A study of this history leads naturally to recognizing certain features in Zoroastrianism as being of common Aryan, that is of Indo-Iranian, origin, while others have a distinctively Persian character, and still others seem to show the possibility of foreign influence. The kinship between Iran and India in so many religious beliefs, mythological ideas, and cosmological views was recognized almost as soon as was the philological connection between their languages. The geographical position of Iran as bordering also on Semitic lands to the West and the historical contact between the two peoples, the Semitic and the Iranian, have led scholars to look for a mutual influence of their religions on one another. Others lay stress upon the presence of so-called Scythian, Turanian, or Sumero-Accadian elements. Whatever may be said regarding the stages of the original Indo-Iranian foundation, foreign influences, and 'Zoroastrian Reform,' we must never lose sight of the fact that the Persians have always maintained their own individuality down to the present day. We can here touch only on the salient points in which Zoroastrianism may have been influenced by neighboring religions or has influenced them.

§ 107. Some older relationships. Almost at the be-

ginning (§ 5) allusion was made to certain features in Zoroastrianism which seem to be survivals of primitive animism, mixed with spiritism, fetishism, superstition, and ancestor-worship. We need only mention the Vendīdād to make this fact clear. Traces of an old worship of the forces of nature and of a personification of natural phenomena may also be found in the Yashts, while the student of comparative religion will recall that even the figure of Ahura Mazdāh himself shows some traits inherited from the early Indo-European conception of the sky-god besides those which he has in common with Varuṇa (§ 31). Particularly striking, however, are the well-known elements which date back to the period of the Indo-Iranian unity. So far as India and Iran are concerned, no one has any doubts in the case of Haoma, Mithra, Apąm Napāt, Hvare, Vayu, Vāta, Asman, Haptō-iringa, and Verethraghna, as also the terms Ahura and Daēva, whatever may be the cause of the development of meaning from god to demon in India and Iran respectively (cf. § 45), nor would there be an uncertainty regarding several similar points.[1] But there are numerous problems, on the other hand, concerning which there is the widest diversity of opinion among scholars, notably in the relation of the religion of Iran to that of its Semitic neighbors. [The very name of Ahura Mazdāh, which appears as Assara Mazāsh in an inscriptional list of Assyrian gods (see above § 30 n. 8), has given rise to considerable discussion, particularly because it is followed by a mention of the seven good spirits (the *igigi*), which recall alike the association of the seven Amesha Spentas (including Sraosha) with Ahura Mazdāh in Zoroastrianism and the seven Ādityas with Varuṇa in the Vedic religion of

[1] Spiegel, *Die arische Periode und ihre Zustände*, Leipzig, 1887; [consult the forthcoming critical study by L. H. Gray, *Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, Bombay, London and Paris, 1928; idem, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 437 f.].

India.[2] Similarly from the Babylonian side scholars have pointed out likenesses between the old mythological combat of Marduk with Tiamat, or of Zu with Enlil, and the Aryan storm myths relating to the killing of a dragon by some god of the sky or light.][3]

§ 108. Certain parallels between Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity. Anyone who has even a superficial knowledge of the Iranian religion cannot but be struck by the parallels that may be drawn between it on the one hand and Judaism and Christianity on the other. The ideas of God, angels and archangels, of Devil, demons and archfiends, as found in both, present so great a similarity that comparisons between the angelology and demonology of the two types of religion become inevitable. Some resemblances in their cosmological systems, as already intimated (§ 64 n. 6; § 67 n. 47), might likewise tempt one to seek a common source for both in that respect in Babylonia, although the question remains still open. Certain rites of purification in the Vendīdād and in the Pentateuch are so much alike that this portion of the Avesta is sometimes called the Priests' Code. The whole doctrine of a new Kingdom and the coming of a Savior, the belief in a resurrection, a general judgment, and a future life, as indicated above (§ 80–86), show a most striking resemblance to Jewish-Christian doctrines. In their attempts to explain these agreements scholars are much at variance with one another. Some hold that the Persians have borrowed from the Semites, and lay stress on the readiness of the Persians to adopt foreign customs, as alluded to by Herodotus (1. 135), emphasizing also that Zoroaster may probably have been exposed to Semitic influences. They practically maintain that whatever is good in Zoroastrianism has sprung from

[2] [Cf. A. J. Carnoy, 'Zoroastrianism,' in *ERE.* (1921) 12. 863, with references.]

[3] [See Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 864; cf. Jastrow, *Relig. of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 538 f.]

Semitic sources. On the other hand, some scholars hold an entirely opposite view; they maintain that Judaism was the borrower, and that the influence of Zoroastrianism upon Judaism, and thus upon Christianity, has not been sufficiently recognized and appreciated. A few investigators are inclined to keep rather the middle way between these extremes. The names of Biblical scholars and students of the Avesta who have dealt with this difficult subject are familiar to every Iranist; therefore, instead of discussing the various theories in detail, we shall merely refer to the literature cited in the footnote below,[4] [simply adding that in the opinion of the present writer there is something of a tendency to underestimate the Persian influence upon Judaism and Christianity.]

§ 109. Theories as to the origin of the religion, and attempts to explain its component elements. The existence of various strata in the religion and the possibility of foreign elements that may have crept into it follows clearly from what has been said above (cf. also § 4). Such a view is naturally due to taking the scientific standpoint which

[4] Kohut, *Über die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866; de Harlez, *Av.*, introd. ccv–ccvi, ccix; Spiegel, *Eran*, p. 274–290; idem, *EA.* 2. 17, 19, 26, 34, 40, 50 f., 63–65, 75, 117, 166 f., 169–171; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* 3. introd. vii–lxii; idem, *SBE.* 4. 2d ed. introd. p. lvii–lix; Cheyne, *Origin and Religious Concepts of the Psalter*, London, 1891; Aiken, 'The Avesta and the Bible,' in *Catholic University Bulletin*, 3. 243–291, Washington, 1897; Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Haarlem, 1898; Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le mazdéisme*, Paris, 1901; Böklen, *Verwandschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1902; Moulton, *Expository Times*, 9. 351–359; 11. 257–260; idem in *Journ. Theol. Studies*, 1902, p. 514–527; furthermore, Halévy, 'Influence du Pentateuque sur l'Avesta,' in *Rev. sém.* 4. 164–174; de Harlez, 'La Bible et l'Avesta,' in *Rev. Bibl.* 5. 161–172; Kohut, 'Was hat die talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen,' in *ZDMG.* 21. 552–591; consult also Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle, 1896. [References to later works will be found in the footnotes below.]

regards religion as an organism subject to change and development. The truly orthodox Iranian view, however, regards the faith as a unity, a divine revelation vouchsafed by Ahura Mazdāh to Zarathushtra, which includes everything that is implied in the designation 'the Good Religion.' In this the Avesta, the Pahlavi Texts, and the later Zoroastrian literature agree, and the orthodox Parsis accept it as such.[5] This was also the view of Anquetil du Perron which he received from his Parsi teachers.

Scholars, however, have sought to account for the various phases in the development of the faith in different ways, and the method of higher criticism applied to the Avesta has given rise to various theories regarding the origin of the religion and regarding the causes that may have led to its dualistic and monotheistic features. Only the principal views can be mentioned here.

(1) Haug, years ago, propounded the theory of an Indo-Iranian religious schism in order to explain the different usage of the words for god and devil, *devá*, *daēva* and *ásura*, *ahura* in Sanskrit and Avestan.[6] (2) Spiegel sought to distinguish between Aryan, Iranian, and Semitic elements in the religion.[7] (3) Justi endeavored to point out some features which might have owed their origin to more ancient systems or to Median Magism.[8] (4) Darme-

[5] Compare Av. *pərəsaṯ Zaraθuštrō . . . āaṯ mraoṯ Ahurō Mazdå*, etc. Cf. also *Ahura-ṯkaēša*, *Mazdā-fraoxta*, etc., and the idea of revelation in Ys. 31. 8; 43. 5–15; 45. 8; likewise in the apocalyptic book of Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak. See, further, Dēnkarṯ 7. 3. 6–61; VZsp. 21. 14–31; Patēṯ Irānī 2, in Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* 3. 168, and in *SBE.* 4. introd. xxxviii (Parsi Patēṯ); also Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 41 f.

[6] Haug, *Die fünf Gāthās*, 2. 238–245, Leipzig, 1860; id. *Essays*, 3d ed. (West), p. 267–293.

[7] Spiegel, *EA.* 2. 167–174; id. 'La Réforme de Zarathustra,' *Muséon*, 5. 614–623; id. 'Die alten Religionen in Éran,' *ZDMG.* 52. 187–196.

[8] Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, p. 67–95, Berlin, 1879; cf. also

steter, in his earlier writings, emphasized the mythological traits and regarded the Avesta largely as a reflex of old Aryan myths and Zoroaster as a legendary personage.[9] (5) Mgr. de Harlez explained all the resemblances between the Avesta and the Bible by the circumstance that Zoroaster came from Western Iran and had probably been under Jewish influences.[10] (6) Geldner, turning his attention to the dualism, regarded Zoroastrianism as particularly an Iranian product and explained the various elements as a natural growth on Iranian soil.[11] [Later he minimized the hypothesis of a pre-Zoroastrian religious schism among the Iranians and emphasized Zoroaster's own reforming work in elevating the *ahura*-concept to designate the Supreme God while degrading the *daēvas* to the rank of devils.][12] (7) Moulton laid stress from the outset on three strata, Iranian Mazdaism, Zoroastrianism, and Magism.[13] [He elaborated these views more fully in his later work on *Early Zoroastrianism* (1913), in which he especially propounded the theory that the Magi were a tribe of priests, or shamans, who were leaders of the non-Aryan population of Media, and to whom the most distinctive rites and ceremonies, as well as certain customs,

Justi's monograph 'Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathustra,' in *Preuss. Jahrb.* 88. 55–86, 231–262.

[9] Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1877; id. *SBE.* 4. introd. lvi–lxxxviii, Oxford, 1880. (For his later views see below, 8.)

[10] de Harlez, *Des Origines du Zoroastrisme*, Paris, 1879 (extr. du *Journ. Asiatique*, 1878–1879); id. *Avesta traduit*, introd. p. clxxxiv–ccx, Paris, 1881.

[11] Geldner, art. 'Zoroaster,' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.. 1888) 24. 821–822.

[12] [Geldner, revised article, 'Zoroaster,' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., 1911) 28. 1041–1042.]

[13] J. H. Moulton in *The Thinker*, 1. 401–402; 2. 304–315, 490–501, London, 1892–1893 (also further details on the subject of Magism, communicated in letters).

e.g. next-of-kin marriage, were due.][14] (8) Darmesteter, shortly before his death, came forward with a new and radical hypothesis, claiming that the Avesta was of late origin, that the Gāthās belonged to the first century of our era, and that the entire Avesta had developed under Jewish influence, especially that of Philo Judaeus, while he also sought to prove the presence of Greek, Buddhist, and Hindu elements as influences.[15] Reference has been made above (§ 34 n. 18) to the general rejection by later scholars of the contentions in the major part of Darmesteter's hypothesis. [(9) Mills, while emphasizing the parallels between Zoroastrianism on the one hand and Judaism and Christianity on the other, regards the two forms of belief as originally each of separate origin; but he argues for a very strong later and supervening influence of Persian ideas upon those of Israel. He also indicates the antiquity of the Avesta by pointing out its close relationship to the Veda.[16] (10) Scheftelowitz, more recently, reaches the conclusion that most of the agreements between Zoroastrianism and Judaism may be regarded as phases of parallel developments in religious history, though some Persian concepts may have been taken into Judaism in a subordinate way, while a reciprocal influence later of Jewish ideas on the religion of Sasanian times is certainly discernible.[17] (11) According to Pettaz-

[14] [Consult Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913 (Hibbert Lectures), and his article 'Magi,' *ERE.* 8. (1915) 242–244.]

[15] Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* 3. introd. p. iii–lxxiv, Paris, 1893; id. *SBE.* 4. (2d ed.) p. xli–lxix, Oxford, 1895.

[16] [Mills, *Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia*, Chicago, 1913 (The Open Court Publishing Company).]

[17] [See I. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum, (Unterschiede, Übereinstimmungen und gegenseitige Beeinflussungen)*, Giessen, 1920. Consult further especially Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2. 58–96, 183–204, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921, who discusses several elements of Judaism and Christianity in

zoni, Zoroastrianism is essentially a monotheistic (not a dualistic) reform of an Indo-Iranian polytheistic nature-cult, motivated, at least indirectly and in part, by Jewish influence during the Exile.[18] (12) Gray, on the other hand, holds that primarily there were two distinct religious systems in Iran: (i) Persian, represented by the Achaemenian inscriptions and the older Greek allusions, and forming the basis of Mithraism; and (ii) Median, represented by Zoroastrianism. These, he thinks, were "in their original forms a simple cult of deities . . . of nature and of human activities, many of these superhuman personages being 'departmental' or 'special' gods and demons." These gradually became ethicized as good or evil; and diminishing in number, they increased in power until Zarathushtra made the whole Median religion monotheistic, although initially it had been far more primitive than that of the Veda.[19]] In addition to the above special pieces of research regarding origins, numerous suggestions and ideas may be gained from a study of the works of Tiele, Duncker, von Bradke, and other scholars mentioned in the General Bibliography (A.) or in the Supplementary Bibliography (B.).[20]

[§ 109a. **Influences exercised by Zoroastrianism upon Later Religions.** Whilst Zoroastrianism itself may show possible indebtedness to religions outside, we are equally certain that it in turn exercised a more or less marked influence upon the spiritual and philosophical thought of the other peoples with whom it came in contact, apart from its relations with Judaism and Christianity already discussed. Some scholars have sought to find reflections of Zoroastrian

their Persian aspect. Furthermore, regarding the Gāthic stage in Zoroastrianism, see Meillet, *Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta*, p. 16 f., Paris, 1925.]

[18] [Pettazzoni, *Religione*, ch. 3 ('Le origini e i primi tempi del Zoroastrismo'), especially p. 76–84, 96–98.]

[19] [Gray, *Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, Introduction.]

[20] [See above, p. xxvii (Bousset) and p. xxx (Moffatt).]

ideas even in the Greek philosophers, such as Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Plato, and later in the Stoic and Neo-Pythagorean schools.[21] It is certain, moreover, that the Hellenistic development of Gnosticism, which blended later Greek thought with that of the Orient, was profoundly affected by Zoroastrianism.[22] The formative influence of Zoroastrianism upon Manichaeism in the third Christian century is an acknowledged fact.[23] Likewise in particular can be cited certain distinctive features in Muhammadanism which the founder of Islam adopted directly from the ancient Prophet of Iran. Conspicuous among these elements is the Persian coloring in Muhammad's doctrine regarding the life hereafter, and there are a number of other features besides.[24]]

§ 110. **Conclusion.** In general we may feel justified in regarding Zoroastrianism as conforming to the law of historical development, although in its beginnings it was the work of a personal founder. But as all great religious teachers and the doctrines which they set forth are subject to the coloring of their own times and the modifying conditions of subsequent ages, it is not to be wondered at that in

[21] [Cf., in particular, Carnoy, 'Zoroaster,' in *ERE.* 12 (1921). 866–867; consult likewise the old essay by A. Gladisch, *Herakleitos und Zoroaster*, Leipzig, 1859; and the brief treatment later by L. H. Mills, *Zaraθuštra, Philo, the Achaemenids and Israel*, p. 93–109, Chicago, 1906.]

[22] [Among other books in this field consult Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, and compare the later works by Reitzenstein and Schaeder cited directly below.]

[23] [See above, § 97, and cf. Reitzenstein, *Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, Bonn, 1921, and his other published articles; likewise consult the more recent monograph by H. H. Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, Leipzig, 1927.]

[24] [See Gray, 'Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammadan Theology,' in *Muséon*, new series (1902), 3. 153–184; I. Goldziher, 'Islamisme et parsisme,' *Rev. de l'hist. des relig.* 43. 1–29; translated by G. K. Nariman, *Persia and Parsis*, Part 1, p. 39–68, with a note, p. 69–74, Bombay, 1925.]

the Zoroastrian religion, as we know it historically, various stages, phases, and strata are to be found.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The principal works to be consulted on this subject have been mentioned in the footnotes above or are to be found in the General Bibliography (A.); [consult also the Supplementary Bibliography (B.)].

CHAPTER XIV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

§ 111. **Résumé.** From all that has gone before, a general idea of the Iranian religion and its history may be obtained, so far as was possible within the limits of this monograph, and no one is likely to deny that this ancient faith is worthy of earnest study. Viewing the Iranian religion as a unified whole, we have seen that its history represents largely the religious history of the great Median, Persian, Parthian, and Sasanian Empires. In ancient Iran Church and State were practically one, and the fortunes of the faith were indissolubly bound up with those of the nation. The origin of the religion, however, and the causes which brought it into being remain enveloped in obscurity. In addition, many problems of a similar kind, even some which are concerned with important points in the faith, are still unsolved. Among such problems is the question whether the pre-Zoroastrian faith of Iran may or may not have been in great part the faith of the Magi, and if, according to the general view, Zarathushtra himself was a Magian, in what did his so-called 'reform' consist? A discussion of these points must be reserved for some future time.

The real beginning of Zoroastrianism, however, dates from the conversion of Vīshtāspa, since through that event the religion became a veritable factor in the history of Iran. This was made clear in the chapter that dealt with Zoroaster's life. The chapter which followed pointed out the cardinal tenets in his teaching and discussed the dualistic and monotheistic tendencies of the Zoroastrian faith in some detail, while the cosmological, anthropological, and psychological ideas of the religion were more briefly outlined.

