



On Spenta Mainyu's Role in the Zoroastrian Cosmogony

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One of the most spectacular developments in the ancient history of the Eastern Iranian area was undoubtedly the transition from a pre-Zoroastrian faith to Zoroastrianism. In a series of earlier articles the present writer has argued that the Zoroastrian myth of the Cosmogony as we know it from the Pahlavi books represents a radical reinterpretation of an older, traditional myth.¹ Most of the fundamental elements of this myth can still be found in the Veda, and traces of it are preserved in the extant Avesta. Moreover, the influence of the myth can be detected in Roman Mithraism, a cult which must have been inspired at least partly by an Iranian faith, and in the cosmogonies of the Yezidis and the Ahl-e Haqq. In view of Professor A. D. H. Bivar's long interest in these matters, it seems appropriate to offer him in this Festschrift some new thoughts on the development of the Zoroastrian cosmogony, based on a wider and more detailed examination of the Avestan evidence.

As is well known, the Zoroastrian myth of the creation, as set out in the *Greater Bundahišn*² and in the *Selections of Zādsparam*,³ states that, in the Beginning, Ohrmazd dwelt on high, in pure light. Ahreman was in the depths, in darkness. Ohrmazd was aware of the antagonism of Ahreman. To prepare himself for battle, he first created his Creations in a non-material state, in which they remained for three thousand years. At the same time Ahreman created his demonic creations out of darkness. Ahreman then made an attack on the creations of Ohrmazd. Eventually, the two Spirits made a Pact to wage war in the world for a limited period of time. The three stages of the ensuing cosmic drama are: 1) Creation, 2) Mixture, 3) Separation (i.e., of Evil from Good).

The three thousand years of the Creation began when, after making the Pact, Ohrmazd recited the *Ahunawar* prayer. This caused Ahreman to fall back into the darkness, in a stupor which lasted until the end of the stage of Creation. During that time Ohrmazd fashioned his creations in material form and celebrated a "spiritual *Yasna*" together with the *Ameša Spentas*. First he created the Sky (originally held to be made of stone), and then Water, Earth, a single Plant or Tree, the Uniquely-created Bull, and the First Man. In some accounts the seventh creation, pervading the others, is said to be Fire (*GBd* I.a.4; III.8); other passages do not mention fire in this connection [*GBd* I.54; I.a.13]. During the period of the Creation, the creations were motionless and light, with the sun standing still in the middle of the sky.

At the beginning of the second stage, that of Mixture, Ahreman made a renewed attack on the world. He penetrated the Sky, polluted the Waters, made a hole in the Earth, caused the Plant to wither, killed the Bull and the Man, and tainted Fire with smoke. Initially, it seems, Ahreman was victorious: the world was dark (*GBd* IV.22; *Zadsp* II.11, 18f.; III.1; *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* XXXVI.34).⁴ Then movement entered the world, the good creations began to fight back, and the world became as we know it. After three thousand years of Mixture, the Renovation will take place, i.e., the beginning of the state of Separation, when the powers of Evil will have been defeated.

The Pahlavi Books, in other words, state that the material world was originally created perfect, motionless, and light. The second stage of the history of the universe, brought about by the incursion of the Evil Spirit and the reaction of

the creatures of Righteousness to this, constitutes a lapse from this state of perfection, while the final stage will see its return in an even more complete manner. A curious feature of the *Bundahišn* myth is that the killing of the Bull and the pouncing of the Plant, depicted as evil deeds and attributed to Ahreman, seem to mirror the beneficent role of the human priest during the *Yasna* ritual.⁵

Some passages of the Avesta, however, show that at one time a different account of the First Things existed, in which the second stage of the creation [i.e., the differentiated dynamic stage in which we now live], was regarded as the result of a positive act of deliverance by a divine being. This has a direct counterpart in the Vedas, where the second act of creation is usually ascribed to Indra. A comparison between the Avestan passages and the Vedic texts allows one to postulate an older, Indo-Iranian version of the cosmogony which shows a direct parallelism between the divine act that brought about the second stage of creation and the Indo-Iranian ritual of the sacrifice. It can thus be assumed that, as in several other cultures, the ritual sacrifice had come to be understood as a repetition of an act which brought the world into being.

