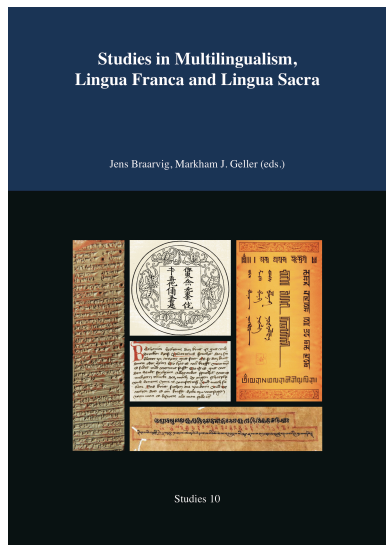


# Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge

## Studies 10

*Velizar Sadovski:*

Indo-Iranian Sacred Texts and Sacrificial Practices: Structures of Common Heritage (Speech and Performance in the Veda and Avesta, III)



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## Chapter 13

### Indo-Iranian Sacred Texts and Sacrificial Practices: Structures of Common Heritage (Speech and Performance in the Veda and Avesta, III)

Velizar Sadovski

#### I. Introduction

**0.1.** After the Sixth Melammu Symposium held in 2008 at Sofia as well as a colloquium at the Norwegian Institute in Athens (2009) and two symposia in Vienna (2009, 2010), the Berlin conference of 2010 (selected papers from which are presented in this volume) represents the fourth major meeting of a series of scholars interested in the field of *Multilingualism and the History of Knowledge*.<sup>1</sup> It was followed by a number of intensive workshops, out of which two volumes edited by representatives of the four institutions involved in the Multilingualism Research Group from the start—the University of Oslo, the Max Planck Institute of History of Knowledge, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and the University of Vienna—have been published so far.<sup>2</sup>

**0.2.** Simultaneously, this first Berlin meeting, together with another congress at the same city in 2011, whose proceedings have been prepared for print by its convenor<sup>3</sup> and two panels of the *Deutscher Orientalistentag* held in Marburg (2011) and in Münster (2013),<sup>4</sup> has been among the first conventions with a special focus on the archaic form of systematization and classification by means of extensive lists, enumerations and catalogs, as one of the most distinctive features not only of Mesopotamian scholarship (in which the famous [mock]-term “Listenwissenschaft” coined by Wolfram von Soden became popular *per nefas* and has enjoyed an independent life ever since). This catalogic “form” of ritual poetry nevertheless has remained almost unexplored. Catalogs, however, were fundamentally characteristic of a number of Indo-European ritual and literary traditions too, thus building an important bridge between a series of ancient cultures from a contrastive and comparative viewpoint.

**0.3.** Based on the investigation of the ritual texts of the Veda and the Avesta, our contribution in the present framework aims at identifying a series of crucial elements of Indo-Iranian ritual poetry and liturgical practice organized in the form of catalogs and lists. Their cognitive value for linguistic and poetological comparisons will be analyzed, along with the reconstruction of the inherited structures of two representatives of the most ancient Indo-European literature that have come down to us.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the working meetings of the Multilingualism Research Group, the volumes published so far and the forthcoming projects, see Geller (2014, 43–44, table 4); Sadovski (2013, 154–156 with fn. 8–14) and further literature.

<sup>2</sup>See Braarvig et al. (2012; 2013).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Badalanova Geller forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup>The papers of both these conferences are to appear together in Braarvig et al. (forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup>*Abbreviations of texts used:* IE = Indo-European. (a) Vedic: *RV* = Ṛgveda; unmarked = Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. *RVKh* = Ṛgveda-Khila. —*AV* = Atharvaveda, esp. *AVŚ* = Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā (Śaunaka branch); *AVP* = Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, Paippal āda branch; *Kauś* = Kauśika-Sūtra. —*YV* = Yajurveda, esp.: *Black YV*: *TS* = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.

## II. Ritual Taxonomy in Indic, Iranian and Beyond: Litanies and Liturgies as “Hyper-Linked” Catalogs of the Universe

**1.0.** The cognitive structures underlying the literary genre of catalogs and lists have been recognized early enough for their importance in reconstructing archaic models of thinking and mind-mapping the Universe, even if the Indo-European representatives of this genre—with the exception perhaps of the most obvious examples such as Hesiod’s *Theogony* and *Works and Days* and the main Homeric catalogs<sup>6</sup>—have been largely neglected until being confronted with similar structures in non-IE contexts; this contrastive approach brought to new reflection on the IE traditions themselves.

Among the crucial analytical frameworks triggering this interest are the pioneering studies of the classical French sociological school on “Primitive Classification”<sup>7</sup> as a highly relevant form of cognition and ritual experience. This includes studies on catalog taxonomies and the list form as part of both sacred poetry and other genres of texts with social and anthropological relevance in Sumerian, Assyro-Babylonian, Aramaic and Hebrew traditions, and there specifically the investigation of the lexical lists<sup>8</sup> as evidence for cultural history. Therefore, the interdisciplinary workshops on the topics *Multilingualism and History of Knowledge* have focused from the beginning on taxonomical structures and forms of systematization from comparative and contrastive points of view in various traditions, especially Indo-European, trying to apply research know-how and enlarge analytical perspectives won in other cultural fields—especially Mesopotamian and Egyptian—on those Indo-European traditions beyond the horizons of the Graeco-Roman world, evidence of which we have long held so close in front of our eyes that we could not see and appreciate the forest of universality behind the single trees of knowledge.

**1.1.** Since our contribution concentrates on the evidence of the oldest Indo-Iranian ritual poetry and pragmatics, we have arrived at the conclusion that taxonomies, catalogs and poetical enumerations have the character of a fundamental structure of presentation of sacred knowledge in the Vedas and the Avesta.<sup>9</sup> Before going in depth into the analysis of the huge corpora of the Old Indic and Old Iranian oral literatures, I would like to briefly summarize “what has happened so far” in the field of exploration of these structures after the revival of interest in this field of research at the end of the last century.

**1.1.1.** *Cosmological* lists and catalogs of macrocosm items have been systematically described for the Avesta and the Veda,<sup>10</sup> with special subtypes such as “Creation Lists”<sup>11</sup> and

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*BaudhGS* = Baudhāyana-Gr̥hya-Sūtra. *White YV*: ŚB = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. — *SV* = Sāmaveda, esp.: *JB* = Jaminīya-Brāhmaṇa. (*b*)Avestan: *Y* = Yasna. *GAv*. = Gāthic Avestan. *YAv* = “Young” Avestan, esp.: *Yt* = Yašt; *Vd*. = Vidēvdād; *Vr*. = Vīsprad.

<sup>6</sup>See below, § 1.1.7, p. 360.

<sup>7</sup>See Durkheim and Mauss (1901–1902 [1903]) and the new edition of this work from 1969, with lucid remarks from R. Needham (Durkheim and Mauss 2009 [1969], xxi f.); this line of research into ritual and myth has been continued, if from a different angle, by Lincoln (2014 [1989]; 1999).

<sup>8</sup>Veldhuis (1997, 1–9, 137 ff.); Selz (2007 and esp. 2011).

<sup>9</sup>For some general statistical figures about the presence of catalog structures in individual collections of Vedic and Avestan texts, see Sadovski (2013, 154); these proportions even increase in texts of the period of the acme of the (Yajur-)Vedic and (Young) Avestan ritual poetry and prose in which the detailed, by far non-(only)-linear, and stylistically highly elaborate types of catalog enumeration achieve the status of main structural and compositional forms.

<sup>10</sup>Klaus (1986); Sadovski (2013, 158–173).

<sup>11</sup>Cf. e.g. Watkins (2005), and Toporov (1981).

liturgical “Purification Lists” by means of which, in ritual, the Universe is cleansed, element by element and category by category, by the mere performative speech act of pronouncing or repeating such catalogs.

**1.1.2.** For *genealogical* lists as mytho-poetical patterns, and catalogs of divine names in Indo-Iranian, see Panaino,<sup>12</sup> Sadovski and Panaino,<sup>13</sup> and Mahadevan;<sup>14</sup> for lists of clan genealogies with social relevance, including a subgroup of rulers’ lists comparable with Kings Lists of the Mesopotamian type also borrowed by Indo-European adstrate cultures such as the Hittites, cf. Bachvarova;<sup>15</sup> see also Brough on *gotra*-lists.<sup>16</sup> On lists of names of Vedic authors such as the Sarvānukramaṇī, more recently Mahadevan<sup>17</sup> and Mayrhofer,<sup>18</sup> quoting also older literature.

**1.1.3.** The genre of explicit enumeration of *body-parts as lists* (often of notable poetic elaboration) in rituals of (systematic) cursing and blessing is well attested to not only in Greek and Latin (and Near Eastern and Egyptian) sources, described e.g. by Versnel<sup>19</sup> and Gordon,<sup>20</sup> or in Celtic, Italic and Germanic spells of healing or malediction,<sup>21</sup> but also in Indo-Iranian ritual poetry, for which see Sadovski.<sup>22</sup> A specific representative that unites such human “somatography” with macrocosmic aspects are cosmogonic hymns attested in several Indo-European traditions, such as the Puruṣa-Sūkta of the RV and its Old Norse pendant about the creation of the world from the body parts of a primordial giant, as narrated in the Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson.<sup>23</sup>

**1.1.4.** Theological and ritualist lists of hypostatic appearances (“avatars”) of a deity<sup>24</sup> or of amulets for apotropaic objects and divinatory rites<sup>25</sup> are present in most of the archaic Indic and Iranian traditions, displaying common items and procedures in a form that in several symptomatic cases suggests common heritage.

