The sraōšāuuarəza-priest and the usage of the srōš-barišnīh in the greater Long Liturgy[1]

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Abstract

In this paper I postulate that the original function of the sraōšāuuarəza- *is the recitation of the formula* sraōšō astu (srōš barišnīh), *and provide an analysis of the function of this formula in the Long Liturgy. It has an Indo-Iranian background and plays an important role in the Long Liturgy. Because of the dependence of previous editions on the exegetical manuscripts, the formula has never been recorded in the different variations it displays in the liturgy. Some instances have never been edited at all, and others only partially, leading to an incorrect understanding of several texts included in this formula. Furthermore, I present some thoughts about the materials, problems, and methods for the study of the Avestan priestly college and its evolution.*

Keywords: Avestan; Long Liturgy; srōš-barišnīh; Zoroastrianism; ritual

The rituals in Avestan language, still performed today by the practitioners of Zoroastrianism, continue an uninterrupted ritual tradition that was shaped in its most remarkable features probably in Achaemenid times. However, the research in Avestan has granted only very limited attention to these rituals. The idea that Zoroastrianism was founded by Zaraθuštra as a reaction against the ritualistic Indo-Iranian religion has played a pivotal role in the neglect of these rituals. The last years have witnessed an attempt to view Zoroastrianism not as the result of a reform by Zaraθuštra, but as an organic evolution from the Indo-Iranian religion. The most prominent agents of this shift are J. Kellens and P. O. Skjærvø.[2] In this view, the texts in Avestan language

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[1] In this paper, I quote the Avestan texts according to the numbering system that we have introduced in Corpus Avesticum Berolinense (http://cab.geschkult.fu-berlin.de). When the passages have correspondences in the edition by K. F. Geldner, *Avesta. The sacred books of the Parsis* (Stuttgart, 1886–1896), I add Geldner's numbering in parentheses to facilitate the use of the paper.

[2] I mention here just a short selection of some works of these two scholars: J. Kellens, *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien: Quatre leçons au Collège de France* (Paris, 1991), J. Kellens, *Le pantheon de l'Avesta ancien* (Wiesbaden, 1994); J. Kellens, *Essays on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism* (Costa Mesa, 2000); J. Kellens, 'Zoroastre dans l'histoire ou dans le mythe? À propos du dernier livre du Gherardo Gnoli', *Journal Asiatique* 189 (2001), pp. 171–184; J. Kellens, *La quatrième naissance de Zarathushtra* (Paris, 2006); J. Kellens, 'The Gāthās, Said to Be of Zarathustra', in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism,* (eds.) M. Stausberg and Y. S.-D. Vevaina (Chichester, 2015), pp. 44–50; P. O. Skjærvø, 'A future for Gathic Studies? The Ancient Iran Poet and his Poetry', *Bulletin of the*

would not be witnesses of an anti-ritualistic, ethical religion, but would continue the ritual-oriented tradition of the Indo-Iranian religion.[3] Moreover, our view of the Avestan texts has also changed. While the traditional view considered the extant rituals as late compositions intended for other non-ritual purposes, it is now an extended view that the Avestan texts were originally composed for use in the ritual. In this view, the rituals received their shape in Antiquity, likely in Achaemenid times. Three facts have led to the new approach:

1. The change in the conception: in an article of 1998 Kellens showed the aporia of the traditional view of the extant Avestan texts as fragments of the Great Avesta.[4]
2. Kotwal and Kreyenbroek have facilitated, through an edition with translation, the access to a very important meta-ritual treaty in two versions: a Middle Persian and an Avestan one. Previous editors of the text had missed the point to such an extent that the text remained largely unused. It is only now that we see the importance of this treaty to the understanding of the Avestan texts.[5]
3. I have made available in the Avestan Digital Archive since 2009 a significant number of Avestan manuscripts. Thus, we have discovered that the standard editions of the Avestan texts rely on the exegetical manuscripts, although they are secondary compared to the liturgical ones. Besides the Avestan texts the latter include ritual directions describing the actions accompanying the texts (or vice versa). They continue the same tradition represented by the Avestan and Middle Persian versions of the Nērangestān. I have edited and translated the ritual directions of some selected manuscripts, available on the website of Corpus Avesticum Berolinense.

The new edition of the Nērangestān, and the access to the manuscripts, have facilitated a completely fresh approach to the Avestan texts: They can now be analyzed in their performative context. Still, a lot of basic research is needed for the reconstruction of the historical evolution of the performance of the rituals in Avestan language from the one for which the Avestan texts were composed to the modern ones, which are still partially alive among the Zoroastrians. In this paper, I will analyse the functions of one of the priests involved in the performance of the Long Liturgy (LL), the *sraōšāuuarəza-* and describe the tools, methods and difficulties we are facing for this kind of research.

According to the Nērangestān, several ceremonies (all defined as *yašt*) can be celebrated in two different ways: greater (*meh*) and lesser (*keh*). An important difference between them is the number of priests: there are ceremonies that might be performed by either one (as *yašt i*

Asia Institute 11 (1998 [2001]); P. O. Skjærvø, 'Zarathustra: A Revolutionary Monotheist?', in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism,* (ed.) B. Pongratz-Leisten (Winona Lake, 2011), pp. 317–350; P. O. Skjaervø, 'The Gāthās as Myth and Ritual', in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, (eds.) M. Stausberg and Y. S.-D. Vevaina, (Chichester, 2015). However, there are still attempts to save the traditional view, e.g. A. Hintze, 'Change and continuity in the Zoroastrian tradition', (London, 2013).

[3]On this point, see a short overview in A. Cantera, 'Ethics', in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, (eds.) M. Stausberg and Y. S.-D. Vevaina (Chichester, 2015), pp. 315–332.

[4]J. Kellens, 'Considerations sur l'histoire de l'Avesta' in *Journal Asiatique* 286 (1998), pp. 451–519.

[5]F. M. Kotwal and G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. Volume* I: *Hērbedestān* (Paris, 1992); F. M. Kotwal and G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. Volume* II: *Nērangestān, Fragard 1* (Paris, 1995); F. M. Kotwal and G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. Volume* III: *Nērangestān, Fragard 2* (Paris, 2003); F. M. Kotwal and G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. Volume* IV: *Nērangestān, Fragard 3* (Paris, 2009).

keh) or two priests (as a *yašt i meh*), while others may be performed by two (as a *keh*) or three or uppereven eight priests (as *meh*). In this expression, *meh* and *keh* are not ontological features of the corresponding ceremonies, but rather denote different ways to perform them.[6] Accordingly, the "same" ceremony can be performed by a different number and category of priests depending on the solemnity of the performance. The change in the number of priests is concomitant with other changes including as well textual changes, at least sometimes.

Probably the most distinctive feature of the greater performances was the number and category of the performing priests. A priestly college consisting of eight priests performs the greater LL: one main priest (*zaōtar*) and seven auxiliary priests (*hāuuanān, ātrauuaxša, frabərə-tar, ābərətar, āsnātar,*[7] *raēθβiškara, sraōšāuuarəza*).[8] By contrast, only two priests play a part in the lesser LL: the *zaōtar* and an auxiliary priest. The greater performance required a special installation of the priests (VrS11.9 [=GVr3.1]), but if it did not take place, then the intended greater performance became a lesser one (N28.41):

> ka *hāuanānəm āstāiia* nē gōwēd [[ka nē pad kardag mad estēd]] u-šān pad yašt ī keh be *rāyēnīd; pad wīsparad ud bagān yasn šāyēd būdan rāspīg ka *azəm vīsāi* nē gōwēd ī pad kār andar yazišn, pad tis–iz kār nē šāyēd.

> If the zōt does not recite *hāuuanānəm āstāiia*, [[if (the service) does not include kardas]], then they have arranged it as a lesser service (*yašt ī keh*); this may happen in the case of the Visperad or the Bagān Yasn. If the rāspīg does not recite *azəm vīsāi*, which must be recited in the ritual, then he is not fit for any ritual work.[9]

The exact roles of these auxiliary priests in the performance of the greater LL are one of the main gaps in our knowledge of the original shape of the LL. The information we have, indeed, is quite limited, mainly because of the auxiliary priests' gradual loss of importance due to two concurrent processes:

> The functions of the seven auxiliary priests in the greater LL were gradually assumed by the *zaōtar*. Most of the functions that the Avestan Nērangestān (N54-59) assigned to each one of the auxiliary priests have been assumed by the *zaōtar* in the liturgies described in the manuscripts. The pressing of *haōma,* for example, is the task of the *hāuuanān* according to N54.3, but according to the Pahlavi Nērangestān (N28.46) and the manuscripts, as well as in modern practice, this duty corresponds to the *zaōtar*. This is the result of the possibility, already acknowledged by the Avestan Nērangestān (N62.1-2), that the *zaōtar*

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[6]The idea that the same ceremony could be celebrated with different "levels" of solemnity has already been advanced by A. Panaino: 'We must insist on the fact that it was also in ancient times possible to perform other ceremonies with just two priests, or also with one single priest. Then, the reduction of the number of the priests was de facto a sort of *diminutio* of level in the prestige and importance of the ceremony, although they were still considered "solemn"', see A. Panaino, 'The Avestan Priestly College and its Installation', *DABIR* 6 (2018), p. 90 n. 20.

[7]The priest *āsnātar* shows abbreviation of the *ā* of the root in antepenultimate syllable, hence the acc.sg. *āsnatārəm*, but dat.sg. *āsnāθre*, g.sg. *āsnāθrō*. It could perhaps be explained as an attempt to avoid the succession of three *ā*. This word should be added to the list of words with an apparent shortening of *ā* in the antepenultimate syllable without ending in °*ca* or ° *cit̰*. See M. A. C. de Vaan, *The Avestan vowels* (Leiden, 2002), p. 108.

[8]On the list of the seven priests and its Vedic correlate. See V. Sadovski, 'Ritual formulae, Structures and Activities in Vedic and Avestan Liturgies between Cultic Practice, Mythology, and Social Ideology', *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 71/1 (2017/2018), p. 117 ff.

[9]F. M. Kotwal and P. G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. Volume III: Nērangestān*, (Paris, 2003), p. 99.

assumes almost all the auxiliary priests' functions (except the one of the *āsnātar*) under certain circumstances.

Concomitantly, some auxiliary priests could perform the actions assigned to other auxiliary priests. The Nērangestān already mentions the possibility that the priests sitting together might swap functions, whereby the *āsnātar*, for example, might assume the function of the *hāuuanān*. This has led, as we shall see, to a progressive reduction in the auxiliary priest's functions from seven until one. The final result is the assumption of all the auxiliary priests' former functions by one universal auxiliary priest, the *rāspīg*.

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to reconstruct the auxiliary priests' roles in the greater LL. On the one hand, our sources of information on each priest's duties in the LL are limited, and need to be critically evaluated for a reconstruction of the "original" functions and their evolution, because of the expected modernisations in later materials. On the other, there might have been some degree of fluidity in the functions, whereby an isolated attribution of a function to a priest might not indicate a fixed role. Thus, depending on the performance, the invitation to the *zaōtar* to partake of the *drōn* can be performed either by the *hāuuanān* or the *frabərətar*. The main sources for the research about the evolving role of auxiliary priests in the performance of the greater LL are: 1. the proper Avestan texts and especially certain formulaic expressions connected to single priests; 2. the Nērangestān; and 3. the ritual instructions of the manuscripts. However, each one presents its own difficulties.

Certain formulaic Avestan performative texts repeated several times in the LL contain useful information about the priests actually performing. They mainly involve the taking of the *wāž* (which I analyzed in "The taking of the waz"[10]) and the *srō-š barišnīh* (which I am going to analyze in detail in this paper). These kinds of texts have been systematically ignored in Avestan research, despite the essential information they provide about the liturgy's actual performance. However, two caveats apply: 1. The system of the taking of the *wāž*, at least as it works in the manuscripts, allows us to know which auxiliary priest gives the *wāž*, but not which one takes it from the *zaōtar*; 2. Because of their formulaic nature, modernisations are possible, and have indeed been taken place, as we shall see.

Besides, the Avestan and Pahlavi Nērangestān, especially the Avestan version of the chapters N55-63, are the most important source for the reconstruction of the seven auxiliary priests' roles. They reflect the oldest layer we can uncover, as the Avestan texts of the rituals could have been modernised in different ways and extents. Furthermore, the late ritual instructions of liturgical manuscripts contain some information that serves not only to describe the contemporary performance, but also to reconstruct older stages. Despite their late date when even the greater LL was already performed by only two priests, the manuscripts often provide a layout of the ritual area in VrS11.9 [=GVr3.1] and (less frequently) in Y58.4-5 in which the places of the different priests are indicated. Furthermore, the ritual instructions included in these manuscripts often mention that the *rāspīg* performs certain actions or recites certain texts at the place of a specific auxiliary priest (e.g. *pad gāh i srōšawarzān* "at the place of the *srōšāwaz*-priests"). This mostly indicates that the corresponding action was formerly performed by the corresponding auxiliary priest, although sometimes it might be a purely spatial

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[10]A. Cantera, 'The taking of the *wāz*', pp. 47–63.

indication.[11] This material seems, to reflect a slightly older stage than the actual use of the taking of the *wāž*.

In this paper, I will be seeking to show, on the one hand, the results we can obtain from the use of these materials combined with the information of the Nērangestān applied to the analysis of the figure of the *sraōšāuuarəza* (but also providing information about other auxiliary priests that seem to have played an important role, such as the *ātrauuaxša* and *frābərətar*), and on the other hand, the methodological difficulties and the limitations of our capacity for reconstructing the exact shape of the LL in Antiquity. Nevertheless, I hope to be able to show that we can use the combination of the available materials to first trace an outline of the historical evolution of the performance, and then define in more detail what has been the role of the different priests in the earlier stages of the LL before all their functions were assumed either by the *zōt* or the *rāspīg*.

There are two reasons for my decision to focus mainly on the *sraōšāuuarəza*. On the one hand, there is an apparent discrepancy between the importance that the Avestan witnesses attribute to this figure and his very limited role in the exchange for taking the *wāz*. On the other hand, the *sraōšāuuarəza* seems to be the only or the main responsible for the recitation of a performative formula that, like most of these formulas, has received only sporadic attention, despite the prominent role it plays in the performance of the greater LL and despite its Indo-Iranian background: *səraōšō idā astū … yasnāi* "let attention/(the god) Attentiveness be here for the sacrifice/*yasna* to…".

The *sraōšāuuarəza* according to the ritual Avestan texts and the Nērangestān

The *sraōšāuuarəza* is the last auxiliary priest to be invited to take his place in the ritual area. He is invoked with the superlatives *da̦hišta-* and *aršuuacastəma-* "the best instructed (by Sraōša[12]) and best versed in the right performance of the word" (VrS11.9 [GVr3.1] *sraō-šāuuarəzəm āstāiia da̦hištəm aršuuacastəməm*). He is the only auxiliary priest that receives an epithet during the installation. His special position among the auxiliary priests is also emphasized by the Nērangestān (N4.3 and 62.4, see below), which furthermore informs us that he might even assume the role of the *zaōtar* under certain circumstances. Besides, he is the only priest to be abundantly represented on a number of funerary monuments in Central Asia, appearing on a series of stone couches and sarcophagi in Sino–Sogdian tombs dated between 579 and 592 CE, with several depictions of human-bird priests (half human and half rooster) bearing a *padām* and tending the fire. Recently, Grenet has noticed the oldest attestation of this figure on the central band of Sraōša's tunic in the impressive representation of the god Sraōša on the southern wall of the main hypostyle hall at Akchakhan-kala.[13] The figures painted there most likely represent either the *sraōšāuuarəza* (V18 states the rooster is the *sraō-šāuuarəza* of Sraōša) or the god Sraōša as a *sraōšāuuarəza*-priest.[14] Hence, we can deduce the

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[11]For an analysis of the materials, see § 1.

[12]cf. A3.4 *sraōšāt̰ da̦hišta arš.vacastəma*.

[13]See F. Grenet, 'Was Zoroastrian Art Invented in Chorasmia?', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24 (2018), pp. 68–86.

[14]First identified as Sraōša by P. O. Skjaervø in: F. Grenet, P. Riboud et al., 'Zoroastrian scenes on a Sogdian tomb in Xiʾan', *Studia Iranica* 33 (2004), pp. 273–284; furthermore see P. Riboud, ' Bird-Priests in Central Asian Tombs of the 6th-Century China and their Significance in the Funerary Realm', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21 (2007), pp. 1–23; M. *Shenkar*, ' A Sasanian Chariot Drawn by Birds and the Iconography of SraōMimesis e Rito. I Preti*

importance of this priest in the Zoroastrianism of Central Asia, especially for the performances of funerary services.