This original myth probably knew an initial stage of the Creation in which a dark and narrow stone sky, containing within itself both sun and fire—just as flint “contains” the sparks which light a fire—enclosed the motionless waters, a small prototypal earth, and the single prototypes of plants, animals, and men. A primeval sacrifice then followed. This caused the sun to come up in a raised sky, giving light and energy to the earth—which was extended to three times its original size—and it enabled the waters to flow and vegetable, animal, and human life to grow and multiply.

There are many grounds for the assumption that the original, Indo-Iranian demiurge was Mit(h)ra. Mit(h)ra is a priestly god who, in Iran, has close links with fire and ritual, and whose great feast, *Mehragān*, has always been typically celebrated with animal sacrifice. Many of the Vedic Indra's functions appear to have been borrowed from Mitra, and it seems likely that a cult of this war-like god eclipsed that of the more priestly divinities Varuṇa and Mitra in the religious life of the proto-Indian tribes at some stage during the migrations. The fact that Indar

is known in Zoroastrianism as one of the chief demons, and that the Vedic Indra shares an important function with the Zoroastrian Ahreman (viz., the act of slaying in order to bring about the second stage of creation), makes it seem possible that the growing prominence of a cult of Indra among his own people filled the conservative priest Zarathustra with horror, and helped to inspire his concept of the Evil Spirit (*Av. anra mainiū; Phl. Ahreman*).

This general hypothesis was formulated partly on the basis of the evidence of *Yt. 13*. A more detailed scrutiny of that text in conjunction with other Young Avestan passages, however, allows one to go further and to suggest that parts of *Yt. 13* reflect an intermediary stage in the transition from the postulated Indo-Iranian myth to that of the *Bundahišn*—a stage in which the current, dynamic condition of the world is still described as being preferable to the static, motionless one that preceded it,⁶ and where Spenta Mainyu, the Bounteous Spirit, plays a creative role not mentioned in the later accounts. Apparent inconsistencies in this and other texts suggest, moreover, that in the course of time, Spenta Mainyu came to be identified almost completely with Ahura Mazda⁷ and lost his earlier independent functions—a development which ultimately led to the Zoroastrian Cosmogony as described in the Pahlavi Books.

In *Yt. 13.28, 29* we find:

*tā mazdā zbaiiat auuanhe auuanheca ašnō
vidiāra apasca zamasca uruuaraiiāasca yať
spəntō mainiūš vidiāraiiat asmanam yať āpəm
yať zam yať gam yať uruuarəm yať barə-
rišuuva puθrō vidiāraiiat paiti.vəratō apara.ir-
iθəntō ā dātāt vidiātaoť viiāhuvva uruuať caiiat
astica gaonaca drəβdaca uruβasca paiiīiāasca
frauuāxsasca.*

*vidāraiiat spəntō mainiūš yā amauuaintiš
tušnišāδō . . .*

Mazda called upon them [i.e., the Fravašis] for help, for the support (?)⁸ of yon heaven and of the water(s) and of the earth and of the plants so that Spenta Mainyu might support the heaven, the water(s), the earth, the animals, the plants, so that he might maintain the sons conceived in the mothers (so that) they not die; until the appointed time, at birth, he

puts together the bones and hair and muscles and intestines and *sinews and *nails.

Spenta Mainyu maintains (the Fravašis) who are powerful, abide in silence . . .

This passage by itself could be taken to indicate no more than that Spenta Mainyu looks after the creations, counteracting the effects of the activities of his opponent Angra Mainyu. However, although the combined evidence of the Old and Young Avesta leaves no doubt that the primary, fundamental act of Creation was always attributed solely to Ahura Mazda, several texts show clearly that both Spirits were at one time believed to have creative functions:

Yt.15.43: *vaiiuš bā nqma ahmi ašūm zaraθuš-tra. auuat̄ vaiiuš bā nqma ahmi yaθ uua dqma vaiiem̄ yasca dabaθ spəntō mainiiuš yasca dabaθ aqrō mainiiuš*

I am indeed Vayu by name, righteous Zarathustra. I am indeed Vayu by name because I chase both creations, the one which the Bounteous Spirit (Spenta Mainyu) created and the one which the Evil Spirit (Angra Mainyu) created.⁹

Y.57.17: *yō nōit̄ pascaēta hušx^vafa yaθ mainiiū dāman daiðitəm yasca spəntō mainiiuš yasca aqrō*

[Sraoša], who has not slept since the two Spirits created the creations, the Bounteous Spirit and the Evil one.

