ZURVAN

A ZOROASTRIAN DILEMMA



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BOOKS



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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH it would be untrue to say that in the past twenty years little of importance has been written on Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, it is nevertheless true that both Professor Nyberg's *Die Religionen des alten Iran* and Herzfeld's *Zoroaster*, the principal quantitative contributions to the subject in recent times, are concerned mainly with the origins of Zoroastrianism and kindred religions, not with the system as it later developed in Sassanian times. The Sassanian period, during which Zoroastrianism emerges as a fully fledged member of the 'higher' religions with a complex theology of its own, has received less attention than the inherent interest of the subject merits. There is one very solid reason for this—Pahlavī.

Students of Zoroastrianism, unless they belong to that rare and distinguished class of persons who do not know, know that they do not know, and rejoice in their invincible ignorance, are usually discouraged by the apparently insoluble problems presented by their principal sources: for the *Gāθās* which contain Zoroaster's own thoughts, and the *Dēnkart* which expounds the fully developed theology of the Zoroastrian 'golden age', are perhaps the most difficult texts in any language. But whereas, in the case of the *Gāθās*, the philological difficulties are such that we must, for the moment at least, despair of finding a certain solution, the difficulties of the *Dēnkart*, if only because of its greater bulk, are in many cases not insuperable. Comparison with parallel passages will often throw a flood of light on what seemed to be—and indeed are—hopelessly corrupt texts, and patience in this severe discipline is not infrequently rewarded. Professor Henning, in his Ratanbai Katrak lectures of 1949, has issued a solemn warning against 'those rash spirits who engage in Zoroastrian studies without equipping themselves properly, without reading the Pahlavī literature, without learning to handle the intricate Manichaean fragments in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian, without studying the Sogdian and Khotanese books'. The warning was, no doubt, timely; yet I must confess to insufficient equipment in this respect, for my knowledge of Soghdian is rudimentary, and of Khotanese nil. However, while admitting that a knowledge of these two languages may be *useful* to the student of Zoroastrianism, I cannot see that it is necessary.

In addition to a sound knowledge of Pahlavī, the Avesta, and the Manichaean texts, however, an indispensable qualification for the interpretation of the Middle Persian Zoroastrian texts is some acquaintance at least with

Hellenistic philosophy and a familiarity with the Aristotelian jargon; for it is becoming increasingly plain that the *Dēnkart* and the *Šikand* at least are as thoroughly permeated with Aristotelian thought as is the Arabic of the *mutakallimūn*. Fr. P. J. de Menasce has already made this sufficiently clear.

During the time that this book has been in the press my attention has been largely diverted from things Zoroastrian by my election as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at my old University. Though it will no longer be possible to devote the greater part of my time to the elucidation of Zoroastrian problems which I still find fascinating, I hope at least to be able to make some contribution in this little-surveyed field; for Zoroastrian theology is interesting, and a study of the Pahlavī texts leaves one with a respect for the seriousness of the Zoroastrian approach to the major religious problems which could not be easily deduced from much that has lately been written on the subject.

I cannot claim that the present study on Zurvān fully brings out the theological issues with which Mazdean and Zervanite were alike preoccupied. Perhaps too much space has been devoted to the sometimes puerile myths attached to the person of Zurvān; but I hope that the later chapters of the book will show that both Mazdeans and Zervanites were concerned with more serious matters than bisexuality and incest—a point that never emerges from the writings of their Christian opponents. Both parties are vitally concerned with the problem of evil, the unity of the godhead, and their apparent incompatibility. It has been my aim to elicit from the texts the solutions they propounded, but I should be the last to claim that this book is more than a preliminary study.

Much of the philological work on which my translations are based has already appeared elsewhere ('Zurvanica I–III' in BSOS. ix, pp. 303–20, 573–85, 871–901, and 'A Zervanite Apocalypse', ibid. x, pp. 377–98, 606–31), but further study has made it necessary to alter the translation in places. This is particularly true of the text Z 20, one of the most crucial for our subject.

It is now nearly two years since the manuscript of this book was delivered to the Press. I have not found it necessary to alter much in the proof stage—only what seemed to me to be positive mistakes. There is, however, one point on which I have definitely changed my mind. This is the question of the Mithraic lion-headed deity. My unbounded admiration for Cumont had led me to accept his identification with Zurvān-Kronos without question. I can no longer do so. *A priori* it would seem certain that this monstrous and manifestly evil being must be the *deus Areimanius* to whom

votive tablets are dedicated; and this is borne out not only by the Manichaean evidence which Professor Duchesne-Guillemin has already cited (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 128), but by the fact that both lion and snake figure prominently in the Pahlavī books as creatures of Ahriman, the first being the principal representative of the 'wolf species' and the second of the *χrafstars*. Ahriman, as master of this world (text F 4, § 1), would inevitably become adorned with the Signs of the Zodiac and the Planets: he would, in fact, be assimilated to Zurvān of the long Dominion just as Ohrmazd is assimilated to the Infinite Zurvān in many of the texts in this book. A preface is not, however, the place to marshal the evidence in support of this theory.

Since this book went to press I have had occasion to refer to the *Tabṣiratu'l-'awāmm* of Murtaẓā Rāzī. This preserves an account of the Zervanite myth which I had not previously seen, and which I append as an addendum.

In transliterating the Pahlavī texts I have followed the 'archaic' transcription used by Nyberg in his *Hilfsbuch*. There are minor divergences, and these will be quickly noticed but are of little importance. The presence of ideograms is noted by a *spiritus lenis* (') preceding the word ideographically written. Where manuscript variants are noted (as in texts Z 1 and 2), these may appear unvocalized in capital letters. Here W at the end of a word represents a *wāw quiescens*: underlining of other letters indicates that in the original these letters are provided with diacritical points (G = š, D = ŝ, &c.). In noting variants I have not been consistent in indicating the presence or absence of a *wāw quiescens* or of the *iẓāfat*. My excuse is that this would have further lengthened a book which is already long enough, and that this was not justifiable in the circumstances; for the more Pahlavī one reads, the stronger does one's conviction grow that both are inserted or omitted at the copyist's good pleasure. When the presence or absence of an *iẓāfat* makes a difference to the sense I have, of course, indicated it. A notable example of this occurs on p. 338, where it makes a considerable difference whether one reads *Zurvān zēn* or *Zurvān i zēn*.

In the transcription of proper names in Part I, I must plead guilty to wild inconsistency. I realize that if we call the founder of the Sassanian dynasty Ardašīr we should call Āδurbāδ Āzurbād, and Pērōz Fīrūz. So far as I have been guided by any principle at all, it has been to give the New Persian form of names which are still current today and the (Manichaean) Middle Persian form to less well-known characters: but even this 'principle' has not infrequently been violated, as the case of Pērōz clearly shows.

There remains only the grateful task of apportioning thanks where thanks are due. First I would express my very great gratitude to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the onerous task of printing and publishing this bulky and unremunerative work. I could have wished that the object of their altruism were more worthy. Secondly, I would like to thank all those who have assisted in seeing the book through the Press; for I can well realize that if the sufferings endured by authors in the checking of proofs of this sort may be considerable, they can be as nothing compared to the agonies which both compositors and proof-readers must go through when confronted with page upon page of 'high-piping' Pahlavī. At all stages of the printing their accuracy and efficiency have been beyond praise; and if, despite all the patient and unrewarding work they have put into the production of this book, errors still remain, then I alone am responsible.

Mrs. Helen Allison, Mr. G. Morrison, and Mr. David Bivar have rendered me invaluable assistance in checking the accuracy of transcription and translation. Without their aid this task would have been infinitely more irksome. To them my thanks are very sincerely offered.

I am further indebted to the Editorial Board of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies for allowing me to incorporate in this book material which has already appeared in the *Bulletin*. I greatly appreciate their generosity.

It gives me pleasure, too, to acknowledge my great debt to Professor Bailey, who, by teaching me Pahlavī, supplied me with the one tool that was really indispensable for my task; and to Professor Nyberg whose *Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes* first stimulated my interest in the father of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Thus it would not be untrue to say that the 'matter' of this book derives from Bailey, the 'form' from Nyberg: for the combination only can I claim any credit. Finally, I would thank Professor Henning for coming to my assistance on many occasions when I had been unable to solve a philological point.

In conclusion I would express the hope that the publication of this work may do something to stimulate further interest in the Zoroastrian religion.

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ABBREVIATIONS

N.B. Abbreviated titles of books or articles are only noted here in cases where the abbreviated title is not obvious.

AASOR. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
AbPAW. *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
AIW. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch.*
AJSLL. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.*
Andreas–Barr, *Psalter: Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen.*
Andreas–Henning, MirMan.: *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan.*
AO. *Acta Orientalia.*
Aog. *Aogəmadaēčā.*
Arm. Armenian.
Av. Avesta, Avestan.
AVM. *Aβyātkār i Vazurg-Miθr*, in *Pahlavī Texts.*
AVN. *Artāy Virāβ Nāmak.*
Bd. *Bundahišn.*
BkPhl. Book Pahlavī.
BSO(A)S. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*, London.
CCM. Nyberg, *Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes.*
Clemen, *Fontes. Fontes historiae religionis persicae.*
Cumont, MMM. *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra.*
Darmesteter, ZA. *Le Zend Avesta.*
Dd. *Dātastān i dēnīk.*
Dk. *Dēnkart.* M. Madan; S. Sanjana.
ERE. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*
FrPhl. *Frahang i Pahlavīk.*
FrŌīm. *Frahang i Ōīm.*
GGA. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.*
GrBd. *Greater Bundahišn.*
Herzfeld, AMI. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Irān.*
Ind. Bd. *Indian Bundahišn.*
JA. *Journal Asiatique.*
JAOS. *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JNES. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago.
JRAS. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
Kn. *Kārnāmak i Artaχšaθr i Pāpakān.*
Langlois. *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie.*
MhD. *Mātiyān i hazār dātastān.*
MMM. v. Cumont.
MO. *Monde Oriental.*
MParthT. Middle Parthian, Turfān.
MPT. Middle Persian, Turfān.
Mχ. *Mēnōk i Xrat.*
NGGW. *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
Nöldeke, *Ṭabarī. Geschichte der Perser, &c.*
NP. New (Muhammadan) Persian.
Ny. *Nyāyišn.*
Nyberg, CCM. v. CCM.
Nyberg, Glossar: *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, II, *Glossar.*

OLZ. *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung.*
OP. Old Persian.
Pāz. Pāzand.
PersRiv. *Persian Rivāyats.*
P.G. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca.*
Phl. Pahlavī.
PhlRiv. Pahlavī Rivāyats.
Pn. *Pandnāmak i Zartuχšt*, in *Pahlavī texts.*
Psalter. v. Andreas–Barr, *Psalter.*
Purs. *Pursišnīhā*, in Darmesteter, ZA. III, pp. 53–77.
Rev. Et. Arm. *Revue des études arméniennes.*
RHR. *Revue de l'histoire des religions.*
RSO. *Rivista degli studi orientali.*
RV. *Rig-Veda.*
SBE. *Sacred books of the East.*
SbPAW. *Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
ŠGV. *Shikand-gûmânîk vijār.*
Skt. Sanskrit.
ŠnŠ. *Šāyast nē šāyast.*
ŠnV. *Šāhnāmeh*, ed. Vullers.
Vd. *Vidēvdāt.*
WZKM. *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
YF. *Yavišt i Friyān.*
Ys. *Yasna.*
Yt. *Yašt.*
ZA. v. Darmesteter, ZA.
ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
Zeitschr. f. Kircheng. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.*
ZII. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.*
Zn. (*Žāmāsp-nāmak*) *Aβyātkār i Žāmāspīk*, ed. Messina.
Zs. Zātspram.
ZumAIW. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch.*
ZXA. *Zand i χ^{v}artak apastāk.*

PART I
THE ARGUMENT

INTRODUCTION

ĪRĀN is, in the strictest sense, the Middle East. It is the bridge that connects, or the chasm that separates, the two great cultures of the ancient world—our own Mediterranean culture on the one hand, founded as it is on the contrasted civilizations of Greece and Israel, and that of farther Asia on the other, having India and China as its twin corner-stones. For this reason Īrān has naturally attracted the attention of Orientalists as being the obvious link between these two distinct and widely differing civilizations. Given its geographical position and troubled history, Īrān should have been the fertile meeting-ground of East and West. Here, if anywhere, we should expect to find a fruitful synthesis of the speculative and mystical systems of India and the positive theism of the Semites. This has, however, only to a small extent been the case: or so, at least, we are left to surmise; for, compared with the vast and highly developed literatures of India and the Hellenistic world, Iranian literature of the 'Middle' period (*c.* 300 B.C. to A.D. 900) is, both in quality and quantity, disappointing; and speculation as to how much may have been lost is largely futile.

Further, until the Muhammadan conquest wiped out the earlier religions of the Middle East, the religion of Zoroaster was supreme in Īrān. Revived at the beginning of the third century A.D., Zoroastrianism proceeded not only to put its own house in order but to deal ruthlessly with such foreign religions as had succeeded in taking root on its soil. Indeed the Sassanian period, with which this book is primarily concerned, shows a distinct family resemblance to that of the later Safavīs when, after some eight hundred years of political eclipse, the Persian Empire was again restored under an indigenous dynasty. In both cases the rulers of an empire which was united in neither race nor language sought to impose a State religion on their subjects, which would at least give them a semblance of religious unity, if of no other. Both the Zoroastrians in Sassanian times and the Shī'ah Muslims in the Safavī period proved to be exceptionally intolerant of other religions—largely, one suspects, to emphasize their difference from the neighbouring states. This atmosphere of religious nationalism, then, would not *a priori* seem propitious for any merging of foreign ideas on Iranian soil. A further stumbling-block to such a development was the nature of the Zoroastrian religion itself: for Zoroastrianism was uncompromisingly dualist. Nor was its dualism the classic dualism between spirit and matter which would have provided a common meeting-ground with the Indian Jains and the Sāṁkhyā to the East, with the Gnostics to the

West, and with the Manichaeans in Īrān itself. It was a dualism of spirit, postulating two principles at the origin of the Universe—the Spirit of Good or Ohrmazd, and the Spirit of Evil or Ahriman. This extremely original idea dates back to Zoroaster himself, and it is his basic contribution to the philosophy of religion. As far as we can determine from the evidence available, Zoroaster was personally responsible for this radical solution of the problem of evil; and this is all the more remarkable in that this essential problem does not seem to have made any serious impact on the Aryan consciousness until his day. Yet the doctrine of the two Spirits could scarcely be more categorically stated than in *Yasna* 30. 3–4, where Zoroaster himself says:

> In the beginning the two Spirits who are the well-endowed(?) twins were known as the one good, the other evil, in thought, word, and deed. Between them the wise chose the good, not so the fools. And when these Spirits met, they established in the beginning life and the absence of life that in the end the evil should meet with the worst existence, but the just with the Best Mind.

Though it was no doubt Zoroaster himself who sowed the seed of spiritual dualism, it was left to his epigones in later times to systematize it. A Zoroastrian confession of faith is found in the *Pand-nāmak i Zartuχšt*, §§ 2 ff. (PhlTexts, p. 42) which expounds the dualist creed with all desirable clarity.

> This must I know without venturing to doubt: I came from the spirit, nor was I (always) from the world. I was created, and have not (always) been. I belong to Ohrmazd, not to Ahriman; to the gods, not to the demons; to the good, not to the evil. I am a man, not a demon. I am a creature of Ohrmazd, not of Ahriman. . . . (§ 12) I must firmly believe that there are two principles, one the Creator, and the other the Destroyer. It is the Creator, Ohrmazd, who is all goodness and all light, and the accursed Destroyer, Ahriman, who is all evil, full of death, a liar and a deceiver.

Zoroastrianism, then, separated itself on the fundamental issue of the unity of the godhead from all other systems whether monist or monotheistic: and among dualist systems it is unique in that its dualism is not the classic dichotomy of spirit and matter, found in different forms and degrees of virulence in both India and the West and reaching its clearest statement in the religion of the Manichees; but it is a dualism of two rival spiritual and moral forces—good and evil, light and darkness, order and disorder, Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Matter does not essentially enter into the question at all. Indeed, when it is formed or created, it is formed by Ohrmazd and is therefore good. Later, it is true, it is corrupted by Ahriman, but basically it belongs to Ohrmazd and is anything but the source of evil.

It can be readily understood that so fundamental a dualism might well produce a reaction, since the history of religion proves that the nature of man seems to demand a unified godhead. This reaction duly appeared: it is what we call Zervanism. As might be expected in a heterodox sect, in Zervanism we do appear to find traces of alien ideas which were so rigorously excluded from the Zoroastrian orthodoxy: and it is the tenets of this sect and its possible connexions with non-Iranian religions that we propose to examine in these pages.

It will have been noticed in the passage quoted above from *Yasna* 30 that the two primeval spirits are referred to as twins. If they are twins, then it is only logical to assume that they had a common father. If they had such a father, it would be reasonable to suppose that that father is the Infinite, since the twins, limiting each other as they do, can neither of them be infinite. The Infinite appeared most frequently in the Zoroastrian writings as Infinite Time (*zrvān- akarana-* or, in Pahlavī, *zurvān i akanārak*). Hence Ohrmazd and Ahriman came to be regarded as the twin sons of Infinite Time.

Here, plainly, was a major heresy. The Zervanites tried to re-establish the unity of the godhead by positing a principle prior and superior to Ohrmazd and Ahriman, thereby doing away with that essential dualism which is the hub of the Zoroastrian position. The orthodox appear to have reacted against this heresy with vigour; and the sharpness of their reaction has made the reconstruction of the Zervanite system doubly formidable. For the Pahlavī texts, as they survive today, are orthodox texts in which every effort has been made to expunge all trace of the Zervanite heresy. Zervanism, therefore, shares the fate of all sects that have not been able to survive: it is never (or hardly ever) allowed to speak for itself. Of all our sources only one, the so-called *'Ulemā i Islām* (text Z 37), is written from the Zervanite point of view; and this text is very late. The non-Zoroastrian sources are mainly Christian and Manichaean, and their approach is understandably unsympathetic and hostile; while the orthodox Zoroastrians, whose work the present corpus of Pahlavī literature represents, have done all they could to eradicate older ideas which could no longer be tolerated in the official dualism. Fortunately the censors of the Sassanian and post-Sassanian periods were less expert at the rewriting of history than their Stalinist successors; and Zurvān has fared better at their hands than has Trotsky among the forgers of the Kremlin. Despite their vigilance passages remain in the Pahlavī books themselves which enable us to uncover fragments of Zervanite belief from their orthodox overlay. This has been a delicate task, but it has, we hope, enabled us to form

a somewhat clearer picture of this half-forgotten and highly obscure religion.

Our Pahlavī sources, it must be confessed, are irritatingly obscure. They are written in an ambiguous and rebarbative script which has tried the patience of Orientalists for more than a century. In addition, the *Dēnkart*, that great corpus of Zoroastrian theology and potentially by far the most important of our extant sources, is undoubtedly the most corrupt text in any Iranian language of any period. Added to this, it is written in an abbreviated 'note' style compared with which the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle is plain sailing. There is no punctuation: and if there is, it is all too frequently misplaced. The existing translations seem to bear little relation to the maddening original, and we are left therefore to cope with the thing as best we can, alone.

True, the study of Pahlavī has been considerably facilitated by the discovery of the Manichaean Middle Persian texts from Turfān: yet the difficulties that still remain are so considerable that I have found it necessary to publish the more important Pahlavī sources in transliteration (with translation and commentary) in article form before incorporating them into this book. To these articles (published in the BSO(A)S., vols. ix and x) the reader is referred for the philological justification of my translations.

This book, then, has two objects: first, to collect the relevant texts from all sources in one volume, and secondly to fit together this jigsaw puzzle into some sort of unity into which the individual pieces could, without violence, fit. Although singularly little has been written about Zurvān and Zervanism, and despite the fact that what little has appeared is now largely out of date, the subject appears to have fascinated scholars working in such disparate fields as Buddhism and the heresy of the Bogomils, not to mention the various forms of Gnosticism, Mithraism, and the religion of the Mandaeans. Since scholars working in so great a variety of fields have seemed to attach such great importance to the god Zurvān and the religion over which he presides, it has seemed worth while to marshal the evidence and rebuild the edifice as best we can. This is the object and the justification of the present work.

CHAPTER I

THE ZOROASTRIAN SECTS

THE year A.D. 226 marks the foundation of the second Persian Empire. Persia for the second time appears on the scene of history as a great power and as the eastern rival of the Roman Empire. The Parthian confederation which had for so long dominated the Middle Eastern scene was swept aside, defeated by a Persian of the province of Fārs, Ardašīr, the son of Pāpak. This man was to lay the foundations of what is known in history as the Sassanian Empire. The empire he founded differed greatly from its predecessor in that it was highly centralized under the supreme headship of the King of Kings, an absolute monarch who enjoyed almost divine honours.

Corresponding with the political change was another: the religion of the Magians, worshippers of Ahura Mazdāh (Ohrmazd), or Zoroastrians as they may now be indifferently called, was elevated to the position of official religion of the Iranian autocracy. Under the Parthian overlords this religion would appear to have sunk very low, and information concerning its fortunes is exceedingly scant. There would appear to have been no one belief which could lay claim to orthodoxy among the many shades of Iranian religion that must then have been current. There can, however, be little doubt that during the Seleucid and Parthian epochs Hellenistic influences made themselves felt which may even then have penetrated into the Zoroastrian religion itself.

For the Sassanian period we are less completely in the dark; for we are fortunate in possessing an account by the Zoroastrian priests themselves of the rehabilitation of their religion. This account is of such importance to our investigation that it must be quoted in full. It is to be found in the fourth book of the *Dēnkart*,[1] a great corpus of religious learning dating, in matter, from the late Sassanian period. The text of this formidable work is notoriously corrupt, and its style cramped, arid, and obscure. With regard to the last epithet at least our present passage is no exception to the depressing rule, and we therefore offer our translation with some misgiving, but hope that it nevertheless comes near to rendering the thoughts of the original. It runs as follows:[2]

Dārāy, son of Dārāy,[3] commanded that two copies of all the Avesta and Zand

[1] DkM. 412. 3–415. 3. The text will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

[2] Cf. Darmesteter, ZA. iii, p. xxxi.

[3] Meaning Darius Codomannus, whom writers of the Sassanian period supposed to be the son of Darius the Great. Of all the Achaemenids two Dariuses alone were known to them.

should be written, even as Zoroaster had received them from Ohrmazd, and that one should be preserved in the Royal Treasury and one in the National Archives.

Valaχš (Vologeses),[1] the Arsacid, commanded that a memorandum be sent to the provinces (instructing them) to preserve, in the state in which they had been found in (each) province, whatever of the Avesta and Zand had come to light and was genuine, and also any teaching deriving from it which, although now scattered owing to the chaos and disruption which Alexander had brought in his wake and the pillage and looting of the Macedonians in the kingdom of Īrān, either survived in writing or was preserved in an authoritative oral tradition.

His Majesty, the King of Kings, Artaχšaθr (Ardašīr I), son of Pāpak, following Tansar as his religious authority, commanded all those scattered teachings to be brought to the court. Tansar set about his business and selected one (? tradition) and left the rest out of the canon: and he issued this decree: 'The interpretation of all the teachings from the Mazdayasnian religion is our responsibility: for now there is no lack of certain knowledge concerning them.'

The King of Kings, Šāpuhr (Šāpūr, Sapor I), son of Artaχšaθr, further collected those writings from the Religion which were dispersed throughout India, the Byzantine Empire, and other lands and which treated of medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, creation, becoming, passing away, change in quality, growth (?), and other processes and organs. These he added to the Avesta and commanded that a fair copy of all of them be deposited at the Royal Treasury: and he examined (the possibility) of bringing all systems(?) into line with the Mazdayasnian Religion.

The King of Kings, Šāpuhr, son of Ohrmazd (Šāpūr II), summoned men from all lands to an unprejudiced(?) disputation to examine and investigate all creeds. After Āδurbāδ had been vindicated by the consistency of his argument, he issued a declaration before all those representatives of the different sects, doctrines, and schools in this wise: 'Now that we have seen the Religion upon earth, we shall not tolerate false religions and we shall be exceeding zealous.' And thus did he do.

His present Majesty, the King of Kings, Xusrau (Chosroes I), son of Kavāδ (Cabades, Qubād), after he had put down irreligion and heresy with the greatest vindictiveness according to the revelation of the Religion in the matter of all heresy, greatly strengthened the system of the four castes and encouraged precise argumentation, and in a diet (?) of the provinces he issued the following declaration: 'The truth of the Mazdayasnian religion has been recognized. Intelligent men can with confidence establish it in the world by discussion. But effective and progressive propaganda should be based not so much on discussion as on pure thoughts, words, and deeds, the inspiration of the Good Spirit, and the worship of the gods paid in absolute conformity to the word. What the chief Magians of Ohrmazd have proclaimed, do we proclaim; for among us they have been shown to possess spiritual insight. And we have asked and ask of them the fullest exposition of doctrine both of that which concerns spiritual insight and of that which deals with conduct on earth, and for this we give thanks to the gods. Fortunately for the good governance of the country the realm of Īrān has

[1] It cannot be determined which of the four Vologeses is here meant.

gone forward relying on the doctrine of the Mazdayasnian religion, that is the synthesis of the accumulated knowledge of those who have gone before us throughout the whole of X^{v}anīras.[1] We have no dispute with those who have other convictions, for we (ourselves) possess so much both in the Avestan language through pure oral tradition or reduced to writing in books and memoranda and in the vulgar idiom through oral transmission—in short the whole original wisdom of the Mazdayasnian religion. Whereas we have recognized that, in so far as all dubious doctrines, foreign to the Mazdayasnian religion, reach this place from all over the world, further examination and investigation prove that to absorb and publish abroad knowledge foreign to the Mazdayasnian religion does not contribute to the welfare and prosperity of our subjects as much as one religious leader (*rat*) who has examined much and pondered much in his recital (of the ritual); with high intent and in concert with the perspicacious, most noble, most honourable, most good Magian men, we do hereby decree that the Avesta and Zand be studied zealously and ever afresh so that what is acquired therefrom may worthily increase and fertilize the knowledge of our subjects. Those who tell our subjects either that it is not possible to acquire, or that it is possible to acquire in its entirety, knowledge of the Creator, the mystery of spiritual beings, and the nature of the Creator's creation, are to be deemed men of insufficient intellect and free-thinkers. Those who say that it is possible to understand Being through the revelation of the Religion and also by analogy, are to be deemed researchers (after truth). Those who expound (this doctrine) clearly, are to be deemed wise and versed in the Religion. And since the root of all knowledge is the doctrine of the Religion concerning both ideal potentiality and material manifestation, a man (who speaks in this cause) speaks wisely even though he derives the doctrine from no Avestan revelation. So he should be esteemed as (speaking) in accordance with the revelation of the Religion, the function of which is to give instruction to the sons of men.'

It will have been observed from the above that at the time of the accession of Ardašīr I the Zoroastrian 'Church' was in a state of the extremest disorganization. What writings it may have possessed—and it has been maintained that it possessed none[2]—are alleged to have been scattered throughout the provinces. That Tansar, the *hērbaδān-hērbaδ*[3] of Ardašīr, collected what material he could find and reduced it to some sort of canon we have no good reason to disbelieve. The discovery at Ka'beh i Zartušt of the great inscription of the high priest Kartīr whose career starts during

[1] The central of the seven mythical climes.

[2] v. F. Nau in RHR. xcv, pp. 149–99, and JA. 1927, pp. 150 ff. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, pp. 13–14, suggests that the Avesta was preserved in only two or three copies and that it played little part in the religious life of the average Mazdean: cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 509–12. Bailey (*Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 172) assigns the first writing down of the Avesta to the middle of the sixth century A.D.

[3] For a discussion of the titles *hērbaδ* and *mōbaδ* v. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, pp. 23 ff.

the reign of Ardašīr's successor, Šāpūr I, is scarcely sufficient, as Sprengling would have us believe,[1] to relegate Tansar entirely to the realm of romance. It is, of course, possible that Tansar was in fact identical with Kartīr, as Sprengling maintains, and the record preserved in the *Dēnkart* attributes to Tansar the exploits of Kartīr; for it is true that the accounts of Ardašīr's reign in the Pahlavī books are very much more legendary than historical. Legend, however, weaves itself round a core of historical fact; and were Tansar not remembered as a pioneer of the Zoroastrian revival in Sassanian times, it is difficult to see any reason why the pseudo-Tansar whose epistle appears to date from the reign of Xusrau I (A.D. 531–78)[2] should have thought it worth while to borrow his name. The personality of Tansar is indeed almost entirely lost to us, but his importance as the reviver of Zoroastrianism is remembered. The *Dēnkart* says of him: 'Neither shall unrighteous turmoil, nor unrighteous devil-worship, nor unrighteous calumny be eradicated from the provinces until men offer to accept him, the priest, the spiritual leader, the eloquent, truthful, blessed Tansar.'[3] The later evidence is all somewhat suspect. The author of the epistle represents him as a sage who retired from the world, while Masʿūdī[4] attributes Platonist ideas to him. All this, however, should be taken with a large pinch of salt, for the evidence is late and the source on which it is based, i.e. the Sassanian *χᵛatāynāmak* or 'Book of Kings', does not seem to have drawn on authentic records for the earlier Sassanian period.

The *Dēnkart* references to the reign and religious activities of Šāpūr I are of considerable interest; for he is said to have incorporated a variety of Greek and Indian works into the Avesta. The Persians, in this respect as in many others so very different from the Greeks, were never over-anxious to admit their indebtedness to foreign influences, though these have throughout their history been of overwhelming importance. It is, then, of great significance that we should find them here freely admitting the infiltration of scientific-religious matter both from West and East into their religious system. It is the more significant in that Šāpūr I is known to have dabbled in heterodoxy and more particularly in the newly founded religion of Mānī,[5] which was to prove so vicious a thorn in the side of Christianity and Zoroastrianism, and later of Islām itself. The overwhelming probability,

[1] AJSLL. lvii, 1940, pp. 214–15.

[2] v. Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, i, pp. 30 and 48; Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, pp. 111–12.

[3] DkM. 652. 10: *'nē-ič 'hač 'ān 'dēh 'ān i apārōn anāštīh frāč aβsiδīhēt 'ut 'nē 'ān i apārōn *dēvāsn 'ut 'nē 'ān i apārōn spazgīh 'tāk 'kaδ ō 'avē *'dahēnd patīrišn āsrōn i mēnōk sardār i purr-guftār rāst-guftār i ahrov Tansar.*

[4] *Murūǰ*, Barbier de Meynard, ii, p. 161.

[5] H. C. Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, p. 47 and notes 188 and 189 (p. 134), where the references to the original sources are given.

then, is that the *Dēnkart* account of the influx of foreign influences during this period is substantially true.

This seems now to be proved by the evidence of the great inscription of Kartīr recently discovered at Ka'beh i Zartušt. Most unfortunately the only edition of this vitally important source gives neither text nor transliteration, but only a dead-literal translation interspersed with odd words in the original.[1] From this, however, it emerges clearly that Kartīr, who describes himself as *ēhrpat* (*hērbaδ*) under Šāpūr I and *magupat* (*mōbaδ*) under his successors, persecuted Brahmans and Buddhists as well as Manichaeans. Thus the penetration of Indian as well as Greek ideas into Īrān at this time seems to be established beyond reasonable doubt: and the correctness of the information transmitted in our *Dēnkart* passage receives unexpected and welcome confirmation. The activities of this amazing man can conveniently be dealt with later in the chapter: for the present we must confine ourselves to the *Dēnkart* text.

According to this the 'orthodox' reaction set in under Šāpūr II. The protagonist of the reaction was one Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, who looms large throughout the Pahlavī books. We do not know what the different 'sects, doctrines, and schools' mentioned in the text were, nor is it clear whether they refer to Zoroastrian sects only or to non-Iranian religions as well. In view of the second Šāpūr's savage persecution of the Christians which, in the light of Kartīr's inscription, can now be regarded as a prolongation and intensification of an already existing state of affairs, it may be concluded that the views of the non-Zoroastrians were not sought. Certain it is that the question was decided by ordeal,[2] that Āδurbāδ emerged victorious, that his doctrine was then accepted as orthodox, and that divergence from this new rule of faith was not tolerated.

For the years between Šāpūr II and Xusrau I the Pahlavī books give no information whatsoever. Their silence suggests that these years were distasteful to the post-Sassanian theologians to whose hand we owe the Pahlavī books in their present form. Xusrau's predecessor and father, Kavāδ, was certainly not dear to them. Like Šāpūr I he toyed with the newest religion then current, in this case that of the communist Mazdak. Under the circumstances the necessity for Xusrau's decree will be readily understood. It seems probable that the version preserved in the *Dēnkart* is, if not Xusrau's *ipsissima verba*,[3] at any rate very close to the actual

[1] M. Sprengling, 'Kartīr, Founder of Sasanian Zoroastrianism', AJSLL. lvii, 1940, pp. 197–228.

[2] The story of the ordeal of Āδurbāδ is told in DkM. 454. 3; 644. 19; ŠGV. 10. 70.

[3] But see Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, iii, p. 10, who maintains that the use of the word *'im* 'this' proves that the author of the *Dēnkart* was transcribing an official document.

decree. The style has a breadth and dignity wholly unlike the jejune and pinched manner of the bulk of that book, and for the events of the reign of Xusrau the author must have had ample material at his disposal; for the historians dependent on the *χᵛatāynāmak* give very full accounts of this reign.

But, it may well be asked, in what way does the *Dēnkart* passage throw light on the so-called Zervanite religion? To this we must lamely reply that its value is largely negative. It gives no positive data concerning the prevalence of Zervanite ideas, but it does indicate with all desirable clarity those periods when 'pure' Mazdeanism was supreme. The *Dēnkart*—in essence much less tainted with Zervanism than the *Bundahišn* or Zātspram—regards the reigns of Šāpūr II and Xusrau I as the peak periods of the particular Mazdean brand of Zoroastrianism it represents. Both are characterized by an onslaught on heresy. For the post-Sassanian Pahlavī authors Āδurbāδ and Xusrau are the heroes of their faith; and it is no accident that both are fathered with collections of *handarzes* or wise sayings,[1] an honour accorded to few other figures under the Sassanian dominion. By submitting to the ordeal and emerging from it victorious, Āδurbāδ obtained the acceptance of his doctrine by Šāpūr II:[2] and that that doctrine was that adopted after the fall of the Sassanian Empire can scarcely be doubted. It is the dualist doctrine, the doctrine of the two primeval spirits, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, both without beginning, separate from and opposed to each other, the principles of good and evil, light and darkness—the 'pure' Mazdean doctrine as it will be convenient to call it. Zurvān, known to us as the father of Ohrmazd and Ahriman from a variety of sources, is either unknown to it or regarded as an hypostasis of Ohrmazd. It is basically the doctrine of the *Dēnkart*, which claims to have been handed down for five or six generations in the family of Āδurbāδ himself.[3] After a period of religious unrest and the probable resurgence of Zervanism,[4] Xusrau I

[1] Cf. PhlTexts, pp. 55–57 (Xusrau); ibid. 144–53 (Āδurbāδ); DkM. pp. 215–18 (Āδurbāδ); ibid. 218–19 (Xusrau); also ibid. 572. 17 ff.

[2] DkM. 454. 3: *'pat ⟨vi⟩tāχtak rōδ passāχtan i hufravart Āturpāt i Mahraspandān 'ut bōχtan 'i-š 'pat patkār handāčišn i hām Xᵛanīras patkārdārān 'andar χᵛatāyīh i 'avē bay Šāpuhr 'šāhān 'šāh ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazdān.*—'Through the submission of Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, of goodly Fravahr to the ordeal of molten brass and through his victory in argument the disputing parties of all Xᵛanīras were confounded during the reign of His Majesty, Šāpūr, King of Kings, son of Ohrmazd.'

[3] The author claims to have transcribed his text from a copy (DkM. 946. 12): *'kē 'andar dēnān dēn 'hast ćēγōn hufravahrān hudēnān pēšōpāδān [i] 'hač dūtak i hufravart Āturpāt i Mahraspandān [i] 'hač 5 'ut 6 hanbātak 'apāč . . . dāšt.*—'Which is the religion of religions, even as the leaders of goodly Fravahr and good religion received it from the family of Hufravart Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, for five or six generations.'

[4] *Infra*, pp. 39–48.

re-established this true Mazdean doctrine. In a collection of sayings attributed to him he advises the faithful to teach the religious word and worship of the gods 'in accordance with the teachings and practice of the disciples of Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand from the province of Makrān(?)'.[1] This, then, is the doctrine preserved for us in the *Dēnkart* and kindred Pahlavī books.

Now it may be supposed that the Zoroastrian Church, elevated as it was to the rank of State religion at the beginning of the Sassanian period, possessed a unified doctrine and a fixed dogma. This is, however, not the case. We do not know how many sects were admitted within the Church, nor how many existed outside it. We are, however, mainly concerned with one only, the Zervanite, that is the sect which believed Time to be the source of all things and to be the father of the principles of good and evil, of Ohrmazd and Ahriman.

The *Dēnkart*[2] distinguishes three forms of Iranian religion. The first is *yātūkīh* or 'sorcery', a sect which conceives of the Creator as purely maleficent; the second is *dušāmōč-*dēnīh*,[3] 'the religion of false doctrine', and this sect conceives of the Creator as both beneficent and maleficent; the third is the *dēn i māzdēsn*, 'the religion of the worshippers of Mazdāh or Ohrmazd', and regards the Creator as purely beneficent and exempt from all evil, inclining men to goodness and wisdom.

It is a remarkable fact that the doctrine of the 'sorcerers' of the Avesta and Pahlavī books agrees in many respects with that ascribed to the Magians by many Greek and Latin writers. Plutarch, in a famous passage from the *de Iside*,[4] writes that Zoroaster, the Magus, taught men to sacrifice to Oramazes (Ohrmazd) offerings of vows and thanksgiving, and to Areimanios (Ahriman) offerings of gloom to avert evil (*ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά*). 'Pounding in a mortar a herb called *omomi*,[5] they invoke Hades[6] and the darkness; then mixing it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, they carry it off to a sunless place and cast it away.' As Professor Benveniste justly remarks, 'the very idea of an offering to Ahriman is, in the eyes of a Mazdean, rank heresy'.[7] But does it follow that because the rite is not Mazdean, it must therefore be Zervanite, as Benveniste argues? Is it not surprising that Plutarch, if he is describing the Zervanite faith, should omit to mention Zurvān, and should give not the slightest hint that there

[1] Chapter II, p. 52, n. c.

[2] DkM., p. 153.

[3] The text reads *dušāmōč-sūtīh* (ibid. 153. 16).

[4] 369D–370D (text G 4).

[5] The nature of this herb is discussed by Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, p. 74 and in JA. 1929, p. 290, where he seeks to prove it to be the *amomis*.

[6] The Greek translation of Ahriman. Cf. Hesychius, s.v. *Ἀρειμάνιος, ὁ Ἅιδης παρὰ Πέρσαις*; Diogenes Laertius, *Proem* 8, *Ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος*.

[7] *The Persian Religion*, p. 73.

was a deity superior to Ohrmazd and Ahriman? Both Christensen[1] and Nyberg[2] have rejected this hypothesis, and they have been followed by MM. Bidez and Cumont in their authoritative work on the hellenized Magians.[3] Since these sacrifices then do not seem to be Zervanite and can obviously not be Mazdean, we must seek a solution elsewhere.

In the Pahlavī books we are frequently confronted with certain people hostile to the Mazdean community called *dēvāsn* (MPT. *dyw'sn*, Henning, BSOS. ix, p. 82; Av. *daēvō-yasna-*) or 'devil-worshippers'. That such a class of persons existed outside the imagination of the Mazdean theologians is proved by the corroborative evidence of the Manichaean *Xᵛastuānift*, where we read, 'The second (sc. person who leads to the gates of hell) is he who thinks the devil is God and worships him', and again, 'If, thinking devils and spirits to be gods, we have sacrificed living creatures to them . . . my sin forgive'.[4] These devil-worshippers are identical with the 'sorcerers' of the *Dēnkart* who did not believe in rewards and punishments[5] and worshipped the demons.[6]

Just as the European sorcerers celebrated a black Mass, a blasphemous travesty of the central act of Catholic worship, so did the Iranian sorcerers have their own occult ceremonies which they performed in honour of Ahriman: in their case they based their perverted rite on the *Var-nīrang* or 'ceremony of the ordeal'. The *Dēnkart* describes the fundamental difference between the two.

The perverted, devilish, unrighteous rite of the 'mystery of the sorcerers'[7] consists in praising Ahriman, the destroyer, in prowling around in great secrecy, in keeping home, body, and clothes in a state of filthiness and stench, in smearing the body with dead matter and excrement, in causing discomfort to the gods and joy to the demons, in chanting services to the demons and calling on them by name as befits their activity, in the worship of the demons and false religion, in thinking in accordance with the Evil Mind, in false speech and unrighteous action—the disreputable sorcerers and villains—and in all else that befits the devilish and is far from the godly.[8]

Not only did they have their own characteristically revolting form of worship, but they also seem to have claimed some sort of revelation; for in a

[1] MO. xxv, pp. 29–34.

[2] CCM. 1931, p. 234.

[3] *Mages*, i, p. 65.

[4] von le Coq, JRAS. 1911, p. 290; Bang, *Muséon*, xxxvi, p. 155.

[5] DkM. 211. 21: *dušdānāk druvand Aχt 'pat afrahaχtīh i kirpak mizd 'ut abōžišnīh 'hač bazak puhr adāšt-srōšīh 'ut zat-dastaβarīh [i] drāyast.*—'Aχt, the accursed of evil knowledge, proclaimed disobedience and disregard of authority by not teaching that virtue is rewarded and that there is no escape from the punishment of sin.' Aχt is the arch-sorcerer: see note A, p. 30..

[6] See note A, p. 30.

[7] Probably the name of the ceremony in question.

[8] See note B, p. 30.

list of the demonic counterparts to the various divine beings we meet with the 'word of sorcery' whose adversary is the 'pure Word' or λόγος.[1] This latter is elsewhere explained as the 'word of Ohrmazd, that is the Avesta which, being interpreted, is the pure praise of God'.[2] It would therefore seem reasonably safe to conclude that the proscribed sect, too, had its traditional literature. The prime object of their worship was naturally Ahriman; for 'by the religion of the sorcerers (Ahriman) so inclines men to love him and to hate Ohrmazd that they abandon the religion of Ohrmazd and practise that of Ahriman'.[3] To the Mazdeans the essence of the religion of the sorcerers was 'evil knowledge' and its 'garment' (by which we may understand its outward manifestation) heresy, while the essence of their own was wisdom and its 'garment' goodness.[4]

By his knowledge of evil the sorcerer seeks, if he is a qualified magician, to subdue the Evil One to his will and to force him into his service, or if he is less competent, to appease him with sacrifice. The sorcerers of Īrān certainly did the latter, as we learn from the pleasing text entitled *Yavišt i Friyān*.[5] This opusculum may indeed be regarded as a little propaganda piece put out by Zoroastrian orthodoxy to demonstrate the dangers inherent in the worship of demons who rarely prove tractable in the long run. Their worship and that of their prince, Ahriman, is indeed so frequently alluded to and condemned in the Pahlavī books[6] that we must conclude that the practice was fairly widespread in Īrān during the Sassanian period. So far from propitiating the evil power, the Mazdeans pointed out, this cult rendered it the more virulent.[7]

That the cult was conducted at night and in great secrecy may be inferred from the epithet *nihānīktom duvārišnīh*, 'prowling around in great secrecy'.[8] The adepts of the forbidden rite would, then, seem not to have dared to profess their religion openly, but concealed their heresy by conforming to Mazdean orthodoxy, a stratagem that the Isma'īlīs were to repeat in Islamic days. Thus we read in the *Dēnkart*: 'Their power to propagate the religion

[1] GrBd. 47. 12: *srov i yātūkīh 'ō mānsar i apēčak.*

[2] Ibid. 177. 7: *mahraspand gōβišn i Ōhrmazd i 'hast i apastāk 'kē-š vičārišn apēčak stāyišn ⟨i⟩ yazat.*

[3] Ibid. 182. 2: *'pat yātūk-dēnīh 'martōm 'ō dōstīh ⟨i⟩ 'χᵛēš 'ut adōst⟨īh⟩i Ōhrmazd and *hāčēt 'ku dēn i Ōhrmazd 'hilēnd 'ut 'ān i Ahriman varzēnd.*

[4] DkM. 355. 6: *'ēt dēn i Ōhrmazd χᵛatīh dānākīh 'ut-aš patmōčan 'vēhīh . . . dēn i Ahriman χᵛatīh dušākāsīh 'ut-aš patmōčan ahramōyīh.*—'This that the essence of the religion of Ohrmazd is wisdom and its garment goodness . . . and the essence of the religion of Ahriman is evil knowledge and its garment false religion.'

[5] v. p. 30, note A.

[6] Besides the passages cited above cf. ibid. 776. 21; 792. 18; 831. 15; 836. 18.

[7] Ibid. 831. 16: *Ahriman 'kaδ-aš yazēnd, 'vattar 'ut stahmaktar anākīh-kartārtar 'bavēt.*—'When they worship Ahriman, he becomes more wicked, violent, and maleficent.'

[8] v. p. 30, note B.

of Ahriman in the name of Ohrmazd is restricted, and they keep their heresy hidden.'[1] This brief remark is for us particularly instructive: it amounts to an admission that the sorcerers did not worship the powers of darkness exclusively, but also paid tribute to Ohrmazd. Their practices were in fact closely akin to those described by Plutarch, who was himself aware of two distinct views about Ahriman among the Magians.[2] Once in the Pahlavī books the sorcerers are allowed to speak for themselves. In the legendary life of Zoroaster they will not be converted to the new religion because, they say, 'there did we take counsel with the demons. When we crave of them lordship and leadership, they grant it us: when we crave richness in flocks and wealth, they grant it us.'[3] This, then, is the answer to the Mazdean propaganda. It is not true, the sorcerers maintain, that the demons let them down: on the contrary they provide them with affluence and power, and these are commodities which magic has always claimed to be able to provide.

Before leaving our Pahlavī sources reference may be made to one point of interest. It will be observed that the religion of the sorcerers is referred to not with the word *kēš* as in the case of the Jews, or *čāštak* as in the case of the Manichees, but with the word *dēn*, the term normally used only of the Zoroastrian Church itself. It is perhaps not too bold to see in this usage a survival of a once legitimate religion suppressed long ago, possibly by Xerxes,[4] but still in the Sassanian period carrying on a vigorous if underground activity. Even after the fall of the House of Sāsān we find a reminiscence of it in the name *Devdat*,[5] a son of Afšīn, the Arab governor of Āzarbaijān.

Before passing to the core of our problem we may perhaps be allowed to trace the destiny of the sorcerers or devil-worshippers in history. The earliest reference we have to this cult in the West of Īrān is in an inscription of Xerxes first published by Herzfeld in 1936[6] in which that monarch appears to boast of having destroyed a *daiva* temple (if this is really the meaning of *daivadāna-*) and proclaims: 'Thou shalt not worship the *daivas*.

[1] DkM. 893. 10: *'ut-šān tavān i 'apar Ahriman dēn 'pat Ōhrmazd-'nāmīh ravāk kartan 'bandīhēt, 'ut ahramōyih nihān 'dārēnd.*

[2] *De latenter vivendo*, 1130A (Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, p. 73, n. 3): *τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας κύριον μοίρας, εἴτε θεός, εἴτε δαίμων ἐστίν, Ἄδην ὀνομάζουσιν.*

[3] DkM. 634. 14: *'ōδ 'ō 'dēvān ham-pursīt 'hēm: 'kaδ sāstārīh pēšōpāδīh 'hač 'avēšān žahēm, 'ān 'ō 'amāh 'dahēnd: 'kaδ pasōmandīh 'ut tavāngarīh 'hač 'avēšān žahēm, 'ān ō 'amāh 'dahēnd.*

[4] *Infra*, pp. 17, 20.

[5] Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 37; cf. Nöldeke, ZII. ii, p. 318, *dēvdāδ*, son of *dēvdast*; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. *Dīwdāδ*.

[6] Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Bd. viii, pp. 56–77. For bibliography see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 112.

Where before the *daivas* were worshipped, there did I worship Ahura Mazdāh in accordance with the law (*arta-*) with the proper rite.'[1] Herzfeld and others have held that the inscription proves Xerxes to have been a Zoroastrian. Without wishing to revive this controversy, we will merely express a personal view that the evidence to date seems overwhelmingly in favour of Herzfeld's view if by Zoroastrian we understand one who combats the worship of the *daiva*s as Zoroaster did and who exalts the 'law' (*arta-*) and condemns the 'lie' (*drauga-*)—an attitude which, one would have thought, was of the essence of the *Gāθā*s and incidental only to the *Rig-Veda* with which we are so often invited to compare them. This view, we are happy to note, is that adopted by Professor Duchesne-Guillemin in his excellent monograph on Zoroaster (pp. 109–10).

Gladly leaving this controversial question we must now say a few words about the *daiva*s themselves. *Daiva-* (Av. *daēva-*, Skt. *deva-*) is the Indo-Iranian designation for a certain class of deity: distinguished from them are the *ahura*s (Skt. *asura*s). The two classes of deity developed on very different lines in the sister civilizations of India and Īrān. In India the *deva*s increased in importance and gradually ousted the *asuras*: in Īrān it was the *ahura*s who gained the day while the *daiva*s were gradually reduced to the rank of demons. This being so, it would be surprising if *daiva-* in the Xerxes inscription referred to anything other than the dethroned deities. Herzfeld would include among these Mithra, Anāhitā, and all the gods who were excluded from the Gāθic pantheon: but in view of the fact that Mithra is himself constantly called *ahura* in the Avesta, this view can scarcely command acceptance.

Nyberg adopts a point of view diametrically opposed. For him the *daivadāna* is the temple of Marduk in Babylon. True, Xerxes' religious policy, unlike that of his predecessors, is known to have been intolerant. He sacked the temple of Marduk in Babylon, carried off its golden statue, and slew the high priest.[2] But this is not enough in itself to justify the use of *daiva-* for a foreign deity: neither Avestan nor Pahlavī usage justifies such an assumption. It seems much more probable that the *daiva*s of the Xerxes inscription are what they always had been and continued to be, a group of (Indo-) Iranian deities which at some period were reduced to the rank of demons—Ahriman himself, though his original identity is still unclear,[3] Indra, Sarva, and the rest. This view is confirmed by the *Dēnkart*, where the worship of Indra (Indar) and Sarva (Sāvul) is forbidden along

[1] So following Henning (*Transac. Phil. Soc.* 1944, pp. 108 f.). Other views listed by Kent, op. cit., p. 201.

[2] Herodotus i. 183.

[3] Wikander (*Vayu I*, p. 207) argues with great plausibility that Vayu was the original of Ahriman.

with that of Ahriman.[1] It would, therefore, seem probable that Xerxes, in spite of the heterodox behaviour attributed to him by Herodotus,[2] was the first to suppress the cult of the *daiva*s. But whether his successors were not strenuous enough in following the example he had set, or for some other reason unknown to us, the proscribed religion continued to thrive and was a cause of constant concern to the priesthood of Sassanian Īrān.

The fundamental difference between the *Μάγοι* and *Μαγουσαῖοι* known to the Greeks, on the one hand, and the Zoroastrian Magians in Persia, on the other, has continued to puzzle scholars for more than a century. About the origin of the Magians there is no agreement. For Moulton[3] they were an aboriginal tribe, neither Aryan nor Semitic, diviners, necromancers, and quacks: they were responsible for the *Vidēvdāt*, its superstitions and absurdities; they were solely responsible for the degeneration of the religion of Zoroaster; they introduced the exposure of corpses, next-of-kin marriage, and they worked out the mechanical and over-systematized dualism with which we are all too familiar in later Zoroastrianism. So Moulton.

For Messina the case was very different.[4] He regards the Magians as being the original disciples of Zoroaster. They were his missionaries and were the first to bring his doctrine to the West: they formed a colony in Media and propagated the Good Religion there. Messina further proves the falsehood of Moulton's contention that the Magians were from the earliest times known to the Greeks only as sorcerers. Among those who were in a position to know, they were respected and admired: for Plato *μαγεία* means the service of the gods;[5] and in this he is followed by Apuleius and Dio Chrysostom.[6] They are said by Strabo to lead a holy life.[7] Diogenes Laertius, on the authority of Sotion, says that they worship the gods with sacrifice and prayer and are alone heard; they reveal the nature, essence, and genesis of the gods, discourse concerning justice, and condemn graven images: he enumerates further many other beliefs which are elsewhere attested both in Iranian and Greek sources.[8] For further eulogistic accounts of the Magians the reader is referred to Messina[9] and to MM.

[1] DkM. 792. 18.

[2] It is, however, significant that the Greek writers on the Magians are said to have condemned Herodotus and to have denied that Xerxes shot arrows at the Sun or put the sea in bonds. v. Diogenes Laertius, *Proem* 9 (Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, p. 68). Duchesne (*Zoroastre*, p. 114) following Messina (*Ursprung der Magier*) impugns the reliability of Herodotus.

[3] *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 182 ff.

[4] *Ursprung der Magier*, passim.

[5] *1 Alcibiades* 122A; v. Bidez–Cumont, op. laud. ii, p. 22; Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 22.

[6] v. Bidez–Cumont, op. laud. ii, pp. 22, 28.

[7] Strabo xv. 3. 1; Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 33.

[8] Diogenes Laertius, *Proem* 6–9; Bidez–Cumont, op. laud. ii, pp. 67 ff.; Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 74.

[9] Op. cit., pp. 41 ff.

Bidez and Cumont's great work, *Les Mages Hellénisés*, ii, pp. 18 ff., where the distinction between *μαγεία* and *γοητεία* is emphasized. This does not, however, alter the fact that the average Greek, who had no specialized knowledge of Oriental religions, regarded the Magians as sorcerers and nothing more.[1]

Now we know that during the reign of Xerxes the Magians had already begun to emigrate from Īrān to the West. At the time of Xanthus the Lydian they had already established themselves in Lydia; temples of Anāhitā existed at Hypapa and Hierocaesarea, the foundation of the latter being attributed to Cyrus,[2] and Iranian colonists had named the Lydian plain the Hyrcanian plain.[3] They rapidly spread to Phrygia and Galatia, and a bas-relief discovered at Dascylium shows two Magians offering sacrifices according to the Mazdean rite.[4] By the time of Strabo they were firmly established in Cappadocia and Pontus.[5] Since they came principally from Mesopotamia, it is scarcely surprising that they should have been profoundly influenced by Babylonian thought.[6] In Babylon they came into contact with the Chaldean priests, from whom they learnt much, notably the science of astrology and a certain tendency to regard Time as the first principle. These ideas they carried with them in their western migrations. They rapidly became naturalized, and their idiom appears to have been Aramaic.[7] Whether they still preserved relations with their co-religionists in Īrān is not certain, though there is reason to believe that some, at any rate, of the Magian colonies abroad did so during the Sassanian period.

Now Cumont, whose knowledge of these matters was unique, maintained that 'it was the Zervanite system that the Mazdeans of Asia Minor taught the occidental followers of the Iranian religion':[8] but in many cases it was more than Zervanism; it was *yātūkīh*, 'sorcery', and *dēvāsnīh*, 'devil-worship'. The mysteries of Mithra with which we are now fairly well acquainted, thanks to the untiring researches of the above-mentioned scholar, are Zervanite in so far as they place Kronos-Zurvān at the head of the pantheon, but they are 'devil-worshipping' too in that they allow offerings to be made to Ahriman, the prince of devils.[9] That the latter could exist without the former is, we venture to think, proved by the account of Plutarch cited above. The practice of worshipping the demons

[1] Cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 387: *μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον | δόλιον ἀγύρτην.*

[2] Tacitus, *Annales* iii. 62, quoted by Cumont, MMM. i, p. 10, n. 6.

[3] v. Bidez–Cumont, op. laud. i, p. 5; Cumont, MMM. i, pp. 9–10.

[4] Reproduced in Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*, 4th ed., p. 135, Fig. 10.

[5] Cumont, MMM. i, p. 9, nn. 6, 7.

[6] Id. *Religions orientales*, 3rd ed., p. 229.

[7] Ibid., p. 228; *Mages*, i, p. 35.

[8] MMM. i, p. 78.

[9] For the inscriptions *deo Areimanio*, v. ibid. ii, pp. 98, 141.

is also referred to by Clement of Alexandria: 'the Magians', he says, 'worship angels and demons'.[1] This, as we have seen, is the practice not of the Mazdeans or Zervanites but of the 'devil-worshippers', the third Iranian sect mentioned in the *Dēnkart*. With these facts in mind it will, perhaps, be safe to conclude that Xerxes, in suppressing the *daiva* cult, caused a large-scale emigration of dissident Magians. These, after absorbing much of Babylonian speculation, transported their beliefs to Asia Minor; and from them arose the Graeco-Roman religion of Mithra.

We have seen that the Magians or 'Magusaei' of Asia Minor developed a religion which derived on the one hand from heretical Zoroastrianism and on the other from Babylon. From Babylon, in all probability, they derived the idea of Time, represented by the firmament, as the supreme god. This is the cardinal tenet of the belief we call Zervanism. Before the Sassanian period the evidence for the existence of Zervanism is scanty in the extreme. True, the name Zurvān may be deduced from tablets dating back to the twelfth century B.C.[2] in which the name *Za-ar-wa-an* bears a most striking resemblance to our deity; but this by no means entitles us to conclude that Zervanism, as we know it, existed at that time, though we must, I think, be prepared to admit the existence of a god Zurvān in very remote antiquity.

After this we have no further reference to Zurvān in a datable source until the fourth century B.C. The passage in question, the first account of Zervanite doctrine to be supplied by a non-Iranian source, is given by Eudemus of Rhodes, a pupil of Aristotle. The account, however, is only given at second hand by Damascius,[3] who, writing at the time of Xusrau I, may conceivably have been attributing to Eudemus beliefs which must still have been current in his time. Two other references are preserved before the Sassanian period, the inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene[4] and the 'Song of the Magians' retailed by Dio Chrysostom:[5] but both would appear to belong to the tradition of the Western Magusaei rather than to Īrān. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the inscription is Zervanite. It is only with the foundation of the Sassanian Empire that the doctrine connected with the name of Zurvān comes into its own.

[1] *Stromata* iii. 6. 48 *apud* Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, i, p. 60, n. 6.

[2] In the Nuzi documents the following forms are found: *Za-ar-wa-an*, *It-ḫi-Za-ar-wa*, *Ar-Za-ar-wa*, and *Du-uk-ki-Za-ar-wa*. v. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, p. 310. Duchesne (op. laud., p. 96) does not consider that these forms necessarily refer to the Iranian deity.

[3] *Dubitationes et Solutiones*, 125 bis; Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 95 (text G 1). The authenticity of this passage has been disputed by Scheftelowitz, followed by von Wesendonk, *Das Wesen der Lehre des Zarathuštrōs*, p. 14.

[4] See note C, p. 31.

[5] Text and copious notes in Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, pp. 142 ff.

It is indeed an astonishing fact that only when the 'Mazda-worshipping religion'[1] became the religion of State do we come into contact with Zervanite doctrines. All our foreign sources for the latter, with the dubious exception of Eudemus, refer to the Zoroastrianism of the Sassanian Empire. The Armenian, Eznik of Kołb, in particular gives us details of the Zervanite mythology which are so utterly at variance with the true Mazdeanism of the Pahlavī books that we would be prepared to doubt his evidence were it not for the confirmation we receive from Manichaean sources.[2] When the Christian polemists attack the Magian religion, they attack not Mazdean dualism, but Zervanite polytheism. If it were only the Christian attacks that had to be considered, we might content ourselves with the inadequate theory that, since their accounts mostly derive from a common source, this source might well be pre-Sassanian and that they were attacking a religion which had long been obsolescent, just as St. Augustine, when he attacks Paganism, devotes his attention to the ancient gods and pays no heed to the living religions of Isis, Mithra, Cybele, and the rest.[3] But here we stumble upon further obstacles. The Manichaeans, adapting their system to the religious terminology of Īrān, selected not Ohrmazd as the representative of their supreme god but Zurvān. This is all the more astonishing in that the Manichaean Zurvān is essentially the god of light, the very Father of Light:[4] he is not the father of Ahriman as in the Zervanite myth, but stands in the same relation to him as does Ohrmazd in the orthodox Mazdean account: they are eternal enemies, of separate substance, good and evil, light and darkness, irreconcilably opposed. The parallel between the Manichaean Zurvān and Ahriman on the one hand and the Mazdean Ohrmazd and Ahriman on the other is exact. Yet the Manichaeans did not regard Ohrmazd as a suitable representative of their own 'Father of Greatness': they chose Zurvān although, from all we can deduce from the Zoroastrian and external sources alike, the Zoroastrian Zurvān was in no sense a god of light,[5] and Ohrmazd would seem ideally fitted for the role of Father of Light. Yet when he appears in the Manichaean system, it is not as the supreme god but as the πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος, the God-man, to use Reitzenstein's phrase, who, though wholly divine and consubstantial with the Father of Greatness, is nevertheless inferior to him, being sent to do battle with the powers of darkness and ignominiously defeated. In selecting Zurvān to represent the Father of Greatness the Manichaeans were evidently

[1] See note D, p. 31.

[2] *Infra*, pp. 148 ff.

[3] v. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*, p. 315.

[4] Cf. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 277; Waldschmidt–Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 48; id. *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 17.

[5] *Infra*, pp. 55 ff.

struck by that inaccessibility and aloofness from the cosmic conflict which was characteristic of their own supreme deity. This is, in fact, about the only point they have in common. The conclusion is, therefore, ineluctable: at the time of Mānī, who began his mission in A.D. 242 in the reign of Šāpūr I, Ohrmazd was not regarded as the supreme god: there was another higher than he, and that was Zurvān: Zervanism was the current form of Zoroastrianism at that time.

Now it may be argued that, since the theatre of Mānī's activities was Mesopotamia, Zervanite doctrines may be assumed to have been confined to that non-Iranian country. Again there is evidence to invalidate such an hypothesis. In the far north-eastern corner of the Iranian lands, in Soghdiana, large Buddhist colonies had come into being, and translations of Buddhist works had been made into Soghdian. These too do not use the word *Ōhrmazd* to translate Brahmā who is the highest of the gods, but *Azrua*, the Soghdian form of Zurvān: the word *Ōhrmazd* is used to translate Indra. Moreover, the Manichaean *X^{v}astuānift*[1] as well as a Manichaean Persian fragment[2] contain passages unmistakably directed against the Zervanite doctrine that Zurvān was the father of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. 'If', the *X^{v}astuānift* says, 'we should have said, the good and the bad, all has been created by God'; 'if we should have said, Ohrmazd and Ahriman are brothers . . . I repent.' If the Zervanites were an insignificant minority, there would have been no need for including this clause in the *X^{v}astuānift*. In this connexion it is of some interest to note that in Khotanese *Urmaysde* (= Ohrmazd) means 'the sun', thereby preserving what may have been an original naturalistic trait of his character, only occasionally to be met with in the Avesta.

From what has gone before we see that the evidence supplied by our sources contemporary with the Sassanian power overwhelmingly supports the theory that the predominant religion of the empire was Zervanite. This view was taken up by Professor Christensen,[3] who claimed that Zervanism was the normal form of Sassanian Zoroastrianism.

When we turn to the native Iranian sources, however, the picture is bewilderingly different. The inscriptions, even including the great Kartīr inscription from Ka'beh i Zartušt, do not enlighten us greatly. The kings and potentates whose exploits they celebrate are called 'worshippers of Mazdāh' (*māzdēsn*),[4] but it would not be legitimate to conclude from this that they regarded themselves for this reason as being specifically Mazdean

[1] von le Coq, JRAS. 1911, p. 282; Bang, *Muséon*, xxxvi, p. 147.

[2] v. our text F 3 (*b*).

[3] *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 144.

[4] v. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, passim.

as opposed to Zervanite. The term is the conventional designation of Zoroastrians of all sects.[1] Both Kartīr and Narsē mention Ahriman and the demons[2] and the latter mentions 'the time of the *fraškart*',[3] that is the final renovation and rehabilitation of the world at the end of time.

Of greater importance is the inscription of Kartīr at Naqš i Rajab. This inscription is fairly complete, but there remain unsolved problems. The crucial passage for our purposes, however, is that in which the high priest exhorts the reader to remember 'that heaven exists and hell exists, and that whoso is virtuous will go to heaven, and whoso is vicious will be cast into hell: whoso is virtuous and walks according to . . . (?) . . . of virtue, will achieve a fair name and prosperity for his material body and blessedness for his material soul.'

This is important; for two doctrines are here specifically upheld: (i) the existence of heaven and hell, and (ii) the rewarding of virtue and the punishment of vice. The inference is, of course, that these truths needed emphasizing because they were questioned: and it is precisely on these questions that there seems to have existed a deep divergence of view between Mazdean and Zervanite. The *Šikand Gumānī Vazār* mentions a sect which it calls the Daharīs, well known in the Islamic period as being a materialist sect which held precisely the views attributed to them by the *Šikand*.[4] *Dahr* is, of course, simply the Arabic for 'time', but it is too early yet to say whether or not these *daharīs* are identical with the Zervanites.[5] Their views are, however, worth quoting since we shall return to them when we have accomplished our major task of piecing together the elements of Zervanism from the evidence of the Pahlavī books. 'They consider', says the *Šikand*, 'that this world with its manifold changes and dispositions of its members and organs, and the opposition of one to another, and the intermixture of the one with the other is derived from the principle of Infinite Time; and that, further, virtue remains unrewarded and sin unpunished, that heaven and hell do not exist, and there is no one who attends to virtue and sin; and further that phenomena are only material and that the spiritual does not exist.' If it is not this particular sect that Kartīr has in mind, it is plainly one so similar as to make no difference.

Again, the affirmation of the existence of rewards and punishments seems to be directed against a doctrine attributed to the Zervanites themselves by a Syriac writer,[6] according to whom those who are honoured on

[1] v. p. 31, note D.

[2] Herzfeld, op. cit., p. 95; Sprengling, AJSLL. lvii, p. 207.

[3] Herzfeld, op. cit., p. 117.

[4] ŠGV., Chapter VI; cf. BSOS. ix, pp. 878, 888.

[5] But cf. *infra*, p. 267.

[6] v. our text F 5 and pp. 257 ff.

earth will be honoured in heaven, and those who are wretched on earth will also be wretched in heaven.

That Kartīr's intention was indeed to uphold doctrines against a sect resembling the Daharīs of the *Šikand* who denied them is fully borne out by his great inscription at Ka'beh·i Zartušt. This reveals him as a religious zealot of quite uncommon ardour who is not likely to have graven the true doctrine on stone in a spirit of pious platitude. What he had inscribed at Naqš i Rajab was inscribed as a clear warning to heretics of the Daharī school, and who but the Zervanites could these possibly have been?

The great inscription shows that Kartīr flourished under Šāpūr I, Hormizd I, Bahrām I, II, and III. He tells us how he unleashed a religious persecution of great severity throughout the Persian Empire and how, in his proselytizing zeal, he carried the Magian religion to the non-Iranian provinces. The valiant deeds he proudly boasts of may be listed as follows:

(i) the affairs of Ohrmazd and the gods prospered; and the Mazdayasnian religion and the Magian hierarchy received great honour;
(ii) the gods, water, fire, and cattle were duly propitiated;
(iii) Ahriman and the demons were struck down(?) and their teaching was expelled from the empire;
(iv) Jews, Buddhists, Brahmans, two sorts of Christians,[1] Manichees(?),[2] and *Zandīks* were chastised;
(v) idols were destroyed and the dwellings of the demons undone(?);[3]
(vi) fires were established throughout the realm and the Magians prospered.

These events appear to belong to the reign of Bahrām III since Kartīr winds up the account of his exploits with a repetition of the title conferred on him by that king (viz. *bōχt-ruvān-varhrān*).

He next proceeds to tell how he established fires and Magian settlements in the non-Iranian lands. This represents a proselytizing campaign of great magnitude extending throughout Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

Turning from the missionary field this redoubtable old zealot brings us

[1] *N'ČL'Y* = *nāsərā* (Syr. *nasorāyē*, Gk. *Ναζωραῖος*) and *KLSTYD'N* (*kristiyān* = *χριστιανός*). The distinction between the two sects is not clear. For views involving Mandaeans, Marcionites, and orthodox Christians cf. Menasce, ŠGV., pp. 206 ff.

[2] The text has *MKTK-y*, tentatively emended by Sprengling to *MNYNK* 'Manichees'. Menasce transliterates as *mukta*, op. laud., p. 243. In conjunction with *Zandīk* he comments, 'C'est à dire, certainement, indiens et manichéens'. Without being able to offer any constructive suggestion of my own, I would suggest that *mukta* would be likely to appear as *MWKTK*. For *zandīk* which normally means 'Manichaean' *v. infra*, p. 267.

[3] Sprengling's translation is most obscure here. Deprived as we are of the original text, we can offer neither comment, criticism, nor suggestion.

back to the religious situation at home. This fascinating passage appears from Sprengling's curious literal translation to run approximately as follows:

> Heretics and apostates(?)[1] who (were) within the Magian community (*MGWN*) were spared[2] for the Mazdayasnian religion and the Magian community but not for propaganda: I chastised and upbraided them and improved them.

After further reference to his untiring efforts at setting up fire shrines he goes on to say that many consanguineous marriages[3] were arranged, that many who had lapsed from the faith had been reconciled, and that he himself had converted many who had subscribed to the teaching of the demons and brought them over to the worship of the gods. The inscription ends with the same formula as that of Naqš i Rajab, to wit that the reader may enjoy a good name and prosperity in his body and blessedness for his soul.

The inscription, then, tells us a great deal, but leaves us again with many problems. It is abundantly clear that Kartīr unleashed a major persecution of Christian and Indian sects as well as of the Manichees. It is equally clear that he put down the 'devil-worshippers' and reconverted the amenable to Zoroastrian orthodoxy, though not permitting them to take part in propaganda for the faith: clear again that he followed up the conquest by the sword of non-Iranian lands by the propagation of the Zoroastrian faith in those lands: equally clear, too, that he destroyed idols.

What, however, do we learn of the Zoroastrian orthodoxy which Kartīr defended and propagated with such uncommon zeal? First it is plain that the Magians became all-powerful. The cult of fire, water, and cattle was strengthened and incestuous marriages were encouraged—and this is about all. Kartīr, in fact, is interested in reviving the characteristic aspects of Zoroastrian religious practice which were almost certainly common to Mazdeans and Zervanites: he does not appear to be interested in the formulation of doctrine. He depicts himself as an enthusiastic religious imperialist—putting down alien religions at home and seeking to establish the national cult in alien sections of the empire, yet bringing the Iranian 'devil-worshippers' and heretics back into his fold and expelling the obdurate.

[1] *'LSWMWK* and *GWMLČ'K*: the first word is the Phl. *ahramōγ*. This gratifying equivalence I owe to Professor Henning, who compares inscr. *PLSWBY* = Phl. *Pahlav* and *P'LSWMY* = *pahlom* (for inscr. *LS* = *hl*). *GWMLČ'K* can scarcely be connected with *gumārtan* as Sprengling suggests. We may either derive it from the root *marz-* 'wipe' or read *gum-aržāk* 'one whose worth is lost'. Although NP. *gum* does not appear to be attested in MP., the latter reading gives the better sense.

[2] *PḤLSTY* = *pahrist*. v. Henning, BSOAS. 1943, p. 62, n. 2.

[3] Chapter VI, pp. 151–2.

The evidence, then, supplied by the Ka'beh i Zartušt inscription does not tell us much about Kartīr's own religion: it only tells us what sort of man he was. This is enough; for it shows that what he wrote at Naqš i Rajab he wrote as a warning to any who should dare to deny the existence of heaven and hell, or rewards and punishments. The fact that Kartīr speaks of Ohrmazd and the gods and is silent as far as Zurvān is concerned is not important; for if the interpretation of Zervanism which we are to unfold in the following chapters is correct, Zurvān would scarcely figure prominently in an official inscription.

One matter, however, raised by the inscription remains exceedingly puzzling. Why do we know so little of Kartīr except what he tells us himself? In its account of doctrinal development during the Sassanian period the *Dēnkart* says absolutely nothing about this fiery pillar of the faith; nor do we hear of him from Christian or Moslem sources. Apart from himself only the unfortunate Manichees preserve his memory, and that as the inquisitor who did their master to death.[1] The Zoroastrians are mute.

Leaving this problem till our next chapter we may now turn our attention to the Pahlavī books. These, it is true, only date from the ninth century:[2] but their matter may be considered to go back to the reign of Xusrau I. Here again we are confronted with a religion that knows nothing of Zurvān either as a supreme god or as the father of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Some passages in Zātspram and to a lesser extent in the *Bundahišn* indeed seem to presuppose such a doctrine, whereas parts of the *Mēnōk i χrat* and the *Dēnkart* reveal a state of religion which we may perhaps be permitted to call semi-Zervanite, an attempt to fuse the conflicting doctrines of the two schools. In a passage from the *Dēnkart* to which Darmesteter first drew attention,[3] the Zervanite doctrine of the brotherhood of Ohrmazd and Ahriman is attacked in terms recalling the Manichaean attack in the *X^{v}astuānift*.[4] The passage in question purports to be a translation of *Yasna* 30. 3[5] which does in fact speak of two primeval twins. The Mazdean translators—assuming that they understood the passage at all, which is doubtful—would naturally be distressed by the presence in so high an authority of their rivals' view. They accordingly supplied an ingenious mistranslation: taking the Avestan *ərəš* 'rightly' as the name of a demon *Ariš(k)* 'Envy', they proceeded to put the offending statement into the mouth of

[1] Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, pp. 45 ff. Cf. also the *Psalm-Book* references quoted by Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, p. 137, n. 203.

[2] v. West, SBE. v, p. xlii.

[3] DkM. 829. 1 ff. (text F 3 (*a*)). Cf. Darmesteter, ZA. i, p. 221, n. 10; Blochet, RHR. xxxvii, p. 28; Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, i, pp. 288 ff.

[4] v. text F 3 (*c*).

[5] For a treatment of this passage v. Nyberg, CCM. 1931, p. 113.

that demon.[1] The text is unfortunately a little obscure, but there can be no doubt that it is an attack on Zervanite doctrine. This brief passage is the only evidence we have that there was active hostility between Mazdeans and Zervanites, but that either should have consistently persecuted the other seems unlikely. They were probably represented in different schools; and both may have found a place within the Sassanian Church, one party dominating at one time and the other at another. The *Dēnkart*, however, takes cognizance of heresy and deplores it. Like the Zervanite *'Ulemā i Islām* it admits the existence of different trends within the Church. Relating the tradition that Žāmāsp wrote the Avesta following the words and writings of Zoroaster himself, it adds that the provincial governors (*dahyupatān*) and religious authorities (*dastaβarān*) made many copies of it, and some of them reached not only the instructed but also unscrupulous persons who vitiated (*vināsītārān*) and contaminated it with heresy and heterodoxy (*yut-vēnišnīh*).[2] Another passage in the same book seems to indicate that heresy had not been stamped out even at the time of the writer, though the exact translation is here again uncertain.[3]

The figure of Zurvān, however, does indeed seem to have been the principal subject of difference in the Zoroastrian Church: even in trivial matters connected with that doctrine there seems to have been a difference of opinion. For we learn from the *Bundahišn* and from Zātspram that Zurvān or Zamān (Time), as the *Bundahišn* calls him, decreed at the time of the original creation that Gayōmart, the first man, should live for thirty years after the onslaught of Ahriman:[4] but in the *Dēnkart* a heretic asks: 'There are two authentic traditions concerning Gayōmart, one that he lived thirty years during the Aggressor's attack, and one that the Aggressor came and that he died on the spot. That the two (accounts) are self-contradictory is obvious. Why do you accept and teach both?'[5] The sense of the answer

[1] See note E, p. 31.

[2] DkM. 437. 20: *dahyupatān 'ut dastaβarān hač-iš 'būt i vēš paććēn kart: 'ut 'pas-ič 'ō-ič ākāsān 'ut vināsītārān-ič hač-iš 'hast i mat. 'būt i yut-dātastānīh yut-vēnišnīh 'apar 'burt.*—'There were certain provincial governors and religious authorities who made more copies of it: some of these reached the instructed (sc. orthodox) but some (fell into the hands of) people who corrupted it. Some again added wrong principles and heterodoxy.'

[3] Ibid. 454. 11: *'nūn 'ān aδvēnak nikēžišn rāδ patkārtārān gumānīkīh i pat-iš guftan rās; 'aδak-ič apastāk frahist an-hambatīk ov-iš gōβišn nipēkān 'pat *dēnīk vičīrkarīh ⟨i⟩ χrat 'i-š pat-iš yut-dātastān⟨īh⟩ 'nē 'bavišn.*—'Now controversialists have the means of expressing their doubts concerning that kind of doctrine; but the Avesta for the most part does not contradict its words and writings thanks to the religious discernment of Wisdom in which there can be no heresy.'

[4] *Infra*, p. 238.

[5] DkM. 20. 2: *gōβišn i 2 dastaβar 'apar Gayō(k)mart, ēvak 'ku 'andar aβigatīh 30 'sāl zīvast, 'ut ēvak 'ku mat aβigat, 'pat gyāk 'murt, 'ān i ēvak 'ō 'dit hanbasān paytāk; 'har 2 patiyraftan čāštan čim?*

supplied by the Mazdean apologist is not clear to us, and we therefore refrain from providing a translation. What does seem clear, however, is that he does not consider the two traditions to be either contradictory or mutually exclusive.

This lack of doctrinal unity among the Zoroastrians did not escape the notice of non-Iranians whether friendly or hostile.[1] Strabo remarks on it in the case of the Chaldaeans,[2] and the Christians were naturally not slow to make use of it. The account of Paulus Persa first quoted by Casartelli[3] is of importance if we can accept that scholar's view that the doctrines there mentioned refer only to Zoroastrian beliefs. Paulus wrote under Xusrau I, for whom he composed a digest of the Aristotelian dialectic in Syriac.[4] He was a Christian and, according to Christensen, probably identical with Paul, metropolitan of Nisibis under the Catholicos Joseph. He says:

> There are some who believe in only one God; others claim that he is not the only God: some teach that he possesses contrary qualities; others say that he does not possess them: some admit that he is omnipotent; others deny that he has power over everything. Some believe that the world and everything contained therein have been created; others think that all things are not created. And there are some who maintain that the world was created *ex nihilo*; according to others God drew it out from a ὕλη.[5]

The work in which the passage occurs was written for the King of Kings, and Casartelli concludes from that circumstance that Paul is faithfully enumerating the characteristic doctrines of the Iranian sects of the Sassanian period. This attractive hypothesis is not absolutely convincing since Xusrau, for all his interest in Greek philosophy, seems to have laid down the law in no uncertain manner where the doctrine of the State religion was concerned.[6]

However, whatever our view on the evidence of Paulus Persa, we have two other testimonies which can leave us in little doubt as to the fluidity of Zoroastrian dogma in Sassanian times. These are supplied by the Armenians Eznik of Kołb and Ełišē Vardapet. Eznik, like the nameless heretic of the *Dēnkart*, was struck by their inconsistency. 'Their foolishness', he says, 'is enough to refute them from their own words which are mutually exclusive and self-contradictory';[7] and again, repeating the oft-made charge that they had no books, he says: 'Since their laws are not in books, some-

[1] Cf. Bidez–Cumont, op. laud. i, p. 58.
[2] xvi. 1. 6.
[3] *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, p. 1.
[4] v. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 422.
[5] Casartelli, l.c.; Christensen, l.c.
[6] *Infra*, p. 48.
[7] Ed. Venice, 1926, bk. ii, § 2, p. 128; Langlois, ii, p. 375; Schmid, p. 94.

times they say one thing with which they deceive, and sometimes another with which they seduce, the ignorant.'[1] But he is not content merely to draw attention to their inconsistency; he tells us that they were divided into sects, that some admitted three principles—the good, the just, and the evil—some two, and some seven.[2] The followers of the three principles are clearly the Zervanites: the good is Ohrmazd, the evil Ahriman, and the just Zurvān. Equally obviously the followers of the two principles are the Mazdeans. The seven principles might be anything; for it is not possible to say whether the author is thinking of the seven Amahraspands, the seven planets, or something else. According to a Persian *Rivāyat* Zurvān himself is said to have seven faces and seven names,[3] but this is an isolated account and of late date.

Ełišē Vardapet, writing on the religious war that resulted from Yezdigird II's aggressive policy, has occasion to mention a certain high Magian priest who was put in charge of the captured Christians. As he was subsequently converted to Christianity and Ełišē claims to have witnessed certain of the events he describes,[4] it seems safe to assume that the account given by the historian is on the whole accurate. We shall have occasion to discuss Ełišē's value as an authority later. This priest 'was more familiar with the Zoroastrian laws than many learned men. In fact he was called *hamakden* (one who possesses all the religion) which was considered a great glory according to their erroneous doctrine. He knew the *ampartkʿaš* and had learnt the *bozpayit*: he was also a master of the *palhavik* and the *parskaden*: for these are the five schools (*keštkʿ*) which comprise all the laws of Magianism. Besides there is another sixth one called *petmog*.'[5] The significance of *ampartkʿaš*, *bozpayit*, and *petmog* is not certain, though both Benveniste and Christensen have put forward suggestions.[6] *Hamāk-dēn* is known also in the Pahlavī *Dātastān i dēnīk*.[7] *Palhavik* and *parskaden* are also clear: they are the Parthian and Persian religions. The inference seems fairly obvious: there must have been regional schools, a northern Parthian and a southern Persian;

[1] Venice, 1926, ii. 9, p. 156; Langlois, ii, p. 381; Schmid, pp. 111–12.

[2] Venice, i. 28, p. 122; Schmid, p. 87.

[3] v. text Z 36.

[4] Ed. Yohannisean, p. 20; Langlois, ii, p. 187. He claims to have been present at, seen, and heard one of Yezdigird's pronouncements.

[5] Yohannisean, p. 131; Langlois, ii, p. 230.

[6] For *ampartkʿaš* Benveniste (*Handes Amsorya*, 1927, p. 763) suggested 'traité de pénalités' <**hamparta-(t)kaiša-*. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 117, suggested 'collection complète de doctrines relatives à la foi'. For *bozpayit* he suggested Phl. **bazpatit* 'confession des péchés commis'. For *petmog* he followed Langlois and translated 'doctrine (spéciale) des mōbadhs'; for this one would expect *mogpet*.

[7] Copenhagen facsimile, fol. 192 verso, l. 4: *mayōk-'mart hamāk-dēn*. The word is frequent in the latter half of the Dd. Cf. MPT. *h'm'gdyn* and Turkish *qamaγ nom* (von le Coq, *Türkische Manichäica aus Chotscho*, iii, p. 15).

and their doctrines must presumably have differed. For lack of evidence we cannot say whether either of them was Zervanite, but the following fact seems significant.

The Turfān Manichaean texts are written in two distinct dialects, Persian and Parthian. In the Persian texts the supreme deity is called Zurvān, but in the Parthian he is *baγ* 'God'. It would, therefore, seem fair to conclude that Zervanism was dominant in south-western Īrān at any rate at the time of Mānī, but that this was not so in the north. The proximity of Persis to Babylon makes this supposition the more likely, though in the present state of our data we will refrain from pressing this point.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

A. DkM. 212. 5: *tam-aχ^{v} yātūk druvand Aχt 'pat yazdān dušmanīh 'dēvān dōšāramīh yazdān yazišn 'aβgandan 'vas aδvēnak 'dēv-yāzakīh kartan drāyast.*—'Aχt, the accursed sorcerer of dark nature, by setting himself against the gods and by currying favour with the demons, bade (men) abandon the worship of the gods and in divers ways to perform worship to the demons.' This Aχt figures here as the antagonist of Zoroaster. For each precept of the latter he proclaims another diametrically opposed. In the Avesta he appears as *Aχtya-* (Yt. 5. 82), where he asks ninety-nine riddles of Yōišta of the Fryānas. Yōišta prays to the goddess Anāhitā that he may answer them, and his request is granted. The story is fully told in the little Pahlavī text *Yavišt i Friyān*. Aχt comes with an army of seven myriads to the city of the Solvers of Riddles and threatens to destroy it unless his riddles are answered. Yavišt (Yōišta) is chosen for the task and is successful. He then asks Aχt three riddles: at a loss Aχt rushes off into hell and craves the assistance of Ahriman, who denies him. He then returns and is slain by Yavišt. The Mazdeans were probably as arbitrary in representing Aχt as the founder of the *yātūkān* as they were in ascribing the origin of the Jews to another of their legendary figures, Dahāk. Cf. DkM. 253. 15 ff. and 257. 6 ff., where Dahāk is said to have composed the Pentateuch (*'wlyt'* = Syriac *Urāithā*) and to have built the city of Jerusalem. v. also ibid. 298. 12 and 299. 15.

B. DkM. 182. 6 ff.: *apāč-vaštak 'dēvīk apārōn nīrang yātūkīh *vitīmāsīh*[1] *⟨'pat⟩ stāyastārīh ⟨i⟩ marnǰēnītār Ahriman, nihānīktom duvārišnīh 'ut rīmanīh 'ut gandakīh i gyāk 'ut tan 'ut vistarag 'ut 'pat tan 'burtan i nasāy 'ut hiχr, hangēnītan*[2] *i yazdān bēš, 'dēvān *rāmišn, 'dēv-yazakīk drāyastan 'ut 'χ^{v}āndan i 'dēvān 'pat 'nām i 'andar*

[1] *vitīmāsīh*: cf. Phl. Psalter *wtym'skyh* translating Syriac *tdmrt'* 'wonder'. Used in BkPhl. as 'wonderful' in a bad sense. Thus DkM. 181. 21 the demoniac *vitīmās* is opposed to the godly *aβdīh*: but ibid. 425. 21 the words are used in conjunction with no moral distinction. Ibid. 436. 2, *vitīmāsīk varč-kārīh i frāč 'hač Yamšēt . . . paytākīhast*, here in a good sense. Cf. also ibid. 459. 10 and ZXA. 252. 8 where Pāz. (Pāz-Texts, p. 266) has *dīmaspə*. See further Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 214.

[2] *hangēnītan*: reading uncertain. Found also DkM. 391. 7. Denominative to *hang*?

*kārīh ⟨i⟩ 'avēšān [i] 'pat dēvāsnīh 'ut ay-dēnīh 'ut akōman-mēnišnīh, 'drōy-drāyastārīh 'ut apārōn-varzītārīh, duš-srov yātūk mar [nasāy], ⟨'ut⟩ apārīk i passačak 'ō 'dēvīk 'ut 'dūr 'hač *yazdīk.*

C. Text G 6. The accompanying figures of Zeus–Oromasdes, Apollon–Mithras–Helios–Hermes, Artagnes–Heracles–Ares plus the figure of 'my country Commagene which nourishes all' are thought by Schaeder to represent four facets of the infinite Zurvān (*Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 138). So also Nyberg, CCM. 1931, p. 126. It should, however, be emphasized that apart from the mention of *χρόνος ἄπειρος* in the inscription itself there is no justification for finding the four-fold Zurvān here. The representation of the four deities on the rock together with the lack of it in the case of Zurvān argues rather against such an interpretation.

D. The two terms *mazdezn* (mazda-worshipping) and *mog* (Magian) are used indifferently by the Armenian historians; cf. P'awstos of Byzantium, ed. Venice, 1914, p. 183, where the terms are equated. The Zervanite decree, attributed to Mihr-Narsē but almost certainly compiled by Ełišē from other sources, starts with the words, 'Know that whoso dwells beneath heaven and does not keep the laws of the Mazdean religion (*deni mazdezn*) is deaf and blind and deceived by the demons of Ahriman.' Ełišē, ed. Yohannisean, p. 27; Langlois, ii, p. 190.

E. Ariš plays no very important part in Zoroastrian demonology. He is, however, referred to as the most lying of the demons (*družtom*). He promised Zoroaster that if he worshipped him he would be king among men, exercising his will over the two worlds, and that he would be immortal. DkM. 832. 12–17: *pursīt-aš 'hač 'avē Zartuχšt 'ku Ariš-am družtom, 'čē 'man 'pat 'ān pātdahišn 'hast 'hakar 'šmāk 'pat gōβišn yazam? 'ut-aš 'ō 'avē guft Ariš, 'dēvān družtom, 'ku 'tō pātuχšāy 'bavēh 'andar martōmān 'pat kāmak-dahišnīh 'andar aχ^{v}ān; čēγōn-at 'χ^{v}at apāyēt, ahōš 'bavēh.*— 'Zoroaster asked him (saying), "O Ariš, worst Lie to me, what reward shall I obtain if I worship thee in speech?" And Ariš, the worst Lie among the demons, said to him, "Thou shalt be king among men, exercising thy will in the worlds, and thou shalt be immortal even as is thy desire." '

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

From the *Dēnkart*, Madan, pp. 412. 3–415. 3. The translation appears in the body of the chapter, pp. 7–9. A transliteration of part of this passage (DkM. 411. 15–413. 13) has appeared in Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 218–19.

*Dārāy i Dārāyān hamāk apastāk 'ut zand čēγōn Zartuχšt 'hač Ōhrmazd patiγraft, *nipištan 2 paččēn, ēvak 'pat ganǰ i ša⟨sa⟩pīkān,*[a] *ēvak 'pat dīž i nipišt dāštan framūt.*

Valaχš i Ašakānān apastāk 'ut zand čēγōn apēčakīhā 'andar 'āmat 'ēstāt, hamōk-ič i hač-iš 'har 'čē 'hač vizand 'ut āšuft-kārīh i Alaksandar 'ut ēvār 'ut rōp[b] *i Hrōmāyān 'andar Ērān šaθr pargandakīhā 'apar nipištak *'ut 'čē uzvān-aβspārišnīk 'pat dastaβar 'mānd 'ēstāt 'andar šaθr čēγōn frāč mat 'ēstāt, nikās dāštan, 'ō šaθrīhā [i] aβyātkār kartan framūt.*

a, b *For notes see p.* 33.

'avē bay Artaχšaθr 'šāhān 'šāh i Pāpakān 'pat rāst-dastaβarīh ⟨i⟩ Tansar 'ān-ič hamōk i pargandak hamāk 'ō 'dar 'χ^{v}āst. Tansar 'apar mat, 'ān i ēvak frāč patiγraft 'ut apārīk 'hač dastaβar 'hišt: 'ut 'ēn-ič framān 'dāt 'ku frāč 'ō 'amāh 'har nikēžišn 'ān-ē 'bavēt 'hač dēn māzdēsn, 'čē 'nūn-ič ākāsīh 'ut dānišn hač-iš frōt 'nēst.

Šāpuhr i 'šāhān 'šāh i Artaχšaθrān nipēkīhā-ič i 'hač dēn 'bē 'apar bižiškīh 'ut star-gōβišnīh 'ut čandišn 'ut zamān 'ut gyāk 'ut gōhr, dahišn, 'bavišn, vināsišn 'ut yatak-vihērīh[c] 'ut gavākīh[d] 'ut apārīk kērōkīh 'ut aβzār 'andar Hindōkān 'ut Hrōm apārīk-ič zamīkīhā pargandak 'būt, 'apāč 'ō ham 'āβurt 'ut 'apāk apastāk 'apāč handāχt 'ut 'har 'ān i druvist paččēn 'ō ['ō] ganǰ i ša⟨sa⟩pīkān 'dātan framūt, 'ut ēstēnītan i hamāk argastān[e] 'apar dēn māzdēsn 'ō uskār 'kart.

*Šāpuhr 'šāhān 'šāh i Ōhrmazdān hamāk kišvarīkān 'pat patkārišn apē-vihānak[f] kartan, hamāk gōβišn 'ō uskār 'ut vičōδišn 'āβurt. 'pas 'hač bōχtan i Āturpāt 'pat gōβišn i passāχt, 'apāk hamāk 'avēšān yut-sarəδakān 'ut nivēk(?)[g]-ōšmurtān-ič 'ut [i] yut-ristakān, 'ēn-ič guft 'ku 'nūn 'kaδ-mān dēn 'pat gētēh 'bē 'dīt, 'kas-ič ay-dēnīh 'bē 'nē *'hilēm, vēš 'apar tuχšāk tuχšēm, 'ut ham-gōnak kart.*

*'im bay Xusrau 'šāhān 'šāh ⟨i⟩ Kavātān čēγōn-aš ahramōyīh 'ut sāstārīh spurr-hamēstārīhā vānīt, 'pat paytākīh 'hač dēn 'andar 'har ahramōyīh, 4 pēšak ākāsīh 'ut uskārišn i dōkānīk 'vasīhā 'bē aβzūt, 'ēn-ič 'pat dēhān-'hanǰamanīh[h] guft 'ku rāstīh i dēn māzdēsn 'bē 'dānast: ōšyārān 'pat uskārišn ōstīkīhā tavān *'bē 'pat gētēh ēst-⟨ēnī⟩t; 'ut apartar aβzōnīk 'ut pēš-rat 'būtan mātiyān 'nē 'pat uskār, 'bē 'pat apēčakīh ⟨i⟩ mēnišn 'ut gōβišn 'ut kunišn 'ut 'vēh-mēnōk vāzišnīh, mānsrīk apēčakīhā ēzišnīh i yazdān šāyēt. 'ut-mān Ōhrmazd mayupat 'ān ['ān] ⟨i⟩ 'χ^{v}ānd, 'χ^{v}ānēm, 'kē ⟨'pat⟩ mēnōk-vēnišnīh 'andar 'amāh paytākīhast. 'ut-mān frāχ^{v}-⟨vi⟩čārīh mēnōk-vēnišnīh⟨ā⟩ gētēh-handāčak-nimāyišnīhā-ič 'har 2 aδvēnak spurrīk hač-išān 'χ^{v}āst 'ut 'χ^{v}āδēm 'apāk-ič 'ān i [āpīh] āzātīh-kartārīh[i] i yazdān. vāspuhrakānīh[ā] 'apar Ērān rāδ, Ērān šaθr 'pat hamōk i 'hač dēn māzdēsn frāč 'raft i pēšēnīkān hangat-dānākīh āmēčišnīh i 'ō-ič hām χ^{v}anīras. 'ān i ākāsān 'pat yuttarīh patkār 'nēst. ōγōn 'vasīhā apastāk-aδvāčīk 'pat apēčak gōβišnīh, nipēk-pērāδišnīk 'hač mātiyān-aβyāt-kārīh, 'ut pātram-ič aδvēnak āvāčīk 'andar gōβišn-ākāsēnišn dāšt 'ēstēt, 'pas-ič hamāk χānīk(χą) dānākīh i dēn māzdēsn. 'ēt-ič rāδ 'i-mān šnāχt 'ēstēt 'ku 'kaδ hamāk *varōmand[j] uskārišnīh i bēkānak 'hač dēn māzdēsn ⟨'hač⟩ gēhān 'ō 'ēt gyāk 'rasēnd, 'pat nōk ā'vēčišnīh(?) 'ut uskārišnīh bēkānak 'hač dēn māzdēsn and dānišn ayāftan 'ut paytākēnītan 'ō sūt 'ut nihātkārīh i gētēhān 'āβurtan 'nē šāyēnd čand 'andar ōšmurišn [i] rat-ē 'pat vēš vičōδišnīh 'ut vēš *uskārišn ⟨ba⟩vāt. apartom χ^{v}āδišnīhā framāyēm 'hamist mayōk-*'martān i vēnāk ⟨'ut⟩ ērtar 'ut huχēmtar 'ut 'vēh nōk nōk asūtakīhā[k] apastāk 'ut zand uskārtan 'ut ayāpišn i hač-iš 'ō dānākīh ⟨i⟩ gēhānīkān aržānīkīhā aβzūtan. 'avēšān 'kē *'ō gētēhān* šnāχtan i dātār 'ut aβdīh⟨i⟩mēnōkān 'ut čēγōnīh i dahišn 'hač dātār fratom ayāftan 'nē šāyastan ayāp hamāk ayāftan šāyastan guft, 'pat ['pat] kam-dānišn varanīk; 'avēšān 'kē ⟨'pat⟩ paytākīh i 'hač dēn *'hastīh 'ut 'pat-ič hangōšītak *'hastīh šnāχtan šāyastan guft, 'pat uskārkar; 'ut 'ān 'kē rōšn nimūt 'pat dānāk[īh] dēnākās[īh] dāšt. 'ut 'hač 'ān čēγōn 'har dānākīh bun dēn hamō⟨k⟩ 'pat nērōk i mēnōkīk 'ut ham 'pat paytāk[īh]ēnītārīh ⟨i⟩ gētēhīk, 'ān [i] 'kas dānākīhā guft 'kaδ-ič-aš 'hač katām apastāk paytākīh hamist 'nē dāšt, 'aδak-ič 'pat paytākīh i 'hač dēn hangārt 'kē χ^{v}ēškārīh 'pat hamōk frāč 'ō *gēhān-zātakān 'burt.*

[c–k] *For notes see pp.* 33–34.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

[a] So following Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 230.

[b] *ēvār*: <*abi*+*par-*: cf. *appurtan*, *appār*, Arm. *awar*. For *rōp* cf. NP. *ruftan*, &c. *ēvār* also occurs Zn. (Messina) 16. 30. This interpretation was suggested by Professor Bailey.

[c] The meaning of *vihēr-* is certainly 'move' as is proved by DkM. 136. 21, *anōst 'ut vihērišnīk* 'unstable and moving', So *rasišn i vihērišn* (ibid. 256. 4) seems to correspond to *'rasišn* ⟨*i*⟩ *hām gēhān ravākīh* (ibid. 257. 4) with the consequent equation of *vihērišn* = *ravākīh*. Connected therefore are MPT. *'whyr-* 'aufsteigen' (Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, s.v.), Soghd. *γr-* (Manichaean *χr-*), Av. *har-*, Skt. *sṛ-*, &c.

The first member of our compound, however, presents a more difficult problem. The word, written *YTK*, should be the equivalent of MPT. *jdg* 'Ruhm' (Henning, ibid. s.v.), but 'Ruhm' is clearly unsuitable here. In our passage we are obviously dealing with theories ultimately deriving from Aristotle. Thus if *bavišn* corresponds to *γένεσις* and *vināsišn* to *φθορά*, we would expect *yatak-vihērīh* to correspond to *ἀλλοίωσις* 'alteration', defined by Aristotle as 'qualitative change' (*κίνησις κατὰ τὸ ποιόν*, *De caelo* 270[a]27; cf. *De generatione* 319[b]10, where it is described as change 'in the affections or properties', *ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πάθεσιν*; cf. *Met.* 1022[b]15), particularly if Bailey is right in interpreting *gavākīh* as 'growth' (v. next note), that is quantitive change. Our word is, however, clearly defined in DkM. 352.5, where we have: *yatak-vihērīh 'hast *patvandišn i gētēh 'ō ham, vihērišn i 'hač dēs advēnak 'ō advēnak* ⟨*i*⟩ *karp.*—'*yatak-vihērīh* is the joining together of matter, change from the mode of form to the mode of shape (or body).' Various illustrations of the process are then given, e.g. (i) the formation of the minerals from earth, (ii) the growth of plants from earth and water, and (iii) of fruit from the root of the plant. In the case of artefacts (iv), the production of a bracelet, ear-ring, or ring from gold by the goldsmith is cited; and finally (v) the production of milk, blood, flesh, tendons, and hair from food and drink is instanced.

Now this passage seems to be of Aristotelian provenance; and in *Physics* i. 7 the problem of change is treated very much along these lines. The most relevant passage runs as follows (190[b]5): *γίγνεται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἁπλῶς, τὰ μὲν μετασχηματίσει, οἷον ἀνδριάς, τὰ δὲ προσθέσει, οἷον τὰ αὐξανόμενα, τὰ δ' ἀφαιρέσει, οἷον ἐκ τοῦ λίθου ὁ Ἑρμῆς, τὰ δὲ συνθέσει, οἷον οἰκία, τὰ δ' ἀλλοιώσει, οἷον τὰ τρεπόμενα κατὰ τὴν ὕλην.*

Here five varieties of change are distinguished: (*a*) change of shape or form, (*b*) by addition = growth, (*c*) by subtraction, (*d*) by composition, and (*e*) qualitative change. In the examples cited in our Pahlavī text (i) and (iv) are clearly a change of shape, (ii) and (iii) are by addition, viz. growth, and (v) might either be classed as change in form or as *ἀλλοίωσις* at least as defined in the passage from the *Physics* quoted above (cf. Ross's note ad loc.). In addition we have the definition of *yatak-vihērīh* as *patvandišn 'ō ham* which clearly corresponds to *σύνθεσις*. We cannot simply identify *yatak-vihērīh* with *μετασχημάτισις* as Bailey did, for it includes all the varieties of change except *γένεσις* and *φθορά* (which are not strictly *κίνησις* at all) and locomotion. It must then include not only *μετασχημάτισις* but also growth and diminution and qualitative change. It is, therefore, change in what is properly predicated of a substance, for in all the examples cited the substrate remains the same. Further, the second part of the Pahlavī definition states that *yatak-vihērīh* means the passage from one *advēnak* to another, a change of *εἶδος*, it would seem. *yatak*, therefore, includes *εἶδος*, *σχῆμα*, *ποιότης*, and *ποσότης*: it is therefore

probably a translation of Greek *πάθος*, in which case the whole phrase is probably a translation of *ἀλλοίωσις* used in ε very loose sense.

If, as Bailey proposes (*Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 82), the word is connected with Old Iranian *yam-*, the basic meaning of *yatak* would be 'a thing retained, property'. The development 'property' > 'fame' would then be parallel to the semantic development of *χᵛarr* 'good things' > 'glory'.

[d] *gavākīh*: 'growth', so following Bailey, op. cit., p. 83.

[e] *argastān*: to *arg* 'trouble', 'righteous effort'. I cannot, however, cite any other occurrence of the word. For a similar use of the suffix *-stān* one may cite *dātastān*, *nīrangastān*, &c.

[f] *patkārišn apē-vihānak*: *patkārišn-vāzān āhōk*, Bailey. I do not understand what this means. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, p. 114, apparently reads *apē-vihānak* as *āpān-χānak* and takes this to mean that Šāpūr II erected a temple to Anāhitā. This seems to be yet another case in which a Pahlavī word has been transliterated and translated arbitrarily and without regard to context in order to lend support to a subjective historical theory. Wikander's 'house of waters', then, would seem to have no basis in fact.

[g] *nivēk*: *nask* Bailey.

[h] *'hanǰamanīh*: v. FrPhl., ch. xii. Bailey reads *yazdān-χratīh* for *dēhān-'hanǰamanīh* without indicating that he is emending the second word. Our reading seems to give a slightly better sense.

[i] For *āzātīh kartan* in the sense of 'to thank' v. Henning, GGA. 1935, p. 10.

[j] **varōmand*: text has *vīrōmand*, but the emendation is necessary if a satisfactory sense is to be obtained. The meaning is certainly 'doubtful'; cf. PhlVd. 5. 32; 3. 14; DkM. 704. 20; 723. 17; 861. 20. In all these passages it is opposed to *ēvar* 'certain'.

[k] *asūtak*: *a*+*sūtak* (NP. *sūdeh*). With and without the privative the word is very common in Dk.

CHAPTER II

ZERVANISM AND MAZDEANISM IN THE SASSANIAN PERIOD

It should be abundantly clear from our investigations in the last chapter that different trends of thought were active within the Zoroastrian Church under the Sassanians. Of these we have been able to distinguish the Mazdean proper, the theory of the two principles mentioned by Eznik; the Zervanite or the theory of three principles; and the *yātūkān*, sorcerers or devil-worshippers, a sect that rendered homage to Ahriman as well as Ohrmazd and which had affinities with the Magusaeans of Asia Minor and the Mithraists of the Roman Empire. These last are so violently attacked in the Pahlavī literature and the great Kartīr inscription that it is reasonable to suppose that they were excluded from communion with the Iranian Church.

The question now arises, Was Zervanism or Mazdeanism the dominant doctrine during the Sassanian period? Did the two views alternately predominate and, if so, to what periods is the ascendancy of each to be assigned? Christensen cut the Gordian knot by declaring that Zervanism was the normal form of Sassanian Zoroastrianism,[1] but Bidez and Cumont rightly regarded this theory as too bold.[2] The lines along which an investigation of this question should be conducted have, however, already been traced by O. G. von Wesendonk, who has tried to show that the two forms of Zoroastrianism alternated and has attempted to sketch the stages through which each passed.[3] The present author is convinced that his method is right, and he will therefore follow in the path he has already traced.

Of the founder of the dynasty, Ardašīr I, we know that he made serious efforts to establish the religion of Zoroaster as the religion of State. He appears to have entrusted the formation of a religious canon to the high priest (*hērbaδān-hērbaδ*),[4] Tansar. Our accounts of Ardašīr, both Pahlavī

[1] *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 144.

[2] *Mages*, i, p. 63, n. 3.

[3] *Das Wesen der Lehre Zarthuštrōs*, pp. 19–20.

[4] In the Zoroastrian Church this office was inferior only to that of *mōbaδān-mōbaδ*. v. Christensen, op. laud., pp. 114, 131, 513 ff., and id., *L'Empire des Sassanides*, pp. 35–36; Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, chap. ii. W. advances the thesis that the *hērbaδs* originated in the north-west and were the priests of Vayu and Anāhitā. Not having had time thoroughly to analyse W.'s data, the present author can only reserve his judgement.

and Arabic, are more legendary than historical. As the founder of the second Persian Empire he became the model of princely wisdom: he is the reputed author of many 'wise sayings', one of which condemns the solitary life.[1] This is flatly contradicted by a tradition that he himself retired from the world at the end of his life, taking refuge in the profoundest pessimism.[2] The Erastian doctrine of the inseparability of religion and kingship, Church and State, is also said to have originated with him[3]—a doctrine which later was to become a commonplace of Sassanian theology. Tansar himself is reputed to have been an ascetic and connected with the Platonist sect.[4] What Ma'ūdī's authority for this curious statement is we do not know; but it is probably a late invention of Muhammadan times. Ṭabarī knows nothing of it.

The little Pahlavī text, the *Kārnāmak i Artaχsaθr i Pāpakān*, is also quite legendary in character. Ardašīr is naturally represented as a good Mazdean, as offering sacrifice to Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands,[5] and as a founder of fire-temples.[6] However, from the point of view of religion all that can be said of his reign is that during it the first serious attempt seems to have been made to revive the religion of Zoroaster. Any definition of theological dogma would at this stage have been premature.

About Ardašīr's son and successor, Šāpūr I, we are better informed. To the West he is best known as the monarch who captured and humiliated the Emperor Valerian. In the East he is better remembered for his interest in the current religions of the empire. According to a tradition preserved in the *Fihrist*[7] the great heresiarch Mānī was present at his coronation in A.D. 242 and delivered his first sermon on that occasion; but according to the Manichaean *Kephalaia* he returned from India at the news of the death of Ardašīr and had an interview with Šāpūr in Susiana.[8] The result was a complete success: the Manichaeans were given full liberty to preach their doctrines wherever they wished, and Mānī himself spent a long time in the royal suite. In view of the statements of the *Dēnkart* concerning Šāpūr's additions to the Avesta,[9] it is improbable that he was actually converted to Manichaeism, at any rate openly; but there can be no doubt that the

[1] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii, p. 163.

[2] Ibid., pp. 159–60.

[3] Ibid., p. 162: 'O my son, know that religion and kingship are two brothers, and neither can dispense with the other. Religion is the foundation of kingship, and kingship protects religion. For whatever lacks a foundation must perish, and whatever lacks a protector disappears.'

[4] Ibid., p. 161.

[5] Kn. (Āntiâ) 12. 17, p. 35.

[6] Ibid. 13. 18, p. 40; 15. 21, p. 51.

[7] Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 51, 84.

[8] v. Schmidt–Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, SbPAW. 1933, p. 47; Polotsky, *Kephalaia*, p. 15; Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, pp. 44–49.

[9] *Supra*, pp. 8 and 10–11.

Manichees enjoyed high favour during his reign,[1] and even converted two of the royal brothers, Mihršāh and Pērōz.[2]

Nor does Šāpūr seem to have confined his interest to Manichaeanism. Ṭabarī[3] tells us that when he was besieging the fortress of Daizān the latter's daughter appeared on the walls; and the pair promptly fell in love. She asked what he would give her if she showed him how to destroy the walls of the fortress and put her father to death. He replied that he would make her his queen. This satisfied her, and she accordingly gave him this secret. 'Take a green dove', she said, 'with a ring round its neck, and write something on its foot with the menstruous discharge of a blue-eyed maiden. Then let it go, and it will settle on the ramparts of the city, and they will fall in ruins.' And so it was. A clearer case of black magic it would be hard to find; and Nöldeke comments: 'the concept is probably this: the utterly unclean from the clean on the clean brings nature into a state of unrest and produces destruction'. If the episode bears any relation to historical fact, Šāpūr must obviously have been influenced by the 'sorcerers' or 'devil-worshippers' who were later to be the object of his minister Kartīr's particular displeasure. This, however, in no way excluded him from the Zoroastrian communion: on the contrary he seems to have wished to broaden its basis by enlarging its sacred literature by the introduction of foreign material from Greek and Indian sources.[4] These included works on astronomy, time, and space, the process of becoming, decay, and 'alteration'. All these are reminiscent first of Aristotle and secondly of Zervanism.

Now the *Dēnkart* states that all these writings were writings of the Religion,[5] that is of Iranian origin, which had been scattered throughout the Byzantine Empire and India. This may, of course, be nothing more than acquisitive nationalism on the part of the author of the *Dēnkart*; but that does not preclude the possibility that the works collected by Šāpūr may have been drawn from the mass of material which went under the name of Zoroaster in the Greek-speaking world. This material was largely Zervanite in tendency, and the mention of works on time and space makes it probable that Šāpūr himself had an inclination towards Zervanism, and that by including these works he sought to give scriptural authority to what was in fact a largely alien religion. The resemblance between Zervanism and Manichaeism has often been noticed, but the latter is now

[1] According to Ya'qūbī (Houtsma, i, p. 181) Šāpūr, after adhering to the Manichaean religion for ten years, turned against Mānī, who was forced to flee: v. Kessler, *Mani*, pp. 329–30. The Coptic texts, however, prove this statement to be erroneous: v. Schmidt–Polotsky, op. cit., p. 51.

[2] Schmidt–Polotsky, op. cit., p. 49; Puech, op. cit., p. 131. [3] Nöldeke, *Ṭabarī*, p. 38.

[4] *Supra*, p. 10. [5] Ibid.

widely admitted to be of Christian heretical and Gnostic origin rather than Iranian.[1] It may also be surmised that much in Zervanism also came from the West and that this infiltration took place in the reign of the first Šāpūr. It is not suggested that Zervanism first came into existence during his reign, for Mānī's use of the name Zurvān is against that; but it does seem likely that Šāpūr strengthened and supported that belief by the introduction of foreign matter akin to already current Zervanite ideas.

Hormizd I, Šāpūr's successor, also seems to have favoured the Manichees, though the tattered condition of the relevant passage in the *Homilies*[2] allows of no certain conclusion. But under Bahrām I a reaction set in. According to Ḥamza[3] a conference was called at which Mānī was to vindicate his views. He was refuted by the Zoroastrian doctors under the redoubtable Kartīr and put to death. His martyrdom was followed by the persecution of his followers; and this persecution was liberally extended to other heretics, as Kartīr himself proudly boasts.

Among those singled out for persecution by Kartīr were the Zandīks. These, in later times, came to mean the Manichaeans; but Masʿūdī points out that at the time of Bahrām I this term referred to those who interpreted the *Zand* or commentary on the Avesta in an unorthodox way and more particularly to those who believed in the eternity of matter and denied the creation of the world.[4] This again brings us back to the Daharīs mentioned by the *Šikand* whose views were precisely these. H. H. Schaeder (l.c.) has already shown that the Zandīks might at least have included the Zervanites and has quoted a case from the *Dēnkart* where such an 'interpretation' is attacked.[5] It is then probable from the external evidence that Kartīr persecuted the Zervanites and proscribed their doctrines. His inscription at Naqš i Rajab is a restatement of Mazdean doctrine after a period of anarchy following the encouragement of heretical views by Šāpūr I. The period of Kartīr's power, extending through the reigns of the first three Bahrāms (A.D. 273–93), can then be regarded as the period of the first victory of Mazdean orthodoxy, during which Zervanism, if not actually persecuted, was very much out of favour. If later in this work it can be shown that unmixed Zervanism was in fact indistinguishable from

[1] Cf. Schaeder, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1932, p. 21 ff.; Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. 14; von Wesendonk, AO. x, pp. 336–63; Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, p. 150, n. 268. Against this view v. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, pp. 10 ff.

[2] Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, pp. 42, 48.

[3] ed. Gottwaldt, p. 50: translation by U. M. Daudpota in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 22, p. 96.

[4] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, Barbier de Meynard, ii, pp. 167–8; v. further Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, i, pp. 278 ff.

[5] DkM. 829. 1–5 (text F 3 (*a*)).

the doctrine of the Daharīs, then actual persecution by Kartīr will scarcely be open to reasonable doubt.

We know too little of the two short reigns that intervene between the death of Bahrām III (A.D. 293) and the accession of Šāpūr II (A.D. 309) to be able to form any idea of religious developments during that period. The work of the second Šāpūr, however, can now be seen as the culmination of the process of intolerance initiated and zestfully developed by Kartīr. That there may have been backsliding in the intervening reigns is indicated by the fact that under this Šāpūr another council had to be convened and the redoubtable Āδurbaδ, son of Mahraspand, was required to vindicate his views by submitting to the ordeal. This he did with triumphant success, and a royal edict ensured that his views and no others should in future be esteemed as the true faith of Zoroastrian orthodoxy.[1] The reign of Šāpūr II may thus be regarded as the high-water mark of orthodox Mazdeanism. The achievement of Āδurbāδ was built on the foundation laid by Kartīr; and it is perhaps part of that notable achievement that the very name of Kartīr has been expunged from the Zoroastrian tradition. Had the latter's great inscription never been found, posterity would still be ignorant of the signal part he played in the long, sad history of religious bigotry. In the books of his co-religionists he is not remembered: for them Āδurbāδ is the great figure of the Mazdean renaissance which must rank higher than the 'second spring' which came in under Xusrau I; for in that reign, it appears, non-Iranians were allowed to go about their lawful occasions in peace.[2] In the reign of Šāpūr the Great uniformity was enforced within the Church and other religions were heavily and savagely chastised.

It would seem that this state of affairs, so gratifying to the Mazdeans, lasted until the reign of Yezdigird I, branded by the Zoroastrian tradition as 'the Sinner'. To judge from foreign sources his sin would appear to have consisted in a spirit of tolerance ill suited to the times. The Christians had every reason to be thankful to him and even the Pagan Procopius praises his magnanimity.[3] His forbearance was, however, tried by the action of a priest in the city of Hormizd-Ardašīr in Susiana who, with the connivance of his bishop, abused his freedom by destroying the fire-temple in that city.[4] Yezdigird was forced to take counter-measures; and the spirit of tolerance thus received a renewed set-back.

Towards the end of this reign, according to Christensen,[5] a figure arose who will occupy our close attention in the following pages. This was

[1] *Supra*, p. 11.
[2] *Infra*, p. 49.
[3] Procopius, i. 2. 8.
[4] v. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, pp. 105 ff.; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 267.
[5] Op. laud., p. 268.

Mihr-Narsē, who became *Vazurg-framāδār* or Prime Minister at this time. Mihr-Narsē is a personage of great importance for our subject, and we must therefore devote some considerable space to him. Had Ełišē not preserved a remarkable document purporting to be from his hand, he would never have attracted the attention of modern scholars as anything but the exceptionally able and upright minister of the Kings Yezdigird I, Bahrām V, and Yezdigird II. Ełišē tells us that, in his efforts to convert the Armenian Christians to the Good Religion, Mihr-Narsē ordered the Magians to draw up an edict in which they were to expound the cardinal tenets of their religion; and it is this edict which Ełišē professes to reproduce.[1] The edict is frankly Zervanite and differs in only small detail from the accounts transmitted by Eznik, Theodore bar Kônai, and Yohannân bar Penkayê. On the strength of this earlier scholars concluded that the Zervanite form of Zoroastrianism was predominant or even official at least during the reign of Yezdigird II.[2] This somewhat naïve assumption was rejected by Cumont, who succinctly remarks, 'La fausseté de ce document saute aux yeux.'[3] He further points out that the answer of the Armenian clergy bears no relation to the edict—a fact scarcely surprising in itself if, as Łazar of P'arpi asserts,[4] that venerable body of men did not take the trouble to open it—and that the edict is borrowed from Eznik. Cumont's thesis was later vigorously supported by H. H. Schaeder,[5] who, while maintaining that the edict of Ełišē derived not from his actual experience of the Magian religion but from literary sources, went further and described Eznik himself as a 'literary pirate of a calibre rare even in Armenian literature'. Since M. L. Mariès,[6] following Meillet, published his researches on the sources of Eznik, Schaeder's harsh judgement on that Armenian classic will not be lightly disputed.

The earlier view that the edict was authentic was then taken up by O. G. von Wesendonk.[7] His theory was that the edict consisted of two parts: the one, religious, drawn up by the Magian priests for the benefit of the uninstructed Armenians, the other, an edict addressed by the King Yezdigird to the Armenian nobility. The first, he maintained, is preserved in Ełišē, the second by Łazar.[8] The striking and for him awkward resemblance

[1] Ełišē, ed. Yohannisean, p. 27; Langlois, ii, p. 190. v. our text F 1.

[2] Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, ii, p. 183; Casartelli, op. cit., p. 3: Darmesteter, ZA. i, p. 221, n. 10; Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persien*, p. 197: Blochet, RHR. xxxvii, p. 27; Ed. Meyer, *Ursprünge und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, p. 84.

[3] Cumont, MMM. i, p. 17.

[4] Langlois, ii, p. 282.

[5] *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 239; cf. the same scholar's *Der Iranische Zeitgott und sein Mythos*, ZDMG. 1941, p. 291.

[6] *Le 'De Deo' d'Eznik de Kołb*, esp. pp. 39–54.

[7] l.c.

[8] Langlois, ii, p. 281.

between the three accounts of Eznik, Ełišē, and Theodore bar Kônai was explained away rather than explained. In support of his theory that Mihr-Narsē and Yezdigird II were Zervanites, von Wesendonk adduced the fact that the former's son, and the eldest at that, bore the name of Zurvāndāδ. Beyond that and the spurious edict he had little evidence to show.

Now, as Mariès has demonstrated, it seems certain that, though there is no reason to suppose Ełišē to be directly dependent on Eznik, the three or, with bar Penkayê, four Zervanite accounts cited derive from a common source, and that the so-called edict of Mihr-Narsē is valueless as evidence for the prevalence of Zervanism during the reign of Yezdigird II. If we are to substantiate von Wesendonk's thesis that Mihr-Narsē was a Zervanite, our time will be better occupied (*a*) in seeking to find out whether Ełišē has otherwise any knowledge of the religion of the Persians and, if he has such knowledge, whether he would be likely to insert into his history an account of that religion which could be refuted by any Magian priest as being either long out of date or a travesty of the facts, and (*b*) in ascertaining whether the Zoroastrian books throw any light on Mihr-Narsē himself, his son Zurvāndāδ, or Yezdigird II. To the clarification of these two points we shall now proceed.

It would appear from the accounts of Ełišē[1] and Łazar[2] that Yezdigird II, swayed by his Prime Minister Mihr-Narsē, pursued an extraordinarily vigorous policy of proselytism. From the fourth to the eleventh year of his reign he sought to convert the Armenian nobility by peaceful methods and rewarded those who acquiesced with gifts of money and land.[3] These methods were only partially successful, for the bulk of the Armenian nation remained loyal to the Christian religion: so Mihr-Narsē, with the support of a converted Armenian called Varazvałan, then issued his famous 'edict' demanding that the Armenians should adhere to the Good Religion.[4] Both Ełišē and Łazar produce a version of this edict, but the former attributes it to Mihr-Narsē and the latter to the King. Von Wesendonk (l.c.) is doubtless right in explaining the total lack of correspondence between the two versions by identifying Ełišē's with the digest of the Persian religion mentioned by Łazar,[5] not with the royal edict. According to Łazar[6] the edict remained unopened, and its recipients proceeded to draw up a reply couched in language of extreme violence. This proved too much even for

[1] Yohannisean, pp. 19 ff.; Langlois, ii, pp. 187 f.

[2] Langlois, ii, pp. 278 f.

[3] Ełišē, Yohannisean, p. 21; Langlois, ii, p. 188.

[4] Łazar, Langlois, *ii*, pp. 278–81.

[5] Langlois, ii, p. 281: 'Aussitôt le roi convoqua les mages, leur fit écrire les lois du magisme et les envoya en Arménie. Il rédigea aussi un édit adressé à toute la nation arménienne.'

[6] Ibid., p. 282.

Yezdigird surnamed 'the Clement',[1] who retorted by dispatching a punitive expedition to the rebellious province. What is more interesting to us is that a great number of Magian priests were sent in its wake.[2] *A priori* it would therefore seem improbable that Ełišē should insert into his history a false account of the Magian religion purporting to be the work of Mihr-Narsē and therefore orthodox, at a moment when there were on Armenian territory large numbers of Magians any of whom could prove his statement false and convict him of ignorance. Wilful misrepresentation of his adversary's doctrine would scarcely be the best means of serving his own Church or of preventing those whose faith was lukewarm from going over to the other side. These could only be alienated by such a procedure, and convinced Christians would, anyway, not be susceptible to argument. Masʿūdī[3] in an interesting passage defends the Zoroastrians from the charge levelled against them by Muhammadan theologians, namely, that the Devil sprang from a thought of the deity, by suggesting that such opinions were held by the common people but were consistently denied by the Magians themselves. Ełišē can plead no such excuse, for the official representatives of the Zoroastrian Church were there, and their doctrine would be known to the Armenians. We are therefore justified in believing that the so-called edict of Mihr-Narsē, though derived from other sources, nevertheless represents approximately the official doctrine of the time of Yezdigird II.

If Ełišē showed himself otherwise entirely ignorant of the Persian religion of his time, we should be justified in dismissing the 'edict' as a mere repetition from Eznik or some other Christian propagandist. But in fact he does not. In the edict itself he makes Mihr-Narsē refer to the Christians as 'deaf and blind and deceived by the demons of Ahriman',[4] thereby reproducing exactly the Pahlavī interpretation of the Avestan terms *kavi-* and *karapan-*.[5] He knew that it was forbidden to slaughter cattle without first stunning the victim,[6] that excrement was not to be put on the fire,[7] that one should wash one's hands with *gōmēz* (cow's urine)—and he is familiar with the technical term—that it was unlawful to kill beavers, foxes, and hares,[8] but that it was meritorious to destroy snakes, lizards, frogs, ants,

[1] *al-laiyin*, Ḥamza, Gottwaldt, p. 55.

[2] Ełišē, Yohannisean, p. 49; Langlois, ii, p. 199; Łazar, Langlois, ii, p. 291.

[3] *Kitābu't-tanbīh*, de Goeje, p. 93; trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 136; text F 12.

[4] Yohannisean, p. 27; Langlois, ii, p. 191; cf. Meillet, *Rev. Ét. Arm.* vi, pp. 1 ff.

[5] e.g. Yt. 1. 10 = ZXA., p. 90. Cf. Darmesteter's note in *The Zend-Avesta*, ii, p. 26 (SBE. xxiii).

[6] See note A, p. 52.

[7] Cf. esp. Vd. 7. 25–27.

[8] Why Ełišē selects the beaver, fox, and hare from the creatures of Mazdāh is not quite clear. We should have expected some mention of the otter or dog; but perhaps, as a Christian polemist, he merely wishes to draw attention to the absurdity of a religion which forbade the destruction of harmful creatures.

and all sorts of vermin.[1] In common with most other authors who deal with the Mazdean religion he knows of their consanguineous marriages, their worship of the elements and the Sun and Moon, and he is familiar with the name of the Bahrām fire.[2] Further he gives us information concerning the Magian 'schools' mentioned above,[3] information which we get in no other source. It should, then, be clear that our author had a knowledge of the religion of the Persians altogether outstanding in an Armenian historian, vastly superior to that of Łazar, for instance, who describes the same events. Though yielding nothing to the latter in bigotry, he does yet seem to have taken the trouble to find out something of the opinions of his opponents: and it would be doing him an injustice to assume that whereas whatever else he reports about the Magian religion is true and supported by other sources—and the authenticity of the *petmog* passage is vouched for by his correct use of the word *hamakden*—he should have been so foolish as to insert into what is supposed to be an edict of Mihr-Narsē a doctrine that was either proscribed by the latter's Church or had long fallen into disrepute. Instructed in the details of this religion he is scarcely likely to have committed a blunder in so important a matter as that of the origin of the universe. Himself a witness of the events he describes,[4] he would at any rate have been refuted by the Magians operating in Armenia. Believing for the moment in his veracity, we now turn to other sources.

The most important of these is Ṭabarī. According to him Mihr-Narsē occupied the highest office of state, that of *vazurg-framāδār*, during the reigns of Yezdigird I, Bahrām V, and Yezdigird II:[5] but it would appear that it was only in the reign of Bahrām that he began to exercise a preponderant influence. Yezdigird I, we are told, rejected his advice,[6] which we can well believe; for the King was as notable for his tolerance as his minister was for his religious zeal. Under Bahrām, however, he seems to have enjoyed unlimited power: he was entrusted with the management of the State during the monarch's absence in India[7] and was looked up to like a king.[8] During the reign of Bahrām as in that of Yezdigird II he distinguished himself in the field against the Byzantines. About his character Ṭabarī is enthusiastic, describing him as the wise man of his time, a man of perfect culture, distinguished in his behaviour, and outstanding among

[1] Cf. Vd. 14. 5, where snakes, frogs, and ants are mentioned. Herodotus i. 140 mentions particularly ants and snakes as being the victims of the Magi. GrBd., p. 142, heads its list of noxious creatures with the snake, scorpion, lizard, ant, fly, and locust.

[2] *vṛamakan krak*, Yohannisean, p. 66; Langlois, ii, p. 206.

[3] p. 29.

[4] He professes to have seen Yezdigird II and heard his voice: Yohannisean, p. 20; Langlois, ii, p. 187.

[5] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, pp. 75, 106, 113.

[6] Bel'amī, Zotenberg, ii, p. 104.

[7] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, p. 106.

[8] Bel'amī, Zotenberg, ii, p. 122.

his contemporaries.[1] Because of his intelligence and the confidence he inspired in the people he was greatly esteemed by his royal masters.[2] Mas'ūdī, though he does not mention him by name, records that Yezdigird II summoned to his court one of the wise men of his time, and that he modelled his conduct on him and governed according to his advice.[3] Thus the accounts deriving from the *Xᵛatāynāmak* or Sassanian Book of Kings accord with the Armenians in regarding Mihr-Narsē as the dominant influence during the reign of Yezdigird II. He was cordially hated by the Armenians as being primarily responsible for the Christian persecutions, while the Book of Kings, reflecting the opinion of the nobility, cannot find praise high enough for his character and knightly exploits.

Now among the sons of Mihr-Narsē there was one of the name of Zurvāndāδ. Being the eldest he was destined for the Church and the law, and was elevated to the rank of *hērbaδān-hērbaδ* (high priest) during the reign of Bahrām V.[4] This office, though inferior to that of *mōbaδān-mōbaδ*, seems to have been extremely important.[5] Among other functions it would seem that the *hērbaδān-hērbaδ* exercised a decisive influence in doctrinal matters, for the great Tansar, who is said to have drawn up the Sassanian Avesta, is alleged to have held that office, not that of *mōbaδān-mōbaδ*.[6] The name of Zurvāndāδ does not necessarily prove its owner to have been a Zervanite, as von Wesendonk seems to imply, any more than the name Zurvānduχt borne by a daughter of Šāpūr II[7] proves Zervanite tendencies in that monarch who, by accepting the doctrine of Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, would seem to have associated himself with the categorical dualism which finds its expression in the Pahlavī books. The name does, however, indicate that Zurvān was an object of reverence in the family concerned, and is of obvious significance when borne by an eldest son and one of the highest officials of the Magian clergy. Even so, Zurvāndāδ is important to us not so much because of his name as because he is the object of a disparaging reference in a Pahlavī book.

For if we turn to the Pahlavī *Vidēvdāt* 4. 49, we find that whereas the notorious Mazdak is cited as the typical *ahramōγ* or heretic, Zurvāndāδ[8]

[1] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, pp. 75–76.

[2] Ibid., p. 109.

[3] *Murūj*, Barbier de Meynard, ii, p. 193.

[4] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, p. 110.

[5] For the functions of the *hērbaδān-hērbaδ* v. p. 35, n. 4.

[6] DkM. 406. 6. Full references in Minovi, *Tansar's Epistle*, p. 9.

[7] Arm. *zruanduχt* in P'awstos of Byzantium vi. 1. v. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 42.

[8] There can be no doubt that the reading *Zurvāndāt* preserved in one MS. (IM) is correct. The reading *ZLHWND'T* kept by Hôshang Jâmâsp in his text was read by Darmesteter as *Zarhûndât* (ZA. ii, p. 62, n. 38), on which that able translator remarks, 'le nom est malheureusement trop corrompu pour permettre une identification historique'.

appears as the typical *sāstār*. The latter term, besides meaning simply 'tyrant', is also used in a religious sense. In DkM. 204. 18 and 22. 4[1] it is used in opposition to *āsrōn* or priest, and in the latter passage it is qualified as *aγ-dēnīh* or 'wrong religion'. The difference between the last term and *ahramōγ* is explained in the *Dēnkart*: 'Apostasy (from the Good Religion) includes two categories, that of the *ahramōγ* who considers it non-existent and that of the *aγ-dēn* who considers the Good Religion not good.'[2] This passage clearly shows that the orthodox Mazdean made a distinction between *ahramōγ* and *aγ-dēn*. The former, who ignores the Good Religion, would seem to be a member of an external cult, a non-Zoroastrian; the latter acknowledges the Good Religion, but considers it to be 'not good', or in other words is not in agreement with the orthodox doctrine: and for the author of the *Dēnkart* the orthodox doctrine is that of 'the two Principles', the pure teaching of the school of Āδurbāδ. The Pahlavī *Vidēvdāt*, then, in referring to Mazdak as the typical *ahramōγ* and to Zurvāndāδ as the typical *sāstār*, is making a distinction. The former is the founder of a new religion not in communion with the Zoroastrian Church; the latter is a priest holding heretical views within it.

It may, of course, be argued that there is no proof that the Zurvāndāδ of the *Vidēvdāt* is identical with the son of Mihr-Narsē. True, but the probabilities seem overwhelmingly in favour of this assumption. First we have no knowledge of any Zurvāndāδ other than the son of Mihr-Narsē who could conceivably be regarded as a typical *sāstār*.[3] Secondly, the mention of Mazdak indicates the period to which we should assign the Zurvāndāδ in question, namely the period of religious unrest prior to the reform of Xusrau I. Thirdly, we have good reason to suppose that Zervanism was in the ascendant during the reign of Yezdigird II and that Mihr-Narsē and his son were supporters of that religion. All this seems to be borne out by a passage in the *Mātiyān i hazār Dātastān* where Mihr-Narsē and Yezdigird are referred to in uncomplimentary terms:

... as when His Majesty, the King of Kings, Bahrām, son of Yezdigird, appointed Mihr-Narsē, the Prime Minister, to serve the fire of Artvahišt and the fire 'Increase the land (?), O Lord'. For several years he was kept at that task, to the tending of fires. Then at the command of His Majesty, the King of Kings, Yezdi-

[1] v. our texts Z 11 and Z 12.

[2] DkM. 201. 8–10: *'apāč stāyastan [i] hangartīk 2 aδvēnak, ahramō⟨γ⟩īk čēγōn an'hast mēnītan, aγ-dēnīk čēγōn a'vēh mēnītan i vēh-dēn.*

[3] The other known Zurvāndāδs are: (*a*) A jurist frequently quoted in the MhD., the son of Yuvān-Yam, sometimes occurring without the patronymic. (*b*) Cited by Justi (*Namenbuch*, s.v. *Zarwāndāδ*) are two persons among the twelve Magi who were said to have paid homage to Jesus, a Zrovandat, Bishop of Gołthn, and a Zīrwandāt (!) appearing on a Sassanian seal. (*c*) A pupil of Mānī who operated in Khorasan (Schaeder, ZDMG. 1941, p. 274).

gird, son of Bahrām, he was received back into a position of trust because of his reputation as a sinner and was kept for several years in a position of trust. Then His Majesty, the King of Kings, Pērōz, consulted with the chief Mōbaδ, Mardbūδ, and other authorities who had come, and appointed him to serve not the same fire but the fire of Ōhrmazd-Pērōz.[1]

Though the passage is not absolutely clear, the salient fact cannot be evaded. Mihr-Narsē had the reputation of a 'sinner', and apparently for this reason was put in a position of trust by Yezdigird II. Bahrām V and Pērōz, on the other hand, put him in charge of fire-temples. What precisely this means is not immediately obvious: but the service of fire-temples must have meant a retirement from public life, for Mas'ūdī says that when Ardašīr I abandoned the world he frequented fire-temples and served God there.[2] The meaning of the passage can, therefore, only be that, in the eyes of both Bahrām V and Pērōz, Mihr-Narsē was *persona non grata*. It is also significant that on his second banishment to a fire-temple the decision was reached at the instance of the chief Mōbaδ and other ecclesiastical authorities: he must, therefore, also have been unpopular with the Church. Yezdigird II, however, brought him back to a position of trust, and that because he was a sinner! In other words, he was a heretic.

It need hardly be said that the accounts of Ṭabarī and the *Mātiyān* are in complete disagreement. But this is scarcely surprising, for the account of the former is based on the *Xᵛatāynāmak* and reflects the views of the nobles: the latter is a purely priestly work and reflects the views of Zoroastrian orthodoxy. That Mihr-Narsē was actually disgraced by Bahrām V is improbable: on this point the evidence of Ṭabarī is on the whole to be preferred, for he has no obvious axe to grind. The priests, on the other hand, had every interest in whitewashing Bahrām V, who was an extremely popular monarch. It is therefore not unlikely that they invented the story of Mihr-Narsē's disgrace, if such indeed it was. About Yezdigird II they presumably cared less, for he never captured the popular imagination as Bahrām did, and they were, therefore, quite content to allow him to be implicated in the heresies of his distinguished minister. His degradation under Pērōz may well be historical, for Ṭabarī, who admires Mihr-Narsē, does not mention his being the minister of Pērōz at all. This passage from the *Mātiyān* then proves that both Yezdigird and Mihr-Narsē were obnoxious to the later Sassanian Church. Nor can we explain this antagonism, as we can in the case of Yezdigird I, as a reaction of a bigoted clergy against religious toleration; for as we know from the Armenians and Ṭabarī alike, Mihr-Narsē was a zealot and as indefatigable a founder of fire-temples as

[1] See note B, p. 52.

[2] *Murūj*, Barbier de Meynard, ii, p. 160.

the great Kartīr himself. The conclusion is inescapable: Mihr-Narsē's form of Zoroastrianism differed from that of the Pahlavī books: he must have been a Zervanite. We can therefore say with tolerable certainty that Zervanism was the predominant religion during the reign of Yezdigird II.

Of the religion of Yezdigird II himself we can gather little apart from what we have just said. Like all the other Persian kings he swears by the Sun,[1] and bids his subjects worship it and minister to the fire,[2] and he 'multiplied the sacrifice of white bulls and shaggy he-goats to the fire'.[3] He accused the Christians of sorcery[4] and considered it a sin to receive tribute from them and to accept their services so long as they persisted in their error.[5] Like Šāpūr I, his predecessor in error, he appears to have been genuinely interested in finding a religion that would satisfy him. 'He studied all doctrines and examined the religion of the Magians and Chaldees and all the teachings of his country.'[6] He is even said to have had the Christian scriptures read to him, but like his Muhammadan successors was scandalized by the Crucifixion, and laughed the idea of a bodily Resurrection to scorn.[7] If then he was a Zervanite, he would seem to have been one by conviction.

For the reigns of Pērōz and Balāš we have no information; but the events of the reign of Kavāδ seem to indicate that the policy of permitting religious speculation within the State Church had run riot. It is not within the scope of this book to give an account of the Mazdakite heresy and its hold on Kavāδ: for this the reader is referred to Christensen's excellent monograph.[8] The success of that movement and the chaos it caused testify to the weakness of the Zoroastrian Church at that period and the urgent need for the drastic reforms afterwards put into effect by Xusrau I.

At the time of the accession of this monarch the empire was torn with faction: the social order had been dislocated by the communist theories and practices of the Mazdakites, and the Church itself had absorbed many extraneous ideas. The so-called 'Epistle of Tansar' which was written in the reign of Xusrau I[9] reflects the chaotic conditions prevalent before his reign. 'Because of the decadence of the men of those times and the decline of the monarchy and men's thirst after heresy and false interpretations and their desire for glory, those writings and traditions had so passed from

[1] Ełišē, Yohannisean, p. 43; Langlois, ii, p. 198.
[2] Id. Yoh., pp. 22, 43; L., pp. 188, 197.
[3] Id. Yoh., p. 17; L., p. 187.
[4] Id. Yoh., p. 41; L., p. 196 (translation inaccurate).
[5] Id. Yoh., p. 45; L., p. 197.
[6] Id. Yoh., p. 20; L., p. 187.
[7] Id. Yoh., p. 18; L., p. 187.
[8] 'Le Règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite' in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, ix. 6.
[9] v. p. 10, n. 2.

the memory of the people that not an iota of the truth remained.'[1] Even before his accession but after he had been recognized as heir apparent, Xusrau had dealt the Mazdakites a mortal blow. A conference was summoned to which Mazdak and his supporters were invited. Defeated in controversy, they were ruthlessly massacred.[2] With the Mazdakites thus liquidated the new king was free to put the house of the Zoroastrian Church in order. The decree preserved in the *Dēnkart*[3] bears witness to this act. The words 'after he had put down irreligion and heresy' must refer to his drastic suppression of the Mazdakites, and 'the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion has been recognized' must refer to the conference in which the Magian priests defeated Mazdak. Xusrau agreed to accept the decision of the chief Mōbaδ as binding, but demanded of the Magians a precise definition of doctrine, though at the same time pointing out that a good life and ritual accuracy are of more importance than questions of dogma. He then deplores the fact that foreign doctrines had found their way into the Mazdayasnian religion, and urges his subjects to study the Avesta and *Zand*. He attacks those who deny that God can be known and those who assert that He can be known in His entirety. The first of these parties may refer to one school of Zervanites.[4] Finally he says: 'Those who say that it is possible to understand Being through the revelation of the Religion and also by analogy, are to be deemed researchers (after truth).' Here Xusrau would appear to be authorizing the marriage of the Good Religion and Greek philosophy which is so noticeable a feature of the *Dēnkart*. He is seeking a *via media* both between religion on the one hand and philosophy or science on the other, and between the rival schools of Mazdeanism and Zervanism. The attempted fusion, however, was not complete; and it is thanks to his failure that we can reconstruct the Zervanite system at all.

Further light is thrown on the activities of Xusrau by another passage in the *Dēnkart*.[5] Here he advocates the complete destruction of the doctrines of heretics, the enforcement of the views advocated by Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, and the popularization of religious knowledge among the orthodox: this knowledge, however, was to be jealously kept from heretics. He further recommends that his subjects increase their sacrifices to the

[1] Minovi, p. 11, l. 12; Darmesteter, JA. 1894, pp. 212, 516.

[2] Malalas and Theophanes give a full account of the defeat and death of Mazdak. v. Christensen, op. laud, p. 124, and id., *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 354–5.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 8–9.

[4] Cf. the discussion of the infinite in the ŠGV. 16. 104 ff. (text Z 23): 'In so far as it is infinite it cannot be understood.' For similar views on the incomprehensibility of the supreme deity in the Hellenistic religions v. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, Beigabe i, § 2.

[5] See note C, p. 52.

gods and destroy the idol-temples of the demons, that they should use their strength to help one another, but deny it to foreigners.

Masʿūdī,[1] too, tells us of his intolerance towards heretics. 'He united the people of his realm in the religion of the Magians, and forbade them discussion, divergence of opinion, and controversy.' We learn from the 'Epistle of Tansar'[2] that the King—probably referring to Xusrau in fact—gave orders for heretics to be imprisoned and to receive instruction from the Magians for the space of one year. If the victim recanted, he was released; but if he persisted in his error, he was to be made aware of the consequences and finally liquidated. This shows a relative leniency that contrasts favourably with the savage tone of the *Dēnkart* passage. That work, indeed, gives a picture of Xusrau very different from that which we obtain from other sources. Agathias[3] tells us that he studied Greek philosophy and that he was much given to Plato and Aristotle. He also states that a Syrian called Uranius taught him philosophy and that he discussed matters of theology with the Magians. In spite of this interest in learning Agathias formed the lowest opinion of his intellectual qualifications.

Owing to persecution in the Byzantine Empire and the closing of the schools of philosophy in Athens, seven philosophers took refuge at the court of Ctesiphon.[4] One of them was Damascius, to whom we owe a short account of the Persian religion which he claims to have derived from Eudemus of Rhodes. The account is Zervanite, for it places Space and Time at the origin of all created things. Scheftelowitz and von Wesendonk have doubted the authenticity of the attribution to Eudemus, and think that Damascius is describing a religion he knew first-hand at Ctesiphon.[5] But this fails to explain why he should wish to attribute what he had himself observed to another or why he should have selected Eudemus in particular. Moreover, the tone of the decree of Xusrau preserved in the *Dēnkart* and his encouragement of the followers of Āδurbāδ make it probable that the Zervanites were a proscribed sect at least during the early part of his reign. It would surely be attributing an excess of tact to Damascius to suppose he described the Zervanite doctrine under the name of Eudemus in order to shield the offending sect from the royal displeasure.

It is well known that Xusrau's policy towards other religions was tolerant in the extreme. By the peace of 562 the Christians were granted full liberty to practise their cult, but were forbidden to proselytize.[6] However, during the war they suffered persecution at the hands of the chief Mōbaδ, Dāδ-

[1] *Murūj*, Barbier de Meynard, ii, p. 196.
[2] Minovi, p. 17; Darmesteter, JA. 1894, pp. 219, 524.
[3] ii. 28.
[4] v. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 423.
[5] v. p. 20, n. 3.
[6] v. Christensen, op. cit., p. 368.

Hormizd, probably with the full approval of the King.[1] In return for his concessions to the Christians he obtained similar rights for the Magians within the Byzantine Empire.[2] This is interesting, for it shows that the Iranian Church recognized its connexion with the Magians abroad though, according to our Greek sources, these had little in common with it.

It was during the reign of Xusrau I, too, that Indian ideas re-emerge in Īrān; and a small Pahlavī 'Book of Chess'[3] tells us how that game was brought to Īrān from India during his reign.[4] Translations of Indian works also took place, notably of the *Pancatantra*, that charming book of fables that was later to find its appropriate place in the heritage of the West. Reference will be made later to possible borrowing from India in the Pahlavī literature.

How then are we to reconcile the harsh, xenophobe Xusrau of the *Dēnkart* with the protector of Greek philosophers, associate of Christians, and amateur of Indian literature? The solution would appear to be that the *Dēnkart* decree is to be assigned to the beginning of his reign[5] when harsh measures were necessary to preserve both Church and State from disintegration. After he had strengthened the Zoroastrian Church and put a stop to doctrinal wrangling within it, he could afford to adopt a generous policy towards the Christians who, maintaining the errors of Nestorius against the orthodoxy of Byzantium, could no longer be regarded as enemies within the gates. The presence of a few Greek philosophers at his court might well cause offence to the more conservative among the Magians but was no doubt pleasing to the vanity of the King of Kings. We can then conclude that the reign of Xusrau I combined the re-establishment of Mazdeanism with a policy of toleration towards other religions. For he himself says in his decree, 'We have no dispute with those who have other convictions.'

With the passing of Xusrau 'of Immortal Soul' the Sassanian Empire entered on the period of its decline. For the sake of completeness we must, I suppose, say a few words about that flashy and deplorable monarch Xusrau II, styled 'the Victorious'. He was thoroughly disliked by the Zoroastrian clergy; for according to the Persian *Žāmāspī* he practised tyranny and injustice: evil customs became prevalent, and the religion and the realm of Īrān declined. It uses the words *āyīn i bad*, a term later to be

[1] Christensen, op. cit., p. 421; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, pp. 176ff.

[2] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, p. 288.

[3] PhlTexts, pp. 115–20: cf. Salemann in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du bulletin de l'académie impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, ix, pp. 222–42.

[4] Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, iii, p. 28, favours an earlier date.

[5] *Supra*, p. 47.

applied to the Arabs;[1] and it would therefore seem probable that the statement of Eutychius that he embraced Christianity was true.[2] At any rate he married the daughter of the Emperor Maurice by whose aid he succeeded in defeating the formidable pretender, Bahrām Čōβēn.[3] His favourite wife, Šīrēn, too, was a Christian from Byzantium;[4] and he himself prayed to the martyr Sergius and returned a golden cross, decorated with pearls and precious stones,[5] which Xusrau I had carried off. But if he was a Christian, he was no ornament to that Church, for he was addicted to every sort of superstition. He wore an amulet to keep him from death[6] and surrounded himself with astrologers and sorcerers,[7] and even dabbled in astrology himself.[8] Christensen is right in saying that 'superstition was the real basis of his religion'.[9] To superstition again must be attributed both the homage he paid to the Christian martyr Sergius and the erection of 353 fire-temples to which he appointed no less than 12,000 *hērbaδs*.[10] The whole procedure exhibits that intellectual vulgarity which vainly seeks to propitiate the higher powers by utilizing mutually exclusive religions and caring not at all whether either be true. With the demise of this futile monarch dynastic chaos set in and the rotten apple of autocratic corruption was ripe to fall into the hands of the desert barbarian.

In this chapter we have attempted, by a close examination of the scant material at our disposal, to trace the vicissitudes of the Zoroastrian religion during the Sassanian period. Let us now summarize our conclusions. The religion was resuscitated by Ardašīr I with the assistance of Tansar. Šāpūr I introduced certain foreign elements and during his reign the Zervanites seem to have been dominant. Under Bahrām I the Mazdean reaction sets in. Certain basic doctrines are reaffirmed by Kartīr: uniformity on Mazdean lines becomes the order of the day and wholesale persecution begins. The same trend is further developed under Šāpūr II, who summoned a council to settle the doctrinal question. At this council the Mazdean dualists, headed by Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, were victorious and their views were accepted as orthodox. Under Yezdigird II the Zervanites again prevailed, and their cause was espoused by the Prime Minister, Mihr-Narsē. By the reign of Kavāδ doctrinal imprecision had produced chaotic conditions, and Xusrau found himself compelled to reaffirm the doctrines of Āδurbāδ, albeit judiciously combined with gobbets of Greek philosophy. After this a general laxity seems to have invaded the body politic: the

[1] Modi, ii. 3.
[2] Cf. Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, p. 287, n. 2.
[3] Theophylact, *Historiae*, iv. 14.
[4] Id. v. 13. 7.
[5] Id. v. 1. 8; 13. 1.
[6] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, p. 382.
[7] Ibid., p. 304.
[8] Theophylact v. 15. 3.
[9] *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 482.
[10] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, p. 353.

Zoroastrian religion was no longer in a state to stand up to the Muslim onslaught, and within a few centuries it was wholly to fade out of the Middle Eastern scene, leaving few traces behind and proving too weak permanently to influence Iranian thought. Zervanism, though defeated, lived on in that inveterate fatalism which has ever since been so marked a characteristic of the Persian mind.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

A. Yohannisean, p. 50; Langlois, ii, pp. 199–200. Cf. the account of Strabo, xv. 3. 15 (*apud* Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 35, and Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, p. 52), Mâr Barhad Bešabbâ (text F 8), and the reply to the Christian Bōχt-Mārā's question as to why the Zoroastrians struck the victim with a log before applying the knife (DkM. 456. 4) found in DkM. 466. 12. 'The reason for striking cattle with a log before (applying) the knife, together with the other things which are to be done in that matter, apart from the ritual efficacy of cleansing the body from a number of demons, especially the portions of excrement and bad taste, and (apart from) preventing the unjust and ill-considered slaughter of cattle, is first pity for the beast and on this account the lessening of its fear and pain when the knife is applied to it, and the prevention of the slaughter of cattle in an ill-considered manner, impulsively and at any time when one's desire is urgent.' The text is as follows: *gōspand čōp pēš 'hač kārt frāč burtan 'hamist apārīk i 'andar 'ān 'dar kunišn čim, 'ān yut 'hač nīrangīk sūtārīh i čand druž 'hač tan 'pāk kartan, nāmčištīk bahr i *hiχrīh(?) 'ut dušmičakīh, adātīhā 'ut halakīhā* ['*ut*] *kam-kušišnīh-ič i gōspand, ēvak apaχšišn i 'apar gōspand, 'pat-ič 'ān rās kam-bīmīh 'ut kam-dartīh 'i-š 'hač frāč-'barišnīh* ⟨*i*⟩ *'kārt 'ut 'nē halakīhā zūt zūt 'pat 'har zamān āržōk-tēžīhā 'ōžatan i gōspand.*

B. MhD. ii (1913), p. 39, 11–17; Bulsara, *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*, p. 551: *'apāk 'ān 'kaδ 'avē bay Vahrām 'šāhān 'šāh Yazdkartān Miθr-Narsē i vazurgframātār 'pat bandakīh* ⟨*i*⟩ *ātaχš i Artvahišt 'ut ātaχš i aβzōn-χᵛatāy-šaθr(?) 'dāt. čand 'sāl 'pat 'ān 'dāt 'pat āturān dāštan. 'pas 'pat framān i 'avē 'bē* (*BR'* for *bay*>*bē*) *Yazdkart 'šāhān 'šāh i Vahrāmān* ⟨*'pat*⟩ *'nām i vināskārīh 'apāč 'ō ōstān 'graft, čand 'sāl 'pat ōstān dāšt; 'ut 'pas 'avē bay Pērōž 'šāhān 'šāh 'pat ham-pursakīh i Mart-būt mayupatān-mayupat 'būt* ⟨*'ut*⟩ *apārīk dastaβarān i mat 'ēstāt 'hēnd, 'pat bandakīh 'nē 'ō ham ātaχš* [*i*] *'bē 'ō ātaχš i Ōhrmazd-pērōž 'dāt.* Another reference to Mihr-Narsē occurs in MhD. ii. 35. 17; Bulsara, p. 537.

C. DkM. 219. 7–22: *ēvak ahramōyān čāštak 'ut ka*⟨*r*⟩*tak 'hač ērān-šaθr bavandakvānītārīhā aβsihēnītan. ēvak čāšišn i dēn mānsar 'ut ēzišn 'ut kartakān i yazdān 'hamist dāt aδvēn 'pat čāštak 'ut kartak i hāvištān i Āturpāt i Mahraspandān i* ⟨*'hač*⟩ *mukurān*[1] *'dēh 'būt, kartan. ēvak patīrišn i 'martān i ahrovān, hubarišnīh i ātaχš i*

[1] The Pahlavī has *MWKWL'N* which may most easily be read as *'hač kūrān*. A village called *kurān* is mentioned by Yāqūt, Wüstenfeld, iv, p. 247, as being in Fārs. But our present place is a *dēh* 'province' and is therefore best identified with Makrān or Mukrān, the province east of Kirmān. v. Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 31, where the forms *mukkurān* and *mākurān* are quoted. GrBd. 86. 9 has *makurastān* (*MKWLST'N*) and Kn. 7. 3 (Ântiâ, p. 22) *makrastān* (*MKLST'NW*).

aβzōnīk, yōšdāsrīh ⟨i⟩ āpān i 'vēhān 'hač ērān 'dēhān 'nē 'vēχtan. ēvak dēn 'ut dānākīh, aχᵛ[1] mēnišn ov-iš dahišnīh⟨ā⟩, 'pat bavandak tuχšākīh vaχšēnītan, 'ut 'ō ōstaβārχēmān frāχᵛīhā rātēnītan, 'ut 'hač vatak ahramōyān drupušt 'pāt. ēvak yazišn kartakān i yazdān purr-patmānīhā 'andar ērān 'dēhān aβzāyēnītan, 'ut-aš hambitīk 'dēvīk [ōžīhā] uzdēs asrušt zatan, škastan, 'aβgandan. ēvak 'ō 'ān i 'amāh dāt 'pat ravākīh 'ut frāχᵛ-vistarišnīh mēnišn, nērōk, tan-ič 'ut jān aβspārtan. ēvak zōr 'ut attān 'ō χᵛēšīk χᵛatān aδyārīh patvastan 'ut 'hač anōtak-[2] dūtakān 'ut hamēmāl brītan.*—'One (of his counsels) was to eradicate the teachings and practices of heretics from the realm of Īrān by defeating them utterly: one, to put into practice the teachings of the word of the Religion and the worship and rites of the gods together with the law and customs in accordance with the teachings and practice of the disciples of 'Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, who came from the province of Makrān: one, not to neglect in the provinces of Īrān hospitality to holy men, the good care of the beneficent fire, and the purification of the good waters: one, to cause religion and learning to prosper by being exceedingly zealous and by applying one's energy and thought to it, to propagate it widely among the sound of heart (i.e. the orthodox) and jealously to withhold it from evil heretics: one, to increase in full measure the service and rites of the gods within the provinces of Īrān and to smite, smash, and overthrow the idol-temples and disobedience (i.e. unorthodoxy) that comes from the Adversary and the demons: one, to dedicate thought, strength, and body and life to the propagation and wide dissemination of our law: one, to offer one's force and possessions to one's own kin and to withhold them from strangers and enemies.'

[1] *aχᵛ*: translates Av. *aŋhvā-* 'energy' as well as the commoner *aŋhav-* 'existence'. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the two in Pahlavī, but when used with *mēnišn* 'thought' we may be certain that the former is intended; cf. Yt. 10. 9: *fraχšni avi manō zarazdātōiṭ aŋuhyāṭ hača*—'with a well-pleasing mind, from energy given in devotion'; v. further ib. 1. 2; Ys. 11. 18; Vd. 5. 21. *aχᵛ* is equivalent to *kām*: so DkM. 262. 3, *aχᵛ kām-mēnišnīh*; ibid. 819. 17, *aχᵛ kāmak*. The series *manaŋhā . . . vačaŋhā . . . šyaoθanā . . . aŋhuyā* of Ys. 11. 18 appears in Phl. (DkM. 265. 16) as *mēnišn . . . guftan . . . . . . kartan . . . kāmak*. *aχᵛ* is only used in a good sense. It is both spiritual (*mēnōkīk*) and material (*gētēhīk*). On the spiritual plane it derives health and ease of movement from the desire of the will of the gods (*yazdān*) and the power of the constellations (*bayān*). It becomes ill and straitened through the violence of the demons and the vengeance of the planets (robber-demons, v. BSOS. ix, p. 316). On the earthly plane it derives health from sober living (*hupahrēčišnīh*), ease of movement from effort: it becomes ill through careless living (*apahrēčišnīh*) and is straitened by laziness (v. DkM. 82. 7 ff.). The way from desire (*aχᵛ*) to thought is spoken of ibid. 48. 17 and 51. 10: 'When the way from desire to thought is perfect and pure, spiritual insight (contemplation —*mēnōk-vēnišnīh*) ensues.' Though the meaning of the word was clear to the Pahlavī theologians, they were yet unable to distinguish it from *aχᵛ* = *aŋhav-* 'existence'. They knew it meant 'free will', yet they say that the Avestan name of *āzātkām* 'free will' is *aχᵛ i astōmand* (Av. *aŋhav-astvant-* 'corporal life'!). Thus it will be seen that they could preserve an older doctrine even when they had ceased to understand the Avestan language. This misuse of the word *aχᵛ* was not recognized by Tavadia in his treatment of the passage (ZII. viii, p. 122).

[2] *anōtak*: v. BSOS. ix, p. 312.

CHAPTER III

THE FATHER OF GOOD AND EVIL[1]

In the last chapter we endeavoured to trace the fortunes of Zervanism throughout the Sassanian period. We showed that, during the reign of Šāpūr I, Mānī adopted the name Zurvān to represent his own supreme deity which the Byzantine anathemas call ὁ τετραπρόσωπος πατὴρ τοῦ μεγέθους[2] and the *Fihrist*, *maliku ǰanāni'n-nūr* 'the King of the Paradise of Light', or *maliku 'ālami'n-nūr*[3] 'the King of the Cosmos of Light'. After a temporary eclipse Zervanite doctrines re-emerged in the reigns of Bahrām V and Yezdigird II only to be crushed under Xusrau I. Having indicated the periods during which Zervanism may be considered to have been the predominant form of Zoroastrianism in Īrān, we must now proceed to analyse its beliefs.

Unfortunately, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot speak of a Zervanite system as we can, for instance, of a Manichaean system, or a Marcionite or Valentinian system: we can point to Zervanite myths or beliefs, we may attempt to explain them, we can reconstruct and put forward hypotheses, but only on rare occasions can we be certain that we have arrived at the truth. For Zervanism we have no zealous Christian, no Irenaeus or Epiphanius who, in his onslaught on heresy, will reveal the basic beliefs of those he assails: we must content ourselves with Eznik, whose information is selective, and Theodore bar Kônai, who gives us tantalizingly few samples of the religion he attacks. We possess only one Zervanite treatise, the *'Ulemā i Islām*, and that of very late date. From these scattered remains and from the rare survivals of older Zervanite beliefs which we occasionally meet in the Mazdean books we must endeavour to reconstruct whatever we can of the Zervanite religion. In this chapter we will consider the Zervanite mythology, and will therefore turn at once to the well-known Zervanite myth transmitted principally by Eznik of Kołb, the Armenian apologist.

This myth, the story of the genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, is preserved in closely similar form in four sources—the Armenians Eznik and Ełišē and the Syriac writers Theodore bar Kônai and Yohannân bar Penkayê. Translations of the texts in parallel columns will be found in our

[1] The whole of this chapter is based on the four parallel accounts of the Zervanite myth which will be found reproduced as our text F 1.

[2] Migne, P.G. i, col. 1461; Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403.

[3] Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 52, 56.

text F 1. Short notices of the same myth are also found in Theodore of Mopsuestia *apud* Photius and in Eudemus *apud* Damascius (texts G 2 and 1). Slightly differing versions are given in the *'Ulemā* and Šahristānī (texts Z 37 and F 4). So much for the sources. Let us now proceed to the story they have to tell.

In the very opening sentence of the myth there is a discrepancy in our accounts. On the one hand Eznik says: 'When nothing at all existed, neither heaven nor earth nor any other creature which is in heaven or on earth . . .'; on the other, Theodore bar Kônai has: 'When nothing existed *except darkness* . . .'. All accounts then proceed to relate that Zurvān offered sacrifice for a thousand years.[1]

Theodore's addition 'except darkness' is disconcerting, for it stands in flat contradiction to what Šahristānī tells us and is a severe embarrassment to those would see in Zurvān a god of light. According to the great Arab collector of heresies the Light emanated 'persons' of light all of whom were endowed with spirit, light, and sovereignty: the greatest of these persons was Zurvān. Thus for one of our main sources Zurvān reigns over the darkness, for another he forms part of the realm of light. Which version is to be trusted? Reitzenstein, with characteristic dogmatism, laid down that Zurvān was associated exclusively with the light, 'da Zarvan immer Lichtgott bleibt, darf man vielleicht hinzufügen: des Lichts'.[2] Pallis is even more emphatic: 'the first hypostasis of Zervan', he declares, 'is light which is in fact identical with time'.[3] Such statements, however, not only make light of the evidence of Theodore who is unquestionably a reliable source, but take no account of the clear statement of Zātspram that Ohrmazd, dismayed at the threats of Ahriman, begged Time (*zamān* which is identical with Zurvān[4]) to aid him, 'for he saw that through no intermediary *belonging to the light* would Ahriman desist'.[5] Any thesis then that would identify Zurvān with light is untenable. Moreover, how can the supporters of such an hypothesis account for the 'ash-coloured garment' which, in Zātspram's account, Zurvān hands to Ahriman, and how account for the description

[1] For 'a thousand years' Šahristānī (text F 4, § 1) has the figure nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine. The figure is best explained as a mistake on Šahristānī's part. In all probability he misread his original in which nine hundred and ninety-nine must have stood. The latter figure would be equivalent to the thousand of the other sources. For the use of large numbers composed of nines one may compare the 99,999 remedies of Airyaman in Vd. xxii.

[2] *Iranisches Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 177, n. 2. This identification of Zurvān with light was long ago rejected by Darmesteter, *Ohrmazd et Ahriman*, p. 333.

[3] *Mandaean Studies*, p. 69.

[4] On the identity of Zurvān and Zamān (resp. NP. *rūzgār* = Time) cf. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube*, p. 276.

[5] Zs. 1. 9; text Z 4. That these scholars should have neglected Zātspram is very understandable since the text still remains unpublished.

of this garment as being 'from the very substance of darkness' and '*mingled with the power of Zurvān*'?[1]

Since, then, it is clear that Zurvān cannot be the god of light, is there any ground for associating him exclusively with the darkness? The answer is equally plain: No. For this evasive deity is at once the god of light and of darkness; for he is the father of Ohrmazd and Ahriman who respectively dwell in the Endless Light and the Endless Darkness:[2] or again he transcends the distinction between light and darkness, for these are only made manifest after the genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman whose attributes and places they are. So, in the folk-lore of Armenia which, as far as we can tell, still survives today, and which in this case is traceable back to ancient Īrān, Žuk (Zurvān) or Žamanak (*zamān*, Time) is represented as sitting on a high mountain and as rolling alternately a white and a black ball of thread down the mountain-side.[3] Here it is apparent that we have to do with a simple nature divinity, the god of the day and the night which mark the course of time. As Nyberg has so aptly remarked, 'Si Zurvān est le firmament, il est probable que les jumeaux (i.e. Ohrmazd and Ahriman) sont simplement le jour et la nuit, le ciel lumineux et le ciel obscur.'[4] This primitive conception of the god is again preserved by another late source, the Persian poet Firdausī (text F 13). The Zoroastrian clergy are questioning Zāl, the father of Rustam, on religious matters: one of the *mōbaδs* says, 'O exalted one, two horses, precious and fleet of foot, move forth, the one like unto a lake of pitch and the other lustrous as white crystal: they move and they both hurry on, but never do they catch each other up.' To which Zāl replies:

> Now for what thou hast said concerning the two horses, blazing like unto lightning. Both the white and the black are Time; they both pursue each other swiftly, they are night and day which pass by, they reckon each moment of the firmament above us. They do not catch each other up as they gallop on, running like the quarry before the hounds.

Since then Time is regarded as comprising both light and darkness, how is it that Šahristānī[5] speaks of it not only as a 'person' of light but as only one of many such persons, though the greatest? It would appear that he has confused in his account the conception of the pure 'Zurvāniyya' with that of the 'Semi-Zervanites', as we may conveniently call them, or those who made Time a principle equal with Ohrmazd and Ahriman, but strenuously denied that the Devil arose from a doubt of the supreme deity.[6]

[1] Text Z 4, § 29.
[2] Text Z 1, §§ 2 and 3; Z 4, § 2.
[3] Abeghian, *Armenische Volksglaube*, p. 53. Cf. Junker, *Aionvorstellung*, p. 178, n. 103.
[4] CCM. 1931, p. 112: cf. *infra*, p. 245.
[5] Text F 4, § 1.
[6] v. Chapter VIII, *passim*.

The truer conception which still survives in Zātspram is blurred in the *Bundahišn*,[1] where we find Infinite Time associated with Ohrmazd, the Endless Light and Wisdom: this tetrad, which we shall fully discuss below,[2] is a favourite in the Pahlavī books.

Now when Šahristānī speaks of the greatest of the persons of light, we are not entitled to conclude that he knew nothing whatever of a Zurvān-religion proper, as Schaeder would have us believe;[3] for he doubtless had in mind a doctrine which knew of other 'persons' beside Zurvān, in all probability his well-attested hypostases, Ašōqar, Frašōqar, and Zarōqar,[4] the importance of which Schaeder was himself the first to recognize.[5] That these were in fact 'persons' rather than attributes is proved by the fact that Frašōqar is said personally to have 'engendered' Ohrmazd.[6] Alternatively we are at liberty to think of the *baχt* and *p'aṛk'* of Eznik or any of the tetrads which Nyberg has brought to light.[7] Šahristānī's evidence is not to be cavalierly waved aside on the grounds that he was ignorant of a Zurvān-religion in which Zurvān appears as the highest principle: it is all the more interesting and important in that it depicts a stage in the development of Zervanism intermediate between that represented by Eznik and the texts allied to him and the later compromise between Zervanism proper and ultra-Mazdeanism found in the Pahlavī books. But let us return to the myth.

Before anything existed, 'there existed one, Zurvān by name, which being interpreted is Fate (*baχt*) or Fortune (*p'aṛk'*)'.[8]

With the entrance of Zurvān on to the scene let us pause for a moment to consider his nature. The Avesta distinguishes two Zurvāns, *zrvan-akarana-* and *zrvan- darəγō-χ^{v}aδāta-*, that is 'boundless Time' and 'Time whose autonomous sway lasts for a long time'. Whether the two were actually considered as distinct beings in the Avesta itself must remain uncertain; but in the Pahlavī books the difference is clearly marked. The two Zurvāns appear as *Zurvān* (resp. *zamān*) *i akanārak* 'boundless' or 'infinite Time' and *zamān i kanārakōmand* or *brīnōmand*, that is 'bounded' or 'finite Time'. The first represents infinity—in the Mazdean texts specifically the infinity of Ohrmazd—and the second temporality, finite Time, or more exactly the twelve thousand years' period during which the great struggle between Ohrmazd and Ahriman takes place. The Zurvān of the

[1] Text Z 1, § 2. [2] Chapter VIII.

[3] *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 238.

[4] *v. infra*, pp. 219–25.

[5] *Ursprung und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, pp. 141 ff.

[6] Text F 9, end.

[7] v. CCM. 1931, pp. 47 ff., and *infra* pp. 221–3.

[8] The identification of Zurvān with Fate is also found in Theodore Abū Qurra (text F 2) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (text G 2).

myth must, of course, be the infinite Zurvān since he is antecedent to Ohrmazd and Ahriman and therefore to the 'forming' of finite Time. Eznik's qualification of the name Zurvān as 'fate' or 'fortune' is, therefore, a little inconsequent, for logically the operations of these are only possible in finite time. To expect strict logic from so simple a myth would, however, be singularly inept.

Leaving aside Fate and Fortune for the moment then, let us turn to another passage from our Armenian source.[1] Here we are told that the Persians were divided into sects: some believed in three principles, the good, the just (*ardar*), and the evil; some in two, the good and the evil only, and some in seven. Whatever the last sect may have been,[2] the other two are clearly the Zervanites and Mazdeans proper. Eznik mentions the sect of the three principles first because it is their doctrine he subsequently discusses. The good and the evil are unmistakably Ohrmazd and Ahriman: the just must then as unmistakably be Zurvān. So Mâr Abhâ, a convert from Zoroastrianism, says:[3] 'Of Zurvān, the father of their gods, the Magians relate that he practised the Magian rite for a thousand years in order to get him a son, and he was heard on account of his righteousness (justice).'

In the Pahlavī books this is felicitously confirmed: 'Who is the most just?' the catechist asks. 'Finite Time',[4] the catechumen replies. That justice is here attributed to finite rather than infinite Time need not detain us, for the latter is the source of the former, the 'root', as Eznik says (l.c.), of justice. So generally accepted does this concept of Zurvān appear to have been that the author of the *Bundahišn* sees fit to supply a pleasing popular etymology of his name: he is Zurvān because he 'conquers deceit' (*zūrvān*).[5] Similarly the god Vāy, who, as we shall later see, is in the semi-Zervanite texts practically identified with Zurvān, is described as the most just: 'He pities none and takes no bribe and deals justly with master and servant alike.'[6] Before very long we shall find that Zurvān, the Just, is, as might be expected, closely bound up with *dātastān* 'order', 'justice' or 'the law' and with *patmān* 'the treaty' or 'the mean'.[7]

The justice of Zurvān appears to be very much of the letter, not of the spirit. As we shall see, he promised the kingdom to whichever of the two

[1] Eznik, Venice edition, 1926, p. 122; translation of Schmid, p. 87: 'Some propose three principles, (those) of the good, the just, and the evil; others two, of good and evil; yet others seven.'

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 29.

[3] Text F 6.

[4] *Aβyātkār i Vazurg-miθr*, §§ 131–2 (Phl-Texts, p. 95) = text Z 24 (*b*).

[5] Text Z 3, § 3 = GrBd. 167. 6.

