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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.



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 stopper² 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 *nasks*).

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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:xliv).

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



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 Erdašir 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. <i>Pādšāh Warharām Izad</i> (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.), 5Gaḡa (gen. + acc.)	
33. MayaYt	
34.-35. AfrinRap	
37. PaIr	
38.-65. Xšnūmans + Nērangs	22.-24. Faroxši, 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.):

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 Äfringāns, die 5 Gāhs, die Yashts 1. 2. 3. 4. 9. 11. 12. 14. 16. 18. 20. 21, zahlreiche Nirangs.” (Geldner 1896–1904:16).

				Sāde	TXA	Pahl	NP	Skr	Guj
AV + YAV; the main Nērangs				Ind mss. without BajNanX, BajGomK	Ei		some with BajNanX, BajGomK	some with BajNanX, BajGomK	some with BajNanX, BajGomK
Niyāyišn				some mss. with Āfringāns	Ei (+ Patits)	some mss. with Āfringāns			
	VH + NamSt + Namaskār				-				
		Āfrin- gān		mostly Ir	Ei (+ Āfrins + Āširwād s)				
			Gāh	Ir + Ind	-	only Ind (?)	only Ind		
	VH + NamSt + Namaskār			some with Ny 1-5	-	only Ind			
Yašt					Ei				
		Āfrin- gān		(1 ms.)		(1 Ir)			
Sirōze					Ei				
shorter texts									
			Gāh	mostly Ir	Ei	(1 ms.)			
		Āfrin- gān		Ir + Ind					
performative texts				Bajs, Nērangs; in Ir mss. als DrYt, Faroxši, YtG	Ei				
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).



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 *Yašts*, 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 *Farziyat* texts)

SrB, NerKB; NerNaxC, NerŠB, NerSneezing

BajNanX, BajGomK

NyXwar, NyMeh, 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 KardeSrošRawan⁵;
 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 Erdašir), and in the (closely related) Faroxši 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 *Faroxši* 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, NyMeh, NyMah; NyAtaš	MayaYt
III	GHaw, GRap, GUz, GEbsr, GUš	
IV	YtOhr, YtArW, YtSrH, YtSr	YtHor, YtDru, (YtAmSp, YtASA, YtXwar, YtMah, YtTiš YtWahr, YtHom [probaly all reimported])
V (texts in Pāzand/Pārsi)	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 *Farziyat*) 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

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

⁵See 6180(MZK9), fol. 83 v

⁶On the topic of marriage we also find the text *Panğ 'Ard* (a text on the five kinds of marriage vows).

⁷The 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 Sraoša + Rašnu + Arštāt [see Y 2. 3-7 *ashii. ašauuana. ašabe. 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 *Faržiyat-Yāšts* seems to be guided by the idea of fire-worshipping (the NyAtaš is probably always the vanishing point of the *Faržiyat*): the obligatory *Yāšts* to Ardwaššt and to Sraōša, but also the *Yāšt* to Wāhrām, 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 Gāhāmbār and on other feasts; DronYtFaroxši, PaIr, YtG(?) at the end of the year.

Gāhs of the day	<i>Faržiyat</i>										
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 [*Gābs*], and texts for the worship of “material” and “non-material” deities [*Niyāyīšns*, *Yāšts*]); towards the end, the manuscripts give the texts for the feasts (*Āfrīngāns/Āfrīns*, *Faroxši*, *Yāšt Gābān*) 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 (19 th c.)
Intr	Ny	Yt	G	A	MZK9 (first half 19 th c.)				
Intr	Ny	G	Yt	A	DorostXANew	MF31 (later 18 th c.)	W1 (19 th c.)	Niknam (G vor Ny)	KM8 (19 th 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.



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 “Gāṅā 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 *Yāsts*. However, it cannot be overlooked that a) the *Yāšt* 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 *Yāsts*, finally c) the “Xorde Avesta proper” (das “eigentliche Xorde Avesta”) transmits only those few *Yāsts* mentioned above. It is obvious that if the 30 days and the *Yāsts* were once in a perfect harmony⁹ a serious damage must have occurred before the second millennium CE. The *Farzīyat* 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 *Farzīyat* order — we will take the opportunity for a digression on the Zoroastrian calendar of the 12 months.



