

IS MANICHEISM AN IRANIC RELIGION? PART I

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1. The direct statement in the younger Avesta that there are 7 Aməšaspəntas (Princes of the Gods), is confirmed by a Chino-Manichean source¹. The oldest parts of the Avesta allow the conclusion that there were 7 divine princes beside Ahuramazda (cf Yasna 47, 1—2): Spənta Mainyuš, Vohu Manah, Aša-vahišta, Haurvatāt, Amərətāt, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti. As Spənta Mainyuš (Holy Ghost) is often identified with Ahuramazda, the latter is used in the place of the former in Yasna 1, 1—2; 16, 3; 70, 2; so that the "Seven" must be alternately understood with or without inclusion of Ahuramazda. The younger Avesta, having added Sraoša² understands the "Seven" without Ahuramazda (or Spənta Mainyuš).

The supposition that Ahuramazda is equipped with 7 original powers personified is also substantiated by the 7 epithets given to him (Yasna 26, 2, Yašt 13, 80), while Yasna 45, 2, too, may point at the 7 attendants surrounding Ahuramazda and Angro Mainyuš, when—beside their soul—the following 7 attributes are given to them: manah (intellect), səngha (knowledge), xratu (wisdom), varəna (faith), uxəda (speech), šyaoθna (activity), daēnā (religion). That *daēnā* stands here for "religion" is seen from Yasna 16, 2. Now it can be proved by the study of all religions that a people's picture of the heavenly kingdom reflects that of its own kingdom on earth. The 7 Aməšaspəntas are conceived after the 7 princes attending the Achaemenids' kings³. "Diese Ausgestaltung des göttlichen Regiments nach dem Vorbild des irdischen

Hofhaltes hat sich in den Monarchien überall entwickelt und tritt uns sehr anschaulich z. B. in Babylonien auf den Votivtafeln seit den ältesten Zeiten entgegen"⁴. A. Christensen⁵ showed that, in a similar way, the four watches of the heavens in Bundehišn 2, 7 correspond with the 4 main dignitaries of the Sassanides. The Indian gods' lives and courts, too, resemble perfectly those of princes on earth⁶. That the Aməšaspəntas nearest to Ahuramazda must be thought of as inseparably combined with him, is to be inferred from Yasna 23, 2, where Ahuramazda's Fravaši and the six or seven Fravašis of the Aməšaspəntas appear closely united through the use of the dual: *fravaši*⁷. Amongst the Aməšaspəntas, Vohu Manah represents the genius of good-will, Aša vahišta (perfect justice) the protector of fire in the heavens and on earth⁸, Ārmaiti (devotion) the guardian of the earth (Y. 47, 3; Vend. 2, 10; 18, 64), Amərətāt (immortality) that of the plants, and Haurvatāt (perfection) that of the waters, whereas in the younger Avesta the two last names also stand for plants and for water⁹. Xšaθra vairya (excellent government) takes care of the metals and therefore also stands for metal¹⁰.

2. Of late, Reitzenstein¹¹ suggested the hypothesis that there were in Iran originally but 5 Aməšaspəntas, representing, so to speak, the 5 elements: fire, earth, water, plants, and metal. He sees the proof thereof, firstly, in a passage of a Soghdish fragment, calling the 5

¹ Ed. Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums II 1921, 98.

² L'Empire des Sassanides 1907, 31.

³ Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, 1920, 312 f.

⁴ The text of Yasna 23 has many mistakes. § 1 reads, to my opinion, after Ms. Mf. 3 and Yašt 13, 22: *puθrē . . . paitivaratē* (accus. plur.). As the verb *ā-yās* may also be followed by the genitive as shown by § 4, we must replace the faulty *fravaše* in § 3 by the variant K. 37: *fravašē* (i. e., dative for genitive) which form stands also in the text of § 4; the same also instead of the second *fravaši* in § 1. The especially incorrect § 3 must—with regard to the existing variants—run as follows: "**vīspayāi āvavane fravašē *kā asti kvāciθ ahyā vomo parairista dahma nāvika āpərənōyika kainika . . . *nzeyiti*. (the last form can be proved by the Pehl.-translation). "I address in prayer every *fravashi* of a righteous person, defunct anywhere on this earth as godly woman, of every not grown up girl that laboured in the field and was domestic and has gone off that house." The parallel passage Y. 67, 2—3 also demands the dative *fravašē*, because this word depends upon the verb *daθami* "I dedicate." About the dative for genitive in Avesta comp. P. Horn, Bezzenbergers Beitrage 17, 152 ff.

⁵ Yasna 25, 7; 1, 4; 2, 4; cf. also Darmesteter Z. A., II 361.

⁶ Yasna 8, 1; 3, 1; 4, 1; 6, 17; 7, 26.

⁷ Cf. Bartholomae, Air. Wörterbuch 545.

⁸ Mani and Zarathustra, Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 1922, 249 ff.

¹ Journ. Asiat. 1911, p. 544.

² Cf. Schefftelowitz, Altpers. Religion 1920, 133 f.

³ Ibid. p. 133. The septenary is also frequently found in the cult of Mithras. On its monuments we see the sun with 7 rays and 7 altars (Cumont, Text et mon. I 115, 123).

Manichean elements "the 5 *Mardaspandtil*" (= old Iranian: Aməšaspəntas, cf. Müller, Handschr. II, 98); secondly in Yasna 26, 1—3. Let us see if this hypothesis, overthrowing all previous Avesta-interpretation, can be verified.

Yasna 26, 1—7 treats in all details the same subject as 23, 1—4; § 1 is an invocation of the Fravašis of homes, villages, districts, and countries; § 2 invokes Ahuramazda's Fravaši together with those of the Aməšaspəntas and Yazatas. Then follow those of the religious men, lead by the *Paoiryā ũkaēša* (i. e., the first teachers), such as Gayo marətan, Zarathuštra, Vištāspa, Isaṭvāstra; then are invoked the Fravašis of male and female believers belonging to one family and called *Nabānazdišta*. In § 4, the Fravašis of the *Paoiryā ũkaēša* and *Nabānazdišta* are mentioned in connection with the own soul. With the exception of § 1, which is repeatedly varied in the Avesta, the invocation of the Fravašis is very old in its form and found not only in Y. 26, 2—7, but also in Y. 1. Here, 1, 1—18, the names of Ahuramazda, of the 6 Aməšaspəntas and of the other Yazatas are given in the same order, then follow the Fravašis of the *Paoiryā ũkaēša*, of the *Nabānazdišta*, and of the own soul. Let us begin with Yasna 26. § 1 is—as was said before—a favourite litany of the Avesta:¹

1) "The good, powerful, holy Fravašis of the right-believers I praise, I invoke, I sing. We adore the Fravašis of the thoroughly Zarathuštrian homes, villages, districts, and countries.

2) Among all these Head-Fravašis we adore here that of Ahuramazda as the greatest, best, most beautiful, most powerful, most wise, finest of all in shape, and unsurpassed in righteousness.

3) The good, powerful, holy Fravašis of the righteous Aməšaspəntas, the shining, effective by their glances, prominent, overpowerful, efficient, offsprings of Ahuramazda, intangible, and just.

4) The vitality, the Self, the reason, the soul, and Fravaši of the first teachers (*Paoiryā ũkaēša*) and of the first male and female rightly believing disciples, who were victorious for the right faith, we adore. The soul of the well-built cow we adore².

5) Those that were victorious for Aša, we adore, that is: the Fravaši of the right-believer Gayo Marətan, the lot, and the fravaši of

the right-believer Spitama Zarathuštra we adore; the Fravaši of the right-believer Kavi Vištāspa we adore; the Fravaši of the rightly believing offspring of Zarathuštra, Isaṭvāstra, we adore.

6) The vitality, the Self, the reason, the soul, Fravaši of their nearest kin (*Nabānazdišta*) among the male and female believers, who were victorious for the right faith, we adore together with all faithful Fravašis of the dead and living right-believers and of the yet unborn world-renewing saviours.

7) We adore here the souls that are the Fravašis of the righteous dead. We adore here the Fravašis of all *Nabānazdištas* that died in this house, of the promulgators of religion, and of their male and female rightly believing disciples."

Here, as in Yašt 13, 149, are only invoked the five spiritual and immortal ingredients of man of the *Paoiryā ũkaēša* and *Nabānazdišta*, whereas in Yašt 13, 155, the 5 spiritual, immortal parts of all "present, future, and past victors" are adored. According to ancient Iranian creed, 5 immortal spiritual powers are immanent to the right-believer, as is seen by Yasna 55, 1: "All persons, with bones, physical strength, body, intellectual vitality (*ũviši*), reason (*baodah*), soul (*urvan*), and Fravaši we hallow." Here the last four powers are immortal. That *ũviši* corresponds here entirely with *ahū*, the imperishable vitality, is inferred from Yasna 45, 10; 34, 11; 51, 7. Besides, man has, as known, an immortal *daēna* (Self), cf. Yašt 13, 74; Haδ. Nask. 1, 9. In analogy to the 5 spiritual parts of man, Zarathuštra has also five spiritual features: Fravaši, speech, religion³, faith, and teaching (Yasna 16, 2). Among the Fravašis of men the *Paoiryā ũkaēša* are the mightiest; cf. Yašt 13, 17: "tā fravašayo ašaonəm aojistā . . . yā paoiryānəm ũkaēšanəm". Next to them in importance are the Fravašis of the *Nabānazdišta*; therefore both are generally mentioned together⁴. Both categories of the Blessed are regarded as victorious for their religion. Of such prominent Blessed who, while living, worked so victoriously for their religion by means of their five immortal spiritual powers, all the immortal powers are adored, whereas in other cases, only *urvan* and fravaši are adored. The singular of every one of

¹ Yasna 17, 18; 26, 1; 59, 18; 71, 22; yašt 13, 21.

² This sentence breaks the logical connection and has probably been inserted later.

³ Here *daēnā* can but be of the same meaning as in Yasna 45, 2 where *varona* and *songha* correspond with the *varona* and *ũkaēša* of Y. 16, 2.