[6] *Yavišt i Friyān*, 3. 34 *apud* West, AVN., p. 228: *'hač rāstān Vāy i 'vēh rāsttar 'kē hēč-aš 'kas āzarm 'nē, 'ut pārak 'nē 'stanēt, 'ut χ^{v}atāy 'ut bandak rāδ 'apāk ēvak ditīkar rāstīh 'dārēt.*

[7] *Infra*, Chapter X.

spirits, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, should first be born: but when Ahriman appeared first, he did indeed give him the kingship, but he made Ohrmazd Lord above him.[1] Similarly he presents him with a garment steeped in the essence of Āz,[2] the demon of greed who was eventually to devour the whole Ahrimanian creation and, but for the intervention of the powers of light, would have devoured Ahriman himself.[3]

The justice of Zurvān is in this respect curiously like the justice of the 'God of the Law' whom that ingenious heresiarch Marcion evoked from the Old-Testament Jehovah. This god is exhibited as being circumscribed by his own weakness and imperfection: he is tainted with *iniquitas*, *pusillitas*, and *malitia*.[4] Yet, for Marcion, if not for his disciples, the God of the Law is the God of Justice by definition. What distinguishes the system of Marcion radically from that of the Zervanites is that the God of the Law is an inferior deity, subject to the Good God who is supreme, and apparently unaware of his existence. Zurvān, on the contrary, is the First Principle, but fully as imperfect as Marcion's phantasm and as capable of *pusillitates*. The imperfection of God is indeed the hall-mark of the Zervanite system.

No useful purpose, however, can be served in attempting to postulate an influence of one system on the other, a diverting if unprofitable exercise once dear to Reitzenstein and Bousset. Harnack's refutation of such pointless speculation seems absolutely convincing,[5] particularly in the case of Marcion who, of all the Gnostics, is the most firmly rooted in the Judaeo-Christian tradition and the most alien to Iranian ideas.

As God of this specialized form of Justice, Zurvān is then naturally defined as Fate and Fortune.[6] This definition is amply attested in the Pahlavī books,[7] and appears to be known to Ełišē too. Thus in the text purporting to be the decree of Mihr-Narsē which we had occasion to discuss in the last chapter, the Christians are roundly censured on the grounds that 'they mock at the name of Fate (*baχt*) and greatly insult Fortune (*p'aṛaworut'iwn*)'.[8] In view of the close similarity of the accounts given by the two Armenians, it seems certain that Ełišē, whose veracity has been so needlessly impugned, was familiar with this well-attested equation of Zurvān with Fate or Fortune.

The same historian has one more small contribution to make to our knowledge of Zurvān. Where Eznik reads 'Zurvān, which being interpreted

[1] But cf. our remarks on p. 66–70.
[2] Text Z 4, § 29.
[3] Text Z 5 (*a*), §§ 42–45.
[4] v. von Harnack, *Marcion*, pp. 97–118, esp. p. 101.
[5] Ibid., pp. 436* ff.
[6] v. p. 57, n. 8.
[7] Chapter X (*a*).
[8] Ełišē, Yohannisean, p. 29; tr. Langlois, ii, p. 191.

is Fate or Fortune', Eliše has 'Zurvān, the Great God'. Since Eliše's evidence in this passage at least is heavily and with reason assailed,[1] we should perhaps refrain from accepting his word in even so small a matter as that a standing epithet of Zurvān was 'great'. His evidence, however, is once again corroborated; for the *'Ulemā i Islām*, our only surviving original Zervanite text, dealing with precisely this stage of the Zervanite cosmogony, says: 'In spite of all the *grandeur* (*buzurgvārī*) that surrounded it (Time), there was no one to call it creator.'[2] Similarly Šahristānī calls Zurvān the greatest of the persons of light or simply *zurvānu'l-kabīr* 'the Great Zurvān'.[3] Again, in the Manichaean texts Zurvān is the Iranian equivalent of the 'Father of Greatness' of Theodore bar Kônai and the Byzantine anathemas. We may then conclude that 'great' (*vazurg*, *vazurgvār*)[4] was a standing epithet of the infinite Zurvān who as such is the source and origin of all things good and evil. Essentially he is the 'Great and Just God'.

We may now proceed to the Zervanite myth proper. The Great God Zurvān sacrifices for a thousand years 'that perchance he might have a son whose name should be Ohrmazd, who should create heaven and earth and all that in them is: and after offering sacrifice for a thousand years[5] he began to ponder, saying, "Are these sacrifices which I offer of any use, and shall I have a son Ohrmazd, or do I strive in vain?" And while he considered thus, Ohrmazd and Ahriman were conceived[6] in their mother's womb.' So writes Eznik, and our other three sources are in substantial agreement.

One small point is perhaps worth mentioning: Eznik and Yohannân bar Penkayê speak of 'pondering' or 'reflecting', while Theodore bar Kônai says more explicitly that he 'doubted'.[7] The difference, though small, does seem to be of some importance. The use of the terms 'pondering' and 'reflecting' at least draws a veil over the essential imperfection of Zurvān, and does not allow the basic inconsistency in the divine nature to come to light. The

[1] Chapter II, p. 40.

[2] Text Z 37, § 8.

[3] Text F 4, § 1.

[4] So also the Manichaean Zurvān is (in Parthian) *piδar vazargēft* (Andreas–Henning, MirMan. iii, p. 65) from the Syriac original *abhā derabbūthā*.

[5] Theodore Abū Qurra gives a more detailed account of Zurvān's thousand-year sacrifice. After his wife (*v. infra*) had been pregnant with Ohrmazd for seven hundred years, Zurvān doubted whether he had been conceived. From his doubt Ahriman was conceived and apparently born after a very short interval. Ohrmazd was only born after the completion of the thousand years. v. text F 2.

[6] The idea of pregnancy ensuing on a thought or doubt seems to have been borrowed into Mandaeanism. *Right Ginzā*, p. 295 (p. 292 in the translation of Lidzbarski) reads: 'Dann sann (sc. Jōšamīn) nach, sein Gedanke wurde schwanger, und der Gedanke war nahe daran, im Zweiten geboren zu werden.' In Mandaeanism, as in Manichaeanism, the normal means of producing deities is by 'evocation'. It is therefore probable that the idea of the pregnancy of the thought of Jōšamīn derives from Zervanism.

[7] Cf. also text F 4, § 1.

term 'doubt',[1] however, advertises this imperfection and elevates this unsureness in the godhead into the distinctive mark of the system. Eznik was quick to realize this and made much of it in his refutation.[2] We may assume that the Zervanites themselves were fully conscious of the distinction too: Zurvān 'ponders' or 'doubts' depending on whether his devotee wishes to minimize or to proclaim his imperfection, which, in controversy with other religions, might be a source of embarrassment. The 'doubt' is the manifestation of an essential defect in the godhead and it is exteriorized in the birth of Ahriman: from the untainted divine nature Ohrmazd, the good god, is born. Zurvān is the father of good and evil alike; as physically he is light and darkness, so is he morally good and evil. His 'Marcionite' justice has room for both.

The evil in the godhead is, however, minimized: it is, so to speak, an ontological mistake. Šahristānī again admirably describes the just proportion of good and evil in this ambiguous god. He says: 'Ahriman arose from this *single* reflection; and Ohrmazd arose from that wisdom.'[3] Though by nature just and wise, there is a basic imperfection in the godhead which manifests itself as 'doubt'. From its nature and its imperfection good and evil are born. The clash between the two is inevitable, and the battle must take place in finite time and space so that the balance may once again be restored. Truly 'there was always something evil with God, either an evil thought or an evil corruption, and that is the origin of Satan.'[4]

In attacking this particular phase of the Zervanite myth Eznik has some pertinent things to say. Was Zurvān perfect or imperfect?[5] If perfect, he could have created the heavens and earth and would not have needed a son to do so. If imperfect, there must have been some being superior to him. Here Eznik, like so many Christian apologists, shows himself quite unable to put himself in his antagonist's position. For him the perfection of God is axiomatic; therefore if the Zervanites admit that Zurvān is imperfect, it follows that there must be a perfect being higher than he. Moreover, does not Zurvān's performance of sacrifice argue the existence of such a higher being to whom the sacrifice is directed? To whom did he offer sacrifice? he asks. Again Eznik does not understand that for the Magian sacrifice

[1] In one passage (p. 129, ed. Venice, 1926; Schmid, pp. 94–95; Langlois, ii, p. 376) Eznik attributes the conception and birth of Ohrmazd and Ahriman to 'desire' (*tenčank'*) on the part of Zurvān. Little importance could be attached to this isolated instance if we did not know that Āz, who is the demon of lust and greed, played a most important part in Zervanite beliefs. We shall have occasion to refer to this statement of Eznik's again when we discuss the activities of that demon (Chapter VII).

[2] See note A, p. 78.

[3] Text F 4, § 1.

[4] Ibid., § 3.

[5] Ven., p. 130; Schmid, p. 96; Langlois ii, p. 376.

has virtue in itself, irrespective of its object, for Ohrmazd too performs a sacrifice at the end of time. Moreover, Eznik uses the word *yašt*, a word borrowed from Iranian and meaning a 'hymn of praise', in which sense it is probably used here.[1] Zurvān, then, is performing the Magian liturgy, the interminable mumblings of which so struck the Greek[2] and Syriac writers.[3] Once again Šahristānī confirms the nature of this 'sacrifice': Zurvān 'stood and mumbled (*zamzama*) . . . that he might have a son'; and according to Masʿūdī *zamzamat* 'mumbling' was the disrespectful term applied by the Arabs to the Avesta.[4] This, then, is the Magian liturgy transported into eternity. Its performance results in the birth of Ohrmazd just as elsewhere[5] all creation is said to have been created by sacrifice.

To the question, 'To whom did he offer sacrifice?' the Magians are alleged to reply that he sacrificed to Fortune (*pʿaṛkʿ*).[6] Eznik retorts that Fortune is not an independent substance but derives from 'prosperity'. The sense, however, is fairly plain. Zurvān offers sacrifice to Fortune as an hypostasis of himself. He is at the same time priest and God, and the result of his sacrifice is to be Ohrmazd, the demiurge. The latter in turn will create creation by sacrifice and renew it in the last days by the same means.

The reader will probably have noticed that Eznik spoke of Ohrmazd and Ahriman being conceived 'in their mother's womb'. This is surprising, for Eznik told us at the beginning of his narrative that when nothing at all existed Zurvān offered up sacrifices. If nothing else existed, whence is this mother? This question has already been treated fully by Nyberg and others, but we must go over the same ground, since the 'mother' is of importance in the system we are endeavouring to elucidate.

Of the four parallel sources Ełišē alone is wholly ignorant of the 'mother': he not only omits to mention her in his account, but puts the following words into the mouth of Joseph, Bishop of Ararat, in his reply to the 'decree' of Mihr-Narsē: 'Lo! Ahriman and Ohrmazd were born from a father, not from a mother: if you consider this well, even you will not accept it.'[7] Eznik, however, with his usual controversial acumen, noticed the sudden appearance of the 'mother' in the myth and pointed out the difficulties that this unexpected introduction of a female element entailed. He uses two arguments, the second of which is merely insulting, but the

[1] Cf. Eznik's use of *pʿaṛkʿ* = Pers. *χᵛarr* 'fortune': when dealing with the Zoroastrians he plainly does not use the word in its ordinary significance δόξα.

[2] Cf. Strabo xv. 3. 14 (Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 35; Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, p. 52; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, p. 112, n. (i).

[3] Cf. Text F 4, and Bidez–Cumont, l.c.

[4] *Murūj*, Barbier de Meynard, ii, p. 124.

[5] Text Z 2, § 20.

[6] Ven., p. 131; Schmid, p. 96; Langlois, ii, p. 376. Āδur-Hormizd suggests that the sacrifice was offered to the elements rather than to Fortune. v. text F 5.

[7] ed. Yohannisean, p. 33; Langlois, ii, p. 193.

first of which shows some insight into the nature of the belief he is attacking. The second—*ad hominem*—is that a female element was introduced as a concession to alleged Persian lasciviousness.[1] The first puts the problem clearly: 'But', he says, 'from what is it clear that there was (any) mother (at all)? especially as they say, "When nothing at all existed, neither heaven nor earth, Zurvān alone existed". Now this is really highly ridiculous that he himself should be both father and mother, and that the same person should have emitted the seed and received it.'[2] Eznik, then, clearly interpreted the myth as meaning that Zurvān was hermaphroditic: and his interpretation is now generally and rightly accepted. Both Theodore bar Kônai and Yohannân bar Penkayê speak of a mother, and both introduce her into the myth as casually as Eznik himself.[3] Her existence is, however, put beyond all doubt by a fable preserved by Eznik[4] and two other sources,[5] the gist of which is as follows.

Ohrmazd, after creating heaven and earth, saw that they were still in darkness, yet could think of no means of giving them light. Ahriman, however, knew that if Ohrmazd were to have intercourse with his mother, the Sun would come to be, and that if he were to have intercourse with his sister, the Moon would be born. This information he imparted to the other demons; whereupon one of them, Mahmi by name, conveyed the intelligence to Ohrmazd who, acting on his advice, produced the Sun and Moon in the manner indicated. As we shall have occasion to return to this improbable myth, we must be content with remarking here that it is certainly genuine, as this demon Mahmi—the etymology of whose name is still perplexing[6]—occurs in a fragment of a Manichaean polemic against the Zervanites.[7] Theodore Abū Qurra,[8] to whose account of the Zervanite myth de Menasce has drawn our attention, is most explicit on this subject. For him Zurvān has ceased to be hermaphroditic: he states quite plainly that he has a wife, and incidentally gives details of the exact time when Zurvān began to doubt and Ahriman was conceived. This is what Abū Qurra says:

> Before he (Zurvān) created the earth, he sacrificed for a thousand years that a son might be born to him: and his wife conceived a son whose name was Ohrmazd. When he had been conceived for seven hundred years, his father, Zurvān, doubted if he had been conceived; and this doubt of his brought into being another child in his wife's womb, who was Satan.

[1] Ven., p. 155; Schmid, p. 111; Langlois, ii, p. 381.

[2] Ven., p. 149; Schmid, p. 107; Langlois, ii, p. 379.

[3] Text F 1, § 39.

[4] v. text F 7 (*a*).

[5] v. text F 7 (*b*), Manichaean fragment. Less fully in Āδur-Hormizd (F 5) and others; v. Chapter VI.

[6] *Infra*, pp. 148–9.

[7] *Supra*, p. 21, and *infra*, p. 148.

[8] v. text F 2.

Again he speaks of Ahriman piercing his mother's womb and of the self-same mother bearing Ohrmazd after a period of a thousand years. The latter remark is interesting in that it is unique, and we shall return to it later.

Thus we see that a female element must certainly have existed beside Zurvān. Eznik was unable to decide whether the female figure was distinct from or implicit in Zurvān. The solution seems to be that it was both. This emerges very clearly from the now well-known Acts of Anāhīδ. Speaking of the fire and the stars which the Magians held to be children of Ohrmazd, he says: 'If Ohrmazd conceived them within himself, that is simply in his body, and bore them, then he is like his father Zurvān, hermaphroditic, as the Manichaeans say.'[1] But a few lines later he says (I will leave the proper name blank as it must be discussed later), 'But that Ohrmazd is, like us, dependent on beginning, end, and passing away, is attested by his father Zurvān and his mother . . ..'

The name of the mother is of obvious importance if we could find a satisfactory explanation for it. Nöldeke read *Ch^{w}ašīzag*[2] (*χ^{v}ašīzag* in our transcription): Nyberg followed him and translated 'la petite belle',[3] and Benveniste considered the matter settled in Nyberg's favour since the word occurred fairly commonly as a Mandaean proper name.[4] This, however, proves nothing: for though it may be natural and proper that a Mandaean lady should be called 'la petite belle', so to describe the consort of the supreme deity seems little short of farcical.

Nyberg (l.c.) very plausibly compared our deity to the Manichaean Mother of Life,[5] second only to the Father of Greatness (Zurvān) in the Manichaean pantheon. Can such a deity really be called 'la petite belle'? We leave judgement to the reader's common sense.

Let us now examine the other readings and see if a more satisfactory solution cannot be found. On the manuscripts' reading Nöldeke (l.c.) has the following: 'X*WŠWRYG* (Var. X*WŠYRG* und, wenn ich den Herausgeber richtig verstehe, am Rand der einen Handschrift X*WŠYZG*). Die letztere Form empfiehlt sich dadurch etwas, daß sie (geschrieben X*W'ŠYZ'G*) als Weibername auf einer mandäischen Zauberschale vorkommt.' The best attested readings are then X*WŠWRYG* and X*WŠYRG*, the other X*WŠYZG* (for which *χ^{v}ašīzag* was read) not even being certain. Now the first can most naturally be read as *χ^{v}ašvarīγ*; and that would be the natural reduction of Middle Persian **χ^{v}aš-χ^{v}arrīγ*, 'whose *χ^{v}arr* is fair', that is

[1] Text F 5 ii.

[2] *Festgruß an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 37.

[3] CCM. 1931, p. 83. Andreas *apud* Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semit. Epigr.* i, p. 100, suggested *χ^{v}aš-zāk* 'of fair offspring'.

[4] MO. xxvi, p. 183.

[5] See note B, p. 78.

'whose fortune is fair'. We see exactly the same process occurring in Armenian where Persian *dušχᵛarr* becomes Armenian *tʿšuaṛ*. It might, of course, be objected that the Armenian word is to be connected with MP.NP. *dušvār*, the opposite of *χᵛār* 'easy': but this is not possible in the passage from Eznik already quoted. The passage runs as follows: 'It is not as if *pʿaṛkʿ* (fortune) were anything existing of itself, but according to someone's success it is called *pʿaṛkʿ*, just as according to someone's lack of success it is called *tʿšuaṛutʿiwn* (misfortune).'[1]

We know already that Zurvān was qualified by Eznik as Fate or Fortune and that he was represented as sacrificing to that Fortune. We know further that he is represented as having a female element in his composition, and that that female element may be represented as apart from him and is called by a later Arabic writer his wife.[2] Thus when we find that this female element is called by the Acts of Anāhīδ *χᵛaš-χᵛarrīγ* 'she whose fortune is fair', the pieces of the puzzle begin to fit into a pattern. Zurvān was originally hermaphrodite: as he transcends light and darkness, good and evil, or comprises them within his personality, so is he at once beyond the two sexes and a sharer in both. His hermaphroditic nature is confirmed by the evidence of Mithraism; for in all the statues of Zurvān-Kronos that have come to light, his body is encircled by a snake, and in all but one the snake conceals the god's genitals.[3] As Cumont has emphasized, the Mithraists thereby sought to represent their supreme god as sexless, or at least to leave the sex indeterminate.[4] Similarly we find that the Manichaeans speak of their Zurvān, the Father of Greatness, as an elder brother or elder sister.[5] So in the Zervanite myth we have a mother 'whose fortune is fair' who, at first only an aspect of Zurvān, later becomes an independent entity. Since no account mentions her as existing in the beginning—and Eznik is very emphatic on this point[6]—we must assume that she was emanated by Zurvān from his Fortune at the earliest stage in the cosmic drama. Taking into account the difference in the role of Ahriman in the two religions, the initial stages in the cosmic process are exactly the same in Zervanism and Manichaeanism; for in the latter system the Father of Greatness (Zurvān) first emanates or 'evokes'—to use the Manichaean term—the Mother of Life, and she in turn evokes the Primal Man (Ohrmazd). The Zervanite system differs only in so far as it makes Ahriman too a son of Zurvān.

[1] Ven., p. 131; Schmid, p. 97; Langlois, ii, p. 376.

[2] Theodore Abū Qurra, text F 2.

[3] v. Cumont, MMM. i, p. 82. [4] Ibid.

[5] von le Coq, *Türkische Manichäica aus Chotscho*, i (AbPAW. 1911), p. 22: 'der Gott Äzrua (= Zurvān), der selbst ist aller Götter des Götterhimmels älterer Bruder und ältere Schwester, die lautere Majestät, der lichte Verstand(?) (Mutter ?).'

[6] Ven., p. 149; Schmid, p. 107; Langlois, ii, p. 379.

Now Zurvān, after doubting, perceived that there were two sons in the mother's womb, and he made a vow that whichever should come into his presence first should receive the kingdom from him. Ohrmazd, who, as we have seen, was conceived from the wisdom of his father,[1] divined his thought and somewhat guilelessly divulged it to Ahriman. The latter was not slow to take advantage of his newly acquired knowledge; but unfortunately for him Ohrmazd, the elder twin, lay nearer to the egress of his mother's womb.[2] Ahriman, rising superior to the physical obstacle, ripped the womb open at the navel, sprang out, and presented his detestable person to his father Zurvān.

It has already been noticed that in this passage Zurvān promises to make his first-born king, but that later (§§ 60–62) it is the *barsom* or bundle of sacred twigs that he hands over to Ohrmazd. The *barsom* is then the symbol of royalty according to Nyberg,[3] Benveniste,[4] and de Menasce[5], who thereby deprive Zurvān of his essential nature which is justice; but as Menasce himself notes, Zurvān bids Ohrmazd offer sacrifices for him, just as he himself had previously sacrificed for Ohrmazd. This, we are unconvincingly told, is due to Mazdean influence 'qui revendique l'usage religieux, sacrificiel des barsūm'. Yohannân bar Penkayê has the fullest account of this episode: he says, 'I will give him these sticks—they call them *būrsemē* —and I will give him power to create heaven and earth.'[6] Are we not rather to understand, then, that Zurvān promises to give his first-born the kingship and his second-born the office of high priest?

It will be noticed that in the Sassanian rock reliefs in which Ohrmazd is represented as conferring royalty on the new King he gives him not the *barsom* but a diadem.[7] In one only does the *barsom* appear, and then it is not Ohrmazd who presents it—for he is there and presents the diadem as usual—but Mithra.[8] The relief would therefore seem to indicate that the symbols of the diadem and the *barsom* are distinct, the first representing royalty and the second priesthood. Moreover, we shall see later on that though Zurvān

[1] So Šahristānī, text F 4, § 1.

[2] According to Šahristānī. The other sources do not mention the fact. They imply it, however, when they tell us that Ahriman rent his mother's womb, hardly necessary unless Ohrmazd were blocking the natural egress. The passages dealing with the brotherhood of Ohrmazd and Ahriman are collected in our text F 3.

[3] CCM. 1931, p. 76.

[4] MO. xxvi, p. 181.

[5] BSOS. ix, p. 590.

[6] Text F 1, § 29.

[7] Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persiens*, p. 44.

[8] Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, plate 29. Naturally no conclusion can be drawn from the fact that Ohrmazd presents the royalty to the Sassanian kings. Though he must have been regarded as the patron of the royal house and as divine king by the Sassanians themselves, this was not the opinion of the priests who naturally made Ohrmazd, the greatest god, the divine High Priest (cf. our text Z 2, § 4 and Chapter V).

gives the *barsom* to Ohrmazd, it is Ahriman whom he makes king.[1] As Šahristānī says, Ahriman 'went forth and mastered the world'.[2]

The episode has survived in Mithraism and is best illustrated on a monument at Neuenheim (Cumont, MMM. ii, No. 245, illustration facing p. 346) where Saturn (Zurvān), his head veiled and carrying a sickle in his left hand, hands a thunderbolt[3] to Jupiter (Ohrmazd), who supports himself on his sceptre. The scene is a modification of our myth; but little importance can be attached to the fact that a thunderbolt has replaced the *barsom*. The thunderbolt, being the weapon of Zeus-Jupiter *par excellence*, would naturally succeed the Persian *barsom* which would not have been understood in the West. Such restatements of Iranian myths in occidental terms are a commonplace of the Mithraic religion—in the episode following the one under discussion, for instance, we find the struggle of Ohrmazd and Ahriman disguised as a gigantomachy—and the evidence of Mithraism can only come to our aid when no obvious Hellenic interpretation is plausible.

A further indication that the *barsom* represents priesthood rather than sovereignty is supplied by the *Bundahišn*[4] together with the parallel from the *Dēnkart*;[5] for we learn there that Ohrmazd puts on the garment of priesthood, and, as we shall see later, there is every reason to believe that it was from the hands of Zurvān himself that he received his priestly investiture.

On the generation and birth of Ohrmazd and Ahriman our only Iranian source which is explicitly Zervanite, the *'Ulemā i Islām*, differs very considerably both from the myth of Eznik and from Šahristānī. It speaks of the creation of fire and water as being antecedent to that of Ohrmazd and Ahriman;[6] and at the beginning of its account it would appear that Ahriman is an independent entity, but later this impression is corrected, for it goes on to say, 'We said in the beginning, Ohrmazd and Ahriman both came into existence from Time.'[7] The divergence is important, and we shall return to it at the end of the chapter.

When Ahriman came into the presence of Zurvān, he said, 'I am thy son', or according to Yohannân bar Penkayê and Eliše, 'I am thy son, Ohrmazd'.[8] The latter version certainly reposes on an authentic tradition:

[1] v. pp. 69 ff.

[2] Text F 4, § 1.

[3] The photograph is unfortunately not entirely satisfactory, and the object handed over might be anything. Cumont, however, expressly states that it is a thunderbolt and we have no reason for doubting his word.

[4] Chapter V, pp. 113 ff., and text Z 2, § 4.

[5] Text Z 11.

[6] Text Z 37, § 9.

[7] Ibid., § 23.

[8] Text F 1, § 45.

for from the time of Zoroaster the principle of evil had become identified with the Lie.[1] It is therefore only natural that Ahriman's first action should be to lie to his father. Zurvān, however, denies him because he is of the darkness and stinking and loves to do harm. He wept: and even as he talked to Ahriman, Ohrmazd was born, bright and sweet-scented; and Zurvān knew that it was his son Ohrmazd.

It was at this stage that Zurvān handed the *barsom* to Ohrmazd, saying, 'Up till now have I offered sacrifice for thee, henceforth shalt thou offer sacrifice for me.'[2] Ełišē and Theodore Abū Qurra here differ from the other accounts: they state that Zurvān gave the kingdom to Ahriman, but took it away from him when Ohrmazd was born—that being a thousand years later according to Abū Qurra.[3] Here we almost certainly have an attempt at compromise between the ultra-Zervanite position which grants a period of nine thousand years' kingship to Ahriman and that of the Mazdeans which only allowed Ahriman three thousand years of strife.[4] Even in that period they would not have it that he was supreme, and for the two remaining tri-millennia they allowed Ohrmazd to do as he pleased.

With the delivery of the *barsom* to Ohrmazd we have seen that Zurvān invested him with the office of priest. Hitherto Zurvān had sacrificed that he might have a son; and from his sacrifice Ohrmazd was in fact born: but he doubted, and with disastrous results. Ahriman, the Aggressor and Destroyer, had been born from that doubt and was, as it were, its personification. If we are to believe Eznik, it was in order to be rid of the doubt that Zurvān handed the *barsom* to Ohrmazd.[5] In attacking the Zervanite thesis he nevertheless succeeds in presenting a clear picture of how this episode was understood by his opponents. 'And thus it is plain', he says, 'that the father was without intelligence and power and placed his reliance in another, and that the son was likewise without intelligence and power. For the one could not give birth to his son without performing sacrifice, and the son could not release him from his doubts without taking the rods into his hand.'[6] There is every reason to believe that such was indeed the Zervanite belief. By doubting, Zurvān had become unworthy of priesthood and power. Because of the vow he had made he was obliged to give kingship to Ahriman: but to Ohrmazd he gave the *barsom*, the emblem of

[1] This is one of the very rare occasions on which Herodotus, the Behistūn inscription, and the *Gāθās* agree. Benveniste's contention (*Persian Religion*, p. 36) that the use of *druǰ-* in the *Gāθās* is totally dissimilar from that of the inscription, and that therefore the two are independent, is unconvincing.

[2] Text F 1, §§ 63–64.

[3] Text F 2. The meaning may, however, be that Ohrmazd was born 1,000 years after Zurvān began to sacrifice.

[4] Text Z 1, § 14.

[5] v. p. 78, n. A.

[6] Ibid.

priesthood, so that he could by virtue of sacrifice bring the power of Ahriman to naught. Thus in the Pahlavī books we find that at the end of the period of twelve thousand years Ohrmazd and Srōš hold a great sacrifice[1] and that thereby the power of Ahriman is broken: finally *no doubt remains*.[2]

We now come to the concluding episode of the Zurvān myth. Ahriman approaches Zurvān and reminds him of his vow, addressing him thus (Theodore bar Kônai): 'Take care, didst thou not make that vow, "To the first to come I shall give kingship."' And Zurvān replies: 'Begone, Satan; I have made thee King for nine thousand years, and I have made Ohrmazd to rule above thee, and after the allotted time Ohrmazd shall reign and order all things according to his will.'[3]

Two points deserve notice here. What is meant by 'I have made Ohrmazd to rule above (*resp.* over) thee'? Eznik too has the same phrase (*i veray kʿo arkʿay kacʿucʿeal*).[4] Nyberg, in his treatment of the myth, saw in the use of the Armenian words *arkʿay* and *tʿagawor* a distinction which he would trace back to the Pahlavī original. According to him *arkʿay* would represent *šāh* and *tʿagawor pātiχšāh*. 'Quoiqu' Ormuzd reste maître suprême, Ahriman possède donc, selon notre mythe, une sorte de pouvoir légitime dans la durée présente: si Ormuzd est le *pātiχšāh*, Ahriman est du moins le *Šāh* de notre monde.'[5] But it is doubtful whether this distinction can be maintained, for the two words are used indifferently by the Armenian historians to denote kings in general and the King of Persia, the 'King of Kings', in particular. If anything *tʿagawor* would appear to be more generally used of the King of Kings and *arkʿay* of vassal kings. Thus Pʿawstos of Byzantium (e.g. iv. 54) speaks of Šāpūr II of Persia as *tʿagawor* and of his Armenian vassal Aršak as *arkʿay*. We should therefore seek a solution to our difficulty elsewhere. Let us turn to Šahristānī.

According to him Zurvān cursed Ahriman and drove him away, and Ahriman went forth and mastered the world (*dunyā*) and Ohrmazd was without power over him;[6] and the period of Ahriman's domination lasts, according to Abū Qurra, for seven thousand years. How, then, can Ohrmazd be said to have been king over him? The answer would seem to be

[1] v. esp. GrBd. 227. 7 ff.: *'pas 2 druž frāč 'mānēnd, Ahriman 'ut Āz. Ōhrmazd 'ō gētēh 'āyēt, 'χʷat zōt, Srōš-ālāy rāspīk, 'ut aiβyāhan 'pat 'dast 'dārēt. Ganāk Mēnōk 'ut Āz 'pat 'ān i gāsānīk nīrang zat-aβzārīhā akārīhast.*—'Then two lies remain, Ahriman and Āz. Ohrmazd comes down to earth and is himself the *zōt* priest and Srōš, the Blessed, the *rāspīk*. He holds the girdle in his hand. The Destructive Spirit and Āz, their weapons smashed, are made powerless by that Gāθic ritual.'

[2] Zs. 34. 54. v. text Z 5 (*a*).

[3] Text F 1, §§ 66–85.

[4] Venice, p. 127.

[5] CCM. 1931, p. 76.

[6] Text F 4.

given by the use of the Arabic word *dunyā*, meaning the corporal world in distinction to the spiritual; what, in fact, the Mazdeans understood by *gētēh*. The use of this particular word cannot be accidental, for, a little before, Šahristānī speaking of the Cosmos calls it, as we would expect, *'ālam*. Ahriman was, then, given the dominion of the earth, and Ohrmazd was set as lord above him. 'Above', then, must be understood literally. Ahriman is indeed the prince of this world, but Ohrmazd rules the world of spirit above.[1]

This theory that among the Zervanites as well as among the Gnostics the Devil was regarded as the ruler of the earth receives striking confirmation from a passage in Psellus (text G 7) where exactly these views are described. The sect in question is described as Euchite, but that they, whoever they were,[2] were dependent on Zervanism seems likely since they acknowledged three principles,[3] a father and two sons, the younger of whom controlled the heavens and who must therefore correspond to the good god of Mānī mentioned in Psellus' previous paragraph. The father who would represent Zurvān controls only those things which are above the Cosmos; the younger son—and it will be remembered that Ohrmazd is the younger in Eznik's myth too—controls the heavens; but the sway of the elder son who must be Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, extends over all that is within the Cosmos. Thus though Zurvān may still control things transcendental, it is Ahriman who holds undisputed sway in this world, while Ohrmazd rules above in heaven. In this respect the Zervanites are at one with the more pessimistic of the Gnostic sects who regard the Evil Spirit as the ruler of the earth.

That Ohrmazd in fact rules a kingdom above that of Ahriman seems all the more likely in that the Mazdean cosmologies represent Ohrmazd as dwelling in the Endless Light which is situated above the Void. In this the *Bundahišn* and Zātspram agree, both of which give us a cosmology which has been strongly influenced by Zervanism.[4] With the delivery of the sovereignty of the earth to Ahriman in the myth and the establishment of Ohrmazd above him in heaven we have substantially the same situation as we meet with at the beginning of the Mazdean cosmology. The one is below in darkness and the other on high in the light. In point of fact the Cosmos has not yet come into being; but that the material world was constructed from an element of darkness or rather some neutral substance, in

[1] See note C, p. 79.

[2] These Euchites would appear to be connected with the Manichees and can scarcely be identical with the sect of the same name discussed in ERE.

[3] Eznik too speaks of a Magian sect which acknowledged three principles: we have seen that this sect must be the Zervanites; v. p. 58.

[4] Texts Z 1 *init.*, Z 4 *init.*

Zervanism as well as Manichaeanism, Mandaeanism, and the majority of Gnostic sects, cannot be doubted: for how else can the singular statement of Eznik be accounted for according to which Ohrmazd was unable to create the luminaries to illuminate his creation which was in darkness?[1] We have no longer any excuse for doubting Eznik's word, for the episode is now confirmed by a Manichaean fragment attacking this very doctrine.[2] Thus according to the Zervanites Ohrmazd, though the creator of heaven and earth, must have used the darkness or some neutral substance as the raw material for his creation. In this they approach the Manichaean position.[3] The myths are different, but the fundamental conception is the same: the world is fashioned by the God or gods of light out of the substance of darkness: in the Zervanite cosmogony the Spirit of Darkness forms a counter-creation from the same material.

The Manichaeans, according particularly to Alexander of Lycopolis and St. Augustine, regarded the principle of darkness as matter,[4] and this is borne out by the Coptic Manichaean texts.[5] We cannot be quite sure that this was also the Zervanite point of view: it is not confirmed by the 'semi-Zervanite' texts in the *Bundahišn* and Zātspram,[6] but we will come upon the idea again and again. We shall see in the next chapter that creation was regarded as a limitation of Space (*gās* or *Vāy*) and Time (*zamān*) which cannot properly be regarded as either light or dark. Such a creation would also require the luminaries to lighten it. We do, however, find references in the Pahlavī books which indicate that water was the element from which creation was made,[7] and water, according to one school of thought, was intimately connected with darkness.[8] We can safely conclude that for one sect of Zervanites at least darkness-water was the raw material of both the creation of Ohrmazd and that of Ahriman.

Of the figure nine thousand years which the myth assigns to the reign of Ahriman we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter.

What, then, have we gathered of the nature of Zurvān from this myth? He was the sole existing person, and he wished for a son who might create

[1] Text F 7 (*a*).

[2] Text F 7 (*b*).

[3] A clear account of the Manichaean creation myth will be found in Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, pp. 27 ff.: cf. also Polotsky in Pauly–Wissowa, s.v. 'Manichäismus'; Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, i, pp. 25 ff.; Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 233 ff.; Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, pp. 79 ff.

[4] Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 20; Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, p. 6.

[5] v. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-book*, 54. 17; 108. 24; 221. 5.

[6] The concept of *hylè* seems conspicuously absent from our Iranian texts.

[7] v. esp. Zs. 34. 50 (text Z 5 (*a*)): 'For Ohrmazd created with water and will bring about the end with fire.' So GrBd. 17. 4 = text Z 1, § 41: 'The first creation of all was a drop of water, for all things arise from water except the seed of man and cattle: for that seed has the seed of fire.'

[8] pp. 72 ff.

heaven and earth. Like the Indian Prajāpati he may have been lonely and desired to manifest his power. While offering sacrifice in order to obtain a son, he doubted, and through this doubt Ahriman was conceived. At the birth of his two sons he gave the *barsom* with which he had been sacrificing to Ohrmazd as a sign of divine priesthood; and Ahriman he made king of the world for nine thousand years. By so doing he divested himself of all effective power and charged Ohrmazd to offer sacrifice for him to counteract the evil consequences of his doubt. He is regarded as the Great God and the Just God, but not as omnipotent or omniscient. Though not himself evil he contains the germ of evil, and though not dark he has the seed of darkness within him. Through a single mistake Ahriman, the Devil, is born, and Zurvān thereby forfeits his right to the divine priesthood and hands it on to his son Ohrmazd, who is the principle of goodness and light. After his fall and by his doubt he becomes inferior to Ohrmazd.

We noticed earlier in this chapter that in one important respect the *'Ulemā i Islām* differs from our other sources.[1] According to this little treatise Ohrmazd and Ahriman were not the immediate offspring of Zurvān or Time, but were formed by the latter from fire and water which had been previously created. The *'Ulemā*, however, leaves the question of the genesis of Ahriman in doubt. We are merely told that Ohrmazd looked down and beheld Ahriman ninety-six thousand parasangs away. Later, however, the same treatise tells us that both Ohrmazd and Ahriman came into existence through Time: but no mention is made here of their genesis from fire and water. This account of the *'Ulemā* which gives priority over Ohrmazd and Ahriman to fire and water is so singular that it deserves extensive discussion. Bousset in his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*[2] has already drawn attention to the passage in his discussion of the Pseudo-Clementinae and the Elkesaite Gnosis. With reference to the *'Ulemā* he has very properly drawn attention to a passage from Hippolytus[3] which is of the highest interest for our problem. According to this authority the Magians admitted two principles, a father and a mother. The father is light, the mother darkness: the parts of the light are hot, dry, light, and swift; those of the darkness cold, moist, slow, and heavy. From these principles, the male and the female, all the Cosmos proceeds. Later Hippolytus quotes a doctrine attributed to Zaratas (Zoroaster) according to which there are two *daemons*, the one celestial and the other terrestrial. The latter is water and has its being from the earth; the former is fire mixed with air.[4]

[1] v. p. 67.

[2] p. 153; cf. Reitzenstein, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, pp. 116 ff.; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, pp. 63–66.

[3] Our text G 3.

[4] Cf. Vitruvius, *De archit.* viii, praef. 1.

Bousset (l.c.), while admitting the importance of this passage, does not think that it represents a genuine form of Magianism: according to him it is strongly tinged with Pythagorean ideas;[1] and this may, in fact, be the case. If so, we should be constrained to admit Pythagorean influence on Magian thought—a not impossible hypothesis—for we have parallels to Hippolytus not only in the *'Ulemā* but also in the Pahlavī books.

That the Persians worshipped fire and water consistently from the time of Herodotus till the Muhammadan conquest is a commonplace of religious history and does not need to be emphasized. Corresponding to their prominence in the cult is their cosmological importance. According to the *Dēnkart* they are the source of everything: fire and water are father and mother and all material things are born from them. Fire is male, water female; and they are brother and sister.[2] Since they are brother and sister, it would only be natural that they should have a parent. The Pahlavī books are silent on this point, and for an obvious reason. For they were the son and daughter of Time, that is Zurvān, as the *'Ulemā* expressly states. In the myth we saw that Zurvān comprises both good and evil, light and darkness, sweet scent and stench: we saw that there was reason to suppose that he was hermaphroditic, though later a 'mother' seems to have been introduced at his side. But in the *'Ulemā* account we find the distinction of sex appearing before that of good and evil, light and darkness, Ohrmazd and Ahriman. The first creatures are fire, the male, and water, the female. From them Ohrmazd arose.

And what of Ahriman? As we have seen, the *'Ulemā*'s account of the myth leaves his existence unexplained, though it later admits that he came into being through Time and therefore presumably through fire and water. Nor is this a mere hypothesis; for we find in the *Bundahišn* that the substance of Ohrmazd is described as warm and moist, and that of Ahriman as cold and dry.[3] This singular composition of the opposing deities can only be explained if we suppose them to be produced from the elements whose properties they have borrowed. Fire is the hot and dry, water the cold and moist.[4] With the former is associated air, with the latter earth.[5] But these

(Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 37), 'de septem sapientibus Thales Milesius omnium rerum principium aquam est professus, Heraclitus ignem, Magorum sacerdotes aquam et ignem'.

[1] v. the remarks of MM. Bidez and Cumont, op. laud., ii, p. 64, n. 3, who distinguish the Magian and Pythagorean elements in Hippolytus' account.

[2] See note D, p. 79.

[3] GrBd. 181. 6: *gōhr i Ōhrmazdīk garm 'ut χᵛēt, rōšn 'ut hubōδ i sapuk.*—'The substance of Ohrmazd is warm and moist, bright and sweet-smelling and light.' Ibid. 188. 11: *gōhr i Ahriman sart χušk *sangēn tārīk 'ut gandak.*—'The substance of Ahriman is cold and dry, heavy, dark, and stinking.'

[4] See note E, p. 79.

[5] According to the opinion of the Magians cited by Hippolytus, l.c. So *Poimandres* iv; cf. Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, p. 33.

would seem to be secondary,[1] for they are not mentioned in this connexion in the *'Ulemā* and played a subordinate role in the cult.

Thus it is possible to distinguish two forms of Zervanism. According to the first, Zurvān, either through the evocation of a mother goddess or from himself, generates the two gods, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, light and darkness, good and evil. According to the second he generates two elements, the one male and the other female, the one light and the other dark, fire and water. The female principle is then water and darkness: being darkness it would also be evil.

Now when we turn from the Zoroastrian writings to the *Acts of Āδur-Hormizd* (text F 5) we find further very remarkable evidence for our hypothesis. 'When the water had come to Ahriman,' we read, 'the latter spake to Ohrmazd: "Thy beasts shall not drink of my water." ' The water is subsequently swallowed by the frog created by Ahriman; and the frog in its turn is attacked by a fly so that it brings up the water, and the latter returns to its proper place. One circumstance only can detain us here, that is the flight of water to Ahriman. The flight of the water is comparable to the secession of woman to Ahriman in the notice of Theodore bar Kônai. The latter has been fully dealt with by Benveniste, who has endeavoured to show that this secession is a concession to Mazdean doctrine and that in the original Zervanite myth woman was a creature of evil.[2] The same is evidently the case in Āδur-Hormizd. Water is female and therefore liable to share in the perversity of woman: and water shows a similar capriciousness in deserting the creation of Ohrmazd for that of Ahriman. It is therefore legitimate to conclude what Benveniste concluded in the case of woman: water, in the original Zervanite myth, belonged not to the powers of good but to evil. As against fire, the bright, male, beneficent deity, then, we have water, the dark, female, and maleficent.

Is there any trace of such an evil female element in the Pahlavī literature? There is. Unfortunately the references to her are so exasperatingly few that it is no longer possible to distinguish her original character. She is J̌ēh, the Primal Whore. As a mythological figure we know her only in the *Bundahišn* and Zātspram.[3] After Ahriman's defeat at the hands of Ohrmazd it is she and only she who is able to arouse the prince of darkness from his torpor and to spur him on to his furious onslaught on the creation of Ohrmazd;[4] and it is she who defiles the whole human race.[5] The role of

[1] One should not forget, however, that Zurvān, Ašōqar, Frašōqar, and Zarōqar are regarded as antecedent to Ohrmazd and Ahriman and are *like the elements*: cf. pp. 219.

[2] v. p. 228 ff.

[3] Texts Z 5 (*a*) and Z 6.

[4] Text Z 6.

[5] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 31.

this creature seems to have been important in the Zervanite system, and we shall have occasion to discuss it in detail below.[1] For her original character we can only resort to conjecture, but it does not seem too bold to suggest that she is the survival of an old chthonian goddess representing earth and water who, with the spread of Mazdean dualism, was reduced to the status of a demon. She may well have been the female principle of the Universe, the moist and fertile earth, like a thousand other earth goddesses in other religions.

The existence of such a deity associated with water seems to be strikingly corroborated by a passage in the *Bundahišn*. This passage concerns the first human couple, Mašyē and Mašyānē, and the steps by which they were brought to sin. The relevant portion runs as follows:

> The first words they spoke were these: 'Ohrmazd created the water, earth, plants, cattle, the stars, Moon, and Sun, and all the prosperity which, according to the revelation of righteousness, is called root and fruit.' Then the Aggressor assailed their thoughts and troubled them; and they cried out: 'The Destructive Spirit (Ahriman) created water and earth and plants and other things.'[2]

This may not at first seem particularly significant: but on closer examination it will appear that the list of things which Ahriman was said to have created is defective. No claim for an Ahrimanian origin of fire or the sky is advanced: his domain is only that of the water, earth, and plants. This can surely be no accident, for ten pages farther on the *Bundahišn* asserts that the former were all considered male and the latter female. 'It is said that four things are male and four female. The sky, metals, wind, and fire are male and never alter. Water, the earth, plants, and fish are female and never alter.'[3]

Now the statement that water, earth, and plants were created by Ahriman is said by the *Bundahišn* to have been the first lie of Mašyē and Mašyānē; and 'lying' is the technical term for adhering to a false or proscribed doctrine. We can therefore be certain that the doctrine alluded to is that described by Hippolytus. No claim is made that Ahriman is creator of all things: he is the creator of water, earth, and plants. These are all female. By corollary we must assume that the sect attacked held Ohrmazd to have

[1] p. 183 ff.

[2] GrBd. 102. 6–11: *'ut-šān nazdist gōβišn 'ēn guft 'ku Ōhrmazd dāt 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut gōspand, star 'ut māh 'ut χ^{v}aršēt 'ut harvisp āpātīh 'kē 'hač ahrāyīh paytākīh 'gōβēt bun 'ut bar. 'ut-šān 'pas pityārak 'pat mēnišn 'apar duvārast, 'ut-aš mēnišn 'bē āhōkēnīt 'hēnd; 'ut-šān drāyast 'ku ganāk mēnōk 'dāt 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut apārīk 'čiš.*

[3] Ibid. 112. 14: **4 'čiš 'narān, 4 'mātak 'goβēt; āsmān ayō(k)χšust, vāt 'ut ātaχš 'nar, 'ut hakarč yuttar 'nē 'bavēt: 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut māhīk mātak 'ut hakarč yuttar 'nē 'bavēt.*

been the creator of the male series, the sky, metals, wind, and fire. All this accords admirably with Hippolytus.[1]

Whether this dissident Zervanite belief in the priority of fire and water and the assimilation of the first to the light and the second to darkness is originally Iranian, we have no means of telling. Parallels are, however, to be found in sects that may well have been strongly influenced by Iranian ideas. The beliefs of the Kainawiyya, as recorded by Šahristānī, deserve notice.[2] For them fire, water, and earth were the original principles: fire was by nature good and light, and water was its natural opponent. Whatever was good came from the fire; evil from the water. The parallel with our Zervanite doctrine is close and, if influence is to be assumed, our conjecture that in this particular form of Zervanism water was essentially the evil element receives additional confirmation. The assimilation of water to the darkness in Hippolytus made this probable: the evidence of the Kainawiyya makes it comparatively certain. In all Iranian religion darkness and evil are practically synonymous.

The Elkesaite parallel which Bousset particularly emphasized[3] is less satisfactory. Here the situation is exactly reversed: water is the holy element, fire the evil. The same demonization of fire is to be found in the Pseudo-Clementinae and certain Gnostic systems.[4] Again in the Elkesaite system the sexes are reversed: water is the male and fire the female. Here Bousset discerns direct Iranian influence: the Elkesaites have borrowed the Zervanite doctrine and turned it upside down. This theory he substantiates by the statement of Hippolytus that Elxai received a secret book from the Parthians and transmitted it to the *Σοβιαί*, probably a baptist sect in Mesopotamia. Bousset comments:

> Wenn es also hier heißt, daß Elxai sein Buch von Parthien empfangen und seinerseits dem *Σοβιαί* übergeben habe, so übersetzen wir das religionsgeschichtlich und schließen, daß auf die zwischen Euphrat und Tigris auf der einen Seite und dem Jordan auf der anderen Seite wohnenden Täufersekten zu einer bestimmten Zeit ein Einfluß von Seiten der persischen Religion ausgegangen ist.[5]

This seems reasonably convincing. Minor religions are apt to borrow ideas from major ones and to turn them upside down in the process. We have only to recall the Mandaean treatment of Christ whom they turn into a

[1] Cf. the anonymous Syriac text F 9: 'De tout cela on peut inférer clairement qu'il (sc. Zoroastre) suppose des séries de divinités mâles et femelles.' v. further the remarks of Professor Benveniste in MO. xxvi, pp. 185 ff., and Chapter VII, p. 187.

[2] ed. Cureton, p. 196; tr. Haarbrücker, i, p. 297. Cf. Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, p. 35.

[3] *Hauptprobleme*, p. 156, where the relevant passages are cited.

[4] Ibid., pp. 151 ff.

[5] Ibid., p. 158.

maleficent being who wreaks havoc in the city of Jerusalem while the work of redemption is carried out by the Mandaean deity Anōš.[1] Even more striking is their treatment of Rūhā d'Qudšā, the Holy Ghost, whom they quite simply transform into the principle of evil!

As Brandt[2] and others after him have shown, this sect has also borrowed from Īrān. Certain of its deities, such as Rašn, Bahrām, and Sām, are recognizably Iranian; and once the Mandaean triad Hibil, Šitil, and Anōš is identified with the Iranian triad Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn (Mand. *mwhwr*, *⟨s⟩rwš*, and *r'st*, the latter representing the stock epithet of Rašn—*rāst* 'the Just').[3] When, therefore, we find in the third book of the *Ginzā*[4] that the demiurge Ptahil descends into the dark waters, clad in a garment of fire, and that the fire mingles with the water and the material creation comes into being therefrom,[5] we cannot fail to be reminded of the Zervanite myth preserved in the *'Ulemā*. Again it would appear to be a case of the male element, fire, fertilizing the female, water, in order to produce the Cosmos. We are probably justified in regarding this Mandaean episode as deriving from the same source as the Zervanite myth, since the Mandaean religion usually distinguishes two series of elements—the good fire, water, air, and earth, and their evil counterparts. In this they agree with the Manichaeans.

Though Gnostic parallels are more often diverting than instructive, it should be mentioned in passing that in the system of Bardesanes (if we may still speak of him as a Gnostic) light and darkness were regarded as being of different sexes,[6] and that in other systems, notably the so-called Simonian, a male and a female were placed at the fount of the Cosmos.[7]

From the above evidence we may conclude that there was a school of dissident Zervanism according to which Time produced fire and water, the one light and good, the male element, the other dark and evil, the female.

[1] On the Mandaean polemics against the Christians in general and the Messiah in particular v. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, pp. 141 ff. The appearance of the 'lying Christ' is found in the second book of the *Ginzā* (tr. Lidzbarski, pp. 49 ff.).

[2] Op. laud., p. 194.

[3] Lidzbarski, op. laud., p. 284, n. 4. The Mandaean text has *rwš* instead of *srwš* (Srōš) and the editor has made the necessary correction. Pallis (*Mandaean Studies*, p. 87) reads *ruš* and identifies with Av. *raōčā-*: this is certainly wrong, as Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn form the triad whose function it is to judge the dead.

[4] p. 103. 11 in Lidzbarski's translation (cf. also pp. 91. 25); 266. 7 has: 'Da nahm er etwas vom lebenden Feuer . . . warf es in das schwarze Wasser, und die Erde Tibil dichtete sich.'

[5] Cf. also *Book of John* (Lidzbarski's translation, p. 56): 'Aus Feuer und Wasser wurde der eine Himmel ausgespannt. Aus Feuer und Wasser haben sie die Erde auf dem Amboß gedichtet. Aus Feuer und Wasser sind Früchte, Trauben und Bäume entstanden. Aus Feuer und Wasser wurde der körperliche Adam gebildet.'

[6] Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 161–2; Bousset, op. laud., p. 97.

[7] Bousset, op. laud., p. 128.

These were mingled and from them arose Ohrmazd and Ahriman, the one derived predominantly from the fire and the other from water. Only in their physical composition were thè natural properties of their 'parents' mixed. Ohrmazd inherited the heat of fire and the moisture of water, Ahriman the coldness of water and the dryness of fire. It seems probable that this form of Zervanism was not Iranian in origin, for nowhere in the Zoroastrian books do we find any reference to water as being evil. This can only be inferred from Hippolytus and from comparison with cognate religions. It is more likely that Zervanism derived such thoroughly un-Zoroastrian ideas from non-Iranian sources than vice versa.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

A. Eznik is quick to point out that, by doubting, Zurvān is the origin of evil rather than Ahriman. 'Thus it is clear', he concludes, 'that Zurvān was without power and imperfect, without knowledge, and himself the cause of evil, not Ahriman. For had he not doubted, as they say, Ahriman would not have come into existence, whom they say is the creator of evil: but he himself doubted, who is without faith and full of incompetence' (Venice, 1926, pp. 132–3; Schmid, p. 97; Langlois, ii, p. 376). Again (Venice, 1926, p. 151; Schmid, p. 108; Langlois, ii, p. 380) he ridicules the myth of the transference of the *barsom* from Zurvān to Ohrmazd: 'If he (Ohrmazd) were God and had power to create heaven and earth, why should he need to have the *barsom* and to perform sacrifice, that he might free his father from doubt? Why was he, who could create heaven and earth without the *barsom*, unable to rid his father of care without the rods? Thus it is plain that the father was without intelligence and power and placed his reliance in another, and that the son was likewise without intelligence and power. For the one could not give birth to his son without performing sacrifice, and the son could not release him from his doubts without taking the rods into his hand.' Interesting also is Ven., p. 139 (Schmid, p. 101; Langlois, ii, pp. 377–8), where Eznik demonstrates that Zurvān cannot be king and creator.

B. This figure is not peculiar to Manichaeanism: it occurs in many of the Gnostic sects (E. de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, pp. 379–412) and is, according to Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 26) to be derived from such mother-goddesses as the Babylonian Ištar, the Syrian Attargatis, the Phrygian Cybele, and the Aramaean Astarte. In Manichaeanism she is the first evocation of the Father of Greatness, and therefore wholly on the side of light. The other extreme is represented by Mandaeanism where the Mother, Rūhā (*resp.* Namrūs or Hewath), is the queen of darkness. For the confusion of sexes which we have in the Zervanite myth we may compare the figure of Barbelo in the Barbelo-Gnosis: besides being the Mother, she is the πρωτάνθρωπος or primal man (Bousset, op. cit., p. 60, to which the reader is referred for further details). The Zervanite Mother is far more vague than that of any of the Gnostic systems and may therefore have been borrowed from them or their source.

C. The idea that the evil deity has control of this world and that the good deity rules on high and far removed from the world is pure Gnosticism. Marcionism, though strictly speaking not a Gnostic sect, knows it too, though for the evil deity it substitutes the 'Just' God of the Old Testament. Cf. *supra*, p. 59. Both Marcion and the Mandaeans speak of the Saviour—in the one case Jesus, in the other Mandā d'Hayyē, Hibil-Zīwā, or Anōš—as the 'stranger' god. How far this idea was present in Zervanism it is not possible to say, though Šahristānī's account makes it probable that their more pessimistic wing regarded the world as the legitimate province of Ahriman. The idea is un-Iranian and would, therefore, be borrowed from a Western source.

D. DkM. 79. 21: *'ut 'har-ič gētēhīk 'bavišn, pazzāmišn, vīnārišn 'hač hamīh 'pat patmān ⟨i⟩ 'āp i māt⟨ak⟩ 'ut ātur i 'nar, 'pat ham-dahišnīh 'χᵛāh 'ut 'brāt hangārīhēnd.*—'All material becoming, ripening, and order is from the coming together in due proportion of water, the female, and fire, the male: since they were created together, they are considered sister and brother.' Cf. ibid. 468. 10: *'ōh-ič 'āp 'hač ātaχš 'hamist gōhr 'ut čand aδvēnak 'pit 'ut 'māt 'hēnd.*—'Thus water together with fire is a substance: they are the father and mother of several species.' Ibid. 417. 15: *passāčišn i jānvarān 'pat hamīh i ātaχš 'ut 'āp.*—'The composition of animals is through the union of fire and water.' In Mithraism fire and water are brother and sister: v. Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, p. 115.

E. Cf. Aristotle, *De generatione* 330ᵃ30 (p. 41 in the edition of Joachim): *ἐπεὶ δὲ τέτταρα τὰ στοιχεῖα, τῶν δὲ τεττάρων ἓξ αἱ συζεύξεις, τὰ δ' ἐναντία οὐ πέφυκε συνδυάζεσθαι (θερμὸν γὰρ καὶ ψυχρὸν εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πάλιν ὑγρὸν καὶ ξηρὸν ἀδύνατον), φανερὸν ὅτι τέτταρες ἔσονται αἱ τῶν στοιχείων συζεύξεις, θερμοῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, καὶ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ψυχροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ. καὶ ἠκολούθηκε κατὰ λόγον τοῖς ἁπλοῖς φαινομένοις σώμασι, πυρὶ καὶ ἀέρι καὶ ὕδατι καὶ γῇ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πῦρ θερμὸν καὶ ξηρόν, ὁ δ' ἀὴρ θερμὸν καὶ ὑγρόν . . . τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν, ἡ δὲ γῆ ψυχρὸν καὶ ξηρόν.* Cf. ŠGV. 2. 17: *sardī i brādarōdī ō χᵛīdī i āw gumāχt əstəṯ, hamāstār i garmī i ātaš. u χᵛaškī i brādarōdī ō garmī i ātaš gumāχt əstəṯ hamāstārihā ō χᵛīdī i āw vazūdār.*—'The rival cold, which is mixed with the moist of water, is the opponent of the hot in fire: and the rival dry, which is mixed with the hot in fire, opposes and injures the moist in water.'

CHAPTER IV

COSMOLOGY, I

(*a*) *The God Vāy*

In turning from the non-Iranian sources to the Avesta and Pahlavī books one cannot fail to be struck by their dissimilarity. In the last chapter we saw that according to Eznik and a number of other authorities Zurvān was regarded as the father of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. One might have thought that some trace of such a belief could be discerned in the Avestan and Pahlavī sources themselves. In that we shall be much disappointed. In all the Pahlavī books there is only one reference to the myth we have latterly discussed. The reference occurs in the ninth book of the *Dēnkart*,[1] which purports to be a translation of and a commentary on the *Gāθās*. The passage in question deals with Ys. 30. 3, where the Avestan text clearly states that the Good and Evil Spirits are twins (*yəmā*). Such a text cannot have failed to strengthen the Zervanite position immensely; and one might even be tempted to believe that the myths and speculations about Zurvān prevalent during the Sassanian period owe their existence to it alone.[2] The compilers of the *Dēnkart* at any rate were thoroughly aware of the interpretation put upon this text by their opponents. Though their knowledge of the Gāθic language was doubtless rudimentary, they nevertheless seem to have known that *yəmā* meant 'twins', and accordingly translate 'two brothers'. But for them the admission that Ohrmazd and Ahriman were brothers was fatal. Some other way out of their difficulty had to be found. Fortunately for them the word *ərəš* occurred in the third line of the stanza. Disingenuously ignoring the fact that *ərəš* meant 'rightly' and relying on the ignorance of others,[3] they proceeded to turn the Avestan *ərəš* into the demon Ariš(k) (Envy)! The whole passage then was merely a lie spread abroad by the demon of Envy, and the doctrine therein proclaimed was therefore false. This wilfully stupid mistranslation is the only reference to the doctrine of the brotherhood of Ohrmazd and Ahriman in the whole of Pahlavī literature; and even here the name of Zurvān is not mentioned. That the passage is hostile to Zervanism cannot be denied: but on the ground of this single passage it would not be permissible to conclude that a state of active hostility existed between the two opposing schools.[4] The

[1] Text F 3 (*a*).

[2] Cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta I*, p. 221, n. 10.

[3] For the Sassanian theologians' ignorance of the Avestan language see Text F 3 (*a*), note.

[4] According to Nyberg (CCM. 1931, pp. 60, 197) GrBd. 11. 4–5 (text Z 1, § 26)

evidence collected in Chapters I and II, however, indicates that such hostility did exist, though among the Zervanites themselves great latitude seems to have been permitted to the faithful in their conceptions of the supreme deity.[1]

However, though the Pahlavī literature contains only one reference to the prime Zervanite doctrine as it has been preserved for us by Eznik and other Christian writers, it is nevertheless invaluable in supplying us with material which enables us better to understand the character of Zurvān, and from which, in conjunction with other sources, we may piece together fragments of other Zervanite myths. Without its assistance such attempts would have been foredoomed to failure.

Between the Pahlavī books on the one hand and the Christian accounts on the other stand the *'Ulemā i Islām* (text Z 37) and Šahristānī (text F 4). The former is particularly important as being the only extant account of Zervanism written by Zervanites: its value is, perhaps, slightly diminished by its undoubtedly late date. It does, however, present a cosmology which is recognizably connected both with the myth of Eznik and with the cosmologies of the *Greater Bundahišn* and Zātspram. In our analysis of the latter both the *'Ulemā* and Šahristānī have continually been at the back of our minds.

By far the fullest account of the Zoroastrian cosmology that has come down to us is that of the *Bundahišn*. That work has been preserved in two recensions, known respectively as the *Indian* and the *Greater* or *Iranian Bundahišn*. As its name implies, the latter is the more complete and contains much matter that is unknown to the Indian recension. In the first chapter (text Z 1) which is our immediate concern this difference is marked. The Indian gives us a more or less straight Mazdean cosmology in which Zurvān or Zamān (Time), as he is generally called in the Pahlavī books,[2] plays a suitably modest part. The 'Indian' account is consistent and may reasonably be supposed to derive from a single source. However, into the middle of this account the 'Iranian' version thrusts a long passage throughout which Zamān (Zurvān) is certainly the principal character. This passage will occupy our close attention for the greater part of our fifth chapter.

Parallel with the *Greater Bundahišn* and dependent on its source is the

is a polemic against the Zervanites. This theory, however, is based on a very forced translation of the text, and is therefore unacceptable: v. Text Z 1, l. 114, note.

[1] See note A, p. 103.

[2] 'Zurvān' is usually used when the deity is envisaged as a person, 'Zamān' when he represents the concept 'Time'. The comparatively rare occurrence of the word 'Zurvān' is to be attributed to the fact that the Mazdeans wished to divest the god of Time of his personal attributes, many of which were obnoxious to them. Zātspram, characteristically, is an exception.

cosmology of Zātspram, who gives further mythological details which serve to throw light on the otherwise obscure account of the *Greater Bundahišn*.

Before we pass on to the cosmology of the *Bundahišn* a few words must be said about a deity who, in the Sassanian period, played an important part in Zervanite mythology—Vāy. Unlike Zurvān of whom the Avesta tells us practically nothing, Vāy, or (to give him his Avestan name) Vayu, is the object of an entire *Yašt*[1] and appears frequently in other parts of the Avesta. Of the Avestan Vayu little need here be said since the subject has been exhaustively treated by Wikander,[2] who here follows Nyberg's more recent and hotly contested ideas.[3] A short account of his characteristics will, however, be necessary.

Originally Vayu appears to have been the supreme deity of a people unconnected with the original Zoroastrian community.[4] Like Zurvān and Mithra he is not a moral deity; but unlike Mithra the evil side of his character was so marked that the Mazdāh-worshipping Zoroastrians who adopted him were forced to split his personality into two. The all-powerful god in their hands became two, the beneficent Vayu who works on the side of Ahura Mazdāh (Ohrmazd), and the maleficent who is little better than a demon of death. Even in the *Yašt* dedicated to him (parts of which are certainly old) this process is perceptible; for the author offers worship only to 'that Vayu which belongs to the Bounteous Spirit' (§§ 5, 57).

As Nyberg has pointed out,[5] the most significant part of the *Yašt* is that in which the names of Vayu are catalogued. But before passing to these we should notice that in §§ 2–4 Ahura Mazdāh himself prays to him that he may vanquish the creatures of Ahriman, thereby acknowledging his own inferiority. Nyberg[6] is certainly right in emphasizing that this episode can only indicate the adoption of the deity of another cult into the Mazdean community. The *Yašt* goes on to enumerate the various mythical heroes who sacrificed to Vayu, and whose requests were granted. The prayers of the evil Dahāka and the otherwise unknown Aurvasāra were, however, left

[1] Yt. 15. Though generally known as the *Rām Yašt*, it is devoted entirely to Vayu. The change of name is probably a Mazdean attempt to minimize the importance of Vayu in the Avesta.

[2] *Vayu I, passim.*

[3] CCM. 1941, pp. 197 ff.; *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, pp. 300 ff.; cf. Geo. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, pp. 189 ff. The traditional view will be found in Lommel, *Die Yašts des Avesta*, pp. 143 ff.; Gray, *The Foundations of Iranian Religions*, p. 169.

[4] According to Nyberg (*Religionen*, pp. 300, 317) the worshippers of Vayu were originally situated on the upper or middle reaches of the Jaxartes; and the country called *vaēkərəta* in the Avesta is really **Vayu-kərəta* 'made by Vayu'. Cf. Skt. *vaikṛtika-*, a Yakṣa of Gandhāra mentioned in the *Mahāmāyurī* (Lévi, JA. 1915, p. 49).

[5] CCM. 1931, p. 198.

[6] *Religionen*, p. 292.

unanswered. With the termination of these prayers we come to the names of Vayu (§§ 43–48). This passage, though in prose, late, and in places corrupt, is of the greatest interest to the religious historian.

His name is Vayu because he pursues (*vayemi*) both the creation of Ohrmazd and that of Ahriman: he is the 'catcher' (*apayate*), for he catches both the creation of Ohrmazd and that of Ahriman. He is the all-conqueror because he conquers both creations. Among other epithets we may cite *zinakə* 'the harmful', *vindiχᵛarənə* 'he who finds the *χᵛarənah* (fortune)', the swift and the most swift (*aurvō*, *aurvōtəmō*), the strong and the most strong (*taχmō*, *taχmōtəma*), the firm and the most firm (*dərəzrō*, *darəǰištō*), the mighty and the most mighty (*aoǰi*, *aoǰiš*). He conquers at one blow (*haθravana*), opposes the demons and subdues the enemy (*viδaēvō-karə*, *ţbaēšō-tarō*); he is a sharp spear and the owner of a sharp spear (*tižyarštə*, *tižyarštiš*), a broad spear and the owner of a broad spear (*pərəθvarəštə*, *pərəθvarəštiš*).[1] When a man is bound, he stands still and lets him advance and then carries him away.[2] He must be invoked in battle or by a prince when he runs or rides out to battle (§ 50). He is pictured as wearing a golden helmet and a golden crown; he has a golden chariot and golden wheels, golden arms and golden garments, golden shoes and girdle.[3] Further he is worshipped by unmarried women who pray for a husband (§ 40).

From this brief outline of the *Yašt* it will be seen that Vayu is above all a god of war and warriors,[4] and this trait remains with him down to the Sassanian period, when he is expressly referred to as the god of the *Artēštārān*, the second or warrior caste.[5] His antiquity is undisputed since he appears in the *Rig-Veda* where one whole hymn is devoted to him.[6] Both in the Avesta and the Veda he is associated with Vāta, the Wind: in the Veda also he appears frequently with Indra and once with the Maruts, and is therefore regarded as a wind god.[7]

That he was in some part of Īrān elevated to the rank of supreme deity appears clearly in the fifteenth *Yašt*. Ahura Mazdāh prays to him, and he pursues both creations, that of Ahura Mazdāh as well as that of Ahriman: further, he conquers them both. He is in fact superior to good and evil, and like the warrior caste of which he is the patron, he manifests himself

[1] The epithets of Vayu will be found conveniently transliterated and translated in Wikander, *Vayu I*, pp. 7–9, also in Widengren, op. cit., pp. 189–90.

[2] Wikander, op. laud., p. 10: Widengren, p. 191.

[3] Wikander, pp. 12, 33; Widengren, pp. 193–4.

[4] Nyberg, CCM. 1931, p. 219.

[5] Text Z 3, § 1: 'Vāy of the long Dominion who, among spiritual beings, has the office of chieftainship of the warriors.'

[6] RV. iv. 46: for the Vedic Vāyu cf. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, i, p. 139.

[7] His name means simply 'he who blows'. In Sanskrit Vāyu comes to mean simply 'the wind'.

through force. Obviously the dualistic Zoroastrians during their syncretistic period, when confronted by so amoral a deity, must have been gravely embarrassed. Their solution was ingenious: the personality of Vayu was divided into two. The Good Vayu became, like the other deities, assimilated into the system, a beneficent power subordinate to Ohrmazd. The Bad Vayu, on the other hand, became a demon of death. We have noticed that in the *Yašt* Vayu is described as carrying off those who are bound. In the *Vidēvdāt*,[1] where the dichotomy of his person has already taken place, we find the incident repeated but characteristically changed. Zoroaster asks Ohrmazd if fire or water kill a man: Ohrmazd replies that neither fire nor water kill a man,[2] but that Astōvīδōtu (the demon of death proper) binds him and that Vayu carries him off bound.

In the *Aogəmadaēčā*[3] or Mazdean liturgy for the dead the transition from the simple to the dual view of Vayu has not yet taken place. He is indeed the bringer of death, but apparently not a demon; for he is spoken of in terms of awe suitable only to a powerful god. Though this passage has been repeatedly quoted in recent times,[4] it has a certain impressiveness, and we willingly avail ourselves of the excuse that no account of Vayu can be complete without it in order to quote it. It runs as follows:

> The path can be avoided which a running river guards: only the path of the pitiless Vayu can never be avoided.
>
> The path can be avoided which is guarded by a dragon of the size of a bull, that devours horses and men, that slays men and is pitiless: only the path of the pitiless Vayu can never be avoided.
>
> The path can be avoided which a dusky bear guards: only the path of the pitiless Vayu can never be avoided.
>
> The path can be avoided which is guarded by a robber who slays at one blow and is pitiless: only the path of the pitiless Vayu can never be avoided.
>
> The path can be avoided which (is commanded) by an army equipped with chariots and (lurking) in ambush: only the path of the pitiless Vayu can never be avoided.[5]

In the Pahlavī texts the division of the personality of Vayu into two distinct entities is complete. One is called *Vāy i vēh* 'the good Vāy' (as we shall now call him), the other *Vāy i vattar* 'the evil Vāy'. But a trace of his

[1] 5. 8–9.

[2] Fire and water, being pure elements and, as such, holy, could not be regarded as being responsible for the death of anyone: in cases of drowning and burning, then, the responsibility was shifted on to the two death demons.

[3] v. the edition of Duchesne, JA. 1936, pp. 241–55. The passage here quoted forms §§ 77–81 of his edition: v. also Wikander, op. laud., pp. 96–101 and his most exhaustive and original commentary.

[4] v. especially Nyberg, CCM. 1931, pp. 205 ff.; Widengren, op. cit., pp. 192–3.

[5] See note B, p. 103.

original ambiguous nature is allowed to remain: for beside the personal god and the personal demon, a third variant of this Protean deity is to be met with; for Vāy, once the god of the wind that blows between heaven and earth, has now become the intervening space between the Kingdom of Light above and the Kingdom of Darkness below.[1] Within this impersonal element the struggle between the principles of Light and Darkness takes place. As is only fitting, Vāy, who once stood above good and evil, has become a place of mixture between the powers of good and the powers of evil. After the creation, Vāy is conceived of as the atmosphere between the earth and sky: it is used in contra-distinction to the earth (*būm*). 'The original source of fire is the atmospheric fire (*vāyīk ātaχš*): the original source of water is the terrestrial sea. Fire naturally rises to the atmosphere (*Vāy*), and water inclines down towards the earth.'[2] In the macrocosm Vāy is the life-giving power and corresponds to the 'fiery wind' in the body of man 'which is the breath-soul (*ǰān*)'.[3] Here the distinction between the two Vāys is again apparent: just as the evil Vāy is the demon of death, so is the good Vāy the spirit of life. After the universal rehabilitation (*fraškart*) which takes place at the end of the cosmic period, Vāy becomes the dwelling-place of the purified souls: 'the soul, full of bliss, (remains) in the pure Vāy who ever controls the Adversary in the world.'[4] At that period, then, Vāy would seem to be identical with Space. We shall have occasion to discuss this when we come to speak of the cosmology of the *Bundahišn*.

As personal deities the two Vāys are naturally opposed. In the Pahlavī texts the Evil Vāy is simply the demon of death. He is no longer the awful and inexorable god depicted in the *Aogəmadaēčā*, but has become the ignoble henchman of the Devil and is identified with Astōvīδāt (Av. Astōvīδōtu). 'Astōvīδāt is the Evil Vāy who carries the breath-soul away: as it is said, "When he touches a man with his hand, it is sleep: when he casts his shadow on him, it is fever: and when he sees him with his eye, he smites the breath-soul." '[5] The function of the Good Vāy is to save the

[1] v. text Z 1, § 4.

[2] DkM. 199. 18: *ātaχš bun χān vāyīk ātaχš: 'āp bun χān būmīk zrēh, 'hast čihrīk 'ul-uzišnīh ⟨i⟩ ātaχš'ō vāy; 'ut frōt grāyišnīh i 'āp 'ō būm.*

[3] DkM. 278. 13: *gēhān zīvēnāk ǰān⟨va⟩r ǰān aparkār Vāy i 'pat aδvāč i gēhān 'χᵛānēnd-ič Vāy, 'ut ⟨pat⟩ dēn mēnōk i Vāy-ič ⟨i⟩ rāδēnītār 'gōβēt, čēyōn martōm tan zīvēnāk ātaχšōmand vāt i 'hast ǰān.*—'He who quickens the world and is the life (the breath-soul) of living things is Vāy whose works are high. In the language of the world they call him Vāy: in Religion he is called the Spirit Vāy who orders aright. Similarly what quickens the body of man is the fiery wind which is life (the breath-soul).'

[4] DkM. 44. 6: *ruvān purr-urvāhm 'andar apēčak Vāy ⟨i⟩ pityārak ⟨i⟩ gēhān hamēvīnārišnīk 'bavēt.*

[5] GrBd. 186. 12 (cf. Widengren, op. cit., p. 198): *Astēvihāt Vāy i 'vattar 'kē ǰān 'stanēt; čēyōn 'gōβēt 'ku 'kaδ 'dast 'apar*

soul (*ruvān*) of the righteous from the attacks of his evil counterpart: he takes the soul by the hand and leads it to its appointed place.[1] Nor is he neglectful of the breath-soul (*ǰān*, here as always almost 'life'), for he welcomes it and comforts it after the ordeal it has suffered through its severance from the body.[2] He may, then, be regarded as a *ψυχοπομπός* to the soul of the righteous dead, while that of the unrighteous is dragged down to hell.

Of his connexion with Vāt, the Wind, little need be said here. One passage, however, deserves to be noted; for it shows that even in the Pahlavī books the personal Vāy might still retain its original indifference to good and evil. Indeed on this occasion he seems to show partiality to the hosts of Ahriman and to cause discomfiture to the Wind. The text speaks for itself: 'The Destructive Spirit cried out to the demons, "Come, destroy the swift and valiant wind created by Ohrmazd: for if ye destroy the wind, then all creation will be destroyed by you." And in that battle, because Vāy of the long Dominion did not come to its aid in time, the wind was laid low.'[3] Because of Vāy's failure to help on this occasion, the wind now blows either too violently or too softly. Here the personal Vāy may be seen to adopt that non-belligerency in the cosmic struggle which characterizes him in his impersonal form.

From this short review of the character and attributes of this important god it may be safely concluded that cosmologically Vāy is conceived of as the intermediate space between the kingdoms of light and darkness or as its presiding genius: in this position—except in so far as the struggle takes place within him—questions of good and evil are not sufficiently involved for the Sassanian theologians to consider the splitting of his person necessary. He was, however, also the god of death; and with the exception of the destruction of the soul,[4] death is the greatest evil that can overtake a

*martōm mālēt, Būšāsp; 'kaδ asāyak 'aβganēt, *tap; 'kaδ-aš 'pat čašm 'vēnēt, 'ǰān 'bē zēnēt.* Cf. GrBd. 47. 15: *Astōvihāt 'kē Vāy i 'vattar 'χ^{v}ānihēt.*—'Astōvihāt who is called the evil Vāy.'

[1] v. text Z 3, § 1.

[2] Dd. 29. 4: *čēyōn Vāy i 'vattar appurtār 'ut zatār, ētōn-ič Vāy i vēh kōχšītār* ['*ut*] *ham patīrak i Vāy i 'vattar, 'ut-aš vizūtār 'hač 'ǰān-appurišnīh 'ut patiyraftār 'ut pānak i 'ǰān.*—'Just as the evil Vāy carries away (the breath-soul) and strikes it down, so does the good Vāy too strive against the evil Vāy, and prevents him from carrying off the breath-soul, and receives and protects the breath-soul.'

[3] GrBd. 132. 8: *drāyast Ganāk Mēnōk 'ō 'dēvān 'ku āy, vāt marnǰēnēt, čēr i takīk i Ōhrmazd-dāt; 'čē 'kaδ-tān vāt marnǰēnīt, atān harvisp dām marnǰēnīt 'bavēt. 'ut 'pat 'ān kōχšišn 'pat Vāy ⟨i⟩ dērang-χ^{v}atāy rāδ, 'ku-š 'pat gās* [*i*] *'ō aδyārīh 'nē mat, vāt start 'būt.*

[4] Mχ 46. 2: *Ahriman 'kaδ 'hač martōmān zīvandakīh 'ut 'zan 'ut frazand 'ut hāmōyēn nēvakīh i gētēhīk 'bē 'appurēt, 'nē 'pat 'ēt 'dārēt 'ku-š 'čiš-ič ziyān 'pat 'avē 'kas kart; 'bē 'kaδ-aš 'ān i ēvtāk ruvān 'bē 'appurēt 'ut tapāh 'bē 'kunēt, 'aδak 'pat 'ēt 'dārēt 'ku-m ziyān-ē i bavandak pat-iš kart.*—'When Ahriman robs men of life and wife and child and all the good things of this world, he does not consider that he has done any harm to that person; but when he robs him

pious Mazdean. In these circumstances the death god had to be demonized, and, presumably to conciliate those people whose supreme deity they had absorbed and were in the process of distorting, they created a Good Vāy whose function it was to welcome such souls as had succeeded in eluding his evil counterpart.

Before leaving Vāy for the broader question of the *Bundahišn* cosmology, we should mention in passing—no more is necessary, for the question has been adequately discussed by Widengren[1]—a curious myth preserved in the *Dēnkart* and *Dātastān i dēnīk*.[2] Shortly before the time of the final rehabilitation Kay Xusrau, one of the mythical Iranian heroes, resuscitated to facilitate the final destruction of the demons, charges Vāy of the long Dominion with the smiting of the breath-soul of men. Vāy agrees that he is guilty, and in revenge Xusrau turns him into a camel and rides him round Īrān. Finally, though the translation is here uncertain, Vāy seems to cause Xusrau's death too.[3] The myth may be regarded as the final victory of death before the rehabilitation when all creatures partake of eternal life.

Such, in brief outline, is the nature of the god Vāy. Let us now consider him in relation to Zurvān. The two deities seem at first to have been entirely distinct. In the Avesta Vayu plays an independent part, while Zurvān still appears as an exceedingly minor deity. One fact only do we learn about him: he is the god who controls the path which the souls of the dead must traverse before they come to the Činvat bridge: this path is called *zrvō-dāta-* 'created by Zurvān'.[4] He is, then, even at this early date the god of death, and in that respect his function closely resembles that of Vāy. In the later *Yasna* and *Vidēvdāt* the two are connected in invocations: 'We worship the day of Rāman of goodly flocks, of Vayu who works highly . . . of Θwāša who follows his own law (*χᵛaδāta-*), of the infinite Zurvān and Zurvān who for a long time follows his own law (*darəγō-χᵛaδāta-*).'[5] Again we find the stock epithet of Zurvān, *darəγō-χᵛaδāta-*, once applied to Vayu,[6] and may therefore assume that at the time of the composition of the latest parts of the Avesta a definite relationship existed between the two gods.

In the Pahlavī texts the relationship has become closer. Vāy, after

of his soul alone and destroys it, then he considers that he has done him a perfect injury.'

[1] See note C, p. 104.

[2] 35. 3. Cf. also PhlRiv. 48. 39.

[3] Dd. l.c. has: *Kay-Xusrau 'kē 'hač Vāy i dērang-χᵛatāy vitārēnīt*. The last word means literally 'to cause to pass', and I should therefore translate, 'KayXusrau whom Vāy of the long Dominion caused to pass away'.

[4] Text A 1 = Vd. 19. 29.

[5] Text A 2 (Ys. 72. 10; *Sīhrōčak* i. 21 and ii. 21).

[6] Ny. 1. 1. Vayu here appears in the form *vayąm* (acc. fem.!).

becoming identified with the Void or intermediate space between the realms of light and darkness, is further identified with Space: after the creation all created things exist within it.[1] Zurvān is Time through which alone the act of creation is possible.[2] The two deities are thus intimately connected, and we have the evidence of Damascius on the authority of Eudemus of Rhodes that the Magians regarded Space and Time as the prime principle from which the good god and the evil demon arise.[3] Eznik and the sources allied to him know only of Zurvān as the supreme deity and make no mention of Space; but too much importance cannot be attached to this, for the Zurvān of Eznik is a figure of mythology while that of the Pahlavī texts is more an intellectual concept. Further, the connexion between Time and Space is so intimate that they may be regarded as identical: for, according to the *Greater Bundahišn*, good 'things bestowed reach (men) through Time (*zamān*) *who is Vāy of the long Dominion*, whether it be the instrument of Zurvān or of Ohrmazd.'[4]

The whole *Bundahišn* cosmology is somewhat complicated by the fact that the concept Space is referred to in three ways: sometimes it is Vāy; sometimes *gās* or *gyāk*, the ordinary Persian words for space or place (the former also having the meaning of time); and sometimes it is Spihr which, meaning strictly the firmament, later came to include all space within it. The confusion is due to the syncretistic nature of the religion with which we have to deal. As we have seen, Vāy or Vayu was the supreme deity of a people living in all probability in eastern Īrān. Zurvān and Spihr belong to western Īrān, the former appearing to be extremely ancient, as proper names from the Nuzi documents show. These date apparently from the twelfth or thirteenth century B.C. and give us the forms *Za-ar-wa-an*, *It-ḫi-Za-ar-wa*, *Ar-Za-ar-wa*, and *Du-uk-ki-Zar-ar-wa*.[5] The early existence of Spihr in the west is also attested by the proper names *Σπιθριδάτης* and *Σπιθροβάτης*.[6] Spihr is strictly the firmament[7] rather than Space: it is the seat of the stars and therefore controls the fate of man.[8] As we shall soon see, Time and Space, which at first were infinite, had to be limited in order to make the act of creation possible. After the limitation Spihr is strictly

[1] v. esp. text Z 16: 'Its (Time's) limitation consists in the movement of matter in Vāy by means of the firmament (*spāš*).'

[2] Texts Z 14, 15, 16.

[3] Text G 1.

[4] Text Z 3, § 3.

[5] Collected by Widengren, op. cit., p. 310. The forms quoted will be found in AASOR. xvi, Nos. 46–50.

[6] References in Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 310, and Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, Sb (Kaiserlichen)AW. 1888, pp. 421–2. Henning (JRAS. 1942, p. 239) is unconvinced that these forms prove the existence of an Old Iranian **spiθra-* whence Phl. *spihr*. His equation of *spihr* with Gk. *σφαῖρα* is not entirely convincing.

[7] Or so the text DkM. 207 implies: v. n. 1, and p. 89, n. 1.

[8] *v. infra*, pp. 158 ff.

the starry firmament and Vāy the space within it. Matter moves in Vāy but is controlled by Spihr.[1]

Spihr is the Pahlavī translation of the Avestan *Θwāša-*:[2] its epithet *χᵛatāy* 'lord', therefore, corresponds to the standing epithet of Θwāša, *χᵛaδāta-* 'who follows his own law', just as *dērang-χᵛatāy*, the standing epithet of Zurvān, corresponds to Av. *darəγō-χᵛaδāta-*. The god Θwāša has hitherto generally been identified with Space and has been fully discussed by both Nyberg[3] and Widengren.[4] This identification, however, is not quite exact. *Θwāša* would represent OI. **θwarta-* (cf. Skt. *tvar-* 'hurry')[5] and must mean 'he who hurries': hence we have MP. *spahr* (*θwahr*), just as we have *ahrov* from *ašavan-*.[6] *Spahr* is identical with *spihr*, who in turn is identical with *spāš* (=*Θwāša*). Spihr is primarily the firmament, only secondarily Space; and *a priori* the same may therefore be assumed of Θwāša. Of the latter it must be confessed that extremely little is known. Besides being mentioned three times with Zurvān[7] it appears once along with other deities, in the entourage of Mithra, a position obviously better suited to the firmament than to so vague a concept as Space.[8] Moreover, one would naturally think of the firmament as 'him who hurries'—a phrase which would not immediately occur to one in connexion with Space. As anyone even moderately familiar with Persian poetry knows, the firmament continues to be described as *tīz-rau* 'swiftly moving' far down into the Muhammadan period. The identification of Θwāša with Space must, however, be inferred from the *gās i χᵛaδāt* of the Pahlavī *Sīh-rōcak*:[9] thus Θwāša appears in the company of Zurvān (Time), and Eudemus of Rhodes speaks of Space and Time as the original principle.[10] Θwāša is equivalent to Spihr, the firmament, and therefore to the space contained within the firmament.

But to return to Vāy. In the Pahlavī literature the assimilation of this deity to Zurvān has gone far. As we saw in our third chapter, one of the prime attributes of Zurvān was justice. 'Who is the most just? Finite Time', we read in one of the texts.[11] Justice, too, is one of the attributes of Vāy, for he 'is more just than the just and has respect for none, nor does he accept

[1] Text Z 16 = DkM. 207: '. . . the movement of matter in Vāy by means of the firmament (*spāš*, i.e. *Spihr*), as, for example, the course of the luminaries, the blowing of the wind, the running of water, the growth of plants'.

[2] v. text Z 11, § 5 = DkM. 205. 19. The same identification occurs ibid. 278. 17. Darmesteter (ZA. ii, p. 310, no. 45) had already observed this identification.

[3] CCM. 1931, p. 103.

[4] Op. cit., p. 231.

[5] So rightly Bartholomae, AIW., s.v.

[6] This seems to be the obvious interpretation of the word discussed in BSOS. ix, p. 313. The suggestion put forward there now seems to me most improbable.

[7] v. text A 2.

[8] Yt. 10. 66.

[9] *Infra*, pp. 199, 217.

[10] Text G 1.

[11] Text Z 24 (*b*).

bribes: and he observes justice with both master and servant, with the one as with the other.'[1] As gods of death both are said to possess a 'path'; for we hear of the path 'created by Zurvān' along which the soul of the dead proceeds to the Činvat bridge:[2] similarly we learn in the *Aogəmadaēčā* that all paths may be avoided, though beset with frightful dangers; only the path of Vayu can never be avoided. Both gods are terrible and cannot be escaped. Of Vāy it is said: 'Wisdom it is which is better than all the riches on the world; and fate it is which is lord over all persons and things; and the Evil Vāy it is from whom no one can escape.'[3] Similarly Zurvān can never be hidden[4] and there is no remedy against him.[5] When Time comes upon a man, he can do nothing against it;[6] and Time sews up the eye of man.[7]

Both gods seem originally to have been foreign to the dualistic system of the Mazdeans; but both were absorbed into it, losing much of their original character in the process and causing grave embarrassment to the Mazdeans, who never entirely succeeded in making them a homogeneous part of their system. Both gods had originally been superior to good and evil. In the case of Vāy the Mazdeans reacted by neatly bisecting him into a good and a bad half. The case of Zurvān was more difficult; for that deity had, at the beginning of the Sassanian period or earlier, been elevated to the rank of father of gods and demons. The Mazdeans were, then, faced with three alternatives: either they could split his personality in two as they had already done to Vāy; or they could eliminate him altogether from the pantheon; or they could assimilate him as much as possible to Ohrmazd, one of whose hypostases he would then be. To anyone acquainted with the Pahlavī literature it is obvious that no general agreement could be reached among the Mazdeans on this subject; for in different texts we find all three views represented. Thus in the *Dēnkart* we find that Time belongs both to the creation of Ohrmazd and to that of Ahriman,[8] though elsewhere in the same book it is referred to as the 'eternity of Ohrmazd'.[9] Mānuščihr alone has eliminated Zurvān entirely from the pantheon, and even seems to take care never to mention him. In the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār*, too, he plays no important part: he is regarded solely as the Infinite and as such incomprehensible.[10] In the *Bundahišn* and more particularly in Zātspram his charac-

[1] YF. 3. 34: *'hač rāstān Vāy i 'vēh rāsttar 'kē hēč-aš 'kas āzarm 'nē, 'ut pārak 'nē 'stanēt, 'ut χᵛatāy 'ut bandak rāδ 'apāk ēvak ditīkar rāstīh 'dārēt.*

[2] v. p. 240.

[3] Text Z 29.

[4] Text Z 25 (*a*).

[5] Text Z 25 (*b*).

[6] Text Z 26 (*a*).

[7] Text Z 26 (*b*).

[8] Text Z 18 (*a*), (*b*); cf. DkM., p. 92, where *zamānak 'ān i yazdān* (1. 11) 'the time of the gods' is contrasted with *zamānak 'ān i 'dēvān* (1. 20) 'the time of the demons'.

[9] v. esp. texts Z 15, 20, 22.

[10] Text Z 23, § 53 ff.

ter has been less distorted, and it is from them that we learn most. Let us then now turn to the cosmology that they present.

(*b*) *The Mazdean Cosmology*

In the accounts of the creation that have come down to us it is not always easy or possible to draw a clear distinction between what may be called Mazdean and what may be called Zervanite. The *Indian Bundahišn*, however, pays little attention to Time (Zurvān) and, with a few modifications, may therefore be taken as our basic text for the Mazdean cosmology. To this we must now address our attention.

In the beginning Ohrmazd was on high and dwelt in the Endless Light: he was characterized by omniscience and wisdom which some call Religion (*dēn*). Ahriman was in the depths and dwelt in the Endless Darkness: he was slow in knowledge and his will was to do harm. Between the kingdoms of light and darkness was the Void which some call Vāy.[1] This, briefly, would seem to be the Mazdean view of the universe before Ahriman's attack on the kingdom of light and the creation consequent on it.

The *Indian Bundahišn* has, however, borrowed some Zervanite motifs and combined them with the orthodox Mazdean version. It was faced with the task of reconciling two religions which were irreconcilable. One had elevated Time above Ohrmazd and Ahriman and made it the supreme deity and first cause: this God was tetramorphous, comprising time, space, wisdom, and power:[2] standing above good and evil, he was indifferent to both. As Infinite Time he was eternal and eternity.[3]

The Mazdeans, on the other hand, acknowledge two principles, Ohrmazd and Ahriman. With the first was associated all that was good and beautiful; with the second all that was evil and foul. Neither could claim to be infinite since both ruled in their respective kingdoms and between them was the Void. How were these points of view to be reconciled? and what part was to be assigned to Time and Space in the new syncretism? The author of the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār* may, in this respect, be regarded as the most 'orthodox' interpreter of the Mazdean view, for he strips Time of all the attributes and functions with which the Zervanites had enriched it. Time and Space—or the Void as he calls it, though he obviously does not use the word in the sense of the 'open space' between the kingdoms of light and darkness—are, according to him, alone infinite:[4] the infinite is not susceptible of division[5] but is an essence pervading everything.[6] The two

[1] Z 1 (GrBd., chap. i), §§ 2–4.
[2] v. Chapter VIII.
[3] Text Z 20, para. 2, 'Infinite Time the essence of which is eternity'.
[4] Z 23 (= ŠGV. 16), § 53.
[5] Ibid., §86.
[6] Ibid., §102.

opposing powers are not infinite;[1] nor is the wisdom of Ohrmazd infinite, for it is confined to the possible: he can have no knowledge of the impossible. He cannot be infinite, for, if he were, he would not be aware of his infinity. The infinite can by definition not be comprehended; therefore it is incomprehensible to the intellect of the deity too.[2] All that can be predicated of it is that nothing can exist without it and that it can never be understood.[3]

In his treatment of the Infinite Mardān-Farruχ, the author of the *Šikand*, is at variance with all the other Mazdean writers; for he does not admit the possibility of the limitation of Time—Time and Space being infinite. In so doing he would seem to deny the doctrine, found in all the other sources, that Time was created finite from infinite Time and that after twelve thousand years it would merge again into the infinite. In so doing he effectively rid the Mazdean system of Zurvān, the god of Time; for according to him the latter, being infinite, was consequently incomprehensible and uncomprehending: it had no sort of control over human affairs, was without power, pervading the universe but not affecting it. For him, a Mazdean dualist and a rationalist, the question of infinite Time was of less than academic interest. Discussion of so intricate and vague a subject seemed to him only to confuse the minds of the intellectually immature.[4] As Zervanite doctrines can only have brought confusion into the Zoroastrian Church, he was prepared to eliminate the offending deity altogether, especially since he lived at a time when his Church was gradually being destroyed by the proselytizing zeal of an aggressive monotheistic creed. At such a time, he must have thought, the luxury of doctrinal fluidity could ill be afforded.

Mardān-Farruχ was a dualist and a rationalist, and his solution of the question of Zurvān-Time was reached in accordance with his philosophy. The author of the *Bundahišn* was a dualist and a traditionalist. In the latter capacity he had inherited doctrines which were incompatible. On the one hand he had been taught that the Cosmos as we know it had arisen out of the mixture of two eternally hostile principles and that these principles were of different substance and in origin entirely distinct: on the other he had learnt that Zurvān-Time stood above both these, that he manifested himself as fate and thereby controlled human destinies.[5] Though at his time the doctrine that Zurvān was the father of the two opposing spirits had, in all probability, been proscribed,[6] the Zervanite party within the

[1] Text Z 23, § 96.
[2] Ibid., § 66 ff.
[3] Ibid., § 103 ff.
[4] Ibid., § 105.
[5] *v. infra*, Chapter X.
[6] Probably under Xusrau I; cf. *supra*, p. 48.

Church would still seem to have been strong enough to be worth conciliating. A compromise had therefore to be sought. Let us see how the author of the Mazdean account of the creation found in the *Bundahišn* effected this.

From the Zervanites he probably learnt that their supreme god, Zurvān, comprised Time, Space, Wisdom, and Power.[1] In the Mazdean system Ohrmazd was the supreme deity, good, wise, and powerful. The later Mazdeans, then, tried to fuse the two deities into one and to make Time whom they now call simply *zamān* (the ordinary Middle Persian word for 'time') rather than the archaic *Zurvān*,[2] an hypostasis of Ohrmazd. Thus in the opening words of the *Bundahišn* we find that Time is exclusively connected with Ohrmazd and elsewhere it is described as the eternity of Ohrmazd:[3] 'Ohrmazd and the Space, Religion, and Time of Ohrmazd were and are and ever shall be.'[4] On this point the *Dēnkart* is not consistent, for it refers to Time as the eternity of Ohrmazd, but also speaks of it as being common to Ohrmazd and Ahriman.[5] The latter view is obviously Zervanite in origin.

The same tendency is perceptible in the case of Space, for it tends to be identified with the Endless Light which is the place of Ohrmazd.[6] Such an identification is, of course, logically untenable since Space must also comprise the Endless Darkness and the Void between the light and the darkness. As we shall have occasion to discuss the fusion of the personalities of Zurvān and Ohrmazd in a later chapter, no more need be said here.

After describing the original condition of the Cosmos, the *Bundahišn* interposes a digression on the infinite and the finite,[7] the object of which seems to be to associate Ohrmazd with the first and Ahriman with the second. In space the Endless Light is infinite in an upward direction but bounded on the nether side by the Void: similarly the Endless Darkness is infinite in a downward direction but finite on the upper side. The two Spirits themselves are both finite and the omniscience of Ohrmazd is also finite, being confined only to what is made possible by the terms of the treaty which is subsequently made between the two Spirits.[8] By this it is probably meant that the prescience of Ohrmazd is bounded by natural law

[1] *v. infra*, Chapter VIII.

[2] v. p. 81, n. 2.

[3] Texts Z 15, 22.

[4] Z 1, § 2.

[5] v. p. 90, nn. 8, 9. Worthy of attention because of its oddity is the attempt of DkM. 23. 12 (text 12, § 5) to reconcile the two points of view. Twof acts had to be faced, first that Ohrmazd was the supreme deity and good, and second that Time comprised both good and evil. Thus the author of the *Dēnkart* invents the ingenious myth according to which Ohrmazd is said to have dyed Time with colour—with good and evil!

[6] Cf. *infra*, p. 201.

[7] Z 1, § 5.

[8] The terms of the treaty are inviolable—'and till it is completed no one can change it or make it different' (text Z 8, § 9).

which can be transgressed by neither side in the cosmic battle. The question of the treaty will receive our attention later.

In Time the creation of Ohrmazd is regarded as infinite in futurity since it will rule supreme in the end for ever and ever; but the creation of Ahriman is finite since a time will come when it will be destroyed. Thus the Mazdeans were able to conceive of infinity in one direction only; in space infinite height starting from a given lower line; in time infinite futurity starting from a fixed moment. In this they were followed by the Muhammadans, who distinguish between *azal* 'eternity without beginning' and *abad* 'eternity without end'.

Though separated by the Void from the kingdom of Ahriman, Ohrmazd, being omniscient, knew of it and was aware that once Ahriman had seen his kingdom he would attack. Ahriman meanwhile was prowling about in the darkness, ignorant of the existence of Ohrmazd and the light.[1] When he reached the border, however, he saw a point of light; and having seen it, he desired it and envied it: and being envious he sought to destroy it. Realizing in time that Ohrmazd was more powerful than he, he plunged back into the darkness to fashion weapons with which to attack his rival. Ohrmazd meanwhile created the 'ideas' or unseen prototypes (*mēnōk*) of the sky, water, earth, plants, cattle, man, and fire: for three thousand years these remained motionless.

In his account of these events Zātspram differs slightly from the *Bundahišn*. According to the latter the mere sight of Ohrmazd and his 'ideal' creation was enough to convince Ahriman that an attack on them would be foolish in the extreme: but in Zātspram's account Ohrmazd, perceiving that Ahriman had reached the border and that an attack was imminent, forestalled his adversary and himself joined battle: 'by the pure word of the Law he laid him low and hurled him back into the darkness.'[2] The episode, recorded by Zātspram alone, is likely to be of Zervanite origin. We shall discuss it later when we come to deal with the cosmic period of twelve thousand years.

As the spirits were fashioning their respective creations, they observed each other at work: but whereas the creation of Ahriman seemed frightful and evil to Ohrmazd, Ahriman, against his will, was forced to revere the creation of Ohrmazd, for it was 'profound, victorious', and 'informed of all'.[3] At this point Ohrmazd offered peace to Ahriman and invited him to co-operate with him in the work of creation: in return for his co-operation Ahriman would be 'deathless and unageing, uncorrupting and undecaying'.

[1] See note D, p. 104.
[2] Z 4, § 4.
[3] Z 1, § 8.

But by his very nature Ahriman could not accept, for his desire is to hurt. Thus he refused to help, and threatened to destroy the creation of Ohrmazd, to bring his creatures to hate him and to seduce them to his own allegiance. This he did because he was convinced that Ohrmazd's offer was merely a sign of weakness and that he was therefore imperfectly armed for the battle.[1]

With the rejection of his offer, Ohrmazd realized that there was only one expedient: he must fashion forth Time, that is to say, he must create a period of nine thousand years in which the great cosmic battle should be fought: otherwise the struggle would be everlasting. By fixing a definite period he would thus force the powers of darkness to show their hand: the issue would become acute,[2] and a decisive struggle in which he was sure of victory would remove the danger of further attack on himself and his creation for ever. He therefore proposed a period of nine thousand years to Ahriman and the latter accepted the challenge. Ohrmazd, however, knew that of the 9,000 years 3,000 would pass entirely according to his own will, 3,000 would be filled with struggle, while in the last 3,000 Ahriman would finally be made powerless.[3]

Simultaneously with the creation of the period of nine thousand years he chanted the *Ahunvar* prayer by which he revealed to Ahriman his own final victory, the defeat of Ahriman and destruction of the demons, and the eventual immunity of all creatures from the attacks of the powers of darkness. This revelation was a crushing blow to Ahriman: he swooned and fell back into the darkness and lay there unconscious for three thousand years.[4]

In his account of the creation of the world-period Zātspram again differs; and on this occasion there can be no doubt that he draws on a Zervanite source. 'Ohrmazd, in his spiritual wisdom,' he says, 'saw that what Ahriman had threatened, he could do unless the time of the conflict were limited. He begged Time (*zamān*) to aid him, for he saw that through no intermediary belonging to the light would (Ahriman) desist. Time is a good helper and right orderer of both: there is need of it. (Ohrmazd) made it in three periods, each period three thousand years. Ahriman desisted.'[5] Up to this point not a word has been said about the existence of Time; yet we are here suddenly confronted with an almost personified conception of that deity. Moreover, he appears to be more powerful than either Ohrmazd or Ahriman, for Ohrmazd approaches him as a suppliant. He is thoroughly

[1] Z 1, §§ 9–12; cf. Z 4, §§ 5–7.

[2] Admirably expressed by Nyberg, CCM. 1931, p. 39: 'Le plan d'Ormuzd vise à tirer l'ennemi de son état caché, à rendre aigu, pour ainsi dire, le mal.'

[3] Z 1, §§ 12–14.

[4] Ibid., §§ 15–16; cf. Z 4, §§ 12, 24.

[5] Z 4, §§ 8–9.

alarmed by Ahriman's threats and realizes that they can indeed be put into practice unless Time comes to his aid. Thus, though Zātspram has hitherto followed the orthodox Mazdean version of the cosmogony, he now speaks as a Zervanite, for he tacitly assumes the pre-existence of Zurvān-Time and envisages him as a deity whom both Ohrmazd and Ahriman need[1] and whose assistance they must solicit.[2] What is even more curious, he does not conceive of him as being intimately connected with Ohrmazd, much less as his hypostasis as the *Bundahišn* does; for he implies that he is not a deity of light[3] and is therefore essentially different from Ohrmazd whose place is the Endless Light. We can then scarcely avoid the conclusion that Zātspram, whose heterodoxy in other matters caused grave concern to his brother, Mānuščihr,[4] was a Zervanite at heart; for though he nowhere states that Zurvān is the father of the two Spirits, he seems to write on this and other occasions as if that myth were already known. How else can we explain the sudden appearance of the god Time who controls the activities of both Spirits and is not a god of light, but apparently more powerful than the principles of light and darkness?

We now come to the problem of the cosmic period. The difficulty is that our sources do not agree about its length: some mention the figure 9,000 and others 12,000 years. On the grounds that the figure of Eznik, Plutarch, and the *Mēnōk i χrat* was 9,000, Benveniste concluded that this was the properly Zervanite figure:[5] he did not, however, attempt to explain why this figure should have been selected. Nyberg, on the other hand, maintained that 12,000 must be the Zervanite figure,[6] that is the figure given by the *Bundahišn*—9,000 years conflict preceded by 3,000 years creation of the 'ideal' world. As Nyberg rightly points out, it is impossible not to find here an allusion to the number of the Signs of the Zodiac. This supposition, as he justly remarks, is confirmed by the evidence of the *'Ulemā i Islām* where each millennium is placed under one of the constellations.[7]

[1] On the need that everything has of Time cf. text Z 14: 'The existence of all has need of Time. Without Time one can do nothing that is or was or shall be. Time has need of none of these for anything.'

[2] According to the *'Ulemā* (Z 37, § 14) Time helps Ahriman as well as Ohrmazd.

[3] Cf. our remarks, pp. 55 ff.

[4] In the *Epistles of Mānuščihr* Zātspram is accused of trying to abolish the *Barešnūm* ceremony: it would appear also that he had had intercourse with a Turkish tribe called Tuγazγaz (Mān. 2. 1. 12) who, according to Mas'ūdī, were Manichaeans (v. further Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al 'Ālam*, pp. 263–77). v. Dhabhar's introduction to the *Epistles*, esp. pp. 10 ff.: it is unfortunate that the letters are so obscure as to yield very little sense.

[5] *The Persian Religion*, pp. 107 ff.

[6] CCM. 1931, p. 57. Junker, *Aionvorstellung*, p. 172, takes 12,000 years to be the length of *zamān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy* and suggests that the first three thousand years may, in the Zervanite account, have been favourable to Ahriman; cf. our remarks below.

[7] *'Ulemā* (Z 37), § 13 ff.

One may add with equal truth that the great cycle of 12,000 years corresponds to the year with its twelve months; for Bērūnī mentions in connexion with the religion of the Magians a cycle of '12,000 years, corresponding to the number of the Signs of the Zodiac and of the months'.[1] In view of the close connexion of Zurvān with the firmament[2] which is disputed by none, it would seem that Nyberg's view is certainly right.

Let us now examine the evidence. The figure 12,000 is given by the *'Ulemā* and the Zervanite fragments of the *Greater Bundahišn*, and by Bērūnī. The figure of the *Bundahišn* cosmology and of Zātspram is 9,000 years of strife in addition to 3,000 years of 'ideal' creation; an aggregate, therefore, of 12,000 years.

The figure 9,000 is given by Eznik, Theodore bar Kônai, and Šahristānī[3] among the non-Zoroastrian sources, and by the *Mēnōk i χrat*[4] and the *Dātastān i dēnīk* (36.9), while the account of Plutarch speaks of the two deities as ruling in turn for 3,000 years each plus a further 3,000 years in which the two become disentangled.[5]

Besides these Theodore Abū Qurra[6] gives the figure 7,000 years, in this case therefore corresponding to the planets rather than the Signs of the Zodiac.[7] Šahristānī also gives this figure in his account of the Gayōmarθiyya[8] and in this the *Bahman Yašt* seems to agree with him.[9]

That 12,000 is the Zervanite figure seems proved by its occurrence in the *'Ulemā* and the Zervanite part of the *Greater Bundahišn* and by Bērūnī's statement that the number twelve corresponds both to the Signs of the

[1] *Chronology*, Sachau, p. 14: translation, p. 17.

[2] The firmament itself is compared to the year: cf. GrBd. 27. 8: *sitīkar 'ēn spihr 'pat humānākih ⟨i⟩ 'sāl-ē 'nihāt, 12 aχtar čēγōn 12 'māhīkān, 'har aχtarīk 30 sus(?) čēγōn 'har 'māh-ē 30 'rōč-šapān.*—'Third he made the firmament like the year, the twelve constellations like the twelve months, and the thirty degrees of each constellation like the thirty days and nights in each month.'

sus: on the reading of this word v. Henning, JRAS. 1942, p. 238.

[3] Texts F 1, §§ 78–79; F 4, § 5.

[4] Texts Z 8, § 9; Z 24 (*a*).

[5] Text G 4. Such seems the obvious interpretation of the Greek. Junker, however, (*Aionvorstellung*, p. 145) against Söderblom (*Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1918, p. 228), supposes it to mean that one god rules for 3,000 years while the other is ruled, and that 3,000 years of battle follow. This view does not correspond to any of our other sources and has not been followed.

[6] Text F 2.

[7] Cf. Cumont, 'La Fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux', RHR. ciii, pp. 56 ff.; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, p. 78, n. 22: Reitzenstein, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, pp. 45–47.

[8] Cureton, p. 182; Haarbrücker, p. 276. The existence of a separate sect called 'Gayōmartians' is rightly disputed by Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 238.

[9] *Bahman Yašt*, ch. iii. So Reitzenstein, op. cit., p. 45, who thinks rightly that the tree seen in a dream by Zoroaster which has seven boughs made of different metals (gold, silver, and so on in descending order) refers to cosmic periods of a thousand years each, and that each millennium is ruled by a planet. According to the *Bahman Yašt* these branches are 'periods' (*ōβām*), and the tree is the material world (*gētēh*).

Zodiac and the months of the year: it will be noticed later that the 'Spirit of the Year' plays a part in Zervanite cosmology. The wording of the *'Ulemā* leaves no doubt on this point whatsoever: 'and Ohrmazd made Time of the long Dominion manifest which has the measure of 12,000 years, and within it he attached the firmament, the artificer.'[1] On the other hand, there is no reason whatever to attach any importance to the figure 9,000 of the *Mēnōk*, as this refers to the term covered by the treaty (*patmān*) made between Ohrmazd and Ahriman, not to the complete period covered by the 'manifestation' of Time of the long Dominion (*zamān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy*). In the Mazdean cosmology of the *Bundahišn*, a digest of which we have just presented, the same figure occurs, while the preceding 3,000 years are devoted to the 'ideal' creation.

The account of Eznik and Theodore bar Kônai, however, presents serious difficulties, for here Zurvān gives sovereignty to Ahriman for 9,000 years: yet Eznik's myth is beyond all doubt Zervanite. But this is equally true of the *'Ulemā*; and Benveniste in his treatment of the problem seems to overlook this fact. We must therefore admit that both figures appear in Zervanite accounts and try to find an explanation on this basis.

In Eznik's myth sovereignty is given to Ahriman for 9,000 years with the proviso that after the lapse of this period Ohrmazd will do everything according to his will. The Mazdean cosmology of the *Bundahišn*, however, says: 'this too did Ohrmazd know in his omniscience, that within these 9,000 years 3,000 would pass entirely according to the will of Ohrmazd, 3,000 years in mixture would pass according to the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and that in the last battle the Destructive Spirit would be made powerless and that he himself would save creation from aggression.'[2] With this account Plutarch substantially agrees.

Though granting the essentially Mazdean nature of the *Bundahišn* account, may one not conclude that the last three millennia in which the powers of darkness are finally routed corresponds to the period in Eznik's myth in which Ohrmazd does everything according to his will? The first 3,000 years in which, according to the *Bundahišn*, Ohrmazd does as he pleases, may well have been less comfortable for him in the more pessimistic Zervanite doctrine. Indeed this seems to be implied in a passage in the *Mēnōk* in which it is said that Ohrmazd sees Ahriman afflict his creatures with misery but only retaliates in accordance with the law and patiently.[3] In other words, Ahriman has the best of the battle for 3,000 full years

[1] Z 37, § 12.

[2] Z 1, § 14.

[3] Mχ. 28 (Z 24 (*a*)): 'Ohrmazd, the Lord, is the most patient; for for nine thousand years he sees Ahriman (inflict) misery on his own creatures, yet he does not smite him except with justice and patiently.'

before the treaty is made (assigned to the creation of the 'ideal' world in the Mazdean system) and for 6,000 years after.[1]

At this point we must again return to the *Bundahišn* and Zātspram. We have already seen that the latter speaks of a first battle between the two Spirits before the 'ideal' creation, that is at the very beginning of the 12,000 years' period. In this it is said that Ahriman was repulsed 'by the pure word of the law'.[2] Now the 'pure word of the law' is simply another way of speaking of the *Ahunvar*, the most holy and potent of the Zoroastrian prayers, by means of which Ohrmazd hurls Ahriman back into the darkness after his second assault. It is then probable that Zātspram has substituted the repulse of Ahriman by the pure word of the law for some other myth less agreeable to Ohrmazd. The *Bundahišn* seems to bear this out.

There we read that after the first three thousand years Ohrmazd offered peace to Ahriman and that the latter haughtily refused thinking that Ohrmazd was defenceless and weak.[3] Yet if Ohrmazd had already inflicted one crushing defeat on his adversary and was himself fully equipped for further battle, and if all the time he knew in his omniscience that Ahriman would in any case be defeated, it is difficult to see what reason he could have had for offering a peace which would not particularly benefit himself and which he knew would be rejected. Do these inconsistencies, then, conceal a Zervanite myth in which Ahriman, not Ohrmazd, was the victor during the first three millennia?

Such an hypothesis is strongly supported by the evidence of Šahristānī. This author mentions an attack of Ahriman's in which Ohrmazd is routed: 'and the Light fled with its angels, and Satan pursued it till he hemmed it in in its garden (paradise) and did battle with it for three thousand years, though Satan did not attain to the Lord Most High.'[4] This attack, it should be noted, takes place before the treaty between the two Spirits is made, for Šahristānī goes on to say: 'Then the angels mediated and made peace (between them) so that the Devil and his hosts should dwell in the light for nine thousand years including the three thousand years in which he did battle with him.' It is true that the attack is represented as being directed primarily against the sky and earth, and is therefore certainly to be identified with Ahriman's successful onslaught on the material creation vividly recorded in the fourth chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*: but this is probably a confusion on Šahristāni's part. What is really valuable, however, is that he tells us of an earlier and successful attack by the powers of darkness preceding the treaty drawn up between the two Spirits. Thus, in

[1] For the ultra-Zervanite doctrine of Ahriman's sovereignty over this world *v. supra*, pp. 69 ff.

[2] Cf. p. 94.

[3] Z 1, § 10.

[4] F 4, § 4.

the light of what he says, Ohrmazd's anxiety to come to terms with his adversary is very understandable: he had suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Ahriman and was therefore only too pleased to offer a truce.

With these facts in mind we are now in a position to reconstruct the sequence of events during the 12,000 years' period according to the Zervanite interpretation. Broadly speaking it may be said that according to the most pessimistic view Ahriman reigns for a full 9,000 years and that only in the last three millennia is Ohrmazd finally victorious. According to the less pessimistic view Ahriman scores an initial victory in the first tri-millennium after carrying out a successful attack on the 'ideal' creation of Ohrmazd: in the second tri-millennium Ohrmazd offers a truce which is finally accepted: a treaty is made by which the struggle is limited to 9,000 years: Ohrmazd chants the *Ahunvar*, thereby revealing the final defeat of Ahriman: Ahriman loses consciousness and is defeated for the time being. In the third tri-millennium Ahriman again attacks, but this time he concentrates on the material creation which he defiles and torments: in the last Ahriman is finally subdued.

Knowing the Zoroastrian tendency to manufacture exact contrasts between the activities of the two Spirits, I would suggest that Ahriman's attack on the 'ideal' creation took the form of uttering a lie, the demoniac counterpart of the *Ahunvar* prayer which is the utterance of truth. This seems to be corroborated by the curious fact that in the Zervanite fragments of the *Greater Bundahišn* the creation of 'Lying Speech' is mentioned *before* that of 'True Speech' from which the *Ahunvar* proceeds.[1] In every other case the creations of Ohrmazd precede those of Ahriman. If Ahriman made use of Lying Speech at an earlier date with the same effect as that produced by Ohrmazd's subsequent use of the *Ahunvar*, this singular transposition becomes significant. It will, moreover, be recalled that in Eznik's myth Ahriman's first action was to lie to his father, Zurvān, by asserting that he was Ohrmazd.

With regard to the thousand years' sacrifice performed by Zurvān in its relation to the 12,000 years' period, it seems probable that this is not included: for the *'Ulemā*, the only source which contains both traditions, speaks of the creation of Time of the long Dominion, that is the 12,000 years' period, as being subsequent to the genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. This point is emphasized by Eznik, who argues that it would be impossible to sacrifice for a thousand years before the creation of the Sun and Moon through which time proper is manifested.[2]

[1] Z 1, §§ 28–29.

[2] Eznik, ii. 3 (Venice, 1926, p. 131; Schmidt, p. 97; Langlois, ii, p. 376): 'And again, if the sun and moon, by which the

The actual treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman is again probably Zervanite in origin, for according to Zātspram it is Zurvān who brings it about.[1] Though we shall discuss the whole matter when we come to deal with the Zervanite fragments of the *Greater Bundahišn*, one point deserves to be mentioned here. Šahristānī, in his account of this episode, tells us that 'the angels mediated and made peace (between them)'.[2] Who were these angels? Now Benveniste, in his treatment of Plutarch's account of the religion of the Magians, has drawn attention to the fact that Mithra is there described as μεσίτης.[3] Following this up he rightly adduced the testimony of Eznik, who describes a Magian myth in which the Sun (*χᵛaršēt*) acts as mediator between Ohrmazd and Ahriman (text F 11). The myth tells us that Ahriman invited Ohrmazd to a feast, but that Ohrmazd would not partake of it unless their sons should first have struggled together. In the ensuing battle Ahriman's son is triumphant. Seeking a judge they could not find one; so they created the Sun to be a judge over them. This battle must be identical with that described by Šahristānī, that is the battle which took place before the treaty was concluded, the onslaught of Ahriman on the 'ideal' creation of Ohrmazd. We can therefore conclude that Eznik's account is a popular version of the original battle between the two Spirits. Eznik is not slow to point out that this myth is inconsistent with another according to which the Sun was produced by the incestuous intercourse of Ohrmazd with his mother.[4] The inconsistency, however, disappears if for the Sun we substitute Mithra (Mihr), as Benveniste rightly did.

During the Sassanian period Mithra had become a purely solar deity and might therefore be confused with the Sun. He is a god of contracts and therefore eminently suited to the work of arbitration. Further, Eznik uses the Iranian word *datawor* for 'judge', and this very word is used in the Pahlavī texts in connexion with Mithra. Thus we read: 'We praise and invoke the creator, Ohrmazd, . . . in that he fashioned thee forth, O right-dealing Mihr (Mithra) of wide pastures, for thou art a just judge (*dātaβar*) and wakeful, for thou dost work justice (*dātaβarīh*) and just *mediation* (*miyānčīkīh*) among spiritual and material creatures.'[5] That Mihr, who is

hours, days, months and years are reckoned, had not even come into existence, whence did the thousand years appear? for the luminaries did not exist which control the number of the days and months and years.'

[1] Z 4, § 29; Z 5 (*a*), § 35.

[2] F 4, § 5.

[3] *The Persian Religion*, pp. 89 ff.

[4] Cf. texts F 5, 6, 7 (*a*); further *infra*, pp. 147 ff.

[5] ZXA., p. 241: *stāyēm 'ut āzbāyēm dātār Ōhrmazd . . . 'kaδ-aš frāč brēhēnīt 'tō, kirp⟨ak⟩-gar Miθr i frāχᵛ-gōyōt 'kaδ rāst dātaβar 'ut *ōšōmand* (so Pāz.) *'hēh 'ku 'pat mēnokān 'ut gētēhān dātaβarīh 'ut miyānčīkīh rāst 'kunēh.*

here called 'mediator' as in Plutarch, is indeed identical with the 'Sun' of Eznik's account can therefore scarcely be doubted. A passage in the *Bahman Yašt* is conclusive. Here we see Mihr exercising his office as judge between the two Spirits, for Ahriman has broken the treaty: 'The accursed Destructive Spirit cries out to Mihr of wide pastures (saying), "Rise up in righteousness, O Mihr of wide pastures." Then Mihr of wide pastures cries out (saying), "Of those nine thousand years which were agreed upon, up till now Dahāk of evil religion and Frāsyāβ, the Turanian and Alexander the Macedonian and the demons with leather belts and dishevelled hair have ruled for a thousand years more than the treaty (allowed for)." The accursed Destructive Spirit is laid low when he hears these words.'[1] It will be seen that according to this account Ahriman breaks the treaty and rules for a thousand years more than is his due: he extends his sway into the first millennium when Ohrmazd should finally triumph. Mihr, however, in his capacity of mediator, holds him back and sees that the terms of the treaty are not infringed. As god of treaties Mihr is called *harvisp-patmān* 'he who deals with all treaties'.[2]

Šahristānī, however, speaks not of one mediating angel but of several. The *Bundahišn* mentions three 'judges' (*rat*) who are needed for the material world and will carry all evil away from it in the last days.[3] These judges must surely correspond to the mediating 'angels' of Šahristānī and the *datawor* of Eznik. One we know to be Mihr whose eschatological function is to smite Ēšm, the demon of wrath.[4] Since the number is three, we may be sure that the other two judges are Srōš and Rašn: as gods of justice the three are very closely connected.[5] Srōš is even more intimately connected with the *patmān* or treaty (mean or norm) than Mihr; for he is the genius of *patmān* and as such will smite Āz at the end of the world—Āz being the demon of concupiscence, of excess and deficiency.[6] Even in the

[1] 7. 31–33 (Anklesaria): *vāng 'kunēt Ganāk Mēnōk i druvand 'ō Miθr i frāχᵛ-gōyōt 'ku 'pat rāstīh 'ul 'ēst, 'tō Miθr i frāχᵛ-gōyōt. 'pas Miθr i frāχᵛ-gōyōt 'vāng 'kunēt 'ku 'ēn 9000 'sāl pašt 'i-š kart, 'tāk 'nūn Dahāk i dušdēn 'ut Frāsyāβ i Tūr 'ut Alaksandar i Hrōmāyīk 'ut 'avēšān duvāl-kūstīkān 'dēvān i vičārt-vars 1000 'sālān ōβām vēš 'hač patmān χᵛatāyīh kart. sturt 'bavēt 'ān druvand Ganāk Mēnōk 'kaδ ētōn ašnūt.*

[2] *Miθr Ny.* § 14 (ZXA., p. 25).

[3] Z 1, § 31.

[4] According to the *Bahman Yašt*, immediately following the passage quoted in n. 1, *Miθr i frāχᵛ-gōyōt 'bē 'zanēt Ēšm i χrudrafš.*—'Mihr of wide pastures smites Ēšm of the bloody banner.' This function is elsewhere ascribed to Srōš, who is the adversary of Ēšm *par excellence*. The intimate connexion between Mihr and Srōš, both in the Avesta and the later texts, has long been recognized.

[5] The connexion is first to be seen in *Mihr Yašt* 100, where Srōš is described as riding on the right and Rašn on the left of Mihr. v. further text Z 7, § 5.

[6] Z 5 (*a*), § 44. The destruction of Āz by Srōš seems to be a wholly Zervanite episode, for it is not found in the *Dātastān i dēnīk*: usually his adversary is Ēšm, and him he destroys at the end of the cosmic period: v. further Chapter VII.

Avesta he is described as 'watching over the treaties and compacts between the Lie and the Most Bounteous',[1] that is Ohrmazd and Ahriman. If Mihr and Srōš are the first two judges, there can be no doubt that Rašn is the third, since he is the judge *par excellence*, and it is his function to weigh up the good and bad deeds of the dead. As judge he appears with both Mihr and Srōš.[2] Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn are therefore the three just ones whose duty it is to see that the treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman is not infringed. Though the *Bundahišn* says that the three judges were created by Ohrmazd and Eznik represents the Sun (which takes their place) as being a joint creation of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, it is not too bold to suggest that the original creator of the three judges was Zurvān himself, for he is the principle of justice[3] and as such would naturally create the deities whose duty it is to uphold the treaty for which he was himself responsible.

We must now return to the cosmology of the *Indian Bundahišn* which is here quite free from Zervanite ideas. After making Ahriman powerless for three thousand years, Ohrmazd fashions forth the six Amahraspands, Vahuman, Artvahišt, Šaθrēvar, Spandarmat, Hurdāt, and Amurdāt. Ahriman then creates six counter-Amahraspands. Corresponding to the six Amahraspands Ohrmazd creates the material world, first the sky, second water, third the earth, fourth plants, fifth cattle, and sixth man. This is the standard Mazdean account of the material creation and so, briefly and clearly, is it told by the *Indian Bundahišn*.[4]

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

A. On the difference of opinion among Zervanites on the subject of the origin of Ahriman v. *ʿUlemā i Islām* (text Z 37, § 24): 'One party says that it (Time) created Ahriman so that Ohrmazd should know that Time has power over (all) things: another says that there was no need to create him, and that Time said to Ohrmazd, "I have power to do this without bringing pain upon Ohrmazd and ourselves": another says, "What pain or pleasure has Time from the evil of Ahriman or the goodness of Ohrmazd?" Another says that it created Ohrmazd and Ahriman so that it might mingle good and evil, and that things of different kinds and colours might come into existence: another says that Ahriman was an honoured angel, and that because of disobedience of which he had been guilty, he became the target of malediction.' The last theory has plainly been influenced by the Jewish idea of the disobedience of Lucifer.

B. The text is as follows: (77) *pairiθwō bavaiti pañtå | yim dānuš pāiti [frā bunāṭ] tačiñtiš: | hå diṭ aēvō apairiθwō | yō vayaoš anamarəždikahe.* (78) *pairiθwō* &c. . . .

[1] Yt. 11. 14: *sraošəm ašīm . . . yazamaide | yō āχštišča urvaitišča | drujō spasyō spəništahe.* Cf. Benveniste, op. cit., p. 92. He was the first to emphasize the importance of this passage.

[2] PhlTexts, 156. 7; Dd. 13. 3, where Srōš and Rašn judge those who have sinned against Mihr.

[3] *v. supra*, p. 58.

[4] The much fuller account of the *Greater Bundahišn* will be discussed in the next chapter.

yim ažiš pāiti gāu-stavå | aspaŋhāδō vīraŋhāδō, | vīraja anamarəždikō. | hå diţ &c. . . . (79) *pairiθwō* &c. . . . *yim arəšō pāiti aχšaēnō | anamarəždikō. | hå diţ* &c. . . . (80) *pairiθwō* &c. . . . *yim mašyō gaδō pāiti | aēvǭjanō* (*aivajā* Duchesne) *anamarəždikō. | hå diţ* &c. . . . (81) *pairiθwō* &c. . . . *yō haēnayå čaχravaiθyå | vyāzdayå. | hå diţ* &c.

dānuš: for a detailed discussion of this term v. Wikander, op. laud., pp. 171–6. Wikander concludes that the meaning of *dānuš* is 'dragon's mother'.

C. Widengren, op. cit., p. 204, where a transliterated text and translation of the relative text (DkM. 817. 12 ff.) will be found. It would not, perhaps, be out of place if some suggestions were made relative to the transliteration and translation of that text, for the author has left many queries which it would now seem possible to eliminate. The word he reads as *ōspēnītan* must be read either as *hangēžēnītan* or **ōstēnitan*: it is the technical term for raising the dead at the final resurrection. The GrBd., for instance (p. 223), varies between *hangēž-*, *hangēžēn-* (with the diacritical marks), and *ōstēn-*: both mean 'raise up'; but the former is to be preferred since the Pārsī texts, including the *ʿUlemā* have *angīzīdan*.

For the ideogram *ŠKBHWN-* I suggest that *sāy-* should be read, not *šat-* or *hil-* as Widengren (v. text Z 6, l. 2, note): the meaning is, of course, 'lie down'. For *rāvēnītār* I should prefer to read *rānēnītār*; cf. NP. *rāndan*. As a translation of DkM. 817. 17–818. 1 the following may be of service: 'And (concerning) his going along with the men of Īrān skilled in the assembly to that place where the immortal Haŋišti Gəurvąn lay in a cave, and his raising him up; and his going with him to that place where Tōs who drives the battle on, lay in a cave, and his raising him up; and his going with him to that place where Kay Apivah lay, and his raising him up.' Cf. also Wikander, *Vayu I*, pp. 38 ff.

D. Z 1, §§ 6–7. For Ahriman's ignorance of the existence of Ohrmazd it is interesting to compare the Mandaean account of the King of Darkness, *Ginzā*, p. 278 (277. 19 in Lidzbarski's translation which I quote): 'Die Finsternis existiert in ihrer eigenen bösen Natur, heulende Finsternis, öde Dunkelheit, sie kennt weder Erstes noch Letztes.' The last remark is explained by the account of the omniscience of the King of Light; unlike the King of Darkness, he knew the first things and the last, the past and the future. 'Er wußte und erkannte, daß der Böse da ist' (line 22). Again the ignorance of the King of Darkness is illustrated in *Ginzā*, pp. 280–1 (translation, p. 279. 7 ff.): 'Er nahm Stolz an, erhob sich über alle und sprach: "Gibt es jemand, der größer ist als ich? Gibt es jemand, der mir gewachsen ist? Gibt es jemand, der größer ist als ich, ausgedehnter und trefflicher als alle Welten? Gibt es jemand, dessen Speise Berge sind, in dessen Bauch sich kein Blut findet? Sollte es jemand geben, der kraftvoller ist als ich, so will ich mich zum Kampfe mit ihm erheben, will mich erheben zum Kampfe mit ihm und sehen, woher seine Kraft kam."' Cf. ibid. 81. 27 ff.

CHAPTER V

COSMOLOGY, II

I. THE ZERVANITE FRAGMENTS FROM THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE *GREATER BUNDAHIŠN*

BETWEEN its account of the conclusion of the treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman and that of the material creation, the *Greater Bundahišn* inserts a long passage which is decidedly Zervanite in character. This passage may be divided into five sections: the first (§§ 20–21) is of little immediate interest in that it merely repeats the story of the fashioning forth of finite Time with which we are already familiar. The second (§§ 22–25) gives a detailed account of the creation and powers of *Zamān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy* 'Time of the long Dominion', itself identical with finite Time: the third (§§ 26–27) is a fragment of Zervanite cosmogony: the fourth (§§ 28–30) is also cosmological, but is in a state of appalling confusion. The fifth (§§ 31–32) deals with the creation of the Amahraspands and the 'Judges'.

Immediately preceding these fragments there is a passage which contains a very remarkable statement. It says that before the act of creation Ohrmazd was not *χ^{v}atāy* (Lord, or more literally 'having power of his own'), and that only after that act did he become *χ^{v}atāy*. This is slightly reminiscent of a passage in the *'Ulemā* where it is said that 'in spite of all the grandeur that surrounded it (*zamān*—Time), there was no one to call it creator: for it had not brought forth creation'.[1] Only after the initial act of creation did Time become creator 'and lord with regard to the creation it had brought forth'.

In the case of Ohrmazd there is a slight difference: it is not said that he was not creator before the act of creation—which should be sufficiently obvious: he was not *χ^{v}atāy*, that is he was not Lord by his own power: he did not in fact possess the quality distinctive of absolute deity (for *χudā*, the New Persian form of *χ^{v}atāy*, is the ordinary word for God). If, then, he was not *χ^{v}atāy*, it is legitimate to infer that there was some other deity superior to him who was *χ^{v}atāy*. This other deity would plainly be Zurvān; and it would therefore appear that the *Greater Bundahišn*, in these 'Zervanite' passages at least, tacitly assumes the priority of Zurvān over Ohrmazd.

In § 20 the author repeats his account of the fashioning of finite Time, but stresses the fact that only through Time could the creation of Ahriman be set in motion. The creation of finite Time would, so to speak, force

[1] Text Z 37, § 8.

Ahriman into the open: the attack of the powers of evil would therefore be more intense, but their final defeat would be the more rapidly assured, and the struggle would not be everlasting. According to Zātspram, 'Zurvān had power to set the creation of Ohrmazd in motion without giving motion to the creation of Ahriman.'[1] This he declined to do, though Zātspram does not state the reason. We are at liberty to surmise, of course, that Zurvān too, by setting the creation of Ahriman in motion, sought to shorten the struggle by making it more acute. But this is not a satisfactory explanation; for if Zurvān had given the creation of Ohrmazd the capacity of movement and denied it to that of Ahriman, Ohrmazd would obviously have obtained an enormous and immediate advantage. Why, then, did he not do so? If, as we have suggested, Zātspram is writing against a Zervanite background, the question is readily answered. He could not do so, because he had promised the sovereignty of the world for nine thousand years to Ahriman;[2] and if he were to enable Ohrmazd to wrest that sovereignty from him without fair battle, he would be guilty of breaking his promise and would thus violate his own nature which is Justice.[3] Or, again, he may have wished to reassert his power and thereby convince Ohrmazd that he had not abdicated all authority. The latter view is expressly mentioned by the *'Ulemā*, which states that he created Ahriman in order to manifest his power.[4]

(*a*) *Zurvān of the long Dominion*

We now come to the creation of *Zurvān* (*zamān*) *i dērang-χ^{v}atāy* or 'Time of the long Dominion' which is also called finite Time (*zamān i kanārakōmand* or *zamān i brīn*).[5] This is the cosmic period of twelve thousand years.[6] It was fashioned forth from Infinite Time (*Zurvān* or *zamān i akanārak*): at the end of the cosmic period it mingles again with Infinite Time which is eternity.[7] Finite Time is conceived as revolving in a circle and returning to its own point of departure.[8] It would, however, be wrong to suppose that this circular movement of time is eternal: there seems to be absolutely no evidence for this in any Zoroastrian text. The Iranian theory of Time, therefore, is seen to have little or no affinity with the αἰών speculations of

[1] Text Z 4, § 28.

[2] *v. supra*, pp. 69 ff.

[3] For justice as the distinctive attribute of Zurvān v. pp. 58 ff.

[4] Text Z 37, § 24: 'One party says that (Time) created Ahriman so that Ohrmazd should know that Time has power over (all) things.'

[5] Text Z 1, § 22 and Z 20.

[6] This is clearly stated in text Z 1, § 24: 'From the Infinite it was fashioned finite; for from the original creation when creation was created until the consummation when the Destructive Spirit is made powerless there is a term of twelve thousand years which is finite.'

[7] See note A, p. 143.

[8] Text Z 20, § 2: 'This . . . concerns that which, revolving, returns to its beginning, Time.'

the Hellenistic world or with the ever-recurring *Kalpas* of the Hindus. At a given moment, finite Time comes into existence out of Infinite Time, moves in a circle until it returns to its beginning, and then merges into Infinite Time, that is Timelessness. The process is never renewed.

The whole process is philosophically dubious, and Mardān-Farruχ, who alone among Zoroastrian writers of the Pahlavī period can lay any claim to being considered a philosopher, takes violent exception to the idea that the Infinite can under any circumstances become finite.[1] In so doing he is theoretically attacking the Manichees, but his words apply equally to the theory of Time held by his own co-religionists, Mazdeans as well as Zervanites; for there is no reason to suppose that the idea of one cosmic period was specifically Zervanite. The Mazdeans accept the cosmic period as necessary for the conflict between the Spirits of Good and Evil, but eliminate any suggestion that Ohrmazd is not predominantly triumphant. For them finite Time is simply a creation of Ohrmazd from his own eternity and therefore in close alliance with him.[2]

With the limitation of Time, being becomes 'manifest' (*paytāk*).[3] Qualities which were potential only, become actual. From Infinite Time finite Time becomes manifest, and from the state of eternal rest action comes into existence. Finite Time and action are inseparable and complementary. Time proceeds from its first term to its last and returns to its source which is the Infinite while action returns to its original state of rest. Time limits action, and action limits Time.[4] Through the manifestation of both the principle of Evil is vanquished, and at the end of Time a state of eternal rest and bliss sets in. Through Time the will of Ohrmazd becomes manifest; and his will is immutable.[5] Ohrmazd himself is manifested through the act of creation, and his wisdom through the *Dēn* (Religion) and the *Ahunvar* prayer which is its quintessence.[6]

But finite Time is also at the service of Ahriman: it favours both Spirits;[7]

[1] Text Z 23, §§ 79 ff., esp. § 93: 'Since it is to be perceived in the result that it is made and finite, it may without doubt be deduced that the source from which the result derives is also finite.'

[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 91 ff.

[3] On 'being' (*hastīh*) and 'manifestation' (*paytākīh*) v. text Z 15.

[4] The interrelation of Time and action is best described in DkM. 282. 11 ff. (text Z 20, § 2): 'From action *in potentia* . . . (arose) first, through the Creator's creation, the performance of action with which coincided the entry of Time into action: from the performance of action (arose) the completion of action with which coincided the limit of finite Time.'

[5] v. text Z 19.

[6] Text Z 15 (DkM. 133. 3): 'That (i.e. the manifestation) of the creator Ohrmazd is from the act of creation; that of the Wisdom of Religion from the word, wise in will, and from action.' The 'word' must be the *Ahunvar*; cf. Z 1, § 29, where it is identified with *dēn* (religion).

[7] According to the *'Ulemā* (Z 37, §§ 14, 17) Time helps both Spirits, for 'Time brought it about that Ahriman bored a hole in the sky . . .', &c.

for through Time both good and evil actions are performed.[1] The fact that Ahriman is finally defeated in the cosmic battle reflects no credit on Time: it is due rather to the very nature of Ahriman himself, whose 'powerlessness, self-will, imperfection, and slowness in knowledge'[2] become manifest as soon as finite Time comes into operation. Without finite Time these would merely have been potential, and the wickedness of Ahriman could never have been destroyed. Once the perfection and wisdom of Ohrmazd can come into operation through Time, the destruction of Ahriman, whose nature is chaotically destructive, is assured.

Such, briefly, is what the Zoroastrians, both Mazdean and Zervanite, taught concerning finite Time. Such a doctrine could be readily accepted by the Mazdeans since there is no suggestion that Time is in any way superior to Ohrmazd, far less that it is his father: for it was created from Infinite Time by Ohrmazd and, on the whole, operates according to his will. The characteristic of Zervanism is that it makes a mythical figure of Time who is superior to Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and who controls an inexorable Fate against which Ohrmazd is powerless.[3]

The Zervanite fragment of the *Greater Bundahišn* now goes on to elaborate a further series of concepts deriving from finite Time, a close study of which will not be without interest.[4]

From Time of the long Dominion, the first created entity, arose *asačišnīh*, literally 'not-passing-away-ness', that is 'permanence', 'that the works of Ohrmazd might not pass away. From permanence discomfort was made manifest, that comfort (or bliss) might not touch the demons. From discomfort the course of Fate, the "idea" (*mēnōk*) of changelessness, was made manifest, that those things which Ohrmazd created at the original creation might not change. From the idea of changelessness a perfect will to create material creation was made manifest, the concord of the righteous creation.'

It will be noticed that after the cataloguing of each successive emanation —and they must be regarded as emanations and not creations, since they 'were made manifest' or more literally 'became manifest'—a gloss on the function of each is appended; and in all cases the gloss has a distinctly Mazdean flavour. They may then be regarded as Mazdean accretions 'explaining' a Zervanite text.

As Nyberg has pointed out,[5] these emanations proceed dialectically. Thus the 'permanence' of the works of Ohrmazd proceeds from Time of the long Dominion; and from this Ohrmazdean 'permanence' the 'discomfort' of the demons. Thence comes 'the course of Fate' and the 'perfect

[1] v. Chapter IV, p. 90, n. 8.
[2] Text Z 1, § 23.
[3] *v. infra*, pp. 236 ff.
[4] v. text Z 1, § 22.
[5] CCM. 1931, p. 40.

will to create material creation'.[1] Here, it will be noticed, the dialectical scheme breaks down: the 'course of Fate' cannot properly be assigned either to the Ohrmazdean or to the Ahrimanian scheme of things: for Fate, as we shall see, like Zurvān (Time) of the long Dominion, cannot, properly speaking, be attributed to either side. As the genius of immutability its laws are fixed, and it can never be changed.[2] Again, how does the 'perfect will to create material creation' emerge from Fate?—or, to put it more clearly, how does Ohrmazd's holy will to create a good creation derive from the immutable course of Fate which stands beyond good and evil?

These questions lead us to examine the text more closely. Let us list the emanations in order. The picture will then be as follows:

Zamān i akanārak	Infinite Time
Zamān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy	Time of the long Dominion
asačišnīh	Permanence (not-passing-away-ness)
aχ^{v}ārīh	Discomfort (or misery)
brēh-ravišnīh = a-bē-vartišnīh	The course of Fate = immutability
bavandak kāmak i dām	Perfect desire to create

With the emanations so listed, one discrepancy is immediately apparent, namely the semantic identity of 'immutability' and 'permanence' (*a-bē-vartišnīh* and *asačišnīh*). Again we cannot fail to be struck by the oddity of the contrast between the *asačišnīh* ('permanence') of the works of Ohrmazd and the 'discomfort' or 'misery' of the demons. As a contrast to this we would have expected the 'comfort' or 'bliss' of Ohrmazd; and I am strongly inclined to think that so originally it must have been. The *asačišnīh* would appear to have been transposed from the *brēh-ravišnīh—a-bē-vartišnīh* complex, with the second term of which it is practically synonymous. That such a transposition in fact took place can be inferred by comparison with GrBd. 1 (text Z 1), § 30, where the 'bliss' (*χ^{v}ārakīh*) of Ohrmazd's creation is contrasted with the 'misery' (*dušvārīh*) of that of Ahriman. In any case, whether we accept Ohrmazd's 'bliss' in place of his 'permanence', we are still left with a threefold 'dialectical' emanation consisting of one Zurvanic, one Ohrmazdean, and one Ahrimanian element—Time of the long Dominion, the bliss (or permanence) of Ohrmazd, and the misery of Ahriman.

The next term in the series of emanations is again Zurvanic (the course of Fate); and this is duly followed by an Ohrmazdean item, 'the perfect will to create'. What of the Ahrimanian component? This appears to have dropped out completely.

[1] For the Will of Ohrmazd cf. text Z 19: 'His wisdom, will, action, and Time are immutable. From the first projection of his will till the last they are effective and in motion.'

[2] v. especially texts Z 30, 31, and *infra*, pp. 257 ff.

A closer examination of the text, however, will reveal that this is not so. We read 'a perfect will (to create) material creation was made manifest, the concord of the righteous creation'. In the very next sentence we find, 'In his unrighteous creation Ahriman was without knowledge, without method' (*Ahriman 'pat apārōn dām-dahišnīh adān a'dātastān*). Now here we have one of the familiar and almost mechanical contrasts between the Ohrmazdean and Ahrimanian schemes of things. The Ohrmazdean emanation is the 'concord of the righteous creation' (*frārōn dām 'ut dahišn ham-'dātastānōmandīh*): to this is opposed the 'unrighteous' (*apārōn*) creation of Ahriman which is *a'dātastān* 'without order', that is in exact contrast to the *ham-'dātastānōmandīh* of Ohrmazd's creation. Here, then, is the Ahrimanian term of the threefold emanation. Opposed to the 'perfect will (to create) material creation, the concord of the righteous creation' we can discern the 'disorderliness of the unrighteous creation'; and in opposition to the 'perfect will' itself we have the 'lack of knowledge' (*adānīh*) of Ahriman.[1] The dialectical scheme is thus restored.

Thus we see that in this fragment two series of emanations are proposed, all deriving ultimately from Infinite Time. They are strictly emanations and not creations, and this would tend to confirm the Zervanite origin of the passage, since Ohrmazd is creator *par excellence*. These emanations are in each case threefold—Zurvanic, Ohrmazdean, and Ahrimanian—in that order.

Here we are surely justified in seeing a link with the Zervanism known to us from the Christian sources and from the *'Ulemā*, where we have seen the first of these triads, namely Zurvān, Ohrmazd, and Ahriman themselves. The scheme of emanations would therefore look something like this:



[1] In text Z 1, § 30, cited above, the *dātastānōmandīh* of Ohrmazd's creation is contrasted with the *vināskārīh* (sinfulness) of Ahriman's.

Our investigations later on in this chapter will show that 'the ideal Year' (*mēnōk i sāl*) probably appeared as the concluding term in the series.[1] If so, we would then have yet another manifestation of the tetramorphous god to whom Schaeder first introduced us and with whom Nyberg has made us familiar.[2]

Such a theory is favoured by a comparison with § 30 of our text Z 1. Here the 'ideal' year, which in fact represents the terrestrial year of 365 days and nights and is a division of Time of the long Dominion, proceeds from the *Ahunvar* prayer which is identified with *Dēn*, the Religion, itself the manifestation of the divine Wisdom. Moreover, the *Dēn* appears simultaneously with the act of creation and can therefore be identified with Ohrmazd's 'perfect will to create an ordered creation'. Hence we are perhaps justified in finding a tetrad of Time with the following members:

Zamān i akanārak	Infinite Time
Zamān i dērang-χᵛatāy	Finite Time
brēh-ravišnīh = *a-bē-vartišnīh*	The course of Fate
mēnok i sāl	The 'ideal' year

We must, however, now return to Time of the long Dominion proper. Coincident with the creation or 'fashioning forth' of Zurvān-Time of the long Dominion is the appearance of Spihr, the Firmament. Just as Time was limited and fashioned into the form of a cycle, so is Space limited and formed into the circle of the firmament. Finite Time is the first creation, and within it, according to the *'Ulemā*, the firmament is attached.[3] The firmament is the 'first body', and ultimately it is fashioned from the Endless Light: for so the *Dēnkart* says.[4] But Spihr, the firmament, like Zurvān of the long Dominion, has a dual nature; it distributes both good and bad fortune, and is therefore called either 'the good Spihr' or 'the evil Spihr'.[5] Must we not, then, conclude that the derivation of Spihr from the Endless Light, which, being the place of Ohrmazd, is necessarily associated only with the Good, is a purely Mazdean conception, and that in the Zervanite cosmology to which it properly belongs Spihr was simply regarded as the finite form of Space, just as Time of the long Dominion is the finite form of Time?

(*b*) *Spihr, the Body of Zurvān*

Now in our text Z 9 we find that Time enters a body within the *tōhmak*, that is the 'seed' of creation or original unformed matter. Spihr, or *ras* 'the

[1] *Infra*, p. 134.

[2] CCM. 1931, pp. 47 ff.: see further Chapter VIII, *passim*, and Chapter IX, pp. 219–31.

[3] Text Z 37, § 12.

[4] v. text Z 10.

[5] Text Z 3, § 3: 'Spihr bestows them (sc. good things) on the material world. He who gives them in abundance is called the goodly Spihr; and he who gives them sparingly is called the evil Spihr.'

Wheel' as it is sometimes called, is elsewhere spoken of as the source of *tōhmak*.[1] Spihr, however, is also 'the first body', as we have seen, that is, according to our text Z 10, the fully formed creation there likened to a new-born child appearing after the various phases of gestation in the womb. How then can it, the effect, be the source of the 'seed' (*tōhmak*), the cause?

The only reasonable explanation appears to be that we are here in the presence of Space dually conceived, first as infinite and secondly as finite, corresponding exactly to infinite and finite Time (Zurvān). As infinite it would naturally be the source of the 'seed': as finite, that is as the fully formed 'body' of creation, it is the result of that 'seed'. In both aspects it is most intimately associated if not identical with Zurvān-Time.

We must now devote a little more space to the concept of Spihr as 'the first body'. Zātspram, in comparing the macrocosm to the microcosm, compares the body of man to Spihr.[2] Spihr, then, thus conceived, is not merely the starry firmament, but finite Space, in other words the material Cosmos. Thus the entrance of Time into a body can only mean its entrance into Spihr, the Cosmos. This, I think, must be the interpretation of a passage in the third chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* differently translated by Nyberg (Z 2, l. 21 of our text, § 6 of the translation) where we must translate, 'Spihr, the body of Zurvān of the long Dominion'. Nyberg's interpretation of *tan* as 'le corps universel', though in fact giving the right sense, is unattested elsewhere. *Tan* standing by itself can scarcely be made to mean 'universal body'.[3]

Spihr, then, as infinite, is the source of the 'seed' from which all forms arise.[4] Time becoming finite enters the seed, which develops through all the stages of the embryo, finally becoming the fully fledged body, the finite Spihr, that is the material Cosmos. Zurvān, then, can accurately be said to become incarnate in the universe and as such can be regarded as the origin of all material things. As the god whose body is the firmament he is the macrocosm corresponding to man, the microcosm. As such he becomes anthropomorphized, and once we find him appearing in the form of a youth of fifteen years of age.[5]

[1] DkM. 207. 17: *'bavišn 'χᵛat 'hast tōhmakān tōhmak i gētēh bun, 'būtak i 'haċ ras.* —'Becoming is in fact the seed of seeds, the origin of the material world, and derived from the firmament.'

[2] Zs. 30. 1: *'ku-š humānākīh ōyōn 'martīhā ⟨čēyōn⟩ āsmānīk spihr i gartišnīk.*—'For the likeness of man is as the revolving firmament of the sky.'

[3] v. text Z 2, l. 21 (text and note).

[4] DkM. 207. 18: *'haċ ras 'bē 'bavišn frāċ 'būt: 'ut 'bavišn-ravišnīh vīmandīk dēsak i 'andar tōhmak fravastak.*—'From the firmament becoming arose; and the movement of becoming is defined as form contained within the seed.'

[5] Text Z 2, § 3.

To sum up, then, as Infinite Time, Zurvān corresponds to the *Urgott* in other systems: as Time of the long Dominion, manifested through finite Space, he is the macrocosm, and has a distinct affinity with the so-called Primal Man (*πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος*) of the Manichees and Gnostics.

Thus when we read in Šahristānī that the first origin of Man (*al-aš̌χāṣ*) was Gayōmart, or sometimes again 'the Great Zurvān',[1] we may not unreasonably conclude that the author is quoting two separate and equally authentic traditions. Gayōmart as the first human being is, of course, in all the Zoroastrian tradition the first father of the human race. Zurvān, as the macrocosm, could equally be regarded as the ultimate origin of man, the microcosm; and there is reason to believe that according to one tradition the latter springs from his seed.[2]

Šahristānī does not indeed make any distinction between Gayōmart, the 'first man', and Zurvān as 'Primal Man' (*πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος*, macrocosm), as an-Nadīm does in his account of the Manichaean system.[3] The idea that Zurvān is the origin of the human race is, however, found in St. Basil[4] and Moses of Chorene.[5] The tradition is therefore likely to be authentic.

We must now again return to our basic text, the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*. Sections 24 and 25 repeat again the account of the formation of Time of the long Dominion, and this time the figure of twelve thousand years is clearly specified. Section 25 gives details about the powers and character of Time, discussion of which must be postponed until Chapter IX.

With the following section we come to what is perhaps the knottiest problem in the whole field of Zervanite research. The difficulties, in this case, are not due to lack of evidence, but rather to the contradictions that exist between our various sources. It would therefore seem best to examine all the sources separately. They are five in number: (i) our present passage GrBd. 1 (Z 1), §§ 26–27; (ii) GrBd. 3 (Z 2), §§ 4–6; (iii) DkM. 203. 16–206. 23 (Z 11); (iv) ibid. 21. 15–24. 5 (Z 12); (v) ibid. 349. 1–350. 10 (Z 10), though the latter is in places so obscure as to be untranslatable. Besides these PhlRiv. 46 (Z 7) and Zs. 1 (Z 4) must be borne in mind.

(*c*) *The Weapon of Concupiscence*

Let us now first examine the account given by the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*. First Ohrmazd fashioned the 'form' of his creatures—a 'form' of fire—from his own essence which is 'material' (*gētēh*) light: this

[1] Cureton, p. 182; Haarbrücker, i, p. 276.

[2] Text Z 7, § 36, and below, p. 137.

[3] v. Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 54, 58. 'Primal Man' is expressed by the Arabic *insānu'l-qadīmu*, 'the first man' by *insānu'l-awwalu*.

[4] Text G 5.

[5] See note B, p. 144.

'form' was bright, white, and manifest afar. Next, from 'the material (form) of that spirit which dispels aggression in the two worlds—be it Power or be it Time', he fashioned forth the form of the Good Vāy, also called Vāy of the long Dominion. With the aid of the latter he fashioned forth creation, 'for when he created creation, Vāy was the instrument he needed for the deed'. Next he created the essence of the gods, 'that genius (*mēnōk*) by which he made his own body better'.

The creative activity of Ahriman, meanwhile, proceeded on exactly parallel lines. From his essence which is material darkness he fashioned the 'body' (*tan*) of his creation, 'in the form of coal(?), black and ashen, worthy of the darkness, damned as the most sinful noxious beast'. From 'material' self-will he fashioned the form of Varan (heresy), 'for Varan was needed'. Next he created the essence of the demons by which he makes his body more evil.

Had we the evidence of the *Bundahišn* only, we might suppose that the whole of this episode was Mazdean: Ohrmazd sets about making the material creation, and Ahriman replies with a counter-creation. Zātspram, however, by recounting one incident in detail, shows that the whole must be tinged with Zervanism. The incident in question concerns the first of the creations of Ahriman detailed above; and in Zātspram's account Zurvān plays a decisive part. As we have already seen, Zurvān was able to give movement to the creation of Ohrmazd without doing the same for that of Ahriman. He did not, however, do so; and Zātspram goes on to tell us in what way Zurvān gave movement to the diabolic creation:

> Pondering on the end, he (Zurvān) delivered to Ahriman an implement (fashioned) from the very substance of darkness, mingled with the power of Zurvān, as it were a treaty, resembling coal (?), black and ashen. And as he handed it to him, he said, 'By means of these weapons Āz (concupiscence) will devour that which is thine, and she herself shall starve, if at the end of nine thousand years thou hast not accomplished that which thou didst threaten, to finish off the treaty, to finish off Time.'[1]

The similarity of the two texts is striking; even the wording, in some cases, is identical. Thus in the *Bundahišn* Ahriman's creation is said to have been fashioned 'from the material darkness' (*'hač gētēh tārīkīh*); and in Zātspram the 'weapon' or 'implement' which Zurvān gives to Ahriman is 'from the very substance of darkness' (*'hač 'χ^{v}at gōhr i tārīkīh*): in both cases the object is 'black' (*siyāh*) and 'ashen' (*āturastar-gōn*): in Zātspram it is *zaγīk* (resembling coal?); and in the *Bundahišn*, *'pat zaγ karp* (in the form of coal?). Even the most sceptical could scarcely doubt that the

[1] Text Z 4, §§ 29–30; cf. Z 5 (*a*), § 35.

'implement' delivered to Ahriman by Zurvān in Zātspram's account is identical with the 'body of the creation' of Ahriman in the *Bundahišn*. The *Bundahišn* has, then, preserved a Zervanite episode, but has suppressed the decisive role played by Zurvān in it. Fortunately, with the aid of Zātspram, we are in a position to reconstruct the scene.

It will have been noticed that the 'weapon' is handed to Ahriman in the form of a 'treaty'; or again, 'When first creation began to move and Zurvān for the sake of movement brought that form (here *karp* as in the *Bundahišn*), the black and ashen garment to Ahriman, (he made) a treaty',[1] &c. The treaty is already familiar to us. It must be that made between Ohrmazd and Ahriman; but in this passage it is obvious that the actual maker of the treaty, the judge between the two parties, is Zurvān himself. Though we have shown that the function of upholding the terms of the treaty was delegated to subordinate deities, in all probability Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn,[2] the actual terms are dictated by Zurvān. He it is who supplies Ahriman with the 'instrument' or 'weapon' with which to wage war on Ohrmazd: if he should make good his threat that he would bring all creation to hate Ohrmazd and love himself, then he would be the victor; but if he should not—and this would in fact be the case—then his own instrument would turn against him and devour him; for this instrument was a two-edged weapon, devastating so long as Ahriman is on the offensive, but disastrous to him once the tables are turned and final defeat becomes inevitable. For it is a weapon 'like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of Āz'.[3] Āz is the personification of concupiscence—acquisitiveness, gluttony, and lust, and perhaps much more besides. When in Chapter VII we come to discuss this formidable being, we shall see that it is she who finally turns against Ahriman, swallows up the demons, and then turns upon Ahriman himself.

Yet this redoubtable instrument is the gift of Zurvān, and the 'power of Zurvān' (*nērōk i zurvānīk*) is mingled with it. Thus if Zurvān is able to hand to Ahriman an instrument which contains the 'very substance of concupiscence', it follows that his own nature is not as yet purged of evil. As Šahristānī aptly puts it, 'there was always something evil with God'.[4] Eznik too points to this core of wickedness in the Zervanite God. Contrasting the Zervanites with the Manichees, he observes that their doctrines do not in reality diverge. Mānī admits 'two principles, of good and of evil, though not through conception and birth, but independent'. The Zervanites, on the other hand, 'say the same, (but they arise) through the desire

[1] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 35.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 101–3.
[3] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 35.
[4] Text F 4, § 3.

(*tenč'anawk'*) of Zurvān, through conception and birth'.[1] Desire, then, was from the beginning present in the godhead, and it was through desire that both Ohrmazd and Ahriman came into existence. As we shall see later, the concept of Āz covers every form of desire, and this appears to have been regarded by the Zervanites as evil in itself. Thus when Zurvān hands over this instrument mingled with 'the very substance of Āz' he is, so to speak, divesting his own personality of an inherent defect which originally resulted in the genesis of Ahriman.

Before proceeding to the very intricate problem of the 'garments', 'implements', or 'forms' which are attributed not only to Ohrmazd and Ahriman but to other deities as well, we must try to interpret more fully the problem presented by Zātspram's account of Zurvān's intervention in the cosmic drama.

For greater clarity we will here juxtapose the three texts referring to the 'garment', 'implement', 'form', or 'body' of Ahriman:

(1) Text Z 4 = Zs. 1, § 29. '(Zurvān) delivered to Ahriman an *implement* (*aβzār*) (fashioned) from the very substance of darkness, mingled with the power of Zurvān, as it were a treaty, resembling coal(?), black and ashen.'

(2) Text Z 5 (*a*) = Zs. 34, § 35. 'When . . . Zurvān . . . brought that *form*, the black and ashen *garment* to Ahriman, (he made) a treaty in this wise: "This is that *implement*, like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of Āz." '

(3) Text Z 1 = GrBd. 1, § 27. 'From the material darkness which is his own essence the Destructive Spirit fashioned forth the *body* of his creation in the *form* of coal(?), black and ashen, worthy of the darkness, damned as the most sinful noxious beast.'

Corresponding to the last passage quoted is the account from the same source of the 'form' of the Ohrmazdean creation (Z 1 = GrBd. 1, § 26):

> 'From his own essence which is material light Ohrmazd fashioned forth the *form* of his (own) creatures—a form of fire—bright, white, round, and manifest afar.'

In the Ahrimanian series it is obvious that the object in (1) referred to as an 'implement' and in (2) as a 'form', 'garment', or 'implement' must be identical with the 'body' of Ahriman's creation in (3). According to Zātspram the 'form' is given to Ahriman by Zurvān. The *Bundahišn*, however, knows nothing of this.

This source, on the contrary, says that Ahriman created the 'form' (*karp*) or 'body' (*tan*) from the material darkness which is his own essence (lit.

[1] Venice edition, 1926, pp. 128–9; Schmid, p. 94–5; Langlois, ii, p. 376.

'selfhood'). Similarly Ohrmazd created the 'form' of his creatures from his own essence which is material light. No intervention of any kind by Zurvān is mentioned.

The *Mēnōk i χrat*,[1] however, does mention Zurvān in connexion with Ohrmazd's creative activity. 'The Creator Ohrmazd', it says, 'fashioned this creation and the Amahraspands and the Spirit of Wisdom from his own light with the blessing of the Infinite Zurvān.' Zurvān, therefore, was indirectly involved in the Ohrmazdean creation according to the *Mēnōk*, which may be regarded as semi-Zervanite in tendency.

With this much evidence in our hands it is neither difficult nor, I think, unreasonable to deduce that the whole account goes back to a Zervanite origin.

In the original myth both 'forms' must have been the gifts of Zurvān to his two sons, Ohrmazd and Ahriman. To the first he gives 'the form of his creation', that is the raw material of creation, in the form of fire: to the second the 'body' or 'form' of the evil creation described by Zātspram again as 'like unto fire'—'blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of concupiscence'. It is interesting that both 'forms' are conceived of as being like fire—the first a pure, white fire, the other continually in need of fuel (coal?), black and ashen, and worthy of the darkness—a fine, apt, and graphic description enough of an object imbued with 'the very substance of concupiscence'.

To carry the argument a stage farther. In Zātspram's account the 'implement', as we have seen, appears to be identical with the treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman which we have already discussed (pp. 101 ff.). It represents, then, the inauguration of the nine thousand years of struggle in time, and as such must be as much the concern of Ohrmazd as of Ahriman. It is therefore possible that there was originally only one fiery form—namely the raw material of all creation which would in fact be identical with Spihr (finite Space later to develop into the Cosmos) which we have seen is the body of Zurvān. Within this 'form' the struggle would develop between the pure fire (of wisdom) and the murky fire of concupiscence till the latter is finally destroyed. This point, however, cannot be laboured here since we can as yet offer no convincing proof.[2]

Leaving speculation for the moment, we must now return to our texts, since we have so far only touched on the fringe of the problems involved. We have by no means seen the last of these curious 'forms' and 'garments', and the *Dēnkart* has much in store to interest and confuse.

[1] Text Z 8, § 6.

[2] See further, however, pp. 127–8. For the opposition of wisdom and concupiscence v. p. 124, n. 1.

(*d*) *The Investiture of the Gods*

We have already seen that Zātspram speaks of the object handed to Ahriman by Zurvān either as an 'implement' or 'weapon' (*aβzār*, *zāy*) or as a 'garment' (*patmōk*, *patmōčan*). The Manichaean system offers an exact parallel to this usage. In this system the 'Primal Man', whom the Iranian Manichees identified with Ohrmazd, arms himself with the five pure elements in order to do battle with the powers of darkness. These five elements are referred to either as his armour or as his garment.[1] The indifferent use of the two terms is best illustrated by the following passage from St. Augustine:

> Factum de substantia Dei, id ipsum existentem quod Deus est, membra sua vel vestimenta sua, vel arma sua, id est quinque elementa, cum et ipsa nihil aliud essent quam substantia Dei, in tenebrarum gente mersisse.[2]

The garment, then, not only confers superior power on the wearer and thereby becomes a weapon, but also in some way represents his very substance. Similarly the *Spiritus Vivens* or Demiurge in the same system puts on the god Water 'like armour or like a garment'.[3]

In the Mandaean literature too both gods and demons array themselves in garments with a view to attaining greater potency or to warding off evil. Thus a minor Mandaean deity called Rahziēl wraps himself in two garments to protect himself from his enemies.[4] The garment of the great god Mandā d'Hayyē has such intrinsic power that the demons form a secret conspiracy against it;[5] and the arch-demoness Rūhā complains that her robe is of no effect.[6] Instances of the donning and doffing of garments could be indefinitely multiplied from the Mandaean books; but this is scarcely necessary since the power of the garment as a defensive weapon and as representing the personality of the wearer is already sufficiently attested.

After this brief digression it is time to return to the 'garment' or 'instrument' mentioned by Zātspram. This garment, curiously enough, turns up twice also in the *Dēnkart*,[7] though on a rather different ideological plane. There can be no doubt that this is the same garment of Ahriman, for it is said to be 'bestowed on him through Time from its decisive dispensation that orders aright' (*'kē ov-iš 'baχt 'pat zamān 'hač brīnkar rāδēnāk *bažišn*).[8]

[1] Full references *apud* H. J. Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, p. 167, n. 307; cf. p. 77 of the same work.

[2] *Contra Faustum*, xi. 3; cf. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 54.

[3] von le Coq, *Türkische Manichäica aus Chotscho*, iii, p. 9; cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan*, ii, p. 39, fr. 98*b* (AbPAW. 1904).

[4] *Right Ginzā*, p. 250: p. 252. 3 in Lidzbarski's translation.

[5] Ibid., p. 259. 1 (translation).

[6] Ibid., p. 102. 37.

[7] Text Z 11, where the word used is *brahm* not *patmōk* as in Zs. 34. 35 (Z 5 (*a*)): cf. text Z 12.

[8] Text Z 11, § 4.

Nor is this the only garment mentioned, for others are bestowed on Ohrmazd himself, the god Vāy, and the demon Varan (heresy or lust).[1] The garments bestowed on Vāy and Varan are again 'bestowed through Time from its decisive dispensation that orders aright', exactly as in the case of Ahriman. Ohrmazd's garment, however, is 'bestowed upon him *by his own dispensation* through finite ⟨Time⟩' (the word 'Time' is omitted in the text).

The appearance of Time in the role of dispenser of garments must surely indicate that we are again in the presence of Zervanite ideas. The curious variation in the wording as between the investiture of Ohrmazd and that of the other beings is in all probability to be attributed to wilful distortion of an originally Zervanite text. In the case of Ahriman, Vāy, and Varan, Zurvān is the sole agent. Ohrmazd, on the other hand, bestows his own garment *by his own dispensation* on himself: Zurvān-Time is merely the medium employed. This reads exceedingly like a Mazdean variation on an essentially Zervanite theme.

Much the same has happened in DkM. 290. 10 (text Z 21), though here in the form of simple suppression rather than ideological variation. Here both sense and context demand the insertion of *akanārak zamān* (Infinite Time); but it is wanting in the text. The passage in translation reads: 'That which was before creation was ⟨Infinite Time⟩; that which coincided with the very act of the Creator's creation was finite Time; that which was after creation was action (continuing) till the rehabilitation (*fraškart*).' Without the grammatically and semantically essential 'Infinite Time' the sentence is left without a subject. The omission in this case and the apparent alteration in the other were most probably perpetrated on purpose by a Mazdean scribe who was trying to reconcile Zervanite ideas with the primacy of Ohrmazd over Zurvān-Time. It is therefore not at all fanciful to suggest that the original myth read in the case of Ohrmazd too: 'the robe of priesthood . . . was . . . bestowed upon him through Time from its own decisive dispensation that orders aright.'

Though the *Dēnkart* passage belongs to a more speculative sphere than the *Bundahišn* and Zātspram, the 'garments' of Ohrmazd and Ahriman are in fact the same as the 'bright, white form, round and manifest afar' on the one hand and the 'black and ashen garment' on the other with which we are already familiar. For the *Dēnkart* too describes the first as a 'shining white garment' and the second as 'ash-coloured'. The purpose of the investiture is again the same. In the case of Ohrmazd the garment ensures

[1] For the theological association of heresy with lust one may compare the Old-Testament conception of 'fornicating' after strange gods.

'his final victory over the Aggressor, the utter defeat of this last and the erasing of him from his own creation': in the case of Ahriman it was bestowed on him 'for the destruction and final annihilation of the Destructive Spirit, the chooser of that very weapon'.

Here it is worth noting that each of the twin Spirits *chooses* his own garment: they are not simply handed out to them by Zurvān. Once chosen the garments become the essence or 'selfhood' of each. This concept is foreign to the general trend of Sassanian Zoroastrianism which regards Ohrmazd as the *principle* of good and Ahriman as the *principle* of evil. Here, however, they appear to be good and evil *by choice*. It is impossible not to see an allusion here to the original doctrine of Zoroaster formulated in the *Gāθās* (*Yasna* 30. 5), however little the text may have been understood in Sassanian times. The Gāθic text runs as follows:

> Of these two Spirits the Evil One chose to do what is worst, but the Most Bounteous Spirit who is clad in the stone-hard sky (chose) order (*aša*), as did all who seek to please the Wise Lord (Ahura Mazdāh, i.e. Ohrmazd) by virtuous deeds.[1]

The choice of the garments in our own myth, however, decides the issue of the cosmic conflict. Both Ohrmazd's choice of the good and Ahriman's choice of the evil, but particularly the latter—since Āz (concupiscence) introduces an element of self-destruction into the evil camp—make the destruction of Ahriman certain.

The nature of this momentous choice is made clear by the *Dēnkart's* description of the garments which, as we have seen, are the essence and selfhood of the two Spirits.

The garment of Ohrmazd is the robe of priesthood—and it is significant that the final ejection of evil from the universe is accomplished by a sacrifice conducted by Ohrmazd as officiating priest with Srōš as his assistant.[2] This robe has such power that it alone ensures the utter defeat of Ahriman and his ejection from Ohrmazd's creation. In the heavens it is associated with

[1] It is interesting that this passage occurs in the same *Gāθā* as the famous passage where the Bounteous and Destructive Spirits (*spənta* and *aŋra mainyu*) are described as 'twins'. In the Pahlavī books *Spənta Mainyu* is identified with Ohrmazd, though this was not explicit in the *Gāθās*. For the Mazdean 'explanation' of this passage see p. 80. For Ahriman's being evil *by choice* and yet capable of good cf. the myth recorded by Eznik (text F 7 (*a*)) according to which he created the peacock to show that he could create a beautiful thing.

[2] GrBd. 227. 8: *Ōhrmazd 'ō gētēh 'āyēt 'χ^{v}at zōt Srōš-ālāy rāspīk 'ut aiβyāhan 'pat 'dast 'dārēt. Ganāk Mēnōk 'ut Āz 'pat 'ān i gāsānīk nīrang zat-aβzārīhā akārīhast* (so Ind.).—'Ohrmazd comes down to earth himself as *zōt* priest and Srōš, the Blessed, as *rāspīk*—and he holds a girdle in his hand. The Destructive Spirit and Āz, their weapons smashed, are made powerless by the Gāθic ritual.'

the Signs of the Zodiac, and on earth with the priest. The virtue it represents is wisdom.

The robe of Ahriman is thus characterized. First it is the robe of *sāstārīh*, here as always in purely theological passages 'heretical priesthood'.[1] In the heavens it is associated with the Planets and among them more especially with Saturn, the planet of death; on earth with the heretical priest. The vice it represents is *dušākāsīh* ('evil knowledge' or 'wrong-headedness'), the opposite of wisdom.

It is perhaps significant that Āz figures nowhere in this description of the robe of Ahriman. It does, however, seem legitimate to conclude that the *Dēnkart* passage has been heavily edited by a Mazdean scribe, since Akōman (Evil Mind, the Ahrimanian opponent of the Amahraspand Vahuman in the Mazdean system) figures as the demon through whom the robe operates. Vahuman too appears in the section devoted to the robe of Ohrmazd.

The purpose of the investiture, however, is abundantly clear: it is the ultimate overthrow of Evil.

We must now turn our attention to a series of investitures which may or may not belong to this particular myth.

In the text we have been discussing (Z 11) four garments are mentioned: they are the garments of Ohrmazd and Vāy in the good camp, and those of Ahriman and Varan in the evil. The garments of Ohrmazd and Vāy are again found in the third chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*;[2] and in addition a garment is donned by 'Spihr, the body of Zurvān of the long Dominion, the good destiny of the gods'.[3] This chapter, however, makes no reference to the garments of Ahriman and Varan.