The only direct information in Avestan (besides the one from the Nērangestān) about the role of the *sraōšāuuarəza* is to be found in chapter 18 of the Vīdēvdād, together with a few mentions in the Nērangestān. According to V18.14-16), the cock, as the *sraōšāuuarəza* of the god Sraōša, is the one that exhorts the people at dawn to stand up, praise the Order and blame the *daēuua* (V8.16 *usəhištata maṣ̌iiāka staōta aṣ̌əm yaṯ vahištəm nīsta daēuua.*). Hence, it would seem likely that the *sraōšāuuarəza* is the one who invites all the other auxiliary priests to take their ritual places. This attribution raises considerable problems that will be discussed in the final section of this paper.

The chapter in the Nērangestān that defines the role and position of priests in the performance of the LL (N54-61) describes his responsibility (N59.1) as s*rauš̌āuuarəzō aiβiiāxšaiiāṯ,*[15] "the *sraōšāuuarəza* should supervise". The Pahlavi version translates and clarifies it through a gloss:

ān ī srōšāwarz abar nigāh ē dārēd [kū har kē andar yazišn frōdmāndag ē kunēd ā-š pādifrāh garzēd]

"And let the *srōšāwarz* keep supervision [that is, anyone who commits a shortcoming in the act of worship shall atone (for it) by punishment.]"[16]

Accordingly, he is a kind of stage director that oversees the performance of the ceremony and corrects potential errors. This function fits well with the indication of the Nērangestān that he does not have a fixed position, but moves around (N61.9).[17] As such, his function would be comparable to the function of the *brahmán* in the Vedic tradition, a comparison recently proposed by V. Sadovski.[18]

According to the Avestan Nērangestān (N62), exactly as the *zaōtar* might assume the function of any auxiliary priest (except the *āsnātar,* s. N62.3) if they have to leave the ritual area unexpectedly, the *sraōšāuuarəza* is the one who might take over the function of the *zaōtar* if the latter has to leave, as this role is attributed to "the best instructed and best versed in the right performance of the word", the two epithets received by the *sraōšāuuarəza* during the installation (N62.4 *zaōtā anahaxtō paraiiāt* **dạhištāi aršuuacastəmāi** *zaōθrəm raēxšaiti*). In another passage (N4.3), the Nērangestān affirms that *zaōtar* and *sraōšāuuarəza* swap roles during the Fšūšō Mạθra, when the performance takes place in a Ātaš Wahrām:[19]

ka zōt srōš srūd srōšāwarz ul ō pāy estēd ka ātaxš ī warhrān ān gyāg pad (*gyāg) pas abāz nē hilišn **pad ēn tis zōt srōšāwarz**

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alati del cerimoniale mazdaico.ša', Commentationes Iranicae. Vladimiro f. Aaron Livschits nonagenario donum natalicium, (eds.) S. Tokhtasev and P. Lurie (Petersburg, 2013), pp. 211–222; A. Panaino, 'Mimesis e Rito. I Preti alati del cerimoniale mazdaico', *Bizantinistica* 16 (2016), pp. 41–61.

[15]*aiβiiāxštaiiāṯ*, as edited by Kotwal and Kreyenbroek, must be a typo. See F. M. Kotwal and P. G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān III,* p. 266.

[16]F. M. Kotwal and P. G. Kreyenbroek, *ibid,* p. 267.

[17]Nevertheless, the representation of the *sraōšāuuarəza* in the manuscript depictions of the ritual area locate him always in the south, behind the fire.

[18]V. Sadovski, 'Ritual formulae', pp. 81–134. On this role of the *brahmán* and how he performs it, see the recent book by K. T. McClymond, *Ritual Gone Wrong: What We Learn from Ritual Disruption* (Oxford, 2016).

[19]A. Cantera, 'The taking of the wāz and the priestly college in the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy', *Journal Asiatique* 304.1 (2016), p. 51f.

When the *zōt* recites the (hymn to) Srōš, the *srōšāwarz* rises to his feet. If there is a Ātaš Bahrām present there, then he should not abandon (that standing position) again. In this case, the *zōt* is the *srōšāwarz*.

The importance of the role of the *sraōšåuuarəza* appears as well from the only additional information provided by the Nērangestān. He is the only auxiliary priest who partakes of the *drōn* together with the *zaōtar* after inviting the *zaōtar* and reciting a section of the Āfrīnagān ī Rapihwin (N53.23):[20]

pad ān ī meh *srōšāwarz ul ō pāy estišn u-š *x*ˇarata narō* be gōwišn u-š abāz ō gāh ī frabardārān šawišn *ašəm vohū* 3 *ahurahe mazdā̊ raēuuatō…xšaoϑra* u-š wāz frāz gīrišn. zōt *aməša spəntahe* rāyēnišn u-š pārag xwarišn ka zōt pārag xward srōšāwarz dast ul ō barsom nihišn u-š *aϑa zī mraōṯ* be gōwišn tā *frauuaōcaṯ ahurō mazdā̊ spitamāi zaraϑuštrāi*, *ašəm vohū* ēk-ē guftan u-š dast (*az) barsom ul dārišn ka-š abāg zōt abestāg rāst rāyēnīd estēd ā-š *aməša spəntahe* rāyēnišn u-š *ašəm vohū* 3 be gōwišn u-š pārag xwarišn ast kē gāhān hamē gōwēd ast kē gāh gōwēd

In the greater (service) the *srōšāwarz* should stand up and recite *x*ˇarata narō* (Y8.3 [GY8.2]); and he should return to the seat of the *frabardār*, (recite) a.v. 3, *ahurahe mazdā̊ raēuuatō…xšaoϑra*, and (thereby) take the *wāž*. The *zōt* should proceed with (Y8.4 = GY8.3) *aməša spənta* and partake of a portion. While the *zōt* is partaking of the portion, the *srōšāwarz* should put his hand on the *barsom* and finish reciting *aϑa zī mraōṯ* up to *frauuaocaṯ ahurō mazdā̊ spitamāi zaraϑuštrāi*; and (he should) recite a single a.v. and lift up his hand from the *barsom*. If he has managed the Avestan recitation well together with the *zōt*, he should proceed with *aməša spənta* to recite a.v. 3, and partake of a portion. There is one who says: "(One should recite) all the *gāh* prayers." There is one who says: "One *gāh* prayer".[21]

The *sraōšåuuarəza* and the other auxiliary priests according to the *wāž gīrišnīh* and the ritual instructions of the manuscripts

The evaluation of the data concerning the *sraōšåuuarəza* in the *wāž gīrišnīh* and in the ritual instructions of the manuscripts is not possible without a general analysis of the data about the other auxiliary priests. Both sources of information present special problems that need to be evaluated alltogether.

Besides the direct information about the function of the auxiliary priests in the Avestan ritual and meta-ritual texts, the richest information about the role of the different priests is provided by the taking of the *wāž*.[22] The taking of the *wāž* is an instruction for the dialogued recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia, whenever the Ahuna Vairiia is recited only once in the Long Liturgy and not repeated. The priests take and give the *wāž*; that is, the possibility of reciting a text alone or together with another priest. It also allows a new priest to enter the ritual area or the return of priests that have left it for some reason. According to the description in manuscripts such ms 2000 (K7b) and the Nērangestān, the priest who takes the *wāž*

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[20]In the description of the lesser Drōn i Ābān, the *hāwanān* is the priest who invites the *zaōtar*, but there is no mention of him partaking of the *drōn* too. This information is confirmed by the manuscripts. There, when the *rāspīg* invites the *zaōtar*, he does so at the place of the *hāwanān* (*pad gāh ī hāwanān*), Only ms 2101 (a late manuscript with the *nērangs* in Persian) says that the *rāspīg* is at the place of the *frabarətar*, where according to the Nērangestān, the *sraōšåuuarəza* recites part of this text.

[21]F. M. Kotwal and P. G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān III,* p. 253.

[22]A. Cantera, 'The taking of the wāž', passim and particularly p. 59ff.

recites *yaθā ahū vairiiō,* and the one who gives it continues with the recitation of this stanza until the end. It could therefore provide very useful information about the role played by the different priests in the LL.

The general picture it draws about the priestly college is that the Yasna was performed only by two priests, with the auxiliary priest playing a minimal role (mainly accompanying the *zaōtar* in some recitations, reciting alone a few ones, and adding wood to the fire, besides other auxiliary ritual actions). He is, however, unable to give the *wāž* to the *zaōtar*. Conversely, in the greater LL, we do not find the seven auxiliary priests mentioned in the priestly installation (VrS11.9 [GVr3.1]), but at least three are able to give the *wāz* to the *zaōtar*: *ātrauuaxša, sraōšāuuarəza* and *frābərətar*. Most frequently the *zaōtar* and the *ātrauuaxša* exchange the *wāž*. The *sraōšāuuarəza* and *frābərətar* give the *wāž* to the *zaōtar* only one time each: the *sraōšāuuarəza* in VrS87.27 and the *frabarətar* in VrS89.20[23].

The *ātrauuaxša* is, indeed, the only auxiliary priest that regularly gives the *wāž* to the *zaōtar.* He does it mostly in the context of the double *wāž gīrišnīh* (type 8 according to Cantera 2016: 48), in which the *zaōtar* gives it back to him so that they can recite together some sections. The other instances are immediatly after investing the *zaōtar* of his office in VrS11.24 (GVr3.6) and in the *srōš-barišnīh* (see below). In both contexts he seems to have assumed functions that might have been earlier proper of the *sraōšōuuarəza* (see below). In the double *wāž,* he might have taking over functions of any other auxiliary priest depending of the ritual context. Only the role of the *sraōšāuuarəza* in the second Drōn Yašt and of the *frabərətar* in the libation to the waters seem to have survived to this invading character of the *ātrauuaxša.* This assumed modernisation is to be dated at an early date, since the Nērangestān seems to allude to the function of the *ātrauuaxša* of giving the *wāž* to the *zaōtar* (N55.1–2):[24]

> *āat ātrauuaxšahe ẏat ātrəmca aiβi.vaxšaiiāt āθrasca tišrō θraxtiš ẏaōždaθat zaoθraēca vācim paiti.aδaiiāt*

"And the ātravaxša's (duty)? That he shall kindle the fire and purify the three corners of the fire (stand) and he shall respond to the utterance of the zaotar".[25]

The passages in which *sraōšāuuarəza* and *frabərətar* are mentioned appear after the so-called de-installation of the priests in Y58.4–5[26]. The presence of the *frabərətar* in the Āb-zōhr of the LL is connected with the role of this priest in the libation to the waters. He is the priest responsible for the libation to the waters in general (N53.1–2) and accordingly he is the auxiliary priest in a greater Drōn ī Ābān (N53.30). He seems to have assumed the same role for the performance of the libation to the waters during the Āb-zōhr.

The taking of the *wāž* in which the *srāōšāuuarəza* is involved (VrS82.27) is recited during the performance of the second Drōn Yašt typical of the greater performance of the LL. It appears in the unit following the end of the *ašaiia daδąmi*-section. Instead of the *yazamaide-*

[23]The *frabarətar* takes it again from him shortly after, in VrS89.24, as indicate by most manuscripts. They mention that the *rāspīg* takes the *wāž* at the place of the *frabərətar* (*pad gāh ī frabardārān*).

[24]Observe that the Pahlavi version glosses Av. *vācim paiti.aδaiiāt* with *aθā ratuš.*

[25]F. M. Kotwal and P.G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān III,* p. 263.

[26]On this concept see A. Cantera, Vers une *édition de la liturgie longue zoroastrienne: pensées et travaux préliminaires* (Paris, 2014), p. 251f; A. Panaino, 'Studies on the Recursive Patterns in the Mazdean Ritualism. The "Installation" and the so-called "Disinstallation" of the high Priestly College. fərā aməšą̊ spəṇtā gāθå gəu ruuāin' in *Homenaje a Helmut Humbach en su 95° aniversario,* (eds.) A. Cantera and J. J. Ferrer Losilla (Girona, 2017), pp. 129–143. However, under the light of this eveidence the concept itself should be reviewed.

section (Y7.30 [GY7.26]) of the first Drōn Yašt (Srōš Drōn), in the second Drōn a *wāž gīrišnīh* mentioning the *sraōšāuuarəza* opens the recitation of Y52.1-4 and a new recitation of the dedicatory (VrS82.27-32), both of them missing in the first Drōn Yašt. This taking of the *wāž* is problematic from the editorial point of view.[27] The manuscripts are not unanimous concerning the presence or absence of *yō*. Only *sraōšāuuarəzō* appears in mss. 2005, 2010, 2030, 2101, 2106, 4000, 4010, and 4200, but we find *yō sraōšāuuarəzō* in 2102, 2104, 2220 (K11), 2230 (K8), 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055, 4410, 4500, 4515, and 5020 (K4). Both readings are well represented, but *sraōšāuuarəzō* appears in the oldest Iranian manuscripts and in one of the oldest Indian manuscripts. Furthermore, it is the *lectio difficilior*, since *yō* + auxiliary priest is the expected form. If we accept the reading without *yō*, this passage would be exceptional: the *sraōšāuuarəza* would be, together with the *zaōtar*, the only priestly title that would appear in the taking of the *wāž* without the relative pronoun *yō*. If we choose the reading with *yō*, then the *zaōtar* would be taking the *wāž* from the *sraōšāuuarəza*, as he usually does from the *ātrauuaxša*. This *wāž gīrišnīh* of the second Drōn Yašt might reveal a special participation of the *sraōšāuuarəza* during the second Drōn in certain celebrations of the greater LL, but the details are unclear.

The fact that only four of the eight priests are mentioned in the taking of the *wāž* of the greater LL and that there is an almost universal presence of the *zaōtar* and the *ātrauuaxša* (with few exceptions) points to a modernisation of the formula, adapting it to the redistribution of roles within the evolution of the priestly college, until a date that we cannot determine, as recently proposed by Panaino.[28]

The ritual instructions of the manuscripts provide information about the function of some auxiliary priests, mainly through the use of the expression *pad gāh i …* "at the place of …". Out of this expression, I have found only one mention of an auxiliary priest in the ritual instructions of the manuscripts: the *frabardār* is the priest who handles during the recitation of Y11.10 the *parāhōm* to the *zōt* as well in the description of the lesser (where no *frabardār* is

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[27]A. Cantera, 'The taking of the wāz' p. 51.

[28]See A. Panaino, 'The Avestan Priestly College and its Installation', *DABIR* 6 (2018), pp. 86–100. Panaino also assumes a modernisation of the use of the formula (p. 91): "I think that Cantera is certainly right when he presumes that the ritual formulas still preserved in the Av. mss. reflect a certain conservatism (as, for instance, even in the case of the recitation performed by only two priests, which was known also in the Vedic context), but our confidence in their witness must be tempered by the consideration that, in any case, this is a fundamental material only for a partial reconstruction of the Sasanian liturgy, but still less for a determination of the earlier phases of the Avestan liturgy, in particular if we consider the inevitable phenomena connected with the process of modernisation of the Mazdean ceremonies, but also with the inner traditions of the different priestly schools. For instance, the apparently lesser importance attributed to the *sraōšāuuarəza-* in the *wāž* formulary results peculiar, if we think that this priest had fundamental functions and that he also assumed a symbolic prominent role, as representative of the god Sraoša, in his nocturnal protective action, which was extremely significant for the solemn nocturnal liturgies including the intercalation of the Widēwdād chapters. Furthermore, we must observe that the *sraōšāuuarəza-* had a very remarkable role in the Central Asian iconography, where his representations as a winged-priest or bird-priest play a very important symbolic function with direct connection to ritual performances in support of the souls of the dead". Although I agree with Panaino's general statement, I cannot accept his reservations concerning the Sasanian liturgy. There has, of course, been an evolution in the performance. However, the combined use of the information available from different times allows us to trace the historical outline of the evolution of the priestly college with a certain degree of accuracy. The Avestan formulaic materials like the taking of the *wāž* do in fact allow a degree of modernisation and adaptation, whereby they cannot be taken uncritically as evidences of a performance in Antiquity. However, the degree of innovation must be calibrated carefully. The universalisation of change in the use of certain types of taking of the *wāž* is of course possible, but it is more doubtful that systematic differences (like the ones between the greater and lesser performance of the LL after the installation of the priests) might be late adaptations.

expected) as of the greater performance of the LL (e.g. ms. 40[29]: *zōt dast pad bun i barsom frāz dārišn frabardār parāhōm ul ō dast dašn i zōt nihišn ud zōt gōwēd* pairi.tē. haoma "The *zōt* holds his hand at the end of the *barsom*. The *frabardār* puts the *parāhōm* in the right hand of the *zōt* who then says: *pairi.tē haoma*…."). Notice that all the manuscripts containing this information, indicate that before the recitation of Y11.9, the *rāspīg* takes the *parāhōm* and goes to the place of the *frabardārān*. Accordingly, the mention of the *frabardār* seems here to be an archaism for *rāspīg pad gāh ī frabardārān* and point out to a substitution in the ritual instructions as they appear in the manuscripts of the old mention of the single auxiliary priest through the expression *pad gāh ī….*

In most cases, the position of the *rāspīg* might be an indication of a function formerly fulfilled by the corresponding auxiliary priest. This is clearly the case during the installation of the auxiliary priests (VrS11.9 [=GVr3.1]), where after the calling of each auxiliary priest (e.g. *hāuuanānəm āstaiia* "I place the *hāuuanān*"), the *rāspīg* goes to the corresponding place and says *azəm vīsāi* "I am ready". This also applies to other passages. Thus, according to the manuscripts, the *rāspīg* recites *xᵛarata narō* (Y8.3 [GY8.2]) *pad gāh i hāwanān*, and according to N53.22, it is the *hāwanān* who recites it in the Drōn i Ābān. Another example: the ritual instructions indicate that although the pressing of *haōma* has been taken over by the *zōt*, immediately after the pressing of VrS31.16 (GVr12.5) ~ Y27.9 (GY27.7), the *rāspīg* recites an Aṣ̌əm Vohū at the place of the *hāuuanān* (*pad gāh i hāwanān*).

