



From Manichaeism to Zoroastrianism

On the History of the Teaching of the ‘Two Principles’

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ABSTRACT The essential feature in the religious history of Pre-Islamic Iran is its dualistic worldview. It marks all stages of Zoroastrianism and also Manichaeism, in which dualism can be regarded as the most important Zoroastrian piece of inheritance. The following essay concentrates on two aspects of this ‘inheritance’ that have been overlooked until today: 1) The Manichaean dualism is consistently built on elements and tendencies that already existed, albeit covertly, in the Younger Avesta; and 2) The Manichaean dualism has thereby confronted Zoroastrian theologians with the task of giving an alternative and consistent formulation of dualism. Thus, the continuous attention both Dēnkard III and the Škand Gumānīg ī Wizār, two of the most philosophically inclined works in Pahlavi, give the concept of dualism seeks to articulate a relation between the notion of evil and the idea of the “finite,” and also to formulate the notion of “principle,” seen as a demarcation from the Manichaean solution.

KEYWORDS Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, dialectical development of dualism

Preliminary Remarks

In ancient times the Persians worshipped Zeus and Cronos and all the other divinities of the Hellenic pantheon, except that they called them by different names.¹ [...] But nowadays their views conform for the most part to those of the so-called Manichaeans, to the extent of their holding that there are two first principles one of which is good and has given rise to all that is fine in reality and the other of which is the complete antithesis in both its properties and its function. They assign barbarous names drawn from their own language to these entities. The good divinity or creator they call Ahuramazda, whereas the name of the evil and malevolent one is Ahriman. (Agathias, *Hist.*, 2.24.8–9; translation by Frenndo in Agathias 1975)

[1]

1 Agathias’ information is based on “the testimony of Berosus of Babylon, Athenocles and Simacus who recorded the ancient history of the Assyrians and Medes” (Agathias, *Hist.*, 2.24.8).

The most characteristic religious feature of pre-Islamic Iran is the embedding of its theology in an ontological, cosmological and also ethical dualism. This holds true for Mazdaism/Zoroastrianism (second millennium BCE until today) (in the following: ‘Zoroastrianism’), but also for Manichaeism (third century CE until the early second millennium). Both religions, Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, seem to regard themselves as religions of the “two principles” (MP *dō bun(ištag)*). While in Manichaeism, *dō bun* is an emic term from the times of Mani, which the religious founder applied to the kernel of his religion during the days of his stay at the court of Šābuhr, it remains to be examined when a comparable conceptual reflection of the philosophical fundamentals took place in Zoroastrianism, and how it is related to the Manichaean solution. The two ‘philosophical’ books of the Zoroastrian Middle Persian literature, *Dēnkard* 3 (early ninth century) and *Škand Gumānīg Wizār* (probably middle of the ninth century), show that reflection about the dualistic conception of being was the key topic of Zoroastrian intellectuals. [2]

Because of the significantly higher age of Zoroastrianism, it is (and was already in the early Islamic period) *communis opinio* that the Manichaean dualism is a reformulation of the Zoroastrian one. Although this opinion certainly includes a kernel of truth, it needs at least some complements. First, one needs to inquire about the relation between the Manichaean dualism and the dualism of the Avesta. It seems to me that the Manichaean dualism draws the radical conclusion from a Younger Avestan structural tendency. Secondly, one cannot help thinking that late antique and early Islamic Zoroastrianism came to a new shaping of its dualism under the influence of the Manichaean conception, i.e., that the Zoroastrian concept/term *dō bun(ištag)* is a reaction to the Manichaean concept/term *dō bun*. In addition to the assumption of such an external demarcating process, one should inquire both about the internal considerations and the theological-philosophical models late antique or early Islamic Zoroastrianism adopted to solve the problems generated by its own critique of the Manichaean dualistic model. [3]

Thus, my paper tries to explain the genesis of the Iranian religion(s) in the late antique and early Islamic period on the basis of three dynamic elements: 1) religious competition and demarcation; 2) theoretical considerations within one religion; 3) the adoption of philosophical models. [4]

On MP *bun(išt)(ag)* “principle”

The MP word *bun* (bwn) goes back to OIr **buna-/būna-* (OAv *būna-*; YAv *buna-*) < **budna-*, cf. Ved *budhná-* m.² This **bu(d)na-* has the same meaning as its cognates Gr *πυθμῆν* m., Lat *fundus* or Germ *Boden*, “ground” and – cf. MIndic *bundha-* n. – “root.” The word designates low-lying things/places. In the Younger Avesta the meaning “ground (of the waters)” dominates.³ It seems that the Avesta only paves the way for the later meanings of “beginning,” “principle.” In Y 53.7, the *būna-* (Loc *būnōi.*) “vagina” or “uterus” is probably the place of the *mainiuš. drəguuatō.* (cf. Y 30.5 *aiiā. mainiuuā. ... yā. drəguuā.*).⁴ V 19.47 uses an expression *bunəm. aṇhəuš. təmaṇhe.* “(to the) ground of the dark existence,”⁵ i.e., the place of the demons. [5]

2 For -dn- > -(n)n- cf. OAv/YAv *xʷaēna-* < **hvaidna-* (see Hoffmann and Forssman 1996, 97).

3 See the quotations in AiW 968–969.

4 On this passage, see König (2010, 23–33).

5 PahlTr *ō bun ī axwān ī tom kē ērang dūzax [abāz ham-ō-ham dūd]* “to the basis of the dark places of being, the horrible hell [back to the clumping smoke].” For darkness as a characteristic of hell, see especially and already the accumulation of the word “dark” (*təma-*) in V 5.62, 18.76: *təmaṇhəənə. təmasciθrəm. təmaṇhəm.*

Especially this *bunəm. aṅhāuš. tamaṅhe.* is instructive because it points to a connection of “the deep place” and the place where the evil beings live.⁶ The deep place is also understood as the place without light (see PahlTr V 19.47). So *buna-* appears as the kernel of a semantic cluster designating deepness/evil/lightlessness. Even though the semantic inversion of this cluster already exists in the Avesta, the word *buna-* is not applied to these two clusters as a general term. From the evidence of the Avestan sources, we must conclude that a more abstract meaning of *bun(a-)* as “fundament; source⁷; principle” was not developed before the post-Avestan period.

The Zoroastrian sources from the period between the end of the Avestan text production⁸ and the Pahlavi texts of the ninth century are not numerous.⁹ The best and oldest information on the religious development in the post-Achaemenid period comes from the Greek *Nebenüberlieferung* and points to a usage of **bun(a)* as “principle” in the fourth century BCE. Eudoxos¹⁰, Theopompos¹¹ and Hermippus¹² spoke of “two principles”¹³ (δύο ... ἀρχάς) (cf. Gnoli 1974, 141) that were called Oromazdes and Areimanios by the Magi (Diog. Laert., *Vit.Philos.*, *Prooem.* 6,8). Aristotle (384–322) uses δαίμων (≈ Av *mainiiu-*) as the generic term for two opposing transcendent beings of the Iranian religion.¹⁴ He designates both the ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα as well as the κακὸν δαίμονα as the ἀρχάς:¹⁵ [6]

→ PahlTr *tom-arzānīgān ... tom-tōhmagān ... tom.* In later sources, hell is described as a place where darkness is nearly material; see MX 7.30f., AWN 18, PahlV 5.62 (see König 2010, 338–39).

6 The term for hiding the *daēuuas* in the earth is YAv *zəmarə-guz-* (Y 9.15, Yt 19.81; FrW 4.3; s. AiW 1665–1666).

7 See Dd 0.23.

8 For a reconstruction of the process of the Avestan text production, see Kellens (1998, 488–516).

9 The most important sources are the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta and their (late Sasanian/early Islamic?) commentaries. Indirect sources are the Manichaean texts.

10 Lived around 390 and 340 BCE in Knidos.

11 Born 378/377 BCE in Chios; died between 323 and 300 BCE, probably in Alexandria.

12 Lived in the third century BCE (*289/277 BCE, †208/204 BCE).

13 Or “two realms”?

14 In Plutarch’s (around 45–125 AD) *de Iside* 46 θεός, “god” is used as a general term for two highest divinities (θεοὺς), which are seen as “rivals” (ἀντιτέχνους); referring to the Persian terminology, Plutarch makes the distinction between θεός = Ahura Mazdā (Ἄρομάζης) and δαίμων Αἴηρα Mainiiu (Ἀρειμάνιος). This distinction θεός / δαίμων is probably an allusion to Av *ahura / daēuua*.

15 See, 900 years later, the conceptualisation of Ὀρμισδάτης (< **Ohrmizd-dād* [?]) and Ἀριμάνης as δύο τὰς πρώτας ἀρχάς in Agathias (536–582 AD), *Hist.* 2-24ff. For δύο τὰς πρώτας, see the expression “the two spirits in the earliness (of being)” (see Y 30.3 *tā. mainiiū. pauruiiē.*; Y 45.2 *aṅhāuš. mainiiū. pauruiiē.*), which the PahlTr glosses with *Ohrmazd ud Gannāg*. It seems that the Avestan expression was later simplified to “the two first spirits”; see PahlY 30.3 *har 2 mēnōg [...]* *ā-šan fradom*; Y 45.2 *andar axwān mēnōgīgih fradom* [*dahišnīgih*]).

Diog. Laert., *Prooem.* 6,8

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας
καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· καὶ
δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα
καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα· καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι
Ζεὺς καὶ Ὀρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἄιδης καὶ
Ἀρειμάνιος. φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἐν
τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ μάγων καὶ Εὐδοξος ἐν τῇ
Περίοδῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν
Φιλιππικῶν

Aristotle in the first book of his dialogue *On Philosophy* declares that the Magi are more ancient than the Egyptians; and further, that they believe in two principles, the good spirit and the evil spirit, the one called Zeus or Oromasdes, the other Hades or Arimanius. This is confirmed by Hermippus in his first book about the Magi, Eudoxus in his *Voyage round the World*, and Theopompus in the eighth book of his *Philippica*.¹⁶

It is likely that the Middle Persian *dō bun(ištāg)* corresponds to Gr δύο ... ἀρχάς. These “two principles” are identified as Ohrmazd and Ahreman by the Greek authors. A philosophical usage of ἀρχή (“principle”) in Greek can be traced back to Anaximander (first half of the sixth century BCE), who called his highest concept, the ἄπειρον “the infinite”, an ἀρχή. Simplicius (in *Phys.* 150.23; cf. Aristoteles, *Metaph.* 983b11), says that it was indeed Anaximander who introduced the term ἀρχή (πρῶτος τοῦτο τοῦνομα κομίσας τῆς ἀρχῆς). This is remarkable because a) there is evidence that Anaximander’s ἄπειρον and cosmology is the philosophical reformulation of an Iranian cosmological model (Burkert 1963),¹⁷ and b) the topic of the “infinity of the principle(s)” is also known from the *Bundahišn*, a late antique text that probably has its roots in the Avesta (see below). [7]

The next occurrence of the term “two principles” is (and probably not by chance) the title of Mani’s *Šābuhragān*, dw bwn ‘y š’bwhrg’n.¹⁸ Parthian texts testify an expression dw bwn wrzg “the two great principles,” which is a designation of the fundamental dualism of the cosmos (see GW 111 (§22,3) and the expression Parth. dw bwng’hyg/*dō bunγāhig*). Parthian *bun* (bwn) and *bunγāh* (bwng’h, bwnγ’h) “base, foundation” corresponds to MMP bwnyšt “origin, principle, foundation.” [8]

In ZMP texts, the word *bun* has more or less the same meaning as Avestan *buna-/būna-*, “beginning;¹⁹ base, root, source” (in the simplex and in the first member of a compound). Only Dk 3 and ŠGW uses rarely the expression *dō bun* for “the two principles” (see Dk 3.383; 3.414; ŠGW 10.39 [cf. 11.383] *bun. i. du.*, 10.42, 11.327 *du. bun.*²⁰).²¹ The ‘abstract’ meaning “principle” is the common meaning of the enlarged form *bun-išt(-ag)(-ih)* (Pāz. *bunīiaštaa.*). [9]

16 Translation Hicks ([1925] 1972).

17 The similarity of Anaximander’s and the Iranian model of the light-sphere is still unrecognized in Solmsen (1962), an article on “traces and influences” of and on Anaximander’s Infinite. For a Mesopotamian background of this model, see Panaino (1995) and Lanfranchi (2001, 161–62).