Y.19.9: *frā.mē spəniīā maniuuā vauuaca vīspqm ašaonō stīm haitimca bauuaintimca bušiiē-iptimca šīiaoθnō.tāitiia šīiaoθanqm aqhūs mazdāi.*

The more Bounteous of the two Spirits has evoked (for me) the whole existence of the righteous, (the one that) exists, (the one that) comes into existence and (the one that) will come into existence, through the phrase containing (the word) *šīiaoθana*: *šīiaoθanqm aqhūs mazdāi*.¹⁰

Although the parallel places cited earlier suggest that the words "the more Bounteous of the two Spirits" here originally referred to Spenta

Mainyu, most of Y.19 reflects a stage in the development of Zoroastrianism where Spenta Mainyu had to all intents and purposes come to be identified with Ahura Mazda. In v.1 Ahura Mazda is addressed as "Ahura Mazda, most Bounteous Spirit" (*ahura mazda mainiiō spəništa*), and in v.15 it is implied that Angra Mainyu was rendered powerless because Ahura Mazda pronounced the words of the latter part of Y.45.2, which in the *Gāthās* are said to have been spoken by Spenta Mainyu (cf. below).

The sequence of events of the "Avestan" stage of the myth, and its development, can be deduced from Yt.13.76-78:

*tā zī hənti yāskəstēmā *auuaiīā mainiuuā dāman yā ašūnqm vañ^vhīs sūā spəntā frauuāšaiiō yā tāda ərəθbā hištənta yaθ mainiiū dāman daiðitəm yasca spəntō mainiiuš yasca aqrō*

yaθ titaraθ aqrō mainiiuš dāhim ašahe vañhəuš ahtarə pairi. auuaitəm vohuca manō ātaršca

tā hē tauruuiiatəm tbaēšā aṅrahe mainiiuš druuatō yaθ nōit̄ apō takāš staiiāt̄ nōit̄ uruuarā uruθmabiiō, hakaθ sūrahe dəθušō xšaiiatō ahurahe mazdā fratacin apō səuuištā uzuxšiiqncā uruuarā.

for they [i.e., the Fravašis] are the bravest of the creation of both Spirits, the good, strong, incremental Faravašis of the Righteous, who rose up (to help) then when the two Spirits, both the Bounteous and the Evil, created their creations.

When the Evil Spirit stormed the creation of Good Aša, Vohu Manah¹¹ and Fire rushed in between.

These two overcame the hostilities of him, the lying Evil Spirit, so that he could not stay the waters in (their) courses, nor the plants in (their) growths; all at once the strongest waters of the strong, ruling creator Ahura Mazda flowed forth and the plants grew¹² forth.¹³

While the first of these verses (v.76) attributes creative functions to both Spirits, Spenta Mainyu no longer seems to play a role in the rest of the passage, which describes the ensuing battle between the forces of good and evil.¹⁴ The latter verses—juxtaposed to a passage reflecting an earlier state of affairs, a commonplace occurrence in

orally transmitted texts—probably represent a stage in the development of the myth where Spenta Mainyu was believed to be identical with Ahura Mazdā, so that he could hardly have played an independent role in the events of the Creation.

Another passage, Yt.11.14, refers to the “truces and treaties” between the two Spirits, and seems to imply that it was not until such a treaty had been concluded that the Ameša Spentas could come down to earth or, in other words, that the present state of the world was reached when the two Spirits concluded a pact:

*yō āxšitišca uruwaitišca drujo spasiio spāniš-
tahe; auuāin aməšā spənta aoi haptō.karš-
uuairīm zqm*

[Sraoša], who watches over the truces and treaties between the Evil One and the most Bounteous Spirit; the Ameša Spentas came down to the earth of seven continents . . .

