t&tclark

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN TEXTS IN CONTEXT AND RELATED STUDIES

19

VICENTE DOBRORUKA

PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON DANIEL AND JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN TEXTS IN
CONTEXTS AND RELATED STUDIES

19

Persian Influence on Daniel and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

Vicente Dobroruka

t&tclark
LONDON • NEW YORK • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

T&T CLARK
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA
29 Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2, Ireland

BLOOMSBURY, T&T CLARK and the T&T Clark logo are trademarks of
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2022
This edition published 2023

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Dobroruka, Vicente, 1969– author.
Title: Persian influence on Daniel and Jewish apocalyptic literature / Vicente Dobroruka.
Other titles: Jewish and Christian texts in contexts and related studies ; v. 19. Description: London ; New York : T&T Clark, 2022. | Series: Jewish and Christian texts in contexts and related studies ; 19 | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: "Vicente Dobroruka explores Iranian influence on Second Temple Judaism, providing a new explanation of Persian culture and history in the context of biblical accounts by focusing on the spread of Zoroastrian ideas in the period c.300 BCE – 200 CE. Dobroruka begins his investigation with an overview of the problems posed by a dualistic worldview – he examines the Indo-European origins of Zarathushtra and his ideas, the long-term implications for the notion of free-will, and clarifies the lightness/darkness paradigm that originated in Persia. Following this, Dobroruka discusses a variety of concepts that illustrate this influence, such as the role of matter and the material world, aspects of dualism and the cosmic struggle, the perspectives on the rewards for the just and the opposing punishments for the wicked, the idea of an 'Anointed One', shamanistic visionary experience, the resurrection, and the concepts of Sheol and Paradise"– Provided by publisher
Identifiers: LCCN 2021054767 (print) | LCCN 2021054768 (ebook) |
ISBN 9780567205056 (hardback) | ISBN 9780567705280 (pdf)
Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Daniel–Criticism, interpretation, etc. |
Zoroastrianism–Relations–Judaism. | Judaism–History–Post-exilic period, 586 B.C.–210 A.D. | Apocalyptic literature–History and criticism.
Classification: LCC BS1555.52 .D63 2022 (print) | LCC BS1555.52 (ebook) |
DDC 224/.506–dc23/eng/20211208
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021054767
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021054768

ISBN: HB: 978-0-5672-0505-6
PB: 978-0-5677-0529-7
ePDF: 978-0-5677-0528-0

Series: Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies, volume 19

Typeset by Newgen KnowledgeWorks Pvt. Ltd., Chennai, India

To my father, Luiz Camillo Dobroruka

To my wife, Anna Beatriz

To Bernd, Hans, Elly, Rudi, Carol and Bubi the very best companions, now in garōdmān; may they continue to follow, inspire and advise me

Contents

Foreword: Persian perspicacity perceived in ancient Palestine history

In 536 BCE, Cyrus II, the founder of the first Persian Empire (the Achaemenid Empire), became King of Persia. He is called 'the anointed' or 'the messiah' in Isa 45:1.

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה לִמְשִׁיחוֹ לְכוֹרֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־הֶחֱזַקְתִּי בְיְמִינוֹ לְרַד־לְפָנָיו גּוֹיִם וּמָתְנֵי מְלָכִים אֲפַתֵּחַ לִפְתֹּחַ לְפָנָיו
דְּלָתַיִם וּשְׁעָרִים לֹא יִסָּגֵרוּ׃

Thus says the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus:

'His right hand I have grasped to subdue before him nations,
And to strip kings of robes,
to open before him doors;
and the gates shall not be closed.' (Isa 45:1 now poetically arranged)

One of Cyrus's first edicts was to allow the captured Israelites in Mesopotamia to return to their homeland and to Jerusalem. Within Babylon, Second Isaiah (Isa 40–54) had been added to the teaching of Isaiah (Isa 1–39) and Ezekiel shared his idiosyncratic thoughts. Then, Nehemiah, Ezra and Zerubbabel migrated homeward.

Soon, the earliest sections of the *Books of Enoch* were composed in the Land of Israel, now called Judaea, and Jewish interest in astrology and astronomy began in earnest and is evident in a large Qumran scroll that was abbreviated into chapters 72 to 82 in the *Books of Enoch*. Babylonian astrology most likely shaped these chapters. The author of chapters 89 and 93 cast aspersions on those who returned from Babylon; they were polluted and apostates. Clearly, Persian culture helped to shape the multifaceted world of Early Judaism (*c.*300 BCE–200 CE).

These apparently new insights are not necessarily so novel, as Mesopotamian culture has long been recognized in the biblical books (Old and New Testaments). For example, the Epic of Gilgamesh was obviously mirrored in Genesis 1–3 and a copy of Gilgamesh was unearthed in Megiddo, proving that Mesopotamian culture influenced those in the Promised Land long before Joshua, David and Solomon. Consequently, we have proof that influence from the East is obvious within Palestinian thought beginning about 1850 BCE, the supposed date when Abraham migrated from Babylon to Palestine, until the codification of the Mishnah not long after 200 CE and the codification of ancient traditions in the Babylonian Talmud.

