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*xšnaoθrahe ahurahe mazdā*

Detail from above the entrance of Tehran's fire temple, 1286š/1917–18. Photo by © Shervin Farridnejad

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## Avestan texts in context (2): the *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan* and the “eternal fire”<sup>1</sup>

Alberto Cantera  
(Freie Universität Berlin)

The standard editions of Avestan texts (mainly Westergaard and Geldner) have largely disregarded their ritual nature, with two main consequences:

1. The texts are often edited in a way that does not correctly represent their ritual nature, especially in the case of the Long Liturgy (LL).
2. Some rituals in Avestan were not included in the editions.

Concerning the first point, both editors proceed similarly. As to the LL, they based their editions on the exegetical manuscripts and not on the liturgical ones, and did not therefore represent these ceremonies as they are actually performed. By contrast, concerning the second point, their respective criteria differ. Geldner adopts a more restrictive position than Westergaard, editing solely the texts included in the manuscripts of the LL, the kernel of the texts included in the Iranian Khordeh Avestas, and the collection

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<sup>1</sup>- This article is part of the project “Corpus Avesticum: eine text-kritische Edition der zoroastrischen Rituale in aweštischer Sprache” (CA 955/2-2), funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The first version of this paper was presented in Salamanca in 2016. The current version was planned to be published in the volume *Ritual Matters*, conceived by Gunvor Lindström in 2018. However, the publication encountered several difficulties, so that, the paper is finally published here. Only minor changes and adjustments were made to the original paper of 2018. Two other related articles in this series are “Avestan texts in context: Fragments Westergaard 6 and 7 and the Paragnā” (Cantera 2020a) as well as “Avestan texts in context (3). On Avestan *uštā.bərati* and *vaṇta.bərati*- (*forthcoming*).

of the Yašts as they appear in ms. F1. He excluded all the texts that do not appear in these three kinds of manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> and even some of these were still excluded, such as the Vištāp Yašt, whose omission can only be explained through a disapproving evaluation of the quality of the transmission. A further criterion that seems to have been applied in Geldner's decision is the choice not to include any Avestan texts that do not appear in the manuscripts as a pure (*sāde*) Avestan text, hence the reason for not including the Hādōxt Nask 1 and 2 and the Nērangestān.

Westergaard also adopted fairly restrictive criteria and so excluded complete classes of manuscripts, such as those containing a series of Drōns. His aim was to avoid redundancies as far as possible. Thus, as the Drōn Yašt is very similar to Y3-8, it was left out of the edition. The same applies to the combinations of a Drōn Yašt and a Yašt (Kreyenbroek 2008; A. Cantera 2020b, 227 ff.). Nevertheless, Westergaard was more generous when considering the description of some rituals that do not belong to the kernel of the Khordeh Avesta but are to be found in miscellaneous manuscripts and in some Khordeh Avesta manuscripts and even liturgical manuscripts of the LL, too. They mostly consist of descriptions in Pahlavi of some minor rituals that also include the Avestan texts recited in them. Many of them bear the general title *nērang* (like the Nērang ī ātaxš ābrōxtan, the Nērang ī āb ī pādyād, etc.). As such, they are typologically similar to the liturgical manuscripts of the LL, but for the fact they describe much shorter ceremonies. Westergaard edited these texts only when the Avestan texts recited in these rituals were not to be found in other ceremonies included in his edition. Furthermore, he edited only the Avestan text without the Pahlavi description of the ceremony, so the texts are deprived of their ritual context and hence almost completely incomprehensible. Accordingly, they have received no attention at all, but for some detail or linguistic analysis. Notable exceptions are some works by F. Kotwal (1985; 2018). Now that the ritual nature of most Avestan texts has become evident (Cantera 2016), our perception of the importance of these small rituals has changed and there is increasing interest in them. Thus, I have analysed two fragments, namely, FrW 6 and 7 that are part of the ceremony that precedes the performance of the LL: the Paragnā (A. Cantera 2020a). This paper is the second of this series. C. Redard (2016) has also recently conducted a first analysis of FrW 10, a further text that deserved a careful reading regarding the possible existence of permanent fires when some Avestan texts were drafted.<sup>3</sup>

This contribution is part of this endeavour. However, other elements also play an important role in my decision to deal with this text: the Nērang ī ātaxš ābrōxtan is probably the clearest and oldest evidence in the Avestan corpus of the existence of the concept of the “eternal fire”, which I understand to be one that fulfils the following requirements:

1. It is kept burning for a longer period than the duration of the ritual practices celebrated on or around it.
2. It is an object of veneration (it is the focus of cult and not just an instrument for worshipping other gods).
3. It is cared for through religious practices.

In the following, after a short introduction about the possible existence of the idea of the “eternal fire”

2- A comparative analysis of the texts included in each edition is provided in the introduction to the facsimile reprint of Westergaard's edition by R. Schmitt (1993: VIII).

3- Boyce concludes that FrW 10, together with the texts that follow it in ms. K20 (Yt11, Yt11.17-13.8 and Y29.6), could constitute the beginning of an auroral rite. I question her interpretation of the whole, but as it is the parallel section of V18, the text seems linked to the veneration of a permanent fire.

in other Avestan texts, I will discuss the specific text of the *Nērang ī ātaxš* that does not appear in the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* and the possibility of a direct reference there to the ritual of awakening the sleeping fire. Furthermore, I will seek to trace the history of the ritual usage of this text, also analysing its modern use as described by Modi at the beginning of the 20th century, and in the two manuscripts known to me that contain this text, with the earlier dating back to the 13th century. Finally, I will analyse the possible original use of this text and present some general considerations about the appearance of the permanent fire in the Avestan texts and the role of fire and water in the LL.

### The “eternal fire” in the Avestan texts

It is generally assumed that the Avestan texts describe only rituals that were performed in open-air structures, exactly as happens in India with Brahminic rituals. Indeed, evidence of the cult of a permanent fire preserved in a fire temple (which later became so extraordinarily important) seem to be missing or very rare in the Avestan texts. This has led to the conclusion that the concept of an “eternal fire” is not found in the Avestan texts. Nevertheless, an “eternal fire” does not necessarily require a fire temple (Staal et al. 1984, 76 ff.; A. Cantera 2019). A few Avestan texts do seem, indeed, to refer to an “eternal fire.” The evidence has been analysed recently by G. König (2015: 247 ff.). According to his analysis, Y62 and V18 (especially V18.26-27) reveal the existence of a fire located in the houses of the people, used ritually for the performance of a Yasna, that burns continuously day and night, and which is fed and receives a ritual offering twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. Y62 (especially Y62.3 “you might burn in this house... for a long time until the powerful *Frašō.kərəti*”) leaves, certainly, little doubt about the existence and ritual use of an “eternal fire” according to the use of the term described above. I have recently discussed again the same (and some additional) evidences and have come to only slightly different conclusions: there is a permanently burning fire in the houses of the people that was probably transported to the open-air sacrificial area and fed five times a day either there with greater performances or in the house with lesser rituals (A. Cantera 2019).

Y62 is recited as part of the LL towards the end of the ceremony as part of a longer fire ceremony that begins with the *Fšūšō Maθra*. At this point, according to the ritual instructions of the manuscripts, the fire is fed a last time at the end of the Y62, but this time not with *ēsm ud bōy* “firewood and incense,” but with the dried residue of pressing the *haōma*. The text of the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* appears as a unit only in the lesser performances of the LL, but not in the greater ones. There, the first part (Y62.1-6) appears immediately after Y59 and is followed by a *Drōn Yašt* for the fire and the *Dahmā Āfrīti*, and then the second part of the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* (Y62.7-10) is recited. However, in the lesser performances like the Yasna, both parts are recited together after the *Dahmā Āfrīti* and get the title of *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* in the manuscripts. The fire receives homage (*namāz*) a last time at Y64.5, this time by the *zōt*, who approaches the fire only this time in the liturgy. Afterwards, the fire is never again addressed in the second person singular, but the corresponding pronoun is used from Y68.1 on for the ritual water, *ahuranī* (A. Cantera 2019, 33 ff.).

Precisely this text is used in modern practice for feeding the fire five times a day, preceded and followed by the standard frame of all ceremonies and accompanied by the recitation of some Gathic citations. The ceremony is designated as *bōy dādan* “the ceremony of giving aromatic wood (to the fire)” and the text (as recited in the Yasna and also in the *bōy dādan*-ceremony) is called *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* in the manuscripts. In the modern practice, according to the description by Modi (1922, 233), the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* is recited once during each one of the five feedings of the fire in temples of lesser importance. By contrast, for the *Wahrām-fires*, the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* is recited a variable number of times depending on the part of the day during

which the ceremony is performed (*hāuuani*: 11; *rapiθβina*: 9; *uzaiieirina*- and *aiβisrūθrima*: 7; *ušahina*:- 6). Furthermore, when the ceremony is performed for a *Wahrām*-fire, the first *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* is substituted by an extended variation of the same text. This text is usually known as the *Nērang ī ātaxš*, according to the title (*Nīrāng-ātāsh*) given by Westergaard in his edition (Westergaard 1852-1854: 317); it is an abbreviated form of the title found in ms. K7: *nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan*. It is performed when the fire is dormant under the ashes and the flames are not visible. When they are visible, the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* is recited.

The antiquity of the *bōy dādan*-ceremony, the maximum ritual exponent of the concept of the “eternal fire,” is linked to the issue of the antiquity of the idea of an “eternal fire.” As the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* consists of Y62 extended with quotations from some Old Avestan texts, it could have been created at any time to satisfy the need for an Avestan text accompanying the new ritual practice that emerged with the concept of the “eternal fire.” Hence the importance of the *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan*. In contrast to the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn*, the latter contains a text that is not known elsewhere: *NērangĀtaxš 2*. Moreover, if my understanding of it is correct, this text makes a direct reference to the ritual action performed during the *bōy dādan*-ceremony: the awakening of the fire. Thus, it could provide the only attestation of the performance of a *bōy dādan*-like ceremony at a time when it was still possible to correctly compose texts in Avestan.

#### The *nērangihā* of K7 by Wahrom Srōšayār

The *Nērang ī ātaxš* has rarely been analysed and hardly ever included in the discussion about the “eternal fire” in Avestan texts. The only exception is the reproduction of the ceremony as described in K7 by F. Kotwal (1985), who translates and comments on the Middle Persian instructions accompanying the Avestan texts, but does not deal with the Avestan text itself. Only the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* has received some attention, because Geldner only included the latter in his edition. The *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan*, appears at the end of the oldest known liturgical manuscript, the *Visperad* written by Rōstam Mihrābān. This manuscript, however, has a unique condition. The combination of a liturgical manuscript with an exegetical one, separated solely by the description of three minor rituals, with one of them being the *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan*.

