



(WZKM. vi. 264, Wien, 1892).] Spiegel proposed 'Kamele peinigend' (*Sitzb. kgl. bayer. Akad. phil. cl.* p. 10, Jan. 5, 1867). In 1871, the Spanish scholar Ayuso accepted the more or less familiar identification of part of the name with 'star,' as shown by his 'estrella de oro' (*El Estudio de la Filología*, p. 180, Madrid, 1871); and he repeats the same view in his *Los Pueblos iraníes y Zoroastro*, p. 7, Madrid, 1874.

Returning to France, it may next be noted that J. Darmesteter (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 194, n., Paris, 1877) first proposed \**zarat-vat-tra*, comparative degree of an adj. signifying 'rouge, couleur d'or'; but he later suggests 'aux chameaux jaunes' *zaraθu-uštra*, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 76, n., Paris, 1893; but on this see Bartholomae, *IF.* vi. Anz. p. 47. Ascoli once offered \**zarat-vāstra* 'der bebauung des feldes zugewogen, zugethan' *Beiträge z. vgl. Spr.* v. 211, 1868. More recently Casartelli hinted at 'ploughing with camels' (cf. Skt. *hala*- 'plough'), *Academy*, vol. 31, p. 257, April 9, 1887. Other suggestions have been made such as Paulus Cassel, explaining as Hebraic 'Sternensohn' (*Zoroaster, sein Name und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1886, cited from *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 40, n.). Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 147, Leipzig, 1890. Kern's 'Goldglanz' (*Zara-thuštra*) and Brodbeck's 'Gold-stern' (evidently after Anquetil's etymology, cf. Brodbeck, *Zoroaster*, p. 30, Leipzig, 1893) are noted by Rindtorff, *Die Religion des Zarathuštra*, p. 13 (Weimar, 1897). E. Wilhelm has also incidentally dealt with the subject of Zoroaster's name in connection with the form *Ζαθράστρης*, which is found in Ctesias, in *Le Muséon*, x. 569-571, Louvain, 1891.





## APPENDIX II

ON THE DATE OF ZOROASTER<sup>1</sup>

Presented to the American Oriental Society April 18th, 1895.

[Reprinted from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. xvii., pp. 1-22, 1896. A few slight additions which have been made are indicated by enclosing them in square brackets. Some trivial changes made for the sake of uniformity, and several unimportant corrections require no notice.]

GREAT men are the children of their age. Heirs to the heritage of the past, they are charged with the stewardship of the possessions to be handed down to the future. Summing up within themselves the influences of the times that call them forth, stamped with the impress of their day, their spirit in turn shows its reflex upon the age that gives them birth. We read them in their age; we read their age in them. So it is of the prophets and sages, religious teachers and interpreters, which have been since the world began. The teaching of a prophet is the voice of the age in which he lives; his preaching is the echo of the heart of the people of his day. The era of a prophet is therefore not without its historic significance; it is an event that marks an epoch in the life of mankind. The age of most of the great religious teachers of antiquity is comparatively well known; but wide diversity prevails with regard to the date at which Iran's ancient prophet Zoroaster lived and taught; yet his appearance must have had its national significance in the land between the Indus and the Tigris; and the great religious movement which he set on foot must have wrought changes and helped to shape the course of events in the early history of Iran. The treatment of this question forms the subject of the present paper.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This paper forms a companion-piece to the present writer's discussion of 'Zoroaster's Native Place' in *JAOS.* xv. 221-232.

<sup>2</sup> [Since the appearance of the monograph on the 'Date of Zoroaster,' which is here reprinted, the general subject of Zoroastrian chronology has been ably treated by E. W. West (*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. p. xxvii. seq.). Dr. West's researches confirm the results here obtained; and he is in a position to define the date of Zoroaster still more precisely, at least on the basis of tradition, as B.C. 660-583. His entire discussion should be read. An extract from his chronological table is given in Appendix III.]





The Avesta itself gives us no direct information in answer to the inquiry as to the date of Zoroaster. It presents, indeed, a picture of the life and times; we read accounts of King Vishtāspa, the Constantine of the Faith; but the fragments that remain of the sacred texts present no absolutely clear allusions to contemporary events that might decisively fix the era. The existing diversity of opinion with reference to Zoroaster's date is largely due to this fact and to certain incongruities in other ancient statements on the subject. The allusions of antiquity to this subject may conveniently be divided into three groups:<sup>3</sup>—

<sup>3</sup> [The results of earlier investigators of the subject, Brisson, Stanley, Hyde, Buddeus, Prideaux, and others, as mentioned by Anquetil du Perron, are practically included in his examination of the problem of Zoroaster's date. Anquetil's treatise, together with Foucher's previous inquiries into the subject, are accessible in Kleuker, *Anhang zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, pp. 325–374, and Thl. 2, pp. 55–81. They are of interest to the specialist. Cf. also Spiegel, *Avesta Uebersetzt*, i. 43, n. The later bibliography of the subject is given below in the course of the investigation.]

- I. First, those references that assign to Zoroaster [= orig. p. 2] the extravagant date B.C. 6000.
- II. Second, such allusions as connect his name with the more or less legendary Ninus and the uncertain Semiramis.
- III. Third, the traditional date, placing the era of Zoroaster's teaching at some time during the sixth century B.C.

All the material will first be presented under the headings A. I., A. II., and A. III.; then a detailed discussion of the data, pages 16–19 = pp. 170–174, under the heading B; and, finally, a summary of results, under the heading C, pages 19–22 = pp. 174–177.

#### SYNOPSIS OF DIVISION A.

##### A. I. Classical passages placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

- a. Pliny the Elder.
- b. Plutarch.
- c. Scholion to Plato.
- d. Diogenes Laertius.
- e. Lactantius.
- f. Suidas.
- g. Georgius Syncellus.





## A. II. Passages associating Zoroaster's name with Semiramis and Ninus.

- a. Ctesias.
- b. Cephalion (Moses of Khorene, Georgius Syncellus).
- c. Theon.
- d. Justin.
- e. Arnobius.
- f. Eusebius.
- g. Orosius.
- h. Suidas.
- i. Snorra Edda.
- j. Bar 'Ali.

## A. III. The native tradition as to Zoroaster's date.

- a. Artā Virāf.
- b. Būndahishn.
- c. Albīrūnī.
- d. Masūdi.
- e. Tabarī.
- f. The Dabistān.
- g. Firdausī.
- h. The Mujmal al-Tawārikh and the Ulamā-i Islām.
- i. The Chinese-Parsi era.
- j. Reports connecting Zoroaster and Jeremiah.
- k. Pahlavi Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar.
- l. Ammianus Marcellinus and Eutychius.
- m. Nicolaus Damascenus, Porphyry, etc.

## A. DATA FOR THE AGE OF ZOROASTER.

## A. I. Allusions placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

The allusions of the first group comprehend those classical references that assign to Zoroaster the fabulous age of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup> These references are confined chiefly to the classics, and their chief claim to any consideration is that they purport to be based upon information handed down from Eudoxus, Aristotle, and Hermippus. Such extraordinary figures, however, are presumably due to the Greeks' having misunderstood the statements of the Persians, who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles of 3000 years,<sup>2</sup> and in accordance with which belief Zoroaster's *fravashi* had in fact existed several thousands of years. The classical material on the subject is here presented.



<sup>1</sup> So the general classical statements of '5000 years before the Trojan war,' or the like, although some variant readings 500 (for 5000) are found. The number 5000 (6000) is, however, the correct one.

<sup>2</sup> According to the chronology of the *Bundahishn* 34. 7, Zoroaster appeared at the end of the ninth millennium: compare, West, *Bundahishn transl. SBE.* v. 149-151 notes; Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 500-508; Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 147-165; also Plutarch *Is. et Os.* 47, Θεόσωπος δὲ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλῦειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον· τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἀἰδην.

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79), *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 [Wn. 279, 288], cites the authority of Eudoxus of Cnidus (B.C. 368), of Aristotle (B.C. 350), and of Hermippus (c. B.C. 250), for placing Zoroaster 6000 years before the death of Plato or 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam utilissimamque eam (artem magicam) intellegi voluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex milibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit; sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit et viciens centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum eius positiss explanavit, praeceptorem, a quo institutum diceret, credit Agonacem, ipsum vero quinque milibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse.* For that reason apparently (*N. H.* 30. 2. 11) he speaks of Moses as living *multis milibus annorum post Zoroastrem*. But Pliny also expresses uncertainty as to whether there was one or two Zoroasters, and he mentions a later Proconnesian Zoroaster: *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 *sine dubio illic (ars Magica) orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat;* and after speaking of Osthanes, the Magian who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he adds: (*N. H.* 30. 2. 8.) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc (Osthanem) ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* Pliny's Proconnesian Zoroaster must have flourished about the seventh or sixth century. [See Appendix V. § 5, below.]

(b) Plutarch (A.D. 1st century), adopts likewise the same general statement that places the prophet Zoroaster about 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Is. et Os.* 46 (ed. Parthey, p. 81), Ζωροάστρης (sic) ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχίλιους ἔτεσι τῶν τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἰστοροῦσιν. [See Appendix V. § 6, below.]

(c) The Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades* I. 122 (ed. Baiter, Orelli et Winckelmann, p. 918), makes a statement, in substance tantamount to the last one, as follows: Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχίλιους ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος. [See Appendix V. § 1.]



[= orig. p. 4] (d) Diogenes Laertius (A.D. 2d, 3d century), *de Vit. Philos. Proem.* 2 (recens. Cobet, Paris, 1850, p. 1), similarly quotes Hermodorus (B.C. 250?), the follower of Plato, as authority for placing Zoroaster's date at 5000 years before the fall of Troy, or, as he adds on the authority of Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500-450), Zoroaster lived 6000 years (some MSS. 600) before Xerxes. The text runs: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίαν ἄλῃσιν ἔτη γεγενῆσθαι πεντακισχίλια. Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλια φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι πολλοὺς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχὴν, Ὅστιάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψίχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως. [See Appendix V. § 15.]

(e) Lactantius, *Inst.* 7. 15, must have entertained some similar opinion regarding Zoroaster; for he speaks of Hystaspes (famous as Zoroaster's patron) as being an ancient king of Media long before the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus . . . sublatus iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum multo ante praefatus est, quam illa Troiana gens conderetur* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. 6 and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(f) Suidas (10th century A.D.), s. v. Ζωροάστρης, speaks of two Zoroasters, of whom one lived 500 (read 5000) years before the Trojan war, while the other was an astronomer of the time of Ninus — ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσιν φ'.

(g) Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, i. p. 147, ed. Dindorf, alludes to a Zoroaster as one of the Median rulers over Babylon. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302, and Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. On Syncellus' citation of Cephalion, see next page.

## A. II. Allusions associating Zoroaster's Name with Semiramis and Ninus.

Second to be considered is a series of statements which connect the name of Zoroaster with that of the more or less uncertain Ninus and Semiramis.<sup>1</sup> These references also are confined almost exclusively to the classics, and the difficulty with them is that, in addition to their general character, which bears a legendary coloring, they are based apparently upon a misinterpretation of the name



Ὁξνάρης or its variants in a fragment of Ctesias (discussed below), which has been understood as an allusion to Zoroaster.

<sup>1</sup> The date of Semiramis, however, is regarded by Lehmann (*Berliner Philolog. Wochenblatt*, Nr. 8, col. 239-240, 17 Febr. 1894, comparing Hd. i. 184) to be about B.C. 800.

(a) The authority of Ctesias (B.C. 400) is quoted by Diodorus Siculus (A.D. 1st century) 2. 6, for the statement that Ninus with a large army invaded Bactria and by the aid of Semiramis gained a victory over King Oxyartes. See Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias, ed. Gilmore, p. 29. Instead of the name Ὁξνάρης, the manuscript variants show Ἐχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης. The last somewhat recalls the later Persian form of the name Zoroaster; and Cephalion, Justin, Eusebius, and Arnobius, drawing on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian or the opponent [= orig. p. 5] of Ninus (see below); but Ὁξνάρης may very well be an independent name, identical as far as form goes with Ἀν. *υπεργα-ορτα*, Yt. 13. 128, and it is doubtless the better Greek reading. The other statements are here given as they similarly come into consideration with respect to Zoroaster's native place. They are:—

(b) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120), preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* 1. 43, ed. Aucher: a passage describes the defeat of Zoroaster the Magian, king of the Bactrians, by Semiramis: "*Incipio scribere de quibus et alii commemorarunt atque imprimis Hellanicus Lesbius Ctesiasque Cnidius, deinde Herodotus Halicarnassus.*<sup>1</sup> *Primum Asiae imperarunt Assyrii, ex quibus erat Ninus Beli (filius), cuius regni aetate res quam plurimae celeberrimaeque virtutes gestae fuerunt.*" *Postea his adiciens profert etiam generationes Semiramidis atque (narrat) de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatione a Semiramide: nec non tempus Nini LII annos fuisse, atque de obitu eius. Post quem quum regnasset Semiramis, muro Babylonem circumdedit ad eandem formam, qua a plerisque dictum est: Ctesia nimirum et Zenone Herodotoque nec non aliis ipsorum posteris. Deinde etiam apparatus belli Semiramidis adversus Indos eiusdemque cladem et fugam narrat, etc.* This statement is recorded by Georgius Syncellus (c. A.D. 800), *Chron.*, ed. Dind. i. p. 315: "*Ἀρχομαι γράφειν, ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κρησίης ὁ Κνίδιος, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασεύς. τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος.*" *εἰτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάχου (MSS.*



βάτου) ἔτε νβ' τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας. μεθ' ὃν Βαβυλώνα, φησὶν, ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχευσε, τρόπον ὡς πολλοῖς λέλεκται, Κτησίᾳ, Ζήνωνι (Müller, Δείνωνι), Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς· στρατεῖν τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἦρταν κ. τ. λ. Cf. also Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 303, Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 676-677; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627. Furthermore, on the reputed work of the Armenian Moses of Khorene, i. 16, see Gilmore, *Ktesias Persika*, p. 30, n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 304-305; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328; Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, ii. 45-175, Paris, 1867-1869. [The Armenian Thomas Arzrounī associates Zoroaster's name with Semiramis. See Appendix VI.]

<sup>1</sup> This mention of Herodotus might possibly be adduced as an argument that Herodotus was at least acquainted with the name of Zoroaster.

(c) Again, Theon (A.D. 130?), *Progymnasmata* 9, περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. p. 115, speaks of "Zoroaster the Bactrian" in connection with Semiramis: Οὗ γὰρ εἰ Τόμυρις κρείττων ἔστι Κύρου ἢ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία Σεμίραμις Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου, ἥδη συγχωρητέον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος ἀνδρεύτερον εἶναι. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290, Spiegel *Eran. Alterthumsk.* i. 677. [See Appendix V. § 8.]

[= orig. p. 6] (d) Justin (A.D. 120), in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius' *Hist. Philippic.* 1. 1, distinctly makes Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus, and says that he was king of Bactria and a Magician: *postremum bellum illi fuit cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.* [See Appendix V. § 10.]

(e) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes*, 1. 5, in like manner mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastregue ductoribus.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 36. [See Appendix V. § 16.]

(f) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* 4. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit;* and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Praeparatio Evang.* 10. 9, 10, ed. Dind. I. p. 560, Νῖνος, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. [See Appendix V. § 18.]

(g) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.), the Spanish presbyter, of whose chronicle we have also King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version, states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the





Magician. See Orosius, *Old-English Text and Latin Original*, ed. by Henry Sweet (Early Eng. Text Soc. vol. 79), p. 30-31: *Novissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicæ artis repertorem, pugna oppressum interfecit.* Or, in Anglo-Saxon, and *hē Ninus Zoroastrem Bactriana cýning, se cūthe ærest manna drýcraestas, hē hine oferwann and ofslōh.*

(h) Suidas in his *Lexicon* (s. v. *Zoroaster*) assumes the existence of two Zoroasters (cf. p. 4 = p. 154), the second an astrologer: 'Ἀστρονόμος ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. [Appendix V. § 45.]