A yet fuller list is found in another *Dēnkart* text (Z 12). It does not, indeed, speak of 'garments' or 'instruments', but of 'categories' (*ōšmurišnān*). The exact correspondence between the three texts, however, proves that we are again in the presence of the same idea. The 'categories' are *spēnākīk*, *ganākīk*, *vāyīk*, *varanīk*, *bayānīk*, *gaδōkīk*, *hunihātīk*, and *dušnihātīk*; that is the categories of *Spēnāk Mēnōk*, the Bounteous Spirit who is Ohrmazd himself; of *Ganāk Mēnōk*, the Destructive Spirit who is Ahriman; of Vāy; of Varan; of *bayān*, the gods, here used in the sense of the Signs of

[1] According to Wikander the *sāstārs* were originally worshippers of Vayu (Vāy): v. *Vayu I*, pp. 90 and 71.

[2] Text Z 2, §§ 4–6.

[3] We cannot accept the translation of Nyberg which Widengren (*Hochgottglaube*, p. 247) follows: according to this Ohrmazd dons all three garments, Vāy and Spihr being themselves the second and third. v. text Z 2, l. 2 [one] note. Wikander, *Vayu I*, p. 27, has energetically protested against this very forced interpretation of the text.

the Zodiac; and of *gaδōkān*, the robbers, who are the Planets. The last two categories, *hunihātīk* and *dušnihātīk*, mean simply 'of good nature' and 'of evil nature'.

Combining the three texts from the *Dēnkart* (Z 11 and 12) and the *Bundahišn* (Z 2) we obtain the following data:

(i) *The Gods of Light*

(*a*) Ohrmazd
- (i) dons the white garment of priesthood characterized by wisdom (Z 2).
- (ii) dons the white robe (*brahm*) of priesthood associated with the virtue of wisdom (Z 11).
- (iii) implicit in the *spēnākīk* category which includes priesthood, religion (*dēn*), wisdom, &c. (Z 12).

(*b*) Vāy
- (i) dons the many-coloured and jewel-bedecked garment of warriorhood: dispels aggression in both creations (Z 2).
- (ii) dons the red, wine-coloured and jewel-bedecked robe of warriorhood: associated with the virtue of valour (Z 11).
- (iii) implicit in the *vāyīk* category which includes warriorhood, speed, valour, lordship, and law (Z 12).

(*c*) Spihr
- (i) dons the dark blue garment of the husbandmen:[1] rules the destinies of the world aright (Z 2).
- (ii) implicit in the *bayānīk* category which includes husbandry and generosity (Z 12).

(ii) *The Demons of Darkness*

(*a*) Ahriman
- (i) dons the ash-coloured garment characterized by concupiscence (Āz) (Zātspram's two texts only).
- (ii) dons the ash-coloured garment of *sāstārīh* (heretical priesthood) associated with the sin of evil knowledge (wrong-headedness, *dušākāsīh*) (Z 11).
- (iii) implicit in the *ganākīk* category which includes *sāstārīh* the adversary of priesthood, irreligion, falsehood, and ingratitude (Z 12).

[1] Cf. text Z 3, § 2. 'Spihr it is who bestows good things; and his lordship and kingship are as when the husbandmen till the earth, and (the earth) makes good return.' Elsewhere the 'Spirit of the Sky' (*mēnōk i āsmān*) is compared to a husbandman (*varzvar*) (text Z 1, § 43).

(*b*) Varan
- (i) dons the garment of self-will associated with the sin of self-will (Z 11).
- (ii) implicit in the Varanīk category which includes self-will, heresy 'the rival of priesthood and helpmate of *sāstārīh*', evil knowledge, and irreligion (Z 12).

(*c*) Gaδōkān (the Planets)
- (i) implicit in the *gaδōkīk* category which includes theft and violence, enmity to the tillers of the soil, avarice, and the suppression of prosperity (Z 12).

In addition Z 12 has the categories of *hunihātīk* which includes 'good effort' and *dušnihātīk* which includes 'evil effort'.

It is almost superfluous to point out that these three categories represent the three Zoroastrian castes—the priests (*āsrōnān*), the warriors (*artēštārān*), and the husbandmen (*vāstryōšān*). The artisan class which was only added at a much later date receives an honourable mention in the text Z 12, but is not placed under the aegis of any patron deity.

By donning the robe of priesthood Ohrmazd associates himself with the Zoroastrian priesthood on earth. Similarly Vāy takes over the patronage of the warriors,[1] and Spihr, the firmament, that of the husbandmen. This much is, for once, indisputably clear.

On the Ahrimanian side, however, matters are very much more complicated.

Ahriman's ash-coloured garment has been met before and exhaustively discussed. It belongs to a genuine Zervanite tradition preserved for us by Zātspram only. The case of the Planets is less clear, that of Varan not clear at all.

In the Zoroastrian tradition the Planets, because of their apparently irregular course, are regarded as Ahrimanian—destructive and disruptive creatures: they are the evil counterpart of the Signs of the Zodiac. Nevertheless they form part of the firmament (Spihr), and for this reason we find the firmament divided into a good and evil half.[2] The categories of *bayānīk* and *gaδōkīk*, therefore, are merely the two aspects of the firmament considered as the god of fate. The dark blue garment of Spihr is therefore unmistakably the night sky,[3] though dark blue may well have been the national costume of the Iranian peasant in Sassanian times as it still is today. Like Vāy, Spihr has suffered a Mazdean dichotomy, and the category of the Planets can scarcely have had an independent existence in the original investiture myth.

[1] v. p. 83 and n. 5 there.

[2] Text Z 3, § 3. v. p. 111, n. 5.

[3] Cf. Wikander, *Vayu I*, p. 28.

The case of Varan is far more complex. Why, of all creatures, is Varan singled out to be the evil counterpart of Vāy, the warrior-god? In the *Dēnkart* Varan is predominantly the adversary of Wisdom (*χrat*),[1] and it is therefore associated with *χᵛat-dōšakīh* (self-will or heresy) and *dušākāsīh* (wrong knowledge or error). For Zātspram, however, Varan is specifically lust,[2] and as such merely an aspect of that mother of all wickedness, Āz. Elsewhere it is described as 'the most grievous of all evil' and the 'principle of wrong-knowledge',[3] and all sins are its weapon.[4]

There seems no reason at all why Varan, a preponderantly theological demon (heresy), should be selected as the adversary of Vāy, the warrior-god.[5] If we examine the passage more closely, we will find that the account of Varan's robe differs in one important respect from that of Ohrmazd, Ahriman, Vāy, and Spihr. Ohrmazd's robe is white, Ahriman's ash-coloured, Vāy's red or many-coloured, Spihr's dark blue. The garment of Varan, however, is merely described as the garment of 'self-will'. It seems probable that Varan had no share in the original investiture myth; and this is not surprising, since the myth is plainly based on the caste system and the investiture is that of the patron gods of the three castes —Ohrmazd the priest, Vāy the warrior, and Spihr the husbandman. This is most clearly attested by the text Z 2 (*Greater Bundahišn*, chapter iii), where there is no reference at all to the Ahrimanian counterparts.

Let us assume then that *Bundahišn* iii presents the myth in its original form—a myth the purpose of which is the sanctification of the three castes. The Ahrimanian counterparts will then be subsidiary, and the two *Dēnkart* accounts (texts Z 11 and 12) will represent a not very successful attempt to fuse three separate myths into one. These myths will be:

(i) the investiture myth of the castes,
(ii) the investiture of Ohrmazd and Ahriman by Zurvān with the garments of their 'selfhood' or 'essence', and

[1] The opposition of *χrat* and *Varan* is so frequent that we must content ourselves with giving a selection only of the references where it occurs. These are: DkM. 68. 15 ff.; 302. 2, 15; 295. 14; 440. 20; 142. 13; 244. 13; 292. 21–293. 3; 312. 11; 321. 8; 123. 14; 247. 10; &c. As a translation of Av. *varənya-* the NP. has *varan nām i dīv ki dūzaχī u gumānī ast.*—'Varan is the name of the demon of hell and doubt' (Bartholomae, AIW., col. 1373).

[2] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 36: 'That (part of Āz) pertaining to the natural functions directed outward is the desire to mingle (copulate) which is called Varan.'

[3] DkM. 302. 21: *Varan garān-tom i hamāk anākīh*, and on the same page l. 4 *dušākāsīh bun Varan*—'Varan is the principle of wrong knowledge'.

[4] Ibid. 67. 14: *hamāk āhōk i 'hēnd varan aβzār.*

[5] It is, of course, possible to see, with Wikander, in this opposition the partial demonization of Vāy, the cult of Vāy having been in an earlier age the most serious rival of orthodox Mazdeanism. If so, it is interesting that this opposition should survive right up to the Sassanian period.

(iii) a myth of Vāy, formerly a supreme deity in his own right, and now half-absorbed into a Mazdean–Zervanite system.

Varan, otherwise unexplained, will then belong to (ii) and owe its presence here to its close association with Āz from whom it proceeds.[1] As the stock adversary of Wisdom, it can hardly be the original adversary of Vāy, who of all gods has the smallest part in that excellence.

The myth of the investiture of the patrons of the castes would also seem to be of Zervanite origin. In text Z 11 the garments are bestowed 'through *Time* from its decisive dispensation that orders aright' (the exception in the case of Ohrmazd has already been noted), whereas the heading of our text Z 12 is: 'Of the colour of *Time* and the nature of that colour and him who dyed it with colour.'

This latter text seems to me to be of indisputably Zervanite origin, though clumsily—very clumsily—rehashed by a Mazdean hand. According to the Mazdean reconstruction Ohrmazd 'dyed Time with colour—with good because in substance the benefit accruing to creatures is from the good . . . and with evil because the evil of the Aggressor comes upon creation from without to confound it'. That Ohrmazd should 'dye' Time with evil is surely unthinkable from a Mazdean point of view. It is tantamount to admitting that Ohrmazd is himself the author of evil; and the whole *raison d'être* of dualism is to preserve the good principle from any possibility of tracing back the origin of evil to it.

It is then safe to conclude that in the original myth it was Zurvān himself who vested Ohrmazd, Vāy, and Spihr (described in *Bundahišn* iii as 'his own body') in the robes of priesthood, warriorhood, and husbandry.

Before leaving the myth of the castes it is not irrelevant to mention here that according to Ṭabarī it was Mihr-Narsē, whose Zervanite sympathies we tried to demonstrate in Chapter II, who appears to have revived the never very strict Iranian caste system by making his three sons the leaders of the three castes as Zoroaster is said to have done before him.[2]

(e) *Vāy again*

We have seen that as patron god of the warriors Vāy fits naturally into the myth of the castes. He is, however, a source of quite maddening confusion once he is introduced on to the cosmological plane. Nyberg and

[1] Cf. text Z 12, § 4: 'These categories proceed severally from their origin through the higher to the lower.' The *varanīk* category proceeds from the *ganākīk*. True, the *Dēnkart* does not mention Āz in the *ganākīk* category, but Zātspram probably has preserved the original Zervanite theme. Cf. also the foregoing note.

[2] Nöldeke, p. 110; cf. Schaeder, 'Der iranische Zeitgott', ZDMG. 1941, p. 275.

Wikander have demonstrated that he was originally a supreme god in his own right, and as such he still appears in the *Yašt* of the Avesta dedicated to him (Yt. 15). The *Bundahišn* and the *Dēnkart* have endeavoured to find a place for him in the half-Mazdean, half-Zervanite cosmology on which their accounts are based. These two sources both bring him into the cosmological drama. Zātspram refers to him only once.[1]

Cosmologically Vāy is the Void between the Endless Light and the Endless Darkness.[2] In this sense it may be conceived as extending indefinitely to right and left in a horizontal direction. Before creation and the mixture of the two Spirits it must have been as eternal as they.

§ 26 of the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, however, refers to the 'fashioning forth' or creation of Vāy:

> From the material (form) of that Spirit which dispels aggression in the two worlds—be it Power or be it Time—he (Ohrmazd) fashioned forth the form of Vāy, the Good, for Vāy was needed: some call it Vāy of the long Dominion. With the aid of Vāy of the long Dominion he fashioned forth creation; for when he created creation, Vāy was the instrument he needed for the deed.

Similarly in § 35:

> And he fashioned forth creation with the aid of Vāy of the long Dominion: for when he fashioned forth Vāy of the long Dominion, it too was as an instrument and needful for the act of creation.

Vāy then appears to be an indispensable element in the drama of creation, partaking of both good and evil. GrBd. i, §§ 24–26 (text Z 1) gives the following sequence of creations:

(i) the fashioning of finite Time from Infinite Time,
(ii) the fashioning forth of the form of Ohrmazd's creatures from the Endless Light,
(iii) the fashioning forth of Vāy of the long Dominion from either Power or Time.

The obvious interpretation of (iii) would appear to be that Vāy of the long Dominion is, so to speak, carved out of the Void, just as Time of the long Dominion is carved out of Infinite Time. The first represents the limitation of Space, the second the limitation of Time. Zurvān, infinite Time-Space, is the source from which both are drawn. Vāy of the long Dominion is then finite Space.[3] This is expressly stated in DkM. 205. 18

[1] Text Z 4, § 15: 'There are things which are not according to the will of Ohrmazd—and these can only be whatever has its root in Vāy who is of a different substance.'

[2] Text Z 1, §§ 1–4: cf. Z 4, § 1.

[3] Cf. text Z 16: 'Its (Time's) limitation consists in the movement of matter in Vāy (Space) by means of the firmament.'

(text Z 11), which speaks of 'the Spirit Vāy whose name is the Wheel, that is the firmament (Spihr), and it is also called *spahr* (= Av. *θwāša-*)'.

For the cosmological texts we therefore have the equation: Vāy of the long Dominion = Spihr. Both are Space; though the latter is conceived of specifically as the firmament and the former as the atmosphere. The text Z 3, § 3, adequately illustrates the relationship or rather identity of Zurvān, Spihr, and Vāy:

> Spihr bestows (good things) on the material world. He who gives in abundance is called the goodly Spihr; and he who gives them sparingly is called the evil Spihr. The things bestowed reach (men) through *Time who is Vāy of the long Dominion, whether it be the instrument of Zurvān or of Ohrmazd.*

In the cosmological texts, therefore, there is no real distinction between the finite Zurvān-Time, Vāy of the long Dominion, and Spihr. They are all finite Time-Space.

The confusion starts when our authors seek to combine the cosmological Vāy with the personal warrior-god of the same name. Thus the *Dēnkart* identifies Vāy and Spihr (text Z 11), yet in the parallel text (Z 12) the 'categories' proceed from their origin from the higher to the lower, from the category of Ohrmazd (*spēnākīk*) through that of Vāy to that of Spihr (*baγānīk*). This must surely be an attempt to weld together two totally dissimilar myths—the myth of the castes and the cosmological myth in which Vāy appears as an hypostasis of Zurvān-Spihr.

(*f*) *The Endless Form*

The last major problem presented to us by the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* is what is called the *asar*(*ōk*) *karp*(*ak*) or 'Endless Form'. This is how it is spoken of in that thorny chapter (text Z 1, § 29):

> He (Ohrmazd) fashioned forth the Endless Form from the Endless Light, and he created all creation within the Endless Form. The Endless Form is exempt from the passage of Time.

The Endless Form, then, is plainly identical with the 'form of the creatures of Ohrmazd' described earlier in the chapter (§ 26). There we read:

> From his own essence which is material light Ohrmazd fashioned forth the Form of his own creatures—a form of fire—bright, white, round, and manifest afar.

The Endless Form then is the raw material of the Ohrmazdean creation. It is described in more detail in a somewhat obscure passage of the *Dēnkart* (text Z 10). We learn in that passage that the 'Form' contained both the 'ideal' (spiritual—*mēnōk*) creation and the material. The *Bundahišn* passage

appears to deal with the material aspect only. We will therefore turn to this first.

The material creation as opposed to the 'ideal' is the domain of 'nature' (*čihr*) and it contains the Spirit of the Power of Nature (*mēnōk i čihr nērōk*). 'Nature' is used in contradistinction to 'will' (*kām* or *aχᵛ* representing Avestan *aŋhvā-*) in several *Dēnkart* passages[1] and is wholly removed from the moral sphere (cf. 'natural life' contrasted with 'voluntary knowledge' in the last note). The material side of the Endless Form is therefore the prototype of the world of nature.

The material 'Endless Form' is here (both in Z 1, § 38, and in Z 10) conceived of as an embryo proceeding from conception to birth. When born this Endless Form becomes Spihr, the firmament, here very plainly conceived of as the macrocosm, the formed creation and the prototype of man. Thus following up a different line of evidence we arrive at the conclusion we have already reached once before. In the Zervanite system Spihr, the body of Zurvān, is the macrocosm or the equivalent of the πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος of the Gnostics. From it proceed the elements.[2]

Now we have seen that the firmament is conceived even by the Mazdeans proper as being compounded of both good and evil or rather as being indifferent to both. It is therefore surprising that the *Bundahišn* (Z 1, § 39) speaks of Ohrmazd as being the father and mother of creation. Without in any way seeking to labour a point which of its nature cannot be formally proved, I would suggest that this is another Mazdean attempt to monopolize a myth which springs from a Zervanite source. It is on a par with the far more obvious case of Ohrmazd 'dyeing' Time with good and evil.[3]

Much the same has happened in a Pahlavī *Rivāyat* (Z 7) dealing with this subject. Here the Endless Form is referred to as an instrument (*aβzār*) 'like a flame of fire, pure in light'. This account has been fully adapted to the Mazdean system, for instead of the four elements proceeding from the infant Spihr, we find the seven Mazdean first creations. The sky was fashioned from its head, water from its tears, the earth from its feet, the plants from its hair, the Bull from its right hand, Man from its seed, and fire from its mind. Finally Ohrmazd himself settles in the 'form'.

We must now turn to another rather obscure *Dēnkart* text (Z 9). Here we come upon the conception of the 'seed' (*tōhmak*) of the Cosmos. From this seed Fortune (*χᵛarr*) derives: the elements (fire, water, and earth) pre-

[1] See note C, p. 144.

[2] v. text Z 10: 'From the Wheel proceeded becoming, the hot and the moist of which the wind (air) is composed: these are connected with the spiritual Word and share in its power: (and from it also proceeded) the elements which are the seed of seeds of material creations . . .'. Cf. *infra*, pp. 141–3.

[3] *v. supra*, p. 125.

serve it and Time is embodied within it. The conjunction of Time and Fortune is strangely reminiscent of Eznik's myth which mentions Fortune along with Zurvān. Further, the conception and birth of the firmament recalls the conception and birth of Ohrmazd and Ahriman in that myth. Conception and birth usually imply the existence of a father and mother. Is it too bold to discern in these texts the dim survival of a myth in which Spihr, the body of Zurvān of the long Dominion, that is the Cosmos, is begotten by the Infinite Zurvān and born of his Fortune?

Some support is lent to this view again by that most knotty of verses in the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, § 26 of our text Z 1. Here we have two distinct 'forms': the 'form' of the creatures of Ohrmazd which we have already seen corresponded to the Endless Form in other contexts, and the 'form' of Vāy fashioned from 'that Spirit which dispels aggression in the two worlds—*be it Power or be it Time*'—'for Vāy was needed'. Vāy here is obviously identical with Zurvān-Spihr of the long Dominion, or more plainly the material universe; and it thus appears to duplicate the Endless Form of Ohrmazd's creation. This, combined with the evidence we have reviewed hitherto, would seem to indicate that the author of the *Bundahišn* is seeking to combine a purely Zervanite account of the creation in which the material Cosmos is born of Infinite Time with Mazdean dualism. The original Zervanite scheme appears to have remained firmly on the physical plane, busying itself with neither good nor evil. Mythologically the birth of the Cosmos from Zurvān probably antedates the genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman.

It will be noticed that in the whole of the semi-Zervanite section of the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* there are curious inconsistencies. In § 29, for instance, Ohrmazd creates True Speech from *material* light, and again the *Ahunvar* prayer proceeds from the Endless Form which itself proceeds from the same *material* light. Why should these wholly spiritual conceptions be represented as proceeding from a *material* origin?

If we return to the *Dēnkart* text Z 10, we will find a fuller account and the *Bundahišn* text will become less obscure. The relevant passage runs as follows:

> On the one hand it (the Endless Form) contains the spiritual (ideal) creation; on the other the material creation. In the spiritual creation the Spirit of the Power of the Word was contained; and in the material creation the Spirit of the Power of Nature was contained, and it settled (in it).[1] The instrument which contains the spiritual creation was made perfect . . .; and within the instrument which

[1] This would seem to be nearer to the original account. For the 'Spirit of the Power of the Word' the Pahlavī *Rivāyat* just discussed substitutes Ohrmazd.

contains the material creation the marvellous Spirit of the Power of Nature was united to the kingdom of the Spirit of the Power of the Word through the will of the Creator.

In fact we really have two 'forms' or 'instruments', not one. One is the prototype of matter from which Spihr, the firmament, is later to proceed; the other is the prototype of the spiritual and moral world: but the two are united at conception. Thus when the *Bundahišn* derives True Speech from material light, it must be confusing the material aspect of the Endless Form with the spiritual. True Speech can only logically derive from the Spirit of the Power of the Word which can scarcely be anything else than the eternal Wisdom (called by the *Bundahišn* Z 1, § 2, 'omniscience and goodness' or 'religion' (*dēn*)) which is the 'will' of Ohrmazd.

A similar logical confusion may be observed in a passage from Šahristānī. 'The Most High God at a certain time . . . of his reign created a spiritual (*rūḥānī*) creation; and when three thousand years had elapsed, he emanated (*anfadha*) his *will* in the form of resplendent light, fashioned in the form of a man: and he surrounded it with seventy of his blessed angels.'[1] Here again we have the incarnation of a divine hypostasis in the shape of a man. The 'spiritual creation' can only be the 'Endless Form'; the 'will' of God (Ohrmazd) is infused into it; and the result is the Cosmos.

In the text of the *Greater Bundahišn* as it now stands (Z 1, § 26) we can only conclude that the 'form' of the creatures of Ohrmazd should refer to the ideal or spiritual prototype only, and the 'form' of Vāy to the material. This must hold true for the Ahrimanian creation too. The 'body' of Ahriman's creation is ideal, and the 'form' of Varan is simply a repetition of the 'form' of Vāy on the Ohrmazdean side.[2] In fact we have three 'prototypes':

(i) the prototype of spiritual good,
(ii) the prototype of spiritual evil, and
(iii) the prototype of matter.

This last is a neutral substance, neither good nor evil, but the battle-ground of the struggle between the two. This battle-ground is Spihr, the body of Zurvān of the long Dominion.

In text Z 10 Spihr, the Cosmos, is born: it is 'the First Body united with the Spirit of the Power of the Word'. In other words, divine Wisdom is infused into the Cosmos at the time of its conception. This represents the fusion of spirit (Ohrmazd) and matter (Zurvān).

It remains only to be noted in this connexion that the period of gestation

[1] Cureton, p. 185; Haarbrücker, i, p. 281. The passage occurs in the account of the *Zarāduštiyya*, not of the *Zarvāniyya*.

[2] v. pp. 124 ff.

of the cosmic embryo is conceived in our texts as taking place during the first 3,000 years of the 12,000-year period.[1]

Having duly considered the 'Endless Form' we must now return to the dark side of the picture.

While the Endless Form, both spiritual and material, was being fashioned, Ahriman 'from the material darkness which is his own essence fashioned forth the body (*tan*) of his creation in the form of coal(?), black and ashen, worthy of the darkness, damned as the most sinful noxious beast. From material self-will he fashioned forth the form of Varan whose religion is the worse; for Varan was needed.'[2]

We have tried to demonstrate that the 'form' of Varan in the Ahrimanian creation superseded the 'form' of Vāy conceived in his maleficent aspect;[3] and we have further suggested that the *material* form of good and evil was originally one, not two.[4] The presence of Varan in this context was attributed to its close association with Āz.[5] Unlike Vāy in the Ohrmazdean creation, then, Varan is the true spiritual manifestation of Ahriman, just as the Spirit of the Power of the Word (True Speech in Z 1, equivalent to the will of Ohrmazd which is Wisdom) is Ohrmazd's *spiritual* manifestation. In this case Varan would be equivalent to the Lying Speech mentioned in Z 1, § 28.

Varan, which is to all intents and purposes identical with Āz or at least derives from the latter, here takes its place. The Varan of the *Bundahišn* account must be a reflection of the original Zervanite tradition preserved by Zātspram according to which Zurvān arms Ahriman with Āz-concupiscence for his own destruction.

Let us now recapitulate the results of our investigation so far. In the beginning Zurvān, the Infinite, alone existed. He desired a son who should be creator, but doubted whether this could come to pass. From this doubt Ahriman was conceived and born, while from his wisdom Ohrmazd arose.[6]

[1] Text Z 1, § 6, describing the first act of creation before Ahriman's first assault: 'For 3,000 years creation stayed in this ideal state, for it was without thought, without movement, without touch.' So ibid., § 38, the process of the material Cosmos is thus described: 'The creation of Ohrmazd was fostered spiritually in such wise that it remained without thought, without touch, without movement, in a moist state like semen.'

[2] Text Z 1, § 27. There is no real distinction between *karp* 'form' and *tan* 'body'. In the *Bundahišn* it will be found that where the MS. TD2 has *tan* the Paris MS. frequently has *karp*. So also the 'Endless Form' of Ohrmazd is called *karp*, but that of Ahriman is *tan*. Later this too is referred to as *karp*.

[3] v. pp. 124–5.

[4] v. p. 129.

[5] v. p. 124.

[6] Šahristānī, text F 4, § 1.

The conception and birth of the material Cosmos was then devised by Zurvān, who himself entered finite form and became embodied in the material Cosmos which is Spihr, the body of the finite Zurvān (Time-Space). This material creation is governed by cosmic order (*dātastān*),[1] which we might call the natural law.

It is to this stage of the cosmic drama that the Āz episode recorded by Zātspram belongs, and here too the investiture myth, *so far as it concerns Ohrmazd and Ahriman*, must be taken into consideration. The first three thousand years of finite Time have passed; the limitation of Zurvān as Space and Time has come to pass, and 'Spihr, the body of Zurvān' is born. The battlefield is ready and the powers of good and evil await the signal for the fray. It is here that Zurvān as the supreme god intervenes.

Though Ahriman, born of Zurvān's doubt, is by nature evil, and Ohrmazd, born of his Wisdom, is by nature good, it still remains for Zurvān to set the seal on their characters.

> When first creation began to move and Zurvān for the sake of movement brought that form, the black and ashen garment, to Ahriman, (he made) a treaty in this wise—'This is that implement, like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of Āz. When the period of nine thousand years comes to an end, if thou hast not perfectly fulfilled that which thou didst threaten in the beginning, that thou wouldst bring all material existence to hate Ohrmazd and to love thee . . ., then by means of these weapons Āz will devour that which is thine, thy creation; and she herself will starve; for she will no longer obtain food from the creatures of Ohrmazd—like unto a frog that liveth in the water; so long as it defileth the water, it liveth by it, but when the water is withdrawn from it, it dieth parched.'[2]

On the other side Ohrmazd 'himself donned a white garment, and it had the stamp of priesthood; for wisdom is ever with the priests who are guides to men, and all men are their pupils. And the office of Ohrmazd was the act of creation, and it was through wisdom that creation must be created. Therefor did he don the robe of the wise which is the robe of priesthood.'[3]

Within the limits of their nature the two Spirits were free to choose. Ohrmazd chose the robe of priesthood as his essence, and Ahriman the robe of heretical priesthood.[4] The first chose the weapon of wisdom, and the second the weapon of concupiscence. The choice of both was equally effective in the overthrow of the Evil One.

Wisdom in the shape of the Spirit of the Power of the Word was infused into the embryonic Cosmos (Endless Form) at its conception. There is no

[1] Cf. text Z 11, § 5, and Chapter IX, pp. 249–53.

[2] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 35.

[3] Text Z 2, § 4 (GrBd., ch. iii).

[4] v. text Z 11, §§ 3–4.

evidence that in this myth concupiscence made its irruption until Ahriman's successful assault on the fully developed material creation, that is 6,000 years after the limitation of Time. The first 3,000 years were apparently spent by the two Spirits in perfecting their own spiritual armament while the Cosmos was conceived and ultimately born.[1] Of the remaining 9,000 years, 'three thousand would pass entirely according to the will of Ohrmazd, three thousand years in mixture would pass according to the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and . . . in the last battle the Destructive Spirit would be made powerless'.[2]

In the end Ahriman and his hordes are either expelled from the material Cosmos or annihilated. The 'Final Body' (*tan i pasēn*) is then inaugurated. Seen in this context the 'Final Body' represents exactly what it says—the final shape that the original body or 'form' takes on, the shape it assumes after the expulsion of evil when finite Time again merges into the Infinite. The Final Body is therefore the same body of Zurvān finally delivered from evil, concupiscence, and doubt. 'In the end, manifest and plain, there will be seen by night and in the atmosphere a *form of fire* in the shape of a man, conceived by the spiritual gods, riding, as it were, a fiery horse, and fearful (to behold): and they shall be freed from doubt.'[3]

(*g*) *The Manifestation of Creation*

We have seen that in the *Dēnkart* the 'Endless Form' was conceived of as (*a*) a spiritual entity ruled by the 'Spirit of the Power of the Word' and (*b*) as the source of matter ruled by the 'Spirit of the Power of Nature'. The latter is 'made manifest', to use the Zoroastrian term, in Spihr, the material Cosmos. The former is made manifest in the *Ahunvar*, the basic prayer of the Zoroastrians and essentially identical with the *Dēn* (Religion) which in turn is identical with wisdom.[4] The effect of Ohrmazd's initial recital of this prayer was to precipitate Ahriman back into the darkness, where he lay in a state of torpor for three thousand years.

In the Mazdean version the manifestation of finite Time and of the *Ahunvar* take place simultaneously. So great does the confusion caused by the intermingling of Zervanite and Mazdean ideas appear to have been

[1] That during the first 3,000 years Ahriman may have scored a signal victory over the spiritual creation of Ohrmazd necessitating the formulation of a treaty has already been suggested (p. 99).

[2] Text Z 1, § 14. This, however, is probably a Mazdean rather than a Zervanite account.

[3] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 54. It is tempting to see in this a personification of the *tan i pasēn* (Final Body). As the original creation was in the form of fire (text Z 7, § 2, &c.), so is the Final Body in the form of fire. Significant is the last sentence, 'and they shall be freed from doubt'.

[4] See note D, p. 144.

that, in a late Persian *Rivāyat*, we find Zurvān identified with the *Ahunvar*.[1] In this passage the *Ahunvar* is conceived of as uncreate wisdom, Zurvān as Infinite Time. The author has fused the two together.

Yet another case of confusion between the spiritual and the material appears in the *Bundahišn* passage (Z 1, § 30) immediately following the recital of the *Ahunvar*. The passage runs: 'From the *Ahunvar* the Spirit of the Year came forth which is now in a mixed state, half light and half dark, . . . and is a division of Time of the long Dominion.'

It seems sufficiently clear in this case that the author of the *Bundahišn* has totally misunderstood his sources. As a division of Time of the long Dominion, the Spirit of the Year must proceed from that deity, not from the *Ahunvar* which is the manifestation of Ohrmazd's wisdom. The Spirit of the Year or, better, the Ideal Year in the abstract is, as the text itself says, simply a division of Time, and fits in with the Zurvān-Spihr complex, not with the Ohrmazdean.

If the reader will turn to p. 111, he will find that we had there suggested that the Ideal Year appeared as the last member of a tetrad, Infinite Zurvān —Zurvān of the long Dominion—the Course of Fate—the Ideal Year. Following the reasoning outlined in this chapter we obtain a similar tetrad, Infinite Zurvān—Zurvān of the long Dominion—Spihr, the Cosmos—the Ideal Year. The Ideal Year will, then, be the 'manifestation' of Zurvān of the long Dominion, just as the material creation is the 'manifestation' of finite Space.[2]

The author of the *Bundahišn* (Z 1, § 30) fortunately makes clear his own conception of this manifestation. The Ideal Year is 'now in a mixed state, half light and half dark, three hundred and sixty-five days and nights'. We seem here to be right back at the most simple and primitive form of Zervanism—Time represented as an endless succession of days and nights. Transported into mythology it was all too easy to create a great god Time who, by an analogy with terrestrial experience, must comprise both light and darkness.

> For what thou hast said concerning the two horses, blazing like unto lightning. Both the white and the black are Time: . . . they are night and day which pass by, they reckon each moment of the firmament above us.[3]

The popular tradition has in this case preserved the origin of the myth.

II. THE MATERIAL CREATION

Unlike the cosmological myths which precede it and which have kept us occupied so long, the actual creation of the material world presents few

[1] Text Z 38. [2] See note E, p. 144. [3] v. text F 13, § 9.

difficulties. No non-Zoroastrian source gives a satisfactory account of it, and we are therefore confined to the Iranian versions; and these are, for once, perfectly straightforward. The purely Mazdean account of the material creation is again best preserved in the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* (§§ 32–60), and the Zervanite *'Ulemā* agrees with it.[1] The *Bundahišn* tells its story clearly and well. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a brief summary and refer the reader to our text Z 1.

After the conclusion of the treaty with Ahriman Ohrmazd proceeds with the work of creation. First he created the six Amahraspands—Vahuman, Artvahišt, Šaθrēvar, Spandarmat, Hurdāt, and Amurdāt. After the creation of the material world Vahuman was to adopt cattle as his especial care, Artvahišt fire, Šaθrēvar the metals, Spandarmat the earth, Hurdāt water, and Amurdāt the plants. Having created the Amahraspands Ohrmazd added himself to their number, thus forming a heptad.

Corresponding to the six Amahraspands the sky was fashioned in six stations: first the station of the clouds; second the firmament (Spihr) of the stars;[2] third the stars exempt from contamination; fourth heaven (*vahišt*), the place of the Moon; fifth *Garōδmān* or Endless (*anaγr*) Light, the place of the Sun; sixth the place of the Amahraspands: and to these is added the Endless Light (*asar rōšnīh*), the place of Ohrmazd.[3] The sky itself is the first of a series of six creations: the second is water, the third the earth, the fourth the plants, the fifth cattle, and the sixth Man; and to these fire is added as a seventh, fire 'whose brilliance is from the Endless Light, the place of Ohrmazd'.

In opposition to the Amahraspands Ahriman created six arch-demons—Akōman, Indar, Sāvul, Nāŋhaiθ, Tarič, and Zērič, again adding himself as the seventh. Nothing, however, is said of his creating a material creation.[4] This is surely remarkable: for as we have already observed, in *Bundahišn* i, § 27, Ahriman fashions forth the 'body of his creation' from the *material* darkness, and this 'body' is parallel to the 'form' of the creatures of Ohrmazd, itself identified with the 'Endless Form'. This lends further confirmation to our theory that the material creation in this tradition proceeds from Zurvān and is independent of the Spirits of good and evil.

Ohrmazd created the sky in the form of an egg: its top reaches to the Endless Light, and all creation was created within it. It was the first material creation which Ahriman attacked, and it acted as a bulwark

[1] Text Z 37, § 16.

[2] It will be noticed that in the Mazdean account Spihr takes a very subordinate position. The same is true of Zurvān who in the third chapter of the *Bundahišn* is merely the assistant of Vahuman (Z 2, § 12).

[3] See note F, p. 144.

[4] Dd. 18. 2: *Ahriman rāδ guft 'ēstēt 'ku-š gētēh 'nēst.*—'It is said of Ahriman that he has no material thing.'

against him. The substance of the sky was crystal, and from this the second material creation, water, was made. From water the earth was made, round, but with an even surface; and it was made in three parts, one hard, one of the consistence of sandstone, and one soft as clay.[1] Then the mountains were made to grow out of the earth, and the minerals inserted into it. Fourth plants were created: first one plant only grew in the middle of the earth 'without branches, bark, or thorn, moist and sweet'; and from this all vegetable life proceeded. Fifth the Primal Bull was created on the banks of the river Daitē; and it 'was white and shining like the Moon'.[2] Sixth Gayōmart, the First Man, was created 'shining like the Sun'[3] on the left bank of the river Daitē; for the Bull was on the right. To aid him he gave him sleep which he fashioned in the form of a man 'tall and bright, fifteen years of age'. This sleep was given him in order to deaden the pain that he would feel when the onslaught of Ahriman came.[4] From the light and freshness of the sky the seed of the Man and the Bull was fashioned.

Each of these creations he made at one of the *gāsānbār* seasons; and the whole of the material creation was completed in a year.

This is the story as told by the *Bundahišn*. A very different version is given by one of the Pahlavī *Rivāyats* accompanying the *Dātastān i Dēnīk* (Z 7). True, the six Mazdean creations are to be found there too, and again fire is added as the seventh; but in this case they emerge from a fiery 'instrument' which is conceived of as a man and which can only be Spihr who, as we saw, emerged from the 'Endless Form' and is the prototype of Man. The 'instrument' is described as being like a flame of fire and was fashioned from the Endless Light, 'and from it all creation was made: and after it had been made, it was put into a body; and for three thousand years it was kept within the body, and it grew continually, and it was made better. Then it fashioned (things) one by one from its body.' The sky was created from its head, and it was ruled by Dahmān Āfrīn, 'the Praise of the Wise'. From its feet the earth was fashioned, and Mihr, Rašn, and Srōš were set over it.[5] Water was fashioned from its tears, and the plants from its hair; the Bull from its right hand, and fire from its mind.

In the case of Man (Gayōmart) there is some confusion in the text, for the author seems to have mixed up two traditions: he says (§ 36): 'From

[1] The translation is a little uncertain.

[2] The Avestan epithet of the Moon is *gao-čiθra-*, 'having the seed of the Bull': when the Primal Bull dies, his body and 'prototype' (*aδvēnak*) are delivered to the Moon (GrBd. 72. 11).

[3] Just as the body and 'prototype' of the Bull go to the Moon, so was the body of Gayōmart delivered to the Sun (GrBd. 73. 1).

[4] *Infra*, p. 190.

[5] v. text Z 7, § 5 note. Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn who with Zurvān form a tetrad of Justice are presumably identical with the Three Judges (*3 rat*); v. p. 102.

the clay from which Gayōmart was made (he made) man, emitting him in the form of seed into Spandarmat (the Earth): and Gayōmart was fashioned from Spandarmat and was born.' This is strongly reminiscent of the story of the genesis of Mašyē and Mašyānē, the first human *couple* who sprang from Gayōmart's seed: for when Gayōmart died his seed is said to have fallen into the earth. In the course of time a rhubarb plant grew out of the earth, and from this the first human couple emerged.[1] Thus it would appear that in the present text the phrase 'from the clay from which Gayōmart was made', which seems to make nonsense of the passage, has crept in from another source. The meaning of the passage must then be that the seed of Spihr fell into earth which in due course gave birth to Gayōmart.

The whole myth brings to mind the famous *Puruṣa* hymn in the *Rig-Veda* (x. 90). As there seems to be every reason to believe that this is a case of Indian influence on Iranian thought, we feel that we are justified in reproducing the relevant sections of that hymn here:[2]

(6) When the gods performed sacrifice with Puruṣa as an oblation, the spring was its melted butter, the summer its fuel, the autumn its oblation.
(7) That Puruṣa, born in the beginning, they besprinkled as a sacrifice on the strew; with him the gods, the Sādhyas, and the seers sacrificed.
(8) From that sacrifice completely offered was collected the clotted butter: he made that the beasts of the air, of the forest, and those of the village.
(9) From that sacrifice completely offered were born the hymns and the chants; the metres were born from it; the sacrificial formula was born from it.
(10) From that arose horses and all such as have two rows of teeth. Cattle were born from that; from that were born goats and sheep.
(11) When they divided Puruṣa, into how many parts did they dispose him? What (did) his mouth (become)? What are his two arms, his two thighs, his two feet called?
(12) His mouth was the Brāhman, his two arms were made the warrior, his two thighs the Vaiśya; from his two feet the Śūdra was born.
(13) The moon was born from his mind; from his eye the sun was born; from his mouth Indra and Agni, from his breath Vāyu was born.
(14) From his navel was (produced) the air; from his head the sky was evolved; from his two feet the earth; from his ear the quarters: thus they fashioned the worlds.

The resemblance between the Vedic hymn and our *Rivāyat* passage is obvious. Two episodes are identical; for in both cases the sky is said to

[1] The fullest account of this curious myth will be found in GrBd. 100. 14 ff: cf. Justi's translation, p. 19.

[2] The relevance of this Vedic hymn to Zurvān's sacrifice in Eznik's myth had been previously noticed by Darmesteter, *Ohrmazd et Ahriman*, p. 329; cf. also Menasce, *Škand-Gumānik Vičār*, p. 31; E. Lamotte, *Notes sur la Bhagavad-Gītā*, Louvain, 1924, p. 94.

have evolved from the head, and the earth from the feet of the Primal Man, as we may justifiably call him in both traditions, for Puruṣa means simply 'man'.

It will have been noticed that in the *Rivāyat* the usual order of the Mazdean creation has been altered: the creation of the earth is described before that of water, whereas in the *Bundahišn* the earth is created *from* water[1] and the short account in Zātspram agrees (Z 4). There would seem to be no reason for this transposition unless the author of the *Rivāyat* were following a different tradition in which the creation of the earth followed immediately on the creation of the sky. This is plainly attested in the Puruṣa hymn; and so much the author would seem to have borrowed, whether directly or indirectly it is impossible to say. In utilizing the myth, however, he must have been handicapped by the fact that he was bound to adhere to the Mazdean sevenfold creation. In borrowing the idea of the sacrificial dismemberment of the cosmic giant he was faced with the problem of suitably fitting the seven Mazdean creations into the latter's anatomy. The sky and the earth were already there: they corresponded to the head and the feet. How were water, the plants, the Bull, and Man to be accounted for? Here the author would seem to have proceeded according to the most obvious analogies. Thus he equates water with the tears, and plants with the hair. The latter analogy is also found in the Zoroastrian comparisons of the macrocosm with the microcosm,[2] but this is the only point of resemblance and it is therefore unlikely that our author is consciously borrowing from that source. Again the fact that the Primal Bull was created on the right bank of the river Daitē[3] and fell on his right side when he died[4] probably suggested the idea that he proceeded from the right hand of the Giant. The derivation of Gayōmart from the seed, however, may well go back to a genuine Zervanite theme which would derive Man, the microcosm, from Zurvān-Spihr, the macrocosm.[5]

It may, of course, be objected that the resemblances between the *Rivāyat* and the Puruṣa hymn are purely fortuitous, and that it is absurd to trace any connexion between a late Pahlavī text and a Vedic hymn composed probably in the eighth century B.C. There is, however, further evidence which deserves to be examined. First, we now know from Kartīr's great inscription of Ka'ba i Zartušt that during the reigns of Šāpūr I and his

[1] Text Z 1, § 46.

[2] See note G, p. 145.

[3] Text Z 1, § 50.

[4] GrBd. 72. 9: *'pas Ganāk Mēnōk 'ō 'gāv mat. 'gāv 'ō nēmrōč ālak 'pat dašn 'dast ōpast.*—'Then the Destructive Spirit came upon the Bull. The Bull fell towards the southern quarter on his right side.'

[5] *v. supra*, pp. 111–13 and note B, p. 144.

successors Indian religious sects had deeply penetrated into Īrān and that they represented an ideological force considerable enough to be deemed worthy of persecution.[1] Secondly, we saw in our first chapter[2] that Greek and Indian books were said to have been incorporated into the Sassanian Avesta at the time of Šāpūr I. Further details about these books are given in the fourth book of the *Dēnkart* where the names of books are mentioned, notably the *Μεγίστη* (*Al-maǰistī*) of Ptolemy.[3] When we find that one of these books describes the origin of the castes in exactly the same way as the Puruṣa hymn, the strong probability, already suggested by Kartīr's inscription, that the Persians were fully conversant with Indian religious ideas during the Sassanian period, becomes practically a certainty. The passage is so important that it must be quoted *in extenso*. The translation is as follows:

> The -----*kośa* of the Indians and the *Megistē* of the Greeks and other (writings) of that sort were combined with the original literature (the Avesta?) in the Royal Treasury because they offered a reasonable corrective to students of this particular science. Their writings have recently been arranged by scholars, for they were brought from foreign countries: they have been considered and studied, nor have they been neglected or slightingly received on account of their inferiority and foreign name. It happened indeed that with the growth of knowledge they became more highly esteemed, and they did not suffer on account of the outlandish names attached to the books. No single book or volume was discovered which contained in its entirety all the science and learning (contained) in (other) books and volumes: but each (school) carried out research on the basis of its own original book or volume. They call the book in the Royal Treasury which deals with all topics the Compendium(?). Among them the body of man is, as it were, divided between the four castes on earth; Priesthood (corresponds) to the head, Warriorhood to the hands, Husbandry to the belly, and Artisanship to the feet.[4]

Here there is an exact correspondence with what the Puruṣa hymn has to say about the origin of the castes—'His mouth (*mukham*, also 'head') was the Brāhman; his two arms were made the warrior; his two thighs the Vaiśya; from his two feet the Śūdra was born.' In the *Dēnkart* the Iranian castes are substituted for the Indian: for the Brāhmans (priests) we have the *āsrōnān* (also priests), for the *rājanyaḥ* (warriors) the *artēštārān* (also warriors), for the *vaiśyāḥ* (the husbandmen or traders) the *vāstryōšān* (husbandmen), and for the *śūdrāḥ* (the servile class) the *hutuχšān* (artisans). The correspondence is, then, exact except that the belly is substituted for the thighs of the Indian version. Moreover, the passage reappears in the

[1] *v. supra*, p. 11.
[2] p. 10.
[3] So Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 86, who is undoubtedly right.
[4] See note H, p. 145.

Šikand,[1] though it is there obviously based on the *Dēnkart*. Thus it would seem highly probable that the Zoroastrians have here borrowed an Indian myth and modified it in order to suit the Mazdean cosmogony. If that is so we may well consider whether further details have not also been borrowed.

The main difference between the two myths is that on the one hand Puruṣa, as Primal Man, is offered in sacrifice by the gods, and that in the other the Primal 'Instrument' which is Spihr, the body of Zurvān, emits creation from its various limbs, so far as we know of its own accord. The importance of sacrifice in the genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, however, is well known from Eznik and the sources allied to him, and has received detailed treatment earlier in this study. By sacrifice Zurvān gave birth to Ohrmazd, and later in handing over the *barsom* to Ohrmazd he said: 'Hitherto have I offered sacrifice for thee; henceforward shalt thou offer sacrifice for me.'[2] What did Zurvān mean by bidding Ohrmazd offer sacrifice for him? The answer is, I think, indicated by a sentence at the end of the third chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, where it is said: 'At the *Rapiθwin* time Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands fashioned the Spirit (genius, idea, *mēnōk*) of Sacrifice. By the performance of sacrifice all creation was created.'[3] One may then legitimately ask how creation came into existence through sacrifice, and who was the victim? Could it not have been Zurvān himself, incarnate in the Cosmos, Spihr; and is that not perhaps the significance of the sacrifice that Ohrmazd was to offer for Zurvān? The idea is attractive and the evidence fits; but there is not enough of it to transmute the pleasing hypothesis into objective fact. The hypothesis, indeed, gives point to Zurvān's injunction to his son to offer sacrifice for him; for in offering himself as victim he would draw up the curtain on a cosmic drama in which his own desire (Āz) and his own doubt (Ahriman), firm allies at first, finally destroy each other in his own body. Or again we may let our fancy play with the myth of the investiture of Ohrmazd, Vāy, and Spihr with the garments of the different castes and speculate as to whether this too was suggested by an Indian source deriving from the Puruṣa myth. All this, however, belongs to the realm of fantasy and there it must be allowed to remain. All that we can say with certainty is that the Indian myth which derived the four castes from various parts of the body of a primal giant was known in Īrān during the Sassanian period and was borrowed by the Zoroastrians.

1. 20: *vaš añdar gāhą kardaa i hast mardum pādāinīṭ pa humānāī i īñ čihār pāšagą i gāhą, čuñ awar sar āsrūī, awar dast aratištārī, awar iškam vāstryōšī, awar pāe hūtuχšī.*

[2] Text F 1, §§ 63–65.

[3] Text Z 2, § 20.

Yet another version of the material creation is hinted at in the *Bundahišn*[1] and fully elaborated in the *Dēnkart*.[2] The *Bundahišn* fragment, which differs radically from the account of the material creation which immediately follows it and which we have already summarized, briefly says: 'From the Endless Light he fashioned fire in material form, from fire wind, from wind water, from water the all-solid earth.' Here we have the four Empedoclean elements arbitrarily introduced into a Mazdean cosmological text where they are exceedingly ill at ease. The full story is told in our text Z 10, and the whole process, which seems physiological rather than mythological in character, starts with the firmament, Spihr, 'the First Body'. This, then, is the true continuation of the myth of the birth of Spihr, the body of Zurvān.

In the firmament were the Sun, Moon, and stars 'like embryos' (whence they had appeared is not stated). They control all existence under them and are themselves the highest natural phenomena. From the firmament the hot and moist proceeded 'of which the wind (air) is composed' and the elements which are the 'seed of seeds of material creations' and the 'movement of becoming' (*bavišn-ravišnīh*). From the 'movement of becoming' proceeds the 'settling of becoming' which is organic life. Now it seems clear enough that all this is based on Greek physics, and we would therefore expect that the four elements would be compounded from the four natural properties (hot, cold, moist, and dry). The *Dēnkart*, however, derives the whole of material existence from the air ('hot-moist' according to Aristotle and the *Dēnkart*), and nothing at all is said of the 'cold' and the 'dry'.

The explanation of this is that the Zoroastrians had assimilated the hot and the moist to Ohrmazd and the cold and the dry to Ahriman.[3] Ohrmazd then would become assimilated to the air and Ahriman to the earth if we care to follow up the Aristotelian parallel! What the source of these identifications is, however, I am at a loss to say. Whatever the reason, the results were embarrassing. Thus the Zoroastrian divines, deriving the elements from the natural properties, would have been logically forced to admit that one—the earth—was wholly evil, and two—fire and water—partly so. This they could scarcely do, since for all but a fraction of them the four elements were holy—more particularly, of course, fire and water.[4]

[1] Text Z 1, § 41. [2] Text Z 10.

[3] GrBd. 181. 6: *gōhr i Ōhrmazdīk garm 'ut χᵛēt, rōšn 'ut hubōδ *'ut *sapuk.*—'The substance of Ohrmazd is warm and moist, bright and fragrant and light.' Ibid. 188. 11: *gōhr i Ahriman sart 'ut χušk 'ut *sangēn, tārīk 'ut gandak.*—'The substance of Ahriman is cold and dry, heavy, dark and stinking.' Cf. *supra*, pp. 73–78.

[4] That certain extreme Zervanites regarded water as evil has been suggested in Chapter III (p. 74).

They were therefore forced into the uncomfortable position of deriving all four elements, including the earth, from the 'hot' and the 'moist'. The fullest account of this singular development is given in DkM. 120. 22 ff.:

> The seed of the material world arose from the fashioning and creative activity of the Creator using the power of the firmament as his raw material (*'pat ras-ōž-aβzārīh*); its name in Religion is 'becoming'. This is specifically the 'hot-moist', the origin of material creations. It is also called 'matter' (*mātaγ*). Through the Creator's moderating action the 'first form' arose from becoming: its name in Religion is 'the movement of becoming'. This is specifically the four elements—air, fire, water, and earth—the origin of the nature of material things. Through the Creator's wise action the 'second form' arose from the 'movement of becoming': its name is the 'settling of becoming'. This is specifically the mixture of the four living natural properties. Through the Creator's marvellous action the 'third form' arose, the material form of *fravahr* and soul which unites those same natural properties. This is specifically Man, cattle, and other good living things.[1]

This will then give us the following scheme of the evolution of organic life:

1. Spihr, the firmament: i.e. becoming, hot-moist, matter.
2. The first form: i.e. movement of becoming, the four elements.
3. The second form: i.e. settling of becoming, mixture of the four living natural properties.
4. The third form: i.e. the material form of *fravahr* and soul which unites the natural properties, Man and animals.

That the author of the *Dēnkart* himself found it impossible to reconcile the Hellenistic natural properties with the presumably indigenous tradition which identified Ohrmazd with the 'hot' and the 'moist' can be seen from the fact that he describes the 'second form' as 'the mixture of the *four* living natural properties'.

It will have been noticed that the two latter accounts of the material creation—the formation of the universe from the limbs of a primal giant and the 'physiological' development of organic life from the elements and natural properties—almost certainly derive from a foreign source. The first could be traced back to India; the second points unmistakably to Greece, for the four natural properties are a commonplace of Greek medicine and the four elements go back to Empedocles. Further study of the *Dēnkart* and allied texts might, moreover, bring to light broad strata of Greek thought embedded in the dry theological texts. Professor Bailey has already taken the first steps in this direction.[2]

[1] See note I, p. 145.

[2] An excellent beginning has been made by Professor Bailey in his *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 82 ff.

Both these imported creation myths fit more naturally into a Zervanite scheme than into a Mazdean; for in each it is Spihr (whether mentioned by name or not) who is the 'instrument' or 'body' from which the material universe proceeds. Moreover, in the *Dēnkart* passages there is no trace of the sevenfold creation which is the hall-mark of Mazdean cosmology. It is rather the four elements which have taken their place. This is at once reminiscent of Theodore bar Kônai's digest of Zervanite doctrine,[1] where the four elements appear as the terrestrial counterpart of Zurvān and his three celestial hypostases, Ašōqar, Frašōqar, and Zarōqar.

Thus on the one side we see a Zervanism strongly tinged with Indian ideas, and on the other we find it in close alliance with Greek physical theory. It seems, then, that Zervanism owed much to foreign influences which must have made themselves felt at the time of Šāpūr I and which, if we are to believe the *Dēnkart*, were finally expunged from the Zoroastrian religion by the action of Xusrau I.[2]

Zervanism, then, though no doubt originally Iranian in provenance, is a classic example of religious syncretism. Borrowing from East and West it must have collected a mass of heterogeneous doctrine under which the original Iranian religions are barely distinguishable. That Xusrau I should have attempted to introduce doctrinal order into this corpus of heterogeneous belief is readily understood. That Zervanite theories, on the other hand, should have seriously influenced Western thought seems unlikely. Mithraism is no doubt an exception, but even here the Iranian core is barely discernible under the later accretions. That the Pahlavī books borrow extensively from Greek philosophy seems now indisputable: the reverse has yet to be proved. That there was an interaction of ideas between Zoroastrianism and the Gnostic sects is certainly true, but that the main stream of Hellenistic thought was to any extent influenced by Īrān is most unlikely. The Sassanian Empire is no exception to the general rule that the inferior civilization is prone to borrow from the superior. That the heirs of Hellenism were still intellectually far in advance of their Oriental neighbours barely admits of discussion.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

A. Ibid. Cf. text Z 20: 'Time was originally infinite; then it became subject to limitation: at the end it returns to the Infinite. The law of Time is (to proceed) from original infinity through limitation involving action, motion, and passage, and to return back to ultimate infinity.' Again, text Z 3, § 3: 'This is the operation of Time, that it was infinite but was made finite for the act of creation (and so it

[1] Text F 10.

[2] v. Chapter II, pp. 48 ff.

remains) until the consummation, that is, when the Destructive Spirit is made powerless: then it mingles with that same infinity for ever and ever.'

B. Moses, i. 9 (pp. 42–43 in the editiòn of le Vaillant de Florival). He speaks of Zurvān, Titan, and Iapetos as being the fathers of three lines of men. He is, therefore, confusing three distinct myths: (i) the Greek myth of the Titans, (ii) the Semitic myth of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and (iii) the myth recorded by St. Basil according to which Zurvān was the ancestor of the Aryans. The latter myth is certainly responsible for the identification of Zurvān with Abraham in the *Farhang-i-J̌ahāngīrī*; cf. I. F. Blue, *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Sanjana*, p. 66).

N.B. Zurvān (*zruan*) is the normal Armenian translation of the Greek *Kronos*.

C. v. DkM. 359. 5 ff.: the sense seems to be that the Amahraspands are *kāmīk*, but the firmament (*ras*) and the elements *čihrīk*. Cf. DkM. 379. 1: *'ōh-ič čihrīk zīvandakīh 'ut aχᵛīk dānākīh [i] 'andar martōm martōmīh.*—'Thus humanity in man consists of natural life and intellect which is of the will.' The contrast between *čihr* and *kām* (*aχᵛ*) is practically equivalent to that between *baχt* (fate) and *kōχšišn* (effort, free will). See further DkM. 358. 22: *dahišnān i dātār Ōhrmazd 'hast vīnārišn 'ut yumbišn čihrīk, 'ut 'hast i kāmīk.*—'The behaviour and movement of the creatures of the Creator, Ohrmazd, are partly according to nature and partly according to will.' Cf. also ibid. 149. 14; 352. 7; 379. 1.

D. Cf. DkM. 915. 19: *vičīr i dēn χrat i Ōhrmazd 'hast.*—'The decision of the Religion is the Wisdom of Ohrmazd.' Ibid. 314. 12: *dēn ⟨i⟩ māzdēsn 'χᵛat 'hast āsnχrat.*—'The Mazdayasnian Religion is itself innate wisdom (reason).' For the connexion of the Religion and the *will* of Ohrmazd cf. DkM. 31. 10: *'vēh dēn i 'ān i Ōhrmazd kām.*—'The good Religion which is the will of Ohrmazd.' Identical ibid. 45. 4: cf. ŠGV. 10. 20: *kām i dādār bā əž dīn i dādār nā šnāsihəṭ.*—'The will of the Creator cannot be known except through the Religion of the Creator.'

E. Cf. Z 1, § 52: 'These six creations he made in the six *gāsānbār* seasons. In a complete year there are three hundred and sixty-five days or twelve months.' GrBd. 27. 8: *sitīkar 'ēn spihr 'pat humānākīh ⟨i⟩ 'sāl-ē 'nihāt 12 aχtar čēyōn 12 'māhīkān, 'har aχtar-*ē 30 sus(?) čēyōn 'har 'māh-ē 30 'rōč-šapān.*—'Third, this firmament (Spihr) was laid out in the likeness of a year—twelve constellations resembling the twelve months, each constellation having thirty degrees just as each month has thirty days and nights.' The year and the firmament are therefore considered to correspond exactly.

F. Text Z 2, § 7. The division of the sky into seven layers is not originally Mazdean. The seven stations obviously correspond to the seven planets and derive from Babylon. With the exception of the Sun and Moon these had been 'demonized' by the Mazdeans: thus though the 'place of the Sun' and 'the place of the Moon' were allowed to remain, Mazdean names were found for the other five stations. The duplication of the Endless Light (*anaγr rōšnīh* as well as *asar rōšnīh*) is interesting as showing that suitable names were not easily found. Moreover, the names do not seem to have been fixed. Thus in GrBd., pp. 28–29, we find the following (from bottom to top): (i) the contaminated firmament, (ii) the non-contaminated firmament, (iii) the Moon, (iv) the Sun, (v) the place of the Amahraspands, (vi) the

Endless Light, the place of Ohrmazd. To these we should probably add (at the bottom) *āsmān* (the sky) as a seventh to correspond with the scheme of GrBd. 194. 12.

This has the following scheme (from top to bottom): (i) the Endless Light, (ii) the place of the Amahraspands, (iii) Garōδmān, (iv) Vahišt (heaven), (v) the non-contaminated firmament, (vi) the contaminated firmament, and (vii) the sky.

Again the first *ʿUlemā* (PersRiv. ii, p. 74; Dhabhar, p. 441) differs. It has: (i) the station of the wind, (ii) the firmament, (iii) the station of the stars, (iv) of the Moon, (v) of the Sun, (vi) the Endless Light, and (vii) Garōδmān.

G. GrBd. 189. 8 ff. lists the following correspondences:

pōst čēγōn āsmān	skin like the sky.
gōšt čēγōn zamīk	flesh like the earth.
astak čēγōn kōf	bones like the mountains.
rayān čēγōn rōtīhā	veins like the rivers.
χōn čēγōn 'āp	blood like water.
aškomb čēγōn drayāh	stomach like the sea.
mōδ čēγōn urvar	hair like the plants.
gōhr i tan čēγōn ayō(k)χšust	the substance of the body like the metals.
āsn-χrat čēγōn martōm	innate reason like man.
gōšō(k)srūt χrat čēγōn gōspand	acquired knowledge like cattle.

Cf. DkM. 278. 7: *gēhān tan ātaχš, 'āp, zamīk, ayō(k)šust, urvar 'ut gōspand 'ut martōm, čēγōn 'martōm tan mazg 'ut χōn 'ut ray 'ut paδ 'ut ast 'ut pit 'ut mōδ.*—'The body of the world is fire, water, earth, metals, plants, cattle, and man, just as the body of man is marrow, blood, veins, sinews, bone, flesh, and hair.'

H. DkM. 428. 15–429. 8: *D'L-kōšāk i hindōk, megistīk i hrōmāy 'ut apārīk i 'hač 'ān šōn 'apāk bun-nipēk i 'pat ganǰ i ša⟨sa⟩pīkān 'ōh handāχt, 'čē 'andar-šān vīrāδišn 'apāk čim 'ō χ^{v}āstārān i ham-ākāsīh 'ōh nimūt. nipēk-šān [i] vīrōmandān nōk ārāst, ē 'čē 'hač 'bē-kišvar 'āβurt, ē nikīrīt 'ut ē vičust, frāč 'nē 'hišt nikōnīh 'ut bēkān[ān]ak-'nāmīh rāδ, 'nē kam patiyraft. 'ut 'būt 'kaδ vaχšišn i dānākīh rāδ vēš-ič stāyast, 'ut 'pat-ič 'nām i 'bē-kišvarīk ⟨i⟩ nipēkīhā 'nihāt, 'nē vizūt. ēvak-šān nipēk 'ut mātiyān 'pat bavandak-karīh i 'har ākāsīh 'ut dānišn i 'andar nipēkīhā 'ut mātiyānīhā, paytāk 'nē 'kart; 'bē-šān yut yut 'hač bun-nipēk 'ut mātiyān i 'χ^{v}ēš 'χ^{v}āst. 'ut *hangartīk 'χ^{v}ānēnd nipēk-ē i 'pat ganǰ i ša⟨sa⟩pīkān 'apar hamāk 'saχ^{v}an. 'ut 'andar-šān tan i martōmān 4 pēšak i gēhān 'pat baχšišn 'apar 'sar āsrōnīh, 'ut 'apar 'dast artēštārīh, 'ut 'apar aškam vāstryōšīh, 'ut 'apar 'pāδ hutuχšīh.*

kōšāk = Skt. *kośa*: v. Menasce (JA. 1949, p. 2). *D'L* is not clear.

I. DkM. 120. 22 ff.: *tōhmak i gētēh 'būtak i 'hač dātār āβurišn 'ut dahišn 'pat ras-ōž-aβzārīh 'ut-aš dēnīk* 'nām 'bavišn, 'ut nāmčist garm-χ^{v}ēt bun ⟨i⟩ gētēh dahišnān, mātaγ-ič 'χ^{v}ānīhēt. 'ut-aš dēsak i fratom 'būtak i 'pat dātār ['ut] patmān-kārīh 'hač 'bavišn, 'ut-aš dēnīk 'nām 'bavišn-ravišnīh, 'ut-aš nāmčist 'čahār zahakān i 'hēnd vāt, ātaχš, 'āp, 'gil, bun ⟨i⟩ gētēhān čihr. 'ut dēsak i dītīkar 'būtak [i] 'pat dātār fražānak-kārīh[ā] 'hač 'bavišn-ravišnīh, 'ut-aš 'nām 'bavišn-ēstišnīh, 'ut-aš nāmčist 'čahār ristakān āmēčišn i zīndakān. dēsak i sitīkar 'hač dātār aβd-karīh fravahr 'ut ruvān ham-ristakān hamēnītār gētēh, 'ut-aš nāmčist martōm, gōspand 'ut apārīk zīndakān i vēh.* Cf. DkM. 124. 18 ff.: *'hač ras 'pat dātār āβurišn 'rasītak 'ō 'bavišn garm-χ^{v}ēt, gētēh dahišnān fratom bun. 'hač 'bavišn garm-χ^{v}ēt 'bavišn-ravišnīh, zahakān 'čahār i*

'hast vāt, ātaχš, 'āp, 'gil. 'hač 'bavišn-ravišnīh 'bavišn-ēstišnīh, aδvēnakān i āmēχtak. 'hač zahakān aδvēnakān baχtak 'ō karpān.—'From the Wheel (the firmament), through the Creator's fashioning, is derived becoming, the hot and the moist, the first origin of material creatures. From becoming, the hot and the moist, (comes) the movement of becoming, the four elements which are wind (air), fire, water, and earth. From the movement of becoming (comes) the settling of becoming, mixed forms. From the forms of the elements bodies are derived.' Cf. further DkM. 202. 16 ff. and ibid. 207. 8 ff.

CHAPTER VI

THE LUMINARIES

When (Ahriman) saw . . . that Ohrmazd had created beautiful creatures, yet knew not how to create light, he took counsel with the demons, and said: 'What benefit hath Ohrmazd? for he has created such beautiful creatures, yet they remain in darkness, and he knew not how to create the light? But if he were wise, he would go in unto his mother, and the Sun would be born as his son; and he would have intercourse with his sister, and the Moon would be born.' And he charged (them) that not one (of them) should betray his thought. A demon, Mahmi, having heard this, came before Ohrmazd with all speed, and betrayed that thought to him.[1]

SUCH is Eznik's account of the creation of the Sun and Moon; and this is repeated by no less than six other sources, including a Manichaean fragment.

The fable is certainly Zervanite for three very good reasons: (i) it is reproduced by the sources that are concerned with refuting the Zervanite version of Zoroastrianism and, in the case of Abū Qurra and the Manichaean fragment, it follows on the myth of the birth of the Twins; (ii) there is no trace of it in the Pahlavī books; and (iii) it is unthinkable that Ohrmazd, in a Mazdean account, should be at a loss how to make the world light.

The fullest account of the creation of the luminaries according to the Mazdeans is to be found in the second chapter of the *Bundahišn*.[2] It is simple and straightforward and knows nothing of the dubious complexities retailed by Eznik.

After the creation of the firmament the twelve Signs of the Zodiac were attached to it,[3] and to assist these 6,480,000 minor stars were created.[4] One star was appointed over each of the four heavenly quarters—Tištar (Syrius) over the East, Satvēs (Scorpio according to Henning)[5] over the South,

[1] Eznik, ii, § 8 (text F 7 (*a*)) together with the Manichaean fragment (text F 7 (*b*)); cf. Theodore Abū Qurra (F 2); and from the *Acta Martyrum* our texts F 3 (*d*), F 5 i and ii, and F 6 (Mâr Abhâ).

[2] For an annotated translation v. Henning in JRAS. 1942, pp. 229–48.

[3] '*Ulemā* (text 37), § 13: 'And each of the twelve Signs of the Zodiac which are bound to the firmament he appointed for a thousand years.' Cf. GrBd. 25. 6: *Ōhrmazd andarag i āsmān 'ut zamīk rōšnān frāč brēhēnīt*.—'Ohrmazd fashioned forth the luminaries between the sky and the earth.'

[4] GrBd. 26. 8: *'har axtar-ē 'hač 'avēšān 6,480,000 χ^{v}artak stār⟨ak⟩ 'pat aδyārih frāč brēhēnīt*.—'To assist each of these constellations he fashioned forth 6,480,000 small stars.'

[5] JRAS. 1942, p. 246; Jackson identified Satvēs with Fomalhaut (ERE. xii, p. 86).

Vanand (Vega) over the West, and Haptōring (the Great Bear) over the North. The supreme commander of them all was the 'Nail in the middle of the sky', that is the Pole Star.[1] Above the Zodiac were set the stars 'exempt from contamination'; and when Ahriman launched his attack on the material creation, he was unable to attain to these.[2] Above these the Moon was installed, and above her the Sun.[3] The firmament itself was created in the form of a wheel;[4] but before Ahriman attacked, it remained stationary and it was always noon.[5] All this is straightforward enough, and there is nothing at all to suggest that the luminaries could only be produced by what can only be described as an act of heavenly incest.

This latter myth is puzzling indeed, and were it not confirmed by the independent evidence of a Manichaean fragment, its very strangeness and the crassness of its imagery might lead us to doubt its authenticity. The Manichaean fragment, however, speaks as plainly as Eznik himself: 'They say', it tells us, 'that Ohrmazd and Ahriman are brothers: in consequence of this doctrine they will meet with their destruction. They lie against Ohrmazd and slander him, (saying) that the demon Māhmī taught him to make the world light.'[6]

The demon Mahmi makes this one meteoric appearance only in the whole corpus of our sources, and that is all we know about him. Only the Acts of Āδur-Hormizd, though ignorant of his name, add that the Magians offer propitiatory sacrifices (*šnūman*) for him annually.[7]

Because of the very insufficiency of the data, no doubt, scholars have put forward various interesting, plausible, and unprovable theories on the subject of this elusive demon. For Junker[8] he was a demon of sexual intercourse; and his name was to be derived from an Avestan *maēθmana-* (from *maēθ-* 'to unite'). Such a form, however, should produce a *mēhman* or

[1] See note A, p. 163.

[2] GrBd. 28. 1: *'an hačapar 'avēšān starān agumēčišnīh vīnārt 'ku 'kaδ aβigat 'rasēt, 'pat kōχšišn spōžēnd, 'ō apartar gumēχtan 'nē 'hilēnd.*—'Again above these stars the uncontaminated zone was established so that when the Aggressor came, they should repel him in battle and not suffer him to contaminate the higher regions.'

[3] Ibid. 28. 10: *hačapar 'hač 'ān brēhēnīt māh i gōspand-tōhmak. hačapar i 'ān brēhēnīt χᵛaršēt ⟨i⟩ arvand-asp.*—'Above this (i.e. the stars exempt from contamination) the Moon which has the seed of cattle, was fashioned; and above that the Sun whose steeds are swift, was fashioned.'

[4] Ibid. 27. 15: *'ut-aš spihr ⟨'ut⟩ 'avēšān aχtarān čaχrak aδvēnak 'nihāt 'kē 'andar gumēčišn 'ō ravišn 'ēstēnd.*—'And he made the firmament and the stars in the form of a wheel which, during the time of contamination, is set in motion.'

[5] Ibid. 29. 12: *'tāk matan i aβigat, māh 'ut χᵛaršēt 'ut 'avēšān stārakān 'ēstāt, 'nē 'raft 'hēnd, 'ut apēčakīhā zamān hamē vitārt, 'ut hamvār nēmrōč 'būt.*—'Till the Aggressor came the Moon and Sun and stars stood still and did not move, and time ever passed in purity and it was always midday.'

[6] Text F 7 (*b*).

[7] Text, F 5. i.

[8] *Aionvorstellung*, p. 171, n. 81; *Wörter und Sachen*, xii, 1929, p. 135, n. 2.

mēhm in Middle Persian. The suffix is, in any case, particularly puzzling. Nyberg[1] preferred to derive the name from an Old Iranian **maδmiya-* ('mediator') and equated Mahmi with Mithra (Mihr) in his capacity of μεσίτης. Schaeder,[2] however, rejected this interpretation on the grounds that (*a*) Mithra was unlikely to figure in any tradition as a demon, and (*b*) that in Armenian **maδmiya-* would give *marmi* rather than *mahmi*. It might also be added that Mahmi's action is that of a traitor, renegade, or enthusiastic convert: it is not the action of a 'mediator' in any accepted sense of that word.

Schaeder himself produced a far more subtle theory, maintaining that the whole episode was based on a misunderstanding of the Gāθic text Ys. 32. 1. In that text (second line) the word *mahmī* occurs, and it is the locative singular of the possessive adjective of the first person singular. The word was misunderstood by a translator, lifted bodily out of the text, and transformed into a fully fledged demon. This sounds preposterous. It must, however, be borne in mind that in the Sassanian period the *Gāθās* were scarcely understood at all and that commentators could and did make them mean more or less what they liked. The case of a demon *Ariš* being happily conjured up from an innocent adverb (*ərəš*) has already been noticed.[3] This can only have been done by a Mazdean commentator who understood the gist of the passage very well—viz. that the Bounteous and Destructive Spirits were represented as twins, and could only get out of the dilemma by attributing the doctrine not to Zoroaster but to a demon, Ariš, whom he had himself invented from the text. The disingenuousness of the whole proceeding is patent from the fact that in other less controversial passages the commentators translate *ərəš* correctly as *rāst* 'rightly'.[4] Why then, Schaeder could well have argued, should not the Zervanites do the same with the adjectival *mahmī*?

In fact neither the Pahlavī translation nor the *Dēnkart* paraphrase[5] take *mahmī* as a proper name. The translation has correctly *'pat 'man mēnisnīh*, 'according to my thought'. This does not, of course, in any way prove that a Zervanite commentary *might* not have existed which translated the words *daēvā mahmī* as 'the demon Mahmi'. This—for a Pahlavī translation of a Gāθic passage—would be far from extraordinary and would be exactly paralleled by the *ərəš–Ariš* confusion. The difference is that *ərəš* could (and did) easily suggest Av. *ərəšay-* = Phl. *arišk* (NP. *rišk*) 'envy', whereas *mahmī* corresponds to no known Avestan, Pahlavī, or New Persian

[1] *Religionen*, p. 385.
[2] 'Der iranische Zeitgott', ZDMG. 1941, pp. 294–5; cf. Henning, *Zoroaster*, p. 51.
[3] Ys. 30. 3: v. p. 80.
[4] v. Bartholomae, AIW., col. 355.
[5] DkM. 835. 19–836. 7.

word, as the divergence of scholars' views on his etymology conclusively proves.

Moreover, even if it were proved up to the hilt that Mahmi is nothing but a misunderstood pronominal adjective in the locative case suddenly and magically promoted to demonhood, is it not a little odd that an elaborate myth, which has nothing to do with the Gāθic text from which he allegedly arose, should be invented in his honour? Both Eznik and the Manichaean fragment agree that Mahmi's action consisted in showing Ohrmazd how to illumine the world. This, according to Eznik and other Christian sources, was to be achieved by an incestuous act on the part of Ohrmazd. Where is all this in the Gāθic text?

It is true that a not too scrupulous or not too literate translator might evoke the word *χᵛētōdat* (Av. *χᵛaētu-vadaθa-*) from the *χᵛaētuš* occurring in the first line of the verse under discussion. I cannot, however, see how he could have extracted the idea of the creation of light from the Avestan text. To maintain then that both the demon and the fable of which he is the hero have been extracted from a misunderstood grammatical form seems merely fanciful.

It would, however, be reasonable to suppose that the Gāθic text was interpreted by a Zervanite commentator in the sense of the incest myth, *if such a myth already existed*, and if its hero's name was indeed Mahmi or something approaching those sounds. The name then would have been staring him in the face from the Avestan text, and the incest myth he could have easily elicited from the word *χᵛaētuš*: this would be neither more nor less extraordinary than the parallel case of the adverbial Ariš.

It is, moreover, interesting to refer to the *Dēnkart* paraphrase in this connexion. Both this and the glosses on the Pahlavī translation interpret the text as meaning that certain demons (three, according to the *Dēnkart*) sought to come to an understanding with Ohrmazd, but that the latter summarily rejected their overtures. It is possible that in a Zervanite version these may have been accepted, and that the whole passage was then connected up with the already existing incest myth, in which the demon Mahmi may or may not already have played a part. The name 'Mahmi' may indeed have been introduced from the Gāθic text; and I do not think this unlikely since no satisfactory etymology has so far been proposed.[1] The myth, however, must have been in existence *before* some commentator read so extraordinary a meaning into the Gāθic text. To dismiss the

[1] *māh-mī* could be interpreted as a truncated form of *māh-mihr* > *māh-mī(r)*: cf. Henning, JRAS 1942, p. 239 (*mihr*, widely pronounced *mīr*). For a form *mī* one may compare Zēbakī *mī* 'day'. For the development cf. *hiχr* > *hīr* > *hī* (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 281).

myth—which we now know is attested in a Manichaean source as well as in several Christian—as an invention from the *Gāθās* begs the question. The myth, baffling as it is, must be accepted as genuine both because it is now confirmed by the Manichaean fragment and because even if some amiable idiot were to invent the whole story from a pronominal adjective, it would scarcely receive sufficient currency in Zoroastrian circles to become the target of both Christian and Manichaean polemics.

Further, the defection of Mahmi fits nicely into what we have already seen seems to be fairly typical of Zervanite Zoroastrianism, namely, the freedom of choice which is apparently enjoyed both by Ohrmazd and Ahriman themselves and by their first creatures. The myth, however, does present a genuine problem. How is it possible that Ohrmazd, whose 'place'[1] is the Endless Light and who fashioned his creation from the same Endless Light, should be unable to illumine his creation which was now, for no known reason, *in the darkness*?

Here again we must refer to the theory we have already propounded, that according to the Zervanites the material Cosmos proceeded *not* from the Endless Light but from Zurvān himself;[2] and since Zurvān is in no sense a god of light, the illumination of the Cosmos would thus be necessary. What the precise significance of Mahmi's defection would then be I cannot say.

Regretfully leaving Mahmi for the moment, we must return to the sordid business of the generation of the luminaries, the method of which he revealed to Ohrmazd. We have seen that Ohrmazd was finally able to illumine the Cosmos by producing first the Sun by intercourse with his 'mother' and secondly the Moon by intercourse with his 'sister'. The Acts of Pûsai[3] tell us that he produced the stars as well by similar means, one assumes by a similar relationship with his 'daughter'. The assumption is substantiated by the Acts of Anâhîδ, where we read: 'And if he begot them (i.e. the fire and the luminaries) through his mother, *daughter*, and sister, . . . why should he not resemble us in all things.'[4]

The fact that no original Zoroastrian text with which I am acquainted makes any mention at all of this, to us scandalous, myth cannot be attributed to any shy reserve on the part of the Zoroastrian priesthood, whose advocacy of this practice was notorious. Until comparatively recent times they showed no diffidence whatever in championing a union which is strongly condemned by most religions and which is, one would have thought, repugnant to the natural man. Quite the contrary: in all stages of their ancient literature they extol the practice, quoting it often as being *the*

[1] Cf. text Z 1, § 2.
[2] v. pp. 111, 128, 141.
[3] Text F 3 (*d*).
[4] Text F 5, ii.

most meritorious action it is possible for man to perform,[1] and even seek to sanctify it by attributing the practice to Ohrmazd himself:

It is revealed that Ohrmazd practised *χᵛētōdatīh* (consanguineous marriage). When Zoroaster sat before Ohrmazd, and Vahuman, Artvahišt, Šaθrēvar, Hurdāt, Amurdāt and Spandarmat were sitting around Ohrmazd, Spandarmat sat in his lap and her arm rested upon his neck. Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd (saying), 'Who is this that reclineth in thy lap, and who loves thee so much and is so dear to thee? Thou who art Ohrmazd dost not avert thy gaze from her, nor doth she avert her gaze from thee; and thou who art Ohrmazd dost not let her out of thy arms, nor does she let thee out of her arms.' Ohrmazd said, 'This is Spandarmat, my daughter, my Queen of Heaven and Mother of Creation.'[2]

This myth may well be a late invention designed to give divine sanction to the 'holy' practice of incest, just as the investiture myth was probably designed to sanctify the three earthly castes. Had the author of the *Rivāyat* from which the quotation is extracted known of a tradition according to which Ohrmazd produced the luminaries by intercourse with Spandarmat, he would surely have introduced it in this context—unless, of course, the myth had fallen into disrepute as being Zervanite. As it is, the story is left very much in the air and leaves us with a series of unanswered questions. First, if Spandarmat is the daughter of Ohrmazd, who is her mother? Second, if she had intercourse with Ohrmazd, what was the fruit of the union? Third—and more important—why is Spandarmat, otherwise so closely associated with the earth as to be identical with it, described here as the 'Queen of Heaven and Mother of Creation'?

Before attempting to answer these questions we must cite a close parallel from a Mandaean text dealing with precisely this subject. Like the Zoroastrians, this extraordinary sect became familiar with astrology and astrolatry through their contact with Babylon. The planets presented the Zoroastrians, both Mazdean and Zervanite, with an interesting dilemma. The stars proper followed their regular courses and so reflected the divine order: the planets, however, followed eccentric courses and for this reason could not be fitted into that order: hence they must be diabolical. This deduction was probably arrived at at a comparatively late date since the planets were in ordinary speech named after Zoroastrian deities corresponding as nearly as possible to their Babylonian archetypes.[3] Astrological

[1] On this see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., pp. 324 ff. Chapter viii of the Pahlavī *Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dātastān i Dēnīk* is entirely devoted to this subject.

[2] See note B, p. 163.

[3] Thus Ohrmazd = Marduk = Jupiter; Varhrān (Bahrām) = Nergal = Mars, &c. It is curious that Saturn was not termed 'Zurvān' as might have been expected, but retained his Babylonian name (*Kēvān*), particularly as both the planet Saturn and Zurvān are associated with death.

theory, however, attributed beneficent influences to certain of the planets, maleficent to others. We shall see shortly what mental acrobatics the Zoroastrians had to perform in trying to reconcile the two traditions.

The Mandaean reaction to the foreign cult was typical. Just as in another context the second-century heresiarch, Marcion, took over the Old Testament Jehovah and turned him into a quasi-maleficent deity independent of, yet inferior to, the God of Love, so did the Mandaeans accept the Babylonian stars and planets: these retained their function of architects and controllers of the world associated with the Demiurge, Ptahil; but the world itself was evil and its creation was a mistake. The planets were therefore basically evil.[1] The stars and planets had simply become the taskmasters of an enslaved humanity. Above them and above the Demiurge was the kingdom of Light and the countless pure spirits associated with it whose function was to redeem the soul from its slavery to the luminaries.

On the origin of these, however, the Mandaean *Ginzā* is not consistent. According to one account they were simply created by Ptahil.[2] The second version, however, resembles the Zervanite so closely that it is impossible to escape the conclusion that both go back to a common origin. Since consanguineous marriages were notoriously Magian, it seems fair to suppose that the myth too is of Magian origin.

The Mandaean myth is told in *Right Ginzā*, p. 94 (Lidzbarski's translation, pp. 99 f.). Rūhā, who is the mother of all evil, perceiving that Ptahil is in difficulties, calls to her son, Ur, and solicits his intimacy: 'Auf, schlafe bei deiner Mutter, damit du von der Fessel befreit werdest, mit der du gefesselt, die stärker als alle Welt ist.' After seven days she bore the seven planets.[3] Then she again approached her son and said, 'Ich bin deine Schwester. Wenn du bei mir liegest, wird deine Kraft sich verdoppeln.' After twelve more days she bore the twelve Signs of the Zodiac.[4] It will have been noticed that Rūhā calls herself first the mother of Ur and secondly his sister, just as in the Zervanite myth Ohrmazd approaches first his mother and then his sister in order to generate the Sun and Moon. Then a third time Rūhā approaches Ur and says, 'Steh auf, *mein Vater*, siehe, ich bin deine Tochter. Kose und küsse mich und liege bei mir.'[5] Then she conceives five monsters; and on the first day the heaven was rent and it lightened; on the second day it thundered; on the third the heavens were surrounded by flames of fire; on the fourth there were earthquakes at the gates of the darkness; and on the fifth the pangs of childbirth came

[1] Brandt, *Die Mandäische Religion*, p. 61.
[2] Cf. *Ginzā* (Lidzbarski's translation), p. 294. 7; 446. 41.
[3] Ibid., p. 99. 12 ff.
[4] Ibid., p. 100. 24 ff.
[5] Ibid., p. 101. 25 ff.

upon Rūhā, and she bore the Five. The Five are the five planets proper, less the Sun and Moon. Thus the birth of the planets is represented as having taken place twice over, as Brandt has already shown.[1]

Now the incest motif makes a Magian origin of our myth almost certain, and we must therefore assume that the Zervanite version, or what is preserved of it, is nearer the original than the Mandaean which, if a common origin is to be assumed, has distorted it. In the Zervanite account the result of Ohrmazd's intercourse with his mother and sister is the Sun and the Moon respectively. Why have the Mandaeans substituted the Seven and the Twelve for these? It is possible that in transferring the myth from the realm of light to that of darkness they were not anxious to bring into relief the demonization of the Sun and Moon which are occasionally spoken of as beneficent beings.[2] The planets and to a lesser extent the Signs of the Zodiac were, however, considered devilish powers[3] the former being responsible, with Ptahil, for the creation of the world which this improbable sect, more than any other, regarded as basically and irretrievably evil. The substitution of the Seven and the Twelve for the Sun and Moon of the Magian myth is not unnatural; for the protagonists are no longer the powers of light but Ur, the king of darkness, and his mother, who is the very substance of evil.

Since the planets appear to have been born twice in the Mandaean myth, we might be tempted to conjecture that the third parturition brought about by Ohrmazd's third incest produced the five planets in the Zervanite myth too (for both Mâr Abhâ and the Acts of Anâhîδ[4] clearly show that a third incest of father and daughter was committed). Against this, however, we have the statement of the Acts of Pûsai that the Sun, Moon, and *stars* were the children of Ohrmazd; there is no mention of the planets. Further, our Iranian sources are unanimous in assigning the planets to the creation of Ahriman.

If the reader can bear with me a little longer in investigating this 'senselessness and disgusting imbecility',[5] we will find that the Mandaean myth throws a little light on to the Zervanite episode. Ur and Rūhā commit incest three times in order to generate the luminaries: in the Zervanite myth Ohrmazd does the same. Ohrmazd is alleged to have done so with his mother, his sister, and his daughter: Ur's partner (and mother) when inciting him to action calls herself first his mother, then his sister, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 61.

[2] Brandt, op. cit., p. 62. Cf. *Book of John* (Lidzbarski's translation), pp. 84, 117, and 118.

[3] The Seven and the Twelve are often mentioned together as maleficent powers; cf. *Ginzā* 311. 20; 319. 35; 323. 25, &c.

[4] *Supra*, p. 151: texts F 5, ii and F 6.

[5] Text F 7 (*a*), para. 2.

finally his daughter. Now, among the Zoroastrians these three consanguineous unions were considered to be the most holy of all.[1] It is natural that this triple incest should have been fathered on Ohrmazd. That with Spandarmat, his daughter, is attested, though the offspring of the union is not mentioned: there is, however, no trace of the other two in Pahlavī literature—which, since that literature is practically speaking wholly Mazdean, is not surprising. It is possible, of course, that the triple incest was in fact only of one kind—that between mother and son as in the Mandaean account—and the extreme paucity of goddesses of any sort in later Zoroastrianism, whether Mazdean or Zervanite, would make this probable. Thus we can only conclude that (i) such a myth existed, (ii) that it was invented to sanctify incest, and (iii) that it somehow or other became associated with the creation of the luminaries.

Apart from other considerations the contexts in which it occurs (i.e. Syrian and Armenian Christian polemics) prove that it belongs to the Zervanite rather than the Mazdean tradition. As a justification of incest, however, it must have belonged to both, since Spandarmat, being one of the Amahraspands, falls rather into the Mazdean orbit.

That the incest is secondary in the myth of the production of the luminaries seems to be indicated by the Acts of Anâhîδ; for Anâhîδ seems to suggest that the Magian whom he was addressing was not himself clear whether fire and the luminaries were born of a female or of Ohrmazd himself as a hermaphrodite. It is incidentally he who supplies the name of Ohrmazd's mother (Xᵛašχᵛarrīk, p. 64).

A parallel to this myth[2] from an Aramaic inscription from Arabissus describing *dēn mazdaianiš* (the Zoroastrian Religion *par excellence*) as the wife and sister of Bel (here presumably representing Ohrmazd) is not particularly helpful. True, the *χᵛarr i dēn i mazdēsnān* (the Fortune of the Mazdayasnian Religion) appears repeatedly in the Pahlavī texts as a star-studded girdle around the sky,[3] and is the general of those stars in the highest heaven which are exempt from contamination by Ahriman.[4] This, however, is not enough to prove that the 'Fortune of the Religion' was the agent by which Orhmazd created the luminaries.

It is, however, significant that Zātspram, who, as we have seen, often preserves traces of Zervanism which have disappeared elsewhere, speaks of Spandarmat as being girt with the *Dēn* (Religion) as with a girdle.[5] This, he says, constitutes Spandarmat's motherhood of the *Dēn*.[6]

[1] Cf. PhlRiv., l.c.; DkM. 72. 20 ff., and Christensen, l.c.

[2] Chabot, *Rép. épigr. sémit.* iii. 1785 *apud* Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, i, p. 95, n. 2.

[3] GrBd. 71. 6; 193. 11; Dd. 36. 35; 38. 14.

[4] Cf. p. 148, n. 2.

[5] See note C, p. 163.

[6] Zs. 4. 8: *'ēn-ič būt 'mātarīh i 'pat *dēn*

From the shreds of evidence we have been able to glean from the Pahlavī texts we can now reconstruct a parallel to the Zervanite incest myth found in the Christian sources. Spandarmat, described in the *Rivāyat* passage as the 'Queen of Heaven', appears in Zātspram as 'mother of the *Dēn*'. The 'Fortune of the *Dēn*' is depicted as the star-studded girdle of the firmament (Spihr),[1] the barrier beyond which the powers of evil cannot pass.[2] Being the general of, and thus representing, the luminaries, the 'Fortune of the Religion' may thus have been represented in a Zervanite tradition as the offspring of Ohrmazd and his daughter, Spandarmat, who as 'Queen of Heaven' may represent some deity in the Zervanite pantheon unknown to us.

The incestuous procreation of the stars by Ohrmazd, then, is reflected in the Zoroastrian texts themselves. Similar corroboration for the incestuous genesis of the Sun and Moon, however, is not so far forthcoming. Whether or not the dubious Xᵛašχᵛarrīk was in the fable the mother of the Sun; who is understood by Ohrmazd's sister; and whether all three—the mother, sister, and daughter—are not really one as in the Mandaean myth, are points that must for the present remain unresolved. The question of the engaging demon, Mahmi, moreover, still remains shrouded in impenetrable obscurity.

The myth is, however, instructive in another way; for it illustrates a basic difference between the Mazdean and Zervanite conceptions of both Orhmazd and Ahriman. The Mazdean conceives Ohrmazd as omniscient and omnipotent, his wisdom and power being, logically enough, limited to the possible: his essence is goodness. What the Mazdean understood by divine omnipotence is clearly set out by Mardān-farruχ in the third chapter of the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār*, and we cannot do better than quote him:

When one says that a thing is impossible and further says that God has power to do it, that thing is then removed outside the bounds of the impossible, for

MSS. *DTW*) *i 'pat Spandarmat 'bē 'dahīhast*.—'This was the motherhood of the Religion which was given to Spandarmat.' This is the significant sentence: it appears to have little or nothing to do with the passage recorded in note C, p. 163. Wearing the *Dēn* as a girdle scarcely constitutes motherhood. Zātspram, then, must have known of another myth in which Spandarmat figured as the mother of the *Dēn*; this is actually found in §§ 1–3 of the same chapter.

[1] GrBd. 193. 11: *'χᵛarr i dēn i māzdēsnān kūstīk humānāk i star-pēsītak mēnōkān-tāšīt 'ān spihr *dāšt 'ēstēt*.—'The firmament stands arrayed in the Fortune of the Mazdayasnian Religion, as in a girdle studded with stars and fashioned by the spiritual powers.'

[2] Dd. 36. 35: *'ōδ aiβyāhan 'ēstēt mēnōk vaχšīk 'ān i band-drupuštīh 'kē-š harvisp bandān nikās ov-iš i 'χᵛat 'hast 'vazurg 'χᵛarr . . . ⟨i⟩ dēn: apēčak gumān-vičār brāzīhēt*.—'There stands the girdle, a blazing spirit, the fortress for the bonds to which the guarding of all the bonds (i.e. the invisible bonds connecting the stars) is entrusted, that is the great Fortune of the Religion: pure it shines, dispelling doubt.'

then it ceases to be impossible, and becomes possible. Just as his power is confined, so is his will. For he is wise; and the will of one who is wise is (concentrated) entirely on the possible; and his will does not encroach on what is impossible, for he only wills that which can and ought to come to pass.[1]

Thus, the author goes on to say, it would be inaccurate to say that Ohrmazd is able to hold Ahriman back from evil; for evil is his eternal essence and cannot be changed. Devilry can never be changed into godliness any more than darkness can be turned into light, or light into darkness. No substance can change in its nature, and only those who do not know what a substance is could say that it can.[2]

Contrast this with the conception of the same deity as exhibited by Eznik[3] and the Syriac writers. For them Ohrmazd is indeed good, but his goodness seems to be divorced from common sense, let alone wisdom; for he could not even think of a method of creating the light and had to be instructed by the accommodating Mahmi, a renegade from Ahriman's camp. Ahriman, on the other hand, whom the Mazdeans represented as being essentially both evil and stupid, shows himself to be both clever and to some extent beneficent, for he knew how the light could be created and was in a certain way instrumental in its creation. So, as Āδur-Hormizd pertinently asks, 'Should we try to please Ahriman who, according to your words, appears wise, knowing, and mighty from his works, just as Ohrmazd appears weak and stupid, for he could create nothing till he had learnt from the disciples of Ahriman?'[4]

Again on the Ahrimanian side we find Mahmi breaking loose from his master's tutelage to join forces with Ohrmazd, just as in another myth derived from a similar source Woman (and again water) seems to have deserted Ohrmazd for Ahriman[5]—each thus exercising a choice that was at variance with its nature.

We have now seen that the Sun, Moon, and stars were produced by 'heavenly incest' in the Zervanite story. The genesis of the planets is equally scabrous; and this again tends to confirm the genuineness of the Mahmi myth, so hastily impugned by Schaeder. These Ahriman conceived and bore (*višūt*)[6] by committing sodomy on his own person.[7] This particular vice was regarded by the Zoroastrians as the most damnable of all offences—the Ahrimanian counterpart of incest which was regarded, as

[1] ŠGV. 3. 9: *ka guft ku nə šāyaṯ būdan, diṯ gōeṯ ku yazaṯ padaš tvąnī, qš əž vimañd i nə šāyaṯ būdan burd. či pas nə nə šāyaṯ bə šāyaṯ būdan. čuñš tvą sāmąnmañd awąniča ažaš kām; či faržąnaa, u kām i faržąnaa har ō ą i šāyaṯ būdan; vaš kām ō ą i nə šāyaṯ nə vadīrəṯ; či har ą kāməṯ i šāyaṯ sažəṯ būdan.* Cf. also text Z 22 and Z 17: 'He who is both origin and God of all, is omnipotent in (the sphere of) the possible.'

[2] See note D, p. 164. [3] Text F 7 (*a*).

[4] Text F 5, i.

[5] Text F 10 and p. 74.

[6] Text Z 28 (*a*), § 4. [7] Text Z 8, § 8.

we know, as the most sublime virtue.[1] This unedifying detail was probably invented to balance the Ohrmazdean 'virtue' in the usual Zoroastrian way; and by associating this vice with Ahriman the priests no doubt sought to 'diabolize' it. This squalid mythology would almost certainly follow, rather than precede, the practices extolled and condemned.

We can now leave the sordid tale of the genesis of the luminaries and proceed to study the effects they were supposed to produce on earth. Since Zurvān of the long Dominion is embodied in the Cosmos (Spihr) and Spihr is specifically identified with the firmament, it is not surprising that the luminaries play an important part in Zervanite doctrine.

> All welfare and adversity that come to man and other creatures, come through the Seven and the Twelve. The twelve Signs of the Zodiac, as the Religion says, are the twelve commanders on the side of Ohrmazd; and the seven planets are said to be the seven commanders on the side of Ahriman. And the seven planets oppress all creation and deliver it over to death and all manner of evil; for the twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the seven planets rule the fate of the world and direct it.[2]

At the time of the original creation, we are told, the material creation was as good as the spiritual, and the Sun and Moon and the Signs of the Zodiac were put in charge of it: they received good things from Ohrmazd and distributed them justly on earth. The planets, however, upset this benevolent dispensation; for whatever the constellations bestow is intercepted by the planets and diverted to the use of the demons. When Ahriman made his successful attack on the material creation, he was accompanied by the planets.[3] The measures taken by the forces of light to counteract their baleful influence are fully told in the fifth chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* and the fourth of the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār*, the gist of which is given in the following paragraphs.

The demonization of the planets had embarrassing consequences for the Zoroastrians. They had adopted the number seven from Babylon, and that number naturally included the Sun and Moon, both of which had been the object of the highest veneration among the Iranians from the earliest times. How could this be reconciled with the evil nature of the planets? In order to obviate the difficulty they invented a 'dark' Sun and Moon[4] which were supposed to be responsible for the eclipse of the Sun and Moon proper. When the planets invaded the firmament each chose its appropriate

[1] For sodomy as the characteristic act of Ahriman and the demons cf. PhlRiv. 8 *d* 2 (p. 13): *paytāk 'ku Ahriman i gijistak 'kaδ-aš 'apāk 'χ^{v}ēš-tan kūnmarz kart, aš garāntar 'būt čēγōn 'kaδ-aš 'apāk 'dēvān kart.* It is the worst of all sins; so MΧ. 36. 2: *'hač vināsi 'martōmān 'kunēnd kūnmarz garāntar.*

[2] Text Z 8, §§ 12–14.

[3] Text Z 28 (*a*).

[4] *Miθr i tamīk* and *māh i tamīk*, GrBd. 57. 7 ff. ŠGV. 4. 46: *mihir u māh i awāχtarī.*

antagonist. The planet Jupiter (Ohrmazd) attacked the Great Bear (Haptōring) in the north; Venus (Anāhīt) attacked Scorpio (Satvēs) in the south; Mars (Varhrān) Vega (Vanand) in the west; Mercury (Tīr) Sirius (Tištar) in the east; and Saturn (Kēvān), the supreme commander of the planets, attacked the Pole Star, who is the commander-in-chief of all the Signs of the Zodiac.[1] Besides the planets two other maleficent beings are mentioned, Gōčihr and Mūšparīk by name.[2] These are perhaps identical with the ἀναβιβάζοντες mentioned in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*, lxix[3], on which the planets are said to depend. These were bound to the chariot, or, according to the *Šikand*, the brilliance of the Sun, to prevent them from doing excessive harm. The same treatment was meted out to the planets, who were bound with two ropes to the Sun and Moon[4] and clothed in the light of Ohrmazd so that men, on seeing them, should not be terrified.[5] Their being bound in this way was held to explain their irregular motion, for when they reach the bottom of the rope they are pulled back and are not allowed to pursue their own course.[6]

According to the astrologers, however, the planets Jupiter and Venus were propitious. This the Zoroastrians would attribute to the garments of light with which Ohrmazd had clothed them or again to some influence emanating from their celestial opponents.[7] The latter, however, seem to have had remarkably little success in restraining their bondsmen: for whatever benefits they bestowed on the world were intercepted by the planets whom they were supposed to control, and distributed in a manner that was anything but advantageous to the good creation.[8] It is a peculiarity which the Zoroastrians share with the similar dualistic systems of the Mandaeans and Manichaeans that, though they represent the powers of good as rapidly gaining control of their evil counterparts, these nevertheless, even when subdued, exercise a quite disproportionate influence over the events of the world. The Mandaeans, who have a similar myth concerning

[1] GrBd. 52. 3 ff.; ŠGV. 4. 32 ff.

[2] See note E, p. 164.

[3] p. 169. 13–16: cf. Menasce, ŠGV., p. 47 and note (3) there; also Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, p. 171, n. 321.

[4] See note F, p. 164.

[5] See note G, p. 164.

[6] ŠGV. 4. 43: *har ka ō awadim i jīk šawəñd, pa pas awāž āhañžəñd, vašą χᵛəš-kāmaihā raftan nā hələñd, ku dąm nā vanāsəñd.*—'Whenever they go to the end of the rope, they draw them back and do not let them rove at will; and thus they cannot harm creation.'

[7] Ibid. 4. 37: *nāki i əž āšą gadūgą gōeñd əž ą pañja stāraa i hōrməzdī, čuñ vāš-nīrōī kamvazūdārī pārōžī ayāwəñd.*—'The good which they say comes from those "robbers", comes from those five stars of Ohrmazd, for (the latter) obtain victory since their power is great and the damage (they suffer) small.' Cf. p. 164, n. G.

[8] Texts Z 28 (*a*) and (*b*); ŠGV. 4. 9: *haftą star-karfą faryą i ažər āšą dvārəñd apurdārą i jaţ baχtārą.*—'The seven star-forms, the Perīs which roam about beneath them (viz. the Signs of the Zodiac) are robbers who distribute amiss.'

the binding of the planets[1] nevertheless habitually refer to them as the 'Rulers of the World'.[2] Thus, too, the *Mēnōk i χrat* distinctly says that the planets in conjunction with the constellations control the fate of the world,[3] and the *Bundahišn* frankly admits that the two planets, Saturn and Mars, regarded by the astrologers as inauspicious, proved more powerful than their adversaries.

> In the beginning when the Aggressor rushed in, it so happened that the dark Sun and Moon were bound(?) to the chariot of the Sun and Moon: therefore they can do no harm. The Great Bear and Scorpio showed themselves more powerful than Jupiter and Venus; and they prevented Jupiter and Venus from doing harm. Therefore do the astrologers call them beneficent. Mars proved to be more powerful than Vega, and Saturn than the Pole Star; and the harm they do is plain to see. Therefore the astrologers account them evil-doers. Mercury who is the demon Apaōš, attacked Sirius. These two proved to be of equal strength and power. Therefore the astrologers say that Mercury does good to those who do good and evil to those who do evil. . . . For the same reason they say that Jupiter is the planet of life and Saturn the planet of death. For Jupiter, being powerless against his adversary, bestows whatever his adversary wills, and gives life, greatness, and riches. Saturn, being victorious over his adversary, does what is hurtful to him,—death, misery, poverty, torture(?), and adversity.[4]

Thus the planets, even when bound, seem on balance to have the better of the astral battle since it is their commander-in-chief who is victorious. The terrestrial world, therefore, is predominantly controlled by evil powers. The similarity of this doctrine to that of the Gnostics is too obvious to need emphasis.

In a curious Persian *Rivāyat*[5] which is closely connected with the *'Ulemā* and even more Zervanite in tendency we find a different account of the planets. Here the demonization has gone less far, and the approximation of religious myth to astrological theory is more complete. According to the astrologers only Saturn and Mars had an evil influence: Jupiter and Venus were auspicious, and Mercury occupied a neutral position. The way in which this *Rivāyat* seeks to reconcile the binding of the planets with astrological ideas is ingenious and diverting. In the writings of the Religion the author learnt that all the seven planets were bound; moreover, these planets were demons, and very powerful demons at that. How was this to

[1] *Ginzā* (Lidzbarski), p. 104. 19: 'Die Unholde stellten sich hin und wurden in ihren Banden gefesselt'; cf. ibid., p. 319. 16; 492. 16.

[2] Ibid. 296. 16; 512. 35, &c.

[3] Text Z 8, § 12.

[4] See note H, p. 165.

[5] For the text and translation v. Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, pp. 162 ff.; cf. our text Z 37, note *m*. The passage has been discussed by the same author in *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii, pp. 180 ff.

be reconciled with the astrological opinion that Jupiter and Venus exercised a propitious influence?

The problem was solved in this way. Of the 'seven worst demons' who were naturally the planets in the original myth, four—whose names are unspecified—were seized and bound in the eighth heaven—the heaven of the fixed stars in this account. The three left over were the inauspicious planets—Saturn, Mars, and the equivocal Mercury. Thus Saturn was put in the seventh heaven, Mars in the fifth, and Mercury in the second. The Sun and Moon, Jupiter and Venus could therefore be regarded as belonging to the good creation, since four of the planet-demons had been spirited away into the eighth heaven and only seven planets in all had been bound. *Ergo*, the Sun and Moon, Jupiter and Venus were not planets at all!

This account is merely an example of later Zervanism trying to reconcile the two opposing theories: it in no way proves that Zervanism was more influenced by Babylonian astrology than was Mazdean orthodoxy. It is not a genuine myth based on astrological data, but an obviously late patchwork of the old myth, according to which the planets were evil, and the ordinary astrological view with which we are now familiar. This is proved by the curious invention of four nameless demons who are carried out of harm's way into the heaven of the fixed stars and who are merely substitutes for the Sun and Moon, Jupiter and Venus which had somehow to be fitted into the good creation. The four demons are only introduced in order to make up the required number of seven evil planets.

We have already seen that Zurvān was a god of destiny, and it is Spihr, the firmament, through which this destiny is apportioned on earth.[1] The Signs of the Zodiac are an integral part of the firmament and are the active agents through which fate operates: their dispensations are, however, perverted and diverted by the planets who roam about under the firmament and are bound to the Sun. The *Bundahišn*, however, speaks of the firmament as being both good and evil;[2] that is, it must contain the planets as well as the Signs of the Zodiac. This is plainly the Zervanite view; for, as we have seen, Zurvān is indifferent to good and evil. Through the firmament, the Twelve and the Seven, he manifests himself as fate: he is the apportioner of fortune, whether good or bad, and the luminaries are his agents. The binding of the planets is probably common to the Zervanites and Mazdeans since it is also found in Manichaeanism[3] and Mandaeanism:[4]

[1] pp. 111 ff. and p. 127.

[2] Text Z 3, § 3.

[3] Cf. the Turfān fragment M 98 (F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan*, ii, p. 37 ff.); Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i, p. 16; Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 30, 31, and 38; *hpt 'b'χtr przyd.*—'The seven planets were bound.'

[4] v. p. 160, n. 1.

but their position below the firmament rather than in it would appear to be a Mazdean variation aimed at absolving Ohrmazd, who, for them, was the creator of the firmament, from all participation in the activities of the planets.

Before closing this chapter we must refer to yet another version of the role of the planets in the Cosmos: and since Zātspram is the author of it, it may be taken that this too was current among Zervanites. It occurs in his treatment of the macrocosm and microcosm and differs substantially from the account given in the *Bundahišn*.[1] There seems to be no suggestion that the planets are evil, but rather that they are an integral and harmonious part of the Universe. They are compared to the different components of the human body—the Moon to the marrow, Mercury to the bones, Venus to the flesh, the Sun to the sinews, Mars to the veins, Jupiter to the skin, and Saturn to the hair.[2] Obviously, then, the planets are regarded as ruling or representing the seven grades of the heavenly sphere or firmament, the uppermost being ruled by Saturn which corresponds to hair in man, the second by Jupiter corresponding to the skin, and so on down to the Moon which corresponds to the marrow. Similarly, the *Bundahišn*[3] compares the hands and feet of man to the Seven and the Twelve, forgetting apparently the diabolic role it had assigned to the planets in an earlier chapter. This 'naturalistic' view of the planets as ruling the seven heavens is, of course, that of the astrologers.

Thus we have three separate accounts of the origin of the luminaries:

(i) The Sun, Moon, and the Signs of the Zodiac are produced by the incestuous intercourse of Ohrmazd with his mother, sister, and daughter: the planets are produced by the sodomy of Ahriman.

(ii) The Sun, Moon, and stars are simply created by Ohrmazd, and the planets by Ahriman. According to both these views the planets can only be maleficent powers.

(iii) The astrological view which derives good fortune as well as bad from the planets. All the luminaries are simply part of the revolving sphere.

The first view must be regarded as Zervanite and the second as Mazdean for reasons which we have already advanced. Both agree in the demoniza-

[1] GrBd. 189. 7 ff.

[2] Zs. 30. 5–11: *niyāβīhast mazg 'ō māh . . . 'ut hačapar māh Tīr, 'ut-aš mēhmānīh 'apar ast. 'ut hačapar Tīr Anāhīt, 'ut-aš mēhmānīh 'apar 'gōšt. hačapar Anāhīt Miθr, 'ut-aš mēhmānīh 'apar paδ. 'ut hačapar Miθr Varhrān, 'ut-aš mēhmānīh 'apar χōnīk raγ. hačapar Vahrān Ōhrmazd, 'ut-aš mēhmānīh 'apar pōst, hučihr-gar i tanān. hačapar Ōhrmazd Kēvān, 'ut-aš mēhmānīh 'apar mōδ.*

[3] GrBd. 189. 13: *'dast 'ut 'pāδ aβzār čēγōn 7-ān 12-ān.*

tion of the planets, and both are faced by the same difficulties when confronted with the astrological theory. It is, however, a mistake to regard the astrological interpretation of the Universe as specifically Zervanite on the grounds that that sect laid overwhelming emphasis on fate. So long as the heavenly sphere is regarded as the source of fate indifferently apportioning good and evil to mankind, it matters little what role the subsidiary agents —that is the stars and the planets—play. The essential difference between Zervanism and Mazdeanism in this respect is not in the method of operation of fate as manifested particularly in the planets, but in the scope of fate, that is whether man has any power against it or whether it is so overwhelmingly strong as to be irresistible. This fundamental question will be discussed in Chapter X.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

A. GrBd. 26. 11: *'pat 'avēšān aχtarān 4 spāhpat *'pat 4 kust gumārt, spāhpat-ē 'apar 'avēšān spāhpatān gumārt . . . čēγōn 'gōβēt 'ku Tištar χ^{v}arāsān spāhpat, Satvēs nēmrōč spāhpat, Vanand *χ^{v}arāβarān spāhpat, *Haptōring apāχtar spāhpat. mēχ ⟨i⟩ gās 'kē mēχ i miyān i āsmān 'gōβēt, spāhpatān spāhpat.*—'He appointed four commanders over those stars in the four points of the compass, and he appointed a commander over those commanders. . . . For it is said that Tištar is the commander of the East, Satvēs commander of the South, Vanand commander of the West, and Haptōring commander of the North. The Pole Star, which is called the "Nail in the middle of the sky", is the commander of the commanders.'

mēχ ⟨i⟩ gās is the Pole Star; *mēχu'l-jāh* appears in Arabic in this sense: for discussion and references v. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī dar Irān i qadīm*, pp. 331–2.

B. PhlRiv. 8. 2–4 (p. 9): *'ut Ōhrmazd 'pat χ^{v}ēt⟨ō⟩datīh kartan paytāk 'ku 'kaδ Zartuχšt 'pēš i Ōhrmazd 'nišast, 'ut Vahuman 'ut Artvahišt 'ut Šaθrēvar 'ut Hurdāt 'ut Amurdāt 'ut Spandarmat pērāmōn i Ōhrmazd 'nišēnēnd, *aš Spandarmat 'pat kanār 'nišēnēt, 'ut-aš dast 'pat grīv 'āβurt ēstāt. Zartuχšt *'bē 'ō Ōhrmazd pursīt 'ku 'ēt 'kē 'pat kanār i 'tō 'nišēnēt, 'ut-aš ētōn dōst 'hēh, 'ut 'ān-ič 'ō 'tō ētōn dōst 'hēh. 'nē 'tō 'kē Ōhrmazd 'hēh, *'hač 'avē 'čašm 'bē vartēh, 'ut 'nē 'avē 'hač 'tō 'bē vartēt. *'tō 'kē Ōhrmazd 'hēh, 'avē 'hač dast 'bē 'nē 'hilēh, 'ut 'nē 'avē 'tō 'hač 'dast 'bē 'hilēt. 'ut Ōhrmazd guft, 'ēn Spandarmat i 'man 'duχt, 'ut-am katak-bānūk i vahišt 'ut 'māt i dāmān.*

C. Zs. 4. 4–6: *paytākīh i dēn 'pat Spa⟨n⟩darmat 'pat 'ān gās būt 'kaδ Frāsyāβ 'āp 'hač ērān-šaθr 'apāč dāšt 'ut 'āp 'apāč 'āβurt. kanīk-karpīhā 'pat χānak i Mānuščihr i ērān-šaθr dahyupat anērān pāsaχ^{v}-guftār 'būt: *'ōh paytākīhast. 'ut-aš patmōχt dāšt rōšnīk patmōčan 'kē 'bē frōkīhast 'ō vispān kustakān hāsr-ē drahnāδ i 'hast *frasang* (text *PLDDMN*) *2 humānāk. 'ut-aš 'pat miyān bast dāšt zarrēn kūstīk i 'χ^{v}at būt dēn i māzdēsnān.*—'The Religion was manifested in Spandarmat at the time when Frāsyāβ withheld the waters from Īrān and (Spandarmat) brought them back. In the form of a maiden she made answer to the non-Iranians in the house of Mānuščihr, the lord of Īrān: thus did she appear. She was arrayed in a bright robe which shone forth in all directions for a *hāsr's* length, that is about two parasangs. And she was girt with a golden girdle which was the Religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

D. ŠGV. 3. 16 ff.: *agar gōem ku dādār Hōrməzd Āharman əž vatarī yaš hamāšaa gōharī awāž dāštan tvą, ą gōhar i dəwī ō yazadī u ą i yazadī ō dəwī vardinīdan šāyaṭ, u tār rōšan u rōšan tār kardan šāyaṭ. gōhar pa χ^{v}adī vaštan, gōhar nā-šnāsą gōeñd.*—'If I say that the creator, Ohrmazd, can restrain Ahriman from the evil which is his eternal substance, that involves changing the demonic substance into the divine and the divine into the demonic, and making darkness light and light darkness. (Only) those who do not know (the meaning of) substance speak of substance changing of its own accord.' Cf. MX. 10. 4: *'har 'čiš vartēnītan šāyēt 'bē gōhr i nēvak 'ut 'vat. 'ut gōhr i nēvak 'pat 'čiš-ič čārak ō 'vattarīh, 'ut gōhr i 'vat 'pat hēč aδvēnak 'ō 'vēhīh vartēnītan 'nē šāyēt. 'ut Ōhrmazd nēvak-gōhrīh rāδ, 'hēč 'vattarīh 'ut drōžanīh 'nē passandēt: 'ut Ahriman vat-gōhrīh rāδ, hēč 'vēhīh 'ut rāstīh 'nē 'patīrēt.*—'All things can be changed except the substance of good and evil. By no means can the substance of good be changed to evil, and in no way can the substance of evil be changed to good. Because the substance of Ohrmazd is good, he can countenance no evil or falsehood; and because the substance of Ahriman is evil, he can admit no goodness or righteousness.'

E. GrBd. 52. 12: *gōčihr miyān ⟨i⟩ āsmān 'bē 'ēstāt, mār humānāk, 'sar 'pat dōpatkar 'ut dumb 'pat nēmasp čēyōn 'pat miyān i sar 'ut dumb 'har gās 6 aχtar 'būt.*—'Gōčihr was in the middle of the sky, like a serpent; its head was in Gemini and its tail in Centaurus so that between its head and tail there were six constellations in all directions.' Of Mūšparīk GrBd. 53. 1 says: *mūšparīk ⟨i⟩ dumbōmand parr-var jast, χ^{v}aršēt 'ō ray i 'χ^{v}ēš bast 'ku 'tāk-aš vinās kartan 'nē tavān 'bavāt.*—'Mūšparīk who has a tail and wings leapt forth; the Sun bound him to his chariot so that he should not be able to do harm.'

Gōčihr is simply the Pahlavī derivative of Av. *gao-čiθra-*, 'having the seed of cattle', the stock epithet of the Moon.

F. GrBd. 53. 8: *apārīk ditīkar 'ō ham ray i χ^{v}aršēt [tan] 'pat dērangīh 'ut kastakīh bast 'ēstēt.*—'The others too were bound to the same chariot of the Sun, some at a long distance and some at a short.' ŠGV. 4. 39 ff.: *u īñ pañja awāχtar dādār Hōrməzd χ^{v}əš-kāmaihā nō hištan rā har yak pa du jīk ō mihir u māh bast əstəñd; vašą frāžrawəšnī u awāž-rawəšnī əž ham čim; hast kəš drānāe i jīk drāžtar čuñ Kaevąn u Avarmazd, u hast i kəhtar čuñ Tīr u Anāhīṭ.*—'And to prevent these five planets from roving at will, the creator Ohrmazd bound each of them to the Sun and Moon with two ropes: hence their forward and backward motion (progression and regression). The rope of some is longer, such as Saturn (Kēvān) and Jupiter (Ohrmazd), that of others is shorter, such as Mercury (Tīr) and Venus (Anāhīt).' The word *ray* used by the GrBd. is probably correct since the Manichaeans too speak of a *rah*, 'ship' resp. 'chariot' of the Sun and Moon, and the Mandaeans also speak of the planets as riding chariots (Brandt, op. cit., p. 62). The ŠGV. has *brih* = *brēh*, an astrological term. According to the *'Ulemā* (text Z 37, § 25) the planets were bound to the firmament.

G. GrBd. 54. 8: *'ut-šān 'ēn rōšnīh ⟨i⟩ hač-iš paytāk ham rōšnīh i ōhrmazdīk, handāčak 'vattarān 'kē patmōčan i gētēh *patmōχt 'hēnd . . . patmōχtan i 'ān rōšnīh rāδ vinās kartan kam tavān. ēvak 'ēn 'ku martōm 'vēnēnd, hač-iš 'nē tarsēnd.*—'The light which emanates from them is the same light of Ohrmazd, like evil persons who are clad in a material garment. . . . Because they are clad in that light they can do less harm. Again, when men see them, they are not afraid of them.' ŠGV. 4. 21: *awąñiča əšą awāχtarą rōšanī padmōχt dārəñd.*—'Thus those planets are clad with light.'

H. GrBd. 57. 7 ff.: *'pat bun 'kaδ aβigat 'andar duvārast ōγōn ǰast 'ku miθr *'ut māh i tamīk patmānak *dārēnd 'hač ray ⟨i⟩ χᵛaršēt 'ut māh. ⟨'ēt⟩ rāδ vinās-kārīh 'nē tavān kartan. 'ut Haptōring 'ut Satvēs 'hač Ōhrmazd 'ut Anāhīt frēh-nērōk-tar ǰast 'hēnd, 'ut-šān Ōhrmazd 'ut Anāhīt 'hač vinās kartan pātērānēnīt. ham-čim rāδ aχtar-āmārān 'avēšān rāδ 'pat kirpak-gar 'χᵛānēnd. Varhrān 'hač *Vanand 'ut Kēvān 'hač mēχ i gās frēh-nērōk-tar ǰast 'hēnd; 'ut-šān vināskārīh paytāk. 'ēt rāδ aχtar-āmārān 'avēšān 'pat bazak-gar ōšmarēnd. 'ut Tīr, 'hast Apaōš 'dēv, 'ō Tištar mat; 'har 2 hāvand-zōr 'ut hāvand-nērōk ǰast 'hēnd. 'ēt rāδ aχtar-āmārān 'goβēnd 'ku Tīr 'apāk kirpak-garān kirpak-gar, 'ut 'apāk bazak-garān bazak-gar . . . ham-čim rāδ 'gōβēnd 'ku Ōhrmazd stārak ⟨i⟩ zīvandakīh 'ut Kēvān stārak i margīh 'čē Ōhrmazd apātyā-vandakīh 'andar hamēstārīh rāδ 'ān 'baχšēt i hamēstār kāmak, zīvandakīh 'ut *'vazur-gīh χᵛāstak 'dahēt. Kēvān čērīh 'hač hamēstār rāδ, 'ān 'kunēt 'ō 'ēn pityār, margīh vatakīh 'ut driγōšīh, pēč(?) ham pityārak.*

CHAPTER VII

I. THE DEMON ĀZ

In the preceding chapters we have attempted to give some account of Zervanite conceptions of cosmology and cosmogony. In the course of our investigations we found that Zurvān handed to Ahriman an 'implement like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of Āz'.[1] We shall now have to pay more attention to the demon Āz and the part it plays in the Zervanite scheme of things.[2]

That Āz belongs to the Zervanite rather than the Mazdean demonology may be inferred from the following facts. First, it was adopted into the system of the eastern Manichees whose terminology derives from Zervanism, not Mazdeanism; and it plays a decisive part in the cosmological fragments found in Turfān. Secondly, it is the leader of the demonic hosts in Zātspram's account of the last things. On the other hand, it occurs only four times in the Avesta, where it is as unimportant as Zurvān himself;[3] and the *Dātastān i Dēnīk*, the most 'orthodox' Mazdean book we possess, assigns an insignificant role to it in its account of the *Fraškart* (the final 'rehabilitation' of the Cosmos). For whereas in Zātspram this demon plays a leading part throughout, and finally turns on Ahriman in his hour of defeat and devours his entire demonic host, in the *Dātastān* this latter feat is merely mentioned as if in passing,[4] and there is no suggestion that this demon is the leader of the demons or that it is in any way in a category by itself.

Before proceeding any farther it may be as well to try to determine the gender of this demon since even this is uncertain. We know that in the Avesta Āz was considered to be of the male sex, for his qualifying adjective *daēvō-dāta-*[5] is used in the masculine gender. On the other hand, the Manichaean demon is certainly female, for she is described as 'the mother of all demons' (*m'd 'y wysp'n dyw'n*).[6] The question therefore arises

[1] *Supra*, pp. 114 ff., 117; text Z 5 (*a*), 35.

[2] Some discussion of this demon will be found in Scheftelowitz, ZII. iv, pp. 317–44. A short article entitled 'The Zoroastrian Demon Āz in the Manichaean Fragments from Turfan', by G. C. O. Haas has also appeared in *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of . . . Sanjana*, pp. 193–5: this is, however, mainly devoted to the Manichaean texts available at the time (1925).

[3] References in Gray, *Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, p. 202; cf. Bartholomae, AIW. *āzay-* s.v.

[4] Dd. 36. 90: *ētōn-ič Āz 'dēv 'kaδ 'nē ayāpēt 'pat žūtārīh 'ō 'ān i 'vēh, 'andar ⟨ni⟩δvārēt 'pat 'χ^{v}ēš čihrīk 'ō 'ān i 'dēvān žūtārīh.*—'Thus too when the demon Āz cannot reach the good (creation) to swallow it, she rushes off to those of her own nature to swallow the demons.'

[5] Ys. 16. 8; Vd. 18. 19.

[6] So in the fragment S 9; v. Henning, NGGW. 1932, p. 215.

whether the Avestan or the Manichaean demon is nearer to the Āz of the Pahlavī books.

A priori the evidence of the Avesta should be preferred since it is *the* Zoroastrian text *par excellence*, and we are still dealing with a form of Zoroastrianism, however corrupt. Moreover, the Manichaean religion is still believed by many to have its roots in the gnosticism of the Syro-Hellenistic world and to derive largely from the systems of Bardesanes and Marcion.[1] On the other hand, it seems certain that the eastern type of Manichaeanism differed in many respects from the western; and this difference is due largely to the attempt of the Persian Manichees to assimilate their religion to Zoroastrianism in its Zervanite manifestation, for that form of Zoroastrianism must have been dominant at the time of Šāpūr I when Mānī started to proclaim his religion, as the Manichaean evidence itself proves.

Such assimilation was attempted in the case of Āz. In two cosmological texts known respectively as S 9[2] and T III. 260[3] Āz appears as the leader of the entire demonic host. In Persian (Middle and New) her name is most adequately translated by the Latin *concupiscentia*, a concept that includes acquisitiveness, gluttony, and lust. She should then correspond exactly to the *ἐπιθυμία*, *ἡδονή*[4] or *concupiscentia* of the western Manichaean tradition. The Āz of the eastern tradition is, however, far more than this: she is the mother of all the demons and the greatest of them. In the diabolical hierarchy she is always mentioned first, taking precedence over Ahriman. Her relationship to the latter is exactly parallel to the relationship of the female Rūhā to the male Ur in the Mandaean scriptures. Ur is the king of darkness; Rūhā is his mother and stands for the totality of evil.[5] Similarly with the eastern Manichees it is Āz who is the principle of evil. Her counterpart in the western tradition is *ὕλη*,[6] not indeed the *ὕλη* of Greek philosophy, but *ἡ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἄτακτος κίνησις*[7] 'the disorderly motion that is in each thing that is'. This brilliant definition of evil

[1] v. p. 38, no. 1.

[2] *Editio princeps* by Salemann, *Bull. Acad. Pétersb.* 1912, pp. 7–14. Re-edited by Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 75–126. The best edition is that of Henning, NGGW. 1932, pp. 214–28.

[3] Andreas–Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, i (SbPAW. 1932).

[4] Alexander of Lycopolis, p. 22 (Brinkmann). Cf. Schaeder's excellent treatment of the relationship between these and *ὕλη*, *Urform*, pp. 113 ff.

[5] Cf. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, p. 34.

[6] Cf. Schaeder, l.c.; Henning, NGGW. 1932, p. 220; id. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 91 *mrcync šm'r' "z* 'die Hyle, die *ἐνθύμησις* des Todes'. Cf. the description of *ὕλη* in *Kephalaia*, p. 26: *ὕλη* is the creator of evil, including *ἡδονή* and causes the King of Darkness to attack the Kingdom of Light.

[7] Alexander of Lycopolis, p. 5, ll. 7–8 (Brinkmann); Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 20.

preserved for us by Alexander of Lycopolis, would apply equally to the Āz of the Zervanites, as we shall very soon see.[1]

In the Avesta there is nothing at all to suggest that *Āzi* (Āz) occupies a position so supremely exalted in the diabolic scheme of things, any more than there is anything to suggest the transcendent destiny that later heretical development was to prepare for Zurvān. So humble is her (or rather his) position that we are unable to discover anything about him except that he consumes the fire and wishes to extinguish it.[2] His gender is masculine and his epithet *daēvō-dāta-* 'created by the demons' or 'following the law of the demons', clear proof that he was very far from being considered as the very principle of evil.

The Pahlavī language has no means of distinguishing gender, nor do the texts help us in this respect. Zātspram tells us that Āz was appointed 'captain of the commanders' (*spāhpatān sardār*) of the demons;[3] and this would tell slightly in favour of his masculinity. The Manichaean evidence, however, seems conclusive. When adapting their system to Iranian religious conditions, the Manichees chose Āz to represent their ὕλη. Were the current form of Zoroastrianism in the third century A.D. that which is now preserved in the extant Avesta and the Pahlavī books, they must inevitably have chosen Ahriman, the principle of evil in the Mazdean system. That they did not do so seems to prove first that Āz corresponded more nearly to their own conception of the basic nature of evil (disorder), and, secondly, that it already occupied a position in the diabolic hierarchy comparable or superior to that of Ahriman. The Zoroastrian demon Āz was primarily a demon of greed, and even a Turkish *Manichaean* text expressly calls it 'the shameless demon of greed'.[4] This, however, is not the primary quality in the Manichaean ὕλη, and it is difficult to see why they should have selected Āz to represent this latter in preference to Ahriman, a disorderly character enough in all conscience, unless they required a specifically female entity. Once adopted, Āz assumed duties as both ὕλη and *concupiscentia*, the latter being in any case implicit in the former. For convenience, then, we will refer to the Zervanite demon as 'she'.[5]

Before proceeding to an analysis of the latter we must pause to glance at the antics of her Manichaean namesake. Fortunately the two relevant cosmological texts have been edited by Professor Henning, who has long

[1] For the latest description and a full list of references to sources as well as the relevant literature see H. C. Puech's most useful monograph (*Le Manichéisme*), p. 76 with notes.

[2] Vd. 18. 19.

[3] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 42.

[4] von le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, iii (AbPAW. 1922), p. 29.

[5] It is possible, of course, that Āz too, like Zurvān, was regarded as hermaphroditic.

made this particular study his own.[1] To his work the interested reader is referred for further detail. The fragment S 9 tells the following story:

Angered was Āz, the evil mother of all demons, and a grievous uproar did she stir up to aid her 'self'. And from the foulness of the he-devils and the filth of the she-devils she formed this carrion (the body) and entered it herself. Then from the five elements of light, the armour of Ohrmazd, the Lord, did she bring forth (?) the good soul and imprisoned it in the carrion. As blind and deaf she made it, unconscious and distraught, so that it no longer knew its origin or lineage. She made the carrion and the prison: she bound the senseless soul: 'Cruel to me imprisoned are the demons male and female and all the witches.' Right well did she bind the soul in the accursed(?) body, and hideous did she make it, wicked, angry, vengeful. Then did Ohrmazd, the Lord, have mercy on the souls (*sic*), and in human form did he come down to the earth. He put to shame the wicked Āz and he made (the soul) aware[2] and showed it plainly all that had been and was to be. Swiftly did he reveal to it that Ohrmazd, the Lord, had not made this fleshly carrion, nor had he imprisoned the soul itself therein. The wise soul of the blest was granted resurrection and believed in the wisdom of Ohrmazd, the good Lord. All counsels, commands and seals of goodly peace did it right willingly accept like a valiant hero. It laid aside the carrion of death and was made free for ever and lifted up to heaven, to the kingdom of the blest.

In this fragment Āz fulfils two functions: first, she forms the human body from all manner of filthiness and as concupiscence makes her home in it. Secondly, she imprisons the soul which belongs by birthright to the kingdom of light and blinds it to its true origin: she makes it 'hideous, wicked, angry, and vengeful', assimilating it to her own 'disorderly motion'. It is the function of Ohrmazd (who corresponds to the πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος and in this context to Jesus in the Manichaean system of the West) to restore the soul to an understanding of the (Manichaean) reality.

The story of the creation of the human body is told with greater, more graphic, and more sickening detail in the long cosmological fragment T III. 260.[3] There is no need to retail more than the salient features of this repellent text here. Āz is again the leader of the demonic hosts, greater than Ahriman. She and her confederates are bound by the powers of light; but this does not appear to prevent her from entering and defiling the vegetable world. She then falls from the heavens where she had been bound, and a furious orgy of abortion and fornication ensues. The female demons produce a monstrous offspring that creeps over the earth and devours the fruit of the trees. This fruit, being already defiled by Āz, when consumed, fills the demons with lust, and they lie together. The demon world then begins to proliferate with tropical profusion, and some of the abortions are devoured by Āz, 'that she might form two creatures from

[1] *Supra*, p. 167, nn. 2, 3. [2] See note A, p. 193. [3] *Supra*, p. 167, n. 3.

them, a man and a woman'—how is not absolutely clear. The upshot of the whole disgusting process, however, is the creation of the first man (*Gēhmurd* = the Zoroastrian Gayōmart). He inherits a whole catalogue of sins from the demons, but a small particle of light is still imprisoned within his body; and this is the soul. Similarly the first woman was created, more debased, corrupt, and sinful than her consort.[1]

In this most vivid of the Manichaean lucubrations preserved in Middle Persian Āz appears clearly in the role of concupiscence on a cosmic scale. Throughout the whole revolting scene she figures as the insatiable driving-force of lust. The attendant vice of gluttony, however, is not neglected; for she devours some of the new-born demons in order to create man and woman! Briefly, then, in the Manichaean fragments Āz appears as the principle of evil: she manifests herself in three forms—as the deceiver who blinds man to his supernatural destiny, as lust, and as greed. She is the ὕλη manifesting itself as *concupiscentia*.

As is known the Manichees carried their condemnation of concupiscence to its logical conclusion, condemned the reproduction of the species as a sure means of perpetuating the imprisonment of the light in matter, and forbade their *electi* to marry. Diametrically opposed to this was the Mazdean view which strongly advocated such propagation as a pious duty. Somewhere between the two was the Zervanite position, as we shall have occasion to see.

On examining the evidence of the Pahlavī books it will be found that the demon Āz very closely resembles her Manichaean namesake: all three aspects are apparent, the turning of man away from his supernatural destiny, lust, and greed. This last vice is understood as acquisitiveness as well as gluttony, and plays a much greater part in the Zoroastrian texts than in the Manichaean. Lust, however, in the sense of sexual profligacy is very much less in evidence.

Our principal sources for the activities of this interesting demon are the *Dēnkart* and Zātspram. The former gives us a glimpse of the philosophical approach to the demon, the latter presents what appears to be a highly personal interpretation which, however, may be the true Zervanite view; for if the fragments of Zervanite mythology retailed by Christian authors are at all to be believed, Zervanism must, like Manichaeanism, have been stronger in the invention of myths, pleasing and unpleasing, than in philosophical analysis or theological speculation.

[1] For the account of Theodore bar Kônai v. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i, pp. 40–43; Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 248–54. For the account of an-Nadīm (*Fihrist*), v. Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 58 and 90–91; Kessler, *Mani*, pp. 393–4.

The Zoroastrian Āz, too, is concupiscence, manifested primarily as gluttony. In the purely ethical sphere she is the vice opposed to contentment (*χᵛarsandīh*).[1] She is the most discontented and the most rapacious.[2] She is insatiate,[3] and want is born of her.[4] Her desire is to swallow the whole world at one gulp;[5] yet even if the goods of the whole world were given to her, she would not be satisfied and would want more. If she is deprived of sustenance, she pines away.[6] She is the most contumacious of the demons.[7]

In the physical world Āz appears as the adversary of *čihr* 'nature'. *Čihr* represents the purely physical side of man, that part of his being by which his body lives and which is unaffected by his will: thus we find it frequently contrasted with *kām* 'the will'.[8] The human body is, for instance, by nature sweet-smelling, but when abused by gluttony becomes a source of stench.

By nature the inside of the body is characterized by a sweet smell: stench (comes) to it from Āz. The sweet scent which reaches the inside of the body by the consumption of food from outside (the body), arises (only) from moderation exercised in the eating of bread and meat and from drinking wine in due measure. Stench arises from the devouring of carrion and excrement.[9]

Āz, then, is the abuse of a natural and legitimate activity.

In another passage the *Dēnkart* elaborates this theme in more general terms.[10]

In the mixed state life (the breath-soul, *ǰān*) is generally kept in the body by the continued working of the natural functions (*čihr*) in the body. The continued working of the natural functions in the body confronts the 'natural' Āz: and Āz being pitted against the natural functions seeks to destroy them. Āz it is who withholds Hurdāt and Amurdāt; (that is) food and drink are cut off from the natural functions. Nature (*čihr*) is the ally (of the body), Āz the enemy. When Hurdāt and Amurdāt, (that is) food and drink, are cut off from the natural functions, the latter, deprived of any ally and being in the grip of Āz, are destroyed:

[1] Pn. 38 (PhlTexts, p. 46): *Āz 'pat χᵛarsandīh . . . 'bē zanēt.*—'One smites Āz with contentment'.

[2] AVM. 32. (PhlTexts, p. 89): *Āz aχᵛarsandtar appāraktar.*

[3] DkM. 836. 11: *Āz-ič i anhanbār.*

[4] Ibid. 359. 19: *niyāz i Āz hunušak.*—'Want, the offspring of Āz'.

[5] Ibid. 50. 18: *Āz 'kaδ-aš gēhān 'pat ēvak 'SWMBŠN 'andar ōpārtan [i] āhang.* The reading of the word which I have written in capitals is uncertain; the context shows, however, that the meaning must be 'gulp' or some similar word. A connexion with NP. *suftan* and kindred words seems unlikely.

[6] See note B, p. 193.

[7] DkM. 569. 14: *druž-ē Āz stahmaktar.*

[8] e.g. DkM. 379. 1; 352. 7; 149 *passim*; 359. 1.

[9] DkM. 260. 12: *tan andarōn 'χᵛatīk bōδ 'hač čihr, 'ut-aš gand 'hač Āz. 'ut 'hač 'ān i* (better *'ān i 'hač*) *bērōn 'ō andarōntom tan 'hač χᵛarišn 'rasāt bōδ 'hač patmān⟨īk⟩ 'nān 'ut gōšt χᵛarišn 'ut 'maδ dātīk χᵛārišn; 'ut gand 'hač nasāy 'ut hiχr žōyišn.* This last phrase cannot surely be taken literally: it would appear to be a 'dysphemism' for over-indulgence in food and drink.

[10] See note C, p. 193.

and life can no longer be maintained in the body. Since life can no longer be maintained in the body it is ripe for death.

Here the role of the demon of gluttony is reversed: she no longer appears as a vice, but as the personification of that vice which attacks man by devouring his food and thereby causing his death. She deprives his physical nature of the means by which it can live: she is the enemy of the living body and the demon of death.

This conception of Āz is uncommon, but in another passage of the *Dēnkart* it is explicit. 'Mortal men are all carried off by Astōvihāt by means of Āz, the fearful, who is manifest afar: they cannot escape.'[1] Astōvihāt is the demon of death *par excellence*, 'he who dissolves the bones'. He is death itself, Āz the agent who brings it about.

The conception of Āz as a death demon seems to have survived into the Muhammadan era, for we read in the *Šāhnāmeh*:[2]

hameh tā dar ī Āz rafteh farāz
ba-kas vā na-šud īn dar ī Āz bāz.

All have gone as far as the door of Āz: the door of Āz has never opened again to anyone.

I can quote no other example of Āz used in this sense in Muhammadan Persian literature where *āz* normally means 'greed', as one would expect. In this case, however, the 'door of Āz' can only mean death.

The function of Āz in the material world (*gētēh*) is now fairly plain. We must now consider her role in the world of spirit (*mēnōk*). Man, for the Zoroastrians as for the Christians, is composed of spirit and matter: nature presides over the material world, the will over the spiritual. Thus 'in man by the Creator's dispensation nature operates in the material sphere, the will controls the spiritual: thus natural life and knowledge in the will constitute the humanity of man'.[3] Āz is pitted both against nature and the will: she upsets and disrupts both.[4] She is, in fact, the force that attacks man in his very humanity.

This theory is more fully developed in another passage where *χrat* and Āz are represented as fighting for the *χᵛarr* of man. In the theological passages of the *Dēnkart*, *χrat* is best translated as 'reason' rather than 'wis-

[1] Ibid. 803. 17: *ōšōmandān hamāk Ast⟨ō⟩-vihāt 'pat 'ān i škift 'ut frāč paytāk Āz [i] 'burt, 'ut 'nē bōχtēnd.*

[2] ŠnV. 433. 7.

[3] DkM. 378. 22: *'andar 'martōm dātār-āβurišnīk gētēh-varzītārīh čihr: mēnōk-ārāstārīh aχᵛ [aχᵛ]. 'ōh-ič čihrīk zīvandakīh 'ut aχᵛīk dānākīh i 'andar martōm martōmīh.*

aχᵛ is the equivalent of the Av. *aŋhvā-*.

[4] Ibid. 379. 5: *aβigat-kirrēnišnīk višuftārīh ⟨čihr⟩ 'ut aχᵛ i 'har 2 'pat martōm Āz.* —'By the counter-dispensation of the Aggressor it is Āz who disrupts both nature and will in man.'

dom'; it is (or should be) the directing faculty in man.[1] In this context we may keep the translation 'concupiscence' for Āz. To find an exact English equivalent for *χᵛarr* is, however, not nearly so easy.

Professor Bailey has devoted the first seventy-seven pages of his *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* to the semantic development of *χᵛarr* (*χᵛarənah*). His conclusion is that the original meaning was 'welfare' or 'good things'. No one who has carefully read those formidable seventy-seven pages, packed as they are with sound deductions from a representative collection of texts, will be disposed to quarrel with his thesis. In Pahlavī *χᵛarr* is identified with *χᵛēškārīh*,[2] that is, literally, 'own-work': it is then the distinctive behaviour of any given entity. In the passage quoted above (p. 172) we were told what constituted the humanity (*martōmīh*) of man (*martōm*). His humanity, being what differentiates him as man, would be his *χᵛēsīh* 'own-ness' rather than his *χᵛēškārīh* 'own-work' or *χᵛarr*. His 'own-work' is rather the correct use of his humanity, that is virtue: the incorrect use of it (= *dušfarragīh*) constitutes vice.[3] This *χᵛarr* or 'own-work' of man consists in the quest after God.[4] Since he is a creature of God and only later fell victim to the Aggressor, this seems consistent enough: misuse of his humanity is something that does not belong to him; it is Āz, concupiscence, which attacks him from outside. I can find no single English word to translate *χᵛarr* in this sense. 'Personality' approximates to it quite closely, but this again does not convey the sense of *action* implicit in *χᵛēškārīh*. Without wishing to debase the notion of *χᵛarr* any further, I would suggest that *χᵛarr* can be almost exactly rendered by the colloquial English 'job', which means both an occupation and what a man is intended to do and ought to do. This is not to suggest that *χᵛarr* has not other meanings in other contexts, which, of course, it has.

Having propounded, then, what we understand by *χᵛarr* as applied to man, we may now look at the *Dēnkart* passage where reason and concupiscence dispute its possession:

> Man who is the object of (diabolic) aggression, is tainted with aggressive concupiscence which is intent on destroying his *χᵛarr*. Reason was created by the Creator to protect the *χᵛarr* from concupiscence. Concupiscence is first cousin to desire. There is a limit set to desire. So long as desire for wealth and power is fulfilled, concupiscence is greatly strengthened and reason is gravely impaired in

[1] Cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 85.

[2] Id., op. laud., p. 35. In addition DkM. 394. 4 equates *χᵛarr* with *χᵛēškārīh* and *rāy* with *tuχšākīh* 'effort, energy': cf. also DkM. 341. 10 ff.

[3] DkM. 232. 22: *hunar 'χᵛarr 'ut āhōk dušfarragīh patvand.*—'Virtue is associated with *χᵛarr*, vice with *dušfarragīh*.'

[4] Ibid. 513. 8: *martōm 'hač 'pas i 'nān 'hēnd, 'ut yazdān 'hač 'pas ⟨i⟩ martōm 'hēnd 'ut 'χᵛarr 'hač 'pas ⟨i⟩ yazat.*—'Man is in search of bread, the gods in search of man and the *χᵛarr* in search of God.'

(its function of) protecting the *χᵛarr* from concupiscence. When a man fulfils his desire for power and wealth in subjection to that moderation which is dictated by reason, that man's reason becomes firmly established in (its function of) protecting his *χᵛarr* from the onslaught of concupiscence. Such power and wealth are beneficial to such a man. But when a man fulfils his desire by overriding that moderation which is dictated by his reason, concupiscence is greatly strengthened and reason weakened within him. Because of this weakening of the reason his *χᵛarr* is made unstable since its protector has become imperfect: the man becomes intoxicated with his excessive power and wealth: he is overwhelmed by concupiscence which destroys his *χᵛarr*, and he is harmed by that power and wealth.[1]

In the spiritual sphere, then, concupiscence (Āz) appears as the enemy of reason, and in its attacks on 'nature' it is vanquished by reason.[2] This conception of Āz is, however, rare. In most of the other passages in the *Dēnkart* dealing with this question it is not Āz but Varan that appears in this role. Varan, according to Zātspram, is merely one of the aspects of Āz. This aspect is called *bē čihrīk*, meaning something like 'nature directed outwards': it is defined as that 'through which, by a glance outward, the inwards are excited and the natural functions of the body thrown into turmoil'.[3] It is further described as the desire to 'mingle'. It is obvious, then, that Varan is here conceived of simply as the demon of lust.

The *Dēnkart* has quite a different conception of Varan. It is mentioned again and again as the opposite of reason (*χrat*).[4] In one passage this demon appears together with Āz against 'reason which dwells in the *χᵛarr*'.[5] Varan as much as Āz is fatal to the *χᵛarr*: 'the life of the *χᵛarr* is from the wisdom of reason, its death is from the self-will of Varan'.[6] Varan is associated with *χᵛat-dōšakīh* ('self-will' or 'choosing for oneself') and *duš-ākāsīh* ('wrong knowledge, wrong-headedness')[7] with *aγdēnīh* ('bad religion, error')[8] and *ahramōγīh* ('heresy').[9] It is described as the origin of wrong knowledge,[10] 'the essence of the demons and the λόγος (*vāχš*) of evil':[11] it is the abortion

[1] See note D, p. 193.

[2] DkM. 39. 17: *'ān i 'pat čihr duvārišnīk Āz 'ut arišk 'ut apārīk i čihr* [*i*] *'ut hunar* [*i*] *pat-iš pityār. 'ut-šān vānītārīh 'hač āsn-χrat.*—'Those who attack (man's) nature are concupiscence (Āz), envy, etc., the adversaries of the natural and the virtuous. They are conquered by innate reason.'

[3] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 36.

[4] For references v. Chapter V, p. 124, n. 1.

[5] DkM. 292. 20: *'ān i χᵛatāγān 'pat χᵛatāγīh pahlom 'χᵛarr mēhn āsn-χrat . . . 'ut 'ān 'i-šān 'pat χᵛatāγīh vattom fratom dušfarragīh-āγōš Āz 'ut viškōβ arās Varan.* —'That which is the most perfect for rulers in the exercise of power is innate reason which dwells in the *χᵛarr* . . ., and that which is the worst for rulers in the exercise of their power is first Āz which embraces the misuse of the *χᵛarr* and Varan, the disturber who has no path.'

[6] Ibid. 350. 13: *'χᵛarr zīndakīh 'hač χrat fražānakīh, 'ut-aš margīh 'hač varan χᵛat-dōšakīh.*

[7] Cf. the last two footnotes and text Z 11, § 6.

[8] See note E, p. 194.

[9] Text Z 11, § 6.

[10] See note F, p. 194.

[11] DKM 123. 13: *dēn paytākīh 'apar yaz-dān 'hastīh, 'vēh vāχš, 'hast χrat-ič; 'apar*

of the Evil Mind and the Destructive Spirit.[1] It is, in fact, heresy and unbelief; it leads astray (*arās*), unsettles (*viškōβ*), and deceives (*frēβišn*).[2] In short it is the misuse of the intellect, the *mēnōk* or spiritual facet of Āz.

To sum up: Āz, who includes Varan, attacks both man's physical nature and his reason. She is essentially the abuse of legitimate activities. Thus she is gluttony and lust on the material plane, the misuse of the intellect on the spiritual. She personifies disorder, and is therefore the enemy of *dātastān* or cosmic order. Zātspram analyses her as 'excess and deficiency':[3] she is the enemy of the 'mean' which represents order. She is also desire and doubt, and so conceived she fits nicely into the Zervanite myth. Zurvān, it will be remembered, first *desired* to have a son, Ohrmazd, and then *doubted* whether this could come to pass. Āz, then, is that 'something evil' which 'was always with God' to which Šahristānī refers. By investing Ahriman with the garment that contained 'the very substance of Āz', Zurvān divests himself of the evil that was always with him, and allows it to destroy itself.

Thus our analysis of the *Dēnkart* texts in which Āz and Varan appear has enabled us to establish that Āz is on the one hand concupiscence comprising greed and lust, and on the other the sin of the intellect, called by the Zoroastrians 'self-will' or 'wrong-mindedness'. Translated into Christian terms it would be called intellectual pride. The resemblance to the Manichaean Āz is striking, and the ἄτακτος κίνησις of Alexander of Lycopolis would seem to be an equally apt description of both.

Our knowledge of this demon is supplemented by Zātspram (l.c.). Here, in the final battle in the last days, Āz figures as the adversary of Srōš, defined as *patmān*, 'the Mean': she herself is 'excess and deficiency'. The Mean, in other contexts called 'Order' (*dātastān* and *rāδēnītārīh*) represents the divine scheme of things as it should be. Zurvān himself is the genius of Order[4] and the god of justice.[5] Āz is the genius of disorder. It is therefore fitting that the final overthrow of Āz should be attributed by the *Mēnōk* to Zurvān, Mihr, the genius of Order (*mēnōk i dātastān*), and Fate;[6]

'dēvān 'hastīh, 'vattarīh vāχš [i] 'hast varan-ič.—'The revelation of the Religion concerning the essence of the gods,—the Word of the good, that is wisdom (reason, *χrat*); concerning the essence of the demons, the Word of evil, that is Varan.'

[1] Ibid. 117. 11: *āsn-χrat 'ut-aš karpān hunarān Vahuman Spēnāk Mēnōk zahak . . . 'ut mūtak varan ('ut) karpān āhōkān i mūtak varan Akōman Ganāk Mēnōk hunušak*.—'Innate reason and its forms and virtues are the offspring of Vahuman and the Bounteous Spirit. . . . Varan, the ruinous, and its forms and vices are the abortions of Akōman and the Destructive Spirit.'

[2] See note G, p. 194.

[3] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 44.

[4] Text Z 13: 'Time which is the eternity of Ohrmazd, for it is the genius of order (right ordering).'

[5] *Supra*, pp. 58 ff.

[6] Text Z 8, § 10.

for hers is an onslaught on the order of the Universe, and it is the tetrad of cosmic order that is her natural enemy. We shall have more to say on this subject when we come to deal with the concepts of 'the Mean' and cosmic order (*dātastān*).

Zātspram's account of the last things differs so sharply from the other accounts found in the Pahlavī books in the enormous importance he attaches to Āz that we are, I think, justified in claiming it as an almost purely Zervanite account.

When first creation began to move, Zurvān gave Ahriman that baleful garment which had 'the very substance of Āz'. Ahriman then, with little foresight, made Āz the captain of the commanders of his hosts. Meanwhile the power of Āz manifested itself in three ways:[1]

(i) First it showed itself in man's need to eat food 'on which life depends': this need was subdivided into hunger and thirst.

(ii) Secondly in man's desire for sexual union, Varan, that 'through which, by a glance outwards, the inwards are excited and the natural functions of the body thrown into turmoil': this again was subdivided into the desire to emit and the desire to receive, referring obviously to the male and female sexual instincts.

(iii) Thirdly in man's 'yearning for whatever good thing he sees or hears': this last was subdivided into robbery and avarice.

These three categories are called in Pahlavī *čihrīk*, *bē čihrīk*, and *bērōn hač čihr*. All three are therefore concerned with *čihr*, nature, the material world, and not with the spiritual or intellectual. This is not surprising, since Zurvān himself had become embodied in the material cosmos, and Āz, one may deduce, directed her energies principally against him. Zātspram knows nothing of the conflict between reason and Varan which may be both Mazdean and Zervanite. He is concerned with the material universe and its deliverance from the demon of concupiscence, simply conceived and unembellished by theology.

The whole passage, figuring, as it does, in a Zoroastrian text, is quite astonishing. Of all religions Zoroastrianism was probably the most averse to asceticism, nor had it any Manichaean notions about matter being evil. Moreover, Zātspram himself describes Āz as the demon of excess and deficiency: yet he defines the functions of Āz as (i) eating and drinking, (ii) sexual relations, and (iii) the desire to own good things. Seemingly, then, it is not the vices of excess and deficiency inherent in these three activities that make up concupiscence, namely gluttony, lust, and avarice,

[1] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 36 ff.

but the activities themselves. It could, of course, be argued that since Āz is already by definition excess and deficiency, excess and deficiency in these three activities are implied and condemned. But the sequel is against such a supposition, and Zātspram is best left to speak for himself.

At the end Artvahišt will come to earth with the powerful help of Airyaman, the Messenger, to find a means of overcoming Āz, and he will show to creatures that the slaughter of the divers kinds of cattle is a grievous sin and that the profit therefrom is small: and this will he command, 'Ye are men; slaughter not the cattle even as hitherto ye have slaughtered them.' When the time of the rehabilitation shall draw nigh, those who hearken to the command of Artvahišt will turn from the slaughter of cattle and the eating of flesh, and one quarter of the power of Āz will dwindle, and the strength that is in her body will be destroyed, and the darkness and gloom will be smitten in part: nature will be clad in spirit, and intelligences will be more clearly grasped. . . . Instructed by the gods they will turn away from the drinking of milk; half the power of Āz will dwindle. And those who are born to them will be sweet-smelling, lacking darkness, spiritual in nature, without offspring, *for they will not eat.*[1]

Here the slaughter of cattle and by corollary the eating of meat is roundly condemned as a 'grievous sin'.[2] The practice is abandoned and later eating of any sort ceases: the result is that 'nature is clad in spirit' (*mēnōk*). Āz, the demon of concupiscence, is in some way identified with the eater; for when the eater ceases to eat, she is forced to turn to Ahriman and extort from him his leave to devour the demons. Thus the evil creation is destroyed by the inner contradictions existing within itself.

The doctrine that the eating of food and man's dependence on physical sustenance represents a fall from a pristine state of perfection is not quite isolated in the Pahlavī texts. In the legend of Mašyē and Mašyānē, the first man and woman, preserved in the *Bundahišn* among other sources, their first consumption of food seems to have been regarded as a grievous sin. After they have emerged from the rhubarb stalk, in which shape they had grown from the seed of Gayōmart, Ohrmazd says to them:[3]

'Ye are men, the father (and mother) of the world: do ye your works in accordance with righteous order (*dātastān*) and a perfect mind. Think, speak, and do what is good. Worship not the demons.' Thus did the twain first think when each considered the other, 'He is a human being'. The first deed that they performed was that they moved and blinked their eyes.[4] And the first thing they said was this: 'Ohrmazd created water, the earth, plants, cattle, the stars, the Moon and the Sun, and all fertile things', which in the righteous revelation are called

[1] Text Z 5 (*a*), §§ 38–41.

[2] It is interesting that the Mazdakites also abstained from meat. v. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., p. 342; id. *Le Règne du roi Kawādh*, p. 79.

[3] See note H, p. 194.

[4] See note I, p. 195.

root and fruit. Then the Aggressor assailed their mind and corrupted it: and they cried out:[1] 'The Destructive Spirit created water, the earth, plants, and other things.' When they pronounced this first lie which ruined them, they spoke in accordance with the will of the demons. This first joy did the Destructive Spirit (steal) from them (and) make his own. For this lie both were damned; and their souls (shall remain) in hell till the Last Body.

For thirty days they refrained[2] from food and clothed themselves with grass. After thirty days in the wilderness they came upon a white-haired goat, and they sucked the milk of its udders. And when they had drunk the milk, Mašyē said to Mašyane: 'I had greater joy when I had not drunk the milk than I have now when I have drunk it: my body is ill.'[3] This was their second lie; and the demons obtained strength (thereby).

It is well to bear in mind that 'lie' in Zoroastrian parlance is almost the equivalent of 'sin' in religions of Semitic origin. The first sin of the first human couple was, then, a sin against the intellect, the sin of wrong thinking, that is the sin of Varan. However we interpret the words of Mašyē, the meaning of the second sin seems plain enough. The first couple drank milk, and the demons were strengthened thereby: *ergo*, the drinking of milk itself was sinful.

The account of the last things in Zātspram fully confirms this. In the beginning man falls from his pristine purity by drinking milk: he then goes on to eating meat.[4] The latter action is worse than the first, but the first was already bad enough. Similarly in the last days he first gives up the eating of meat and then gives up eating altogether. This is the prelude to the final triumph of good, since it forces Āz to devour the evil creation.

Interpreting the *Bundahišn* by the *Dēnkart* theology, we can now see that man sinned first in the intellect (*χrat*): he denied God (Ohrmazd) as creator. Secondly he sinned in the flesh (*čihr*), he ate.[5] From this it can only be concluded that man was created such that he had no need of food: eating, then, is a sin against *čihr*, the material world which is the body of Zurvān.

Similarly in the last days man wipes out his 'natural' sin by ceasing to eat. Zātspram, however, does not say how the sin of the intellect was atoned for. This can be dimly inferred from the last words of his chapter dealing with the last things. After describing the appearance of an apocalyptic fiery horseman in the atmosphere, he adds, as if inconsequently, 'And they

[1] This seems better than 'He cried to them'.

[2] This must be the sense of *'vēčišn*: cf. Andreas–Barr, *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen*, Berlin, 1933, p. 52.

[3] The sense of the whole passage in 'inverted commas' is somewhat uncertain.

[4] GrBd. 103 continues the story of how man next slaughtered a sheep and ate it.

[5] For the sinfulness of eating in the Manichaean system see H. C. Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, p. 90 and no. 386, where a full list of the relevant texts is given.

shall be freed from doubt'. This surely must mean that creation is finally and definitively delivered from Āz in both her aspects—from food which enslaves man to her in nature, and from doubt which makes him hers in spirit.

One additional small point should be stressed before we leave the subject of the sinfulness of eating. In the Manichaean tradition Āz is represented as having mingled herself with the plants and animals.[1] It is possible that the Zervanites too had some such notion: this would explain why the eating of food must be wicked.

The case is similar in the matter of sexual relations. Here again it is not the excess that is condemned, but the indulgence in sexual intercourse as such. This is a natural enough corollary to the doctrine of the original sinfulness of eating. Food is essential for the maintenance of the life of the individual: man's first parents sinned by taking food. Similarly the union of the sexes is the prerequisite for the propagation of life.[2] If, then, Mašyē did wrong in taking food for the preservation of his own life, he obviously did wrong in uniting with Mašyānē to prolong the life of the species. It is possible that the first human couple may have felt this themselves, for when Mašyānē produced her first two children she devoured one and Mašyē the other.[3] The episode, however, again brings to mind the Manichaean myth in which it is Āz herself who devours the abortions of the demons.[4] The conduct of the first human couple should therefore probably be ascribed to a perverted recrudescence of their concupiscence.

Quite as surprising as the condemnation of eating and the sexual act is that of the third activity ascribed to Āz by Zātspram—'the yearning for whatever good thing one sees or hears'. This 'yearning' is oddly subdivided into 'hoarding by robbery and refusing to give through avarice'. These, however, are not properly subdivisions at all but the results of the 'yearning'. Thus we find not only eating and the sexual act condemned, but also the desire to have. Here again no distinction appears to be made between the excess and the mean, since yearning for any good thing is specifically stigmatized. In this the Zervanite would appear even to surpass the Manichee.

Further light is thrown on this idea by passages in other Pahlavī books.

[1] v. Andreas–Henning, *MirMan.* i, p. 9.

[2] It seems almost superfluous to stress the closeness of these views to the Manichaean. For the latter, conveniently summarized with the fullest possible list of references, v. Puech, op. laud., especially pp. 88 and 186, no. 372.

[3] GrBd. 105. 9: *'hač 'avēšān zāt 'pat 9 'māh yuχt-ē 'zan 'ut 'mart. 'hač šīrēnīh frazand ēvak mātar žūt ēvak 'pitar.*—'After nine months twins were born to them, a girl and a boy. Because of their sweetness the mother devoured one and the father the other.'

[4] Andreas–Henning, *MirMan.* i, p. 22.

The *Mēnōk i χrat* says that it is Āz, conceived of as discontent, that causes man to forget the transitory nature of the things of this world, the death of the body, the judgement of the soul, and the fear of hell.[1] Similarly according to the *Dēnkart* 'concupiscence and yearning enter the body of a man secretly (*pat mēnōk*) and show him the desire of earthly goods. Then the best remedy is this, that the man show himself the transitory nature of the body and of earthly goods, and think thus, "Whence did I receive (this) store? But what shall I do then, since soon it must be left behind? Henceforth I shall receive nothing; for so long as I take pleasure in it from outside, I do not attain to it." For it is much easier not to receive earthly goods than to leave them.'[2]

Zātspram's disquisition on the demon of concupiscence stands in such sharp contrast to the main body of Zoroastrian doctrine preserved in the Avesta, Pahlavī books, and later tradition that we are driven to the conclusion that he is retailing a genuine Zervanite teaching. This is further borne out by the important role he assigns to Zurvān in his scheme of things and by his elevation of the demon Āz to an almost Manichaean eminence.

The divergence between the Mazdean and Zervanite mythologies has long intrigued the curious. Hitherto, however, no evidence had been published to illustrate the difference of the two points of view in the sphere of *Weltanschauung* and morals. Zātspram fills the gap.

About the Mazdean view there is no doubt at all. For them the material world was the handiwork of Ohrmazd. True, Ahriman had invaded that world, contaminated it, and introduced creatures of his own, but nevertheless it remained fundamentally good. Eating, drinking, and the propagation of the human race were regarded as natural, legitimate, and healthful activities. Ahriman, indeed, was regarded by Mānuščihr, the author of the *Dātastān i Dēnīk* and brother of Zātspram, as being essentially a spirit with no material function.[3] Ohrmazd, on the other hand, was not only the creator of the material world but is himself described as both spiritual and material.[4] Matter was therefore good and its enjoyment both permissible and desirable. Nietzsche's 'Ja-sagen zum Leben' would apply as much to the orthodox Mazdeans as to the Zarathuschtra of his own imagining.

Contrast this with the Zervanite view as propounded by Zātspram. The

[1] See note J, p. 195.

[2] DkM. 515. 3: *'mart 'pat mēnōk [i] Āz ārzōk 'ō tan 'rasēt, 'ut-aš 'hēr i gētēh kāmak nimāyēt. 'aδak čārak 'ēn apērtar 'kaδ 'mart frasāvandīh ⟨i⟩ tan ⟨'ut⟩ 'hēr i gētēh 'ō 'χᵛēš nimāyēt, 'ēn mēnēt 'ku *hanbār 'ku-m 'graft? 'bē 'čē 'kunam 'kaδ zūt 'bē 'hištan apāyēt. 'hač 'nūn frāč 'nē 'gīram 'ku-m 'tāk dōšāramīh i 'hač 'bē 'ēstēnd ov-iš 'nē *'rasam; 'čē 'hēr i gētēh 'nē 'graft 'vas χᵛārtar 'ku 'bē 'hištan.*

[3] Dd. 18. 2: *Ahriman râδ guft 'ēstēt 'ku-š gētēh 'nēst.*—'Of Ahriman it is said that he has no *gētēh*.'

[4] v. text Z 1, § 32 and ff.

root of all evil is concupiscence; but concupiscence is not conceived as the abuse of a natural function as Christianity teaches: it is the very use of that function. We must then suppose either that man was intended by the deity to live in a material body as if he were a non-material entity and that he sinned of his own free will, or that he was doomed to imprisonment in the flesh by the necessity of keeping the body alive and to propagate his species by the urgency of his sexual desire. The second alternative is likely to be the true one, since the overwhelming importance attached to fate is so characteristic a feature of Zervanism that it has never failed to attract the attention of interested scholars. The life of man imprisoned in the body would, then, merely reflect the life of the Infinite God imprisoned in the finite Cosmos: the Cosmos rules man, and both are destined for ultimate release, the god at the end of twelve thousand years, man at death. Āz, as hunger, is present in all material things and can only be expelled at the end of the allotted time when 'nature is clad in spirit'[1] and men cease to eat or to reproduce.

What practical consequences the Zervanites drew from these premisses it is impossible to say; for it is a curious fact that the great religions which have preached predestination, so far from producing an indolent type—at least in their early stages—turn out a peculiarly obnoxious and aggressively intolerant product. Whether this was ever true of Zervanism must remain doubtful. The indications are rather that it was a religion which, since it regarded desire as the basic evil, recommended detachment as the panacea. The Pahlavī *handarz* literature (collections of pious sayings), which so insistently urges men to turn from the material world and to concentrate on the spiritual,—a view which reappears so frequently in the earlier Muhammadan Persian writing,—probably belongs to Zervanism. This strain of philosophical resignation is most apparent in the *Mēnōk i χrat*, which is known to be semi-Zervanite in tendency. 'Do not cultivate the world overmuch', we read, 'for he who cultivates the world does harm to the spirit.'[2] And again: 'The good things of the world are like a cloud that comes on a freezing day and does not linger on any mountain-top.'[3] These admonitions are clearly based on the doctrine mentioned by Zātspram that 'yearning for whatever good thing one sees or hears' is the third of the manifestations of Āz. It is reasonable to suppose that some Zervanites at least endeavoured to avoid the second manifestation, sexual desire, and to cut out as far as possible the first, the taking of food.

[1] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 39.

[2] M*χ*. 2. 66: *'vas gētēh-ārāδ 'mā 'bāš, 'čē gētēh-ārāδ mart mēnōk-višōβ 'bavēt.*

[3] Ibid. 2. 65: *nēvakīh i gētēh ētōn humānāk čēyōn aβr i 'pat aβsārān 'rōč 'āyēt 'kē 'pat hēč kōf 'apāč 'nē 'pāyēt.*

Thus we may legitimately infer that Zervanism represented an ascetic wing within the Zoroastrian Church. Contentment (*χᵛarsandīh*) is the virtue opposed to concupiscence, and the ideal man should then desire nothing at all. Nobody except a madman, however, practises asceticism for its own sake. The Christian schools his body in subjection to his soul to open wide the doors of grace: the Manichee fasts and abstains from sexual intercourse in order to release the particles of light that are imprisoned in matter. The Zervanite, however, would fast, practise chastity, and 'give up the world' in order to eliminate concupiscence, the basic evil, as far as possible from his own person. In this he would simply be imitating the trend of the Cosmos itself. For the Cosmos is the body of Zurvān—and since this chapter closes the cosmological section of this work, it is well and, we are rash enough to hope, not entirely superfluous to recapitulate the cosmic drama in the light of the evidence we have pieced together so far.

Zurvān is the Infinite God—Infinite Time and Infinite Space—neither light nor darkness, neither good nor evil. He desires to have a son who should be the creator, but doubts whether this can be. From these mental conditions Ohrmazd and Ahriman arise. Ohrmazd fashions the universe from the substance of Zurvān, yet Ahriman is made king of the material world while Ohrmazd holds sway above. Zurvān thus becomes imprisoned in the body of the Cosmos which is ruled by the twelve Signs of the Zodiac and which will last for twelve thousand years. This is the battleground between the two spirits. The first of these had proceeded from the great God's wisdom, the second from his desire and doubt (Āz-Varan): they are not, however, identical with these. Zurvān arms Ohrmazd with his wisdom and Ahriman with his desire and doubt. He knows that the latter will cause havoc in his own body which is the Cosmos, but he also knows that as the cosmic body moves back towards the spirit, Āz *qua* concupiscence will be powerless against it: she will turn upon the demons and devour them.

Ēšm (Wrath) and Āz say to the Destructive Spirit: 'O thou Destructive Spirit of evil knowledge, I shall swallow thee, for (all) creation has been taken away save thee, and there is neither treasure nor army, and I cannot live.' First Āz, the demon-created, swallows Ēšm of the bloody spear, and second the demon-created Winter, and third Bane that moves in secret, and fourth she swallows Old Age whose breath is foul, so that none remain save the Destructive Spirit and Āz, the demon-created. Āz, the demon-created, says to the Destructive Spirit, 'I will swallow thee, O thou of evil knowledge, for the gods have taken away (all) creation save thee.' The Destructive Spirit rises up and goes towards the Bounteous Spirit, and cries out thus: 'I created this creation, and Āz, the demon-created, who has swallowed my creation, now desires to swallow me: I make thee judge over us.' Ohrmazd arises with Srōš, the Blessed, and Srōš, the Blessed, smites

Āz, and Ohrmazd the Destructive Spirit.[1] With all the foul(?) darkness and misery which he brought into (the world) when he first rushed in, he is thrown out of the sky through the hole by which he rushed in: and at that hole he is laid low and made unconscious so that he will (never) again arise from that low estate. There have been some who have said that he will be forever powerless and, as it were, slain,[2] and that henceforth neither the Destructive Spirit nor his creation will exist.[3]

So with Ahriman and his legions overthrown and concupiscence destroyed the Great God becomes what he had never been before—good. The original flaw in the divine nature is eliminated and the Cosmos, his body, dissolves into himself, which is the Infinite.

Such, baldly, seems to be the cosmological framework of this strangest of religions which sought to solve the problem of evil by placing it in the very heart of God.

II. WOMAN, THE SEDUCTRESS OF MAN

After examining the activities of the demon Āz, an association of ideas leads us naturally to another demon of desire—J̌ēh. Like Āz she makes a dramatic and apparently inexplicable appearance in the *Selections of Zātspram*[4] and again figures in the vivid prelude of the fourth chapter of the *Bundahišn*,[5] from which she as dramatically fades out. Her name is J̌ēh, and she is the demon Whore. The word derives from the Avestan *ǰahī-*[6] commonly used to mean a prostitute. It is also used to mean a woman of Ahriman's creation, and its original sense would appear to be simply 'woman'. A clear parallel to the *Bundahišn* text is found in the Syriac writer, Theodore bar Kônai.[7] This has already been expertly analysed by Professor Benveniste in MO. xxvi, pp. 170–215. The supplementary evidence that can now be supplied from the *Bundahišn* and Zātspram happily supports the conclusions he had already arrived at.

We saw in an earlier chapter that Ohrmazd's recitation of the *Ahunvar* prayer had the effect of laying Ahriman low for three thousand years.[8] In the fourth chapter of the *Bundahišn*, however, his continuance in this abject state is attributed to the creation of Gayōmart, the Righteous, Just,

[1] The destruction of Ahriman and Āz is accomplished by a sacrifice performed by Ohrmazd and Srōš according to GrBd. 227. 8 (v. Chapter V, p. 120, n. 2).

[2] So Zn. 17. 16 (Messina): *Ahriman pat bērōn i āsmān bē *kašēnd, hač-iš sar bē brīnēnd.*—'They drag Ahriman outside the sky and cut off his head.'

[3] Text Z 5 (*b*).

[4] Text Z 5 (*a*), §§ 30–31.

[5] Text Z 6.

[6] It is tempting to connect this word with NP. *zahīdan*, MP. *zahak* 'offspring', &c.; but one would expect to find MP. forms showing an initial *ž*.

[7] Text F 10.