The old part of the manuscript K7 is the oldest surviving Avestan manuscript. According to the colophon at the end of the Pahlavi *Visperad* (fol. 107r), it was written by Rōstam Mihrābān in the year 637 of the Pārsīg era (1268/9 or 1288/9). After the liturgical *Visperad*, it follows a meta-ritual text in Middle Persian on the celebration of the *Nōg-Nāwar* ceremony. Then two additional meta-ritual texts appear: 1. the aforementioned *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan* (folio 104v ff.) and the text *Abastāg jāmag brīdan* (folio 106v ff.). The latter contains the text edited by Westergaard as “miscellaneous fragments” FrW1.1-2 (Westergaard 1852-1854: 331).<sup>4</sup> As far as I know, it has never been noticed that this section contains another colophon that mentions the scribe. It appears between the instruction for the performance of the *Nōg-Nāwar* and the *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan*. Most interestingly, it mentions the scribe of the original of Rōstām Mihrābān manuscript, at least for this middle section of *nērang*:

*ēn nērangihā wahrom ī srōšayār paččēn nibišt kē-š ruwān- ahlawih bād*

Wahrom, son of Srōšayār, -may his soul be immortal- has written the copy of these *nērang*.

4- It is very strange that Westergaard did not use K7 for his edition of FrW1.1-2, although he did so for the edition of the *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan*, and the former directly follows the latter in the manuscript.

Accordingly, the instructions for the performance of the Nōg-Nāwar and perhaps also the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan and the Abastāg jāmag brīdan were copied by Rōstām Mihrābān from a manuscript from Wahrom, son of Srōšayār. This scribe, anterior to Rōstām Mihrābām, is not known from other manuscripts. However, he might be the brother of Mihrabānāg, son of Srōšayār from Nišapur. He was the scribe from which Rōstām copied the Mādayān ī Yošt ī Fryān and the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, according to the colophons found in M51 and K20.

### Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan and Ātaxš Niyāyišn

The Ātaxš Niyāyišn performed during the *bōy dādan*-ceremony and the Nērang ī ātaxš, as edited by Westergaard on the basis of ms. K7, run almost completely parallel, as can be seen in following comparative table (differences in bold):

Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan	Ātaxš Niyāyišn Iranian	Ātaxš Niyāyišn Indian
		<b>Y33.12-14</b>
		<b><i>xšnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i></b>
<i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe. huđā. mazišta. yazata.</i>	<i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe. huđā. mazišta. yazata.</i>	<i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe. huđā. mazišta. yazata.</i>
	<b><i>xšnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i></b>	
AV3	AV 3	AV 3
Frauarāne with dedicatory <i>āθrō.</i> <i>ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>	Frauarāne with dedicatory <i>tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>	Frauarāne with dedicatory <i>āθrō.</i> <i>ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i> + S1.9 <sup>6</sup> WG
Wāz girišnīh (WG)	WG	WG
AV		
<i>ā. θβā. ātarəm. gāraiemi. vaṅhəuš. manəṅhō. zaōθrābiiō. ā. θβā. ātarəm. gāraiemi. vaṅhəuš. uxdahe. zaōθrābiiō. ā. θβā. ātarəm. gāraiemi. vaṅhəuš. šīiaōθnahe. zaōθrābiiō. sūkāi. manəṅhahe<sup>7</sup>. sūkāi. vacəṅhahe. sūkāi. <sup>x</sup>šīiaōθnāi.</i>		

5- The representation of the Indian and Iranian version of the Ātaxš Niyāyišn follows the basis edition by G. König in CAB.

6- The dedicatory to the fire is extended as in the Sirōza.

7- Westergaard and Modi (1922: 224) edit *manəṅha*, *vacəṅha* and *šīiaōθna*, corrected (in the case of Westergaard from *manəṅhe*, *vacəṅhe* and *šīiaōθnəm*. Cf. Y68.4). Av. *šīiaōθnahe* is there the result of an attraction by the former endings, facilitated by the frequent confusion between *-āi#* and *-ahe#*.

<i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe. huδā. mazišta. yazata. Y33.11</i>		
<i>xšnaōθra. ahurahe. mazdā. Y35.2 + Y33.12</i>		
Y62.1-10	Y62.1-10	Y62.1-10
AV 3		
YAV 2	YAV 2	YAV 2
<i>yasnəmca. vahməmca. aōjasca. zauuarə. āfrīnāmi. āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.<sup>8</sup></i>	<i>yasnəmca. vahməmca. aōjasca. zauuarə. āfrīnāmi. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>	<i>yasnəmca. vahməmca. aōjasca. zauuarə. āfrīnāmi. āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā. + S1.9</i>
<i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe. huδā. mazišta. yazata.</i>		AV 3
<i>aṭ. ā. θβamāi. āθrē. rātqm. nəmaṅhō. = (Y43.9b)</i>	<i>aṭ. ā. θβamāi. āθrē. rātqm. nəmaṅhō. = (Y43.9b)</i>	Y34.4
	AV	AV
<i>aṅāi. raēšca. xʷarənasca. ....</i>	<i>aṅāi. raēšca. xʷarənasca. ....</i>	<i>aṅāi. raēšca. xʷarənasca. ....</i>
	Y33.12-14	

The following are the main differences between the two ceremonies:

1. The appearance in the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan of a specific text that is not known elsewhere. This text is recited in modern practice only when the fire is still dormant and seems to include a direct reference to its “awakening.”
2. In the Ātaxš Niyāyišn, Y33,12-14 is recited either before the beginning of the ceremony (in India) or at its end (in Iran), whereas in the Nērang only Y33.11 and 12, with Y35.2 in between, are recited and, furthermore, after the *gāraiemi*-section, that is, after the fire is kindled and stoked to a blaze.
3. The dedicatory to the fire is extended in the Ātaxš Niyāyišn with the dedicatory to the fire in the Sīrōza (S1.9), whereas this does not happen in the Nērang. In modern practice, the *Wahrām*-fire merits the dedicatory of the Sīrōza only when it is burning with visible flames. As we will see, this explains why the extension is not used in the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan, since the fire is kindled and stoked to a blaze only with the recitation of NērangĀtaxš 2.

8- It is the final correspondence of the initial Frauuarāne. In TITUS it is incorrectly completed as *yasnəmca<vahməmca hubərətīmca ušta.bərətīmca vaṅta.bərətīmca> āfrīnāmi...* as it has been taken as a correspondence of Y62.1.

**NērangĀtaxš 2: the specific text of the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan**

Because of its content and uniqueness, the specific text is the most attractive one in the entire ritual. The Avestan text was edited by Westergaard (1852-1854) (W) and is also mentioned by Modi (M) (1922: 224) in his description of the *bōy dādan*-ceremony. More recently, it has been presented by Kotwal (1985). Whereas Westergaard's and Kotwal's editions rely on ms. K7, Modi describes the modern use without referring to any manuscript. There are important divergences between both "versions".

The text is found in two manuscripts:<sup>9</sup> 1., as already mentioned, between both Visperad versions (the liturgical and the exegetical ones) in ms. K7, and 2. as a short and likely (fragmentary) description of the *bōy dādan*-ceremony in M49 (folio 49r & v) (Bartholomae 1915: 19). I propose the following edition of the text:

*ā. 𐬀𐬀𐬀. \*ātrəm. gāraiiemi. vaṇhāuš. manayhō. zaōθrābiüō.*  
*ā. 𐬀𐬀𐬀. \*ātrəm. gāraiiemi. vaṇhāuš. uxḍahe. zaōθrābiüō.*  
*ā. 𐬀𐬀𐬀. \*ātrəm. gāraiiemi. vaṇhāuš. šīiaoθnahe. zaōθrābiüō.*  
*sūkāi. \*manayjhe. sūkāi. \*vacayjhe. sūkāi. \*šīiaoθnahe*

1. *ā. 𐬀𐬀𐬀.*] *āθβā* K7. *āthwā* M. *yātō* M49; *ātrəm.*] *āθrəm* K7. *ātarəm* W. *āθrō* M49. *āθrō* M; *zaōθrābiüō*] *zaoθrābiüō* K7,W. *zaoθrābiüō yaz.* M49. *zaōθrābyō yazamaidé* M; 2. *ā. 𐬀𐬀𐬀.*] *āθβā* K7. *āthwā* M. *yātō* M49; *ātrəm.*] *āθrəm* K7. *ātarəm* W. *āθrō* M49. *āθrō* M; *uxḍahe*] *uxḍa* M49; *zaōθrābiüō*] *zaoθrābiüō* K7,W. *zaoθrābiüō yātu* M49. M49 ends here. *zaōθrābyō yazamaidé* M; 3. *ā. 𐬀𐬀𐬀.*] *āθβā* K7. *āthwā* M. *yātō* M49; *ātrəm.*] *āθrəm* K7. *ātarəm* W. *āθrō* M49. *āθrō* M; *zaōθrābiüō*] *zaoθrābiüō* K7. *zaōθrābyō* M. 4. *šīiaoθnahe.*] *šīiaoθnahe* K7; 4. *manayjhe*] *manayha* W (corrected from *manayhe*). *manangha* M; *vacayjhe*] *vacayha* W (corrected from *vacayhe*). *vacangha* M; *šīiaoθnahe.*] *šīiaoθnam* K7. *šīiaoθna* W (corrected from *šīiaoθnam*). *shyaóthna* M. Correction on the basis of Y68.<sup>4</sup>10.

The text is parallel to Y68.3-4, a section of the ceremony to the waters, the Āb-zōhr. The similarities between the two texts once again highlight the parallelism between the ceremonies to the fire and the waters, as well at the end of the LL and when celebrated independently:<sup>11</sup>

<p><i>yazamaide. 𐬀𐬀𐬀 ahurāne ahurahe vaṇhāuš manayhō zaōθrābiüō.</i>  <i>yazamaide. 𐬀𐬀𐬀 ahurāne ahurahe vaṇhāuš uxḍahe zaōθrābiüō</i>  <i>yazamaide. 𐬀𐬀𐬀 ahurāne ahurahe vaṇhāuš. šīiaoθnahe zaōθrābiüō</i></p>	<p>We sacrifice to you, o Ahurāni of Ahura, with the offerings of the good thought; we sacrifice to you, o Ahurāni of Ahura with the offerings of the good word; we sacrifice to you, o Ahurāni of Ahura, with the offerings of the good deed</p>
<p><i>sūkāi manayjhe sūkāi vacayjhe sūkāi šīiaoθnahe hauuay<sup>h</sup>hāi urune fradaθāi gaēθanqm hauuay<sup>h</sup>hāi ašauuastanqm</i></p>	<p>for the light for the thought, for the light for the word and for the light for the deed, for the good life for the soul and for the promotion of the living beings and for the good life of the best supporters of Order.</p>

9- I thank Götz König for referring me to the version in M49.

10- *šīiaoθnahe* is probably the result of an attraction by the former endings, facilitated by the frequent confusion between *-āi#* and *-ahe#*. The original reading could have been *\*šīiaoθnāi*.