(i) In the *Snorra Edda* Preface, Zoroaster is identified with Baal or Bel, cf. Jackson in *PAOS.*, March, 1894, vol. xvi. p. exxvi. [See Appendix VI.]

(j) In some Syriac writers and elsewhere an identification of Zoroaster with Balaam is recorded, for example in the *Lexicon* of Bar 'Alī (c. A.D. 832), s. v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians.' See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Lit.* pp. 27, 30 n., 32 (Drisler Classical Studies, N. Y., 1894). Sometimes he is only compared with Balaam. [An association of his name with Ham, Seth, and Abraham, is also found.]

### A. III. The Native Tradition as to Zoroaster's Date.

Third, the direct Persian tradition comes finally into consideration. This tradition is found in the chronological chapter of the *Bundahishn*, 34. 1-9, is supported by the *Artā Virāf*, 1. 2-5 [and *Zāt-sparam*, 23. 12], and is corroborated by abundant Arabic allusions (Albīrūnī, Masūdi, *et al.*). It unanimously places the opening of Zoroaster's ministry at 258 years before the era of Alexander, or 272 years before the close of the world-conqueror's dominion. According to these figures, the date of Zoroaster would fall between the latter half of the seventh century B.C. and the middle of the sixth century; his appearance in fact would be placed in the period just preceding the rise of the Achæmenian dynasty. This merits attention also in detail.

(a) The *Artā Virāf* 1. 1-5 in round numbers places Zoroaster three hundred years before Alexander's invasion. Compare Haug and West, *Arda Viraf*, p. 141. 'The pious Zaratusht made the religion which he had received, current in the world, and till the end of 300 years the religion was in purity and men were without doubts. But afterwards the accursed Evil Spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, instigated the accursed Alexan-



der, the Rūman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire.' [The *Zātsparam* 23. 12 likewise alludes to the fact that the religion remained undisturbed 'until the 300th year'].

(b) The *Būndahishn* chapter (ch. 34) 'on the reckoning of the years' (to which one MS. adds — 'of the Arabs') more exactly computes the various millennia that made up the 12,000 years of the great world-cycle recognized by the worshippers of Mazda. In this period the era of Zoroaster falls at the close of the first 9000 years. He is placed in reality at the beginning of the historic period, if the long reigns attributed to Kai-Vishtāsp and to Vohūman son of Spend-dāt (Av. Spentō-dāta, N. P. Isfendiār), may with reasonably fair justice be explained as that of a ruling house. There seems at least no distinct ground against such assumption. [West also explains the fabulous length of 120 years for Vishtāsp's reign, or B.C. 660-540, as representing a short dynasty — *SBE*. xlvii. Introd. § 70]. The *Būndahishn* passage, 34. 7-8, in West's translation (*SBE*. v. 150-151) reads, (7) 'Kai-Vishtāsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years, altogether a hundred and twenty years. (8) Vohūman, son of Spend-dāt, a hundred and twelve years; Hūmāi, who was daughter of Vohūman, thirty years; Dārāi, son of Cīhar-āzād, that is, of the daughter of Vohūman, twelve years; Dārāi, son of Dārāi, fourteen years; Alexander the Rūman, fourteen years.'

Vishtāsp, after coming of religion . . . . .	90
Vohūman Spend-dāt . . . . .	112
Hūmāi . . . . .	30
Dārāi-I Cīhar-āzād . . . . .	12
Dārāi-I Dārāi . . . . .	14
Alexander Rūman . . . . .	14
	<hr/> 272

The result therefore gives 272 years from 'the coming of the religion' until the close of the dominion of Alexander the Great, or 258 years before the beginning of his power. A repeated tradition exists that Zoroaster was forty-two years old when he first converted King Vishtāspa, who became his patron. If we interpret 'the coming of the religion' to mean its acceptance by Vishtāspa, we must add 42 years to the number 258 before Alexander in order to obtain the traditional date of Zoroaster's birth. This would answer



to the 'three hundred years before Alexander' of the *Artā Virāf*. If, however, we take the phrase 'coming of the religion' to mean the date of Zoroaster's entry upon his ministry [= orig. p. 8] (as does West, *SBE*. v. 219), we must then add 30 years, which was Zoroaster's age when he beheld his first vision of Ormazd. [The latter view is the correct one as shown by West. It is worth remarking that as Zoroaster's revelation and the 'coming of the religion' are placed in the thirtieth year of Vishtāsp's reign as well as of the Prophet's life, both men accordingly would be represented as born in the same year if we adopt an Oriental custom in dating a king's accession to the throne from the day of his birth.]

A calculation based upon the figures of this tradition would place Zoroaster's birth 42 years + 258 years (= 300 years) before B.C. 330, the date of the fall of the Iranian kingdom through Alexander's conquest; in other words it would assign Zoroaster's birth to about B.C. 630. [But as West has shown (*SBE*. xlvii. §§ 53-54), there is an evident omission of 35 years in the reckoning; he accounts for this error and combines the items, 272 years of Bd. 34. 7-8 with this date of Alexander's death, B.C. 323, and with the 30th year of Zoroaster's life in which the Revelation came, and he finds B.C. 660 as the traditional date of the birth of Zoroaster and of Vishtāsp's accession. See below, Appendix III.] According to the same tradition the duration of the various reigns of the Kayanian dynasty would be about as follows [West's corrected chronology now included]:—

King.	Reigned years.	Fictitious date B.C.	[West's correction, including 35 years.]
Vishtāsp . . . . .	120	618-498	660-540
Vohūman (Ardashīr Dirāzdest) . . . . .	112	498-386	540-428
Hūmāl . . . . .	30	386-356	428-398
Dārāl . . . . .	12	356-344	398-386
Dārāl-I Dārāl . . . . .	14	344-330	386-372
[Accession of Alexander to his invasion . . . . .]			372-331]

The results would be somewhat altered if the computation be made according to lunar years or if a different point of departure be taken. The excessive lengths of the reigns of Vishtāsp and Vohūman seem suspicious and suggest round numbers unless we are to interpret them as comprising successive rulers; for example, in historic times, beside Hystaspes, the father of Darius, we have the names of two other Hystaspes, later connected with the ruling house of Bactria.<sup>1</sup>



The historic reigns of the Achaemenians may be compared (cf. Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, p. 107).

Cyrus . . . . .	B.C. 558-529
Cambyzes . . . . .	529-521
Darius I. . . . .	521-485
Xerxes . . . . .	485-465
Artaxerxes Longimanus . . . . .	465-425
Darius Nothos . . . . .	425-405
Artaxerxes Mnemon . . . . .	405-362
Artaxerxes Ochus . . . . .	362-340
[Arses] . . . . .	340-337
Darius Codomannus . . . . .	337-330

Comparison may be made, as with West,<sup>2</sup> identifying the long reign of Vohūman who is called Ardashīr (Artaxerxes or Ardashīr Dirāzdest 'the long-handed') with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors. Historical grounds throughout seem to favor this. For Hūmāi, West suggests Parysatis as a possibility. The last two Dārāis answer to Ochus and Codomannus, and the reign of Kaī-Vishtāsp 'seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes' (West).<sup>3</sup> There seems every reason to identify Vohūman Ardashīr Dirāzdest with Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the Bahman Yasht (Byt. 2. 17), as this Kayanian king 'makes the religion current in the whole world.'<sup>4</sup> One might be possibly tempted to regard the Vishtāsp reign as representing the Bactrian rule until Artaxerxes, and assume that Zoroastrianism then became the faith of Persis.<sup>5</sup> This might account for the silence as to [ = orig. p. 9 ] the early Achaemenians and shed some light on the problem concerning the Achaemenians as Zoroastrians; but there seems to be no historic foundation for such assumption. Suffice here to have presented the tradition in regard to the reigns of the Kayanian kings as bearing on Zoroaster's date and the traditional 258 years before Alexander as the era of 'the coming of the religion.'

<sup>1</sup> See genealogical tables of the Achaemenidae in Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire, de Généalogie, et de Chronologie*, p. 108 (Leide, 1888); Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, article 'Achaemenidae'; Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, p. 15; *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 398-399; and Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, article 'Hystaspes.'

<sup>2</sup> West, *Bundahish translated*, *SBE*. v. 150 n., 198 n.

<sup>3</sup> De Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, *Introduction* p. ccxxviii, thinks that the early Achaemenians were intentionally sacrificed. Spiegel, *ZDMG*. xlv. 203,





identifies the first Dārā with Darius I., and believes that he was misplaced in the kingly list. This I doubt.

<sup>4</sup> West, *Byt. transl.*, *SBE*. v. 199. [See also above, pp. 81-82. Consult J. H. Moulton in *The Thinker*, ii. 493-501.]

<sup>5</sup> Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 57, sharply separates the Oriental account of the Persian kings from the historical account.

(c) The sum of 258 years is given also by so careful an investigator as Albīrūnī (A.D. 973-1048). His statements are based on the authority of 'the scholars of the Persians, the Herbadhs and Maubadhs of the Zoroastrians.'<sup>1</sup> In his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 17, l. 17 (transl. Sachau), is found a statement of the Persian view in regard to Zoroaster's date: 'from his (*i.e.* Zoroaster's) appearance till the beginning of the Æra Alexandri,<sup>2</sup> they count 258 years.' Several times he gives the received tradition that Zoroaster appeared in the 30th year of the reign of Vishtāsp. In another place, *Chron.* p. 196 (transl. Sachau), he gives further information in regard to Zoroaster's time: 'On the 1st Ramaḍān A.H. 319 came forward Ibn 'Abī-Zakariyyā. . . . If, now, this be the time (*i.e.* A.H. 319 = A.D. 931) which Jāmāsp and Zarādušt meant, they are right as far as chronology is concerned. For this happened at the end of the Æra Alexandri 1242, *i.e.* 1500 years after Zarādušt.' From this statement we may compute back to the year B.C. 569 as a date when a prophecy is supposed to have been made by Zoroaster and Jāmāsp. Albīrūnī is not exhausted yet. In *Chron.* 121 (transl. Sachau), he says, 'we find the interval between Zoroaster and Yazdajird ben Shāpūr to be nearly 970 years.' This gives the date about B.C. 571 if we count Yazdajird's reign as A.D. 399-420. Furthermore the carefully constructed tables which Albīrūnī gives from various sources are interesting and instructive, owing to their exact agreement with the reigns of the Kayanian kings as recorded in the Būndahishn. Thus, *Chron.* p. 112, 107-114 (transl. Sachau):—

Kai Vishtāsp till the appearance of Zoroaster . . . . .	30
The same after that event . . . . .	90
Kai Ardashir Bahman (Vohūman) . . . . .	112
Khumāni (Hūmāi) . . . . .	30
Dārā . . . . .	12
Dārā ben Dārā . . . . .	14

On p. 115 he contrasts these dates with those given by [= orig. p. 10] early occidental authorities. Finally, *Chron.* p. 32 (transl. Sachau), the name of Thales is brought into connection with



Zoroaster, cf. p. 169, n. 3 below. So much for the information furnished by Albīrūnī.

<sup>1</sup> Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl. and ed. by Sachau, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> According to Albīrūnī, p. 32 (transl. Sachau) the *Æra Alexandri* would date from the time when Alexander left Greece at the age of twenty-six years, preparing to fight with Darius.

(d) Of somewhat earlier date but identical in purport is the statement found in Masūdī's *Meadows of Gold*, written in A.D. 943-944 (Masūdī died A.D. 957). Like the Būndahishn and like Albīrūnī, Masūdī reports that 'the Magians count a period of two hundred and fifty-eight (258) years between their prophet Zoroaster and Alexander.'<sup>1</sup> He reiterates this assertion in *Indicatio et Admonitio*<sup>2</sup> by saying 'between Zoroaster and Alexander there are about three hundred years.' Nearly the same, but not exactly identical figures, are found as in the Būndahishn, regarding the length of the reigns of the various Kayanian kings; Zoroaster is stated, as elsewhere, to have appeared in the thirtieth (30) year of Vishtāsp's reign and he dies at the age of seventy-seven (77) after having taught for thirty-five (35) years.<sup>3</sup> The statement that Zoroaster lived to the age of 77 years is also found elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> What Masūdī has to say on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's being a lieutenant of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṭ-āspa) and regarding Cyrus as contemporary with Bahman will be mentioned below, as a similar statement occurs in the Dīnkarī (Bk. 5). [West, *SBE*. xlvii. 120.]

<sup>1</sup> Masūdī (Maḡūdī), *Les Prairies d'Or, Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, iv. 107 'Les Mages comptent entre leur prophète Zoroastre, fils d'Espimān, et Alexandre, une période de deux cent cinquante-huit ans. Entre Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans, et l'avènement d'Ardéchir, cinq cent dix-sept ans; enfin entre Ardéchir et l'hégire cinq cent soixante-quatre ans . . . du règne d'Alexandre à la naissance du Messie, trois cent soixante-neuf ans; de la naissance du Messie à celle du Prophète cinq cent vingt et un ans.' Observe especially that Masūdī in *Indicatio et Admonitio*, (p. 327-328) accounts for the intentional shortening of the period between Alexander and Ardāshīr. What he has to say on this subject is worth looking up in connection with *SBE*. v. 151 n.

<sup>2</sup> Masūdī, *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (in *Prairies d'Or*, ix. p. 327), 'Zoroastre fils de Poroschasp fils d'Asinman, dans l'Avesta, qui est le livre qui lui a été révélé, annonce que, dans trois cents ans, l'empire des Perses éprouvera une grande révolution, sans que la religion soit détruite; mais qu'au bout de mille ans, l'empire et la religion périront en même temps. Or entre Zoroastre et Alexandre il y a environ trois cents ans; car



Zoroastre a paru du temps de Caïbistasp, fils de Callohrasp, comme nous l'avons dit ci-devant.' See Masūdi, *Kiṭāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 90 seq., ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1894. Compare also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 35 (in *Drisler Classical Studies*, New York, 1894); [and *Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, traduction par B. C. de Vaux (Société Asiatique), p. 140, Paris, 1896].

<sup>3</sup> Masūdi, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 123, ed. Barbier de Meynard. 'Youstasf (Gustasp) régna après son père (Lohrasp) et résida à Balkh. Il était sur le trône depuis trente ans, lorsque Zeradecht, fils d'Espinān se présenta devant lui . . . (p. 127). Youstasf régna cent [= orig. p. 11] vingt ans avant d'adopter la religion des Mages, puis il mourut. La prédication de Zeradecht dura trente-cinq ans, et il mourut âgé de soixante et dix-sept ans.' The detailed reigns (Masūdi, op. cit. ii. 126-129) are Vishtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāi 30 (or more), Dārā 12, Dārā son of Dārā 30, Alexander 6 (cf. vol. iv. p. 107 'Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans'). The latter would answer pretty nearly to the commonly received years of Alexander in Persia, B.C. 330-323. Observe that the years of the last three reigns vary somewhat from the Būndahishn. Deducting from Vishtāsp's reign the 30 years till Zoroaster appeared and counting simply to the coming of Alexander, the resulting 274 years would place Zoroaster's appearance at B.C. 604 or, if 42 years old at the time, his birth at B.C. 646. [See now West's correction which gives B.C. 660.] But notice that instead of 274 years as here, Masūdi elsewhere says (*Prairies d'Or*, iv. 106, quoted above) there were 253 years between Zoroaster and Alexander.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *Dinkart* Bk. 7. 5. 1 (communication from West) and in the *Rivāyats*.

(e) The period at which the Arabic chronicler Ṭabarī (died A.D. 923)<sup>1</sup> places Zoroaster in his record of Persian reigns, is practically identical with the preceding in its results, although he occasionally differs in the length of the individual reigns, e.g. Bahman 80 years (although he mentions that others say 112 years), Hūmāi about 20 years, Dārā 23 years. He tells also of a tradition that makes of Zoroaster one of the disciples of Jeremiah. The latter, according to the generally accepted view, began to prophesy about B.C. 626. These points will be spoken of again below.

<sup>1</sup> See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-ʿAlī Mo'hammed Bel'ami*, tome i. 491-508, Paris, 1867.

