

Millennialism, Eschatology, and Messianic figures in Iranian Tradition * †

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Introduction

Numerous studies have been dedicated to apocalypticism and eschatology in Iranian tradition.¹ Most discussions have focused on specific texts, namely the *Zand i Wahman Yasn* and the *Ayadgar i Jamaspig*. However, several other texts from Zoroastrian literature are of importance for the discussion, as well. This paper will describe the scenario of the events of the End and the messianic characters of Iranian apocalyptic as described in Zoroastrian literature.

The apocalyptic and eschatological ideas are of considerable importance in Zoroastrian religion. The Zoroastrian tradition contends that complete happiness can come only with a return to the initial state of the material world, that is, the reunion of the body and soul in a physical world restored to its original perfection. The concepts of the Savior, the destruction of evil, the establishment of the kingdom of good, the renovation of the universe, and the immortality of the soul form an essential part of the religious tradition and are expressed very clearly in the *Avesta*². The importance of these ideas seems to have increased considerably in the Middle Persian (or Pahlavi) writings. Texts relative to these matters are found in the *Bundahisn*, the *Denkard*, the *Selections of Zadspram*, the *Pahlavi Rivayat*, the *Dadestan i Denig*, the *Menog i Xrad*, the *Cidag Andarz i Poryotkesan*, and the New Persian *Zartust Name*. These texts present many problems concerning the interpretation, the compilation, and the age of the materials which they transmit. The final composition of the texts took place in the ninth-tenth centuries C.E. and the oldest manuscripts date from as late as the end of the thirteenth century. The reason for this late recording lay on the one hand in the predominantly oral character of Iranian tradition and on the other in the deterioration of the Zoroastrian tradition as a result of the Islamic conquest of Iran. Nevertheless, they embody for the most part very ancient materials, and their contents draw their primary inspiration from the *Avesta*.

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† Note from the Editors: The detailed and accurate system of transliteration of Iranian sounds used by the author could not be used for this publication due to editorial concerns with computer font compatibilities. The Editors hope that the very simplified representation of Iranian words used here will neither offend the expert nor confuse the novice.

¹ For detailed summaries of scholarly debate about Iranian apocalyptic literature see A. Hultgard, "Bahman Yasht: A Persian Apocalypse", in *Mysteries and Revelations. Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*. Edited by John J. Collins & James H. Charlesworth, 1991, pp.114-134.

² Y. 30.9; Y.34.15; Yt. 19.10; 89; 92-96.

This paper is divided in the following manner : Zoroastrian cosmology, the millennium of Zarathustra, on the coming of the saviors, Usedar, Usedarmah and Sosyans, and the signs of their periods, and on the final Resurrection through Ohrmazd and the last savior.

Zoroastrian Cosmology

The parallelism which exists between the events of the end of the world and those of the beginning of the world are of crucial importance in the understanding of the structure of Iranian eschatology. The cosmological expositions found in the Pahlavi texts have been consulted for the following reasons: the *Avesta* contains no complete exposition of Zoroastrian cosmology. The *Gathas* and the *Yasna Haptanhaiti* (Yasna of the seven chapters) contain passages concerning the initial ordering of the universe by Ahura Mazda^{1/2}. In the Young Avesta, the creation myth is mentioned in the *Farvardin Yasht*³ and the first chapter of the *Videvdad*, but these passages are mostly allusive and the well known elements of the Pahlavi texts are missing.

In the *Bundahisn* the duration of the world is conceived of as a sort of cosmic year, consisting of 12,000 calendar years divided into four periods of 3000 years each. Zoroastrianism was a dualistic religion according to which two spirits were thought to exist from eternity. One was Ohrmazd (Av. Ahura Mazda) the supreme god and the other was Ahreman (Av. Angra Mainiiu). Ohrmazd was omniscient and good, residing on high in the infinite light, which is also its own space and place. Ahreman, endowed with “knowledge after the fact” and a desire for destruction, resided in the abyss in infinite darkness, which is its own place. Between them was the void or atmosphere, where the mixture of the two spirits took place. In his omniscience Ohrmazd knew that Ahreman existed, that he would attack sooner or later, and that he could only be undone in battle. Ohrmazd made the creation to serve as his instrument in the battle. He made it in spiritual form from his own essence, material light. The creation consisted of everything from gods to primal man, Gayomard. It was kept in spiritual form for 3000 years, during which creatures remained in the spiritual state, “unthinking, unmoving, and intangible”. At the same time Ahreman made his demonic creatures out of darkness. Then Ahreman rose up to the border between the two worlds, saw the light, and desired it. Ohrmazd offered peace to Ahreman, who might thus become “deathless, unaging, unfeeling, and incorruptible”, but Ahreman rejected the offer and threatened to take over the entire universe. Ohrmazd recited the *Ahunwar* prayer by which he revealed to Ahreman his own final victory and the impotence of Ahreman, the destruction of the demons, the resurrection of the dead, the final body, and the freedom from opposition to the creatures forever and ever. When Ahreman saw his own impotence together with the destruction of the demons he lost consciousness and fell back into the darkness and laid there unconscious for 3000 years. After this initial victory over Ahreman, during a 3000-year recess, Ohrmazd then made his creation in material form, from the sky down to Gayomard, the sixth and last of his creations. From the light and freshness of the sky he made the seed of men and bulls and put it in the bodies of the primal bull and primal man so that they would have abundant progeny. After 3000 years Ahreman was finally aroused from his stupor by the primal whore’s recounting to him what she intended to do to Ohrmazd’s creation. Ahreman was comforted and attacked the creation, starting by dragging the sky down from the station of the stars into the intermediate void. He afflicted pollution on the waters and the fire and assaulted humanity with suffering, misery, disease, and death. Thirty years after the attack, Gayomard was killed, his seed fell into the earth, and from this the rhubarb plant germinated from which the two first humans, Masi and Masyani were born.

³ Yt.13.57; 76-78.

