



suggestion on the localization is offered below. Magian worship on the high mountains is familiar from the time of Herodotus (1. 131 seq.) onward.<sup>1</sup>

This time of early retirement and seclusion must have been the period in which Zoroaster fought out the fight that raged in his own bosom and in which he began to solve the problem of life, the enigma of the world, and the question of belief, as his religion solved it. Here he doubtless began also to formulate the first general truths out of which his religious system was evolved. It is the stillness of the forest or of some lone retreat that lifts the soul into communion with nature and with God. The long retirement and separation from men, the hours of meditation, introspection and abstraction, had brought the material frame into complete subjection, no doubt, and had lifted the spiritual body into a realm of ecstatic rapture and transcendent exaltation which prepared it for prophetic vision. At this moment came the Revelation and the first of the seven hallowed manifestations which only a soul inspired by the fervor of religious ecstasy was entitled to behold.

**Conclusion.** — The first few years of the life of Zoroaster are represented by a series of miraculous events which tradition has fancifully colored. When he becomes of age he retires from the world for a number of years which were doubtless given to meditation and religious preparation. At thirty the Revelation comes, and he enters upon his ministry.

Shea, p. 286, Zoroaster says 'this volume (the Zend-Avesta) has descended to me from the roof of the house which is on that mountain (cf. Vd. 19. 4. 11; Bd. 20. 32; 24. 15; Zsp.

22. 12); see Appendix IV. pp. 194, 195, 201.

<sup>1</sup> One need only recall Behistān (\* Baghastāna) 'place of the God-head.'





## CHAPTER IV

## THE REVELATION

ZOROASTER'S SEVEN VISIONS AND THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF  
THE RELIGION

'You long to chase, uncaptured yet,  
The young wild-fire of Shelley's mind,  
And how your Zoroaster met  
His shadow in the garden, find.'

—GEORGE E. WOODBERRY.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY—SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND WHAT WE GATHER FROM THEM—'THE REVELATION'—FIRST VISION, CONFERENCE WITH AHURA MAZDA—SECOND VISION, VOHU MANAH—SCENES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE REMAINING VISIONS AND CONFERENCES WITH THE ARCH-ANGELS—THE TEMPTATION OF ZOROASTER—MAIDHYŪI-MĀONHA, HIS FIRST DISCIPLE—CONCLUSION

**Introductory Survey.**—The quickening spirit is now ready to bring forth the first fruit of its long labor. At the age of thirty comes the divine light of revelation, and Zoroaster enters upon the true pathway of the faith. It is in this year<sup>1</sup> that the archangel of Good Thought, Vohu Manah, appears unto Zarathushtra in a vision and leads his soul in holy trance into the presence of God, Ahura Mazda. The year of this first inspired revelation is known in the Pahlavi texts as 'the Year of the Religion,' and there are numerous allusions here and elsewhere to the fact that Zoroaster was thirty years of age at the time.<sup>2</sup> Parallels for the beginning of his ministry at this

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 630, according to tradition as calculated by West, *SBE*. xlvii. Introd. § 55, and see Appendix III. below.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 3. 51; 8. 14. 3; Zsp. 21. 1; ZtN. p. 490; also Masūdi, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 153, tr. Barbier de Mey-





age are not far to seek. During the ten years that follow this apocalyptic vision, Zoroaster has seven different conferences with Ahura Mazda and the six Amesha Spentas.

Many events occurred during this time, and a number of marvellous incidents are recounted in connection with this opening period of his prophetic career, as narrated in the Dīn-kart, Zāt-spāram, Zartusht Nāmāh, and elsewhere. His teaching does not seem at the outset to have met with favor. Reforms come slowly and the ground must be prepared. Ten years elapsed — years of wandering and struggle, of hope and dejection, of trial and temporary despair — before he won his first convert. This zealous adherent is his own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mētyō-māh), who is often mentioned in the Avesta and other writings.<sup>1</sup> He is a very different character from Buddha's traitorous and schismatic cousin Devadatta, and he stands as the St. John of Zoroastrianism. Finally, in the twelfth year of the Religion,<sup>2</sup> Kavi Vishtāspa (Phl. Kai Vishtāsp, Mod. Pers. Gushtāsp) is converted and becomes the Constantine of the Faith — the Rājā Bimbisāra, if not the Asoka, of Buddhism. After the king adopts the Creed, many conversions follow, and the Prophet's own family, relatives, and friends are frequently referred to in the Avesta and elsewhere as having become faithful adherents and believers.

All these events have so important a bearing that they must be discussed in detail. A sort of synoptic view may be gained by gathering together various pieces of the scattered material and by combining stray allusions into a connected narrative. A consecutive account of the occurrences is therefore here attempted, but it must frankly be stated that the exact

nard; cf. *JAOS.* xvii. p. 10; Schol. to Platonic *Alcibiades* I, p. 122 (Ζωροάστρη) μετὰ τῶν χρόνων ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ βασιλεὶ τῆς ὁλῆς φιλοσοφίας; see Appendix V. § 1 (Plato) below.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yt. 13. 95; Ys. 51. 19; Bd. 32. 2; Dk. 9. 44. 19; Zsp. 21. 3; 23.

1, 8, 11; Syriac *Book of the Bee* (A.D. 1250), p. 81, ed. Budge, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Oxford, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 618 of the tradition, West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.



sequence of events is sometimes difficult to determine with precision. Caution may be used in accepting the results without qualification, as they cannot be freed from subjective tendencies. Nevertheless they represent in general outline the tradition. So much by way of introduction.

**Sources of Information and what we gather from them.**—The sources from which we obtain material to fill up the first period after the Revelation, the ten or twelve years that elapsed until the meeting between Zoroaster and King Vish-tāspa, and the latter's conversion, are the same as have already been described. But now that we have reached the real period of Zarathushtra's prophetic career this material may be augmented in a special manner by the Gāthās or Zoroastrian Psalms. Like the Psalms of David these often indicate situations or conditions in a more or less direct manner, so that they help very much in drawing inferences.

From our various sources of information two facts may be gathered with certainty: one is, that after receiving the Revelation Zoroaster wandered about, as the dervishes of Iran still wander, going from place to place in search of a fruitful soil for his teaching; the other is, that during this period, like the prophets of old, he was inspired from time to time by supernatural visions and manifestations. The truth of both assertions is proved by the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts, and it is substantiated by Arabic and Syriac writers.<sup>1</sup>

The Arab writer Ṭabarī, who calls Zoroaster a disciple of Jeremiah and speaks of him as a native of Palestine, goes on to state in the course of his history that 'he wandered to Ādar-baijān and preached there the Magian religion; and from there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh.'<sup>2</sup> The chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. thirteenth century), who incor-

<sup>1</sup> Among Avestan passages compare Ys. 31. 8; 43. 5 seq.; 46. 1 seq. and others to be noted below in connection with the Pahlavi and Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> For the full quotation, see Gottheil, *References*, p. 37, and compare also Appendix IV. p. 198 below, where comments are made.





porated much of Tabarī into his own work, is able to add that, preaching from his sacred book, the Avesta, '(Zardusht) went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia); but no one understood what was in it. Thence he wandered to India and offered it (the Avesta) to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Ferghānah, but its prince wished to slay him.<sup>1</sup> From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp, son of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṭ-aspa), who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'<sup>2</sup> This statement like the preceding is more fully discussed in Appendix IV. in its relation to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry. Such passages have the value at least of showing the existence of a tradition to the effect that Zoroaster wandered about as an itinerant teacher until fortune led him to Vishtāspa. Zoroaster was performing the part of one of those Āthravan priests to whom the Avesta alludes as 'coming from afar.'<sup>3</sup> Nor may his wanderings have been fruitless, for no doubt the seed that had been sown in these places did not prove barren but sprang up later when Zoroastrianism began to spread as the state religion over Iran.

But to return to Pahlavi literature and to Zoroastrian writings. The Zartusht Nāmāh says: 'When Zoroaster attained his thirtieth year, he was relieved from danger and his works bare fruit. His heart was directed to Iran. He left his place in company with some others. Of those, some who were his relations accompanied him on this journey.'<sup>4</sup> On the way the party passes through a sea whose waters are lowered by a miracle so as to allow a free crossing.<sup>5</sup> They travel forward more

<sup>1</sup> Query. Have we here a reminiscence of Aūrvātā-dang the Tūr, Dk. 7. 4. 7-14?

<sup>2</sup> Gottheil, *References*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eugen Wilhelm, *Priester und Ketzer im alten Iran*, in *ZDMG.* xliv. 143-144.

<sup>4</sup> ZtN. p. 490.

<sup>5</sup> ZtN. p. 490. This would be appropriate to Lake Urumiah, judging from the description given by Curzon, *Persia*, i. 533-5; Spiegel (*EA.* i. 694) suggests Lake Sevan.



than a month until they reach the confines of Iran. This day, according to the Pahlavi Zāt-spāram as well as the Zartusht Nāmāh, was the last day 'Anērān of the month Spendarmat (February 14–March 20)'—so precise is tradition.<sup>1</sup> Their destination, as the Zāt-spāram indicates, is the place 'where people went from many quarters out to the place of festival (*jašnōcār*).'<sup>2</sup> The occasion is the celebration of the spring-tide festival. It seems to be a sort of annual religious convocation that they attend. We may remember in this connection that Gabriel revealed himself to Mohammed at the celebration of Ramaḍān. Thus Zoroaster, when halting in a plain of a river called Aēvatāk (one of the four branches of the Dāityā), receives the first premonition and manifestation of what is to come. It is a vision of the approach of a victorious army headed by his cousin Mētyōmāh coming northwards to join him.<sup>3</sup>

**The Revelation — First Vision — Conference with Ahura Mazda.**—The auspicious hour is at hand. The archangel Vohu Manah (Phl. Vohūman) is to reveal himself to Zoroaster. At dawn on the forty-fifth day of the Prophet's journey, or the 15th instant (Dadvō-pavan-Mitrō) of the month Artavahishtō (*i.e.* May 5) of the thirty-first year of the reign of Vishtāsp,<sup>4</sup> the Revelation comes.<sup>5</sup> Tradition takes delight in making exact statements. The scene where this event occurred is laid on the banks of the Dāitī (Av. Dāityā)—the Jordan of Zoroastrianism—a river in Airān-Vēj or Ādarbaijān.<sup>6</sup> The position

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 21. 1; ZtN. pp. 490–1. On the correspondence between the month Spendarmat and our calendar, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Zsp. 21. 1 (West's translation), *SBE.* xlvii. 155. So also ZtN. pp. 490–91, and Dabistān, i. p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Zsp. 21. 2, 3; cf. Dk. 7. 3. 51. The Zartusht Nāmāh (p. 491) is more elaborate in its details. Notice also the Dabistān, i. pp. 230–1.

<sup>4</sup> Artavahisht corresponds to April 20–May 19. The day, therefore, would be May 5. On the month, compare Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33–34. The year would be B.C. 630. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 45, and Appendix III. below.

<sup>5</sup> Zsp. 21. 4; 22. 2; ZtN. p. 491.

<sup>6</sup> Dk. 7. 3. 51; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. 21. 4, 'the Dāitīh, because it is the river of the conference, etc.'; Zsp. 21.





of this river is discussed below in Appendix IV. p. 211; it is represented perhaps by the modern Kizel Üzen and its tributaries, which merges into the Spēd River of Ādarbaijān. It is crossed by Zoroaster at four different depths, or more probably he fords four different streams. These crossings symbolically represent four different eras in the history of the religion.<sup>1</sup> At the dawn, therefore, of the day named, as he stands upon the bank of the third channel, Aēvatāk, of the river Dāitī, after bringing up the holy Hōm-water, Zaratūsht suddenly beholds a glorified image of the archangel Vohūman (Good Thought) coming toward him from the south, and bearing in his hand a glossy staff — ‘the spiritual twig of the religion (*mainōg tāk-i dēnō*).’<sup>2</sup>

In a brief space of time, as he reaches the fourth affluent, Aūshān-rūt, of the good Dāitī, the image of Vohūman becomes a realization, and a transcendent figure of colossal proportions, ‘nine times as large as a man,’ rises before him, reminding us somewhat of the great image that arose before Daniel, by the side of the river which is Hiddekel.<sup>3</sup> Vohūman opens his lips and begins to question the enrapt seer, — this situation is alluded to in the Avestan Gāthās, — and after bidding him to lay aside his ‘garment’ (or the vesture of his material body), the seraphic messenger leads away his soul in ecstatic trance into the glorious and dazzling presence of Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands.<sup>4</sup>

No sooner does Zaratūsht enter this radiant assembly than he ceases to behold ‘his own shadow upon the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels’; and, as the words of the text continue, ‘the position of the assembly was in

13, ‘the position of the assembly was in Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāitīh’ (West’s translation, *SBE*. xlvii. 157). Again, ZtN. p. 491.

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 21. 6-7; ZtN. pp. 491-2; Dab. i. 231-2.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 3. 51-53; Zsp. 21. 2, 5, 6 (West); ZtN. p. 492; Dab. i. 232-3.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 7. 3. 54; Zsp. 21. 8-9. Cf. Daniel x. 4-21. I am furthermore indebted to Dr. Thomas Davidson, through my friend Mr. William Ross Warren, of New York, for some interesting hints and suggestions as to Daniel parallels.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Ys. 43. 5 seq. with Dk. 7. 3. 55; Zsp. 21. 9-10.





Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāitih.<sup>1</sup> He offers homage to Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands, saying : 'Homage to Aūharmazd, and homage to the archangels'; and then, as the passage adds, 'he went forward and sat down in the seat of the enquirers.'<sup>2</sup> The door of heaven having thus been opened, and the favored of the godhead having been ushered in, the first and most important of all the conferences is begun. The Supreme Being himself presides; the Prophet is instructed in the great cardinal doctrines of the Faith, by the Omniscient Wisdom; and thrice in the same day the beatific vision is repeated.<sup>3</sup> Marvellous signs are shown unto Zoroaster, and he is initiated into sublime secrets by ordeals which symbolize future epochs and crises in the history of the Creed.<sup>4</sup> The circumstances of the first vision of God are at least hinted at in the Gāthās,<sup>5</sup> which makes us still more regret the loss of the original Nasks; but the details are elaborated in Pahlavi literature and in Persian Zoroastrian writings which are probably based upon the older material.<sup>6</sup>

**The Next Two Years — Zoroaster begins Preaching.** — On the completion of the first conference and Zoroaster's return to earth he proceeds to obey Aūharmazd's command by teaching and prophesying, for the next two years, to the ruling heretical priests, Kigs and Karaps, or the Kavis and Karpans, so often mentioned in the Gāthās. These are the 'blind and deaf to the Law,' as the commentary describes them. They are the accursed band of unbelievers, or, to use the words of one of the Gāthās, —

The Kavis and the Karpans have united themselves with power  
For destroying the life of man by their evil deeds;

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 21. 13 (West's translation); cf. also Dk. 7. 3. 60-61.      pare also Bahman Yasht 1. 1 seq. (West, *SBE.* v. 191 seq.).

