

Antonio PANAINO

(University of Bologna – Branch of Ravenna)

**REFERENCES TO THE TERM *Yašt* AND OTHER MAZDEAN  
ELEMENTS IN THE SYRIAC AND GREEK *Martyrologia*  
WITH A SHORT EXCURSUS ON THE SEMANTIC VALUE  
OF THE GREEK VERB μαγεύω**

It is well known that a good number of Iranian Zoroastrian traditions and many cultural, linguistic and religious data of Sasanian derivation are attested into the Syriac and Greek *Martyrologia*. The deep importance of such sources has been focused on in various studies, starting, e.g., from Louis H. Gray<sup>1</sup> till the most recent contributions on the subject by Philippe Gignoux.<sup>2</sup> In the present paper I would like to enter few interesting references to the Zoroastrian liturgy, currently mentioned in these Christian texts, because they can shed a new light on some aspects of the Mazdean literature and rituals.

Although it has been remarked by various scholars, specialists of Oriental Christianity (but not very much indeed in the framework of Iranological studies), some Persian martyrs not only were members of Mazdean families, like, e.g., just to quote some significant examples, Saint Šīrīn, dead in the 28th year of Xusraw I,<sup>3</sup> or like the famous Katholikos Mār Abā, who leded the Church of the East until 552.<sup>4</sup> Some Martyrs belong to ancient nobility and the highest ranks of the royal administration, like the martyr Yazdīn, the chief treasurer of King Xusraw II,<sup>5</sup> or, in few cases, to the same royal family. These were, for instance, the cases of Pīrgušnasp,<sup>6</sup> nephew of Šābuhr I, or of the mother and the sister, Šīrarān,<sup>7</sup> of the same King, who were converted by the Katholikos Simo bar Sabbā'ē, without to speak of the Christian wives of few Sasanian kings like Šīrīn and Maria,<sup>8</sup> in the case of Xusraw II, or of the mother of Anošazād, the son of Xusraw I, exluded from the succession and exiled in Bet Lāpāt,<sup>9</sup> who tried to rebel against his father. Few of these neo-converted nobles were also of priestly origin.<sup>10</sup> We can recall in particular the *ex-mowbed* Yazdpanāh,<sup>11</sup> and Saint Pīrāngušnasp-Grīg<sup>h</sup>ōr, both martyriized under Xusraw I, or again Saint Mihrāngušnasp-Gīwargīs,<sup>12</sup> martyriized under Xusraw II Parwēz. The last, a member of the famous Mihran family, monk at Mount Izla, was crucified in 615.<sup>13</sup>

Actually the Greek and Syriac *Martyrologia* mention the Pre-Christian educational background of these persons and their deep training also in the

priestly ritual with a number of detailed information on this subject. The first case I would like to focus on is that of Saint Pīrāngušnasp-Grīg<sup>h</sup>ōr, according to his Syriac *Life*:<sup>14</sup>

«In the thirtieth year of the kingdom of King Qowād, in the month Ād<sup>h</sup>ār, when the feast, that the Magi offer to Saṭan, was arrived, (the feast) which they call the day of Frōrdīg<sup>h</sup>ān, Pīrāngušnasp just in the night, before that his day came for the celebration of the feast (dedicated) to Saṭan, had a divine vision, in which an angel admonished him to become Christian.»

After this, Pīrāngušnasp had other two visions. Then the *Martyrologium* goes on as follows:<sup>15</sup>

«As his day was appeared, in which he should perform the *Yašt* of the sins (*‘abad yašt dāḥetyāthā*),<sup>16</sup> all the Magi were awaiting and the excited people waited for his order to invite the amount (of attending persons) for the impure feast. He does not come. Somebody goes and says to him: «Open yourself, perform the *Yašt*. Give us joy today with food and drinks, show us honorary gifts with the wealth that Hormazd gave you». He answered that he had apostatized the same Hormazd and that he was a Christian. As he was thought to be possessed by a Dēw, he said «before I have served the Dēws; then, Hormazd is a Dēw, not a God». Thus, all went away from him».

Now we can read some interesting paragraphs from the Syriac *Life* of Saint Gīwargīs:<sup>17</sup>

«His father was named Bāb<sup>h</sup>ai and was honorary Ōstāndār (i.e. an ἐπιστάτης<sup>18</sup> entrusted of) the security of the borders in the town of Nṣīb<sup>h</sup>īn. His grand-father was of royal origin and was Praefect in New Māḥōzē [Māḥōzē ḥd<sup>h</sup>attā]. The father of his mother had been a Mōhpaṭ (i.e. *mowbed*). The Pagan naming of the same Lord Gīwargīs sounded Mihrāngušnasp and he had a sister, who, as a Pagan, was named Hazārowai.<sup>19</sup> Both lost their parents already when they were Pagan, and were educated by the father of their own father until they were grown up. Mihrāngušnasp was from early times onwards consecrated in the Persian literature and in the religion of the Magi, so that already as a seven-years-old child he was able to recite *Yašt(s)* and to hold the *barsom*, as the wrong doctrine of the Magi prescribes, so good that the fame of his skilfulness induced the great King Hormazd to invite him to the court and to summon him to recite something from the religion of the Magi. He recited quickly; the King laughed and ordered to give him a cushion<sup>20</sup> and thought that one day something great should become again from him».

The following passages I want to quote here are taken from the Greek *Martyrologium* of Saint Šīrīn.