In the Zurvanite variant of the Zoroastrian myth of the origins, preserved in detail by Syrian and Armenian Christian writers, the father of the twins Ohrmazd and Ahreman is *Zurvan* or *Zaman*, meaning 'Time'. Zurvan sacrificed for 1000 years to have a son who would create heaven and earth. He doubted whether his sacrifice was of any use, and from his doubt Ohrmazd and Ahreman were conceived. Ohrmazd on account of his sacrifices, Ahreman on account of his doubt. When he became conscious of the fact that he had conceived two sons he decided to grant the firstborn sovereignty over the world. Ohrmazd knew what his father was thinking and told his brother, who immediately pierced his progenitor's womb and emerged. Zurvan was forced to give the sovereignty to Ahreman for 9000 years a 'limited time', after which Ohrmazd would rule for 'endless time'.⁴

Zarathustra is said in the Zoroastrian tradition to have been born in the fourth millennium after which three thousand years will follow until the coming of the Sosyans. The final period of the world is itself divided into three periods of a thousand years each. In each period a savior will be born, conceived by a virgin bathing in the lake Kayanse (Av. Kasaoiia), where the seed of Zarathustra is preserved.⁵ According to the *Bundahisn*, Zarathustra thrice approached his third wife, Hwowi. Each time the seed fell upon the ground. The god Neryosang took the light and power of that seed and entrusted them to the goddess Anahid to be guarded and 99,999 *frawasis*⁶ of the just are appointed for the seed's protection, so that the demons may not destroy them.⁷ The seed thus given to the goddess of the waters is preserved in lake Kayanse where "even now are seen three lamps glowing at the bottom of the lake".⁸ Each of them has his part to play in the eschatological drama, but it is in the era of Sosyans, the last savior, that Ahreman will finally destroyed, and all creation will renewed and made immortal.

The present millennium belongs to Zarathustra. It began gloriously with the revelation of the good religion which he had received when he was thirty years old. But after the golden time evil has gained ground, and is growing ever stronger. For Iranians of the Sasanian period, the millennium of Zarathustra represented the time in which the defeat of the demons would begin to be realized. Thus the first eschatological time to come was the end of Zarathustra's millennium.

Throughout history celestial events have been greeted in apocalyptic circles as harbingers of cosmic change. In Zoroastrian religion the end of each millennium is characterized by cosmic changes presaging the coming of the new savior. Frequent reference is made to the order and movement of sun, moon, and stars. These signs announce the coming of an evil time and the end of the millennium. There are different kinds of the sings of the end: signs pertaining to family, society, country, religion, culture, to subsistence and property, to cosmos and nature, and to biological aspects of human life. In Zoroastrian religion, these cosmic powers are not to be explained simply in terms of natural phenomena ; they are evil spirits to be identified as demons under the leadership of Ahreman himself who, with all his demonic hordes, like a great army of occupation, has taken possession of the earth. Ahreman continues to resist Ohrmazd and all the host of heaven, but in the end he will be destroyed and with him all his demonic powers.

⁴ See Zaehner R.C., *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 419-428.

⁵ Yt.19.92-93.

⁶ Man's immortal soul, guardian angel during his lifetime.

⁷ Bund.TD1, fol. 101 r.; Ankl. pp. 301-303.

⁸ Bund. fol. 94 r. ; Ankl. p. 283.

As the end of the current millennium approaches, there will be signs, miracles, and wonders.⁹ “At that time, there will be the sign of the resurrection, and the firmament will move and the course of the sun, moon, and stars will be abnormal (?) and as the firmament turns, so will the atmosphere and the seas, and all the inhabitants of the earth turn from their natural (paths). On the earth, in the likeness of springs of water, springs of fire will arise in many places”.¹⁰

The Millennium of Usedar

At the end of Zarathustra’s millennium the forces of the evil will gain strength in the world. The Pahlavi literature describes in detail the iniquities of this last age, foretelling that all things both in nature and in human society will go away : perjury, vengeance, non-Iranian invasions, lawlessness, and anarchy will be the order of the day. Demons from the race of Wrath will burn houses and land in Iran and will not observe treaties. The years, months, and days become shorter as mankind will become smaller and more wicked; there will be unseasonable winds and rains. Livestock of all sorts will become smaller and weaker. Kingship, dominion, and property will fall to foreigners from the East and West. Metals will break forth from the earth, the sun will become dark, and the moon grows pale. There will be mists, earthquakes, and storms. A few will observe the rites and thus preserve the qualities of the age of Zarathustra.¹¹

In order to renew the Prophet’s message and overcome a portion of evil, Usedar (Av. Uxsiatereta, “he who makes righteousness grow”) the guide for the Religion and the true messenger will come from Ohrmazd and just as Zarathustra brought the Religion, he also will bring it and will propagate it.¹² He is described as the spiritual figure and under his authority the world will be transformed toward its final perfection. During Usedar’s millennium, the processes of nature --necessary during the period of mixture with the forces of Evil Spirit in the world -- will temporarily be halted. Hard times and drought will decrease. Liberality, peace, charity and the whole world will grow. The trees will stay green for three years. The river Wataeni will flow the depth of a horse, and springs, and oceans, and the Kayanse will flow again. For ten days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky, and the wolf species will be destroyed.¹³ At the end of the millennium Malkus, of the race of Tur i Bratrores, who killed Zarathustra, will reappear and will produce the terrible Malkusan winter lasting three years, and most men will perish. Men and animals will then be reorganized from Jam’s *war*, which was built for this purpose. The curative power of the 1000 species of plants opposing 1000 kinds of illnesses will be assigned to two, and no one will die from sickness, but only from old age and if killed.¹⁴

For men living today it is the coming of Usedar which is of immediate concern. In the *Zand i Wahman Yasn*, it is said that Usedar will be born in the year one thousand and six hundred.¹⁵ Similarly the *Pahlavi Rivayat* accompanying the *Dadestan i Denig* places the birth of

⁹ Dk.8. pp. 691-92.

¹⁰ Zad.34. 49.

¹¹ See ZWY ch. 4.

¹² Bund. TD1, fol. 93 r.; Ankl. p. 281.

¹³ Bund. TD1, fol. 93r.; Ankl. p. 281.

¹⁴ Dk.7.9.21-23; Pahl. R. 48.2-17.

¹⁵ ZWY. 7.1. Variet reading: 1800/1600.

Usedar in the year fifteen hundred.¹⁶ According to *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz*, Usedar will come in either of the years 943 or 944.¹⁷

As Zoroastrian apocalyptic doctrine developed, its religious, social, and cosmic message became nationalized by being linked with Iranian myth and legend. A concept which sheds light on this interweaving of religious and heroic elements is that of the comrades of the Saviors, among whom are the heroes of Old. They live in hidden or remote places here on earth and will reappear at the end of time to take part in the last great battle against evil. These ideas attempt to emphasize the fact that Frasnigird (the time of making (existence) wonderful) is a return to the beginning; that is, all great events which have once been known, will come again.