Persian loanwords in early Jewish languages

Persian loanwords are found in Palestinian Aramaic and Hebrew. In the TANAKH (Old Testament), Persian loanwords are found in four late post-exilic books, namely Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.

The most obvious Persian loanwords in pre-70 CE Hebrew and Aramaic are the following:

ganzak: 'treasury'; cf. the noun גנזא, 'treasure'.
rabmag: 'high priest'. The compound noun is from Hebrew *rab*, 'great' and Persian *mag*.
apadana: 'audience hall'; cf. noun אפדנא and ܐܦܕܢܐ, 'palace'.
datta: 'what is given'; cf. the noun דת, דתא, ܕܬܐ, 'law'. The noun *datt,* 'law' is common in Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.
qinamon: 'cinnamon'; cf. the noun קנמון and the nouns ܩܢܡܘܢ and ܨܢܡܘܢ.

More importantly, Persian ideas and concepts significantly shaped Jewish thought and helped pave the stimulus for the development of apocalyptic theology. For example, old Iranian *pairidaēza* first denoted 'a wall enclosing a king's garden' or 'walled garden' as in Song of Songs (*pardes*). Eventually this noun signified 'paradise'. The Persian source seems to be *pardeiz*. In early Jewish apocryphal and apocalyptic texts 'paradise' was imagined to be on earth far to the north or to the east. In the Jewish apocalypses, paradise was situated in one of the heavens, subsequently in the Third Heaven and then higher heavens.

Similarly, *raz* is a Persian loanword in Hebrew and Aramaic and well known in Israel today. It means 'mystery'. All forms of Jewish mysticism, from about 300 BCE to the pre-Medieval *Sefer haRazim* (ספר הרזים) until today, were developed because of this word, *raz*, and the reflections it generated.

Fecund thought

The sources for Zoroastrianism post-date Zoroaster (Zarathushtra; *c.*628 BCE–*c.*551 BCE) by many centuries; the extant texts are medieval and show evolutions of thought. Apparently, this Persian genius taught a dualism that is both cosmological and ontological. Zoroastrianism is a religion (and philosophy) in which a tendency towards monotheism coexisted with an explicit dualism. Two beings are opposed. The celestial world is created by two powers or beings. The cosmological dualism is also ethical: truth versus falsehood, good versus evil and virtue versus vices. What enables this system to work are the choices by all, spirits and humans.

Zurvanism, the extinct 'heretical' branch of Zoroastrianism, has been incorrectly dated to the Christian period; most likely it emerged in the late Achaemenid Empire, between 550 and 330 BCE, and became more dominant during the Sasanian Empire, or 224–651 CE. In this aspect of Zoroastrianism, the god Zurvan (time) is the 'father' of twins: Ahura Mazda represents good and light. He is opposed by Angra Mainya

who represents darkness and evil. Thus, a form of monotheism ultimately shaped an apparent absolute dualism.

The dualism of the Persian Zurvanites profoundly influenced the insights in Qumran thought. It significantly shaped the Essene's most definitive text, the *Rule of the Community*. In columns three and four of this scroll, the Angel (Spirit) of Light protects the Sons of Light against the Angel (Spirit) of Darkness who misleads all humans, especially the Sons of Darkness. This dualism is limited. Each Spirit or Angel is inferior, in time and power, to 'the God of Knowledge' who is the source of all, all powerful and eternal. This modified dualism influenced the author of the Gospel of John:

> εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς,Ἔτι μικρὸν χρόνον τὸ φῶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν. περιπατεῖτε ὡς τὸ φῶς
> ἔχετε, ἵνα μὴ σκοτία ὑμᾶς καταλάβῃ· καὶ ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ οὐκ οἶδεν ποῦ ὑπάγει.
> ὡς τὸ φῶς ἔχετε, πιστεύετε εἰς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα υἱοὶ φωτὸς γένησθε.
>
> Therefore, Jesus said to them:
> 'A little time the light is in (with) you.
> Walk while you have the light,
> In order that darkness does not overtake you.
> And the one walking in darkness does not know where he goes.
> While you have the light believe in the light,
> So that you may become Sons of Light.' (John 12:35)

How did the Persians influence the Palestinian Jews? Zurvanite dualism could have influenced Israelites in Persia who subsequently returned to their homeland, shaped the thought of Palestinians as caravans crisscrossed ancient Palestine and shaped the discussions of other merchants and diplomats in numerous areas of the world. After the Persian invasion of Palestine in 40 BCE, causing the senate in Rome to appoint Herod the Great to be King of the Jews, this dualism would be present to influence later Essenes. They would have been in Judaea and might have helped shape the new thoughts within the early Christian community in Jerusalem, in which the first edition of the Gospel of John was most likely composed.