This text, as already noted by Nöldeke,<sup>21</sup> Hoffmann,<sup>22</sup> de Lagarde<sup>23</sup> and Devos,<sup>24</sup> was surely translated from a Syriac original. The most interesting chapters for the present discussion are the second and the eleventh:

Π.<sup>25</sup> Τῷ γὰρ εἰκοστῷ καὶ ὀγδῶ ἔτει Χοσρόου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, ἀνεφάνη καθάπερ τις καθαρὸς μαργαρίτης ἢ μακαρία Σιρὴ ἐκ μέσου ζάλης κυμάτων τῷ κάλλει τῆς εἰς Ἐριστὸν πίστεως διαλάμπουσα καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δι' αὐτὸν ἀθλήσεως ὑπερέχουσα. Ἐκ πόλεως μὲν γὰρ ὠπιᾶτο Χιρχασελεύκου λεγομένης, ἐκ ρίζης δὲ καὶ γένους κατήγετο τοῦ καρπούς ἀεὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ παρέχοντος. Πατέρα ἔσχεν τῇ διδαχῇ τῆς μαγείας ἐπίσημον καὶ τὴν ἐκ' αὐτοῖς δεκανικὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ κανὸν διανύσαντα χρόνον καὶ τῇ τῶν μάγων ἡγεμονείᾳ τῇ λεγομένη μαυῖπτουθᾷ πλησιάσαντα ὡς τοῦ Ζωροάστρου διδασκαλίαν ἐντελῶς ἀκριβώσαντα. Τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐμυσάττετο δόγμα καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀμιλίας διακωλύειν ἐπεμελήσατο, ὡς μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν τῆς χώρας ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν συγχωρεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνατρέφεσθαι, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὰς χριστιανικὴν κεκτηῖσθαι συνήθειαν· ἀλλὰ γυναικᾶ τινα μετεστείλατο ἐκ τῆς Πάρς, οὕτως λεγομένης χώρας, καθ' ἣν πᾶσα τῆς μαγείας ἐνίδρυται πλάνη. Ὑπὸ ταύτης μὲν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀναστρέφεται, καὶ τοιαύτη διαγωγῇ συνεθυζεται. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀνατροφὴν παραχρῆμα πάλιν ἐκ παιδὸς τοῖς μάγοις παραδίδοται καὶ τὴν βδελυρωτάτην αὐτῶν ληρωδίαν παιδεύεται, ὡς καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν λατρείαν ἐκτελέσαι τῆς ἰάσθ λεγομένην, καθ' ἣν ὡς ἐπὶ σεμνοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐναβρύνονται. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς διεξήλθομεν οὐ τὴν διήγησιν μηκύναι σπουδάζοντες, ἀλλὰ παραστήσαι βουλόμενοι ποίῳ σκότῳ καὶ τρόπῳ συνείληπτό τε καὶ συνείθιστο καὶ τὰυτοῦ διαβόλου μεθοδείας ἐξέφυγεν.

Π. “In the year twentyeighth of Xosrow, King of the Persians, appeared as a pure pearl Saint Sirē brighting from the middle of a tempest of billows for the beauty of the faith in Christ and emerging for the greatness of the struggle because of him. In fact, she moved from a town called Khirkhaseleukon, she derived from root and descent of a seed always offering (worship) to the devil. She had a father distinguished in the teachings of the *mageia* and worth to accomplish the authority of a Dehkān (δεκανικὴν ἀρχὴν) among them for a while and associated with the leadership of the Magi, the so-called dignity of *mōbad* (μαυῖπτουθᾷ) knowing the doctrine of Zoroaster completely. He was very hostile against the dogma of the Christians and provided that his daughter avoided any company with them, and educated her so that she never might met with women of the land of the Greeks, because they often had acquired a Christian habit. But he sum-

moned a woman from Pārs, thus was called the land, where all the mistake of the *mageia* is located. Then, from this woman she is nursed and to this very manner she is accustomed. After such a bringing up again she is immediately from childhood given to the Magi and instructed in the most abominable chattering of them, so that she performed also the mystic adoration called of the *Yašt* (ιάσθ), for which they feel to be superb in the sacred ritual good results. We have narrated these things about her not because we were trying to prolong the story, but because we desired to show in which obscure condition she was found and accustomed and how she spontaneously approached to the light of the truth and escaped from the trap of the devil”.

Šīrīn’s violent refusal of the Mazdean religion occurred during the performance of a Zoroastrian ritual; in fact, according to the beginning of chapter XI of the same *Martirologium*:<sup>26</sup>

XI. Ὅθεν τῆς μητριᾶς αὐτῆς ἔωθεν μεταστελαμένης αὐτὴν καὶ προτρεπούσης μαγεύειν κατὰ συνήθειαν, τότε τὴν ἑαυτῆς φανερώσαι σπουδάζουσα πίστιν, λαβοῦσα τὰ ξύλα δι’ ὧν ἐμάγευεν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζωροάστρου δαιμονιώδη παράδοσιν, φῶς περιλάμπον αὐτὴν ἐθεάσατο, καὶ ῥωσθεῖσα τὰ ξύλα συνέθλασεν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐσκέδασεν καὶ τῷ πυρὶ ἐπέπτυσέν τε καὶ εσβεσεν, καὶ ἀνέστη λέγουσα· «Ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπέρχομαι καὶ φανερῶς ὁμολογεῖν τὸν χριστιανισμόν οὐ κωλύομαι.»

XI. “Thus, while her stepmother, early in the morning, was asking her to come and exhorted her to celebrate the Magian rite according to (their) costume, then she searched to openly declare her faith; taking the sticks through which she celebrated the ritual in accordance with the devilish traditional rite of Zoroaster, observed the light brighting around it, and feeling to be strong she broke the sticks and scattered the sacrifice, spit on the fire, extinguished it, and stand up by saying: «I go to the church of the Christians and I do not deny to openly agree with the Christian religion»”

In each of these brief passages we found clear references to the Pahlavi technical term *yašt*, both in Syriac (*yašt*) and in Greek (ιάσθ) texts. Although, with this very word, we usually design the Avestan hymns, we know that in Sasanian time *yašt* was also taken as a generic expression for the Mazdean ritual, and not specifically and exclusively for the liturgy of the so-called Avestan hymns, that in the titles of the extant Avestan manuscripts are sometimes called *Yasn*,<sup>27</sup> according to an oldest pattern designing an hymn as an *aoxtō.nqman-yasna*- (i.e., “a *yasna*- in which the very name of the worshipped *yazata* is ex-

pressely mentioned”), a datum on which I<sup>28</sup> and Kellens<sup>29</sup> in different times have attracted scholarly attention. This fact is undoubtless confirmed from the inscriptions of the Great Priest Kirdīr, where we find many times *yšty* [*yašt*]. I agree with Gignoux<sup>30</sup> who did not translate in those fitting passages of Kirdīr’s inscription *yšty* as *Yašt*, i.e. “hymn”, but simply *Yasna*, expressly stating<sup>31</sup> that here “le mot *yašt* ne peut désigner les hymnes aux divinités mais bien la liturgie du *Yasna*, comme c’est le terme encore aujourd’hui”.