The authors of Pahlavi texts tried to reunite the immortal comrades of the saviors in one group according to the sacred number of seven, but they did not agree about the composition of the group and there is no consistency in terms of their names and their numbers.¹⁸ These immortals or messianic figures are shaped according to the Iranian model king who is most often an initiator, a sovereign who ushers in a new epoch of history. The Iranian model king is either the founder of a dynasty or the regenerator of the people and the land after a period of political and social disorganization. He is the conqueror who puts an end to an evil reign; he is the organizer of new age; he is the spiritual guide of people and he causes universal prosperity.

Before and during the millennium of Usedar, the priest Pisyotan, the immortal son of Wistasp and the warrior Wahram will come to overcome the hostile armies, restore Iran and its religion, and bring help to the savior Usedar.

Pisyotan¹⁹ is the most prominent character in the Iranian apocalyptic texts.²⁰ According to the *Denkard*, he is immortal, not aging, needing no sustenance, mighty of body and perfect in strength, full of glory, powerful, victorious, equal to the divine beings.²¹ According to the thirteenth-century Persian poem, the *Zartust Name*: "Gustasp (Wistasp), having accepted the faith from Zardust (Zarathustra), asks to have his belief confirmed by the granting of four boons: (1) that he should behold in spirit the place he will occupy in the next world; (2) that his body should be made invulnerable, since he will have to fight in defense of the faith; (3) that he should be given wisdom to know the future; and (4) that until the resurrection his soul should not leave his body. Zardust replies that these boons are too great to be given all to one man. Let him therefore choose one for himself, and the other three shall be variously bestowed. The prophet then solemnizes the lesser religious service of the *yast i dron*, at which he consecrates wine, milk, incense and a pomegranate. The wine he gives to Gustasp himself, and his soul ascends to behold and worship God; Jamasp, his minister, receives the incense, and learns to know all that is to come; Isfandiyar eats a pomegranate grain and his body becomes like 'stone and bronze'; and the milk is drunk by Pesutan (Pisyotan), who 'forgets death'."²²

¹⁶ Pahl.R. 48.1.

¹⁷ Dhabhar E.B.N., *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others. Their Version With Introduction and Notes*. Published by The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, 1932, p. 433.

¹⁸ For their names see A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen, 1931, pp. 153-56.

¹⁹ Av. Pisi.syaothna, *Peso.tanu*, NP Pasutan.

²⁰ This character has been studied in detail by many scholars. See specially A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen, 1931, pp. 153-156 et passim; M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. I, 1975, pp. 281 and 289-290; Id. "On the Antiquity of Zoroastrian Apocalyptic", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, 1984, pp. 59-70.

²¹ Dk.7.5.12; Pahl.R. 47.13.

²² *Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zartusht Nama) de Zartusht-i Bahram Ben Pajdu*, ed.&trad. by F. Rosenberg, St.

The abode of Pisyotan was Kangdiz, the ‘fortress of Kang/Gang’.²³ Kangdiz it is said to be a region other than Xwaniras (the central continent), situated in the direction of the east above the ocean Fraxhard.²⁴ In the *Bundahisn* it is said that “Pisyotan son of Wistasp will come from the direction of the fortress of Kang with one hundred and fifty righteous men. He will destroy the place of idolatry which was their secret place. He will establish the fire Wahr¹/₂m and will reorganize the true religion; then the millennium of Usedar will begin”.²⁵ The fortress was built, as *Denkard* says, “for the retention and protection of the great power and glory and mystery of the religion, through which is manifest the ordering of time and restoration of the sovereignty of Iran and the restitution of power and triumph to the religion of Ohrmazd”.²⁶

“Of Kangdiz He (i.e. Ohrmazd) says possessing hands, possessing feet, seeing and moving, for ever spring-time, it was (borne up) on the heads of demons. Kay Xosrow set it down upon the ground. It has seven walls of gold, silver, steel, bronze, iron, crystal and lapis lazuli. Within it are seven hundred leagues of roads; and there are fifteen gates into it. In days of spring one can travel from one gate to another in fifteen days with a chariot-horse.”²⁷ Zarathustra’s son, Xwarsed-cihr (Av. Huuarecithra), is commander of the army of Pisyotan son of Wistasp, and dwells in the fortress Kang.²⁸

The other messianic figure of the millennium of Usedar is the warrior Kay Wahram. His birth will be announced by a shower of falling stars. “The night when that kay will be born a sign will reach the world, a star will fall from the sky.”²⁹ “This king of pure extraction (*pak-zad*) will be born on the day *Bad* (i.e., *Govad*) of the month *Aban*.”³⁰ Kay Wahram will gather several victorious men and from the East they will storm forward with uplifted banners to the Iranian lands. They will destroy enemies and demons and liberate land and people from their oppressors.³¹

The legend of Kay Wahram is told in the *Bundahisn* : It was under the reign of Yazdgird III that the Arabs ravaged Iran. Yazdgird fled to Xwarasan and to Turkistan in order to find help, but was killed there. His son went to India where he assembled an army, but his troops were dispersed. The domination of the Arabs destroyed the ancient customs and the Mazdean religion, and that was the greatest catastrophe for Iran since the creation of the world. In the future period, when the Romans will exercise their domination over Eransahr for one year, that will come the hero Kay Wahram to reestablish the authority of the Iranians and of Mazdean.³²

Petersburg, 1904, pp. 56-59. Translation after M. Boyce, “On the Antiquity of Zoroastrian Apocalyptic”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, 1984, p. 60.

²³ Dk. 7.5.12. Dd.89.

²⁴ Bund.TD1, fol. 84 r.; Ankl. p. 255.

²⁵Bund. TD1, fol. 93r.; Ankl. p. 279.

²⁶*Pad andar darisnih ud panagih I was warz ud xwarrah ud raz I den I azis wirayisn I awam ud abaz arastarih I eran xwadayih ud abaz paywandisnih I amawandan ud perozgarih o an I Ohrmzd den paydag.* Dk. Madan p. 598.16-20.