(f) The Dabistān (translated by Shea and Troyer, i. 306-309) narrates that the holy cypress which Zoroaster had planted at Kishmar in Khorassān [I formerly wrongly read Kashmir] and which was cut down by the order of Mutawakkal, tenth khalif of the Abbassides (reigned A.D. 846-860), had stood 'fourteen hundred and fifty years (1450) from the time of its being planted, to the year 232 of



the Hejirah (A.D. 846).<sup>1</sup> If these years be reckoned as solar years, according to the custom of the ancient Persians, and counted from the beginning of Mutawakkal's reign, the date of the planting of the cypress would be B.C. 604; but if reckoned according to the lunar calendar of the Mohammedans (i.e. equivalent to 1408 solar years), the epoch would be B.C. 562.<sup>1</sup> The former date (B.C. 604) recalls the reckoning of Masūdi alluded to above, on p. 10 [= p. 162]. The event of the planting must have been an occasion of special moment; from a reference to the same in Firdausi (translation by Mohl, iv. 291-293, Paris, 1877), the conversion of Vishtāspa is perhaps alluded to. If the conversion of Vishtāspa really be alluded to, 42 years must be added to give the approximate date of Zoroaster's birth. Perhaps, however, some other event in the prophet's life is commemorated.<sup>2</sup> In any case the results lead us to the latter part of the seventh century B.C. and the first part of the sixth century. [See now above, p. 80.]

<sup>1</sup> See the calculation [of Anquetil du Perron, in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1. pp. 346-347, and] of Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān*, [= orig. p. 12] translated, i. 308, n., Paris, 1843 and Mirkhond's *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, transl. Shea, p. 281-282, London, 1832. According to E. Rōth, 'Zoroastrische Glaubenslehre' in *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 350, the era of the cypress is B.C. 560. This is adopted by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot.*, p. 15, 18 (Leipzig, 1881). [On Kishmar consult also Vullers, *Fragmente*, p. 113].

<sup>2</sup> In case the 1450 years be reckoned back from the date of Mutawakkal's death (A.D. 860) instead of from the beginning of his power, the numbers would be respectively B.C. 590 (if solar), or B.C. 548 (if lunar).

(g) The figures of the chapter-headings in the *Shāh Nāmāh* of Firdausi (A.D. 940-1020) likewise place the opening of Vishtāspa's reign at about three hundred years before Alexander's death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Firdusi's *Schahname*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1495 seq. See also Shea and Troyer's *Dabistān*, Introd. i. p. lxxxvi and p. 380. Consult the chapter-headings of the reigns in Mohl's translation of Firdausi, vols. iv.-v. Observe that Bahman is assigned only 99 years instead of the usual 112; the duration of Vishtāspa's reign is given in Mohl, vol. iv. 587, 'cent vingt ans' in harmony with the usual tradition.

(h) The Persian historical work, *Mujmal al-Tawārīkh* (A.H. 520 = A.D. 1126),<sup>1</sup> following the authority of the Chronicle of the Kings of Persia, brought from Farsistān by Bahram, son of Merdānshāh,





Mobed of Shapur, enumerates 258 years before Alexander.<sup>2</sup> The Ulamā-i Islām counts three hundred.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Extraits du Mojmāl al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse, traduits du persan, par Jules Mohl* (Journal Asiatique, tome xi. pp. 136, 258, 320, Paris, 1841).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. op. cit. p. 230. The author acknowledges indebtedness also to Hamzah of Isfahān, Ṭabari, and Firdausī. His chronology may be deduced from pp. 330-339 of the work cited; it runs, Lohrāsp 120 years, Gushtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāi 30, Dārāb 12 [or 14], Dārā son of Dārāb 14 [or 16], Alexander 14 [or 28]. Observe the alternative figures in the case of the last three numbers.

According to Röth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 361, the author of the *Mujmal al-Tawārikh* places Zoroaster 1700 years before his own time; on this ground Röth places the death of Zoroaster at B.C. 522, and is followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18. Cf. Kleuker's *Zend-Avesta*, Anh. Bd. i. Theil 1, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> See Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, p. 58.

(i) Interesting is the fact noticed by Anquetil du Perron,<sup>1</sup> that a certain religious sect that immigrated into China A.D. 600 is evidently of Zoroastrian origin and that these believers have an era which dates approximately from B.C. 559; this date Anquetil regards as referring to the time when Zoroaster left his home and entered upon his mission—a sort of Iranian Hejirah.

<sup>1</sup> See Anquetil du Perron quoted by Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 349-351; cited also by Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, p. 282, and by Röth in *Geschichte abendländ. Philosophie*, i. 353 and note 566, and followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18.

(j) Similar in effect as far as concerns the period at which they place the prophet, although of doubtful value or otherwise to be explained, are those Syriac and Arabic [= orig. p. 13] reports which connect the name of Zoroaster with Jeremiah and which make him the latter's pupil or even identify him with Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah.<sup>1</sup> Presumably this association is due to confusing the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah *Armiah* with Zoroaster's supposed native place *Urmiah* (Urumiyah).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (a) The Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (about A.D. 963) s.v. *Kāsōmā* (divinator): 'Divinator, like Zardosht, who people say is Baruch the Scribe; and because the gift of prophecy was not accorded to him he went astray, journeyed to [other] nations and learned twelve tongues.' Cf. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 3704.



(β) Also Bishop Ṭshōdad of Ḥadatha (about A.D. 852), commentary on Matth. ii. 1, 'Some say that he (Zoroaster) is the same as Baruch the pupil of Eramya (Jeremiah), and that because the gift of prophecy was denied him as [had been] his wish, and because of that bitter exile and the sack of Jerusalem and the Temple, he became offended (or angry) and went away among other nations, learned twelve languages, and in them wrote that vomit of Satan, i.e. the book which is called Abhasta.' Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 29.

(γ) Identically, Solomon of Hīlāt (born about A.D. 1222), *Book of the Bee*, 'this Zārādosht is Baruch the scribe,' p. 81 seq., ed. Budge (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*), also E. Kuhn, *Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewande* (Festgruss an R. von Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 219). Consult especially Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894).

(δ) Ṭabari (died A.D. 923) likewise notices the association of Zoroaster with Jeremiah. According to him 'Zoroaster was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite. But he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore God cursed him, and he became leprous. He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him, and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many people to death on its account. Then they followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve (112) years.' Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37. See also *Chronique de Tabari traduite par H. Zotenberg*, i. p. 499. [In the story of the leprosy can there be some reminiscence of Elisha's servant Gehazi, who was cursed with leprosy for falsehood after the cleansing of Naaman? See II. Kings, v. 1-27 and compare *sara'ath*, p. 30 above, and Hyde, p. 314.]

(ε) The same general statements of Ṭabari are repeated by Ibn al-Athīr (13th century) in his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 39.

(ζ) Once the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhṛāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250) calls Zoroaster a disciple of Elijah (mistake for Jeremiah?), see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.

(η) Similarly the Arab historian Abu Mohammed Mustapha calls Zoroaster a disciple of Ezr (Ezra), see Hyde, *Hist. Relig. veterum Persarum*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> So suggested by de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi*, ii. 319, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, p. 30 n.). [Anquetil du Perron's view was, that this is owing to an unwillingness to attribute to the Persians a prophet of their own, without Semitic influence; see his paragraph in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, p. 341. This is no doubt also true. See likewise p. 30 above.]

(κ) Pointing to a similar era are the Pahlavi (*Dinkart* Bk. 5. and *Mkh.*) and Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar as lieutenant



of Vishtāsp's predecessor, Lohrāsp, and of Vishtāsp himself as well as of his successor Bahman (Vohūman). [See also above, p. 91, n. 2.] In the same connection Cyrus's name is joined with Vishtāsp and Bahman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (a) According to Ṭabarī (10th century A.D.) and Masūdi, [= orig. p. 14] Nebuchadnezzar was lieutenant successively under Lohrāsp, Vishtāsp, and Bahman; the tradition regarding Lohrāsp's taking of Jerusalem is found in the Pahlavi Dinkart Bk. 5 and Mainōg-i Khirad 27. 66-67, transl. West, *SBE*. xxiv. 65. Ṭabarī (or rather the Persian version of the latter by Bel'amī) gives two different versions of the story (see *Chronique de Ṭabarī, traduite sur la version persane de Bel'amī par H. Zotenberg*, vol. i. pp. 491-507, Paris, 1867), and (Ṭabarī op. cit. p. 503) the return of the Jews to Jerusalem is placed in the 70th year of Bahman. Signs of confusion are evident. So also in Mirkhond (15th century A.D.) who in his history repeats Ṭabarī's statement with reference to Nebuchadnezzar and Lohrāsp, and makes Cyrus a son of Lohrāsp although he is placed in the reign of Bahman. He regards Bahman (Vohūman) as a contemporary of Hippocrates (B.C. 460-357) and Zencrates (B.C. 396-314) which would harmonize properly with the traditional dates above given (pp. 8-9 = pp. 159-160) for Bahman's reign. See Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, pp. 264, 291, 343).

(b) Masūdi is worth consulting on the same point, especially in respect to certain presumed relations between the Persians and the Jews. See Barbier de Meynard, *Maçoudi Les Prairies d'Or*, ii. 119-128.

(1) At this point may be mentioned two other allusions that place Zoroaster's activity in the sixth century before the Christian era, although the former of these rests upon the identification of the prophet's patron Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. The first of these allusions, that given by Ammianus Marcellinus (5th century A.D.),<sup>1</sup> directly calls Vishtāspa (Hystaspes) the father of Darius, although Agathias (6th century A.D.)<sup>2</sup> expresses uncertainty on this point. The second allusion is found in Eutychius, the Alexandrine Patriarch, who makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Cambyses and the Magian Smerdis,<sup>3</sup> a view which is shared by the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhṛāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250)<sup>4</sup> [and by the Arab chronologist al-Makīn<sup>5</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> Ammian. Marcell. 23. 6. 32, *Magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato, Machagistiam esse verbo mystico docet, divinorum incorruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darii pater*. The general opinion is that 'saeculis priscis' is allowable in consideration of the thousand years that separated Zoroaster and Ammianus,



and assuming that Ammianus understood Zoroaster and Hystaspes to be contemporaries, cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Agathias 2. 24, Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως . . . οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωροάδης, ἦτοι Ζαρὰδης — διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία — ὀπηρῖκα μὲν ἤκμασε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔρεσσι σαφῶς διαγινῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὕτω δὴ τι ἀπλῶς φασὶ γεγόνέναι, ἕς λαν ἀμφιγροῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατρὸς εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης. [See Appendix V. § 35.]

<sup>3</sup> Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini *Annales*. Illustr. Selden, interpr. E. Pocock. Oxon. 1658, pp. 262-263, *Mortuo Cyro Dario Babelis rege, post ipsum imperavit filius ipsius Kambysus annos novem: post quem Samardius Magus annum unum. Hic, Magus cognominatus est quod ipsius tempore floruerit Persa quidam Zaradasht (زرادشت), qui Magorum religionem condidit aedibus igni dedicatus. Post ipsum regnavit Dara primus, annos viginti. Post illum Artachshast Longimanus cognominatus annos viginti quattuor.* On this authority Floigl, following Röth, wishes to assign the year of Zoroaster's death to B.C. 522, cf. *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18, and Röth, *Geschichte uns. abendländ. Philosophie* i. 353.

<sup>4</sup> Bar 'Ebhryā, *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83, ed. Salhani, Beirut, 1890 (cited by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32). 'In those days (of Cambyses) came Zaradosht chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's (1) disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ.'

[<sup>5</sup> See Hyde *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* pp. 528-529.]

(m) Finally two other allusions are here added for the sake of completeness, as they have been interpreted as pointing to the fact that Zoroaster lived about the sixth century B.C. There seems to be nothing in them, however, to compel us to believe that Zoroaster is regarded as living only a short time before the events to which they allude. The first is a passage in Nicolaus Damascenus (1st century B.C.), who represents that when Cyrus was about to burn the unfortunate Croesus, his attention was called to Ζωροάστρου λόγια, which forbade that fire should be defiled.<sup>1</sup> The second item of information is found in such references as represent Pythagoras as following Zoroaster's doctrines.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, the association of Zoroaster's name with that of Thales, by Albīrūnī, has been noted above.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicolaus Damascenus *Fragm.* 65, Müller *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 409 δαίμονια ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ οἱ τὴν Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ τὰ τε Ζωροάστρου λόγια εἰσφεύ. Κροῖσον μὲν οὖν ἐβόων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πάσαι σώζειν. . . . Τὸν γε μὲν Ζωροάστρεν Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν, μήτε νεκροὺς κτείνειν, μήτ' ἄλλως μαινεῖν πῦρ, καὶ πάσαι τοῦτο καθεστῶς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι. (Latin version) *Persas . . . religio ac metus divinum incessit: Sibyllae quoque vaticinia ac Zoroastris oracula in mentem veniebant. Itaque clamitabant, multo, quam antea,*





*contentius, ut Croesus servaretur. . . . At Persae exinde sanxerunt juxta praecepta Zoroastriis, ne cadavera cremare neque ignem contaminare post-hac liceret, quod quum apud eos ex veteri instituto obtinuisset, tum magis confirmaverunt.* Cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. xlv, lxvii.

<sup>2</sup> The principal references are to be found in Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 260-264, 274, from whose work they are taken. Several of these allusions mention Zoroaster's name directly; in others we may infer it, since Pythagoras is made a student of the Magi, whom classical antiquity regards as the exponents of Zoroaster's teaching. Such allusions are: (α) Cicero, *de Fin.* 5. 29, *ipse Pythagoras et Aegyptum lustravit et Persarum Magos adiit*; (β) Valerius Maximus 8. 7 extern. 2, *inde ad Persae profectus Magorum exactissimae prudentiae se formandum tradidit*; (γ) Pliny, *N.H.* 30. 2. 1, *Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato ad hanc (magicen) descendam navigaverunt*; (δ) Porphyrius, *Vita Pythag.* 41, *ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μάγων ἐπειθάνετο, ὃν Ὁρομάζην καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι*; and *Vita Pythag.* 12, *ἐν τε Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγένετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάβρατον [Ζάρατον, Nauck] (Zoroaster?) ἀφίκετο*; (ε) Plutarch, *de animae procr. in Timaeo* 2. 2, *Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος*; (ζ) Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 1, p. 357 (ed. Potter) *Ζωροάστρην δὲ τὸν Μάγων τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐζήλωσεν* (MS. *ἐδήλωσεν*), cf. Cyrillus, *adv. Jul.* 3, p. 87, where Pythagoras is called *πανάριστος* (ἡλωτῆς) of Zoroaster; (η) Suidas s.v. *Pythagoras*, *Πυθαγόρας οὗτος ἤκουσε—Ζάρητος τοῦ μάγου* (is it Zoroaster?); (θ) Apuleius Florid. p. 19 (ed. Altib.) *sunt qui Pythagoram aiunt eo temporis inter captivos Cambysae regis Aegyptum cum adveheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastrem omnis divini arcani antistitem*; (ι) in Lucian's *Dialogue Menippus*, § 6, p. 463, the Babylonian Magi are the pupils and successors of Zoroaster *μοῖ*. . . . *ἔδοξε ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντα δεσθῆναι τινος τῶν Μάγων τῶν Ζωροάστρου μαθητῶν καὶ διαδόχων.* Also some others.

[<sup>3</sup> See p. 161 above. The particular passage is one in which Albirūni discusses the various possibilities as to the date of Thales. He adds that 'if he (i.e. Thales) lived at the time of Kai Kūbādī, he stands near to Zoroaster, who belonged to the sect of the Harrānians' (*Chron.* p. 32, l. 15, transl. Sachau).]

## B. DISCUSSION OF THE DATA.

The material above collected presents most of the [= orig. p. 16] external evidence that we have in regard to the age at which Zoroaster lived. We are now prepared for a more comprehensive view of the subject, for a discussion of the data in hand, for a presentation of certain internal evidences that need to be brought out, and for arguments and possible deductions. Several points immediately suggest themselves for comment.

