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THE IRANIAN  
COMPONENT IN  
THE BIBLE,  
APOCRYPHA, AND  
QUMRAN:

A REVIEW OF THE  
EVIDENCE

INTRODUCTION

In attempting to assess the Iranian elements in Jewish thought one is initially struck by the Jewish Hellenistic tendency to annex the sages of ancient culture. Moses, for example, was identified with Musaeus, and Orpheus became his disciple (Artapanos, ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. 9.27). The Serapis image was identified with Joseph, that of Isis with Eve, while Pythagoras and Plato were

The following abbreviations are used throughout:

ANET—*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, N.J., 1955).  
BA—*Biblical Archaeologist*.

BASOR—*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.

BCM—Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les Mages Hellénisés* (2 vols.; Paris, 1938).

Bd—(Indian) Bundahishn.

BR—Bereshith Rabba.

BSOS—*Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies* (London).

BT—Babylonian Talmud.

CP—*Classical Philology*.

DD—Datastan i Denik.

DGWR—Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, *The Western Response to Zoroaster* (Oxford, 1958).

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supposed to have gotten their doctrines from Moses.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Jewish tradition made Abraham Zarathushtra's teacher in

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ERE—*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings.

GB—Greater (or Iranian) Bundahishn.

HJAS—*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.

HTR—*Harvard Theological Review*.

JAOS—*Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

JE—*Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

JNES—*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

JQR—*Jewish Quarterly Review*.

JSS—*Journal of Semitic Studies*.

NTS—*New Testament Studies*.

PT—Palestinian Talmud.

RHR—*Revue de l'histoire des religions*.

RQ—*Revue de Qumran*.

SBE—*Sacred Books of the East*.

SD—Sad Dar.

SGV—Shkand Gumanik Vichar.

SNS—Shayast ne-Shayast.

SVF—*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. J. v. Arnim (Leipzig, 1921).

Vd—Videvdat.

VT—*Vetus Testamentum*.

Y—Yasna.

Yt—Yasht.

ZAW—*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

ZDMG—*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

ZDT—R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (New York, 1961).

ZNW—*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

ZRG—*Zeitschrift für Religions- u. Geistesgeschichte*.

ZTK—*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*.

ZZD—R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955).

Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the apocryphal works are from R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913). Translations from the Avesta are from Fritz Wolff, *Avesta, Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), while those from the (Indian) Bundahishn are from Ferdinand Justi, *Der Bundehesh* (Leipzig, 1868). Translations from the Scrolls are my own, though available translations have been consulted. Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to Professor William H. Brownlee, Claremont Graduate School, and Professor Jonas C. Greenfield, University of California, Berkeley, who graciously consented to read my manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions and comments. Thanks are also due to Bella Hess of the University of Judaism Library, Los Angeles, who provided the innumerable interlibrary loans with unbroken cheer and equanimity. I am also indebted to Dr. David Lieber, President of the University of Judaism, Dr. Walter Ackerman, Dean, and Dr. Moshe Perlmann, University of California, Los Angeles, for their encouragement and helpful comments.

<sup>1</sup> BT Aboda Zara 43a. So, too, the chest of Osiris was identified with that of Joseph. The Suda, s.v. *Σάραπης*, mentions the identity of Joseph with Sarapis (M. Sachs, *Beiträge zur Sprach u. Altertumsforschung* [Berlin, 1852], 2.99; noted by S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* [New York, 1950], 137, n. 87; cf. Y. Gutman, *Hasifrut Hayehudit Hahelenistit* [Jerusalem, 1963], 2.109–13). Homer and Hesiod were also supposed to have drawn from the Books of Moses, which were translated into Greek (according to Aristobulos) long before the LXX version (Euseb. Praep. Ev. 13.11). On the identification of Orpheus with David, see E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York, 1964), 9.103, 110, 121; 10.204; cf. J. A. Sanders, "Ps. 151 in 11QPSS," *ZAW* 75 (1963), 73–85 (I owe this reference to Prof. Brownlee); I. Rabinowitz, "The Alleged Orphism of 11QPSS 28.3–12," *ZAW* 76 (1964), 193–200.

astrology.<sup>2</sup> Alexander Polyhistor knows the identification of Zoroaster with Ezekiel, thus making Pythagoras the latter's disciple (BCM 1.42; 2.35–36) Zarathushtra was also identified with Nimrod (sometimes confused with his father Cush, his uncle Mizraim, or his grandfather Ham), Seth, Balaam, and Baruch (BCM 1.42–50).<sup>3</sup> For the Syrian writers of the middle ages, Zarathushtra was of Jewish origin, and from them this notion passed over to the Arabs, whose best historians reported that the Persian prophet was born in Palestine.

Psychological factors similar to those which motivated the ancients appear to shape the attitudes found in the pre-scientific modern literature on Zoroastrianism as well. For Thomas Hyde, for example, Zarathushtra was not only preceptor of Pythagoras: he had prophesied about Christ and borrowed from Ezra and other Jewish prophets.<sup>4</sup> The scientific period of Iranian scholarship, beginning with the nineteenth century, exhibited at first the well-worn stereotype which tended to put the Zoroastrians in the debt of Judaism. James Darmesteter considered the Amesha Spentas, that system of abstract entities surrounding Ahura Mazda, to be so redolent of Neo-Platonism that the Gathas must be late forgeries composed under the influence of Hellenizing Jews, like Philo of Alexandria.<sup>5</sup> The pendulum soon swung, however, in the opposite direction. Already men like Marsham and John Spencer suggested that it was the Jews who borrowed from the Persians.<sup>6</sup> Early Jewish scholars, like J. H. Schor and Alexander Kohut exaggerated the Persian influence on Judaism.<sup>7</sup> While modern scholarship is now convinced that Zarathushtra lived in east

<sup>2</sup> Josiphon, cited by BCM I, 41 (cf. BCM 2.43). So, too, Petrus Comestor (twelfth century), BCM 2.48. In d'Herbelot's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1697), we read: "The ancient Persians have it that Zarathushtra was more ancient than Moses, and there are Magi who even contend that he is none other than Abraham and often call him Ibrahim Zardusht" (cited by DGWR 9).

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum* (Oxford, 1700). It was Hyde who coined the Latin term dualismus (DGWR 10, 12).

<sup>5</sup> See the literature cited in DGWR, chap. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Marsham, *Chronicus canon egyptiacus* (London, 1672); John Spencer, *Dissertatio de Urim et Thumim* (Cambridge, 1670) (cited by DGWR 9–10). (According to Bodin, *De magorum daemontiana* [1581], Zarathushtra invented the Kabbala.)

<sup>7</sup> J. H. Schor, "ha-Toroth," *he-Halutz* 7 (1865), 3–89; 8 (1869), 1–120; A. Kohut, *Über die jüdische Angelologie u. Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus* (Abhandlgn. f.d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, IV [Leipzig, 1866]); "Was hat die Talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen?" *ZDMG* 21 (1867), 552–91; "Die Talmudisch-midrassische Adamsage in ihrer Rückbeziehung auf die persische Yima- u. Meshiasage," *ZDMG* 25 (1871), 59–94; "Les fêtes persanes et babyloniennes mentionnées dans les Talmuds de Babylone et de Jerusalem," *REJ* 24 (1892), 256–71; "Antiparsische Aussprüche im Deutero Jesajas," *ZDMG* 30 (1877), 709–22.

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Iran and had no contact with the West, thus giving the coup de grâce to Darmesteter's extreme position, investigators are as divided as ever as to the extent of Iranian influence on Jewish literature.<sup>8</sup>

The haze of uncertainty in which Jewish-Iranian interrelationships are shrouded is primarily a result of our inability to date the Persian sources with any degree of precision. The problem is especially acute in any attempt to evaluate the interactions between the rabbinic and Pahlavi literatures.<sup>9</sup> The latter was not redacted until the ninth century C.E. and although there is reasonable assurance that much of the material it contains dates back to the Sassanian period and some of it to early Hellenistic times and even earlier, this lack of chronological precision is fatal for any reliable source analysis.<sup>10</sup> (For a good example of our dilemma and for Iranian-rabbinic analogies hitherto overlooked, see Appendix I.)

The uncertain dating of our Persian sources, however, is less problematical when we attempt to assess the relationship between Zoroastrianism and Qumran. The early Zoroastrian writings,

<sup>8</sup> DGWR 14; G. Widengren, *Stand u. Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte* (Leiden, 1955); B. Reicke, "Iranische Religion, Judentum u. Urchristentum," *Die Religion in Geschichte u. Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1957), 3.881-84; Franz König, *Zarathustras Jenseitsvorstellungen u. das alte Testament* (Vienna, 1964), 3-39.

<sup>9</sup> Many Talmudic allusions testify to this interaction. The Rabbis, for example, had a detailed acquaintance with Parsi table etiquette (BT Berakhoth 46b), and when they wished to characterize the pilpulistic acumen of the scholars of Pumbeditha they quoted a Pahlavi saying to the effect that whoever asserts something impossible assumes that "an elephant can go through the needle's head" (BT Berakhoth 55b; Baba Mezia 38b; SGV 5.38; already noted by Bartholomae, *Indg. Forsch.* 37.87, according to I. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion u. das Judentum* [Giessen, 1920], 144). They often collided with the Magian abhorrence of interring the corpse, and were even embarrassed by the Persian monarch's challenge to find a biblical source for their own custom (BT Sanhedrin 46b; Yebamoth 63b; Baba Bathra 58a [cf. Vd 7.50-51; Schor, *op. cit.*, 80]; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* [Leipzig, 1911], 2.60-61). See S. Krauss, *Paras We-Romi Betalmud Uvemidrashim* (Jerusalem, 1948), Schor, *op. cit.* (a mass of material which needs careful sifting); Geo Widengren, "The Status of the Jews in the Sassanian Empire," *Iranica Antiqua* 1 (1961), 117-62; L. H. Gray, "Jews in Pahlavi Literature," *JE* 9.462-65; A. V. W. Jackson, "Persia," *JE* 9.645-48; S. H. Taqizadeh, "Iranian Festivals Adopted by the Christians and Condemned by the Jews," *BSOS* 10 (1940), 632-53; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period: Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue* (Vols. 9-11 [New York, 1964]). For more detailed bibliography, see E. Spicchandler, "Notes on Gentile Courts in Talmudic Babylonia," *HUC Annual* (1955), 333 ff. See also the forthcoming volume by J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia* (announced by E. J. Brill).

<sup>10</sup> A detailed survey of the Pahlavi writings is provided by J. C. Tavadia, *Die mittelpersische Sprache u. Literatur der Zarathustrier* (Leipzig, 1956). For the two recensions of the Bundahishn ("Original Creation"), the Indian and Iranian, see E. W. West, "Pahlavi Literature," *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1896), 2.98-102.

which include the Yasna, Visprat (or Vispered), Yashts, and Khurda Avesta, certainly preceded the Qumran Scrolls. The Videvdat is less certain, but although it was finally compiled in Parthian times, much of it must be much older.<sup>11</sup> Yet the presumed Zoroastrian elements in the Scrolls have been as hotly debated as those found in rabbinic literature. Many scholars see them as parallel developments characteristic of the late Hellenistic period. The aim of this paper will be to establish a strong probability for an Iranian penetration into Qumran. If we can show that Persian literary sources had already made their mark on II Isaiah and Daniel, and that a spate of Iranian doctrines found their way into the apocrypha, much of which it is now clear formed a special preoccupation of the Qumran sect, then the cumulative force of this evidence will make the probability of Persian influence in the Scrolls difficult to resist.

## II ISAIAH

It may be well to begin by taking note of some shadowy traces of a reaction to Mazdean doctrine in II Isaiah. Fire (Atar) was given the highest honor by the Zoroastrians and was called the son of Ahura Mazda (Y 36.2). As the most holy symbol of his faith, the house-lord prays that the sacred element may ever burn in his house (Y 62.3). The preparation of the sacred fire of Persian rites involved the purification and consecration of sixteen different types of profane fire, each one of which was constituted by means of thirty-five to ninety-one separate ignitions (a process which lasted the better part of a year).<sup>12</sup> Isaiah 50.10–11 may perhaps be directed against those Jews who turned to this cult: "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant? who walketh in darkness, and hath no light, let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God. Behold, you are all fire-lighters, girders of fire-brands, begone in the flame of your fire, and among the brands that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of my hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow." Indeed, the expression "fire-lighters" (*Qodhē'ēsh*) is a verbatim translation of *πύραιθοι*, the designation of the Magi in Strabo (15.3.15), and equivalent to the Avestan *athravan*.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the most

<sup>11</sup> See Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1963), 101, 151. For a survey of the Avestan literature, see K. F. Geldner, "Awestaliteratur," in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2.1–74.

<sup>12</sup> J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 1962), 81.

