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A STRANGE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S ORIGIN:  
*PRDd. XLVI*

The remarkable account of the world's creation which comprises the forty-sixth chapter of the *Pahlavi Rivāyat*<sup>1</sup> has been considered as peculiar and unique in Zoroastrian literature. Although in many details it accords with the traditions of the *Vendīdād* and *Greater Bundahišn*, it is unique insofar as no other Zoroastrian text has it that God created the world from a body (Pahl. *tan*)—a giant, cosmic, yet apparently human, body. H. W. Bailey has described this little text as

'the isolated and peculiar attempt to trace back the origin of created things to that out of which they were made'<sup>2</sup>,

and suggested cautiously that the scheme (of the chapter) so conceived is 'perhaps due to some foreign influence'<sup>3</sup>, without, however, specifying what influence this might have been<sup>4</sup>. For R. C. Zaehner, on the other hand, the whole myth (i.e. of *PRDd. XLVI*) brought to mind the famous *Puruṣa* hymn in the *Rg Veda* (X.90), and he had 'every reason to believe that this is a case of Indian influence on Iranian thought'<sup>5</sup>. Zaehner was sure enough of such a direct borrowing from India to discuss it at some length in his two most important works on Zoroastrianism, and to identify 'Spīhr' as the Zoroastrian *puruṣa*<sup>6</sup>. An alternative interpretation of the Iranian text is offered here which challenges the idea of a 'direct borrowing from India'<sup>7</sup>. Whilst Professor Bailey's suggestion, mentioned above, cannot be ruled out, it is quite possible that the text can be *étrange* without necessarily being *étranger*.

<sup>1</sup> The transcription and translation of *PRDd. XLVI* given below form part of a PhD. thesis by the present writer which was recently presented to the University of London, entitled 'The Pahlavi *Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dādestān i Dēnīg*', I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Professor Mary Boyce for her constant inspiration, and for her painstaking supervision of my doctoral work. Any errors or eccentricities in this present article are, of course, entirely my own.

<sup>2</sup> *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth century books (Zor. Prob.)*, 121.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> However, see below, Notes to the Translation, n.3.

<sup>5</sup> *Zurvān: a Zoroastrian dilemma (ZZ)*, 137.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, 136.

<sup>7</sup> R. C. Zaehner, *Dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism (Dawn)*, 259.

There are two important features of *RV* X.90 which are lacking in *PRDd. XLVI* and which Zaehner does not appear to have taken into account in dubbing the latter a borrowing. First, in the Vedic text it is repeatedly stated that the *puruṣa* is sacrificed as an oblation (§§ 7, 8, 9, 10). Second, the *puruṣa* is dismembered (§ 12). No mention is made of either of these actions in *PRDd.* Moreover, only two creations in the Pahlavi text correspond to those from the *puruṣa*; the sky is produced from the head, the earth from the feet (surely following a logic that is not peculiar to the *Ṛg Veda*). Professor Zaehner was obliged, it seems, to refer to a third text (*Škand Gumanig Wizār* I.20-4) to make a more convincing connection between *RV* and *PRDd.* The account of *PRDd.* may appear to be more foreign than it actually is because of one factor, i.e. the absence therein of the Evil Spirit in his major role in the cosmogony of, as it were, provoking Ohrmazd to create the world (*gētīg*) in time (cf. *GBd.* I). However, this absence is understandable if it is seen that this account does not start at the very beginning of all (as does *GBd.* I) but describes the creation of the world during the period of Ahreman's stupor after his being smitten by the Ahunavar *maθra*<sup>8</sup>. As to the identity of the *tan* 'body' in *PRDd. XLVI.3 andar ō tan burd, u-š se hazār sāl andar tan dāšt*, Zaehner may himself have unwittingly provided an alternative answer which obviates the connection with the Vedic *puruṣa*. Having moved on to develop the theme 'Man the Microcosm', Zaehner translates *Dādestān ī Dēnīg, purs.* 63:

'The Lord of all, Ohrmazd, fashioned forth the Endless Form from the Endless Light. Its creaturely existence was of Ohrmazd and its light was that of fire which does not burn. Bright it was like a flame, productive like the fertile earth. And within the Endless Form he created man who is called the [small] world. For three thousand years he neither moved nor ate, nor slept, nor spoke...'<sup>9</sup>.

Clearly, here the Endless Form corresponds to the *xwarg ī ātaxš* of *PRDd. XLVI.2*, from which the creations (*dām ud dahišn*) of the embryonic *gētīg* world are fashioned<sup>10</sup>. This latter corresponds to what is called in *Dd., loc. cit.*, 'the man who is called the world', and Zaehner correctly identifies this man as Gayōmard<sup>11</sup>. There is no reason to suppose then that the 'body' (*tan*) of *PRDd.* is anything other than the

<sup>8</sup> i.e. after *GBd.* I.a.2; ed. T. D. Anklesaria, 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Dawn*, 260.

<sup>10</sup> In *PRDd. XLVI.3*.

<sup>11</sup> *Dawn, loc. cit.*

'body' of Gayōmard. According to a passage in *GBd*. Ohrmazd has both the motherhood and fatherhood of the creation:

*ohrmazd pad dām-dahišnih mādarīh ud pidarīh ī dahišn ast, čē ka-š dām pad mēnōg parward hān būd mādarīh, ka-š be ō gētīg dād hān mēnōg būd pidarīh*

'Ohrmazd in creation has both the motherhood and fatherhood of the creation, since when he nourished the creation in the invisible world, that was his motherhood; when he created the invisible as the visible world that was his fatherhood'<sup>12</sup>

The means of production of the spiritual world are easy to imagine in the metaphor of motherhood. In *PRDd*. XLVI the fatherhood of the physical world is perhaps explained by analogy with the father of mankind, Gayōmard who embodies all the world. In several Zoroastrian texts the body of man is said to be a 'similitude' (*handāzag*) of the elements of the physical world<sup>13</sup>. However, from such comparisons to the detailed myth in *PRDd*.—that the physical world was actually created from a cosmic 'body'—is indeed a considerable step, but there is something of a precedent in the tradition preserved in *GBd*. and *MX* that metals were produced from the body of Gayōmard as he was dying, stricken by the illness (*wēmārīh*) of the Hostile Spirit. The text of *GBd*. is:

*gōwēd kū ka gayōmard wēmārīh abar mad pad hōy dast ōbast, az sar srub, az xōn arzīz, ud az mazg sēm, az pāy āhan, az ast rōy, ud az pīh ābgēnag, ud az bāzā pōlāwad, ud az jān be šawišnih zarr ...*

'It is stated that when the illness came upon Gayōmard, he fell to his left hand, from his head appeared lead, from his blood tin, and from his marrow silver, from his feet iron, from his bones copper and from his fat crystal, and from his arms steel, and from the going forth of his breath-soul gold ...'<sup>14</sup>.

