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*xšnaoθrahe ahurahe mazdā*

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

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**Part I**  
**Articles**

# Brief comments on the so-called Xorde Avesta (1)

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## Prayer sequence

THE passage V 18.13ff. is a *frašna* on nightly and morning rituals, which protect from harmful effects of the night. For these apotropaic purposes, the fire claims – cf. the later *Wahrām* fires – its supply for the three periods of the night<sup>1</sup>, from the *nmānō.paiti*, the *vāstriia fšuiiant* („farmer/stockbreeder“) and *Sraoša* (V 18.18-22). The sequence of instructions (Table 1) resembles the prayer sequence in modern times (Kama Bohra 1527<sup>2</sup>).

The same is true for the morning instructions. In V 18.23-25 the bird *Parōdarš/Kahrkatās* calls for: the *Aša* prayer, the cursing of the *daēuuas*<sup>3</sup> (*nīsta. daēuuas*) and good thoughts/words/deeds (reference to Y 12.8). The same sequence can also be found in *Yašt* 13.89 (Table 2).

V 18.26-27 finally describes the morning-offering of firewood. V 18.27 is identical to Y 62.10, V 18.26 resembles Y 62.8-9. According to Y 62.7, this offering is in connection with a sacrifice (*Ātar* „cooks the night and morning meal“ [*hqm.pacāite. xšāfnīmca. sūrīmca.*]; cf. Yt 14.20).

## Ritual instructions

In Dk 3.81 (DkM 81.7-17; B 59.3-10), a text written by the high-priest *Ādurfarrbay ī Farrozzādān*, who was the first *hudēnān pēšōbāy* „leader of the laymen (= NP *Behdīn*)“ in the era of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833 [see GizAb]),<sup>4</sup> a prayer instruction is given to the *Hudēn*. They are supposed to recite timely „the *Niyāyišn* for the creator *Ohrmazd*<sup>5</sup> in Avestan language facing the sun“ (*niyāyišn <ī> dādār ohrmazd xī-š ō xwaršēd abestāg-ēwāzīg*). The *Hudēn* „recite the *ahlāyih-stāyišnih* (= *Ašəm Vohū*) three times and bow down at the end of each stanza“ (*ahlāyih-stāyišnih 3 bār guftan pad frazām ī har ristag zofr-namāz-barišn*). The prayer position „ō

*xwaršēd*“ indicates a recitation of Ny 1 (+2). The instruction of three bows can also be found in Ny 1.5, 2.5, in the Pahl.-XA T12 of Asadin Kaka (1554) and in later Mss.<sup>6</sup>

The beginning of the Avestan Ny 1+2 shows an anomaly. Usually, ritual instructions (*nērang*) are given in Pāzand. Thus, Ny 1-3 say that a *nəmah* „bow“ has to be made *sā.bār*. „three times“. But in Ny 1+2, the same instruction (*θrišciit.*) is transmitted also in Avestan (Table 3).

This Avestan *nērang* indicates, that an Avestan transmission of the liturgies together with their ritual instructions existed.

## Prayer position (Yt 3.1)

Yt 3 praises the (*Aməša Spənta/prayer*) *Aša Vahišta*. In Yt 3.1 *Zaraθuštra* is related to the group of the *Aməša Spəntas*, which includes *Mazdā* (Table 4).

The form and reading of the verb *fradaiθiš(a)* are obscure. The vocative indicates a second person, the stem-reduplication a verb *fra-dā-* (not *frād-*). While the Ir.XA prefers the medium, (most of) the Indian Mss. decide for an active form<sup>7</sup> (Table 5).

A grammatical analysis of the inflected forms of *fra-dā-* indicates its transitive and active use (Y 40.1, V 18.52, Yt 8.45 / Yt 10.82, Yt 8.44 / Yt 10.103, Yt 10.1, Yt 19.35, V 19.9, Y 55.3, FrW 4.1, V 4.3).<sup>8</sup> The semantics are: YH „to appoint, assign“ (reward); YAv „appoint, designate, assign, give (by a verbal utterance)“ (position; name), „assign etc. sth./so. [acc.] to so./sth. [dat.]“, „confirm“ (contract), „give“ (sense), „create“ (verse; god; matter). Since the (probably) dependent accusatives *vanhāna. xšaēta. raocā. xvanuuaitišca. vərəzō.* cannot denote a „creation“ of *Zaraθuštra*, a meaning „to assign“ is most plausible in Yt 3.1/2.