<sup>13</sup> Noted by Kohut, "Antiparsische Aussprüche," *op. cit.*, 719–20; accepted by Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.*; rejected by J. Klausner, *Historiah shel Bayit Sheni* (Jerusalem, 1951), 1.86. See Giuseppe Messina, *Der Ursprung der Magier u. die Zara-*

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effective purification for the Zoroastrians was the *bareshtnum*, an elaborate ceremony which required nine nights and consisted in a ceremonial sprinkling from head to foot with cow's urine, accompanied by ritual observances. It took place in an area free of growth and hedged in so that no animal could enter it. Six holes were dug in a row from north to south, one pace apart from each other. Then three more holes were dug, six paces away from the aforementioned six. Then a circular furrow was drawn around the six holes. Then three large circles were made which enclosed all nine holes. The impure person stood within the circular furrow, while the religious expert stood outside it.<sup>14</sup> Again, Isaiah 66.17 may perhaps be directed against this ceremony: "They that sanctify themselves and purify themselves in among the gardens, behind one in the midst . . . shall be consumed together, saith the Lord."<sup>15</sup>

There is very strong evidence, however, of an even closer connection with Persia, involving actual texts. Isaiah 44-45 shows very close resemblances to the so-called Cyrus cylinder, and it has been suggested that both were dependent on the style of the Babylonian Court Inscriptions.<sup>16</sup> Morton Smith presses the case even further, suggesting that II Isaiah made use of Persian propaganda put out in Babylonia by Cyrus' agents to prepare the way of their lord. Moreover, the similarity between the series of rhetorical cosmological questions in Isaiah 40 and 45 to those in Yasna 44 indicates, in the light of the prophet's use of Persian political propaganda, a Persian origin for this material too. It is certainly striking that both groups of questions note the creative powers of the Godhead in fathering justice and right thought, mapping out the heavens and all their hosts, establishing the earth,

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*thustrische Religion* (Rome, 1930), 61; F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York, 1956), 144-45; ZDT 169. Stig Wikander, however, in his *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien u. Iran* (Lund, 1946), 192, 218-19, rejects the equivalence of *ṛpābōi* with *athravan*, and equates it instead with the fire-priests of Anahita. (He posits the hypothetical form \**aturoš*, meaning "fire-lighter"). For the speculative character of Wikander's book, see R. N. Frye, *HJAS* 11 (1948), 230-39. It may be noted that the Damascus Document (5.13) applies Isaiah 50.11 to the enemies of the sect.

<sup>14</sup> The ceremony is described in Vd 9. For the plan of the "*bareshtnum*," see E. W. West, *SBE* (New York, 1901), 11.435; H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938), 149.

<sup>15</sup> Noted by Wilhelm Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer u. historischer Commentar über den Jesaja* (Leipzig, 1821) 3.279, 308; Scheffelowitz, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> R. Kittel, "Cyrus u. Deutero-Jesaja," *ZAW* 18 (1898), 149-62. For the Cyrus cylinder, see *ANET* 315. See especially the detailed discussion of the Babylonian material by Jacob W. Behr, *The Writings of Deutero-Isaiah and the Neo-Babylonian Royal Inscriptions* (Pretoria, 1937), 18 ff. (I owe this reference to the kindness of Prof. Jonas Greenfield.)

regulating the waters and plant life, and forming light and darkness.<sup>17</sup>

#### DANIEL

The influx of Persian material which apparently had already begun with II Isaiah, is clearly continued in the Book of Daniel. Embedded in its second and seventh chapters is a four-monarchy theory which derives unmistakably from Persian apocalyptic sources. J. W. Swain has convincingly argued that the progression of kingship over the Orient in the Daniel visions from Babylonia to Media, to Persia, to Macedonia, toward the imminent intervention of a longed-for divine monarchy, is derived from a Persian source.<sup>18</sup> In our text of Velleius Paterculus (1.66) we find: "Aemilius Sura says in his book on the Chronology of Rome: 'The Assyrians were the first of all races to hold power, then the Medes, after them the Persians, and then the Macedonians. Then when Philip and Antiochus III were conquered, the supreme command passed to Rome.'" The succession Assyria, Media, Persia, was known to Herodotus (1.95-130) and Ctesias (ap. Diod. 2.1-34). Herodotus said little of the Assyrians and did not believe that either they or the Medes held a world empire. He also devoted much attention to Egypt, which does not appear in Sura's list. Ctesias wrote of these three Asiatic empires at greater length. According to his story, the first Assyrian king, Ninus (and his wife Semiramis) held a true world empire, later taken over by the Medes and then by the Persians. "At any rate," writes Swain, "the succession Assyria-Media-Persia was certainly a Persian view of things. Babylonians

<sup>17</sup> Morton Smith, "II Isaiah and the Persians," *JAOS* 83-84 (1963), 415-21. The similarities between Yasna 44 and Isaiah 40 and 45 were already noted by George W. Carter, *Zoroastrianism and Judaism* (Boston, 1918), 72, n. 9; cf. Felix Treu, *Anklänge iranischer Motive bei Deuterjesaja* ("Studia Theologica" II [Riga, 1940]); Rudolf Mayer, *Die biblische Vorstellung vom Weltenbrand* (Bonn, 1956), 128; H. S. Nyberg, "Cosmogonie et cosmologie mazdéennes," *Journal Asiatique* CCXIX (1931), 16, n. 1; Sidney Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL-LV* (London, 1944), 58-59. M. Smith points out that the cosmological material, like the political propaganda, is concentrated in chaps. 40-48 (cf. also Is. 44.6 with Y 31.7-8). Brownlee has pointed out to me that the Qumran Isaiah Ms. contains the variant reading: *šeh tov uborēh r'a* (45.7) (See Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* [American School of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn., 1950-51].)

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Ward Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire," *CP* 35 (1940), 1-21; cf. Harald Fuchs, "Zur Verherrlichung Roms u. der Römer in dem Gedichte des Rutilius Namatianus," *Basler Zeitschrift f. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde* 42 (1943), 50, n. 37. Moreover, Daniel's concept of everlasting life and eternal punishment, according to Zaehner, was probably the result of a direct Zoroastrian influence on post-exilic Judaism (ZDT 58). For a survey of the literature dealing with this question see König, *op. cit.*, 8-39; for his own negative view, 267-85; cf. also D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, 1964), 385-87.

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would have said: Assyria-Chaldea-Persia, and Egyptians would have had still another sequence . . . Herodotus' wide view of the world enabled him to put this succession in its place as a phase of local history, but Ctesias, repeating what he had heard at the Persian court (he had been court physician to Artaxerxes II for several years), magnified it into world-history. When Alexander overthrew the Persian empire, it was easy to add a fourth name to the list of world-empires." Furthermore, toward the middle of the third century, the Orient began to rise against Hellenism, and eventually this revolt brought the Seleucids to ruin. In the light of this historical backdrop, the four-monarchy sequence emerges as a distinctive element of Persian apocalyptic. The three empires of old were oriental, but the fourth was an interloper from the west. The oriental mind, therefore, surged with the hopeful vision of a fifth empire which would smash the "Race of Wrath"<sup>19</sup> and restore Iranian sovereignty. The author of Daniel simply adapted the Persian apocalypse to his own purposes, with some characteristic modifications. "To the Jews," writes H. L. Ginsberg, "the absence of a Chaldean link from the succession of empire-ruling kingdoms was incomprehensible. To them, in fact, the Chaldeans appeared to have a better claim than the Assyrians to be regarded as the Empire's founders, for the former had succeeded in absorbing the kingdom of Judah where the latter had failed. Accordingly, both in Daniel 2 and 7 the Chaldean monarchy has superseded the Assyrian; hence, the absurd sequence Chaldean-Median (they were in reality contemporary successors to different parts of the Assyrian heritage)." <sup>20</sup> Moreover, the fifth empire is naturally for Daniel the Jewish messianic kingdom.

<sup>19</sup> Bahman Yt 2.24. See Samuel K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead* (Lincoln, Neb., 1961), 345. Eddy (16 ff.) argues (following the earlier suggestion of E. Meyer) that the present text of the Bahman Yt stems from a Hellenistic original. The Yt recounts a dream in which Zarathushtra sees the root of a tree whose branches are gold, silver, bronze, and something (the word is missing from the text) mixed with iron. Ahura Mazda explains that the first three noble metals are symbolic of three Persian kings and the fourth of the Evil Race of Wrath. Both in Daniel 2 and the Yt the four metals appear in dreams, and in both the last metal is mixed with something else. Moreover, in both cases the fourth kingdom is wiped out by a fifth whose origins are divine. Seeing in Bahman Yt a late Sassanian document, Scheftelowitz (*op. cit.*, 220-21) considers Daniel 2 as the source of the vision in the Yt. But E. W. West had already pointed out (*op. cit.*, Introd., 50-59) that the present text of the Yt is a composite work involving three stages: the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter. Furthermore, as H. Windisch (*Die Orakel des Hystaspes* [Amsterdam, 1929]) and F. Cumont ("La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux," *RHR*, 103-5 [Paris, 1931], 29-96) have pointed out, the detailed conceptions of at least one section of the Yt (i.e., the apocalyptic signs of the last days) certainly did exist in the first century C.E. (or B.C.E.), since they recur in the Oracles of Hystaspes.

<sup>20</sup> H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York, 1948), 5. Ginsberg accepts Swain's thesis.



There remains only the question of how this piece of Persian apocalyptic reached Asia Minor. We know that during the reign of Xerxes (486–65), the Magians had already begun to emigrate from Iran to the west. At the time of Xanthus the Lydian (fifth century) (apparently the first author to transmit information gathered from the Magi), they already had established themselves in Lydia; temples of Anahita existed at Hypapa and Hierocaesarea, the foundation of the latter being attributed to Cyrus (Pausan. 5.27.5; 7.6.6; Tacit. Ann. 3.62), and Iranian colonists had named the Lydian plain the “Hyrcanian plain” (Strabo 13.4.13). They rapidly spread to Phrygia and Galatia, and a bas-relief discovered at Dascylium shows two Magians offering sacrifices according to the Mazdean rite. The language of their inscriptions was Aramaic. In post-Alexandrian times, these Persian aristocrats and priests supported the anti-Greek dynasties of Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Commagene. Magnesia itself lay in the Hyrcanian plain. The Roman soldiers at Magnesia, therefore, found themselves in the heart of one of these Persian colonies.<sup>21</sup>

An integral part of Persian apocalyptic was an elaborate description of the telltale signs of the coming of the end. Although such descriptions were equally indigenous to Jewish literature, finding their inspiration in the prophetic warnings of the “day of the Lord” (cf., e.g., Amos 5 and 8), one may yet find in the analogous portions of Jewish apocalyptic traces of characteristically Iranian elements. We read in I Enoch 80.2: “And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened” (cf. 2 Baruch 20.1). This appears to be a distinctive element of the Iranian apocalyptic signs, and is found both in the Bahman Yasht (2.31) and the Oracles of Hystaspes (fr. 14, BCM 2.368).<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the Persians envisioned a level earth free of all mountainous bulges, accompanied by the drying up of the sea (Oracles of Hystaspes, fr. 14; Plut. De Isid. 47; cf. Bd. 31, end, and Orac. Sibyll. 8.236). The association of the drying of the sea with the leveling of the mountains seems to be due to Stoic speculations on the “ekpyrosis”

<sup>21</sup> For all this see Swain, *op. cit.*, and ZZD 19. T. F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (London, 1961), 3, rejects Swain's thesis with the inadequate argument that the four metals are already known from Hesiod, and that the Bahman Yt is of uncertain date. While the four metals may well be Hesiodic, the four-monarchy sequence is certainly Iranian. Furthermore, as Ginsberg (*op. cit.*, 11) points out, the symbolism of the metals is here “skeuomorphic” and no longer constitutes a descending series. Cf. also Ernest Barker, *From Alexander to Constantine* (Oxford, 1956), 104, 131. According to Barker, the Zoroastrian doctrine of cycles may have influenced both Daniel and Polybius.

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*; Eddy, *op. cit.*, 18.

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which were combined with Mazdean traditions.<sup>23</sup> Similarly we find in the Assumption of Moses (10.4) that the mountains will be leveled and the sea will disappear into the abyss.

### APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA

The Qumran discoveries have furnished us with valuable new manuscripts (fragmentary though they be) of Jewish apocryphal works, indicating the preoccupation of the Dead Sea Sect with this genre of literature. Consequently, as we have indicated above, if we should find in this literature distinct traces of Zoroastrianism, it would strengthen the case for an Iranian penetration into the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In no religion, perhaps, is demonology so specialized as in Mazdeism. The demons are generally conceived of as spirits (*mainyava daeva*) (Yt 10.68), and their number is beyond computation (Yt 4.2; Vd 7.53). There are six arch-demons: Aka Manah, Indra, Sauru, Nanhaitya, Taurvi, Zairiç, who together with Aeshma make up the usual list of seven. Not only specific diseases but even the various types of sin are personified. So we have, for example, Arast (falsehood), Azi (greed), Araska (malice), Taromaiti (arrogance), Varenö (lust), Bushyasta (lethargy and sloth), Push (miserliness), Spazga (slander), and Ereshi (envy).<sup>24</sup> A similar concept appears in Test. XII (Reub. 2-3): "Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works of youth . . . First the spirit of fornication is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness, in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of obsequiousness and chicanery . . . The fifth is the spirit of pride . . . The sixth is the spirit of lying . . . The seventh is the spirit of injustice . . . And with all these the

<sup>23</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.* The leveling of the mountains in itself is paralleled in Isaiah 40.4; 49.11; 45.2, 13 (these verses may reflect the Babylonian road-making activity, as suggested by Behr, *op. cit.*, 23-4). In the vivid description of familial strife preceding the messianic age which is found in the Bahman Yt 2.30, Scheftelowitz (*op. cit.*, 221) sees borrowing from Jewish apocalyptic (Jub. 23.18; Baruch 70.3-8; Mishnah Sotah 9.15). Von Gall (*Basileia to theou* [Heidelberg, 1926], 286) gives the priority to the Persian source. If there is indeed dependence here, it is more likely as Von Gall takes it (see n. 19), but in this case it may well be a parallel development. Cf., for example, Hes. Op. 182 ff., and Micah 7.6. In the Zamasp Namak (sect. 72), one of the signs of the end is the destruction of one third of mankind. So, too, according to Orac. Sibyl. 3.544; 5.103 (cf. Rev. 9.15). (According to the Oracles of Hystaspes, it is one tenth of mankind; cf. Is. 6.13). See E. Benveniste, "Une apocalypse pehlevi: le Zamasp-Namak," *RHR* 106 (1932), 376. H. W. Bailey, "To the Zamaspnamak," *BSOS* 6 (1930-32), 55-85, 581-600. The young turning old (Jub. 23.25; Orac. Sibyl. 2.155) is also reported in the Zamasp Namak (40), but appears to be a commonplace. (cf. Hes. Op. 180-81).

<sup>24</sup> A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies* (New York, 1928), 80-108.

spirit of sleep is joined.”<sup>25</sup> Moreover, in the Avesta, the demons are called “those born of darkness” (*tamascithra*) (Vd 8.80; Yt 6.4), who will end up in the dark hell, which was born of darkness (Vd 5.62). So, too, in I Enoch (108.14); “And they (the righteous) shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness.” Again, according to I Enoch (18.3 ff.; 21.3 ff.) there were seven stars who disobeyed God’s orders and were therefore thrown bound into a fiery abyss, where they must endure ten thousand years of hellish pain, until their sins are atoned for. This is certainly an alien myth in Jewish tradition, and may possibly be an echo of the Zurvanite notion that the seven planets, spawned by Ahriman through sodomy committed on his own person, intercept all the goods bestowed by the constellations and divert them to the use of the demons. When Ahriman made his successful attack on the material creation, he was accompanied by the planets. As a countermeasure, the planets were bound with two ropes to the Sun and Moon and clothed in the light of Ohrmazd so that men, on seeing them, should not be terrified. Their being bound in this way was held to explain their irregular motion, for when they reach the bottom of the rope they are pulled back and are not allowed to pursue their courses, so that they may not be allowed to harm the creation.<sup>26</sup> Finally, of all the demons that attend upon Ahri-man, the arch-fiend Aeshma (later Avestan: *aeshma daeva*) is the most feared and most diabolical (Y 30.6). There can be little doubt that he is identical with the Asmodeus (*Ἀσμοδαῖος*) in the Book of Tobit (3.8.17).<sup>27</sup> This book, indeed, contains other Persian elements. In the Aramaic copy of Tobit from Qumran, the parents

<sup>25</sup> Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.* (cf. Jub. 12.20). It may be added that the Avesta often conceives of the sinner as devotee and instrument of the daevas. Cf., for example, Vd 8.31: “Wer gehört zu den Daeva’s, wer ist ein Daeva-anbeter, wer ein aktiver Päderast der Daeva’s, wer ein passiver Päderast der Daeva’s, wer ein Hure der Daeva’s . . .” Similarly, we find in Test. XII, Naph. 8.6: “And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument” (Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.*). Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, 9.420 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.*; ZSD 158–59, 412; Menok i Xrat 12 and 38; SGV 4.43; cf. I Enoch 60.15.

<sup>27</sup> L. Ginsberg rejects the identification of Ashmedai with aeshmadaeva, but admits: “The Asmodeus of the Apocrypha and Aeshma, however, seem to be related. In the Testament of Solomon, Asmodeus appears as seducing man to unchaste deeds, murder, and enmity, and thus reveals many points in common with Aeshma” (*JE*, s.v. Asmodeus). Cf. M. Grünbaum, “Beiträge zur vergleichenden Mythologie aus der Hagada,” *ZDMG* 31 (1877), 183–359, 216 ff. The identification (as Grünbaum notes) was already made by E. Renan, *Vie de Jésus* (Paris, 1863), chap. 16. See also Aruch, s.v. ‘Ashmed’ai; P. Haupt, “Asmodeus,” *JBL* 40 (1921), 174–78. “An example of a direct, tangible influence from texts,” writes Richard Frye, “is the demon Asmodeus, where an Iranian etymology is the most satisfying explanation” (“Reitzenstein and Qumran Revisited by an Iranian,” *HTR* 155 [1962], 266).

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of Tobias exclaim over the close resemblance between their son's guide and the son himself. This reflects, as Brownlee has observed, the Zoroastrian notion of the *fravashis* or angelic doubles.<sup>28</sup> The dog which accompanies Tobit on his trip to Ecbatana (6.1) also seems to be an Iranian touch.<sup>29</sup> More important, however, the typically Iranian concept of "laying up treasures in heaven" is plainly alluded to in 4.9.<sup>30</sup>

"That an account was kept by Mazdah," writes Pavry,<sup>31</sup> "may be gathered from the Yasht devoted to his praise and worship,

<sup>28</sup> William H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible* (Oxford, 1964), 38; J. T. Milik, "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran," *BA*, 19, no. 4 (December, 1956), 88. Brownlee finds a reflection of the same notion in the Nabonidus fragment from Qumran; See Milik, "Prière de Nabonide et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *Revue biblique* (1956), 407-15, esp. 410; cf. Moulton, *op. cit.*, 284, 274, 324-25; Acts 12.15; Mt. 18.10; Shir ha-Shirim Rabba 3.6.3: "In what form did he [i.e. the man with whom Jacob wrestled] appear to him? This is the meaning of the verse, 'for I have seen your face in the image of God' (Gen. 33.10); he said to Esau: Your face resembles your *sar* (fravashi, or guardian angel)." Cf. BT Megilla 3a: "Though they did not see, their fravashis (*mazlaihu*) saw; BT Shabbath 146a: "Though they were not present, their fravashis (*mazlaihu*) were present"; Dan. 10.20; I Enoch 89.59; Shemoth Rabba 21.5. The plant world, too, has its fravashis (Menok i Khrat 23; Bd 27.24; cf. BR 10.6: "R. Simon said: There is no plant which does not have its fravashi (*mazal*) in heaven, who beats it and tells it: 'Grow!'" For the fravashis, see F. Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde* (Leipzig, 1873), 2.91-98; Herman Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras* (Tübingen, 1930), 150-66. (The close connection between the fravashis and the stars recurs in Plato's account of the souls in Timaeus 41 DE.)

<sup>29</sup> For the Persians the dog was a holy animal. Vd 13.3: "Und wer ihn tötet, O Spitama Zarathushtra, den scheuen spitzschnauzigen Hund, den die überredenden Leute Dužaka nennen, schadet seine Seele selbst noch in neunten Geschlecht, so dass für sie (die Nachkommen) die Chinvat-Brücke unüberschreitbar sein wird, wenn er nicht, solange er lebt, seine Strafe abmacht." The dog was also the faithful companion of Mithra and Sraosha (Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 70; ZDT 130; Hdt. 1.140). For Jewish abhorrence of the dog, see Mishna Baba Kama 7.7; BT B.K. 83a; Shabbat 63a; S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1942), 126. See also Erik Stave, *Über den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum* (Haarlem, 1898), 129; Moulton, *op. cit.*, 250, 333 (the *sag-did*, or "glance of the dog," expels the Nasu or corpse fiend).

<sup>30</sup> θέμα γὰρ ἀγαθὸν θησαυρίζεις σπαντῶ εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης. Cf. II Baruch 14.12: "because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries." 4 Esdras 7.77: "For thou hast a treasure of works laid up with the Most High"; Pss. Sol. 9.9; Sirach 29.12; PT Peah 1.1 (Tosef. Peah 4.18; BT Baba Bathra 11a—where the Iranian term *ganaz* is used) (cf. Aramaic: *ginzaya*, *geduvraya*, *gezavraya*). See F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* [Wiesbaden, 1961], 58; Mt. 6.20; 7.19. See also L. Ginsberg, *Legends* (Philadelphia, 1954), 3.134 ff.; and especially Geo Widengren, "Quelques rapports entre juifs et Iraniens à l'époque des Parthes," Supplement to *VT*, 4 (Leiden, 1957), 197-241; cf. the same author's *Iranische-Semitische Kulturbegegnung* (Cologne, 1960). According to Widengren, a Parthian tale was apparently translated into Aramaic, but in different recensions more or less adapted from a Jewish point of view, and later again recast when translated into Greek. James H. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism* [London, 1913], 332-40) had actually offered a conjectural restoration of the Median story which, he postulated as the original of Tobit. (Widengren errs in stating about the Iranian origin of the treasury of good actions in Tobit, that this is "a fact which seems so far to have escaped notice," since Moulton had already placed it in his hypothetical Median tale [*ibid.*, 335].)

<sup>31</sup> Pavry, *op. cit.*, 72-73.

where the sixteenth of the several names attributed to him is 'hatamarenay': remembering man's deserts (Yt 1.8; cf. Yt 10.32). The doctrine is summed up in the Menok i Xrat (2.96-97): "Be thou diligent in making a store of good works, in order that it may come to thy succor in the spiritual world." This is the store of one's own good actions which, according to DD (24.5.6) is carried before the soul in its journey upward by its own Conscience, which comes in the form of a beautiful Maiden and is here termed the "treasure-bearer" (*ganjbar*). The sooner good works are done in this world, the better for the destiny of the soul in the hereafter, because there is a continuous growth of merit (*vaxs i karpak*) accruing therefrom, and this is constantly added to the original deposit placed in heaven to one's credit (DD 10.1.2). SNS (8.4) speaks likewise of the spiritual Treasure-house (*ganj*) where the merit accruing from ceremonial worship is accumulated and its store becomes available for the benefit of the souls of the faithful in general." The notion of a general treasury of accumulated merit is hinted at in Shemoth Rabba 45.6 (cf. Tanhuma, Ki Tisa 16), and in a more elaborate form became part of Roman Catholic doctrine.

In the area of eschatology we also find a series of analogues. According to the Bahman Yt (1.1), Zarathushtra supplicates Ahura Mazda for immortality, but instead is granted omniscience in regard to the future. Similarly, in the Testament of Abraham, Abraham at first refuses to give his soul to the angel Michael, but finally yields and is allowed to see the whole world created by one word before his death (Rec.A 9).<sup>32</sup> The same text further relates that the angel finds that the sins and good deeds of a certain soul are equally balanced, and he therefore sets it up in the middle (*εἰς τὸ μέσον*) to await the final judge of all. (Abraham and Michael, however, pray for it and it is sent to paradise (Rec.A 12; 14). This recalls the Mazdean notion of *Hamestagan*, the place of the mixed, and the soul "whose wrong and whose right deeds balance" (*hememyasante*).<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, according to

<sup>32</sup> See Ernst Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902), 12. Cf. Sifre, Num. 136 (the righteous can see from one end of the world to the other).

<sup>33</sup> See Pavry, *op. cit.*, 50; cf. Tosef. Sanhedrin 13.3; BT Rosh ha-Shana 16b; Ruth Rabba 3.1. For the meaning of *metzafzifin* in the Tosefta passage, see S. Lieberman, "How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?" *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge, 1963), 128. It is interesting to contrast the Persian insistence that "if the quantity of sin is even one filament of the hair of the eyelashes more in weight than the good works are, that person arrives in Hell" (SD 2.3.4), with Pesikta de Rav Kahana 25.2: "If the scales are equally balanced, on the one side sins, on the other merits, the Holy One snatches away one of the accounts of the sins, and the merits tip the balance" (cf. PT Peah 1.1; Kiddushin 1.9; Sanhedrin 10.1; Shemoth Rabba 25.6 [Schor, *op. cit.*, 29]).

