



FARR(AH)

FARR(AH), X^vARĒNAH, literally, “glory,” according to the most likely etymology and the semantic function reconstructed from its occurrence in various contexts and phases of the Iranian languages. In all Iranian dialects the form had initial *f*-, except Avestan and Pahlavi, in which we find initial *x^v*- (*hy*-): *x^varənah*- and *xwarrah* (cf. NPers. *korra*, below). Despite Philippe Gignoux’s doubts (1986, pp. 9-10; cf. Gnoli 1989a, pp. 152-53), the latter was probably also the Middle Persian form in Sasanian inscriptions, where, as in Pahlavi, it was written with the Aramaic ideogram *GDE* (see below).

Attestations in Iranian languages. The word is attested as *farnah*- in Median proper names from the 9th century B.C.E. and in such Old Persian names as Vindafarnah- “he who finds the *farnah*-” (Mayrhofer, 1979, no. 57) analogous to Avestan Viḍaṭ.x^varənah- (Mayrhofer, 1977, no. 365), as well as in parallel Akkadian, Elamite, and Greek traditions (Hinz, 1975, pp. 94-95; cf. p. 297 for composite names with *farnah*- as the second element).

Among Middle Iranian languages it is attested in Sogdian *farn*, Bactrian *far(r)o*, and Khotanese *phārra* and then in the Digoron and Iron dialects of Ossetic respectively as *farnä* and *farn* “peace, happiness, abundance, fortune,” reflecting a Scytho-Sarmatian and Alan cultural background (Miller, p. 248; Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xxii, 63; Abaev, 1949, p. 71; idem, 1958, pp. 421-22; idem, 1960, pp. 16-17; Benveniste, 1959, p. 127; cf. Litvinskij). In New Iranian languages other than Persian it may be present in Pashto *nwar* “sun” (*nmar*, *lmar* with dissimilation *n-m* > *l-m*, perhaps explainable by metathesis, nasalization, or both: **farnah* > *n^ofar(n)*; Skjærvø 1989a, pp. 403, 405, 407; cf.



Morgenstierne, p. 54).

In Buddhist Sogdian and Khotanese the word signified the “position of a Buddha” (Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 56-57; idem, *Dictionary*, p. 261; idem, 1982, p. 51), and it passed into Tokharian with this meaning, derived from the original sense of “dignity” or “high position” (Agnean *parn*, as in *puttišparn*, Kuchean *perne*; Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 57, 227; for Khot. *phārra*, see Emmerick, p. 213; cf. Skt. *lakṣana* and Chinese *xiàng*; for BSogd. *prn*, attested with the meaning “fortune, majesty,” see MacKenzie, 1976, part II, p. 122). In Manichean Sogdian *frn* “luck” designated the first of the five luminaries, corresponding to Syriac *haunā*, Parthian *b'm*, Turkish *qut*, and Chinese *xiàng* (Gershevitch 1961, par. 224; cf. Asmussen, p. 163; Bryder, p. 129; Schmidt-Glintzer, pp. 128, 144, s.vv. *hsiang*, *miao-hsiang*), and appeared in the name *šnyyfrn* (cf. Man. Mid. Parth. *šyn frh*, Man. Mid. Pers. *frh 'y dyn*; Sundermann, 1979, p. 102; for Turk. *nom qutī* “glory of the religion,” see Klimkeit, pp. 234 ff.; Schaeder, 1933, p. 357; Henning, 1942, p. 240; Bryder, p. 116).

The word also passed into Armenian, in which *p'ark'* has meanings ranging from “glory, honor, celebrity” and possibly “fortune” (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 254; Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 38-39; Ajello) to “opinion” (derived from the customary translation of Greek *doxa* with *p'ark'*; Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 62).