The passage is of course reminiscent of the *Bundahišn* account of the Treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahreman. The latter, however, is said to have taken place before the first stage of the material creation began, whereas the reference to the “earth of seven continents” and the link with Y.57.17 (cf. above), makes it seem likely that the “truces and treaties” between the Spirits were concluded at the beginning of the state of Mixture.¹⁵ A similar version of the cosmogony may underlie the well-known Gāthic passage Y.45.2:

*at frauuaxšiiā anḥəuš mainiiū paouruiē
yaiiā spaniiā ūiti mrauuat yəm anḥəm*

Now I shall proclaim the two Spirits
(present)¹⁶ in the beginning of existence
of whom the more bounteous one spoke
thus to the evil one . . .

It was suggested earlier that Zarathustra’s anger at the growing prominence of a cult of Indra helped to inspire his vision of the Evil Spirit; in the later tradition both Angra Mainyu/Ahreman and *Indra/Indar live on as evil beings. This raises the question whether the concept of Mithra, the original divine sacrificer who brought this world into being and is active

in it,¹⁷ may in some way have influenced the Prophet’s vision and understanding of Spenta Mainyu.¹⁸ It is not intended to suggest that traces of such a link would indicate that Spenta Mainyu could be said to be in any sense identical with Mithra, and even less that, in Zarathustra’s view, Ahura Mazdā was above the opposition between good and evil. It seems possible, however, that a contemporary rivalry between the cults of Mithra and Indra may have helped to inspire the Prophet’s vision of the two Spirits, and that such mental associations gave rise to pronouncements found in the *Gāthās* and elsewhere in the Zoroastrian tradition.

In Yt.10.142, Mithra is said to bring forth the creations of Spenta Mainyu every morning, suggesting that the renewed visibility of the world in the morning was likened to the creation of the variegated world out of a dark and oppressive state,¹⁹ and perhaps hinting at a link between the creative activities of the two divinities:

*yō paoiriš vaēidiš sūrəm frāðaiti spəntahe
mainiiuš dāmən hudātō mazištō yazatō*

[Mithra], the well-created, very great god who in the morning brings into evidence the many shapes, the creatures of the Bounteous Spirit . . .²⁰

The Old Avestan texts indicate that, like Mithra,²¹ Spenta Mainyu has close links with Fire. In the *Gāthās* this connection is suggested in Y.47.6:

*tā dā spəntā mainiiū mazdā ahurā
āvrā vaḥhāu vidāitīm rānōibiā*

Through that Bounteous Spirit, Lord Wisdom,
through Fire, you establish the distribution to
both factions at the good (time).²²

The link is stressed more clearly in a passage of the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti*, Y.36.3:

*ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahiiā ahī. mainiiuš vōi
ahiiā spāništō ahī.*

You are indeed the fire of Lord Wisdom. You are indeed his most Bounteous Spirit.

Y.47.3 implies a close link between Spenta Mainyu and the Cow, perhaps reminiscent of Mithra's links with the (bull) sacrifice and his standard epithet *vouru.gaoiiaoiti*, "of wide cattle pastures":

ahiiā mainiiūš tuuēm ahī tā sprəntō
yā ahmāi gəm rāniō.skəritim hēm.tašəṭ

You are the bounteous Father of this Spirit
who fashioned for him the joy-providing
Cow . . .²³

In view of the above, of Mithra's links with fire, which is hidden in stone,²⁴ and of the well-known theme of Mithra's birth from a rock in Mithraic iconography, it seems plausible to explain the imagery of Y.30.5, where Spenta Mainyu is described as being "clad in hardest stone," as deriving from the links between the two:

aiiā mainiiuā varatā yā drəguuā acištā
vəzəziō
ašəm mainiiūš spəništō yā xraozdištāng
asənō vastē

Of these two Spirits, the Evil one chooses
the worst things,
the most Bounteous Spirit, clad in hardest
stone, chooses righteousness.