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the Greater Bundahishn (30.2.3), when a man dies, the soul sits for three nights near the place where his head was, with the hope that "it may so happen that the blood may be warmed up and the breath may enter the body, so that I may be able to go once more into the body." Delaying the burial for three days seems to imply this Iranian notion. So, in the Testament of Abraham, they wait three days before burying Abraham (Rec.A 20).<sup>34</sup>

An interesting parallel, hitherto unnoticed, occurs in 4 Ezra (7.102 ff.), which gives a vivid description of the heart-rending family separations which will occur on the day of judgment: "And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, show me, thy servant, this also: whether in the Day of Judgment the righteous shall be able to intercede for the ungodly, or to intreat the Most High in their behalf: fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest. And he answered me and said: Since thou hast found favor in my sight, I will show this also unto thee. The Day of Judgment is decisive, and displays unto all the seal of truth. Even as now a father may not send a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest, that in his stead he may be ill, or sleep, or eat, or be healed; so shall none then pray for another on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on another; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness." Bd (31) contains a similar description: "Each will receive his due when men will be separated from their wives, brother from brother, and friend from friend; the pious weep for the godless, and the godless weep for themselves. For it may happen that the father was pious, his son godless; or brother pious, the other godless" (cf. Mt. 24.40; Lk. 17.34; Quran 23.103; 80.33 ff.; Sifre, Deut., 329; BT Sanh. 104a). The Bundahishn further notes that at the resurrection, Ahura Mazda will demand the return of man's bones from the spirit of the earth, the blood from that of the water, the hair from that of the plants, the life-energy from that of the fire,

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also Vd 19.28: Testament of Job 53. The same view is found in PT Moed Katan 3.5: "During the three days [following death] the soul hovers in flight over the body, thinking it may be able to return to it, but when it sees that its appearance becomes discolored, it abandons it and departs." See Böklen, *op. cit.*, 27–28. Furthermore, the question is asked in the Pahlavi texts as to whether the soul is conscious of suffering while the body is resolved into its elements at death. According to DD (16. 1–3) the soul is aware of what is taking place, though this causes no distress in the case of a soul destined for salvation. According to the Denkart (9.16.6), it feels great unhappiness as it sees the body being destroyed (Pavry, *op. cit.*, 16–17). A similar discussion (hitherto overlooked) is found in BT Shabbath 152a: "Decay is painful to the dead as a needle in the flesh of the living . . ." (cf. Saadia, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. S. Rosenblatt [New Haven, Conn., 1948]), 257.

from all of which they had their origin (31). In Slavonic (or II) Enoch (30.8) we similarly find that God's wisdom had created man from seven elements: his flesh from the earth, his blood from dew and sun, his eyes from the abyss of the sea, his bones from stones, his thought from the speed of the angels and clouds, his sinews and hair from the grass of the earth, his soul from God's breath and spirit.<sup>35</sup>

One of the dominant motifs of Jewish apocalyptic is the calculation of world periods. The rabbinic calculation of a seven thousand year duration for the world (BT Sanhed. 97ab; Aboda Zara 9a) is also found in the Testament of Abraham (17) and II Enoch (33.1-2). A similar concern with cosmic aeons and their time limits is writ large across the entire range of Mazdean eschatology. The similarity, indeed, reaches into the specifics of the calculations themselves. A twelvefold division of history is given in Baruch's vision of the cloud with black and white waters; these waters, which symbolize the periods of world history (II Baruch 56.3), are poured out upon the earth twelve times (53.6). Again, in the Latin text of II Esdras 14.11, we read that "the world-age is divided into twelve parts." "It is surely more than coincidence," writes Russell, "that the number twelve, which plays such an important part in Zoroastrianism (see *infra* p. 22), should appear so frequently in the apocalyptic divisions of history."<sup>36</sup>

According to I Enoch (27.3), hell is contiguous with heaven: "In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgment in the presence of the righteous forever." Similarly, according to the *Datastan i Denik* (19.4), the sinner in hell can see the heavenly throne of Ahura Mazda and the bliss of the righteous.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most strikingly characteristic Iranian doctrine in the Apocrypha appears in Slavonic Enoch (15.5 ff.): "Car il fit l'homme seigneur de tous ses biens: sur eux il n'y aura pas de jugement pour tout âme vivante, mais pour (celle de) l'homme seul. Pour toutes les âmes des bêtes, il y a dans la grand siècle un seul lieu et un seul parc et un seul pacage. Car l'âme des animaux, que le Seigneur a faite, ne sera pas fermée (surement au sens d'enfermer la mort, anéantir; cf. Ps. 78.50) jusqu'au jugement, et toutes les âmes accusent l'homme. Celui qui paît mal

<sup>35</sup> Böklen, *op. cit.*, 108. Cf. Saadia, *op. cit.*, 277-78; ZZZ 414; GB 189.8-13; Denkart 278; Zatspram 30.5-11; ZDT 260.

<sup>36</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, 229.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. 4 Esdras 5.36; I Baruch 30.4-5; 51.5; Bd 31; Pesikta de Rav Kahana 28; Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.*

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l'âme des bêtes est inique pour sa propre âme.”<sup>38</sup> Similarly, in the Gatha of the Ox-Soul (Y 29) we read: “To you did the soul of the ox complain: ‘For whom did you create me? Who made me? Fury and violence oppress me, and cruelty and tyranny. I have no shepherd other than you [i.e., the Amesha Spentas]: then obtain good pastures for me.”<sup>39</sup> II Enoch, in fact, appears to be saturated with Iranian material (hitherto overlooked). In B 45.2, the author promises special providence for those who multiply candles before the Lord. Furthermore, lightning and thunder ascend and descend by means of chains, lest they harm the creation (40.9), and we have already seen that the planets are so controlled according to Parsi tradition (*supra*, p. 10; cf. I Enoch 60.15). Again, according to II Enoch Adam and Eve’s primary sin is their lack of knowledge (30.16; 31.7). In the same manner, we find in the Greater Bundahishn that Ohrmazd warned Mashye and Mashyane (the Iranian Adam and Eve) saying: “Ye are human beings, the father and mother of the world: do your work in accordance with righteous order and right-mindedness. Worship not the demons.” But soon the Aggressor assailed their minds and corrupted them, and they cried out: “The Destructive Spirit created all.” For this lie they were damned (GB 102.9–15). “Man’s original sin, then, in Zoroastrianism is seen not so much as an act of disobedience as an

<sup>38</sup> *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, ed. and trans. A. Vaillant (Paris, 1952), 57. Unfortunately, the evidence for either Jewish or Christian authorship of this book remains inconclusive. See Arie Rubinstein, “Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch,” *JJS* 13 (1962), 1–21; cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic* (New York, 1963), 110–11.

<sup>39</sup> *The Hymns of Zarathustra*, trans. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, and from his French by M. Henning (London, 1952), 57. Cf. Vd 13.3 (quoted in n. 31). See Charles, *Apocrypha* 2.464, notes; Rudolf Otto, *Reich Gottes u. Menschensohn* (Munich, 1934), 163; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Ormazd et Ahriman* (Paris, 1953), 84. The complaint of the “Geush urvan” apparently takes place during the period of the “spiritual creation” before corporealization has begun (see Herman Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras* [Tübingen, 1930], 177–84); cf. Denkart 9.29. In Bd 4, however, we find the soul of the “primal ox” (after it was slain by Ahriman) complaining to Ahura Mazda over its bitter experiences (i.e., the sufferings are no longer a projection into the future, but have already taken place). There is no indication, however, of reward and punishment for the surviving spirit (*menok*) of the ox (ZZD 334). Indeed, the late ‘Ulema i Islam states explicitly that the beasts, birds, and fish are “exempt from the reckoning and judgment because they have no ‘fravahr’” (ZZD 414). The notion of a special judgment for animals was equally foreign to Jewish tradition. Cf. 4 Esdras 5.66: “For it is far better with them than with us; for they [the animals] have no judgment to look for, neither do they know of any torture or of any salvation promised to them after death.” Cf. BT Kalah, chap. 2: “Cattle are destined for slaughter and have no portion in the world to come. For the wicked are analogous to cattle; just as cattle are judged with death and receive no share in the world to come, so too the wicked” (cf. BT Berakhot 17a). Saadia, however, and some other Geonim, accepted the Mutazilite notion of reward to animals in the hereafter (*op. cit.*, 175). The Karaites also favored this view; cf. also Test. XII, Zebulun 5.1.



error of judgment" (ZDT 267). Similarly, Y 31.12 designates those who have chosen falsely as "unknowing" (*avidva*).<sup>40</sup> It may also be noted, in this connection, that Yima (one of the early Iranian Adam figures) lost his *xvarenah* (which flew away in the form of a raven) when he "admitted a lying, untrue word into his mind" (Yt 19.34; ZDT 136–37) (a sin which Zaehner interprets as parallel to that of Mashye and Mashyane). According to Vita Adae (20–21), as Widengren<sup>41</sup> has already noted, Adam and Eve also lose their glory after eating from the tree (cf. BR 12.6; 11.2). Finally, II Enoch speaks of creation as the emergence of the visible from the invisible (24.2; 30.10; 48.5; 51.5; 65.1, 6). Of the first three thousand years, when the two Spirits are arming themselves, the Bundahishn similarly says: "In unseen (or ideal: *menok*) form he fashioned forth such creation as was needful for his instrument." In like fashion, we read in the Greater Bundahishn (16.1–12): "Ohrmazd by the act of creation is both father and mother to creation: for in that he nurtured creation in unseen (*menok*) form, he acted as a mother, and in that he created it in material form, he acted as a father" (ZDT 250–51; ZZD 118).<sup>42</sup>

It should also be noted that according to II Mac. (1.19.22; 33–34), the Jews report to the Persian king that the naphtha with which Nehemiah's companions had purified the sacrifices had appeared in the place where the exiled priests had hidden the holy fire. The King verified the fact upon investigation, and declared the place to be a sacred precinct. Zeitlin (*ad loc.*) notes that according to Strabo (16.1.4) there was a fountain of naphtha near the city of Demetrias, which was used in the temple of the goddess

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Lommel, *op. cit.*, 165; ZDT 229. Charles's attempt to connect the passage with Platonic thought seems very unlikely; cf. BT Sanhedrin 38b, which records the opinions of Rav and Rav Nahman that Adam was a heretic. There is even a hint in the same rabbinic passage that Adam was originally a type of "primal or cosmic man," in that "he reached from one end of the world to the other" (cf. Bamidbar Rabba 13.4; BR 8.1). See A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legend," *JQR* 35 (1945), 371–91; cf. also the Damascus Document 16.6: "For this reason Abraham was saved (reading: *nitzol*) on the day when he acquired knowledge (*beyom da'to*). For the possibly Iranian origin or the Jewish apocalyptic notion of the "Son of Man" or "Man-like One," see Carl H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and the Son of Man* (New York, 1927), 128–65; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (New York, 1954), 346–450. For Iranian connections with Gnosticism, see G. Widengren, "Der Iranische Hintergrund der Gnosis," *ZRGG* 4 (1952); for possible connections between Gnosticism and the Qumran sect see Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York, 1960), 297–300. Scholem suggests that the "primordial man" of Iranian speculation may be linked with the figure described in the "Shiur Komah" literature (G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* [New York, 1954], 65).

<sup>41</sup> Widengren, "Quelques Rapports," *op. cit.*; cf. Kohut, "Tal.-Mid. Adamsage," *op. cit.*, 74.

<sup>42</sup> Already pointed out by W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion* (London, 1961), 388.

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Anaitis.<sup>43</sup> According to De Sacy,<sup>44</sup> this is an evident attempt to explain the fire-worship of the Persians. W. H. Brownlee (in a written communication to the author) has similarly expressed his opinion that this is a clear case of identifying the sacred fire of the Persians with the exiled fire of the temple altar in Jerusalem.

### ZOROASTRIAN ELEMENTS IN QUMRAN

The way is now clear for us to examine the Iranian penetration into Qumran. The chief doctrine of Zoroastrianism is its dualistic splitting of the cosmos between two opposing forces. The "Gatha of the Choice" (Y 30) describes the primeval sets of choices which marked the parting of the ways between good and evil:

Now at the beginning the twin spirits have declared their nature, the better and the evil, in thought and word and deed. And between the two, the wise ones choose well, not so the foolish. And when these two spirits came together, in the beginning they established life and non-life, and that at the last the worst existence should be for the wicked, but for the righteous one the Best Mind. Of these two spirits, the evil one chose to do the worst things, but the Most Holy Spirit, clothed in the most steadfast heavens, joined himself unto Righteousness; and thus did all those who delight to please the Wise Lord by honest deeds. Between the two, the false gods also did not choose rightly, for while they pondered they were beset by error, so that they chose the Worst Mind. Then did they hasten to join themselves unto Fury, that they might by it deprave the existence of man.<sup>45</sup>

A similar doctrine seems to confront us in the Manual of Discipline from Qumran:

By the God of Knowledge<sup>46</sup> is everything wrought. Before they occur

<sup>43</sup> BCM 1.50, n. 2, cite Pausanias 5.27.8, who gives us an eye-witness description of a sacrifice offered in a Lydian temple, where the dry wood upon the altar suddenly flared up without the kindling of any fire.

