



BRILL

On the Yašt Gāhān (= Gāh Sārṇā)

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Abstract

The *Gāθās* are known to be a central building block of the *Yasna/Visparad* liturgy as well as of the *Vīdēvdād Sāde* and *Vīštāsp Yašt Sāde*, liturgies which are based on the *Visparad*. The functional difference of these liturgies (the *Yasna/Visparad* are intertwined with sacrificial, the *Vīdēvdād* with purification acts; the function of the *Vīštāsp Sāde* is obscure) shows that the *Gāθās* can be used in a variety of ritual contexts, in other words, that they are hermeneutically open.

In Zoroastrian Studies the impression prevails that the *Gāθās* could and can be used only in connection with their Younger Avestan embedding in the *Yasna* and in the *Long Liturgy*. However, with the text *Yašt Gāhān*, in which the first *Gāθā* encounters a liturgical embedding that corresponds to that of the so-called *Short Liturgies*, there is a counter-example attested to in the manuscripts. Remnants of a parallel use of the second *Gāθā* indicate a) that once (probably before the 2nd millennium CE) all five *Gāθās* could be recited in the way the *Yašt Gāhān* is recited still today, and b) that the five *Gāθās* formed perhaps a liturgical sequence also beyond the *Yasna* ritual complex. Since the *Yašt Gāhān* is a liturgy in the context of the rites of the dead – it is recited at the moment when the corpse is lifted up and carried out of the house – it seems reasonable to assume that a recitation of all five *Gāθās* formed once the chant accompanying the dead from the place of death to the *daxme*. Furthermore, there are indications that there was a connection between the separate recitation of the five *Gāθās* and the five (or twice five) year-end days named after the five *Gāθās*.

Keywords

Gāθā – Yašt – short liturgies – Zoroastrian rituals – funeral ceremonies – Daxme

Preliminary Remarks

The Gāθās and Their Liturgical Context

Today, statements on the *Gāθās* are usually made only in relation to the *Yasna* and to the *Visparad* ceremonies (*Long Liturgy*).¹ This contextualization of the OAv texts answers to a decontextualizing interpretation of the *Gāθās* that has started around the middle of the 19th century, provoked by the discovery of two Avestan dialects and by the observation that the use of one of them corresponds exactly with that part of the *Yasna/Vidēvdād Sāde* that has traditionally been understood as Zaraθuštra's own words, i.e. with the *Gāθās*. Both readings of the *Gāθās* make (as I think: unacceptable) assertions: the older claims that any context of the *Gāθās* is hermeneutically irrelevant; the younger *seems* to claim that there is only *one* context in which the *Gāθās* can be recited (the 'ritual narration' of the pressing and consumption of Haōma and the priest's flight into the presence of god). However, a promising finding in Cantera 2013 is the (as I call it) 'hermeneutical modulability' of the *Gāθās* in their use within the textual frame of the *Long Liturgy*. Cantera has clearly seen that the *Long Liturgy* which exists (still) in two variants (*Vidēvdād Sāde* and *Vīštāsp Yašt Sāde*) is composed on fixed positions for textual intercalations. These intercalations occur only in the course of the recitation of the Old Avesta texts:

List of intercalation ceremonies according to Cantera (cf. Cantera 2013, pp. 104f.)

Y	YAV	28–30	31–34.13		35–42	43–46	47–50	51		35–42	52–53	54
Vr	12	13	14	15	16–17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
V	1–4	5–6	7–8		9–10	11–12	13–14	15–16		17–18	19–20	21–22
Vyt	1	2	3		4	5	6	–		7	8	–

The Gāθās as a 'Centre of Gravity' for the Creation of Liturgies

It is my impression that in scholarship this remarkable restriction of the intercalation of *Vidēvdād* and *Vīštāsp Yašt* on that zone of the *Yasna/Visparad* which is dominated by the OAv texts was always underestimated. The restriction shows clearly that the practice of textual intercalation is meant (or at least works) as a 'hermeneutical modification' of the *Gāθās* or, respectively, of the text zone reaching from the YAV to the *Airiūaman* prayer. It seems that the *Gāθās* form a 'centre of gravity' that has the force of attracting and binding

1 See in particular Cantera 2013; Kellens 2015.

non-Gathic texts, which then, in turn, further strengthened the attractive and symbolic power of the *Gāθās*.²

The Gāθās and Their Hermeneutical Dialectics

The hint made by Vr 24.1 to especially this textual area “between the Ahuna prayer and the Airiiman prayer” (*aṅtarə. ahune. airiimana.*)³ is a sign for the high age of a consciousness on the textual unity of the Old Avestan texts (the textual area mentioned in Vr 24.1 corresponds exactly to that described in the three commentaries of *Gāhānīg Nasks* in Dk 9 and in the description of the “Yasn/Yašt”, the *Stōt*, in Dk 8.46), but also on a particular liturgical design of this area. Although the *Visparad* pieces are a kind of liturgical commentary to the *Haitīs* of the *Yasna* (cf. also Y 55) – the *Visparad* 12–24 refers to the Old Avestan texts as liturgical texts –, technically it serves as a connector between the narration of the *Gāθās* and the intercalated Younger Avestan texts which are, in the case of *Vīdēvdād* and *Wištāsp Yašt*, conversations between Mazdā and Zaratuštra. While, on the one side, the *Gāθās* have the function of a framing narrative and intellectual kernel for the intercalated texts, the framed narratives, on the other side, shed ‘hermeneutical lights’ on the (often vague) words of the *Gāθās*. The *Gāθās* are, using a Pahlavi phrase, the *bun ud bār* of the *Visparad/Visparad+* ceremonies.

The Five Gāθās and Their Liturgical Preparation in the Visparad/Visparad+ Ceremonies

A remarkable insertion of the *Visparad* is that of Vr 13. Vr 13.1–3 speaks of “the first three” which are to be recited in a special manner. Since Vr 13 is inserted after Y 30, it is plausible to identify these “first three” as the first three *Haitīs* of the *Ahunauuaiti Gāθās* (Y 28–30). The consequence of this insertion is the splitting up of “the five *Gāθās*” (*panca. gāθā.* [see Y 71.6; Y 57.8; G 1.6]) into six sections (+ YH). This manipulation of the *panca. gāθā.* shows that the representation of the *Gāθās* in the *Visparad* and the *Long Liturgy* is secondary in comparison a) to their representation within the *Yasna*, b) to any other recitation of the *Gāθās* in which these texts occur as a sequence of five songs.⁴ The

2 The question arises how to solve the paradox that the known five *Gāθās* (and not other *Gāθās*) could become that ‘centre of gravity’ when the emergence of that centre depends on its attraction of YAv texts.

3 *Visparad* pieces that have a reflexive character are inserted in the *Yasna* in particular in the area Y 1–54. However, DrYt + Y 9–11.8 and Y 19–21 are not split up by the such insertions. After Y 54, the following liturgical complexes remain more or less unaffected by such reflexions.

4 There are some indications that the known sequence of the five *Gāθās* is the product of a compositional plan. The cadenzas of the *Gāθās* I–III, very similar to one another, refer to the

question is, however, whether such formations exist or existed. If such formations exist then we must conclude that the *Visparad* (and the *Long Liturgy*) is only one possible liturgical contextualization of the *Gāθās*.

The Liturgical Use of the *Gāθās* beyond the *Yasna*

Although Cantera has recognized that the *Gāθās* can be contextualized in different ways, also he seems to believe that the exclusive liturgical place of the *Gāθās* is the *Yasna/Visparad*. Indeed, the transmission of the *Gāθās* within the *Yasna/Visparad* is of particular importance for that reason that they exert their systemic weight solely through the *Yasna/Visparad*. Nevertheless, through descriptions and/or through manuscript testimonies we know other uses of the *Gāθās*:⁵

The Recitation of the Gāθās and the Worship of the Waters

The colophons in K20 and M51b are preceded by a small Pahlavi text that forms the closing passage of the *Jošt i Friyan* (JF) (cf. also KATRAK 1941, p. 172f., Ms. 766). It reads according to M51b fol. 203 v 9–204 r 1 (= JFr 5.1)

ZNH m'tyg'n' MN ptwn-	<i>ēn mādayān</i>	This book ⁶ is read as
dyt' b<w>ndgyh' BRA	<i>az paywandid</i>	a coherent one; and it
KLYTWNyt W pt' sl	<i>b<ow>andaqihā be</i>	starts/ends (?) ⁷ with a/one

light, while *Gāθā V* refers to the darkness (Y 53.9 *vaēšō... narəpīš. rajīš.* “poison ... obscuration [Pl.] (and) darkness [Pl.]” [Humbach 1991 I, S. 194]); cf. the ending of the *Vidēvdād* chapters 5, 18, 19 with their references to the dark places of the Daēuuas (V 5.62, V 18.76 *ahūm.... yim. druuatqm. təmaṅhaēnəm. təmasciθrəm. təmaṅhəm.*; V 19.47 *adāunta. aduuarənta. daēuuu. druuantō. duzdāyjhō. būnəm. aṅhəuš. təmaṅhahe. yaṭ. ərəyatō. daōžday'hahe.*).