11- For the importance of this parallelism, see below the section corresponding to the ritual according to ms. K7 and the conclusions.

This parallelism between both passages is likely to be the source for the addition of *yazamaide* after *zaōθrābiiō* that we find in ms. M49 and Modi, but not in ms. K7 (and hence not in Westergaard either). Parallel to Y68.3-4, we would expect the fire to appear after the personal pronoun *θβā* in the vocative singular as *ātarā* or even *ātarš*.<sup>12</sup> However, the attested accusative singular is also possible as the object of *gāraiemī* and in apposition to *θβā*. Hence my correction of *āθrām* into the expected form *ātrām* (cf. Y59.11 *θβqm ātrām*).<sup>13</sup> It is more difficult to account for *āθrō*, found in M49 and Modi. It is probably the result of the influence of Y36.1 *ahiiā θβā āθrō*.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Westergaard and Modi correct *manajhe*, *vacajhe*, and *šiiāōθnahe* into *manajha*, *vacajha*, and *šiiāōθna* on the basis of the comparison with Y68.4, as edited by Westergaard. However, Geldner already edited these forms in Y68.4 as *manajhe*, *vacajhe*, and *šiiāōθnahe*, in agreement with most of the best manuscripts.<sup>15</sup>

A translation was not included in the “complete” translations of the Avestan texts (Darmesteter, Wolff), with the exception of Spiegel’s translation that frequently bucks the trend. He translates the text as follows (Spiegel 1863: 18):

Dich, das Feuer, ergreife ich mit den Darbringungen des guten Gedankens. Dich, das Feuer, ergreife ich mit den Darbringungen der guten Worte. Dich, das Feuer, ergreife ich mit den Darbringungen der guten Werke zur Erleuchtung der Gedanken, Worte und Werke.<sup>16</sup>

Modi (1937: 224) also included a translation of this text in his description of the *bōy dādan*-ceremony. As his translation is based on a quite different version of the text, I have included his normalised version here (instead of using his old-fashioned transcription):

*ā. θβā. āθrō. gāraiemī. vañhāuš. manajhō. zaōθrābiiō. yazamaidē.*  
*ā. θβā. āθrō. gāraiemī. vañhāuš. uxdahe. zaōθrābiiō. yazamaidē.*  
*ā. θβā. āθrō. gāraiemī. vañhāuš. šiiāōθnahe. zaōθrābiiō. yazamaidē.*  
*sūkāi. manajha. sūkāi. vacajhaha. sūkāi. šiiāōθna.*

“I praise (Thee, O God) through my fire. We praise through the offerings of good thoughts.  
 I praise (Thee, O God) through my fire. We praise through the offerings of good words.  
 I praise (Thee, O God) through my fire. We praise through the offerings of good actions.  
 For the enlightenment of (our) thoughts. For the enlightenment of (our) words. For the enlightenment of (our) deeds.”

According to Modi, the object of the verb *gāraiemī* is not the fire, but only *θβā*, which is identified with the (unmentioned) god Ahura Mazdā, and *āθrō* is translated as “through fire” as if it were instrumental. The

12- Compare the use of *ātarš* as a vocative in the dedicatory to the fire *tauua.ātarš*...

13- The confusion is frequent, especially in the Iranian manuscripts.

14- Modi affirms that this is a reference for Y51.9 (*yqm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā dā θβā āθrā suxrā mazdā*), probably because of *θβā āθrā*, but he writes: “The first two words from Yacna LI,9,” (Modi 1922: 237).

15- Among the manuscripts available in ADA, only the following contain *manajha*, *vacajha*, and *šiiāōθna*: 110 (K11), 420, 450, 4503, 4510. All of them are Indian manuscripts and quite modern, with the exception of 110 (K11), which was copied in 1647, probably by Dārāb Hīrā Candā. This manuscript could be the origin of the spreading of the mistake.

16- He states the following about the Nērang-ī ātaxš: “Dieses Gebet ist nur in einer einzigen Hdschr. enthalten und scheint mir ein kürzerer Vertreter des vorhergehenden Gebetes [Ātaxš Niyāyišn (my note)] zu sein.”

transformation of *ātrəm* into *āθrō* and the translation “through fire” respond to the wish to present the fire cult as a “cult of Ahura Mazdā through the fire.” However, this form is a genitive singular that does not allow the translation “through my fire.” Perhaps the introduction of this reading is due to the desire to avoid a direct reference to the cult of the fire, but rather to Ahura Mazdā through the fire.

The keyword of this text is the verb *gāraiiemi*. Modi translates it as “I praise” and derives it implicitly from the root *gar* “to praise.” However, this analysis is hardly possible, as this root builds only a nasal (*gərən-*, Ved. *grnāti*) and a passive (°*gāriia-*) present (Kellens 1995: 19).<sup>17</sup> A causative formation of this root is not known in other Indo-European languages (Rix 1998: 188). Furthermore, as the root ends with a laryngeal, the expected causative stem would instead be \**garaiia-*. Therefore, either one of the following two alternatives is more likely: a derivation from the root *gar* “to be awake,” or from *gar* “to make warm, kindle”.

The root *gar* “to be awake” is well attested in Avestan and other Iranian languages. It builds a causative present both in Avestan and in Vedic (RV 1.124.10 *jārayantī-* “awakening”) (Rix 1998: 218, Cheung 2007: 172). In all Avestan attestations (except NērangĀtaxš 2), this verb is preceded by the preverb *frā*, and there is a clear distribution: if the preverb is directly attached to the verb the stem is *frayrāraiiia-* with a repetition of the *r* of the preverb as well in the root (V18.23, N1.3<sup>18</sup> *frayrāraiiieiti*, N1.3 *frayrāraiiiant-*), but when the preverb is absent or not attached directly to the verb, then the stem is *gāraiiia-* (N1.2 *frā ... gāraiiōiš*<sup>19</sup>). The form *gāraiiemi* in NērangĀtaxš 2 is ascribed to this root by Bartholomae (1904: 511), Kotwal (1985: 369), Rix (1998: 218), and Cheung (2007: 172). Accordingly, we should translate the beginning of NērangĀtaxš 2 as “I awaken you, fire, for the offerings of good thought. I awaken you, fire, for the offerings of the good word. I awaken you, fire, for the offerings of the good deed.” Thus, this stanza would be a performative text alluding directly to the ritual of the *bōy dādan* and the only Avestan attestation of the existence of the metaphor of the “sleeping fire” used for “awakening” a dormant fire. Thus, it would be the clearest and most direct attestation of the existence of a (permanent) fire that sleeps and is awoken several times during the day.

The verb could also derive from the root *gar-* “to make warm” (Rix 1998: 196, Cheung 2007: 105). This root does not build an old causative in the Iranian languages, but it does so in other Indo-European languages such as Middle Irish (*guirit* “to warm”). Moreover, we find some causatives in New Iranian languages such as Awrom. *griāy/gria-* “to boil [intr.]”. Especially interesting is the fact that some secondary causative formations have the meaning “to kindle fire, to make fire” (Cheung 2007: 105): Nn. *ginnāye/ginn*, Siv. *gārān-*, Tr. *gürnā*, Varz. *digirnāye/digirn*, Oss. I. *ænzaryn/ænzaræst*, D. *ænzarun/ænzarst*. There are also other words derived from this root connected with fire and fire-making (Cheung 2007: 105): Pash. *nyaráy* “fireplace, hearth,” Sh. *nižōr*, Khf., Rosh. *nižūr*; Bart. *lažōr* “live coal, charcoal,” Ygh. *ínkir* “hearth.” Thus, it is at stake whether *gāraiiemi* could simply mean “I kindle the fire” and the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan would not be a ceremony for “awaking the fire,” but for “kindling the fire,” and hence not necessarily connected to the idea of an “eternal fire.”

Although this possibility cannot be fully dismissed, some reasons point instead to the meaning “I awake” for *gāraiiemi*. First, the absence of any sure verbal form of the root *gar* “to make warm” in Old Iranian and the fact there is no other causative form (comparable to *gāraiiemi*) attested in old Indo-Iranian languages, that in contrast with the attestations of the causative verb “to awake” in Avestan and its appearance also in Vedic. Second, the causative forms of the root *gar* “to be warm” in other languages mean “to warm [trans.]”

17- Spiegel’s translation as “ergreife ich” is still more unlikely.

18- Corrected from *frayrāraiiieiti*.

19- Any 2 *gāraiiemi* would also belong here, if it is to be ascribed to this root.

(Middle Irish *guirit*, Kymrish *gor-* and perhaps Albanian *n-xeh* (Rix 1998: 196) and not “to kindle.” Third, the use of the verb *frayrāriiēiti* in V18.23 appears in a context closely related to the ceremony of feeding the fire, as is the case for *gāraiēmi* in the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan.<sup>20</sup> In V18.18-22, the fire calls for wood in each one of the three parts of the night from the master of the house, from the farmer, and from Sraōša. It requires the performance of a ceremony similar to the modern *bōy dādan* (König 2015: 254). Afterwards (V18.23), Sraōša awakens the bird Parō.darš. The latter urges the pious men to awaken and fulfil their duties. The text that follows runs parallel to the last strophes of the Ātaxš Niyāyišn and Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan (V18.26-27 is parallel to Y62.8-10) (König 2015: 255). Thus, the priest is awakened for the awakening of the fire. Furthermore, the Pahlavi translation of V14.7 mentions an instrument likely called *†astāmag-wigrāsišn*<sup>21</sup> “awakening ladle” (translating Av. *garāmō.skarana-*).<sup>22</sup> The first element, *astāmag*, is exactly the term used in ms. K7 for designating the “ladle” with which the ashes are stirred precisely during the recitation of the NērangĀtaxš 2; this tool probably gets its name from its ritual use in the ceremony for awakening the fire while stirring the ashes. The Pahlavi gloss in V14.7 explains as *ān kē ātaxš az tanūr padiš āwarēnd* “the tool with which they remove the fire from an oven.” This probably refers to a ladle for stirring or transporting embers or coals, and the same interpretation is likely for Av. *garāmō.skarana-*. The ritual name was also applied for this kind of ladle even when used for non-ritual purposes. In any case, this designation would confirm that the action of stirring the ashes to rekindle the embers to burn again with a visible flame was designated metaphorically as “awakening the fire.” NērangĀtaxš 2 uses the same metaphor.