²⁷ Bund. TD1, fol. 89 r. ; Ankl. p. 271. There is a similar account, with further details in the *Ayadgar I Jamaspig* VII.2-8, Messina, p. 40; Ph R. 49. 2-11, 13-15.

²⁸ Bund.TD1, fol. 100 v.; Ankl. p.301.

²⁹ ZWY 7.6. Here an influence by Christian tradition cannot be excluded. For detail discussion see Boyce M. & Grenet F., *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. III, Leiden/New York/ København/ Köln, 1991, pp. 448-453 who, however, argues that it “may well show the influence of common Hellenistic beliefs” (p. 453. n. 448).

³⁰*The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, p. 434.

³¹ See ZWY.7.7.

³² Bund. TD1, fol. 92 r., 92 v.; Ankl. pp. 277-279.

In the Zoroastrian writings different statements were made about the journey of return of Kay Wahram: “One will come from the direction of Kabul. The glory of kings accompanies him. They called him Wahram, and all the people will be with him”³³; “When it may be that a courier comes from India (and says): the king Wahram from the kayanian family has come, who has a thousand elephants, upon which are elephant-keepers, and who holds an adorned banner in the manner of the (Sasanian) king?”³⁴ ; “It is said that from the east and from the quarters of Hind or China (he will appear) and as appears from the religion, the sign at his birth will be the falling of the stars. As has been known over here, (i.e., in Persia), he will appear in the Parsi year 903 of King Yazdagard.”³⁵

The coming of Kay Wahram was the most important event expected by Zoroastrians. In a prayer dedicated to Kay Wahram we read: “All of us have the eye of expectancy on his road. The Omniscient (God) only knows when he will appear: but it is said that there will be several signs before the coming of the Varjavand, and some signs have (already) been effected. Our (only) hope is this that he may appear soon.”³⁶

“May those men -- the restorers of the law, the adorners of the world, and the practitioners of righteousness--viz., Oshedar of Zardosht, Peshotan son of Vishtasp and Vahram Hamavand (i.e., the brave or the victorious) come and arrive the sooner for the revelation of the religion, who will connect the law and the religion with the Faith of Ormazd. May they make current the good religion and the good mandates in the Iranian countries and eradicate irreligiousness and evil mandates from Iran. May the upholders of the religion attain to happiness for the sake of their faith, until the coming of those men --the restorers of the law, the adorers of the world and the practitioners of righteousness --viz. , Oshedar of Zardosht, Peshotan son of Vishtasp and Vahram Hamavand.”³⁷

The Millennium of Usedarmah

The second savior, Usedarmah (Av. Uxsiat.nemah, “he who makes reverence grow”) will be conceived in the same miraculous way as that of the first savior. He will come from Ohrmazd bringing the Religion. For twenty days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky. The trees will stay green for six years. The descendants of the snakes and noxious creatures will perish.³⁸ The savior will make one cow give milk to a thousand persons. Hunger and thirst will be less strong.³⁹

In the millennium of Usedarmah the power of the demon Az⁴⁰, Greed will be so diminished that men will be satisfied by eating one meal every three days and nights. After that they will abstain from eating meat, and eat only plants and the milk of domestic animals. After

³³ Bund. TD1, fol. 92 v.; Ankl. p. 279.

³⁴ *Abar madan I sah wahram kay bawad ka payk-e ayed az hindugan *ku mad an sah wahram az dud I kayan *ke pilast hazar abar saran ast pilban *ke arastag drafis dared pad ewen I xusroyan. Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamasp-Asana, p. 160.

³⁵ *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, p. 433.

³⁶ *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, p. 434.

³⁷ *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, p. 319.

³⁸ Bund. TD1, fol. 93 r.; Ankl. p. 281.

³⁹ Dk.7.10.2.

⁴⁰ In Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts, Az especially represents gluttony as opposed to contentment. As an abuse of a natural and legitimate function, it is the most serious menace to pious striving in the service of Ahura Mazda. Asmussen J.P. “Az,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. III/2, 1988, pp. 168-169.

that they will abstain from the drinking of milk also; then they will abstain from the eating of plants and will drink only water. Ten years before the coming of Sosyans, the last savior, they will reach a stage in which they eat nothing, yet will not die.⁴¹ “With the abandonment of eating meat one quarter of the power of Az will be destroyed and nature will be clad in spirit and intelligence will be more clearly grasped. Further in the bodies of the children that are born to them the demon Az will be less strong and their bodies will smell less foul, and their nature will be more closely bound to the gods. Instructed by the gods, they will turn away from the drinking of milk, half the power of Az will diminish. And those who are born to them will be well-scented, having little darkness in them, spiritual in nature, without offspring, for they will not eat”.⁴²

Toward the end of the millennium Azi Dahag⁴³ will run free of his chains⁴⁴ and will rush out to terrorize the world, devouring one third of men, oxen, sheep, and other creatures of Ohrmazd, and smiting the water, the fire, and the plants. The last three then will request from Ohrmazd that Fredon be resuscitated to combat him.⁴⁵ In the event, however, it is not Fredon but Kersasp (in the text variously called Sam or son of Sam) who will be reawakened from his long sleep and will kill the dragon.⁴⁶

During this millennium, Kay Xosrow⁴⁷ another mythical hero will appear. Kay Xosrow like Kay Wahram belongs to the dynasty of the Kayanian which occupies an important place in the history of antiquity of Iran.⁴⁸ In *Yast* 13 where the kings and heroes of ancient times are enumerated, the series of Kavis end with Kavi Haosrauuah (Kay Xosrow).⁴⁹

In the legendary history of Iran there is a perpetual struggle between Iran and Turan and the principle antagonist of Kay Xosrow also is a Turanian. In the reign of Manucihr, Afrasyab⁵⁰, king of Turan, forcibly entered Iran. He slew the Arab tyrant Zengao, of venomous regard⁵¹ and took the power. The chief cause of the enmity was the murder of Siyawaxs by Afrasyab; Siyawaxs, son of Kay Kaus (Av. Kavi Usan), was exiled by his father, at the instigation of his mother-in-law, took refuge with Afrasyab, who received him with honor, and gave him his daughter, Wispan-frya in marriage.⁵² But the fortune of Syawaxs raised the jealousy of Afrasyab's brother, Karsiwaz, who by means of calumnious accusations extorted from Afrasyab

⁴¹ Bund. TD1, fol. 94 r. and fol. 94 v.; Ankl. p. 283.