First, in discussing the classical allusions above presented, one is justified from the connection in assuming that such allusions as are



made to the name of Zoroaster as a religious teacher or sage, all refer to the one great prophet of ancient Iran. No account, I think, need therefore be taken of such views as assume the existence of two or of several Zoroasters, belonging to different periods in the world's history. Such a view was held by Suidas (s.v. *Zoroastres*) and was evidently earlier shared by Pliny;<sup>1</sup> it met with acceptance also among some of the old-fashioned writers in more recent times;<sup>2</sup> but there is no real evidence in its favor, and it is due to an attempt to adjust the discrepancy existing in classical statements with regard to Zoroaster's date. History knows of but one Zoroaster.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny *N. H.* 30. 2. 1. *sine dubio illic orta (ars Magica) in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat.* He adds a little later (30. 2. 8) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc (i.e. Osthane) Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.*

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Kleuker (quoting the Abbé Foucher), *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 2, p. 68-81.

Second, among the three dates which may be deduced from the material above collected and which are summarized on p. 2 [= p. 152], we are justified upon reasonable grounds, I think, in rejecting the excessively early date of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts. The explanation above offered to account for the extravagant figures seems satisfactory enough.

Third, such dates as might be arrived at from the sporadic allusions that associate the name of Zoroaster with Semiramis and Ninus, with Nimrod and Abraham, or with Baal, Bel, Balaam, as above discussed, have little if any real foundation. In each instance there seem to me to be reasonable grounds for discarding them.

There remains finally a comparatively large body of material that would point to the fact that Zoroaster flourished between the latter part of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century before the Christian era. The material when sifted reduces itself: first, to the direct tradition found in two Pahlavi books, *Bundahishn* and *Artā Virāf*, which places Zoroaster's era three hundred years, or more exactly 258 years, before Alexander's day; second, to the Arabic allusions which give the same date in their [= orig. p. 17] chronological computations and which in part lay claim to being founded upon the chronology of the Persians themselves;<sup>1</sup> third, to similar allusions elsewhere which place Zoroaster at about this period.





<sup>1</sup> Compare Albiruni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 109, 112 (transl. Sachau); and the *Modjmel al-Tewarikh*, p. 142, 320, 330 (traduit Mohl, *Journal Asiatique*, xi. 1841), stating that the account is based on the Chronicle of Mobed Bahram.

Certain objections may be raised to a view based upon this material last given.

First among these objections is a claim often urged, that the traditional date rests upon an erroneous identification of Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. I cannot see, from the allusions or elsewhere, that the Persians made any such identification; the impression gained from the material presented is rather in fact to the contrary; one may recall, for example, how widely different the ancestry of Vishtāspa is from the generally received descent of Hystaspes the father of Darius (a point which Floigl and Rōth seem to have overlooked). It was only the classical writer Ammianus Marcellinus who, in antiquity, made any such identification. The point has already been sufficiently dealt with above, p. 14 [= p. 167, and West now also treats it in like manner — *SBE*. xlvii. *Introd.* § 70].

A second objection may be brought on the plea that the traditional date (7th to middle of 6th century B.C.) would not allow of the lapse of sufficient time to account for the difference in language between the Gāthās and the Old Persian inscriptions and for certain apparent developments in the faith. Furthermore, that a longer period of time must be allowed to account for the difference between the fixed title *Auramazda*, Ὠρομάσδης, current in western Persia in Achaemenian times, and the divided form of the divine name *Ahura Mazda* (or *Ahura* alone and *Mazda* alone) as found in the Avesta, especially in the Zoroastrian Gāthās. This point has been noticed in the interesting and instructive paper of Professor Tiele, *Over de Oudheid van het Avesta*, p. 16,<sup>1</sup> who comes to the result that Zoroastrianism must have existed as early as the first half of the 7th century B.C.<sup>2</sup> If we accept, as I believe we should, the theses that Vishtāspa ruled in eastern Iran, and that, although Zoroaster was a native of Ādarbaijān, the chief scene of his religious activity was eastern Iran,<sup>3</sup> and that the faith spread from Bactria westwards,<sup>4</sup> I cannot see that these arguments militate against the traditional date under discussion. Dialectic differences between the Bactrian region and Persia Proper would sufficiently account for arguments based on language alone. This, added to national and



individual differences, might well account for the fixed form of the name *Auramazda* among the Achaemenians as contrasted with the Avestan form. Who can say how rapidly the creed spread from the east to the west and what changes consequently in a short time may have resulted? New converts in their zeal are often more radical in progressive changes than first reformers. Per-  
[= orig. p. 18] sis, with its original difference in dialect, may in short time have developed the single title *Auramazda* from *Ahura Mazda* as watchword of church and state. See also note, p. 20, top [= p. 174].

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, 3de Reeks, Deel xi. 364-385.

<sup>2</sup> Tiele's little work argues admirably for the antiquity of the Avesta as opposed to Darmesteter's views for the lateness of the Gāthās. I wish I could be convinced by Professor Tiele (p. 19) that the names of the Median kings, Phraortes (*fravañ*), Kyaxares (*uvaxšatara*), Deiokes (*\*dahyuka*) as well as Eparna, Sitiparna of the early Esarhaddon inscription (explained as containing *hvarənah*, 'glory'), are due to concepts originated by Zoroaster and are not merely marks of beliefs which Zoroastrianism inherited directly from existing Magism. The name of Darius's contemporary Khsathrita (Bh. 2. 15; 4. 19, Bh. e. 6) is not so important for the argument. I confess I should like to place Zoroaster as early as the beginning of the 7th century. The earlier, the better. [On Phraortes viewed as a Zoroastrian, compare more recently, Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 258; *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. p. 411.]

<sup>3</sup> On eastern Iran, cf. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur* (Erlangen, 1882) and English translation of same, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Eastern Iranians* (London, 1885-1886).

<sup>4</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster's Native Place*, *JAOS.* xv. 230 seq. So in spite of Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 198 seq.

A final objection may be raised as to the real historic worth and chronological value of the Persian tradition which places Zoroaster three centuries before Alexander. This it must frankly be said is the real point of the question. Is there a possibility of Arabic influence at work upon the statements of the Būdāhishn and Artā Virāf [and Zāṭ-sparam]? Is the whole chronology of the Būdāhishn and that of the Persians artificial?<sup>1</sup> And did the Zoroastrians intentionally tamper with history and bring Zoroaster down as late as possible in order that the millennial period might not be regarded as having elapsed without the appearance of a Saoshyant, or Messiah?





<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 506, with Windischmann, regards the data of the Būdahishn as 'unzuverlässig,' but it must be remembered that his figures, '178' years for the period between Zoroaster and Alexander, now require correction to 258, which alters the condition of affairs. See West, *SBE.* v. 150-151, and Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 203. Compare especially de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. cccxxviii.

These questions require serious consideration in detail. The introduction to the chronological chapter of the Būdahishn (Bd. 34) does indeed read, according to one MS., 'on the reckoning of the years of the Arabs' (see Būdahishn translated by West, *SBE.* v. 149), but the word Tāzhikān 'of the Arabs' is not found in the other manuscripts. Moreover, the scientific investigator Albīrūnī, and also the Mujmal al-Tawārīkh, whose data agree exactly with the Būdahishn, affirm that the dates given for the Kayanian kings are obtained from the records of the Persians themselves.<sup>1</sup>

There seems no reason, therefore, to doubt that the [= orig. p. 19] Būdahishn really represents the Persian chronology.

But what the value of that chronology may be, is another matter. Personally I think it has real value so far as giving the approximate period of three centuries before Alexander as Zoroaster's era. Every student of the classics knows the part that chronology plays with reference to the Magi; every reader of the Avesta is familiar with 'the time of long duration;' every one who has looked into the scholarly work of Albīrūnī will have more respect for Persian chronology. Errors indeed there may be; attention has been called above to the lack of agreement between the years assigned by tradition to the reigns of the Zoroastrian Kayanian monarchs and the generally accepted dates of the reigns of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes<sup>1</sup>; to the dynasty of these three kings there corresponds only the long rule of Vishtāspa (120 years) and a part of that of Bahman Ardashīr Dirāzdest, some of whose reign answers to that of Artaxerxes Longimanus. As above said, it is difficult to identify the Kayanians of the tradition with the early Achaemenians of Greek history, but this need not nullify the real value of the traditional 'three centuries before Alexander.' What Masūdī (c. A.D. 943) in his *Indicatio et Admonitio* can add on this subject is full of interest. Little attention seems thus far to have been drawn to this important passage and to the explanation which it contains.<sup>2</sup> Masūdī is fully aware of the difference that exists between the Persian and the generally accepted chronology and he shows how it was brought about by



Ardashir's purposely shortening the period between Alexander and himself by causing about half the number of years to be dropped from the chronological lists, but the 300 years of Zoroaster before Alexander were allowed to remain untouched, for the old prophecy regarding the time of Alexander's appearance had been fulfilled. The passage in Barbier de Meynard is well worth consulting.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note above, p. 8 [= p. 160].

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barbier de Meynard in *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (Maçoudi, *Prairies d'Or*, ix. 327-328). [See also the translation by Vaux, Maçoudi, *Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, p. 136; Paris, 1896.]

<sup>3</sup> See preceding note. I have since found the passage given by Spiegel in *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 193; compare also Spiegel, *ZDMG*. xiv. 202.

### C. RESULTS.

To draw conclusions,—although open to certain objections, still, in the absence of any more reliable data or until the discovery of some new source of information to overthrow or to substantiate the view, there seems but one decision to make in the case before us. From the actual evidence presented and from the material accessible, one is fairly entitled, at least, upon the present merits of the case, to accept the period between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C. [perhaps still better, between the middle of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth century B.C.], or just before the rise of the Achaemenian power, as the approximate date of Zoroaster's life.<sup>1</sup>

[= orig. p. 20] <sup>1</sup> Since the above was written Dr. E. W. West writes me (under date December 19, 1895) the interesting piece of information that his investigations into the history of the Iranian calendar have led him to the date B.C. 505 as the year in which a reform in the Persian calendar must have been instituted. He suggests that Darius, upon the conclusion of his wars and during the organizing of his kingdom and putting in force new acts of legislation, may with the aid and counsel of his priestly advisers have introduced the Zoroastrian names of the months which have supplanted the old Persian names which were given in the inscriptions. If this be so, the point may have a special bearing towards showing that the Achaemenians were Zoroastrians. From Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 17, 12; 55, 29; 205, 2; and 220, 19 (transl. Sachau), we know that Zoroaster himself must have occupied himself with the calendar. Benfey u. Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, p. 116, regarded the Medo-Persian year as having been introduced into Cappadocia probably





as early as B.C. 750. [Dr. West's paper on the Parsi calendar has just appeared in *The Academy* for April 23, 1896.] [Later postscript (1898), West gives his results in *SBE*. xlvii. Introd. § 79 seq.]

Similar results have been reached by others, or opinions to the same effect have been expressed; for example, Haug,<sup>1</sup> Justi (private letter),<sup>2</sup> Geldner (personal communication),<sup>3</sup> Casartelli,<sup>4</sup> and several names familiar to those acquainted with the field.<sup>5</sup> Some effort might be made perhaps if the premises will allow it, and some attempts have been made, to define the period more exactly by a precise interpretation of the various time-allusions with reference to cardinal events in Zoroaster's life—the beginning of his ministry at the age of 30, the conversion of Vishtāspa in the prophet's 42d year, the death of Zoroaster at the age of 77 years.<sup>6</sup> [See Appendix III.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Haug, *Essays on the Parsis* (West's Introduction, p. xlv.) ; although Haug had previously adopted various earlier eras for Zoroaster, e.g. B.C. 2300 (*Lecture on Zoroaster*, Bombay, 1865), not later than B.C. 1000 (*Essays*, p. 299, where the subject is discussed ; cf. also *Essays*, pp. 15, 136, 264).

<sup>2</sup> Personal letter from Professor Justi, dated June 14, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> Geldner formerly placed the date of Zoroaster as prior to B.C. 1000 (see article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition).

<sup>4</sup> *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, transl. Firoz Jamaspji, p. ii, 'about 600.'

<sup>5</sup> The best collections of material on the subject are to be found in de Harlez, *Avestatraduit*, 2d ed. Introduction, pp. xx-xxv, ccxiv. [See also de Harlez, *The Age of the Avesta*, in *JAOS*, New Series, xvii. 349, London, 1885, who finds no reason to place the Avesta earlier than 600 or 700 B.C., or in broader terms fixes 'the epoch of Zoroastrianism and the Avesta between 700 and 100 B.C.'], Spiegel, *EA*. i. 673-676, and Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 147, 162, 305 ; the latter suggested (*Zor. Stud.* p. 164) about B.C. 1000 as Zoroaster's date. The present writer (*Avesta Grammar*, p. xi) once held the opinion that Zoroaster lived 'more than a thousand years before the Christian era.' The date assigned by the Parsi Orientalist K. R. Cama is about B.C. 1300.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, 60-62, assigns B.C. 589-512 as the age of Zoroaster ; compare also Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 327-374 ; Thl. 2, pp. 51-81 (Foucher). [Anquetil's monograph should be consulted.] Floigl (*Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18), following Rōth, gives B.C. 599-522 as Zoroaster's era and identifies Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. Neither Floigl nor Rōth seem to take any account of the difference between the genealogy of Vishtāspa's ancestors as given in the Old Persian inscriptions and the lineage given in the Avesta, Pahlavi, and later Persian works. Floigl does not, moreover, sufficiently take into consideration (p. 17) that 42 years (or at least 30) must be



added in every instance to the 258 years before Alexander, as that was Zoroaster's age when Vishtāspa accepted the Faith. This would in any event place the date of Zoroaster's birth before B.C. 600.

[= orig. p. 21] The above results, if they be accepted in the light at least of our present information on the subject, seem to be not without importance for the history of early religious thought and of the development of ethical and moral teaching. If one carefully works through the material, it must be acknowledged that the most consistent and the most authoritative of all the actual statements upon the subject place the appearance of the prophet at a period between the closing century of Median rule and the rising wave of Persian power, that is, between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C.; [better between the middle of the seventh century and the former half of the sixth century B.C.]. It is the sowing of the fallow land that is to bring forth the rich fruits of the harvest. The teaching of Zoroaster must have taken deep root in the soil of Iran at the time when the Jews were carried up into captivity at Babylon (586-536), where they became acquainted with 'the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not'; the time was not far remote when the sage Confucius should expound to China the national tenets of its people, and the gentle Buddha on Ganges' bank should preach to longing souls the doctrine of redemption through renunciation. How interesting the picture, how full of instruction the contrast! And in this connection, the old question of a possible pre-historic Indo-Iranian religious schism<sup>1</sup> comes perhaps once again into consideration.<sup>2</sup> Certain theological and religious phenomena noticeable in Brahmanism are possibly not so early, after all, as has generally been believed. It may perchance be that Zoroastrianism in Iran was but the religious, social, and ethical culmination of the wave that had been gathering in strength as it moved along, and that was destined in India to spend its breaking force in a different way from its overwhelming course in the plateau land northwest of the mountains of Hindu Kush.

<sup>1</sup> The view strongly upheld by Haug.

<sup>2</sup> Deductions that might perhaps be made in the light of Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 177, 186, 212, n. 3. Consult especially the suggestive hints of Geldner, article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where the much-mooted question of *asura-ahura*, *dāēva-deva*, 'god-demon,' is discussed.





The kingdom of Bactria was the scene of Zoroaster's zealous ministry, as I presume. [The question raised on this point is noticed in the present volume.] Born, as I believe, in Atropatene, to the west of Media, this prophet without honor in his own country met with a congenial soil for the seeds of his teaching in eastern Iran. His ringing voice of reform and of a nobler faith found an answering echo in the heart of the Bactrian king, Vishtāspa, whose strong arm gave necessary support to the crusade that spread the new faith west and east throughout the land of Iran. Allusions to this crusade are not uncommon in Zoroastrian literature. Its advance must have been rapid. A fierce religious war which in a way was fatal to Bactria seems to have ensued with Turan. This was that same savage race in history at whose door the death of victorious Cyrus is laid. Although tradition tells the sad story that the fire of the sacred altar was quenched [= orig. p. 22] in the blood of the priests when Turan stormed Balkh, this momentary defeat was but the gathering force of victory; triumph was at hand. The spiritual spark of regeneration lingered among the embers and was destined soon to burst into the flame of Persian power that swept over decaying Media and formed the beacon-torch that lighted up the land of Iran in early history. But the history of the newly established creed and certain problems in regard to the early Achaemenians as Zoroastrians belong elsewhere for discussion.