<sup>2</sup> Quotations from Zsp. 21. 14 (West's translation).      <sup>6</sup> *E.g.* Ys. 31. 8; 45. 8, and cf. 43. 5 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Zsp. 21. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Zsp. 21. 15-27; ZtN. p. 494. Com-      <sup>6</sup> Zsp. 21. 15-27; ZtN. pp. 492-5; Dab. i. pp. 233-4.





But their own soul and their religion will make them howl

When they come where the Bridge of the Accountant hereafter is,  
To be inmates for ever and ever in the House of Falsehood. (i.e. Hell) !<sup>1</sup>

To these Zoroaster preaches the Mazda-worshipping religion, and the necessity of anathematizing the Demons, of glorifying the Archangels, and practising the next-of-kin marriage (*xvētūkdas*).<sup>2</sup> But in vain.

Zoroaster seeks the Turanian sovereign Aūrvāitā-dang, whose son has been mentioned above. This potentate, whom the Pahlavi text calls 'scanty-giver,' protects the Missionary, but refuses to be converted to the Creed and to follow its tenets, while his nobles are 'clamorers for Zaratūsht's death.' Curses are heaped upon him as a consequence.<sup>3</sup>

Zaratūsht at the bidding of Aūharmazd next visits a Karap, one Vaēdvōisht by name, whom God has blessed with this world's goods. He demands from the Karap a hundred youths, maidens, and teams of four horses, as a gift for the Almighty. An arrogant rebuff greets the Prophet of the Lord, and he flees for refuge to Aūharmazd and receives from him the comforting assurance of the fearful punishment by death eternal which shall be summarily meted out upon the proud offender for his misdeed.<sup>4</sup> And so also Elijah pronounced the doom of King Ahaziah because he recognized not that there is a God in Israel !

The fate of this Karap offender recalls some of the anathema passages in the Gāthās and that visitation of wrath, both here and hereafter, which these Psalms call down upon powerful and stubborn unbelievers.<sup>5</sup> To the same crew as Vaēdvōisht doubtless belong that creature of Satan, Hunu, if the word is a proper name,<sup>6</sup> and the infidel Usij, who, like the Karap, is a

<sup>1</sup> Ys. 46. 11 ; cf. also Ys. 32. 12, 15 ;  
44. 20 ; 48. 10 ; 51. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 1-5 ; cf. also West,  
*Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 7-20.

<sup>4</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 24-28.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Ys. 44. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Ys. 51. 10 ; cf. Phl. version. So  
Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, p. 354-355 ;  
Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, p. 247,  
234. Differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*  
i. 334 ; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p.  
132, reads *Hunustar*.



representative of heretical priestcraft,<sup>1</sup> or again such miscreants as the perverse Grēhma, Bēndva, and Vaēpya Kevīna, who are anathematized in the Zoroastrian Psalms.<sup>2</sup> It was unhappy incidents like these and encounters with stiff-necked unbelievers who stopped their ears and refused to receive the healing word of the great Revelation, which the Prophet knew he was offering, that led to the embittered outpourings which we find in lines of the Gāthās. Such rebuffs could not but produce times of despondency and distress, an echo of which we hear lingering in these Hymns. Zarathushtra more than once breaks forth with a cry against such rulers and powerful lords who use not their sovereignty for the protection of the righteous and for the advancement of virtue. If it were not so, he would not thus have found himself a wanderer knowing not whither to turn.<sup>3</sup> Yet hope is mingled with discouragement, and yet again despair with expectation. We next find Zoroaster a long way off to the south and southeast of Iran in the land of Seistān. Consult the Map.

After failing with Vaēdvōisht, Zaratūsht receives comfort and direction from Aūharmazd. He takes his pilgrim path and missionary road to one 'Parshaṭ,' a ruler whose title is given as 'Tōrā' (Bull), and who dwells 'at the end of Sagastān' (Seistān).<sup>4</sup> This territory borders upon Afghānistān and Balūchistān, and by the expression 'end of Sagastān' may be meant somewhere in the region of Ghaznī.<sup>5</sup> A curious story is

<sup>1</sup> Ys. 44. 20; cf. Phl. version and Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, pp. 216-217; also Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 289 (3d ed.); Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. I. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Ys. 32. 12-14; 49. 1-2; 51. 12. It is not certain, however, that Grēhma and Bēndva really are proper names. Vaēpya Kevīna, of evil fame, is called 'the Kai sodomite Akht, the heretic of dark existence,' in Dk. 9. 44. 14; cf. Phl. Ys. 50 (51). 12, and compare also

Akhtyō of Yt. 5. 82, and consult the references given by Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 13a, and *Iranische Religion in Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, pp. 245-247.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for example, the *Kām nemōi zam* Gāthā, Ys. 46. 1 seq., and Geiger in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 171-175.

<sup>4</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 31.

<sup>5</sup> So Dr. West (letter), and see his note on Dk. 7. 4. 31. In this connection we may recall a statement of Am-





now told to show the virtue of Hōm-water from the Iranian Jordan, or river Dāitī (Av. Dāityā). With the name Parshaṭ-tōrā we may compare the Avestan Parshaṭ-gāu.<sup>1</sup> This Parshaṭ begs for some of the holy Dāityā water. From what follows it is evident that Zoroaster must have combined with the mission of gospel teaching some claims also to medical skill and practice in healing. He first bids Parshaṭ to praise righteousness, to curse the demons, and openly to profess the Faith. Parshaṭ carries out the former two injunctions, but he fails to comply with the third by adopting the Creed. Zaratūst therefore does not fulfil his request, but passes on, and by means of the Hōm-water which had not been bestowed upon the weakling, he cures a four-year-old bull that had lost its virile power.<sup>2</sup> The name of Parshaṭ disappears from sight.

The entire allusion to Seistān is of interest in connection with the Prophet's wanderings to remote places and to lands far distant from his home. Two facts also are recalled by it: first, the territory of Seistān is the place of origin of the Kayanian dynasty to which King Vishtāspa belongs; second, the scene cannot have been far removed from that seat of stiff-necked unbelief, the home of Rustam. Certain it is, that one of Vishtāspa's earliest missionary efforts after his own conversion was in the direction of this very scene where Zoroaster's earlier endeavor had been unsuccessful with Parshaṭ, the Bull, who dwelt 'at the end of Sagastān.'<sup>3</sup> From what comes after, it appears that the Prophet now journeyed back, perhaps by a round-about way, towards his own home, for we next find him

minus Marcellinus, 23. 6. 33, which associates Zoroaster's name with the northern territory of India—*superioris Indiae*; see Appendix V. § 22, also p. 72, n. 3, p. 87, n. 1, and the remarks on 'White India' in Appendix IV. p. 207, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Yt. 13. 96. 127, and see West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 57; cf. also Parshaṭ-gāvō in Dk. 9. 24. 17, *SBE.* xxxvii. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 29-35 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 57-58).

<sup>3</sup> On the propaganda in Seistān, compare the Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of Sagastān,' referred to by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 118, and translated for me by Dr. West; also the Shāh Nāmāh allusions; see below, Crusades (Chap. IX.).



in the northwest, in the region to the south of the Caspian Sea (cf. Map), proceeding apparently on his way to his native land of Ādarbaijān.

✓ **Second Vision — Conference with Vohu Manah.** — In the seven or eight years that follow the first vision of the empyrean throne and the first communing with Ormazd, Zoroaster enjoys the divine favor of six more conferences individually with the six Archangels. We know of these from fragmentary accounts of the lost Avestan Nasks, or sacred books, and we have descriptions of them in Pahlavi literature, especially in the Selections of Zāt-spāram.<sup>1</sup> They are attested also in Yasna 43 of the Gāthās and elsewhere in the Avesta. The interviews, questionings, or revelations occur in different places and at different times. The period of the ten years from thirty to forty in the Prophet's life was a time of great spiritual activity as well as of energetic labor. His soul lives partly in the world beyond the present; he sums up within himself the generation of those whose young men saw visions and whose old men dreamed dreams. As the veil is withdrawn from before his eyes the several Archangels appear at different times before his entranced sight. Each Amshaspand enjoins upon him special moral duties and practical obligations including particularly the guardian care of material or living things over which they preside in the physical world — the animals, fire, metals, earth, water, and plants.

The first of these seraphic manifestations, or the second revelation from heaven, is a conference with the archangel Vohūman, or Vohu Manah of the Avesta, who intrusts to the Lord's chosen minister the care and keeping of useful animals, for Vohu Manah's name, even in the Gāthās, is especially associated with the protection of the animal kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 22. 1-13. Add also Dk. 8. 14. 2-9; ZtN. p. 495-8; Dab. i. 232-44.

<sup>2</sup> Zsp. 22. 3-6; ZtN. p. 495; Dab. i. p. 240. And for the association of

Vohu Manah's name with the care of cattle in the Gāthās, see Geiger, *Eastern Iranians*, transl. Darab D. P. Sanjana, i. p. xxxv.





ing to the Selections of Zāt-spāram, the scene of this special interview granted by Vohūman to Zaratūst, and the giving of injunctions to the inspired Seer, is laid in the region of Iran to the south of the Caspian Sea or in the Alborz mountains, for the text designates it as 'the conference on Hūgar and Aūsind,' which are regarded as two peaks of that range.<sup>1</sup>

✓ **Third Vision — Conference with Asha Vahishta.** — The third interview is 'a conference at the Tōjān water';<sup>2</sup> this is held with the archangel Artāvahisht, who enjoins upon Zoroaster the care of the Fire and the guardianship of all fires, sacred and secular.<sup>3</sup> The place where this apparition comes to the Prophet is to the south of the Caspian Sea and somewhat to the east, if I am right in identifying 'the Tōjān water' with the river Tajan (lat. 36–37; long. 55–56) — see the key to the Map.<sup>4</sup> This identification would agree well with the region of the preceding vision and with the probable situation of the following.<sup>5</sup> The territory, I believe, is volcanic in its character, which would also answer to the kingdom of fire over which Asha Vahishta is the presiding genius.

✓ **Fourth Vision — Conference with Khshathra Vairya.** — The fourth ecstatic trance which is vouchsafed to the Seer brings him into the presence of the archangel Shatvēr (Av. Khshathra Vairya), who assigns to him the care and keeping of metals. The scene of this manifestation is not absolutely identified. The Selections of Zāt-spāram call the interview the 'conference

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 22. 3. From the Avesta we know that Mount Hukairya (Av. *Hukairya Barzāh*) is a peak of Hara Berezaiti (the Alborz chain); and Aūsind (Av. *Us Hindva*) stands in the Sea Vourukasha (Caspian Sea). Compare notes by West, *SBE.* v. 35, and Darmesteter, *Le Zā.* ii. 584.

<sup>2</sup> So Zsp. 22. 7 (West's translation).

<sup>3</sup> Zsp. 22. 7; ZtN. p. 496; Dab. i. p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Consult also the maps in J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse, Cartes*, Paris, 1897. Cf. Curzon, *Persia*, i. 378, and his map.

<sup>5</sup> In a note on the passage, West (*SBE.* xlvii. 161, n. 2) doubtfully suggests the Tejend River; but if so, that would be the only instance of a vision being manifested in territory so far to the east. See also my next proposed identification.



at Sarāi (?), a settlement on the Mīvān (?).<sup>1</sup> Dr. West draws attention to the fact that his reading of these names is uncertain and that he has not identified the places. I should venture to suggest that we are still in the South Caspian region, in the mountainous territory not far removed from the scene of the preceding interview. On the same river Tajan, that has just been alluded to, is the town of Sarī, to the east of Barfrush (see Map), which would correspond to the settlement Sarāi of the text, especially if there be mines in the neighborhood under Khshathra Vairya's dominion. The territory is Mazanderān, but we know that Zoroaster, dervish-like, wandered also in the country of fiends, demon-worshippers, and wicked unbelievers before he met with the one truly righteous king and protector.<sup>2</sup>

**Fifth Vision — Conference with Spenta Ārmaiti.** — For the fifth transcendent manifestation we must trace our way over various districts and provinces to the region of Lake Caēcista (mod. Urumiah), or back into Ādarbaijān.<sup>3</sup> From Zāt-sparam we know that this interview took place there, because the text states, that 'for the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is Spendarmat's, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations, settlements, and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zaratūsht to a conference where there is a spring which comes out from the Asnavad mountain, and goes into the Dāitih.'<sup>4</sup> Mount Asnavad, which is found also in the Avesta and is famous likewise as having been the seat of the Gūsh-nasp fire, is unquestionably to be localized in Ādarbaijān.<sup>5</sup> It is not to be confused with the 'Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones,' described above (p. 34). As a likely identifica-

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 22. 8; see West, *SBE*. xlvii. 161, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> In offering this conjecture I am not unmindful of Sarāi near Bakū (see Saint-Martin, *Nouveau Dict. de Géographie*, v. 668); and Sarāi near Bokhara; Sarāi in India; and Sarain in Ādarbaijān; also Sarī near Marand in De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab*, vi. 91, 213.

<sup>3</sup> Zsp. 22. 9; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> Zsp. 22. 9, West's translation.

<sup>5</sup> For references, see West, *SBE*. xlvii. 161, n. 5; and Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. i. 152-154; ii. 299, 620; cf. also Justi, *Hdb. der Zendsprache*, s.v. *asnavat*, where an identification with Takht-i Suleimān is mentioned.





tion I should suggest that the Mountains of Sahend (lat. 37.50; long. 46.50—see Map, square Bb.) would answer the requirements of the text here and elsewhere. Waters from a 'spring' on the mountain side might well flow in the manner described by the text if the Dāitih be associated with the Kizel Üzen and Spēd (Sefid), as already proposed (pp. 40-41).

