Most of the Avestan manuscripts are complete guides for the celebration of the main Zoroastrian liturgy: the long liturgy, usually known in the West as Yasna. This ceremony is celebrated in two main variants: the standard daily ceremony or Yasna; and a more solemn celebration called Yašt ī Wisperad or (in the West) just Wisperad. The latter is the basis for the celebration of other variants of the liturgy. One of them is the intercalation ceremonies in which young Avestan dialogic texts are intercalated in the core of the long liturgy, the recitation of the Gāthās and the Yasna Haptaŋhāti that comprises Y28 to Y54 of the 72 hatti or sections of the Yasna ceremony. The extant manuscripts include guides for the celebration of two such ceremonies: the Yašt ī Wisperad with the Widēvdād (or short Widewdad ceremony) in which a text called Widēvdād – “the law for repelling the daēuua” – is intercalated and the Wištāsp Yašt in which the Wištāsp Sāst or “the teaching of Wištāsp” is inserted into the Old Avestan texts.

1 This paper is part of the Project “Avestan Digital Archive: preliminary works for an edition of the Long Liturgy”, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy (MINECO).

This term is, however, never used in the manuscripts for the ceremony known as Yasna. The manuscripts use the title yazīšn, more often, or yašt.

2 Traditionally this designation is reserved for a Nask of the Great Avesta. The relationship between the Wištāsp Sāst Nask and the text intercalated in the Wištāsp Yašt is not as clear as in the case of the Widēvdād (s. below). Nevertheless, the manuscript G18a uses the title Wištāsp Sāst for the intercalated text in a Wištāsp Yašt ceremony (fol. 13r l. 14): zōt fragard wištāsp sāst bun kunišn “the zōt should begin the section of the Wištāsp Sāst”. In the same instance the manuscript K4 which copies from the same original as G18a uses the designation wištāsp yašt (fol. 92r l. 17): zōt fragard wištāsp yašt bun kunišn “the zōt should begin the section of the Wištāsp Yašt”. This designation (wištāsp yašt) is used in the introduction of both manuscripts. The manuscript G18a seems to maintain the original distribution: the wištāsp yašt is the designation of the yašt, the long liturgy, and wištāsp sāst is the intercalated text. In K4 the graphical similarity of both terms could lead to confusion.

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In the literature, these intercalation ceremonies have failed to get the attention they deserved. The editions of the Avestan texts do not allow us to easily recognize the original structure of them. Only the direct use of the manuscripts makes possible a detailed analysis of these ceremonies and only one liturgical manuscript of the Widēwdād ceremony was available (Burnouf, Dumont et al. 1829; Brockhaus 1850), until recently, that is, until many liturgical manuscripts of these ceremonies have been made available in the Avestan Digital Archive (http://www.avesta-archive.com). Furthermore, there has been a habitual lack of interest for the ritual context of the Avestan texts and especially for these ceremonies that were considered to be very late creations joining already existing texts in quite a mechanical way just to produce longer and more complicated ceremonies.

THE INTERCALATION CEREMONIES AS THEY APPEAR IN THE LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS

The Widēwdād and the Wištāsp Yašt ceremonies as they appear in the manuscripts are basically a Wisperad ceremony in which the corresponding texts are intercalated, as mentioned, between the Staota Yesniia. The basic ceremony is the most solemn version of the Wisperad, the Wisperad ī Gāhānūr recited in the seasonal festivals. In the Wisperad ceremony, the Staota Yesniia are divided into sections through the intercalation of Young Avestan commentaries on the Old Avestan texts (Vr12-22). These divisions are essentially the Ahuna Vairiia, the five Gāthās, the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, which is recited twice in the Wisperad ceremony, and the

3 The complete texts of these ceremonies as they appear in the manuscripts can be consulted in the Avestan Digital Archive (http://ada.usal.es/pages/completeceremonies).

4 I use this designation to refer to the Old Avestan texts at the heart of the long liturgy, that is, the five Gāthās and the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti together with the Ahuna Vairiia and the Ariiāman Isīia.

5 This can be seen from the fact that in the Wisperad ī Gāhānūr the frequent recitation of 4 Ahuna Vairiia and 3 Aššam Vohu is substituted by the recitation of 10 Ahuna Vairiia and 10 Ašam Vohu. The passages concerned are Y0.14, Y13.7, Y60.13 and Y71.31. The passages in which this combination of Ahuna Vairiia and Ašam Vohu is followed by the Yejihe Hātəm are not affected by this substitution.

6 The first recitation takes place at the usual position (after Y34) and the second between Y51 and Y52 (Hintze 2004: 303).

Airiiaman Išīia. A further division is established between the first three hāiti of the Ahunauaūīī Gāōā (Y28-30, the tišrō paorīia) and the following four (Y31-34). The intercalated passages in the intercalation ceremonies always follow a Wisperad section and are not in direct contact with the Old Avestan texts, with the exception of the first intercalation that follows immediately after the dialogic version of the Ahuna Vairiia. In fact, they are also separated from the Wisperad section through the recitation of one Ašām Vohu and one dialogic Ahuna Vairiia which itself separates the end of the intercalation from the following Old Avestan text as well as each fragard from the next one in the Wīdēwdād ceremony.

In principle, each Wisperad section is followed by one intercalation. But here, too, there is an exception: in the Wisperad ceremony, the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti has an introduction after which it comes directly without any further intercalation. Since the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti is recited twice in the Wisperad ceremony, this introduction appears twice as well (Vr15 and Vr21.0). The scheme of the intercalation in both the Wīdēwdād and the Wištāsp Yašt ceremonies is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staota Yesniia</th>
<th>Wisperad</th>
<th>Wīdēwdād</th>
<th>Wištāsp Yašt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Y27.6</td>
<td>Vr12</td>
<td>V1-4</td>
<td>Vyt1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y27.7-27.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Y.28-30</td>
<td>Vr13</td>
<td>V5-6</td>
<td>Vyt2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Y32-Y34.13</td>
<td>Vr14</td>
<td>V7-8</td>
<td>Vyt3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vr15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Y35-42</td>
<td>Vr16-17</td>
<td>V9-10</td>
<td>Vyt4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Y43-46</td>
<td>Vr18</td>
<td>V11-12</td>
<td>Vyt5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Y47-50</td>
<td>Vr19</td>
<td>V13-14</td>
<td>Vyt6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Y51</td>
<td>Vr20</td>
<td>V15-16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vr21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[repetition of Y35-42]</td>
<td>Vr22</td>
<td>V17-18</td>
<td>Vyt7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Y52-53</td>
<td>Vr23</td>
<td>V19-20</td>
<td>Vyt8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Y54</td>
<td>Vr24</td>
<td>V21-22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most significant differences between the intercalations of the Wīdēwdād and Wištāsp Yašt ceremonies are that in the latter there is no
intercalated text between the Vohuxšaθrâ Gâθâ and the second Yasna Haptaḥhâiti, nor after Vr24 following Y54. Accordingly, we find in the Wištâsp Yašt only 8 intercalations instead of the 10 intercalations of the Widēwdâd. The intercalations of V15-16 and V21-22 do not have any equivalents in the Wištâsp Yašt.

Although the most significant feature of these ceremonies are the intercalations, there are other characteristics that differentiate them from a Wisperad i Gâhânârâ. The Widēwdâd and the Wištâsp Yašt ceremony are recognizable long before the recitation of the Gâθâs. The type of ceremony is signalized through the use of “specific ceremony markers”. These markers substitute the mention of ratsu hâwâanî in the standard Wisperad ceremony in most passages (with the exception of the mentions of this ratsu in the lists of the daily ratsu and in the frauwarâne of the corresponding ratsu\(^7\) in which the the ratsu of the part of the day in which the ceremony is celebrated is substituted for the ratsu hâwâanî; s. below). The ceremony markers appear in the dative, genitive, accusative and vocative, depending on the syntactic structure\(^8\):

- dative:
  - for the Widēwdâd: dâtâi hāda.dâtâi vîdaēuuâi zarathuṣtrâi aśâoṇe aśâhe raθbê
  - for the Wištâsp Yašt: hāda.mâq̄râi zaini.parštâi upairi gâtubiiō gorzątâi mâq̄râi spoṃtâi aśâoṇe aśâhe raθbê

The dative appears in the lists together with niuuâedâaiemî hânkâraïemî (Y1); âiiise yešî (Y3, Y22, VrS13 =Vr11, VrS32\(^9\)); ââ dîs āuuaâedâaiia-

---

\(^7\) We must distinguish between two different Frauwarâne: the Frauwarâne that is specific for each ceremony, which is the most frequent one, and the Frauwarâne of the corresponding part of the day or gâh which appears in Y0.1. The ceremony-specific one consists of three parts. The frauwarâne formula (frauwarâne mazdaiiasnô zarathuṣtriš vîdaēuunô ahura.tâkârêô) is identical in all ceremonies. The ceremony-specific part includes a special text for each ceremony: 1. for the Widēvdâd it is dâtâi hāda.dâtâi;... 2. for the Wištâsp Yašt hāda.mâq̄râi;... It follows in both ceremonies raθbîqm aitâranâqmcâ aṣîrianaqmcâ māhîianâqmcâ yâîrîianâqmcâ sarōdāâqmcâ yasnâicâ vâhmâicâ xînâoğrâica frasastaiiaâcê. In the Frauwarâne of the corresponding gâh, instead of section two there is a mention of the part of the day in which the ceremony is celebrated. Therefore this frauwarâne is known as frauwarâne ēç gâh dâred « Frauwarâne which includes the mention of the Gâh » (e.g. N43.6). The third part (raθbîqm aitâranâqmcâ...) is missing in this special Frauwarâne.

\(^8\) Edited by Westergaard (1852: 485 f.) as extracts “from the Vendidâd sâdah and K4”.

\(^9\) After Y59.

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mahī (Y4, VrS33\textsuperscript{10}); \\ vahīda daadgāmi (Y7; Y66). It is the form of ceremony markers that also appears in the Frauuarāne of these ceremonies.

- accusative
  - for the Widēwādē: \textit{dāta mahā}dāta \textit{vidōiūm zarabuṣtrēm ašauanēm ašahe ratūm}
  - for the Wištasp Yašt: \textit{ḥaḍa.māqērēm zaii.parśīm upairi gātubiiō gorōptēm māqērēm spōntēm uuanēm ašahe ratūm}

The accusative appears in the lists together with \textit{ahmiia zaodēre barxmanēca... aiiše yeśīi} (Y2, Y14); yazamaide (Y6, Y17, Y59, VrS35\textsuperscript{11}) and in the expression … \textit{pāiī ratūm ratauō wīsē mazīšta pāiī ratūm} substituting hāuunām (Y6.20, Y14.3, Y17.19, Y59.29).

- genitive
  - for the Widēwādē: \textit{dātahe ḥaḍa.dātahe vidēwaahe zarabuṣṭrōiś raṭbō}
  - for the Wištasp Yašt: \textit{ḥaḍa.māqērahe zaiin.parśēha upairi gātubiiō gorōptahe māqērahe sporṇēha}

The genitive appears in the expression raṭbō barxatō yōaśahe raṭbēm aīiaraṇaṃca asniiauṇaṃca māhīauṇaṃca yāiiraṇaṃca sarṣaṇaṃca yōi hōntī aśahe ratauō hāuunōiś raṭbō for hāuunōiś raṭbō in the Yasna (Y1.17, Y4.22, Y7.19, Y22.19; Y66.16) and Wiesperad (VrS3.41 = Vr11.16, VrS32.31, VrS33.22, VrS36.17, VrS36.27), or in the corresponding expression in the Wiesperad in Gāhānbar: raṭbō barxatō yō aśahe raṭbēm yō aśahe raṭbēm aīiaraṇaṃca asniiauṇaṃca māhīauṇaṃca yāiiraṇaṃca sarṣaṇaṃca raṭbēm wīsē mazīštanāṃ yōi hōntī aśahe ratauō hāuunām pāiī ratūm + gāhānbar for hāuunām pāiī ratūm + gāhānbar.

- vocative
  - for the Widēwādē: \textit{dāta ḥaḍa.dāta vidēwaahe zarabuṣṭra aśāum}
  - for the Wištasp Yašt: \textit{ḥaḍa.māqēra zaiii.parśēha gātubiiō gorōpta māqēra sporṇē aśāum}

The vocative appears only in Y1.20 substituting the invocation of the five raṭu of the day.

A peculiarity of the intercalation ceremonies as they are attested in the manuscripts is that they are ceremonies to be celebrated during the \textit{raṭu uśahina} (s. below), at dawn\textsuperscript{12}, and not in the \textit{raṭu hāuunā} as the Yasna and the Wisperad. The uśahina, the \textit{raṭu of uśah} “morning dawn”, lasts from midnight to sunrise. This different time of celebrations provokes many changes in the version of the Wiisperad recited in the intercalation

\textsuperscript{10} After Y59.
\textsuperscript{11} After Y59.
\textsuperscript{12} This does not rule out the possibility that these ceremonies were celebrated at other times of the day too, but this is the standard time for a Widēwādē or a Wištasp Yašt ceremony.

ceremonies. The initial Frauuarâne (Y0.1) serves to indicate in which of the five periods of the day the ceremony is celebrated (s. n. 7). Therefore, whereas in the standard Yasna and Wisperad the ratu hâuuani appears as it does in the rest of Frauuarâne, in the Widêwdâd and Wištasp Yašt ceremonies the first Frauuarâne of the liturgy mentions the ratu ušahina:

frauuarâne mazdaiaasnô zarâthuštriś vîdaēuuô ahura.tkâēô ušahnînî ašâône ašâhe raḏbe yasnîca vahmâica xšnaōdrâica frasastaiaēca hrujiïô namârīiaô ašâône raḏbe yasnîca vahmâica xšnaōdrâica frasastaiaēca

I choose to make the sacrifice to Mazdâ in the way of Zarâthuštra repelling the daēuas and in accordance with the doctrine of Mazdâ for the auroral articulation of Order that supports Order and for the sacrifice, the praise, the satisfaction and the instruction.