Special attention was given to the moral and ethical teachings of Zoroaster and their practical influence upon the Parsi communities in India and Persia today. Eschatology and the doctrine of a future life were shown to be among the most marked features of Zoroastrianism. The history of the religion of the Achaemenian kings, as we know it from their royal edicts and inscriptions and from other writings which touch upon early Persian religious ideas and usages, was considered at some length. Some of the special features appearing in the Iranian religion during Parthian and Sasanian times were briefly summarized, showing how the faith survived the invasion of Alexander the Great and later enjoyed a new efflorescence as the creed of the State in Sasanian times, even though not without the presence of heresies or schismatic movements. Among these Manichaeism was singled out for special treatment, on account of the recent discoveries regarding it. The conquest of Persia by the Arabs and the triumph of Muhammadanism over Zoroastrianism brought about the downfall of the old national religion of Iran, as was shown from history; only a residue of the onetime believers in Ormazd remained steadfast to the faith of their forefathers. The fortunes of these devoted followers in Persia and of their self-exiled brethren in India were sketched. As distant though united communities they together preserve the ancient creed; and they keep up the traditional rites, ceremonies, and observances, which are traced in a separate chapter. Lastly, an outline was given of the presumable stages of development from the period of Indo-Iranian unity, also of the parallels between Zoroastrianism and Judaism and Christianity as possibly showing mutual influence; and a summary of the theories that have been advanced to explain the origin of the religion and to distinguish its component elements was added. At all events Zoroastrianism lives on today, and, notwithstanding the relatively small number of its present

followers, it holds an acknowledged position among the great religions of history.

§ 112. **Conclusion.** I am fully aware of the defects and inequalities to be found in this monograph. Some chapters have been made more concise and others more detailed than might perhaps seem necessary. Thus, for example, the chapter on Ormazd and the Amshaspands may appear brief when contrasted with the more elaborate account of Demonology. This was intentional because the latter subject had not anywhere else been treated with the same fulness. In cases of this kind the method of procedure seemed to be in accord with the original plan of the *Grundriss*, and has been adhered to in the present revision. I can only hope that the treatise as a whole may be received in the spirit in which it is offered, namely, as an attempt to bring together the main facts that we know and the outstanding features that we recognize as characteristic in connection with the older religion of Persia and the teachings of Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran.

PART II

THE ZOROASTRIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL

II

THE ZOROASTRIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL

I

Introduction—Zoroastrian Philosophy and Free Will

The purpose of this Second Part is to study the significance of the doctrine of the freedom of the will in the quasi-dualistic creed of Zoroaster, first enunciated more than two thousand five hundred years ago, and incidentally to emphasize the interest which this old Zoroastrian teaching has for students of philosophy and religion.[1]

By way of introduction it may be stated that in Zoroaster's philosophical teachings the warring kingdoms of good and evil, light and darkness, right and wrong, personified respectively as Ormazd and Ahriman, or the ancient Persian God and Devil, are represented as in perpetual conflict. Yet, while these two antagonistic principles which struggle for the mastery of the soul of man are primeval and coeval in the universe, they are n o t co-eternal, because Ormazd will triumph in the end and Ahriman will be annihilated forever. Man will help in bringing about this victory. (See above, Part I, § 74.)

Man is Ormazd's own creature and belongs by birthright to the kingdom of good. But God has created him as a

[1] A very brief oral report regarding the p r e l i m i n a r y studies for this monograph was presented to the American Philosophical Society at its General Meeting in Philadelphia, April 22, 1920.

free agent, endowed with the power to choose, of his own volition, between that which is right and that which is wrong. Upon his choice, however, his own salvation and his share in the ultimate victory of good will depend. Every good deed that man does increases the power of good; every evil he commits augments the kingdom of evil. His weight thrown in either scale turns the balance in that direction. Hence man ought to choose the good and support the hosts of heaven in the struggle to conquer the legions of hell, thus bringing about the millennium, at which time the Saoshyant, or Savior, will appear, the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment will take place, 'the good kingdom, the wished-for kingdom' (Avestan *vohu xšaθra, xšaθra vairya*) will be established, and the world will be renovated and made perfect according to will (Av. *frašəm vasna aŋhuš, frašəm ahūm, frašōtəma, frašōkərəti*, etc.). See Part I, § 80.

Responsibility accordingly rests upon man, and, because of his freedom of choice, he will be held to strict accountability hereafter; it was, moreover, for the special purpose of guiding mankind toward the universal choice of right that Zoroaster believed himself to be sent by Ormazd on his mission as prophet.

Thus while Zoroaster's creed, as portrayed in the sacred book of the Avesta, centuries before Christ, and further developed in the patristic Pahlavi literature of Sasanian times and later, is dualistic in its philosophy, it has strongly monotheistic tendencies in that it postulates, with optimistic hopefulness, the ultimate triumph of Ormazd; and it is distinctively ethical since it gives to the doctrine of dualism a moral value by placing responsibility upon man as a free agent.[2]

After this general presentation by way of preface, we

[2] On the whole subject in general, with references and bibliographical lists, see above, Part I, Chapter VIII.

may take up and discuss in turn the Avestan and Pahlavi texts that touch upon the freedom of the will, supplementing these from later sources.

II

The Doctrine of Free Will in the Avesta

As for the Avesta, the 'Holy Gāthās,' or 'Psalms of Zoroaster,' are the oldest and most hallowed portion of the sacred texts. In certain stanzas of these, for example Yasna 45. 2; 30. 3–5, the inherent opposition and all-pervading conflict between the two Primordial Spirits is clearly brought out; and it is explicitly stated, in Yasna 30. 5, that from the beginning 'the Wicked Spirit (Ahriman) chose (*varatā*) to do the worst things; the Holiest Spirit (Ormazd), who wears the firmest heavens as a robe, chose Righteousness, and (so do those) who gladly will gratify Ahura Mazdāh (Ormazd) by right deeds.' The original choice made by the Primal Spirits thus forms the prototype and serves for an example to lead man in making his own choice.

This idea is more clearly expressed in the next Gāthā (Ys. 31. 2), in which Zoroaster presents himself as the guide and master because, owing to the teachings of the wicked, 'the better way to choose is not clear in view' (*nōiṯ urvānē advå aibī-dərəštā vahyå*, Ys. 31. 2). He therefore exhorts his hearers to live 'according to Righteousness,' so as to win the reward of the Kingdom of Mazdāh (stanza 6), whom he glorifies (7–8),[3] and then turns to the special subject of volition and choice. This, as I understand the next two stanzas (9–10), is presented first as a parable or allegory, under the guise of which the cow (an animal sacred in Zoroastrianism) is given the option to choose between the thrifty husbandman, who cares for the cattle,

[3] The words capitalized, 'Righteousness,' 'Kingdom,' represent abstracts personified in the original Avestan.

and the non-husbandman. The cow (unlike 'Buridan's ass' between the two bundles of hay, as familiar in the scholastic philosophy) makes the right choice at once without wavering; and then in the next two stanzas (11–12) man's freedom to determine and practise his own belief by word and deed, and thus decide his fate, is brought out. I therefore transliterate and translate all four stanzas.

Avesta, Yasna 31. 9–12

9. *θwōi as Ārmaitīš θwə̄ ā Gəuš Tašā as xratūš*
mainyəuš Mazdā Ahurā hyaṯ aiiyāi dadå paθąm
vāstryāṯ vā āitē yə̄ vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ vāstryō.

10. *Aṯ hī ayå fravarətā vāstrīm aiiyāi fšuyantəm*
ahurəm ašavanəm vaŋhəuš fšə̄nghīm manaŋhō;
nōiṯ Mazdā avāstryō davąsčinā humərətōiš baxštā.

11. *Hyaṯ nə̄ Mazdā paourvīm gaēθåsčā tašō daēnåsčā*
θwā manaŋhā xratūščā hyaṯ astvantəm dadå uštanəm
hyaṯ šyaoθanāčā sə̄nghąsčā yaθrā varənə̄ng vaså dāyetē—

12. *Aθrā vācəm baraitī miθahvačå vā ərəšvačå vā*
vīdvå vā əvīdvå vā ahyā zərədāčā manaŋhāčā,
ānuš-haxš Ārmaitīš mainyū pərəsaitē yaθrā maēθā.

9. 'Thine was Ārmaitī (Harmony and genius of the earth),
Thine was the Shaper of the cow,[4]
the Wisdom of the Spirit, when Thou, Ahura Mazdāh, gavest to her the way,
to depend either upon the husbandman or upon him who is not a husbandman.[5]

[4] Ārmaitī is a feminine archangel, personified as guardian of the earth; hence her association with Gēush Tashan, 'Shaper of the cow,' or Ormazd's creative activity taking form through the Wisdom of the Spirit. The concept of kine in general is here represented by the feminine pronoun *aiiyāi* in the dat. sg.

[5] On the infinitive *āitē* see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 363. Lit. 'to go to (from), i.e. depend upon.'

10. Then of these twain she chose for herself the cattle-raising husbandman,
the furtherer of Good Thought, as righteous lord [6];
nor does the one who is not a husbandman share in a good report even though he strive for it.

11. Since Thou, O Mazdāh, in the beginning didst shape [i.e. create] our beings and Consciences (Religion or Self, personified in plural),
and our intelligences through Thine own thought, since Thou madest life clothed with a body,
since Thou madest deeds and teachings whereby a c c o r d i n g t o h i s w i l l one may express his beliefs—

12. Therefore lifts up his voice [alike] either the false speaker or the true speaker,
he that knows or he that knows not, according to his heart and thought;
[but] Ārmaitī, following ever after with the Spirit, inquires where faltering may be.'

The importance of the doctrine embodied in stanzas 11 and 12, especially in the adjective *vasâ*, 'according to one's will,' I pointed out as long ago as the year 1888 in *A Hymn of Zoroaster, Yasna 31* (pp. 39, 41), making a reference likewise to Geldner's article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, which was then shortly to appear.[7] As I indicated in that monograph, Zoroaster wishes to show that Ormazd can

[6] There is probably a subtle sense in the choice of the words *ahurəm ašavanəm* as implying 'Ahura the Righteous, the promoter of Vohu Manah' (archangel of Good Thought personified).

[7] See Jackson, *A Hymn of Zoroaster, Yasna 31*, pp. 39, 41, Stuttgart, 1888; and compare Geldner, art. 'Zoroaster' in *Encyclop. Brit.* 9 ed. (1888), 28. 882 = 11 ed. (1911), 28. 1042. It may be noted in passing that in 1873 Spiegel, in *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, 2. 146, incidentally referred to the Zoroastrian doctrine of free will, but added no comment or references.

rightly bring man to judgment since He has created him a free agent, allowing him to choose between two religions that stood respectively for the good and the bad, just as, in the passage quoted, the cow, also divinely created, was given a free choice which determined her future fate.

According to the whole tenor of Zoroastrianism, moreover, there was no foreordination, except that creation at the outset was divided into that which was Ormazd's by nature and that which was Ahriman's. Ormazd never created anything that is evil; all that is wicked and baleful is the work of 'the evil-creating (Av. *duž-dāman*) Ahriman,' who seeks to mar everything that Ormazd has made. Numerous passages in the Avesta could be cited to prove the statement. In consequence of this primeval perversion 'even the Demons (which were Ahriman's creation) did not determine rightly between these two [Primal Spirits], since Deception came upon them as they were deliberating, so that they chose the Worst Thought and rushed over together to Aēshma (Passion) that they might bring bane upon the life of Man' (Ys. 30. 6).[8] In consequence of their evil choice, perdition awaits them and their followers in contrast to the joys of the blest hereafter (e.g. Ys. 30. 9–11, etc.).

As to choice, furthermore, there seems to be contained in Yasna 48. 4 an implied intimation of free election, since it refers to the case of the one who makes his 'Conscience' (Religion, or Self, personified—Av. *daēnā*) sometimes better, sometimes worse, by his varying acts on different occasions. Such a man, after death, will not go directly either to heaven or to hell, but to a separate place (later called in Pahlavi *hamēstakān*) intermediate between the two, there to abide until God in his wisdom gives final

[8] Aēshma is one of the arch-fiends, or *daēvas* (cf. Part I, § 56 above), and the demons began their wicked plots by seeking to destroy the life of the first man, Gaya Maretan.

judgment.[9] This idea, as far as the effect on the 'Conscience' (Religion) hereafter is concerned, is found more fully amplified in a well-known Avestan later text (Yasht 22, from the Hāṯōkht Nask), which describes how every good or bad deed done in this life is reflected in the 'Conscience,' personified as a lovely maiden or as a hideous hag, which comes to meet the soul after death in accordance with the actions it has performed. (See Part I, § 82.) But too much stress need not be laid on either of these passages in the present connection.

For the sake of greater completeness it may be added that the Gāthā-Avestan word *usən*, 'at will, according to choice or desire' (loc. sg. as adv.), may contain an allusion to volition in the passage Ys. 45. 9, *yə nə usən čōrəṯ spənčā aspənčā*, Ormazd, 'who has made weal and woe for us [hereafter] according to our choice'; and again in Ys. 44. 10, *θwā-ištiš usən Mazdā*, 'according to choice of Thy [future] good things, O Mazdāh'; but the matter is open to question and other translators prefer to apply the word *usən* to the will of Mazdāh and not to that of man. There is elsewhere in the Gāthās, moreover (Ys. 50. 11; 34. 15; cf. 43. 1–2), in the word *vasnā*, 'according to the will,' an allusion to the will of Mazdāh which man himself should follow to bring the world to perfection. In a later passage of the Avesta, Ys. 8. 6, a prayer furthermore is made that 'the righteous may be ruling at will (*vasō-xšaθrō*), and the wicked may be not ruling at will (*avasō-xšaθrō*).' There are likewise certain indirect implications of the idea of a moral choice in several passages which employ verbal forms from the roots *var-*, *vas-*, 'wish, choose, will,' as well as the

[9] See, for example, the translation by Geldner in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 30. 525, 530; Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's übersetzt*, pp. 89, 92, 93 n. 4, Strassburg, 1905; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 378, London, 1913; and consult especially, as later, Pavry, *Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, p. 32, 50, 74 n. 9, 90–91, 93 n. 119, 113.

adjective *anusant*, 'against the will, unwillingly.'[10] The *locus classicus*, however, on the freedom of the will is that translated above from the Gāthās (Ys. 31. 9–12).

In the Old Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions of Darius there are some fifty occurrences of the word *vašnā*, 'by the will,' but always with reference to the will of God, since Darius emphasizes again and again that he is king *Dei gratia* 'by the will of A(h)uramazda' (*vašnā Aʰuramazdāha*) —and that everything which he does is done by His grace.[10a] As the Old Persian Rock Records throw no special light on our subject we may turn next to the Pahlavi literature.

III

The Doctrine of Free Will in the Pahlavi Books

The Pahlavi, or Middle Persian, literature belongs to the period of the Sasanian Empire and the centuries directly following the Muhammadan conquest of Persia, thus dating roughly from the third to the tenth century A.D. This Zoroastrian patristic literature, as it may be called, consists largely of translations of Avestan texts and of writings on general religious subjects rather than on philosophical topics. For that reason there are fewer allusions to metaphysical questions than we might otherwise expect[11]; but the doctrine of the freedom of the will is implied throughout in the ethical writings of the followers of Zoroaster after the Arab conquest, and we know that this dogma was expressly branded as 'Magian' by their fatalistic conquerors, thus showing that it continued to prevail.[12] In

[10] See Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1360–1, 1381–2, 129.

[10a] In one passage, however (Dar. Pers. d. 9–10 = H. 9–10), we find *vašnā Aʰuramazdāha manačā Dārayavahauš*, 'by the will of A(h)uramazda and of me, Darius' (the land fears no enemy).

[11] Cf. L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, transl. by F. J. J. Jamasp Asa, pp. 143, 145, Bombay, 1889.

[12] See some of the Muhammadan citations given below.

the Pahlavi texts themselves, moreover, there are several direct as well as indirect references to the tenet.

In the first place, in the Bundahishn, which is an old Pahlavi work based on the Dāmdāṭ Nask, one of the lost books of the original Avesta, there is directly indicated (in 2. 9–11) a choice made by the Fravashis—those pre-existing spiritual counterparts, or guardian geniuses, who were the celestial prototypes of material creations afterward produced—to leave for a time their heavenly state and assume a bodily existence on earth, in order to overcome finally the opposition of Ahriman and become 'perfect and immortal in the future existence, for ever and everlasting.' [13] I mention this passage merely in order to point out that its conception of volition in the prenatal state may possibly have some bearing also in connection with the direct allusions to free will in the passages which are immediately to be discussed.

One of these references is found, for example, in a Pahlavi work of the ninth century A.D. entitled *Dēnkaṛt*, 'Acts of the Religion.' The compiling of this extensive compendium of matters relating to religion, customs, history, and the like, was begun somewhere about 820 A.D. by a noted high-priest of the Zoroastrians named Āṭūr-farnbag, and was completed by another priest called Āṭūrpāṭ, who was still living in 881 A.D.[14] The passage in question (Dk. 3. 174) occurs in the earliest of the extant books which make up

[13] See translation by E. W. West in *SBE.* 5. 14; and for the text of the Indian recension of the Bundahishn consult the editions by N. L. Westergaard, *Bund.* pp. 7–8, Copenhagen, 1851: F. Justi, *Bund.* pp. 7–8, Leipzig, 1868; M. N. Unvalla, *Bund.* pp. 8–9, Bombay, 1897; E. K. Antia, *Pazend Texts*, p. 20, Bombay, 1909; and especially the photozincographed copy of the Iranian recension, ed. T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, p. 38–39, Bombay, 1908.

[14] Cf. E. W. West, 'Pahlavi Literature,' in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 91; and id. in *SBE.* 37. introd. p. xxxii–xxxiii.

the work (books 1 and 2 are missing), and forms a part of the general material brought together by the first of the two compilers, belonging, therefore, to the earlier half of the ninth century A.D. As the Pahlavi text is not easily accessible, I shall first transliterate it from the original, giving the Iranian equivalents of the 'Auzvarishn' Semitic forms (but including the latter, when they occur, in parentheses) and adopting in general the traditional manner of reading; I shall then make a literal translation, preserving the crabbed style of the original, the awkwardness of which sometimes renders the Pahlavi difficult to interpret.