**Sixth Vision — Conference with Haurvatāt.**—The scene of the next hallowed interview is laid at the same place, near Lake Urumiah, and it may best be described by using again the words of the Zāt-spāram itself: 'For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Khūrdat's (Av. Haurvatāt), the spirits of seas and rivers have come with Zaratūsht to a conference at the Asnavad mountain, and he was told about the care and propitiation of water.'<sup>1</sup> Like the preceding interview the location therefore is Ādarbaijān.

**Seventh Vision — Conference with Ameretāt.**—The seventh and last enraptured sight, which completed the Revelation, is a vision accompanied by a conference with the guardian divinity of the plants, Amūrdat (Av. Ameretāt).<sup>2</sup> This is not confined to a single spot, but Ādarbaijān is the scene. To quote the words of tradition, it occurred 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja, on the bank of the water of Dāitih, and different places.'<sup>3</sup> The Dareja or Darej is the ancestral river of Zoroaster, and it is to be localized in Ādarbaijān, as discussed above and in Appendix IV. In the same appendix, reasons are given for localizing the Dāitih (Av. Dāityā) in Ādarbaijān.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, Zoroaster must gradually have found his way back to his home, and the scene of the final interview must have been in this territory, although the expression 'different places,' applied to the interview with Amūrdat would seem to show that the questionings with this archangel were not confined to these two sites alone.

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 22. 11 (West's translation), and cf. ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Zsp. 22. 12; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Zsp. 22. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 162.

<sup>4</sup> See also above, pp. 40-41.





**Other Spiritual Manifestations.**—In these various visions of Paradise which are granted to Zoroaster, and which rival the seven heavens of Mohammed, the Prophet becomes quite well acquainted with the empyrean realms and with the celestial hierarchy of God, the angels, and archangels.<sup>1</sup> The tendency to visionary trance is further manifested by the apparition of Haoma, which rises before Zarathushtra at the altar, as described in the Avesta (Ys. 9. 1).<sup>2</sup> The Pahlavi commentary on this passage adds that Zoroaster at once recognized Hōm 'because he had had conferences with most of the angels (Izads) and he was acquainted with them.'<sup>3</sup> The same idea of heavenly visitations is implied elsewhere in the Avesta, for example, where Ashi Vanuhi is conceived of as conversing with Zarathushtra.<sup>4</sup>

**To Summarize the Seven Visions.**—At the age of thirty Zoroaster receives a revelation, and during the next ten years he beholds seven visions of Ormazd and the Archangels. In Zoroastrian literature there are several allusions to these manifestations. A chapter in the Selections of Zāṭ-spāram describes the conferences with most detail. Its account implies that the visions occurred during the winters—a time when the Prophet perhaps chose to rest from his itinerant labors, like Buddha during the rainy season. The particular paragraph referring to this point is worth quoting. It runs: 'The seven questions are explained within the length of these winters, which are of five months, and within ten years.'<sup>5</sup> As to scene, the text says, at the outset, that 'the seven questions, with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, occurred in seven places.'<sup>6</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> In this connection, attention might, perhaps, be drawn to the chapter on the Yazatas (Izads) in the Great Iranian Būdahishn, translated by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 305-22; cf. West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 102 (par. 35).

<sup>2</sup> For a poet's view of Zoroaster's spiritual visions, we might recall the

lines of Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, 1. 1. 198-201.

<sup>3</sup> See Darmesteter, *ZA.* translated (2 ed.) in *SBE.* iv. 258, and also *Le ZA.* iii. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Yt.* 17. 15-21.

<sup>5</sup> *Zsp.* 22. 13 (West's tr.).

<sup>6</sup> *Zsp.* 22. 1 (West's tr.).





we follow tradition, the scenes of five of the visions, namely, the first, second, fifth, sixth, and seventh, are certainly to be localized in the west of Iran, in Ādarbaijān and the southern Caspian territory. If the identification, suggested above, of Tōjān and of Sarāi be correct, the place of the third and of the fourth conferences likewise is directly to the south of the Caspian Sea. Media Atropatene and Media Rhagiana may therefore be regarded, on the basis of tradition at least, as the place of Zoroaster's apocalyptic visions of heaven.

**The Temptation of Zoroaster.** — The ten years of interviews and communings with the Divine Beings are now at an end. The Revelation is complete. Zoroaster receives from Ormazd some final admonitions, and he carries with him from heaven the supreme knowledge contained in the Avesta and also the sacred Ahuna Vairya formula—the paternoster of Zoroastrianism. At parting he is warned to guard against the temptations of the fiends who will beset his path as he returns among men. It is the instant when a weaker spirit might be prone to falter, and when a false step would mean ruin and damnation. It is the moment when Māra whispered to the newly Enlightened Buddha, tempting him to enter at once into Nirvāna and not to give forth to mankind the illumination which he himself by so hard a struggle had won. The Powers of Evil now gather their forces for a combined attack upon Zarathushtra. A description of the Temptation is given both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings. The demon Būiti (Phl. Būt) is sent by Ahriman to deceive and to overthrow the holy messenger. But Zoroaster is armed with a breastplate of righteousness and with the spiritual weapons of the Law, as well as materially equipped; and he defeats his spiritual enemies and puts them to flight. The Avesta pictures the situation as follows: —

‘From the region of the north, from the regions of the north, forth rushed Anra Mainyu, the deadly, the Demon of Demons. And thus howled the maleficent Anra Mainyu, the deadly: “O Fiend, rush



on and kill him," O righteous Zarathushtra! The Fiend rushed then along, the demon Būiti, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'Zarathushtra recited the Ahuna Vairya, saying: "As the Lord, etc." He worshipped the good waters of the good Dāityā. He recited the creed of the Religion of Mazda-worshippers. And away rushed the Fiend confounded, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'The Fiend then howled back to Anra Mainyu: "Thou tormentor, Anra Mainyu! I can find no destruction for him—for Spitama Zarathushtra. All-glorious is Zarathushtra." Now, Zarathushtra perceived in his heart, "The fiendish maleficent Demons are plotting my destruction."

'Up started Zarathushtra, forward stepped Zarathushtra, undaunted by Evil Thought, by the hardness of his malicious questions, and wielding stones in his hand, stones big as a house, having obtained them from Ahura Mazda, he the righteous Zarathushtra.

"Whereat in this broad, round earth, whose boundaries are far distant (asked the Demon), dost thou wield (these stones), thou who standest upon the high bank of the river Drej (Dareja), at the abode of Pourushaspa?"

'And Zarathushtra responded to Anra Mainyu: "O maleficent Anra Mainyu! I shall smite the creation of the Demons, I shall smite the Nasu (demon of Death), who is created by the Demons. (Yea), I shall smite the Enchantress (Pairika Khnāthaiti), until the Saviour (Saoshyant), the Victorious shall be born from the waters of Kāsava, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn."<sup>1</sup>

'Thereupon to him howled back Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "Do not destroy my creatures, O righteous Zarathushtra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa; I was worshipped (?) by thy mother. Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, so as to obtain a boon such as Vadhaghana obtained, the ruler of a nation."<sup>2</sup>

'But Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "No! I shall not

<sup>1</sup> This is the Messiah that is to spring from the seed of Zarathushtra; he is to be born in the land of Seistān, the home of the Kayanian royal family.

<sup>2</sup> On the Vajākān tyrant Dahāk,

see Mkh. 57. 25; Dāt. 72. 5; 73. 2; Dk. 9. 10. 3; 9. 21. 4; 7. 2. 64; Zsp. 12. 13 (West, *SBE*. xxiv. 103; xviii. 217, 228; xxxvii. 185, 212; xlvii. 32, 130).





renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, not though life, and limb, and soul should part asunder."

'And again to him howled out Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "By whose word wilt thou vanquish, by whose word wilt thou withstand, and by what weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish)<sup>1</sup> my creation, who am Anra Mainyu?"

'Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "With the sacred mortar, with the sacred cup, with the Word proclaimed by Mazda, with my own weapon, and it is the best one. With this word will I vanquish with this word will I withstand, with this weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish thee), O malignant Anra Mainyu! The Good Spirit created these, he created them in the Boundless Time; the Amesha Spentas, the good and wise rulers presented them."

'And Zarathushtra recited aloud the Ahuna Vairya.'<sup>2</sup>

The Dīnkar̥t̥ has a briefer account of the episode; and the Zartusht Nāmāh and Dabistān also allude to the assault of the princes of darkness upon Zoroaster as he is returning, and to their specious, guileful, and tempting words.<sup>3</sup> This temptation, therefore, offers an indirect parallel to that in Buddhism and in Christianity. No likeness is familiar in Mohammedanism nor in the Mosaic system. But besides this, another seductive deception awaits the Prophet of Mazda, like the Knight of true Holiness encountering Foul Error and Hypocrisy in the Faerie Queene, a passage which might be compared. For Zoroaster, as forewarned by Aūharmazd, is again tempted, this time by a Karap who has assumed the feminine form of Spēn-darmat̥; but he discovers the disguise and exorcises the fiend as described in the Dīnkar̥t̥.<sup>4</sup>

**Maidhyōi-māonha, the First Convert to the Faith.** — We may now imagine Zoroaster in this tenth year of the Religion as busily engaged in his mission among men. The bugle note of

<sup>1</sup> So, after Darmesteter's construction of *hukaraitiwhō*.

<sup>2</sup> Vd. 19. 1-10; compare also Darmesteter's translation in *SBE* iv. 208 seq. (2 ed.).

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 36-41; ZtN. p. 498; Dab. i. p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 54-62; see West's translation.



success is sounded even though the full triumph and victory is still to be delayed for two years more. Yet only one convert has been made; but the conversion is important; it is Zarathustra's own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mētyō-māh) already mentioned (p. 20). The Zāt-sparam selection states the fact thus: 'On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Mētyōmāh, son of Ārāstāi,<sup>1</sup> became faithful to Zaratūsht.'<sup>2</sup> The fact is definitely alluded to in the Gāthās and in the Younger Avesta (which contains lists also of later converts, in the Farvadin Yasht),<sup>3</sup> and it is noticed in other Zoroastrian writings. Quotations are unnecessary. Maidhyōi-māonha's being drawn to the new faith and his acceptance of the creed is a fulfilment of the promise which Zaratūsht's first vision gave when he beheld the image of a victorious army under this leader coming to join him.<sup>4</sup> The Zāt-sparam rightly interprets the allegory: 'Mētyōmāh was the leader of all mankind who have gone out to the presence of Zaratūsht, and he became their guide, so that first Mētyōmāh and afterwards the whole material existence are attracted (to the faith).'<sup>5</sup> The scene of the conversion is laid by the Zāt-sparam 'in the forest of reedy hollows, which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar species.'<sup>6</sup> It would be interesting if one could identify the situation. We may henceforth think of Maidhyōi-māonha as a sort of St. John the disciple.

**Conclusion.** — The first ten years of the Religion have now passed; seven visions have been seen; the Revelation is complete; Zoroaster has withstood the temptation and assaults of the Powers of Evil; he has also won his first disciple. And yet at this instant, after the exhilaration of success, there comes the moment of depression and despondency. We have

<sup>1</sup> See genealogical table in Chap. II.

<sup>2</sup> Zsp. 23. 1. According to the traditional dating, the year would be B.C. 620. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

<sup>3</sup> Ys. 51. 19; Yt. 13. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Zsp. 21. 2; ZtN. p. 491; Dab. i. p. 230-1. Cf. p. 40 above.

<sup>5</sup> Zsp. 21. 3 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 155).

<sup>6</sup> Zsp. 23. 8.





evidence of this; for, to quote the words of a Zât-sparam selection, 'Afterwards, on having obtained his requests, he came back to the conference of Aūharmazd, and he spoke thus: "In ten years only one man has been attracted by me."' <sup>1</sup> Ormazd answers paradoxically, but the answer seems to have given an inspiration, for the efforts of the next two years are unceasing, — crucial years as they were, — success attends, the climax is reached, the achievement is won. This achievement is the conversion of Vishtāspa, the triumph of the Faith, as described in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Zsp. 23. 2.





## CHAPTER V

## TRIUMPH

THE CONVERSION OF KING VISHTĀSPA IN THE TWELFTH YEAR  
OF THE FAITH

*And hēt hine gān tō pām cyngre and bōdian him rihtne gelēafan, and hē swā  
dyde, and se cing gecyrde tō rihtne gelēafan.*

—ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

INTRODUCTION—ZOROASTER SEEKS VISHTĀSPA—MEETING BETWEEN ZARATŪŠT AND VISHTĀSP—ZARATŪŠT DISPUTES WITH THE WISE MEN—CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM; HIS IMPRISONMENT—THE EPISODE OF THE BLACK HORSE—COMPLETE CONVERSION OF VISHTĀSP—COMING OF THE ARCHANGELS—VISHTĀSP'S VISION—CONCLUSION

**Introduction.** — The eleventh and twelfth years of the Religion are stirring years in the Prophet's life; <sup>1</sup> they are years of struggle, bitter trial, temporary disappointment, but of final triumph; they are the two years devoted to the conversion of Vishtāspa; and when success finally crowns the effort, they form the great climax in Zoroaster's career. A firm and powerful hand is henceforth to uphold the Faith. The events, incidents, and occurrences, which are recorded by tradition in connection with this important era are presented here in detail; and the words of the texts themselves are employed, as far as possible in narrating them. In order truly to appreciate the spirit of the situation one should call to mind descriptions of similar conversions in the history of the world's great religions.