It is therefore likely that NērangĀtaxš 2 is a performative text recited during the ceremony explicitly for “awakening the fire” and the only attestation of the existence in the Avestan times of the metaphor of the “sleeping fire.” This metaphor, used for the fire within the fire temple when its flames are not visible, is very popular in modern phraseology, but not as frequent in the Middle Persian literature as one would think. Nevertheless, it already appears there. One of the best examples is the allegory comparing the fire attendant and the soul in the chapter of the Anthology of Zātspram on the soul (*ruwān*) (WZ 29.7-8):

*ud spāhbed ruwān ī xwadāy ud rāyēnīdār ī tan kē-š xwēš rad <ud> buništ padiš homānāg ō  
ātaxš-waxšēnīdār az gumbad pāk drīst pad nigerišn dāštan ud ātaxš abrōxtan andar xwēškārīh  
ud ān ī ka tan xuftag ruwān bēronīhēd ast ka nazdik ast ka dūr bē šawēd xīrān nigerēd pad  
wigrādagīh hangām abāz ō tan šawēd pad ān homānāgīh čyōn ka ātaxš xuft dar ī gumbad bast  
ast ka nazdik ast ka dūr šawēd*

The commander is the soul, lord and organizer of the body, that is, its own master and basis. Like the priest in charge of kindling the fire, whose duty it is to keep the chamber clean and tidy through observation and to kindle the fire.

When the body sleeps, the soul departs and goes far and wide looking at things. At the time of awakening, it returns to the body. In this way, when the fire sleeps and the door of the fire chamber is closed, (the fire attendant) goes far and wide.

20- For a recent analysis of this text s. (König 2015: 253 ff.)

21- Obviously, *wigrās-* derives from the root *gar* “to awaken” to which *gāraiēmi* probably also belongs.

22- For this correction s. Kotwal (1985: 369). The manuscripts have readings that are rather compatible with *astāmag-nigerišn* (thus Andrés-Toledo (2016: 204-205)).

### Nērang ī Ātaxš and Ātaxš Niyāyišn in modern times

According to Modi (1922: 233 ff.), the NērangĀtaxš 2 is recited as part of the ceremony of *bōy dādan*, when celebrated with an Ātaxš Wahrām. He describes the complete ceremony as follows: before entering in the fire chamber, the priest unties the *kusti* and then ties it up again and performs certain ablutions (the *kusti-pādyāb*). He then recites the following prayers depending on the part of the day:

<i>hāuuani-</i> “morning”	<i>rapiθβina-</i> “noon”	<i>uzaieirina-</i> “afternoon”	<i>aiβisrūθrima-</i> “evening”	<i>uśahina-</i> “dawn”
Srōš Wāž				
Gāh 1	Gāh 2	Gāh 3	Gāh 4	Gāh 5
Ny 1 (Xwaršēd Niyāyišn) Ny 2 (Mihr Niyāyišn)			Srōš Yašt Srōš Hādōxt	

After entering the fire chamber, the priest places some pieces of frankincense on the fire and six pieces of sandalwood arranged in a special way: two pieces facing east, two facing south, and two facing west.<sup>23</sup> He then washes the stone-slab on which the fire-vase stands. Afterwards, he again places some sandalwood or frankincense on the fire three times while reciting *humata hūxḍa huuaršta* (likely Y35.2). At this point, he walks around the fire vase with a ladle in his hand, stirring the ashes so the embers are exposed to the firewood placed on the fire, and the fire is rekindled. He makes eight stops on his way and returns to his initial position: W, NE, SE, E, SW, NW, N, S, and, eventually, again W. The priest recites the text of the NērangĀtaxš 2 during this circling of the fire vase. The text is divided into nine parts and each one is recited at one position:<sup>24</sup>

23- That is, successively facing the three positions of the Sun during the day: east in the morning, south at noon and west in the afternoon.

24- The text here is reproduced according to Modi's indications, but standardised in a different way. Rezania (2017: 273 f.) has analysed this section of the ceremony based on Modi's description. In his description, Rezania organizes the movements into three series of three triangles based on a misunderstanding of Modi's description of the text that the priest has to recite. Rezania describes and groups the texts as follows:

Situation	Text
1	Y51.9
2	Y68.3
3	Y51.9
4	Y68.3
5	Y51.9
6	Y68.3
7	Y68.4
8	Y68.4
9	Y68.4

Rezania does not seem to have properly understood Modi's indications. The priest does not recite these Avestan citations, but just the text of NērangĀtaxš as described above. The latter does not show in any case the triple triangular structure assumed by Rezania. For its recitation, the text is divided into three sections with each one consisting of two parts and a fourth section with three parts. The textual structure does not fit the triadic organisation of the movements. Furthermore, it should be noted that the movements described by Modi do not seem to be that old, as indicated by the fact that even M4 (with the same text as Modi) describes the movements differently.

W	<i>ā. ʒβā. āθrō. gāraiiemi.</i>
NW	<i>vaŋhāuš. manarhō. zaōθrābiiō. yazamaide</i>
SW	<i>ā. ʒβā. āθrō. gāraiiemi.</i>
E	<i>vaŋhāuš. uxdahe. zaōθrābiiō. yazamaide</i>
SE	<i>ā. ʒβā. āθrō. gāraiiemi.</i>
NE	<i>vaŋhāuš. šiaōθnahe. zaōθrābiiō. yazamaide</i>
N	<i>sūkāi. manarha</i>
S	<i>sūkāi. vacarhaha</i>
W	<i>sūkāi.<sup>x</sup> šiaōθna</i>

At the end of the recitation of NērangĀtaxš 2, the priest places some small pieces of sandalwood or frankincense on the fire and then recites the Ātaxš Niyāyišn. The number of Niyāyišn he recites and his position depend on the part of day:

Part of the day	<i>hāuuani-</i>	<i>rapiθβina-</i>	<i>uzaiiteirina-</i>	<i>aiβisrūθrima-</i>	<i>ušahina-</i>
Position <sup>25</sup>	W	E	E	E	W
Number of times	11	9	7	7	6

At the end of the recitation of Y62.10 in the first Ātaxš Niyāyišn, the priest uses two ladles to draw two circles in the ashes and he repeats this during the recitation of the second Ātaxš Niyāyišn.

The textual flow accompanying the priest's actions after entering the fire chamber is, according to Modi, as follows:

- *humata hūxḍa huuaršta* (Y35.2)
- NērangĀtaxš 2
- Ātaxš Niyāyišn, repeated a different number of times in each part of the day.

According to Modi's description, NērangĀtaxš 2 is not part of the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan, but it is the text recited during the circling of the fire, and followed by the recitation of some Ātaxš Niyāyišn. However, in K7 (and accordingly in Westergaard's edition) this is part of the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan. However, because of the similarity between the continuation of the Nērang ī Ātaxš after the NērangĀtaxš 2 and the Ātaxš Niyāyišn, this may be attributed to an inaccuracy in Modi's description.

25- The position of the priest is clearly determined by the position of the sun. The priest is always looking at the fire in the direction where the Sun is visible; until noon the priest looks to the east and after noon to the west. At dawn, he looks in the direction from where the light of the sun will start being visible and, in the evening, in the direction from where the light of the sun is still visible. This establishes a clear link between fire and sun and the ceremony of feeding the fire with the continuity of the sun that is also stressed through the recitation of the Sun and Miθra Niyāyišn during the three parts of the day when the sun is visible.

### The recitation of NērangĀtaxš 2 during the *bōy dādan*-ceremony in ms. M49

Ms. M49 includes a description of the *bōy dādan*-ceremony when it is celebrated in an Ātaxš Wahrām. Unfortunately, it is incomplete, although the page of the manuscript is not damaged; for some unknown reason, the copy of the description of the ceremony was interrupted. The preserved part runs as follows:

M49 49r-v	
<p>ba-vaqt-e buy dādan ātaḥš varhrām hamčenin  āvayad kardan mobed-i ke nābar dāšte bāšid  pādyāb kosti karde be-hime šemš bar ātaḥš  gozāstan be-mešl-e čauki (?) be-vāḡ goftan be-  humat wa huvaḥt wa huvaršt wa yasn be-āb-e  pādyāb ādišt rā pāk kardan be-mešl-e yazišn  āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra.  ahurahe. mazdā. xšnaoθra. ... viḏuuā. mraotū.  ašəm. ašəm. vohū. ḥvāndan ādušt šostan pas  sukūre gozāstan pas be-gāh-e hāvan ruy-e be-suy-e  mašreq kardan va kafče be-har dō dast gereftan  be-sar-i kudāl nihādan va in dibače goftan yātō.  āθrō. gāraiiemi. pas ruy be-suy-e maḡreb kardan  va kafče rā bar kudāl nihādan vaḥhāuš. manahō.  zaoθrābiiō. yaz. ruy be-suy-e nimruz konand yātō.  āθrō. gāraiiemi. pas ruy be-suy-e aḥtar konand  vaḥhāuš. uxḏa. zaoθrābiiō. yātu.</p>	<p>At the time of <i>buy dādan</i> in the Ātaḥš Varhrām  they should do the following: the <i>mobed</i> who has  taken the <i>nābar</i>, should perform the <i>pādyāb-kosti</i>  ceremony. He puts firewood on the fire in the  form of a throne and says the <i>wāḡ</i>. While saying  <i>humatanqm. hūxtanqm. huuarštanqm</i><sup>26</sup> and <i>yasna</i>  he cleans the fire stone-slab (<i>ādušt</i>) with <i>pādyāb</i>  and (says) as in the <i>Yazišn</i><sup>27</sup> <i>āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>  <i>puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>  <i>xšnaoθra. viḏuuā. mraotū. ašəm. ašəm. vohū.</i> He  washes the fire stone-slab and puts the (fire) plate  on it. Then, in the <i>gāh hāvan</i>, he looks to the east  and takes the ladle with both hands and puts it on  the plate and says this <i>dibače</i>: <i>yātō. āθrō. gāraiiemi.</i>  Then he looks to the west and put the ladle on the  plate (saying) <i>vaḥhāuš. manahō. zaoθrābiiō. yaz.</i>  He looks to the south (saying) <i>yātō. āθrō. gāraiiemi.</i>  Then looks to the north (saying) <i>vaḥhāuš. uxḏa.</i>  <i>zaoθrābiiō. yātu.</i></p>

The ritual cursus is very similar (despite some differences) to the ceremony described by Modi but has important differences when compared to the description found in ms. K7. The priest's first action after entering the fire chamber is to offer some pieces of frankincense to the fire. Modi describes the special way of arranging the six pieces that constitute the *māchi* or "throne". Ms. M49 uses the expression *be-hime šemš bar ātaḥš gozāstan be-mešl-e čauki* "He places firewood on the fire in the form of a *čauki*." The latter is probably a Persian loanword from Gujarati *cāukī* "low square seat" and refers to the special arrangement of the six pieces of firewood that the Parsees refer to as *māchi* "throne." The priest then takes the *wāž* and cleans the stone-slab while reciting Y35.2 and also recites a Frauuarāne<sup>28</sup> with the same dedicatory to the fire used in the LL, when celebrated in a fire-temple.

26- It refers likely to Y35.2. The addition *yasn* is, however, puzzling (perhaps for *yaθanā*?)

27- Standard designation of the Yasna. It refers to the first Frauuarāne of the LL.