⁴ Yasna 1, 18; 3, 22; 7, 22; 23, 4; Yašt 13, 149, 156.

these 5 spiritual powers is collective in sense, as also sometimes the singular of *urvan* and *fravaši*. Thus Vend. 19, 29: "Vizarəšo . . . urvānem bastəm vādayeiti drvatəm daēvayasnanəm" = "Vizarəša leads away the souls (lit: the soul) of the infidels, demon-worshippers bound." Yasna 28, 4: "Who I have directed my will upon watching the souls (lit. the soul)." The collective meaning of "soul" is still more evident from Yasna 49, 10: "And that, o Mazda, I (Zarathuštra) will watch over in thine creation: the good-will and the souls of the right-believers." For the singular *fravaši* in a collective sense cf. Yašt 13, 148: "We adore the *fravaši* (sing.) of all these male and female right-believers, whose souls are venerable and whose *fravašis* are adorable; we adore the *fravaši* (sing.) of all these male and female right-believers, whom the just Ahuramazda, for their adoration, has taught the better life."

As pointed out above, the 7 epithets of Ahuramazda in Yasna 26, 2, probably allude to the seven Aməšaspəntas, which here, as in other places, are directly named behind Ahuramazda. Whereas Yasna 23 has still the phrase "together with all the just Fravašis of the spiritual gods" between the Aməšaspəntas and the Paoirya ũkaēša, we find the Paoirya ũkaēša in Yasna 26 directly after the Aməšaspəntas, presumably because this Yasna was principally recited as mass for the dead, where the *fravašis* of the defunct act the principal part. We can understand that those 5 spiritual immortal powers of the Paoirya ũkaēša and Nabānardišta are invoked, as by those powers they successfully worked for religion; the collective meaning of the singular offers no difficulty whatever. Yasna 26 ff. contains therefore no argument for Reitzenstein's hypothesis of the 5 Aməšaspəntas in Iranic.

3. But by means of a new method Reitzenstein arrives at the conclusion, that Yasna 26 does not only teach 5 Aməšaspəntas, but also a fivefold deity. He sees in Yasna 26, 2 ff. beside Ahuramazda and the Aməšaspəntas a third deity, which is enumerated in the same order and similarly fivefold with Mani: For it would be quite inexplicable, why § 4 does not run as numerous other places, *e. g.*, in the end of the litany: "we adore the Fravašis of the first right-believers". "Nur daß vorher ganz generell von den Aməšaspəntas die Rede gewesen ist, kann Anlaß davon geworden sein, daß hier eine fünfgliedrige Formel eingetreten ist, die auch die Fravaši mit umschließt, die aber ursprünglich nicht für den einzelnen Menschen, sondern für einen

Gesamtbegriff innerhalb der Geisteswelt geprägt war"¹, for "die vorausgehende und die nachfolgende Fünferreihe sprechen dafür, daß der Ordner der Liturgie nur an 5 Aməšaspəntas gedacht hat. Fünferreihen sind ja schon in der Spekulation des ältesten Avesta sehr zahlreich"² and "wechseln die Fünzfzahl und Siebenzahl im Iranischen beständig."³

This hypothesis rests on a wrong analysis of the text: Yasna 23, 1; 8, 7; Yašt 10, 18. 150; 13, 150 are sufficient evidences that in Yasna 26, 1 a series of four only is spoken of, and *zaraθuštrōtmā* refers to all the four seats: home, village, district, country, this epithet characterizing their orthodoxy. The mention of the Aməšaspəntas' Fravašis directly after Ahuramazda's is quite natural.

Intentional or casual putting together of several series of five do not occur at all in the Avesta, in which series of three, seven or nine are more frequent than the pentad, while I do not know of "constant alternating of five and seven in Iranic." According to Reitzenstein, the compiler of this liturgy, which belongs to the younger Avesta, is to have followed a different tradition, though the language of the liturgy bears the stamp of about the same time as Yasna 1, which distinctly enumerates 6 Aməšaspəntas by their individual names, whereas the Gāthās and the younger Avesta speak of seven. The mention of the Fravašis of the right-believers immediately behind the Aməšaspəntas is not at all unusual for an Avesta scholar; cf. Yasna 65, 12: "Therefore I pray the waters, therefore I pray the earth, therefore the plants, therefore the Aməšaspəntas, . . . therefore the Fravašis of the right-believers . . . , therefore, o Mithra, therefore, o Sraoša, therefore, o Rašnu, therefore, o fire, son of Ahuramazda." This passage is instructive also in another direction, for from this follows that the Aməšaspəntas are not identic with the elements. If Reitzenstein's theory were correct, *i. e.*, if Iranic conception originally saw the 5 elements in fire, earth, plant, water and metal, why would plant and metal have been entirely given up as elements by Iranic tradition? Moreover, in the Avesta the plant never was considered as an element but as a compound of elements; that is proved by the attribute used

¹ Reitzenstein, Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 1922. 250.

² Reitzenstein, *ibid.* 254.

³ Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlös. 206.

for it: ātrōciθra "containing the seed of fire", Vend. 8, 75. According to Zādspar. 10, 2, the metal comes from the body of the Father of Mankind, Gayomard. Neither in Iranic nor in Manichean were plant and metal elements. In Avesta metal (*ayah*) is never named together with any element, whereas elements are mentioned in following combinations of seven or six: heaven, water, earth, cow, plants, fire, man (Y. 19, 2, 4); heaven, water, earth, plants, cow, man (Y. 19, 8; Yt. 13, 86, Vr. 7, 4). And in Vend. 9, 42; 11, 10 stands: fire, water, earth, cow, plants, man. The Sirōze which enumerates all the gods mentions only the four divine elements: fire, water, air, earth, but not plants nor metal.

4. A. Goetze, however, tried (Ztschr. f. Ind. u. Ir. II 60ff.) to prove by Gr. Bund. c. XXVIII. that the *five* elements are originally Iranic. From the introductory words of that chapter: "pa dēn guft" "in the religious book it is said", he infers that the text must be very old, most probably originating from the lost Dāmdāt-Nask of the Sassanides-Avesta. Against this must be said that younger Pahlavi writings quote as "*dēn*" even such religious books which cannot date before the time of the younger Sassanides; comp. Mēn i Xrat VIII, 18: "And those 12 constellations are called (guft) in the Sacred Book (pa dēn) the 12 leaders that are of the side of Ōrmazd; and those 7 planets are called the 7 leaders, that are of the side of Ahriman. And those 7 planets harass all creatures and all creation and commit them to death and to all evils." XII 5: "And the 12 constellations that by the Sacred Book (az dēn) are called the 12 leaders." XXI 24: "Then by this Sacred Religious Book it became clearly evident (*az en avōcak dēn rošan padtak ku*), that the Romans and Turks' hostility against the Iranics came from hatred which they roused by killing Ēraz." Here "*dēn*" means probably younger Pahlavi writings, as may be seen from the identification of the 7 planets with the 7 archdemons (cf. Scheftelowitz, Entstehung der manich. Rel. 9f.), and from the mention made of the Romans and Turks. Just as other Pahlavi writings often contain in one chapter several quotations marked as such ones by words like: *pa* (event. *az*) *dēn guft* or *ēuc padtak ku* (cf. Mēn i Xrat I 45 and 49; XIV 18 and 24), so we find this here too Gr. Bund. ch. XXVIII. That we here have a young text is proved by the mention of 7 planets in § 3. In rewriting the Gr. Bund. the author compiled in ch. 28 all variants found in older works about the

comparisons between the macrocosm and man. This explains why in § 5 skull and brain are compared to the highest part of Heaven "Asar rōšnih" and the head with the sky "Garōtman", whereas in § 7 the head is considered as *Asar rōšnih* and the heart as *Garōtman*. § 11 uses an entirely different tradition connecting the brain with *Garōtman*. There seems to be no reason for regarding § 5 with Goetze as a later interpolation, as the comparison of the two eyes to sun and moon is old Iranic (cf. Scheftelowitz, Altpers. Rel. 107), and as the end of § 8 presupposes this comparison. Moreover, it is just § 5 that treats the important organs: eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, which could hardly be missing in this place. Though § 4, equalizing the heart and the water Ardisūrā, contradicts § 7, because § 7 compares the heart to the *Garōtman*, Goetze takes both §§ to be old, just so §§ 9 and 11, though in § 9 the brain is identified with the highest mountain *Hara barzaaiti*, in § 11 with *Garōtman*, in § 5 with *Asar rōšnih*. On the other hand Goetze supposes § 2 to contain several later additions. This § 2 compares the most important parts of the visible world to some parts of man's body, the sky to the back, the earth to the flesh, mountains to bones, rivers to veins, the ocean to the blood, the basin of the ocean (*daryā*) to the abdomen, plants to the hair, bushes to ample growth of hair, metal to marrow. Rivers and oceans are of such importance in old Iranic faith, that, in depicting the visible world, they are enumerated together with the mountains. Therefore Goetze is wrong in supposing that rivers, ocean and basin of the ocean are interpolations. The concurrence of *daryā* and *zrēh* in § 2 is not strange in Pahlavi writings, comp. Mēn i Xrat 62, 33-34; *u hamvar pa daryā bār nišnēd u yazišn i yazdan hamē kunēd u zor o zrēh hamē rēcēd* = "and constantly he is living at the shore of the sea, and constantly he adores the gods and pours holy liquid into the sea." Thus it seems arbitrary to consider in § 2 only the references to skin, flesh, bones, hair, marrow as original, all the more as § 19 enumerates the heptad: soul, flesh, veins, bones, brain, blood, and hair, and as the heptad plays an especially prominent part in this chapter; cf. § 17, emphasizing the fact that the things of this world are divided into 4 groups of seven each. Of all the 19 §§ of this chapter, all containing enumerations of the parts and powers of the human body, only § 4 contains a pentad: 1) stomach, 2) inhalation and exhalation 3) liver, 4) milt, 5) heart, which are paralleled with 1) cloud

and fire vazišt, 2) wind, 3) sea fraχ^hkart, 4) northern region 5) original water, Ardvīsūrā. According to Yašt 5 from this water Ardvīsūrā, flowing into the World-Ocean all the water of the earth is derived. Fraχ^hkart is closely connected to it; thus I cannot understand why Goetze identifies *Ardvīsūrā* with *light*. In old Iranian faith not the heart, which is placed here in the same § with Ardvīsūrā, but the soul is compared to the light (cf. § 19 and Scheftelowitz, *Altper. Rel.* 144). Ardvīsūrā can only represent the element water (cf. *Sirōze* 1, 10; 2, 10). In § 4 I cannot see a pentad; the elements are not reflected here. Just this text emphasizes in 3 places (§§ 6, 17, 19) that, besides Ōrmazd, there are 6 Aməšaspəntas, and § 17 enumerates the heptad: liver, lungs, bladder, heart, bowels, milt and kidneys. From Gr. Bund. ch. XXVIII no pentad of elements is to be inferred, and there remains no possibility of referring the text to the lost Dāmdāt Nask of the Sassanides-Avesta.