⁴² Zad.34.40-41.

⁴³Azi Dahaka is the type of monster in man's shape, but stripped of all human qualities. He is depicted in the Avesta as dragon-like (*azi*) monster with three mouths (*thrizafanem*), three heads (*thrikamaredem*), six eyes (*xsuuas.asim*), with a thousand viles (*haznjra.yaoxstim*), very strong (*as.aojanjem*), a demoniac devil (*daeuumim drujim*). In the Pahlavi texts Dahag is portrayed as the embodiment and originator of the bad religion. P.O. Skjaervø, "Azdah ", in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. III, 2, 1987, pp. 191-199.

⁴⁴Dk. 7.10.10; Bund. TD1, fol 93 v.; Ankl. p. 283.

⁴⁵ Pahl. R. 48.30-31.

⁴⁶ Bund. fol. 93 v.; Ankl. p. 283.

⁴⁷ Av. Kauui Haosrauuah, Pahl. Kay Husraw, Per. Kay Xosrow.

⁴⁸ On this subject see A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen, 1931.

⁴⁹ Yt.13.132 & Yt. 19.71.

⁵⁰ Av. Franrasiian, Pahl. Frasyaw, Per. Afrasyab, the Turanian, constant enemy of the Aryan lands in the Kayanid period.

⁵¹ Yt. 19.93.

⁵² Bund. TD1, fol. 91 r.; Ankl. p. 275.

and sent him to death.⁵³ Syawaxs was revenged by his son, Kay Xosrow, the grandson of Afrasyab.⁵⁴

The episode of the victory of Kay Xosrow over Afrasyab is mentioned in *Yasts* 9 and 17.⁵⁵ Kay Xosrow had offered a sacrifice to Areduui Sura Anahita beside the lake Cecast, asking as a boon that he might overcome Franjrasiiian (Afrasyab). The goddess granted him his wish.⁵⁶ He also had asked this boon from Druuaspa.⁵⁷

Kay Xosrow had destroyed the shrine of an idol at lake Cecast⁵⁸ and had established the fire temple Adur Gusnasp on the site. He is known as splendid and glorious. He had established a sacred fire at Kang, where he ruled on the summit of the mountains between the countries of Iran and Turan.⁵⁹ According to the *Menog i Xrad*, Kay Xosrow sits on his throne in a hidden place where he dwells as an immortal preserver of bodies until the day of the Renewal. On that day he will help Sosyans who will put in hand the resurrection of the dead.⁶⁰

In the *Avesta* the *frawasi* of Kay Xosrow is invoked in order to resist the sorcerers and the witches, the tyrannical kavis and karapans and the evils caused by the tyrants. That was “because of the strength of his well-formed body, his victory given by Ahura, his victorious superiority, his justly given order, his unshakable order, his inviolable order, his victory over the enemies gained at one stroke, because of his healthy strength, the glory given by Mazda, the health of his body, his descendants, capable, good, learned, eloquent, brilliant, clear-eyed, saviors in distress, warlike; because of his knowledge of the future and of his incontestable(?) right to paradise, his life of long duration; because of all the (divine) favors and all the curative virtues which he possessed”.⁶¹

At the moment of the approach of the Renewal, Kay Xosrow will meet Way (wind) of the long dominion, the god who leads the dead. Kay Xosrow asks Way, why he has destroyed so many persons of ancient times who had been the greatest through their splendor and glory. Way gives him the explanation asked for, after which Kay Xosrow seizes him, changes him into a camel and mounts it, and he goes along with his companions of Iran, to the place where the immortal Haoist, son of Geuruua, lies asleep and raises him up. And he goes with him to that place where lies asleep Tus, who drives the battle on, and raises him up, and he goes with him to

⁵³ Yt.19.77; MX. 27.60. See also P.O. Skjaervø, “Eastern Iranian Epic Traditions I: Siyavas and Kunala” in *MIR CURAD. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, edited by Jay Janasoff, H. Craig Melchert and Lisi Oliver, Innsbruck, 1998, pp. 645-658.

⁵⁴ Yt.9.22 & Tt.17.41-42. According to another passage, Y.11.7, it is the god Haoma who enchains Afrasyab.

⁵⁵ Yt.9.21-22 & Yt.17.41-42.

⁵⁶ Yt.5.49-51.

⁵⁷ Yt.9.21-23. About the goddess Druuaspa, see J. Kellens, “Drvaspa,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VII, 1996, p. 565.

⁵⁸ MX, ed. Anklesaria. 2.95, 27.61; Dk.Madan pp.559-2, 818.8; Pahl.R. 48.42.

⁵⁹ Dd. 89.5.

⁶⁰ MX.27.63; 57.7.

⁶¹ Yt.13.133-135. The *frawasi* of Kay Xosrow had also saved Kay Kaus, his grandfather. When Kay Kaus had tried to scale the heavens, the Glory of the kavis abandoned him and Kay Kaus fell to the earth and took refuge in lake Fraxkard. To Neryosang, who tried to push her aside, the *frawasi* cried out, identifying herself with one for whom she was in advance both immortal soul and guardian angel, to not kill him because from Kaus will be generated Syawaxs, and from Syawaxs Xosrow who will draw out Afrasyab. Thus Kay Kaus survived despite his revolt against gods, in order for Kay Xosrow to come into the world. (*The Codex DH. Being a Facsimile Edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht, and Parts of Denkard*, Iranian Culture Foundation 89, 1970, fols. 280 r.; Dk. Madan, pp. 816-817).

that place where Kay Abiweh lies, and he raises him up. Having left him, they meet Sosyans, the beneficial, the victorious, who asks who are you who ride high on W¹/₂y of the long dominion changed into a camel? Kay Xosrow in reply says: I am Kay Xosrow, and then Sosyans exalts the former exploits of Kay Xosrow: the destruction of the temple of the idolaters on the shore of lake Cecast, the execution of Afrasyab, the sorcerer, and the worship of Mazdean religion".⁶² Then Kersasp⁶³ arrives with a mace in his hand, Tus⁶⁴ awakes and exhorts Kersasp to join the sacred faith of the Gathas, and the final combat begins.

The Millennium of Sosyans

The millennium of Usedar and Usedarmah are the prelude to the Frasnard, and the central character of Iranian apocalyptic and eschatology is Sosyans, the last of Zarathustra's posthumous sons.