Two further features of *PRDd*. XLVI may be taken as more evidence that the text is an *improvisation* (as elsewhere in *PRDd*.) and *extrapolation* from orthodox Zoroastrian material within an otherwise orthodox account of the world's creation (i.e. rather than an importation from India). First, the motif of creation from the cosmic body appears to be there merely to provide a novel structure (upon which are displayed the traditional Zoroastrian connections between the spiritual

<sup>12</sup> Reading (standardized) and translation from H. W. Bailey, DPhil. thesis, Oxford, 1933, p. 16.10-12.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. *GBd*. XXVII.

<sup>14</sup> Bailey's reading and translation, *GBd*. XIV.2; ed. TDA, 100; cf. *GBd*. VI.f.8; ed. TDA, 69.15-70.1; and also see *MX* 27.18.

and physical, the archetypal and the actual elements of the creation). The motif is not developed; there is no explanation of what this body is, or of what happens to it once it has produced the creations; it is taken up erratically (§§4, 5, 11, 13, 28, 36) in the formula of the phrase 'X' (*dām ud dahišn*) az 'Y' (*handām ī tan*) *be brēhēnid*; it is then each time forgotten as the writer develops traditional doctrines associated with the creations. Second, the creations are produced in virtually the traditional order of *GBd.*<sup>15</sup>, except that the creation of the primeval man does not follow after that of the primeval ox. Gayōmard is conspicuously missing here, for fire is the next creation, and man's creation occurs only much later, mentioned almost as an afterthought, in §36. It appears that the writer had assumed that man was already created (i.e. in the 'body' of Gayōmard? in §3). §36 is somewhat confused in its detail, as though the writer is unclear as to how to portray the creation of man at this late stage.

In the following reading and translation of the text of *PRDd.* XLVI it is thus assumed that it is not a direct borrowing from India but rather an original combination of more or less traditional details of the orthodox Zoroastrian account of creation: in scholastic fashion, the writer took the myth of Gayōmard as producer of metals and extrapolated it within the well-known traditional account, thereby giving the chapter an entirely strange appearance.

- (1) <sup>1</sup>ēd kū: asmān čiyōn ud az čē kard estēd?
- (2) abzār būd čiyōn xwarg ī ātaxš ī pad rōšnīh pāk<sup>2</sup>,  
ī az hān ī asar-rōšnīh be brēhēnid.
- (3) u-š hamāg dām ud dahišn<sup>3</sup> az hān be kard, ud ka-š be  
kard būd a-š āndar ō tan burd u-š sē hazār<sup>4</sup> sāl  
andar tan dāšt; u-š hamē abzāyēnid<sup>5</sup> u-š<sup>6</sup> weh hamē kard;  
u-š pas ēwag ēwag az tan ī xweš hamē<sup>7</sup> brēhēnid.
- (4) u-š nazdist asmān az sar be brēhēnid u-š gōhr  
az \*ābgēnag<sup>8</sup> ī spēd, u-š pahnāy ud bālāy rāst, u-š<sup>9</sup>  
zahīh ī fragān hān and ast čand pahnāy ī \*tuhīgīh<sup>10</sup>,  
u-š winnārišn pad nar ī ahlaw ud dahmān āf[r]īn, u-š  
dāštārīh ī gētīg nēst; ohrmazd abār dām ud dahišn  
andar nišīnēd.
- (5) u-š zamīg az pāy be brēhēnid, u-š winnārišn az \*kirbag<sup>11</sup>  
(mīhr ī xwadāy ī nēk ud dahmān āfrīn, \*rad<sup>12</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *GBd.* Ia; but see below, Notes to Translation, n.11.

ī \*rāstih<sup>13</sup> ud \*rad<sup>14</sup> ī ahlāyih, pad nēkih abar [mard ī] arzānīg mēnōg xwāstag pad ahlawdād be dahēnd). u-š gōhr \*andar<sup>15</sup> be nigand, u-š<sup>16</sup> kōfihā<sup>17</sup> az hān gōhr be rōyēnid, \*haštah<sup>18</sup> sāl azēr ud azabar harw dō hamē rust<sup>19</sup>; ud pas azēr be estād, azabar hašt sad sāl did hamē<sup>19</sup> rust tā be ō asmān, u-š azēr ud azabar girdag pēr[ā]mōn \*andar<sup>20</sup> āyēd, u-š homānāg ēdōn čiyōn xāyag-ēw kē-š murwizag andar u-š daštārīh ī gētīg nēst.