The most frequent change induced by the alternative time for the celebration is the alteration of the order of the articulations of the day (asnhia ratu). In the Yasna the ratu hâuuani appears at the first position of the list of the asnhia ratu, and ušahina is the last one. Actually, in the Widêwdâd and Wištasp Yašt ceremonies held during the ušahina, this is the first ratu, followed by the hâuuani and the rest of the list like in the Yasna13. Every time before the list with the articulations of the day begins, we are reminded through the addition of the corresponding ceremony marker that this is an intercalation ceremony, and which one it is (Widêwdâd or Wištasp Yašt).

Another important difference between the Wisperad and the intercalation ceremonies are the dedicatories14. In the Wisperad, several dedicatories are possible15: to Sraoša16, to the Frauuașiô17 which also mentions Ahura Mazdâ and the Amoșa Spôța, and finally the most frequent and

13 This change appears in all lists of the asnhia ratu: Y1.3ff., Y2.3 ff., Y3.5ff., Y4.8 ff., Y6.2 ff., Y7.5ff., VrS5.4 ff., Y17.2 ff., Y22.5 ff., VrS13.19 ff. = Vr11.16, Y59.2 ff., VrS32.9 ff., VrS35.2, VrS36.3.
15 In the Yasna we usually only find the dedictory edited by Geldner (e.g. Y0.8-12), but the Iranian manuscript 60 (MI15285) mentions an alternative the dedictory to Sraoša as well for the Yasna ceremony. For a description of this manuscript cf. Hintze (2012: 247).
16 The text of the dedictory is sraošahe ašiiehe taxmahâ tahu.mâôrahe daršt.draôš āhûriiehe xšnaôdra yasnîca vahmâica xšnaōdrâica frasastaiaēca.
17 The text is ahurahe mazdâ raêwuahe xârvarnehe aôosanam spôntâm ašûnâm frauwašîqam uôranam aûûîqam padîrîô tkâēônam frauwašîqam nâðnazištanam frauwašîqam xšnaôresa yasnîca vahmâica xšnaōdrâica frasastaiaēca.
specific one, the dedicatory of the Gāhānār festivals. Exactly the same dedicatories (except the Gāhānār one) are found in the manuscripts of the Wīdēwād, with the dedicatory to Sraoša being the most frequent. However, the Wištasp Yašt has a specific dedication which is identical to the dedication of the Frauuašiš, but includes the straightest Perception (razištā cistā):

\[
\text{ahurahe mazdå raēwuatō x'arəŋanəhətō aməŋanəm spəntanəm razištaiiə cistaiiə mazdaəštaiiə ašaəniə ãeəniə vəŋhuiə māzadaiasənəi ašaənəm frauuašiŋəm uyranəm aîliįʃəɾənəm paoriiii tetkašanəm frauuašiŋəm nabãnəzištanəm xšnaθra yasnəica vahməica xšnədəɾai ca frasastaiiaēca}
\]

For the sacrifice, the praise, the satisfaction and the instruction of the rich and glorious Ahura Mazdā, of the Bounteous Immortals, of the straightest Perception created by Mazdā as supporter of the Order, of the good Vision obtained in the sacrifice to Mazdā, of the strong and unshakeable Elections of the supporters of Order and of the (Elections of the) first teachers and the (Elections of the) relatives.18

This dedicatory is recited in the first Wištasp Yašt celebration of each day; in subsequent celebrations each dedicatory can be recited, as stated in a ritual direction (nērang) included in G18a and K4:

\[
\text{AMT ptltm YDBHNWd šnwmn' dyn' ašəōnəm PWN 'p'ryk b'l KRA}^{19} \text{Š'yt šnwmn' wc'ltn'}
\]

If they celebrate it for the first time, the dedicatory is for the Vision (dēn) and for the (Elections) of the supporters of Order. In subsequent times, every dedication can be performed.

This instruction implies that the Wištasp Yašt could be celebrated at several times of the day, although the manuscripts provide evidence only for the celebration during ušahina.20 Either the celebration was limited

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18 The section ašaōnəm frauuašiŋəm uyranəm aîliįʃəɾənəm paoriiii tetkašanəm frauuašiŋəm nabãnəzištanəm or dedicatory to the Frauuašiš is omitted in the manuscripts G18a and K4 (which go back to same original). The ritual instruction following the dedicatory (s. below), however, makes it clear that this dedicatory has to be recited. In fact, it appears in the recently discovered manuscript of the Wištasp Yašt (Vyt-Yazd) and in T41.

19 Geldner (1896: 12 n. 2) records the text of a letter from Dastur Jamaspji in which he mentions that the Wištasp Yašt was called “the Vendidad of Ujairin gāh, because it is said that Vishtasp Yasht was recited in this part of the day”. This information contradicts the account given in the manuscripts and it is difficult to make a judgment about its correctness.
to this part of the day at the time when the extant liturgical manuscripts were copied, or the manuscripts of ušahina could be used for performing the ceremony at other moments of the day as well, assuming that the necessary changes were easy to make for the celebrating priests.

Furthermore, it is important to note that, although the Wištasp Yašt and the Widēwdād ceremonies are quite similar, there are some differences between them. Therefore, the general idea that the Wištasp Yašt is a late creation in which the Widēwdād intercalations are substituted by the Wištasp Sāst is not very likely. In fact, some additions of Widēwdād ceremony are missing in the Wištasp Yašt that remains closer to the Wisperad ceremony. In the Widēwdād ceremony the Uštauauiṭī Gāḥā is linked to the Ahunauauiṭī Gāḥā by repeating the closing of the Wisperad section after the latter (Vṛ14.3 [=VṛS19.3]) after the Uštauauiṭī Gāḥā (VS46.1). This addition does not appear either in the Wisperad or in the Wištasp Yašt. Furthermore, part of the Wisperad section inserted after the recitation of the first Yasna Haptəŋhāiti, exactly Vṛ16.1-3 [VṛS21.2-4], appear in the Widēwdād ceremony repeated after the Airiiman Išiia, precisely between Vṛ24.0 and Vṛ24.1. This addition is also missing in the Wištasp Yašt.

**THE INTERCALATED TEXTS**

The intercalated Widēwdād as well as the Wištasp Sāst appear not only in the manuscripts of the corresponding liturgies, but also as independent texts in manuscripts containing the Avestan version and its Pahlavi translation. Furthermore, both texts are described in the Dēnkard as one Nask of the Great Avesta. Nevertheless, there are important differences between them. While there are numerous manuscripts containing the text of the proper Widēwdād together with its Pahlavi translation, the witnesses of the Wištasp Sāst are very scarce. Furthermore, the description of the Dēnkard (Dk8.44) agrees quite well with the
The description of the Wištasp Sāst, on the other hand, does not correspond to the same degree with the extant text. Whereas the beginning of the description (Dk8.11.1-2) may coincide with the extant text from Vyt1-7 rather imprecisely, the narrative of the destiny of the soul is missing in the description of the Dēnkard. Instead, the Pahlavi text includes the fights between Vištāspa and Arājātasp which we know from the Ayādgār ī Zarērān.

For a long time the view has been widely held that the Widēwdād was a late composition, much later than the Yasna or Wisperad. It was traditionally dated at the Parthian or even the Seleucid period as it is noted by Skjærvø (2007: 112 ff.). For the Wištasp Sāst the situation is even worse. Darmesteter (1892: 663) writes about it:

C’est la contre-partie du 19e Fargard du Vendidad; dans ce Fargard, Ahura donne un abrégé de la Loi à Zoroastre: ici, c’est Zoroastre qui donne un abrégé de la Loi à Gushtāsp. Ce résumé, très corrompu de style, beaucoup plus que le premier, est plus complet, quoique peu systématique: il est formé des pièces et des morceaux du Vendidad, reproduits d’une façon très incorrecte et souvent barbare et soudés tant bien que mal.

According to Darmesteter, the Wištasp Sāst would not be an original text but a collage from the Widēwdād. Besides, the 8th Fragard is a corrupted and abbreviated version of the second fragard of the Hādōxt Nask. Accordingly, if the texts intercalated in these ceremonies of intercalation are so late, then the ceremonies cannot in any case be old.

Yet the late date of the intercalated texts and of the creation of such ceremonies must be revised. Skajervø (2007) has been the first one to show convincingly the weakness of the arguments for the late date of the Widēwdād, based as they are on prejudices and linguistic arguments that disregard the importance of the process of oral transmission.

The problem of the Wištasp Sāst is more serious. From a linguistic point of view, the language of the Wištasp Sāst is probably the most deficient in the whole Avestan corpus (Molé 1963: 350). Often it is very difficult even to understand it. Sometimes we get the impression that the extant text is only a part of the original text and that important parts were 22


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lost. In Vyt2.6 [11] e.g., we find a text from which important parts must be missing:

\[\text{aōjīta zī zaraθuštra frašaōštraēibiia jāṃsaōštraēibiia ašāiata vástraiiata puḍra frašaōštra uiti mraōt ahurō mazdā āi ašāum. zaraθuštra}\]

\[\text{aōjīta} \ \text{aōjītam K4. aōjīta L5 | zi zaraθuštra} \ Vyt-Yazd om. | zaraθuštra[1] zaraθra G18a | frašaōštraēibiia frašōstrī-\]

\[\text{biia Vyt-Yazd, prašaōštraēibiia G18a. para-}
\]

\[\text{šaōstraiiati K4. parašōstrībiia L5 | jāṃsa-}
\]

\[\text{paēibiia] jāṃsaōpibīia L5 | ašāiata G18a, K4. ašiīata L5 | vástrīiata vástrīiati G18a, L5. vástrīiāta K4 | frašaōštra[2] fra-
\]

\[\text{sōstra L5 | uiti uiti L5 | mraōt L5 | ašāum] ašāum L5}\]

Zaraθuštra\[24\] announced to both, Frašaōštra and Jāṃspa: “Let you (both) act according to the Order and act as shepherds, oh son Frašaōštra” – so said Ahura Mazdā, oh Zaraθuštra, supporter of Order.

Obviously a part of the Avestan text is missing in this passage. The direct speech is addressed by Zaraθuštra to Frašaōštra and Jāṃspa. Although we would therefore expect to find both of them explicitly addressed, only the vocative of Frašaōštra appears. Furthermore, “so said Ahura Mazdā…” (uiti mraōt ahurō mazdā…) must be at the end or in

23 For the texts quoted here but not edited by Geldner, the variant readings of the manuscripts available in the Avestan Digital Archive (either already published or just digitized) have been recorded. The manuscripts used for the Wištāsp Sāst are the following:

- the manuscripts described by Geldner K4 and L5:
  - G18a is a copy of another copy made by Mānušīh Ardašīr Wahrom Sfandīyād Ardašīr for Frēōn Marzābān in the year 996 of the era 20 after Yazdegird’s coronation from an original Xōrōšāh Anōšā-guruwān Rustām Xōrōšag written 300 years earlier (693 Pārsīg)
  - a manuscript in private hands near Yazd (Vyt_Yazd). Without colophon, but most likely Safavid.
  - for fragard 8 I was able to use, thanks to the kindness of F. Jahanpour, a manuscript dating from the end of the Qajar period (Vyt-Mashhad) which today belongs to the Hosseini family in Mashhad.
  - the only Pahlavi manuscript of the Wištāsp Sāst I have used is F12a, written in 1227 by Erač Dastur Sohrābji Dastur Kausji Meherjirānā. This manuscript also contains a Hādēšt Nask that has been used for the quotations of this text together with the manuscripts H6 and K20 published in facsimile by Piras (2000).

24 The use of the vocative for the nominative is frequent in the Wištāsp Sāst.

the middle of a direct speech addressed by Ahura Mazdā to Zarathustra, but it apparently follows Zarathustra’s statement.

Sometimes the Pahlavi version seems to offer a more complete version (to a certain extent) than the Avestan one. Often, however, we get the impression that it does not continue an older tradition it has preserved, but that it just tries to make sense of the transmitted version. In the above-mentioned passage, according to the Pahlavi translation Zarathustra is speaking to Viśtāspa about Fraśaōstra and Jāmāspa. The expression “so said Ahura Mazdā…” (uītī mraōt ahurō mazdā…) is construed as belonging to the next section: Ahura Mazdā is speaking to Zarathustra and he is transmitting his words to Viśtāspa. The Avestan text does not allow of such an interpretation.

Nevertheless, Molé criticizes the conception of this work as being an abbreviated and defective version of the Vidēvdād. He claims that the text is not as incoherent as Darmesteter thought. As a matter of fact, the Viśtāsp Sāst is not, in spite of what Kellens held (1989), “a medley of quotations from the Vidēvdād”. To be sure, it contains a good number of quotations from the Vidēvdād, but it is an independent text and there are many parts of the Viśtāsp Sāst that do not have any match either in the Vidēvdād or in other parts of the Avesta. Still with reference to the text quoted above, both imperative ašaiīata vāśtriīata appear in the extant Avestan corpus only in this passage. Many other passages do not have any correspondences in the extant texts.

The same is true for the 8th fragard of the Viśtāsp Sāst. The general opinion (Darmesteter 1892: 2.681) will have it that this fragard is an abbreviated reproduction of the second fragard of the Hādōxt Nask. However, this position is untenable. It is obvious that both versions go back to a common “text” and that the transmission of the Viśtāsp Yašt is by far worse than the transmission of the HN2. A long omission common to all liturgical and exegetical manuscripts of the Viśtāsp Yašt appears in the 8th fragard, as the comparison with the Hādōxt Nask clearly reveals (Vyt8.6-7 [58-59] and HN2.11-13):

25 Molé (1963: 350): «Mais il s’en fait beaucoup qu’il puisse être considéré comme un résumé de tout le Vidēvdāt; le fait que l’office du Viśtāsp yašt peut remplacer celui du Vidēvdāt n’en est pas une preuve suffisante. D’autre part, le texte est beaucoup moins incohérent que ne le prétend Darmesteter.»
26 A similar change from a to i after a palatal is HN2.8 jigauruua for jagauruua. It seems to reflect a real tendency in the recitation.