5 Zeini 2021 has made a plausible proposal to read Šnš 13 (the *Cim ī Gāhān*) as the description of a particular *Gāθā* ceremony. A reference to a ceremony using the *Gāθās* is also given in ZWY 5.4 (= West ZWY 2.59–60 [West 1880, S. 212–213]); the text seems to distinguish explicitly this *Gāθā*-ceremony from that of the *Yasna* which both can be celebrated in two formations (*keh-/meh?*) (unfortunately, the text is unclear, for its later versions see Cereti 1995, p. 159, fn. 30).

6 The words *ēn mādayān*, which we find in the postscripts of JFr in M51b + K20, seem to refer to the connection of AWN + JFr and to point to their old joint transmission.

7 Liturgies ends usually with the recitation of one *Ašəm Vohū*. An opening with (repetitions of) the *Ahuna* prayer is typical for the *Āfrīngāns*, but also for the *Patits* and some other texts.

yt'hwwylywkī BRA	<i>xwānēd ud pad sar</i>	<i>Yatahūwēryō</i> . To his (the
YMRWNyt pt' lwb'n'y 'LH	<i>Yatahūwēryō-ē be gōwēd</i>	reader's) soul it (the
krpk 'ytwn YHWWNyt	<i>pad ruwān ī ōy kirbag</i>	coherent reading) is in this
cygwn m'li pt' nylng y	<i>ēdōn bawēd ciyōn mār-ē</i>	way a merit <as great> as
'pst'k BRA YKTLWNyt	<i>pad nērang abestāg</i>	killing a snake within an
AHRN (?) pt' lwb'n'y 'LH	<i>be ōzanēd any (?) pad</i>	Avestan <i>Nērang</i> . Further,
'ytwn YHWWNyt cygwn	<i>ruwān ī ōy ēdōn bawēd</i>	for his soul it is a merit like
AMT 3 ŠNT yšt y 'pslwt g's'n	<i>ciyōn ka sē sāl yašt ī</i>	<i>yašt ī āb srūd gāhān yazēd</i>
YZBHWNyt' YHWWNt dst-	<i>ābsrūd gāhān yazēd būd</i>	for three years. It was a
wbl MNW gwpt AYK AHRN	<i>dastwar kē guft kū any (?)</i>	Dastwar who said: 'By the
(?) ŠNT1 wn's y 'y>cšnyh	<i>sāl-ē wināh ī a-yazišnūh ō</i>	way, the sin of one year's
'L bwn LA YHWWNyt plcpt	<i>bun nē bawēd frazaft</i>	non-celebration is not
		counted.

The words *yašt ī ābsrūd gāhān yazēd* do not seem to refer to the *Gāh* for *Aiβisrūθrima*, but to a connection of a worship of the waters and a recitation of the *Gāθās*. The phase can probably be read as follows: *yašt ī āb <ud> srūd-gāhān yazēd* "celebrates the *Yašt ī āb <and> the Gāθā-recitation*" (*srūd-gāhān* ← Av. *srāuuaiiat.gāθā-*). The text *Cim ī Gāhān* (Šnš 13), transmitted also in the mss. M51b + K20, contains the comparable expression: *panj gāh srūd ud *āb ī weh yašt*, which seems to be a reformulation of V 18.9,⁸ H 2.13 (*nōit.*) *gāθā. srāuuaiieiti. (nōit.) āpō. vaγ'hiš. yazaiti*. While the Avestan phrase could indicate that a connection of *Āb-Zōhr* and *Gāθā-recitation* is of already antique age, the second part of the Iranian ms. Pd (Salemann 1879) seems to point to a ritual complex consisting of *Gāθā, Ātaš-* and *Ābzōhr* in the early 19th century:

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|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. YtG (Av.) | 2. NyAtaš (Av.) | 3. MayaYt (foll. 76r–79v) (ābzū<r> | 4. NerEvilEye |
| (foll. 58 r–73 v) | (foll. 73 v–76 r) | bon tamām kardan) | (fol. 79 v) |

8 V 18.9 seems to point to the process of the three-year priestly training and the final examination (i.e. initiation): *aya. daēna. disiāt.* ... yō. θrizarəmaēm. ratūm. aiβiāñhqm. nōit. aiβiāsti.* nōit. gāθā. srāuuaiieiti. nōit. āpō. vaγ'hiš. yazaiti*. Cf. on the priestly training Herb. 12.1–2 *cuuaf. nā. aēθrapaitīm. upōisāt. yārə.drājō. θrizarəmaēm. xratūm. ašauuanəm. (→ xrad ī ahlawān) aiβiāñhat*. "For how long shall a man attend religious studies? For the length of a year. For a period of three springs he shall study the righteous wisdom." (Kotwal/Kreyenbroek 1992); cf. also Yt 14.46, Yt 4.9. *Compare with *daēna. disiāt. Y 57.23 daēnō.dis-* "who shows the *daēnā*".

The authoritative use of Old Avestan quotations in YAv texts (and the different use of YAv quotations in YAv texts) shows that the *Gāθās* and the ΥH played a key-role for the YAv text composition/edition. The *Gāθās* and the ΥH are authoritative texts regarding liturgical conception and theological interpretation. As far as it is known, an old autonomous *Āb Zōhr* ritual was lost. But there are ‘remnants’ of it, in particular a) the *Āb Zōhr* at the end of the *Yasna* (Y 65–68), b) the *Mayā Yašt* (= Y 65), which is the Iranian equivalent of c) the Indian NyAban. The Indian text consists of the beginning of Y 65 (Y 65.1–5 with a slightly different *incipit*) + two stanzas that have no parallel in the Iranian and in the *Yasna* text (^GNy4.7–8). ^GNy4.8 is remarkable since it announces a ceremony: “now, in the following” (*amjāt.*) – and this must mean ‘after Ny 4’ – “I” (i.e., the person acting as priest) “will purify” (*yaōždaθāne.*) the good water, while reciting the *Staōta Yesñiia* (+ YAV + *Xšnūman* to Aša Vahišta) at the point of Y 51.15b (*garō. nmāne. ahurō. mazdā. jasaṭ. paōiriūō.*). This information gives reason for a reconstruction:

- a) initial frame (see Šnš 13.1; cf. the frames of the Shorter liturgies)
- b) ^GNy4.2–6
- c) ^GNy4.7–8
- d) *Staōta Yesñiia*
- e) final frame (cf. ^GNy4.8 YAV + AV).

However, there seems to be no further manuscript evidence for this *Āb Zōhr* – *Staōta Yesñiia* ceremony.