[8] *Supra*, p. 95.

or Blessed Man (*mart i ahrov*), from whose seed the human race was to proceed. The demons, exasperated at the torpor of their captain, sought to encourage him: they retailed in detail the evil they could do, 'but the accursed Destructive Spirit was not comforted, nor did he arise from his fallen estate for fear of the Blessed Man'. It was not until J̌ēh intervened that he revived and was able to deliver his furious and triumphantly successful onslaught on the powers of good. For J̌ēh, 'the accursed Whore, came after three thousand years had run their course; and she cried out to the Destructive Spirit (saying), "Arise, O our father, for I would join battle in the material world that Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands may suffer straitness and misery thereby".' But again Ahriman was not comforted. Then she cried out a second time and said

'Arise, O our father, for in that battle I shall let loose so much affliction on the Blessed Man and the toiling Bull that, because of my deeds, they will not be fit to live: and I shall destroy their dignity ($\chi^{v}arr$): I shall afflict the water; I shall afflict the plants; I shall afflict the fire of Ohrmazd; I shall afflict all the creation of Ohrmazd.' And she related her evil deeds so minutely that the Destructive Spirit was comforted, and leapt forth from his fallen state and kissed the head of the Whore; and the pollution which they call menstruation appeared on the Whore. He cried out unto the Whore, (saying), 'Whatsoever is thy desire, do thou ask, that I may give it thee'. Then Ohrmazd in his omniscient wisdom knew that at that time the Destructive Spirit could give whatever the demon Whore asked, and that there would be great profit to him thereby. (The appearance of the body of the Destructive Spirit was in the form of a frog.) And he (*sc.* Ohrmazd) showed one like unto a young man of fifteen years of age to the demon Whore; and the demon Whore fastened her thoughts on him. And the demon Whore cried out to the Destructive Spirit, (saying), 'Give me desire for man that I may seat him in the house as my lord'. And the Destructive Spirit cried unto her, (saying), 'I do not bid thee ask anything, for thou knowest (only) to ask for what is profitless and bad'. But the time had passed when he had not been able to give what she asked.[1]

So much do we learn from the *Bundahišn*. Let us now see what Theodore has to say about the same myth:

Lorsqu'Ormazd eut donné des femmes aux justes, elles s'enfuirent et se rendirent auprès de Satan; lorsqu'Ormazd procura aux justes le calme et le bonheur, Satan procura aussi le bonheur aux femmes. Satan ayant permis aux femmes de demander ce qu'elles voudraient, Ormazd eut peur qu'elles ne demandassent à avoir des rapports avec les justes et qu'il n'en résultât pour eux un châtiment. Il chercha un expédient et fit le dieu Narsa, personnage de *quinze ans. Il le mit tout nu derrière Satan pour que les femmes le vissent, le désirassent et le demandassent: 'Satan, notre père, donne nous le dieu Narsa en présent.'

[1] Text Z 6.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Theodore is faithfully repeating a version of the same myth from which the *Bundahišn* account is derived. The correspondences are obvious. It is better to concentrate on the discrepancies.

(i) First, in the *Bundahišn* (B.) the protagonist is J̌ēh, the Whore: in Theodore (T.) woman who, created by Ohrmazd and destined for man, had fled to Ahriman.

(ii) In B. Ohrmazd knows only that Ahriman could give whatever J̌ēh asked and that Ahriman would be profited thereby. In T. Ohrmazd fears that woman may demand intercourse with 'les justes' and that the latter would be punished.

(iii) In B. Ohrmazd exhibits 'one like a young man of fifteen years of age' to the demon Whore. In T. he creates the god Narsa and exhibits him naked behind Ahriman in order to excite the desire of woman.

(iv) In B. the Whore asks for the desire of man 'that she might seat him in the house as her lord'. This request Ahriman had to grant. In T. woman asks specifically for the god Narsa.

We have seen that Theodore bar Kônai knew Zoroastrianism in its Zervanite rather than its Mazdean form. It is then likely that he has preserved the true Zervanite legend where the *Bundahišn* may have emended. Thus in discrepancy (i) Theodore has almost certainly preserved the authentic tradition. Woman, although created by Ohrmazd, deserts to the camp of Ahriman. In (ii) and (iii) the accounts combined will give the full version: Ohrmazd knows that woman will demand intercourse with the Righteous (or Blessed) Man (Gayōmart—rendered by Theodore as 'les justes'), and that the latter will suffer and Ahriman profit thereby. Thus he sends the god Narsē to excite woman, presumably to distract her attention from the Righteous Man. It is, however, the fourth discrepancy that is important. In Theodore woman asks specifically for the god Narsē: in the *Bundahišn* she asks for the 'desire of man', meaning presumably Gayōmart, the 'Righteous Man', since the *Bundahišn* mentions neither Narsē nor any other male person. What Ohrmazd exhibits to her is something 'like a young man of fifteen years of age', presumably a phantasm.

Theodore's introduction of the god Narsē requires explanation. Narsē (Narsa) in Pahlavī is Nēryōsang, and he is mentioned as having received two-thirds of the seed of Gayōmart when he died.[1] This, however, does not explain why Narsē appears in this passage. The Manichees, however,

[1] GrBd. 100. 15: *'ut-aš 2 bahr Nēryō⟨sa⟩ng nikās dāšt.*

had adopted this myth into their own system: this too has been preserved by Theodore bar Kônai and has been exhaustively discussed by Cumont.[1] The myth is also referred to in the Middle Persian Turfān fragment T III. 260.[2] It is not our intention to enter into this much discussed question, but only to introduce this Manichaean version in order to see what light, if any, it throws on the Zervanite myth. For the interpretation of the Manichaean ideas we would refer the reader to more competent authorities.[3]

The myth which has come to be known as the Seduction of the Archons tells us the following:

When the ships (i.e. the Sun and Moon) went up and reached the middle of the heaven, the Messenger then revealed his forms, male and female, and was seen by all the Archons, the sons of darkness, male and female. And at the sight of the Messenger who was beautiful in his forms, all the Archons became filled with lust for him, the males for the form of the female, and the females for the form of the male, and in their lust they began to emit that light which they had swallowed from the Five Luminous Gods. And then the sin which was shut up in them mixed itself like hair in the dough[4] with the light which came out from the Archons. They desired to go in, but then the Messenger concealed his forms and severed the light of the Five Luminous Gods from the sin that was with them.[5]

The object of this grotesque episode in the borrowed myth is purely Manichaean. The Messenger, by exciting the demons, causes them to emit some of the particles of light which they had absorbed. This light they had swallowed when they defeated the Primal Man (*πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος*). The Messenger or *Tertius Legatus* is the principal deity of the third emanation in the Manichaean system. In the Middle Persian Manichaean texts he is called Narisah, which is of course an earlier form of Narsē and corresponds exactly to the Narsa of Theodore's account of the Zoroastrian myth. In the *Bundahišn* Narsē (called in Pahlavī by his Avestan name *Nēryōsang* (*Nairyō-saŋha-*)) is also described as the 'Messenger of the Gods'.[6] It is therefore almost certain that Theodore has accurately preserved an authentic Zervanite myth.[7]

[1] *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i, pp. 61 ff. [2] Andreas–Henning, *MirMan.* i.

[3] The best treatment is that of Cumont, l.c. Cf. also Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 221–54; Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, pp. 342–7; Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, p. 172, no. 324.

[4] Following the translation suggested to Jackson by Yohannan (Jackson, op. cit., p. 245). The same figure occurs in ŠnV. i. 57. 451:

zi gāh ī buzurgī ču mūy az χamīr
birūn āmadī, mihtarā: čāreh gīr.

[5] Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, p. 129 (text), p. 190 (translation); Cumont, op. laud., p. 38; Jackson, op. cit., pp. 244 ff.; Schaeder, op. cit., p. 345. Translation after Jackson.

[6] GrBd. 177. 8: *Nēryō(k)sang patyāk i yazdān.*

[7] Schaeder ('Der iranische Zeitgott und sein Mythos', ZDMG. 1941, p. 292) considers that the author of the Zoroastrian myth was copying from the Manichaean. This is wholly improbable.

This hypothesis is rendered doubly assured when we again turn to Zātspram's thirty-fourth chapter. There (§ 38) we read that in the last days 'Artvahišt will come to earth with the powerful help of Airyaman, the *Messenger*, to find a means of overcoming Āz'. He it is who will show man the sinfulness of slaughtering cattle. It is possible, therefore, that one of the divine messengers is sent to Gayōmart, the origin of the human race, to protect him against the attack of J̌ēh, who is only too obviously a creature of concupiscence. The second messenger is sent at the last to deliver man finally from the toils of concupiscence itself. Before offering a fuller interpretation of the Zervanite myth, however, we must pause to consider further evidence that J̌ēh is simply Woman in Zervanite terminology.

An anonymous Syriac text[1] has preserved a hotchpotch of Zervanite doctrine most of which, however, is attested elsewhere. The passage with which we are at present concerned runs as follows:

> Il [i.e. Zoroastre] partage les choses créées entre ces deux (Hormezd et Ahremēd) en disant: la lumière appartient à Hormezd, les ténèbres appartiennent à Ahremēd; la vie appartient à Hormezd, la mort à Ahremēd; la santé et la richesse appartiennent à Hormezd, la maladie et la pauvreté à Ahremēd. Sur le même modèle les êtres vivants sont assignés, les uns à Hormezd et les autres à Ahremēd. C'est ainsi qu'il attribue les hommes et les grands animaux à Hormezd, mais les serpents, les scorpions, les cousins, les poux, les mouches et tous les reptiles de la terre à Ahremēd. De tout cela on peut inférer clairement qu'il suppose des séries de divinités mâles et femelles.

The reasoning is far from clear. The author enumerates the possessions of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and his categories have the true Zoroastrian flavour. His last sentence, however, seems the most astonishing *non sequitur*: 'De tout cela on peut inférer qu'il suppose des séries de divinités mâles et femelles.' What can the man mean?

There is not a word in all that goes before that gives even the vaguest hint that Zoroaster posited series of male and female deities. Goddesses, in fact, are extremely few and far between in the Zoroastrian pantheon. To my mind the only possible sense that can be dragged out of this passage is that creation is divided between Ohrmazd and Ahriman; good belongs to Ohrmazd, evil to Ahriman. Similarly creation is divided between male and female; the male belongs to Ohrmazd, the female to Ahriman. It is quite true that this is not what the text says, and that as it stands the last sentence is capriciously inconsequent. I would therefore prefer to stress the equation J̌ēh (*Bundahišn*) = Woman (Theodore) as sound evidence for a Zervanite belief that woman—or at least Primal Woman as against

[1] Text F 9.

Primal Man—belongs to the evil creation; and refer the reader to Chapter III, pp. 72 ff., where further evidence for the perversity of the female element was presented and analysed.

Benveniste concluded in his analysis of the Theodore bar Kônai text that woman originally belonged to the Ahrimanian creation in the Zervanite scheme of things. From all the evidence this seems a fair inference. The intermediate position, namely that the female element water[1] and woman herself deserted Ohrmazd for Ahriman, is, however, alone attested in the Syriac sources. Only Hippolytus gives the extreme position which equates the male principle with light and the female with darkness.[2]

While granting that the identification of the female element with darkness and therefore with evil was probably held by some Zervanites—and the female sex of Āz, if proven, would greatly strengthen this theory—the better attested position remains that the female element as well as the male was fashioned by Ohrmazd, but through what appears to be an innate perversity deserted to the camp of Ahriman.[3] The temptation to identify Āz with the female principle is overwhelmingly strong, but should be resisted.

There is moreover a further passage in the *Bundahišn*, from its contents probably Zervanite in origin, which fully establishes the fact that some Zoroastrians at least considered woman to be essentially perverse. Ohrmazd is soliloquizing at the time of his creation of woman, and this is what he says:

> I created thee, thou whose adversary is the whore species, and thou wast created with a mouth close to thy buttocks, and coition seems to thee even as the taste of the sweetest food to the mouth; and thou art a helper to me, for from thee is man born, but thou dost grieve me who am Ohrmazd. But had I found another vessel from which to make man, never would I have created thee, whose adversary is the whore species. But I sought in the waters and in the earth, in plants and cattle, in the highest mountains and deep valleys, but I did not find a vessel from which righteous man might proceed except woman whose adversary is the whore.[4]

This episode may be characterized as Zervanite on four grounds: (i) Ohrmazd shows an ineptitude that is quite out of keeping with his Mazdean character of omnipotence and is strongly reminiscent of his inability to create the luminaries without diabolic assistance; (ii) he displays a misogynism unnatural, one would think, in one who is himself the creator of woman; (iii) the only use he can see in woman is that she produces man;

[1] Text F 5, i; cf. *supra*, p. 74.

[2] Text G 3; cf. p. 72.

[3] This desertion of woman to Ahriman is to some extent balanced by Mahmi's desertion to Ohrmazd (*supra*, pp. 147 ff.).

[4] See note K, p. 195.

and finally (iv) he implies a condemnation of the sexual act which is anything but Mazdean.

His perpetual repetition of the phrase 'woman whose adversary is the whore species' seems pointed, and his description of woman is exceptionally offensive and degrading. Between her and 'her adversary the whore species' her creator seems to see little difference. The latter-day scholar may, then, be forgiven if he regards the two as identical. Ohrmazd's address seems to be inconsistent with the normal Zoroastrian view of marital union and in sharp contrast to the passage from the Pahlavī *Rivāyat* already quoted where Ohrmazd and his daughter-wife Spandarmat are described as fondly embracing each other, thus giving divine sanction to sexual union (in this case incestuous).[1] Thus it appears almost certain that the demon J̌ēh represents the first woman and that Theodore bar Kônai's account is substantially correct.

What is very remarkable in both the accounts of the *Bundahišn* and Theodore bar Kônai is the abruptness with which they end. In the one case J̌ēh asks for the desire of man, in the other for the god Narsē: and that, apparently, is that. We have seen that in the Manichaean myth of the Seduction of the Archons, which appears to have been borrowed from this same Zervanite source, the result of the apparition of the 'Messenger' is the liberation of the particles of light from the bodies of the demons. The *leitmotiv* of the Manichaean cosmology, namely the imprisonment of the light in the ὕλη, seems to be entirely lacking in Zervanism. It is, however, inconceivable that the story should have stopped short with the appearance of the Messenger. The *Bundahišn* keys the reader's attention up for some tremendous and awful event in which J̌ēh would play the leading part. After all the demons have failed to rouse Ahriman from his torpor, it is J̌ēh who whips him into activity by describing how she will 'let loose so much affliction on the Righteous Man and the toiling Bull that . . . they will not be fit to live'. Yet when the onslaught does take place, J̌ēh magically disappears from the scene and is never heard of again.

Her intention, however, is perfectly plain. Excited by the appearance of the form of the fifteen-year-old youth exhibited to her—by Ohrmazd, one presumes, though the text is not absolutely clear on this point—she demands 'desire for man, that I may seat him in the house as my lord'. This, oddly enough, Ahriman is unwilling to give, as his surly reply shows: 'I do not bid thee ask anything, for thou knowest (only) to ask for what is profitless and bad.' Ahriman's reluctance is not altogether surprising since J̌ēh's request, if fulfilled, would mean not only the defilement of man and

[1] *supra*, p. 152.

his permanent entanglement with woman, but also the subjection of Ahrimanian woman to Ohrmazdean man. 'But the time had passed when he had not been able to give what she asked': in other words, he was in no position to refuse her request. The inference is then that J̌ēh was let loose on Gayōmart and presumably did what her species usually does under similar circumstances. The abrupt aposiopesis in the *Bundahišn* and, more surprisingly, in Theodore bar Kônai too seems quite inexplicable unless we are to suppose that both the author of the *Bundahišn* and the author on whom Theodore draws realized suddenly that the shameful story they were about to relate was completely heterodox. Zātspram, however, whose heterodoxy can no longer be seriously doubted, completes the story; but here again there is a lacuna in the vital part of the text.

Zātspram's account runs as follows:

> When Ahriman rushed into creation, he had the brood of the demon Whore of evil religion as his companion even as a man has a whore woman as his bedfellow; for verily the whore is a demon: and he appointed the demon Whore queen of her brood, that is the chief of all the whore demons, the most grievous adversary of the Righteous Man. And (the demon Whore) of evil religion joined herself . . . (lacuna) . . .; for the defilement of females she joined herself to him, that she might defile females; and the females, because they were defiled, might defile the males, and (the males) would turn aside from their proper work.[1]

Whether the essential words have been omitted on purpose by a copyist it is impossible to say: but the denouement of the episode is, even without them, absolutely plain. The concatenation of evidence is as follows:

(i) J̌ēh is the Primal Whore;
(ii) she is the 'most grievous adversary of the Righteous Man';
(iii) she had asked for the 'desire of man' and Ahriman could not refuse her;
(iv) she had intercourse with a person unknown.

Quite obviously the Zervanite myth terminated in the union of the First Man whose holiness was such that his mere existence had kept Ahriman powerless for three thousand years,[2] and the First Woman who alone of the demonic host had been able to rouse Ahriman from his stupor by an account of what she could do to Man.

There are, however, two points that still need clearing up: (*a*) what is meant by the defilement of females in Zātspram's account, and (*b*) what is the role of the likeness of the youth of fifteen years of age identified by Theodore bar Kônai as Narsē?

First, the defilement of females. I can find no convincing explanation for

[1] Text Z 5 (*a*), §§ 30–31.

[2] *Supra*, p. 183.

this. At the stage of the cosmic drama during which the episode occurs J̌ēh herself seems to represent the female sex, and she, having been Ahriman's 'companion', can scarcely have been undefiled. The defilement of females can, then, only mean that woman, being the first to sin by concupiscence, transmits her sin to her female offspring who again by concupiscence defile the males. However, in the *Bundahišn*'s account of the first human couple, Mašyē and Mašyānē, who in the Mazdean account sprang from the seed of Gayōmart,[1] both the woman and the man seem equally perverse and culpable.

Second, the appearance of the form of the youth. Theodore identifies the youth with Narsē, and the same god figures in the Manichaean myth, where his function is plain. In the *Bundahišn*, when the onslaught is finally unleashed, Ohrmazd brought sleep upon Gayōmart in the form of a 'youth of fifteen years of age, shining and tall'.[2] This youthful form would then appear to be the personification of Gayōmart's sleep. Theodore's Narsē, then, may perhaps have been adopted by confusion from the Manichaean myth. In any case it would appear that Ohrmazd, in his anxiety to protect Gayōmart from J̌ēh, displayed the youth in order to distract her attention. The sleep, moreover, shows how Gayōmart could have succumbed without resistance.

There seems to be a further pale reflection of the J̌ēh myth in the *Bundahišn*'s account of Ahriman's assault on Gayōmart and the Bull; for before the demon of death is loosed upon him, Ahriman assails him with Āz and Varan and five other deadly sins.[3] This is perhaps a toning down of the crude Zervanite story.

We saw in the first part of this chapter that gluttony played a far greater part in the concept of the Zervanite Āz than did lust, and that in this the emphasis was different from that in the Manichaean system. This, however, may be due to the fact that J̌ēh to a large extent fulfils this function on behalf of Āz. She overpowers the prototype of Man and thus defiles the human race. The first human couple, then, will in all probability be conceived of as the children of Gayōmart and J̌ēh in the Zervanite tradition, inheriting what is good from the first who is the handiwork of Ohrmazd, and what is evil from the latter who is either a self-willed renegade from good to evil or an evil creature herself. This, of course, is deduction from what seems to me certain—the union of Gayōmart and J̌ēh and the Zervanite condemnation of such union and its natural result.

[1] GrBd. 101. 1 ff.; Justi's translation, p. 19.

[2] Ibid. 44. 5.

[3] Ibid. 43. 10: the other sins are Want, Bane, Pain, Disease (? **yask*), and Sloth (*būšasp*, which also means 'sleep').

According to the Mazdean account Gayōmart's seed fell into the earth (Spandarmat) at the moment of his death. The seed grew up in the rhubarb plant from which Mašyē and Mašyānē, the first human couple (as distinct from Gayōmart, the First Man) emerged.[1] It is possible that both this legend and the story of his union with J̌ēh go back to an identical idea—the marriage of the First Man with the Earth Goddess. It will be recollected that Spandarmat is elsewhere referred to as the 'mother of creation'.[2] If this is so, the only distinction between the Mazdean and Zervanite versions would be that in the latter the female principle is equated with evil.

Thus in the course of our analysis of the admittedly scant data at our disposal we have continually come across an evil power of feminine gender. We recognized it first in the female principle of darkness which, according to Hippolytus, was moist and cold.[3] Again we saw that there was good reason to believe that it was present in the demon Āz—the personification of concupiscence which seemed to play so prominent a part in Zervanite teaching, though not in Mazdean. Finally we have again met it in the figure of J̌ēh, the whore who appears to be nothing else than woman. This threefold evidence can only lead to the conclusion that some Zervanites at least regarded the female principle as basically evil; and we are, therefore, bound to accept the corollary—which was already sufficiently obvious from Zātspram's account of Āz—that the prime function of woman, the propagation of the race, is as evil as the vessel which makes it possible. If this conclusion is justified, it at once becomes apparent that Zervanism is far more akin to Gnosticism than it is to Mazdean orthodoxy. Whereas the Mazdeans knew nothing of such a female principle, the Manichaean Āz who is the 'mother of all the demons'[4] corresponds fairly closely to the Zervanite demon of the same name. The Āz of the eastern Manichees is the ὕλη of the West; and this ὕλη is ἡ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἄτακτος κίνησις.[5] Similarly the weapon which Zurvān hands to Ahriman is 'like unto fire, blazing, *harassing all creatures*, that hath the very substance of Āz'.[6] It seems, then, a legitimate conclusion that a school of Zervanites existed which, though admitting the basic distinction between the two deities of good and evil, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, nevertheless recognized a yet deeper antagonism between a male principle of order styled variously *dātastān* or *rāδēnītārīh* or *patmān* and a female principle of chaos which is concupiscence.

[1] Ibid., chapter xiv, pp. 100 ff.; IndBd., chapter xv, p. 33 of the text, p. 19 of the translation.

[2] *Supra*, p. 152.

[3] *Supra*, p. 72.

[4] *Supra*, p. 166.

[5] *Supra*, p. 167.

[6] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 35.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

A. *čašm-gāh*: 'aware' = Phl. *čašm-kās*<Av. *√kas-* (NP. *ā-gāh* = Phl. *ā-kās*, &c.), cf. Henning, l.c. The meaning is attested Dd. 23. 3: *ruvān . . . 'apar vinās 'i-š kart 'ut kirpak 'i-š kam kart čašm-kās 'bavēt.*—'The soul becomes aware of the sins it has committed and the good deeds it has omitted to do.' Cf. ibid. 24. 3. DkM. 802. 18 has *čašm-ākāsīh [sic] 'i-š 'hač dātār Ôhrmazd 'pat zatan 'i-š ātaχš.*—'The awareness (he received) from Ohrmazd concerning his smiting of the fire.' For *čašm-kās* in MX. 2. 115 we should probably read ⟨*a-*⟩*čašm-kās* (so Anklesaria) to correspond with the preceding *a-buržišnīk* and *an-āžarmik*. The *a-* privative would then also be reflected in the Skt. translation *a-darśanīya-*. Translate, 'When I sat in the place of the unaware . . ., &c.'.

B. GrBd. 185. 13: *Āz 'dēv 'ān 'kē 'čiš-ē ōpārēt: 'kaδ niyāzīh rāδ 'čiš *'nē mat 'ēstēt, 'hač tan 'χ^{v}arēt. 'ān druž[īh] 'hast i 'kaδ-aš hamāk χ^{v}āstak ⟨i⟩ gētēh 'bē 'dāt, 'nē *hanbārēt* (so from Zs. 34. 42 *hanburt*), *sēr 'nē 'bavēt.*—'The demon Āz is she who swallows (all) things. When through want nothing comes her way, she pines away. She is that Lie who would not be sated or satisfied though all the goods of the world were given to her.'

'hač tan 'χ^{v}arēt: for the meaning cf. Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmeh*, ed. Khalkhālī, Tehran, A.H. 1310, p. 44: *mā gūšthā va χūnhā-yi χ^{v}īš ba-khurdīm andar qaḥt ya'nī lāyur gaštīm.*—'In famine we have eaten our own flesh and blood, that is, we have grown thin.'

C. DkM. 316. 9: *'andar gumēčakīh āmarakānīhā ǰān 'pat tan vīnārišn 'pat [tan] pattāyišn i čihr 'pat tan: pattāyišn i čihr 'pat tan 'pat 2-čārīh ⟨i⟩ Āz i čihr 'bavēt; 'ut Āz 'hač ⟨dō⟩-*čārīh i 'apar čihr 'pat ānāβišn i čihr. 'ut-aš 'apāč dāštār⟨i⟩ Hurdāt 'ut Amurdāt,—χ^{v}arišn 'ut χ^{v}ārišn 'hač čihr bandīhēt,—čihr aδyār, Āz hamēstār. 'ut 'kaδ Hurdāt 'ut Amurdāt, χ^{v}arišn 'ut χ^{v}ārišn, 'hač čihr bandīhēt, čihr 'pat anaδyārīh 'hač Āz-čihr-patišīh ānāβīhēt, 'ut ǰān 'pat tan vīnartan 'nē šāyēt; 'hač avīnārišnīh i ǰān 'pat tan ōšōmandīh 'bavēt i tan.* Cf. further ibid. 379. 5 ff.; 39. 17.

D. DkM. 342. 3 ff.: *aβigatōmand 'martōm gumēχt 'ēstēt ov-iš aβigatīk Āz 'pat marnǰēnītan i 'χ^{v}arr. 'ut 'dāt 'ēstēt 'hač dātār χrat 'pat pānakīh i 'χ^{v}arr 'hač Āz. 'ut Āz brātarōt i apāyast. apāyast sahmān-ič. 'tāk apāyast 'pat attān 'ut pātuχšāyīh hanǰāmīhēt, Āz frēh nērōkīhēt. 'ut χrat niyāz vēš 'bavēt ⟨'pat⟩ pānakīh i 'χ^{v}arr 'hač Āz. 'kaδ apāyast 'pat pātuχšāyīh 'ut attān hačaδar patmān i nērōk i 'avē 'martōm χrat hanǰāmīhēt, *pattōk 'bavēt 'avē 'martōm χrat 'pat pānakīh i 'χ^{v}arr 'hač tarvēnītan i 'hač Āz. sūtōmand 'ān pātuχšāyīh 'ut attān 'pat 'ān 'martōm. 'ut 'kaδ apāyast hačapar patmān i nērōk i 'avē 'martōm χrat hanǰāmīhēt, frēh ōžīhēt Āz, 'ut nizōrīhēt 'andar-aš χrat: 'ut 'hač χrat-nizōrīh čust 'χ^{v}arr 'pat abavandakīh 'i-š pānak, 'ut mastīhēt 'avē 'martōm 'hač frēhbūtīk pātuχšāyīh 'ut attān, 'ut-aš tarvēnīt ['ut] Āz ⟨i⟩ 'χ^{v}arr ānāβēt: 'ut-aš ziyānīhēt 'apar-aš 'ān pātuχšāyīh 'ut attān.*

brātarōt: v. BSOS. ix, p. 311. 'First cousin' is perhaps a better translation than 'rival'. The word means 'like a brother'. In passages dealing with ethics it is used to denote a vice which is the caricature of a virtue. Menasce (ŠGV., p. 30) renders 'semblable et apparenté'.

attān: 'wealth' or better 'worldly goods'. The meaning is assured by the following passages:

(*a*) DkM. 916. 2: *tan 'ut attān* corresponding to l.6 of the same page *tan 'ut χ^{v}āstak.*

(*b*) Ibid. 804. 20: *zīndakīh 'zan 'ut χ^{v}āstak 'ut apārīk gētēhīk attān.*—'Life, wife, wealth, and other worldly goods.' The word could, of course, be read equally well

as *'T'W*, cf. NP. *tāv* 'strength' which could represent *a(t)tāv* with subsequent loss of the initial *a-*.

E. DkM. 118. 6: *čand āsn-χrat zōr pātuχšāyīh, and 'vēhīh dēn patīrišn 'ut vāβarīkānīh 'ut ravākīh 'ut yazdān pātuχšāyīh, 'vēh masīh, ōβām nēvakīh. 'ut čand mūtak varan zōr vazur⟨g⟩īh[ā], and aγ-dēn patīrišn ravākīh 'ut 'dēvān stahmakīh 'ut 'vattarān masīh 'ut ōβām 'vatīh, 'ut [ravākīh] bar i 'ān 'vēh dēn sūt, 'ut ān i ['ān i] aγ-dēn ziyān i dāmān.*—'As long as innate reason is strong and powerful, so long is the good religion accepted, believed in, and propagated, the gods hold sway, the good is increased, and the times are prosperous. As long as ruinous Varan is strong and great, so long is the evil religion accepted and propagated, the demons are violent, evil men are increased, and the times are bad. The fruit of the good religion is benefit to created things, and that of the evil religion detriment.'

For *mūtak* v. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, p. 82. It translates Av. *mrūra-*, and is glossed *'kē 'čiš tapāh kunēt* 'which ruins things': so coupled with *tapāh* DkM. 340. 19. Ibid. 252. 3 *χēm mūtakīh* is the opposite of *χēm vīrāδišn* (ibid. 251. 15).

F. DkM. 302. 4: *dušākāsīh bun varan.* Ibid. 104. 14: *dānākīh bun āsn-χrat; dušākāsīh [i] bun arās varan.*—'The source of knowledge is innate reason; the source of wrong knowledge is Varan which has no path.' Ibid. 321.8: *'hač-iš χrat-āhangīh āmarakānīhā 'martōm 'ō dānākīh niδvārišn, 'ut 'hač varan-āhangīh 'ō dušākāsīh škarvītakīh.*—'By aiming at wisdom man generally proceeds towards knowledge; by aiming at Varan he lurches into wrong knowledge.' *škarvītakīh* to be read rather than *škravītakīh* (BSOS. ix, p. 314) by analogy with NP. *škarfīdan* 'lurch'.

Cf. further DkM. 142. 12: *hamāk kirpak ⟨i⟩ ov-iš patvand gētēh ['pat] bun 'pat χrat frārōn . . . 'har bazak ⟨i⟩ ov-iš patvand gētēhīk bun 'pat varan apārōn.*—'The worldly origin of all his virtue is derived from reason, the righteous . . ., the worldly origin of all his vice is derived from Varan, the unrighteous.' Cf. also the long passage on reason and Varan DkM. 117. 8 ff.

G. DkM. 244. 12: *'ān i tan i 'martōm 'pat pēšōpāδīh sūt-kar χrat; 'ut 'ān i 'pat pēšōpāδīh ziyān-kar varan. 'ut pēšōpāδ-kar⟨īh⟩ i χrat 'ut varan 'andar tan i martōm χ^{v}atīh, χrat 'pat hāčišn i 'hač Spēnāk Mēnōk aštak Vahuman, varan 'pat frēβišn 'hač Ganāk Mēnōk aštak Akōman.*—'That which in guiding the body of man is beneficial, is reason; that which in guiding it is detrimental, is Varan. (Concerning) the very nature of the guidance (exercised) by reason and Varan inside the body of man, (that of) reason is by attraction (proceeding) from Vahuman, the Messenger of the Bounteous Spirit; (that of) Varan is by deception (proceeding) from Akōman, the Messenger of the Destructive Spirit.'

H. GrBd. 102. 1 ff. = IndBd. 34. 4 ff, translation, p. 19: *martōm 'hēt, 'pitar i gēhān 'hēt. kār 'ut dātastān 'ut bavandak-mēnišnīh 'kunēt. humat mēnēt, hūxt 'gōβēt, huvaršt varzēt; 'dēvān 'mā 'yazēt. 'avēšān 'har 2 nazdist 'ēn mēnīt 'kaδ-šān ēvak 'ō 'dit rāδ mēnīt 'ku martōm 'hast. 'ut-*šān *nazdist kunišn 'ēn kart *'ku 'bē raft 'hēnd 'ut-šān 'bē* mēčīt. *'ut-šān nazdist gōβišn 'ēn guft 'ku Ōhrmazd dāt 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut gōspand, star 'ut māh 'ut χ^{v}aršēt 'ut harvisp āpātīh 'kē 'hač ahrāyīh paytākīh 'gōβēt bun 'ut bar. 'ut-šān 'pas pityārak 'pat mēnišn 'apar duvārast, 'ut-aš mēnišn 'bē āhōkēnīt 'hēnd. 'ut-šān drāyast 'ku Ganāk Mēnōk 'dāt 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut apārīk 'čiš. čēγōn guft 'ān i nazdist 'drōγ-gōβišnīh 'i-šān viyāβīhet, 'pat apāyast i 'dēvān guft. Ganāk Mēnōk nazdist urvāhmanīh 'hač 'avēšān 'ēn χ^{v}ēšēnīt. 'pat 'ān i 'drōγ-gōβišnīh 'har 2 druvand 'būt 'hēnd. 'ut-šān ruvān 'tāk tan i pasēn [i] 'pat dōšax^{v}. 'ut-šān 30 'rōč χ^{v}arišn-'vēčišn būt, vistarag i giyāh* nihuft. *'pas 'hač 30 'rōč 'pat viškar frāč 'ō* buz-ē

i spēt-mōδ mat 'hēnd, 'ut-šān 'pat 'dahān pēm i pistān mēčīt. 'kaδ-šān pēm 'χ^{v}art 'būt Mašyē 'ō *Mašyānē guft 'ku* šātīh i *'man 'hač 'ān 'kaδ*-am *'nē 'χ^{v}art 'ān i* šīr *pēm, 'ut-am* šātīh šāt-tar *'hač 'ān i 'hast 'nūn 'kaδ 'χ^{v}art. am 'pat tan 'vat. 'ān-ič i ditīkar 'drōγ-gōβišnīh. 'dēvān ōž 'apar mat.* Readings from the Indian recension are given in roman type.

I. TD2 has *mēnīt* 'thought', Ind. *mēčīt* (*MYČYT*), DH *mast* (*MSTW*). It is possible to read Ind. as *mēzīt* and DH as *mist* meaning 'they made water'. *mēčītan* 'suck' is also attested (GrBd. 103. 3 in the previous note and 144. 4 *varrak-mēč*): possible also <**maik-* 'mix'. *mēčīšn* 'twinkling of an eye' is attested in GrBd. 181. 13: *čašm-mēčišn-ē 'hač vizand* ⟨*i*⟩ *dāmān kartan 'nē 'ēstēt.*—'He does not cease harming creatures for the twinkling of an eye.' Cf. *mēč* Zs. 1. 25 (text Z 4). NP. has *mužeh* in the same sense. Cf. from the same root Lith. *užmingù* 'go to sleep', *megmi* 'sleep', &c. This seems to me the best reading. Mašyē and Mašyānē have just emerged from the vegetable state: it would be natural that they should move and blink their eyes to convince themselves that they were alive and human. Their actions are probably deduced from those of a new-born baby.

J. Mχ. 18: *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'čē rāδ martōmān 'ēn 'čahār 'čīš 'i-šān 'pat daχšak vēš apāyēt mēnītan, 'ēn kemtar mēnēnd, vartišnīkīh i 'čīš i gētēh 'ut margīh i tan 'ut āmār i ruvān 'ut bīm i dōšax^{v}? mēnōk i χrat passax^{v} kart 'ku viyāβānīh i Āz 'dēv 'ut ax^{v}arsandīh rāδ.*—'The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, "Why do men think but little of those four things which by nature they should think of most, the transitory nature of the things of this world, the death of the body, the judgement of the soul, and the fear of hell?" The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), "Because of the deception of the demon Āz and because of discontent".'

K. GrBd. 107. 14 ff.: *guft-aš Ōhrmazd 'kaδ-aš 'zan brēhēnīt 'ku 'dāt-ič-am 'hēh, 'tō 'kē-t jēhān sarδak pityār, 'ut-at nazdīk 'kūn 'ut 'dahān-ē 'dāt 'hēh 'kē-t māyišn ētōn 'sahēt čēγōn 'pat 'dahān mičak *i χ^{v}arišn* ⟨*i*⟩ *šīrēntom, *'kē-m 'tō aδyārīh, *'kē-t 'mart hač-iš 'zāt, 'man-ič āzārēh 'kē Ōhrmazd 'ham. 'bē 'hakar-am vindāt 'hēt yāmak 'kē 'mart hač-iš 'kunam, am 'nē 'dāt 'hēt hakarč 'kē-t 'ān i jēh sarδak pityārak. 'bē-m 'χ^{v}āst 'andar 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut gōspand, bālist garān 'ān-ič i zufr* [*i*] *rōtstāk; 'nē 'vindāt yāmak 'kē 'mart i ahrov hač-iš 'būt yut 'zan 'kē jēh pityārak.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE THREE CREATORS

THE last four chapters have been devoted to a fairly detailed analysis of the scanty data which have enabled us to piece together some sort of picture of the Zervanite cosmology and cosmogony. It is now time to examine in somewhat greater detail the nature of the Great God Himself. In this task it is well to start with the enigmatical 'three creators' who so mysteriously appear in the third chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* and who have already engaged the serious attention of Professor Nyberg.[1]

With commendable insight this scholar recognized that these 'creators' or *Daδvs*, though identified with Ohrmazd in the Avestan *Sīh-rōčak*, nevertheless concealed other deities which later orthodoxy deemed it desirable to suppress. The question then arises, Who were these deities? To this Nyberg replied: Ātur, Mihr, and Dēn. Observing that the Mazdean month was divided up into four sections and that with the exception of the last all ended with *Daδv*, he concluded that in each case the *Daδv* summed up the activity of the various members of the series and was in fact identical with the first. At the end of the last series we find not *Daδv* but *Anaγrān*, 'the Endless Light', and in this Professor Nyberg saw a Mazdean substitute for Zurvān. 'Thus the Mazdean month represents the Aion manifested by the four gods Ohrmazd, Ātur, Mihr and Dēn, together with their creative forces.'[2]

For convenience we reproduce the Mazdean month, following Nyberg's table:

(1) Ohrmazd	(2) Ātur	(3) Mihr	(4) Dēn
Vahuman	Āpān	Srōš	Art
Artvahišt	Xᵛar	Rašn	Aštāt
Šaθrēvar	Māh	Fravartīn	Āsmān
Spandarmat	Tīr	Varhrān	Zāmdāt
Hurdāt	Gōš	Rām	Mahraspand
Amurdāt	Daδv	Vāt	Anaγrān
Daδv		Daδv	

The identification of the Three Creators with Ātur, Mihr, and Dēn is based on the calendar alone; and Nyberg's assumption that the last member in each case corresponds to the first remains no more than an assumption, since no further evidence has been produced. The Avestan *Sīh-rōčak* repeats the same formula on the three occasions when the *Daδvs* appear,

[1] CCM. 1931, pp. 128–30.

[2] Ibid., p. 130.

yet gives no hint as to what deity might be concealing itself behind the colourless *Daδv*. There is, however, a later Pahlavī version of the *Sīh-rōčak* which consists of a series of invocations to the deities presiding over the days of the month. These are of considerable length and contain a modicum of information on the nature and activities of the gods they extol. Though the evidence they supply for the 'Three Creators' is in itself by no means conclusive, there seems no harm in reproducing these three hymns to the 'Creators' here together with the final hymn to Anaγrān, 'the Endless Light', which rounds off the whole series.[1]

1. *Propitiation to the Creator*

I praise and invoke the Creator Ohrmazd, the good and bounteous: all day and night I magnify him. I give thanks to the munificent Creator Ohrmazd for that he made me, and fashioned me from the stock of man, and created me seeing, speaking, and able to move, and made me worthy of bodily health that I might praise thee day and night and make mention of thy name, O Creator. I give thanks to thee, O good and bounteous Creator, when I behold thy works such as the sky, marvellously made, the fruitful earth, the beauteous stars, the gleaming Moon and the bright Sun whose chariot is swift, and the running water from which is the life of every living creature, and the red burning fire, a mighty helpmate to earthly creatures, and the fruitful plants of many kinds, moist and verdant, whence is the maintenance and life of all things on earth, and good fortune, prosperity, wealth, lordship, and all other fair things that thou hast created. And when I behold a maiden or matron, fair in form, beauteous, comely, and desirable; and when I behold a noble boy, religious and pure in soul, fluent of speech, and skilled in the assembly; and when I see my own kinsmen, good and virtuous, I praise thee, O Creator, boundless in power and eternal in Time. Have mercy upon me, and put it in the mind of my rulers and overlords to grant me welfare and ease and to be kindly toward me. Keep thou in righteousness and increase all those good things which according to thy will are mine, O good Creator. For the good things that are from thee are ever-increasing and long-enduring: and I have no refuge, confidence, or hope save in thy munificence.

2. *Propitiation to the Creator*

I praise and invoke thee, O bounteous Creator, who from now until time eternal art the source of all good things, Ohrmazd: and the origin of all good fortune, prosperity, and light is subject to thy ordering. Yea, thou art Infinite Time, and the creator, upholder, and protector of thy creatures: thou dost purify them from all sin and affliction in thy munificence and mercy. And thou dost raise all men up, whether they be blessed or whether they be damned; and thou dost leave none of thy creatures in the snare and bondage of the Lie. Thou dost cleanse and purify them all, and dost keep them forever in victory abounding in

[1] The transliterated text and references will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

joy; and according to their deeds thou dost bestow freely upon them good rewards from thy Treasury of Eternal Benefit. In all places do I praise thee; for at thy will and behest were the heavens established, and the earth and all creation, material and spiritual. Be thou our saviour, O thou, our munificent Lord, from the hand and strife of evil and violent men, for we have no help or refuge or confidence save in thee, O Ohrmazd, helper of all. Do thou devise a means of helping the helpless; do thou set the captives free; deliver all men from fear and grievous sin, from tyrant and Kay and Karap[1] who rush to do harm to the good creation. Have mercy, O munificent one: have mercy, O Creator: have mercy, O wise one: have mercy, O virtuous one: have mercy, O all-bounteous spirit of welfare, upon us who are merciful. Put into the minds of our overlords who are our rulers and kings that they be of good will and kindly to us. Thus too (put it into) the mind of all rulers and overlords who rule and hold sway over thy creation on earth, that thy creation may increase further and that all that exists on the earth of Spandarmat may remain fruitful. For when men have ease and comfort, all thy creation strives to do good service to men, and they endure in all righteousness. In all things we put our trust in thee, O good, omnipotent Creator.

3. *Propitiation to the Creator*

I praise and invoke thee, O good and bounteous Creator, when I behold thy deeds, desire, will, and command to be so worthy and wondrous that they cannot be grasped or known by earthly intelligence, but can only be known through the omniscient Wisdom which is with thee who art the bounteous Ohrmazd. And the more it is seen, the more art thou praiseworthy thereby, in that thou didst establish the sky without a support—for no setting of a support is visible to earthly creatures; and thou didst establish the earth likewise, as it were, without support, extending far and wide, and didst create upon it navigable rivers,[2] and high mountains full of pasture, water and mineral ores, and trees with mighty branches, wide boughs, and deep roots, and red, burning fire, and men of many kinds[3] and beasts of five kinds[4] and many species: and between heaven and earth thou didst create the course of the beauteous and gleaming stars of good fortune (*χᵛarrōmand*), the Sun and Moon and the Firmament (*Spihr*) of the Seven and the Twelve, and the spiritual clouds and the useful rain, and the wind of fearful force but for which no living creature can endure: it rules all that is between earth and sky. I praise thee, O good Creator, for that thou didst create me sound in limb and righteous in conduct. In all things my trust is in thee.

[1] A class of ruler in the Avesta hostile to the Religion. The Pahlavī translation explains the names as meaning 'blind and deaf to the Religion'. Cf. Darmesteter in SBE. xxiii, p. 26, no. 2. For Nyberg and his school the *Kavis* were originally worshippers of Miθra (*Religionen*, pp. 292 ff., &c.).

[2] See note A, p. 214.

[3] The species of men are enumerated in GrBd., p. 107. Besides Byzantines, Turks, Chinese, Dahae, Arabs, &c., apes and bears appear to be reckoned as belonging to the human species.

[4] The five kinds are (i) animals with cloven hoofs such as the camel, (ii) round-hoofed such as the horse and ass, (iii) those which have five claws such as the dog, (iv) birds, and (v) fish (GrBd., p. 95; Zs. 3. 53).

4. *Propitiation to the Endless Light*

I praise and invoke the Endless Light and bright Garōδmān[1] and self-create Space of eternal benefit in which there is bliss everlasting and entire. From it the straight path of the Činvat Bridge reaches to man on earth which for the blessed widens to the breadth of nine spears' length—its (normal) length is three perches[2]— but for the damned becomes as a razor's edge, and they fall to hell. But the souls of the blessed, having a passage, can proceed easily on a wide path and come to the perfect abodes. Ever do I propitiate and sacrifice to the munificent creator, Ohrmazd, the Amahraspands, and all the gods. I pray that they may make my soul worthy for its meeting with Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands in the perfect abodes. And it has been taught to my very mind that all my life long I should continually strive to make my own the way and path by which I can come to the perfect abodes of all bliss, even Garōδmān. All bliss and all good things of creation are for us from thee. Even as all good things (come) to us from thee, so do thou make us worthy of yet more good things, benefits, good fortune, and bliss.

At first sight these hymns seem disappointing—interesting rather for their literary quality and almost Christian flavour than for the information they give us on the subject of our inquiry. In each the Creator is uncompromisingly Ohrmazd; but in each case Ohrmazd is presented under a slightly different aspect. The first is a creation hymn, pure and simple: the different acts of creation are enumerated and thanks are rendered to the Creator for these. The third, too, is predominantly a creation hymn, but there is a slight change of emphasis. It is not so much the mere fact of creation, but the will and command of God which excites the wonder of the devotee. He is not so much impressed by the fact of the creation of the sky as by the consideration that the sky stays where it is without visible support. In this hymn he is conscious principally of the omniscience of God, confesses that His nature cannot be grasped by any earthly intelligence, and claims that this can only be revealed by the omniscient Wisdom which dwells with God. He thinks of God first as absolute Wisdom through which only He could create. His attitude is very similar to that of the author of the *Mēnōk i χrat*, who quite clearly attributes all spiritual and material activity to the workings of the Spirit of Wisdom:

From the beginning have I who am Innate Wisdom among spiritual and material beings been with Ohrmazd. And the Creator, Ohrmazd, fashioned and created, maintains and orders all spiritual and material creatures, the gods (*yazdān*) and all the rest of creation through the power and valour, wisdom and experience of Innate Wisdom. And at the end of the rehabilitation (*fraškart*) he will crush and smite Ahriman and his abortions chiefly by the power of Wisdom.[3]

[1] See note B, p. 214.

[2] v. Henning, JRAS. 1942, p. 236.

[3] MX. 57. 2–4: *'hač fratom 'man 'kē āsnχrat 'ham 'hač mēnōkān 'ut gētēhān 'apāk*

The attitude in either case is the same: God's power is through His wisdom. In the *Mēnōk* Wisdom is clearly distinguished from Ohrmazd, while in our *Sīh-rōčak* text this is not obviously so. According to the *Mēnōk* Wisdom was from the beginning with Ohrmazd and through Its power creation took place. For the *Mēnōk*, then, Wisdom is uncreate. In the *Sīh-rōčak* passage, too, Wisdom is represented as dwelling with God: that creation took place through It is therefore a fairly logical deduction. Thus even without further evidence it would not be fanciful to see in Wisdom in this passage as in the *Mēnōk* an hypostasis of the Creator, and therefore a creator itself. Tentatively, then, we can regard Wisdom as the second of the mysterious 'Three Creators'. Leaving the corroborative evidence for the moment, we will now turn to the second hymn of the series.

This second hymn, unlike the two we have just dealt with, does not appear to be a creation hymn proper. The creation indeed seems to be incidental to the two main themes—the infinite compassion of God on the one hand and petitions for increased prosperity on the other. God is here —what is comparatively rare in Zoroastrian literature—addressed as the Saviour: His purification of sinners is extolled and His rescue of the damned from hell at the end of time. This idea of God, interesting as it is in a Zoroastrian text, must not, however, be allowed to detain us. What is of prime importance for the purpose of our present investigation is the formal identification of Ohrmazd with Infinite Time—an identification that would appear to be unique in Pahlavī literature. Its interest is obvious; for it represents an attempted synthesis of the two conflicting streams of Zoroastrian thought during and after the Sassanian period. The Father and the Son are here fused into one being, and the former becomes an hypostasis of the latter. The ambiguous Zurvān, deposed from his position of priority and supremacy, is fused into the being of his son, Ohrmazd, thereby losing his characteristic superiority to good and evil and being comfortably assimilated to the good.

It is unfortunate that the nature of our source does not permit us to unravel which attributes belong properly to Zurvān and which to Ohrmazd. *Prima facie* it would appear extremely improbable that Zurvān should appear as a Saviour (*bōχtār*): as the God of Fate it would be more natural for him to appear as something from which to be saved. The *Mēnōk i χrat*, however, again supplies an explanation, for in that work which, like these Creator hymns, belongs to a 'semi-Zervanite' brand of Zoroastrianism, we

Ōhrmazd 'būt 'ham; 'ut dātār Ōhrmazd mēnōk 'ut gētēh dahišnān, yazdān 'ut apārīk hamāk dām 'ut dahišn 'pat nērōk 'ut takīkīh 'ut dānākīh 'ut kār-ākāsīh i āsn-χrat āβurīt 'ut 'dāt 'ut 'dārēt 'ut rāδēnēt; 'ut 'pat fraškart 'sar aβsihēnišn 'ut zanišn i Ahriman 'ut-aš višūtakān 'pat χrat nērōk apērtar šāyēt kartan.

find the Infinite Zurvān intervening at the end of time to deliver creation from the powers of evil for ever.

When nine thousand years have fully elapsed, Ahriman will be made powerless; and Srōš the Blessed will smite Ēšm (Wrath); and Mihr, the Infinite Zurvān, and the Genius of Justice (*dātastān*) who lie to no one, and Fate and the divine Fate[1] will smite all the creation of Ahriman, and in the end the demon Āz also: and all the creation of Ohrmazd will again be free from aggression as it was fashioned and created in the beginning.[2]

Whether or not one is disposed to accept Zurvān as a Saviour-God from this evidence is for the moment beside the point. What cannot be denied is that being formally identified here with Ohrmazd, the Creator *par excellence*, in a hymn dedicated to the Creator, he must himself be Creator too. Thus we may be tolerably certain that it is Zurvān himself whose identity is concealed behind *Daδv* in this instance. This, of course, we already knew from the *'Ulemā*, where it is said that only after the creation of Ohrmazd from fire and water did Time become a creator:[3]

In spite of all the grandeur that surrounded it (Time), there was no one to call it creator: for it had not brought forth creation. Then it created fire and water; and when it had brought them together, Ohrmazd came into existence, and simultaneously Time became Creator and Lord with regard to the creation it had brought forth.

This is naturally a fully Zervanite position: that of the *Sīh-rōčak* is 'semi-Zervanite', Time being regarded as co-creator with Ohrmazd or in this passage as being identical with him. Thus we now have three creators —Ohrmazd himself and two hypostases, Time and Wisdom.

The *Bundahišn*, however, speaks of Ohrmazd *and* three creators. We are still one short. The first of our 'Creator' hymns can throw no light on the problem, for it is addressed to Ohrmazd alone as creator, and no amount of ingenuity can legitimately discover a different deity concealed behind his name in this case. We must, then, look elsewhere. Nyberg (l.c.) has already pointed out that the days of the month fall into four groups, the first three of which are terminated by *Daδv*, and the last by *Anaγrān*, 'the Endless Light'. It is here that we must seek the identity of the third *Daδv*.

Here we are on more familiar ground. The hymn is addressed to 'The Endless Light and bright Garōδmān and self-create Space of eternal benefit in which there is bliss everlasting and entire'. The assimilation of Light to Space immediately recalls the opening words of the first chapter of the

[1] The distinction between Fate (*baχt*) and 'divine Fate' (*bayō-baχt*) is clearly given in MX. 24 (text Z 32): v. Tavadia, ZII. viii, p. 131. Cf. also *infra*, p. 256.

[2] Text Z 8, §§ 10–11.

[3] Text Z 37, §§ 8–9.

Bundahišn ('that Light is the Space and place of Ohrmazd'). Again we are in the presence of a synthesis of Mazdean and Zervanite ideas. For the Zervanite, if we are to believe Damascius, Space or Time are the intelligible universe in its unity and from them 'derive a good god and an evil spirit, or light and darkness before these'.[1] The Mazdean, however, paradoxically identifies Space with the Endless Light; and Time becomes assimilated to Ohrmazd, though this was always an uncomfortable compromise and we do in fact find Space and Time associated with Ahriman.[2] That Space as being nearly identical with Time, or Light as being the Space and place of Ohrmazd, may represent our third creator is therefore at least possible —and we should then have the tetrad, Ohrmazd, Wisdom, Time, and Space, these three being the three *Daδvs*.

The deification of Space is also found outside Zoroastrianism; for it appears in the speculation of Bardesanes, who in this respect may well have been influenced by western Magian speculation. He placed God in Space, or rather made Space his support, and even seems to have gone so far as to subordinate the deity to Space.[3] In this he may well be following an Iranian tradition; for the idea of God sitting on Space as on a throne can easily be explained as being based on the double meaning of the Pahlavī *gās* (Avestan *gātu-*) 'throne' or 'Space'. In Zātspram's description of the Last Judgement Ohrmazd sits on the 'eternal self-create Space' to pass the judgement.[4] Both meanings of *gās* are here implied; for in a parallel passage Ohrmazd is represented as sitting on the Endless Light[5] which, as we have seen, is identical in the Mazdean system with Space. The parallel with Bardesanes is exact; and, in this case at least, there seems to be some justification for discerning Iranian influence on Gnostic thought, though once again we have no means of assigning any date to the genesis of ideas that are only actually attested in a ninth-century book.

That the Pahlavī *gās* is identical with the Avestan *θwāša-* is proved by the epithet *χᵛaδāt*, a mere transcription of the Avestan *χᵛaδāta-* 'self-create' or 'following its own law' applied only to *θwāša*, the Endless Light and, curiously, to *misvan* or *hamēstagān* 'the place of the mixed' or Zoroastrian version of Purgatory, where those souls are taken whose balance of good and bad deeds is equal. The compound *darəγō-χᵛaδāta-* 'following its own law

[1] Text G 1.

[2] Text Z 18 (*a*).

[3] Schaeder, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, li, 1932, p. 50; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, i, p. 62, n. (4).

[4] Zs. 35. 31: *Ōhrmazd 'pat apākīh i Srōš-***ahrāy 'hač nēmrōč ālak sahmān frāč 'ō hanjaman 'rasēt, 'apar hamēšak gās i χᵛaδāt 'nišēnēt.*—'Ohrmazd together with the blessed Srōš comes to the assembly from the direction and confines of the South, and sits on eternal, self-create Space.'

[5] GrBd. 163. 1: *χᵛat* (sc. *Ōhrmazd*) *'nišēnēt 'pat 'ān i asar* [*i*] *rōšnīh.*—'(Ohrmazd) himself sits on the Endless Light.'

for a long time' is only used of Zurvān and Vayu (Vāy).[1] The epithets are interesting as showing that, even at the time of the compilation of the later Avesta, Time and Space were regarded as independent entities, following their own law and, therefore, not subject to Ohrmazd.

Thus there seem to be solid reasons for regarding these three Creator hymns and that in honour of the Endless Light as being ultimately of Zervanite origin. First we have the appearance of 'self-create Space' which has just been discussed. Secondly, there is the identification of Ohrmazd with Infinite Time—an attempted compromise between the Zervanite and Mazdean positions. In both cases we may discern a conscious attempt of Mazdean orthodoxy to appropriate Time-Space to Ohrmazd. In the third Creator hymn, however, there is evidence that the redactors have unconsciously allowed a specifically Zervanite idea to remain unemended in the text. In this hymn, which we have seen to be associated with Wisdom, we are told that God (Ohrmazd) established the 'firmament of the Seven and the Twelve'. These are, of course, the Seven Planets and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. We have already seen that Mazdean orthodoxy regarded the planets as the spawn of Ahriman and as counter-creations to the Signs of the Zodiac.[2] That their creation should here be directly attributed to Ohrmazd is clear enough proof that we are dealing with an insufficiently emended unorthodox text.

Lastly, we have in the hymn to the Endless Light a further indication that Zervanite ideas are present. After mentioning the Endless Light, Heaven, self-create Space, and the Činvat bridge (the bridge of the Separator)[3] where the blessed are separated from the damned, the author refers to the 'way and path' (*rās 'ut pand*) which leads to the abodes of all bliss. This path is mentioned in the *Vidēvdāt*.[4] It is the path that leads to the Činvat bridge and which must be traversed by good and bad alike: it is the path created by Zurvān. The use of the word *pand* shows clearly that the author has the *Vidēvdāt* passage in mind, since *pand* must here be a translation (and near-transliteration) of the Avestan *pantay-* used there: in Pahlavī the word usually means 'advice', though it is rarely attested in the sense of 'path'.[5] The path created by Zurvān is the path of the souls

[1] It is once used of Vayu, but in this case it may well have been transferred from Zurvān: v. *supra*, pp. 87 ff.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 158 ff.

[3] The generally accepted meaning is disputed by Nyberg (*Religionen*, pp. 180–6), who interprets 'Übergang (aus dieser Welt in die andere) des (zur andern Welt) Hinzielenden'. Bailey connects with *kaēnā-* 'exaction' (JRAS. 1939, pp. 115–16; cf. Av. *arənaṯ-čaēša-* 'punishing sins').

[4] Text A 1. For discussion v. Nyberg, CCM. 1931, pp. 119–25. Cf. Christensen, *Études sur le zoroastrisme de la Perse antique*, pp. 54 ff.

[5] DkM. 262. 8: *rās i 'hač aχᵛ 'ō mēnišn 'bast brīt pand 'hač aχᵛ*.—'The way from the will to thought is blocked and the path

of the departed, and it is as the god of death that Zurvān appears in this connexion.[1] By securing the path of Zurvān the devotee earns his passage to eternity.

Our analysis of the Pahlavī *Sīh-rōčak* has led to the provisional conclusion that the Three Creators are—besides Ohrmazd—Time, Space, and Wisdom. We must now proceed to the evidence of the *Bundahišn*.

In the third chapter of that work the *Daδvs* are mentioned twice.[2] Once they are formally identified with Ohrmazd: '(Ohrmazd) inserted his own name in four places in the month—Ohrmazd and the three *Daδvs*'.[3] The second reference is much more interesting. In my translation of it I have had, for various reasons, to diverge considerably from Nyberg. The grammatical grounds for this divergence will be found in the note to line 44 of text Z 2. Moreover, on the ground of our argument from the Pahlavī *Sīh-rōčak* and from other sources detailed below it seems natural to translate the *'ān 3 daδv: ēvak gās 'ut ēvak dēn 'ut ēvak zamān* of the text as, 'those three creators; one is Space, one Religion, one Time'—and then, following the Paris manuscript, 'all are called *dē* (creator)'.[4] That these 'creators' are themselves uncreate follows from the fact that the *Bundahišn* says of them, 'his (*sc.* Ohrmazd's) helpers *are* the three Creators'; but when dealing with the helpers of the six lesser Amahraspands, it speaks of them as having been 'given' to or possibly 'created' for them.

It is interesting that later on in the same chapter we find both the infinite and the finite Zurvān mentioned among the helpers of Vahuman: but this is only one more proof that the *Bundahišn* is not to be treated as a consistent whole, but as a corpus of religious knowledge in which different traditions are clumsily combined. In it Mazdean and semi-Zervanite ideas are constantly to be found side by side.

Again, the opening of chapter i of the same work gives us the same tetrad:

> Ohrmazd was on high in *omniscience and goodness*: for *infinite time* he was ever in the *light*. That light is the *space and place* of Ohrmazd: some call it the Endless Light. Omniscience and goodness are the totality of Ohrmazd: some call them *religion*. The interpretation of both is the same, namely the totality of *Infinite Time*, for Ohrmazd and the Space, Religion, and Time of Ohrmazd were and are and ever shall be.

from the will cut off.' For *aχᵛ* v. p. 53, n. 1. Ibid. 31. 7 and 9: *'apar pand ⟨i⟩ martōm pat-iš bōχtakīh.*—'Concerning the way in which men can be saved.' There are probably other instances of *pand* used in the sense of 'path' in Pahlavī which have escaped my notice. In MPT. we have *r'h 'wd pnd* (Andreas–Henning, *MirMan.* i, p. 8).

[1] Nyberg, l.c.

[2] Text Z 2, §§ 2 and 11.

[3] Cf. GrBd. 163. 1.

[4] *dē* is the later form of *daδv*.

'Both' does not refer to 'omniscience and goodness', for in that case it would naturally precede the explanatory 'some call it religion'. It must rather be taken as referring to the concepts Space–Endless Light and omniscience–religion. The two are comprised in the 'totality of Infinite Time', that is to say eternity, for 'Ohrmazd and the Space, Religion, and Time of Ohrmazd were and are and ever shall be'. This last sentence explains what is meant by 'the totality of Infinite Time': it is eternity, and eternity is the *sine qua non* of the other three: it is their *vičārišn* or what explains them.

This interpretation of the text seems to be proved right by the parallel passage in the *Aβyātkār i Žāmāspīk* ii. 2 (text Z 13). Though the lamentable state of the Pārsī text does not permit of a definitive translation, the tetrad Ohrmazd–Light–Religion–Time is indisputably there. The Pārsī text with the Pāzand variants together with his Pahlavī reconstruction are to be found in Messina's edition, p. 34. On some points we have found ourselves unable to agree with him. As I understand it, the passage runs as follows: 'He who has ever been is only Ohrmazd in the Light—and the Light (proceeds) from Ohrmazd—and the propagation of his Religion, and his Time which is the eternity of Ohrmazd, for it is the genius of right ordering.' The Pahlavī *ēvāč* means both 'only' and 'voice'. Messina adopted the latter, but I know of no Zoroastrian text in any way parallel to such an idea. *ēvāč* (voice) does not correspond to what we call the Word (λόγος): that is *vāχš*. Even so the 'Word' does not appear in the Zoroastrian cosmology until the enunciation of the *Ahunvar* prayer by which Ahriman is driven back into the abyss after his first attempt to invade the kingdom of Light.[1] Moreover, the opening of the first chapter of the *Bundahišn* from which the *Žāmāspīk* passage is obviously derived knows nothing of a 'voice' of Ohrmazd. The two passages complement each other, and from the comparison the tetrad Ohrmazd, Light (Space), Religion, and Time emerges with all desirable clarity.

It was Professor Nyberg's notable achievement to demonstrate the importance of the 'quadriform god' in the Zervanite system;[2] but more important than his 'tetrad of fate' and the 'Zervanite terrestrial tetrad'[3] is this tetrad Time–Space–Religion–Ohrmazd which is the tetrad of the godhead itself. In addition it is better attested than the others and *mutatis mutandis* corresponds exactly to the Manichaean tetrad which makes up the Fourfold Father of Greatness, namely God himself (Zurvān), Light, Power, and Wisdom.[4] Schaeder, who first emphasized the importance of the

[1] *Supra*, p. 100.
[2] CCM. 1931, pp. 47 ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 107–13.
[4] Schaeder, *Urform*, pp. 136 ff.; Nyberg, CCM. 1931, p. 48.

Manichaean tetrad, rightly adduced the evidence of the opening chapter of the *Bundahišn*. Differing from us in his translation of that inordinately corrupt passage he attempted to prove the existence of a divine tetrad, God–Light–Omniscience–Goodness. This, however, left out of account the evidence we have analysed in this chapter, and did not give the exact parallel to the Manichaean tetrad which Time—Light-Space—Religion-Omniscience—Ohrmazd-Creator supplies.

For the apparent differences between the Zoroastrian and Manichaean tetrads are easily reconciled when we consider that both must go back to a common Zervanite source.[1] Light or Light-Space is common to both. The Manichaeans, following the Zervanites, make Zurvān the supreme deity, but in taking over the Zervanite tetrad they assimilated Zurvān or Infinite Time to their own King of Light. The Mazdeans, on the other hand, being obliged to give first place to Ohrmazd, did not for that reason reject Time. Thus they substituted Ohrmazd for Power. And this was natural enough; for Ohrmazd was above all things the Creator, even in the Zervanite system, and it is exclusively in this capacity that he is lauded in the first Creator hymn of the *Sīh-rōčak*. The act of creation is the manifestation of the divine power, and it is no accident that in this same hymn Ohrmazd is referred to as 'boundless in power' (*akanārak-nērōk*). Moreover, there is a passage in the *Dēnkart* where Power figures in a context closely parallel to those we have been discussing. The different types of knowledge are under discussion: one type of wise person is said to be 'he who knows by his essential knowledge (knowing): and this is alone the Creator Ohrmazd. This knowledge is (knowledge) in Infinite Time and is power (or potentiality) in its highest form.'[2] From this it seems tolerably certain that the original Zervanite tetrad comprised Time, Space, Wisdom, and Power.

The assimilation of Space to Light was a necessary consequence of both Mazdean and Manichaean theology, but it is not Zervanite in origin: for Zurvān is himself not a god of light any more than he is a god of darkness. He is superior to both, and conceived as Space comprises both. The tetrad would then correspond to the Hellenistic conception of the Aion which, if we are to believe Reitzenstein, always includes Time, Space, and the divine personality.[3]

[1] The tetrad Zurvān (Supreme God), Light, Wisdom, and Power seems only to be found in the eastern Manichaean sources. *Kephalaia*, p. 23, has the characteristically different 'εὐδαιμονία, Wisdom, and Power'.

[2] DkM. 272. 18: *3 aδvēnak 'hēnd dānāk. ēvak 'kē 'pat χ"atīk dānākīh dānāk; 'ut 'ēn ēvāč dātār Ōhrmazd, 'hast akanārak-zamānīk dānākīh apartomīhā nērōk.*

[3] Reitzenstein, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 81: 'So umschließt denn der hellenistische religiöse Wortgebrauch von Aion immer dreierlei, Zeit, stofferfüllten Raum und göttliche Persönlichkeit.'

The evidence of the Pahlavī *Sīh-rōčak* and the *Bundahišn* has led us to the conclusion that the 'Three Creators' of the latter are Time, Space, and Religion (Wisdom). Since it has become fashionable in certain circles to build whole structures of theory on the quicksands of corrupt or ambiguous texts, it may well be objected by those who rightly abhor such practices that the evidence of the *Sīh-rōčak* is unconvincing and that the text of the opening words of the first chapter of the *Bundahišn* is too corrupt for any firm conclusion to be drawn. There is, however, further evidence which we shall consider in due course; and this in the main confirms our theory. But before proceeding to this evidence it would be well to establish the practical identity of the concepts 'Religion' (*dēn*) and 'Wisdom' (*χrat* or *dānākīh*).

The relationship between wisdom and 'religion' is frequently referred to in the Pahlavī books and especially in the *Dēnkart*, but views on the exact relationship between the two seem to vary from text to text. Sometimes they are identified, sometimes a distinction is made. In one passage the identification is formal: 'The word of the Mazdayasnian Religion is identical with innate wisdom (reason—*χrat*): the word of innate wisdom concerning whatsoever was or is or shall be is from the Mazdayasnian Religion. For innate wisdom is identical with the Mazdayasnian Religion; and the Mazdayasnian Religion is identical with innate wisdom.'[1] Again, 'the decision of Religion is the wisdom of Ohrmazd',[2] and 'the essence of the Mazdayasnian Religion is the wisdom (*fražānakīh*) of Ohrmazd; and his wisdom is bestowing, knowing and doing. Its matter is knowledge of all . . . and it is itself the personality (*χēm*) of Ohrmazd'.[3] Again, 'he who applies his mind to the Religion of Zoroaster learns wisdom'.[4]

In other passages a distinction is made: thus Religion is spoken of as the seed of wisdom,[5] or again it is of the same lineage as innate wisdom[6] and is manifested in the matter, form, and activity of wisdom.[7] It holds sway

[1] DkM. 314. 9: *dēn māzdēsn gōβišn 'χᵛat 'hast āsn χrat. āsn-χratīk gōβišn i katār-ič-ē 'hastān 'būtān 'bavētān 'hač dēn māzdēsn; *'čē rāδ āsn χrat 'χᵛat 'hast dēn māzdēsn; dēn māzdēsn 'χᵛat 'hast āsn χrat.* Cf. ibid. 832. 7: *dēn i 'vēh 'kē 'hast čē-kām-ič dānākīh ⟨i⟩ visp 'hastān 'būtān 'bavētān.*—'The Good Religion which consists of every conceivable kind of knowledge of what is or was or will be.'

[2] Ibid. 915. 19: *vičīr i dēn χrat i Ōhrmazd 'hast.*

[3] Ibid. 329. 14: *dēn māzdēsn χᵛatīh fražānakīh ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazd; 'ut-aš fražānakīh 'baχšišn dānišn kunišn. 'ut-aš mātaγ dānišn ⟨i⟩ visp . . . i 'χᵛat 'hast Ōhrmazd χēm.* Cf. ibid. 320. 20.

[4] Ibid. 904. 13: *'kē mēnišn 'ō dēn i Zartušt 'dahēt, χrat hamōχtēt.*

[5] Dd. 38. 22: *χrat 'kē-š dēn tō(h)mak.*

[6] DkM. 117. 10: *'vēh dēn āsn χrat 'ut karpān hunarān i āsn χrat ham-zahak.*—'The Good Religion is of the same lineage as innate wisdom and its forms and virtues.'

[7] Ibid., line 15: *paytākīh 'ān ⟨i⟩ 'vēh dēn 'hač χratīkīh, χrat-sāčīh 'ut χrat-mātayīh 'ut χrat-karpīh 'ut χrat-kārīh.*—'The mani-

'among the good Amahraspands whose state is pure where innate wisdom has complete sovereignty'.[1] Wisdom is represented as a judge who knows the truth or untruth of hidden things by the knowledge of Religion.[2] It is as a lord over the soul (*ǰān*) of man, while free will is as a tutor to the voluntary faculty: the Religion of Ohrmazd is perfect and entire in both.[3] Conceived as celestial deities the Religion 'encompasses all the luminaries as with a girdle and omniscient wisdom encompasses all the knowing gods'.[4]

It is plain, then, from this short summary of excerpts from the relevant texts that the ideas of wisdom and the 'Religion' are so inextricably intertwined as to be virtually identical. It is only natural, then, that the two words should be indiscriminately used in reference to the second of the 'Three Creators'.

After this slight digression we must now return to the subject of the 'Three Creators' proper and consider the evidence of the *Dēnkart*. There we find Ohrmazd associated with three 'eternals' who can scarcely be different from the Three Creators whose eternity is implied in the third chapter of the *Bundahišn*—and this is indeed what one would expect. 'Eternal are the *Creator* Ohrmazd and the *Wisdom of Religion* through whose *power* is goodness, and *Space* on which his matter is (founded), and *Time* which is his eternity.'[5] Whether a more popular myth has been reduced to order by the author of the *Dēnkart* it is impossible to say, though it is likely that the 'Creators' had a more personal character than we can now discern; but for the later Mazdean writers Infinite Time and Infinite Space had become on the one hand hypostases of the Creator Ohrmazd, and on the other the *sine qua non* of creation.[6] It is through their limitation that creation becomes possible, and finite Time is the first creature.

Our text Z 14 presents the Zervanite tetrad with even greater clarity. First there is Time, without origin, yet an origin itself and a source of origins: all being is contingent on it, and without it nothing that is or was or will be can be done: itself is contingent on nothing. Second is Space within which are all substances; and third the wisdom of Ohrmazd which directs all things, yet is itself directed by nothing. Here again we have the

festation of the Good Religion is from wisdom, conformity to wisdom, the matter of wisdom, the form of wisdom and the activity of wisdom.'

[1] Ibid., line 22: *ravākīh . . . 'ān i 'vēh dēn 'andar 'vēh apēčak-ēstišnīk amahraspandān 'ku āsn χrat bavandak pātaχšāyīh.*

[2] Ibid. 259. 16: *ōyōn dātaβar χrat nihuftak 'čiš 'pat ētōnīh ayāp anētōnīh [ayāp anētōnīh] 'hač ākāsīh i 'ān dēn patīrēt.*

[3] Ibid. 178. 5: *'apar-ič ǰān χᵛatāyīk vičīnkar χrat, 'apar aχᵛ dastaβarīk āzāt-kām, 'andar 'har 'dō bav⟨an⟩dak ōhrmazdīk dēn.*

[4] Dd. 38. 14: *'ut-aš fravast 'pat fravand vispān rōšnān čēγōn fravand 'ān i harvispākās χrat fravast 'bavēt vispān ākās yazdān.*

[5] Text Z 15: cf. ZXA. 85. 5: *Ōhrmazd ⟨'ut⟩ gās 'ut dēn *'ut zamān hamē 'būt 'ut hamē 'hast.*—'Ohrmazd, Space, Religion, and Time have always been and always are.'

[6] See note C, p. 215.

same tetrad, Time–Space–Wisdom, and the personality of the Creator. Together they are one God in four persons. The distinction between the persons, however, is fairly marked.

Time and Space are eternity, the raw material from which creation is to proceed and whose limitation makes the creative act possible. Wisdom is the directing power of the universe, but can obviously only come into operation from the moment when something comes into existence to direct, that is after the limitation of Time and Space. *Sub specie aeternitatis* it is in a state of rest, and cannot really be said to direct at all: it has itself to be limited before it can operate *ad externum*.[1] This is the more rapidly achieved by the state of emergency created by the offensive launched by the powers of evil. According to one account[2] this offensive appears first to have produced a state of self-awareness in the deity itself, and from this proceeded the Endless Light: thence arose the Genius of Rectitude, thence Omniscience, thence creation and the defeat of the Evil One.

The theory enunciated by this text that the Endless Light was emanated by the deity and was not itself eternal seems to be of paramount importance. If the light is emanated only after the deity becomes aware of itself and aware of evil, it follows that light was not from the beginning with the deity. This is plainly a genuine Zervanite idea. The existence of evil seems to be prior to God's awareness of Himself: the impact of evil produces self-awareness in the deity and this manifests itself in the light. Light, then, cannot have been with God from all eternity: it is not an hypostasis of the Eternal. This, then, would appear to be a theological presentation of the myth of Zurvān's genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman conceived as light and darkness. The darkness (evil) originates through the unawareness of Himself of the eternal God; light proceeds from His awareness which, being the 'manifestation' of the divine nature, is subsequent to the darkness which proceeded from His unawareness.

Here indeed we seem to catch a glimpse of a fundamental Zervanite doctrine which regards the light as being other than eternal. In all the Mazdean accounts the Endless Light is the 'space and place of Ohrmazd' and with him eternal. Our text, however, implies that Ohrmazd, the 'Wise Lord', must, like his 'place', be an emanation from the self-awareness of a higher power, Zurvān. This too seems to be reflected in the *Bundahišn*,[3] where creation in the shape of the 'Endless Form' proceeds from the '*material* light': similarly the creation of Ahriman proceeds from the '*material* darkness'. If, as our text says, the light and presumably the darkness too are not eternal, we must conclude that creation is from

[1] v. text Z 20. [2] Ibid. [3] Text Z 1, §§ 26–27.

matter (*gētēh*), which is then seen as the substance of Zurvān, antecedent to both Ohrmazd and Ahriman who are spirits (*mēnōk*). Thus we find in text Z 18 (*a*) that the 'Light of Wisdom' and the 'Darkness of Lying Falsehood' appear as proper to Ohrmazd and Ahriman alongside Space which is common to both, though elsewhere Space is equated with the Endless Light, the 'place of Ohrmazd'. The light and darkness proper, then, would have superseded an original *gētēh* (matter) which appears as *gētēh* [*rōšnīh*] and *gētēh* [*tārīkīh*] in the *Bundahišn*. This 'matter' is the eternal substance of all that is, Time–Space which is Zurvān. This is surely *τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν*[1] 'from which are derived either a good god and an evil genius, *or light and darkness before these*'.

Leaving reluctantly these speculations for the time being, we must return again to the evidence for the existence of a tetrad Time—Space—Wisdom—(Ohrmazd)-Power. Mas'ūdī has preserved a Zoroastrian tetrad that is suspiciously like our own. He says of the Magians that they acknowledge five principles;[2] the first is Ohrmazd 'and he is God the glorious and exalted', the second Ahriman 'and he is the evil Satan', and the third *kāh* (= NP. *gāh*, Phl. *gās*)[3] 'which is Time', the fourth *ǰāy*[4] 'which is Space'. So far the correspondence with our tetrad is exact, but at this point the Arabic text becomes obscure. We expect *dēn* 'Religion', but both manuscripts read *yaum* 'day', which is meaningless in the context. One manuscript adds the explanation *wa hūwa'l-ṭayyibatu wa'l-χamīru*, 'and it is the clear wine and the ferment(?)'; the other reads *wa hīya'l-ṭayyibatu wa'l-ḥamīrah*, 'and it is the good and . . .(?) . . . . De Goeje, accepting the first explanation, emended *yaum* to *haum* (Hōm, Haoma), the Iranian equivalent of the Vedic Soma, the drink of the gods. But what is Hōm doing in this company? His connexions with the *Dēn* (Religion) are in mythology slight and in theology nil: with Time and Space he has nothing to do at all. It is true that in the Avesta[5] Ohrmazd brings him the 'ancient (? *paurvanīm*)[6] star-studded, spirit-fashioned girdle of the Mazdayasnian Religion' and that he girded himself with it; but this is a purely mythological passage and obviously cannot serve as evidence for our present problem. In the later literature Hōm is represented as the genius of immortality[7] and confers immortality on mortals after the resurrection;[8] but nowhere does he

[1] Text G 1. [2] Text F 12.

[3] Leyden MS. has *kām*.

[4] MSS. *ǰām*. [5] Ys. 9. 26.

[6] Or the Pleiades; v. Bartholomae, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xxxi, p. 35: in favour of 'Pleiades' is the Pashto form *pērūne* (Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, p. 58).

[7] See note D, p. 215.

[8] GrBd. 149. 12: *'pat fraškart-kartārīh (hōm) 'andar apāyēt, 'čē-š an⟨ō⟩šakīh hač-iš vīrāδānd.*—'For the making of the Fraškart (Hōm) is necessary; for from it they will prepare immortality.' Cf. ibid. 175. 5. Ibid. 226. 4: *'gāv i haδayanš 'pat 'ān yazišn *kušēnd: 'hač 'pīh i 'ān 'gāv hōm i*

appear as a 'principle'—a role for which he would in any case be singularly miscast.

More plausibly one might emend to *taum* (= Phl. *tōm*, *tōhm* 'seed'); for in the *Dēnkart* the Endless Light is spoken of as the 'seed' from which the *χ^{v}arr* arises,[1] and the conception of 'seed' plays an important part in the ontological parts of that work.[2] This, however, amounts to duplicating Space, for *tōhm* = Endless Light is the Space of Ohrmazd. Again, in another passage Ohrmazd is seen to create (*āβurītan*) the *Dēn* which is called *tōhmakān tōhmak* 'the seed of seeds',[3] which would exactly fit the Masʿūdī context. It is, however, unlikely that Masʿūdī would have known of this equation, though it is not, of course, impossible.

The emendation of foreign words transcribed into the Arabic script is, however, not a rewarding or profitable occupation. One has only to glance at any Arabic text in which such names are transcribed to realize the appalling deformations that can take place:[4] the only possible guide in such cases is common-sense deduction from existing data. In our own passage it will have been noticed that Masʿūdī gives the form *kāh* (*gāh*) as the Persian for 'Time', and **ǰāy* for 'Space'; but in the older language both habitually mean 'space' or 'place', though *gāh* (*gās*) may also mean 'time'. Masʿūdī's use of *gāh* and **ǰāy* shows that he was dealing with a text which had the collocation *gās 'ut gyāk*; and it is precisely this collocation that we have in the first chapter of the *Bundahišn*. We are, then, justified in emending the senseless *yaum* to *dēn* while admitting that there is very little resemblance between the signs representing the two words in the Arabic script. For the whole phrase we might read: *dain, wa hīya'ṭ-ṭayyibatu wa'l-tamyīzu*, 'the Religion, that is the good and discrimination'. *Ṭayyib* in connexion with *dēn* would render the Pahlavī *dēn i vēh*, 'the Good Religion'.

Apart from the passages quoted above in which the Three Creators—Time, Space, and Religion (Wisdom)—appear together, there are numerous places in which two of the series are associated in pairs.[5] There is, however, also a passage in the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār*[6] in which the Three Creators whose identity we have been at such pains to establish, not only

spēt ⟨i⟩ anōš vīrāδēnd.—'At that sacrifice they slaughter the bull Haδayanš, and from his fat they prepare the white, immortal Hōm.' Cf. Dd. 36. 86.

[1] Text Z 9.

[2] Cf. especially DkM. 120. 22 ff; 290. 1 ff.

[3] See note E, p. 215.

[4] As a single example among many we may cite Yaʿqūbī's version of the name of Mānī's father. While Greek sources have *Πατέκιος*, Šahristānī *fātak* and the *Fihrist fattaq*, Yaʿqūbī has *ḥammād* (!). Cf. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 338.

[5] Time and Space in texts Z 16, 18 (*a*), 23: Time and Wisdom in Z 20 and 22.

[6] 10. 12–13.

appear, but are mentioned by name. The names are not what we expect. The passage reads:

> When he (Ohrmazd) bore the name of Creator (*dādār*), then he bore three (other) names also: creation (*dahišni*), Religion and soul (*rvą*).

Of the series we found in the *Sīh-rōčak*, *Bundahišn*, and *Dēnkart*, only *dēn* is the same; yet that the *Šikand* is referring to the same doctrine of the 'three creators' is quite indisputable. Nor can we lightly emend *dahišni* to something else on the grounds that it is nonsense as it stands in the text; for this text itself adds, 'For it is well known that the name of creator comes from creation'. Obviously, then, the author, who otherwise shows remarkably good sense and considerable dialectical skill, sticks by his paradox that 'creation' is one of the names of the 'Creator'. However, though the theology of the *Šikand* is based on the *Dēnkart*,[1] there is no evidence in that work that creation, religion, and soul figure as three creators. *A priori* the names of the three creators should be Time, Space, and Religion (Wisdom) as in *Bundahišn* iii.[2] We must then either reject our theory of Time–Space–Religion = the Three Creators altogether, and accept the evidence of the *Šikand* only, or offer a plausible explanation of how the author of the *Šikand* can have brought himself to describe 'creation' as a 'creator', and whence he derives 'soul' (*rvą*, *ruvān*) in this creative role.

To take 'soul' (*ruvān*) first. The only passage that occurs to me which is even remotely parallel to our present problematical text occurs in the *Greater Bundahišn*,[3] where the soul of man (the microcosm) is said to correspond to Ohrmazd in the macrocosm. In the Manichaean system, too, the panoply of Primal Man (Ohrmazd in Iranian Manichaean terminology) is equated with his soul,[4] and the power sent by the Primordial God is the soul of matter.[5] None of these passages, however, are parallel: they do not make 'soul' a creator. Nor are we justified in seeing the idea of the Neoplatonic world-soul (the *nafs-i-kull* of the Ṣūfīs) in this one isolated instance; for this idea is foreign to Zoroastrianism.

For the *ruvān* of the *Šikand* the *Bundahišn* has *zamān* 'Time'. If the accounts are to be reconciled, there are two possibilities. Either the author

[1] ŠGV. 4. 107; 9. 1; 10. 57; 12. 1. Cf. the introduction in Âsânâ-West, p. xviii.

[2] *Supra*, p. 204.

[3] GrBd. 190. 13: *ruvān čēyōn Ōhrmazd*, 'the soul is like Ohrmazd'. Cf. Reitzenstein, *Studien*, p. 119.

[4] v. Schaeder, *Urform*, pp. 111 ff.; id. *Studien*, p. 253; Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, p. 14. In the *X^{v}astuānift* the 'Five-gods' corresponding to the 'panoply' of the *Acta* are described as 'our souls': cf. the Persian account of the soul robbed by the powers of darkness in the frag. S 9 (Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii; Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 75–126; Henning, NGGW. 1933, p. 306).

[5] Alexander of Lycopolis (Brinkmann, p. 5, l. 22), cf. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i, p. 18, no. 4; Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 52.

of the *Šikand* has sought to suppress all reference to Zurvān-Time as a creator, a view with which he radically disagreed as his last and sixth chapters show, and has substituted 'soul' for the once supreme deity which in his time was being slowly eliminated from the pantheon; or, owing to an early corruption, *ruvān* has been substituted for *zurvān*—the difference of one letter if we accept a Pahlavī spelling *zrwb'n* beside the normal *zwrw'n* and the more unusual *zrwp'n*.[1] Either alternative is possible; but the latter seems to me the more likely since precisely this has in fact happened in a New Persian text (our text Z 36) where the substitution of *ruvān* for *zurvān* is certain.

The case of *dahišn(i)* can also be explained as a scribal error, though if it originally was so, it was accepted as genuine by the author of the *Šikand* himself: and this is remarkable in one who would not himself have invented 'creation' as a name of the Creator. Oddly enough, the same enigma appears in the *Dēnkart*[2] where it is said:

> Matter (*gētēh*) is ruled by these six things, by Time, creation (*dahišn*), wisdom, power (*aδyār*, cf. NP. *yāristan*, *yārā*, *yār*, &c.), means, and effort. A wise man has explained that of these six three are spiritual and three material. Time, creation, and wisdom are spiritual; power, means, and effort are material.

Fortunately in this case there is a parallel passage.[3] In this we have a similar though not identical series—Will, Power, Means, Effort, Space, and Time—supplemented in the universe of the good by Wisdom and the Light of Wisdom, and in the universe of evil by Lying Falsehood and the Darkness of Lying Falsehood. Thus Time, Power (*nērōk* or *aδyār*), Means, Wisdom, and Effort are common to both series. The Light of Wisdom and its dark counterpart may for our present purposes be ruled out as being an extension of Wisdom and Lying Falsehood. Thus we are left with Will and Space on the one hand and *dahišn* (creation) on the other. Will is so nearly allied to Effort and Power that it need not detain us. We are therefore reduced to the equation Space = *dahišn*.

It is perfectly possible that the Pahlavī signs normally transcribed as *dahišn* and translated 'creation', and so transcribed and translated in the *Šikand* in the passage we have just discussed, conceal a word for Space which has remained hitherto unknown. It is, however, equally possible that *dahišn* is merely a miswriting of *gās* (space): such is the fascinating simplicity of the Pahlavī script that the mere addition of a ligature and a vertical stroke would transform *gās* into *dahišn*. Similarly if you insert a vertical stroke before *gās* it will become *vēhīh* 'goodness'; and this confusion is actually attested in GrBd. 3. 1, which reads *vēhīh* while IndBd. reads

[1] YF. 2. 39, 40. [2] Text Z 18 (*b*). [3] Text Z 18 (*a*).

correctly *gās*. Thus it is not at all impossible that the *dahišn–dēn–ruvān* of the *Šikand* is really *gās–dēn–zurvān* (*zamān*) heavily disguised.

The combined evidence of the *Sīh-rōčak*, *Bundahišn* i and iii, the *Dēnkart* passages, and of Masʿūdī seems conclusive that one section of the Zoroastrians whom we have called semi-Zervanites conceived Ohrmazd as tetramorphous: his forms are his own personality as Creator, Time, Space, and Wisdom. By analogy with the Manichaean tetrad of Zurvān (Supreme God), Light, Wisdom, and Power, we can deduce an original Zervanite tetrad of Zurvān (Time), Space, Wisdom, and Power which combined to make up the godhead. The evidence of the *Šikand* is disconcerting; and we are quite prepared to admit that we have perhaps explained away the thorny difficulties presented by the impossible 'creation-Creator' and the improbable 'Soul-Creator'. This does not, however, alter the picture which emerges from the rest of our evidence. In Zervanism as well as in Manichaeanism Zurvān is the τετραπρόσωπος πατὴρ τοῦ μεγέθους: Time–Space–Wisdom–Power.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

A. *nāvtāk*: 'navigable'; so following Bartholomae, AIW., col. 1064 against Herzfeld, AMI. ii, pp. 62 ff. The latter connects our word with NP. *nāv* 'trough, pipe, canal', *nāvdān*, *nāvak* 'canal'; cf. GrBd. 82. 5 *nāyičak* = NP. *nāyizeh*, also *nāvičeh*: Yidgha-Munji *nawoyo* (Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, ii, p. 234). In support of this he cites the Pahlavī gloss (Vd. 14. 16; 18. 74) *kaθas* (cf. MPT. *khs* 'channel, sewer') and the NP. gloss in FrPhl. *nāvdān*. All this, however, does not obviate the semantic difficulty presented by the present passage, for the creator can scarcely be credited with the creation of 'canals'. Similarly in Yt. 10. 14, *āpō nāvayå pərəθwiš χšaoδaŋha θwaχšəñte*, 'the navigable rivers, the broad torrents rush on'. Clearly 'canals' will not do. *nāvtāk* is the translation of Av. *nāvaya-*. The Phl. spelling is usually *N'YWT'K*, but Vd. 14. 16 has the expected *N'WT'K* (so also a variant in Vd. 18. 74). *N'YWT'K* should perhaps be read as *nāyᵘtāk* with a light *u* as in *pātᵘχšāy* (*P'TWXŠ'Y*, normal spelling in Pahlavī) with the normal development *v*>*y*: *nāy-vitāk* would not be satisfactory since MP. *vitāč-* means 'melt'.

B. Garōδmān = Av. *garō dəmāna-* is usually taken to mean the 'House of Song', so recently Nyberg (*Religionen*, p. 161), but Herzfeld (*Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 168 ff.) has suggested 'treasure-house', ἀποθήκη, *gar-*, ἀγείρω, 'collect'. This view is corroborated by the alternative phrases for 'heaven': (i) *ganǰ i hamēšak sūt*, 'the treasury of eternal benefit', which we have met above in our second excerpt; (ii) *ganǰ i hamēšak vaχš*, 'the treasury of eternal increase (PhlTexts, p. 139, § 36); (iii) *ganj i yazdān*, 'the treasury of the gods', referring to the receptacle of good works collected by the Moon. Further there is Arm. *gerezman* 'tomb', which is plainly neither a house of song nor of glowing (Hertel), but an ἀποθήκη. The connexion of the Armenian word with *garō dəmāna-* is, however, questionable (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, p. 127; Henning, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1946, pp. 157 ff.). In Yt. 12. 37 Garōδmān is represented as

being the highest of six heavens; but according to GrBd. 194 it is the third highest, being inferior to the Endless Light and 'the place of the Amahraspands' and corresponding to the 'station of the Sun' of GrBd., p. 28. Cf. further p. 144, n. F.

C. Texts Z 15 and Z 23, § 102. Cf. DkM. 416. 14 ff., a translation of which was attempted by Junker, *Aion-Vorstellung*, p. 159, n. 31. The text is as follows:

'apar-šān[1] (*yazdān* J.) *akanārakīh i zamān paytākīh ēvak 'bavēt, 'nē šāyastan dahišn 'bē 'andar zamān guftan. 'ut 'andar-šān* (*yazdān* J.) *sačišn i kanārak-zamānīh 'apar-vīnārišn hamīh i 'būt 'bavēt ēvak 'ō 'dit. 'ēn-ič paytākīh guft 'ku 'har 'būt 'bavēt 'ut 'har 'bavēt 'būt 'bavēt. gēhān*(?)*-šān*[2] *gyāk 'apar 'hast, 'ut 'nē 'čiš 'bē gyāk: [i] 'čišān čand 'čišān ['čiš] kanārakōmand, 'ut gyāk-ič hamāk 'hač tuhīkīh: 'ut tuhīkīh mānāk-gyākīk akanārak guft 'pat abastakīh, čēyōn 'pat zamān dātār 'hastīh. akanārak-zamānīhā 'apar *čišān 'nēst 'čiš guft čēyōn [i] 'būt 'bavēt.*—'Concerning the manifestation of the infinity of Time one of their[1] views is that one cannot speak of creation except (as existing) in Time: for them the regularity of the passage of finite time is continuity (existing between) the past and the future. Its manifestation is said (to consist in this) that everything past is (at some time) future and everything future is (at some time) past. For them matter(?) is (founded) on Space: nothing exists independently of Space. Things *qua* things are finite. All Space is from the Void. The Void *qua* Space is said to be infinite through being non-contingent just as the being of the Creator (is said to be infinite) through Time. *Sub specie aeternitatis*, it is said, there is no such thing as present and past.'[3]

D. PhlTexts, p. 125, § 27: *'ut-aš 'har 'rōč 3 bār hōm 'ō gōš 'gōβēt 'ku rāmišnīk 'kunam, 'ut 'mā tarsēt 'čē-tān ōš 'hač ruvān apāč 'dāram, 'ut-tān ruvān 'nē ōšōmand čēyōn tan ōšōmand.*—'Three times a day Hōm speaks in his ear (saying), 'I will make you glad: fear not, for I keep death from your soul, and your soul is not mortal as your body is mortal." '

GrBd. 116. 2: *hōm i spēt bēšaz i avinast rust 'ēstēt 'andar čašmak i Ardvīsūr: 'har 'kē 'χ^{v}arēt ahōš 'bavēt.*—'The white, healing, immaculate Hōm grows in the fount of Ardvīsūr: whosoever drinks thereof becomes immortal.'

Zs. 3. 40: *hōm i spēt hamēstār[īh] ⟨i⟩ zarmān, zīvandakgar i murtakān, an⟨ō⟩šakgar i zīvandakān.*—'The white Hōm, adversary of old age, vivifier of the dead and giver of immortality to the living.'

E. DkM. 873. 9: *'apar āβurītan i Ōhrmazd pēš 'hač 'har dahišn i yut 'hač amahraspand 'pat 'bē niyāβākīh i amahraspand *rāst 'saχ^{v}an i fražānak dēn visp-ākāsīh hangarttom 'ut hangartīktom fravand 'ut dāramaktom ['ut] karp, tōhmakān tōhmak 'ut baχšišnān bun i apārīk 'hamist vēh-dēn gōβišn bay ahunvar.*—'On Ohrmazd's creating before all creation except the Amahraspands and for the assistance of the Amahraspands the righteous word of the wise Religion of omniscience, the most wide embracing and comprehensive girdle and most subtle body, the seed of seeds and source of dispensations, the lord *Ahunvar* together with the other words of the Good Religion.'

[1] Who or what are 'they' (*-šān*)? 'They' occur with monotonous regularity throughout Book IV of the Dk. In the present context they would appear to be the *mānsrō(k)barān* 'bearers of the word' mentioned in the preceding line.

[2] For *gēhān* the text has *YYHN*. I read *gēhān* on the analogy of text Z 15 (DkM. 133. 2), *gyāk 'ī-š gētēh 'apar.*

[3] Cf. text Z 17: 'he (Ohrmazd) is limited by matter, limitless through Time'.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

A transliteration of the four passages translated at the beginning of the chapter is appended here. The Pahlavī text is found in the *Zand i χᵛartak Apastāk*, pp. 231–2, 240–1, 252–3, 258–9. The very corrupt and late Pāzand version will be found in *Pāzand Texts*, pp. 250, 257, 266, and 272.

I. ZXA. 231. 11–232. 15.

dātār šnāyēnītārīh

stāyēm 'ut āzbāyēm dātār Ōhrmazd i vēh i aβzōnīk: burzēm 'pat hamāk 'rōč 'ut 'šap. burt-šnōhr[a] *'ham 'hač χᵛāβar dātār Ōhrmazd 'pat-ič kartan i 'man, 'kaδ-aš 'man 'hač čihrak i 'martōmān brēhēnīt, 'ut-aš vēnāk, gōβāk 'ut ravāk 'dāt, aržānīk kart 'ham 'pat tan druvistīh 'ku stāyēm 'rōč 'ut 'šap 'ō 'tō, dātār, 'nām 'baram. spāsdār 'ham 'hač 'tō, dātār i vēh aβzōnīk, 'kaδ kartārīh i 'tō 'vēnam, čēγōn āsmān i aβd-kart 'ut zamīk i hudahāk, star i hučihr 'ut māh i bāmīk, χᵛaršēt i rōšn i ravākray, 'ut 'āp i tačāk i 'har jānvarān zīvišn hač-iš, ātaχš i suχr i sōčāk i 'vazurg aδyārīh i gētēhān hač-iš, urvar ⟨i⟩ χᵛāβargar i vas-gōnak i tarr i zarrgōn i 'har gētēhān hač-iš dārišn zīvišn, ⟨'ut⟩ 'χᵛarr 'ut χᵛahrīh 'ut χᵛāstak 'ut pātuχšāyīh 'ut apārīk-ič nēvakīh i 'tō 'dāt 'hēnd. 'ut 'kaδ kanīk 'vēnam 'ut nāirīk i hukarp ⟨i⟩ hučihr i naχšak*[b]* i patχᵛāδišnīk, 'ut 'kaδ 'pus 'vēnam i āsnōtak*[c]* i hudēn i huruvān i ravāk-guftār i hanǰamanīk, 'ut 'kaδ ham-tō(h)makān i 'χᵛēš 'vēnam i 'vēh i frārōn, stāyēm 'tō, dātār i akanārak-nērōk yāvētān-zamān. apuχšāδ 'pat 'man 'ut 'ō manišn i sardārān 'ut pātuχšāyān 'dah 'pat 'man nēvakīh 'ut āsānīh kartan, *hučašm*[d]* *'būtan [i]. 'har nēvakīh 'i-m 'χᵛēš rāδ 'hač 'tō kāmak frārōnīhā 'andar aβzōn 'dār, dātār i vēh; 'čē aβzōnīk 'ut dēr-pattāy 'hast nēvakīh i 'hač 'tō. 'ut-am 'nēst ['ut-am] panāh 'ut-am aβstām 'ut ummēt 'bē 'ō χᵛāβarīh i 'tō.*

II. ZXA. 240. 3–241. 16

dātār šnāyēnītārīh

stāyēm 'ut āzbāyēm 'ō 'tō, dātār i aβzōnīk, 'hač 'nūn 'tāk yāvētānak-zamānīhā 'kē buništ i 'har nēvakīh Ōhrmazd 'hēh; 'ut hamāk 'χᵛarr 'ut χᵛahrīh 'ut rōšnīh bun 'hač 'tō vīnārišn. 'bē[e] *'tō 'χᵛat akanārak zamān 'hēh, 'ut dātār dāštār 'ut pānakēnītār i 'χᵛēš dāmān, yōšdāsrēnītār 'hač 'har āhōk pityārakōmandīh ['ut] 'pat 'χᵛēš χʳāβarīh apuχšāδišnōmandīh. 'ut harvist 'ul ōstēnēh,*[f] *'kē ahrov 'ut 'kē-ič druvand, 'ut 'kas-ič 'hač χᵛēš dāmān 'andar dām nivandak*[g] *i druž 'nē 'hilēh; 'ut-šān hamāk 'pāk 'ut yōšdāsr 'kunēh, 'ut-šān yāvētān purr-urvāhm-vānišn*[h] *'dārēh, 'ut-šān kunišn passačakīhā 'hač 'χʳēš ganǰ i hamēšak sūt pātdahišn 'ān i vēh [i] āzātakīhā ov-iš nivēkēh.*[i] *'ut 'pat 'har gās stāyēm 'tō, 'čē 'pat kām 'ut framān i 'tō vīnārt 'ēstēt āsmān 'ut zamīk 'ut 'har dām 'ut dahišn gētēh 'ut mēnōk. bōχtār-mān 'bavēh, 'tō χᵛāβar χᵛatāy, 'hač 'dast 'ut kōχšišn i 'vattarān, mustkarān, 'čē-mān 'nēst aδyārīh 'ut pānakīh 'ut aβstām bē 'ō 'tō, Ōhrmazd i vispān frahāt. 'bavēh čārak-χᵛāstār i ačārakān, apēčārēnītār i graftārān, bōžēnītār i 'har 'kas 'hač bīm 'ut astānak ⟨i⟩ garān, 'hač sāstārān, kayakān, karapān 'kē 'pat dām ⟨i⟩ 'vēh vināstārīh duvārēnd. apuχšāδ, χᵛāβar,*

[a–i] *For notes see p. 218.*

apuχšāδ, dātār, apuχšāδ, dānāk, apuχšāδ, kirpakgar, apuχšāδ, visp-aβzōnīk nēvakīh mēnōk, 'apar 'amāh apuχšāδāvandān. 'ō mēnišn i pātuχšāyān 'dah 'kē-mān 'apar sardār 'ut pātuχšāy 'hēnd, nēvakīh-kāmak 'ut hučašm 'būtan: ōγōn-ič 'ō mēnišn i hamāk sardārān pātuχšāyān 'kē 'andar gētēh 'apar dām i 'tō pātuχšāy 'ut ravākframān 'hēnd, 'ku 'tāk aβzōnīktar 'bavēt 'ān i 'tō dām 'ut dahišn, hamāk i 'apar spandarmat būm [i] purr-bar 'mānēnd. 'čē 'kaδ 'martōmān āsānīh 'ut χ^{v}ahrīh 'bavēt, hamāk-ič dām 'ut dahišn i 'tō 'ō huvarzišnīh i 'martōmān pardāčišn pattōkīh 'i-šān 'pat 'har frārōnīh. 'ut-mān ⟨'pat⟩[j] 'har 'hēr aβstām 'ō 'tō, dātār i vēh i visp-tavān.

III. ZXA. 252. 5–253. 4

dātār šnāyēnītārīh

*stāyēm 'ut āzbāyēm 'tō, dātār i vēh i aβzōnīk, 'kaδ kart apāyastan kām 'ut framān 'vēnam i ōγōn aržōmand ⟨vi⟩tīmās[k] i 'pat gētēhān dānišn ayāftan 'ut 'dānastan 'nē 'bē ēvāč 'pat harvisp-ākās χrat i 'apāk 'tō, aβzōnīk Ōhrmazd, 'dānastan šāyēt. čand vēš 'vēnīhēt, 'tō pat-iš stāyišnīktar 'hēh, 'kaδ-at āsmān vīnārt i astūn 'kē-š hēč stūn vīnārišn 'ō gētēhān 'nē paytāk; 'ut-at zamīk vīnārt i ham astūn-šōn[l] i frāχ^{v}-vistarišn 'kē-t 'apar frāč 'dāt rōt i *nāvtāk, kōf i buland i purr-vāstar i 'āpōmand 'ut gōhrōmand, 'ut dār i vazurg-tāk frāχ^{v}-d⟨ē⟩šak 'ut zufr-rēšak, ātaχš-ič i suχr i sōčāk, 'martōm i 'vas-aδvēnak 'ut gōspand i panj-aδvēnak i 'vas-sarδak. 'ut-at andarag zamīk 'ut āsmān frāč-ravišnīh 'dāt, 'ān i hučihr 'ut bāmīk 'ut 'χ^{v}arrōmand stārak, māh 'ut χ^{v}aršēt, spihr i haftān 'ut davāzdahān, 'ut mēnōkīk aβr 'ut sūtēmand vārān, vāt-ič i škift-nērōk 'kē hēč jānvar yut hač-iš pattūtan 'nē tavān: rāδēnāk 'hast i 'har 'čē andarag zamīk 'ut āsmān. stāyēm 'ō 'tō, dātār i vēh 'kē-t 'man frāč 'dāt 'ham druvist-annām 'ut frārōn [i] rāδēnišn: 'ut-am 'pat 'har hēr aβstām 'ō 'tō.*

IV. ZXA. 258. 18–259. 14

anaγrān šnāyēnītārīh

*stāyēm 'ut āzbāyēm 'ān i asar rōšnīh 'ut 'ān rōšn garōδmān, hamēšak sūt gās ⟨i⟩ χ^{v}aδāt *'kē hamēšak ['ut hamēšak] hamāk-χ^{v}ahrīh pat-iš. 'ut-aš 'ō gētēhān rasišnīk 'ān-ič i rāst rās Činvat puhr 'kē 'ō ahrovān 'bē frāχ^{v}ēt 9 nēzak dr⟨ah⟩nāδ, 'kē dērangīh 3 nay, 'ut 'ō druvandān čēγōn ustarak tēh 'bavēt: 'ō dōšaχ^{v} 'ōpatēnd. ahrovān ruvānān vitaragīhā frāχ^{v}-rās āsānīhā 'ō 'ān i pahlom aχ^{v}ān franaft 'rasīt tavān. hamvār šnāyēnēm 'ut yazēm χ^{v}āβar dātār Ōhrmazd 'ut amahraspandān 'ut hamāk yazdān. 'χ^{v}āδam 'ku-m aržānīkēnēnd ruvān 'andar 'ān i pahlom aχ^{v}ān hamdēmānīh ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazd 'ut amahraspandān: 'ut-am nikēžīt 'ō aχ^{vm} i vārom 'ku hamē zīvandak dr⟨ah⟩nāδ χ^{v}āstār 'ut pattōk 'bavam 'pat χ^{v}ēšēnītan i 'ān [i] rās 'ut pand i pat-iš 'ō 'ān i pahlom aχ^{v}ān i hamāk χ^{v}ahrīh garōδmān matan šāyēt. frāč-mān harvisp-ič χ^{v}ahrīh nēvakīh ⟨i⟩ dām 'hač 'tō. čēγōn-mān harvisp nēvakīh 'hač 'tō, ōγōn-ič-mān 'pat 'ān i vēš nēvakīh 'ut sūt, 'χ^{v}arr, χ^{v}ahrīh aržānīk 'kun.*

[j–m] *For notes see p. 218.*

NOTES TO APPENDIX VIII

[a] Cf. Phl. Psalter, p. 35, *bwltšnwhly*.

[b] Reading and meaning from MParthT. *nχšg* (Andreas–Henning, *MirMan.* iii).

[c] *āsnōtak*: translates Av. *āsna-*, cf. BSOS. ix, p. 311.

[d] Text has *hanjām*, but the parallel *hučašm* of our third excerpt is decisive.

[e] The MSS. vary between *'pat* and *'bē*; but since *'hēh* can only be 2nd sing. ind. or the conjunctive, and the latter yields no meaning in the context, we must take *'tō* as the subject and read *'bē*. The identification of Ohrmazd with *zamān* 'Time' therefore seems to be certain.

[f] *ōstēn-*, 'raise up' is only distinguished from *hangēžēn-* by a single vertical stroke: v. p. 104, n. C.

[g] *dām*: as in NP. 'snare'. Cf. ŠGV. 4. 65–72 (ten times), Skt. translation *vāgura-*; Zs. 3. 16, *dām-ē 'ut χumb-ē*. A close parallel to our passage is ibid. 35. 22: *Airyaman frēstak band[r]-ē 'pat dast dārēt; 'hač 'har 'martōm-ē rāδ i 'bē viturt, aš band-ē hač-iš ākustak 'pat humānākīh i dām ⟨ni⟩vandak 'kē-š murv māhīk pat-iš 'gīrīhēt*.—'Airyaman, the Messenger, holds a fetter in his hand; and from every man who has passed away there hangs a fetter in the likeness of a snare or bond in which a bird or fish is caught.' For *nivandak* in our passage Pāz. has *vaňda*, but the reading is assured by Av. *nivanda-*, 'Fessel': cf. also DkM. 337. 14, 21: 338. 4.

[h] For *vānišn* one may also read *'ut χᵛašn* (MPT. *χwšn*, 'Lichtheit', *MirMan.* i).

[i] *nivēkēh*: the usual form in Phl. is *nivēkēn-* (frequent in Dk.) and we should perhaps so normalize here. Cf. Av. *nivaēdaya-*, MPT. *nwydg*, Arm. *nuirel*.

[j] *'pat*: supplied from the parallel at the end of excerpt III.

[k] *vitīmās*: v. p. 30, n. A 1.

[l] *astūn-šōn*: *'vēnišn* might as easily be read. We should then have *ham-'vēnišn* 'wholly visible'. For *šōn* v. Bailey in BSOS. vi, p. 947.

[m] *aχᵛ*: presumably 'existence' rather than 'desire'. For the latter v. p. 53, n. 1: cf. MPT. *'wχ*, 'Sinn' (Henning, *Man. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, s.v.).

CHAPTER IX

THE GOD ZURVĀN

(*a*) *The Fourfold God*

IT was the purpose of our last chapter to demonstrate from the Pahlavī books themselves and by comparison with the Manichaean data that the supreme god of the Zervanite Zoroastrians was conceived of as tetramorphous, comprising the four hypostases of Time, Space, Wisdom, and Power.

H. H. Schaeder was the first to point out that the tetramorphous Zurvān was present in Zoroastrianism as well as in Manichaeanism;[1] and H. S. Nyberg, with characteristic enthusiasm, took up the idea and carried it very much further.[2] Neither, however, seems to have discerned the basic tetrad—Time, Space, Wisdom, and Power—the existence of which we have sought to prove. Nyberg, however, thought he could discern other Zurvanic tetrads in the Pahlavī books; and it will be among our tasks in this chapter to consider the validity of these.

Turning first to the non-Iranian sources, in this case written in Syriac, we find three deities appearing as apparently coexistent and co-eternal with Zurvān.[3] Their names are Ašōqar, Frašōqar, and Zarōqar. The information supplied by our sources is as usual scanty; and we will therefore reproduce the four passages here:

F 10: 'He [Zoroaster] first recognized four principles like the four elements, Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar and Zurvān, and said that Zurvān was the father of Ohrmazd.'

F 5 (i): 'Should we then consider Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar and Zurvān to be gods?'

F 8: 'He [Zoroaster] taught first of all the existence of four gods, Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar and Zurvān; but did not say what their functions were.'

F 9: 'He [Zoroaster] says also that the elements, that is fire, water, earth and the atmosphere, are gods, but that in sovereignty and divinity they are inferior to the gods Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar and Zurvān. It was Frašōqar who engendered Ohrmazd.'

The Syriac sources then tell us very little indeed. All that emerges from their laconically contemptuous accounts is that the three gods are

[1] *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, pp. 138 ff.

[2] CCM. 1931, pp. 47 ff.

[3] Theodore bar Kônai, Āδur-Hormizd, Mâr Barhad-Bešabbâ, and the anonymous Syrian re-edited by Nyberg, CCM. 1929, pp. 238–41: v. our texts F 10, 5, 8, and 9.

hypostases of Zurvān, identical yet in some way distinct: this seems clear from the statement of F 9 that Frašōqar engendered Ohrmazd, though the same author says earlier in his narrative that both Ohrmazd and Ahriman were born of Zurvān. In this connexion we may cite Šahristānī's statement that the Light emanated 'persons of light', the greatest of whom was Zurvān.[1] Secondly, it is clear that the four gods are all antecedent to Ohrmazd and Ahriman; and thirdly that they are in some way unspecified connected with the four elements. *A priori*, then, we should expect the four gods to correspond to the four eternals discussed in the last chapter. The names of the gods, however, rule this out entirely.

On the meaning of the terms Ašōqar, Frašōqar, and Zarōqar Nyberg (l.c.) has already said most that is essential. He rightly based his interpretation on the Avestan passage *Yašt* 14. 28, where the words *aršōkarəm maršōkarəm frašōkarəm* occur as epithets of the warrior god Vərəθraγna (Phl. Varhrān, NP. Bahrām). In this series *frašōkarəm* is identical with our Frašōqar: our Ašōqar has merely lost the *r* of *aršōkarəm*: two members of the triad are therefore identical. *Maršōkarəm* was considered by Nyberg to be the semantic equivalent of Zarōqar, and he therefore translated 'qui rend vieux', and in this interpretation Benveniste agrees.[2] The whole sequence Nyberg took to mean 'qui rend viril, qui rend vieux, qui rend splendide'. Having satisfied himself as to the etymology and meaning of the three epithets, Nyberg turned his attention to the question of whether they belonged properly to Vərəθraγna or to Zurvān. The theory advanced in his *Questions de cosmogonie et cosmologie mazdéennes*,[3] which seemed plausible enough, he abandoned later in conformity with his highly original but largely unacceptable theories on the nature of the Iranian religions.[4] His earlier view was that at a time when the Zervanite form of Zoroastrianism was gradually being ousted in favour of a more orthodox Mazdeanism, attributes and epithets once proper to Zurvān were gradually transferred to other deities. The epithets 'who makes virile, who makes bright, who makes old' were thus transferred from the Time god to whom they obviously belonged to the genius of victory who should have no part in them. Subsequently, after radically changing his views on the nature of the god Vərəθraγna, Nyberg found that the epithets were equally applicable to either god. It is fortunately no business of ours to argue for the prior claims of either Vərəθraγna or Zurvān: it is enough that the epithets A(r)šōqar, Frašōqar, and Zarōqar are four times attested as hypostases of Zurvān and that each finds confirmation in an original Zoroastrian text:[5] whether they

[1] Text F 4, § 1.
[2] See note A, p. 246.
[3] pp. 89 ff.
[4] *Religionen des alten Irans*, p. 383.
[5] *Infra*, p. 221.

were transferred from Zurvān to Vərəθraγna or vice versa is in this context immaterial.

That Zurvanic attributes were, however, transferred to other deities is certain. In the course of our investigation we have time and again been struck by the fact that many myths found in our Zoroastrian books show a Zervanite origin, but have almost invariably been restated in order to conform as nearly as possible to Mazdean orthodoxy. Nyberg himself has cited one case that appears to me incontestable—the substitution of the death-demon Astōvihāt in the *Aogəmadaēčā* for the Zurvān (*zamān*) of the *Greater Bundahišn*.[1] Again we find that epithets attributed to Zurvān in the latter work are gratuitously transferred to Rapiθwin, the quite insignificant genius of the midday, in the *Dēnkart*. The parallelism is here so exact that there can be no doubt that such a transfer has taken place. By juxtaposing translations of the two passages here, the reader will be best able to judge for himself:

(i) GrBd. 10. 11 (text Z 1, § 25): 'Time understands more than those who understand much. Time is better informed than the well-informed.'

(ii) DkM. 647. 13: 'Rapiθwin is he who understands more than those who understand and he who is better informed than the well-informed.'[2]

That Rapiθwin has in this case benefited by the degradation of Zurvān from the supreme place in the pantheon seems obvious. The point should not need stressing.

The epithet Zarōqar is once attested (in the Pāzand form *Zarvagar*) in a late Pārsī text as a name of Zurvān.[3] Frašōqar, too, once appears in a Pāzand text (Pāz. form *faršōgar*),[4] but here it has been transferred to Ohrmazd. This again can be regarded as part of the late and post-Sassanian effort to minimize the importance of Zurvān, but the transfer has an additional interest in view of the Syriac text's statement that it was Frašōqar who engendered Ohrmazd. Again, we find the term Ašōqar paralleled in the *aršnōtačin* found in the *Dēnkart*[5] in a cosmological passage associated with Zurvān-Time. How and when these epithets were transferred to Vərəθraγna, or whether indeed they were originally proper to him, is for our present purposes beside the point. In the Zoroastrianism of the Sassanian period they quite certainly were regarded as hypostases of Zurvān.

[1] CCM. 1931, pp. 44 ff.

[2] DkM. 647. 13: *rapiθwin 'ān ⟨i⟩ 'hač ayāpakān ayāpakīhātar, 'ut 'ān ⟨i⟩ *'hač pursišnīkān pursišnīktar.*

[3] v. our text Z 36.

[4] PāzTexts, p. 337: it occurs as the hundred and first and last name of Ohrmazd: cf. the late Pārsī compilation entitled *Farziāt-nāmeh* (ed. Modi), p. 62 (Persian numbering): *zi nām ī faršgar ma'nī'st ẓāhir/ qiyāmat-rā kunandeh ū'st āχir.*

[5] Text Z 20.

Nyberg, having satisfied himself on the etymology of the three words, proceeded to expatiate on their significance. Zurvān, being the god who makes virile, who makes bright, and who makes old, must be the god of puberty, maturity, and old age, the god of life and death.[1] As such he ceased to be a *deus otiosus*, but was a nature god manifesting himself in the rhythm of life and death, though, as we shall see, he came to be popularly identified with death and it is in this capacity that he is known in the Avesta.

Nyberg's interpretation of *fraša-* as 'bright' is disputed by many; but though the etymology still remains doubtful, the OP. passages seem to prove that 'excellent, fine' must be the sense at any rate in Old Persian[2] and probably, too, in Avestan. Literally, then, the three hypostases would be 'the male-maker, he who makes good, and he who makes old'.

The function of the god A(r)šōqar at least seems to be indicated by the parallel *aršnōtačin* of the *Dēnkart*.[3] That the two words belong to the same cycle of ideas is proved by the fact that the first is represented as an hypostasis of Zurvān and as such a first 'principle', while the second is called the 'original seed' from which the 'performance of action' (*kār kunišn*) arises: this 'performance of action' duplicates the 'action of Time' (*zamānak kunišn*). The *aršnōtačin* is also called *kār nērōk*, the 'power of action' or 'ability to act', that is action *in potentia*. Literally translated the word appears to mean 'male-flowing', which can surely only refer to the male semen. Thus *a(r)šōkar* will mean quite literally 'the male-making' or 'author of the male principle'—Zurvān, then, in this case conceived as the father of the Cosmos. From his seed proceeds the entire material Cosmos, just as the human race was later to proceed from Gayōmart. This fits in quite beautifully with what we have already said about the conception and birth of Spihr (the Cosmos);[4] and our argument seems to be nicely clinched by the description of this in the *Greater Bundahišn*.[5]

> The creation of Ohrmazd was fostered spiritually in such wise that it remained without thought, without touch, without movement *in a moist state like semen.*

The same passage, too, seems to give the clue to the cosmological function of Frašōqar, for it goes on to say:

> After this moist state came mixture like (that of) semen and blood; after mixture came conception, like a foetus; after conception came diffusion, such as hands and feet; after diffusion came hollowing—eyes, ears, and mouth; after hollowing came movement *when it came forward to the light.*

[1] CCM. 1931, p. 90.
[2] v. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 198, where the literature is given.
[3] *Supra*, p. 221.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 112 ff., 141 ff.
[5] Text Z 1, § 38.

This last sentence fits into both interpretations of Avestan *fraša-*, the first of which (Bartholomae and most other scholars) associates it with Skt. *prāñc-* 'moving forward' and the second of which (Nyberg) takes it to mean bright. Frašōqar, then, will be the god who brings about the birth of the Cosmos, which during the process *moves forward* to the *light*.

This is not indeed in accordance with what the Syriac text F 9 says, namely, that it was Frašōqar who *engendered* Ohrmazd; but we should not, I think, rely too much on this very confused and confusing source,[1] especially as another source says of the three hypostases of Zurvān that Zoroaster himself did not specify their functions.[2] The *aršnōtačin* passage, moreover, and the known meaning of the root *aršan-* (ἄρσην) make it certain that A(r)šōqar is the male principle inherent in Zurvān, and must therefore have engendered the Cosmos.

Leaving Frašōqar aside for the moment, let us consider Zarōqar. This must be connected with the root *zar-* 'to grow old', and the equivalent *maršōkarəm* of Yt. 14. 28 is derived by Benveniste (l.c.) from the root *marz-* 'to rub (away)'. *Ergo*, Zarōqar is the genius who brings on old age and physical decay. Thus we have the three gods corresponding to the three decisive moments in the life of the Cosmos—its conception, its birth, and its passing away.

Even so, we are still confronted with the very obvious connexions between Frašōqar and the *Fraškart* which is the final rehabilitation of the Cosmos corresponding to the Christian resurrection of the Dead and the Muhammadan *qiyāmat*. It would be disingenuous to try to dissociate the two terms, for they are *nomen agentis* and *nomen actionis* of the same compound and must have been associated in the minds of the Zoroastrians themselves.[3] The order of the words in the Syriac accounts on the one hand and in Yt. 14. 28 on the other, however, seems to indicate a difference in the conception of Frašōqar. In the first case we have Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, and in the second *aršōkarəm maršōkarəm frašōkarəm*. If, then, the second series was in fact transferred from Zurvān to Vərəθraγna, *frašōkarəm*, appearing at the end, must be the god who produces the *fraškart*. This series would then represent (i) the god who engenders the Cosmos, (ii) the god who withers it away, and (iii) the god who reconstitutes it or makes it 'excellent'. The series Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, on the other

[1] The same source we had occasion to quote on p. 187.

[2] Text F 8.

[3] p. 221, n. 4 above. The *Farziāt-nāmeh* obviously equates *faršgar* with *qiyāmat-kunandeh*. In PāzTexts 354. 13 we find the form *frašogar-kardār* used as an epithet of Sōšyans, the eschatological 'saviour'. This is presumably a mistake for the usual *fraškart-kartār*, but the mistake shows that the author equated *frašōkar* with *fraškart-kartār* 'he who brings about the *fraškart*'.

hand, would represent (i) the god who engenders the Cosmos, (ii) the god who brings about its birth, and (iii) the god who brings about its decline and death. In any case they are the three gods presiding over the γένεσις, φθορά, and παλιγγενεσία of the Cosmos which is the finite Zurvān. The *aršnōtačin* passage from the *Dēnkart* (text Z 20) shows clearly what the *leitmotiv* of the myth is:

> From action *in potentia*, the original seed the Avestan name of which is *aršnōtačin* first (arose) . . .[1] the performance of action with which coincided the entry of Time into action (*zamānak kunišn*). From the performance of action (arose) the completion of action with which coincided the limit of finite Time. The limit of finite Time merges into Infinite Time the essence of which is eternity, and (which means) that at the Final Body what is contingent on it cannot pass away. Even as the religious authorities have said concerning Time: Time was originally infinite; then it became subject to limitation; at the end it returns to the Infinite.

Thus we have the following series:

	(*a*) *Action*	(*b*) *Time*
(i)	*kār nērōk* 'action *in potentia*'.	⟨*akanārak zamān* 'Infinite Time'⟩.
(ii)	*kār kunišn* 'action proper'.	*zamānak kunišn* 'Time in action'.
(iii)	*kār fražāmišn* 'the completion of action'.	*zamān i brīn kanārak* 'the limit of finite Time'.
(iv)	⟨'the return to the state of rest'⟩.[2]	*akanārak zamān* 'Infinite Time'.

Ašōqar would then be the deity which presides over 'action *in potentia*'; Frašōqar would preside over the *fraškart* (= *kār fražāmišn—zamān i brīn kanārak*),[3] the return from action to rest and from the finite to the Infinite. Zarōqar then must be the deity which presides over *kār kunišn*, action performed in finite time, which, proceeding naturally to its appointed term, can literally be said to be growing old. If this is a correct analysis of the data, the series in Yt. 14. 28 is to be preferred to that of the Syriac writers.

The order unanimously preserved by the latter in which Zurvān appears at the *end* of the series can, I think, be best interpreted on the lines suggested above. This series will then represent the following functions:

(i) Ašōqar, presiding over the conception of the Cosmos.
(ii) Frašōqar, presiding over its birth.
(iii) Zarōqar, presiding over its decline.
(iv) Zurvān, representing its reabsorption into the Infinite.

Frašōqar will then be the god who presides over the birth of the

[1] I omit 'through the creation of Ohrmazd' which is almost certainly a Mazdean addition.

[2] Cf. text Z 19: 'action, at its fulfilment, returns to its original state of rest'.

[3] Ibid.: 'Time, when its full term has elapsed, returns to its source which is the Infinite—that is the *fraškart*, the defeat of the Lie, the Resurrection and the Final Body, eternal bliss delivering all creation.'

Cosmos into Time or over its rebirth into the Infinite at the *fraškart*. The former idea would explain why the author of text F 9 speaks of Frašōqar as having engendered Ohrmazd. Had he said 'gave birth to', his account would probably have been correct.

Conception, birth, death, and rebirth—this, then, is probably the true interpretation of the series Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, Zurvān: or again *αἰών–γένεσις–φθορά–παλιγγενεσία–αἰών*, if we accept a series Zurvān–Aršokar–Maršōkar (Zarōqar)–Frašōkar–Zurvān. The basic idea in either case is the same—the genesis of the finite from the Infinite, the procession of the finite back towards the Infinite, and the 'death' of the finite by reabsorption in the Infinite. It is the story of the 'manifestation' of Infinite Time-Space which in this respect can be compared to the Aristotelian as opposed to the Manichaean *ὕλη*, and of its ultimate retreat into the unknowable Infinite.

There remains, however, one point which is still obscure. What does Theodore bar Kônai mean by saying that Zurvān and his three hypostases are 'like the four elements', or again (text F 9) that the elements 'fire, water, earth and the atmosphere are gods but that in sovereignty and divinity they are inferior to the gods Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, and Zurvān'?

Theodore refers to the Four Gods as 'principles': similarly the four elements are described as the 'origin (*bun*—principle) of the nature of material things', being themselves the first manifestation of 'matter' (*mātaγ*) and as such called the first 'form'.[1] Moreover, they each have their specific function which the other elements cannot perform:[2] thus, according to Zātspram, water was the element of creation while fire brings about the end of the world.[3] The elements indeed derive directly from Spihr conceived as finite matter[4] and thus form a tetrad in the finite world corresponding to the Ašōqar tetrad in the infinite. The tetrad Ašōqar–Frašōqar–Zarōqar–Zurvān is a quaternity almost in the same sense as the Christian Trinity—four persons in one God of which Zurvān is the eternal origin from which the others eternally proceed. Similarly in the finite Cosmos which is the body of the finite Zurvān, the four elements are the 'form' of

[1] DkM. 120. 22 ff.; cf. text Z 10, 'the elements which are the seed of seeds of material creations'. *v. supra* p. 142, and cf. ŠGV. 4. 88: *či čuñ hamōīn dahišną bvašni əž čihār zahagą qšą gəθī tan awāž ō čihār zahagą guməžihastan ō vīnāwadā pādā.*—'For it is perfectly clear that since the genesis of all creatures is from the four elements which compose their material body, they must again mingle with the four elements.' Further ibid. 5. 57.

[2] v. ŠGV. 5. 49 ff. (p. 69 in Menasce's translation).

[3] Text Z 5 (*a*), § 50. There does not, however, appear to be agreement on the functions of the four elements. For instance, in text Z 10 air (wind) precedes the other elements.

[4] p. 142 *supra*.

'matter' which itself is the Cosmos. Each of the hypostases of the Infinite Zurvān has its proper function; so, too, in temporality do the four elements have their specific function. Thus they may be correctly described as being 'like' the divine Tetrad but inferior to it 'in sovereignty and divinity'.

As further evidence for the divinization of the elements in Zervanism the so-called 'Song of the Magians' preserved by Dio Chrysostom has been cited and copiously commented on by Cumont, Reitzenstein, and Nyberg.[1] Although we have nothing new to add to what those great scholars have already said, we must, in the interests of completeness, retail again much that has been better said by them.

The myth speaks of Zeus as the first and perfect charioteer of the perfect chariot. This chariot, which is the Cosmos, is guided by the one charioteer and proceeds on its course throughout 'unceasing periods of eternity'. Men can only see the courses of the Sun and Moon, but cannot grasp the movement of the whole. The cosmic chariot is drawn by four steeds of different nature. The first is of infinite beauty and size and is infinitely swift, and its course lies on the outside of the hippodrome: it is sacred to Zeus, winged and shining with the purest light. In it are the Sun and Moon, and the stars appear through it. Of the four horses this is the most brilliant, the most variegated and the most beloved of Zeus. The second horse, which rubs shoulders with it, is sacred to Hera, docile and gentle, and greatly inferior to the first in strength and speed. It is black, but shines with the reflected light of the Sun on the outer side. The third, yet slower than the second, is sacred to Poseidon. But the fourth, says Dio, is the most amazing of all, for it stands firm and immovable, has no wings, and is sacred to Hestia. It, too, is yoked to the chariot, but remains firmly rooted to the ground biting its adamantine bit. There is continual strife between the horses, the two nearest the stationary one leaning upon it and pushing it clumsily: but the outside horse pursues its own course, revolving round the central one as round the turning-post of a hippodrome.

Usually the horses manage to complete their course without hurting one another; but in the course of time the strongest horse starts panting, and its breath heats the others and particularly the fourth. The mane of this last finally catches fire and the whole Cosmos is ablaze. Or, again, it may happen that the horse sacred to Poseidon exerts itself beyond measure and drowns the stationary horse in its sweat. These things, however, happen rarely and only as the charioteer permits.

[1] v. Cumont, MMM. ii, pp. 60–64; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, i, pp. 91–97 and ii, pp. 142–52, where the text is given. Cf. also Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, pp. 246 ff.; Nyberg, op. laud., pp. 92 ff.; Junker, *Aionvorstellung*, pp. 149 and 161.

According to Cumont the myth is genuinely Magian in origin. The charioteer Zeus (gen. *Διός*) is the supreme god, Zurvān; the horses of Zeus (gen. *Ζηνός*), Hera, Poseidon, and Hestia are the four elements—fire, air, water, and earth. Though they normally proceed in harmony, it sometimes happens that one of them gets over-excited and that the fourth, the earth, is harmed thereby.

After this comparatively intelligible narrative the myth becomes increasingly fantastic. The horses change their forms and fuse their natures until all are vanquished by the strongest and their natures are fused into one. The prize then goes to the strongest, who absorbs the essence of the other three and thereby becomes yet stronger and more brilliant. Rearing superbly, triumphant, and exulting in his victory, he seeks yet further space in which to show his strength and power. This horse, according to the Magians, is the soul of the charioteer.

Here we seem to be very far indeed from the sober world of Zoroastrian orthodoxy; but the ideas of the strife and ultimate fusion of the elements into the fire may well be of Zervanite origin; for Zātspram says that the *fraškart* is brought about by fire and its immediate sequel is the return of the finite Cosmos to the Infinite from which it arose. His description is worth quoting in full, for it shows some similarity to Dio's myth and above all demonstrates the important role played by the elements at the *fraškart*:

> On the earth, in the likeness of springs of water, springs of fire will arise in many places. For Ohrmazd created with water and will bring about the end with fire: for water has a nature that illumines the seed and causes it to grow, and fire (a nature) that burns and thwarts it: for when the seed of plants comes to water, it receives the power of growth, and becomes moist.
>
> When the fire appears on earth, the waters begin to sink and the rain ceases to rain till most of the waters on the earth are turned into desert, and the colour of plants on earth turns to the colour of wine(?) because of their union with fire, and they are burnt up and the tillage will be of no effect.
>
> When but three months have yet to pass before the Resurrection, it will come to the great battle, even as in the beginning creation wrestled with the Lie. For ninety days and nights there was war, a battle of thirty days and nights by the rain that smites noxious beasts, of thirty days and nights by the streaming forth of the vapours through which the plants grow, of thirty days and nights by the wind which drives the water on and supports the earth below and above and makes hollows and heights.
>
> But as the great battle in the beginning was by the raining of water and the wind that furthers water, so is the (battle) in the end by the burning and scorching of fire and the fearful wind that makes the fire to blaze.
>
> As (first) for ninety days and nights the gods did battle with the demons and

the Whore, so in the end, manifest and plain, there will be seen by night and in the atmosphere a form of fire in the shape of a man, conceived by the spiritual gods, riding, as it were, a fiery horse, and fearful (to behold): and they shall be freed from doubt.[1]

Here, too, we seem to meet with the idea of fire absorbing all the other elements before being merged into the Infinite. If we wish to pursue the parallel, we may liken water to Ašōqar as being the element and genius of creation respectively, and fire to Frašōqar as being the agent and author of the *fraškart*. Here, however, the parallel breaks down since there is no obvious connexion between Zurvān and Zarōqar and the earth and air. Moreover, water is normally regarded as female and as being the sister and spouse of fire.[2] The parallelism between Zurvān and his hypostases on the one hand and the elements on the other must be confined to the fact that the former are the eternal source of all being, the latter the source of material existence in time. Dio's myth, if it really reflects Zervanite ideas, is mainly interesting in showing Zurvān as the directing force (*τοῦ ξύμπαντος μιὰν ἀγωγήν* = *rāδēnītārīh*) behind the four elements who are thus the terrestrial tetrad reflecting the tetrad of genesis, decay, rebirth, and the Infinite in eternity.

The account of the *'Ulemā i Islām* according to which fire and water were the first things created by Zurvān, and from which Ohrmazd and Ahriman were formed,[3] may fit into our present context. In this case the elements (if fire and water can be taken to represent all four) would proceed immediately from Zurvān and his hypostases; and the statement of the Syriac writer that according to the Magians fire, water, earth, and the atmosphere are gods but inferior in sovereignty and divinity to Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, and Zurvān, would be quite accurate.

Thus in the purely ontological sphere we can discern three tetrads: first the Tetrad of Being—Time (Zurvān), Space, Wisdom, and Power; second the Tetrad of Becoming, Zurvān (the Infinite), Ašōqar, Frašōqar, and Zarōqar—genesis, decay, and rebirth; and thirdly the Tetrad of Matter—fire, air, water, and earth which are the source of all material creation as manifested to man. The last tetrad can, according to the Syriac sources, be regarded as a reflection in the finite of the other tetrads in the Infinite: and fire in this case would be the earthly representative of Zurvān, for, according to Dio, it is the soul of the divine charioteer.

Besides the above tetrads Nyberg thought that three other tetrads—the tetrad of fate, that of justice, and that of the luminaries—were to be found

[1] Text Z 5 (*a*), §§ 49–54.

[2] v. p. 73 and p. 79, n. D.

[3] Text T 37, § 9.

or inferred in the texts. The first he derived from a passage in the *Mēnōk i χrat* where it is said: 'the whole world proceeds in accordance with the decree (*brēh*) and the (decisive) moment (*zamānak*) and the fixed decision which are indeed Zurvān, the King and Lord of the long Dominion'.[1] Fate then is allotted in three stages: first the original decree, second the moment at which the decree takes effect, and the fixed irrevocable decision when the thing fated is accomplished. This 'process of fate' (*brēh-ravišnīh*)[2] is summed up in Zurvān of the long Dominion, finite Time. The idea recalls the *kār nērōk* (action *in potentia*), *kār kunišn* (the performance of action), and *kār fražāmišn* (the completion of action) which we have already discussed. The operation of fate as applied to individual men, then, can be said to reflect the three stages in the history of the Cosmos.

Again Zurvān—this time the Infinite—appears at the end of time accompanied by Mihr (Mithra), the Genius of Order (Justice—*dātastān*), and Fate,[3] and destroys Ahriman and his creatures, and finally Āz. Whether we can call this a Zervanite tetrad seems a little doubtful: the collocation of Mihr, the Genius of Order, and Fate seems to me rather haphazard, for the triad of justice or order would normally be Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn.[4] However this may be, it is obvious that Zurvān intervenes here together with two deities (Fate and the Genius of Order) which are merely the personification of his functions and with Mihr who is the god of truth, to crush finally the spirit of excess and deficiency, that is disorder, Āz.[5]

In addition to these tetrads Nyberg surmised that Zurvān also formed a tetrad with the Sun, Moon, and Signs of the Zodiac.[6] This, though extremely probable, is not attested in our texts. Similarly we ourselves have suggested that a tetrad comprising the infinite Zurvān, the finite Zurvān, the course of fate, and the genius of the year may be discerned in the *Bundahišn*:[7] this would then be the Tetrad of Time.

Thus we find the following tetrads attested:

(i) *The Tetrad of Being*
Time (Zurvān)
Space
Wisdom
Power

(ii) *The Tetrad of Becoming*
Zurvān (the Infinite)
Ašōqar (the originator)
Frašōqar (he who brings forth)
Zarōqar (he who causes to pass away)

(iii) *The Tetrad of Matter*
Fire (? the soul of Zurvān)

(iv) *The Tetrad of Time* (*uncertain*)
The Infinite Zurvān

[1] Text Z 27, § 5; cf. Nyberg, op. laud., pp. 54–56.
[2] Cf. text Z 1, § 22 and *supra*, pp. 108 ff.
[3] Text Z 8, § 10; Nyberg, op. laud., pp. 58 ff.
[4] See note B, p. 246.
[5] Text Z 8, ibid.
[6] Op. laud., pp. 56–57.
[7] *Supra*, p. 111.

Air	The finite Zurvān
Water	The Course of Fate
Earth	The Year
(v) *The Tetrad of Order (justice)*	(vi) *The Tetrad of Fate*
The Infinite Zurvān	The finite Zurvān
Mihr	The Decree
? Srōš—Order (Justice)	The decisive Moment
? Rašn—Fate	The fixed Decision

In these tetrads, then, Zurvān appears first as pure being, second as the source of contingent being, third as the source of matter, as finite time, as cosmic order, and as fate. This, in fact, sums up all that can be said about him, as we shall see when we come to study his nature in greater detail.

Before leaving the subject of the fourfold god we must devote a few lines to a surprising passage in the Persian *Rivāyats*,[1] where Zurvān appears as a deity with *seven* faces and three eyes in each face. Apparently corresponding to each of the seven faces are seven names. These names are transcribed in the Pāzand character: some are already known from other sources, others remain obscure: the names are *wayī*, *Zurvān*, *zarvagar*, *vaχt*, *nawāγ*, *paδyār*, and *yō-framānə*.

Of these *wayī*, *Zurvān*, *zarvagar*, and *vaχt* are easily recognizable; *paδyār* is well known as a word but astonishing in the context. The meaning of *nawāγ* can be guessed with comparative certainty: *yō-framānə* is difficult.

The name Zurvān is self-evident: *zarvagar* is Zarōqar, with whom we are now familiar; and *vaχt* is simply a Pāzand writing of *baχt* 'fate'. *Wayī*, too, is clear: it is a Pāzand transcription of *bayīk* and may thus be connected with our text Z 12 which enumerates the 'categories' of good and evil which correspond to the three castes.[2] Thus it scarcely seems too bold to suggest that we might well have here another Zervanite tetrad—Zurvān, Ohrmazd (*spēnākīk*, priesthood), Vāy (*vāyīk*, warriorhood), and Spihr (*bayīk*, the husbandmen), a conception that emerges fairly clearly from our texts Z 11 and Z 12. This, then, would be the Tetrad of the Castes or social *order*. In support of this theory we may again mention that Mihr-Narsē, whose Zervanite sympathies we sought to demonstrate in Chapter II, made his three sons the titular heads of the three castes.[3]

The three last names of the series, *nawāγ*, *paδyār*, and *yō-framānə* are more problematical. *Paδyār* means 'the adversary' and is the stock epithet of Ahriman. As an epithet of Zurvān, however, it shocks. This is, however,

[1] Text Z 36.

[2] For discussion *v. supra*, pp. 121 ff.

[3] Ṭabarī, Nöldeke, p. 110; cf. *supra*, p. 125.

what the text says and as such it must be accepted. *Nawāγ* can most easily be explained from NP. *navāχtan* (*navāz-*) 'to cherish'. Zurvān, then, seems to be regarded as the cherisher and the destroyer; and *yō-framānə* can then be emended to *dō-framān-ē*[1] and translated as 'the one who has two commands'. This again would give us yet another tetrad—Zurvān, the Cherisher, the Adversary, and the One who commands both. This would then be the Tetrad of Good and Evil.

Such an interpretation does not seem far-fetched; for each of the seven heads of this monstrous god has three eyes. Each head then should represent a different aspect of the god and the three eyes would represent three functions of the same aspect. There should then be seven tetrads in all.

Going back to the tetrads we listed on pp. 229–30 we can definitely accept those we have christened the Tetrads of Being and Becoming: the Tetrad of Fate is almost certainly genuine and the Tetrad of Order probably so. The Tetrad of Matter is not properly a Zurvānic tetrad at all but the reflection in the finite of the Tetrad of Becoming. The Tetrad of Time is a conjecture of my own and may therefore be eliminated. In place of these we now have a Tetrad of Social Order (the three castes) and a Tetrad of Good and Evil. This brings the total number up to six—two certain and the remainder probable. To complete the number seven we can either resort to Nyberg's Tetrad of the Luminaries (Sun, Moon, and the Signs of the Zodiac) or to my own Tetrad of Time. Thus we can reconstruct the nature of the God Zurvān on the following lines:

ZURVĀN
- *Being* (*Time*): Space, Wisdom, Power.
- *Becoming:* Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar.
- *Order:* Mihr, Order, Fate (Mihr, Srōš, Rašn).
- *Time* (infinite): finite Time, the Course of Fate, the Year.
- *Fate:* The Decree, the decisive Moment, the fixed Decision.
- *Good and Evil:* The Cherisher, the Adversary, the One who has command of both.
- *Social Order:* Priesthood, Warriorhood, the Husbandmen.

(*b*) *The Infinite Zurvān*

In the Zoroastrian books Zurvān (or more usually *Zamān* 'Time') appears either as infinite or finite. It is now time to discuss the nature of these two and the relationship that exists between them. As the Infinite the essence of Zurvān is pure Being: he is that which has no origin, yet is the origin of all things. He is contingent on nothing, and all things are

[1] *d* and *y* are identical in Pahlavī. *dō* (two), however, should either be written as figure 2 ( ) which scarcely differs from (*yō*, *dō*, *gō*, &c.), or with the Aramaic mask. The reading *dō-framān-ē* suits Zātspram's definition of the role of Time (Z 4, § 9), 'Time is a good helper and right orderer of both.'

contingent on him. He is *abun bun bunōmand*, without origin, yet himself the origin of all and the source of secondary causes. As Time his essence is duration; as Space he is the place of all creation without which creation would be impossible. He is the source of creation:[1] he is the Absolute: he 'was and shall be all'.[2] He 'is unageing, undying, without pain, uncorrupting and undecaying, free from aggression, and for ever and ever no one can violate him nor deprive him of his sovereignty in his proper sphere'.[3] This sphere is simply Being.

Zurvān, as Time and Space, is infinite; and nothing is infinite but he.[4] He is at the same time 'uncircumscribed in space and boundless in essence: and there is no other place or abode that is devoid of him'.[5] He is 'that without which nothing from the first is. Nothing can exist without him or separate from him. But in so far as he is infinite he cannot be understood'.[6] He cannot be comprehended by any intellect, so 'he cannot be comprehended by the intellect of God'.[7] Being infinite, his essence is incomprehensible even to himself; he cannot know himself since it is meaningless to say that he knows his infinite essence by an infinite intellect. 'If', the author of the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār* argues, it is said that 'his essence is infinite and that his intellect is infinite, and that with his infinite intellect he knows that he is infinite, that is false and doubly false. For one thing intellect can only be predicated of a thing that is within the scope of the intellect and comprehensible to it.'[8] Hence he is unknowable to created intellects, unknowable, too, to himself. Nothing in fact can be predicated of him as the Infinite except that he Is, that he is uncaused and the first cause of all that is.

Among the 'Magusaeans' or Magians who had emigrated into the Roman Empire this conception of the supreme god appears to be normal. Thus Philo of Byblus speaks of the god of Zoroaster as 'the first, the indestructible, eternal, unbegotten, without parts, without peer, the charioteer of all that is fair, who takes no bribe, the best of the good, the most prudent of the prudent'.[9] So, too, Cosmas of Jerusalem speaks of the supreme God of the Zoroastrian pantheon as being unseen and the source of all the gods.[10]

(*c*) *The Finite Zurvān*

It is not difficult to understand that such a conception of Time, once accepted, must have gravely affected the position of Ohrmazd as supreme

[1] Texts Z 14, 15, and 22.
[2] Text Z 16.
[3] Text Z 8, § 7.
[4] Text Z 23, § 53.
[5] Ibid., § 94.
[6] Ibid., §§ 102–4.
[7] Ibid., §§ 66–67.
[8] Ibid., §§ 106–8.
[9] *Apud* Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* i. 10. 52; v. Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, p. 157.
[10] Cosmas of Jerusalem, *Ad carmina S. Gregorii*, Migne, xxxviii, col. 461; v. Bidez–Cumont, op. laud. ii, pp. 272 ff.

being in the Mazdean system. Indeed, when the two appear in the same passage, one usually gains the impression that Ohrmazd is an intruder into a circle of ideas where he has no place. The author of the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār* saw this clearly; for if, as he himself says, there is nothing infinite except only Time and Space, what becomes of the godhead, Ohrmazd? The Infinite itself is beyond comprehension and therefore it is both futile to argue about it and unsettling to the uninstructed.[1] Further, he accepts the inevitable conclusion from his own premisses: Ohrmazd cannot be infinite.

> A totality, because it is encompassed on all sides, is called total. That which is encompassed on all sides, is necessarily finite. A God who is aware that he is encompassed on all sides, must be considered finite. If he were infinite, he would be unaware of it. The first knowledge of an intelligent being is precisely to know his own essence, quality, and quantity.[2]

Similarly he accepts the further conclusion that the finite cannot derive from the Infinite:

> The Infinite is not susceptible of division: for the part is divided from the whole, and totality implies limitation. . . . For I cannot conceive of the existence and quality of the source (cause) except by comparison and analogy with the result (effect). Whatever is perceptible in the result (effect) must certainly, in like manner, apply to the source (cause). Since it is to be perceived in the result (effect) that it is made and finite, it may without doubt be deduced that the source (cause) from which the result (effect) derives is also finite.[3]

He therefore flatly denies what is explicitly stated in the *Bundahišn* and the *Dēnkart*, namely, that finite Time was fashioned forth by Ohrmazd from Infinite Time.[4] Further, he diverges very far from the position normally adopted by the *Dēnkart*, namely, that Ohrmazd is co-eternal with Time.[5] The *Dēnkart* theology is plainly an attempt to reconcile the Mazdean and Zervanite positions. The extreme Mazdeans were quite content to accept the logic of their dualistic position, viz. that neither Ohrmazd nor Ahriman were infinite.[6] Zervanism, however, must have so influenced the State religion during the Sassanian period that the extreme Mazdean wing of the Zoroastrian community could no longer rid their religion of the

[1] Text Z 23, § 105.

[2] Ibid., §§ 71–75.

[3] Ibid., §§ 86–93.

[4] Texts Z 1, § 22; Z 2, § 3; Z 19; Z 20; Z 22.

[5] Text Z 15: 'Eternal are the Creator Ohrmazd and the Wisdom of Religion through whose power is goodness, and Space on which matter is (founded), and Time which is his eternity (totality).' Z 17: 'He who *has no origin*, the principle of good, the Creator Ohrmazd is omniscient, omnipotent, universal Lord.' Z 22: 'Time is the source of creation and the eternity (totality) of Ohrmazd.'

[6] Text Z 1, § 5: 'The Spirits (Ohrmazd and Ahriman) in themselves are finite . . . everything that is within the knowledge of Ohrmazd is finite.'

concept of the Infinite or Absolute entirely. By attempting to assimilate Ohrmazd to Infinite Time they arrived at the untenable position that the Good God was infinite but that Ahriman was a separate substance wholly independent of and violently opposed to him. It would be interesting to follow up the Mazdean theology further, but this cannot be undertaken in this work. It is the Zervanite position alone that interests us here.

The question the devotees of Infinite Time had to answer was, How does the Infinite become finite? Again we cannot say with certainty how precisely they solved this riddle because we have no purely Zervanite text that will enlighten us. Ohrmazd thrusts himself into the charmed circle and insistently meddles in matters which, we can be sure, were originally no concern of his. The story of the birth of the Cosmos as of a child we have already discussed:[1] and it would appear to be purely Zervanite, for it is extremely likely that in the *Greater Bundahišn*[2] Ohrmazd has supplanted Zurvān as 'father and mother of creation'. This, however, is the final result of what appears to have been a long process. For while the great majority of our sources speak of the Endless Light as being uncreate, our text Z 20 speaks of it as the result of a complicated process.

This process seems to have been somewhat as follows. We start with the Infinite, hypostasized as Time, Space, Wisdom, and Power. The Infinite, however, neither does nor knows:[3] it Is. Somehow or other by the power (*nērōk*) of Infinite Time God's Wisdom begins to know, apparently in the abstract and without any object of knowledge. From this 'knowing'—which, for lack of an object, can scarcely be described as knowing at all—arises the Aggressor, and this is not in accordance with the will of God. This unwelcome event then produces self-realization in the deity. As a result of the dual process—the knowing of God and the appearance of the Aggressor—God knows himself; 'the divine essence and properties' arrived at knowledge of their own 'ground' (*ōstām*). Knowledge then receives an object: Wisdom knows its 'ground', which is the divine substance itself, Zurvān-Time. This full self-knowledge would then be the essence of Ohrmazd whose 'knowledge is finite, that is, he knows the norm that exists between the two Spirits'.[4] Ahriman springs from the deity's unawareness of himself, Ohrmazd from his self-knowledge; for 'this much knowledge was necessary for the Creator's creative effort'.

This is surely a philosophical reinterpretation of the well-known myth of the generation of Ohrmazd and Ahriman from Time. Ahriman here

[1] *supra*, pp. 128 ff. and text Z 10.

[2] Text Z 1, § 39.

[3] The whole of this paragraph is based on texts Z 19 and Z 20. For the purposes of our argument we are omitting the role of Ohrmazd in the beginning of text Z 20 since he again appears to be superimposed on a Zervanite text.

[4] Text Z 1, § 5.

arises from God's ignorance of himself which, according to the *Šikand*, is a necessary consequence of infinity and therefore brings him to a full consciousness of his own essence which is the beginning of limitation. Then from Ohrmazd, the Creator, arise his Endless Light, his omniscience, and his omnipotence[1]—the tetrad of Ohrmazd. Through these he can proceed to the act of creation.

All this appears to have taken place in eternity, for the limitation of Time is coincident with the act of creation.[2] Rather perhaps it should be regarded as occurring in a sort of twilight between eternity and temporality, between 'being' and 'manifestation'.

The passage of Infinite Time into the finite is dealt with more simply since Ohrmazd has no rival role to play here. Finite Time and Action arise simultaneously since they are interdependent and limit each other. 'Their course proceeds from the first term to the last. Action, at its fulfilment, returns to its original state of rest: Time, when its full term has elapsed, returns to its source which is the Infinite.'[3] Space, too, is limited to form the raw material of the Cosmos: it is 'born' from the Infinite.[4] Finite Space is the 'matter' which later takes on 'form' at the Creator's hands.[5] Thus the fourfold God suffered limitation in order to form and direct the Cosmos. Infinite Time and Infinite Space are reduced to temporality and the limited universe; Wisdom is limited by finding an object of knowledge; and power (the potential) is transformed into action (the actual).

The limitation of Zurvān results in the separation of the component parts of the divine hypostases: the distinction between spiritual (intellectual or ideal, *mēnōk*) and material (*gētēh*), or of 'voluntary' (*kāmīk*) and 'natural' (*čihrīk*) becomes a reality. The relevant text in this connexion is our Z 10, and this has already been fully discussed.[6] Of the four hypostases Wisdom alone can be said to constitute the personality of Ohrmazd in finite Time: limited Time-Space is Zurvān of the long Dominion—matter existing and moving in finite time.

The genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman was brought about by the divine knowledge becoming aware of itself; and Ahriman seems to have proceeded from an intermediary state of incomplete knowledge, what Eznik in more everyday language describes as Zurvān's doubt. Thus when the deity finally achieves self-awareness, Ahriman already exists. This, then, is a purely intellectual affair; and Ohrmazd inherits the divine wisdom, while Ahriman inherits the unawareness (later *dušākāsīh* 'wrong knowledge',

[1] Here we have an exact parallel to the Manichaean tetrad—God, his light, wisdom, and power.

[2] Text Z 21.

[3] Text Z 19.

[4] *v. supra*, p. 112.

[5] On the first, second, and third 'forms' v. p. 142.

[6] *Supra*, p. 128.

pas-dānišnīh 'coming to knowledge too late', so, very suitably, in text Z 1, § 3). To judge from the Mazdean texts it would seem that Ohrmazd is also heir to the divine power. One *Dēnkart* text,[1] however, shows that this cannot have been so in the Zervanite system; for, though Ohrmazd is time and again referred to in the Pahlavī texts as being omnipotent, he is here characterized only by Wisdom and the Light of Wisdom, Ahriman by Lying Falsehood and the Darkness of Lying Falsehood. Will, *Power*, Effort, Means, Space, and Time are common to both.

Zurvān himself made finite is primarily the material Cosmos, the so-called 'Endless Form', animated, it is true, by the Spirit of the Power of the Word[2] which proceeds from Ohrmazd, but remaining essentially the material macrocosm and manifesting himself through the operation of fate. He is embodied in the Cosmos, but is also the law by which the Cosmos works. This law manifests itself in the treaty (*patmān*)[3] which Zurvān makes between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. He gives each of the protagonists their appropriate arms and settles the rules for the combat. His law favours neither good nor evil, 'The law (*dātastān*)[4] of Time' is simply to proceed 'from original infinity through limitation involving action, motion and passage, and finally to return back to ultimate infinity'.[5] Thus to him Ohrmazd and Ahriman have little relevance: his 'law' is immutable; finite Time must run its course and it must inevitably lead up to the *fraškart* when the good triumphs and evil is destroyed. For Zurvān of the long Dominion the *fraškart* is death and resurrection into the Infinite—a return to the original state of unawareness and rest.

He is the genius of *rāδēnītārīh* 'direction' or 'control', and he guides all things to their appointed end. With Vāy and Spihr (who are indeed identical with him[6]) he 'protects the creatures of Ohrmazd well and keeps them safe and leads them on to the time of the *fraškart*'.[7] This inexorable progress of Time to the appointed end in fact is far more effective in the defeat of Ahriman than any weapon that Ohrmazd can devise: against it he is powerless. An amusing passage in the *Pandnāmak*[8] appears to say that Ahriman attempts to turn Time backwards, an impossible feat, but one which does credit to the Evil One's instinct of self-preservation. Though

[1] Text Z 18 (*a*).

[2] Text Z 10; v. also p. 130.

[3] For the *patmān* v. *infra*, pp. 248 ff.

[4] Vāy, whose connexion with Zurvān is recognized, is also associated with *dātastān*: cf. text Z 11, § 5, where *dātastān* and *masdātastānīh* are continually used of Vāy.

[5] Text Z 20, § 2; cf. Z 1, § 24; Z 3, § 3.

[6] *Supra*, pp. 126–7.

[7] See note C, p. 247.

[8] Pn. 54 (PhlTexts, p. 49): *Ahriman 'ut 'dēvān . . . čēγōn-šān 'ēn daχšak 'apāčvirāδšnīh ⟨i⟩ zamān.*—'Ahriman and the demons . . . for their sign is to direct time backwards.' This translation is possible, but the syntax of the passage from which the fragment is abstracted is not clear to me.

the end and goal of the law of Time is perfectly clear, it is said to have periods of ascendancy and depression, presumably with reference to the good creation, though the sense of the relevant passage is not quite sure.[1]

The limitation of Time, as we have seen, is the prerequisite for creation of any sort. The Zervanites, arguing from human experience, concluded that Time is a necessary condition of any activity whatsoever: the Creator has need of it as much as man; for

> if God and all the Amahraspands and all material creatures were to come together, they could not bring one single grain of millet into existence without Time. . . . Religion can be taught through Time, and a trade can be taught through Time, and civilized behaviour can be taught through Time: through Time the vine and garden can be cultivated, and through Time do the trees grow, and through Time do they yield up fruit; and through Time can one practise one's trade: and all things in existence are perfected through Time. It cannot be said that there was a creator when Time did not exist. If anyone should say that the function of Time is the night and day, it must be known that there was a long period when day and night did not exist yet Time existed.[2]

Time, then, is as necessary to Ohrmazd, the Creator, as it is to Ahriman, for 'Time is a good helper and right orderer of both'.[3] Just as Ahriman is the Adversary and opposite of Ohrmazd, so is Āz the natural adversary and opponent of Zurvān of the long Dominion; for the latter represents the functioning of the natural law and Āz disturbs and upsets it.[4] We have already suggested that Āz is the personification of Zurvān's 'doubt' and 'desire' mentioned by Eznik; and although there is no suggestion in any Zoroastrian book that she is antecedent to Ahriman as she appears to be in the Manichaean system, the fact remains that the destruction of Āz is the last act in the cosmic drama: only after the annihilation of the power of disorder which she represents can the finite Cosmos be reabsorbed into the Infinite. Thus it is natural and fitting that the *Mēnōk i χrat* should ascribe the destruction of Āz to the Tetrad of Order—Zurvān, Mihr (who sees to it that the terms of the treaty are not infringed), the Genius of Order (*mēnōk i dātastān*), and Fate.[5]

The opposition existing between Zurvān and Āz has nothing to do with moral goodness. Zurvān is not good; he is the natural law which takes no cognizance of good or evil. He is 'dyed' with the colour of good and evil 'because the evil of the Aggressor comes upon creation from without to confound it'.[6] In fact the whole *raison d'être* of finite Time may be said to

[1] The passage in question is DkM. 57. 20 ff.

[2] PersRiv. Hormuzyār, ii, p. 75: p. 443 in the translation of Dhabhar. Cf. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube*, p. 278.

[3] Text Z 4, § 9.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 171 ff.

[5] Text Z 8, § 10.

[6] Text Z 12, § 5.

be to bring about the mixture of good and evil in which evil is bound to be finally annihilated.[1] This seems to be fairly clear from the two recorded instances in which Zurvān as a personal god interferes in the affairs of the Universe.

The first occasion is when he makes the treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman and hands the latter 'an implement (fashioned) from the very substance of darkness, mingled with the power of Zurvān, as it were a treaty'. This most sinister weapon could scarcely be put into the hands of Ahriman unless Zurvān himself willed the mixture of good and evil, though knowing at the same time that Āz (concupiscence) would, in the last resort, prove the undoing of the kingdom of darkness. It is a long-term plan with very unpleasant consequences for the powers of light in the earlier phases.

Zurvān's second intervention can also be explained along the same lines. This myth is told by both the *Bundahišn* and Zātspram:[2] Zurvān decrees that Gayōmart, the Righteous Man and first parent of the human race, shall live for thirty years after Ahriman has delivered his victorious attack on the material world. Neither the *Bundahišn* nor Zātspram attempt to explain this unique intervention of the personal god Zurvān in the affairs of the human race. Schaeder considered that the prolongation of Gayōmart's life was due to astrological reasons since Saturn had to rise to a prominent position in order to cause his death.[3] According to Widengren it is a case of Zurvān giving Ahriman a free hand.[4] If, however, we remember that Zurvān of the long Dominion is himself the macrocosm and Man the microcosm, the purpose of Zurvān's intervention can be readily explained. Gayōmart was the holiest of the creatures of Ohrmazd and his creation laid Ahriman low for three thousand years.[5] The defilement of the macrocosm, however, had already taken place; and since Man, the microcosm, is merely a small-scale replica of the macrocosm, his defilement forms part of a fixed plan the culmination of which is the annihilation of evil and disorder through mixture. The method by which Gayōmart was defiled has already been gone into in detail. By prolonging Gayōmart's life Zurvān makes possible the union of the Righteous Man and the Whore and so the propagation of the human race in the 'mixed state'. Man, then, like the macrocosm itself, is subjected to the attacks of concupiscence until the latter is finally laid low in the last days.

[1] Cf. particularly text Z 1, § 12: 'then Ohrmazd, in his omniscience, knew that if he did not fix a time for battle against him, then Ahriman could do unto his creation even as he had threatened; and the struggle and the mixture would be everlasting.'

[2] See note D, p. 247.

[3] *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 218. For the astrological interpretation of the passage v. Taqīzādeh, *Gāh-šumārī dar Irān i qadīm*, p. 332.

[4] Widengren, *Hochgottglaube*, p. 287.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 183–4.

(*d*) *The God of Death*

In all we have said so far much conjecture has had to be injected into the narrative to supplement the considerable *lacunae* which exist in our knowledge of this dispossessed god. It is, then, with some sense of relief that we turn to an aspect of this deity of which there can be no doubt. Zurvān is the god of death. There is a passage in the first chapter of the *Bundahišn*[1] which has already been amply treated by Nyberg and which he regarded, mistakenly I think, as a Pahlavī hymn in verse written in honour of Zurvān.[2] The very close resemblance of this passage to *Aogəmadaēčā*, § 57, and the fact that it is introduced by the phrase 'as it says in the Religion', the usual way of introducing a passage translated from the Avestan, seem to preclude any theory that this is an original Pahlavī verse. Be that as it may, this is what we read:

> Time is mightier than both creations,—the creation of Ohrmazd and that of the Destructive Spirit. Time understands action and order (the law, *dātastān*). Time understands more than those who understand. Time is better informed than the well informed; for through Time must the decision be made. By Time are houses overturned—doom is through Time—and things graven shattered. From it no single mortal man escapes, not though he fly above, not though he dig a pit below and settle therein, not though he hide beneath a well of cold waters.

Time is here, of course, finite Time as it affects man in his everyday life. It is no longer the incomprehensible abstraction speculation about which seemed so pointless to the author of the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār*; it is 'nearer to man than the jugular vein'. It is mightier than the creations of Ohrmazd and Ahriman because both are dependent on it for their existence. It understands action and order because action cannot be performed except in Time,[3] and Time is the Genius of Order. It is understanding because it knows the outcome of the battle which it has itself initiated.[4] It is well informed because it is the god of justice[5] and Mihr is its helper,[6] 'who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes'[7] and whose vigilance nothing escapes. The decision must be made through Time, for Time is the Lord of Destiny and predetermines all decisions.[8] Time overturns houses because it is the god of decay and death[9] and cannot be escaped. Time, in short, is the god of fate and death.

[1] Text Z 1, § 25.

[2] ZDMG. lxxxii, 1928, pp. 222–35; CCM. 1931, pp. 42 ff.

[3] Text Z 20, § 2, and Z 19: 'Ohrmazd, by his omniscient wisdom and the projection of his will, fashioned a limit for Time through action and for action through Time.'

[4] pp. 231–2.

[5] pp. 58 ff. and 229 ff.

[6] Cf. the tetrad of MX. 8. Mihr, the Genius of Order, Fate, and the Infinite Zurvān.

[7] Yt. 10 *passim*.

[8] Cf. the Tetrad of Fate, p. 230, and *infra*, Chapter X.

[9] *Supra*, pp. 219 ff. on Zarōqar and our immediately following remarks.

That Zurvān was from an early date regarded as the god of death seems proved by the following considerations. The later portion of the *Bundahišn* passage cited above is exactly paralleled in *Aogəmadaēčā*, § 57, where the subject is Astōvihāt, the demon proper of death. Nyberg was almost certainly right in regarding Zurvān as being the original subject of the *Aogəmadaēčā* verse. Astōvihāt, he argued, must have been a later substitution,[1] for here we are in the presence of a god—a fearful and dreaded god, but a god none the less—for language like this in no way befits one of the demons who may terrify but cannot inspire awe.

In the Avesta, too, the only positive information we can glean about the nature of Zurvān is that he made the path which leads to the Činvat bridge where the souls of men must face the judgement.[2]

> The demon . . . Vizarəša . . . after binding it, carries off the soul of . . . men whose life is short. (The soul) of wicked and righteous alike proceeds along the paths created by Zurvān to the Činvat Bridge created by Mazdāh (Ohrmazd).

Here Zurvān is quite clearly the god of death, and Nyberg may well be right in contrasting him here with Ohrmazd as the god of eternal life.[3]

In the Pahlavī books, too, we meet Zurvān as the god of death. We have already noticed that these books prefer to speak of Zurvān as Zamān (Time) except when he appears as a personal god. This apparent aversion to the name Zurvān may in many cases be dictated by deliberate policy on the part of the later Mazdeans, whose efforts to eliminate, disguise, and conceal the father of Ohrmazd and Ahriman have caused modern scholars and not least the present writer so much trouble. Alternatively it may be that the name Zurvān had come to be so closely associated with death that the translation *zamān* (time) was preferred in less sombre contexts; for on the face of it it seems remarkable that when Zurvān appears as death he not infrequently does so under his own name.

'For Zurvān there is no remedy. From death there is no escape',[4] we read in a Pahlavī text. Or again in the pleasant fable of Yavišt i Friyān and the Sorcerer Aχt: 'The seventh question he asked was this, "What is that thing which men would fain conceal, and which they cannot conceal?" Yavišt i Friyān said, "Mayst thou in life be in misery, thou accursed villain and heretic (*sāstār*), and mayst thou in death fall to hell; for that is Zurvān whom no one can conceal, for Zurvān reveals himself of his own accord." '[5]

In another passage the god of death appears simply as Time (*zamān*): 'As to him whose eye Time has sewn up, his back is seized upon and will never rise again; pain comes upon his heart so that it beats no more; his

[1] CCM. 1931, p. 45.
[2] Text A 1.
[3] Op. laud., pp. 122 ff.
[4] Text Z 25 (*b*).
[5] Text Z 25 (*a*).

hand is broken so that it grows no more, and his foot is broken so that it walks no more. The stars came upon him, and he goes not out another time: fate came upon him, and he cannot drive it off.'[1] Here Time appears most clearly as the god of death. Fate and the stars accompany him, and it is Time who closes the eyes of the dead. The picture of Time sewing up the eyes of the dead smacks of popular religion, and it is interesting to note that Firdausī has a couplet which is verbally almost identical with our passage, though the meaning is different. This serves as confirmation in detail of what even a casual reading of the *Šāhnāmeh* makes sufficiently plain, namely, that Firdausī's religion is Zervanite fatalism at its most depressing and pessimistic. It shows, too, that Firdausī must have been conversant with the more popular Pahlavī religious texts. 'You cannot drive off death from your body,' he says, 'no one can sew up the eye of Time with a needle.'[2] In the Pahlavī we have *zamān handōχt čašm*, in Firdausī *na čašm i zamān kas ba-sūzan bi-dūχt*: similarly in the Pahlavī one cannot *drive off* fate, and in Firdausī it is death that cannot be *driven off*. 'Drive off' is in each case *s(i)pōχtan*.

One last quotation will suffice to emphasize still further Zurvān's role as the god of death; and this is worth quoting if only as a parallel to any of the hundreds of passages in Firdausī which play on the same theme and which has served as a sombre *basso ostinato* to Persian poetry ever since. It is from the *Žāmāsp-nāmak*:

> Gayōmart was created by Ohrmazd; but when his time was come, Ahriman destroyed him. And again every one of the rulers who lived in former times could do nothing when Time came upon them—and especially Tahmōrup who rode Ahriman as his steed for thirty years; for when his time came, he could not preserve himself from death.[3]

If Tahmōrup, who performed the considerable feat of riding the Devil for thirty years, could not escape from death, the sinner would be foolish to hope for a better lot: 'in bodily form Time drives him back; and they cut off his head and show him the punishment of hell'.[4]

If, then, Zurvān is so markedly a god of death, it will be as such that he appears in the tetrad Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, Zurvān, in so far as this tetrad refers to the life of man. The tetrad will then preside over conception, birth, decline, and death. Zurvān in whom the three hypostases are

[1] Text Z 26 (*b*).

[2] ŠnV. i. 324. 147: *na marg az tan ī χʷīš bi-tvān sipūχt | na čašm ī zamān kas ba-sūzan bi-dūχt*. Cf. ibid. ii. 567. 815: *ču čašm ī zamāneh bi-dūzam ba-ganj | sazad gar sipihr-am na-dārad ba-ranj*.—'How should I close the eye of Time with treasure? It were right if the firmament kept me not in anxiety.'

[3] Text Z 26 (*a*).

[4] PhlRiv. 15. 7 (p. 41): *'ut-aš 'zamān tanōmandīhā 'apāč 'kunēt, 'ut-aš sar 'bē 'brīnēnd 'ut-aš pātufrāsi dōšaχᵛ 'bē nimāyēnd*.

summed up will then be the god of man's short span on earth, just as he *is* the span of the macrocosm's life in time. Thus, as Nyberg has already said, he is not only the inaccessible sky-god who controls an inexorable fate; he is the god of the earth too, of life and death, birth and decay, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. This conception seems to have passed into the Mithraic religion of the Roman Empire, for there we find Kronos-Zurvān called *frugifer*.[1] The same idea is present in the *Bundahišn*, where it is Spihr who is the body of Zurvān who dons the dark blue garment of the husbandmen[2] because 'its office is to rule the destinies of the world aright even as that of the husbandmen is to till the soil and to deliver up' its produce. From the Infinite, then, through the macrocosm Zurvān reaches down to man bringing him life and death and maybe an insubstantial resurrection.

(*e*) *The Testimony of Firdausī*

Before closing this chapter a few words must be said on a passage from Firdausī which appears to be of the greatest importance for our purpose, for it expounds views which seem to be an epitome of popular Zervanite doctrine and which thus supplements the evidence we have hitherto culled from the Pahlavī books and from the Armenian, Syriac, and Greek writers. Moreover, it presents us with a picture of the Time-God reigning in his own right: there is no mention of either Ohrmazd or Ahriman, and there is thus no overlarding with Mazdean ideas which has hitherto made it so arduous a task to sift what is genuinely Zervanite from Mazdean accretion, emendation, or falsification. The passage in full is reproduced as text F 13 in our second part.[3]

First, a word or two on the context of this little text. Zāl, the father of the great Iranian hero Rustam, is summoned by the king to appear before the *mōbads* or religious authorities to answer a series of questions on religious matters. He is in fact required to undergo an examination on his catechism. I am inclined to think that this is based on a Pahlavī version, for we have an extant example of this genre in the little Pahlavī text, the *Yavišt i Friyān*. Here the hero, Yavišt, is put through a similar examination on matters of religious general knowledge by the sorcerer, Aχt. The penalty of failure was to have been the razing of his city to the ground. Both stories belong to the 'religion of the people'; but Firdausī's is unquestionably

[1] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 10, p. 221, Reifferscheid; *apud* Cumont, MMM. ii, p. 58: 'inter deos videmus vestros leonis torvissimam faciem mero oblitam minio et nomine †frugiferio nuncupari'.

[2] Text Z 2, § 6.

[3] The section of the text which directly concerns Time was reproduced by I. F. Blue in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in Honour of . . . Sanjana*, p. 61.

Zervanite while the Yavišt story is not. This would be enough to explain the loss of the Pahlavī original if it existed.

Zāl is required to answer six questions put to him by the *mōbads*. They are as follows:

(i) What are those twelve noble cypresses which grow majestic and luxuriant, and each one shoots forth thirty boughs, and they neither wax nor wane?

(ii) Two horses, precious and fleet of foot, move forth, the one like unto a lake of pitch, and the other lustrous as white crystal: they move, and they both hurry on, but never do they catch each other up.