The meaning “(good) fortune,” certainly a secondary etymological development, is well documented in various translations of the term in non-Iranian languages, even though they carry a vast range of nuances and specific meanings: Aramaic *gd*; Greek *tychē*; Sanskrit *lakṣmī*, *śrī* (Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xviii, 22, 39-40); and Turkish *qut* (Hansen, p. 15; Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 54-55; cf. Bombaci).

Forms with both initial *f* and initial *h* (*korra*) recur in New Persian. The former are more frequent in literary texts (Dehḵodā, pp. 499, 883-84). *Farr* was a royal and divine attribute, glossed as *kayānī*, *kayī*, *šāhī*, *šāhanšāhī*, *īzadī* (Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xxii, 62), and occurs in phrases like *farr o awrang*, probably derived from an ancient **farnah utā abifarnangam* (Gershevitch, 1985, p. 194: **abifarnanga-* “endowed with majesty”).

Beside the noun there are attestations of an adjectival form traceable to Proto-Iranian **h₂arnah₂uant-* “glorious, resplendent,” attested in Avestan as

x^varənaŋ^vhaŋt-. With the exception of Pahlavi *xwarrahōmand* (*GDE'wmnd*), all the forms in the Iranian languages were derived from **farnah_uant-* or **farnaxwant-*, for example, Middle Persian *farrox* “fortunate, blessed, happy” (Mid. Pers. epigraphic *plḥw*, Parth. *prnḥw*), also written phonetically in the Pahlavi of the Zoroastrian books (*plhw*). *Farrox* recurred in Manichean texts as *frwx*, *prwx* (*frh*, *prh* “glory,” all forms common in Man. Mid. Parth. as well; Boyce, 1977, pp. 39-40) and survives in Persian with the same meanings. There are also attestations in Middle Persian of the derivatives *farroxīh* and, more rarely, *xwarrahīh* (in a calque of Av. *pouru.x^varənah-*; *AirWb.*, col. 903; Nyberg, *Manual* II, pp. 162, 221) and *xwarrahōmandīh*. The initial *h_u-* is also found in some Armenian proper names with *xo^roh*, *xo^rox* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 43; Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xxi, 2), as well as in some Sasanian personal and place names (Gignoux, 1986, pp. 187-88; cf. Henning, “Mitteliranisch,” p. 45 n. 1); in place names Middle Persian *xwarrah* is often rendered in Arabic as *korra* (Gnoli, 1989a, pp. 153-54).

Controversy over meanings. In traditional interpretations “glory,” “splendor,” “luminosity” and “shine,” connected with sun and fire, were considered the primary meanings of the term *farr(ah)*, *x^varənah*. Semantic developments and etymologically secondary meanings related to prosperity, (good) fortune, and (kingly) majesty were also recognized (for a summary of early interpretations, see Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. 75-77). The sense “high position,” particularly noteworthy in Sogdian and Khotanese, lies behind the recent interpretation of the term as “dignity” (Gershevitch, 1992, p. 168 n. 7). H. W. Bailey reversed the traditional interpretation (*Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xxiii-xxiv, 1-77; cf. idem, 1956; idem, 1959, pp. 79-81; cf. Lentz, 1962; Gropp, pp. 34-35), suggesting, that “fortune” in the sense of “good things, prosperity” was the primary meaning. Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin (1963; 1983) and the present author (Gnoli, 1962; idem, 1963; idem, 1984) have argued for a return to the earlier interpretation, which has achieved a new consensus (see, e.g., Malandra, 1972, pp. 315-16; Itō; Gignoux, 1976-77, pp. 220-21; Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* II, p. 17 n. 23; Jacobs, 1987, p. 243; Skjærvø, 1989b, pp. 127-28). In fact, the most appropriate translation of the word appears to be “glory,” in the sense illustrated by P. O. Skjærvø (1989b, p. 128, in response to Gignoux, 1986, p. 9).