<sup>44</sup> Cited by Gottheil, 30, n. 2 (see Appendix II). Cf. Zeitlin's remarks in his ed. of II Mac. (New York, 1954), 109.

<sup>45</sup> Translation of Duchesne-Guillemin, *op. cit.*, 105. The two spirits are said to be twins (*yema*), and we learn from Y 47. 2-3 that Ahura Mazda is the father of the Spenta Mainyu. "In that case," argues Zaehner, "he must be the father of Angra Mainyu too. This conclusion might be regarded as absurd only if we persist in judging Zarathushtra's own teaching by the standards of a very much later dualist orthodoxy" (ZDT 50). The same conclusion is arrived at by Ilya Gershevitch, "Zoroaster's Own Contribution," *JNES* 23 (1954), 12-38: "The conclusion that the Fiendish Spirit, too, was an emanation of Ahura Mazda's is unavoidable. But we need not go so far as to assume that Z. imagined the Devil as having directly issued from God. Rather, since free will, too, is a basic tenet of Zarathushtrianism, we may think of the 'childbirth' implied in the idea of twinship as having consisted in the emanation by God of undifferentiated 'spirit,' which only at the emergence of free will split into twin spirits of opposite allegiance." (Both Zaehner and Gershevitch, however, agree that Z. was a dualist inasmuch as his system implies that the "Druj" is a primordial element.)

<sup>46</sup> T. H. Gaster writes: "Ahura Mazda is cleverly Judaized in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 3.15; 1QH 1.26; frag. 4.15) as *ēl dēōth*, a title borrowed from I Samuel

He has set down all their designs; and when they come into being for the fulfillment of their functions they carry out their activity according to His glorious design, without any deviation. . . . He created man to rule the world, appointing for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of His visitation—the spirits of truth and deceit. The origin of truth is in a fountain of light, that of deceit in a well of darkness. The command over the sons of righteousness is in the hand of the prince of light, and in the ways of light they walk. The command over the sons of deceit is in the hand of the angel of darkness, and in the ways of darkness they walk. The error of the sons of righteousness derives from the angel of darkness, and all their sins, their offenses, and their iniquitous deeds are caused by his rule, in accordance with God's mysteries, until it's appointed end. All their afflictions and moments of tribulation are caused by his malevolent dominion. . . . He created the spirits of light and darkness, and upon them He founded every work, and every action. . . . The one God loves for all eternity, and delights in all its doings forever; the other—its assembly He loathes, and all its ways He hates forever. . . . In these two spirits are the origins of all mankind, and in their divisions all their hosts have a share throughout their generations. . . . For God has set them in equipoise until the last period, and has put eternal hatred between them. An abomination to truth are the acts of deceit, and an abomination to deceit are all the ways of truth [cf. 1.4; 1.9]. . . . But God in His mysterious wisdom appointed a term for the existence of deceit, and at the time fixed for visitation He will destroy it forever. . . . Then God will purify all the doings of man by His truth and will purge a part of mankind, utterly destroying the spirit of deceit from within man's flesh, and cleansing him by the holy spirit from all wicked acts [3.15 ff.].<sup>47</sup>

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2.3 (*Interpreter's Dict. of the Bible* [New York, 1962], s.v. "Angel: Iranian influences").

<sup>47</sup> For the translation of IQS 4.20–21, see Brownlee, *op. cit.*, Appendix A, 261–70. K. G. Kuhn ("Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte u. das Neue Testament," *ZTK* 47 [1950], 211) and A. Dupont-Sommer (*Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* [Paris, 1950], 113), on the basis of the early Qumran fragments (IQS 3.13–26 was not yet published) had already argued for Zoroastrian influence on the Scrolls. Those who first had access to the long dualistic passage of IQS 3–4 noted immediately its Zoroastrian character. Cf. Millar Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judaean Covenanters," *Oudtestamentische Studien* (1950), 156–92; and W. M. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, BASOR, *Supplemental Studies*, nos. 10–12 [1951], 13, n. 21. After the *Manual of Discipline* had been published in its entirety, full studies of the problem were presented by Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift u. die iranische Religion," *ZTK* 49 (1952), 296–316; Dupont-Sommer, *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes* (London, 1954); and Hans Wildberger, "Der Dualismus in den Qumran Schriften," *Asiatische Studien* (1–4) (1954), 163–77 (all three apparently wrote independently). The first to suggest Zurvanite influence was H. Michaud, "Un Myth Zervanite dans un des Mss. de Qumran," *VT* (1955), but the Plutarchean passage used by him is not considered Zurvanite by most scholars. See also Robert G. Jones, "The Manual of Discipline (IQS), Persian Religion, and the Old Testament," *The Teacher's Yoke: Studies in Memory of Henry Trantham*, ed. E. Jerry Vardeman and James L. Garrett, Jr. (Waco, Tex., 1964), 94–108.

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The dualism of the Manual is marked by three distinctive characteristics. It moves within a monotheistic framework; it is predestinarian; and it uses the imagery of light and darkness.<sup>48</sup> Now, while the dualism of the Gathas is similarly part of a monotheistic scheme,<sup>49</sup> it is clearly not predestinarian, nor does it use the imagery of light and darkness.<sup>50</sup> If we turn, however, to the Zurvanite heterodoxy we shall find all three elements. According to the myth,<sup>51</sup> when the great god Zurvan realized that there were two sons in his womb, he made a vow saying: "Whichever of the two shall come to me first, him will I make king." Ohrmazd was apprised of his father's thought and revealed it to Ahriman. When Ahriman heard this, he ripped the womb open,<sup>52</sup> emerged, and

<sup>48</sup> DGRW 86–102. For light and darkness: cf. II Enoch 30.15; Test. XII Asher 1.3 ff. (emphasizes dualistic aspect of man's actions); Levi 14.4; 19.1; Joseph 20.2. See Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3d ed., rev. H. Gressmann; Tübingen, 1926); S. Lieberman, *Hellenism*, 12 (notes Test. of Job 43.8).

<sup>49</sup> See n. 45.

<sup>50</sup> See Lommel, *op. cit.*, 28.

<sup>51</sup> Four versions of the Zurvanite myth are preserved, two by the Armenians Eznik of Kolb and Elishe Vardapet, and two by the Syrians Theodore bar Konai and Yohanan bar Penkaye (ZZD 66, 419–29; BCM 2.89–92). The structure of the story is reminiscent of the biblical account of Jacob's appropriation of Esau's blessing from his father Isaac (Gen. 27). According to the Ulema i Islam, Ohrmazd and Ahriman were not the immediate offspring of Zurvan, but were formed by the latter from fire and water respectively (ZZD 72–73). Cf. also Eudemus of Rhodes apud Damascius (ZZD 447). Ohrmazd had been identified with light (and it is fair to assume, Ahriman with darkness) as early as the Gatha of the seven chapters (ZDT 181).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Sanhedrin 91b: "Antonius also enquired of Rabbi, 'From what time does the Evil Tempter hold sway over man, from the formation of the embryo, or from its issuing forth into the light of the world?' 'From the formation,' he replied. 'If so,' he objected, 'it would kick open its mother's womb and emerge. But it is from when it issues'." In Rabbi's discussion with Antonius on when the soul enters man, A. Marmorstein ("Iranische u. jüdische Religion," *ZNW* 26 [1927], 231–42), sees a reflection of the discussion between Ohrmazd and Zarathushtra on which was created first, the body or the soul (GB 14; R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran u. Griechenland* [Leipzig and Berlin, 1926], 214). Rabbi's former view, however, does not necessarily imply that he thought that the body was created before the soul (as Marmorstein thinks). According to Anquetil Duperron, however, the Avesta does theorize on the date at which the embryo becomes animate. When a woman has been pregnant for four months and ten days, the child is formed and a soul added to its body (J. Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta* [New York, 1898], 177, n. 4 [*SBE*]). The matter was amply discussed, however, in Greek philosophy. Aristotle had distinguished between three stages of foetal development: the foetus was endowed in successive stages with a vegetable (*θερρική*) soul, a sensitive (*αἰσθητική*) or animal soul, and a rational (*διανοητική*) soul (Generation of Animals 2.3 ff.). (In *Polit.* 7.1335b25, Arist. advocates that abortion should be performed before the foetus has attained animal life.) Plato thought that the foetus was a "living creature" (*ζῶον*), i.e., was endowed with a vegetable soul (Aet. Plac. 5.15.1; H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* [Berlin, 1958], 425; Ps.-Galen [prob. Porphyry], *πρὸς Γαῖον*, ed. K. Kalbfleisch [Berlin, 1895]). (French trans. in A. J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* [Paris, 1953], 3.265–302). The Stoics, however, thought that it was only a part of the womb (*μέρος τῆς γαστρὸς*; cf. the rabbinic expression 'ubar yereh

advanced toward his father. Zurvan, seeing him, asked him: "Who art thou? And he replied: 'I am thy son Ohrmazd.' And Zurvan said: 'My son is light and fragrant, but thou art dark and stinking.' And he wept bitterly. And as they were talking together, Ohrmazd was born in his turn, light and fragrant, and Zurvan, seeing him, knew it was his son Ohrmazd." Moreover, Zurvan or Zaman *i derang-xvatay* (time of the long dominion) (as opposed to *Zurvan-akarana*, or infinite time) is manifested in this world as fate (*baxt*). "The activity of the whole world is carried on by destiny [*breh* or *baxš*] and time [*Zamanak*] and decision of fate [*vičir i brin*], which is itself Zurvan, the sovereign and long-continuing ruler. For at each time, that which is to happen to each to whom a lot is assigned, happens to him" (Mēnok i Xrat, chap. 27).<sup>53</sup> Even character is subordinated to this unswerving fate: "Though one be armed with the valour and strength of wisdom and knowledge, yet it is not possible to strive against fate. For once a thing is fated and comes true, whether for good or the reverse, the wise man goes astray in his work, and the man of wrong knowledge becomes clever in his work; the coward becomes brave, and the brave cowardly; the energetic man becomes a sluggard and the sluggard energetic. For for everything that has been fated a fit occasion arises which sweeps away all other things" (*ibid.* chap. 23).<sup>54</sup> A particularly sharp delineation of this stark predestinarianism involving a double (physical and psychic) determinism comes to us from Cave IV of Qumran. It teaches the physical characteristics of people born under a given sign of the zodiac, and the exact proportion of their share in the world of the Spirits of Light and in that of the Spirits of Darkness. "And his thighs are long and thin, and his toes are thin and long, and he is of the second vault. He has six [parts] spirit in the House of Light, and three in the Pit of Darkness. And this is the time of birth on which he is brought forth—on the festival of Taurus. He

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'imō [BT Gitin 23b; Hulin 58a]) and not a living creature until birth (Diels, *Doxog.*, 425; *SVF* 2.213). The Pythagoreans, on the other hand, held that the embryo was an animate being from the moment of conception (Ps.-Galen, *op. cit.*; Festugière, *op. cit.*, 267-68); Diog. Laert. 8.28-29. (See L. Edelstein, *The Hippocratic Oath* [Baltimore, 1943] [Supplements to the Bulletin of the History of Medicine, no. 1], 16-18.) Since similar discussions occur in Chinese literature (J. Needham, *A History of Embryology* [New York, 1959], 49, n. 6; *Science and Civilization in China* [Cambridge, 1956], 2.21-26), it is safe to assume that they were commonplaces of ancient thought.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted by H. Ringgren, *Fatalism in Persian Epics* (Uppsala, 1952), 24.

<sup>54</sup> ZSD 257-58.

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will be poor; and this is his beast—Taurus.”<sup>55</sup> Omar Khayyam gave this depressing view its classic expression:

We are but chessmen, destined, it is plain,  
That great chess player Heaven to entertain;  
Us men it moves about the board of life,  
Then in the box of death shuts up again [*Rubaiyat*, 14].