At the end of the 3,000 years, the ultimate conflict, in which evil throws its final attack against good, takes place. Cosmic and human worlds will become chaotic: the sun, moon, and stars will not shine, and the very foundations of ordered society will be endangered, as people fail to respect their elders, teachers, or family duties. Then the last of three sons of Zarathustra, Sosyans (Av. Astuuat.ereta, "he who embodies righteousness"), the *savior par excellence* will be born to set into action the final combat between the forces of Good and that of Evil.

His coming is clearly outlined in *Yast.* 13. 145, which gathers together all the protectors of the believers, from Gayomard to Sosyans in a common invocation. In stanza 129, he is called the victorious (*verethraja*), he who embodies righteousness (*astuuat.ereta*), and the savior (*saosiiant*). In the *Pahlavi Videvdad* 19.5, it is said that the victorious Sosyans is expected to be born out of lake Kayanse: "Zarathustra made the Evil Spirit a promise (i.e. he made a vow); o Evil Spirit of evil-knowledge, I shall destroy the creation made by the demons, I shall destroy the corpse demoness, I shall destroy the desire for witches, that of idolatry, until when the beneficent victorious one will be born from the water of Kayanse".⁶⁵ The birth and rise of the Sosyans and

⁶² *Abar ham rased I kay xosrow I way I drang xwaday nazd o frasnard pursed I kay xosrow o way I drang xwaday abar zadan I-s cand az pesenigan ke pad warz ud xwarrah abardom bud hend az mardoman passox I way drang xwaday abar zadan I-s awesan ud pad an passox grift kay xosrow I way I drng xwaday ud fraz wardenid o an I ustar kirb ud abar misist ud sud I abag eran hajamanigan o anoh ku nibayed pad o I haoisti geuruua I amarg hangezened *nazd-is oy hammis oy-z sud I o anoh ku nibayed pad o I Tus I ardig rayenidar ud hangezened I-I oy-iz sud I-s o anoh ku nibayed kay abiwsh ud hangezened I-s oy-iz raft I-s hammis awesan andarag rah o ham rased I oy I sudomand I perozgar sosyans ud pursed I ke sudomand perozgar ke ke mard he ke nisine pad way abar I drang xwaday ku wazene way I drang xwaday fraz wast o an I ustar kirb guft kay xosrow pad passox o sosyans ku az hem kay xosrow ud burzed I sosyans o kay xosrow I abar kandan I-s an *uzdesar I abar bar war I cecast ud zadan I-s jadug frasyab ud stayidan I kay xosrow I den mazdest. [The Codex DH. Being a Facsimile Edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht, and Parts of Denkard, Iranian Culture Foundation 89, 1970, fols. 280 r, 280 v.; Dk. Madan, p. 817; Pahl.R. 48, 39-48; Dd. 36.3; See also R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955, p. 87*

⁶³ Kersasp from the family of Sarm is one of the most famous of all the Immortals. According to the *Bundahishn* (TD1. fol. 83 v. 84 r.; Ankl. p. 255.), he was offended the Mazdean religion, as a result of which a Turk called Nayin shot him with an arrow while he was sleeping in the plain of Pesanse. This put him in a state of lethargy. He will remain there until the end of time; then he will awake to fight the dragon Azi Dahag whom Fredon had enchained on mount Demavand, and who on that day, will be freed from his chains.

⁶⁴ The name of Tus is mentioned in Yt. 5.53-59, but without any indication of the family. Ferdowsi made Tus and Gustahm the sons of Nodar.

⁶⁵ *Ul *uzwedded zartuxst (ku pdist burd) o gannag menog ku dus-danag gannag menog zanem dam I dewan dad zanem nasus dewan dad zanem (an) parig-kamagih an uzdes paristagih ta ka ul zayed sudomand I*

his actions are described in more detail in the *Zamyad Yast*. In stanza 89 it is said that “the *xvarenah-*, the Glory, accompanies the victorious one among the Saosiiants, and his companions, so that he will make existence wonderful, unageing, undecaying”. Then it is told that “Astuuat.ereta may stand forth from the Kasaoiia Sea, the messenger of Ahura Mazda, the son of Vispa.tauuruuairi, brandishing (his) weapon, the resistance-smashing one, which brave Thraetaona bore when the Giant Dragon was smashed, which the Turanian Franjrasiian bore when Zainigao, follower of the Lie, was smashed, which kauui Haosrauuah bore when the Turanian Franjrasiian was smashed, which kauui Vistaspa bore as he reviewed the armies of Order. *With it he will remove there the Lie from the living beings of Order”.⁶⁶ This myth recalls the ancient myth of the hero slaying a dragon, inherited from Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European times. Astuuat.ereta is described as a hero, similar to the heroes of ancient times who slew dragons; as the ancient heroes slew a dragon, so Astuuat.ereta slays Falsehood.⁶⁷ Or as Mary Boyce remarks “Astvat.ereta is seen as the culmination of a line of valiant warriors, all of whom had fought bravely and victoriously against some great evil embodied in man or beast”.⁶⁸

During his millennium for thirty days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky.⁶⁹ Trees will be green forever, and all form of evil will be destroyed and vanish from the world.⁷⁰ Sosyans will converse with the Spiritual beings for thirty years, and the action of Renovation will spread throughout the Seven Climes in fifty-seven years.⁷¹ Sosyans is portrayed in the *Avesta* as having priestly power and a mighty warrior. His food is spiritual, his body is like the sun- with six eyes he sees in all directions. He has the glory of Fredon, Kay Xosrow, Frangrasyan, and Kay Wistasp. Under his rule sickness, old age, death, grief, false belief, and despotism will disappear.⁷²

The Great Battle and the End of Time

When there are (only) three months left (until) the Resurrection there will be a great battle like at the beginning of the creation in the fight with the Lie.⁷³ Sosyans will lead the forces of good on earth into a last great battle, in which gods and demons will also take part. This battle and what attends it will last for fifty-seven years; and then in the world year 12,000 Frasgird will come, with eternal bliss. The great battle will take place in different stages. Sosyans will gather an army to make war against the demons. First they will perform the *Yasna* ceremony. Ohrmazd and

perozgar az ab I kayanse.

⁶⁶The translation given here is from, P.O.Skjaervø, “Zarathustra in the Avesta and in Manicheism. Irano-Manichaica IV, in *Atti Dei Convegna Lincei 127. Convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia E L’Asia Centrale. Da Alessandro Al X Secolo*, Roma. 1996, p. 603.

