

ZOROASTER

THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN

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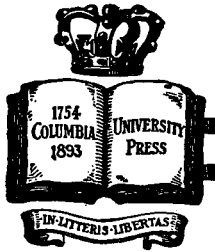
ZOROASTER

THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN

BY

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IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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To

DR. E. W. WEST

AS A MARK OF REGARD

PREFACE

THIS work deals with the life and legend of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, the representative and type of the laws of the Medes and Persians, the Master whose teaching the Parsis to-day still faithfully follow. It is a biographical study based on tradition; tradition is a phase of history, and it is the purpose of the volume to present the picture of Zoroaster as far as possible in its historic light.

The suggestion which first inspired me to deal with this special theme came from my friend and teacher, Professor Geldner of Berlin, at the time when I was a student under him, ten years ago, at the University of Halle in Germany, and when he was lecturing for the term upon the life and teachings of Zoroaster. It was from him that I received my earliest vivid impression of the historic reality of the Ancient Sage. The special material for the work, however, has grown out of my own lectures, delivered several times in the regular university curriculum of Columbia. Students who may have attended the course will perhaps recognize some of the ideas as discussed with them in the class. As I have had the preparation of this volume in view for some time, I have naturally been constantly adding to my material or collecting new facts to throw light on the subject. It is the aim of the book to bring together all that is generally known at the present time, either from history or from tradition, about this religious teacher of the East.

Our knowledge of Zoroaster has been greatly augmented from the traditional side, during the past few years, especially through the translations made by Dr. West from the Pahlavi texts. This mass of Zoroastrian patristic literature tends

largely to substantiate much that was formerly regarded as somewhat legendary or uncertain. This has resulted in placing actual tradition on a much firmer basis and in making Zoroaster seem a more real and living personage. It is the object of the book to bring out into bolder relief historically the figure of this religious leader. In emphasizing more especially the reality of the great Master's life instead of elaborating the more mythical views of Zarathushtra which prevailed not so long ago, I may, in the judgment of some, have gone too far on the side of realism. But if I have done so, it seems to me that this is a fault at least in the right direction if we may forecast the future from the present. I can but feel that the old writers, like Anquetil du Perron, were nearer the truth in certain of their views of Zoroaster, than has sometimes been supposed. In taking a position so much in accord with tradition with regard to Zarathushtra I might adopt the plea which the old Armenian annalist, Moses of Khorene, employs in another connection: 'there may be much that is untrue in these stories, there may be much that is true; but to me, at least, they seem to contain truth.' I may only add that in general where there is so much smoke there must also be fire, and in the book I hope that others may discern some sparks of the true flame amid the cloud.

As to the arrangement of material and the form of the work, I have sought to make the first half of the volume more general; the second half I have allowed to be more technical. The story of the life and ministry of the Prophet is told in twelve chapters; the more critical discussion of mooted points is reserved for the Appendixes. The general reader may also omit all notes at the bottom of the pages.

In respect to the spelling of proper names the plan has generally been, in the case of Zoroaster, to employ Zarathushtra, Zaratûsht, or Zardusht, respectively, if it seemed necessary at any point to indicate the special sources from which I was drawing or to distinguish between Avestan, Pahlavi, and Modern

Persian. I have otherwise called the Prophet by his more familiar name of Zoroaster. The same holds true of his patron Vishtāspa, Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp, and of other ancient names. I have furthermore aimed at giving authority for all statements that I have made, as the abundant references to the original sources and the citations will show.

With regard to indebtedness, I have always tried to give credit to my predecessors and fellow-workers in the field; a glance at the footnotes, I think, will prove this. Each of those to whom I am under obligation will best recognize my indebtedness, and will best be aware of my appreciation. I should like to have referred also to Professor Tiele's latest book, which deals with the religion of Iran, because some twenty of its interesting pages are devoted to Zarathushtra; it arrived after my work was all printed, so I have been able only to add the title in my bibliographical list on p. xv, and to draw attention to the points which are of importance in connection with the present subject. Furthermore, in various parts of my volume I have made acknowledgment to several friends for kind aid which they have readily given on special points, and which I shall gratefully remember.

