Why do we Really Need a New Edition of the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy?

Alberto Cantera

In the present volume (p. 419ff.) A. Hintze gives an outline of the history of the *editio princeps* of the Avesta by N. L. Westergaard (1852) and its substitution by the edition of K. F. Geldner (1886). The latter has been the basis for scholarly work on the Avesta for around 140 years. In recent times, however, some criticism has emerged. The most important issue is the deficient understanding of the phonetic value of some letters of the Avestan script by Geldner. Our understanding of the Avestan script has indeed experienced drastic changes thanks to the works of Karl Hoffmann and his pupils (1979; 1986; Hoffmann/Narten 1989). These new discoveries have stimulated numerous editions of many Avestan texts (listed by A. Hintze in her contribution) which as a matter of fact are mostly no new editions but just reprints of Geldner's edition adapted to the new phonetic value of the Avestan script according to Hoffmann's principles.

Apart from the new understanding of the Avestan script, other criticisms of Geldner's work too have been advanced in recent times. A. Hintze summarises them in this volume (p. 419ff.). They concern mainly the critical apparatus which has been characterised by Hoffmann and Narten (1989, p. 18) as a "hopeless muddle" ("ein heilloses Durcheinander"). Hintze mentions the relative inaccuracy attributed to Geldner's readings and the use of collations instead of an autopsy for many manuscripts. As for the *constitutio textus* she criticises Geldner's tendency towards preferring the readings of the oldest manuscripts, which according to Hintze contravenes the principle of *recentiores non deteriores* (cf. note 7 below).

In his own contribution to this volume (p. 433ff.) M. Á. Andrés-Toledo has also offered an intense criticism of Geldner's methodology concerning his presentation of the critical apparatus. In fact, the repeated criticisms concerning the critical apparatus are definitive, and new editions of the Avesta must produce new and systematic critical apparatuses. Since Geldner's apparatus is deficient, the new apparatus cannot be based on the data provided by Geldner.

Yet the progress made by Avestan philology with regard to Geldner's edition concerns not only the critical apparatus, but all the different phases of the editorial work, viz.:

– *collectio fontium criticae,*
– *examinatio fontium,*
– *constitutio stemmatis,*
– *constitutio textus.*

The *collectio fontium criticae*

As Geldner himself states, his main reason for preparing a new edition of the Avesta (and not a reprint of Westergaard's edition) was the significant increase in the number of manuscripts he had access to. Whereas Westergaard had based his edition on the Avestan manuscripts available in Europe at the time and on some manuscripts sent to him directly from India by his friend J. Wilson, Geldner had access, through the generosity of his Parsi friends, to a high number of Avestan manuscripts available in India at that time. This is the main advantage of Geldner's edition with regard to Westergaard's. However, the selection of the manuscripts was not made by K. F. Geldner himself, nor was it based on scientific criteria. Furthermore, as Geldner mentions and as has often been repeated since, some important manuscripts reached him only when his editorial work was already finished. As for European manuscripts, he often used, as has been pointed out by A. Hintze (p. 421) and M. Á. Andrés-Toledo (p. 433) in this volume, transcriptions and collations instead of the original manuscripts.

The main weakness of Geldner's *collectio* of the manuscripts does not concern, however, the Indian manuscripts of the Avesta, which all in all are well represented in his edition, or the manuscripts available in European collections. The principal shortcoming of Geldner's collection of manuscripts is the reduced number of manuscripts of Iranian origin he was able to use for his edition. Most of the Avestan manuscripts available in Europe at Geldner's time had been obtained in India and brought from there to Europe. Furthermore, the manuscripts sent to him from outside Europe came from India. No single manuscript was sent from Iran.[1] Notwithstanding, Geldner was able to use for his edition some manuscripts of Iranian origin.

In fact, some Iranian manuscripts were in India already at Geldner's time. Some of them were originally composed in Iran in order to be sent to India (like Mf 2 [4020] or G 18 [5000]), and copies of them were produced in India. Others were collected in the 19th century in the context of the emerging collection of Avestan manuscripts in India. Some of these Iranian manuscripts reached Eu-

---

1   A. Hintze affirms in this volume (p. 420 n. 5) that four manuscripts (the manuscripts from de Manekji Limji Hataria's collection) were sent to Geldner from Iran. But these manuscripts were already in Bombay at Geldner's time. As Geldner himself reports, they were in Bombay in the hands of a committee (1886, p. xi n. 1) .

rope before Geldner's time, as is the case of the manuscripts K 4 (5020; Wīštāsp Yašt Sāde) and K 9 (4070; Wīdēwdād Sāde), a late copy of Mf 2. Moreover, further manuscripts of Iranian origin were sent to Geldner from India together with the Indian manuscripts. He thus had access to 13 Iranian manuscripts, of which only six contain ceremonies of the long liturgy[2]:

– Wīdēwdād Sāde Mf 2 (1618/1638) and Jp 1 (1638/1658)
– Yasna Sāde: Mf 1 (1741)
– Yasna Pahlavi Pt 4 (1774) and Mf 4 (younger), both of which are Indian copies
– Wīštasp Yašt Sāde K 4 (1723)
– Xwardarg Abastāg: F 2, K 36, 37, 38, Mf 3 (1700)[3], Pd and W 1.

Actually, a systematic search for Iranian manuscripts in Iran was never conducted prior to Geldner. Such a search has been undertaken recently by K. Mazdapour, and it is also one of the main aims of the Avestan Digital Archive. The first years of enquiries have brought to light an important number of new Iranian manuscripts, especially for the long liturgy. Part of the recently discovered Iranian manuscripts are available in India, but they were not sent to Geldner, e.g. the important manuscript G 18 which includes a copy of the Wīštāsp Yašt that according to its colophon goes back to the last source of K 4 but is considerably older than K 4, and which also includes a copy of the Wīsperad with ritual instructions offering information about many different variants of the Wīsperad.

But the most important discovery is the existence of a relevant number of Avestan manuscripts still available in Iran. In fact, one of the central aims of the Avestan Digital Archive Project[4] is to find new Avestan manuscripts in Iran. Till the present day we have been so lucky as to find around 20 new Iranian manuscripts of the long liturgy (remember that Geldner used 7)[5], many of which are rather old, older indeed than the manuscripts used by Geldner. The following chart lists the Iranian manuscripts of the long liturgy known at the present (the manuscripts known to Geldner are in italics)[6]:

---

2   Other manuscripts are categorised as "Iranian style" (Br 2, K 8, Kh 1 and Lb 5), but cannot be considered Iranian manuscripts.
3   Currently at the Cama Oriental Institute, the manuscript figures in Dhabhar's catalogue (1923) as number 45.
4   http://www.avesta-archive.com.
5   I have seen many other Iranian manuscripts on a recent trip to Iran (March 9–17, 2012). This list will therefore be considerably expanded in the near future. Today I know about the existence of around 50 Iranian manuscripts.
6   I quote the earliest possible date, but a date twenty years later is possible for the manuscripts. K. Mazdapour has shown on the evidence of Ave 976 that even when the date is given as parsīg or "20 years after Yazdegird", it has to be read as the usual Yazdegird Era (that is, adding 630/631 to the CE).

Century	Yasna	Wīsperad	Wīdēwdād	Wīštasp Yašt
17th		G 18b (1627)	Ave 976 (1607) Ave 977/978 (1608) Mf 2 (1618) *Jp 1 (1638)* Ave 992 (1623) Ave 1001 (1632) Ave 1007 (1638) RSPA 230 (1627)	G 18a (1627) Mf 9 (1627)
18th	*Mf 1 (1741)*		*K 9 (1746)*	*K 4 (1723)*
19th	ML 15284 (< 1823)	Xodābaxš Forud (1842) Sorušyān (1884) ML 15285 (1893)	D 59 (1816) MK 1182 (< 1813) MK 1185 (1816) MK 1263 (1894)	
20th		Nuširawān Jahāngir (1918)		
undated		*Fl 1* (Iranian style) *Kh 1* (Iranian style)	ML 15283	

While the production of manuscripts in India was considerably increased during the 18th century, such a process did not take place in Iran as far as we can judge from the actual data. However, during the 17th century the production of manuscripts in Iran seems to have been quite intense, at least as intense as in India.