Pahlavi *Dēnkarṭ* 3. 174. 2

Hast (hōmanatŏ) āzātŏ-kām andar (dēn) gētīk martōm. Az-aš Avastākīk nām (šem) ahvō-ī ast-ōmand, yaš [14a] *(zak-aš) Zand* x^{v}*atāī-ī tanū-ōmand; va dātistān-ī* x^{v}*atāī* x^{v}*atāyīh āzātŏ-kām martōm (anšūtā)-ī apar (madam)* x^{v}*ēš (nafšman) kām rāyēnītārīh varzītārīh.*[15] *Yaš (zak-aš) apar (madam) apārīk gētīk-dahišnŏ nē (lā) āngōn* x^{v}*ēš (nafšman) kām* x^{v}*atāī hand (hōmand) čīgōn* x^{v}*atāī martōm (anšūtā) az Yazdān aēvak-ač. Nē (lā) aētŏ (ast) rāyēnītārīh ī apar (madam) ahvōī* [16] *čīgōn rāyēnītārīh martōm apar (madam) ōēšān (valmanšān) ī (zak-ī) tanū-ōmand bē (barā) viǰārtanŏ-ī* [17] *az (min) mēnavadān Yazdān; pa (pavan) ān (zak) mēnavadān-ač Yazdān* x^{v}*atāī* [18] *nē (lā) tanū-ōmand. Va āzāt-kām kartār Dātār Aūhrmazd; va āzāt-kāmīh* [19] x^{v}*atāyīh ī apar (madam) martōm apar*

[14a] Instead of *yaš, yašān*, which occur in Pāzand texts (cf. ŠVV., p. 233 below), we might read *kēš, kēšān*, as in Turfan Pahlavi.

[15] Throughout I have divided the sentences according to the best of my judgment and have added marks of punctuation. The original text has, of course, no signs of punctuation, and has nothing to indicate divisions in this passage except that a new paragraph is marked as beginning at *Va āzāt-kām*, toward the end of the portion here transliterated.

[16] Thus Ms. S, while Ms. M has *ahvōŏ*.

[17] Ms. M has *ǰārtanŏ* or *čārtanŏ*, without the prefix.

[18] Ms. M adds *bē (barā)*, an adverb or verbal prefix, and has *hand (hōmand)* after *tanū-ōmand;* cf. Ms. S, footnote 2 in Sunjana's edition.

[19] Ms. S has *āzāt-kāmkīh*.

(*madam*) *kām pa* (*pavan*) *patīraftanŏ nē* (*lā*) *patīraftanŏ yašān* (*zakēšān*) *kirfak va vanāš; va čam Dātār āzāt-kām. . . .*[20]

'In the world man is[21] having-free-will (*āzātŏ-kām*).[22] Therefore occurs the Avestan name *ahvō-ī ast-ōmand* (i.e. *aŋhu astvant*), "life which has a body," the Zand [i.e. explanation] of which (is) "a lord having a body" (*xᵛatāī-ī tanū-ōmand*)[23]; and the decision of a lord (is) the lordship of a man having free will in the purposing and performing of his own will.[24] Wherefore in the rest of the

[20] For the text of this passage see the edition (S) by P. D. B. Sunjana, *The Dinkard*, Bombay, 1883, vol. 4, p. 210 (Pahlavi text), pp. 250–251 (Pāzand transliteration), pp. 268–269 (very free English paraphrase); and consult the edition (M) by D. M. Madan, *The Pahlavi Dinkard*, Bombay, 1911, part 1, pp. 186–187, the text of which has been here compared and the principal variants noted.

[21] The Pahlavi word *hōmanatŏ*, which is traditionally thus transliterated and has been much discussed by scholars (e.g. Bartholomae, in *Sitzb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.* 1916, Abhandl. 9, p. 49–50), is certainly to be read *hast* or *ast*, as above. Both of these latter forms are found likewise in inscriptional Pahlavi, see E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 2. 56, 57, Nos. 3, 10. This ideographic word occurs regularly at the beginning of the various sections of Book Third of the Dēnkart, and is evidently an emphatic usage of the verb 'to be' in asseverative affirmation at the opening of a sentence—'assuredly is.' We may compare the usage in later Persian, e.g. Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī's *Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*, ed. and tr. R. A. Nicholson, p. 114–115, where an emphatic verse begins: *Hast Ṣalāḥi dil u dīn ṣūrat-i ān Turk yaḳīn*, 'Assuredly is Ṣalāḥi dil u dīn the image of that Fair One.' West and Haug, *Glossary and Index of the Book of Arda Viraf*, p. 56, likewise render the Pahlavi ideogram by 'is'; but P. D. B. Sunjana, *Dinkard*, vol. 3, p. 268, and throughout, prefers 'be it known.' Observe that in a secondary position the auxiliary verb 'is' appears a few lines afterwards in this passage as *a ē t ŏ* (= *ast*).

[22] The Pahlavi adjective for 'having free will,' *āzāt(ŏ)-kām*, is transcribed in Pāzand as *āǰātə-kām* or elsewhere as *āžāt-kām;* the first member of the compound is equivalent to Avestan *āzāta*, 'inborn, innate, free, noble,' Persian *āzād* (cf. Armen. loan-word *azat*, 'noble').

[23] Regarding this 'explanation' by the old glossator see Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 143.

[24] I have translated Phl. *rāyēnītārīh* by 'purposing,' though it may contain the idea of 'impulse.' It is an abstract derived from

world-creation there are not such (*āngōn*) lords of their own will as the lord man, except God even alone. Nor is there, in this life, purposing like the purposing of man among those who have a body, with the exception of the spiritual God; and in regard to this, the spiritual God (is) a lord not having a body.[25] And the maker having free will (is) the Creator Ormazd; and the freewillship is the lordship which (is) in man with regard to accepting (or) not accepting, according to his will, those things which (are) virtues and vices; and the cause is the Creator who has free will. . . .'[26]

The general thought continued in this particular chapter of the Dēnkaṛt, for more than a page, is to the effect that man, guided by conscience and intelligence, should choose to do right and not be misled by Ahriman to commit sin.[27]

The second Pahlavi work (or rather the Pāzand-Sanskrit version of a Pahlavi text as yet discovered only in part)

the verb *rāyēnītan*, 'to impel, advance, expedite, continue, conclude' (West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 131), and is given as 'the act of putting in motion, continuance, government' by S. D. Bharucha, *Pahlavi Glossary*, p. 259, Bombay, 1912; see furthermore Jamasp-Asana and West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, p. 265b, Bombay, 1887. Cf., later, also Bartholomae, *Sitzb. Heidelberg. Ak.* 1918, Abhandlung 14, p. 35–36.

[25] Such appears to be the literal sense of a not too easy sentence.

[26] This last sentence is somewhat difficult, but, as I understand it, in assigning to Ormazd the attribute of 'having free will,' it makes him the cause of man's free will. Observe that *āzāt-kām*, here as throughout, is an adjective; there is no variant here like *āzāt-kāmīh*, 'freewillship.' The Phl. word *čam* or *čīm*, Pāz. *čem*, cf. Pers. *čam*, denotes 'meaning, reason, cause, purpose, aim,' and is variously glossed in the Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi treatise Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār as Skt. *hetu*, *kāraṇa*, *artha* (see ed. Jamasp-Asana and West, p. 239).

[27] A somewhat similar idea is implied in Dk. 3. 77. 2 and 3. 116. 2–4 (cf. Sunjana, vol. 2, pp. 77, 83, tr. 85; vol. 3, pp. 129, 145, tr. 152; ed. Madan, vol. 1, pp. 68, 112).

which contains allusions to the doctrine of free will is the Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār, or *Škand Vimānīk Vičār*, 'Doubt-dispelling Explanation.' This controversial treatise is the nearest approach to a philosophical production that has survived from Pahlavi literature, and belongs apparently to the latter half of the ninth century A.D., as its author, Marṭān-farukh, son of Aūharmazd-dāṭ, a Zoroastrian, flourished about that period.[28]

The writer was a Mazdāh-worshiping priest and a thorough dualist. He constantly upholds the Zoroastrian doctrine of the independent origin of evil, as contrasted with good, and polemizes against alleged or real inconsistencies in other religions which fail to explain how an all-good and all-powerful creator can allow the existence of evil.[29] The theory of the freedom of the will is inherently involved in his hypothesis, and the trend of his argument is that the all-good and all-wise Ormazd created neither Ahriman nor evil, which serve as a limitation to His divine will, but that Ahriman is responsible for deceiving and misleading man.[30] For this reason he points out what he considers to be inconsistencies in the Muhammadan and Christian presentation of free will, especially that of the rationalistic Muslim sect of the *Mu'tazila*, or Mu'tazilites ('Separatists, or Seceders').[30a]

[28] See West, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* 2. 106–107.

[29] An excellent analysis of the Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār (ŠVV.) will be found in M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 247–254, New York, 1914.

[30] See, for example, ŠVV. 1. 6; 3. 6; 3. 11; 8. 52–57; 10. 17–27; transl. West, in *SBE.* 24. 117, 124–125, 155–156, 166–167.

[30a] Shahrastānī treats of the Mu'tazilites, see Haarbrücker's transl. 1. 41–88 (including their sub-sects); compare also al-Baghdādī, tr. Seelye, p. 34, 116–210. Consult, furthermore, Max Horten, *Die philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, p. 5–16, Bonn, 1910, and compare E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, 1. 281–283; cf. also note 41 below.

Thus, after arguing in detail (ŠVV. chap. 11) concerning the view in the Koran with respect to the will of God, he concludes (ŠVV. 11. 176): 'The inevitability of a rival of the will (*kām*) of God is manifest'—a statement which he supports by still further contentions—and then turns upon the Mu'tazilites, saying:

Pāzand version of ŠVV. 11. 280–281. *Diṯ, əž əšą kəšą Muθzarī xᵛānənd ə pursəṯ; Ku Yazaṯ hamā mardum pa āžāt-kāmī*[31] *əž bažaa*[31] *paharəxtan əž dōžax buxtan ō vahəšt ǰāminīdan kām ayā nə?*

Sanskrit version of ŠVV. 11. 280–281. *Dvitīyaṃ ca, tebhyo ye Muthajarīkāḥ ākāryante nanu pṛccheta: Yat Iajadasya samagrān manuṣyān svatantrakāmatayā pāpāt parirakṣituṃ narakāc ca śodhayituṃ svarge ca nayituṃ kāmaḥ kiṃ vā no?*

Translation (cf. the parallel Skt. version). 'Again, you should ask of those whom they call Mūtazalīk (i.e. the Mu'tazilites) thus: Is it the desire of the Sacred Being (God) to preserve all mankind from wickedness through (their own) f r e e w i l l, to release them from hell, (and) make them proceed to heaven, or not?'[32]

The Zoroastrian controversialist goes on to point out to his opponents that their title to glorify the divinity depends upon their answer, yes or no, to this proposition.

Later on, after seeking to refute various Christian tenets and ideas (ŠVV. 15. 1–73), and noting 'the inconsistency of the statements derived from the scriptures of their high-

[31] MSS. have Pāz. *āwāt-kāmī* through misreading of Phl. *āzāt* (or *āžāt*)-*kāmī*, cf. Skt. version *svatantra-kāmatayā*. Furthermore, instead of Pāz. *bažaa* of the text here and below (cf. Skt. version *pāpāt, pāpam*) better read *bazag* (or *bažag*) which occurs frequently in Turfan Pahlavi, with the meaning 'evil deed, wickedness, sin.' The edition, used here and below, of the Pāzand text and Sanskrit version is that of Hoshang Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp-Asana and E. W. West, *Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār*, Bombay, 1887, p. 107.

[32] Compare transl. West, in *SBE.* 24. 195. (The words in parentheses are inserted for the purpose of making the literal translation somewhat more idiomatic in English.)

priest' (referring apparently to St. Paul, who is mentioned shortly afterwards, in 15. 91), he argues that the logical outcome of the Christian views would result in an inconsistency, 'that the Jews slew the Messiah through the will of the Father' (15. 76), and he proceeds to indicate some of the difficulties into which this construction of man's free will would lead the Christian, through failure to allow for the dualistic origin of the universe (15. 114) and Ahriman's power. Thus:

Pāzand version of ŠVV. 15. 77–84. *Diṯ, añbasānihā awar āžāt-kāmī i ōstyą gōēṯ; Kuš mardum āžāt-kām dāt hənd. Ǝduñ āhō i gunāh i mardum kunənd āžāt-kāmī hast, vaš āžāt-kāmī xᵛaṯ ō mardum dāt. Ą ham ōi gunāhkār sažəṯ dāštan kə bun vahąn i gunāh. Agar mardum gunāh u bažaa pa āžāt-kāmī i xᵛəš kunənd [nō]* [33] *pa kām i Yazaṯ, ą šər mār gurg gazdum xarawastar i gazā awazanā i čiharī-kunišni gunāh u bažaa yašą ažaš hamə rawəṯ pa kadąm āžāt-kāmī u kə gunāh? Ǝduñniča zahar i awazanā i añdar bəš u awarə urvar sardagą yašą nə əž āžāt-kāmī vahąn kə bun dāšt?*

Sanskrit version of ŠVV. 15. 77–84. *Dvitīyaṃ ca anibaddhatayā upari svatantrakāmatve pravīṇataraṃ nigadati; Yat manuṣyāḥ svatantrakāmāḥ dattāḥ santi. Evaṃ doṣāḥ pāpānāṃ yān manuṣyāḥ kurvanti svatantrakāmīyāḥ santi, asau svatantrakāmatvaṃ svayaṃ manuṣyebhyo dadau. Tat sarvatra enaṃ pāpakāriṇaṃ yujyate parijñātuṃ yo mūlakāraṇaṃ pāpasya. Cet manuṣyāḥ pāpaṃ doṣaṃ svatantrakāmatvena nijena kurvanti [na]* [34] *kāmena Iajadasya, tad vyāghravyālavirumatkuṇādikṣudrajantavo ye daṃśakāḥ apaghātakā rūpakarmāṇaḥ pāpaṃ doṣaś ca yat tebhyaḥ sadaiva prabhavati kena svatantrakāmatvena kasya ca pāpam? Evaṃ ca viṣasya yat apahantṛṇo yad antar viṣavṛkṣe apareṣu ca vanaspatijātiṣu yat teṣāṃ na svatantrakāmatvāt kāraṇaṃ kasya mūle dadhau?*

Translation (cf. the parallel Skt. version). 'Again, he speaks inconsistently about the f r e e w i l l (*āžāt-kāmīh*)

[33] Both the Pāz. and Skt. versions have *nā, na*, 'not,' which West omits in translation, thus following the Pāz. manuscript JE, in which the negative is lacking.

[34] See note 33.

of the faithful, that mankind are produced (by Him) with free will. Thus the iniquity of the sin which mankind commit is freely willed, and the freedom of will (was) produced by Himself for mankind. That (implies that) it is fitting to consider him likewise a sinner who is the original cause of sin. If mankind commit sin and wickedness by their own free will, [not] [35] through the will of the sacred being (God), through what free will and what sin are the sin and wickedness of the lion, serpent, wolf, (and) scorpion—the stinging (and) slaying creatures—which are the natural actions that ever proceed from them? So also, who (has) maintained the origin of the deadly poison which is in the Bēsh (herb) and other species of plants, the cause of which is not owing to free will?' [36]

The point of Marṭān-farukh's argument, if I understand the passage rightly in connection with the rest of his treatise and with the general theology of Zoroastrianism, is to show the failure of the Christian doctrine to take full cognizance of the limitation of the will of God (Ormazd) through the counter-will of the Evil Spirit (Ahriman).[37] According to Zoroastrianism, all noxious creatures and the poison existing in plants are due to the original creation of Ahriman, and are, therefore, predeterminately evil; while man was made naturally good, but was marred through the Evil Spirit's powerful influence. It may be remarked that the writer himself in closing this section adds that 'on this subject it is possible to speak abundantly (*vasihā*) for a summary compiled' (15. 90).

[35] See note 33.

[36] For text see Jamasp-Asana and West, *op. cit.* p. 159–160, cf. transl. West, *SBE.* 24. 236.

[37] Cf. ŠVV. 3. 6; 3. 11.

IV

Muhammadan References to the Magians, or Zoroastrians, and Free Will

The fact that orthodox Muhammadans looked askance at the Magians, or Zoroastrians, and especially the priesthood, as being exponents of the doctrine of free will can readily be shown, and it has a particular bearing on the subject. In fact, within Islām itself, owing partially to Neo-Platonic and other influences, the free-will tenet gave rise to internal heretical sects. Thus in the religious and philosophic developments during the golden age of Islām in the earlier 'Abbāsid period (749–847 A.D.) we have the Muslim schismatic factions of the Ḳadarites, or 'Partisans of Free Will,' and their offshoot the Mu'tazilites, 'Separatists, or Seceders' (referred to above), both of which were fully tinctured with the doctrine of free determination as opposed to the fatalistic predestination of the Koran.[38]

The Ḳadarites, or *Ḳadariyya* (from Arabic *ḳadr*, 'power'), were known by that name because they were exponents of the doctrine of man's free will, and Professor E. G. Browne makes a particular allusion to the spurious Muhammadan tradition—*al-Ḳadariyyatu Majūsu hāðihi 'l-Ummati*, 'the Partisans of Free Will are the Magians of this Church.'[39] A similar citation may be quoted from the eleventh-century Arabic work of al-Baghdādī (d. 1037) entitled *Al-Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ*, in which he says: 'It is reported of the Prophet [i.e. Muhammad] that he con-

[38] Among numerous other references to this subject consult E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1. 279–290, London and New York, 1902; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 127–132, New York, 1903; Mrs. K. C. Seelye, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, p. 116–210, New York, 1920 (a translation of al-Baghdādī's account).

