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The Xorde Avesta and the structuring of time

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Abstract

The Xorde Avesta is considered a collection of shorter Zoroastrian liturgies. Until recently, neither the architecture of the manuscripts in which the Xorde Avesta was handed down was analyzed in detail, nor was the relationship between manuscript and practice adequately described. This article develops the thesis that the representation of the Xorde Avesta in manuscripts and liturgical practice can be understood from the point of a ritual structuring of circular units of time.

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In past times when questions about "the essence of" were not seen as unserious scholarly questions, unfortunately the question about the essence of *the* Xorde Avesta was not posed. Geldner's designation of the Xorde Avesta as a „Sammelsurium"[1], a designation which had the effect of a discussion stopper[2] for the 20th century, was caused by former research, but also by the object 'Xorde Avesta' itself: a) by Anquetil's 'diplomatic' edition that gave, indeed, the impression of an anthology; b) by the fact that mss. of the Xorde Avesta were probably never fully standardized. Rarely do we find a manuscript that is a true copy of another. It was concluded therefrom that Xorde Avesta mss. were the result of subjective arbitrariness, on which consequently scholarly arbitrariness seemed to be the justified response (this was demonstrated already by Westergaard's edition). Furthermore, it seemed also justified to designate all mss. that transmit Xorde Avesta texts as 'Xorde Avesta mss.'. Thus, it is no wonder that today's answer about the question what *the* Xorde Avesta is undercuts even the implications of the emic designation "Xorde Avesta" (which is attested since the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium). These implications are at least two: a) to be a unit; b) to be in opposition to an Avesta that is not *xorde* (as the emic perspective shows [see West 1892:437, 447], the 'non-*xorde* Avesta' is the Avesta of the 21 *nask*s).

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[1]"Besonders das Khorda Awesta ist kein Buch von sich gleichbleibendem Umfang und fester Anordnung im Stil des Vendidad; die Khorda-Awesta-Mss. sind beliebige Sammelsurien von sehr verschiedener Ausdehnung." (Geldner 1896–1904:7, cf. 16; cf. also Geldner 1886–1896:xlv).

[2]The teaching has been handed down throughout the 20th century, see Hoffmann & Narten (1989:16), which again is quoted by Kellens (1998:467); see also Skjærvø (1994:235).

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Because of this unsatisfying situation, I've been researching for the past several years on two questions: a) whether mss. of the Xorde Avesta show overall similarities, b) whether the varieties of the mss. depend on time and place and on the class. Both questions could be answered positively: the concept "Xorde Avesta" is clearly defined *formally*, insofar, as it subjects a (not arbitrary) set of texts/text-groups to a general structure. This structure shows, on the one hand, variations according to time, place and manuscript-class regarding the quantity of accepted texts; on the other hand, we can detect a tendency since the 18th century to minimize these variations between the Iranian and Indian, the Sāde and the translation mss. The result of this historical process is a Xorde Avesta that resembles the Xorde Avesta arrangement of Geldner's edition. The reason for this resemblance, however, is not because of Geldner's analysis of the common structure of the Xorde Avesta, but in his decision to present the Xorde Avesta according to the XASadeInd ms. O3 from 1646,[3] a ms. which shows, as all "Xorde Avesta proper" (Geldner), the mentioned common basic structure.

If we examine two Iranian Sāde mss., written by Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr in the early 18th century, we realise their identical architecture textual:

6115(K36) (1724 CE)	6135(YL2-17) (1723 CE)
1. AV+YAV	1.-2. AV+YAV
2.-6. BajNanX, BajGomK, SrB, NerKB, NerNaxC	3.-6. BajGomK, NerŠB, SrB, NerKB
7.-9. NyXwar, NyMihr, NyMah	7.-9. NyXwar, NyMihr
10.-12. AD, AGahambar, AGatha	10.-11. AD, AfrinRap
13. NyAtaš	12. NyAtaš
14.-18. YtOhr, YtArW, YtSrH, YtSr, YtWahr	13.-16. YtOhr, YtArW, YtSrH, YtSr
19. *Pādšāh Warharām Īzad* (NP)	
20.-23. GRap, GUz, GEbsr, GUš	17.-21. GHaw, GRap, GUz, GEbsr, GUš
24. ANogNavar	
25.-32. S 1+2; Drōns: 30Gods (gen. + acc.), 12Months (gen. + acc.), 5Gaϑa (gen. + acc.)	
33. MayaYt	
34.-35. AfrinRap	
37. PaIr	
38.-65. Xšnūmans + Nērangs	22.-24. Faroxšī, StS

If we expand our perspective to all classes of Xorde Avesta mss., we can establish a stable skeleton for the Xorde Avesta, even if some text-groups show certain amount of mobility according to manuscript classes (with/without translation; Pahl., NP, Skr., Guj.):

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[3] "Als Muster <der Khorda-Awesta-Codices [GK]> mag der Oxforder Codex (O3) angeführt werden, dessen Inhalt als Durchschnittsinhalt dieser Mss. gelten darf. Er enthält der Reihe nach: das Awesta-Alphabet, die 5 Nyāishs, die 3 Āfrīngāns, die 5 Gāhs, die Yashts 1. 2. 3. 4. 9. 11. 12. 14. 16. 18. 20. 21, zahlreiche Nīrangs." (Geldner 1896–1904:16).

				Sāde	**TXA**	**Pahl**	**NP**	**Skr**	**Guj**
AV + YAV; the main Nērangs				Ind mss. without BajNanX, BajGomK	Eɪ		some with BajNanX, BajGomK	some with BajNanX, BajGomK	some with BajNanX, BajGomK
Niyāyišn				some mss. with Āfrīngāns	Eɪ (+ Patits)	some mss. with Āfrīngāns			
	VH + NamSt + Namaskār				-				
	Āfrīn-gān			mostly Ir	Eɪ (+ Āfrīns + Āśīrwāds)				
			Gāh	Ir + Ind	-	only Ind (?)	only Ind		
	VH + NamSt + Namaskār			some with Ny 1-5	-	only Ind			
Yašt					Eɪ				
	Āfrīn-gān			(1 ms.)		(1 Ir)			
Sirōze					Eɪ				
shorter texts									
			Gāh	mostly Ir	Eɪ	(1 ms.)			
	Āfrīn-gān			Ir + Ind					
performative texts				Bājs, Nērangs; in Ir mss. als DrYt, Faroxšī, YtG	Eɪ				
all or many									
some									
(very) few									

The existence of this basic structure allows one to speak of 'manuscripts of *the* Xorde-Avesta', *i.e.*, it allows one to separate them from those manuscripts that contain Xorde-Avesta texts but do not have the mentioned structure. However, even these 'unstructured' manuscripts gain a better understanding through our structural analysis of the Xorde Avesta manuscripts. In its light, they appear as 'appendices' which allow a transformation of manuscripts of the *Xorde Avesta proper* (Geldner) into manuscripts of the *Tamām Xorde Avesta* (TXA).

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The formal definition of the Xorde-Avesta as a *structural unit* opens up new questions: the question of the genesis of the structured Xorde-Avesta (which I would like to exclude here); the question of its relation to the liturgical performance; the question of 'the sense' of the Xorde Avesta, bearing in mind its dual media form being a) a ms.; b) a liturgical recitation).

For the purpose of reduction of complexity, we only want to focus on those (liturgical) texts that are contained in the *Iranian* Xorde Avesta. The transmission of the Iranian Xorde Avesta generally differs from that of the Indian Xorde Avesta in that it has no variant 'Tamām Xorde Avesta'. A number of *Yašt*s, particularly the 'great ones', had been unknown therefore in Iran for many centuries (they were re-imported from India only secondarily in the late 19th century). The texts found in the Iranian Xorde Avesta are the following:

AV, YAV (= used as substitution of *Farżiyat* texts)

SrB, NerKB; NerNaxC, NerŠB, NerSneezing

BajNanX, BajGomK

NyXwar, NyMehr, NyMah; NyAtaš, MayaYt

GHaw, GRap, GUz, GEbsr, GUš

YtOhr, YtAmSp, YtArW, YtHor, (YtASA, YtXwar, YtMah, YtTiš)[4], YtSrH (YaštSrošHadoxt), YtSr (YaštSroš), YtWahr (YtWay, YtHom?)