Iranian manuscripts witness to a tradition that has remained relatively independent of the Indian one and is hence free of any changes that might have happened in the course of the Indian transmission (see some examples below, p. 457). In fact, very often we can see how variants spread among different manuscripts in India, where the Iranian manuscripts remain expectedly unaffected. The Iranian manuscripts are thus the most important touchstone for the readings offered by the Indian manuscripts and most important for an edition of the Avesta. WESTERGAARD's edition is based on the Avestan manuscripts available in Europe (most of them of Indian origin), GELDNER's on the Indian ones, and a future edition must incorporate and acknowledge the value of the Iranian ones.

The *examinatio fontium*

The next step after collecting the manuscripts is their analysis. Since the days of GELDNER (and previous to the Avestan Digital Archive) nobody has been able to see an amount of manuscripts similar to the one seen by GELDNER. Therefore, every analysis of the Avestan transmission has been based on the data regarding the manuscripts provided by GELDNER in the Prolegomena to his edition and in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*. However, the systematic analysis of manuscripts that we have undertaken for the Avestan Digital Archive has brought to light the fact that the data provided by GELDNER are often incomplete and sometimes even wrong.

GELDNER did not make a complete analysis of each manuscript. First, he trusted the colophons too much, and second he thought that an analysis of the readings made during the edition of the text would provide the most reliable information. This is, however, a source of many inaccuracies in the description of the manuscripts and consequently in GELDNER's picture of the written transmission of the Avesta. By way of example, B 2 (4210) does not have a date according to GELDNER. Actually, though, before the first *fragard* of Wīdēwdād it has a long colophon of almost one page and written in red ink, so that it cannot be easily overlooked. The date of the manuscript is the year 995 YE, so that B 2 (4210) turns out to be the oldest known Wīdēwdād Sāde (1626) perhaps after L 1, but the date of the latter is not sure.

Some of the oldest Avestan manuscripts known are in the collection of Bombay manuscripts[7] sent to him, but their importance was not recognised by GELDNER. Apart from B 2 (4210), the manuscript B 3 (230) is one of the oldest extant liturgical manuscripts. GELDNER gives only little information about it. He relates it to a London manuscript, L 17 (100) and considers it to be without any value for textual criticism. An analysis of both manuscripts has shown that GELDNER's description contains many inaccuracies. According to GELDNER, L 17 (100) was written in 1551 (which is the oldest date for a Yasna Sāde, although GELDNER does not call our attention to this fact) by Herbad Ardišīr and is a careless copy of K 5 (510; a Pahlavi Yasna manuscript). Regarding B 3 (230) the information is even scarcer: B 3 (230) is a careless copy of K 5 (510) or influenced by it and likely to be from the same scribe as L 17 (100).

An analysis of both manuscripts shows a completely different situation. To begin with, a palaeographical analysis makes it evident that, although both manuscripts belong to the same school of scribes and share very similar decorative motives,[8] they belong to different hands. In fact, the relationship between both manuscripts seems to be quite clear, as I have already mentioned in this

---

7   Many of them are in a bad state of preservation. Fortunately, pictures of all of them are available in the Avestan Digital Archive.
8   The Wīsperad manuscript P 12 is also closely related to L 17.

volume (p. 302): they have exactly the same text with the same ritual instruc-
tions in Gujarati and the same initial text in Gujarati. Actually, L 17 (100) is a
copy of B 3 (230), as is shown by Y 51.1. The 1st stanza of the Vohuxšaθrā Gāθā
has to be recited twice, like the first stanza of each *hāiti*. This is indicated in B 3
by copying Y 51.1 first completely and then by repeating the first words of the
stanza once again (*vohū xšaθrəm vairīm*). Then follows an indication of an ab-
breviation in Gujarati and the last word of the stanza (*varəšānē*). One half (*varə*)
is written at the end of the final line of one folio and the second half (*šānē*) in the
first line of the next folio. In L 17 (100), on the other hand, we find the complete
stanza once and then the Pahlavi numeral "2" indicating that it has to be recited
twice. Then follows *šānē* (L 17f. 148v):

Y51.0

Y51.1

Y51.2
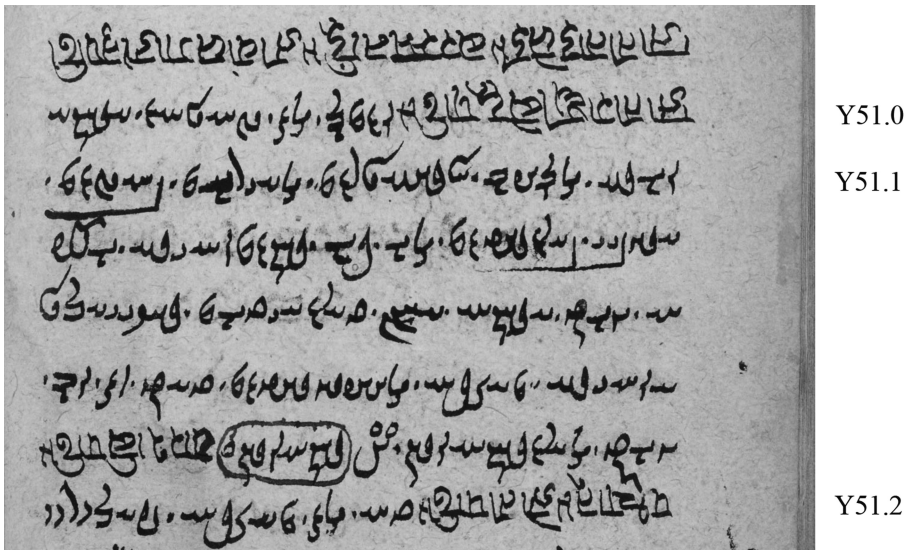
© Avestan Digital Archive

Obviously *šānē* is the second half of *varəšānē* which appears in the first line of
the next folio in B 3 (230). The copyist of L 17 (100) or of its source was copy-
ing from B 3 when he accidentally skipped the last line of the folio in B 3 *(vohu
xšaθrəm…varə)* and continued copying the next line of the next folio *(šānē …
tā və̄…)*.

Although the dependence of L 17 (100) from B 3 (230) is incontestable thanks
to the witness of Y 51.1, L 17 (100) is, however, not a direct copy of B 3 (230). In
Y 52.2 L 17 (100) reads *narəntīm* and *naēšazå* instead of B 3 (230) *barəntīm* and
baēšazå. This mistake is the consequence of a peculiarity in the writing of *b* in
some manuscripts like B 3 (230), but not L 17 (100): the vertical stroke of *b* is
written in black, but the horizontal one is written in red. Sometimes a copyist
forgot to add the horizontal red stroke to the *b*, and so a *b* became an *n*. Since in
B 3 (230) the two forms are written correctly and L 17 (100) writes the *b* only in

black, it is obvious that there is at least one intermediary link between B 3 (230) and L 17 (100) in which *b* was written in two colours and the red strokes were forgotten in the forms mentioned of Y 52.2.

There is no evidence either that these two manuscripts derive from K 5 (510) or that they are extracted from or influenced by any exegetical manuscript. Actually, both share some particular readings with K 5 (510) which distinguish them from other Indian Yasna Sāde, but this is often a consequence of the fact that L 17 (100) and especially B 3 (230) show a text that is free from many of the later Indian innovations. In fact, they present the principal characteristics of the true liturgical manuscripts. Thus the beginning of the Staota Yesniia is different in the exegetical and in the liturgical manuscripts: whereas in the exegetical manuscripts the dialogic version of the Ahuna Vairiia is followed by 4 Ahuna Vairiia, 3 Ašəm Vohu and the Yeńhē Hātąm, in the Sāde manuscripts Y 28.0 follows immediately after the dialogic Ahuna Vairiia. This is the text contained in B 3 (230) as well as in L 17 (100). Both, too, share the extended dedicatory to the fire (complemented with part of S 1.9 *āϑrō ahurahe mazdå puϑra x*ᵛ*arənaŋhō … raēuuaṇtahe garōiš mazdaδātahe kāuuaiieheca x*ᵛ*arənaŋhō mazdaδātahe āϑrō ahurahe mazdå puϑra*) which appears in some Indian liturgical manuscripts (P 6, H 1, J 6) in Y 22.26, 66.18 and 72.7, but not in the exegetical ones.