Vicente Dobroruka's insights

Since the 1960s, when I sought to explain Persian influence on Qumran thought, I yearned for a specialist on Old Persian to provide a study of how and in what ways Persian language, culture and thought had helped shape early Jewish culture and the origins of Christianity within Judaism. In the present monograph, Vicente Dobroruka provides this *desideratum* for specialists.

Dobroruka has published research that prepare him for this special task; note these articles:

2006: 'Chemically-Induced Visions in the Fourth Book of Ezra in Light of Comparative Persian Material'
2012: 'Hesiodic reminiscences in Zoroastrian-Hellenistic apocalypses'
2014: 'Zoroastrian apocalyptic and Hellenistic Political Propaganda'
2014: 'The order of metals in Daniel 2 and in Persian apocalyptic'
2019: 'Eunus: royal obverse, messianic preacher, firebreather and avenger of Syria'
2020: 'Mithridates and the Oracle of Hystaspes: some dating issues'

The evidence is now abundant that Persian language and culture helped Jewish culture in ancient Palestine. I shall leave it to others to discern how significant such influence was and whether Persia or Greece had the most profound influences within Palestinian Judaism before 70 CE.

I wish to express my appreciations to Dobroruka for contributing this book to my series and to Brandon Allen for helping me prepare the work for publication.

James H. Charlesworth
Princeton, NJ
30 May 2020

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people who inspired, helped or otherwise had some part to play in this project. First of all, James H. Charlesworth, who suggested the theme, and the book project, during a trip of mine to Princeton; without him, this would never have taken place. I am grateful to a large extent to John J. Collins (Yale, now retired), who urged me a long time ago to write this book – back then, in 2002 or 2003, it looked like a distant proposition, and I hope I came up with some work living to his expectations; Chris Rowland (Oxford, retired) and Martin Goodman (Oxford) have, during many years, insisted that I could take on the job.

I must not forget the great group of Iranologists I came to know in the course of these years, but especially after my stay in Cambridge during 2010 as Visiting Fellow; people from Clare Hall and from the Ancient India and Iran Trust have since been instrumental in everything I did – special thanks must go here to Almut Hintze, Nicholas Sims-Williams (School of Oriental and African Studies, London, retired) and his wife Ursula Sims-Williams (British Library, London), Sam Lieu (Macquarie University, Sydney) and Rastin Mehri (School of Oriental and African Studies, London). From the other side of the Atlantic, Touraj Daryaee (UCLA) and Yuhan Vevaina (Stanford) were crucial, either by means of comments or due to their published work itself. I can only say the same regarding Carlo G. Cereti (La Sapienza, Rome; as nice as a scholar and a friend as one can be), Domenico Agostini (The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute), Matteo Compareti (Berkeley, at the time of this publication), Miguel-Ángel Andres Toledo (Salamanca; another scholar whom I can only praise, personal and professional-like) and Dan Shapira (Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv).

Zeke Kassock (University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg) deserves a separate note of gratitude not just for his support and friendship but also for all the toils in editing so much Pahlavi or Pazend material; this made my work and that of many other scholars in the field easier. It will be reckoned in the future that his contribution to Pahlavi students all over the world was immense. The informal title of *dānešmand* bestowed upon him is well deserved. Basil Lourié (St. Petersburg State University) helped me get more texts I could not find than I can remember, always in good humour and goodwill. Ms Simin Dokht Goodarzi from Tehran sent me much needed material, unavailable in the circumstances of writing this book.

This is not a side note, but since I work in the 'no-man's land' between Zoroastrianism and Second Temple Judaism, being part of the Enoch Seminar, the great scholarly group reunited by Gabriele Boccaccini (University of Michigan) allowed me to draft and expose to my peers many a chapter from this book. In this respect, there are people from the Enoch Seminar that in one way or another became invaluable critics and sometimes friends. I wish to thank André Gagné (Concordia, Toronto), Loren Stuckenbruck (Munich), Lorenzo DiTommaso (Concordia, Toronto)

and, with special warmth, Michael E. Stone (Hebrew University, Emeritus). Besides the scholars above, others who dealt primarily with languages by their own sake were very important in shaping my ideas as a graduate and then as a colleague: I wish to say a very warm thank you to Alison Salvesen (Oxford); Charlotte Hempel (University of Birmingham); Emmanouela Grypeou (Stockholm University); Farhad Sasani, Marzi Razavi and Sara Kiani (Alzahra University, Tehran); and Charlotte de Blois (JRAS). Catarina Belo (Oriental Institute, Oxford, now professor at the American University, Cairo) was a great friend who helped me through DPhil and beyond: life would be far less colourful without her.