28- M49 does not explicitly say that a Frauuarāne has to be recited. However, the combination of a dedicatory with the *wāž gīrišnīh* in the same way as in the *Yazišn* refers clearly to the recitation of a Frauuarāne that is identical to Y0.1-3, but with the special *wāž gīrišnīh* used when the ritual is performed by a single priest. This is confirmed by the mention of a Frauuarāne at this point in ms. K7.

The recitation of Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan 2 accompanies the stirring of the ashes on the plate, as in modern practice and also in ms. K7. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether the priest moves around the fire-altar, as in the modern usage described by Modi, or stays in one place and just looks successively in different directions. According to the description in ms. K7, the priest does not move, but the description in M49 is less clear. Although the expression *ruy-e be-suy-e ... kardan* could be understood in both ways, it more likely refers to the priest moving in different directions, as it would not be easy to look to the four cardinal points while putting the ladle on the plate to stir the embers without changing position regarding the fire altar. Thus, if he stays to the south of the fire altar, then it would be quite difficult to stir the ashes while looking to the south. This is, however, easy, if the priest changes his position regarding the altar each time. The positions and directions towards which the priest faces at *hāuuani* are likely to be the following:<sup>29</sup>

Position	Looking to	Recited text
W	E	<i>yātō. āθrō. gāraiemī.</i>
E	W	<i>vaṅhāuš. manañhō. zaoθrābiō. yaz.</i>
N	S	<i>yātō. āθrō. gāraiemī.</i>
S	N	<i>vaṅhāuš. uxḁa. zaoθrābiō. *yaz.</i>

As ms. M49 in contrast to Modi, the recitation of the Frauuarāne before the NērangĀtaxš 2, it is clear that the recitation of the NērangĀtaxš 2 is part of a longer ritual unit (the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan) and not a preamble to the recitation of an Ātaxš Niyāyišn, as posited by Modi. The description of the complete ceremony is likely to have been similar to the one contained in ms. K7, if the text of ms. M49 had been complete. The textual flow is as follows:

1. Pādyāb kustīg
2. Wāž Girišnih
3. Y35.2
4. Frauuarāne with dedicatory to the Fire, Wāž Girišnih
5. Ašəm Vohū
6. NērangĀtaxš 2

29- As the text is interrupted in the middle, we do not know when the remaining five sections of the text were recited and how the ceremony continued.

**The recitation of the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan according to ms. K7**

The description of ms. K7 is by far the oldest, the most complete, and the one with more divergences with the two other versions. This text has been edited and translated by F. Kotwal (1985). It runs as follows:

nylng y 'thš 'plwhtn'	Nērang for kindling <sup>30</sup> the fire
<p>nhxst YDE PWN p'ty'p' krtn' W AHL <i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe.</i> OD <i>yazata. ašəm</i> 3</p>	<p>First, he should wash his hands with <i>pādyāb</i> and then (he recites) <i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe.</i> until <i>yazata</i> and three <i>Ašəm Vohū.</i></p>
<p><i>frauarāne</i> ME g's YHSNN-yt <i>āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā. xšnaoθra.</i> OD LOYŠE w'c OHDWN-šnyh krtn'</p>	<p>(He recites) the <i>Frauarāne</i> that includes the mention of the part of the day (with the dedicatory) <i>āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā. xšnaoθra</i> until the end. Then he performs the <i>wāž gīrišnih.</i></p>
<p><i>ašəm</i> 3</p>	<p>(He recites) three <i>Ašəm Vohū.</i></p>
<p>W MN tyh y hwlšyt BYN OBYDWN-tn' W 'twrg's šwstn W dmynk YNSBWN-tn W pwšt OL nymlwc W wl OL 'p'htl krtn' <i>ašəm. vohū. gwptn' W</i> 3 b'l dmynk OL 'p'htl dptn' 'st'm YNSBWN-tn' W pwšt OL 'p'htl krtn'</p>	<p>He enters (the chamber) from the side of the light of the sun<sup>31</sup> and washes the fire-stand. He takes a fan. He turns his back to the south, faces the north and recites the <i>Ašəm Vohū.</i> He waves the fan three times towards the north. He takes a ladle<sup>32</sup> and turns his back to the north.</p>
<p><i>āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiemī. vanjhāuš. manayhō. zaoθrābiiō. gwptn' vār-1 'st'm OL NPŠE lwn krtn' āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiemī. vanjhāuš. uxðahe. zaoθrābiiō. gwptn W var 'PWN<sup>33</sup> 'st'm OL nymlwc krtn' āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiemī. vanjhāuš. šüiaoθ<sup>n</sup>nahe. zaoθrābiiō. gwptn' W var 'PWN 'sthm OL lwc YATWN-t krtn' sūkāi. manayhahe. lwc'n šwt krtn' sūkāi. vacayhahe. lwc YATWN-t sūkāi. šüiaoθnəm. OL nymlwc krtn'</i></p>	<p>He recites <i>āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiemī. vanjhāuš. manayhō. zaoθrābiiō.</i> and stirs the ashes with the ladle in his own direction. He recites <i>āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiemī. vanjhāuš. uxðahe. zaoθrābiiō.</i> and stirs the ashes with the ladle in the south direction. He recites <i>āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiemī. vanjhāuš. šüiaoθ<sup>n</sup>nahe. zaoθrābiiō.</i> and stirs the ashes with the ladle in the east direction. At <i>sūkāi. manayhahe.</i>, he does so in the west direction.<sup>34</sup> At <i>sūkāi. vacayhahe.</i>, he does so in the east direction. At <i>sūkāi. šüiaoθnəm.</i>, he does so in the south direction.</p>

30- The verb *abrōxtan* is not used just for re-kindling the fire, but also for awakening a dormant fire (s. WZ29.7).  
 31- The expression *az tēx ī xwaršēd* should be compared with GrBd 26.88: *ōšbām ān ī tēx ī xwaršēd abar āyēd ka xwaršēd rōšnīh paydāg u-š tan nē paydāg* "Morning dawn is the bright of the Sun that comes up when the light of the Sun is visible, but the body of the Sun is not yet visible." It is likely to be read as *tēx* (see Kotwal *tēg*, NP *tēg*) and seems to indicate the light of the sun when the sun's orb is not visible. In the Bundahišn passage, *az tēx ī xwaršēd* clearly indicates the east direction, and the same could be assumed for our passage. Accordingly, the priest should enter the fire-chamber in the morning from the east side. In the LL the *zōt* usually enters the *yazišngāh* from the west side, at the place of the *ātrawaxš*, but in the Vidēvdād liturgy he makes it from the east, at the place of the *abardārān* according to the information of the Iranian liturgical manuscripts.  
 32- For the reading *aštām*, s. Kotwal (1985: 369).  
 33- Kotwal (1985: 369) correctly understands Pāzand *var* as Middle Persian *war* "covering for the fire, ashes" that is usually written with the heterogram <LWBŠYA>. Kotwal notes the appearance in the Pahlavi commentary to V5.51 of *var ī ātaxš wahrām* for *ān ī ātaxš ādurestar* "the embers of the fire" that translates Av. *ātriiō.paiti.irišta-* (in *maēsmana ātriiō.paiti.irištəm* "a mixture of embers with cow's urine"). For the ideogram see (Bartholomae 1915: 53, Tavadia 1930: 49, Mirza 1967: 43). The following *b* is corrected in all attestations by Kotwal into *pad*. It is a New Persian spelling for *b-astāmag*.  
 34- Lit. "there where the lights are gone."

AMT 'thš HZYTWN-t <i>nəmasə.tā</i> . gwptn' W wl OL 'thš 'p'yt krtn' yā. <i>siuuištō</i> OL sl gwptn' W hwlg 'p'c krtn'	When the fire is seen, then he says <i>nəmasə.tā</i> . and must face the fire and recite <i>yā siuuištō</i> (Y33.11) until the end and then remove the embers.
<i>xšnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i> 'yzm t'k-1 OL 'thš HNHTWN-tr' W <i>humatanqm</i> 'ywk b'l bwd OL 'thš HNHTWN-tr' W 'yem p'lk 1- OL 'thš HNHTWN-tr'	(He recites) <i>xšnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i> and puts a piece of firewood onto the fire. (He says) <i>humatanqm</i> (Y35.2) and puts a piece of sandalwood onto the fire and a portion of firewood onto the fire.
W AMT 'thš LALA whšyt <i>usmōi. uzārəšuuā</i> . OD <i>fəsəratūm</i>	When the fire reignites, (he recites) <i>usmōi. uzārəšuuā</i> . until <i>fəsəratūm</i> (Y33.12)
AHL <i>yasnəmca</i> OD LOYŠE gwptn'	Then he recites <i>yasnəmca</i> (=Y62.1-10) until the end.
AMT 'thš LOYŠE pr'c OHDWN-yt <i>ašəm vohū</i> 1 gwptn' W MN 'p'htl BYN OBYDWN-tr' <i>yaθā. ahū. 1</i> gwptn' W kyš -1 pyl'mwn y 'thš kšytn' W <i>yaθā 2</i>	When the fire is made blaze up, (the priest) says one <i>Ašəm Vohū</i> and steps from the north side. He says one <i>Yaθā ahu vairiō</i> and draws a furrow around the fire and says two <i>Yaθā ahu vairiō</i>
<i>yasnəmca</i> OD <i>puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i> OL <i>aṭ. ā. θβamāi. āθrē. rātqm. nəmayhō</i> šmwhwk-1 amāi. <i>raēšca</i> . OD sl 'hl'yh 'p'tyh p'hlwmyh hnb'l-1 ZNE ŠPYL k'l W krpk	(He recites) <i>yasnəmca</i> until <sup>35</sup> <i>puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i> until <i>aṭ. ā. θβamāi. āθrē. rātqm. nəmayhō</i> (=Y43.9); one <i>Ašəm Vohū</i> ; <i>amāi. raēšca</i> . until the end. <i>ahlayih</i> is the best prosperity <sup>36</sup> . It is one store that (contains) the performance of pious actions.

The beginning of the ceremony differs from ms. M49. The Frauuarāne and the *wāž gīrišnīh* are recited by the priest before entering the fire chamber and the washing of the fire-altar. He then takes a fan and waves it three times near the fire facing north. The textual sequence is similar to the actions of the *zōt* at the fire altar before the proper beginning of the LL, as we can see in this comparison of the version in M49, the one in K7 and the beginning of the LL e.g. in ms. 15:

M49	K7	LL (ms. 15)
		AV 1
		<i>xšnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>
		AV 1
		YAV 7
		<i>xšnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>
		AV 1
	<i>nəmasə. tā. ātarš. mazdā.</i> <i>ahurahe. hudā. mazišta. yazata.</i>	<i>nəmasə. tā. ātarš. mazdā.</i> <i>ahurahe. hudā. mazišta. yazata.</i>

35- To be completed with *vahməmca. aōjasca. zauuarəca. āfrīnāmi*.

36- This is standard closing that consists of the translation of the first words of the *Ašəm Vohu*.