5. But Reitzenstein¹ is of the strange opinion that Mani, though grown up in Babylon amongst Non-Iranians, transmits most ancient Iranian popular belief, whereas the actually Iranian texts, the Pahlavi-writings, transmit what is non-Iranian! Though Manichean documents as well as the Avesta expressly emphasize the number "seven" of the Aməšaspəntas, there shall have been, according to the Iranian popular belief transmitted by Mani, only five "materially understood" Aməšaspəntas = elements. However, the genuine Iranian tradition knows of no more than four material elements. Thus we find in *Ulamā i Islam*²: "At man's death, the *wind* in him unites with the wind, the *earth* in him with the earth, the *water* in him with the water, the *fire* in him with the fire; and the *soul* after being connected with the intellectual vitality (*axδ*) and reason (*δδi*) unites again with the Fravahar". The same four elements are enumerated in the Parsee work *Madigānicatrang*³ and they are also known to the Parsees of to-day⁴. The Middle-Persian proper name Cahārbuxt could signify

¹ Reitzenstein, *Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1922, 254.

² Trad. Blochet, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 37 (1898), 46. *Ulamā i Islam* emphasizes on several passages (p. 43, 44, 47) that only 4 elements exist, which are mentioned also in the reversed order: fire, water, earth, wind.

³ Ed. Peshotan D. Behramji Sanjana, p. 3—4, quoted in Justi, *Iran. Nam.* 151.

⁴ Cf. Edułji Peshotan Sanjana, *Zarathustra* 1906, 120.—The following instance proves that the Parsee writings also handed down Iranian popular belief. In Soghdian texts of the 8th c. A. D. the 7 planets, originating in Babylonia, play a prominent part

"the one freed from the four (elements)", i. e. the Blessed. The Iranian tradition of the four elements is very old, documented even by Herodotus I, 131: θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι (conf. Strabo. *Geogr.* XV 3, § 13). Malalas whose reports probably go back upon the older histories of Charax from Pergamon, tells that the Persian kings venerate the four elements: earth, water, fire, air. Also the acts of St. Sapor, descending from the 4th century, mention the same about the Persian mages (Cumont, *textes et mon.* II 68; I 108). The mysteries of Mithra, which contain Iranian ingredients, also know but 4 elements whereof consist not only the universe but also man (Cumont I 41, 307 n. 3; II 24; *Mar Kardagh* c. 20, ed. Abbeloos 1890).

The *Ulamā i Islam* enumerates beside the Fravahar the elements in the following order: wind, earth, water, fire; in Manichean we find just the same sequence: Fravahar, wind, light, water, fire. If "earth" has been replaced by "light", this shows the influence of Mandeans for whom the earth was a demonian, dark element. The Mandeans therefore first introduced "light" instead of "earth" among their four elements, cf. Johannesbuch ed. Litzbarski II 56. "Then they (the heavenly messengers of light) brought *live water* and poured it into the dull water, they brought *shining light* and threw it into the dusky darkness, they brought the *pleasant breeze* and threw it into the raging storm. They brought the *living fire* and cast it into the consuming fire, they brought the soul, the pure Mānā, and cast it into the void body". The Manichean theory of elements, in fact based upon the Iranian, has been influenced not only by the Mandaean, but also by the Indian: It was under the latter influence that the Manichean fravahar—the proper meaning had been "immortal soul"—became an element too, viz. the leading element⁵. We

(cf. Chavannes and Pelliot, *Journ. As.* 1913, 171 f.) Their names are in Soghdian: Mir (sun), Māχ (moon), Wuχān (= Vahrām), Tir, Ōrmazd, Nāχit (Anahit), Kēwān (P. W. K. Müller, *Pers. Kalendersdrucke*, S. P. A. Wiss., 1907, 458 f., Chav. and Pell. *ibid.* 166, 171 f.) The enumeration shows the same order as in Parsee texts: sun, moon, Behrām, Tir, Ōrmazd, *Anahit* (= *Venus*), Kēwān (cf. Scheftelowitz, *Entstehung der manich. Rel.* 10, note 2.) From this must also be inferred that, when the Iranians took the names of the planets from the Babylonians, Zarvan was not yet the supreme God in the Iranian popular religion, else they would have replaced the Babylonian God Father Bel by Zarvan, not by Ōrmazd.

⁵ Scheftelowitz, *ibid.* 43.

have then demonstrated that the Iranic tradition knows of but 4 elements.

6. Let us consider now Reitzenstein's method of research in religious history. It is an established fact for him that Mani's notions go back to ancient Iranic thoughts, and that his 5 elements are likewise of ancient Iranic origin. Now the Arabian Fihrist (Flügel, Mani 93) reports of the Manichean elements: "The light-earth has 5 limbs: the soft breeze (fravahar), the wind, the light, the water and the fire, just so the light-ether has five limbs: meekness, knowledge, reason, mystery and insight. These 10 limbs of the ether and the earth form together the Majesty Sublime". Another passage of the Fihrist (Flügel, Mani 95) speaks of 4 divine Majesties Sublime: God, light, power, wisdom. The light consists in Sun and Moon, the power in the Gods: "the soft breeze, wind, light, water, fire"; and wisdom consists of gentleness, knowledge, reason, mystery and insight. We have here once more the same five material and five spiritual "limbs". This system, according to Reitzenstein p. 251, agrees with the Avesta, as here the 5 material elements are at the same time considered as 5 divine personifications. He also finds this assumption confirmed by a report in a Chino-Manichean work published by Chavannes and Pelliot¹. The passage runs: "The great wise (messenger) of the benevolent Light made out of his five parts—viz.: pensée, sentiment, réflexion, intellect, raisonnement—rise the five virtues or divine gifts: pitié, bonne foi, contentement, patience and sagesse, and united them with the elements of light, *i. e.* with the soft breeze, wind, light, water, fire, and with the two gods: call and answer, and these parts—making 13 in all with himself—symbolize *le Vénérable de la Lumière du monde de la lumière pure*. The text goes on: "When these 7 Aməšaspentas enter into a pure priest . . ." These 7 are for Reitzenstein: "charity and soft breeze, faith and wind, and the other pairs are each but *one* element, as is emphasized; their origin from thought and feeling etc. does no more come into consideration, and the two gods, call and answer, were only added to reach the number *seven* of the elements in the younger Avesta. In addition, five of these elements have exactly the same double meaning with Mani, a spiritual and a material one". (Reitzenstein).

But, as I have demonstrated before, the Iranic Aməšaspentas were neither five in number, nor elements in signification. Only in the younger Avesta "Haurvatāt" stands now and then also for "Water". In the Gāthās already, *i. e.* in the oldest part of the Avesta, mention is made of the "seven" Aməšaspentas, while Fravahar (= Avesta: fravaši) and "light" never occur as elements with Zarthustrian scriptures. Let us see then, if Reitzenstein's statement is correct at all, that in Manichean the elements had a double, *i. e.* a spiritual and a material signification, if Reitzenstein valued tradition according to the different sources, and finally, if the conceptions of Mani, who drew his ideas from various religions, have an Iranic fundament, so that they might be used as a source for Iranic religion. In Manichean, light, power and wisdom are three divinities of entirely different nature. The "limbs" of light (= sun and moon) are neither identic with those of power, nor with those of wisdom, and vice versa. Just so the light-earth and light-ether are two different beings, so that the limbs of the one do not correspond with those of the other. Finally the Chino-Manichean dogmatic work¹, from which Mani's predilection for symbolic remoulding becomes especially clear, shows, that the 5 material elements were never identified with the 5 *purely spiritual parts*.

7. As a necessary illustration, I give here the essential part of this text: The demon of avidity had the human body shaped by two other demons after the image of the macrocosm, and in it he shut up the 5 elements of light together with 5 demons. The "pure wind" took the 5 demons and shut them up in 13 bodies of light (= virtues), while the demon of avidity imprisoned the 5 elements of light in 13 "dark powers". "He shut up the "pure ether" in the "town of bones", put in it the "dark thought", and planted the "tree of death" there; he shut up the "wind" in the "town of nerves": set there "dark feeling", and planted a "tree of death"; in the town of "veins", he enclosed the light, set there "dark reflection", and planted the tree of death. In the town of "flesh" he shut up the "water", set there "dark reason", and planted a tree of death. Then he enclosed the fire in the town of "the skin", settled therein "dark discernment", and planted a tree of death. The 5 different fruits pro-

¹ Journ. Asiat. Sér. 10, Tome 18, 541 ff.