<sup>1</sup>*Ēbsrūsim* (*Aiβi.srūθrima*) is split (see AiW 94).

<sup>2</sup>See DHABHAR 1932, p. 299; cf. T29 (1642) (CHOKSY/KOTWAL 2005, p. 247); *Farziyāt Nāme* (late 17<sup>th</sup> cent.) (CHOKSY/KOTWAL 2005, p. 247); ERACHJI 1869 (= KOTWAL/BOYD 1982).

<sup>3</sup>Probably SrB 3.3 (= V 8.21; cf. Yt 3.17).

<sup>4</sup>See also PRĀF; Dk \*1,\*2, 3, 4, 5 < \**Ēwēn-Nāmag*; pieces of the PT; Dk 6.

<sup>5</sup>See the Pāzand dedication of the *Niyāyišn*.

<sup>6</sup>See KÖNIG 2012, p. 383.

<sup>7</sup>2sg.opt.act. *dā-* : *daiθiā*. [*fradaiθiā*. V 18.52!], but also *daiθiš*, *daiθiš* [V 19.23 *nidaiθiš*].

<sup>8</sup>Yt 13.95 (*fradāt.* → *xfradāt.?*); Yt 10.142 *frādāiti.*, which AiW 720f. puts to *fra-dā-*, may belong to *frād-* (cf. P 24 *frādāiti*). In Yt 13.68 [med.] *fradātaēca. varādātaēca.* a semantical cross-fading *fra-dā-/frād-* seems to have taken place, cf. *frādatica. varādatica* (AiW 1012f.).

Yt 3.1/2 *fra-dā-* is semantically close to *vīs-*. Yt 3.1/2 and Y 14.1 (cf. Vr 5.1) and Yt 3.1 are phraseological parallels:

*vīsāi. vā. aməšā. spəntā.*  
*staotā. zaotā. zbātā.*  
*yaštā. framarətā. aibijarətā.*  
*yūšmākəm. yasnāica. vahmāica.*  
*yaṭ. aməšanqm. spəntanqm.*

The question emerges as to why Yt 3 does not use the ritual expression *vīs-*? I suggest that, while *vīs-* (med.) means ‘to enter (a ritual context)’ (cf. OI *ves-*), *fra-dā-* (act.) indicates the establishment of such a context. In Yt 3.1 Zarduštra appoints the lights as objects for the worship of the Aməša Spəntas. It is the ritual establishment (as well as the aetiology) of the practice to pray unto a bright shining „qibla“.<sup>9</sup>

### Smaller and greater *Yasna*

Recent studies give support to DHABHAR’s theory (1963, p. iv) that the *Bayān* could be intercalated (as *Vidēvdād* or *Vištāsp-Yašt*) in the *Yasna*.<sup>10</sup> In 2010 CANTERA identified the intercalation-position of some *Yašts*. On the basis of the *Nērangestān*, KREYENBROEK<sup>11</sup> could distinguish between a *Yašt*-intercalation-ritual, called *yašt ī meh* (see esp. N 29.13-15), and monthly ceremonies, called *yašt ī keh*, which could be performances of the *Yašts*.<sup>12</sup>

This distinction might be already Avestan<sup>13</sup>, a hint can be found in Yt 1.24. The stanza says, Zarduštra shall protect the *mašim. uruuəθəm*. „friend“, the *narəm. dāitīm*. „lawful man“. The request is followed by an Avestan gloss<sup>14</sup> (Table 6).

The (probably late) PT Yt 1.24 distinguishes between a „greatest *Yazišn*“ and a „smaller *Yazišn*“ which is identified as a „*Yašt*“ (Table 7).