(iii) Thirty horsemen passing in review before the King,—one was lost: but if thou look aright, all thirty are back again when thou dost number them.

(iv) There is 'a meadow which thou dost see full of green herbs and streams. A man with a great sharp scythe stalks proudly towards the meadow; moist and dry together he mows down, and if thou make supplication, he hears thee not'.

(v) Two lofty cypresses (there are) growing like reeds in a billowy sea: a bird has his dwelling-place upon them; at eventide its seat is on the one and at dawn on the other. When it flies from the one, its foliage withers; it alights on the other and it gives out a scent of musk. Of these two one is ever fresh, but the foliage and fruit of the other are withered.

(vi) 'In a mountainous country I found a strong citadel. Wise men from that citadel chose on the plain a thorny place; they built buildings whose top reached to the Moon: some became servants and some leaders. They think no more of that citadel and no one speaks or makes mention of it. An earthquake arises on a sudden and their land and habitation completely disappear. Necessity brings them (back) to that citadel and brings them long forebodings.'

These are the questions with which Zāl is confronted; and here are his answers, all of which met with the approval of his examiners. The order of his answers does not correspond to that of the questions; but for convenience we will keep the same order in the summary of his answers which follows.

(i) The twelve cypresses each with thirty boughs. These are the twelve new moons in the year, and the thirty boughs the thirty days of the month, for 'such is the revolution of Time'.

(ii) The black horse and the white. Both are Time: they are night and day; they measure the time (*dam* 'breath') of the firmament.

(iii) The thirty horsemen one of which disappears and reappears. These are the days of the month; and the new moon is the one that disappears and reappears.

(iv) The man with a sharp scythe. 'This is the wood-cutter Time, and we are like the grass. Alike to him is the grandson, alike to him the grandsire: he takes

account of neither old nor young; whatever prey comes before him, he pursues. Such is the nature and composition of the world that save for death no mother bore a son. He enters in at one door and passes out through another: Time counts his every breath.'

(v) The two lofty cypresses in which a bird has its dwelling. These 'are the two arms of the lofty firmament through which we rejoice and (through which) we are grieved'. The bird is the Sun from which is fear and hope for the world.

(vi) The citadel and the thorny place. The citadel is 'the house of eternity' (*dirang*) and place of reckoning. The 'thorny place is this transitory abode which is at once pleasure and treasure and grief and pain. It counts the breath you breathe, it gives increase and carries it away. Wind and earthquake arise and raise grief and lamentation in the world. All our toiling remains in the thorny place: we must pass on to the citadel. Another will taste the fruits of our toil, but for him too they will not endure, and he too must pass on. So has it been from the beginning; so it is, and this will never grow old (change). If our riches are a good name, our soul will in the end be honoured. If we practise concupiscence (Āz) and twist and turn, (the result) will be manifest when we pass from life. Though our palace reach even unto Saturn, nought will remain for us but a winding-sheet. When brick and earth are heaped upon our face, everywhere is there fear and care and anguish.'

All the essential elements in the Zervanite scheme of things are present in this passage—the 'house of eternity' and 'this transitory abode', surely the Infinite and the finite Zurvān; day and night which are the Light and the Darkness, 'both' of which 'are Time'; the day, the month, and the year —the divisions of finite Time; the two arms of the firmament (*s(i)pihr*) which distribute joy and sorrow—the goodly and the evil Spihr; the wood-cutter Time—the god of death; and finally, as if obligingly to substantiate our thesis, the demon Āz. The whole passage revolves round Time in its multifarious and invariably sinister manifestations. Time, the firmament, fate, and death and the blank unknowable Infinite beyond—and everywhere fear and care and anguish: this, reduced to its simplest elements for simple minds, is the religion of the Great and Just God, Time.

This is not Arab-Muhammadan fatalism; it bears an unmistakably Iranian stamp, for Firdausī's background throughout his great national epic is, in religion as in the vast pageant of legend and history which he unfolds, through and through Iranian. The *mōbads are* the Zoroastrian clergy and Zāl *is* a Zoroastrian catechumen. Both are expressing the genuine religion of Time which the contemporary Zoroastrian Church had by now probably proscribed. Even the details correspond in places to the texts we have so laboriously essayed to analyse. Thus in Firdausī the 'house of eternity' is *sarāy-i dirang;* and in the Pahlavī sources the essence of Infinite Time is

described as *drang* 'duration':[1] 'the essence of Infinite Time is eternal duration, undivided into past and future; that of finite Time is transient duration, divided into future and past'.

Again, the 'two arms of the lofty firmament through which we rejoice and through which we are grieved' are the good and evil Spihr, the first of which bestows good things in abundance and the second of which begrudges them.[2] Similarly the concept of night and day which *are* Time bring to mind the two Spirits, the good and the evil, or rather the light and the darkness which preceded them and which proceeded from Time or Space.[3] This must almost certainly be a very ancient belief, and the story of the birth of Ohrmazd who is 'sweet-smelling and light' and Ahriman 'the dark and hideous' from Zurvān[4] is most naturally explained as an adaptation of an old nature myth to the Zervanite interpretation of the Gāθic passage Ys. 30. 3, where Ohrmazd and Ahriman are said to be twins. The myth, curiously enough, survives in Armenian popular belief, where we find Žuk or Žamanak (= Zurvān or Zamānak) represented as a white-haired old man who sits on a mountain holding two balls of thread in his hands, the one white and the other black.[5] These he rolls alternately down the mountain side, and while he rolls the one down, he draws the other up. The white and black balls of thread are the day and night. The survival of this idea in the Iranian national epic on the one hand and in Armenian folk-lore on the other seems adequate evidence that Damascius or his source Eudemus is right in suggesting that the genesis of light and darkness from Time is prior to the genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman.

In Firdausī again the days, the months, and the year all bring us back to the 'Time' passages in the *Bundahišn*, the *mēnōk i sāl* or Genius of the Year[6] and the correspondence between this and the cosmic year of twelve thousand years on the one hand and the firmament on the other with the twelve Signs of the Zodiac each with its thirty degrees.[7] Lastly there is the figure of 'the wood-cutter Time' whose identity with Zurvān as god of death is beyond all doubt, and the appearance of Āz-concupiscence singled out alone from among all the demons, the vices, and imperfections for dishonourable mention. Little or none of this can be coincidence. Firdausī is here giving us a succinct account of the religion of Time as it was once

[1] Texts Z 16 and 22. The use of NP. *dirang* in the sense of 'duration, eternity' is further proof that Firdausī was using Pahlavī material. In NP. the word ordinarily means 'delay'.

[2] Text Z 3, § 3.

[3] Text G 1 (Damascius on the authority of Eudemus of Rhodes).

[4] Text F 1, §§ 48, 49, and 55.

[5] Abeghian, *Der Armenische Volksglaube*, pp. 52–53; cf. I. F. Blue, op. cit., p. 72; Gray, *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, p. 127; Junker, *Aionvorstellung*, p. 178.

[6] *Supra*, p. 134.

[7] *Supra*, p. 144, n. E.

expounded in Īrān and in which Ohrmazd and Ahriman appear to have had no place.

Thus Firdausī's evidence corroborates much that we have discussed already and in some cases substantiates arguments we had not dared to press. Thus the impression that we have gained all along that Zurvān is originally a god concerned with matter and not with spirit seems to be borne out by Firdausī's hopeless testimony: for there is no word of heaven, redemption, release, of punishment for evil done or reward for good achieved. The best that can be offered is this: 'if our riches are a good name, our soul will in the end be honoured. If we practise concupiscence and twist and turn, the result will be manifest when we pass from life.' What a prospect! Yet even so he is not sure, for in what this 'honour' consists—whether it be an honourable estate in the 'house of eternity' or merely 'honour' from the lips of men as yet unborn—is left utterly obscure; and as to the concupiscent, their fate will be manifest when they are dead —yet we do not know to whom and where, 'for a veil is drawn over our ultimate lot'. And 'when brick and earth are heaped up on our face, everywhere is there fear and care and anguish'.

All that is known is that after our brief and miserable sojourn in this valley of tears we must pass on to the 'house of eternity' which, according to the *Dēnkart*, is the 'essence of infinite Time'. Here we can expect no ecstatic union with the One, no merging of the self into the Self as of a drop into the sea: all this seems foreign to this starkly stoic religion of unrewarded self-control. Man—who is the microcosm—will be swallowed up in the Infinite just as Zurvān of the long Dominion—the macrocosm—will return to the Infinite Zurvān, where motion finds eternal rest in an Infinite which neither understands nor is capable of being understood.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

A. According to Nyberg and Benveniste (MO. xxvi, p. 178) *maršōkara-* is connected with Arm. *ma(r)š* 'worn out'. The form *zarōqar* must be derived from an Av. **zarvō-kara* from the base *zarvan-* (Av. *zaurvan-*), just as we have *aršōkara-* from *aršan-*; cf. Benveniste, *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna*, p. 65. Nyberg's interpretation of these words supersedes the attempts of previous scholars (cf. Junker, *Wörter und Sachen*, xii, 1929, p. 156; Scheftelowitz, *Arch. für Relig.* xxviii, p. 236; Markwart, *Gāthā Uštavati*, p. 35). Wikander's identification (with metathesis) of *marša-* with Skt. *mrakṣa-* 'destruction' (*Vayu I*, p. 118) seems equally possible. Semantically there is little to choose between the two in our context.

B. *Supra*, p. 109. The Genius of Order (*dātastān*), moreover, is probably a description of Srōš who is called the 'Genius of the Mean' (*mēnōk i patmān*) in text Z 5 (*a*), § 44. For the intimate connexion of *patmān* and *dātastān* see *infra*, p. 249,

together with the appendix to Chapter X. Further, in the *Bahman Yašt* 7. 28, Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn actually appear together as the principal agents of the *fraškart*. I can quote no case of Rašn being identified with Fate, and consider that the *Mēnōk*, which is so very much preoccupied with the workings of fate, may have substituted the latter for the god of justice *par excellence* in this passage.

C. ZXA. 249. 16: *Vāy i aparkār i tarvēnītārtom 'hač 'an-ē dāmān, θiβāš i χ^{v}aδāt, Zurvān zamān ⟨i⟩ akanārak 'ut Zurvān zamān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy 'kē dāmān i Ōhrmazd hupānakīhā 'ut druvist-dārišnīhā 'ō fraškart zamān aδēnēnd.* The last word corresponds to MPT. *'dyn*-'herbeiführen' (Andreas–Henning, *MirMan.* ii): cf. DkM. 822. 22, *aδēnītār i driyōšān*; ibid. 470. 12, *aδēnēnd 'ō 'ān i yāvētānīk anākīh.*—'They lead them to eternal torment.' Cf. also Dd. 6. 4, where *aδēnd* seems to be haplography for *aδēnēnd*. Perhaps *aδēnītār* should be read in DkM. 797. 22 (*'DYNWT'L*) and 798. 2 (*'DYN'T'L*).

For Time as the genius of *rāδēnītārīh* 'direction' cf. text Z 13: 'Time which is the eternity of Ohrmazd, for it is the genius of *rāδēnītārīh*'; Z 18 (*b*), 'Matter is ruled by these six things, by Time, *Space, wisdom, power, means, and effort.'

D. GrBd. 68. 13 ff.: *'pat spihr i Gayō(k)mart paytāk 'būt 'ku 'andar aβigatīh 'pat kōχšišn ⟨i⟩ aχtarān ⟨'ut apāχtarān⟩ 30 'sāl zīvast; čēγōn guft Zamān 'pēš 'hač aβigat 'ku Gayō(k)mart ⟨i⟩ takīk 'ō 30 zimastān zīvandakīh 'ut χ^{v}atāyīh brēhēnīt.*—'In the horoscope of Gayōmart it was revealed that he would live for thirty years during the period of (Ahriman's) assault when the stars (and planets) strive together: for it is said that before the assault Time ordained that the valiant Gayōmart should live and rule for thirty winters.' Similarly Zs. 2. 19: *'ut-aš 'apar frēstīt Ast⟨ō⟩vihāt 'apāk 3000 uzvārtān yaskān i 'χ^{v}at 'hēnd vīmārīh i gōnak gōnak 'ku-š vīmārēnēnd 'ut margēnēnd Gayō(k)mart: 'ut-šān 'nē vindāt čārak. 'čē vičīr 'būt i brīnkar Zurvān 'pat bun 'andar 'āmatan i Ahriman 'ku 'apar 'ō 30 zimastān Gayō(k)mart i t⟨ak⟩īk 'ān i 'ǰān bōžišn frāč brēhēnom.*—'And Astōvihāt was sent against him together with three thousand chosen diseases, that is illnesses of different kinds, so that they should make Gayōmart ill and cause his death: but they could find no way of doing this. For such was the decision of Zurvān who fixes (all) decrees, "When Ahriman first enters (the creation of Ohrmazd), I decree that the life of the valiant Gayōmart shall be spared for thirty winters."'

CHAPTER X

THE LAW AND FATE

(*a*) *The Treaty and the Mean*

WE have already seen that Zurvān of the long Dominion manifests himself as order and fate. Before proceeding to the much written up subject of fate in the Zervanite religion we must say a few words on Zurvān, the Genius of Order (*mēnōk i rāδēnītārīh*).[1]

In the Pahlavī books Zurvān of the long Dominion, finite Time, is represented as being fashioned forth from Infinite Time: he is the fixed term set for the battle between Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and as such is described as *patmānak* or *patmān*,[2] 'a treaty' extending over 'nine thousand winters'.[3] 'Till it is completed no one can change it or make it different.'[4] This 'norm' of Time leads inevitably to the defeat of Ahriman and the final overthrow of Āz who is disorder; and Zurvān as finite Time thus leads the material world to the final rehabilitation at the *fraškart*.[5] This, then, is the 'norm'—creation—the progress of created things in time—and the rehabilitation of creation at the *fraškart*.[6] What happens—and however many successes Ahriman may gain—is immaterial: the *dātastān*, the 'order, proper function, or law' of Time, is simply to proceed 'from original infinity through limitation involving action, motion, and passage and finally to return back to ultimate infinity'.[7] In the interim period Time who helps *and directs* both good and evil equally,[8] is itself 'dyed' with the colour of good and evil;[9] and the evil in finite Time often seems to predominate. This is very much played down by the *Bundahišn*, but according to the Christian sources the practical rulership of the world in time is given to Ahriman.[10] This, however, makes no difference: the 'norm' of finite Time must lead up to the *fraškart*, and nothing that the powers of darkness can do can alter or prevent it. How they found a way of attacking this 'norm' itself we shall shortly have occasion to relate.

One passage from the *Dēnkart* deserves especial attention in this context, for it seems to show traces of the basic Zervanite doctrine found in the non-Zoroastrian sources, but heavily censored in the Pahlavī books—the

[1] Text Z 13.
[2] Text Z 1, § 13 etc.
[3] Text Z 8, § 9.
[4] Ibid.
[5] pp. 236 and 247 n. C.
[6] Cf. text Z 5 (*a*), § 21: *dām-dahišnīh, dēn-ravākīh, fraškart-kartārīh*, 'creating of creation, the progress of Religion, and the accomplishment of the *fraškart*'.
[7] Text Z 20, § 2.
[8] Text Z 4, § 9.
[9] Text Z 12, § 5.
[10] p. 69 *supra*.

doctrine of an essential defect in God himself, the doctrine of Zurvān's 'doubt'. The translation unfortunately is not completely certain, but the meaning seems to be clear. In this passage the author is discussing the interesting conception of Time being 'dyed' with the colour of good and evil. He goes on to say:

> From a single inconsistency *in potentia* by which there was a dissipation of energy in (the progress of) creation during the millennia (lit. times) between the original creation and the *fraškart*, proceeds the restoring(?) of the balance (which consists) in continuity leading up to the restoration of creation at the *fraškart*. This means the destruction of evil by the power of the good (accumulated) throughout the millennia (times).[1]

The 'single inconsistency *in potentia*' which is, I think, a faithful rendering of the Pahlavī original, seems to make no sense in the context of Mazdean dualism. Ohrmazd is by definition perfectly good, and therefore cannot be susceptible to any 'inconsistency' (*apattōkīh*) either potentially or actually. The *single* inconsistency, moreover, is so very reminiscent of Zurvān's '*single* reflection' from which, Šahristānī tells us, Ahriman arose[2] that we must interpret the *Dēnkart* text according to what we know from the non-Zoroastrian sources, particularly since the passage is of obvious Zervanite provenance.[3]

The progress of creation in time is characterized by 'dissipation of energy' (*viškīt-nērōkīhā*). The 'norm' then does not in any way preclude the existence of disorder during the period of the existence of the universe in Time. And here again we are up against a syncretization of ideas in the use of the term *patmān*, for this represents both the 'treaty' between Ohrmazd and Ahriman which is the agreement to fight for nine thousand years, hence the period itself which can be neither curtailed nor prolonged and which leads up inevitably to the *fraškart*; and the concept of the golden Mean between the two extremes of excess and deficiency.

The fusion and confusion of the two ideas can best be seen in a very curious and pleasing myth which is mentioned casually in the *Mēnōk i χrat* and the little treatise known as 'The Month of Fravartīn' and which has been transformed and elaborated in the *Dēnkart*. The latter passage does not hitherto seem to have attracted the attention of scholars, and the two other passages have therefore been incorrectly translated.[4] The myth as told by the *Mēnōk* must originally have referred to the treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. It relates how Ahriman made a direct assault on this inexorable weapon which resembled far more his own death-warrant

[1] Text Z 12, § 5.
[2] Text F 4, § 1.
[3] p. 125.
[4] Recently by Junker, *Aionvorstellung*, p. 140. So Messina in the parallel passage from Zn. 4. 21.

than a treaty in any ordinary sense of that word. His attempt to dispose of this awkward instrument is diverting in the extreme. The Evil One, impatient to do away with the thing once and for all, resorts to no subtlety, devises no cunning plan: he swallows it outright! This dreadful situation had to be retrieved by the good king Yam (Yima, J̌amšīd), who thus had the uncongenial task of retrieving the thing from the satanic maw.

The third benefit (derived) from Yam was this—that he brought back the material treaty (*patmān*) which had been swallowed by the accursed Ahriman of evil knowledge from his maw.[1]

We are indebted to the *Mēnōk* for this version of the story; for according to 'the Month of Fravartīn' and the *Dēnkart* the treaty was merely carried off to hell, while the *Aβyātkār i Žāmāspīk* ascribes its rape to the Seven Planets.[2] The *Dēnkart* has, as usual, taken the rough edges off the robust fable, and the loss of the *patmān* from the world is interpreted as the loss of the 'Mean', that is the sense of moderation in all things, and the consequent triumph of excess and deficiency. We will, however, quote the passage in full, since it illustrates the manner in which the two meanings of the word have been fused.

The usefulness of all actions and objects is through the mean: they are spoilt and invalidated by excess and deficiency. The mean is under the control of the innate wisdom (reason, *āsn-χrat*) of the Creator: among creatures it (remains) the mean. Lack of order (*yut-dātastān*) is specifically excess and deficiency, diabolical concupiscence (*varan*), the adversary of reason. Whenever divine reason triumphs over diabolical concupiscence among men, the mean and order (*dātastān*) are victorious, excess and deficiency are weakened and creation prospers. Among men the Creator Ohrmazd made reason supreme in the ruler so that he might vanquish concupiscence, that most rebellious Lie, thereby, and by energetic munificence and good government of men might arouse their reason after its extinction by concupiscence so that their minds might be open to reasonable advice and that order (*dātastān*) and the mean might be spread among them and that creation might be well governed.

Now before Yam came to power, reason was at a low ebb among rulers because the demons had carried it off and concupiscence was predominant. The mean which belongs to divine reason was so completely submerged in excess and deficiency which belong to diabolical concupiscence that men had become as beasts. Through debased(?) counsels which had been dropped into their ears and through the fearful prevalence of excess and deficiency among them they had become estranged from the mean in matters of conduct, food, alms, property, and other such activities. The world was disrupted. For since it is plain that once

[1] Mχ. 27. 15: *'ut sitīkar ('ēn sūt) 'ku patmān i gētēhīk i 'avē dušdānāk druvand (i Ahriman) ōpārt 'ēstāt, aš 'hač aškom 'apāč 'āβurt.* Skt. translation has correctly *gilitam āsīt* 'swallowed'.

[2] See note A, p. 261.

divine reason is withdrawn from men, diabolic concupiscence triumphs and the mean and order which are proper to reason disappear from the world, so does the injustice of excess and deficiency which are proper to concupiscence make its abode more completely with men, and the world becomes ruined and disrupted.

Yam came to power by the will and consent of the Creator. First he put an end to the sovereignty of the demons over men and rescued divine reason from diabolic concupiscence that has no path: and he devised a means of (saving) the mean which belongs to divine reason from the excess and deficiency of diabolical concupiscence so that there should be order (*vīrāδišn*), seemliness, and prosperity on earth. (This was to be achieved) by weakening the demons and depriving them of their sovereignty over men, by increasing once again divine reason, by the defeat of diabolic excess and deficiency, and by causing reason's mean and order (*dātastān*) to shine brightly through the defeat of excess and deficiency and the power of injustice in the world.

By the Creator's great supernatural power and glory ($\chi^{v}arr$) he was raised aloft in bodily form and descended into hell; and for thirteen winters he wandered in hell in the form of a demon, devising a weapon by which the demons might be vanquished and by which their sovereignty over men might be broken. By marvellous and subtle means he was conveyed up from the demons; and he smote and vanquished them by this very weapon and deprived them of their sovereignty over men and drove them far away. Thus was diabolic concupiscence deprived of its sway over men and the excess and deficiency of concupiscence lessened; and divine reason was increased among men, and the mean and order of reason made victorious in creation—for by these did the creation of Ohrmazd achieve immortality and by these was it restored. In a clear exposition of the function of Yam the religion says that he was raised from hell.[1]

In this myth the equation of *patmān* 'the mean' and *dātastān* 'order or the law' is interesting. In view of the nine thousand years period of finite Time being called the *patmān* between Ohrmazd and Ahriman and Zurvān's close association with 'order', it is tempting to attach the whole *patmān* ideology, whether it refers to the treaty or to the mean, to the Zervanite branch of Zoroastrianism. As the mean, however, the *patmān* idea has patently been lifted bodily out of Aristotle, as Menasce has already pointed out;[2] but despite this, this distinguished scholar maintains, the *patmān* 'sums up in one word the moral teaching of Mazdeanism'. This is certainly true of the third book of the *Dēnkart*, which is by far the most important as well as the most difficult Zoroastrian theological work that has survived; but the Aristotelian conception, nevertheless, is ill at ease in a dualistic system which contrasts sharply in pairs light and darkness, good and evil, wisdom and wrong knowledge. The doctrine of the mean

[1] DkM. 295. 7–297. 6. The text will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

[2] His edition of ŠGV., p. 30, where the principal references are given.

was, however, adopted with such whole-hearted enthusiasm by the Zoroastrians that they did not hesitate to claim it as something essentially Iranian, just as the Moslems were later to claim it as something typical of Islam.[1] 'Īrān has always commended the mean', the *Dēnkart* complacently remarks,[2] 'and censured excess and deficiency. In the Byzantine Empire the philosophers, in India the learned, and elsewhere the specialists have in general commended the man whose argument showed subtlety, but the Kingdom of Īrān has shown approval of the (truly) wise'. This is tribute indeed to the Philosopher of the West that not only has his leading ethical idea been absorbed into two Eastern religious systems, but that both should then claim it as distinctively their own. In favour of the Zoroastrians, however, it may be said that the theory of the *patmān* as the treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman limiting the conflict to nine thousand years, was specifically and typically Iranian. The *patmān* as the mean, however, must be an Aristotelian borrowing. In the Zoroastrian cosmology and eschatology the two ideas become confused. In the Zervanite tradition Zurvān of the long Dominion *is* in a sense the *patmān* since he is the battlefield in time and space between the two Spirits: as such he represents cosmic order and his proper adversary is therefore Āz who is cosmic disorder. The denouement in the *Mēnōk i χrat*, then, where the Tetrad of Order finally destroys Āz seems to be genuinely Zervanite; and the whole myth can be reconstructed as follows.

In its infinite repose the deity merely *is*. Its partial self-awakening produces a 'single inconsistency'[3] or 'doubt': this inconsistency brings to light something disorderly within the godhead and this is called in the Zoroastrian texts Āz. The inconsistency gives rise to Ahriman; and the genesis of this apparently separate principle produces full self-realization in the deity and hence Ohrmazd as the 'knower'. This, then, is the full 'manifestation' of the potentiality of the infinite God. The 'inconsistency' then manifests itself in the irreconcilable duality of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, good and evil, light and darkness, wisdom and wrong-mindedness: the unity of the godhead is split and must be restored. To achieve this the supreme deity limits himself as finite Space and Time which are governed by the natural law (*dātastān, patmān*). Finite Space and Time are the material Cosmos, the 'first form',[4] the macrocosm. Like the microcosm it is subject to the attacks

[1] I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, pp. 397–400 (cited by Menasce, l.c.).

[2] DkM. 429. 11: *ērān hamē patmān stāyast, frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt nikōhīt. 'pat hrōm fīlāsō(k)fāy 'ut 'pat hindūkān dānāk 'ut 'pat apārīk *gyāk šnāsak 'ān apērtar stāyast 'kē gōβišn nēzumānīh 'hač-išān paytākīhast, fražānakān [i] ērān šaθr passandīt 'ēstāt.* For *nēzumānīh* see the appendix to this chapter.

[3] p. 249.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 141–3.

of disorder, but these are in the end powerless to prevent the emergence of the 'last body' (*tan i pasēn*) which is perfect, at the *fraškart* which is the achievement of the good.[1] The whole process is the story of the rehabilitation of an infinite God whom the process of 'manifestation' reveals as imperfect. The *patmān* (or *dātastān*) in this context is the power of order through which this rehabilitation is achieved: it leads up to the 'last' or 'final body', that is the macrocosm made perfect and the *fraškart*, the culminating point of the process through which it is made perfect. The 'final body' is then reabsorbed into the Infinite whence it originally proceeded.

All this is quite foreign to the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean; and in Zātspram's account of the *fraškart* it looks suspiciously as if he only identifies Āz with 'excess and deficiency' as an afterthought, since his whole treatment of the subject shows that for him Āz meant 'concupiscence' as manifested in eating, sexual intercourse, and the desire to possess—not in an excess or deficiency of any of these.[2] It is a little puzzling, then, that Zātspram agrees with the *Bundahišn* and the Pahlavī *Rivāyat* in attributing the overthrow of Āz exclusively to Srōš and not to the Zervanite Tetrad of Order as in the *Mēnōk*.

Interesting as it would be to pursue the doctrine of the mean in the purely Mazdean texts, this is scarcely the place to do so. Moreover, Fr. de Menasce has indicated that he will shortly be producing a study on this subject,[3] and this onerous task we gladly leave in his very much more capable hands. One point, however, must be made. The *patmān* is regularly associated with 'reason' (*χrat*) and 'the religion' (*dēn*) and is consequently contrasted with *Varan* (concupiscence defined as excess and deficiency).[4] This seems to be a purely Mazdean–Aristotelian idea and originally quite independent of the *patmān* applied to Zurvān of the long Dominion by the *Bundahišn* and the *Mēnōk*.[5] Here the mean is seen to belong to the intellectual-spiritual order of phenomena in which Zurvān and his myths play no essential part. The *patmān*, being the opponent of Āz, is similarly divided between the spiritual-voluntary (*mēnōk-kāmīk*) and material-natural (*gētēh-čihrīk*): in the first context it is of the very substance of Ohrmazd, in the second it is the law (*dātastān*) of the finite Zurvān. In both aspects Āz is the force which upsets the ideal equilibrium.[6]

[1] This interpretation preserves the meaning 'excellent' which Kent rightly attributes to OP. *fraša-*, *supra*, p. 222.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 177 ff.

[3] His edition of ŠGV., p. 30.

[4] Cf. the passage quoted above, pp. 250–1, and references *apud* Menasce, l.c.

[5] *Supra*, p. 248.

[6] *Supra*, pp. 171 ff.

(*b*) *Fate*

We have tried to show that Zurvān of the long Dominion, finite Time, the *patmān*, 'treaty' or 'norm' which regulates the cosmic battle between good and evil, is an inevitable process which culminates in the elimination of evil which is an 'inconsistency' in Being itself, and in the return of the finite to the unknowable Infinite. So, too, do the dealings of Zurvān of the long Dominion bear an impress of finality in relation to the microcosm, Man. In this world he manifests himself as fate.

We began our analysis of the Zervanite religion with a discussion of the myth of the Father of Good and Evil preserved by the Armenian Christian polemist, Eznik of Kołb: and now that the end of our investigation is in sight, it is to him that we again return. 'When nothing at all existed,' our faithful friend informs us, 'neither the heavens nor the earth, . . . there was one, Zurvān by name, which, being interpreted, is fate (*baχt*) or fortune (*p'arkʻ*).'[1]

Hitherto it has been our ungrateful task to seek to reconcile our non-Zoroastrian sources with the testimony of the Pahlavī books. To this treatment both parties proved exceedingly recalcitrant. In the matter of fate, however, the two traditions completely agree. On the non-Zoroastrian side, besides Eznik, Theodore of Mopsuestia bears witness that Zurvān was called τύχη[2] and Theodore Abû Qurra speaks of him as *baχt*,[3] using the Persian word for fate which we know well from the Pahlavī books. Here, too, we find in the *Mēnōk i χrat* that Zurvān is explicitly identified with fate: 'Know', says the Spirit of Wisdom to the wise man, 'that the whole world proceeds in accordance with the decree and the (decisive) moment and the fixed decision which are indeed Zurvān, the King and Lord of the long Dominion.'[4] This we may, with Nyberg, call the Tetrad of Fate.[5] Similarly, Fate appears as a member of the Tetrad of Order by which, in the version of the *Mēnōk*, evil and disorder (Āz) are finally destroyed.[6] Both the Zoroastrian and the external sources, then, fully agree that Zurvān is the god of fate.[7]

From what we have already learnt from the nature and operation of Zurvān it is clear that fate is dispensed by Spihr, the firmament, and by the twelve Signs of the Zodiac in particular. 'All good things' were entrusted 'to Mihr (the Sun) and the Moon and the twelve Signs of the

[1] Text F 1, §§ 3–8.
[2] *Apud* Photius, text G 2.
[3] Text F 2.
[4] Text Z 27, §§ 4–5.
[5] Nyberg, CCM. 1931, p. 108; *supra*, pp. 229 ff.
[6] Cf. pp. 229 and 246 n. B.
[7] Cf. also text Z 1, § 25, and *supra*, pp. 239–42.

Zodiac',[1] and it is the office of the firmament 'to rule the destinies of the world aright'.[2] As such it is King, the *gēhān-baχtār* 'disposer of the world'[3] and of all things the most powerful.[4]

The fact that the firmament dispenses good and bad fortune alike owing to the maleficent operations of the planets has already been noticed;[5] and we suggested that the indifferent dispensation of good and bad fortune by an indifferent firmament containing the Signs of the Zodiac and the planets alike was in all probability the Zervanite version, and that the theory of the diversion of good fortune by the planets to improper purposes and improper objects might be regarded as a Mazdean conception. The result on earth of either is precisely the same: the earthly lot of man is predetermined by the operations of the celestial sphere; and from this there is no escape.

As we have already suggested, the vital distinction between the Zervanite and Mazdean points of view is not the role which either party may or may not assign to the planets, but the province of human activity which they deem to be absolutely subject to the dictates of fate. This was a very live issue in the Zoroastrian Church as it was later to be in Islam. Orthodoxy in the latter case was bound, in obedience to the whole tenor of the Qur'ān and the even more uncompromising attitude of the Tradition, finally to come down on the side of predestination. In Zoroastrianism, however, positing as it does two distinct and separate principles, orthodoxy could only opt for free will, the liberty of man to choose between the two alternatives. It was only when this distinction became to some extent blurred, as it did in Zervanism in which the God of Time was elevated to the supreme position in the pantheon, that predestination could insinuate itself into the Iranian creed.

The Mazdean view is clear enough: fate and effort on man's part each have their proper part to play. They should work together and in harmony as body and soul. 'Fate and action together are like body and soul (*ǰān*). For the body without the soul is a useless carcass, and the soul without the body an impalpable wind. But when they are fused together, they are powerful and exceedingly beneficial.'[6] The golden mean between fate and purposeful action must be found; for the man who puts his trust exclusively in fate 'makes himself contemptible', and he who 'continually exerts

[1] Text Z 28 (*a*), § 3. Cf. ŠGV. 4. 8: *spihir ǰā i bayą i nāki baχtārą kəšą har nāki baχtārī ažaš hamā baχšəñd rāstihā.*—'The firmament is the place of the "gods" (i.e. the luminaries) who bestow good things, for they ever bestow righteously all manner of good things.'

[2] Text Z 2, § 6; cf. Z 3, § 3.

[3] Text Z 24 (*b*) Zurvān of the long Dominion shares the epithet of 'king' (*pātuχsāy*) with Spihr (text Z 27, cf. ZXA. 221. 61).

[4] Text Z 24 (*a*), § 3.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 161 ff.

[6] Text Z 33 (*a*).

himself and makes efforts and denies fate and destiny, is a fool and puffed up with pride. . . . Fate and effort are like two bales of a traveller's baggage on the back of a mule. If one of them is heavier and the other lighter, the load falls to the ground, and the back of the mule is broken, and the traveller suffers embarrassment and does not reach his destination. But if both bales are equal, the traveller does not need to worry, the mule is comfortable, and both arrive at their destination'.[1] Fate is regarded as the cause; man's effort as the occasion for what happens to him.[2]

In reality there is no conflict between the two: each has its appointed sphere and these spheres do not overlap. Fate controls material existence only. Man's spiritual destiny is in his own hands. Yet even on the material side man may acquire what has been allotted to him by fate earlier than the allotted date if he makes efforts towards that end: and what is allotted can be taken away on account of his sins. Similarly by righteous effort he can avert evil that was destined to overtake him. He cannot, however, acquire anything that has not been allotted to him.[3]

This appears to be a modification of the doctrine of *baχt* 'fate' and *bayō-baχt* 'special dispensation' outlined in the *Mēnōk i χrat*,[4] although the passage just quoted leaves very much more scope for human initiative than that semi-Zervanite text is prepared to concede. Fate, according to this text, is what is determined from the beginning, *bayō-baχt* what is determined afterwards. This, however, is a dispensation which the gods only make use of on rare occasions, since Ahriman makes it an excuse to rob the good of wealth and to bestow it on the wicked.

The Mazdeans, with their passion for classification, parcelled up the whole of human activity into five categories—fate, action or effort, nature or habit (*hōk*), character (*gōhr*), and heredity (*aparmānd*).[5] Fate is responsible for life, wife, children, sovereignty, and riches only. Salvation and damnation together with the membership of the three castes are ascribed to effort. Eating, walking, sexual intercourse, sleeping, and excretion are the province of nature; worthiness, friendship, goodness, generosity, and rectitude of character; and intelligence, understanding, body, stature, and appearance of heredity. The role of fate, then, is narrowly restricted to one's existence, one's family, one's social status and income. Salvation and damnation are wholly outside its power: these are the province of man's free will, and he alone is responsible. At the same time it is admitted that all men are not born alike, for the virtues are inborn; they are part of

[1] Text Z 33 (*b*).
[2] Text Z 33 (*a*).
[3] Text Z 34 (*a*).
[4] Text Z 32.
[5] Text Z 35 (*a*) and (*b*). These categories reappear in Ghazzālī's *Naṣīḥatu'l-Mulūk* (text Z 35 (*c*)) as *qaẓā va qadar* (fate), *jahd* (effort), *tab'* (nature = *gōhr* 'character'), and *mīrāṯ* (heredity = *aparmānd*).

man's character or 'substance' (*gōhr*). In addition there are the inherited qualities which further increase the initial inequality between men. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that these initial handicaps were not allowed for in Mazdean theology, for man's eternal destiny rests squarely in his own hands. By his actions he and he alone can attain to salvation or fall by the wayside. One phrase in the Pahlavī texts explicitly warns against the dangers of fatalism and man's inveterate habit of attributing to a higher power the sins which are peculiarly his own *ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis*. 'Sloth', this text succinctly and pertinently warns, 'is to be attributed to action, not to fate.'[1]

One passage in the *Dēnkart* goes even further in circumscribing the role of fate and in stressing man's responsibility for his actions. Starting by saying that fate controls only material things while man's actions determine the spiritual, the text goes on to say categorically that 'the spiritual salvation of man must be sought principally by his own efforts'. 'When he desires (something) and makes an effort (to get it), he will certainly get it.' Purely material affairs are best left to the will of the gods; but 'abstention (from action) is injurious to the soul; (yet) to the man who cultivates the soul and makes an effort (on its behalf), material riches are added'.[2]

The Mazdean view, then, is pellucidly clear. Fate can only influence man's material estate: it has no jurisdiction over the spiritual. Here man is a free agent; he has the awful freedom of choice between good and evil; he is the master of the ship of his own salvation.

The Zervanite doctrine, presented with varying degrees of rigour, is chiefly preserved in the *Mēnōk i χrat*. Here fate is introduced as 'Lord' or 'King' (*pātuχšāy*) over all persons and things.[3] However, in the twenty-second chapter[4] it seems that this kingship extends only over material factors. Good things which have not been fated cannot be acquired; but if fated, they always come if an effort is made. 'Effort, if it is not favoured by Time, is fruitless on earth, but later, in the spiritual world, it comes to our aid and increases in the balance.' There is here practically no divergence from Mazdean orthodoxy. It is the more surprising, then, to find in the following chapter a view expressed which seems to contradict all this.

> Though (one be armed) with the valour and strength of wisdom and knowledge, yet it is not possible to strive against fate. For once a thing is fated and comes true, whether for good or the reverse, the wise man goes astray in his work, and the man of wrong knowledge becomes clever in his work; the coward

[1] PhlTexts, p. 74, § 4: *ašgahānīh baχt 'nē, 'bē kunišn rāδ āmārēnīt*. Though some of the MSS. read *rāδ* in place of *'nē*, the context leaves us in no doubt as to which reading is to be preferred.

[2] Text Z 34 (*b*).

[3] Text Z 29.

[4] Text Z 30.

becomes brave, and the brave cowardly; the energetic man becomes a sluggard and the sluggard energetic. For for everything that has been fated a fit occasion arises which sweeps away all other things.[1]

Similarly and even more uncompromisingly in a later chapter of the same work:

When fate helps a slothful, wrong-minded, and evil man, his sloth becomes like energy, and his wrong-mindedness like wisdom, and his evil like good: and when fate opposes the wise, decent, and good man, his wisdom is turned to unwisdom and foolishness, his decency to wrong-mindedness; and his knowledge, manliness, and decency appear of no account.[2]

This is a long way indeed from the orthodox position: for while it is not expressly stated that fate can deprive one of salvation, it is said that it can alter one's entire character. It is not perhaps entirely incompatible with the Mazdean position to concede to fate a power to turn wrong-mindedness to wisdom and evil to good, since these belong to the spheres of 'heredity' and 'character' respectively, not to that of 'action';[3] but to admit that fate can convert sloth into energy flatly contradicts the text from the *Dēnkart* which we quoted above.[4] Energy (*tuχšākīh*) is the very source and fountain-head of action, the quality by which salvation can be won, and in which, for the Mazdean, fate should have no part. To extend the empire of fate into this province is to deprive man of any power over his own spiritual destiny; and this, it appears, is what Zervanism did. The reason is not very far to seek: for if the goal of the universe is simply the reabsorption of the finite into the Infinite and if, as the Mazdeans and Zervanites agreed, hell is only temporary and comes to an end at the termination of the cosmic cycle,[5] it follows that right conduct on earth can have little intrinsic importance. What fate decrees must be: it is useless to contend with it, since the same engulfment in the same abyss must be the lot of all creation. Like the Supreme Being of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* Zurvān devours his own.

We have seen that in both the Zervanite and Mazdean traditions man's material condition, his social status, and his income are especially the province of fate. According to the Syriac *Acts of Āδur-Hormizd* this fate which conditions one's station in this world is carried on into the next. A Magian high priest is made to say:

In our Avesta it is clearly recognized that whosoever enjoys fame and honour in this world, will also be exalted, honoured, and sublime at the raising of the dead; and whosoever is wretched and lowly in this world will be just as wretched in the world to come.[6]

[1] Text Z 31 (*a*).
[2] Text Z 31 (*b*).
[3] *Supra*, p. 256.
[4] p. 257, n. 2.
[5] See note B, p. 261.
[6] Text F 5.

This doctrine seems so very shocking to the Western mind that one is at first disposed to discount the evidence and to pass it off as *odium theologicum*. Once again, however, Zātspram preserves a doctrine which is sufficiently close to the Syriac account to vindicate the latter's reliability. The passage is of sufficient importance to merit quotation in full.

In the 'Books of the Antagonists' it is demonstrated by analogy that if a man shows aptitude in a particular sphere of action, master craft, enterprise, or occupation here on earth, and is elevated to the rank of priest on the grounds of his intrinsic rectitude which ennobles gain, then the same kind of knowledge, master craft, enterprise, or occupation will accompany his soul, and his condition in the other world (*mēnōk*) will be analogous. Thus because Yam held fear, poverty, and need in check, his soul is worshipped and invoked in order to repel fear which was created by the demons and seeks out need, and need (itself) which moves in secret. So also because Frētōn bound Až i Dahāk, he is invoked to repel the violence of those who behave like Až i Dahāk. And because Guršāsp smote down highwaymen and robbers, he is invoked to repel the violence of those who behave like robbers.[1]

The difference between Zātspram and Āδur-Hormizd seems to be that whereas the latter regards the extension of one's earthly rank into the next world as automatic, the former implies that high rank attained on earth and so extended in heaven is the result of merit. In this he follows the texts quoted by us as Z 35 according to which membership of the three castes of priesthood, warriorhood, and the husbandmen, as well as salvation and damnation, are assigned to the province of 'action' or 'effort', not to fate or heredity. Yet, according to the 'Epistle of Tansar',[2] membership of the castes was practically closed to new-comers, and aspiring candidates had to be approved by the King himself. There seems to be no explanation of this anomaly except perhaps a crude presumption on the part of the Sassanian ruling classes that the privileges enjoyed by them on earth should, and therefore would, be maintained in the next world. This seems to be borne out by what Āδur-Hormizd goes on to say. 'Just as a man has honour in the sight of the great King, . . . so has he honour in heaven in the sight of Ohrmazd the Lord.' And this pernicious doctrine is again faithfully echoed by Zātspram:

It is said, 'O Frašōštar, thou shalt acquire generosity there—for thou shalt practise generosity in heaven. Just as on earth thou wast the court councillor of Vištāsp, so wilt thou be court councillor in the other world (*mēnōkīk*)—this is revealed in the Religion'. The other (offices) too are after the same way and manner. Thus whoever causes water to flow on earth, will be a maker of rain in the other world.[3]

[1] Zs. 32: text in the appendix at the end of the chapter.

[2] Mīnovī, p. 13; cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., p. 320.

[3] Zs. 33: text in the appendix at the end of the chapter.

Again Zātspram does not state the corollary of this doctrine, namely, that those whose misfortune it is to be impecunious and unprivileged on earth will suffer under the same disadvantages in the next world. This, however, is implicit in his use of the neutral words *kunišn* (which I have here translated 'sphere of action') and *χᵛēškārīh* ('occupation'—'own-work'[1]), the inference being that one's earthly estate, whatever it is, is continued in the next world. If Frašōštar, who was a court councillor on earth, can expect to hold the same position in heaven, the same rule may be assumed to apply to the crossing-sweeper and the boot-black. The unforgivable sin is to leave one's earthly master displeased. 'Of all these he is the worst who dies and leaves his ruler displeased. Whosoever leaves his ruler displeased, will have no place in the bright heaven.'[2] The text from which this quotation is drawn can be taken as being Zervanite, since it mentions Zurvān by name a line earlier. It fits in nicely with what we have learnt from Āδur-Hormizd and Zātspram. The social hierarchy stratified and heavily buttressed by the official Church is sacrosanct since it is reproduced and perpetuated in the next world. Of that supernal society it may be said to be a reflection. Any attempt to interfere with it must then be an unpardonable sin.

Thus while working from entirely different premisses we were able to deduce that Zurvān could manifest himself as a Tetrad of Social Order, we here find that not only is the Zoroastrian social order perpetuated in heaven but that the least offence committed against one's superiors in the social hierarchy is punished by the loss of eternal felicity. Without going so far as to argue from this that Zervanism was even more closely wedded to the State than its Mazdean rival, we can at least say that the idea of an immutable social hierarchy perpetuated in the next world fits very conveniently into the pattern of Zervanite fatalism.

And here again we come back to our old theory that Zurvān, at least so far as he is manifested to this world, is a god of matter, of physical nature and physical well-being and its opposite. He is concerned with neither good and evil, right and wrong, salvation and damnation, rewards and punishments, nor with moral values, nor with the destiny of the soul. Thus in the texts which accept him as a powerful force on earth we find a fatalism which leaves no room for the exercise of a free choice since he can at will alter and pervert the whole character of a man and deprive him of that initiative by which alone he can make a choice. It is no accident that both he[3] and the firmament[4] and fate itself[5] are called *pātuχšāy*, the King, while

[1] *Supra*, pp. 173 ff.
[2] Text Z 25 (*b*).
[3] Text Z 27.
[4] Text Z 24 (*b*).
[5] Text Z 29, § 5.

Ohrmazd appears only as the priest in passages which show a Zervanite origin.[1] Just as the Sassanian kings on earth were absolute rulers with the three castes wholly subordinated to them, so, we may suppose, was Zurvān–Fate absolute monarch ruling absolutely and by his kingly fate the destiny of the Cosmos which again is himself. The struggle between Ohrmazd and Ahriman in the material world and its counterpart, the struggle between good and evil in individual men, is basically a matter which concerns him not at all. Though some inherent defect in his own nature engendered evil, it is powerless to harm him,[2] and the whole regrettable incident is easily disposed of by the device of the limitation of the Infinite by which the evil is localized and thus destroyed. Man, then, is merely a cog in the wheel of fate whose operations must inevitably lead to the annihilation of disorder which sprang from a defect in the divine substance. As such it can be assumed that he will share in the final apotheosis when the finite is merged again into the Infinite where there is no room for duality and where man *qua* man will cease to be.

Order—Law—Fate—and King: so is the Great God made manifest to man. Here there is no hint of salvation, no trace of the Saviour-God in manifold disguise whose diverse operations constitute the hope and the fascination of the Gnostic systems and the kernel of Manichaean belief: there is only the unknowable Infinite made finite as the material Cosmos, Law and Fate. And his Law is to return to whence he came; for he 'was and shall be all'.[3]

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

A. *Māh i Fravartīn* § 10. (PhlTexts, p. 103): *'māh fravartīn 'rōč i Hurdāt Yam patmānak 'hač dōšaχᵛ 'bē 'āβurt 'ut 'andar gēhān 'ō paytākīh mat.*—'In the month of Fravartīn on the day of Hurdāt Yam brought the *patmān* from hell; and it was manifested in the world.' Cf. Zn. 4. 21 (Messina): *ut-aš patmān hač avēšān apāč stat.*—'And he (Yam) took the *patmān* away from them (the planets).'

The Mandaeans have preserved a similar and equally entertaining myth concerning Hibil Zīwā's descent into the infernal regions. In the nethermost hell he is confronted by one Krūn, 'der grosse Fleischberg', who swallows him. Hibil, however, was encased in a sheath of swords and other sharp weapons with which he sliced up his entrails, liver, and kidneys. In return for this rough treatment Krūn was forced to give him the passport he required to take him up out of the infernal regions. v. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 157.

B. Sinners are released from hell at the time of the *fraškart*. On this point all the sources agree. Thus Mānuščihr (Dd. 40. 4), who may be taken as the classical exponent of Mazdean doctrine, says: *'ut-aš 'pat 'avēšān yazat-virravišn 'andar 'ān*

[1] Text Z 2, § 4; Z 11 and 12.

[2] Text Z 37, § 24: 'What pain or pleasure has Time from the evil of Ahriman or the goodness of Ohrmazd?'

[3] Text Z 16.

i vattom aχᵛān anākīh 'hast 'tāk 'ān i aβdom aχᵛān vartišn 'kaδ fraškart 'pat kāmak 'andar aχᵛān 'dahīhēt.—'According to their godly doctrine they (the damned) suffer torment in the worst abodes until the coming of the last things when the *fraškart* is produced in the worlds according to (their) desire.' Zātspram too, who may be presumed to reflect the Zervanite point of view, says that the damned are sent back to hell at the *fraškart* for only three days. Zs. 35. 44: *'pat dušmat dušhūχt dušhuvaršt 'ō dōšaχᵛ 'šavēnd 3 rōčak-šapān.*—'For their evil thoughts, words and deeds they go to hell for three days and nights.' Later they are brought out of hell by Airyaman. Ibid. 35. 49: *'pat ham 'zamān [i] Airyaman hamāk druvandān 'apar 'āβarēt.*—'At the same time Airyaman raises up all the damned.' Again the *Dēnkart* (M. 286. 18 ff.) is quite explicit: *'hač dōšaχᵛ 'ul 'nīt, 'pat mēnōk yōšdāsrgarān šōδišn 'hač vinās ⟨vi⟩zand pākēnīt, 'ut-aš ham-gōhr patmōk tan i pākēnītak 'hač aβigat ālūtakīh nōk 'apāč *patmōχt, 'ut yāvētān aviškann(?) purr-urvāhm vīnārt.*—'They are led out of hell and are purified from the harmfulness of sin by the cleansing of the spiritual purifiers; and their body, purified from the defilement of the Aggressor, is again clothed in a garment of the same substance, and they enjoy perfect bliss eternally and without interruption.'

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X

DkM. 295.7–297.6. (translation pp. 250–1 of this book):

*'ēt 'har kār 'čiš sūtōmandīh 'pat patmān, 'ut-aš 'hač frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt tapāhīh *akārīh. 'ut patmān vīnārišn 'pat āsn-χrat i dātār, 'andar dahišnān patmān. yut-dātastān 'nām*čišt frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt 'dēvīk varan āsn-χrat pityārak. 'ut hamē 'kaδ 'andar 'martōmān āsn-χrat ⟨i⟩ yazdīk 'apar varan ⟨i⟩ 'dēvīk čēr, patmān dātastān 'andar martōm pērōžīh 'ut frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt *nizārīh 'ut dahišn χᵛap-ēstišnīh 'bavēt. 'ut dātār 'andar martōmān āsn-χrat 'apar 'avē i dahyupat aγrayēnīt*[a] *'ku pat-iš 'ān i stahmaktar varan druž vānāt, 'pat amāvandīhā savākīh*[b] *χᵛap-rāδēnītārīh i 'martōm āsn-χrat i pat-išān 'hač zruftakīhā*[c] *i aδar ['ut] varan hangē-žēnāt 'ku-š patīrišn 'bavāt ⟨i⟩ āsn-χratīk handarz 'andar martōm, 'ut ravākihāt 'andar-šān dātastān patmān, vīnārīhāt dām 'pat nēvakīh.*

*'ut pēš 'hač matan i Yam 'ō χᵛatāyīh, 'hač 'dēvān appurtārīh āsn-χrat 'andar χᵛatāyān nizārīh, varan aparōžīh, 'ut yazat āsn-χratīk patmān 'andar 'dēv varanīk frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt zruftakīh ōγōn 'būt i martōm dat [i] *'būt mānāk, 'hač-ič 'šut [i] handarz ⟨i⟩ 'andar gōš ōpastak 'ēstāt, 'hač škift čērīh i frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt 'apar-šān anōtak*[d] *'būt 'hēnd 'hač patmān i 'pat kartan 'χᵛartan 'dātan dāštan apārīk rāδēnišn: višuft 'ēstāt gēhān 'hač ham. 'bē čēγōn 'ēt i paytāk 'ku 'hač yazdīk āsn-χrat frōt-vaštakīh 'hač 'martōm [i] 'dēvīk varan čērīh 'ut āsn-χratīk patmān dātastān 'hač gēhān ānāftakīh, varanīk frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt adātīh 'andar martōm vēš mēhmānīh 'ut gēhān avērānīh višuftakīh *'būt.*

Yam mat 'ō χᵛatāyīh 'hač dātār kām 'ut nimēž[e]*. fratom 'dēv *'hač 'martōm apātaχšāyēnīt 'ut yazdīk āsn-χrat 'hač 'dēvīk arās varan bōχt; 'ut yazat āsn-χratīk patmān 'hač 'dēv varanīk frēhbūt *apēbūt čārak nikīrīt, 'ku 'pat 'dēv 'hač martōm apātuχšāyīh-ārāδīh nizārīh 'ut yazdīk āsn-χrat 'apāč vaχšišnīh 'ut 'dēvīk frēhbūt *apēbūt vānītakīh 'ut āsn-χratīk patmān dātastān,—'pat vānītakīh i frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt 'ut adātīh 'andar gēhān nērōk,—burz-brāhīh, ['ut] pat-iš gēhān vīrāδišn*

For notes see p. 263.

pērāδišn farraχᵛīh 'bavāt. 'hač 'vazurg varč 'ut 'χᵛarr i dātār 'apar 'burt 'pat tanōmandīh 'ō dōšaχᵛ mat, 'ut 13 zimastān 'andar dōšaχᵛ 'pat 'dēv-karpīh 'raft, rāzaβzār, 'kē pat-iš 'dēv vānīhēnd, 'hač 'martōm apātaχšāy⟨īh⟩ēnd. varčāvand nēzumān[f] *čārīhā 'hač 'dēvān *'ul 'burt, 'ut 'dēvān 'pat 'χᵛat aβzār 'zat 'ut vānīt 'ut 'hač 'martōm apātaχšāyēnīt 'ut dūrēnīt. 'ut 'hač 'ān 'bē 'dēvīk varan 'hač čērīh 'apar 'martōm 'bē 'burt, varanīk frēhbūt *apēbūt nizārēnīt, 'ut yazdīk āsn-χrat 'andar martōm vaχšēnīt, 'ut āsn-χratīk patmān dātastān 'andar dām pērōžēnīt, pat-iš Ōhrmazd dām ⟨a⟩margēnīt 'ut 'pat 'apāčīh kart. 'ut paytāk vičārišn ⟨i⟩ dātastān [i] 'ān i Yam rāδ dēn 'gōβēt 'ku-š 'ul 'burt 'hač dōsaχᵛ.*

NOTES

[a] *ayrayēnīt*: denom. to *ayray* (MPT. *'gr'y*, MParthT. *'gr'w*, MPInscr. (KZ) *'gl'dyhy*, Sprengling, AJSLL., lvii, p. 216). The word translates Av. *ayrya-* 'first-class' with which it may reasonably be connected (Bailey, BSOS. vi, p. 68). Andreas *apud* Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 41, no. 1, connected with Skt. *argha-*: this seems improbable.

[b] *savākīh*: v. BSOS. ix, p. 103.

[c] *zruftakīhā*: v. text Z 2, l. 64, no. 4,

[d] *anōtak*: v. BSOS. ix, p. 312.

[e] *nimēž*: v. BSOS. ix, p. 584; MPT. *nmyzyšn* (Henning, *Beichtbuch*, p. 58).

[f] *nēzumān*: v. Henning, OLZ. 1934, col. 755, where he equates it for the meaning with MPT. *krwk*. ŠGV. miswrites *vičumą*, cf. Menasce, ŠGV., p. 50; the Skt. translation has correctly *vivekatayā* 'with discrimination' for the adverbial form.

Zātspram, Chapter 32.

(1) *čēγōn nimūt 'pat handāčak 'andar nipēkān i hanbitīkān 'ku 'avē 'kē-š 'andar gētēh kunišn-ē ayāp tavān-*nērōkīh-ē*[a] *ayāp masīh-ē ayāp χᵛēškārīh-ē pat-iš sačākīk 'ut-aš āsrōnīhēt*[b] *'pat rāstīh i dārēt 'pat sūt sačēnītan, 'ān aδvēnak dānišn, tavānnērōkīh 'ut masīh ⟨'ut⟩ χᵛēškārīh 'ō 'ān i 'avē ruvān patvandēnd, 'ut-aš 'pat-ič mēnōk ham-brahmakīh pat-iš 'bavēt.*

(2) *čēγōn Yam 'apāč-dārišnīh i sahm, vitangīh ⟨'ut⟩ *sēžᶜ rāδ, ruvān i 'avē 'yazīhēt 'ut 'χᵛānīhēt 'pat apāč-ēstišnīh ⟨i⟩ 'dēvān-frāč-kirrēnīt *sēžᵈ χᵛāstār sahm 'ut *sēž-ičᵉ i nihān-ravišn.*

(3) *ētōn-ič Frētōn *bastan*[f] *i Až i Dahāk rāδ, 'χᵛānīhēt 'pat 'apāč-ēstišn i ažkartārān bēš.*

(4) *'ut *Guršāsp 'zatan i rāsdārān ['ut sēžān] 'ut gaδayān ⟨rāδ⟩, 'χᵛānīhēt 'pat apāč-ēstišn i gaδay-⟨ka⟩rtārān bēš.*

NOTES

[a] *nērōkīh*: written *NYKLWKYH* in TD. For the phrase cf. Zs. 23. 2: *gōspandānič . . . čand-šān dānišn tavān-nērōkīh, dēn ōšmurēnd.*—'The beasts . . . so far as they have knowledge and power, celebrate the religion.'

[b] *āsrōnīhēt*: this can equally well be read as *'bandīhēt*, but the meaning is less satisfactory. In text Z 35 it is stated that *āsrōnīh, artēštārīh,* and *vāstryōšīh* belong to

the province of *kunišn* 'action'. Our present text should therefore probably be interpreted in the light of this.

[c] *sēž: SPW* TD: *ZKPW* BK.

[d] Text has *hēč-ič* (*HYČWČW*).

[e] Text has *spōž* (*SPWČW*).

[f] *bastak* TD: *WSTW* BK.

Zātspram, Chapter 33.

(1) *'gōβīhēt 'ku Frašōštar, 'ōδ 'tō 'ō rātīh 'ravišn, 'ku-t rātīh 'andar garōδmān 'kunišn; čēyōn gētēhīhā dar-handarz-pat*[a] *i Vištāsp būt, 'ān i mēnōkīk ham dar-handarz-patīh 'bavēt paytākīh 'hač dēn, apārīk-ič 'pat ham brahm*[b] *'ut aδvēnak, ōyōn čēyōn 'kē 'pat gētēh 'āp tāčītār 'būt, 'ān i mēnōkīk vārān-kartār.*

NOTES

[a] *DLHNDLPPTW* TD: *DLČPTW* Bk.

[b] *brahm*: 'manner' as often: v. BSOS. ix, p. 311, Henning, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1944, pp. 112 ff.

RETROSPECT

OUR task is ended: and the time has come to bid farewell to one who has for so long occupied our thoughts. Before doing this, however, it would be well to take stock of what has been achieved. We said at the outset that it would be premature to speak of a Zervanite 'system'; for our evidence was so fragmentary that we could not even say whether such a system ever existed. All we knew for certain was that that heterodox branch of Zoroastrianism which habitually goes by the name of Zervanism differed from the orthodox dualism in that it elevated Time to a supreme position over the powers of good and evil, and that it laid great stress on the operations of fate.

In our investigation we were further handicapped by the nature of our sources, all of which were, with one exception, hostile. What of Zervanism has survived in the Pahlavī books, we can now state with some assurance, has in most cases been trimmed to suit Mazdean orthodoxy and, perhaps, robbed of its original significance. Fortunately for us the trimming has often been done by inexpert hands, and it has on occasion been possible to 'frustrate the knavish tricks' of the trimmers and to uncover the Zervanite idea from beneath its Mazdean overlay.

This is, however, only a beginning. The object of this work has been to collect and collate the texts in which Zurvān-Time appears and to offer my own interpretation of the texts collated. The next stage must be a more thorough analysis of these texts with a view to removing what appears to be Mazdean accretion from the Zervanite substratum. This I have barely attempted; for it seemed to me a better course first to publish our minimum findings and allow these to stand or fall by the criticism or assent that they will meet with from other scholars interested in this limited field. What seems obvious to me may seem far from obvious to others; and until our findings receive the blessing of Iranian scholars of known objectivity, there would be little point in pursuing the reconstruction of the House of Time. This book is merely the scaffolding. If that is faulty, we can start again. If it is sound, we or others can proceed with the reconstruction of the ruin. In matters like this where the evidence is scanty and frequently either ambiguous or obscure, or both, it would be presumptuous for any author to claim infallibility for his own views; and it would be both futile and morally injurious for him to cleave to those views against others equally good or better, simply because they are his. That scholars sometimes allow themselves to fall into this excess is a matter to be deplored and an example

to be avoided. If *ipse dixit* is unconvincing as an argument, to take one's stand on an *ipse dixi* is the perfection of foolishness.

Be that as it may, it will not be unprofitable to look back on what has been written and to summarize our tentative conclusions. The principal difficulty, as it appeared when this work was started, was the conflicting nature of the sources. What we had unearthed from the Pahlavī books seemed in no way to correspond to the principal Christian (and Manichaean) sources. Above all, the myth of the birth of Ohrmazd and Ahriman from Time obstinately refused to emerge from any of the Pahlavī texts. On other points, however, we have been able to establish parallelisms; and allowing for the fact that the Mazdean editors of the Pahlavī texts must have been to some pains to eliminate offensive doctrine, the results are as encouraging as could reasonably be hoped.

Nyberg long ago suggested that a form of Zervanism might well have existed in its own right—a religion of Time which took no cognizance of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Our researches seem to substantiate this. For whereas Eznik and the sources allied to him tell us only of the birth of Ohrmazd and Ahriman from Time, the Pahlavī sources tell us of the birth of the Cosmos (Spihr) which is the body of finite Time from the Infinite (pp. 111 ff.). Material creation evolves from this. Spihr is Primal Matter: from it derives the 'first form', the four elements; thence the 'second form' or the mixing of the primary properties, and finally the 'third form', Man and animals, that is organic life. With the advent of the 'third form' we have the fully developed Cosmos which exists for twelve thousand years when the whole is taken up into the 'last form' or 'final body' (*tan i pasēn*) which is in turn absorbed into the Infinite.

The Cosmos itself derives from the 'seed' into which Time enters: Time-Space is itself the source of this 'seed' (p. 111). Thus the finite Cosmos is represented as having been born from the Infinite and at the appointed moment will be reabsorbed. In this finite world Zurvān-Time who is the macrocosm, and as such the fountain-head and source of the human race (p. 113), continues to manifest himself as natural law and fate. He is quite unconcerned with spiritual values: he is not only the god of nature (*φύσις*, *čihr*), but nature itself. He is the first cause of all physical phenomena, the Absolute conceived of as the origin of primal matter. Even when this purely physical conception of the Universe combines with the genuine Mazdean ethical dualism, Time and Fate continue to control only the physical universe: they have no part in the ethical struggle between good and evil.

This again is clearly borne out by the testimony of Firdausī, who presents us with a purely Zervanite theory of the world of man—dominated

by Time, Fate, and the heavenly bodies. Of salvation and damnation there is not a word.

This doctrine is in fact quite plainly that of the Daharīs, who derived the whole Cosmos from Infinite Time, denied the existence of spiritual values, of rewards and punishments, heaven and hell (p. 23). These again would appear to be identical with the Zandīks of Masʿūdī, who believed in the eternity of matter and denied the creation of the world (p. 38). If all this is granted, we are now free to say that the Zervanite materialists were among those persecuted by the great Kartīr: they were the original Zandīks.

This form of Zervanism which we may call 'Zervanite materialism' can be deduced from certain passages in the *Dēnkart* (M. 120. 22 ff. and text Z 10). It is concerned with matter in the Aristotelian sense. Zurvān as the Infinite is simply the source of all matter, and his limitation, regarded as the birth of the finite from the Infinite, is the origin of the Universe. The differentiation of the Universe we know is regarded as the imposition of 'form' on to undifferentiated 'matter'. In the texts the agent who 'forms' matter is presumably Ohrmazd, though this, I venture to think, is a purely Mazdean interpretation of a fundamentally Aristotelian conception. The Infinite Zurvān thus appears as the father and mother of the Cosmos. As the Infinite he is the source of the 'seed' and as finite he is the embryo which has its origin in that seed.

The *Šikand Gumānī Vazār* rightly objects to this limitation of the Infinite. To modify the basic illogicality of this conception the Zervanites, like Plotinus and the Gnostics, put the maximum number of intermediate stages between the infinite One and phenomenal multiplicity. From the One proceeds the 'mass', thence conception and formation; then the 'first body' which is the firmament, that is the Cosmos, the elements, their mixture, and finally organic life. There is then a chain of being extending from phenomenal existence to the Absolute which is that from which primal matter proceeds.

All this seems to be rooted in the Aristotelian theory of 'form' and 'matter'. The myth of the genesis of Ohrmazd and Ahriman from Time is, however, quite different. The link between the two is the *ʿUlemā i Islām* which interposes the creation of fire and water between Time and the two Spirits. Ohrmazd, when introduced into the Aristotelian scheme of things, becomes the 'hot-moist', Ahriman the 'cold-dry' (p. 141). Ohrmazd, then, is assimilated to the air and Ahriman to the earth—Ohrmazd thus apparently deriving from fire and Ahriman from water. So we must logically equate Ohrmazd with the two higher elements—fire and air—and Ahriman with

the lower—water and earth. In text Z 10 the Mazdean editor, therefore, makes nonsense of the whole passage by making *all* the elements derive from the 'hot-moist' because, as we know, 'hot-moist' is the characteristic of Ohrmazd.

It seems fairly obvious that Ohrmazd and Ahriman do not really fit into this scheme of things. They have been introduced where they do not belong. On the other hand, the doctrine deducible from our two Pahlavī texts and the *'Ulemā* is precisely reproduced by Hippolytus (p. 72) according to whom there are two *daemons*, one celestial and one terrestrial: the former is fire mixed with air, the latter is water and has its being in earth. The first is male and the second female; the one light and the other darkness.

Thanks to Hippolytus it now seems possible to reconstruct the true Zervanite view. From Spihr (the body of Zurvān = primal matter) proceed (i) the hot-moist, the male principle, and (ii) the cold-dry, the female. The first is the light and the second darkness. Elsewhere in the *Dēnkart* the male and female principles are equated with fire and water only; they are brother and sister and the source of all material things (p. 73). Thus it seems reasonably clear that the first distinction that appears out of the One is that of male and female: the male is the light—fire and air—the female is the darkness—water and earth. Ohrmazd and Ahriman have simply been substituted for the male and female principles in a system that is seemingly neither Zoroastrian nor Iranian. Thus we find logical grounds for explaining the perversity of female creatures in the myths of water fleeing to Ahriman (p. 74) and of J̌ēh (p. 183).

If, then, Ahriman in the Zervanite myth has simply superseded the primal female element which is evil, we must next try to discover who or what this female element originally was. Plainly, once the existence of such an element is admitted, it can only have been Āz–Concupiscence. This can and must be deduced from the supreme position that that demon occupies in the Manichaean system, from the importance which Zātspram attaches to her, and from the fact that she is the last of the powers of evil to be annihilated.

Here, then, we have a second form of Zervanism. The moral element is now present. Instead of the purely materialistic religion we have already described we now have a form of philosophical asceticism. Evil is equated with desire (pp. 176 ff.). Thus the appearance of duality in the One can properly be attributed to Zurvān's 'desire' to have a son, as Eznik seems dimly to have perceived (p. 115). From this desire the evil female principle is manifested, while on the other side wisdom or reason becomes manifest.

Ethically, then, duality springs from the One in the shape of reason (male) and desire (female), or of order and disorder.

It is very possible that these two forms of Zervanism in which Ohrmazd and Ahriman seem to be irrelevant existed side by side with Mazdeanism. The materialist form may well date back to the earliest Sassanian period when writings on 'medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, creation, becoming, passing away, change in quality and growth' were collected at the instance (it is said) of Šāpūr I (p. 8). Similarly the ethical version of it would seem to have flourished at the same time, as Mānī's preferment of the female Āz over Ahriman seems to show.

We must, however, concede that Ohrmazd and Ahriman early made their appearance in the system, and the female Āz would then seem to have been relegated to the second place. There is only the most shadowy trace of her in Eznik, and none at all in the other Armenian and Syriac Christian writers or in the fragmentary Manichaean polemics.

Zervanism, when once it ceases to be purely materialistic, is faced with the problem of evil: and since it arose in Īrān, the problem was posed in its simple dualistic form. Zervanism presupposes the unity of Being with a 'material' Absolute standing at its head. We must now consider how this theory could assimilate the ethical dualism of the Zoroastrians. The myth of the twin brothers is no doubt genuine: it is a simplification of what was probably a far more subtle theory. This theory seems to be best exemplified in our texts Z 10 and Z 20. The latter text divides the Cosmos as it develops in the 'Endless Form' into halves, best described as the material (concerned with finite time and activity arising out of potentiality) and the intelligible or spiritual (*dānākīh* = reason). The intelligible unites with the material in the 'first body', that is Spihr = primal matter (*mātaγ*). The 'hot-moist', which we have seen to be Ohrmazd, is connected with the 'spiritual Word' and shares in its power. Filling in what is not stated on the evil side of the picture, we can deduce that either 'desire' or the 'lying Word' (Āz–Varan) unites with the 'cold-dry' which is Ahriman. There is thus an ethical dichotomy in the spiritual world which, so to speak, overflows into the material—the 'hot-moist' being animated by the Spirit of Truth, the 'cold-dry' by the Spirit of Falsehood. Matter is, as it were, possessed and divided by two spiritual forces, though of itself it is neither good nor evil. The cosmology of the *Bundahišn* indeed posits three principles, not two: they are the Light, the Darkness, *and the Void*. The Void is Vāy; and the 'form' of Vāy seems to be identical with Spihr and is therefore the first 'form' of primal matter (pp. 130, 142). In this new scheme, then, the Absolute generates a prototype of spiritual good (reason), a

prototype of spiritual evil (concupiscence or doubt), and a prototype of matter which is devoid of ethical values. In the finite world Zurvān corresponds to the last only.

Zurvān, as the Absolute, we saw, comprised Time, Space, Power, and Reason (Wisdom). Time and Space are the source of matter, power (δύναμις, *nērōk*) the source of action or activity (ἐνέργεια, *kār*). Reason alone is non-material, and it is in the process of the passing of reason from the state of pure potentiality to that of actuality that evil manifests itself. Reason 'in Infinite Time and through its power entered the stage of knowing': from this half-awareness Ahriman (falsehood) arose. Only then did Reason come to know its own ground which is the godhead, and equip itself for the act of creation.

This text (Z 20) is the link between our Pahlavī sources and the myth of the Twin Spirits. The myth deals only with the development of the intelligible world, leaving the material one out of account altogether. Thus the coming of reason to self-realization corresponds to the birth of Ohrmazd: Ahriman represents the actualization of an essential imperfection in the godhead hitherto concealed in the potential (*nērōk*). Ahriman's birth precedes that of Ohrmazd as in the *Dēnkart* text falsehood appears before God's true realization of his own nature. Similarly Ahriman exhibits his true nature as soon as he is born by lying to his father and claiming to be Ohrmazd. The myth and the *Dēnkart* text are identical in content. The first is for the catechumen, the second for the philosopher. Essentially they are the same.

The essence, then, of 'ethical Zervanism' is its novel solution of the problem of evil. Orthodox Christianity teaches that evil is the result of the misuse of the will either by the angels (Satan) or by man either in Adam's original sin or in the personal sinning of the individual. Islam does not really face the problem at all—God leads astray whom He wills for reasons into the validity of which it is impious to inquire. Mazdean Zoroastrianism destroys the unity of the godhead by positing two independent and eternal principles, and thereby gives man absolute freedom of choice between black and white alternatives. Ethical Zervanism starts squarely from the unity of the godhead of which nothing positive can be stated except that it Is. God, the One, is a pure potentiality. Since this is so, neither good nor evil can be predicated of him *sub specie aeternitatis*. In the process of actualization, however, evil conceived as 'desire' or 'doubt' comes to light along with God's wisdom which is one of His eternal attributes. From a state of pure nescience the deity 'comes to know'; but there being as yet no object for his knowledge, knowledge turns to doubt, and the doubt gives

rise to a separate principle which is the Devil. The contrast provided by this unwelcome intruder brings about self-realization within the deity. This self-realization manifests itself as Ohrmazd, the divine Wisdom. The 'ground' of the deity meanwhile, which is eternity, is actualized as finite Time-Space, the material Cosmos which is the battlefield on which the struggle between good and evil must be worked out. The struggle is bound to end in the victory of good because the good is the 'manifestation' of all the wisdom of the godhead, whereas evil is simply the revelation of an essential flaw, the elimination of which, as in an inexorable machine, is the whole point and purpose of the limitation of the deity. God must be limited in order that he may become good.

It is perhaps along these lines too that Zurvān's desire 'to have a son Ohrmazd who should create heaven and earth' is to be interpreted. This very desire begins the process of the actualization of the deity, which in the event reveals his essential imperfection. Had there been no desire, the imperfection would have remained latent: there would have been no actual imperfection at all. Hence the desire was as evil as the unworthy doubt that followed it.

The purpose of the thousand years' sacrifice that accompanies the desire is not clear to me. Sacrifice, however, in the Zervanite system seems to be a necessary accompaniment of the creative act, that is the passage from potency into act. Sacrifice accompanies the actualization of Ohrmazd: Ohrmazd himself performs sacrifice to form his creation, and at the end of time sacrifice is held in order finally to annihilate the powers of evil and to inaugurate the 'Final Body'. Through sacrifice multiplicity is produced from unity, and by sacrifice is the essential unity restored. This perhaps is the 'deeper' significance of Zurvān's address to Ohrmazd: 'Up till now I offered sacrifice for thee; from now on thou shalt offer sacrifice for me.'

From the above it is plain that in the cosmological field and in their conception of the nature of God there was the sharpest antagonism between Mazdean and Zervanite. This difference on fundamentals would seem to be reflected in the purely ethical and human sphere; for, as we have seen, Zervanism allotted a far wider field of action to fate than Mazdeanism was prepared to concede. This, combined with a tendency towards asceticism, would appear to distinguish it in the purely practical sphere from the main current of Zoroastrianism which had no inhibitions about the flesh and freely championed the freedom of the human will. In this matter indeed there appears to have been a distinct anomaly in Zervanite belief; for while we find Ahriman boasting that he does evil by choice, and Mahmi, though by nature evil, choosing the better part, poor Man appears to be weighed

down by fate, and if not quite helpless against it, at least most severely handicapped. There seems to be no rational explanation of this unless it be that Man as microcosm is simply a small-scale reflection of the finite Zurvān, the macrocosm, and as such shares the destiny of the latter, which is already fore-ordained.

Thus we seem to be driven to the conclusion that Zervanism is as pessimistic a creed as is likely to be found on the surface of the globe. In some ways it invites comparison with Buddhism: but whereas the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* is associated with bliss—though who or what is conscious of this bliss is left absolutely vague—Zervanism seems to offer nothing at all. If we can regard Firdausī as a genuine expositor of Zervanite ideas, there is no suggestion of any kind of heavenly reward or of a blissful existence, whether personal or impersonal, experienced or not experienced, in eternity: nor do our other sources give any indication of the ultimate lot of man. The general impression is one of gloom. In this life Man must be content with his lot, extinguish his passions, and resign himself to fate. For the rest, he can only know that he will pass on to the 'house of eternity' the fate of whose denizens is utterly unknown; for 'a veil is drawn' over their eternal destiny, and Time 'was and shall be all'.

PART II
TEXTS

I

PASSAGES FROM THE AVESTA IN WHICH ZURVĀN APPEARS AS A GOD

A 1. *Vidēvdāt*, 19. 29. Cf. Nyberg, CCM. 1931, p. 120.

*vīzarəšō daēvō nąma, spitama zaraθuštra, urvānəm bastəm vāδayeiti drvatąm daēvayasnanąm *mərəzu-fīti-mašyānąm, paθąm zrvō-dātanąm ǰasaiti yasča drvaite yasča ašaone, činvaṭ-pərətūm mazdaδātąm.*

TRANSLATION

The demon whose name is Vizarəša, O Spitama Zaraθuštra, after binding it, carries off the soul of accursed devil-worshipping men whose life is short. (The soul) of wicked and righteous alike proceeds along the paths created by Zurvān (Time) to the Činvat bridge created by Mazdāh (Ohrmazd).

A 2. A number of passages mention Zurvān as a deity to be adored. As none of them tells us anything about him whatsoever, it will suffice to mention here the deities with whom he is mentioned.

Yasna, 72. 10. Rāman, Vayu (Vāy), Θwāša (the firmament), the Infinite Zurvān, and Zurvān who for a long time follows his own law (*darəγō-χ"a-δāta-*). The same occur in *Sīh Rōčak* i. 21 and ii. 21.

Vidēvdāt, 19. 13. Daēnā (Dēn, the Religion), the Amәša Spəntas, Θwāša, the Infinite Zurvān, Vayu, Vāta (the wind), the Daughter of Ahura Mazdāh (Armaiti).

Ibid. 19. 16. Måθra Spənta (the magically increasing word), Θwāša, the Infinite Zurvān, Vayu, Vāta, the Daughter of Ahura Mazdāh, Daēnā, Dāta (the Law).

Nyāyišn, 1. 8. Tištra, Vanant, Θwāša, the two Zurvāns, Vāta, Čištā, Daēnā, the well-made path, the golden lake, and the sulphur mountain.

II

TEXTS RELATIVE TO ZURVĀN FROM ZOROASTRIAN SOURCES OTHER THAN THE AVESTA

Z 1. Our first text comprises the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*. Both this and the third chapter of the same work (Z 2 in our texts) were published with a commentary by Nyberg (*JA.*, vol. ccxiv) in 1929. With this pioneer edition before us, it might seem superfluous to re-edit the same texts here. But more than twenty years have elapsed since the publication of Nyberg's edition; and meanwhile scholarship has not been idle. Two further considerations have prompted me to undertake a somewhat elaborate edition of the two chapters in question. First the nature of this book makes their inclusion in its pages indispensable, for they are among the most important sources for our subject; and secondly I have had the opportunity, denied to the former editor, of collating the manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Supp. Pers.* 2043. In the elucidation of many points that had long remained obscure this manuscript has been invaluable. The manuscript is a copy of the Bombay MS. TD_1 made in the nineteenth century for Darmesteter. TD_1 has never been collated, though it is the oldest manuscript of the *Bundahišn* extant, and is described by Anklesaria as 'an almost perfect copy'. The value of the Paris MS. (P.) therefore lies in the fact that it most often reproduces the readings of TD_1 where the other manuscripts are corrupt.

As the basic text of my edition I have naturally used that of Anklesaria, a facsimile of the MS. TD_2 published in Bombay, 1908. As an account of the manuscripts is given in that edition, it would be superfluous to repeat it here; for the edition of Anklesaria is easily accessible to Iranian scholars. Besides TD_2 Anklesaria has given the variants of DH. (v. p. ix of his edition). These have been reproduced here.

For the readings of the *Indian Bundahišn* I have naturally used

the edition of Justi (*Der Bundahesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt und mit Glossar versehen*, Leipzig, 1868). The 'Indian' recension (Ind.) is considerably shorter than the *Greater* or *Iranian*, and, in the first chapter, omits the entire passage devoted to Zurvān. The third chapter (text Z 2) is, apart from the last paragraph, missing. Readings from the Indian recension adopted in the text are printed in Roman type.

For the Pāzand of the Indian recension the reader is referred to Āntiâ, Pāzand texts, pp. 1 ff., and to Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, pp. 71–76, where the variants are listed. The Pāzand is, however, so miserably late and corrupt that I have not thought it worth while to include its readings in this edition.

To Nyberg we owe two critical editions of the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*. One appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* (l.c.) and consisted of the transliterated text and translation on opposite pages. The other, a transcription in the original Pahlavī script, appeared in his *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Uppsala, 1928), cf. also the *Glossar* to the same (Uppsala, 1931). Though I have often found myself in disagreement with the author of this edition on points of importance, I should like to acknowledge my debt to him for his pioneer services in the interpretation of the *Greater Bundahišn*.

In his review of Nyberg's *Hilfsbuch* (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1935) Professor Henning made many fruitful suggestions and emendations. These are quoted as 'Henning' without further reference.

Last, but not least, I have had the privilege of using Professor Bailey's unpublished edition of the *Greater Bundahišn* for which he received the degree of D.Phil. at this University. Though I have consistently tried, as far as was feasible, to follow an independent line of research in the interpretation of this difficult chapter, my debt to my teacher, Professor Bailey, is such that I must have allowed myself, albeit unconsciously, to express views as my own of which he, nevertheless, is the prime author. When the debt has been conscious, I have added the letter B.

In the noting of variants I have not, perhaps, been entirely consistent. The addition or omission of an otiose *Wāw* or an

Iẓāfat has frequently been disregarded. The variant spellings of such words as *āsmān*, *'dēvān* and *nazdist* have been noted on their first occurrence, but are subsequently suppressed. Variants as between ideograms and their phonetic equivalents are noted only very occasionally. Every variant from P. which might be important—and many are certainly not—has been noted. The edition is intended to be used in conjunction with the facsimile published by Anklesaria; but it is hoped that, within the limitations imposed by the necessity of transliteration into the Latin type, it will be found useful.

No account of the contents of the chapter need be given here. An attempt at an interpretation will be found in Chapters IV and V in Part I.

The pages of Anklesaria's (A) and Justi's (J) editions are noted in the outside margin. The exact place where a new page starts is indicated by a vertical stroke in the body of the text.

Anklesaria, p. 2. Justi, p. 1.

(1) **'ēn zand-ākāsīh nazdist 'apar* bundahišnīh *i Ōhrmazd 'ut pityārakīh i ganāk mēnōk, 'pas 'apar čēγōnīh i gēhān dām 'hač bundahišnīh 'tāk fražām čēγōn 'hač dēn i māzdēsnān paytāk; 'pas 'apar 'hēr *'kē *gēhān 'dārēt 'pat vičārišn[īh] ⟨i⟩ *'čē-īh 'ut čēγōnīh.*

5 (2) *'pat 'vēh-dēn ōγōn paytāk, Ōhrmazd bālistīk 'pat harvisp-ākāsīh 'ut vēhīh; zamān i akanārak 'andar rōšnīh hamē 'būt; 'ān rōšnīh gās 'ut gyāk i*

A3 *Ōhrmazd; 'hast 'kē asar rōšnīh 'gōβēt. 'ān harvisp-ākāsīh 'ut vēhīh* | hāmak i Ōhrmazd; 'hast 'kē 'gōβēnd dēn; ham 'har 2 vičārišn ēvak, 'ān i hāmak i *zamān i akanārak čēγōn Ōhrmazd 'ut* gās *'ut dēn 'ut zamān i Ōhrmazd 'būt*

10 'ut 'hast 'ut hamē 'bavēt [*'hēnd*].

(3) *Ahriman 'andar tārīkīh 'pat 'pas-dānišnīh 'ut zatār-kāmīh zufr-pāδak 'būt*; ⟨'būt⟩ 'ut 'hast 'kē 'nē 'bavēt; *'ut-aš zatār-kāmakīh hām, 'ut 'ān tārīkīh gyāk; 'hast 'kē asar tārīkīh 'gōβēt.*

(4) *'ut-šān miyān tuhīkīh 'būt; 'hast 'kē Vāy* 'gōβēnd *'kē-š gumēčišn pat-iš*

15 *'har 2* mēnōk.

J2 (5) *kanārakōmandīh 'ut akanārakōmandīh,—'čē* | *bālistīh 'ān i asar rōšnīh, 'gōβēt, 'ku 'nē sarōmand, 'ut zufr-pāδak, 'ān i asar tārīkīh, 'ut 'ān 'hast akanār⟨ak⟩īh, 'ut 'pat vīmand 'har 2 kanārakōmand 'ku-šān miyān tuhīkīh, ēvak 'ō 'dit 'nē patvast 'hēnd. 'dit 'har 2-ān mēnōk 'pat *χᵛēš*

20 *tan kanārakōmand. 'dit harvisp-ākāsīh i Ōhrmazd rāδ 'har *'čiš ⟨i⟩ 'andar dānišn i Ōhrmazd kanārakōmand, 'čē* ['ēn] *'ān i* 'andar 'har 2-ān mēnōk

patmān 'dānēt 'tāk bavandak pātaχšāyīh i dām i Ōhrmazd 'pat tan i pasēn 'tāk hamē hamē ravišnīh, 'ut 'ān 'hast akanārakīh. dām i Ahriman 'pat 'ān zamān 'bē aβsihēnīt 'tāk 'kaδ tan i pasēn bēt; | 'ān-ič 'hast kanārakōmandīh. A4

(6) *Ōhrmazd 'pat harvisp-ākāsīh 'dānast 'ku ganāk mēnōk 'hast, 'apar* *handāčišn 'kunēt, 'pat arišk-kāmakīh* 'andar *gumēčēt,* *'hač *frakān* 'tāk *fražām 'pat* *'čē [*frakān 'apar*] *'ut čand aβzār* hanžāmēnēt. *'ut-aš mēnōkīhā 'ān dām i 'pat 'ān aβzār 'andar apāyīt, frāč brēhēnīt: 3000 'sāl dām 'pat mēnōk[īk] 'ēstāt, 'ku 'būt 'hēnd amēnītār 'ut aravāk ⟨'ut⟩ agraftār.*

(7) *ganāk mēnōk 'pas-dānišnīh rāδ 'hač 'hastīh i Ōhrmazd anākās 'būt; 'pas 'hač 'ān zufāyak āχēzast, 'ō vīmand i dītār i rōšnān mat. 'kaδ-aš 'dīt 'ān i Ōhrmazd rōšnīh agraftār, frāč patrōt, zatār-kāmakīh arišk-gōhrīh rāδ 'pat marnǰēnītan tak 'apar kart. 'ut-aš 'pas* 'dīt *čērīh 'ut | aparvēžīh i* frēh *'hač 'ān i 'χᵛēš; 'apāč 'ō tam duvārast, kirrēnīt 'vas 'dēv, 'ān dām i marnǰēnītār niyāβ 'ō artīkgarīh.* (8) *Ōhrmazd 'kaδ-aš dām i ganāk mēnōk 'dīt, 'nē 'sahist, dām i sahmēn i pūtak i vaiak | *i dušīh; 'ut-aš 'nē buržīt 'hēnd. 'pas ganāk mēnōk dām i Ōhrmazd 'dīt, 'sahist, 'vas dām i zufr i van, hamāk-pursišnīh; 'ut-aš buržīt 'ān i Ōhrmazd dām-dahišnīh.*

(9) *'aδak Ōhrmazd 'apāk-ič 'čē aδvēnak 'dānastan i [dām i] fražām i kār 'ō patīrak i ganāk mēnōk āštīh 'apar dāšt 'ut guft 'ku ganāk mēnōk, 'apar 'ō dām i 'man aδyārīh 'bar, stāyišn 'dah, 'tāk 'pat 'ān pātdahišn amarg 'ut azarmān, asōhišn, apōhišn, 'bavēh. 'ut-aš čim 'ēn 'ku 'hakar artīk 'nē sārēnēh, 'χᵛat 'nē akār, 'ut 'ō mān 'har 2-ān sūt aβkārīhā.* (10) *'ut-aš drāyast ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'nē 'baram 'ō dām i 'tō aδyārīh, 'ut 'nē 'daham stāyišn, 'bē 'tō 'ut dām-ič i 'tō marnǰēnam 'tāk hamē hamē ravišnīh; 'bē hāčēm harvisp dām i 'tō 'ō adōstīh i 'tō, dōstīh i 'man. 'ut-aš vičārišn 'ēn 'ku-š 'pat 'ēt dāšt 'ku Ōhrmazd 'andar 'avē ačārak, 'ēt rāδ āštīh | 'pēš 'dārēt. 'nē* 'patiγraft, *patēst-ič 'apar* J4 *'burt.* (11) *'ut-aš guft Ōhrmazd | 'ku 'nē harvisp-kartār 'hēh, ganāk mēnōk,* A6 *'ku-t 'man 'nē tavān marnǰēnītan, 'ut-*at *dām-ič i 'man ētōn 'nē tavān kartan 'ku 'apāč 'ō χᵛēšīh i 'man 'nē 'rasēnd.* (12) *'pas Ōhrmazd 'pat harvisp-ākāsīh 'dānast 'ku 'hakar zamān i kārēčār-ič [i] *aš 'nē 'kunam, 'aδak-aš tavān kartan 'pat dām i 'man čēγōn patēst 'apar 'burt, kōχšišn gumēčišnīh hamayīhā, 'ut-aš 'andar gumēčišn i dām nišastan, 'ō 'χᵛēš kartan tavān,—čēγōn 'nūn-ič martōm 'andar gumēčišn 'vas 'kē* apārōnīh *vēš varzīt 'ku frārōnīh, 'ku kāmak i ganāk mēnōk vēš hamē varzēnd.* (13) *'ut-aš guft Ōhrmazd 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku zamān* 'kun 'tāk *kārēčār 'pat 'ēn pašn 'ō 9000 'sāl frāč 'aβganam; 'čē-š 'dānast 'ku 'pat 'ēn zamān* 'kartan *akārēnīt ganāk mēnōk. 'aδak ganāk mēnōk avēnāk-fražāmīh rāδ 'pat 'ān patmānak ham-dātastān 'būt, ētōn čēγōn 2 'mart* i *ham-kōχšišn zamān frāč 'kunēnd, 'ku-mān vahmān | 'rōč 'tāk 'šap kārēčār 'kunēm.* A7

(14) *Ōhrmazd 'ēn-ič 'pat harvisp-ākāsīh 'dānast 'ku ē 'andar 'ēn 9000* 'sāl,

3000 'sāl hamāk kāmak i Ōhrmazd 'ravēt, 3000 'sāl 'andar gumēčišn, kāmak i Ōhrmazd 'ut Ahriman 'har 2 'ravēt, 'pat 'ān i aβdom artīk ganāk mēnōk akār šāyēt kartan, 'hač dām pityārakīh 'apāč 'dārēt.

J5 (15) *'pas Ōhrmazd | ahunvar frāč srūt 'ku-š yaθā-ahū-vairyō(k) 20-ēvak*
66 *mārīk 'bē guft; 'ut-aš fražām-pērōžīh i χ^{v}ēš 'ut akārīh i ganāk mēnōk 'ut aβsihišn i 'dēvān, ristāχēz 'ut tan i pasēn, apityārakīh i dām* 'tāk *hamē hamē ravišnīh 'bē 'ō ganāk mēnōk nimūt.* (16) *ganāk mēnōk 'kaδ-aš akārīh i 'χ^{v}ēš, aβsihišn i 'dēvān 'hamist 'dīt, start 'ut abōδ 'būt, 'apāč 'ō tam ōpast, ōγōn čēγōn*
70 *'pat dēn 'gōβēt 'ku 'kaδ-aš 3 ēvak-ē guft 'bavēt, ganāk mēnōk 'hač bīm tan 'andar hanǰēt, 'kaδ-aš 2 bahr guft *'bavēt, ganāk mēnōk 'pat šnūk 'andar*
A8 *ōpast, 'kaδ-aš bavandak guft *'bavēt, | akār *'bavēt ganāk mēnōk. 'hač akārīh i 'pat dāmān i Ōhrmazd* anākīh *kartan, 3000 'sāl 'pat startīh 'sayast.*

(17) *dām-dahišnīh mēnōkīhā 'gōβam, 'pas gētēhīhā.*

75 (18) *Ōhrmazd pēš 'hač dām-dahišnīh *'nē 'būt χ^{v}atāy, 'ut 'pas 'hač dām-dahišnīh χ^{v}atāy 'ut sūt-χ^{v}āstār 'ut fražānak 'ut yut-bēš, āškārak 'ut hamē-rāδēnītār 'ut aβzōnīk, harvisp-nikīrītār 'būt.*

(19) *['ut-aš nazdist *yazdān *χ^{v}atīh 'dāt, nēvak-ravišnīh, 'ān [i] mēnōk 'i-š tan i χ^{v}ēš pat-iš 'vēh 'bē kart.]* ['ut] *'kaδ-aš dām-dahišnīh mēnīt, 'čē-š 'hač*
80 *dām-dahišnīh χ^{v}atāyīh 'būt.*

(20) *'ut-aš 'dīt 'pat rōšn-vēnākīh Ōhrmazd 'ku ganāk mēnōk hakurč 'hač pityārak 'nē vartēt, 'ān pityārakīh yut 'pat dām-dahišnīh 'nē akārīhēt, dām yut 'pat zamān ravākīh 'nē 'bavēt; 'kaδ zamān brēhēnīt, dām-ič i Ahriman ravāk 'bē 'bavēt.* (21) *'ut-aš ačārakīhā pityārak akār kartan rāδ zamān frāč*
A9 *brēhēnīt: 'ut-aš čim 'ēn 'ku ganāk | mēnōk yut 'pat kārēčār 'nē akārīhēt. kārē-*
86 *čār vičārišn 'ēn 'ku kār 'pat čārōmandīh[ā] kartan apāyēt.*

(22) *'pas 'hač zamān i akanārak[īhā] zamān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy frāč brēhēnīt 'ut 'dāt, 'hast 'kē zamān i kanārakōmand 'gōβēt. 'hač zamān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy asačišnīh frāč 'dāt,' ku 'čiš ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazd 'nē sačēt. 'hač asačišnīh* ['ut] *aχ^{v}ārīh*
90 *paytāk 'būt, 'ku 'dēvār *χ^{v}ārīh 'nē 'rasēt, 'hač aχ^{v}ārīh *brēh-ravišnīh, mēnōk ⟨i⟩ a-'bē-vartišnīh paytāk 'būt ['ān mēnōk], 'ku 'čiš i Ōhrmazd, 'ān i 'pat bunda-hišn 'dāt, 'nē vartēt. 'hač mēnōk a-'bē-vartišnīh bavandak-kāmak i dām ⟨i⟩ gēhān paytāk 'būt, frārōn dām 'ut dahišn ham-'dātastān-ōmandīh.*

(23) *Ahriman 'pat apārōn dām-dahišnīh adān[īh] a'dātastān. 'ut-aš čim*
95 *vičārišn 'ēn 'ku ⟨'kaδ⟩ Ahriman 'apāk Ōhrmazd kōχšīt, χ^{v}atāy-fražānakīh, nāmakīh, pahlomīh [Ahriman] asačišnīh i Ōhrmazd 'ut akārīh, [i] χ^{v}at-*
A10 *dōšakīh,* ['ut] *apahlomīh, 'pas-dānišnīh i ganāk mēnōk 'ō paytākīh | mat, 'kaδ-aš dām 'dāt.*

(24) *'čē zamān-ič i dērang-χ^{v}atāy nazdist dām 'i-š frāč brēhēnīt: 'čē akan-*
100 *ārak 'būt pēš 'hač gumēčišnīh i hamayīh i Ōhrmazd. kanārakōmand brēhēnīt 'hač 'ān akanārak, 'ku 'hač bundahišn 'kaδ dām dāt 'tāk 'ō fražām 'ku ganāk*

mēnōk akār 'bavēt patmānak-ē 12,000 'sāl 'ku kanārakōmand: 'pas 'ō akanārakōmandīh gumēčēt, vartēt, 'ku dām-ič i Ōhrmazd apēčakīhā 'apāk Ōhrmazd hamayīk 'bavēnd:—(25) *čēγōn 'gōβēt 'pat dēn 'ku zamān ōžōmandtar 'hač 'har 2-ān dāmān,—dām i Ōhrmazd 'ān-ič i ganāk mēnōk.—zamān *hu-ayāpak 'ō* 105 *kār 'ut dātastān. [zamān pursišnīktar.] zamān 'hač ayāpakān ayāpaktar. zamān 'hač pursišnīkān pursišnīktar; 'ku vičīr 'pat zamān *šāyēt kartan. zamān [i] mān 'aβganīhēt,—brīn 'pat zamān,—pistak frāč škīhēt. 'kas 'hač 'avē 'nē bōχtēt, 'hač *ōšōmandān martōmān, 'nē 'kaδ 'ō 'ul vāzēt, 'nē 'kaδ 'ō nikōnīh *čāh-ē 'kanēt, 'andar | 'nišīnēt, 'nē 'kaδ hačaδar i χān i āpān i sart* A11 *frōt vartēt.* 111

(26) *Ōhrmazd 'hač 'ān i χᵛēš χᵛatīh *'kē gētēh rōšnīh karp i dāmān i 'χᵛēš frāč brēhēnīt 'pat ātaχš karp i rōšn i spēt, girt, frāč paytāk. 'hač gētēh i 'ān mēnōk 'kē pityārak i 'andar 'har 2 dām aš 'bē 'barēt, 'hast tavān, 'hast zamān, aš karp i Vāy i 'vēh frāč brēhēnīt čēγōn Vāy apāyast. 'hast 'kē Vāy i dērang-* 115 *χᵛatāy frāč 'gōβēt. 'ut-aš dām 'pat aδyārīh ⟨i⟩ Vāy i dērang-χᵛatāy frāč brēhēnīt; 'čē 'kaδ-aš dām-ič 'dāt, Vāy-ič aβzār-ē 'i-š 'pat kār 'andar apāyast. ⟨'ut-aš nazdist yazdān χᵛatīh 'dāt, nēvak-ravišnīh, 'ān mēnōk 'i-š tan i 'χᵛēš pat-iš 'vēh 'bē kart.⟩*

(27) *ganāk mēnōk 'hač gētēh tārīkīh, 'ān i 'χᵛēš ⟨χᵛatīh⟩, tan ⟨i⟩ dām ⟨i* 120 *χᵛēš⟩ frāč kirrēnīt 'pat zaγ karp i *siyāh i āturastur-*gōn i tam aržānīk, druvand čēγōn bazak-*aδvēntar χrafstar, 'ut-aš 'hač gētēh χᵛat-dōšakīh Varan i vattar-*dēn karp frāč kirrēnīt čēγōn Varan apāyast. 'ut-aš nazdist 'dēvan χᵛatīh 'dāt, dušravišnīh, 'ān mēnōk 'i-š ganākīh i dāmān i Ōhrmazd 'hač-iš | 'būt: 'čē-š 'ān dām 'dāt 'i-š χᵛēš-tan pat-iš 'vattar 'bē kart, 'ku akār 'bē bēt.* A12

(28) *'čē-š 'hač gētēh tārīkīh, 'ān i asar tārīkīh, ['dāt 'hač asar tārīkīh]* 126 *'drōγ-gōβišnīh frāč *'dāt, 'hač ⟨drōγ-gōβišnīh⟩ anākīh i 'avē ganāk mēnōk paytāk 'būt. 'čē 'hač asar [i] tārīkīh 'ān karp frāč kirrēnīt, 'ut-aš 'χᵛēš dām 'andar 'ān karp 'bē 'dāt: 'hač 'ān i 'χᵛēš dām-dahišnīh akār 'bavēt.*

(29) *Ōhrmazd 'hač gētēh rōšnīh rāst-gōβišnīh ⟨frāč dāt⟩. 'hač rāst-gōβišnīh* 130 *aβzōnīkīh i dātār paytāk 'būt [dām-dahišnīh]. 'če-š asar karp [i] 'hač asar [i] rōšnīh frāč brēhēnīt, dām-ič hamāk 'andar asar karp(ak) 'bē 'dāt. asar(ak) karp(ak) zamān sačišn yutāk 'būt. 'hač asar(ak) karp(ak) ahunvar frāč 'būt, mēnōk i yaθā-ahū-vairyō(k) 'ke-š 'bē dahišnīh 'ut fražām i dām hač-iš paytāk, 'hast dēn. čēγōn dēn 'apāk dām-dahišnīh 'dahīhast.* (30) *'hač ahunvar mēnōk* 135 *⟨i⟩ 'sāl frāč 'būt 'kē 'andar | gumēčišn 'nūn nēm-rōšn nēm-tārīk, 365 'rōč-* A13 *šapān 'kē brīn i zamān i dērang-χᵛatāy. 'ut-aš 'har 2 dām 'pat kōχšišn pat-iš ravāk 'būt:—čēγōn guft, dām i Ōhrmazd 'pat χᵛatāyīh 'ut dastaβarīh ⟨'ut⟩ dātastānōmandīh ⟨'ut⟩ bālistīh 'pat *χᵛārakīh 'ēstāt; dām i ganāk mēnōk 'pat čērīh 'ut stahmīh 'ut vināskārīh ⟨'ut⟩ zufā⟨ya⟩kīh 'pat dušvārīh 'ēstāt.* 140

(31) *Ōhrmazd 'pat amahraspandān brīnōmand mat. 'kaδ-aš 'dāt 'būt 'hēnd,*

*3 rat,—'čē-š 'apāč 'ō gētēh apāyast,—'dāt: 'ut-aš nōktar 'pat tan i pasēn anākīh hač-iš 'bē *apētak burtan. 'ut-aš dām i mēnōk mēnōkīhā 'dārēt. 'ut-aš dām i gētēh ['ut] mēnōkīhā 'dāt, 'uṭ-aš 'dit 'bē 'ō gētēhīhā 'dāt.* (32) *'ut-aš*
145 *nazdist amahraspandān 'dāt, *6 bun, 'pas apārīk, 'ān i 7-om χ^{v}at Ōhrmazd.*
A14 *'hač dām i gētēh 'pat mēnōk 'dāt nazdist 6, 'ān i 7-om | χ^{v}at 'būt. 'čē Ōhrmazd 'har 2 'hast mēnōk ⟨'ut gētēh⟩. nazdist gētēh 'hač amahraspandān, 'pas 'hač Vāy i dērang-χ^{v}atāy.*

(33) *nazdist Vahuman frāč brēhēnīt 'kē-š ravākīh i dām i Ōhrmazd hač-iš*
150 *'būt. ganāk mēnōk nazdist mitōχtīhā Akōman* 'dāt. Ōhrmazd *'hač dām i gētēh nazdist āsmān; 'ut-aš Vahuman 'hač nēvak-ravišnīh ⟨i⟩ gētēh rōšnīh nazdist frāč brēhēnīt, 'kē-š dēn i 'vēh i māzdēsnān 'apāk 'būt: 'ēn 'ku 'ān i 'ō dām 'rasēt 'tāk fraškart, aš 'dānast; 'pas Artvahišt, 'pas Šaθrēvar, 'pas Spandarmat, 'pas Hurdāt, 'ut* 'pas *Amurdāt brēhēnīt: 7-om χ^{v}at Ōhrmazd,* (34) *'ut*
155 *8-om rāst-gōβišnīh, 9-om Srōš-ahrāy, 10-om Mānsraspand, 11-om Nēryōsang, 12-om rat i buland Raθwō(k) berzait, 13-om Rašn i rāst, 14-om Miθr i frēh-gōyōt, 15-om Arš⟨iš⟩vang i 'vēh, 16-om Pārand, 17-om χ^{v}āβ, 18-om*
A15 *Vāt, 19-om dātastān⟨ō⟩mandīh | 20-om patkār, pēš⟨ē⟩mār⟨īh⟩ 'ut pasēmārīh, āštīh āβzōnīkīh.*

160 (35) *'hač dām i gētēh nazdist āsmān, ditīkar 'āp, sitīkar zamīk, čahārom urvar, panǰom gōspand, šašom martōm, haftom χ^{v}at Ōhrmazd. 'ut-aš dām [i] 'pat aδyārīh i Vāy i dērang-χ^{v}atāy frāč brēhēnīt; 'čē 'kaδ-aš Vāy i dērang-χ^{v}atāy frāč brēhēnīt, 'avē-ič aβzār-ē 'būt, 'ut-aš 'pat dām-dahišnīh 'andar apāyast.*

(36) *ganāk mēnōk 'pat 'ān pityārakōmandīh 'hač kamālīkān 'dēvān nazdist*
165 *Akōman frāč kirrēnīt, 'pas Indar, 'ut 'pas Sāvul, 'ut 'pas Nāŋhaiθ, 'pas Tarōmat, 'pas Tarič 'ut Zērič, 'pas apārīkān 'dēvān, haftom χ^{v}at ganāk mēnōk. hakurč 'čiš i frārōn 'nē mēnēt, 'nē 'gōβēt, 'nē 'kunēt. 'ut-aš nēvakīh i dām i Ōhrmazd 'nē apāyast: dām i Ōhrmazd nēvakīh dām i Ahriman 'nē apāyast.* (37) *Ōhrmazd 'ān 'čis 'nē mēnēt 'i-š kartan 'nē tavān: ganāk mēnōk*
A16 *'ān 'i-š 'nē tavān kartan mēnēt, 'ut *patēst-ič 'apar | *'barēt.*

171 (38) *dām i Ōhrmazd 'pat mēnōkīh ētōn parvart 'ku *tarrīhā 'ēstāt, amēnītār, agraftār, aravāk čēγōn šusr hamānāk, 'pas 'hač *tarrīh gumēčakīh šusr χōn hamānāk; 'pas 'hač gumēčakīh āvartakīh 'būt, daštak-ē humānāk; 'pas 'hač āvartakīh viškītakīh *čēγōn 'dast 'ut 'pāδ; 'pas 'hač viškītakīh gaβrīh*
175 *'būt, 'čašm, gōš 'ut 'dahān; 'pas 'hač gaβrīh *čandišn 'būt 'kaδ 'bē *'ō 'pēš ⟨i⟩ rōšn 'ēstāt. 'nūn-ič 'pat gētēh 'pat ān hangōšītak 'andar aškomb i 'mātar hanbavīhēnd, 'zāyēnd, parvarēnd.* (39) *'ut Ōhrmazd 'pat dām-dahišnīh 'mātarīh 'ut 'pitarīh i dahišn 'hast: 'čē 'kaδ-aš dām 'pat mēnōk parvart, 'ān 'būt 'mātarīh; 'kaδ-aš 'bē 'ō gētēh 'dāt, 'ān 'būt 'pitarīh.*

180 (40) *'apar dām-dahišnīh i gētēhīhā.*

(41) *'kaδ ganāk mēnōk startīhā akār 'būt čēγōn-am apar nipišt, 3000 'sāl*

'pat startīh 'sayast. 'andar 'ān akārīh ⟨i⟩ 'avē ganāk | mēnōk Ōhrmazd dām A17
*'ō gētēh brēhēnīt. *'hač asar rošnīh ātaχš, 'hač ātaχš vāt, 'hač vāt 'āp, 'hač 'āp*
zamīk harvisp-astōmandīh gētēh frāč brēhēnīt; čēγōn 'gōβēt 'pat dēn 'ku fra-
tom dām hamāk 'āp-ē srišk-ē 'būt, 'ku hamāk 'hač 'āp 'būt yut tōhm i 'martō- 185
mān 'ut gōspandān, 'čē 'ān tōhm ātaχš tōhm-ē.

(42) *'ut-aš nazdist āsmān 'dāt 'pat 'apāč-dārišnīh. 'hast 'kē fratom 'gōβēt.*
ditīkar 'āp 'dāt 'pat zatan i tišn druž; sitīkar zamīk 'dāt harvisp-astōmandīh;
*čahārom urvar 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh i gōspand ⟨i⟩ hudāk; pančom *gōspand 'ō** 190
aδyārīh i 'mart i ahrov: šašom 'mart i ahrov 'dāt 'ō zatārīh 'ut akārīh i ganāk
mēnōk 'hamist 'dēvān. 'ut-aš 'pas ātaχš 'dāt χ^{v}araγ, 'ut-aš brēh 'hač asar
rōšnīh ov-iš patvast, ētōn karp i 'vēh čēγōn ātaχš kāmak. 'ut-aš 'pas vāt |
brēhēnīt 'pat 'mart karp i yuvān i 15 sālak 'kē 'ēn 'āp 'ut urvar 'ut gōspand 'ut A18
'mart i ahrov 'har 'čiš-ē 'barēt ⟨'ut⟩ dārēt.

(43) *'ut-šān čēγōnīh 'gōβam. nazdist āsmān 'dāt, rōšn, paytāk, i apēr dūr-* 195
**kanārak, χāyak-dēs*, χ^{v}an-āhēn i 'hast gōhr almāst, 'nar. 'ut-aš 'sar 'bē 'ō*
asar rōšn patvast; 'ut-aš dām hamāk andarōn i āsmān 'bē 'dāt, āvahan humā-
nāk, drupušt 'kē-š 'har aβzār i 'pat kōχšišn 'andar apāyast, andarōn 'nihāt
'ēstēt, ayāp mān mānāk 'kē 'har 'čiš 'andar 'mānēt. parkān [bun] i āsmān čand-
aš pahnāδ 'i-š drahnāδ, čand-aš drahnāδ 'i-š bālā⟨δ⟩, čand-aš bālā⟨δ⟩ 'i-š 200
*zahyā⟨δ⟩, hamōγ handāč *hupatsāy. varzvar humānāk mēnišmōmand, gōβišnō-*
mand, kunišnōmand, ākās, aβzōnīk, vičītār, mēnōk ⟨i⟩ āsmān. (44) *'ut-aš*
patiγraft drang drupuštīh 'hač ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'apāč duvārastan 'nē 'hišt.
čēγōn gurt artēštār | 'kē zrēh patmōχt 'ēstēt, 'ku apē-bīmīhā 'hač kārēčār A19
bōχtēt, mēnōk i āsmān āsmān ētōn dārēt. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh i āsmān urvāh- 205
*manīh, 'čē-š urvāhmanīh pat-iš frāč brēhēnit: *'čē 'nūn-ič 'andar* gumēčakīh*
dām 'pat urvāhmanīh 'andar 'ēstēt.

(45) *ditīkar 'hač gōhr i āsmān 'āp brēhēnīt čand 'mart-ē 'kaδ 2 'dast 'ō zamīk*
'hilēt, 'pat 'dast 'ut 'pāδ 'ravēt, aš 'tāk 'aškomb 'āp 'bē 'ēstēt, 'pat 'ān bālāδ 'āp
*'bē tačēt. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh vāt 'ut vārān 'ut 'mēγ 'ut snōδān 'ut *snēžak.* 210

(46) *sitīkar 'hač 'āp zamīk dāt, girt dūr-vitarag, 'ut anišēβ, anaβrāz,*
hamōγ drahnāδ 'apāk pahnāδ, 'ut pahnāδ 'apāk zahyāδ rāst, miyān i 'ēn
āsmān 'bē vīnārt: čēγōn 'gōβēt 'ku-š nazdist 3 ēvak-ē 'ēn zamīk frāč brēhēnīt
saχt čēγōn ČČ' dāl(??), ditīkar 3 ēvak-ē 'ēn zamīk frāč brēhēnīt aržan ākand;
*sitīkar 3 ēvak-ē 'ēn zamīk frāč brēhēnīt *narm čēγōn* gil[ak]. |* (47) *'ut-aš* A20
gōhr 'andar zamīk 'bē 'dāt, kōfīhā 'kē 'pas 'hač 'ān vaχšīt, rust 'hēnd 'hač 216
zamīk. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh ⟨i⟩ zamīk āsan, rōδ, gōgart, bōrak-ič harvist-ič
'ān i saχt zamīk tōhmak yut 'hač 'STYHL 'čē yut-tōhmak 'hēnd. ōγōn sāχt 'ut
brēhēnīt zamīk 'pat hamānāk i 'mart-ē 'kaδ-aš yāmak yāmak hamāk kust 'pat
tan saχt 'andar 'kart 'ēstēt. hačaδar 'ēn zamīk hamāk gyāk 'āp 'bē 'ēstēt. 220

(48) *čahārom urvar 'dāt, nazdist 'ō miyānak i 'ēn zamīk 'apar rust čand*

paδ-ē bālāδ, apē azg, apē pōst, apē χār, 'ut tarr 'ut šīrēn; 'ut-aš visp sarəδak zōr i urvarān 'andar čihr dāšt. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh ⟨i⟩ urvar 'āp 'ut ātaχš, 'čē 'har aδvan-ē urvarān 'āp-ē srišk 'pat 'sar, ātaχš 4 angust pēš. 'pat 'ān zōr
225 *hamē rust.*

(49) *pančom 'gāv i ēv-dāt brēhēnīt 'andar Ērānvēž 'pat miyānak ⟨i⟩ gēhān*
A21 *'pat *bār i | rōt i Vēh Daitē, 'ku miyānak i gēhān. spēt, rōšn 'būt čēγōn māh 'kē-š bālāδ 3 nay patmānīk. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh 'āp 'ut urvar, 'čē-š 'andar gumēčišn zōr 'ut vaχšišn 'hač 'ēn 'bavēt.*

230 (50) *6-om Gayō(k)mart brēhēnīt rōšn čēγōn χᵛaršēt; 'ut-aš 4 nay patmānīk bālāδ 'būt, pahnāδ čēγōn bālāδ rāst, 'pat *bār i rōt i Daitē 'ku miyānak i gēhān 'ēstēt,—Gayō(k)mart 'pat hōy ālak 'gāv 'pat dašn ālak. 'ut-šān dūrīh ēvak 'hač 'dit dūrīh-ič i 'hač 'āp ⟨i⟩ Daitē čand bālāδ ⟨i⟩ 'χᵛēš 'būt: čašmōmand, gōšōmand, uzvān⟨ō⟩mand, daχšakōmand 'būt. Gayō(k)mart daχšakōmandīh*
235 *'ēt 'ku martōm 'hač 'avē tōhmak 'pat ān hangōšītak zāt 'hēnd. (51) 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh χᵛāβ, āsānīh i dātār, 'čē Ōhrmazd 'ān χᵛāβ frāč brēhēnīt 'pat 'mart karp i buland i 15 sālak i rōšn. 'ut-aš Gayō(k)mart 'apāk 'gāv 'hač*
A22 *zamīk brēhēnīt. | 'ut-aš 'hač rōšnīh 'ut zargōnīh ⟨i⟩ āsmān šusr i 'martōmān 'ut 'gāvān frāč brēhēnīt, čēγōn 'ēn 2 šusr ātaχš tōhmak, 'nē 'āp tōhmak:*
240 *'pat tan i 'gāv *'ut Gayō(k)mart 'bē 'dāt 'tāk-aš purr-ravišnīh ⟨i⟩ martōmān gōspandān hač-iš 'būt.*

(52) *'ut-aš 'ēn 6 dahišn 'pat 6 gās ⟨i⟩ gāsānbār 'bē 'dāt. 'pat 'sāl i hangārt 365 'rōč, 12 'māhīkān, 'har 'māhīk 30 'rōč 'ut māhīk-⟨ē⟩ 35 'rōč. 'har 'rōč-ē 'nām *i amahraspand-ē pat-iš 'nihāt.*

245 (53) *'ut-aš čēγōnīh 'gōβam. nazdist āsmān brēhēnīt 'pat 40 'rōč, čēγōn 'hač 'rōč i Ōhrmazd, 'māhīk ⟨i⟩ Fravartīn 'tāk 'rōč i Āpān 'māhīk ⟨i⟩ Artvahišt. 5 'rōč 'apar 'pāt 'tāk 'rōč i Daδv 'pat Miθr. 'ān 5 'rōč gāsānbār: 'ut-aš 'nām maiδyō(k)zarm. 'ut-aš vičārišn 'ēn 'ku māništ i *martōmān, [māništ ⟨i⟩ Miθr 'āp,] 'ut zargōnīh 'ō paytākīh mat.*

250 (54) *ditīkar 'āp 'dāt 'pat 55 'rōč, čēγōn 'hač 'rōč i Miθr 'māh i Urtvahišt*
A23 *'tāk 'rōč i Āpān 'māh i Tīr. 5 'rōč 'apar 'pāt 'tāk 'rōč i | Daδv 'pat Miθr. 'ān 5 'rōč gāsānbār: 'ut-aš 'nām maiδyō(k)šam, 'kē-š vičārišn 'ēn 'ku-š 'āp rōšn 'bē kart, 'čē nazdist tērak 'būt.*

(55) *sitīkar zamīk 'dāt 'pat 70 'rōč, čēγōn 'hač 'rōč i Miθr 'māh ⟨i⟩ Tīr 'tāk*
255 *'rōč i Art 'māh i Šaθrēvar. 'ān 5 'rōč 'apar 'pāt 'tāk 'rōč ⟨i⟩ Anayrān. 'ān 5 'rōč gāsānbār: 'ut-aš 'nām paitišhah. 'ut-aš vičārišn 'ēn 'ku pā⟨δ⟩-ravišnīh ⟨i⟩ dāmān 'pat zamīk paytāk 'bē kart.*

(56) *čahārom urvar 'dāt 'pat 25 'rōč ⟨čēγōn 'hač 'rōč i Ōhrmazd 'māh i Miθr 'tāk 'rōč i Aštāt.⟩ 5 'rōč 'apar 'pāt 'tāk 'rōč ⟨i⟩ Anayrān. 'ān 5 'rōč*
260 *gāsānbār: 'ut-aš 'nām ayāsrim, 'kē-š vičārišn 'ēn 'ku-š valg 'ut bōδ 'ut gōnak i zargōnīh paytāk 'būt.*

(57) *5-om gōspand 'dāt 'pat 75 'rōč, čēγōn 'hač 'rōč i Ōhrmazd 'māh i Āpān 'tāk 'rōč i Daδv 'pat Miθr, 'māh i Daδv. 5 'rōč 'apar 'pāt 'tāk ⟨'rōč i Varhrān⟩. 'ān 5 'rōč gāsānbār: 'ut-aš 'nām maiδyairim, 'kē-š vičārišn 'ēn 'ku hanbār i zimastān dāmān i 'χᵛēš rāδ | paytāk 'bē kart.* A24

(58) *šašom martōm 'dāt, 'ku Gayō(k)mart, ⟨'pat⟩ 70 'rōč čēγōn 'hač 'rōč ⟨i⟩* 266 *Rām [i] 'māh i Daδv 'tāk 'rōč i Anaγrān 'māh i Spandarmat. 5 'rōč 'apar 'pāt 'tāk ⟨'rōč i Spandarmat.⟩ 'ān 5 'rōč gāsānbār: 'hast 'kē 5 'rōč i truftak, 'hast 'kē dužītak 'gōβēt. 'ut-aš 'nām hamaspamaiδayam, 'kē-š vičārišn 'ēn 'ku hām-spāh-ravišnīh 'pat gētēh paytāk 'būt; 'čē fravahr i martōmān 'pat hām-spāhīh* 270 *raft 'hēnd.* (59) *'nām i 'ān 5 'rōč truftak; 'hast 'kē 5 gās i gāsānīk, 'hast 'kē pančak i 'vēh 'gōβēt. 'pat dēn[īk] 'ēn 'hast Ahuvait gās, Uštavait gās, *Spantōmēn gās, Vahušaθr gās, Vahištōišt gās. 'ān 30 'rōč i 'pat māhīkān [i] 'nihāt 'ēstēt, *aš 'nām *'ēn;—Ōhrmazd, Vahuman, Urtvahišt, Šaθrēvar, Spandarmat, Hurdāt, Amurdāt, Daδv, Āturr, Āpān, Xᵛar, Māh, Tīr, Gōš,* 275 *Daδv, Miθr, Srōš, Rašn, Fravartīn, Varhrān, Rām, Vāt, Daδv, Dēn, Art,* A25 *Aštāt, Āsmān, | Zāmdāt, Mahraspand, Anaγrān.*

(60) *'ān 12 māhīkān 'nām 'hač [ham] amahraspandān;—Fravartīn māh, Urtvahišt 'māh, Hurdāt 'māh, Tīr 'māh, Amurdāt 'māh, Šaθrēvar 'māh, Miθr 'māh, Āpān 'māh, Āturr 'māh, Daδv 'māh, Vahuman 'māh, Spandarmat* 280 *'māh. 'ut-šān čēγōnīh ēvak ēvak frāčtar 'gōβam.*

NOTES

l. **1.** *'*ēn: Greater* (*Gr.*) has *ZK* ('*ān*), Ind. *MN* ('*hač*). Neither is satisfactory. If we adopt the first reading, we are forced to translate, '*That zand-ākāsīh* deals first with the primal creation, etc.'. No reference to any such *zand-ākāsīh* has hitherto been made; and—if the reading is kept—we can only assume that a work called *zand-ākāsīh* not only existed, but was widely enough known to be introduced without preliminary explanation or comment. The reading of Ind. is less hard, and would mean that the present work (our *Bundahišn*) obtained its material from this *zand-ākāsīh*. The simplest solution would seem to be to emend the 𐭠 of the Ind. to 𐭩 '*ēn*. This would then give us the title of the book,—'This is the *Zand-ākāsīh* etc.'. Nyberg (CCM. 1929, p. 260) emended to 𐭩𐭥 '*im*, obtaining the same sense, and Markwart (*Šaθrīhā i Ērān, passim*), too, assumes this to have the title of the *Bundahišn*. In the *Hilfsbuch* Nyberg returned to the '*ān* of Gr. which Bailey also keeps.

zand-ākāsīh: zand-ākās i Ind. *nazdist* Ind.: *NZSTW* Gr.
bundahišnīh Ind.: *BWNYH'TYH* Gr.: *bunēδātīh* Nyb.
pityārakīh: patyārak Ind.

l. **2.** *gēhān*: om. Ind.
After *fražām* Ind. has *i tan i pasēn*, 'the end . . . which is the final body'.

l. **3.** *paytāk . . . 'vēh-dēn*: om. Ind.
'hēr *'*kē* **gēhān 'dārēt*: Gr. has טשושיו עיי 𐭠 שנין. For this Nyb. read **čē bun hač saχᵛan dārēt*, and translated (CCM.) 'ce qui a son principe dans la parole'. Now this introductory paragraph is plainly giving a summary of the contents of the

Bundahišn; and chapters ix–xvi of that work are entirely devoted to 'objects contained in the world'. The *Bundahišn*, on the other hand, tells us remarkably little of 'ce qui a son principe dans la parole'. What exactly this phrase is supposed to refer to Nyb. does not tell us. If it refers to the *ahunvar* prayer, it is far from explicit. For the whole passage Nyb. reads: *pas apar *čē bun hač saχ^{v}an dārēt pat vičārišnīh, čē-š u čiyōn-aš pat vēh-dēn*, and translates, 'Enfin, l'exposé de ce qui a son principe dans la parole (et se rapporte) à la discrimination, son essence et sa nature selon la bonne religion.' Here again the part played by the essence and nature of discrimination in the *Bundahišn* is negligible.

A true reconstruction of this corrupt passage can only be obtained once it is realized that the author is here telling us what his book contains. Once we read 𐭩𐭥𐭫 as *'hēr* rather than as *čē bun—čē* written phonetically is, moreover, extremely rare—we have the clue to the passage. *MN* (*'hač*) must then be emended to *MNW* (*'kē*) and 𐭲𐭭𐭣 read as *gēh(ā)n*. The rest of the sentence then follows naturally, the only further emendation required being the alteration of *'čē-š* to *'čē-īh*; and, as anyone familiar with the Pahlavī script knows, this can scarcely be regarded as an emendation at all. Thus we obtain the translation, 'Next concerning the objects contained in the world with an interpretation of their quiddity and quality'. This is a very accurate summary of the contents of chapters ix–xvi of the *Bundahišn*.

l. **4.** *vičārišnīh* TD_2, P.: *vičārišn i* DH.

**'čē-īh* 'whatness, *quidditas*' is found in DkM. 119. 18; 165. 18; 744. 20. To be compared are *'ku-īh* and *'kaδ-īh* (Dd. 36. 14). MSS. have *'čē-š*.

l. **5.** *paytāk*: P. adds *i*, Ind. adds *'ku*.

bālistīk: *B'LYSTNW* Ind.

l. **6.** *vēhīh* (*'vēhīh* Ind.): certainly 'goodness', not 'wisdom' as is proved by Zs. 1 (text Z 4), 21, *Ōhrmazd hamāk 'vēhīh a'vattarīh*.

zamān i akanārak: om. Ind.

For *hamē* Ind. has *hāmak i* suggested by *hāmak* in ll. 7 and 8.

l. **7.** *rōšnīh: rōšn* Ind.

'gōβēt: 'gōβēnd Ind.

ll. **7–10.** The whole passage is exceedingly obscure and corrupt. The text of GrBd. reads: *'ān* (Ind. *'ut*) *harvisp-ākāsīh 'ut vēhīh zamān i akanārak čēyōn Ōhrmazd vēhīh 'ut dēn zamān i Ōhrmazd 'būt 'hēnd*. This text may be translated thus: 'That omniscience and goodness is infinite Time, for the goodness and religion of Ohrmazd were the Time of Ohrmazd.' The sense, however, is far from satisfactory; and the text of Ind. proves that there is a *lacuna* in Gr. In our present text we follow Ind. except that we read the *akanārak* of Gr. rather than the *akanārakōmand* of Ind. There is, of course, no difference in meaning between the two words.

The reading *hāmak* is uncertain. Nyberg (first ZDMG. lxxxii, 1928, p. 220) read *yāmak* 'garment' on the assumption that the first character (𐭩) could represent a doubled *Yōδ*. This is certainly attested in the middle of words, but, to my knowledge, there is no example of an initial *Aleph* being employed in this way. Scheftelowitz (*Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion*, p. 46, note) objected to Nyberg's reading, and suggested *χēmak*, *χēm* 'nature, characteristic'. Though the meaning suits the context admirably, it is doubtful whether so common a word would have been corrupted in all manuscripts in both Gr. and Ind. Schaeder's *ahamkay* 'without rival' (*Urform*, p. 143) is unsatisfactory: etymo-

logically dubious, it takes no account of the *hām* (*H'M*) occurring in l. 12. Following Bailey I should prefer to read the word *hāmak* 'universum', though I can cite no parallel for the use of *hām* as a substantive. Slight support for the reading of Scheftelowitz is to be had from DkM. 347. 7 (text Z 9), where *hām* is written instead of *χēm*.

ll. **8–10.** *'ān i hāmak i zamān i akanārak* (*akanārakōmand* Ind.), &c. If we accept the reading of Ind. the phrase must either be taken in conjunction with what precedes it, or else be the subject of *'būt 'ut 'hast 'ut hamē 'bavēt*. In that case we should translate: 'The universe of infinite Time *qua* Ōhrmazd, Space, Religion, and the Time of Ohrmazd, was and is and ever shall be.' The sense is excellent, for we then have the proposition that infinite Time is eternal. On the whole, however, the first alternative seems preferable: for the author says that the interpretation or synthesis of *dēn* and *asar rōšnīh* is one. Having made that statement he could scarcely fail to inform us what that interpretation was: according to our punctuation it is 'the universe of infinite Time'.

l. **9.** *'ut gās*: so DH, Ind.: *vēhīh*, TD_2, P.

l. **11.** *tārīkīh : T'LKYH* DH.
'pas-dānišnīh : 'pas-dānīh Ind.
zatār-kāmīh zufr-pāδak : zatār-kāmakīh 'ut zufāy Ind.

l. **12.** *'ut-aš zatār-kāmakīh hām : 'ut 'ān zatārīh nām* Ind.
hām: v. our remarks on *hamāk* l. 7. Ind. has *nām* 'name'.

l. **13.** *'kē*: so Ind. and P. TD_2 and DH have *'hač*.
tārīkīh 'gōβēt : tārīk 'gōβēnd Ind.

l. **14.** *'būt* DH: TD_2 and P. *'bavēt : būt* Ind.
'gōβēnd: Ind. only.
'kē-š : 'kē 'nūn Ind.

l. **15.** *'har 2 mēnōk*: so Ind. *'har 2 'hēnd* Gr. which Nyb. adopts and attaches to what follows. Reading for *kanārakōmandīh 'ut akanārakōmandīh* the *kanārakōmand 'ut akanārakōmand* of Ind. he translates: 'Tous les deux sont à la fois limités et illimités'. The correct reading is probably *'har 2-ān *mēnōk*.

l. **16.** *kanārakōmandīh 'ut akanārakōmandīh : kanārakōmand 'ut akanārakōmand* Ind.: for *akanārakōmandīh* DH has *akanārakīh* as a correction. *'ut* Ind: *i 'ut* P.: *i* TD_2: om. DH.
'čē: om. Ind.
bālistīh : bālist Ind.: **bālistīk* Nyb.

l. **17.** For *'gōβēt* Ind. has *'gōβēnd passim*. Nyb. reads *guftēt*.
'ku 'nē sarōmand: probably a later gloss; lacking in Ind. For *sarōmand* P. reads *D̲YL'WMNND̲*.
zufr-pāδak : zufāy Ind.: *pāδak* spelt *P"K*, DH.
tārīkīh : tārīk Ind. Ind. then omits *'ut 'ān 'hast . . . kanārakōmand*.

l. **18.** *akanār⟨ak⟩īh : 'K'LKYH* P.

l. **19.** *tuhīkīh : tuhīk* Ind.
'ō 'dit P., DH: *'ō i 'dit* TD_2: *'apāk 'dit* Ind.
'hēnd : 'ēstēt Ind.

2-ān: Written "*N* in P. and TD_2: *2* Ind. P. repeats preceding *'har*.
'χ^{v}ēš P, DH, Ind.: only TD_2 has the ridiculous *nipišt*.

l. **20.** After *kanārakōmand* Ind. has *'hēnd* (resp. *-ōmand*).
harvisp-ākāsīh: DH. omits: *harvist-ākāsīh* P.

ll. **20–22.** *'har *čiš . . . 'dānēt*: with the exception of the last word the whole passage is written in the margin in TD_2; but the passage forms a complete line in DH. The reading of TD_2 (and P.) is as follows: *'har 'čē-š 'andar dānišn i Ōhrmazd kanārakōmand 'čē 'ān i 'har 2 'hēnd patmān 'dānēt*. Ind. reads: *'har 2 'čiš 'andar 'dahišn i Ōhrmazd kanārakōmand 'ut akanārakōmand 'čē 'ēn 'ān i 'andar 'har 2-ān mēnōk patmān 'dānēnd*. Our passage must be interpreted with reference to DkM. 293. 15 ff. (text Z 22), where the limitations of knowledge are described. By substituting the *'čiš* of Ind. for the *'čē-š* of Gr. and the insertion of *i*, the meaning of the first part of the sentence becomes plain: 'Whatsoever is within the knowledge of Ohrmazd is limited'. This is in accordance with the Dk. passage cited where knowledge is said to be limited to present and past. The second part of our sentence is unintelligible in Gr. and we must therefore base our interpretation on Ind. By eliminating the superfluous *'ēn* and substituting the *'dānēt* of Gr. for the erroneous *'dānēnd* (*HWYTWNW̲d*, probably in any case representing the later pronunciation *dānēδ*) we obtain the translation: 'For he knows the *patmān* that exists between the two spirits'. The *patmān* is plainly the treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman mentioned later.

Nyberg takes the *T* after *HWYTW* in Gr. with the following  , thereby obtaining *'dit* instead of *'tāk* (Ind. has *'ut 'dit*). Against him is P. which divides correctly after *T*.

l. **22.** *pātaχšāyīh* P.: *pātšāhīh* Ind.: *pātaχšāy* TD_2, DH.
i dām : 'ut dām Ind.

l. **23.** *'tāk . . . akanārakīh*: Ind. has *'bavēt ; 'ān-ič 'hast i 'tāk hamāk hamāk ravišnīh akanārakōmand*.

l. **24.** *aβsihēnīt*: TD_2 and DH have *'PSHYNN* followed by a gap: *'PSYH'N* P: *'PSYNYT* Ind.
'tāk 'kaδ P.: *'tāk i 'kaδ* TD_2, DH: *'kē* Ind.
bēt TD_2: the rest have *'bavēt*.
kanārakōmandīh : akanārakīh Ind.

l. **25.** *harvisp : harvist* P. *ganāk mēnōk : Ahriman* Ind.

l. **26.** *'apar *handāčišn 'kunēt*: for *'apar* () Ind. has incorrectly *'čē* (), and reads simply *handāčēt*: Gr. has *handāčēt* (*'ut*) *'kunēt*. One may either reject the *'kunēt* of Gr. with Ind. and Nyb., or, keeping it, emend *handāčēt* to *handāčišn*. Bailey keeps the text of Gr. but reads *'čē* with Ind. rather than *'apar*, and translates, 'whatever he planned and was doing'. The meaning 'attack', however, seems more in keeping with the character and subsequent actions of Ahriman.
arišk-kāmakīh : rišk-kāmak Ind.
'andar Ind.: *čēγōn* Gr., Nyb., Bailey.

ll. **26–27.** **'hač frakān . . . hanžāmēnēt*: The text of TD_2 is here hopelessly corrupt: it runs as follows: *'apar frakān 'apar fražām 'pat 'apar frakān 'apar 'ut čand aβzārān*. The second *frakān 'apar* (*'ut*) is omitted by P., and inserted above the line by DH. Ind. reads: *'tāk fražām 'čē fražām 'pat čand aβzār hanžāmēnēt*. The *frakān 'apar* omitted

in P. must be suppressed as a repetition in TD_2. The preceding *'apar* must then be read as *'čē* (𐭪𐭪 for 𐭩𐭪), as is proved by the parallel *ba-čand u čih afzār* (*'Ulemā i Islām*, text Z 37, § 11, PersRiv. ii, p. 81, l. 12). Assuming the *hanžāmēnēt* of Ind. to be genuine, we now have *'pat 'čē 'ut čand aβzār hanžāmēnēt*, which gives excellent sense. There remains only *'apar frakān 'apar fražām*. For the second *'apar* Ind. has *'tāk*. If *'tāk* is correct—and there is no reason to suppose it is not—we must read **'hač frakān 'tāk fražām* and translate: 'from the beginning to the end with what and how many weapons he would accomplish his purpose'.

frakān means 'beginning' or 'source'. So Nyberg, 'commencement' (CCM. 1929, p. 266); 'das Heraustreten, das Hervorgehen, das Entstehen' (*Glossar*, p. 71). The word is not to be confused with *parkān* 'wall' (Bailey, JRAS. 1934, p. 517), though the spelling of both is the same in Pahlavī. PhlTexts, p. 78, last line, best illustrates its use.

'ān rāmišn 'nē 'pat rāmišn apāyēt dāštan 'kē 'pas 'hač 'ān handōh frakān 'bavēt.—'A pleasure which afterwards turns out to be a beginning of grief, should not be considered a pleasure.'

Cf. further DkM. 737. 1: *χᵛap-frakānīh 'ut χᵛap-fražāmīh.*—'A good beginning and a good end.'

Ibid. 47. 10: *'ōh-ič 'vēhān dēn frakān bun vāčak āstuvānīh 'apar Ōhrmazd-bandakīh.*—'Thus the beginning of the religion of the good and its first proposition is to confess oneself the servant of Ohrmazd.'

Ibid. 141. 12: *gētēh pātuχšāyīh vīnārišn 'pat mēnōk dēn frakān; mēnōk dēn ravākīh 'pat gētēh pātuχšāyīh patvast-ovišīh apērtar.*—'The exercise of earthly kingship has its basis in spiritual religion; the propagation of spiritual religion is mainly (attained) by its close association with earthly kingship.'

The meaning in the last passage seems to be 'basis' or 'support', and this seems to be even more clearly the case in DkM. 336. 2: *sāstārīh 'pat ahramōyīh frakān vīnārtak.*—'Heretical priesthood exercised through the support (on the basis) of false religion'.

Further references are DkM. 25. 6; 209. 6; 212. 22; 214. 14; 217. 20; 237. 5; 253. 9; 335. 19; 337. 11, 21; 338. 3; 593. 6. *frakānēnīt*: 621. 21; 622. 4; 908. 3. *frakān bun 'ut χᵛatīh 'ut hangartīkīh*: 908. 10.

l. **28.** *dām i 'pat 'ān aβzār*: so all MSS. Nyb. takes *'pat* with the preceding *i* in order to obtain the sense 'the creation for which that weapon was necessary'. This meaning does not seem necessarily demanded by the context, and a postpositional *'pat* is not, to my knowledge, an attested Pahlavī construction.

apāyīt : apāyist Ind.

frāč: DH. and P. have the spelling *PL'Č*.

ll. **28–9.** *dām 'pat mēnōk[īk] 'ēstāt : dām 'pat mēnōkīk 'ēstēt* P.: *'pat dām mēnōkīk 'ēstāt* TD_2, DH.: *'andar mēnōk 'ēstīt 'hēnd* Ind. Nyberg, adopting the reading of TD_2 and DH. again takes *'pat* with the preceding word. Here, however, the better reading of P. is against him.

l. **29.** *'būt : būt* Ind.

amēnītār : amanītār Ind.

aravāk : aravā Ind. after which it adds *tan*. The reading has no authority, since the *T* of *tan* is best regarded as a miswriting for *K*: the first *Wāw* of *tan* will then be the *Wāw quiescens*, and the second the ideogram for *ut*.

l. 30. *'pas-dānišnīh* P. and Ind.: *'pas-dānišn i* TD_2 and DH.
'hastīh i P.: *'hast-aš* TD_2, DH.; *'hast i* Ind.
anākās: 'nē ākās Ind.

l. 31. *zufāyak: zufāy* Ind.: *ZWP'YYG P.*
āχēzast, following the reading of Bailey. *χēzist* Nyb. Gr. reads *'HČSTW* (𐭥𐭲𐭮𐭱): Ind. more correctly *'XYČYT.*
vīmand: 'andar 'tāk Ind.
dītār: spelt 𐭣𐭩𐭲𐭥. Nyb. reading *stār* translated: 'il arriva à la frontière où se trouve l'étoile des lumières.' To this there are two objections: (i) What is the 'star of Light'? (ii) For 'star' Phl. has *star* or *stārak*—the latter usually in the sense of 'constellation'—not *stār*. Our word is *dītār* and means 'sight'. Cf. DkM. 248. 9: *ōyōn ov-iš dōst čēyōn humiθr 'pit 'ō huzahak 'pus, 'ān-ič i 'dūr 'hač dītār.*—'As friendly to him as a loving father to his noble son who is far from his sight.' Ibid., 312. 11: *hudītārīhā tuχšākīh i 'pat χᵛēškārīh.*—'Striving in one's duty with eyes wide open.' Cf. further Zs. 29. 4, *dītārīhēt*: DkM. 21. 11. The adjective *dītārīk* is common. Cf. NP. *dīdār*, Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, no. 592.
For *dītār i rōšnān* Ind. has simply *rōšn.*
'kaδ-aš: 'kē-š Ind.

l. 32. *'ān i Ōhrmazd rōšnīh* Ind.: *Ōhrmazd 'ān rōšnīh* P.: *Ōhrmazd* repeated in TD_2 and DH. which follow P.
frāč patrōt TD_2, DH.: *patrōp* (*PTLWPW*) P.: *'pat druž* Ind.: *patrōt*, Nyb. rightly <**pati-rav-*. Cf. Kn. (Āntiâ) 11. 7, p. 30: *'andar zamān tīrak ⟨i⟩ čōpak 'hač diž paδrōt mat.*—'Forthwith a wooden arrow sped forth and went from the castle.'
zatār-kāmakīh: zatār-kāmak Ind.

l. 33. *marnjēnītan* Ind. and P.: *marnjītan* TD_2, DH. The stem is spelt 𐭬𐭫𐭩𐭭 and could therefore be read *mrōč-*: cf. Av. *nimraoka-*. Pāz. has *marōč-*.
tak'apar kart P.: *'dit* (*TNḎ*) *'apar kart* TD_2, DH.: *'andar duvārast* Ind. The reading of P. is certainly to be preferred as the phrase occurs again at GrBd. 41, 13, where all the MSS. have *tak*, except Ind. which has 𐭠𐭱. *tak'apar kart*, lit. 'he raised a rush', i.e. 'rushed forth', suits the context admirably and corresponds in meaning to the *'andar duvārast* of Ind. If, however, 𐭠𐭱 is read, we must take it as *tang* and translate, 'he girded up his loins'. Nyberg's *'dit 'apar kart* can hardly mean 'avança plus loin encore vers le haut'.
'pas: om. Ind.
'dīt Ind. The phonetic complement *T* is missing in TD_2, DH. P omits altogether.
čērīh: *YLYH* P.
frēh Ind.: *farraχᵛ* Gr.

l. 34. *tam: tār 'ut tom*, Ind.
'dēv: Ind. adds *'ut druž.*
'ān dām i marnjēnītār niyāβ 'ō artīkgarīh: *'ān i dām i m. niyāβ 'ut artīkgarīh* P.: for *marnjēnītār* (*MLNČYNYT'L*) DH. has *MWLWČYNYT'L*: for *artīkgarīh* TD and DH. have *artgarīh*. Ind. has *dām i marnjēnītār χāst 'ō 'LGWND.*
niyāβ: cf. MPT. *ny'bg* 'becoming, suitable' (Henning, BSOS. ix, p. 86). Bailey reads *niyāz* and translates 'created many dēvs, destroyers of that creation, want and conflict', reading *'ut* instead of *'ō* with P. Henning (GGA. 1935, p. 10) regards *niyāβ* (𐭭𐭩𐭩𐭠) as a truncated form of *χēzist* which he deduces from the Ind. *χāst* which has the same meaning, and, punctuating after *marnjēnītār*, translates: 'und er stieg hinauf zum Kampf gegen O.'

l. 35. *'kaδ-aš*: *'kē-š* Ind: om. P.

'dīt: *'vēnēnd* P.: *dīt* written phonetically in Ind.

'nē 'sahist P.: *rāδ 'sahist* TD_2, DH.: om. Ind. The correctness of the *'nē 'sahist* of P. is proved by the opposite *'sahist*, l. 37: cf. Henning, l.c.

l. 36. *sahmēn i* TD_2: *sahmgund* (*SHMGWNḎ*) DH.: *ham-gund* (*HMGWND*) P.: *sahmkun* (*SHMKWN*) Ind.

vatak: *'vat* Ind. In spite of the reading of Ind., Nyberg read an unattested **nitak* deduced from a conjectured *uparyavan*, itself unattested and far too archaic in form for any Pahlavī text. The form *vatak* is found GrBd. 58. 9: *margīh* ⟨*'ut*⟩ *vatakīh*. DkM. 595. 1: *'dēv 'ut 'martōm i vatak*. Ibid. 612. 7; 634. 22: *vataktar 'ut duš'χ^{v}arr-tar*. Ibid. 861. 6: *vatak 'dēv 'ut druvand martōm*. Finally *vatak* translates Av. *ayavant-* Vd. 7. 27, where it is glossed as *'čiš i vat*.

**i*: MSS. *'ut*. Ind. omits.

dušīh: on this form and the parallel *hu-īh* v. BSOS. ix, p. 311. Nyb. *dušdāh*, but Av. *duždā-* should appear as *dušdāk* in Phl. Ind. omits.

'ut-aš: om. P.

buržīt 'hēnd: *buržišnīk 'sahist* Ind.

l. 37. *zufr i van*: *'ǰān* (*HY'*) *dām i* Ind. Nyb. objected to *zufr* 'deep' as being inapplicable to the creation of Ohrmazd. There is, however, no reason to suppose that 'deep' in Pahlavī cannot have the figurative meaning 'profound' as in other languages. Vd. 1. 21, on the contrary, shows that it can. Translating Av. *gufra-* used in the description of the many fair lands, the Phl. translator adds *'pat kār* ⟨*'ut*⟩ *dātastān*, 'deep in its works and judgement'. Similarly Av. *gufra-* is used in the sense of 'profound, mysterious': Mithra (Yt. 10. 25) is the 'profound lord' (*ahura-gufra-*), cf. AIW., col. 524.

van: the meaning and etymology are shown by DkM. 150. 20 ff. The opposite of *van* is *vānītak* 'conquered': *van*, therefore, means 'victorious' and is an adj. from Old Iranian *van-* 'conquer', (cf. FrŌīm., chapter 8, *vana, van* III) .One may compare MPT. *wnybwṯ* 'annihilated' (Henning, BSOS. ix. p. 89 and *w'nyšn* = *ἀπώλεια*, id. BSOAS. xi, pp. 57, 61). The Dk. passage reads as follows: *van pātuχšāy, vantom pātuχšāy*[*īh*]*tom spēnāk mēnōk, 'ut vanīh pātuχšāyīh i van 'ut vānišn, zanišn, spōžišn i hamēstār 'hač van vanīh. 'ut vānītak hačaδar purr-zōr pātuχšāytom spēnāk mēnōk *nihān-ōž ganāk mēnōk, 'ut vānītaktom ham ganāk mēnōk*.—'The victorious and kingly, the most victorious and kingly is the Bounteous Spirit. The victory and kingship of the victorious, and the conquering, smiting and repulse of the adversary come from the victory of the victorious one. He who is conquered beneath the almighty, most kingly Bounteous Spirit is the Destructive Spirit whose power is hidden; and he who is most conquered is also the Destructive Spirit.' Cf. ibid. 419. 14: *'kē azatār 'andar-ič vanīh, 'avē vānītak*.—'Whoso does not strike even when victorious, is vanquished.'

hamāk-pursišnīh 'ut-aš: *pursišnīk, 'ut-aš buržišnīk 'sahist 'ut* Ind.

l. 38. *dām-dahišnīh* TD_2, P.: DH. omits *dām*: *dām 'ut 'dahišn* Ind.

l. 39. *'apāk-ič*: *-ič* om. Ind.

'dānastan: correctly in P. with *Wāw quiescens* which is omitted by TD_2 and DH. Ind. has *'dānast* without a *Wāw*. The phrase means literally 'with the knowing what manner . . . '.

dām i: omitted in Ind.

kār : K'YR P. Ind. adds *'ut.*

l. **40.** After the first *ganāk mēnōk* Ind. adds *'šut 'hač-iš.* The latter word must stand for the first 𐭠𐭱𐭮 which may be read either *'ut-aš* or *hač-iš.* For 𐭮 Ind. has wrongly substituted *MN*, the ideogram for *hač.* Ind. is therefore to be translated, 'He approached Ahriman and offered him peace'.

āštīh P., Ind.: *āšt* TD_2, DH. which may be genuine, cf. Arm. *hašt.*

l. **41.** *'dah* DH.: *'dāt*, P.: TD_2 has the phonetic complement inserted above the line: *'kun* Ind.

l. **42.** *asōhišn apōhišn*: 'uncorrupting, undecaying', so Bailey, JRAS. 1930, pp. 12–13. Nyb. 'without hunger and thirst'. P. omits *apōhišn.*

'bavēh : 'bavēt Ind.

'ut-aš . . . aβkārīhā: lacking in Ind.

sārēnēh: for *sārēn-* 'stir up' v. Henning, BSOAS. xi, p. 61.

l. **43.** *akār : akār i* changed to *akārak* DH.: *'K'L'* P.

2-ān : 2 om. DH.

aβkārīhā: sc.<**upa-kar*, cf. Skt. *upakāra* 'assistance'. The meaning seems to be 'promote', cf. Dd. 30. 17: *nairīk i hukarp i hušarm ⟨i⟩ šōδ-kāmak, 'ān i hēr-pānak i ārāstār 'ut apārīkān nairīkān i sūt-aβkārān.*—'The beautiful and modest woman who desires her husband, and the thrifty one who is a good manageress and others who promote benefit'. Nyb. takes *aβkārīhā* as an optative: but the form is very doubtful.

l. **44.** *'ku 'nē 'baram . . . stāyišn*: for this passage Ind. reads: *'ku 'bē 'nē 'šavam, vēš aδyārīh 'ō dām i 'tō 'nē 'kunam ; 'ut stāyišn i 'pat dām i 'tō 'nē 'kunam, 'ut 'pat 'čiš ⟨i⟩ nēvak 'apāk 'tō ham-dātastān 'nē 'bavam.*—'I shall not go forth, nor shall I any more give assistance to thy creation; nor shall I give praise to thy creation; nor shall I agree with thee in any good thing.'

dām i P.: *dām-ič* TD_2, DH.

'bē 'tō 'ut dām-ič i 'tō : 'ut dām i 'tō Ind.

l. **45.** *hamē hamē* Gr.: *hamāk hamāk* Ind.

hāčēm (*H'ČYM*) TD_2, DH.: *'HYČ'M* P.: om. Ind. For a discussion of *hāč-* v. BSOS. ix, p. 582.

l. **46.** *i 'man : 'χᵛēš 'kunam* Ind.

vičārišn : vizārišn Ind.

'ku-š : 'ku ganāk mēnōk Ind.

'ēt : ē (𐭩) Ind.

l. **47.** *'avē* TD_2, DH.: *'ō* P., Ind.

ačārak: written with the distinctive sign 𐭭 in Ind., which adds *'hast.*

'pēš 'dārēt : 'barēt Ind.

'patiyraft Ind.: *patīrēt* Gr.

patēst: for the reading and meaning of this word v. BSOS. ix, p. 582. Gr. reads *PTST*: Ind. has *'ut-aš 'pat stēž.*

l. **48.** *'burt*: 𐭥𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭥 TD_2, DH.: 𐭥𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭥 P.: 𐭥𐭥𐭫 Ind.

'ut-aš : 'hač-iš Ind. Cf. l. 39.

harvisp-kartār 'hēh: Ind. has *harvisp-ākās 'hēt 'ut harvisp-kartār.*

l. **49.** *marnjēnītan* P., Ind.: *marnjītan* TD_2, DH.
'ut-at Ind., Henning: *'ut-aš* Gr., Nyb., Bailey.
dām-ič i TD_2: *dām-ič* DH.: *dām i-č* P.: *dām i* Ind.

l. **50.** *harvisp-ākāsīh : harvisp-ākās* P.

l. **51.** *zamān i* Ind., P.: *zamān 'ut* TD_2, DH.
kārēčār-ič : kārēčār Ind.
**aš : 'i-š* Gr.: om. Ind. In the Phl. MSS. *'ut-aš* (pronounced *u-š*), *'i-š*, and *aš* are continually confused.
'kunam : 'daham Ind.
'aδak-aš Ind.: *'aδak* Gr.

l. **52.** *'pat : i* Ind.
čēyōn . . . gumēčišn i dām: lacking in Ind.
patēst : patast MSS. v. l. 47.
kōχšišn : WK'Š'NW P.
gumēčišnīh TD_2: *gumēčišn i* P., DH.

l. **53.** *nišastan* TD_2, DH.: *NY'STY* P.: *vyāpānītan* Ind.

l. **54.** *gumēčišn : gumēčišnīh* Ind.
After *'vas* Ind. adds *'hēnd.*
apārōnīh Ind.: *apārakīh* P.: *apārak* TD_2, DH., Nyb.
varzīt : varzand Ind.
'ku . . . varzēnd: lacking in Ind. Probably a gloss.

l. **55.** *'ut-aš : 'hač-iš* Ind. v. l. 39 note.

l. **56.** *'kun 'tāk* Ind.: *'kart* TD_2, DH.: *'kart i* (with *Wāw quiescens* after *T* and therefore possibly *'kart'tāk*) P.

zamān kartan has the meaning 'fix a time, make an appointment'; cf. the gloss on Vd. 2. 21: *hanžamanīh frāč 'burt 'kē dātār Ōhrmazd—'ku zamān 'bē 'kart.*—'The creator Ohrmazd summoned an assembly—that is, he fixed a date.'

'ēn pašn : gumēčišnīh Ind. *pašn* beside *pašt* and *past* (as **yašn*, NP. *jašn*, Av. *yasna-* beside *yašt*, or OP. *āšnaiy* beside Av. *āχšti-*, MP. *āštīh*, NP. *āštī*, Arm. *hašt*) is well attested. The two words are almost identical in meaning, though the former has the meaning 'connexion' as well as 'contract'. For the contract or treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman Zs. 1 (text Z 4) § 30 has *pašt*. In DkM. 272. 12 the meaning 'connexion' is certain for *pašn. dānišn pašn 'hast i andarag dānāk 'ut 'ān i 'dānīhēt.*—'Knowledge is the connexion between the knower and the object known.' DkM. 628. 22 we may translate 'obligation': *'vas-pašn-tom 'ku 'čiš vēš 'bē 'dahēt.*—'He who has most obligations, that is who gives most.' For 'compact' both words are indifferently used.

DkM. 778. 14: *'apar vinās i druχtan i pašt i 'apar 'χ^{v}art 'ut 'dāt, 'ut garānīh i apārīk miθrōdruž.*—'Concerning the sin of being false to a contract which one has received and given and the grievousness of other (forms of) promise-breaking.'

Ibid. 750. 7: *'apar vinās pātafrās i 'avē ['ō] 'kē 'ō 'ān 'i-š 'pat mēnišn ayāp 'pat gōβišn 'ō [i] 'avē i aržānīk 'dāt, pašn (PYHNW) kart, drōžēt.*—'Concerning the sin and punishment of him who is false to the contract which he has entered into with anyone on whom he has bestowed anything (even) in thought or word.'

pašn is very common in Dk. and is apt to be confused with *pēhn* 'food'. Cf. DkM.

653. 21, where *pašn* is written after *χ^{v}arišn*; here obviously only *pēhn* is suitable.
'ō DH.: om. P.: *'ō i* TD_2.
frāč 'aβganam: om. Ind
'čē-š : 'kē-š Ind.

l. **57.** *'kartan* Ind.: *'kunēt* P.: *'kun* TD_2, DH.
akārēnīt : 'K'LNNYT P.: *akār 'hast* Ind.

l. **58.** *fražāmīh : afražānak i* Ind.
ham- : kām TD_2.
'būt : 'bavēt TD_2.

l. **59.** *ham-kōχšišn*: Ind. adds *'kē*.
-mān vahmān : 'HM'N Ind.
For *vahmān* Nyb. proposed to read *vyaχmān*<Av. *vyāχman-* 'assembly'. The word is, however, certainly the MP. equivalent of NP. *bahmān* 'un tel'; it is used *passim* in the treatise on how to write letters (PhlTexts, pp. 132–40: edited BSOS. ix, pp. 93–109).
'šap: om. Ind.

l. **60.** *'kunēm : 'kunam* P., DH., Ind.

l. **61.** *'ēn-ič : 'ēn 'čē* Ind.
ē (*'Y*) TD_2, DH.: om. P.: Ind. omits both *ē* and the following *'andar*.
'ēn: added above the line in TD_2: om. DH.
'sāl is only in Ind.

l. **62.** *hamāk kāmak : HM'K'MK* Ind.
'andar: om. DH.
gumēčišn : gumēčak i Ind.

l. **63.** *'har 2 'ravēt*: om. Ind.: for the last word DH. has *'raft* and repeats from *'har* to *'ān i*.
'pat 'ān i : 3000 'sāl Ind.
artīk: om. Ind.

l. **64.** *šāyēt kartan : 'bavēt* Ind.
pityārakīh : i patyārak Ind.: P. writes *PTH' LKYH*.
'dārēt : 'dārēnd Ind.

l. **65.** *'ku-š*: om. Ind.
yaθā-ahū-vairyō(k): Ind. writes correctly in Avestan script. The remainder have Phl. readings of varying accuracy.
20-ēvak: written as two words in P.: joined up in TD_2: ۲۰ایوک Ind.

l. **66.** *mārīk : M'YLYK* Ind.

l. **67.** *aβsihišn : ōsēnītan* Ind.
ristāχēz : LYST'HČ DH.
apityārakīh : apatyārīh TD_2, DH.: *apatyārak* Ind.
dām : dāmān Ind.
'tāk: only in Ind.
hamē hamē : hamāk hamāk Ind.

l. **68.** *nimūt : nimūδ* Ind.

'kaδ-aš : 'kē-š Ind.
akārīh : akārakīh P.

l. **69.** *aβsihišn i 'dēvān 'hamist*: so P.: written in margin in TD_2: om. DH.: *'ut ōsēnītan i 'dēvān 'bē* Ind.
start : sturt P.
'ut abōδ: om. Ind.
'būt : 'bavēt P.
tam : tārtom Ind.

l. **70.** *'gōβēt : paytāk* Ind.
'ku : 'ku-š P.
3: om. P.
'bavēt TD_2: *'būt* P., DH., Ind.
'hač: om. DH.
tan 'andar hanǰēt: lit. 'draws in his limbs'. Unfortunately *hanǰ-* and *uz-* are spelt identically in Phl. *uzītan*, however, means 'rise up', and can, therefore, not seriously be considered in our passage where the word is used with *andar*. *tan 'andar* seems to me to be the only possible reading of 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭭: Nyb.'s *tavīh* is one of his less happy emendations, and the examples he cites (*Hilfsbuch*, i, p. 14) entirely fail to convince one that the sign 𐭲 can be used to represent the sound *īh*. The 𐭪𐭢𐭪𐭢 he cites from DkM. 458. 12 does not represent *čē čēγōn*, a reading which presents formidable difficulties, but *čēγōn-ič dēn*: the passage is in no way remarkable except in so far as an extra stroke has been added to *čēγōn*. Though obscure it may be translated thus: *apārīk i ōšmurišn čēγōn-ič dēn nipēk paytākēnēt*, 'Other traditions, as the writings of the Religion too reveal'. Further, Nyb.'s *tavīh* is not an attested form: its existence is rendered all the more unlikely by the fact that in Phl. we have a number of words derived from the root *tav-* signifying 'power'—*tavān, tāv, attānīh, attōkīh*. To all of these the author could have resorted without using an otherwise unknown **tavīh* and representing it by the signs which would certainly—and rightly—have been read *tan 'andar*. Bailey rightly translates 'contracted his body'.

l. **71.** *bahr : bār* (*B'L*) Ind.
**'bavēt : 'būt* MSS.
ganāk mēnōk: om. Ind.
šnūk : dānūk P.: *zānūk* Ind. All forms are possible for 'knee'. *šnūk* represents the 'pahlavization' of Av. *šnav-* and is comparatively common, e.g. DkM. 529. 15; 765. 6, 7. The form *dānūk* could well be a Pers. form to north-west *zānūk*, and is found e.g. PhlRiv. 31. 3. It is, however, more likely that it either represents *zānūk* (written with the short *z*, as 𐭦𐭬𐭩 for *zamān*) or *šnūk* (the signs 𐭭 and 𐭮 are very frequently interchanged).

l. **72.** *bavandak : hamāk* Ind.
First **'bavēt : 'būt* TD_2, P., Ind.: om. DH. Ind. adds *start 'ut*.
Second **'bavēt : 'būt* MSS.
ganāk mēnōk : om. Ind.
'hač akārīh i TD_2: om. Ind.: *'hač akārakīh* P.: *'hač akārīh* DH.

l. **73.** *anākīh*: om. Gr.
kartan : kart Ind. without *Wāw quiescens*.
startīh : sturtīh P.
'sayast Gr. (v. text Z 6, l. 2, note): *'ēstēt* Ind.

ll. **74–148**, lacking in Ind.

l. **74.** *dām-dahišnīh* P.: *dām 'ut dahišn* TD_2: *dām dahišn* DH.
mēnōkīha: 𐭬𐭩𐭭𐭪𐭪𐭩𐭠 P.

l. **75.** **'nē : rāδ* MSS.
'būt P.: *'bavēt* TD_2, DH.
χ^vatāy : XWT' P., DH.

l. **76.** *χ^vatāy 'ut* DH.: *XWT' 'ut* P.:*χ^vatāy* TD_2.

l. **77.** *aβzōnīk : 'PZNYKW* P.

ll. **78–9.** The creation of *yazdān χ^vatīh*. As Nyb. has pointed out, the creation of the 'selfhood of the gods' corresponds to Ahriman's counter-'creation of the demons' (ll. 123–5). The correspondence is exact, and the creation in question in each case is the last of a series of three. Our passage must, therefore, be transferred to ll. 118–19.

l. **78.** *nazdist : NZSTW* TD_2, DH.: *NZ'ST* P.
**yazdān* **χ^vatīh*: so Nyb. from the parallel ll. 123–4. *dahišn χ^vatāy* TD_2, DH.: *dahišn XWT'* P.

l. **79.** *i χ^vēš* P: *'χ^vēš* TD_2, DH.
dām-dahišnīh : dahišnīh P.: *dām 'ut dahišn* TD_2: *dām dahišn* DH.

l. **81.** *vēnākīh* P.: *YN'GŠ* TD_2.
hakurč : hakarč P.

l. **82.** *pityārak : patyārakīh* P.
'ān pityārakīh : 'ān i patyārakīh P.
akārīhēt : 'K'L' YT corrected to *akārīhēt* DH.

l. **84.** *ačārakīhā*: so Bailey. This seems to be the obvious reading, cf. l. 47. *ačār* in the sense of 'inevitable' is common in ŠGV. (references in BSOS. ix, p. 583). Nyb. reads *apārak, gāh pityārak akār kartan rāδ*, and translates 'afin de rendre inefficaces la perversité et l'hostilité qui en découle, il créa le temps'. However, *apārak* in the sense of 'perversity' is only doubtfully attested in l. 54 of this chapter where we should certainly read *apārōnīh* with Ind. in contrast to the following *frārōnīh*. For *ačārakīhā* cf. NP. *čāreh nīst*, 'there is no alternative'.
pityārak : patyārak P., DH.

l. **86.** After *kār* P. adds ـــــ).
čārōmandīhā : čār 'ut čārōmandīhā P.: *vičārišn čārōmandīhā* DH.

l. **87.** *akanārak[īhā]*: TD_2 adds *'ut*. Nyb. read *akanārak gāh*, taking the second word as the equivalent of MPT. *ghy* 'then'. It is, perhaps, better to delete, as 'then' is already expressed in *'pas*. P. reads *'K'LKW YH'* preceded by *i* missing in TD_2.
dērang-χ^vatāy : dērang- XWT' P.
brēhēnīt 'ut: om. P.: *'dāt* DH. with *brēhēnīt* written above in a later hand.

l. **88.** *dērang-χ^vatāy : DYLNNDXWT'* P.

l. **89.** *'dāt : 'būt* P.
After *aχ^vārīh* P. reads *ravišnīh*, omitting preceding *'ut*.

l. **90.** *'būt* P.: *'bavēt* cet.

χ^vārīh : χ^vārak MSS.
**brēh* Nyb.: *GRYH* MSS.

l. **91.** *a-'bē-vartišnīh* () P.: *'BWD vartišnīh* DH.: *'BWD varčišnīh* TD_2. The second word must be read as *vartišnīh* as the gloss (*'čiš i Ōhrmazd 'ān i 'pat bundahišn 'dāt, 'nē vartēt*) clearly shows. The reading of the first word must also be decided from the gloss: that of P. can scarcely be read as anything else than *a'bē-vartišnīh*: in TD_2 and DH. we can read *abōδ* or *aband*. The latter is immediately precluded, for the gloss means 'The things that Ohrmazd created at the primal creation, do *not* change', whereas *aband-vartišnīh* must mean 'change without impediment'. On the same grounds *abōδ-vartišnīh* is disqualified: 'imperceptible change' cannot be explained as 'what does not change'. The reading of P. is, then, alone correct, and the reference is to the immutability of fate. Nyb., who had not seen P., read ⟨*gannāk*⟩ *mēnūk abōδ-*vartišnīh paitāk būt*: 'le mauvais esprit perdit manifestement connaissance'. The addition of *gannāk* is now no longer needed. *'ān mēnōk* though not absolutely untranslatable is best deleted: so Nyb.

Before the second *'ān* P. has *'hač*.

l. **92.** *a'bē-* P.: om. TD_2, DH.
kāmak i P., DH.: *kāmak* TD_2.

l. **93.** *'būt : 'bavēt* P.
'ut dahišn TD_2: *dahišn* DH.: *dahišnīh* P.

l. **94.** *adān*[*īh*]: DH. and P. prefix *'ut*.
a'dātastān : a'dātastānīh P.

l. **95.** *kōχšīt : KWXŠ' YTW* P.
χ^vatāy-fražānakīh : XWT' W PL'NKYH P.

l. **96.** *Ahriman*: P. correctly omits.

l. **97.** *dānišnīh* P.: *'bavišnīh* TD_2, DH.
mat : 'apar mat P.

l. **99.** *dērang-χ^vatāy*: the variant spellings of this word will no longer be noted.
nazdist: *NZDSTW* DH.: *NZDST* P.: *NZSTW* TD_2. For this word these spellings and *NZ'ST*(*W*) are indifferently used, and will, therefore, not be further noted.

l. **100.** *'būt* P.: *'bavēt* TD_2, DH.
pēš P.:  TD_2 read by Nyb. as *pas*: accordingly he punctuated after *'būt*. The reading of P. is, however, to be preferred, as, to the best of my knowledge, *pas* is always written with the ideogram at any rate in the older texts.
gumēčišnīh : gumēčīh P.

l. **101.** *akanārak : akanārīh* P.

l. **102.** (*patmānak*)-*ē* () TD_2: *-i* () P.

l. **103.** *gumēčēt : GWMYTYTW* DH.
vartēt DH: *'ut vartēt* P.: *varčēt* corrected to *vartēt* above the line, TD_2.
apēčakīhā P.: *apēčīhā* TD_2, DH.

l. **104.** *hamayīk : hamē* P.
zamān: added above the line by a later hand in DH. The passage from here to l. 111 was taken by Nyb. to be a Middle Persian poem celebrating Zurvān. His

theory, however, involves the assumption of a superabundance of glosses and the introduction of archaisms, sometimes 'emended' from a perfectly sound text. Exception has already been taken to this practice by Henning (l.c., p. 11) to which the reader is referred. Moreover, the close resemblance of our passage to *Aogəmadaēčā* 57–66, which Nyb. was himself the first to point out, precludes the possibility of an original Pahlavī poem: the resemblance is in places so great as to amount to translation, and Pahlavī verse translations from the Avestan are not known to have existed.

ōžōmandtar P., DH.: *ōžmandtar* TD_2.

l. **105.** **hu-ayāpak : ayāpak* (𐭩𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭪) P.: *handāčak* TD_2, DH. The reading *ayāpak* is to be preferred as it accords better with the subsequent *zamān 'hač ayāpakān ayāpaktar*. The 𐭣 of 𐭩𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭪𐭣 is therefore probably to be read *hu-*, and **hu-ayāpak* read: so TD_2 for *'hač ayāpakān* (l. 106) has *hu-ayāpakān*.

l. **106.** *zamān pursišnīktar*: P. rightly omits.

'hač ayāpakān ayāpaktar P.: *hu-ayāpakān ayāpaktar* TD_2, DH. *'hač* had already been supplied by Nyb. With the exception of Herzfeld editors agree on the reading and translation of 𐭩𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭪 (*ayāpak*). Nyb. has 'possède plus que les plus fortunés': Scheftelowitz, op. cit., pp. 44–45, 'ist reicher begütert als die Begüterten'. Bailey, 'is more successful than the successful'. Herzfeld, however (*Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 274), reads *aδawak*<**dab-* 'deceive', comparing Av. *aδaoyamna-* 'undeceivable', a standing epithet of Mithra (references in Gray, JAOS. xlvi, p. 98) which accords admirably with the character of Zurvān, the 'just', v. Part I, p. 58). Attractive though the suggestion is, the present author cannot altogether accept it. DkM. 647. 13, where our phrase is exactly reproduced, is unfortunately inconclusive. The passage is as follows: *'ut-aš 'andar rōšnīh 'ō patīrak 'raft Vištāsp 'apar ō 'ān i aβzōnīk rapiθwin, 'ān 'hač ayāpakān *ayāpaktar 'ut 'ān *'hač pursišnīkān pursišnīktar*.—'And Vištāsp went to meet him in the light at the time of the bounteous Rapiθwin (midday), he who . . . . . more than those who . . . . . ., he who is better informed than the well informed.' The passage is not quite conclusive since it is impossible to decide whether the epithets refer to Rapiθwin or Vištāsp: the fact that they here refer to Zurvān, however, makes the former alternative wellnigh certain. As an epithet of the genius of midday 'undeceived' is highly appropriate.

Though I have been unable to find *aδāwak* elsewhere in Pahlavī, the following instances may be of use: Dd. 36. 42: *'pat 'ān i 'drōγ-dēnīh 'ut dāmān* 𐭠𐭥𐭱𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪 (*āδāftēnītan*?).—'By false religion and the deceiving(?) of creatures.' In the same section we have 𐭩𐭯𐭱𐭣𐭩𐭪 *'dēv* which can be read as *āδāβānēnāk*, though it is far more probable that this is merely a misspelling of *viyāβānēnāk*. Less clear is Dd. 36. 47: *nihuftan družān i nihuftār 'hač* 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭪 (*āδāβišn*) *i gētēhān 'hač-ič matan 'ō gētēhān āδāβišn*(?).—'To keep the concealing lies back from deceiving(?) material creatures and from coming to deceive them.' The translation, however, is uncertain. Dd. 2. 19 𐭤𐭱𐭣𐭩𐭪 certainly stands for *viyāβāngar*.

From the above examples it will be seen that the existence of the *āδāβ-* in MP. is by no means impossible. It should, however, be borne in mind that in all instances except Dd. 36. 47 the word may merely be a corruption of a derivative of *viyāβān*, whereas in Dd. 36. 47 one may read *ayāpišn* and translate 'keep them from getting hold of material creatures'. Not being wholly convinced of the existence of *āδāβ-* 'deceive', I have abandoned Herzfeld's *aδawak*. My own translation is based on the certain meaning of *ayāpakīh* "comprehension": v. Index.