I now wish to express to the Trustees of the Columbia University Press my appreciation of their encouragement given to me to carry out the work; and I desire especially to thank President Seth Low for the personal interest he has taken in the book from the beginning, and to acknowledge the kind helpfulness of Dean Nicholas Murray Butler in all matters of detail. The Macmillan Company, likewise, have been constantly ready to meet my wishes in every regard; and I owe my thanks also to the printing firm of Messrs. Cushing and Company, to their compositors and their proof-readers, for their careful and prompt despatch of the work.

But beside these acknowledgments there remain two friends to mention, who come in for a large share of remembrance.

These are my two pupils, Mr. Louis H. Gray, Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, and Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., a member of the class of 1899 in the College, who has been studying Sanskrit and Avestan for the last two years. Since the first proof-sheets arrived, these two generous helpers have been unflagging in their zeal and willingness to contribute, in any way that they could, to giving accuracy to the book. Mr. Gray's indefatigable labor and scholarly acumen are especially to be seen in Appendix V., the completeness of which is due to his untiring readiness to pursue the search farther for texts that might hitherto have escaped notice; and to Mr. Schuyler's hand is owed many a happy suggestion that otherwise would have been lacking in the book, and more than one correction that without his aid might have been overlooked. To both of these scholars I wish to express my thanks; and I feel that they also will recall with pleasure the happy hours spent together in work as chapter after chapter came from the printer's hand. *Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.*

And now I send the book forth, hoping that in some measure it may contribute to a more general knowledge of this Sage of the Past, the Persian Prophet of old, the forerunner of those Wise Men of the East who came and bowed before the majesty of the new-born Light of the World.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
October, 1898.

LIST OF WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT OR MOST OFTEN CONSULTED

[The other books which have been referred to are given with their titles as occasion arises to quote from them or to refer to them. The present list is therefore very abridged.]

Anquetil du Perron. *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre. Tome I. 1, 2 et Tome II.* Paris, 1771.

'*Vie de Zoroastre*' (i. Part 2, pp. 1-70); very important. German translation by Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Thl. 3, pp. 1-48; excerpts in English by K. E. Kanga. Bombay, 1876.

Avesta. The Sacred Books of the Parsis. Edited by Karl F. Geldner. Stuttgart, 1885-1896.

All Avestan references are made to this edition except in the case of Yashts 22-24, for which Westergaard's edition was used. The Fragments are found in Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. 1-166.

Ayuso, F. G. *Los Pueblos Iranios y Zoroastro.* Madrid, 1874.

This volume of studies shows sympathy for tradition. Z. born in the west (p. 7); his date is placed in the Vedic Period, B.C. 2000-1800 (p. 14, cf. pp. 147-149), but confused by tradition with another Z. who lived about B.C. 600 (p. 15).

Brisson, Barnabé. *Barnabae Brissonii, De Regio Persarum Principatu Libri Tres.* Argentorati, 1710 (orig. ed. 1590).

Consult especially the full indexes at the end of the edition.

Dabistān. *The Dabistān, or School of Manners.* Translated from the Original Persian. By Shea and Troyer. 3 vols. Paris, 1843.

Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. *Geiger's Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times.* Translated from the German. (*Ostiranische Kultur*.) 2 vols. London, 1885-1886.

Contains also a translation of Spiegel's *Essay on Gushtāsp and Zoroaster* (from *Eranische Alterthumskunde*).

— Zarathushtra in the Gāthās and in the Greek and Roman classics. Translated from the German of Drs. Geiger and Windischmann, with Notes and an Appendix. Leipzig, 1897.

See also Windischmann and Geiger.

Darmesteter, James. The Zend Avesta. Translated. Sacred Books of the East, vols. iv., xxiii. Oxford, 1880, 1883, and vol. iv. in second ed., 1895.

Darmesteter, J. Le Zend Avesta, Traduction nouvelle avec Commentaire historique et philologique. 3 vols. Paris, 1892-1893. (Annales du Musée Guimet, xxi., xxii., xxiv.)

This valuable work has been constantly consulted on points relating to the Avesta.

Dasātīr. The Desatir, or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets in the Original Tongue; together with the Ancient Persian Version and Commentary of the Fifth Sasan. Published by Mulla Firuz Bin Kaus. An English translation. 2 vols. Bombay, 1818.