Etymology. *Farr(ah)/x^varənah-* is probably related etymologically to the Iranian word *x_uar/n* “sun,” with neuter nominal suffix *-nah-* (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963; idem, 1992, pp. 135-36). The theory of laryngeals in Gathic



Avestan has led some scholars to reject this etymology because *x^varənah-* is bisyllabic in its single occurrence in the Gathas (Y. 51.18; see Pirart, 1986; Kellens and Pirart, I, pp. 70-75; cf. Monna, p. 89); if the suffix had been added to /hu'ar/ (gen. sing. /hu'anh/ < *suH-r, *suH-en-s; Beekes, 1988, pp. 15, 89, 123; idem, 1984, p. 7), the word would be trisyllabic (Kellens and Pirart, II, p. 236; III, p. 262). This reasoning does not take into account, however, either the fact that in *Yasna* 50.10 *huuarə* is monosyllabic (cf. Monna, pp. 83-84 and n. 3; Kellens and Pirart, II, p. 235) or the varied Avestan and non-Avestan contexts in which the term occurs. For the same reason these scholars reject other theoretically possible etymologies (e.g., *x^varənah-* = hu+; cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xxiii-xiv; Imoto, p. 73, arguing for derivation of the Gathic hapax *x^varənā* < *hu-arnāh, considered a homonym of *x^varənah-*, “a magical power one obtains after eating the sacramental food, the corn spirit, the first fruits”; cf. Av. *x^var* “to eat”). As a consequence they prefer not to translate the word (Kellens and Pirart, I, p. 184; Pirart, 1992, pp. 5-6 and passim). This exaggerated position is based entirely on a slight and questionable argument from the Gathic Avestan hapax and the metrical reconstruction of the first line of *Yasna* 51.18 (cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. xxiv; for translations of bisyllabic *x^varənah-* as “distinguished power; glorious, majestic,” see Monna, p. 194; *AirWb.*, col. 1873; cf. Reichelt, p. 204; Insler, p. 107; as “imperial splendor” or “glory,” see Humbach, 1959, I, p. 155, II, p. 92; idem, 1991, I, p. 190, II, p. 233; and as more questionable “shining fortune,” see Lommel, 1971, p. 175). W. W. Malandra, although he points out certain morphological problems in linking Avestan *x^varənah-* with the name of the sun (1983, p. 89), does not exclude translation as “glory” and reconstruction of an Iranian verb *hvar* “to shine,” corresponding to “the poorly attested” Old Indic *svar*, which has the same meaning (cf. Itō). Khot. *hvar* “to glow,” postulated by Duchesne-Guillemin (1980, p. 60 n. 7) and Boyce (*Zoroastrianism* II, p. 17 n. 23) and theoretically corresponding to Pahl. *xwarg* [hwlg] “embers” (MacKenzie, 1971, p. 95; Nyberg, *Manual*, p. 220) has been shown to be non-existent because based on a “ghostword” **hvaraka* (Emmerick and Skjærvø, pp. 178-79). Khot. for “live coals” is *skara-*, corresponding to Skt. *aṅgāra*; Henning, 1943-46, p. 728: tr. of Pazand *xurg*, JPers. *xwwrg*, vernacular NPers. *xulg*, *xarg*, Sogd. *γrwy* “embers,” with metathesis of -w-; cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. xxvi, for Kurdish *xōlī* “ashes”). Pahlavi *xwarg* has sometimes been written with the ideogram *GDE* because of confusion with *xwarrah*, for example, in a passage of the *Bundahišn* (p. 124 l. 10; cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 45; but also Henning, 1943-46, p. 729 n. 1). For the etymology, in a discussion on the recent thesis by Almut Hintze (1994, pp. 28-33), the present author proposes a verbal

root **h_uar* “smoulder, burn” (Gnoli, 1996).