On many occasions, the data on the ritual instructions are confirmed by the taking of the *wāž*. Thus, at the beginning of the second section of the Āb-zōhr, and immediately after the *zaōtar* has taken (the only time in the LL) the *wāž* from the *frābərətar*, then this priest takes it from the former. The Avestan formula is identical to the other times when another auxiliary priest takes the *wāž* from the *zaōtar*, but the ritual instructions attribute its recitation to the *frabardār* (e.g., ms 2007): 'rāspīg pad gāh i frabardārān *yaϑā ahū vairiiō yō zaōtā frā.mē mrūte* zōt *aϑā ratuš aṣ̌āṯciṯ hacā viδuuå aṣ̌auua mraōtū*'. It is clearly the *frabardār* who is taking the *wāž*, as the *zōt* has taken it from him immediately before. The *frabardār* then recites VrS89.25-26. The *zaōtar* then takes the *wāž* again and recites VrS89.27. Interestingly, the same sequence appears in VrS19.0-2 (GVr7.5 and 8.1-2). There, the manuscripts do not indicate that the *rāspīg* takes the *wāž*, but ascribe to him the text VrS19.1-2 (= VrS89.25-26).

Apart from the installation and deinstallation of the priests, the only positions that are mentioned are the ones of the *ātrawaxš*, *hāwanān*, the *frabardār*, *srōš̌āwarz* and the *ābard*:

	lesser LL	greater LL
ātrawaxš		VrS65.13, VrS76.8 (GY58.8), VrS82.31
hāwanān	Y8.3 (GY8.2)	VrS8.3 (GY8.2), VrS78.2
frabardar		VrS11.14 (GY11.9), VrS19.0 (GVr7.5), VrS77.42 (GY59.30), VrS97.1 (GY72.1)
srōš̌āwarz		VrS11.31, VrS15.3 (GVr6.1), VrS24.3 (GVr9.0), VrS31.8, VrS42.3 (GVr14.4), VrS65.3 (GVr21.0), VrS75.3, VrS78.3, VrS82.27, VrS87.5, VrS89.17, VrS93.2
ābard		VrS88.5 (GY64.4)

[29]It is a strongly abbreviated copy by Erachji Sorabji Kausji Meherji Rana in 1878 of a lost manuscript of the Yasna by Rustom Guštāsp Ardešir in 1711. It contains extremely interesting ritual instructions that often remind of the instructions found in the Nērangestān.

The only mention of *ābard* is most likely rather spatial than functional. It appears in the description of the three steps that the *zōt* has to make during the recitation of Y64.4: he goes first in the direction of the *frabardārān*, but the last step is towards the *ābardān* in order to come near to the fire for a last hommage. Accordingly, only four positions seems to be relevant as for the different functions of the *rāspīg*: *gāh ī ātrawaxšān, hāwanān, frabardarān* and *srōšāwarzān*.

This is not accidental. According to the interpretation of K. Rezania, the positions of the priests in the Avestan period were not exactly the same as in the representations of the manuscripts.[30] They appear sitting in three groups: *āsnātar* and *hāuuanān*, to the right of the *zaōtar*; *raēθβiškara* and *frābarətar*, to the left; on the opposite side, in front of the *zaōtar*, but slightly to the right, the *ātrauuaxša*.[31] Two priests, the *ābərət* and the *sraōšāuuarəza* move around freely, but their standing position was probably located near the *ātrauuaxša*, to the left of the fire. The manuscripts seem to operate with a standard position of the *rāspīg* at the place of the *ātrauuaxša* (confirming the almost universal mention of the *ātrauuaxša* in the taking of the *wāž*), and they indicate only when the *rāspīg* moves to other positions, corresponding to the two additional sitting groups of priests in the old performance and the place of the *sraōšāuuarəza*.

In at least one passage the postion near the fire is defined by the ritual instruction as the "own" position of the *rāspīg* (VrS78.4):

*hamrāspīg ōy ī gāh ī frabardārān ašəm vohū guftan ō ī gāh ī xwēš āmadan ātaxš abrōxtan*

"The *rāspīg* should recite one Ašəm Vohū at the place of the *frabardārān*, go then to his own place and kindle the fire".

Only three additional positions seems to be relevant: the ones of the *hāwanān, frabardarān* and *srōšāwarzān*. Interestingly, at the end of Y59, we find a very notable closing. After the Yeŋhē Hātā closing the litany *yazamaide* VrS77.41 (GY59.29), it follows the request of "what is better than good" (*vaŋhaōt vaŋ́hō*). Then, after 10 Ahuna Vairiia and 10 Ašəm Vohū and a *yazamaide* that serves as conclusion of the Fšūšō Maϑra and the Staōta Yesńiia (VrS77.46 [GY59.33]), the *zōt* and *rāspīg* recite an anomalous closing: one Yeŋhē Hātā and the only passage of the LL in which a single Ahuna Vairiia is recited. Then, in the major performances, according to the *nerang*, the *rāspīg* moves to the three main positions of the auxiliary priests (besides the one of the *ātrawaxš*): at the place of the of the *hāwanān*, the *rāspīg* recites Y51.23, then a Yeŋhē Hātā at the place of the *srōšāwarz* and an Ašəm Vohū at the place of the *frabardār*. The *rāspīg* closes the Staōta Yesńiia at the four places where he can perform: together with the *zōt* at the place of the *ātrawaxš* and then alone at the places of *hāwanān, srōšāwarz* and *frabardār*.

Accordingly, the ritual instructions of the manuscripts seem to operate with a distribution of of the auxiliary priests on the ritual area that is not very different from the Avestan one substitute through "(see figure below)".

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[30] K. Rezania, *Raumkonzeptionen im frühen Zoroastrismus. Kosmische, kultische und soziale Räume* (Wiesbaden, 2017), p. 278ff.
[31] This is how the Avestan Nērangestān (N13) should be interpreted when it affirms that the recitations make the *ratu-* happy, when the priests recite in two or three sitting groups (*biš.hastrəm/θriš.hastrəm*).
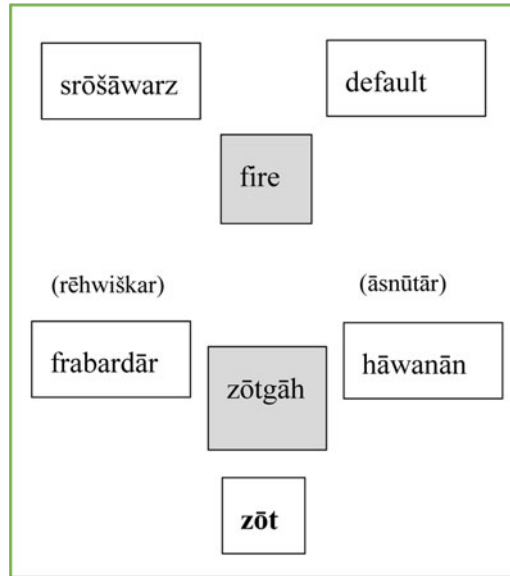
The main difference is that at the time of production of the manuscripts, one *rāspīg* assumes all the former functions of the auxiliary priests that have not been taken over by the *zōt* and moves around the different positions. This is a similar situation to the one displayed by the taking of the *wāž*, with the exception that the latter does not mention the *hāuuanān*. The taking of the *wāž* represents a slightly more advanced stage in which the *zaōtar* and the *ātrauuaxša* have assumed almost all the functions, thus creating a bipolar structure. As we have seen, the *sraōšāuuarəza-* and the *frabarətar* are mentioned there only on one occasion.

Three positions are defined by the functions the auxiliary priest has to fulfil: when he has to act near the *zōt* and provide to him some implements, he can only take either the position of the *frabardār* or *hāwanān*;[32] when he has to act near the fire, only the position of the *ātrauuaxš* is thinkable. However, there is no a clear link between a practical function and the position of the *srōšāwarz*. In this case, there is no spatial reason for mentioning his position. First, he is able to move around the sacrifical area. Secondly, his standard position near to the *ātrauuaxša*, behind the fire, is not necessary for any special ritual action, either the handling of the fire, the *barsom* or the *hōm*. Therefore, when his position is mentioned, it most likely refers to one of his former specific functions and strikingly his position is the one that is most frequently mentioned. Most of the mentions correspond however, to one single function that is repeated several times along the performance.

Throughout the performance of the LL (and only in the LL), on several occasions we encounter an exhortation to the priests to pay attention to the sacrifice: *sərōšō iδā astū … yasnāi* "Let attention/(the god) Attentiveness be here for the sacrifice to…". Whenever this

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[32]We even find fluctuations between both positions in the manuscripts. Thus, according to all manuscripts, it is at the position of the *hāwanān* (*pad gāh ī hāwanān*) that the *rāspīg* invites the priests to partaking the *drōn* in Y8.3 [GY8.2] (*xᵛarata narō*). However, the manuscript ms. 2101 attributes this function to the *frabardār*.

formula appears in the greater LL, the exchange is always started by the *rāspīg* at the place of the *sraošāuuarəza* (*pad gāh i srōšāwarzān*). This appears, indeed, as his main function, and hence his title *sraošāuuarəza* "the attention-maker": he is the one responsible for *sraōša-* "attention, attentive hearing" during the performance of the greater LL, and this is achieved mainly through the recitation of the *srōš-barišnīh*. Apart from this function, the position of the *srōšāwarz* is rarely mentioned: beside the installation and the so-called "de-installation", only in VrS65.30, 78.3 and 82.27.

In what follows, I shall analyze the usage of this formula in the LL, as it has not received the attention it deserves (the only analyses focuses on the possible Old Avestan quotations included in it, see below) and the standard editions do not allow a proper understanding of the formula. They have omitted most of the attestations, and when edited they include only part of the formula, thus preventing a proper understanding. These problems have been solved by the current edition of the Corpus Avesticum Berolinense.[33] The next section shows the new possibilities provided by this recent edition of the rituals in the Avestan language.

The *srōš-barišnīh*

Manuscript 2000 (K7b) designates the formula as it appears in the greater performance of the LL as *wāž az srōš yasn*. Immediately after the end of Y57 and before the *srōš-barišnīh* introducing the Fšūšō Maθra, the ritual instruction of ms 2000 (K7b) says: *wāž az srōš yasn bē guftan* "He should say the *wāž* of the Srōš Yasn". The name derives from the fact that the simplest variant of this formula is repeated three times in Y56. Furthermore, Kotwal and Kreyenbroek identify correctly the designation *srōš-barišnīh* "the bringing of Srōš" (N18.3) with this formula and this is the designation I use in this paper.[34]

The formula has an Indo-Iranian background. The most recent comparison was made by J. Kellens, who refers to TS1.6.11.1:[35]

ā́ śrāvayéti cáturakṣaram	(The *adhvaryu* to the *āgnīdhra*), the tetrasyllabic: *ā́ u śrāvaya* "You shall recite"
ástu śráuṣaḍ *íti cáturakṣaraṃ*	(The *āgnīdhra*), the tetrasyllabic: *ástu śráuṣad* "Let (the *hotar*) be here! He shall
yájéti dvyàkṣaraṃ	hear attentively!"
yé yájāmaha íti páñcākṣaraṃ	(The *adhvaryu* to the *hotar*), the bisyllabic: *yája* "make a sacrifice!"
dvyakṣaró vaṣaṭkārás	(The *hotar*), the pentasyllabic: *yé yájāmahe* "We here, we perform the sacrifice",
	(then) the bisyllabic *vaṣad* "Let (Agni) drive!"

The tetrasyllabic *ástu śráuṣad* addressed by the *āgnīdhra* to the *hotar* strongly recalls the Avestan formula, despite its different grammatical form. In Avestan, the verb *śrauṣad* "he shall hear attentively" has been transformed into a substantive *sraōša* that designates the attentive hearing of the performance by a priest, and thus the active attentive performance of the ritual.[36] This

[33]See http://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/cab/

[34]F. M. Kotwal and P. G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. Volume II: Nērangestān, Fragard 1* (Paris, 1995), p. 101 n. 339.

[35]J. Kellens, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 4. L'acmé du sacrifice. Les parties récentes des Staota Yesniia (Y27.13-Y59) avec les intercalations de Visprad 13 à 24 et la Dahmā Āfriti (Y60-61)*, (Paris, 2011), p. 70. Surprisingly, this formula is not mentioned at all in the impressive recent comparison of Vedic and Avestan ritual formulas published by V. Sadovski, 'Ritual formulae'.

[36]X. Tremblay, Annexe II to 'Xavier Tremblay et la liturgie longue proto-indo-iranienne' in *Études de linguistique iranienne in memoriam Xavier Tremblay,* (ed.) É. Pirart (Leuven-Paris-Bristol, 2016), pp. 65, 76.

mental attitude has been divinised in the Avestan tradition in the god Sraōša "Attentiveness". Thus, with *səraōšō iδā astū* as well, the presence of the god Attentiveness is reclaimed for the following section of the sacrifice as the attentive participation of the performing priests.

The basic pattern is an initial formula "Let it pay attention/let Sraōša be here for the *yasna* to …" (*səraōšō iδā astū … yasnāi …*) followed by the instruction to repeat again the formula (*hiiaṯ paδuruuīm taṯ ustəməmciṯ* "What (has been said) first, (let's say) it last") and then by the repetition of the same text introduced by the adverb *auuaθāṯ* "thus (*auuaθāṯ iδā səraōšō astū … yasnāi …*).[37] Its fixed elements seem to be redacted in Middle Avestan[38] (or a modernised Old Avestan). Pirart holds some sections included in the variable parts for *incipits* of the texts for which the attention is asked.[39] Tremblay has forwarded some arguments against the *incipit*-theory.[40] The most important however, has been overlooked: the *yasna* to which they refer is not a lost *yasna*, but parts of the actual LL. The formulas gathered in Y56 introduce parts of the liturgy that are going to be performed afterwards, the Fšūšō Mąθra[41] and the two sections of the Āb-zōhr:

1. Y63.5 (*apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi aməšanąmca spəntanąm ašāunąmca frauuašibiiō yā̊.nō ištā uruuōibiiō* =Y56.2) and the parallel VrS87.5 (*apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi aməšanąmca spəntanąm ašāunąmca frauuašibiiō yā̊.nō ištā. zaōiiō uruuōibiiō ašāunąmca yasnāi*) clearly refer to the first stanza of the Āb-zōhr (Y63.6):

    *ahurəm mazdąm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide **aməšā spəntā** huxšaθrā hudā̊ŋhō yazamaide* (Y35.1) *Y63.6 ahurəm mazdąm aša̅ uuanəm aša̅ he ratū̅m yazamaide aməšā̄ ˉ spəntā huxšaθrā huδā̊ ̊̄ hō yazamaide [Y35.1] apō aṯ‿ yazamaide aša̅ ū nąm urunascā frauuašị̄ š̄ cā yazamaide [Y38.3])*

    apō aṯ yazamaide ašāunąm urunascā frauuašīšcā yazamaide.

    and its variant in the greater performance (VrS87.7-9) that consists of Yt13.153-4 including at its beginning Y39.2:

    apō aṯ yazamaide

    daitikanąmcā aidiiūnąm hiiaṯ urunō yazamaidē

    *ašāunąm āaṯ **urunō** yazamaidē*

    kudō.zātanąmcīṯ narąmcā nāirinąmcā

    yaēšąm vahehīš daēnā̊ vanainṯī vā və̄ŋghən vā vaōnarə vā

    vanəntąm vaŋhəntąm vaōnāšąm daēnō.sācąm iδa ašaōnąm ašaōninąmca ahūmca daēnąmca

    *baōδasca **uruuānəmca frauuašīmca** yazamaide yōi ašāi vaōnarə.*

2. In Y65.17 and VrS89.17 (*səraōšō. iδā. astū. apąm. vaŋᵛhīnąm. yasnāi. vaŋhuš. vaŋᵛhīnąm. aməšanąmcā. spəntanąm. huxšaθranąm. huδā̊ŋhąm. vohunąmcā. vaŋhuiiā̊scā. aδōiš. yasnāi. yā̊.nō. āraēcā. ərənauuataēcā. ašaŋhāxš. səraōšascā. iδā. astū. apąm. vaŋᵛhīnąm. yasnāi. vaŋhuš. ašiuuā̊*) the mention of Aši refers clearly to the initial words of Y68.21: *vaŋᵛhīm*

[37]See already É. Pirart, 'Les fragments vieil-avestiques du Y 56' in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 52 (1991), pp. 127–135.