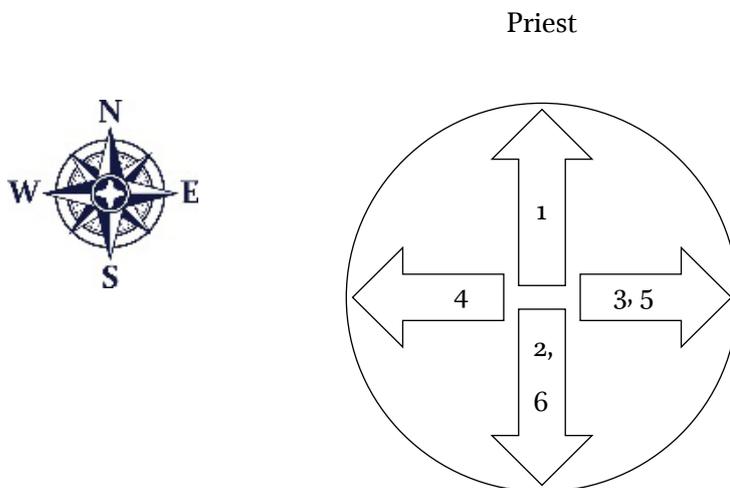
Y35.2 ( <i>humatanqm. hūxtanqm. huuarštanqm...</i> )	AV 3	<i>xšnaōθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>
Frauarāne with dedicatory to the fire	Frauarāne with dedicatory to the fire	Frauarāne with dedicatory to the fire
AV (3?) <sup>37</sup>	AV 3	AV 3
	AV (3x)	

The actions run as well parallel in K7 and in the fire introduction to the LL. First the priest washes his hands with *pādyāb*, recites the *nəmah* for the fire and the Frauarāne. Then he goes around the fire-altar and cleans it. In the LL, he then goes into the direction of the *zōtgāh* and, in the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan, fans the fire three times with the recitation of (probably three) Ašəm Vohū.

Next, he recites NērangĀtaxš 2 while stirring the ashes. He does not move around the fire-altar, but simply stirs the ashes successively in different directions:

moves the ladle towards...	while reciting...
in his direction	<i>āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiiemi. vaṇhəuš. manayhō. zaoθrābiio.</i>
S	<i>āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiiemi. vaṇhəuš. uxdahe. zaoθrābiio.</i>
E	<i>āθβā. āθrəm. gāraiiemi. vaṇhəuš. šīiaōθnahe. zaoθrābiio.</i>
W	<i>sūkāi. manayhahe</i>
E	<i>sūkāi. vacayhahe</i>
S	<i>sūkāi. šīiaoθnəm.</i>

The priest's position while stirring the ashes is not explicitly mentioned. He is probably on the south side when waving the fan, then he goes to the north and takes the ladle facing the south. Accordingly, when he begins, he is on the north side looking towards the south, and the first movement of the ladle is towards the north. The movements of the ladle can be represented as follows:



37- M49 does not mention explicitly that they are three, but this is very likely.

Accordingly, the ashes are stirred three times on each axis, albeit with a non-symmetrical distribution: twice towards the south and east, but only once towards the north and west. After stirring the ashes, he recites Y33.11. Next, he places a piece of firewood and sandalwood on the fire, while reciting Y35.2. When the flames of the fire are visible, then he recites Y33.12.

The recitation of the proper *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* of the *Yasna* (Y62.1-10) now begins. At the end, he recites one *Aṣəm Vohū* and three *Ahuna Vairiia*. During the recitation of the first one, the priest draws a furrow in the ashes around the fire.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the ceremony itself ends and the standard closing formulas follow, being extended with a *nəmō* for the fire and the recitation of *aṭ. ā. ʒβamāi. āθrē. rātqm. nəmanḥō*. (Y43.9b).

### Fire, water and *haōma*

The *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan* “Ceremony for (re-)kindling the fire” as described by Rōstam Mihrābān in ms. K7 is a longer variant of the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn*. The main difference between *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* and *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan* is that only the latter includes an Avestan text (*NērangĀtaxš 2*) before the recitation of the proper *Niyāyišn ī Ātaxš* of the *Yasna*. The action performed during the recitation of *NērangĀtaxš 2* is also exclusive of the *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan*: the stirring of the ashes to allow air through to the embers below the ashes and to facilitate combustion when new firewood is put on the fire during the recitation of Y35.2. Previously the priest has fanned the fire three times. The Avestan text makes explicit reference to this double action (fanning and stirring the ashes) through the expression *ā ʒβā āθrəm gārāiemi* “I awaken you, the fire” so that there should not be much doubt that the text has been composed for the performance of the ritual of awakening the fire. Since the Avestan text of *NērangĀtaxš 2* is basically correct (but for the use of *āθrəm* instead of the expected *ātrəm* which is likely just a transmission error),<sup>39</sup> the logical conclusion is that at a time when it was still possible to compose a correct Avestan text, there was a ritual for awakening an “eternal fire” that lay dormant under the ashes.

The use for the ceremonies for awakening the fire and for its feeding of the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* of the Long Liturgy and of the stanzas linked to the squeezing of the *haōma*-twigs points out to a connection between these ceremonies and the Long Liturgy. Furthermore, the textual link between *NērangĀtaxš 2* and Y68.3-4 highlights the parallelism between the fire and water ceremonies. Accordingly, the analysis of the *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan* should not be independent from the analysis of the fire and water ceremonies performed at the end of the LL.

The ceremonies for fire and water were conceived fundamentally as parallel and complementary, as it appears already in the description of these ceremonies by Strabo (*Geography*, 15.3.14).<sup>40</sup> Thus, the double recitation of the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti* in the greater ceremonies is understood by the Young Avestan arrangers respectively as a fire and water ceremony (see Cantera 2020b, 270 f.). Furthermore, the fire and water ceremonies at the end of the LL proceed basically in parallel (A. Cantera 2020b, 273 ff.). In both the

38- In the modern performance, Sanjana priests draw one furrow and Bhagaria two during the recitation of the two last *Ahuna Vairiia* (Modi 1922: 225, Kotwal 1985: 370). Modi must also be referring to this drawing of the furrows when he mentions the furrow at the end of the first *Ātaxš Niyāyišn*. It seems quite clear that what Modi calls the first *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* is the continuation of the *Nērang ī ātaxš* after *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan 2*.

39- Because of the poor transmission of this ceremony in the manuscripts (*āθrəm* is only attested in ms. K7), no conclusion should be drawn from this.

40- See de Jong (1997, 133:125 f.)

quotations of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti play a central role, so that they appear as the counterparts of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti in the last section of the LL.

The parallelism between the ritual cycles of fire and water is further emphasized in the modern practice by the fact the fire is kindled for the ceremony exactly at the beginning of the Nērang ī zōhr grifan, the section of the Paragnā during which the priest takes the water from the well and brings it to the ritual area (A. Cantera 2020a, 84; A. Cantera 2020c). According to the description of the Rivāyat of Ğāsā (1516), after having taken the twigs for the *barsom*, the milk and the bull's hair, the priest kindles the fire and afterwards, he consecrates the water brought from the well so that the profane water becomes the ritual water, *ahurānī*.<sup>41</sup> This is the first time that the second person singular pronoun is used in the liturgy and it refers to Āhuranī, as it will do again at the end of the liturgy. Thus, the ritual fire appears in the ritual scene immediately before the consecration of the water, but it will get its ritual status a bit later, at the very beginning of the LL through the first Frauuarāne with the dedicatory to the fire, the first time where the fire is addressed with the second person singular pronoun.<sup>42</sup> From now on, the protagonism will be for the fire until the second Āb-zōhr when this goes over to the ritual water, immediately before getting the *haōma*-libation.<sup>43</sup> Both elements were taken from their natural element and got a sacred, ritual status during which they receive offerings that will invigorate them before going back to their profane state so that both might spread their renovated forces in the world. The same idea underlies as well the daily feeding of the eternal fire: it becomes invigorated so that it might eternally burn in the house and bring the reward requested at the end of the first section of the Ātaxš Niyāyišn (Y62.6) and again at the end of its second section (Y62.10).

Furthermore, they also have in common respective *hāoma*-offerings. From the beginning of the comparison between the Avestan and the Vedic liturgies, a fundamental difference between the Vedic and Avestan use of *hāoma*-/soma in the rituals has been noticed. Already M. Haug (1862, 239) noticed:

“The Parsee priests never throw anything of the juice into the fire, but the Brahmans must first offer a certain quantity of the intoxicating juice to different deities, by throwing it from variously shaped wooden vessels into the fire, before they are allowed to taste “ the sweet liquor.”

G. König (2018: 37ff.) has recently stressed the importance of this difference and has recognized in this “minimal” variance the beginning of a process of “spiritualization” (“Vergeistigung”) of the cult that will

41- In the Indian performance, it happens at a similar moment, immediately before the purification of the *urwēsghāh* that precedes the *zōhr grifan* (Redard and Daruwalla 2021, 38). Of course, the shared evidence of the Iranian and Indian tradition is not enough for assuming that the fire appeared in the ritual space as well at this moment, but this is as well as likely possibility. It enters the scene as the last of the elements that has to be brought from outside.

42- This first section of the Yasna preceding the *fraštuiē* is considered as part of the Paragnā. However, the correspondence of this Frauuarāne in the *afriṇāmi* for the fire at the end of the liturgy (Y72.8) shows that this is already part of the LL and not of the preliminaries.

43- The use of the pronoun of the second person singular in the lips of the officiating priest in the Young Avestan sections of the LL is mostly directed to the fire along the liturgy until the end when it is again directed to Āhuranī. In the Hōm Stōm is also used for *hāoma*. Furthermore, it is used a few times for Ahura Mazdā at the beginning and end of the liturgy (Y1.22, 71.10), once for Vaiiu (Y72.19 and in the dedicatories, when he appears there) and for Aša Vahišta in a passage that is repeated several times (Y60.14, 71.33). The referent of Y71.13 is unclear.

eventually lead to the creation of the “eternal fire” that is no longer a instrument of the cult, but itself the object of the cult. However, König’s view should be nuanced. The main differences between the Avestan (as it appears in the LL) and Vedic *haōma*-/*soma*-cult are two: first, in the Vedic tradition the priest drinks the same juice that is offered to the gods after it has been offered to them, but in the Avestan tradition it is a different juice of the same plant prepared before the proper LL and different from the one prepared in the LL in the non-addition of milk; second, whereas the Vedic *soma*- is libated to the fire and so offered to the gods (and among them also Agni, the Fire), in the Avestan LL the *haōma*-juice prepared during the liturgy and mixed with milk is offered to the waters and the squeezed *haōma*- and pomegranate-twigs are offered to the fire in the ceremonies to the fire and the water that culminate the liturgy. The climax of the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* is, indeed, the last offering to the fire of the whole liturgy (according to the Iranian liturgical manuscripts) at the recitation Y62.9. It does not consists of *ēsm* and/or *bōy*, like all the other previous offerings to the fire, but of the pounded and squeezed twigs of *haōma* and pomegranate (Cantera 2019, 31).<sup>44</sup> This creates a certain symmetry between the fire and water ceremonies.