**1.1.5.** Meta-lists of “multipartite formulae” and/or of ritual sequences are characteristic both for Vedic and Avestan cultic texts/activities—for the Veda e.g. on rituals dedicated to the 33 gods, see Gonda,<sup>26</sup> on the *nivid*-s see Minkowski;<sup>27</sup> for complex “suprastructure” lists consisting of several hymns of the kind explored in Sadovski,<sup>28</sup> see Lelli<sup>29</sup> with evidence for

<sup>12</sup>Panaino (2002).

<sup>13</sup>Sadovski and Panaino (2013, 7ff.), and especially Panaino and Sadovski (2007, 35ff.).

<sup>14</sup>Mahadevan (forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup>Bachvarova (2012).

<sup>16</sup>Brough (1953).

<sup>17</sup>Mahadevan (2011).

<sup>18</sup>Mayrhofer (2003).

<sup>19</sup>Versnel (1998).

<sup>20</sup>Gordon (2000).

<sup>21</sup>More recently Michajlova (2004), cf. Toporov (1993).

<sup>22</sup>Sadovski (2012, 334ff.); *DIV* 1; cf. also Sadovski in Panaino and Sadovski (2007, 49ff.).

<sup>23</sup>From the flood of literature on this topos in IE languages I will limit myself to quoting three classical summaries of three research periods of the last 80 years, viz. Brown (1931; 1965, 25ff.), West (2007, 357f.) concerning the question of a link to the IE Twin myth, and Jamison and Brereton (2014, 1537ff.), along with commentary and older literature.

<sup>24</sup>Sadovski (2009, 158ff.).

<sup>25</sup>About the Avesta, see Sadovski (2009, 159–166).

<sup>26</sup>Gonda (1983).

<sup>27</sup>Minkowski (1997), and now Proferes (2014).

<sup>28</sup>Sadovski (2013, 165–173).

<sup>29</sup>Lelli (2015).

intratextual cohesion in Atharvavedic hymns dedicated to sacred kingship from the tradition of the Paippalāda-Saṃhitā; in Avestan: Kellens,<sup>30</sup> Schwartz,<sup>31</sup> and Cantera.<sup>32</sup>

**1.1.6.** Meta-lists of *linguistic relevance* which contain coded complex sound patterns, anagrams, word-plays, semantically linked conceptual lists: see Schwartz<sup>33</sup> and Sadovski<sup>34</sup> with literature, esp. on “glotto-logical” catalogs.

**1.1.7.** The various studies concerned with archaic Greek “catalog poetry”<sup>35</sup> published until now (proportionally not as frequent as the importance of the research area and the popularity of Homer and Hesiod would lead one to suppose) have been working—largely with no or only marginal knowledge of the comparanda of the non-Graeco-Roman Indo-European world—on structurally very similar genres and themes, such as the function of lists and enumerations within narratives,<sup>36</sup> genealogical lists,<sup>37</sup> the cognitive role of catalogs for classification purposes,<sup>38</sup> or as sources of knowledge transmission of more or less scholarly, historiographical pertinence.<sup>39</sup> These also include issues on performative forms and frameworks,<sup>40</sup> discursive forms like invocational catalogs<sup>41</sup> as well as aspects of verbal and exphrastic artistry,<sup>42</sup> esp. visualization and virtual geographical mind-mapping,<sup>43</sup> stylistic figures such as the priamel<sup>44</sup> or the “augmented triad,”<sup>45</sup> or the possibility of applying the concept of *hypertext* to ancient Greek catalogs using valuable modern cognitive know-how for the analysis of the Homero-Hesiodic poetic forms.<sup>46</sup> A special point of overall interest in the last three decades, beside the catalogs of Muses, Nereids and Oceanids in Hesiod and Homer<sup>47</sup> has been devoted to the Hesiodic catalog of the Heroines.<sup>48</sup>

Among the most important investigations on a meta-level, in this too brief and subjective introductory selection, we should not omit mentioning works of both philological and methodological relevance for the earliest Greek representatives of the genre—Edwards,<sup>49</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Kellens (2006; 2007; 2010; 2011; 2015).

<sup>31</sup>Schwartz (2002; 2003; 2006; 2009; 2010).

<sup>32</sup>E.g. Cantera (2009; 2010; 2013; 2014b; 2014a); cf. Cantera (2016a).

<sup>33</sup>Schwartz (1986; 2002; 2006; 2009; 2009 etc.).

<sup>34</sup>Sadovski (2005; 2013, 182–186).

<sup>35</sup>Further representatives of “catalogical poetry” in the Indo-European *oikumene* such as the Germanic *pulur* (cf. Vogt 1942 or Gurevič 1992) have regularly been the object of comparative discussions as a part of my class on Indo-European poetry, ritual and mythology that takes place within the Advanced Indo-European Programme of the Leiden University Summer School of Languages and Linguistics—on its most recent edition cf. <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/summerschool/programmes-2017/indo-european-programme-ii.html>, accessed March 7, 2017. It is a pleasant duty to me to thank our students and the Director of the Summer School, Alexander Lubotsky, for the fruitful atmosphere of active brainstorming and creative discussions which this remarkable scholarly framework has given *Lernenden und Lehrenden* for the past twelve years.

<sup>36</sup>Beye (1958; 1964, esp. on the battle narratives).

<sup>37</sup>Calame (2006).

<sup>38</sup>Papadopoulou-Belmehdi (2006).

<sup>39</sup>Simpson and Lazenby (1970).

<sup>40</sup>Minchin (1996).

<sup>41</sup>Minton (1962).

<sup>42</sup>Crossett (1969); Webb (2009).

<sup>43</sup>Clay (2011).

<sup>44</sup>Among others, Race (1982).

<sup>45</sup>West (2004).

<sup>46</sup>Bakker (2001); Tsagalis (2010).

<sup>47</sup>See e.g. Deichgräber (1965); Faraone (2013).

<sup>48</sup>Cf. e.g. West (1985), the works collected in Hunter (2008) as well as Rutherford (2000).

<sup>49</sup>Edwards (1980).

Stanley,<sup>50</sup> Visser,<sup>51</sup> once again Versnel<sup>52</sup> and Gordon,<sup>53</sup> Minchin,<sup>54</sup> the proceedings of two symposia dedicated to the catalog forms appearing in *Kernos* 19, 2006, (some of which we already have quoted), as well as Sammons<sup>55</sup> and Faraone.<sup>56</sup>

**1.2.** These cosmological taxonomies and catalogs evolve from basic to increasingly complex structures of myth and ritual. Thus, the performance of “Creation catalogs” in a ritual-liturgical context represents nothing less than the cultic “re-creation of Universe” *hic et nunc*:

| Y. 37,1 (Yasna Haptañhāiti liturgy)  | Cf. Narten 1986; Hintze 2007 and Watkins 2005, 681f.  |
|--|---|
| iθā. āt. yazamaidē. ahurəm.<br>mazdām.<br>yō. gāmcā. ašəmcā. dāt.<br>apascā. dāt. uruuarāscā. vaŋv ʰhīš.<br>raocāscā. dāt. būmīmā.<br>vīspācā. vohū. | And so we worship now the Wise Lord,<br>who created the Cow and Rightness,<br>created the Waters and good Plants,<br>created Light and the Earth,<br>and all good (things).         |
| DNa 1ff: бага vazarka Auramazdā<br>haya imām būmīm adā<br>haya avam asmānam adā<br>haya martiyam adā<br>haya šiyātim adā martiyahayā                 | A great god is Ahuramazda,<br>who created this earth [the earth here],<br>who created yonder heaven [the heaven there],<br>who created man,<br>who created happiness for man [...]. |

**1.2.1.** The leading principle in such poetical structures is one of poetic *concatenation*,<sup>57</sup> combining list elements into an intertextual whole, with common nexus both on the formal and semantic level.

**1.2.2.** The formulaic character of these lists, enumerations or catalogs “is evident and a function of their status as repeated litanies. We may think of them as repeated performances, with unbounded variation, of the same basic “creation catalog” in the context of traditional oral literature.”<sup>58</sup> They exhibit special organizational and stylistic features such as:

- Single item enumeration as the original organizing principle—most natural in a list.
- Single items can be and are easily expanded to paired dyads like merisms, antitheses, kennings: “earth and heaven,” “light and darkness,” “water and fire” (*apām napāt-* [“the grandson of Waters”]); single item enumeration also in the Old Persian text of Darius.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>50</sup>Stanley (1993).

<sup>51</sup>Visser (1997).

<sup>52</sup>Versnel (1998).

<sup>53</sup>Gordon (2000).

<sup>54</sup>Minchin (2001).

<sup>55</sup>Sammons (2010).

<sup>56</sup>Faraone (2005; 2008; 2013).

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Schwartz (2002, 53ff. and charts on pp. 58–61; 2006, 461f.).

<sup>58</sup>Watkins (2005, 681f.).

<sup>59</sup>Watkins (2005, 683).

**1.2.3.** We discuss further common lexical, phraseological and compositional *topoi* regarding the structure and arrangement of such lists in the *Festschrift García-Ramón*<sup>60</sup> as well as in the *Festschrift Rüdiger Schmitt*.<sup>61</sup> On relevant forms of textual organization such as anaphoras, epiphoras, “mesophoras,” *symplokai*, chiasms and *parallelismi membrorum* cf. Sadovski,<sup>62</sup> *DIV* 1: 57–66.