The occurrence of both initial *x^v-* and initial *f-* can be explained through phonetic dissimilation (*farnah*, *farnah_uant* < **h_uarnah*, **h_uarnah_uant* owing to dissimilation *h_u-h(u)* > *f-h(u)*, as proposed by Skjærvø, 1983a). This development cannot be verified in Avestan because there initial *h_u-* was soon differentiated from final *h* and intervocalic *h* and *h_u*, as in the forms *x^varənanō*, *x^varənanah-*, and *x^varənan^vhañt-* (Skjærvø, 1983a, p. 256). The explanation of Old Persian *farnah-* as a loanword from Median (based on the commonly accepted change Med. **f* < OIr. */*hv*/; Lentz, 1926, p. 288; Schaefer, 1930, p. 270; Meillet and Benveniste, pp. 9-10 par. 11, 63 par. 104; Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 9; Hoffmann, p. 4; Gershevitch, 1964, p. 28; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, pp. 43, 118; Mayrhofer, 1968, p. 5; Windfuhr, p. 458; cf. Rossi, pp. 174-75; Schmitt, 1984, pp. 195-96; idem, 1989, p. 89) or Scythian (Lecoq, 1987; cf. idem, 1974, p. 57; idem, 1983) should be reconsidered: The Old Iranian form probably had initial *h_u-*, which was preserved in Avestan (Gnoli, 1990). As for Middle Persian *xwarrah* (<**xwarnah*), it was probably derived from the Avestan form a learned word appropriate to a venerable priestly tradition; that is, it was not *darī* but *pārsī*, according to testimony of Ebn al-Moqaffa’ about the historical languages of Iran (cf. Lazard). The Old Persian word *farnah-* was continued in Middle Persian *farr/farrah*, also attested in Manichean Middle Persian (also from *darī*; Henning, “Mitteliranisch,” p. 97) and New Persian *farr/farra* (Gnoli, 1989a).

Definitions. It is clear from a number of passages in the Avesta that *farr(ah)/x^varənah-* was a magic force or power of luminous and fiery nature (see, in particular, Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963; Gnoli, 1984). In *Yašt* 10.127 the “strong” (*uyra-*) *x^varənah-* of the *kauui-* is identified with a “blazing fire” (*ātarš yōupa.suxtō*) that precedes Mithra in his chariot (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963, p. 228 n. 1; cf. Gershevitch, 1959, pp. 136-37). In Gignoux’s interpretation of *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag* (14.16) the *xwarrah* “burns without interruption” (*hamē waxšīd*; Gignoux, 1984, pp. 65, 167 and n. 2; cf. Vahman, p. 199). The gloss for *bāmīg* “brilliant, glorious” in the Pahlavi *Widēwdād* (1.21) is *xwarrahōmand* (Gignoux 1976-77, p. 221), which agrees with the attested equivalence of Manichean Middle Parthian *b’m* and Manichean Sogdian *frn* (see above). In *Zādspram* (3.82; cf. Gignoux and Tafazzoli, pp. 54-55) the heavenly fire is identified as the *xwarrah* that “resides in the Wahrām fire, as a householder (reigns) over his house” (*mehmānīh andar Wahrām ātaxš čiyōn kadag-xwadāy abar xānag*; Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963, pp. 26, 30) and Zoroaster’s *xwarrah* is



said to have descended from heaven and become manifest “in the form of fire” (*pad ātaxš ēwēnag*) at the moment of his birth (5.1, 8.8). From many other passages in different contexts a close interconnection among *xwarrah*, fire, and light can be inferred (Gnoli, 1962; idem, 1967; idem, 1984) without implying a simple equivalence. In fact, actually translating *xwarrah* as “light” (Gignoux, 1986, p. 9; idem and Tafazzoli, p. 438) can be misleading because *xwarrah* and *rošnīh* “light” are not interchangeable.