To these statements we can now offer some additional considerations thanks to these *Martyriologia*. The first consideration is that among Christians, who, of course, tried to emphasize the violence and intolerance of the Mazdeans and of the – from their own point of view – devilish paganism of Zoroaster, showing in their turn also many examples of mutual misunderstanding and incomprehension, the term *yašt* seems to have been the current one as a general designation of the *Persian* rituals. By the way, we may simply recall that the accusation of “witchcraft” is mutually evoked, from Christians against Zoroastrians (see the fitting example of Pīrāngušnasp-Grīg<sup>h</sup>ōr) but also from Zoroastrians against Christians. I wount enter this very matter in the present work, because it has been discussed in a long article of mine,<sup>32</sup> from which I only desire to recall that the “political” category of tolerance – as we assumed it – was basically extraneous to the sensibility of the Byzantine and Sasanian empires, although we can eventually find some scattered examples of it.<sup>33</sup>

It is worthwhile to note also that in the *Life* of Pīrāngušnasp-Grīg<sup>h</sup>ōr, the confession of the sins, probably a *patet*,<sup>34</sup> which, as Pettazzoni already remarked,<sup>35</sup> should have been introduced only in Sasanian times, was indicated – we do not know if correctly or by a mistake – “*yašt* of the sins”. It is also interesting to remark that Pīrāngušnasp-Grīg<sup>h</sup>ōr was asked to recite this text and to perform the ritual in connection with the Frawardīgān feast. From the life of Saint Gīwargīs we find a direct proof about the already known statement that Mazdean children were usually trained from the age of seven years, then after their first initiation, and that they learned the ritual liturgy and the use of of the *barsom*. In the case of the performance delivered by the young Mihrāngušnasp-Gīwargīs, just in front of King Hormazd, we cannot exclude that the reference to the word *yašt* was properly referred or not to a specific hymnic recitation or more generally to any part of the *yasna* liturgy. But the fact that such a child masterly recited these prayers in a very quick manner for his King and the rich prize he was given by his lord, confirm the importance that was commonly attributed to this kind of training surely comprehending also a good knowledge of the hymns. Such a form of learning was also part of the basic education of young ladies, as we deduce from the life of Saint Šīrīn, who very early was able to perform “the mistic adoration called of the *Yašts* (τὴν μυστικὴν λατρείαν ... τῆς ἰάσθ)”.<sup>36</sup> Also

in this case we cannot establish whether the reference is to the *Yasn* in general or strictly to the hymns, but I do not exclude that both were understood, being the hymns a part of the *yasna* liturgy according to the single days of the calendar, as it is shown from the introductory and closing formulas of any hymn.<sup>37</sup> It is interesting to reflect on the fact that Šīrīn seems to have been trained by a Mazdean women coming from the Pārs. This means that the ritual education of the young ladies was sometimes imparted from other well trained women, sometimes specifically invited from other places. The direct ritual competence of the women is known also from scattered references in the Zoroastrian sources. According to the *Ārdā Wīrāz Nāmāg*, the sisters and wives of Wīrāz knew by heart the sacred texts and performed rituals,<sup>38</sup> while the *Hērbedestān*, in chapters 4 and 5,<sup>39</sup> refers to the presence, at least in some particular occasions, of women in the liturgy of the *yasna*, acting as *zaotars*.

The Greek version of the *Martyrologium* of Saint Šīrīn presents us with another important element of reflection concerning the verb μαγέω, which is frequently used in this kind of agiographic literature. No doubt that, on the one hand, the Christian context was hostile and consequently the semantic background of this verb appears to have been strongly viciated in the framework of the *Martyrologia* by heavy prejudices, which, as we will see, were based on the earlier reinterpretation<sup>40</sup> of the basic meaning of the word μαγεία (originally the θεῶν θεραπεία mentioned in the *Alcibiades I* of the Pseudo-Plato (I, XVII, 121e-122a)<sup>41</sup>, i.e. simply a technical and neutral definition of the Magian ritual and doctrine, based, as Greek μάγος, on the Old Persian stem *magu-*), at least partially, but significantly, into the semantic sphere of the γοητεία “wizardry”.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, we must recall that μαγέω was also the current translation of Middle Persian *yaštan* and Parthian *yazīdan*, at least in the Greek version of the Sasanian inscription of Šābuhr (ŠKZ, 27)<sup>43</sup>, where its technical meaning was that of “offering a sacrifice” or “(wiederholt) opfern”. Such a technical meaning, as Huysse has recently remarked,<sup>44</sup> was not apparently registered among those contained in the *Greek-English Lexicon* of Liddell and Scott, where we find:<sup>45</sup>

I: “to be a Magus” or “skilled in Magian arts”; II: (trans. and pass.) “to use magic arts”; III: (trans. and pass.) “to bewitch” (e.g. by philtres) and “to call forth by magic arts”.

This dictionary gives as examples for the first meaning only two passages; the first, quoted from Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 3, 6 runs as follows:

ταῦτα δρᾶν Ἄρτοξέρξου μέλλοντος ἀφίκετο Τισαφέρνης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων ἕνα τῶν ἱερέων, ὃς ἐν παισὶ Κύρου τῆς νομιζομένης ἀγωγῆς ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος καὶ διδάξας μαγεύειν αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἐδόκει Περσῶν ἀνιάσθαι μὴ ἀποδειχθέντος ἐκείνου βασιλέως·

“As Artaxerxes was about to perform these rites, Tissaphernes brought to him a certain priest who had conducted Cyrus through the customary discipline for boys, had taught him *the wisdom of the Magi*, and was thought to be more distressed than any one in Persia because his pupil had not been declared king”.<sup>46</sup>

But in this case, I wonder if the meaning usually attributed here to μαγεύω is the fitting one. In fact, it is clear that according to such a passage the Persian priest was not teaching his pupil the way “to become a Magus” nor he was simply fraying to teach “the wisdom of the Magi”, but he taught him a technical knowledge, i.e. the μαγεία, that, as already stated in the *Alcibiades I*, was a special kind of θεῶν θεραπεία. In other words, it seems that we can translate this passage as: a certain priest who ... had taught him to worship (according to the ritual of the Magi) ...”. This interpretation becomes very attractive if we consider that, according to Herodotus, I, 132, among the Persians the presence of a μάγος was indispensable<sup>47</sup> for the sacrificial rite (ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὐ σφιν νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι) and that the Magi usually chanted theogonies (μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεῶς ἐπαδείει θεογονίην).<sup>48</sup> These facts support the idea that μαγεῦν, when strictly referred to an Iranian framework, had originally the technical meaning of “to perform the ritual, i.e. the sacrifice and the prayers of the Magi”.