The translation of daēnā as “Vision” is based on the etymological connection with the root dī “to see”. For a discussion of the etymology cf. Lankarany (1985: 22 ff.). Most recently, Pirart (2012: 129 ff.) has given up the usual etymological connection with dī, Ved. dhī, and called back to life, on the basis of an impressive collection of common formulas, the old connection with Ved. dhēnā-. He is right in pointing out that the reconstructed group –aīnaV- (< -aīHanV-) should never have resulted in –aēnV- (cf. vaēdīi-anā-). In fact, the reduction of –aī- to –aē- takes place only before a final nasal (e.g. aēm < *aīm “this”). Nevertheless, the solution proposed by Pirart for the trisyllabism of daēnā- is not at all convincing (2012: 130): “certains mots fondamentaux pouvaient y être prononcés selon une diction lente conduisant à une apparente catalexe”. In fact, daēnā would be the only «fundamental word» that regularly attests a catalexis. It is therefore preferable to return to the analysis by Schindler (1972: 27) as *dēHjanā-. The original shape of the root is *dēHi- (s. Ved. instr. sg. dhyā, Av. ādīdāti, cf. Inzler (1971: 583f.), with the metathesis in zero degree (*dēHi- e.g. in Ved. dhīta- < *dēHi-, etc.).

“...I’m indeed your own Vision of your own body, oh young man of good thought, good words, good deeds and good vision...”
3. Then follows a new question of the soul, but the introduction to the question (āaṭ hīm aōxta parrō yō narsh aśāōnō urūua) is missing in both the Wištāsp Sāst and the Hādōxt Nask29:

   «The soul of man supporter of Order said asking>: “Who has loved you because of your greatness, excellence, beauty, fragrance and capacity for breaking the obstacle and for overcoming hostilities, thus as you appear now to me.”

   In the Wištāsp Sāst there is another version of the end “thus as we might see you”, but the Pahlavi version suggests that this is a transmission error for yaṭa yaṭ te sādaiemī30 (HN2.27) and not an alternative oral version.

4. To this question the Vision answers in HN2.12-14 and the introduction to the answer is again omitted in both versions:

   “You have loved me because of my greatness, excellence, beauty thus as I appear now to you. Whenever you show someone….”

   In the version of the Wištāsp Sāst there is an obvious omission by saut du même au même between two almost identical texts. Consequently, the end of the soul’s question and the beginning of the Vision’s answer is missing in all known manuscripts of the Wištāsp Sāst. And after this long omission we find another one: yaṭ tum ainit amuaēnōiš. For the latter the Pahlavi translation includes the translation of words missing in the Avestan text. The Hādōxt Nask has different omissions, like the above-mentioned introduction to the soul’s question and the Vision’s answer, or the omission of hūbaōidītaca vorōrajaqstaca paiti.duuaēsaiāuntaca in the Vision’s answer, although these words are translated in the Pahlavi version. Another example of a minor deviation is hūšiiaôðna instead of the expected hūšiiaôðnō (Vyt). It is difficult to decide whether this is a variant of the oral tradition because of the frequency of šiiaôðna, or just

29 This section has always been understood to be a part of the answer of the Vision, because the change of speaker is missing in the transmitted versions (Kellens 1995: 55; Piras 2000: 53). The cišca of HN2.24 shows clearly that it can be used as an interrogative pronoun as well and not only as an indefinite one. Furthermore, the change of the personal pronoun from 2nd to 1st person singular, as well as the parallelism between both paragraphs, clearly indicates that this is an exchange of question and answer. Observe that exactly the same omission appears in HN2.8, but in this case the introduction to the question luckily appears in the Wištāsp Sāst (Vyt8.3) (s. below).

30 Observe the addition mē sādaiyama after cikana auua in F12.
a transmission error. In any case, in the second attestation K20 shows the correct huššiaštanaštā.

Another alteration of the original version that appears in this passage of the Wištāsp Yašt is the change, mentioned above, of yaša yaš te saō-
aiemi into yaša yaš te dāišišama, which is likely to be an error of the written transmission. Furthermore, the formula āat mē paiti.aōxta instead of the expected āat hē paiti.aōxta (which appears in the Hādōxt Nask) might have been taken from another version in which Zaraštstra was telling his own journey. The interesting mistake apaiti.duuaššaišišaštaka instead of the expected paiti.duuaššaišišaštaka is probably attributable to the influence of the PT abē-bēš “free of hostility”.

Additionally, we find in the Wištāsp Sāšt grammatical deviations like the substitution of masasco vaŋhasca sraiiasca (perhaps a defor-
mation of Y58.4 masanascavāŋhanascasraiianascā) for the well-
known formula masanaca vaŋhanaca sraiianaca (Bartholomae 1904:
1638).

Nevertheless, the Wištāsp Sāšt has occasionally preserved a better tra-
dition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vyt8.3 (55)</th>
<th>HN2.8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ādim vātāṃ nāŋhūbiia uzgrāmbiio</td>
<td>āat tām nāŋhaiia uzgrāmbiio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadaieitei āḥ dim aōxta parsōō</td>
<td>saōaieiti yō narš ašaōnō uruua kuda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuda.taēm vātāṃ yim yauua vātāṃ</td>
<td>dāēm vātō vātī yim yauua vātōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāŋhūbiia hubaōištāmōm</td>
<td>nāŋhūbiia hubaōištāmōm jiŋuruua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ādim jadām G18a, F12, Vyt-Yazd, Vyt-
  Mashhad | nāŋhūbiia | Vyt-Mashhad.   |
| nāŋhūbiia G18a, Vyt-Yazd, K4, F12 | uzgrāmbiio | uzgrāmbiio G18a, F12 | nāŋhūbiia | Vyt-Yazd |
| uzgrāmbiio | uzgrāmbiio | nāŋhūbiia G18a, F12 | nāŋhūbiia | Vyt-Yazd |
| uzgrāmbiio | uzgrāmbiio | nāŋhūbiia G18a, F12 | nāŋhūbiia | Vyt-Yazd |
| uzgrāmbiio | uzgrāmbiio | nāŋhūbiia G18a, F12 | nāŋhūbiia | Vyt-Yazd |

31 Through the influence of the previous nāŋhūbiia.

*Journal Asiatique* 301.1 (2013): 85-138
What we first notice here is the presence of mistakes arisen in the oral transmission that are common to both versions, like the form \textit{uzgərməbiid} for \textit{uzgərnebniid}. Often the Hādōxt Nask includes parts of the text that are missing in the Vyt, as e.g. \textit{yō nar asəənə uruua} or the final verb transmitted as \textit{jıghaurua} for \textit{jaγaurua}. But sometimes there are also omissions in the Hādōxt Nask which appear instead in the Wištasp Yast, like the introductory formula of the question posed by the soul (\textit{aət dim aoxta pərəso}). In fact, the Wištasp Sāst occasionally has better readings. The Vedic parallel, where násā- is always dual, and the following nāŋhābiia point out that Vyt nāŋhābiia\textsuperscript{32} is a better reading than HN nāŋhāiia. Also, the Wištasp Sāst’s reading \textit{kudə.əm} is closer to the original \textit{kudə aem} “where from this…” than the Hādōxt Nask \textit{kudə.əm}.

Even in view of this short sample it seems difficult to postulate that \textit{fragard 8} of the Wištasp Sāst version is just an abbreviated version of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} \textit{fragard} of the Hādōxt Nask, all the more so as there are some passages in which both texts have completely different versions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vyt8.2</th>
<th>HN2.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{aət aoxta ahurō mazdə auuəda bə puəra frașəəstra əasne vəyənət niʃhədaət uștəwuəıtəm gədəm źrvəuəiio uștəwuəıtəm nimirəomnə uștə aŋəi yahməi uștə kaŋəiịt pəəirəiț xəpəəẹm həuu uruua vəŋhəiịt həuxte biițəm huuərṣte ərientəm pəəa pəət vəčəunə.}</td>
<td>\textit{aət mraət ahurō mazdə asne vəyənət niʃhədaət uștəwuəıtəm gədəm źrvəuəiio uștəwuəıtəm nimirəomnə uștə ahməi yahməi uștə kahməiịt vəssəxaiği mazdə dəiīət ahurō upa aεtəm xəpəəẹm auuəuəat šətoiğ uruua išəițəe yađə vıșpəm imat yət juiiō aŋhəuš}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{32} This \textit{varia lectio} appears only in Vyt-Mashhad. The rest of the manuscripts show nāŋhūbiia with the confusion between \textit{ə} and \textit{u}, frequent in the Iranian manuscripts.

Then Ahura Mazdā announced: “Thus, oh son Frašaoštā, it (the uruuan) sits near the head reciting the Uštauuaит Gāblā and invoking happiness: uštā ahmāi yahmāi uštā kāmāicīt. The first night the soul (uruuan) stays in the Good Words; the second in the Good Actions; the third where the paths bifurcate.

Then Ahura Mazdā announced: “It sits near the head reciting the Uštauuaит Gāblā and invoking happiness: uštā ahmāi yahmāi uštā kāmāicīt. The first night the soul (uruuan) enjoys as much pleasure as all (the pleasure ever enjoyed) by the living existence.

These two passages obviously represent two different versions. Whereas in the Hadoxt Nask the soul remains near the head of the deceased during three days, in the Wištasp Sāst it already starts its way to heaven. The levels of its way are depicted in a peculiar way: first, the Good Words (and not the Good Thoughts); second, the Good Actions; and third, the soul arrives at the point where the ways (of the pious and wicked) divide, which is probably an alternative description

of the Cinuuāt bridge. Since the whole scene of the encounter of the soul with the Vision probably takes place on the Cinuuāt bridge, the version of the Wištāsp Sāst is not absurd.

Actually, the narration of the soul’s destiny after death and of its encounter with the Vision as it appears in the Wištāsp Sāst does not originally belong to it. Although the first and last paragraphs are addressed to Vištāsp, the rest of the text reproduces a consultation between Frašaoštra and Ahura Mazdā (s. below). This consultation possibly belonged to an unknown intercalation ritual (a Frašaoštra Yašt?). In fact, the intercalation after the account of the soul’s destiny after death is a ritual-literary *topos* in the intercalation ceremonies. This could be the reason why the 8th fragard of the Wištāsp Sāst seems, despite its deviations, to rest on a better transmission than the rest of this work.

The Wištāsp Sāst as it appears in the Wištāsp Yašt is indeed in a bad state of preservation. Nonetheless, it contains important portions of Avestan text unknown in other Avestan sources. Thus it is not just a “medley” of quotations from other texts. Still, its Avestan text is very deficient: there is a frequent and blatant disregard of the usual grammar of Avestan texts, and often we even get the impression that parts of the Avestan text are missing. This situation might be the result of a deficient oral and written transmission for the intercalated text of a ritual that was not performed very frequently. In fact, the number of manuscripts of the Wištāsp Yašt is in no way comparable to the number of manuscripts of the Widēwdād. Nor were its contents as relevant for the priestly life as the contents of the Widēwdād, so that its exegetis did not attract similar attention. The Pahlavi manuscripts of the Wištāsp Sāst present, indeed, a strange situation. On the one hand, they reproduce the same Avestan text as the liturgical ones. On the other hand, the Pahlavi version seems to be more complete than the Avestan one. This can be the result of the adaptation of an older Pahlavi manuscript of the Wištāsp Sāst to the extant liturgical version or of an exegetical process which tried to elucidate the often incomprehensible Avestan text.

Summing up, for the Widēwdād we have no reasons to assume a very late date of composition. The situation of the Wištāsp Yašt is more

complex, but at least we can affirm that it is an independent text which has not just been compiled from quotations of the Widēwdād and the Hādōxt Nask and which accordingly should not be considered as a very late creation on the basis of these two works.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CEREMONIES OF INTERCALATION

Boyce (1992: 135) assumes that the intercalation of some texts in dialogic form into the very heart of the long liturgy is a late process, induced by the success of the Widewdad as a legal and purity treaty in the Sasanian period. But this view has no sustainable philological or historical basis. On the contrary, there is evidence that the intercalation ceremonies, far from being late creations combining existing texts, existed already at the time of the arrangement of the long liturgy as we know it. At least four different but equally strong arguments support this idea.

The list of the textual ratu of the Wisperad

The clearest evidence of the early existence of the intercalation ceremonies is offered by the list of textual articulations (ratu) of the Wisperad ceremony. In several passages of the long liturgy we find lists of the “the articulations of Order” (ratu ašâhe). The brilliant analysis of Kellens (1996) has shown that the main groups are the time articulations, that is, the ritual times and their corresponding divinities, and the textual articulations, including the textual units that will appear during the ceremony. A recent analysis of the textual articulations of the Wisperad ceremony has allowed me to understand that the list of the textual articulations of the Wisperad was originally a list of an intercalation ceremony in which some Young Avestan texts, among them 4 Yašts (5, 19, 14, 10), were intercalated between the Old Avestan texts (Cantera 2009):

The manuscripts F1 and E1 designate Yašt 14 to 19 as the fragment 11 to 16 (JamaspAsa 1991: XI f.). Obviously, three Yašts of the actual collection were not included in the collection underlying this numeration. They are probably Yt 2-4, which are missing in F1 too. A detailed discussion of the numeration in these two manuscripts and the relationship between the collections of Yašts attested in the manuscripts and the Bayan Nask is now provided by König (2012). The most likely ritual usage of a combination of Yašts in a high office is their use in an intercalation ceremony. So the Bayan Nask would be a collection of Yašts intercalated in an intercalation ceremony, like the Widēwdād Nask with regard to the Widēwdād ceremony. We could tentatively imagine a ceremony of intercalation with 8 intercalations of two Yašts in each division:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staota Yesniia</th>
<th>Wiserad</th>
<th>Widēwdād</th>
<th>Wištāsp Yašt</th>
<th>*Bayan Yašt (F1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y27.13 Ahuna Vairiia</td>
<td>Y27.14 Āšom Vohū</td>
<td>Y27.15 Yejḥē hāṭaṃ</td>
<td>Ahunauaitī gāṛā</td>
<td>Arūna.pouru.sarōdī.vīrh.vāṭbrām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasna haptaŋhāti</td>
<td>Uštawaitī gāṛā</td>
<td>Spōntā.mainiū gāṛā</td>
<td>Vohuṣaṛpī gāṛā</td>
<td>Yt5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahistōistī Gāṛā</td>
<td>Y54.1 Ariaman išiia</td>
<td>Fūsō maṣāra</td>
<td>Ratu bāraḥ haḍaotxa</td>
<td>Yt10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āhūri frašna āhūri ṭkača</td>
<td>hadiš vāstraunant</td>
<td>Dahmā Āfrīti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, we have further evidence for the existence of intercalation ceremonies with intercalated Yašts. Such a ceremony was the Bayān Yašt ceremony that is often mentioned in the Nērangestān (Kreyenbroek 2008). Furthermore, the manuscripts F1 and E1 could point to the existence of an intercalation ceremony with 16 Yašt intercalated in the long liturgy.