Faroxši (DrYt + YtFra); YtG; PaIr

ADahman (2x), AGatha, AGahambar, ARap, AArdFr, ASroš, ANogNavar KardeSrošRawan[5]; AfrinRap (= Hamazor); AfrinZ, *Afrin

NamSt, NamX, CiBu, SpAkanare, NemajAoi/NamazUrmazd, PaNamDadarOhrmazd (= Be Nām-e Yazd); StSroš, StDen, StMahraspand (the last three pieces, from StS, only in MF28 and MZK9); StS 1-30

PaywandRayenidarih (cf. Antias Nekāh az Raweš-e Īrān)[6]

Nērangs (about 30 pieces). Attestations mainly in 6095(MF3) und 6115(K36) (both written by Rostam Goštāsp Erdašīr), and in the (closely related) Faroxšī mss. 3100(K38) and 3095(Suppl.persan1191 [= Blochet XXVI]).

Drōns (Darūns) (also called: „Xšnūmans", „Bājs"). Attestations mainly in 6115(K36), in 6180(MZK9) (a ms. from the Muze-ye Kermān, partly from the 18th century [?]), and in the three related mss. 6187(MZK6), 6190(RR3), 8101(MZK8) from the early 19th century; isolated finds in *Faroxšī* mss.

In general, the liturgical text of the Iranian Xorde Avesta is divided into two subgroups:

a) texts that are subject to a chronological order;

b) texts that respond to events not predetermined in time (sickness, death, marriage).

The boundary between the two groups is, of course, not a sharp one, and it may at times be exceeded. We are primarily interested in group a). Let us divide these according to the criterion of *farziyat*, *i.e.*, according to the criterion of the daily prayer obligation:

	daily	not daily	
I	SrB, NerKB	(BajNanX, BajGomK); NerNaxC, NerŠB, NerSneezing	
II	NyXwar, NyMehr, NyMah; NyAtaš	MayaYt	
III	GHaw, GRap, GUz, GEbsr, GUš		
IV	YtOhr, YtArW, YtSrH, YtSr	YtHor, YtDru, YtWahr	(YtAmSp, YtASA, YtXwar, YtMah, YtTiš YtWay, YtHom [probaly all reimported])
V (texts in Pāzand/Pārsī)	NamSt	NamX, CiBu, SpAkanare, NemajAoi/NamazUrmazd, PaNamDadarOhrmazd (= Be Nām-e Yazd); (StSroš, StDen, StMahraspand); StS = Šnayenidar 1-30	
VI		ADahman (2x), AGatha, AGahambar, ARap, AArdFr, ASroš; AfrinRap; ANogNavar KardeSrošRawan; AfrinZ, *Afrin	
VII		Faroxši (DrYt + YtFra)	
VIII		YtG; PaIr; PaywandRayenidarih	

The texts to be recited daily (the texts of the *Farżiyat*) have a clear reference to the 5 Gāhs of the day, *i.e.*, they constitute the ritual structure of the day.[7] Their distribution is subject to the fundamental

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[4] Only in the ms. 6306(DorostXANew), probably 19th century. On the ms., see König (2023).

[5] See 6180(MZK9), fol. 83 v

[6] On the topic of marriage we also find the text *Panǧ ʿArd* (a text on the five kinds of marriage vows).

[7] The five division of the day are under the guidance of: 1 by Miϑra, 2 by Ātar + Aša Vahišta, 3 by Āp, 4 by the Frauuašis, 5 by Sraōša + Rašnu + Arštāt [see Y 2. 3-7 *asńiia. aṣauuana. aṣahe. ratauuō.*].

criterion of day/night, *i.e.*, to the division of time into a time of light (heavenly light) and a time of darkness (fire in the night).

The selection of the *Farżiyat-Yašt*s seems to be guided by the idea of fire-worshipping (the NyAtaš is probably always the vanishing point of the *Farżiyat*): the obligatory *Yašt*s to Ardwahišt and to Sraōša, but also the *Yašt* to Wahrām, which is a favorite of the Iranian Xorde Avesta, are texts to the three *Hamkārān*, the "co-operators" of Fire (Ādur).

Texts that are not recited daily are texts that

a) do not subject to a daily necessity (I), or that are unavoidable events (death and marriage) (VIII);

b) have to be recited according to another chronological scale: the Āfrīngān + AfrinRap (VI) in particular at the Gāhāmbārs and on other feasts; DronYtFaroxši, PaIr, YtG(?) at the end of the year.

Gāhs of the day	*Farżiyat*											
days of the month	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
feasts of the year		Gāhāmbār I		GB II		GB III		GB IV		GB V		GB VI→ New Year
												end of year→ New Year

With regard to the relationship between manuscript and liturgical practice, the preceding analysis shows that the typical Xorde Avesta structure echoes the structure of the liturgical practice as far as this is possible. At the beginning of the manuscripts, as in practice, we find the texts of daily necessity (1) SrB; NerKB; 2. texts that bring reference to the time of the recitation [*Gāh*s], and texts for the worship of "material" and "non-material" deities [*Niyāyišn*s, *Yašt*s]); towards the end, the manuscripts give the texts for the feasts (*Āfrīngāns/Āfrīns*, *Faroxšī*, *Yašt Gāhān*) and those for accidental events.

The comparison of the Iranian manuscripts of the early 18th century (Rostam Goštāsp Erdašīr) and the 19th century shows tectonic shifts of the *Xorde Avesta* text groups. It seems as if the rearrangements of the text groups are guided by the idea of a sequence 'from the Daily to the Non-daily':

Intr	Ny	A	Yt	G	YL2-17* (1723)	K36* (1724)	MF29* (1704?)	MZK6 (1803)	RR3 (19th c.)
Intr	Ny	Yt	G	A	MZK9 (first half 19th c.)				
Intr	Ny	G	Yt	A	DorostXANew	MF31 (later 18th c.)	W1 (19th c.)	Niknam (G vor Ny)	KM8 (19th c.)

*Mss. Rostom Guštāsp Erdašīr

This insight leads us back to our initial question about the 'essence' of the Xorde Avesta. Obviously, the 'essence' of the Xorde Avesta can be found *in a relation of the liturgical texts to the order of time*. The Xorde Avesta can be defined as a 'ritual clock' with the help of which the believer is able to structure day, year and life (or expressed in an inverse perspective: with the help of which the believer's life is put into a fixed time-order).

It is because of this time-structuring architecture with its connection to a day-night division of liturgies that we cannot use the terms "Xorde Avesta" and "collection of Short Liturgies" as synonyms. It is true that from an extensional point of view the term "collection of Short Liturgies" includes the

term "Xorde Avesta" (all Xorde Avesta liturgies are Short Liturgies) just as the term "Xorde Avesta" includes the term "collection of Short Liturgies" (no Short Liturgy exists beyond the border of the Xorde Avesta and its addenda). The difference in terminology is probably intentional. While the "collection of Short Liturgies" contains the virtual text for all ceremonies that can be produced from these liturgies, the "Xorde Avesta" (also the all-encompassing "Tamām Xorde Avesta") is that configuration of such a virtual text that has found its particular expression in the manuscripts and acquired greatest importance for a prayer practice which subjects time to a strict and complete temporal order.

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However, this ritual clock seems to have a strange omission (to abide by the metaphor: a hand of the watch is missing). If we look at the Zoroastrian way of measuring time (see GrBd 1a 22-24 [TD1 fol. 10 v; DH fol. 165 v; TD2 pp. 24-25]), we find that in addition to the five Gāhs of the day the following units play an important role a1) the 30 days of the month + a2) the 5 days that are intercalated (*5 rōz truftag* [GrBd 1a.22]) after the 12th month (the "Gāϑā days"); b) the 12 months.[8] The omission that we find in the Xorde Avesta is the ritual reference to and the care of the 30 days of the month. It has always been pointed out that there are some connections between the Zoroastrian calendar (attested since the YAV) and the *Yašt*s. However, it cannot be overlooked that a) the *Yašt* transmission in the Tamām Xorde Avesta deviates in many points from the 30 days of the month, b) there are some differences between the names of the days and the names of the *Yašt*s, finally c) the "Xorde Avesta proper" (das "eigentliche Xorde Avesta") transmits only those few *Yašt*s mentioned above. It is obvious that if the 30 days and the *Yašt*s were once in a perfect harmony[9] a serious damage must have occurred before the second millennium CE. The *Farżiyat* as we know it from the Xorde Avesta manuscripts and prints, enables the believer to individualize the Gāhs and the feasts ritually; but it is unfit to specify a) the 30 days, b) the 12 months. Before we will point our attention to the second part of most of the Iranian Xorde Avesta (Sāde!) manuscripts, that part that comprises what we want to call the 'Drōn system' — because it fills systematically the mentioned gap in the *Farżiyat* order — we will take the opportunity for a digression on the Zoroastrian calendar of the 12 months.