[Addendum 1. In an article on 'The Date of the Avesta,' *The Times of India*, March 11, 1898, now draws attention to the fact that Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana has again called up the proposed identification of Avestan Nāidhyāh Gaotema (in Yt. 13. 16) with the *rishi* Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās in the Veda. See this pamphlet *Observations on Darmesteter's Theory*, pp. 25-31, Leipzig, 1898. On his point and on the other suggested identifications of the Avestan Gaotema with Gotama the Buddha, or with the Brahman Cangranghācah (see pp. 85-88 above), we may refer to what has been said by Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, and to the references and discussion given by Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 99 (Leipzig, 1864), where good material will be found. Justi's statement in his *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 110 (Marburg, 1895) reads: 'Gaotema, vielleicht Name eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion Yt. 13. 16; das Wort könnte auch appellativ sein; sanskrit gótama.'

In the passage I do not think that the words *nā vyāxanō* necessarily refer to Zoroaster at all, but that they allude to some later follower of the Faith who may have vanquished in debate some opponent of the Zoroastrian creed. Notice also Justi's 'eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion.' I cannot therefore see that we shall lose anything if we accept the view which was first suggested



by Haug, and interpret this allusion to Gaotama as a thrust at Buddhism, and regard *nāīdyāh* as a derogatory attribute, or connected with the Vedic root *nādh*.

Color is given to such an interpretation because, farther on in the same Yasht (Yt. 13. 97), mention is made of the pious Saēna, a great religious teacher and successor of Zoroaster, who flourished between one hundred and two hundred years after the prophet himself, or B.C. 531-431, if we accept the traditional Zoroastrian chronology, and who might therefore have been a contemporary with Buddha. Upon the date of Saēna, see also Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, Bombay, June, 1896. Saēna belonged to the ancient territory of Saka-stāna (Seistān) and thus to the region of White India; cf. p. 45, n. 4, 72, n. 3, 87, n. 1, and Appendix IV.

Now if in the particular case of Saēna (and the lines are metrical and therefore probably original) the Yasht actually makes mention of a Zoroastrian apostle who lives a century or more after the great teacher, I do not think we are necessarily forced to place Gaotama back into the Vedic period. In other words, in the case of Gaotama as of Saēna, the Yasht may be alluding to one who is born after Zarathushtra, and may be hurling anathemas against an opposing and heretical religion (and that religion Buddhism) which began to flourish about the same time as the Yasht may have been written. Of the various identifications I should prefer that of Gotama the Buddha, rather than to call in the Vedas and Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās.]

[Addendum 2. My pupil, Mr. Schuyler, draws my attention to a reference in a work that was published in the middle of the last century, which is of interest because it deals with the Huns and places the date of Zoroaster about the year '683 avant Jesus-Christ.' The reference is Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, i. Pt. 2, p. 376, Paris, 1756.]





## APPENDIX III

## DR. WEST'S TABLES OF ZOROASTRIAN CHRONOLOGY

AS BASED UPON THE MILLENNIAL SYSTEM OF THE  
BÜDAHISHN(From *Sacred Books of the East*, xlvii. Introd. § 55.)<sup>1</sup>

AFTER investigating the traditional Zoroastrian chronology of the Būdahishn, and the statements of the other Pahlavi texts, which have been recorded in the preceding Appendix, Dr. E. W. West has compiled a series of chronological tables, synchronizing the Zoroastrian and European systems. The statement of Bd. 34. 7, 8, places the death of Alexander 272 years after the coming of the religion, i.e. after the thirtieth year of Zoroaster's life and of Vishtāspa's reign. Combining these dates, and allowing for an apparent omission of thirty-five years (which is explained), the items  $323 + 272 + 35$  give as a result B.C. 660-583 as the date of Zoroaster, and B.C. 660-540 for Vishtāspa's reign,<sup>2</sup> which in Oriental manner is apparently conceived of as dating from the king's birth. West's tables are now presented (*SBE*. xlvii. Introd. pp. xxviii-xxx):—

'If we adopt the abbreviations A.R. for "*anno religionis*" and B.R. for "*before the religion*," we are prepared to compile the following synopsis of Zoroastrian Chronology according to the millennial system of the Būdahishn, extended to the end of time, but dealing only with traditional matters, combined with the European dates of the same events, deduced from the synchronism of A.R. 300 with B.C. 331, as stated above in § 54.'—

B.R. 9000, B.C. 9630. Beginning of the first millennium of Time; and formation of the Fravashis, or primary ideas of the good creations, which remain insensible and motionless for 3000 years (Bd. I, 8; XXXIV, 1).

<sup>1</sup> Through the courtesy of Dr. E. W. West and of Professor F. Max Müller, editor of the Sacred Books, I have been allowed to reproduce these pages;

for which kindness I wish to express my appreciative thanks. — A. V. W. J.

<sup>2</sup> See *SBE*. xlvii. Introd. § 70.



- B.R. 6000, B.C. 6630. Beginning of the fourth millennium, when the spiritual body of Zaratūst is framed together, and remains 3000 years with the archangels (Dk. VII, ii, 15, 16), while the primeval man and ox exist undisturbed in the world, because the evil spirit is confounded and powerless (Bd. I, 20, 22; III, 1, 3, 5; XXXIV, 1).
- B.R. 3000, B.C. 3630. Beginning of the seventh millennium, when the evil spirit rushes into the creation on new-year's day, destroys the primeval ox, and distresses Gāyōmar, the primeval man (Bd. I, 20; III, 10-20, 24-27; XXXIV, 2). Z. appears to remain with the archangels for 2969 years longer.
- B.R. 2970, B.C. 3600. Gāyōmar passes away (Bd. III, 21-23; XXXIV, 2).
- B.R. 2930, B.C. 3560. Masyē and Masyāōi had grown up (Bd. XV, 2; XXXIV, 3).
- B.R. 2787, B.C. 3417. Accession of Hōshāng (Bd. XXXIV, 3).
- B.R. 2747, B.C. 3377. Accession of Tākhmōrup (ibid. 4).
- B.R. 2717, B.C. 3347. Accession of Yim (ibid.).
- B.R. 2000, B.C. 2630. Beginning of the eighth millennium. Accession of Dahāk (ibid. 4, 5).
- B.R. 1000, B.C. 1630. Beginning of the ninth millennium. Accession of Frētūn (ibid. 5, 6).
- B.R. 600, B.C. 1130. Accession of Mānūshcihar (ibid. 6).
- B.R. 428, B.C. 1058. Spendarmat comes to Mānūshcihar at the time of Frāsiyāw's irrigation works (Zs. XII, 3-6). [West's brief remarks on correction of the MSS. here omitted.]
- B.R. 380, B.C. 1010. Accession of Aūzōbō (Bd. XXXIV, 6).
- B.R. 375, B.C. 1005. Accession of Kai-Kobāt (ibid. 6, 7).
- B.R. 360, B.C. 990. Accession of Kai-Ūs (ibid. 7).
- B.R. 300, B.C. 930. Zaratūst first mentioned by the ox that Sritō killed (Zs. XII, 7-20).
- B.R. 210, B.C. 840. Accession of Kai-Khūsriō (Bd. XXXIV, 7).
- B.R. 150, B.C. 780. Accession of Kai-Lohrāsp (ibid.).
- B.R. 45, B.C. 675. The Glory descends from heaven at the birth of Dūkjak (Zs. XIII, 1).
- B.R. 30, B.C. 660. Accession of Kai-Vishtāsp (Bd. XXXIV, 7). Vohūmanō and Ashavahishtō descend into the world with a stem of Hōm (Dk. VII, ii, 24). Zaratūst is born (ibid. v, 1).
- B.R. 23, B.C. 653. Z. is seven years old when two Karaps visit his father, and Dūrāsrōbō dies (Dk. VII, iii, 32, 34, 45).
- B.R. 15, B.C. 645. Z. is fifteen years old when he and his four brothers ask for their shares of the family property (Zs. XX, 1).
- B.R. 10, B.C. 640. Z. leaves home at the age of twenty (ibid. 7).
- A.R. 1, B.C. 630. Beginning of the tenth millennium. Z. goes forth to his conference with the sacred beings on the 45th day of the 31st year of Vishtāsp's reign (Dk. VII, iii, 51-62; VIII, 51; Zs. XXI, 1-4).
- A.R. 3, B.C. 628. Z. returns from his first conference in two years, and preaches to Aūrvātā-dang and the Karaps without success (Dk. VII, iv, 2-20).
- A.R. 11, B.C. 620. After his seventh conference, in the tenth year he goes to





- Vishtāsp; Mētyōmāh is also converted (ibid. 1, 65; Zs. XXI, 3; XXIII, 1, 2, 8).
- A.R. 13, B.C. 618. Twelve years after Z. went to conference, Vishtāsp accepts the religion, though hindered for two years by the Karaps (Dk. VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 5, 7).
- A.R. 20, B.C. 611. A Kavīg, son of Kūndah, is converted (Zs. XXIII, 8).
- A.R. 30, B.C. 601. Defeat of Arjāsp and his Khyōns (ibid.).
- A.R. 40, B.C. 591. Vohūnēm is born (ibid.). About this time the Avesta is written by Jāmāsp from the teaching of Z. (Dk. IV, 21; V, iii, 4; VII, v, 11). [Compare also Dk. III, vii, 1, *SBE.* xxxvii, 406.]
- A.R. 48, B.C. 583. Z. passes away, or is killed, aged seventy-seven years and forty days, on the 41st day of the year (Dk. V, iii, 2; VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 9).
- A.R. 58, B.C. 573. Arrival of the religion is known in all regions (Dk. VII, vi, 12). [Compare also Dk. IV, 21-22, *SBE.* xxxvii, 412-413.]
- A.R. 63, B.C. 568. Frashōstār passes away (Zs. XXIII, 10).
- A.R. 64, B.C. 567. Jāmāsp passes away (ibid.).
- A.R. 63, B.C. 558. Hangāūrūsh, son of Jāmāsp, passes away (ibid.).
- A.R. 80, B.C. 551. Asmōk-khanvatō passes away, and Akht the wizard is killed (ibid.).
- A.R. 91, B.C. 540. Accession of Vohūman, son of Spend-dāt (Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8).
- A.R. 100, B.C. 531. Sēnō is born (Dk. VII, vii, 6).
- A.R. 200, B.C. 431. Sēnō passes away (ibid.; Zs. XXIII, 11).
- A.R. 203, B.C. 428. Accession of Hūmāi (Bd. XXXIV, 8).

[Some additional dates are given by Dr. West, which include the invasion of Alexander (A.R. 300 = B.C. 331) and his death (A.R. 308 = B.C. 323), and carry the chronology down to the final millennium of the world (A.R. 3028, A.D. 2398).]





## APPENDIX IV

ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE AND THE SCENE OF  
HIS MINISTRY

## OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

	PAGES
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	182-185
I. ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE . . . . .	186-205
A. CLASSICAL REFERENCES . . . . .	186-191
1. Bactria and the East . . . . .	186-188
a. Cephallion.	g. Ammianus Marcellinus.
b. Theon.	h. Orosius.
c. Justin.	i. Augustine.
d. Arnobius.	j. Isidorus.
e. Eusebius.	k. Hugo de S. Victore.
f. Epiphanius.	
2. Media (Persia) and the West . . . . .	189-190
a. Pliny the Elder.	g. Gregory of Tours.
b. Clemens Alexandrinus.	h. Chronicon Paschale.
c. Origen.	i. (Georgius Syncellus).
d. Diogenes Laertius.	j. Suidas.
e. Porphyrius.	k. Michael Glycas.
f. Lactantius.	
Estimate of the Classical Allusions . . . . .	191
B. ORIENTAL REFERENCES—ALL IMPLY WESTERN IRAN . . . . .	191-205
1. Ādarbaijān (Atropatene).	
a. Zoroastrian Literature . . . . .	193-197
a. Būdahishn (20. 32).	c. Zāṭ-spāram.
b. Būdahishn (24. 15).	d. Avesta.
β. Mohammedan Literature . . . . .	197-201
a. Ibn Khurdādhbah.	g. Shahrastāni.
b. Aḥmad Yahyā al-Balādhuri.	h. Ibn al-Athīr.
c. Ibn Faḳīh al-Hamadhāni.	i. Yāqūt.
d. Ṭabari.	j. Ḳazwīnī.
e. Masūdi.	k. Bar 'Ebhrāyā.
f. Hamzah al-Isfahāni.	l. Abulfeda.
Estimate of Mohammedan Allusions . . . . .	201





## 2. Raghā, Rai (Media Rhagiana) . . . . . 202-205

a. Avesta (Vd. 1. 15).

b. Avesta (Ys. 19. 18).

c. Zātsparam.

## Conclusion as to Zoroaster's Native Place . . . . . 205

## II. SCENE OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY . . . . . 205-224

## GENERAL REMARKS . . . . . 205-207

## 1. Bactria and the East . . . . . 208-219

Geographical allusions in the Avesta and in Pahlavi . . . . . 208

Kavi dynasty in the east . . . . . 209

Allusions to Balkh . . . . . 209-210

Where was Vishtāspa's capital . . . . . 210

Sacrifices by Vishtāspa — discussion . . . . . 211-213

Where was Arejāt-aspā's capital — the Hyaonians . . . . . 213-214

Scene of the Holy Wars . . . . . 214-216

Location of the sacred fires . . . . . 216-217

Minor points . . . . . 217-218

Résumé of the Eastern View . . . . . 218-219

## 2. Media and the West . . . . . 219-224

C. de Harlez . . . . . 219-220

Spiegel . . . . . 220

Other scholars . . . . . 221

Justi's views . . . . . 221-222

Additional arguments . . . . . 222-224

Résumé of the Western View . . . . . 224

## General Summary . . . . . 224-225

INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the native place of the founders of three of the great Oriental religions — Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism — the authorities are in agreement for the most part, and the recent discoveries with reference to Buddha's birthplace have rendered assurance doubly sure at least in his case. With respect to Zoroaster's native land, however, and with regard to the exact early home of Zoroastrianism, the case is different. In classic times

<sup>1</sup> [The question with regard to Zoroaster's native place has been examined by the present writer in *JAOS.* xv. 221-232. Some of the material which was briefly presented at that

time is reproduced here, but it has been largely augmented and rewritten, and the subject is now treated entirely anew, especially with regard to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry.]



seven cities claimed a share in the honor of being the birthplace of the poet Homer; hardly less can be said of the prophet Zoroaster, if we take into account the various opinions which have been held on the subject of his origin. The question is one of interest, for with this problem there is also closely connected the question as to where we shall place the cradle of the religion of Mazda.

The natural uncertainty as to whether a religious teacher's birthplace or early home is necessarily identical with the scene of his religious activity complicates the problem considerably. Manifestly it is fallacious to assume that the scene of Zoroaster's ministry must likewise of necessity have been his place of origin. This fact must be kept in mind when we examine the arguments that have been brought forward by some to prove that the east of Iran, or Bactria, must assuredly have been the original home of Zoroaster as well as the scene of the reform work of the so-called 'Bactrian Sage.' The same fact, on the other hand, must be kept equally in view when the claim is made that Zoroaster came from western Iran, whether from Atropatene or from Media Proper, or from Persia. In the present memoir an endeavor will be made to keep the two sides of the question apart, and to discuss, (1) first, the question of Zoroaster's native place; (2) second, the scene of his ministry.

With regard to the disposition of the subject, authorities are agreed that we must look either to the east of Iran or to the west of Iran for a solution of the problem. The question of north or of south is excluded by the nature of the subject. Since this is the case, we may examine the general points of view, and resolve these into three classes:—

1. First, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in the east of Iran, in the Bactrian region, and that the scene of his religious reform belongs especially to that territory.