- (6) ēdōn čiyōn-iš kōf be rōyēnid tā ēn paymānag ī ast \*ā-š<sup>21</sup> zamīg pad nēmag ī \*asmān<sup>22</sup> pad star<sup>23</sup> \*pāyag<sup>24</sup> frāz dād u-š az-iš<sup>25</sup> paitištān ud frabd be brēhēnid ka ahreman andar dwārist \*ēg-iš<sup>26</sup> frōd \*hixt<sup>27</sup>, pad tan ī-pasēn abāz \*ō<sup>28</sup> star \*pāyag<sup>24</sup> šawēd.
- (7) harborz zahīh čand pahnāy ī zamīg, pēr[ā]mō[n] harborz fragān u-š pahnāy and čand. harborz ud zamīg \*ō<sup>29</sup> star \*pāyag<sup>24</sup> [pad] nēmag ī \*asmān<sup>22</sup>; az star pāyag<sup>30</sup> tā mäh pāyag<sup>30</sup> sīh ud čahār hazār frasang mar wēš, az mäh pāyag<sup>30</sup> tā ō xwaršēd pāyag \*sīh ud čahār hazār<sup>31</sup> frasang, az xwaršēd tā ō \*asmān<sup>22</sup> \*sīh ud čahār hazār<sup>31</sup> frasang az star pāyag<sup>30</sup> tā ō ēdar \*sīh ud čahār hazār<sup>31</sup> frasang ud az ēn gyāg tā ō \*asmān<sup>22</sup> ī azēr nō hazār frasang.
- (8) \*asmān<sup>22</sup> \*<sup>32</sup>gohr [az] \*ābgēnag ī spēd<sup>32</sup>, rōšn u-š rōšnih az hān ī xwaršēd.
- (9) pas az hān ka druz ō dām dwārist, bē zardušt az gētīgān kas-iz nē did. haft kišwar<sup>33</sup> \*nēndar<sup>34</sup> \*asmān<sup>22</sup>, harborz \*kōfihā<sup>35</sup> dō hazār ud dō sad ud čehel ud čahār ast.
- (10) zrēh<sup>36</sup> ī fraxwkard sē ēwag ī ēn zamīg.
- (11) u-š āb az ars be \*brēhēnid<sup>37</sup> ast ī-š andar ō zamīg gumēxt ud ast ī-š abar zamīg<sup>38</sup> be ānid ud ast ī andarwāy<sup>39</sup> be estēnid ud hamāg pad rawišn estād.
- (12) harw hān kē-š zōhr wēš u-š hixrih kam pad sē sāl, hān kē-š harw dō rāst pad šaš sāl, hān kē-š hixrih wēš u-š zōhr kam pad nō sāl abāz ō \*zrēh<sup>40</sup> ī fraxwkard rasēd.
- (13) u-š urwar az mōy be brēhēnid, ud nazdist ēw bun ēw widest dō angust pad bālāy<sup>41</sup> būd u-š hamāg sardag ī urwarān andar būd bē ēw sardag u-š pad ērānwēz frāz dād.
- (14) pas ast ī murwān ast ī pad āb ud ast ī mardōmān gyāg gyāg be burd ud wēšag-iz andar \*zrēh<sup>40</sup> ud hōm ī spēd ud abārīg urwar ī andar gēhān

- az hān be būd<sup>42</sup>; u-š \*āsānīh<sup>43</sup> az āb-zōhr<sup>44</sup> burdan [tā] pāk [bawēd]<sup>45</sup>; u-š dušxwārīh az hān ī ka adādestānīhā be brīnēnd ayāb be škenēnd. hān sardag ī-š pas dād panjāh<sup>46</sup> sardag būd.
- (15) u-š gāw \*az<sup>47</sup> dast ī dašn be \*brēhēnīd<sup>48</sup>, u-š andar ērānwēz frāz dād, u-š<sup>49</sup> 3 \*nāy \*pad<sup>49</sup> bālāy ud pahnāy būd, ud ka-š ahreman abar mad pad gyāg be murd, u-š šus<sup>a</sup> r pad gyāg be ō zamīg mad. hamāg sardag ī gōspandān ohrmazd az hān šus<sup>a</sup> r be kard u-š nazdist az harw sardag-ēw ēwag nar ud ēwag mādag be kard ud pas paywand az awēšān be raft u-šān xwašīh ud āsānīh az āb ud wāstar ud \*payīšn<sup>50</sup> ī nēk zamestān ud<sup>51</sup> hāmin tā<sup>52</sup> pāk [bawēd] u-šān dušxwārīh az hān ka-šān adādīhā be kušēnd u-šān kār adāhīhā framāyēnd u-šān āb ud wāstar nē dahēnd u-šān \*pāyīšn<sup>53</sup> [nē kunēnd]
- ... (21) [tā] \*alūdag<sup>55</sup> ī  
\*dušmen<sup>56</sup> kunēnd, u-šān duz ud gurg az-iš abāz nē dārēnd.
- (22) gōspand dō sad ud haštad ud dō sardag ast ud hān ī panj  
ēwēnag.
- (23) ēwēnag-ēw hān kē-š sumb<sup>57</sup> dō-gānag, čiyōn gāw.  
(24) ēwēnag-[ēw] kē-š sumb<sup>57</sup> gird čiyōn asp.  
(25) ēwēnag-ēw hān kē pāy čiyōn hān ī \*uštar<sup>58</sup>.  
(26) ēwēnag-ēw<sup>59</sup> murw, ēwēnag-[ēw] ābīg ud māhīg. bē gōspand ī<sup>60</sup> ēwēnag ī az abestāg čāšt,  
(27) sag ud sār ī gar<sup>61</sup> ud warāg ī syā ud kargās<sup>62</sup>.  
<sup>63</sup>abārīg ōh abāyēd xward[an]; sag ēd rāy čē šus<sup>a</sup>r ī gāyōmard čiš andar ast, ud sār ud warāg ī syā ud kargās<sup>62</sup> tan hamāg h[i]xrīh ud pad nasā xward[an] dād ēstēnd.
- (28) u-š ātaxš<sup>64</sup> az wārom be brēhēnīd, u-š brāh az hān ī asar-rōšnīh brēhēnīd.  
(29) u-š urwar be dād u-š ātaxš andar be dād u-š āfrīn awīš kard kū: \*'ka<sup>65</sup> ašmā nē h[ād] ātaxš kardār (kū ātaxš az-iš nē šāyēd wēxt)<sup>66</sup> hān ašmā hād ādursōg' (kū ka-š abar nihēnd a frāz \*waxšēd)<sup>67</sup>.  
(30) ka-š tan be ō gētīg kāmīst dād, a-š<sup>68</sup> garzišn kard kū: 'be [ō] gētīg nē šawēm, čē-m anāgīh was padiš kunēnd'.  
(31) pas ohrmazd ādur gušnasp pad ādurbādagān pad warahrānīh be nišāst.