[39] Browne, *Lit. Hist.* 1. 282; H. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, p. 28 and n. 3, Leipzig, 1865.

demned the Ḳadarites [for their free-will doctrine], calling them the Magians of this people.' [40]

The rationalistic Mu'tazilites, particularly mentioned in the Pahlavi tractate quoted above (p. 232), were noted as recognizing man's entire freedom of action,[41] and were therefore coupled with the Magians, as upholders of free will, in a passage by Isfarā'inī (eleventh century A.D.) translated by Tholuck, *Ssufismus*, p. 242, whose Latin version of the Arabic I here render, preserving the older spelling:—

Isfarā'inī (cod. Ms. p. 85). 'The Prophet applied the name of Magians to the upholders of free will, rightly enough. For the Magians ascribe a part of the things decreed to the will of God, and a part to that of the Devil (namely Ahriman); and if you are to believe them, the decrees of God come to pass at one time, and at another time those of the Devil.' (And he adds:) 'Herein, however, the Mutaselites (the disciples of Wāssel ben Attā) are more to blame than the Magians, because the latter [the Magians] oppose the will of only a single person to the divine will, whereas the former [the Mutaselites] attribute no less to the choice of every gnat and flea than they do to the divine will.' [42]

Although the statement of Isfarā'inī, strictly interpreted, is rather a polemic against the dualism of the Zoroastrians, we can hardly doubt that the doctrine of human free will was ascribed to them in the current Muhammadan view

[40] See Mrs. K. C. Seelye, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, p. 22.

[41] Cf. R Dozy, *Histoire de l'islamisme*, tr. Chauvin, p. 205, Leyden-Paris, 1879; Browne, *Lit. Hist.* I. 287.

[42] See F. A. D. Tholuck, *Ssufismus, sive Theosophia Persarum Pantheistica*, p. 242, Berlin, 1821. Concerning Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā (Wāssel ben Attā), as founder of the rationalistic school of the Mu'tazilites, see C. Huart, *History of Arabic Literature*, pp. 62, 63, New York, 1903; Browne, *op. cit.* I. 281.

of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as evidenced by the traditional saying already quoted.

Still another testimony in the same tenor of traditional denouncement of the Magian belief is found in a well-known Persian mystical work of the thirteenth century A.D. This poetical Sufi composition, the *Gulshan-i Rāz*, 'Rosebed of Mystery,' is by the noted Muhammadan mystic Maḥmūd Shabistarī (1250?–1320 A.D.). The Persian text with an English translation is accessible in an excellent edition by E. H. Whinfield, from which I quote the special passage denouncing free-will believers as 'Magians (Fire-worshipers)' and 'Gabars'—both names being applied to the Zoroastrians.[43]

Gulshan-i Rāz, ll. 526–529; 537–539

'Thence like Satan you say "Who is like unto me?"
Thence you say "I myself have free will (*xud-ixtiyār*);
My body is the horse and my soul the rider,
The reins of the body are in the hand of the soul,
The entire direction thereof is given to me."
Know you not that all this is the road of the Magians (lit. Fire-worshipers),
All these lies and deception come from illusive existence? . . .
Ask of your own state what this free-will (*ḳadr*) is,
And thence know who are the men of free will.
Every man whose faith is other than predestinarian
Is according to the Prophet even as a Gueber.[44]
Like as those Guebers speak of Yezdan and Aherman,
So these ignorant fools say "I" and "He."'

Further research would undoubtedly result in finding kindred passages in other writings on the subject and thus

[43] See E. H. Whinfield, *Gulshan i Raz, the Mystic Rose Garden*, London, 1880 (Persian text, p. 32, ll. 526–529; Eng. transl. p. 53–54); cf. E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion*, pp. 146–149, Cambridge, 1920.

[44] Alluding to the tradition (*ḥadīth*) as to Koran, Sūra 22. 17, referred to above.

add to the testimony already given.[45] In the meantime, however, it would be well, in connection with the general question of the Zoroastrian doctrine of free will and the beginnings of Muslim philosophy, to draw attention here to a fact which has not previously been stressed by scholars.

In the early period of Islām, during the latter part of the seventh century A.D., among the pioneer Muslim schismatics maintaining the doctrine of free will was Ma'bad al-Juḥanī, who died in 699 A.D. Some account of him is given in the Arabic work of Maḳrīzī (1364–1442 A.D.), which is commonly called *Khiṭaṭ*, 'Survey.' A statement is there made that Ma'bad imbibed this doctrine from Abū Yūnas S n s ū y h (Sansūya, Sinbūya, Sanbawaih—or however the manuscript variants of the name are to be read), who was certainly of Persian origin. The particular statement in Maḳrīzī's notice of Ma'bad's attitude on the matter of free will and predestination (cf. Arab. *ḳadr*, lit. 'power, decree') reads as follows:—

Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 4, p. 181.[46] 'Ma'bad took this doctrine [about *ḳadr*] from a man of the Asāwirat named Abū Yūnas S n s ū y h (Sansūya, Sinbūya, Sanbawaih?)[47] who was called al-Aswārī.'

[45] Recall, for example, that A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, Vienna, 1877, 2. 413, observes that after Islām became established in Persia there was opposition to the Mu'tazilite view of free will, giving rise to factions as mentioned by Shahrastānī, 1. 89–94.

[46] See Cairo edition of Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 4, p. 181, ll. 25–27, A.H. 1326 = A.D. 1908.

[47] An edition of Maḳrīzī older than the one just cited also reads S n s ū y h. S. de Sacy, *Religion des Druzes*, introd. p. x, Paris, 1838, gives 'Senbawaïh,' but observes (note 3) that the manuscripts are not in accord on the orthography of the name, which he says is certainly a Persian name, of the same category as 'Bowaïh, Sibewaïh'; he refers likewise to E. Pocock, *Specimen historiae Arabum*, ed. J. White, Oxford, 1806, 4. 213. Kremer, *Gesch. Streifzüge*, p. 9, n. 1, gives the name as 'Senbujeh'; Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, 1. 282, follows with 'Sinbūya.' It may be noted indirectly that a name 'Shunbawaih' or 'Shanbawaih' is found in adh-Dhahabī, *al-Mochtabi*, ... Leyden, 1881.

In whatever manner the name S n s ū y h of this teacher of Ma'bad is to be read, it is certainly of Persian origin, as scholars have noted.[48] The attribute Aswārī, moreover, is a derivative from Persian *aswār*, 'horseman, knight, chevalier,' and was applicable also to the party called Asāwirat, who had come from Fārs in Persia and settled in Basra after having lived in Syria.[49]

It should be remarked here, furthermore, that this Abū Yūnas al-Aswārī (without including S n s ū y h in the name) is referred to still earlier by the side of Ma'bad al-Juḥanī, in connection with the free-will heresy, by al-Shahrastānī (1086–1153 A.D.), *Book of the Religious and Philosophical Sects*, part 1, Arabic text, p. 17, l. 13; cf. German translation by Th. Haarbrücker, vol. 1, p. 25.

I have thus far been unable to find anything more definite about S n s ū y h or S(h) n b ū y h in the Oriental works which I have consulted, but others may be led to join in the quest, because the matter is of interest in connection with the topic in hand. This is all the more true because scholars have previously (and, no doubt, rightly in the main) laid the chief emphasis on the side of Christian and Neo-Platonic influence upon the heretical free-will movement in Islām.[50] I am not a specialist in Muhammadan philosophy, and it may, therefore, be hazardous to offer any conjecture on the subject; still, I should like at least to draw the attention of those who may be

[48] See the references in the preceding note.

[49] See Lane-Poole, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 2. 757, s.v. *al-Khaḍārima*, and 4. 1465, s.v. *Iswār, Uswār;* moreover, al-Iswārī is applied elsewhere (Dict. *Muḥīṭ*) to a party of the Mu'tazilites.

[50] Consult, for example, A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams*, p. 7–9, Leipzig, 1873; H. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, p. 55–80, Leipzig, 1865; and compare Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, 1. 281–288, especially p. 288. See furthermore Max Horten, *Die Philosophie des Islam*, p. 200–203, Munich, 1924, who, however, recognizes the Persian influence likewise, pp. 30, 134.

working in that particular line to the possibility of laying more stress on the influence of the Zoroastrian doctrine of free will, which has been shown to have been current in the atmosphere at the time.[50a]

V

A Syriac and a Presumable Pahlavi Reference pointing to the Doctrine in Sasanian Times (226–651 A.D.)

For the sake of greater completeness notice should be taken of two additional references (though there may be more) that allude directly or indirectly to the free-will tenet in Sasanian times (226–651 A.D.). The one is of major importance, because it has claims to going back to a Pahlavi original, though extant only in a Persian version. The other is of less significance and is only incidental, but it is preserved in an old Syriac source.

We may take the latter and less important first. There is a very general, incidental allusion to free will in the brief philosophical introduction to a treatise on logic by Paul the Persian, addressed to the Sasanian monarch Khusrau (I) Anūshirwān, who ruled 531–579 A.D. This scholar, who flourished at the court of the greatest of the Sasanian Zoroastrian kings, was a Christian who may have studied Greek philosophy in the schools of Nisibis and Gundeshapur in the first half of the sixth century A.D. He is probably the same as Paul of Basra, the Metropolitan of Nisibis (died 571 A.D.), and hence is spoken of as being of the Dair-i Shahr, 'Monastery of the City,' meaning most

[50a] The modern Shī'ite doctrine on free will, current in Persia, is said to follow in many respects that of the Mu'tazilites (see Browne, *Lit. Hist. Pers.* I. 283); compare further on this subject the extract from a Persian manual on the 'Beliefs of the Shī'a' (written before the middle of the nineteenth century) as translated by Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 386, cf. 381.

probably the ecclesiastical headquarters at Nisibis.[51] For that reason he would have been acquainted with the metaphysical discussions of the period. In the preface to his Syriac treatise on *Logic*, when addressing King Khusrau on the province of philosophy, he says, in the midst of a philosophic passage:—

'There are some who say that men are of free will (*b*ᵉ*nai khīrī*, lit. 'children of the free'); and there are others who contradict this.' [52]

The whole context shows that the writer has the free-will doctrine in mind; but too much stress cannot be laid on so incidental an allusion, aside from the fact that the words were addressed to a king who was a Zoroastrian by faith.

The second citation, which will now be presented, is of importance because it purports to go back to a Pahlavi original, if we accept the latter's authenticity. This passage is found in the alleged letter of the Zoroastrian high-priest Tansar, a renowned ecclesiastic at the court of the Sasanian king Ardashīr (226–241 A.D.), himself a Zoroastrian and the founder of the Sasanian Empire.

This epistle claims to be a communication sent by Tansar, early in the third century A.D., to the local Persian ruler of Tabaristan, in order to win his allegiance to the new emperor Ardashīr. The original document, which must have been written in the current Pahlavi of the period, is no longer extant, and the Arabic translation of it made by Ibn Muḳaffa' (d. 757 A.D.) has also disappeared; but a Persian rendering, made from the Arabic

[51] See J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 4, Leyden, 1875, Scholia, p. 99–100; L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, pp. 1–2, 143; J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 166–169, n. 3, Paris, 1904.

[52] Pauli Persae *Logica*, ed. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 4, fol. 56r (p. 2, l. 18); tr. p. 3, l. 1, where the phrase is rendered 'sunt qui dicant homines liberos esse voluntate'; cf. also Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 1.

by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaṣan b. Asfandiyār about the year 1210 A.D., has been preserved. We thus have the document only at third hand from the alleged original, with the possibility of an early missing link besides. Nevertheless it has a traditional value that must not be overlooked when giving it consideration.

The attention of scholars was first prominently called to this epistle by James Darmesteter, in his 'Lettre de Tansar au roi de Tabaristan,' in *Journal Asiatique*, 9. série, tome 3, pp. 185–250, 502–555, Paris, 1894. In that particular number of the journal an edition of the text of the Persian version was issued by Ahmed-Bey Agaeff (a young Musulman student from the Caucasus who was a pupil of Darmesteter at Paris in 1892), together with a French translation, revised in 1893 by M. Ferté, of the French Consulate in Teheran, and accompanied by notes from the hand of Darmesteter, under whose editorial supervision the whole article appeared in 1894. It is proper to add that there has been considerable skepticism on the part of the Parsi scholars of Bombay, as well as others, in regard to accepting the document as genuine [53]; and Darmesteter himself admitted that there may be certain interpolations or additions in its present form [54]; but the particular passage on free will I here translate from the Persian, giving it for what its traditional value may be, as stated above.

Tansar's Letter, *op. cit.* pp. 247–248, 553. 'Know that

[53] For example, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Tansar's Alleged Pahlavi Letter, from the Standpoint of M. J. Darmesteter*, p. 1–16, Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1898; id., *Observations on Darmesteter's Theory regarding Tansar's Letter*, p. 1–31, Leipzig, 1898; Jivanji J. Modi, 'The Antiquity of the Avesta,' in *Journ. Bombay Branch R. A. S.* 19. 263–275, Bombay, 1896 (reprinted in the same author's *Asiatic Papers*, p. 111–123, Bombay, 1905); L. H. Mills, *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achaemenids, and Israel*, pp. 21–26, 61–63, Chicago, 1906.

[54] Darmesteter, *op. cit.* pp. 189–190.

whosoever renounces choice (*ṭalab*, i.e. free will) [55] and relies on fate and predestination (*ḳadā u ḳadr*), debases and dishonors himself; and that whosoever engages in free research (*takāpūy*) and choice (*ṭalab*), denying fate and predestination, is ignorant and conceited. The wise man should take the middle way between choice and predestination (*ṭalab u ḳadr*) and not be satisfied with one [alone]. For the reason that predestination and choice are two bales of a traveler's goods on the back of his animal. If one of these two happens to be heavier and the other lighter, the goods will fall to the ground, the animal's back will be broken, and the traveler will be embarrassed and fail to reach his destination. But if the two bales are equal, the traveler will suffer no embarrassment, his animal will be comfortable, and he will arrive at his destination.'

Immediately following this simile, which serves to indicate the relations between individual choice and predestination, an anecdote is added which describes the misfortune that befell a king who resigned himself to fate alone. This anecdote is regarded by Darmesteter (*op. cit.* pp. 189–190) as an interpolation, and it may be so; but there seems to me to be no good reason for believing that the basic paragraph on free will, which called it forth, was not in the original source. Yet the late Professor L. H. Mills regarded the whole passage on predestination and free will as belonging to the Arabic period, and was inclined, like some of the Parsi scholars referred to above, to look askance at the antiquity of the entire epistle.[56]

[55] Steingass, *Pers. Dict.* p. 817b, gives among other meanings for *ṭalab*, 'desiring, inquiry, search, quest'; the context above shows that it is also equivalent to 'free will,' as opposed to *ḳadr*, 'fate, predestination.' Darmesteter-Agaeff, *op. cit.* in *JA.* 1894, p. 553, give alternately 'effort personnel, libre recherche, libre arbitre,' when translating into French, thus showing that the word *ṭalab* indicates individual choice.

[56] Mills, *op. cit.* pp. xi, 61–67; and compare the articles by D. D. P. Sanjana and by J. J. Modi referred to above in note 53.

VI

Modern Zoroastrianism and Free Will

The doctrine of free will is a tenet still recognized by the Zoroastrians today, as certain of the writings of their priests and laity well show.[57] It may justly be added, moreover, that although, owing to various changes and vicissitudes, there remain in the world only a small number of followers of the ancient creed of Zoroaster—about eleven thousand in Persia and something over a hundred thousand in India—these two faithful communities of Parsis and 'Gabars' prove, by their high ethical standards and their practice in life, how steadfastly they have maintained the historic doctrine of their religion, which teaches man's free choice between right and wrong and which lays upon him the responsibility of accounting for that choice in the life hereafter.[58]

VII

Conclusion

Enough has been shown, I trust, by the material presented in this monograph, to justify the hope, expressed at the outset, that students of philosophy and religion may be led to give further consideration to the old Zoroastrian teachings on the subject of free will as contained in the sacred books and literature of the faith of the Prophet of Ancient Iran.

[57] Cf. Rustamji E. D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra and Zarathushtrianism in the Avesta*, pp. 130, 150, 154, Leipzig, 1906; idem, *The Parsi Book of Books, the Zend-Avesta*, pp. 208, 216–217, 250, Bombay [1925]; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 24, New York, 1914; N. F. Bilimoria, *Zoroastrianism in the Light of Theosophy*, pp. 172, 187, Bombay, 1899.

[58] Compare also Part I, § 74, above.

PART III

MISCELLANEOUS ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES

SECTION A

ON SOME OF THE PROPOSED EXPLANATIONS OF ZOROASTER'S NAME

In *Zoroaster*, p. 147–149, will be found a collection of the many etymological suggestions made to explain the meaning of Zarathushtra's name up to the time of the publication of that volume in 1899. Since then, so far as my knowledge goes, only one later suggestion has appeared in print, but a comment is needed here also regarding one that was published earlier. To take the later one first.

1. Hüsing's suggestion. In 1905 the Breslau scholar G. Hüsing, in *Orientalische Litteraturzeitung*, 8 Jahrg. Nr. 3, Sp. 112–115, propounded the theory that the name *Zaraθuštra* goes back to a presumable form *Zauθravastra*, the elements of which hypothetical compound are to be connected with Av. *zaoθra*, 'libation' (Trankopfer), and *vastra*, 'pasturage' (Weide), to which latter word the signification of 'shrub' (Staude) is theoretically attached. According to this assumption the name of the Prophet would mean presumably 'possessing the (proper) shrubs for the libation',—'der in Besitze der (richtigen) Stauden für den Opfertrank ist'.[1] Unfortunately too many philological reasons, in addition to other objections, prevent acceptance of this explanation.

2. Discussion of an old suggestion by Casartelli—'plowing with camels'. It seems worth while to revive an old question. In 1887 (see *Zor.* p. 149) the late L. C. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford, gave a hint that *Zaraθuštra* might mean 'plowing with camels' (cf.

[1] Summary in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 26 Jahrg. Nr. 15, Sp. 917, April 15, 1905.