18 See the fragments M475, M477, M482, M472; on the title dw bwn in the Parthian translation, see Sundermann (1986, 84, n. 182); see also the Old Turkic *İki Yiltiz Nom*, chin. *Erh-tsung ching* “book of the two principles” (MIK III 198 [T II D 171]), and the Chinese phrase (see Hutter 1992, 146 and Reck “Šābuhragān” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sabuhragan>).

19 See, e.g., ŠGW 11.342 *əž. bun. aṇdā. faržqm.* “from the beginning to the end”; ŠGW 12.51 *u. bun. u. miiqn. u. faržqm.* “beginning, middle, end.”

20 ŠGW sometimes uses *bun* in the sense of “principle” (more common *bunīiaštaa.*), see ŠGW 11.85 (?), 11.95; see also ŠGW 11.254 *bun. Bunīiašt.*

21 An adjective with the meaning “fundamental” can be found in GrBd 1.52b *u-š nazdist Amahrspand dād 6 bun* “he created first the Amahrspand, the six fundamental one”; GrBd 26.129 *Ohrmazd ud ān 6 Amahrspand ī bun* “Ohrmazd and the six fundamental Amahrspands.”

This enlarged word-formation and its ‘abstract’ meaning is unknown in the *Pahlavi Vidēvdād*,²² a Zoroastrian work from the Sasanid period (Cantera 1999, 2004), probably because of the translator’s intention to avoid anachronistic interpretations of Avestan words.²³

Mani, the perverter of the *Abestāg* and *Zand* ...

From the information given by the classical authors, we can deduce that, at least beginning with the second half of the first millennium BCE, a term “principle” and a concept “the <teaching of the> two principles” existed in Iran. The prominent position, however, that Mani granted to the above term and the concept in the third century CE certainly influenced their further development and contextualization in the Zoroastrian theology. [10]

Mani appeared, to his Zoroastrian counterparts, as a perverter of the holy Zoroastrian texts. According to a passage in *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, one of the seven Zoroastrian arch-sinners is the *ahlomōγ* (= *frēftār* “deceiver”). This “confuser of Aša” (this is the literal meaning of *ahlomōγ*, a loan from Av. *arta-maoγa-*) is, according to the paraphrase of the term in Dd 71, the one who wardēnīd *abestāg ud zand* “perverted *abestāg ud zand*” (the holy texts which Dd 71 also calls *weh-ahlāyīh* “<the acts of> the Good Truth”). He is accused of a kind of ‘forgery’ of the religious writings (*ayāddān*): [11]

Dd 71.9

<i>ēk ān kē-š ahlomōγ-dēnīhā</i>	One is he by whom the heretical religious teachings (<i>dēnīhā</i>)
<i>kāmīst ō dād ī stōd ēg pad</i>	were preferred as the <i>dād ī stōd</i> ; he perverted then (on that
<i>frēftārīh wardēnīd abestāg</i>	basis) through deceitfulness the <i>Abestāg</i> and <i>Zand</i> according to
<i>ud zand az xwēš wimand</i>	his own definitions. ²⁴

The text does not provide the identity of the *ahlomōγ*, most likely because the intention of the Zoroastrian author was to establish a “mythical model of a heretic.” This model fits the great ‘heretics’ of the Sasanian period, Mani and Mazdak, very well, however. The lexicon of Manichaean Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian includes a good number of loan words from the Zoroastrian context (see Colditz 2005). It seems that Mani had access to the (still unwritten?) Avesta (see Cantera 2004, 106–53),²⁵ probably in its Pahlavi translation(s). To give just one example: the Parthian *Gyān wīfrās* (GW §21), edited a few years ago by Werner Sundermann, mentions a “Nask” with the name “the Living Nask” ((n)s(g) jyw’ng). This *Nask* – jyw’ng²⁶ is perhaps a folk-etymological interpretation of *Zand* (cf. Herders and Kleukers [12]

22 Beyond the passage PahlV 19.47, the word *bun* is used only in the glosses of this work, where *bun* (and also *bunīh*) appears in idiomatic phrases (*ō bun* [in the context of sin/merit]; *bun ud bar* [see here also PahlV 3.25]). The philosophical meaning “principle” seems to be absent in all instances (and is perhaps only indirectly reflected in *a-bun* “not principally” [adjective to *sag*, *gurg* in PahlV 13.42, 43]).

23 Because we have seen that Gr ἀρχή probably translates as OIr **buna-* “principle,” we cannot assume that the canonized translation/commentary of the *Pahlavi Vidēvdād* was fixed in a period before a ‘philosophical’ meaning of *bun* entered the ZMP literature.

24 All translations by the author unless noted otherwise.

25 The term *dād ī stōd* might be connected with the *Nask Stōt/Stōd*, the *Nask* which is the first or last of the 21 *Nasks* of the Sasanian Avesta, and which incorporated the OAv texts (on the *Staotas Yesniias* see Kellens 1998, 496–500).

26 The name Parthian *nsg jyw’ng* (MP **nsk zy(w)ndk’*) remains an enigma, since such a *Nask* is not part of the *Nask-Avesta* (the Sasanian/Great Avesta). Firstly, the name evokes the expression *nibegān zīndagān* “Living Books,” used by Mani (in M 5494 [a fragment probably belonging to the *Šabuhragān*]) with regard to his

“Lebendiges Wort”²⁷) and points to the five “god”s (yzd) which represent the five elements and bear the names of the *Gāθās*:

GW §32	GW §46		GW §65	
ʾrdʾ(w) [frw](r)dyn	wʾd yzd	rw(š)n [y](zd)	ʾb (yz)[d]	ʾdwr yzd
ʾwhnwyt gʾh (M838 R 9 = M419 + M3824 R 3)	ʾwyštwyt gʾh (M248 + R 14 = M890 R 2)		whwxštr gʾh (M295 R 8 = M6090 R 4)	

Gyān wifrās illustrates a typical aspect of Manichaean textual technique, namely the reference to the Avestan texts (probably in their *Zand*-form) and the combination of their names with new elements, in the case of the *Gyān wifrās* Aristotelian-Manichaean elements. This combination, suggested and enabled by the occurrence of the number 5 (five *Gāθās*/five Manichaean elements), could possibly make a Zoroastrian critic believe that it led the Manichaeans to an esoteric interpretation of the most ‘holy’ Zoroastrian texts, and, as such, that it ‘perverted’ the ‘true’ Zoroastrian understanding of the *Gāθās*. [13]

... And its Executor

If we leave aside this contingent reinterpretation (an insider would have seen it as ‘perverting’) of more peripheral Zoroastrian terms and concepts, and take into consideration the conceptual kernel of Manichaeism, that is, the teaching of the ‘*dō bun*,’ we could describe Mani’s teaching as the fulfilment of metaphorical-conceptual tendencies that can be found only in the Avesta. The key difference between Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism is the Manichean identification of *hyle* (“matter”) with Evil, which leads to a simplification of the Zoroastrian double dualism of good/evil and material/immaterial. [14]

Manichaeism		Zoroastrianism	
material =	- non-material =	material (<i>gētīg</i>)	- non-material (<i>mēnōg</i>)
dark =	- light =	dark =	- light =
evil	- good	evil	- good

own works (see the designation of the εὐαγγέλιον also as “Living Gospel” or “Gospel of the Living”; see also the designation of the text “Opening of the doors,” one of the Manichaean canonical scripture, as “the Treasure of the living”; the Greek and Latin name of Mani, Μανιχαῖος/Manichaeus, is from Syriac Mānīhāyā “the living Mani”). Secondly, there is a similarity to a term used in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, “Zend-Avesta,” which was understood as “Living Avesta” by the first European Iranologists; see already the introduction of Herder’s *Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament aus einer neueröffneten morgenländischen Quelle*, published 1775 (Herder 1775), and J. Fr. Kleuker *Zend-Avesta. Zoroasters Lebendiges Wort* (Kleuker 1777–1786). Herder/Kleuker probably picked up an old folk etymology of *zend* as *zende* (*zindeh* < *zīndag*) (the source of which is still unknown, but it seems that it was not Anquetil who established such an understanding of “Zand”). This is indicated by the well-known passage Dk 5.24.13, according to which *zīndag-gōwišnīg saxwan* “the living speech” is held in higher esteem than *ān ī pad nibišt* “what is written” (see Dk 5.24.13), probably because of the fact that the *zīndag-gōwišnīg saxwan* was composed in the Avestan language, but the written text is in Pahlavi.

27 The source of this translation is Anquetil (1771, II:423–424).

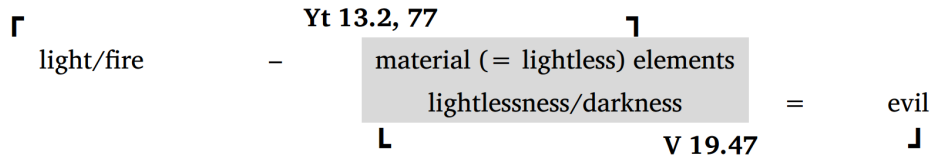


Figure 1 Scheme of superimposition of two (explicit or implicit) Avestan equations.