Given that the sky was held to be made of stone,²⁵ similar imagery is used of Ahura Mazda, directly connected with Mithra, Rašnu and Armaiti, in Yt.13.2, 3:

ānḡəm raiia x'arənanḡhaca vīdāraēm zaraθuš-
tra aom asmanəm yō usca raoxšnō frādərəsrō
yō iməm zəm āca pairica buuāuua mənaiiən
ahe yaθa viš aēm yō hištaitē maniiō.stātō han-
draxtō dūraəkaranō aiiānḡō kəhrpa x'aēnahe
raocahinō aoi θrišuuā.
yim mazdā vaste vanḡhanəm stəhrpaēsənḡhəm
*mainiiu.tāštəm hacimnō *mīθrā.rašnuca²⁶ ār-*
maitaica sprəntaiia

Through their insight and glory I support, oh
Zarathushtra, yonder heaven, above, shining
and clear, which is all round this earth, as it

were like a bird (all around) an egg, which
abides, spiritually established, firmly fixed,
with distant limits, with the appearance of a
bright *crystal glimmering over the thirds,²⁷

which Mazda wears as a mantle decorated
with stars, spiritually fashioned, in company
with Mithra and Rašnu and Bounteous
Armaiti . . .

It seems likely then that some links between the original concept of Spenta Mainyu and that of Mithra did indeed exist. The main structural difference between the Indo-Iranian and the early Zoroastrian cosmogony appears to have been that in the latter, when the world passed from the embryonic to the developed stage, it was no longer a primeval sacrifice alone that set things going, but the dynamism deriving from the opposition between the Spirits of good and evil.

Combining the data discussed above we can see the development of the myth in fig. 1, below.²⁸ It seems clear that, as Spenta Mainyu lost his individuality and came to be identified with Ahura Mazda, he also disappeared as an active agent from accounts of the cosmogony. Iranians brought up in the ancient tradition would have been familiar with the notions of a Primeval Creator, and of a Demiurge closely linked with him, who caused the world to expand to its full potential. The identification of Spenta Mainyu with Ahura Mazda, however, implied that the latter created the world twice, which presumably needed to be explained. Moreover, at some stage the question must have arisen as to who was responsible for the existence of the Evil Spirit. Probably as a result of such perplexities, a version of the Cosmogony eventually emerged where Angra Mainyu was declared to have been coexistent with Ahura Mazda from the beginning, and where Ahura Mazda was indeed held to be the auctor of two creations, a non-material and a material one. This was achieved by projecting the creative activities, clash and pact of the two Spirits—which in an earlier version ushered in the second stage of creation—back into a remote past and associating these with the non-material world, while the material world is most often represented as being originally good, reflecting Ahura Mazda's supreme creative powers, although polluted by the activities of the Evil Spirit at a later stage.

| | Indo-Iranian | Veda | Avesta, early | Avesta, later | Pahlavi Books |
|------------------------------------|---|--|---|---|--|
| Before material creation | | | ? | ? | Ohr. & Ahr.: non-material creation, clash Pact |
| Material creation 1st stage | embryonic world, confined, dark, static | fundamental components of the world hidden, confined, dark, static | fundamental creation by Ahura Mazdā | fundamental creation by Ahura Mazdā | material creation by Ohrmazd, ideal, light, static |
| transition | Mit(h)ra comes into world, primeval sacrifice | Indra kills Ahi, finds Cows, waters, lights | Spenta M. & Angra M. bring forth creations, clash, Pact | Angra M. seeks to harm good creations, stopped by Yazatas | Ahr. comes into world kills bull, etc., briefly victorious |
| 2d stage | dynamic, light, better than first | dynamic, light, better than first | dynamic, better than dominion of Angra M. | dynamic, better than dominion of Angra M. | dynamic, worse than first stage |
| 3d stage | ? | ? | Angra M. defeated | Angra M. defeated | Ahr. defeated |

Fig. 1.

Notes

1. To wit, in "Cosmogony and Cosmology in Zoroastrianism/Mazdaism," in *Elr*, ed. E. Yarshater (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1993), pp. 303-7; "Mithra and Ahreman in Iranian Cosmogonies," in *Studies on Mithraism*, ed. J. R. Hinnells (Rome, forthcoming); "Mithra and Ahreman, Binyāmin and Malak Tāwūs: Traces of an Ancient Myth in the Cosmogonies of Two Modern Sects," in *Recurrent Patterns in Iranian Religions: From Mazdaism to Sufism*, ed. Ph. Gignoux, *Stl*, cahier 11 (Paris, 1992), pp. 57-79. A more substantial publication is in preparation.

2. See B. T. Anklesaria, ed., *Zand-Ākāsh: Iranian or Greater Bundahīšn* (Bombay, 1956), hereafter *GBd*.

3. *Idem*, *Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam* (Bombay, 1964), hereafter *Zadsp*.