Yt 1 is transmitted in 2 (resp. 3) recensions. The shorter recension includes the stanzas Yt 1.1–23.<sup>15</sup> The longer one<sup>16</sup> has 10 stanzas more (Yt 1.24–33), which are transmitted separately by some Mss. (F6 [1851]; M49 (H4) has a NpT of Yt 1.24-32). Concerning the contents, the two parts do not belong together (Yt 1-23: names of Ahura Mazda<sup>17</sup>; Yt 1.24-33: Zarduštra’s and Ārmaiti’s expulsion of demons). The poor quality of Yt

1.24-33 and its Pahlavi translation might indicate a textual transmission that was independent from Yt 1.1-23. If so, we must doubt a transmission of the ten stanzas within the *Bayān*. However, the question remains as to why a non-*Bayān*-*Yašt* distinguishes between a great and a small *Yasna*.

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<sup>9</sup>See EDALJÍ, *Maujaza’-i Zartoshti* (1840) (in WILSON 1843, pp. 201f.); KOTWAL/HINTZE 2008, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Based on *Nērangestān* and *Dīn-Wizīrgard*.

<sup>11</sup>KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, p. 115, n. 431, cf. p. 117, n. 436; cf. n. 338, n. 432; KREYENBROEK 2004, 2008.

<sup>12</sup>According to KARANJIA 2004, p. 418 (→ N 29.12) *yašt ī meh* = *Yasna, yašt ī keh* = *Drōn Yašt*. See also the designation of Y 56 as *Srōš Yašt ī keh*, of Y 57 as *Srōš Yašt ī meh* (PIRART 2010, p. 22).

<sup>13</sup>Cf. RV 10.91.8 on a small (*ārbhe*) and great (*mahé*) Opfer (*havisi* „Opferguss“) spricht.

<sup>14</sup>Different PIRART 2010, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup>H1 (= H2), K3 (< H1), L9, U5, F2, L12, E50, Mf25, L25 (= Z&P25), F5, F6, T9, T13, Mb2.

<sup>16</sup>Earliest attestations: K1 (> 1343/44), Jm4 (> 1352), T12 (1552).

<sup>17</sup>PANAINO 2002; PIRART 2007.



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<sup>18</sup>According to MODI 1937, pp. 219–226: Y 57, Yt 11.

<sup>19</sup>Bold face = *vidi*.

<sup>20</sup>Mf3.

<sup>21</sup>The stanza plays with *yam-* (*apaiiatēe*; *yasōiš*). For *fra-yam-* compare OI. *prā-yam-* „proffer sth. (acc./gen.part.)“ (GRASSMANN 1091), see esp. RV 3.35.10 (*prayátam ... vā yajñám*). AiW 1237 puts tentatively to *fra-yat-*.

<sup>22</sup>DHABHAR1963, p. 181 „if he recites (only) a Yasht“; cf. DHABHAR1963, p. 181, n. 24.7.

V 18.19, 21		prayer sequence (night; fire service)	XA-Mss (beginning)
			Y 27.13 + 14 ( <i>Pērāmōn Yašt</i> )
<i>aiβi. vastra. yāṅhai-iaṅuha.</i>	gird your clothes,	<i>Kustī pādyāb</i>	<i>Nīrang-e kūštī bastan</i>
<i>frā. zasta. snaiiaṅuha.</i>	wash your hands,	SrB (= <i>Nīrang ī dast-šū</i> )	<i>Nīrang-e dastašo</i> (= SrB/Y 12.8-9); <i>Hōšbām</i>
<i>ā. aēsmq. yāsaṅuha. auui. maqm. bara. paiti. maqm. raocaiia. [aēsmānqm. yaoždā-tanqm. frasnātaēibiia. zastaēibiia.]</i>	take firewood, bring it unto me, let me light up [<pieces> of purified firewood, <brought> by washed hands] !	Yt 1, 3, 11 <sup>18</sup> G 4, 5 offering of firewood ( <i>Ātaš Nērang</i> ) Ny 5	<i>Niyāyišn</i>