Counterwise, the first meaning registered by Liddell and Scott (“to be a Magus” or “skilled in Magian arts”) is doubtless attested in the second example taken from Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii*, 1, 2, where we read:<sup>49</sup>

... Πλάτων τε βαδίσας ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ προφητῶν τε καὶ ἱερέων ἐγκαταμίξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις, καὶ καθάπερ ζωγράφος ἐσκιαγραφημένοις ἐπιβαλὼν χρώματα, οὐπω μαγέυειν ἔδοξε, καίτοι πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων φθονηθεὶς ἐπὶ σοφία.

“... and Plato went to Egypt and mingled with his own discourses much of what he heard from the prophets and priests there; and though, like a painter, he laid his own colours on to their rough sketches, yet *he never passed for a wizard*, although envied above all mankind for his wisdom”.

We must note that these two passages are in any case different also if the basic meaning attributed by Liddell and Scott were the right one; in fact, the first passage refers to an Old Persian context, where “to become a magus” would necessarily mean “to become member of a restricted and initiated priestly group”, while the second is strictly based on the well-known development of the word μάγος as “wizard”. Such an evolution is attested in a third passage from the *Acts of the Apostles*, 8, 9: Ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστάνων τὸ ἔθνος τῆ Σαμαρείας λέγων εἶναι τίνα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν ... (*Vir autem quidam nomine Simon qui ante fuerat in civitate magus, seducens gentem Samariae dicens se esse aliquem magnum ...*).<sup>50</sup>

The second meaning attributed to μαγέω (“to use magic arts”) is already attested in Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica*, vv. 1336-1338:<sup>51</sup>

χρόνω δ' ἴν' ἡμῖν δρᾶν τι δὴ δοκοῖ πλέον,

ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆδε βάρβαρα

μέλη μαγεύουσ' ὥς φόνον νίζουσα δὴ.

“Time passed: *she chanted loud some alien hymn*

*Of wizardry*, – with semblance of weird rites

To cozen us, – as one that cleansed blood-guilt”

Verse-lines 1337-388 (βάρβαρα μέλη μαγεύουσα) show that the technical meaning of the verb μαγέω (and, of course, that of the word μαγεία) which originally had nothing to do with “wizardry” or “witchcraft”, very soon had evolved towards a less specialized value, and were simply used in order to designate in general sense the performance of “magic” arts or rituals and the recitation of magic chants. See also Plutarch, *Numa*, 15, 8:<sup>52</sup> ἔνιοι δ' οὐ τοὺς δαίμονας φασὶν ὑποθέσθαι τὸν καθαρμόν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν καταγαγεῖν τὸν Δία μαγεύσαντας, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον τῷ Νομᾷ προστάσσειν ὡς χρὴ γενέσθαι τὸν καθαρμόν κεφαλαῖς “some, however, say that it was not the (two) demons themselves who imparted the charm, but that they called Jupiter down from heaven by their magic, and that this deity angrily told Numa that he must charm an expiatory sacrifice with «heads»”.<sup>53</sup> To this example we can add also Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 6, 20, 18:<sup>54</sup> ἡξίου δὲ οὗτος Αἰγύπτιος εἶναι μὲν Ἀμφίονα, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Θρᾶκα Ὀρφεά μαγεῦσαι δεινόν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπᾶδουσι θηρία τε ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐς τὰς τοῦ τείχους οἰκοδομίας τὰς πέτρας “This Egyptian thought that Amphion and also the Thracian Orpheus were clever magicians, and that it was through their enchantments that the beasts came to Orpheus, and the stones came to Amphion for the building of the wall”.

This change of meaning is in particular patently attested in passages where μαγέω (used transitively and passively) assumed the third significate of “to enchant”, “to bewitch” (also by means of philtres), “to charm”, as registered in the basic dictionary of Liddell and Scott with reference to

1) Achilles Tatius, *Erotici*, 5, 22:<sup>55</sup> ἀκούω τὰς Θεσσαλὰς ὑμᾶς ὧν ἂν ἐρασθῆτε μαγεύειν οὕτως, ὥστε μὴ πρὸς ἑτέραν ἔτι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποκλίνειν γυναικὰ, πρὸς τε τὴν μαγεύουσαν οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς πάντα νομίζειν ἐκείνην αὐτῷ. “I understand that you Thessalian women, when you fall in love, are able to conjure in such a way that your lover never inclines to any other woman, and is so firmly attached to the woman who has bewitched him that he considers her his all-in-all”;

2) Clearchus:<sup>56</sup> ... οὐδὲ λέγειν καλόν, πλὴν ὅτι μαγεύομεναι καὶ μαγεύουσαι, ταυροπόλοι καὶ τρίοδοι τίνες αὐτὰι πρὸς ἀλλήθειαν ἐγένοντο, πλήρεις πά-



ντων ἀποκαθαρμάτων ... “*verbo dicam, magicas artes et in se et in alius exercentes, tauropolae ac vere dixerim triviae quaedam factae sunt omni genere immunditiarum plenae*”;

3) Lucianus (or Pseudo-Lucianus), *Asinus seu Lucius*, 54:<sup>57</sup> ἔλεγον κάτωθεν ὅτι γυνή με Θετταλῆ γυναικὸς Θετταλῆς δούλη χρίσματι μεμαγευμένῳ ἐπαλείψασα ὄνον ποίησειεν (...) “... and I told him from down there that a Thessalian witch, had anointed me with a magic unguent and made me into an ass (...)»<sup>58</sup>;

4) It is also very interesting a passage of Apollodoros, *Mythographi Graeci*, I, 9, 28, referred to Jason and Medea, where we find in a family of manuscripts (A) the reading πέπλον μεμαγευμένον φάρμακον “a robe bewitched as a poison” (instead of πέπλον μεμαγμένον φαρμάκοις; i.e. “a robe steeped in poison” [E]).<sup>59</sup>