**Zoroaster seeks Vishtāspa.** — As already noted, an inspira-

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 619-618, according to the traditional chronology; see West, *SBE*. xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.





tion seems to have come to Zoroaster that he should turn to the court of Vishtāspa. The Younger Avesta tells how he prayed to Ardvī Sūra, the goddess of waters, that he might win Vishtāspa to the Faith.<sup>1</sup> Vishtāspa is a king or princely ruler, but he and his court are represented as having been wrapt in the toils of evil religious influence and fettered by the false belief that was rife in the land. The picture which the Zoroastrian texts give is naturally a distorted one, colored by religious prejudice and animosity; but doubtless its darkness is not without reason. Everything is portrayed as bound by base superstition, or under the thrall of dread magic. There is the stifling atmosphere of the dark ages of the Atharva Veda that was still hanging like a pall over the cousin-land of India. Iran or the court of Vishtāsp is dominated by scheming and unscrupulous priests, the Kīgs and Karaps, or Kavis and Karpans of the Avesta. Especially powerful among these is one Zāk—a name that seems to occur only in the Dīnkart, and his ill reputation has destined him otherwise for oblivion. The Dīnkart gives a number of interesting particulars on the subject, which are translated by West, and are worth quoting in part. ‘Zaratūsht became aware from revelation about the villainess and perverted religion of Zāk of the deadly Karaps of Vishtāsp and many other Kaīs and Karaps who were at the residence of Vishtāsp.’<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, ‘after the continuance of the last questioning of the ten years of conference [he took] his departure alone, by the advice and command of Aūharmazd, to the residence of Vishtāsp and the precinct of that terrible conflict.’<sup>3</sup>

The Shikand-gūmānik-Vijār, 10. 64–66 also adds that ‘Zaratūsht came alone on a true mission, to the lofty portal of Kaī Gushtāsp, and the religion was taught by him, with a powerful tongue, to Kaī Gushtāsp and the learned, through the speech of wisdom, through manual gestures, through definite words,

<sup>1</sup> Yt. 5. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 64.



through explanation of many doubts, and through the presentation of the visible testimony of the archangels, together with many miracles.<sup>1</sup>

The Dinkart speaks several times of the 'residence,' 'lofty residence,' 'abode,' 'capital or metropolis' of Vishtāsp, but it does not make clear where this was located.<sup>2</sup> Neither does the Avesta nor any known Pahlavi text make a precise and definite statement. But the later tradition, Persian and Arabic, persistently maintains that the city of Balkh was the scene of the conversion. A full discussion of this question is given below in Appendix IV., so it is omitted here. It must be remembered therefore when 'Balkh' is mentioned hereafter it is used because the name stands in the particular connection or source from which the material in question is being drawn; a final judgment on the matter is avoided for the present.

It is at this juncture that a curious legend is narrated of a strange incident which happened as Zoroaster was on his way to Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp). The modern Persian Dabistān, basing its statement upon the authority of a priest who quoted from an old treatise, recounts how two infidel rulers were punished for refusing to adopt the Faith at the holy bidding of the Prophet as he was proceeding to interview the great king. The selection reads: 'The Mobed Surūsh, the Yazdānian, has

<sup>1</sup> West, *SBE*. xxiv. 170-1.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 64, 65, 75, 76, 77, 84; 5. 2 (= *SBE*. xlvii. pp. 64 *bis*, 67, 68 *bis*, 70, 74); 8. 11. 3; in the Shik. Gām. Vij. 10. 64, transl. 'lofty portal' (West, *SBE*. xxiv. 170). Dr. West (Aug. 2, 1897) writes me: 'In Dk. 7. 4. 64, 65, the word translated "capital" in the *Grundriss*, and "residence" in *SBE*. vol. xlvii. is *babā* (= *dar* Pers.). As a mint-mark on coins it is understood to mean "the capital, or metropolis." It also occurs Dk. 8. 11. 3 (*SBE*. xxxvii. 24). The word *mān*, "abode," "house," is also used in 7. 4. 75, 76, 77, etc.

Whether the two words are used differently, or whether *babā* rather means "the city," and *mān*, "the palace," is uncertain. There is no hint in Dk. as to where this capital, or residence, was.' Furthermore (Jan. 7, 1898), 'Dk. 7. 4. 76, "lofty residence" = *būland mānīšnō*, where *būland* may mean "high" either in position or character; "tall, exalted, or eminent." If 'lofty residence' or 'capital' should perhaps signify Balkh, we might compare Shelley's 'that high capital,' meaning Rome.





been heard to say, "It is recorded in the treatise of Mīhīn Farūsh that, according to the doctors of the pure faith, when Zardusht had thus obtained the victory over the demons, and was proceeding to an interview with the great King Gushtāsp, there happened to be two oppressive and infidel kings in his road; these Zardusht invited to adopt the pure faith and turn away from their evil practices; but they heeded not his words; he therefore prayed to God, and there began to blow a mighty wind, which lifted up these two kings on high and kept them suspended in the air; the people who came around were astonished on beholding this sight; the birds also from every quarter of the sky flocked around the two kings, and with beaks and talons tore off their flesh until the bones fell to the ground."<sup>1</sup> The legend has a weird picturesqueness, to say the least!

**Meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp.**—If we understand the Dīnkarṭ text aright, the moment of the first meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp must have been when the king was on the race-course (Phl. *aspānvar*);<sup>2</sup> the Dīnkarṭ paragraph speaks of Zoroaster as 'uttering, on the horse-course of Vishtāsp, a reminder of the power and triumph of Aūharmazd over himself, as he invited Vishtāsp to the religion of Aūharmazd; and with great wisdom Vishtāsp heard the words of Zaratūsht, on account of his own complete mindfulness, and would have asked for an outpouring of prophecy. But thereupon—before the words of Zaratūsht (were fully) heard by him, and he could have understood the character of Zaratūsht—owing to the demonizing of the deadly Zāk and the rest of those Kīgs and Karaps, spoken out with slanderous knowledge and perverse

<sup>1</sup> Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 244-245. A kindred idea perhaps is contained in Dk. 7. 4. 82 end.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 66. In answer to an inquiry if, possibly, a town might be intended, Dr. West says (Jan. 7, 1898), 'There is a town Asbānbur, or Asfānbur, but I have not been able to dis-

cover where it is. I am doubtful, however, if a town be meant by the words: *Madam Aspānvar-ī Vishtāspō*. I should be more inclined to read *aspākhvūr* for *aspākhvūr*, "a horse-stable." In the latter case, one might think perhaps of the story of healing the black horse of Vishtāsp.



actions to Vishtāsp about Zaratūsht, there then (occurred) his consignment of Zaratūsht to confinement and punishment.<sup>1</sup>

In the Zartusht Nāmah<sup>2</sup> the scene of the conversion is laid in Balkh, where Vishtāsp's father, the old king Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvat-aspa) is generally stated to have lived in retirement after his abdication. Masūdi (d. A.D. 957) also makes it Balkh, and his testimony is nearly three hundred years earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah.<sup>3</sup> The Shāh Nāmah (A.D. 1000) does not make the assertion explicitly in so many words, but it lays all the following scenes at Balkh, as discussed below (Appendix IV. p. 214).<sup>4</sup> The Cangranghācah Nāmah likewise lays the scene of the rival Brahman's conversion at Balkh.<sup>5</sup>

The later tradition adds details and embellishes the account. According to the Zartusht Nāmah, King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) was seated in royal estate in his palace when Ormazd's apostle appeared.<sup>6</sup> According to Mohammedan writers, Kāzwinī and Ibn al-Athīr, Zoroaster enters the assembly in no ordinary manner, but by a miracle: the roof parts asunder to give entrance to his hallowed person.<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Athīr also adds, that 'in his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him.' The scene might make a subject for a painting. We must remember, furthermore, that Zoroaster originally sprang from the country of naphtha wells; moreover, he may not have been wholly unacquainted with effects produced by chemical experiments if we may judge from accounts of the scientific knowledge attributed to him.<sup>8</sup> The Shāh Nāmah

<sup>1</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 66-67 (West's translation). Cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 6.

<sup>2</sup> ZtN. pp. 498-499.

<sup>3</sup> See Masūdi's statement in Appendix IV. p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, trad. iv. 290, 291, 298, 300.

<sup>5</sup> See summary by Anquetil du Peron, i. part. 2, p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> ZtN. pp. 498-499.

<sup>7</sup> Gotthell, *References*, p. 40. Both

of these writers belong to the thirteenth century of our era. Mirkhond (*History*, tr. Shea, p. 287) repeats Ibn al-Athīr's story of the wonderful fire. Recall also classical allusions to the fire. The reference is evidently to the Būrhzin Mitrō fire described below.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. in the Nasks, see Chap. VIII. below, pp. 95-96; cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 8-10, and also the classical statements on p. 8 and in Appendix V.





similarly alludes to the censer or basin of fire which he brought from Paradise to present to the King.<sup>1</sup> In these fire references there seems to linger a reminiscence of the Būrzhīn Mitrō fire, shortly to be referred to. Kāzwīnī apparently draws from some traditional source or Pahlavi text when he describes an ordeal of molten metal to which Zoroaster has to submit his person to prove the divine truth of his mission.<sup>2</sup> This is at least in harmony with 'the achievement of ordeal' referred to in the Dīnkart as instituted or sanctioned by Zarātūst who is there cited as giving authority for thirty-three kinds of this judicial test.<sup>3</sup> This very achievement of Zoroaster forms the prototype of a fiery ordeal undergone by one of his future apostles in Sassanian times, and of the usage of the ordeal in the religion.

**Zarātūst disputes with the Wise Men.** — There is evidence enough to show that the Prophet had to win his way step by step during these two years of struggle and probation; and there is no doubt that he at once encountered the antagonism and vigorous opposition of the wise men of the king's court. According to tradition at least, there were not wanting those to plot against him.

'The Kavīgs and Karaps,' says the Zāt-spāra'm, 'in the manner of opponents propounded thirty-three inquiries to him, so that by command of Vishtāsp he became the explainer of those thirty-three inquiries.'<sup>4</sup> This and the later debates are alluded to in the Dīnkart and elsewhere as 'the terrible conflict,' 'the terrible combat,' 'the great session,' 'the controversy about the religion with the famous learned of the realm' who were Zoroaster's 'fellow-disputants.'<sup>5</sup> The Zartusht Nāmāh, drawing upon some source not now accessible, or supplying material from imagination, graphically describes the scene with Eastern pomp

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *mijmar-i ātaš*, ShN. ed. Vul-  
lers-Landauer, iii. 1493; Mohl tr. iv.  
290. On the amulet chain given to  
Isfendīār, see p. 67, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> Kāzwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 207;  
cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*,

p. 41; Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p.  
287.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 7. 5. 4-5 (West, *SBE.*).

<sup>4</sup> Zsp. 23. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 65, 69, 70, 73; 5. 2. 10;  
Zsp. 23. 5.



and Oriental detail.<sup>1</sup> The sages of Vishtāsp are seated in grave council to dispute with the new-comer and stranger, with the herald of Ormazd. The debate and controversy lasts no less than three days.<sup>2</sup> The Priest of the Zend-Avesta comes off triumphant at every point.<sup>3</sup> He claims the office of Prophet and begins to recite the sacred texts to the king.<sup>4</sup>

**Conspiracy against Zoroaster ; his Imprisonment.** — Vishtāsp's interest is aroused, and the divine Seer seems to have produced a marked effect by being able through his prescience, as the story goes, openly to disclose and tell the thoughts of the king and of others, with astonishing results.<sup>5</sup> A plot, however, is concocted by those whose light the brilliancy of the new luminary has dimmed. The priests who are supplanted in influence enter into a conspiracy, like those who sought to find occasion against Daniel, and they intrigue for Zoroaster's death.<sup>6</sup> By suborning the porter of his lodging, as the tale relates, these wicked schemers succeed in hiding vile material within the holy man's apartments so that it may be used as evidence against him. The hair, nails, heads, of cats and dogs, together with various other paraphernalia of witchcraft and sorcery, are thus slipped in. On this false evidence Zoroaster is accused of being a wizard and necromancer ; he is thrown into prison and is left to starve. Such is the account of the Zartusht Nāmāh, and the Pahlavi Dinkart alludes to the circumstance as well.<sup>7</sup>

**The Episode of the Black Horse.** — A miracle releases Zardusht. It is the miracle which he wrought by restoring to health the king's Black Horse, as described with great elaboration in the Zartusht Nāmāh and incidentally referred to in the Dinkart.<sup>8</sup> The king has a favorite black horse.<sup>9</sup> Upon the imprisonment

<sup>1</sup> ZtN. pp. 499-501 ; repeated also in the Dabistān, i. pp. 245-250.

<sup>2</sup> ZtN. p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> One is somewhat reminded of the questionings of the scribes and Pharisees, if not of Luther's disquisitions.

<sup>4</sup> ZtN. p. 501 ; Dab. i. pp. 249-250.

<sup>5</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 71 ; 5. 2. 8.

<sup>6</sup> ZtN. p. 503 seq. repeated in Dab. i. p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 64, 67 ; 7. 5. 6.

<sup>8</sup> ZtN. pp. 504-509 ; Dk. 7. 4. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Apparently named Bahzād (well-





of Ormazd's minister the animal's four legs are suddenly drawn up into its belly and the creature is unable to move. This occurrence is plainly a manifestation of the divine displeasure. In his dungeon cell Zardusht hears of what has happened. He offers, if released, to restore the horse to its former soundness ; but he will do this only upon the fulfilment of specific conditions. These the king must agree to beforehand. Vishtāsp is overjoyed and promises to grant the Priest a boon for each foot of the charger that is restored to its proper state. The details which follow seem ludicrous, but such descriptions of cunning practices are not unique. Hocus-pocus has been employed elsewhere, and the situation doubtless had its parallels in other courts of Eastern despots in ancient days. We must not forget that even when St. Augustine preached Christianity to Æthelbert of England, it was in the open air, owing to the king's dread of witchcraft which might exercise a spell upon him if he were within four walls !

The first condition which Zardusht makes, is that Vishtāsp shall accept the Faith if one foot of the horse be restored. Upon the king's agreeing to this stipulation, and in answer to the Prophet's earnest prayer, 'the right fore-leg of the horse came out, since the word of the Shāh was true.'<sup>1</sup> Before the 'man of God' will grant the second boon, however, the king must promise that his own warlike son Isfendiār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāt) shall fight as a crusader in support of the true Faith. Thereupon, 'the right hind-leg of the steed comes out by the commandment of God.' The third condition results in the granting of a wished-for favor, the privilege of converting the queen to the Faith. Upon its fulfilment the descent of the third leg is accomplished. The last promise includes the revealing of the names of the culprits who had bribed the

bred) in the Shāh Nāmah (Mohl, tr. iv. pp. 320, 335), unless this name be a merely typical one like 'Black Beauty' in English. Such at least is the tradition. See also Justi, *Namenbuch*,

p. 360 (Wehzāt), for other horses called by this name.

<sup>1</sup> ZtN. p. 507 (Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, from which the quotations are made).



doorkeeper and had plotted against the Prophet of the Lord. When these are revealed and the offenders appropriately punished by death, the horse is fully restored to health and leaps up upon his four legs as sound as before.