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[8]Cf. the list of the names of months and days in *Frahang Pahlawīg* XXVIII.

[9]As far as we can reconstruct the situation in the *Nask Avesta* (see Dk 8.15 and the headings of some *Yašt*s in F1, E1), it becomes clear that there was no *nask* which alone transmitted *Yašt*s for all days of the months. As it is attested by the title of the smaller *Srōš Yašt* (the YtSrH), besides the *Bayān Nask Yašt*s were also stored in the *Hadōxt Nask*.

A digression on the organisation of the 12 months of the Zoroastrian year

Unlike the names of the 30 days of the month,[10] the names of the 12 months of the Zoroastrian year are only incompletly mentioned in the Younger Avesta.[11] Only the stanzas [G]Yt 13.49-52, a text quoted in the *Āfrīngān Gāϑā*, allude to a period of ten days at the time of the feast Hamaspasmaēdaiia in which the Frauuaṣis come down to earth. The Avestan names of the months – of which none is not also used as a day name – appear in full only in the *Bāj*s used in the *Drōn*, consisting of a compilation of 12 *Xšnūmans* (see 6115(K36) fol. 103 v 3 – 104 r 5; 6180(6180(MZK9)) fol. 194 r 15 – v 15; 6187(MZK6) (106 v); 6190(RR3) fol. 86 v 7 – 87 r 1; 3100(K38) fol. 103–212; 8102(MZK8) fol. 93 b 10-95 a 3; 9100(K25) fol. 100 v 13 – 101 v 1), see in genitive (*āiiese. yešti.*):

> *Farwardīn māh* ašāunąm. frauuaṣinąm.
>
> *Ardībehešt māh* ašahe. vahištahe. sraēštahe.
>
> *Xordād māh* hauruuatātō. raϑβō.
>
> *Tīr māh* tištriiehe. stārō. raēuuatō. x^varənaŋ^vhatō.
>
> *Amordād māh* amərətatātō. raϑβō.
>
> *Šahrewar māh* xšaϑrahe. vairiiehe.
>
> *Mehr māh* miϑrahe. vouru.gaōiiaōitōiš.
>
> *Ābān māh* apąm. vaŋ^vhīnąm. mazdaδātanąm.
>
> *Ādor māh* āϑrō. ahurahe. mazdå. puϑra.
>
> *Day māh* daϑušō. ahurahe. mazdå. raēuuatō. x^varənaŋ^vhatō.
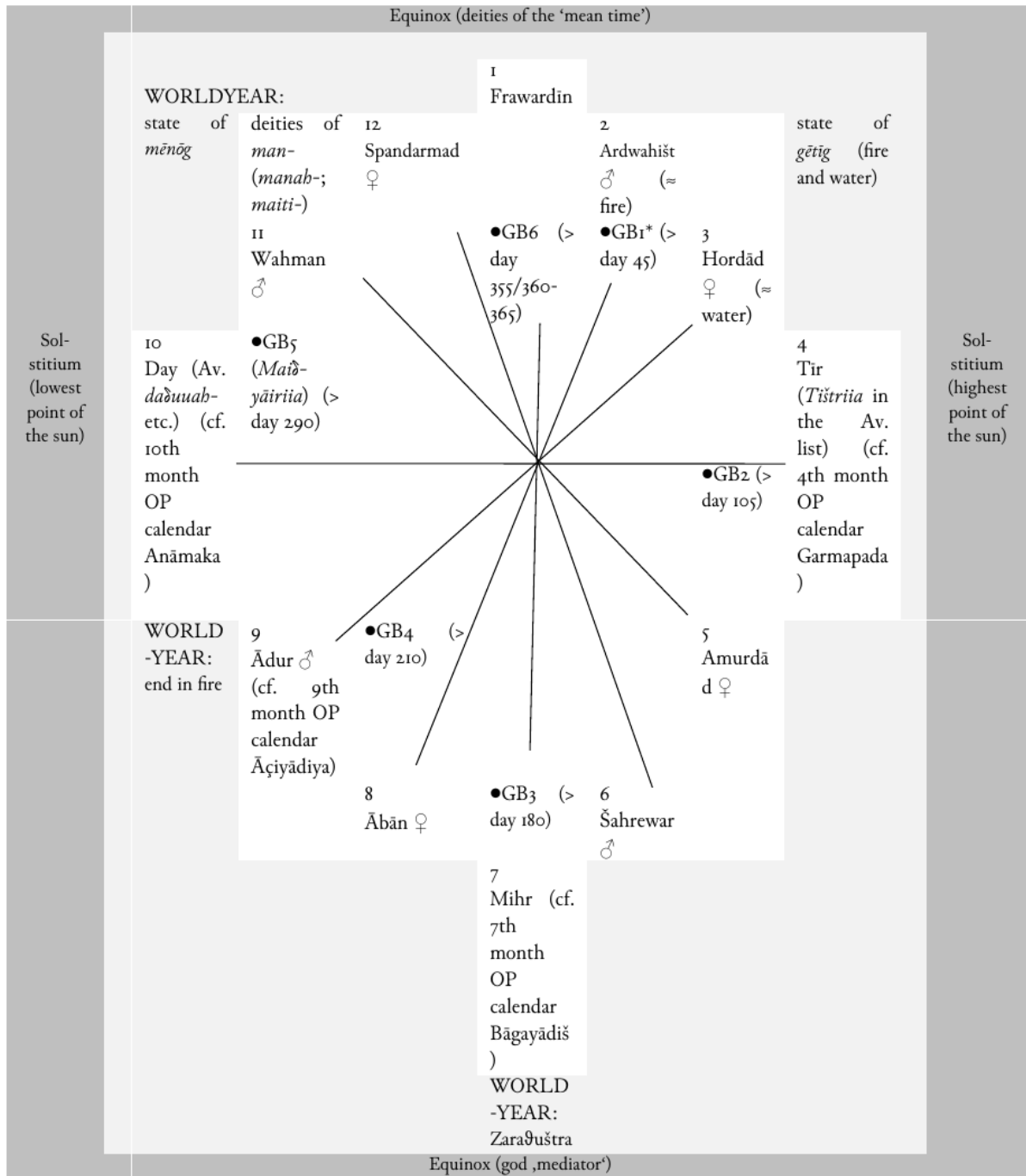>
> *Bahman māh* vaŋhauue. manaŋhe.
>
> *Sefandārmad māh* spəntaiiå. vaŋhuiiå. ārmatōiš.[12]

The question arises as to what principles guide the choice of names for the 12 months. In this regard, it seems useful to visualize the arrangement of the 12 months in the cycle of the solar year.

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[10]See their catalogue in Y 16.3ff. According to Geldner's edition, Y 16.3 begins with the words *aŋhuiiaōš. ašacinaŋhō. pauruuå. dātå. dāmąn. ašaōnīš. daϑušō. ahurahe. mazdå. ...*, while Bartholomae/Wolff see the words *aŋhuiiaōš. ašacinaŋhō.* as an appendix to Y 16.2 with reference to Zaraϑuštra. The beginning of Y 16.3 would be the (feminine*) accusative plural *pauruuå. dātå. dāmąn. ašaōnīš.* with related genitive *daϑušō. ahurahe. mazdå. ...* The following list of 29 entities (in accusative form) must be understood as those "first created creations belonging to *aša*"). *The feminine use of *dāmąn.* may be caused a) by a collective meaning "the creation", and b) by the synonym *dąmi-* f. "creation". Against Kellens & Pirart (1990:259), where the two forms of Bartholomae's lemma *dāmi-* f. "creation" (Y 43.5, Y 51.10; see Bartholomae 1904:736) are put to *dąmi-* "fondateur" (see Bartholomae 1904:736–737; Panaino 2022:390 on Kellens' position), the phraseological parallels with *ahu-* and *gaiia-* (see Humbach 1959:II 49; Humbach 1991:II 137) speak for the correctness of Bartholomae's analysis.
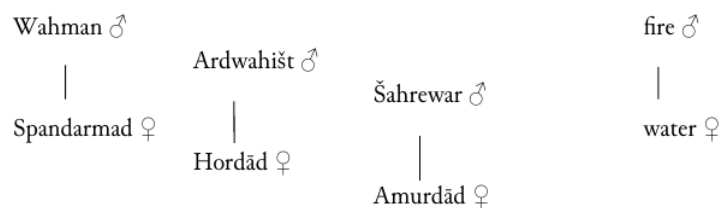
[11]The display of the division of time in the *Yasna* points under the monthly order only to the three-division of the month according to the position of the moon (Y 2.8 [*māhiia. ašauuana. ašahe. ratauuō.*]), not to the 12-month division of the year. Some months are mentioned in the context of the calculation of the six festival periods in the *Āfrīngān Gāhāmbār*. The year, meanwhile, appears as the sequence of six fixed periods (see Y 2.9 [*yāiriia. ašauuana. ašahe. ratauuō.*]), not as the sequence of 12 months. The only month of 30 days that can be outlined is the month Tishtriia in Yt Tiš, where the 30 days show a decan division (= *māhiia* division).