### III. New Parallels of Multi-Partite Litanies between Veda and Avesta

**2.0.** Thanks to the recent assessment of numerous Avestan manuscripts containing the so-called “*intercalated liturgies*” of the Avesta, above all by Alberto Cantera and Jean Kellens,<sup>63</sup> we meanwhile know much more about the structure of Mazdayasnian liturgy as well as about the employment of the extant Avestan texts in the real context of the corresponding ritual activities—and not only in the de-contextualized form of the individual corpora<sup>64</sup> (secondarily) extracted from the liturgical manuscripts. New Indo-Iranian perspectives have been furnished by the discovery of the significance of the comparison between the Avestan “Long Liturgy” and some apocryphal Vedic traditions.<sup>65</sup> Slowly but surely, with the development of our heuristics, various Soma rituals and Haoma liturgies, bloodless and animal sacrifices turn out to show crucial *common structures* and even *common ways of arrangement* of the modules involved.

**2.1.** A great deal of new material comes from the “Long Liturgy” of the Avesta. It is a complex sequence of rituals (litanies and liturgical activities) containing an “innermost” liturgical circle—the liturgical nucleus in Old Avestan language—*enlarged* by a series of mutually corresponding Young Avestan *Yasna texts* before and after this Old Avestan core, respectively, which expand in a “bracketing” ritual framework further and further away from the liturgical centre. This structure of Old + Young Avestan *Yasna* portions can itself then be *intercalated* with other Young Avestan liturgical texts from the *Visprad*, the *Vidēvdād*, and the *Vīštāsp Yašt*, into a variegated meta-liturgy which eventually can consist of at least two and theoretically of up to five liturgical corpora. One of the most characteristic forms of the single litanies is that of a detailed and well-arranged *catalog*, so that the sequences of such individual litanies themselves build elaborate “catalogs of catalogs.” Figure 1 represents the structure of inner and more central strata (in the middle) that expand “from the centre outwards” by including more and more anterior and posterior ritual modules dialectically corresponding to one another.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup>Sadovski (2017).

<sup>61</sup>Sadovski and Stüber (forthcoming).

<sup>62</sup>Sadovski (2005, 526ff.).

<sup>63</sup>Cantera (2009; 2010; 2013; 2014b; 2014a; 2016b; 2016a); Kellens (2006–2011); Redard and Kellens (2013).

<sup>64</sup>E.g. the way they have been constituted in the classical, still indispensable, and commendable critical edition of the Avesta by Karl Friedrich Geldner (1896–1896) against the liturgical manuscripts that show the actual ritual use of the texts.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. Sadovski (forthcoming(a); forthcoming(c)).

<sup>66</sup>For depictions of such a method of *expansion* in the form of larger and larger textual *auréoles* starting from the central Old Avestan strata and adding Young(er) Avestan texts, see e.g. Cantera (2009; 2010); Kellens (2011, 138ff.), and Tremblay (2007, 685ff.), for a common scheme of the *Yasna* and the Brāhmaṇic ritual.

|                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| • [Y. 1,1–7,23 + Vr. 1–2      | • Initial catalogues: <b>All Ratus</b> <sup>1</sup> ( <i>ratauuō vīspe mazišta</i> ), incl. Ahura Mazdā, Aməša Spəntas; recursive.  |
| • incl. e.g. Y. 6,11          | • Praise formulae to (the) Fire (both as ritual element and as son of Ahura Mazdā) and all its/his aspects (invocational catalogue).  |
| • Y. 7,24–15,4 + Vr. 3–6      | • <b>Hōm Stōd</b> , incl. the <i>staoman-</i> or <i>stuiti-</i> to Haoma; <b>election of priests for the haoma sacrifice</b>  |
| • Y. 11,9+Vr. 3+Y.11,10       | • INVESTITURE OF PRIESTS: TERRESTRIAL → DIVINE DIMENSION; RITUAL <i>SELF-SACRIFICING</i> OF PRIESTS   |
| [ • Y. 14                     | • ‘VOCATION’ OF PRIESTS (+ catalogue of the priestly functions: <i>zaotar-</i> &c.) + DECLARATION (OF EACH ONE OF THE PERSONS PRESENTING THEMSELVES IN RESPONSE OF THE INVITATION) TO ACTIVELY <i>CHOOSE</i> THE RESPECTIVE FUNCTION. |
| • Y. 16–27,12 + Vr. 7–12      | • <b>Catalogue of the pantheon of the Yasna</b> (KELENS 2010: 5ff.), with its <b>calendric projections</b>  |
| • Y. 17,11                    | • TRANS-SUBSTANTIATION OF THE TERRESTRIAL FIRE → DIVINE FIRE, <i>Ātar</i> , SON OF AHURA MAZDĀ, uniting all fires on earth and all ritual-theological aspects of Fire   |
| • Y. 19–21, <i>Bagan Yašt</i> | • Meta-exegesis of the Yasna cult: on the force of the prayers <i>Ahuna Vairiia</i> , <i>Aṣəm Vohu</i> , and <i>Yejhē Hatqm</i> , respectively.   |
| • Y. 22–27                    | • Ritual introduction of the main part of the sacrifice.  |
| [ • Y.27,13–Y.59 + Vr.13–24   | • <b>33 STAOTA YESNIIA</b> , the divinized ‘textual Ratus’ of the (Old) Avesta  |
| • Y. 27,13 – Y. 54,1          | • Old Avestan texts <i>stricto sensu</i> , incl. the Gāthās and the Yasna Haptanhāiti   |
| • Y. 34–35                    | • Beginning of the central core of the Old Avestan liturgy, esp.:   |
| [ • Y. 34                     | • Animal sacrifice, up to the   |
| • Y. 36 ]                     | • Offering of meat into the fire  |
| • Y. 51 + [   YH ]            | • New animal sacrifice and offering into the fire   |
| • Y. 54,1                     | • End of the Old Avestan texts <i>stricto sensu</i>   |
| • Y.55,1                      | • RETURN OF PRIESTS: DIVINE → NEW TERRESTRIAL DIMENSION, + eschatological implications  |
| • Y. 58; Y. 59 ]              | • RE-SUBSTANTIATION/DESCENSION: DIVINE FIRE → NEW TERRESTRIAL FIRE, + eschatological implications   |
| • Y. 60–61 ]                  | • <b><i>Dahmā Afriti</i></b>  |
| • Y. 62–72                    | • <b>RETURN OF THE FIRE (Y.62: <i>Ātaš Niyāyišn</i>) AND THE WATERS (Y. 63–69: <i>Āb Zohr</i>) TO NEW REALITY</b>   |
| • Y. 71,23                    | • Esp.: the Fire after the liturgy, <i>Ātar</i> as Ratu of genealogical (self-)identification of Mazdayasnians.   |
| • Y. 71–72]                   | • <b>Final catalogues: ALL RATUS</b> incl. Ahura Mazdā, Aməša Spəntas, + all RATUS OF SACRED TEXTS  |

Figure 1: Structure of the liturgical Avesta—a “Long Liturgy” version of Yasna + Vīsprad intercalations.

<sup>1</sup>On the concept of *Ratu-* repeated several times here, see briefly below, § 4.1, p. 367.



**2.2.** From an “innermost liturgical circle” (Old Avestan liturgical nucleus: Yasna Haptañhāiti 34, peaking in the central *animal sacrifice*) onwards, the ritual framework expands with Young Avestan texts arranged in a symmetrically-spiral manner “forwards and backwards” from this centre. Such a centrifugal textual expansion around an archaic nucleus is typical also for the Old Indic liturgies of the (Yajur-)Veda.<sup>67</sup> Thus, Avestan liturgy appears as a *complex series* of ritual modules whose relations we briefly summarize (in accord with the list given in Figure 1):

**2.2.1.** The beginning of the Liturgy (and of the table in Figure 1) consists of *introductory* lists (from the Yasna 1–7) of *All [Greatest] Ratus (ratauuō vīspe [mazišta])*, including Ahura Mazdā. What corresponds to them at the end of the table in Figure 1 are the last two chapters of the Yasna (Y. 71–72, last table row) with the *concluding* lists of *All Ratus (ratauuō vīspe)*, including Ahura Mazdā.

**2.2.2.** These lists are followed (see the second table row) by *praising formulae to the Fire* which, in ritual, is styled as Son of Ahura Mazdā. What again corresponds to them at the end is a stanza about the returning of the Fire after the liturgy (Y. 62–72, the last-but-two table row).

**2.2.3.** The *Haoma sacrifice* (of the third and the fourth table row) begins with the election of the priests and their sacral investiture during which they leave the earthly dimension and transcend to the divine.<sup>68</sup> Its correspondence in the second part of liturgy is, in Y. 55,1, the returning of the priests from the divine to the earthly dimension (the sixth row from the end of the table).

**2.2.4.** The trans-substantiation of Fire in the first part of the liturgy, in Y. 17,11 (seventh table row), from the earthly to the divine Fire, has as its pendant in the second part the re-substantiation of the transcendental Fire to the new earthly fire (fifth row from the end of the table).

**2.2.5.** In the middle of the table we see the actual Old Avestan kernel in the centre of a multiple series of litanies (and marked by four square brackets): it is the (double) *animal/meat sacrifice* within the *Haoma ritual*.

**2.2.6.** The Avestan sacrifice has, consequently, a symmetric and cyclically evolving structure. The central strata expand stronger and stronger by including more and more “anterior” and “posterior” ritual modules.

There are crucial *common structures* and modules between the expanded Avestan *Haoma sacrifice* and the various forms of the Vedic *Soma sacrifice*: namely, Soma pressings with inclusion of an animal sacrifice.<sup>69</sup> The basis of comparison between Indic and Iranian rituals is, in this sense, solid: both major *ritual structures* and *individual ritual modules* of the Yasna have Vedic correspondences—in the Khilas of the Rigveda and in old Yajurvedic rituals.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. the dossier of the “simplest form of Soma offering” in Caland and Henry (1906–1907).