This absurd story, which the Zartusht Nāmah, as just described, tells minutely with considerable imagination and poetic embellishment, receives only brief notice incidentally in the Dīnkart, when it refers to 'the wonder about the splendid horse of Vishtāsp,'<sup>1</sup> and when in another part of the work, it mentions 'the splendid horse of Vishtāsp' as the nonpareil of horses.<sup>2</sup> The episode is seriously recorded, earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah, by Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086), who lived in Khorasān.<sup>3</sup> As the author of the Zartusht Nāmah (A.D. 1277) was a native of Rāi in the West, it shows how current the story was. It is later repeated by Mirkhond.<sup>4</sup> How different from the narrative of Constantine and the Cross!

**Complete Conversion of Vishtāsp.**—The conversion of Vishtāsp is nearly complete, but he still seeks from Zardusht an additional proof, a vision, a manifestation, some sign or token, before he will be finally convinced. Inasmuch as he himself has freely granted four favors to Zoroaster in acknowledgment of his services, the king now himself makes four counter-requests, as the narrative tells, before he fully adopts the Faith. The Zartusht Nāmah again relates these in detail, and we can infer from incidental allusions in Avestan and Pahlavi texts that the tradition was a recognized one.<sup>5</sup> The first of these four request by Vishtāsp is that he may know his final doom and see his place in Paradise; the second, that his body may become invul-

<sup>1</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 9. 22. 2 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 220).

<sup>3</sup> Shahrastānī ed. Haarbrücker, i. 283; cf. Gottheil, *References*, p. 50. For references to Vishtāsp's horse Bahzād, see note on p. 62, above.

<sup>4</sup> Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, pp. 287-288.

<sup>5</sup> ZtN. pp. 509-11. Compare the fragmentary Avestan texts Vishtāsp Yasht, and Afrīn Paighambar Zartūst (Yt. 24 and Yt. 23). Cf. also Dk. 7. 4. 74-82; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7 (*SBE.* xlvii. 67-70, 81, 164); Dk. 8. 11. 2-3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24).





nerable; the third favor is that he may have universal knowledge, knowing the past, present, and future; and fourth, that his soul may not leave his body until the resurrection. The Prophet of Ormazd gives assurance that all these requests may be granted; but he shows that such phenomenal privileges when granted could not be combined in the person of a single individual. The king must choose one boon out of the four. His selection is to have permission to behold the place which he shall occupy in heaven.

**Coming of the Archangels.** — This moment is the occasion of the coming of three Amshaspands, or Archangels, from heaven, to the palace of the king, as witnesses from Aūharmazd to the divinely inspired message of Zaratūst. These three heaven-sent envoys are Vohūman, Ashavahisht, and the Propitious Fire (Būrzhīn-Mitrō, or Spēnisht, Av. Spēnishta).<sup>1</sup> In its description the Dinkart quotes a passage from 'revelation' as follows: 'Then he who is the creator Aūharmazd spoke to them, to Vohūmanō, Ashavahishtō, and also the fire of Aūharmazd, the propitious, thus: "Proceed! you who are archangels, unto the abode of Vishtāsp, whose resources are cattle and who is far and widely famed, with a view to his reliance upon this religion (that is, till he shall stand up for this religion); and, as regards the answering words of the righteous Zaratūst of the Spitāmas, to approve the nature of those words."'<sup>2</sup> And, as the paragraph continues, the archangels proceeded to the abode of Vishtāsp in such glorious effulgence that 'their radiance in that lofty residence seemed to him a heaven of complete light, owing to their great power and triumph; this was so that when he thus looked upon it, the exalted Kai-Vishtāsp trembled, all his courtiers trembled, all his chieftains were con-

<sup>1</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 75, 78; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7; Dk. 8. 11. 2-3; Bd. 17. 1, 8. See also Darmesteter, *Le Z.A.* i. 155. It may be noticed that the Zartusht Nāmāh makes the number of the messen-

gers to be four, as it mentions two fires, Ādar Khūrdād and Ādar Gūshasp beside the two archangels.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 75-76 (West's translation).



fused, and he of the superior class was like the driver of a chariot-horse.<sup>1</sup>

The Zartusht Nāmah colors this part of the account by graphically describing these messengers as majestic knights on horseback in cavalier style, bristling with armor and clad in green.<sup>2</sup> The Dīnkarṭ goes on to tell how the Fire speaks out and reassures the terrified king that they are come, not for alarming him as the two envoys of his mortal foe Arjāsp the Khyōn later would do, but that they are come with a bidding from heaven that he should receive the religion of Zaratūst. In that event they promise him a long reign and a life of one hundred and fifty years(!), accompanied by many blessings and exalted by an immortal son Pēshyōtan (Av. Peshōtanu). On the contrary, if he will not accept the holy Faith, they threaten that his end will soon ensue. And the Archangels thereupon took up their abode with Vishtāsp.<sup>3</sup>

**Vishtāsp's Vision.**—It was after this stirring occurrence and after the obedient Vishtāsp had received the Creed, that a glimpse of Paradise and a spiritual revelation of his triumphant success in life is vouchsafed to him. In referring to this the Dīnkarṭ says: 'For the sake of daily<sup>4</sup> and visibly showing to Vishtāsp the certified victory over Arjāsp and the Khyōns, and his own superior position, unceasing rule, splendor, and glory, the creator Aūharmazd sends, at the same time, the angel Nēryōsang to the abode of Vishtāsp, as a reminder for the archangel Ashavahishtë to give to Vishtāsp to drink of that fountain of life, for looking into the existence of the spirits, the enlightening food by means of which great glory and beauty are seen by Vishtāsp.'<sup>5</sup> The king now quaffs an anodyne draft of 'the fountain of life'<sup>6</sup> from a fine saucer which

<sup>1</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 76 (West); cf. also Dk. 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7.

<sup>2</sup> ZtN. p. 510; repeated by Dab. i. p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 77-82; and Dk. 8. 11. 3 (SBE. xxxvii. 24).

<sup>4</sup> Notice this word. It is also of interest in connection with an allusion in Yātkār-i Zarīrān, § 12, and with the Holy Wars (Chap. IX.).

<sup>5</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 84 (West's transl.).

<sup>6</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 84-85.





is proffered to him by Ashavahishtë<sup>1</sup>; and at his instigation the queen also accepts the Faith.<sup>2</sup> The Zartusht Nāmah<sup>3</sup> completes the picture by describing how the king's son Peshōtan (Bashūtan) receives from the Prophet's hand a cup of milk which he drains and becomes undying until the resurrection.<sup>4</sup> The grand vizir, Jāmāsp, inhales some magic perfumes and becomes endowed with universal wisdom.<sup>5</sup> The valiant Isfendīār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāt) partakes of a pomegranate, and his body is made invulnerable, so that he may fight the good fight of the Faith.<sup>6</sup> Thus are bestowed the four great boons which were asked by Vishtāsp.

**Conclusion.**—In reviewing the accounts of the conversion of Kavi Vishtāspa one can but feel convinced of the reality of the event. It is not easy, however, to decide how much may be actual fact and how much is fiction in the stories that are told. Nor is it easy to determine of how early or how late origin some of these stories are. Several of them appear to be hinted at in younger portions of the Avesta; they hardly would occur in the existing Gāthās, for the nature of those Psalms would rather preclude them. Some of them seem to be built up on the basis of old allusions which have been interpreted to suit a situation. Several of them strike us to-day as silly, but a number of them as picturesque and as tinged with Oriental fancy.

Nevertheless, amid all the dross, grains of gold are undoubtedly to be found; and beneath the blaze of tinsel and the glare

<sup>1</sup> So Dk., but by Zardusht, according to the Zartusht Nāmah, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 86.

<sup>3</sup> ZtN, p. 511; repeated in Dab. i. pp. 259-260.

<sup>4</sup> In connection with this incident, compare also the paragraph on Pēshyōtan in Dk. 7. 5. 12 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 77). In the Avesta, and in Pahlavi writings, Peshōtanu is always spoken of as immortal.

<sup>5</sup> This is the character of 'the wise Jāmāsp' in the Avesta, the Pahlavi

books, and the later writings. Compare also the Pahlavi treatise, Jāmāsp Nāmak, noted by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 110.

<sup>6</sup> In the Shāh Nāmah this quality is conferred by means of an amulet chain (kusti?) which Zardusht is supposed to have brought from heaven, cf. p. 61, note 1, above. See Mohl, tr. iv. 407, and cf. Spiegel, in Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 211.





of gaudy coloring, a sober shade of truth may be recognized. Other nations and other generations have sought for a sign; the Zoroastrian writings are not the only texts that relate miracles. An Eastern ruler in ancient days may not have been insensible to influences which were of a cajoling character. And as for the intrigues against Zoroaster, his imprisonment and his release, we know that court jealousies and priestly conspiracies against a powerful rival have not been confined to Iran. Fanciful stories of a bewitched horse may likewise be found elsewhere. Banks and his horse, in Shakspeare's day, would be an illustration. The conversion also of the queen of the realm opened many another door to influence, as did Emma to St. Augustine. Perhaps Hutaosa was early interested in Zoroaster's preaching. It suffices to say that even if the actual circumstances connected with the momentous event of Vishtāsp's conversion were not wholly as tradition later represents them, they might at least have been such or similar. *Voilà tout!* The triumph of the Prophet is supreme.





## CHAPTER VI

## THE COURT OF VISHTĀSPA AND ITS CONVERSION

## THE GĀTHĀS OR ZOROASTRIAN PSALMS

*Cœpere plures quotidie ad audiendum verbum confluere.*—BEDA, *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 26.

ZOROASTER'S PATRON VISHTĀSPA—ROMANTIC STORY OF HIS YOUTH—INFLUENCE OF VISHTĀSPA'S ADOPTING THE NEW FAITH—MEMBERS OF VISHTĀSPA'S COURT; IMMEDIATE CONVERSIONS; LIVING PERSONALITIES IN THE GĀTHĀS—OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COURT CIRCLE CONVERTED—CONCLUSION

Zoroaster's Patron Vishtāspa. — Kavi Vishtāspa, or King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp), the Constantine of Zoroastrianism and defender of the Faith, presents a figure so important in its bearing that some additional details may appropriately be given concerning this pious ruler's history. His name is ever recurring in Avestan and Pahlavi texts, in the *Shāh Nāmāh*, and in Mohammedan writers who allude to Persia. A collection of the references to his name in the Avesta, supplemented by general allusions in other Zoroastrian writings, is given at the bottom of the page.<sup>1</sup> Special points of interest about him

<sup>1</sup> 1. The principal Avestan references to Vishtāspa are: Gāthā, Ys. 28. 7 (a boon to be granted to Vishtāspa and Zarathushtra); Ys. 46. 14 (warrior V.); Ys. 51. 16 (V. an ideal ruler in wisdom); Ys. 53. 2 (a follower of Zarathushtra). — Yasna, Ys. 12. 7 (a Zoroastrian); Ys. 23. 2 and 26. 5 (his *fravāši*). — Yasht, Yt.

5. 98 (a Naotairyan); Yt. 5. 105 (Z. prays for his conversion); Yt. 5. 108-109 (V. prays for victory); Yt. 5. 132 (type of successful conqueror); Yt. 9. 29-32 (cf. Yt. 5. 108; 17. 49); Yt. 13. 99-100 (hero of the Faith); Yt. 17. 49-52 (cf. Yt. 9. 29-32); Yt. 17. 61 (prays to Ashi Vanuhi on the Dāityā); Yt. 19. 84-87 (Kingly Glory,



may be found also in Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 372, 395, together with an elaborate genealogical table which should be consulted. An abridged list of Vishtāspa's next-of-kin, based upon Justi's table, is appended on the opposite page.

From this genealogical list we see that the patron of Zarthustra was the son of Aurvat-aspa (Lohrāsp) and was sprung from the old Kayanian line of kings.<sup>1</sup> He belongs to the Naotairyan family (cf. Av. Naotairya, Naotairyāna),<sup>2</sup> that is, he was descended from an ancestor Naotara (Firdausi's Naudhar).<sup>3</sup> His wife Hutaosa (Phl. Hūtōs), the patroness of Zoroaster, is likewise of the Naotairyan family;<sup>4</sup> his brother Zairivairi (Zarēr or Zarīr), a romantic hero and zealous convert, wins lasting fame by his valiant death in battle in the first Holy War, as described below. King Vishtāspa is the father of many sons and daughters.<sup>5</sup> Two of these sons, Spentō-dāta

defender of the Faith, conqueror); Yt. 23. 1 seq. (Z.'s blessing upon V.); Ys. 24. 1 seq. (Vishtāsp Nask).

2. Pahlavi references. The Phl. Comment. to Ys. 43. 12 (cf. Ys. 27. 6), 44. 16, and also Dk. 9. 33. 5, take Vishtāsp as a type of religious obedience, as representative of Srōsh on earth (see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 200, n. 24, and p. 283, n. 40; also his Index, s.v. 'Sraosha' in iii. 226). In general, the more important Pahlavi references, and there are many, will be given as occasion arises. Consult also the Indexes in West, *SBE.* vols. v. xviii. xxiv. xxxvii. xlvii. under 'Vishtāsp,' 'Kai Vishtāsp.'

3. Mohammedan references, given below as they occur. Consult also Gottheil, *References*, p. (29), 33 bis, 34 (35), 37 (unimportant), 39 bis, 40 bis; also Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 284 (Balkh); Albirūnī *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, pp. 100 seq., 206.

4. Classical references. The more important are given in this chap-

ter, but consult also Appendix V. Mention might here be made likewise of the so-called oracular sayings of Vishtāsp; cf. Kuhn, *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, p. 217.

<sup>1</sup> Yt. 5. 105, *puθrēm yat aurvat-aspahe*. See also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 183. The question of a change of dynasty in the succession is referred to in the next note.

<sup>2</sup> For the connection between the Kavi dynasty and the Naotairyan clan by adoption, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 372, and West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, pp. 226-227. Moreover, on Phl. Nōtar and Rāk, see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 29, 40, 44, 80, 147, and Appendix IV., below.

<sup>4</sup> Yt. 15. 35; cf. Yt. 13. 139; 9. 26; 17. 46. The Pahlavi narrative Yātkār-i Zarīrān, § 48 (Geiger, p. 59), makes Hūtōs the sister as well as queen of Vishtāsp, according to Magian practice.