[12]In Vd 21, however, the month name is *spəntaiiå. ārmaitōiš. måŋhō*. It is the name of the day, mentioned in [G]Yt 2.8, that usually takes the adjectives *spənta-* and *vohu-* (cf. S 1.5, S 2.5; Y 16.3] *spəntaiiå.vaŋhuiiå. ārmatōiš.* → *spandarmat weh bowandag menišn*).

Equinox (deities of the 'mean time')

WORLDYEAR:

			1 Frawardīn		
state of *mēnōg*	deities of *man-* (*manah-*; *maiti-*)	12 Spandarmad ♀		2 Ardwahišt ♂ (≈ fire)	state of *gētīg* (fire and water)
	11 Wahman ♂		●GB6 (> day 355/360-365)	●GB1* (> day 45) 3 Hordād ♀ (≈ water)	

Sol-stitium (lowest point of the sun)

| 10 Day (Av. *daδuuah-* etc.) (cf. 10th month OP calendar Anāmaka) | ●GB5 (*Maiδ-yāiriia*) (> day 290) | | | 4 Tīr (*Tištriia* in the Av. list) (cf. 4th month OP calendar Garmapada) | Sol-stitium (highest point of the sun) |

●GB2 (> day 105)

WORLD-YEAR: end in fire

9 Ādur ♂ (cf. 9th month OP calendar Āçiyādiya)	●GB4 (> day 210)		5 Amurdā d ♀

8 Ābān ♀	●GB3 (> day 180) 6 Šahrewar ♂

7 Mihr (cf. 7th month OP calendar Bāgayādiš)

WORLD-YEAR: Zaraϑuštra

Equinox (god 'mediator')

The principles for structuring of the 12 months seem to be the following:

- mirroring (especially the sequence fire – water);
- male / female pairings:

Wahman ♂   Ardwahišt ♂   fire ♂
  | Šahrewar ♂ |
Spandarmad ♀   Hordād ♀   water ♀
                                                    Amurdād ♀

The further arrangement of the male and female deities is based on the idea of forming oppositions: fire / water (2x); animals / plants; heaven / earth.

Furthermore, we can assume

- an attempt to construct of analogies between the year and the world-year
- an influence from the pre-Zoroastrian calendar.

Some elements, which are constitutive for the construction of the calendar of the year, provide indications for its dating:

a) the three Aməša Spəṇtas with neuter gender have already been masculinized;
b) the double-existence of six Aməša Spəṇtas in material and spiritual form is worked out completely;
c) physics saw the foundations of the material world in fire and water;
d) the idea of a world history of 12,000 years is worked out completely.

We also can recognize that astrology had no important influence on the conception of the calendar.[13]

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One of the reasons why the concept of the Xorde Avesta has been less understood, is probably the neglect of the *Drōn* system in European Iranian Studies since Anquetil. Anquetil's neglect, however, is perhaps due to the fact that the *Drōn* was not part of the manuscripts of the *Indian* Xorde Avesta, which formed nearly exclusively the basis of research on the Xorde Avesta until today. While in Iran only a minority of Xorde Avesta Sāde manuscripts do not integrate the *Drōn*, the Parsis hand down the *Drōn* in a particular manuscript class called *Bāj Dharnū*.

From the point of view of the manuscripts, a *Drōn* consists of four components:

a) the DrYt proper (Y 3-8)
b) a few inserted *Hāiti*s (depending on the ceremony)
c) the modifiers of dedication (the "*Bāj*s")
d) one or more attached texts.

Within the IrXA often the following texts are found towards the end of the manuscript:

a) DrYt + YtFra
b) *Bāj* texts
c) YtG.

The sequence DrYt + YtFra is commonly known as the ceremony "Faroxšī". The YtG, the celebration of the first *Gāθā* – the celebration of the second *Gāθā* is known only by a note in ms. DH[14] – serves as a death ceremony (removing the corpse from the house). I assume that the (originally five) *Gāθā-Yašt*s once were celebrated on the five Gāθā days at the end of the year – as the specific *Yašt*s of these otherwise

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[13]According to the commonly held scholarly position, a developed astrology did not reach the Zoroastrian priesthood before the Sasanian period (see Raffaelli 2010). In MX 56.13/11 the division of the year is seen as the circle of the *12 axtarān*, i.e. the Zodiac.

[14]See König (2017, 2022).

Yašt-less days – and were, like YtFra, attached to the DrYt. Finally, recent research (in particular the analysis of Pāzand, New Persian and Pahlavi texts) increasingly indicates that also the texts for the celebration of the annual festivals, *Āfrīngān*s + *Āfrīn*s, were and are not celebrated without a preceding DrYt. From all this information we conclude that at least many of those liturgical texts which on the 'ritual clock' of the Xorde Avesta stand beyond the Gāh-times, can connect themselves with the DrYt. At least regarding the *Yašt*s, this additive celebration form has been emphasized by Kreyenbroek (2004, 2008) in the last 20 years through analysis of the *Nērangestān*.

The 'system' of 'modifiers' of the DrYt, i.e., the catalogue of *Bāj* texts, has remained largely unknown. A reason for this ignorance is that Geldner did not bother to carry out a more detailed analysis of the Iranian manuscripts. In the *Prolegomena*, we regularly find misleading summary descriptions such as "litanies in the style of the Siroze".

Let's take a closer look at these so-called "litanies"! First of all, it should be noted that these texts are actually not litanies, but, as said, text modules for modifying the DrYt.[15] Most of the modifiers are based on the *Xšnūman*s of the 30 days, and that means also on the *Xšnūman*s to all Zoroastrian deities (a Zoroastian deity is formally defined as an entity that 'has' a *Xšnūman*). This double sense of the *Xšnūman*s provokes at first a general remark on the *Xšnūman*s, their use and system. A *Xšnūman* is, in its most general definition, a short formula which refers to one or more singular terms by using a (partially elided) performative verb. Although the use of the singular term is open in principle, it is limited by certain factors in the context of liturgy formation and it is finally identified in the concrete liturgical application. In this regard, it should be noted, as stated, that the *Xšnūman* formula has two functions: a) to address a transcendent entity in a speech act; b) to identify a time (which can consist of three components: time of the day/day/month). In the liturgical formation, it becomes apparent that both functions can be 'open' (i.e. still 'indeterminate') or already 'determined'. This results in four general liturgical classes:

time	dedication	see
open	open	*Yasna, Afringan*
open	determined	*Yasna Rapithwin*
determined	open	*Videvdad*
determined	determined	*Yašt*

If liturgies are already 'determined' in some way, there are procedures for 'opening' them secondarily. The Avesta knows two liturgical formulas for this purpose:

1. the *Drōn Yašt*. This text, which is itself indeterminate in time and dedication, can precede a (partially or fully) determined liturgy and modify its dedication as well as its performance time.
2. the *Rōz-Māh* formular. This is found mainly in Indian manuscripts after the *Niyāyišn*s. It corresponds to the function of the *Rōz-Māh* formular, which is included in the *Drōn Yašt*.