33 The manuscripts F1 and E1 designate Yašt 14 to 19 as the fragard 11 to 16 (JamaspAsa 1991: XI f.). Obviously, three Yašts of the actual collection were not included in the collection underlying this numeration. They are probably Yt 2-4, which are missing in F1 too. A detailed discussion of the numeration in these two manuscripts and the relationship between the collections of Yašts attested in the manuscripts and the Bayān Nask is now provided by König (2012). The most likely ritual usage of a combination of Yašts in a high office is their use in an intercalation ceremony. So the Bayān Nask would be a collection of Yašts intercalated in an intercalation ceremony, like the Widēwdād Nask with regard to the Widēwdād ceremony. We could tentatively imagine a ceremony of intercalation with 8 intercalations of two Yašts in each division:

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<th>*Bayan Yašt (F1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y27.6 Y27.7-27.13</td>
<td>Y28-30</td>
<td>Y32-Y34.13</td>
<td>Vr12</td>
<td>Vr13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ceremony markers with haḍa辜

The Yašt 1 Wisperad with Widēwdaḏ and the Wištāsp Yašt should have been originated in a time in which it was still possible to compose at least short texts in Young Avestan. I have already mentioned the existence of different ceremony markers for each intercalation ceremony. They are written in correct Young Avestan and appear correctly in the accusative, dative, genitive and locative34. This implies that, when these ceremonies were performed for the first time, the celebrating priests were still able to compose at least plain texts in Young Avestan. The Nērangestān (N43.8) attests the beginning (haḍaḍaḥḏaḏa) of such a marker for the Hādōxt ceremony as well. Most likely the two fragards of the Hādōxt Nask were also part of an intercalation ceremony in which HN1 was inserted after the Ašm Vohu of Y27.14 and HN2, as the evidence of the Wištāsp Yašt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vr15</th>
<th>Vr16-17</th>
<th>V9-10</th>
<th>Vyt4</th>
<th>Yt10-11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Y35-42</td>
<td>Vr18</td>
<td>V11-12</td>
<td>Vyt5</td>
<td>Yt12-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Y43-46</td>
<td>Vr19</td>
<td>V13-14</td>
<td>Vyt6</td>
<td>Yt14-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Y51</td>
<td>Vr20</td>
<td>V15-16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[repetition of Y35-42]</td>
<td>Vr21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Y52-53</td>
<td>Vr22</td>
<td>V17-18</td>
<td>Vyt7</td>
<td>Yt16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Y54</td>
<td>Vr23</td>
<td>V19-20</td>
<td>Vyt8</td>
<td>Yt18-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vr24</td>
<td>V21-22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This “reconstructed” ritual is, of course, extremely speculative. Some of the connections arising from it, however, seem attractive like the same position of the Yt14 after the Štātmainiiū Gāḏā in the Bayān Yašt and in the reconstructed ceremony according to the textual articulations of the Wisperad; or the position of the Yašt of the doctrine of the millenarianism (Y19) after the Vahištōštū Gāḏā, etc.

34 The only clear mistake appears in the marker of Widēwdaḏ ceremony: instead of the vocative, accusative, dative and genitive of the adjective zarahuštri we find the corresponding forms of the substantive zarahuštra. This confusion could be originated perhaps in the accusative singular. The most frequent form of the accusative of the i stems is ⁰im, but in the manuscripts forms with ⁰im and ⁰am appear as well (De Vaan 2003: 264 ff.). The expected form is ⁰m which probably was often recited as ⁰m because of the frequent change of ō to i before m. The most frequent form ⁰im could be analogous to the i of the iu stems in order to avoid the confusion with the accusative of the a stems. Then, the accusative zarahuštram of zarahuštri could have been the origin of the confusion between zarahuštri and zarahuštra in the ceremony marker of the Widēwdaḏ.
shows, after the Vahištōištī Gāthā. In fact, it seems that in the ceremony markers of the intercalation ceremonies the compounds with haḍa play a central role: for the Widēwda, haḍa.dāta-; for the Wištāsp Yašt, haḍa. māṭra- and for the Hādōxt Yašt, haḍaoxta-. Probably at a certain time before the generalization of the liturgical manuscripts, the Hādōxt ceremony was no longer celebrated and hence only the exegetical manuscripts which contain the Avestan text and the Pahlavi translation of the intercalated texts (but not of the rest of the ceremony) have been preserved. The existence of a ceremony marker for the Hādōxt ceremony similar to the markers of the Wištāsp Yašt and Widēwda ceremony points to the similarity between these three ceremonies. Thus, Young Avestan texts give us evidence not only of the existence of the intercalation ceremonies of the Widēwda and the Wištāsp Yašt, but also of other intercalation ceremonies which, though still celebrated in Sasanian times, fell into disuse before the generalization of the copies of liturgical manuscripts.

The structure of the intercalated texts, especially of the Widēwda

An important aspect of the discussion about the antiquity of these ceremonies concerns the original purpose and process of composition of the intercalated texts and especially of the Widēwda. The Widēwda has always been considered to be a treatise on purification with prescriptions for keeping the daēwua away. Its intercalation between the Old Avestan texts would have been a purely arbitrary extension of the standard long liturgy. Accordingly, there would have been no connection between the intercalated texts and the Old Avestan text which they follow35. In fact, the connections between each fragard of the Widēwda and the Old Avestan text after which it is intercalated are far from evident. A different point of view has been postulated by Skjærvø (2007: 116): “The Videvdad is an Avestan text recited during purification and healing rituals”. It would thus not be a learned treatise, but a ritual text to be used in a puri-

35 See the recent remark by Hintze (2004: 300) [my italics]: “In contrast, the content of the twenty-two chapters (fragard) of the Videvdad does not relate either to the Yasna or the Visperad passages into which they are inserted. Obviously their consistently pairwise arrangement is a purely mechanical one. However, it is noteworthy that the pairs of Videvdad chapters are only inserted in and around the Older Avesta.”

fication ritual. Since we have no evidence of the use of the Widēwdād as a ritual text except in the Widēwdād ceremony, it seems very likely that it was composed exactly for the only purpose we know of, viz. to be intercalated between the Old Avestan texts. If it was devised from the beginning for being intercalated between the Staota Yesniia, we could expect to find some connections between the intercalated texts and the ones after which they were included. And indeed, Skjærvø (2007: 130 ff.) discovered a clear connection between the final sections of the Staota Yesniia and the final fragard of the Widēwdād. In fact, the Widēwdād ceremony implies an interpretation of the Staota Yesniia as representing the world history in the light of the millenary doctrine (Cantera in press: 44 ff.):

- Ahuna Vairiia – cosmogonic sacrifice
- Yasna Haptaŋhāti – Zaraθuštra’s historic sacrifice
- Vahištōišti – final sacrifice
- Airiianam Išiia – final renovation

The Widēwdād reflects the same structure but from the point of view of purification. The history of the world is recapitulated from the original purity and the contamination through the attack of Aŋra Mainiu to the final purification. The key moments of this process are the baršnum ceremony (end of V8 and V9-11) which in the Widēwdād ceremony is identified with the Yasna Haptaŋhāti, and the agreement between Zaraθuštra and Ahura Mazdā to repel Aŋra Mainiu which corresponds to the the Vahištōišti Gāθā. The history of the purification of the world as represented in the Widēwdād can be summarized as follows: Ahura Mazdā created the world pure. It became contaminated through the attack of Aŋra Mainiu and affected by sickness and death (V1). A first attempt at purification was performed by Yima, but without complete success (V2). Accordingly, the world was heavily contaminated with nasu “corpse, dead matter” (V5-8). The first successful purification is the baršnum (V9-11). From this point on, the subject is no longer nasu, but the minor impurity which is known in the Pahlavi literature as nasā ī zindaḵān “dead matter from living beings” (V14-17), that is, excrements, secretions, hair and nails. The final process of purification begins with Sraoša and the priestly activity during the night.

36 This was not mentioned in Skjærvø’s paper.

(V18), and above all with the encounter of Zaraθuştra with Ahura Mazdā (V19) which leads to the final healing of the world by Airiiaman (V22).

Apart from this reading of the Staota Yesniia as representing the history of the world, there was another one interpreting them as representing the journey of the sacrificer’s soul to the encounter with Ahura Mazdā. The crucial moment of this journey is the union of the sacrificer’s soul with its Vision (daēnā) that happens during the Vahišṭōšṭi Gāthā. This moment is represented in the Widēwēdād intercalations by the account of the soul’s destiny after death and its encounter with the Vision (V19.26 ff.).

Thus, although the connection between each single fragard of the Widēwēdād and the Staota Yesniia is not obvious, the general structure of Widēwēdād reflects a reading of the Staota Yesniia. Its arrangement between the Staota Yesniia in the Widēwēdād ceremony is not a “mechanical pairwise arrangement”, as stated by Hintze (2004: 300). The Widēwēdād was not a treatise to be used independently of the ritual as a collection of purity rules for priests, but a ritual text composed in and for the ritual. We can imagine that at an initial point the intercalated texts of this Yasna for the purification were not so long and complex as they appear in our Widēwēdād, but that these intercalations were in the course of time extended and developed to form the complex text we know today, so that the ceremony and the process of intercalation would be in fact older than the actual text.

Although the connections between the intercalations and the Staota Yesniia are less clear in the Vēštasp Yašt, there are some key elements that link the intercalated texts to the Old Avestan texts they follow and also others to the Widēwēdād:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y34 (sacrifice)</th>
<th>Vyt3.20-23: Zaraθuştra’s sacrifice</th>
<th>V8: first mention of the baršnūm [V19.17-19]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yasna Haptaŋhāīti</td>
<td>Vyt4.3: Sacrifice to the Fire</td>
<td>V9-10: baršnūm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vyt4.8: purification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vyt6.5: the dog</td>
<td>V13.31-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y51 + 2nd YH</td>
<td>Vyt7.2: ištōiš. xšaθram. ahurahe. daŋušō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y53</td>
<td>Vyt8: meeting with the daēnā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Avestan name of the intercalation ceremonies: hāṃ.parštī

The definitive argument is that the intercalation ceremonies could be mentioned explicitly in a text attested in the Hādōxt Nask (HN2.14) and in a parallel of the Wištāsp Sāst (Vyt8.8 [60]), despite some difficulties presented by the text\(^{37}\). The Vision (daēna) explains to the soul (uruuan) of the deceased that, every time he (sc. the deceased) recited the gāthās (gāthās ca srāuaiiō), celebrated a sacrifice to the waters (apasca van’hīš yazwīnō) or satisfied the fire of Ahura Mazdā or the man ašauwan (ātarōmc ahuarahe mazdā narōmc ašauwanm kuxšnuanmō), it made the Vision more beloved and put her in a more prominent position. Then the speaker changes and Ahura Mazdā speaks\(^{38}\):

\[
\text{āat mām narō paskāt yazante ahurūn mazdām darēyō.yaštīmca hāṃ.parštīmca}^{39}\]

\[
\]

“Henceforth men celebrate a long yašt and a hāṃ.parštī for me, for Ahura Mazdā.”

Av. darēyō.yaštī is a hapax legomenon, but transparent. The second member of the compound is yaštī-/yeštī “the ceremony” which in the YAv. formula aiiese yeštī clearly refers to the so-called Yasna ceremony\(^{40}\). It means then “the long yašt” (the long ceremony), cf. darēyō. jiti- “long life”, recalling the Phl. distinction between meh yašt and keh yašt. Although the exact meaning of these expressions is unknown, meh yašt is sometimes the designation of a Wisperad or intercalated

\(^{37}\) For the different interpretations of this text cf. Piras (2000: 104).

\(^{38}\) Another possibility is to delete mām and take it for an addition under the influence of the previous āat mām. In this case the Vision would keep speaking.

\(^{39}\) Piras edits the two terms as a-stems (yaštōm, parštōm), since this reading is represented more strongly in the Hādōxt Nask. The Wištāsp Yašt, however, points clearly to –im. The Old Avestan g.sg. hāṃ.parštōiš (Y33.6) confirms it.

\(^{40}\) For a discussion of the term yaštī s. Panaino (1994).
ceremony. Accordingly, daršō.yašti could be the Young Avestan title for the long variant of the Yasna, the Wisperad and its different developments.

The second coordinated element is quite clear: it is the ti-abstract of the verb hām-fras- “to make a consultation, to have an interview with”. This combination of the verb fras- with the preverb hām appears already in the RV for the consultation of men with the gods (RV10.69.9c):

\[ yāt sampēcham mānušir viṣa áyan \]
“when the clans of men came to consultation (with you, Agni)”

And in the Old Avesta (Y47.3):

\[ hiiat hōm vohā mazdā [hōm].fraštā mananḥā \]
“when (a man), o Mazdā, consulted with the good Thought”

In Pahlavi, the etymologically related abstract noun hampursagīh is the terminus technicus for the consultation of Zarathustra with Ahura Mazdā.

In the Wištāsp Yašt and Hādōxt Nask passages hām.paršti- appears as an object of yaz- and is coordinated with daršō.yašti-, the long variant of the Yašt. Thus, it must designate an act of worship which is celebrated together with a long yašt. Hence, it seems very likely that the expression “a long Yašt and a consultation” (daršō.yaštimca hām.parštīmca) is the designation of a long variant of the liturgy (the Wisperad) with an intercalated consultation, that is, of exactly the kind of ritual that is the Hādōxt Nask and the Wištāsp Yašt. Already in the Gāthās the same compound appears (Y33.6). Actually, whereas in the Young Avestan attestations the fact that it is an object of yaz- and is coordinated with yašti- seems to indicate that hām.paršti is the terminus technicus for an intercalation ceremony, such an assumption is hardly possible to make for the Old Avestan attestation.