<sup>5</sup> No less than thirty are spoken of in



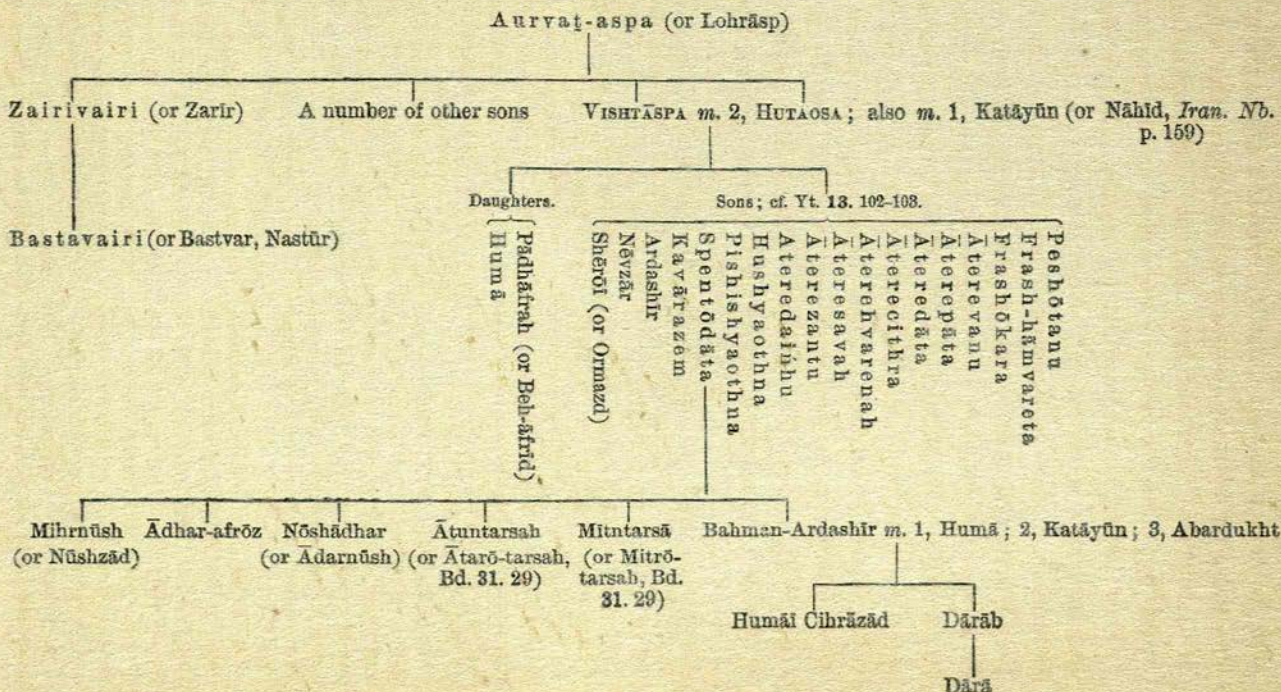
# GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF VISHTĀSPA.

After Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 395.

(Names printed with spacing are found in the Avesta.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF VISHTĀSPA

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(Phl. Spend-dāt, Pers. Isfendiār) and Peshōtanu, have been alluded to already and they will appear again. A daughter Humā (Phl. Pers. Hūmāi), renowned for her beauty, is carried away, along with her sister Beh-Afrīd, into captivity, by the king's mortal foe Arjāsp; but they both are gallantly rescued by their heroic brother Isfendiār, as told in the Shāh Nāmā.<sup>1</sup>

The principal facts which the Avesta emphasizes about Vish-tāspa are, his conversion, his zealous support of the Creed, and his vigorous crusading in behalf of the Faith. It furthermore portrays this nonpareil of kings as the very incarnation of religious obedience and of priestly ideals; he is the representative of the priest-god Sraosha, whom he typifies on earth; and he will serve as an officiating pontiff at the final judgment of the world, among those who are to be selected for that office.<sup>2</sup> This accentuation of the priestly side of Vishtāsp's character, which is found in the sacerdotal writings, seems to accord with the tradition that, following historic precedent, he withdrew from active affairs in the latest part of his life, and gave himself up to pious pilgrimage or devotion.<sup>3</sup>

**Romantic Story of Vishtāsp's Youth.**—With respect to the youth of this ideal king we have only a romantic story told by Firdausī in the Shāh Nāmā and repeated by Mirkhond on authority of the Tārīkh Ma'jem.<sup>4</sup> According to the great

the Yātkār-i Zarīrān, § 48; compare also the partial list in Av. Yt. 13. 102-103 (see genealogical table). Thirty sons are spoken of in the Shāh Nāmā as having been slain in different battles; it mentions two daughters by name, and one of these occurs in the Avesta. Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 395.

<sup>1</sup> Yt. 13. 139 (Humā); Yātkār-i Zarīrān, § 57 (Hūmāi), and compare Darmesteter, *Le Z.A.* ii. 552, n.; Dk. 9. 22. 2; ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. p. 364, and pp. 330, 341, 356, 364, 372, 390, 429, 435, 558. In YZ. § 57 (Geiger) and ShN.

iv. p. 330, 341 (Mohl), Hūmāi becomes the wife of Isfendiār (or of Bastvar? YZ), according to Ancient Persian practice of next-of-kin marriage.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahlavi reference § 2 on p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> As an illustration, recall the classical accounts which record his retirement for a time to India (Sagastān, Cabul?), and connect with it also the religious wisdom implied in the oracular sayings attributed to his name. See also Chap. XI. and p. 87, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 224 seq.,



poetic chronicler, Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) has some disagreement with his father King Lohrāsp, and quits the city of Balkh which his father has founded. He leaves Iran and wanders westward towards Rūm.<sup>1</sup> There, at the court of an emperor, he accomplishes deeds of unparalleled prowess, wins the hand of the princess, Katāyūn (Kitābūn, or Nāhid), becomes reconciled to his father through the good offices of his brother Zarīr,<sup>2</sup> returns to Iran and receives the crown from Lohrāsp's hands. Such is the novelistic story of the Shāh Nāmāh.<sup>3</sup>

A similar romantic episode is preserved in Athenæus (19. 275 a), as narrated by Chares of Mitylene, but it is told of the early years of Zariadres (presumably Zarīr), brother to Hystaspes of 'Media and the territory below.'<sup>4</sup> According to the account, Zariadres himself rules the territory from the Caspian Gates to the Tanais, in which region the scene is laid. The name of the princess, in this case, is Odatis. Whether this episode, like the preceding, be founded upon fiction or upon some basis of fact, it is of interest because it connects the name of Vishtāspa, for a time at least, with the country west of Asia.<sup>5</sup> When the Shāh Nāmāh makes Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) return, and, like all the later tradition, it makes him succeed his father at the city of Balkh, we have a new point of contact between the West and the East, Media and Bactria, to add on the side of that theory which believes that the Religion, following Zoroaster himself, gradually changed from West to East.<sup>6</sup>

Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 263, 266; cf. also Nöldeke, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 133, 166.

<sup>1</sup> General designation for the Byzantine empire, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Mohl, iv. 278-281.

<sup>3</sup> ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 288-289, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ἐπικράτους χώρας*; cf. Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197; lii. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Consult Rapp, *ZDMG.* xx. 66; Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 294 seq.; xlv. 197; lii. 193; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxi. and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 362; Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 403.

<sup>6</sup> On the question of change of dynasty in the succession of Vishtāsp, consult what is said by Justi, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 83, pp. 246, 252; *Grdr. iran. Ph.* ii. 410. See also Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197.





**Far-reaching Influence of Vishtāspa's Conversion.** — Viewed in its historic light the conversion of Vishtāspa is the main event of the Religion. The struggling creed now has a royal patron and protector. Zoroaster, therefore, at once proceeds to admonish his new convert concerning the path of holiness. A traditional reminiscence of these admonitions is found in the later Avestan Yasht Fragment, Vishtāsp Sāstō;<sup>1</sup> and the Zartusht Nāmāh further exemplifies them from tradition by summarizing, in a general sort of way, the main outlines of the teachings of the Avestan Revelation.<sup>2</sup> The Pahlavi Dīnkar at this point adds a picturesque statement to the effect that 'When Zaratūst chanted the revelation in the abode of Vishtāsp, it was manifest to the eye that it was danced to with joyfulness, both by the cattle and beasts of burden, and by the spirit of the fires which are in the abode.'<sup>3</sup> A new champion of the Faith, and protector of animal life as well, has been won, and joy reigns supreme. But the demons of Ahriman rush away to darkness.<sup>4</sup>

**Members of Vishtāspa's Court — Immediate Conversions — Living Personalities in the Gāthās.** — Two results followed as a natural sequel to the conversion of the king and his queen: one was, that the religion was at once generally adopted by the court; the other was, that it soon began to spread throughout the land. The former of these two results must first be discussed, and with it a brief description of the court personalities is necessary, as well as a few words upon the life and surroundings.

The best picture that we have of Zarathushtra's position at the court of Vishtāspa, and the most real and vivid glimpses that we can get so as to contrast the religious times before him with his present life, are to be found in the Gāthās themselves. Here we have the very words of the great Reformer or of his

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Yt. 24. 12; cf. also Dk. 8. 11.  
1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> ZtN. p. 512 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 7. 5. 2 (West's translation).

<sup>4</sup> Byt. 2. 16; Dk. 7. 4. 87.





disciples ; and the expressions heard in the Gāthās have as true and personal a ring as the cry of the Davidic Psalms. The tone of the Gāthās is varied. Hope, despair, exultation, discouragement, succeed each other with rapid change ; for the moment, confidence and assurance, but then doubt and hesitancy ; a period of zeal and activity must evidently have been followed by a time of repose and meditation ; now admonition, exhortation, and promise ; again philosophic speculation or veiled mystery, the spiritual sense of which could best be appreciated by the initiated ; a shade of darkness, yet illuminated by a burst of light, by vision, by inspiration ; then comes the final fiery outbreak of the prophetic soul in a clarion note of triumph and the transport of joyous victory. These are the tones that run in minor chords through the Gāthā Psalms. Well indeed would it be for the infidel and heretic if he would hearken unto wisdom and the Faith. The wicked man and the unbeliever, the Dregvant and the Daēva, are fiercely anathematized ; the righteous Ashavan and the godly ruler are highly extolled.

The little band of the faithful forms a church militant. Of ritual there is little or none. The communicants at the new altar are few, but they move in procession distinctly before our eyes. The Gāthās mention some of them by name ; certain of these are Zarathushtra's kinsfolk. The Haēcataspas, descendants of Spitāma, who must have shared in Zarathushtra's success at the palace, are living personages. We recognize them when the Priest calls upon them in exhortation.<sup>1</sup> His favorite daughter Pourucista, whose marriage to Jāmāsra forms a theme in one of these Psalms, may be pictured as a type of filial piety and womanly devotion.<sup>2</sup> His cousin Maidyōi-mā-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Mills, *The Zend-Avesta*, in *SBE.* xxxi. Intro. p. xxvi ; Geiger, in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 7-8, 163 seq. ; and likewise the allusions to Vishtāspa's court in Geldner's forthcoming article,

'Persian Religion,' in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also what is said of Pōrūcāst and Jāmāsp in the Pahlavi, Dk. 9. 45. 4 (West's translation, *SBE.* xxxvii. 299-300).



onha is already known to us as the earliest convert and as a sort of beloved disciple. The noble Frashaoshtra, vizir and attendant upon Vishtāspa's throne, shows his faithful devotion to the Messenger of Ormazd by giving his daughter Hvōgvī (Hvōvi) to be a wife to him. And lastly Jāmāspa, the wise counsellor and chancellor of the king, and brother to Frashaoshtra, proves to be so sage an adviser, as time goes on, and so valued a supporter of the Creed, that Zoroaster's prophetic mantle descends upon his shoulders after the death of the great high priest, and King Vishtāsp ordains him as the holy successor in the pontifical office.<sup>1</sup> It was he, according to tradition, who originally wrote down the 'Avesta and Zand' from the teachings of Zoroaster.<sup>2</sup> With regard to these personages of the Gāthās, it is needless to add references to the Pahlavi literature.<sup>3</sup> Some other details respecting them have been given above in Chapter II. A single quotation from the Avestan Psalms may be added here. It is from the Gāthā Ushtavaitī (Yasna 46. 14 seq.). The Prophet with his own lips asks a question, and in rhetorical style he gives the answer himself.

'Who is it, O Zarathushtra, that is thy righteous friend; or who is it that wishes to be renowned for his great virtue? It is the warrior Vishtāspa, and, with the words of Vohu Manah (Good Thought) I invoke those in his abode whom he has converted by his praising (the Religion).

'Of you, ye children of Haēcat-aspa, descendants of Spitāma, will I say this: that ye did distinguish the good from the evil, (and) ye have won for yourselves Asha (Righteousness)<sup>4</sup> by such acts as are the first laws of Ahura.

'Do thou, O Frashaoshtra, son of Hvōgva, go thither with the elect whom we wish to be in bliss; (go thither) where Ārmaiti (Har-

<sup>1</sup> See my note in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 138-139, Leyde, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> About B.C. 591; for the references, see Chap. VIII., pp. 97, 117, and Appendix III.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Dk. 9. 28. 5, and scores of

others, as a glance at the Indexes to West's 'Pahlavi Texts' in the Sacred Books of the East will show.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'have given Asha to yourselves.'





mony, genius of the Earth) is united with Asha (Righteousness), where Vohu Manah's Kingdom (Khshathra,) is established, according to desire, and where Ahura Mazda dwells amid abundance, and where, O Jāmāspa, son of Hvōgva, I shall proclaim the ordinances which are yours (ye Archangels) and nothing which is not in harmony with your ordinances.<sup>1</sup>

Similar personal situations and allusions to the faithful are indicated in Ys. 51. 16 seq., 53. 1 seq., and elsewhere in these metrical hymns. But enough! The principal points regarding Zoroaster's own immediate family have been presented in Chapter II., which deals with that subject. The genealogical table of the Hvōgva family was presented in that chapter because it shows the connections which arose by the intermarriage of Pourucista and Jāmāspa, and of Hvōgvī and Zarathushtra himself.<sup>2</sup> It is easy to see how Zoroaster made his position at court still stronger by allying himself closely with those next to the throne. For almost all of the statements that have been made thus far the Avesta itself has been the principal source.