¹ Transl. by Chavannes and Pelliot, Journ. Asiat. 1911, tome XVIII, 508 ff.

duced by these 5 trees of death are: "hatred, excitement, voluptuousness, rage, and folly". In the place of Xrōštag ("call") and Padwaxtag ("answer"), he implanted into the body "avidity and bad lust". From this may be inferred that there are 7 divine beings in each true believer; *i. e.* the 5 elements and Xrōštag and Padwaxtag¹. The text tells furthermore: When the 5 "light bodies" (= elements) were caught and fettered, they forgot about their celestial origin. Therefore the "pure wind" constructed two light-ships which were to bring back the human soul to its original celestial home, and to make it happy. But the demon of hatred formed two ships of darkness, and male and female demons, in order to make the human souls go aboard the ships of darkness guided by male and female demons into Hell, so that the human souls were subject to the 5 conditions and to all sufferings of metempsychosis, hardly ever to be freed from them. But the messenger of light awakens the souls of men and shows them the way to the abode of light (J. As. 1911, 530f.). As soon as he appears in the world "to teach the many live beings to convert them, and to free them from all sufferings, he makes them hear, by the gates of their ears, the voice of the wonderful law. He immediately returns to the old abode (= the body) and, under long magic prayers, chains the many poisonous snakes and wild animals (= passions), not allowing them any longer to live in freedom. With the axe of wisdom he strikes the poisonous trees of death, hews them down, tears out their stumps, as also every other impure growth. He bids the hall of the palace (= the heart) to be adorned with purity and majestic splendour, and a chair to be prepared for the law. He sits down on it . . . and judges all people fairly, the good and the wicked. Having destroyed the hateful enemies in the old city (= body), he separates the two forces—light and darkness—from each other, and does not allow them to mingle any longer. He subdues hatred and shuts it up in the bone-city, delivering ether imprisoned there; he subdues excitement, shuts it up in the nerve-city, rescuing the wind locked up there; he subdues lust, shuts it up in the city of veins, rescuing the light from there; he subdues rage,

¹ Journ. Asiat. ibid., 528—530; cf. also 560 ff. The pentad: bones, nerves, veins, flesh, skin is not Iranian.

² Conf. also p. 557: "Seven costly, incomparably valuable pearls" are retained in the matter and covered with dirt.

imprisons it in the city of the flesh, freeing the water; he subdues folly, and, shutting it up in the city of the skin, he finally rescues the fire. The two demons—avidity and wicked lust—he shuts up in the middle (of the body). The 5 elements of light live in the body formed by the 2 powers "light and darkness". Therefore an excellent man knows to distinguish and to choose between the two and to separate them from each other" (ibid. 535 ff.). It is mentioned further on that there are 2 times 12 vicious demons, led by a thirteenth. They live in the "fleshly man" and stupefy the five parts of light in him, so that they forget their celestial origin. The revelations of the messenger of light, however, awaken them. To enable them to fight the vice-demons successfully, the messenger of light endows them with 7 divinities, so that 12 such divine beings, headed by a thirteenth, victoriously fight the 12 demons. Then the messenger of light joins to the 5 light elements twice 12 beings, by which the true-believer is able to overcome the "man of flesh" in himself and he rises as a "new man". The 2 times 12 vice-demons are the two nights of 12 hours each, the 3 × 12 divinities are the 3 light-days at 12 hours each. The text speaks of these light-days as follows: "Therefore the messenger of light came to help the light-nature of man, that he might free himself of the vice-demons besieging him. Out of his own 5 limbs the messenger made rise the 5 "liberalities", *i. e.*, out of his fundamental thought he made spring up charity, which he joined to the ether; from his feeling he made go forth righteousness (*bonne-foi*) given to the wind, from his reflection rose contentment, which he added to the light; from his intelligence rose patience, given to the water, from his judgement wisdom, associated to the fire; he also added Xrōštag and Padwaxtag. These twelve, together with the light, symbolize *le Vénérable de la Lumière du monde de la lumière pure*" and form the first light day (ibid. 541). The second light day are the "12 light kings of the second transformation", *i. e.*, the 5 sons of Ōrmazd (= 5 elements) and the 5 sons of the pure wind. The latter are the 5 liberalities (= charity, righteousness, contentment, patience, wisdom), as may be inferred from the counterpart creation of the demon of avidity (comp. ibid. 530, 540). Xrōštag and Padwaxtag also belong to the 2nd day. These 12 symbolize "the round, perfected sun" (p. 543, 566 ff., 519 f., 523). The text continues literally: "When the 7 *Mahraspaut* enter into the body of a pure religious master, he receives from the messenger of light

the 5 *liberalities*, and these 12 hours (*i. e.*, 7 + 5) effectuate the perfect (= 3rd) day. These signs symbolize the high power of Srōšahray. These 3 days and the 2 nights added to them are signs, that there are definitely two worlds (a light and a dark one) for the religious master as well as for the common believers" (543/5). From this it is evident that the 7 Mahraspands are the 5 elements, which in other places are also called by that name, plus Xrōstag and Padwaxtag, inherent—as we saw before—in every true-believer. They, most probably, are also identic with "the 7 costly, incomparably precious pearls" retained in matter and covered with dirt (557).

8. Nowhere do the texts speak of identity or close union of the 5 light elements with the 5 liberalities, *i. e.*, of the 5 sons of Ōrmazd with the 5 offsprings of the pure wind (p. 519). Analogically to the demon of avidity, joining the ether to the dark thought, the wind to the dark feeling, the light to the dark reflection, the water to the dark reason, the fire to the dark judgement—the light messenger joined charity to the ether, contentment to the light, patience to the water, wisdom to the fire. These enumerations must by no means be considered as identifications. Even where Mani's picturesque language has identifications, they are often not really such ones, *e. g.* when he identifies charity with Zarvān, or righteousness (*bonne foi*) with the Mother of the Living (cf. p. 563): The king of the light-earths is Charity, "the first father of all meritorious deeds", and within Charity lives righteousness, "the mother of all excellent things, so to say the wife of the king". Another passage connects closely the 5 liberalities with 5 divinities: "La pitié symbolise l'Envoyé de la lumière qui maintient le monde; la bonne foi symbolise le Grand Roi des dieux, le contentement symbolise l'Envoyé vainqueur qui soumet les démons, la patience symbolise l'Envoyé de la lumière qui est aux entrailles de la terre; la sagesse symbolise l'Envoyé de la lumière qui accélère la clarté" (p. 549). From this, too, becomes evident that the 5 liberalities have no inner relation to the 5 material elements, they are called the "5 trees of life" planted by the messenger of light (in opposition to the 5 "trees of death") and "watered with the waters of the drink of immortality, so that they produce fruit giving immortality" (p. 561 f.). But the 5 elements, neither identified with

¹ The editors observe correctly that this expression is a translation of the Buddhist Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (= Bhūmigarbha).

the 5 liberalities, nor with the 5 spiritual limbs (thought, feeling, reflection, intellect and judgement), are never compared to trees. Mani is a right mystic, who symbolizes everything¹. For a man who wishes to become an Elect (*dēnāvar*), there are 3 more "special days" which he is to earn, and "two nights" which he is to conquer; there are also 12 forms of the benevolent light, called "the 12 precious trees of the 12 shining kings" (= 12 moral principles)², (p. 565 ff. 584).

¹ Thus he expounds a tale, only known by a fragment, in the following manner: "The shady house is the 'scripture-reading,' the adorned garment represents 'picture and text,' the 'lamp' means 'the good,' the servants lighting the lamps and assisting the man as helpers are 'the good deeds'" (Müller, Handschr. II, 85 f.)

² Who wishes to become an Elect, must imitate the actions of the Light God, "who made three long days of beneficent light shine over the dark body of the demon, and subdued both kinds of dark nights. This is a sign symbolizing the unsurpassable light" (p. 565). That the Elect is meant here, is proved by the contents of "the 12 trees." The 12 hours of the second day which he must earn, consist in the 5 sons of the first intellect (= Ōrmazd), the 5 Light sons of the pure wind (= 5 liberalities) Xrōstag and Padwaxtag and as 13th Srōšahray (p. 566 f.). Now these 12 hours are also styled symbolically as "the wonderful garments of the victorious form of Jesus by means of which he ornares his inner nature and reaches to be lacking in nothing; elevating this inner nature, he makes it rise and progress and sever for ever from this dirty earth" (p. 566). Here the 12 garments are the 12 afore mentioned hours. Similarly we find (p. 528) the "13 kinds of Light bodies" spoken of, which the "pure wind" transferred into the human body. According to Reitzenstein, *Iranische Erlösung* 157, "the Chinese text correctly describes a mystery, leading within the 12 hours of light from this earth to the perfect Light, the realm of Gods." "A consecration is represented in the Manichean cult, it is perfected in 12 holy acts, and 12 holy garbs are to be received by the disciple in rising on high—like the Isis-disciple with Apuleius; only the Manichean does not represent it materially, it must be an intuition." (G. G. A. 1923, 51 f.) These 12 hours of the rising soul are to correspond to the 12 parts of the mass for the dead. (Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erl.* 154). We must object that, of the preserved parts of this "mass for the dead," we have but the titles of the 1st, 6th and 8th "member," and that "member" here—like the O.-Ind. *parvan* and aram. *piryā*—has the meaning of "part, chapter." Whether there were 12 chapters or not, is not certain. The 12 "Garbs of Jesus" are—according to the text—"the 12 hours" we mentioned before. In Manichean we find the 12 virtues winning the heavens, symbolically termed the 12 garments, and the 12 moral principles are called the "12 precious trees of the shining Kings". Wishing to trace the 12 garments back to a formerly visible representation, we must do the same for the 12 trees and the 13 Light bodies transferred into man by the pure wind. The Manichean texts known so far, do not offer any support to Reitzenstein's theory that there existed a Manichean twelve-partitioned Salvation-mystery. He assumes with absolute certainty (ibid. 157) that the Persians only knew 12 hours of the day, but he might have seen from my *Altpersische Religion* p. 130, that the Iranians counted 24 hours of the day. A 12 hours' way of Salvation is also known to Judaism; according to Syr. Baruch Apokal., the time preceding the arrival of the true Messiah is divided into 12 parts, only after the 12th he will reveal himself (comp. Scheftelowitz, *Arch. R. W.* 1911, 47).

Their names are "Great King, Wisdom, Permanent Victory, Joy, careful exercise of religious prescriptions, Equality (or truth), Faith, Forbearing Wrong, Right Thought, Meritorious Deeds, Even Heart, the Perfect Light of Nature within and without" (cf. p. 568 f.). The text continues: As soon as these 12 great Light hours enter the five kingdoms, viz. thought, feeling, reflection, intellect and judgment, they throw a boundless light on them (p. 569). On these 12 Light trees there blossom numerous precious flowers; "quand elles se sont ouvertes, leur éclat illumine tout. À l'intérieur de chacune de ces fleurs d'innombrables Buddhas de transformation produisent leurs personnes innombrables par transformation" (p. 572). The picture of the Buddhas that stay inside the celestial lotuses, is genuine Buddhist.