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[15]In the index to the *Rewāyat*s, Dhabhar (1932) points to a number of *Bāj*s and *Darūn*s of which, however, only a few are transmitted in the *Iranian* Xorde Avesta:

Bāj Ardibehešt p. 341 (MU I 526.8.14); ~ Darūn-Cāšnī p. 547; ~ Hōm p. 410; ~ Ohrmazd p. 417, p. 547; ~ Saruš-Darūn p. 411. Darūn Awerdād-Sālgāh p. 342 (MU I 527.5-529.2); ~ Dīn-Mansr p. 338, p. 340 (MU I 515.2-5, 520.14-19); ~ Gāhāmbār p. 324 (MU I 434-436); ~ Gōspand p. 436 (MU II 70.19-71.2); ~ Haft Amšasfand pp. 340-341 (MU I 520.14-19, 524.17-18, 525 I 1-4, 14-15); ~ Hōm p. 340 (MU I 520.14-19); ~ Mehrgān pp. 343-344; ~ Nō-Nawar p. 340 (MU I 520.14-19), p. 345 (MU I 521), p. 421 (MU II 37.1-16); ~ Ohrmazd p. 102, pp. 340-341 (MU I 520.14-19); ~ Ramešna Xārām p. 345 (MU I 535-537), p. 423 (MU II 434); ~ Rašna-Astad p. 345; ~ Safar p. 279 (MU I 284.11-285.3); ~ Xordadsāl p. 340 (MU I 520.14-19, 522.12-524.10); ~ Saruš p. 340 (MU I 520.14-19), p. 345 (MU I 555ff.), p. 421, p. 422 (MU II 37.1-16, MU II 39.5-41.17); ~ Sīrūze p. 340 (MU I 520.14-19), p. 421, p. 422 (MU II 37.1-16, MU II 39.5-41.17).

Of special interest is the text group "Yašt", which differs from the other text groups in that the dedicatory *Xšnūman* obviously also indicates the day on which the *Yašt* is to be recited. If we assume that *Yašt*s already designate by their dedication the day of the month on which they are to be recited, then there is no need for further determination of day/month (only the daytime needs to be identified). The introduction of the *Hamkār*-system (see below) leads to an expanding of the temporal possibility of the use of *Yašt*s. The likelihood that *Yašt*s were once also preceded by a *Drōn*[16] suggests that in pre-modern times the two *Xšnūman* functions were decoupled from each other in the *Yašt*s.

The following list is a first attempt to bring order into the *Bāj* materials as found so far in Iranian Xorde Avesta mss. The following Sāde mss. have been analyzed: 6115(K36), 6180(MZK9), 6187(MZK6), 6190(RR3), 3100(K38), 8102(MZK8), 3170(Pouladi9), 9100(K25)[17].

Nearly all *Bāj* materials in Iranian Xorde Avesta mss. occur in double shape, a) with genitive, b) with accusative forms, and nearly all *Bāj* materials in Iranian Xorde Avesta mss. belong to one of the two main classes:

I 'Litanies' fe āiiese. yešti. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde (= Av. *yazamaide*)

II Darūns fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

Group I comprises *Bāj*s for the praise of the 30 days of the month, the *5 rōz truftag*, and the 12 months. Group II comprises *Bāj*s for the praise of the 30 days of the month, too, but in particular for *Drōn* celebration of particular days and feasts.

Group I includes *Bāj*s for praising the 30 days of the month, the *5 rōz truftag*, and the 12 months. Group II includes also *Bāj*s for the praise of the 30 days of the month, but especially for the *Drōn* celebration of specific days and festivals.

Thus, we can state that the *Bāj*s are related to the following time units:

1) to all days of the year (by a combination of the dedications to the days and months);

2) to particular days a) of the year (in particular the Nourūz festival); b) to journey and death (journey of the soul);

3) to clusters of four to five monthly days which seem to be arranged according to semantic fields.

I 'Litanies' fe āiiese. yešti. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

There are three compilations of dedications in genitive (after *āiiese. yešti.*) and accusative (after *yazamaide.*) which are related to time units: to the days (of the month), the months (of the year) and the intercalated five last days of the year (the so-called *Gāϑā* days):

a) Sīrūz-e Qadīme, fe āiiese. yešti. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

b) Dawāzdah Māh Qadīme, fe āiiese. yešti. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

c) Panǧ Rūz, fe āiiese. yešti. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

These three compilations which are nearly regularly found in Iranian XASāde mss. differ from all other texts that are built on dedications in that they are not called "*Darūn*".

The text of the *Sīrūz-e Qadīme* "the old *Sīrūz*" contains only the dedications to the names of the 30 days, not to the closely related deities (e.g., the dedication to the 20th day is *vərəϑraɣnahe. ahur-*

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[16]Kreyenbroek (2004, 2008).

[17]The Copenhagen ms. 9100(K25) was brought from India, but it has clearly an Iranian background.

aδātahe./vərəϑraɣnəm. ahuraδātəm. yazamaide., and not *amahe. hutāštahe. huraōδahe. vərəϑraɣnahe. ahuraδātahe. vanaiṇtiiåsca. uparatātō./aməm. hutaštəm. huraōδəm. yazamaide. vərəϑraɣnəm. ahuraδātəm. yazamaide. vanaiṇtīmca. uparatātəm. yazamaide.*), not to related deities to which *Yašt*s are dedicated.[18]

II Darūns fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

1. for all days

    Next to the Sīrūz-e Qadīme, some mss. contain other texts related to the 30 days of the month. These texts use the *xšnūmaine.* (or *xšnaōϑra.*) phrase, and they all are designated as "*Darūn*" or "*Xšnūman*".

    a) Darūn Sīrūze Yašt, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

An instruction (*bad ān-ke Darūn-e ašūān fe rūz o šab* auuaŋhå. *u.* staōmi.) in the version *fe rāh-e yazāmayde* says that after the *Darūn* which is celebrated for the blessed souls the "auuaŋhå. *u.* staōmi." should be recited, *i.e.*, the *auuaŋhå. frauuašaiiō.* (see Y 22.26 [^GY 23.1])[19] and the final phrase *vīspəmca. ašauuanəm. mainiiaōm. yazatəm yazamaide. vīspəmca. ašauuanəm. gaēϑīm. yazatəm yazamaide. ašāunąm. vaŋᵛhīš sūrå. spəṇtå. frauuašaiiō. staōmi.* The *Xšnūman*s of day 17 (to Srōš) and of day 19 (to the Frawahrs) are ommited. In the version *fe rāh-e yazāmayde* the *Xšnūman*s repeat always *ahurəm. mazdąm. raēuuaṇtəm. xᵛarənaŋᵛhaṇtəm. yazamaide.* at the beginning of each day formula.

    b) Xšnūman ī Darūn-Sē-Gānag, fe xšnaōϑra. (Gen.)

The *Xšnūman ī Darūn-Sē-Gānag* seems to be recited only with a phrase *xšnaōϑra.* and with the dedications in genitive. The NP instruction seems to indicate a recitation of all 30 dedications, but it is not clear whether their *Sīrūz-e Qadīme* or their *Darūn Sīrūze Yašt* version should be used. In difference to nearly all other texts, 6115(K36) gives the *Xšnūman ī Darūn-Sē-Gānag* with hints to its place within the DrYt. Its recitation is on "*gāh ī Hāwan Rapītpīn Ūzīrīn*". It deserves some requisites, flowers and firewood ([Pahl.] *Darūn-Yašt bun kardan ud spra<h>m 3 tāg, ēsm ud bōy 3 tāg abāyēd pad kustag abar frasast nihādan*). The notation in ms. 6115(K36) fol. 129 v 1 – 130 r 7 is the following:

<title> *Xšnūman ī Darūn-Sē-Gānag*
<instruction> *Darūn-Yašt bun kardan ud spra<h>m 3 tāg, ēsm ud bōy 3 tāg abāyēd pad kustag abar frasast nihādan*

xšnaōϑra. *tā ō* [DrYt 1.9] ašahe. raϑβąm
[DrYt 1.10] xᵛarəϑəm. miiazdəm. āiiese. yešti. hauruuata. amərətāta. gāuš. hudå. apō. uruuara. aēsma. baōδi. xšnūmaine.
ahurahe. mazdå. raēuuatō. xᵛarənaŋᵛhatō. aməšanąm. spəṇtanąm.
vaŋhauue. mananhe. *ciyōn pad 30 rōzag bawēd tā*
vīspaēšąm. yazatanąm. ašāōnąm. maińiiauuanąm. gaēϑiianąm. aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe.
3 bār guftan

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[18] An exception from this rule is the dedication of day 14, *gə̄uš. tašne. gə̄uš. urune. druuāspaiiå. sūraiiå. mazdaδātaiiå. ašaōńiiå./gə̄uš. huδåŋhō. uruuānəm. yazamaide. druuāspąm. sūrąm. mazdaδātąm. ašaōnīm. yazamaide.*
[19] In the DrYt recited after DrYt 1.16.

xᵛarəϑəm. miiazdəm. < tā ō ?> baōiδi. xšnūmaine.

ašāunąm. frauuašinąm. uγranąm. aiβiϑūranąm.

paōiriiō.ṯkaēšanąm. frauuašinąm.

nabānazdištanąm. frauuašinąm.

aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe.

