LE SORT DES GÂTHÂS

ET AUTRES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES

IN MEMORIAM

JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

Contributions rassemblées par

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PEETERS

LEUVEN - PARIS - WALPOLE, MA

2013
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THE OLD AVESTAN TEXTS IN THE VĪDĒVDĀD AND VISPARAD CEREMONIES

Alberto CANTERA

We know the Old Avestan texts only as they appear in Zoroastrian long liturgy. In recent times several proofs have been provided to the effect that at the time of the composition of some Young Avestan texts the arrangement of the Old Avesta was already the same as we find in the long liturgy (Hintze 2002: 33f.). Actually, the use of the Old Avestan texts in the long liturgy responds to their interpretation in the tradition. Thus the wish to underscore certain exegetical aspects can produce some small variations even in this fixed corpus. It is the aim of this paper to point out some of these still perceptible variations and their causes.

Although the Old Avestan texts appear in the Zoroastrian long liturgy in quite a fixed and structured arrangement, this does not at all mean that it is necessarily the result of an individual creation by a person at one time. Such a construction can perfectly be seen as a complex construction that is the result of a process of ritual refinement with recurring threads. The analysis of the variations in the arrangement of the Old Avestan texts we can still perceive in the different variants of the long liturgy can provide us some keys for understanding even the forces interacting in the process of fixation of the corpus of the Old Avestan texts. Thus these variations could be seen as some of the last actions in a long process that will remain hidden to us. The sources I’m going to use in this paper are the comparison of the list of the ratu of the Staota Yesniia with their recitation in the long liturgy, and on the other hand, the variations in their recitation in the different variants of the long liturgy.

In the variation of the list of the ratu that appears in the Visperad ceremony and in the ceremonies of intercalation (Vidēvdād, Vištāsp Yašt), Kellens (1996) has identified the list of the textual ratu of the Staota Yesniia. They are basically the Old Avestan texts that appear between the Ahuna Vairiia and the Ariiaman Isīia in the long liturgy, together with the Fśūšō māṭra and some texts that are not precisely

1 Against Hintze (2002: 50).
Although the list of Staota Yesnia is longer, the Old Avestan texts included between the Ahuna Vairiia and the Ariaman Isia were considered a special group already at the time of the arrangement of the long liturgy, as is evident from the closing of the Airiiaman Isia:

```
airiiaman¢m iši̱m yazamaide amauaŋt¬m væråthri̱ crampedh maziš¬m ašahe srauwaŋh¬m gäðh spōŋt¬ ratifiedb¬i žaon¬s yazamaide staota yesnia yazamaide yā dātā aŋśus paouruihīā.
```

We worship the Ariiaman Isia, the strong, who overcomes the obstacle and keeps away hostility, the greatest of the prayers of Order. We worship the Bounteous Songs, the powerful because of their ratu, the supporters of the Order. We worship the Staota Yesnia “which are the prescription of the first existence”.

and even more explicitly in the Visperad ceremony (VrS29.2 = Vr24.1):

```
aun¬t miž¬m yazamaide aun¬t dasuuaŋ yazamaide aun¬t baēš¬m yazamaide aun¬t frada¬m yazamaide aun¬t væråth¬m yazamaide yā ţst¬ antara ahune airiiamana framor¬ti humatan¬mc hūxstan¬mc huuwarstan¬mc paaišt¬t¬še dušmatan¬mc duẕ̌xstan¬mc dužwarstan¬mc uzuwarz¬i māi¬o¬ia mił¬o matan¬mc miłòxstan¬mc miłòwarstan¬mc
```

We worship that reward, we worship that health, we worship that cure, we worship that prosperity, we worship that growth, we worship the overcoming of the obstacle that is between the Ahuna and the Ariiaman Isia through the reciting of the good thoughts, of the good words and of the good deeds and for the rejection of the bad thoughts, of the bad words and of the bad deeds and for repairing my false thoughts, my false word and my false deeds.

These texts are the core of the Staota Yesnia and the only ones that have been transmitted in the long liturgy in their original Old Avestan form. The original Fšušō Māhra is lost and only the Fšušō Māhra Haďaoxta survives. The other texts mentioned among the ratu of the Staota Yesnia are unknown.

Despite the great coincidence between the core of the Staota Yesnia depicted in the list of the ratu and the texts recited in the long liturgy between the Ahuna Vairiia and the Ariiaman Isia, there are small differ-

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2 The identification of ahumant- ratumant- continues without being clear, but as a matter of fact it cannot be separated from VrS19.3 (s. below note 5). The belonging of the Fšušō māhra haďaoxta to the Staota Yensia, although it is not written in Old but in Middle Avestan, is marked by the closing Y58.8-9.

In the Visperad ceremony it has an opening (VrS30) similar to the opening of the Yasna Haptaŋhātī at both moments of its recitation (VrS20 = Vr15; VrS26.2-10 = Vr21.0) that shares important formulas with the opening of the collection of the Gāōas and the Yasna Haptaŋhātī.
ences between this list and its recitation in the long liturgy. These differences are restricted to the consideration of certain texts as Staota Yesniia or not, to the introduction of different divisions and to the eventual repetition of some texts. Nevertheless, they reveal that a certain degree of change was possible even in the core of the Staota Yesniia despite the fixation of the long liturgy. These changes are intimately linked with the symbolic meaning attributed to the ritual use of the Staota Yesniia.

According to the Visperad list of the ratu, the Staota Yesniia begin with the three prayers: Ahuna Vairiia, Ašām Vohū and Yeštē hātām. The mention of the Ašām Vohū and the Yeştē Hātām is surprising, for they are later recreations based on Y43.1 and 51.22 (Kellens 1994: 119-121; Hintze 2002: 39) and are not composed in Old Avestan. Actually, the transmission of the beginning of the Staota Yesnia is tricky and might explain the inclusion of these two prayers in the list of the ratu.

In the Yasna Sāde tradition only the dialogic recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia, also known as bāj, appears between the Frauuarane of Y27.12 (=Y11.16) and Y28.1 The form of the Ahuna Vairiia as it is edited by Geldner almost never appears in the Sāde manuscripts of the long liturgy. When it has to be recited several times, we find just yathā ahū vairiiō and the indication of the number of times to be recited. When it has to be recited only once, it appears the dialogic version of the Ahuna Vairiia or bāj. In this version the Ahuna Vairiia is substituted by a ritual instruction in Avestan indicating which priest must recite the first part of the Ahuna Vairiia (yathā ahū vairiiō) and which the second one (from ašt ratu) until the end. This text has several variants and its interpretation is controversial, but this is not the place for a detailed discussion of this prayer. In my opinion it is obvious that the recitation of the ritual instruction in the liturgy instead of the recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia is a mistake in the course of the transmission. Similar mistakes are recurrent in the tradition. Shervin Farridnejad attended a Gāhānūr in Tehran six years ago, where the priest, instead of reciting the Ašām Vohū three times, said ašām vohū se bār.