2. Second, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in western Iran, either in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana) or in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene), and that the scene of his ministry was confined to that region.

3. Third, a compromise view, which maintains that Zoroaster arose in western Iran, in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene), or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana), but that he taught and preached in Bactria as well.

In this threefold summary it will be noticed in the first place that Persis, or Persia in the restricted sense, is left out of considera-





tion — a justifiable omission because there is no especial ground for believing that Zoroaster originated in Persia itself. In the second place, it may be stated that there seem to be just reasons for coming to a definite conclusion that Zoroaster actually arose in the west of Iran. In the third place, it may be added that a definite conclusion as to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry need not for the moment be drawn, but that this problem must be discussed as a sequel to the question of his place of origin.

With these points to be kept in mind by way of introduction, and with this word of caution, we may proceed to examine the testimony of antiquity on the subject, which is the source from which we draw our information; after that we may go on to present arguments, or to draw deductions, which are based upon the material that is gathered. A division of the sources may be made into two classes: (a) Classical sources, Greek or Latin; (b) Oriental authorities, either Iranian or non-Iranian. The testimony of these witnesses will be taken first with reference to the light they may throw upon the native country of the Prophet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Partial Bibliography. For general references, see Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place?* JAOS. xv. pp. 221-232. Consult also Appendix V. below. The principal classical passages have likewise already been given by Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 260 seq. (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās and in the Greek and Roman Classics*, p. 65b, Leipzig, 1897). This material is now to be supplemented considerably by references which have since become accessible in Pahlavi literature, and by abundant allusions found in Arabic and Syriac writers. For the latter, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Drisler Classical Studies (Columbia University Press), New York, 1894; for example, pp. 32, 33 (*bis*), 34, 37, 39, 40 (*bis*), 42 n., 44, 48 (*bis*). These latter 'References to Zoroaster' will be constantly referred to in the present article. Further-

more, the general question of Zoroaster's native place has often been discussed; it is sufficient to mention Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*, p. 310 seq., Oxon. 1700; Barnabé Brisson, *De regio Persarum Principatu*, p. 385 seq., editio Argent. 1710 (orig. ed. Paris, 1590); Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, tome i. Pt. 2, p. 5 seq., Paris, 1771; Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 676-684 (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 179-189, London, 1886); C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. 23-25, 2d ed. Paris, 1881; Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. Introd. pp. 47-49, *SBE.* iv. 1st ed. Oxford, 1880.

Special notice is not taken here of works relating to the home of the Avesta itself as a sacred book, although this question is more or less directly connected with the present subject.

If references be desired, one may find the more important bibliographi-



## I. ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE

### A. Classical References to Zoroaster's Nationality

The classical references which allude to the country of Zoroaster seem very contradictory if they be viewed alone, and they are doubtless responsible for much of the uncertainty which has prevailed on the subject. It must also be remembered that a man is sometimes known to fame through his adopted country rather than through the land of his nativity. Although often conflicting, these classical references are of service in argument; it is well, therefore, briefly to present them, first giving those statements which connect Zoroaster's name with the west of Iran, with Media or Persia; second, giving those citations which imply that Zoroaster belonged to Bactria or eastern Iran. Most of the allusions date from the earlier centuries of the Christian era, or somewhat later, although claims may be made in one or two instances that the statements rest directly upon older authority.

#### 1. Bactria—Classical References placing Zoroaster in Eastern Iran

Several allusions in the classical writers of Greece and Rome point to the fact that Zoroaster was thought of as a Bactrian, or, at least, as exercising his activity in the east of Iran. The writers seem to have somewhat of a hazy notion that Zoroaster was not a Magian only, but that he was a king and military leader, the opponent of Ninus and Semiramis. There appears to be a reminiscence of an early struggle between a presumable eastern Iranian monarchy and the Assyrian power of the west. Most of the classical allusions to Bactria seem to indicate a common source; this source may reasonably be traced back to a misunderstood allusion

cal material on the subject of the Avestan cradle noted by Geiger, *Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā und seiner Kultur*, Abhandlungen der kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. philos.-philol. Cl. 1884, pp. 315-385. Geiger's list may be supplemented by de Harlez, *Der Avestische Kalender und die Heimath der Avesta-Religion*, Berliner Orientalische Congress, Abhdgn. ii.

237 seq., Berlin, 1882; Geiger's views are criticized also by de Harlez, *Das Alter und Heimath des Avesta*, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, xii. 109 seq., 1887; and by Spiegel, *Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā*, *Zweiter Artikel*, in *ZDMG*. xli. 280 seq., 1887. Consult Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. Introd. pp. 89-90, Paris, 1893.





in Ctesias.<sup>1</sup> In his legendary accounts, Ctesias refers to wars carried on between Ninus and Semiramis and 'Οξυάρης (variants, 'Εξαόρης, Χαόρης, Ζαόρης); the allusion in Oxyartes (Av: *Uxyatarata*) is not to Zoroaster, although Cephalion, Justin, and Arnobius, who draw on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian and the opponent of Ninus. The matter has been commented upon above (Appendix II. 154 seq.). The statements of these particular writers, however, are added for the sake of completeness, and they are supplemented by other classical citations. See also Appendix II.

(a) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120) which are preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* 1. 43, ed. Aucher, describe the rebellion of the Magian Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, against Semiramis: *de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatone a Semiramide*. Compare also, in this connection, Georgius Syncellus, Appendix V. § 41 below (cf. ed. Dind. 1. p. 315), and the reputed work of Moses of Khorene, 1. 6, 'le mage Zoroastre, roi des Bactriens, c'est à-dire des Mèdes'; or, on the other hand, Moses of Khorene, 1. 17, 'Zoroastre (Zeratašd), mage et chef religieux des Mèdes (Mar)'—see Langlois, *Collections des Historiens de l'Arménie*, ii. 59 and 69, also Appendix VI. § 1 below; here Zoroaster is a contemporary of Semiramis, and he seizes the government of Assyria and Nineveh; Semiramis flees before him, and she is killed in Armenia (Langlois, ii. 69). See also Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika*, p. 30 n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 302, 303; Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328. For the statement of Thomas Arzrounī, see p. 217 below and Appendix VI.

(b) Theon (A.D. 130) *Progymnasmata*, 9, περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. 115, speaks of 'Zoroaster the Bactrian'—Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου—in connection with Semiramis. See Appendix V. § 8 below, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, i. 677.

(c) Justin (c. A.D. 120), in his epitome of Pompeius Trogus' *Hist. Philippic.* 1. 1. 9-10, makes Zoroaster a king of Bactria, a Magian, and the opponent of Ninus—*bellum cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum*. See Appendix V. § 10 below.

(d) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentēs*, 1. 5, also mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus*. See Appendix V. § 16.

<sup>1</sup> See also Justi in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* ii. 402.





(e) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* 4. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion to Zoroaster, Bactria, and Ninus: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit*; and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Præparatio Evang.* 10. 9. 10, ed. Dind. p. 560, Νίνος, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. See Appendix V. § 18 below.

(f) Epiphanius of Constantia (A.D. 298-403) *Adv. Hæreses*, Lib. I. tom. i. 6 (tom. i. col. 185 seq., ed. Migne) associates Zoroaster's name with Nimrod, and states that Zoroaster came to the east and founded Bactria: Ζωροάστρης, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίγνεται Βάκτρων. See Appendix V. § 21 below. The same statement is later repeated by Procopius of Gaza, see Appendix V. § 33 below.

(g) Ammianus Marcellinus, 23. 6. 32, in discussing magic rites, connects Zoroaster's name with Bactria, but identifies Hystaspes (Vishtāspa) with the father of Darius: *cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darei pater*. See Appendix V. § 22 below.

(h) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.) states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the Magician. For the citation and for the Anglo-Saxon version see p. 157 and Appendix V. § 27 below.

(i) Augustine (A.D. 354-430), *de Civ. Dei*, 21. 14 (tom. vii. col. 728, ed. Migne) follows the same idea in making Zoroaster a Bactrian whose name is associated with Ninus: *a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse (Zoroastres) Bactrianorum, bello superatus est*. See Appendix V. § 28 below.

(j) Isidorus (A.D. 570-636), *Etymol.* 8. 9 (tom. iii. col. 310, ed. Migne): *Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum, quem Ninus rex Assyriorum proelio interfecit*; and he alludes to a statement of Aristotle regarding Zoroaster's writings. See Appendix V. § 38 below. Again Isidorus, *Chron.* (tom. v. col. 1024, ed. Migne): *hac aetate magica ars in Perside a Zoroaste Bactrianorum rege reperta. A Nino rege occiditur.*

(k) Hugo de Sancto Victore (died A.D. 1140), *Adnot. Elucid. in Pentateuchum* — in *Gen.* (tom. i. col. 49, ed. Migne): *rex Bactriae Nino vicinus et vocatus Zoroastes, inventor et auctor maleficiae mathematicae artis.*



## 2. Media or Persia—Classical References placing Zoroaster in Western Iran

There are nine or ten classical allusions, on the other hand, which connect Zoroaster's name with Media, or rather with Persia, the latter term often being used doubtless in a broader sense.

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79), *N. H.* 30. 2. 1, for example, gives his opinion that the art of the Magi arose in Persia with Zoroaster, but he is in doubt as to whether there were two Zoroasters or only one, and he alludes to a Proconnesian Zoroaster. Thus, in his first statement, he writes, *N. H.* 30. 2. 1, *sine dubio illic (ars Magica) orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea alius, non satis constat.* Again, in his second statement, when speaking of the Magian Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he says, *N. H.* 30. 2. 8, *diligentiores paulo ante hunc (Osthanem) ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* See Appendix V. § 5.

Perhaps in this same connection may be mentioned the curious remark of the Scholiast to the Platonic Alcibiades (see Appendix V. § 1 below), to the effect that, according to some, Zoroaster was a 'Hellenian,' or that he had come from the mainland beyond the sea: Ζωροάστρης . . . ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἑλλήνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἡπείρου ὠρμημένων [παῖδά] φασι, κ. τ. λ. See Appendix V. § 1, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 275 n.

(b) Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) speaks of Zoroaster either as a Mede or as a Persian, with an allusion incidentally to Pamphylia: *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 773, ed. Migne), Ζωροάστρην τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην; and *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 868, ed. Migne), Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος. Cf. again *Strom.* v. on Πάμφυλος. See Appendix V. § 13 below.

(c) Origenes (A.D. 185-254), *Contra Celsum* i. (tom. i. col. 689, ed. Migne), speaks of Zoroaster as a Persian—τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην. See Appendix V. § 14.

(d) Diogenes Laertius (flor. c. A.D. 210), *de Vit. Philos. Proem.* 2, writes of 'Zoroaster the Persian,'—Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην,—and apparently bases various statements which he makes about him on the authority of Hermodorus (B.C. 250?) and Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500-450). The text should be consulted; see Appendix V. § 15 below.

(e) Porphyrius (A.D. 233-304), *de Antro Nymph.* 6. 7, refers, at



least, to Zoroaster's retirement into a cave 'in the mountains of Persia': Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφύεσ σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος. The context shows that the region of Persia in a general sense is intended. See Appendix V. § 17, and cf. Windischmann, *Mithra*, Abh. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. i. 62, Leipzig, 1857.

(f) Lactantius (about A.D. 300), *Inst.* 7. 15, refers to Hystaspes (Zoroaster's patron) as an ancient king of Media, long antedating the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* tom. 6, and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(g) Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538–593), *Hist. Francor.* 1. 5 (col. 164 seq., ed. Migne), identifying Zoroaster with Chus (Cham or Ham), places him among the Persians, to whom he is said to have immigrated: *hic ad Persas transiit; hunc Persae vocitavere Zoroastrem*. See Appendix V. § 37.

(h) Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum (A.D. 7th century, but with spurious additions A.D. 1042), col. 148 seq., ed. Migne, has ὁ Ζωροάστρου ὁ ἀστρονόμος Πέρσων ὁ περιβόητος. Again the allusion is very general in sense. See Appendix V. § 39.

(i) It may be noted merely in passing that Georgius Syncellus (about A.D. 800), *Chron.* i. p. 147, alludes to a Zoroaster who was one of the Median rulers over Babylon more than a thousand years before the Christian era. No emphasis need be laid upon the passage, nor any stress upon identifying the name necessarily with the Prophet; the chief interest of the allusion consists in its showing that the name Zoroaster was found in Media. See Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Phil.* ii. 402; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302; Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. Consult Appendix V. § 41 below.

(j) Suidas (about A.D. 970), s.v. Ζωροάστρης, assumes a second famous representative of the name, a Perso-Median sage (Περσο-μῆδης, σοφός). This is evidently the Prophet. See Appendix V. § 45.

(k) Michael Glycas (flourished about A.D. 1150), *Ann. Pars* ii. col. 253, ed. Migne, repeats the statements current about Ninus, Semiramis, and Zoroaster, whom he speaks of under the general term of Persian, — Ζωροάστρου ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, — and he adds several allusions to the magic art in Media and Persia: τὴν ἀστρονομίαν λέγονται πρῶτον εἰρηκέναι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ζωροάστρου, δεύτερον δὲ ἐδίδαντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι; τὴν δὲ μαγίαν εἶπον Μῆδοι, εἶτα Πέρσαι. See Appendix V. § 47.





**Estimate of the Classical Allusions.**—The classical allusions on the subject of Zoroaster's nationality are rather contradictory and conflicting. They refer to Bactria on the one hand and to Media and Persia on the other. The allusions to Persia are doubtless to be taken in a broad and general sense. It will be noticed, moreover, that the direct place of birth is not necessarily implied in these national appellatives. In point of time, few of the classical passages are much older than the more direct Oriental allusions; some of them are even later. They are of value chiefly for bringing out both sides of the question of eastern Iran and western Iran, and they are of importance when checked by tradition or when used for throwing additional light on tradition.

### B. Oriental References to Zoroaster's Place of Origin — The Tradition

Laying the classical authorities aside, we may now have recourse to the more direct Oriental tradition. For the most part the Oriental material is either directly Iranian or it is Arabic matter drawn from Iranian sources. This gives it a special value. The statements on the subject may therefore be taken up in detail; the allusions found in the Pahlavi or patristic writings of Zoroastrianism will first be presented; these will then be elucidated further by references in Arabic and Syriac authors; and, finally, they will be judged in the light of the Avesta itself. If the Oriental citations be examined critically, they will be found generally to be quite consistent in their agreement on the place of Zoroaster's origin.

#### Western Iran—Atropatene, Media—the Scene of Zoroaster's Appearance according to Oriental Sources

There is a general uniformity among Oriental writings which touch on the subject in locating the scene of Zoroaster's appearance in western Iran, either in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana). The city of Urmī (mod. Urumiah, Oroomiah), Shīz, or the district round about Lake Oroomiah (Av. Caēcasta or Caēcista), and Raī (Av. Raghā) are the rivals for the honor of being his home. The sea of Caēcista is the Galilee of Zoroastrianism; Shīz and Raghā, the Nazareth and the Bethlehem of Iran. Urmī and Shīz represent Atropatene; Raī (Raghā) stands for Media Proper.