THE CONSULTATION IN THE OLD AVESTA

In the Gāthās the direct questions posed to Ahura Mazdā by the poet are frequent, e.g. Y50.1:

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Of which kind of help does my soul dispose, and when? Who has positively been found as (the protector) of my cattle, who as my protector other than Order and you, Mazd Ahura, and the Good Thought during my imploring?

Furthermore, the speaker of the Gāthās announces several times that he is asking Ahura Mazdā: in Y31.14-16 and in the complete Y44 in which almost every stanza is introduced by the refrain *ta† ūšā pa†rašā orš moi va†cā ahurā* “This I ask you, tell me right, oh Ahura”. In V19.10 this refrain serves as an introduction to the consultations between Zarašuṭra and Ahura Mazdā in the following section of V19. The imperative “tell me” (*va†cā*) of the second part of the refrain is also frequent in the Gāthās (Y31.3, 5, Y34.15, Y48.2).

The importance of this consultation is stressed in Y43 too. This *hāiti* is structured in the way of a ring composition and the central stanzas (Y43.7-10), highlighted by their position, contain a consultation (Hintze 2002: 41 ff.) in which Zarašuṭra does not ask but answers the questions posed by someone from Ahura Mazdā’s circle.

Although direct questions and the mention of questions (*frasā*) are frequent in the Old Avesta, Ahura Mazdā’s answers are only very rarely reported. There are, however, some exceptions where Ahura Mazdā’s direct speech is reported. One of them appears in the famous dialogic *hāiti* Y29 that reproduces a dialogue between Gōš Uruuan and Gōš Tašān. The latter reports in Y29.6 a direct speech of Ahura Mazdā whose context is a ritual consultation (Y29.5-6). The question was already asked in Y29.1-2 (Y29.5-6):

*at vā ustānāiš ahūuā 1 zastāiš frīnmānā ahurāi à nō uruuā gūšcā aziiai 1 hiaiš mazdqm duuaidī forasābiio ...*

*at ū va†cāt ahurō 1 mazdā viduua va†fšiš viiāniīā nōiš a†nuā ahū vistō 1 naēdā ratuš ašācīt hacā at ū †šiš f’šuiantačcā 1 vās’riiāicā †f’šoršštā tatašā*

We are both here with hands stretched out pleasing Mazdā Ahura, my soul and this of the fertile cow after having submitted to him (our) questions ...

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The wise Ahura Mazdā said the verses in metric form: "Neither a (master) nor an articulation has been found by the existence according to the Order. I, the shaper, have fashioned you for the cattle-breeder and the herdsman."

In the hymns of the Rg-Veda the situation is similar. Some dialogic hymns can be found there, but they are not very frequent (24 of the 1028 hymns\(^41\)). The dialogues are mostly between divine or mythological beings, with some also taking place between men and gods. Among the most famous are the dialogues of Vāmadeva with Indra and Aditi (RV4.18), Vasukra with Indra (RV10.28), Devāpi with Bṛhaspati (RV10.98), Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra with Indra (RV10.167) and the poet with Indra (RV10.28). In these dialogues we find some direct questions posed by men to the gods, sometimes with direct exhortations to answer (like in the Gāthās), e.g. 10.28.5-6:

\[
\text{Vasukra:} \quad \text{"Wie soll ich dies Wort von dir verstehen, den Sinn des Klugen, Starken, ich der Einfläute? Du, der Wissende, sollst es uns richtig erklären, nach welcher Seite deine auf Frie-} \\
\text{den abzielende Deichsel geht, o Gabenrei-} \\
\text{cher?"} \\
\text{Indra:} \quad \text{"Denn also erheben sie mich, den Starken; meine Deichsel überragt den hohen Him-} \\
\text{mel. Viele Tausende steche ich auf einmal nieder, denn mein Erzeuger hat mich ohne einen überlegenen Gegner erzeugt." (Geld-} \\
\text{ner 1951)}
\]

Most frequently the questions addressed to the gods remain unanswered, like this question to Viśvakarman (RV10.81.2):

\[
\text{Welches war denn der Standort, welches war wohl der Anfang, und wie war er denn, woraus Viśvakarman die Erde erschuf und den Himmel in ganzer Größe enthüllte, er der ganz Auge ist? (Geldner 1951)}
\]

\(^41\) For a list of the dialogic hymns of the Rg-Veda cf. Etter (1985: 7 n. 12)

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In the Old Avestan texts the consultation (\textit{h\text{"o}m.par\text{"o}štī}) appears together with the contemplation of Ahura Mazdā as one of the goals of the sacrifice that is reached through the “right paths” (Y33.6):

\begin{quote}
yā zaōtā ašā arzūš ī huwō māniįšuš ā vahištāt kaiįā. 
ahmāt.auuā maṇaŋhā ī yā vərzziieidiïāi maŋtā vāstriā. 
tā.tōi iziïā ī ahurā ī mazdā darštišcā hōm.parštišcā 
I, the \textit{zaotar}, who (has reached) the straight (paths leading to Ahura Mazdā)\textsuperscript{43}, I am pleased in accordance with this best spirit with the thought through which he (?) conceives (the idea of) performing the pastoral works.
I shall strive to contemplate you and to consult with you.
\end{quote}

The sacrificial context of this contemplation of god and consultation with him is quite obvious: the sacrifice. One of the interlocutors is the \textit{zaotar}, the officiating priest in a sacrifice. It is probably not incidental that the only mention of the \textit{zaotar} in the Old Avestan texts appears precisely in the context of a contemplation and consultation with god. It is the \textit{zaotar} who is contemplating god and addressing him. The contemplation and consultation appear furthermore as a consequence of the idea of performing pastoral works that is most likely an antiphrasis for the “sacrifice of the animal victim”. (Kellens 1995: 352; 2007: 147).

The sacrificial context of the consultation is confirmed by Y45.6, where the consultation is explicitly located in the \textit{vahma-} “praise, laudatio”, one of the constitutive parts of the animal sacrifice\textsuperscript{44}:

\begin{quote}
afrauauxiïā ī višpanm mazištōm 
stauuas ašā ī yā hu̡dā yōi həntī 
spənta məniïī ī sraotu mazdā ahurō 
yehiâ vahmē ī vohū fraši maṇaŋhā 
aihaixrattī ī frō.mā sāstō vahištā 
“I will proclaim the greatest (word) of all, praising the generous among those who are in accordance with the Order. Let Ahura Mazdā hear thanks
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{42} The reading iziïā is to be preferred, cf. Ved. \textit{sam ihase}.

\textsuperscript{43} Cf. Y33.5

\begin{quote}
apānō darəxgō jiiātīm ī xsaθrəm vaŋh₃uš maṇaŋhō 
aʃaŋ ā arzūš paʃō yaēšu mazdā ahurō šāetàti 
“…having reached long life and the power of Good Thought and the right paths according to the Order in which Mazdā Ahura lives.”
\end{quote}

Cf. also Y43.3b-d.

\textsuperscript{44} As it appears from Y34.2 \textit{pairigaēðē vahmē} (Humbach 1964)

to the benefic spirit. Let him teach me the best (words), he for whose praise I make a consultation with Good Thought.”

The straight paths of the sacrifice lead to the union with the god that make possible the consultation\textsuperscript{45}. The Vision (\textit{daēnā}) section of Vahštō-ištī Gāϑā adds a new essential element to the consultation: the participation of the Vision:

\begin{quote}
\begin{align*}
\text{vahištā īštī šrāuū} & \ 1\text{zaraduštrahē} \\
\text{spitāmahiiā yezi} & \ 1\text{hōi dāt āiiāptā} \\
\text{ažā hacā ahurō} & \ 1\text{mazdā yauuōi vispāi.ā} \ 1\text{huuahjwuũm} \\
\text{yaecā hōi dabōn sašuŋcā} & \ 1\text{daēniiā vanduiuā uxdā} \ 1\text{šīaōžanācā}
\end{align*}
\end{quote}

\textsl{ačcā hōi scāntū manahhā} \ 1\text{uxdāti šīaōžanāišcā}.
\textsl{xūnūm mazdā vahmā.ā} \ 1\text{šraōšt. yasnašcā.}
\textsl{kauucā vīštāspō} \ 1\text{zaraduštriš spitāmō} \ 1\text{fīrašaōštarscā.}
\textsl{dāŋhō orušiš paŋō} \ 1\text{ytn daēnām ahurō} \ 1\text{saōšiianţodadāt.}
\textsl{tōmcā tū pourucistā} \ 1\text{haeçat.aspānā.}
\textsl{spitāmī yeziuū duxuđrmām} \ 1\text{zaraduštrahē}
\textsl{vanduiuā paitiiáštim manahhō} \ 1\text{ašahiiā mazdācscā} \ 1\text{taibiuō dāţsarzm.}
\textsl{aĎā hōm fīrašuūa Ďsā xraĎbā spōništā ārmotōsī} \ 1\text{hudānu varušuā.}

Famous is the sacrifice of the Spitāma Zaraduštra, since Ahura Mazdā will grant him the award of a good existence for all times in accordance with the Order and also \textltangle grant this\textvertangled\ to those who practise and master the utterances and the actions of the Vision.

Let Kauui Vīštāspa Spitāma, the son of Zaraduštra, and Fīrāšaoštā, devote themselves through thought, utterances and actions to the satisfaction and to the sacrifices of Mazdā for his praise. \textit{Ahura has established as the right paths of the offering the Vision of the (sacrificer) who will get the opulence.}

May \textbf{Pourucistā} Haeçat.aspānā, the youngest daughter of Zaraduštra, keep quiet. She gives you the launch of the Good Thought as the \textbf{union with the Order and Mazdā}. Thus \textbf{you hold the consultation} thanks to your capacity and perform the most beneficial and generous (actions) of Ārmaiti.

The eschatological success (the good existence) is granted to those who master the utterances and performances of the good Vision. Ahura

\textsuperscript{45} In fact, a parallel between Y33.6c and Y49.3c suggests that the vision and consultation with Ahura Mazdā is an equivalent of the “union with the Good Thought” (Y49.3c tū vanduiuā sarz iziiā manahhō “I strive for the union with the Good Thought”).

Mazdā has established her as the right paths of the successful sacrificer. The Vision, personified in Pouru.cistā, the daughter of Zaraθuṣṭra (as the Vision is the daughter of Ahura Mazdā), is the impulse that makes possible the consultation with Ahura Mazdā. Thus, the contemplation of and consultation with Ahura Mazdā appears as the acme of the sacrifice reached thanks to the assistance of the Vision. These elements are shared by the intercalation ceremonies of the Young Avesta, but there is a fundamental difference with the intercalation ceremonies: in the Old Avesta the answers of Ahura Mazdā are rarely reported. Like in the Rg-Veda the emphasis lies more on the questions of men than on the answers of god. In the intercalation ceremonies, in contrast, the focus is on the answers of Ahura Mazdā. The Old Avestan ḫvām.paršī is a consultation with god in the context of the sacrifice and through the assistance of the Vision, but we do not have evidence in the Old Avestan texts of a ritual way to present these consultations to the sacrificial community.

**The consultation in the long liturgy**

In the Young Avestan texts, the consultation with god is clearly one target of the sacrifice. In Yt15.54-57 we find a short version of the consultation between Zaraθuṣṭra and Ahura Mazdā about the right sacrifice in V19.17-25, but in Yt15 the consultation is between Zaraθuṣṭra and Vaiiu. The god says to him explicitly⁴⁶:

| yezi mām ʰyaštʰm ʰkʰrənauʰdi azəm tə vəca frəmrənənâ mazədâta xʰarənəhuənta baʃəziia | If you make a sacrifice for me, then I’ll tell you the words created by Mazdā, full of glory and healing. |

The sacrifices leading to this target and in which such a consultation took place are the intercalation ceremonies. In them, the expected consultation with god took place and was represented live for the sacrificial community.

⁴⁶ For the emendations s. Panaino (1994: 163 f.), with discussion of other alternative explanations.

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The elements involved in these ceremonies are basically the same that appear in the Old Avestan consultations, only that they are developed here into a complex ritual in which the answers of Ahura Mazda attract most attention. The role of the Vision for the consultations continues to be essential, as is obvious from the close connection established between consultation and Vision (daēnā) at the beginning of the second fragard of Widēwādā. Zaraŋuṣṭra asks Ahura Mazda “to whom has he shown the Vision” and “with whom has he held a consultation” (V2.1):

Especially the role of the union of the sacrificer’s soul (uruuan) with his own Vision is highlighted. This union takes place during the recitation of the Vahīštōštī Gāthā (Y53) (Kellens 1995: 38 ff.). The importance of this ritual moment is stressed in the Wisperad ceremonies and consequently in the intercalation ceremonies through the recitation of a second Yasna Haptajāhāiti before it is itself recited.

The ritual cursus and the right moment for the consultation with god

For the special importance of this ritual moment to be understood, a short survey of the ritual cursus of the long liturgy is appropriate. In the Frauuarāne the sacrificer makes the right choice of things to be chosen: the ratu “that is, the correct ritual articulation, the ritual

---

47 The reading apōræse of the Iranian liturgical manuscripts and of the exegetical manuscripts is probably a transmission error: it belongs originally only to V2.2. The expected form should be a middle form in view of V2.2 apōræse and because of the meaning “to have a consultation with”.

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order”, the consequent ritual power (xšaθra-) and the consequent reward (miżda)\(^{48}\). This choice consists in opting to perform the sacrifice to Mazdā in the way that Zarathustra did (that is, in being mazdaiiasna zarathuštrī). The model for this sacrifice is the Ahuna Vairīa which was shown by Ahura Mazdā to Zarathustra before the creation of the world. Now the sacrificer, acting as Zarathustra, is in a condition to offer the animation of his own body (Y33.14) that will accompany the sacrificial victim through the right paths. Thus he falls into a state of self-induced and reversible death during which his soul (uruuan) will accompany the soul of the sacrificial victim (gōuš uruuan) and go into the presence of Ahura Mazdā.