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

⁹As far as we can reconstruct the situation in the *Nask Avesta* (see Dk 8.15 and the headings of some *Yāsts* in F1, E1), it becomes clear that there was no *nask* which alone transmitted *Yāsts* for all days of the months. As it is attested by the title of the smaller *Srōš Yāšt* (the YtSrH), besides the *Bayān Nask Yāsts* 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 incompletely mentioned in the Younger Avesta.¹¹ Only the stanzas ^GYt 13.49-52, a text quoted in the *Āfrīngān Gāšā*, allude to a period of ten days at the time of the feast Hamaspasmaēdaia in which the Frauuašis 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 *Bājs* used in the *Drōn*, consisting of a compilation of 12 *Xsnūmans* (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 māb ašāunam. frauuašīnam.

Ardibehešt māb ašahe. vahištahe. sraēštahe.

Xordād māb hauruuatātō. raθβō.

Tīr māb tištriiehe. stārō. raēuuatō. x^varənaŋ^vhatō.

Amordād māb amərətātātō. raθβō.

Šabrewar māb xšaθrahe. vairiiehe.

Mebr māb miθrahe. vouru.gaōiiaōitōiš.

Ābān māb aṣam. vaŋ^vhīnam. mazdadātanam.

Ādor māb āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra.

Day māb daθušō. ahurahe. mazdā. raēuuatō. x^varənaŋ^vhatō.

Bahman māb vaŋhauue. manaŋhe.

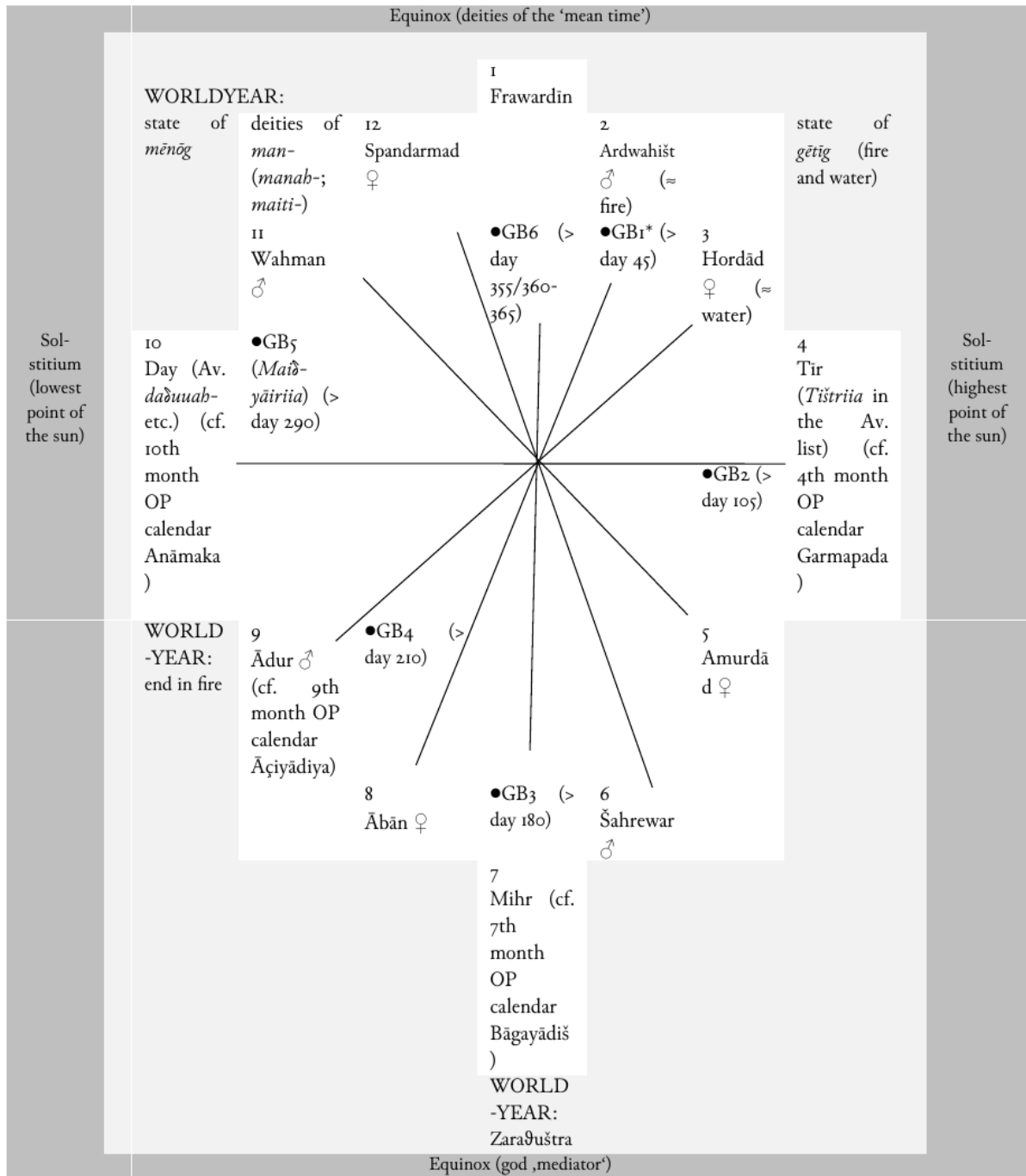
Sefandārmad māb spəntaiiā. vaŋhuiiā. ārmatōiš.¹²