9. The Chinese Manichean text evidently shows more of Indian than of Iranic influences. Iranic might be the especially emphasized conception of vice-demons opposing each virtue and trying to conquer man. (546 ff.). The 5 kinds of metempsychosis (God, man, infernals, spectre, animal, p. 533) go back to Buddhism, as also the expressions the "3 worlds (*trailokya* p. 586), Ocean of the Saṃsāra" (*samsārama-hasamudra* p. 531 f.), the numerous Kalpas (p. 587), and the division of the congregation in Elects (*vicidagān*) and Auditors (*nigōṣagān* = buddh. *sāvaka*) the signification of the messenger of light as *Tathāgata* (p. 587), the thought contained in the Chin.-Manich. text, that man is

Between the creation of Adam and his being redeemed from sin, 12 hours had elapsed, each one equivalent to one stage in his development: the first hour to God's conceiving the plan of creating Adam, the 2nd to his keeping council with his angel-attendants; in the 3rd God gathered the dust, in the 4th he kneaded it, in the 5th he moulded it, in the 6th he gave it the form of man, in the 7th he breathed into him his spirit; in the 8th he led him into Paradise, in the 9th he forbade him the fruit of the tree of knowledge, in the 10th Adam transgressed, in the 11th he was sentenced, in the 12th he was absolved (Wajjiqrā Rabba par. 29). The number 12 appears repeatedly in connection with becoming free from fetters: 12 years Joseph was retained a prisoner in Egypt, and having stood the tests, he was freed and made king (Bemidbār R. par. 15). The occurring of the number 12 in connection with redemption seems to have its origin in Babylonia (conf. H. Zimmern ZDMG. 1922, 48 ff.). According to the Mandaean belief the soul of the defunct pious man is clothed on the way to Heaven with 6 garments, viz. with the garment of the Mandā d Haijē, Abatur and the 4 sons of salvation (Im Hai, Šum Hai, Ziwi Hai, Nhur Hai), Lidzbarski, Mand. Lit. 80 ff. Similarly R. Jehōšūā Ben Lēwi teaches, that the Blessed, directly after being buried arrives at Paradise, where he is clothed in "5 garments of the ether of glory" (Jalqut § 20).

¹ The lotus was used in the Manichaean cult; the subordinated gods have been pictured standing upon thrones of lotuses. These divine thrones originate from Buddhism (Le Coq. D. manich. Miniaturen 1923, 28. 37. 51).

a diminutive image of the macrocosm, especially the comparison of the human body to a city (cf. also 551 ff.); all these are Indian, comp. Chānd. Up 8, 1 ff.: "Here in this Brahman town (= human body) there is a house, a small lotus (= heart), within which is a small room . . . Verily, as wide as this universe, so wide is also this room within the heart; in it both are enshrined: heaven and earth, both: fire and wind; both: sun and moon; both: lightning and stars" (cf. also Mahānār. Up. 10, 23). In Yogaśikha-Up. 4 the body is compared to a temple having nine entries and enclosing the sun (= heart) with the fire of Ātman therein. Taitt. Up. 1, 7 also contains the thought, that the man who understands the parallelism between man and world, microcosm and macrocosm, thereby himself becomes a macrocosm (cf. Deussen, 60 Up. p. 219). The ten heavens of Manicheism, as well as the expression "gate of the ear" found in the same Chino-Manichean text likewise point to Indian influences¹. The high importance attributed to the series of five in Manicheism² is dependent also from India; for even in Indian mystics appear the series of five correspondences and personifications, cf. e. g. Chānd. Up. III 13, 1—5: "The inhaled breath (*prāṇa*) is identic with the eye and the god Āditya, the breath "*vyāna*" with ear and moon, the exhaled breath "*apāna*" with speech and Agni; the breath "*samāna*" with the spirit (*manas*) and Parjanya; the upward breath (*udāna*) with the skin and the divine wind". Sāman 'song' has five parts: *hīnkāra* = earth, breath and Agni; *prastāva* = fire, speech and Vāyu; *udgītha* = ether, eye and Āditya; *pratihāra* = sun, ear and Nakṣatra; *nidhānam* = heaven, spirit and Candramas." (Chānd. Up. II 20, 1.) "The Ātman consisting in knowledge, has Faith as his head, Justice as his right side, Truth as his left, meditation (*yoga*) as trunk, and Power as basis." "The Ātman consisting of delight has Love for his head, Joy for his right side, Rejoicing as his left, Happiness as trunk, Brahman as basis." (Taitt. Up. II 4—5)³. "*Manas* ('intelligence') and *Ether* are to be adored as

¹ The commentary of Medhātithi with Manu 9,137 mentions explicitly 10 heavens.

² Who wishes to convince himself of the Manichean's predilection for the number 5, need only look at the Index of the Journ. As. 1913, 385, for the Chino-Manichean texts worked by Chavannes and Pelliot; in that one page we find 15 different mentions of fivefold series. There are also 5 sorts of plants and trees (Le Coq. Türk. Manich. I, 8/11). For other series of five cf. ibid. I 25, III 20, 39 and Müller, Handschr. II, 32).

³ Brh. Ār. Up. I, 5, 11—13: The body of speech (*vāc*) is the earth, and its light aspect: the fire (*agni*). The body (substance) of the spirit (*manas*) is the sky, and its light

Brahman" runs Chând. Up. III 18, 1. In Indian mystics we find, beside the 5 material elements, five purely spiritual limbs, and one element has indeed a double meaning, a spiritual and a material one. After Reitzenstein's singular method this would necessarily prove, that the entire fundament of Indian mystics were drawn from Zarathustrianism, only another sense was given to the details.

10. Suppose Mani had indeed interpreted the elements as symbols in one place or another, the Manichean elements, being an Irano-Indian creation, were hardly to be derived from Iranian thought, but would rather be a result of the influences of Indian mystics, which—beside 5 elements, 5 organs of recognition (eye, ear, smell, taste, hide = feeling) and 5 organs of touch (Prašnop. 4, 7)—knows also 5 purely intellectual functions: intellect (*manas*), will (*saṃkalpa*), thought (*citta*), meditation (*dhyāna*), knowledge (*vijñāna*) (cf. Chând. Up. VII 3—7), which are even equivalent to the 5 Manichean limbs, though given in different order: *pensée* = *citta*, sentiment (with Theodor Bar Khoni: *volonté*) = *saṃkalpa*, Pāli *saṃkappa* (= will, intention, desire); *réflexion* = *dhyāna*, intellect = *manas*, *raisonnement* = *vijñāna*. With the highest imperishable Ātman (= Brahman) are connected the 5 elements, 5 organs of recognition and 5 of touch, also the psychic functions (Prašnop. 4, 7, Muṇḍaka Up. II, 1, 3)*. As the Buddhist monk must in lifetime climb up several degrees in order to arrive at *nirvāna*, the Manichean electus has to obtain by endeavours also three degrees (= *days*) leading at moral perfectness in order that his soul partake of the blissfulness after death. The three degrees may possibly go back to the three Buddhistic *Vimokṣa* (or *vimukti* conf. Kern, Buddhism 56).

11. Manichean mystics then contain numerous Indian thoughts but are also influenced by Mandaeanism, for which an exaggerated kind of personification is characteristic too; e. g. "speech and listening" "prayer and exaltation", "treasure of life" (Joh. II 201, M. Lit. 73. 125), "Sunday" (Mand. Lit. 147) have become divine beings², and the balance

aspect: the sun. The body of *prāṇa*, which is identified with Indra, are the waters, and its light aspect is the moon.

* Cf. also Taitt. Up. 1, 7. Bṛh. Ār. I, 4, 17: *pāṅktam idaṃ sarvaṃ yad idaṃ kiñca*. There are 5 great and 5 little duties (Vogasūtra, 2, 30. 32). The series of five plays also an important part with the younger Indian sects (cf. R. Otto, *Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa* 1917, 102 ff.)

² Cf. Brandt: Mandaean Religion § 51; the same: Mand. Schriften 16—18, 7; 56, 108, 113; Lizbarski, *Johannesbuch II*, 1, 7—194.

is personified as god Abatur (Johannesb. II 14). From the Mandaean "King of Light" start "5 grand, long rays, the 1st of which is light, . . . the 2nd balmy odour, the 3rd sweetness of voice, the 4th the word of his mouth, the 5th the beauty of his shape"¹. The world of Light in which the King of Light lives, has 10 qualities, it is 1st of all the world of Light and radiance, 2nd of gentleness, 3rd of decency, 4th of fragrance, 5th of eternal life, 6th of the living waters, 7th of kindness, 8th of truth, 9th of faith, 10th the pure world². Similarly there are according to Mani 10 heavens and, above the Light-earth, 5 worlds, *i. e.* of insight, knowledge, secrecy, intellect and of gentleness³. If we found in Manicheism the 2 divinities "*call and answer*" (Xrōštāg and Padwaxtag) closely combined with the 5 divine elements to a septenary, this shows the powerful influence of Mandaeanism, from which Mani had taken those two gods⁴. It is, therefore, not the Iranian spirit that forms the undertone of the Manichean notions treated so far.

12. But Reitzenstein has yet another argument as striking evidence of the dependence of Manicheism from the Avesta teachings: In a Soghdan fragment the element Light is rendered by the expression *Aša vahišta*, and in another fragment by "*perfectedness*", whereas a Turco-Manichean fragment connects "*knowledge of fulfilling the commands*" with the element "Light". These two (*perfectedness* and *knowledge of fulfilling the commands*) correspond for Reitzenstein with the Avesta notion of *Aša-vahišta*, which can only be brought into connection with "Light". Thereby, as Reitzenstein (p. 255) emphasizes, "the proof of the connection between Manichean and Avesta teachings is afforded". But this important conclusion is drawn from wrong premises. *Aša vahišta* in the Avesta is the genius of heavenly and earthly fire. As the heavenly fire is a divine element in Manicheism, one must expect, *Aša* to have in Manicheism the same place as in the Avesta, and the Avestan Aməšaspənta Ārmaiti, as protectress of the earth, which was holy in Iranian but became demoniac in Manichean, must appear as demoness. As, however, Ārmaiti is called in Manicheism a divine

¹ Brandt, Mand. Schriften 10.