Another meaning registered by Liddell and Scott was that of “to call forth by magic arts” with reference again to other two fitting passages of Lucianus, *Asinus seu Lucius*, II:<sup>60</sup> Ὠφιλάτῃ, δεῖξόν μοι μαγγανεύουσιν ἢ μεταμορφουμένην τὴν δέσποιναν “Dearest, show me your mistress practicing magic or changing her shape”;<sup>61</sup> ἡ δὲ Παλαίστρα, Παῦσαι, φησί, προσπαίζων. τίς γὰρ ὠδὴ δύναται μαγεῦσαι τὸν ἔρωτά, ὄντα τῆς τέχνης κύριον; “But Palaestra said, «Stop joking. What magic incantations can conjure Love forth ?”<sup>62</sup> and to the *Palatin Anthology*, 12, 57:

Πραξιτέλης ὁ πάλαι ζωογλύφος ἀβρὸν ἄγαλμα  
ἄψυχον, μορφᾶς κωφὸν ἔτευξε τύπον,  
πέτρον ἐνειδοφορῶν· ὁ δὲ νῦν, ἔμψυχα μαγεύων,  
τὸν τριπανοῦργον Ἔρωτ ἔπλασεν ἐν κραδίᾳ.

“Praxiteles the sculptor of the old time wrought a delicate image, but lifeless, the dumb counterfeit of beauty, endowing the stone with form; but this Praxiteles of to-day, creator of living beings by his magic moulded in my heart Love, the rogue of rogues. (...)”.<sup>63</sup>

Notwithstanding this kind of widespread semantic evolution, it was already Mariq,<sup>64</sup> following a seminal intuition of Cumont,<sup>65</sup> who noted that the special meaning, i.e. that of “performing a ritual/to sacrifice”, where μαγέωω patently corresponds to *yaštan*, as in ŠKZ, was the same attested also in a short Graeco-Aramaic bilingual inscription found near Faraša, in Cappadocia (probably of the first century AD.),<sup>66</sup> dedicated to Mithra. Here, in fact, we find the sentence: <sup>67</sup>

Σαγάριος  
Μαγ[αφέ]ρνου  
στρατηγός  
Ἀριαραμνεί(ας)  
ἐμάγευσε  
Μίθρη

“Singarios, son of Magaphernes, Strategos of Ariaramneia, ἐμάγευσε Μίθρη”, where the last part corresponded to *mgyš [lm]trh*’ in the Aramaic version (*sgr br mhgprn rbmg*’<sup>68</sup> *mgyš [lm]trh*’).<sup>69</sup>

As Vermaseren assumed,<sup>70</sup> between the two possible explanations of this sentence, i.e., “(he) became a Magus for Mithra”<sup>71</sup> or “(he) celebrated a Magian rite/sacrificed to Mithra”, it is only the second one that can be seriously taken into consideration. A direct support to this interpretation is offered<sup>72</sup> by a parallel construction attested in Buddhist Sogdian, where the sentence *’ky ZY ’wzy’n wnty ’t βyw ’zty* “he who slaughters (animals) and sacrifices to a god ...”,<sup>73</sup> clearly shows the parallel use of the verb *yz-* plus an indirect object (ablative; *βyw*).

It is in fact possible, as suggested by Benveniste,<sup>74</sup> that the meaning of the verb *yaštan*, as in Armenia, was also associated with a special form of sacrifice performed by Mazdean priests by clubbing the beast to death, but, in my opinion, is farfetched to suppose, as expressly suggested by Boyce and Grenet,<sup>75</sup> that “the verb *mageuein* came to be coined for it in the Hellenistic world, being used, it seems, by Greek speakers in Iran itself as well as in Asia Minor”. But, as we have seen, this verb was already attested, although with a different meaning, at the time of Euripides; thus, we cannot state that it was coined only in Late Antiquity. On the contrary, we can imagine that, as the principal ritual performance of the Mazdean priest – in the West mainly the Μάγοι – was that represented by the act of *yaz*-ing or *yad*-ing, later that of *yaštan* or *yazīdan*, their special kind of worship was considered as a μαγεία, in its original ritual and neutral (i.e. technical) sense and meaning. Such a semantic value seems to be also that to be attributed to the already quoted passage in Plutarch’s Artaxerxes. Then, I think, μαγέω did not only preserved its basic meaning of “performing a Magian rite”, then “sacrificing” according to a special (i.e. Magian) modality of killing the sacrificial animals, distinguished from the debased sense of bewitching, charming, but, more generally, it assumed also that of “offering the Persian ritual (with or without immolation)”, “worshipping”. Thus we can suspect that in the Greek *Martyrologia*, especially when these were translated from a Syriac *Vorlage*, μαγέω was also a special way of rendering the Syriac expression “to offer a *yašt*” (*’bd yašt*) that we have found in the Syriac lives of the Persian Saints. In this respect, the verb was used in a more technical sense than in the already quoted passage of the *Acts of the Apostles* (8, 9).

Thus, it is clear that if μαγέω corresponded to the official translation of *yaštan* accepted by Sasanian interpreters and scribes (indifferently if they were of Iranian mother tongue or not) in standard Greek, it probably translated also Syriac *’bd yašt*. This also means that in Sasanian times the same Greek word had maintained its technical force and that, along the border, it sounded with very

different semantic hues among Christians and among learned Mazdeans. For the first group it was referred to the devilish pagan worship (and sacrifice) of the Magi, then from their special perspective a kind of witchcraft and idolatry, while for the others it represented the normal expression to be used in Greek for their own ritual worship and sacrifice. In any case for both it does not seem to be used in the most banal meaning of “using magic arts” nor in that of “bewitching”, but it preserved a close connection with the various and complex performances connected with the act of *yaštan*.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> L.H. GRAY, *Zoroastrian and Other Ethnic Religious Material in the Acta Sanctorum, Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-14, Manchester 1914, pp. 37-55.

<sup>2</sup> Ph. GIGNOUX, *Chrétiens et Mazdéens d'après des sources syriaques*, *Studia Iranica*, 28, 1999, pp. 83-94.