**Other Members of the Court Circle converted.** — Among other conversions of those belonging to the immediate circle of the court of Vishtāspa, two must at once be mentioned. These are the king's brother Zairivairi (Phl., Mod. Pers. Zarēr, Zarīr) and the king's gallant son Spentō-dāta (Phl. Spend-dāt, Mod. Pers. Isfendiār). Their names do not happen to occur in the Gāthās, but they are mentioned foremost among the faithful in the Avestan Yashts; and the Pahlavi Dinkart and Shikand Gūmānik Vijār commend them to praise among the earliest converts. These special Pahlavi passages also show that many of the nobility were early attracted to the Creed. The Dinkart states: 'At first Zarīr, Spend-dāt, Frashōshatar, and Jāmāsp,

<sup>1</sup> Ys. 46. 17. I omit the latter part of this stanza, as unnecessary in this connection. For translations of this Gāthā, see also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 307-308; Geldner, *BB.* xiv. 23 seq.; Mills, *SBE.* xxx. 142 seq.; de Harlez,

*Av. trad.* 2d ed. pp. 353-354; Spiegel, *Avesta*, übersetzt, ii. 155.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. II., pp. 21-22, and compare also Dk. 9. 44. 16-19; 9. 45. 2-6, in *SBE.* xxxvii. 297-300.



several of the realm who were noble, conspicuous, and well-acting, the good and princes of mankind, beheld visibly the will and desirableness of Aūharmazd and the archangels, and the progressive religion of the creatures, fit for those completely victorious.’<sup>1</sup> The Shikand Gūmānik Vijār adds its testimony, that ‘Kai Spend-dāt and Zarīr and other (royal) sons, instigating the many conflicts and shedding the blood of those of the realm, accepted the religion as a yoke, while they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.’<sup>2</sup> With regard to Spend-dāt (Spentō-dāta, Isfendīār) it is interesting to observe that the late Persian authority Mirkhond conveys the idea that this heroic youth was largely instrumental in inducing the king, his father, to adopt the Faith which he himself apparently had already accepted.

With the conversion of Zarīr to the Religion, later tradition associates also that of the old King Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvaṭ-aspa), who has abdicated and is supposed still to be alive, although the Avesta makes no special mention of his name in connection with the Creed.<sup>3</sup> The Shāh Nāmāh is not altogether precise, but it includes Lohrāsp as ‘the old king’ among the number who, with Zarīr and other nobles, ‘girded themselves with the sacred cord and became converted’ to the faith which Vishtāsp had adopted.<sup>4</sup> The later Persian Dabistān, on the authority of the Behdinians (‘those of the good Faith’) gives the specific occasion of the conversion of these two, somewhat picturesquely as follows: ‘The doctors of the pure faith record that King Lohrāsp and Zarīr, brother to Gushtāsp, having fallen into so violent a malady that the physicians in despair desisted from all attendance upon them; but having been restored to health

<sup>1</sup> Dk. 5. 2. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 125.

<sup>2</sup> SgV. 10. 67 (West’s translation, *SBE.* xxiv. 171).

<sup>3</sup> Simply Yt. 5. 105, Aurvaṭ-aspa as father of Vishtāspa. Very doubtful

are Yt. 24. 34, 46, as the word is there apparently an attribute.

<sup>4</sup> ShN. *bībastand kuṣṭī bah dīn āmadand*; ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1498; cf. trad. Mohl, iv. 291.





through the prayers of Zardusht, they adopted the pure faith.'<sup>1</sup> Another instance of faith cure or healing by Zoroaster, aided, however, by herbs, will be recorded below. Zoroaster himself, however, speaks of his own office as 'the physician of the soul.'<sup>2</sup>

**Conclusion.**—The real success which Zoroaster won was first due to the influence of the king and the court. The Gāthās give us some idea of Zoroaster's preaching before the assembled community. His were new words and they were listened to by those who came from near and far (e.g. Ys. 45. 1). With royal authority to back the Religion and noble power to support it, the advance and spread of the Faith must have been rapid, and accounts will next be given of other conversions and of the history of the religious propaganda.

<sup>1</sup> Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 255. Compare similarly Atkinson, *Firdausī Shāh Nāmāh*, p. 258, ll. 4-10.

<sup>2</sup> Av. *ahūmbīš*, Ys. 31. 19; 44. 2, 16.





## CHAPTER VII

## FROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL

## EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

*yā jvāntō vīspōng vāurayā.* — AVESTA, Ys. 31. 3.

INTRODUCTION, THE CYPRESS OF KISHMAR — CONVERSIONS MORE NUMEROUS ;  
SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL ; EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA — SPREAD OF THE  
RELIGION IN IRAN — SOME CONVERSIONS IN TURAN — AVERRED CONVERSIONS  
OF HINDUS — STORY OF THE BRAHMAN 'CANGRANGHĀCAH' — THE HINDU  
SAGE 'BIĀS' — FABLED GREEK CONVERSIONS — DID ZOROASTER VISIT BABY-  
LON ? — CONCLUSION

**Introduction, the Cypress of Kishmar.** — In telling the story of Zoroaster and of Vishtāspa's embracing the new Faith, the Shāh Nāmāh narrates how Zardusht planted a cypress-tree before the door of the fire-temple at Kishmar, in the district of Tarshīz in Khorassān or Bactria, as a memento of Vistāspa's conversion, and had inscribed upon its trunk that 'Gushtāsp had accepted the Good Religion.'<sup>1</sup> Marvellous became the growth and age of this wonderful tree, the famous cypress of Kishmar (*sarv-i Kishmar*), as recounted by the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, Dabistān, and other writings, as mentioned by Hyde and noticed more fully below in Appendix IV.<sup>2</sup> The allegory is rather fine ; the tree typifies by its spreading branches the rapid advance of the Creed under the fostering care of the king and the court.

<sup>1</sup> *Kīh pašīruft Gushtāsp dīn-i bahī*, ShN. ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1499 ; trad. Mohl, iv. 291-293 ; Farhang-i Jahāngīrī and the Muj. cited by Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* (1 ed.) 317, 327 ; the Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 306-309 ;

Vullers, *Fragmente*, pp. 71, 72, 114-115 ; Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot.* p. 15 ; Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, 444 ; and Anquetil du Perron, as alluded to below in Appendix II. A, iii. f., n. 1, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> See references in preceding note.





**Other Conversions; Spread of the Gospel; Early Religious Propaganda.** — Outside of the immediate circle of the king, conversions begin rapidly to follow. The way no doubt had already been paved among the people, and Vishtāspa's own example and his enthusiastic zeal could but exercise wide-spread influence. With all the spirit and fire of a new convert he is untiring in his efforts for the establishment of the Faith. The unknown author of the Farvadīn Yasht, when he comes to Vishtāspa's name (Yt. 13. 99-100), breaks out into a eulogy :—

‘It was this righteous and bold warrior,  
The hero of redoubtable weapon,  
The very incarnation of the Law  
And devoted to the Lord—  
It was he, who, with advancing weapon,  
Sought out a broad path of Righteousness,  
And, with advancing weapon,  
Found the broad path of Righteousness.

He, it was, who became the arm  
And the support of the Religion  
Of Zarathushtra, of Ahura;  
He, who dragged from her chains the Religion  
That was bound in fetters and unable to stir;  
And made her take a place  
In the midst (of the nations),  
Exalted with power, advancing and hallowed.’

We can but regret the loss of the eleventh Avestan Nask, which dealt particularly with the promulgation of the Faith. The Pahlavi treatise *Dīn-Vijirkart* tells us of its missing contents as follows : ‘In this Nask is the topic of the sovereignty of Gushtāsp, and Zarātūst the Spītāmān, having brought the religion from Aūharmazd, King Gushtāsp accepted it, and made it current in the world,’<sup>1</sup> and the Persian *Rivāyat* of Kāmāh Bahrah gives the same testimony.<sup>2</sup> It is true that the Bahman Yasht reserves till a generation later the accomplishment of the task of making the religion current in the ‘whole’ world, which is finally brought about by the Kayanian

<sup>1</sup> Dvj. § 11, tr. West, *SBE*. xxxvii. 442.    <sup>2</sup> Riv. 11. tr. West, *SBE*. xxxvii. 424.



‘Artashir (Kaī), whom they call Vohūman son of Spend-dāt.’<sup>1</sup> Later writers bear the same testimony to the tradition of Vishtāspa’s religious energy. The Arab Ibn al-Athīr, for example, states that when Vishtāsp accepted the Faith ‘he compelled his people to do the same and he killed a large number of them until they adopted it.’<sup>2</sup> This may be a later Mohammedan view, but there is no doubt that fire and the sword were not absent in the Avesta, and further evidences will be seen in the next chapter of propaganda by religious crusades at home and abroad. First we must notice the spread of the Creed in Iran itself.

**Spread of the Religion in Iran.** — It is tolerably certain that within Iran itself the fire of the Faith of Zoroaster rapidly spread, fanned, as it was, by the breath of sovereign power. Conversions were undoubtedly the order of the day; adherents continued to multiply and devoted volunteers began to crowd into the ranks which had been captained at the court. From the Avesta and from later literature we know the names of many of these. In the Yashts<sup>3</sup> we have a prose list of nearly a hundred sainted persons who are connected with the Vishtāspa circle. They are evidently the first disciples — the so-called Paoriyō-īkaēshas — of the Zoroastrian Creed.<sup>4</sup> How far and how fast the religion actually spread in the earliest period we do not know. We know, however, that the land of Seistān was one of the earliest scenes of the promulgation of the Faith, as will be seen by the sequel and proved by the Pahlavi treatise, ‘Wonders of Sagastān,’ elsewhere referred to. There were doubtless parts of Iran which were Zoroastrian only in name. The surmises on the question of Vishtāspa’s exact rank and

<sup>1</sup> Byt. 2. 17; the passage should be looked at in West’s translation, *SBE*. v. 198-199.

Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Yt. 13. 95-110.

<sup>4</sup> With such names in the Avestan

list as Parshat-gao, Saēna, Vohvasti, Isvant (Yt. 13. 96), we may compare the Pahlavi texts, Dk. 9. 24. 17; 9. 33. 5. The French translation of the Yashts by Darmesteter (*Le ZA*. ii. 530 seq.) gives numerous identifications.





sovereignty have also been more than one. The problem of the exact lands and territories concerned, and at how early a period Persia Proper is to be included, requires discussion elsewhere. One thing is certain, that Zoroastrianism was destined to become the national religion of Iran.

**Some Conversions in Turan.**—Nor is the Creed circumscribed by the borders of Iran alone. From the Avesta we know that other lands and climes came in for a share of the good tidings of the Faith. The 'fravashis,' or guardian spirits of those who are righteous 'outside of the country,' or abroad, are invoked as well as those within the land.<sup>1</sup> All of which implies some lapse of time. And among a dozen such lands and countries, Turan comes in for a share of the blessing. Turanians are mentioned by name in the canonical list of the faithful whose 'fravashis,' or idealized spirits, are glorified (Yt. 13. 111-129). In fact, among those catalogued for sainthood in the list is one Isvant, son of Varāza, whom the Dīnkart counts as a Turanian when it includes his name as 'Isvant, son of Varāz, from the countries of Tūrān,' among those who will officiate on the last day at the general resurrection.<sup>2</sup> In the Gāthās themselves Zarathushtra devotes a stanza to the descendants of Fryāna of Turan, as he was one who had been attracted to the Prophet and is selected to receive a destined reward. Zoroaster speaks of him with favoring words (Ys. 46. 12):—

'When Asha (Righteousness)<sup>3</sup> came unto those that are to be named as the children, and children's children, of Fryāna, the Turanian who zealously doth further the possessions of Ārmaiti,<sup>4</sup> and when Vohu Manah (Good Thought) took up his

<sup>1</sup> Ys. 26. 9; Vsp. 16. 2, *ādahyungm-ca ašaonəm fravašayō yazamaide, uz-dahyungm-ca*, an idea of universal brotherhood.

<sup>2</sup> Dk. 9. 33. 5, West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 262; compare also Darmesteter, *Le*

*ZA.* ii. 530, n. 179, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. instr. sg. as subject; so also below and elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. increasing Earth by agricultural activity.





abode with them, (then) the Lord Mazda is announced to them to their comfort.<sup>1</sup>

'This man who among men did propitiate Spitāma Zarathustra by his generosity, he is exalted to be praised; and the Lord Mazda gave life unto him, and Vohu Manah furthered for him his worldly goods, and him we regard as your goodly ally in Righteousness (Asha).'

A descendant of this virtuous Turanian house,<sup>2</sup> Yōishtë yō Fryānām, is commemorated in a metrical passage of the Avesta, for his wisdom and for his victory over a malicious wizard Akhtya.<sup>3</sup> The episode is fully elaborated in the Pahlavi tale which bears the name Yōsht-ī Fryānō, and it need not be treated here.<sup>4</sup>

**Averred Conversions of Hindus.** — In the great Persian Chronicle Shāh Nāmāh we have mention of the vigorous efforts that were made in the way of religious propaganda; Firdausī (or Daḳīkī) speaks of Mobeds who were sent on this holy mission all over the world, assisted and aided by Isfendīār's conquering sword.<sup>5</sup> The land of 'Rūm,' or Asia Minor and the West, as well as Hindustān are included in the successful missionary fields. The earlier Pahlavi work, Shikand Gūmānik Vijār (A.D. ninth century) narrates the same fact when it speaks of the valiant Spend-dāt and Zarīr, and of those other noble sons of Vishtāsp, who accepted the religion, of the con-

<sup>1</sup> Or 'for their protection.'

<sup>2</sup> The house of Fryāna has been aptly identified by Eugen Wilhelm with the family coming from Pirān as ancestor, in the Shāh Nāmāh. See his comment in *ZDMG.* xlv. 151, and compare also Justi, *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 251, and *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> This wizard is killed in the eightieth year of the Religion according to *Zsp.* 23. 10, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 166. That date would answer to B.C. 551, see Appendix III.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Yt.* 5. 81-83, and the Pahlavi *Yōsht-ī Fryānō*, §§ 1-6, tr. by West and Haug in *Arda Virāf*, pp. 247-266, London, 1872; also tr. by A. Barthélemy, *Une légende iranienne*, Paris, 1889. See West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 108, § 58, and Peshotan Darab Behramjee Sanjana, *Dinkart*, vol. v. p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Further references will be given in the next chapter; meanwhile notice Shāh Nāmāh, iii. 1498 seq., ed. Vullers-Landauer, and the translation of Mohl, iv. p. 344, 499, 513, 542, 558.





licts and bloodshed, and says 'they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.'<sup>1</sup> The claim to Indian converts is quite persistent in the later writings, which is not so strange when we consider the Indo-Iranian kinship and the fact that the Parsis found in India an asylum from Mohammedan persecution.