Thus the dialogic recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia here takes the place of the Ahuna Vairiia itself. Such a recitation was found already before: in Y11.16 after the Frauuarāne. It is surely not by chance that it appears here also after the Frauuarāne of Y27.12. This connection with the Frauuarāne is further underscored in the Visperad liturgy (but not in the Vīdvēdād and Vištāsp Yašt ceremonies): after the dialogic recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia it includes the last two paragraphs of the Frauuarāne (Y12.8, Y12.9) with the last two words of Y12.7 (mazdaiiasnō. ahnī).
Neither in the Visperad nor in the Yasna is there trace of the Ašam Vohu or the Yeţhē Hātām after the dialogic recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia.

The PY manuscripts show a different beginning which is closer to the list of the ratu of the Staota Yesniia. After the Frauwarāne stanza (Y27.12) most of them prescribe the recitation of the dialogic recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia. It follows the title of the new section (yānīm manō gāhān būn in Mf4 and Pt4) and then the Ahuna Vairiia (recited 4 times) and the Ašam Vohu (3 times) framed with

\[
\text{ahunēm vairīm yazamaide ašam vahištōm sraēštōm amāšōm sponent yazamaide}
\]

We worship the Ahuna Vairiia. We worship the best and most beautiful Order, the bounteous Immortal.

Finally, the Yeţhē Hātām closes this section. The version of Pahlavi Yasna is the text edited by Geldner, who depended once again on the Pahlavi tradition for the constitutio textus -but not even exactly. Whereas in Y11.16 he edits the dialogic recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia as such, in the Yasna edition he reproduces directly the complete text of the Ahuna Vairiia after the Frauwarāne of Y27.12 with the indication “four times” (cihār bār) and continues as in the Pahlavi manuscripts. A comparison of the three versions can be seen in Table 1.

Actually, in the modern ritual practice the three prayers are omitted and the recitation follows the pattern established in the Sāde tradition, as expected. Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 109) assume that the three prayers were accidentally lost in the Sāde manuscript transmission and that the priests follow this tradition mistakenly. In fact, another explanation gives a better account of the facts. The dialogic recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia stands for the proper Ahuna Vairiia and the following 4 Ahuna Vairiia, three Ašam Vohu and the yazamaide formula with the Yeţhē Hātām mentioned in the Pahlavi-Yasna are just part of the usual closing

\[3\] Other testimonies in the liturgies are not definitive in either direction. The testimony of the Old Avestan stanzas quoted in V10, probably for their use in the baršnum ceremony, where the Ahuna Vairiia is recited four times and Ašam Vohū twice, is not conclusive, since the Ahuna Vairiia is recited four times after each hātī of the Ahunauaiti Gāθā and also four times after the Yasna Haptānhati. The Ašam Vohu is recited three times after each hātī of the Old Avestan Staota Yesniia. The version of the list of the ratu of the Staota Yesniia is also the basis for the exegetical nasks described in the Dēnkard 9 and for the counting of the Old Avestan as 22 parts, but it could continue the same tradition of the Pahlavi-Yasna. Geldner (1886: 1.97) points out that Vr13.1-2 would confirm that these three prayers were the beginning of the Gāθās. This argument is not easy to be understand and to know how compellig it is, but he is correct in saying that Vr13.1-2 is surprising.
of a section of the Staota Yesniia in the long liturgy. In fact, at the end of each ḫāīti of the Ahunauuaitī Gāōā and of the complete Yasna Haptanāhāīti appears a closing formula that consists of:

- the first stanza of the corresponding section (a gāōā or the YH)
- 4 Ahuna Vairiia
- 3 Aṣmy Vohū
- a yazamaide formula including the title of the corresponding ḫāīti and at the end of a gāōā the title of the corresponding gāōā as well
- finally, the Yejhe Hātām.

From the Spentāmaniiu G. onwards the same closing is used, but without reciting the 4 Ahuna Vairiia.

The texts recited after the dialogic Ahuna Vairiia fit this schema perfectly and appear as a closing of one section of the Staota Yesniia. This section can only be the Ahuna Vairiia, which is not quoted in full but substituted by its dialogic version. The usual repetition of the first stanza of the Gāōā at the beginning of these closings is missing in the case of the Ahuna Vairiia for it consists only of one stanza and therefore is unnecessary.

Accordingly, we have two different versions of the beginning of the Staota Yesniia: in one of them, the Ahuna Vairiia is separated from Y28 through the usual division markers; in the other, the division markers do not appear. This is indeed well justified, as we are going to see later. The Aṣmy Vohu and the Yejhe Hātām do not belong originally to the Staota Yesniia, but since they appear after the Ahuna Vairiia in one variant of the ceremony and are indeed pieces that imitated the Old Avestan, they could be included in the list of the Staota Yesniia. Through this inclusion the number of divisions within the core of the Staota Yesniia turns out to be the non-accidental number 22: the Ahuna Vairiia (1) + 21 further prayers, each representing one word of the Ahuna Vairiia. The Staota Yesniia result thus to be equivalent to the Ahuna Vairiia in the same way that the 21 nask of the Great Avesta are.

In the introduction of the divisions and grouping of the Staota Yesniia are not involved only the well-known formal elements, but also several symbolic speculations. The Ahuna Vairiia determines the structure of the core of the Staota Yesniia in their arrangement at different levels. Besides the division in 22 sections corresponding to the Ahuna Vairiia + its 21 words, the arrangement of the Staota Yesniia as three groups of two compositions (Ahunauuaitī Gāōā + Yasna Haptanāhāīti, Uṣtauuaitī Gāōā + Spṇtā.mainiiu G. and Vohuxsāhrā G. + Vahištōīṣī G.) fits the
pattern of the three lines divided into three hemistiches of the Ahuna Vairiia\(^4\) (Cantera 2011). Already Bartholomae (1917; s. also Cantera 2004: 73) stated that the Pahlavi zand established a clear connection between the last words of the Vahištošṭi G. (dāhī drīgauuē vahiio) and the last hemistich of the Ahuna Vairiia (yim drīgubīīō dadañ vastārm). Other connections are not so obvious, but the tradition could find different reasons for linking the Gāthās with the corresponding hemistiches of the Ahuna Vairiia. Worth noting, for example, is the fact that the central word of the corresponding hemistich appears in the first two stanzas of the corresponding gāthā in the Uštauuaaitī G., the Spāṇṭāmainiu G. and the Vohu.xšafrā G. The link between the latter and the hemistich xšafrmcā ahurāi ā seems quite natural. In the arrangement in the Yasna ceremonies the kernel of the Staota Yesniia appears as an extension of the cosmogonical prayer, the Ahuna Vairiia.