<sup>68</sup>On parallels between the Avestan and Vedic “Priest Lists,” cf. Panaino (forthcoming), Panaino and Sadovski (2013), and Sadovski (forthcoming(b)), §§ 2 and 3).

<sup>69</sup>On the Indic material cf. Hillebrandt (1897); Caland and Henry (1906–1907); Schwab (1886); Oldenberg (1917); Oberlies (2012); Panaino (forthcoming); Sadovski (forthcoming(a); forthcoming(c)).

### III. A. Ritual Litanies in Indic and Iranian as “Hyper-Linked” Catalogs of the Universe: Interaction between Cosmological and Ritual Lists

3. In this section, we present a more complex series of catalogs and lists as a further archaic layer in the Avestan “Long Liturgy” that shows surprisingly good Vedic parallels.

The Avestan lists appear in a crucial position in the litanies of Yasna 71, at the end of the Liturgy, dedicated to the Waters and the Fire. The relevant stanzas Y. 71,9.20–24 present elaborate catalogs of *all spheres of the Universe*:

---

Y. 71,9.20–24:

---

9. vīspā āpō xā paiti θraotō.stātasca yazamaide:

vīspā uruuarā uruθmīšca paiti varšajīšca yazamaide:

vīspāmca zqm yazamaide:

vīspāmca asmanəm yazamaide:

vīspōsca strēušca māñhəmca huuarəca yazamaide:

vīspa anayra raocā yazamaide:

vīspāmca gqm upāpāmca upasmāmca

fraptərājātqmca rauuascarātqmca cañrañhācasca yazamaide

---

20. imā apasca zəmasca uruuarāšca yazamaide:

imā asāšca šōiθrāšca

gaoiiaoiitīšca maēθaniiāšca auuō.xʷarənāšca yazamaide:

iməmca šōiθrahe paitīm yazamaide

yim ahurəm mazdām

---

21. ratauuō vīspe mazišta yazamaide

aiiara asniia māhiia yāiriia šarəda

---

22. ašāunəm vañuhtīš sūrā spəntā frauuašaiiō

staomi zbaiiemi ufiemi:

yazamaide

nmāniia vīsiia zañtumā dāxiiūmā zaraθuštrōtəmā

---

23. ātrəm ahurahe mazdā puθrəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm

yazamaide:

haða.zaoθrəm haða.aiβiiāñhanəm

imañ barəsma ašaiia frastarətəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm

yazamaide:

apqm naptārəm yazamaide:

nairīm sañhəm yazamaide:

taxməm dāmōiš upamanəm yazatəm yazamaide:

iristanəm uruuqnō yazamaide:

yā ašāonəm frauuašaiiō

---

---

24. ratūm bərəzantəm yazamaide:  
yīm ahurəm mazdām  
yō ašahe apantəmō  
yō ašahe jaymūštəmō:  
vīspa srauuā zaraθuštri yazamaide:

---

The translation of the quoted passage sounds like this:

---

9. We worship all Waters, the ones in the springs  
 and the ones in the courses of rivers,  
 we worship all Plants, the ones (that grow) on shoots and roots;  
 we worship the entire Earth;  
 we worship the entire Heaven;  
 and we worship all the Stars and the Moon and the Sun[light];  
 we worship the entire beginningless Light-Space;  
 and we worship all the Animals, the ones on/in the Waters  
 (the *aquatic* ones) and the ones on/in the Earth,  
 and the *flying ones* and the ones (living) *in liberty*,  
 and the (animals living) *on the pasture*.

---

20. We worship these Waters and Lands and Plants (here);  
 we worship these Places and Dwelling-Places  
 and Pastures and Residences and Watering-Places (here)  
 and we worship this Lord of the Dwelling-Place (here),  
 (him) who (is) Ahura Mazdā.

---

21. We worship the **Ratus, all, the greatest ones**: the ones of the  
Days, of the Day-Sections, of the Months, of the Seasons,  
 of the Year(s).

---

22. I praise, call, sing the good, mighty, holy (beneficent) frauuaši-  
 of the righteous ones;  
 we worship the ones (= *frauuaši-*), who are related to the house,  
 to the settlement, to the clan, to the country, the *zaraθuštr-issimi*.

---

23. We worship the **Fire**, Ahura Mazdā's son, the righteous one,  
 the Ratu of Rightness;  
 "together" with the *zaoθra-s*, "together" with the girdle,  
 we worship this **Barəsmān**, the one spread in a righteous manner,  
 the righteous Ratu of Rightness:  
 we worship (the) Apqm Napāt  
 we worship (the) Nairiō.sarha  
 we worship (the) Dāmōiš Upamana  
 we worship the uruuan-s (souls) of the ones passed away,  
 which (are) the frauuaši-s of the righteous ones.

---

---

24. We worship the High Ratu,  
 who (is) Ahura Mazdā,  
 the most sublime with regard to Rightness,  
 the “one who has come furthest” / the most far-reaching one  
 with regard to Rightness,  
 we worship all (“Zoroastrian”) zarathušθrian praisings  
 (dóxai/doctrines).

---

**4.0.** This list throws a bridge to a bulk of *new parallels* of multi-partite *catalog* litanies between the Veda and the Avestan “Long Liturgy,” with a remarkable *interaction* between *cosmological and ritual lists*:

- Both the Avestan and the Vedic litanies contain cultic links between elements of the macro- and microcosm, ritual articulation of time and space, theological entities, and, on a meta-level, designations for ritual Actions and sacred Words.
- They both are also characterized by the re-use of cosmological lists and catalogs in solemn liturgical contexts—and also in “private rites,” even in rituals of white/black magic.
- Above all, however, the catalog form substantially determines the characteristic shape of ritual texts and sections of the liturgical Avesta (Yasna, Vīsprad, Āfīnagān)

**4.1.** Thus, the Vīsprad liturgy—starting already with its opening chapters, Vr. 1 and 2—contains invocations of the *Ratu*-s, lit. “articulations,” “regulators,” protectors and exemplary exponents of various spheres of the Universe and the Ritual.

- The *invocation formula* sounds: “I dedicate the sacrifice, I fulfil it (for you,) o, Ratus of X and of Y.”

**4.1.1.** The series of litanies containing this invocation formula is to pronounce to the following catalog of *groups of divine elements* from the Avesta, for which the Veda—e.g. BaudhGS 2,8, see § 4.2.2, p. 368 below—delivers strong parallels:

1. The dimensions of “*the Mental and the Material*” as fundamental categories of Zoroastrianism—to which in Vedic lists the fundamental Indic categories “*Movable and Immovable*” correspond.
2. *Aquatic animals, those living in the earth*, “the flying ones, the ones living in freedom, the ones living on the pasture”—the Vedic parallel mentions “*Aquatic animals and Reptiles*.”
3. The *Periods of time* (also containing a list of *Seasons*)—to them, in the Vedic catalog correspond the lists of “*Places, Periods of time, Worlds*.”
4. The unity of Ahura Mazdā and Zāraθuštra, as *God and his Priest-Prophet / Seer*, with the *Priests* of Avestan ritual—its Vedic pendant is the list item “*Gods and Ṛṣis / Seers*.”
5. The parts of the [liturgical!] Avesta, the *Sacred Words applied as ritual formulae* (esp. the Gāthās)—as their correspondence, the Vedic list ends with *Brāhman, the Sacred Word applied as ritual formula* (!).

---

|   |
|---|
| (1) ● the “ <i>Mental and Material</i> ” (fundamental Zoroastrian categories) [Vr. 1,1 & Vr. 2,1]<br>→ cf. Ved. “ <i>Movable and Immovable</i> ”: § 4.2.2 (5), p. 369   |
| (2) ● <i>Aquatic animals</i> , those <i>living in the earth</i> , the flying ones, the ones living in freedom, the ones living on the pasture<br>[Vr. 1,1 & Vr. 2,1]<br>→ cf. Ved. <i>Aquatic animals</i> and <i>Reptiles</i> : § 4.2.2 (6), p. 369 |
| (3) ● the <i>Periods of time</i> (+ list of <i>Seasons</i> ) [Vr. 1,2 & Vr. 2,2]<br>→ cf. Ved. “ <i>Places, Periods of time, Worlds</i> ”: § 4.2.2 (7), p. 369  |
| (4) ● Ahura Mazdā & Zaraθuštra, <i>God and Priest-Prophet/Seer</i><br>[Vr. 2,4 & *Vr. 1,4], as well as the <i>Priests</i> of Avestan ritual [Vr. 3,1] <sup>70</sup><br>→ cf. Ved. <i>Gods and Ṛṣis/Seers</i> : § 4.2.2 (8), p. 369                  |
| (5) ● the parts of the [ritual!] Avesta, the <i>Sacred Words applied as ritual formulae</i> (esp. Gāthās)<br>[Vr. 1,4–9 & Vr. 2,5–11]<br>→ cf. Ved. <i>Brāhman, Sacred Word(s) applied as ritual formula(e)</i> : § 4.2.2 (11), p. 369              |

---

Table 1: Catalogical litanies in the Avestan “Long Liturgy” (Yasna with Vīsprad intercalations.)

**4.1.2.** This fixed list of multiple litanies is cyclically repeated in the Avestan liturgy—just as in the Vedic ritual. Moreover, the Avestan Yasna liturgy<sup>71</sup> contains the common Indo-Iranian ritual and mythological topos of the “33 divinities,” presented as *ratu*-s of the Universe.

**4.2.1.** The structures in the Veda parallel to these Avestan catalogs develop in the archaic traditions of the liturgy of the RV (Khilas) to popular rites with invocations of the *ṛtu*-s, the “articulations,” “regulators,” sections of the Universe or “seasons” of time. Significantly, this happens for instance in the ritual sequence dedicated to the souls of Ancestors (*pitar*-s)<sup>72</sup>; compare the rituals dedicated to the Avestan *frauuāši*-s and the Avestan idea of *ratu-fri*—“the satisfaction of the *Ratu*-s.”