In the Younger Avesta and in late antique Zoroastrianism, we can observe that the formula *dark = evil* presents connections to matter (although it has essentially only a *mēnōg*-existence,²⁸ it nests parasitically only in the material world), whereas the formula *light = good* carries allusions to the non-material (*aša* “truth” is light, see Y 37.1). Nevertheless, the relationship between *dark = evil/light = good* and *gētīg/mēnōg* is more complex in Zoroastrianism than in Manichaeism. Historically, it indicates two different ways to situate these terms in different constellations. [15]

As we have seen in V 19.47, the Younger Avesta is already acquainted with the semantic cluster of “deep = lightless / evil.” In Manichaeism, this cluster seems to be enlarged by the element of “matter.” The *tertium* of both, matter and Evil, is very probably lightlessness/darkness. In Avestan Zoroastrianism, in particular in the cosmology of Yt 13 and (then) *Bundahišn*, lightlessness is, at least implicitly, the logical consequence of the theological decision to separate light from the other (six) ‘elements’ and to oppose it to them. [16]

Thus, Manichaeism creates, one might say, its theory by a superimposition of two (explicit or implicit) Avestan equations: [17]

1. V 19.47 lightlessness/darkness = Evil [18]
2. Yt 13 light/fire is separated from / opposed and superior to the other material elements (> light contra material elements)

The scheme of the superimposition is depicted in figure 1. The combination of Yt 13 and V 19 has a further implication. If “evil” is “lightless”, and if “lightless” is “material” (“tactile” according to the later Zoroastrian epistemology²⁹), then the inversion of the argument leads to the conclusion that the immaterial is the light which is goodness.³⁰ Mani’s worldview is consonant with notions preformed in the Younger Avesta: the identification of light with goodness and its opposition to matter. It was, as we shall see, the task of the late antique Zoroastrian theology to find arguments against Mani’s conclusion, but also to explore ways *not* to radically separate light from matter. [19]

The Zoroastrian Critique of the Manichaean *dō a-bun* Conception...

It is remarkable that Mani’s radical theological-philosophical conclusion was not adopted by [20]

28 It is still a matter of debate whether this asymmetrical ontological conception of Ohrmazd and Ahreman has its origin in the Avesta (see Gnoli 1995; Schmidt 1996; Panaino 2001).

29 For the two epistemological-ontological categories in the Pahlavi writings (“what can be seen” and “what can be touched”), see already Herakcitus (in Hippolytos, *Haer.* IX 9,6 (DK 22 B 56)).

30 In the sense of the German nominalized adjective ‘*das Gute*.’

late antique Zoroastrianism. Yet it is a conclusion that tends to be drawn in Zoroastrian cult practices, for instance, in establishing an eternal/unpolluted fire. In the more trivial forms of Zoroastrian cosmology (see, e.g., MX 1.31-32), one could also identify a correlation between *gētīg* (*material*) and *world with demons*, and, on the other hand, *mēnōg* (*spiritual*) and *world without demons*. My explanation for this Zoroastrian non-fulfilment of what can probably be described as an overarching historical tendency—the cultural increase of abhorrence of the *materia*—is that a) a radical abhorrence of the *materia* can produce economic problems,³¹ and b) the dualistic competitor already drew a radical conclusion, that is, the damnation of the material world. According to the latter hypothesis, the Zoroastrian priests of both the pre-Islamic and the Islamic period had to find arguments against the Manichaean dualism (or against any dualism of ‘Manichaean’ expression), and to formulate a dualism in which light, darkness, and matter could be set as an alternative and convincing constellation.

The Zoroastrian key argument against the Manichaean identification of *materia* and darkness/evil is that by such an identification, the *materia* necessarily appears as something infinite, as one could see from *Ādurbād’s argument in Dk 3.199.7 against Mani’s teaching in Dk 3.200*.³² [21]

B 169.5f.

gytyk pṭ’ bwnyštḱ’ AL	<i>gētīg pad buništāg ma</i>	Do not claim that the <i>gētīg</i> is a
YHSNNyt MH + dgl ³³ LA	<i>dārēd cē dagr nē būd</i>	<i>buništāg</i> because it was/is not
YHWWNt’		‘long/eternal’! ³⁴

Ādurfarrbay discusses the teachings of the Jews, the Manichaeans, and the Sōfistās in Dk 3.150 (a chapter dated to the early ninth century). The text claims that the Sophists teach a general *a-bun*, i.e., non-creation of the whole being.³⁵ In the following, the term *a-bun* is also [22]

31 Later Zoroastrianism develops or strengthens the principle of *xwēškārīh* and *kunišn*, the active fulfilment of one’s own duty (according to one’s own ability). This principle is a bastion against thoughts of world-negation and against fatalism. Šahrastānī says about the *Zarāduštīya* that this Mazdaean school not only knows a *Mīnū-Gītī*-dualism, but “was in der Welt ist, in zwei Theile getheilt, Bachschisch (*baxšiš*) (Gnade) und Kunisch (*kuniš*) (Thätigkeit) worunter er (Zardušt [GK]) die Anordnung (Gottes) und das Thun (des Menschen) versteht, und ein Jeder sei in Beziehung auf das Zweite vorherbestimmt” (Haarbrücker 1850–1851, I:283: “What is in the world is divided into two parts, Bachschisch (*baxšiš*) (grace) and Kunisch (*kuniš*) (deeds), which he (Zardušt [GK]) understands as the order (of God) and the actions (of man), and everyone is predestined for the latter”). See the opposition mentioned in Dd 70.3 *pad brēhēnišn ... pad kunišn*, cf. B 325.7 (Dk 4.34) *baxt-išān abar ān ī brēhēnidārīh pad kunišn* (“their fate <is fulfilled> with regard to creation by action”). On the dialectic of fate and action see König (2010, 79, 82).

32 *Ādurbād’s* use of a past tense form *būd*—see *Mānī’s* counter-position in Dk 3.200.7 with the hint to a creation demon—seems to point to a created infinity (see the position in Plato’s *Timaios* and the position of Philon and Augustin; Aristotle, however, argues against the assumption of a created infinity, see fn. 33).

33 Text in B dgy; DkS 5.241 dgl (Menasce 1945, 231, 1973, 208 reads *dīg* “hier”).

34 According to the opposition of the two epithets of *zruuan-* in the Younger Avesta, *darəγō.x’adāta-* and *akarana-* (see Ny 1.8; Y 72.10; V 19.13), the “long” time—according to AiW 696 the meaning of *darəγō.x’adāta-* is also “ewig”—differs from the “infinite” (*akarana-*) time (see Menasce 1945, 231–32).

35 Sundermann (1982, 32–33), where a transcription and translation of the chapter is given, points to Aristotle’s “Sophistische Widerlegungen” (περὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων), chapter 5, which discusses the assumption of a world without a beginning. The σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων were of great importance for the knowledge of Greek philosophical teachings in the Middle East: “Kein anderes Werk der griechischen Literatur, das vornehmlich den Sophisten und ihrem Wirken gewidmet ist, scheint im nahöstlichen Schrifttum der frühislamischen Zeit ähnliche Verbreitung gefunden zu haben wie die Sophistici Elenchi” (Sundermann 1982, 23: “No other work of Greek literature dedicated principally to the Sophists and their deeds seems to have been disseminated as widely in Middle Eastern writing of early Islamic time as the Sophistici Elenchi”).

applied to the Jewish and even to the Manichaean position³⁶ (where we would rather expect the use of *bun*, *buništaḡ*, see B 169.5f., and in particular the self-designation of Manichaeism as the religion of the *dō bun** [see above]).³⁷ The following text presents the Jews as declaring the necessity and possibility of one and only one *a-bun* (a monotheistic position). The Manichaean teaching of *dō a-bun* is presented and criticized as follows:

Dk 3.150 (B 116.5-7)³⁸

W TLYN' ʾbwn y KRA ʾywk' pṭ' tn' ʾs'm'n' c'štk' m'n'yk ʾndlg ZNHc AYK AMT ʾywk'c y pṭ' tn' ʾs'm'n' YHWWNt' LA š'stn' MNc AYT'yh y ywdt' ʾcš tn'nc pyt'k TLYN y KRA ʾywk pṭ' tn' ʾs'm'n' YHWWNt' cygwn š'yt'	<i>ud dō a-bun i har ek pad</i> <i>tan-āsāmān cāštaḡ <i></i> <i>mānāi andarag ēn-iz kū</i> <i>ka ek-iz i pad tan-āsāmān</i> <i>būd nē šāyistan az-iz astih</i> <i>jud aziš tanān-iz paydāḡ</i> <i>dō i har ek pad</i> <i>tan-āsāmān būd ciyōn</i> <i>šāyēd</i>	And <concerning> the teaching of Mānāi ' <There are > two <i>a-buns</i> , each exists in/through the body-sky ³⁹ . The objection is the following: If it is impossible that only one < <i>a-bun</i> > exists in/through the body-sky—and <the existence of such an <i>a-bun</i> is > evident from a being apart from the bodies (? ⁴⁰)—, how should it be possible that each of the two < <i>a-buns</i> > exists in/through the body-sky?
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It seems that the Manichaeans are not criticized for their definition of *dō bun* as *dō a-bun*, in the sense of “what has no beginning.”⁴¹ For Ādurfarrbay, a true *bun* (see above B 169.5f.) is infinite (i.e., an *a-bun* “what has no beginning” is the definition of *bun* “principle”). Ādurfarrbay’s general argument seems to be that an *a-bun* (= *bun*) cannot be part of a “body-sky” because it cannot be material, finite.⁴² In the case of the Manichaeans, he observes that they claim an “infinite *materia*,” a logical incoherent concept; the report of Šahrastānī (eleventh/twelfth century)⁴³ says that in difference to the “Majūs,” the Thanawīya, and within this school the Manichaeans, claims the infinity of light and of darkness (Haarbrücker 1850–1851, I:285). Šahrastānī’s report on the “Majūs” (“Majūs” is a general term for the three Zoroastrian schools known to Šahrastānī) starts with a comparison of the schools of the “orig-

[23]

36 De Menasce (1945, 234) explains: “les *abūn* sont les ἀγεννητοι, αὐτοφυεῖς des écrits grecs sur le manichéisme et sur le dualism en general” (“the *abūn* are the ἀγεννητοι, αὐτοφυεῖς of the Greek writings on Manichaeism and on dualism in general”).

37 For *a-bun*, see also Dk 3.126, Dk 3.127, Dk 3.109 (*a-buniḥ*). In Dk 3.109 *a-buniḥ* seems to have the opposite meaning of *buniḥ*; see ŠGW 11.247, 250 *abuniiašt*. “the one (spirit) who is not a principle.”

38 For this chapter, see de Menasce (1945, 233–34).

39 An alternative reading would be *a-sāmān* “unlimited” (*pad tan a-sāmān* “material-infinite”), a word used in the ŠGW. For a reading *tan-āsāmān*, see the passage ŠGW 16.8-20, where the sky appears as Āharman’s first creation, made from the “skin” (pōst) of the *Kunī. dāβ*, the (probably male) “general of Āharman” (*spāhsalār. i. Āharman.*).

40 Translation uncertain.

41 See the notice in the polemical chapter 16 of the ŠGW: *bun. gaβāšni. i. Mānāe. aβar. akanārai. i. buniiaštaḡa*. “the original writings of Mānāe are on the infinity of the <two> principles” (ŠGW 16.4).

42 According to ŠGW 5.40, the notion “substance” (*gōhr*) implies the notion “origin” (*bun*) (*gōhr ciš i nē bun* “substance without origin <is a meaningless notion >”). This definition leads to the conclusion that something *a-bun* is a thing without substance.