- (32) u-š guft kū: 'mardōm<sup>69</sup> kār ī ēw pih<sup>70</sup> ō ātaxš  
ī kadag<sup>71</sup> pādixšāyōmand framūd[an] ka-šān ēw pih framūd hād  
be ō ātaxš ī warahrān barēnd<sup>72</sup> u-t \*apetyārag be kunēnd'.
- (33) ud pas pad āmad[an]<sup>73</sup> ō gētīg andar estād  
ud ham-dādestān būd<sup>74</sup>.
- (34) ud ohrmazd pad pādāšn, hamāg ātaxš ī warahrān pad  
ahlāyih<sup>75</sup> paydāgēnīd.
- (35) u-š ādur ī farnbag pad hān pādāšn<sup>16</sup> ka-š kārezār ī abāg  
dahāg kard ā-š<sup>68</sup> pad wahrāmīh pad xwārazm be nišāst, ud  
ādur burzēnmīhr pad hān pādāšn ka-š wištāsp be ō dēn  
hāxt [ā-š pad] wahrāmīh pad puštān ī wištāspān be \*nišāst<sup>77</sup>.
- (36) u-š mardōm az hān gil kē-š gayōmard az-iš kard. pad  
šus<sup>r</sup> ēwēnag andar ō spandarmad<sup>78</sup> hišt ud gayōmard az  
spandarmad be brehēnīd<sup>79</sup>, ud zād. čiyōn marhā ud marhiyānē  
rust hēnd, sē hazār sāl nē rawēnīd. ka ahreman andar dwārist  
sih sāl būd tā<sup>80</sup> hamē raft. u-š frawardīn<sup>81</sup> māh<sup>80</sup>, rōz  
ohrmazd be ōzad. šus<sup>r</sup> ī gayōmard be ō zamīg mad  
čehel sāl pad šus<sup>r</sup>rih andar zamīg estād.
- (37) pas māhlās<sup>82</sup> ud māhlēnē az zamīg rībāh kirb be  
rust hēnd \*ēd<sup>83</sup> kū ēdōn čiyōn rībāh ka abar āyēd  
ā-š<sup>84</sup> warg pad tan frāz estād awēšān-iz dast pad dōš  
abāz<sup>85</sup> estād. rōšn guft kū: 'nō māh rībāh kirb būd hēnd'.
- (38) pas be ō mardōm kirbīh wašt hēnd; az<sup>86</sup> awēšān  
šaš pus ud šaš duxt be zād hēnd ud būd  
ī zīst ud būd ī murd hēnd ud pas hamāg  
mardōm az awēšān be būd hēnd.

## TEXTUAL NOTES

1. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> and J are MSS. used by B. N. Dhabhar (D.) in his edition *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistān-ī Dīnik*, Bombay, 1913. H. K. Mirza (M.) transcribed this chapter in a PhD. thesis presented to the Univ. of London, 1942. The text has also been edited by H. S. Nyberg (Nyb.) in *Man. Pahl.* I, 1-10, and transcribed and translated by R. C. Zaehner (Z.) in *Zurvān: a Zoroastrian dilemma*, 361-7. The first four sections have also been edited by J. C. Tavadia, *Studia Indo-iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, Leipzig, 1931, 239-40. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ZYš. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J dhšn'. 4. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J have  $\text{𐬰𐬀}$ , which M. interprets as 1,000, i.e. ēw (XD) hazār, Nyb. and Z. as 3,000. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J (so M.); BK 'pz'dt' (so Nyb. and Z.). 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Pm. 7. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hm'k (so M.). 8. Bailey's suggestion in *Zor. Prob.*, p. 133 (and n.2); MSS MN kyn'; M. emends to 'p; Nyb. emends to MN \*k'skyn' (az \*kāsakēn), which denotes "a kind of stone" (*op. cit.*, II, 115); Z. reads hač kēn (i.e. az kēn). 9. Repeated in BK. 10. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> tw'h'ykyh; J twhykyh. 11. MSS krp' (or kw'p'); Nyb. reads kōf