Scholars who accepted H. W. Bailey’s proposed etymology of *xvarənah-* have also agreed that the word referred to a magical power (e.g., Lentz, 1961; idem, 1962; idem, 1964; Gropp, pp. 34-35: “elemental force”), arguing a semantic development from “good things of life” to “prosperity,” to “fortune,” to the personification of the last as a luminous *yazata*, and finally to the meanings of Greek *doxa* “glory” and Arabic *nūr* “light.” This argument is not entirely convincing (see Benveniste, 1942-45, p. 71; Barr; Widengren, 1955, pp. 80-81 n. 56). In fact, the tendency to identify *xvarənah-* with a concrete referent, an abstraction (“good things of life”), or a substance (*axvarəta-* *xvarənah-* “naphtha,” Herzfeld, 1938, pp. 80-89; idem, 1947, I, pp. 176-77, or “amber,” Nagel apud Jacobs, 1987, pp. 228-29, 242) inevitably leads scholars to ignore or underestimate the “(magic or spiritual) force” that was undoubtedly present in the ancient Iranian conception. A mystical reinterpretation of this conception can be found in the philosophical and religious thought of Islamic Persia (Corbin, 1946; Corbin, 1960).

Xvarənah- was associated with the stars and the great luminaries (*Dādistān ī dēnīg*, pt. 1, 25, 35-36); *Ahura Mazdā* (*Yt.* 19.10); the *aməša spəntas* (*Yt.* 19.15); and the *yazatas* (*Yt.* 19.22), including Mithra (*xvarənaŋuhastəma-* “the most endowed with glory”; *Yt.* 19.35; *Vd.* 19.15). As a vital creative force it was also associated with the waters of the sea Vouru.kaša (*Yt.* 19.51, 19.56-57) and the river Haētumant, the Helmand (*Yt.* 19.66 ff.; *aβzdāta-* “situated in the water,” Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963, pp. 229-30, or “placed in the rains,” Panaino, p. 122), with the *haoma* (*Dādistān ī dēnīg*, pt. 1, 36, 86; cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 72; Gnoli, 1962, p. 102; idem, 1984, pp. 213-15), and with “material seed” (*gētīgīg tōhmag*; *Dēnkard*, p. 347 ll. 1-22; Zaehner, pp. 369-71; Menasce, p. 328; cf. Gnoli, 1962, p. 103; Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963, p. 30). It thus had both a germinal and a seminal sense, in which Duchesne-Guillemin recognized (1963, p. 25) fiery fluid and living seed (cf. Gnoli, 1962; Eliade), elements of a primitive physiology also current in Greece, Rome, and India. *Xvarənah-* was therefore also a constituent of divine and human nature (Barr; Duchesne-

Guillemin, 1955, p. 96), which conferred upon man his “proper function” (*xwēškārīh*; e.g., MacKenzie, 1971, p. 96), his “own work” (*Dēnkard*, pp. 341, 343; Menasce, pp. 323, 325; *Zādspram* 3.75; Gignoux and Tafazzoli, pp. 52-53), a fundamental notion in Zoroastrian **cosmology** and **ethics** (cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xix, 35-36; Zaehner, pp. 173, 371; Molé pp. 434-35), interpreted by H. H. Schaefer as equivalent to Greek *autopragía* (Reitzenstein and Schaefer, p. 230 n. 2). It is precisely as a constituent of human and divine nature that the term *xvarənah-* passed into Manicheism, designating the first of the five luminaries.

Avestan *xvarənah-* or Pahlavi *xwarrah* was thus a spiritual force existing before creation of the “body” or the “person” (Pahl. *tan*; see *Zādspram* 3.75; *Bundahišn*, p. 101 ll. 7 ff.). It directed and motivated every being or category of beings toward fulfillment of its respective duties. There was a *xwarrah* of priests (*āsrōnān*), defined as *agrīft* or *agrīftar* “intangible, impalpable” (Av. *āgərəpta-*), which seems from the texts (*Bundahišn*, p. 162 ll. 9 ff.; Pahl. *Y.* 3.16) to have been purely spiritual, acquired through “knowledge” (*dānāgīh*) and “study” (*frahang*). It corresponded to *xvarənah-*, defined in the Avesta as *axvarəta-*, i.e., with an adjective of uncertain etymology (*AirWb.*, col. 299), on which Bailey based his etymological reconstruction (*Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xxvii, 26; cf. Lommel, 1923, pp. 225-33; Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963, pp. 27-8; Gnoli, 1963; Itō; cf. Pirart 1992, p. 6 n. 3). There was also a *xwarrah* of the Kayanians (Av. *kauuaēm xvarənō*), as of the Iranians (Av. *airīianəm* or *airīianəm xvarənō*; Gnoli, 1989b, pp. 148-49) and of religion: *wuzurg xwarrah ī abēzag rāst dēn* “the great *xwarrah*-bestowing force of the pure true religion” (*Dādīstān ī dēnīg*, pt. 1, 36.73; cf. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 44).