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The Liturgy Yašt (ī) Gāhān: Text, Ritual, Interpretation

Two Assumptions

By descriptions of ceremonies, but also by manuscripts we are familiar with a ceremony in which the first, the *Ahunauuaiti Gāθā* is recited. By description we have also knowledge about a comparable celebration of the *Uštāuuaiti Gāθā*. Both recitations are part of the ceremonial complex celebrated for a dead person. Because of the fact that only that *Gāθā* has survived in manuscripts and in practice, which is recited when the corpse is brought out from the house,⁹ it

9 According to Modi 1922, pp. 64–65, the recital of the YtG “was intended as a sermon and exhortation to give moral courage to the survivors to bear up with fortitude the loss of the deceased and as a protection against the spread of disease.” This is, I guess, a modern Parsi interpretation which tries to give a moral meaning to a certain rite.

is tempting to assume that the *panca. gāṭā*. once formed stations on the way of the corpse from the house to the *daxme*. And since we can recognize liturgical ties between the complex “death” and the complex “end of the year” (e.g., the *Frawahr* liturgies; the making of *Patit*/the day “Pateti”), it is also tempting to assume that once the *panca gāṭā* were connected with the five *Gāṭā* days at the end of the year (see the *Āfrīngān Gāṭā* which is celebrated during the epagomens), which have an extraterritorial position in the system of the 30 days of the month (the days 361–365 of the year are not connected to particular deities).¹⁰

Early Attestations of the *Yašt (ī) Gāhān*

While among the Parsis of India a designation “Gāh Sārnā” (“Singing¹¹ the Gāh”) is in use, the Iranian designation “Yašt (ī) Gāhān”¹² seems to point to a plurality of songs (*gāhān*) which are celebrated b) in a *yašt*-formation (i.e., in a liturgical formation using the *ahe raiia* text module). The plural form *gāhān* is noticeable.¹³ It is found also in the alternative name of the *Stōt Nask, yašt <ī> gāhān* (Dk 8.46.1).¹⁴ Not unlikely seems to me an assumption that the expression “Yašt (ī) Gāhān” once referred to a recitation not of a single *Gāṭā*, but of all the five *Gāṭās* (see below). However, such a full *Gāṭā* celebration is neither attested by description nor by manuscript. Despite the use of the word *yašt*, the *Gāṭā* recitation does not show the typical liturgical frame of the liturgical class “Yašt”. The liturgical frame used in the manuscripts is close to that of the *Nērang* texts. In ms. DH fol. 241 v 2–9 where an overview on the *Yašt Gāhān* (with the recitation of the *Uštāuuaiti Gāṭā*) is given, the initial frame is simple, and its beginning with the repeated YAV and AV recalls that of the SrB, but also that of the *Āfrīngāns* and the *Patits*:

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- 10 If the *Gāṭās* were originally the five texts for the five last days of the year, it is then likely that there were once more than five *Gāṭās* (and at least the word *staōta-*, which is used in OAv texts always in plural, cf. also Y 30.1 *staōtācā. ahurāi. yesniūcā.*, points to a larger text corpus). Five *Gāṭās* survived because of their meaning for the epagomens. Their selection was done after the borrowing of the Egypt calendar in Eastern Iran.
- 11 For Guj. *sārvi* = NP *sarāidan* see Modi 1922, p. 443 (cf. MP. *srāy-*, Parth., Sogd. *srāv-* “to sing”; cf. OI *śrāváy-*). The dictionary of Edalji 1868 does not give a regular verb Guj. **sārvum* “to sing”.
- 12 The designation found in E1, *Yašt. Gāhqn. Murda*. “Yašt of the *Gāṭās* <for the> dead” (fol. 533 v 2), gives an indication for the ritual context in which the liturgy is recited/performed.
- 13 The form *gāhān* is ambiguous. The YtG is a recitation of the first *Gāṭā* while the corpse is placed on “the bier” = NP “*gāhān*” (see below the quotation from Kāmdīn Šāpūr).
- 14 Cf. the expression *gāhān yazīšn* in GrBd 26.127(123).

yaθā. ahū. vairiō. 5 gwptn'	YAV 5×
ašəm. vohū. 3	AV 3×
frauarāne.	Frauarāne
g's [zK y YHWWNyt]	Gāh
w'c 'HDWNšnyh	Wāz Gīrišnīh
MN slwš 'HDWNtn'	S 1.17
ahunəm. vairīm. tanūm. paitī(m).	SrB 2 ¹⁵
yaθā. 'ywk'	YAV

In ms. Pd the finale frame does not include the *ahe. raiia.* formula which is of constitutive value for a “Yašt”: yaθā. ahū. vairiō. *dō* // yasnəmca v: aō: z: a: (= yasnəmca. vahməmca. aojasca. zauuarəca. āfrīnāmi.) // sraōšahe. *tā* ahūriiehe. // ašəm. vohū. *yek* // ahmāi. rīšca *tā* vīspō xāθrəm // ašəm. vohū. *yek*; cf. the frame in ABYazd fol. 150 r, in K37 pp. 468–469, and also in E1 535 v–536 v. In MZK9 fol. 252 v–253 the text ends already with the passages Y34.19 +20 (#GY34.16).

Manuscripts of the *Yašt Gāhān*

The *Rewāyat* of the Behdīn Jāsā (1516 CE) includes fragments of the YtG (MU I 143–144.1) and gives a description of the performance of its ceremony. An old text transmission is found also in the *Rewāyat* of Kāmdīn Šāpūr (1559 CE). Apart from the *Rewāyats* the YtG appears in Indian manuscripts from the late 17th century to the early 19th century, in Iranian manuscripts from the 19th century. The YtG text is placed nearly always at the end of the mss., often among additional texts.¹⁶ Besides the YtG proper some (mostly Indian) mss. include a NerYtG (= XšnumanYtG?) a descriptive text on its performance and ritual context:

- 15 In the NerŠB the formula is: *ahunəm. vairīm. yazamaide*. Cf. also Yt 1.22, Yt 18.8 where the formula appears after the central text module.
- 16 See e.g. ms. 6645(R117): ... 44. Bajs (“all”) 45. Namaskars 46. XšnumansA (several) 47. PedigreeZartošt (“Kursi – ye Zartosht”) 48. Dasturi 49. NamesHamkaran (“Names of Hamkāres, Firashtas invoked in the Hamayast and of God”) 50. RecitalAhunvar (“Recital of Ahunvar in place of Avesta texts”) 51. DegreesCrimes 52. DescriptionZodiac 53. DescriptionFires 54. DescriptionNavjote 55. DimensionsOrvisgah 56. YtG 57. Names21Nasks 58. CharacteristicsMobed.

List of manuscripts which includes the YtG or texts related to it

Iranian	Indian	Date	Type	Texts
	Katrak ^{553a}	1687	YtG	YtG (35 foll.)
	6125(G122) (Sammel- handschrift)	1722	IndXA + ? ("Kadimi Khordeh Avesta" [Katrak]) (Av. + Pāz.)	1. "Khordeh Avesta with Old Gujarati instructions" (foll. 10–154, 158–159); 2. YtG (Av. + Pāz.) (34 foll.); 3. ŠDN, ch. 19–59 (NP); 4. PaAd (fragm.) (24 foll.); 5. Nērangs (including Nērang i Srōš) (Av. + Pāz.) (23 foll.); 6. Text in Old Gujarati (6 foll.)
	9152(EMU10) (Sammel- handschrift, 2 parts)	1724	collection of smaller XA texts, Av.; Pāz.; Skr.	Part I (fol. 1–39): 1. YtG
	6560(E1 = F4); the texts are included in the section after the colo- phon of the second part	(1601; the date of that last part unclear)	TXA	9. ARap (foll. 530 v– 533 v); 10. YtG (foll. 533 v– 536 v); 11. NerYtG (fol. 536 v); 12. NerSoš (foll. 536 v–537 r); 13. NerXrafstarZadan (incompl.) (Pahl.) (fol. 537 v)

- a Katrak 1941, p. 133 (1941: Collection in the Vakharia Daremeher Fort, Broach; presented by Mobed Sorabji F. Vakil, Broach), written Sunday Month Māh Sūd 7, Šamvat 1744, by Kāmdīn Ādarji Padam (35 foll., 8,5×5 in.). Katrak writes: "The Ms. was written during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, the conqueror of the world ('Jehangir' for 'Alamgir'), when Mahmudshah was the (a word, illegible), and Mehtā Devrām was in charge of the army, & Aziz Bēg being the Kotwal".