(presumably) but does not list this instance in his glossary; M. emends to \**karp* (*klp*) reading *u-š vēnarišn az \*karp paδ mihr xwadāy* 'its structural management is by the Lord Mihr'; Z. reads *kōf* "mountains". 12. BK, J *l't*; MR<sub>1</sub> *lyt'*; M. emends to *rādih*; Z. emends to \**Rašn i rāst* (see *op. cit.*, 363, n.§5). 13. M.'s emendation; MSS *l'st' ZY*. 14. Z.'s emendation; BK *l't*; D. prefers MR<sub>1</sub>, J *l'tyh* (so M.). 15. M.'s and Z.'s emendation; Nyb. reads BK *GdH*; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *yym*. 16. Lacking in BK. 17. M. emends to \**kōf-ē*. 18. M.'s emendation; BK *كوف عي*; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *كوف عي*; Nyb. reads *l,800*, Z. *l,700*. 19. These ten words lacking in BK. 20. M.'s emendation; MSS *GdH* (so Nyb., Z.). 21. Z.'s emendation; MSS *Pš* (so M., Nyb.). 22. BK *'sym'n'*; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *'s'm'n'*. 23. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *stwl*. 24. MSS *p'hyk'*. 25. BK; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 26. M.'s emendation; MSS *'yn'š*. 27. BK *w'st'*; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *'XDWNtn'*; M. emends to *āhixt*; Z. \**āhaxt*. 28. D.'s emendation; MSS *W*. 29. MSS *W*. 30. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> *p'hyk'*. 31. MSS *ل سبج* (*l,000, 4,000*) for *ل سبج* (*34,000*). 32. Bailey's suggestion in *op. cit.*, 133; MSS *gwh'l kyn' spyt' hwšn'*. M. reads *gōhr gēn spēδ uδ rōšan*; Nyb. *gwhl [k'š]kyn' spyt' hwšn'*, Z. *gōhr kēn: spēt rōšn*. 33. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *kšwl*. 34. Z.'s emendation (see *op. cit.*, 364, n.§9); MSS *ny'nndl*; Nyb. reads *nyw'ndl/nyandar* (*op. cit.*, II, 142); M. emends to \**niyun andar* 'under'. 35. M.'s emendation; MSS *kwpyh*. 36. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J *z'l'h*. 37. MSS *bl'hynyt'*. 38. Lacking in BK. 39. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> *'ndl'w'd*. 40. MSS *z'l'h*. 41. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> *b't*. 42. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *YXWWNyt'*; M. reads *dāδ (YXBNt')* but translates as *būd*. 43. M.'s and Z.'s emendation; MSS *'s'ns*. 44. MSS *MY' W zwhl* (so all). 45. BK *wslyn'd DKY*; D. prefers MR<sub>1</sub>, J *YBLWNx<sub>2</sub> DKY*, which M. interprets as *burdan [tā] pāk* (but does not translate the infinitive, rendering 'fits happiness (was) from the water and the Zōhr,] till it was in a pure state'). Nyb. emends to *slgwn' ZY DKY* i.e. 'purified dung', and Z. emends to *ut \*zargōn i pāk* 'and pure verdure'. 46. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *سو*. 47. All emend thus; MSS *QDM*. 48. MSS *bl'hynyt'*. 49. Z.'s emendation (*op. cit.*, 362) (cf. *Gbd*. Ia.12); MSS *5 BR' (سورج)*; M. follows D.'s suggestion *5 marδ (5 GBR)*. 50. MSS *p'hsyn'*; M. emends to \**pahišn* "breeding"; Nyb. emends to \**p'hs't* "sheepfold"; Z. emends to \**pāyišn*, but understands it differently, viz. *haē āβ ut wāstar pāyišn* "from the water and the protection of the pasture lands", but this splits up the phrase *āb ut wāstar*. 51. MSS *ZY*; Nyb. emends to *'D*; M., Z. to *W*. 52. MSS; Nyb., Z. emend to *ZY*. 53. BK *p'hsyn'*; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *p'hsyn'*; M. reads *pahišn* "breeds"; Nyb. emends to \**p'hs't* and adds <L' *YXBNd*>; Z. to *pāyišn*. 54. As D. notes, §§16-21 are an interpolation, properly belonging to Ch. 47 (after *u-šan pad sih ut sē band bast*). M. reads the last sentence of (*u-šan \*pahišn ...* etc.) as part of Ch. 46 (as D. does) and assumes that some words or sentences are missing before the text is resumed in §21 *stlk' ZY \*dwšmn' 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub>*. However the interpolation probably begins in 46.15 *'Pš gwls[gl]y h ...*, for the text of Ch. 46 makes sense with the restoration of [L' *'BYDWNd 'D*]. Also, the sentence *'Pš gwls[gl]y h ... BR' 'ZLWNt'* fits better into the text of Ch. 47. 55. Tentative emendation, which reflects the parallel *tā pāk* in §15 above; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *stlk'*; BK *stlwk'*; M. reads *sarday*; Nyb., Z. omit §21. 56. D.'s emendation; M. *dušāmōy (kuned)* "(which they) badly train". 57. In BK the words 2-K'NK' to *swmb'* are lacking. 58. MSS *GMR'Y*. 59. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *'dwyнк'*. 60. M.'s emendation; MSS *XD*. 61. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *d''lykl*. 62. MSS *d'lmn*; Henning (*apud* Mirza) takes this word to be an ideogram for *kargās* "culture" and he suggests restoring it as *NŠRH*, from Aram. *nšr*; this interpretation is supported by parallel texts. 63. MSS have also *'D* here. 64. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *'thš'*. 65. M.'s emendation; MSS *MNW*. Nyb. emends to \**MN*; Z. reads *kē*. 66. The words in brackets seem to be a gloss. 67. M.'s emendation; MSS *'BYDWNt'*; Z. reads *girat*. 68. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *'*. 69. In BK *marδōm* is written in Arabic script. 70. M.'s, Z.'s emendation; BK *k'l ycyyšn'*; MR<sub>1</sub> *K'LY yčšn'*; J *K'LY pšn'*; Nyb. reads *k'l XD yčšn'*. 71. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK *kytk*. 72. D.'s emendation; MSS *'PT ZY 'lg*. 73. M. reads *mađan* (*sic*). 74. BK *YXWWNyt'*. 75. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK



*'hldyh.* 76. After *p'td'sn'* BK has also *'D*, MR<sub>1</sub>, J ZY. 77. MSS *YTYBWNyt'*; all emend to *YTYBWNst'*. 78. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *spndrtmt.* 79. MSS *bl'hynyf'*. 80. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 81. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *plwlyn'*. 82. or *m'hlydy*; MR<sub>1</sub>, J *m'hlysh.* 83. MSS *XD.* 84. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *'.* 85. *L'WXL* in all MSS, perhaps for *pr'c* (*frāz*). 86. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK *MNW.*

### *Translation*

- (1) This is: how and from what has the sky been made?
- (2) There was a material like the embers of fire, [which was] pure in light, which was created from Endless Light.
- (3) And he made all the creatures and creations from that, and when he had made them he put them into a body and kept them in a body for three thousand years; and he caused (them) ever to increase and he made (them) ever more beautiful; and then one by one he created (them) from the body of his own making<sup>1</sup>.
- (4) And first he created the sky from the head, and its substance (is) white \*crystal, and its width and height (are) equal and the depth of its surround wall<sup>2</sup> is as much as the breadth of empty space<sup>3</sup> and its management is by the righteous man and Dahmān Āfrīn, and there is no support for it in the (visible) world<sup>4</sup>; Ohrmazd resides within (it) with the creatures and the creation.
- (5) And he created the earth from the feet, and its management is by good deeds (the good Lord Mihr and Dahmān Āfrīn, the Master of Truth and the Master of Righteousness, bestow riches of the spirit upon the worthy [man] as a righteous-gift for goodness). And he interred \*in it minerals, and mountains were to grow from minerals for eighteen years both below and above they kept growing; and then they stopped growing downwards, they kept growing upwards for eight hundred years up to the sky. And below and above its circle encompasses (the earth) around, and so it is like an egg in which there (is) a little bird<sup>5</sup>; and there is no support for it in the (visible) world.
- (6) Just as he had caused the mountain to grow up to the measure at which it is (now), he then established the earth in the direction of the sky, in the star station, and he created the foundation, the base. When Ahreman invaded, then it was drawn down by him; at the Future Body it will go back to the star station<sup>6</sup>.
- (7) The depth of (mount) Harburz is as much as the breadth of the earth, around (is) Harburz (as) the wall<sup>7</sup> and its breadth is so