**4.2.2.** The Vedic sacrificial mantras addressed to the [33!] *Vāstoṣpati*, “the Lords of the Dwelling-(Place),” in the domestic ritual of sanctification of a new erected house<sup>73</sup> according to the Baudhāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra—the *vaiśvadeva*- ritual of BaudhGS 2,8—contain the same *invocation formulae*, distributed as litanies within 25 oblations.

The ritual is accomplished in the middle of the house and pronounced to the same *groups of divine entities* as in the Avestan list (see § 4.1.1, p. 367 above):

<sup>71</sup>Cf. Cantera (2009, 17ff. 2010, 143ff.) as well as the editions of the texts concerned, Kellens (2006–2011); Redard and Kellens (2013).

<sup>72</sup>See Krick (1982, 40 with n. 88 and more literature).

<sup>73</sup>On the Vedic house-building ritual and its deeply demiurgic aspects that make it parallel to rituals of sanctification and purification of the Universe, see e.g. Hillebrandt (1897); Renou (1939); Bodewitz (1977–1978); Gonda (1980; 1983); Oberlies (2012), as well as Sadovski (2017, 730ff., esp. 736–741) with regard to various catalogs contained therein.

---

|   |
|---|
| (1) • <b><u>Earth, Intermediate Space, Sky</u></b>  |
| (2) • <b><u>Sun, Moon</u></b>   |
| (3) • <b><u>Asterisms/Nakṣatras</u></b> (cf. TB. 3,4,17,1; TĀ. 1,32,2; 10,4,1)                              |
| (4) • <b><u>Waters, Plants (Herbs) and Trees</u></b> (for this triad, e.g.,<br>also VS. 17, 1) <sup>i</sup> |
| (5) • the <u>Movable and Immovable</u> (fundamental Vedic categories)                                       |
| (6) • <u>Aquatic animals and Reptiles</u>   |
| (7) • the <u>Places, Periods of time, Worlds</u>  |
| (8) • the <u>Gods and Ṛṣis</u>  |
| (9) • the <u>Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas</u> (three classes of gods<br>listed together also otherwise)        |
| (10) • <u>Indra, Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati</u> <sup>ii</sup>   |
| (11) • and, as culmination, the creative Sacred Word,<br>(the) <u>Brāhman</u> .                             |

---

Table 2: Catalogical litanies in the (Yajur-)Vedic Liturgy of House Sanctification.

<sup>i</sup>Up to this part of the complex catalog, cf. the items set in bold case with the lists of elements in the cosmological catalogs quoted above in § 1.1.1, p. 358, and esp. in § 1.2, p. 361. The items 1–4 of the Vedic list correspond to analogous Avestan items in other lists of the Visprad and Yasna, too.

<sup>ii</sup>These deities are coupled also at RV. 1,90,9; 8,96,15; 10,103,8, etc.; cf. Gonda (1983, 11, 22, 29); for sequences of names in *-pati* cf. also KāthGS 22,3. For the corresponding Avestan formation cf. above p. 365: *šōiθrahe paitīm*.

Thus this formulary “begins with the genius of the house and, after addressing important objects and beings that belong to the inanimate and animate world, ends with individual gods the last of which is, by way of climax, the ‘biunity’ Prajāpati and Brahman (Prajāpati is there simply *sarvaṃ brahma*).”<sup>74</sup>

The parallels between the ritual catalogs and their individual items *cannot be greater* and follow, moreover, *in the same arrangement*:

<sup>74</sup>Cf. Gonda (1983, 29, with reference to ŚB. 7,3,1,42).

| <i>Avestan list</i>   | <i>Vedic list</i>  |
|---|--|
| (1) • the “ <u>Mental and Material</u> ”  | (1) • the “ <u>Movable and Immovable</u> ”                                       |
| (2) • <u>Aquatic animals</u> , those<br>living in the earth, etc.                     | (2) • <u>Aquatic animals</u> and <u>reptiles</u>                                 |
| (3) • the <u>Periods of time</u> (+ list of<br><u>Seasons</u> )                       | (3) • <u>Places</u> , <u>Periods of time</u> , <u>Worlds</u>                     |
| (4) • Ahura Mazda & Zaraθuštra,<br><u>God and Seer</u> ; Priests of Avestan<br>ritual | (4) • the <u>Gods and Seers</u><br>(for priests of Vedic ritual<br>cf. RV[-Kh]). |
| (5) • Gāthās, <u>Sacred Word(s)</u><br><u>as ritual formulae</u>                      | (5) • <u>Brāhman</u> ,<br><u>Sacred Word as ritual formula(e)</u>                |

Table 3: Parallels between catalogical litanies in the Avesta and the (Yajur-)Veda.

### III. B. Recursive Liturgical Lists in the Fire Cult

5. As we have seen, the Vedic-Avestan catalog parallels consist not only in individual *concepts* and *forms* but comprise *entire ritual modules* and their *arrangement*.

The Avestan Liturgy opens and closes with lists of the so-called *Ratu-* (“articulations”), both “regulators” and “spheres of arrangement” of the Right cosmic Order:

**5.1.1.** One of them is the central liturgical catalog of “*All Ratus*,” Avestan *vīspe ratauuō* (> *Visprad*) and *ratauuō vīspe mazišta*. The list of the Thirty-Three Deities which it contains structurally corresponds to another list, the one of the Thirty-Three *Ratus* (“articulations”) of the ritual texts of the Avesta.<sup>75</sup> Here, cosmology and ritualism meet in the numerical expression of (totality and) significance by means of the sacred number 33, typical both of Iranian and (as we have seen in §§ 4.2.1–4.2.2, pp. 368–368) of Indic traditions.

**5.1.2.** Another remarkable *Ratu-* catalog is that of the essential sacred constituents of the Fire ritual, shortly: “*Fire list*,” which appears in crucial positions within the liturgy, i.e. at the *beginning* and at the *end* of the Avestan Yasna:

<sup>75</sup>Cf. in detail Sadovski (forthcoming(c)).

---

Yasna 71,23–24 / Vīsprad 7,5:

ātrəm ahurahe mazdā puθrəm ašauuanəm ašahe

ratūm yazamaide:

haða. zaoθrəm haða. aiβiiānhanəm

imaṭ barəsma ašaiia. frastarətəm ašauuanəm ašahe

ratūm yazamaide:

apqm naptārəm yazamaide:

nairīm saḡhəm yazamaide:

taxməm dāmōiš upamanəm yazatəm yazamaide:

iristanəm uruuqnō yazamaide:

yā ašaonəm frauuašaiiō

---

(1) “We worship you, the Fire (Ātar), the righteous,<sup>1</sup>

the *son* of Ahura Mazdā, the Ratu of Rightness,

(2) (as one who is/goes) together with the libations (zaoθra-s),

(as one who is/goes) together with the *girdle* (of ritual initiation),

we worship the sacrificial straw (barəsman-), the one spread out

in accord with Rightness,

(3) we worship (the) Apqm Napāt (“*Grandson of Waters*”),

(4) we worship (the) Nairiia- saḡha-

(“the one who has/gives the praise of men”).

(5) We worship the heroic *yazata*- Dāmōiš Upamana.

(6) We worship the *souls* of the ones passed away,

which (are) the *frauuaši*-s of the righteous ones.”

---

Table 4: The “Fire list” in the Ratu litanies of the Avestan ritual—Yasna and Vīsprad.

<sup>1</sup>For a systematic use of “rightness” for Avestan *aša*-, Ved. *ṛtá*-, and of “wrongness” for Avestan *druj*-, Ved. *druh-/drogha*-, see the practice of Martin Schwarz (e.g. in Schwartz 2003, 376 ff. 2006 etc.).

**5.1.3.** Note also that in the context of the Fire veneration at the end of Avesta (see the stanza quoted above, vss. [5]–[6]), the Fire is explicitly linked to the “souls of the ones passed away” of the people from the clan or the major (Mazdāyasnian) community.

**5.2.** The Vedic text parallel to the Avestan *Ratu*- catalog of Table 4 comes from the RV apocryphs (*Khila*) and is a “list of lists” itself. The so-called *Ṛtuyāja-Praiśādhya* 1–4 from the RV-Kh. 7(1).<sup>76</sup> contains (a) the list of *priests* elected and having to explicitly make their choice for their respective *functions* within the Haoma ritual;<sup>77</sup> (b) the “Fire list”:

**5.2.1.** The basic catalog corresponds to the Avestan list, both in its *items* and in their *arrangement*:

<sup>76</sup>Ed. and transl. Minkowski (1991, esp. 199–232).

<sup>77</sup>Cf. Sadovski (forthcoming(b)).