List of manuscripts which includes the YtG or texts related to it (*cont.*)

Iranian	Indian	Date	Type	Texts
	Katrak ⁵⁴	1733 (date in an Āśīrvād)	TXA	Katrak gives the following information: “The 15 characteristics of a period; the text and meaning of Yatha, Ashem, Srosh Baj, the 5 Gāhs and Nyaeshes; all the Afringāns, Afrins, Nameskars, Khshnūmans, Bājs, Nērangs, Patits, Dūās, the two Ashirwads, names of Nasks, Gēhsarnā text ”.
	6645(R117)	1790	TXA (Guj.)	56. YtG
	6647(B27)	1796	TXA (Av., Guj., NP)	68. YtG (foll. 192 r–197 v)
3098(Dorost ZolfegariXA1)		around 1800 (?)	Faroxsī	1. DrYt, 2. YtG, 3. YtFra
	Katrak ⁶¹⁷	1814	V + TXA	Katrak gives the following information: “This Ms. contains the Avesta texts of the Vendidad and Khordeh Avesta, including all the Nyaeshes, Yashts, Afrins, Afringans, Patits, Nērangs, Yasht – gāsān”.
1000(T31)		1559, 1555, 1567	Rewāyat of Kāmdīn Šābūhr	11. YtG (<i>Yašt – e Gāhān – e Morde</i> , the recital of the Gāthās on the corpse, with explanations in Av. + Pāz.)
8073(Pd)		around 1800	XA pieces	Part II: 1. YtG (Av.) (foll. 58 r–73 v)
6870(K37)		19th c.	(IrXA, Faroxšī)	29. YtG (p. 399, l. 2) (Av. script)

List of manuscripts which includes the YtG or texts related to it (*cont.*)

Iranian	Indian	Date	Type	Texts
6215 (ABYazd) ^b		1834 (?); 1892	Faroxšī, YtG	1. Faroxšī (incomplete, beginning with DrYt 1.12) (foll. 1 r 1–108 r); 2. YtG (foll. 108 v 6–150 r 9); 3. Text in NP (Questions to Ġāmāsp) (foll. 150 v–166 r); 4. S 1 (foll. 166 v 1–175 r 1) 5. S 2 (foll. 175 r 4–179) (incomplete)
6190(RR3)		early 19th century (?)	IrXA with Faroxšī, YtG	A manuscript closely related to ms. 6187(MZK6) is the ms. 6190 (RR3) from the collection Rostami. After YtFra (fol. 197 r 12–225 v 9) it appends about 50 further folios containing <i>Nērangs</i> (like the <i>Barsom Ćidan</i> [fol. 225 v 10]), the YtG [foll. 254 v–273 r 10], the NerYtG (on foll. 254 v–273 r 10, finished with the year number 1298 <Y>), the <i>Paḍuuant Rainīdārā</i> (on foll. 273 r 11–275 r), Yt 2.11–12 (on fol. <275 r>),

b The manuscript of the Ātaš Bahrām Yazd consists of old folios in a beautiful Iranian handwriting and of supplied folios in a very ugly and probably late handwriting. The process of replacements is hard to reconstruct, the oldest layer of the ms. was probably strongly destroyed. The ms. has 179 foll. with 9–12 ll. The original character of the ms. is unclear. However, the sequence *Faroxšī* – YtG is also known from ms. 6870(K37), in inverse order in 3098(DorostZolfegariXA1).

List of manuscripts which includes the YtG or texts related to it (*cont.*)

Iranian	Indian	Date	Type	Texts
				at the end of the ms.), the <i>yātu.zī</i> -text, i.e., the DoaZiyanMardoman. The <i>Paḍuuant</i> and the <i>yātu.zī</i> are appended in ms. 6187 after the colophon.
	9790 (Suppl.per-san51)	around 1600	Treatise on ritual matters (Av, Paz.)	6. XšnumanYtG (fol. 65)
	6701(EMU8 = G69? ^c)	1709	TXA	162. NerYtG
	6621(EMU5)	around 1750	TXA	137. NerYtG (“Nērang to be recited with closed lips before finishing the Geh – Sārnū, i.e., the funeral recitations”); 152. AccountYtG (“The recitation and ceremony of the Gēhsārnū, i.e. funeral rites”) (see Bharucha 1906, p. viii–ix)
	1055(T29)	1642	BajDharnu	5. AccountYtG (Gāh – Sārnā); 6. CeremoniesAfter Death (? “Ceremonies performed for a year after a man’s death”)
	6240(F7 = E2 [Geldner])	1860 (< 1640 original ms.)	collection of smaller XA texts, Indian	81. AccountYtG

c G69 was digitized.

The *Nērang* to the *Yašt Gāhān*

As can be seen from the table above, Indian manuscripts (but see also the IrXA 6190[RR3]) containing texts from the *Xorde Avesta* transmit besides the proper text of the *Yašt Gāhān* also a *Nērang* (see PazT 202.10–12) referring to the *Yašt Gāhān*. Such *Nērang* enlargements of *Shorter Liturgies* are also known from texts belonging to the *Farziyat* (*Yašts, Niyāyišns*). Antia¹⁷ calls the *Nērang* referring to the YtG a *Nērang ba'd gāsān-sarāīdan-e mordegān* “(to recite) after the singing of the *Gāhān* for the dead ones”. According to Antia’s edition of the text, the *Nērang* is recited after the text-module *aṃāi. raēšca. + AV* of the finale frame of the YtG. Antia gives the following text:

āz.¹⁸ stēraḡ. aβar. vōzaṃ.
zādaṃ. azādaṃ.
əž. gaiiō. marṡ. aṃdā. saošiiōš.
haṃbāst. vihi. dīn.¹⁹ vahišt. bahir. bāt.²⁰

Final frame:

hazaṃhrəm. baešazanqm. 3 bar.
jasa. me. auuahe. mazda. 3 bar.
amahe. hutāštahe. huraoḡahe. <OD>
uparatātō. θβāšhi. xādātahe. <OD>
darəyō. xādātahe. ašəm. vōhū. yak.

Kotwal/Hintze 2008, p. 48, say that the NerYtG “nowadays ... is seldom recited by priests”. The position of the NerYtG in the manuscripts, however, indicates that once the NerYtG (and the YtG) were among the texts that were used frequently.²¹

17 Antia, p. 202.13–19 (cf. E1 536 v).

18 Missing in E1.

19 E1 *vahidīnq*.

20 Cf. with very small variations the text given in Kotwal/Hintze 2008, p. 48, with translation: “May paradise be the lot of all those of the good Religion (i.e. the Zoroastrians) who are steadfast and powerful, the born and unborn ones, from Gayōmard (the First Man) to Sōšyōš (the Last Saviour who will be the Maker of the Renovation)”.

21 See e.g. 6621(EMU5): 133. NerYt3 (“Nērang to remove black magic”) 134. NerYt20 (“Another Nērang to remove black magic”) 135. NerYt21 (“Another Nērang to remove black magic”) 136. NerDastshu (i.e., the formula recited before rubbing cow’s urine on the hands, face and feet at the time of rising from sleep) 137. NerYtG (“Nērang to be recited with closed lips before finishing the ‘Geh – Sārnū’, i.e., the funeral recitations”) 138. NerNasasalar (“Nērang to be recited by the Nasāsālār, i.e. at the time of depositing dead bodies in the

The Performance of the *Yašt Gāhān*

Bharucha qualifies in his description of ms. 6621(EMU5) the YtG as “the Geh – Sārnu, i.e., the funeral recitations”, and it is obvious that the context of the YtG in the manuscripts is often that of texts referring to the ceremonies for the dead ones. Thus, it is certainly not by chance that in ms. 6621(EMU5) the NerYtG is followed by the NerNasasalar, the “Nērang to be recited by the Nasāsālār, i.e., at the time of depositing dead bodies in the Dakhmā”. And in the ms. 1055(T29) we find after the AccountYtG (Gāh – Sārnu), a text which is defined in 6240(E2) as the “Description of the Gāh – Sārnu, i.e., the *Gāḡās* recited on the dead body of a person” (Dhabhar), the CeremoniesAfterDeath (“Ceremonies performed for a year after a man’s death”).

The Parsi authors describe the YtG always as a funeral rite (see, e.g., the expression “*Yašt ī Gāhān Murd*” used by Kotwal/Hintze 2008, p. 48, after E1). Our oldest description comes probably from Wd 91²² (14th century):²³

Wd 91.1

ēk ēn kū pad yašt ī gāhān srāyēnīdan
dō mard ī yōždahrgar abāyēd

kē abāg ham-paywand ud wāz ī srōš
tā ašahe xwāndag

harw dō kas haft hād ī ahunwad gāh
bowandag tā sar kunīšn

pas nēmascā yā ārmaitiš īžācā sē bār
ud panj ahunwar frāz gōwišn

ud pas īḍa iristanqm uruuānō
yaz<a>maide yā ašaonqm
frauuāšiiō sē bār xwānēd ud abāz
dō ahunwar frāz gōwēd

The following applies: When singing the *Yašt ī Gāhān*, two men are necessary for purification;

they have to make *ham-paywand* and to recite the *Wāz ī Srōš* upto *ašahe*.