Furthermore, the Manual insists that God has put eternal enmity between the sons of light and the sons of darkness. Zarathustra similarly teaches: “Whether a man be master of little or much, he should show kindness to the follower of Truth, but should be evil to the follower of the Lie” (Y 47.4). The Manual further emphasizes the time limits set by God for the dominion of evil. According to the orthodox Mazdean schema, the whole cosmic process from the original creation to the final Rehabilitation lasts twelve thousand years, the duration of finite time, corresponding to the twelve signs of the Zodiac in the heavens. The first three thousand years are spent by the two spirits in the gradual manifestation of their respective creations. Of the last nine thousand years, “three thousand would pass entirely according to the will of Ohrmazd, three thousand years in mixture would pass according to the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and in the last battle the Destructive Spirit would be made powerless.”<sup>56</sup> In the Zurvanite interpretation, according to the most pessimistic view, Ahriman reigns for a full nine thousand years, and only in the last three millennia is Ohrmazd finally victorious.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (Naperville, Ill., 1959), 119; and J. M. Allegro, “An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran,” *JSS*, 9, No. 2 (1964), 291–94. Cf. BT Shabbath 156a; Test. XII, Naphthali 2.2–7; chap. 13 of the “Greater Hekhaloth” (where physiognomic criteria are listed as requisites for initiation); Vita Pythag. 17 (where Iamblichus asserts that entry into the Pythagorean school was conditioned upon possession of certain physiognomic characteristics) (Scholem, *op. cit.*, 48). Similarly, the Coptic Gnostic “Pistis Sophia” describes the mysterious seals imprinted by decans upon the hands, skull, brain, and forehead of the foetal plasm (4.347–48; ed. G. R. S. Mead [London, 1921], 287; cf. Doresse, *op. cit.*, 297). For determinism in Jewish apocalyptic see Russell, *op. cit.*, 230–34. (For zodiacal determinism in China see Needham, *Science*, 1.157–58.)

<sup>56</sup> GB 7.2–6; ZZZ 314; ZDT 250. The imagery of battle which dominates the Dead Sea Scrolls’ vision of the end is also reflected in the language of the Gathas. The latter often speak of the “last turning point” (*urvaēsa apema*—Y 43.5) as the period of retribution, when the “two hostile armies (*spada*) clash” (Y 44.15). Cf. König, *op. cit.*, 141 ff.

<sup>57</sup> For the less pessimistic view, see ZZZ 100. The notion of eras of favor and disfavor also appears in Samaritan literature. For the possibility of Persian influence on the Samaritans (and other parallels between the thought of Qumran and that of the Samaritans), see John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (London, 1964), 30, 33. According to Josephus (Ant. 12.257), the Samaritans said that they were colonists from the Medes and Persians, and he agrees that this was so.

It is essential to note at this point that the dualism of the Dead Sea Scrolls belongs to the Iranian rather than to the Greek or Gnostic variety. The Scrolls never reveal a negative attitude to matter or body as such. It is only the body unredeemed by the "spirit of truth" (or the "holy spirit") that is lowly and sinful. The Jewish and Iranian traditions share the view that both body and soul are good creations, but are attacked by evil from without. Even the "almost pathological abhorrence of human nature" (as Licht<sup>58</sup> calls it) reflected in many passages,<sup>59</sup> refers only to man's lowly and utterly helpless condition unaided by God. It is not a conflict between body and soul or matter and spirit, but between the powers of light and darkness as foreordained by the divine will.<sup>60</sup> Hence, "at the time fixed for visitation," "God will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from within man's flesh and cleanse him by the holy spirit from all wicked acts." This is the same kind of dualism (as Flusser has pointed out) which characterizes the thinking of Paul. According to Zoroastrian thinking, the body is not made of the substance of palpable darkness as the Manichaeans hold, but is of like substance to the soul, fragrant by nature, but rendered evil-smelling by the hold that concupiscence has upon it (Denkart 260.12). Similarly, in Paul's view, after God's final redemption the body itself will undergo a spiritual transformation. "In its insistence on the essential unity of body and soul," writes Zaehner, "Zoroastrianism allies itself with the Judaic religions as against the Indian and Gnostic view that soul and body are so radically different as to constitute two different worlds" (ZDT 274).

The attempt to relate the dualism of the Scrolls with that of Iran is further strengthened by the occurrence of another charac-

<sup>58</sup> Jacob Licht, *Megilat ha-Hodayot* (Jerusalem, 1957), 34.

<sup>59</sup> E.g., "And as for me I am a creature of clay and kneaded with water; the foundation of shamefulness, and the source of impurity; the crucible of iniquity, and the edifice of sin; the erring spirit and one perverted, devoid of understanding" (Hodayot, 1.21-23).

<sup>60</sup> See David Flusser, "The Dualism of Flesh and Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament," *Scholem Jubilee Volume on his 60th Birthday* (Jerusalem, 1958), 32-39. Cf. the debate between Michael and Satan over the burial of Moses in the original Assumption of Moses. Satan opposes Michael's commission to bury Moses on the ground that he is the lord of matter. To this claim Michael rejoins: "The Lord rebuke thee, for it was God's Spirit that created the world and all mankind." In other words, Satan grants God Moses' soul, but claims his body as belonging to his exclusive domain (ἐμὸν ἐστι τὸ σῶμα ὡς τῆς ὑλης δεσπόζοντι). The author, speaking through Michael, rejects this "gnostic" dualism by insisting that God is Lord of both spirit and flesh, since he is the creator of all. See S. Leuvenstam, "Mot Mosheh," *Scholem Jub. Vol.*, 29-31; R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses* (London, 1897), 105-7.

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teristic Iranian doctrine in the "Thanksgiving Hymns" (*Hodayot*) of Qumran (3.27–32):

When the measuring line fell upon judgment, and the lot of anger upon the abandoned ones and the outpouring of wrath upon the dissemblers and the period of fury—to all Belial. And deadly pangs have surrounded me with no escape. And the torrents of Belial have overflowed all the high banks like a devouring fire in all their courses [*shin'abehem*] to destroy every green and withered tree alike in their channels. And it shall wander about with flaming flashes until the channels be no more, into the foundations of clay it shall devour; and into the expanse of the dry land. The foundations of the mountains shall become ablaze with fire and the roots of flint rock shall become streams of pitch. And it shall consume into the great Abyss. And the torrents of Belial shall burst forth unto Abaddon and the depths of the abyss shall roar in the tumult of the eruptions of mire [cf. 6. 17–19].

The notion of an eschatological judgment by fire is of Iranian origin. We read in Y 31.3: "The reward which thou shalt give by the spirit and the fire and which thou shalt divide, as Righteousness, among the two parties [*rana*]." "When by thy glowing fire the two parties are about to receive their due" (*ibid.*, 19). The nature of the fire and its effects are more specifically identified in Y 51.9: "What reward hast thou appointed to the two parties, O Wise One, through thy bright fire and through the molten metal [*ayah xšusta*]. Give a sign of it to the souls of men, to bring hurt to the wicked, benefit to the righteous" (cf. Y 43.4; 34.4). A fuller elaboration of this teaching may be found in the Bundahishn: "Then will the Fire-god and the god Airyaman melt the metals that are in the mountains and hills, and they will flow over the earth like rivers. And they will make all men to pass through that molten metal and thereby make them clean. And it will seem to him who was saved as if he were walking through warm milk, but to the man who was damned it will seem exactly like walking through molten metal." Again: "And the serpent Gochihr will be burnt up in the molten metal [*ayokšust i vitaxtak*]; and the molten metal will flow out into Hell. And all the stench and corruption that was in Hell will be burnt up by this molten metal and made clean. And the [hole in] Hell by which the Destructive Spirit rushed in, will be sealed up by that molten metal, and the earth that was in Hell will be brought up to the broad expanse of this material world."<sup>61</sup> The similarities are too close for coincidence. In both cases rivers of fire are formed by the melting down of mountain

<sup>61</sup> Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi* (London, 1956), 148, 150. Cf. Is. 34.8; I Enoch 67.6.



ores. There is even an indication in the Hodayot that Hell itself will be burnt up by the roaring torrents, as is clearly stated in the Bundahishn. Furthermore, it should be noted that the word *shin'abehem* (a hapax in Hebrew literature) is given a plausible Iranian etymology by J. P. de Menasce.<sup>62</sup>

The interweaving of traditions which resulted in the doctrine of a world conflagration abundantly attested in Hellenistic literature is not easy to disentangle. Everything points, however, to a fusion of Persian and Babylonian teachings. The early Iranian idea of ordeal by molten metal<sup>63</sup> was extended by Zarathushtra to an eschatological judgment, which destroyed the wicked but rewarded the just.<sup>64</sup> The Magi of Asia Minor transformed this into a cosmic catastrophe, perhaps under Zurvanite influence, and passed it on in this form to the Mithraic mysteries.<sup>65</sup> The Babylonians then combined this notion of a world conflagration with their doctrine of planetary cycles,<sup>66</sup> as exemplified by Berossus,

<sup>62</sup> J. P. de Menasce, "Un Mot Iranien dans les Hymnes," *RQ* 1 (1958), 133-34. Persian: *šina*, *šinav*—natation; Pahlavi: *šnab*. De Menasce offers two alternative translations: irrigations, or derivations. As Widengren points out, the Scrolls often use the Iranian loan word *raz* (already in Dan. 4.6), and the typically Parthian term *naxšir* (De Menasce, *VT* 6 [1956], 213 ff.; J. P. Asmussen, "Das iranische Lehnwort *nahsir* in der Kriegerrolle von Qumran," *Acta Orientalia* 26 (1961), 1-20) (1QM 1.9). See Yadin *ad loc.* The Peshitta translates *gibor tzayid*: *nahshirtana*, and Onkelos '*ish yodē'a tzayid*: *gever nahshirtan*. We similarly find in an Aramaic frag. of Test. Levi (in the Cairo Geniza): *lekrava we-nahshiruta*. Cf. S. Telegdi, "Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique," *Journal Asiatique* 226 (1935), 191, 198, 202; S. Krauss (ed.), *Addimenta ad librum Aruch Completum* (New York, 1955), *s.v.* *nahsharkan*.

<sup>63</sup> See *ERE* 9.524b-26. For the ordeal of Aturpat see also SGV 10.70-71, and SNS 15.14-19, which describes the effect of the molten metal as that of milk (cf. Quran, 70.8).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Lommel, *op. cit.*, 222. The earliest evidence for the doctrine that the fire only harms the wicked, but not the righteous is Y 51.9 which we have quoted. More explicit is the passage in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.21, who is apparently dependent here on the Oracles of Hystaspes (first century C.E. or B.C.E.). See H. Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystaspes* (Amsterdam, 1929), chap. 4; cf. also Orac. Siby. 2.253. Similarly, we find in the Testament of Isaac: "And the river had intelligence in the fire thereof that it should not hurt the righteous but the sinners only, burning them" (M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham* [Cambridge, 1892], 147, 159-60). Cf. also Clem. Alex. *Ecl.* 25, p. 985 (*ibid.*). A similar concept is reflected in BT Nedarim 8b: "There is no Gehinnom in the world to come, but the Holy One, blessed be He, will draw forth the sun from its sheath: the righteous shall be healed, and the wicked shall be judged and punished thereby" (Kohut, "Was hat die Tal. Eschat.," *op. cit.*, 582). Flusser (see n. 72) suggests that perhaps even in the Scrolls the fire had a purgative function, since the image of the fountain of light turns directly into a consuming fiery stream without any transition (*Manual* 6.17-19).

<sup>65</sup> According to a fragment of Nigidius Figulus, the Magi taught that in the reign of Apollo, an ekpyrosis would take place. (Servius *ad* Vergil. *Bucol.* 4.10; Clem. *Fontes historiae religionis persicae* [Bonn, 1920], 30.)