- 
- (1) Let the Libator (*Hotar*)<sup>i</sup> worship (the) **Fire** (*Agni*),  
kindled with fuel, with good fuel, on the navel of the earth,  
at the center of what is agreeable, on the top of heaven,  
on the place of nourishment. Let him partake of the ghee.  
Hotar, worship.
- 
- (2) Let the Hotar worship (the) **Tanū-*napāt***  
 (“the Grandson of the [own] body [of oneself]”), the child of  
Aditi,  
the protector of the world. Today let the divine [*Tanū-*napāt**]  
with sweet nectar anoint for the gods the paths that the gods follow.  
Let him partake of the ghee. Hotar, worship.
- 
- (3) Let the Hotar worship (the) **Narā-*śamsa***  
 (“the one who has/gives the praise of men”), praised by men,  
leader  
of men. May [*Narā-*śamsa**] be provided with a *vapā* through [his]  
cows, powerful through [his] heroes, the first to arrive through [his]  
chariots, golden through [his] gold. Let him partake of the ghee.  
Hotar, worship.
- 
- (4) Let the Hotar worship (the [very first hymn of the RV. starting  
with the words]) “**Agnim Īle**”<sup>78</sup> [≠Minkowski (1991, 200):  
“Let the Hotar worship Agni as the nourishments”]. The  
nourished one [lacking in transl.!], the god, the messenger,  
the wise, the bearer of offerings, being praised, should bring  
the gods here. May the god aid this *yajña*, this invocation of the  
gods. Let him partake of the ghee. Hotar, worship.
- 
- (5) Let the Hotar worship the **sacrificial straw** (*barhis*). Let  
[the *barhis*], forming a good cushion, soft as wool, *spread out*  
in all directions, a good seat for the gods at this *yajña*.  
Let the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas sit down on it today. May it  
be pleasing to Indra. Let [the *barhis*] partake of the ghee.  
Hotar, worship.
- 

Table 5: The “Fire list” in the Veda—core list within the Ṛtu-yāja- ritual (RV-Khila).

<sup>i</sup>cf. the repeated mention of the *zaōθra*-s in the Av. text.

**5.2.2.** This basic catalog occurs in the beginning of a complex “list of lists” in the *Ṛtu-yāja*-litany attested in the RV apocryphs (*Khila*). In Table 6 we see stanzas 1–32 from a total of 72 stanzas of the entire litany:

| [Cycle 1 (11 stanzas)]:  | [Cycle 3 (further 11 stanzas)]:  |
|--|--|
| (1) <u><i>Agni</i></u>   |  |
| (2) <u><i>Tanū-napāt</i></u>   |  |
| (3) <u><i>Narā-śamsa</i></u>   |  |
| (4) <u><i>Agnim Īle</i></u>  |  |
| (5) <u><i>Barhis</i></u>   | (22) <u><i>Barhis</i></u>  |
| (6) <u>Heavenly Doors</u>  | (23) <u>Heavenly Doors</u>   |
| (7) <u>Dawn-and-Night</u>  | (24) <u>Dawn-and-Night</u>   |
|  | (25) <u>The two Nourishers</u><br>[cf. ( <i>Agnim</i> ) <i>Īle</i> !]            |
|  | (26) <u>Strength-and-Offering</u>  |
| (8) <u>Hótārau, Pótārau</u>  | (27) <u>Hótārau, Pótārau, Neštārau</u>   |
| (9) <u>The Three Goddesses—</u><br><u>Ilā, Sarasvatī, Bhārati</u>                              | (28) <u>The Three Goddesses—newline</u><br><u>Ilā, Sarasvatī, Bhārati</u>        |
| (10) <u>Tvaṣtar</u>  | (29) <u><i>Narā-śamsa</i></u>  |
| (11) <u>Vanaspati</u>  | (30) <u>Vanaspati</u>  |
| [Cycle 2: 11+1 stanzas:]   | (31) <u><i>Barhis</i></u>  |
| (12)–(14) <u><i>Agni</i></u> [NB: (13):<br><i>svāha</i> “hail”]                                |  |
| (15) <u><i>Agni</i></u> . (16)–(17)<br><u><i>Agni-and-Soma</i></u> . (18) <u><i>Agni</i></u> . |  |
| (19) <u><i>Agni-and-Soma</i></u>   |  |
| (19A) <u>Vanaspati</u> . (20) <u>Vanaspati</u> .   |  |
| (20A) <u>Vanaspati</u>   |  |
| (21) <u><i>Agni</i> Sviṣṭakṛt</u>  | (32) <u><i>Agni</i> Sviṣṭakṛt</u> . —From 33 on:<br><i>repetitive litanies</i> . |

Table 6: “Lists of lists” in the major context of the *Ṛtu-yāja*-litanies (RV-Khila).

Remarkably, the *Ṛtu-yāja*-litany of the RVKh has the same number as the 72 stanzas of the Avestan Yasna liturgy, and a similar name to one of the Avestan Visprad liturgy, *Ṛtu-yāja* meaning “worship of the *Ṛtu*-s”<sup>79</sup>! After the basic list, we observe a series of cyclic

<sup>79</sup>On the concept of Ved. *ṛtú-*, see Renou (1950); Krick (1982, 40 et passim); Minkowski (1991, esp. 156–159, with literature); on its Indo-Iranian roots and the formal and conceptual relation with Av. *ratu-* most recently Sadovski (forthcoming(b)) concerning *ṛtú-* and *ratu-* both as basic concepts of taxonomy “τάξις; taxonomically relevant (articulation of) order/arrangement/ratio” and in its specific meanings, e.g. related to ritual regularity/calendar “(regular) period,” or “item of various length” (cf. in detail MacDonell and Keith (1912, s.v.), including “[regular] period of ritual cyclicity”, “season” (on number and related metaphors cf. Gonda (1980, 245f., 367f.); Krick (1982, 39–45)); “*mensis*” both as “month” and “menstrual period” (Slaje 1995), as well as in instrumental (sing./plur.): *ṛtúnā* “according to the order/rank/ordine/ratione” and especially as a taxonomical “section,” “ration,” “(sequential) unit,” both of procedures and of texts of ritual poetry, in comparison with Av. *hāṭi-* “binding; sewing; section”; Ved. *pārvan-* (–*pārur-* / –*ṣ-*) “joint, articulation.”

item repetitions, very similar to the repetitions of entire lists in the *Vīsprad* and *Yasna* ritual quoted above. The core of the crucial “Cycle 1” in the left column of Table 6 (no. 1–11) is built, again, by our list (set in bold case): **1. *Fire*, 2. *Tanū-napāt*, 3. *Narā-śamsa*, 4. *Agnim īle*, 5. *barhis***. Up to no. 11, we have the same catalogs of divine objects of veneration (underlined in the table) as in the 11 litanies of *āprī-* hymns of the RV+ (see below, § 6, p. 375). Then offerings to Soma and Agni follow that build a “Cycle 2” of further 11+1 stanzas (the additional 1, the so-called “*svāha*” stanza, represents here, as well as in the *āprī-* hymns, the mystical unit beyond the wholeness of otherwise 11 elements of the closed cycle).<sup>80</sup> From no. 22 onwards previously listed elements are harmonically repeated and form a *Cycle 3* of further 11 stanzas, starting with the *Barhis* and ending with *Agni* the Maker of good Offering (*Sviṣṭakṛt*).

**5.3.1.** The detailed analysis of the Indian and the Iranian lists allows the following conclusion: The two parallel lists exhibit practically the *same* divine/cosmic entities and ritual items. Thus the Avestan kernel list consists of: *Fire*, *Sacrificial Straw* (*Barəsman*), the deity *Apqm Napāt* “Grandson of Waters,” the deity *Nairiō.sajha* “Praise of Men.” The Vedic parallel consists of *Fire*, the deity *Tanū-napāt* “Grandchild of the Body,” the deity *Narā-śamsa* “Praise of Men,” and the *Sacrificial Straw* (*Barhis*). Beside the essential parallels between the divine, cosmic entities, and ritual items in the *Ṛtu-/Ratu-*litanies, the basic catalogs follow the same basic order, as summarized in Table 7 (differing positions are indicated in parentheses after the item):

| Avestan list: <i>Vīsprad</i> 7,5 / <i>Yasna</i> 71,23–24 | Vedic list: RV-Kh. 7(,1) / <i>Ṛtuyāja-Praiṣādhyaya</i> |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>Fire</i> ( <i>Ātar</i> )                          | (1) <i>Fire</i> ( <i>Agni</i> )                        |
| (2) <i>Barəsman</i>                                      | (2) <i>Barhis</i> (4)                                  |
| (3) <i>Apqm Napāt</i>                                    | (3) <i>Tanū-<u>napāt</u></i> (2)                       |
| (4) <i>Nairiō.sajha</i>                                  | (4) <i>Narā-<u>śamsa</u></i> (3)                       |

Table 7: Parallels of the basic catalogs in the *Ṛtu-/Ratu-*litanies.

**5.3.2.** The Fire lists show, however, also one and the same *ritual contextualization*: In the Vedic Ritual, *every sacrifice* is opened with a rite concerning the Fire/Agni.<sup>81</sup> Before the main types of sacrifices start, a series of *pre-sacrifices*—*pra-yāja*—take place, dedicated to *Fire*, to his various aspects as well as to other deities. The numbers vary.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup>This approach of adding a mystical *surplus number* is very similar to what happens with cycles of 16 sacred elements, to which a 17<sup>th</sup> is added, said to represent Prajāpati as a mystical, transcendental magnitude that goes beyond the number of completeness. Regarding this and similar expressions of the idea of completeness in numeric form, see Gonda (1965, 115–130 *et pass.*) and cf. Sadovski in *DIV* 1: 39, 44, with literature. The same phenomenon we observe in closed/finite lists whose “numerical expression of totality” is blown up by introducing a transcendental element—e.g., lists of the 12 months of the year as Prajāpati, vs. Prajāpati as the thirteenth month: e.g. JB 1,18: “the 12-fold year adds to itself the intercalary month as 13th item.” On the (Brāhmaṇa) material concerning such lists, see Gonda (1984, 23, 78ff.), to which evidence I would like to add now also AVP. (ed. Griffiths 2009) 6,11,5d; 6,12,4b.

<sup>81</sup>Cf. in detail Weber (1865, 321ff. and 1868, 78ff.).

<sup>82</sup>Cf. Weber (1868, 89 with n. 1).