**Story of the Brahman 'Cangranghācah.'** — The most interesting episode, perhaps, of the foreign conversions is the later Persian story which is told of Cangranghācah, a Brahman sage who comes from India to Vishtāsp's court in order to refute Zoroaster's doctrines, but the Hindu teacher himself is taught by the greater master and becomes a devoted convert of the Priest of Iran. This picturesque narrative is recounted, with other matters, in the Cangranghācah Nāmāh, a modern Persian poetical work of the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The author of this treatise is stated to be Zartusht Bahrām Pazhdū, of the ancient city of Raī, who also composed the Zartusht Nāmāh; and like the latter work it is claimed to be drawn from Pahlavi sources, if we may agree with Anquetil du Perron, who is our chief source of information on the subject.<sup>3</sup> This story of the Brahman's conversion is briefly repeated in the Dabistān and it is alluded to incidentally in the text of the Dasātīr and described in its commentary.<sup>4</sup> All this implies some currency of the tale. A brief abstract of the narrative, so far as it relates to the main event, is worth giving, and it is here presented, being

<sup>1</sup> Sgv. 10. 67-68, West, *SBE*. xxiv. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. in Fonds d'Anquetil, 10. Supplément d'Anquetil, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, n., pp. 47-53, and p. xxxiii.; also i. Pt. 1, p. dxxxvi. § 67; and again, ii. p. 790, Index. The value of this treatise is not very highly esteemed by Spiegel, *Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, ii. 182, nor by

Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 445. But its reputation may grow like the Zartusht Nāmāh. For other references, see farther on.

<sup>4</sup> Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 276-277; Desātīr, (Dasātīr) tr. by Mulla Firuz Bin Kaus, Bombay, 1818, ii. 125-126. See Appendix VI. On the character of the Dasātīr, see also Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411-412.



based on the fuller account of the Cangranghācāh Nāmāh found in Anquetil.<sup>1</sup>

**Sketch of the Incident.** — The aged Brahman sage, Cangranghācāh, is a philosopher whose learning and wisdom were far-famed throughout India and known in Iran. He is reported even to have been the teacher of Jāmāsp, minister to King Vishtāsp, whose devotion to Zoroaster is regarded as a fall from grace. Accordingly the Brahman writes to Vishtāsp a letter remonstrating with the monarch for believing in the upstart Prophet. At the proposal of Vishtāsp he finally comes himself to 'Balkh' with a great following of devoted disciples, in order to debate with Zoroaster and to put the impostor to confusion. But he who came to scoff remains to pray. Zoroaster is prepared by premonition to answer all the seer's questions before he asks them; and amid a great assemblage of learned men who have gathered from many parts of the country to listen for days to the religious debate, the chosen Priest of Ormazd disarms his antagonist before the latter has time to lift his weapons in discussion and conflict. By reading a Nask or book of the Avesta, in which every difficult question prepared by the Hindu controversialist is already answered, he astonishes and utterly confounds the Brahman. So completely is the Hindu philosopher vanquished and convinced, that with remarkable candor he forthwith acknowledges his defeat, is converted, adopts the Faith, receives a copy of the Avesta from Zoroaster's own hands, becomes a zealous adherent, and joins in spreading the Prophet's teachings in Hindustān and the adjacent countries, so that eighty thousand souls in this way receive the enlightenment of the true Faith. A festival is instituted to commemorate this important event. Such in brief is the story, which remotely reminds us of the ecclesiastical convocations and the discussions and disputations of Luther.

This legend, as stated, seems rather to be of later origin, and

<sup>1</sup> Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, pp. 47-53.





It may have arisen after Zoroastrian believers found refuge in India in Mohammedan days; and where, as time went on, Brahmans and Dasturs perhaps came into debate and conflict. Nevertheless it is as old as the Zartusht Nāmah, which has been proved to contain old material, and it is by the same author, as already explained; and religious intercourse and connection between India and Iran at all periods in history is undoubted.<sup>1</sup> No great religion is confined to the bounds of its own country. And as for religious controversies and debates, nothing is more common. The Avesta alludes to a victorious debate with Nāidyāh Gaotema, whom some have tried, among several other suggestions, to identify with this same Brahman Cangranghācah.<sup>2</sup> The Pahlavi texts speak of Zaratūst's discussions with learned men whose questions he is able to answer even before they ask them. The statements on this subject have been given above.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that in the Avesta we may discover the source of the story, which seems to be somewhat legendary, in a mistaken view that the Avestan adjective *cangranghāc* (Vsp. 1. 1, etc.) contains an allusion to a proper name. Anquetil du Perron himself understood that epithet in the Visperad as an allusion to the Hindu sage.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand some have seen in this tradition of an Indian wise man, who comes to Iran, a late story concocted as an allusion to the famous Vedāntist philosopher, S'aṅkara-Ācārya.<sup>5</sup> This view

<sup>1</sup> The references of the Pahlavi Shikand Gūmānik Vijār and of the Shāh Nāmah to Zoroastrianism in India have been given above. Furthermore, on relations and intercourse between Persia and India in religious matters, see Shea and Troyer's note in *Dab.* i. 276 n.; also the story of Biās, next to be given; and p. 72, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Yt. 13. 16, see Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, who suggests the possibility; but this is rejected by Justi, *Hdb. d. Zendsprache*, s.v. *gaotema*.

The other identifications that have been suggested for Gaotema are discussed in Appendix II., p. 177-178.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 61, and cf. Dk. 7. 4. 73; 5. 2. 10; Zsp. 23. 5 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 67, 124, 164).

<sup>4</sup> *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 92, and p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> See Bréal, *Le Brahme Tcheng-réngkhātchah*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 497. Compare also Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān*, i. 276, n. (Paris, 1843); and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. 444, n.



is especially based on an identification of the great philosopher's name with the form of the Brahman's name which is found in the *Dasātīr* (vol. ii. 125) as *Sankarākās* (for which the Commentary understands *Cangranghācah*).<sup>1</sup> Such a view is to be maintained only by premising that we are to regard the story as a later invention, purposely made up to exalt the triumph of an Iranian over a Hindu philosopher.

**The Hindu Sage 'Bīās.'** — A sequel to the story of the conversion of *Cangranghācah* is found in the tale of 'Bīās' told in the *Dasātīr* and repeated from this source by the author of the *Dabistān*.<sup>2</sup> The account describes how, when the news of *Cangranghācah*'s confession became noised abroad, another sage, *Bīās* (i.e. *Vyāsa*) by name, came from India to Iran in order to refute Zoroaster and to convert him. Like his predecessor, however, *Bīās* is soon impressed by *Zardusht*'s superhuman knowledge and divine insight, which penetrates even into the inmost thoughts of his soul, so that he also accepts the religion, or (to quote the actual words of the *Dasātīr* commentary) 'he returned thanks to *Yezdān* and united himself to the *Behdīn*, after which he returned back to Hind.'<sup>3</sup> This story is merely a counterpart of the preceding — a combination of legend and myth that seeks to bring *Vyāsa*, the fabulous author of the *Vedas*, into connection with *Zarathushtra*.

**Fabled Greek Conversions.** — The statements of the Pahlavi *Shikand Gūmānik Vijār* and of the Persian *Shāh Nāmāh* have already been given as claiming traditionally that the West (*Phl. Arūm*, *Pers. Rūm*)<sup>4</sup> came under Zoroaster's influence. The tradition is late, but in one respect it might not be so far from the truth if we should choose to look at Zoroastrianism simply in the light of *Mithra-worship* which, as is well known,

<sup>1</sup> The *Desatir* (*Dasātīr*), Bombay, 1818, vol. ii. 125. See Appendix VI., where the passage is reprinted.

<sup>2</sup> *Dasātīr* ii. 126-143 (§§ 65-162) and *Dabistān*, i. 280-283.

<sup>3</sup> *Dasātīr*, ii. 144; *Dabistān*, i. 280-283. See Appendix VI.

<sup>4</sup> The comprehensive term to denote Asia Minor, Greece, and the Roman Empire.





pushed its way even far into Europe. It is not unnatural, moreover, for religious devotees to lay claims to extraordinary foreign missionary conquests. This third great debate or theological dispute into which Zoroaster is presumed to have entered and to have come off victorious, is with a Greek philosopher and master, as recorded in the *Dasātīr* and noticed by the *Dabistān*.<sup>1</sup> The account is doubtless apocryphal, but it deserves consideration with the other alleged conversions, and there is perhaps a far-off echo of it in *Hamzah* of *Isfahān*, in a passage which describes how the Greeks evaded attempts to convert them, and the passage is given below in Appendix IV.<sup>2</sup>

Briefly the *Dasātīr* story of this conversion incident is as follows: In a prophetic passage the text of the *Dasātīr* tells how a wise man, named *Tiānūr* (Pers. *Tūtīānūsh*) or *Niyātūs*, as the *Dabistān* calls him,<sup>3</sup> 'will come from *Nūrākh* (Pers. *Yunān*, i.e. Greece) in order to consult thee (O *Zardusht*) concerning the real nature of things. I will tell thee what he asketh and do thou answer his questions before he putteth them.'<sup>4</sup> The commentary upon this passage and also the *Dabistān* expressly state that the sages of Greece despatched this learned man after *Isfendīār* had promulgated the Faith in many lands. We may therefore infer that the event, if it occurred at all, took place some years after King *Vishtāsp* had accepted the Religion. The god *Mazda*, on this occasion likewise, instructs his prophet what he shall say and how he shall respond to the foreigner who is described as coming to 'Balkh.'<sup>5</sup> Ormazd assures *Zardusht* of success, and the commentary adds that 'when the *Yunānī* (i.e. Greek) sage heard all these words (of *Zardusht*), he entered into the Faith and

<sup>1</sup> *Dasātīr*, ii. 120-125 (§§ 42-62); *Dabistān*, i. 277-278.

<sup>2</sup> For the original, see *Hamzah al-Isfahānī*, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 26; cf. Gotthell, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33 and also p. 199 below.

<sup>3</sup> *Dasātīr*, ii. 120; *Dabistān*, i. 277,

and Shea and Troyer's note to the passage. On the language of the *Dasātīr*, see what is said in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411-412.

<sup>4</sup> *Dasātīr*, ii. 120, §§ 42-43.

<sup>5</sup> See commentary upon *Dasātīr*, ii. 120, § 43; reprinted in Appendix VI.





studied knowledge under the beloved of God, Zardusht the Prophet. (As a reward, moreover), the king of kings, Gush-tāsp, bestowed on him the office of Chief of the Hirbeds of Yunān, and of the Mobeds of that country. The accomplished man (accordingly), having returned back to Yunān, brought over the inhabitants to the religion of that blessed Prophet.<sup>1</sup>

This story, whatever may be its worth or its worthlessness, is not uninteresting because it shows the existence of a tradition on the Oriental side regarding early connections between Iran and Greece in which religious matters came into play. There may, of course, lurk in such tradition some reminiscence of intercourse between the nations prior to the Graeco-Persian wars. The note of Hamzah al-Isfahānī on some attempt to spread Zardusht's Gospel among the Hellenes has been mentioned above, with a Pahlavi reference also and a tradition in Firdausī.<sup>2</sup> We must not forget that the Dīnkart asserts that a Greek translation was made of the Avesta.<sup>3</sup> We may furthermore recall several allusions of the Greeks themselves to the effect that Plato, Hermodorus, Theopompus, and others came under the influence of Magian doctrines.<sup>4</sup> The name of this Grecian converted sage (Tiānūr, Tūtiānūsh, or Niyātūs) is very obscure and the reading is uncertain. But an identification with Pythagoras has been suggested on the basis of the point just presented.<sup>5</sup> Whether founded on fiction, as is likely, or based upon fact, as is unlikely, the account merits recording and is fully given in Appendix VI. below, while the classical passages on Pythagoras, who is said to have studied in Babylon under the Magi, and on Plato might be worth looking over again in Appendix V., and in Chapter I., p. 7, n. 5.

**Did Zoroaster ever visit Babylon?** — In this same connection, when speaking of Babylon, it may be appropriate perhaps to

<sup>1</sup> Dasātir, ii. 125, § 82, commentary and text.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 78, 84, 88.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. 3 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. p. xxxi.).

<sup>4</sup> For references, see Chap. I., pp. 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> See Troyer's note on Dabistān, i. 277. I should think 'Plato' might be as plausible a suggestion.



mention a statement made by the Pahlavi Dinkart which ascribes to the religion of Zaratūst the overthrow of error and evil in 'Bāpēl,' and it accounts this achievement as one of the marvels of the Faith.<sup>1</sup> The passage speaks of the existence of 'several matters of evil deceit which Dahāk had done in Bāpēl through witchcraft; and mankind had come to idol-worship through that seduction, and its increase was the destruction of the world; but through the triumphant words of the religion which Zaratūst proclaimed opposing it, that witchcraft is all dissipated and disabled.'<sup>2</sup>

There is of course a distant possibility that after the Faith became fairly established Zoroaster himself actually did go on missionary journeys, teaching and preaching and exercising the influence of his own strong personality. We need only think of the three brief years of our Lord's ministry. At all events it is not wholly impossible to believe that several places were visited, perhaps including Persepolis also,<sup>3</sup> even if we are not prepared to accept so extravagant a view as that Babylon was among the number. It is true that some of the classical writers make Pythagoras a follower of Zoroaster or at least of the Magi, who were established at Babylon and into whose mysteries he was initiated.<sup>4</sup> The theory of personal travel need not be pressed too far; where the effect of the Religion came, there also the Master himself had gone in influence, if not in person. In

<sup>1</sup> Dk. 7. 4. 72, West's translation in *SBE*. xlvii. 66.

<sup>2</sup> The text does not indicate at what time in Zoroaster's career this event is supposed to have been brought about, or whether it did not come to pass later through the developments and spread of the Religion. The actual fall of Babylon occurred a generation after the Prophet. One might possibly conjecture from the passage that 'the Religion' perhaps joined hands with the conqueror Cyrus in destroying this city, which is spoken of with hatred

in the Avesta as 'Bawri'; cf. Yt. 5. 29-31; cf. 15. 19-21. In Mkh. 27. 64-67, the old king, Lohrāsp, is regarded as having destroyed Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews, a statement which is found elsewhere; see West, *SBE*. xxiv. 64. Somewhat similar is Dk. 5. 1.5, cf. *SBE*. xlvii. 120. Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 147, might be noticed.

<sup>3</sup> See references to Istakhr already given, and also below in Appendix IV.

<sup>4</sup> See references in Chap. I., pp. 7-8, and in Appendix V.