Thus the relationship between B 3 (230) and L 17 (100) seems to be clear. B 3 (230) is the original source of L 17 (100), and the colophon of L 17 (100) is probably a reproduction of the lost colophon of B 3 (230) which is thus the oldest known Indian Yasna Sāde (perhaps after L 1). A dependence of B 3 (230) on the Pahlavi manuscript K 5 (510) is far from having been demonstrated, although they seem to belong to the same sphere of influence. Actually, all liturgical manuscripts that Geldner derives from exegetical ones must be submitted to similar proofs, since his findings are more often than not the consequence of his aprioristic view that the liturgical manuscripts in general derive from the exegetical ones.

Similar detailed analyses are necessary for each single Avestan manuscript, but they are almost completely missing in Geldner's analysis of the transmission. A new edition of the Avesta must be based on a previous analysis of the witnesses, which until today has been conducted only for a few selected manuscripts. Codicological and palaeographical aspects must be considered as well, but to this day no codicological or palaeographical analysis of the Avestan manuscripts has been made.[9] Geldner's description of the manuscripts, although the only available one, is very incomplete and contains many statements that are not accompanied by the necessary arguments.

9   Cf. the remarks about some preliminary works on p. 327, note 59.

The *constitutio stemmatis codicum*

Through this process we aim to determine the genealogical relations between the manuscripts in order to know which manuscripts depend on others so that ideally we can establish the reliability of the reading provided by each manuscript on the basis of the rules of textual criticism and not just on linguistic or philological reasons. It is actually an attempt to organise and evaluate a high amount of manuscripts for their use during the editorial process. Traditionally, stemmata or genealogical trees of the different families of manuscripts are established and the witnesses of the manuscripts at the top of trees are considered more trustworthy than later descendants.

HOFFMANN and NARTEN (1989, p. 15) state:

> Geldners entscheidende Leistung ist in den Prolegomena zu seiner Ausgabe niedergelegt. Hier werden die benutzten Handschriften beschrieben und nach Alter und Herkunft bestimmt. Am wichtigsten ist aber, daß es Geldner gelungen ist, Handschriftenstammbäume aufzustellen und Abhängigkeiten von einzelnen Hanschriften aufzuzeigen. Auch wenn gelegentlich Zweifel auftauchen, ist doch Geldners Darstellung, deren Hauptergebnisse von ihm im Grdr.ir. Philo II, 10ff. zusammengefaßt wurden, eine zuverlässige Quelle.

As a matter of fact, GELDNER's methodology for the analysis of the dependencies between manuscripts is unfortunately inappropriate for the transmission of the Avesta, in which the process of copy is deeply influenced by the oral-ritual transmission. For this reason, many of GELDNER's *stemmata*, when not based on the colophons, have to be revised today. In my article "Building trees" in this volume I have dealt extensively with this issue (p. 279ff.). Here, I shall therefore merely summarise the main arguments.

GELDNER, according to the rules of stemmatology at his time, bases his analysis of the dependence of manuscripts on their agreement in a reduced number of errors. Apart from the usual criticism that stemmatics takes as a basis for analysis only a very small percentage of the attested material, the transmission of the Avesta poses an additional and more substantial problem, viz. that written transmission is not the only way of transmitting "errors" or variant readings.

The main usage of manuscripts took place in the priestly schools. They influenced the priestly practice and were at the same time influenced by it. Traditional variants of a school were introduced into copies of different origin, and new variants arisen there or in the neighbouring schools were also introduced when copying old manuscripts, even if there was no written witness for them. The text taught by the teacher became authoritative and his decisions influenced not only the text recited in the ritual, but also future copies made in the same school by himself or by his pupils. New manuscripts did not pretend to be true copies of a former manuscript, but to offer the best possible description of the performance of a ceremony and to serve as a basis for present or future students.

Thus variants could spread over to other schools if the school where a new reading arose was authoritative enough. In fact, manuscripts and priests travelled from one place to another and this produced a sort of ritual uniformity in the community, which in the manuscripts appears as an agreement in common errors among a high number of manuscripts. This is, to my mind, the source of most of the aberrant readings common to all or most known manuscripts. Such errors have been traditionally used for establishing the existence of one hyparchetype or "Stammhandschrift", for instance of the long liturgy, that is, a single copy from which all known manuscripts of the long liturgy are supposed to derive.

Under said conditions, however, a common error does by no means prove that two manuscripts go back to the same source. At the most, it can prove that both copies derive from the same sphere of influence of a priestly school. In such a context GELDNER's stemmatic analysis is useless and a new methodology for the analysis of the relationship between manuscripts has to be developed.[10]

Furthermore, we must be aware that although a great number of manuscripts is preserved (e. g. we know more than 100 liturgical manuscripts of Wīdēwdād), most of them are lost. The production of manuscripts was very intensive and we have signs of an almost "semi-industrial" production, as shown in "Building trees". Thus we can only determine the relations of dependence between the attested witnesses, but we cannot reconstruct the historical process of copy. Accordingly, the relations are not "one-to-one", as represented in the traditional *stemmata*, but "many-to-many". One manuscript can show relations of dependence with an indefinite number of manuscripts and these can reflect different historical processes: copy, influence of a priestly school, the fact that two manuscripts are contemporaneous and hence share similar trends, etc. While GELDNER tried to reconstruct the historical process of copying the manuscripts of a text, I assume that the extant manuscripts constitute only a minimal part of those that once existed and that it is impossible to reconstruct such a historical process. GELDNER's stemmata do have a certain value insofar as they are based on the information provided by the colophons. But wherever they are based on GELDNER's analysis of the agreements between manuscripts, they must be completely reviewed. If taken as representing the historical process of copying of the extant manuscripts, they are illusory.

The *constitutio textus*

The *constitutio textus* is the definitive and most complex process. We distinguish two different levels in this process:

– The "text". In the case of the edition of the long liturgy of the Avesta, the main decision to be taken is which text type (liturgical or exegetical) we

10   An tentative method is presented in this volume (p. 319ff.).

will use as a basis for the edition. Usually it is assumed that both text types reproduce basically the same text. This is partly correct for the Yasna, but does not hold for the rest of the variants of this ceremony. In the case of the Yašt and the Xwardag Abastāg, different types of manuscripts include a different amount of texts so that this question is also extremely important.

–   The choice between the many variant readings in which each single word is attested in the different Avestan manuscripts and even in the same manuscript.

The text

Westergaard (1852–1854, p. 23) took as a basis for his edition of the texts of the long liturgy "that class [of manuscripts] which has the oldest copies, and therefore as to time is nearest to the original [the Sasanian digest], though almost a thousand years distant". For the Yasna and the Wīdēwdād, the class with the oldest copies is that of the exegetical manuscripts with Pahlavi translation,[11] and this was the basis for his edition. Westergaard was aware of the fact that his choice meant that some parts of the ceremonies would remain unedited. Regarding the ceremony of the Wīdēwdād Sāde he informs us about his former intention to publish a synopsis of the Wīdēwdād Sāde, reserved for a third volume that in the end never appeared (Westergaard 1852–1854, p. 26). This ceremony had been edited previously on the basis of two manuscripts by Brockhaus (1850).