- There are 5 *pre-sacrifices* for the normal sacrificial rituals of the Veda, a number to which in the Avesta the *five* entities of the fire list correspond, viz. in the list of Y. 71,23 quoted above, since the objects of worship there are five: *Fire*, the *barəsmān-*, *Apqm Napāt-*, *Nairiiō.səṇha-* and *Dāmōiš Upamāna-*,—
- alternatively, there are 9 pre-sacrifices for the *cāturmāsyā-* sacrifices,
- 10 or 11 pre-sacrifices for the animal sacrifice—of the type whose *yājya-* formulae are called *āprī-*!,
- or 12 pre-sacrifices, in the same framework (Schol. ad KātyŚS 3,2,23,3,6–8)—cf. the case of the *ṛtu-yāja-*s in which the originally 8 *grahas* have been increased to 12, in order to correspond to the (later/class.) idea of *ṛtú-* as “season.”

**5.3.3.** The order can be decisive for making the difference between the individual clans, especially the *second* position of the list:

**6.** The question of which deity is addressed exactly in the *second* pre-sacrifice is determining for the (*self-*)*identification* of the clans and families of the *Vedic priests and poets*: Thus we arrive at those ancient RV-Texts which contain some of the best (but so far ignored) parallels between the Veda and the Avesta—the *Āprī-*litanies.

**6.0.** These highly archaic rituals are attested for every single family of the Family Books RV. II–VIII—but also for all four Vedic Saṃhitās, including the Atharvaveda!

**6.1.** In the *Āprī-*litanies in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, there appear the same *lists of eleven deities* (see Table 6) which we just have met in the Avesta and the *Ṛtu-yāja-*liturgy of the RV apocryphs: First: **Fire**, second: the deity **Tanū-*napāt***, third: the deity **Narā-śamsa**, fifth: the **Sacrificial Straw (Barhis)**.

In the right table column I show that the *Āprī-*litanies are attested in the whole Rigveda, for every single family of the Family Mandalas—and not only this but also in all four Vedic Saṃhitās, including the Atharvaveda. As a twelfth element at the end of the List of the Eleven, we find the final sacred call *svāha* “hail!”, just like in the 11+1 stanzas of the Cycle 2 in the *Ṛtu-yāja-* litany.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <u><i>Agni</i></u> (standard order of the list:<br>e.g. RV.1,13)   | ● Cf., for what concerns the<br>complete representatives of the<br>genre in the RV-Saṃhitā:<br>– Maṇḍala I: RV. 1,13; RV. 1,142;<br>RV. 1,188.<br>– Maṇḍala II: RV. 2,3.<br>– Maṇḍala III: RV. 3,4.<br>– Maṇḍala V: RV. 5,5.<br>– Maṇḍala VII: RV. 7,2.<br>– Maṇḍala IX: RV. 9,5.<br>– Maṇḍala X: RV. 10,70;<br>RV. 10,110, this one with a<br>parallel<br><i>sūkta</i> included into AVŚ. as 5,12.<br>– Beside these <i>sūktas</i> , there<br>are certain <i>āprī-sūkta</i> -<br>“imitations”:<br>RV. 9,5.<br>On AVŚ. 5,27 (with AVP parallel)<br>see below. |
| 2. <u><i>Tanū-napāt</i></u>   |   |
| 3. <u><i>Narā-śaṃsa</i></u> (no. 3 or 2,<br>cf. e.g. RV. 2,3)   |   |
| 4. <u><i>Agnim Īle</i></u> (or a formation of a<br>root <i>īl-</i> )  |   |
| 5. <u><i>Barhis</i></u>   |   |
| 6. <u><i>Heavenly Doors</i></u>   |   |
| 7. <u><i>Dawn-and-Night</i></u> (or in reverse<br>cmpd. order)  |   |
| 8. <u><i>Hótārau</i></u> (in ellipt. Dual;<br>alias Pótārau)  |   |
| 9. The <u><i>Three Goddesses</i></u><br>(or, explicitly named):<br><u><i>Iḍā, Sarasvatī, Bhārātī</i></u>              |   |
| 10. <u><i>Tvaṣtar</i></u>   |   |
| 11. <u><i>Vanas-pati</i></u>  |   |
| 12. “The final acclaim”: <u><i>Svāha</i></u><br>newline call, as the surplus<br>element<br>in the “Eleven items list” |   |

Table 8: “Eleven items list” (containing the basic catalog) in the Āprī litanies (RV+) as compared with the lists in the Ṛtu-yāja- liturgy (and their Avestan pendants)

6.2. Furthermore, the Āprī hymns of the RV, often considered as representatives of alternative and/or older liturgical types, (then) incorporated into the solemn ritual or into “private rites,” occur especially in *rites of animal sacrifice* and in common liturgical activities within clans of hostile families for the purpose of reconciliation of the clan, with reference to a *common ancestor cult*:

- rites of animal sacrifice (Oldenberg (1967–1993, e.g. 1967: 1, 44.383 etc.); Gonda (1974, 124ff.))
- common liturgical activities within clans of hostile families for the purpose of reconciliation of the clan<sup>83</sup> and as representation of the “common seed.”

6.3. For an example of an entire *Āprī*-hymn, in which the above-mentioned lists can be observed in their context, I would like to refer to the Atharvaveda versions of Āprī-litanies which simultaneously show how such rituals, with certain structural changes, have been further adapted to be used in magical practice—AVŚ. 5,27<sup>84</sup>:

<sup>83</sup>Van den Bosch (1985).

<sup>84</sup>Transl. by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 1,269f.)

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>ūrdh<sub>u</sub>vā asya samídho bhavant<sub>i</sub>y<br/> ūrdh<sub>u</sub>vā śukrá śócíṣ<sub>i</sub>y <b>agnéḥ</b>  <br/> dyumáttamā suprátikaḥ sásūnus<br/> <u>tánūnápād</u> ásuró bhūripāṇiḥ   1  </p> | <p>Uplifted becomes his fuel,<br/> uplifted the bright burnings of<br/> <b>Agni</b>,<br/> most brilliant; of beautiful aspect,<br/> with his son, —<br/> [2.] <b>son of himself (Tánūnápāt)</b>,<br/> áśura, many-handed, —</p> |
| <p>devó devéṣu deváh<br/> pathó anakti mádhvā ghṛtēna   2  </p>   | <p>A god among gods, the god<br/> anoints the roads with honey<br/> (mádhvā),<br/> with ghee.</p>   |
| <p>mádhvā yajñám nakṣati praiñānó<br/> <u>nárāśámso</u> agníḥ sukṛd deváh<br/> savitā viśvāvārah   3  </p>  | <p>With honey he attains the sacrifice,<br/> pleased,<br/> <b>the praised of men (Nárāśámso)</b>,<br/> Agni the well-doing,<br/> the heavenly impeller (Savitár),<br/> having all choice things.</p>                            |
| <p>áchāyám eti śávasā ghṛtā cid<br/> <u>īḷāno</u> váhnir námasā   4  </p>   | <p>4. Here he cometh with might<br/> (śávas) unto the various ghees,<br/> <b>praising</b>, he the carrier, with<br/> homage, —</p>  |
| <p><b>agníḥ</b> srúco adhvaréṣu prayákṣu<br/> sá yakṣad asya mahimānam<br/> agnéḥ   5  </p>   | <p>5 [4c]. <b>Agni</b>, unto the spoons, at<br/> the sacrifices (adhvará),<br/> the profferings (prayáj).<br/> [5.] May he sacrifice <u>his greatness</u>,<br/> Agni's, —</p>   |
| <p>tarí mandrásu prayákṣu<br/> vásavaś cátiṣṭhan vasudhátaraś<br/> ca   6  </p>   | <p>6 [5 b]. [He] crossing (?) among<br/> pleasant profferings;<br/> both the Vasus stood and the<br/> greater bestower of good (vásu).</p>  |
| <p><i>dvāro devīr</i> án<sub>u</sub>v asya víśve<br/> vratām rakṣanti viśvāhā   7  </p>   | <p>7 [6]. <i>The heavenly doors</i> all<br/> defend always after his course<br/> (vratá) —</p>  |
| <p>uruvyácasāgnér dhāmnā<br/> pátyamāne  <br/> ā suṣváyantí yajaté upāke<br/> <u>uṣāsānáktemām</u> yajñám<br/> avatām adhvarám naḥ   8  </p>  | <p>8 [6 c]. Lording it with Agni's<br/> domain of wide expansion,<br/> [7.] dripping, worshipful, close,<br/> let dawn and night favor this<br/> our inviolable (?) adhvará)<br/> sacrifice.</p>                                |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>dāivā hótāra</i> ūrdhvām adhvarām<br>no<br>' <sub>a</sub> gnér jihváyābhī gr̥nata<br>gr̥nātā naḥ s <sub>u</sub> viṣṭaye  <br><i>tisrō devīr <b>barhīr</b></i> édām sadantām<br><i>idā sārvasvatī</i> mahī<br><i>bhāratī</i> gr̥ṇānā   9 | 9 [8]. O <i>heavenly Hotars</i> , sing ye<br>unto our uplifted sacrifice [...] with Agni's tongue;<br>sing in order to our successful offering.<br>[9.] Let the three goddesses sit upon this <i><b>barhīs</b></i> ,<br><i>Iḍā, Sarasvatī, Bhāratī</i> ,<br>the great, besung. |
| tān nas turīpam ádbhutaṃ purukṣú  <br>déva <i>tvaṣṭā</i> rāyās poṣaṃ<br>ví śya nábhim asya   10  | 10. That wonderful seminal fluid ( <i>turīpam</i> ) of ours, abounding in food,<br>O god <i>Tvaṣṭar</i> , abundance of wealth,<br>release thou the navel of it.  |
| <i>vānaspaté</i> ' <sub>a</sub> va sṛjā<br>rārāṇaḥ   tmānā devēbh <sub>yo</sub><br>agnīr havyām śamitā<br>svadayatu   11   | 11. O <i>forest-tree</i> , let thou loose, bestowing; let Agni [as] queller willingly sweeten the oblation for the gods.   |
| <i>agne svāhā</i> kṛṇuhi<br>jātavedaḥ   indrāya yajñām<br>vísve devā havīr idām<br>juṣantām   12   | 12. O <i><b>Agni</b></i> , <i>hail!</i> make thou,<br>O Jātavedas, the sacrifice for Indra;<br>let all the gods enjoy this oblation.   |