As both a guarantee and a sign of success, *xvarənah-* quickly took on the meaning of “(good) fortune,” through which those who possessed it were able to fulfill their specific functions or missions. The hymn to *xvarənah-* (*Yt.* 19), personified as a *yazata* (Gray, pp. 120-23; Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* I, pp. 66-68), includes a long list of divine and human beings who perform their tasks thanks to the *xvarənah-* belonging to them (*yaṭ asti* + gen.) or accompanying them (*yaṭ upaṇhacaṭ* + acc.). This hymn, in which some scholars have seen traces of an Indo-European myth of fire concealed in water (Dumézil, pp. 21-89), thus provides a significant synthesis of sacred history, the principal subject of which is the *xvarənah-* of the Kayanian dynasty (for *kauui-* as the dynastic surname of a family whose home was in Sistān, see Gershevitch, 1959, pp. 185-86).



The hymn unfolds as a panegyric to the *xʷarənah-* of Ahura Mazdā (*Yt.* 19.9-13); the *aməša spəntas* (14-20); the *yazatas* (21-24); Haošiiṅha (25-26); Taxma Urupi (27-29); Yima, who loses it three times, to Mithra, Thraētaona, and Kərəsāspa respectively (30-44); *Apəm Napāt*, who seizes it after it has been sought by Ātar and Aži Dahāka, respective emissaries of Spənta Mainyu and *Aṅra Mainyu* (45-52); the sea Vourukaša and the *airyas*, coveted by Fraṅrasyan (55-57); the Kayanians, who reigned “there where lake Kašaoiia is formed by the river Helmand, there where the mountain Ušiḍā is located” (*yaθa zraiiō yaṭ kasaēm haētumatəm yaθa gairiš yō ušiḍā* (65-72); and in particular Haosrava (73-77), Zoroaster (78-82), Vištāspa (83-87), and the victorious *saošiiant* Astvaṭ.ərəta (88-96; for identification of *vərəθrājan-* “victorious” as a proper name, see Pirart, 1992, pp. 115-16; but cf. *AirWb.*, col. 1421; Wolff, p. 296; Lommel, 1927, p. 185; Hertel, p. 57). Passages 53-54 of *Yt.* 19 are particularly important, for in them Ahura Mazdā informs Zoroaster that “every mortal” (*kasciṭ maš’iiānqm*) must seek *xʷarənah-*, in order to obtain advantages and success (Gnoli, 1967, pp. 528-29). Verses 1-8, on the other hand, contain a list of mountains, which probably justifies the present title of the whole hymn, *Zamyād Yašt* “Hymn to the *yazata* of the earth.” It is not certain that they belonged to the original text (see, e.g., Lommel, 1927, p. 169; Hertel, pp. 1-2; Pirart, 1992, p. 5), but there are good reasons to believe that the connection between *xʷarənah-* and mountains was not unimportant: In all mythologies mountains are the seat of supernatural inspiration (Darmesteter, II, p. 615), and the same link appears in the Uighur Turkish legend of “the mountain of fortune” (*Qut-tagu*; Gnoli, 1982, pp. 260-61).