Patience does not describe the attitude of my editors at Bloomsbury. They put up with delays, health issues and all sorts of trouble always in a supportive and graceful manner. Dominic Mattos, Miriam Cantwell and Sarah Blake were the best editors I could deal with, as well as Brandon Allen at the final stages of the typescript.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to a number of students and colleagues who have discussed, shared or rejected some of the ideas contained herein: Raul Vitor Rodrigues Peixoto was not only an awesome student to supervise but also shared many of the subtleties of Pahlavi texts with me. I can only repeat this praise to Ayub Naser (now in Groningen, PhD), but this time regarding Farsi and Arabic, and to Tupá Guerra (University of Birmingham, PhD) for undiluted support in stormy weather. My junior research group, composed of Ana Carolina Bittencourt Leite, Andreza Carvalho, Débora Fontenele, Igor Leite, Paula Djanine, Samantha Alves de Sousa and Stephany Guedes Krause (in alphabetical order), were a family in their own right. The unflinching friendship of Ana Carolina Paranhos and Rodrigo Carvalho cannot be forgotten as well as that of Luiza Larangeira da Silva Mello – a talent whose growth I witnessed almost since her childhood.

Isabela Ramos had a very special role in revising and editing the first (readable) drafts of the typescript, and her support was also unwavering throughout good and bad weather. I hope she has profited (as a historian-in-the-making) as much as I did while working together; it was fun and very rewarding.

The originals have been extensively revised regarding English by Giovana Lins Braga and Letícia Santos, with the content normalized by Leticia; Giovana and Letícia worked long hours to get a passable draft. Giovana was already a trusted friend who will also make it to the academic professional cadre. My gratitude towards them is mandatory, and so is the careful and acute criticism by Matthias Henze. Matthias did more than just check on the development of this book; he was the most present friend when I was out of steam due to previous dishonest reviewing.

E. Tigchelaar showed me some issues in the Dead Sea Scrolls for which I am thankful.

Last but not least, here are a few people that made the difference from the beginning: Arno Vogel, for his advice and trust; and Marcelo Gantus Jasmin, Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos, Selma Rinaldi de Mattos and all the staff at the history department from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio). I owe you more than you will ever know. I am glad to extend my thankful note to all my former teachers in that remarkable institution – and also to a gifted Orientalist who never had any trouble in wearing the mantle, Carmen Lícia Palazzo.

Any faults, mistakes and omissions in this book are, of course, entirely my own.

Were it not for the constant and unflinching companionship of Bernd, Hans, Achille, Ilse, Paula, Rudi, Tazio, Norma, Carolina, Bubi and Nimzo, this work would have been much harder to conclude. This is why it is, to a very great extent, theirs too, although some of them did not live long enough to get their own copies.

An amazing woman was, to a great extent, inspirational to this work: Christiane A. Blatter. May this book be up to the expectations you always held regarding my choices.

This work is dedicated to the most important and loving person I ever knew – my father, Luiz Camillo Dobroruka. It is also dedicated to my team of home companions, depicted above, now gone. May we all meet in *garōdmān* when the time comes; this would be the better life indeed.

Abbreviations

General

Akk.	Akkadian
Aram.	Aramaic
Arab.	Arabic
As.	Assyrian
ASC	altered state of consciousness
Av.	Avestan
BDB	*Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*
BW	*BibleWorks 7.0*. Version 7.0.012g. Copyright BibleWorks, 2006 (applies to versions of the Hebrew Bible, Peshitta, Vulgata, LXX and Greek NT, unless otherwise noted. They will be quoted in the original language in footnotes or in the main text, whenever especially relevant for the issue discussed)
CPD	David N. MacKenzie. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. Abingdon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2006. [reprint]
DSS	Florentino García-Martínez and Eibert J. C.Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols). Leiden: Brill, 1999.
FPP	fantasy-prone personality
Gr.	Greek
HZ	Mary Boyce and Franz Grenet. *A History of Zoroastrianism* (3 vols). Leiden: Brill, 1975–91.
HB	Hebrew Bible
Heb.	Hebrew
het.	heterogram (Far. *huzvarish*)
IE	Indo-European
Kindle loc.	Sometimes electronic editions in the property of the author were used in the e-reader Kindle, which usually gives 'locations' (a sort of percentage of the physical book the reader would be in); however, I sometimes used printed sources for the same books, hence the simultaneous use of them throughout this book.

Throughout the book the reader will notice differences in writing the name of Zaraθuštra. This is an option I made long ago since that spelling seems to me to convey more of the ancient scripts in which he name of the religious leader was spelled. A note is in order here, because the use of 'Zoroaster' is restricted to Greek, Roman or East Roman usage. The rest of the variant spellings ('Zathustra', 'Zardošt', 'Zardosht', etc.) was kept as found in the original editions or sources, so as to not change their authors' way of seeing it.