43 See Appendix II.

inal Majūs” and the Thanawīya (Haarbrücker 1850–1851, I:275–276) shows that their key differences pertain to:

- a) the question of an (in)finity of light (= God/goodness) and darkness (= Evil/evil) (all Majūs groups seem to claim a non-infinity of the darkness); and [24]
- b) the reconstruction of the mixture of light and darkness.⁴⁴

... And Its Consequences

Ādurbād’s refutation of Manichaeism⁴⁵ is grounded in its critique of Mānī’s giving [25] the status of “principle” to the material element—which is, in the Manichaean perspective, identical with the evil/darkness. Ādurbād’s logical argument is, as I have indicated above, that one can define as principles only those ‘things’ that take a predicate ‘long/eternal.’ The argument leads to two conclusions. First, the *materia* cannot be evil, which is, in the Zoroastrian point of view, at least ‘partly eternal’;⁴⁶ secondly, only goodness and (partly) evil can claim to be ‘principles.’ Ādurbād’s answer to Mānī preserved (or, at least, ascribed to Ādurbād) in Dk 3 is nothing less than the Zoroastrian deconstruction of the fundament of Manichaean theology, a fundament that was also build on Avestan motifs (see above). This deconstruction, however, opens a theoretical gap. Zoroastrian theology must answer the following question: How, then, is the *materia* related to the *dō buništāg*?

The really sensitive point in the argumentation is the status of light. In Dk 3.150, the [26] Manichaeans are seemingly criticized, as said above, for their perspective on light and darkness as two infinite beings, as *dō a-bun*. Although Zoroastrian schools (according to Šahrastānī’s report) take different positions with regard to the status of light, they all try to define an ontological difference between the status of light and that of darkness. The general question behind the different Zoroastrian consideration is: Does ‘light’ belong to the material/finite or to the spiritual/infinite world? If we were to rephrase the same question in modern terms, we would ask: is ‘light’ a phenomenon or a concept?⁴⁷

The dualistic conception in the *Bun-dahišn*⁴⁸

The Zoroastrian catechism in Pahlavi CHP/*Pand Nāmag* replies very concisely to the question [27] asked in CHP 1 *buništāg ēw ayāb dō* “there are one or two principles?”:

44 Within the Thanawīya, there are different opinions about 1) the nature of light and darkness and 2) the separation of light from darkness.

45 Dk 3 presents the discussions between Mānī (Dk 3.200) and Ādurbād (Dk 3.199), Mazdag (“Gurgīh”) (Dk 3.202) and Xosrō I (Dk 3.201) inversely, historically.

46 The case of the spiritual (*mēnōg*) is therefore a problem, because Ohrmazd and Ahreman (goodness and Evil) have a *mēnōg*-existence.

47 According to Hegel (see the chapters or notes on the Persian religion in Hegel 1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1970), the characteristic of the “Persian” (= Zoroastrian) religion is the coincidence of a natural phenomenon (“light”) with a concept (“goodness”).

48 The word *bun-dahišn(ih)* is translated by West (1880, xxii), as “‘creation of the beginning’, or ‘original creation’”. As we can see from GrBd 1.0 (*pas abar ciyōnih ī gēhān dām az bundahišn(ih) tā frazām*) or GrBd 24e22 (*pad bundahišn ... pad fraškerd*), *bundahišn(ih)* refers to the first period of being. However, Dk 3.284 indicates a slightly different meaning of the word, see B 224.1-2: *zamān dahišnān bun Ohrmazd hamēyigīh* “time is the fundament of creation, is the eternity of Ohrmazd.” According to this interpretation, *bun-dahišn* refers to time in the sense of an ontological fundament.

CHP 12 (B 116.5-7)⁴⁹

*buništaḡ dō ēk dādār ud ēk
murnjēnīdār*

“the principles are two:⁵⁰ one is the creator, one is the
destroyer⁵¹” (cf. WZ 1.21, 28; 22.5)⁵²

The most prominent chapters presenting the Zoroastrian teaching of the *dō buništaḡ* are the [28]
cosmogonical introductions of the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādšparam* and the *Bundahišn*. The beginning of
the WZ indeed frequently uses the word *buništ(ag)(īh)*, often in problematic spellings (see WZ
1.12 *bwšnnst’* (+ *bwnyšt’*) *ī tāriḡīh* “basis of darkness”; WZ 1.15 *bwnsyšyt’/bwšyšyt-ē* “one (of
two) principles”; WZ 1.21 *dō bwndhštyh/bwnyštkyh* “dualism”; WZ 1.28 *bwnyšt’n’/bnyšt’n’*
“<both> principles”; WZ 22.5 *dōīh ī bwnyšt’n’/wwnyšt’n’* “the duality of the principles”).
The beginning of the *Bundahišn* (Bd 1.1-12)⁵³ is a great cosmogonical tableau that presents
the “two principles”. The text⁵⁴ has at least three interesting aspects:

- 1) After a quotation from the text of the *weh-dēn* (probably the translation of an Avestan [29]
text) in Bd 1.1, Bd 1.2 starts with a philosophical definition of the essence of Ohrmazd (we
find the same textual structure in Bd 1.3 + 4 with reference to Ahreman).
- 2) This definition is interesting from the perspective of content since it points to a concept of
emanations.
- 3) The notions of finitude/infinity (*kanāragōmandīh/akanāragōmandīh*) are the most important
subjects of debate in Bd 1.1-12.⁵⁵

Regarding the first point, general definitions are uncommon in the Avesta, especially defini- [30]
tions that serve as a starting point for further explications (as it is the case with *the Bundahišn*,
a book that takes the reader from the most general categories to particular, accidental events
of history). Because it is likely that IndBd and GrBd have a common ancestor⁵⁶ (most likely in
the Sasanian period)—a **Bundahišn*—, we can assume that the defining phrases as well as the

49 For this chapter, see de Menasce (1945, 233–34).

50 As the *Gāthās* claim that Ahura Mazda is the father of the evil spirit, the Kayūmarthiya teaches that Ahriman came into being from a thought of Yazdān, and the Zarwāniya say that Ahriman emerged from doubt or a nihilistic thought of Zarwān, the question of a monistic origin of the Zoroastrian dualism returns even in the Pahlavi literature that seems to belong to the Zarāduštiya, the Zoroastrian school which taught two sharply separated principles. In WD 8, the question is asked: *Gannāḡ Mēnōy druwand [...] pad bundahišn dām Ohrmazd ast* “Is the deceitful Gannāḡ Mēnōy [...] in the bundahišn-period a creature of Ohrmazd?”, a question that is positively answered. It is further stated that this creation of evil from goodness was necessary for a punishment of the *ruwānān druwandān* “deceitful souls” in “hell”.

51 As is shown by the metonymical usage in CHP 12, the verbal roots *dā-* “to set; to give” / *murnj-ēn-* (*Av marak-*, *mərəncā-*) “to destroy” signify the most typical actions of Ohrmazd and Ahreman. In ŠGW the principles are referred to as “(origin of) truth” and “lie”; see ŠGW 11.383 *bun. du. yak. kə. rāstī. ažaš. yak. kə. drōžani*. “there are two principles: one from which is truth, one which is the lie.”

52 According to* Šahrastāni, the Majuš consider only the creator as an (*a-*)*bun*.

53 See Appendix I.

54 The GrBd seems to pick up elements from the Kayūmarthiya (Gayōmard is the light-being [see GrBd 7], not Zardušt (as in the Zarāduštiya, see Haarbrücker 1850–1851, I:281); Zardušt’s legend is—in contrast to the WZ—missing in the *Bundahišn*), but also from the Zarāduštiya (accentuation of the mixing of the elements [only the GrBd refers to the Aristotelian theory of elements]).

55 A long discussion on the problem of infinity can be found (as a critique of Manichaeism) in ŠGW 16.66-111 (text incomplete). Mardānfarrox says that God is unlimited because he cannot be encompassed by understanding (*dānašni*). (ŠGW 16.66). There is a strange resemblance of Bd 1.1-12 and the structure of ŠGW 16, a Zoroastrian description and critique of Manichaeism teachings. ŠGW starts with an account on the Manichaeism cosmogony. After a brief note on the border of the two principles, the discussion on finitude/infinity starts (see Bd 1.3-4 on Ahreman, 1.5 on the border, 1.6-12 on finitude/infinity).

56 This is quite likely, since it is hardly possible that IndBd descended from GrBd, or that GrBd descended from IndBd.

philosophical features of Bd 1.1-12 are an innovation made in a period between an Avestan pre-text of the *Bundahišn* and this **Bundahišn*.

Regarding the third point, GrBd 1.1, a passage that does not belong to the ‘philosophical stratum’ of Bd 1.1-12, already uses the word “infinite.” According to this text, Ohrmazd exists *zamān ī akanārag* “for (as?) the infinite time.” The expression *zamān ī akanārag* is a calque for *zurwān ī akanārag* “infinite time(-god).” The appearance of that Z/*zurwān* in the cosmogonical context (cf. WZ 1.27-28) is motivated by the idea of a “pact” between both principles which lasts for 9000 years (see Bd 1.10 and then Bd 1.24 sqq.).⁵⁷ As we can deduce from MX 8 (cf. WZ 34.35), the Z/*zurwān ī akanārag* enables the creation of a finite, limited time, the time of the “pact” (*paymān, pašt*), which is supervised by Mihr (see MX 8.15; cf. Mihr’s role in *de Iside* 46 as a “mediator” [μεσίτης]). It is, however, remarkable that only GrBd 1.1, but not IndBd 1.1 connects Ohrmazd with the *zurwān ī akanārag*. Thus, a textual interpolation (from the probably non-original philosophical passages Bd 1.2 etc.) in GrBd seems likely (cf. GrBd 1.7, 1.8). The parallel to Bd 1.1, Bd 1.3 (referring to Ahreman), shows that IndBd 1.3 has a similar textual addition. A gloss says that the existence of evil is ultimately finite (while Ohrmazd is infinite).⁵⁸

However, the complex philosophical discussion on “finitude”/“infinity” of the two principles in Bd 1.1-12 cannot be explained only in the frame of the figures “*zurwān ī akanārag*” and “time of the pact”. Since, according to Ādurbād, the notion “*bun*” implies “infinity” (Dk 3), we must suppose that the whole discussion in Bd 1.1–12 is an attempt both to solve the philosophical problem of two infinite beings⁵⁹ and to find a way to connect an infinite being with a finite world.

Regarding the second point, it seems that in adopting and discussing the terms “finitude”/“infinity,” the Zoroastrian theologians arrive at the integration of categories that not only belong to a mythological-religious but also to a scientific-philosophical discourse: the categories of time and space.⁶⁰ While the passage Bd 1.1 still says that Ohrmazd was *andar rōšnih* “in the light”, Bd 1.2 explains: a) *ān rōšnih gāh ud gyāg ī Ohrmazd ud ān harwisp-āgāhīh ud wehīh zamān ī akanārag* “that light is the time-space of Ohrmazd, and that omniscience and goodness are <for> the Infinite Time”; and b) *Ohrmazd ud gāh ud dēn ud zamān ī Ohrmazd būd hēnd* “Ohrmazd and the space and the Religion and the time of Ohrmazd exist <always>”. An attribute (Bd 1.1 “in the light”) appears now (namely as *gāh, gyāg, harwisp-āgāhīh, wehīh*) as part of the substance (Ohrmazd) which is characterized by its eternal existence (*zamān ī akanārag*). There are three of these ‘substantial attributes’: time, space, “religion” (*dēn*). Together with Ohrmazd/the light they constitute “the whole” (*ān hāmag*, IndBd 1.2) of infinite

57 According to ŠGW 5.41 the notion of “struggle” implies the notion of “finitude” (*u. kōxšīšn ī nē kanāragō-mandīh* “struggle that has no end <is an impossible thing>”). It is therefore clear that the discussion in Bd 1.1-12 on finitude/infinity is deeply connected with the idea of a ‘pact’ of the two principles.