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.

¹⁰See their catalogue in Y 16.3ff. According to Geldner's edition, Y 16.3 begins with the words *aŋhūiiaōš. ašacinaŋbō. pauruuā. dātā. dāmān. ašāōniš. daθušō. aburabe. mazdā. ...*, while Bartholomae/Wolff see the words *aŋhūiiaōš. ašacinaŋbō.* as an appendix to Y 16.2 with reference to Zaraθuštra. The beginning of Y 16.3 would be the (feminine*) accusative plural *pauruuā. dātā. dāmān. ašāōniš.* with related genitive *daθušō. aburabe. mazdā. ...* The following list of 29 entities (in accusative form) must be understood as those “first created creations belonging to *aša*”. *The feminine use of *dāmān.* may be caused a) by a collective meaning “the creation”, and b) by the synonym *dāmi-* 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 *dāmi-* “fondateur” (see Bartholomae 1904:736–737; Panaino 2022:390 on Kellens' position), the phraseological parallels with *abu-* and *gaiia-* (see Humbach 1959:II 49; Humbach 1991:II 137) speak for the correctness of Bartholomae's analysis.

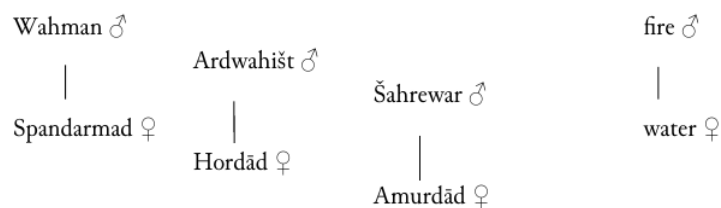
¹¹The display of the division of time in the *Yasna* points under the monthly order only to the three-division of the month according to the position of the moon (Y 2.8 [*mābiia. ašāuuana. ašabe. ratauuō.*]), not to the 12-month division of the year. Some months are mentioned in the context of the calculation 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. ašāuuana. ašabe. ratauuō.*]), not as the sequence of 12 months. The only month of 30 days that can be outlined is the month Tishtrīia in YtTiš, where the 30 days show a decan division (= *mābiia* division).