Skt. *hala*, 'plow'), *Academy*, 31. 257, April 9, 1887. At the time I doubted the suggested etymology, as did others; nor did I later, during several journeys through Persia, happen to see any agriculturist using camels for plowing—only cows and bullocks, since horses were scarce [2]—but maybe this was chance. Afterwards I succeeded in collecting from magazines and elsewhere several pictures of plowing camels in Central Asia. Now comes the point. When twice crossing Baluchistan, in 1926, I actually saw a number of teams of camels plowing on the plains, and was told, on the best authority, that it was common thus to employ camels, besides their familiar use as pack animals.

Evidence like this, and on Iranian soil, was enough to make one pause to think whether there might not be something in Casartelli's hint. I was tempted to accept it. Nevertheless, after careful study, I came to the conclusion that, while the possibility of such an explanation of *Zaraθ-uštra* as 'one who plows with camels' cannot be denied in view of the above actual observations, the etymology has after all to be discarded.

In the first place, the Sanskrit root *hal-*, *halati*, 'to plow', is found only in the Dhātupāṭha, bk. 1, § 977, ed. J. Kirste, Vienna and Bombay, 1907, where it is defined in the sense of *vilekhane* (loc.). In the second place, the real Avestan word for plowing is expressed by the root *karš-*, 'to furrow' (cf. Ved. *karṣ-*), with its numerous derivatives, for which see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 457–459.

Owing to these linguistic reasons, therefore, I feel regretfully forced to abandon further consideration of the once proposed etymology, which implied 'plowing with camels', and to return to the more generally accepted explanation of Zoroaster's name as meaning 'one whose camels are old' (Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 1676).[3]

[2] See photograph in Jackson, *Persia*, p. 246.

[3] With regard to the various forms in which Zoroaster's name, Av. *Zaraθuštra*, appears later in other languages (but not as con-

SECTION B

A REFERENCE IN THEODORE BAR KHONI TO ZOROASTER'S DATE

Attention may well be called anew to a reference to Zoroaster's date made by the Syriac Scholiast Theodore bar Khoni (or Khavani), who wrote probably toward the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century of our era. It became available to me a number of years after the publication of *Zoroaster*, p. 165–166, and caught my eye only on obtaining a copy of the noted book by H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, Paris, 1898, which gives extracts in Appendix II from Theodore bar Khoni's 'Book of Scholia' with the original Syriac text and a French translation.

The particular passage relating to the Prophet of Ancient Iran occurs at the end of bar Khoni's section on 'Zoroaster the Magian' (Pognon, *op. cit.* Syr. text, 111–113; Fr. transl. 161–165). The whole section (comparing also the

tributing anything towards solving its meaning) a supplementary note to *Zor.* p. 12–13, 278–280, may here be added. The purpose of this is to include the forms which are found in the Manichaean documents that were discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Turfan Oasis, Central Asia. The form in Turfan Pahlavi is *Zartušt*, as we should naturally expect from the Middle Persian; in the Turkish fragments it is *Zrušč* (or *Zrošč*); and in the Chinese Manichaean documents it is *Sou-lou-tche* (i.e. *Su-lu-če*), as previously recorded from other Chinese sources (see *Zor.* p. 278–280). In *JAOS.* (1923) 41. 16–18, I have brought together the principal allusions to Zoroaster and his religion as occurring in the Manichaean texts preserved in those three languages. Merely for the convenience of the reader I repeat here the references to the books in which the texts may be found, or to articles on the subject by other scholars. (*a*) F. W. K. Müller in *Anhang zu Abhandl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1904, p. 94; (*b*) A. von Le Coq, in *Sitzb. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1908, p. 398, 400–401; idem, 1909, p. 1216 n. 2; (*c*) Gauthiot, in *Mém. soc. linguistique*, 1910, 16. 318–320; Chavannes and Pelliot, in *JA.* 1911, p. 572 n. 2; idem, 1913, p. 146 with n. 2; (*d*) Hoffmann-Kutschke, in *ZDMG.* (1911) 65. 304–305.

later edition of the text by A. Scher, *Corpus Script. Christ. Orientalium*, 2d series, vol. 66, p. 295–298, Paris, 1912) was subsequently (1923) translated into English from the Syriac, with added footnotes, by my former assistant and old friend, the late Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University, in *Journ. Amer. Or. Society*, 43. 239–242. Theodore bar Khoni concludes his account of Zoroaster in these words (cf. Pognon, p. 165; Yohannan, p. 242):

> 'From Zaradusht to the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ are six hundred and twenty-eight years and seven months.'

One could wish that the Syriac Scholiast had given some information regarding his authority for making so precise a statement as to the year 'B.C. 628 and 7 months.' We can, however, draw an inference as will immediately be shown.

In the first place it seems certain that the Syriac word *gelyānā*, translated as 'revelation' by Yohannan, p. 242, and as 'apparition' by Pognon, p. 165, refers to the Nativity of our Savior in the month of December. Next observe that the Zoroastrian tradition, as preserved in the Pahlavi books (see *Zoroaster*, p. 40, 180), gives a date equivalent to May 5 as the day on which Zaradusht, in a vision, was granted his first conference with Ormazd and a sight of the celestial hierarchy of archangels. The 'seven months' (from May to December), mentioned with precision by Theodore bar Khoni, would be quite understandable on this basis.

Then as to the year '628 B.C.' in bar Khoni. It is striking that this accords very closely with the year 630 B.C. which West (see my *Zoroaster*, p. 180), on the basis of the chronology gathered from the Pahlavi books, worked out as the date of Zoroaster's first heavenly conference, and it matches still more exactly (loc. cit.) with

the traditional year 628 B.C. when, two years after that vision was vouchsafed, he 'invited mankind to the religion of Aūharmazd.'

At all events Theodore bar Khoni's memorandum seems to be worth recalling and commenting on as possibly of interest to those who are concerned with the question regarding the era of Zoroaster, referred to above, Part I, p. 17–18, with footnote 5.

SECTION C

AN ALLUSION TO ZOROASTER'S DEATH AS FOUND IN THA'ĀLIBĪ'S ARABIC HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF PERSIA

At the time when I was collecting allusions to Zoroaster in older literatures, including Syriac, Arabic and Persian (see *Zor.* p. 280–286), there was not yet available an Arabic work which was first published in the following year, 1900. This was a history of the Persian kings compiled by Tha'ālibī, and entitled *Ghurar Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs*, edited and translated into French by H. Zotenberg, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris, 1900.

Tha'ālibī (A.D. 961–1038) [1] was a native of Nīshāpūr and a younger contemporary of Firdausī, but chose to compose his history in Arabic prose instead of Persian verse. While for much of the material in his account of Zoroaster parallels can be found in Firdausī or earlier writers, there are some passages containing data not available elsewhere or differing in certain respects from those hitherto known.[2] A goodly number of such parallels and

[1] See Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature*, p. 165–166, New York, 1903.

[2] Tha'ālibī is not always particular about mentioning his sources, but among his authorities he names and quotes Ibn Khurdādbih (mid.

divergences in Tha'ālibī's History, not only between him and Firdausī but also with numerous references to older chronicle sources, are presented by Zotenberg, p. xxv–xl, who comes to the conclusion (p. xli) in respect to the Shāh-nāmah that these analogies and divergences can most naturally be explained if one supposes that Firdausī and Tha'ālibī followed two separate narratives that go back to a common source.

Such a view seems to be justified, and I may confine myself to drawing attention to a few points of interest to students of Zoroastrianism in the section where Tha'ālibī treats of King Vīshtāspa (Bishtāsf) and Zoroaster (Zardusht) and his religion (p. 255–262), especially the account of the prophet's death.

It may be well to give a brief résumé of the whole section under consideration. (1) It begins with a rather short paragraph which bears the caption 'Reign of Bishtāsf,' telling how he succeeded his father Lūhrāsp and entered upon a prosperous rule. The main features are already familiar. Attention, however, may be drawn to the following statement made in connection with Bishtāsf's reign; it is said (p. 255):—

> 'He founded in Fārs the city of Fasā,[3] and in the land of India temples of fire in which he established priests . . . . . (p. 256) Thirty years after Bishtāsf came to the throne, appeared Zardusht, the false prophet, who taught the religion of the Magians.'

The item regarding the founding of Fasā becomes significant

9th century A.D.), Ṭabarī (beg. 10th cent.) and Ḥamzah of Isfahān (mid. 10th cent.), see Zotenberg, *op. cit.* p. xix–xxiii. The question as to whether or not Tha'ālibī refers to Firdausī when he twice uses the phrase, 'the author of the Shāh-nāmah,' is discussed by Zotenberg, *op. cit.* p. xxiii–xxv, cf. p. 263 and 457.

[3] Concerning Fasā see below, p. 253, n. 5.

in connection with the special quotation which is given below; the statement concerning the establishment of fire-temples in India accords with what we know otherwise concerning Vīshtāspa's religious zeal after he had been converted to Zoroastrianism (cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 81–92). In both these instances Tha'ālibī's data are evidently based upon Ṭabarī, whose name is twice mentioned in the excerpt.[4]

2. The next paragraph (a somewhat longer one, p. 256–260) is devoted to Zoroaster and his religion. In it is found a statement (p. 257) as to Zoroaster's native place, namely, that 'he was from Mūḳān in Ādharbaijān,' which is specially commented upon below in the present volume, p. 277–278. What Tha'ālibī records concerning the religion of Zardusht is accurate in general and worth looking up, although lacking in some respects, as might be expected in a brief sketch.

3. Zoroaster's Death. At the close of this summary of the religion Tha'ālibī gives a story regarding Zoroaster's death, which differs from other recorded notices of that event (cf. *Zor.* p. 124–132). According to Tha'ālibī, based on Ibn Khurdādbih as he says, the Prophet Zoroaster was assassinated at Fasā, the Persian city mentioned above and located in the Dārābjird district.[5] Since this allusion is unique among the various traditions, it is certainly worth recording, and for that reason a translation is added in full from this Arabic work (ed. Zotenberg, p. 261–262):—

[4] Zotenberg, p. xxxi, observes the fact that the Fasā allusion is drawn from Ṭabarī, 1. p. 675; the same is true of the reference to the fire-temples in India. For a translation of the Ṭabarī passage see R. Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature,' in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, p. 37, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press).

[5] For a short account of Fasā see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 290, 293, 294; cf. also P. Schwartz, *Iran*, 2. 99–100.

(p. 261). 'When Zardusht (Zoroaster) had completely won over to his doctrines Bishtāsf, with his son Isfandiyādh, Zarīr his brother, and the noted men of his kingdom, (p. 262) he then set about going around the cities, urging men to accept his creed and to observe his ordinances.

Then, in the city of Fasā a man, whom (Ibn) Khurdādbih in his book calls [- - - -],[6] attacked him and killed him (i.e. Zoroaster), cutting him in pieces. (This was) thirty-five years after his proclaiming himself to be a Prophet; and he was of the age of seventy-seven years.[7]

Bishtāsf was enraged at this and put to death his murderer and also a thousand others who were secretly in sympathy with his killing. He likewise redoubled his zeal to strengthen his (Zoroaster's) Religion and to bring people to it. He appointed in his place Jāmāsf the Wise (Av. Jāmāspa) [8] at the head of his disciples, the Mūbadhs.'[9]

[6] It seems best thus to construe the lacuna of the missing name as referring to the assassin, rather than to translate by 'Khurdādbih names in his book [- - - -].' The murderer's name would be more apt to be garbled or undecipherable in the manuscript used by Tha'ālibī than would be the name of Khurdādbih's work, with which he must have been acquainted, and took for granted as familiar to his readers. This 'book' was at all events not Khurdādbih's still extant and well known geographical work on itineraries.

My fellow-worker Dr. Charles J. Ogden suggests that the 'book' referred to may have been the once noted, but now missing, historical work by Ibn Khurdādbih which is enumerated among his works as dealing with 'The principal Genealogies of the Persians and the transplanted peoples,' in the list recorded by de Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.* vol. 6. p. x, No. 6, and which is mentioned likewise by Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, I. 13, as translated by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille. The conjecture seems most plausible, and the suggestion is much appreciated.

[7] In each of these cases the number of years corresponds precisely with the Pahlavi tradition as to Zoroaster's age when he appeared before Vishtāsp thirty-five years before he died at the age of seventy-seven. See *Zor.* p. 56, n. 1; p. 181, top.

[8] Cf. *Zor.* p. 76, 136–137.

[9] Tha'ālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 261–262.

The above account of Zoroaster's having been assassinated by a man in the city of Fasā, Persia, is interesting to cite since it is quite different from the common story that he was slain in the fire-temple at Balkh when the Turanians were waging war against Iran. It accords only with the generally accepted belief that the Prophet met with a violent end. One could wish that the apparently lost work of Ibn Khurdādbih might some day come to light, since it would doubtless contain other material not now available.

4. Lack of space prevents discussing here the long section describing the wars between Iran and Turan (p. 262–301f., cf. *Zor.* p. 102–123), but merely as an instance of general parallels between Tha'ālibī and Firdausī may be added Tha'ālibī's account of a chain given by Zoroaster to Isfandiyādh, the crusader of the Faith, to be worn as a protection against sorcery. The allusion, of course, is to the *kustī*, or sacred thread, which all faithful Zoroastrians should wear. This talisman served to destroy a sorceress who sought to exert her magic wiles upon the hero. Tha'ālibī's whole account (transl. Zotenberg, *op. cit.* p. 312–317) matches rather closely that given by Firdausī (transl. Mohl, *Livre des rois*, 4. 404–408, small edition).

SECTION D

THE CYPRESS OF KASHMAR AND ZOROASTER

In my *Zoroaster* (p. 80, 163–164, 217) allusion was made several times to the story told by Firdausī, and referred to likewise by other Persian and Arabic writers, to the effect that Zoroaster (or else his patron King Gushtāsp, i.e. Vīshtāspa) had planted a wonderful cypress-tree before the door of the fire-temple at Kashmar, in the district of

Turshīz, Khurāsān, and recorded upon its trunk that 'Gushtāsp had accepted the Good Religion.' [1]

[1] The question whether Zoroaster himself or King Gushtāsp, his patron, planted the cypress is not of material importance here, and depends upon a manuscript variation in a line of the Shāh-nāmah, as immediately mentioned. In the edition by Vullers and Landauer, *Schahname*, 3. 1499, line 62, the text adopted reads: *yakī sarv-i āzādahrā Zarduhišt . . . bikišt*, 'Zoroaster planted a noble cypress'; with regard to which reading the editors call attention in a footnote (n. 1) to the similar metrical form and rhyming of Zoroaster's name in line 84, at the same time drawing attention to the different reading in the Paris manuscript that was naturally followed earlier by Mohl in his folio edition of the text (1855), 4. 364, lines 60–62 (cf. likewise, still earlier, Mohl's printed text of this special section in his *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, p. 19, bottom, Paris, 1829). The Paris edition gives the half-line as: *yakī sarv-i āzādah būd az bahišt* etc., 'il y avait un noble cyprès venu du paradis; Guschtasp (not found in the ms.) le planta devant la porte du temple du feu' (cf. also the smaller edition of the French translation, *Le Livre des rois*, 4. 291), which manuscript reading, however, equally implies that it was Zoroaster who had brought the sprout from heaven just as he had miraculously brought the fire-censer alluded to a few lines preceding (see below, note 21).

While it is not possible just now to consult other codexes of the Shāh-nāmah, nor is the point of essential significance at the moment, this much can be said as at present sufficing. We may concede that the Paris manuscript is consistent throughout the entire section in making Gushtāsp the zealous agent in each act of religious propaganda after his conversion to the Faith, having previously made appropriate mention of Zoroaster and of how he was led to adopt the Prophet's divine message. Evidently in the same tone, for Gushtāsp, Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géog. de la Perse*, p. 390, n. 1, translates from a manuscript of Mustaufī's Zinat-al-Majlis a short passage, relating to the district of Turshīz, which praises the beauty of the cypress of Kashmar and records the tradition that 'il fut planté par Gushtasp le Sage.' Cf. below, p. 263 ('Jāmāsp the Wise').

For a considerable time during this past twelvemonth I was tempted, because of that, to remodel my former view as expressed in *Zor.* p. 80 (compare also the footnote references there given, n. 1) and to assign the planting to Gushtāsp (Vīshtāspa), but careful consideration (weighing also the Dabistān and other allusions) has led

In addition to the Firdausī and other references (cf. *Zor.* p. 80, n. 1) some further memoranda may now be included concerning the cypress of Kashmar, owing to the fact that this far-famed tree is of special significance in connection with Zoroaster.

Simply for convenience of reference I first include here a rendering of the Firdausī passage regarding the cypress, to which I had previously referred (*op. cit.* p. 80, n. 1), but without inserting a version of the excerpt itself. The text of the verses with which we have to deal may be translated approximately thus:[2]

Firdausī, ed. V–L. 3. 1498, 59–86; also M. 4. 362–365. 'The noble-born Gushtāsp ascended to the throne, and sent troops to every part of the country. He distributed troops throughout the world, and founded domed temples of fire on the heights.[3] He first established the fire of Mihr Burzīn;[4] see what a

me to abide by my former view, and the generally accepted opinion, that it was Zoroaster himself who planted the cypress for his patron king and added the inscription. In any case there is hardly a whit of difference after all, because it is clear that the tree was presumed to be of celestial origin, like the fire-censer which Zardusht brought from heaven (see below, note 21), and was emblematic of the spreading tree of Zoroaster's creed, an image with which Firdausī (or his predecessor Daḳīḳī) introduces the whole narrative of the spread of the religion. We may incidentally recall here, as is well known, that Firdausī ascribes the entire account of Zoroaster and the Fire-worshipers to Daḳīḳī.

[2] Consult the editions cited above, V–L. 3. 1498–1500; M. 4. 362–364 (cf. MF. = Mohl, *Fragmens*, p. 18–20); compare likewise the translations of the Shāh-nāmah by Mohl (folio), *Le Livre des rois*, 4. 363–365, idem (small), *Le Livre*, 4. 291–293; Pizzi, *Il Libro dei re*, 4. 83–85; A. G. and E. Warner, *The Sháh-náma*, 5. 34–35; cf. also the German translation (made from Mohl's *Fragmens*) by J. A. Vullers, *Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster*, p. 71–72, Bonn, 1831.