Geldner's position in this regard is similar to Westergaard's, and even more extreme. The Pahlavi manuscripts are his starting point, and for the long liturgy only the texts included in the Pahlavi manuscripts are edited by him. This preference given to Pahlavi manuscripts is based on Westergaard as well as on Geldner's own view of the Avestan transmission. Whereas Spiegel defended the position that Sāde and Pahlavi manuscripts are of equal value (Spiegel 1882, p. 592), Geldner considered Sāde manuscripts to be of a later date and supposed that they went back to Pahlavi manuscripts (Geldner 1886, I, p. xix):

> All mss. of the Vendidâd sâda ultimately presuppose a common archetype. There seems to me to be no doubt that this archetype in turn was excerpted and compiled from the Pahlavi Avestâ Mss. We can hardly conceive of the Vendidâd of the Sassanians without the Pahlavi translation. As a direct proof of this may be instanced numerous Avesta glosses of the Pahlavi translation which have crept into the Avesta text of the Vendidâd sâda. In separating the Avesta text from its Pahlavi setting several mistakes may have been made by the compiler of the Vendidâd sâda, namely in cases where the text was abridged and he tried to give it complete.

11   But the colophon of Pt 4 and Mf 4 attests the existence of the liturgical manuscript already in the 10th century. For the Wīsperad both text types are of the same date, since the same manuscript (K 7) includes both.

For GELDNER, the Pahlavi manuscripts are the original ones. He thought that our manuscripts derive from the Great Avesta described in the Dēnkard which supposedly consisted of 21 books or Nask organised in 3 groups of 7 books each. The Great Avesta was transmitted in Avestan as well as in Pahlavi, since it is obvious that the description in the Dēnkard derives from the Pahlavi translation. Accordingly, if the extant Pahlavi manuscripts are fragments of the Great Avesta, they must originally have had a Pahlavi translation like the Great Avesta and the Pahlavi manuscripts must be the original ones.

Actually, J. KELLENS (1998) has shown in an important article that the Avestan manuscripts do not go back to the Great Avesta, but continue an independent ritual tradition that goes back to Sasanian times, as I have already explained in the section "The prehistory of the Sāde and Pahlavi mansucripts" in the paper "Building trees". The texts of the ceremonies described in the manuscripts do not agree with any book of the Great Avesta as described in the Pahlavi literature, with the exception of the Wīdēwdād, and are just the texts of ceremonies celebrated at least since Sasanian times. 13 years after KELLENS's paper we can provide a proof of his view which I consider definitive.

The Nērangestān is a late Sasanian book containing ritual directions. It is in fact a collection of the same *nērang* or ritual directions that appear in the Sāde manuscripts and a further elaboration of them. There is a high degree of agreement between the *nērang* of the Nerangestan and the *nērang* in the Iranian Sāde manuscripts. It is obvious that the ritual directions instructions included in the manuscripts continue the same tradition of those collected in the Nērangestān. Since the relationship between the *nērang* of the Sāde manuscripts, especially the Iranian ones, and the Nērangestān will be analysed in depth elsewhere, I shall provide here just one example of the recurring agreements (even in minor details) between them.

During the recitation of the four Ahuna Vairiia of Y 27.2 the main priest performs the second pressing of the Haoma. The *nērang* of the Iranian manuscript G 18b of the Wīsparad describes the action as follows :

> *yaθā. ahū. vairiiō.* 4 gwptn' yt'hwwylywk' y pltwm 'blh'wn PWN BBA y h'wn cygwn' hwlšyt gltytn BRA gltynšn' PWN *šiiaoϑananąm* 'ywk b'l PWN *aŋhōuš* 1 b'l PWN *mazdāi* 'ywk b'l kwptn' PWN dtygl hm PWN ẒNE w'ck g'h KRA 'ywk 2 b'l kwptn' PWN stygl 3 b'l kwptn' 'ytwn' MNW PWN *yaθā. ahū. vairiiō.* pltwm 3 b'l PWN dtygl 6 b'l PWN stygl 9 b'l kwpk PWN xšaθrəmcā stygl 'plh'wn' gwšb'lyh 'pl'cynšn'

> "He shall recite four times the *yaθā ahū vairiiō*. During the first *yaθā ahū vairiiō* he shall turn the pestle in the mortar in a sunwise direction. At *šiiaoϑananąm* he shall pound once; at *aŋhōuš*, once; at *mazdāi*, once. During the second recitation, he shall do the same at the same words, but he shall pound twice (at each of the three words). During the third recitation, he shall pound three times (at each of the three words) so that (he pounds) three times during the first recitation, six times during the second and nine during the third one. At *xšaθrəmcā* (of the third recitation) he shall raise the pestle to the height of his ears."

These instructions agree even in the minor details with the description of the same ritual moment in the Nērangestān:

> AP-š PWN ZK 4 yt'hwwylywk' 3 W 6 W 9 PWN *xšaθrəmcā* ī sidīgar gwš b'l'y LALA d'lšn MZ ZK gyw'k pyt'k *āθritīm xsaθrō.kərətahe gaošŏ.bərəzō us.šāuuaiiōiṯ*

> "At the y.a.v. (4) (he should pound) 3, 6 and 9 times (successively); at the third *xšaθrəmcā* he should raise the pestle to the height of his ears, as it is evident from the following passage : *āθritīm xsaθrō.kərətahe gaošŏ.bərəzō us.šāuuaiiōiṯ*" (Kotwal/Kreyenbroek 1992–2009, III, p. 107)

The Avestan quotation in this passage shows that there have been similar descriptions of ceremonies in the Avestan language (a kind of Avestan *brāhmaṇas*).

Further, there are passages of the Nērangestān which are only understandable if we assume the existence of complete descriptions of the ceremonies similar to the descriptions in the Sāde manuscripts. Such descriptions should hence go back at least to Sasanian times.

Therefore, the Sāde manuscripts continue an independent tradition that goes back to Sasanian or even earlier times, and they are not extracted from the Pahlavi manuscripts as Geldner assumed. Quite on the contrary, the exegetical manuscripts are secondary to the liturgical. They represent an attempt to create a Pahlavi translation of the existing ceremonies and to render the recitative of the ceremonies comprehensible, at least to some more educated priests. For the Yasna a new translation was created for the complete ceremony, taking as a basis the traditional translations in the Great Avesta for some texts included in the Yasna ceremony and adapting them to the ceremony. For the Wīsperad ceremony translations were composed only for the parts that needed to be translated because there was no translation of a similar text in the Yasna. For the intercalation ceremonies only the intercalated texts like the Wīdēwdād Nask or the Wīštāsp Yašt were translated. The case of the short liturgies included in the Xwardag Abastāg is more complex (cf. G. König in this volume, p. 355ff.).

Therefore, since our manuscripts do not derive from the Great Avesta and the liturgical manuscripts do not derive from the exegetical ones, there are no historical reasons for taking the exegetical manuscripts as the basis for our edition of the Avesta. On the contrary, we have clear reasons for choosing the liturgical manuscripts as the basis for the edition of the extant liturgies. The exegetical manuscripts depend, as far as the Avestan text is concerned, on the liturgical manuscripts with the potential exception of the Wīdēwdād that could have had an independent existence. The liturgical and exegetical manuscripts of the long liturgy represent different text types and, although their texts are basically the same, this statement is only partially true, especially for other ceremonies than the Yasna. Therefore, I judge it more suitable to edit the liturgies of the long liturgy on the basis of the liturgical manuscripts and to do separate editions of the exegetical text types including the Avestan text and its translation. Since, how-

ever, the exegetical manuscripts depend on the liturgical ones but their witnesses are sometimes older than the proper Sāde manuscripts and their transmission is less influenced by the oral text of the ritual practice, they can provide valuable readings of single words even for the edition of the liturgy. Therefore, the long liturgy should be edited according to the liturgical manuscripts, although this edition can be accompanied by separate editions of the corresponding exegetical versions: Pahlavi Yasna, Sanskrit Yasna, Pahlavi Wīsperad, Pahlavi Wīdēwdād, Pahlavi Wīštāsp Yašt, etc. GELDNER edited, on the contrary, only the Avestan text of the liturgies, but on the basis of the exegetical manuscripts.