'hač pursišnīkān pursišnīktar: closely parallel is GrBd. 209. 2: *'ut-aš kār 'ut dātastān 'vas 'andar pursēnd*—'they make a thorough study of their affairs'. *kār 'ut dātastān* comes to mean little more than 'affairs'. The semantic development of *dātastān* appears to be 'justice, (cosmic) order, affair, story'.

l. **107.** *vičīr* DH.: *WČL* TD_2: *vičār* P.
**šāyēt: ŠYT(W)* MSS.

l. **108.** *zamān* [*i*] *mān 'aβganīhēt*, &c.: Nyb. translates, 'notre temps s'en va disparaissant': but Henning has objected that 'our Time' would necessarily be *zamān i amāh* in MP. Further, *aβganīhēt* means 'is overthrown' rather than 'disappears'. 'Our time is overthrown' is scarcely what one would find in a passage celebrating Time. The crux of the passage is *brīn*. As Scheftelowitz (*Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit*, pp. 44–45) has pointed out, *brīn pat zamān* is not equivalent to *pat zamān i brīn* as Nyb. appears to have supposed. On the other hand, Scheftelowitz's own version is no more satisfactory. Apparently supposing that *LMYTWN* without phonetic complement can represent MP.*aβgandan*, he emends to,or rather asserts that the text reads, *awgandan šāyet*. 𐭠𐭢𐭲𐭭, which is certainly *pistak* (*pēsītak*) 'adorned', and is so taken by Nyb., he transliterates *paδstak* '= air. **padasta*, ai. *padastha* "auf festem Fuss stehend", np. vgl. *pāyistäh* "feststehend" '. Such a word is unknown in both MP. and NP. He translates, 'unsere Zeit vermag zu vertreiben das Geschick' —most unlikely in view of the connexion, amounting to identity, that existed between Time and Fate in Zervanism (v. Chapter X)—'Durch die Zeit wird auch der Feststehende auf einmal zerschmettert.' Once it is realized, with Henning, that *mān* cannot be taken as 'we', the situation becomes appreciably clearer. *mān* can then only mean 'house' (so Henning): and *zamān mān 'aβganīhēt* must mean 'by Time are houses overthrown'. The use of *zamān* without a preposition as an agent to a verb in *-īhēt* is rare, but an exact parallel is to be found in Zs. 34. 50 (text Z 5 (*a*)): *Ōhrmazd 'pat 'āp 'bē 'dāt, 'pat ātaχš fražāmīhēt*.—'Ohrmazd created by water, and consummates by fire'. *brīn 'pat zamān* must now be taken as a parenthesis—'The decision is through Time'. *pistak frāč škīhēt* will then also have *zamān* as its agent. The emendation of *pistak* to *dēstak* 'building' is tempting.

škīhēt: mutilated in TD_2.

l. **109.** **ōšōmandān*: following Henning, who restored from the parallel *aošaŋuhatąm mašyānąm* (Aog. 58): in spite of the MSS. I prefer to read the normal Phl. *ōšōmandān* rather than *ōšmandān*. TD_2 has 𐭠𐭱𐭥𐭣, and P. more correctly 𐭠𐭱𐭥𐭥𐭣. Nyb. read *hač hangām jān i martōmān* which he supposed to be a gloss. Henning's reading, however, now supported by P., is convincing.

First *'nē 'kaδ*: effaced in TD_2.

Second *'nē 'kaδ: 'kaδ* is omitted in TD_2 and DH.

l. **110.** **čāh-ē 'kanēt, 'andar: ČY'HB HPLWYTW BYN* P., DH.: *ČY'H W HPLWY* followed by a gap, TD_2. The reading *čāh* was first suggested by Schaeder *apud* Nyb. CCM. 1929, p. 274. Nyb.'s *nisyē afravēt* was introduced for 'metrical' reasons. B. Geiger, WZKM, xl, pp. 114 f., read *āfravēt*<*frav-*.

χān (𐭧𐭱𐭭): is the correct reading as the addition of *āpān i sart* shows: so Henning and Bailey; Nyb. and Scheftelowitz read $a\chi^v$.

l. **112.** **'kē gētēh rōšnīh*: MSS. have *'hač gētēh* (TD_2 spells *GYT'H*, DH. and P. *GYT' passim*) *rōšnīh*. Keeping the *'hač* Nyb. preferred to assume a *lacuna* and read:

Ōhrmazd . . .<gētāh rōšnīh u>hač gētāh rōšnīh karp . . . tāšīt (so Nyb. *passim* for *brēhēnīt*, v. his *Glossar*, s.v. *tāšītan*; cf. note on l. 113). The passage can, however, only be correctly understood with reference to the parallel l. 120 where the counter-creation of Ahriman is described. There, whether my own addition of *χᵛatīh* is accepted or not, only one creation is mentioned, namely that of Ahriman's *dām*—or rather *tan i dām* corresponding to the *karp i dām* here—from *gētēh tārīkīh*. Since the correspondence is throughout extremely close, Nyb.'s addition seems superfluous. The confusion of *'hač* and *'kē* is so frequent in Phl. as not to require comment.

***l.* 113.** After *brēhēnīt* TD_2 and DH. have *aš*: P. omits. *'pat ātaχš* is written above the line in DH. The correspondence between the Ohrmazdean and Ahrimanian creations is so close that in this passage the text, where faulty, can be restored with comparative certainty. Thus the superfluous *aš* omitted by P. is not found in the parallel l. 121, and must be deleted.

rōšn i P., DH.: *rōšnīh* TD_2. The corresponding word in l. 121 is **siyāh*, and the reading of DH. and P. should therefore be preferred.

spēt: clearly so written in TD_2: P. has *SČYTW* which may either be read *sačēt* (so Nyb.) or *spēt* (Henning). The latter is to be preferred, as the corresponding word in l. 121 is *āturastar-*gōn* 'ash-coloured'.

girt: Nyb. reads *girt frāč paitāk* ⟨*būt*⟩. 'Puis apparut la voûte du ciel', &c. As our conceptions of the Zervanite cosmogony largely depend on the translation of this passage, a somewhat lengthy discussion cannot here be avoided. In CCM. 1931, pp. 194–5, Nyb. gives a scheme of what he conceives to have been the successive stages of the Zervanite creation. These are: (i) Ohrmazd and his essence, (ii) *gētēh rōšnīh*, the light of this world, (iii) (*a*) *karp i dāmān i χᵛēš* 'universal form', (*b*) *rāst gōβišnīh* 'truthfulness', (iv) (*a*) *girt*, the firmament, (*b*) *karp i vāy i vēh*, the form of the good atmosphere, (*c*) *zām*, the earth. Of these we have seen that the second is not dependent on or emanated from the essence of Ohrmazd, but is identical with it. Our immediate concern is now with *girt* which Nyb., followed by Widengren (*Hochgottglaube*, p. 304), took as the firmament. Such an interpretation is only possible if *būt* is added after *frāč paytāk*: and for this there is no MS. authority. Further, the ordinary word for the firmament in all the cosmological texts is *spihr*, and no other example has so far been adduced in which *girt* alone is used of the firmament. The only example known to the present author where such an idea is expressed is DkM. 81. 3, *girt i āsmān*, 'the circle of the sky'. The addition of *i āsmān* is significant as indicating that *girt* alone would have been about as comprehensible in Phl. when applied to the firmament as 'circle' is in English.

In attempting to elucidate this important text it should be borne in mind that in all probability we have here to deal with a translation of an Avestan original, as the forms *asarak karpak* and *asarōk karpak* clearly show. The latter form also occurs in DkM. 349. 5 (text Z 10), where it is expressly stated that *asarōk karpak* was the Av. name for the *aβzār* which was produced from the Endless Light (*'i-š apastākīk 'nām asarōk karpak*). Once this is conceded, it becomes plain that *girt* translates either *skarəna-* or *hikarana* 'round' (AIW., coll. 1587 and 1812) and that *frāč paytāk* is a translation of *frā-dərəsra-* (ibid. 1015). *frāč* is constantly used by the Pahlavī translators to represent Av. *fra-* or *frā-*, and generally, as here, adds little to the meaning. Further, from the little evidence I have been able to collect, it would appear that *girt* in Phl. is used overwhelmingly as an adjective 'round' or as an adverb 'around', precisely as it is in Persia to-day.

PhlRiv. 46. 24 (text Z 7): *aδvēnak-ē 'kē-š sumb girt čēγōn asp.*—'One sort which has round hooves like the horse.' Cf. Zs. 3. 53: *čahār-pāδ i girt-sumb*, 'round-hoofed quadrupeds'; ibid. 3. 54: *girt-sumbān*, 'round-hoofed creatures'.

GrBd. 114. 5: *'pat girtīh 'har ēvak 'pat patmānak i χᵛēš.*—'In roundness each (egg) according to its measure.'

Used with verbs the word, as in NP., has the meaning 'around'.

BahmanYt. 4. 62: *χᵛāstak i gēhān girt 'kunēnd, 'ut hačaδar i zamīk nihān 'kunēnd.* —'They round up (amass) the riches of the world and bury them in the earth.'

Kn. 7. 3 (Ântiâ, p. 22): *spāh 'pat 'vas marak girt kart, 'ō kārēčār i Ardavān 'frēstīt.* —'An army was collected in great numbers and sent to do battle with Ardavān.'

GrBd. 152. 2: *and zamīk dārēt čand 1000 mēš 'kaδ 'pat ham-'nišīnišnīh girt frōt nišīnēt.*—'Covers as much ground as when a thousand sheep sit around together.'

Of Nyb.'s other cosmic entities *zām* must also disappear, for the word is unattested elsewhere, and P. reads clearly *dām*. As we shall see in the following notes the scheme of the Ohrmazdean creation can be easily disentangled from this difficult text by a close comparison with the Ahrimanian. The creations are as follows:

Ohrmazdean	*Ahrimanian*
1. The form of his own creatures in the form of fire.	The body of his own creation in the form of coal(?).
2. The form of the good Vāy.	The form of the evil Varan.
3. The selfhood of the gods.	The selfhood of the demons.

With reference to *brēhēnīt* which Nyb. read as *tāšīt*, the position is as follows. As an Iranian word it is easily explained as a denominative to *brēh* 'stature' (JRAS. 1940, p. 37, no. 6). <**brayaθa-* from *brāy-*, *brī-* 'cut'. Semantically one may compare French *taille* beside *tailler*. Pāz. reads *brəhn-*, *brəhən-*, *barəhin-*, and *brəhin-* (readings collected by Bailey). Nyb., however, in spite of the Pāz. prefers to treat the word as an ideogram, Aramaic *bereh*+*ūn*<*bᵉrā*, 'create': in that case one has to assume that *YN* is written for *WN*, and that the first of these two characters is a *Wāw* with a ligature to the left: this is unattested, and can scarcely be admitted as a normal way of writing even an Aramaic mask. For Nyb.'s full argument the reader is referred to his *Glossar*, pp. 224–5.

gētēh i P.: om. TD_2 and DH. P.'s reading is again confirmed by the *'hač gētēh χᵛat-dōšakīh* of l. 122.

l. 114. *'kē pityārak*, &c.: I am entirely unable to agree with Nyberg's translation: 'C'est de cette force céleste que les récalcitrants des deux créations chantent ainsi: Elle est puissante, elle est le Temps.' Exactly parallel is our passage GrBd. 32. 1 (our text Z 2): *čēγōn 'gōβēt 'ku Vāy 'ān i 'andar 'har 'dō dām pityārak 'bē 'barēt*, where Nyb. himself translates correctly: 'C'est comme il est dit: L'œuvre propre de l'atmosphère, c'est de chasser les antagonistes qui se trouvent dans les deux créations.' This too must be the meaning here. *pityārak* means 'opposition' or 'aggression' with particular reference to the activities of Ahriman: it can under no circumstances mean 'les récalcitrants'. *bar-*, like its NP. equivalent, means 'carry off', not 'sing': Nyb.'s parallel—Av. *vāčim bar-* 'die Stimme erheben' (*Glossar*, p. 39), —is not valid, since the essential word in that phrase is, of course, not *bar-* but *vāčim*. In view of the close relation between Zurvān and Vāy, the translation here must be the same as in GrBd. 32. 1. The reading of P. *'bē 'barēt* instead of *'barēt*

makes this doubly certain. Nyb.'s theories expressed in CCM. 1931, p. 197 are based on an incorrect reading of the text and are therefore untenable.

pityārak : PT"LKW DH, P. This will no longer be noted.

'bē P.: om. cet.

'hast tavān, 'hast zamān: P. omits the first *'hast. 'hast . . . 'hast*, 'whether . . . or' as in GrBd. 167. 5 (text Z 3): *Vāy i dērang-χᵛatāy, 'hast Zurvān zēn, 'hast i Ōhrmazd.*—'Vāy of the Long Dominion, whether he is the weapon of Zurvān or of Ohrmazd'. PhlTexts, p. 63. 59: *'saχᵛan 'hast guftan 'vēh 'ut 'hast 'pātan.*—'A word may either be better said or kept silent.' The first meaning of *'hast . . . 'hast* is 'sometimes . . . sometimes'. In any case there is no reason to suppose that these words are taken from a Zervanite poem (so CCM. 1931, l.c.).

***l.* 116.** First *χᵛatāy* P.: *χᵛatāk* cet. This graphic variant will no longer be noted.

First *frāč*: om P.

'ut-aš P.: *aš* TD_2, DH.

dām P.: *zām* TD_2, DH. *dām* is certainly right as the *'kaδ-aš dām-ič 'dāt* of the explanatory clause shows. Nyb.'s *zām* (cf. l. 113 n.) is therefore superseded: it is in any case not an attested form.

***l.* 117.** *Vāy-ič* (𐭥𐭩𐭩) *aβzār-ē* (‿) P.: *3-ič aβzār i* TD_2, DH.

'i-š: The MSS. read slightly more like *'ān-aš*, but may be read as *'i-š* which gives an easier construction.

apāyast (*'P'ST*) P.: *'P' YTW* TD_2, DH.

***ll.* 118–19**: supplied from ll. 78–9, q.v.

***l.* 120.** *χᵛēš ⟨χᵛatīh⟩ tan : tan i dām* here corresponds to the *karp i dāmān* of l. 110. The addition of *χᵛatīh* in accordance with the *χᵛatīh* above would therefore seem necessary. Otherwise one must translate 'from material darkness which is his own'.

***l.* 121.** *zaγ*: in form exactly like *'ān*. The parallel passage Zs. 1. 29 (text Z 4) *aβzār-ē i . . . zaγīk 'ut siyāh 'ut āturastar-gōn*, proves that this must be the reading. Since my note in BSOS. ix, p. 584 no further evidence has turned up. *zaγ karp* naturally corresponds to *ātaχš karp* l. 113. Hence I translate '? coal' on the analogy of NP. *zuγāl*.

**siyāh : S" YH* TD_2: *S' YH* P., DH. Readings indicate either *siyāh* or *siyāhīh*. The former is to be preferred on the grounds of Zs., l.c. Nyb. read **syāvahē* (CCM.) and **siyāvahē* (*Glossar*, p. 203) which is both unnecessarily archaic and involves the joining of a *Wāw* to the left.

*āturastar-*gōn : 'TWRWYSTLN* TD_2, DH.: *'TWRYSTLWN* P. v. BSOS. ix, p. 584.

aržānīk : 'LYČ'NYK MSS.

***l.* 122.** *bazak-*aδvēn : bazak-"N* MSS. The reading is, however, assured by DkM. 103. 6: *čēγōn 'ān i bazak-aδvēntom χrafstar i rīmantom*, and ibid. 145. 8: *tār gētēh 'hamist dušgandīh rīmanīh bazak-aδvēnīh*. Otherwise *bazak-aδēn* would have been a possible reading, 'bringing sin'. Cf. MPT. *'dyn-*. For this word v. Part I, p. 247, n. C.

Varan i : WLNND TD_2, DH.: *WLNNG* P.

***l.* 123.** *vattar-*dēn : WTLWNYT(W)* MSS. Corresponding to *Varan i vattar-*dēn karp frāč kirrēnīt* here l. 115 has *karp i Vāy i 'vēh frāč brēhēnīt*. Our *karp* must then be taken with *Varan*, and the intervening word must be an adjective qualifying *Varan*.

This adjective will presumably be the opposite of *vēh*, the epithet of Vāy. It is therefore clear that the word cannot be *'pāyēt* (*NTLWNYT*) and that *WTL* must be read as *vattar* 'worse'. The second part of the word could then be read as *nivēt* = NP. *nuvēd* 'good news' (for the same and Arm. *aweteran*, &c. v. Bailey, JRAS, 1934, p. 508; against him Henning, BSOS. ix, p. 85). Not having found a parallel to *nivēt* in Phl., however, I have preferred to emend to **dēn*.

Varan P., DH.: gap in TD_2.

l. **124.** *dušravišnīh* P., DH.: gap in TD_2.

ll. **125–8.** In the MSS. the sentence from *'čē-š 'hač gētēh tārīkīh . . . ganāk mēnōk paytāk 'būt* precedes *'čē-š 'ān dām . . . 'bē bēt*. The transposition, however, seems to be demanded by the parallel passage ll. 118–19. If it is through the selfhood of the gods that Ohrmazd makes his body better, then one must assume that it is through the selfhood of the demons that Ahriman makes his body worse. In similar contexts the contrasts between the Ohrmazdean and Ahrimanian activities are usually exact.

l. **125.** *bēt* TD_2: *'bavēt* P., DH.

l. **126.** *'dāt 'hač asar tārīkīh* P.: lacking in DH.: added above the line in TD_2. Nyb. reads *gētāh tārīkīh hač hān i asar tārīkīh dat* (sic); *hač *gētāh tārīkīh*. . . . There is much to be said for this reading, since it is more probable that material darkness should arise out of the Endless Darkness than vice versa. I have, however, preferred to ignore the words inserted in P. and TD_2, since there is nothing corresponding to them in the Ohrmazdean section, ll. 130 ff.

l. **127.** **'dāt : 'būt* MSS., but the past part. passive of a transitive verb is required; otherwise the *-š* of *čē-š* is superfluous. In the corresponding clause l. 130 *Ōhrmazd* is the subject.

The second *drōγ-gōβišnīh* must be supplied; cf. l. 130. *'hač rāst-gōβišnīh*, &c. Nyb. has *hač avē anākīh i gannāk-mēnūk*, &c., which gives the same sense.

l. **128.** *karp* P., DH.: *tan* TD_2.
kirrēnīt: *brēhēnīt* P.
'χ^{v}ēš P.: *tan* added in TD_2 and DH.

l. **129.** *'andar 'ān* P.: *'ut 'hač* TD_2, DH. The correctness of P. is proved by l. 132, *dām-ič hamāk 'andar asar karp(ak) 'bē 'dāt*.

l. **130.** ⟨*frāč dāt*⟩: some addition is necessary. Nyb. supplies *frāč tāšīt*.

l. **131.** *'būt* P.: *'bavēt* TD_2, DH. The superfluous *dām-dahišnīh* must be deleted.
karp i TD_2, DH.: *karpak* P.

l. **132.** *hamāk : HM'YK* P.
asar karpak : asarak karpak DH.: *asarōk karpak* P.
asarak karpak: so TD_2, DH.: *asarōk karpak* P.

l. **133.** *sačišn: SČWŠN* TD_2, DH.: *SYČWŠNW* P.
'būt P., DH.: *'bavēt* TD_2.
asarak karpak TD_2, DH.: *asarōk karpak* P.

l. **134.** For *yaθā-ahū-vairyō(k)* the MSS. have varying spellings.
'bē dahišnīh: Nyb. **bunē-δahišnīh* which would make the contrast with *fražām* more marked.

paytāk P.: *paytākīh* TD_2, DH.

l. **137.** *brīn i zamān*: simply 'a division of time' rather than 'les arrêts du temps' (Nyb.). The phrase corresponds to the Av. *zrvan- θwaršta-*.

l. **138.** *χ^{v}atāyīh* P.: *χ^{v}atāy-aš* TD_2.
dastaβarīh P., DH.: *dastūrīh* TD_2.

l. **139.** *dātastānōmandīh* TD_2: *dātastānmandīh* P., DH.
bālistīh: B'LYSTYH P.: *B'LSTYH* TD_2, DH.
χ^{v}ārakīh seems to be the correct reading as its Ahrimanian opposite *dušvārīh* shows: MSS. have the unintelligible ‏ש״לנט״ש‏ Nyb. *χ^{v}āhrakīh*.

l. **140.** *dušvārīh* TD_2: *DŠWW'LYH* P., DH.

l. **143.** **apētak: 'PYT'* P.: *'PYT'K* (*apaytāk*) TD_2, DH. As Nyb. has pointed out, the *apaytāk* of TD_2 makes no sense. The word is best emended to *apētak*, cf. MParthT. *'pydg* (Andreas–Henning, MirMan. iii) Arm. *pētkʿ*, *pitak*: <Old Iranian **upaita-* (so Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v.). In Phl. the word has been noticed DkM. 762–5 *passim*: 70. 20; 709. 6; 711. 15. It must, however, be admitted that in these passages the meaning 'necessary' does not seem suitable. Nīr. 54. *nē apētak* translates Av. **paitika-* and is explained as *kē-š bahr andar nē būt ēstēt*, 'in which there has been no part', AIW., col. 828.

l. **144.** *gētēhīhā* (*GYT'HYH'*) TD_2, DH.: *GYT'H* P.

l. **145.** *amahraspandān* TD_2, DH.: *amahraspand* P.
**6*: 7 MSS.

l. **146.** *'čē* (*MḴ*) P.: *'ōδ* (*TMḴ*) TD_2, DH.: **avi* Nyb.

l. **147.** *'hač* before *Vāy*: om. P.

l. **149.** End of *lacuna* in Ind. Before *nazdist* Ind. has *Ōhrmazd 'pat startīh i Ahriman dām dāt.*
hač-iš: frāč Ind.

l. **150.** *mitōχtīhā: M'TWXTYH'* Gr.: *MYTWKXT 'ut 'pas* Ind.: *mitōχt gāh* Nyb. *'dāt. Ōhrmazd*: om. Gr.
gētēh: the spellings of this word vary; they will not be noted here.

l. **151.** First *nazdist*: Ind. has the ideogram *'WL'*.
āsmān: 'SYM'NW̱ P. This variant is exceedingly common and will not be noted again.
Second *nazdist*: om. Ind.

l. **153.** *'tāk*: om. Ind.
aš: *W'Š* P.
Artvahišt P.: *Urtvahišt* (*'WRT-*) TD_2, DH.: *Ašvahišt* Ind.
Šaθrēvar, ŠTRYWR P.: *ŠTRYW* Ind.: *ŠTYWR* TD_2, DH.

l. **154.** Last *'pas*: om. Gr.: Ind. has a *lacuna* from here to l. 164, omitting *brēhēnīt*.

l. **155.** *Srōš-ahrāy, SLWŠHL'* TD_2, P.: *SLWŠ'LČ* DH.

l. **156.** *buland: BLND̲* P.

l. **157.** *frēh-gōyōt, PL'YGWYWTW̱* TD_2, DH.: *PL'SYWT* P.

l. **158.** *vāt: 'T* P.

pēš⟨ē⟩mār : P'YŠM'L P.

l. **159.** *aβzōnīkīh : 'PZNYK* P.

l. **160.** *čahārom : čārom* P.

l. **163.** *'ut-aš : 'i-š* P.

l. **164.** *ganāk mēnōk . . . frāč kirrēnīt, 'pas*: Ind. has *'ut Ahriman 'hač gētēh tārīk Akōman 'ut . . .*

pityārakōmandīh : PTH'LK'WMNDYH DH., P.: *PYTH'LK'WMNNDYH* TD_2.

kamālīkān : KM' YL 'K'N P.

l. **165.** *kirrēnīt : KLNYTW* P.

Indar (*'NDL*) Gr.:  Ind.

Sāvul : S'WWL TD_2: *S'WWLW* DH.: *S'WL* P.: *SWWL* Ind.

Nāŋhaiθ : N'HYKYH TD_2: *N'HBYH'* P., DH.: *N'KHYT* Ind.

'pas Tarōmat: om. Ind.

l. **166.** *Tarič: Tārič* (*T'LYČ*) Ind.: *TLWYČ* DH.

Zērič TD_2, P.: *zārič* (*Z'LYČ*) Ind.: *ZYLWP* DH. Ind. ends the chapter here, and adds: *Ōhrmazd 'hač dām i gētēh [i] fratom āsmān, ditīkar 'āp 'ut sitīkar zamīk, čahārom urvar, pančom 'gōspand, šašom 'martōm.*

l. **167.** *hakurč: genāk menōk hakarč* P.

'čiš P., DH.: *'čišīh* TD_2.

l. **169.** *'čiš : i 'čē-š* P.

l. **170.** **patēst-ič* so Nyb.: *'pat stēž-ič* MSS. But cf. l. 47, where Gr. has the correct *patēst* and Ind. *'pat stēž-ič* as here.

**'barēt : 'barēm* MSS.

l. **171.** **tarrīhā*: MSS. have *TLYHY'*, and for **tarrīh* in l. 172 *TLSYH*. I base my reading on the passage dealing with birth in Burzōē's introduction to the *Book of Kalîlah and Dimnah* (p. 40 in the edition of Fr. Cheikho, S.J., Beyrouth, 1905; p. 22 in the translation of Nöldeke, *Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, xii, 1912; cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 420). The text in translation runs as follows: 'And we read in medical books that when the water from which the perfect child is formed reaches the mother's womb, it mingles with her water and blood, thickens, and becomes bulky. . . .' According to Nöldeke (l.c.) Burzōē's introduction is genuine, and the correspondence between his text and that of GrBd. will therefore not be fortuitous. Our own text describes the different stages the foetus goes through before birth. The second of these is *gumēčakīh* 'mixture' and this corresponds exactly to the 'mingling' (*iχtalaṭa*) of Burzōē. We are then justified in supposing that the first stage corresponds to the *mā'* ('water') of Burzōē which Nöldeke translates as 'Feuchtigkeit'. The emendation is now simple, and *tarrīhā* must be read here, and *tarrīh* in l. 172. Nyb. read *tarsīh* translating 'engourdie de peur'.

l. **173.** *āvartakīh*: thus rather than *χᵛartakīh* 'smallness', as the meaning must be 'conception'. Etym. <Av. *var-* 'to make pregnant'. The word occurs in the obscure parallel passage DkM. 349. 17 (text Z 10), and appears to be equated with *gaβrīh*. Ibid. 170. 2, however, the stage following 'mixture' is described as *ham-'bavišnīh*, that is 'conception' or 'the coming together' of the male and female elements. This

idea is in no way expressed in *χᵛartakīh*. Cf. also Av. *vərəna-* 'Leibesfrucht', AIW. 1424.

*'*būt* P.: '*bavēt* TD_2, DH. For *humānāk* P writes *hamānāk*.

l. **174.** *viškītakīh*: for meaning and reading v. BSOS. ix, p. 318.

**čēγōn*: MSS. have *jān* (*G'N*) which yields no sense whatever. Nyb. reads *pēšānīk* 'forehead', taking *G'N* as the equivalent of *G'NH* = *GBYN'*, the ideogram of *pēšānīk*. Bailey reads *gēn*, dialect form of *vēn* and having the same meaning as *vēnīk* 'nostril, nose'. No parallel, however, is quoted for MP.

Second *viškītakīh*: the initial *Wāw*, missing in TD_2, is present in P.

l. **175.** First '*būt* P., DH.: '*bavēt* TD_2.

**čandišn*: MSS. have *ČNDŠK*(*W*). The emendation involves the change of only one letter. The last stage before the actual birth is described. The 'movement' of the child from the uterus towards the 'light' of day suits the context admirably. Nyb.'s *nīšak*, as usual, lacks confirmatory evidence in MP.

*'*ō*: '*avē* MSS.

'*pēš*: om. P.

l. **176.** *rōšn*: *LWWŠNW* P.

ān: '*ān* (*ZK*) P., DH.

l. **177.** *hanbavīhēnd* (*HNNBWYHYNND*) P.: *HNNBWŠYNND* TD_2.

'*zāyēnd*: *ZLŠNND* P.

parvarēnd P.: *PLWLND* TD_2.

l. **178.** *parvart* P., DH.: *parvarēt* TD_2.

l. **179.** After '*ān* TD_2 and DH. have *mēnōk*: P. omits.

'*pitarīh* P.: '*pitar* TD_2, DH.

l. **181.** *startīhā* P.: *starīhā* TD_2, DH.

l. **182.** *startīh* P.: *sturtīh* TD_2, DH.

'*sayast*: TD_2 adds ـل. On this word v. text Z 6, l. 2.

l. **183.** *'*hač* (*MN*): '*čē* (*MH*) TD_2, DH.: '*čē-š* P.

asar: '*SLW* DH.

l. **184.** *harvisp*: *HLWSČ* DH.

l. **185.** *srišk* (*SLYŠK*) TD_2: *SLŠK* DH., P.

First '*būt* P.: '*bavēt* TD_2, DH.

l. **188.** *tišn* (*TYŠNW*) P.: *TŠNW* TD_2, DH.

l. **189.** *aδyārīh*: P. writes ט-ט-רל-ט and omits the next nine words.

hudāk: *hudahāk* DH. **gōspand 'ō**: '*ō gōspand* MSS.

l. **190.** '*ō*: om. P.: DH. adds *aδyārīh*.

l. **192.** *ov-iš*: '*WBŠNW* (*hanbašn*!) TD_2.

l. **193.** '*kē* '*ēn*: P. repeats.

l. **194.** '*barēt*:  TD_2, DH.:  P.

l. **195.** '*gōβam*: '*gōβēt* P.

paytāk, i P.: *paytākīh* TD_2, DH.

(*dūr-*)**kanārak, χāyak-dēs***: TD_2 reads 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭫-𐭪𐭩: P. has 𐭪𐭥𐭲-𐭪𐭩. The reading of TD_2 certainly contains a corruption of *kanārak*. *dūr-kanārak* is a standing epithet of the sky (e.g. ZXA. 256. 10; GrBd. 221. 15) and translates Av. *dūraē-karana-* (Yt. 13. 2) which is itself only used of the sky. The pointing of the reading of P. indicates that the 𐭪𐭥 of TD_2 represents *dēs* as in GrBd. 41. 3, text Z 6, rather than *gās*. The first part of P.'s reading must then be read as *χāyak*. For the comparison of the sky to an egg cf. MX. 44. 7; PhlRiv. 46. 5 (text Z 7); DkM. 64. 7; Zs. 34. 20 (text Z 5). Thus with the aid of the two manuscripts the restoration *dūr-kanārak χāyak-dēs* seems assured. Nyb.'s reading *pasē gās* is not satisfactory.

l. **196.** *χ^{v}an-āhēn* (*XWN'HYNW̲*) DH.: *XWN'H'NW̲* TD_2: *XWN'ŠŠNN* P.
'nar (*ZGL*) P.: *ZGLW̲* TD_2, DH. *'nar* appears to be the obvious reading, and the ideogram is clearly written in P. For the idea cf. GrBd. 112. 15: *āsmān 'ut ayō(k)χšust 'ut vāt 'ut ātaχš 'nar 'ut hakarč yuttar 'nē 'bavēt : 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut māhīk mātak, hakarč yuttar 'nē 'bavēt.*—'The sky, metals, the wind, and fire are male and never become otherwise: water, the earth, plants, and fish are female and never become otherwise.' Nyb.'s *zērn*, though excellent Soghdian, can scarcely be admitted in a MPers. text. Bailey's interpretation (*Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 132) also seems unnecessary.
'bē P.: *'pat* TD_2, DH.

l. **197.** *āvahan* (*'WB'HNW̲*): so Bailey following Herzfeld, AMI. ii, p. 55 <*vah-* 'dwell'. Nyb. reads **avīkān*.
humānāk (*HWM'N'K*) P.: *HWM'N'KW̲W̲* DH.: *HM'N'KW̲* TD_2.

l. **198.** *drupušt : D̲LWPŠTW̲* P: *D̲LPWŠTW̲*, TD_2.
kōχšīšn : kōšīšn P.
apāyast (*'P'YSTW̲*) TD_2, P.: *'P'STW̲* DH.

l. **199.** *mānāk : hamānāk* P.
'kē P., DH.: om. TD_2.
parkān: 'enclosure'; v. Bailey, JRAS. 1934, p. 517. *bun* is perhaps better omitted. Nyb. preferred to read *frakāvan*.
čand-aš: here and in all the following cases P.: TD_2 has *čandīh*.

l. **200.** *drahnāδ*: DH. has *DLN'D* both times.
čand-aš bālāδ: om. P.
Second *'i-š : 'ut-aš* TD_2.

l. **201.** *hamōy*: reading uncertain.
hupatsāy : HWPS'L* MSS. Nyb. reads *χūpsār* and translates 'bien agencé' or 'schön angemessen' (*Glossar*, p. 142) and connects with OP. *niyasṣārayam*. For *hupatsāy* cf. MPT. *pdys'y* 'entsprechend'. *hupassāy* with the same meaning could be read, cf. *passaχ^v* <pati-saχ^{v}an* &c.
humānāk P., DH.: *hamānāk* TD_2.

l. **202.** *ākās : 'K'YH* P.
aβzōnīk : 'PZNYK P.
āsmān : 'YM'NW̲ DH.

l. **203.** *patiyraft : PYTYLPTW̲* P.
drang: v. BSOS. ix, pp. 319, 584.
drupuštīh : puštīh P.

'nē: om. P.

l. **204.** *artēštār : 'LYT'ŠT'L* P.
zrēh : ZL'B TD_2, DH.: *ZLH* P.
apē- : 'PY TD_2, DH.: *'PYB* P.

l. **205.** *urvāhmanīh* TD_2: *urvāhman i* P., DH.

l. **206.** Second *urvāhmanīh* TD_2, DH.: *urvāhman i* P.
**'čē : 'kē* (*MNWW* P.) MSS.
-ič 'andar : čēγōn MSS.

l. **207.** *urvāhmanīh* P., DH.: *urvāhman i* TD_2.
'ēstēt : 'mānēt P.

l. **208.** *'hač*: om. DH.
čand . . . 'dast : čand 'kaδ 'mart i 2 'dast P.

l. **209.** *balād : bālā* TD_2, P.

l. **210.** *aδyārīh :* 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 P.
'mēγ : MWW MWZN'H TD_2, DH.: *MWW MWW ZN'H* P. For the reading of this word v. BSOAS. x, p. 630.
snōδān : SND'N TD_2, DH.: *SNŠNW* P. Reading after Nyb. The word is spelt either 𐭮𐭭𐭱𐭭 or 𐭮𐭭𐭱𐭩 and translates both Av. *snaoδa-* and *snaēž-* (cf. Vd. 8. 4, where it is glossed *vafr* 'snow'). It can therefore be read either *snōδān* or *snēhn*. In our passage the following *snēžak* makes the former more probable.
**snēžak : SNČKW* MSS. Reading after Nyb.

l. **211.** *'āp* P.: om. TD_2, DH.

anišēβ anaβrāz: 𐭠𐭭𐭱𐭩𐭲𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭦 P. For the privative 𐭠 TD_2 has 𐭮. This seems the only possible reading: so Bailey, who compares GrBd. 228. 4: *'ēn zamīk anāpēšar(?) 'ut anišēβ 'ut hāmōn 'bē 'bavēt.*—'This earth will become without declivity and acclivity, and flat.' Henning (p. 12) read *huvišāδ huafrāz* 'weit ausgedehnt, schön sich erhebend': but the condition of the earth as it was first created by Ohrmazd must be similar to the perfect earth produced at the *Fraškart*, that is flat.

l. **212.** *drahnāδ* P.: *DLN'Y* TD_2, DH.
First *pahnāδ : pahnā* TD_2.
zahyāδ : ZHY'B TD_2: *ZHYYB* DH.: *ZWHY'B* P.

l. **213.** *āsmān : 'S'M'N* P.
ēvak-ē : -ē in all cases omitted by P. and DH.

ll. **214–15.** This passage, the most difficult and corrupt in the whole of the first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, caused Nyb., with perhaps undue deference to an unsatisfactory text, to introduce readings which, for their extremely archaic forms, must be considered unacceptable. No satisfactory reconstruction of the text can be obtained unless we can find a clue to what the author is describing. He has just stated that the earth was created flat, and he subsequently tells us of the insertion of the minerals into the earth. In our present passage one thing is clear: he distinguishes three thirds of the earth each of which has peculiar properties. The first, he says, was created hard (*saχt*)—this seems the only possible reading of the word, the alternative *sāχt* being precluded by the absence of any similar verb in

the descriptions of the remaining two thirds—and this is, we venture to think, the clue to the whole passage. If the first section of the earth is hard, we are justified in supposing that the distinction between the three parts is one of consistency, and the third would therefore be soft, and the second something between the two. The ordinary word for 'soft' is *narm*, and towards the end of our passage we find *nēm* 𐭭𐭩𐭥 which we are justified in taking as a corruption of *narm* 𐭭𐭥𐭬. On the same grounds I would emend the incomprehensible 𐭩𐭲𐭪𐭫𐭩𐭱 to 𐭩𐭲𐭪𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭪 *čēyōn gil(ak)* 'soft as clay'. If the emendation is bold, the sense is at least uncapricious.

In l. 214 𐭪𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭪 remains mysterious. Both Bailey (*Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 137) and Henning (JRAS. 1942, p. 233) have dealt with this tiresome word. The latter would read it as a corrupt ideogram for *'sang*, 'stone' (*ČČ'* corrupted from Aramaic *KYP'*): this he deduces from GrBd. 29. 8, where *ČČ'B i katak-masāδ* is equivalent to Avestan *asma katō-masā*. The present passage he emends to *'sang-*sār*. The objection to this is that *KYP'* = *'sang* is found correctly spelt (Dd. 17. 4 and 36. 103) and that *ČČ'* which is relatively common is not very like *KYP'*.

Bailey identifies *ČČ'* with Aramaic *ṢṢ'* 'nail, peg, wing' and cites GrBd. 140. 1, where the word appears as a name for a thunderbolt (*vīr*). *ṢṢ'* would represent *dār* or *dāl* 'wood', hence the confusion in the FrPhl. which interprets it as *dālman* 'eagle'. Our present *ČČ'D'L* would then be the same word written phonetically and as an ideogram: Bailey quotes instances of this in AVN. 16. 7 and Dd. 36. 17. I am inclined to agree with him that *ČČ'* is actually a mask for *dāl*; but I cannot agree that either the meanings he adduces for Aramaic *ṢṢ'* or *dār* = 'wood' are satisfactory. The meaning seems to be 'hard stone' (for which Henning's *'sang* fits) and the reading is very probably *dāl*, but *dār* (*?dāl*) means 'wood', not 'stone'. We must then be content with saying that *ČČ'* probably represents a word *dāl* otherwise unknown the meaning of which is some sort of hard stone.

In l. 214 we read *aržan* with P. (𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭪), TD_2 and DH have *DLTNW̲*) the initial *Wāw* of which may be discounted. My reading is based on Herzfeld's interpretation of OP. *aržana-* (*Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 88–93). Herzfeld, against Bailey, BSOS. vi, p. 598, *āranjana-* 'colour', interprets as 'building material' or 'sandstone', and Hinz (JNES. 1950, p. 5) gives 'material' for the equivalent Accadian *si-im-ma-nu*. There is no doubt at all that some sort of building material gives a far better sense in Dar. Sus. Chart. 4 than 'colour' or 'ornament'. The relevant section (in Herzfeld's transcription, op. cit., p. 13) is as follows: *ima ha[diš tya θ[r]ūš]ā[y]ā aku[navam aržanam-ša]iy dūrdaš [abariya] fra[vata] būmiy akaniya* (the reading *aržanam* is assured by the Accadian *si-im-ma-nu*).—'This is the palace which I made at Susa. The *aržana* for it was brought from afar. The earth was dug down.' From this passage it seems clear that some sort of building material is intended. No useful purpose can be served by discussing the second passage in the inscription where the word occurs, for the one word which would give us a clue to the meaning of *aržana-* is imperfectly preserved, and will be read *dištā* 'built' or *pištā* 'decorated' according to one's personal view on the meaning of *aržana-*. The first passage, however, on grounds of context, supports the meaning 'building material, sandstone' rather than 'ornament'. Further support is now supplied by the reading of P. in our Bd. passage. If we read *aržan ākand*, we will then have the highly suitable meaning 'composed of sandstone'. MP. *aržan* is to be equated with Arm. *arjan* 'stone, statue'. *ākand* naturally corresponds to NP. *āgand* 'filled': in MP. also 'composed of', cf. Vd. 7. 11, *pašm-ākand* 'composed of wool', cf. text Z 7, § 5, *nikand*, and note ad loc.

l. **217.** *gōgart bōrak-ič*: for the first cf. MPT. *gwgyrd*, Soghd. *γwkt*, NP. *gōgard*, v. Henning, BSOS. ix, p. 90. and ibid. x, p. 398. P. omits *gōgart*. *gōgart* translates Av. *saokənta-* 'sulphur'.

l. **218.** *'ān i* P.: *'ān ē* (*ʾ*) TD_2.
'STYHL P.: *'STYHHL* TD_2, DH. The word remains problematic. Nyb. read *as-čihr*<**us-čiθra-* 'plant without seed'. This was accepted with reserve by Henning, MirMan. i, p. 9, no. 3, who similarly interpreted MPT. *''čyhr*. That our word is indeed a miswriting for the Turfān word seems proved by Vd. 4. 55, where we have *'āp i gōkartōmand zarrōmand āčihrōmand* (so the MS. MU1) translating Av. *āpəm saokəñtavaitīm zaranyāvaitīm vīθušavaitīm*. *āčihr* is therefore the Phl. equivalent of Av. *vīθuša-* which is itself of unknown meaning. It would seem from GrBd. and Vd. that we have to deal with a metal. Henning's Turfān text, however, clearly indicates a plant: *'wrwr 'sprhm w mrw 'wd ''čyhr 'wd gwnggwng 'rwy kyšt 'wd rwst.*— 'Plants, flowers, herbs and *āčihr* and all manner of growing things were sown and grew.' It seems likely that we have to deal with a form of plant which by its hardness or some other property may be classed with metals. What this plant is, I am unable to say.

l. **219.** *'mart-ē*: *'mart* P.
hamāk: om. P.

l. **220.** *'ēstēt*: *'ēstāt* P.

l. **221.** *miyānak i*: *miyān* P.

l. **222.** *bālāδ*: *bālā* P. This insignificant variant will no longer be noted.
sarəδak: *SLYTKW* TD_2, DH.: *SLTKW* P.

l. **223.** *urvar*: TD_2 adds *'ut*.

l. **224.** *aδvan*: so Bailey, JRAS. 1934, pp. 505 ff.
srišk: *SLYŠK* P.: *SLŠKW* TD_2.
4: *5* DH.

l. **226.** *ēv-dāt* TD_2: *ēvak-dāt* P., DH.
miyānak P.: *M''NWKW* TD_2, DH.

l. **227.** **bār*: *bārīh* DH., P.: *B'L'YH* TD_2.
Vēh Daitē: *vēhdait* (one word) P.
spēt: *SYČYTW* TD_2, DH.: *SČYTW* P.
māh: *M'HY* DH.

l. **229.** *'bavēt*: *'būt* P.

l. **230.** *6-om*: *7-om* DH.

l. **231.** **bār*: *B'L'* MSS.

l. **232.** *'ēstēt* TD_2, P.: *'ēstāt* DH.

l. **234.** *uzvān⟨ō⟩mand*: *uzvānmand* TD_2, DH.: *ZW'N'NW 'WMNND* P.
daχšakōmandīh: *DXŠK'WMNDYH* DH.: *DXŠK'W'WMNNDYH* TD_2: *DXŠK'WMNND* P.

l. **235.** *'ēt 'ku*: repeated in DH.
'ān TD_2: *'ān* P., DH.

l. **237.** *buland*: *BLND* P.
Gayō(k)mart: *Gayōmart* DH.

l. **238.** *zargōnīh*: has the meanings of 'yellow or green colour' or 'freshness'. Cf. Vd. 2. 26: *zargōnēn 'ku tarr*. Cf. Soghd. *zrywn* 'vegetable' (*Sûtra des causes et des effets*); Khotanese *ysaragūna* 'of golden hue' (Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v.).

l. **239.** *'ēn*: 𐭠𐭲𐭭 P.
'nē 'āp tōhmak: om. P.

l. **240.** **'ut*: om. P.: *i* TD_2, DH.
'tāk-aš P., and so corrected in DH.: *NDYH* TD_2.

l. **242.** *'sāl i : 'sāl-ē* (*ŠNTB*) P.

l. **244.** **i : -ē* (𐭠) MSS.

l. **245.** *čēγōnīh* P.: *čēγōn-aš* TD_2, DH.
āsmān : 'S'M'NW P.

l. **246.** First *'rōč i : 'rōč-ē i* P.
First *'māhīk : 'māh* P. *Fravartīn : PLWLDYNW* P.
After *'tāk* TD_2 and DH. have *'ēn*.
Second *'māhīk : 'māh* P.

l. **247.** *'pāt*: appears to be used in the sense of 'remained' throughout this section. Nyb. emends throughout to *'māmd*. P. spells *NTLWT*.

l. **248.** *māništ i *martōmān : M'N Y YŠTW* without *i* TD_2: *martōmīh* all MSS.
māništ ⟨*i*⟩ *Miθr 'āp*: om. P., perhaps rightly, as 𐭬𐭩𐭫𐭩 may merely be a misspelt repetition of 𐭬𐭩𐭫𐭲𐭩.

l. **249.** *paytākīh : paytāk i* P.

l. **252.** *maiδyō(k)šam : maiδyō(k)šām* P.

l. **253.** *'būt : 'bavēt* TD_2.

l. **255.** *Art : 'LT* DH.: *'LTW* P.: *YLT* TD_2.
'pāt : NTWLWNT TD_2.

l. **256.** *paitišhah : PYTYŠHH* TD_2: *PYTYYŠH* DH.: *PYTYŠH* P.
ravišnīh : ravišn i DH., P.

l. **259.** *5 'rōč*: om. P. In the restoration of the text I follow Nyb. After the second *'tāk* TD_2 has *Aštāt 'rōč* which is added above the line in DH. and omitted in P.

l. **260.** *ayāsrim : 'Y'SLYM* TD_2: *'Y'SLM* P., DH.
vičārišn: čārišn P.
'ku-š : 'ku P.

l. **261.** *zargōnīh : ZLGNYH* P.

l. **262.** *5-om : pančom* P., DH.

l. **263.** Second *'tāk*: om. P., DH.
⟨*rōč i Varhrān*⟩: so after Nyberg.

l. **264.** *maiδyairim : MYTY'YLYM* TD_2: *MYTY'YL* DH., P.

l. **266.** *Gayō(k)mart : 90* written after it and then deleted in DH.

l. **267.** *Spandarmat : SČDRMTW* P.

l. **268.** *'tāk*: om. P., DH.

Before *5 'rōč i truftak* P. has *'ān* omitting *'rōč i*. For *truftak* v. Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 216, and Nyb., p. 293; cf. id. *Glossar*, p. 227. Beside *truft* the spelling *traft* is found, cf. DkM. 407. 2; 444. 5.

l. **269.** *hamaspamaiδayam : HM'SČM'D̲YM* TD_2, DH.: *HM'SPSYM'N* P.

l. **273.** **Spantōmēn : SPYTMT* TD_2, DH.: *SČNDTMTW̲* P.
Vahištōišt (*WHŠTWYŠT*) P.: *WHŠTWHŠTW̲* TD_2, DH.
māhīkān [*i*]: P. has *māhān-ē* (*-B*).

l. **274.** **aš : 'ut-aš* MSS.
**'ēn : 'rōč* MSS.
Urtvahišt : 'WRTWHŠTW̲ TD_2: *'WRTHŠTW̲* P.

l. **275.** *Hurdāt*: P. writes the plenary *Aleph*.

l. **276.** *Fravartīn : PLWLDYNW̲* P.
Varhrān : Varhrām P.
Art P., DH: *YLTW̲* TD_2.

l. **277.** *Āsmān : 'S'M'N* P.: *'SYM'N* DH.

l. **278.** *'hač*: om. P.
For *Fravartīn* P. reads *'māh Fravardīn*; DH. *'māh Fravartīn*.

l. **279.** *Urtvahišt :* MS. readings as in l. 274.

l. **281.** *'māh*: om. P.
čēγōnīh P.: *čēγōn-aš* TD_2, DH.
One *ēvak* is omitted by P.
'gōβam : 'gōβēt P.

TRANSLATION

(1) This, the Knowledge of the Commentary, (deals) first with the primal creation of Ohrmazd and the aggression of the Destructive Spirit; next with the nature of material creatures from the original creation up to the consummation as it is revealed in the Mazdayasnian religion; next with the things contained in the world together with an interpretation of their nature and properties.

(2) Thus is it revealed in the Good Religion. Ohrmazd was on high in omniscience and goodness: for infinite Time he was ever in the Light. That Light is the Space and place of Ohrmazd: some call it the Endless Light. Omniscience and goodness are the totality of Ohrmazd: some call them 'religion'. The interpretation of both is the same, namely the totality of Infinite Time, for Ohrmazd and the Space, Religion, and Time of Ohrmazd were and are and ever shall be.

(3) Ahriman, slow in knowledge, whose will is to smite, was deep down in the darkness: ⟨he was⟩ and is, yet will not be. The will to smite is his all, and darkness is his place: some call it the Endless Darkness.

(4) Between them was the Void: some call it Vāy in which the two Spirits mingle.

(5) Concerning the finite and infinite: the heights which are called the Endless Light (since they have no end) and the depths which are the Endless Darkness, these are infinite. On the border both are finite since between them is the Void, and there is no contact between the two. Again both Spirits in themselves are finite. Again concerning the omniscience of Ohrmazd—everything that is within the knowledge of Ohrmazd is finite; that is, he knows the Norm (pact) that exists between the two Spirits until the creation of Ohrmazd shall rule supreme at the Final Body for ever and ever: that is the infinite. At that time when the Final Body comes to pass, the creation of Ahriman will be destroyed: that again is the finite.

(6) Ohrmazd in his omniscience knew that the Destructive Spirit existed, that he would attack and, since his will is envy, would mingle with him; and from beginning to end (he knew) with what and how many instruments he would accomplish his purpose. In ideal form he fashioned forth such creation as was needful for his instrument. For three thousand years creation stayed in this ideal state, for it was without thought, without movement, without touch.

(7) The Destructive Spirit, ever slow to know, was unaware of the existence of Ohrmazd. Then he rose up from the depths and went to the border from whence the lights are seen. When he saw the light of Ohrmazd intangible, he rushed forward. Because his will is to smite and his substance is envy, he made haste to destroy it. Seeing valour and supremacy superior to his own, he fled back to the darkness and fashioned many demons, a creation destructive and meet for battle. (8) When Ohrmazd beheld the creation of the Destructive Spirit, it seemed not good to him—a frightful, putrid, bad, and evil creation: and he revered it not. Then the Destructive Spirit beheld the creation of Ohrmazd and it seemed good to him—a creation most profound, victorious, informed of all: and he revered the creation of Ohrmazd.

(9) Then Ohrmazd, knowing in what manner the end would be, offered peace to the Destructive Spirit, saying, 'O Destructive Spirit, bring aid to my creation and give it praise that in reward therefor thou mayest be deathless and unageing, uncorrupting and undecaying. And the reason is this that if thou dost not provoke a battle, thou shalt not thyself be powerless, and to both of us there shall be benefit abounding.' (10) But the Destructive Spirit cried out, 'I will not bring aid to thy creation nor will I give it praise, but I shall destroy thee and thy creation for ever and ever: yea, I shall incline all thy creatures to hatred of thee and love of me.' And

the interpretation thereof is this, that he thought Ohrmazd was helpless against him and that therefor did he offer peace. He accepted not but uttered threats. (11) And Ohrmazd said, 'Thou canst not, O Destructive Spirit, accomplish all; for thou canst not destroy me, nor canst thou bring it about that my creation should not return to my possession.'

(12) Then Ohrmazd, in his omniscience, knew that if he did not fix a time for battle against him, then Ahriman could do unto his creation even as he had threatened; and the struggle and the mixture would be everlasting; and Ahriman could settle in the mixed state of creation and take it to himself. Thus even now, in the mixed state, there are many men who work unrighteousness more than righteousness—that is they work chiefly the will of the Destructive Spirit. (13) And Ohrmazd said to the Destructive Spirit, 'Fix a time so that by this pact we may extend the battle for nine thousand years'. For he knew that by fixing a time in this wise the Destructive Spirit would be made powerless. Then the Destructive Spirit, not seeing the end, agreed to that treaty, just as two men who fight a duel fix a term (saying), 'Let us on such a day do battle till night falls'.

(14) This too did Ohrmazd know in his omniscience, that within these nine thousand years three thousand would pass entirely according to the will of Ohrmazd, three thousand years in mixture would pass according to the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and that in the last battle the Destructive Spirit would be made powerless and that he himself would save creation from aggression.

(15) Then Ohrmazd chanted the *Ahunvar*, that is, he recited the twenty-one words of the *Yaθā ahū vairyō*: and he showed to the Destructive Spirit his own final victory, the powerlessness of the Destructive Spirit, the destruction of the demons, the resurrection, the Final Body, and the freedom of creation from all aggression for ever and ever. (16) When the Destructive Spirit beheld his own powerlessness and the destruction of the demons, he was laid low, swooned, and fell back into the darkness; even as it is said in the Religion, 'When one third thereof is recited, the Destructive Spirit shudders for fear; when two thirds are recited, he falls on his knees; when the prayer is finished, he is powerless'. Unable to do harm to the creatures of Ohrmazd for three thousand years the Destructive Spirit lay crushed.

(17) I shall now speak of the ideal creation, then of the material.

(18) Ohrmazd, before the act of creation, was not Lord: after the act of creation he became Lord, eager for increase, wise, free from adversity, manifest, ever ordering aright, bounteous, all-perceiving, (19) [First he created the essence of the gods, fair (orderly) movement, that genius by

which he made his own body better] for he had conceived of the act of creation: from this act of creation was his lordship.

(20) And by his clear vision Ohrmazd saw that the Destructive Spirit would never cease from aggression and that his aggression could only be made fruitless by the act of creation, and that creation could not move on except through Time and that when Time was fashioned, the creation of Ahriman too would begin to move. (21) And that he might reduce the Aggressor to a state of powerlessness, having no alternative he fashioned forth Time. And the reason was this, that the Destructive Spirit could not be made powerless unless he were brought to battle. And the interpretation of battle (*kārēčār*) is this, that action (*kār*) must be performed with resourcefulness (*čārōmandīh*).

(22) Then from Infinite Time he fashioned and made Time of the long Dominion: some call it finite Time. From Time of the long Dominion he brought forth permanence that the works of Ohrmazd might not pass away. From permanence discomfort was made manifest that comfort might not touch the demons. From discomfort the course of fate, the idea of changelessness, was made manifest, that those things which Ohrmazd created at the original creation might not change. From the idea of changelessness a perfect will (to create) material creation was made manifest, the concord of the righteous creation.

(23) In his unrighteous creation Ahriman was without knowledge, without method. And the reason and interpretation thereof is this, that when Ahriman joined battle with Ohrmazd, the majestic wisdom, renown, perfection, and permanence of Ohrmazd and the powerlessness, self-will, imperfection, and slowness in knowledge of the Destructive Spirit were made manifest when creation was created.

(24) For Time of the long Dominion was the first creature that he fashioned forth: for it was infinite before the contamination of the totality of Ohrmazd. From the infinite it was fashioned finite; for from the original creation when creation was created until the consummation when the Destructive Spirit is made powerless there is a term of twelve thousand years which is finite. Then it mingles with and returns to the Infinite so that the creation of Ohrmazd shall for ever be with Ohrmazd in purity. (25) As it is said in the Religion, 'Time is mightier than both creations,—the creation of Ohrmazd and that of the Destructive Spirit. Time understands all action and order (the law). [Time is better informed.] Time understands more than those who understand. Time is better informed than the well-informed; for through Time must the decision be made. By Time are houses overturned—doom is through Time—and things graven

shattered. From it no single mortal man escapes, not though he fly above, not though he dig a pit below and settle therein, not though he hide beneath a well of cold waters.'

(26) From his own essence which is material light Ohrmazd fashioned forth the form of his creatures—a form of fire—bright, white, round, and manifest afar. From the material (form) of that Spirit which dispels aggression in the two worlds—be it Power or be it Time—he fashioned forth the form of Vāy, the Good, for Vāy was needed: some call it Vāy of the long Dominion. With the aid of Vāy of the long Dominion he fashioned forth creation; for when he created creation, Vāy was the instrument he needed for the deed. ⟨Then he created the essence of the gods, fair (orderly) movement, that genius by which he made his own body better.⟩

(27) From the material darkness which is his own essence the Destructive Spirit fashioned forth the body of his creation in the form of coal (?), black and ashen, worthy of the darkness, damned as the most sinful noxious beast. From material self-will he fashioned forth the form of Varan (heresy) whose religion is the worse (?); for Varan was needed. Next he created the essence of the demons, evil (disorderly) movement, that genius from which destruction came to the creatures of Ohrmazd: for he created a creation through which he made his own body more evil that (in the end) he might be powerless.

(28) For from material darkness which is the Endless Darkness he created lying speech: and from lying speech the harmfulness of the Destructive Spirit was manifest. [For he created that creation through which he made his own body more evil that he might be powerless.] For from the Endless Darkness he fashioned forth that form and he created his creation within that form: and through his own act of creation he will become powerless.

(29) From material light Ohrmazd created true speech: and from true speech the productiveness of the Creator was revealed. For he fashioned forth the Endless Form from the Endless Light and he created all creation within the Endless Form. The Endless Form is exempt from the passage of Time. From the Endless Form the *Ahunvar* came forth, the genius of the *Yaθā ahū vairyō* through which creation and the end of the world are revealed: this is the Religion. For Religion was created simultaneously with the act of creation. (30) From the *Ahunvar* the Spirit of the Year came forth which is now in a mixed state, half light and half dark, three hundred and sixty-five days and nights, and is a division (dispensation) of Time of the long Dominion. By means of it both creations were set in motion and strove with each other; as it is said, 'The creation of Ohrmazd was

endowed with lordship, authority, orderliness, blissful in the heights; the creation of the Destructive Spirit was endowed with contumacy, rebelliousness, sinfulness, straitened in the depths.'

(31) Ohrmazd became lord over decisions through the Amahraspands. When they had been created, he made three Judges, for they were needed for the material world. In the latter days at the Final Body they shall carry evil away from it. Spiritually he sustains the spiritual creation. The material creation he created in ideal form: then he created it in material form.

(32) First he created the Amahraspands, six originally, then the rest; and the seventh is Ohrmazd himself. Of the material world he created first six (beings) in ideal form; and he himself was the seventh. For Ohrmazd is both spiritual ⟨and material⟩. Material creation is first from the Amahraspands, second from Vāy of the long Dominion.

(33) First he fashioned forth Vahuman by whom movement was given to the creation of Ohrmazd. The Destructive Spirit first created Akōman of the lying word. Of material creatures Ohrmazd first fashioned the sky; and from the goodly movement of material light he fashioned forth Vahuman with whom the good Mazdayasnian Religion dwelt: that is to say Vahuman knew what would befall creation even up to its rehabilitation. Then he fashioned Artvahišt, then Šaθrēvar, then Spandarmat, then Hurdāt, then Amurdāt: and the seventh was Ohrmazd himself. (34) Eighth true speech, ninth the blessed Srōš, tenth Mānsraspand, eleventh Nēryōsang, twelfth the exalted judge Raθwōk Berzait, thirteenth Rašn the just, fourteenth Mihr of wide pastures, fifteenth Aršišvang the good, sixteenth Pārand, seventeenth Sleep, eighteenth the Wind, nineteenth Order (the Law), twentieth Dispute, prosecution and defence, and the fruitfulness of reconciliation.

(35) Of material creation (he created) first the sky, second water, third the earth, fourth plants, fifth cattle, sixth man; the seventh was Ohrmazd himself. And he fashioned forth creation with the aid of Vāy of the long Dominion: for when he fashioned forth Vāy of the long Dominion, it too was as an instrument and needful for the act of creation.

(36) The Destructive Spirit, bent on aggression, first of the demons with monstrous heads fashioned forth Akōman, then Indar, then Sāvul, then Nāŋhaiθ, then Tarōmat, then Tarič and Zērič, then the other demons: the seventh was the Destructive Spirit himself. Never does he think or speak or do anything that is righteous; nor did he need the good that is in the creation of Ohrmazd;—and the creation of Ahriman did not need the good that is in the creation of Ohrmazd. (37) Ohrmazd does not turn his mind

to anything he cannot do. The Destructive Spirit does turn his mind to what he cannot do and threatens to do it.

(38) The creation of Ohrmazd was fostered spiritually in such wise that it remained without thought, without touch, without movement in a moist state like semen. After this moist state came mixture like (that of) semen and blood; after mixture came conception, like a foetus; after conception came diffusion, such as hands and feet; after diffusion came hollowing—eyes, ears and mouth; after hollowing came movement when it came forward to the light. Even now on earth do men in this wise grow together in their mother's womb, and are born and bred. (39) Ohrmazd by the act of creation is both father and mother to creation: for in that he fostered creation in ideal form, he acted as a mother; and in that he created it materially, he acted as a father.

(40) Concerning the material creation.

(41) When the Destructive Spirit was laid low, unable to act (as I have written above) for three thousand years he lay abject and low. During the period of the powerlessness of the Destructive Spirit Ohrmazd fashioned creation in material form. From the Endless Light he fashioned fire in material form, from fire wind, from wind water, from water the all-solid earth: as it is said in the Religion: 'The first creation of all was a drop of water, for all things arose from water except the seed of man and cattle: for that seed has the seed of fire.'

(42) First he created the sky as a defence. Some call it 'the first'. Second he created water to smite down the Lie of thirst: third he created the all-solid earth: fourth he created plants to help the useful kine: fifth kine to help the Blessed Man: sixth he created the Blessed Man to smite the Destructive Spirit and his demons and make them powerless. Then he created fire, a flame; and its brilliance derived from the Endless Light, a goodly form even as fire desires. Then he fashioned the wind in the form of a stripling, fifteen years of age, which fosters and keeps the water, the plants, and the kine, the Blessed Man and all things that are.

(43) Now I shall describe their properties. First he created the sky, bright and manifest, its ends exceeding far apart, in the form of an egg, of shining metal that is the substance of steel, male. The top of it reached to the Endless Light; and all creation was created within the sky—like a castle or fortress in which every weapon that is needed for the battle is stored, or like a house in which all things remain. The [bottom of the] vault of the sky's width is equal to its length, its length to its height, and its height to its depth: the proportions are the same and fit exceeding well (?). Like a husbandman the spirit of the sky is possessed of thought and speech

and deeds, knows, produces much, discerns. (44) And it received durability as a bulwark against the Destructive Spirit that he might not be suffered to return (to whence he came). Like a valiant warrior who dons his armour that fearless he may return from battle, so does the spirit of the sky keep (don) the sky. And to help the sky, he (Ohrmazd) gave it joy, for he fashioned joy for its sake: for even now in the mixed state creation is in joy.

(45) Second from the substance of the sky he fashioned water, as much as when a man puts his hands on the ground and walks on his hands and feet, and the water rises to his belly and flows to that height. And as helpmates he gave it wind, rain, mist, storm, and snow.

(46) Third from water he created the earth, round, with far-flung passage-ways, without hill or dale, its length equal to its breadth, and its breadth to its depth, poised in the middle of the sky: as it is said, 'The first third of this earth he fashioned as hard as granite(?); the second third of this earth he fashioned of sandstone(?); the third third of this earth he fashioned as soft as clay.' (47) And he created minerals within the earth, and mountains which afterwards sprang forth and grew out of the earth. And to aid the earth he gave it iron, copper, sulphur, and borax and all the other hard substances of the earth except . . . (?) . . ., for that is of a different substance. And he made and fashioned the earth like a man when he tightly covers his body on all sides with all manner of raiment. Beneath this earth there is water everywhere.

(48) Fourth he created plants. First they grew in the middle of this earth to the height of a foot, without branches, bark or thorn, moist and sweet: and every manner of plant life was in their seed. And to aid the plants he gave them water and fire; for the stem of every plant has a drop of water at its tip and fire for (the breadth of) four fingers before (the tip). By the power of these they grew.

(49) Fifth he fashioned the lone-created Bull in Ērānvēž in the middle of the earth, on the banks of the river Vēh Daitē, for that is the middle of the earth. He was white and shining like the Moon and his height was about three cubits. And to aid him he gave him water and plants; for in the mixed state he derives strength and growth from these.

(50) Sixth he fashioned Gayōmart, shining like the Sun, and his height was about four cubits and his breadth equal to his height, on the banks of the river Daitē, for that is the middle of the earth—Gayōmart on the left side, the Bull on the right side; and their distance one from the other and their distance from the water of the Daitē was as much as their height. They had eyes and ears, tongue and distinguishing mark. The distinguishing mark of Gayōmart is this, that men have in this wise been born from

his seed. (51) And to aid him he gave him sleep, the repose of the Creator; for Ohrmazd fashioned forth sleep in the form of a man, tall and bright, and fifteen years of age. He fashioned Gayōmart and the Bull from the earth. And from the light and freshness of the sky he fashioned forth the seed of men and bulls; for these two seeds have their origin in fire, not in water: and he put them in the bodies of Gayōmart and the Bull that from them there might be progeny abundant for men and kine.

(52) These six creations he made in the six *gāsānbār* seasons. In a complete year there are three hundred and sixty-five days or twelve months, each month having thirty days and one month thirty-five. Each day was given the name of an Amahraspand.

(53) Now I shall speak of their properties. First he fashioned the sky in forty days, that is from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Fravartīn to the day of Āpān in the month of Artvahišt. For five days he rested till the day of Daδv pat Miθr. Those five days are *gāsānbār*: their name is *maiδyōzarm*. And the interpretation of *maiδyōzarm* is this, that the dwellings of man [and the dwellings of Mihr and water] and vegetation were made manifest.

(54) Second he created water in fifty-five days, that is from the day of Miθr in the month of Artvahišt to the day of Āpān in the month of Tīr: for five days he rested till the day of Daδv pat Miθr. Those five days are *gāsānbār*: their name is *maiδyōšam*. And the interpretation of *maiδyōšam* is this, that water was (then) made clear; for at first it was turbid.

(55) Third he created the earth in seventy days, that is from the day of Miθr in the month of Tīr to the day of Art in the month of Šaθrēvar. For five days he rested till the day of Anaγrān. Those five days are *gāsānbār*: their name is *paitišhah*. And the interpretation of *paitišhah* is this, that it was (then) revealed that creatures on earth can walk on foot.

(56) Fourth he created the plants in twenty-five days, that is from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Miθr till the day of Aštāt: for five days he rested till the day of Anaγrān. Those five days are *gāsānbār*: their name is *ayāsrim*. And the interpretation of *ayāsrim* is this, that leaf and scent and colour of vegetation were (then) made manifest.

(57) Fifth he created cattle in seventy-five days, that is from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Āpān to the day of Daδv pat Miθr in the month of Daδv: for five days he rested till the day of Varhrān. Those five days are *gāsānbār*: their name is *maiδyāirim*. And the interpretation of *maiδyāirim* is this that he taught his creatures to lay up store for winter.

(58) Sixth he created Man, that is Gayōmart, in seventy days, that is from the day of Rām in the month of Daδv to the day of Anaγrān in the

month of Spandarmat: for five days he rested till the day of Spandarmat. Those five days are *gāsānbār*. Some call them the 'stolen days', some the 'days filched away'. Their name is *hamaspamaiδayam*. And the interpretation of *hamaspamaiδayam* is this, that marching in assembled hosts was made manifest on earth: for the Fravahrs of men came down in assembled hosts. (59) The name of those five days is the Stolen. Some call them the five Gāθic periods, some the good pentad. In the Religion they are *Ahunvait gās*, *Uštavait gās*, *Spantōmēn gās*, *Vahušaθr gās*, *Vahištōišt gās*. The names of the thirty days that form the months are these: Ohrmazd, Vahuman, Artvahišt, Šaθrēvar, Spandarmat, Hurdāt, Amurdāt, Daδv, Ātur, Āpān, Xᵛar, Māh, Tīr, Gōš, Daδv, Miθr, Srōš, Rašn, Fravartīn, Varhrān, Rām, Vāt, Daδv, Dēn, Art, Aštāt, Āsmān, Zāmdāt, Mahraspand, Anaγrān.

(60) Likewise the twelve months are named after Amahraspands: the month of Fravartīn, the month of Artvahišt, the month of Hurdāt, the month of Tīr, the month of Amurdāt, the month of Šaθrēvar, the month of Miθr, the month of Āpān, the month of Ātur, the month of Daδv, the month of Vahuman, the month of Spandarmat. Of the properties of each severally I shall discourse below.

NOTES

(6) 'He fashioned forth such creation as was necessary for the weapon.' The 'weapon' must be the original weapon from which the universe is formed mentioned in PhlRiv. (text Z 7). This weapon which develops from the 'Endless Form' is limited space, the 'body' of limited Time, the universe contained within the firmament; v. Part I, Chapter V.

(19) The passage in square brackets is obviously out of place. It must be inserted in § 26, for the creation of the essence of the gods corresponds to the creation of the essence of the demons in Ahriman's counter-creation.

(20) Cf. DkM. 390. 22: *druž pēš 'hač kanārak-paytākīh i zamān 'pat tarmēnītan ⟨i⟩ dātār 'ut-aš dahišnān nērōk.*—'Before a limit was set to Time, the Lie had the power to despise the Creator and his creations.'

(31) The three Judges are in all probability Mihr, Rašn, and Srōš: v. Part I, p. 102.

Z 2. The third chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, p. 30, l. 10 to p. 39, l. 11 in the edition of Anklesaria (for details v. Z 1, introduction). Except for ll. 100–11 (Justi, p. 7, l. 9–p. 8, l. 5) the chapter is missing in the Indian recension and, therefore, also in the Pāzand. The chapter has been transliterated, translated, and annotated by Nyberg in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. ccxiv, 1929, pp. 228–37 and 295–310. For a discussion of its contents v. Part I, Chapters V and VIII.

(1) *'apar čēγōn⟨īh 'ut⟩ čim i dahišnīh ⟨i⟩ dām 'ō artīk-karīh.*

(2) *Ōhrmazd 'nām i 30 amahraspand 'pat 'ān 30 'rōč ētōn 'nihāt 'ku nazdist Ōhrmazd, 'pas 6 amahraspand, 'bavēt 7: 'ut 8-om daδv, 'hast dātār; 'ut 'pas 6 amahraspand, 'bavēt 7; 8-om daδv, 'hast dātār, 'pas 7 amahraspand |*
A31 *'bavēt *8; 9-om daδv, 'hast dātār. 'ut 'pas 7 amahraspand, 'bavēt 8. čēγōn*
6 *'nām i 'χᵛēš 'pat 4 gyāk 'andar māhīkān passāχt,—Ōhrmazd 'ut 'ān i 3 daδv ⟨i⟩ ēvak 'nām: ēvak gās 'ut ēvak dēn 'ut ēvak zamān 'kē hamē 'būt 'hēnd.*

(3) *'kaδ ganāk mēnōk 'ō pityārak mat, Ōhrmazd Zamān i dērang-χᵛatāy brēhēnīt 'pat 'mart karp i 15 sālak, rōšn, spēt-dōisr, buland, amāvand 'kē-š*
10 *amāvandīh 'hač hunarāvandīh, 'nē 'hač dužīh 'ut stahmakīh.*

(4) *'ut-aš 'χᵛat patmōčan i spēt patmōχt, 'ut brēh i āsrōnīh dāšt; 'čē hamē dānākīh 'apāk āsrōnān 'kē 'ō 'kasān nimūtār, 'har 'kas hač-iš hamōχtār 'hēnd. Ōhrmazd-ič χᵛēškārīh dām-dahišnīh 'būt; dām 'pat dānākīh šāyēt 'dāt. 'ēt rāδ brahmak i dānākān patmōχt, 'hast āsrōnīh.*

15 (5) *Vāy i 'vēh yāmak i 'zarrēn sēmēn gōhr-pēsīt 'ut *arγavān 'vas-rang patmōχt, brahmak i artēštārīh ⟨dāšt⟩; 'čē 'apar raftār 'hač 'pas ⟨i⟩ dušmanān*
A32 *'pat pityārak zatan, dām pānakīh kartan; čēγōn 'gōβēt | 'ku Vāy 'ān i 'andar 'har 'dō dām pityārak 'bē 'barēt, χᵛēškārīh, *'kē-š 'dāt spēnāk mēnōk, 'kē-ič ganāk mēnōk, — 'pat 'ēn 'ku artīk 'sar 'bē 'kunēt, dām i Ōhrmazd hamē*
20 *aβzāyēt, 'ān i ganāk mēnōk āβsihēnēt.*

(6) *'hač Zamān brēhēnīt Spihr i Zurvān i dērang-χᵛatāy tan, nēvak baγ [i] baχtīh; 'ut-aš patmōčan i χšēn patmōχt, brahmak i vāstryōšīh dāšt: 'čē-š nēvak baχtārīh ⟨i⟩ gēhān χᵛēškārīh, ōγōn čēγōn vāstryōšān gēhān varzītan, passačakīhā 'bē dātan.*

25 (7) *čēγōn Ōhrmazd miyān ⟨i⟩ 'har 6 amahraspand dām i 'χᵛēš *passāχt, dahišn-*ič i* mēnōk 'ut gētēh 'pat ham-aδvēnak 'dāt, čēγōn mēnōk Ōhrmazd 'ut 'ān 6 amahraspand, Vahuman, Artvahišt, Šaθrēvar, Spandarmat, Hurdāt, Amurdāt, ētōn-ič āsmān 6 *pāδak i nazdist aβr-pāδak, ditīkar spihr i aχtarān, sitīkar star i agumēčišnīh, 4-om vahišt,—māh 'pat 'ān pāδak 'ēstēt,—*
30 *pančom garōδmān 'kē anaγr [i] rōšn 'χᵛānīhēt,—χᵛaršēt 'pat 'ān pāδak 'ēstēt,*
A33 *— | šašom gās i amahraspandān, haftom asar rōšnīh, gās ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazd.*

(8) *ōγōn ič dām i gētēh*7 brēhēnīt, nazdist āsmān, ditīkar 'āp, sitīkar zamīk, čahārom urvar, pančom gōspand, šašom martōm, 'ut haftom ātaχš 'kē brēh 'hač asar rōšn, gās i Ōhrmazd. 'ut-aš ātaχš 'andar harvisp dahišn ētōn 'bē parkand,*
35 *frāč brēhēnīt, čēγōn katak-χᵛatāy-ē 'kaδ 'andar χānak 'šavēt, yāmak i 'andar χānak χᵛap 'apāč 'nihāt . . . 'ut-aš framūt 'ō ātaχš 'andar aβigatīh parastak i martōm kartan, χᵛarišn sāχtan 'ut dart zatan. 'kaδ 'hač 'čiš 'čiš 'bē vazēn⟨ēn⟩d, bērōn 'āyēt; 'kaδ 'ēsm 'apar 'nihēnd, frāč 'gīrēt.*

(9) *'ut-aš harvisp amahraspandān 'pat ham-kārīh artīk-karīh ⟨i⟩ dām ētōn*
40 *gumārt ēstēnīt 'ku 'kaδ aβigat āmat, 'har 'kas 'ān i χᵛēš hamēmāl 'pat kōχšišn frāč 'graft, 'ku nōk framān 'andar 'nē apāyēt.*

(10) *'ut-aš čēγōnīh frāčtar 'gōβam.*

(11) *fratom 'hač mēnōkān Ōhrmazd | ['ān 3 daδv], 'ut-aš 'hač gētēhān bun* A34
martōm 'ō 'χ^{v}ēš 'graft. 'ut-aš ham-kār 'ān 3 daδv: ēvak gās 'ut ēvak dēn 'ut
ēvak zamān, visp dē 'nām 'kē 'hast mēnōk ⟨i⟩ harvisp [ākās 'ut-aš martōm 'ō 45
*'χ^{v}ēš 'graft] dahišn hač-iš. martōm 'pat 5 *bažišn frāč 'dāt, tan 'ut ǰān 'ut*
ruvān 'ut aδvēnak 'ut fravahr; čēγōn tan 'ān i gētēh; 'ut ǰān 'ān i 'apāk vāt
patvast 'ēstēt, vēn 'āβarišn barišn; ruvān 'ān i 'apāk bōδ 'andar tan 'āšnavēt,
'vēnēt, 'gōβēt, 'dānēt: aδvēnak 'ān i 'pat χ^{v}aršēt pāδak 'ēstēt: fravahr 'ān i 'pēš
i Ōhrmazd χ^{v}atāy: 'pat 'ān čim ētōn brēhēnīt 'ku 'andar aβigatīh 'martōm 50
'mīrēnd, tan 'ō zamīk, 'ǰān 'ō vāt, aδvēnak 'ō χ^{v}aršēt, ruvān 'ō fravahr patvast,
*'ku *'dēvān ruvān marnǰēnītan 'nē tavān 'bavāt.*

(12) *ditīkar 'hač mēnōkān Vahuman. 'ut-aš 'hač gētēhān dahišn gōspand*
sarδakān 'ō 'χ^{v}ēš patiγraft. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh ham-kārīh Māh 'ut Gōš 'ut
Rām 'ut | Spihr i χ^{v}atāy ⟨'ut⟩ Zurvān i akanārak 'ut Zurvān i dērang-χ^{v}atāy. A35
*'ut-aš gōspand 'pat panč *bažišn frāč brēhēnīt,—tan, ǰān, ruvān, aδvēnak,* 56
mēnōk: 'ku ['tāk] 'andar aβigatīh Gōšurvan tōhmak i gōspandān 'hač māh
pāδak patiγraft, 'pat aδyārīh i Rām i 'vēh 'andar gēhān ravākēnīt. 'kaδ
'mīrēnd, tan 'ō Gōšurvan, ruvān 'ō Rām, aδvēnak 'ō māh, mēnōk 'ō Vahuman
*patvast, 'ku *dēvān 'bē marnǰēnītan 'nē tavān bāt.* 60

(13) *sitīkar 'hač mēnōkān Urtvahišt. 'ut-aš 'hač dahišn i gētēh ātaχš 'ō*
'χ^{v}ēš 'patiγraft. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh ham-kārīh Ātur 'ut Srōš 'ut Varhrān 'ut
Nēryō(k)sang, 'pat 'ān čim 'ku 'andar aβigatīh Varhrān ātaχš 'andar mān
**nišāst vīnārt, drupuštīh 'dahēt, Srōš pānakīh 'kunēt; 'kaδ 'bē azrōβēt, 'hač*
Varhrān 'ō Srōš, 'hač Srōš 'ō Ātur, 'hač Ātur 'apāč 'ō Artvahišt patvast, 65
'ku 'dēvān 'bē marnǰēnītan 'nē tavān 'bavāt.

(14) *čahārom | 'hač mēnōkān Šaθrēvar. 'ut-aš 'hač dahišn ⟨i⟩ gētēh ayō(k)-* A36
χšust 'ō 'χ^{v}ēš 'graft. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'pat aδyārīh ham-kārīh X^{v}ar, Miθr, Āsmān,
Anaγrān, Sōk i 'vēh, Ar(k)dv⟨ī⟩-sūr, Hōm yazat, Burz yazat 'ut Dahmān
*Āfrīn. 'čē ayō(k)χšust ōstuvārīh 'hač āsmān; āsmān bun gōhr [i] *gēn ayō(k)-* 70
χšust. 'ut-aš vīnārišn 'hač Anaγrān. Anaγrān andarag rōšn mān i 'zarrēn
*gōhr-pēsīt *'ut 'ul 'ō gās i amahraspandān patvast 'ēstēt, 'ku 'pat 'ēn ham-*
kārīh 'dēvān 'andar aβigatīh ayō(k)χšust ōvēn kartan 'nē tavān 'bavāt.

(15) *pančom 'hač mēnōkān Spandarmat. 'ut-aš 'hač dahišn i gētēh zamīk 'ō*
'χ^{v}ēš patiγraft. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh ham-kārīh Āpān, Dēn, Art, Mahraspand 75
*'ut Aršišvang 'ut Ar(k)dv⟨ī⟩-sūr i anāhīt: čēγōn *Aršišvang mēnōk i yōšdāsr-*
gar i zamīk, āpān, tōhmak. 'ut-aš pēš Mahraspand, Mānsraspand, gōβišn i
Ōhrmazd. 'ut Art 'ut Dēn 'andar 'χ^{v}arr [i] mān 'hast. | 'hač Aršišvang 'gōβēt, A37
*—'χ^{v}arr i vahištīk *artāyīh. Ar(k)dv⟨ī⟩-sūr *i anāhīt 'pit 'ut 'māt i āpān. 'pat*
'ēn ham-kārīh 'andar aβigatīh vīnārt 'ēstēt. 'ut 'ēn mēnōkān ⟨i⟩ hamkār 80
'χ^{v}arr nikās 'dārēnd.

(16) *šašom 'hač mēnōkān Hurdāt. 'ut-aš 'hač dahišn i gētēh 'āp 'ō 'χ^{v}ēš 'patiγraft. 'ut-aš 'dāt 'ō aδyārīh ham-kārīh Tīr 'ut Vāt 'ut Fravartīn,—čēγōn Tīr Tištar,—'ku 'andar aβigatīh 'ān 'āp 'pat aδyārīh ⟨i⟩ Fravartīn,—'hast i Fravahr i ahrovān,—'stanēt, mēnōkīhā 'ō Vāt aβspārēt: Vāt 'ān 'āp 'nēvīhā 'ō kišvarīhā rāδēnēt, vitārēt. 'pat aβr aβzār 'apāk ham-kārān vārēnd.*

(17) *haftom 'hač mēnōkān Amurdāt. 'ut-aš 'hač dahišn i gētēh urvar 'ō χ^{v}ēš patiγraft. 'ut-aš dāt 'ō aδyārīh ham-kārīh Rašn 'ut Aštāt 'ut Zāmdāt, 3 'χ^{v}arr i 'ōδ 'pat čīnkār puhr, 'kē ⟨'andar⟩ aβigatīh ruvān i martōmān 'pat nēvak 'vat kart āmārēnd.*

(18) *'an amar mēnōk i dām 'pat 'avēšān ham-kārīh vīnārt 'ēstēnd, čēγōn 'ān*
A38 *i 'andar Spihr | aχtarān rāδ nipišt.* (19) *'ut-aš *'rōč-ič i 'andar *māhīkān 'har ēvak 'pat 5 hangām baχt, 'har hangām-ē mēnōk-ē pat-iš gumārt, čēγōn bāmdāt gās [i] Hāvan mēnōk, nēmrōč gās Rapiθwin mēnōk, aδβārak gās [i] Uzayarin mēnōk, apātyāβān ⟨gās⟩ Aiwisrū(k)srim mēnōk, Ušahin gās Ušahin mēnōk χ^{v}ēšīh 'dārēnd. 'ut-aš 'avēšān-ič 'pat ham-kārīh 'baχt 'hēnd; 'čē-š Hāvan 'ō Miθr, 'ut Rapiθwin 'ō Artvahišt, Uzayarin 'ō Burz yazat, Aiwisrū(k)srim 'ō ahrovān Fravahrān 'ut Varhrān, Ušahin 'ō Srōš 'ut Rašn 'pat ham-kārīh vīnārt.* (20) *'čē-š 'dānast 'ku 'kaδ aβigat 'rasēt, 'rōč 'pat 'ēn 5 hangām 'baχš-īhēt: 'tāk 'pēš 'kaδ aβigat mat, hamēšak nēmrōč 'būt, 'hast Rapiθwin. Ōhrmazd 'apāk amahraspandān 'pat Rapiθwin* gās *mēnōk i yazišn frāč sāχt. 'andar yazišn kunišn dām hamāk 'bē 'dāt.* (21) *'apāk bōδ Fravahr i martōmān uskārt;*
A39 *χrat i harvisp-ākās 'pat martōmān frāč 'burt, | guft 'ku katār-tān sūtōmandtar 'sahēt, 'kaδ-tān 'bē 'ō gētēh brēhēnam 'ut tan-kartīhā 'apāk druž 'bē kōχšēt, druž 'bē aβsihēnēt, 'ut-tān 'pat fražām druvist anōšak 'apāč vīrāδēm, 'ut-tān 'apāč 'ō gētēh 'daham, *hamayīkīhā amarg, azarmān, apē-hamēmāl 'bavēt, ayāp-tān hamayīk pānakīh ⟨i⟩ aβigat apāyēt kartan.* (22) *'ut-šān 'dīt Fravahr i 'martōmān 'pat 'ān i χrat i harvisp-ākās anākīh 'hač druž 'ut Ahriman 'andar gētēh pat-iš 'rasēt, aβdom apē-hamēmālīh 'hač pityārak, druvist anōšak 'apāč 'bavišn-īh 'pat tan i pasēn 'tāk hamē hamē ravišnīh rāδ, 'pat 'šutan* 'ō gētēh ham-dātastān 'būt *'hēnd.*

NOTES

***l.* 1.** *čēγōn⟨īh 'ut⟩ : čēγōn* TD_2, DH.: om. P.
artīk-karīh : artīk-garīh P.

***l.* 2.** *'nām : dām* P.
nazdist : NZSTW TD_2. The different spellings of this word will no longer be noted: cf. Z 1, l. 99 n.

***l.* 3.** *8-om*: so P., DH.: *7-om* with *8-om* in margin TD_2.

***l.* 5.** **8 : 9* DH.: om. TD_2, P.
9-om daδv . . . amahraspand, 'bavēt: om. P.

8 : 8-om P.
čēγōn : čēγōn-aš P.

l. **6.** *māhīkān : 'māhīkān* DH.: *'māhīkān-ē* ( ) P.

After *daδv* P. adds *čēγōn*. For the punctuation and interpretation of this passage v. l. 44 n. and Chapter VIII. After *'nām* P. adds *i*.

l. **8.** *pityārak : patyārak* (*PT"LKW*) P. This unimportant variant will no longer be noted.

l. **9.** *brēhēnīt : frāč brēhēnīt* P.
karp: so P., DH.: *tan* TD_2.
15 P., DH.: *5* TD_2.
dōisr : DWYSLWY TD_2, DH.: *DW'SL* P. The word is a mechanical transcription of Av. *dōiθra-*.
buland : i BLD P.

l. **10.** *hunarāvandīh* P.: *hunarāvand-aš* TD_2, DH.

l. **11.** *patmōčan i* P.: *PTMWČND* TD_2, DH.
brēh : BL'Y TD_2, DH.: *BL'H* P. *brēh* in the sense of 'character' is attested DkM. 220. 21: *χēm 'ut hōk 'ut brēh*. PhlTexts, p. 26, § 13: *brēh i moγ-martīh* 'the character of a Magian'. Nyb. on the analogy of ll. 16 and 22 emended to *brahmak*; but the emendation is not strictly necessary as both words are capable of having the desired meaning 'character'. I have therefore kept *brēh* in accordance with the MSS. *brēh* 'character' is best regarded as a development of *brēh* 'stature' <base *brāy-*, *brī-* 'cut'. Cf. text Z 1, l. 113 n.
āsrōnīh : 'SLNYH P.

l. **12.** *'kasān*: MSS. 𐭮𐭪𐭮 for 𐭮𐭮𐭮.

hamōχtār: for the passive sense of agent nouns in *-tār* cf. NP. *giriftār* 'prisoner'.

l. **14.** *brahmak*: has the meaning (i) 'robe' as here, (ii) 'manner', (iii) 'character', so ll. 16, 22; cf. Zs. 32. 1: *'ān aδvēnak dānišn tavān-nērōkīh, 'ut masīh, χ^{v}ēškārīh 'ō 'ān i 'avē ruvān patvandēnd, 'ut-aš pat-ič mēnōk ham-brahmakīh pat-iš 'bavēt*.—'The same kind of knowledge, master-craft, enterprise, and occupation will accompany the soul, and in the spiritual world it will have the same character.' v. further BSOS. ix, p. 311 and Henning, *Transac. Philolog. Soc.*, 1945, pp. 108–18, where the question receives very full treatment.

l. **15.** *Vāy : W'Y* P.: *W'B* TD_2, DH. Vāy must be taken as the subject, as the parallel passages Z 11 and Z 12 show. It is Vāy who dons the many-coloured garment which is his essence (Z 11), not Ohrmazd who dons Vāy, as Nyberg erroneously translated. Ohrmazd dons one garment only, that of the priests, and that is emphasized by the use of *χ^{v}at* in l. 11. The distinction is, then, between 'he (Ohrmazd) *himself* . . .' on the one hand and Vāy (who dons the garment of the warriors) and Spihr (who dons that of the husbandmen) on the other. Moreover, there is no pronoun in the whole sentence which could stand for Ohrmazd: if the intended subject were Ohrmazd, then such a pronoun would necessarily be employed, and the sentence would in all probability start with *'ut-aš*. When Widengren (*Hochgottglaube*, p. 297) draws a distinction between the robe of the warriors as it

appears in DkM. l.c. and the same in this passage, his whole argument is based on a mistranslation. In both passages the garment belongs to Vāy: Ohrmazd dons only the garment of the priests. Fortunately Wikander (*Vayu I*, p. 27) has already corrected this error.

'zarrēn: ZYBYNW P.

pēšīt P.: *pēšīt* TD_2, DH.

**aryavān* (*W'LGWWK'N* MSS.): as in NP. 'judas-tree' and the colour of its blossom. I owe the suggestion to Professor Henning. The parallel passage (text Z 11) gives the basic colour of Vāy's garment as 'red' (*suχr*): we therefore require a synonym for 'red' or similar colour. *aryavān* fits well and seems more satisfactory than either Nyberg's **ālgōnakān* or Wikander's *har-gōnakān* (*Vayu I*, p. 29) which is tautologous.

rang: so clearly P. (*LNG*): *LNY* (*rōy*) TD_2. Nyberg has accepted the latter, translating 'toutes sortes', but it is doubtful if *rōy* (*rōδ*) can be used in the sense of 'manner'. 'Colour' is clearly more suitable.

l. **16.** *brahmak i artēštārīh* ⟨*dāšt*⟩: for *artēštārīh* P. has *artēštār i*. The addition of *dāšt* is demanded by the parallel ll. 11 and 22. For *brahmak* in the sense of character cf. l. 14 n.

'hač: 'čē P.

l. **17.** *Vāy: W'Y* P.: *W'B* TD_2, DH.

l. **18.** *pityārak* P.: *pityār* TD_2, DH. The passage is based on Yt. 15. 44. Cf. Nyb., p. 295.

**'kē-š: 'čē-š* MSS.

l. **19.** *'pat 'ēn 'ku*: TD_2 and DH. add *'kē*.

l. **20.** *aβzāyēt: 'PZ'TW* P.

l. **21.** *'hač Zamān: 'hač dāmān* P.: *'kē zamān* TD_2, DH.

brēhēnīt P.: *brēhēnišnīh* TD_2, DH.

Spihr i Zurvān i dērang-χᵛatāy tan, nēvak bay-baχtīh: Spihr 'ut Zurvān dērang-χᵛatāy tan bay i baχtīh TD_2: *Spihr 'ut Zurvān* 𐬭𐬀𐬌 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 *i baχtīh* DH. (if I have correctly understood Anklesaria's note, p. 9): *Spihr i WZWLWW'K 'būt nēvak baχtīh* P. No individual MS. reading is satisfactory, but the text can be restored (i) by the comparison and rearrangement of the MSS., and (ii) by comparison with DkM. 350. 1 (text Z 10). *tan*, though only found in TD_2, must be kept: for the reading of DH. is corrupt, and plainly represents ⟨*dēran*⟩*g-χᵛa*⟨*t*⟩*āy tan*: the *'būt* (𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌) of P. is merely a clumsy attempt on the part of the scribe to correct the unintelligible 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 of DH. into an intelligible form. *Spihr i . . .* is to be read rather than *Spihr 'ut Zurvān i dērang-χᵛatāy tan* since we find in DkM. l.c. that Spihr is spoken of as *fratom tan* 'the first body'. Thus we must translate here 'Spihr, the body of Zurvān of the Long Dominion', and take *bay-baχtīh* in apposition to *spihr* whose function it is to distribute good and bad fortune on earth; v. the following sentence and text Z 3. That only one entity is here described is proved by the singular *'ut-aš* of the following sentence. Nyb., however (whom Wikander follows), preferred to read *spihr u zurvān* ⟨*i*⟩ *dērang-χᵛatāi, tan, bayē-baχtīh*, 'le firmament étoilé, Zurvān à la longue domination, le corps (universel) et le Sort'. The difficulty of the following *'ut-aš* he avoided by referring it to Ohrmazd in spite of the fact that there is no direct reference to that deity in what directly precedes. Another grave objection to his interpretation is the use of *tan* in the sense of 'universal body'. To express so

pregnant an idea a qualifying adjective is indispensable. With the rejection of Nyb.'s translation, his tetrad *Spihr, Zurvān, tan,* and *bayē-baxtīh* (CCM. 1931, pp. 60, 109) must disappear. Against Nyb.'s assumption that Ohrmazd himself wore the garment here described, we must—in addition to the grammatical difficulties already referred to—object that in our text Z 12 the third garment belongs to the *bayān* 'constellations', corresponding, clearly, to the *bay-baxtīh* of this passage. It should further be observed that *bay-baxt* is used as an epithet of Harburz, itself identical with the sky.

l. **22.** *χšēn : XŠ'NW* P.: *χšēnēn* DH., TD_2.
vāstryōšīh : W'SLTLYWŠYH DH.

l. **23.** *vāstryōšān : 'STLYWŠ'NW* DH.
passačakīhā : passāčakīhā P.

l. **25.** **passāxt : PSXTW* P. שנשיש TD_2, DH. which Nyb. took as *-ič *givaxt* <*vi-bag-*.

l. **26.** **-ič i* : Y Č* P.: *'čē* TD_2, DH.

l. **27.** *Urtvahišt : 'WRTWHŠTW* TD_2, DH.: *'WRTHŠTW* P.
Spandarmat : SČDRMTW P.: *SČYNNTMTW* DH.

l. **28.** *ētōn-ič: ētōn* P. *āsmān : 'SYM'NW* DH.: *'S'M'N* P.
**pāδak*: ﻉ MSS.
aβr-pāδak : aβr-P'HK P. For *pāδak* in ll. 29 and 30 P. has the same reading.

l. **30.** *'ēstēt* P.: *'ēstāt* TD_2, DH.

l. **32.** **7 : 6* MSS.
āsmān : 'S'M'NW P.

l. **33.** *šašom : ŠŠWWM* P. (so also in ll. 31 and 82).
brēh : BL'Y TD_2, DH.: *BL'H* P.

l. **33.** *'andar*: om. P.
parkand : PLYKND P. Nyb. reads *frakand.*

l. **35.** *čēyōn katak-χ^{v}atāy-ē 'kaδ,* &c.: the sentence as it stands construes perfectly, but the point of the simile is far from apparent, the similarity between Ohrmazd scattering the fire throughout the world and a householder putting away his clothes being, to say the least, obscure. We must, therefore, assume that the end and point of the simile have been lost, and accordingly leave a *lacuna.* The simile clearly ends at *'nihāt* as the appearance of *aβigatīh,* the technical name for Ahriman's malignant attacks, shows. Nyb.'s treatment of the passage which failed to recognize that the simile—or what is left of it—ends at *'nihāt,* is unsatisfactory in that it introduces too many words of uncertain form and meaning, and resorts to a wholesale transposition of the text.

l. **36.** *χānak (i)* P.: om. TD_2, DH.
aβigatīh P., DH.: *aβigat* TD_2.
parastak: the meaning, from the context, certainly is 'service'. Should we, therefore, emend to *parastišn*?

l. **37.** *'kaδ : 'MT* P.: *'MWT* TD_2, DH.
'čiš 'čiš: *'čiš* P.

l. **38.** *vazēn⟨ēn⟩d*: this seems to be the best reading, with haplography of *ēn,* meaning 'cause to move', then here 'kindle'. Equally well we may read **činēnd* 'they heap up':

cf. Andreas–Henning, MirMan. ii, p. 28, l. 11, *'n hym 'dwr 'i čyyd zrdrwšt.*—'I am the fire which Zoroaster heaped up'.

l. **39.** *artīk-karīh : artīk-gārīh* P.

l. **40.** *gumārt : gumartan* P.
ēstēnīt: so P.: *ēstānīt* TD_2, DH.
āmat : mat P.
kōχšišn DH.: *KWXŠ'ŠNW* TD_2: *KXŠŠNW* P.

l. **41.** *'graft* P.: and so corrected from *'gīrēt* in TD_2.

l. **43.** [*'ān 3 daδv*], *'ut-aš*: om. P. P. is probably right in omitting *'ān 3 daδv*. The *daδvs* are the *ham-kārān* of Ohrmazd, just as Māh, Gōš, &c., are the *ham-kārān* of Vahuman (so also the other Amahraspands). In the case of the six other Amahraspands the *ham-kārān* are not mentioned in the initial sentence; and we may, therefore, safely follow P. and ignore the *3 daδv* in this context.
'hač gētēhān . . . 3 daδv: added above the line in DH.
bun : BND P.

l. **44.** *'ō 'χ^{v}ēš* P.: *'ut 'hač 'χ^{v}at* TD_2, DH.
gās 'ut: *gās i* P.

ēvak gās . . .: the passage in ll. 45–6 bracketed in our text is missing in P. and written above the line in DH. TD_2 alone has the offending passage written in the text. There can be no doubt that the reading of P. is right because (i) there is nothing in the parallel passages dealing with the activities of the remaining Amahraspands which in any way corresponds to the extra words in TD_2, and (ii) the words *'ut-aš martōm 'ō 'χ^{v}ēš 'graft* are obviously a tardy correction in TD_2 of the wrongly written *martōm 'ut 'hač 'χ^{v}at 'graft* in the preceding line: in that passage, too, P. gives the only correct reading. *ākās*, which is also missing in P., must then be regarded as an addition on the part of the scribe whose familiarity with the phrase *harvisp-ākās* 'omniscient' led him into error. The reading of P. *'kē 'hast mēnōk ⟨i⟩ harvisp dahišn hač-iš*, 'That is the spirit from whom all creation (arises)', gives a useful clue to the reading of 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌 (TD_2, 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬎𐬌 DH, 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬎𐬀 P.). Since the relative clause has a singular verb, we must look for a singular noun in the problematic word: further, since the noun concerned is described as 'the spirit from which all creation arises', we are entitled to look for a word meaning 'creator'. Again in ll. 6–7 we have met the three *Daδvs* who were there described as having one name (*'nām* = *ŠM*). It seems probable, therefore, that here the 𐬵 occurring at the end of the disputed word represents *ŠM- 'nām*. The beginning of the word can scarcely be anything but *visp* 'all'; and we are then left with the signs 𐬎 which can easily be interpreted as *dē* (*DYY*), that is the later and therefore more comprehensible form of *daδv* 'creator'. This interpretation seems satisfactory in that it supplies a singular noun for the *'hast* of the relative sentence, and that the relative sentence gains additional point by serving as an explanntory clause to *dē*, the original meaning of which can scarcely have been generally understood at the time of the writing of the Bd. I have read *ēvak gās*, &c., as a separate sentence ('one is Space . . .') rather than as a series of compound adjectives ('of one rank . . .', so Nyb.), first because only so does *visp* cease to be superfluous, and secondly because it seems most unlikely that the author should not reveal the identity of the 'creators' who are the helpers of Ohrmazd, though he carefully enumerates the helpers of the six lesser Amahraspands. For a full discussion of the problems involved the reader is referred to Part I, Chapter VIII.

Against my interpretation of 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 a Pāz. form *vīspaesąm* (Pāz. Texts, p. 358. 4) should be noted. The Pāz. passage is, however, horribly corrupt.

l. **45.** *'kē*: repeated in DH.

l. **46.** **bažišn*: MSS. *BWČŠNW* (*bōžišn*), but the insertion of an otiose *Wāw* is so common in Phl. as to deserve no comment. The context clearly demands 'part', not 'redemption'. Nyb., however, translates: 'il créa pour l'homme la rédemption par cinq (forces)'. 'Pour l'homme', however, would necessarily be *martōm rāδ* or at least *'pat martōm : martōm* alone is not enough. Cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 92, in support of our interpretation.

l. **47.** *'apāk vāt . . . bōδ 'andar tan*: om. P., substituting only *B'Y 'andar tan*. *vēn*: 'breath' v. Bailey, BSOS. vii, p. 83. Nyb. reads the excessively archaic *vayū*.

l. **48.** *bōδ* DH.: *BWWD* TD_2.

l. **49.** *'vēnēt*: om. P.
pāδak : P'HK P.

l. **50.** *čim* (*ČYM*) TD_2: *ČM* P., DH.

l. **51.** *zamīk*: om. P.
vāt: P. has *WYSTW* with *WW'TW* written above it.

l. **52.** **'dēvān*: MSS. have *-šān*, but v. the parallels ll. 66, 73.
marnǰēnīt(an) P.: *MLWYNNYTNW* TD_2, DH.
'bavāt: *'bavēt* P.

l. **53.** *dahišn* P.: *daχšak* TD_2, DH. In the parallel passages ll. 61, 67, 74, 82, however, *dahišn* always occurs.

l. **55.** First *Zurvān : WZLWN* P.
Second *Zurvān : ZWWLWN* P.

l. **56.** *panč : 5* P.
**bažišn : BWČŠNW* MSS. v. l. 46 n.

l. **58.** *pāδak : P'HK* P.
patiγraft TD_2: *'patiγraft* DH.: *'patīrēt* P.
aδyārīh P., DH.: *aδyār* TD_2.
'vēh : Š'PYL DH.
ravākēnīt P.: *ravāgēnīt* TD_2.

l. **60.** **'dēvān : -šān* P.: *daχšak* TD_2, DH. Cf. l. 53 n.
bāt TD_2: *'bavāt* DH.: *'būt* P.

l. **61.** *Urtvahišt : 'WRTWHŠTW* TD_2, DH.: *'WRTHŠTW* P.

l. **62.** *'patiγraft : 'patīrēt* P.
Varhrān : Varhrām P.

l. **63.** *Nēryō(k)sang : Nērōksang*, *'ut-aš* P.
Varhrān : Varhrām P.

l. **64.** **nišāst : nišast* TD_2, DH.: *ŠSTNW* P.
'dahēt : 'dāt P.
pānakīh : pānak i P.
azrōβēt (*'ZLWPYTW*) P.: *MLWPYTW* TD_2, DH. <*uz*+**raup-* whence NP. *ruftan* 'sweep'. Meaning, 'extinguish, destroy'. The more usual form is *zruftan*, *zrōβ-*, cf. DkM. 407. 1 : *visāndak 'ut zruftak 'ut sūtak*, 'scattered, destroyed, and worn

away'. Ibid. 295. 17: *'ku . . . āsn-χrat i pat-išān 'hač zruftakīhā i aδar ['ut] varan hangēžēnāt.*—"That he might raise up the innate wisdom within them from the ruins under lust.' Again l. 22 on the same page. Ibid. 435. 12: *nihānīk zruftakīh.* Ibid. 454. 14: *zruftakīhā.* For the form *azruftan* cf. ibid. 90. 14: *ātaχš 'hač vāt čērīh *azruft ('ZWL'PTW)*—"The fire is extinguished by the violence of the wind.' Ibid. 293. 13: **azrōβēnd 'ut nikōnēnēnd.*—"They destroy and humble.'

l. 65. *Varhrān : Varhrām* P.
Artvahišt : 'WRTHŠTW P.

l. 66. *'dēvān*: P. and DH. have one more ـر than TD_2. This variant is too common and has too little significance to be of any importance: it will therefore not be further noticed.
marnǰēnītan : MLNČWYNNYTNW TD_2, DH.: *MLNČYNYT* P.

l. 68. *aδyārīh : 'YYB'LYH* P.: *'YYYB'LYH* TD_2, DH.
Āsmān : 'S'M'NW P.

l. 70. *Āfrīn : 'PLYNW* TD_2, DH.: *'PRYNW* P.
ōstuvārīh : 'WSTWB'LYH TD_2, DH.: *'WSTB'LYH* P.
Second *āsmān*: om. P.

**gēn*: TD_2 has  , thereby indicating the letters *G* and *Y*. P. omits. I read *gēn* on the analogy of PhlRiv. 46 (text Z 7), §§ 4 and 8 *kēn*, which would appear to be an abbreviated form of *āpakēnak* 'crystal': cf. NP. *gīneh* in the same sense. For a full discussion of the question v. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 129–34.
ayō(k)χšust : ayō(k)χšustēn P.

l. 71. *'zarrēn (ZHB'YNW)* TD_2, DH.: *ZHB'TW* P.
l. 72. *pēsīt : PYŠTW* TD_2, DH.: *PYST* P.
**'ut :* MSS. *i.*
'ō P.: om. TD_2, DH.

l. 73. For *ayō(k)-* P. has *'andar k-*.
ōvēn: the spelling of this problematic word is always  , which suggests the pronunciation *ōvēn*: this will then be derived from **ava-vanya-*, and will be compared with MPT. *wnybwṭ* 'annihilated' (Henning, BSOS. ix, p. 89) and *wnywdyh* (ibid.), the latter corresponding closely to Phl. *ōvēn-būtīh* 'annihilation': cf. Nyb. *Glossar*, s.v. *avin* and *avin-būtīh*. The reading *avēn* 'unsichtbar' adopted by Nöldeke (*Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, iv. 41) but contested by Salemann (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, p. 322) is unsatisfactory in that that word occurs DkM. 263. 22 in the spelling  , and means not 'invisible' but 'blind'. Both forms *avēn* and *avin* (so Nyb. <*vind-* 'find'), however, would seem to be precluded by the verbal form  , Mχ. 16. 12: *zanišn 'ut ōvēnišn*, 'striking and annihilating'. Such a form, if it were a denominative to *avēn* or *avin*, would necessarily be *avēnēnišn, avinēnišn*. If, however, it is derived from **ava-vanya-*, it presents no difficulty.
With this word must be connected  = *ōvēnītan*. In the two following instances it is exactly parallel to Mχ. l.c. DkM. 557. 13: *'nē 'zanišn 'ut-aš 'nē ōvēnišn*, and on the same page, l. 16: *'zanēt ayāp ōvēnēt*. Ibid. 512. 1: *'ān i vināskār 'pat vinās 'nē ōvēnītan*, 'not to kill a sinner on account of his sin'. Cf. ibid. 567. 15: *aβsōs 'ut ōvēnišn 'ut panīh*, 'sorcery, murder, and avarice'.
For *ōvēn* FrPhl. gives  which can be read as *ēvēn* <**abi-vanya-*.

l. 74. *Spandarmat : SČDRWMT* P.
dahišn i : dahišnīh TD_2, DH.

l. 75. *Art* P., DH.: *YLTW* TD_2.

l. 76. First *Aršišvang* (*'LŠŠWNG*) DH.: *'LYŠŠWNG* TD_2: *'L'ŠWNG* P.
i anāhīt P: *'ut anāhīt* TD_2, DH: *i 'ut anāhīt* P.
Second **Aršišvang*: *'ŠWN'* TD_2, DH.: *'ŠWNG* P.

l. 77. *mānsraspand*: *mahraspand* P.

l. 78. *'hač*: *'kē* P.
Aršišvang: *'LŠŠNG* DH.: *'LYŠŠNG* TD_2: *'LŠŠWND* P.

l. 79. *vahištīk*: *'ŠTYT* P.
**artāyīh*: *artāy-aš* MSS.
**i*: *'ut* MSS.

l. 80. *aβigatīh* P.: *aβigat i* TD_2: *aβigat-ē* 𐬀𐬞𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬞 DH.
'ēstēt: *'ēstēnd* P.

l. 81. *nikās 'dārēnd* P.: *'vasīh 'āβarēnd* TD_2, DH.

l. 82. *'ut-aš* P., DH.: *aš* TD_2.
'hač: om. P.
gētēh: *gētēhān* (*GYT"N*) P.

l. 83. *'ut-aš*: om. DH, P.
Fravartīn: *PLWLTDYNW* P.

l. 85. *'stanēt*: *YWSTWP* P.
mēnōkīhā: *MYNWYH* P.
'nēvīhā: *TNDYH'* TD_2, DH.: *TQKYH'* P.: *dit-gāh* Nyb.

l. 86. *vārēnd*: *vīnārēnd* TD_2, DH.

l. 87. *dahišn i* P.: *dahišnīh* TD_2, DH.

l. 88. *Zāmdāt*: *ZMD'TW* P.

l. 89. *čīnkār puhr*: *ČYNW'LPWL* P.
martōmān: *MLTWH'N* P.

l. 90. *'vat*: *SLYŠ* P.

l. 91. *amar*: om. P.

l. 92. **'rōč-ič*: *'ēn-ič* MSS. (*'ēn* being 𐬀𐬉𐬙 and *'rōč* 𐬭𐬀𐬙).
**māhīkān*: *miyānakān* MSS.

l. 93. *baχt*: so P. TD_2 has *NB'XTW* which Nyb. read as *niβaχt*.

l. 94. First *mēnōk* DH, P.: *mēnōk-ē* TD_2.
Second *gās* only in P. which adds *i*.
aδβārak: *'YYČ'LK* P.: *'YYYČ'LK* TD_2, DH.: TD_2 prefixes *i*. For an etymological discussion of the word v. Bartholomae, *ZumAIW.*, p. 32, n. 1, who derives the prefix from Av. *aδə̄* = Skt. *adhaḥ* rather than *aδi-*. The latter view is, however, supported by Salemann and Nyb.
Uzayarin (*'WZYLYNW*) TD_2, DH.: *'WZ'LYNW* P.

l. 95. *apātyāβān*: reading after Nyb. Quite uncertain.
First *Ušahin*: *'WŠH'N Y* P.: *'WŠH'NW* DH.
Ušahin (*'WŠŠYNY*) *mēnōk* P.: om. TD_2, DH.

l. **97.** *Artvahišt* DH.: *'WRTWHŠTW* TD_2: *'WRTHŠTW* P.
Uzayarin: *'WZ'LYNW* P.
Burz: *BLČ* P.
Aiwisrū(k)srim: *'YYČSLWKSLYM* TD_2: *'YYYČSLWKSLM* DH.: *'YYČ-SLWKSLM* P.

l. **98.** *Fravahrān*: om. P.
ham-kārīh: *ham-kārak* P.

l. **99.** *'rōč*: *'ēn* P.

l. **100.** From here to the end of the chapter Ind. resumes; Justi, p. 7.

'peš (۱۲۲) TD_2, DH., Ind.: *'tar* (۱۲۵) P.
'kaδ: *'kē* Ind.
Rapiθwin (*LPYTPYNW*) TD_2, P.: *LPTPYNW* DH.

l. **101.** *sāχt*: *yašt* P.
'andar yazišn . . . 'bē 'dāt: *'ut-aš 'andar yazišn 'har aβzār-ē 'pat zatan i pityārak 'andar apāyast 'bē 'dāt* Ind.

l. **103.** *harvisp-ākās*: *harvisp-ākāsīh* P.
'burt (۱۳۱۲ب): *srūt* (۱۳۲ب) P.
katār-tān: *katār 'i-tān* Ind.: *katār-tēn* P.
sūtōmandtar DH., Ind.: *sūtmandtar* TD_2: *SWT'WDTL* P.

l. **104.** *'kaδ-tān* P.: *'kaδ 'tāk* TD_2, DH.: *'kē-tān* Ind.
brēhēnam: *'daham* Ind.
tan-kartīhā: *tanē-kartīhā* Gr.: *tan-kartakīhā* Ind.
kōχšēt: *kōšēt* Ind.

l. **105.** *aβsihēnēt*: *aβsēnēt* Ind.
druvist: repeated in P.
anōšak: *'NŠKW* P.: *'NWKŠK* Ind.
vīrāδēm: *WYL'YM* Ind.: *WYLYM* P.
Second *'ut-tān*: Ind. adds *'pat fražām.*

l. **106.** **hamayīkīhā*: *hamayīk gās* Gr.: *hamakīhā* Ind.
azarmān: om. P.
apē-hamēmāl: *apē-pityārak* Ind.

l. **107.** *hamayīk*: *hamēšak* Ind.
⟨*i*⟩: *'hač* Ind.
'ut-šān 'dīt: *'dit* Ind.

l. **108.** *harvisp-ākās* Ind.: *harvisp-ākāsīh* Gr.
'hač: *'kē* P.
'ut Ahriman: *i Ahriman* Ind.

l. **109.** *apē-hamēmālīh*: *apē-hamēmāl* Ind.
anōšak: *'NŠKW* P.: *'NWKŠK* Ind.
'bavišnīh: *'būtan* Ind.

l. **110.** *'tāk*: *i* P.
hamē hamē TD_2, DH.: *hamē* P.: *hamāk hamāk* Ind.
'ō gētēh ham-dātastān 'būt Ind.: missing in Gr.

TRANSLATION

(1) On the manner and reason for creating creation for battle.

(2) Ohrmazd gave the names of thirty Amahraspands to the thirty days (of the month) in this wise: first comes Ohrmazd, then six Amahraspands; that is seven; the eighth is Daδv, that is the Creator. Then come six Amahraspands; that is seven; the eighth is Daδv, that is the Creator. Then come seven Amahraspands; that is eight; the ninth is Daδv, that is the Creator. Then come seven Amahraspands; that is eight. Thus he inserted his own name in four places in the month—Ohrmazd and the three Daδvs who have one name: one is Space, one Religion, and one Time: they have always existed.

(3) When the Destructive Spirit delivered his assault, Ohrmazd fashioned Time of the long Dominion in the form of a man of fifteen years of age, bright, with white eyes, tall and mighty, whose might is from valour, not from robbery and violence.

(4) (Ohrmazd) himself donned a white garment and it had the stamp of priesthood: for wisdom is ever with the priests who are guides to men, and all men are their pupils. And the office of Ohrmazd was the act of creation, and it was through wisdom that creation must be created. Therefor did he don the robe of the wise (which is the robe of) priesthood.

(5) Vāy, the Good, donned a garment of gold and silver, adorned with precious stones, purple, and having many colours, and it had the stamp of warriorhood; for he pursues the enemy from behind that he may smite the Aggressor and protect creation; even as it is said—'The office of Vāy is to carry off opposition in the two creations—both that created by the Bounteous Spirit and that created by the Destructive Spirit'—in so far as it is he who will bring the battle to an end, will bring increase to the creation of Ohrmazd and destruction to that of the Destructive Spirit.

(6) From Time the firmament was fashioned, the body of Zurvān of the long Dominion, the good destiny of the gods (Signs of the Zodiac): he donned a dark blue garment and it had the stamp of the husbandmen: for its office is to rule the destinies of the world aright even as that of the husbandmen is to till the soil and to deliver up (its produce) in due course.

(7) When Ohrmazd had moulded his creation among the Amahraspands, he made the ideal (spiritual) and material creations in the same manner—on the spiritual side Ohrmazd and the six Amahraspands, namely Vahuman, Artvahišt, Šaθrēvar, Spandarmat, Hurdāt, and Amurdāt, and similarly the sky in six stations; first the station of the clouds, second the firmament of the stars, third the stars exempt from contamination, fourth heaven—the Moon is in that station—fifth Garōδmān called the endless (*anaγr*) light—

the Sun is in that station—sixth the place of the Amahraspands, seventh the Endless (*asar*) Light, the place of Ohrmazd.

(8) Thus too he fashioned material creation in seven parts—first the sky, second water, third the earth, fourth plants, fifth kine, sixth Man, and seventh fire whose brilliance is from the Endless Light, the place of Ohrmazd. And he disseminated and fashioned fire in all creation, even as a master of a house, on entering his abode, carefully puts away the garments that are within the house. . . . And he commanded fire to serve man during the period of the assault of the Aggressor, to prepare his food and ward off pain. When one kindles it from diverse things, it comes forth: when one puts fuel upon it, it devours it.

(9) And he so appointed and disposed all the Amahraspands to assist creation and join battle for it that when the Aggressor came, each singled out his own opponent for the fray, and no new command was needed.

(10) I shall now speak further of their nature.

(11) The first of spiritual beings is Ohrmazd. Of material beings he took to himself the Original Man. His helpers are the three Daδvs (creators): one is Space, one Religion, one Time; all are called *dē* (creator) which is the spirit from which all creation proceeds. Man was fashioned in five parts—body, spirit (breath), soul, prototype, and Fravahr. Body is the material part; spirit that which is connected with the wind—the inhaling and exhaling of breath; soul that which, with the consciousness in the body, hears, sees, speaks, and knows; the prototype is that which is situated in the station of the Sun; the Fravahr is that which is in the presence of Ohrmazd, the Lord: it was created in this wise because during the period of the assault of the Aggressor men die, and their body rejoins the earth, their spirit the wind, their prototype the Sun, their soul the Fravahr so that the demons could not destroy the soul.

(12) The second of spiritual beings is Vahuman. Of material creatures he took to himself all kinds of kine. For his aid and assistance the Moon, Gōš, Rām, Spihr (the firmament) the Lord, the infinite Zurvān and Zurvān of the long Dominion were given him. Kine were fashioned in five parts—body, spirit (breath), soul, prototype, and immaterial spirit (*mēnōk*): for during the period of the assault of the Aggressor Gōšurvan received the seed of cattle from the station of the Moon, and with the aid of Rām, the good, caused it to flow throughout the earth. When kine die, their body rejoins Gōšurvan, their soul Rām, their prototype the Moon, their immaterial spirit Vahuman so that the demons could not destroy them.

(13) The third of spiritual beings is Artvahišt. Of material creatures he took to himself fire. For his aid and assistance Ātur, Srōš, Varhrān, and

Nēryōsang were given him: for during the period of the assault of the Aggressor Varhrān placed and established the fire within the house and fends for it; and Srōš protects it. When it is extinguished, it returns from Varhrān to Srōš, from Srōš to Ātur, from Ātur back to Artvahišt so that it could not be destroyed by the demons.

(14) The fourth of spiritual beings is Šaθrēvar. Of material creatures he took to himself the metals. For his aid and assistance the Sun, Mihr, the Sky, Anaγrān (the Endless Light), the good Sōk, Ardvī-sūr, the god Hōm, the god Burz, and Dahmān Āfrīn (the praise of the wise) were given him. For the solidity of metals is from the sky; and the original substance of the sky is the metal of crystal (diamond?). It is controlled by Anaγrān. Anaγrān within is a shining house, golden and adorned with precious stones: above it joins the place of the Amahraspands so that with the aid of these the demons could not annihilate the metals at the time of the assault of the Aggressor.

(15) The fifth of spiritual beings is Spandarmat. Of material creatures she took to herself the earth. For her aid and assistance the Waters, Religion, Art, Mahraspand, Aršišvang, and Ardvī-sūr, the immaculate, were given her: for Aršišvang is the genius which purifies the earth, water, and semen. In her presence is Mahraspand (Mānsraspand) the word of Ohrmazd. Art and Religion are in the house of fortune. Of Aršišvang it is said, 'She is the glory (*χᵛarr*) of heaven, even righteousness.' Ardvīsūr, the immaculate, is the father and mother of the waters. With the aid of these (the earth) is controlled during the period of the assault of the Aggressor. These helping spirits watch over the *χᵛarr*.

(16) The sixth of spiritual beings is Hurdāt. Of material creatures he took to himself water. For his aid and assistance Tīr, the Wind, and the Fravarts were given him. Tīr is Tištar. For the period of the assault of the Aggressor Tīr, with the help of the Fravarts, that is the Fravahrs of the blessed, receives the waters and delivers them unseen (*mēnōkīhā*) to the Wind: the Wind distributes the waters fairly to the continents and spreads them abroad. By means of clouds and their helpers they rain down.

(17) The seventh of spiritual beings is Amurdāt. Of material creatures he took plants to himself. For his aid and assistance Rašn, Aštāt, and Zāmdāt were given him, the three treasures (*χᵛarr*) whose place is beyond the Činvat Bridge who, during the period of the assault of the Aggressor, bring the souls of men to account for what they have done of good and evil.

(18) There are numberless other spirits by whose aid creation is controlled even as it is written concerning the stars in the firmament. (19) Every single day in the months is divided into five periods and over every period

a genius is appointed: the genius Hāvan keeps the period of dawn as his own, the genius Rapiθwin the period of midday, the genius Uzayarin the period of evening, the genius Aiwisrūθrim the period *apātyāβān*, the genius Ušahin the period Ušahin. They too are delegated as assistants (to others); for Hāvan is appointed to Mihr to aid him, Rapiθwin to Artvahišt, Uzayarin to the god Burz, Aiwisṛūθrim to the Fravahrs of the blessed and Varhrān, Ušahin to Srōš and Rašn. (20) For (Ohrmazd) knew that when the Aggressor came, the day would be divided into five periods; for before the Aggressor came, it was always midday, that is Rapiθwin. At the Rapiθwin time Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands fashioned the 'idea' (*mēnōk*) of sacrifice. By the performance of sacrifice all creation was created. (21) He took counsel with the consciousness and Fravahr of man and infused omniscient wisdom into man, saying, 'Which seemeth more profitable to you, whether that I should fashion you forth in material form and that you should strive incarnate with the Lie and destroy it and that we should resurrect you at the end, whole and immortal and recreate you in material form, and that you should eternally be immortal, unageing, without enemies; or that you should eternally be preserved from the Aggressor?' (22) And the Fravahrs of men saw by that omniscient wisdom that they would suffer evil from the Lie and Ahriman in the world; but because at the end (which is) the Final Body, they would be resurrected free from the enmity of the Adversary, whole and immortal for ever and ever, they agreed to go into the material world.

NOTE

(12) This part of the *Bundahišn* is clearly Mazdean: the position of Zurvān as an inferior deity and one of the helpers of Vahuman shows this plainly. It is significant that in this chapter Zurvān, the personal god, is separated from *zamān*, the more abstract concept of Time which is reckoned as one of the creators.

Z 3. The following text is taken from the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, 'On the high deeds of the spiritual gods'. The text is found in Anklesaria, p. 166, l. 4–p. 167, l. 9. This passage does not occur in the Indian recension and is missing in DH. Besides our own, translations are to be found in Darmesteter, ZA. ii, pp. 309 ff.; Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, p. 232; Wikander, *Vayu I*, p. 18 (§§ 1 and 2 only).

(1) *Rām i Vāy i 'vēh ⟨i⟩ dērang-χ^{v}atāy 'gōβēt, 'χ^{v}at 'hast Vāy i dērang-χ^{v}atāy 'kē 'andar mēnōkān artēštārān sardārīh χ^{v}ēškārīh 'dārēt. 'ut ruvān i ahrovān, 'kaδ 'pat *čīn-vitarag vitīrēt, Vāy i 'vēh 'dast 'apar 'gīrēt, 'ō 'ān i*

χᵛēš gās 'barēt. ē rāδ Rām 'gōβēt, 'čē rāmišn-dātār 'ō hamāk dahišn. 'kaδ-ič Vāy i 'vattar 'ǰān 'hač tan 'bē zanēt, 'avē i Vāy i 'vēh 'bē patīrēt, χᵛarsandīh 'bē 'dahēt.

(2) *'hač 'ān i zamān i brīn spihr, Zurvān; čēγōn 'gōβēt 'ku spihr i χᵛatāy 'ut Zurvān i akanārak 'ut Zurvān i dērang-χᵛatāy. spihr 'ān i 'kē nēvakīh 'baχšēt; 'ut-aš χᵛatāyīh, 'pātuχšāyīh čēγōn vāstryōšān gēhān varzēnd, 'avē-ič baχtārīh 'kunēt.*

(3) *mēnōk-ē ⟨i⟩'apāk Miθr hamkār Sōk 'χᵛānēnd. hamāk nēvakīh 'kē 'hač apargarān 'ō gētēh brēhēnīt, naz⟨di⟩st 'ō Sōk 'āyēt, Sōk 'ō Māh aβspārēt, Māh 'ō Ar(k)dv⟨ī⟩-sūr aβspārēt, Ar(k)dv⟨ī⟩-sūr 'ō spihr aβspārēt, spihr 'pat gēhān 'baχšēt: 'kē vēš 'dahēt nēvak[īh] spihr, 'ut 'kē kam 'dahēt vat spihr 'χᵛānēnd. 'ān-ič i 'baχšišn 'pat zamān 'rasēt 'kē Vāy i dērang-χᵛatāy, 'hast Zurvān zēn, 'hast i Ōhrmazd. 'ēt 'ku zūr pat-iš vānīt; 'ān-ič 'hast kunišn i zamān *'ku 'būt akanārak, 'ō dām-dahišnīh *kanārakōmand brēhēnīt 'tāk 'ō fražām 'ku akārīh i ganāk mēnōk, 'ut 'pas gumēčēt 'ō ham ak⟨an⟩ārakīh 'tāk 'ō hamē hamē ravišnīh.*

NOTES

l. **1.** First *'vēh : vēh* P.
'hast (*'YTW̲*): *ētōn* (*'YTWNW̲*) P.
Second *dērang- : DYLNNK* TD_2.

l. **2.** *'dārēt*: om. P.

l. **3.** **čīn-vitarag : ČYYNWTLG̲* TD_2: *Č WTLG̲* P.
'apar: om. P.

l. **5.** *'bē patīrēt* P.: *'bē 'pat patīrēt* TD_2.

l. **7.** *'ān i zamān i* P.: *'ān zamān* TD_2.
χᵛatāy 'ut P.: *χᵛatāy i* TD_2.

l. **8.** *Zurvān i dērang-χᵛatāy* P.: *Zurvān dērang-χᵛatāy* TD_2.

l. **9.** *'pātuχšāyīh*: om. P.

l. **10.** *'kunēt*: וקונשת P.; קונת TD_2.

l. **11.** *hamkār* P.: *hamkārīh* TD_2.
'kē : 'kaδ P.

l. **12.** Second *Sōk : sūt* P.

l. **13.** *aβspārēt, Ar(k)dv⟨ī⟩-sūr*: so P.: om. TD_2.
Second *aβspārēt : 'PYST'LYTW̲* P.

l. **14.** First *spihr*: so P.: om. TD_2.

l. **15.** *Vāy i* P.: *Vāy* TD_2.
'hast . . . 'hast: in the sense of 'whether . . . or . . .'; v. text Z 1, l. 114, note.

l. **16.** *Zurvān zēn* P.: *Zurvān i zēn* TD_2. The reading of P. is to be preferred since we should otherwise have to translate 'Time . . . which is Vāy of the long Dominion, whether it be the weapon Zurvān or Ohrmazd'. In spite of the formal identification of Ohrmazd with Time in the *Sīh-rōčak* (v. Chapter VIII), such an interpretation seems improbable here.

For *'hast i Ōhrmazd* P. has *'hast Ōhrmazd.*

'ēt : ē P.

'ān-ič P.: *'ān-ič i* TD_2.

l. **17.** **'ku : 'kē* MSS.

Before *'ō dām-dahišnīh* P. adds *'tāk,* and reads *dahišn i* for *dahišnīh.*

**kanārakōmand :* ('*ut*) *kanārakōmandīh* P.: ('*ut*) *kanārak mānd* TD_2.

l. **18.** *fražām* P.: *fražām i* TD_2.

akārīh: akanārīh, P.

ak⟨an⟩ārakīh : akārakīh MSS.

TRANSLATION

(1) Rām who is called the good Vāy of the long Dominion is truly Vāy of the long Dominion who, among spiritual beings, has the office of chieftainship of the warriors. When the souls of the blessed pass over the Činvat Bridge, the good Vāy takes them by the hand and brings them to their appointed place. He is called Rām because he gives pleasure (*rāmišn*) to all creation. When the evil Vāy strikes the breath-soul from the body, the good Vāy receives it and gives it contentment.

(2) From finite Time (comes) the firmament (Spihr) and Zurvān; even as it is said, 'Spihr the Lord, the infinite Zurvān and Zurvān of the long Dominion.' Spihr it is who bestows good things; and his lordship and kingship are as when the husbandmen till the earth, and (the earth) makes good return (lit. makes bestowal).

(3) The spirit who is the helpmate of Mihr is called Sōk. All good things which are fashioned by those who work on high for the material world first come to Sōk: Sōk delivers them to the Moon, the Moon delivers them to Ardvī-sūr, Ardvī-sūr delivers them to Spihr, and Spihr bestows them on the material world. He who gives them in abundance is called the goodly Spihr; and he who gives them sparingly is called the evil Spihr. The things bestowed reach (men) through Time who is Vāy of the long Dominion, whether it be the instrument of Zurvān or of Ohrmazd. (For) this (reason is he called Zurvān) because deceit (*zūr*) is conquered (*vānīt*) by him: and this is the operation of Time, that it was infinite but was made finite for the act of creation, (and so it remains) until the consummation, that is when the Destructive Spirit is made powerless: then it mingles with that same infinity for ever and ever.

Z 4. The first chapter of *The Selections of Zātspram*. An edition with variants and philological notes will be found in BSOS. ix, pp. 573–85.

'apar gumēčišn i Spēnāk Mēnōk 'ut Ganāγ Mēnōk

(1) *'ēt 'pat dēn ōγōn paytāk 'ku rōšnīh hačapar 'ut tārīkīh hačaδar; 'ut-šān miyānak i 'har 2 višātakīh 'būt.*

(2) *Ōhrmazd 'andar rōšnīh, Ahriman 'andar tārīkīh; 'ut Ōhrmazd 'hastīh ⟨i⟩ Ahriman matan-ič 'ō patkār ākās; Ahriman 'hač 'hastīh rōšnīh ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazd 'nē ākās 'būt.*

(3) *Ahriman 'andar tam-tārīkīh 'ō *frōt kustān hamē 'raft; 'dit [i] handāčišnīk 'ul 'ō 'apar 'āmat; 'ut-aš tēh-ē i rōšnīh frāč 'dīt, 'ut yut-gōhrīh i ov-iš rāδ tuχšīt 'ku ov-iš 'rasēt, 'ut-aš ham *ōγōn pat-iš 'andar kāmak vālīhēt čēγōn 'pat-ič tārān.*

(4) *'kaδ frāč 'ō vīmand mat, Ōhrmazd 'apāč dāštan i Ahriman 'hač 'χᵛēš šaθr rāδ, frāč 'ō hamrānīh mat, 'ut-aš 'pat apēčak gōβišn ⟨i⟩ dātīk startak kart, 'ut-aš 'apāč 'ō tom 'aβgand. pāspānīh 'hač druž rāδ mēnōkīhā 'andar *ō bālist* mēnōk āsmān 'āp zamīk ['āp] urvar gōspand 'martōm 'ut ātaχš brēhēnīt, 'ut-aš 3000 'sāl 'apāč dāšt.*

(5) *Ahriman-ič 'andar tom aβzār hamē ārāst. 'pat sar i 3000 'sāl 'apāč 'ō vīmand 'āmat; patēstāt 'ut drāyīt 'ku 'zanam 'tō, 'zanam dāmān i 'tō rāδ. dām 'dāt mēnēh, 'tō 'kē Spēnāk Mēnōk 'hēh: harvisp ['pat]' ān 'bē marnǰēnam.*

(6) *Ōhrmazd pāsaχᵛēnīt 'ku 'nē, druž, harvisp kartār 'hēh.*

(7) *'dit Ahriman patēstāt 'ku 'bē hāčēm harvisp aχᵛ i astōmand 'ō adōstīh i 'tō, dōstīh i 'man.*

(8) *Ōhrmazd 'pat mēnōk-χratīh 'dīt 'ku 'ān-ič *i Ahriman patēstāt tavānīk 'pat kartan 'hakar 'nē brīnōmand zamānak i kōχšišn.*

(9) ['ut-aš 'bē] *'ut-aš 'Zamān 'bē 'ō aδyārīh 'χᵛāst, 'čē-š 'dīt 'ku Ahriman 'pat miyānčīkīh i hēč rōšnīh 'apar 'nē 'ēstēt. Zamān 'hast 'har 2 χᵛap hamaδ-yārīh rāst rāδēnītārīh; ov-iš niyāz.*

(10) *'ut-aš 'pat 3 zamān 'kart i 'har zamān-ē 3 hazārak.*

(11) *Ahriman 'apar 'ēstāt.*

(12) *Ōhrmazd 'dīt 'ku, 'kaδ Ahriman fravastak kartan 'nē šāyēt, hamē 'kaδ 'χᵛāδēt, 'apāč 'ō 'χᵛēš *bunist i tārīkīh 'šavēt, aβzār vēš ārāδēt, afražām patkār 'bavēt. 'ut-aš 'pas 'hač zamān 'kartan ahunvar frāč srūt.*

(13) *'ut-aš 'pat ahunvar 3 aδvēnak ov-iš nimūt.*

(14) *fratom 'ku 'har 'čiš 'ān ⟨i⟩ frārōn [i] Ōhrmazd kām:*

(15) *'hač *'ēn paytāk 'ku 'kaδ 'ān i frārōn [i] Ōhrmazd kām, paytāk 'ku 'čiš 'hast i 'nē 'andar kām i Ōhrmazd, ačār 'ān 'kē *bun dāšt* Vāy i yut-gōhr.*

(16) *ditīkar 'ēn 'ku 'kē 'ān 'kunēt i Ōhrmazd kām, *aš mizd pātdahišn χᵛēš [īk]; 'avē 'kē 'nē 'ān 'kunēt 'kē Ōhrmazd kām, *aš puhr pātafrās 'χᵛēš.*

(17) *'hač 'ēn nimāyīhēt kirpak-garān mizd 'ut vināskārān pātafrās, 'ut mātiyān vahišt dōšaχᵛ hač-iš.*

(18) *sitīkar nimūt 'ku χᵛatāyīh i Ōhrmazd 'avē aβzāyēnēt i 'ō driγōšān vičārīhēt pityārakōmandīh;*

(19) *'ān-aš nimūt 'ku 'hast-'hērān 'ō niyāzīk -'hērān aδyār 'bavišn; čēγōn ākās-dahišnān 'ō anākāsagān hamōχtan, tavānīk-χᵛāstakān 'ō niyāzīk-χᵛāstakān rātīhā 'dāt⟨an⟩ i 'χᵛēš frahāt dast. [i] Ōhrmazd dāmān ēvak 'ō 'dit 'andar kōχšišnīk artīk.*

(20) *čēγōn fraškart-kartārīh 'pat 'ēn 3 'čiš šāyēt 'būt.*

(21) *'hast fratom rāst-dēnīh i 'χᵛat ōstavānīh i 'apar 2 buništakīh, 'pat 'ān ristak brahm 'ku Ōhrmazd hamāk 'vēhīh a-'vattarīh, 'ut-aš kām visp frārōn, Ahriman visp 'vattarīh a-'vēhīh.*

(22) *ditīkar aδmēt i mizd pātdahišn i kirpak-garān, bīm i 'hač puhr pātafrās ⟨i⟩ *bazak-garān, tuχšītan i 'pat kirpak, pahrēχtan i 'hač vināš.*

(23) *sitīkar ham-aδyārīh 'būtan i dāmān ēvak 'apāk *'dit; 'hač ham-aδyārīh ham-spāhīh, 'hač ham-spāhīh pērōžīh i 'apar dušman 'bavēt i *'χᵛat fraškart.*

(24) *'pat 'ēn gōβišn start 'būt, 'apāč 'ō tom ōpast.*

(25) *Ōhrmazd dām tanōmandīhā 'bē 'ō gētēh 'dāt, — fratom āsmān, ditīkar 'āp, sitīkar zamīk, 4-om urvar, 'ut pančom gōspand, 6-om 'martōm; 'ut ātaχš 'andar visp 'būt pargandak 'hamist 'pat 6 gōhrak, i 'har gōhrak-ē *drang i 'pat 'apar 'dāt and būt, guft 'ēstēt, čand mēč-ē i 'kaδ ēvak 'pat 'dit frōt 'nihēnd.*

(26) *3000 'sāl dām tanōmand 'ut afrāč-raftār 'būt: χᵛaršēt māh starān 'ēstīt 'hēnd 'andar bālist avazišnīk.*

(27) *'pat zamānak sar Ōhrmazd nikīrīt 'ku 'čē sūt 'hast [i] 'hač 'dāt i dām 'kaδ ačandišnīk aravišnīk avazišnīk: 'ut-aš 'pat aδyārīh i Spihr 'ut Zurvān dām frāč brēhēnīt.*

(28) *Zurvān attōk 'būt 'ku-š dām i Ōhrmazd ravāk kart 'bē 'hač ravākīh i Ahriman dām, 'čē buništān ēvak 'ō 'dit vizāyišnīk patīrak-ēstišnīk būt 'hēnd.*

(29) *'ut-aš fražām-nikīrīhā aβzār-ē i 'hač 'χᵛat gōhr ⟨i⟩ tārīkīh 'kē-š nērōk i zurvānīk pat-iš patvastak, past aδvēnak, zaγīk 'ut siyāh 'ut āturastar-gōn frāč 'ō Ahriman burt.*

(30) *'ut-aš 'pat frāč barišnīh guft 'ku 'pat 'avēšān zāy apākīh [i] Āz 'ēt i 'tō 'bē žōyēt; χᵛat 'pat suδ frōt 'mīrēt,—'hakar 'pat sar i 9000 'sāl čēγōn-at patēstīt, pašt 'apar kart, 'zamān 'apar 'kart, 'nē fražāmēnīt.*

(31) *'pat ham 'zamān Ahriman 'hač ham zō(h)rān 'hamist 'bē 'ō star-pāδak 'āmat.*

(32) *bun i āsmān 'pat star-pāδak dāšt; 'hač 'ōδ frōt 'ō tuhīkīh āhaχt i*

**andarōn buništ i rōšnān 'ut tārān, 'ut gyāk i artīk, 'kē-š tačišn i 'har 2-ān pat-iš.*

(33) *'ut-aš tārīkīh ⟨i⟩ 'apāk 'χᵛēš dāšt[an] 'andar 'ō āsmān 'āβurt: àsmān ōγōn 'ō tom āhaχt 'ku andarōn i aškōβ i āsmān čand 3 ēvak-ē hačapar star-pāδak 'bē 'rasāt.*

TRANSLATION

On the mixing of the Bounteous Spirit and the Destructive Spirit.

(1) Thus is it revealed in the Religion: the light was above and the darkness beneath; and between the two was the Void. (2) Ohrmazd in the light and Ahriman in the darkness. Ohrmazd knew of the existence of Ahriman and of his coming to do battle: Ahriman knew not of the existence and light of Ohrmazd. (3) In the dismal darkness he wandered to the nether side: then, rushing, he came up and beheld a point of light, and because it was of a different substance from himself, he strove to attain it, and his desire for it waxed so mightily that (it was as great as his desire) for the darkness. (4) When he came to the boundary, Ohrmazd, wishing to hold Ahriman back from his kingdom, advanced to join battle. By the pure word of the Law he laid him low and hurled him back into the darkness. As a protection against the Lie he fashioned in the heights the 'ideal' sky, water, earth, plants, cattle, man, and fire—all in ideal form. For three thousand years he held him back. (5) Ahriman too was preparing weapons in the darkness.

At the end of three thousand years he returned to the boundary, and threatening said, 'I shall smite thee, I shall smite thy creatures. Art thou of a mind to create a creation, O thou who art the Bounteous Spirit? Verily I shall utterly destroy it.' (6) Ohrmazd answered (and said), 'Thou canst not, O Lie, accomplish all.'

(7) Again Ahriman threatened (saying), 'I shall bring all corporeal existence to hate thee and to love me.'

(8) Ohrmazd, in his spiritual wisdom, saw that what Ahriman had threatened he could do unless the time of the conflict were limited. (9) He begged Time to aid him, for he saw that through no intermediary belonging to the light would (Ahriman) desist. Time is a good helper and right orderer of both: there is need of it. (10) (Ohrmazd) made it in three periods, each period three thousand years. (11) Ahriman desisted.

(12) Ohrmazd saw that unless Ahriman were encompassed, he would return to his own principle of darkness whenever he so willed and would prepare more weapons, and the conflict would be without end. After fixing the time, he chanted the Ahunvar. (13) And in the Ahunvar he showed him

three things. (14) First that every righteous thing is the will of Ohrmazd: (15) and from this it is plain that since righteousness is the will of Ohrmazd, obviously there are things which are not according to the will of Ohrmazd—and these can only be whatever has̀ its root in Vāy who is of a different substance. (16) Secondly this, that he who does the will of Ohrmazd, reward and recompense are his; and he who does not the will of Ohrmazd, punishment and retribution are his. (17) This shows the reward of the virtuous and the punishment of sinners, and thence, too, heaven and hell. (18) Thirdly it shows that the sovereignty of Ohrmazd prospers him who keeps affliction from the poor. (19) This shows that the wealthy are to help the needy: as the learned teach the ignorant, so should the rich generously lend a helping hand to the poor; for the creatures of Ohrmazd are in strife and battle one with another.

(20) For the final rehabilitation will be effected by these three things. (21) First orthodoxy, that is the belief in two principles, in this wise and manner that Ohrmazd is all good and devoid of evil and his will is all-holy; and that Ahriman is all evil and devoid of good. (22) Second, the hope of reward and recompense for the virtuous and the fear of punishment and retribution for sinners, striving after virtue and shunning vice. (23) Third, that creatures should help one another: for from mutual help comes solidarity, from solidarity victory over the enemy, and this is the final rehabilitation.

(24) By this word (Ahriman) was laid low and fell back into the darkness.

(25) (Then) Ohrmazd projected creation in bodily form on to the material plane, first the sky, second water, third earth, fourth plants, fifth cattle, sixth man: and fire permeated all six elements, and the period for which it was inserted into each element lasted, it is said, as much as the twinkling of an eye. (26) For three thousand years creation was corporeal and motionless. Sun, Moon, and stars stood still in the heights and did not move.

(27) At the end of (this) period Ohrmazd considered, 'What profit have we from our creation if it neither moves nor walks nor flies?' And with the aid of the firmament and Zurvān he fashioned creation forth. (28) Zurvān had power to set the creation of Ohrmazd in motion without giving motion to the creation of Ahriman, for the (two) principles were harmful to each other and mutually opposed.

(29) Pondering on the end he (Zurvān) delivered to Ahriman an implement (fashioned) from the very substance of darkness, mingled with the power of Zurvān, as it were a treaty, resembling coal (?), black and ashen. (30) And as he handed it to him, he said, 'By means of these weapons Āz

(concupiscence) will devour that which is thine and she herself shall starve, if at the end of nine thousand years thou hast not accomplished that which thou didst threaten, to finish off the treaty, to finish off Time.'

(31) Meanwhile Ahriman, together with his powers went to the station of the stars. (32) The bottom of the sky was in the station of the stars: from there he dragged it into the Void which lies between the principles of light and darkness and is the field of battle where both move. (33) And the darkness he had with him he brought into the sky; and he dragged the sky down into the darkness so that within the roof of the sky as much as one third only could reach above the region of the stars.

Z 5 (*a*). The thirty-fourth chapter of *The Selections of Zātspram*. The transliterated text, both unvocalized and vocalized, was published for the first time in BSOS. x, pp. 377–98. Translation and notes appeared in the next number of the same *Bulletin* (pp. 606–31). For the notes the reader is referred there.

'apar fraškart-kartārīh

(1) ['*ku*] *'andar dēn ōγōn nimūt ēstēt 'ku Zartušt 'hač Ōhrmazd pursīt 'ku tanōmandān ⟨i⟩ 'pat zamīk 'bē viturt 'hēnd, 'pat fraškart tanōmand 'apāč 'bavēnd ayāp asāyak humānākīhā?*

(2) *Ōhrmazd ⟨guft⟩ 'ku tanōmand 'apāč 'bavēnd, uzēnd.*

(3) *'ut Zartušt pursīt 'ku 'ān 'kē 'bē viturt, 'sag 'ut vāy 'bē visānd 'ut gurg 'ut dālman[ak] 'bē burt, čēγōn 'apāč 'ō ham 'rasēnd?*

(4) *Ōhrmazd guft 'ku 'kaδ 'tō 'kē Zartušt 'hēh, ['aδak-at] kiβōt-ē i dārēn kartan apāyēh, *aδak 'pat kartan čēγōn hugartar 'bavēh, 'kaδ-at dār 'nē būt, 'ut-at 'brītan passāχt⟨an⟩ apāyīt, ayāp 'kaδ kiβōt 'būt, 'ut-aš [ān] ātak(?) ēvak 'hač 'dit 'bē višuft, 'apāč passāχtan apāyēt?*

(5) *Zartušt guft 'ku 'kaδ dār-*ē tāk būt 'hēh, hugartar 'būt 'hēh 'ku 'kaδ dār 'nē būt 'hēh, 'ut 'kaδ kiβōt ātak(?) ⟨ēvak hač dit bē višuft⟩, hugartar būt 'hēh. . . .*

(6) *Ōhrmazd guft 'ku 'avēšān dāmān, 'kaδ 'nē būt 'hēnd, am brēhēnītan tavān būt, 'ut 'nūn 'kaδ būt 'ut višuft, 'apāč passāχtan hugartar.*

(7) *'čē-m 'hēnd 5-ān hanbārtārān patiγraftār i viturtān tanōmandīh: ēvak zamīk *'kē 'apar nikās-dāštār i 'gōšt 'ut ast 'ut paδ i 'martōmān: ēvak 'āp nikās-*dāštār i [pit 'ut] χōn: ēvak urvar i dāštār i vars 'ut mōδ: ēvak *ras-rōšnīh* patiγraftār[īh] i ātaχš: ēvak ham vāt 'i-m 'ǰān i χᵛēšān dāmān 'pat fraškart hangām ⟨apāč dahēt⟩ (?).*

(8) *'apar 'χᵛānam zamīk, hač-iš 'χᵛāst ast 'ut 'gōšt 'ut paδ i Gayō(k)mart*

apārīkān. (9) *'gōβēt zamīk 'ku čēγōn 'rasēnam 'kaδ 'nē 'ēn 'bē 'dānam 'ku katār 'ān i 'avē ⟨ast ut gōšt ut paδ ut katār ān i avē?⟩*

(10) *'apar 'χᵛān⟨am⟩ 'āp i Arang i 'hast Diglit 'hač rōtān, 'ku 'apar 'rasēn χōn i 'avē i ristak 'martōm.* (11) *'gōβēt ⟨āp⟩ 'ku čēγōn 'rasēnam, 'kaδ 'nē *'ēn 'bē 'dānam 'ku katār 'ān i 'avē χōn 'ut *katār 'ān i 'avē?*

(12) *'apar 'χᵛānam urvar 'ut 'hač 'avē 'χᵛāδam vars ⟨i⟩ rist 'martōm.* (13) *'gōβēt urvar 'ku čēγōn 'rasēnam 'kaδ 'nē *'ēn 'bē 'dānam ⟨ku⟩ katār 'ān i 'avē vars 'ut katār 'ān i 'avē?*

(14) *'apar 'χᵛānam vāt, *'hač 'avē 'χᵛāδam ǰān i 'avē ristak 'martōm.* (15) *'gōβēt vāt 'ku čēγōn 'rasēnam, 'kaδ 'nē *'ēn 'bē 'dānam 'ku katār 'ān i 'avē 'ǰān, katār 'ān i 'avē?*

(16) *⟨man⟩ 'kē Ōhrmazd 'ham, 'kaδ apāč nikīrom 'pat zamīk 'āp urvar rōšnīh vāt, 'pat rōšn dīδišn(?) 'bē 'dānam, ēvak 'hač 'dit 'bē šnāsēm: 'čē 'pat visp-dānišnīh, 'pat rōšn-mēnišnīh ēvak 'hač 'dit ōγōn vičīhēm čēγōn 'kaδ ⟨mart?⟩ šīr ⟨i⟩ 'mātakān ⟨dōχt⟩, i 'pat zamīk 'pat ham-yōy frāč tačēnd ēvak 'andar 'dit, 'ēt 'ku-m katār 'mātak: ōγōn 'bē šnāsēm čēγōn 'kaδ 'mart-ē 30 asp 'hēh, 'har ēvak rāδ yāmak-ē i nišān-ē pat-iš 'ku katār asp *rāδ, ['kaδ šīr dōχt,] 'ān 30 yāmak aγnēn 'ēstēnd, *aδak 'kāmēt 'dānastan, 'har yāmak-ē 'apar 'gīrēt, nišān i 'pat yāmak 'bē šnāsēt 'ku-m katār asp.*

(17) *'apar *'frēstam Airyaman frēstak 'kē-š fražāmkārīh 'andar χᵛēškārīh.* (18) *'bē 'rasēnēt ast 'ut χōn 'ut vars 'ut rōšnīh ⟨'ut⟩ 'ǰān i Gayō(k)mart 'ut *Mašyē 'ut *Mašyānē.*

(19) *'ut-aš pēšōpāδ 'apāč passāčom ast i Gayō(k)mart, 'ut-aš 'ān i *Mašyē 'ut *Mašyānē ham-patvast dašnak 'ut hōyak 'bē 'daham.*

(20) *'ut-am 'ō ham-passāχtan 'apāč 'dātan hugartar 12 dāmān 'i-m 'pat bun 'bē 'dāt, fratom 'kaδ-am āsmān vīnārt astūn an-'apar-dāštār 'kē-š 'hač hēč kust 'nē 'hēnd gētēhān 'bē dāštār; 'ut ditīkar 'kaδ-am zamīk vīnārt miyānak ⟨i⟩ āsmān *'ku 'ō katār-ič-ē nēmak 'nē nazdīktar būt, humānākīh i zartak i χāyak miyān ⟨i⟩ χāyak; 'ut sitīkar 'kaδ-am χᵛaršēt brēhēnīt; 4-om 'kaδ-am māh brēhēnīt; ⟨5-om 'kaδ-am star brēhēnīt;⟩ *6-om 'kaδ-am 'andar urvarān 'vas gōnak rang 'ut *čāšišn 'bē 'dāt; *7-om 'kaδ-am 'andar urvar ātaχš 'pat *asōčišnīh 'bē 'dāt; *8-om 'kaδ-am χōšak 'ō zamīk 'bē burt 'ut 'pat hangām i frāč vaχšišn [i] barōmand 'bavēnd, 'ō χᵛarišn i 'martōmān 'ut gōspandān 'rasēnd; 9-om 'kaδ-am 'andar 'mātakān zahak 'bē vīnārt, 'apar nihuft 'tāk 'bē ⟨nē⟩ viturt, 'ut-am yut yut 'andar 'ān ārōδišn paytākēnīt ast χō⟨n⟩ mōδ 'ut drēm 'ut paδ 'ut srūv; dahom 'kaδ-am tanōmand murvān 'pat parr ⟨andar⟩ andarvāy vāδēnīt; yāzdahom 'kaδ-am 'āp 'pāδ *χargōš humānākīh [i] frāč raftār 'dāt; duvāzdahom ⟨'kaδ-am aβr dāt⟩ 'ul 'apar burtār i 'āp, vārānēnītār i vārān.*

(21) *humānāk 'būt ['ō] dām-dahišnīh, dēn-ravākīh, fraškart-kartārīh 'ō*

*dēsītan i 'χānak. (22) čēγōn katak 'pat 3 aβzār fražāmīhēt i 'hast būm dīvār 'ut ašköβ; 'ut 'ān i dām-dahišnīh būm, dēn-ravākīh dīvār, fraškart-kartārīh ašköβ.

(23) čēγōn 'kaδ 'mart 'χānak 'kāmēt vīrāstan, 'mart 3 'bē vičēnēt 'kē ēvak 'pat būm vīrāstan, ēvak 'pat dīvār āhaχtan, 'ut ēvak 'pat ašköβ kartan frahaχtaktar, 'ut yut yut 'pat 'ān kār 'bē 'ēstēnīt: 'tāk būm vīrāst 'ut dīvār āhaχt[an], 'nē šāyast. (24) 'avē 'kē-š 'χānak framūt, rōšn ākās 'ku 'pat čand 'ō fražām 'rasēt, 'ut 'pat-ič frahaχtkārīh i 'avē i ašköβ-ka⟨r⟩tār apēgumān būtan rāδ, dēr-vistāχᵛ. 'kaδ dīvār 'ō fražām mat, ['tāk] 'avē 'kē-š ašköβ 'andar χᵛēškārīh, ašköβēnītan ōγōn hugar čēγōn 'avēšān-ič 2 'pat kār 'i-šān 'pātēmār.

(25) 'ut 'dit humānāk būt fraškart-kartārīh 'ō 'šap i tār: 'kaδ 'šap 'ō sar 'šavēt, χᵛaršēt 3 kanārak i gēhān uzēt, 'ut 'apāč 'ō 'χᵛēš gyāk mat 'ut gartišn fražāmēnēt, ['ān] nōk 'pat spēžišn 'bavēt 'ut tam 'ut tār 'zanēt.

(26) humānāk būt 'ō māh 'kē 15 'andar vaχšišn, 15 'andar ⟨na⟩rfsišn 'bavēt. 'kaδ bavandak būt avēnāβtāk, nōk 'apāč 'zāyēt, 'hač χᵛaršēt šaθriyār i rōšnān 'pat bām paytāk 'bavēt: gēhān i ristāχēz 'apāč-dahišnīh pat-iš paytākīhēt.

(27) humānāk būt 'ō 'sāl 'kē 'pat vahārān draχt viškuft 'bavēnd, 'pat hāmēn bar 'dahēnd, 'ut ⟨pat⟩ pātēz fražām bar *'dahēnd, 'pat zimastān hušk 'ut murt humānāk 'bavēnd. (28) 'kaδ vinīrišn i 'sālān spurrīkīhēt, Miθr 'apāč 'ō gyāk i naχᵛistēn mat, 'rōč 'ut 'šap hāvand-patmān, andarvāy nisārīk(?)-patmān[īk] 'bavēnd. 'ut murtāχēz humānāk *ō hušk dārān draχtān ⟨i⟩ nōk varg ⟨s⟩pēžīhēnd 'ut nihāl viškōβīhēnd.

(29) *ōstīkānīh 'apāč dahišnīh rāδ 'har čihrān fražām 'ō bun ham hangōšītak 'bavēnd, čēγōn 'martōm 'kē-šān 'bavišn 'hač tōhm *tačēnd, čēγōn urvarān 'kē-šān 'bavišn 'hač tōhmak, bavandak-fražāmīh 'pat ham-tōhmīh.

(30) 'pat dēn ōγōn paytāk 'ku Ahriman, 'kaδ 'andar 'ō dām duvārast, dušdēn ǰēh-dēv sarδak ōγō⟨n⟩ 'pat hanbāz dāšt čēγōn 'mart 'zan ⟨i⟩ ǰēh-ē hanbašn ⟨bavē⟩t; 'čē 'χᵛat 'hast [i] 'dēv ǰēh: 'ut-aš duš-dēn [-ē] ǰēh-dēv sarδak bān-⟨ūk⟩ aβ⟨di⟩st[an], 'χᵛat 'hast sar i hamāk [ǰēh] ǰēh 'dēvān, garān pityāraktar 'ō 'mart ahrov. (31) 'ut-aš dušdēn [i] ⟨ǰēh-dēv apāk mart i ahrov⟩ ham-yuχt āhōkēnītan i 'mātakān rāδ 'apāk ham-yuχtīhast, 'ku 'tāk 'mātakān āhōkēnāt, 'ut āhōkēnītakīh ⟨i⟩ 'mātakān rāδ 'narān āhōkēnānd, 'hač χᵛēškārīh vartānd.

(32) 'ut-aš 'pas vičīt spāhpat sardār i 'χᵛat 'hast *Āz; 'ut-aš 4 spāhpat 'pat ham-kārīh frāč 'dāt 'hēnd, 'hast Ēšm 'ut Zimastān 'ut Zarmān 'ut S⟨ē⟩ž, humānākīh i χᵛarāsān 'ut *χᵛarβarān 'ut nēmrōč 'ut apāχtar. (33) spāhpat 'apar vičīt ['ut] Āz, dašnak sardār 'ut hōyak sardār, i 'hast suδ tišn, ētōn-ič Zarmān *šēvan mōδak, ētōn-ič S⟨ē⟩ž frēhbūt 'ut *apēbūt.

(34) 'pat fraškart fratom čār i Āz 'χᵛāδīhēt; 'hast 'ēt rāδ 'čē spāhpat sardār 'hast ⟨i⟩ *apārīkān-ič družān, Ahriman dušdēn nērōk 'hač 'avē vēš.

(35) *'pat-ič bun ravākīh ⟨i⟩ dām 'kaδ Zurvān 'ān karp *patmōk i tārīk 'ut āturastar-gōn ravākīh rāδ frāč 'ō Ahriman burt 'pat 'ēn *pašt 'ku 'ēn 'hast 'ān zāy i ātaχš humānāk sōčišnīk, 'ut hamāk dāmān pat-iš ōštāβōmand, 'χᵛat gōhr i Āz dārēt. 'kaδ zamānak i 9000 'sāl 'bē 'ō fražām mat, 'ān 'čē-t 'pat ⟨bun⟩ 'bē *patēstāt 'ku 'bē hāčēh harvisp aχᵛ i astōmand 'ō adōstīh i Ōhrmazd, dōstīh i 'χᵛēš, 'χᵛat ⟨vir⟩ravišn i 'apar ēvak-buništakīh 'ku ham 'ān 'kē aβzāyēnītār zatār, bavandak 'nē fražāmēnīt, 'pat 'avēšān zāy *apākīh Āz 'ēt i 'tō 'bē žōyēt, dām ⟨i⟩ 'tō, χᵛat 'pat suδ frāč 'mīrēt, 'čē 'nē ayāpēt 'hač Ōhrmazd dāmān χᵛarišn, humānākīh i ⟨va⟩zaγ-ē 'kē 'andar 'āp zīvandak, 'ut 'tāk 'āp hamē āhōkēnēt, *aš 'χᵛat pat-iš hamē zīvēt, 'ut 'kaδ-aš 'āp hač-iš 'apāč*'graft, murtak hušk 'bavēt.*

(36) *'ut Āz ēvak-čihrīhā 'nē tavān 'būt āhōkēnītan 'tāk dāmān parkandak 'bavēt, *aš zō(h)rān 'pat yumē ravāk 'būtan i 'andar dām rāδ, 'ō 3 baχt i 'hast čihrīk, 'bē čihr 'ut bērōn 'hač čihr. čihrīk 'ān *'kē 'andar χᵛartārīh 'kē-š 'ǰān ov-iš bastak: 'bē čihrīk kāmakōmandīh i 'apar gumēčišn 'kē 'χᵛat varan 'χᵛānīhēt 'kē 'pat vēnišn i 'ō 'bē 'ān i andarōn hangēžīhēt 'ut čihr i tan ōštāβīhēt: bērōn 'hač čihr āržōk i 'ō katār-ič-ē nēvakīh i 'vēnēt ayāp āšnavēt.*

(37) *'har tōβ-ē 'ō 2 baχt; 'ān i čihrīk 'hast suδ tišn; 'ān i 'bē čihrīk 'hast rēčāk patīr⟨ā⟩k; 'ān i bērōn 'hač čihr 'hast appurīhā handōχtan, penīhā 'bē 'nē 'dātan.*

(38) *'ēt 'hast 'kē-š 'vattarīh 'andar fravand. 'ut [aβdom] paytāk 'ku aβdom *čārgarīh i Āz rāδ Ašvahišt 'pat ham-zō(h)rīh i Airyaman frēstak 'bē 'ō zamīk 'āyēt, 'ō dāmān 'apar garān-vināsīh *i gōspand sarδakān 'zatan, kam-*sūtīh i hač-iš ⟨ni⟩māyēt; 'ēn-ič framāyēt 'ku 'mart 'hēt, 'mā ētōn gōspand 'bē kušītār *'bavēt čēγōn-tān pēš frāč 'pat *'nūn *kušīt.*

(39) *'kaδ nazd 'ō fraškart-kartārīh 'bavēt, niγōχšītārān i Ašvahišt framān 'hač gōspand-zatārīh 'gōšt ['ut] χᵛarišnīh 'bē vartēnd, 'ut 4 ēvak *nērōk i Āz 'bē kāhēt, nēvakīh i 'andar tan 'ō 'hast, 'bē ānāβīhast, tam-ič tār bahrīhā *'zat: *mēnōkīkīh 'ō čihr apērtar patmōčīhēt, dānišnān rōšntar ayāpīhēt.*

(40) *frazandān i 'hač 'avēšān 'zāyēnd Āz 'andar tan *apātyāvandtar 'ut tan kam-gandaktar, 'ō yazdān *čihr ham-patvand-tar. 'pat hamōχtārīh i yazdān 'hač pēm-χᵛarišnīh vartēnd; nēmak nērōk i Āz 'bē kāhēt.* (41) *'avēšān-ič 'zāyišnān aχᵛarišnīh rāδ hubōδ, kam-tārīk, mēnōk-čihr 'ut a'zāyišnōmand 'bavēnd.*

(42) *'ut 'pas Āz *'dēv, 'nē ayāftan i nērōk 'hač Ōhrmazd dāmān ⟨rāδ⟩, 'bē 'ō Ahriman 'kē-š 'pat spāhpatān sardār paytākēnīt, ['ut] ruzdakīhā 'andar 'ō dāmān rat patkārt 'ku-m sēr hanburt 'kunēt, 'čē 'nē ayāpēm 'hač Ōhrmazd dāmān χᵛarišn zō(h)rān.* (43) *'pat framān i Ahriman 'dēv i χᵛartak 'bē aβsihēnēt. aβdom 'ān i 4 spāhpatān frāč 'mānēnd 'ut 'an 2 i Ahriman Āz.*

(44) *frāč 'ō zamīk 'āyēnd Ōhrmazd, Ahriman, Srōš, Āz. ['ō] Ōhrmazd*

*Ahriman 'zanēt: 'tāk *baχtīk būt Āz 'apāk Ahriman, čār 'nē ayāpēt, 'ān-ič rāδ 'kaδ Ōhrmazd visp-dātār i rōšnīh, 'ut-aš tārīkīh i Ahriman pityārak; Srōš-ahrāy i patmānīk 'hast mēnōk i patmān, 'ut-aš Frēhbūt 'ut *Apēbūt i Āz pityārak: hambrēh 'hēnd 'pat kōχšišn.* (45) *'bē čēγōn Āz 'apāk baχtīk ⟨nē⟩ 'bavēt, Ahriman ēvtāk, 'ut-aš hamēmāl 3, 2 i yut-gōhr i 'hast Ōhrmazd Srōš, 'ut ēvak i ham-gōhr i 'hast Āz ⟨i⟩ baχtīktar: 'kaδ-aš aδyār 'bē 'ō hamēmālīh *gašt, hambatīk pērōžīhēt.*

(46) *'kaδ 57 'sāl 'ō fraškart-kartārīh 'apāč 'ō 'zāyišn 'bavēt i Sōšyans, spurrīkgarīh 'ān i *'bē 'ō Zartušt 'bē 'dahīhēt.*

(47) *'apar Zartušt ōγōn paytāk 'ku 'pat 30 sālak 'bē 'ō ham-pursīh i Ōhrmazd mat, 'ut-aš dēn patiγraft, 'ut-aš yazdīkīh ravākēnīt. 'pat 57 'sāl dēn 'pat 7 kišvar bahrakīhā 'bē mat. čēγōn dēn 'ō ravākīh mat, druž 'hač āškārak-paytākīh [i] 'bē 'ō hačaδar zamīk . . . bahrīhā nērōk-šān akārīhast.*

(48) *'kaδ 'ān spurrgar frēstak i 'hast Sōšyans parvānak Airyaman 'pat zamīk paytāk 'bavēt, 'pat ham-handāčakīh 'pat 30 sālak 'bē 'ō mēnōkān [i] ham-*pursēt. dāt i fraškart-kartārīh ham 'pat 57 'sāl; bavandak-ravākīhā 'pat 7 kišvar 'bē 'ravēt; 'pat bavandak-ravākīh ānāβīhēt druž 'hač dāmān.*

(49) *'kaδ aβigat 'ō dām mat, frāč 6000 'sāl i ōšmartīk, i 'hast 'hač Fravartīn 'māh, Ōhrmazd 'rōč 'tāk rōčkār 'apāč 'ō Fravartīn 'māh, Ōhrmazd 'rōč [i] gašt, 'mānd 'ēstēt, 'ō uspurrīkīh i 6000 'sāl i vihēžakīh *4 'sāl humānākīh [i]; 'čē 'har 4 'sāl 'rōč-ē vihēžak, 'nē āβzōn; 'pat 6000 'sāl 4 'sāl humānāk 'bavēt. 'pat 'ān gās nišān 'bavēt i ristāχēz, 'ut spihr 'bē yumbēt, ravišn ⟨i⟩ χ^{v}aršēt, māh, *starān *gaδ aδvēnak* 'bavēnd; čēγōn spihr vartišnīk, andarvāy 'ut zrēhān 'hamist zamīk 'ut mānišnān 'hač čihrīk ⟨rās⟩ 'bē *vartēnd. 'pat zamīk humānākīh i čašmakīhā i 'āp 'vasān gyākān čašmak ⟨i⟩ ātaχš 'ul uzēnd.* (50) *'ēt rāδ 'čē Ōhrmazd 'pat 'āp 'bē 'dāt, 'pat ātaχš fražāmīhēt: 'čē 'āp čihr dārēt i rōšnāk 'ut vaχšāk, ātaχš sōčāk pātēr⟨ān⟩gar i tōhm: čēγōn 'kaδ tōm i urvarān 'bē 'ō 'āp 'rasēt, aš zō(h)r i vaχš⟨ā⟩kīh, 'ut-aš χ^{v}ēt 'bavēt.*

(51) *'kaδ 'ān ātaχš 'pat zamīk paytāk 'bavēt, āpān 'andar 'ō ōpāδišn 'ēstēnd, 'ut vārān-ič 'hač vārišn 'apāč 'ēstēnd 'tāk 'āp 'pat zamīk frahistān 'apāč 'ō *avērānīh aβspārīhā⟨t⟩ 'ut čihrān i 'apar zamīk ātaχš hamīkīh rāδ, gōnak 'ō maδīh(?) *vartāt vaχšākēnāt*, 'ut *varz apātyāvand 'bavēnd.*

(52) *'kaδ 3 'māh 'ō ristāχēz 'apāč, 'ō artīk 'bavēt i 'vazurg, čēγōn 'pat bun dām 'ut dahišn 'andar kōχšišnīh ⟨i⟩ druž. 90 rōč-šapān kārēčār būt, artīk i 'hast 30 'rōč 'ut 'šap *'pat vārān i χrafstar-zatār, 30 'rōč 'šap 'pat tāčišn 'hač 'mēγ 'kē-š urvar pat-iš vaχšēt, 30 'rōč 'šap 'pat vāt 'kē 'āp 'bē rānēnēt, zamīk aδar *dārišn 'ul *dārišn i gōr 'ut *čakāt 'bē kart.* (53) *'bē čēγōn 'ān i 'vazurg artīk 'pat bun ⟨pat⟩ vārišn i 'āp 'ut vāt i 'āp savāk 'būt, 'ān 'pat sar 'pat tāpišn 'ut tapišn i 'hač ātaχš 'ut škift vāt i ātaχš aβrōčāk.* (54) *čēγōn 'ān i artīk 'apar 90 'rōč-šapān yazdān 'apāk 'dēvān-ič 'ut ǰēh būt, 'ān 'pat aβdom*

*āškārak-paytākīhā 'vēnīhēt, šapān 'andar andarvāy ātaχš karp, 'mart dēs, mēnōkān mēnīt, ātaχšīk ⟨pat⟩ *bārak i 'asp humānāk škift: apēgumān 'bavēnd.*

NOTES

§ 6. *paδ*: reading so instead of *pīh* 'fat': v. Henning, *Book of Giants*, BSOAS, xi, p. 63, n. 1. In addition to the Manichaean parallels in Chinese, Uiγur Turkish, and Soghdian cited there, we have the series 'veins, hair, bone, sinews (*pay*) and blood' in Nāṣir i Khusrau, *Dīvān*, p. 307, l. 23 (ed. Tehran, A.H. 1306–7). Cf. Part I, Chapter V, p. 145, n. G.

§ 19. *dašnak 'ut hōyak*: so both here and in § 33 rather than *gašnak 'ut andak* previously read. Fr. P. J. de Menasce kindly pointed out the error in § 33 shortly after the translation appeared in article form.

TRANSLATION

On the final rehabilitation.

(1) It is revealed in the Religion that Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd (saying), 'Shall bodily creatures who have passed away on earth, receive their bodies back at the final rehabilitation or shall they be like unto shades?'

(2) Ohrmazd said, 'They shall receive their bodies back and shall rise again.'

(3) And Zoroaster asked (saying), 'He who hath passed away is torn apart by dog and bird and carried off by wolf and vulture: how shall (their parts) come together again?'

(4) Ohrmazd said, 'If thou who art Zoroaster hadst to make a wooden casket, would it be easier to make it if thou hadst no wood and yet hadst to cut and fit it, or if thou hadst a casket and its parts were sundered one from the other and thou hadst to fit it together again?'

(5) Zoroaster said, 'If I had a branch of wood, it would be easier than if I had no wood; and if I had a casket (and its parts were sundered one from the other), it would be easier. . . .'

(6) Ohrmazd said, 'When those creations were not, I had power to fashion them; and now when they have been and are scattered abroad, it is easier to fit them together again. (7) For I have five store-keepers who receive the bodily substance of those who have passed away. One is the earth which keeps the flesh and bone and sinews of men: one is the water which keeps the [flesh and] blood: one is the plants which preserve the hair of the head and the hair of the body: one is the light of the firmament(?) which receives the fire: and yet another is the wind which ⟨gives back⟩ the spirit of my own creatures at the time of the rehabilitation.