Actually, the key problem at the beginning of the Staota Yesniia is the position of the Ahuna Vairiia. The first Gāthā has the title Ahunauuaitī G., and it is the only Gāthā that is not called after its first words. Accordingly, the Ahuna Vairiia belonged originally to the Ahunauuaitī G. or their connection was so close that the first Gāthā was called after the Ahuna Vairiia. This close connection was underscored as well in the Visperad closing of this Gāthā, where after the worship of the ratu of the Gāthā itself the Ahuna Vairiia is worshiped\(^5\) (VrS19.3 = Vr14.3):

\[
\text{ahunm vairīm āšauanām āšahe ratūm yazamaide ahumōntom ratumōntom āšauanām āšahe ratūm yazamaide hōō.zī astī ahūmca ratūmca yō ahurō mazdā}
\]

We worship the Ahuna Vairiia, the supporter of the Order, the articulation of the Order. We worship the text containing ahu and ratu, the supporter of the Order, the articulation of the Order. This is indeed the ahu and ratu which is Ahura Mazdā.

Nevertheless, according to the divisions established in the long liturgy, its first stanza is obviously Y28.1 and not the Ahuna Vairiia. If the Ahuna Vairiia belonged once to the Ahunauuaitī G., its segregation from it must be subsequent to the title of this Gāthā but prior to the actual organization of the liturgy in sections. The Pahlavi-Yasna tradition

\(^4\) The decreasing number of hāitīs (7 + 4 + 1) of these pairs is based on the same numerical structure as the Amašā Spāṇṭas (7 = 1 + 3 + 3).

\(^5\) The relation between this text and the mention of the ahumant- ratumant in the list of the ratus of the Staota Yesniia after the Ahunauuaitī Gāthā is obvious, although I do not know how to interpret it exactly. Even more surprising is that the same text is recited again at the end of the Uštauuaaitī Gāthā in the Vidēvdād ceremony, but not in the Yasna or in the Visperad.
includes the same division markers after the Ahuna Vairiia as between the rest of the sections, stressing the separation of the Ahuna Vairiia from the Ahunauuaitī G. more clearly than in the Sāde tradition and in the preserved ritual praxis. Two goals were achieved through their segregation:

1. the initial and most important stanza of the Gāhās attains an honourable position and the complete Staota Yesniia appear as a dual structure “the whole + its constitutive elements” (1 + 6, later 1 + 21 too) similar to the structure of the Amaša Spānta as Ahura Mazda + the 6 Amaša Spānta stressing the dependence of all Staota Yesniia on the Ahuna Vairiia

2. the first three hāitis, the tišrō paoiriia (a division that does not appear in the Yasna liturgy, but in the Visperad) each have 11 stanzas and all three together form the recurrent number 33

Furthermore, this segregation is the model for the later segregation of the Ariiaman Išīia and hence the interpretation of the core of the Staota Yesniia as representing the history of the world is reinforced, for the Ahuna Vairiia stands for the cosmogony and the Ariiaman Išīia for the eschatology.

The differences between the opening of the Staota Yesniia in the Pahlavi-Yasna and in the Sāde transmission are indeed not the result of an accident in the transmission, but the consequence of vacillations in the use of division markers between the Ahuna Vairiia and Ahunauuaitī Gāhā. The complex construction of the Old Avestan corpus within the long liturgy is not as fixed as is usually assumed. There are in fact some oscillations, perhaps due to school differences in the arrangement of the Old Avestan texts and they allow us to discover the forces acting in the process of fixation of the core of the Staota Yesniia in their actual form and the underlying interpretation of these ritual words.

The different beginning of the Old Avestan is not the only difference that can be found in their treatment and shaping in the different ceremonies of the long liturgy. In fact, the different arrangement and treatment of the Old Avestan texts belong to the main differences between different celebrations of the long liturgy. There are two principal features that differentiate the recitation of the Staota Yesniia in the Visperad ceremony from their recitation in the Yasna:

1. the repetition of the Yasna Haptaŋhāti between Y51 and Y52
2. the intercalation of a series of division markers that underscore certain divisions existing in the Yasna ceremony and create new ones. Thus
different symbolical arrangements of the Staota Yesniia arise. These
intercalations serve as wedges for the insertion of further Young Avestan
texts for special rituals like the Vidēvdād or the Vištāsp Yašt whose
texts are intercalated according to an exegesis of the Old Avestan texts
and a symbolical interpretation of the whole ceremony.

In the Yasna ceremony the Yasna Haptaŋhāti appears as the central
element that is protected by a series of concentrical circles (Windfuhr 1984;
Through the repetition of the YH this analysis is no longer possible. The
repetition appears in the Visperad manuscripts where it is called apara
yasna Haptaŋhāti. It has an introduction similar to the introduction of YH
in the first recitation and also a parallel closing, although shorter.
The introduction of the apara YH at that place is not the result of
change. Just as Y34.15 is interpreted as announcing the YH, so can also
be interpreted the last stanza of Y51 (Y51.22):

\[
yehiāā māi ašā ācā vāhištəm yesnē païī
da mādā ahurō yōi āŋhərcā hoṅtīcā
tq yazāā xʿiš nāmānīš pairicā jasāi vaŋtā
\]

I know that Ahura Mazdā is (the god) whose (power) is best in the sacrifice
(celebrated) according to the Order. I will sacrifice to the (gods) that were
and are by their own names and will address them with a spell.