² Ibid. 14. In the parallel passage p. 57, the 7th member "the World of Kindness" is missing, presumably because "radiance and light" (of the 1st member) were conceived as 2 different qualities, so that one member was eliminated.

³ Fihrist in Flügel, Mani 87.

⁴ Cf. Scheftelowitz, *ibid.* p. 17—33.

being, and the element originally entrusted to her is replaced by "Light," she alone, and not Aša, must have become the genius of light. This Manichean transformation has nothing of Avestan spirit; neither can the quality: "perfectedness" be brought into connection with Aša vahišta, but only with the Amōšaspanta Haurvatāt "Perfection". And what is the matter with the expression of "knowledge of fulfilling the commands?" According to a Turco-Manichean fragment, of the 5 gods living in an Electus, the god "soft breeze" is wrapped in "knowledge of Love," the "wind-god" in "knowledge of faithfulness," the "Light-God" in the "knowledge of fulfilling the commands", the "water-god" in the "knowledge of longanimity", the "fire-god" in the "wise knowledge". Above all Reitzenstein has concealed from his readers, that the expression "Vorschriften, Befolungs-Wissen" (*i. e.*, knowledge of fulfilling the commands) is a rather dubious translation. Moreover of the 5 enumerated qualities, none but "the knowledge of faithfulness" could correspond with Aša, which means "righteousness" and "faithfulness", and the adjective *ašavan* derived from Aša is, as hebr. *šaddiq*, 'righteous, religious, faithful.' But the "knowledge of faithfulness" is connected in the Turco-Manichean fragment with the water, though in the Avesta the water-genius is not Aša, but Haurvatāt. The fact that there is no historic connection between the material elements is most evident from the Chino-Manichean treatise in which "Light" is even connected with "Contentment" (Journ. A. 1911, 541). *Mani's System of elements can, therefore, not be brought into an inherent connection with the Avestan Amōšaspantas. The Manichean names for elements do not occur anywhere in an abstract meaning.*

13. But Reitzenstein states one more connection between the Avesta and Manicheanism: He assumes¹ that the 5 spiritual powers of man, enumerated in Yasna 26, 3, mean the priests' speculations about a sort of fivefold divinity, which he likewise tries to prove by Manicheanism. A report of Fihrist (Flügel, Mani 86) ascribes to the Light-God 5 limbs: Gentleness, knowledge, reason, mystery, insight; also five spiritual limbs: Love, faith, truth, highmindedness, and wisdom. Similarly runs the Chinese doctrinal work published by Chavannes and Pelliot (Journ. As. 1911, 567, Reitzenstein 253). The

¹ Coq, Türk. Manich. III, 1922, 16.

² The translation of this word is very dubious acc. to Coq.

³ Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 1922, 250.

envoy of Sun-Light in macrocosm is symbolised by: "pensée, sentiment, réflexion, intellect, raisonnement", of which the spiritual limbs are "pitié, bonne foi, contentement, patience, sagesse". With Theodor Bar Khoni we find the 5 "Light-worlds," the names of which are, as in the Chinese treatise: "L'intelligence, la raison, la pensée, la réflexion, la volonté," also as parts of the "spiritus vivens." "Schlüsse auf den Ursprung der Vorstellung in dem Avesta-Stück (Yasna 26, 4) würde ich daraus nicht wagen, nur daß eine priesterliche Spekulation über eine Art Gottwesen dort schon vorliegt, in der Tat aus dieser jungen Fortsetzung erschließen." (Reitzenstein, *ibid.* 253 f.) That Zarathustrian literature knows of no fivefold divinity, has been proved by me; Reitzenstein tries to carry Manichean notions into the Avesta. If the fundamental features of the Manichean religion were Iranian, Manichean notions ought to correspond to a certain degree also with those of the Avesta. Nearly all Zarathustrian names of divinities have changed their signification in Manicheanism. Sun and moon, the adoration of which is not exclusively Iranian, are not of Zarathustrian character. The Manichean Sun with his ship is more of a Babylonian nature. The "12 navigator-gods" (Coq. III 6) and the 12 "divine virgins" of Mithra (Coq. III 16), who is the solar god-- at the same time the Saviour (tarkumān dēn = interpreter of religion)—is also non-Iranian, as the Iranians do not know the duodecimal computation of deities, and Mithra is—as saviour—combined with the Babylonian god Šamaš (cf. Jastrow, Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens I, 69)¹. "The lunar god quickening the dead," the goddess "Mother of the Living," the "Goddess of Lightning," who is "Zarvan's beloved daughter," the male god of the morning dawn are not Aryan. Entirely unknown divinities occur in

¹ From the fragm. T II D 173a (Coq, Türk. Man. I 10 ff.) is evident, that the Manicheans still eagerly expect a divine saviour, who will redeem them from the long suffered torments, that they will then live eternally full of love and joy as comrades of the saviour. If this Jewish-Christian belief on the appearance of Messias would not exist among the Manicheans, it would not be understood, why especially texts of the New Testament dealing with the coming of the "son of man" would be read so eagerly by them. The Manicheism has a trinity of saviours. Thus *Jesus* is called *tarkumān razvar* 'dragoman (= saviour) and vine' (Müller II 36), *Alāni is nūxādag* 'tarkumān' 'the first-born, the dragoman' (Müller II 80) and in M 38 (Müller II 77) Mani and Mithra are called 'the dragomans of religion'. As Mani explicitly calls Jesus his predecessor, Jesus is the first saviour, Mani the second, and Mithra the third. The antipode of the latter is "the wrong Mithra", who pretends to be the third Messias (cf. Scheftelowitz, *Eutych. d. manich. Rel.* 38).

the Turkish-manichean texts as god Chorug and goddess Anvam (v. Le Coq III, 23, 3). Mandaeans are the Manichean terms for gods: Master of Grandeur, Father of Sublimity, King of Light, Sons of Salvation, the Living¹, Son of Gentleness²; also the quadruplication of the deity (God, Light, Power, Wisdom), the important gods Xrōštag and Padwaxtag "Call and Answer", the deity "Column of Light," the deification of the *heavenly* element "Fire" in contrast to the demonization of the *terrestrial* fire, finally also the Manichean notion of the demonic earth and the "foul body" (Coq III 36). Not Zarathustra, but Jesus is adored, not Zarathustrian but christian scriptures are sacred to Mani, who considers himself "Jesus' messenger" (Müller II, 26) and had closely united the ideas of god of the more monotheistic Mandaeans, Zervanites and Christians, from whom he also took the names for the supreme or primary god. By christian influence Ōrmazd was brought into connection with Jesus, while Ahriman was changed into a Christian-Mandaeans Satan³. A genuine christian idea is the adoration of the trinity "Father, Mother and Son," or "Father, Son and Holy Ghost"³, also the contrasting of the "Old Adam of Flesh" and the "New spiritual Man," the notion of the "New Man" whose soul is enlightened by the Saviour (Journ. As. 1911, 540, 546 ff., cf. Eph. 4, 22—24; Corinth. 2, 14; Romans 8, 5—13). The Pauline idea of an "old", and "new" man is not Iranian, but originates from Judaism, according to which the sinner beginning to lead a righteous

¹ The Mandaean term "Living" (=god) points to Judaism, cf. Kōh. Rabbā 7, 2. "By the expression 'Living' is to be understood the eternally Living (= god)." Berēš. Rabbā P. 43: "The eternally Living (= god) lighted him on every place, which he was going." In Šemōt Rabbā P. 5 god is called 'the Living' (חַי), but the idols the "dead" (מֵתִים) cf. also Ps. 106, 28). In Šem. Rabbā P. 41 god is signified as "the life of the world" (חַיִּים שֶׁל עוֹלָם), further Wajjiqrā R. P. 26: שְׁהוּא מַלְאֲכֵי חַיִּים, Dt. 5, 23; 2 K. 19, 4; Hos. 2, 1; Ps. 42, 3 (מַלְאֲכֵי חַיִּים) and Dan. 12, 7 (חַי הַעוֹלָם). Still to this day the expression חַי חַיִּים (= the Living and Constant) for God is well known to the Jews.

² Cf. Scheftelowitz, *ibid.* 29.

³ For this the Chin.-Man. text has "Father of the Light, Son of the Light, wind of the pure law." (J. A. 1911, 556). "Die Manichäer beanspruchten selbst ausdrücklich Christen zu heißen. So bezeugt es nicht nur Augustin, sondern auch Epiphanius. Dies bestätigen aber auch bestimmte Tatsachen. Bei der Disputation mit Augustin unterschreibt sich der Manichäer Felix ausdrücklich als Felix Christianus. Ja der Manichäismus rühmte sich, daß er allein im Gegensatz zu katholisch kirchlichen Abschwächungen die christliche Auffassung des Bösen ernsthaft vertrete." (K. Holl, Augustins innere Entwicklung 1923, 4) Jesus is called razvar (Müllers Handschr. II, 36) i.e. 'vine.' This meaning was introduced by Christianity (cf. Scheftelowitz M. G. W. J. 1921, 115 f.).

life creates in himself a new heart and a new spirit (=soul) (Ez. 18, 31; 36, 26; Ps. 51, 12), whereas the heathen who follows and obeys the Tōrā is freed from his sins and is "like unto one newly born" (cf. Scheftelowitz A. R. W. 1914, 367). The Manichean days of Lent, the idea of the "wrong Messiah," the burying of the dead are Jewish-Christian ideas. In direct opposition to Zarathustrianism, which considers the south as the Light-abode of the heavenly and the north as the dark seat of the demons, Mani considers the south as the seat of the devils and the North as the realm of the gods. The Fravaši-idea of the Iranians, on which their dogma of immortality mainly rests, entered as Manvahmed into Manicheanism by Mandaean mediation¹, while the Iranian word for "fravahar" (Fravaši) became by Indian influence the element "soft breeze". We would seek in vain in Manicheanism for anything of the Iranian Haoma-and Anahita-cults, though the latter (Meter Anaitis) had spread all over Asia minor just in the first centuries A. D.² But we find, as part of the original Manichean doctrine, Jacob as "the great angel, the leader of the angels" and "the mighty angels Rafael, Michael, Gabriel, Sariel". The Manichean word for "angel", belonging to the rudiments of Manicheanism, is the literal translation of the Hebrew word מַלְאָךְ ("messenger, angel"). Mani's alimentary rite "The flesh of the innocent, sinless, dear lamb you may eat, but do not break its bones" (Coq. III 39), corresponds with the prescribed observances concerning the Easter-lamb, whose bones were not to be broken (Ex. 12, 46). The syncretism of the Manichean religion may be illustrated by the following instance: In a Middle Persian-Manichean fragment we find the passage: "O perfect seal of my *hand, mouth and thoughts*" (Müller II 63). Now for the tripartition of human action a stereotype formula was coined in Zarathustrianism and in Buddhism. In all Zarathustrian writings we find the fixed formula: "Thought, word and deed"³, whereas the inalterable Buddhist trinity runs "body, word, and thought" (cf. Dhammapada V. 391: yassa kāyena, vācāya manasā n' atthi dukkatam (also 231—33, Dīgh-Nik. 16, 1, 11; 27, 27, Saṃyutta-

¹ *Ibid.* 53 ff.