(8) I call upon the earth and ask of it the bone and flesh and sinews of

Gayōmart and the others. (9) The earth saith, "How shall I bring them, for I know not which is the ⟨bone, flesh, and sinews⟩ of the one ⟨and which of the other⟩?"

(10) I call upon the water of the Arang which is the Tigris among rivers (saying), "Bring forth the blood of those men who are dead." (11) ⟨The water⟩ saith, "How shall I bring it, for I know not which is the blood of the one and which of the other?"

(12) I call upon the plants and ask of them the hair of the dead. (13) The plants say, "How shall we bring it, for we know not which is the hair of the one and which of the other?"

(14) I call upon the wind and ask him for the spirit of those men who are dead. (15) The wind saith, "How shall I bring it, for I know not which is the spirit of the one and which of the other?"

(16) When I who am Ohrmazd look down upon the earth, water, plants, light, and wind, in my clear sight I know and distinguish the one from the other: for in my omniscience and clear thought I distinguish the one from the other even as when a man milks the milk of female beasts and it runs down upon this earth in the same channel, one stream into the other, he knows of which of his beasts it is. I recognize them even as when a man hath thirty horses and each horse has a caparison with a mark on it (to show) to which horse it belongs, and those thirty caparisons stand together, and the man (then) wishes to know; he takes off the caparisons and knows by the mark on the caparison which of his horses is which.

(17) I shall send forth Airyaman the Messenger among whose duties is the fulfilment of the end. (18) He will bring the bone and blood and hair and light and spirit of Gayōmart and Mašyē and Mašyānē. (19) And first shall I fit together again the bones of Gayōmart—and the bones of Mašyē and Mašyānē lie together near him, to the right and to the left—these shall I bring forth.

(20) And it is easier for me to fit together and create again the twelve creations that I created in the beginning: first when I created the sky without pillar or support which no material creature supports from any side; and second when I established the earth in the middle of the sky so that it was nearer to neither side, like the yolk of an egg in the middle of an egg; and third when I fashioned the Sun; fourth when I fashioned the Moon; ⟨fifth when I fashioned the stars;⟩ sixth when I created many hues, colours, and tastes in the plants; seventh when I created fire within the plants and it did not burn; eighth when I brought corn to the earth, and when it is full grown, it bears fruit and serves as food for man and kine; ninth when I formed the embryo within female creatures and covered it up

so that it did not die and, as it grew, I revealed one by one the bone, blood, hair, phlegm, sinews, and nails; tenth when I made birds in bodily form to fly in the air; eleventh when I gave the water feet moving forward like unto a hare(?); twelfth ⟨when I created the clouds⟩ that carry the water up and rain it down.'

(21) The creating of creation, the progress of Religion, and the final rehabilitation are like unto the building of a house. (22) For a house can only be completed by means of three things, that is the foundation, the walls, and the roof. Creation is the foundation, the progress of Religion the walls, and the rehabilitation the roof. (23) As when a man desires to build a house, he chooses three men of whom one is most skilled in laying the foundation, one in raising the walls, and one in making the roof; and each is assigned to his proper work. Till the foundation was laid and the walls raised, it was not possible (to make the roof). (24) He who bade the house (be built) knows clearly how many things are needed to complete it, and because he has no doubt concerning the skill of the maker of the roof, long does he confidently wait. When the walls are completed, it is as easy for him whose business is the roof, to roof (the house) in as (it is) for the other two in the work that is assigned to them.

(25) And again the rehabilitation was like unto a dark night: when the night draws to its close, the Sun rises over three corners of the earth and returns to its proper place and completes its cycle and comes to shine anew and smites the darkness and gloom.

(26) It was like unto the Moon which waxes for fifteen (nights) and for fifteen wanes. When it has completely disappeared, it is born anew and is manifest in the sheen (it has) from the Sun, the lord of lights: the restoration of the world of the resurrection is made manifest thereby.

(27) It was like unto the year in which, in spring, the trees blossom, in summer they bear fruit, in autumn they bear the last fruits, and in winter they become dry and as if dead. (28) When the order of the years is fulfilled, Mihr (the Sun) returns to his first place, day and night are equal in measure, and the atmosphere (returns to) its original(?) equilibrium.

And the resurrection of the dead is like unto dry trees and shrubs that put forth new foliage and shoot forth tender saplings. (29) Since stability must be restored the end of all natural things is in the same manner as their beginning, even as man whose coming to be springs from the semen or as the plants whose becoming is from seed; their perfection and end are in the selfsame seed.

(30) In the Religion thus is it revealed—When Ahriman rushed into creation, he had the brood of the demon Whore of evil religion as his

companion even as a man has a whore woman as his bedfellow; for verily the whore is a demon: and he appointed the demon Whore queen of her brood, that is the chief of all the whore demons, the most grievous adversary of the Blessed Man.

(31) And ⟨the demon Whore⟩ of evil religion joined herself ⟨to the Blessed Man⟩; for the defilement of females she joined herself to him, that she might defile females; and the females, because they were defiled, might defile the males, and (the males) would turn aside from their proper work.

(32) And he chose a captain of his commanders who is none other than Āz (concupiscence): and he gave her four commanders to help her, who are Wrath and Winter and Old Age and Bane, like unto the East and West and South and North. (33) Āz chose commanders, captains of the right and captains of the left, which are hunger and thirst: so too did Old Age (choose) lamentation and mourning: so too did Bane (choose) excess and deficiency.

(34) At the final rehabilitation first a means of overcoming Āz is sought, for she is the captain of the commanders of the other lies, and from her has Ahriman of evil religion most strength. (35) When first creation began to move and Zurvān for the sake of movement brought that form, the black and ashen garment to Ahriman, (he made) a treaty in this wise, 'This is that implement like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of Āz. When the period of nine thousand years comes to an end, if thou hast not perfectly fulfilled that which thou didst threaten in the beginning, that thou wouldst bring all material existence to hate Ohrmazd and to love thee—and verily this is the belief in the one principle, that the increaser and destroyer are the same—then by means of these weapons Āz will devour that which is thine, thy creation; and she herself will starve; for she will no longer obtain food from the creatures of Ohrmazd—like unto a frog that liveth in the water; so long as it defileth the water, it liveth by it, but when the water is withdrawn from it, it dieth parched.'

(36) And Āz because she had only one nature, had not the power to cause defilement as long as creatures were dispersed. That her powers might work together within creation, she divided them in three, that is 'that pertaining to natural functions', 'that pertaining to natural functions directed outward', and 'that outside the natural functions'. That pertaining to the natural functions consists in eating on which life depends: that pertaining to the natural functions directed outward is the desire to mingle (copulate) which is called lust (Varan) through which, by a glance outward,

the inwards are excited and the natural functions of the body thrown into turmoil: that outside the natural functions is the yearning for whatever good thing one sees or hears.

(37) Each part was divided into two: that pertaining to the natural functions is hunger and thirst; that pertaining to natural functions directed outward is the emitting and receiving (of seed); that outside the natural functions is hoarding by robbery and refusing to give through avarice.

(38) This is she who comprises (all) evil. And it is revealed that at the end Artvahišt will come to earth with the powerful help of Airyaman, the Messenger, to find a means of overcoming Āz, and he will show to creatures that the slaughter of the divers kinds of cattle is a grievous sin and that the profit therefrom is small: and this will he command, 'Ye are men; slaughter not the cattle even as hitherto ye have slaughtered them.'

(39) When the time of the rehabilitation shall draw nigh, those who hearken to the command of Artvahišt will turn from the slaughter of cattle and the eating of flesh, and one quarter of the power of Āz will dwindle, and the strength that is in her body will be destroyed, and the darkness and gloom will be smitten in part: nature will be clad in spirit and intelligences will be more clearly grasped.

(40) In the bodies of the children that are born to them Āz shall be less strong and their bodies shall stink less, and their nature will be more closely bound to the gods. Instructed by the gods they will turn away from the drinking of milk; half the power of Āz will dwindle. (41) And those who are born to them will be sweet-smelling, lacking darkness, spiritual in nature, without offspring, for they will not eat.

(42) And then the demon Āz, since she will derive no power from the creatures of Ohrmazd, will chide Ahriman who appointed her captain of his commanders (saying) in her greed to the judge of creatures, 'Satisfy me, satiate me, for I derive nor food nor strength from the creatures of Ohrmazd.' (43) At the command of Ahriman she will destroy the lesser demons. At the last (only) those four commanders will remain, and the other two, even Ahriman and Āz.

(44) Forth to the earth come Ohrmazd and Ahriman, Srōš and Āz. Ohrmazd smites Ahriman: so long as Āz was in league with Ahriman, he found no means of overcoming him, for Ohrmazd is the all-creator of light and the darkness of Ahriman is his adversary: Srōš, the moderate and blessed, is the genius of the Mean and the excess and deficiency of Āz are his adversary: they are of equal stature in the battle. (45) But when Āz is ⟨no longer⟩ in league with (Ahriman), Ahriman is alone, and his adversaries are three—two of a different substance, that is Ohrmazd and Srōš, and one

of the same substance, that is Āz, his greatest ally (heretofore). When his helpmate turns to enmity, the Adversary will be vanquished.

(46) When fifty-seven years have yet to pass till the final rehabilitation, the birth of Sōšyans will come to pass, the consummation of that which was bestowed on Zoroaster.

(47) Concerning Zoroaster thus is it revealed—for thirty years he conferred with Ohrmazd, and he received the Religion and spread godliness abroad. In fifty-seven years the Religion reached the seven climes in part. When the Religion made progress, the Lie, once manifest and plain to see, ⟨fled⟩ beneath the earth and its power was partially destroyed.

(48) When the Messenger of the consummation who is Sōšyans, the envoy and Airyaman, appears on earth, in like manner will he confer for thirty years with the spiritual gods. The term allotted for the final rehabilitation is also fifty-seven years. The Religion will reach the seven climes in its plenitude, and by the wholeness of its propagation the Lie will be uprooted from creation.

(49) When the Aggressor came upon creation, six thousand years of the 'reckoned calendar' remained—that is from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Fravartīn until the period returns to the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Fravartīn. For the completion of six thousand years of the intercalating calendar the equivalent of four years (is needed): for in every four years there is one intercalated day, not more: in six thousand years that is the equivalent of four years. At that time will come the sign of the resurrection, and the firmament will move (from its course) and the course of the Sun, Moon, and stars will be *like to the planets* (?); and as the firmament turns, so will the atmosphere and the seas, the earth and the abodes (of men) turn from their natural ⟨paths⟩. On the earth, in the likeness of springs of water, springs of fire will arise in many places. (50) For Ohrmazd created with water and will bring about the end with fire: for water has a nature that illumines the seed and causes it to grow, and fire (a nature) that burns and thwarts it: for when the seed of plants comes to water, it receives the power of growth and becomes moist.

(51) When the fire appears on earth, the waters begin to sink and the rain ceases to rain till most of the waters on the earth are turned into desert, and the colour of plants on earth turns to the colour of wine(?) because of their union with fire, and they are burnt up and the tillage will be of no effect.

(52) When but three months have yet to pass before the Resurrection, it will come to the great battle even as in the beginning creation wrestled with the Lie. For ninety days and nights there was war, a battle of thirty

days and nights by the rain that smites noxious beasts, of thirty days and nights by the streaming forth of the vapours through which the plants grow, of thirty days and nights by the wind which drives the water on and supports the earth below and above and makes hollows and heights.

(53) But as the great battle in the beginning was by the raining of water and the wind that furthers water, so is the (battle) in the end by the burning and scorching of fire and the fearful wind that makes the fire to blaze.

(54) As (first) for ninety days and nights the gods did battle with the demons and the Whore, so in the end, manifest and plain, there will be seen by night and in the atmosphere a form of fire in the shape of a man, conceived by the spiritual gods, riding, as it were, a fiery horse, and fearful (to behold): and they shall be freed from doubt.

Z 5 (*b*). From the *Pahlavī Rivāyat* 48, §§ 90–96. v. also BSOS. x, pp. 626–7.

(90) **Ēšm 'ut Āz 'bē 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'gōβēt 'ku dušdānāk ganāk mēnōk, 'bē 'tō žōyam, 'čē-t 'bē 'hač 'tō dām 'graft, ⟨'nē⟩ ganǰ 'nē-ič gund, 'ut 'man zīvastan 'nē tavān.* (91) *fratom Āz i 'dēvān-dāt 'bē *žōyēt Ēšm i χur-druš, 'ut ditīkar zimastān i 'dēvān-dāt, 'ut sitīkar sēž i nihān-ravišn, 'ut 4-om zarmān i *dušdaft 'bē *žōyēt 'tāk hēč-ē frāč mānēnd* (92) *⟨'bē 'hač⟩ ganāk mēnōk 'ut Āz i 'dēvān-dāt. 'gōβēt Āz i 'dēvān-dāt 'bē 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'bē 'tō žōyam, dušdānāk, 'čē yazdān 'bē 'hač 'tō dām *'graft.* (93) *ganāk mēnōk 'ul ēstēt, 'bē 'ō spēnāk mēnōk 'šavēt, ētōn *davēt 'ku 'man 'ēn dām 'dāt 'ut Āz i 'dēvān-dāt 'kē-š dām ⟨i⟩ 'man žūt, 'nūn 'man 'bē 'kāmēt žūtan; 'tō 'pat dātaβarīh 'kunam.* (94) *Ōhrmazd 'apāk Srōš ahrov 'ul ēstēt 'ut Srōš-ahrāy[īh] Āz 'bē 'zanēt, Ōhrmazd ganāk mēnōk.* (95) *'apāk spistēn(?) tārīkīh 'ut anākīh ⟨i⟩ fratom 'kaδ 'andar duvārast, 'andar āβurt, hamāk 'pat sūrāk 'ku 'andar duvārast, bērōn āsmān *'kart, 'ut-aš ⟨pat⟩ 'ān sūrāk ētōn start 'ut abōδ 'bē 'kart i 'pas 'hač 'ān sturtīh 'apāč ⟨nē⟩ ēstēt.* (96) *būt 'kē-š guft 'ku yāvētānakān 'pat *ōžanišn aδvēnak akār 'bē 'kart, 'nē 'pas ganā⟨k⟩ mēnōk 'bavēt, 'nē 'ān i 'avē dām.*

TRANSLATION

(90) Ēšm (Wrath) and Āz say to the Destructive Spirit 'O thou Destructive Spirit of evil knowledge, I shall swallow thee, for (all) creation has been taken away save thee, and there is neither treasure nor army, and I cannot live.' (91) First Āz, the demon-created, swallows Ēšm of the bloody spear, and second the demon-created Winter, and third Bane that moves in secret, and fourth she swallows Old Age whose breath is foul, so that

none remain (92) ⟨save⟩ the Destructive Spirit and Āz, the demon-created. Āz, the demon-created, says to the Destructive Spirit, 'I will swallow thee, O thou of evil knowledge, for the gods have taken away (all) creation save thee.' (93) The Destructive Spirit rises up and goes towards the Bounteous Spirit, and cries out thus, 'I created this creation, and Āz, the demon-created, who has swallowed my creation, now desires to swallow me: I make thee judge over us.' (94) Ohrmazd arises with Srōš, the Blessed, and Srōš, the Blessed, smites Āz, and Ohrmazd the Destructive Spirit. (95) With all the foul(?) darkness and misery which he brought into (the world) when he first rushed in, he is thrown out of the sky through the hole by which he rushed in: and at that hole he is laid low and made unconscious so that he will (never) again arise from that low estate. (96) There have been some who have said that he will be forever powerless and, as it were, slain, and that henceforth neither the Destructive spirit nor his creation will exist.

Z 6. The following text is found in both the *Greater* (Anklesaria, p. 39, l. 11–p. 41, l. 10) and the *Indian* (Justi, p. 8, l. 6–p. 9, l.13) *Bundahišn*. As the difference between the two versions is more marked here than elsewhere, I have transcribed the two texts separately. The text relates the activities of J̌ēh, the Primal Whore; and the Indian version has been translated by Christensen, *Le Premier Homme*, i, p. 15 and extensively treated by Benveniste (MO. xxvi, pp. 187 ff.), who rightly used it to interpret and supplement Theodore bar Kônai's account of the Zoroastrian religion (v. our text F 10). Reference to J̌ēh is also made in the thirty-fourth chapter of Zātspram, § 30 (text Z 5 (*a*)). A full discussion of this problematical figure will be found in Part I, Chapter VII.

Greater Bundahišn 39. 11 ff.

⟨*'apar*⟩ *duvārastan i aβigat 'ō dām.*

'gōβēt 'pat dēn 'ku ganāk mēnōk, 'kaδ-aš akārīh ⟨*i*⟩ *'χᵛēš 'hamist 'dēvān 'hač 'mart i ahrov 'dīt, start 'būt; 3000 'sāl 'pat sturtīh 'sāyast. 'andar 'ān sturtīh kamālakān 'dēvān yut yut davīt 'hēnd 'ku 'apar āχēz, 'pit i 'amāh, 'čē 'ān kārēčār 'kunam, 'ān 'i-š Ōhrmazd 'ut amahraspandān tangīh* ⟨*'ut*⟩ *anākīh hač-iš; 'ut-šān yut yut duškunišnīh i 'χᵛēš dōkānīk ōšmurt. 'ut-aš 'nē rāmīhast 'avē i druvand ganāk mēnōk, 'ut 'nē χāst 'hač 'ān sturtīh, bīm i 'mart i ahrov*

*rāδ, 'tāk 'kaδ J̌ēh druvand mat 'pat bavandakīh ⟨i⟩ 3000 'sāl, davīt 'ku 'apar āχēz, 'pit i 'amāh, 'čē 'man 'andar 'ān kārēčār and-čand bēš *'apar 'mart i ahrov, 'gāv i varzāk 'hilam 'ku kunišn i 'man rāδ zīvand⟨ak⟩īh 'nē apāyēt, 'ut-šān 'χ^{v}arr 'bē 'appuram, bēšēm 'āp, bēšēm zamīk, bēšēm ātaχš, bēšēm urvar, bēšēm harvisp dahišn i Ōhrmazd-dāt. 'ut-aš 'ān duškunišnīh ōγōn 'pat dōkān ōšmurt 'ku ganāk mēnōk 'bē rāmīhast, 'hač 'ān sturtīh frāč ǰast, 'sar ⟨i⟩ J̌ēh 'apar bōsīt. 'ēn rīmanīh ⟨i⟩ daštān 'χ^{v}ānēnd 'pat J̌ēh paytāk 'būt. davīt ganāk mēnōk 'ō *J̌ēh-dēv**'ku-t 'čē kāmak 'hēt, 'χ^{v}āδ, 'tāk-at 'daham. 'aδak Ōhrmazd 'pat χrat ⟨i⟩ harvisp-ākāsīh 'dānast 'ku 'pat 'ān zamān 'čē J̌ēh-dēv 'χ^{v}āδēt, ganāk mēnōk attōk 'dāt, 'ut-aš 'pat 'ān mas-sūtīh. 'ān ganāk mēnōk karp [i] dītan dēs ⟨i⟩ vazaγ. 'ut-aš 'mart ⟨i⟩ yuvān i 15 'sālak humānāk 'ō J̌ēh-dēv nimūt. 'ān i J̌ēh-dēv mēnišn ov-iš bast. 'ut-aš davīt J̌ēh-dēv 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'mart-kāmakīh 'ō 'man 'dah, 'ku-š 'pat sardārīh 'andar mān 'bē nišēnam. 'ut-aš davīt ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'čiš 'χ^{v}āstan 'ō 'tō 'nē 'gōβam, 'čē apēsūt 'vat 'dānēh 'χ^{v}āst. 'bē *sačist 'ān zamān *'kaδ-aš 'čē* 'χ^{v}āst 'hēt, 'nē attōk 'būt 'hēh 'dātan.*

Indian Bundahišn, 8. 6 ff.

'apar duvārastan ⟨i⟩ aβigat 'ō dām.

*'gōβēt 'pat dēn 'ku ganāk mēnōk, 'kaδ-aš akārīh i 'χ^{v}ēš 'ut hāmist 'dēvān 'hač 'mart i ahrov 'dīt, start 'būt; 3000 'sāl 'pat startīh *'sayast. 'andar 'ān startīh kamālakān 'dēvān yut yut drāyīt 'hēnd 'ku 'apar āχēz, 'pit i 'amāh, 'čē 'amāh 'andar 'ān gētēh kārēčār 'kunam, 'ān 'i-š Ōhrmazd 'ut amašospandān tangīh 'ut anākīh 'hač-iš 'bavēt. yut yut duškunišnīh i 'χ^{v}ēš 2-kānak ōšmart. 'ut-aš 'nē *rāmīhast 'avē druvand ganāk mēnōk, bīm i 'mart i ahrov rāδ 'sar 'apar kartan 'nē tavānast 'tāk 'kaδ J̌ēh i druvand mat 'pat bavandakīh ⟨i⟩ 3000 'sāl, *'ut-aš drāyīt 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'apar āχēz, 'pit i 'amāh, 'čē 'man 'andar 'ān gētēh kārēčār 'kunam 'i-š Ōhrmazd 'ut amašospandān tangīh 'ut anākīh hač-iš 'bavēt. 'ut-aš yut yut duškunišnīh i 'χ^{v}ēš 2-kānak ōšmart; 'ut-aš 'nē rāmēnīt *'avē druvand ganāk mēnōk, 'nē χāst 'hač 'ān startīh bīm i 'mart i ahrov rāδ. 'ut 'dit J̌ēh i druvand drāyīt 'ku 'apar āχēz, 'pit i 'amāh, 'čē 'man 'andar 'ān kārēčār 'ēn čand *bēš 'apar 'mart i ahrov 'ut 'gāv i varzāk 'hilam, 'ku kunišn i 'man rāδ zīvandakīh 'nē apāyēt; 'ut-šān 'χ^{v}arr 'bē marnǰēnam; bēšom 'āp, bēšom urvar, bēšom ātaχš i Ōhrmazd, bēšom harvisp dahišn i Ōhrmazd. 'ut-aš 'ān duškunišnīh ōγō⟨n⟩ 'pat 2-kānak ōšmart 'ku ganāk mēnōk 'bē rāmist, 'ut 'hač 'ān startīh frāč ǰast, 'ut sar i J̌ēh 'apar bōsīt, 'ut 'ēn rīmanīh i daštān 'χ^{v}ānēnd 'pat J̌ēh paytāk 'būt. drāyīt 'ō J̌ēh 'ku-t 'čē kāmak, 'tāk-at 'daham. 'ut-aš drāyīt J̌ēh 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'mart-*kāmakīh 'tāk 'ō 'man 'dah. ganāk mēnōk karp dītan d⟨ē⟩sak i vazaγ [karp]. 'ut-aš 'mart i yuvān i 15 'sālak 'ō J̌ēh nimūt. 'ān J̌ēh mēnišn ov-iš 'burt.*

NOTES

Greater Bundahišn, 39. 11 ff.

l. 2. *sturtīh : startīh* P.

'sǎyast: the ideogram for this word is written *ŠKBHWN-* = *šekibūn* (Nyberg, *Glossar*, p. 163). The meaning is certainly 'lie down', but the Iranian equivalent is uncertain and has been the subject of much discussion. The reading of Ind. is 𐭮𐭠𐭧𐭩𐭮𐭲 = *'sahast* which gives us a clue to the interpretation of our word. *'sahast* means 'seemed' and is entirely unsuitable in the context. We must therefore suppose that Ind. has written *'sahast* instead of a nearly homophonous word. Errors of this sort are not infrequent in Ind., cf. *MNŠ* = *'hač-iš* frequently used for *'PŠ* = *'ut-aš* besides *'hač-iš*, also the ideogram for *'ō* 'to' for *'avē* (pronounced *ōy*) 'he': cases of similar misuse of ideogram could be multiplied. Now *ŠKBHWN-* translates Av. *sāy-* 'lie down' (Bartholomae, AIW., col. 1571). Bartholomae l.c. read *nisāy-* inf. *nisītan* in which he was followed by Junker (FrPhl., p. 84): Nyberg rightly objected to the inf. *nisītan* on the ground that the word has the phonetic complement *-astan*, not *-ītan*: he read *niyastan*. The reading of Ind. here, however, proves that our word must have sounded approximately *sahast*. In view of the fact that it translates Av. *sāy-* and that the Pahlavī translators tend to translate Av. words by their Pahlavī derivatives (whether real or supposed), the reading *sǎyastan* seems moderately certain. For *sahast* the expected south-west form would be *sayist* with the usual alternation of *H* and *Y* (representing an older *D*). In this case the two words, in the southern dialect, would be identical in pronunciation. Alternatively one may suppose with Bailey that a form *sah-* existed beside *sāy-*, cf. MP. *zahak*, NP. *zahīdan* beside *zāy-* 'to be born'. For the form in *-astan* we may compare *drāyastan* beside *drāyītan*. The readings of FrPhl. are certainly corrupt: they are 𐭮𐭠𐭧𐭮, 𐭮𐭠𐭧𐭮, 𐭮𐭠𐭧𐭮. Here the *T* may possibly be used to indicate a pronounced δ, in this case a false 'archaic' writing.

l. 3. *sturtīh : startīh* P.
kamālakān : KM' YLK'NW P.
davīt (*DWYTW*) TD_2: *DWDYT* P.
'pit i P.: *'pit* TD_2.

l. 4. *'kunam* 𐭪𐭠𐭭 P.: 𐭪𐭠𐭭 DH.: 𐭪𐭠𐭭 TD_2.
First *'ut* P.: om. TD_2, DH.
tangīh : tangīhā P.

l. 5. *duškunišnīh : yut kunišnīh* P. *ōšmurt : ōšmārt* P.

l. 6. *ganāk mēnōk*, *'ut*: om. P.
χāst P.: *X'SYNW* TD_2, DH.
sturtīh : startīh P.: *STYH* with *LT* above the line DH.

l. 7. *ǰēh*: 𐭪𐭩𐭧 TD_2: 𐭪𐭩𐭧 DH.: 𐭪𐭩 P.
davīt (*DWYTW*) TD_2: *DWYDTW* P.
'apar: om. P.

l. 8. *'amāh*, *'čē* P.: *'apāk* TD_2.
**'apar* (*DMM*) : *DMDM* MSS.

l. 9. *zīvand⟨ak⟩īh*: *zīvandīhā* P.

l. **10**. *'bē* (*BR'*) : *BRY* P.
First *bēšēm* TD_2, DH.: *bēšām* P.
Second *bēšēm* P., DH.: *bēšām* TD_2.

l. **11**. *dahišn i* TD_2, P.: *dahišnīh* DH.

l. **12**. *sturtīh : startīh* P.
Jēh: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 TD_2: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 DH.: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 P.

l. **13**. *bōsīt : BWST* P.
rīmanīh : L'MNNYH P.
daštān : dāštān P., DH.
Jēh: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 TD_2: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 DH.: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 P.
davīt : variants as in l 7.

l. **14**. **Jēh-dēv**: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 TD_2, DH: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 P.
'tāk-at : 'tāk P.

l. **15**. *ākāsīh : 'K'S'* DH.
'ān: om. P.
Jēh-dēv 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 P.

l. **16** *'dāt* P., DH.: *'dahēt* TD_2.

l. **17**. *dēs*: written *D'S* with the *D* correctly pointed. The word is, of course, identical with MPT. *dys*. The spelling *D'S* (in form identical with *gās*) is remarkable but normal. For the variations in the spelling of this word v. DkM. 746. 13, 14 where we have *D'S* = *dēs*, *DYSYHSTNW* = *dēsīhastan* and *DHŠNYH* = *dēsišnīh*. For *dēsak* meaning also 'form' we have the spellings 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 and 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀, the latter form being the more common. The identity of the two words is proved by DkM. 379. 6, 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀-*sōhišnīh* 'contact with forms' as compared with ibid. 380. 9, 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀-*sōhišnīh* in the same sense. Further ibid. 257. 22: *'har* 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 *'pat-ič 'nām i tōhmak i 'andar-aš*, 'Every form (is called) by the name of the seed that is within it.' In DkM., pp. 207–8 all three forms are found. See further, Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 94.

The reading of *sōhišn* is confirmed by MPT. *swh-* (unpublished, information supplied by Professor Henning). Bailey connects it with Av. *θrav-* in *θraviṭ*: Purs. 23 (Darmesteter, ZA. iii, p. 60) *zarətəm . . . nasuš aōi ava θraviṭ*.—'Dead matter touches an old man.' Bailey, ibid., pp. 97 and 229.
humānāk : hamānāk P.

l. **18**. First *Jēh-dēv* 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 DH: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 P.
Second *Jēh-dēv* 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀.
davīt : DWYYT P.
Third *Jēh-dēv*: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 TD_2: 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 DH. From *Jēh-dēv* to *'ku-š 'pat* is missing in P., the copyist having, apparently, left out a line.

l. **19**. *sardārīh :* 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 P.

l. **20**. *davīt : DWYYT* P.
After *'ku* P. adds *'čē*, and for *'čiš* (*MND'M*) reads *MD'M*.
'gōβam : 'gōβēm P.
apē-sūt P. (*'PYSWTW*): 𐬉𐬌𐬱𐬀 TD_2, DH.

l. 21. *'χᵛāst : B' YHWNYSTNW* P.
**sačist : SPSTW* TD_2, DH.: 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 P.
**'kaδ-aš 'čē* : 'čē 'kaδ-aš* MSS.

l. 22. *'dātan : 'dah* P.

TRANSLATION

Greater Bundahišn 39. 11 ff.

Concerning the onslaught of the Aggressor against creation.

It is said in the Religion that when the Destructive Spirit saw that he himself and the demons were powerless on account of the Blessed Man, he was laid low. For three thousand years he lay stricken. And when he was thus laid low, the demons with monstrous heads cried out one by one (saying), 'Arise, O our father, for we would join the battle from which Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands will suffer straitness and misery'; and one by one they minutely related their own evil deeds. But the accursed Destructive Spirit was not comforted, nor did he arise from his fallen estate for fear of the Blessed Man; till the accursed Whore came after the three thousand years had run their course, and she cried out (saying), 'Arise, O our father, for in that battle I shall let loose so much affliction on the Blessed Man and the toiling Bull that, because of my deeds, they will not be fit to live. I shall take away their dignity (*χᵛarr*); I shall afflict the water, I shall afflict the earth, I shall afflict the fire, I shall afflict the plants, I shall afflict all the creation which Ohrmazd has created.' And she related her evil deeds so minutely that the Destructive Spirit was comforted and leapt from his fallen state and kissed the head of the Whore. That pollution which they call menstruation appeared on the Whore. And the Destructive Spirit cried out to the demon Whore, 'Whatsoever is thy desire, do thou ask, that I may give it thee.' Then Ohrmazd in his omniscient wisdom knew that at that time the Destructive Spirit could give whatever the demon Whore asked and that there would be great profit to him thereby. The appearance of the body of the Destructive Spirit was in the form of a frog. And he (Ohrmazd?) showed one like unto a young man of fifteen years of age to the demon Whore; and the demon Whore fastened her thoughts on him. And the demon Whore cried out to the Destructive Spirit (saying), 'Give me desire for man that I may seat him in the house as my lord.' And the Destructive Spirit cried unto her (saying), 'I do not bid thee ask anything, for thou knowest (only) to ask for what is profitless and bad.' But the time had passed when he had not been able to give what she asked.

Indian Bundahišn 8. 6 ff.

Concerning the onslaught of the Aggressor against creation.

It is said in the Religion that when the Destructive Spirit saw that he himself and the demons were powerless on account of the Blessed Man, he was laid low. For three thousand years he lay stricken. And when he was thus laid low, the demons with monstrous heads cried out one by one (saying), 'Arise, O our father, for we would join battle in the material world that Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands may suffer straitness and misery thereby.' One by one they minutely related their own evil deeds. But the accursed Destructive Spirit was not comforted, and for fear of the Blessed Man he could not raise his head; till the accursed Whore came after the three thousand years had run their course; and she cried out to the Destructive Spirit (saying), 'Arise, O our father, for I would join battle in the material world that Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands may suffer straitness and misery thereby.' And one by one (the demons) minutely related their own evil deeds: but the accursed Destructive Spirit was not comforted, nor did he rise from his fallen state for fear of the Blessed Man. Then a second time did the accursed Whore cry out (saying), 'Arise, O our father, for in that battle I shall let loose so much affliction on the Blessed Man and the toiling Bull that, because of my deeds, they will not be fit to live: and I shall destroy their dignity (*χᵛarr*): I shall afflict the water; I shall afflict the plants; I shall afflict the fire of Ohrmazd; I shall afflict all the creation of Ohrmazd.' And she related her evil deeds so minutely that the Destructive Spirit was comforted and leapt forth from his fallen state and kissed the head of the Whore; and the pollution which they call menstruation appeared on the Whore. He cried out to the Whore (saying), 'What is thy desire that I may grant it thee?' And the Whore cried out to the Destructive Spirit (saying) 'Give me the desire for man.' The appearance of the body of the Destructive Spirit was in the form of a frog. And he showed the Whore a young man of fifteen years of age. The Whore fastened her thoughts on him.

Z 7. The following text is taken from the *Pahlavī Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dātastān i dēnīk* and will be found in pp. 127–37 in the edition of Dhabhar, Bombay, 1913. The first four sections of our text have been edited by Tavadia, *Studia Indo-iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, Leipzig, 1931, pp. 239–40. We have omitted §§ 16–21 from our text as they are a fragment from the life of Zoroaster interpolated from another source. As a full

apparatus is supplied in Dhabhar's edition, it has not been thought necessary to reproduce it here.

(1) *'ēt 'ku āsmān čēγōn 'hač 'čē kart ēstēt.*

(2) *aβzār būt čēγōn χ^{v}araγ i ātaχš i 'pat rōšnīh 'pāk; 'hač 'ān i asar rōšnīh 'bē brēhēnīt;* (3) *'ut-aš hamāk dām dahišn 'hač 'ān 'bē kart: 'ut 'kaδ-aš 'bē kart būt, aš 'andar 'ō tan burt, 'ut-aš 3000 'sāl 'andar tan dāšt, 'ut-aš hamē aβzāyīt, 'ut-aš 'vēh hamē kart, 'ut-aš 'pas ēvak ēvak 'hač tan ⟨i⟩ 'χ^{v}ēš hamē brēhēnīt.* (4) *'ut-aš nazdist āsmān 'hač 'sar 'bē brēhēnīt, 'ut-aš gōhr 'hač kēn ⟨i⟩ spēt. 'ut-aš pahnāδ 'ut bālāδ rāst. 'ut-aš zahyā⟨δ⟩ i parkān 'ān and 'hast čand pahnāδ i tuhīkīh. 'ut-aš vīnārišn 'pat 'nar i ahrov dahmān āf⟨r⟩īn. 'ut-aš dāštārīh ⟨i⟩ gētēh 'nēst. Ōhrmazd 'apāk dām 'ut dahišn 'andar *'nišast.*

(5) *'ut-aš zamīk 'hač 'pāδ 'bē brēhēnīt; 'ut-aš vīnārišn 'hač kōf. [Miθr χ^{v}atāy, nēvak dahmān āfrīn, *Rašn i rāst [i], 'ut *rat i ahrāyīh 'pat nēvakīh 'apar aržānīk mēnōk χ^{v}āstak [i] 'pat ahrov-dāt 'bē 'dahēnd.] 'ut-aš gōhr *'andar 'bē nikand. 'ut-aš kōfīhā 'hač 'ān gōhr 'bē rōδēnīt; 1700 'sāl hačaδar 'ut hačapar 'har 2 hamē rust, 'ut 'pas hačaδar 'bē ēstāt, hačapar 800 'sāl 'dit hamē rust 'tāk 'bē 'ō āsmān. 'ut-aš hačaδar 'ut hačapar girtak pēr⟨ā⟩mōn 'χ^{v}arr 'āyēt. 'ut-aš humānāk ētōn čēγōn χāyak-ē 'kē-š murvēčak 'andar. 'ut-aš dāštārīh i gētēh 'nēst.* (6) *ētōn čēγōn-aš kōf 'bē rōδēnīt 'tāk 'ēn patmānak i 'hast, *aš zamīk 'pat nēmak i āsmān 'pat star pāδak frāč 'dāt. hač-iš paitištān frapad 'bē brēhēnīt. 'kaδ Ahriman 'andar duvārast, 'aδak-aš frōt *āhaχt: 'pat tan i pasēn 'apāč *ō star pāδak 'šavēt.* [(7) *Harburz zahyā⟨δ⟩ čand pahnāδ i zamīk: pēr⟨ā⟩mō⟨n⟩ Harburz parkān. 'ut-aš pahnāδ i *Harburz and čand* zamīk 'ut star pāδak, nēmak i āsmān. 'hač star pāδak 'tāk māh pāδak 34000 frasang mar. [vēš] 'hač māh pāδak 'tāk 'ō χ^{v}aršēt pāδak *34000 frasang. 'hač χ^{v}aršēt 'tāk 'ō āsmān *34000 frasang. 'hač star pāδak 'tāk 'ō 'ētar *34000 frasang, 'ut 'hač 'ēn gyāk 'tāk 'ō āsmān i hačaδar 11000 frasang.* (8) *āsmān gōhr kēn: spēt rōšn; 'ut-aš rōšnīh 'hač 'ān i χ^{v}aršēt.* (9) *'pas 'hač 'ān i 'kaδ druž 'ō dām duvārist, 'bē Zartuχšt 'hač gētēhān 'kas-ič 'nē 'dīt. haft kišvar *nendar āsmān. Harburz kōf[īh] 2244 'hast.*

(10) *zrēh i Frāχ^{v}kart 3 ēvak i 'ēn zamīk.*] (11) *'ut-aš 'āp 'hač ars 'bē brēhēnīt, 'hast 'i-š 'andar 'ō zamīk gumēχt, 'ut 'hast 'i-š 'apar 'bē *ēstēnīt, 'ut 'hast ⟨'i-š 'andar⟩ andarvāy 'bē *ēstēnīt: 'ut hamāk 'pat ravišn 'ēstāt.* (12) *'har 'ān 'kē-š zōhr vēš 'ut-aš *hiχrīh kam, 'pat 3 'sāl; 'ān 'kē-š 'har 2 rāst, 'pat 6 'sāl; 'ān 'kē-š *hiχrīh vēš 'ut-aš zōhr kam, 'pat 9 'sāl 'apāč 'ō zrēh i Frāχ^{v}kart 'rasēt.*

(13) *'ut-aš urvar 'hač mōδ 'bē brēhēnīt, 'ut nazdist ē bun-ē vitast, 2 angust 'pat bālāδ būt; 'ut-aš hamāk sarδak urvarān 'andar būt, 'bē ē sarδak. 'ut-aš 'pat Ērānvēž frāč dāt.* (14) *'pas 'hast murvān, 'hast i 'pat 'āp, 'ut 'hast i*

*'martōmān gyāk gyāk 'bē burt *'ō vēšak-ič ⟨'ut⟩ 'andar zrēh. 'ut Hōm i spēt 'ut apārīk urvar i 'andar gēhān 'hač 'ān 'bē 'būt. 'ut-aš *āsānīh 'hač 'āp 'ut zōhr 'ut *zargōn i 'pāk. 'ut-aš dušχ^{v}ārīh 'hač 'ān i 'kaδ adātastānīhā 'bē 'brīnēnd ayāp 'bē 'škēnēnd. 'ān sarδak 'i-š 'paṣ 'dāt, 50 sarδak 'būt.*

(15) *'ut-aš 'gāv *hač 'dast ⟨i⟩ dašn 'bē brēhēnīt; 'ut-aš 'andar Ērānvēž frāč 'dāt. 'ut-aš 3 *nay *'pat bālāδ *'ut pahnāδ būt. 'ut 'kaδ-aš Ahriman 'apar mat, 'pat gyāk 'bē 'murt. 'ut-aš šusr 'pat gyāk 'bē 'ō zamīk mat. hamāk sarδak i gōspandān ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazd 'hač 'ān šusr 'bē kart. 'ut-aš nazdist 'hač 'har sarδak-ē ēvak 'nar 'ut ēvak 'mātak 'bē kart, 'ut 'pas patvand 'hač 'avēšān 'bē 'raft. 'ut-šān 'χ^{v}ašīh 'ut āsānīh 'hač 'āp 'ut vāstar *pāyišn, nēvak zimastān *'ut hāmēn *i 'pāk. 'ut-šān dušχ^{v}ārīh 'hač 'ān 'kaδ-šān adātīhā 'bē kušēnd, 'ut-šān kār adātīhā framāyēnd, 'ut-šān 'āp 'ut vāstar 'nē 'dahēnd, 'ut-šān pāyišn . . . 'ut-aš gurs⟨nak⟩īh 'ut tišnakīh ētōn mat 'i-š ōž zō(h)r 'ut nērōk 'ut vēnišn 'ut āšnavišn 'i-š 'bē 'šut.*

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(22) *gōspand 262 sarδak 'hast, 'ut 'ān[i] 5 aδvēnak.* (23) *aδvēnak-ē 'ān 'kē-š sumb 2-kānak čēγōn 'gāv,* (24) *aδvēnak-ē 'kē-š sumb girt čēγōn asp,* (25) *aδvēnak-ē 'ān i 'kē 'pāδ čēγōn 'ān i 'uštur;* (26) *aδvēnak murv, aδvēnak āpīk 'ut māhīk. 'bē gōspand-ē aδvēnak 'hač apistāk čāšt.* (27) *'sag 'ut sārīgar, varāγ ⟨i⟩ siyāh 'ut dālman 'ut 'tāk apārīk *'nē apāyēt 'χ^{v}artan, 'sag 'ēt rāδ 'čē šusr i Gayō(k)mart 'čiš 'andar 'hast, 'ut sārīgar [i] 'ut varāγ ⟨i⟩ siyāh 'ut dālman tan hamāk *hiχrīh 'ut 'pat nasāy 'χ^{v}artan 'dāt 'ēstēnd.*

(28) *'ut-aš ātaχš 'hač vārom 'bē brēhēnīt. 'ut-aš brēh 'hač 'ān asar rōšnīh brēhēnīt.* (29) *'ut-aš urvar 'bē 'dāt, 'ut-aš ātaχš 'andar 'bē 'dāt. 'ut-aš āfrīn ov-iš kart, 'ku 'kē 'šmāk 'nē 'hēt ātaχš-kartār 'ku ātaχš hač-iš 'nē šāyēt 'vēχt, 'ān 'šmāk 'hēt ātur-sōk, 'ku 'kaδ-aš 'apar 'nihēnd, ē frāč 'gīrāt.* (30) *'kaδ-aš tan 'bē 'ō gētēh kāmist 'dāt, aš garzišn kart 'ku 'bē ⟨'ō⟩ gētēh 'nē 'šavam, 'čē-m anākīh 'vas pat-iš 'kunēnd.* (31) *'pas Ōhrmazd ātur gušnasp 'pat Āturpāt⟨ak⟩ān 'pat varhrānīh 'bē 'nišāst.* (32) *'ut-aš guft 'ku 'martōm *kār i* yazišn 'ō ātaχš kat⟨ak⟩īk pātaχšāyōmand framūt: 'kaδ-šān ē *yazišn framūt 'hāt, ⟨ēsm⟩ 'bē 'ō ātaχš varhrān 'barēnd, 'ut-at [i] arg 'bē 'kunēnd.* (33) *'ut 'pas 'pat 'āmatan i 'ō gētēh 'andar ēstāt, 'ut ham-dātastān 'būt.* (34) *'ut Ōhrmazd 'pat pātdahišn [i] hamāk ātaχš varhrān 'pat ahrāyīh paytākēnīt.* (35) *'ut-aš ātur i farnbaγ 'pat 'ān pātdahišn *i 'kaδ-aš kārēčār i 'apāk Dahāk kart, aš 'pat vahrāmīh 'pat X^{v}ārazm 'bē 'nišāst; 'ut ātur burzēn-miθr 'pat 'ān pāt-dahišn i 'kaδ-aš Vištāsp 'bē 'ō dēn hāχt, ⟨'pat⟩ vahrāmīh 'pat puštān i Vištās-pān 'bē *'nišāst.*

(36) *'ut-aš 'martōm 'hač 'ān 'gil 'kē-š Gayō(k)mart hač-iš kart, 'pat šusr aδvēnak 'andar 'ō Spandarmat 'hišt: 'ut Gayō(k)mart 'hač Spandarmat 'bē*

*brēhēnīt 'ut zāt. čēγōn *Mahryā 'ut *Mahryānē rust 'hēnd, 3000 'sāl 'nē 'ravēnīt. 'kaδ Ahriman 'andar duvārast, 30 'sāl būt 'tāk hamē 'raft. 'ut-aš Fravartīn 'māh 'rōč ⟨i⟩ Ōhrmazd 'bē 'ōžat. šusr i Gayō(k)mart 'bē 'ō zamīk mat, 40 'sāl 'pat šusrīh 'andar zamīk ēstāt.* (37) *'pas *Mahryā 'ut *Mahryānē 'hač zamīk ⟨'pat⟩ rēβās karp 'bē rust 'hēnd, ē 'ku ētōn čēγōn rēβās 'kaδ 'apar 'āyēt, aš varg 'pat tan frāč ēstāt. 'avēšān-ič dast 'pat gōš 'apāč ēstāt. Rōšn guft 'ku 9 'māh rēβās karp būt 'hēnd.* (38) *'pas 'bē 'ō 'martōm-karpīh vašt 'hēnd. 'hač 'avēšān 6 'pus, 6 'duχt 'bē 'zāt 'hēnd; 'ut būt i zīvast, 'ut būt i murt 'hēnd. 'ut 'pas hamāk 'martōm 'hač 'avēšān 'bē būt 'hēnd.*

NOTES

§ 2. *'pāk*: Dhabhar prints *'i-š* in his text, but the MSS. MRl and J read *'pāk*. Both make adequate sense.

§ 4. *kēn: KYNW̲*, so here and in § 8. The substance of the sky is generally considered to be of *ayōχšust*. Our present word was interpreted by Bailey as **āpakēnak* 'crystal' (*Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 133). However, as the word appears twice in our passage in the form *kēn*, it would seem possible to take it as an abbreviated form of *āpakēnak*, cf. NP. *gīneh* 'crystal'. This is surprising in that *-kēn, -kēnak* must certainly be regarded as suffixes, cf. OP. *kāsakaina-* 'made of glass' from *kāsa-ka-* 'glass' (Kent, *Old Persian*, s.v.), cf. Skt. *kāca-*. Probably we are to see this word in the mysterious 𐭩𐭮𐭪 of GrBd. 36. 5 (text Z 2, l. 70 and note).

parkān: v. Bailey, JRAS. 1934, p. 517.

§ 5. **Rašn i rāst*: text has *rāt i rāst. rāst* is, however, the stock epithet of Rašn and corresponds to the Av. *razišta-*. For *rat i ahrāyīh* the text has *rāt i ahrāyīh*. There can be little doubt that Srōš is meant: his stock epithet is *ahrāy* (Av. *ašya-*) and in the Iranian Manichaean texts he appears always as *srwšhr'y = Srōš-ahrāy*. Moreover, the trio Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn are so intimately connected that they even appear in a Mandaean text (Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 284, n. 4) where they are identified with the Mandaean Hibil, Šitil, and Anōš. See also Part I, pp. 102–3.

**'andar*: MSS. have 𐭥𐭲, *'χ^{v}arr*, which can hardly be right. I would, therefore, emend to 𐭠𐭲 *'andar*. The passage obviously refers to the insertion of the metals into the earth told in GrBd. 20. 2–4 (text Z 1, ll. 217–8). Another possibility would be 𐭮𐭩 *sēm* 'silver', but the spelling in Phl. is usually *'SYM*.

nikand: for the root *kan-* v. Bailey, JRAS. 1934, p. 515; cf. text Z 1, l. 214 note. MPT. has *hmngnd*, Andreas–Henning, MirMan. i, p. 10: *'wš pd wyspzng z'z 'wd mzn 'y χwyš gryw hmngnd.*—'And she filled it with all manner of . . . and Mazans of her own self.'

§ 6. *paitištān frapad*: transcriptions of Av. *paitištāna-* and *frapad-*.

**āhaχt*: text *W'ŠTW̲* (*vāšt* or *vahišt*), but cf. Zs. 1. 32 (text Z 4): *bun i āsmān 'pat star-pāδak dāšt; 'hač 'ōδ frōt 'ō tuhīkīh āhaχt.* So GrBd. 41. 14: *āsmān 'pat star pāδak 'ēstāt; frōt 'ō tuhīkīh āhaχt.*—'The sky was in the station of the stars; it was dragged down into the Void.'

**'ō star pāδak*: text has *'ut star pāδak*.

§ 7. **Harburz and čand**: text has *and čand Harburz*.
**34000*: text has *1000*, *4000* in all cases.

§ 8. *kēn*: v. § 4, note.

§ 9. **nendar*: text has 𐭤𐭭𐭣𐭥. The meaning required seems to be 'within'. I would therefore read *nendar* and compare *Psalter nyndly*, MPT. *nyndr* 'within' (Henning, BSOS. ix, p. 86)<**ni-antar* as Soghd. *čntr*<**hača-antar-* (v. Barr, *Psalter*, p. 51).

§ 13. *vitast*: written *WTYSTW* = Av. *vitasti-* 'span'.

§ 14. **'ō vēšak-ič 'ut : 'ut vēšak-ič* text.
**āsānīh*: written *'S'NYY*. That *āsānīh* is certainly right is proved by the parallel § 15, *'ut-šān 'χᵛašīh 'ut āsānīh 'hač 'āp*, &c.

**zargōn*: text has 𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲: the emendation to *zargōn* is therefore very slight. On this word v. text Z 1, l. 238, note.

§ 15. *3 *nāy *'pat : 5 'bē*, text.
**pāyišn*: 𐭯𐭠𐭩𐭱𐭭 text, and in the second place 𐭯𐭠𐭩𐭱𐭩𐭭 which suggests *paχsišn* 'ripening', but *pāyišn* alone seems suitable to the context.
**'ut hāmēn* i 'pāk : hāmēn 'tāk 'pāk*, text.
After the second *pāyišn* there appears to be a *lacuna*. The text, as it stands, is untranslatable.

§ 27. *sārīgar*: that is *sār i gar* 'the starling (NP. *sār*) of the mountain': cf. Tavadia, ŠnŠ., p. 32, no. 5, 2–3.
dālman: according to Bailey (*Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 230)<OP. **darnu-mani-* = Av. *zarənu-manay-* an epithet of the bird *kahrkāsa-*, therefore 'the golden-necked vulture'. This interpretation is borne out by GrBd. 155. 9 where *karkās* is identified with *dālman.—karkās* ⟨*i*⟩ *zarmān-mēnišnīh, 'hast i dālman, nasāy χᵛarišnīh rāδ 'dāt.*—'The vulture whose thoughts are on old age, that is the *dālman*, was created for the consumption of corpses.'

§ 28. *vārom*: = Av. *vārəma*, v. Bailey, JRAS. 1934, p. 511.

§ 32. **kār i* : K'L'* (i.e. *'vāng*), text.
**yazišn : pašn*, text. For the latter cf. text Z 1, l. 56, note. The meaning 'treaty' or the like, however, is not suitable here. In the Phl. script the difference between *pašn* and *yazišn* is minute.

§ 35. *hāχt*: past part. to *hāč-*. Not *āhaχt*, since *hāχtan* is the technical term for 'convert'; v. BSOS. ix, p. 582.

TRANSLATION

(1) Concerning the manner in which and (the substance) from which the sky was made.

(2) There was an implement like a flame of fire, pure in light; it was fashioned from the Endless Light; (3) and from it all creation was made: and after it had been made, it was put into a body; and for three thousand

years it was kept within the body, and it grew continually, and it was made better. Then it fashioned (things) one by one from its body.

(4) First the sky was fashioned from its head; and its substance was of white crystal: and its breadth and height were equal: and the depth of its surrounding wall is as great as the breadth of the Void. And it is ruled by the Blessed Man, the Praise of the Wise. And it has no material support. Ohrmazd settled within it with his creation.

(5) And the earth was fashioned from its feet; and it is ruled by the mountains. [Mihr, the Lord, the goodly Praise of the Wise, Rašn, the Just, and the Judge of Righteousness give spiritual (unseen, *mēnōk*) riches in alms to those who are worthy of good things.] And minerals were inserted into it. And from those minerals the mountains were made to grow. For one thousand and seven hundred years they grew both above and beneath: then beneath they ceased (to grow), and for another eight hundred years they grew above till (they reached) the sky. And above and beneath the *χ^{v}arr* circles around. And it was like an egg with an unhatched bird inside it. And it has no material support. (6) As the mountains were made to grow till (they reached) this measure that (now) exists, the earth was created half way up the sky in the station of the stars. It was fashioned from its (sc. the implement's) legs and forefeet. When Ahriman rushed in, he dragged it down: at the Final Body it returns to the station of the stars. [(7) The depth of Harburz is as much as the breadth of the earth: Harburz is an enclosing wall around it. And the breadth of Harburz is as much as the earth and the station of the stars, one half of the sky. From the station of the stars to the station of the Moon is a distance of thirty-four thousand parasangs. From the station of the Moon to the station of the Sun it is thirty-four thousand parasangs. From the Sun to the sky it is thirty-four thousand parasangs. From the station of the stars to this place it is thirty-four thousand parasangs. From this place to the sky beneath it is eleven thousand parasangs. (8) The substance of the sky is white crystal —bright; and its light is from the Sun. (9) After the Lie had rushed into creation, no one of material creatures could be seen except Zoroaster (*sic*). The seven climes are within the sky. The mountains of Harburz are two thousand, two hundred and forty-four in number.

(10) The sea of Frāχ^{v}kart is one third of this earth.] (11) And water was fashioned from its (sc. the implement's) tears: some was mingled with the earth, and some was established above, and some was established in the atmosphere: and all was set in motion. (12) Whatever has a greater part of pure water and a lesser of filth, returns to the sea of Frāχ^{v}kart in three years; whatever has them in equal proportions, returns in six years:

whatever has a greater part of filth and a lesser of pure water, returns in nine years.

(13) And the plants were fashioned from its hair; and the first stem was one span, two fingers in height. And all species of plants were within it except one species. And it was created in Ērānvēž. (14) And they (the plants) were carried to divers places either by the birds, or by means of the water or by men, to the forests and into the sea. The white Hōm and the other plants which are in the world, sprang from it. And it derives comfort from the water and the waters of libation and pure verdure: and it is discomforted when it is injudiciously cut or broken. The species that was next created (gave rise to) fifty species.

(15) And the Bull was fashioned from its right hand; and it was created in Ērānvēž. And it was three cubits in height and breadth. And when Ahriman assailed it, it died at once; and immediately its seed fell to the earth. All species of the cattle of Ohrmazd were made from that seed. And first one male and one female were made of each species, and then offspring went out from them. And they derive pleasure and comfort from the water and the protection of the pasture lands, from a kindly winter and a pure summer. And they are discomforted when they are unjustly slaughtered or when they are set unjust tasks, or when they are not given water and pasturage, or when protection ⟨is withheld from them (?)⟩, or when hunger and thirst assail them so (violently) that they lose strength, might and power, sight and hearing.

* * * *

(22) There are two hundred and sixty-two species of livestock, and they are of five kinds. (23) One kind is that which has a cloven hoof, such as the ox; (24) one kind is that which has a round hoof, such as the horse; (25) one kind is that which has feet like a camel; (26) one kind is birds; one kind is amphibians and fish. The kinds of livestock are taught in the Avesta. (27) The dog and buzzard, the black crow and vulture and others must not be eaten—the dog for this reason that there is something of the seed of Gayōmart in it. The bodies of the buzzard, black crow, and vulture are full of filth, and they were created to eat dead matter.

(28) And fire was fashioned from its mind; and its brilliance was fashioned from the Endless Light. (29) And the plants were created, and fire was inserted into them. And he (Ohrmazd?) blessed them (saying), 'You who do not make fires—that is fire must not be kindled from them—you are (nevertheless) increasers of fire—that is when one puts (plants) on it, it takes them.' (30) When he wished to create its body on earth, it

complained (saying), 'I will not go to the earth, for they will do me much harm.' (31) Then Ohrmazd victoriously established the Gušnasp fire in Atropatene. (32) And he said, 'Men have been commanded to worship the fire as the lord of the house: since they were commanded to perform this sacrifice, they will bring fuel to the Varhrām fire, and they will spare no effort for thee.' (33) Then it agreed to go to the earth and consented. (34) And in recompense Ohrmazd manifested all fires as victorious in righteousness. (35) And the recompense of the Farnbay fire was that when he did battle with Dahāk, he was established victoriously in Chorasmia; and the recompense of the Burzēn-mihr fire was that when Vištāsp was converted to the Religion, it was victoriously established on the ridges of Vištāsp.

(36) From the clay from which Gayōmart was made (he made) man emitting him in the form of seed into Spandarmat: and Gayōmart was fashioned from Spandarmat and was born. When Mašyē and Mašyānē grew up, (he had existed) for three thousand years (and) had not passed away. When Ahriman rushed in, it was thirty years before he passed away. And in the month of Fravartīn on the day of Ohrmazd he was slain. The seed of Gayōmart fell to the earth, and for forty years it remained in the earth in the form of seed. (37) Then Mašyē and Mašyānē grew from the earth in the form of a rhubarb—that is to say that just as the rhubarb grows up and has leaves on its stem, so did they too stand with their hands on their ears. Rōšn has said that for nine months they were in the form of a rhubarb. (38) Then they were turned into human shape. From them six sons and six daughters were born; some lived and some died. And then all men sprang from them.

Z 8. The eighth chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat* (Anklesaria, pp. 43–47; Sanjana, pp. 21–23; Pāzand, West, pp. 16–18). Transliterated text and translation by Nyberg, CCM. 1929, pp. 198–201.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku Ōhrmazd 'ēn dām 'ut dahišn čēγōn 'ut 'pat 'čē aδvēnak 'dāt.* (2) *'ut-aš amahraspandān 'ut mēnōk i χrat čēγōn 'ut 'pat 'čē aδvēnak tāšīt 'ut 'dāt.* (3) *'ut Ahriman i druvand 'dēvān 'ut družān ('ut apārīk-ič višūtakān) čēγōn višūt 'hēnd?* (4) *('ut 'har nēvakīh 'ut 'vattarīh 'ō 'martōmān 'ut apārīk-ič dāmān čēγōn 'rasēt?)* (5) *'ut 'čiš i 'baχt 'ēstēt vartēnītan šāyēt ayāp 'nē?*

(6) *mēnōk i χrat passaχ^{v} kart 'ku dātār Ōhrmazd 'ēn dām 'ut dahišn 'ut amahraspandān 'ut mēnōk i χrat 'hač 'ān i 'χ^{v}ēš rōšnīh 'ut 'pat āfrīn i Zurvān i akanārak brēhēnīt.* (7) *'ēt rāδ 'čē Zurvān i akanārak azarmān 'ut amarg 'ut adart 'ut asōhišn 'ut *apōhišn 'ut apityārak, 'ut 'tāk hamē 'ut hamē ravišnīh hēč 'kas 'bē 'statan 'ut 'hač χ^{v}ēškārīh apātaχšāy kartan 'nē tavān.*

(8) *'ut Ahriman i druvand 'dēvān 'ut družān 'ut apārīk-ič *višūtakān 'hač kūnmarz i 'χᵛēš višūt.* (9) *'ut-aš 9000 zimastān 'pat zamān i akanārak 'apāk Ōhrmazd patmān 'kart, 'ut 'tāk bavandak 'bē 'būtan, hēč 'kas vartēnītan 'ut yuttar kartan 'nē tavān.* (10) *'ut 'kaδ 9000 'sāl bavandak 'būt, Ahriman 'bē akārīhēt; 'ut Srōš-ahrāy Ēšm 'bē 'zanēt, 'ut Miθr 'ut Zurvān i akanārak 'ut mēnōk i 'dātastān 'kē 'pat hēč 'kas 'nē *družēnd 'ut baχt 'ut *bayō-baχt hamōγēn dām 'ut dahišn i Ahriman, 'ut 'pat aβdomīh. Āz-ič 'dēv 'bē 'zanēnd:* (11) *'ut hamāk dām 'ut dahišn i Ōhrmazd apityārak ētōn 'apāč 'bavēt čēγōn 'ān [i] 'i-š 'pat fratomīh brēhēnīt 'ut 'dāt.*

(12) *'har nēvakīh 'ut *'vattarīh (yuttarīh* MSS.*) i 'ō martōmān 'ut apārīkič dāmān 'rasēt 'pat 7-ān 'ut 12-ān 'rasēt.* (13) *'ut 'ān 12 aχtar čēγōn 'pat dēn 12 spāhpat i 'hač kustak i Ōhrmazd (guft 'ēstēt). 'ut ān 7 apāχtar 7 spāhpat i 'hač kustak i Ahriman guft 'ēstēt.* (14) *'ut harvist dām 'ut dahišn 'avē 7 apāχtarān tarvēnand 'ut 'ō margīh 'ut 'har anākīh aβspārēnd, čēγōn 'avēšān 12 aχtar 'ut 7 apāχtar brēhēnāk 'ut rāδēnāk i gēhān 'hēnd.*

(15) *Ōhrmazd nēvakīh kāmak 'ut hakarč anākīh 'nē 'patīrēt 'ut 'nē 'sahēt. 'ut Ahriman anākīh kāmak 'ut 'čiš-ič nēvakīh 'nē mēnēt 'ut 'nē 'patīrēt.* (16) *Ōhrmazd ⟨'hast i⟩ 'kaδ-aš 'kāmēt, 'pat dām i Ahriman, 'ut Ahriman-ič 'hast i 'kaδ-aš ('kāmēt), 'pat dām i Ōhrmazd vartēnītan tavān; 'bē ētōn tavān vartēnītan 'ku 'pat fražām-kārīh Ōhrmazd ziyān 'nē 'bavēt; 'čē fražām-pērōžīh Ōhrmazd 'χᵛēš.* (17) *'čē paytāk 'ku Ōhrmazd Yam 'ut Frētōn 'ut Kayôs ahōš 'dāt 'hēnd, 'ut Ahriman ētōn vartēnīt čēγōn āšnāk.* (18) *'ut Ahriman Bēvarāsp 'ut Frāsyāk 'ut Alaksandar ētōn 'sahast 'ku anōšak 'hēnd; 'ut Ōhrmazd 'ō mas-sūtīh ētōn vartēnīt čēγōn 'ān i paytāk.*

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom (saying), 'How and in what manner did Ohrmazd create this creation? (2) And how and in what manner did he fashion and create the Amahraspands and the Spirit of Wisdom? (3) How did the accursed Ahriman give birth to the demons and lies and other abortions? (4) And how do all good and bad things come to mankind and other creatures? (5) And can what is destined be changed or not?'

(6) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), 'The Creator Ohrmazd fashioned this creation and the Amahraspands and the Spirit of Wisdom from his own light with the blessing of the Infinite Zurvān: (7) for the Infinite Zurvān is unageing, undying, without pain, uncorrupting and undecaying, free from aggression, and for ever and ever no one can violate him nor deprive him of his sovereignty in his proper sphere.

(8) And the accursed Ahriman gave birth to the demons and lies and

the other abortions by committing sodomy on his own person. (9) And for nine thousand years he made a treaty with Ohrmazd through infinite Time and till it is completed no one can change it or make it different. (10) And when nine thousand years have fully elapsed, Ahriman will be made powerless; and Srōš the Blessed will smite Ēšm (Wrath); and Mihr, the Infinite Zurvān and the Genius of the Law (justice or order) who lie to no one, and Fate and the divine Fate will smite all the creation of Ahriman, and in the end the demon Āz also: (11) and all the creation of Ohrmazd will again be free from aggression as it was fashioned and created in the beginning.

(12) All welfare and adversity that come to man and other creatures come through the Seven and the Twelve. (13) The twelve Signs of the Zodiac, as the Religion says, are the twelve commanders on the side of Ohrmazd; and the seven planets are said to be the seven commanders on the side of Ahriman. (14) And the seven planets oppress all creation and deliver it over to death and all manner of evil: for the twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the seven planets rule the fate of the world and direct it.

(15) Ohrmazd desires welfare and is never susceptible to evil, nor does it beseem him. And Ahriman desires evil and never thinks of anything good nor is he susceptible to it. (16) Sometimes, when he wills, Ohrmazd can change the creation of Ahriman; and sometimes, when he wills, Ahriman can change the creation of Ohrmazd; but he can only change it in such wise that in the end Ohrmazd suffers no loss; for the final victory belongs to Ohrmazd. (17) For it is revealed that Ohrmazd created Yam and Frētōn and Kayōs immortal but Ahriman changed this in the manner that is known. And to Ahriman it seemed that Bēvarāsp (Dahāk) and Frāsyāk and Alexander were immortal: and Ohrmazd changed this for his greater profit as it is revealed.

Z 9. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 347, ll. 1–22; Sanjana, viii, p. 385). An annotated edition of this text has appeared in BSOS. ix, pp. 876, 885–6, 898.

'apar 'χᵛarr āβurāk, tōhmak, 'ut dārāk-χēm, 'ut baχtār i 'ō gētēhīk tōhmak, 'ut baχšišn-framān, parvarāk 'ut 'pāyāk i 'pat tōhmak 'ut 'andar tōhmak tan; 'ut-aš kār 'ut 'apāč patiyruftār 'ut 'apāč patvastār i 'ō χᵛēšāvand,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.

*'ēt 'χᵛarr āβurāk dātār Ōhrmazd. tōhmak 'kē hač-iš *vičārīhēt 'ān i anaγr rōšnīh. 'ut-aš dārāk-*χēm mēnōkīk ātur 'ut 'āp 'ut gil mēnōk, 'ut gētēh ātur 'āp 'ut gil gētēh. 'ut baχtār i 'ō gētēhīk tōhmak 'hač [dāt] dātār framān*

mēnōkān yazdān 'hēnd. baχšišn-framān i 'ō tōhmak, 'andar tōhmak 'ō tan mat, Zamān i 'ān i kār 'pat 'ān 'χ^{v}arr 'andar 'ān tōhmak 'pat 'ān tan rāδēnītan apāyišnīk. 'ut parvarāk 'ut 'pāyāk i 'χ^{v}arr 'apar tōhmak 'ut tan i 'andar ⟨tōhmak⟩ χrat pēšōpāy 'ut rātīh 'ut rāstīh 'ut spāsdārīh 'ut χ^{v}arsandīh 'ut tuχšākīh i 'pat χ^{v}ēškārīh. 'ut-aš kār bōžākīh 'ut bōžēnākīh 'ut buržākīh 'ut buržēnākīh i 'χ^{v}arrōmand 'pat 'χ^{v}arr ⟨i⟩ 'χ^{v}ēš 'ut χ^{v}ēšīk, čand-aš 'χ^{v}arr sahmān. 'ut 'apāč patiγruftār[īh], kart kār 'ut hanžaftak kārēkar, 'avēšān i bun 'dārāk-χēm. 'apāč patvastār i 'ō [i] χ^{v}ēšāvand, 'ān i bahrīk 'ō tōhmak tōhmak 'ut tan tan, 'ut hamākīhā fraškart zamān 'ō fraškart-kartārān 'χ^{v}arrōmandān hanbātak 'pat pat-iš kartan i fraškart, 'ut 'pat tan i pasēn 'ō harvist aχ^{v} i astōmand, dātār Ōhrmazd visp-ākās visp-tavān.

TRANSLATION

Concerning him who forms the *χ^{v}arr*, its seed (origin), what maintains its character, what assigns it to the seed of matter, what is responsible for this assignment, what fosters and preserves the body through and in the seed: concerning the activity of the *χ^{v}arr* and the agent which receives it back and re-unites it with what is properly its own—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

He who formed the *χ^{v}arr* is the creator Ohrmazd. The seed from which it derives is the Endless Light. The 'ideal' fire, water, and earth maintain its character in the ideal world; material fire, water, and earth in the material world. Subject to the command of the Creator it is the spiritual gods who are responsible for assigning it to the material seed. It is Time manifesting itself in activity which is responsible for the assignment of the *χ^{v}arr* to the (? material) seed and which itself became embodied in that seed and is indispensable for the regulation of the *χ^{v}arr* in the seed for (the benefit of) that body (in which it is embodied). What fosters and preserves the *χ^{v}arr* in the seed and the body which is comprised in that seed, is Wisdom the guide, generosity, rectitude, gratitude, contentment. and the concentration of effort on its proper object. The proper function of the *χ^{v}arr* is to save and to bring about salvation, to ennoble and cause to be ennobled every entity which possesses *χ^{v}arr* by means of each entity's own *χ^{v}arr* and what is proper to it, and to the extent of its (individual) *χ^{v}arr*. It is those entities which maintain its original character that receive it back, once its work is done and the agents have brought the work to fruition. It is the omniscient and omnipotent creator Ohrmazd who re-unites it to what is properly its own—both in individual cases (when each individual *χ^{v}arr* is re-united) to its particular seed and body, and universally, at the time of the rehabilitations (when the universal *χ^{v}arr* is re-united) to the

architects of that rehabilitation, the generation of those fully possessed of *χᵛarr* for the work of rehabilitation; and again at the Final Body (when the *χᵛarr* is re-united) to the whole of material existence.

This is perhaps the most difficult of all the texts we have to analyse. I have purposely left *χᵛarr* untranslated: neither the traditional 'glory' nor Bailey's 'fortune' will do. The clue seems to be in Eznik's use of *p'aṛk'* (text F 1) = *χᵛarr* which he says translates 'Zurvān'. That we are here moving in the same circle of ideas seems to me proven by the repeated occurrence of derivatives of *baχt* (*bag-*) in this text (*baχtār*, *baχšišn-framān*), since *baχt* is again described by Eznik as a 'translation' of 'Zurvān'. Add to this the appearance of Zurvān–Time himself, and the essentially Zervanite character of the text seems obvious.

In the first part of this book we were led to conclude that Zurvān is simply Absolute Being, that without which nothing can exist. The *χᵛarr* in our present context seems to be much the same. It is 'matter', whether 'spiritual' (intelligible or ideal) or corporeal, 'formed' by Ohrmazd, who thus appears as the individuating agent of the Cosmos. The 'Endless Light' is almost certainly a Mazdean 'translation' of Space (cf. text Z 20 and Part I, pp. 208–10). The 'ideal' elements maintain the character of the *χᵛarr* just as Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, and Zurvān together form the godhead and are 'like the elements' (text F 10). 'Time manifesting itself in activity' is, of course, finite Time 'embodied' in the finite Cosmos to all the parts of which it assigns their *χᵛarr*, that is their properties.

The whole question of *χᵛarr* in the Pahlavī books needs to be investigated anew. Bailey's interpretation of the original meaning of the word seems to me quite convincing. To judge from the Pahlavī evidence the Pahlavī translation itself, *χᵛēškārīh* 'own-work', seems to be exact. Thus a different translation will be necessary with each individual use of the word. The *χᵛarr* of a king could therefore be rendered by 'majesty' (hence the traditional 'glory'), but the *χᵛarr* of God is simply his Being.

Z 10. The following text is taken from the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 349, l. 1–p. 350, l. 10; Sanjana, viii, pp. 387–8). I only treat this passage with reluctance since there is much in the middle section that still remains obscure.

'apar bun-'bavišn i gētēh-dahišn [dahišn] 'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.

*'ēt aβzār 'kē dātār 'hač 'ān i anaγr-rōšnīh brēhēnīt 'ut dām 'andar hangartīkēnīt paytākīh, 'i-š apistākīk 'nām asarō(k) karpa(k) 2; ēvak 'ān i mēnōk dahišn, ēvak 'ān i gētēh-dahišn 'andar hangartīkēnīt. 'andar 'ān i mēnōk dahišn 'andar hangartīkēnīt mēnōk i vāχš nērōk; 'ut 'andar 'ān i gētēh dahišn 'andar hangartīkēnīt mēnōk i čihr nērōk, 'ut nišast. aβzār i mēnōk dahišn hangartīkīh kart spurrīk, 'ut pat-iš kār i 'pat dahišn i 'andar 'ān aβzār apāyišnīk[īh] hač-iš vičārt vāχšōmand mēnōkān yazdān ēvak ēvak 'ō 'ān 'i-šān [ō] χᵛēškārīh. 'ut 'andar aβzār i gētēh dahišn hangartīkīh 'pat dātār kām 'ut varčēn čihr-*nērōk mēnōk 'pat šaθr i vāχš nērōk mēnōk *hamīhēt.*

*'ō dāramuktom gētēh 'grīv paytākīh fratom nisang *i-š apistāk⟨īk⟩ 'nām*

*kōt 'ut 'pat aδvāč i gēhān KYŠ srēšak srēšōtak-ič 'χ^{v}ānd; 'hač nisang i kōt 'ut srēšōtak-ič 'nām *nisang 'i-š apistākīk 'nām āvartakīh 'ut gaβrīh-ič 'ut 'pat aδvāč i martōm dītan i nōk(??) KYŠ-ič' χ^{v}ānd: 'ut hiyag(?) 'hast i kōt, 'ut-aš kart 'andar. 'ut 'hač *nisang i āvartakīh ⟨'ut⟩ gaβrīh 'ut dītan i nōk(?) KYŠ-ič 'nām *nisang 'i-š apistākīk 'nām ['ut] *dēsakōmandīh 'pat aδvāč i 'martōm vistartakīh-ič 'χ^{v}ānd: 'ut hiyag (?) 'hast i ⟨'ān⟩ *nisang, 'ut-aš *nisang kart-ič 'andar. 'hač *nisang i *dēsakōmandīh 'ut vistartakīh-ič 'nām vāχš nērōk mēnōk hamīk fratom tan 'i-š apistākīk ⟨'nām⟩ Ras 'ut Spahr-ič 'nām, 'pat aδvāč i 'martōm spihr-ič 'χ^{v}ānd, 'i-š zahak 'andar 'hēnd rōšnān, χ^{v}aršēt, māh 'ut starān ham bun, 'ō visp dām 'i-š aδar rāδēnītār, 'hast i [čihrān] 'χ^{v}at čihrān apartom. 'ut 'hač Ras *'bavišn, garm 'ut χ^{v}ēt, vātōmand ['ut] 'pat ham-bastakīh [druž] ⟨i⟩ mēnōk vāχš ham-zōrīhā, zahak ⟨i⟩ gētēh dahišnān tōhmakān tōhmak *'kē 'bavišn-ravišnīh. zahakān [i] dēsak i *bavišn 'χ^{v}ānīhēt ⟨i⟩ rastakān-ič. 'hač ⟨bavišn-ravišnīh⟩ 'bavišn-ēstišnīh ⟨i⟩ zīndakān 'i-š 'andar gōspand 'ut 'martōm gētēh 'kē 'hēnd gētēh *dēsak karp.*

NOTES

l. **3**. *asarō(k) karpa(k)*: the terminations show that the words are transliterated from an Avestan original; cf. text Z 1, ll. 131–3 with the variants.

l. **11**. *dāramuk*: Pāz. *dāramaa*, ŠGV. 8. 137 and 10. 3 where Skt. rightly translates *sūkṣma-*; cf. ibid. 10. 79, *bārīk u dāramaa*. The usual spelling in Phl. is *dāramak* (*D'LMK*) in accordance with Pāz. rather than *D'LMWK* as here, cf. DkM. 75. 4: *dāramak-tan i kam-nērōk*, 'slender-bodied and having little strength'; further ibid. 301. 2; 873. 12; Dd. intro. 24, *dāramak-sarōk* translates Av. *urvī-sarah-* 'with pointed head'. Reading after Pāz. The etymology is uncertain, but Bailey (JRAS. 1934, p. 512) would connect it with *dar-* 'to split'.

'grīv: in the sense of 'self' extremely rare in Phl., but common in the Manichaean texts: cf. Soghd. *γr'yw* 'self'.

nisang: the reading of this word is uncertain, particularly as the spelling of it varies throughout this section. *nisang* is known to mean (i) 'a little', (ii) 'chapter', (iii) 'period'. For the first meaning cf. DkM. 245. 1: *'ō 'avē 'kē 'andar frāχ^{v}īh χ^{v}ārīh 'vas-ič 'sāl nisang, 'ut 'ō 'avē 'kē 'andar tangīh 'ut dušvārīh andak-ič zamān 'dēr.*— 'To him who lives in comfort and ease even many years appear short, but to him who lives in straitened circumstances and distress even a short time seems long.' The same meaning is found ibid. 874. 8, where *nisang 'saχ^{v}an* is contrasted with *vāng i 'saχ^{v}an*. Cf. ŠGV. *nihañg*; 13. 4, Skt. *svalpa-*; 13. 48, Skt. *kiṃcit*; 14. 1, Skt. *kiṃcittaram*; 15. 1, Skt. *kiṃcit*. In the last instance the transition from 'short' to 'chapter' is perceptible: *χ^{v}azāraa nihañg pādāinom*, 'I will write a small chapter'. GrBd. 218. 2 deserves notice, for the meaning there is certainly 'period': *'ut 'andar ham nisang Pešyōtan i Vištāspān 'hač Kang-diž 'āyēt.*—'And in the same period Pešyōtan, the son of Vištāsp, will come from Kang-diž.' This must be the meaning here: 'period' or 'stage' suits. The following references may be of use; DkM. 62. 17; 127 *passim*; 178. 17; 179. 3; 284. 7; 433. 15; 473. 2; 482. 17; 599. 16; 600. 20; 657. 9; 659. 10; 787. 4; 804. 22; 874. 8.

l. 12. *kōt*: so, on the excellent suggestion of Bailey. Professor Henning tells me that in the unpublished Persian-Soghdian glossary *kwd w hrg* = *"my pr twδyy* 'refuse on a heap'. Cf. Arm. *koyt* 'heap' and NP. *kōd* with the same meaning. The word here seems to refer to the amorphous mass in the womb prior to the formation of the foetus described by GrBd. 16 (text Z 1, ll. 171–6) as *gumēčakīh* 'mixture'; v. the note ad loc.

srēšak: cf. NP. *sirīšeh* 'dough, leaven', *sirištan*, Av. *sraeš-*, &c., v. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 162. For the termination *-ōtak* in *srēšōtak* v. BSOS. ix, p. 311.

l. 13. *āvartakīh*: v. text Z 1, l. 173 note.

l. 14. *dītan i nōk*: so, following the reading of Sanjana. Madan has *STWNKWN*, of which I can make nothing.

hiyag: quite uncertain, but the meaning is at least indicated by DkM. 166. 5: *'ēt i tan vīmārīh baχšīhēnd 'ō ēvak 'dō aδvēnak hiyag*(?) *i ōyārišnōmand, 'ut-aš vičārišn *patvēšakōmand . . . 'ut ēvak i hiyak i anōyārišn, 'ut-aš vičārišn *apatvēšak.*—'The illnesses of the body are divided into one or two sorts of ailments(?) which can be dispelled—and the explanation of this is that they arise from some rottenness—and into one ailment (?) which cannot be dispelled—and the explanation of this is that they do not arise from any rottenness.' On *patvēšak* v. Tavadia, ŠnŠ. 2. 7, note. *ōyārišn* corresponds to ŠGV. *hugār-* 'subdue, drive away'; 11. 138: *vašą nyāž daryōšī ažaš hugārəñd hāləñd.*—'They drive off and dispel want and poverty from him.' Ibid. 13. 104: *kəš rañj hugārihəṭ*, 'who has subdued pain'. If the meaning of our word which is spelt 𐭩𐭲 and 𐭩𐭥, is indeed 'ailment', it is to be connected with Arm. *hiwand*, Phl. *hiyandak*.

l. 19. *Spahr*: = Av. *θwāša-* v. Part I, p. 89.

TRANSLATION

Concerning the original coming to be of the material creation, from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This is what is revealed concerning the instrument which the Creator fashioned from the Endless Light and in which he caused creation to be contained. Its Avestan name is the Endless Form and it is twofold. On the one hand it contains the 'ideal' creation; on the other the material creation. In the 'ideal' creation the Spirit of the Power of the Word was contained; and in the material creation the Spirit of the Power of Nature was contained, and it settled (in it). The instrument which contains the ideal creation was made perfect and the spiritual (ideal) gods of the Word were separated from it, each for its own function, to perform those activities which were necessary for the creation that was within the instrument. And within the instrument which contains the material creation the marvellous Spirit of the Power of Nature was united to the kingdom of the Spirit of the Power of the Word through the will of the Creator.

In greater detail this is what is revealed concerning the nature of the

material world. First was the stage the Avestan name of which is the mass and which is called the . . . mass or conglomeration in the language of the world. From the stage which is called the mass and conglomeration (proceeded) the stage the Avestan name of which is conception and also hollowing and which is called the new phenomenon(?) and also . . . in the language of men. It is (as) an ailment(??) in the mass, and it was inserted into it. From the stage which is called conception, hollowing, the new phenomenon(?) and . . . (proceeded) the stage the Avestan name of which is formation and which is called expansion in the language of men. It is as an ailment(??) in the (former) stage and it was inserted into that stage. From the stage the name of which is formation and expansion (proceeded) the first body united with the Spirit of the Power of the Word; and its Avestan name is the Wheel and it also has the name of Spahr (Θwāša) and in the language of men it is called the firmament (*spihr*). In it, like embryos, are the luminaries, the Sun, Moon, and stars, all of the same origin. They control all creation under them and are themselves the highest natural phenomena. From the Wheel proceeded becoming, the hot and the moist of which air is composed: these are connected with the spiritual Word and share in its power: (and from it also proceeded) the elements which are the seed of seeds of material creations and which are the movement of becoming. The elements are called the form of the becoming of the primary qualities. From the movement of becoming (proceeded) the settling of becoming, living things, which include material cattle and men, for they are the form and shape of matter.

Z 11. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 203. 16–206. 23; Sanjana, v, pp. 229–32). The text has already been edited in BSOS. ix, pp. 303–320 to which the reader is referred for philological matter arising out of it.

(1) *'apar *4 aδvēnak aβzār i fražānak brīnkar dātār Ōhrmazd 'pat kanārakōmand zamān 'ō 4 aδvēnak kunišnīk 'apāč kart, 'hač nikēž ⟨i⟩ vēh-dēn.*

(2) *'ēt 4 aβzār *i fražānak brīnkar dātār Ōhrmazd 'pat kanārakōmand zamān 'ō 4 aδvēnak kunišngarān baχt, 2 i huīk nērōk 'pat ravākīh i aβzōn i pat-iš huīk-kār 'i-šān 'pat nērōk, 'ut 2 dušīh nērōk 'pat *sēžišn akārīh i ⟨pat-iš⟩ dušīk-kār 'i-šān 'pat zōr, čēγōn 'hēnd hangartīk i visp rāδēnišn kār i 'andar zamānak i 6 hazangrō(k)zam, kanārakōmand zamān pat-iš vaštan vartītan 'ut paytākīk brahm i ōβām 'hač kunišn 'tāk fražām i gētēh.*

(3) *'ut-aš ēvak āsrōnīh brahm, 'vēh apēčak rāδēnišnīkīh 'kē 'kaδ spēnāk mēnōk zāy, 'ō 'χ^{v}ēš χ^{v}atīh dōšišn, pat-iš 'baχt *hač-iš 'χ^{v}ēš bažišn 'pat kanāra-*

*kōmand ⟨zamān⟩, 'kaδ fražām-pērōžīh 'i-š 'apar aβigatīk, bavandak vānītārīh 'ut aβsiδēnītārīh i 'hač 'χᵛēš dām. 'ēn brahm 'χᵛānīhēt spēnāk-mēnōkīh-ič Ōhrmazd *'χᵛēš 'χᵛatīh 'i-š 'hast patmōk 'ut-aš spēk, 'ut 'andar apartar mēnōkān mātiyān 'pat Vahuman 'ut Mānsraspand. 'ut 'andar bālist-vāzišnān *rāδēnāk ⟨i⟩ χᵛap rōšnān baγān; 'andar vāχšikān 'pat ravākīh ⟨i⟩ ruvān 'andar 'martōm tan; 'andar hunarān 'pat χrat; 'andar barišnān 'pat ērīh 'ut χᵛarsandīh; 'andar χēmān 'pat 'ān i āsnōtak mēnišn, 'ān i arišuχt gōβišn; *andar gētēh dēsakān 'pat 'mart i ahrov; 'andar pēšakān 'pat āsrōnān; ⟨'andar⟩ patān 'pat 'avē 'kē gētēhān apartom aχᵛ 'ut rat: 'ut 'andar patmōkān 'pat 'ān i rōšn 'ut spēt patmōčan: 'ut 'andar hukārān 'pat 'vēh vaχšēnītan, 'vattar zatan.*

(4) *ēvak sāstārīh brahm, 'vattar apēčak rāδēnišnīh 'kē 'kaδ ['tāk] ganāk mēnōk zāy, 'ō 'χᵛēš 'χᵛatīh dōšišn, 'kē ov-iš 'baχt 'pat zamān 'hač brīnkar rāδēnāk *bažišn, aβsiδīhišn, ōvēn-fražāmīh i ganāk mēnōk i dōšītār i ham zāy. 'ēn brahm 'χᵛānīhēt ganāk mēnōk χᵛatīh 'i-š 'hast *patmōk; 'ut-aš škafttar vīrāstakīh 'andar *Māzan 'dēvān 'pat Akōman, 'ān i 'vattar dēn; 'andar baγān-baχtārīh appurtārān 'kē 'hēnd apāχtarān, 'pat 'ān i apāχtar i star-ōšmur Kēvān 'χᵛānēnd; 'ut-aš dēnīk 'nām dūr-pityārak: 'andar āhōkān 'pat dušākāsīh; 'ut 'andar barišnān 'pat anērīh 'ut aχᵛarsandīh; 'ut 'andar ['andar] χēmān 'pat 'ān i davan mēnišn, 'ān i mitōχt gōβišn; ⟨'andar⟩ gētēh dēsakān 'pat druvand mar; ⟨'andar⟩ pēšak pityārakān 'pat sāstārīh; 'ut 'andar *patīh pityārakān 'pat 'avē i dušdēn 'ut dōšaχᵛīk[ān]; 'ut 'andar patmōkān 'pat 'ān i hērak-gōn patmōčan; 'ut 'andar duškārān 'pat 'vēh zatan, 'vattar vaχšenītan.*

(5) *'ut ēvak artēštārīh brahm, 'vēh gumēčak rāδēnītārīh [i] 'kē 'kaδ hangartīk i χᵛap rāδēnītārīh aδyārīh āsrōnīh hudānākīh zahāk, amāvandīh 'ut vīrāstārīh 'ut vīnārtārīh i dātastān, ayāpēnītār i 'ō katār-ič-ē 'ān i 'ō mas-dātastānīh χēm, dahišn sūtīh aδyār, 'kē ov-iš 'baχt 'pat zamān 'hač brīnkar rāδēnāk *bažišn 'ō 'χᵛēš fražām-sūtīh, hambunīh i Vāy ⟨i⟩ 'apar 'andar 'har 2 'tāk fražām patiγraftār i *ham zāy: 'ut 'ēn brahm aparkār Vāy χᵛatīh patmōk; 'ut-aš mātiyān 'andar yazdān mēhmānīh 'pat Vāy i mēnōk[īh] i Ras-ič 'nām, 'χᵛat 'hast spihr 'ut Spahr-ič 'χᵛānīhēt 'apar-ič takīk vāt 'ut 'ǰān-ič 'martōm; 'ut 'andar hunarān 'apar takīkīh 'ān i 'martān, ham marttāčōkīh; 'ut 'andar barišnān 'pat WL'YM'NW dātastānīkīh; 'ut 'andar χēmān 'pat kāmak i frārōn 'ut 'ān i mas-dātastānīhā kār; 'ut 'andar gētēh dēsakān 'pat 'ān i takīk 'ut arvand tan; 'ut 'andar pēšakān 'pat artēštārān; 'ut 'andar patān 'pat arvand spāhpat; 'ut 'andar patmōkān 'pat 'ān i suχr 'ut maδ-gōn patmōčan 'kē 'pat harvist pēsišn pēsīt 'ēstēt, 'pat sēm 'ut 'zarr 'ut karkēhan 'ut 'ān-ič i 'bē *tāpāk yākand; 'ut 'andar kārān 'pat mas-dātastānīh i χēm, dahišn zatan 'ut vaχšēnītan i 'har 2 'vēh 'ut 'vattar.*

(6) *ēvak χᵛat-dōšakīh, 'vattar gumēčak rāδēnišnīh 'kē 'kaδ hangartīk i duš-rāδēnītārīh, ham škarvan sāstārīh dušākāsīh hamēstār [i hamēstār i] rāδēnītārīh apassačakīh 'ut anaδvēnīh 'ut 'hišt- ŠKWYīh 'ut aβrāstakīh, brātarōt-davišnīh 'ut anāštīh, ['ut] ahramōγīh čardār(?), 'ke ov-iš baχt 'pat kanārakōmand zamān [brātarōt] 'hač brīnkar rāδēnāk ⟨bažišn⟩ 'ō 'χᵛēš fražāmīh-sūtīh, čērīh i 'har kāmīk kunišngar 'kē apāyēt pat-iš: 'ut 'ēn brahm Varan druž χᵛatīh; 'ut-aš škafttar grāyastakīh 'andar 'dēvān ['kē apāyēt] 'apar χurdruš Ēšm; 'ut 'andar baγān-baχtārīh appurtārān 'pat apāχtar 'i-š star-ōšmur *Vahrām 'χᵛānēnd, 'ut-aš dēnīk 'nām aγ-āšt; 'andar āhōkān 'pat χᵛat-dōšakīh; 'ut 'andar barišnān 'pat anayāpīh 'ut āhītīh; 'ut ⟨'andar⟩ χēmān 'pat 'ān i apārōn kāmak, 'ān i χᵛat-dōšakīh dēn 'ut 'ān i fražām [i] višōβ kār; 'ut 'andar gētēh dēsakān 'pat χᵛat-dōšakān 'ut apārōn-stēž marān; 'andar pēšak hamēstārān 'pat ahramōγān; 'andar *patīh pityārakān 'pat 'ān i anaχᵛ 'ut arat zat-dastaβar anēr; 'ut 'andar patmōkān 'pat 'ān i χᵛat-dōšakīhā brahmak.*

NOTES

(4) *ōvēn*: on this word v. text Z 2, l. 73, note.

(5) *'jān-ič 'martom*: so, I think correctly, Wikander, *Vayu I*, p. 86, who quotes GrBd. 34. 6: *jān 'ān i 'apāk vāt patvast 'ēstēt*.—'breath is that which is associated with the wind.'

maδ-gōn: so now rather than *'āp-gōn* in accordance with the *aryavān* of GrBd. 31. 14 (text Z 2, l. 15). In NP. cf. Nāṣir i Xusrau, *Dīvān* (ed. Tehran, A.H. 1304–7), p. 139, l. 13: *āb ču nīl i birkeh-aš maigūn šud*.

(6) *čardār*: seems the most probable reading of  . My reading *-ič riyahr* in BSOS. ix, p. 305 must now be rejected since is well attested with the meaning 'parent' (of demonic creatures). In this passage it corresponds to *zahāk* in the former section; so also DkM. 293. 3: *varan adāt čardār* as against *āsn-χrat dāt zahāk*, and 325. 9. In Pahlavī *zahāk* and *zahak* are indistinguishable, but that it is to be read *zahāk* in the above-cited passages is proved by DkM. 359. 19: *Āz i niyāz [ānak] čardār 'ut niyāz i Āz hunušak*.—'Greed, the parent of want, and want the offspring of greed.' The etymology of our word is quite uncertain, but *čardār* and *čargār* are the only probable readings.

TRANSLATION

(1) Of the four kinds of instrument instituted through finite Time by the wise, decisive Creator, Ohrmazd, for the four kinds of agent, (an extract) from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

(2) This concerns the four instruments ordained through finite Time by the wise, decisive Creator, Ohrmazd, for the four kinds of agent: two are powers of good, and through these powers arises good action for increasing progress; two are powers of evil, and through these forces arises evil action for decay and ineffectiveness. For these comprise all

development and activity within the period of six millennia: through them finite Time turns and revolves, and from their action the character of (particular) times appears even to the end of the world.

(3) One is the robe of priesthood, the ordering of good in its pure estate which, being the weapon of the Bounteous Spirit, was chosen by him as his very essence and bestowed upon him by his own dispensation through finite Time to ensure his final victory over the Aggressor, the utter defeat of this last and the erasing of him from his own creation. This robe is called 'Bounteous-Spirit-ness', the very essence of Ohrmazd, his garment and his brilliance. Among the higher spirits it is chiefly with Vahuman and Mānsraspand. Among those whose course is on high, it controls the good luminaries, the *bayān* (fixed stars); among spiritual beings it is in the progress of the soul in the body of man; among virtues in wisdom; among modes of conduct in good behaviour and contentment; among characters in noble thought and the rightly spoken word; among material 'forms' in the blessed man; among the castes in the priests; among rulers in the highest worldly lord and judge; among garments with the shining white garment; among good deeds in the furtherance of good and destruction of evil.

(4) One is the robe of false priesthood, the ordering of evil in its pure estate which, being the weapon of the Destructive Spirit, was chosen by him as his very essence and which was bestowed on him through Time from its decisive dispensation that orders aright, for the destruction and final annihilation of the Destructive Spirit, the chooser of that very weapon. This robe is called the essence of the Destructive Spirit and is his garment: among the Māzan demons it operates most fearfully in Akōman whose religion is the worst; among the robbers of the gods' gifts who are the planets, it is in the planet called by the astrologers Kēvān (Saturn) whose name in the Religion is 'he whose aggression reaches far': among sins it is in wrong knowledge; among modes of conduct in bad behaviour and discontent; among characters in lying thought and the falsely spoken word; among material 'forms' in the accursed villain (*mar*); among the enemies of caste in false priesthood; among the enemies of rulership in the infernal heretic; among garments in the ash-coloured garment; among evil deeds in the destruction of good and furtherance of evil.

(5) One is the robe of warriorhood, the ordering of good in its contaminated estate which, since it comprises good order, ability, priesthood, the parent of wisdom, power, and the orderly dispensation of the (natural) law, influences whatever has the character of orderliness and tends to benefit creation; and this was bestowed on him (sc. Vāy) through Time from its decisive dispensation that orders aright to its ultimate advantage,

and it has the same origin as Vāy, the recipient of this very weapon above and within both (creations) till the end: and this robe is the essence of Vāy of lofty deeds and his garment; among the gods it is associated chiefly with the Spirit Vāy whose name is the Wheel, that is the firmament, and it is also called Spahr (Θwāša), and with the swift wind and the breath of man; among virtues it is with the speed which is in men, that is valour; among modes of conduct in . . . orderliness; among characters in righteous desire and action conducive to greater good order; among material 'forms' in the swift and valiant body; among the castes in the warriors; among rulers in the valiant commander of an army; among garments in the red and wine-coloured garment, adorned with all kinds of ornament, with silver and gold, chalcedony, and shining ruby; among deeds in the great good ordering of character, the destruction and furtherance of both the good and evil creations.

(6) One is self-will, the ordering of evil in its contaminated estate which, since it comprises disorder, vacillation, false priesthood, wrong knowledge, ordering in opposition, unseemliness and lawlessness, lack of respect and pride, has the din of shouting in rivalry and peacelessness, the progenitor of heresy; and this was bestowed on him (sc. Varan) through finite Time from its decisive dispensation which orders aright to its own ultimate advantage, for it rises superior to every voluntary agent which is necessary to it: and this robe is the selfhood of the Lie Varan; among the demons it influences most fearfully Ēšm of the bloody club; among the robbers of the gods' gifts, the planet called by the astrologers Vahrām (Mars) whose name in the Religion is 'he whose peace is evil': among sins it is in self-will; among modes of conduct in ineffectiveness and sulkiness; among characters in unrighteous desire, in the religion of self-will and action that confuses the end; among material 'forms' in the self-willed and the villains (*mar*) who stir up strife unrighteously; among the enemies of caste in the heretics; among the enemies of rulership in those who have no lord or judge and who strike the priests improperly; among garments in the garment of self-will.

Z 12. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 21. 15–24. 5; Sanjana, i, pp. 23–25). This text has been edited in BSOS. ix, pp. 307 ff., to which the reader is referred.

(1) *'apar zamānak rang 'ut 'čē-īh ⟨i⟩ rang 'ut 'kē-ič ['hač] *rašt [i] 'pat rang, 'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.*

(2) **'ēt 'apar* zamānak rang, vēhīh 'ut 'vattarīh: vēhīh ['ut] spēnāk-mēnōkīk χ^{v}at-gōhrīhā, 'vattarīh ganāγ-mēnōk 'pat rasišn i 'hač 'bē gōhr. 'ut*

*ōšmurišn i vēhīh *'ut 'vattarīh 'sar 'hač zamānak ⟨i⟩ pat-iš *rašt 8,—spēnākīk ⟨'ut ganākīk⟩ 'hač-išān vāyīk 'ut varanīk 'ut bayīk 'ut *gaδōkīk 'ut hunihātīk 'ut dušnihātīk.*

(3) **spēnākīk ōšmurišn mātiyān ⟨āsrōnīh⟩ dēn dānākīh ērīh rāstīh 'ut χ^{v}āβarīh, ['ut] 'če-šān ham-tōhmak ratīh 'ut rāδēnītārīh i *'apar vēh-dēn ⟨i⟩ rāst. ganākīk ōšmurišn mātiyān sāstārīh i āsrōnīh hamēstār, aγ-dēnīh anērīh 'ut kayakīh 'ut karapīh 'ut drōžanīh 'ut anispāsīh, ['ut] 'čē-šān ham-tōhmak višuftārīh pat-iš. vāyīk ōšmurišn *mātiyān artēštārīh āsrōnīh aδyār, takīkīh 'ut arvan⟨d⟩īh 'ut χ^{v}atāyīh 'ut dāt, 'čē-šān ham-tōhmak hunar 'ut rāδēnītārīh 'apar χ^{v}atāyīh. varanīk ōšmurišnīh mātiyān χ^{v}at-dōšakīh, har ahramōyīh i *āsrōnīh brātarōt, sāstārīh aδyār, 'ut dušdānākīh 'ut aγ-dēnīh, ['ut] 'čē-šān ham-tōhmak āhōk višuftārīhā i pat-iš. bayān⟨īk⟩ ōšmurišn vāstryōšīh i gēhān varzītārīh, 'čē-šān ham-tōhmak 'pat patmānak mānišnīk handōčišnīk 'ut vičītārīhišnīk rātīh i pat-iš *aβzāyēnītan, āsrōnīh artēštārīh aδyār. *gaδōk⟨īk⟩ ōšmurišn 'pat dužīh 'ut stahmakīh, varzītārān ⟨i⟩ gēhān pityārēnītan [i] 'ut 'pat panīk panēnītārīh nangkarīk halak-kartārīh āpātīh ⟨i⟩ gēhān pityārēnītan, 'pat *panīh patēχ^{v}īh aβsihēnītan 'ut dām marnǰēnītan, 'čē-š ham-tōhmak vāstryōšīh [i] pityār. 'ut hunihātīk ōšmurišn hutuχšīh 'ān 3 pēšak aδyār 'pat hutuχšīh humat hūχt huvaršt ruvān-ahrovīh. dušnihātīk ōšmurišn duštuχšākīh, 'ut 'pat dušmat dušhūχt dušhuvaršt 'ut ruvān-druvandīh 3 pēšakān pityār.*

(4) *'ut 'ēt ōšmurišnān yut yut 'hač 'χ^{v}ēš bun rasišnīh 'hač 'ān i 'apar 'ō 'ān 'i-š aδar: ['vēh] 'vēh, spēnākīk 'ō vāyīk, 'ut vāyīk 'ō bayīk, *bayīk 'ō hunihātīk: 'vattar, ganākīk 'ō varanīk, ⟨varanīk⟩ 'ō *gaδōkīk, 'ut *gaδōkīk 'ō dušnihātīk. 'ut pat-iš yut yut 'ān i 'χ^{v}ēš ērīk 'ut 'vēhīk *čērīh, *'vattarīk stahmakīh: 'ut čērīh 'ut stahmakīh 'andar gēhān āmarakānīhā; 'ut 'pat-ič yut yut tan 'vēhīk čērīh 'pat nēvakīh, 'ut *'vattarīk stahmakīh 'pat 'vatīh i ōβām 'ut martōm, paytākīh: 'ut 'hač-ič 'ān ⟨i⟩ hačaδar 'ō 'ān i hačapar nērōk 'ōh patvandīhēt čēγōn 'hač martōm kār 'pat huyāčakīh 'ō yazdān 'ut 'pat dušyāč⟨ak⟩īh 'ō 'dēvān nērōk patvandišnīh, dēn [pākīh] paytākīh.*

(5) *dātār Ōhrmazd rašt zamānak 'pat rang, 'pat vēhīh čim gōhrīhā aβzōn i dahišnān 'hač vēhīh, 'ut pat-iš ['ut] vānītan i aβigatīk 'vattarīh i 'hač duš bun, 'ut 'pat 'vattarīh, čim aβigatīk 'vattarīh i 'hač 'bē 'pat višōβišn 'ō dām matan: 'hač ēv-kartak nērōkīk apattōkīh i dām 'andar 'ō zamānakīhā i 'hač bundahišn 'tāk fraškart viškīt-nērōkīhā, tarāzēnišnīh nisārišnīkīh 'andar pattōkīh 'ut patvandišnīh i dahišn 'ō fraškart 'kē zōr i vēhīh i 'andar zamānakīhā 'vattarīh ānāβišnīkīh. 'ut zamānak 'ān-ič i rang i 'vattarīh vēš *'dārēt, 'ān i 'vattarīh frahist 'hač vēhīh i 'andar ham zamānak; 'pat sačišn 'i-š drang hamāk vānītārīh, *'hast fraškart gās 'pat zōr i vēhīh, 'vattarīh 'andar ōβāmīhā 'ut zamānakīhā hamāk vānītārīh: 'ān zamānak ⟨i⟩ fraškart 'pat vēhīh apēčak-ēstišnīh; 'ut pat-iš ganāγ-mēnōk aβsihišn, dām vāyišn-dahišnīh, tan i*

*pasēn 'ut amargīh 'ut *šētāy i hām dahišn i 'vēh matan 'bavēt 'pat dātār fražānakīhā handāčišn kām nērōk.*

TRANSLATION

(1) Of the colour of Time and the nature of that colour and him who dyed it with colour—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

(2) This concerns the colour of Time—good and evil: good is of the very substance of the Bounteous Spirit; evil is of the Destructive Spirit, proceeding from an outside substance. The categories of good and evil which have their beginning in Time and with which Time is dyed, are eight (in number): *spēnākīk* (bounteous) ⟨and *ganākīk* (destructive)⟩ from which are derived *vāyīk* and *varanīk*, *bayīk* (that bestows) and *gaδōkīk* (that takes away), *hunihātīk* (of good nature) and *dušnihātīk* (of evil nature).

(3) The category of *spēnākīk* includes chiefly ⟨priesthood,⟩ religion, wisdom, good conduct, righteousness, and munificence; for akin to them are the judgeship and the good management of the right and Good Religion. The category of *ganākīk* includes chiefly false priesthood, the adversary of priesthood, irreligion, bad conduct, the quality of Kay and Karap, falsehood and ingratitude; for akin to them is the confusion of them (i.e. the virtues just mentioned). The category of *vāyīk* includes chiefly warriorhood, the helpmate of priesthood, speed and valour, lordship and law; for akin to them are virtue and the good management of lordship. The category of *varanīk* includes chiefly self-will, all heresy, the rival of priesthood and helpmate of false priesthood, evil knowledge and irreligion; for akin to them is sin which confuses them (i.e. the virtues mentioned under the category of *vāyīk*). The category of *bayānīk* includes husbandry, the tilling of the soil; for akin to them, resembling moderation, thrifty and discerning, is generosity, author of increase, the helpmate of priesthood and warriorhood. The category of *gaδōkīk* includes theft and violence, enmity to the tillers of the soil, and, through miserly encouragement of stinginess and envious foolish deeds, enmity to the fertility of the earth, and through miserliness the suppression of prosperity and destruction of creation: for akin to them is the adversary of husbandry. The category of *hunihātīk* includes artisanship, the helpmate of the three castes through good effort, good thought, word, and deed, and salvation of the soul. The category of *dušnihātīk* includes bad artisanship through evil effort, evil thought, word, and deed, and damnation of the soul, the adversary of the three castes.

(4) These categories proceed severally from their origin through the higher to the lower. On the good side, *spēnākīk* to *vāyīk*, *vāyīk* to *bayīk*, *bayīk* to *hunihātīk*; on the evil, *ganākīk* to *varanīk*, ⟨*varanīk*⟩ to *gaδōkīk*,

gaδōkīk to *dušnihātīk*. In these respectively (we find) the courage of good conduct and goodness, and the violence of evil; courage and violence are of general occurrence in the world. In their respective bodies the courage of goodness leads to welfare, while the violence of evil leads to bad times and evil men, as it is revealed. There is a connexion of faculties from the lower to the higher, just as with the deeds of men their faculties are connected with the gods through good endeavour and with the demons through evil endeavour, as the Religion reveals.

(5) The creator Ohrmazd dyed Time with colour—with good because in substance the benefit accruing to creatures is from the good and the evil of the Aggressor which is from an evil origin is vanquished by the good—and with evil because the evil of the Aggressor comes upon creation from without to confound it. From a single inconsistency which exists in potency (and entered) into creation during the millennia (times) between the original creation and the final rehabilitation during which time there is dissipation of energy, proceeds the restoring of the balance which consists in continuity and the restoration of creation at the rehabilitation, which means the destruction of evil by the power of the good (accumulated) throughout the millennia. In times which are mainly coloured with evil, evil will exceed the good: but after the passage of such periods comes complete victory, that is the time of the rehabilitation (brought about) by the power of good (which means) the complete defeat of the evil (which had come into being) throughout the millennia. That is the moment of the rehabilitation when good is established in its pure state: through it will come the annihilation of the Destructive Spirit and the triumph of creation, the Final Body, immortality, ecstasy for all the good creation through the Creator's wise design, will and power.

Z 13. *Aβyātkār i Zāmāspīk* 2. 2 (Messina), p. 34 in Messina's edition; translation on p. 85.

Pārsī text.	Pahlavī reconstruction mainly after Messina.
⟨guftaš Žāmāsp⟩ bētāš kū šnav dayuvad ān če hamā būd āvāǰ Hōrmazd andar rōšnāī u rōšnāī az Ōrmazd ān bēd keš Hōrmazd andar χᵛānēd če azaš dēn rabāyišn būd azaš zamān hamā būdaš Ōrmazd būd čūn hast mēnō rāyēnīdāraš.	*guft-aš Žāmāsp bētaχš ku šnav, dahyupat, ān i hamē būt ēvāč Ōhrmazd andar rōšnīh, ut rōšnīh i hač Ōhrmazd,—ān bavēt kē-š Ōhrmazd andar *mānēt-ič,—ut-aš dēn ravākēnišn būt, ut-aš zamān hamē-būtīh i Ōhrmazd būt, čēyōn hast mēnōk i rāδēnītārīh.*

NOTE

**mānēt*: Messina keeps *χᵛānēt* and also takes *ēvāč* in the sense of 'voice'. The parallel passage in the opening of the first chapter of the *Bundahišn*, however, has nothing to justify such an interpretation. *ēvāč* must clearly mean 'only'. Reading *χᵛānēt* Messina translates 'la luce (procedente) da Ōhrmazd è quella cui evoca Ōhrmazd'; but the idea of 'evocation' is Manichaean and wholly foreign to Zoroastrianism, whether Zervanite or Mazdean. I would therefore read *mānēt* 'dwells', remembering that the light is the 'place' of Ohrmazd (text Z 1, § 1). The corruption of *mānēt* to *χᵛānēt* is equally simple whether we assume it to have been written ideographically or phonetically.

TRANSLATION

Prince Žāmāsp said, 'Listen, O king, he who has ever been is only Ohrmazd in the light—and the light (proceeds) from Ohrmazd—that is, that in which Ohrmazd dwells—and the propagation of his religion, and his Time which is the eternity of Ohrmazd, for it is the genius of right ordering.'

Z 14. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 128. 16–129. 3; Sanjana, iii, p. 147). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 871, 879, 889.

'apar 'ān i 'har ov-iš niyāz, 'χᵛat 'hač 'har apē-niyāz; 'ān i 'har 'andar, 'χᵛat 'andar hēč; 'ān i 'apar 'har rāδēnītārīh, [i 'ut] χᵛat 'hač hēč i 'bē 'nē rāδēnišnīk,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.

*'ēt abun 'ut bunōmand 'pat kār, 'ut 'hastīh-ič i 'har 'ō Zamān niyāz. 'ut apē Zamān hēč kartan *i *'hast 'būt 'bavēt, 'nē attōk 'hēnd. 'ut Zamān 'ō hēč 'hač 'imēšān 'pat hēč 'čiš 'nē niyāz. 'ut 'ān i 'har gōhr 'andar, 'χᵛat 'andar hēč, Gyāk. 'ut 'apar 'har rāδēnītār, 'χᵛat 'hač hēč i 'bē 'nē rāδēnišnīk, dānākīh i Ōhrmazd.*

TRANSLATION

On that of which all has need, and which itself has need of nothing; and that which has all within it, yet is within nothing; and that which directs all, yet itself is directed by no outside thing—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This that (Time) has no origin, yet through action has an origin. The existence of all has need of Time. Without Time one can do nothing that is or was or shall be. Time has need of none of these for anything. That within which every substance is, yet itself is within nothing, is Space. That which directs all, yet itself is directed by no outside thing, is the Wisdom of Ohrmazd.

Z 15. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 132. 21–133. 9; Sanjana, iii, p. 152). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 871, 880, 889.

*'apar 'hastīh *'ut paytākīh [i] 'ut yuttarīh i 'hastīh 'hač paytākīh,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.*

*'ēt čēγōn pōryōtkēšān 'hač 'vēh-dēn nikēž guft;—'hast i hamayīk Ōhrmazd dātār 'ut dēn dānākīh 'i-š 'pat nērōk vēhīh, Gyāk 'i-š gētēh 'apar, 'ut Zamān 'i-š 'hast hamayīkīh. paytākīh 'i-šān 'hastīh, 'ān i Ōhrmazd dātār 'hač dahišn-kartakīh, 'ān i dēn dānākīh ⟨'hač⟩ 'saχ^{v}an ⟨i⟩ kāmīk-dānākīhā 'ut kār, 'ān i *Zamān Gās ⟨'hač 'ān i⟩ 'pat Zamān 'andar Gyāk 'dāt šāyītan-ič i dahišn. 'ut yuttarīh i 'hastīh [i] 'hač paytāk⟨īh⟩ [i] 'ēn-ič 'kaδ 'ān 'hastīh apē-paytāk ['pat] 'ō martōm, 'pat χ^{v}atīh 'būt; 'vas 'būt *šāyēn abun bun bunōmand, 'hast i apaytāk 'ō martōm. 'ut 'nē hēč paytākīh apē 'hastīh 'būt šāyēt.*

TRANSLATION

On existence and manifestation, and the difference between existence and manifestation—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This is how the Ancient Sages have spoken from the Exegesis of the good Religion: eternal are the Creator Ohrmazd and the Wisdom of Religion through whose power is goodness, and Space on which his matter is (founded), and Time which is his eternity. The manifestation of their being: that of the creator Ohrmazd is from the act of creation; that of the Wisdom of Religion from the word, wise in will, and from action; that of Time and Space ⟨from the fact that⟩ creation had to be created by means of Time and in Space. The difference between existence and manifestation is this that when existence was unmanifest to man it existed in essence: it was merely potential, without origin, yet an origin and the source of origin, that is to say unmanifest to man. There can be no manifestation without existence.

Z 16. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 207. 1–7; Sanjana, v, p. 232). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 872, 880, 892.

*'apar *Zamān 'χ^{v}at 'ut-aš χ^{v}atīh 'ut kanārak,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.*

*'ēt Zamān 'χ^{v}at hamē, 'ut-aš χ^{v}atīh drang; 'ut pat-iš 'hast kartārīh nērōk ⟨i⟩ gētēh. 'hast hamayīk 'ān 'i-š 'pat nērōk. 'ut-aš kanārak yumbišn i gētēh 'andar Vāy 'pat Spāš, čēγōn rōšnān *vāzišn, vāt vāyišn, 'āp tačišn, urvar rōδišn, 'ut 'har *nērōk kār 'andar Vāy. 'ut hangartīk 'būt 'bavēt hamāk.*

TRANSLATION

On Time itself, and its essence and limitation—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This that Time itself is eternal, and its essence is duration. Through it matter has the potentiality of being actualized. *Qua* potency it is eternal. Its limitation consists in the movement of matter in Space (Vāy) by means of the Firmament (Spāš), as, for example, the course of the luminaries, the blowing of the wind, the running of water, the growth of plants, and all actualization of potency in Space (Vāy). In short (Time) was and shall be all.

Z 17. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 198. 18–199. 6; Sanjana, v, p. 224). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 872, 880, 891.

*'apar 'nē 'hast 'ut 'nē 'bavēt sačītan i hēč atavānīk 'apar vēhīkān buništ dātār Ohrmazd; 'ut kanār⟨ak⟩ōmandīh 'ut *akanārakīh-ič 'i-š tavān,—'hač pōryōtkēš gōβišn, nikēž i vēh-dēn.*

*'ēt abun 'vēhīkān buništ dātār Ōhrmazd visp-ākās, visp-tavān, visp-χ^{v}atāyīh. 'nē 'hast 'ut 'nē 'bavēt 'ut 'nē 'būt 'apar 'avē vēh-kām i kirpak-kar *hēč atavān. 'ēn-ič paytākīh 'kaδ tavān 'har 'andar *šāyēn fravand, 'avē i vispān ham bun 'ut yazat šāyēn 'har-tavān. 'ut-aš tavān 'pat 'ān i 'andar šāyēn fravastak kanārakōmand, 'ut 'pat 'ān i abrīn akanārak; čēγōn kanārakōmandīh-ič 'i-š 'pat gētēh, 'ut akanārakīh [i] 'i-š 'pat Zamānak.*

TRANSLATION

On there not being and the impossibility of there being anything not within the power of the principle of the good, Ohrmazd, the Creator: on the limitation and limitlessness of his power—from the words of the Ancient Sages, the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This that he who has no origin, the principle of the good, the Creator Ohrmazd is omniscient, omnipotent, universal Lord. There is not, nor was there, nor shall there be anything impossible to his good and virtuous Will. This too is revealed, that since all power is confined to the possible, he who is both origin and God of all, is omnipotent in (the sphere of) the possible. His power, in so far as it is confined to what is possible, is limited; but in so far as it is unimpaired, it is limitless. Thus he is limited by matter, limitless through Time.

Z 18 (*a*). From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 221. 11–224. 8; Sanjana, v, pp. 247–9). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 872, 881, 892.

*'apar 'vēhīh ['vēhīh] 'ut vēhīh bun 'ut 'vēhīh ravākīh 'ut 'vēhīh vīmand 'ut 'vēhīh vihān 'vēhīh čim, hangartīkīh 'ut-aš zahak ōšmurišnān *i 'vēhīh: 'ut*

'vattarīh ravākīh 'ut 'vattarīh ['ut] vīmand 'ut 'vattarīh čim, 'ut 'vattarīh hangartīkīh [i] 'ut-aš hunušak ōšmurišn, 'ut 'vattarīh rāδēnišn 'pat bun 'ut miyān ⟨'ut⟩ fražām,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.

*'ēt 'vēhīh-ōstīkān 'vēhīh-⟨χ^{v}atīk⟩ Spēnāk Mēnōk. 'ut 'vēhīh bun ham 'ō vēh-dēn, 'hast 'ān i katār-ič-ē i 'pat apar-rasišnīh 'ut pat-iš kartārīh sūt; 'ut 'vēhīh [i] ravākīh i 'avē 'vēh ⟨Spēnāk Mēnōk⟩ 8-ič 'i-š χ^{v}atīh, i 'hast dānišn *'ut rōšnīh i dānišn 'pat yut-'nihātakīh ham-vīmand; 'ut kām, nērōk, aβzār 'ut tuχšākīh 'ut *gyāk 'ut zamān. 'ut-aš paytāk 'hač hamāk mēnōkīk 'ut gētēhīk 'vēhīh-rāδēnākān ⟨i⟩ gētēh 'i-šān 'pat 'vēhīh-rāδēnākīh ōčīrišnīk, 'hast dānākīh i ōsānišnīk 'hač rōšnīh [i] 'apar gēt⟨ēh⟩ 'kē pat-iš ⟨vēh⟩ 'vēnēnd 'ut mēnēnd, vēh-dēn 'ut [gās] kām 'kē pat-iš apāyēt 'vēhīh, 'ut nērōk, aβzār 'ut tuχšākīh 'ut *zamān gās 'kē vēhīh nērōk, gētēh pat-iš 'andar 'kunēt vēhīh. 'ut vīmand i 'vēhīh 'ān 'i-š fra'nāmišn 'hač 'χ^{v}ēš, 'ut a-fra'nāmišnīh 'hač 'bē 'χ^{v}ēš, čēγōn zīndakīh i 'pat χ^{v}atīh apāyišnīk 'ut stāyišnīk, 'ut-aš anapāyišnīkīh *astavišnīh 'hač 'bē 'χ^{v}ēš, i 'hast vīmārīh 'ut vaštīh 'ut zarmānīh vinās druvandīh. 'ut vihān i 'vēhīh 'andar dahišnān χ^{v}atīk 'vēhīh rātīh i dāmān 'pit χ^{v}atāy dātār Ōhrmazd. 'ut-aš čim apāyišn kām 'i-š 'apar dahišnān sūt matan 'i-š 'vēhīh 'ō dahišnān. 'ut 'vēhīh hangartīk patmān, 'ut-aš zahak dāt: zahak ōšmurišnān χrat χēm 'ut šarm 'ut miθr 'ut rātīh 'ut rāstīh, spāsdārīh, apārīk [i] hunarān ⟨i⟩ pat-iš Amahraspand 'hamist apārīk [i] mēnōkān *yazdān 'χ^{v}atīh; ⟨hač-iš⟩ martōm zīndakīh 'ut druvist āpātīh 'ut χ^{v}atāyīh 'ut dēndānākīh 'ut kirpak-ahrovīh 'ut 'hamist gētēh 'vēh dahišnān nēvakīh vīnārišnīh. 'ut 'vēhīh rāδēnišn 'pat bun dātārīh ravākīh i dām, 'pat miyān dām vīnārišn patvandišn [i] 'ut 'vattarīh vānītārīh, 'pat fražām aβigat bavandak vānītārīh, hač-iš ['ut] hām dahišn bōžišn, apēčakīh, yāvētānak nēvakīh 'ut šētāy.*

*'ut 'vattar-ōstīkān 'vattarīh-χ^{v}atīk dušākās Ganāk Mēnōk. 'vattarīh bun 'ān ham *'ō 'vattar *dēn, 'hast 'ān i katār-ič-ē 'pat 'apar-'rasišnīh ziyān. 'vattarīh ravākīh i 'avē 'vattar Ganāk Mēnōk zūr-mitōχtīh [i] 'ut tam zūr-mitōχtīh ⟨i⟩ yut-'nihātakīh ham-vīmand; 'ut kām, nērōk 'ut tuχšākīh 'ut aβzār 'ut gyāk 'ut zamān. 'ut-aš paytākīh 'hač 'ān i 'vattar-kartārān 'pat 'vattar-kartārīh 'dārēnd tamīk mitōχt 'kē pat-iš 'vattar čīhēnd mēnēnd, 'ut kām 'kē pat-iš 'vattar apāyēt, *nērōk-ič 'ut vičōδišn aβzār 'ut zamān gyāk 'kē 'vattarīh 'pat gētēh pat-iš 'andar 'kunēt. 'ut vīmand i 'vattarīh 'ān i 'pat χ^{v}atīh a-fra'nāmišnīkīh, 'ut-aš fra'nāmišn 'hač 'bē; čēγōn margīh i 'pat χ^{v}atīh anapāyišnīk 'ut *astavišnīk, 'ut-aš apāyišnīkīh 'ut stāyišnīkīh 'hač 'bē, i 'hast vīmārīh, vaštīh 'ut zarmān, škōhīh 'ut bēš i 'vattar 'hač marg. vihān i 'vattarīh 'andar gētēh 'ut mēnōk dāmān hamāk vatīh bun Ganāk Mēnōk aβigat. 'ut čim i rasišn i 'ō dāmān 'vēhīh aβigatīk anākīh-kām i 'avē druž 'pat ziyān i Spēnāk Mēnōk dāmān, āhōkēnītan 'i-šān 'pat 'ān i 'vattarīh bun vihān i 'har anākīh. 'ut 'vattarīh hangartīkīh Frēhbūt 'ut Apēbūt; 'ut 'vattarīh hunušak adāt. 'ut*

*hunušak ōšmurišnān āz 'ut ēšm, kēn, arišk 'ut druχtārīh, drōnīh 'ut panīh 'ut anispāsīh 'ut apārīk [i] āhōkān i pat-iš 'dēv druž dušχ^{v}atīh; hač-iš martōm sāstārīh 'ut ahramōγīh, vīmārīh 'ut škōhīh 'ut dušākāsīh *'ut vināš druvandīh 'ut 'hamist apārīk gētēh dahišnān anākīh višōβišn. 'ut 'vattarīh rāδēnišn 'pat bun dāmān āhōkēnišn, 'pat miyān kōšišn [i] 'ut āšōβ i 'andar gumēčakīh, 'pat fražām fražān⟨ak⟩īhā rāδēnītārīh i 'vēh Spēnāk Mēnōk, vānītakīh i 'pat 'vēhīh nērōk.*

kēš-dārān 'kē bun ēvak kēš 'i-šān 'ān bun spēnāk ganāγ, 'ut 'vēh 'ut 'vattar, stāyastak nikōhītak guft 'bavēt.

TRANSLATION

On goodness, the origin of goodness, the movement of goodness, the definition of goodness, the cause of goodness, the reason of goodness, what it is summed up in, and the categories of the offspring of goodness. On the movement of evil, the definition of evil, the reason of evil, what evil is summed up in, the categories of its abortions, the promotion of evil at the beginning, middle, and end—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This that he whose ground is goodness and whose essence is goodness is the Bounteous Spirit. The origin of goodness is also in the Good Religion, that is to say whatever causes benefit when it supervenes and is put into practice. The movement of the goodness of the good Bounteous Spirit, that is his essence, is eightfold: it is Wisdom and the Light of Wisdom which are proper to his distinct nature, and Will, Power, Means, Effort, Space, and Time. It is revealed that of all those (powers), spiritual and material, which promote goodness in the world and are distinguished by the promotion of goodness, it is Wisdom that descends from the Light on to the earth and by which (men) see and think well; the Good Religion and Will by which goodness is desired; and Power, Means, Effort, Time, and Space which have the potentiality of goodness, and through which the world practises goodness. The definition of goodness is that which of itself develops, while hindrance of its development comes from outside itself; just as life in itself is desirable and worthy of praise, and that which is undesirable and unworthy of praise comes from outside itself, such as illness, disease, old age, sin, damnation. The cause of goodness in creatures is the essential goodness and generosity of the Father of Creation, the Lord and Creator, Ohrmazd. His intention, wish, and will for his creatures is that the benefit of his goodness shall come to them. Goodness is summed up in the Mean: its offspring is the Law. The categories of this offspring are wisdom, good character, modesty, love, generosity, rectitude, gratitude, and the other virtues inherent in the essence of the Amahraspands and the

other spiritual gods. Thence is the life of man, sound prosperity, lordship, knowledge of the Religion, salvation by virtue together with the promotion of welfare among the good creatures of the world. The promotion of goodness consists, in the beginning, in the act of creation and the setting of it in motion; in the middle, in directing and continuing creation and the conquest of evil; at the end, in the complete conquest of the Aggressor, whence is the salvation of all creation, purity, eternal well-being, and bliss.

He whose ground is evil and whose essence is evil is the Destructive Spirit of evil knowledge. The origin of evil is also in the evil religion, that is to say whatever causes harm when it supervenes. The movement of the evil of the evil Destructive Spirit is in Lying Falsehood and the Darkness of Lying Falsehood which are proper to his distinct nature; and Will, Power, Effort, Means, Space, and Time. It is revealed that of the evil-doers in evil deeds, they hold that it is the Dark Falsehood by which they perceive and think evil, Will that by which evil is desired; Power, Striving, Means, Time, and Space that through which evil is practised in the world. The definition of evil is that which essentially does not develop, while its development is from outside: just as death in itself is undesirable and unworthy of praise, and that which is desirable and worthy of praise (to itself) comes from outside, such as illness, disease, old age, poverty, and torment, which are worse than death. The cause of evil in spiritual and material creatures is the origin of all evil, the Destructive Spirit, the Aggressor. The reason for its coming upon the goodness of creation is the Lie's desire of destruction, inherent in an aggressor, for the harm of the creatures of the Bounteous Spirit, and for their defilement by means of evil, the original cause of all injury. Evil is summed up in Excess and Deficiency: and the abortion of evil is Lawlessness. The categories of this abortion are concupiscence, anger, vengeance, envy, deception, guile, avarice, ingratitude, and the other vices that are inherent in the evil essence of the Demon and the Lie. Thence is tyranny over men, heresy, illness, poverty, evil knowledge, damnation in sin, together with all the other injury and confusion of worldly creatures. The promotion of evil consists, in the beginning, in the defilement of creatures; in the middle, in strife and confusion in the contaminated state; at the end, in the wise control of the good Bounteous Spirit and the defeat (of evil) by the power of goodness.

The religion of those sectaries who (favour) one principle is forced to declare that that principle is Bounteous and Destructive, good and evil, praiseworthy and blameworthy.

Z 18 (*b*). From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 567. 10–14).

*gētēh 'pat 'ēn 6 'čiš rāδēnīhēt, 'pat zamān, *gās, dānišn, aδyār 'ut aβzār 'ut tuχšākīh: 'ut dānāk vičīrēnīt 'ku 'hač *'ēn 6 3 mēnōkīk 'ut 3 gētēhīk: zamān, *gās, dānišn mēnōkīk; 'ut aδyār 'ut aβzār 'ut tuχšākīh gētēhīk.*

NOTE

**gās*: The text has *dahišn*, but I am inclined to read *gās* for the reasons stated in Part I, Chapter VII, pp. 213–14.

TRANSLATION

Matter is ruled by these six things, by Time, *Space, wisdom, power, means, and effort. A wise man has explained that of these six three are spiritual and three material. Time, *Space, and wisdom are spiritual; power, means, and effort are material.

Z 19. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 228. 1–22; Sanjana, v, p. 254). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 874, 883, 895.

'apar χrat, kām 'ut kār 'ut 'zamān i Ōhrmazd, — 'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.

*'ēt Ōhrmazd 'pat harvisp-ākās χrat kāmīk handāčišn brīt 'pat kār zamān kanārak, 'pat zamān kār kanārak: 'hač fratom 'tāk aβdom kanārak matan [i] 'bavēt. kār 'pat spurr-karīh 'apāč 'ō bun āsān, zamān 'pat spurr-kanārak-sačišnīh 'apāč 'ō bun akanārakīh matan, i 'hast fraškart, druž aβsihīk 'ut ristāχēz, tan i pasēn, hām dahišn bōžišnīk 'ut yāvētānīk šētāy. 'ut-aš χrat 'ut kām 'ut kār 'ut zamān avartišnīk, 'hast 'hač fratomīk handāčišn 'apar 'ō 'ān ⟨i aβdom⟩ kām handāčišn sāčišnīk ravāk; 'ut-aš 'andar mātiyān ravākīh i dēn ⟨i⟩ Māzdēsn 'hamist dām 'pat patvandišn i 'ō fraškart, 'apar asāčišnīh i 'har ānāβišnīk, apērtar 'ān i dēn ⟨i⟩ Māzdēsn 'ut dām visistakīh i 'hač fraškart 'bavēh. 'ut 'martōm kām 'ut kār dastaβar dēn ⟨i⟩ Māzdēsn. 'har Ōhrmazdīk fražām sūt, 'kaδ-ič 'pat gētēh 'hač pityārak nikōhišn ziyān-ē 'andar 'hēh: 'bē 'ān dastaβarīh ⟨i⟩ hamāk ganākīk fražām ziyān, 'kaδ-ič 'pat gētēh 'hač pityārak frēβišn sūt humānē 'andar 'hēnd. 'ut 'ōh-ič Ōhrmazd χrat 'ut kām handāčišn hām dahišn sūt *i avartišnīk sačēt.*

'ut kēš-dārān 'kē kām i yazat vartišnīk, 'har 'rōč 'pat dašn-ē(?), 'ut-aš 'saχ^{v}an patēstīk dōšaχ^{v} purr 'hač martōm-ič kartan, kēš, 'ān 'kē-š 'pat yazat 'dārēnd, kām 'pat anōstīh, frašēβ i dāmān, 'saχ^{v}an 'pat anāk patēst burtārīh, Ganāk Mēnōk mānāk.

TRANSLATION

On the Wisdom, Will, Action, and Time of Ohrmazd—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This that Ohrmazd, by his omniscient Wisdom and the projection of his Will, fashioned a limit for Time through action, and for action through Time. Their course proceeds from the first term to the last. Action, at its fulfilment, returns to its original state of rest: Time, when its full term has elapsed, returns to its source which is the Infinite;—that is the rehabilitation, the defeat of the Lie, the Resurrection and the Final Body, eternal bliss delivering all creation. His Wisdom, Will, Action, and Time are immutable. From the first projection of his Will till the last they are effective and in motion: in particular the forward motion of the Mazdayasnian Religion together with creation proceeds within them till it reaches the rehabilitation, so that every destructive thing is rendered ineffective, especially that which causes the separation of the Mazdayasnian Religion and creation from the rehabilitation. The rule for man's will and action is the Mazdayasnian Religion; and the end of all that is Ohrmazd's, is benefit, even though on earth some harm should accrue to it owing to its vilification by the Adversary. But the end of the rule of all that is destructive is harm, even though on earth the semblance of benefit should accrue to it owing to the wiles of the Adversary. Thus it appears that the Wisdom of Ohrmazd and the projection of his Will are an immutable benefit to the whole of creation.

The religion of those sectaries for whom the will of God is mutable and, every day, has a different character, and for whom the word of God threatens to fill Hell with men (makes) him whom they hold to be God resemble the Destructive Spirit, in that his will is unstable and injurious to his creatures and that his words threaten them with distress.

Z 20. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 282. 7–283. 17; Sanjana, vi, p. 313). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 874, 883, 896.

(1) *'apar 'ān i 'pat gartišn 'apāč 'ō bun, 'ut 'ān i 'pat rastak 'hač bun 'ō 'sar patvand,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.*

(2) *'ēt 'hač vēh-dēn nikēž 'hač 'ān i 'pat gartišn 'apāč 'ō bun patvand, Zamān; 'hač 'ān i 'hač bun 'ō 'sar 'pat patvand, dānākīh. 'ut Zamān *rāδ 'ēt ōγōn nikēžīt 'ku 'hač kār nērōk bun tōhmak i apistākīk* aršnōtačin *'nām, 'pat dātār āβurišn, fratom kār kunišn 'i-š Zamānak kunišn hambatast; 'hač kār kunišn kār fražāmišn 'i-š Zamān ⟨i⟩ brīn kanārak hambatast; Zamān [fražāmišn] ⟨i⟩ brīn kanārak patvand 'apāč 'ō akanārak Zamān i 'hast hamayīkīh χ^{v}atīh 'ut asačišnīh i 'pat tan i pasēn ⟨i⟩ 'avē χ^{v}ēšīkān. čēγōn dastaβarān Zamān rāδ guft[an] 'ku Zamān 'hač bunīh akanārak 'būt, 'pas 'bē 'ō kanārakōmandīh niδāt 'ut 'pat 'sarīh 'apāč 'ō akanārakīh *vartēt. 'ut-aš dātastān ⟨i⟩*

Zamān 'hač akanārakīh ⟨i⟩ bunīk 'pat brīn-kanārakīh i kārīk, ravišnīk 'ut sačišnīk 'apāč 'ō akanārakīh i fražāmīk patvast.

(3) *'ut dānākīh rāδ 'ēt ōγōn nikēž 'ku 'pat dātār aβdīh ['hač] dānākīh akanārak-zamānīhā 'pat-iš nērōk, afrāč-*sačišnīh i Ōhrmazd χ^{v}atīh χ^{v}ēšīk i 'pat Zamān i akanārak 'bavēt, 'ō 'dānastan mat[an]: 'hač 'ān 'bē akām *uzišnīh ⟨i⟩ aβigat 'apar 'ān 'i-š mitōχtīk anhastkarīh i 'ān i 'avē χ^{v}atīh 'ut χ^{v}ēšīk patvastēt: 'ut 'hač 'ān 'bē patvand frāč *gaštīh i* 'avē χ^{v}atīh 'ut χ^{v}ēšīk 'pat 'χ^{v}ēs ōstām 'dānastan hambatast. 'ān and 'dānastan apāyast ⟨'pat⟩ 'ul uzišnīh i 'avē dātār 'ō dām dahišnīh. 'ut 'hač 'ān 'ul uzišnīh fratom hačišīk 'ān i anaγr rōšn: 'hač 'ān anaγr [i] rōšn rāstīh mēnōk ['ut 'hač 'ān anaγr rōšn rāstīh mēnōk] 'pat patvand 'hač dānākīh [i] 'pat nērōk aβzōnīkīh [i] 'ō 'dānastan i visp: 'hač 'dānastan i visp tavān i 'pat kartan i visp 'i-š kām: 'hač 'ān 'bē dām dahišnīh 'ut aβigat pat-iš vānītārīh 'ut dām 'apāč 'ō 'χ^{v}ēš kartārīh 'ut yāvētān [aβigatīk] 'andar hamāk šātīh vīnārtārīh i Ōhrmazd. 'ōh-ič hu-īk 'hērān bun, 'vēh bun, 'vēh tōhmak i visp* χuih *nērōk; [*vēhīk] 'vēhīk dahišnān hamāk hač-iš 'hēnd ['avē], 'čē fratom hačišīk 'pat āβurišn 'ut 'čē ['ō] 'ān 'pat patvand čēγōn bām 'hač pērōk, 'ut pērōk 'hač brēh, brēh 'hač rōšnīh ['hač rōšn].*

TRANSLATION

(1) On that which, revolving, returns to its origin and that which is regularly continuous from beginning to end—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

(2) This, from the Exegesis of the Good Religion, concerns that which, revolving, returns to its beginning, Time; and that which continues from beginning to end, Wisdom. Of Time thus it is taught. From action *in potentia*, the original seed the Avestan name of which is *aršnōtačin* (semen-flowing) first (arose), through the Creator's creation, the performance of action with which coincided the entry of Time into action. From the performance of action (arose) the completion of action with which coincided the limit of finite Time. The limit of finite Time merges into Infinite Time the essence of which is eternity, and (which means) that at the Final Body what is contingent on it cannot pass away. Even as the religious authorities have said concerning Time: Time was originally infinite; then it became subject to limitation; at the end it returns to the Infinite. The law of Time is (to proceed) from original infinity through limitation involving action, motion, and passage, and finally to return back to ultimate infinity.

(3) Of Wisdom thus it is taught. By the Creator's marvellous power—in infinite Time and through its power wisdom entered (the stage of) knowing (the immutability of Ohrmazd's essence is contingent on Infinite Time). Contingent on this is the rising up of the Aggressor, against the

will (of God), to destroy the essence and properties (of Wisdom) by false speech. Contingent on this was the reapplication of (Wisdom's) essence and properties to the knowing of its own ground. So much knowing was necessary for the Creator to rise up for the creative act. The first result of this rising up was the Endless Light. From the Endless Light is the Spirit of Truth which derives from Wisdom (animated) by the energy of power (and which thus) comes to the knowledge of all. From the knowledge of all is power to do all he wills. Thence creation and the Aggressor's defeat thereby and the return of creation to its proper sphere of action and the eternal rule of Ohrmazd in perfect joy, viz. the origin of good things, the origin of good, the seed of good, the potentiality of all that is good. All good creatures are from him as a first result by creation or by emanation (lit. by connexion with him) as sheen is from shining, shining from brilliance, and brilliance from the light.

Z 21. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 290. 8–12; Sanjana, vii, p. 322). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 875, 884, 897.

'apar 'ān i pēš 'ut 'ān i 'apāk 'ut 'ān i ['apāk] 'pas 'hač dātārīh,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.

'ēt 'ān i pēš 'hač dātārīh ⟨akanārak Zamān⟩, 'apāk 'χ^{v}at dātār dahišn hambatast kanārakōmand Zamān, 'ān i 'pas 'hač dātārīh dahišn-ič kār i 'tāk fraškart.

TRANSLATION

On that which was before, and that which was with, and that which was after creation—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This that that which was before creation was ⟨Infinite Time⟩: that which coincided with the very act of the Creator's creation was Finite Time: that which was after creation was action (continuing) till the rehabilitation.

Z 22. From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 293. 15–294. 3; Sanjana, vii, p. 326). Edition with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 875, 885, 897; cf. Menasce, ŠGV., p. 250.

*'apar sahmānōmandīh i dānišn tavān, akanārakīh 'ut kanārakōmandīh-ič i Zamān, 'ut *χ^{v}atīh i Zamān i akanārak 'ut 'ān i kanārakōmand,—'hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.*

*'ēt čēγōn dānišn 'apar 'hast *'būt ['hast] visp-ič sahmānōmand, 'ut tavān 'har 'andar šāyēt 'būtan, šāyēt 'būt kanārakōmand paytāk, 'ōh-ič sahmānō-*

*mandīh i dānišn i visp-ič, tavān i 'apar-ič visp nikēžāk ⟨i⟩ akanārakīh. 'ōh-ič [i] Zamān dahišnān bun, Ōhrmazd hamayīkīh, 'ut-aš kanārakōmandīh 'būt šāyēt, *'ku dahišn 'andar brīnōmand zamān. 'ut *χ^{v}atīh i Zamān i akanārak drang i hamayīk i abrīn 'pat 'būt 'bavēt, 'ān i kanārakōmand drang ⟨i⟩ sačišnīk i brīnōmand 'pat 'bavēt 'būt.*

TRANSLATION

On the limited nature of knowledge and the possible, the infinity and limitation of Time and the essence[a] of infinite and finite Time—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

This that since knowledge is wholly limited to what is present and past[b] and the potential to the possible, it is clear that the possible (too) is limited. Thus the limitation of omniscience and omnipotence gives an indication of infinity[c]. Thus Time is the source of creation and the eternity of Ohrmazd. Its limitation was necessary, for creation takes place in a definite time. The essence of Infinite Time is eternal duration, undivided into past and future; that of finite time is transient duration, divided into future and past.

NOTES

[a] From the context the reading *χ^{v}atīh seems certain: χ^{v}at in philosophical contexts seems to render Greek καθ' αὑτό.

[b] Menasce reads *hast būt bavēt* and translates 'la science porte sur ce qui a été, est, sera, tout cela étant limité'. This can scarcely be right: for the point seems to be that we know only that which is past and present: the future (i.e. that which will come to pass or can come to pass) cannot be actually known since it is still only in potency (*tavān* = δύναμις). *sahmānōmand* is best taken with *dānišn* as *sahmānōmandīh i dānišn* in line 6 shows.

[c] Menasce's 'nous offre une analogie pour la notion d'infinité qui s'applique au temps' does not seem to be a possible rendering, since *akanārakīh* is separated from *zamān* by *'ōh-ič* and cannot therefore be construed with it. *'ōh* means 'thus' and marks the beginning of a new clause.

Z 23. *Šikand Gumānī Vazār*, chapter xvi, §§ 53–111, cf. Salemann's edition (*Ein Bruchstück Manichaeischen Schrifttums*, 1904, St. Petersburg, pp. 20–24), my own BSOS. ix, pp. 876, 886, 898, and that of de Menasce.

(53) *nuñ gōem naχust awar būdan nā šāyastan i hāči hastaa θis i akanāraa* (54) *bā āwāž ā i akanāraa χ^{v}ānom θihī u ǰamąn.* (55) *qča i ō hast añdaruñ pa ǰāmañdī u ǰamąnī hastą θisą kanāraomañd vīnihaṯ.* (56) *īñča ku agaršą yakī u duī awar gōyehaṯ əž ą čuñ yakī bā pa hamāihā farawastaī i θis ainā nā bahōṯ:* (57) *či yak īñ ku nā du:* (58) *du īñ ku bun yak *u ǰudāī i yak əž diṯ.* (59) *i nā*

du χᵛānihəṯ (60) *ka yak bā pa hamā farawastaī i yakī nā šnāsihəṯ;* (61) *u duī bā pa ǰudāī i yak yak nā šāyaṯ būdan.* (62) *yak ą i pa yakī yak u ōstyą pa yakī.* (63) *yak u du añdar tuχmaa i čañdī maraomañdī;* (64) *u čañdī u maraomañdī u hamāī u ǰudāī i čuñ mən guft bā kanāraomañdī būdan nā šāyaṯ.* (65) *ōča myąnaa dānašną rōšan.*

(66) *diṯ īñ ku akanāraa ą bahōṯ i pa dānašni nā farawañdihəṯ:* (67) *ka pa hāči dānašni farawastan nā šāyaṯ, añdar dānašni i yazaṯ farawastan nā šāyast ačār.* (68) *ą yazaṯ χᵛadī i χᵛāš ąča i tār bunyaštaa hamāihā añdar dānašni nā farawañdihəṯ.* (69) *kaš χᵛāš χᵛadī añdar χᵛāš dānašni nā farawañdihəṯ, ą vīsp-vahə u vīsp-vīn guftan vāhar.* (70) *či vīsp hamāī vazārəṯ.*

(71) *u hamāī hamā kūstaa farawastaī rā hamā χᵛānihəṯ.* (72) *hamā kūstaa farawastaa kanāraomañdī ačār.* (73) *ą yazaṯ ka əž hamā farawastaī i χᵛāš āgāh kanāraomañd sažəṯ añgārdan.* (74) *agar akanāraa anāgāh.* (75) *fradim dānašni i dānā ažaš χᵛazīrašnī dānastan i χᵛāš χᵛadī u čūnī u čañdī.* (76) *kə ą i χᵛāš hamā χᵛadī u čūnī u čañdī anāgāh awariča awarā čūnī u čañdī dānā būṯ guftan vāhar.* (77) *īñča ku čuñ akanāraa afarawastaī rā pa dānašni nā farawañdihəṯ.* (78) *ą īñ kuš hamā χᵛadī dānā ayå hast i adān, hamā rōšan ayå hast i tārīk, hamā ziñdaa ayå hast i murdaa *ažaš anāgāh.*

(79) *diṯ īñ ku rōšanī u ǰą i ədar ayāwom, bahar i əž ham zurvąnī hast ayå nā.* (80) *ka bahar i əž χᵛadī i zurvąnī hast, ą ē huzvārąd ku θis kəš bahar ažaš baχtan šāyaṯ baharmañd šāyaṯ būdan.* (81) *baharmañd bā ka haminīdaa añdā nā šāyaṯ:* (82) *u haminīdaa bā əž haminīdār kəš ą haminīdaa haminīṯ, ainā nā vazirəṯ:* (83) *u ka bahar kardaa kanāraomañd vīnihəṯ, bun kəš bahar ažaš ham āinaa kardaa kanāraomañd būdan agumą,* (84) *pa ą či gōeñd ku vīsp bar bahar ō bun guwāī dādār.* (85) *ą ka bahar kardaa kanāraomañd ayāwom, ąča bun bā ka kardaa u əž baharą haminīdaa kanāraomañd ainā būdan nā šāyaṯ.*

(86) *īñča ku akanāraa nā baχšihəṯ:* (87) *či bahar əž hamāī baχšihəṯ,* (88) *u hamāī awar kanāraomañdī guwāī,* (89) *čuñ mən ažawar namūṯ.* (90) *ku hastī čūnī i bun bā əž humānāī u añgōšīdaa i bar ainā nā ayāwom.* (91) *har či pa bar ayāwihəṯ* (92) *pa bun ham āinaa būdan āwar.* (93) *ą ka kardaī u kanāraomañdī pa bar ayāwašnī ham əž vazār buniča kəš bar ažaš pa kanāraomañdī agumą.*

(94) *diṯ īñ ku akanāraa ą bahōṯ i aparəχt ǰā u avamąn χᵛadī,* (95) *vaš han ǰā nišāmī ažaš parəχt nāst.* (96) *ą ka du bunyaštaa akanāraa u asāmąn-χᵛadī gōyehəṯ, āsmąną zamyą χāmast tani-kardą, vaχšašną, ǰāną, rōšaną, baγą, aməšāspəñdą, vasą hambarašną kəšą ǰaṯ-nąmī əž ǰudāī i yak yak əž ōi diṯ, nā sāmąnmañd šāyaṯ būdan.*

(97) *ąš hamā añdar či u ku dāṯ.* (98) *ka du bunyaštą haməšaihā aparəχt-ǰā būṯ həñd,* (99) *bā agaršą χᵛadī i akanāraa kanāraomañd kard u ǰā i īñ hamā hastą būdą bahōdą kard būdan čuñ šāyaṯ.*

(100) *agar gōhar i hamə akanāraa kanāraomañd būdan šāyaṯ ą nəstiča būdan šāyastan əwar.* (101) *ą i awar avardišnī i gōhar gōeñd vāhar.*

(102) *īñča ə dānəṯ ku akanāraa ą bahōṯ kəš parəχt i ažaš fradim nə *bāṯ.* (103) *həčī θis ǰaṯ əž ōi ǰudā ažaš būdan nə šāyaṯ.* (104) *bə əž vīmañd i akanārai nə šnāsihəṯ.* (105) *ayå sturdaihā ą θis i nə dānəṯ ku či hamə gōeṯ u stəžəṯ u saχun awar rāinəṯ kōdagą kōdak-današną padaš vyāwąninəṯ, añdārāh ō či.* (106) *agaraš aχ^{v}araidihā īñča gōeṯ kuš χ^{v}adī akanāraa vaš dānašniča akanāraa pa akanāraa-dānašnī dānəṯ ku akanāraa hast,* (107) *ą vāhar *u dubār vāhar.* (108) *yak īñ ku dānašni awar θis ą i pa dānašni ayāftaa u añdar dānašni farawastaa.* (109) *θisiča bə ą i añdar dānašni hamāihā farawastaa u ayāftaa añdā buñdaa nə šnāsiheṯ.* (110) [*i*] *θis dānašni pa hamā šnāχtan i θis bahōṯ;* (111) *hamā šnāχtan i θis pa hamā *farawastaī i θis añdaruñ dānašni bahōṯ.*

TRANSLATION

(53) Now I shall first discuss the impossibility of any existent thing being infinite except only the Void and Time, which I call infinite. All entities which are within locality and temporality are seen to be finite. Thus if they stipulate unity or duality (it will be found) that unity cannot exist except in an object that is completely self-contained: for the one is that which is not two: and two is that of which the origin is one and the separation of the one part from the second. Though this cannot be called two, for the one is not conceivable except as completely self-contained in its unity; and duality cannot exist except through the separation of the two ones. The one is that which is one in unity and confirmed in unity. Unity and duality are at the source of quantity and numerality. Quantity, numerality, totality, and separability, as I have said, can be nothing but finite. This is clear even to the moderately intelligent.

(66) Again the Infinite is that which cannot be comprehended by the intellect: and since it cannot be comprehended by any intellect, it follows that it cannot be comprehended by the intellect of God. Thus to the intellect God, his own essence and that of the Dark Principle, as wholes, are incomprehensible. Since his own essence is not comprehensible even to his own intellect, to call him all-good and all-seeing is false. How should one explain a complete totality?

(71) A totality, because it is encompassed on all sides, is called total. That which is encompassed on all sides, is necessarily finite. A God who is aware that he is encompassed on all sides, must be considered finite. If he were infinite, he would be unaware of it. The first knowledge of an intelligent being is precisely to know his own essence, quality, and quantity. To assert that one who is unaware of all his essence, quality, and quantity,

should be cognizant of the quality and quantity of others, is false. Thus the Infinite not being encompassed in any way cannot be comprehended by the intellect. It follows that it is not aware whether its whole essence is wise or ignorant, light or dark, alive or dead.

(79) Again (we must consider) whether the light and the living soul, which we receive on this earth, receive a part (lot) from that same Zurvānic substance or not. If it does receive such a part from the essence of Zurvān, then let them note that a thing from which a part can be divided must itself be composed of parts. What is composed of parts cannot but be joined together: and what is joined together is only distinguishable in so far as it is joined together by a joiner. And since the part is obviously made and finite, so also the source from which the part is derived must undoubtedly be made and finite, in accordance with the argument that has been put forward that every result and part bears witness of its source. So, since we find the part to be made and limited, it cannot be that the source is other than made and composed of parts and finite.

(86) Further the Infinite is not susceptible of division: for the part is divided from the whole, and totality implies limitation, as I have demonstrated above. For I cannot conceive of the existence and quality of the source except by comparison and analogy with the result. Whatever is perceptible in the result must certainly, in like manner, apply to the source. Since it is to be perceived in the result that it is made and finite, it may without doubt be deduced that the source from which the result derives is also finite.

(94) Again the Infinite is that which is uncircumscribed in Space and boundless in essence; and there is no other place or abode that is devoid of it. Now if it is said that the two Principles are infinite and boundless in essence, then boundless too are the heavens and earths together with corporeal and growing things, souls, lights, gods, Amahraspands, and the numerous complex entities which are variously named because they differ from one another: they cannot be bounded. Then in what and where were all these things created? If the two Principles were always uncircumscribed in Space, how is that possible unless their infinite essence was made finite and the place of all things that are and were and shall be? If an all-infinite substance can become finite, it is certainly possible that it may also become non-existent. What they say about the immutability of substance is untrue.

(102) Now you must know that the Infinite is that without which nothing from the first is. Nothing can exist without it or separate from it. But in so far as it is infinite, it cannot be understood. So what, pray, is the point

of obstinately discussing a thing which one does not know, of disputing and bandying words, and so deceiving the immature and those of immature intelligence? If one stupidly(?) asserts that its essence is infinite and that its intellect is infinite, and that with its infinite intellect it knows that it is infinite, that is false and doubly false. For one thing intellect can only be predicated of a thing which is within the scope of the intellect and comprehensible to the intellect. Nothing can be perfectly understood except that which is completely comprehensible to the intellect and within its scope. Knowledge of a thing is only attained by complete understanding of it; and the complete understanding of a thing is obtained by the complete comprehension of it in the intellect.

Z 24 (*a*). The twenty-eighth chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, pp. 94–95; Sanjana, p. 48; Pāzand, West, p. 33. Nyberg's transliterated text and translation, CCM. 1929, pp. 202–3.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'kē niχšaδišnīktar, 'kē 'pat-nērōk-tar, 'kē tēžtar, 'kē šāttar, 'kē dušrāmišntar, ('kē anōmēttar)?*

(2) *mēnōk i χrat passaχ^{v} kart 'ku Ōhrmazd i χ^{v}atāy niχšaδišn⟨īk⟩tar ('kē) 9000 'sāl anākīh 'pat dāmān i 'χ^{v}ēš 'hač Ahriman 'dīt, 'pas-ič 'bē 'pat 'dātastān 'ut niχšaδišnīh *ēnyā 'nē 'zanēt.* (3) *'ut spihr 'pat-nērōk-tar:* (4) *'ut vīr i 'martōmān tēžtar:* (5) *'ut ruvān i ahrovān šāttar:* (6) *'ut 'ān i druvandān dušrāmišntar ('ut anōmēttar).*

niχšaδišnīk: for the reading of this word v. BSOS. ix, p. 107.

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom (and said), 'Who is the most patient; who is the most powerful; who is the most sharp; who is the most joyful; who is the most miserable; who is the most hopeless?'

(2) The Spirit of Wisdom answered (and said), 'Ohrmazd, the Lord, is the most patient; for for nine thousand years he sees Ahriman (inflict) misery on his own creatures, yet he does not smite him except with justice and patiently: (3) and the firmament is the most powerful: (4) and the intelligence of men is the most sharp: (5) and the soul of the blessed is the most joyful: (6) and that of the damned is the most miserable and the most hopeless.'

Z 24 (*b*). From the *Aβyātkār iVazurg-miθr* (*Pahlavī Texts*, p. 95).

(129–30) *'kē pātaχšāytar? spihr i gēhān-baχtār.*
(131–2) *'kē rāsttar? zamān i brīn .*
(133–4) *'kē aβdtar? 'ān 'kē zamān apērtar mat 'ēstēt.*
(135–6) *'kē vičītārtar? dānāk i 'vas-uzmāyišn.*

TRANSLATION

(129–30) Who is the most kingly? The firmament which makes distribution to the world.
(131–2) Who is the most just? Finite Time (*or*, Decisive Time).
(133–4) Who is the most marvellous? He to whom Time comes most.
(135–6) Who is the most discriminating? The wise man who has much experience.

Z 25 (*a*). *Yavišt i Friyān*, 2. 37–40 (Haug and West, *The Book of Arda Viraf*, p. 217).

(37) *haftom frašn 'ēn pursīt, 'ku 'čē 'ān 'čiš i martōmān 'pat nihān 'kāmēnd kartan, 'ut-šān nihān kartan 'nē šāyēnd?*
(38) *Yavišt i Friyān guft 'ku zīvandakān 'pat škōh 'bāš, mar i druvand sāstār, 'ut 'murtakān 'ō dōšaχ^{v} ōpat;* (39) *'čē 'ān Zruvān 'hast 'kē 'kas nihān kartan 'nē tavān;* (40) *'čē Zruvān χ^{v}at paytāk 'bavēt.*

TRANSLATION

(37) The seventh question he asked was this, 'What is that thing which men would fain conceal, and which they cannot conceal?'
(38) Yavišt i Friyān said, 'Mayst thou in life be in misery, thou accursed villain and heretic, and mayst thou in death fall to hell; (39) for that is Zurvān whom no one can conceal; (40) for Zurvān reveals himself of his own accord.'

Z 25 (*b*). *Pahlavī Texts*, p. 40, ll. 13 ff.

*dānākīh rāδ tāk 'nēst. riškīh rāδ 'nām 'nēst. gētēh rāδ 'pāyišn 'nēst. *yuvānīh rāδ nāzišn 'nēst. χ^{v}āstak rāδ buržišn 'nēst. zīvandakīh rāδ rāmišn 'nēst. Zarvān rāδ dārōk 'nēst. margīh rāδ čārak 'nēst. 'zanān rāδ χrat 'nēst. χ^{v}atāy rāδ hambāz 'nēst. 'ut 'hač 'ēn hamāk 'avē 'vattar 'kē 'bē 'mīrēt, χ^{v}atāy 'hač 'avē hušnūt 'nēst. 'ut 'har 'kē χ^{v}atāy 'hač 'avē hušnūt 'nēst, 'avē rāδ 'andar vahišt ⟨i⟩ bāmīk gyāk 'nēst.*

TRANSLATION

Of wisdom there is no equal. For envy there is no name. For the world there is no enduring. In youth there is no enjoyment. In wealth there is no honour. In life there is no pleasure. For Zurvān there is no remedy. From death there is no escape. In women there is no wisdom. Of a ruler there is no peer. Of all these he is the worst who dies and leaves his ruler displeased. Whosoever leaves his ruler displeased, will have no place in the bright heaven.

Z 26 (*a*). *Aβyātkār i Žāmāspīk* (Messina), 14. 16–17.

Pārsī text

avdān ēn če gōyam ke marg kaš avāz na gīrēd u zamān na dādēt če Gayōmard būd Ōrmazd dād kaš zamān mad Ahrīman pa mar u činīd u dadīgar yak yak χudāyān bēš būda hand kaš ānzamān frāz mad čiš az kardan na tavān pa nāmčišt Tahmōrap kaš sī sāl Ahrīman ba bār dāšt u če kaš χvēš frāz mad χvēštan az χōš avā dāšt na tavān.

Pahlavī reconstruction

(16) *ut-tān ēn-ič gōβam ku marg kas apāč nē kunēt ut zamān nē dārēt. čē Gayōmart būt Ōhrmazd-dāt; kaδ-aš zamān mat, Ahriman bē marnǰēnīt.* (17) *ut ditīkar ēvak ēvak χᵛatāyān i pēš būt hēnd, kaδ-šān zamān frāč mat, čiš-ič kartan nē tavān, pat nāmčišt Tahmōrap kē-š sīh sāl Ahriman pat bārak dāšt. čē kaδ-aš χᵛēš ⟨zamān⟩ frāč mat, χᵛēš-tan hač ōš apāč dāšt nē tavān.*

TRANSLATION

(16) This too do I say unto thee—No one can drive back death or hold back Time. For Gayōmart was created by Ohrmazd; but when his time was come Ahriman destroyed him. (17) And again every one of the rulers who lived in former times could do nothing when Time came upon them —and especially Tahmōrap who rode Ahriman as his charger for thirty years; for when his time came, he could not preserve himself from death.

Z 26 (*b*). *Pahlavī Texts*, p. 76, §§ 23–24.

(23) *'kē zamān handōχt[a] čašm, 'ān [i] *'pušt 'graft i 'nē āχēzēt, 'dil 'ān dart 'āyēt i 'nē čandēnīt, 'dast 'ān [i] škast i 'nē rōδēt, 'ut 'pāδ 'ān škast ⟨i⟩ 'nē 'ravēt.* (24)* *star mat, yut bār 'nē 'šavēt: baχt mat, spōχtan 'nē šāyēt.*

[a] For *handōχt* in the sense of *dōχt* v. Part I, p. 241.

TRANSLATION

(23) As to him whose eye Time has sewn up, his back is seized upon and will never rise again; pain comes upon his heart so that it beats no more; his hand is broken so that it grows no more, and his foot is broken so that it walks no more. (24) The stars came upon him, and he goes not out another time: fate came upon him, and he cannot drive it off.

Z 27. The twenty-seventh chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*, §§ 4–7 (Anklesaria), §§ 8–13 (Sanjana). Anklesaria, pp. 85–86; Sanjana, p. 44; Pāzand, West, p. 30. Nyberg's transliteration and translation, CCM. 1929, pp. 200 f.

(4) *mēnōk i χrat passaχᵛ kart 'ku 'ān i 'avēšān rāδ 'pat nēvakīh ayāp 'pat 'vattarīh pursēh, ākās 'bāš 'ut 'bē 'dān;* (5) *'čē kār i gēhān hamōγēn 'pat brēh 'ut zamānak 'ut vičīr i brīn 'ravēt i 'χᵛat 'hast Zurvān i pātaχšāy 'ut dērang-χᵛatāy;* (6) *čēγōn 'andar ōβām ōβām 'ō 'har 'kē rāδ 'baχt 'ēstēt [čēγōn] 'ān i apāyēt matan, 'apar 'rasēt:* (7) *čēγōn 'hač-ič ham-patvand i 'avēšān pēšēnīkān i vitartak paytāk, 'ku aβdom 'ān nēvakīh i 'hač 'avēšān 'ō dāmān i Ōhrmazd apāyast matan, 'bē mat.*

TRANSLATION

(4) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), 'Regarding that which thou dost ask concerning the good and evil which they have brought, understand and know (5) that the whole world proceeds in accordance with the decree and the (decisive) moment and the fixed decision which are indeed Zurvān, the King and Lord of the long Dominion. (6) For in succeeding times what is fated to happen happens to whomsoever it has been fated. (7) For of the lineage of those ancient heroes who have passed away it is revealed that the benefits which were fated to come to the creatures of Ohrmazd from them came (to them) in the end.'

Z 28 (*a*). The twelfth chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, pp. 51–53; Sanjana, pp. 26–27; West, Pāzand, pp. 19–20: transliterated text and translation in Nyberg, CCM. 1929, pp. 202–5.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'čē rāδ 'kaδ 'hēr i mēnōk ētōn rāst, 'ut 'ān i gētēh ētōn drōβ 'baχt 'ēstēt?*

(2) *mēnōk i χrat passaχᵛ kart 'ku 'hēr i gētēh 'pat bun-dahišnīh ētōn rāst 'baχt 'ēstēt čēγōn 'ān i mēnōk;* (3) *'ut dātār Ōhrmazd hamōγēn nēvakīh i 'pat 'ēn dām 'ut dahišn 'ō bun i Miθr 'ut Māh 'ut 'avēšān 12 aχtar i 'hač dēn 12 spāhpat guft 'ēstēt, kart; 'ut 'avēšān-ič rāstīhā 'ut sačākīhā 'baχtan rāδ 'hač Ōhrmazd 'patiγraft.* (4) *'ut 'pas Ahriman 'ān 7 apāχtar čēγōn 7 spāhpat i Ahriman guft 'ēstēt, *višūt 'pat** (text *'pat višūtan*) *'bē 'statan i 'ān nēvakīh 'hač dāmān i Ōhrmazd; 'pat pityārakīh i Miθr 'ut Māh 'ut 'avēšān 12 aχtarān 'dāt.* (5) *'ut 'har nēvakīh i 'avēšān aχtarān 'pat dāmān i Ōhrmazd 'baχšēnd, 'avēšān apāχtarān, čand-šān tavān *'bavēt, hač-iš 'apparēnd, 'ut 'bē 'ō nērōk ⟨i⟩ 'dēvān 'ut družān 'ut 'vattarān 'dahēnd.* (6) *'ut 'hēr i mēnōk 'ēt rāδ ētōn rāst 'čē Ōhrmazd i χᵛatāy 'apāk harvisp yazdān 'ut amahraspandān apityārak 'hēnd, 'ut kōšišn i 'apāk Ahriman 'ut 'dēvān 'ut āmār-ič i ruvān i martōmān 'pat rāstīh 'kunēnd;* (7) *'ut 'kē-š kirpak vēš, gās 'pat vahišt, 'ut 'kē-š kirpak 'ut vinās aγnēn rāst, gās 'pat hamēstakān, 'ut 'kaδ bazak vēš, 'aδak-aš rās 'ō dōšaχᵛ.*

NOTE

(4) *višūt*: only attested in the sense of 'give birth to' (of demonic beings). Nyberg translates differently, but unnecessarily.

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, 'Why are the things of the spirit dispensed so justly, and those of the material world so unjustly?'

(2) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), 'The things of the material world at the original creation were dispensed quite as justly as those of the spirit; (3) and the Creator Ohrmazd entrusted all the good things which are in this creation to Mihr and the Moon and the twelve Signs of the Zodiac which are called by the Religion the twelve commanders; and in order to distribute them justly and befittingly, they received them from Ohrmazd. (4) Then Ahriman gave birth to the seven planets which are called the seven commanders of Ahriman, to take away the good things from the creatures of Ohrmazd: he created them in opposition to Mihr and the Moon and the twelve Signs of the Zodiac. (5) And all the good things that the constellations bestow on the creatures of Ohrmazd are taken away by the planets so far as is in their power; and they give them to the demons and lies and evil men to strengthen them. (6) But the things of the spirit are so just because Ohrmazd, the Lord, as well as the gods and the Amahraspands, are free from opposition: they struggle against Ahriman and the demons, and judge the souls of men in accordance with justice. (7) The place of him who has more virtue (than vice) is in heaven; and

the place of him whose virtue and vice are equal is in "the place of the mixed"; and the path of him who has more vice (than virtue) (leads) to hell.'

Z 28 (*b*). The thirty-eighth chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, pp. 111–12; Sanjana, pp. 56–57; Pāzand, West, p. 39.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'čē rāδ, 'kaδ nēvakīh i gētēh 'nē 'pat aržānīkīh 'baχšēnd 'ut ruvān 'pat mēnōkān 'pat kunišn aržānīkīh graftār 'kunēnd?*

(2) *mēnōk i χrat passaχ^{v} kart 'ku χ^{v}āβarīh i Ōhrmazd i χ^{v}atāy 'apar dāmān rāδ, ham 'pat 'vēhān 'ut ham 'pat 'vattarān hamāk nēvakīh 'baχšēt; 'bē 'kaδ-šān 'nē hamvārak 'apar 'rasēt, stahmakīh i Ahriman 'ut 'dēvān 'ut 'appurišn i 'ān 7 apāχtar rāδ.* (3) *'pat mēnōkān 'ēt rāδ (ruvān) 'pat kunišn aržānīkīh graftār 'kunēnd 'čē ('har) 'kas druvandīh 'pat kunišn i 'χ^{v}ēš kart 'bavēt.*

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, 'Why is it that the good things of this world are not distributed according to desert, but the soul in the spiritual world is made to receive its deserts in accordance with its deeds?'

(2) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), 'In his kindly care for his creatures Ohrmazd, the Lord, distributes all good things to both good and bad; but when they do not arrive equally, it is due to the violence of Ahriman and the demons and the theft of them by the seven planets. (3) The soul in the spiritual world is made to receive its deserts in accordance with its deeds because every person is damned (only) on account of the deeds which he himself has performed.'

Z 29. The forty-seventh chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, p. 132; Sanjana, pp. 67–68; West, p. 46 (Pāzand). Transliteration and translation will be found in Widengren, *Hochgottglaube*, p. 199.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'čē 'ān 'čiš i 'hač 'har χ^{v}āstak pahlomtom;* (2) *'ut 'čē 'ān i 'apar 'har 'čiš pātaχšāy;* (3) *'ut 'čē 'ān i 'kas hač-iš 'virēχtan 'nē tavān?*

(4) *mēnōk i χrat passaχ^{v} kart 'ku χrat 'hast i 'vēh 'hač hamōγēn χ^{v}āstak i 'pat gēhān;* (5) *'ut baχt 'hast i 'apar 'har 'kas 'ut 'har 'čiš pātuχšāy;* (6) *'ut Vāy i 'vattar ('hast) 'kē 'kas hač-iš 'virēχtan 'nē tavān.*

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, 'What is that which is the most excellent of all riches; (2) and what is that which is lord over all things; (3) and what is that from which no one can escape?'

(4) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said): 'Wisdom it is which is better than all the riches on the world; (5) and fate it is which is lord over all persons and things; (6) and the evil Vāy it is from whom no one can escape.'

Z 30. The twenty-second chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, pp. 78–79; Sanjana, p. 40; Pāzand, West, p. 28. Transliteration and translation by Nyberg, CCM. 1929, p. 204, and Tavadia, ZII. viii, p. 129.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'pat tuχšākīh 'hēr 'ut χᵛāstak i gētēh 'ō 'χᵛēš šāyēt kartan ayāp 'nē?*

(2) *mēnōk i χrat passaχᵛ kart 'ku 'pat tuχšākīh 'ān nēvakīh i 'nē brēhēnīt 'ēstēt 'ō 'χᵛēš kartan 'nē šāyēt; 'bē 'ān i brēhēnīt 'ēstēt, tuχšākīh rāδ 'has 'bē 'rasēt.* (3) *'bē tuχšākīh 'kaδ-aš zamān 'nē 'apāk, 'pat gētēh apē-bar, 'bē 'pas-ič 'pat mēnōk 'ō frahāt 'rasēt, 'ut 'pat tarāzūk aβzāyēt.*

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, 'Can one appropriate worldly wealth and riches by one's effort or not?'

(2) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), 'One cannot appropriate by effort such good things as have not been fated; but such as have been fated always come when an effort is made. (3) But effort, if it is not favoured by Time, is fruitless on earth, but later, in the spiritual world, it comes to our aid and increases in the balance.'

Z 31 (*a*). The twenty-third chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, pp. 79–80; Sanjana, p. 41; West, p. 28. Transliteration and translation in Nyberg, CCM. 1929, pp. 204–5.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'pat χrat 'ut dānākīh 'apāk brēh kōχšītan šāyēt ayāp 'nē?*

(2) *mēnōk i χrat passaχᵛ kart 'ku 'apāk-ič takīkīh 'ut zōrōmandīh i χrat 'ut dānākīh 'pas-ič 'apāk brēh kōχšītan 'nē šāyēt:* (3) *'čē 'kaδ brēhēnišn 'pat nēvakīh ayāp 'pat yuttarīh frāč 'rasēt, dānāk 'pat kār viyāβān 'bavēt 'ut*

dušākās (pat) kār ākās (bavēt), 'ut vat-dil dilītar (bavēt), 'ut dilītar vat-dil (bavēt), 'ut tuχšāk ašgahān (bavēt ut ašgahān) tuχšāk 'bavēt: (4) *ētōn čēγōn 'pat 'ān 'čiš i brēhēnīt 'ēstēt, bihānak pat-iš 'andar 'āyēt, 'ut apārīk 'har 'čiš 'bē spōžēt.*

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, 'Is it possible to strive against fate with wisdom and knowledge or not?'

(2) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), 'Though (one be armed) with the valour and strength of wisdom and knowledge, yet it is not possible to strive against fate. (3) For once a thing is fated and comes true, whether for good or the reverse, the wise man goes astray in his work, and the man of wrong knowledge becomes clever in his work; the coward becomes brave, and the brave cowardly; the energetic man becomes a sluggard, and the sluggard energetic: (4) For, for everything that has been fated a fit occasion arises which sweeps away all other things.'