¹²In Vd 21, however, the month name is *spəntaiiā. ārmatōiš. māŋbō*. It is the name of the day, mentioned in ^GYt 2.8, that usually takes the adjectives *spənta-* and *vobu-* (cf. S 1.5, S 2.5; Y 16.3) *spəntaiiā.vaŋhuiiā. ārmatōiš. → spandarmat web bowandag menišn.*



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

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



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 Spəntas with neuter gender have already been masculinized;
- b) the double-existence of six Aməša Spəntas 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



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 *Hāitis* (depending on the ceremony)
- c) the modifiers of dedication (the “*Bājs*”)
- 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 *Gāḏā* – the celebration of the second *Gāḏā* is known only by a note in ms. DH¹⁴ – serves as a death ceremony (removing the corpse from the house). I assume that the (originally five) *Gāḏā-Yašts* once were celebrated on the five *Gāḏā* days at the end of the year – as the specific *Yašts* of these otherwise

¹³According 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.

¹⁴See König (2017, 2022).

Yāšt-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, *Āfrīngāns* + *Āfrīns*, 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 *Yāsts*, 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 *Xšnūmans* of the 30 days, and that means also on the *Xšnūmans* to all Zoroastrian deities (a Zoroastrian deity is formally defined as an entity that ‘has’ a *Xšnūman*). This double sense of the *Xšnūmans* provokes at first a general remark on the *Xšnūmans*, 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	<i>Yasna, Afringan</i>
open	determined	<i>Yasna Rapithwin</i>
determined	open	<i>Videvdad</i>
determined	determined	<i>Yāšt</i>

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 Yāšt*. 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-Māb* formular. This is found mainly in Indian manuscripts after the *Niyāyišns*. It corresponds to the function of the *Rōz-Māb* formular, which is included in the *Drōn Yāšt*.

¹⁵In the index to the *Rewāyats*, Dhabhar (1932) points to a number of *Bājs* and *Darūns* of which, however, only a few are transmitted in the Iranian Xorde Avesta:

Bāj Ardibehešt p. 341 (MU I 526.8.14); ~ Darūn-Cāšni p. 547; ~ Hōm p. 410; ~ Ohrmazd p. 417, p. 547; ~ Sarūš-Darūn p. 411. Darūn Awerdād-Sālgāh p. 342 (MU I 527.5-529.2); ~ Din-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); ~ Sarūš 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); ~ Sirūze 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 *Yašts* 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 *Yašts*. The likelihood that *Yašts* 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 *Yašts*.

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 *Bājs* for the praise of the 30 days of the month, the 5 *rōz truftag*, and the 12 months. Group II comprises *Bājs* 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 *Bājs* for praising the 30 days of the month, the 5 *rōz truftag*, and the 12 months. Group II includes also *Bājs* 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 *Bājs* 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 *Gāḏā* days):

- a) *Sīrūz-e Qadīme*, fe āiiese. yešti. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde
- b) *Dawāzdah Māh Qadīme*, fe āiiese. yešti. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde
- c) *Panğ 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 *vərəθraçyānabe. abur-*

¹⁶Kreyenbroek (2004, 2008).

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

adātabe./vərəθraγnəm. aburaδātəm. yazamaide., and not *amabe. hutāštabe. huraōdabe. vərəθraγnabe. aburaδātabe. vanaiṅtiūāasca. uparatātō./aməm. butaštəm. huraōdəm. yazamaide. vərəθraγnəm. aburaδātəm. yazamaide. vanaiṅtimca. uparatātəm. yazamaide.*), not to related deities to which *Yāsts* are dedicated.¹⁸

II Darūns fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

1. for all days

Next to the *Sirūz-e Qadime*, 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 Sirūze Yašt, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