As shown by Kellens, for the redactor of the Yeḥhē Hāṭaṁ, in this
passage there is a reference to the yasna to the Bounteous Immortals that
are celebrated in fact in the YH (Kellens 1994: 120). The inclusion of
the YH after Y51 is based on the same interpretation. Besides, in this
final verse the verbs yazāī and pairi jasāī can easily be understood as
an allusion to the two central sections of the YH: the pairi jasāī-
section (Y36) and the yazamaidē-section (Y37-39), the two moments of
the ritual action.
Furthermore, the initial stanza of Y53 can also be understood as a
reference to the YH:

---

6 As already recognized by Darmesteter (1892: 1.487), later also Hintze (2004:
304ff.). Bartholomae (1904: 1272f.) was against this interpretation. The same repetition
is to be found in the Vidēvdād ceremony, where V15-16 appears after the closing of the
Vohu.xə/goto G. and before the opening of the apara YH and V17-18, after the closing of
the apara YH and before Y52. In the Vištāsp Yašt the apara YH is recited too, but in this
case there is no section of the Vištāsp Yašt recited between the closing of the apara YH
and Y52.
The best ritual is (thus) renowned as that of Zarathustra Spitama. For when Ahura Mazda shall give to him as prizes in accordance with (its?) Order the possession of a good new existence for an entire life span, (but) also (that of those) who fashion and master the utterances and actions of his good vision-soul. (Skjærvø 2007: 130)

The best ritual, the best combination of utterances and actions that grant the boon of an excellent future life is probably put in connection with the YH. This position of the YH hence seems absolutely appropriate. In fact, the tradition attributes the same power to the YH as to the whole Staota Yesnii. The same formula used for the whole Staota Yesnii in VrS29.2 (= Vr24.1) is used for the second YH in VrS25.2-3 (=Vr20.1-2)⁷:

\[
\text{vahištā ītīś srāwē zaradhūśrāhē}
\]

\[
\text{spitāmahiā yezi hō dāt āiātā}
\]

\[
\text{ašā hacē ahurō mazdā yauwō vīśpāi ā huwahwuiēm}
\]

\[
yauēcē hō dāhō saśoṇcē daēnaiā vauhuiā iu<kā shiṣoṭānācē}
\]

The best ritual is (thus) renowned as that of Zarathustra Spitama. For when Ahura Mazda shall give to him as prizes in accordance with (its?) Order the possession of a good new existence for an entire life span, (but) also (that of those) who fashion and master the utterances and actions of his good vision-soul. (Skjærvø 2007: 130)

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\[
\text{auuā miždōm yazamaide auuā dasiwaar yazamaide auuā baēșazōm yazamaide auuā fradaθm yazamaide auuā varkθdōm yazamaide}
\]

\[
\text{auuā vurθdōym yazamaide yā asū antarza vohuxhāθrm vahištōiśti framaś八十 humatanqmc hūxтанqmc hūuρstanqmc pailištātē dušmaθtanqmc duθiθtanqmc duθuρstanqmc izuuarxza māhůtīa mīθo. matanqmc mīθiθtanqmc mīθuρuρstanqmc}
\]

We worship that reward, we worship that health, we worship that cure, we worship that prosperity, we worship that growth, we worship the overcoming of the obstacle that is between the Vohuxhāθrm and the Vahištōiśti through the reciting of the good thoughts, of the good words and of the good deeds and for the rejection of the good thoughts, of the good words and of the good deeds and for repairing my false thoughts, my false word and my false deeds.

The reference to the miždōm promised in the Airiiaman Išiia is underscored through the repetition of this text in the closing of this prayer, but there it is attributed not only to the YH but to all the texts recited between the Ahuna Vairiia and the Ariiman Išiia. A similar text also appears in the Yasna ceremony in Y55.

According to the interpretation underlying the Visperad ceremony the YH is the yasna able to grant access to the desirable boon. In the Visperad ceremony the closings of four sections of the Staota Yesnii (the tišrō paoiriia, the Uštauuaii, the Špaŋtāi mainiu and the Vahištōiśti

⁷ It is not used for other texts.
⁸ This section is closely related to Y52. Several elements included in this list are the central elements of Y52: baēșazōm (Y52.2), fradaθm (Y52.4) and varkθdōm (Y52.1,4).
Gāthā, s. below) show a middle yazamaide-section characterized by a series of yazamaide formulae that begin with the first word of the gāthā and whose interpretation is not always clear. All four show the same beginning:

— first word of the gāthā + ahurəm mazdəm yazamaide
— first word of the gāthā + aməšt spənti yazamaide

Afterwards follow other objects of yazamaide that usually include references to elements mentioned in the corresponding gāthā, although the connections are not always obvious.

In the closing of the tišrō paoiriia after the yazamaide of the Amaša Spənta, appearing as the object of yazamaide are several performative elements of the ritual connected with the recited text (aşəm aršuxəm, vɨsəm məθəm, zərəthəštəm hədəm.məθəm) and finally two elements relating to the success of the ceremony taken from the last stanza of Y30: the already mentioned advantages for the supporters of Aša (səuua. ašəwanəiš) and the desired things for the Amaša Spənta.

In the other three closings with the same structure (those of the Uştauuaiti, Spənta.mainiu and Vahištīštī) the common objects of yazamaide are not only Ahura Mazdā and the Amaša Spənta, but also the narəm ašəwanəm, a terminus technicus for the man who reaches the good existence through the ceremony. Only after the recitation of the gāthā following the Yasna Haptaštī and its symbolical connection with the central element of the sacrifice is the nar ašəwan included in the list of Ahura Mazdā and the Amaša Spənta. The connection with the individual eschatology of the nar ašəwan is clearly developed in the closing of the Uştauuaiti Gāthā⁹ (VrS23.3 =Vr18.2):

uštatətəmca naire ašəone yazamaide vɨsəiiuəmca uštatətəm yazamaide yə narš sədra druuaató uštatətəm akaranəm yazamaide uštatətiùça vɨsəm ašəwanəm həntəmca hauañətəmca bɨšiñətəmca yazamaide

⁹ It is interesting to note that through the lists with a similar structure the closing of the Uştauuaiti gāthā the Visperad establishes a connection between the Uştauuaiti gāthā and the final ušta of Y30.

¹⁰ For the correct understanding of vɨsəiiuəmca. uštatətəm. yazamaide. yə. narš. sədra. druuaató. cf. P37 (38):

pascaθə aθəm yə ahurə mazdə <k>ar<uuə>i urunwe uruusiwa daešsaieni vahištəmca ahθm anəca rəocə aafasəfəncə xvθtra
vɨsə<ii>uəmca uštanə<ii>əm yə narš sədra druuaató

“Then I who am Ahura Mazdā will show bliss to his soul, Best Life, Endless Lights and Unlimited Comfort and everlasting happiness with its affliction unto the wicked” (Humbach & JamaspAsa 1971: 59).
We worship the happiness for the \textit{nar ašauvan}. We worship the everlasting happiness with its affliction to the \textit{nar druuan}. We worship the unlimited happiness. Within happiness we worship every \textit{ašauvan} that has been, is and is going to be\textsuperscript{11}.