much (also). Harburz and the earth (were formerly) in the star station in the direction of the sky; from the star station to the moon station is thirty-four thousand *frasangs* or more, from the moon station to the sun station is thirty-four thousand *frasangs*, from the sun station to the sky thirty-four thousand *frasangs*, from the star station to here is thirty-four thousand *frasangs*, and from this place to the sky below is nine thousand *frasangs*.

- (8) <sup>17</sup> The substance of the sky is of white \*crystal and bright, and its light is from the sun.
- (9) After the Druj had invaded the creation, apart from Zardušt among mortals no one has seen it (i.e. the true light of the sky) <sup>8</sup>. <sup>9</sup>(There are) seven regions within the sky. The mountains of Harburz are two thousand two hundred and forty-four (in number).
- (10) The sea of Fraxwkard (is) one third of this earth.
- (11) And he created water from his tears <sup>10</sup>, some of it is mixed into the earth, and some of it is put the earth, and some of it is suspended in the atmosphere; and it is all in flux.
- (12) All that (water) for which the *zōhr* is more and the pollution less comes back to the sea of Fraxwkard in three years, that in which both are equal (in proportion comes back) in six years, that in which the pollution is more and *zōhr* is less (comes back) in nine years <sup>11</sup>.
- (13) And he created the plants from (his) hair <sup>12</sup>, and first there was one stem of one span and two finger-breadths in height and all the species of plants were in it except one species <sup>13</sup>, and it was created in Ērānwēz.
- (14) Then some (of the seeds) were carried by birds, some in water, and some by mankind from place to place. And (there is) a forest also in the sea and the white *hōm* and the other plants in the world were from that (forest) <sup>14</sup>. And its comfort is from the bringing of *āb-zōhr*, so that it is pure; and its discomfort is from those (men) when they cut or break it unlawfully. Those species which he created afterwards were fifty species.
- (15) And he created the ox from (his) right hand, and he established it in Ērānwēz <sup>15</sup>, and its height and width were three cubits, and when Ahremazd assaulted it it died at once, and its seed fell to the earth at once. Ohrmazd made all the species of animals from that seed <sup>16</sup>, and first he made one male and one female of every species, and afterwards progeny proceeded from them; and their

pleasure and comfort are from water and fodder and good protection in winter and summer, so that they are pure; and their discomfort is from those men when they kill them unlawfully and work them unlawfully and do not give them water and fodder and [they do not] protect them<sup>17</sup> ...

- ... (21) [so that] they make them polluted by enemies, and they do not keep thieves and wolves away from them.
- (22) There are two hundred and eighty-two species of beneficent animals, and they (are) of five kinds
- (23) <sup>18</sup> One kind is that whose hooves are cloven, like the ox.
- (24) One kind (is that) whose hooves are round, like the horse.
- (25) One kind (is) that which (has) feet like those of the camel.
- (26) One kind (is) the bird (family), one kind is the watery and the fishy. Except for the beneficent animals of the kinds which are prescribed (as unsuitable) in the Avesta,
- (27) (*viz.*) the dog and the mountain-buzzard and the black crow and the vulture, the others may be eaten; (not) the dog because something of the semen of Gayōmard is in (it), and the bodies of the mountain-buzzard and the black crow and the vulture are all polluted matter and they have been created for (the purpose of) devouring corpses.
- (28) And he created fire from his heart, and its radiance is created from the Endless Light.
- (29) And he created the plants and put fire into (them) and he blessed them, saying: 'Since you will not be makers of fire (that is, it will not be possible to separate fire from them) may you be the fuel of the fire, (that when they put (you) on to it, then it will blaze up)'.
- (30) When he intended to create the material form (of fire) in the world then it complained, saying: 'I will not go into the world, for they will do much harm to me'.
- (31) Then Ohrmazd established Ādur Gušnasp victoriously in Ādur-bādagān<sup>19</sup>.
- (32) And he said: 'Men (will be) allowed to cook one meal on the household fire. When they have used it for one meal they will take it to an *Ātaxš ī Warahrān* and they will make you free from affliction'.
- (33) And then it undertook to come into the world and agreed to it.
- (34) And Ohrmazd revealed, as a reward, all *Ātaxš ī Warahrān* in righteousness.
- (35) And he established Ādur Farnbāg victoriously in Xwārazm as a

reward for that (service) when he did battle with Dahāg, and he established Ādur Burzēnmihr victoriously on the heights of Mt. Wištāsp as a reward for that (service) when Wištāsp was converted by him to the religion<sup>20</sup>.

- (36)<sup>21</sup> And he made man from that day from which Gayōmard (was made). It (i.e. Gayōmard's clay) had been entrusted in seminal form to Spandarmad (i.e. the earth), and Gayōmard was created from Spandarmad and was born. When Mašya and Mašyānag grew up in the earth, he had not been caused to move for three thousand years. When Ahreman invaded (the world) he (i.e. Gayōmard) survived for thirty years. And he was killed in the month Frawardīn on the day of Ohrmazd. The seed of Gayōmard fell on the earth and remained in the earth in seminal fluid form for forty years.
- (37) Then Mašya and Mašyānag grew up from the earth in the form of rhubarb, this (means) that just as when rhubarb comes up, then its leaves point upward on the stem, their hands likewise are folded together on their backs. Rōšn said: 'For nine months they were in the form of rhubarb'.
- (38) Then they were changed into human form: from them six sons and six daughters were born, and there were (some) who lived and there were (some) who died and thereafter all mankind were (descended) from them.

#### NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'from his own body'.

<sup>2</sup> Z. translates as 'surrounding walls', M. as 'walls'.

<sup>3</sup> On the creation of the sky in general see H. W. Bailey, 'Asmān' in *Zor. Prob.*, 120-48. The sky is spherical in shape; Bailey has compared the description in this text with that of *GBd.* Ia.6: *fragān bun ī asmān čandih pahnāy ī-š drahnāy, čandih drahnāy ī-š bālāy ud čandih bālāy ī-š zahih, hamōg-handāz* 'of the basic boundary of the sky the width is as great as its length, its length as great as its height and its height as great as its depth, wholly equal' (transl. Bailey, *Zor. Prob.*, 135). Here Bailey identifies a foreign influence upon *PRDd.* XLVI 'Such also is the doctrine of Aristotle, whence probably it has been derived' (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>4</sup> M. translates: 'and there is no worldly maintenance for it.' I follow Bailey's translation, see *Zor. Prob.* 123. The sky is not supported by any pillars (see *GBd.* XXXIV.5; ed. TDA, 221.14), for it was created *an-abar-dāstar* "without support" (*WZ* 34.20). With reference to the repetition of the phrase *u-s dāstārih ī gētīg nēst* see also *GBd. loc. cit.* However, in *GBd.* XXVI.76 (ed. TDA, 172.15), *Asmān*, the spiritual sky is said to hold 'this sky' (i.e. the physical sky).

<sup>5</sup> So also *GBd.* IX.5; ed. TDA, 77.7-8. It is not the mountain that encloses the earth, but the sky; cf. *Yt.* 13.2, where the sky is said to be upon and around this earth just like a bird (upon) an egg; (see W. B. Henning, *Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller*, Leipzig, 1954,

289-92). Perhaps there is here some coincidence with the tradition that Harburz (*Harā bārāzānī*) encircles the ruin of the flat earth (see *Yt.* 19.1, and *GBd.* IX.5; ed. TDA, 77,7f. Bailey cites three other passages (*WZ* 34.20, *MX* 43.8ff. and *Dd. purs.* 90) in which the sky is compared to an egg, within which the earth is the yolk.

<sup>6</sup> A tradition normally associated with the sky is here transposed to the earth, perhaps in an attempt to rationalise the doctrine of the kingdom of Ohrmazd to come upon earth. In *GBd.* IV.10 (ed. TDA, 41), it is said that the Evil Spirit assaults the sky thus:

*asmān ī pad star pāyag ēstād frōd ō tuhīgih hāxt, ... ka andar bunist ī rōšnān ud tomīgān ōwōn kū azabar ī star pāyag ēstād*

'[he] drew the sky, which was at the Star-Station, down towards the void ... which was under the foundation of the luminaries and the planets'.

Ahremen's affliction of the earth is described in *GBd.* VIc (ed. TDA, 65f.).

<sup>7</sup> Z. has the same sense (*ibid.*, 365); M. translates, 'round about the Alburz are the walls (of the sky)', but in *Yt.* 19.1 it is said that Harā 'encircles entirely the eastern lands and the western lands'; (the encircling Harā corresponds to the Indian concept of *lōka lōka*, see M. Boyce, *HZ* I,134, with n.25).

<sup>8</sup> This has been interpreted in different ways, M. translates: 'After that when the Druj attacked the creations, even no one among the people of the world, except Zardušt, saw (him).' This interpretation seems unlikely, for elsewhere Zoroastrians emphasise the dangerous, lurking presence of the Druj in this world (and there is no celebrated and unrepeatable encounter between the prophet and the Druj in their texts). It is not surprising, then, that M. finds this and the previous § to have 'no connection with what precedes' (p. 444 n.9). Z.'s translation seems still less likely: 'After the lie had rushed into creation, no one of material creatures could be seen except Zoroaster (*sic*)' (*op. cit.*, p. 365). The third possible interpretation, in the transl. above, takes §§8 and 9 as coherent, continuing on from §7, albeit in the form of a gloss running on, as in other places, as if mechanically, from the writer's copious knowledge of the *Zand*: §9 thus refers to the state of the world after the Evil Spirit has dragged the sky down, pierced the earth and made both sky and earth dark (*GBd.* IV.1; ed. TDA, 42). According to *GBd.* III.7 the sun is on the fifth station which is *Garōdmān* (*panjom garōdmān kē anagr rōšn xwānihēd xwaršēd pad hān pāyag ēstād* TDA, 32.14-15). In *GBd.* IV.10 the Evil Spirit is said to have attacked the sky and dragged it down to the void (*tuhīgih*) so that he stood 'above the star-station from within the sky up to one-third' (*azabar ī star pāyag az andarōn ī asmān tā sē ēwag be ēstād* TDA, 42.1-2). Since, in the scheme of *GBd.*, the stars are on the *third* station, it is thus that the Evil Spirit obscured the sun and the light of *Garōdmān* from all mortals. Only the prophet was to see this light (i.e. of *Garōdmān*) when, as is said in *WZ* XXI.9: 'he approached within twenty-four feet of the *amahraspands*, because of the great light of the *amahraspands*, then he could not see his own shadow on the ground' (*be ō wāst-ud-čāhār pāy ī amahraspandān mad, wuzurg rōšnīh ī amahraspandān rāy, ēg-iš sāyag ī xwēš pad zamīg nē did*).

In *WZ* XXI,10 it is said moreover that this conference (*hanjaman*) with Ohrmazd and the immortals took place in Iran *pad kustag ī dehān pad bār ī āb ī dāityā* "in the direction of the country on the banks of the waters of the Dāityā", i.e. they brought their own light from *Garōdmān* with them.

<sup>9</sup> Here, after the preceding gloss, the main subject is resumed in this §.