An instruction (*bad ān-ke Darūn-e ašūān fe ruz o šab auuaṅhā. u. staōmi.*) in the version *fe rāh-e yazāmayde* says that after the *Darūn* which is celebrated for the blessed souls the “*auuaṅhā. u. staōmi.*” should be recited, *i.e.*, the *auuaṅhā. frauuašaiiō.* (see Y 22.26 [GY 23.1])¹⁹ and the final phrase *višpəmca. ašauuanəm. mainiiaōm. yazatəm yazamaide. višpəmca. ašauuanəm. gaēθim. yazatəm yazamaide. ašāunəm. vaṅ^hbiš sūrā. spəntā. frauuašaiiō. staōmi.* The *Xšnūmans* of day 17 (to Srōš) and of day 19 (to the Frawahrs) are omitted. In the version *fe rāh-e yazāmayde* the *Xšnūmans* repeat always *aburəm. mazdqm. raēuuantəm. x^varənaṅ^hantəm. 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 *Sirūz-e Qadime* or their *Darūn Sirūze 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 “*gāb ī Hāwan Rapitpin Ūzīrin*”. It deserves some requisites, flowers and firewood ([Pahl.] *Darūn-Yāšt bun kardan ud sprām 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-Yāšt bun kardan ud sprām 3 tāg, ēsm ud bōy 3 tāg abāyēd pad kustag abar frasast nihādan*

xšnaōθra. tā o [DrYt 1.9] ašahe. raθβam

[DrYt 1.10] *x^varəθəm. miiadzəm. āiiese. yešti. hauruuata. amərətāta. gāuš. hudā. apō. uruuara. aēsma. baōdi. xšnūmaine.*

ahurahe. mazdā. raēuuatō. x^varənaṅ^hatō. aməšanəm. spəntanəm.

vaṅhauue. manəṅhe. ciyōn pad 30 rōzag bawēd tā

višpaēšəm. yazatanəm. ašāonəm. mainiiauuanəm. gaēθianəm. aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe.

3 bār guftan

¹⁸An exception from this rule is the dedication of day 14, *gōuš. tašne. gōuš. urune. druuāspaiiā. sūraiiā. mazdaδātaiiā. ašāoniiā./gōuš. hudāṅhō. uruuānəm. yazamaide. druuāspəm. sūrəm. mazdaδātəm. ašāonim. yazamaide.*

¹⁹In the DrYt recited after DrYt 1.16.

x^varəθəm. miiazdəm. < *tā ō* ?> baōiði. xšnūmaine.

ašāunəm. frauuašīnəm. uyrānəm. aiβiθūranəm.

paōirīiō. tkaēšanəm. frauuašīnəm.

nabānazdištanəm. frauuašīnəm.

aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe.

3 *bār guftan*

pas auuaṅhā. frauuašīiō. (see Y22.26 [GY23.1]²⁰)

nērang juttar nēst tā ō

[DrYt 2.8] *ašīiaēibīiō. ašahe. ratubīiō.*

[Pahl.] *gāb ī Hāwan / Rapīṭpīn / Ūzīrīn har se guftan*

c) *Wāḡ 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 *fē rāb-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 Amərətātāt, 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. amərətātātō. yazamaide. / gāuš. budā. yazamaide. / apəmca. uruuarəmca. yazamaide. / aēsmaqca. baōiḏīmca. yazamaide.*
2. *hauruuata. amərətata. yazamaide. / gāuš. budā. yazamaide. / apəmca. uruuarəmca. yazamaide. / aēsmaqca. baōiḏīmca. yazamaide. / sraōšəm. ašīm. huraōḏəm. / vərəḏrājanəm. frādaṭ.gaeḏəm. ašāuanəm. ašabe. ratūm. yazamaide.*
3. *hauruuata. amərətata. yazamaide. / apəmca. uruuarəmca. yazamaide. / aēsmaqca. baōiḏīmca. 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 ‘end 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

²⁰In the DrYtFar recited after DrYt 1.16.