[38]X. Tremblay, 'Le pseudo-gâthique. Notes de lecture avestiques II', in *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea, held in Ravenna, 6–11 October 2003. Vol. I Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies,* (eds.) A. Panaino and A. Piras (Milan, 2006) pp. 270ff.

[39]É. Pirart, 'Les fragments vieil-avestiques', pp. 127–135.

[40]X. Tremblay, 'Le pseudo-gâthique', p. 271f.

[41]The introduction to the Fšūšō Mąθra appears only in the greater LL: VrS75.2-11.

iδāt̰ āдạm vaŋᵛhīm **ašīm** *āca nica mrūmaide*. It is at this moment that the libation to the waters takes place, as the *nērang* of the manuscripts and N53.31 indicate (see also Kotwal and Boyd 124). It is followed by the initial words of Y38.3, 4 and 5, stressing again the link between Āb-zōhr and Yasna Haptaŋhāiti.

The Old Avestan texts quoted are not the *incipits* of lost texts, but are integrated into new texts composed on the basis of older fragments, quoting and reinterpreting them. Thus, the Old Avestan quotation *γə̄.nā̃ ištō* that appears when the presence of *sraōša* is required for the *yasna* to Ahura Mazdā (*sǝraōšō iδā astū ahurahe mazdā̊ yasnāi sǝuuīštahe ašaōnō γə̄.nā̃ ištō*) is reinterpreted as "who has received a sacrifice from us", as shown by the reformulation *γā̃.nō ištā̃* used when the formula is applied to the *frauuašis* (as is the case when the *yasna* is for the Waters):

> *sǝraōšō iδā astū apạm vaŋᵛhīnạm yasnāi ašāunạmca frauuašibiiō γā̃.nō ištā̃ uruuōibiiō hiiat̰ paōuruuīm tat̰ ustǝmǝmcīt̰.*
>
> "Let Sraōša be here for the *yasna* to the good (divine) waters and for the *frauuašis* of the orderly ones, (the *frauuašis*) who received a *yasna* from us, and for the souls"

The shape of the formula, the way of performing it and its frequency depend largely on the type of liturgy in which it is included. These differences have never been analyzed before, as all the descriptions[42] are based exclusively on the formula as it appears in Y56, the only instance in which the formulas have the same form in the greater and lesser performances of the liturgy. In the greater LL, this formula is not only more complex, but also much more frequent (tenfold instead of threefold in the Yasna). The following is a comparative table of the presence of the formula in the lesser and greater performances:

Section introduced	lesser LL	greater LL
Frauuarāne of Y11.18		VrS11.30-32
Yasna 16	Y15.2-3	VrS15.2-4 (GVr6.1-3)
Hōmāst	–	VrS24.2-9 (=GVr9.0-8)
Pressing of *haōma* during the Hōmāst	[Y27.6][43]	VrS31.7-11[44]
1ˢᵗ Yasna Haptaŋhāiti	–	VrS42.2-10 (GVr14.4-15.7[45])
2ⁿᵈ Yasna Haptaŋhāiti	–	VrS65.2-11 (GVr21.0)
Fšūšō Ma̜θra	–	VrS75.2-11
1ˢᵗ section of the Āb-zōhr	Y63.4-5	VrS87.4-6
2ⁿᵈ section of the Āb-zōhr	Y65.16-18	VrS89.16-22
Commentary to the Spǝṇtāmainiiu Hāiti in the Āb-zōhr		VrS93.2-3

The main formal dissimilarities concern the persons involved in its recitation and the possibility of adding stanzas in the middle or at the end of the proper *srōš-barišnīh*. In Y56, the formula is always recited only by the *zaōtar*. In the lesser performances of the LL, the

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[42] É. Pirart, 'Les fragments vieil-avestiques', pp. 127–135; X. Tremblay, 'Le pseudo-gâthique', p. 270ff; J. Kellens, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 4*, p. 63ff.

[43] See above note 29.

[44] See the text in Appendix 1 § 3.

[45] This is the instance of the formula in the greater LL that is edited with more detail in Geldner. Nonetheless, Geldner divides it in two different *karde*: the introduction to the speaking of the *rāspīg* at the end of *karde* 14 and the rest as part of *karde* 15. He follows some (but not all) exegetical manuscripts, but this way of editing renders it impossible to understand the formula's well-established structure.

manuscripts regularly indicate that both recite the introductory stanza (*yeṅhē.mē…*) and do not mention any change of speaker during the recitation of the formula. According to the description by Kotwal and Boyd, in Y63.1-2 and Y65.16-18 both priests recite *unisono* the complete formula, but in Y15.2-3, there is a change of speaker (not mentioned in the manuscripts): both recite together from the beginning (*yeṅhē.mē…*) until *ustəməmcit,* then the *zōt* recites alone *auuaϑāt̰ iδā səraōšō astū ahurahe mazdā yasnāi səuuīštahe ašaōnō yə̄.nå ištō.*[46] By contrast, the formula is recited in the greater performances alternatively by the *rāspīg* and the *zaōtar.* Furthermore, apart from Y56, the formula is always preceded by a stanza consisting of the last strophe of the Vohuxšaθrā Gāθā (Y51.22) plus the first verse of the same Gāθā (Y51.1a *vohū xšaθrəm vairīm bāgəm aibī.bairištəm*). This combination also appears in Y69.6 (GY69.3).[47] In the greater performance, the formula is also closed by the Yeṅhē Hātā, a re-elaboration of Y51.22, so that the formula begins and ends with a reference to the last stanza (Y51.22) of the Vohu.xšaϑrā Gāϑā.[48]

The differences between the three ways of performing it can be seen in the next table (the parts exclusive to the greater LL are underlined, and optional parts are between parentheses):

	Y56 (zōt)	lesser LL (zōt ud rāspīg together)[49]	greater LL (zōt ud rāspīg in exchange)
Intro		zōt ud rāspīg *yeṅhē mē ašāt̰ hacā vahištəm yesnē paitī* *vaēdā mazdå ahurō yōi ā̊ṅharəcā həṇticā* *tą yazāi xᵛāiš nāmə̄nīš pairicā jasāi vaṇtā* *vohū xšaθrəm vairīm bāgəm aibībairištəm.*[50]	
First recitation			rāspīg _yaϑā ahū vairiiō_ _yō zaōtā frā.mē mrūte_ _zōt aϑā ratuš ašāt̰cit̰_ _hacā viδuuå ašauua_ _mraōtū._
	zōt *səraōšō iδā astū .. yasnāi …* (extension) (*səraōšascā iδā astū… yasnāi …*) *hiiat̰ paδuruuīm tat̰ ustəməmcīt̰.*	zōt ud rāspīg *səraōšō iδā astū .. yasnāi …* (extension) (*sraōšasca iδā astū … yasnāi…*) *hiiat̰ paδuruuīm tat̰ ustəməmcīt̰.*	rāspīg *səraōšō iδā astū .. yasnāi …* (extension) (*sraōšasca iδā astū … yasnāi…*) _(sraōšō astu)_
			(Continued)

[46]F. M. Kotwal and J. W. Boyd, *A Persian offering. The Yasna: a Zoroastrian high liturgy* (Paris, 1991).

[47]The combination of Y51.23 [GY51.22] with *vohū. xšaθrəm. vairīm. bāgəm. aibī.bairištəm* has to be compared with Y69.3. The whole chapter Y69 is a sevenfold repetition of Y51.23 (GY51.22). The first recitation is closed with *vohu manō vahištəm*; the second and third by *ašəm vohū vahištəm* astī; the three last ones, by *vohū xšaθrəm vairīm bāgəm aibī.bairištəm.*

[48]For the link between the god Sraōša and Y51 see J. Kellens, 'Fabriquer un dieu avec du gâthique: le cas de Sraōša', in *Le Sort des Gâthâs et autres études iraniennes in memoriam Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin,* Acta Iranica 54, (ed.) É. Pirart (Leuven, 2013), pp. 93–100.

[49]A different variant of the formula appears in Y27.7 (GY27.6), announcing the filtering of the *haōma* that is to be performed during the four Ahuna Vairiia of Y27.9 (GY27.7) and the subsequent Old Avestan quotations [on this variant, see J. Kellens, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 3. Le long préambule du sacrifice (Yasna 16 à 27, avec les intercalations de Visprad 7 à 12)* (Paris, 2010), p 111:

haōma. pairi.harəšìieṇte. mazda.xšaϑra. aša.ratauuō. vaŋhuš. **sraōšō. yō.** *ašahe. hacaite. mązaraiia. hōca.* **iδa. yōiϑβā. astu.**

"The *haōma*-twigs are going to be filtered that are bestowers of the power of Mazdā and the articulations of the Order. The good (divine) Sraōša who is accompanied (by Aši) who bears great richness should already have taken his ritual place".

[50]In the greater LL, three Ašəm Vohū often precede this stanza, with the only exceptions being VrS89.16 and when it follows a Frauuarāne: VrS15.2 (after Y15.1 *satica vaṇtāca…* that follows a Frauuarāne) and VrS87.1.

Continued.

	Y 56 (zōt)	lesser LL (zōt ud rāspīg together)	greater LL (zōt ud rāspīg in exchange)
			hiiat̰ paδuruuīm tat̰ ustəməmcīt̰. zōt *yaϑā ahū vairiiō yō ātrauuaxšō frā.mē mrūte rāspīg aϑā ratuš ašāt̰cit̰ hacā viδuuā ašauua.*
Repetition	zōt *auuaϑāt̰ iδā səraōšō astū … yasnāi …* (extension) (*sraōšasca iδā astū … yasnāi…*)	zōt ud rāspīg[51] *auuaϑāt̰ iδā səraōšō astū … yasnāi …* (extension) (*sraōšasca iδā astū … yasnāi…*)	zōt *auuaϑāt̰ iδā səraōšō astū … yasnāi …* (extension) (*sraōšasca iδā astū … yasnāi…*) (*sraōšō astu*)
Closing			(Y 57.4 / *ϑβạm ātrəm… ratūm bərəzaṇtəm yazamaide yim ahurəm mazdạm yō ašahe apanō.təmō yō ašahe jaɣmūštəmō vīspa srauuā̊ zaraϑuštri yazamaide vīspaca huuaršta šiiaōϑna yazamaide varštaca varəśiiamnaca*) Yeŋhē Hātā

When the formula contains extensions after the relative pronoun agreeing with the genitive depending on *yasnāi*, then *sraōšō astū* appears before *hiiat̰ paδuruuīm tat̰ ustəməmcīt̰* and it is again recited at the end of the repetition by the *zaōtar*.

Furthermore, the closing section shows different shapes. There are two different variants of the text appearing before *ratūm bərəzaṇtəm*:

– Variant 1

sraōšəm ašīm yazamaide	We make a *yasna* for Sraōša who is accompanied by reward.
ratūm bərəzaṇtəm yazamaide yim ahurəm mazdạm	We make a *yasna* for the Great Ratu that is Ahura Mazdā, the first
yō ašahe apanō.təmō yō ašahe jaɣmūštəmō	who discovered (the paths) of Aša, the first who has come (on the ways) of Aša.
vīspa srauuā̊ zaraϑuštri yazamaide	We make a *yasna* for all Zaraϑuštra's recited texts.
vīspaca huuaršta šiiaōϑna yazamaide	We make a *yasna* for all the good (ritual) actions that have already
varštaca varəśiiamnaca.	been performed and will be performed.

[51]In Y15, the *zōt* according to the indications of Kotwal and Boyd.

– Variant 2

θβąm ātrəm ahurahe mazdā puϑrəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide	We make a *yasna* for you, fire, son of Ahura Mazdā, the orderly *ratu* of Aša.
haδa.zaōϑrəm haδa.aiβiiåŋhanəm imaṯ barəsma ašaiia frastarətəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide.	We make a *yasna* for the *barəsman* that gets the libation, is tied with the girdle and has been spread according to Aša, the orderly *ratu* of Aša.
apąm naptārəm yazamaide	We make a *yasna* for Apąm Napat.
nairīm saŋhəm yazamaide	We make a *yasna* for Nairiia Saŋha.
taxməm dāmōiš upamanəm yazatəm yazamaide.	We make a *yasna* for the brave Dāmōiš Upamana.
iristanąm uruuąnō yazamaide yā ašaōnąm frauuašaiiō.	We make a *yasna* for the souls of the dead people that are the *frauuaši*s of the orderly ones.
ratūm bərəzaṇtəm yazamaide yim ahurəm mazdąm …	We make a *yasna* for the Great Ratu that is Ahura Mazdā… (like before)

In the second variant, the closing does not appear immediately after the text repeated by the *zōt*, but after the *yasna* for whose performance the presence of Sraōša is required. The scheme is the following:

srōš barišnīh	*yasna*	*θβąm ātrəm* + Yenhē Hātā
VrS15.2–4 (GVr6.1–3); Y15.2–4	Y16–17	VrS18.5–7 (GVr7.5)
VrS24.2–9 (=GVr9.0–8)	Hōmāst	VrS30.12–14 (GVr15.1–2)
VrS87.1–3; Y63.4–5 [GY63.1–2]	VrS87.7–13; Y63.6 (GY63.3)	VrS87.12–14
VrS93.2–3	VrS93.4–8[52]	VrS93.9–11

By contrast, in the first variant of the closing it appears immediately after the repetition by the *zōt*. Accordingly, the *yasna* should appear after the closing of the formula and be external to the formula. This is the case, among others, with both Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and the Fšūšō Mąϑra with the following Y59:

srōš-barišnīh greater LL	*sraōšəm ašīm yazamaide ratūm bərəzaṇtəm*	*yasna*	*θβąm ātrəm …*	Yenhē Hātā
VrS11.30–2	VrS11.36 (GVr4.3)	VrS12.1–13.7[53] (GVr11.16–GY13.7)		VrS13.7 (GY13.7)
VrS42.2–10 (GVr14.4–15.7),	VrS42.11 (GVr15.5)	1st Yasna Haptaŋhāiti	VrS51.8–9 (GVr16.4)	VrS51.10
VrS65.2–10 (GVr21.0)	VrS65.11 (GVr21.0)	2nd Yasna Haptaŋhāiti	VrS65.82–3 (GVr21.4–5)	VrS65.84 (GVrs21.5)
VrS75.2–10	VrS75.11	Fšūšō Mąϑra + Y59		VrS77.41 (Y59.29)
VrS89.16–21	VrS89.22	VrS90 + Y38.3–5		VrS91.5 (GY67.8)

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[52]This section shows an important difference that distinguishes it from the other. In this case, the *yasna* does not appear in the lesser performances, but it is exclusive of the greater performance. The case is comparable with the *yasna* of VrS11.33–5 (GVr4.1).

[53]The proper *yasna* is VrS13.7 (GY13.7) preceding the closing Yeŋhē Hātā.

In the case of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, the *yasna* is closed exactly in the same way like the *srōš-barišnīh* in its second variant. It could be a second closing of the formula, after the *yasna*. However, since the second variant is identical to the closing of the sections of the Stāotā Yesńiia we could as well assume that this second closing has nothing to do with the *srōš-barišnīh*.

The reasons for the distribution between both variants are not clear. Nevertheless, we state that when the proper *yasna* is composed completely or partly in Old or Middle Avestan,[54] the formula is closed before the proper *yasna* with a mini-*yasna* for Sraōša and the standard closing (and the mention of fire, *barəsman*, Apąm Napat, etc.) is omitted.