<sup>66</sup> The idea of the periodic repetition of planetary manifestations is first found in Tablet 63 of the astrological series *Enuma Anu Enlil*, in which the appearance and disappearance of Venus is calculated according to a simple scheme. The recurrence of Venus phenomena after eight years minus four days is an empirical

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priest of Bel (fl. 290 B.C.E.), author of the *Babyloniaca*. According to Seneca (*Quaest. Nat.* 3.29), Berossus asserted that a conflagration will come upon the earth, when all the stars come together in Cancer; a flood, however, will occur when they come together in Capricorn."<sup>67</sup> In 1926 at Dieburg, a unique Mithraic bas-relief was found on which Phaethon is represented at the moment of obtaining from his father Helios permission to drive the chariot. Four youths, speedy wind-gods, lead out the four horses of Helios' quadriga in different directions. This proves, according to Cumont, that the Phaethon myth was assimilated to the Persian notion of a world conflagration.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, this archeological discovery only confirms the accuracy of Dio Chrysostom's so-called "Song of the Magi" (*Oratio* 36.39-60), which gives us a different version of the Phaethon myth.<sup>69</sup> Zeus drives a chariot drawn by four steeds of different nature. Usually the horses manage to complete their course without hurting one another; but in the course of time the strongest horse starts panting, and its breath heats the

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fact which the Babylonians recorded after detailed observations. From such facts they boldly concluded that all planetary phenomena recur after a great period. It may have been under the influence of this Babylonian idea that Pythagoras taught the doctrine of cyclic repetition. "But if one may believe the Pythagoreans, that the same events will recur individually, and I shall be talking to you holding my stick as you sit here, and everything else will be as it is now, then it is reasonable to say that time repeats itself" (Eudemus, ap. *Simpl. Phys.* 732.26 [fr. 88, Wehrli]). See B. L. van Der Waerden, "Das Grosse Jahr u. die ewige Wiederkehr," *Hermes* 80, No. 2 (1952), 129-55; cf. also W. K. C. Guthrie, *In the Beginning* (London, 1957), chap. 4; and his *History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1962), 281-82. Both Kahn and Guthrie (as already Heidel, *CP* [1912], 233-34) reject the idea that Anaximander taught the cyclic birth and destruction of the world (Charles H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* [New York, 1960], 185; Guthrie, *Hist.*, 100). In the Stoic teaching of the *ekpyrosis*, as that of Aristotle, the astral or planetary factor is primary: "The Stoics teach that the planets return to the same sign where they originally stood when the world was first formed; at determined periods, the planets bring conflagration and destruction, then the world is reestablished and everything repeats itself . . . there will be another Socrates and Plato" (Nemesios, *Anthropol.* 38, p. 309.)

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Arist. fr. 25 (ap. Censorinus 18): "cuius anni hiemps summa est cataclysmus, quam nostri diluvionem vocant, aestas autem ecpyrosis, quod est mundi incendium." Perhaps it is figured already in Anaximander's view. "Like Xenophanes," writes Kahn (following Cornford, *Princ. Sap.* 183 ff.), Anaximander may have taught that the progressive drying-up of the sea would eventually be reversed, so that the earth will sink back into the element from which it has arisen. This would constitute the necessary reparation required by the fragment for any type of excess. The periodic destruction of mankind by fire and flood, to which Plato more than once alludes, seems to form part of the symmetrical pattern of this sixth-century world-view (Plato, *Tim.* 22b-c; *Laws.* 677a; *Polit.* 269a) (Kahn, *op. cit.*, 185). Guthrie, however, takes the fragment of Anaximander to signify nothing but the annual alternation of the seasons.

<sup>68</sup> Nonnos, in his *Dionysiaca*, as Cumont points out, twice assimilates Mithra to Phaethon (21.247; 40.399) (Cumont, "Fin du Monde," *op. cit.*; J. Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 169-70).

<sup>69</sup> BCM 1.91-97; 2.142-52.

others and particularly the fourth. The mane of this last finally catches fire and the whole cosmos is ablaze. Or, again, it may happen that the horse sacred to Poseidon (i.e., the third horse) exerts itself beyond measure and drowns the stationary horse in its sweat. These things, however, happen rarely and only as the charioteer permits. According to Cumont, the myth is Magian in origin, Zeus is Zurvan, and the horses of Zeus are the four elements: fire, air, water and earth.<sup>70</sup> In the continuation of the myth, the horses change their forms and fuse their natures until all are vanquished by the strongest and their natures are fused into one. In the opinion of Zaehner, "the ideas of the strife and ultimate fusion of the elements into the fire may well be of Zurvanite origin; for Zatspram says that the frashkart is brought about by fire and its immediate sequel is the return of the finite cosmos to the Infinite from which it arose" (Selections of Zatspram, 34).<sup>71</sup> From this syncretism, then, of Iranian-Babylonian ideas was derived the Jewish and Christian Hellenistic teaching of the world conflagration. It appears first in Philo (Vit. Mos. 2.3) and Josephus (Ant. 2.3.1), and though in rabbinic literature it appears only later, there are hints of it even in earlier strata.<sup>72</sup>

The lines of transmission of Iranian doctrine which can account for its penetration into Qumran are now clear. "At the pinnacle of the divine hierarchy and at the origin of things," wrote Cumont,<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> ZDD 226-27; Cumont, *Mystery of Mithra* (New York, 1956), 116-18.

<sup>71</sup> ZDD 227; 353-54. See also Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 148.

<sup>72</sup> In later Midrashim: Othoth ha-Mashiah, Jellinek, Beth ha-Midrash 2.62; Sefer Eliahu, ib. 3.67; Nistaroth of R. Simon bar Yohai, ib. 3.80-81; (Philosophoumena 9.30). Hints in earlier strata: Tosef. Taanith 83.1; Mekhilta, Jethro 1; BT Zevahim 116a; Bamidbar Rabba 49; Tanhuma, Gen. 36. Apocrypha and NT: Vita Adae 49.3; I Enoch 1.6; 52.6; 67.6 ff.; Orac. Siby. 3.84-7; 4.173; 2.190-95, 202-5; 2 Peter 3.6-12. In Hermeticism: Lact. Div. Inst. 7.18. See L. Ginsberg, "Mabul shel 'esh," in *Al Halakha wa-Agada* (Tel Aviv, 1960), 205-19; D. Flusser, "Tevilat Yohanan we-Kat Midbar Yehudah," in *Mehkarim Bamegiloth ha-Genuzoth*, ed. Yadin and Rabin (Jerusalem, 1961); H. Windisch, *op. cit.*; W. Brownlee, "John the Baptist," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. K. Stendhal (New York, 1957), 42; A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina, pars prior* (Moscow, 1893), 196 ff. (cited by Lieberman, Tosefta Kifshuta 5.1097); R. Mayer, *op. cit.* Moreover, the designation of the enemies of the sect in Hodayat (5.27) as "dust crawlers" (*zohale 'afar*) is reminiscent of the Magian hostility to the "daevic" creatures (*xrafstra*: Yt 21.1) which they destroyed at every opportunity (Vd 16.12; 17.3; 14.8; 18.12; Hdt 1.140). Cf. Brownlee, 37. For the rabbinic reaction to the Magian attitude, see BT Shabbath 77b; BR 10.7; Koheleth Rabba 5.8.

<sup>73</sup> Cumont, *Mithra*, 107. Cumont identified the monstrous lion-headed figure whose human body is entwined by a snake found in various Mithraic temples with Zurvan. Zaehner, however, (and to some extent Duchesne-Guillemin, *Relig. de L'Iran ancien*, 256-57; "Aion et le Léontocéphale, Mithra et Ahriman," *Nouvelle Cléo* 10 [1959-60], 91-98) has identified it with Ahriman of the daeva-worshippers, and in his opinion Mithraism "would appear to be a development of a form of Iranian paganism, condemned by Zoroastrians of all shades of opinion as

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"the Mithraic theology, the heir of that of the Zurvanite Magi,<sup>74</sup> placed boundless Time." The rites of Mithraism were known all over Asia Minor, and the many Jewish settlements in this area were within easy reach of the Mazdean elements grafted on to the Mithraic cult. The Persian penetration, however, may have been more direct. W. F. Albright has suggested that the Zoroastrian character of Essene faith was due to a fresh migration of Babylonian Jews to the Holy Land in the middle of the second century B.C.E.<sup>75</sup> Daniel A (chaps. 1-6), a collection of six oriental tales, composed according to Ginsberg between 292 and 261 B.C.E.,<sup>76</sup> may well have been a product of Babylonian Jews, which would then readily account for the four-monarchy theory in its second chapter. The Iranian impact, however, seems to have been along the periphery of Judaism only. The Qumran sect was certainly not a part of the mainstream (the same may be said of the apocryphal literature), and the Persian elements in rabbinic literature are essentially confined to demonology and eschatology.

### APPENDIX I

A good example of the dilemma confronting us in any comparative study of Pahlavi and rabbinic sources may be found in their similar treatment of the resurrection theme. Even in the ancient world, the doctrine of the resurrection taxed the credulity of the believer. Hence, special arguments were developed to explicate this difficult teaching. Bd (31) gives the example of corn planted in the earth, which is covered, but then blooms forth in multiple form. Similarly, when Queen Cleopatra asks Rabbi Meir if the resurrected will rise with their clothes or naked, he answers that they will rise with their garments. If a grain of

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being a cult devoted partially to the daevas" (ZDT 129, 143; ZZD viii); "The Lion-Headed Deity in Mithraism," *BSOS*, XVII (1955), 237-43. Vermaseren (*op. cit.*, 117) and M. Boyce, "Some Reflections on Zurvanism," *BSOS* 19 (1957), 314-16, remain unconvinced and follow Cumont's identification. For the penetration of Zurvan into Neo-Platonic speculation, see Hans Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy* (Le Caire, 1956), who concludes that the Aion (or Chronos) of the Chaldean Oracles represents Zurvan. This identification is accepted as "plausible if not certain" by E. R. Dodds, "New Light on the Chaldean Oracles," *HTR* 54 (1961), 272. For Zurvan and Orphism, see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1952), index, *s.v.* Zrvan.

<sup>74</sup> "Since the recent discoveries in the excavations at Dura-Europos in Syria it is impossible to deny the powerful influence of the Magi of Asia Minor on the formation of the Mithras cult. On the side walls of the cult room in the Dura-Europos Mithraeum, two Magi are shown attired in their distinctive robes" (Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 22-23).

<sup>75</sup> "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR* 140 (1955) 27-33.

<sup>76</sup> Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, 29.

wheat, he argues *de minore ad maius*, buried naked in the earth, sprouts forth multi-clothed, how much more so the righteous who are buried with their clothing (BT Sanhedrin 90b; Ketuboth 111b).<sup>77</sup> Again, Zarathushtra himself is represented as questioning his God concerning resurrection: "He who has passed away is torn apart by dog and bird and carried off by wolf and vulture; how will their parts come together again?" Ohrmazd's reply is that it is easier to reconstitute a wooden casket from the sundered parts of an old one than to make one out of nothing. Similarly, it is easier for God to gather and reconstitute the sundered parts of the human body from the five storekeepers who receive them (i.e., earth, water, plants, heavenly light, and wind), than to create the human body out of nothing (Selections of Zatspram 34.1.7; ZZZD 348). The Talmud puts a similar argument in the mouth of Geviah ben Pesisah (who to the sectarian's barb that if even the living perish, how could one imagine that the dead will live again, retorted with the following): "If the non-existent can come into being, how much more so those already existent!" (BT Sanhedrin 91a). Bd (31) uses almost the exact words: "Take note: when these things were not, they came into being, then why shouldn't that which already was come again into being?" Whether the priority in the use of these images and arguments belongs to Persia or Judea is very difficult to determine.<sup>78</sup>

In spite of the insuperable chronological difficulty facing us, we may nevertheless point to certain elements of demonology and eschatology so typically characteristic of the Iranian cultural sphere that it is more than likely that the priority in these matters belongs to Persia. A small sampling will make this abundantly clear.<sup>79</sup> The Mazdeans, for example, considered the odd numbers beneficial, and the dual numbers dangerous. A long passage in BT Pesahim (109b ff.) shows how deeply this number superstition took hold in rabbinic circles. The Persian insistence that fingernails be burnt or buried lest they enable the demons to overpower us (Vd 17; Bd 19) is reflected in BT Moed Katan (18a). In some Midrashim, Samael or Satan and his hosts have powers equal to those of Angra Mainyu and his hosts, and occasionally God must neutralize the evil one by diverting his attention elsewhere (Yalkut Shimoni, Gen. 25.34; cf. Vd 19 [Samael attempted to kill Jacob just as Angra Mainyu tried to kill Zarathushtra]; Shemoth Rabba 21.7). When the Midrash indicates (Yalk. Shim., Isaiah 60 (500)) that the wicked will be made to pass over the bridge of Gehinnom, which will then suddenly appear as narrow as a hair and they will fall into the abyss, this is

<sup>77</sup> Noted by Kohut, "Was hat die Tal. Eschat.," *op. cit.*, 579; cf. Pirke R. Eliezer 33; 1 Cor. 15.35-38; Jn. 12.24.

<sup>78</sup> Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.*, 204 ff. Scheftelowitz' conclusion that the Iranian material is dependent on rabbinic sources is unwarranted (cf. Saadia, *op. cit.*, 277-78).

<sup>79</sup> For a more detailed discussion, see Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.* All the examples given in this paragraph (except the last) are from that source. Cf. also Samuel Kraus, "The Jewish Rite of Covering the Head," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 19 (1945-46), 121-68, for the possibly Iranian origin of the rabbinic description of the souls of the righteous with crowns on their heads (BT Berakhoth 17a). Cf. Manual of Discipline 4.7-8; Hodayot 9.24; T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (rev. ed.; New York, 1964), 26; Wisdom of Solomon 5.13 (the righteous will receive τὸ διάδημα τοῦ κάλλους ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου) and Isaiah 62.3.