Dosabhai Framji Karaka. History of the Parsis. 2 vols. London, 1884.

Especially vol. 2, chap. 2, pp. 146-164.

Duncker, M. History of Antiquity. English translation by E. Abbott. Vol. 5. London, 1881.

Firdausī. See Shāh Nāmāh.

Geiger, Wilhelm. Das Yātkār-i Zarīrān und sein Verhältnis zum Šāh-nāme. Sitzb. der philos. philol. und histor. Cl. d. k. bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., 1890. Bd. ii. Heft 1, pp. 43-84. München, 1890.

— Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum. Erlangen, 1882.

English transl. by Darab D. P. Sanjana. See above.

Geiger. Zarathushtra in den Gāthās. A Discourse. Translated by Darab D. P. Sanjana.

See above.

Geldner, K. F. Article 'Zoroaster.' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xxiv., 820-823 (9th ed.), 1888. Also forthcoming article, 'Persian Religion,' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ed. Cheyne and Black (read in manuscript).

Gottheil, R. J. H. References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature. In *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, New York, 1894. pp. 24-51 (Columbia University Press).

Very useful and constantly referred to.

Grundriss der iranischen Philologie. Hrsg. von W. Geiger und E. Kuhn. Strassburg, 1896—.

Harlez, C. de. *Avesta, Livre Sacré du Zoroastrisme. Traduit du Texte Zend. 2^{me} éd. Paris, 1881.*

Valuable Introduction; Chap. II., pp. xviii.-xxxii., 'Zoroastre.'

Haug, M. *Essays on the Parsis. Third ed. Edited and enlarged by E. W. West. London, 1884.*

Especially Essay IV.

Hölty, A. *Zoroaster und sein Zeitalter. Lüneburg, 1836.*

Horn, P. *Die Reiche der Meder und Perser. (Geschichte und Kultur. Die Religion Zoroaster's.) Hellwalds Kulturgeschichte. 4 Auflage, Bd. i. 301-332. 1897.*

Hovelacque, A. *L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme. Paris, 1880.*

Sketch of Zoroaster, pp. 134-149.

Hyde, T. *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum. Oxon. 1700.*

A fund of information. Citations after this first edition.

Justi, Ferd. *Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathustra. In Preussische Jahrbücher. Bd. 88, pp. 55-86, 231-262. Berlin, 1897.*

— *Handbuch der Zendsprache. Leipzig, 1864.*

— *Iranisches Namenbuch. Marburg, 1895.*

Consulted on all proper names.

Kanga, Kavasji Edalji. *Extracts from Anquetil du Perron's Life and Religion of Zoroaster. Translated from the French. Bombay, 1876. (Commercial Press.)*

Kleuker, J. F. *Zend-Avesta, Zoroasters Lebendiges Wort. 1 Bd., 3 Thle., und 2 Bde., 5 Thle. Riga, 1776-1783.*

Translated from the French of Anquetil du Perron. The 'Anhänge' contain valuable material from the classics and other sources. Often consulted.

Ménant, Joachim. *Zoroastre. Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse. 2^{me} éd. Paris, 1857.*

General in character.

Meyer, Ed. *Geschichte des Alterthums. Erster Band. Stuttgart, 1884.*

Mills, L. H. *A Study of the Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gāthās, with texts and translations. Oxford and Leipzig, 1892-1894.*

Always consulted on points relating to the Pahlavi version of the Gāthās. See also *SBE. xxxi.*

Mirkhond. History of the Early Kings of Persia. Translated from the original Persian, by Shea. London, 1832.

Especially pp. 263-337.

Mohl. See Shāh Nāmāh.

Müller, F. Max. Ed. Sacred Books of the East. Oxford.

Especially the translations by E. W. West, Darmesteter, Mills.

Nöldeke, Th. Persische Studien, II. Sitzb. d. k. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien, phil. hist. Cl. Bd. cxxvi. 1-46. Wien, 1892.

Oldenberg, Hermann. Zarathushtra. Deutsche Rundschau, xiv. Heft 12, pp. 402-437, September, 1898.

A sketch interestingly written. It arrived too late to be referred to in the body of the book. On p. 409 of his article, Professor Oldenberg gives expression to his view of Z.'s date, which he says, however, is 'merely a subjective estimate,' placing Zoroaster about B.C. 900-800, without discussing the question.