[3] M. has *b-āyīn*, 'selon les règles.'

[4] In the volume *From Constantinople*, etc., p. 210–216, upon the basis of the Pahlavi texts, I was inclined, though with some hesitation, to locate the Burzīn Mitrō Fire on Mount Mihr, between Damghān

cult he set up in the country! Zardusht [5] planted a noble cypress in front of the portal of the fire within, and inscribed upon that noble erect tree: "Gushtāsp accepted the Good Religion." He made this noble cypress a witness; thus God [6] was disseminating justice.

When some years passed in this way, the tree grew in height and bulk amidst, until it became a cypress so noble and lofty that a lasso could not encircle it. When it had sent many branches aloft, he (Gushtāsp, l. 74) threw around it a goodly edifice.[7] [*Description of the gorgeous structure is omitted here.*] The King of the Earth made his abode in it. He sent this message to every part of the country. "Where in the world is there the like of the cypress of Kashmar? God sent it to me from heaven, saying, 'Ascend from here to heaven.' Now hearken, all of you, to this counsel of mine, Wend ye on foot to the cypress of Kashmar, follow ye each the pathway of Zardusht." . . . At his command all that wore crowns turned their faces toward the cypress of Kashmar. The house of worship thus became a paradise, wherein Zardusht incarcerated the Dīvs. Call it (the tree) of Paradise, if you do not know why you should call it the cypress of Kashmar.'

When I was in Mashhad for the first time, in June 1907, I spoke with a high Persian functionary, the Kar Guzar, about the story and found him well acquainted with it, even as to the detail that the Abbasid caliph Mutawakkil had caused the famous cypress of Kashmar (*sarv-i Kašmar*) to be cut down, as narrated in the Dabistān and still earlier by Ḳazvīnī.[8] He explained to me the location of

and Sabzavar, on the road from Teheran to Mashhad. Firdausī, however (perhaps following another tradition), places this noted fire at Kashmar.

[5] See above, note 1, for a discussion of the text here.

[6] So M. *xudā*, but V-L. *xirad*, 'wisdom.'

[7] For the verb I have here followed the text of Mohl, *afgand girdaš*.

[8] See the citation from the Dabistān in *Zoroaster*, p. 163–164, and the earlier one from Ḳazvīnī, translated below, p. 260–261.

Kashmar in the Turshīz district, southwest of Mashhad, and stated that the name is to be pronounced Kashmar, not Kishmar.[9] Again, in April 1926, when making the journey up the eastern side of Persia from Duzdāp to Mashhad, upon reaching the vicinity of Turbat-i Haidarī (or simply Turbat), I conversed with a Persian merchant, who was riding in our motor car, and he pointed out the road that led from there to Kashmar (as he, too, pronounced it) some sixty or more miles to the west. He knew nothing, however, about the tradition of the cypress, but I was glad to see at least the road, and to have his confirmation as to how the Persians call the place today.

Although I had not with me the necessary books, I was aware that Major (now Brigadier-General Sir) Percy Sykes had visited the region in one of his many journeys in Persia. Upon gaining access to my library, I found at once an interesting half page in his report of 'A sixth Journey in Persia' (*Journ. Roy. Geograph. Society*, 37. 160, with Map appended, p. 166, Jan.–Feb. 1911), devoted to 'the village of Kishmar' (as he prefers to spell it). He describes the historic place as built around a striking *minār*, which minaret is a hundred feet high and is probably to be assigned to the end of our tenth century. He mentions the tradition already recorded about the tree as associated with Zoroaster, and gives the year when the Caliph Mutawakkil caused the cypress to be felled as A.H. 247 = A.D. 861. He has no occasion to allude to the date for Zoroaster, which can be deduced from the Muhammadan authors who touch on the subject.[10]

[9] For this and other reasons, I adopt the spelling Kashmar, although I had written Kishmar in *Zor.* p. 161, n. 1 end. The latter form, however, is used by some modern authorities, cited below. Possibly the pronunciation of the name may vary in different localities.

[10] See the Dabistān, as cited in *Zor.* p. 163–164, n. 1 and 2. Unlike the author of the Dabistān, the earlier writer Ḳazvīnī (quoted below, p. 260–261) does not refer to the number of years which had

On my shelves I likewise looked up an earlier and valuable paper on Marco Polo's travels by the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, in *JRAS.* 1909, p. 154–162, in which he shows that Marco Polo's *abre sol* stands for the Persian *dirakht-i sarv*, 'cypress tree,' thus recalling, with Yule (3d ed. Cordier), I. 131, the legend of the cypress at Kashmar, near Turshīz (p. 158).[11]

Before proceeding further with the general subject, it is appropriate to include here a reference which I had previously overlooked.[12] It is found in Ḳazvīnī (A.D. 1275), who alludes to the tree as planted by King Vīshtāspa (Ar. *Kuštāsb*), and tells also the fate of Mutawakkil who had caused it to be cut down (see above, note 10). Ḳazvīnī's account runs as follows.[13]

> Ḳazvīnī, *Cosmography*, 2. 299: 'Kashmar,[14] a village, is one of the scattered settlements in the district of Nīsābūr (Nīshāpūr). In it there was a cypress tree, one of the noble straight cypresses, which was planted by Kushtāsb the King. Its like

elapsed from Zoroaster's time to the time when the cypress was felled at the order of Mutawakkil. He merely records that the caravan transporting the pieces of its trunk and branches did not reach Baghdād before Mutawakkil was assassinated. As this event occurred on the night of December 9–10, 861 A.D., Ḳazvīnī's statement gives us the year when the historic tree was cut down. Cf. also Sykes, *op. cit.* p. 160.

[11] Houtum-Schindler (p. 158) spells the name as 'Kashmar,' but adds in a footnote (n. 1) other variants in the Persian lexicons.

[12] Now referred to in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 355, 356 n. 1, Cambridge, 1905.

[13] For the Arabic text see F. Wüstenfeld, *Cazwini's Kosmographie*, 2. 299, Goettingen, 1848. For a translation of the passage I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Nicholas N. Martinovitch, Columbia University, whose literal rendering I have followed with some slight modifications in phraseology. The translation of the verses is one made for me by Professor Richard Gottheil.

[14] As observed by Le Strange, p. 356, n. 1, 'the name is printed by mistake K(i)shm' — *k š m* [*r*].

in beauty, height, and size was not to be seen; and it was one of the wonders of Khurāsān. Al-Mutawakkil was told about it and was anxious to see it. As it was not possible for him to make the journey to Khurāsān, he wrote to Ṭāhir ibn ʿAbdullāh, giving him orders to cut it down, load the pieces of its trunk and branches upon camels, and bring it to him personally, because he wanted to see it. His counselors advised against this and sought to frighten him by an augury, but their advice concerning the cypress was of no avail.

When the people of the district (around Kashmar) were told of this they gathered together, implored, and offered money for its preservation, but without effect. The cypress was cut down. The grief of the people (assembling) around it was great; lamentations arose and tears were (shed) upon it. Wrapping it in wool, they sent it on camels to Baghdād. And ʿAlī ibn Jahm [15] composed the verses:—

"They said al-Mutawakkil sent it (i.e. the cypress) on its way;
The cypress moves onward, but fate (too) is advancing.
It (the cypress?) was covered, because our Imām (Mutawakkil)
Was to be covered (killed) by a sword of his own children."

But before the arrival of the cypress, al-Mutawakkil had been killed at the hands of his slaves; the ill omen became a reality.' [16]

It will be observed that Ḳazvīnī in this passage definitely assigns the planting of the tree to Zoroaster's patron, King Vishtāsp, as I pointed out above (note 1) in connection with the excerpt from Firdausī. In any case the association of the famous cypress must rest upon some ancient tradition.

As a supplement to Ḳazvīnī's notice we may add (cf. *Zor.* p. 80 n. 1) a picturesque account of our cypress,

[15] ʿAlī ibn Jahm as-Sāmī was a poet at the court of Mutawakkil, cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, 1. 345. These verses, foreboding the Caliph's violent end, are important as containing the earliest allusion to the cypress.

[16] For the date of Mutawakkil's assassination, see above, note 10.

which is found in a Persian lexicon of the seventeenth century, the Burhān-i Ḳāti', and practically identically in the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, of the same century [17] (both thus indicating an older source). Merely as a matter of convenience I make use of the text of the Burhān entry as printed in Vullers, *Fragmente über d. Relig. des Zor.* p. 113–115, with a German version; compare likewise the kindred passage in the Farhang according to the Latin version by Hyde (1 ed.), *Hist. relig. vet. Persarum*, p. 327–328. The Burhān passage may be rendered thus:—

> Burhān-i Ḳāti', loc. cit. 'Kāshmar (*sic*) is the name of a village of the district of Turshīz in the province of Khurāsān. They (i.e. the Magians) say Zardusht planted, with auspicious horoscope, two cypress-trees, one in this same village (i.e. Kashmar), the other in Fāramad, which is one of the villages of Ṭūs in the province of Khurāsān.[18] The claim of the Magians is that Zardusht brought the two cypress-shoots from paradise and planted them in these two villages.
>
> When Mutawakkil the Abbasid was building the Jafarid palace [19] at Sāmarrah, he sent orders to Ṭāhir ibn 'Abdullāh, the governor of Khurāsān, in writing, that he should cut down that tree, put the trunk upon a cart, load the branches upon camels, and send it to Baghdād. An assemblage of the Magians offered Ṭāhir 50,000 *dīnārs*, but he would not accept, and he ordered the tree to be hewn down. At the time when the tree fell, the earth underwent such a quaking that great damage was done to the aqueducts and the buildings in that vicinity.
>
> They say the age of the tree was 1450 years, and

[17] For some remarks on these two later Persian works, see my article on the Farnbāg Fire, in *JAOS.* 41. 101–102.

[18] Fāramad, or Farūmad, is situated 100 miles east of Shāhrūd and 16 miles north of the highroad to Mashhad, according to Houtum-Schindler, *JRAS.* 1909, p. 158, n. 2.

[19] This palace at Sāmarrā on the east bank of the Tigris in Irāk was so called after his name Ja'far al-Mutawakkil.

that the circuit of its trunk was 28 whip-lash lengths, and under its shadow more than 2000 cattle and sheep took rest. Moreover, birds of various kinds, beyond limit and count, had built their nests in it, so that at the time of the tree's fall the face of the sun was veiled by the multitude of the birds, and the sky became dark. Its branches were loaded upon 1300 camels, and the cost of (transporting) the trunk to Baghdād was 500,000 *dihrams*. When the cypress arrived one station before the Jafarid palace, Mutawakkil the Abbasid was hacked to pieces that same night by his servants.'

Two other references to the Kashmar cypress by the Persian geographer Mustaufī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustaufī), A.D. 1340, have likewise become available in recent years. Both of these are found in his Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, edited and translated by G. Le Strange, London, 1919 (Gibb Memorial Series, xxiii, part 1, Persian text, p. 144; part 2, English translation, p. 142). The passage on Kashmar in the section relating to the district of Turshīz reads thus in Le Strange's rendering (Part 2, p. 142):

'Kashmar[20] is a provincial town of this district, and here of old was a cypress tree, taller than any other in all the rest of the world. It was planted, it is said, by Jāmāsp the Wise, and more than once in the Shāh Nāmah the Cypress of Kashmar is mentioned, as for instance in the couplet:

And a branch of cypress from Paradise they brought[21]
Which he planted before the gate of Kashmar.

In the village of Kashmar no earthquake is ever felt, although in various other places, of all the neighbourhood round and about, earthquakes are common.'[22]

[20] Observe that Le Strange here adopts the spelling with *a*, not *i*.

[21] The Shāh-nāmah in the edition of Vullers-Landauer, 3. 1498, 45, mentions a 'basin of fire' (*miǰmar-i ātaš*) brought by Zardusht from paradise; probably the same idea was applied also to the cypress (compare, in this connection, note 1 above).

[22] Perhaps the ordinary folk ascribed this immunity to some benign

Notice in this passage that Mustaufī assigns the planting of the cypress to Jāmāsp the Wise, who was Zoroaster's associate and successor, instead of to his royal patron or to the Prophet himself. As Mustaufī wrote three centuries after Firdausī, this difference may be due to another tradition or to some manuscript variant, but more likely it is due to an oversight, since he seems to be quoting from memory.[23]

In one other passage, which occurs a little earlier in the same work, Mustaufī (see Le Strange, *op. cit.* text p. 122, esp. lines 7–8; transl. p. 120 bottom) alludes to the Kashmar cypress, but simply as one of the two historic trees with which to compare a notable cypress that flourished in his own day at Abarḳūh (located about three hundred miles or more southwest of Kashmar).[24] Mustaufī states that the Abarḳūh cypress of his time was

> 'famous throughout the world, even as from the days of the Kayānian kings the cypress-trees of Kashmar[25] and of Balkh were famous. And at this present time the cypress here (i.e. at Abarḳūh) is

influence of their beloved tree, cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 355, who gave there a paraphrase of this passage from Mustaufī.

[23] Simply to show Zoroastrian associations in this region from olden times, we may add that Mustaufī (*loc. cit.*) mentions a Fire-temple (*ātašgāh*) among the many strong castles in the Turshīz district, some of which he names. While this temple evidently was not the noteworthy shrine in Kashmar, at the door of which the cypress was planted, it was situated in the same territory, being located about thirty miles to the east. Attention was drawn to this ancient site by Sykes who, in 1908, visited the ruins, which are still called Kala Atish Gāh, or 'Fire-temple Fort,' and their location is thus marked on his map (see the article above cited, 'Sixth Journey,' p. 159, and map at end).

[24] Concerning Zoroastrianism at Abarḳūh, see Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 341–344.

[25] Here the text reads *Kashmīr*.

taller and of greater girth than those others,[26] and in the Land of Īrān there is none now its equal.'

From this additional allusion in Mustaufī we can see how celebrated was the Kashmar cypress, and the allusion is for that reason worth including. But concerning the cypress of Balkh (which may have been equally historic), no information appears to have been recorded, so far as I know. More light, perhaps, may some time be thrown upon that subject, because Zoroaster's name in his later days is intimately associated with Balkh and Bactriana.

Thus far search has failed to reveal any reference to Kashmar or its famous cypress in the Pahlavi texts. Some one may be more fortunate than I have been in examining these Middle Persian sources, or perhaps some unpublished texts may be made accessible.

It must not be forgotten that notable cypress-trees of remarkable size and apparently great longevity exist in Persia and the adjoining lands to bear out the tradition of the Kashmar tree. For example, concerning a giant cypress found by Sykes in 1899 at the village of Sangun, in the Sarhad district, Southeastern Persia, see Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 354. In Seistān, moreover, there are today a number of noteworthy cypress-trees as described by G. P. Tate, *Seistan*, I. 188–190, Calcutta, 1910. Tate thinks it not impossible, for example, that the cypresses of Darg in Seistān and of Sangun in Southeastern Persia (cf. Sykes, above) 'may have been propagated from the famous tree of Kishmar to commemorate some event of importance at Sarhad and in Seistān, connected with the spread of the doctrines of Zoroaster.' Something similar may have been the case with the cypress at Abarḳūh, mentioned above.

[26] Lit. 'is taller and greater than those (two), and no cypress tree in the Land of Īrān is like that.'

In conclusion we may say that the subject of the Kashmar cypress deserves still further attention, and no doubt other references may be added, or a visit to Kashmar itself might result in finding local traditions still connected with the tree of ancient Zoroastrian fame.

SECTION E

AN OBSERVATION REGARDING A ZOROASTRIAN SIMILE IN BUNDAHISHN 30. 10

A Zoroastrian simile occurring in the Pahlavi book Bundahishn, 30. 10, where a wicked man, in the description of the General Judgment, is compared to a white sheep among the black, had always puzzled me until I went to the Orient. The special passage gives an account of the great assembly in which all mankind come together at the time of the Resurrection. It reads in Pahlavi as follows: [1]

Andar (dēn) ān (zag) hanǰaman drvand
ētōn paδtāk čīγōn gōspand (kērā) [2] *spēt andar (dēn)*
ān (zag) siyāk bavēt (yahvūnēt).

'In that assembly a wicked (man) becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those (that are) black.'

[1] See the text of the Indian recension in F. Justi, *Bund.* p. 73, ll. 5–6; N. R. Unvalla, p. 85, ll. 9–10; cf. also transl. E. W. West, *SBE.* 5. 123 (where the chapter and paragraph are numbered Bd. 30. 10). For the Iranian recension, which has only insignificant variants, see the zinc photograph facsimile in the edition of the Bundahishn by T. D. Anklesaria, with an introduction by his son B. T. Anklesaria, p. 223, ll. 15–16, Bombay, 1905 (where the introduction, p. xxvi, numbers the chapter as 34, instead of 30).

[2] Observe that the text of the Iranian recension gives the form *gōspand* while the Indian recension has here the 'Huzvarish' logogram *k dn a.* This latter (Semitic) word, the traditional reading of which is *kainā, kīnā,* is to be read *kērā,* as above, comparing Heb. *kar,* 'lamb.' Consult Justi, *Bundehesh* (1868), p. 216; West and Haug, *Glossary and*

One has only to travel in Iranian lands and watch the flocks of sheep—preponderantly black, but some tawny brown, with a few white here and there—to understand how noticeable are the white sheep to which the wicked man is compared in this simile, which is directly the reverse of our own usage.

It would doubtless be fanciful to attempt to read also into the passage an optimistic note of hope in Zoroastrianism that the number of the wicked will be conspicuously few at the Final Judgment in contrast to the predominating righteous.

Index of Arda Virāf (1874), p. 205; cf. Junker, *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, p. 111 a, mid., p. 112 a, bottom.

SECTION F

SOME ADDITIONAL DATA ON ZOROASTER[1]

Some new or additional data to illustrate Zoroaster's life have become accessible which were not available to me when I wrote my book on the Prophet of Ancient Iran. As some of the material helps to clear up several points that were previously obscure, I am happy to have this opportunity of presenting my notes on it to Professor Nöldeke, the veteran scholar whose work has contributed so much towards advancing Iranian scholarship.