²¹Cf. in the DrYt:

DrYt1.2 (^GY3.1, 2) *x^varəḏəm. miiazdəm. āiiese. yešti. hauruuata. amərətāta. / gāuš. budā. / xšnūmaine. aburabe. mazdā. aməšanəm. spəntanəm. / xšnūmaine. sraōšabe. ašebe. ašīuuatō. vərəḏrājanō. frādaṭ.gaeḏabe.*

DrYt1.10 (^GY3.20) *x^varəḏəm. miiazdəm. āiiese. yešti. hauruuata. amərətāta. gāuš. budā. xšnūmaine. sraōšabe. ašīiehe. taxmabe. tanumaḡrabe. darši.draōš. ābūiriiehe. aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe. // DrYt5.2 (#^GY7.1) ašīia. dadqmi. x^varəḏəm. miiazdəm. hauruuata. amərətāta. gāuš. budā. āpe. uruuara. aēsmi. baōiði. xšnūmaine. aburabe. mazdā. aməšanəm. spəntanəm. sraōšabe. ašīiehe. āḏrō. aburabe. mazdā. puḏra.*

DrYt5.10 (^GY7.20) *ašīia. dadqmi. x^varəḏəm. miiazdəm. hauruuata. amərətāta. gāuš. budā. xšnūmaine. sraōšabe. ašebe. taxmabe. tanumaḡrabe. darši.draōš. ābūiriiehe. aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe.*

DrYt4.9 (^GY6.17) *hauruuata. amərətāta. yazamaide. gāuš. budā. yazamaide. sraōšəm. ašīm. huraōḏəm. vərəḏrājanəm. frādaṭ.gaeḏəm. ašāuanəm. ašabe. ratūm. yazamaide.*

DrYt6.2 (^GY8.1) *ašīia. dadqmi. x^varəḏəm. miiazdəm. hauruuata. amərətāta. gāuš. budā. apē. uruuara. ...*

²²*‘end cand* = Pahl. *and cand*.

- a) Darūn-e Sal dar Rūz-e Xordād o Farwardīn-Māh Qadīm (?) bed-in nou^c bāyad xwādan, fe xšnūmaine.

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. Xūrdād. Raōz. Naōraōzi.*, cf. in the *Rewāyats* 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 *gābe hāwan, rafetwan, ozīren*. According to 9100(K25) it follows: *auuaṇhā. 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: *in Darūn aḡ 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 Aša Vahišta/Ātar (*ašabe. vahištabe. āšrasca. aburabe. mazdā. pušra*).

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-Vərəθraçna-Uparatāt* (*amabe. hutāštabe. huraōdabe. vərəθraçnabe. aburađātabe. vanaintiiāasca. uparatātō.*), to which it appends a *Xšnūman* to the “way” (form : *paḏā-*): *paḏaiiā. x^vāstātaiiā. zarənumantō. sūrabe. saōkaṇtabeca. garōiš. mazdadātabe.* (in the *yazamaide*-recitation²³: *paḏqm. x^vāstāitīm. yazamaide. zarənumantəm. sūrəm. mazdadātəm. yazamaide. saōkaṇtəm. gairīm. mazdadātəm. yazamaide.*). The *Darūn* can be celebrated in the three daytimes, *gābe 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 *Xšnūmans* 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, *ušabina* (*ušabinəm. ašauuanəm. ašabe. ratūm. āiiese. yešti. bərəjim. nmānīmca. ašauuanəm. ašabe. 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 *Nāideh?*) or *Nāiiāβi* (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 x^vāstra and Vaiiu uparō.kairiia, and the deities of (infinite) space and time, θβāša x^vadātahe. and the two formations of Zruuan. In the *yazamaide*-formation of the *Darūn* we find also a hint to the Frawahrs (*ašāunqm. vaṇ^vhiš sūrā. spəntā. frauuašaiiō. yazamaide.*), to the time in which

²³The version in accusative also appears in the Indian version of NyXwar1.11 (^cNy1.8).

²⁴Root reconstructed by Bartholomae (1904:205).

²⁵Both deities are connected also in the *Xšnūman* for the 18th day (S 1.18 *rašnaōš. razištabe. arštātasca. frādaṭ.gaeḏaiiā. varadaṭ.gaeḏaiiā. ərəžuxdabe. vacaṇhō. yaṭ. frādaṭ.gaeḏabe.*).