Pastoret, M. de. Zoroastre, Confucius, et Mahomet. Seconde éd. Paris, 1788.

Like Brisson, Hyde, and other old writers, this briefly notes some of the material accessible at the time. Seldom consulted.

Ragozin, Zénaïde A. The Story of Media, Babylon, and Persia. (Story of the Nations Series.) New York, 1888.

Rapp. Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen. ZDMG. xix. 1-89; xx. 49-204.

Translated into English by K. E. Cama. Bombay, 1876-1879.

Shāh Nāmāh. Firdusii Liber Regium qui inscribitur Shah Name, ed. Vul- lers (et Landauer). Tom. 3. Lugd. 1877-1884.

— Le Livre des Rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi, traduit et commenté par Jules Mohl. 7 vols. Paris, 1876-1878.

Quotations are based on this translation.

— The Shāh Nāmāh of the Persian Poet Firdausi. Transl. and abridged in prose and verse. By James Atkinson. London and New York, 1886. (Chandos Classics.)

Especially pp. 246-313. See also Nöldeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 207 n. 6.

Spiegel, Fr. Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Uebersetzt. 3 Bde. Leipzig, 1852-1863.

— Ueber das Leben Zarathustra's, in *Sitzb. der kgl. bayer. Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 5, January, 1867, pp. 1-92. München, 1867.

Most of this monograph is incorporated into Spiegel's following book.

- Eranische Alterthumskunde. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1871–1878.
The chapter entitled 'Die letzten Kaiänier und Zarathushtra' (Bd. i. 659–724), is important here, and is accessible in English by Darab D. P. Sanjana. See above.
- Tiele, C. P. De Godsdienst van Zarathustra, van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk. Haarlem, 1864.
- Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst. Amsterdam, 1876.
- Iets over de Oudheid van het Avesta. Mededeelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen, xi., 3de R., pp. 364–383. Amsterdam, 1895.
Does not accept Darmesteter's view as to late origin of the Avesta; finds traces of Zoroastrianism in the first half of the seventh century B.C.
- Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen. Deutsche autorisierte Ausgabe von G. Gehrlich. 11 Band. Die Religion bei den iranischen Völkern. Erste Hälfte, pp. 1–187. Gotha, 1898.
This excellent volume dealing with the religion of Iran arrived too late to quote from or to mention except here in the Preface, because the rest of my book was already in the press. I should otherwise certainly have referred to such pages in the work as bear upon Zoroaster, for example the following: pp. 37–38, Gaotema is not identified with Buddha, but rather with the Vedic sage (cf. pp. 177–178 of the present volume); p. 49, age of the Avesta, the oldest passages of the Younger Avesta, according to Professor Tiele, are to be placed not much later than B.C. 800, although they were not necessarily at that time in their present form of redaction; p. 54, allusions to Phraortes and Kyaxares; p. 54, Atropatane; p. 58, Bactrian kingdom; p. 92, Zoroaster in the Gāthās; p. 98, allusions to Z.'s name and its meaning; pp. 99–107, question as to his historical, legendary, or mythical existence; p. 121, the cradle of the Zoroastrian reform is to be sought in the north and northwest of Iran, whence it spread probably first toward the east and southeast of Bactria, even as far as India; thence to the south into Media Proper and Persia.
- Vullers, J. A. Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster, aus dem Persischen übersetzt. Bonn, 1831.
Notes useful.
- West, E. W. Pahlavi Texts translated. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Sacred Books of the East, ed. F. Max Müller, vols. v., xviii., xxiv., xxxvii., xlvii.
Constantly used. Pahlavi quotations in translation are from these volumes.
- Wilson, John. The Pārsi Religion: as contained in the Zand-Avastā. Bombay, 1843.
The Appendix contains a translation of the Zartusht-Nāmāh by E. B. Eastwick. Often quoted.
- Windischmann, Fr. Zoroastrische Studien. Abhandlungen, hrsg. von Fr. Spiegel. Berlin, 1863.
Valuable material; excerpts accessible now also in English translation by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Often consulted.