Significantly, the Uštauuaiti G. is recited by the soul sitting above the head of its body during the three nights before it starts its way to the best existence.

The boon granted for the recitation of the Yasna Haptanhaiti, the celebration of the Yasna, is clearly defined in the \textit{yazamaide}-section of the closing of the \textit{Vahištōištī} G. (Vr 23.1):

\begin{quote}
\textit{vahištem ahūrem mazdaṃ yazamaide vahištem aṃzxī špātī yazamaide vahištem naṃ ašauvanəm yazamaide vahištem ašm yazamaide vahišta cīṭra yazamaide yā staota yesniia vahištaṃ išītī yazamaide yam ašhe vahištahe vahištem ahūm ašaonqam yazamaide raocaŋhm vīspō.χ’ādrım vahištahe aŋhūs vahištam aitianqam yazamaide}
\end{quote}

We worship the best Ahura Mazda; We worship the Bounteous Inmortals as the best. We worship the best \textit{ašauvan}. We worship the best Order. We worship the best manifestations which are the \textit{Staota Yesniia}. We worship the best ritual of the best Order. We worship the Best Existence of the \textit{ašauvan}. We worship the best way to the bright Best Existence that bestows all welfare\textsuperscript{12}.

The boon granted is the way to the “good existence” for the \textit{nar ašauvan}. The “best ritual of Zaraθuštra” (\textit{vahišta išītī zaraθuʃṭrahe}) is the “best way to the best existence” (\textit{vahištahe. aŋhūs. vahištam. aitianqam}). The best manifestations of this ritual (\textit{vahišta cīṭra}) are the \textit{Staota Yesniia}.

This role in the individual eschatology is already attributed to the first recitation of the YH in the Visperad ceremony. Also in the Yasna ceremony the epitheton \textit{sūra}- in the title of the YH is to be understood in this sense: the YH is \textit{sūra}- because it is able to grant the \textit{sauuah}- to the \textit{ašauvan} that in Y30.11 are placed opposite the long \textit{raah}- for the \textit{druguunant}. In the Visperad ceremony the role of the YH as granter of the best existence is stressed through its repetition between the Vohuxšaθrā G. and the Vahištōištī G., the point of inflection to the reward announced in the Airiiaman Išiia.

The other noteworthy difference concerning the arrangement of the \textit{Staota Yesniia} in the Visperad ceremony is the intercalation of longer

\textsuperscript{11} Cf. Y21.4.
\textsuperscript{12} Although here \textit{raocaŋhm vīspō.χ’ādrım} agree with \textit{vahištam aitianqam}, they are expected to agree with \textit{vahištahe aŋhūs}, s. Y9.19 \textit{vahištem ahūm ašaonqam raocaŋhm vīspō.χ’ādrım}; S1.27 \textit{vahištahe aŋhūs... raocaŋhō vīspō.χ’ādrō}. 
division markers than in the Yasna Yasna ceremony and above all the fact that the divisions are not exactly the same. In the case of the YH not only does an extended closing appear but also an opening section. This closing, although deeply formulaic and repetitive, gives us some clues about the interpretation of the Old Avestan texts by the arrangers of the Visperad ceremony. The division markers always show the same pattern for all the Staota Yesniia:

1. the stanza that is the answer of Zaraθuṣṭra to Frašaoṣṭra in Y71.2-3:

   \[ \text{ahuram mazaθm aθauanθm aθahe raθum yazamaide zaraθuθstom aθauanθm aθahe raθum yazamaide zaraθuθstrahe aθaonθ frauθaθim yazaθmaide amθθ} \]  
   \[ \text{spaθtθ aθaonθm yazamaide} \]

   \[ \text{aθauanθ} \]  
   \[ \text{vaθuθθ} \]  
   \[ \text{sθrθ} \]  
   \[ \text{spaθtθ frauθaθaθiiθ yazaθmaide astuθaθ} \]  
   \[ \text{maθ} \]  
   \[ \text{aθauθuθ} \]  

   We worship Ahura Mazda, the supporter of Order, the articulation of the Order. We worship Zaraθuṣṭra, the supporter of Order, the articulation of Order. We worship the election-soul of Zaraθuṣṭra, the supporter of Order. We worship the Bounteous Immortals of the supporters of Order.

   We worship the good, bounteous, strong election-souls of the supporters of Order, of the osseous and spiritual (existence). We worship this among the articulations that attain best (the right ways), the quickest of the yazatas in occupying the ritual place, this among the articulations of Order that is which best acquires and achieves. We worship that which is the most advanced satisfaction for the articulation of the articulation of Order of the supporter of Order.

2. the celebration of the \textit{ratu} of the text\footnote{With the exception of the \textit{tiθrθ} paoiriθ that do not have a \textit{ratu}.} through the formula:

   \[ \text{title of the text + aθahe raθum yazaθmaide maθ} \]  
   \[ \text{afθmaθ} \]  
   \[ \text{maθ} \]  
   \[ \text{vacacac} \]  
   \[ \text{maθ} \]  
   \[ \text{aθaiθ} \]  
   \[ \text{pθθ} \]  
   \[ \text{tiθ} \]  
   \[ \text{pθθ} \]  
   \[ \text{maθ} \]  
   \[ \text{vθθ} \]  
   \[ \text{bθθ} \]  
   \[ \text{maθ} \]  

   We worship the (title of the text) as articulation of Order with verses, with strophes, with commentaries, with questions and answers, with two words or with “feet”, that is well recited, that is well performed in a \textit{yasna}.
in his own house, in his own clan, according to his own will and to his own power, in Ahura Mazdâ’s grace, believingly with fore-knowing thought and trusting mind.  

3. a yazamaide section in which certain exegetical or ritual aspects are underscored. This is the only part that shows relevant differences from one division to another and therefore the only useful one for evaluating how the arrangers of the ceremony understand the text.  

4. the celebration of the text and its ritual usage through the formula:

“title” + handâtā yazamaide “title” + yazamaide hâitišca afsmanâca vacasca vacastaštīmca frasraobermca framarobermca frâštīmca

We worship the collection of the (title), we worship the (title), its hâiti, its verses, its words, its strophes, its recitation aloud, its recitation in a low voice, its singing and its sacrificial performance.