1. Tradition of an Archetype Copy of the Avesta at Samarkand

In writing on Zoroaster's native place and the scene of his ministry I discussed the pro's and con's with reference to locating the former in Western Iran and the latter in Eastern Iran and showed that tradition in general is in favor of placing his birthplace in Āzarbaijān, but connecting the scene of his ministry rather with Bactria (cf. *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 182–225, and *JAOS.* 15. 221–232). As I stated at the time, we have need of additional information on the latter point from direct Iranian sources. We have, to be sure, the well-known general allusion to Bactria in the Avesta (Vd. 1. 6–7) and the various Eastern Iranian place names in the Zoroastrian Books; but the explicit association of Zoroaster's name with Balkh rests largely on Greek and Latin classical allusions and on references in Firdausī

[1] [Reprinted, with additions and some changes, from a volume of monographs contributed by various scholars and entitled *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, p. 1031–1038, Giessen, 1906.]

and Muhammadan writers (see *Zoroaster*, p. 186 seq.). I am now able to add a special passage in Pahlavi which locates the second of the two archetype copies of the Avesta at Samarkand and in this way connects Zoroaster's ministry directly with Eastern as well as Western Iran.

The particular allusion is found in the short treatise on the cities of Iran, entitled Shatrōīhā-ī Aīrān, §§ 2–7. The text has twice been edited and translated, see *Pahlavi Texts I.*, edited by Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji Jamasp-Asana, Bombay, 1897; also *Shatrōīhā-ī-Aīrān*, translated by Shams-ul-Uluma Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, p. 51–57, Bombay, 1899; also *Liste géographique des villes de l'Iran, texte, traduction et notes*, by E. Blochet, in *Recueil de Travaux*, ed. Maspero, 17. 165–176, Paris, 1895; for a descriptive paragraph see also Dr. E. W. West in *Grundriss der iran. Phil.* 2. 118.

In transliterating the passage I add the 'Huzvarish' forms in brackets [ ] by the side of the Pāzand equivalents. The text (ed. Jamasp-Asana, p. 18–19) reads as follows:

Shatrōīhā 2. *pa* [*pavan*] *kūst ī xūrāsān samarkand šatrōstān kāī-ūs ī kavātān būn frakard; sīāxvaxš ī kāī-ūsān bē* [*barā*] *fraǰāmēnīṭ*. 3. *kaīxūsrū ī sīāxvaxšān ānōī* [*tamman*] *zāṭ; ažaš varžāvand ātaxš varahrān ānōī* [*tamman*] *nišāst* [*yatībūnāst*]. 4. *pas* [*axar*] *zartūšt dēnŏ āvurd* [*yāētūnṭ*]. *az* [*men*] *framān vištāsp-šāh hazār ū dū saṭ fragarṭ pa* [*pavan*] *dēnŏ spēnōīh pa* [*pavan*] *tāxtak-gāh zārāēn kard* (*ū*) [2] *nipīšt ū pa* [*pavan*] *ganǰ ān* [*zak*] *ātaxš nihād* [*hanxtūnṭ*]. 5. (*ū*) [2] *pas* [*axar*] *gaǰastak škandar sūxt ū andar* [*dēn*] *ō* [*val*] *darīāf avgand* [*ramētūnṭ*]. 6. *samarkand haft ātaxšān, haft ātaxšāngāh andar* [*dēn*] *būnṭ* [*yahvūnṭ*] *ē* [*ānā*],[3] *kū* [*aēγ*] *haft xᵛatāīān andar* [*dēn*] *būnṭ* [*yahvūnṭ*]: *aēvak ān* [*zak*] *ī yam ū aēvak āžī-dahāk ū aēvak ān* [*zak*] *ī frēṭūn ū aēvak ān* [*zak*] *ī manūčīhar ū aēvak ān* [*zak*] *ī kāī-ūs ū aēvak ān* [*zak*] *ī kaī-xūsrūv*

[2] Omit this conjunction, according to Blochet's text.

[3] So after the text given by Blochet.

ū aēvak ān [zak] ī lūhrāsp ū aēvak ān [zak] ī vištāsp-šāh. 7. pas [axar] gaǰastak frāsīāk ī tūr har [kolā] aēvak nīšīmak ī dēvān [šēdāān] āūzdast-čārbīgān[4] *paṭ-aš karṭ.*

'2. In the region of Khurāsān Kāī-Ūs, son of Kavād, laid the foundation of the city of Samarkand; Sīāvakhsh, son of Kāī-Ūs, finished (it). 3. Kaī Khūsrū, son of Sīāvakhsh, was born there and he established there the glorious Varahrān Fire. 4. Afterwards Zartūsht brought the Religion. In accordance with the command of King Vishtāsp he wrote down twelve hundred chapters concerning the Holy Religion on gilded tablets and deposited them in the treasury of that Fire (Temple). 5. Afterwards the accursed Iskandar burnt and threw (them) into the river.[5] 6. Samarkand had seven Fires; there were seven Fire-Temples in it; for there had been seven kings in it: Yim[6] (Azhī-Dahāk), Frēdūn, Manūchihar, Kāī-Ūs, Kaī-Khūsrū, Lūhrāsp, and King Vishtāsp. 7. Afterwards the accursed Frāsīāk (Afrāsiāb) of Turan made every one (of the Temples) in it (*paṭ-aš*) a seat of idol-worshiping demons.'[7]

Whatever be the precise date of the Pahlavi text, the importance of this passage can hardly be questioned, for it gives us the location of the Shaspīgān (or Shapīgān, Shapān) library in which the second archetype copy of the

[4] So on the analogy of the text given by Blochet. See note 7 below.

[5] Lit. 'sea,' cf. Pers. *daryā* and Amu Darya (Oxus), Sir Darya (Yaxartes). The river Yaxartes is apparently meant. See Bundahishn 20. 20.

[6] Lit. 'that (reign) of Yim,' etc. Azh-Dahāk as a foreign despot is not included in the number seven.

[7] The sentence is difficult, as the text is somewhat uncertain. Instead of *āūzdast-čārbīgān*, possibly read (with short *ă*) *āūzdast-čarbīgān*, lit. 'idol-flattering,' cf. Pers. *čarb*, Phl. *čarp*, 'unctuous, glozing, flattering,' West and Haug, *Glossary of Arda Viraf*, p. 125. Blochet renders 'fit de chacun de ces pyrées une résidence de démons et un temple de courtisanes.' Modi translates 'introduced into all the mansions of the king fire-worship.'

Zoroastrian Scriptures was deposited, as Shams-ul-Uluma Modi (*op. cit.* p. 133–136; [cf. id. *JRAS.* 1918. 313]) has shown. We thus have a direct Pahlavi tradition, of about the date A.D. 800 (cf. Modi, *op. cit.* p. 131), connecting Zoroaster's ministry with Samarkand, Khurāsān and Bactria.

I can only add that when I visited Samarkand in June 1903 [and again in 1907, 1910] and roamed among the mounds and ruins of Shahr-i-Afrāsiāb, which lie directly outside of the city, I searched in vain among the people for any recollection or knowledge of Zoroaster and the Zend-Avesta. The Muhammadan Mullahs with whom I conversed were quite frank and honest in trying to give me some information on the subject, but they had not the faintest idea even of the significance of the names.

2. Isfandiār and Bactria

A second interesting passage in the Shatrōīhā (§§ 8–9) is one that connects Spentō-dāta, or Isfandiār, the dauntless crusader of the Zoroastrian Faith, directly with the Province of Bactria, in which he founds a great Fire-Temple at Balkh-Bāmīk. This new passage adds further material to that which I noted in *Zoroaster*, p. 116–118, regarding Isfandiār's religious zeal and especially regarding the names of his enemies in the Holy Wars of Zoroastrianism.

Shatrōīhā 8. *andar* [*dēn*] *bāxl ī bāmīk šatrōstānŏ navāzakŏ spand-dāṯ ī vištāspān būmŏ karṯ.* 9. *ažaš varžāvand ātaxš vāhrān ānōī* [*tamman*] *nišāst* [*yatībūnāst*]. *ažaš nēzak ī xvēš* [*nafšman*] *ānōī* [*tamman*] *bē* [*barā*] *zaṯ* [*maxītūnṯ*]. *ažaš ō* [*val*] *gūbāxkān*[8] *ū sūž ī pēkāxkān ū čūrāxkān ū rabaxkān*[9] *ū guhram ū tūžāv ū arǰāsp* (*ī*)[10] *xīōnān-šāh*

[8] See § 35 and Jamasp-Asana's note at both places. The text appears uncertain; Blochet reads *bahākān ī dēn* 'les premiers de la religion.'

[9] These names are not certain, see Jamasp-Asana's text and Modi.

pēṯxam frist [šadūnēṯ]: kū [aēγ] nēzak ī man [lī] bē [barā] nikīrēṯ; har [kolā] kē [mūn] pa [pavan] gazišn [11] *ī īn [denman] nēzak nikīrēṯ čē [mα] andar [dēn] ō [val] āīrān šatrŏ dūbārēṯ.*

'In Bakhl-Bāmīk Spand-dāṯ, son of Vishtāsp, founded the city of Navāzak. He established there the glorious Vāhrān Fire; and he planted his spear there. Then he sent a message to Gūbākh-kān and Sūzh-i Pēkākh-kān and Chūrākh-kān and Rabakh-kān and Guhram and Tūzhāv and Arjāsp, king of the Khionians,[12] saying: "Behold my spear! Whoever shall behold the point of my spear, will he (venture to) invade the country of Iran?"' [13]

The same picturesque story of Isfandiār's lance was known in the Armenian history of Sebeos (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 89, and Blochet, *op. cit.* p. 172, who refers to Garrez, in *Journal asiatique*, 1869, i. 173). With reference to the city of *Navāzak* (for which Blochet, p. 173, 7, reads *vinpak* 'coupole'—'dans Bakhl, la belle ville, Spand-dāṯ, Isfandiār, fit une coupole') some uncertainty exists. If the name be rightly read (which is not sure), we could hardly recall the personal name of Vifra Navāza of the Yashts. Yāḳūt mentions a fortified place called *Nuvaïzah* near Sarakhs, cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr. de la Perse*, p. 573. [I might now suggest reading the Pahlavi name of the town as $N^{a}v^{a}iž^{a}k$ (= *Navēžak*) and comparing it with the frontier town Nawīdah on the river Oxus,

Blochet reads *pēšākān* 'chefs,' *vačīrākān* or *vaǰīrākān* 'ministres,' and *rabākān* 'seigneurs.' Cf. note 12 below.

[10] Blochet omits (*ī*), but better retain with Jamasp-Asana's text.

[11] So Blochet 'morsure'; Modi, p. 60 suggests *nikīzišn* 'intention, interpretation,' cf. West and Haug, *Glossary* p. 246.

[12] It is uncertain whether the first four words really denote proper names (see note 9); the last four occur in the Shāh Nāmah, see my *Zoroaster*, p. 110, 118–123.

[13] Making *har kē . . . . čē [kolā mūn . . . . mα]* indefinite and interrogative, as does Blochet also. Modi translates 'those who may look to the interpretation of this lance may run to the country of Iran (to render submission).'

about thirty miles north of Balkh. This border settlement was the regular place of crossing the Oxus for those who went direct from Balkh to Samarkand; see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 441.]

3. Lūhrāsp builds Kāīn in Khurāsān

The traditions connecting the name of Lūhrāsp or Lōhrāsp, Vīshtāspa's father, with Balkh may be found in *Zoroaster*, p. 208 seq. A new reference in Pahlavi associating his name again with Eastern Iran, but this time with the city of Kāīn, the foundations of which he is said to have laid, occurs in Shatrōīhā (§ 16). The brief allusion is:

Shatrōīhā 16. *šatrōstān ī kāīnŏ kaī-lūhrāsp ī vištāsp piṯ* [*abū*] *karṯ*. 'Kaī Lūhrāsp, father of Vishtāsp, built the city of Kāīn.'

On the location of Kāīn (mod. Ḳāyin or Qāïn) in Ḳūhistān, Southeastern Persia, see *Zoroaster*, p. 215; and consult Yāḳūt, tr. Barbier de Meynard, 436; Ibn Haukal, tr. Ouseley, p. 222–223; and Modi, *op. cit.* p. 147. [See now likewise Le Strange, *op. cit.* p. 352–354 n. 1, and his Map VIII, p. 335.]

4. Vishtāsp and Zarīr in Seistān

An additional reference to connect Vishtāsp with the 'Waters of Frazdānava,' alluded to in the Avesta and discussed in *Zoroaster*, pp. 210, 211, 220, 221, is found in the Shatrōīhā (§ 36). The text is interesting also because it refers to the Zoroastrian hero Zarīr and to the city of Bast, or Bust, Bost; it reads:

Shatrōīhā 36. *šatrōstān ī bast bastvar zarīrān karṯ pa* [*pavan*] *ān* [*zak*] *gās kē* [*amaṯ*] *vištāsp-šāh dēnŏ yaštanŏ pa* [*pavan*] *frazdān būt* [*yahvūnṯ*] *ū būnak ī vištāsp ū avārīk vāspūhrakān andar* [*dēn*] *nišāst* [*yatībūnāst*].

'Bastvar, son of Zarīr, built the city of Bast (Bust,

Bost) at the time when King Vishtāsp was in Frazdān to consecrate the Religion, and the origin of Vishtāsp and of other nobles (*vāspūhrakān*) is set there.' [14]

The references to the town of Bast, Bost, in Seistān will be found in Modi, *op. cit.* p. 153 [cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.* p. 344–345], and consult for the order of nobles called Vāspūhrakān, Hübschmann, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 16. 210, 252, 262, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 29.

5. Tūr ī Brātūrūsh, the Enemy of Zoroaster

In Shatrōīhā § 57 we have a new mention of Tūr ī Brātūrūsh, or Brātrōrēsh (sometimes written in other texts as Brātarvakhsh, cf. above, p. 23), who is regarded traditionally as Zoroaster's murderer (cf. *Zoroaster*, p. 128–131). The passage is somewhat difficult, owing to uncertainty in regard to several of the proper names, but the general sense is clear.

Shatrōīhā 57. *Šatrōstān ī v-v-v(?) v-v-v(?) ī gūraxšān(?)* [15] *kar̤ ū pa [pavan] nēšmanīh ō [val] kaī-kavāt̤ mat̤; ū darpūštīh ī arvandāsp tūr ī brāt̤ūrūš ī karap pa [pavan] yātūkīh kar̤ pānakīh ī ǰān [xayā] xvēš [nafšman] rāī.*

'V-v-v(?), son of Gūrakhshān(?), built the city of V-v-v(?), and it came to Kaī-Kavāt by marriage; and Tūr ī Brātūrūsh, the Karap, made by sorcery the Fortress of Arvandāsp for the protection of his own life.'

The name twice written as *v-v-v* is obscure, owing to

[14] The last line is somewhat uncertain. Blochet, *op. cit.* p. 169 (§ 33), omits the first *ū* and reads *būndak* 'il y établit les serviteurs de Vishtāsp et les autres "fils de famille" (Vispūhrak).' [This last sentence accords with the tradition as to a royal Kaiānian line in Seistān (see below, p. 280). There is a possibility that Vishtāsp may have been a viceroy in that province, while his father, Lūhrāsp (Lōhrāsp), was ruling at Balkh.]

[15] Concerning the doubtful reading of this proper name in the text see Jamasp-Asana, *op. cit.* p. 19 n. 10 and p. 22 n. 23. For *darpūštīh* as a stronghold or citadel, cf. Stackelberg, *WZKM.* 12. 242.

the ambiguity of the Pahlavi characters, so that we are uncertain as to the identification of the town and its founder. Modi, *op. cit.* p. 115, 160, proposes to identify it with Nineveh, said to have been founded by Ninus and associated with the prophet Jonah, and reads: 'Ninav of Yurās founded the city of Ninav.' Blochet, *op. cit.* p. 167, 170 § 58, doubtfully suggests Van—'la ville de Van(?) fut fondée par Van(?) enfant de Gorsi'—but in that case the name in Pahlavi should be Vān (long *ā*), judging from Yāḳūt, p. 585, *Vān* (yet see Hübschmann, *IF.* 16. 340, 469), and Van's history appears to be different, cf. Lynch, *Armenia*, 2. 59. Even Yāḳūt's *Vann* 'bourg de Qouhistan' (tr. Barbier de Meynard, p. 590 [= ? later, Bann in Ḳūhistān, Le Strange, p. 360–361]) can hardly be considered. Any suggestion, moreover, to think of the Avestan Varena cannot be entertained, as the name in that event would be written with the Pahlavi sign for internal *r*. Nor may we think of Nūr, the name of a district and river near Āmul in Māzandarān. In any case the city must be somewhere in Ātarōpātakān (Āzarbaijān), as is shown by the context (§§ 56–59).

With regard to the name of the founder's ancestor, as I take it, *gūraxšān*(?) is a makeshift. Concerning the Fortress of Arvandāsp, we may recall the fact that Arvandāsp was the father of Bēvarāsp or Azhi-Dahāka, the tyrant monster (cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenb.* 41[a], 60[b]), so that the maleficent Tūr ī Brātūrūsh in fortifying the citadel found company befitting his own wickedness. According to tradition, his sorcery and machinations were brought early into play against Zoroaster, whose youth was passed in Āzarbaijān (cf. *Zoroaster*, p. 28, 128).

6. Zoroaster and the Town of Āmūī

The number of towns which claim to be Zoroaster's birthplace or to be associated with his name is almost as

great as Homer's (cf. *JAOS.* 15. 221 seq.; *Zoroaster*, p. 183 seq.). A new reference is that to Āmūī, which the same treatise on the cities of Iran mentions among the town-names in Ātarōpātakān. The allusion is found in Shatrōīhā § 59.

Shatrōīhā 59. *šatrōstān ī āmūī zandak ī pūrmarg kart ū*[16] *zartūšt ī spītāmān az* [*men*] *ān* [*zak*] *šatrŏ* [*madīnā*] *būt* [*yahvūnt*].