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KEY TO THE MAP

KEY TO THE MAP

1. On Iranian geography, see especially Geiger in *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.* ii. 371-394, where a Bibliography is given.
2. Avestan, Pahlavi, or Ancient Persian names in the list are designated by *italics*.
3. Conjectural identifications are indicated by (?) or by 'prob.' (probably).

Abbasabad	Gb	Kerman	Fe
Adarbaijan (Azerbaijan)	ABCabc	Kermanshah	Bc
<i>Airyana Vaejah</i> = Adarbaijan?	ABCabc	Khorasmia	EFbc
Alburz Mts.	CDEFb	Khorassan	FGHcd
Alvand Mt.	Cc	Kirmanshah	Bc
Amu Daria (see Oxus)		Kizel River (Sefid, Safed) River	BCb
Aras (Araxes)	Ba	Kuh-i Mish	GHC
Ardabil	Ca	Kumish	GHe
<i>Asnavant Mt.</i> = Sahend?		Kunduz	Nb
<i>Atropatene</i> = see Adarbaijan		Kurdistan	ABbc
Bactria	KLMbc	Lake Urumiah	Ab
Badghis	IKc	Madan	Hb
Balkh	Mb	Marāgha	Bb
Barfrush	Eb	Mash-had	Hb
Behistan (Besitun)	Bc	Mazanderan	DEb
Binalud Kuh	Hb	Media	CDEbc
Birjand	Hd	Merv	IKb
Bokhara	La	Mesheh (see Mash-had)	
<i>Caecista</i> (<i>Caecasta</i>)	Ab	Miandasht	Gb
Caspian Sea = prob. Vourukasha	CDEab	Mihir	Gb
Cha-kansur	IKe	Murghab River	Kbc
Chorasmia (see Kh.)		Nihavand	Cc
Chorassan (see Kh.)		Nishabur (Nishapur)	Hb
<i>Daitya</i> river = Kizel Uzen?	BCb	Oxus (Jihun River)	IKab
<i>Darej</i> river = Daryal	Ba	Parthia	FGbc
Demavand Mt.	DEc	Pasargadæ	Ee
Dinaver (Dinewer) (not on Map)	Bc	Persepolis (NE of Shiraz)	Ef
Dranjiana	IKe	Persis (Fars)	DEFefg
Ecbatana (Hamadan)	Cc	Radkan	Hb
Elburz (see Alburz)		<i>Ragha</i> (Rai)	Dc
Elvend = Alvand	Cc	Rai	Dc
Farah Rud	IKde	Safed, Sefid River (Kizel Uzen)	BCb
Fars (Persis)	DEFefg	Sagastan (Seistan)	IKLde
Ferghanah (in Turkestan, NE)		Sahend, Mt.	Bb
Ganzaca	Bb	Samarkand	Ma
Ghazni	Nd	Sari	Eb
Gbilan	Cb	Savalan Mt.	Ba
Ghor	Ld	Sehna	Bc
Ghuznee (see Ghazni)		Seistan	IKLde
Gunabad	Hb	Shiraz	Ef
Hamadan (Ecbatana)	Cc	<i>Shiz</i> (cf. Takht-i Suleiman)	Bb
Hamun swamp	Ie	Sogdiana	LMNa
<i>Hara Berezaiti</i> (see Alburz)		<i>Spet Razhur</i>	Hd
Hassar (see Hissar)		Susa	Cd
Herat	Kc	Taberistan	Ec
Hilmend River	KLMe	Tajan River (Thejend)	Eb
Hissar	MNa	Takht-i Bostan	Bc
Hycania	EFGb	Takht-i Suleiman	Bb
Ispahan (Isfahan)	Dd	Teheran	Dc
Istakhr = Persepolis (NE of Shiraz)	Ef	<i>Tojan</i> = ? see Tajan	
Jagatai Mts.	Gb	Turan = Turkestan	
Jihun (Oxus) River	IKab	Turkestan	FMab
Kabul	Nc	Tus	Hb
Kaian (Kain)	Hd	Urumiah (Urmia)	Ab
<i>Kansava</i> = prob. Cha-kansur	IKe	<i>Vourukasha</i> = prob. Caspian Sea	Fe
Karman (see Kerman)		Yazd (Yeزد)	Cb
Kashaf River	Hb	Zenjan	

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