While the sacrificer’s soul travels together with the victim’s soul, the body remains in a state of temporary death and immobility. This state seems to be described in A.4.5 (and 4.7) as “being his body bound by the mȧθra” (mȧθrō.hitahe tanuuo):

\[
\begin{align*}
yō \text{ rapiššinahe ratufrita rapiššinom} \\
ratim framañate rapiššinom ratim \\
frāȉažate frasnātaeibia zastaeibia \\
frasnātaeibia hāuanaeibia \\
frastaraıt paiti barșman uzdatat \\
paiti haomō raocintat paiti ãrāt \\
sraumaiamnāt paiti ahuñat vairīat \\
haomō.ahørštahe hizuuo mȧθrö. \\
hitahe tanuuo
\end{align*}
\]

... for him, who in the satisfaction of the articulations of Noon will utter the articulation of Noon, will celebrate a sacrifice for the articulation of Noon with washed hands and washed mortars, having spread the barșman, having presented the haoma, while the fire is burning and the Ahuna Vairīa is being recited and with his tongue wetted by haoma and his body bound by the sacred formula (mȧθra).

This (rather than the interiorization of the sacrifice) explains the ritual inactivity of the zaoṭar between Y36 and Y58 (cf. Panaino 2003). While the soul leaves the body and accompanies the victim’s soul, the body is “bound by the mȧθra” and incapable of ritual action. Only with the

\[^{48}\text{At the very beginning of the Old Avestan texts, the Ahuna Vairīa affirms the desirable character (varii-\text{-}) of this articulation (ratu\text{-}) and of the power. At the end of the Staota Yesniia the Ariaman Išīia states the desirable character (varii-\text{-}) of the reward (miżda-).}\]

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desacralisation of the Fire during Y58, it regains the capacity for ritual activity.

The crucial point of this journey to the other world is the union of the soul with its Vision. During the recitation of the Vahīštōīštī Gāthā the uruuan of the sacrificer gets married to his own Vision (daēnā) in the same way as Ahura Mazdā married his own daughter daēnā. Through this union he reaches the contemplation of Ahura Mazdā. Accordingly, this is the right moment for the consultation (haṃ.parštī-). Since the union of the sacrificer’s soul (uruuan) with its Vision is a variation of the Indo-European myth of the wedding of the morning dawn and its father, the sun, the moment for the recitation of this Gāthā is expected to be at sunrise (Cantera 2012). In fact, in the intercalation ceremonies Y53 was probably recited around sunrise.

These ceremonies were (and, indeed, still are) celebrated during the ušahina gāh lasting from midnight, the darkest moment of the night, to sunrise. The connection between night, consultation and the bridge of Cinuua is already well established in the V18.6:

You should call him priest – so said Ahura Mazdā – oh Zarāṣṭra, supporter of Order, who is asking the whole night long for the mental capacity that supports Order, that liberates from constriction, gives space, that is the bridge of Cinuua, that grants a good existence, that is the acquisition of Order and the best acquisition of the best existence.

This action appears in contrast to spending the whole night without celebrating a sacrifice and without reciting, uttering, performing and learning (V18.5), so that this “asking for the mental capacity” is probably a ritual action and not a purely intellectual or reflective activity during the night. The same expression “who is asking the whole night long for the capacity that supports Order” is used again in Vyt6.2 (41), where the Pahlavi exegetes connect it with the intercalation ceremonies:

More concrete indications in the New Persian Rivâyats (Dhabhar 1932: 408 ff.) put the sunrise between the recital of the first Yasna Haptaŋhâti and the Yasna 62, at whose recitation the sun must already be visible. The Wisperad section following the recital of Spọnta.-mainiuu Gãthã (Vr19 following Y50) emphasizes chiefly two words⁵¹: spoñta- “benefic”, the first word of the Gãthã, and huuar- “the sun” that appears twice in this gãthã (Y50.2 and 10), so that it is very likely that the sun should have started being visible around the recitation of Y50. Thus the correct time for the recitation of the Vahistoi Gãthã in the intercalation ceremonies was sunrise.

The Staota Yesniia appear as the textual equivalents of the journey of the sacrificer’s soul. The Wištāsp Yašt (Vyt4.5 [28]) says precisely after the beginning of the journey, that is, after the offering of the sacrificial meat to the Fire during the Yasna Haptaŋhâti, that the Staota Yesniia bring the soul to Paradise (Molé 1963: 361):

```
| garō spoñtahe nāmāne yat sriyrm | To the house of the Bounteous Song that has been built (?) nicely bring up the sections of the Staota Yesniia (the blessed man) through all the ways.
| karštuv. visp³.pâ³ha uzbâraiiai te hândåta |
| staōtanuµm yesnīiianum |
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| garô |
| garō G18a | nāmāne | Vyt-Yazd. nāmāne L5, nānāhe F12 | yat | L5, F12 | karštuv | karštu G18a, karšti F12 | uzbâraiiai | uzbâriiât | Vyt-Yazd. uzariiá | L5 | händåta | L5 | staōtanuµm |
| stōtanuµm F12 | yesnīiianum | K4. yasnīiãm L5. yasnīiãm F12 |
```

⁴⁹ For parsâhi.
⁵⁰ Cf. Molé (1963: 368 f.).
⁵¹ I must thank J. Kellens for pointing this out to me during a conversation.

In the following paragraph (Vyt4.6 [29]), a difficult text, the *handāitī* of the Staota Yesniia is compared to a victorious horse that brings the sacrificer to the finish. In this context, the Vahištōīšī Gāthā represents the union of the sacrificer’s soul with its Vision (s. Kellens 1995: 38 ff.) and the Airiyanman Išīia the final eschatological reward (s. FrW4.1): the access to Paradise. This reading of the Staota Yesniia might explain why in V21 (which follows the recitation of the Ariiman Išīia) the vocatives (V21.5, 8, 13) are directed to the sun, the moon and the stars, the three levels leading up to Paradise from the Bridge of Cinuuaṭ.

The moment after the recitation of the Vahištōīšī Gāthā, simultaneously with sunrise, appears then as the most appropriate one for the intercalation of a consultation between Ahura Mazdā and Zaraϑuṣtra. In fact, apart from the logic of the ritual, there are other indications pointing to this time as the original occasion for the intercalation of the consultation. In the Widēwdaḏ ceremony, V19 is inserted after the recitation of Y53. Exactly there we find the account of the first “historical” consultation. The introduction of V19 (V19.1-10) does not have the form of a *frašna*, but contextualizes the following *frašna*. It is the only place in the Avesta where the consultation between Zaraϑuṣtra and Ahura Mazdā is put into context. Aŋra Mainiuu has tried to kill Zaraϑuṣtra and then to persuade him of abjuring from “the good vision attained through the sacrifice to Mazdā” (V19.6 *apa.stauuažha vaŋ’hīm daēnām māzdaiiasnīm*). Zaraϑuṣtra does not abjure and declares instead his intention to destroy the creatures of Aŋra Mainiuu through the pressing of the Haoma and through the words announced by Ahura Mazdā. Then (V19.10), Zaraϑuṣtra recites the Ahuna Vairiia and the opening verse of almost every stanza of Y44: *taŋ ṭīḏa pərəṣā arš mē vaōca ahura* “This I ask Thee, tell me right, o Ahura”. Then follows a series of consultations, each one introduced by *pərəṣāt zarəḏuštrō* “Zaraϑuṣtra asked”, about the elimination of death, impurity and about the prosperity of the world and the destiny of the soul (*uruuan*) after death.

V19 indeed reproduces the structure of a ceremony of intercalation. V19.1-10, the introduction to the following consultations, shares many elements with the consecration of the priests in the long liturgy: the choice of the good Vision which is obtained through the sacrifice to Mazdā, abjuring the *daēnua* and pressing of the *haoma* and, above all,
the Ahuna Vairia, the right articulation of the sacrifice that ensures the ritual power. These elements make possible the following frašna in V19. Since they are equally present in the intercalation ceremonies, V19 appears as an etiology of the intercalation ceremonies which is inserted precisely after the Vahištištī Gāthā.

Furthermore, the frašna par excellence, the most repeated one in the whole Avesta, is the account of the soul’s destiny after death and the encounter of the soul of the deceased with its Vision. It is the answer to the questions posed in Y31.14-15, the first set of questions of the speaker in the Gāthās, in which a clear parallelism is traced between the destiny of the sacrificial gifts and the individual eschatology:

\[
\text{tā.āštā pərəsā ahūrā}^{1} \ yā.zi ātít jēŋghaticā \\
yā īṣudō daṇōte\textsuperscript{1} dāṃraŋm hacā aśāunō \\
yāscā mazdā droyuudōbiō\textsuperscript{1} yəθā tā aŋhōn hōŋkərōtā hīat
\]

\[
pərəsā awwat ū mainiš \ yō droyuudōti xāṛram hunāitī \\
duš.śiiaōdanāi ahūrā \ yō nōit jiōtūm hanaro vīnəstī \\
vāstriēhiū aēnajhō \ paśuś vīrōatcā adrujiatŋō 
\]

These (questions) I ask you, oh Ahura, about the things that come (now) and are coming (later): how will be achieved – if ever they will be achieved – the invigorations of the gifts from the supporter of Order and from the supporter of Lie, oh Mazdā.

I ask what is the chastisement for the evil-doer who drives the power towards the supporter of Lie, who does not find livelihood without injury to cattle and men of the herdsman who does not lie.

We know three different versions of this account: V19.27-32, HN2 and Vyt8. The versions of the Hādōxt Nask and of the Wištāsp Sāst are very similar and reveal the existence of several similar versions of this account probably conceived for the same ritual usage. Observe that Vyt8 is, in fact, the only consultation with Ahura Mazdā in the Wištāsp Sāst (s. below). As far as we can judge from the attested intercalation ceremonies, this frašna was recited after the recitation of the Vahištištī Gāthā, which is probably also the original position of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} fragard of the Hādōxt Nask in the Hādōxt ceremony. The union of the soul of the officiating priest with his Vision in Y53 makes possible a consultation in which the key to individual salvation is presented and transmitted to the community. As has been mentioned,
for the parallel text of Vyt (8.8 [60]) and HN2.14 the information provided about how one’s own Vision is made more beautiful is the reason why men have started to celebrated the long liturgies with consultations.

Thus, although we lack positive evidence, the ritual logic and some indications suggest that the original moment for the intercalation of consultations was after the recitation of Y53, the moment of the union of the soul of the officiating priest with his Vision at sunrise. The journey of the soul of the officiating priest leads him to Ahura Mazdâ and gives him the opportunity of a consultation with the divinity. From this original position in the ritual, the intercalations spread to all the traditional divisions of the Old Avestan texts. Thanks to this ritual technique it was possible to offer new exegetical readings of the Old Avestan texts, to include new doctrinal contents in the long liturgy and to develop new variants of the long liturgy with different specific purposes. Thus the Wîdêwâd ceremony is a long liturgy with the specific purpose of individual and universal purification; the Hâdôxt Nask and the Wîstâsp Yašt emphasize the aspects of the individual eschatology; and there might have been other ceremonies with other purposes.

The dialogic situation and its presentation

The original intercalations were, accordingly, consultations between Zaraôuštra and Ahura Mazdâ. So they appear in the Wîdêwâd ceremony and in the Hâdôxt Nask. We can imagine a theatrical performance of the consultation with several acting priests under the direction of the zaotar. The declarative verbs used in the consultation can give us an idea about the procedure of the performance. Unfortunately, the facts are not entirely clear despite some detectable rationale for the distribution.

52 In an Avestan passage, repeated on several occasions (Y22.3, Y22.22, Y24.3, Y24.8, Y25.3, Vr11.5), the utterance and performance of the good Vision obtained in the sacrifice to Mazdâ (marzôrma varzîmcna daêndâtâ vanhiitâ. mâzdûtiasnôth), that is, of the consultation with Ahura Mazdâ, appear in contrast to the recitation of the Gâôlas (gâhanamça sraôrəm):

When the speaker is Ahura Mazda, this is mostly clearly indicated through two expressions: the almost universal daेइ mraอ� ahurो mazdå and

I introduce through the sacrifice the plant for the barsman, the satisfaction of the articulations that has arrived; the utterance and performance of the good Vision obtained through the sacrifice to Mazda; the loud recitation of the Songs; the arrived satisfaction of the articulations of the articulation of the Order that supports the Order; the (sandal) wood and the incense – they are yours, Fire, son of Ahura Mazda. I introduce through the sacrifice all goods created by Mazda and having the bright of Order.

For alternative interpretations of this passage s. Lankarany (1985: 154); Kellens (2010: 84); Skjærvø (2012: 31).

The textual criticism does not allow a decision between varziia- and varziia- in these passages, although there is a pre-eminence of the readings varziimca. I quote the readings of some manuscripts in Y22.3 and 22.22:

Y22.3

varziimca: 230_B3, 100_L17, 120_Lb2, 400_Pt4, F2, 420_T6, 677_S1, 2010_G18b, 2101, 4040_Ave1001, 4200_L1, 4210_B2, 4240_T46, 4250_O2
varziimca: 530_M1
varziimca: 20_Ml15284, 500_J2, 4050_Ml16226
varziimca: 235_G97
varziimca: 231_Bh5
varziimca: 680_T7, 4000_Ave976, 4015_Ave991, 4060_RSPA230, 4410_B4

Y22.22:

varziimca: 20_Ml15284, 2200_K8, 4015 (corrected to varziimca)
varziimca: 400_P4, 2005_9345M, 2101, 4000_Ave976, 4010, 4050, 4060
varziimca: 500_J2, 530_M1

However, in V3.34-35 the zero-grade for varziia- is clearly better attested than varziia-. The zero-degree is to be compared with haiiiia-.