The two persons must complete the seven *Hāitis* of *Ahunwad Gāh* to the end;

then they have to recite the *nēmascā yā ārmaitiš īžācā* (Y 49.10c [= end of SrB 3]) three times and five *Ahunwar*;

then they recite *īḍa. iristanqm. uruuānō. yazamaide. yā. ašaōnqm. frauuāšaiiō*. (< Y 26, Y 59) and recite again two *Ahunwars*;

Dakhmā”) 139. Dasturi (which must be recited with closed lips) 140. NerYtMihr (“Nērang to be recited after YtMihr or any other Yašt”) 141. NerYt.

22 Cf. Wd 80.2 *wāz ī srōš ... dō mardān ahlawān ahunwad gāh frāz srāyēnānd pas ō ān ī rist tan ul ī hazzān frāz bareš*.

23 A celebration of *Yašt ī gāhān* takes place also at the burial of amputated limbs (Wd 17.1), of a pregnant woman with her unborn child (until the age of 130 days) (Wd 87.1), at the death of a *nasāy-keš* while working (Wd 120.1).

ud yas<n>əmca tā sar sraošahe
ašiehe xwānišn

and <finally> they recite the text from
yasnəmca. (SrB 4) upto the end of
the *sraošahe. ašiehe*. (SrB 4);

ud wāz hilišn šāyēd ...

and <then> it is possible to finish the
Wāz (i.e., to recite the final liturgi-
cal frame) ...

Other descriptions are found in the *Rewāyats*, one in the *Rewāyat* of the Behdīn Jāsā (1516 CE), another in the *Rewāyat* of Kāmdīn Šāpūr (1559), see its English translation in Dhabhar 1932, pp. 161–162 (NP text in MU I pp. 142.16–18; MU I 143–144.1):

Kāmdīn Šāpūr: “Two priests should recite the Yasht-i Gahan. If there are not (to be found) two priests, then one priest and one layman (will do). If (even) a layman is not (met with), then a dog should be taken and (the priest) should make *paiwand* with it. The Yasht-i Gahan (should be thus recited): – Yānim manō (28th Ha) upto – Tā-vē-urvāta (31st hā) which should be recited only up to (where the words) *tat-moi-vichidyāi*²⁴ (begin). The rest should not (for the time being) be recited. Then the corpse should be put on the bier (*gāhān*) and should be taken out and the rest (of the Yasht-i-Gahan) should be recited (on the way to the Dakhma) up to *Yā Shyaothana* (34th hā) which is to be completed and then the Vāj of Sarosh should be finished.”

Behdīn Jāsā: “About the Yasht-i Gāhān (i.e., the Gāh Sārnā) which is recited over the dead: It is necessary that the priests should put on new clothes. The bier should be carried (into the house) where there is the corpse and it should be placed near it. One priest should make a *paiwand* (of a piece of cloth) with another priest. They should look at the bier (only) and not at the corpse (and then recite the following):

[SrB upto *ashahe*]

[YtG upto Y 31.4]

They should recite upto this and stop (a while) so that the *nasāsalās* may take up the bier (put it just close to the corpse), put the corpse into it and take it up and when they come out, their glances should fall in front of the corpse (and then the following Gāh-sarnā left over should be recited).

[here text from Y 31.4 to end]

24 First words of Y 31.5.

Seven Kardas i.e. the seven Hās of the Gathas should only be recited as I have written. Akhyācha (Y. 32), Yathāish atha (Y. 33) and Yā Shyaothanā (Y. 34) upto the end – this much as has been mentioned should be recited. May it be in accordance with the will of God and the Amashaspands.”

Behdīn Jāsā’s text is followed by notes on the use of the *daxme* and on the recitations of the Nasāsālārs.

In Modi’s description (1922, pp. 64–66) of the ceremony some details are added to the information given by the messengers from Iran:

Nasāsālārs	in the house of the dead person	
		SrB 1–3 upto <i>ašahe</i>
		in Bāj tone: Dastūrī ²⁵
	sitting silently around the dead person	
two priests	in the house of the dead person	Pādyāb Kostī
		Farziyat for the special Gāh

25 Antia edited two slightly different versions of the “Dastūrī”. The translation of Modi is a mix of both with some omissions:

Īn Dastūrī be-wāğ
xwāndan (Antia,
p. 202.1–4)

ba. dastūrī. <i.> dādār.
aorməzda.

ba. dastūrī. <i.>
aməšāspəndəq.

ba. dastūrī. <i.> sraoš. ašō.

ba. das<t>ūrī. <i.>

zaraθuš. spəntaməq.

ba. dastūrī. <i.> dastūr. q.

zamq. ki. būdah. bāšaṭ.

Īn Dastūrī-ye digar
dar rewāyat newešte
ast (Antia, p. 202.5–9)
ba. dastūrī. aorməzd.
u. aməšāspəndəq.

ba. dastūrī. sraoš. ašō.

ba. dastūrī. zaraθuš.

spəntaməq.

ba. dastūrī. ādərbāṭ.

mihraspəndəq.

ba. dahūō. vaōī. šāh.

guštāsp.

ba. dastūrī. dastūr.

q. zamq. ki. būdah.

bāšaṭ.

Modi 1922, p. 64

“(We do this) according to the dictates of Ahura Mazda, according to the dictates of the Ameshāspentas, according to the dictates of the holy Sraosha,

according to the dictates of Ādərbād Mārespand,

and according to the dictates of the Dastur of the age.”

	turning to the dead person; making paywand, tying the Padān	Wāz-Girišnih
		YtG upto Y 31.4
	the corpse is lifted up	(one minute break)
		YtG from Y 31.5 to the end of Y 34
	Sagdīd	
	the corpse is removed from the house	

We see that the YtG is embedded into an ensemble of texts. The structuring of this text ensemble is coined by formulas of liturgical opening and closing which encircles the dangerous moment of lifting up the corpse:

General Opening	Particular Opening	'Dangerous Moment'	Closing
Nasāsālārs: SrB ₁₋₃ + Bāj (Dastūrī)		corpse is lifted up	SrB 4-5
Priests:	Pādyāb Wāz- Kostī + Girišnih Gāh (= initial frame of YtG)	Y 28.1- 31.4	Y 31.5- 34.15

Seen from a text analytical point of view the YtG appears as an enlargement of the SrB, i.e., of a *Nērang*. The closing frame of the SrB (SrB 4-5) is the most simple one among the frames of the *Shorter Liturgies*:

nəmascā. yā. ārmaitiš. ižācā. (= Y 49.10c = V 9.12)
(iḏa. iristanq̄m. uruuanō. yazamaide. yā. aṣāōnq̄m. frauuašaiiō. [see Wd 91.1])
AV

YAV (2×)
yasnəmca.
S 1.17

AV

aṃjāi. raēšca.

aθa. jamiiāt. yaθa. āfrīnāmi.

AV

hazaṇhrəm.

AV

jasa.mē.

amahe. hutāštahe.... zruuānahe. darəγō.x^vaḍātahe.

AV

The reason for the break of the YtG after Y 31.4 is neither given by the messengers nor by Modi. The *Ahunauuaiti* comprises (counted without repetitions) 100 stanzas (= 300 verse lines), the break after Y 31.4 divides its text into 37 : 63 stanzas (= 111 : 189 verse lines), a division according to the ‘golden ratio’ (exactly: 38 : 62). The text of Y 31.4 ends with the words in first plural: *vanaēmā. drujəm*. “we will overcome the *druj*/lie”. (The word *drujəm* occurs four times in the *Yašt Gāhān*/the first *Gāθā*, always as the last word in a stanza: in Y 30.8, 31.4, 32.12, 33.4; some mss. mark the word with special symbols.)