3 bār guftan

pas auuaŋhå̊. frauuašaiiō. (see Y22.26 [GY23.1][20])

nērang juttar nēst tā ō

[DrYt 2.8] asńiiaēibiiō. ašahe. ratubiiō.

[Pahl.] *gāh ī Hāwan / Rapītpīn / Ūzīrīn har se guftan*

   c) Wā̆ǧ guftan Darūn-Sē-Gānag (Gen./Acc.)

This text, closely related to II.1.b, is also included in 6115(K36). It differs from the *Xšnūman ī Darūn-Sē-Gānag* by using the two holy prayers and a formula from the liturgical frame in its beginning. Its *fe rāh-e yazāmayde* version seems to be the text 6115(K36) foll. 130 r 8 – 130 v. It seems that the *Bāj* celebrates in particular Hauruuatāt and Aməratatāt, Amahraspands which are used in the DrYt as metaphors/metonymies for water and plants.[21] The text contains three versions of their worship:

1. *hauruuatātō. aməratatātō. yazamaide. / gāuš. hudå̊. yazamaide. / apəmca. uruuarąmca. yazamaide. / aēsmąmca. baōiδīmca. yazamaide.*

2. *hauruuata. aməratata. yazamaide. / gāuš. hudå̊. yazamaide. / apəmca. uruuarąmca. yazamaide. / aēsmąmca. baōiδīmca. yazamaide. / sraōšəm. ašīm. huraōδəm. / vərəϑrājanəm. frādaṯ.gaēϑəm. ašauuanəm. ašahe. ratūm. yazamaide.*

3. *hauruuata. aməratata. yazamaide. / apəmca. uruuarąmca. yazamaide. / aēsmąmca. baōiδīmca. yazamaide.*

After the worship of water and plants etc., the text worships (*yazamaide*) all 30 deities of the days (cf. the *Xšnūman ī Darūn-Sē-Gānag*).

    After the usual final "tā gyāg", it follows an addendum in NP (black) that demands: *kamest sar-e darūn wa ᶜend cand*[22] *yaštī kas goft* "at least <until> the end of the Darūn or ("and") some *yaštī* sb. has said".

   2. for particular feasts and events

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[20]In the DrYtFar recited after DrYt 1.16.

[21]Cf. in the DrYt:

DrYt1.2 (^GY3.1, 2) *xᵛarəϑəm. miiazdəm. āiiese. yešti. hauruuata. aməratata. / gāuš. hudå̊. / xšnūmaine. ahurahe. mazdå̊. aməšanąm. spəntanąm. / xšnūmaine. sraōšahe. ašehe. ašiuuatō. vərəϑrājanō. frādaṯgaēϑahe.*

DrYt1.10 (^GY3.20) *xᵛarəϑəm. miiazdəm. āiiese. yešti. hauruuata. aməratata. gāuš. hudå̊. xšnūmaine. sraōšahe. ašiiehe. taxmahe. tanumąϑrahe. darši.draōš. āhūiriiehe. aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe. // DrYt5.2 (#^GY7.1) ašaiia. daδąmi. xᵛarəϑəm. miiazdəm. hauruuata. aməratata. gāuš. hudå̊. āpe. uruuara. aēsmi. baōiδi. xšnūmaine. ahurahe. mazdå̊. aməšanąm. spəntanąm. sraōšahe. ašiiehe. āϑrō. ahurahe. mazdå̊. puϑra.*

DrYt5.10 (^GY7.20) *ašaiia. daδąmi. xᵛarəϑəm. miiazdəm. hauruuata. aməratata. gāuš. hudå̊. xšnūmaine. sraōšahe. ašehe. taxmahe. tanumąϑrahe. darši.draōš. āhūiriiehe. aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe.*

DrYt4.9 (^GY6.17) *hauruuata. aməratāta. yazamaide. gāuš. hudå̊. yazamaide. sraōšəm. ašīm. huraōδəm. vərəϑrājanəm. frādaṯ.gaēϑəm. ašauuanəm. ašahe. ratūm. yazamaide.*

DrYt6.2 (^GY8.1) *ašaiia. daδąmi. xᵛarəϑəm. miiazdəm. hauruuata. aməratata. gāuš. hudå̊. apō. uruuara. ...*

[22]ᶜ*end cand* = Pahl. *and cand.*

a) Darūn-e Sal dar Rūz-e Xordād o Farwardīn-Māh Qadīm (?) bed-īn nouᶜ bāyad xwādan, fe xšnū-
maine.

Xordād Farwardīn is the sixth day of the year, the equivalent of the sixth January = "Hochneujahr /
Großes Neujahr". 8102(MZK8) calls the text the text of the "New Year", *Sal. Xúrðāð. Raōz. Naōraōzī.*,
cf. in the *Rewāyat*s MU I 522.12-524.10 (with a translation from the Pahlavi Text on Xordād Farwardīn,
PT 25 [pp. 102-108]) and Dhabhar (1932:341). The *Darūn* can be celebrated in three daytimes, in
gāhe hāwan, *rafetwan*, *ozīren*. According to 9100(K25) it follows: *auuaŋhå. frauuašaiiō.*, i.e., Y 22.26
(GY23.1), in the DrYtFar recited after DrYt 1.16.

b) Xšnūman Darūn-e Rafetwen, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

After the *yazamaide*-formation 6115(K36) gives in NP the following instruction: *īn Darūn aǧ rūz-e
Sefandārmad fe māh-e Farwardīn o Gāh-e Rafetwan awāyad yaštan*, i.e., the *Darūn* should be celebrated
at noon before the (old) New Years Day Rūz-e Xordād o Farwardīn-Māh. Its *Xšnūman* is that of day
3, to Aṣa Vahišta/Ātar (*aṣahe. vahištahe. āϑrasca. ahurahe. mazdå. puϑra*).

3. for particular occasions

a) Darūn-e Rāh-e Safar, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde (= FrW 5.1, 2)

The *Darūn* uses the *Xšnūman* of day 20 for *Ama-Vərəϑraγna-Uparatāt* (*amahe. hutāštahe. huraoδahe.
vərəϑraγnahe. ahuraδātahe. vanaiṇtiiåsca. uparatātō.*), to which it appends a *Xšnūman* to the "way"
(form : *paϑā*-): *paϑaiiå. xᵛāstātaiiå. zarənumaṇtō. sūrahe. saōkaṇtaheca. garōiš. mazdaδātahe.* (in
the *yazamaide*-recitation[23]: *paϑạm. xᵛāstāitīm. yazamaide. zarənumaṇtəm. sūrəm. mazdaδātəm.
yazamaide. saōkaṇtəm. gairīm. mazdaδātəm. yazamaide.*). The *Darūn* can be celebrated in the three
daytimes, *gāhe hāwan*, *rafetwan*, *ozīren*.

b) Darūn-e Youm-e Cahārom, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

The *Darūn* is used in the dawn of the fourth day after death. It is also called the *Darūn* of "those
who are gone" (*wedardegān*). It consists of the *Xšnūman*s for those masculine and female deities whose
names point to "what is straight" (*raz-*, *arš-*[24]), Rašnu and Arš(ta)tāt (later *Aštād*), see 6115(K36) *fe
xšnūmeyne Rašn o Aštād*.[25] This focus on 'straightness' seems to allude to the conception of "the path"
or the "paths" which are often designated as the "straight" (*ərəzu-*[26]) one or "straightest" (*razišta-*)
ones (see Bartholomae 1904:847–848, 352, 1515). In the *yazamaide*-formation of the *Darūn* we find
a hint to the time in which the celebration should take place, *ušahina* (*ušahinəm. aṣauuanəm. aṣahe.
ratūm. āiiese. yešti. bərəjīm. nmānīmca. aṣauuanəm. aṣahe. ratūm.* [cf. Y 2.7 etc.]).

c) Darūn-e Nāmīdeh, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

Another *Darūn* which seems to be connected to death is a text with a corrupt title. The manuscripts
give *Darūn-e Nāmīdeh* (or *Nāīdeh*?) or *Nāiiəβi* (MZK8), partly with the addition of the word *cahārom*
"the fourth" which is probably a hint to the fourth day (after death). The text calls the deities of
the 21st day, Rāman xᵛāstra and Vaiiu uparō.kairiia, and the deities of (infinite) space and time, ϑβāša
xᵛaδātahe. and the two formations of Zruuan. In the *yazamaide*-formation of the *Darūn* we find also
a hint to the Frawahrs (*aṣāunạm. vaŋᵛhīš sūrå. spəṇtå. frauuašaiiō. yazamaide.*), to the time in which

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[23]The version in accusative also appears in the Indian version of NyXwar1.11 (ᴳNy1.8).