LXX	Septuagint
MP	Middle Persian
MMP	Manichaean Middle Persian
ms.	manuscript
mss	manuscripts
MT	Masoretic Text
NP	New Persian (Farsi)
ODLA	*Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*
OP	Old Persian
Oss.	Ossetian
*PIE	Proto Indo-European
Pz.	Pazand
RV	Rig Veda
Sans.	Sanskrit
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*. Oxford: Oxford Uiversity Press, several editions since the end of the nineteenth century when this gigantic series enterprise was undertaken by Friedrich M. Müller. Several of them are still quite readable when not still the standard editions and are useful, especially when compared to more recent studies on a defined field.
Syr.	Syriac
PT	possessional trance
Ved.	Vedic
Vulg.	Vulgate

Primary sources

Hebrew Bible

Abbreviations used herein follow usual conventions of SBL and Sheffield University; being canonical and, thus, well-known works, it seems superfluous to put down such abbreviations here. Throughout this book quotations from Bible translations or secondary literature use interchangeably 'God', 'LORD', 'the Lord God' and 'Yahweh', among others, and I kept them in order not to meddle with other authors' texts. There is no religious, political or in any way disrespectful bias on this. See below a similar disclaimer regarding Persian sources in general.

Early Christian

OH *Oracles of Hystaspes*

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1 En.	Ethiopic Book of Enoch
2 Bar.	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3 Bar.	Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
3 En.	Hebrew Book of Enoch
4 Bar.	Fourth Book of Baruch
4 Ezra	Fourth Book of Ezra
Apoc. Ab.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Ascen. Isa.	Ascension of Isaiah
Mart. Isa.	Martyrdom of Isaiah
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
T. 12 Patr.	Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs
T. Levi	Testament of Levi

Persian

Throughout this book quotations from Persian translations or secondary literature use, whenever possible, the MP forms, because they are the most usual in the context of our discussion – which is a late one, either due to our external criticism of primary sources or to more common usage by scholars (e.g. 'Ahuramazda' = 'Ohrmazd'; 'Angra Mainyu' = 'Ahriman'). When other forms appear in quotations, titles of works or sources in general I kept them as they appeared (i.e. literally) in order not to meddle with other authors' texts. Other names (usually proper names) are trickier as they came to English via Greek and Latin as a rule (unless we are dealing with very specialized literature on the subject). Well-known examples would be 'Zoroaster' for 'Zaraθuštra' or 'Hystaspes' for 'Vištasp'. But the Hellenized forms were kept, as a rule, for strict use of Zoroastrian names in Greek, Latin oracles or other texts (these normally present themselves in Christian garb as spurious late attempts to legitimate then rising Christianity with prophecy *ex-eventu*, using Persian household names such as the two quoted above). There is no religious, political or in any way disrespectful bias on this and the same applies to titles of Zoroastrian works unless their primitive form is subject to doubt or a common-English form took its place (e.g. 'Avesta' for 'Auuestā'). See above a similar disclaimer regarding HB sources in general.

AiP	Ardashir-i Papagan
AiZ	Ayadgar-i Zamaspik
AWN	Ardā Wirāz Nāmag
Bd	Bundahišn (Domenico Agostini and Samuel Thorpe. *The Bundahišn. The Zoroastrian Book of Creation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020)
BY	Bahman Yasht
CV	Conversion of Vištapa
DD	Dadestan-i Denig
Dk	Dēnkard
FiP	Frahang-i Pahlāvik
FrYt	Frawardin Yašt

GrBd	Greater Bundahišn (Behramgore T. Anklesaria. *Zand-Akasih. Iranian or Greater Budahishn. Transliteration and Translation in English*. Bombay: Feeroze Madressa, published for the Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha by its Honorary Secretary Dastur Framroze A. Bode, 1956)
HN	*Hādōkht Nask*
KIns	Kirdēr inscription (general)
KKZ	Kirdēr inscription (Ka'ba-ye Zardošt)
KSM	Kirdēr inscription (Sar-e Mašhad)
KNRb	Kirdēr inscription (Naqš-e Rajab)
KNRm	Kirdēr inscription (Naqs-i Rustam)
JN	Jamasp Namag
MX	Mēnōg ī Xrad
NPi	Kirdēr inscription (Paikuli, Iraq)
OAv.	Old Avesta
PahRiv	Pahlavi Rivayat
Shahn.	*Shahnameh* (Abolqasem Ferdowsi. *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*. New York: Penguin, 2006)
SGW	*Škand Gumānig Wičar*
SKZ	Kirdēr inscription (with Narseh I)
SZ	Selections of Zadspram
Vd	Vendidad / Videvdat
WD	Wizirkard-i Denig
Y	Yasna
YAv.	Young Avesta
YH	Yasna Haptaŋgāiti
Yt	Yašt, or Yasht
ZA	Zend Avesta
ZN	Zardoštnama
ZWY	*Zand-i Wahman Yasn*
ZY	Zamyād Yašt

Other early Jewish and Christian literature

BJ	Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*
CA	Josephus, *Contra Apionem*
V	Josephus, *Vita*

Classical

Arist., *Frogs*	Aristophanes, *Frogs*
WD	Hesiod, *Works and Days*
RGDS	Res Gestae Divi Saporis