Table 1: Sequence of instructions in V 18

Yt 13.89; cf. V 18.24-25		Cf.
<i>yō. paoiriō. stōiš. astuuaiθiā.</i>	(Zaraθuštra,) who was the first of the material world,	
<i>staoṭ. ašəm.</i>	who recited with praise the <i>Aša</i> -prayer>,	Y 27.14
<i>nāist. daēuuō.</i>	cursed the <i>Daēuuas</i> ,	SrB (3)
<i>fraorənata. zaraθuštriš. ahura.ṭkaēšō.</i>	<i>mzdaiiasnō. vidaēuuō.</i> called himself a Zoroastrian Mazdayasna, who is anti-daēuuic and a follower of Ahuras teaching.	Y 12.1, 8

Table 2: Sequence of instructions in Yt 13

Ny 1.1, 2.1	<i>pāz. paṅqmi. yazdqn. hōr-mazda. xādāi</i>	<i>nəma.sə.tē. ahura.mazda. [sə. bār] //</i>	<b>Ḍrišciṭ.</b> <i>parō. aniiāiš. dāmqn.</i> „three times before <the worship of all> other creatures“
Ny 3.1		<i>nəmō. ahurāi.mazdāi. ... [sə. bār] //</i>	

Table 3: Ritual instruction in Ny 1 &amp; 2

<i>mraoṭ. ahurō. mazdā. spitamāi. zaraθuštrāi. āaṭ. yaṭ. aša. vahišta. fradaiθiś(a). spitama. zaraθuštra. staotarəca. zaotarəca. zbātarəca. maṅṅranaca. yaštaraṭca. āfrītarəca. aibijarətarəca. vaṅhāna. xšaēta. raocā. x<sup>v</sup>anuuaitišca. vərəzō. ahmākəm. yasnāica. vahmāica. yaṭ. aməšanqm. spəntanqm.</i>	Ahura Mazdā spoke unto Spitama Zaraθuštra: „That you may ... by means of <i>aša. vahišta.</i> , O Spitama Zaraθuštra, O <you> Staotar and Zaotar and Zbātar and Maṅṅran and Yaštaraṭ and Āfrītar and Aibijarətar, the shining luminous (?) ‚garments‘ / dwellings (?) and the sunny abodes for the sacrifice and invocation of us, the Aməša Spəntas.“
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Table 4: Aməša Spəntas in Yt 3.1

Yt 3.1, 2		
IrXA	K36, Ml2	<i>fradaiδiša.</i>
IndXA/Yt-Sade	Jm4 / K12	<i>fradaiθiša.</i>
	F1 <sup>19</sup> , Mb1, B5 / Pt1, E1, P13, O3, L18, K19 / L11	<i>fradaθiš.(°iš)</i>
	J10, R411, K40 / K18a / R115	
	W1 (ind.?)	<i>frādāhīš.</i>

Table 5: *fradaiθiš(a)* in Yt 3

Yt 1.24	
[ <i>yō. nā. mazištəm. yasnəm. yazāite. kasištəm. +yasnāṭ. frāiiatāṭ. +ahma. yq.+<sup>20</sup> aməššē. spəntā.</i> ]	[which man celebrates the greatest <i>Yasna</i> <or/as?> the smallest < <i>Yasna</i> > – from the <i>Yasna</i> , which is given (?) <sup>21</sup> to us (acc.), the <i>Aməša Spəntas</i> ].

Table 6: Yt 1.24

PYt 1.24	
[ <i>+ō ōy mard kē+ [man rāy] yazišn mahist yazad [kū yazišn &lt;ī&gt; man kunad bē ō ōy mard kē] yazišn [&lt;ī&gt; man] keh kunad [kū yašt xwānad] frāz ham rasēm amā kē amahraspandān [+hēm]</i> ]	To that man who celebrates [for me (?)] a <i>Yazišn</i> very great [ <i>i.e.</i> , he celebrates my <i>Yazišn</i> in opposition to that man], who celebrates [my] <i>Yazišn</i> in a smaller way [ <i>i.e.</i> , he sings a <i>Yašt</i> <sup>22</sup> ], we come together, we, who [are] the <i>Amahraspand</i> .

Table 7: *Yazišn* in PYt 1.24