'The Sorcerer (Zandak), who is full of death, founded the city of Āmūī, and Zartūsht, descendant of Spītāma, was of that place.'

The place-name a m u i or a m v i presents some difficulty. Blochet, p. 70, gives a m r in his text, recording a m u i in parenthesis as a variant. He accordingly translates a m r by 'Amôl.' There is little doubt that Amōl or Āmul is etymologically the same word as the classic Ἄμαρδος, a river in Atropatene, referred to by Ptolemy (cf. *Zoroaster*, p. 211; also Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 136), but was a different place, located south of the Caspian Sea in the Province of Māzandārān, modern Tabaristān. The allusion to sorcery (*zandak*) would harmonize with the noted ill-repute of Māzandārān. Modi, *op. cit.* p. 117, follows Jamasp-Asana's text and translates by 'Amui,' inclining (p. 160–161) to favor identifying with Āmul, or a place in that vicinity, as being nearer to Rai, the traditional home of Zoroaster's mother. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 123, n. 1, thinks that there is a lacuna in the text and that the town of Rai, which was associated with Zoroaster's mother, has dropped out, for this important place is missing from the Shatrōī hā list. It may be emphasized that the cities mentioned in immediate connection with Āmūī are located in Ātarōpātakān.

[P o s t s c r i p t, June 25, 1926. It is now interesting

[16] Reading *kart ū* for Jamasp-Asana's *kartō;* Blochet has *kart* without a conjunction.

to append that I believe that the location of Āmūī has since been definitely determined by my old friend Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. When I last saw him in Bombay, in the spring of 1926, he told me that during his travels in Persia, the preceding year, he actually found a small village still called Āmvī (cf. Phl. Āmūī), situated about twelve miles distant from Urumia in the old Atropatene territory. He made a pious but difficult pilgrimage to the village, where he observed many stones that indicated the ruined site of a once large town. Local tradition supported the view as to the greater size of the place in ancient days, while one ruin on an elevation in the vicinity bears the name Gaor-tapah, 'the Hill of the Gabrs,' and shows that we have to do with what was once a Zoroastrian site. After returning to India he delivered a lecture to the Parsis on this subject.—I may add that this lecture later developed into an elaborate monograph on the general question of 'The Birth-place of Zooraster,' since published in *The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 9, p. 1–113, Bombay, 1927. The last five pages (p. 109–113) are devoted especially to Āmvī (Āmūī).]

7. Zoroaster from Mūḳān or Mūghān

The list of places hallowed by Zoroaster's name is not exhausted. Here is a new one which is of interest and is in general harmony with the more important references that associate Zoroaster's youth with the extreme north-western part of Iran. It is found in Al-Tha'ālibī, a contemporary of Firdausī, whose work has been edited and translated by Zotenberg, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris, 1900, p. 257 [see above, Section C, especially p. 253]. Al-Tha'ālibī cites the older authority of Ibn Khurdādbih, about A.D. 800, and says: 'According to Ibn Khurdādbih, Zardūsht was a descendant of Manuchihar and he was from

Mūḳān (*Mūghān*) in Ādharbaijān.' Mūḳān, or Mūghān, according to Yāḳūt and other Arabic geographers, is a district in the region between Ardabīl and Tabrīz and received its name from its chief town. [Cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.* p. 175–176.] This is precisely the territory which is associated with the home of Zoroaster's father, according to my view of tradition (cf. *Zoroaster*, p. 193 seq.). With regard to Ibn Khurdādbih, the only pertinent allusion to Mūḳān which I can find in his extant work on itineraries is one in which, among other towns in Āzarbaijān, he mentions it in connection with 'Urumia, the city of Zardūsht'; see Ibn Khurdādbih, ed. de Goeje, in *Bibl. Geog. Arabicorum*, 6. 91 (transl.), p. 119 (text).

It is to be hoped that other Pahlavi and Persian texts may be found, edited, and translated which will throw still more light on the interesting subject of Zoroaster's life.

SECTION G

THE RELIGIOUS INTEREST WHICH SEISTĀN HAS HISTORICALLY FOR ZOROASTRIANS[1]

On arriving home in New York, after a seventh visit in the Orient, I take pleasure in sending back a greeting to the *Sanj Vartaman* for its Parsi New Year's number in September 1926 because this gives an occasion to Mrs. Jackson and myself to say to our Parsi friends everywhere how greatly we have appreciated all their kindness and attention during our various sojourns in their hospitable midst.

Besides this, an opportunity is thus also given to accept the kind invitation of 'Sanj' to write for the Nō Rūz issue in September a short article concerning some point connected with our late travels in India, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Persia, which might be drawn to the attention of the Parsis. Offhand it seemed perhaps worth while to emphasize the interest which the followers of Zoroaster should feel in Seistān. The general fact is of course familiar to them all, yet one is often glad to be reminded anew of some detail that may have slipped from recollection for the moment.

In travelling last April through Eastern Persia from Duzdāp to Mashhad and back again, we twice skirted the western border of Seistān, the ancient territory of Sakastāna, Sagastān, or Sijistān, called earlier Zaranka in the Old Persian Inscriptions and Drangiane by the Greeks. Herodotus has Σαράγγαι, Arrian Ζαράγγοι—the form is local,

[1] Reprinted, with appreciative acknowledgments and some additions, from my article in the Parsi New Year's number of *Sanj Vartaman* (*The Evening News*, Bombay), September 9, 1926.

and non-Persic (Meillet, *Gram. du vieux perse*, pp. 25–26, 60, 74). Visions kept ever floating before my memory of the associations which all this region had with the early history of Zoroastrianism. Scholars know them well, and I have touched on a number of these connections in antique times when writing the life of Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran. As our motor car wheeled over the so-called 'road' along the boundaries of this historic region, these memories became more and more a vivid realization.

According to the Zoroastrian patristic literature of such Pahlavi books as the Bundahishn (Bd. 21. 7; cf. 13. 16) and kindred works dating from later Sasanian times, Seistān was the traditional place of origin of the Kaiānian dynasty to which Gushtāsp, King Vīshtāspa of the Avesta, belonged. The very name 'Kaiānīs' to-day, by which a goodly part of the folk of Seistān are still known, proves the continuity of their descent from the ancient rulers of the land.[2]

Seistān came into religious prominence as one of the two earliest lands in which Zoroaster himself sought to promulgate his new Faith (cf. *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 44–46, 209–212). Born in Northwestern Persia, he went first to Turan to preach the gospel directly after receiving the Revelation; but meeting there with slight success he turned next to Seistān, clouded as it then was with the dark sorcery of black-art magicians (cf. Avesta, Vd. 1. 13–14). A legend, preserved in the Dēnkart (Dk. 7. 4. 29–35), recounts an odd story which indicates that Zoroaster combined the practice of healing together with his mission of spiritual teaching. As the tale is told, he had brought with him from the sacred river Dāityā in his ancestral territory some water mingled with consecrated *hōm*-juice. A ruler 'who dwelt at the end of Sagastān'

[2] Cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 361, 366; G. P. Tate, *Seistan*, p. 1, 2, 12, etc., Calcutta, 1910, 1912.

and was named Parshaṯ-gāu (Parshaṯ-tōrā), i.e. 'having dappled bulls,' begged the Prophet for a draft of the restorative elixir.[3] But, when he failed openly to profess the Faith, Zoroaster forthwith devoted the hallowed water to healing a young bull that was suffering from an ailment. It is not to be wondered that this Parshaṯ 'who dwelt at the end of Sagastān' became lost otherwise to history; the name Parshaṯ-gāu in the Avesta (Yt. 13. 96 and 127)—to which the Pahlavi form Parshaṯ-tōrā corresponds in meaning (Huzvārish-*tōrā* = Iranian-*gāv*)—is applied to two persons who are wholly different from the individual in question.

The temporary failure which Zoroaster met with meant not disheartenment but deferred hope. Judging from the same Pahlavi work and kindred sources, he seems to have journeyed back homewards, perhaps with varied wanderings, towards his ancestral region in Northwestern Iran. During this period, which occupied seven or eight years, he was vouchsafed six more visions of heaven, besides his original Revelation. All this combined to assure him of his divine mission, and he was further inspirited by the conversion of his cousin Maidhyōi-māoṅha, who embraced the Faith and became a sort of St. John the beloved disciple.

This note of success meant that a chord resonant with promise of future triumph had been struck. In the twelfth year after the Revelation, or when Zoroaster was forty-two, Vīshtāspa of Avestan fame was converted and became the Constantine of the Religion. Judging from the weight of later traditional evidence, the event took place at the ancient capital which is still called Balkh, in what is now Afghanistan. But Seistān came likewise

[3] Cf. above, p. 20, and see *Zoroaster*, p. 45–46. For etymology of the name Av. *Paršaṯ-gav-* see Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 877; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 243.

in for honor as being the region where Vīshtāspa first gave the new creed impetus by his powerful propaganda in behalf of the Faith. It might be too fanciful to surmise that once on a time Vīshtāspa had been viceroy in Seistān for his father Lōhrāsp (Av. Aurvaṯ-aspa), who, according to tradition, later abdicated the throne at Balkh to make him his successor. In any event, Vīshtāspa's interest in Seistān was not without religious importance as will be seen.

The small Pahlavi treatise 'Wonders of Sagastān' (§ 6 or 9) emphasizes the fact that, after accepting the Faith, 'King Vishtāsp made the propagation of the Religion on Lake Frazdān, first in Sagastān, and afterwards in the other cities.' The same passage speaks of Vishtāsp, 'in conference with Zaratūsht' and others in Seistān, as having arranged to issue several Nasks (books) 'for the purpose of keeping the religion of Sagastān progressive for being taught.' This short tractate on the 'Wonders' (first translated for me by Dr. E. W. West in 1898, but not published till 1916, eleven years after his death,[4] and rendered likewise into English and Gujarati by my Parsi friend Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi [5]) contains a number of interesting allusions to names and places in Seistān. Frazdān may be first noticed among them.

The 'lake, enclosure,' (Phl. *var*) or basin-reservoir of Frazdān (§ 6, or 9, and see also § 2) is well-known as the Avestan Frazdānava of the Yashts (Yt. 5. 108) 'in sight of whose water the high-minded Vīshtāspa made an offering' for victory over foes, among whom are named 'the demon-worshiping Peshana (*Pəšana*) and also the

[4] See West, 'A Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Treatise, "Wonders of Sagastan,"' in *JAOS.* (1916) 36. 115–121. This was published by A. V. W. J. from Dr. West's correspondence with the author.

[5] See Modi, in his volume entitled *Aiyādgar-i-Zarirān, Shatrōihā-i-Airān, and Afdiya va Sahigiyā-i-Sistān*, p. 122–127, Bombay, 1899.

wicked Arejaṭaspa' (Yt. 5. 109). The former of these two fighters may possibly have belonged to the region of the modern Peshin or Pishin, north of Quetta in neighboring Baluchistan. In any case he was an enemy opposed to the new and true Faith. The latter, the inveterate Arejaṭaspa, or 'Arjāsp the Turanian,' according to the Shāhnāmah stormed Balkh at a time when Vīshtāspa (Gushtāsp) was said to be sojourning in Seistān, on a visit.[6] That second and disastrous incursion of Iran resulted, as tradition runs, in the death of Lōhrāsp and of Zoroaster before Vīshtāspa could hurry back to the defence of the ancient capital. As to the location of 'Lake Frazdān' I am strongly inclined now to identify it with the lacustrine basin of Gaud-i Zirrah, or Zarah, lying close south of the Hāmūn 'sea' (as the latter becomes in flooded seasons).[7] What the Hāmūn itself meant as 'the Sea Kansaoya' in connection with Zoroastrian prophecy will be made clear later on. The entire region round about was hallowed by many associations.

The beacon light of the Faith which Vīshtāspa had kindled in Seistān and Balkh spread with effulgent flame throughout Iran. At Bost (Bust or Bast) in Sagastān, a town still known by its ancient name on the higher reaches of the Hēlmand River, was born Sēnŏ (Av. Saēna) as the old accounts record. This zealous enthusiast, who appeared more than a half century after Zoroaster's decease, caught up the torch and, with the aid of the hundred disciples that came after him, kept it burning for generations till the days when the all-conquering Alexander

[6] For references see *Zoroaster*, p. 129–131.

[7] I have therefore given up my former idea of associating Frazdānava with Āb-Istādah (*Zoroaster*, p. 211). For a description of the Gaud-i Zirrah, see C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 101–103, Edinburgh and London, 1900, and consult E. Huntington, 'The Basin of Eastern Persia and Sistan,' in Pumpelly's *Explorations in Turkestan, etc.* p. 283–285, Washington, 1905.

brought ruin and desolation upon the Religion (for references see *Zoroaster*, p. 137 n. 5, 6). It may furthermore be added that even after Alexander's invasion of Iran the Province of Seistān (Sagastān) remained in considerable measure intact, and one early book (*nask*) preserving the Zoroastrian tradition, that of the later apostle Sēnŏ, was preserved, and was known currently even among women and children, so that in this way 'the Religion traveled back into Sagastān, arranged and restored even anew in Sagastān only.' See transl. West, *op. cit.* p. 120; and cf. Modi, *op. cit.* p. 127. This fact would prove that the more remote Seistān province had remained faithful throughout to the early Zoroastrian Creed.

It is not surprising that the Hēlmand, the chief river of Seistān, which empties into the Hāmūn and turns its broad expanse at times into an inland sea, should bear a name handed down with sanctity from the by-gone ages of the Avesta when it was spoken of as 'the radiant glorious Haētumant' (Vd. 1. 13; 19. 39, and see especially Yt. 19. 66, 67). Its shining and benign stream, fed by the many waters 'which follow from the mountains' (Yt. 19. 66) in Afghanistan, where its sources are, makes rich this region, filled with millennial hope according to Zoroastrian lore.

As we scan the distant horizon, the curious table-mountain of Kūh-i Khwāja, 'Mountain of the Master,' is the one striking feature in Seistān's limited orography. This was surely Mount Ushidhāo of the Avesta (Yt. 19. 66; cf. Yt. 19. 2; 1. 28) and Ush-dāshtār of the Pahlavi texts, the mountain sacred in Zoroastrian times as 'Imparting Illumination.' A fuller discussion of this point, however, is reserved for elsewhere.

In the same vicinity, in a town early known as Karkūyah, stood one of the most venerated fire-temples in Zoroastrian history. Perhaps the Prophet himself chanted the ritual

as the sacred flame first rose heavenward. The pious Sēnŏ must have cherished the embers with fostering care. We know about this ancient temple through a long account given by the Muhammadan writer Ḳazvīnī, at the close of the thirteenth century (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 341–342). According to Ḳazvīnī the edifice was surmounted by two domes, said to date from the mythical age of Rustam, and each topped off by a curving horn claimed to be the famous pair which decked that hero's cap, having been taken from the head of the vanquished White Dēv. Ḳazvīnī states that the sacred fire in the shrine below the twin domes had never been allowed to go out. The officiating priest, standing at a respectful distance and wearing a veil lest his breath might defile the flame, fed it with span-long logs of tamarisk wood, laid on with silver tongs. The picture rose graphically before my imagination; the voice of the intoning priest echoed in fancy through my ears; but I was prevented through unfortunate circumstances from making researches in this region as had been planned. I recalled, however, that Dr. J. J. Modi, in *The Parsi*, 1905, had drawn attention to the fact that an English civil officer, who was serving in Seistān more than twenty years ago, had made practically certain the location of this historic shrine, known as 'Karkoe' (more exactly, Karkū). (Consult further, Tate, *Seistan*, p. 15, 206–209; cf. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 336, 341–342, 351.)

These memories, so full of the Zoroastrian past, grew ever brighter as my eyes swept across the plain to the Hāmūn. The shimmering quiver of the mirage atmosphere made the near aspect still more near. As already indicated, this was the Avestan *Zrayō yaṯ Ḳasaēm*, 'Sea of Kansaoya' (Yt. 19. 66), whose surface in time of flood by the Haētumant (Hēlmand) is turned into a veritable sea. The camel-drivers and peasants on the plain spoke

of it regularly as the *Zarah* or *Zirrah*, 'Sea,' just as their ancient forebears termed it the 'Sea' (*Zrayō*) of Kansaoya in the forgotten ages of the Avesta. But of what special interest to the Parsis is this flooded region with its fructifying waters? They can remember it not only as a seat of the ancient 'Kingly Glory' (Av. *kavaēm xᵛarənō*, Yt. 19. 66, 69) in Zarathushtra's days and still earlier, but also as one of the first centers in which the Religion was spread. Yet more than that, and above all, the promise was given in the Vendīdād (Vd. 19. 5), and repeated in the later Pahlavi books, that 'from the water of Kansaoya, from the regions of the dawn, will be born the victorious Saoshyant (i.e. Sōshans)'—the future redeemer of the world. His birth, like that of his two millennial predecessors' shall be from the seed of Zarathushtra preserved in these waters, and in a miraculous manner. It is no wonder that, according to the Bundahishn (32. 8–9), 'ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine Fravashis,' or pre-existing guardian spirits, are charged with keeping watch over this precious treasure until the times are ready for it to bear fruit. A new era of regenerate mankind will be ushered in by this Benefactor-savior in the final millennium; the renovation of the universe will take place; the world will become perfect and destined for everlasting beatitude.

What an inspiration, I thought, must this millennial idea be to Zarathushtra's followers to-day! Abiding firm in the faith it is their proud privilege to advance the Religion, not only by devotion through thoughts and words, but by zealous deeds. Theirs is the duty, and a bounden duty it is, to live up to all that is noblest and best in the teachings of him who was the Prophet of Ancient Iran.

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In the arrangement of the words, no account has been taken of the diacritical marks attached to some letters, thus č will be found under c, and š under s. The Greek characters δ, γ, and θ (see p. xxxiii) are treated as equivalent to d, g, and th, respectively. The special character ə is alphabetized as e.

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