Secondary sources

ActAnt	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
Acta Iranica	*Acta Iranica, Encyclopédie permanente des Études Iraniennes*. Deuxième Série. Leiden: Brill.
AJCH	*American Journal of Clinical Hypnosis*
AJCHH	*Australian Journal of Clinical Hypnotherapy and Hypnosis*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
AJSR	*Association for Jewish Studies Review*
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
AMWNE	Daniel Hellholm (ed.). *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1983.
ANF	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (eds). *The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989.
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
Bib.	*Biblica*
BzI.	*Beiträge zur Iranistik*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CHIr	*Cambridge History of Iran*
CHJ	*Cambridge History of Judaism*
DDD	Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. Van der Horst. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (2nd ed.). Leiden: Brill, 1999.
EA	*Ex Auditu*
EI	*Encyclopedia of Islam*
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FrGH	Felix Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden: Brill, 2003. [CD-ROM edition]
HPL	Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch. *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran: A Companion to A History of Persian Literature*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HZ	Mary Boyce and Frantz Grenet. *History of Zoroastrianism* (3 vols). Leiden: Brill, 1975–91.
IrAnt	*Iranica Antiqua*
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
IJAIS	*Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān. The International Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies*
Int.	*Interpretation*

JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAAS	*Journal of Asian and African Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JKR	*Journal of the K.R.Cama Institute*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSIJ	*Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th edn with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
Mnem.	*Mnemosyne*
MOTP	Richard Bauckham, Jim Davila and Alexander Panayotov (eds). *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Non-Canonical Scriptures*. Vol. 1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTP	Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.). *New Testament Apocrypha*. Vol. 2. London: Lutterworth Press, 1965.
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OHIR	*Oxford Handbook of Iranian History*
OTP	James Charlesworth (ed.). *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols). New York: Doubleday, 1983–85.
RB	*Revue Biblique*
SBE	Friedrich M. Müller (ed.). *The Sacred Books of the East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
SIr	*Studia Iranica*
TB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TH	Daniel Theodotion's recension
Th.	*Themelios*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WBCZ	*Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Introduction: A review of some issues related to this research topic

§1 A brief review of literature

This work presents my long-term thoughts and research on the theme of Second Temple Judaism and some aspects of Zoroastrianism that may have helped shape the former. Like so many things from each person's youth, as a student and then a junior researcher I took for granted some of these aspects as 'obvious' facts, which needed only to be bound together. As I grew older and gathered more primary and secondary literature (that have also become exponentially larger since the 1990s), I discovered that what I regarded as answers were, in fact, questions. This made the work even more pleasant to do, but whatever 'influence' I thought was obvious then proved to be just another problem to be tracked down and investigated (to be fair enough, more than three generations of scholars adopted the same procedure, even in their mature days; but then again not all that glitters is gold). My assumptions became more modest, and despite the title of this book, it is about 'parallels' rather than 'influence' that we will be talking about most of the time. I insist that this is for the better, at least for me: giving away some preconceptions made me better, and I never ceased to look after whatever Zoroastrianism could have in common with Second Temple Judaism.

That being said, as an 'introduction' to a work such as this book, many distinct approaches could be tried. I have chosen to follow the route of the six most relevant issues in the guise of sections or chapters.

This means that this introduction will present the most pressing issues all in one piece but divided in several subsections. This allows some freedom to go back and forth between specific literature, epistemological problems and personal doubts that together weave the cloth of which this book is the result. This format was *not* chosen for fancy reasons, or because it was ordered. I rather felt I should try to present matters in that format so as not to become enmeshed in the subtleties of Iranian studies that are of scarce interest to the average reader or the commonplaces of *Einfluß-Studien* regarding the possible relations between Persia and Second Temple Judaism.[1]

[1] Typical examples of the latter are Edwin M. Yamauchi. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990; and Jon Berquist. *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995. A shorter – but in some ways smarter – attempt to address some of these issues had been done by David Winston. 'The Iranian component in the Bible, Apocrypha and Qumran: A review of the

A parallel discussion is that the very idea of the survival of the soul, in the sense that it was practised by Zoroastrians, may have a textual history of its own. That is to say that due to the comparatively poor quality and quantity of textual material along with the consequent discussions regarding their dating, we have to rely on ideas that are not necessarily dependent on the dating or even the existence of Zaraθuštra himself.[2]

§2 Did Zaraθuštra exist?

One may ask whether this is a history of ideas in the sense of 'small ideas' (i.e. in terms of everyday life and of what the common person may have thought or felt about a given issue) or if it is a history of 'great ideas' (and, as a consequence, of 'great men'[3]), since many of the characters named or taken in pseudepigraphic form are definitely not 'common men'[4] by any standard, even if they may have shared mental attitudes, tastes and, generally speaking, ways of living with their fellow men in a given time frame. But the mere fact that we have here a bunch of texts that determined, to an immense extent, what Iranians believed to a certain date (including our own contemporary) regarding eschatological issues, it would seem farcical to me to pretend that a study of the nomad commoner would mean the same as a study of Zaraθuštra (beginning with the very assumptions on his existence). The commoner may share with the remarkable many similar features of his life (collective mentality, folk tales, material life), while the opposite is not true. This holds true even more when dealing with religion-founders, mythical or historical.