² Cf. Weinreich, *Stiftungen und Kultsatzungen* 1919, 40; Cumont, *Notes sur le culte d'Anaitis*, R. A. 1905 I, 28 f.

³ Cf. Yašt 11, 4. Scheftelowitz, *Altpers. Religion*, 141 f.

Nik. III, 2, 10)¹. As the Manichean trinity of the seal corresponds in sequence accurately with the Buddhist (but for "body" substituting "hand"), Buddhist influence is evident. In a Turkish Manichean fragment, we also find the Iranian tripartition of human action: "How many wicked *thoughts* do we think, how many unspeakably ugly *words* do we speak, how many unfeasible *deeds* are we doing" (Müller II 112). But the notion "seal" comes neither from Buddhism nor from Iranian, but from Christianity. The Christian is "sealed by the baptismal with 3 seals" (those of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost)². Thus Mani changed the signification of the 3 Christian seals³. Christianity again took the notion of "seal" from Judaism. Circumcision is called the seal (חותם) of the Covenant with God⁴. A sort of tripartition of the divine seal is mentioned in Midr. Jclamdēnu Wajjiqra Šaw. § 14: "To every Israelite God imprints his seal שדי ("Allmighty") viz. the first letter (ש) on the root of his nose, the second (ד) on his hand⁵ and the third letter (י) on the circumcision". In other passages we find: "The seal of God is truth" (Jōmā 69b, Šabb. 55a, Sanh. 64). The Mandaean term for baptism: "The great seal" (Brandt, M., Schriften 71, Lidzbarski, Mand. Lit. 22, 121) also points to Judaism. Therefore Reitzenstein is wrong in his assumption that the Manichean tripartite seal "corresponds with most ancient Persian conception"⁶. The present investigation shows that Reitzenstein's method of religious history, by which Manichean notions are proved to be Old Iranian, is untenable; his most important results rest on his singular method⁷. Thus he pretends to prove the Manichean

¹ In Brahmanism we find the reversed formula: *manovūgdeha* "thought, word, body" (Manu IX, 29).

² Thomasakt 27, 49; cf. epistle of Clemens 7, 6, Eph. 1, 13.

³ As Mani had taken from Mandaeanism the fourfold God, he created, beside the threepartitioned seal (*seh muhr*, Coq, Manich. Miniaturen 40), also a fourpartitioned one, cf. Scheftelowitz, Entstehung der manich. Rel. 37 A, 8.

⁴ Cf. Jalqū Šir haŠšir. 8, 6; also the grace Birkat hamnāzōn, which runs: "... we thank you ... for your covenant, the seal of which you imprinted unto our meat."

⁵ The phylacteries (Tefillin) are worn as "signs" between the eyes, i. e., at the root of the nose, and at the arms (Ex. 13, 16; Dt. 6, 8; 11, 18).

⁶ GGA. 1923, 54; the same: Iran. Erlösung 203.

⁷ The following example may illustrate very evidently Reitzenstein's method. He affirms G. G. A 1923, 41: „Er (Mani) wird nach einem schönen Funde Lidzbarski's auf den frühesten Münzen als der Eingesetzte (Stellvertreter) des Gottes Mithra, also des von ihm besonders gefeierten dritten Gesandten, bezeichnet." But this his assertion is wrong. From the little kingdom of Characene (in South-Babylonia) a

divinities of Redemption as "Mother of the Living", Sun and Moon as belonging to "Old Iranian popular belief", which he infers from the Middle-Persian names Mātboγ (probably from the 1st ct. A. D.), Mitrobuzanes, and Maibuzanes. The meaning of the first of these names is "having redemption through the mother", which according to Reitzenstein G. G. A. 1923, 51 explains the following mystery: "In Manicheism the Mother of the Living reaches out her right hand to Ōrmazd when rising from Hell, he comes to the circuits of the Heavens and thereby she redeems him". And the other two names are to signify (Iran. Erlösungsmyst. 159, G. G. A. *ibid.*) either "the one adorned by the Gods of the Sun and the Moon", or "the one redeemed by Mithra, redeemed by the Moon", and that is to prove the Iranian origin of Sun and Moon as Redeemers. But against this must be stated, that Mātboγ may also refer to the Semitic cult of the Mother Goddess, which cult was far spread just in the first century A. D., so that Iranians may have prayed to her too, as single Iranians also adhered Mandaeanism¹. Considering two other Middle Persian names:

number of coins descending from the first century have been found, which are furnished partly with Greek legends partly with Mandaean ones. On two coins with Mandaean legends two quite different persons, of which one is named Mani, have the same epithet consisting of three words which can be differently interpreted. The first word can be read as אסמאך or אסמאך (cf. pers. *astār* 'a certain coin') or אסמאך (= pers. *ustād* 'master' or *istād* 'appointed'), the 2nd word as א or א or א and the 3rd as סהרא or סהרה or סהרא (perhaps either pers. *muhr* 'stamp, seal' either *mīhr* 'Mithra,' furnished with the aram. ending *ā*). Suppose that only the reading א סהרא אסמאך is right, these three words, as they are also added to another person than Mani, can mean only a kind of title, which according to Lidzbarski (Zschr. f. Numismat. 1921, 92 ff.) „unabhängig von Mani und vor Mani gebraucht wurde", so that it is very dubious altogether whether the name "Mani" on the coins signifies the founder of Manicheism. This title (*ustād* / *muhr*) could mean "master of the seal = mintmaster." In India the meaning of pers. *muhr* is 'a golden coin' (Vullers, Lex. II 1237). The name of the mint-master is also often on Roman coins (Dressel, Zschr. f. Numism. 33, 31). Thus Reitzenstein's idea that on the coins Prophet Mani is designated as "substitute of Mithra" is untenable.

¹ Cf. Scheftelowitz, Entstehung etc. 2. As my treatise on account of the constantly rising expenses of publication, had to be quickly finished in June 22, a number of errata could not be corrected. P. 7, l. 21 must be "der zu den Texten gehört, die sich schon dadurch als jung erweisen". Page 64 lines 3—8 ought to read: In einem Fragment heißt es zwar: "Dann [schuf Gott der Verstandeswelt (= Zarwan)] zuerst jenen ersten Mann (nar), das ursprüngliche Geschöpf, den ersten Verstand und das erste Wissen" (Andreas bei Reitzenstein, Mand. Buch 50). Hier kann jener erste Mann nur Ōrmazd sein. *Nar* bedeutet etc. Page 78 lines 9—10 ought to be: "Denn Paulus, der wegen seines Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu vom jüdischen Gericht angeklagt war, beteuert, daß er im

Pitarbuxt (= "redeemed by the Father", cf. Justi: Iran. Namenbuch 254) and Jēšubuxt (= "redeemed by Jesus", Justi 149) we even find the Christian trinity, Mātbōy then meaning "redeemed by the Mother of God". The two other names, Reitzenstein quotes, are translated wrong; for they mean "freeing himself from Mithra, freeing himself from the Moon". Thus no Iranian Mystery of Redemption can be inferred from those three theophore names. Non-Iranian is the Manichean Redemption-Mystery, according to which those Light-Divinities which succumb partly in their fight against the dark powers, must surrender their divine Light, their souls, as prisoners to the Demons: and these souls are bound—against the divine will—to the demonic matter, and thereby forget their heavenly origin so that they must be awakened and set free by a heavenly messenger.¹ The stages of purification which must be passed on the way upward, are just a characteristic of the Manichean mystery. According to the Dinkerd (ed. Sanjana 5, 242 f.) the Zarathustrism differs already from Manicheism thereby that the former seeks to banish the demon from the body and to make God, who is the "creator of the incarnate bodies" (Vend. 3), a guest in the body, whereas Mani teaches that mankind is the body of the demon and God is but a prisoner in the body.

14. Now Reitzenstein asserts, that the Manichean conception of drunkenness and of the soul slumbering within the body until awakened by a heavenly messenger, is genuine Iranian, and hinted at even in the oldest parts of the Avesta in Yasna 28, 4. "This Iranian notion had spread far in the 1st ct. A. D., as it proved by its imitation in the Jewish or Early Christian anonymous quotation

Einklang stehe mit dem Auferstehungsdogma der Pharisäer". Page 7, l. 29, and p. 8 lines 1—5 must be cancelled. Page 46 note, lines 1—4 ought to be: "a. a. O. 543"). Mithra wird auf dem Denkmal d. Antiochos I. v. Kommageuc, der sich als Verehrer des "Zeus-Oromasdes" ausgibt, als Sonne dargestellt (vgl. Dittenberger, Orient Græc. inscr. Nr. 383).