[24]Root reconstructed by Bartholomae (1904:205).

[25]Both deities are connected also in the *Xšnūman* for the 18th day (S 1.18 *rašnaōš. razištahe. arštātasca. frādaṯ.gaēϑaiiå.
varədaṯ.gaēϑaiiå. ərəžuxδahe. vacaŋhō. yaṯ. frādaṯ.gaēϑahe.*).

[26]The Gathic word *ərəzu*- is partly used for "straight way" (see Bartholomae 1904:353).

the celebration should take place, *ušahina*, and, finally, the *yeṅhē. hātąm.* prayer. Both formations of the *Darūn* contain instruction by/for whom the text should be recited (the living ones, the departed ones).[27]

d) Darūn-e Haft Amšasfand, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

The *Darūn* consists of a list of the *Xšnūman*s for the six 'spiritual' Amahraspands (after the *Xšnūman* of Ohrmazd). The daytimes for its celebration are indicated by the praise "*miϑrahe. vouru.gaōiiaōitōiš. rāmanasca. xᵛāstrahe.*" (for *hāwan*) and "*aṣahe. vahištahe. āϑrasca. ahurahe. mazdå.*" (for *rafetwan*). It follows: a) *Xšnūman* of day 20 for *Ama-Vərəϑraγna-Uparatāt*, b) *Xšnūman* of day 30 for the Infinite Lights.[28] Instructions in NP contain information on the days on which the *Darūn* is allowed / not allowed to be celebrated, cf. Dhabhar 1932:340–341 (MU I 524.17ff.)

e) Darūn–e Dīn o Mānṣr, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

The name Dīn-o-Mānṣr is used as a designation for the Avesta of Zardošt. Its *Drōn*, also called the *Darūn* of *Mīnō Mahraspand*, is performed on the day of Mahraspand in the month of Spandarmad, i.e., the penultimate day of the ordinary year. It celebrates the day on which the Avesta was revealed to Zardošt (for the etiology, see MU I 515.2-5; Dhabhar 1932:338). The manuscripts give NP instructions on the objects needed for a celebration.

f) Darūn–e Nō-Nāwār, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

This *Darūn* belongs to the celebrations made on the occasion of a *Nō-Nāwār* (on this priestly initiation, see Modi 1922:199ff.). It consists of the *Xšnūman*s to Miϑra, Rāman/Vaiiu, Cistā/Daēnā, Mąϑra Spəṇta, finally Ātar. This selection of deities does not root in the known *ham-kār* system. The *Xšnūman* to Ātar appears in a peculiar version:

DrNogNawar		Sīrōze	
		-	
āϑrō. ahurahe. mazdå. puϑra. tauua. ātarš. puϑra. ahurahe. mazdå. maṱ. vīspaēibiiō. ātərəbiiō.	ātrəm. ahurahe. mazdå. yazamaide. ϑβąm. ātrəm. ahurahe. puϑrəm. aṣauuanəm. aṣahe. ratūm. vīspe. ātarō. yazamaide.	āϑrō. ahurahe. mazdå. puϑra.	ātrəm. ahurahe. mazdå. puϑrəm. yazamaide.
		xᵛarənaŋhō. … haōs-rauuaŋhahe.	xᵛarənō. … haōs-rauuaŋhəm. yazamaide.
garōiš. uši.darənahe. mazdaδātahe. aṣaxᵛāϑrahe.(< S 1.28[29])	gairīm. yazatəm. yaza-maide.	asnuuaṇtahe. garōiš. mazdaδātahe. … garōiš. mazdaδātahe. …	asnuuaṇtəm. gairīm. mazdaδātəm. yaza-maide. … raēuuaṇtəm. gairīm. mazdaδātəm. yazamaide. …

The text in 6115(K36) says that the initiation of the priest should take place in the morning and (or) at afternoon, but not later: [NP] *bed-ān-ke Darūn-e Sī-rūže o Nou-Nābar o Hūm-īzad fe šab na-šāyad yaštan o Darūn-e Nou-Nābar fe gāh-e Hāwan o Ozīren šāyad yaštan*

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[27] In 6115(K36) is attached the notice: *yek fe xšnūmeyne Sarūš-ašū o yek fe xšnūmeyne ašūān farehwahar ğāme ke be peš-e* (pš) *darūn xwāhad nehādan be peš-e darūn-e ašūān bāyad nehādan.* In 6180(MZK9) fol. 230(228) v 2-7, it follows a text called *Sedīgar Darūn-e Sarūš Xwāndan.* It consists of : *xšnūmaine. / sraōšahe. aṣiiehe. taxmahe. tanu.mąϑrahe. darši.draōš. āhūiriiehe. / aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe.* Then, it follows the NP instruction: *wa dīgar xšnūmīneh ašūān frawahr xwāndan ğāme-ye ašūdd be peš-e darūn-e ašūān nehādan.*

[28] The collocation of the *Xšnūman*s for *Vərəϑraγna* and the Endless Lights may indicate a worship of the 'eternal fire'.

[29] *zəmō. huδåŋhō. yazatahe. imå. aså. imå. šōiϑrå. garōiš. uši.darənahe. mazdaδātahe. aṣa.xᵛāϑrahe. vīspaēšąmca. gair-inąm. aṣa.xᵛāϑranąm. pouru.xᵛāϑranąm. mazdaδātanąm. kāuuaiiebeca. xᵛarənaŋhō. mazdaδātahe. axᵛarataheca. xᵛarənaŋhō. mazdaδātahe.*

  g) Darūn–e Hōm Īzad Gen. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

It is a curiosity of the system of the 30 days that the important god Haōma seems to be worshipped a "Yašt", but that no "day Haōma" exists. *Xšnūman*s to him are included in the *Xšnūman*s of day 30 (Endless Lights). Unlike to the most other *Xšnūman*s whose versions in genitive and accusative run parallel, in the case of Haōma the *Xšnūman* versions differ:

genitive	accusative
haōmahe. aṣauuazaŋhō.	*haōməm. zāirīm. bərəzaṇtəm. yazamaide.* *haōməm. frāšmīm. frādaṯ.gaēϑəm. yazamaide.* *haōməm. dūraōṣəm. yazamaide.*

The *Xšnūman*s frame the second part of the *Yašt* to Haōma (as it appears in the *Long Liturgy*), from where they probably derive:

  Y 10.1 *viš. apąm. iδa. patəntu. vī. daēuuåŋhō. vī. daēuuaiiō. vaŋhuš. sraōšō. mitaiiatu. aṣiš. vaŋᵛhi. iδa. miϑratu. aṣiš. vaŋᵛhi. rāmiiaṯ. iδa. upa. imaṯ. nmānəm. yaṯ. āhūiri. yaṯ. haōmahe. aṣauuazaŋhō.*

  Y 10.21 *haōməm. zāirīm. bərəzaṇtəm. yazamaide. haōməm. frāšmīm. frādaṯ.gaēϑəm. yazamaide. haōməm. dūraōṣəm. yazamaide. vīspe. haōma. yazamaide.*

  zaraϑuštrahe. spitāmahe. iδa. aṣaōnō. aṣīmca. frauuaṣīmca. yazamaide. yeŋhē. hātąm. āaṯ. yesnē. paitī. vaŋhō. mazdå. ahurō. vaēϑā. aṣāṯ. haca. yåŋhąmcā. tąscā. tåscā. yazamaide.

  h) Durąni. saṯ. bun, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

A parallel to the *Darūn–e Hōm Īzad* is the *Darūn* for Dahman Āfrīn and Dāmōiš Upamana. It appears in ms. 8102(MZK8) fol. 117 b 2 – 118 a 1, fol. 118 a 1 – 118 b 7. Also the *Xšnūman*s for these deities are otherwise included in the *Xšnūman* of day 30, where in the shorter version a genitive and a dative formation appear side by side (*dahmaiiå. vaŋhuiiå. āfritōiš. uγrāi. dāmōiš. upamanāi. / dahmąm. vaŋᵛhīm. āfritīm. yazamaide. uγrəm. taxməm. dāmōiš. upamanəm. yazatəm. yazamaide.*). 8102(MZK8) seems to call this *Darūn* "The *Darūn* of Hundred" – an obscure title.