The exegetical and liturgical manuscripts do not only differ with respect to the inclusion of a Pahlavi translation of the Avestan text but are, as has been said, two different text types with different functions. Liturgical manuscripts are descriptions of complete ceremonies which include ritual instructions *(nērangs)* in Pahlavi or Persian in the Iranian manuscripts and in Gujarati or Pāzand in the Indian manuscripts and also the complete Avestan text recited in the corresponding ceremony. By contrast, Pahlavi manuscripts do not include ritual instructions,[12] and the Avestan text is translated into Pahlavi. While Sāde manuscripts are conceived for the teaching of the right ritual practice, Pahlavi manuscripts are the result of the exegetical activity of priestly schools and less connected with the daily ritual practice.

The Avestan text is not the same either for each type of manuscripts. While the Sāde manuscripts include the complete text of each ceremony, the Pahlavi manuscripts give only the text of one complete ceremony: the Yasna; and even in the Yasna the Avestan text of the Sāde and Pahlavi manuscripts is not exactly the same, although the differences are kept to a minimum. But in the rest of the manuscripts the situation is quite different. In the case of the ceremonies of intercalation (Wīdēwdād and Wīštāsp Yašt) only the Young Avestan sections intercalated between the Old Avestan texts are included in the Pahlavi manuscripts, while the Sāde manuscripts show the text of the complete ceremony. GELDNER edited only the intercalated sections (in fact, only of the Wīdēwedād).

The ceremonies of intercalation consist in a Wīsperad ceremony in which some Young Avestan texts are intercalated between the Old Avestan texts. Nevertheless, although the Avestan text of the rest of the ceremony is mostly identical with the Avestan text of the Yasna or the Wīsperad, it shows some variations at different places, like the well-known changes in the order of the daily *ratu* in the lists of the *ratu* or the inclusion of specific formulas for each intercalation ceremony that often substitutes the mention of *hāuuani* in Yasna or Wīsperad.

---

12   An exception are the manuscripts of the type of Pt 4 and Mf 4. In them the Pahlavi translation was added to a liturgical manuscript that included, of course, the ritual directions. The result is a type of manuscripts in which the ritual directions and the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan recitative appear. This could be the origin of all exegetical Pahlavi manuscripts of Yasna.

Westergaard (1852–1854, p. 485) edited these formulas of the Wīdēwdād and Wīštāsp Yašt ceremony, but Geldner did not.

The most dramatic simplification of the exegetical manuscripts with regard to the liturgical affects is, however, the Wīsperad ceremony. It is the variation of the Yasna used for specific purposes or in more important ceremonies like the New Year celebrations or the intercalation ceremonies. It consists in a longer version of the Yasna in which some texts of the Yasna are substituted by alternative (usually longer) texts and several additions appear at different places. The Pahlavi manuscripts are thought to include only the alternative texts and additions. Traditionally it is supposed that we can reconstruct the Wīsperad ceremony by intercalating at the right positions the texts included in the Pahlavi manuscripts of a simple Yasna ceremony. This view, however, though repeated time and again, is wrong.

The Pahlavi manuscripts of the Wīsperad do not include all the additions and variations of the Wīsperad ceremony. They only include additions between Y 1 and Y 54, while in the Wīsperad ceremony important additions and several variations appear after Y 54. Let me mention just some examples. The beginning of the Ātaxš Niyāyišn (Y 62.1–6) appears in the Wīsperad not after Y 61, but after Y 59. It seems that in the Wīsperad ceremony Y 60 and 61 are part of the Ātaxš Niyāyišn. It also includes a long ceremony known as Bāǰ Dharnā that appears after Y 59 and is a variant of the Srōš Drōn ceremony celebrated at the beginning of the Yasna (Y 3 to Y 8), but does not include the eating of the sacred cake like in the first performance. The text recited is a variation of Y 3 to Y 7, but with important differences as can be seen from the following table where I compare both ceremonies[13]:

Bāǰ Dharnā	Srōš Drōn	Parallels
VrS 32.0		
VrS 32.1–6		Y 62.1–6
VrS 32.7	#Y 3.1	
VrS 32.8		Y 22.4
VrS 32.9–14	Y 3.5–10	Y 22.5–10
VrS 32.10	Y 3.6	Y 22.6
VrS 32.11	Y 3.7	Y 22.7
VrS 32.12	Y 3.8	Y 22.8
VrS 32.13	Y 3.9	Y 22.9
VrS 32.14	Y 3.10	Y 22.10
VrS 32.15–23		VrS 11.1–9

13　It needs to be borne in mind that there are even texts which do not have any equivalent in the Yasna and are in fact inedited texts. The full text can be viewed in the work version of the ceremony that is to be found in the Avestan Digital Archive (http://ada.usal.es/img/pdf/visperad.pdf).

Bāj Dharnā	Srōš Drōn	Parallels
VrS 32.24–31	Y 3.12–19	Y 22.12–19
VrS 32.32		#Y 22.22
VrS 32.33		#Y 22.23–27
VrS 32.34		
VrS 32.35 -38		Y 23.1–3
VrS 32.39–41	Y 3.22–24	
VrS 33.1	#Y 4.1	
VrS 33.2	Y 4.2	
VrS 33.3	#Y 4.3	
VrS 33.4–21	Y 4.4–21	
VrS 33.22	#Y 4.22	
VrS 33.23–25	Y 4.23–25	
VrS 34.1–6	##Y 5	Y 36.1–6
VrS 35.1		Y 17.1
VrS 35.2–7	## Y 6	Y 17.2–7
VrS 35.8–18		VrS 7.1–11
VrS 35.19–27		Y 17.9–17
VrS 35.28		VrS 32.32, #Y 25.3
VrS 35.29		#Y 25.4
VrS 35.30		Y 26
VrS 35.31–33	Y 6.19–21	
VrS 36.1	#Y 71+Y 7.2	
VrS 36.2	#Y 7.4	
VrS 36.3–22	Y 7.5–25	
VrS 36.23		#Y 52.1
VrS 36.24–26		Y 52.2–4
VrS 36.27	no equivalent	
VrS 36.29		Y 27.14
VrS 36.30		Y 35.2
VrS 36.31		Y 35.5
VrS 36.32	no equivalent	
VrS 36.33–34	Y 7.26 -28	
VrS 37.1	#Y 8.1	
VrS 37.2		

Obviously, both texts are parallel, but there are also clear differences. Neither
Westergaard nor Geldner edited the Bāj Dharnā, however. Later in the ceremony
further additions appear that are again not included in the Pahlavi manuscripts.[14]

Furthermore, the Pahlavi manuscripts do not include all variations and addi-
tions of the Wīsperad even between Y1 and Y54. Additions and variations are
only included in the exegetical manuscripts of the Wīsperad when the text does
not appear in the Yasna or earlier in the Wīsperad and accordingly has not yet
been translated into Pahlavi. The rest of the additions and variations do not ap-
pear in the exegetical manuscripts. For instance, in the middle of Y25.1 a long in-
tercalation appears in the Wīsperad. It is a combination of Vr3.13–14 and Vr7.1–4:

Y 25.1a VrS 14.1	aməṣā spəṇtā huxšaϑrā huδā̊ŋhō yazamaide ahurəm mazdąm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide zaraϑuštrəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide zaraϑuštrahe ašaonō frauuašīm yazamaide aməṣ̌ō spəṇtō ašaonąm yazamaide		Y 25.1a Vr 3.13
VrS 14.2		ašāunąm vaŋʰīš sūrā̊ spəṇtā̊.frauuašaiiō yazā-maide […] jaγmūštəmąm ašaonō ašahe raϑβō ratufritīm yazamaide	Vr 3.14
VrS 14.3		vaca aršuxδa yazamaide sraošəm ašīm yazamaide […] vahištəm ahūm ašaonąm yazamaide raocaŋhəm vīspō.xᵛāϑrəm (3×)	Vr 7.1
VrS 14.4		vahištahe aŋhōuš vahištąm aiianąm yaza-maide […] rəuuīm rauuō.vacaŋhąm rəuuīm rauuō.šiiaoϑənanąm frā tanuuō rəṇjaiieiti	Vr 7.2
VrS 14.5		nairiiąm hąm.varəitīm yazamaide […] xᵛafnəm mazdaδātəm yazamaide šāitīm pasuuā̊ vīraiiā̊	Vr 7.3
VrS 14.6		auuā̊ dāmąn ašauuanō yazamaide yā̊ həṇti paoiriiō.dāta […] yazamaide paoiriiō.dātəm paoiriiō.fraϑβarštəm gaēϑīm gaēϑaiiā̊ stōiš	Vr 7.4
Y 25.1b	iməm haoməm ašaiia uzdātəm yazamaide imąmcā gąm jīuuiiąm ašaiia uzdātąm yazamaide imąmcā uruuarąm haδānaēpatąm ašaiia uzdātąm yazamaide		

The Pahlavi manuscripts fail to include these intercalations because these texts
have already been translated before. It is clear that for the analysis of the cer-
emony such intercalations at different places are relevant, even if they have al-

14   They can easily be consulted in the text of the Wīsperad ceremony I have uploaded to
      the Avestan Digital Archive mentioned in former footnote.

ready appeared before. However, they were not included either by WESTER-GAARD nor by GELDNER in their editions of the Wīsperad, since they edited only the sections of the Wīsperad that appear in the exegetical manuscripts.

Furthermore, each variant of the long liturgy appears in different variations according to different parameters like the date of the ceremony, the place, the purpose, etc. GELDNER seldom mentions any liturgical variations in the apparatus. This is, for instance, the case of the different text for Y0.2 depending on whether the ceremony is celebrated in the Fire Temple or in private houses; or of the two alternative recitations of the dialogic Ahuna Vairiia in Y0.3 (although the conditions are misrepresented). Mostly he does not mention the variants at all. In Y0, for instance, the Frauuarāne appears twice and according to GELDNER the only difference is that in Y0.1 the last sentence of the Frauuarāne that appears in Y0.4 is missing. Yet what we have is two totally different Frauuarāne prayers: the first one is the Frauuarāne of the corresponding *gāh* (*frauuarāne čē gāh dared* in the formulation of the Nērangestān), whereas the second one is the Frauuarāne of the corresponding ceremony. In the case of the daily morning Yasna both are identical with the exception of the omission of the last sentence in the first one. In the case of the Yasna ī Rapihwin both are identical too, but in the case of the Wīsperad, Wīdēwdād and Wīštasp Yašt they are totally different, but these variants are not mentioned in GELDNER at all.

The dedicatories are one of this important set of variables to take into account in the performance of each ceremony. All different variants of the long liturgy can be celebrated with different dedicatories. The Yasna manuscripts show almost exclusively the dedicatory of the daily morning ceremony which is edited by GELDNER, but the manuscript ML 15285 (60) mentions as an alternative the dedicatory to Srōš. The Wīsperad and the Wīdēwdād appear usually in the manuscripts with different dedicatories. An edition of the long liturgy should therefore also take into account the different dedicatories mentioned in the manuscripts as possibilities for each ceremony, and not just present the standard daily dedicatory that usually appears in the manuscripts of the Yasna ceremony and which is the only one edited by GELDNER.

An edition of the Zoroastrian long liturgy cannot be limited, in fact, to the presentation of one standard version of the simplest celebration, the daily morning ceremony known as Yasna. It should include the different variants of the liturgy (Yasna, Wīsperad or intercalation ceremonies) as well as the set of variables of each of these variants depending on multiple factors (like date, place, purpose, dedicatory, etc.). The exegetical manuscripts and the Western editors usually reproduce only a complete ceremony, the daily morning ceremony, in a standard version. The liturgical manuscripts show, however, a vivid image of the ritual variations. This change of perspective implies important changes in the editorial process. The basis for establishing the text as a whole (but not necessarily for each reading) must be the liturgical manuscripts, and the ritual aspect must be taken seriously and should be presented conveniently in a new edition.

This implies the edition not only of the Avestan text, but also of the ritual directions mentioned in the manuscripts, for they are essential for knowing the ritual context of the Avestan recitatives. The Avestan texts are oral texts that do not exist beyond their performance. The ritual directions included in the liturgical manuscripts are the oldest clues as to the performance of these texts that we know. Furthermore, as I have mentioned before, these ritual directions are considerably old, since in the Pahlavi version they go back to Sasanian times. A separate edition of the Pahlavi ritual directions without the Avestan recitative is difficult to conceive, therefore I consider it most convenient to edit the ritual directions together with the Avestan text.

In fact, not only the Pahlavi directions must be edited, but also the Gujarati ones. This leads us to another important question regarding the edition of the long liturgy, viz. the chronological and geographical changes of the liturgy. Although one of the main features of liturgy is its conservatism, the liturgy does not remain identical through history. At different times and in different places changes are introduced in the living liturgy. Thus, despite the striking similarities and parallels between descriptions of the long liturgy in the manuscripts and in the Nērangestān, there are also some differences which arose in the time gap between the composition of the Nērangestān and the extant manuscripts. Some of them are minimal changes in the performance of each ceremony, but some are more far-reaching.

New liturgies (or variants of the same liturgy) appear and others disappear. One of the liturgies best represented in the manuscripts, the Wīdēwdād ceremony, is not mentioned at all in the Nērangestān;[15] the Vīstāsp Yašt ceremony is known only in Iran, but not in India; the preserved version of Wīsperad retains texts that belong to a lost intercalation ceremony, the Bayān Yašt, which is mentioned in the Nērangestān but probably had disappeared at the time of the manuscripts; etc.

Even the small variations and changes do not only affect the ritual actions but often imply changes in the recitatives. The dialogic version of the Ahuna Vairiia (e.g. Y 0.3) is most likely to be an old ritual direction in Avestan: if the *zaotar* continues to be the same, then he will recite *yaϑā ahū vairiiō (yaϑā ahū vairiiō zaōtā frā.mē mrūtē)*. If one assistant priest takes the place of the former *zaotar*, then he who is going to be *zaotar (yō zaōta)* will recite *yaϑā ahū vairiiō*. The exact details of the interpretation of this old n*ērang* have yet to be elucidated, but it seems almost sure that this is an old *nērang* substituing a single recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia.[16] Nevertheless it was introduced into the liturgy instead of the corresponding Ahuna Variia most probably before the beginning of the written transmission.

15   Of course, this does not necessarily mean that the Wīdēwdād ceremony is post-Sasanian!
16   The long liturgy never prescribes a single recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia. This is most probably due to the fact that a single recitation of the Ahuna Vairiia was the moment for the change of function between officiating priests. Therefore, instead of the single recitation, the ritual instruction for this changing of the guard appears.

In V 5.28–35 the Iranian liturgical and exegetical Wīdēwdād manuscripts add seven times after *aēša yā nasuš* the words *axtica piuuatica ahitica frašnaōiti* which obviously do not belong to the original text. This is probably a more or less conscious addition under the influence of V 6.39. The Indian Sāde manuscripts were not affected by this addition, because such a modification referred to a change of the ritual practice within the Iranian community. More frequently, however, do we find changes in the liturgy in India that did not affect the Iranian practice. In Y 0.2, e. g., some Indian manuscripts (like the related manuscripts L 17 [100] and B 3 [230]) add after the dedicatory to the fire the text *xšaθrō nafəðrō nairiiō. saŋhahe yazatahe xšnaoθra yasnāica vahmāica xšnaōθrāica frasastaiiaēca* which is obviously a ritual variant originating in India.