58 The interpolation in GrBd and the gloss in IndBd correspond with each other. Both additions change a symmetrical picture of Ohrmazd and Ahreman into an asymmetrical one (Ohrmazd is infinite, Ahreman is ultimately finite).

59 Most interesting in this regard is the proposition in Bd 1.6 that both principles are *kanāragōmandīh ī/ud akanāragōmandīh* “finitude of/and infinity,” the idea behind which could be that ‘two infinities’ produce a “border” (*wimand*, see Bd 1.7; cf. ŠGW 16.51), from which again finitude is produced.

60 See PahlTr Yt 1.1 *u-š ohrmazdīh radīh ud xwadāyīh u-š dādārīh dām-dahišnīh u-š abzōnīgīh ēd kū-š az ciš-ē was ciš tuwān abzūd ohrmazd gāh ud dēn ud zamān hamē būd ud hamē ast az ān gyāg paydāg misuuānahe. gātuūō. x^vađātahe. mēšag sūd gāh ī ohrmazddād* “and his ‘Ohrmazd-being’ <means> Ratu-being and reign; and his ‘creatorship’ <means> creation of the creature; and his ‘prosperity’ <means>: he is able to produce many things from one <thing>. Ohrmazd existed always as (?) the space and the Religion and the time, and he will always exist; this is meant by the words *misuuānahe. gātuūō. x^vađātahe. → mēšag sūd gāh ī ohrmazddād*”.

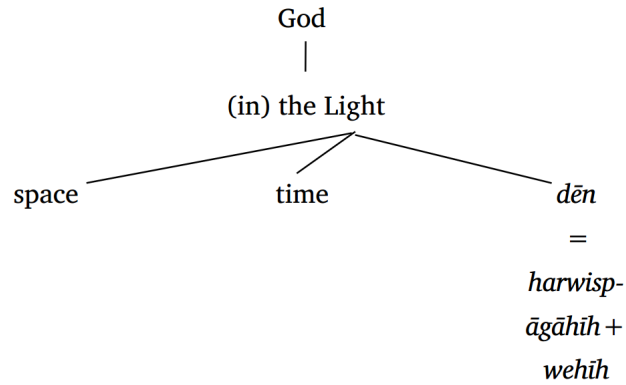


Figure 2 Concept of God according to Bd 1.1-2

time. It seems that these attributes are conceived neither as names (as Ohrmazd’s names in Yt 1) nor as logical attributes (predicates), but as emanations (of the light, see figure 2).

This more philosophical approach to the concept of “god” in the beginning of the *Bundahišn* is not an isolated phenomenon. Also the defining beginning of Bd 1 (compare Aristotle’s structuring of a philosophical text), the whole textual structure of the *Bundahišn* (from the general to the particular), and, last but not least, the critical discussion of terms/concepts (especially in Bd 1.6ff.) record the impact of philosophy on a text that has its deepest roots probably in the Avestan literature. This philosophical impact leads to a risky reformulation of the concept of “god.” As we have seen, the difference of *substantia* (*ousia*) and *accidens* (of subject and predicate) becomes blurred in the beginning of the *Bundahišn*. The proposition “God is light (“licht”)” changes into “God is Light (“Licht”)” = “Light is God”, and with this change the ontological status of “light” becomes questionable. Avestan theology already knew a particular form of light, the “endless light(s)” (*asar rōšnīh* ← *anayrā raocā* [always in the plural]). The term *an-ayra-* “endless” indicates that these lights were not seen as part of the material world. This can be concluded from the remarkable phrase Yt 8.48 *akarana. anayra. ašaonō. stiš*. “the infinite, endless being of the *ašauuan* (= God).”⁶¹ It seems that already in the Avesta, and then again in the *Bundahišn*, “light” has a twofold being. It is seen as part of both the divine and the material world.

A possible philosophical-theological answer to claiming a twofold existence of “light” was the adoption of an Aristotelian-Neoplatonic world-model.⁶² In fact, this is what we see at least vaguely in the beginning of GrBd 1 (god / light > space/time etc.).⁶³ More obvious than in the (especially *Greater*) *Bundahišn* is the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic impact on Dk 3, a book that, in terms of its whole structure and concepts—far more than it is known in Iranian Studies—is based on a peculiar fusion of Neoplatonic philosophy and the *dō buništ*g conception.⁶⁴ Neoplatonism was attractive to the Zoroastrian authors because it offered a so-

61 While *an-ağra-* (AiW 114f.) is always combined with “lights,” *a-karana-* (AiW 46) is nearly always a predicate of time (*zruun-*) or space (cf. *karana-* AiW 451). According to two predicates used in Yt 8.48, the *sti* of God seems qualified by the infinity/endlessness of lights, time, and space.

62 On the adoption of Neoplatonic elements, see Shaki (1970, 1973).

63 Gonda (1963, 267) spoke of “the four hypostases of the one God” (namely: “Ohrmazd himself and his Space, Religion and Time”).

64 Dk 3.483 is entitled *abar dō buništ* (Dk 3.483) “On the two principles” (the text uses *dō buništ* besides *dō bun*). These two principles for the *kār ī mardōm* (which could be *kerbag ayāb wināh*) are *xrad/Wahman* and *waran/Akōman*. Dk 3.119 deals with the *dō-buništ*g/*dō-bun* and its relation to the transformation

[34]

[35]

lution for the conflicts between a) philosophy and theology, and b) god and the world, both of which became prominent in late Antiquity. The emanation model enabled the construction of a coherent world. “Light” is seen as a metaphor of this coherence, but also as a kind of ‘connector of the transcendent/infinite with the immanent/finite.’ The metaphorical value of light is prominent in the last chapter of Dk 3. The transmission of the text of the *Dēnkard* (Dk 3.420) is compared with a chain of light:

Chain of light	edition/distortion of the Dēnkard by	
(<i>hangōšīdag</i> < <i>i</i> >) rōšnīh ī az <i>bun</i> rōšn	<i>Pōryōtkēšān</i>	time of Zardušt
(<i>hangōšīdag</i> < <i>i</i> > <i>az</i>) brāh az <i>bun</i> rōšn ⁶⁵	Alexander Tansar	early Sasanian
(<i>hangōšīdag</i> < <i>i</i> >) payrōg ī az <i>ān</i> brāh	Arabs <i>Ādurfarrbay ī Farroxxādān</i>	early ninth century
bām-ē ī az + <i>payrōg</i> ī <i>ān</i> brāh az rōšnīh < <i>i</i> > <i>bun</i> rōšn	<i>Ādurbād Ēmēdān</i> („ <i>Dēnkard of the 1000 chapters</i> ” ⁶⁶)	tenth century

More interesting is, however, the chain of light⁶⁷ in text B 93.15-21,⁶⁸ a passage that belongs to the important cosmological chapter Dk 3.123. This chapter deals with an ontology that was based on a reformulation of Greek element theory (see Shaki 1970, 279–81). Passage B 93.15-21 is the attempt to bridge the gap between the “endless lights” and the inner-worldly area, the elements and their forces:

[36]

<i>bun-stī ī gēhān baxtag ī anagr-rōšn dādār nazdtom</i> <i>wyzwn</i> ⁶⁹ () <i>cand paywand</i> payr < <i>ō</i> > <i>g</i> ī az <i>ān</i> rōšn brāh ī az <i>ān</i> <i>payrōg</i> <i>bām</i> ī az <i>ān</i> brāh <i>tā-iz</i> <i>ō</i> <i>ras ud az ras pad dādār āfurrišn</i> <i>rasīdag</i> <i>ō bawīšn garm-xwēd</i> <i>gētīy-dahišnān fradom bun</i>	The fundamental being (<i>bun-stī</i>) of the world is a division in which (?) the Endless Light is next to the creator <i>wyzwn</i> ’ are some connected: <i>payrōg</i> is from that light, <i>brāh</i> is from that <i>payrōg</i> , <i>bām</i> is from that <i>brāh</i> , until it also <comes> to the <i>ras</i> ⁷⁰ , and from <i>ras</i> it comes by the creating of the creator to the being, the hot-moist, the first fundament (<i>bun</i>) of the material creature.
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of things, i.e., with the relation to element theory. In Dk 3.414 “generosity” (*rādīh*), which is “warm” (*garm*), and “avarice” (*penīh*), which is “cold” (*sard*), are called the *dō bun ast pad mardōm axw* “the two fundamental principles of human being”. In Dk 3.40, the term *dō buništāg* (the *dō buništāg ī hamēyīg*) is (polemically) applied to the Christian concept of the Father and the Son. Nearly every chapter of Dk 3 follows a dualistic structure. The author presents first a concept according to its true (= Zoroastrian), then according to its wrong meaning. The book of Ādurfarrbay’s pupil Mardānfarrox is then an apologia of dualism and a refutation of Manichaeism and of non-dualistic positions. ŠGW has many instances of expressions such as *du. bunīiaštaa*. and the like.

65 See GrBd 3.7 *ātaš kē brāh az asar rōšn gāh ī Ohrmazd*.

66 See, for the “1000 chapters,” Dk 8.20-21 (B 528.8-13; DkM 679.15-20) *Zarduxšt cāšīšn andar Ērān-šahr hazār būd* “from the teaching (*cāšīšn*) of Zarduxšt 1000 <parts> existed in Ērān-šahr”.

67 For further “chains of light,” see Dk 4.40 (B 326.7-8); Dk 3.267 (B 215.15-18).

68 For a reading of the text, see Shaki (1970, 280–81).

<i>az bawišn garm-xwēd</i> <i>bawišn-rawišnīh zahāgān cahār ī</i> <i>ast wād ātaxš āb gil</i>	From the being ‚hot-moist’ is the process of being, the four elements ⁷¹ , wind, fire, water, earth (“clay”).
<i>az bawišn-rawišnīh bawišn-ēstišnīh</i> <i>ēwēnagān ī āmēxtag</i> <i>az zahāgān ēwēnagān baxtag ō</i> <i>kerbān kerbān <ī> wizārdag</i> <i>pad-iz ōy abdom gētīy-dahišnān kē</i> <i>padiš hangirdīghēd gētīy-dahišnān</i>	From the process of being are the mixtures (<i>ēwēnagān ī āmēxtag</i>) of the state of being (<i>bawišn-ēstišnīh</i>) From the mixtures of the elements there is a distribution to the distinct bodies until <the time> of the last material creatures who make the material creatures complete.

Other models that could bridge the gap between the two worlds and save the ‘unity of light’ [37] also came into play.