These intercalations serve as wedges for the intercalation of their respective texts in the Vidēvdād and Vištâsp Yašt ceremonies. This is indeed the most significant feature of the Visperad and the intercalation ceremonies which finds reflection in the lists of the ratu. In these lists the different elements participating in the ceremony are listed as “articulations of Order” (ašahe ratu) and these lists should vary depending on the ceremony. However, in their actual form only small differences appear. The most important is the addition of the list of the Staota Yesnīa (besides the list of the ratu parišhāuuani) in the ceremonies of Visperad and the rest of intercalation ceremonies. The added list is the list of a concrete variant of the Bayān Yasn ceremony (Cantera 2009) in which some Yašt are intercalated between the Old Avestan text. This list has become the standard list for the Visperad and all the intercalation ceremonies.

Actually, the divisions introduced in the actual Visperad and the intercalation ceremonies do not agree exactly either with the divisions of the Yasna or with the divisions in the list of the ratu of the Staota Yesnīa. The divisions as they appear in the list of the ratu are as follows (Cantera 2009):

14 For fraoreg fraxne avui manô zrazdâtoît aghuiat haca, cf. Yt10.9 that accompanies also the verb fra-yaz-.  
15 On this ceremony s. Kreyenbroek (2004; 2008)
Intercalations of Young Avestan texts took place after each Gātha and the Yasna Haptaŋhāti. These are not exactly the same divisions we find in the Visperad and in the intercalation ceremonies we know from the manuscripts. The main difference between the divisions in the Visperad ceremony and in the list of the ratu of the Staota Yesniia is the introduction of a division after Y30, separating the first three hāitis of the Ahunuuanit Gātha (the tišrō paorīia). After the exclusion of the Ahuna Vairiia, the three first hāiti make up 11 stanzas and build a unity that can be read as (in Kellens words) “un text homogène et singulier qui se développe selon un fil conducteur explicite” (Kellens 2007). Further, the last stanza (Y30.11) ends with an allusion that can be interpreted eschatologically, as is usual at the end of each gātha:

\[
\textit{hiia} \textit{tā utuutātā sašalā yā mazdā dadāt mašitāhō}
\textit{xītīcā īnīhī hiiača daragōm dragwō,dbiō ražō}
\textit{sauacā ašauabiiō at aipī tāiš anhāiši uštā}
\]

When men master the rules bestowing mobility and immobility which has established Ahura Mazdā, then through these (rules) the long-lasting harm that (will be) for the supporter of Lie and the success (that will be) for the supporter of Order will be available at will.

Actually it is not surprising that this section is missing from the list of the ratu of the Staota Yesniia since the tišrō paorīia do not attain the status of ratu in the division markers of the Visperad.

A further difference is the already mentioned repetition of the Yasna Haptaŋhāti that does not appear in the list. The result is a slightly different division of the Staota Yesniia than in the Yasna ceremony:
Although the differences between the Yasna and Visperad ceremonies are not very important, they are significant enough to distort the architecture of the Staota Yesniia in the Yasna ceremony. The analysis as 3 pairs of compositions of 7, 4 and 1 part that are opened and closed by one strophe is no longer possible.

There were also other possible divisions and other ceremonies based on these divisions. The 22 fragards of the exegetical Nasks described in Dk9 and probably also the 22 fragards of Vidēvdād clearly reflect a division of the Staota Yesniia in 22 sections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Y27.13 yaθa. ahū. vairiio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Y27.14 ašam. vohū.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Y27.15 yeḥē. ḫaṭam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Y28.0 yānim. manō.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Y29.1 xšmaēhibiā. ġāuš. uruuā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Y30.1 aṭ. tá. vaxšiā. išanṭō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Y31.1 tá. vā. uruuātā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Y32.1 ašiācā. x'aeṭuš.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Y33.1 yaṭāiš. iṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Y34.1 yā. šiaoaṭānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>YH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Y43.1 uštā. ahmāi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This division of the Staota Yasnììa in the Ahuna Vairiìa + 21 is the result of the same taxonomical analysis of the whole revelation in the organization of the Avesta as 21 Nask based on the 21 words of the Ahuna Vairiìa. Although we do not have direct evidence of it, we should take into consideration the possibility of the existence of intercalation ceremonies based on these divisions. The exegetical Nask of the Dënkard are in fact synopses of lost Avestan exegetical texts that could be recited in a ceremony intercalated between the Staota Yasnììa. In any case, it seems that at the time when the different ceremonies and variants of the ceremonies of the long liturgy crystallized, the arrangement of the Old Avestan texts at the very center of the liturgy offered possibilities for slight variation and change.

This new distribution of the Staota Yasnììa through the addition of expanded closings and the repetition of the YH is the basis for the ceremonies with intercalations, that is, the Vïdëvdâd and the Vištåsp Yašt. Autonomous texts like Vïdëvdâd and the Vištåsp Yašt are intercalated in the divisions established in the Visperad ceremony. The manuscripts attest two of them and the list of the textual råtu of the Staota Yasnììa attest another one that may be the Bayân Yasn mentioned in the Nerang-estan or a variant thereof. The distribution of the intercalations is as follows:

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16 About this arrangement of the Avesta s. recently Vevaina (2010).
Although there is not always a direct connection between every Old Avestan passage and the intercalated texts, the distribution of the intercalated texts between the Staota Yesniia is not merely arbitrary\textsuperscript{17}. Likely that the Vi\textecirc{d}ev\textecirc{d}a\d has an independent existence prior to its use in its ceremony, there are no clear connections among all the sections of the Vi\textecirc{d}ev\textecirc{d}a\d and the Old Avestan texts they accompany. But obviously, a conscious attempt was made to establish clear links between the intercalations and the corresponding Old Avestan texts. I would even dare to affirm that the actual arrangement of the Vi\textecirc{d}ev\textecirc{d}a\d is the result of the liturgical praxis of intercalating this text between the Staota Yesniia (s. below). At the same time the intercalations indeed reveal a certain understanding and exegesis of the Staota Yesniia.