In the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic period the Kayanian idea of *xʷarənah-* was soon mingled with that of royal fortune (Cumont, 1899, I, pp. 284-85). Although the former had been present in the Achaemenid concept of charismatic kingship, it had not been central; in fact, it is not mentioned in the Achaemenid inscriptions, of which the focal point is the divine investiture of the king “by the favor of Ahura Mazdā” (*vašnā Auramazdāha*), probably of Mesopotamian origin (Gnoli, 1974, pp. 72-75). There are, nevertheless, traces of the Iranian idea of *xʷarənah-* even during the first Persian empire: from the *fōs* of Darius III (336-31 B.C.E.; Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri* 30), in all likelihood the monarch’s luminous charisma (cf. Cumont, 1899, I, p. 285; Widengren, 1959, p. 255; idem, 1968, pp. 76-77; Gnoli, 1974, p. 72 n. 303), to each individual sovereign’s “fire” (Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* II, pp. 224-25) and probably to the golden eagle that, according to Curtius Rufus (3.3.16), accompanied both divine and royal chariots (Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* II, p. 287). The solar aspects of

ancient Persian kingship (cf. Nagel and Jacobs; Jacobs, 1991) can easily be connected with the concept of *x^varənah-* or *farnah-*, just as traces of this concept are apparent in the “legitimation” of the Achaemenid sovereigns (Ahn, pp. 199-10, 251-52). This fundamental motif of Iranian kingship, a hereditary dynastic charisma (Gnoli, 1974, p. 73), which, however, could be lost, was at the root of ideas that were widespread in the Hellenistic and Roman period, for example, *tychē basileōs*, *fortuna regia*; and probably the royal *farrah* in the *tychē* of the Seleucids, the dynasts of Cappadocia and the Pontus, Antiochus I of Commagene in the Nimrud Dağ inscription (Cumont, 1899, pp. 285-86; idem, 1910, col. 434; cf. Pagliaro; Waldmann, pp. 41, 44 n. 16, 122-24, 127); and kingship among the Kushans (Göbl, 1984, pp. 45-46; Gnoli, 1989c, p. 923). It was the traditional concept of royal *farrah* as understood by the Sasanians (Choksy) that survived in the culture and particularly the epics of Islamic Persia (e.g., the motif of *farr-e elāhī* or *īzadī* dispensed by God to the sovereign, Fouchécour, pp. 289-90, 397, 400, 405, and the idea of “the glory of Iran,” Frye, 1964, p. 54).

Farr(ah)/x^varənah- corresponded not only to the concept of royal fortune but also to that of “fortune” in a more general sense, as demonstrated, for example, by the Aramaic ideogram *GDE*, by which it was written in the Sasanian inscriptions and Pahlavi books (Gignoux, 1972, pp. 22, 51; Skjærvø, 1983b, p. 94; MacKenzie, 1971, p. 96; Nyberg, *Manual*, p. 221; Utas, pp. 1, 41, 61), following a custom probably introduced during the Achaemenid period (Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, pp. xvi, 39). In any event, both the inscription and the iconography of a small silver plaque in the Forūgī collection, Tehran, datable to the mid-3rd century B.C.E., seem to document the interpretation of *farr(ah)/x^varənah-* as the Syrian notion of fortune *gd* (*gdy*; Dupont-Sommer; cf. Naveh; Teixidor, 1967; idem, 1973; Bogolyubov; Gnoli, 1995).

The correspondence with Aramaic *gd* and Greek *tychē* was an important phenomenon of the meeting of different cultures, based on both the Aramaic concept of fortune and the tradition of tutelary deities for tribe, family, village, spring, or city (see, e.g., Cumont, 1917, p. 265; Février, pp. 38-39; Rostovtzeff; Schlumberger, 1951, pp. 122-23, 135-36; Drijvers, pp. 13, 19; Teixidor, 1979, pp. 17, 25, 60, 88-100; Gawlikowski, 1990a, p. 2639; idem, 1990b, pp. 2668-69). The notion of *gd* spread mainly in Palmyra, Hatra (Milik, p. 402: *gnd*), among the Nabateans, as well as is present in the Babylonian Talmud, in Syriac texts (Jean and Hoftijzer, p. 47), and in the scanty documentation on pre-Islamic religion of central and northern Arabia (cf. Ar. *jadd*; Dussaud, pp. 110-11; Fahd,



pp. 78-79).