The status of this offering to the fire is not completely clear. It could be understood not exactly as an offering, but as the elimination in the fire of the sacred residue of *haōma*. However, the significant moment of the offering, at the end of the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* and during the explicit mention of an offering to the fire (Y62.9 *ātaṣ yezi.šē aēm baraiti aēsmām vā ašaiia bəratəm barəsma vā ašaiia frastarətəm uruuarəm vā hadānaēpatəm*) points rather to an offering than to a liquidation of the residue. The relevance of the offering of *haōma* to the water and the fire in the LL, though, is not comparable. First, the Avestan text of the *Āb-zōhr* mentions explicitly the libations containing *haōma* (Y66.2, 9, 19, 20, 68.1), but this is not the case for the offerings to the fire. Y62.9 mentions the offerings to the fire and they include wood, the *barəsman* and pomegranate, but not *haōma*. Second, the litanies at the beginning of the *Srōš Drōn* set the attribution of the different offerings to the corresponding recipients, see e.g. Y3.1-4. Different offerings are dedicated to different gods: the solid offering (*miiazda*-) to *Sraōša*; the *haōma*- and *para.haōma*- to the *frauuāši* of Zarathustra (meant is the *parahaōma* that is going to be drunk by the priest at Y11.11); *aēšma*- and *baōdi*-, to the fire; *haōma*-, the water for *haōma*-, the milk and the pomegranate, to the waters; the *barəsman*-, to the *Aməša Spəntas*; the good words, deeds and thoughts to the spiritual gods and one’s soul. Thus, *haōma* is specially linked with the libation to the waters, but not with the offerings to the fire. This could invite us to postulate a later datation for the offering of the *haōma* to the fire at the very prominent position of Y62.9. However, the first stanza of the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* links the final ceremony with the pressing of *haōma*, while presenting the one who performs the ceremony to the fire as having in his hands, among others, the mortar for the preparation of *haōma*:

*ušta buiiāṭ amjāi naire yasə.θβā bāda frāiiazāite.  
aēsmō.zastō barəsmō.zastō gaō.zastō hāuuanō.zastō*

May *uštā* be for the man who offers you a *yasna* with wood in his hand, with the *barəsman* in his hand, with meat (or milk) in his hand and with the mortar in his hand.

44- Some manuscripts mention at Y62.9 only the offering of pomegranate (mss. 2005, 2007, 2102, 2104, 2109 and 5020), although the vast majority of manuscripts of the *Yasna* and the *Vidēvdād*, but also some *Visperad* (ms. 2030, 2040, 2101, 2102, 2106) mention both *hōm* and *urwarām* as offerings and refer explicitly to the fact that they are the ones that have been pounded before.

Although this might be read just as an indication that the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* was originally conceived only as part of the Long Liturgy, it rather establishes a connection between the care of the fire and meat and *haōma* offerings to the fire.

The Old Avestan quotations accompanying the text of Y62 in the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* and *Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan* were, in any case, included at a time when the squeezed *haōma*-twigs were already offered at the fire in the LL. The recitation of Y33.11 and 12 with the intercalation of Y35.2 in the *Nērang* and the recitation of Y33.12-14 in the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* seem to point in this direction. As Kellens has shown, the *hāiti* Yaθāišiθā, Y33, describes a parallel ritual action to the *Hōm Stōm* (Kellens 2013: 62). The last pressing of *haōma* of the standard LL does, indeed, take place between Y31 and 33 (Cantera 2014: 264, Cantera 2016: 153 ff.). It is at the end of Y33.11 (at the recitation of *paitī*) that the priest squeezes the twigs of *haōma* and pomegranate. The special connection between Y33.11-14 and the *haōma* squeezing is highlighted in the arrangement of the LL through its recitation at the end of the *Hōmāst*, where it accompanies as well the last squeezing of the *haōma* with the fingers. Thus, the recitation of even these strophes in the *Nērang ī ātaxš* and the *Ātaxš Niyāyišn* clearly points to a connection between the awakening of the fire and its feeding and the *haōma* offering. The link is confirmed as well by the *Warštmanšar Nask* that in the commentary of Y33.12 says (Dk9.33.9):

*ud ēn-iz kū ka ātaxš abrōzē ēn gōwišn frāz gōw us.mōi tā wačist sar*

“And this means as well that when you kindle the fire, you should recite this prayer: *us.mōi* until the end of the stanza (=Y33.12)”

Both the daily care of the fire and the water ceremonies, celebrated independently of the LL, might have involved offerings of *haōma*. Probably, the complex ceremonies mentioned in the *Nērangestān*, like the *Dah-Hōmāst* or the *Dawāzdah-Hōmāst*, were intended to the production of big quantities of *haōma* as dried twigs and as juice that could be used later respectively for the care of the fire and for the water ceremonies.

In the Avestan liturgy, the only recipients of the *haōma* prepared during the liturgy are the fire and the water. They are not the intermediaries, but the beneficiaries. Perhaps this different conception of the function and role of the plant and its juice has led to the different way of offering it, as a dried residue and not as the “hardly burning” (*dūraōša*-?) juice.<sup>45</sup> In fact, the substitution of the *haōma*-offerings to the gods through the mediation of the fire by its offering to the ritual fire and water fits perfectly in the general structure of the LL. The climax of the LL is frequently seen in the animal sacrifice offered in the Antiquity during the recitation of the Old Avestan texts and later, after the abandonment of the animal sacrifice, in the very recitation of these texts. However, the LL seems to have two fundamental movements after the acquisition by the priest of his sacred condition: the meat offering to the fire during the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti* and the offerings to the fire and the waters at the end of the liturgy. The liturgy, especially after the abandonment of the animal sacrifice, moves, indeed, towards a final climax: the invigoration of

45- Y32.14 *yō duraōšam saōcaiaṭ* could be read in this way, despite the difficulties (Jean Kellens 1988, 2.260).

the ritual fire and the ritual water before the ceremony ends and they return to their profane nature. The Zand ī Wahman Yašt makes evident the shift of the focus towards the fire and water. There, the ceremonies (including some greater performances of the Long Liturgy) at the end of the time are described as liturgies “for fire and water”, see ZWY7.19:

*ēd pišišōtan ī bāmīg frāz raw ō ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd-dād ud ātaxš ābān frāz yaz hādōxt ud dwāzdah-hōmāst hād pad ātaxš ābān frāz yaz ān ī pad ātaxš ābān paydāg*

“Go forth, brilliant Pišišōtan to the countries of the Ērān that were created by me, Ohrmazd, and celebrate the fire and the waters, the Hādōxt and the Hōmāst liturgies, that is, celebrate (the liturgies) for the fire and the waters, the ones that are revealed as for the fire and the waters.”

and also ZWY7.22:

*ul rawēnd pad humad ud hūxt ud huwaršt ud ātaxš ud ābān frāz yazēnd hādōxt ud bayān yasn frāz stāyēnd man Ohrmazd abāg amahrspandān*

“They will go forth and with good thought, good words and good deeds, they will celebrate (the liturgies for) the fire and the waters, that is, the Hādōxt and the Bayān Yašt.”

In vigorated in the ceremony, fire and water are expected to bestow to the ritual community the reward for it. Both of them, fire and water, are the addresses of respective requests by the officiating priests (A. Cantera 2020b, 275 ff.). In the case of the ritual water, *ahurānī*, the wife of Ahura Mazdā, the ritual water, is invigorated so that the world waters, *Arəduuī Anāhitā*, bring the expected reward to the community. This is clearly seen in the modern Indian practice (F. M. Kotwal and Boyd 1991, 128 f.; Redard and Daruwalla 2021, 129). After the end of the proper liturgy, the ritual water is returned back to the stream or well from which it has been taken and thus invigorates and satisfies the running waters (as opposed to standing waters of the sacrifice, *Āhurānī*) that will be responsible for the well-being of the ritual community. When both priests have left the ritual area, the *zōt* enters it again, picks up the mortar, pours a portion into a cup and walks to the fire and offers a piece of *ēsm ud bōy*. Then, he proceeds to the well, from which the ritual water was taken at the beginning of the ceremony. Once there, he libates the contents of the mortar to the well while reciting one Ahuna Variia and one Ašəm Vohū and a *nəmah-* for *Arəduuī*, similar to the one used for the fire at the beginning of the liturgy (*nəmasə.tē ātarš mazdā ahurahe hudā mazišta yazata....*):

*nəmasə.tē. ašāum səuuīšte arəduuī sūra anāhite ašāone*

Ašəm Vohū 1

*yqm arəduuīm sūrqm anāhitqm ašāuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide*

Ašəm Vohū 1

*huuarəxšaētəm. aməšəm raēm auruuat. aspəm yazamaide.*

Ašəm Vohū 1

*māṅhəm gaōciθrəm ašāuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide*

Ahurānī, the ritual water that has got the offerings of *haōma* and milk during the Āb-zōhr now returns to the wordly water, to *Arəduuī*.

The process of the returning of the water to the natural cycle seems to have been a different one in Iran. Most manuscripts include at the very beginning of Y71.1 an instruction prescribing the pouring of all ritual water on the *barsom* at the end of the Āb-zōhr: *ēn gyāg hamāg āb abar sar ī barsom rēzīdan* “at this passage, (the *zōt*) should pour all the water on the *barsom*”. It is a symbolic irrigating of the vegetal element with the invigorated ritual waters.<sup>46</sup> In which way the ritual water came back to their profane function in the Antiquity remains unclear.

The same applies to the fire. We do not know what happened with the fire at the end of the liturgy. Kellens and Redard (2013, 7 ff) deduce from the structure of the LL, with the Āb-zōhr following the Ātaxš Niyāyišn, and from the role of Apām Napat in the Āb-zōhr that the fire was originally extinguished at the end of the liturgy. Alternatively, I have adventured the hypothesis that the fire might have abandoned the ritual area and brought back to the house from which it was, supposedly, brought for the performance at the beginning of the liturgy (Cantera 2019). Although I still consider the second possibility more likely, no definitive arguments can be advanced for any of them. One point is, however, quite clear. The destiny of the ritual fire at the end of the liturgy is to continue burning in the house of the humans, as explicitly said in Y62.2-3:

*dāitiō.aēsmi buiā dāitiō.baōidi buiā dāitiō.piθβi buiā dāitiō.upasāieni buiā  
pārānāiuš.harəθri buiā daṃāiuš.harəθri buiā ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā  
saōci.buiē anjia nmāne maṭ.saōci.buiē anjia nmāne raōcahi.buiē anjia nmāne vaxšaθi.buiē  
anjia nmāne darəγmciṭ aipi zrūānəm upa sūrāq frašō.kərətīm haḍa sūraiā vaṃhūiā frašō.  
kərətōiṭ.*

You might receive the wood you deserve according to the prescriptions; you might receive the aromatic wood you deserve according to the prescriptions; you might receive the nourishment you deserve according to the prescriptions; you might receive the bed you deserve according to the prescriptions; you might receive the protection of an adult you deserve according to the prescriptions; you might receive the protection of an expert you deserve according to the prescriptions, o Fire, son of Ahura Mazdā, so that you burn in this house; so that you might burn forever in this house; so that you illuminate this house; so that you grow in this house for a long time until the powerful time of the Frašō.kərəti and in the time of the powerful Frašō.kərəti.