•••

Interpretations and Speculations concerning the Yašt Gāhān

We have seen, that the title *Yašt Gāhān* “Yašt of Gāθās” surprisingly designates, in fact, not a plurality of *Gāθās*, but only the recitation/performance of the *Ahunauuaiti Gāθā* in the context of death ceremonies. This result is surprising also insofar as the *Gāθā* known as a mourning song is not the *Ahunauuaiti Gāθā*, but the *Uštatauaiti Gāθā*, see, e.g., the NerSoulsHeaven “Nērang to be recited for the joy expressed by the souls of the pious in heaven”, HN 2, Awn 4.5 etc.²⁶ It was Dhabhar 1932, p. xlv, who firstly pointed to the fact that we find traces of a *Yašt Gāhān* with *Uštatauaiti Gāθā*:

“The whole Ahunavaiti Gatha is here recited for the Gāh-sārnā. It appears from Kamdin Shapur’s and Jasa’s Rivayat that Yasna 28 to Yasna 31 § 4 was recited at home and the remaining portion was finished off on the road. (See, also, Gāh-sārnā recital by Dr. J.J. Modi in the Sir J.J. Madressa Memorial Volume, pp. 415–420).” A certain piece attached to the Bahman Yasht published by Dastur Kaikobad of Poona gives the first three *ha’s* of Uštavaiti Gatha as the portion to be recited for the Gāh-sārnā (See the Photozinco-Edition p. 23). Shāyast-lā-Shāyast Ch. x §6 also mentions

²⁶ See König 2017, pp. 78ff.

the first 3 *ha's* of Ushtavaiti Gatha as forming the *Gāh-Sārnā*. Again, Vendidad 9 and 10 lay special stress on the recital of some special formulæ for the expulsion of the *druj-nasu*; hence some are of opinion that these formulæ (*bishāmrut*, *thrishāmrut* & *cathrushāmrut*) only constituted originally the *Gāh-Sārnā*.

The overview given in (the already mentioned) DH fol. 241 v 2–9 attests that the (first three *Hāitis* of the) *Uštāuuaiti* was celebrated as a 'Yašt' still in the Safavid period:

kōmnā. mazdā. 'D ižācā.	SrB 2 (= V 8.20 [= Y 46.7 + Y 44.16b–e] + V 8.21 + Y 49.10c)
nəmō. vō. gāθā. ašaōnīš.	cf. Y 28.0/43.0/47.0/51.0/53.0
uštāamāi. yaṃāi. 'D sl.	Y 43
taṭ. θβā. pərəsā. 'D. sl	Y 44
W 't frauuaxšiiā. 'D sl	Y 45
yaθā. 2 gwptn'	YAV 2×
w'c BRA gwptn'	Wāz Guftan

Šnš 10.6 shows that the use of the YtG and in particular the use of the *Uštāuuaiti* was discussed among the priests.²⁷ From the information given in Šnš 10.6 we can conclude that the *Uštāuuaiti* once was recited after the *Ahunauuaiti Gāθā* in the house of the dead person:

gāhān abar widerdagān guftan pad sūdāg nē dārišn ciyōn ēn 3 hād ī bun ī Uštwadgāh ka-iz pad rāh guftan nē šāyēd. ka-iz mard-ēw andar xānag abar gōwēd bēšāz

It is not considered useful to recite the *Gāθās* on the dead, as it is forbidden, the(se) three *Hāds* of the beginning of the *Uštwadgāh* (Y 43–45)²⁸ to recite on the way of the dead; but if one recites it over a man inside the house, it has a healing effect (!).

From the fact that Šnš 10.6 tries to forbid a recitation of the second *Gāθās* on the way of the corpse (from the house to the *daxme*) we probably can conclude that such a practice existed among at least some Zoroastrians.

27 In his dissertation (in progress) on the contemporary rituals and customs of Iranian Zoroastrians, Mobed Ramin Shahzadi points to a ceremony of "Exaltation of Fire" that has the following sequence: SrB – NerKB – Gāh – feeding the Fire + recitation of NyAtaš – *Gāθā Uštāuuaiti*.

28 It is remarkable that Y 46 is excluded.

A Ceremony for the Epagomens?

The Zoroastrian calendar is probably a product of those theologians who were also responsible for the ‘Younger Avesta text edition’. The oldest list of the 30 days of the month is integrated in Y 16. Some names of months and the ritual organisation of the year are known from the *Āfrīngān Gāhānbār*. The information on the ten *Frauuaši* days given by Yt 13.49sq. points to the existence of the five epagomens.²⁹ Lists of *xšnūmans* for the 30 days of the month, the twelve month and the five epagomens are proofs for an old structuring of the year by $12 \times 30 + 5$ units. The *xšnūmans* of the five epagomens refer to the names of the five *Gāθās*:³⁰

Panğ Rūz³¹

<Panğ Rūz> fe rāh-e yazāmayde

3080(MF16 = MF1 Geldner [part 1b])
 foll. 174–175
 6115(K36) foll. 104 v 10–105 r 9
 6187(MZK6) foll. 107 v 5–108 r 4
 6190(RR3) foll. 87 r 13–87 v 9
 3100(K38) foll. 106 v 5–110 r 7
 9100(K25) foll. 102 r 8–102 v 12

3080(MF16 = MF1 Geldner [part 1b])
 foll. 174–175
 6115(K36) foll. 105 r 10–105 v 13
 6187(MZK6) foll. 108 r 4ff.
 6190(RR3) foll. 87 v 10
 3100(K38) foll. 106 v 5–110 r 7
 9100(K25) foll. 102 v 13–103 r

29

ašāunam. vanʰhīš. sūrā. spəntā.

frauuašaiiō. yazamaide.

yā. visāda. āuuaiein̄ti.

hamaspaθmaēdaēm. paiti. ratūm.

āač. aθra. vicarēnti. dasa. pairi. xšafnō.

...

Let us sacrifice to the good strong holy

Frauuašis of the blessed ones,

which from <their> home fly to <this place here>,

at Ratu Hamaspaθmaēdaia;

then they move here for 10 nights

...

30 On the *panj ī meh*: Xšnūman of Panğ Gāθā (E1 *āfrīngān. pənj. gāθā.*) (Kotwal/Hintze 2008, fol. 486 r 4–486 v; pp. 39; Dadabhai 1902, pp. 504–507; Pavri 1995, p. 155; E2, p. 76); b) on the *panj ī keh*: Xšnūman of Spandarmad Māh, Āštād to Anagrān Rōz, with Ardāfrawaš (E1 *xšnūmaini. aspəndār.mač. māh. az. aštāt. rōz. tā. anaērqn. rōz arđāfrauuaš. ast.*) (Kotwal/Hintze 2008, fol. 485 v 15–486 r 3; pp. 39; Pavri 1995, p. 152; in ms. E2 the text begins on p. 76).

Wd 6L31 (a text on the 30 days of the month) says on the five intercalated days: *Ahunwad gāh hangōšīdag Ohrmazd rōz. Uštward gāh hangōšīdag Wahman rōz. Spandumad gāh hangōšīdag Adur rōz. Wohuxšahr gāh hangōšīdag Mihr rōz. Wahīštōišt gāh hangōšīdag Dēn rōz.* Thus, the five intercalated days are seen as correspondences of the Ohrmazd day and the days after the Dey days.

31 MZK6 *Panğ Gāh*; RR3 *Panğ rūz fanğe.*

(cont.)

Panğ Rūz

<Panğ Rūz> fe rāh-e yazāmayde

Ahonwad gāh, Oštawad gāh, Sefantman gāh, Wohūšatar gāh, Waheštūrīš gāh

*āüese. yešti.**gāθābiüō. spəntābiüō. ratuxšaθrābiüō.**ašaōnibiüō.**āüese. yešti.**ahunauuaitiüā. / uštauuaitiüā. /**spəntā.mairiüāuš. / vohu.xšaθraüā. /**vahištōištiš. gāθaiüā.**gāθā. spəntā. ratuxšaθrā. ašaōnīš.**yazamaide.**ahunauuaitim. / uštauuaitim. /**spəntā.mairiüüm. / vohu.xšaθraqm. /**vahištōištim. gāθaqm. ašaōnīm. ašahe.**ratüm. yazamaide.*

While the integration of the passage “*yā. vīsāda.*” of Yt 13.49sq. into the liturgies of many annual celebrations (see E1 foll. 477 r ff.) seems to be a secondary development – the coming of the souls referred to in the text takes place only during the *Frauuāši* days –, its integration in the *Āfrīngān* of the five *Gāθās* (AGatha; also called *Āfrīnagān Panğe Keh/Meh*), a text used during the five *Gāθā*-days (see below), is semantically and performatively well-founded.³²

The strong ties between the veneration of the *Frauuāšis* and the *Gāθās* – the five *Gāθā*-days form the second half of the ten *Frauuāši* days – seem to have a reflection in the manuscripts. In some Iranian manuscripts, the YtG is met together with the DrYtFar, the particular veneration of the *Frauuāšis* at the end of the year. And in fact, it seems, that the text Dk 8.7.23 indicates at least implicitly a connection of the recitation of the five *Gāθās* with the five last days of the year:

... *dēnīg nām ī 12 māh ud cim ī*
nām ī ek ek en kū en 12 māh ek
*ek pad ezīšn *wāspuhragānīhā*
kadām yazdān xwēš ud

... the religious name of the 12 months; and
 the reason for the name of each one of them
 is the following; to which deity each of the
 12 months in particular belongs to; and it is

32 For celebrations during the epagomens see the texts from the *Rewāyat* T30 (original manuscript from Yazd) “5) How is the Yasna in the Panji-i Veh (i.e. the last 5 Gatha days) to be performed? In what manner should the Barsom be tied and what is the Khshnuman?”, “8) Consecration of the Gahambar in the Panji and the Zand of Afringan-i Gahambar”. (An *Āfrīn* of the 5 Frawardigān days which is called (in India) “*Āfrīn-e Irān*” was brought from Persia by Kāmdīn Šāpūr) (see ms. E2).