7. If we proceed to the comparative perspective, the structure of *Āprī*-hymns reminds us very strongly of the litanies of the Avesta. Since three different studies in preparation for press are dedicated to various aspects of this comparison,<sup>85</sup> in the present context I have to limit myself to some highlights with relevance to the specific subject of the *lists and catalogs*. In the Yasna and the Visprad liturgies, four identical elements appear in such lists:

7.1. Remarkably, instead of the Vedic deity *Tanū-napāt*-<sup>86</sup> in the Avestan context the old Indo-Iranian deity *Apqm Napāt*- occurs: “We worship the *Fire*, the *Sacrificial Straw*, the deity *Apqm Napāt*, the deity *Nairiō.san̥ha*. We worship the *souls of the ones passed away*.” In fact, we see here the same usual suspects as in the Vedic framework:

7.1.1. Who is *Apqm Napāt*-? Both in Indic and in Iranian it is an aquatic deity, simultaneously hypostasis of Fire (Ved. *Agni*-, Av. *Ātar*-) as mystic “Grandson” of Waters.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup>Sadovski (forthcoming(a),(b),(c)).

<sup>86</sup>Relevant studies on *Tanū-napāt*- are e.g. Weber (1868, 88–95; van den Bosch (1985, 95ff., 169ff.); cf. also the literature in Oberlies (2012, 155, 256) showing the link between *Tanū-napāt*- and the Southern Fire of the classical Vedic ritual, *Dakṣiṇāgni*-, as “grandson of (Agni’s own) body.” As representation of the Southern Fire, Ved. *Tanū-napāt*- is connected with the idea of the *Dakṣiṇāgni*- (*Jāta-vedas*-) and the *Āhavanīya*- (*Vaiśvā-nara*-) fires as descendants-of-the-body of the Home Fire par excellence, the Gārhapatya, from which the substance for the second and the third fire is transferred (thus Agni being considered to beget his own offspring, *son* and *grandson*!).

<sup>87</sup>Decisive recent diachronic studies are the ones by Oettinger (2009); Oberlies (2012, 55–58, 125f.), Proferes (2007); for some interesting details also Terrin (2012); most recently: cf. Edholm (2015; = M.A. thesis Univ. of Stockholm, cf. the relevant chapter in Edholm (Edholm 2017)).

**7.1.2.** The “Grandson” of waters has to do with two Indo-Iranian notions: with the Fire’s brilliance, Ved. *vārcas-* / Av. *varəcah-* “sparkling” (esp. “magic sparkling” [Klingenschmitt]) and with *śrī-* / Av. *srī-* “magnificence, majesty etc.”,<sup>88</sup> in Vedic also with *śúci-* “glowing, gleaming” and *téjas-* “sharpness; brilliance.”

**7.1.3.** Therefore, this deity is deeply connected with the concept of *xšat-ra-* “(sacred) royalty/ kingship” and is called himself *xša-riia-* “*kšatriya-*.” The concepts of brilliance quoted above have been interpreted as the brilliance of *sacred kingship*; in the Veda, nevertheless, they primarily belong to the sphere of Agni as Fire-god of ritual, identified with typical forms of *sacer-dotium* such as the liturgical functions of Hotar, Brahman and Purohita. Compare the invocation (from the Yasna Introduction, Y. “0,”5): “I invite for worship the high Lord, the one connected with (sacred) kingship, the shining one, *Apqm Napāt*.” A second parallel is attested to precisely in the Fire stanza at the end of the Avesta which corresponds to the stanza from the Avestan *pre-sacrifice* (Y. 17,11).<sup>89</sup>

**7.1.5.** An essential feature of the Avestan *Apqm Napāt-* is his presence in the ritual in two crucial places of the *ṛtú-* composition, in which *Fire and Water* are in immediate contact, namely:

(a.) at the very beginning, during the liturgical process of the transubstantiation of the common straw, daily fire and waters to ritual Straw, Fire and Waters—to become during the ceremony the Straw of the feast of gods, the Fire, Son of Ahura Mazdā, hosting the gods on this Straw, and the Waters among whom he grows up—just like the Vedic Agni does, and

(b.) at its very end, in the context of the “return back on/to the earth”;<sup>90</sup> as well as

(c.) at the break of the day.

**7.2.** The Indo-Iranian<sup>91</sup> deity Av. *Nairiiō.saṃha-* / Ved. *Narā-śamsa-*<sup>92</sup> ← *narām śamsa-* < *\*Hnarām śamsa-* (also *Nṛ-śamsa-*, *Śamsa-*)—is strongly connected with the cult to the ancestors. Thus, in Vd. 19,32, the souls of righteous Zoroastrians go to Ahura Mazdā and unite with *Nairiiō.saṃha-*:

<sup>88</sup>Cf. esp. Proferes (2007) and af Edholm (2015; 2017): “splendour” both as “brightness, lustre, luminosity” and as “pre-eminence, glory, majesty, beauty”

<sup>89</sup>Detailed evidence and its analysis appears in Sadovski (forthcoming(a)).

<sup>90</sup>There is a very similar compositional situation in the Vedic *ṛtuyāja-* context: viz. in the main collection, the one of the RV-Khila, as well as in “longer” rituals whose structure is expandable like the one of the Avestan Yasna (as transmitted in the liturgical mss. and described by Cantera (2016b) and Kellens (2006; 2007; 2010; 2011; 2015); cf. Sadovski (forthcoming(c))).

<sup>91</sup>Most relevant historical studies with relevance for Indo-Iranian: Oldenberg (1967–1993, 1,41 ff.) in his discussion with Hillebrandt (1899, 2,98 ff.); Oberlies (2012, 74; 155 f.; 400, n. 272).

<sup>92</sup>His relation to the *Fire* is well perceivable e.g. in RV. 3,29,11.



|   |  |
|---|--|
| Vd. 19,32: xšnūtō aṣaonam<br>uruuānō pāraiein̄ti<br>auui ahurahe mazdā<br>auui aməṣṣanam spəntanam<br>auui gātuuō zaraniiō.kərətō<br>auui garō nmānəm<br>maēθanəm ahurahe mazdā<br>maēθanəm aməṣṣanam<br>spəntanam<br>maēθanəm aniiāēṣam aṣaonam<br>[...] | 32. Satisfied, the souls of the ones<br>full of Rightness go forth<br>in the direction of Ahura Mazdā,<br>in the direction of the<br>Aməṣa Spəntas'<br>in the direction of seats made<br>of gold,<br>in the direction of the House of<br>the Praise,<br>the dwelling-place of<br>Ahura Mazdā,<br>the dwelling-place of the<br>Aməṣa Spəntas,<br>the dwelling-place of the ones<br>full of Rightness. |
| Vd. 19,34: narō aṣauuanō<br>ham.bauuaiṇti<br><b>nairiiō saṇhō</b> ham.bauuaiti<br>aštō mazdā ahurahe<br>mrūiḍi nairiiō saṇhō:<br>x <sup>v</sup> atō nizbaiaṇuḥa zaraθuštra<br>imaṭ dāma yaṭ ahurahe mazdā   | 34. The men, the ones full of<br>Rightness, get together,<br><b>Nairiiō.saṇha</b> gets together<br>(with them);<br>the messenger of Mazdā Ahura,<br>say (= i.e.), <i>Nairiiō.saṇha</i> :<br>By yourself call down to you,<br>o Zaraθuštra,<br>this creation, which (is the one)<br>of Ahura Mazdā.   |

7.3. Interestingly, one of the main divergences between the ritual traditions of the individual Vedic clans is the question of who comes in the second position of this cultic list:

7.3.1. Most of the Vedic poets invoke (“call down”) *Tanū-ṇapāt-* before *Narā-śamsa-*.

7.3.2. The reverse order, *Narā-śamsa-* before *Tanū-ṇapāt-*, appears only in the collections of the clans of the Vāsiṣṭhas, Śaunakas, Ātreyas.

7.3.3. The Avestan text shows the combination *Apqm Napāt- + Nairiiō.saṇha-*, a feature that enforces the possibility of grouping the Avesta with Vedic texts of specific clans, in connection with the well-known but still not well explained fact that Zaraθuštra is called *āθrauuan-* (< \**āθa*“*ruuan-* “the one whi has to do with Atar/Fire”).<sup>93</sup>

For the purposes of our volume, as I hope, this evidence from two of the most ancient and well attested Indo-European traditions can give rich material for brainstorming from a contrastive and typological perspective, taking into consideration similar phenomena e.g. from Mesopotamia and Ancient Asia Minor, where the textual and ritual genres in question are abundantly attested and parallelisms expected: thus, our reciprocally fertilized meta-knowledge of these complex data may locate still more “smoking guns” in more distant traditions and allow to follow them on their hot traces back to multilingual and multicultural

<sup>93</sup>See Sadovski (forthcoming(b)).

vicissitudes and perhaps even to common periods of mutually fertilized knowledge (or at least cultural migration with common “wandering motifs”) in the ancient East—and beyond.

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