According to my hypothesis, the invigorated ritual fire was removed from the ritual area and brought back to the house from which it came.<sup>47</sup> According to Kellens and Redard’s hypothesis, the continuity between the house fire and the ritual fire is not a physical direct one, but created through the mediation of Apām Napat. The result is, however, the same.

46- Two rituals about the *barsom* mentioned in the Nērangeštān might be connected with this final invigoration of the *barsom*. According to N83, three *barsom*-twigs (probably already consecrated in a LL) should be tied in a field where someone sows corn. N82 describes a rite consisting in the dropping of *barsom*-twigs in to a hole of a tree trunk or in a cavity on the ground. Both seem to attribute some fertility powers to the consecrated *barsom*-twigs.

47- Perhaps we could interpret in light of the difference found already in the Nērangeštān concerning the different way of addressing the fire, when the ceremony takes place in a fire temple or in a private house (A. Cantera 2019, 39). When the liturgy was celebrated in the house, the ritual fire was the “eternal fire” and open-air there was simultaneously two fires: the “permanent fire” that keeps burning in the house and the ritual fire that gets the offerings during the LL. This might be reflected in the duplication of the fire, when addressing it (*āθrō ahurahe mazdā puθra tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe*).

Summing up, the Avestan text of the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan mentions explicitly the action of awakening the fire that is performed during its recitation in modern times and confirms thus the existence of the notion of an “eternal fire” and of specific rituals for its awakening and feeding at the time of the composition of the Avestan texts. Furthermore, the textual constellation of the rituals for awakening and feeding the fire establishes clear links between these two ceremonies and the LL and the offerings to fire performed there. In fact, the LL and these ceremonies seem to fulfil a similar function: the nourishing the fire so that he might continue burning eternally and bestowing the expected reward to the community. The transformation of the profane fire and water into a ritual fire and water for their invigoration during the the liturgy and their return, invigorated, to their profane state for granting benefits to the ritual community seems to be one of the fundamental trends of the LL.

#### A reconstruction of the Avestan text of the Nērang ī Ātaxš based on ms. K7<sup>48</sup>

The text cited here is a reconstruction of the ceremony as it appears in K7, albeit completing the abbreviated parts. A similar attempt is to be found in TITUS, based on the text edited by Westergaard.

NērangĀtaxš 1.1	<i>nəmasə. tē. ātarš. mazdā. ahurahe. huḍā. mazista. yazata.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 1.2	<i>ašəm vohū 3x</i>
NērangĀtaxš 1.3	<i>frauuarāne. mazdaiiasnō. zaraθuštriš. vīdaēuuō. ahura.ṭkaēšō. [ratu] hāuuānē. ašaōne. ašahe. raθβe. yasnāica. vaṃjāica. xšnaōθrāica. frasastaiiaēca. sāuuānḥē. vīsiūāica. ašaōne. ašahe. raθβe. yasnāica. vaṃjāica. xšnaōθrāica. frasastaiiaēca. [šnūman] āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā. xšnaoθra. yasnāica. vaṃjāica. xšnaoθrāica. frasastaiiaēca. [wāž gīrišnih] yaθā. ahū. vairiū. zaōtā. frā. mē. mrūtē. aθā. ratuš. ašāṭcī. haca. frā. ašauua. vīduuā. mraōtū. ašəm. vohū.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 1.4 <sup>49</sup>	<i>ašəm vohū 3x</i>
NērangĀtaxš 2.1	<i>ā. θβā. āθrəm. gārāiemi. vaṃhāuš. manāḥō. zaoθrābiū. ā. θβā. āθrəm. gārāiemi. vaṃhāuš. uxḍahe. zaoθrābiū. ā. θβā. āθrəm. gārāiemi. vaṃhāuš. šīaōθanahe. zaoθrābiū. sūkāi. manāḥahe. sūkāi. vacaḥahe. sūkāi. šīaōθnəm.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 3.1 (=Y33.11)	<i>yā. səuuīštō. ahurō. mazdāscā. ārmaitišcā. ašəmcā. frādaṭ. gaēθəm. manascā. vohū. xšaθrəmcā. sraōtā. mōi. mərəždātā. mōi. ādāi. kahūāicī. paitī.</i>

48- A version *in extenso* of the text of the Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan is also to be found in TITUS. They complete the texts abbreviated by Westergaard. However, at some passages they do so in a slightly different way than I do here.

49- M49 and Modi (1922: 235) add the recitation of *humata hūxḍa huuaršta*. According to M49, it is recited during the washing of the stone-slab. According to the information provided by Modi, it is, by contrast, recited while placing small pieces of firewood on the fire after the washing of the stone slab and before the recitation of any two.

NērangĀtaxš 3.2	<i>xšnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 3.3 (=Y35.2)	<i>humatanqm. hūxtanqm. huuarštanqm. iiadacā. ańiiadacā. vərəziiamnanqmcā. vāuuərazananqmcā. mahī. aidī.jarətārō. naēnaēstārō. yaθanā. vohunqm. mahī. humatanqm. hūxtanqm. huuarštanqm. iiadacā. ańiiadacā. vərəziiamnanqmcā. vāuuərazananqmcā. mahī. aidī.jarətārō. naēnaēstārō. yaθanā. vohunqm. mahī.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.1 (=Y62.1)	<i>yasnəmca. vaŋəmca. hubərətīmca. ušta.bərətīmca. vaŋta.bərətīmca. āfrīnāmi. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā. yesńiiō. ahi. vaŋjiō. yesńiiō. buiīā. vaŋjiō. nmānāhu. mašiiākanqm. ušta. buiīā. aŋāi. naire. yasə.θβā. bāda. frāiiazāite. aēsmō.zastō. barəsmō.zastō. gaō.zastō. hāuuanō.zastō.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.2 (=Y62.2)	<i>dāitiiō.aēsmi.buiīā. dāitiiō.baōiđi.buiīā. dāitiiō.piθβi.buiīā. dāitiiō.upasaieni. buiīā. pərənāiiuš.harəθri.buiīā. daŋāiiuš.harəθri. buiīā. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.3 (=Y62.3)	<i>saōci.buiie. aŋiia. nmāne. maš.saōci.buiie. aŋiia. nmāne. raōcahi.buiie. aŋiia. nmāne. vaxšaθi.buiie. aŋiia. nmāne. darəγəmcit. aipi. zrūuānəm. upa. sūrqm. frašō.kərətīm. hada. sūraiīā vaŋhuiīā frašō.kərətōit.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.4 (Y62.4)	<i>dāiīā. mē. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā. āsu. xʷāθrəm. āsu. θrāitīm. āsu. jītīm. pouru. xʷāθrəm. pouru. θrāitīm. pouru. jītīm. mastīm. spānō. xšuiiβrəm. hizuuqm. urune. uši. xratūm. pascaēta. masitəm. mazāntəm. apairi.āθrəm.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.5 (=Y62.5)	<i>nairiīqm. pascaēta. hqm.varəitīm. ərəθβō.zəŋqm. axʷaθriīqm. āsitō. gātūm. jayaurūm. tuθrušqm. āsnqm. frazaŋtīm. karšō.rāzqm. viiaxanqm. hqm.raōdqm. huuarqm. huuirqm. yā.mē. frādaīiā. nmānəmca. viśəmca. zaŋtīmca. daxiūmca. daŋhusastīmca.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.6 (=Y62.6)	<i>dāiīā mē. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā. yā. mē. aŋha. afrasāŋhā. nūrəmca. yauuaēca.tāite. vahištəm. ahūm. ašaōnqm. raōcaŋhəm. viśpō.xʷāθrəm. zaza. buiie. vaŋhāuca. mižde. vaŋhāuca. srauua. urunaēca. darəye. hauuaŋhe.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.7 (=Y62.7)	<i>viśpaēibiō. sastīm. baraiti. ātarš. mazdā ahurahe. yaēibiō. aēm. hqm.pacāite. xšāfnīmca. sūrīmca. viśpaēibiō. haca. iziēite. hubərətīm. uštā.bərətīmca. vaŋtā.bərətīmca. spitama.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.8 (=Y62.8)	<i>viśpanqm. para.carəŋtqm. ātarš. zasta. ādiđaiia. cīm. haxa. hašē. baraiti. fracarəθβā. armaēšāide.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.9 (Y62.9)	<i>āa. yezi.šē. aēm. baraiti. aēsməm. vā. ašaiia. bərətəm. barəsmā. vā. ašaiia. frastarətəm. uruuarqm. vā. hadānaēpatqm. ā.hē. pascaēta. frīnaiti. ātarš. mazdā ahurahe. xšnūtō. aṭbištō. haydaŋhum.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 4.10 (Y62.10)	<i>upa.θβā. haxšōit. gəuš. vaθβa. upa. vīranqm. pourutās. upa.θβā. vərəzuuatca. manō. vərəzuuatica. haxšōit. aŋʷha. uruuāxšaŋha. gaiia. jiyaēša. tā. xšapanō. yā. juuāhī. ima. āθrō. āfriuuānəm. yō. aŋāi. aēsməm. baraiti. hukūš. raōcas. pairištq. ašahe. bərəja. yaōždatq.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 5.1	<i>ašəm vohū 1x</i>

NērangĀtaxš 5.2	<i>yaθā. ahū vairiō. 1x</i>
NērangĀtaxš 5.2	<i>yaθā. ahū vairiō. 2x</i>
NērangĀtaxš 5.4	<i>yasnəmca. vaŋəmca. aōjasca. zauuarəca. āfrīnāmi. [šnūman] āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra. tauua. ātarš. puθra. ahurahe. mazdā.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 5.5 (=Y43.9d)	<i>aṭ. ā. θβaŋāi. āθrē. rātqm. nəmaŋhō.</i>
NērangĀtaxš 5.5	<i>aŋāi. raēšca. xʷarənasca. aŋāi. tanuuō. druuatātəm. aŋāi. tanuuō. vazduuarə. aŋāi. tanuuō. vərəθrəm. aŋāi. tštīm. pouruš.xʷāθrəm. aŋāi. āsnqmciṭ. frazaŋtīm. aŋāi. darəγqm. darəγōjītīm. aŋāi. vahištəm. ahūm. ašāōnqm. raōcaŋhəm. vīspō.xʷāθrəm.</i>

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