Together, the “utterance and performance of the Vision” and the “recitation of the Gāōaš” form the centre of an intercalation ceremony. In the actual intercalation ceremonies, there is no ritual action during the recitation of the frašna, therefore varziia- does probably not refer to standard ritual actions. Thus it would be attractive to link this expression to a theatrical performance of the consultation. Unfortunately, the data at hand do not support such a conclusion. Actually, in Y55.6 the participles marēma varziimna have the Staota Yesniia as an object. In this case, the performance might refer to the ritual actions performed during the recitation of the Staota Yesniia, that is, the pressing of the haoma in Y31-33, the animal sacrifice during Y34 and the offering to the fire in Y36. Furthermore, this pair “marēma- and varziia-” cannot be separated from the mention of the utterances and the actions of the good Vision” in Y53.1 (daēēatiā vanēhiiā uēē šiaōēhandēč). We may thus imagine a theatrical performance of the consultation, but we don’t have any definitive textual support for such an assumption.

Here the second kardag of the Yt13 begins.

Exceptions: Yt13.20.

There are, however, some exceptions to this that are concentrated in V18 and 19 (V18.8, 14, 61, 67; 19.11, 17, 20, 26) and in Yt14 (Yt14.6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 34, 42). An alternative beginning appears in Yt12.1: paiti dim pərsət əšāwā, cf. paiti dim pərsət zarətuštrō Yt14.49, Yt15.94 Yt8.57, paiti dim pərsət pəhrō kawā vīšāspa Yvt3.10 (22).

which a new intercalated section begins (5, 7, 9, 11), whereas the other 4 follow other fragards. Besides the first and the last intercalated sections (that begin with mraōt ahurō mazdā and are monologues of Ahura Mazdā), four Wištasp intercalations show other beginnings than pərsät zaradushtrō. Perhaps the original distribution became blurred, given that the distribution in fragards has not necessarily always been the same as attested in the manuscripts. The division in 22 fragards might correspond to another ceremony in which the 22 fragards were inserted after the 22 sections of the Staota Yesniia in a similar way like e.g. the Bayān Nask (although some important connections would thus become blurred). Since the same fragard could appear directly after the Wisperad or after another fragard, the original distribution was blurred and pərsät zaradushtrō appears almost exclusively at the beginning of fragards, but not necessarily indicating the change from the Wisperad section to an intercalation.

Although the original dialogic situation of the consultations seems to be between Zaraduštra and Ahura Mazdā, the Wištasp Yašt presents a different one. At first sight it seems to be a dialogue between Zaraduštra and Wištasp, for whose reproduction a consultation with Ahura Mazdā is not needed. So there are frequent mentions of Zaraduštra as the speaker (paiti.aōxta zaraduštra (sic!) Vyt1.1, 2.1, 2.5, 5.1, 5.4, 6.1; āat paiti. aōxta zaraduštra (sic) Vyt2.3; āat mraōt zaraduštrō Vyt3.10; āat aōxta zaraduštrō Vyt4.156). Vištāspa appears quite often in the vocative, especially at the beginning of the intercalation in order to make clear who are the interlocutors (Vyt1.1, 2.1, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 3.7, 4.1, 5.1, 5.4, 6.4, 7.1, 8.1, 8.13). The words of Vištāspa are reproduced only very rarely. In fact, only on one occasion are some words attributed explicitly to him: Vyt3.9 (21) paiti dim pərsät puhrō kauua vištāspa. Here he plays the same role as Zaraduštra in the consultations with Ahura Mazdā. This is, however, the only direct question asked by Vištāspa. Actually, the Wištasp Sāst

56 Observe that there is a distribution of the formula used in the different fragards. Could it be a consequence of deriving different fragards from different traditions? āat aōxta zaraduštrō appears in Yt1 and 3 (Yt1.5, Yt1.29, Yt3.2), Hōm Stōd (Y9.3, Y9.16, Y10.17, Y11.8) and Y71.2, cf. āat aōxta ahurō mazdā (V2.22, V2.40, V2.42, Vyt8.2); āat aōxta im zā in V3.26, 3.28; āat aōxta arduuš sūra anūhita in Yt5.88, 5.91, 5.95; āat aōxta ašoš vaŋhi in Yt17.54. paiti.aōxta appears only in V2 (V2.3, 2.5) and Y9 (Y9.2, 9.4, 9.7, 9.10, 9.13).
appears more as a monologue of Zaraȳuṣṭra addressed to Viśtāspa than as a real dialogue between the two figures.

Sometimes the dialogic situation is not totally clear. We have already discussed above the difficult passage Vyt2.6 (11). Furthermore, in the paragraphs 4.6 (29), 4.9 (32) and 4.10 (33) the dialogue between Zaraȳuṣṭra and Viśtāspa is interrupted by an address of Ahura Mazdā to Zaraȳuṣṭra (Vyt4.6), another one of the Amāśa Spāṇa to him (Vyt4.9) and then by the words of Ahura Mazdā to the soul of the deceased (Vyt4.10).

But the most flagrant interruption of Zaraȳuṣṭra’s speech to Viśtāspa is fragard 8. It reproduces a dialogue between Ahura Mazdā and Frašaōstra, even if at the beginning and the end Viśtāspa is referred to in the vocative (Vyt8.1 [53] and 13 [65]) in order to adapt this section to the general frame of the Wiśtāsp Sāst. Fragard 8 is, indeed, a true consultation between Ahura Mazdā and Frašaōstra in which Zaraȳuṣṭra does not appear either asking (as he usually does in the consultations) or answering (as he does in the rest of the Wiśtāsp Sāst). This is the only consultation between Ahura Mazdā and an individual other than Zaraȳuṣṭra which is reported directly and not through the mediation of Zaraȳuṣṭra57.

The subject of this consultation is the topic par excellence of the consultations: the destiny of the soul after death. Like in the Widewdad ceremony it appears inserted after the Vahiṣṭōiṣṭī Gāḍā. In the daēnā section of Y53 Viśtāspa and Frašaōstra are mentioned in connection with the Vision (Y53.2, s. above). Both, belonging to the social circle of Zaraȳuṣṭra, used the ritual technique of Zaraȳuṣṭra and were able to have a consultation with god and to report it directly in the context of an intercalation ceremony. Hence the existence of a Frašaōstra Yaś ceremony in which the consultation between Frašaōstra and Ahura Mazdā was inserted after the Vahiṣṭōiṣṭī Gāḍā is very likely. In the original Wiśtāsp Yaś, the consultation between Viśtāspa and Ahura Mazdā appeared in this place, but in the course of the transmission this was substituted for some reason by Frašaōstra’s consultation. The Wiśtāsp Yaś could originally have been a ceremony in which the

57 The consultation between Yima and Zaraȳuṣṭra (V2) is reported by Zaraȳuṣṭra. Yima’s consultation must be reported by Zaraȳuṣṭra precisely because Yima does not know the ritual technique of the consultation (Cantera 2012). He rejects to be ‘morēta horṣtaca of the Vision. Frašaōstra, however, has a consultation with Ahura Mazdā which is reported by himself.

centre was this consultation and the rest of the intercalations provided the “historical” frame thereof, the teachings of Zarašuštra to Vištāspa that led him to a direct consultation with Ahura Mazdā about the destiny of the soul after death. The contents of the remaining intercalations (if there were any) of the Frašaoštra Yašt are unknown. Actually, the mention of Frašaoštra in the vocative in Vyt2.4 invites us to speculate that perhaps other elements of the Wištāsp Yašt could originally also have belonged to the Frašaoštra Yašt or been common to both.

The original situation seems to be following: After the Vahištōištī Gāthā a consultation between Zarašuštra (or someone of his circle like Vištāspa or Frašaoštra) and Ahura Mazdā was inserted. In the performance of this consultation the zaotar assumed the role of the “historic” consultant (mainly Zarašuštra) and did not need to be explicitly marked. However, the transition from the recitation of the Gāthās to the “utterance and performance” of the consultation was signalized by the formula parasat zarauštrō. The change of speaker (from Zarašuštra [or Frašaoštra] to Ahura Mazdā) was mostly indicated through the formula āat mraōt ahurō mazdā. Whether the words of the god were originally reproduced by the zaotar or by another priest cannot be ascertained. The intercalation of this consultation provided the model for the intercalation of other consultations after other sections of the Staota Yesniia or even for the intercalation of preparatory texts to the consultation after Y53, as it happens in the Wištāsp Yašt.

THE VISION AND THE CONCEPT OF “RELIGION”

A specific feature of the intercalation ceremonies is the presentation of the complete consultation (questions and answers) to the sacrificial community. The community can watch live the performance of the consultation and hear the contents of the consultation from the officiating priest. The Vision of the sacrificer is shared with the whole sacrificial community. The function of the priest at this point is “to utter and memorize” (mar-) the Vision and to bring it to the sacrificial community in the mate-

58 When the consultant was Frašaoštra, we would expect paresat frašaoštō (e.g.), but unfortunately the first question of Frašaoštra in Vyt8 is not transmitted.

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rial world. The utterance of the Vision happens in heaven\(^{59}\), but is brought to the world of the living beings. These two functions concerning the Vision (\(\text{mar}-\) and \(\text{bar}-\)) are requested from Yima in the second fragard of the Widéwdád\(^{60}\): to be the utterer/memorizer of the Vision and the carrier of the Vision (‘\(\text{mæræt bæràtaca daénaiiá} \)\). He cannot accept this proposition of Ahura Mazdá because he lacks the tools for it: the right sacrifice based on the Ahuna Vairiia. Hence Yima’s incapacity for reporting the consultation himself and the resulting imperfect immortality he achieves for the living beings (Cantera 2012).

These two functions of the priesthood continued being relevant in the Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Zoroastrianism and are linked with the transmission and preservation of the religion. The notion of \(\text{dèn ðəsmùrìšn} \) or \(\text{ðəsmùrìšn ì dèn} \) is, in the words of Vevaina (2010: 140), the “epistemohermeneutical complex of enumerating the sacred corpus—memorizing the received tradition through recitation and counting, speculating numerologically on the myriad connections between things, homologizing the various realms of cosmological and social existence to the sacred corpus, and ultimately classifying this corpus based on the Ahuna Vairiia”\(^{61}\).

\(^{59}\) Very interestingly, in Yt13.84 the soul (\(\text{uruuàn} \)) of the Bounteous Immortals is “uttering (the sacred word)” (\(\text{m¢r¢q} \)\( \text{∞} \)\( \text{t¢m} \)) in the three levels of the sky and in the Garð dame:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yaëšan ainiö aiñiiehe</th>
<th>They look at one another’s soul when it utters (the sacred word) in the Good Thoughts, when it utters (the sacred word) in the Good Words, when it utters (the sacred word) in the Good Deeds and when it utters (the sacred word) in the House of Song.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uruùanò aiβ. vaëñaiti</td>
<td>uruùanò aiβ. vaëñaiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mæræbtam humataëšu</td>
<td>mæræbtam humataëšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mæræbtam húxtæšu</td>
<td>mæræbtam húxtæšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mæræbtam huuarstaëšu.</td>
<td>mæræbtam huuarstaëšu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mæræbtam ‘garö.ámnæ’ (instead garö.ámnæ)</td>
<td>mæræbtam ‘garö.ámnæ’ (instead garö.ámnæ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the formation of \(\text{mæræbt} (= \text{mæræt-yant}-, \text{cf. ræt} \text{maræt}-) \) “\(\text{vibærøñøñ} (\text{v} \text{bæråt-yant})\), \(\text{stæråñ} (= \text{stæråt-yant})\)” \(\text{cf. Bartholomae (1904: 1173)}. \ It is clearly a derivative of the root \(\text{mar}-\), so that the reasons for Skjærvø’s (2011: 69) translation as “winds its way” are not obvious to me. The image seems to be that of the soul ascending through the three levels of the sky to the House of Song and the soul reciting Avestan texts at each level (cf. Geldner 1884: 16 n. 17).

\(^{60}\) For a discussion and alternative interpretations cf. Cantera (2012).

\(^{61}\) Vevaina (2010: 138), when looking for the earlier attestations of the idea of \(\text{dèn-ðəsmùrìsìn} \), refers to Y19.6 and 19.11 where the “enumeration” (\(\text{mar}-\)) of the Ahuna Vairiia is mentioned. It would have been advisable to quote V2.1, 2 ‘\(\text{mæræt bæråtaca daénaiiá} \), Y22.3 mæræt… daénaiiá and Yt16.17 mærætm… daénaiiá (Cantera 2012: 47).
The dēn-burdār “carrier of the Vision” is the preserver of the tradition and so, when Alexander is blamed for having caused the loss of the Zoroastrian faith and traditions in the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag the word dēn-burdār is chosen (e.g. AVN 1.19-2.162):

(Alexander) killed many high priests, judges, hērbd and mowbd and carriers of the Vision, able and wise, of Ėrānšahr.

According to one gloss in the Pahlavi translation of Yasna dēn-burdār is equivalent with the teacher of the sacred formula (PY44.14):

“… who destroy (the men) who teach the sacred formula [they destroy the carriers of the Vision]”

In fact, the “carriers of the Vision” are responsible for the transmission and teaching of the sacred texts as is clearly stated in the Dēnkard (Dk 3.54 [B33.20-B34.1]):

The destination of each human being brings him the salvation of the soul: to the lords, above all, through the arrangement, preparation and organization of the well-being of the sovereignty in the world for every one (?); to the carriers of the Vision, above all, through the propagation, the confirmation and the correct transmission of the Mazdean Vision; and to the commonalty, above all, through the perfect diligence in fulfilling each one his own task.

The sacrificer not only attains the Vision of god, he can bring it in the form of frašna to the community. This feature of the ritual technique of

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62 Quoted after the page numbering of Vahman (1986).
63 Instead of ud.

the intercalation ceremonies can provide a satisfying explanation of a long disputed problem of Avestan philology: the disparity of meanings of *daēnā*\(^{64}\). I do not intend to discuss this problem in depth here, but just to point out how the intercalation ceremonies could provide a key to the understanding of this apparent semantic disparity. The communis opinio will have it that *daēnā* means in the Old Avesta “the individual religious consciousness”, whereas in the Young Avesta the meaning is already “religion” (as the collection of beliefs that characterizes a religious community)\(^{65}\). The latter meaning is generally accepted for the Pahlavi correspondence *dēn*.