Although the concept of *x^varənah*– or *farnah*– certainly circulated in the same area as the Aramaic *gd*, which may be very ancient (cf. Bottéro, p. 56), it is less certain that Mesopotamian concepts of divine splendor influenced it (see, e.g., Sumerian ME.LÁM, Akkadian *melammu*; Römer; cf. Cassin, pp. 79 n. 93, 81 n. 101, 133; Castellino, p. 263), even though the relation between light and the life force and between splendor and kingship that they attest has many traits in common with the Iranian concept. On the other hand, an ancient Indian parallel can be traced in the concept of *tejas*, the splendor and energy of light and fire in connection with kingship (Vogel; Gonda, 1952, pp. 57-67; idem, 1962, p. 44; idem, 1966, pp. 35-36; cf. Gnoli, 1962, pp. 95-96; idem, 1967, pp. 540-41; idem, 1974, pp. 74-75 n. 317).

Iconography. The iconography of *farr(ah)/x^varənah*– has been much debated (see, e.g., Erdmann; L'Orange, p. 47; Duchesne-Guillemin, 1961, p. 92; Göbl, 1962, p. 2; idem, 1971, pp. 10, 11, 49; Azarpay, pp. 112-13; Ghirshman, 1974; idem, 1975; Gall, 1974, pp. 159-60; Calmeyer, 1979; Tanabe, 1984; idem, 1988). Not all the theories that have been proposed are convincing, for example, association with the winged sun disk, which appears frequently in Achaemenid art (Shahbazi, 1977, p. 199-200; idem, 1980; cf. Calmeyer, 1981, p. 55 n. 1; Jamzadeh; Frye, 1984, p. 177; and see also Moorey, p. 146-48; Root, p. 169; Lecoq, 1984), or with the ring that is shown in investiture scenes (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1979; Vanden Berghe). Two motifs seem promising for the combination of textual and iconographic information: figural images connected with light and fire, for example, the human body with flames emanating from it or at least partially surrounding it (see, e.g., Gray, p. 123; Azarpay, p. 113; cf. Christensen, *Iran Sass.*, p. 146; for the flaming shoulders of divine beings or kings on Kushan coins, see Rosenfield, pp. 17, 23-24, 29, 157, 197-201; Carter, 1986), and the bird of prey, whether eagle or falcon (Harmatta, 1979; idem, 1981, pp. 203-04; Shahbazi, 1984; Grenet). The first category reflects the luminous and fiery nature mentioned in texts since relatively ancient times (*Yt.* 10, 127). The second is exemplified by *x^varənah*–'s assuming the form of a bird when abandoning Yima (*Yt.* 19.35-36, 19.82), a metamorphosis similar to that of the *yazata* of victory, *Vərəθraϥna* (*Yt.* 14.19; cf. Benveniste and Renou, p. 34; Stricker, pp. 318-19; Shahbazi, 1984; Pirart, 1992, p. 48; Carter, 1995, p. 135), an image also found on a Kushan coin, where the reference to the Avestan legend of Yima is very likely (Grenet; Gnoli, 1989c). In *Kār-nāmag ī Ardaxšīr* (4.11.16, 22-23) *xwarrah* is said to take the

form of a ram, according to the reading of *warrag by Theodor Nöldeke and E. K. Antia and the comparison with the parallel passage in the *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, V, p. 288 (Bailey, 1959, pp. 79-80; Litvinskij, 1972, p. 271; Chunakova, pp. 45, 50, 91 n. 57; but cf. Nyberg, *Manual* II, pp. 175, 204).

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