<sup>3</sup> P. DEVOS, *Sainte Širin martyre sous Khosrau Ier Anošarvan*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 64, 1946, pp. 87-131.

<sup>4</sup> P. PEETERS, *Observations sur la Vie syriaque de Mar Aba, Catholicos de l'église perse (540-552)*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Città del Vaticano 1946, vol. V, pp. 69-112.

<sup>5</sup> See I. GUIDI, *Chronicon Anonymum*, in *Scriptores Syri*. CSCO, Versio. Series Tertia. Tomus IV. *Chronica Minora*, Parisiis 1903, pp. 21-23; G. GREATREX – S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part II. Ad 363-630. A narrative sourcebook*, London and New York 2002, pp. 233-234. The two sons of Yazdān, Šamṭā and Nēhormizd, killed Xusraw II and some of his sons, among whom Mardānšāh, born by Šīrīn; after, they were executed during the complex period of military anarchy; cf. also J. LABOURT, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, Paris 1904, pp. 236-238, 242, and again Guidi, *Chronicon Anonymum*, pp. 24-25. See also C. MANGO, *Héraclius, Šahrvaraz et la vraie croix*, in *Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse sassanide*, Travaux et Mémoires, 9, Collège de France. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 1985, pp. 104-118, in particular p. 109; Greatrex – Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, pp. 219-225.

<sup>6</sup> LABOURT, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, pp. 208-225; A. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, p. 313; G. WIDENGREN, *The Nestorian Church in Sasanian and Early-Post-Sasanian Times*, in *Incontro di Religioni in Asia tra il III e il X secolo d.C.*, a cura di L. Lanciotti, Firenze 1984, pp. 1-30, in particular p. 28. Vedi inoltre G. HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band 7., Nr. 3, Leipzig 1880, pp. 24-25.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Histoire nestorienne. Chronique de Séert*, ed. par A. Scher, Paris 1908, BOr. TV/V, Pars I, V, vol. I, p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> See my article *Women and Kingship. Some remarks about the enthronisation of Queen Bōrān and her sister \*Āzarmīgduxt*, in the press. Cf. also J.D. Frendo, New Evidence concerning

the Birth Date of one of the Last Kings of Sassanian Persian and the Foundation of the Fire-Temple of Shiz, *Siculatorum Gymnasium. Rassegna semestrale della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Catania*, 29, 1976, pp. 221-231, in particular pp. 224-225.

<sup>9</sup> P. PEETERS, *Observations sur la Vie syriaque de Mar Aba, Catholicos de l'église perse (540-552)*, pp. 88-111.

<sup>10</sup> See G. WIDENGREN, *The Nestorian Church in Sasanian and Early-Post-Sasanian Times*, in *Incontro di Religioni in Asia tra il III e il X secolo d.C.*, a cura di L. Lanciotti, Firenze 1984, pp. 1-30.

<sup>11</sup> P. DEVOS, *Les martyrs persans à travers leurs Actes syriaques*, p. 216; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 87-91.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. P. PEETERS, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Bruxelles 1910 (*Subsidia hagiographia*, 10), pp. 74-75, n° 323; DEVOS, *Les martyrs persans à travers leurs Actes syriaques*, pp. 217-218. According to the *Chronicon Anonymum* edited by I. Guidi, pp. 20-21, the médecin of court of Xusraw II, the monophysite Gabriel, accused George of apostasy from the *dēn ī māzdēšn*". Cf. also Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 91-115, and the *excursus* at the pp. 115-121.

<sup>13</sup> See P. BEDJAN, *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un pretre et de deux laïques nestoriens*, Paris–Leipzig 1895, pp. 416-571. Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, *Justinien et l'église de Perse*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23-24, 1969-70, pp. 41-66, in particular p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>15</sup> HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>16</sup> See DEVOS, *Sainte Širin martyre sous Khosrau Ier Anošarvan*, p. 96; cf. also HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 94, n. 838.

<sup>17</sup> HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>18</sup> According to HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 93, n. 832.

<sup>19</sup> Le, an hypocoristic of Hazār-bōxt.

<sup>20</sup> According to HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 94, n. 841, a cushion corresponded to 700 goldcoins. The young noble was also honoured by the king, who admitted him at the service of his table with a special function (see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 413-414; cf. HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 94-95).

<sup>21</sup> See Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber sur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, p. 288.

<sup>22</sup> HOFFMANN, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 3, 173.

<sup>23</sup> P. de LAGARDE, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Leipzig 1866, p. 189.

<sup>24</sup> DEVOS, *Sainte Širin martyre sous Khosrau Ier Anošarvan*, p. 91.

<sup>25</sup> DEVOS, *Sainte Širin martyre sous Khosrau Ier Anošarvan*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>26</sup> DEVOS, *Sainte Širin martyre sous Khosrau Ier Anošarvan*, p. 119.

<sup>27</sup> A. PANAINO, *Philologia Avestica IV. Av. yaštay- / yešti-; yašta-; phl. yašt. Quelques réflexions sur les titres des hymnes de l'Avesta*, *Studia Iranica*, 23, 1994, fase. 2, pp. 163-185.

<sup>28</sup> PANAINO, *Tištrya*. Vol. I. *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius*, Rome 1990, pp. 50, 116; *Philologia Avestica IV*, pp. 172-174; *The Lists of Names of Ahura Mazdā (Yašt I) and Vayu (Yašt XV)*, Roma 2002, p. 21 and note 25.

<sup>29</sup> J. KELLENS, *Considérations sur l'histoire de l'Avesta*, *JA*, 286/2, 1998, pp. 451-519, in particular p. 263.

<sup>30</sup> Ph. GIGNOUX, *Les Quatre Inscriptions du Mage Kirdīr*, Paris.1991, pp. 37, and *passim*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, n. 103.

<sup>32</sup> A. PANAINO, *La Chiesa di Persia e l'Impero Sasanide: Conflitto e integrazione*, in *CIS-AM – LI Settimana di Studio: Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI)*, Spoleto, 24-30 aprile 2003, Spoleto 2004.