<sup>10</sup> In *GBd.* XXVIII.8 (ed. TDA, 192.1-3), the rivers are likened to the human blood circulation (cf. *WZ*, ed. BTA, III.28, West, *SBE* V.VII.4); since both are seen as self-purifying systems, the parallel is close. Here, however, the context requires 'waters' that pour out of the body, of which tears are the most suitable fluid (though, strictly speaking, they too are regarded as polluting in the purity code of Zoroastrianism). Perhaps the reference to tears discloses some additional slight evidence that the cosmic *tan* of the chapter is that of Gayōmard's, who might well be supposed to have shed such tears as well as his seed when he passed away (*GBd.* XIV.5).

<sup>11</sup> Normally water is said to have been produced second, instead of as here third—the usual position of earth in the process of creation. Cf. a passage similar to *PRDd.* XLVI.12 in *GBd.* XXVI.94 (ed. TDA, 175.6-10) and XIc.2-4 (ed. TDA, 91).

<sup>12</sup> In the account of creation in *GBd.*, each of the living creations is produced in a single prototype form: one plant, *Gāw ī Ēw-dād* ‘the Uniquely Created Ox’, and Gayōmard (Ia.11-13; ed. TDA, 20-21). The unique plant, having been attacked by the Evil Spirit, is pounded small by Amurdād, mixed with the waters of Tištrya, and scattered thus in rain over the earth. Only then do the plants grow in myriad forms, as is said in *ibid.* VIa.2 (ed. TDA, 67.6): *čiyōn mōy pad sar ī mardōmān* ‘like hairs upon the heads of men’. In *PRDd.* XLVI no specific mention is made of the myth of the one plant, only general allusion. In §15 the myth of the (uniquely-created) ox, the assault by Ahreman and the creation from the spilled semen of that ox, is related just as in *GBd.* Ia.12, and the two myths of the creation of *gōspand* are sewn together roughly before a long digression intervenes. Once again, in §§28 and 36 the writer attempts to join together the two accounts by trying to retain the stages of prototype and then plural creation.

<sup>13</sup> Presumably the excluded plant is the white *hōm* (see below, n.14) though this is uncertain.

<sup>14</sup> According to *GBd.* XVI.5 (ed. TDA, 116.2-4), the white *hōm* is the Gōkarn tree. Its main property is explained in *GBd.*, *loc. cit.*: *u-š pad frašegird anōšaḡih az-iš wirāyēnd* ‘and at the Renovation they will prepare immortality from it’. It is not the ‘tree of all seeds’ *wan ī was tōhmag* (*GBd.* VI.5; ed. TDA, 67.10), which grows nearby (*GBd.* VI.6; ed. TDA, 67.13). Presumably the ‘forest which is in the sea’ is a rationalisation of the mythical ‘Tree of Many Seeds’ and the Gōkarn which stands nearby, in the sea of Fraxwkard. From the former come the seeds of all plants, except the Gōkarn from which comes the white *hōm*.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. on the banks of the river Weh Dāiti (see *GBd.* Ia12; ed. TDA, 20.14-21.1).

<sup>16</sup> This is, of course, the myth recorded in *GBd.* VIe; ed. TDA, 68. What is not mentioned in *PRDd.* 46, however, is that according to *GBd.*, *loc. cit.* (and *ibid.* XIII; ed. TDA 93) when the ox died, *urwar čihrih rāy, az hannāmān ī gāw panjāh ud panj sardag ī jordā ud dwāzdah sardag ī urwar bēsāz az zamīg waxšid hēnd*; ‘on account of its plant nature, fifty-five species of corn and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from the limbs of the ox from the earth’. Then, the text says, the light and strength which was in the seed of the ox was entrusted to the moon, by whose light it was purified and only then were the beneficent animals produced, from a parent pair, on earth. Most interesting, from the point of view of *PRDd.* XLVI is that *WZ* has an identical account, of the myth of the ox and the production of plants and *gōspand*, with the addition of a passage which gives details of which parts of the ox produced what plants and herbs (ed. BTA, 31 ff, ch. III §§44-49; transl. West, *SBE* V, 177f.), i.e. from its marrow, blood, nose, lungs and heart. So, like the production of metals from the dying Gayōmard, (quoted in n. 1 above from *GBd.*), this is another Zoroastrian precedent for *PRDd.* XLVI: *viz.* the myth of creation of heterogenous substances out of organs, to which they are supposed to correspond, from a primeval ‘body’.

<sup>17</sup> See above, Textual Note 54.

<sup>18</sup> With the following passage cf. *GBd.* XLII-10-11 (ed. TDA, 94.11 ff.).

<sup>19</sup> On the creations of the three great fires see *GBd.* XVIII.8-14 (ed. TDA, 124-5) where they are said to burn ‘gloriously’ *xwarrahōmandihā*. This translation of *pad warahrānih* as ‘victoriously’ has been suggested by M. Boyce, ‘On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians’, *BSOAS* XXXI, 1968, 61; see also the same scholar’s ‘The Pious Foundations of the Zoroastrians’, *BSOAS* XXXI, 1968, 288.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *GBd.* XVIII.14; ed. TDA, 125.

<sup>21</sup> S. S. Hartman translates §§ 36 ff. in *Gayomard*, 115. Compared with the clear account of man in *GBd.*, in this § there is, as Zaehner says, ‘some confusion in the text, for the author seems to have mixed up two traditions’ (ZZ 136). Because the writer knew that

man was created from Gayōmard, Gayōmard had to be mentioned in this § as progenitor of mankind, but his creation becomes confused with that of the first couple, Mašya and Mašyānag. *Pace* Zaehner, however, the text is not incorrect in the phrase 'from the clay from which Gayōmard was made' (*op. cit.*, 137), for mankind *is* of his very clay (i.e. 'flesh'). The mistake in the text is rather that *Gayōmard* has been written, instead of *mardōm* in the phrase *ud gayōmard az spandarmad be brēhēnid*. Although it is said in *GBd.* Ia.13 that Gayōmard was created from the earth (*az zamīg*), the writer of *PRDd.* XLVI has confused the sequence and the text begins to make sense only with this correction. For Zaehner's further thoughts on this § see 'Postscript to Zurvan', *BSOAS*, XVII, 1955, 244f.