Firstly, in the *Bundahišn*, the six Zoroastrian ‘elements’ appear in a fixed order: heaven, [38] water, earth, plant, animal, man.⁷² Moreover, the *Bundahišn* (at least the *Greater Bundahišn*) transmits passages in which not only the seventh material element, fire, is mentioned, but in which fire both appears in an outstanding position⁷³ and it is connected to the endless lights⁷⁴ or the heavenly sphere (see GrBd 6a-j).⁷⁵ This order indicates a mediating cosmological position of fire. It has neither the same status as the other material elements heaven, water, earth, plant, animal and man, nor does it belong to the same ‘transcendent’ level as the “endless” lights.⁷⁶

Secondly, in GrBd 7, a system of correspondences is invented. The sublunar elements (see [39] König 2020) correspond to the sequence of heavenly lights⁷⁷ (Iranian order):

water	earth	plant	animal	man	fire	<i>sublunar (= subastral)</i>
	stars		moon	sun	endless lights	<i>heavenly</i>

The different models are both attempts to posit a distinction of the spiritual (the divine; the [40] transcendent) from the material sphere and to posit a connection of both spheres. The *materia* is not light (or darkness), but it is connected with light (and darkness).

It seems that the different models (the emanation model; the model of a last and interme- [41] diating element fire; the correspondence model) are answers of Zoroastrian theology brought to the key question of how *materia* is related to the *dō buništāg*: through light which itself exists as fire and endless lights, as material and immaterial light.⁷⁸

69 Menasce (1973) reads *bērōn*.

70 Menasce (1973) reads *rās*. The word occurs frequently in the cosmological chapters Dk 3.73, 123, 192, 263, 365, 371, 380, 382.

71 On *zahāg* and related terms, see especially Shaki (1975, 1998).

72 GrBd 1.54; 1a6-13, 1a16-21. For the IndBd cf. IndBd 6-10 (= GrBd 6, but only the sequence until the ox).

73 GrBd1a4; GrBd 3.7-9; GrBd 6/WZ 3; WZ 1.25.

74 Cf. GrBd 7.9 (TD2 73.3-11; TD1 59.15ff.; DH 38.5ff.). Cf. V 11.

75 The extraordinary position of fire is alluded to already in Yt 13. However, the construction gives the impression that Aristotle’s division of the world into a sublunary and lunar part, i.e., into the four elements and the *Quinta Essentia*, has had an impact on the *Bundahišn*.

76 According to GrBd 18 (IndBd 17), the transcendent (*mēnōg*) aspect of fire is the *xwarrah* (Av *x’arənah*).

77 The system of correspondences is, I guess, an extension of the old correspondence of cow/ox and moon (Yt 7).

78 Light and dark seem to enter a position in the theory of the four elements which (Western) Iran seemingly adopted from Greece; it is a tricky problem to decide whether a) the pre-Aristotelian Greek elements theory

elements

fire

endless light

A Brief Note on the Age of the Zoroastrian Opposition between Light and Darkness

The considerations which late antique/early Islamic Zoroastrianism provided on the relation of a concept “*dō bun*” to the *materia* and to the concepts/phenomena “light” and “darkness” were both stimulated by a demarcating critique of Manichaean teaching, and directed thereupon by reflections on the nature of light. This led to the adoption and development of different models that could solve the ontological dilemmas which arose from this critique. [42]

A religiously meaningful dualism between light and darkness has its roots in the Avesta. Since Anquetil/Kleuker’s analysis, Plutarch’s (first/second century AD) text *de Iside* 47, which elucidates the dark Parthian ages, constituted an object of discussion in Iranian Studies. Previous scholarship, however, never clearly made the observation that the *Bundahišn* and *de Iside* 47 share the same sequence of events and describe a process from cosmogony to eschatology. It would therefore not be implausible to assume that Plutarch’s account is based on a pre-*Bundahišn*.⁷⁹ Compare the beginning of both texts: [43]

always had a dualistic aspect, b) this dualistic aspect is related to the Iranian dualism, and c) Iran [Western Iran] was familiar with the four elements in and before the fifth century BCE already [see Her. 1.131]). In some texts of the Pahlavi literature, we recognize that the mythical Ahremanic pollution of the *materia* (see GrBd 6), the “mixture” (*gumēzišn*), is reformulated with the help of the (so-called) ‘Greek’ elements theory. The *materia* appears in two extreme basic formations (*garm-xwēd*; *sard-hušk*). The ‘history of nature’ is the mixing (*āmēzišn*) of the basic elements and their qualities. Only the extreme and pure basic formations can be identified with light and darkness, see, e.g., Dk 3.105 (with reference to the *mēnōg*-field), B 73.2f. *ud rōšn mēnōg pad garm-xwēd nērōg zīndag-cihrīh ...*, B 73.4f. *ud tār mēnōg marg-gōhr sard-hušk* Thus, the scheme is: rōšn „light“ : tār „darkness“ = garm-xwēd „warm-moist“ : sard-hušk “cold-dry.”

79 de Jong (1997, 170–71), however, has noted the similarity of *de Iside* 46 and the beginning of the *Bundahišn*, and he speculates that this is “due to a use Plutarch could make of a source which transmitted a version of the Zoroastrian cosmogony very much like the one preserved in the *Bundahišn*.”” Concerning *de Iside* 47, de Jong (1997, 184–204, see especially pp. 199–204 for eschatological parallels), gives some hints to the *Bundahišn* and the *Wizidagīhā i Zādsparam*, but, according to him, “Chapter 47 of *De Iside* is not a structured chronological story” (1997, 190, cf. p. 184).

<i>De Iside 47</i>	<i>Bundahišn</i>	
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κάκεινοι πολλὰ μυθώδη περὶ τῶν θεῶν λέγουσιν, οἷα καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ὁ μὲν Ὀρομάζης ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου φάους, ὁ δ' Ἀρειμάνιος ἐκ τοῦ ζόφου γεγονώς, πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις; καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔξ θεοῦς ἐποίησε τὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοίας, τὸν δὲ δευτέρον ἀληθείας, τὸν δὲ τρίτον εὐνομίας; τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸν μὲν σοφίας, τὸν δὲ πλούτου, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς; ἡδέων δημιουργόν; ὁ δὲ τούτοις ὡσπερ ἀντιτέχνους ἴσους τὸν ἀριθμόν. ⁸⁰	However, they also tell many fabulous stories about their gods, such, for example, as the following: <i>Oromazes, born from the purest light, and Areimanius, born from the darkness</i> , are constantly at war with each other; and Oromazes created six gods, the first of Good Thought, the second of Truth, the third of Order, and, of the rest, one of Wisdom, one of Wealth, and one the Artificer of Pleasure in what is Honourable. But Areimanius created rivals, as it were, equal to these in number. ⁸¹	Cf. GrBd 1.1ff. , GrBd 1.44; WZ 1.1-3 Cf. GrBd 1.53, 3.7, 3.14ff.; 1.55; 5.1

It is very likely the YAv literature is responsible for the first systematic delineation of the metaphysics of light and darkness in Zoroastrianism. Already in their YAv ‘edition’ (see Kelens 2015) the OAv texts were set into this light-dark-perspective (see Vr 14-24).⁸² In the Gāthic verse-line Y 44.5 *kā. huuāpā. raocāscā. dāt. tēmāscā*. “Which artist made light and darkness?”, *Mazdā* still appears as an installer of light *and* darkness.⁸³ Nevertheless, darkness is already the sphere of those who are deceitful (see Y 31.20); they will have *darəgəm. āiīū. təmahō*. “a long (eternal?) lifetime⁸⁴ of the dark.” In the Younger Avesta, the words *raocah-* and *təmah-*⁸⁵ (ai. *tāmas-*) are assigned to the two transcendent spirits which are, in the *Bundahišn*, identified with the *asar rōšnīh* (← *αναγρᾶ raocā*⁸⁶) and the *asar tāriḡih*. While we could observe that Av. *buna-* belongs to the semantic field of the deep and dark, a semantic field that was mirrored (with the result of an emergence of the concept of a high-light⁸⁷), we now see an inverted process. The “endless lights” in H 2.15 (*αναγρᾶḗšuuu. raocōhuuu.*) receive a complement, namely the “endless darknesses” (*αναγρᾶḗšuuu. tēmōhuuu.*) in H 2.33, a term that is obviously based on a secondary plural.⁸⁸

[44]

80 Plutarch in Bernardakis (1889, 520–21).

81 Plutarch in Cole Babbitt (1936, 5:113–17).

82 A few Old Avestan phrases used for light entities are decontextualized and recontextualized in the Younger Avesta, see, e.g., (Ahura *Mazdā*’s) “lights” (*raocā.*) in the formula *raocābiš. rōiθβən. x’āθrā*. (Y 12.1 < Y 31.7) (“Let the comforts (displayed) intersperse with light”; Humbach 1991, I:137).

83 See Šahrastānī (Haarbrücker 1850–1851, I:282): “Gott aber sei der Schöpfer des Lichtes und der Finsternis” (“God be the creator of light and darkness”).

84 See Gr αἰών. With *darəga- āiīū-* cf. OI *dirghāyu-*.

85 For the designation of the evil darkness, the *təmah-*words are more frequent used than the *təθra-*words (*təθra-* n. [used in plural] in V 7.79, N 68; *təθrō.cinah-* “who searches for the dark” V 13.47 (perhaps as opposite of *aša.cinah-* “who searches for aša”); *təθriia-* “dark” in Yt 14.13, 14.31, 16.10, 11.4; *Təθriiūuaṇt-EN* Yt 5.109, Yt 9.31.*

86 Man.Sogd. ʾ(n)xrwzn, Buddh.Sogd. ʾnyrwzn serve as the names of the zodiac (see Gharib 1995, 40, 47, 82; Henning 1948, 315).

87 This mirroring was certainly stimulated by the OAv conception of *aša* as light.

88 de Jong (1997, 169), states that “the symbolism of light and darkness denoting positive and negative worlds or realms of existence can only be partially found in the Avesta,” while (pointing to “the Pahlavi books”) “the symbolic representation of good and evil in terms of light and darkness grew more and more important in the development of the tradition.” The author does not explain the cause for the (asserted) growth of

Concluding Remarks

Historiography of Iranian religion has always emphasized that Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism represent two variants of a dualistic worldview. This dualism was seen as a characteristic feature of Iran (within a Near and Middle Eastern field of non-dualistic religions), and Manichaeism was taken as an heir of Zoroastrianism. These perspectives are by no means wrong. However, the article has tried to shift these traditional perspectives slightly. It has pointed out that the Manichaean dualism with its identification of Evil and matter, goodness and light, draws conclusions from tendencies of the theology of the Younger Avesta. In return, the Zoroastrian dualism as it is known from the writings in Pahlavi seems to be the result of a criticism of these Manichaean conclusions. In any case, the Manichaean doctrine forced Zoroastrianism to a self-reflecting discourse by which he could stabilize (if not completely and finally gain) its particular dualistic worldview. [45]

Abbreviations

Av Avestan
 Buddh.Sogd Buddhist Sogdian
 Gr Greek
 Loc Locativ
 Man.Sogd Manichaean Sogdian
 MIndic Middle Indic
 MMP Manichaean Middle Persian
 MParth Manichaean Parthian
 OAv Old Avestan
 OI Old Indic
 OIr Old Iranian
 Pahl Pahlavi
 PahlTr Pahlavi Translation
 PahlV Pahlavi Vidēvdād
 PahlY Pahlavi Yasna
 Pāz. Pāzand
 Ved Vedic
 YAv Young Avestan
 ZMP Zoroastrian Middle Persian
 AiW Altiranisches Wörterbuch
 AWN Ardā Wirāz Nāmag
 Bd Bundahišn
 CHP Cīdag Handarz ī Pōryōtkēšān
 Dd Dādestān ī dēnīg
 Dk Dēnkard
 FrW Fragments Westergaard
 GrBd Greater Bundahišn
 GW Gyān wifrās

the symbolism of light and darkness. It seems to me that (probably under Neo-Platonic influence) only a part of the Pahlavi literature strengthens the relationship of goodness and light, evil and darkness.