<sup>33</sup> This is for instance the case of Mār Abā, who, notwithstanding the heavy charges against him, in particular his conversion from Zoroastrianism to Christianity, was substantially protected by Xusraw I, who, for instance, declared that the process against the Katholikos was held in unacceptable conditions for the part under accusation. Cf. P. PEETERS, *Observations sur la Vie syriaque de Mar Aba, Catholicos de l'église perse (540-552)*, *passim*. About the survival of Zoroastrian habits among neo-converted Christians of Sasanian Persia see now M. Hutter (Mār Abā and the Impact of Zoroastrianism on Christianity in the 6th century, in *Religious themes and texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the occasion of his 65th birthday on 6 December 2002*, ed. by Carlo Cerēti, Mauro Maggi and Elio Provasi. Series: "Beiträge zur Iranistik", directed by Nicholas Sims-Williams, Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 167-173).

<sup>34</sup> See J.J. MODI, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., Bombay 1937 (reprint Bombay 1995), pp. 93-94 and *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> R. PETTAZZONI, *Confession of the Sins in Zoroastrian Religion*, in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1930, pp. 437-441.

<sup>36</sup> DEVOS, *Sainte Širin martyre sous Khosrau Ier Anošarvan*, pp. 114.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J. DARMESTETER, *Le Zend-Avesta*, vol. 2, Paris 1892, pp. 332-333; H. LOMMEL, *Die Yāšts des Awesta übersetzt und eingeleitet*, Göttingen – Leipzig 1927, pp. 8-12.

<sup>38</sup> See Ph. GIGNOUX, *Le Livre d'Ardā Wīrāz*, Paris 1984, p. 150.

<sup>39</sup> F.M. KOTWAL – Ph.G. KREYENBROEK, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*. Vol. I. *Hērbedestān*. Edited and translated by F.M. Kotwal and Ph.G. Kreyenbroek with contributions by J.R. Russell, Paris 1992, pp. 18, 39-47; *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*. Vol. II. *Nērangestān*. Fargard 1. Edited and translated by F.M. Kotwal and Ph.G. Kreyenbroek with contributions by J.R. Russell, Paris 1995, pp. 19, 120-125.

<sup>40</sup> One step in the process of semantic evolution of the stem μᾶγος and its derivatives in Greek, a part from a fitting case in Euripides (see below in the text), can be identified in the *Politicus* of Plato, 280e (see *Platonis Opera* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit I. Burnet, Tomus I Tetralogía I-II continens, Oxonii 1900, p. 478; cf. Plato, in twelve volumes. Vol. VII. With an English Translation. *The Statesman – Philebus*, by H.N. Fowler and W.R.M. Lamb, London – Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1925, pp. 86-87), where we find, listed among the useful

τέχνη, also the μαγευτικὴ τέχνη, strictly mentioned as the art of magic which is concerned with the antidotes against the poisons and spells (καὶ τὴν μαγευτικὴν τὴν περὶ τὰ ἀλεξιφάρμακα). If here, on the one hand, no negative implication can be ascribed to the μαγευτικὴ τέχνη (and such a datum confirms Plato's attitude towards the Persian μαγεία), on the second hand, we must consider that such an art useful against poisons puts the μαγεία in a more practical field which has strictly nothing to do with religion, but that is closer to that of standard magic, that can be positive or negative. We may note that μαγευτικός will be used in later times by Ptolemy, *Tetrabyblos*, II, 3, 44 (Ptolemy, *Tetrabyblos*, edited and translated into English by E.F. Robbins, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London 1940, pp. 152-153; C. Tolomeo, *Le Previsioni astrologiche* (Tetrabiblos), a cura di S. Feraboli, Milano 1985, pp. 124-125), as a substantive in order to mean those who, living in the fourth (astrological) quarter (Libya), become “magicians” (μαγευτικοί) through the influence of Mars. It is clear that μαγευτικός in this place has nothing to do with the Iranian Magi.

<sup>41</sup> Voir C. CLEMEN, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae*, Bonnae 1920, p. 23; cf. also PLATON, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Tome I. Texte établi et traduit par M. Croiset, Paris, 1925, pp. 89-90).

<sup>42</sup> See E. BENVENISTE, *Les Mages dans l'Ancien Iran*, Paris 1938, pp. 26-27.

<sup>43</sup> We may recall that in the case of the verb *yaz-* / *yaštan* the heterogramme YDBHWN, from Aramaic *dbḥ* (*zbḥ*) “to sacrifice”, was used. YDBHWN corresponds to the ppp. *yašt* in KKZ 15, but in KNRm 47 a phonetic orthography, i.e., [*yš*]/*ty* it is attested (see Ph. GIGNOUX, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*, p. 37; idem, *Les Quatre Inscriptions du Mage Kirdīr*, London 1972, p. 65). In ŠKZ 27, *yaštan* is written YDBHWN-tn (GIGNOUX, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*, p. 37; M Back, *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*. Acta Iranica 18. Téhéran – Liège 1978, p. 345); the Parthian text has YOBD-*ytn* [(*yazīdan*); GIGNOUX, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*, p. 67], while the Greek version has ΜΑΓΕΪΣΩΣΙΝ, third pi. subj. active aorist (cf. BACK, *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*, p. 24 and Ph. Huysse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'aba-i Zardušt* (ŠKZ). Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicaram. 2 Voll., London 1999, vol. I, pp. 52, 152; vol. II, p. 124).

<sup>44</sup> HUYSE, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'aba-i Zardušt* (ŠKZ), vol. II, p. 124.

<sup>45</sup> *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H.G. Liddell and R. Scott. Revised and augmented throughout by H. Stuart Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie and with the co-operation of many scholars. With a Supplement, Oxford 1968, p.1071a.

<sup>46</sup> *Plutarch's Lives* with an English translation by B. Perrin. XI. *Arātus, Artaxerxes, Galba, Otho*, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1926, pp. 130-133.

<sup>47</sup> See also E. BENVENISTE, *Les Mages dans l'Ancien Iran*, Paris 1938, pp. 17-18.

<sup>48</sup> *Herodoti Historiae* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit C Hude, Oxonii 1923; Erodoto, *Le Storie*. Libro I. *La Lidia e la Persia*, a cura di D. Asheri, traduzione di V. Anselmi, Milano 1988, p. 154-155.

<sup>49</sup> Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana. The Epistles of Apollonius and the Treatise of Usebius*, with an English Translation of F.C. Conybeare, in Two Volumes. Vol. I, London – Cambridge (Mass.) 1912, pp. 6-7.