ēdōn-iz 30 rōz ī andar harw māh ud ēdōn-iz 5 gāh andar harw [kū ān 5 rōz <ī> gāhānīg pad sāl sar] hamāg yazdān xwēš ka ardāy fraward yašt bawēnd

the same with <the names of> the 30 days in every month, and it is the same with <the names of> the 5 *Gāhs* (= *Gāṣās*) in every <year> [the 5 *gāhānīg* days at the year's end], they belong to all deities when *Ardāy Frawards* is revered.

However, as far as we know, the *Gāṣā*-days are mainly ritually provided not by separated *Gāṣā*-celebrations, but by *Āfrīngān* celebrations only, especially, as mentioned, by the celebration of the *Āfrīngān* of the *Gāṣās*:³³

Dhabhar 1932, S. 314 (< MU I, pp. 351.11–19; cf. MU I, pp. 352.6–8)

“From the Book of Avesta and Zand: The Māchi of the day Astad of the month Asfandarmad is called *Hūrak* (or *Hūdak*).³⁴ First the Yasna-service of the *frohars* of the righteous should be performed and at its (own) place (i.e., at Hā 62 of the Yasna) the Atash Nyaish should be recited when the time (comes).³⁵ Then both the Hirbads (who have performed the Yasna) should recite the Afringan of Ardafravash and put fuel and frankincense over fire. At each of the words *gaomata. zasta. vastravata. ashanāsa. nemanghha*.³⁶ fuel and frankincense should be offered to the fire.

During the (first) five days of the Farwardgān, every day from the day Astad to the day Aniran when they recite the Afringans, first one Afringans of Ardafravash, (then) one of Dahman and (lastly) one of Sarosh should be recited, and during the five days from the Ahunavad Gah to the Vahishtoyasht Gāh, the Herbads must recite the Afringan of Gahambar. First the Myazd (should be placed) on the right hand side (of the Zoti) and the *asparam* (i.e., flowers) and the *nāveh* (i.e., the goblet full of water) (should be placed) on the left-hand side (of the Zoti) thus:

33 Anquetil 1771 II, p. 62, says concerning the use of AGatha: “Cet Afergan ... se recite avec l'esch Farvardin”. For the celebration form see Anquetil II, pp. 63–64; see also Anquetil 1771 II, pp. 575–576; Geldner 1896–1904, p. 8; Darmesteter 1892–1893 II, p. 723. On the special formations of the *Long Liturgy* on the *Gāṣā*-days see Cantera 2018.

34 For the *Hūrak* throne see also the text *Rasmhā-ye Behdīnān* (see Antia 1909, pp. 167.7–169.10; cf. MU I 516.10–517.11 [Dhabhar 1932, pp. 338–340]; E1 454 r–456 v).

35 MU I 351.11–12 *awwal yazešn frawahar ašūān kardan o zamāni ātaš niyāyeš be-ḡāi xwāndan*.

36 For the words *kō. paiti.zanāṭ. gaomata. zasta. vastrauuata. aṣa.nāsa. nomaḡha*. cf. ⁹A2.4, ⁶Y13.50, 51, 52, 73.

Rathwi	
Naveh	Atash
Asparam	Myazd
Zoti	

During these 5 days of the panji i.e., from the Ahunvad gāh to the Vahishtoyasht gāh, first two Afringans of Gahambar, one Afringan of panji, i.e., of the Gatha and one Afringan of Sarosh should be recited, and the hamā-zor of the Afringan of Gahambar should be recited. During the five days of the Gathas, the Dahman Afringan should not be recited.”

The End of the Year and the Celebration of the *panca. gāθā*

1. We have seen that the separated celebration of the *Ahunauuaiti Gāθā*, known as *Yašt Gāhān*, is used in the context of death ceremonies. We have also found traces of a similar, former celebration of the *Uštāuuaiti Gāθā*, and a priestly order not to recite the *Gāθās* on the way of the corpse. From these informations we have concluded that once there was a practice to recite all the *panca. gāθā*, the five *Gāθās* (> “*Gāhān*”) during the transport of the corpse to the *daxme*.
2. We have also seen a) that the five days at the end of the year are called the “five *Gāθā* days”, b) that the *Āfrīngān Gāθā* which refers in its *Xšnūman* to the five *Gāθās* is a central text during the epagomen celebrations, and c) that the *Yašt Gāhān* appears often in connection with the *Faroxšī*, the typical ceremony for the end of the year. These observations led us to believe that in an earlier time the five *Gāθās* were celebrated during the five last days of the year – the days of the dead souls on earth – whose *ratus* are the *Gāθās*.

Both conjectures possess their *tertium comparationis* in describing the celebration of the *Gāθās* as the structuring of a transition: in the first case as stations of the dead on the way to the *daxme*, in the second case as stations between the old and the new year, i.e., as stations of the way into the “new light” (*Nou-rūz*).

It is remarkable that the dynamic structure *Gāθā* days → *Nou-rūz* seems to correspond to the structure of the *Yasna*. The *Gāθās* + Y 55 are followed by the veneration of Sraōša (Y 56 + 57), the deity of the night and protector of the fire in the night. The liturgical complex “Sraōša” is followed by texts that have their focus on the fire: Y 58 (with quotation of Y 36) and Y 59 (with quotation of Y 17)

and texts which finally lead to the text Y 60 that refers to the transition into a paradisaical existence:

10 days of Frauuašis		→	day of the “New Light”	
	Hamaspaθmaēdaiia (feast of the end of the year)			
<i>panj ī keh</i>	<i>panj ī meh</i>			
	*celebration of the <i>panca. gāθā. (?)</i>			
	Y 28–54.1 + Y 55	Srōš	Y 58 (cf. Y 36); Y 59 (see Y 17): fire + Frauuašis	Y 60 (paradise)

The structure ‘through the darkness into the brightest light’ is known also in mythical transposition. As it is known, not only the picture of the eschatological sacrifice (GrBd 34.22–23 [TD1 96 v 9–14; DH 225 v 6–11; TD2 226.1–6]) corresponds to the cosmogonical picture (GrBd 3.23 [TD1 16 r 1–9; DH 169 r 16–v 2; TD2 38.12–39.6]),³⁷ but also the time of the cosmogonical sacrifice at *Rapihwin* (noon) (see GrBd 3.23) finds its parallel in the time of the eschatological sacrifice (see WZ 35). WZ 35.25–29 speaks of sacrifices for the resurrection of mankind on the five *Gāhs* of the last five days of the world (i.e., the five *Gāθā*-days of the ‘world-year’).³⁸ These sacrifices which prepare the immortalization of all *rōšn-tōhmaγān* “light-seeds”,³⁹ start on *Uzērīn* and end on *Rapihwin*,⁴⁰ see also in short WZ 35.30:

- 37 The Zoroastrians were conscious about the correspondence of the times, see WZ 35.20 *kard-yašt pad homānāgih ī Jam ka-š pad sūrāgōmand ī zarrēn* (TD4 ZYBAyn‘) *ān *sumbāg* (TD4 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌) *be wardēnīd* “they made the *Yašt* (= WZ 35.19 *yašt ī frašgird-kardārīh*) in analogy to that of Jam, when he with the golden instrument turned the *sumbāg* (cf. V 2.6 *suβram. zaranaēnim*).”
- 38 Cf. PRDd 48.56 that speaks of five *Yašts* of Sōšāns leading to the resurrection.
- 39 Cf. for the light-seeds V 18.46ff.
- 40 The finale sacrifice on *Rapihwin* is probably related to the standstill of the sun under Sōšāns (cf. Nietzsche’s metaphor “der große Mittag”).