A more significant innovation in the Indian liturgy appears, for instance, in Y 54 in the Wīdēwdād ceremony. The text of Vr 16.1–3 (VrS 21.2–4[17]) which is recited after the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti in the Wīsperad ceremony is repeated after the Wīsperad section following Y 54.2 (viz. Vr 24.0 = VrS 29.0) in the Wīdēwdād ceremony in India, but not in the Iranian manuscripts.[18] The different texts recited at this place can be compared in the following table:

	Iranian Wīdēwdād ceremony	Indian Wīdēwdād ceremony
VrS 29.1 = Vr 24.0	*airiiamanəm išīm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide maṭ. afsmanəm maṭ.vacastaštīm maṭ. āzaiṇtīm maṭ.pərəsūm maṭ.paiti. pərəsūm maṭ vaγžibiiāca paṭbiiasca huframərətəm framarəmnəm hufrāiiaštəm frāiiaēziiaṇtəm xᵛahmi dąm xᵛahmi ciθre fraxšne auui manō zrazdātōiṭ aŋhuiiaṭ haca*	*airiiamanəm išīm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide maṭ.afsmanəm maṭ.vacastaštīm maṭ.āzaiṇtīm maṭ. pərəsūm maṭ.paiti.pərəsūm maṭ vaγžibiiāca paṭbiiasca huframərətəm framarəmnəm hufrāiiaštəm frāiiaēziiaṇtəm xᵛahmi dąm xᵛahmi ciθre fraxšne auui manō zrazdātōiṭ aŋhuiiaṭ haca*
VS 54.1 = VrS 21.2		*ātrəmca iδa ahurahe mazdå puθrəm yazamaide ātarš ciθrǡsca yazatō yazamaide ātarš ciθrǡsca rašnušca yazamaide ašāunąmca frauuašaiiō yazamaide sraošəmca yim vərəθrājanəm yazamaide narəmca yim ašauuanəm yazamaide vīspąmca yąm ašaonō stīm yazamaide.*

17 For this new numbering cf. http://ada.usal.es/pages/ceremonies.
18 The same innovation probably appears in the Indian Wīsperad ceremony. However, I could only check the Indian manuscript K 8 which is written in "Iranian style" and does not include the insertion of Vr 16.1–3. Nevertheless, all the Indian Wīdēwdād liturgical manuscripts show this variant which does not appear in any of the Iranian manuscripts consulted.

	Iranian Wīdēwdād ceremony	Indian Wīdēwdād ceremony
VS 54.2 = VrS 21.3		*zaraϑuštrahe spitāmahe iδa ašaonō ašīmca frauuašīmca yazamaide vīspaēca iδa ašaonō ašīmca frauuašīmca yazamaide vīspå frauuašaiiō ašāunąm yazamaide ādax̌iiunąmca ašaonąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide uzdāx̌iiunąmca ašaonąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide narąmca ašaonąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide nāirinąmca ašaoninąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide.*
VS 54.3 = VrS 21.4		*yaēšąm nō ahurō mazdå ašauua yesne paiti vaŋhō vaēδa aēšąm zaraϑuštrō aŋhuca ratušca šōiϑriia apasca zəmasca uruuaråsca yazamaide.*
VS 54.4 = VrS 21.5		VS 54.1–3 *do bar guftan*
VrS 29.2 = Vr 24.1	*auuaṯ miždəm yazamaide auuaṯ dasuuarə yazamaide auuaṯ …*	*auuaṯ miždəm yazamaide auuaṯ dasuuarə yazamaide auuaṯ …*

Thus when editing the Avestan long liturgy, we are dealing with a (to some extent) fluid or dynamic tradition, not a totally static one. There have been changes and modifications of the ritual and of the recited Avestan texts even after it was first written down and even during the period of the extant manuscripts. Therefore, the editor must decide which historical liturgy he or she wants to or is able to edit on the basis of the available materials. We could try to reconstruct the Sasanian long liturgy on the basis of the manuscripts and of the information in the Nērangestān, but in my opinion the degree of uncertainty would be too great. In my view, the first historical stage of the long liturgy we can try to reconstruct with a sufficient degree of certainty is the long liturgy in the different variants that were celebrated in Iran between the end of the 13th (date of K 7) and the early 17th century (date of most of the Iranian Sāde manuscripts). The comparison of the manuscripts Mf 1 (10) with Pt 4 (400) and Mf 4 (410) shows that at least the daily morning ceremony was celebrated in almost exactly the same way in the 10th century. The oldest Indian Sādes (16th century) also show a high degree of coincidence, but later Indian manuscripts introduce several changes.

Thus, from the point of view of the *constitutio textus*, a new edition of the Zoroastrian long liturgy must fulfill the following requirements:

– The text (but not each single variant) must be based on the liturgical manuscripts originating from a coherent time and place. Accordingly, I think that a separate edition of the Iranian and Indian ceremony would be advisable.

The critical apparatus should mention the chronological and geographic variants which are not included in the edited text.

– The different ceremonies of the long liturgy, and not only the basic daily morning ceremony, must be edited.

– The set of variables of each ceremony depending on factors like date, place or purpose of the ceremony must also be included in the edition.

– The ritual directions must be edited together with the Avestan texts. The Pahlavi directions should be edited when editing the Iranian ceremony and the Gujarati ones when editing the Indian ceremony.

Despite GELDNER's (1896, p. xlvi) affirmation that "the higher criticism has therefore only a slight field in the Avesta", different types of manuscripts present the texts differently according to their various purposes. The decision to take one or other text type as a basis for our edition is a substantial one. The liturgical Avestan texts must be edited on the basis of the liturgical manuscripts, not of the exegetical ones.

The choice of readings

WESTERGAARD (1852–1854, p. 15) stated:

> All copies of the Zendavesta […] present the same text. They differ extremely, it is true, in the way of spelling the words; but however great the variance the word is the same, even though we are unable to detect its real and true form.

Despite the surprising accuracy of the oral and written transmission of the Avesta, we must acknowledge, however, a certain instability in the exact recitation and in the writing down of the Avestan liturgical texts at the time of our manuscripts. There are numerous minimal variations of each word in the manuscripts, even though they concern mostly orthographic (like differences between *aō/ao, aē/ae, ōu/ou*, the apparition of the dividing dot or not, etc.) or more often phonetic phenomena (like the confusion between *i, e* and *ə* or between *ī, ē* and *aē*, the presence or absence of epenthetic vowels, etc.). Thus, in a selection of manuscripts, a frequent word like *ńiuuaēδaiiemi* attests in its first attestation of Y 1.2 the 7 following variants besides the correct form: *niuuaē.δaiiemi* T 46 (4240); *niuuaē.δaiieme* R 278 (4220); *niuuaē. daiiaēmi* L 17 (100); *niuuaēδaiieimi* K 11 (110); *naiuuae.saiiaimi* G 97 (235); *niuuaeiδaiiemi* O 2 (4250). Observe that none of these variants is the result of a clear graphical confusion.[19]

The variations appear not only between the spellings of the same word in different manuscripts, but also between the spellings of the same word in different passages of the same manuscript. It is a case of great variability within a textual

---

19   A graphical interpretation for *naiuuaē°* G 97 (235) is possible.

homogeneity. The very crux of each edition of an Avestan text is, indeed, how to deal with the minimal variations at word level.

The variation in the witnesses is a central methodological problem for the edition of each text attested in different sources. There are two basic different approaches to this problem:

– The eclectic edition assumes that there is no perfect copy and hence tries to reconstruct "the original text or archetype" on the basis of the different witnesses. In the pure Lachmannian method the selection of one reading and the relegation of the others to the critical apparatus basically recurs to text-critical arguments: the value of a reading depends mainly on the position of its witnesses in the *stemma*.[20] The purely eclectic method, on the other hand, lays more stress on the feeling of the editor which is, of course, not a purely subjective affair, but a judgement formed according to philological or linguistic reasons or both and which disregards the stemmatic position of the witnesses of the chosen reading.[21] Most modern eclectic editions (including the editions of Avestan texts) follow the middle way which combines the data obtained from the position of the witnesses within the *stemma* with other philological and linguistic data.
– The diplomatic edition tries not to create, through the combination of readings of different sources, an artificial text which has probably never existed. This method, inaugurated by Bédier (1928), prefers to select the best witness available and to take it as basis for the edition.