<sup>50</sup> *Novum Testamentum graece et latine*, apparatus critico instructum edidit A. Merk, editio nona, Romae 1964, p. 426.

<sup>51</sup> Euripides with an English Translation by A.S. Way in Four Volumes. II. *Electra, Oristes, Iphigeneia in taurica, Cyclops*, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1912, pp. 398-399.

<sup>52</sup> *Plutarchii Vitae Parallelae*, recognoverit Cl. Lindskog et K Ziegler. Vol. III. Fase. 2. Iterum recensuit K Ziegler, accedunt *Vitae Galbae et Othonis et vitarum deperditarum Fragmenta*, Leipzig 1973, pp. 74-75; cf. also Plutarco, *Le Vite di Licurgo edi Numa*, a cura di M Manfredini e L. Piccirilli, Milano 1980 (Hled. 1995); pp. 166-167.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Plutarch's Lives* with an English Translation by B. Perrin, Vol. I. *Theseus and Romulus, Lycurgus and Numa, Solon and Publicola*, London – Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1914, p. 361.

<sup>54</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, with an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones, Vol. III. *Books VI-VIII (I-XXI)*, London -Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1933, pp. 128-129; See also Pausania, *Guida della Grecia*. Libro VI. *L'Elide e Olimpia*. Testo e traduzione a cura di G MaddolieM. Nafissi, Milano 1999, pp. 130-131.

<sup>55</sup> See *Achilles Tatius* with an English Translation by S. Gaselee, London – Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1917, pp. 284-287.

<sup>56</sup> *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, collegit, disposuit, notis et prolegomenis illustravit, indicibus instruxit C Müller, Vol. II, Parisiis 1848, p. 312, fr. 25.

<sup>57</sup> *Luciani Opera* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit M.D. MacLeod, Tomus II, *Libelli 26-43*, Oxonii 1974, p. 307.

<sup>58</sup> See *Lucian*, with an English Translation by M.D. MacLeod, VIII, London – Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1967, pp. 140-141.

<sup>59</sup> οἱ δὲ ἦκον εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ δέκα ἔτη διετέλουν εὐτυχοῦντες, αὔθις δὲ τῆς Κορίνθου βασιλέως Κρέοντος τὴν θυγατέρα Γλαύκην Ἰάσωνι ἐγγυῶντος, παραπεμψάμενος Ἰάσων Μήδειαν ἐγάμει. ἡ δέ, οὓς τε ὤμοσεν Ἰάσων θεοῦς ἐπικαλεσαμένη καὶ τὴν Ἰάσωνος ἀχαριστίαν μεμψαμένη πολλάκις, τῇ μὲν γαμουμένη πέπλον μεμαγμένον ψαρμοίοις ἐπεμψεν, ὃν ἀμφισσαμένη μετὰ τοῦ βοηθοῦντος πατρὸς πυρὶ λάβρῳ κατεφλέχθη (...). See ApoUodorus, *The Library*, with an English Translation by Sir J.G. Frazer, vol. I, London – Cambridge 1921, pp. 122-123: “They went to Corinth, and lived there happily for ten years, till Creon, king of Corinth, betrothed his daughter Glauce to Jason, who married her and divorced Medea. But she invoked the gods by whom Jason had sworn, and after often upbraiding him with his ingratitude she sent the bride a robe steeped in poison, which when Glauce had put on, she was consumed with fierce fire along with her father, who went to her rescue”. Cf. APOLLODORO, *I Miti Greci (Biblioteca)*, a cura di P. Scarpi, Traduzione di M.G. Ciani, Milano 1996 (Died. 1997), pp. 80-81. Cf. also the parallel passage in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, 256e (see Ateneo, / *Deipnosophisti. I Dotti a ban-chet to*. Prima traduzione italiana commentata su progetto di Luciano Canfora. Introduzione di Chr. Jacob, Roma 2001, vol. II, pp. 616-617; vol. IV (Greek text), pp. 278-279).

<sup>60</sup> *Luciani Opera* recognovit, II, p. 282.

<sup>61</sup> *Lucian*, with an English Translation by M.D. MacLeod, VIII pp. 68-69.

<sup>62</sup> *Lucian*, with an English Translation by M.D. MacLeod, VIII, pp. 68-69.

<sup>63</sup> *The Greek Anthology*, with an English Translation by W.R. Paton, vol. IV, London – Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1918, pp. 308-309.

<sup>64</sup> A Mariq, Res Gestae Divi Sapons, in *Classica et Orientalia. Extrait de Syria*, 1955-1962, Paris, 1965, pp. 37-101, in particolare p. 62 [= 320], n. 5.

<sup>65</sup> F. Cumont, *Anatolian Studies ... Buckler*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>66</sup> According to H. Grégoire, Note sur une inscription gréco-araméenne trouvée à Faraša (Ariaramneia-Rhodanos), *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1908, pp. 434-447, but other suggest an earlier period; see Benveniste, *Les Mages*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>67</sup> M.J. VERMASEREN, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, Hagae Comitum 1956, vol. I, p. 50, n° 19; Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique, Revue des études grecques*, 1939, pp. 443-444; 1958, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> About the interpretation of *rabmag*, see BENVENISTE, *Les Mages*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>69</sup> For the Aramaic text see H. Grégoire, Note sur une inscription gréco-araméenne trouvée à Faraša (Ariaramneia-Rhodanos), *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1908, pp. 434-447; cf. M LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III, Giessen 1915, pp. 66-67.

<sup>70</sup> See Vermaseren, *ibidem*; see also M. Boyce and Fr. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*. Vol. III. *Zoroastrian under Macedonian and Roman Rule*. With a Contribution of R. Beck, Leiden 1991, pp. 272-273.

<sup>71</sup> See Nock, *American Journal of Philology*, 63, 1942, p. 349; cf. BENVENISTE, *Les Mages*, p. 30.

<sup>72</sup> See also Boyce – Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, III, p. 273.

<sup>73</sup> D.N. MACKENZIE, *The 'Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Action's' in Sogdian*, London 1970, pp. 15-16, verse-line 248.

<sup>74</sup> E. BENVENISTE, Sur la terminologie iranienne du sacrifice, *JA*, 1954, pp. 45-58, in particular pp. 51-53.

<sup>75</sup> Boyce – Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, III, p. 273.