As already stated by Kellens (1995: 51), the *daēnā* has a multilateral relationship with the act of viewing, at the same time active, passive and causative. The most important ones are the passive and causative aspects. On the one hand, the *daēnā* enables to see: through its union with *daēnā* the soul obtains the individual capacity for the Vision in the context of a specific ritual. On the other hand, the *daēnā* is seen itself by the soul and the gods who recognize the merits of the arriving soul in the beauty of his Vision. But the passive relationship of the *daēnā* has another important aspect: it is seen by the sacrificer’s soul of the sacrificer and this vision includes in itself the contents of the consultation with god that it makes possible. Through the Vision, the soul of the sacrificer can see the god and have a consultation with him. The consultation itself is part of the Vision obtained through the Vision. To “utter and to bring” the Vision is to put it in words in the form of a *frašna* and to recite it intercalated between the Staota Yesniia during a long liturgy.

The intercalation ceremonies thus allow to transmit the contents of the Vision and the consultation with god to the sacrificial community. All the Avestan texts transmitted as a consultation were composed for their recitation in the long liturgy and performed intercalated in a long liturgy. Hence they are part of the Vision, they are the contents of

\(^{64}\) The problem of the *daēnā* has recently been discussed *in extenso* by Lankarany (1985); Kellens (1994); (1995); Pirart (2012: 121 ff.).

\(^{65}\) Lankarany (1985: 149 ff.) lists the passages in which according to him *daēnā* means “religion”. This list must, however, be drastically abridged. Pirart (2012: 123) finds the meaning “religion” already in the Old Avesta (Y31.20), because of the use of the singular of *daēnā* where he would expect a plural.

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the Vision. The Vision has, accordingly, an individual and a collective character. On the one hand, each individual’s own Vision depends on the performance (direct or intermediary) of the specific sacrifice that gives the capacity of the Vision. This Vision will grant the individual access to immortality *post mortem* through the union of his soul (*uru-uan*) and Vision (*daēnā*). On the other hand, the contents of the Vision obtained in the sacrifice constitute a corpus of texts and contents (consultations with Ahura Mazda) common to the Zoroastrian sacrificial community in which the key elements for the individual and collective salvation are collected. Accordingly, in some passages of the Avesta *daēnā* seems to metonymically mean “the texts and contents of the consultations between Ahura Mazda and Zarathustra, doctrine”. It can then be assimilated to terms like *dāta-* “prescription”, *ṭkaēša-* “doctrine” or *srauuah-* “text, hymn”. So the Vision is the “prescriptions of Zarathustra” (*data-* *zarathuštri*) obtained in the consultation of Zarathustra with Ahura Mazda (V19.16):

>nizbaiemi. vaŋhuh. daēnqm. mazdaiasiñim. dātɔm. vidoiium. zarabdustrim

I invoke the good Vision obtained in the sacrifice to Mazda, the prescriptions of Zarathustra against the *daēуuа.*

A clear example of the passages in which *daēnā* means the contents of the consultation is V3.4266:

>vaŋh ʰi daēn mazdaiasni ʰαɾαŋuuuaiiäd ciŋam ṭβəɾəsaiti

The good Vision obtained in the sacrifice to Mazda that might completely forgive (a fault) determines the penalty.

In fact, it is the *dāta-* *zarathuštri* obtained through the Vision and in the Vision who determines the penalty.

Although in the Pahlavi literature the meaning “religion” *dēn* is generally accepted, we can often still keep the original meaning “Vision”. This is especially clear in the case of the frequent expression *pad dēn paydāg* “it is revealed / visible in the Vision”.

66 Cf. V7.71:

>αατ νο γ⺠υ το мazdaiasna ciŋam frαŋβɾəsaēta əoxtɔ ᵅatuś aoxtɔ sraoʃuuarzɔ ciŋam frαŋβɾəsaiti

Then you, the people sacrificing to Mazda, should determine the penalty. The called *ratu* and the called *sraošuuarzə* determine the penalty.

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The horizontal reading of the Avestan texts

If, as I assume, the whole revelation, that is, the consultations between Zarathustra and Ahura Mazda were composed in order to be recited inserted between the Staota Yesnia in intercalation ceremonies and the process of intercalation was not purely mechanical, this should have far-reaching consequences for our reading and understanding of the Avestan texts. First, we should acknowledge the ritual character not only of the text of the long liturgy that serves as a basis for the intercalation, but also of all the Young Avestan texts belonging to the genre of the consultation.

Second, the intercalated texts reflect an exegesis of the Old Avestan texts after which they are intercalated much earlier than the Pahlavi translation. They give us a key to at least one level of interpretation of the Staota Yesnia in a concrete ceremony with concrete purposes. So the Wišṭaśp makes a lecture of the Staota Yesnia as reflecting the universal history from the point of view of contamination and purification in which the baršnūm (end of V8, and V9-11) plays a role similar to the yasna (represented by the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti) in the world history.

Third, the mere fact that different Avestan texts were composed to be inserted after the same Old Avestan texts and offered a reading of them, establishes a connection between them. Therefore, when reading an Avestan text we have to add a new level of interpretation. In addition to the usual vertical reading in which a text is read and interpreted lineally from the beginning to the end, we should try a horizontal reading, that is, to discover the connections of this text with the Old Avestan text after which it is intercalated and with other Young Avestan texts that were intercalated. The clearest example of the interest the horizontal reading can hold for us is the analysis of the account of the soul’s destiny after the Vahistišti Gāhā, which has been one of the leitmotifs of this exposé. But the horizontal connections between the Wišṭaśp Säst and the Widēwdād are not limited to this obvious example. It is not incidentally that the Wišṭaśp Säst mentions a ritual of purification (Vyt4.8 [31]) after the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and the Widēwdād intercalates there fragard 9 and 10, dealing with the baršnūm. Furthermore, Vyt6.5 [44] is the same text as V13.31-32. Both Vyt6 and V13 are intercalated in the same place, after Y47-50.

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Also very interesting are the horizontal connections between the extant Avestan texts and other lost exegetical Avestan texts like the Südgar, Warštmānsr and Bay Nask. The Avestan exegetical texts epitomized in the 9th book of the Dēnkard are an exegesis of the Avestan texts. The number of frāgards (22 but for the Warštmānsr which counts 23\textsuperscript{67}) corresponds to a division of the Staota Yesniia in 22 sections, 21 + the Ahuna Vairiia. A similar division underlies the 22 frāgards of the Widēwdād. Accordingly we can imagine an alternative intercalation ceremony for the Widēwdād with 22 intercalations and similar ceremonies for these three nask of the Great Avesta.

In fact, we find numerous horizontal connections between the Widēwdād ceremony and these exegetical texts. Some of them allow us to explain the appearance of digressions in the Widēwdād that cannot be easily understood through a purely “vertical” reading of the text. This is the case of the digression about homosexuality in V8.26-32. It is not easy to explain its inclusion in a frāgard about the nasu “the impurity through corpses”, exactly after the purification of a way in which someone has died and before the purification of a man who has touched a corpse. Nor is its inclusion understandable from the point of view of the Widēwdād’s structure \textsuperscript{68}. However, the horizontal reading can give us the key to interpreting this digression in V8. The ninth frāgard of the Südgar Nask is devoted exclusively to sodomy. This frāgard is an exegesis of Y33 and V8 is intercalated after Y31-34. Although we are not able to identify the origin of this connection between Y33 and the sin of sodomy, it seems obvious that there was an exegesis of this hāiti in which an allusion to sodomy was recognized and this is the most likely reason for the inclusion of the digression on the homosexuality in V8.26-32 and for dealing with the same subject in the exegesis of Y33 in the Südgar Nask.

Another example of a horizontal connection still in the 8th frāgard of the Widēwdād and the exegesis of Y33 is provided by the Warštmānsr Nask. Its 10th frāgard which is the exegesis of Y33 includes a passage about the transport of corpses and their burial:

\textsuperscript{67} It counts one frāgard more because it has an introduction inserted before the proper exegetical texts, in which Zardušt is speaking to Mēdōmāh.

\textsuperscript{68} An assimilation of the impurity of homosexuality and of nasu seems too general an assumption to explain this digression exactly at this position.

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The prohibition against transporting corpses on cattle appears in the commentary of V8.10 as the opinion of Sōšans (PV8.10I pad stōr nē barišn). According to PV3.14Q it is allowed to transport the corpse with the assistance of cattle. The corpse cannot be carried on the cattle, but must be bound to it and then be dragged.

96 Dk 9.32.14-16 [B646.22-647.7])

abar wizend i az dēwān ēn-iz kūšān abar ŏ ēn ī man dām abarnenišnīh bē kard ud anāštīh-iz mard ī ahlaw ēn-iz čēr nasā nīgānī ēn-iz kū awēšān mardān zanišntar hēnδ kē nasā be kešēnd pad ān ī dēn anāstag andar ēn gēhān pad pāh ud stōr ēn-iz kū ān ī ‘sahmgēn69 dušwārīh zīndag abāgēnēδ mardōmān kē nasā ī rist pad pāh ud stōr dahēnd ŏ wis kū barēnd ud awēšān ātāxš bēšēnd ud āb-iz sroitazišn

About the destruction that comes from the dews. And about that they have despised my creatures, have brought discord to the pious men and also to the courageous and have practiced the burial of corpses. And about that they are the harmful who transport the corpses on small or large cattle for the destruction of the Vision on the world. And about the terrible misfortune that accompanies the life of people who put the corpse of a deceased on small or large cattle and bring it to a village and harm the fire and the running water.

This passage of the Warštmānsr fits perfectly the content of V8.4-25 and especially of V8.10.70

Summing up, the ceremonies of intercalation are not a late creation of Sasanian times but the ritual manifestation of one essential feature of the sacrifice to Ahura Mazda celebrated in the way of Zaraθuṣṭra: the capacity of attaining a vision of god and of consulting with him. The consultation took place at sunrise after the recitation of the Vahīštōištī Gāthā, the moment of the union of the sacrificer’s soul with his own Vision. In the intercalation ceremonies this consultation with god was represented for the sacrificial community so that the words of god were transmitted live to the sacrificial community in the form of a frašna. Thus the frašna are ritual texts as well and we have to take account of their ritual context in order to understand them properly. Since they were composed for being intercalated between the Staota Yesniia, we must turn our attention to possible connections between the basic texts (the Staota Yesniia) and the intercalated frašna and also between different frašna intercalated at the same position. The frašna appears thus as the priestly tool for sanctioning a text as “dictated” by

69 B smkn.
70 The prohibition against transporting corpses on cattle appears in the commentary of V8.10 as the opinion of Sōšans (PV8.10I pad stōr nē barišn). According to PV3.14Q it is allowed to transport the corpse with the assistance of cattle. The corpse cannot be carried on the cattle, but must be bound to it and then be dragged.

Ahura Mazdā and to create doctrine. Accordingly, it is no wonder that daēnā, the word designating the capacity for attaining the vision of and the consultation with god as well as the contents of said consultation, took the meaning of “religion”, understood as the canon of texts and contents sanctioned by god in which the keys to salvation are presented to the sacrificial community. The different frašna are parts of the Vision of god and the other world obtained during the celebration of a Yasna. One of the main functions of the celebrating priest was to express this Vision in words and memorize it (mar-) and to bring it (bar-) to the sacrificial community.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


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Parmi les différentes variantes de la longue liturgie zoroastrienne attestées dans les manuscrits, deux d’entre eux montrent des sections intercalées entre les textes vieil-avestiques qui constituent le noyau central de la cérémonie. Les textes de ces sections forment un ensemble cohérent. Il s’agit des cérémonies de Widêvdâd et de Wištasp Yašt. Jusqu’à présent, on a considéré ces cérémonies comme des compositions tardives dans lesquelles on avait intercalé des textes en avestique récent sans aucune relation avec les textes vieil-avestiques qu’ils accompagnent afin de prolonger artificiellement la longue liturgie. Au contraire, nous proposons

Résumé/Summary

Parmi les différentes variantes de la longue liturgie zoroastrienne attestées dans les manuscrits, deux d’entre eux montrent des sections intercalées entre les textes vieil-avestiques qui constituent le noyau central de la cérémonie. Les textes de ces sections forment un ensemble cohérent. Il s’agit des cérémonies de Widêvdâd et de Wištasp Yašt. Jusqu’à présent, on a considéré ces cérémonies comme des compositions tardives dans lesquelles on avait intercalé des textes en avestique récent sans aucune relation avec les textes vieil-avestiques qu’ils accompagnent afin de prolonger artificiellement la longue liturgie. Au contraire, nous proposons
ici que ces cérémonies d’intercalation reflètent un rituel aussi ancien que la version de la longue liturgie que nous connaissons. Le voyage du sacrifiant dans l’au-delà durant la récitation des textes vieil-avestiques rendait possible une rencontre avec la divinité et donnait ainsi l’occasion de lui poser des questions. Ces questions, mais surtout les réponses d’Ahura Mazdā, sont reproduites sous forme de dialogue dans le sacrifice. En fait, tous les textes en avestique récent du genre fraśna, c’est-à-dire des questions posées par Zaraottištra auxquelles Ahura Mazdā répond, ont vraisemblablement été composés pour être intercalés entre les textes vieil-avestiques dans la longue liturgie zoroastrienne.

Mots clefs: Avesta, Zoroastrisme, Mazdéisme, rituel

Among the different variants of the Zoroastrian long liturgy attested in the manuscripts we find two in which a coherent text in Young Avestan is divided into sections that are intercalated between the central part of this ceremony, the recitation of the Old Avestan texts. They are the Wīdēwda and Wīštāsp Yašt ceremonies. Usually they are considered late compositions in which the long liturgy has been extended artificially through the intercalation of of already exiting Young Avestan texts without any relationship to the Old Avestan texts they accompany. Actually, these intercalation ceremonies reflect a ritual that is as old as the version of the long liturgy we know. The journey of the sacrificants to the hereafter during the recitation of the Old Avestan texts made possible an encounter and an interview with god. The questions and, above all, Ahura Mazdā’s answers are reproduced live in the sacrifice. Thus, all Young Avestan texts belonging to the fraśna-genre that is consisting of Zaraottištra’s questions and Ahura Mazdā’s answers have been composed probably for being intercalated between the Old Avestan texts in the Zoroastrian long liturgy.

Keywords: Avesta, Zoroastrianism, ritual