IndBd Indian Bundahišn
 MX Mēnōg ī Xrad
 PahlV Pahlavi Vidēvdād
 PāzBd Pāzand Bundahišn
 PT Pahlavi Texts
 ŠGW Škand Gumānīg Wizār
 WZ Wizīdagīhā ī Zādsparam
 V Vidēvdād
 Vr Visparad
 Y Yasna
 Yt Yašt

Appendix I: Bd 1.1-12⁸⁹

	GrBd	IndBd
1.1	<p>pt' ŠPYLdyn' ṽwgwn pyt'k⁹⁰ <AYK> ṽwhrmzd b'lystyk pt' hlwsp ṽk'syh W wyhyh zm'n' y ṽkn'lk' BYN lwšnyh hm'y YHWWNt <i>pad weh-dēn ōwōn paydāg <kū></i> <i>ohrmazd bālistīg pad</i> <i>harwisp-āgāhīh ud wehīh zamān ī</i> <i>akanārag andar rōšnīh hamē būd</i> In the Good Religion it is manifest: Ohrmazd was/is always on high, in omniscience and goodness <for> the Infinite Time in the light.</p>	<p>cygwn MN dyn y m'zdsn'n ṽwg <w> n pyt'k AYK ṽwhrmzd b'lystn' pt' hlwsp⁹¹ ṽk'syh W ŠPYLyh BYN lwšnyh ṽhm'y⁹² bwt <i>ciyōn az dēn ī māzdēsān ōwōn paydāg kū</i> <i>ohrmazd bālistan pad harwisp-āgāhīh ud</i> <i>wehīh andar rōšnīh ṽhamē būd⁹³</i> As it is manifest from the Mazdaean Religion: Ohrmazd was/is always on high, in omniscience and goodness in the light.⁹⁴</p>
1.2	<p>ZK lwšnyh <W> g's W gy'k y⁹⁵ ṽwhrmzd [AYT' MNW ṽsl lwšnyh YMLLWNyt'] W⁹⁶ ZK hlwsp' ṽk'syh W wyhyh⁹⁷ zm'n y ṽkn'lk' cygwn ṽwhrmzd W g's⁹⁸ W⁹⁹ dyn W zm'n y ṽwhrmzd YHWWNt' HW'nd¹⁰⁰ <i>ān rōšnīh gāh ud gyāg ī Ohrmazd</i> <i>[ast kē asar rōšnīh gōwēd] ud ān</i> <i>harwisp-āgāhīh ud wehīh zamān ī</i> <i>akanārag ciyōn Ohrmazd ud gāh ud</i> <i>dēn ud zamān ī Ohrmazd būd hēnd</i></p>	<p>ZK lwšnyh g's W gy'k y ṽwhrmzd [AYT' MNW ṽsl lwšn' YMRRWNd] W hlwsp' ṽk'syh ŠPYLyh ṽnyd'mk¹⁰¹ y ṽwhrmzd [AYT MNW YMRRWNd¹⁰² dyn] [hm KRA 2 wc'lšn' ṽywk] ZK y ṽnyd'mk¹⁰³ y zm'n y ṽkn'lk'wmnd cygwn ṽwhrmzd W g's W dyn W zm'n' ṽwhrmzd YHWWNt W AYT W hm'y YHWWNyt¹⁰⁴ <i>ān rōšnīh gāh ud gyāg ī Ohrmazd [ast kē</i> <i>asar rōšn gōwē(n)d] ud ān harwisp-āgāhīh</i> <i>ud wehīh ṽniyāmag ī Ohrmazd [ast kē</i> <i>gōwēd dēn] [ham harw dō wizārišn ēk]</i> <i>ān ī ṽniyāmag ī zamān ī akanāragōmand</i> <i>ciyōn Ohrmazd ud gāh ud dēn ud zamān</i> <i><ī> Ohrmazd būd ud hast ud hamē bawēd</i></p>

89 Differences of GrBd and IndBd are given in bold face.

	GrBd	IndBd
	That light is the time-space ¹⁰⁵ of Ohrmazd [there is one who says “Endless Light”], and that omniscience and goodness are <for> the Infinite Time, as Ohrmazd and the space and the Religion and the time of Ohrmazd are <always> .	That light is the time-space of Ohrmazd [there is one who says “Endless Light”], and that omniscience and goodness are the covering¹⁰⁶ of Ohrmazd [there is one who says “the Religion” also] ; [both interpretations are one (<i>harwisp-āgāhīh ud wehīh = dēn</i>)] ; it is that covering which is for the Infinite Time, as Ohrmazd and the space and the Religion and the time of Ohrmazd were and are and will always be.
1.3	ʾhlymnʾ BYN tʾlykyh ptʾ AHL dʾnšnyh W xztʾlkʾmkyh ¹⁰⁷ zwplpʾdk YHWWNtʾ Ahreman andar tārīgīh pad pas-dānišnih ud zadār-kāmagīh zofr-pāyag būd Ahreman was deep in the darkness, in after-knowledge and with the wish to kill.	ʾhlmnʾ BYN tʾlykyh ptʾ AHL dʾnš W ztʾlkʾmkyh W zwpʾy YHWWNt [W AYT MNW LA YHWWNyt] Ahreman andar tārīgīh pad pas-dāniš ud zadār-kāmagīh zofāy būd [ast kē nē bawēd] ¹⁰⁸ Ahreman was deep in the darkness, in after-knowledge and with the wish to kill [there is one <who says> : he will not be <at the end> ¹⁰⁹].
1.4	APš ztʾl kʾmkyh xnydʾm ¹¹⁰ W ZK tʾlykyh gywʾkʾ [AYTʾ xMNW ¹¹¹ ʾsl tʾlykyh YMRRWNyt ¹¹²] u-š zadār-kāmagīh xniyām ud ān tārīgīh gyāg [ast kē asar tārīgīh gōwēd] And the wish to kill is his covering ¹¹⁴ and the darkness his space [there is one who say ‘the Endless Darkness’]	ZK ztʾlyh W hm ZK tʾlykyh gywʾk [AYTʾ MNW ʾsl tʾlyk <yh> YMRRWNd] ud ān zadārīh ud ham ān tārīgīh gyāg [ast kē asar tārīg <īh> gōwēd] ¹¹³ That killing and also that darkness are <his> space [there is one who says ‘the Endless Darkness’].
1.5	APšʾn mydʾnʾ twhykyh YHWWN(y)t [AYTʾ MNW wʾd] MNWš gwmycšnʾ ptš u-šān mayān tuhīgīh xbūd [ast kē Way] kē-š gumēzišn padiš And between them (“in their middle”) there was the void [there is one <who says> ‘Way’], in which there is <then> the mixture. ¹¹⁶	APšʾn mydʾn twwhykyh bwt [AYTʾ MNW wʾd YMRRWNd] MNW KWN gwmycšn y ptš ¹¹⁵ u-šān mayān tuhīgīh būd [ast kē Way gōwē(n)d] kē-š gumēzišn padiš And between them (“in their middle”) there was the void [there is one who says ‘Way’], in which there is <then> the mixture. ¹¹⁷
1.6	KRA 2 HWHnd knʾlkʾwmndyh y ʾknʾlkʾwmndyh har dō hēnd kanāragōmandīh ī akanāragōmandīh	KRA 2 mynwd knʾlkʾwmnd W ʾknʾlkʾwmnd harw dō mēnōy kanāragōmand ud akanāragōmand ¹¹⁸

	GrBd	IndBd
	Both <spirits> exist as the finity of infinity.	Both <spirits> are finite and infinite.
1.7	MĤ b'lystyh ZK y ¹¹⁹ 'sl lwšnyh ¹²⁰ YMLLWNyt' [¹²¹ AYK LA sl'wmnd]W zwpl p'dk' ZK y 'sl t'lykyh [W ZK AYT' 'kn'lyh ¹²²] cē bālistih ān ī asar rōšnih gōwēd [kū nē sarōmand] ud zofr-pāyag ān ī asar tārīgih [ud ān ast akanārīh]	b'lyst ZK y 'sl lwšnyh YMRRWNd W zwp'y ZK <y> 'sl t'lyk <yh>
	Because one calls the high ,the Endless light' [i.e., it is not bound], and the deep 'the Endless Darkness' [and that means 'infinity'].	The high one calls ,the Endless light', and the deep 'the Endless Dark <ness>'.
1.8	pt' wymnd KRA 2 + kn'lk'wmnd ¹²⁴ [AYK š'n' myd'n' twhykyh W ¹²⁵ 'ywk' 'L ¹²⁶ TWD LA ptwst' HWĤnd] ud pad wimand harw dō kanāragōmand [kū-šān mayān tuhīgih ēk ō did nē paywast hēnd]	AYK š'n myd'n twhyk W 'ywk' LWTH TWD LA ptwst YK'YMWNYt
	And with regard to the boundary /at the boundary both <spirits> are finite [i.e., their middle is empty, and they are not connected one with the other]	i.e., their middle is empty, and they are not connected with each other.
1.9	TWD KRA ¹²⁸ xdw'n ¹²⁹ mynwd pt' NPŠĤ ¹³⁰ tn' kn'lk'wmnd <i>did harw x dōān mēnōy pad xwēš tan kanāragōmand</i>	W TWD KRA 2 mynwd pt' NPŠĤ tn' kn'lk'wmnd HWĤnd <i>ud did harw dō mēnōy pad xwēš tan kanāragōmand hēnd¹³¹</i>
	Then again, both spirits <are> finite in themselves.	And then again, both spirits are finite in themselves.
1.10	W ¹³² TWD hlwsp 'k'syh y 'whrmzd P'd ¹³³ KRA MĤš BYN d'nšn' y 'whrmzd (. ¹³⁴) kn'lk'wmnd MĤ ZK y KRA 2 HWHnd ptm'n YD'YTW <N> (t)nd <i>ud did harwisp-āgāhīh ī Ohrmazd rāy harw cē-š andar dānišn ī Ohrmazd kanāragōmand cē ān ī harw paymān dānēnd</i>	W TWD hlwsp 'k'syh <y> 'whrmzd P'd KRA 2 MND'M BYN YHBWNšn' (!) y 'whrmzd kn'lk'wmnd W 'kn'lk'wmnd (!) MĤ ZNH ZK y BYN KRA 2'n mynwd ¹³⁵ ptm'n YD'YTWNd <i>ud did harwisp-āgāhīh <i> Ohrmazd rāy harw dō ciš andar dāhišn (!) ī Ohrmazd kanāragōmand ud akanāragōmand cē ān ī andar harw dōān mēnōy paymān dānēnd¹³⁶</i>