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

the celebration should take place, *ušabina*, and, finally, the *yejhbē. hātqm.* 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 *Xšnūmans* for the six ‘spiritual’ Amahraspands (after the *Xšnūman* of Ohrmazd). The daytimes for its celebration are indicated by the praise “*mišrabe. vouru.gaōiiaōitōiš. rāmanasca. x^vāstrabe.*” (for *hāwan*) and “*ašabe. vabištabe. āšrasca. aburabe. mazdā.*” (for *rafetwan*). It follows: a) *Xšnūman* of day 20 for *Ama-Vərəθrayna-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 Mānšr, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde*

The name *Dīn-o-Mānšr* is used as a designation for the Avesta of Zardošt. Its *Drōn*, also called the *Darūn* of *Mīnō Mabraspand*, 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 *Xšnūmans* to *Miθra*, *Rāman/Vaiiu*, *Cistā/Daēnā*, *Māθra Spənta*, 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		Sirōze	
<i>āšrō. aburabe. mazdā. pušra. tauua. ātarš. pušra. aburabe. mazdā. maš. vīspaēibiiō. ātərbiiō.</i>	<i>ātrəm. aburabe. mazdā. yazamaide. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌. ātrəm. aburabe. pušram. ašauuanəm. ašabe. ratūm. vīspe. ātarō. yazamaide.</i>	<i>āšrō. aburabe. mazdā. pušra.</i>	<i>ātrəm. aburabe. mazdā. pušram. yazamaide.</i>
		<i>x^varənaṅhō. ... haōs- rauuaṅhabe.</i>	<i>x^varənō. ... haōs- rauuaṅhəm. yazamaide. asnuaṅtəm. gairim. mazdadātəm. yaza- maide. ... raēuaṅtəm. gairim. mazdadātəm. yazamaide. ...</i>
<i>garōiš. uši.darənabe. mazdadātəbe. ašax^vāšrabe. (< S 1.28²⁹)</i>	<i>gairim. yazatəm. yaza- maide.</i>	<i>asnuaṅtəbe. garōiš. mazdadātəbe. ... garōiš. mazdadātəbe. ...</i>	

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 Oziren šāyad yaštan*

²⁷In 6115(K36) is attached the notice: *yek fe xšnūmeyne Sarūš-ašū o yek fe xšnūmeyne ašūān farehwabar gāme ke be peš-e (pš) darūn xwābad neḥādan be peš-e darūn-e ašūān bāyad neḥādan.* In 6180(MZK9) fol. 230(228) v 2-7, it follows a text called *Sedigar Darūn-e Sarūš Xwāndan*. It consists of: *xšnūmaine. / sraōšabe. ašīiebe. taxmabe. tanu.māšrabe. darši.draōš. ābūriiebe. / aōxtō.nāmanō. yazatabe.* Then, it follows the NP instruction: *wa digar xšnūmineh ašūān frawabr xwāndan gāme-ye ašūdd be peš-e darūn-e ašūān neḥādan.*

²⁸The collocation of the *Xšnūmans* for *Vərəθrayna* and the Endless Lights may indicate a worship of the ‘eternal fire’.

²⁹*zəmō. budāṅhō. yazatabe. imā. asā. imā. šōiθrā. garōiš. uši.darənabe. mazdadātəbe. ašax^vāšrabe. vīspašqmca. gairinqm. ašax^vāšranqm. pouru.x^vāšranqm. mazdadātətanqm. kāuuaiiebeca. x^varənaṅhō. mazdadātəbe. ax^varətabeca. x^varənaṅhō. mazdadātəbe.*

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. *Xšnūmans* to him are included in the *Xšnūmans* of day 30 (Endless Lights). Unlike to the most other *Xšnūmans* whose versions in genitive and accusative run parallel, in the case of Haōma the *Xšnūman* versions differ:

genitive	accusative
<i>haōmabe. ašauuazayhō.</i>	<i>haōməm. zāirīm. bərəzantəm. yazamaide.</i> <i>haōməm. frāšmīm. frādaṭ.gaeḏəm. yazamaide.</i> <i>haōməm. dūraōšəm. yazamaide.</i>