¹ If it is said about the Manichean *elect*, that they fight the demons of vices, I might point out that every redemption-religion commands its confessors to fight against wickedness, thus compare in Buddhism Dhammapada 40, 175, 179, 296 ff. 343. Not only Buddha, but every ascetic who conquers the "satanical laws" (*pāpakā dhammā*) is called a "victor" (*jina* cf. Vin. 1,8), because he has caused that "the light of the lights" (*jyotisām jyotiḥ*) i. e. the celestial *ātman* in his heart (Brh. Ār. Up. 4. 4, 16; 4. 3, 7) is finally redeemed. In Parsism the demons are chiefly fought by exercising various external ceremonies prescribed, but in Manicheism and Buddhism by endeavours to overcome all sensual desires principally by the power of will.

in Ephes. 5, 14, the heathen mystery imitated in alchemists' treatises, the Baruchtext of the Jewish-Christian Gnosis". Just this Ephesian letter, remarks Reitzenstein (G. G. A. 1923, 52 f.), shows some more Iranian influences; the rhetorical picture Eph. 6, 13 διὰ τοῦτο ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ he takes for genuine Iranian. But here too Reitzenstein is wrong in his premisses; neither the Ephesian letter, nor the alchemistic texts, nor the Baruchtext can be taken as documenting Iranian notions, as they are no Iranian texts. Eph. 5, 14 can be traced back to the Greek mystery (cf. Leisegang, Z. M. R. W. 1921, 295), and the passage quoted from Ephes. 6. 13 is genuine *biblical*, cf. Isa. 61, 10 "He (God) has clothed me with the garments of salvation and covered me with the robe of righteousness". Isaiah 59, 17: "And he put righteousness as a harness and the salvation as helmet on his head" cf. also Ps. 91, 4; II. Corinth 6, 7: "By the armour of righteousness (διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης) on the right hand and on the left". "The harness of God", which means Righteousness is, then, a *biblical*, not an Iranian notion. And I can also give the proof, that *only* the *one* passage from the Avesta by which Reitzenstein substantiates his theory, Yasna 28, 4: yō urvānəm mōn gairē . . . dadē", must be translated with Bartholomae and Geldner: "who I have directed my mind upon *watching over the souls*"; though the translation proposed by Andreas "that the soul be wakeful" be grammatically without mistake, this meaning is contradicted by another passage from the Gāthās which emphasizes that Zarathustra is called for "to watch over the souls of the righteous", cf. Yasna 49, 10. "And that I (Zarathustra) will watch over, o Mazda, in your creation, namely the good mind, *the souls of the pious*, their prayers, devotion and religious zeal, I will watch over with sovereignty and constant not-slumbering"², cf. also Yasna 28, 11: "I (Zarathustra) who will watch therefore over the right doing and the good mind for ever". Exactly the same task is set to the Israelite prophet as God's elect; he is bound to watch as a "watchman" (Jer. 6, 17) over the souls entrusted to him (Ezek. 33, 6). Thus in Ezek. 3, 17; 33, 7 the prophet is summoned: "Son of man, I (god) have set thee as watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore

¹ I read the obscure "avmīrā" as *avimīrā* = a-vi-mīrā: O. Ind. *mīl* "to close one's eyes, to sleep." Aw. *ā* is alternately written with *i*, cf. Y. 23, 2. *ā fravašī* beside *āfravašī*, *āfravašē*; Y. 30, 4: *dazdī* beside *dazdō*, *dazdē*; 30, 5: *vasti* beside *vastiō*, *vastē*; y. 32, 11: *mazibī* beside *mazibīš*; y. 33, 4: *tarimāšim* beside *tarimāšim*

shalt thou hear the word of my mouth and give them warning from me." Of the neglectful prophets is said: "Their watchmen are all blind, and altogether without knowledge; they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, *dreaming, sleeping, loving to slumber.*" (Isaiah 56, 10). Exactly like the Iranian, then, the Israelite prophet is to watch over the souls "with constant not-slumbering". This is another of the numerous evidences quoted in my book "Altpersische Religion und das Judentum", that two entirely different religions can develop quite independently from each other, the same or parallel ideas¹. If Mani has drawn thoughts alternately from Mandaeism, from Christianity, from Parsism, from Buddhism, which partly contradict one another, this may be because these thoughts belong to different epochs of his activity and have been adopted according to the circumstances of the different times and countries in which he appeared as "waker".—

15. The results of this research must be summed up as follows: 1) The assumption of five Zoroastrian elements is untenable. 2) The Avesta knows of no five-fold divinity. 3) Mani's system of elements never occurring in abstract meaning cannot be brought into an inner relation to the Avestan Aməšaspəntas; nor is there any possibility of the five Manichean elements having their roots in the Iranian popular belief, which accepts the existence of 4 elements only. 4) None of the leading thoughts of Manicheanism can be brought into relation to the Avesta, the tenor of Manicheanism cannot be considered as Iranian. 5) In historically considering the Manichean redemption's doctrine, the Indian and Mandaean texture must be regarded. 6) Reitzenstein is the creator of a new mystic religion which he calls Iranian, but which in reality has as little to do with genuine Iranianism as the figure of Nietzsche's Zarathustra with the prophet of Ahuramazda.

¹ If the thought of a spiritual awakening of the soul from "slumber" could even be proved in Iranianism, it would not necessarily follow thereof that all other religions containing the same thought must have drawn it from Iranian sources. For an individual with reason this thought lies so near, that it appears quite independently again and again. I heard it in March 1923 in the speech delivered by a gentleman who had not the slightest knowledge of the religious mysteries, yet he detailed that thought very pregnantly at the 25th Anniversary of a person's presidency of a charitable society.

Annotation to p. 468 n. 4:

In the old-Iranian era Zarvanism did not yet exist. The two epithets of the Zrvan in Avesta do not justify the presumption of an original godfather Zrvan. Not only he, but also the air (Ny 1,1) has the name *darzgo-xvadāta* ('long independently governing'), and the other epithet of Zrvan, *akarana*, is the opposite of *anayra* (comp. Yasht 8,48). The former means 'endless,' the latter 'beginningless.' Zrvan is in Avesta only 'endless' (*akarana*), Ahuramazda however "the first and the last" (Yasna 31,8). Not Zrvan but Ahuramazda's light heaven and Angromainyuš' dark hell exist "beginningless" (cf. *anayra raoid, anayra tomā*). The Grand Bund. (ed. Anklesara 1908 p. 9,2) distinguishes *Zrvan akarana* strictly from *Zrvan darzgo-xvadāta*, which both were created by Ōrmazd. According to the Gr. Bund., the "long independently governing" Zarvan has been shaped soon after the "endless Zarvan" by Ōrmazd (cf. Blochet R. H. K. 1895, 108, Darmesteter Z. A. I 221). Ever since the dualism has existed in the old Iranian religion, wherefore it is taught, that the good and the evil do not descend from one heavenly origin, but from two quite different ghosts: "And when both these ghosts originally came together, they decided life and death and that lastly the worst existence must be for the false believers, but the reward of the best mind for the right-believers" (Yasna 30,4 f, Scheftelowitz, Altpersische Religion p. 16). In consequence of the old idea, that two ghosts have existed ever since, from which each of them has produced an especial creation (yasna 8,8), they are signified as *mainyū* (dual) 'the two ghosts' and therefore it must be understood to characterise them as "two twin-gods" (Yasna 30,3, Scheftelowitz l. c. 51 f.). When Eudemos with Damaskios reports, that the Persians supposed only one original principle which they called partly 'abode' partly 'time,' I should like to ask what is to be understood under "abode?" Between the lifetime of Eudemos and Damaskios lie many centuries, so that the latter was not able to prove the genuineness of this tradition (cf. Scheftelowitz, Beitrag z. Methode der vgl. Religionsforschung in M. G. W. J. 1921, 113 ff.). When in a hymn of Atharvaveda at first time *Kāla* "time" is praised as the only one creator, and in Maitr. Up. *Brahman* is identified with *Kāla*, this speculation of single Indian philosophers did not have any influence on a large circle and cannot be a testimony for the high age of the Iranic Zarvanism. Even the pure monotheistic idea can be proved as speculation in several Upaniṣads (cf. Śivasanikalpa-Up. Z. D. M. G. 1921, 201 ff.). Quite different is that Zarvanism which first appears in the era after Christ as an Iranic religion of vital power and not as speculation, so that scriptures of Parsees dispute with it. Jewish and Christian monotheism widely spread since the 1st century A. D. gave rise to the formation of that Zarathustrian sect. Would Zarvan already in the pre-Christian time have been the main god in the Iranic popular religion, Antiochos I. of Commagene, who confessed the Iranic popular belief, would have mentioned him in his inscription beside Zeus-Oromasdes, Mithra, Artagnos (= *Vərəθraγna*). Only in one place χρόνος ἀπειρος is used in the meaning of 'divine fate', which also Theodor of Mopsuest (with Photius, Bibliotheca 81, ed. Becker) knows for Zarvan: Θεοῦ τοῦ Ζουρουαμ, ὃν καὶ Τύχην καλεῖ. Thus Antiochos I. says: ὃν θεῖμυς ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς ἀπάντων, οὗς ἂν χρόνος ἀπειρος εἰς διαδοχὴν χώρας ταύτης ἰδία βίου μοῖρα καταστήσῃ (Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Nr. 383, 111 ff.). Similarly

"fate" (mp. *baxt*) is in middle-Persian era a god (cf. *Mēn i Xrat* 8, 15) as with Firdōsi "the wheel of fate" (*cary*). The very young Parsee-work *Mēn i Xrat*, influenced in two places by Zarvanism, has been written in Mohammedan times and also mentions the Turks. VIII 8: "The creator Ōrmazd produced these creatures and the creation, and the Amēšaspentas and the Spirit of Wisdom, from that which is his own splendor and with the blessing of the endless Zarvan, because the endless Zarvan is undecaying and immortal and painless and thirstless and unafflicted; and for ever and everlasting, no one is able to stop it and remove its control from his affairs." XXVII 10: "Since the affairs of the world altogether proceed through destiny and time and the supreme decree of the self-existed Zarvan the King and long independent governor." But in the older work *Bund. c. I* line 10 (ed. Justi 1868) we find: "One is always this endless Zarvan like Ōrmazd, region, religion and time; *Ormazd yehavunt va ũ va hamē yehavunēt* "Ōrmazd was, is, and shall be for ever". In *Zādspar. 1, 24* Zrvan is distinctly stated to be a creature of Ōrmazd. About the Zarvanism comp. also Darmesteter, *Ōrmazd et Ahri-man* p. 316 ff.