The biggest difficulty for the analysis of this formula in the greater LL arises from the fact that most instances were not edited at all by Geldner,[55] or only partially. The new edition of the Corpus Avesticum Berolinense tries to solve these difficulties, but until now an analysis of the arrangement and function of this formula in the greater performance was possible only checking the manuscripts. The standard formula of the greater performance of the LL has, indeed, never been edited in full. Geldner twice included it in his edition, but so abridged that it does not allow a correct reconstruction of the original text. In all its other appearances, it is simply omitted, with a greater impact on the understanding of the extensions that are edited (see below). In appendix 1, I show how these passages were edited by Geldner, and how the abbreviations have been resolved in TITUS, and compare it with our edition based on the liturgical manuscripts. Geldner often edits only the extensions,[56] and then only partially so. Given that the extensions as edited by Geldner sometimes depend syntactically on the verbs of the non-edited formula, the edited texts are frequent misunderstood (see below). Furthermore, all the instances of the formula appearing in the greater performance after Y54 are not edited by Geldner (since they do not appear in the exegetical manuscripts). Here I display in a table the attestations of this formula in the greater performance indicating whether they have been edited by Geldner or not:

	extension[57]	standard formula-Geldner	extension- Geldner
VrS11.30–32	–	–	
VrS15.2–4	–	Vr6.1 (abbreviated)	
VrS24.2–12	+	–	Vr9
VrS31.7–11	+	–	partly (Vr12.1)
VrS42.2–11	+	–	Vr14
VrS65.2–11	+	21.0 (abbreviated)	Vr21.0 (abbreviated)
VrS75.2–11	+	–	–
VrS87.1–3	+	–	–
VrS89.16–21	+	–	–
VrS93.2–3	–	–	–

The formula can be extended in different ways. Although extensions are also used in the lesser LL, they are more frequent and longer in the greater LL. Furthermore, for the two

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[54]This is clear for both Yasna Haptaŋhāiti. In the case of the second part of the Āb-zōhr, the reference could be to the text of the proper libation; the *yasna* to the waters of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (Y38.2–5). The other two passages are followed by Middle Avestan sections: the extended Frauuarāne of Y12 and the Fšūšō Maϑra.

[55]K. F. Geldner, *Avesta. The sacred books of the Parsis* (Stuttgart, 1886–1896).

[56]The standard formula is sometimes extended by additional texts I call extensions. They are described below.

[57]It indicates whether or not the standard formula is extended with an additional text.

instances in which the formula has extensions in the lesser performances, we find in the greater different and longer versions of the extensions that have never been edited. In the case of Y63.1-2 and VrS87.1-3 the differences are minimal, but might be important for understanding the passage (see below):

lesser	greater
zōt ud rāspīg	rāspīg
sraōšō iδa astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi šāunąmca frauuašibiiō yā̊.nō ištā uruuōibiiō hiiaṯ paδuruuīm taṯ ustəməmcīṯ.	*sraōšō iδa astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi aməšanąmca spəntanąm ašāunąmca frauuašibiiō yā̊.nō ištā zaδiiō uruuōibiiō ašāunąmca yasnāi.*
	sraōšō astū yaṯ paδuruuīm taṯ ustəməmcīṯ.

Between Y65.16-18 and VrS89.16-22 the difference consists in the addition of the end of an extension that we find in other instances of the formula in the greater LL (see below):

lesser	greater
zōt ud rāspīg	rāspīg
sraōšō iδa astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi vaŋhuš vaŋᵛhīnąm aməšanąmca spəntanąm yasnāi yā̊.nō āraēca ərənauuataēca ašaŋhāxš.	*sraōšō iδa astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi vaŋhuš vaŋᵛhīnąm aməšanąmca spəntanąm yasnāi yā̊.nō āraēca ərənauuataēca ašaŋhāxš.*
sraōšasca iδa astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi vaŋhuš ašiuuā hiiaṯ paδuruuīm taṯ ustəməmcīṯ.	*sraōšasca iδa astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi vaŋhuš ašiuuā* <u>*ratušca ašaōnō bərəzatō yasnāica vaŋāica yaṯ apanōtəmahe raϑβō yaṯ jaɣmūšiiā ašōiš yaṯ jaɣmūšiiā ratufritōiš yaṯ maϑrahe spəntahe yaṯ daēnaiiā mązdaiiasnōiš yaṯ staōtanąm yesńiianąm yaṯ vīspaēšąmca raϑβąm vīspanąmca ratufritinąm vīspaiiā sacatca ašaōnō stōiš yasnāica vaŋāica xšnaōϑrāica frasastaiiaēca.*</u>
	sraōšō astū hiiaṯ paδuruuīm taṯ ustəməmcīṯ.

Usually, the extension said by the *rāspīg* is repeated exactly by *zōt*: VrS24.2-9 (=GVr9.0-8), VrS42.2-10 (GVr14.4-15.7[1]), VrS65.2-11 (GVr21.0), VrS75.2-11[1], VrS87.1-3, VrS89.16-22. In only one passage, the extension recited by the *zōt* is similar to the one recited by the *rāspīg*, but its wording is different: VrS31.7-11. Nevertheless, VrS31.7-11 is a secondary adaptation to the standard *sraōšō astū-* formula of Y27.7 (GY27.6), where the presence of *sraōša* is invoked in a different way than in the standard formula. Here, the *rāspīg* recites the version that we find in Y27.7 [GY27.6]:

> *haōma pairi harəṣ́iiente mazda.xšaϑra aša.ratauuō*[58] *vaŋhuš sraōšō yō ašahe hacaite mązaraiia hōca iδa yōiϑβā astu hiiaṯ paδuruuīm taṯ ustəməmcīṯ.*

> The *haōma*s that have the power of Mazdā and are the *ratu*s of Aša are going to be filtered. The good Sraōša, who bestows wealth, should already have taken his ritual place here. What first, that later.

The answer given by the *zōt* is adapted to the regular scheme of the *srōš-barišnīh*, however Geldner edited it defectively and the original syntactic structure cannot be recognized. The section underlined is not edited by Geldner (VrS31.11 [GVr12.1]):

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[58]I understand this compound to be a variant of the frequent *ašahe ratu-*, cf. J. Kellens, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 4*, p. 111.

auuaϑāṯ iδā səraōšō astū ahurahe mazdā̊ yasnāi səuuīštahe ašaōnō yə̄ nā̊ ištō haōmanąmca harə́šiiamnanąm yōi harə́šiieṇte raϑβeca bərəzaiteyaṯ ahurāi mazdāi ašaōne yaṯ zaraϑuštrāi spitamāi frafšu frāuuīra.tāca hā vaŋhuš sraōšō yō ašahe hacaite mązaraiia hōca iδa yōiϑβā astu.

The genitive plural is coordinated through °*ca* with the previous *ahurahe mazdā̊* of *ahurahe mazdā̊ yasnāi səuuīštahe ašaōnō yə̄ nā̊ ištō*, as is the case in VrS24.4-5 (GVr9.1-2) (see below). Accordingly, the stanza can only be understood together with the previous *auuaϑāṯ iδā səraōšō astū ahurahe mazdā̊ yasnāi səuuīštahe ašaōnō yə̄ nā̊* that does not appear in Geldner's edition, and has to be translated as:

> "Let Sraōša be here for the *yasna* to Ahura Mazdā, the very powerful, who has received a *yasna* from us, and to the *haōma*s that are going to be filtered and to the great Ratu that is Ahura Mazdā̊ and to Spitama Zaraθuštra and to the possession of good cattle and men. This good Sraōša, who is accompanied by Aša and bestows wealth, should have already taken his ritual place here."

The problematic passage is thus the quotation of the Yasna in the speech of the *rāspīg* that does not fit well in the standard pattern of the extensions of the *uāž* from the Sröš Yašt. The repetition/ adaptation of the passage as it appears in the lesser performance is due to the attempt in the greater performances to adapt this passage to the standard formula. The passage was adapted in the answer of the *zōt*, but the original text was kept in the initial speech of the *rāspīg*.

There are basically (besides VrS31.7-11) two types of extensions that might be combined:

a. an extension of the dative *yasnāi* through a series of datives mentioning the ritual action for which *sraōša* should be present
b. the imperative *sraōšō iδā astu* might be complemented by further imperatives: either a repetition (*səraōšasca iδā astū*) or exhortations to the performing priests in the second person plural (*dāraiiaδβəm, staōtaca*).

Several instances of the formula share the same or similar extensions. Thus, the extension of the introduction of the two Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and the Fšūšō Mąθra is identical, changing just the title of the introduced section of the LL. Part of the same text (from *staōtaca yasnāi* on = VrS42.7-8 [GVr15.4-5]) also appears at the end of the introduction to the Hōmāst (VrS24.9-10 [GVr 9.6-7]) and, with an alternative beginning, again in the introduction to the second section of the Āb-zōhr (VrS89.18-19).

As Geldner has mostly edited only the extensions, but not imbedded within the *srōš-barišnīh*, these texts have been largely misunderstood. Thus, the whole text of the introduction to the Hōmāst (VrS24.2-9 [GVr9.0-8]) edited by Geldner does not include a main sentence (see appendix 1 § 2). The main sentence is the preceding one, but not edited *səraōšō iδā astū ahura mazdā̊ yasnāi*. The core of the extension is a series of datives in VrS24.6 (GVr9.3), coordinated with the previous *yasnāi*: *āuuistaiiaēca aiβi.vistaiiaēca aiβiš.hutaiiaēca upāštaiiaēca upaŋharštaiiaēca hufrāiiaštaiiaēca hufrramərə-taiiaēca* "(let *sraōša* be here) for the consecration, for the presentation, for the pressing, the transpos-ition, the filtering, the solemn sacrifice and the good recitation". These are the actions that are going to be performed during the Hōmāst, and for which the presence of *sraōša* is required. The stanzas VrS24.4-5 (GVr9.1-2) contain the genitives (*haōmanąm … zaōθranąm…*) that are governed by the list of datives "for the consecration … of the *haōma*s…and of the libations" modified then by *baēšaza hacimnanąm* "accompanied by the healing" and relative sentences depending on *baēšaza*.

The second part of VrS24.6 ('GVr9.3) and VrS24.7 (GVr9.4) is a long relative sentence depending on the initial *haōmanąm … zaōθranąm…*). Thus, the whole chapter edited by Geldner is a dative-extension of the *srōš-barišnīh* announcing the actions to be performed during the Hōmāst.

A similar case is that of the three almost identical extensions of the formula that announce the two recitations of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and of the Fšūšō Mąθra (VrS42.4-8 [GVr 15.1-5], VrS65.4-8 [GVr21.0], VrS75.4-5[59]). In this case, the extension begins with a series of imperatives coordinated with the initial *səraošō iδā astū*:

1. *dāraiiaδβəm…*
2. *vərəziiātąmca iδa.*
3. *sraōšasca iδā astū.*
4. *staōtaca*

The first two are part of a general exhortation to the performing priests for a correct performance of the next ritual actions and to avoid mistakes[60] (VrS42.4 [GVr 15.1]. VrS65.4 [GVr21.0], VrS75.4):

> *auua paδō auua zastō auua uši dāraiiaδβəm mazdaiiasna zaraθuštraiiō*
> *dāitiianąm raθβiianąm huuarštanąm šiiaōθnanąm varəzāi pairi aδāitiianąm araθβiianąm dužuuarštanąm*
> *šiiaōθnanąm varəzāi vərəziiātąmca iδa vohu vāstriia.*
> *anuiiamna anuiiamnāiš daste.*

> "Sacrificers to Mazdā after the model of Zaraθuštra, set your feet, hand and ears in motion for the performance of the deeds that are performed according to the prescriptions, well and in the appropriate time, and for avoiding here the deeds that are performed against the prescriptions, badly and not in the appropriate time. Let the good actions of husbandry be performed in order to give what is missing thanks to that which is not missing"

The imperative, repeating the initial formula (*səraōšō iδā astū*), announces the recitation of the text that will follow (one of the two Yasna Haptaŋhāiti[61] or the Fšūšō Mąθra)

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[59] J. Darmesteter refers to this repetition in *Le Zend-Avesta* (Paris, 1892), not edited by Geldner. J. Kellens comments on it in *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 4*, p. 111: "Le Vr 15 est répété avant le Yasna Haptaŋhāiti dans le Vr 21 et encore une fois, selon Darmesteter (ZA I, 478), mais d'une manière invérifiable, avant le Y 58." The manuscripts themselves enable this to be readily confirmed.

[60] On this stanza, see J. Kellens, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 4*, p. 24.

[61] In a recent paper Sadovski attributes to the second Yasna Haptaŋhāiti a second animal sacrifice and a new offering to the fire (V. Sadovski, 'Ritual formulae', p. 95). This is quite unlikely. First, there is no mention at all that the second recitation includes a new sacrifice. Second, its status within the LL is different from the one of the recitation of the first, as is made obvious by the fact that the second Yasna Haptaŋhāiti is recited by the *rāspīg* and not by the *zaōtar* (a common pattern in these kinds of repetitions). Furthermore, it is clear that whereas the focus of the first recitation is on the sacrificial fire, the emphasis of the second one is on the sacrifice to the waters. This is clearly shown by a different commentary repeated twice in the greater LL at the end of each recitation:

VrS51.3-5 (GVr16.1-3)	VrS65.38-40 (GVr21.1-3)
ātrəmca. iδa. ahurahe. mazdå. puθrəm. yazamaide. ātarš. ciθrōsca. yazatō. yazamaide. ātarš. ciθrōsca. rašnušca. yazamaide. ašāunąmca. frauuašaiiō. yazamaide. sraōšəmca. yim. vərəθrājanəm. yazamaide. narəmca. yim. ašauuanəm. yazamaide. vīspąmca. yąm. ašaōnō. stīm. yazamaide.	*auui. apąmca. vaŋᵛhīnąm. uruuaranąmca. xᵛaβrīranąm. ašaōnąmca. frauuašinąm. yasnəm. gərəδmahi. vaŋəmca. auui. å̄ŋhąmcit̰. yå̄. vaŋᵛhīš. yå̄. āpō. yå̄sca. uruuarå̄. yå̄sca. ašaōnąm. frauuašaiiō. yasnəm. gərəδmahi. vaŋəmca.*

(*Continued*)

(VrS42.5 [GVr 15.2]. VrS65.5 [GVr21.0], VrS75.5), and is again extended through a series of datives complementing *yasnāi*:

sraōšasca iδā astū ahurahe mazdā **yasnāi** səuuīštahe ašaōnō yə̄ nå ištō yasnaheca haptaŋhātōiš (VrS42.5 [GVr 15.1] viz aparahe yasnaheca haptaŋhātōiš VrS65.5 [GVr21.0]; β̌ṣ̌ūṣ̌ō maθrahe VrS75.5) **frauuā-kaēca paitiiāstaiiaēca mazdātaiiaēca zarazdātaiiaēca framərətaiiaēca fraōxtaiiaēca** vərəθraɣne ašaōne anapiiūxδe anapiš́ūte yō frauuaōce yō frauuaxš́iieite maza amauua vərəθraja vīduuaēštuuō vacąmca vārəθraɣninąm frauuākāi āθrasca ahurahe mazdā.

"And let *sraōša* be here for the sacrifice to Ahura Mazdā, the most powerful and orderly one, who receives the sacrifice from us;[62] (let he be here) for the recitation, the launch, the putting in the mind,[63] the putting in the heart, the recitation in low voice and the solemn recitation of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (the second Yasna Haptaŋhāiti/ the Fšūšō Mąθra), (a recitation) that is the orderly breaking the obstacle that does not omit a word and does not alter the order of the words; (the recitation of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti/second Yasna Haptaŋhāiti/Fšūšō Mąθra) (a text) that is said and is going to be said to be great, strong, breaking the obstacle and keeping hostilities away; and for the recitation of the words appropriated for breaking the obstacle and of the texts (recited) for the Fire of Ahura Mazdā."

The closing section also appears in the introduction to the Hōmāst (VrS24.9-10 [GVr9.6-7]), and with a minimal variation in the introduction to the second section of the Āb-zōhr. It consists of an imperative coordinated with the precedent *səraōšō iδā astū* or even *səraōšasca*

Continued.