*Āsmān Zamyad Mārspand
Anagrān rōz Ahunwad gāh
tā ō Uzērin gāh harw rōz pad
Uzērin gāh 5 ēk az widurdān
ul uz(ay)ēnd pad Ēbsrūsrīm
gyānōmand pad Ušahin a-hōš
bawēnd pad Hāwan ō hamih
ī hanjāman xwānihēnd pad
Rapihwīn ēk ō did rāmēnānd*

Aux jours de Āsmān, Zamyād, Mārspand et Anagrān,⁴¹ et au temps de Ahunawad** jusqu'au temps de Uzērin, chaque jour au temps de Uzērin, un cinquième des morts se lèveront, au temps d'Ēbsrūsrīm ils seront puvus d'âme vitale, au temps de Hāwan ils seront appelés à l'union de l'assemblée, au temps de Rapihwīn ils se réjouiront l'un l'autre. (Gignoux/Tafazzoli 1993, S. 133–135)

Despite the phrase wz 35.30 *Ahunwad gāh tā ō Uzērin gāh* seems to indicate a usage of *Ahunwad gāh* as a designation of a certain period of the day, Gignoux/Tafazzoli 1993, p. 179, say that the expression *Ahunwad gāh* points to the five intercalated *Gāθā*-days.⁴² If this interpretation is correct, the text in wz 35.30 is probably corrupt and should be read: *Ahunwad gāh tā ō *Wahištōišť gāh harw rōz pad Uzērin etc.* Zādsparam seems to coordinate the last five days of the world and the five *gāh* in the following way:

<i>Ahunwad gāh</i>	<i>Uštward gāh</i>	<i>Spandumad gāh</i>	<i>Wohuxšahr gāh</i>	<i>Wahištōišť gāh</i>
<i>Uzērin gāh</i>	<i>Ēbsrūsrīm</i>	<i>Ušahin</i>	<i>Hāwan</i>	<i>Rapihwīn</i>

The panorama drawn by this 'eschatological clock' is that of the final and common resurrection. If this panorama should be built on the general scheme of micro-macro correspondences and on the ambiguity of the word *gāh* (1. time; 2. *Gāθā* song), it could be read as a universal transposition a) of the usual time-table of the end of the year, and b) of the path of the dead (of the corpse to the *daxme*) which is accompanied by a recitation of the five *Gāθās*.

The *Gāθās* and Their Relation to the *uruuan*-soul in Y 55

Although the five *Gāθās* are 'hermeneutically open' and permit a connection with a wide range of texts, both their traditional arrangement (note the rise of eschatological imagery in Y 51 and Y 53) and their first 'commentary' within the *Yasna*, Y 55, point to an old eschatological view on these texts. Y 55 which is a Younger Avestan supplement to the *Gāθās* and to the ensemble of texts

41 The days 27 to 30 of the month.

42 Cf. wz 35.31 gives the following definition: *Ahunwad gāh ka 2 zamān ī ast 12 ēk rōz-šabānīg ō šab abāz* "Et au temps de Ahunwad deux heures avant le soir – c'est-à-dire le douzième d'un jour et d'une nuit ..." (Gignoux/Tafazzoli 1993, p. 135).

called *Staōta Yesniia* (see Y 55.3ff.), emphasizes its special protective function for the two worlds, the material as well as the spiritual world. While the words “body” and “body-soul”, used in Y 55, are metonymies/metaphors for “the material world”, the words “*frauuaši*-soul”, “soul of the dead one” (*uruuan*) (which gets the otherworldly reward [*mižda*]) and also *mainiiu* point to the spiritual world:

vāspā. gaēθāasca.
tanuuasca. azdābišca. uštānqasca.
kəhrpasca. təuuīšišca. baōdāasca.
uruuānəmca. frauuašimca.
pairica. dadəmahi. āca.
vaēdaiiamahi.
āaṭ. dīš. āuuuēdaiiamahi.
gāθābiūō. spəntābiūō.
ratuxšaθrābiūō. ašaōnibiūō.

yā.nō. hənti. gāθā.
harəθrauuaitišca. pāθrauuaitišca.
mainiiuš.xʷarəθāasca.
yā.nō. hənti. urune. uuaēm.
xʷarəθəmca. vastrəmca. (2x)
tā.nō. buiiqn. humiždā. aš.miždā.
ašō.miždā. parō.asnāi. aṅʷhe.

Y 55.1

Alle dem stofflich-irdischen Dasein zugehörigen Bestandteile, (sowie) die Leiber und die Knochen und *uštāna*-Seelen, die Körperformationen und -kräfte**,⁴³ die Lebensseelen, die Toten- und Frauuaši-Seele,⁴⁴ <sie> laßt uns widmen und weihen, sie laßt uns da weihen für die heiligen, *ratu*-herrschenden, *aša*haften *Gāθās*,

Y 55.2

die uns sind die schutzgewährenden, geistnährenden *Gāθās*, die uns sind für die Totenseele die beiden: Nahrung und Kleidung (2x); die uns sein mögen als die guten, reichen, seligen Lohn eintragenden für das künftige Dasein,

43 In the OAv texts *təuuīši-* is connected regularly to *utaiiūiti-* (for references see AIrWb 649*). *Təuuīši-* and *utaiiūiti-* are requested in Y 51.7 (quoted in Y 18.1, 65.5) at the *səṅghē. | səṅghē.* “saying” by Vohu Manah (*utaiiūiti. təuuīšim.* are wished “to him = to everybody” [*aṅāi.*] in Y 43.1, the song of/for the soul of the dead ones; it is probably a hint to the bodily clothing in the hereafter); with *kəhrp(a)- təuuīši-* is used in V 21.6, Vr 11.3. *In the remarkable passages Y 34.11: *aṭ. tōi. ubē. hauruuāscā. xʷarəθāi. ā. amərətātāscā. | vaṅhəuš. xšaθrā. manəḫō. ašā. maṭ. ārmaitiš. vaxšt. | utaiiūiti. təuuīši. tāiš. ā. mazdā. viduuuāšqm. θβōi. ahī.*, Y 45.10 *təm. nā. yasnāiš. ārmatōiš. mīmāyžō. | yā. qnmənī. mazdā. srāuuī. ahurō. | hūaṭ. hōi. ašā. vohucā. cōiš. manəḫā. | xšaθrōi. hōi. hauruuātā. amərətātā. | aṅāi. stōi. dqn. təuuīši. utaiiūiti.*, the collocation *utaiiūiti. təuuīši.* is probably an interpretation of *hauruuāscā.... amərətātāscā.* (see also Y 45.7 and Humbach’s remark 1959 II, p. 63).

44 Cf. Y 37.3 *təm. aṅākāiš. azdidīscā. uštānāišcā. yazamaidē. təm. ašaunqm. frauuašim. narəqmā. nāirinqmā. yazamaidē.*

pasca. astasca. baōdāṇhasca. nach der Ablösung von Knochen und
vīuruuīštīm. Leibseele <voneinander>.

Y 55.1 says that the priests (“we”) consecrates (*pairica. dadāmahi. āca. vaēdāiiamahi.... āuuāēdāiiamahi.*) the components of human existence *gāθābiiō* “for the *Gāθās*”.⁴⁵ Y 55.2 then says that “after the separation (*vī-uruuīšti*;⁴⁶) of the bones and the body-soul” (cf. for that formula V 8.81, V 19.7, P 20[21], HN 2.17) the *Gāθās* are the protection and nourishment of “the spirit”, food and clothes of the *uruuan*-soul. It seems that the *Gāθās* are interpreted as a medium of transformation for the dissolving material existence and that they are seen as the new body of the *uruuan*-soul.⁴⁷

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45 On the construction with dative see AIrWb 1317.

46 The word *vī-uruuīšti*- (s. Sp. 1950c) seems to be omitted in AIrWb; cf. the verbal formation *vī-uruuāēs*- in V 19.7, P 21 (AIrWb 1534) with a phraseological correspondence.

47 Cf. the function of the singing of the *Gāθās* during the journey of Wīrāz (see AWN 2.17).

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