In the Vi\textecirc{st}asp Ya\textecirc{s}t’s intercalation ceremony the links with the Staota Yesniia are obvious, especially in the middle (the YH) and end sections (the Vahi\textecirc{st}o\textsc{i}sta G.). In the Vyt3.9 Vi\textecirc{st}asp asks Zara\textsc{u}stra about how to perform a sacrifice to him (a question identical to the question of Zara\textsc{u}stra to Ahura Mazd\ae in V19.17\textsuperscript{18}):

\begin{quote}
\textit{paiti dom p\textecirc{r}\textsc{a}sata pu\textecirc{r}\textsc{ro} kauua vi\textecirc{st}aspka kana \textsc{th}\textecirc{d} az\textsc{om} yazan\textsc{a}i kana yasna fr\textecirc{r}i\textsc{a}z\textsc{ami} imaj d\textsc{q}\textsc{ma} ya\textsc{t} ahurahe mazd\ae.}
\end{quote}

The young Kauui Vi\textecirc{st}asp asked him: “With which sacrifice shall I perform a sacrifice to you? With which sacrifice shall I perform a sacrifice for this creation of Ahura Mazd\ae?"

\textsuperscript{17} Despite Hintze (2004: 300)
\textsuperscript{18} We find similar questions in Yt5.90 and Yt15.54.
The answer in the following three paragraphs is parallel to the answer in V19.18-19:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vyt3.10-11 (G18a)</th>
<th>V19.18-19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āaṭ mraot zarathuṣṭrō upa ṭbā kāṇhāmaidī tūm āhi puṭhrō kauwa viṣṭāspāi uruwaranāṃ uruṭmanāṃ jasāī srīṛa urusta amauwaiti āeṭat uṃdōm vacō frauwaōcāi nōmō uruwaire vaṇjhe mazdaādīte aṣāone aṣōm vohū.</td>
<td>āaṭ mraot ahūrō mazdā uruwaranāṃ uruṭmīnanāṃ awa.jasāhi spitama. zarathuṣṭra srīṛa urusta amauwaiti imaṭ. vacō framrū nōmō uruwaire vaṇjhi mazdaādīte aṣāone aṣōm vohū vahiṣṭēm astī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zara-thuṣṭra said: „We will make it known to you. You are the young Kauui Viṣṭāspa. You shall go to the sprouting plants and you shall say this recited word: “O beautiful (plant) that grows strong. Homage for you, o good plant, created by Mazdā, supporter of the Order. aṣōm vohū”

Ahura Mazdā said: „You will go forward to the budding plants, Spitama Zara-thuṣṭra, saying following prayer: ‘O beautiful that grows, strong, homage to you, good plant, created by Mazdā, supporter of Order.’”

barṣsmana hē uzbāraiāt paoiriō vā bītiō vā bītiō vā upa tū nō aibīāṣta barṣsa aṣāia frastarṣtm aṣāia aibīāstsm…

barṣma hē uzbāraiāt aēžō.drājō. yauuō.fraābō…

He shall offer the barṣsmman, the first time, the second time and the third time. You shall be who binds the barṣsmnan, spread according to the Order, bound according to Order…

He shall offer the barṣsmnan, as long as a ploughshare and as wide as yoke…

It is not accidental that this text is inserted directly before the recitation of the YH, as it is inserted in Viḍēvdād after the second recitation of the YH. The YH appears at this point as the text of the yasna prescribed by Zara-thuṣṭra.

The consequence of its recitation appears in the following fragard (Vyt 4): the smiting of the Druj and Long Life for the soul in Paradise. Further, the frequent attestation of xṣātra in fragard 7 puts this fragard clearly in relation to the Vohū.xṣāṭrā G. Fragard 8 begins precisely with the recitation of the Vahiṣṭōṣṭī G as an introduction to the journey of the soul to the Best Existence. This journey is described in a similar way as in V19.28 ff and in HN2. Of course, it is not accidental that the way of the Soul at the third dawn after the death appears as well in V19.
as in Vyt8, the intercalated texts after the recitation of the Vaihīšīśāti G. The Vaihīšīśāti G. is understood as the definitive key that opens the doors to the Best Existence for the soul. As Vevaina (2010) has recognized recently, the narrative of Kay Usan’s Himmelsfahrt in the exegesis of the Vaihīšīśāti Gāthā in the Südgar Nask offers just a counterexample of the sacrificial journey of the sacrificer-soul to the Heaven.

Obviously, these connections are the result of a conscious process of intercalation that entails an exegetical process of the Staota Yesniia. This attempt is not limited to the Vištāsp Yašt, which could be claimed to be a badly transmitted and late compiled text artificially adapted to the Staota Yesniia. In the Bayān Yasn, described in the list of the ratu of the Staota Yesniia, some clear connections can be perceived just from a superficial observation. The introduction of Yt10 to Miθra is based on his role as helper of the soul on its journey to heaven that is put in connection with the “power” (xšaβra) of the sacrifice for bringing the sacrificer’s soul to the Best Existence. In fact, the Yašt dedicated to the divinities helping the soul along its journey through the night are even the Yašt intercalated from the Spaŋτāsmainiu Gāθā till the end: Varōθrayna as alterego from Sraoša, Miθra and finally Dahmān Āfrīn who comes every night four times19. This is the reason for the recitation of the Dāhma Āfrīti after the Vaihīšīśāti Gāthā and the mention of Dahmān Āfrīn in the exegesis of this Gāthā in the Südgar Nask [Dk9.22.1] (Vevaina 2010: 232ff.). The recitation of the Yašt to Arāduu Anāhiitā after the YH is the result of the same exegetical reflections that establish a clear link between the Yasna Haptapāhiit and the waters in Y42 or between the YH and the ceremony to the Waters at the end of the Yasna20.

Despite the almost general assumption, there are clear connections as well between the Viḍēvdād sections and the corresponding parts of the Staota Yesniia. The most obvious links can be schematized as follows as partially highlighted already by Skjærvø (2007):

1. the cosmogonical Ahuna Vairiia finds a correspondence in the creation of the different countries of the world in the first chapter of Viḍēvdād
2. the first YH matches the baršnām ceremony described at the end of chapter 8 and in chapter 9 and 10. The connections between sacrifice and purification ritual are indeed stressed several times in Viḍēvdād.

19 Sraoša comes only three times for protecting the world (S1.33 and IrBd 26.94), s. Vevaina (2010: 233)
20 About the connections between this ceremony and the YH s. Hintze (2004: 305ff.)
The Višṭāsp Yašt also introduces the topic of purification of the body and of the Druj’s smiting after the recitation of the YH.

3. the second YH has Saroša in frargard 18 of Viđēvdād as its counterpart in Viđēvdād. He plays a similar role as Vərəθrayna and Miθra in the Bayān Yasn ceremony.