VrS51.3-5 (GVr16.1-3)	VrS65.38-40 (GVr21.1-3)
zaraθuštrahe. spitāmahe. iδa. ašaōnō. aš̌īmca. frauuaš̌īmca. yazamaide. vīspaēca. iδa. ašaōnō. aš̌īmca. frauuaš̌īmca. yazamaide. vīspā. frauuaš̌aiiō. ašaunąm. yazamaide. ādax́iiunąmca. ašaōnąm. frauuaš̌aiiō. yazamaide. uzdax́iiunąmca. ašaōnąm. frauuaš̌aiiō. yazamaide. narąmca. ašaōnąm. frauuaš̌aiiō. yazamaide. nāirinąmca. ašaōninąm. frauuaš̌aiiō. yazamaide.	auui. gə̄uš. auui. gaiiehe. auui. mąθrahe. spəṇtahe. ašaōnō. vərəziiaŋᵛhahe. yasnəm. gərəδmahi. vaŋəmca. auui. tauua. ahura. mazda. yasnəm. gərəδmahi. vaŋəmca. auui. tauua. zaraθuštra. yasnəm. gərəδmahi. vaŋəmca. auui. tauua. ratuuō. bərəza. yasnəm. gərəδmahi. vaŋəmca. auui. aməšanąm. spəṇtanąm. yasnəm. gərəδmahi. vaŋəmca.
yaēš̌ąm. nō. ahurō. mazdā. ašauua. yesne. paiti. vaŋhō. vaēδa. aēš̌ąm. zaraθuštrō. aŋhuca. ratušca. š́ōiθriia. apasca. zəmasca. uruuarå̄sca. yazamaide.	sraōtəmca. marž̌dikəmca. yazamaide. sraōtəm. vaŋanəm. yazamaide. marž̌dikəm. vaŋanəm. yazamaide. frārāiti. vīdīše. yazamaide. yat̰. asti. aṇtarə. xᵛādaēnāiš. ašaōnīš́. nəmō. vohu. aδauuīm. aθbaēš̌əm. yazamaide

The table of the structure of the LL presented by Sadovski represents neither a Yasna nor a Visperad ceremony. It includes elements exclusive to the greater performance of the LL, such as the investiture of the priests or the second Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, but not others such as the second Drōn Yašt, which is a key component of the greater performance and implies a different arrangement of the end of the liturgy. See A. Cantera, 'Why Do We Really Need a New Edition of the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy?', in *The transmission of the Avesta*, (ed.) A. Cantera (Wiesbaden, 2012), pp. 452 ff.; A. Cantera, 'A Substantial Change in the Approach to the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy. About J. Kellens' Études Avestiques et Mazdéennes', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 59, pp. 163 ff.

[62] The Old Avestan quotation has been reinterpreted in this way, as shown by the parallel *yą̄ nō ištå*, when referring to the Frauuaṣ̌is.

[63] It is very interesting to state that the action of *mazdāti-* is attributed only to the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and Fšūšō Mąθra, whereas *zrazdāti-* is also applied to the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and to the Gāθās (VrS41.3 [GVr14.2], VrS51.2 [GVr16.0], VrS57.2 [GVr18.0], VrS62.2 [GVr17.0], VrS64.2 [GVr20.0], VrS65.37 [G21.0], VrS69.2 [GVr23.0], VrS71.2 [GVr 24.0]. In this ritual action of "putting a text and the ritual action it accompanies in the mind" we may find the clue for understanding the meaning of *mazdā-* in the name of Ahura Mazdā. Like Sraōša, Aši- etc., Mazdā also seems to be a deification of a ritual process.

iδā astū: *staōtaca* "you should praise" in all instances except VrS89.21, where we find instead *səraōšascā iδā astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi vaŋhuš ašiuuā*. Kellens translates *staōtaca yasnāica vaŋ̌āica frasastaiiaēca* as "(Le texte) 'Les éloges (sacrificiels)' est prêt pour le sacrifice, le chant d'adoration et l'énoncé-qualifiant".[64] He assumes an unlikely "dissimilation" of **staōtaca yesniia yasnāica* in the attested *staōtaca yasnāica*. Actually, Av. *staōtaca* is rather an imperative coordinated with *səraōšascā iδā astū* (cf. *dāraiiaδβəm* in VrS42.4 [GVr15.1], VrS65.4 [part of GVr21.0], VrS75.4). The presence of an imperative here is furthermore confirmed by the alternative beginning in VrS89.21: **səraōšascā iδā astū** *apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi vaŋhuš ašiuuā*. The complete text runs as follows (VrS24.9-10 (GVr9.6-7); VrS42.7-8 (GVr15.4-5), VrS65.7-8 (GVr21.0), VrS75.7-8):

> **staōtaca yasnāica vaŋ̌āica frasastaiiaēca** *yaṯ aēša ahurahe mazdā yaṯ aēša aməšanąm spəṇtanąm ratōušca ašaōnō bərəzatō* **yasnāica vaŋ̌āica** *yaṯ apanōtəmahe raϑβō yaṯ jaɣmūšⁱiiā ašōiš yaṯ jaɣmūšⁱiiā ratufritōiš. yaṯ mąϑrahe spəṇtahe yaṯ daēnaiiā māzdaiiasnōiš yaṯ staōtanąm yesⁿiianąm yaṯ vīspaēšąmca raϑβąm vīspanąmca ratufritinąm vīspaiiā sącaṯca ašaōnō stōiš* **yasnāica vaŋ̌āica xšnaōϑrāica frasastaiiaēca.**

"and let you praise for the *yasna*, adoration and the utterances which are for Ahura Mazdā and which are for the Aməša Spəṇta; and for the *yasna* and adoration of the time of the Great Ratu[65] which is the best for reaching (the straight paths) and in which the reward has come and the satisfaction of the articulations has come;

"(and let you praise) for the *yasna*, adoration, satisfaction and utterances which are for the Mąϑra Spəṇta, which are for the *daēnā* obtained in the sacrifice to Mazdā, which are for the Staōta Yes-niia, which are for all the *ratu* and for the satisfaction of all *ratu* and for all orderly existence."

The variant for the second section of the Āb-zōhr with its alternative beginning runs as follows:

> **səraōšascā iδā astū** *apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm* **yasnāi** *vaŋhuš ašiuuā ratōušca ašaōnō bərəzatō* **yasnāica vaŋ̌āica**…[66]

And let the good Sraōša who brings reward be here for the *yasna* to the good waters and for the *yasna* and adoration of the time of the Great Ratu…

Belonging to the same type of extension with a second dative is the supplementary text of the introduction to the first section of the Āb-zōhr: VrS87.2, corresponding to Y63.2. The interpretation of the text poses certain problems that have attracted the attention of Pirart, Tremblay and Kellens. It has never been noted however, that the greater LL offers a different text to the Yasna:

Y56, Y63.1-2	Āb-zōhr Visperad
səraōšō iδā astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi ašāunąmca frauuašibiiō ẏā̊.nō ištā uruuōibiiō..	*səraōšō iδā astū apąm vaŋᵛhīnąm yasnāi ašāunąmca frauuašibiiō ẏā̊.nō ištā* **zaōiiō** *uruuōibiiō* **ašāunąmca yasnāi**

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[64]J. Kellens, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 3*, p. 82.

[65]It means the celebrations of the five intercalary days at the end of the year and, by extension, any of the six seasonal festivals.

[66]Until *vaŋhuš ašiuuā*, the extension also appears in the corresponding passage of the Yasna (Y65.16-18) and in Y56 (Y56.2).

In the quest for Old Avestan passages in Y56, this passage raises particular problems, as *ašāunąmca* cannot be Young Avestan (we would expect *ašaōnąmca*), but does not show lengthening of °*ca* (expected in Old Avestan, but cf. *ašāunąmca* Y4.2, Y24.4, VrS27.6 [GVr11.6], VrS79.2) and *yā̊.nō ištā* cannot be Old Avestan (because of *nō* instead of *nə̄*). Furthermore, the asyndetic coordination of *frauuašibiiō* and *uruuōibiiō* is taken as a vestige of Old Avestan. As the greater performance attests a different wording of the passage, the interpretation as a quotation is, nonetheless, quite unlikely. The version of the greater performance also poses a number of problems: the position of *ašāunąmca* after *uruuōibiiō* and the interpretation of *zaōiiō*. The former seems to be an alteration (in the transmission?) of *ašāunąmca uruuōibiiō* cf. Y4.2, Y24.4, VrS27.6 [GVr11.6], VrS79.2 *ašāunąmca frauuašibiiō ašāunąmca uruuōibiiō*.). The latter might be interpreted as the nominative singular of *zaōiia-* "to be invoked". Its presence reminds us of Yt13.148 *yaēšąm yašə̄θβaţca uruuanō zaōiiāscā frauuašaiiō* "whose souls are worthy of sacrifice and whose elections are worthy to be invoked". However, in VrS87.2 the nominative singular is puzzling. It is either a transmission error for **zaōiiābiiō* or it has to be compared with the nominative singular of *vaŋhuš* and *vaŋhuš ašiuuā̊* in VrS89.21. In the latter case, the translation should be:

> "Let the good Sraoša be here for the *yasna* to the good waters and for the *frauuaši*s of the orderly ones, (the *frauuaši*s) who receive a *yasna* from us and (let Sraōša be here), the worthy to be invoked, for a *yasna* to the souls of the orderly ones."

The corresponding formula of Y65.17 should be translated as follows:

sraōšō iδā astū apąm vaŋ˅hīnąm yasnai vaŋhuš vaŋ˅hīnąm amašanąmcā spəntanąm huxšaθranąm huδaŋham vohunąmcā vaŋhuiiāscā ašōiš yasnai yā.nō āraēcā ərənauuataēcā ašaŋhāxš. sraōšascā iδā astū apąm vaŋ˅hīnąm yasnai vaŋhuš ašiuuā̊	"Let Sraōša be here for the *yasna* to the good Waters; (and let Sraōša be here), the good one[67] among the female good ones,[68] for the *yasna* to the good Aməša Spənta, who have good power, good gifts, and for the good Reward who as companion of Aša has been sent to us and is going to be sent to us. And let Sraōša be here for the *yasna* to the good Waters, (Sraōša) the good one who bestows Reward.

The role of the *sraōšāuuarəza* in the performance of the *srōš-barišnīh*

The fact that the *srōš-barišnīh* is always recited twice, with the addition of the adverb *auuaθāţ* in the repetition, and that there is an explicit exhortation to repeat the previous text (*hiiaţ paδuruuīm taţ ustəməmcīţ*), suggests that the *wāž* of the Srōš Yasn, like the taking of the *wāž*, was originally recited as a dialogue, exactly as it is in the greater performance. Hence, this formula is excluded from the rituals performed by just one priest. The indications of the manuscripts' ritual instructions and the obvious connection between the priest *sraōšāuuarəza* "the attention-maker" and *sraōša* "Attentiveness; attention" point to the *sraōšāuuarəza* as the priest in charge of reciting the initial section until *hiiaţ paδuruuīm taţ ustəməmcīţ*. The answering priest is always the *zaōtar*, who repeats the allocution of the *sraōšāuuarəza*. In the lesser performance of the LL, in which the *sraōšāuuarəza* was not present,

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[67]Cf. Y27.7 *vaŋhuš sraōšō*.
[68]Av. *vaŋ˅hīnąm* could also be a transmission error, being imported from *apąm vaŋ˅hīnąm*.

the sole auxiliary priest assumes his role. However, because of the auxiliary priest's lower rank in the lesser LL (he cannot give the *wāž* to the *zōt*)[69] he is unable on his own to demand the presence of *sraōša* or the attention of the *zaōtar*, but has to recite the formula together with the latter. Thus, the performance of the formula in the lesser LL seems to be a simplification for its performance in a ceremony without the presence of a *sraōšāuuarəza*.

Nonetheless, the attribution of the recitation of the first part of the formula to the *sraōšāuuarəza* is at odds with the evidence of the taking of the *wāž* in the greater performances. According to the latter, the *zaōtar* takes always the *wāž* from the *ātrauuaxša*, except in VrS89.20, where he takes it from the *frabarətar*. This seems to indicate that the auxiliary priest responsible for the recitation of the first part was always the *ātrauuaxša*, except in VrS89.16 ff., where it was the *frabarətar*. Nonetheless, this may be a modernisation of the taking of the *wāž* that has been adapted to the modern performance by only two priests. When the *ātrauuaxša* became the almost universal auxiliary priest, he assumed the role of the *sraōšāuuarəza* in the recitation of the first part of the formula, although he still recited it at the place of the latter as a reminder of the former responsibility of the *sraōšāuuarəza* in the first call to Sraōša. The *wāz-gīrišnīh* seems again to be a step fruther in the modernization than the positions of the auxiliary priest.

Through the formula, the *sraōšāuuarəza* calls upon the other performing priests to be attentive. This exhortation is simultaneously a demand for the presence of the god Sraōša, the divinisation of the mental attitude of the attentive hearing and attentive participation in the sacrifice. Therefore, both the god/mental attitude of Attentiveness and the priests are addressed in the imperative: the god always in the 3ʳᵈ p.sg. and the priests in the 2ⁿᵈ p.pl. in the most frequent extensions of the formula when introducing the Hōmāst, the two Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and the Fšūšō Mąθra. Thus, the attribution to the *sraōšāuuarəza* of this role in its performance fits well in the general function that the Nērangestān ascribes to him: to be the overseer of the performance. It is particularly recognisable in the greater LL, where the formula *səraōšō iδā astū ahurahe mazdå yasnāi səuuīštahe ašaōnō yə̄.n å ištō* "Let Sraōša be here for the *yasna* to most powerful Ahura Mazdā, who has received a sacrifice from us" precedes the most important actions: VrS11.30-32, the Fraōrəti; VrS24.2-9 (=GVr9.0-8), the Hōmāst; VrS42.2-10 (GVr14.4-15.7), the first Yasna Haptaŋhāiti; VrS65.2-11 (GVr21.0), the second Yasna Haptaŋhāiti; VrS75.2-11, the Fšūšō Mąθra; VrS87.1-3, VrS89.16-21, the two sections of the Āb-zōhr.

The collection of *srōš-barišnīh* in Y56 accomplishes a similar function to the single formula.[70] The whole is, together with Y57, a major call to Sraōša to be present during the last part of the ceremony. Thus, Y56 understands the last part of the Long liturgy after Y57 to be divided into three parts: one, ranging from the Fšūšō Mąθra to the beginning of the Āb-zōhr,[71] and then a *yasna* for the Waters with two sections, the first dedicated to the Waters and the Frauuaṣis, and the second to the Waters and Aṣi. As such, the combination of Y56 + Y57[72] is the counterpart

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[69]See A. Cantera, 'The taking of the wāz', p. 59f.

[70]According to Tremblay, Y56-58 are "une collection de prières récitées pendant le rituel par des acolytes (*ātrəuuaxša*?), et adjointes en appendice au rituel majeur". See X. Tremblay, Annexe II to 'Xavier Tremblay et la liturgie longue proto-indo-iranienne', p. 76.

[71]In the greater LL, it is clear that this section is a ceremony for the fire, as the second Drōn Yašt introduced after Y59 clearly shows. This Drōn Yašt is clearly a Drōn for the fire.

[72]In fact, Y57 can be understood as an extension of the *sraōšəm aṣīm yazamaide*, closing the formula in many instances.

of the Srōš Drōn at the beginning of the ceremony.[73] The favour of the Sraōša is won through the initial Srōš Drōn and the nourishment offered to him, whereby he will be present for the priestly installation and for the subsequent pressing of the *haōma* and recitation of the Staōta Yesniia with the animal sacrifice and meat offering to the fire and finally for the libations to *barǝsman* and waters. The god Sraōša and the priestly attitude of attentiveness preside over the whole performance of the ceremony.[74] In charge of the production of tis Attentiveness (*sraōša*) is precisely the *sraōšāuuarǝza-* and his instrument is the *srōš-barišnīh*

Other putative functions of the *sraōšāuuarǝza*

The mentions of the place of the *srōšāwarz* out of the *srōš-barišnīh* are very limited:

1. the installation (VrS11.9 [GVr3.1]) and "de-installation" (VrS76.4 [GY58.4]) of the priests
2. the remarkable closing of the Staōta Yesniia after Y59
3. the only *wāž gīrišnīh* through which the zōt takes from the *srōšāwarz* (VrS82.27)

Whereas in the two first ones, he appears as one among the auxiliary priests, in the third one he is alone as auxiliary priest. The *zōt* takes the *wāž* from the *sraōšāuuarǝza* just at the end of the *ašaiia daδąmi* section of the second Drōn Yašt, immediately before the recitation by the *zōt* from the repetition of Y52.2–5 and shortly before the beginning of the Dahma Āfriti. This seems to imply that the *srōšāuuarǝza* was the priest having the *wāž* and therefore reciting the previous section. Nonetheless, according to the *nērang*, important sections of the second Drōn are recited by *zōt* and *rāspīg* together and some parts only y the *zōt*. At an earlier time, the situation might have been different. The second Drōn and perhaps the whole final section put under the protection of Sraōša through the recitation of the two hymns to Sraōša seems, indeed, to show an especial link to the *sraōšāuuarǝza*. In fact, it seems that, after the hymn to Sraōša, there is a certain exchangeability of roles between *zaōtar* and *sraōšāuuarǝza*. According to N4.3 (see § 1), when the LL is celebrated in an Ātaš Wahrām, then, after the *zaōtar* has recited the Srōš Yašt, the *sraōšāuuarǝza* should stand there and not leave the place after the recitation of the end of Y58.4. Then it follows a less than clear sentence *pad ēn tis zōt srōšāwarz* "In this matter, the *zōt* is the *srōšāwarz*", but indicating an identity of roles between both priests at this point.