4. See T. D. Ahklesaria, ed., *The Dātistān-i Dīnik*, pt. 1 (Bombay, n.d.).

5. For details see the articles cited in n. 1.

6. Cf. *Yt*.13.57: "who . . . showed the path to the stars, the moon and Infinite Lights which previously stood still long, in the same place without moving forward, because of the hostility of the Daēvas, because of the deceptions of the Daēvas" (*daēvuanam parō tbaēšanḡat, daēvuanam parō draomohu*).

7. For an excellent account of this process see H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras* (Hildesheim, 1971), pp. 18-21.

8. Unless otherwise stated, translations of passages of *Yt*.13 are taken from W. W. Malandra, "The Fravaši Yašt: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary," Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania, 1971. Instead of Malandra's "Incremental Spirit" for *spənta mainiū*, the divinity's Avestan name is either retained or rendered as "Bounteous Spirit."

9. The reference to the creative functions of both Spirits is repeated in this verse and again in the next (v.44), which also mentions the Creator Ahura Mazdā.

10. I.e., part of the *Ahunawar* prayer.
11. Malandra, "The Fravaši Yašt": "Good Truth, Good Mind."
12. *Ibid.*, "grow."
13. Note that in Yt.10.61 Mithra is referred to as the divinity "thanks to whom the water [= rain] falls, thanks to whom the plants grow," see I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 103.
14. For this cf. also the Gāthic passage Y.45.1.d: "the one of evil doctrine shall not destroy existence for a second time" (*nōiṭ daibitīm duš.sastiš ahūm mrašiiat*), which implies that the present state of the world is due in part to the activities of the forces of evil in the (remote) past.
15. Such ambiguities show, incidentally, how easy the transition may have been to the final version of the myth, which postulates a time before that of the material Creation.
16. So H. Humbach, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts* (Heidelberg, 1991), vol. 1, p. 164.
17. See, e.g., Yt.10.54, where Mithra is described as the guardian and overseer of all creations, and his epithet *dañhupaiti*: "lord of countries," Yt.10.99.
18. Cf. Lommel (*Die Religion Zarathustras*): "In den Gathas is der Kluge Geist teilweise die Kraft, durch die der Weise Herr tätig ist, teilweise aber ist die Wirksamkeit des Geistes eine selbständige, dann aber im Grunde dieselbe wie die von Gott selbst." It would hardly be fanciful to suggest that such ideas may have come naturally to a priest brought up in a tradition in which the names of the creative divinities Mitra and Varuṇa could be invoked as a *dvandva*, and who may have been trained to regard Mithra as the divinity

who brought this world into being and was particularly in charge of it.

19. Such ideas may of course have played a role in the development of the original, Indo-Iranian myth.
20. Translation Gershevitch, *Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, p. 145; Gershevitch translates "incremental" where the present version has "bounteous."
21. See latterly M. Boyce, "On Mithra, Lord of Fire," ActIr 4 (Tehran, 1975), pp. 70-76.
22. Cf. the last line of Y.43.12, on which see G. Kreyenbroek, *Sraoša in the Zoroastrian Tradition* (Leiden, 1985), pp. 19-22.
23. So Humbach, *Gāthās*, vol. 1, p. 174; for the sake of consistency, "bounteous" is used here for Av. *spanta-* instead of Humbach's "prosperous," and "you" instead of "thou."
24. In the Veda, Indra is said to have produced fire from stones during the second act of creation, cf. *Rigveda* 2.12.3: "Who having slain the serpent released the seven streams, who drove out the cows by the unclosing of the *vala* (i.e., the primordial rock-cave), who between two stones has produced fire, victor in battles: he, o men, is Indra."
25. On the links between the sky, stone, crystal and metal, see H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (Oxford, 1943, repr. 1971), pp. 120ff.; M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 132-33.
26. MSS: *miθrō* . . . For the emendation see Malandra, "The Fravaši Yašt," pp. 158-59.
27. I.e., "of the earth," cf. Malandra, "The Fravaši Yašt," p. 158, and my "Cosmogony and Cosmology in Zoroastrianism/Mazdaism."
28. For a discussion of the Vedic evidence, see my "Mithra and Ahreman in Iranian Cosmogonies."