⁶⁷ See A. Hintze, “The Rise of the Saviour in the Avesta” in *Iran und Turfan. Beitrage Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann. Zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet Herausgegeben Von Christiane Reck und Peter Zieme*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1995, p. 93.

⁶⁸ M.Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* vol. I., Leiden/Koln, 1975, p. 283.

⁶⁹ Bund. TD1, fol 93 v.; Ankl. p. 283.

⁷⁰ Dk.7.10.2-10

⁷¹ Dk.7.11.4-9; Z d. 34.48. The number fifty-seven years devoted by Sosyans to the final renovation of the world and the resurrection is based on the traditional fifty-seven years which it took for Zarathustra’s religion to be spread abroad throughout the seven regions of the earth (Z d.34. 47).

⁷² Dk.7.11.2-3.

⁷³Z d.34.52.

other gods will appear on earth, and each will destroy their specific enemies.⁷⁴ Az and Ahreman are the last demons to be defeated, their special adversaries being Sros and Ohrmazd. Gocihr⁷⁵ will burn in the molten metal and the pollution of Hell will burn and Hell will become pure.⁷⁶

The arch-demon Az, Greed, dominates the whole apocalyptic scene. Az, the closest companion of the Evil Spirit, is terribly weak, deriving no power from the creations of Ohrmazd. “Wrath and Greed will (each) say to the Evil Spirit: ‘I shall devour you, ignorant Evil Spirit for your creation has been seized from you and the thief (has suffered) no harm and it is not possible for me to survive’. First demon-created Greed will devour Wrath with the bloody club, and second he will devour demon-created *Zamestan*⁷⁷, and thirdly *Sej*⁷⁸ of the furtive movement, and fourthly *Zaman*⁷⁹ short of breath, until (only) a few yet live”.⁸⁰ The Evil Spirit turns a hopeless appeal to Ohrmazd: “This creation was created by me, and demon-created Greed, who is my creation, now says that you wish to devour me; I shall take you to judgment. Ohrmazd will stand up with Sros the righteous, and Sros’s righteousness will smite Greed. Ohrmazd will expel the Evil Spirit out of the sky, with the hateful darkness and the evil which he first brought when he invaded and he will expel all (of it) from the sky through the hole through which he [i.e. the Evil Spirit] invaded. And that hole will make him so stunned and senseless, (that) after that (his) stupefaction will remain. There was one who said: ‘The eternally-existing ones will make him powerless by killing his form. The Evil Spirit will be no more: no (more) of his creation!’”⁸¹

Thus the very nature of the demons, which is to commit aggression, to torment, to stir up strife, and to destroy, turns in upon itself; they “fight against themselves, strike, tear, hold, and disrupt themselves⁸² until not a particle or a particle of a particle of them remains within the domain of the light”.⁸³ Ahreman is now dead and it only remains for Ohrmazd to raise the bodies to reunite them with their souls and to establish his kingdom of unending bliss.

The Resurrection of the Body

Ohrmazd, Sosyans, and his comrades will raise the dead bodies. “Ohrmazd will summon bones from the earth and blood from the waters and hair from the plants and spirit from the wind; he will mix one with the other and he will create the form which each has [i.e. in this present life]”.⁸⁴ Sosyans will perform five *yasnas*. In each performance he will raise one fifth of the dead

⁷⁴Yt. 19.95-96; Bund. TD1, fol. 97 r.; Ankl. p. 291.; Z. d. 35.37.

⁷⁵ In the *Bundahisn* (TD1, fol. 21 r.) the snake-like Gocihr and Musparig with the tail and wings are said to be the evil opponents of the sun, moon, and stars. These two harmful beings were bound to the sun so as not to run free and cause harm.

⁷⁶ Bund. TD1, fol. 97 r. 97 v. ; Ankl. p. 291.

⁷⁷ Winter.

⁷⁸ Trouble, danger.

⁷⁹ Time.

⁸⁰ Pahl. R. 48.90-91.

⁸¹ Pahl. R. 48.93-96.

⁸² *Dew abar xwad dew ud druz abaz warded xwad o xwad koxsend ud zanend ud darrend ud girend wisobend*. Dd. 36.94.

⁸³ *ud ec bahr ud bahran bahr l az druzih ta-z cand xudag l e a-san andar en rosnigh parwast az druzih ne maned*. Dd. 36.99.

⁸⁴ Pahl. R. 48.57-107.

and at the fifth *yasna* he will raise all the dead.⁸⁵ That is to say that the Frasnir will take place during the five epagomenae so that the eternal life will begin on the last Norouz.

Sosyans will make the dead arise in the course of fifty-seven years, starting with Gayomard the primal man and Masi and Masyani, the two first humans, and then the rest of humanity both those who were saved and those who were damned. Each man will arise in the place where his vital spirit left him or where first he fell to the ground.⁸⁶ The Fire god and the god Erman will melt the metal in the hills and mountains, and it will be upon the earth like a river.⁸⁷ At that time Gocihr also will fall down on the earth, which it will terrify like a wolf does a sheep.⁸⁸ All of humanity will pass through this river of molten metal. For the righteous the metal will feel just like warm milk, while the sinners will experience the blazing metal.⁸⁹ This river will burn away all wickedness and purify the whole physical creation. Each person will see his own good and sinful deeds and the righteous will be separated from the evil. This process is called 'the performance of Frasnir, which followed three days after by the final judgment and ordeal in the river of molten metal.'⁹⁰

The earth will rise to the station of the stars⁹¹, and Garodman (the house of song) will come down from the place where it is (now) to the station of stars, and everywhere will be Garodman.⁹² Ohrmazd dwells with man and the other Amahraspands dwell with the animals, fires, metals, earth, water and plants, over which they respectively preside.⁹³

Sosyans with his comrades will perform the rite for the restoration of the dead; and they will slay the Hadayos bull for that rite; from its fat and the white Hom they will prepare the immortal beverage, and give it to all mankind and all men will become immortal for ever and ever. Those who had lived up to maturity will be restored as if they were forty years old, and those who had died young will be restored as youths of fifteen years.⁹⁴ Ohrmazd, the Amahraspands, and all the gods and men will be together in one place. There will be no more hunger, thirst, old age, or death and there will be sexual satisfaction without procreation. People will always have the taste of meat in their mouths without the need to eat at all. ⁹⁵ Finally, all creatures will obtain the Final

⁸⁵Pahl.R. 48.56.