There might have been formerly other functions proper of the *sraōšāuuarǝza*, but they have been later assumed either by the *zaōtar* or by the *ātrauuaxša*. In view of the lack of any evidence in our sources, the attribution of such functions must remain conjectural. Two additional functions can be postulated. On the one hand, the description of his

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[73]The parallelism between both is stressed by the fact that both sections dedicated to Srōš are free of variation in both the Yasna and the greater LL. During the Srōš Drōn, the list of the *ratu* is not the list of the Visperad, but instead the one of the Yasna. In Y56, the *wāž* of the Srōš Yasn follows the pattern of the Yasna rather than the one of the Visperad.

[74]In a previous article, I formulated the hypothesis that the Visperad has a triadic structure, whose beginnings are marked by the presence of three Drōn-like rituals: the Srōš Drōn, the Hōmāst and the final Drōn to the Fire. Furthermore, I assumed that there are elements connecting the initial part with the dawn and the final with the afternoon. See A. Cantera, 'A Substantial Change in the Approach to the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy', p. 169ff. I still believe in this possibility, although I now consider that the presence of Sraōša in the first part of the liturgy has to be connected with his necessary presence for a successful performance. Nonetheless, the association of Sraōša with the dawn might be reminiscent of a time when the liturgy began in this early part of the day.

function in V18.14 ff and the Nērangestān render it likely that he was the one responsible for inviting the auxiliary priests (and even the *zaōtar*) during their installation (VrS11.9 ff. [GVr3.1]). On the other hand, in the few functions that the extant sources allow us to identify, he is clearly associated with the use of the imperative (a role befitting his description as an overseer of the performance):

– according to N53.22, he is in charge of reciting Y8.3 (GY8.2) *xᵛarata narō aētəm miiazdəm* in the greater ceremonies (*γašt ī meh*)[75]
– according to the *nērangs*, his functions are:
   o to recite the *srōš-barišnīh* that is based on the repetition of the imperative *səraōšō astū,* and includes further imperatives in the extensions: *dāraiiaδβəm, staōtaca, yōiθβā astū* and *vərəziiātəmca.*
   o in Y58.4–8, whose recitation is distributed among all the priests of the college, he recites: *hōcā[76].nā fšūmᵃ̃* **nišaŋharatū** *hō* **aiβiiāxšaiiatū** *hadā ašācā vāstrācā frārāticā vīdīšaiiācā ainiticā āθrācā ahurahē mazdā* "the owner of the cow shall preserve and watch over…". Observe that the verb *aiβiiāxšaiia-* is the same as the one the Nērangestān (N59.1 *aiβiiāxšaiiāt̯*) uses for describing the role of the *sraōšāuuarəza.*
– in V18, the words attributed to the *sraōšāuuarəza* are dominated by the imperatives in 2nd p.pl. *usəhištata, staōta, nīsta,* exactly like the extensions of the *wāž* of the Srōš Yasn.

He is therefore the most likely candidate for the attribution of the recitation of further performative orders, with the most significant ones being the imperatives (and infinitives functioning as imperatives) of the taking of the *wāž* and of the installation of the *zaōtar*. However, both functions have been assumed by different priests in later times: the exhortations within the taking of the *wāž* are recited by the two priests involved in the exchange; and the invitation to the auxiliary priests is made by the *zaōtar,* and the latter is summoned by the *ātrauuaxša* to assume the office of the *zaōtar*. Nevertheless, important adaptations and modernisations have to be assumed for both processes.

In my paper on the taking of the *wāž,* I compared it with the *srōš-barišnīh* and similar exhortations to the priests in the Vedic rituals.[77] There, I attributed the recitation of the instructions to the priest who is taking the *wāž*. If the *zaōtar* takes the *wāž,* he recites *yaθā ahū vairiiō* and then invites the *ātrauuaxša* to recite the rest with the expression: *γō ātrauuaxšō frā.mē mrūte aθā ratuš ašāt̯cit̯ hacā viδuuā̊ ašauua mraōtū* "the *ātrauuaxša*, who is here in order to say it for me, he, the orderly one who knows (the text), should say *aθā ratuš ašāt̯cit̯ hacā…*". The priest who takes the *wāž* asks for permission, exhorting a priest in the 3rd p.sg. to give the *wāž* to him. The scene must have taken place as follows:

zōt: *yaθā ahū vairiiō γō ātrauuaxšō frā.mē mrūte aθā ratuš ašāt̯cit̯ hacā viδuuā̊ ašauua mraōtū*
rāspīg: *aθā ratuš ašāt̯cit̯ hacā…*

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[75]According to the manuscripts, this text is either recited by the *frabardār* (ms 2101) or the *hāwanān* (all the other mss). This is to be expected, as they are the priests who are next to the *zōt*. The fact that according to the Nērangestān, the *srōšāwarz* recites this imperative in the greater Drōn ī Ābān shows a clear tendency to ascribe to this priest the utterance of imperatives, at least within a greater performance.

[76]cf. VrS31.9 and Y27.7 (GY27.6) *hōca. iδa. yōiθβā. astu.,* likely said also by the *sraōšāuuarəza*

[77]A. Cantera, 'The taking of the wāz', p. 62.

zōt: '*yaθā ahū vairiiō. The ātrauuaxša*, who is here in order to say it for me, he, the orderly one who knows (the text) should say *aθā ratuš ašātcit̰ hacā…*'

rāspīg: *aθā ratuš ašātcit̰ hacā…*

The whole would be an invitation to complete an Ahuna Vairiia that the *zōt* has started with *yaθā ahū vairiiō*. The manuscripts and the modern recitation would contain only the words of the *zaōtar*, but not the recitation of the second part of the Ahuna Vairiia by the *ātrauuaxša*. Nonetheless, the performance as described in the manuscripts is slightly different: the priest taking the *wāž* recites only the first part of the invitation to the other priest (*yaθā ahū vairiiō yō ātrauuaxšō frā.mē mrūte*), and then the priest giving it says the second part (*aθā ratuš ašātcit̰ hacā viδuuå ašauua mraōtū.*).

My general interpretation of the function and use of the taking of the *wāž* is hardly questionable, but the literal understanding of the formula I proposed is, however, still open to discussion. There are two main questions to be answered: whether the two parts of the formula (e.g., *yō zaōta frā.mē mrūte.* and *aθā ratuš ašātcit̰ hacā viδuuå ašauua mraōtū.*) belong to the same syntactic unit, and who is the priest reciting the formula, the priest taking the *wāž* or a third priest? Concerning the first question, my interpretation of the whole as a syntactic unit forces us to dismiss the evidence of the typical *wāž gīrišnīh* of the lesser performance of the LL and of the beginning of the greater one (type 7) as secondary, as the *zaōtar* recites only the first part of the formula (that would be thus incomplete). By contrast, if we divide it into two syntactic units, the first referring to the recitation of *yaθā ahū vairiiō*, and the second to the rest of the Ahuna Vairiia, then it is clear that either the priest mentioned in the first part of the formula has been changed or the function attributed to the formula has been reinterpreted. In the former case, if the *zaōtar* takes the *wāž* from the *ātrauuaxša*, then the formula *yō ātrauuaxšō* is now used, but one would expect *yō zaōtā*, as it is the *zaōtar* who takes the *wāž*. In the latter, it would mean that the priest who takes the *wāž* was formerly not the one reciting *yaθā ahū vairiio*, but the one answering. Consequently, the formula *yaθā ahū vairiiō yō ātrauuaxšō frā.mē mrūte aθā ratuš ašātcit̰ hacā viδuuå ašauua mraōtū* would not be for the *zaōtar* taking the *wāž*, but for the *ātrauuaxša*.

Thus, the syntactic interpretation as one unit implies a secondary creation of the most frequent variant (type 7) and the interpretation as two syntactic units implies a complete reinterpretation of the use of the formula. In both cases, the recitation by a third priest (probably the *sraōšāuuarəza*) seems more plausible than by the priests involved in the exchange. According to the interpretation of the *yō … frā.mē mrūte aθā ratuš ašātcit̰ hacā viδuuå ašauua mraōtū* as one unit, he would call upon another priest to give the *wāž* to the one who is taking it (reciting *yaθā ahū vairiiō*), although one would rather expect that he has to invite the one who takes it. According to the interpretation as two units, he would first invite the priest taking the *wāž* to do so, and then the one giving it. The latter solution seems more credible, but it would imply that the formula was completely reinterpreted when adapted to a performance without *sraōšāuuarəza*.

There are also numerous problems for understanding the exact form of the installation of the priests. According to the ritual instructions in the manuscripts and the Nērangestān (N28.41), the *zaōtar* first places the seven auxiliary priests in the ritual area (VrS11.9 ff. [GVr3.1]) and then the *ātrauuaxša* asks him to assume his office (VrS11.24-25). However, if the *zaōtar* is invested with his office by the *ātrauuaxša* in VrS11.24-25, how could he

have previously invited the auxiliary priests to take their ritual place and perform their function? Panaino proposes that, in the context of an uninterruptedly performed greater LL (a setup that I consider most likely), a priestly college (or at least the *zaōtar* and one auxiliary priest) that has performed a former instance of the ritual continues in office for the beginning of the next performance. The installation would be the moment of the substitution of the previous college by a new one.[78] This is, however, not the only possible explanation. The *zaōtar* might have been acting as a *zaōtar* before the installation of the other priests, but the definitive assumption of his full function as the main priest, is only possible after having drunk the *parahaōma*. The process will conclude with Y14.1 that is reminiscent of VrS11.15 (GVr3.7):

Y14,1	VrS11.15 (GVr3.7)
vīsāi vō aməṣ̌ā spəṇtā staōtā zaōtā zbātā yaštā framarətā aibijarətā yūšmākəm yasnāica vaṇ́āica yaṯ aməṣ̌anąm spəṇtanąm.aṇ́ākəm hauuaṇ́hāica aṣ̌auuastāica yaṯ saōṣ́iiaṇtąm aṣ̌aōnąm	*azəm aēta zaōta vīsāi staōtanąm yesńiianąm frasraōϑrəmca framarəϑrəmca fragāϑrəmca frāiiaštīmca*

The most appropriate auxiliary priest for the installation of all the other priests and the *zaōtar* is again the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza* as "the best instructed and best versed about the right recitation of the word".[79] V18.14 ff. could as well point in this direction.[80] Finally, the formulation employed for the installation of the *zaōtar* is reminiscent of the taking of the *wāž* (*yō … frā.mē mrūte* "who is the … is there for saying …"),whose recitation might also correspond to the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza*. A possible configuration would be that the *zaōtar* invites the auxiliary priests, and once they have entered the ritual area, the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza* exhorts him to assume his office. An alternative could be that it is the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza* who also invites the auxiliary priests into the ritual area. The main problems for this hypothesis are that he would have to be present in the ritual area before entering it in VrS11.9 ff. (GVr3.1), a problem that also concerns his putative responsibility for the reciting of the taking of the *wāž*, and means that he would have to make a self-installation.

Nevertheless, we have some signs pointing out that the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza* could have been present and active in the performance before the installation of the auxiliary priests. According to N53.22, in the greater performances of the Drōn i Ābān, the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza* invites the *zaōtar* to partake of the *drōn* (Y8.3 [GY8.2] *xᵛarata narō aētəm miiazdəm*), recites part of the Āfrīnagān ī Rapihwin, and partakes of the *drōn*. This could suggest a possible more active role of the *sraō-ṣ̌āuuarəza* as well during the initial Drōn Yašt of the greater performance. In fact, it would not be surprising if the protagonism of the first section of the liturgy, dedicated to Sraōša, corresponds to the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza,* as the main priest (exactly as we see him presiding over the funerary rites—probably a Vīdēvdād with a dedicatory to Sraōša—on Sino-Sogdian tombs), or as the assistant priest of the performing *zaōtar*. As Kellens has stated, V18.14 ff. seems to describe a dawn ritual in which Sraōša is the *zaōtar* and the rooster is the *sraōṣ̌āuuarəza*.[81]

[78] A. Panaino, 'The Avestan Priestly College', p. 92f.

[79] J. Kellens, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes vol. 2. Le Hōm Stōm et la zone des déclarations (Y7.24-Y15.4 avec les intercalations de Vr3 à 6)*, (Paris, 2007), p. 101.

[80] J. Kellens, 'Deux apologues sur le feu rituel', in *Études de linguistique iranienne in memoriam Xavier Tremblay*, (ed.) É. Pirart (Leuve-Paris-Bristol 2016), p. 197.

[81] J. Kellens, 'Deux apologues sur le feu rituel', p. 195.

The gradual reduction in the number of auxiliary priests from seven (grouped at four positions) to four (*ātrawaxš, hāwanān, frabardār, srōšāwarz),* and finally to one (*rāspīg/ātrawaxš*) has erased almost all the traces of the previous functions of the other auxiliary priests than the *ātrawaxš.* Only the Avestan and the Pahlavi Nērangestān retain vestiges of older functions. Nevertheless, the manuscripts' ritual instructions still bear systematic witness to the function that was exclusive of the *srōšāwarz*: the recitation of the *srōš-barišnīh.* He thereby fulfills his role as overseer of the ritual. He requests the presence of the god Sraōša for the main parts of the liturgy, and simultaneously asks the other priests to pay attention to their correct performance.[82] The god is, indeed, the deification of the priests' mental attitude, consisting in attentively listening to the performance of the ritual and participating in it. It is in this sense that this priest is an "attention-maker". As such, he probably had further functions. The most likely one is the recitation of other performative exhortations to the priests for the recitation of certain texts, such as the ones contained in the taking of the *wāž.* Furthermore, he might have played an important role in the initial and final phases of the liturgy that are specifically placed under the protection of the god Sraōša. Nevertheless, the important changes in the performance of the greater LL that were prompted by the progressive reduction of the priestly college from eight to two priests have led to the loss of evidence for these putative former functions of the *sraōšāuuarəza.*

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Appendix 1

§ 1. VrS15.2–4[GVr6.1] ∼ Y15.2–3

Geldner	TITUS	CAB
yeńhē. mē. ašāṯ. hacā. …	**zōt ud rāspīg** *yeńhē. mē. ašāṯ. hacā. vahištəm. yesnē. paitī. vaēdā. mazdå. ahurō. yōi. åŋharəcā. həṇticā. tą. yazāi. xᵛāiš. nāmə̄nīš. pairicā. jasāi. vaṇtā. vohū. xšaϑrəm. vairīm. bāgəm. aibībairištəm.*	
		rāspīg *yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. zaōtā. frā.mē. mrūte. zōt aϑā. ratuš. ašāṯcīṯ. hacā. viδuuå. ašauua. mraōtū.*
	rāspīg *səraōšō. iδā. astū. ahurahe. mazdå. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄.nå. ištō. hiiaṯ. paōuruuīm. taṯ. ustəməmcīṯ.*	
		zōt *yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. ātrauuaxšō. frā.mē. mrūte. rāspīg aϑā. ratuš. ašāṯcīṯ. hacā. viδuuå. ašauua.*
… yə̄.nå. ištō.	**zōt** *auuaϑāṯ. iδā. səraōšō. astū. ahurahe. mazdå. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄.nå. ištō.*	

§ 2. VrS24.2–12[GVr9.1–8]

Geldner and TITUS	CAB
	zōt ud rāspīg yeńhē. mē. ašāt̰. hacā. vahištəm. yesnē. paitī.
	vaēdā. mazdā. ahurō. yōi. åŋharəcā. həṇticā. tą. yazāi. x^vāiš. nāmənīš. pairicā. jasāi. vaṇtā. vohū. xšaθrəm. vairīm. bāgəm.
	rāspīg yaθā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. zaōtā. frā.mē. mrūte. zōt aθā. ratuš. ašāt̰cit̰. hacā. viδuuå. ašauua. mraōtū.
	rāspīg səraōšō. iδā. astū. ahurahe. mazdā. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄.nå. ištō.
haōmanąm. uzdātanąm. zaōθranąm. uzdātanąm … sraōšō. astū. hiiat̰. paδuruuīm. tat̰. ustəməmcīt̰. [83](Vr9.1–8)	
zōt yaθā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. ātrauuaxšō. frā.mē. mrūte. rāspīg aθā. ratuš. ašāt̰cit̰. hacā. viδuuå. ašauua.	
	zōt auuaθāt̰. iδā. səraōšō. astū. ahurahe. mazdā. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄. nå. ištō.
	zōt haōmanąm. uzdātanąm. zaōθranąm. uzdātanąm … sraōšō. astū. (repetition of Vr9.1–8)

§ 3. VrS31.7–11 ~ Y27.7 (GY27.6)

Y27.7 (GY27.6)	Geldner and TITUS	VrS31.7–11[1]
		zōt ud rāspīg
		yeńhē. mē. ašāt̰. hacā. vahištəm. yesnē. paitī.vaēdā. mazdā. ahurō. yōi. åŋharəcā. həṇticā.tą. yazāi. x^vāiš. nāmənīš. pairicā. jasāi. vaṇtā.vohū. xšaθrəm. vairīm. bāgəm. aibībairištəm.
		rāspīg
		yaθā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. zaōtā. frā.mē. mrūte.
		zōt
		aθā. ratuš. ašāt̰cit̰. hacā. viδuuå. ašauua. mraōtū.
		rāspīg
		səraōšō. iδā. astū. ahurahe. mazdā. **yasnāi**. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄.nå. ištō. **hiiat̰. paδuruuīm. tat̰. ustəməmcīt̰**
		(Continued)

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[83]Interestingly, all the Pahlavi Visperad manuscripts I have consulted include only *səraōšō astū*; that is, they do not include the first recitation of the section by the *rāspīg*, but the second by the *zōt*. Geldner (and TITUS) completes *hiiat̰. paδuruuīm. tat̰. ustəməmcīt̰* on the basis of the liturgical manuscripts, as it would be the section recited by the *rāspīg*. Even more striking is the presence of the taking of the *wāž* of the *zōt* (of course, missing in the exegetical manuscripts). In any case, the presence of *səraōšō astū* in the exegetical manuscripts confirms the secondary nature of the exegetical manuscripts, if there were still any doubt.