4. the best ritual (vahištā išti) of Zaraθuštra in the Vahišṭīšti G. is clearly connected to the history of Zaraθuštra’s birth and his repelling of Aŋra Mainiu’s attack with the help of the Ahuna Vairiia and the sacrifice and purification ritual organized by Zaraθuštra. The consequences of this performance are the elimination of the Daēuuaas from the world and success in the individual eschatology.

5. The Airiianan Išiia appears in connection with V20-22, the chapters dedicated to the healing of the world and the final purification ritual.

The Viđēvdād tells the history of the world as a process of initial contamination and final purification. The middle section is dominated by the different kinds of impurity and the means for their removal. The intercalation of Viđēvdād produces a reading of the Staota Yesniia in which the individual eschatology, the salvation process of the soul, is interpreted as the universal eschatology, the history of the salvific process of the world. The Ahuna Vairiia is put in connection with the creation of the countries by Ahura Mazdā and the impurity introduced in them by Aŋra Mainiu. The first Yasna Haptaŋhāiti corresponds exactly to the ceremony of the Barśnum instituted by Zaraθuštra and its two results: success in the individual eschatology and elimination of the forces of evil from the world. The second appears in connection with Sraoša as the priest par excellence and according to Y57 the first to recite the Gāθas in a yasna ceremony similar to our Yasna. His appearance is a prelude to Zaraθuštra’s birth in the world and his performance of a yasna including a purification ritual. His birth and his ritual lead to individual eschatological success and to the defeat of Druj. The final section corresponding to the Airiianan Išiia includes the final healing of the world by Airiianan. In this version of the history of the world all the purifying and healing aspects are highlighted and the core of the Staota Yesniia is seen in this light.

The intercalation of Young Avestan texts allows therefore reinterpretations of the Staota Yesniia according to special ritual uses of the ceremony. The recitation of the Staota Yesniia in the Viđēvdād ceremony shares the structure of the Avestan exorcism: some Old Avestan texts combined with the recitation of the exorcist formulae. The Viđēvdād
Sāde ceremony itself is a universal exorcism contributing to the definitive annihilation of the forces of evil in the world. The celebration during the night complements this: as the ceremony will bring the victory over the night, it will bring also the victory of Ahura Mazdā’s forces over Evil.

The relative monotony of ritual practice in Zoroastrianism in contrast to the varied practices in Vedic ritual is a consequence of the ritual choice made explicit in the Frauaraēne: to make a sacrifice to Ahura in the way Zarathustra has instituted. The core of this special way to make a sacrifice was the Ahuna Vairii revealed to Zarathustra at the beginning of the world’s history. In the Yasa the Old Avestan texts appear as the symbolic equivalent of the Ahuna Vairii.

Actually, the whole composition of the Staota Yesniia is, of course, neither an accidental collection of older ritual texts inserted in a long ceremony nor a unitary composition, made once and for ever as the result of a plan of one author. It is more likely to be the result of a historical process taking place at different times and with different forces interacting. It is obvious that the Staota Yesniia already existed in the form and arrangement that we know at the time of the composition of all the Young Avestan texts we have preserved in the long liturgy. But the same forces responsible for the current arrangement continued to be alive and introduced slight modifications. We can track some of them: the segregation of the Ahuna Vairii from the Ahunauaiti G., of the Airiianan Iśiia from the Vahišti G.; the consideration of the Ašom Vohū and the Yešhē Hātaṃ as Staota Yesniia, etc.

Furthermore, there was a certain liberty to organize and to group the Staota Yesniia differently for different purposes. This seems to be a peculiar feature of the Visperad ceremonies: a special great ritual for special purposes could introduce slight differences in the recitation of the Staota Yesniia. The most significant modification is the intercalation of Young Avestan texts at certain points. Through the intercalation of these texts between certain divisions of the Staota Yesniia it was possible to introduce a certain degree of variation and productivity within this strongly fixed ceremony. In our manuscripts only two different ceremonies of intercalation have survived: the Vīdvād and the Vištäsp Yašt ceremony. The list of the ratu of the Staota Yesniia proves, however, that the intercalation of other texts was possible as well. The division of the Vīdvād and of the exegetical nasks described in Dk9 is an indirect indication of the possibility of a ceremony with intercalated texts on the basis of a division of the Staota Yesniia in 22 sections. It seems that, despite the constraints imposed
by a *yasna* centered on the almost identical recitation of the core of the Staota Yesniia, an extension of the Ahuna Vairiia, the ritual variety was at the time of the arrangement of the different *yasna* ceremonies greater than attested in our manuscripts. And the ritual variety attested in the manuscripts is greater than Geldner’s edition allows us to perceive. But this is another story.

Table 1: The beginning of the Old Avestan texts in the long liturgy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Geldner</th>
<th>Yasna Pahlavi</th>
<th>Yasna Säde</th>
<th>V¯idēvd¯ād</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VrS17.1</td>
<td>mazdaiiasnˇo. ahmˇ. mazdaiiasnˇo. zarahuˇstriˇs. frauvarˇaneˇ. aˇstuiaˇscˇa. frauvarˇasteˇscˇa.. aˇstuiaˇ. humatˇomˇ. manˇo. aˇstuiaˇ. hˇuxˇemˇ. vacˇo. aˇstuiaˇ. huwarˇtˇomˇ. ˇsˇiiaobˇanˇomˇ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VrS17.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>ästuiê. daêngm. mâzdaiiasnîm. fraspâiaoxêrêm. nîêðasnaiithêst. x’aêtuvaadaðêst. așaonîm. yâ. hâtînâmâc. bûş iicêînâmîc. maziîstâcâ. vahiîstâcâ. sraêstâcâ. yâ. aîhûirîs. zarahuîstrîc. ahurâî. mazdâî. vispâ. vohû. cinahmî. aêšâ. astî. daênnaiá. mazdatiasnôiîs. ästûîtiîs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Y27.13</td>
<td>Ahuna Vairiia (4x)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Y27.14</td>
<td>Ašâm Vohû (3x)</td>
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<td>ahunêm. vairîm. yazamaide. așâm. vahiîstâm. sraêstâm. amoșêm. spoñtêm. yazamaide.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yeţhê hátâm (1x)</td>
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<td>Y28.0</td>
<td>yânîm. manô. yânîm. vacô. yânîm. šîiaôhêm. așaonô. zarahuîstrâhe. frâ. amoșâ. spoñtã. gâthâ. gürûuâin. namô. vâ. gâthâ. așaoniš</td>
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**References**