The question of the role of the 'great man', once the main issue that historians did care about, became the only one during the last seven decades or so, mostly because of the deprecating stand taken by the French of the *Annales* on the theme. Histories of the masses, of collective *mentalitées*, of economic cycles and even of climate seemed always to take precedence regarding the once-recognized great figures of the past – but for some reason Ancient History seems to have been more or less forgotten by such fashions, as ancient historians and classicists remind us every now and then. In

evidence' in: *History of Religions* 5 (1966): 183–216. More recent works, of better quality and more insightful, will be mentioned as the text goes on.

2 On the theme of Zaraθuštra's dating again, for a more conservative approach that locates him at the end of the Bronze Age, cf. Martin L. West. *The Hymns of Zaraθuštra: A New Translation of the Most Ancient Sacred Texts of Iran*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2010, Kindle loc. 188; and Martin L. West. *Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics: With an Edition of the Texts*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011 (where he goes as far as to compare Avestan to Vedic tout-court, p. vi). For a bolder approach, cf. Helmut Humbach (in collaboration with Josef Elfenbein and Prods O. Skjærvø). *The Gāthās of Zarathustra and the Other Old Avestan Texts. Part I – Introduction – Text and Translation*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter – Universitâtsverlag, 1994, pp. 3, 67, 73. Cf. also Helmut Humbach and Pallan Ichaporia. *The Heritage of Zarathustra. A New Translation of his Gāthās*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter – Universitâtsverlag, 1994, pp. 10–15; and Jean Kellens. *Essays on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism*. Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2000, p. xiii.

3 I will follow the spelling that is closer to Avestan and MP, partly because it is closer to any other and partly because the name 'Zoroaster', as derived from Greek Ζωροάστρης or Latin *Zōroastrēs* (later form *Zōroastris*), can be used when referring to non-Persian, mostly Greek, Hellenistic or Roman sources.

4 Karl Jaspers. *The Origin and Goal of History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953, pp. 8, 22.

any case, I am not supporting the opposite view – that had in Karl Jaspers its greatest proponent – namely that there was an 'Axial time', or *Achsenzeit*, when simultaneously all over the Eurasian continent 'great men' appeared and changed forever, and at the same time, our modes of thinking and behaving.[5]

To hold such an opinion is, of course, entirely up to the individual, but definitely out of the scope of this book. Eventually, the above-referred *Achsenzeit* supposed that Zaraθuštra is to be included in the 'greats' of the middle of the First Millenium BCE[6] – and this, in itself, is one of the main polemics among Iranalogists regarding the dating for the existence of the prophet Zaraθuštra, not to mention the main-picture discussion regarding the possibility of Zaraθuštra having never existed or that of his very name constitutes one of the big confusions in the history of religion.[7]

It is fair to say that part of the modern dating of Zaraθuštra is based on a sort of circular reasoning in order to place him together with the other 'big names' that would have composed the plethora of thinkers, reformers, tragedians, prophets and great names that have had, supposedly, marked the history of big ideas according to Jaspers himself and his followers.[8]

[5] The bibliography alone on the theme occupies already some seventy pages on a critical work devoted to the theme: cf. Robert N. Bellah and Hans Joas (eds). 'Bibliography – Works on the Axial Age' in: *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012, pp. 469–536.

[6] The idea of *Achsenzeit* seems to have become a modern myth, one of those meta-historical standpoints that, once imagined, seem to have taken a life of their own; the literature on the 'Axial time' is long indeed and quite repetitive, with one remarkable exception – the critique of Jan Assman. 'Cultural Memory and the Myth of the Axial Time' in: Bellah and Joas. *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*, pp. 389–90. For a fresh approach to the theme of the ages of the world as Indo-Iranian myth, cf. Yuhan S.-D. Vevaina. 'Miscegenation, "Mixture", and "Mixed Iron": The Hermeneutics, Historiography, and Cultural Poesis of the "Four Ages" in Zoroastrianism' in: Philippa Townsend and Moulie Vidas (eds). *Revelation, Literature, and Community in Late Antiquity*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011, pp. 237–69.

[7] Chief among modern Iranologists who take this line of argument is Jean Kellens, in Jean Kellens and Eric Pirart. *Les textes vieil-avestiques* I. Text with foreword, translation and commentary. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1988, pp. 4, 18–19. Common etymologies – that may lead to false cognates – are, mostly relating the prophet's name to camels, MP *uštar* (*CPD*, Ar. GMRA, 'wstl, NP *uštur*) plus derivative forms of Av. 'zarant', 'nervous', 'angry'; also Av. 'zarš', 'conducting', 'driving'; less reliable seems to be the link between the Vedic 'har' ('to desire') and Av. 'zara' (same meaning). The most popular etymology seems, however, to be MP 'zard', 'yellow', perhaps 'dirty' or 'dusty', plus *uštar* (also stemming from Av. 'zairi'; cf. *CPD*, 'zard', zlt', 'yellow' (see above); 'zarr', Ar. ZHBA, 'golden'; 'gard', glt', 'dust'): 'he who has a yellow [or dusty] camel'.