The rivalry between the two regions mentioned, and the association of Zoroaster's name, first with Media Atropatene (Ādarbaijān), and then with the Median Rāi (Media Rhagiana), happily finds an explanation in a remark made by Shahrastānī (A.D. 1086–1153).<sup>1</sup> This Arab writer gives us the key to the problem when he says of Zoroaster that 'his father was of the region of Ādarbaijān; his mother, whose name was Dughdū, came from the city of Rāi.'<sup>2</sup>

This statement of Shahrastānī is apparently vouched for by the Dinkart (7. 2. 7–13), from which source we learn that Zoroaster's mother before her marriage with Pourushaspa (Pōrūshāspō) resided in a different district from the latter. As a girl she becomes filled with a divine splendor and glory; the phenomenon causes her to be suspected of witchcraft, and her father is induced by idolatrous priests to send her from his home. She goes to Paṭiragtarāspō, 'father of a family in the country of the Spitāmas, in the district of Alāk (or Arāk),'<sup>3</sup> where she marries Pourushaspa the son. This district is probably connected with the 'Arag province' (Zsp. 20. 4), which latter is undoubtedly a part of Ādarbaijān.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, by way of localization, we note that the village of Paṭiragtarāspō is stated to have been situated in a valley (Dk. 7. 2. 11–13); and the house of the son Pourushaspa, Zoroaster's father, is elsewhere spoken of as occupying the bank of the river Darej, which may have been the home of the Prophet's parents after they married.<sup>5</sup>

Lastly, by way of introduction, it must be noticed that there is an old proverb in Pahlavi literature which characterizes anything that is preposterous as something that could hardly happen 'even if Rāk (or Rāgh) and Nōtar should come together' (Dk. 7. 2. 51; 7. 3. 19; Zsp. 16. 11–13, and cf. Dk. 7. 3. 39). In Zsp. 16. 12–13, these proper names, Rāgh and Nōtar, are explained as 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pātakān (Ādarbaijān), such as are at sixty leagues (para-

<sup>1</sup> See my article in *JAOS.* xv. 228.

<sup>2</sup> See *JAOS.* xv. 228, and cf. Hyde, *Hist. Religionis vet. Pers.* p. 298; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48 (*bis*); Darmesteter, *SBE.* iv. (2d ed.), p. 261, *Le ZA.* iii. 35, n. and *Introd.* p. 89, n. 2. See also p. 17 above and p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Quotation from Dk. 7. 2. 9 (West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 20).

<sup>4</sup> On 'Arag,' consult West, *SBE.*

xlvi. 151, n.; and, slightly differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. *Introd.* p. 89, n. 2. West writes me, Nov. 1, 1897, Rāgh = Rāk = Arāk = Alāk = Av. Raghā.

<sup>5</sup> *Bd.* 20. 32; 24. 15; Zsp. 22. 12; *Vd.* 19. 4; 19. 11. Shahrastānī speaks of a mountain (*Ism)uwiz-zar* (reading?), in Ādarbaijān, associated with Zoroaster's birth.





sang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cist;<sup>1</sup> Zaratūst arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōtar. And of these two provinces, Rāgh was according to the name of Ēricō, son of Dūrēs-rōbō, son of Mānūshcihar, from whom arose the race of Zaratūst; and Nōtar was according to the name of Nōtar, son of Mānūshcihar, from whom arose the race of Vishtāsp.<sup>2</sup>

So much by way of introduction. We may now proceed to discuss Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) and Media (Media Rhagiana) respectively.

### 1. Ādarbaijān (Atropatene)

The connection of Zoroaster with Lake Caëcista, Urumiah, Shīz, and the territory round about, may be further illustrated by quotations in Zoroastrian literature.

#### a. ALLUSIONS IN ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE

The allusions to Ādarbaijān will first be presented, and then an attempt will be made to localize, if possible, the region known in the Avesta as Airyana Vaējah (Phl. Airān-Vēj), and the river called Darej or Dāraja.

(a) The Būdahishn places the home of Zoroaster in Airān Vēj, by the river Dāraja. Bd. 20. 32, *Dāraja rūt pavan Airān Vēj, mūnaš mān-i Pōrūšaspō abitar-i Zaratūst pavan bār yehevunt*, 'the Dāraja river is in Airān Vēj, on whose bank (bār) was the abode of Pōrūshasp, the father of Zaratūst.'<sup>3</sup>

(b) The Būdahishn, in another passage, also states that Zoroaster was born near the Dāraja River. Bd. 24. 15, *Dāraja rūt rūt-bārān rat, mamanaš mān-i abitar-i Zaratūst pavan bālc*; <sup>4</sup> *Zaratūst tamman zūt*, 'the Dāraja River is the chief of exalted rivers, for the abode of Zaratūst's father was upon its banks; and Zaratūst was born there.'

<sup>1</sup> If we assume that Cist (Av. Caëcista) is Lake Urumiah, then '60 parasangs' (210-240 miles) would place Rāgh and Nōtar considerably outside of the boundaries of the present Ādarbaijān. So noticed by West (personal letter, dated Nov. 1, 1897). This would favor the common identification of Rāgh, the home of Zoroaster's mother, with the ruins of Raī.

<sup>2</sup> Zsp. 16. 11-12 (West's translation,

SBE. xlvii. 146-147). In the Avesta, Vishtāspa is of the family of Naotairyans, and so also is Hutaosa his wife. Cf. Yt. 5. 98; 15. 35 and SBE. xlvii. 80, n. 1 and p. 70 above.

<sup>3</sup> See also West, SBE. v. 82, and p. 204 below.

<sup>4</sup> To be emended; see the remarks on the reading of the word by West, SBE. v. 89, n. 6.



(c) *Zāt-sparam*, 22. 12, makes one of Zoroaster's conferences with the archangels to have taken place 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja' (*pavan Darejīn zbār*). See West, *SBE*. xlvii. 162 n. There can be little doubt that this assertion, like the unequivocal statements of the *Būdahishn*, rests upon good old tradition; the three allusions accord perfectly with hints which are found in the *Avesta* itself.

(d) In the *Avesta*, Vd. 19. 4; 19. 11, we likewise learn that Zoroaster's temptations by Ahriman, as well as his visions of Ormazd and the archangels, took place, in part at least, upon the banks of the river Darej, where stood the house of his father Pourushaspa: Vd. 19. 4, *Drājya paiti zbarahi nmānahe Pourushaspahe*, 'by the Darej, upon its high bank, at the home (*loc. gen.*) of Pourushaspa.' Compare Phl. *pavan Darejīn zbār* in the preceding paragraph. A little farther on in the same chapter we read: Vd. 19. 11, *parasat Zaratuštrō Ahurēm Mazdām . . . Drājya paiti zbarahē, Ahurāi Mazdāi vanhave, Vohu-Maite dāhānō, Asāi Vahištāi, Xšathrāi Vairyāi, Spantayāi Armatē*, 'Zoroaster communed with Ahura Mazda on the high bank of the Darej, sitting (?) before the good Ahura Mazda, and before Good Thought, before Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Armaiti.'<sup>1</sup>

With regard to localizations, there is good ground for believing that *Airān Vēj* (Av. *Airyana Vaejah*) is to be identified in part at least with *Ādarbaijān*, and that the ancient Darej of the *Avesta* (Phl. *Dāraja*) is identical with the modern Daryai. The Daryai Rūd flows from Mt. Savalān (*Sebilān*), in *Ādarbaijān*, northward into the Aras (*Araxes*).<sup>2</sup> If the identification be correct and the

<sup>1</sup> The reference to the elevation or the precipitous bank of the river, Av. *zbarah*, Phl. *zbār*, *bār* (cf. Skt. *hvaras*), seems to be in accordance with the tradition that Zoroaster retired to a mountain for meditation; see Vd. 22. 19, *gairim avi spantō-frasnā, varasem avi spantō-frasnā*, 'to the mountain of the two who held holy converse; to the wood where the two (Ormazd and Zoroaster) had holy communings.' See similar ideas above, p. 34. If it were not for the Pahlavi passages, one might be inclined to render Av. *zba-*

*rāhi*, 'at a bend' (of the river), or as adj. 'meandering'; cf. Skt.  $\sqrt{hvar}$ , 'to be crooked, to wind'; or even the idea 'in a cave' might be gotten etymologically from the word; and the cave played a part in Zoroastrian and Mithraic mysteries. On the latter point compare Windischmann, *Mithra*, pp. 62-64, in *Abh. K. Morg.* i. No. 1, 1857.

<sup>2</sup> See also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* tr. *SBE*. iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.). For the river Aras (*Araxes*), see de Harlez, *Avesta* traduit, p. viii. map; also the map of Persia by Philip





ancient Darej, Dārāja, was in Atropatene, it is wholly in keeping with what follows; for in this connection may be noticed a later non-Iranian tradition which associates Zoroaster's name with Shiz (cf. Av. Caścista) and with Mt. Savalān. Consult the Map.

This tradition which supports the assumed identification Darej, Dārāja, Daryai, is found in the Arabic writer Kazwīnī (about A.D. 1263).<sup>1</sup> The passage in which Kazwīnī speaks of Shiz in Ādarbaijān is as follows: 'Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here (i.e. Ādarbaijān). It is said that he came from Shiz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian, which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Gushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai-Khusrau, king of Persia.'<sup>2</sup> Mount Sabalān (Savalān) may be the Avestan 'Mount of the Holy Communicants,' with a sacred tree perhaps (Vd. 22. 19, *gairim spantō-frasnā, varəšəm spantō-frasnā*), for Kazwīnī elsewhere says of Sabalān: 'It is related that the Prophet (i.e. Mohammed) said: Sabalān is a mountain between Armenia and Ādarbaijān. On it is one of the graves of the prophets. He said further: On the top of the mountain is a large spring, the water of which is frozen on account of the severe cold; and around the mountain are hot springs to which sick people come. At the foot of the mountain is a large tree, and under this there is a plant to which no animal will draw near. If it comes near it, the animal flees away; if it eat of it, it dies.'<sup>3</sup> The religious character of the place, the mountain, the tree, the springs, would answer well for the identification suggested for the modern Daryai Rūd in Ādarbaijān.

This much having been prefaced with reference to Ādarbaijān and with regard to the river near which the Prophet probably passed some of his early years, or in the neighborhood of which he

& Son (London), Rand & McNally (New York), and especially by Keith Johnson (Edinburgh and London) at the end of this volume.

<sup>1</sup> Kazwīnī, ii. p. 267, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848 (Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40); consult also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. SBE. iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.),

where Rawlinson's identification of Shiz with Takht-i Suleimān is noticed.

<sup>2</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 41-42. According to Gottheil, the tree appears also in connection with Zoroaster in Syriac legends.



may have been born (Bd. 24. 15), if not at Urumiah, we are next prepared to take up the question of Airān Vēj.

Direct Iranian tradition explicitly connects the opening of Zoroaster's prophetic career with Airyana Vaējah of the Avesta, or Airān Vēj in Pahlavi. This land is sometimes regarded as mythical; but, like a number of other scholars, I do not agree with that view. I am inclined strongly to favor the opinion of those who think we have good reason for believing that Airyana Vaējah is to be localized in the west of Iran, as the Pahlavi locates it, and that this also points to the notion that Zoroaster originally came from that direction eastward. The Būdahishn expressly connects Airān Vēj with Atropatene: Bd. 29. 12, *Airān Vēj pavan kūst-ī Ātūrpātākān*. The present opinion of scholars tends to uphold this localization.<sup>1</sup> The river Darej, near which stood the house of Zoroaster's father, was in Airān Vēj, as already stated, and an identification was accordingly suggested. In the Avesta, moreover, Zoroaster is familiarly spoken of as 'renowned in Airyana Vaējah' (Ys. 9. 14, *srūtō airylene vaējahe*). The Prophet is also there represented as offering sacrifice in Airyana Vaējah by the river Dāityā (see below): Yt. 5. 104; 9. 25; 17. 45, *airylene vaējahi varshuyē dāityayē*. The Būdahishn likewise alludes to the fact that Zoroaster first offered worship in Airān Vēj and received Mētyōmāh (Av. *Maīdyōi-māsha*) as his first disciple. The passage reads, Bd. 32. 3, 'Zaratūst, when he brought the religion, first celebrated worship in Airān Vēj and Mētyōmāh received the religion from him.'<sup>2</sup> In the Dinkart also, as well as in the Avesta, the river Dāitī and its affluents in the land of Airān Vēj form the scene of Zoroaster's first revelation and of certainly one of his interviews with the archangels, the majority of which took place in Atropatene (Dk. 7. 3. 51-54; 4. 29; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. 21. 5; 21. 13; 22. 2; 22. 9).<sup>3</sup> In the later Persian Zartusht Namah, Zoroaster passes the Dāitī before he proceeds on his mission to King Vishtāsp.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. ii. 5-6; Geldner, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 38; similarly Justi, Spiegel, and de Harlez make Media the home of the Avesta. The strongest opponent of this view, and warmest supporter of Bactria, is Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882; *Sitz. d. Kgl. bayr. Akad.*, Mai, 1884, and recently *Grundr. d. iran.*

*Phil.* ii. 389. Spiegel notices the question of Airyanem-Vaejō in *ZDMG*. xli. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. West, *SBE*. v. 141, and Justi, *Der Bundahesh*, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 40 seq., above.

<sup>4</sup> See Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 491.





The hallowed Dāityā<sup>1</sup>—a sort of Iranian Jordan—was perhaps a border stream between two territorial divisions; we recall that Vishtāspa sacrifices 'on the other side of it' (cf. *pasne*, Yt. 17. 49) as discussed elsewhere, p. 211. The proposed identification of the Dāityā and its affluents, with the modern Kizel Ūzen, Spēd or Safēd Rūd and its tributaries in Ādarbaijān has already been mentioned as satisfying most of the conditions of the problem.<sup>2</sup>

### β. ALLUSIONS IN MOHAMMEDAN WRITERS

Having examined the direct Iranian sources in the light of possible allusions to Atropatene, we may now turn to other material on the subject. Mohammedan writers are almost unanimous in placing the first part of Zoroaster's prophetic career in Ādarbaijān (Āzarbaijān) or in stating that he came originally from that region.<sup>3</sup> The traditions cluster about Urmiah (Urmī) and Shīz. The Arabic name Shīz is the counterpart of an Iranian Cīz (from Caēcista), or Lake Urmiah.<sup>4</sup> The Arab geographer Yāqūt (A.D. 1250) describes 'Shīz, a district of Āzarbaijān . . . which is believed to be the country of Zaradusht, the prophet of the fire-worshippers. The chief place of this district is Urmiah';<sup>5</sup> and under Urmiah he writes: 'It is believed that this is the city of Zaradusht and that it was founded by the fire-worshippers.'<sup>6</sup>

There are a dozen other such statements which will be given below, but before presenting them it will be well merely to note that two or three Arabic authors allude to Zoroaster as being of Palestinian origin, and they state that he came from that land to Ādarbaijān; and they proceed to identify him with Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah. This confusion is presumably due to their having confounded the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah, *Armiah* (أرمية)

<sup>1</sup> Lit. the 'river of the Law,' on which it was first promulgated.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 41, 211. The same suggestion has been made tentatively by West, *SBE*. v. 79 n.; but Justi, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 402, proposes either the Kur or the Aras. Similarly Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 6, n.

<sup>3</sup> The quotations in the following paragraphs are made from the monograph of my friend and colleague,

Gothell, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press).

<sup>4</sup> See Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. p. xxi, n. 2, and cf. Justi, *Handbuch*, s.v. *Caēcista*.

<sup>5</sup> See Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse, extrait de Yaqout*, Paris, 1861, p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26, 86.



with Zoroaster's supposed native place Urumiah, *Urmiah* (أرمیه).<sup>1</sup> Having noticed this point we may present the Arabic and Syriac allusions to Zoroaster's native place, which are almost unanimous in mentioning Ādarbaijān (Āzarbaijān).

(a) Ibn Khurdādhbah (about A.D. 816),<sup>2</sup> *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, p. 119 (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1889) writes of 'Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Salamās and Shiz, in which last city there is the temple of Adharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'<sup>3</sup>

(b) Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhurī (about A.D. 851) in his *Kutāb Futūḥ al-buldān* (De Goeje, *Liber Expugnationis Regnorum*, p. 331. 1, Leyden, 1866), in mentioning the conquest of Ādarbaijān, adds the following note: 'Urmiah is an ancient city (of Ādarbaijān); the Magians think that Zārādusht, their master, came from there.'<sup>4</sup>

(c) Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (about A.D. 910), in his geographical account (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 286) mentions as cities of Ādarbaijān: 'Janzah, Jābrawān, and Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Shīz, in which there is the fire-temple, Ādharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'<sup>5</sup>

(d) Ṭabarī (d. A.D. 923), in his history, gives considerable attention to Zoroaster; out of a number of allusions one passage may be selected. It will be noticed, as explained above, pp. 38, 166, that Ṭabarī mentions a belief that Zoroaster was a native of Palestine who came to Ādarbaijān. In his *Annales*, Part I. p. 648 (Brill, Leyden, 1881), the passage runs: 'During the reign of Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp) Zarādusht appeared, whom the Magians believe to be their prophet. According to some learned men among the people of the book (i.e. the Jews), he was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite; but he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 30, 166 above and Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 30, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> His father is stated to have been a Magian, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33. It is not necessary at this point to repeat also the allusion to 'Persia'

in the Christian patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (A.D. 876-939) when he mentions Zoroaster. This author wrote in Arabic; the passage is given above in a Latin version in Appendix II. p. 168, and it may be found rendered into Latin in Migne, *Patrolog. Gr.*, tom. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.