	GrBd	IndBd
	And then again, on account of the omniscience of Ohrmazd, all what is in the knowledge of Ohrmazd is finite, for he knows the whole < timely limited > treaty.	And then again, on account of the omniscience of Ohrmazd, the both two things (<i>gētīy</i> and <i>mēnōy</i> ?) in the creation of Ohrmazd are finite and infinite , for he knows the < timely limited > treaty between the two spirits .
1.11	W TWD bwndk p'thš'yh ¹³⁷ y d'm y ¹³⁸ 'whrmzd pt' tn' y psyn' 'D ¹³⁹ hm'y hm'y lwbšnyh W ZK AYT' 'kn'lkyh <i>ud did bowandag-pādashāyih ī dām ī Ohrmazd pad tan ī pasēn tā hamē ud hamē-rawišnih [ud ān ast akanāragih]</i> And then again, the perfect sovereignty ¹⁴³ of the creatures of Ohrmazd at < the time of > the Final Body < will be > for eternity [and that means 'infinity']	W TWD bwndk W (!) p'tš'hyh x'y ¹⁴⁰ d'm y 'whrmzd pt' tn' <y> psyn' YHWWNyt (!) W ZKp ¹⁴¹ AYT y 'D hm'k hm'k lwbšnyh 'kn'lk'wmnd <i>ud did bowandag-pādashāyih ī dām ī Ohrmazd pad tan <ī> pasēn bawēd ud ān-iz ast tā hamē ud hamē-rawišnih [akanāragōmand¹⁴²]</i> And then again, the perfect sovereignty of the creatures of Ohrmazd at < the time of > the Final Body will be that that is for [infinite] eternity
1.12	d'm y ¹⁴⁴ 'hlymn pt' ZK zm'n' BRA 'psyhynnd 'D ¹⁴⁵ y AMT tn' y psyn' YHWWNyt ¹⁴⁶ ZKc AYT' kn'lk'wmndyh <i>ud dām ī Ahreman pad ān zamān be abesihēnēd tā ī ka tan ī pasēn bawēd [ān-iz ast kanāragōmandih]</i> And the creatures of Ahreman will be destroyed at that time, so that the Final Body can be [also that means 'finitude' (sic!)].	W d'm y 'hlymn pt' ZK zm'n' BRA 'psynyt MNW tn' psyn' YHWWNyt ZKp AYT 'kn'lkyh (!) <i>ud dām ī Ahreman pad ān zamān be abesī <hē> nēd kē tan ī pasēn bawēd [ān-iz ast akanāragih¹⁴⁷]</i> And the creatures of Ahreman will be destroyed at that time, so that the Final Body can be [also that means 'infinity' (sic!)].

90 TD1 pyt'ky

91 K20 hlsp

92 K20, M51b h'mky

93 PāzBd cūn. az dīn. māzdaiiasnaḡ. avar. pidā. ku. hōrmazda. pa. bālistan. pa. harvisp. āgāiš. u. vhiš. u. andar. rōšnaš. hamī. būṭ.

94 Cf. CHP/Pand-nāmag ī Zardušt (PT 41.13 + 43.18-44.2): *buništāg ēk ayāb dō ... buništāg dō ēk dādār ud ēk murnjēnidār ōy ī dādār ohrmazd kē harwisṭ nēkih <ud> harwisṭ rōšnih u-š ān ī murnjēnidār druwand gannāg mēnōg ī harwisṭ wattariḥ ud purr-margih ī druz ī frēštār* “<There are> one or two principles? ... <There are> two principles. *One is the creator, one is the destroyer.* He, the creator <is> Ohrmazd, he is the All-Good and the All-Light; and *the destroyer* is the lying Gannāg Mēnōg, he is the All-Evil and full of death, he is the deceitful *druz*.”

95 TD1 Ø

96 TD1,2 Ø

97 TD1 W g's

- 98 TD1,2 wyhyh
 99 TD 1 Ø
 100 TD1,2 HWHd
 101 Text h'mk. Cf. h'mky in IndBd 1.1.
 102 K20 YMLLWNyt
 103 Text h'mk
 104 PāzBd *q. rušan. gāh. jāi. hōrmāzda. [hast. ki. aθri. rušnš. gōiaṅt.] u. harvisp. āgāhiš. vahuš. hami. hōrmāzda. [hast. ki. dīn. gōiṭ. dīn. ham. hardō. vazāršni. iak] q. hami. zamqni. aknār hōmāṅt. cūn. hōrmāzd. ngāh. dīn. u. zamqni. hōrmāzd. u. hamā. <uhast> bāt.*
 105 On *gyāg, gāh, zamān* in Dk 3 (see Gignoux 2003, 117–18).
 106 The emendation and translation of the word follows Cereti and MacKenzie (2003).
 107 Correction after IndBd; GrBd z'tlk'myh.
 108 PāzBd *āhārēman. aṅdar. tārikaš. pa. pas. dāniš. zadār. ham. kē. kaš. W zwp'h būṭ. [u. hast. kē. na. bāt.]*
 109 Cereti and MacKenzie (2003) read *nē b <ūd gōw> ēd* “was-not”. However, in the Pahlavi text we find YHWWNyt, the PāzBd gives *bāt*. Even if we should add the missing *gōwēd* (*gōwēd* can be omitted, see GrBd 1.5 *ast kē Way*), the past tense form is only one of the possible conjectures. A past participle would allude to the idea of a (material) non-existence of Ahreman. In any case, the Indian text tradition (K20 and M51/PāzBd) shows that, from a certain time onwards, the priests saw in the gloss a reference to the subject “finitude”/“infinity”.
 110 Text h'm
 111 All MN
 112 DH YMLLWNyt
 113 PāzBd *u. q. zadārī. u. ham. ni. tārikaš. jāi. [hast. kē. aθr. tārik. gōiṅt]*
 114 For the emendation, see Cereti and MacKenzie (2003), cf. IndBd 1.2 h'mk. Indeed, the sequence of qualities is not perfectly symmetrical: Ohrmazd: high; in the light; omniscience + goodness = Religion, the h'mk; Ahreman: deep; in the darkness; after-knowledge + wish to kill = ?, the h'm (IndBd hm). The words h'm/h'mk are general terms for the qualities of the spirits. While this term could be substituted by *dēn* in the case of Ohrmazd, no equivalent is given in the case of Ahreman.
 115 PāzBd *kišq. miṇu. twwhykyh būṭ. [hast. kē. u. havāi. gōiṅt] kē. kun. gumāžšni. padaš.*
 116 For the Manichaean conception, see ŠGW 16.51-52: *dit. iṇ. ku. q. du. buniiāštaa. hamāihā. astāšni. ham. vimaṅdihā. aβq. būṭ. cuṇ. aftāβ. u. āsāeaa. vašq. nē. būṭ. hēcī. nišāmī. u. vašādai. miqṇ.* “Again, <they say> this, that those two principles are endlessly with a common border that is like <the border of> the sunshine and the shadow, and there is no *nišāmī*. or opening between them.” Taillieu (2003, 244) proposes an emandation of *nišāmī* to **wišāmī(h)* which word forms a hendys with the following *vašādai* (pahl. *wišādagih*). Cf. WZ 1.1 for the Zoroastrian conception: *pad dēn owōn paydāg kū rōšnih azabar ud tārikih azēr u-šan mayānag ī harw dō wišādagih būd* “in the *dēn* it is said that the light was above, the darkness below, and between those two <principles> there was an opening”.
 117 Cf. in Vyt 24 the triplet Ahura Mazdā, *zruwānahe akaranahe*. and Vaiiu, praised by Zaraθuštra.
 118 PāzBd *har. dō. mainiō. knār. omāṅt. u. kanār.* (DJN *aknār.*) *omāṅt.*
 119 TD1 Ø
 120 TD1 repeats ZK y 'sl lwšnyh.
 121 DH adds W.
 122 TD1 'k'lyh
 123 PāzBd *ci. bālist. ṇ. aθr. rōšn. gōiṅt. zōpā. qn. a'r. tārik.*
 124 TD2, DH KRA LK HW'nd; TD1 kn'lk'wmn
 125 TD2, DH Ø
 126 TD 2 adds y.
 127 PāzBd *ku. šqṇ. miqṇ. tanhā. u. iak. avā. duṭ. na. padvist. āstāt.*
 128 TD1 repeats KRA.
 129 Text: 'hw

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- 130 TD2 npšt'
- 131 PāzBd *u. duṭ. har. dō. mainiō. pa. x'āš. tan. kanār. omāaṭ.*
- 132 DH ∅
- 133 Until ptm'n in TD2 on the margin.
- 134 Punctuation in TD1, 2
- 135 Cf. the headline in GrBd 5 *abar hamēstārīh dō mēnōyān.*
- 136 PāzBd *u. diṭ. harvisp. āgāhiš. hōrməzd. rā. har. dō. ciš. aṇdar. dahišni. hōrməzd. kanārōmaṭ. u. aknārōmaṭ. ci. in. āi. aṇdar. har. dō. ā. mnwwy padmān. dānəṭ.*
- 137 DH, TD2 p'thš'y
- 138 TD1, DH ∅
- 139 TD1 *destroyed.*
- 140 K20, M51b W
- 141 For *ān-iz*
- 142 PāzBd *duṭ. (DJM, EKA buṭ.) pādašhā. u. dāmi. hōrməzd. pa. tan. pasīn. tā. hamā. hamā. ravašniš. aknārōmaṭ.*
- 143 The compound *bowandag-pādašhāyih* sounds like a word from the PahlTr. It occurs a second time in Dk 3.122 in connection with *āsn-xrad.*
- 144 TD1
- 145 TD1 ∅
- 146 TD2 **byt'**
- 147 PāzBd *u. dāmi. āhārəman. pa. ā. zamā. bi. avasīnəṭ. kē. tani. pasīn. bəṭ. āci. hast. akanāriš.*

Appendix II: The dualistic schools in Iran according to Šahrastānī

Majūs

Schools that teach the existence of two principles:	light (infinite)	darkness (finite)	further teachings
Kayūmarthīya	= infinite Yazdān	= finite Ahriman	Ahriman is from a thought of Yazdān
Zarwānīya	= Hurmuz; light	Ahriman, who is in the darkness (= underworld, „ohne Grenze und Ende“ ¹⁴⁸)	Ahriman is from a doubt / a nihilistic thought of Zarwān (Zarwān < light)
Zarāduštīya	existence of Yazdān + light	existence of Ahriman + darkness	all existing: a) is created from light + darkness (as a mixture of light and darkness); b) light + darkness (Yazdān + Ahriman) are “der Anfang der geschaffenen Dinge der Welt” ¹⁴⁹)
	Yazdān creates light and darkness	= Ahriman?	

Thanawīya

Schools that teach the existence of two eternal principles:	light (infinite)	darkness (infinite)	further teachings
Mānawīya	is with perception	is with perception	two kinds of mixture: I) intentional; II) accidental
Mazdakīya	is with intention and free choice	is without intention and by chance	
Daifzānīya	cf. Mazdakīya	cf. Mazdakīya	
Markūnīya	light	darkness	existence of a connector (cause of mixing)

148 Haarbrücker (1850–1851, I:280).

149 Haarbrücker (1850–1851, I:282).

Schools that teach the existence of two eternal principles:			
	light (infinite)	darkness (infinite)	further teachings
Kainawīya; Sziyāmiya; Tanāsuchiya	fire	water	earth is in the middle

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