[8] Dating of Zoroaster for Greeks is notoriously unreliable but does follow some patterns: the first one dating his existence according to *The Sack of Troy* (Zoroaster would have lived five thousand years before that, as quoted by Hermodoros in Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 1.2), or, alternatively, six thousand years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes (Xanthus of Lydia, Eudoxos, Aristotle and Hermippus of Smyrna); the second (clearer but nonetheless prone to doubting as well) pointing to the times just before Darius I; the latter situates itself even in Zoroastrian sources (*WBCZ*, p. 3) putting Zoroaster as having lived '258 years' before Alexander the Great (this would mean *c*.588–590 BCE). The latter link would have seemed more plausible to ancient historiographers such as Ammianus Marcellinus, who relates Hystaspes (correctly singled out as Darius's father) to the mythical character, as the first king who adhered to Zaraθuštra's ideas. Cf. Abraham V. W. Jackson. 'On the Date of Zoroaster' in: *JAOS* 17 (1896): 1–22; Manfred Mayrhofer. *Zum Namengut des Avesta*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977.

Regarding his geographical origins, it appears that Zaraθuštra is always linked to the easternmost parts of the Iranian plateau and beyond (i.e. to Central Asia).[9] He lived 77 years and 40 days according to some sources[10] and was apparently killed by a rival priest called Brādrēs.[11]

§3 What does 'influence' mean?

A book on the development of 'influences' of any thought system over another is the best way of describing the effort behind the present work – and also the best way to tell the reader what it was possible to do, what was not and what arguably never will be.

When we speak of 'influence', we are usually talking about an elusive thing – like its English derivative, 'influenza', a point not missed by John Pocock.[12] Worse still, the researcher may be incurring in a series of commonplace mistakes, well displayed and obligingly chastened by that great historian of great ideas, Quentin Skinner.[13] This happens because sometimes we are fortunate enough to be able to retrace a whole train of thought – who read what, in what period, and sometimes we can even track down different editions or similar nuances in the source investigated. But even in modern times it is not necessarily so: more than once we stumble upon an idea in 'X' that must be, cannot be indeed other than that old rationale first proposed by 'Y', in book, article or chapter 'Z'. This is why Pocock and Skinner are still (deservedly) remembered: for having cautioned us against such easy, taken-for-granted assumptions.

With the issue of Persian 'influence', the dreaded word, over Second Temple Judaism, it is precisely what happens. The Exile in Babylonia itself can be explained in more than one way – in terms of the sheer number of exiled, of the stories related to their remaining in Babylonia (this is the setting for Daniel 1–6, lest we forget) and what Jews may have absorbed there or in other places of the Diaspora.[14] However, this

[9] This is the location of the late form 'Goshtasp', cf. Shahn, pp. 369–70.

[10] *HZ* 1, pp. 188–9, with a vague reference to the 'tradition' but pointing more specifically to Yt 5.109.

[11] *HZ* 1, p. 192. A big deal of such polemics related to the dating of Zoroaster himself can be found in an article now quite old but with an interesting review of literature: Jarl Charpentier. 'The Date of Zoroaster' in: *BSOAS* 3 (1925): 4, where Charpentier contends vigorously against a dating in the sixth or seventh century for the flourishing of Zaraθuštra. The author also offers another spelling for the prophet's name, which according to him should be something like 'Zuraθuštra' (ibid., p. 748). Also of interest here is the picture presented by Late Antiquity writers that deal with dating and setting issues: cf. Jan W. Drijvers. 'Ammianus Marcelinus' Image of Sasanian Society' in: Josef Wiesehöfer and Philip Huyse (Hgs). *Ērān und Anērān: Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt*. München: Franz Steiner, 2006, pp. 51, 59–65.

[12] John G. A. Pocock. *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History*. New York: Athenaeum, 1971, p. 204. The famous passage is that on Meinecke's feeble defence of the theory that Edmund Burke had read Hume without any hard proof of it but was nonetheless 'influenced' by Hume '"because it was in the air" [*sic*] and thus had infected Burke as a species of *influenza*'.

[13] Quentin Skinner. 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas' in: James Tully (ed.). *Meaning & Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988, pp. 29–32. Of special interest is Skinner's critique of the 'mythology of doctrines', which tends to make into wholesome doctrines issues that are, in fact, mere passing observations.

[14] Lester L. Grabbe. '"They shall come rejoicing to Zion" – or Did They? The Settlement of Yehud in the Early Persian Period' in: Gary N. Knoppers and Lester L. Grabbe with Deirdre N. Fulton (eds).