The *Xšnūmans* 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. aṣəm. ida. patəntu. vi. daēuuāyhbō. vi. daēuuaiiō. vaṅbuš. sraōšō. mitaiiatu. ašiš. vaṅ^hbi. ida. miḏratu. ašiš. vaṅ^hbi. rāmiiaṭ. ida. uṣa. imaṭ. nmānəm. yaṭ. ābhūiri. yaṭ. haōmabe. ašauuazayhō.*

Y 10.21 *haōməm. zāirīm. bərəzantəm. yazamaide. haōməm. frāšmīm. frādaṭ.gaeḏəm. yazamaide. haōməm. dūraōšəm. yazamaide. višpe. haōma. yazamaide.*

zaraḏuštrabe. spitāmabe. ida. ašaōnō. ašimca. frauuašimca. yazamaide. yeḅhē. hātəm. āaṭ. yesnē. paiti. vaṅhō. mazdā. aburō. vaēḏā. ašāṭ. hacā. yāṅhəqmā. tqscā. tāscā. yazamaide.

h) Durāni. saṭ. bun, fe xšnūmaine. / fe rāh-e yazāmayde

A parallel to the *Darūn–e Hōm Īzad* is the *Darūn* for Dahman Āfrin 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 *Xšnūmans* 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 (*dabmaiia. vaṅbuiia. āfritōiš. uṣrāi. dāmōiš. upamanāi. / dabmaṣm. vaṅ^hhim. āfritim. yazamaide. uṣrəm. taxməm. dāmōiš. upamanəm. yazatəm. yazamaide.*). 8102(MZK8) seems to call this *Darūn* “The *Darūn* of Hundred” – an obscure title.

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

This *Darūn* is related to a *myazd* consisting of a *gūsfind*. As it becomes clear from the *Āfringān Gābāmbār*, *miiazda* was on the one hand the Avestan metonymic term for *Gābāmbār* (*miiazdamca. yim. maiḏiōizaramēm.* 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] *pasēuš. garəbuš. yōištabe. frā.uruzda.paiianhō.*). 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 *Xšnūmans* is not easy to decode. After the *Xšnūmans* to the Amahraspand 1-4 the *Darūn* uses the *Xšnūmans* 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 clear³¹:

1. Ūrmazd* o se Dey
2. Wahman o Māh* o Gūš(*) o Rām
3. Ardibehešt* 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 *Bājs* with the *Xšnūmans* 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 Sifand 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 *Xšnūmans* 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 Ardibehešt – 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’: Ardibehešt* 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 *Yāšt/Niyāyišn* in IrXA

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

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

³²The 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:

- the *Hamkārān* arrangement of the 30 days is a secondary interpretation of the linear arrangement of the days;
- those *Bājs* that display the *Hamkārān* arrangement are probably ‘post-Avestan’ products;
- 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, Tīr & Bād, le jour de l’anniversaire d’un mort, dans le Gāthās, qui sont les dix derniers jours de l’année, sans autres ap<p>rêts, dans l’Inde, que les Ieschts précédents: au Kirman on célèbre 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.

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

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used for Xorde Avesta texts:

AV	AšemVohu
YAV	YathaAhuVairia
SrB	SrošBaj
NerKB	NerangKustigBastan
BajNanX	BajNanXwardan
BajGomK	BajGomezKardan
NerNaxC	NerangNaxonCidan
NerŠB	NerangŠeytanBazi
NerSneezing	NerangSneezing
NyXwar	NiyayišnXwaršed
NyMihr	NiyayišnMihr
NyMah	NiyayišnMah
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

DrYt	DronYašt
S	Siroze
StS	StayišnSiroze

Other abbreviations used:

V	Vidēvdād
Vr	Visparad
Y	Yasna
GY	GeldnerYasna
XASadeInd	Xorde Avesta Sāde Indian
XASadeIr	Xorde Avesta Sāde Iranian
GrBd	Greater Bundahišn

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