  i) Darūn-e Myazd Gūsfand, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde (DrMyazdGosfand)

This *Darūn* is related to a *myazd* consisting of a *gūsfand*. As it becomes clear from the *Āfrīngān Gāhāmbār*, *miiazda* was on the one hand the Avestan metonymic term for *Gāhāmbār* (*miiazdəmca. yim. maiδiiōizarəmaēm.* etc.), on the other hand it was the designation of the offerings given on these six seasonal feasts that structured the Zoroastrian ritual year. The most valuable offering was that of a small animal (see AGahambar2.1 [GA3.3] *pasᵊuš. garəbuš. yōištahe. frā.uruzda.paiiaŋhō.*). Depending on the economic status of the believer, it could be replaced by other objects (see AGahambar2.2-3 [ᴳA3.4-5]). The sequence of *Xšnūman*s is not easy to decode. After the *Xšnūman*s to the Amahraspand 1-4 the *Darūn* uses the *Xšnūman*s to

- fire
- moon
- (creator and soul of) cattle / Druuāspā
- Rāman/Vaiiu

While moon, cattle / Druuāspā, Rāman/Vaiiu are the cooperators of Wahman, the *Xšnūman* of "Good Thought" is missing in the *Bāj*. This omission is as remarkable as the use of the *Xšnūman* of fire in

the *Bāj*.[30]

4. Darūns of the "co-operators"

The NP text *Nērang Darūn Hamkārān* (NerDrHamkaran) is an instruction on which days the worship of the 30 deities is possible and allowed. The 30 days are united in seven sequences of four to five deities each which are designated as *hamkārān* "cooperators". While ahead of the sequences are the deities of the first week (the Amahraspands), the principles of the group formation are not immediately clear[31]:

1. Ūrmazd* o se Dey
2. Wahman o Māh* o Gūš(*) o Rām
3. Ardībehešt* o Ādor* o Sarūš* o Warharām*
4. Šahrīwar o Xīr* o Mehr o Āsmān o Anārām
5. Sefandārmad o Ābān* o Dīn o Ard o Māntresefand
6. Xordād(*) o Teštar o Bād o Farwardīn(*)
7. Amordād o Rašn o Aštād o Zāmiyād

The ms. 6180(MZK9) contains *Bāj*s with the *Xšnūman*s to the cooperators of the fourth to the seventh day:

a) Šahrīwar Xīr o Mehr Āsmān o Anārām fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde
b) Sefandārmad o Ābān o Dīn o Ard o Mānsreh Sīfand fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde
c) Xordād o Teštar o Bād o Farwardīn fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde
d) Amordād o Rašn o Aštād o Zāmiyād fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

The collocation of *Xšnūman*s in the *Darūn-e Myazd Gūsfand* (see above) seems to depend partly on the sequence of the *hamkārān* of the second day. 6180(MZK9) does not contain a *Darūn* for Ardībehešt – Ādor – Sarūš – Warharām.

This arrangement of the 30 days according to seven groups of four or five days each is a 'vertical reading' of their usual arrangement according to four groups of seven or eight days each. It constitutes a) a second network of days (if not a third network, as far as we do not take the arrangement of the month according to six moon-pentads into consideration) and b) a second arrangement of the days according to semantic fields (besides the semantic fields of the four weeks).

Apart from the first group, which consists only of Ohrmazd (and the "three Days"), the group formation seems to be determined by central notions which partly coincide with the 'material Amahraspands' (cf. also the descriptions in GrBd 26):

'Ohrmazd' ("being" in general?): Ohrmazd* + 3 Day
'Cow': Wahman Māh* Gūš Rām
'Fire': Ardībehešt* Ādor* Sarūš* Warharām*
'Sky/Heaven, Light': Šahrīwar Xīr* Mehr* Āsmān Anārām
'Fertility' (?): Spandarmad Ābān* Dīn Ard Māntresefand
'Nature (= water cycle): Xordād* Teštar Bād Farwardīn*[32]
'Here and There' (?): Amordād Rašn Aštād Zāmiyād

* = provided by a *Yašt/Niyāyišn* in IrXA

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[30]On fire and Vohu Manah, see König (2022).

[31]The asterisk marks deities/days that are praised by a text in the *Faržiyat* or in the (Iranian) Xorde Avesta.

[32]The sequence of the four days in this group is not in harmony with their sequence in the monthly calendar.

We can state that the internal organization of the seven groups is aligned to the sequence of the 30 days (exception: the sequence *Bād Frawardīn*), but that it is *not* guided by a kind of 'background-plan' of abstract symmetric networks (see the scheme):

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
I	■																						■							
II		■											■							■										
III			■						■							■				■		■								
IV				■										■			■		■							■		■		
V					■					■													■	■						
VI						■							■					■			■									
VII							■											■								■		■		

These observations lead to the following conclusions:

a) the *Hamkārān* arrangement of the 30 days is a secondary interpretation of the linear arrangement of the days;

b) those *Bāj*s that display the *Hamkārān* arrangement are probably 'post-Avestan' products;

c) if the *Hamkārān* arrangement substitutes a ritual supply of the days by Yašts, its rise (see GrBd 26) could be an indicator for the decline of a 30-days-*Yašt*-arrangement.

Anquetil ZA II, p. 247, gave, in fact, the following note in his introduction to YtFra:

> "Cet Iescht se recite particulièrement les jours Farvardin, Khordad, Tïr & Bâd, le jour de l'anniversaire d'un mort, dans le Gâthâs, qui sont les dix derniers jours de l'année, sans autres ap<p>rêts, dans l'Inde, que les Ieschts précédens: au Kirman on célebre avec plus de cérémonie."

Anquetil seems to suggest that YtFra (Yt 13), much like Yt 1-12, is recited without Drōn or Yasna, at least in India.

d) It is remarkable that the Xorde Avesta manuscripts do not contain a *Bāj* with the Xšnūmans of a) Ohrmazd-Day, b) Ardībehešt Ādor Sarūš Warharām, the group of the concept 'fire'. A reason for these omissions may be that due to the *Farżiyat* texts' regular daily worship of the four fire gods, a *Drōn* celebration for these *Hamkārān* becomes redundant.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations used for Xorde Avesta texts:

AV	AšemVohu	DrYt	DronYašt
YAV	YathaAhuVairiia	S	Siroze
SrB	SrošBaj	StS	StayišnSiroze
NerKB	NerangKustigBastan		
BajNanX	BajNanXwardan	Other abbreviations used:	
BajGomK	BajGomezKardan	V	Vīdēvdād
NerNaxC	NerangNaxonCidan	Vr	Visparad
NerŠB	NerangŠeytanBazi	Y	Yasna
NerSneezing	NerangSneezing	GY	GeldnerYasna
NyXwar	NiyayišnXwaršed	XASadeInd	Xorde Avesta Sāde Indian
NyMihr	NiyayišnMihr	XASadeIr	Xorde Avesta Sāde Iranian
NyMah	NiyayišnMah	GrBd	Greater Bundahišn
NyAtaš	NiyayišnAtaš		
MayaYt	MayaYašt		
NamSt	NamStayišn		
GHaw	GahHawan		
GRap	GahRapitwin		
GUz	GahUzerin		
GEbsr	GahEbsrusrim		
GUš	GahUšahin		
YtOhr	YaštOhrmazd		
YtArW	YaštArdwahišt		
YtSrH	YaštSrošHadoxt		
YtSr	YaštSroš		
YtHom	YaštHom		
YtWan	YaštWanand		
YtAmSp	YaštAmešaSpenta		
YtHor	YaštHordad		
YtDru	YaštDruwasp		
YtWahr	YaštWahram		
YtASA	YaštAredwiSuraAnahita		
YtXwar	YaštXwaršed		
YtMah	YaštMah		
YtTiš	YaštTištar		
YtWay	YaštWay		
AD	AfringanDahman		
AGatha	AfringanGatha		
AGahambar	AfringanGahambar		
ARap	AfringanRapitwen		
AArdFr	AfringanArdaFrawaš		
ASroš	AfringanSroš		
AfrinRap	AfrinRapitwen		
ANogNavar	AfringanNogNavar		
AfrinZ	AfrinZartošt		
YtG	YaštGahan		

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