God cursed him, and he became leprous.<sup>1</sup> He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp, who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many of his people to death on its account. They then followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve years.<sup>2</sup>

(e) Masūdī (writing A.D. 943-944, died 951) states in his *Meadows of Gold*: 'Gushtāsp reigned after his father (Lohrāsp) and resided at Balkh. He had been on the throne thirty years when Zardusht, son of Espimān, presented himself before him . . . he (Zardusht) was originally from Ādarbaijān and he is ordinarily called Zardusht, son of Espimān.'<sup>3</sup>

(f) Hamzah al-Īsfahānī (A.D. eleventh century) in his *Annals*, p. 22, 26 (Gottwaldt, *Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium*, Libri x, Lipsiae, 1848) states: 'While King Lohrāsp was still living, the sovereignty was handed over to his son Gushtāsp; and in the thirtieth year of Gushtāsp's reign, when he himself was fifty years old, Zardusht of Ādarbaijān came to him and expounded the religion to him. He not only embraced the religion himself, but he also sent messengers to the Greeks in behalf of this faith and invited them to adopt it. They, on the contrary, produced a book which had been given them by Feridūn, in which it was agreed that they should be allowed to keep whatsoever religion they had themselves chosen.'<sup>4</sup>

(g) Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086) has the famous statement already noticed, pp. 17, 192: 'They (the Zarāduštīya) are the followers of Zarādušt ibn Būrshasb (Purshasp), who appeared in the time of King Kushtāf (Gushtāsp) ibn Lohrāsp; his father was from Ādarbaijān, and his mother, whose name was Dughdū, was from Rai.'<sup>5</sup> According to Shahrastānī the Prophet's birth takes place in Ādarbaijān.

(h) Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. 13th century) incorporates the greater part of Ṭabarī's history into his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'arikh*, with slight

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 30 and Appendix II. p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>3</sup> From Masūdī (Maçoudi), *Prairies d'Or, Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, ii. p. 123. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> After Gottwaldt's Latin translation. See also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> From the German translation by Haarbrücker, i. p. 275 seq.; see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48.





additions from other sources, and with a more concise arrangement. His account of Zoroaster closely follows Tabarī's lines, including the statement regarding Zoroaster's relation to Jeremiah,<sup>1</sup> and his wandering to Ādarbaijān: 'It is said, he adds, that he was a foreigner,<sup>2</sup> and that he had composed a book with which he went around in the land. No one knew its meaning. He pretended that it was a heavenly tongue in which he was addressed. He called it *Ashta*.<sup>3</sup> He went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia). But no one understood what was in it, nor did they receive him. Then he went to India and offered it 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 kill him. From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp), son of Lohrāsp, who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'<sup>4</sup> And Ibn al-Athīr farther on relates: 'Then Bishtāsp caused Zarādusht, who was in Balkh, to be brought to him. When he stood before the king he explained his religion to him. The king wondered at it, followed it, and compelled his people to do the same. He killed a large number of them until they accepted (the new religion). The Magians believe that he took his rise in Ādarbaijān and that he came down to the king through the roof of the chamber. In his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him; nor did it burn any one who took it from his hands. He caused the king to follow him and to hold to his religion, and to build temples in his land for the fires. From this they lighted the fire in the fire-temples.'<sup>5</sup>

(i) Yāqūt (about A.D. 1250) has already been cited, but the allusions from Gottheil's collection (p. 42) are added here for completeness. The *Kitāb Mu'jam al-buldān* (vol. iii. p. 354, ed. Wüstenfeld) remarks of Shīz: 'It is said that Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, comes from this place. Its chief city is Urmiah. . . . In it is a fire-temple which is held in great esteem. From it are lighted the fires of the Magians from the east unto the west.' Also, vol. i.

<sup>1</sup> See comment on pp. 197-198.

<sup>2</sup> *Min al-'ajam*; probably a Persian (Gottheil).

<sup>3</sup> Mistake for *Abasta*, *Avesta*.

<sup>4</sup> The notion of Zoroaster's wanderings is not inconsistent with what

is implied in the *Dīnkar*; the imprisonment is also familiar from the stories in the *Dīnkar* and Zartusht Nāmāh, p. 62 above.

<sup>5</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 39-40.





p. 219, Yakūt has: 'Urmiah . . . people believe it to be the city of Zarādušt, the prophet of the Magians.'<sup>1</sup>

(j) Kazwīnī (about A.D. 1263), *Cosmography*, ii. p. 267 (ed. Wustenfeld, Göttingen, 1848), speaking of Shīz in Ādarbaijān, recounts: 'Zarādušt, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here. It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Kushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai Khusrau, king of the Persians. He wished to get to Bishtāsp, but he did not succeed. Bishtāsp was sitting in the hall of state, when the roof of the hall parted in two, and Zarādušt came down from it.' And, after describing some of the details of Vishtāsp's conversion, Kazwīnī concludes: 'Zarādušt commanded that fire-temples should be built in all the kingdom of Bishtāsp. He made the fire a Kibla, not a god. This sect continued to exist until the prophet of God (Mohammed) was sent. They say that even to-day a remnant of it is to be found in the land of Sajistān.'<sup>2</sup>

(k) The Syriac writer, Gregorius Bar 'Ebhṛāyā (about A.D. 1250) in his *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83 (ed. Salhani, Beirut, 1890), following his Arab masters, says: 'In those days (of Cyrus and Cambyses) Zaradosht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring him gifts.'<sup>3</sup>

(l) Abulfeda (A.D. 1273-1331), *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 58, as cited by Hyde, states that Zoroaster arose in (ارمیه) *Urmī* or (ارمیه) *Urmiah*.

See Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 311 (1st ed.). Hyde discusses other Arabic references, pp. 312-317. See below, Appendix VI. § 2.

**Estimate of the Mohammedan Allusions.**—According to the Arabic statements one would be justified in assuming that Zoroaster arose in Ādarbaijān; there seems also to be a preponderance of statements to the effect that Balkh was the scene of the Prophet's conversion of Vishtāsp.

<sup>1</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>3</sup> Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.



## 2. Raghā, Raī (Media Rhagiana)

All the above traditional Oriental allusions have been unanimous in placing Zoroaster's origin in Ādarbaijān, or Media Atropatene, whether in Urumiah, Shiz, or on the river Darej. There are yet two other passages, drawn from the Avesta, which connect Zoroaster's name with Raghā.

Raghā is generally identified with the city of Raī (Gk. 'Ράγαι) of Media, whose ancient ruins are still pointed out near modern Teheran. This was a famous city in antiquity, the 'Rages of Media' in the O. T. Apocrypha.<sup>1</sup> The Pahlavi texts seem to regard it as part of Ātūr-pātakān.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the boundaries of Ādarbaijān were wider extended then than now, although Darmesteter suggests that possibly there may have been a Raghā in Ādarbaijān independent of Raī.<sup>3</sup> This seems hardly necessary from what follows. We must also remember that Ragā in the Ancient Persian inscriptions is a district or province, *dahyu*. The subject of Raghā requires further discussion, but it may be stated at the outset that these allusions, in any event, lend additional weight to the view of Zoroaster's belonging originally to western Iran.

But before taking up the detailed question of Av. *Raghā*, Phl. *Rāgh*, Mod. Pers. *Raī*, it will be well to cite an extract from the *Dabistān*, a work that is late in its present form (about A.D. 1650), but a book which contains old traditions. The passage runs: 'It is generally reported that Zardusht was of Ādarbaijān or Tabriz; but those who are not *Beh-diniāns*, or "true believers," assert, and the writer of this work has also heard from the Mobed Torru of Busāwāri, in Gujarat, that the birthplace and distinguished ancestors of the prophet belong to the city of Raī.'<sup>4</sup> With this information we may turn to the Avesta itself.

(a) The first of the two Avesta texts which evidently associate Zoroaster's name in some way with Raghā is Vd. 1. 15, and the Pahlavi version of the passage is interesting. The Avesta passage reads: Vd. 1. 15, *dvadasēm asarhamca šōiθranqmcā vahištēm frāθ-*

<sup>1</sup> On 'Rhagæ,' see my article in Harper's *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, pp. 1369-1370, New York, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Zsp. 16. 12, West, *SBE*. xlvii. 147, et al.

<sup>3</sup> *Le ZA*. ii. 13, n., 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Dabistān*, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. p. 263, Paris, 1843. The translator adds a note that Raī is the most northern town of the province Jebel, or Irak Ajem, the country of the ancient Parthians.



*werasam azem yō ahurō mazdā rayam θrizantiēm*, 'as the twelfth most excellent of localities and places, I who am Ahura Mazda created Raghā of the three races.' The Pahlavi commentary renders, *rāk ī 3 tōmak ātūr-pātakāno*, 'Rāk of three races, of Ātūr-pātakān,'<sup>1</sup> and he adds the gloss, *aētun mūn rēi yemalēlūnēto*, 'some say it is Rai.' Notice the footnote.<sup>2</sup>

(b) The second of the Avestan passages which connects the name of Zoroaster with Raghā is in Ys. 19. 18. Mention is there made of five regular rulers, 'the lord of the house, the village, the province, and the country, and Zarathushtra as the fifth.' This order, as the text continues, holds good for all countries 'except the Zarathushtrian Rāji (or *Raghi*; is it Rai?).' 'The Zarathushtrian Raghā (*Raya Zarathuštriš*) has four lords, the lord of the house, the village, the province, and Zarathushtra as the fourth.' The text is appended.

Ys. 19. 18, *Kaya ratawō? nmānyō vīsyō zantumō dāhyumō zaraθuštrō puxdō. āsham dahyunam yā anyā rājōit zaraθuštrōit. cabru-ratus raya zaraθuštriš. kaya aišhā ratawō? nmānyasca vīsyasca zantumasca zaraθuštrō tūiryō*. This construction evidently signifies that the *Dāhyuma*, or governor, is everywhere the supreme head, but there is acknowledged one who stands above him as representative of the church, as well as state, the chief pontiff Zoroaster (*Zarathushtra*), or 'the supreme Zoroaster' (*Zarathushtrōtema*), as he is elsewhere termed (e.g. Ys. 26. 1; Yt. 10. 115, etc.). In the papal see of Raghā, however, the temporal power (*Dāhyuma*) and the spiritual lordship (*Zarathushtra*) are united in the one person.<sup>3</sup> For some reason Raghā is plainly the seat of the religious government. The Pahlavi version (ad loc.) speaks of it in connection with Zoroaster as being 'his own district' (*matā-ī nafšman*);<sup>4</sup> the Sanskrit of Nēryōsang glosses the allusion by asserting that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad*, p. 8, Bombay, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Allusion has been made above (p. 202) to the question of a Raghā in Ādarbaijān as possibly contrasted with the *Pāyay* of the Greek, or possibly to a *Raya Zarathuštriš* different from Rai; cf. also the Anc. Pers. *Ragā* as a district or province, *dahyu*; but that is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> See also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Notice the use of 'district,' and elsewhere Raghā is a region as well as a town of Media. On Greek allusions to *Pāyay*, see also Haug, *Ahuna-Vairya-Formel*, pp. 133-134 (=45-46), München, 1872, and the article which is referred to on the preceding page (p. 202, n. 1).



Zoroaster was the fourth lord in this village, because it is his own — *tasmīn grāme yat svīyam āsīt asāu gurus' caturtho 'bhūt*.<sup>1</sup> Raghā is plainly a centre of ecclesiastical power, as remarked above. This fact is further attested by Yākūt (i. p. 244), who says there was a celebrated fortress 'in the district of Dunbāwand, in the province of Rāī' (notice the latter expression), which was the stronghold of the chief priest of the Magians.<sup>2</sup> If Raghā enjoyed such religious prominence there must have been ground for it, and we recall what was said above, in the Dabistān and Shahrastānī's statement, which connects Zoroaster's mother's family with Rāī.

(c) As a sequel to this, comes an interesting comment in the Selections of Zāṭ-sparam; this has already been noticed (p. 192), but it is worthy of being taken up again at this point, for it is a sort of Iranian adage like Macbeth's Birnam wood and Dunsinane. In Zsp. 16. 11–12, an old proverbial affirmation is used to assert that something is impossible, and that it would not happen — 'not though both the provinces of Rāgh and Nōṭar should arrive here together'; and the explanatory comment on these proper names is added, 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pātakān, such as are sixty leagues (parasang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cīst'.<sup>3</sup> Zaratūst arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōṭar.' The rest of the passage and the Dīnkar occurrences of the proverb have been given above (pp. 192–193), and should be consulted.

Rāgh (Av. Raghā) like Arabic Shīz is evidently a territorial designation as well as a town title, and certainly the Prophet's family on the maternal side came from there, if we are to place any reliance on tradition. Now, if the Prophet was born in a city of Ādarbaijān, whether in Urumiah, in the region of Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. Urumiah), or on the Darej River — and even Rāgh itself appears frequently in Pahlavi to have been regarded as a part of this land — it is by no means unlikely that a man with a mission like Zoroaster would have been drawn to so important a place as Raghā was in antiquity, especially if it was the home of his mother. All which would account for the association of the names together. An attempt has been made by the present writer, in *JAOS*. xv. p. 228–232, more fully to amplify this connection of Raghā with Zoroaster's teaching

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Spiegel, *Nertiosengh's Skt. Uebersetz. des Yaçna*, Leipzig, 1861, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 46, n.; Barbier de Meynard,

*Dict. de la Perse*, p. 33; Darmesteter, *SBE*. iv. p. xlviii. (1st ed.).

<sup>3</sup> It is important to consult the footnote on p. 193.





and preaching, especially by an attempted explanation of the word *rajiš* in Ys. 53. 9.<sup>1</sup> But the passage and the commentary alike are difficult, and enough has been said already to show Zoroaster's connection with this region.

**Conclusion as to Zoroaster's Native Place.** — Zoroaster arose in western Iran. Apparently he was born somewhere in Ādarbaijān. The places specially mentioned are Urumiah, Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. anc. Urumiah) and the river Darej. His mother's family was connected with Raghā, which accounts for associating his name with that place; but it is not clear that this was the Median Raī (Párai of the Greeks) although it was in the west. The latter seems to have been a district as well as town, and is sometimes regarded as a part of ancient Ātūr-pātakān. Zoroaster's youth was also certainly passed in western Iran.

## II. SCENE OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY

### General Remarks

The question regarding Zoroaster's native place may be looked upon as having been answered by placing it in western Iran, at least on the basis of present evidence and opinion. The question as to the scene or scenes of his religious activity, however, is a more unsettled problem. The uncertainty is doubtless due to the conditions of the case; missionary work by a reformer is not confined to a single field. Taking a general view, however, as stated on p. 186, scholars are divided between Media, in the broader sense, and Bactria, with a preponderance perhaps in favor of the former. The present writer has elsewhere maintained the ground that both sides of this question are possibly correct, in part, and that the conflicting views may be combined and reconciled on the theory that the reformer's native place was not necessarily the scene of his really successful prophetic mission.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the opinion was held that Zoroaster may have been a prophet without honor in his own country; that he arose, indeed, in western Iran, probably somewhere in Atropatene; that he presumably went at one time to

<sup>1</sup> First suggested by Geldner, *KZ.* xxviii. 202-203, and further discussed by the present writer in the article alluded to in the next note.

<sup>2</sup> Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place?* *JAOS.* vol. xv. pp. 221-232, New Haven, 1891.