Continued.

Y27.7 (GY27.6)	Geldner and TITUS	VrS31.7-11[1]
zōt ud rāspīg *haōma. pairi.harəšîieṇte.* *mazda.xšaϑra. aṣ̌a.ratauuō.* *vaṇhuš.* **sraōšō.** *yō. aṣ̌ahe. hacaite.* *m̨azaraiia. hə̄ca.* **iδa. yōiϑβā.** **astu.**		**rāspīg** *haōma. pairi. harəšîieṇte.* *mazda.xšaϑra. aṣ̌a.ratauuō.* *vaṇhuš.* **sraōšō.** *yō. aṣ̌ahe. hacaite.* *m̨azaraiia. hə̄ca.* **iδa. yōiϑβā.** **astu.** (=Y27.6) **_hiiaṭ. paδuruuīm. taṭ._** **_ustəməmcīṭ._** **zōt** *yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. ātrauuaxšō.* *frā.mē. mrūte.* **rāspīg** *aϑā. ratuš. aṣ̌āṭciṭ. hacā. viδuuā̊.* *aṣ̌auua. mraōtū.* **zōt** **_auuaϑāṭ. iδā. səraōšō. astū._** *ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi.* *səuuīštahe. aṣ̌aōnō. yə̄.nā̊. ištō.*
	haōmanąmca. harəšîiamnanąm. yōi. *harəšîieṇte. raϑβeca. bərəzaite.* *yaṭ. ahurāi. mazdāi. aṣ̌aōne. yaṭ.* *zaraϑuštrāi. spitamāi. fraṣ̌u.* *frāuuīra. tāca.* *hā. vaṇhuš.* **sraōšō.** *yō. aṣ̌ahe.* *hacaite. m̨azaraiia. hə̄ca.* **iδa.** **yōiϑβā. astu.**	*haōmanąmca. harəšîiamnanąm. yōi.* *harəšîieṇte. raϑβeca. bərəzaite.* *yaṭ. ahurāi. mazdāi. aṣ̌aōne. yaṭ.* *zaraϑuštrāi. spitamāi. fraṣ̌u.* *frāuuīra. tāca.* *hā. vaṇhuš.* **sraōšō.** *yō. aṣ̌ahe.* *hacaite. m̨azaraiia. hə̄ca.* **iδa.** **yōiϑβā. astu.**

§ 4. VrS42.2-11 [GVr14.4-15]

Geldner	TITUS	CAB
yeṅhē. mē. aṣ̌āṭ. hacā. …	**zōt ud rāspīg** *yeṅhē. mē. aṣ̌āṭ. hacā. vahištəm. yesnē. paitī.* *vaēdā. mazdā̊. ahurō. yōi. ā̊ṇharəcā. həṇticā.* *tą. yazāi. xᵛāiš. nāmə̄nīš. pairicā. jasāi. vaṇtā.* *vohū. xšaϑrəm. vairīm. bāgəm. aibībairištəm.* **rāspīg** *yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. zaōtā. frā.mē. mrūte.* **zōt** *aϑā. ratuš. aṣ̌āṭciṭ. hacā. viδuuā̊. aṣ̌auua. mraōtū.* **rāspīg** *səraōšō. iδā. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi.* *səuuīštahe. aṣ̌aōnō. yə̄.nā̊. ištō. hiiaṭ. paδuruuīm. taṭ.* *ustəməmcīṭ.*	
		zōt *yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō.* *ātrauuaxšō. frā.mē. mrūte.* **rāspīg** (*Continued*)

Continued.

Geldner	TITUS	CAB
		aϑā. ratuš. ašā̆ṯciṯ. hacā. viδuuā̆. ašauua. mraōtū.
… yə̄.nā̊. ištō.	**zōt** auuaϑāṯ. iδā. səraōšō. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄.nā̊. ištō.	
auua. paδō. auua. zastə̄. auua. uši. dāraiiaδβəm. …(GVr15.1-3)		
staōtaca. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica. frasastaiiaēca. yaṯ. aēša. ahurahe. mazdā̊.… taṯ. ustəməmcīṯ.	staōtaca. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica. frasastaiiaēca.yaṯ. aēša. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yaṯ. aēša. aməšanam. spəntanam. ratāušca. ašaōnō. bərəzatō. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica.yaṯ. apanōtəmahe. raϑβō.yaṯ. jaɣmūšíiā̊. ašōiš. yaṯ. jaɣmūšíiā̊. ratufritōiš. yaṯ. ma̧ϑrahe. spəṇtahe. yaṯ. daēnaiiā̊. mā̆zdaiiasnōiš. yaṯ. staōtanam. yesńianam.yaṯ. vīspaēša̧mca. raϑβa̧m. vīspana̧mca. ratufritinam.vīspaiiā̊. sa̧catca ašaōnō. stōiš. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica. xšnaōϑrāica. frasastaiiaēca. səraōšō. astū. hiiaṯ. paδuruuīm. taṯ. ustəməmcīṯ.	
yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. ātrauuaxšō…	**zōt** yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. ātrauuaxšō. frā.mē. mrūte. rāspīg aϑā. ratuš. ašā̆ṯciṯ. hacā. viδuuā̆. ašauua. mraōtū. **zōt** auuaϑāṯ. iδā. səraōšō. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄. nā̊. ištō.	
auua. paδō. auua. zastə̄. … səraōšō. astū	auua. paδō. auua. zastə̄ …[84] vīspaēša̧mca. raϑβa̧m. vīspana̧mca. ratufritinam.vīspaiiā̊. sa̧catca ašaōnō. stōiš. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica. xšnaōϑrāica. frasastaiiaēca. səraōšō. astū.	
sraōšəm. ašīm. yazamaide. ratūm…	**zōt** sraōšəm. ašīm. yazamaide. ratūm. bərəza̧ntəm. yazamaide. yim. ahurəm. mazda̧m.yō. ašahe. apanōtəmō. yō. ašahe. jaɣmūštəmō. vīspa. srauuā̆. zaraϑuštri. yazamaide. vīspaca. huuaršta. šíiaōϑna. yazamaide. varštaca. varəšíiamnaca.	

§ 5. VrS65.2-11 [GVr21.0]

Geldner	TITUS	CAB
yeńhē. mē. ašā̆ṯ. …[85]	**zōt ud rāspīg** yeńhē. mē. ašā̆ṯ. hacā. vahištəm. yesnē. paitī. vaēdā. mazdā̊. ahurō. yōi. ā̊ŋharəcā. hə̧nticā. ta̧. yazāi. xᵛāiš. nāmə̄nīš. pairicā. jasāi. vaṇtā. vohū. xšaϑrəm. vairīm. bāgəm. aibībairištəm.	yeńhē. mē. ašā̆ṯ. hacā. …
… mraōtū		**rāspīg** yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. zaōtā. frā.mē. mrūte. **zōt** aϑā. ratuš. ašā̆ṯciṯ. hacā. viδuuā̆. ašauua. mraōtū. (*Continued*)

[84]Repetition of Vr15.1-5, albeit without *hiiaṯ. paδuruuīm. taṯ. ustəməmcīṯ.*
[85]It abbreviates Y15.2

Continued.

Geldner	TITUS	CAB
rāspī səraōšō. iδā. astū. ...	**rāspīg** səraōšō. iδā. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄.nå. ištō. hiiaṯ. paδuruuīm. taṯ. ustəməmcīṯ.	
	zōt	
	yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. ātrauuaxšō. frā.mē. mrūte.	
	rāspīg	
	aϑā. ratuš. ašāṯciṯ. hacā. viδuuå. ašauua. mraōtū.	
... yə̄.nå. ištō.	**zōt** auuaϑāṯ. iδā. səraōšō. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄.nå. ištō.	
auua. paδō. ...[86]	**zōt** auua. paδō. auua. zastə̄. auua. uši. dāraiiaδβəm. mazdaiiasna.	
	zaraϑuštraiiō.dāitiianąm. raϑβiianąm. huuarštanąm. šiiaōϑnanąm. varəzāi.pairi.	
	aδāitiianąm. araϑβiianąm. dužuuarštanąm. šiiaōϑnanąm. varəzāi. vərəziiātąmca. iδa.	
	vohu. vāstriia. anuiiamna. anuiiamnāiš. daste.	
... aparahe. yasnaheca. haptaŋhātōiš. frauuākaēca...	sraōšascā. iδā. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄. nå. ištō. aparahe.	
	yasnaheca. haptaŋhātōiš. frauuākaēca. paitiiāstaiiaēca. mazdātaiiaēca.zarazdātaiiaēca.	
	framərətaiiaēca. fraōxtaiiaēca. vərəϑraγne. ašaōne.anapiiūxδe. anapišūte.	
	yō. frauuaōce. yō. frauuaxšiieite.maza. amauua. vərəϑraja. vīduuaēštuuō.vacąmca.	
	vārəϑraγninąm. frauuākāi. āϑrasca. ahurahe. mazdā̊.	
	staōtaca. yasnāica. vaŋāica. frasastaiiaēca.yaṯ. aēša. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yaṯ. aēša. aməšanąm.	
	spəṇtanąm. ratə̄ušca. ašaōnō. bərəzatō. yasnāica. vaŋāica.yaṯ. apanōtəmahe. raϑβō.yaṯ.	
	jaγmūšiiå. ašōiš. yaṯ. jaγmūšiiå. ratufritōiš.	
	yaṯ. maϑrahe. spəṇtahe. yaṯ. daēnaiiå. māzdaiiasnōiš. yaṯ. staōtanąm. yesñiianąm.yaṯ.	
	vīspaēšąmca. raϑβąm. vīspanąmca. ratufritinąm.vīspaiiå. saçatca. ašaōnō. stōiš. yasnāica.	
	vaŋāica. xšnaōϑrāica. frasastaiiaēca.	
staōtaca. yasnāica. vaŋāica. frasastaiiaēca. yaṯ. aēša. ahurahe. mazdā̊.... taṯ. ustəməmcīṯ.	staōtaca. yasnāica. vaŋāica. frasastaiiaēca.yaṯ. aēša. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yaṯ. aēša. aməšanąm.	
	spəṇtanąm. ratə̄ušca. ašaōnō. bərəzatō. yasnāica. vaŋāica.yaṯ. apanōtəmahe. raϑβō.yaṯ.	
	jaγmūšiiå. ašōiš. yaṯ. jaγmūšiiå. ratufritōiš. yaṯ. maϑrahe. spəṇtahe. yaṯ. daēnaiiå.	
	māzdaiiasnōiš. yaṯ. staōtanąm. yesñiianąm.yaṯ. vīspaēšąmca. raϑβąm. vīspanąmca.	
	ratufritinąm.vīspaiiå. saçatca ašaōnō. stōiš. yasnāica. vaŋāica. xšnaōϑrāica. frasastaiiaēca..	
... ustəməmcīṯ.	sraōšō. astū. hiiaṯ. paδuruuīm. taṯ. ustəməmcīṯ.	
yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō ...	**zōt** yaϑā. ahū. vairiiō. yō. ātrauuaxšō. frā.mē. mrūte. rāspīg aϑā. ratuš. ašāṯciṯ. hacā.	
	viδuuå. ašauua. mraōtū.	
	zōt auuaϑāṯ. iδā. səraōšō. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi. səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄. nå. ištō.	
	zōt auua. paδō. auua. zastə̄. auua. uši. dāraiiaδβəm. mazdaiiasna.	
	zaraϑuštraiiō.dāitiianąm. raϑβiianąm. huuarštanąm. šiiaōϑnanąm. varəzāi.pairi.	
	aδāitiianąm. araϑβiianąm. dužuuarštanąm. šiiaōϑnanąm. varəzāi. vərəziiātąmca. iδa.	
	vohu. vāstriia. anuiiamna. anuiiamnāiš. daste.[87]	
		sraōšascā. iδā. astū. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yasnāi.
		səuuīštahe. ašaōnō. yə̄. nå. ištō. aparahe.
		yasnaheca. haptaŋhātōiš. frauuākaēca.
		paitiiāstaiiaēca. mazdātaiiaēca.zarazdātaiiaēca.
		framərətaiiaēca. fraōxtaiiaēca. vərəϑraγne.
		ašaōne.anapiiūxδe. anapišūte.
		yō. frauuaōce. yō. frauuaxšiieite.maza. amauua.
		vərəϑraja. vīduuaēštuuō.vacąmca.
		vārəϑraγninąm. frauuākāi. āϑrasca. ahurahe.
		mazdā̊.
		staōtaca. yasnāica. vaŋāica. frasastaiiaēca.yaṯ. aēša.
		ahurahe. mazdā̊. yaṯ. aēša. aməšanąm.
		(Continued)

Continued.

Geldner	TITUS	CAB
		spəṇtanąm. ratə̄ušca. ašaōnō. bərəzatō. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica.yaṯ. apanōtəmahe. raϑβō.yaṯ. jaγmūšiiā̊. ašōiš. yaṯ. jaγmūšiiā̊. ratufritōiš. yaṯ. maϑrahe. spəṇtahe. yaṯ. daēnaiiā̊. māzdaiiasnōiš. yaṯ. staōtanąm. yesńiianąm.yaṯ. vīspaēšąmca. raϑβąm. vīspanąmca. ratufritinąm.vīspaiiā̊. sącaṯca. ašaōnō. stōiš. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica. xšnaōϑrāica. frasastaiiaēca. staōtaca. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica. frasastaiiaēca.yaṯ. aēša. ahurahe. mazdā̊. yaṯ. aēša. aməšanąm. spəṇtanąm. ratə̄ušca. ašaōnō. bərəzatō. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica.yaṯ. apanōtəmahe. raϑβō.yaṯ. jaγmūšiiā̊. ašōiš. yaṯ. jaγmūšiiā̊. ratufritōiš. yaṯ. maϑrahe. spəṇtahe. yaṯ. daēnaiiā̊. māzdaiiasnōiš. yaṯ. staōtanąm. yesńiianąm.yaṯ. vīspaēšąmca. raϑβąm. vīspanąmca. ratufritinąm.vīspaiiā̊. sącaṯca ašaōnō. stōiš. yasnāica. vaŋ́āica. xšnaōϑrāica. frasastaiiaēca..
	zōt *sraōšəm. aṣ̌īm. yazamaide. ratūm. bərəzaṇtəm. yazamaide. yim. ahurəm. mazdąm.yō. ašahe. apanōtəmō. yō. ašahe. jaγmūštəmō. vīspa. srauuā̊. zaraϑuštri. yazamaide. vīspaca. huuaršta. šiiaōϑna. yazamaide. varštaca. varəšiiamnaca.*	