⁸⁶ Bund. TD1, fol 95 r.; Ankl. p. 287.; Kotwal F., *The Supplementary Texts of the Sayest ne-Sayest*, København, 1969, ch. 17.12 and 14.

⁸⁷ Bund. TD1, fol 96 r.; Ankl. p. 289.

⁸⁸ Bund. TD1, fol 96 r.; Ankl. p. 289.

⁸⁹ Bund. TD1, fol 96 r. & 96 v.; Ankl. p. 289. The molten metal is alluded to in *Yasna* 30.7. "But to this world He came with the rule of good thinking and of truth, and (our) enduring respect gave body and breath (to it). He shall be here for the protection of these (faithful), just as He shall be the first (to do so) during the requitals with the (molten) iron.

⁹⁰ Bund. TD1, fol 96 r.; Ankl. p. 289.

⁹¹ Pahl. R. 48.98.

⁹²*ud garodman az an gyag *ku ast abaz o star payag ayed ud hamag gyag garodman be bawed.* (Pahl. T. 107.5.6).

⁹³ Z. d. 35.39.

⁹⁴ Bund. TD1, fol 96 v. Ankl. p. 291. According to the *Pahlavi Texts* (p. 107) Men will be deathless and ageless, after that, food is not needed and if meat is eaten they will be raised up at the age of forty, and if meat is not eaten they will be raised up at the age of fifteen. Cf. also *Saddar Bundahish*, "They become satiated for ever. They are not in want of bread nor of water, nor of any eatables, and all become satiated, fearless, without dread, without grief, happy and without want", *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, p. 578.

⁹⁵ Pahl.R. 48. 105-106.

body (*tan i pasen*), becoming as they were before the attack of Ahreman, belonging entirely to Ohrmazd, and the world will be Frasnigird.

The resurrection body is described as follows : “their bones through light will shine like crystal among gems, the flesh on their bones will be like the coral on trees, the tendons on their bones will be like golden chains on carved crystal, the blood will course in their veins like perfumed wine in a golden glass, and the humours in their bodies will be more fragrant than musk and ambergris and camphor”.⁹⁶

After the Frasnigird there will be no demons because there will be no deceit, no lies because no lying, no Ahreman because no destructiveness, no hell because no sin, no strife because no wrath, no vengeance because no injury, no pain because no sickness, no grief because no fear, no need because no greed, no shame because no ugliness, no deceit because no desire to deceive, no irreligion because no false doctrine, no evil because its source will have been destroyed. It is said that all evil thoughts, words, and deeds, and all evil existences, originate from the Evil Spirit . By his destruction, all evil will be destroyed; and with the destruction of evil all good things [are brought] to their perfection; and at a time when good has reached its perfection there can be no possibility of casting pain and misery by any means whatever to any creature.⁹⁷

When Sosyans accomplish the Renovation, the luminaries will return to the original perfection of stasis in their exaltations. “The sun, moon, and stars will exist, but there will be no need for day light or turning or shining of light, for the whole world will be light and devoid of any darkness, and all creatures will be light. Being light, they will be full of bliss. And all creatures will have one will and one *desire. Individual men will feel no envy at the joy of the totality of creatures, but will rejoice together with it”.⁹⁸

The *Avesta* and the Pahlavi books give us a complete account of the last days of the world, the millennium, the coming of the Sosyans, the resurrection and general judgment, and the annihilation of evil and the reign of good. The whole Zoroastrian literature shows the continuity of the apocalyptic eschatology beliefs from the time of the *Gathas* (1000 B.C.) down to the early Islamic period (7-10 centuries C.E.).

The fall of the Sasanian dynasty and the Arab conquest of Iran in seventh century profoundly changed historical and geographical conditions of the Zoroastrianism. From being the state religion, it became a minority under Islamic supremacy. These dramatic changes gave new impulses to apocalyptic expectations the traces of which we find in the Pahlavi books. As a result a number of events were added after the fact to these texts and they were elaborated and reinterpreted. But it must be emphasized that the apocalyptic doctrine is one of the oldest in the

⁹⁶ Zad.35.51.

⁹⁷ (101)*pas az frasnigird ne bawed dew ce ne bawed *freb ud ne druz ce nest druzisn ne bawed *Ahreman ce nest zadarih ne bawed duxox ce nest druwandih ne bawed koxsisn ce ne bawed xesm ud ne bawed ken ce nest wizay ne bawed dard ce nest wimarih ne bawed *cehag ce nest bim ne based niyaz ce nest az ne bawed sarm ce nest zistig ne bawed dro ce nest dro kam ne bawed agdenih ce nest dro gowisnih ud ne based was ce abesihed tohmag pad an I guft ested ku wispan dushumatan dushuxtan dusxwarst wispan witar axw tohmag I *giraysin az gannag menog. (102)ad an I oy wanyih wanyed har watter pad wattarih wanyin *spurriged har wehah andar zamanag I spurriged har wehah ec dard bes pas ec car o ec dam handaztan ne sayed. Dd.36.101-102.*

⁹⁸ (104)*andar an I nektom zamanag xwarsed mah rosnan bawand be ne niyaz o roz ud gardisn ud spizisn I frasm ce gehan hamag rosn ud a-tar ud wispan-iz daman rosn (105)awesan-iz rosnan bawand a-san purr seda ud harwisp-iz dam ham-kam ud ham- *xwahisn. (106)kadamagan-iz margomandan pad nekih I wispan daman an-aresk ham ramisn. Dd. 36. 104-106.*

religion of Zarathustra. It may have been developed or even modified at different times, but it was characteristic of Zoroastrianism in all periods.

Abbreviations

Ankl.	Anklesaria B.T., Zand-Akahih.
AWN	Arda Wiraz Namag
Dd	Dadestan i Denig
Dk	Denkard
Bund	Bundahisn
MX	Dadestan i menog i xrad
Pahl. R.	Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dadestan i Denig
Pahl.T.	Pahlavi Texts
Phl Wd.	Pahlavi Widewdad
Z½ d	Wizidagiha i Zadspram
Y	Yasna
Yt	Yast
ZWY	Zand i Wahman Yasn

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