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certainly the Persian notion of the Chinvat bridge which appears wide and comfortable to the righteous, who are helped over it by a heavenly maiden, but for the ungodly it is so narrow and hair-sharp "like a razor's edge," that they fall helplessly into hell (GB 30.1, 9–13). The great monster trio, consisting of Leviathan, Behemoth, and the gigantic bird Ziz, which are prepared for the eschatological banquet of the righteous, are clearly reminiscent of their Parsi counterparts.<sup>80</sup> God's consulting the souls of the righteous before deciding to create the world (BR 8.7; Ruth Rabba 2.3) is very similar to Ahura Mazda's taking counsel with the *fravashis* before creating man (GB 38–39; ZZZ 336). Less certain is the suggestion that the morning blessing: "Blessed is He who has given to the cock understanding to distinguish between day and night" (BT Berakhoth 60b; Rosh Hashanah 26a), was formulated by the Rabbis in reaction to Persian conceptions.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, we should like to point out three interesting Iranian analogues hitherto overlooked. The first deals with the account of the beginning of the battle between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. In chanting the Ahuna Vairya prayer, Ohrmazd revealed in a blinding flash to Ahriman "his own final victory, the powerlessness of the Destructive Spirit, the destruction of the demons, the Resurrection, the Final Body, and the freedom of all creation from aggression for ever and ever" (GB 5.8; ZZZ 314). Ahriman, on hearing the appalling doom that was to overtake him, swooned, lost consciousness, and reeled back into the bottomless darkness. Compare the following Midrash: "What is the meaning of the verse, 'In thy light we see light'? This refers to the light of the Messiah, since it is written, 'And God saw the light that it was good'. This is to teach us that God envisioned the generation of the Messiah and his accomplishments before the world was created and hid it for the Messiah and his generation under His throne of glory. Said Satan to God: 'For whom is this light you have concealed under the throne'? 'For him who will turn you back and put you to utter shame', answered God. Said Satan: 'Show him to me'. 'Come and see him', said God. As soon as he saw him, he swooned and fell on his face" (Yalkut Shimoni, Isaiah 60, 499).

<sup>80</sup> I Enoch 60.7–9; II Esdras 6.49–53; II Baruch 29.4; BT Baba Bathra 73b; Hulin 59b; Midrash Tehillim 18.25; Apocalypse of Simon bar Yohai (Jellinek, Beth Hamidrash 3.76); Y 41.28; Bd 19.5. See K. Kohler, *JE* 8.39.

<sup>81</sup> See M. Grünbaum, *op. cit.*, 208 ff.; cf. I. H. Weiss, *Dor Dor We-Dorshov* 2.16. According to Vd 18.22 ff., the Fire of the hearth calls Sraosha for help in the third part of the night, for the demon Azi threatens to extinguish his life. Sraosha, thereupon, wakes up the cock Parodarsh, his ally, who lifts up his voice to rouse the world of humanity, and warns it against the mischief of Bushyasta, who lulls it to sleep (cf. BR 36.1; BT Yoma 20b; Mishna Aboth 3.10). Freiherr v. Hammer-Purgstall compares Parodarsh with the Arabian heavenly cock, who in the third part of the night crows: "Praise the King of the holy ones" (Grünbaum, *op. cit.*, 210); cf. III Baruch 6.16; Zohar, Levit. 22.2; 23.1; and Targum on Job 38.36. For the Greek, Iranian, and Chinese parallels to the three blessings thanking God for not making one a Gentile, a woman, or an ignorant man (R. Aha substitutes for the latter a slave) (Tosefta Berakhoth 7.18; BT Berakhoth 43b), see I. Lévy, *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (Paris, 1927), 261–62; cf. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, 1.155. As Lieberman (Tosefta Kifshuta 1.120) points out, these latter blessings are probably parallel developments. For the cock in Mithraism, see Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 51.

The second involves an important religious doctrine. Pahlavi writings divide sins into two great classes, *hamemar* and *ruvanik*. A *hamemar* sin is a secular offense which involves an injury done to a person or animal, who thereby becomes an accuser (*hamemar*) and who must be satisfied by an act of atonement before confession is made to the high-priest (SNS 8.1.14-17; DD 14.3). A *ruvanik* sin, on the other hand, is one which affects only the sinner's own soul and which can be sufficiently atoned for by performing or causing others to perform a good work (SNS 8.1.16; DD 14.3). According to the Persian Rivayats there is no escape from the penalty of *Hamemar* sins "except when thou beggest forgiveness of that person whom thy sin has injured. If not, then they (i.e., the judges) detain the soul at the Chinvat Bridge until its adversary arrives and exacts justice from it; then it obtains release" (SD 42.3-4).<sup>82</sup> The same distinction is made by the Mishna: "For transgressions from man towards God the Day of Atonement effects atonement; but for transgressions between a man and his fellow man the Day of Atonement does not effect atonement until he shall have first appeased his fellow man" (Yoma 8.9).

The third concerns an interesting homiletical teaching which seeks to emphasize the brotherhood of man. We read in the Denkart (268.3-8): "Since the Creator Ohrmazd created creation from one substance, he caused man to be born of one father, so that creation, being of one substance, one thing should sustain, provide for, and help another, and men, being born of one father should esteem each other as their own selves. Like affectionate brothers they should do good to each other and ward off evil from each other" (ZDT 280). Compare Mishnah Sanhedrin 4.5: "Therefore was a single man only [first] created to teach thee that if anyone destroy a single soul from the children of man, Scripture charges him as though he had destroyed a whole world, and whoever rescues a single soul from the children of man, Scripture credits him as though he had saved a whole world. And a single man only was first created for the sake of peace in the human race, that no man might say to his fellow, 'My ancestor was greater than thy ancestor'." In all three cases, however, it is extremely difficult to assign priority or to rule out parallel development.

## APPENDIX II

Jacob Neusner argues that the identification of Zarathushtra (henceforth Z.) with Baruch was Christian and not Jewish ("Note on Baruch Ben Neriah and Zoroaster," *Numen* 12 (1965), 66-69). An assessment of this assertion entails tracing the sequence of the various Z. identifications; no easy task, in view of the very fragmentary character of our sources. Nevertheless, we shall attempt a hypothetical reconstruction which in our view will best fit the available evidence. It may be well to begin with the Balaam identification. Origen (*Contra Celsum* 1.60; In *Numeros* Homilia 13.7) already testifies to the existence of Balaam

<sup>82</sup> See Pavry, *op. cit.*

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oracles which apparently included the prophecy about the star which would mark the coming of Christ. The Talmud, too, alludes to the *pinkas* (πίναξ) of Balaam which may have contained a collection of oracles (BT Sanhedrin 96b). The Jews had already applied Balaam's words: "A star rises from Jacob" (Num. 24.17) to the messianic figure Bar Kosiba. It was only natural, therefore, that the Christians (who refused to participate in the Bar Kochba rebellion) would transfer this prophecy to Christ. It conveniently explained how the Magi knew the significance of the star which guided them to Bethlehem. Balaam hailed from Mesopotamia ("Pethor, which is by the Euphrates," Num. 22.4), and his oracles were transmitted to the Magi. (Others said that the Magi received the information from Daniel (Ishodad of Hadatha; see Richard J. H. Gottheil, "References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature," 29, in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler* [New York, 1894], 24-51). A Jewish reaction to this transferral is to be seen in the Midrash quoted (from Midrash Yelamdenu) in Yalkut Shimoni (Saloniki edition) (Num. 23.7) (766): "R. Eliezer Hakappar said: God infused power into the voice of Balaam, so that it reached from one end of the world to the other. Since he saw the nations who worship the heavenly bodies, wood, and stone, and foresaw that there was a man, born of woman, who would try to make himself out a god and mislead the entire world, therefore God infused power into his voice, so that all the nations of the world would hear. And he spoke as follows: Take heed not to mistakenly follow that man, since it is written: 'God is not man to lie', and if he says that he is a god, he is lying . . ." Another Christian tradition, however, named Z. as the prophet who predicted the coming of the Magi to Jerusalem (BCM 2.118; Gottheil, *op. cit.*, 29, 31). The next step was to identify Z. with Balaam, thus adding biblical authority to the prediction (BCM 1.49; 2.112). Hence, it seems likely that the identification Balaam-Z. was of Christian origin. (The possibility always remains, however, that there already existed a Jewish identification Balaam-Z., analogous to that of Nimrod-Z., and just as the Christians made use of the latter for explicating the Magian following of the star [BCM 2.123], so they made use of the former.)

On the other hand, there is no doubt that there was a pre-Christian Jewish-Hellenistic tradition which identified Z. with Ezekiel (Alexander Polyhistor, ap. Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 1.15; 69.6). (Indeed, the report given in the so-called "Yosiphon" (dated by Zeitlin and Newman as of the fourth century, by Baer and Flusser as of the tenth) that Abraham was Z.'s teacher in astrology was also most likely of Jewish origin.) (For literature on "Yosiphon" see Ben Zion Wacholder, Nicolaus of Damascus [Berkeley, Calif., 1962], 94.) Since there was a Jewish tradition that Jeremiah and Baruch ended up in Babylon (Seder Olam Rabba 26), it would have been a natural development for Jewish Hellenistic historiography to extend the identification of Z. to either of these two prophets. Moreover, both Jeremiah and Baruch were held to have predicted the coming of the messiah, even as Z. predicted the coming of the Saoshyant (BCM 1.49), and the Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch contained the familiar 12-fold division of history characteristic of Zoroastrianism. It may also be noted that in the medieval Midrash,



the so-called Second Alphabet of Ben Sira (which according to L. Ginzberg [JE 2.681] came from Arabia or Persia), we are told that Ben Sira was the issue of Jeremiah's daughter who had become impregnated through the prophet's semen which had been deposited in the bath (Otzar Medrashim, ed. Eisenstein [New York, 1915], 1.43; cf. BT Hagigah 15a), a story reminiscent of the Zoroastrian account of how the three heroes who will renew the world were to be conceived (GB 220; BCM 1.52). Furthermore, as Gottheil (*op. cit.*, 30, n. 2) has noted (citing De Sacy), it was Jeremiah who had commanded the exiled priests to conceal the holy fire, which was connected by the author of II Mac. with the Persian fire-cult (cf. p. 15a). Finally, according to Tabari, there was a Jewish tradition that Z. was of Palestinian origin and a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah, with whom he was a favorite (Gottheil, *op. cit.*, 37). It seems likely, then, that there already existed a Jewish identification of Z. with Jeremiah and Baruch, and that the Christians later found it convenient to apply this identification to the solution of the problem of how the Magi knew about the star announcing the birth of Jesus. The fact that there is no record of a Jeremiah-Z. identification and that the only sources we have for the Baruch-Z. identification are Christian Syriac writers is inconclusive in view of the very fragmentary nature of the evidence. At any rate, Neusner's argument that the Jews' spiritual genealogy for Z. was based on the Tower of Babylon legend is without foundation.

Neusner further states that "if the Jews actually tried to show that Z. and Baruch were one and the same, that would have substantial consequences. We know that Jews did try to demonstrate the Jewish origin of men they admired and respected among gentile nations. . . . If, therefore, it could be shown that some Jews believed Barukh and Z. to have been the same man, one might infer serious consideration of Z.'s doctrines, and considerable Zoroastrian, or at least Iranian, influence on Judaism." As a matter of fact, it would indicate no such thing. The Jewish-Hellenistic tendency to lay claim to whatever was noble and admirable in ancient Greek culture was only part of the widespread nationalistic reaction of the politically subjected peoples of the Hellenistic world (see M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* [Oxford, 1938]). Meleager argued that Homer was a fellow-Syrian (Athen. 157a), and in the Aethiopica (Bk. 3) the sage Calasiris asserts that Homer was an Egyptian. Pseudo-Callisthenes makes Alexander the Great of Egyptian origin, while later legend made him the national hero of virtually every people he conquered. Egypt even claimed credit for the wisdom of Aesop (see M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture* [New York, 1959], 83 ff.). Thus, the Greek admiration for Z., which included the assertion that both Pythagoras and Plato were the latter's disciples (BCM 1.33, 2.35-40; I. Lévy, *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* [Paris, 1927], 20 ff.) would have been sufficient to induce the Jewish-Hellenistic historians to claim Z. as well for their own. Moreover, even when Hellenistic Jews lay claim to Greek cultural heroes, this is no clear indication of Greek doctrinal influence on Judaism. As E. J. Bickerman has noted with regard to Orpheus ("Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue," *HTR* 58 [1965], 140): "As a

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matter of fact, when Hellenistic Jews speak of Orpheus they do not borrow Orphic theology, but judaize the Greek singer and find in his poetry allusions to Jewish monotheism and its heroes." Similarly, the Jewish identification of Z. in itself is no guide whatever in our attempt to ascertain the extent of Iranian-Jewish interpenetration.