Z 31 (*b*). The fifty-first chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, pp. 139–40; Sanjana, pp. 71–72; West, p. 48.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku 'čē rāδ 'kaδ ašgahān 'ut dušākās 'ut 'vat 'mart 'hast i 'kaδ 'ō buržišn 'ut nēvakīh i vazurg 'rasēt, 'ut 'avē i šāyandak 'ut dānāk 'ut 'vēh 'mart 'hast i 'kaδ 'ō garān anākīh 'ut škaftīh 'ut niyāzō-mandīh 'rasēt?*

(2) *mēnōk i χrat passaχ^{v} kart 'ku 'avē i ašgahān 'ut dušākās 'ut 'vat 'mart, 'kaδ-aš brēh aδyār 'bavēt, 'aδak-aš 'ān ašgahānīh 'ō tuχšākīh (humānāk), 'ut 'ān dušākāsīh 'ō dānākīh (humānāk), 'ut 'ān 'vattarīh 'ō 'vēhīh humānāk 'bavēt:* (3) *'ut 'avē i dānāk 'ut šāyandak 'ut 'vēh 'mart, 'kaδ-aš brēh hamēmāl, 'aδak-aš 'ān dānākīh 'ō adānākīh 'ut halakīh, 'ut 'ān šāyandakīh 'ō dušākāsīh vartēt, 'ut dānišn 'ut hunar 'ut šāyandakīh armēšt paytāk 'bavēt.*

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, 'Why is it that the slothful, wrong-minded, and evil man sometimes achieves great honour and prosperity, and that the decent, wise, and good man sometimes is the victim of grievous misfortune, violence, and want?'

(2) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), 'When fate helps a slothful, wrong-minded, and evil man, his sloth becomes like energy, and his wrong-mindedness like wisdom, and his evil like good: (3) and when fate opposes the wise, decent, and good man, his wisdom is turned to un-

wisdom and foolishness, his decency to wrong-mindedness; and his knowledge, manliness, and decency appear of no account.'

Z 32. The twenty-fourth chapter of the *Mēnōk i Xrat*: Anklesaria, pp. 81–82; Sanjana, pp. 41–42; West, p. 29. Transliteration and translation in Nyberg, CCM. 1929, pp. 206–7.

(1) *pursīt dānāk 'ō mēnōk i χrat 'ku ayāft-χᵛāstārīh 'ut kirpak-varzītārīh 'ut aržānīkīh rāδ yazdān 'ō 'martōmān 'dit-ič 'čiš 'baχšēnd ayāp 'nē?*

(2) *mēnōk i χrat passaχᵛ kart 'ku 'baχšēnd,* (3) *'čē ētōn čēγōn 'gōβēnd 'ku baχt 'ut bayō(k)-baχt.* (4) *'aδak baχt 'ān 'bavēt i 'hač fratomīh 'baχt 'ēstēt, 'ut bayō(k)-baχt 'ān i 'dit-ič 'baχšēnd.* (5) *'bē yazdān 'ān 'baχšišn 'ēt rāδ kem 'kunēnd 'ut 'pat mēnōk (kem) paytāk⟨ēn⟩ēnd 'čē Ahriman-ič i druvand 'pat 'ān bihānak 'pat nērōk i 7 apāχtar χᵛāstak 'ut apārīk-ič 'har nēvakīh i gētēh 'hač 'vēhān 'ut aržānīkān 'appurēt 'ut 'ō 'vattarān 'ut anaržānīkān apērtar 'baχšēt.*

TRANSLATION

(1) The wise man asked the Spirit of Wisdom, 'Do the gods make a second dispensation to men because they have amassed wealth and practised virtue and are worthy, or do they not?'

(2) The Spirit of Wisdom made answer (and said), (3) 'They do: for it is just as they say, "fate and the divine fate". (4) Fate is that which is fated in the beginning, and divine fate is that which they determine afterwards. (5) But the gods use this kind of dispensation rarely and manifest it rarely in the spiritual world because the accursed Ahriman makes this a pretext to rob the good and worthy of wealth and all other material prosperity through the power of the seven planets, and to bestow it chiefly on the evil and unworthy.'

Z 33 (*a*). From the *Aβyātkār i Vazurg-miθr*, §§ 105–9: *Pahlavī Texts*, p. 94. Transliterated text and translation by Tavadia in ZII. viii, p. 126.

'čiš i 'ō martōmān 'rasēt, 'pat baχt 'bavēt ayāp 'pat kunišn? baχt 'ut kunišn aynēn ōγōn humānāk 'hēnd čēγōn tan 'ut ǰān: 'čē tan yut 'hač ǰān kālput-ē 'hast i akār, 'ut ǰān yut 'hač tan vāt-ē 'hast i agraftār; 'ut 'kaδ aynēn gumēχt 'ēstēt, ōžōmand 'ut 'vazurg sūtōmand.

'čē baχt 'ut 'čē kunišn? baχt-ič čim, kunišn vihānak ⟨i⟩ 'čiš i 'ō martōmān 'rasēt.

TRANSLATION

Do the things that happen to man happen through fate or through action? Fate and action together are like body and breath-soul. For the body without the breath-soul is a useless carcase, and the breath-soul without the body an impalpable wind. But when they are fused together, they are powerful and exceedingly beneficial.

What is fate and what is action? Fate is the cause and action the occasion for the things that happen to man.

Z 33 (*b*). From the *Epistle of Tansar*, p. 45 in the edition of Minovi (Teheran, 1932): v. also the *editio princeps* of Darmesteter (JA. 1894, p. 247) and his translation (ibid., p. 553). The so-called *Epistle of Tansar* survives only in a modern Persian translation of Ibn Muqaffa"s Arabic version of the Pahlavī original. The latter dates from the reign of Xusrau I (A.D. 531–78): v. Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 30, 48; Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, pp. 111 ff.: id., *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 58 ff. For our modern Persian texts it has been considered sufficient to give the translation only, since there is not, as in Pahlavī, any ambiguity of reading and rarely any of interpretation: moreover the texts themselves are readily accessible.

Know for certain that whosoever neglects to make efforts and puts his trust in fate and destiny makes himself contemptible; and whosoever continually exerts himself and makes efforts and denies fate and destiny is a fool and puffed up with pride. The wise man must find the mean between effort and fate, and not be content with one of them. For fate and effort are like two bales of a traveller's baggage on the back of a mule. If one of them is heavier and the other lighter, the load falls to the ground, and the back of the mule is broken, and the traveller suffers embarrassment and does not reach his destination. But if both bales are equal, the traveller does not need to worry, the mule is comfortable, and both arrive at their destination.

Z 34 (*a*). Gloss to the *Pahlavī Vidēvdāt* 5. 9, ed. Jamasp, Bombay, 1907, pp. 152–3. Transliteration and translation by Tavadia, ZII. viii, p. 127.

gētēh 'pat baχt, mēnōk 'pat kunišn. 'hast 'kē ētōn 'gōβēt, 'zan 'ut frazand 'ut χ^{v}āstak 'ut χ^{v}atāyīh 'ut zīvandakīh 'pat baχt, apārīk 'pat kunišn. 'mart i 'ān

nēvakīh 'i-š 'nē brēhēnīt 'ēstēt, aš hakarč 'apar 'nē 'rasēt, 'hač 'ān gyāk paytāk: gairi masō aŋhō aetahē.[a] *'ān 'i-š 'apar brēhēnīt 'ēstēt, aš 'pat tuχšākīh 'pēš 'bē 'rasēt: anyō arədva zəñgō χ^{v}arənō:*[a] *'ut-aš 'pat vināskārh 'bavēt 'kaδ-aš appār 'bavēt: āaṯ χ^{v}arənō frapiryeiti.*[a] *'ut-aš anākīh ⟨i⟩ brēhēnīt 'ēstēt, 'pat frārōn tuχšākīh spōχtan tavān: pouru-χ^{v}arənaŋhō ašava zaraθuštra.*[a] *'ut-aš 'pat vināskārīh nōk nōk ov-iš 'ō brēhēnīt: aešąmča narąm.*[a]

▪ Avestan written in the Avestan character.

TRANSLATION

Material things are through fate, spiritual through action.[a] Some say that wife, child, riches, sovereignty, and life are through fate, and the rest through action.[b] A man can never attain to such good things as have not been allotted (fated) to him; that is plain from the passage: 'His house(?) is the size of a mountain.' What has been allotted to him can be obtained earlier if he makes efforts: . . ..[c] And it is for his sins if it is taken away from him: 'Then his fortune is forfeit.' The evil that is allotted to him can be averted by righteous effort: 'Those who have great fortune, righteous Zaraθuštra'. But if they sin, they are allotted to them again and again: 'Of those men.'

NOTES

[a] Cf. the following text; also Vd. 5. 8, gloss: *gētēh 'pat baχt, mēnōk 'pat ruvān*—'the material world (is ruled) by fate, the spiritual by the soul'. If I understand the passage aright, exactly the opposite point of view seems to be expressed in DkM. 417. 3: *baχt 'apar 'ān i 'hač mēnōkān, kunišn 'apar [i] 'ān i 'hač gētēhān.*—'Fate controls that which is from the spiritual beings, and action controls that which is from the material.'

[b] Cf. texts Z 35 (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*).

[c] The Avestan words *anyō arədva zəñgō χ^{v}arənō* are meaningless. Tavadia, l.c., accepted Bartholomae's *ərədvō-zəñgō* for *arədva zəñgō*, and translated 'active (having erect legs)'. See further Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 34.

Z 34 (*b*). From the *Dēnkart* (Madan, p. 284. 13–20).

'ēt gētēh rāδēnišn apērtar 'pat brēh, 'ut mēnōk rāδēnišn apērtar 'pat kunišn. 'hač 'ēt martōm mēnōk bōžišn mātakvarīhā 'pat 'χ^{v}ēš tuχšišn 'χ^{v}āst: 'ān i 'kaδ χ^{v}āδēt, pat-iš tuχšēt, ēvarīk ayāpēt. gētēh mātiyān 'pat yazdān frāč 'hištan 'ān i yazdān 'apar gētēh χ^{v}āδišn. 'čē ruvān-vizāyišnīk [i] pahrēč: 'pat 'ān i ruvān-sāčišnīk tuχšāk martōm gētēh-ič 'hēr, čēyōn pat-iš sūtēmandtar, handāχt;—'hač vēh-dēn nikēž pōryōtkēšān čāštak.

TRANSLATION

This that the material world is controlled mainly by fate, and the spiritual world is controlled mainly by action. Hence the spiritual salvation of man must be sought principally by his own efforts: that is, when he desires (something) and makes an effort (to get it), he will certainly get it. The important thing in the material world is to leave what the gods will with regard to the material world to the gods. For abstention (from action) is injurious to the soul; (yet) to the man who cultivates the soul and makes an effort (on its behalf) material riches are added, for they are very useful to him—from the Exegesis of the Good Religion, the doctrine of the ancient sages.

Z 35 (*a*). From the *Dēnkart*, Madan, p. 568. 3–12.

*'gōβēnd 'ku hufravart Āturpāt i Mahraspandān 'hēr i gētēh 'pat 25 'dar *'dāt, 5 'pat brēh, 'ut 5 'pat kunišn, 'ut 5 'pat hōk, 'ut 5 'pat gōhr 'ut 5 'pat aparmānd. zīvandakīh 'ut 'zan 'ut frazand 'ut χ^{v}atāyīh 'ut χ^{v}āstak apērtar 'pat brēh. ahrovīh 'ut druvandīh, āsrōnīh 'ut artēštārīh 'ut vāstryōšīh apērtar 'pat kunišn. 'χ^{v}artan 'ut raftan 'ut 'ō 'zanān 'šutan 'ut būšāsp kartan 'ut kār vičārtan apērtar 'pat hōk. χēm 'ut miθr 'ut 'vēhīh ⟨'ut⟩ rātīh 'ut rāstīh apērtar 'pat gōhr. ōš 'ut vīr 'ut tan 'ut brēh 'ut dītan apērtar 'pat aparmānd.*

TRANSLATION

They say that Āδurbāδ, son of Mahraspand, divided the things of this world into twenty-five parts: five (he assigned) to fate, five to action, five to nature, five to character, and five to heredity. Life, wife, children, sovereignty, and riches are chiefly through fate. Salvation and damnation and the membership of the castes of priests, warriors, and husbandmen are chiefly through action. Eating, walking, going in to one's wife, sleeping, and satisfying one's natural needs are chiefly through nature. Worthiness, friendship, goodness, generosity, and rectitude are chiefly through character. Intelligence, understanding, body, stature, and appearance are chiefly through heredity.

Z 35 (*b*). Practically identical with the foregoing text is the following, *Pahlavī Texts*, p. 82, ll. 9–16.

'ēn-ič 'gōβēnd 'ku 'čiš ⟨i⟩ gētēh 'pat 25 bahr 'nihāt 'ēstēt, 5 'pat baχt, 5 'pat kunišn, 5 'pat hōk, 5 'pat gōhr 'ut 5 'pat aparmānd. zīvandakīh ⟨'ut⟩ 'zan 'ut frazand 'ut χ^{v}atāyīh 'ut χ^{v}āstak 'pat baχt. āsrōnīh 'ut artēštārīh 'ut vāstryōšīh

*'ut kirpak 'ut bazak 'pat kunišn. 'ō 'zanān 'šutan 'ut kār vičārtan 'ut 'χᵛartan 'ut raftan 'ut 'χuftan 'pat hōk. miθr 'ut āzarm 'ut rātīh 'ut rāstīh 'ut *aδarmēnišnīh 'pat gōhr. tan 'ut *brēh 'ut ōš 'ut vīr 'ut nērōk 'pat aparmānd.*

TRANSLATION

They say, too, that the things of this world are divided into twenty-five parts: five are through fate, five through action, five through nature, five through character, and five through heredity. Life, wife, children, sovereignty, and wealth are through fate. The membership of the castes of the priests, warriors and husbandmen, virtue and vice are through action. Going in to one's wife, satisfying one's natural needs, eating, walking, and sleeping are through nature. Friendship, respect, generosity, righteousness, and humility are through character. Body, stature, understanding, intelligence, and strength are through heredity.

Z 35 (*c*). Practically the same text (in New Persian) is found in Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥatu'l-mulūk* (ed. J. Humā'ī, Tehran, A.H. 1315–17), pp. 123–4. The editor quotes another work, the *J̌āvīdān χirad*, as having the same text and attributing it to Āδurbāδ, presumably the son of Mahraspand (v. Part I, Chapter I). The translation is as follows:

It is generally agreed that worldly affairs are divided into twenty-five categories. Five of these are the province of fate (*qaẓā va qadar*), first choosing a wife, second children, third property, fourth kingship, fifth life.

Five others are the province of effort (*jahd*), first learning (*'ilm*), second the office of secretary, third horsemanship, fourth heaven, fifth salvation from hell.

Five others are of nature (*ṭab'ī*), first trust, second courtesy, third humility, fourth liberality, fifth truthfulness.

Five others are by habit (*'ādat*), first walking, second eating, third sleeping, fourth sexual intercourse, fifth excretion.

Five others are hereditary (*mīrāṣī*)—good looks, a good character, ambition, pride, and meanness.

Z 36. From the *Persian Rivâyat* (Hormazyār, ii, p. 53, l. 10). Text and translation with notes in BSOS. ix, pp. 310, 320.

From the Zand-Avesta

God said to Zoroaster, 'Zurvān has seven faces, and on each face three eyes; and he has seven names: the name of the one is 'Godly' (bestowing);

the second 'Zurvān'; the third 'He who makes old'; the fourth 'Fate'; the fifth 'the Cherisher (?)'; the sixth 'the Adversary'; the seventh *yō-framānə* (? *dō-framān-ē*, he who has two commands, v. Part I, p. 231).

Z 37. The second '*Ulemā i Islām*. The text was first published by Olshausen and Mohl in *Fragmens rélatifs à la Religion de Zoroastre extraits des manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque du roi*, Paris, 1829. The first translation is that of Vullers, *Fragmente ueber die Religion des Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, pp. 43–67. A second translation was made by Blochet in RHR. 1898, xxxvii, pp. 40–49. Finally the text appears in the *Persian Rivâyats* (Hormazyār), ii, pp. 80–86, and the translation in Dhabhar's *Persian Rivâyats*, pp. 449–57. Parallel with the '*Ulemā* is a *rivāyat* first published and translated by Spiegel in *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, pp. 161–6: this also appears in PersRiv. ii, pp. 62–66 (Dhabhar, pp. 428–31). The variants in this version are most useful for re-establishing the text. The parallelism between the two texts, however, only lasts as far as § 18. Words or sentences only found in the Spiegel text are put between brackets ( ).

(1) Six hundred years after Yezdigird (sc. III) according to the Religious Era the doctors of Islām asked certain questions of one who was learned in our religion. The conversation took place in this manner, and a book has been compiled on this matter, and this book is called '*The Doctors of Islām*', or '*The explanation of the nature of the world and the soul of man from the beginning of time till the end.*'

(2) They asked: 'What do you say concerning the raising (of the dead)? Do you believe it or not?'

(3) The High Priest of the Magians said: 'We believe in the raising (of the dead), and the resurrection will take place.'

(4) Then the Doctors of Islām said: 'Has the world (always) existed? and what is your opinion concerning God's creation of man, non-existence, death, and the resurrection in life?'

(5) The religious leader of that time answered: 'In this matter of which you ask concerning the raising (of the dead), first we must know what creation is and what it is to cause death and wherefore man is resurrected in life: and we must say whether the world has (always) existed or whether it has been created.

(6) 'First I will speak of the world and discuss whether it has (always)

existed or whether it was created. If it should be said that it has (always) existed, this opinion is untenable: for ever anew do things wax in the world and then again wane [and wax], decrease and then again increase. Further all that is susceptible of coming to be and passing away and is the effect of a cause is not proper to God. Thus it is established that the world has not (always) existed and that it has been created. Moreover, a created thing necessarily implies a Creator. (7) Now it must be known that in the Pahlavī religion to which the Zoroastrians adhere, the world is said to have been created. After saying that the world has been created we must further say who created it and when, how, and why he created it.

(8) 'In the religion of Zoroaster it is thus revealed. Except Time all other things are created.[a] Time is the creator; and Time has no limit, neither top nor bottom. It has always been and shall be for evermore. No sensible person will say whence Time has come. In spite of all the grandeur that surrounded it, there was no one to call it creator; for it had not brought forth creation. (9) Then it created fire and water; and when it had brought them together, Ohrmazd came into existence, and simultaneously Time became Creator and Lord[b] with regard to the creation it had brought forth. (10) Ohrmazd was bright, pure, sweet-smelling, and beneficent, and had power over all good things. Then, when he looked down, he saw Ahriman ninety-six thousand parasangs away, black, foul, stinking, and maleficent; and it appeared fearful to Ohrmazd, for he was a frightful enemy. (11) And when Ohrmazd saw this enemy, he thought thus: "I must utterly destroy this enemy", and he considered with what and how many instruments *he could destroy him.* (12) Then did Ohrmazd begin ⟨the work of creation⟩. Whatever Ohrmazd did, he did with the aid of Time; for all the excellence that Ohrmazd needed, had (already) been created. And Ohrmazd made Time of the long Dominion manifest[c] which has the measure of twelve thousand years, and within it he attached the firmament, the artificer[d] (and heaven).[e] (13) And each of the twelve Signs of the Zodiac which are bound to the firmament he appointed for a thousand years. During three thousand years the spiritual creation was made; and Aries, Taurus, and Gemini held sway each for a thousand years. (14) Then Ahriman (with the aid of Time) turned towards the heights that he might do battle with Ohrmazd: he saw[f] an army marshalled and drawn up in ranks, and rushed back to hell. From the foulness, darkness, and stench that was within him, he raised an army. This was possible for him.[g] In this matter much has been said. The meaning of this is that when he (saw he) was empty-handed, he rushed back to hell. (15) Because of the righteousness he saw in Ohrmazd for three thousand years he could not move, so that during these three thousand years

material creation was made.[h] The control of the world passed to Cancer, Leo, and Virgo. In this matter much has been said.

(16) 'I will say a few words on this subject. In the creation of the material world first he manifested the sky, and the measure of it was twenty-four (thousand) by twenty-four thousand parasangs, and its top reached Garōδmān . . ..[i] After forty-five days he caused the water to appear (from the sky);[j] after sixty days the earth appeared out of the water: after seventy-five days he manifested plants, large and small: after thirty days the Bull and Gayōmart appeared: and after eighty days Adam and Eve[k] made their appearance. (17) When the three thousand years we have mentioned (had elapsed) and Man, the material world, and the other creatures we have mentioned had come into existence, the accursed Ahriman again bestirred himself: and (Time brought it about that Ahriman)[l] bored a hole in the sky, the mountains, and the earth, rushed into the material world and defiled everything in it with his wickedness and impurity. (18) As he possessed no spiritual thing, he did battle for ninety days and nights in the material world; and the firmament was rent, and the spiritual beings came to the assistance of the material world. (19) And they seized the seven most evil demons and brought them to the firmament[m] and bound them with unseen (spiritual, *mīnū*) bonds. And Ahriman afflicted Gayōmart with a thousand torments till he passed away. And from him certain things came into existence. About this much has been said. From the Bull too certain things and animals came into existence. About this much has been said. (20) Then they seized upon Ahriman and carried him off to hell by that very hole through which he had entered the world; and they bound him with unseen bonds. Two angels, even Ardībihišt, the Amahraspand, and Varhrām, the god, stood in guard over him.

(21) 'If it is objected that since all this suffering comes from him, they should have slain him when they captured him, then it must be known that when one kills a living creature and says, 'I have killed so and so', and that creature is (actually) killed, the fire that is in him goes to the Fire, and the water that is in him to the Water, and the earth that is in him to the Earth, and the air that is in him to the Air: and at the time of the raising (of the dead) he will be raised up; and what does it matter if in the meantime (the elements) were separated? (22) Thus it is plain that none of these things which we have mentioned is annihilated, but that each of them is, as it were, separated from the four elements. Further, how could Ahriman with all his density[n] be slain unless they slew him gently and by degrees, and mingled evil with good, and darkness with light, and foulness with purity, so that mastery should remain, not vengeance and enmity?

(23) 'If it is objected that since (Time) possessed all this mastery, why did it create Ahriman, we (reply that as) we said in the beginning, Ohrmazd and Ahriman both came into existence from Time. Every sect holds a different opinion. (24) One party says that it created Ahriman so that Ohrmazd should know that Time has power over (all) things: another says that there was no need to create him, and that Time[o] said to Ohrmazd, "I have power to do this without bringing pain upon Ohrmazd and ourselves": another says, "What pain or pleasure has Time from the evil of Ahriman or the goodness of Ohrmazd?" Another says that it created Ohrmazd and Ahriman so that it might mingle good and evil, and that things of different kinds and colours might come into existence: another says that Ahriman was an honoured[p] angel, and that because of some disobedience of which he had been guilty he became the target of malediction. In this matter much has been said.

(25) 'Now we will proceed to the end of our story. After the spiritual beings had bound Ahriman in hell and had bound the seven demons on to the firmament[q]—the names of the demons are as follows: Zēriǰ, *Tariǰ, *Nānghaiθ, Tarmad, Xišm, *Sēǰ, and *Bēš—Ohrmazd surrounded every one of the seven with light and gave them Ohrmazdean names—Kēvān (Saturn), Ohrmazd (Jupiter), Bahrām (Mars), Šēd (the Sun), Nāhīd (Venus), Tīr (Mercury), and Māh (the Moon). (26) When these deeds were duly performed, the firmament began to revolve, and the Sun, Moon, and stars began to rise and set; and hours, days, nights, years, and months appeared, and the 'givers'[r] appeared. In this matter much has been said.

(27) 'For three thousand years men existed and the demons too were plain to see, and there was war between men and demons. In Man there are some things that are Ohrmazd's and some that are Ahriman's. In his body there is fire, water, earth, and air, and further soul, intelligence, consciousness, and *fravahr*; further the five senses, sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. (28) Should anyone say that all these derive from the soul, it is not so; for there are many people who are dumb and lame. If anyone should object saying, "If the soul does not possess these faculties and provisions, what then can it do?"—(we reply) that this is not a fair question (*lit.* this is not so): for we see that fire has no mouth, yet it consumes food; and it has no feet, yet when you put fuel before it, it goes in pursuit of the fuel; and it has no eyes, yet it gives light to the eyes. This has been said that we should know that provided though we are with all these faculties and provisions, we are nothing without His favour despite all the pride and selfishness we show in our relations with one another. Since we have recorded those things which are Ohrmazd's, we will now record[s] those which are

Ahriman's, that people may know. These are Concupiscence (Āz), Want, Envy, Vengeance, Lust, Falsehood, and Anger. These the demons had in their bodies; and they were (mixed with) the four elements.[t] (30) For the power of Ahriman comes to the demons of the firmament, and thus does he ever anew bring evil to the world through them, until the power of Ahriman wanes and the evil of Ahriman diminishes, till through the resurrection all his evil decreases and is annihilated.

(31) 'And the men of that time walked according to the paths of righteousness and smote the demons until J̌amšīd became king. For six hundred and sixteen years and six months did he reign; and the demon of Wrath entered him and he claimed to be God. And the Arab Dahāk seized him and slew him and settled at the king's court. (32) He reigned a thousand years and mixed men and demons together and worked much sorcery in the world until Farīdūn, son of Ātfī, came and bound him. Dahāk means ten sins.[u] Now he is commonly called Ẓaḥḥāk. After this, war broke out among men because some had mixed with the demons and some had fallen into error. Then Farīdūn strove to call men back to the path of righteousness. When Āfrāsyāb appeared from his family, disorder increased: and when Kay Xusrau appeared, he purged the world of evil men. (33) Then Zartušt (Zoroaster) Isfantamān came as a prophet and brought the Avesta, Zand, and Pāzand. King Guštāsp was converted and spread it abroad in the world;[v] and one quarter of the world was converted to the religion of Zartušt and spread it abroad in the world; and for three hundred years it went every day better with the followers of the Religion until Alexander the Roman (Macedonian) came, and once again confusion increased. (34) After this Ardašīr, son of Pāpak, lessened the confusion and five hundred years passed by. After that the army of the Arabs rose up and brought the Persians beneath its yoke; and every day they became weaker (till) the time when Bahrām, the mighty, comes and takes to himself the throne of the kingdom of the Sassanians.

(35) 'Then Ōšēdar, the bright, will come and will bring one Nask of the Avesta and Zand in addition to that which Zartušt Isfantamān had brought, and Bahrām, the mighty, will spread it abroad in the world; and of those three quarters who were not converted in the time of Zartušt, one quarter more will be converted and for four hundred years will spread it abroad.[w] Then once again will confusion appear. In this matter much has been said. (36) Then again Ōšēdar-māh will come and will make an end of confusion and will bring one more Nask of the Avesta in addition to that which Ōšēdar, the bright, had already brought, and will spread it abroad in the world. One half of those who are without religion will be converted to the

Good Religion. Once again a period of welfare will pass away and a period of evil will set in and in its turn pass away. (37) Then *Sōšyans^{x} will bring one Nask of the Avesta in addition to that which Ōšēdar-māh had already brought and all men will be converted to the Good Religion and confusion will vanish from the world. Fifty-seven years will pass and the resurrection will come to pass. In this matter much has been said; but I have been brief so as not to bore the reader.

(38) 'Now we have come to the end of our story. When it is said that a person dies or is killed, the air that is within him is united to the Air, and the earth within him to the Earth, the water within him to the Water, and the fire within him to the Fire. His soul, intelligence, and consciousness all become one and unite with the *fravahr*, and the whole becomes one. If one has a preponderance of sin, one is punished: if one has a preponderance of virtue, one is taken up to heaven. Then the demons who were with these persons will all be worn down and slain. (39) With regard to the punishment that they endure, the Amahraspand Ardībihišt acts as mediator and does not permit that they be punished beyond the measure of their sin. Whoso is worthy of heaven is borne to heaven; and whoso is worthy of Garōδmān is borne to Garōδmān; and whoso is worthy of Hamēstagān (the place of the mixed, i.e. purgatory) is borne to Hamēstagān. (40) Then up to the resurrection the power of the demons is worn down and their wickedness is reduced to nothing because men endure punishment; and thus the demons that are within men are worn down. (41) After this they raise up the bodies of the denizens of heaven and hell even from the primal substances: they collect (spirit) from spirit, fire from fire, water from water, earth from earth, and air from air, and the soul returns to earth. (42) At the time of the resurrection the evil that is in the body of man no longer remains, and men will be free from death, old age, and want, so that they live for ever; and no evil will remain.

(43) 'Beasts, birds, and fish have no soul, but the fourfold spirit is reunited with them. They are exempt from the reckoning and judgement because they have no soul or *fravahr*. It is the soul that shows that man is possessed of reason, knowledge, righteousness, and height(!) and the ability to speak words with his tongue and to do deeds with his hands. Otherwise all living creatures partake of the four elements. But man has all this besides, and because he possesses a soul, he must undergo the reckoning and judgement while other living creatures do not.

(44) 'With regard to what has been said about what creation is and what it is to cause death and why there is hope of resurrection in life, we must know that creation is due to his mercy and grace, and the cause of death is

this, that (if) we were like the Amahraspands who do not die, Ahriman would have been unable to mingle with us, and his evil, darkness, foulness, and stench would have remained for ever: (but now) since he has mingled with us[y] and torments us, he has propagated himself and thinks that he can annihilate us, and he does not know that it is his own wickedness that he is destroying. That is how death is caused. (45) The resurrection in life is a holy duty for Him since we have laboured much both in the material world and in the spiritual. So because of His mercy and kindness it is a holy duty for Him to bring us to life, although there is no question of anything being (really) dead. Rather He brings together what was scattered abroad and raises up the person and gives him his recompense from the good things that are His.

(46) 'With regard to the twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta of which they speak, Avesta is the tongue of Ohrmazd, and Zand is our tongue and Pāzand that tongue in which everyone knows what he is saying. (47) The Avesta, Zand, and Pāzand of the twenty-one Nasks are as follows. The Zand and Pāzand of seven Nasks treat of those matters which we have discussed. The Zand and Pāzand of another seven Nasks treat of what is proper and what is improper, of what to do and what not to do, of what to say and what not to say, of what to take and what not to take, of what to eat and what not to eat, of what is pure and what is impure, of what to wear and what not to wear, and such matters. If I recounted all, the book would (never) end: and so I have been brief. The Zand and Pāzand of the other seven Nasks treat of medicine and astrology. In this matter much has been said.

(48) 'They say that the Sun revolves round the earth; and everywhere the Sun goes, as for example here where we are, the sky and the stars follow (*lit.* are). It can go under the earth or to the side of the earth, so that we ourselves may be under the earth though we say that we are on the top of the earth. In the Avesta and Zand it is said that all men that have been or are or shall be will go to heaven, and that their souls shall undergo punishment before the resurrection.

(49) 'More wonderful is this that we send our children to school and teach them good conduct and keep them far from evil. Yet when you consider, they still come to know evil before good. But good is good in the sight of God and before men; and evil is evil before the Creator and before men. And in man there is good and evil; and in the world there is good and evil; and in the firmament there is good and evil; and in the spiritual world there is heaven and hell. (50) We were created by the Creator, and to Him is our return. Had it not been necessary, the Creator would not

have created us. And with regard to the fact that evil should never have been created and yet exists, a veil is drawn over this, or else our intelligence cannot attain it. Yet since this is so, we must leave what is God's concern to God.

(51) 'What thou art told to do, thou shalt do; and what thou art told not to do, thou shalt not do; and what thou art told to think, thou shalt think; and what thou art told not to think, thou shalt not think; and what thou art told to say, say; and what thou art told not to say, thou shalt not say; and what thou art commanded to eat, eat; and what thou art commanded not to eat, thou shalt not eat; and what thou art told to wear, wear; and what thou art told not to wear, thou shalt not wear, and other such things as these. And our law is to busy ourselves with the service of God.'

(52) Greetings and blessings upon the pure and good and those who show the way. May the good prevail. Amen.

NOTES

[a] So, reading *ǰuz* as in Spiegel's text instead of *χudā* as in Hormuzyār. With the reading *χudā* no satisfactory sense is obtained. Blochet translates: 'Dieu a créé toutes les choses du Temps, et le Temps est le Créateur.' This is obviously inadequate.

[b] Reading *χudāvand* with Spiegel and the MS. Bk. quoted by Dhabhar.

[c] Ohrmazd must be the subject, for he is already existent whereas there has been no mention of Time of the long Dominion: yet Blochet, following Vullers, translates, 'Le Temps de la Longue Souveraineté créa Ormazd'.

[d] Literally 'the painter' (*naqqāš*): Dhabhar unaccountably translates 'its chart'.

[e] *va mīnū*: not in Spiegel. The word is obviously a transcription of Phl. *mēnōk* which in this context would mean 'in ideal or spiritual form'.

[f] So following Spiegel's text, *dīd*: Hormazyār has *az dīv*.

[g] *va mumkin būd*: the sense is not clear. Blochet has 'Il est possible que cela soit': similarly Dhabhar. Vullers, 'Wann dieses möglich gewesen'.

[h] This episode corresponds to the first defeat of Ahriman described in text Z 1, § 7, and Z 4, § 4.

[i] The text is corrupt: Hormuzyār has *tā ba-garōθmān bar šudeh*; Spiegel, *tā ba-garōθmān bi-rasad bar šudan bar rūy i āsmān*. Neither makes sense, and Vullers wisely left a *lacuna* in his translation. Blochet translates 's'élevant jusqu'au Garôthmân et sur la sphère céleste'. Dhabhar has 'upwards to G. which was over the heavens'. This involves a slight emendation of the text.

[j] All MSS. appear to read *āb* except Bk. which has *āsmān*. I would therefore read *az āsmān āb* corresponding to GrBd. 19. 5 (text Z 1, § 45), *'hač gōhr i āsmān 'āp brēhēnīt*.

[k] i.e. the first human couple, Mašyē and Mašyānē.

[l] So Spiegel's text: Hormuzyār omits.

[m] From here on Spiegel's text is completely different. In translation it runs as follows:

'Of the seven demons they seized the four who were the worst, and they bound them with unseen bonds to the eighth heaven which they call the heaven of the

fixed stars; and they appointed the star Vanand over those four demons so that they could do no harm. Of the other three demons they put Saturn who has a very evil influence in the seventh heaven; and in the Āyīn(?) heaven which is the sixth heaven they put Jupiter who has a very good influence. The second demon who is Mars and who has only a slightly evil influence, they put in the fifth heaven: and in the fourth heaven which is the centre of the heavens they placed the Sun and they presented him with sovereignty over the heavens [over against the heavens(?)]. They placed Saturn and Mars higher than the heaven of the Sun so that the poison and filth which they let fall upon the earth should be melted by the heat of the Sun and come to the earth in smaller quantities. In the third heaven they put Venus who has only a slightly good influence. The third demon which is Mercury, whose nature is mixed, they placed in the second heaven, and they bound him to the hand of the Sun so that (the Sun) should control the affairs of the heavens over him: but he does not escape from the Sun; for since his heaven is below that of the Sun, all the poison and filth which he lets fall comes to the earth. They call him "mixed" because he is inclined to do evil, but since he is a prisoner in the hand of the Sun, he cannot do excessive harm as he would wish to do. His place is between two planets of good influence. Necessarily when he is with a good influence, he does good; and when he falls together with an evil influence, he does evil. For this reason they do not call him an evil influence, but mixed. In the first heaven they put the Moon. Below the heaven of the Moon there is another heaven which they call the heaven of Gōčihr, and the tail and the head of the serpent[1] are in that heaven. When the period of control of Aries, Taurus, and Gemini had passed and control passed to Cancer and it was its turn, they prepared the horoscope of the world; and they placed every constellation in the twelve Signs of the Zodiac in the house of its ascendant in the form in which they are (now) fixed so that it should be easier to understand. Then Ahriman afflicted Gayōmart with a thousand torments until he passed away. From him certain things came into existence; and from the Bull, too, many kinds of things and animals came into existence. Then they seized upon Ahriman and carried him off to hell by that hole through which he had come into the world; and they bound him with unseen bonds, for the Amahraspand Ardībihišt and the god Vahrām were appointed (over him).'

n For *siṭabrī* Blochet's 'vil et méprisable' is wrong.

o Taking 'Time' as the subject with Vullers. Taking Ahriman as the subject Dhabhar produces singularly poor sense: 'He (Ahriman) said to Ormazd: I can do such (evil) things and therefore it is not necessary to attribute evil unto Ormazd or unto me.'

p So, reading *muqarrab*. Blochet read *mutaẓarrib* and translated 'qui se châtie lui-même'.

q Hormuzyār adds *tavānand kard*, which yields no sense.

r As Spiegel saw, the 'givers' must be the twelve Signs of the Zodiac (*Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii, p. 182). *dahandagān* is in fact a literal translation of Av. *bayа-*, Phl. *bay* 'bestower', then 'constellation': so ŠGV. 4. 8: *bayą i nāki-baχtārą*.

s For the *yād kunand* of the text *yād kunīm* must be read.

1 For 'serpent' the text has the incomprehensible *WKYD*, but the meaning is assured by GrBd. 52. 12: *gōčihr miyān ⟨i⟩ āsmān 'bē 'ēstāt mār humānāk, 'sar 'pat dōpatkar 'ut dumb 'pat nēmāsp.*— 'Gōčihr was in the middle of the sky, like a serpent, with its head in Gemini and its tail in Centaurus.'

[t] The text reads: *dar dīvān kālbud dāštand ṭabā'i' čahār gūneh būdī.* In his translation Dhabhar appears to have substituted *agar* for *dar*—'Had the demons been incarnate, their natures would have been of these four kinds.' I would prefer to emend the text to *dīvān dar kālbud dāštand bā ṭabā'i' čahār-gūneh būdand*, since *ṭabā'i'* must surely refer to the elements and not to the 'natures' of the demons.

[u] The *DH"'* of the text is meaningless. We must emend to *DH'Γ* = *dahāγ*: from the explanation *dah 'aib* it is to be assumed that the word was understood as *dah aγ* < Av. *aγa-* 'evil', Phl. *aγ-* in *aγdēn*, &c. According to Dhabhar the MS. Bk. enumerates the sins; these Blochet translates as follows: 'odieux, inique, petit, tyran, sans pudeur, mangeant beaucoup, parlant mal, menteur, téméraire, ayant mauvais cœur, sans intelligence'.

[v] Text has *qabūl dar ǰahān kard*: read, with Dhabhar, *qabūl kard va dar ǰahān ravā kard.* Dhabhar reads *ravān* rather than *ravā.*

[w] Reading *ravā kunand* for *ravā bāšand.* For Hormazyār's *sih bāreh ōšēdarmāh yakī ziyādat kunad* read with MSS. T 30 and Bk. (Dhabhar p. 454) *sih yakī ziyādat qabūl kunad.*

[x] The text reads *siyāvušānī.*

[y] Reading *čūn* for *χūn.*

Z 38. The following text from the *Persian Rivâyat* is not found in the edition of Modi and Unvala. It was, however, published by Dhabhar in his translation (p. 438), where the Persian text will also be found. It appears to be an attempt on the part of an orthodox Mazdean to square Mazdean dualism with the myth that Ohrmazd and Ahriman issued from Time. The equation of Zurvān with the *Ahunvar* prayer, which does not appear elsewhere, is probably late and suggested by the fact that in the *Bundahišn* the *Ahunvar* is chanted just after the creation of finite Time.

From the Rivâyat of Bahman Pūnjayeh.—Ohrmazd and Ahriman became manifest from Time; that is to say, Ohrmazd and Ahriman became manifest during the same period. However, Ohrmazd became manifest through the overflowing of his own essence. There is no doubt about this. Again Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd (saying), 'At the time when the world came into existence, what existed?' Ohrmazd said, 'At that time I and my *Ahunvar* both existed.' Zurvān is called the *Ahunvar.*

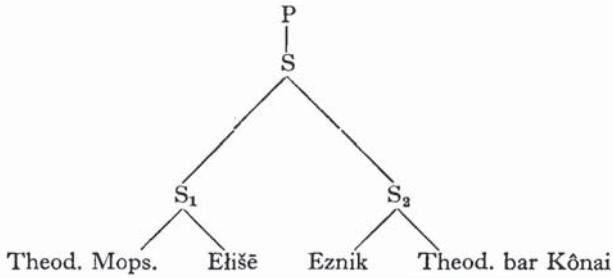
III

POLEMICS AGAINST THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND NOTICES THEREOF FROM CHRISTIAN, MANICHAEAN, AND MUHAMMADAN SOURCES WRITTEN IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

F 1. Four versions of the Zervanite myth are preserved, two by the Armenians Eznik of Kołb and Ełišē Vardapet, and two by the Syrians Theodore bar Kônai and Yohannân bar Penkayê. For our arrangement of the texts in tabular form we are indebted to Louis Mariès, who has given us a close study of the three former in his valuable book, *Le* de Deo *d'Eznik de Kołb*, Paris, 1924, pp. 48–52. The last text was brought to light by P. de Menasce, who edited and commented upon it in his article, 'Autour d'un texte syriaque inédit' (BSOS. ix, pp. 587–601). The translation reproduced here is his. Mariès's table is also to be found—as are the majority of the texts appearing in this section—in Bidez–Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, ii, pp. 89–92, whose translation I have followed in the main. For Eznik I have used the Venice edition, 1926 (pp. 125–8; p. 89 in the translation of Schmid; *Le Vaillant de Florival*, p. 75; Langlois, ii, p. 375; cf. I. F. Blue, *Indo-Iranian Studies in honour of Sanjana*, p. 70); for Ełišē the edition of Yohannisean, Moscow, 1892 (tr. Langlois, ii, p. 190); for Theodore bar Kônai the edition of Pognon in his *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, pp. 111 ff. (translation, pp. 162 ff.); and for Yohannân bar Penkayê the text and translation of de Menasce, l.c.

Obviously the four accounts go back to a common original; but whether this original is Theodore of Mopsuestia (G 2) as has been maintained by Cumont (MMM. i, p. 18; *Mages*, ii, p. 88) is open to doubt. For his version we have only the miserable summary preserved by Photius, and we are unable to judge from it what details in the myth were common to it and any one of the four accounts. Mariès supposes all four versions—not counting bar Penkayê whom he did not know—go back in two branches to a

common Syriac source, itself dependent on a Pahlavī original. His views are summarized in the following table.



Schaeder, on the other hand, derives Ełišē direct from Eznik, and Eznik from Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Studien*, p. 239). None

	Eznik	*Ełišē*
1.		
2.		
3.	Alors que rien absolument n'existait encore, — disent-ils, —	. . . avant que fussent
4.	ni cieux, ni terre,	les cieux et la terre
5.	ni autres créatures que ce soit	
6.	qui sont aux cieux et sur la terre —	
7.	existait un dénommé Zrouan,	Zrouan le grand dieu
8.	ce qui se traduit 'sort' ou 'fortune'.	
9.	Pendant mille ans il avait offert sacrifice	offrait sacrifice pendant mille ans
10.		et disait:
11.	afin d'avoir peut-être un fils	'Peut-être aurai-je un fils,
12.	qui aurait nom Ormizd	Ormizd (sera son) nom,
13.	et qui ferait les cieux et la terre	il fera le ciel et la terre.'
14.	et tout ce qu'ils contiennent.	
15.	Depuis mille ans il offrait (ainsi) sacrifice	
16.	quand il se mit à faire réflexion et dit:	
17.	'De quelle utilité pourra bien être le sacrifice que j'offre?	

of these hypotheses is wholly acceptable, as each account has its individual peculiarities and no two are entirely in agreement throughout. We must, then, be content to note that they all derive from a common original, probably Pahlavī but possibly Syriac. I am inclined to think that the original was a genuine Zervanite text and not a Mazdean anti-Zervanite polemic, since it bears a striking resemblance to the genuinely Zervanite *'Ulemā i Islām* (text Z 37). If so, it is best regarded as a simple exposition of Zervanite doctrine for simple people.

Henning (*Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-doctor?*, p. 51) considers that all the principal anti-Zervanite writers including the Manichaean fragment (text F 7 (*b*)) derive from a common written source which cannot be later than the fourth century A.D.

	Theodore bar Kônai	*Yohannân bar Penkayê*
1.	Voici ce que dit (Zerdouscht) sur la conception	
2.	de Hormizd et d'Ahriman:	
3.	Quand rien n'existait encore,	. . . avant que Zarwan n'eût créé
4.	sinon les ténèbres,	le ciel et la terre,
5.		
6.		
7.	Zerwan	il
8.		
9.	offrit des sacrifices pendant mille ans.	offrait, mille années durant, des libations à Dieu
10.		
11.		dans le but d'obtenir un fils,
12.		Hormizd,
13.		qui créerait le ciel et la terre.
14.		
15.		Et au terme de cette période de (mille) années,
16.	Et parce qu'il douta,	il réfléchit dans son cœur, et se dit:
17.		'Aurai-je vraiment quelque profit de ces sacrifices,

	Eznik	*Eliše*
18.	et aurais-je un fils Ormizd?	
19.	ou bien fais-je en vain ces efforts?'	
20.	Et tandis qu'il faisait cette réflexion	
21.	Ormizd et Arhmn furent conçus	Et il conçut deux (fils)
22.	dans le sein de leur mère:	dans (son) sein:
23.	Ormizd en vertu du sacrifice offert	l'un pour le sacrifice offert
24.	et Arhmn en vertu du doute susdit.	et un autre encore pour avoir dit: 'peut-être'.
25.	Lors donc, s'en étant rendu compte, Zrouan	Quand il sut
26.	dit: 'Deux fils sont	qu'ils étaient deux
27.	dans le sein que voilà:	dans ce sein:
28.	celui d'entre eux, quel qu'il soit, qui vite à moi parviendra	'Celui qui vite viendra, dit-il,
29.	je le ferai roi.'	je lui donnerai la royauté.'
30.	Ormizd ayant eu connaissance	
31.	des desseins de leur père	
32.	(les) révéla à Arhmn,	
33.	disant: 'Zrouan notre père	
34.	a formé ce dessein: qui d'entre nous vite	
35.	à lui viendra, il le fera	
36.	roi.'	
37.	Et Arhmn ayant entendu cela	Or celui qui avait été conçu
38.		de par son peu de foi
39.	perça le sein	déchira le sein
40.	et sortit,	et sortit dehors.

	Theodore bar Kônai	*Yohannân bar Penkayê*
18.	craignant qu'il ne lui vînt point de fils,	
19.		ou est-ce en vain que je me fatigue?'
20.		Au moment même où cette pensée lui vint,
21.	Satan fut conçu en même temps que Hormizd.	Hormizd et Ahrman furent conçus,
22.		
23.		Hormizd en raison des libations,
24.		Ahrman en raison du doute.
25.	Et quand il s'aperçut de la conception d'Ahriman,	Dès qu'il s'en fût avisé,
26.	il dit:	il fit un vœu, disant,
27.		
28.	'Celui qui le premier viendra vers moi,	'A celui qui se trouvera être l'aîné,
29.	je le ferai roi.'	je donnerai ces baguettes — ils les appellent būrsemē — et je lui donnerai puissance pour créer le ciel et la terre.'
30.	Hormizd connut	
31.	la pensée de son père,	
32.	et la révéla à Satan.	
33.		
34.		
35.		
36.		
37.	Et lorsque Satan en eut connaissance,	Ahrman, quand il entendit cela,
38.		
39.	il fendit le ventre de sa mère,	déchira aussitôt le ventre de sa mère,
40.	et tomba de son nombril,	en sortit

	Eznik	*Ełišē*
41.	se présenta devant son père.	
42.	Et Zrouan, l'ayant vu,	
43.	ne sut pas qui il pouvait bien être;	
44.	et il demandait: 'Qui es-tu, toi?'	Zrouan lui dit: 'Qui es-tu?'
45.	Et celui-ci dit: 'Je suis ton fils.'	Il dit: '(Je suis) ton fils, Ormizd.'
46.	Zrouan lui dit:	Zrouan lui dit:
47.		
48.	'Mon fils est parfumé et lumineux,	'Mon fils est lumineux et parfumé,
49.	et toi, tu es ténébreux et puant.'	toi, tu es ténébreux et aimes à faire le mal.'
50.		Et après avoir pleuré très amèrement
51.		il lui donna la royauté pour ⟨neuf?⟩ mille ans.
52.	Et tandis qu'ils	
53.	échangeaient entre eux ces paroles,	
54.	Ormizd étant né à son heure,	Quand il eut donné naissance
55.	lumineux et parfumé,	à l'autre fils encore, il le nomma Ormizd,
56.	vint, se présenta devant Zrouan.	
57.	Et Zrouan l'ayant vu	
58.	sut que c'était là son fils Ormizd,	
59.	en vue duquel il offrait sacrifice.	
60.	Et ayant pris les baguettes	
61.	qu'il tenait en sa main, avec lesquelles il offrait sacrifice,	
61a.		ôta la royauté à Arhmn
62.	il les donna à Ormizd, et dit:	et la donna à Ormizd en disant:
63.	'Jusqu'à présent	'Jusqu'à présent

	Theodore bar Kônai	*Yohannân bar Penkayê*
41.	et alla vers Zerwan.	et se présenta devant son père, Arzwan.
42.	Et Zerwan	Celui-ci, en le voyant,
43.		
44.	lui demanda: 'Qui es-tu?'	dit: 'Qui es-tu?'
45.	Et celui-ci répondit: 'Je suis ton fils.'	Ahrman lui répondit par une tromperie, 'C'est moi qui suis ton fils, Hormizd.'
46.	Et Zerwan lui dit:	
47.	'Tu n'es pas mon fils	
48.		
49.	parce que tu es ténébreux et laid.'	
50.		Et tandis qu'Arzwan s'en contristait
51.		
52.	Et pendant qu'il parlait ainsi	et qu'ils
53.		étaient en contestation,
54.	Hormizd naquit,	le moment vint pour Hormizd, et il naquit.
55.	de bonne odeur et lumineux.	
56.		
57.	Et Zerwan dit:	
58.	'C'est mon fils, Hormizd.'	
59.		
60.	Et les baguettes	
61.	qu'il tenait,	
61a.		
62.	il les lui donna et dit:	Et il lui donna puissance.
63.	'Jusqu'à présent	

	Eznik	*Eliše*
64.	c'est moi qui pour toi offrais sacrifice:	c'est moi qui t'ai offert sacrifice:
65.	dorénavant c'est toi qui pour moi l'offriras.'	maintenant c'est à toi de me l'offrir.'
66.	Et tandis que Zrouan	
67.	donnait les baguettes à Ormizd, et	
68.	le bénissait, Arhmn, s'étant approché	
69.	devant	
70.	Zrouan, lui dit:	
71.	'N'as-tu pas fait le vœu suivant:	
72.	quiconque de mes deux fils	
73.	parviendra à moi le premier,	
74.	celui-là je le ferai roi?'	
75.	Et Zrouan, pour ne pas violer son serment,	
76.	dit à Arhmn:	
77.	'Oh! faux et malfaisant!	
78.	la royauté te sera accordée	
79.	neuf mille ans,	
80.	et Ormizd	
81.	je (l')ai établi roi au-dessus de toi,	
82.	et après neuf mille ans	
83.	Ormizd régnera,	
84.	et tout ce qu'il voudra faire,	
85.	il le fera.'	
86.		
87.	Alors Ormizd et Arhmn se mirent	
88.	à faire des créatures.	
89.	Et tout ce qu'Ormizd créait	Et Ormizd créa
90.	était bon et droit,	les cieux et la terre;

	Theodore bar Kônai	*Yohannân bar Penkayê*
64.	c'est moi qui t'offrais des sacrifices:	
65.	dorénavant tu vas m'en offrir.'	
66.	Mais Satan, comme les choses	
67.	se passaient ainsi,	
68.		
69.		
70.	dit à Zerwan:	
71.	'Prends garde, n'as-tu pas fait cette promesse:	
72.		
73.	le premier qui viendra,	
74.	je lui donnerai la royauté?'	
75.	Et Zerwan	
76.	lui dit:	
77.	'Va-t'en, Satan;	
78.	je t'ai fait roi	
79.	pour neuf mille ans,	
80.	et Hormizd,	
81.	je l'ai fait dominer sur toi,	
82.	et après le terme fixé	
83.	Hormizd régnera,	
84.	et tout, suivant sa volonté	
85.	il mènera.'	
86.	Et Satan s'en alla et fit tout ce qui lui plut.	
87.		
88.		
89.	Et lorsque Hormizd créa	Hormizd créa
90.	les justes,	toutes les choses qui sont bonnes et belles,

Eznik	*Elišē*
91. et ce qu'Arhmn faisait	mais Arhmn à l'opposé fit
92. était mauvais et tortueux.	le mal.
93.	
94.	

F 2. From the treatise *On the True Religion* of Theodore Abū Qurra, Bishop of Harran (*c.* 740–820). The text is found in the edition of Father Cheikho, S.J. (Beyrouth, 1912), pp. 12–13. The treatise has been translated by Georg Graf (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, xiv, Heft 1, our text appearing on pp. 24–25), and his translation has been reproduced by de Menasce in BSOS. ix, pp. 600–1.

Theodore's source is obviously that of Eznik as is proved by their common use of the Persian word *baχt* for Fate and the account, common to both (v. text F 7 (a)), of the creation of the Sun and Moon through the intercourse of Ohrmazd with his mother and sister.

I turned aside from these and was encountered by a group of the Magians. They said, 'Drive them away (sc. the star-worshippers), they have no authority. Come rather to us; for what we possess is the truth.' They stated that their great god was called Zurvān (Ar. Dharwān) and that Zurvān was Fortune (*baχt*). Before he created the earth (*dunyā*), he sacrificed for a thousand years that a son might be born to him: and his wife conceived a son whose name was Hormazd. When he had been conceived for seven hundred years, his father, Zurvān, doubted if he had been conceived; and this doubt of his brought into being another child in his wife's womb, who was Satan. Zurvān knew of this and said: "Whichever of my sons shall first behold my face, verily to him shall I give the kingdom." And Hormazd knew of this while he was in his mother's womb and apprised Satan thereof. And when Satan knew that, he pierced his mother's womb and issued from her side, and went forth till he came into his father's presence: and he was darkness—black of face and ugly. And his father said to him: "Who art thou?" He replied, "I am thy son, Satan, who arose from thy doubt. Give me the kingdom even as thou didst say." And Zurvān was grieved: and since he would not go back on his word, he gave him the kingdom of this world (*dunyā*) for seven thousand years. Hormazd was born from his mother at the end of a thousand years, and he issued forth

Theodore bar Kônai	*Yohannân bar Penkayê*
91. Satan créa	et Ahrman fit
92. les démons;	tout ce qui est nuisible.
93. celui-là créa la richesse,	
94. celui-ci la pauvreté.	

as light—beautiful and fair. He created heaven and earth and the divers natures that are between them in their beauty and fairness, in which we see the world. But they were in darkness, and there was no light in them. And he was grieved, and consulted Satan therein: and he counselled him to have intercourse with his mother. And he did so and had intercourse with her: and she conceived and bore the Sun as a light for the day. And (he also counselled him) to have intercourse with his sister. And he did so and had intercourse with her: and she conceived and bore the Moon as a light for the night. Therefore do the Magians have intercourse with their mothers and sisters and daughters, so that they may bear sons like the Sun and the Moon, even as Hormazd, their god, (did). This is their description of their gods. As Hormazd (did himself), so did he allow them to indulge in all the lusts of the world they please, since for this reason did he create them. They maintain that the prophet who gave them this truth was Zoroaster.

F 3 (*a*). From the *Dēnkart*, Madan, p. 829, ll. 1–5. This, the only passage in Pahlavī literature that expressly condemns the Zervanite theory that Ohrmazd and Ahriman were brothers, has been the subject of frequent discussion. The reader is referred principally to Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, i, pp. 288–91, and Benveniste, MO. xxvi, pp. 209–11; cf. also Darmesteter, ZA. i, p. 221, no. 10; Blochet, RHR. xxxvii, p. 28; Junker, *Aion-Vorstellung*, p. 144; I. F. Blue, *Indo-Iranian Studies in honour of . . . Sanjana*, p. 64. We have included this text in the 'foreign' rather than the Zoroastrian section of the texts on account of our parallels in Manichaean and Syriac writers.

'hač gōβišn i Zartuχšt 'apar drāyastan i Ariš 'dēv 'ō 'martōmān: Ōhrmazd 'ut Ahriman 2 'brāt i 'pat ēvak aškom 'būt 'hēnd: 'hač 'avēšān Amahraspand-⟨ē⟩ 'ān

From the saying of Zoroaster concerning the cry of the demon Ariš (Envy) to mankind: 'Ohrmazd and Ahriman were two brothers in one womb. Of them an Amahraspand chose

i 'vattar dōšīt 'pat 'ān i 'kaδ-aš šnāsakān 'dēvān-ēzišnīh guft, 'ut 'ēn 'ku 'pas[īh] gōspand 'dahēt 'ō apāχtarīkān 'dēvān.

the worse inasmuch as his adherents preach the worship of demons and that they should offer cattle (as victims) to the demons of the planets.'

Ariš: for Ariš, the demon of Envy, v. Chapter I, p. 31, n. E. This particular demon seems to have been suggested by the use of the word *ərəš* in Ys. 30. 3, of which our present passage is supposed to be a translation. The Gāθic passage in question is that in which Ohrmazd and Ahriman are said to have been twins (*yāmā*) and to which the Zervanites pointed as authoritative evidence for the orthodoxy of their views. The Mazdean translator in the *Dēnkart*, possibly fortified by his ignorance of the sacred language and no less by that of his rivals, turns the tables on them and produces a translation the meaning of which is the exact opposite of theirs. That the Avestan language was but very imperfectly understood by those who were supposed to be its interpreters is sufficiently indicated by the following passage of the *Dēnkart*, DkM. 455. 10. A Christian polemist of the name Bōχt-Mārā asks a Magian priest several questions concerning his religion. Among them is the following: 'Why did God proclaim this religion in an unknown and cryptic language called Avestan?'—*yazat 'ēn dēn 'čē rāδ 'pat aδvāč-ē i anāšnāk i nihuftak i apastāk 'nām guft?* The reply does not attempt to refute the charge, but freely admits it, DkM. 459. 8. 'This word and religion of the Avesta is omniscience. As it is most nearly connected with the good spirits, so with regard to the languages of earthly men is it wonderful and passes all comprehension of men. The *Zand*, by reason of the manner in which it is spoken, is more current in the world and better understood.'—*'ēn mānsar 'ut dēn apastāk harvist-ākāsīh. čēyōn 'vēh-mēnōkān ['ut] nazd-brahmīhātar, 'pat hamāk āvāč i gēhānīkān ōyōn vitīmāsīk i vitart 'hač 'har ayāpakīh i 'martōmān. 'ut zand 'pat aδvēnak *i guft 'ēstēt, 'pat miyān i gēhān ravāktar, 'andar gēhān āšnāktar.* A franker admission of sacerdotal ignorance could hardly be made.

Amahraspand-⟨ē⟩: the addition of *-ē* or *-ān* seems necessary: otherwise we should obtain the translation—accepted by Schaeder, op. cit., p. 289—'Of them the Amahraspand chose the worse': alternatively it is possible to take *Amahraspand* as a plural derived from an old nominative rather than the genitive (v. Nyberg, CCM. 1929, pp. 266–7). Punctuation after *Amahraspand* does not seem possible, as the following sentence would then be left without a subject. The translation 'the Amahraspand' seems most unlikely, since it would then be necessary to assume that a doctrine was widely known according to which a given Amahraspand chose the evil side and that this Amahraspand was generally known as *the* Amahraspand to the exclusion of all others. This seems highly improbable, for in the Mazdean books the Amahraspands are always considered as the highest deities in the good creation and are, moreover, seven in number. If any one were referred to as *the* Amahraspand, it would no doubt be Vahman who is the first of their number.

What, then, is meant by 'An Amahraspand chose the worse'? Benveniste has claimed that the passage proves that in Zervanism there were Amahraspands of evil as well as of good. This is scarcely in accordance with their name, which, as Bailey has convincingly shown, means 'the immortals who give increase'. Now it is an acknowledged fact that the Manichaeans, in adapting the Iranian deities to their own conceptions, aimed at the closest correspondence possible with the Zervanite, not the Mazdean, brand of Zoroastrianism; and the Amahraspands do in fact occur in Manichaean texts: they are the five 'light' elements which make up the panoply

of the Primal Man (Ohrmazd in the Iranian texts), light, wind, fire, water, and the gentle breeze. It would, then, seem probable that in Zervanism too the elements were called 'Amahraspands'; and the elements of the Pahlavī books are normally those of Empedocles—fire, water, earth, and air. Of these, then, one chose the worse, that is, attached itself to Ahriman. This can only be water: for we read in Āδur-Hormizd (text F 5), 'Als das Wasser zum Ahraman gekommen war . . . .' Further, we saw in Chapter III, pp. 72 ff., that associated with some Zervanites at least, water, the female element, was regarded as evil. Our present passage is not, then, an isolated case of the Amahraspands being according to Ahriman, but a further confirmation of what already had become sufficiently clear, namely that water, in our system, belongs to the evil creation.

'kaδ-aš šnāsakān: the sentence is only satisfactory if we take *šnāsakān* as the subject. Schaeder translates 'indem er den ihn Erkennenden (= Anerkennenden) die Dev-Anbetung verkündete': but this must involve the addition of *'ō* before *šnāsakān*. Benveniste has 'en ce qu'il a prêché le culte des démons, ses partisans' (l.c., p. 209): on p. 211 for *-aš šnāsakān* he writes 'qui le reconnaissent', from which he derives the meaning 'partisans'. It is, however, improbable that *šnāsakān* is in apposition to *'dēvān*, as the latter is best regarded as the first member of a compound *'dēvān-ēzišnīh*. Were this not so, the presence of the abstract termination *-īh* after the verbal noun *ēzišn* would be superfluous. It will, however, be granted that the scribes of the *Dēnkart* freely sprinkle their text with incorrect *-īh*'s.

F 3 (*b*). The following, a Manichaean fragment in Middle Persian, will be found in F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfān*, ii, p. 94; Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, p. 10. See further text F 7 (*b*).

'wd gwynd kw 'whrmyzd 'wd 'hrmyn br'dr hynd 'wd pdys'y 'yn sχwn rsynd 'w wnywdyẖ.

'And they say that Ohrmazd and Ahriman are brothers; in consequence of this doctrine they will meet with their destruction.'

wnywdyẖ: later form of MPers. *wnybwṯ* + the abstract suffix *-yẖ* (*-īh*) (Henning, BSOS. ix, p. 89).

F 3 (*c*). Another Manichaean text found in the Turkish *Xᵛastuānift*. Text and translation in von le Coq, JRAS. 1911, p. 282, and Bang, 'Manichaeische Laien-Beichtspiegel', *Muséon*, xxxvi, p. 147. I follow the latter's translation.

The *Xᵛastuānift*—perhaps the most interesting and important Manichaean text that has so far turned up in central Asia—may be described as a Manichaean general confession. Its first section, from which our text is extracted, deals with sins against the god Äzruä (the Turkish form of Zurvān borrowed from the

Soghdian). From the Manichaean condemnation of the doctrine that Ohrmazd and Ahriman were brothers we may assume the whole of our passage to be an attack on those Zervanite doctrines which were repulsive to the eastern Manichees.

Wenn wir gesagt haben sollten: 'wenn jemand das Leben verleiht, so verleiht Gott es; wenn jemand den Tod giebt, so giebt Gott ihn', (oder) wenn wir gesagt haben sollten: 'das Gute unde das Böse hat Gott alles geschaffen', (oder) wenn wir gesagt haben sollten: 'er (Gott) ist der Schöpfer der ewigen Götter' (Gott sei der Schöpfer[a] der ewigen Götter), (oder) wenn wir gesagt haben sollten: 'Khormuzta[b] (der Urmensch) und Schimnu[c] (der Urteufel, die Materie) sind jüngerer und älterer Bruder.' Wenn wir jemals, mein Gott, aus Unverstand Gott verleugnend (wörtl.: gegen Gott falsch seiend) in dieser Weise gewaltig (gräßlich) gotteslästerliche Dinge gesagt haben sollten oder in dieser Weise diese unverzeihlichen (?) Sünden begangen haben sollten, mein Gott, so bereue ich, Raimast Färzind, jetzt und bitte um Vergebung der Sünden. *Manastar hirza* (d.h. Meine Sünde erlaß, vergieb).

NOTES

[a] The meaning is presumably 'creator by procreation and birth' with reference to Zurvān's physical paternity and maternity of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. The idea was notoriously repulsive to the Manichaeans who, when speaking of it, used the word 'evoke'.

[b] i.e. Ohrmazd.

[c] i.e. Ahriman: naturally not 'matter' in Zervanite doctrine.

F 3 (*d*). From the Syriac *Acts of the Persian Martyrs*. Text in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii, p. 221; translation, O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 67. Both reproduced in Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, p. 301; cf. I. F. Blue, *Indo-Iranian Studies in honour of . . . Sanjana*, p. 68. This translation follows Widengren in the main.

(The martyr Pûsai speaks to Šāpūr the Great.)

Wenn deine Majestät sagt: Sonne, Mond, Feuer und Wasser sind Kinder des Hormizd, so glauben wir Christen weder an den Bruder Satans noch bekennen wir den Mit-Erben des Teufels, wie die Magier sagen Hormizd sei der Bruder Satans. Wenn wir den Bruder Satans nicht anbeten, wie sollen wir dann die Kinder seines Bruders bekennen?

F 4. Šahristānī, *Kitābu'l-milal wa'n-niḥal*, pp. 183–5 in the edition of Cureton (Leipzig, 1923), cf. the translation of Haarbrücker, vol. i, pp. 277 ff. (Halle, 1850); I. F. Blue, *Indo-Iranian Studies in honour of Sanjana*, pp. 72 ff.

(1) The Zurvāniyya say that the Light emanated persons of light, and all were endowed with spirit, light, and lordship: but the greatest person whose name was Zurvān, doubted concerning something, and Ahriman (who is) Satan arose from that doubt. Some say that this was not so, but that the Great Zurvān stood and mumbled (prayers) for [nine thousand,] nine hundred and ninety-nine years that he might have a son; but he did not have one. Then he consulted with himself and thought and said, 'Perchance is this world (cosmos) as nothing': and Ahriman arose from this single reflection; and Hormuz arose from that wisdom. And they were both in one womb, and Hormuz was nearest to the door of egress: but Ahriman schemed so that he rent his mother's womb, and went out before him and seized the world (the earth). It is said that when he stood before Zurvān, and (Zurvān) beheld him and saw all the evil, wickedness, and corruption in him, he loathed him and cursed him and drove him away. And (Ahriman) went forth and mastered the world (the earth). (2) Hormuz, however, remained for a while without power over him; and he it is whom some took for their lord and served him in that they found in him goodness and purity and righteousness and beauty of character.

(3) Some of the Zurvāniyya think that there was always something evil with God, either an evil thought or an evil corruption, and that is the origin of Satan. They think that the world (earth) was free from wickedness and calamities and discord, and that its people were in a (state of) pure good and perfect prosperity: but when Ahriman arose, wickedness and calamities and discord arose.

(4) (Ahriman) was in a place apart from the sky, and he schemed so that he rent the sky and rose up. Some say that he was in the sky and that the earth was free from him, and he schemed till he rent the sky and descended on to the earth with all his hosts: and the Light fled with its angels, and Satan pursued it till he hemmed it in in its garden (paradise) and did battle with it for three thousand years, though Satan did not attain to the Lord Most High.

(5) Then the angels mediated and made peace (between them) so that the Devil and his hosts should dwell in the light for nine thousand years including the three thousand years in which he did battle with him. Then he will go out to his place.

(6) According to their words the Lord Most High thought it best to bear with the vileness of the Devil and his hosts, and he did not break the treaty until the time of peace was fulfilled: and men are in tribulation and discord and misfortune and trouble until the completion of the period. Then they return to their primal prosperity.

(7) The Devil made a pact that he (Hormuz) should give him power over things that he might do them, and he should allow him to undertake evil emprises. When they were finished with the pact, they called to witness two just ones, and they handed their swords to them, and said to them, 'Whoso shall break this treaty, him do ye slay with this sword.'

(8) I do not think that any sensible person will give credence to this idiotic doctrine, or look (favourably) on this feeble and idle religion. Yet, perhaps it is an allegory of what is figured in the mind. But whoso knows the Lord Most High in his glory and majesty will not assent to such nonsense nor lend his ears to these absurdities.

(9) More exact than this is what Abû Ḥâmidi-z-Zûzanî has told, (saying) that the Magians think that the Devil was always in the darkness and that the atmosphere and the Void were in a place apart from the kingdom of God. Then he continually crept and artfully drew nigh till he perceived the Light, and leapt forward and entered the kingdom of God and the Light, and brought in with him those calamities and wickedness. (10) And God Most High created this world (cosmos) as a net for him, and he fell into it and was suspended in it and could not return to his kingdom. He is imprisoned in this world (cosmos) and tortured in his captivity; and he shoots at God's creation with calamities and distress and discord: to whomsoever God gives life, he assails him with death; and to whomsoever (God) gives health, he assails him with sickness; and whomsoever (God) rejoices, he assails him with grief: nor does he cease from this till the day of the Resurrection. (11) Yet every day his kingdom decreases until he has no more power. And when the Resurrection comes to pass, his kingdom will pass away, and his fires shall be quenched, and his power will cease and his might shall dwindle away, and he shall be flung into the atmosphere, and the atmosphere is darkness without ending or issue. Then God will assemble the men of the religions and judge them and requite them according to their obedience or disobedience towards Satan.

F 5. S 7 in Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii (pp. 107–11). Text in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii, pp. 576 ff. Annotated translation first published by Nöldeke in *Festgruß an Rudolph von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 34–38. Reproduced by Mariès, *Le* de Deo *d'Eznik*

de Kołb, pp. 43–47, who adds translations of parallel passages from Eznik in parallel column. The best edition is now that of Bidez–Cumont, l.c. Our translation is that of Nöldeke.

I

(*The Magian High Priest, Âdhurfrâzgerd, speaks*)

Aus unserem Abhestāg (Avesta) ist deutlich erkannt worden, daß jeder, der in dieser Welt in Glanz und Ehren, auch im Ristâchêz herrlich, geehrt und erhaben ist, und jeder, der in dieser Welt elend und niedrig, auch in jener Welt ebenso elend ist. Denn diese beiden Welten Gêthîh und Behišt sind von Hormizd geschaffen, und wie einer vor dem Großkönig, den Hormizd Chodâi zum Pâtachšâh gemacht hat, um in dieser Welt über unser Kišwar zu herrschen, Ehre hat, so hat er sie auch im Behišt vor Hormizd Chodâi.

Da that der treffliche Âdhurhormizd den Mund auf und sprach zu ihm: Was ist das Leben? Was sind diese vergänglichen Güter, mit denen sich beschäftigt zu haben nach dem Vergehen der Welt keinem hilft? Was habt ihr für eine Lehre, die nützte? Sollen wir Ašôqar, Frašôqar, Zarôqar und Zurwân für Götter halten? Oder den durch Gebet und Gelübde erlangten Hormizd, dessen Vater für seine Gelübde und Opfer erst Erfolg hatte, nachdem er, ohne es zu wollen, den Satan hervorgebracht, indem er gar nicht damit einverstanden war und nicht wußte, wer sie in ihm gebildet hatte und von wem sie geschaffen waren? So zeigt sich, daß Ašôqar, Frašôqar und Zarôqar leere Namen und empfindungslose Steine sind, und so zeigt sich auch Zurwân fern von aller Eigenschaft als Gott, da er ja nicht einmal das wußte, was in seinem Leibe gebildet wurde. Es sieht also nach euren Worten so aus, als ob etwa noch ein anderer Gott da war, dem Zurwân, nach euren Worten, opferte und der ohne seinen Willen die Söhne bildete. Oder galt das vielleicht den Naturwesen, die von euch die Angehörigen des Hormizd und Behman genannt werden, (sc. oder) den dreißig Göttern und Göttersöhnen, die Gutes und Böses thun? Wen sollen wir also von ihnen ehren oder wem zu gefallen suchen, daß er uns helfe? Oder muß man vielleicht dem Ahraman zu gefallen suchen, der, nach euren Worten, aus seinen Werken als weise, kundig und hochmächtig erscheint, wie Hormizd als schwach und dumm, da er gar nichts zu schaffen wußte, bis er von Ahramans Schülern lernte? Denn als er, nach euren Worten, die Welt erschuf, ließ er sie in Finsternis, bis er von Ahramans Schülern lernte. Dann erst schuf er das Licht. Und als Hormizd dann nur einmal bei seiner Mutter schlief, wurde die Sonne, die so hell ist, geboren,

und die Hunde, Schweine, Esel und Rinder. Während sie vorher jeden Tag Chwêtwôdatîh vollzogen hatten, konnten sie doch nicht die Sonne schaffen und besonders nicht die Rinder, welche die Gerechten sind, und die Hunde, die reinen und reinigenden, die Hüter der Thore des Behišt. Und als das Wasser zum Ahraman gekommen war, sprach dieser zu Hormizd: 'deine Tiere sollen nicht von meinem Wasser trinken'. Da Hormizd nun kein Mittel sah und in Furcht war, entdeckte ihm ein Dämon von Ahramans Schar eins und belehrte ihn. Da sprach er zu Ahraman: 'nimm dein Wasser von meiner Erde'. So trank nun der Frosch,[a] den Ahraman geschaffen hatte, das Wasser aus, und Hormizd blieb wieder in Furcht und Betrübnis, bis er von den Geschöpfen Ahramans Hilfe erhielt, denn eine Fliege drang dem Frosch in die Nase, da wurde er irre, und nun kehrte das Wasser an seine Stelle zurück. Hormizd freute sich da und versprach einem von den Dienern, den Vertrauten Ahramans, der ihm die Entdeckung und Mitteilung gemacht hatte, ihm einen Sitz im Behišt zu geben. Und alle Magier sagen für ihn Shnûman her. Wie aus den Thatsachen ersichtlich, ziemt sich's also für uns, dem weisen und mächtigen Satan zu gehorchen und zu dienen, nicht aber dem dummen und unkräftigen Hormizd.

II

(*Anâhêdh speaks to Adhurfrâzgerd*)

Wie sagst du, o Obermagier? daß das Feuer und die Gestirne, die du vorbringst, Kinder des Hormizd seien, die von ihm selbst empfangen und geboren seien? oder von jemand anders? Wir sehen ja, daß alle, die erzeugen und gebären, die Geburt durch Vereinigung zweier, des Männlichen und Weiblichen, zu stande bringen, und nicht (geschieht das) bloß von einem von ihnen. Wenn sie nun aber Hormizd in sich selbst, d.h. bloß in seinem Leibe, empfangen und geboren hat, so ist er, wie sein Vater Zurwân, mann-weiblich, wie die Manichäer sagen. Und wenn er sie mit seiner Mutter, Tochter oder Schwester gezeugt hat, wie eure thörichte und alberne Lehre sagt, warum soll er uns dann nicht in allem gleichen? Ein Gott dagegen hat weder Mutter, noch Tochter, noch Schwester, weil er einer ist und er allein Gott ist, der über all seine Schätze frei verfügt. Daß aber Hormizd wie wir dem Anfang, Ende und Vergehen unterliegt, dafür zeugen sein Vater Zurwân und seine Mutter Xᵛaš(χ)varrīγ.[b] Wie diese das Leben verloren haben, so verlieren es auch ihre Kinder und Kindeskinder, und über diese heißt es in unseren (heiligen) Schriften: 'verlaßt euch nicht auf einen Menschen, auf den kein Verlaß ist, sondern auf den lebendigen Gott.'

NOTES

[a] This myth is highly obscure. Presumably one of the demons is referred to as a frog. Though in the fourth chapter of the *Bundahišn* Ahriman figures as a frog, he plainly cannot be meant here since this frog is created by him. It would therefore seem probable that it is Āz who is compared to a frog in Zs. 34. 35 (text Z 5 (*a*)). The fly is perhaps Ēšm, the demon of wrath.

[b] v. Chapter III, p. 64.

F 6. S 3*a* in Bidez–Cumont, *Mages* (ii, pp. 98–99). Mâr Abhâ. From the *Interpretation of the Laws concerning Sexual Intercourse and Marriage*. Text and translation published by Braun (ZDMG. lvii, 1903, pp. 562–5); reproduced by Sachau with translation (*Syrische Rechtsbücher*, iii, 1914, p. 265). Cf. further Benveniste, MO. xxvi, p. 175. The author Mâr Abhâ was a convert from Magianism to Nestorian Christianity: he was a Nestorian Catholicus from 540 to 552 (Bidez–Cumont).

This translation is that of Sachau.

Von Zerwân, dem Vater ihrer Götter, erzählen die Magier, daß er 1000 Jahre Magismus geübt habe, damit er einen Sohn bekomme, und daß er ob seiner Gerechtigkeit erhört wurde. Sie (die Magier) mögen uns nun nachweisen, wer dieses Zerwâns Mutter, Schwester und Tochter war, wer der Gemahl seiner Mutter und der Vater seiner Schwester, wer seine Gemahlin oder Mutter oder der Vater seiner Mutter war. Wenn sie über diesen (Zerwân) nichts vorbringen können, wie reden sie dann über Hormizd! Woher kommen denn diese Weiber des Hormizd, da sie doch lehren, daß er weder von sich selbst noch von seinem Vater noch von irgendeinem anderen Menschen geboren sei.

Wie war es ferner möglich, daß durch ein solches Lager die Himmelskörper geschaffen wurden, wie sie sagen? Unwahrscheinliches und Unglaubwürdiges kann durch Wahrscheinliches und Sichtbares bewiesen werden. Sie sollen uns nun ein sicheres Zeugnis für diese Hormizdgeschichte bringen. Infolge ihrer jetzigen Theorien heiraten sie ihre Mütter, Schwestern und Töchter. Wenn nun solche Leute imstande sind Wunder und eine neue Schöpfung zu verrichten, und durch den Geschlechtsverkehr mit solchen Weibern eine neue Weisheit zu erlangen, dann glauben die Menschen auch diese unwahrscheinliche Hormizdgeschichte so, wie sie erzählt wird. Wenn sie aber derartiges nicht nachweisen können, wie sollen wir dann von Hormizd glauben, daß er imstande gewesen sei, die Weisheit für die Erschaffung der Himmelskörper durch eine solche schmutzige

Geschlechtsverbindung zu erwerben, er, der ein Schüler des Satans ist, dem der Satan Genosse und gesinnungsgleich ist? Wenn aber Hormizd, der nicht von sich selbst und nicht von seiner und seines Vaters und seiner übrigen Vorfahren Gottesnatur, sondern von dem Satan diese Lehre von der absonderlichen Geschlechtsverbindung mit Mutter, Schwester und Tochter empfangen hat, wie sollte es da nicht klar sein und man es nicht laut ausrufen, daß alle diejenigen, welche um ihres Gottes Hormizd willen solche (blutverwandte) Weiber heiraten, Schüler und Sklaven des Satans sind, nicht des wahren Gottes?

F 7 (*a*). From Eznik, *Against the Sects*, Book II, chapter 8, Venice edition, 1926 (pp. 151–4); cf. the translations of Schmid, pp. 108–10; Langlois, ii, p. 380.

Indeed, both (sc. Ohrmazd and Ahriman) were responsible for the torments of evil in that they harm the good creatures of the good (god). For Ohrmazd, they say, made whatsoever is good, including righteous and beneficent men; and Ahriman (made) evil creatures and demons (*dews*).

Now if the demons were evil creatures and evil by nature, then no single one of them could ever conceive anything good—particularly not Ahriman. But we see that one thing which is very fair among creatures, was brought into being by the resourcefulness of Ahriman, as they (themselves) say. When he saw, they say, that Ohrmazd had created beautiful creatures, yet knew not how to create light, he took counsel with the demons, and said, 'What benefit hath Ohrmazd? for he has created such beautiful creatures, yet they remain in darkness, and he knew not how to create the light? But if he were wise, he would go in unto his mother, and the Sun would be born (*lit.* would become) as his son; and he would have intercourse with his sister, and the Moon would be born.' And he charged (them) that not one (of them) should betray his thought. A demon, Mahmi, having heard this, came before Ohrmazd with all speed, and betrayed that thought to him. O what senselessness and disgusting imbecility! He who knew the means by which he could create heaven and earth and all that in them is, could not even conceive of this means and device. Thus not only do they make Ohrmazd foolish, but (they make) Ahriman good and the deviser of good creatures.

For again they assert that Ahriman said: 'It is not that I cannot create anything good, but that I will not.' And that he might give effect to his words, he created the peacock. Do you see? He is evil through his own wish, not from the fact of his birth.

Yet what is there more brilliant than the light which Ahriman devised? or what is more fair than the peacock which he made to display his power to make what is beautiful? Thus it is clear that if Ahriman were in essence evil, he could not have devised a means of creating the light, nor could he have created what is fair. Further, if the demons were in essence evil, it would have been impossible for Mahmi to reveal the means of creating light: for even to this day the priests of this sect offer sacrifices to him three times a year. For this reason they are refuted and condemned in that they too are worshippers of demons: and the demons are not evil in essence, but of their own free will. And if they themselves offer sacrifices to a demon, what grounds have they for persecuting the worshippers of the demons? You see that whatever they say is fables and idle tales.

F 7 (*b*). The following text from a Persian Manichaean fragment has lately been published by Professor Henning (*Zoroaster*, p. 50). The first paragraph is the same as our text F 3 (*b*). The fragment presumably derives from the same source as Eznik.

'wd gwynd kw 'whrmyzd 'wd 'hrmyn br'dr hynd 'wd pdys'y 'yn sχwn rsynd 'w wnywdyẖ.

They say that Ohrmazd and Ahriman are brothers: in consequence of this doctrine they will meet with their destruction.

z'wr w p'dys'gyẖ gwynd 'br 'whrmyzd kwš m'hmy dyw hmwχt šhr rwšn qyrdn.

They lie against Ohrmazd and slander him, (saying) that the demon Māhmī taught him to make the world light.

F 8. S 4 in Bidez–Cumont, *Mages* (ii, p. 100). From the treatise on *The Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*, by Mâr Barhad Bešabbâ, Bishop of Halvan (wrote 581–604). Text and translation by Addai Scher, *Patrologia Orientalis*, iv, 1908, pp. 365–7; cf. Benveniste, MO. xxvi, p. 176.

Zardušt, mage perse, fonda, lui aussi, une école en Perse, au temps du roi Baštasp (i.e. Vištāspa *resp.* Guštāsp, Hystaspes); il attira à lui beaucoup d'élèves, qui, étant aveugles d'esprit, s'accordèrent facilement avec lui dans ses erreurs. Il enseigna tout d'abord l'existence de quatre dieux, Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar et Zarwān; mais il ne dit pas quelles étaient leurs opérations. Ensuite il admit deux autres dieux, Hormizd et Ahriman, disant que tous les deux ont été engendrés par Zarwān. Hormizd est complètement

bon; Ahriman est complètement mauvais. Ce sont les deux qui ont fait ce monde; le dieu bon créa les bonnes créatures, et le dieu mauvais créa les créatures mauvaises. Zardušt admit ensuite vingt-quatre autres dieux, qui font en tout trente, selon les jours du mois. Il dit qu'il ne faut point égorger les animaux; car Hormizd est en eux, mais qu'il faut meurtrir par des coups de bâton le cou de l'animal destiné à être égorgé, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit sans vie, et ensuite l'immoler, afin qu'il ne sente point la douleur. Il dit encore, entre autres choses, que l'homme peut épouser sa mère, sa fille et sa sœur; et qu'il ne faut pas que les morts soient ensevelis, mais qu'ils soient jetés au dehors pour être la nourriture des oiseaux de proie.

F 9. S 5 in Bidez–Cumont, *Mages* (ii, p. 101). Anonymous Syriac text. Published by Rahmani in *Studia Syriaca*, fasc. iv, p. 1. Re-edited and translated by Nyberg in JA. ccxiv, 1929 (CCM.), pp. 238–41.

Sur l'erreur des mages

Ceux-ci se répandaient, eux aussi, dans l'Empire de l'Est; ils avaient reçu leur erreur de Zardušt le fou . . . qui avait été instruit dans la langue hébraïque et la langue égyptienne, et qui avait recueilli de sept langues ses paroles en y mêlant le poison de la mort pour le donner en nourriture aux mages — de sorte qu'on peut dire qu'ils ne comprennent ni ce qu'ils disent eux-mêmes, ni les fables ineptes que leur maître a inventées.

C'est que son impiété est manifeste. Elle consiste en ceci: à l'origine des choses il pose deux antagonistes comme chefs de ce monde-ci qui est un, à savoir Hormezd et Ahremēd, c'est à dire Satan; il dit que ces deux sont nés du dieu Zarvān. Il partage les choses créées entre ces deux en disant: la lumière appartient à Hormezd, les ténèbres appartiennent à Ahremēd; la vie appartient à Hormezd, la mort à Ahremēd; la santé et la richesse appartiennent à Hormezd, la maladie et la pauvreté à Ahremēd.[a] Sur le même modèle les êtres vivants sont assignés, les uns à Hormezd et les autres à Ahremēd. C'est ainsi qu'il attribue les hommes et les grands animaux à Hormezd, mais les serpents, les scorpions, les cousins, les poux, les mouches et tous les reptiles de la terre à Ahremēd. De tout cela on peut inférer clairement qu'il suppose des séries de divinités mâles et femelles. Il dit qu'à chaque jour du mois préside un dieu, en commençant par Hormezd qui est le premier, et en donnant ainsi une série de trente dieux. Il dit aussi que les éléments, savoir le feu,[b] l'eau, la terre et l'atmosphère sont des dieux, mais qu'ils sont inférieurs quant à la souveraineté et à la divinité aux dieux

Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar et Zarwān. Frašōqar est celui qui engendra Hormazd.

NOTES

[a] Cf. Ełišē, Yohannisean, p. 28; Langlois, ii, p. 190. 'Ohrmazd created heaven and earth; and Ahriman, on the contrary, created evil. In this way are creatures divided: the angels (belong) to Ohrmazd, and the demons to Ahriman. Whatever is good in heaven and here, belongs to Ohrmazd; all sins, which are committed there or here, were created by Ahriman. Similarly whatever is good on earth was created by Ohrmazd, and whatever is not good was created by Ahriman: thus Ohrmazd created man, and Ahriman created disease, illness, and death: and all misfortunes, disasters, and bitter wars that exist, are creatures of the evil side; but prosperity, lordship, fortune, honour, bodily health, beauty of form, eloquence, and long life are the work of the creator of good. Everything which is not so, is contaminated by the creator of evil.'

[b] Text has *NWR'* 'fire', not *NHWR'* 'light' (so Nyberg).

F 10. S 6 in Bidez–Cumont, *Mages* (ii, pp. 104–7). From Theodore bar Kônai, *Book of Scholia*. Text and translation in Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, pp. 111 ff. and pp. 161 ff. The whole chapter has been thoroughly analysed by Benveniste, MO. xxvi, pp. 170–215. Cf. also Yohannan, JAOS. xliii, pp. 239–42, and Chapter VII of this book.

Il (sc. Zoroastre) reconnut d'abord quatre principes comme les quatre éléments, Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar et Zarwan, et dit que Zarwan fut le père d'Ormazd.

[*Here follows the myth reproduced in our text F 1*]

Lorsqu' Ormazd eut donné des femmes aux justes, elles s'enfuirent et se rendirent auprès de Satan; lorsqu' Ormazd procura aux justes le calme et le bonheur, Satan procura aussi le bonheur aux femmes. Satan ayant permis aux femmes de demander ce qu'elles voudraient, Ormazd eut peur qu'elles ne demandassent à avoir des rapports avec les justes et qu'il n'en résultât pour eux un châtiment. Il chercha un expédient et fit le dieu Narsa, personnage de cinq cent (*read* quinze) ans. Il le mit tout nu derrière Satan pour que les femmes le vissent, le désirassent et le demandassent à Satan. Les femmes levèrent leurs mains vers Satan et lui dirent: 'Satan, notre père, donne-nous le dieu Narsa en présent!'

Dans un autre passage, il dit, que la terre était une jeune vierge qui s'était fiancée avec Parisag.[a] Il dit que le feu était doué de raison et marchait avec Gounrap,[b] l'humide des bois. Il dit de Parisag qu'il était parfois une colombe, une fourmi, un vieux chien; de Koum,[c] qu'il était un

dauphin et un coq et qu'il accueillit Parisag; de Kikoaouz, qu'il était un bélier de montagne et frappait le firmament de ses cornes; de la terre et de Gougi, qu'ils menacèrent le ciel de l'avaler.

Les partisans de Zoroastre réprouvent les règles de la femme et la lèpre qu'ils considèrent comme impures au point de vue de la loi réligieuse. Il enseigne à honorer le feu et regarde les jours du mois comme des dieux.

D'après le témoignage de ses disciples, cet imposteur fut dévoré par des loups, parce que, lorsqu' il voulut s'enfuir d'auprès d'eux, ils lui ôtèrent la vue. Il y a des gens qui prétendent qu'il leur donna à l'origine un enseignement véridique, mais que, lorsqu' il voulut partir, ils ne le lui permirent pas et l'aveuglèrent, et qu'alors il changea et leur donna un enseignement pervers.

De Zoroastre à l'apparition de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, six cent vingt-huit années et sept mois s'écoulèrent.

NOTES

[a] Parisag is presumably Frāsyāk (Āfrāsyāb). v. Benveniste, op. cit.

[b] *gwnrp*: formally this word corresponds to Av. *gandarəwa-*, Phl. *Gandarβ* (*gndrp*, Mχ. 27. 23; PhlRiv. 18, f. 9; DkM. 597. 15: 802. 21). *Gwnrp* = *Gunnarβ* < *Gundarβ* (*nd* > *nn* as in *handām* > *hannām*, &c.). For the spelling with *w* cf. Firdausī's *Kundərū* < *Gandarβ*, ŠnV. i. 55. 405:

u-rā kundərū χᵛāndandī ba-nām
ba-kundī zadī pīš bīdād gām.

Here *kundərū* must obviously be vocalized in accordance with *kundī*. The epithet 'l'humide des bois' is not paralleled; Gandarəwa is, however, connected with the water, and his fight with Kərəsāspa takes place in the sea Vourukaša (PhlRiv. 18, f. 9 ff.). His association with the fire could be explained by the fact that he is the opponent of Kərəsāspa who did violence to the fire. This identification of *gwnrp* with *gandarəwa* has been adopted by Henning (*Zoroaster*, p. 51).

A different and in many ways more satisfactory interpretation has been suggested by de Menasce in JA. 1949, pp. 3–6. He would emend *gwnrp* to *gwrp* = *Gurāf* < *Virāf*, the hero of the *Artāk Virāf Nāmak*, thus rejecting the hitherto accepted *Virāz*. Artāk Virāf is, in fact, reprimanded for giving damp wood to the fire and is addressed as *χᵛēt-ēzm* (x. 6), of which 'humide des bois' would be an exact translation. Further Ātur, the genius of fire, and Srōš are Virāf's guides and the phrase 'le feu était doué de raison et marchait avec *Gurāf' is therefore closely parallel. The equation of *gwnrp* with Artāk Virāf, then, seems the more plausible.

[c] Koum is possibly Hōm, and Kikoaouz is presumably Kay Kāūs (Benveniste, op. cit.). Neither of the legends told here appears, so far as I know, in any Zoroastrian text.

F 11. The following extract from Eznik follows immediately after our text F 7 (*a*). The text is found in the Venice edition, 1926, p. 154. Cf. the translations of Schmid, p. 110; Langlois, ii, p. 380. Cf. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, pp. 89 ff.

Again those who attribute the creation of the luminaries to such causes as these alter their words and introduce another cause for the genesis of the Sun. Ahriman, they say, summoned Ohrmazd to a feast. When he had come, Ohrmazd was unwilling to partake of the feast unless their sons should first have struggled together. When the son of Ahriman had vanquished the son of Ohrmazd, they sought for a judge and could find none. Then they took and created the Sun to be a judge for them.

Thus they say on the one hand that Ahriman found a way to create the Sun; on the other it is plain that he is the co-creator of the light. And if there was no other judge, could they not go to their father or to him to whom the father and son offered sacrifice according to the fable?

F 12. Mas'ūdī, *Kitābu't-tanbīh wa'l-išrāf*, ed. de Goeje, p. 93; translation of Carra de Vaux, p. 134.

(We have related) their (the Persians') stories of his (Zoroaster's) miracles and signs and wonders and their belief in five original principles, that is Ohrmazd who is God (may he be exalted and glorified) and Ahriman who is the evil Satan, and Gāh which is Time (*zamān*), and Jāy[a] which is Space, and *Yōm which is the good ferment* together with their arguments in favour of this doctrine.[b] And (we have related) their reason for magnifying the two luminaries and other lights, and the distinction they draw between fire and light, and their account of the origin of the human race concerning Mīšāh (Phl. Mašyē) who is Mahlā, son of Gayōmart and Mīšānī (Phl. Mašyānē) who is Mahlīnah, daughter of Gayōmart, and how the genealogy of the Persian race is traced back to these two; and besides (we have related) in those of our books which we have named, their religious opinions and the nature of their services and the places in which they have their fire-temples.

Certain Muhammadan theologians who have written books on the sects and who have sought to refute this sect, both in the remote and the recent past, relate that they hold that God had a thought and that from that thought evil arose, that is Satan, and that God conciliated him, granting him a period of time in which he might tempt (men), and other things from their religion which the Magians deny and do not believe. I think that this was told them by some common persons from whom they heard it and took it on trust and attributed it to the whole (sect).

NOTES

[a] The MSS. have *jām*.

[b] For a discussion of this passage v. Part I, pp. 210–11.

F 13. Firdausī, *Šāhnāmeh*, ed. Vullers, vol. i, pp. 208–11; cf. the translation of Mohl, vol. i, pp. 259–63.

The mōbads make trial of Zāl

1. Then did the king summon Zāl, for he wished to ask him certain questions. The wise men with wakeful minds took their seats, and with them Zāl and the renowned *mōbads*, that they might ask of him many a thing and word hidden with a veil. One *mōbad* questioned Zāl—a quick-witted, discerning sage was he—'What are those twelve noble cypresses which grow majestic and luxuriant, and each one shoots forth thirty boughs and they neither wax nor wane in the Persian computation(?)?'

2. Another *mōbad* said, 'O exalted one, two horses, precious and fleet of foot, move forth, the one like unto a lake of pitch and the other lustrous as white crystal: they move and they both hurry on, but never do they catch each other up.'

3. Another spake thus, 'Those thirty horsemen, passing in review before the King—one was lost; but if thou look aright, all thirty are back again when thou dost number them.'

4. A fourth spake thus, '(There is) a meadow which thou dost see full of green herbs and streams. A man with a great sharp scythe stalks proudly towards the meadow; moist and dry together he mows down, and if thou make supplication, he hears thee not.'

5. Another said, '(There are) two lofty cypresses (growing) like reeds in a billowy sea: a bird has its dwelling-place upon them; at eventide its seat is on the one and at dawn on the other. When it flies from the one, its foliage withers; it alights on the other and it gives out a scent of musk. Of these two one is ever fresh, but the leaves and fruit of the other are withered.'

6. Another asked, 'In a mountainous country I found a strong citadel. Wise men from that citadel chose on the plain a thorny place; they built buildings whose top reached to the Moon: some became servants and some leaders. They think no more of that citadel and no one speaks or makes mention of it. An earthquake arises on a sudden and their land and habitation completely disappear. Necessity brings them to that citadel and brings them long forebodings. These words are hidden by a veil: seek, and speak forth plain before the lords. If thou make these secrets manifest, thou makest purest musk from black earth.'

Zāl answers the mōbads

7. For awhile the aged Zāl was lost in thought; he raised his wings and

stretched forth his pinions. Thereupon he loosened his tongue in answer and took account of all the questions of the *mōbads*.

8. 'First concerning the twelve lofty trees, each of which puts forth thirty branches—in a year there are twelve new moons like splendid kings upon new thrones. In thirty days the month comes to an end: such is the revolution of Time.

9. 'Now for what thou hast said concerning the two horses, blazing like unto lightning. Both the white and the black are Time; they pursue each other swiftly, they are night and day which pass by, they reckon each moment of the firmament above us. They do not catch each other up as they gallop on, running like the quarry before the hounds.

10. 'And the third question which thou didst ask concerning the thirty horsemen who passed before the king; of those thirty horsemen one is missing, but at the time of numbering the full thirty are (there). Know that the numbering of the new moon is in this wise, for so has the Lord of earth ordained. Thou canst be speaking only of the waning of the Moon which on one certain night always disappears from time to time.

11. 'Now I shall unsheathe that word concerning the two cypresses where a bird has its dwelling-place. From the constellation of the Ram to the Scales darkness keeps the world hid: when it passes from these it goes to the Fish, and then there is darkness and blackness. Those two cypresses are the two arms of the lofty firmament through which we rejoice and (through which) we are grieved. Know that the flying bird upon it is the Sun, and know that for the world fear and hope are from him.

12. 'Again the citadel in a mountainous land is the house of eternity and the place of reckoning: that thorny place is this transitory abode which is at once pleasure and treasure and grief and pain. It counts the breath you breathe, it gives increase and carries it away. Wind and earthquake arise and raise grief and lamentation in the world. All our toiling remains in the thorny place: we must pass on to the citadel. Another will taste the fruits of our toil, but for him too they will not endure, and he too must pass on. So has it been from the beginning; so it is, and this will never grow old (change). If our riches are a good name, our soul will in the end be honoured. If we practise concupiscence (Āz) and twist and turn, (the result) will be manifest when we pass from life. Though our palace reach even unto Saturn, nought will remain for us but a winding-sheet. When brick and earth are heaped upon our face, everywhere is there fear and care and anguish.

13. 'Concerning the desert and that man with the sharp scythe, and the hearts of moist and dry are in terror of him; moist and dry alike he mows

down, and if thou make supplication, he hears thee not. This is the wood-cutter Time, and we are like the grass. Alike to him is the grandson, alike to him the grandsire: he takes account of neither old nor young; whatever prey comes before him, he pursues. Such is the nature and composition of the world that save for death no mother bore a son. He enters in at one door and passes out through another: Time counts his every breath.'

IV

GREEK TEXTS

IN this section only those texts from Greek authors will be found which directly concern Zurvān or Zervanism. For the collected Greek and Latin references to the Magian religion the reader is referred to Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis persicae*, Bonn, 1920, and to Bidez–Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, ii, Paris, 1938.

G 1. From the *Dubitationes et solutiones de Principiis* of Damascius (*c.* A.D. 453–533) 125 bis. v. Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 95.

μάγοι δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρειον γένος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο γράφει ὁ Εὔδημος, οἱ μὲν Τόπον, οἱ δὲ Χρόνον καλοῦσι τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ ἡνωμένον, ἐξ οὗ διακριθῆναι ἢ θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δαίμονα κακόν, ἢ φῶς καὶ σκότος πρὸ τούτων, ὡς ἐνίους λέγειν. οὗτοι δὲ οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν διακρινομένην ποιοῦσι τὴν διττὴν συστοιχίαν τῶν κρειττόνων, τῆς μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ὡρομάσδη, τῆς δὲ τόν Ἀρειμάνιον.

G 2. Theodore of Mopsuestia *apud* Photius, bibl. 81 (Migne, *P.G.* ciii, col. 281: Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 108; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, p. 87).

ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Θεοδώρου Περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς, καὶ τίς ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας διαφορά, ἐν λόγοις τρισί. . . . καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ προστίθεται τὸ μιαρὸν Περσῶν δόγμα, ὃ Ζαράδης εἰσηγήσατο, ἤτοι τοῦ Ζουρουάμ, ὃν ἀρχηγὸν πάντων εἰσάγει, ὃν καὶ Τύχην καλεῖ· καὶ ὅτι σπένδων, ἵνα τέκῃ τὸν Ὁρμίσδαν, ἔτεκεν ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Σατανᾶν· καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν αἱμομιξίας. καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ δυσσεβὲς καὶ ὑπέραισχρον δόγμα κατὰ λέξιν ἐκθεὶς ἀνασκευάζει ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ.

G 3. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, i. 2. 12–13 (v. Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 76; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, p. 63).

Διόδωρος . . . ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός φασι πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθέναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν, κοῦφον, ταχύ· τοῦ δὲ σκότους

ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρύ, βραδύ· ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος. εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον φησὶν κατὰ μουσικὴν ἁρμονίαν, διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς· εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ, τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν· διὸ καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀναιρεῖν οὐδὲ μιαίνειν φησὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἐστὶ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐσία τῶν πάντων.

G 4. Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, 45–47, pp. 369 D–370 D (Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 48; Bidez–Cumont, *Mages*, ii, pp. 70 ff.: translated in Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, pp. 69 ff.). Though this passage cannot strictly be considered Zervanite (v. Chapter I, pp. 13 ff.), it is included because in our opinion it may reflect the beliefs and practices of the dissident Magians, the *yātūkān* or sorcerers.

εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀναιτίως πέφυκε γίνεσθαι, αἰτίαν δὲ κακοῦ τἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἂν παράσχοι, δεῖ γένεσιν ἰδίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις. νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν [γὰρ] ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ Ζωροάστρης ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν τῶν Τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον, καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ' ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ, μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐδίδαξε ‹δὲ› τῷ μὲν εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δ' ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ τὸν Ἅιδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον, εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ζῴων ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τοῦ [δὲ] φαύλου μῦς ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείνοντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν ‹ἀλλὰ› κἀκεῖνοι πολλὰ μυθώδη περὶ τῶν θεῶν λέγουσιν, οἷα καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου φάους, ὁ δ' Ἀρειμάνιος ἐκ τοῦ ζόφου γεγονὼς πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἓξ θεοὺς ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοίας, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας, τὸν δὲ τρίτον εὐνομίας, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸν μὲν σοφίας, τὸν δὲ πλούτου, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργόν· ὁ δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ ἀντιτέχνους ἴσους τὸν ἀριθμόν. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης τρὶς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος

τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν· ἕνα δ' ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἷον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατέστησε, τὸν Σείριον. ἄλλους δὲ ποιήσας τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι θεοὺς εἰς ᾠὸν ἔθηκεν· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειμανίου γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτοι διατρήσαντες τὸ ᾠὸν †γανωθὲν ἀναμέμικται τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. ἔπεισι δὲ χρόνος εἱμαρμένος ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον, λοιμὸν ἐπάγοντα καὶ λιμόν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνάγκη φθαρῆναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐπιπέδου καὶ ὁμαλῆς γενομένης ἕνα βίον καὶ μίαν πολιτείαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων καὶ ὁμογλώσσων ἁπάντων γενέσθαι. Θεόπομπος δέ φησι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον· τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἅιδην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους, μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας, τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεὸν ἠρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνον ἄλλως μὲν οὐ πολὺν ὡς θεῷ, ὥσπερ ‹δ'› ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτριον. ἡ μὲν οὖν Μάγων μυθολογία τοιοῦτον ἔχει τρόπον.

G 5. St. Basil, *Epistula 258 ad Epiphanium*, 4 (Migne, P.G. xxxii, col. 952; Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 86).

τὸ δὲ τῶν Μαγουσαίων ἔθνος . . . πολύ ἐστι παρ' ἡμῖν κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν χώραν διεσπαρμένον, ἀποίκων τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἡμῖν ἐπεισαχθέντων. οἱ ἔθεσιν ἰδιάζουσι κέχρηνται, ἄμικτοι ὄντες πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους· λόγῳ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κεχρῆσθαι, καθό εἰσιν ἐζωγρημένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα, παντελῶς ἐστιν ἀδύνατον. οὔτε γὰρ βιβλία ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὔτε διδάσκαλοι δογμάτων, ἀλλὰ ἔθει ἀλόγῳ συντρέφονται, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν. ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων, ἃ ὑπὸ πάντων ὁρᾶται, τὴν ζωοθυσίαν παραιτοῦνται ὡς μίασμα, δι' ἀλλοτρίων χειρῶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ζῶα κατασφάττοντες· γάμοις ἐπιμαίνονται παρανόμοις· καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἡγοῦνται θεόν· καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτο. τὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γενεαλογίας οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος τῶν μάγων ἐμυθολόγησεν· ἀλλὰ Ζαρ[ν]οῦάν τινα ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους ἐπιφημίζουσι.

G 6. Inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene in Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, no. 383, ll. 36 ff. (=Jalabert-Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*, 1).

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱεροθεσίου τοῦδε κρηπεῖδα ἀπόρθητον χρόνου λύμαις οὐρανίων ἄγχιστα θρόνων καταστήσασθαι προενοήθην, ἐν ὧι μακαριστὸν ἄχρι [γ]ήρως ὑπάρξαν σῶμα μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς Ὡρομάσδου θρόνους θεοφιλῆ ψυχὴν προπέμψαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοιμήσεται . . . (ll. 105 ff.) διαμονῆς δὲ

τούτων ἕνεκεν, ἣν ἐμ φρονίμοις ἀνδράσι εὐσεβὲς ἀεὶ τηρεῖν, οὐ μόνον εἰς τιμὴν ἡμετέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ μακαριστὰς ἐλπίδας ἰδίας ἑκάστου τύχης ἐγὼ καθοσιώσας ἐν στήλ[α]ις ἀσύλοις ἐχάραξα γνώμηι θεῶν ἱερὸν νόμον, ὃν θέμις ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς ἁπάντων, οὓς ἂν χρόνος ἄπειρος εἰς διαδοχὴν χώρας ταύτης ἰδίαι βίου μοίραι καταστήσῃ, τηρεῖν ἄσυλον εἰδότας ὡς χαλεπὴ νέμεσις βασιλικῶν δαιμόνων τιμωρὸς ὁμοίως ἀμελίας τε καὶ ὕβρεως ἀσέβειαν διώκει, καθωσιωμένων τε ἡρώων ἀτιμασθεὶς νόμος ἀνειλάτους ἔχει ποινάς.

G 7. Psellus, *De operatione daemonum*, ed. Boissonade, 3. Reproduced by Darmesteter, *Ohrmazd et Ahriman*, p. 332, no. 2. Though the doctrine here expounded is attributed to a sect called the Euchites (v. ERE. *ad loc.*), the mention of Mānī and the most exact correspondence between it and other sources make it almost certain that the sect mentioned was directly dependent upon Zervanism.

τῷ μὲν ἐπαράτῳ Μάνεντι δύο ὑπετέθησαν τῶν ὄντων ἀρχαί, θεῷ θεόν, δημιουργῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτουργὸν κακίας, τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν οὐρανίων τὸν τῆς κακίας ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐπιγείων, πλημμελῶς ἀντιτάττοντι· Εὐχίταις δὲ τούτοις τοῖς κακοδαίμοσι καὶ ἑτέρα τις ἀρχὴ προσελήφθη τρίτη. πατὴρ γὰρ αὐτοῖς υἱοί τε δύο, πρεσβύτερος καὶ νεώτερος, αἱ ἀρχαί· ὧν τῷ μὲν πατρὶ τὰ ὑπερκόσμια μόνα, τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν τὰ οὐράνια, θατέρῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων τὸ κράτος ἀποτετάχασιν.

ADDENDUM

WHEN this book went to press, I had not seen the text reproduced here. It is in some ways comparable to Šahristānī's account of the Magian religion. I shall, therefore, call it F 4 (b).

F 4 (b). From Murtaẓā Rāzī, *Kitābu tabṣirati'l-'awāmmi fī ma'rifati maqālāti'l-anām*, p. 13 in the Tehran edition of 1313 A.H. (solar). The editor of that edition dates Murtaẓā between 580 and 653 A.H.

Know that according to the Magian religion there are two creators of the world, Yazdān (God) and Ahriman. They call Yazdān God and Ahriman Satan. They say that when God Most High created the world, he had an evil thought (*andīšeh*) and said, 'Perhaps there is an opposite (power) to me who is hostile to me'. And Satan arose from his thought (*fikr*). Others say that since Yazdān was alone, he was frightened, and had an evil thought from which Ahriman arose. And Ahriman was outside the world: he looked through a hole and saw Yazdān, and observing his dignity and rank, he became envious; and evil and corruption arose in him. Yazdān created the Angels to be his army. He and his army did battle with Ahriman and the battle between them lasted for a long time. Since Yazdān could not stop Ahriman, they made peace together, and entrusted their swords to the Moon. Some say they entrusted them to the Angels on the condition that Ahriman should remain in the world for as long as they had stipulated. Whichever of them broke the treaty before the end of the appointed time, should be slain with his own sword. At the end of the (appointed) time Ahriman will go out of the world; and once he has left, the world will be absolutely good, and evil and corruption will no longer remain.

Some of them say that both Yazdān and Ahriman are bodies: others say that Ahriman is not a body, but that Yazdān is. They say that Yazdān is good by nature and cannot do evil, and that Ahriman is evil by nature and cannot do good. All that is good in the world is produced by Yazdān; all that is evil by Ahriman. They say that diseases and the creation of noxious creatures like snakes and scorpions, &c., are evil and produced by Ahriman. This is false since in their opinion all thought (*fikr*) and doubt is evil; yet this arose from Yazdān.

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SELECT GLOSSARY

OLD IRANIAN

**maδmiya-* 149.
**spiθra-* 88 n. 6.
**θwarta-* 'hurrying' 89.

AVESTAN

ayrya- 'first-class' 263 n. a.
aŋhvā- 'effort, will' 53 n. 1.
aršnōtačin 'semen-flowing' 222 ff., 389.
aršōkarəm 'male making' 220, 223, **246 n. A.**
āzi- 'greed' 168.
dānuš 'river' 104 n. B.
ərəš 'rightly' 149.
fraša- 'excellent' **222.**
frašōkarəm 'making excellent' 220, 223.
garō dəmāna- 'heaven' **214 n. B.**
gātu- 'throne, place' 202.
mahmī 'to my', name of a demon 149.
maršōkarəm 'making decrepit' 220, 223, **246 n. A.**
paurvanīm 'ancient(?), Pleiades(?)' 210.
θrav- 'touch' 358.
θwāša- 'firmament' **89.**
vaēkərəta- name of a country **82 n. 4.**
vīθušavaiti- ? **310.**
χᵛaētuš 'kinsman' 150.
χᵛaēt(u)-vadaθa- 'consanguineous marriage' 150.

OLD PERSIAN

aržana- 'building material, sandstone' **309.**
fraša- 'excellent, fine' **222.**
kāsakaina- 'made of glass' 363.

MIDDLE PERSIAN (INSCRIPTIONS)

'GL'DYḤY 'nobility' 263 n. a.
'LSWMWK 'heretic' **25 n. 1.**
GWMLČ'K 'in error(?)' **25 n. 1.**
KLSTYD'N 'Christian' 24 n. 1.
MKTKy ? **24 n. 2.**
N'ČL'Y 'Christian' **24 n. 1.**
PHLSTY 'spared' 25 n. 2.

MIDDLE PERSIAN (PSALTER)

nyndly 'inside' 364.
wtym'skyh 'marvel' 30 n. 1.

MANICHAEAN MIDDLE PERSIAN AND PARTHIAN

''čyhr ? **310.**
'gr'w (Parth.) 'noble' 263 n. a.
'gr'y 'noble' 263 n. a.
'dyn- 'lead' 247 n. C, 302.
'pydg 'needing' 304.
'whyr- 'move down' 33.
'wχ 'sense' 218 n. m.
čašm-gāh 'aware' **193.**
dys 'form' 358.
hmngnd 'fill' 363.
hrg 'refuse' 373.
ǰdg 'fame' 33.
khs 'channel' 214 n. A.
krwk 'skill' 263 n. f.
kwd 'heap' 373.
nχšg (Parth.) 'good' 218.
ny'bg 'suitable' 290.
nyndr 'within' 364.
p'dys'gyḫ 'slander' 439.
pdys'y 'in consequence of' 307, 431, 439.
przyd 'bound' 161 n. 3.
swh- 'touch' 358.
w'nyšn 'ἀπώλεια' 291.
wnybwt 'annihilated' 291, 330.
wnywdyḫ 'destruction' 330, 431.
χwšn 'light' 218 n. h.

ARMENIAN

amparṭk'aš ? **29.**
ark'ay 'King' 69.
bozpayit ? **29.**
gerezman 'tomb' **214 n. B.**
hamakden 'possessing all the religion' 29, 43.
hašt 'peace' 292, 293.
mazdezn 'worshipper of Ohrmazd, Zoroastrian' **31.**
mog 'Magian, Zoroastrian' **31.**
parskaden 'adhering to the religion of the Persians' 29.
petk' 'necessity' 304.
petmog ? **29,** 43.
pitak 'necessary' 304.
p'arawort'iwn 'good fortune' 59.
p'aṛk' 'fortune' 57, **62 n. 1,** 65.
t'agawor 'King' 69.
t'šuaṛ 'unfortunate' 65.
t'šuaṛut'iwn 'misfortune' 65.
vṛamakan krak 'Bahrām fire' 43.
yašt 'sacrifice, hymn of praise' 62.

ZOROASTRIAN MIDDLE PERSIAN (PAHLAVĪ)

abōδ (i) 'unconscious' 280 § 16, 295, 354. (ii) 'imperceptible(?)' 297. Cf. *bōδ* (i).
abrīn 'undivided, unimpaired' 384, 392.
abun 'having no origin' 232, 382, 383, 384.
aβδ 'wonderful' 145 n. I (*-karīh*), 216 (*-kart*), 397 (*-tar*).
aβδīh 'wonder, mystery' 30, 32, 390 § 3.
aβdistan 'appoint' 345 § 30.
aβigat 'the Aggressor, Ahriman' 27, 148 n. 5, 165 n. H, 172 n. 4, etc., etc.
aβigatīh 'the period during which Ahriman's attack lasts' 27, 247 n. D, etc., etc.
aβkārīhā 'abounding' 279 § 9, **292.** Cf. *sūt-aβkār.*
aβrāstakīh 'pride' 376.
aβsārān 'freezing' 181 n. 3.
aβsiδ- 'destroy, annihilate' 10 (*-īhēt*).
aβsiēn- (= *aβsihēn-*) 'destroy' 375 § 3.
aβsiīhišn 'destruction' 375 § 4.
aβsihēn- 'destroy' 52 (*-ītan*), 279 § 5 (*-īt*), 288 (do.), 322 § 5 (*-ēt*), 324 § 21 (do.), 332 (do.), 346 § 43 (do.), 379 § 3 (*-ītan*). Cf. *aβsiδ-, ōsēnītan.*
aβsihīk 'destroying' 388.
aβsihišn 'destruction, annihilation' 280 §§ 15, 16; 294, 295, 379 § 5.
aβstām 'confidence' 216, 217.
ačandišnīk 'motionless' 340 § 27.
ačār 'inevitable' **296,** 339 § 15, etc.
āčihrōmand ? **310.**
āδāβānēnāk(?) 'deceiving' 298.
āδāβišn(?) 'deceiving(?)' 298.
āδāftēnītan(?) 'deceive(?)' 298.
aδar-mēnišnīh 'humility' 408.
adāšt-srōšīh 'disobedience' 14.
aδāwak 'undeceivable' **298.**
aδβārak 'evening' 324 § 18, 331.
aδēn- 'lead' **247 n. C,** 302.
aδvan 'stem' 284 § 48, 310.
aδvēnak (i) 'kind, sort, manner' 27 n. 3, 30 n. A and *passim.* (ii) 'form, εἶδος' **33,** 146. (iii) 'species' 79 n. D, 217 (*vas-* —), 362 §§ 23–26. (iv) 'prototype (of human soul)' 136 n. 2, 323 §§ 11, 12. (v) adv. 'like' 148 n. 4, 347 § 49.
aδyār (i) 'helper' *passim.* (ii) 'power' **213,** 388.
afrāč-sačišnīh 'immutability' 390 § 3.
afrahaχtīh 'failure to teach' 14 n. 5.
afra'nāmišnīh 'lack of development' 385.
aγ-āšt 'whose peace is evil' 376.
aγrayēn- 'make superior, cause to triumph' 262 (*-īt*), **263 n. a.**
āhītīh 'sulkiness' 376.
āhōkēn- 'defile, trouble' 75 n. 2 (*-īt*), 194 n. H (do.), 345 § 30 (*-ītan, -āk, -ītakīh, -ānd*), 346 § 35 (*-ēt*), § 36 (*-ītan*), 385 (do.), 386 (*-išn*).
ahōš 'immortal' 31 n. E, 215 n. D, 368 § 17.
ahrov-dāt 'almsgiving' 361 § 5.
aiβyāhan 'girdle' 69 n. 1, 120 n. 2, 156 n. 2.
ākandan 'fill, constitute' 283 § 46, **309.**
ākustak 'hanging, suspended' 218 n. g.
ālak 'side, direction, quarter' 138 n. 4, 202 n. 4, 284 § 50.
almāst 'steel' 283 § 43.
amar 'numberless' 324 § 18, 331.
āmār 'reckoning, judgement' 195 n. J, 400.
āmār- 'bring to account' 324 § 17 (*-ēnd*).
āmarakānīhā 'generally' 193 n. C, 194 n. F, 379 § 4.
āmārēn- 'reckon, attribute' 257 n. 1.
amāvand 'powerful, energetic' 262 (*-īhā*), 322 § 3 (and *-īh*), 375 § 5 (*-īh*).
an 'other' 148 n. 2, 346 § 42.
ānāβ- 'destroy' 193 n. C (*-išn, -īhēt, -ēt*), 346 § 39 (*-īhast*), 347 § 48 (*-īhēt*), 379 § 5 (*-išnīkīh*). Infin. *ānāftan.*
ānāβišnīk 'destructive' 388.
anaδvēnīh 'lawlessness' 376.
ānāftakīh 'destruction, disappearance' 262.
anāpēšar(?) 'without declivity' 308.
anaχᵛ 'who has no lord' 376.

anayāpīh 'incomprehension' 376. Cf. *ayāpakīh*.
andar pursītan 'make a thorough study' 299.
andarag (i) 'between' 147 n. 3, 217, 293. (ii) 'within, inside' 323 § 14.
andarvāy 'atmosphere' 344 § 20, 345 § 28, 347 § 49, 348, 361 § 11.
anēr 'ungentlemanly, ignoble' 375 § 4 (*-īh*), 376, 379 § 3 (*-īh*).
anētōnīh 'not suchness' 208 n. 2 (*pat anētōnīh* 'as it is not').
anhambatīk 'not inconsistent, not contradictory' 27 n. 3.
anhanbār 'insatiate' 171 n. 3.
anhastkarīh 'annihilation' 390 § 3.
anōst 'unstable' 33 n. c, 388 (*-īh*).
anōtak 'stranger, foreigner, estranged' 53, 262, 263 n. d.
apāč stāyastan 'apostasize' 45 n. 2.
apāč vaštak 'perverted' 30 n. B.
apāč-vīrāδišnīh 'directing backwards' 236 n. 8.
apahrēčišnīh 'intemperance' 53 n. 1.
āpakēnak 'crystal' 330. Cf. *kēn, gēn.*
apar dāštan 'offer' 279 § 9.
apar kartan 'finish off' 340 § 30.
apar pātan 'rest' 284 §§ 53–56; 285 §§ 57–58.
apargar 'working on high' 337 § 3.
aparkār 'whose deeds are lofty' 375 § 5.
aparmānd 'heredity' 256 n. 5, 407, 408. = Ar./NP. *mīrāṣ*.
aparōžīh 'ascendancy, supremacy' 262. Cf. *ōž*.
apar-vīnārišn 'regularity' 215 n. C.
apassačakīh 'unseemliness' 376.
apātaχšāy- 'deprive of sovereignty' 262 (*-ēnīt*), 263 (*-īhēnd, -ēnīt*).
apattōkīh 'lack of continuity, inconsistency' 249, 379 § 5.
apatvēšak 'without rottenness' 373.
apātyāβān 'late evening' 324 § 18, 331.
apātyāvand 'powerless' 346 § 40 (*-tar*), 347 § 51.
apātyāvandakīh 'being powerless, unable to resist' 165.
apaχšišn 'pity' 52 n. A. Cf. *apuχšāδ-*
apāχtar (i) 'North' 163 n. A, 345 § 32. (ii) 'planet' 247 n. D, 368 §§ 13–14, 375 § 4, 376, 400, 401, 404, 430 (*-īk*).
²*apāyast* 'desire, will' 193 n. D, 194 n. H, 217.
apāyišn 'wish, will' 385.
apāyišnīk 'desirable' 385.
apēbūt 'deficiency' 252 n. 2, 262–3, 345 § 33, 347 § 44, 385.
apēčārēnītār 'setting free' 216.
apētak 'necessary' 282 § 32, **304.**
apē-vihānak 'without pretext, without prejudice' 32, 34 **n. f.**
apōhišn 'undecaying' 279 § 9, 292, 367 § 7.
appār 'taken away' 406.
appārak 'rapacious' 171 n. 2.
appur 'robbing' 346 § 37 (*-īhā*).
appur- 'carry off, rob' 86 n. 2 (*jān-appurišnīh*), n. 4 (*-ēt*), 356 (*-am*), 400 (*-ēnd*), 401 (*-išn*), 404 (*-ēt*).
appurtār 'robber, who carries away' 86 n. 2, 262 (*-īh*), 375 § 4, 376.
apuχšāδ- 'have mercy' 216, 217. Cf. *apaχšišn.*
apuχšāδāvand 'merciful' 217.
apuχšāδišnōmandīh 'mercy' 216.
arg 'pains, effort' 362 § 32.
argastān 'system(?)' 32, **34 n. e.**
aryavān 'judas-tree, purple' 322 § 5, **326,** 376.
arišuχt 'rightly spoken' 375 § 3.
armēšt 'stagnant, of no account' 403.
ars 'tear' 361 § 11.
ārōδišn 'growth' 344 § 20.
artīk 'battle' 279 § 9, 294, 322 § 5, 340 § 19, 341 § 32, 347 §§ 52–54.
artīkgarīh 'battle' 279 § 7, 290, 324, 328.
artīk-karīh 'battle' 321, 322 § 9, 324, 328.
arvand 'swift' 375 § 5, 379 § 3.
arvand-asp 'having swift horses' 148 n. 3.
aržan 'sandstone'(?) 283 § 46, **309.**
asačišnīh 'not passing away, permanence' 109, 280 §§ 22–23, 389 § 2.
asāčišnīh 'ineffectiveness' 388.
āsan 'iron' 283 § 47.
āsnōtak 'noble' 216, **218 n. c.,** 375 § 3.
asōhišn 'uncorrupting' 279 § 9, 292, 367 § 7.
asrust 'disobedience, unorthodoxy' 53.
ast(ak) 'bone' 145 n. G, 162 n. 2, 343 §§ 7–8, 344 §§ 9, 18–20.
astānak 'sin' 216.
astavišnīh 'being unworthy of praise' 385.
astōmand 'having bones, material' 53 n. 1, 339 § 7, 346 § 35, 370.
āstuvānīh 'avowal, confession' 289. Cf. *ōstavānīh.*
'*STYHL* ? 283 § 47, **310.**
āsumbišn(?) 'gulp' 171 n. 5.
asūtak 'zealous' 32 (*-īhā*), **34 n. k.**
ašgahān 'slothful' 257 n. 1 (*-īh*), 403 (and *-īh*).
aškōβ 'roof' 341 § 33, 345 §§ 22–24 (and *-kartār*).
aškōβēnītan 'roof in' 345 § 24.
aštak 'messenger' 194 n. G.
ātak(?) 'part' 343 §§ 4–5.
atavān(īk) 'impossible' 384.
attān(?) 'possessions' 53, **193 n. D,** 295.
attāv(?) 'possessions' **194 n. D.**

attōk 'able' 295 (*-īh*), 340 § 28, 356, 382.
āturastur-gōn 'ash-coloured' 281 § 27, 340 § 29, 346 § 35.
ātur-sōk 'increasing the fire' 362 § 29.
āvahan 'dwelling, castle' 283 § 43, 307.
āvartakīh 'conception' 282 § 38, **305**, 372, 373.
avazišnīk 'not flying, not moving' 340 §§ 26–27.
ā'vēčišnīh(?) 'examination, study' 32.
avēnāβtāk 'invisible' 345 § 26.
avinast 'immaculate' 215 n. D.
aviškann(?) 'unceasingly, eternally' 262 n. B.
aχtar-āmār 'astronomer' 165.
[1]*aχᵛ* 'existence' **53 n. 1**, 217, **218 n. m**, 262 n. B, 339 § 7.
[2]*aχᵛ* 'lord' 375 § 3.
[3]*aχᵛ* 'zeal, will-power, will' **53 n. 1**, 128, 172 nn. 3, 4; 203 n. 5, **218 n. m.**
aχᵛārīh 'uneasiness, discomfort' 280 § 22.
aχᵛīk 'pertaining to the will' 144 n. C, 172 n. 3.
ayāpak 'understanding, comprehending' 221 n. 2, 281 § 25, **298.** Meaning deduced from *ayāpakīh* q.v. and NP. *andar yāftan* 'understand', etc.
ayāpakīh 'understanding, comprehension' 430.
azarmān 'unageing' 279 § 9, 324 § 21, 332, 367 § 7.
āzātīh-kartārīh 'giving thanks' 32, **34 n. i.**
āzbāy- 'invoke' 101 n. 5 (*-ēm*), 216 (do.), 217 (do.).
āz-čihr-patišīh 'nature being in the grip of concupiscence' 193 n. C.
azg 'branch' 284 § 48.
azrōβ- 'extinguish' 323 § 13 (*-ēt*), **330** (*-ēt*, *-ēnd*). Cf. *azruft*, *zruftak*.
azruft 'extinguished' 330.

bay (i) 'lord, His Majesty' 32, 52 n. B, 215 n. E. (ii) 'constellation' 53 n. 1, 322 § 6, 326, 327, 375 §§ 3–4, 376, 379 § 3, 417.
bay-baχtārīh 'destiny of the gods' (i.e. the constellations) 322 § 6, 326–7. Cf. *bay*, *bayō-baχt*.
bayīk (*bayānīk*) 'belonging to the constellations' 121, 122, 230, 379 §§ 2–4.
bayō-baχt 'special dispensation of fate' **256**, 368 § 10, 404.
bālist-vāzišn 'whose course is on high' 375 § 3.
bām 'sheen' 345 § 26, 390 § 3.
bāmīk 'gleaming' 216, 217, 397
bār 'bank' 284 §§ 49–50, 310.
bārak 'steed' 348, 398.
barišn 'mode of conduct' 375 §§ 3–5, 376.
bavišn 'becoming, γένεσις' 32, **33 n. c**, 79 n. D, 112 nn. 1, 4; 145 n. I, 345 § 29, 372.
bavišn-ēstišnīh 'settling of becoming' 145 n. I, 146, 372.
bavišn-ravišnīh 'movement or progress of becoming' 112 n. 4, 145 n. I, 146, 372.
baχtīk 'allied' 347 §§ 44–45 (and *-tar*).
bazak-aδvēn 'sinful' 281 § 27, **302.**
bē for *bay* 'lord' 52 n. B.
bē-kišvar 'abroad' 145 n. H.
bētaχš 'prince' 381.
bihānak 'occasion, pretext', 403, 404. Cf. *vihānak*.
bōδ (i) 'consciousness' 323 § 11, 324 § 21, 329. (ii) 'smell' 171 n. 9.
bōrak 'borax' 283 § 47, 310.
bōχt- 'escape' 283 § 44 (*-ēt*).
brahm (i) 'robe' 122, 374 § 3, 375 §§ 3–5, 376. (ii) 'manner, character' **264 n. b**, 340 § 21, 374 § 2, 430 (*nazd-brahmīhātar*).
brahmak (i) 'robe' 322 § 4, **325**, 376. (ii) 'manner' **325.** (iii) 'character, stamp' 322 §§ 5–6, **325**, 326. Cf. *ham-brahmakīh*.
brātarōt 'first cousin, rival' 193 n. D, 379 § 3. Cf. Pāz. *brādarōdī*.
brātarōt-davišnīh 'shouting in rivalry' 376.
brāz- 'shine' 156 n. 2 (*-īhēt*).
[1]*brēh* (i) 'stature' 301, 407, 408. (ii) 'character, stamp' 322 § 4, **325.** (iii) 'decree, fate' 229, 399, 402, 403, 406, 407.
[2]*brēh* 'brilliance' 283 § 42, 297, 322 § 8, 327, 362 § 28, 390 § 3.
[2]*brēhēnišn* 'fatality' 402.
brēhēnītan (i) 'fashion forth, create' **301** and *passim*. (ii) 'decree, destine' 247 n. D, 402, 403, 406.
brēh-ravišnīh 'course of fate' 109, 229, 280 § 22.
brīn (i) 'limited, finite' 106, 224, 337 § 2, 389 § 2, 390, 397. (ii) 'decisive' 399. (iii) 'division' 281 § 30, **304.** (iv) 'decision' 281 § 25, 299.
brīnkar 'who fixes decrees, decisive' 118, 247 n. D, 374 §§ 1–2, 375 §§ 4–5, 376.
brīnōmand (i) 'divided, limited, finite, definite' 57, 339 § 8, 392. (ii) 'decisive, taking a decision' 281 § 31.
brītan 'cut, fashion' 388.
būm (i) 'ground, earth' 85 n. 2. (ii) 'foundation' 345 §§ 22–23.
bun (i) 'root, source, origin, cause' 75 n. 1 (*bun ut bar* 'root and fruit' or 'cause and effect'), 85 n. 2, 112 n. 1, 124 n. 3, 145 n. I (*fratom bun* 'first cause'), 194 nn. F, H, 215 n. E, 225, 232, 345 § 29, 372, 379 §§ 4–5, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 389

§§ 1–2, 390 § 3, 392. (ii) 'stem' 361 § 13. (iii) 'beginning' 32, 165 n. H, 247 n. D, 346 § 35, 347 §§ 52–53, 385. (iv) adj. 'original' 145 n. H, 323 §§ 11, 14; 346 § 35, 370, 388. (v) adv. 'originally' 282 § 32, 389 § 2 (*pat bunīh*). (vi) 'responsibility' in *ō bun kartan* 'entrust' 400.

bunīk 'original' 390 § 2.

bunist (besides *buništ*) 'source, principle' 339 § 12.

bunōmand 'having an origin, source of (other) causes' 232, 382, 383.

burt-šnōhr 'giving thanks' 216, **218 n. a.**

burz-brāhīh 'shining brightly' 262.

burž- 'revere' 216 (*-ēm*), 279 § 8 (*-īt*), 291 (do.), 370 (*-ākīh, -ēnākīh*).

buržišn 'honour' 397, 403.

čakāt 'height' 347 § 52.

čand '*quā*' 215 n. C.

čandēn- 'move (trans.)' 398 (*-īt*).

čandišn 'movement' 32, 282 § 38, 306.

čardār? 'progenitor' **376.**

[1]*čāšišn* 'taste' 344 § 20.

[2]*čāšišn* 'teaching' 52 n. C.

čašm-kās 'aware' **193 n. A.**

čāštak 'teaching, doctrine' 16, 52 n. C, 406.

čāštan 'teach' 27 n. 5, 362 § 26.

ČČ' ? 283 § 46, **309.**

čē-īh '*quidditas*, nature = *τὸ τί*' 278 § 1, **286.**

čē-kām-ič 'whatever' 207 n. 1.

čīh- 'perceive' 385 (*-ēnd*).

čihr (i) 'nature' 128, **144 n. C,** 145 n. I, **171** n. 9, 172 nn. 3, 4; 174 n. 2, 178, 193 n. C, 346 § 36 (and *ēvak-čihrīhā*), §§ 37, 39, 40 (and *mēnōk-čihr*); 347 § 50, 371. (ii) 'natural phenomenon' 345 § 29, 372. (iii) 'seed' 284 § 48. (iv) 'plant' 347 § 51.

čihrak 'lineage, stock' 216.

čihrīk (i) 'natural' 85 n. 2, 144 n. C, 172 n. 3, 235, 346 §§ 36–37, 347 § 49. (ii) 'of one's own nature, related' 166 n. 4.

čim (i) 'reason, cause' 52 n. A, 165 n. H (*ham čim rāδ*), 279 § 9, 280 § 21, 323 §§ 11, 13; 329, 384, 385, 404. (ii) 'why?' 27 n. 5, 321. (iii) 'because' 379 § 5. (iv) 'intention' 385.

činkār translates Av. *činvat-* 324 § 17, 331.

čīn-vitarag 'the Činvat bridge' 336.

čust 'is made unstable' 193 n. D.

daδv 'creator' 196, 197, 204 n. 4, 322 § 2, 323 § 11, 324, 325, 328.

dahmān āfrīn 'praise of the wise' (name of a deity) 361 §§ 4–5.

dāl (?) 'granite(?)' 283 § 46, **309.**

dālman 'vulture' 343 § 3, 362 § 27, **364.**

[2]*dām* 'snare' 216, **218 n. g.**

dānūk 'knee' **295.**

dar (i) 'door', (ii) 'chapter', (iii) 'part', 407; (iv) 'matter' 52 n. A.

[1]*dār* 'tree, wood' 217, 343 §§ 4–5, 345 § 28.

[2]*dār*(?) 'granite(?)' 283 § 46, **309.** v. *dāl*(?).

dārāk-χēm 'maintaining the character of' 369, 370.

dāramak (*dāramuk*) 'slender, subtle, detailed' 215 n. E (*-tom*), 371 (do.), **372.** Cf. Pāz. *dāramaa* q.v.

dārēn 'wooden' 343 § 4.

dar-handarz-pat 'court councillor' 264 (and *-īh*).

[1]*dašn*(*ak*) 'right (hand)' 138 n. 4, 284 § 50, 344 § 19, 345 § 33, 348, 362 § 15.

[2]*dašn*(?) 'direction(?)' 388.

daštak 'embryo' 282 § 38.

daštān 'menstruation' 356, 358.

dāštan 'have' *passim*: *pat ēt dāštan* 'consider' 86 n. 4, 279 § 10.

davan 'lying' 375 § 4.

daχšak (i) 'sign, characteristic' 236 n. 8, 284 § 50 (*-ōmand, -ōmandīh*), 310 (do.). (ii) 'nature' 195 n. J, 329.

dē 'creator' 204 n. 4, 323 § 11, **328.**

dēr-pattāy 'long enduring' 216.

dēr-vistāχ^{v} 'confident and patient' 345 § 24.

dēs 'form' 33 n. c, 283 § 43 (*χāyak-* —), 307 (do.), 348, 356, **358.**

dēs- 'form, build' 358 (*-īhastan, -išnīh*).

dēsak 'form, *εἶδος*' 112 n. 4, 145 n. I, 356, **358,** 372, 375 §§ 3–5, 376.

dēsakōmandīh 'formation' 372.

dēsak-sōhišnīh 'contact with forms' 358. Cf. *sōh-*.

dēsītan 'build' 345 § 21.

dēšak 'bough' 217.

dēstak 'building' 299.

dīδišn 'vision' 344 § 16.

dilītar 'brave' 403.

dītan 'appearance, phenomenon' 356, 372, 407.

dītār 'sight' 279 § 7, **290.**

dītārīh- 'be seen' 290 (*-ēt*).

dītārīk 'visible' 290.

dōčārīh 'confronting' 193 n. C (*pat 2-čārīh*).

dōisr (Av. *dōiθra-*) 'eye' **325.** Cf. *spēt-dōisr*.

dōkān 'detail' 356 (*pat dōkān, pat 2-kānak* 'in detail').

dōkānīk 'detailed, precise' 32, 355, 356 (*2-kānīk*).

dōšāramīh 'seeking to please' 30 n. A, 180 n. 2.

dōšišn 'choosing' 374 § 3, 375 § 4.

dōšītan 'choose' 430.
dōšītār 'chooser' 375 § 4.
dōχtan 'milk' 344 § 16.
drahnāδ 'length' 163 n. C, 217, 283 §§ 43, 46; 307, 308.
drang 'duration' 245, 283 § 44, 307, 340 § 25, 379 § 5, 383, 392.
drēm 'phlegm' 344 § 20.
drōβ 'unjustly' 399.
drōnīh 'deceit, guile' 386.
drōž- 'be false to, violate' 293 (*-ēt*), 368 § 10 (*-ēnd*). Infin. *druχtan* q.v.
drōžanīh 'falsehood' 164 n. D, 379 § 3.
drupušt (i) 'fortress' 156 n. 2 (*band-drupuštīh*), 283 §§ 43, 44 (*drang-drupuštīh*); 307 (and *-īh*). (ii) adv. 'firmly, jealously' 53.
drupuštīh 'protection' 323 § 13.
druvist-annām 'sound of limb' 217.
druχtan 'be false to, violate' 293. Pres. stem. *drōž-* q.v.
druχtārīh 'lying, deception' 386.
duš 'evil' 379 § 5.
dušdaft 'whose breath is foul' 354.
dušīh 'evil' 279 § 8, **291.** Cf. *hu-īh.*
dušīk-kār 'evil action' 374 § 2.
dušmičak 'bad taste' 52 n. A.
dušnihātīk 'of evil nature' 121, 379 §§ 2–4.
duš-rāδēnītārīh 'bad government, disorder' 376.
dušχᵛatīh 'evil essence' 386.
dušyāčakīh 'evil endeavour' 379 § 4.
dūtak 'family' 12 n. 3, 53 (*anōtak-dūtakān*).
dužīh 'robbery' 322 § 3, 379 § 3.
dužītak 'stolen' 285 § 58.

ēnyā 'otherwise' 396.
ēr 'noble' 32 (*-tar*), 375 § 3 (*-īh*), 379 § 3 (do.).
ērīk 'noble' 379 § 4.
ēsm 'fuel' 322 § 8.
ētōnīh 'suchness' 208 n. 2 (*pat ētōnīh* 'as it is').
ēvar 'certain' 34 n. j, 406 (*-īk*).
ēvār 'destruction, pillage' 31, 33 n. b.
ēvēn- 'annihilate' 330. Cf. *ōvēn-*.

frāč kartan 'fix, settle' 279 § 13.
frahāt 'help, helper' 216, 340 § 19, 402.
frahaχtak 'trained, skilled' 345 § 23 (*-tar*).
frahaχt-kārīh 'skill, experience' 345 § 24.
frahist (i) 'for the most part' 27 n. 3. (ii) 'exceeding' 379 § 5.
frahistān 'for the most part' 347 § 51.
frakān 'beginning, basis' 279 § 6, **288–9.**
frakānēnītan 'begin' 289.
franaftan 'proceed' 217. Pres. stem *franām-*.
fra'nāmišn 'proceeding, development' 385.
frapad 'forefoot' 361 § 6, 363.
frasāvandīh 'perishability' 180 n. 2.
frašēβ 'injurious' 388.
frašn 'question' 397.
fravand (i) 'girdle' 208 n. 4, 215 n. E. (ii) 'compass, scope' 346 § 38, 384.
fravastak 'comprised, contained, encompassed' 112 n. 4, 339 § 12, 384.
fravastan 'comprise, contain' 208 n. 4. Pres. stem *fravand-*.
frāχᵛ- 'widen' 217 (*-ēt*).
frāχᵛ-gōyōt 'having wide pastures' 101 n. 5, 102 nn. 1, 4.
frēhbūt 'excess' 193 n. D, 252 n. 2, 262–3, 345 § 33, 347 § 44, 385.
frēh-gōyōt (= *frāχᵛ-gōyōt* q.v.) 282 § 34, 304.
frōk- 'shine' 163 n. C (*-īhast*).
frōt 'down' *passim. frōt nēst* 'is not lacking' 32.
frōt-vaštakīh 'withdrawal' 262.

gaβrīh 'hollowing' 282 § 38, 372.
gaδ 'planet' 347 § 49.
gaδay 'robber' 263.
gaδōkīk 'belonging to the planets' 121, 123, 379 §§ 2–4.
gar 'mountain' 195 n. K.
garōδmān 'heaven' **214 n. B.**
garzišn 'complaint' 362 § 30.
gašnak 'numerous' 348.
gavākīh(?) 'growth' 32, 34 n. d. (more probably *gōβāk* = λογικός 'rational'; *gōβākīh* 'logic').
gēn 'crystal' 323 § 14, **330.** Cf. *kēn, āpakēnak.*
gētēh-handāčak-nimāyišnīhā 'prescribing (conduct) as far as this world is concerned' 32.
gijistak 'accursed' 158 n. 1.
girt (i) 'round' 281 § 26, 283 § 46, **300–1,** 362 § 24. (ii) 'circle' **300–1.** (iii) 'around' **300–1.**
girtak 'around' 361 § 5.
gōgart 'sulphur' 283 § 47, **310.**
gōhr (i) 'mineral' 283 § 47, 361 § 5. (ii) 'jewel' 322 § 5 (— *-pēsīt*), 323 § 14 (do.). (iii) 'substance' 32, 73 n. 3, 79 n. D, 141 n. 3, 145 n. G, 164 n. D, 283 §§ 43, 45; 340 § 29, 346 § 35, 361 §§ 4, 8; 378, 379 § 5 (*-īhā* 'in substance'), 382. Cf. *ham-gōhr, yut-gōhr.* (iv) 'character, nature' 256 n. 5, 257, 407, 408 = Ar./NP. *ṭab'*.
gōhrak 'element' 340 § 25.
gōhrōmand 'full of metals or mineral ores' 217.

gōr 'hollow' 347 § 52.
graftār 'prisoner' 216.
grāy- 'incline, lean' 85 n. 2 (*-išnīh*), 376 (*-astakīh*).
grīv (i) 'neck' 163 n. B. (ii) 'self' 371.
gund 'army' 354.
gyāk 'place' *passim. pat gyāk* 'on the spot, immediately' 27 n. 5, 362 § 15.

hāč- 'incline, convert' 15 n. 3 (*-ēt*), 279 § 10 (*-ēm*), 292 (do.), 339 § 7 (do.), 346 § 35 (*-ēh*). Infin. *hāχtan* q.v.
hačīšīk 'result' 390 § 3.
halak 'ill-considered, foolish' 52 n. A (*-īhā*), 379 § 3, 403 (*-īh*).
hāmak 'totality' 278 § 2, **286–7.**
hambatast 'coincided' 389 § 2, 390 § 3, 391.
hambatīk 'adversary' 347 § 45. Cf. *hambitīk.*
hambav- 'grow together' 282 § 38 (*-īhēnd*), 305 (*-išnīh*), 306 (*-īhēnd*). *hambōs-* (NP. *anbūs-*) could also be read.
hambitīk 'opposed, adversary' 53, 263 (*hanbitīkān*). Cf. *hambatīk, anhambatīk.*
ham-brēh 'of equal stature' 347 § 44.
ham-brahmakīh 'having a similar mode or condition' 263, 325.
hambunīh 'original substance' 375 § 5.
ham-dātastān 'agreeing' 110 (*-ōmandīh*), 279 § 13, 280 § 22 (*-ōmandīh*), 292, 324 § 22, 332, 362 § 33.
hamēmāl 'rival, adversary' 53, 322 § 9, 324 § 21 (*apē-* —), § 22 (*apē-* — *īh*), 332 (do. and *apē-* —), 347 § 45 (and *-īh*), 403.
hāmēn 'summer' 345 § 27, 362 § 15, 364.
hamēn- 'unite' 145 n. I (*-ītār*).
hamē-rāδēnītār 'ever ordering aright' 280 § 18.
hamēstakān 'purgatory' 400.
ham-gōhr 'of the same substance' 262 n. B, 347 § 45.
hamīh- 'be united' 371 (*-ēt*).
hamīkīh 'union' 347 § 51.
hamōk 'teaching' 31, 32.
hamōχt- 'learn' 207 n. 4 (*-ēt*).
hamōχtār 'pupil' 322 § 4, **325.**
hamrānīh 'battle' 339 § 4.
ham-vīmand 'contiguous, proper to' 385.
ham-yuχt 'united' 345 § 30 (and *-īhast*).
²hanbār- 'be sated' 193 n. B. Cf. *hanburt, anhanbār.*
hanbārtār 'store-keeper' 343 § 7.
hanbasān 'contradictory' 27 n. 5.
hanbašn 'bedfellow' 306, 345 § 30.
hanbātak 'generation' 12 n. 3, 370.
hanbāz (*hambāz*) 'companion' 345 § 30, 397.
hanburt 'sated' 193 n. B, 346 § 42. Cf. *²hanbār-.*
handāč 'proportion' 283 § 43.
handāčak (i) 'measure'. (ii) 'manner' 347 § 48 (*pat ham-handāčakīh* 'in like manner'. (iii) adv. 'like' 164 n. G. (iv) 'analogy' 263.
¹handāčišn (i) 'attack' 279 § 6, 288, 339 § 3 (*-īk*). (ii) 'overthrowing, victory' 12 n. 2.
²handāčišn 'ordaining, design' 380, 388 (= Ar./NP. *taqdīr* in Naṣir i Xusrau, *Gušāyiš u rahāyiš*).
handāχtan 'add' 32, 145 n. H, 406. Pres. stem *handāč-.*
handēmānīh 'meeting' 217.
handōčišnīk 'thrifty' 379 § 3.
²handōχt 'sew up' 241, 398.
hangart 'all-embracing' 215 n. E.
hangārt 'complete' 284 § 52.
hangārtan 'consider, esteem' 32, 79 n. D (*hangārīhēnd*).
hangartīk (i) 'including, inclusive, comprehensive, summing up' 45 n. 2, 215 n. E (*-tom*), 374 § 2, 376, 383, 385. (ii) 'compendium(?)' 145 n. H.
hangartīkēn- 'cause to be contained' 371 (*-īt*).
hangartīkīh 'comprehensiveness, scope, summing up' 289, 371, 384, 385.
hangat 'accumulated' 32 (— *-dānākīh*).
hangēnītan 'induce' 30 n. B (2).
hangēž- 'excite' 346 § 36 (*-īhēt*).
hangēžēn- 'raise up' 104 n. C, 262, 330 (*-āt*).
hangōšītak 'manner' 32, 282 § 38, 284 § 50, 345 § 29.
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harvisp-astōmandīh 'all solid' 283 §§ 41–42.
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hast-hēr 'rich' 340 § 19.
hāvišt 'pupil' 52 n. C.
hāχtan 'convert' 362 § 35, **364.** Pres. stem *hāč-* q.v.
hazangrō(k)zam 'millennium' 374 § 2.
hēr 'goods, property, thing' 180 n. 2, 217, 278 § 1, 285–6, 390 § 3, 399, 400, 402, 406, 407.
hērak-gōn 'ash-coloured' 375 § 4.
hēr-pānak 'thrifty' 292.
hišt-škōhīh(?) 'lack of respect' 376.
hiχr 'excrement' 30, 52 n. A (*-īh*), 171 n. 9, 361 § 12 (*-īh*), 362 § 27 (do.).
hiyag(?) 'ailment(?)' 372, **373.**
hiyandak 'ill' 373.
hōk 'habit' 256, 325, 407, 408 = Ar/NP. *ʿādat.*

hōy(ak) 'left (hand)' 284 § 50, 344 § 19, 345 § 33, 348.
hu-ayāpak 'understanding well' 281 § 25, 298. Cf. *ayāpakīh* q.v.
hubōδ 'sweet-smelling' 73 n. 3, 141 n. 3, 346 § 40. Cf. *bōδ* (ii).
hučihr 'beautiful' 216, 217.
hučihr-gar 'beautifying' 162 n. 2.
hudahāk 'fruitful' 216, 306.
hudāk 'useful, fruitful' 283 § 42, 306.
hugar 'easy' 343 § 4 (*-tar*), § 5 (do.), 344 § 20 (do.), 345 § 24.
hu-īh 'goodness' 374 § 2. Cf. *dušīh.*
hu-īk 'good' 374 § 2, 390 § 3.
hu-īk-kār 'good action' 374 § 2.
hukarp 'shapely, beautiful' 292.
humiθr 'friendly' 290.
hunihātīk 'of good nature' 121, 379 §§ 2–4.
hunušak 'offspring (of demons only)' 171 n. 4, 175 n. 1, 376, 385, 386.
hupahrēčišnīh 'sober living, temperance' 53 n. 1.
hupatsāy 'fitting well(?)' 283 § 43, **307.**
huyāčakīh 'good endeavour' 379 § 4.
huzahak 'noble' 290. Cf. [1]*zahak.*

kaδ-īh 'when-ness, temporality' 286.
kālput 'carcase' 404.
kamālakān 'having (monstrous) heads (of demons)' 355, 356, 357.
kamālīk 'having a (monstrous) head (of demons)' 282 § 36, 305.
kanīk 'maiden' 163 n. C, 216.
kār (i) 'action' *passim.* (ii) '*ἐνέργεια*, actuality' 224, 229, 270, 383.
kār ut dātastān '(worldly) affairs' 281 § 25, 299.
kār vičārtan 'satisfy one's natural needs' 407, 408.
kārīk 'actual' 390 § 2.
karkās 'vulture' 364.
karkēhan 'chalcedony' 375 § 5.
karp 'body, shape, form' 33 n. c, 115, **131 n. 2,** 146, 175 n. 1, 207 nn. 6, 7 (*χrat-karpīh*); 215 n. E, 263 (*dēv-karpīh*), 281 §§ 26–29, 283 § 42, 284 § 51, 300 (= *tan*), 302 (do.), 303, 322 § 3, 325 (= *tan*), 346 § 35, 348, 356, 363 §§ 37, 38 (*-īh*); 372.
kartak 'rite' 52 n. C, 53.
katak-masāδ 'of the size of a house' 309.
katār 'which' 324 § 21, 332, 344 §§ 9, 11, 13, 15–16.
katār-ič-ē 'whatever, any at all' 207 n. 1, 344 § 20, 346 § 36, 375 § 5, 385.
kaβas 'channel' 214 n. A.
[2]*kēn* 'crystal' 330, 361 §§ 4, 8; **363,** 364. Cf. *gēn, āpakēnak.*
kērōkīh 'craft, process' 32.
kēš-dār 'sectary' 386, 388.
kiβōt 'casket' 343 §§ 4–5.
kišvarīk 'a subject, national' 32.
kōšāk (= Skt. *kośa*) 'volume' 145 n. H.
kōt 'mass' 372, **373.**
ku-īh 'where-ness, position' 286.
kunišnīk 'agent' 374 § 1.
kust(ak) 'side, direction' 163 nn. A, C; 283 § 47, 339 § 3, 344 § 20, 368 § 13.

maδ-gōn 'wine-coloured' 375 § 5, **376.**
maδīh(?) 'wine-ness' 347 § 51.
mān 'house' 281 § 25, 283 § 43, 299, 323 §§ 13–15, 356.
mānāk 'resembling' 262, 283 § 43, 307, 388.
mānāk-gyākīk '*qua* space' 215 n. C.
mānišn 'abode' 347 § 49.
mānišnīk 'resembling' 379 § 3.
māništ 'dwelling-place' 284 § 53, 311.
[1]*mar* 'number' 361 § 7.
[2]*mar* 'villain' 31 n. B, 375 § 4, 376, 397.
marak 'number' 301.
mārīk 'word' 280 § 15.
marnǰēnītan 'destroy' *passim,* **290.**
marttāčōkīh 'valour' 375 § 5.
mastīh- 'become drunk' 193 n. D.
mātay 'matter, *ὕλη*' 145 n. I, 207 nn. 3, 7 (*χrat-mātayīh*), 225, 269.
mātakvarīhā 'principally' 406.
[1]*matiyān* 'book, volume' 32, 145 n. H.
[2]*mātiyān* 'important, chiefly' 32, 340 § 17, 375 §§ 3, 5; 379 § 3, 388 (*andar* —), 406.
māyišn 'coition' 195 n. K.
mēč 'eyelash' 195 n. I, 340 § 25.
[1]*mēčītan* 'blink' 194 n. H, **195 n. I** (*čašm-mēčišn*).
[2]*mēčītan* 'suck' 195 nn. H, I.
megistīk '*al-maǰist, μεγίστη* of Ptolemy' 145 n. H.
mēnōkān-tāšīt 'fashioned by the spiritual powers' 156 n. 1.
mēχ i gās 'the Pole Star' 163 n. A, 165.
mēzītan 'make water' 195 n. I.
mitōχt 'falsely spoken' 282 § 33 (*-īhā*), 304 (do.), 375 § 4, 390 § 3 (*-īk*).
mōδak 'mourning' 345 § 33.
murvēčak 'young of bird' 361 § 5.
mūtak 'ruinous' 175 n. 1, **194 n. E.**

nāirīk 'woman' 216, 292.
nāmakīh 'renown' 280 § 23.
nāmčišt(*īk*) 'especially' 52 n. A, 145 n. I, 262, 398.
narfsišn 'waning' 345 § 26.
nāvtāk 'navigable' **214 n. A,** 217.
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nāzišn 'enjoyment' 397.
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nērōkīh- 'be strengthened' 193 n. D (*-ēt*).
nērōkīk 'potential' 379 § 5.
nēzumān 'subtle' 252 n. 2 (*-īh*), **263 n. f.**
niδvār- 'proceed, rush off' 166 n. 4 (*-ēt*), 194 n. F (*-išn*).
niγōχšītār 'hearer, obedient' 346 § 39.
nihāl 'sapling' 345 § 28.
nihātkārīh 'prosperity' 32.
nikandan 'insert' 309, 361 § 5, 363.
nikēž 'teaching, exegesis' 369, 371 § 1, 378, 382, 383, 384, 385, 388, 389, 390, 391, 406.
nikēž- 'teach, give an indication' 217 (*-īt*), 389 (do.), 392 (*-āk*).
nikēžišn 'teaching, doctrine' 27 n. 3, 32.
nimēž 'wink, consent' 262, 263 n. e.
nisang (i) 'a little' **372.** (ii) 'chapter' **372.** (iii) 'period, stage' 371, **372.** Cf. Pāz. *nihañg*.
nisārīk(?) 'original(?)' 345 § 28.
nisārišnikīh 'restoring' 379 § 5.
nišāstan 'set down, establish' 323 § 13, 329, 362 §§ 31, 35.
nītan 'lead' 262 n. B.
nivandak 'bondage, trap' 216, **218, n.g.**
nivēk(?) 'doctrine(?) 32, 34 n. g.
nivēk- 'bestow' 216, **218 n. i.**
**nivēt* 'good news' 303.
niχšaδišnīh 'patience' 396.
niχšaδišnīk 'patient' 396 (*-tar*).
niyāβ 'suitable' 279 § 7, **290.**
niyāβākīh 'assistance(?)' 215 n. E.
nizōrīh 'weakness' 193 n. D.
nizōrīh- 'be weakened' 193 n. D (*-ēt*).

ōβām 'period, time' 97 n. 9, 102 n. 1, 194 n. E, 374 § 2, 379 §§ 4–5, 399.
ōčirišnīk 'distinguishable, distinguished' 385. Cf. Pāz. *χᵛazīrašnī* q.v.
ōyārišnōmand 'able to be dispelled' 373. Cf. Pāz. *hugār-* q.v.
ōpārtan 'swallow' 171 n. 5, 193 n. B. (*-ēt*), 250 n. 1.
ōsānišnīk 'descending' 385.
ōsēnītan 'destroy, annihilate' 294, 295. Later spelling of *aβsihēnītan* q.v.
ōstām 'ground, basis' 234, 390 § 3.
ōstān '(position of) trust' 52 n. B.
ōstavānīh 'confessing' 340 § 21. Cf. *āstuvānīh*.
ōstēn- 'raise up' 104 n. C, 216, **218 n. f.**
ōstīk 'stable, confident' 32 (*-īhā*).
ōstīkān 'grounded in' 385 (*vēhīh-* — 'grounded in goodness', *vattar-* —). Cf. Pāz. *ōstyą*.
ōstīkānīh 'stability' 345 § 29.
[1]*ōš* 'death' 215 n. D, 398.
[2]*ōš* 'intelligence' 407, 408.
ōšmurišn 'category' 379 *passim*, 384, 385, 386.
[1]*ōšōmand* 'subject to death, mortal' 172 n. 1, 215 n. D, 281 § 25, 299.
[2]*ōšōmand* 'wakeful' 101 n. 5.
ōvēn 'annihilated' 323 § 14, **330,** 376.
ōvēn- 'annihilate' **330** (*-ēt, -ītan*). Cf. *ēvēn-*.
ōvēn-būtīh 'annihilation' 330. Cf. MPT. *wnywdyḥ*.
ōvēn-fražāmīh 'final annihilation' 375 § 4.
ōvēnišn 'annihilating' 330.
ōž 'power' 145 n. I, 195 n. H, 291 (*nihān-ōž*), 362 § 15.
ōžīh- 'be strengthened' 193 n. D (*-ēt*).
ōžōmand 'mighty' 281 § 25 (*-tar*), 298 (do.), 404.

paččēn 'copy' 27 n. 2, 31, 32.
paδ 'sinew' 145 n. G, 162 n. 2, 343 §§ 7–8, 344 §§ 9, 20; **348.**
paδrōt v. *patrōt*.
pahrēč 'abstention' 406.
pahrēχtan 'refrain' 340 § 22. Pres. stem *pahrēč-*.
paitištān 'leg' 361 § 6, 363.
pand 'path' **203 n. 5,** 217.
panēnītārīh 'causing to be miserly' 379 § 3.
panīh 'avarice' 379 § 3, 386.
panīk 'miserly' 379 § 3. Cf. *pen*.
pārak 'bribe' 58 n. 6, 90 n. 1.
parastak 'service' 322 § 8, **327.**
parkān 'enclosing wall' 283 § 43, 289, 307, 361 §§ 4, 7; 363.
parvānak 'envoy' 347 § 48.
pasēmārīh '(legal) defence' 282 § 34.
pasōmandīh 'richness in flocks' 16 n. 3.
passāč- 'fit together' 344 § 19 (*-om*). Infin. *passāχtan* q.v.
passačak 'befitting, suitable' 31 n. B, 216 (*-īhā*), 322 § 6 (do.), 327 (do.).
passāčišn 'composition' 79 n. D.
passāχt 'consistent' 32.
passāχtan (i) 'mould, fit together' 322 § 7, 327, 343 §§ 4–6, 344 § 20. (ii) 'insert' 322 § 2. (iii) 'submit' 12 n. 2.
past 'treaty' 340 § 29. Cf. *pašt, pašn*.
pašn 'pact, connexion, obligation' 279 § 13, **293,** 364.

pašt 'treaty, pact' 102 n. 1, **293**, 340 § 30, 346 § 35.
pat 'lord' 375 §§ 3, 4 (*-īh*), 5; 376 (*-īh*).
pātēmār 'assigned task' 345 § 24.
pātērāngar 'thwarting' 347 § 50.
patērānēn- 'prevent' 165 n. H (*-īt*).
patēst 'threat' 279 §§ 10, 12, 282 § 37, 292, 293, 305, 388.
patēst- 'threaten' 339 § 5 (*-āt*), 7 (do.), 8 (do.); 340 § 30 (*-īt*), 346 § 35 (*-āt*).
patēstīk 'threatening' 388.
patēχᵛīh 'prosperity' 379 § 3.
pātēz 'autumn' 345 § 27.
patyāk 'messenger' 186 n. 6.
patīrak 'opposite, over against' 279 § 9 (*ō patīrak i* 'up to'), 298.
patīrak-ēstišnīk 'opposed' 340 § 28.
patkārdār 'disputant' 12 n. 2, 27 n. 3 (*patkārtār*).
patmān (i) 'measure' 345 § 28 (*hāvand-patmān* 'of equal measure'). (ii) 'proportion, moderation' 79 n. D, 193 n. D. (iii) 'the Mean' 58, 246, 249, 251, 252 n. 2, 261 n. A, 262–3, 385. (iv) 'agreed time, norm, treaty' 58, 102 n. 1, 248, 249, 250, 261 n. A, 279 § 5, 288, 368 § 9.
patmānak (i) 'measure' 301, 361 § 6. (ii) 'moderation' 379 § 3. (iii) 'the Mean' 261 n. A, 347 § 44. (iv) 'treaty' 248, 261 n. A. (v) 'term, period' 281 § 24. (vi) 'bond(?)' 165 n. H.
patmānīk (i) 'moderate' 171 n. 9, 347 § 44. (ii) 'approximate' 284 §§ 49–50.
patmān-kārīh 'moderating action' 145 n. I.
patmōč- 'clothe' 346 § 39 (*-īhēt*). Infin. *patmōχtan* q.v.
patmōčan 'garment' 15 n. 4, 118, 163 n. C, 164 n. G, 322 §§ 4, 6; 325, 375 §§ 3–5.
patmōk 'garment' 118, 262 n. B, 346 § 35, 375 §§ 3–5; 376.
patmōχtan 'clothe, wear' 163 n. C, 164 n. G, 262 n. B, 283 § 44, 322 §§ 4–6. Pres. stem *patmōč-* q.v.
pat-nērōk 'powerful' 396 (*-tar*).
pātram 'common people, *plebs*'. *pātram-ič aδvēnak āvāčīk* 'vulgar idiom, the vernacular' 32.
patrōtan 'rush forward' 279 § 7, **290**.
pattāyišn 'continuance' 193 n. C.
pattōk 'durable, firmly established' 193 n. D, 217.
pattōkīh 'continuance, endurance' 217, 379 § 5.
pattūtan 'endure, last' 217. Pres. stem *pattāy-*.
patvand (i) 'connected, connexion' 173 n. 3, 194 n. F etc. (ii) 'offspring' 362 § 15.
patvast-ovišīh 'association' 289.
patvēšak 'rottenness' 373 (and *-ōmand*).
patχᵛāδišnīk 'desirable' 216.
paχsišn 'ripening' 364.
paytākēn- (i) 'manifest', (ii) 'appoint' 346 § 42 (*-īt*), 404 (*-ēnd*).
pazzāmišn 'ripening' 79 n. D.
pēhn 'food' 293–4.
pēm 'milk' 195 n. H, 346 § 40.
pen 'miserly' 346 § 37. Cf. *panīk*.
pērāδišn 'seemliness' 263.
pērōk 'shining' 390 § 3.
pēsišn 'adornment' 375 § 5.
pēsīt(ak) 'adorned' 156 n. 1, 322 § 5 (*gōhr-pēsīt*), 323 § 14 (do.), 326, 330, 375 § 5. Cf. *pistak*, *pēšīt*.
pēšēmārīh 'prosecution' 282 § 34, 305.
pēšīt 'adorned' 326. Cf. *pēsīt*.
pēšōpāδ (i) 'guide, leader' 12 n. 3, 16 n. 3, 194 n. G, 370. (ii) 'first' 344 § 19.
pistak 'adorned' 281 § 25, **299**.
²*pit* 'flesh' 145 n. G, 343 § 7.
pōryōtkēš 'ancient sage' 383, 384, 406.
¹*puhr* 'bridge' 217, 324 § 17.
²*puhr* 'punishment' 14 n. 5, 340 §§ 16, 22.
purr-patmānīhā 'in full measure' 53.
purr-urvāhm 'full of bliss' 85 n. 4, 216 (— *-vānišn*), 262 n. B.
purr-vāstar 'full of pasture' 217.
pursišnīk 'well informed' 221 n. 2, 281 § 25, 298.
pušt (i) 'back', (ii) 'ridge' 362 § 35.
pūtak 'putrid' 279 § 8.

rāδēn- (i) 'order, direct, rule, regulate, control' 200 (*-ēt*), 370 (*-ītan*). (ii) 'distribute' 324 § 16 (*-ēt*), 388 (*-īhēt*).
rāδēnāk 'ordering, directing', etc. 118, 217, 368 § 14, 375 §§ 3–5, 376, 385 (and *-īh*).
rāδēnišn 'regulating, management, development, conduct, activity' 217, 262, 374 §§ 2–3 (*-īkīh* 'ordering'), 375 § 4 (*-īh*), 376 (do.), 382 (*-īk* 'directed'), 385, 388, (opp. *višōβišn* 'confusion'), 406.
rāδēnītār 'who orders, directs', etc., 85 n. 3, 372, 382.
rāδēnītārīh 'ordering, directing, regulation, management' 236, 247 n. C, 248, 339, 375 § 5, 376, 379 § 3, 381, 382, 386.
ras (= Av. *raθa-*) 'wheel (of heaven), firmament' 112 nn. 1, 4; 144 n. C, 145 n. I, 343 § 7, 372, 375 § 5.
¹*rastak* 'natural property' 372. Cf. *ristak* (iii).
²*rastak* 'regularity' 389 § 1 (*pat rastak* 'regularly').
raštan 'dye' 378, 379 §§ 2, 5.
rātēnītan 'propagate' 53.
ravāk-ray 'whose chariot is swift' 216.

ray 'chariot' 164 nn. E, F; 165 n. H.
rāy 'effort' 173 n. 2.
rāz-aβzār 'devising weapons' 263.
rēβās 'rhubarb' 363 § 37.
[1]*ristak* (i) 'manner' 340 § 21. (ii) 'way, sect' 32 (*yut-ristakān*). (iii) 'natural property' 145 n. I. Cf. [1]*rastak*.
[2]*rist(ak)* 'dead' 344 §§ 10, 12, 14.
riyahr 'mourning' 376.
rōδ 'copper' 283 § 47.
rōp 'looting' 31, **33 n. b.**
rōtstāk 'valley' 195 n. K.
ruzdak 'greedy' 346 § 42.

[2]*sač-* 'pass away' 280 § 22 (*-ēt*), 356 (*-ist*), 359 (do.).
sačēn- 'make seemly, ennoble' 263.
sačišn 'passing, passage' 215 n. C, 281 § 29, 303, 379 § 5, 388 (*spurr-kanārak-sačišnīh*). Cf. *asačišnīh*.
sačišnīk 'transitory' 390 § 2, 392.
sāčišnīk 'effective' 388.
sah- 'seem good' 195 n. K (*-ēt*), 279 § 8 (*-ist*), 291 (do.), 324 § 21 (*-ēt*), 368 § 15 (do.), 18 (*-ast*).
sahmān 'limit, boundary, extent' 193 n. D, 202 n. 4, 370.
sahmānōmand 'limited' 391 (and *-īh*).
sangēn 'heavy' 73 n. 3, 141 n. 3.
sar(ə)δak 'sort, kind, species' 32 (*yut-sarəδakān*), 195 n. K, 217 (*vas-* —), 284 § 48, 310, 323 § 12, 345 § 30, 346 § 38, 361 § 13, 362 §§ 14, 15, 22.
sārēn- 'provoke' 279 § 9 (*-ēh*), 292 (do.).
sārīgar 'buzzard' 362 § 27, 364.
sāstār (i) 'ruler, tyrant' 16 n. 3 (*-īh*), **121 n. 1**, 216. (ii) 'heretical priest' **45**, 122, 289, 375 § 4 (*-īh*), 376 (do.), 379 § 3 (do.), 386 (do.), 397.
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savākīh 'munificence' 262, 263 n. b.
sāy- 'lie down' **104 n. C**, 280 § 16 (*-ast*), 283 § 41 (do.), 295 (do.), 306 (do.), 355 (do.), 356 (do.), **357**.
sēž 'bane' 345 §§ 32, 33; 354.
sēžišn 'decay' 374 § 2.
snēžak 'snow' 283 § 45, 308.
snōδān 'storm' 283 § 45, **308**.
sōh- 'touch' 358 (*-išnīh*).
spahr (= Av. *Θwāša-*) 'firmament' 89, 372, 375 § 5. Cf. *spāš*.
spāš (= Av. *Θwāša-*) 'firmament' 88 n. 1, 89 n. 1, 247 n. C (*θiβāš*), 383. Cf. *spahr*.
spazgīh 'calumny' 10 n. 3.
spēk 'brilliance' 375 § 3.
spēt-dōisr 'white-eyed' 322 § 3, 325.
spēž- 'put forth new growth' 345 § 28 (*-īhēnd*).
spēžišn 'shining' 345 § 25.
spistēn(?) 'foul(?)' 354.
spurrgar 'who consummates' 347 § 48.
spurrīk 'whole, perfect' 32, 371.
spurrīk- 'complete' 345 § 28 (*-īhēt*).
spurrīkgarīh 'consummation' 347 § 46.
spurrkarīh 'completion' 388.
srēšak 'mass' 372, **373**.
srēšōtak 'conglomeration' 372.
srov 'word' 15 n. 1, 31 n. B (*duš-srov*).
srūv 'nail (of hand or foot)' 344 § 20.
star-ōšmur 'astronomer' 375 § 4, 376.
start 'laid low' 86 n. 3, 280 § 16 (and *-īh*), 282 § 41 (*-īhā*), 295 (and *-īh*), 304 (*-īh*), 306 (do.), 339 § 4 (*-ak*), 340 § 24, 354, 355, 356 (and *-īh*), 357 (do.), 358 (do.). Cf. *sturt*.
sturt 'laid low' 102 n. 1, 283 § 41 (*-īh*), 295 (and *-īh*), 354 (*-īh*), 355 (do.), 357 (do.), 358 (do.). Cf. *start*.
suδ 'hunger' 340 § 30, 345 § 33, 346 §§ 35, 37.
sus(?) 'degree' 97 n. 2, 144 n. E.
sūt-aβkār 'promoting benefit' 292. Cf. *aβkārīhā*.
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