The obvious advantage of the diplomatic editions is that the text edited is a historical reality, whereas eclectic editions edit a reconstructed text which has probably never existed in this form. But the main disadvantage is equally obvious: if the basis manuscript is not the "original", then it will contain transmission errors. Therefore, we must accept that we are editing necessarily an "imperfect" text containing errors which could, sometimes at least, be easily corrected with the help of other witnesses. This difficulty can be partially solved by quoting the readings of other witnesses in the apparatus. This is exactly the method followed by the edition of the Wīdēwdād ceremony by Brockhaus (1850), made with different criteria than the later editions of Westergaard and Geldner. It is based on two liturgical manuscripts (actually, on two editions of two manuscripts) and reproduces the text of one of them (the Paris codex P 1), quoting in the apparatus the readings of a Bombay manuscript. Although rarely used, this edition remained our only source (together with Burnouf's facsimile of P 1) for at least one variant of the Wīdēwdād ceremony until the publication of several Wīdēwdād manuscripts in the Avestan Digital Archive.

20   The classical formulation of this method appears in Maas's *Textkritik* (Maas 1927).
21   This approach has its origins mainly in Bédier's criticism of the Lachmannian method (Bédier 1928).

A purely diplomatic edition, however, is a difficult thing to envisage in the case of the Avesta. Our manuscripts, especially the ritual ones, are not merely scribal copies of former originals, but are very close to the actual recitation of the text so that they show a great variability in the reproduction of the complex phonetic reality of the Avestan recitatives. There is in the manuscripts an important degree of instability concerning the exact phonetic shape of the text, apart from the usual orthographic variations and the transmission errors common to any written transmission. All manuscripts, even those that we consider to be better, are inconsistent in the spelling of a single word in different passages. The influence of the pronunciation of the texts in the ritual practice and the lack of orthographical guidelines has, in effect, produced manuscripts with plenty of orthographical inconsistencies.

The degree of dependence from the actual pronunciation or from the written sources is not the same in all the copies. Different manuscripts take different positions between these two axes. Even where we believe we can discern manuscripts clearly influenced by the oral transmission, these manuscripts may be the accurate copies of others which are actually responsible for this strong influence of the oral transmission. Accordingly, these manuscripts will show the typical phonetic variations but may contain characteristic errors of the written transmission as well. This is clearly the case of L 17 (100). It looks like a manuscript dependent on the recitation, but in fact it is an indirect copy of B 3 (230) and shows errors like the omission of a complete line of B 3 (see p. 444).

As I have discussed in "Building trees" (p. 290ff.), there is no reliable evidence either for the existence of an archetype of the long liturgy or for one archetype for each liturgy. And even if there were one archetype, none of the manuscripts would be a trustworthy copy of it. All our manuscripts are the result of a copying process combined with exegetical changes and influenced by the practical ritual life. Even the exegetical manuscripts, which are less perceptible to the influence of ritual practice, are anything but trustworthy copies of their originals. The exegetical manuscripts K 1 and L 4 are both copies of the same original by the same copyist, and yet they show many, many different readings. Their index of agreement, when comparing the Avestan text of V 10, is just 84,9 %[22] (that is, only 388 words of a total of 457 are identical in both copies).

Consequently, the Avestan texts have always been edited eclectically (with the exception, already mentioned, of BROCKHAUS's edition of the Wīdēwdād ceremony). WESTERGAARD and GELDNER make a historical-critical edition, a method introduced by LACHMANN in the first half of the 19th century. Both try to analyse the available manuscripts in order to reconstruct the history of their copying process so that each manuscript can be evaluated accordingly. However, the position of the witness in the *stemma* is not the only criterion for the

---

22 Data obtained through the Tool for Avestan Textual Criticism (http://ada.usal.es/ analizador) on the basis of a collation made by ANDRÉS-TOLEDO.

selection of the readings by these two editors. WESTERGAARD judged the oldest manuscript of each class to be the best one, but he felt "fully entitled to adopt from the other classes, or from single manuscripts, those readings that appear more worthy, even where a modern copy only gives as it were by chance what is apparently the truer or more correct form" (1852–1854, p. 23). Similarly, for GELDNER the selection of each reading is made only "after weighing the particular case individually and under the guidance also of experience and of a certain feeling" (GELDNER 1886, p. xlvii).[23]

Actually, HOFFMANN and NARTEN criticised emphatically that GELDNER's decisions as to the correct readings were mainly based on text-critical and not on linguistic arguments (hence the very few textual corrections undertaken by GELDNER), whereas they considered it inacceptable to edit obviously wrong forms only because they were the readings unanimously transmitted by the manuscripts. In the Erlangen school linguistic criteria are more strongly preferred over text-critical ones than in the case of WESTERGAARD and GELDNER, although its work is a reaction against the uncontrolled preference of a linguistic analysis over the forms attested in the manuscripts in Andreas's theory. Modern editors follow a similar method: their choices are governed by linguistic and philological reasons, whenever possible, while text-critical reasoning plays, if any, a secondary role.[24]

Although their methodologies differ, the *leitmotiv* of WESTERGAARD and GELDNER, on the one hand, and HOFFMANN and NARTEN, on the other, is similar. WESTERGAARD (1852–1854, p. 23) pretended "to reach the Sassanian original, or rather to go so far back towards this as the nature of the copies would allow, without arbitrary emendations". GELDNER was similarly, if perhaps less optimistically, inclined. His "sole effort" was "to arrive at the stage of the ultimate and final redaction of the text which took place, in part at least, a considerable time after the first Yezdegerd" (GELDNER 1886, I, p. xlvi).

---

23 It has been objected that, instead of taking his own decisions based on this methodology, he very often followed the decisions taken earlier by WESTERGAARD (HOFFMANN/ NARTEN 1989, p. 19).

24 However, inconsistencies are frequent. HINTZE (2009, p. 107ff.) assumes, based on the etymology proposed by her, that the reading *hamaspaθmaēdaiia- /maēδaiia-*, which is better attested in the manuscripts, is a mistake in the transmission for *hamaspaθmaiδiia-*. She retains, however, the traditional reading of this festival's name, although in other similar cases adduced she proposes corrections (of GELDNER's text) like *maiγe* for *maēγe* (V 13.37) or *mauuaiθīm* for *mauuaēθīm* (Y 40.1). For such problems, a statistical analysis of fluctuations (between *ai* and *aē*, in this case) would be very convenient. It would be useful to know if the manuscripts that attest the reading *ai* instead of *aē* show a tendency to change *aē* into *ai* or, if manuscripts with *aē* attest the contrary tendency. In my view, in order to be able to accept the reading *ºmaiδiia-* in the text, it should be attested in at least one of the best manuscripts of a text type in which the change for *aē* to *ai* is very infrequent. The same criterion would apply for the forms *maiγe* and *mauuaiθīm*.

While in Andreas's theory the Sasanian Avesta was already a corruption of the Arsacid Avesta, Hoffmann (following a similar position held by Bailey, Morgenstierne and Henning) assumes that the Sasanian Avesta was a very *accurate reproduction of the Avestan texts as they were recited in Sasanian times* when the Avesta script was invented. But the original Sasanian written Avesta deteriorated in the course of the transmission until the first manuscripts we know. Nevertheless, according to Hoffmann a scrutiny of the inconsistencies in the different manuscripts and within each single manuscript allows us to recognise the original form that was written in the Sasanian archetype, viz. the way this word was written when the Avesta was written for the first time.

The invented Avestan script was a very accurate phonetic script, able to reproduce minimal phonetic variations. Some of these distinctions were no longer kept from the 13th century onwards or at least the responsible scribes for the writing of our extant manuscripts were not able to distinguish them clearly. Nevertheless, the philological and linguistic tools allow us to discover the original spelling behind the variety of readings attested in the manuscripts. Thus Hoffmann was, indeed, able in a series of articles (1971, 1986; Hoffmann/ Narten 1989) to define the original value of all the letters of the Avestan alphabet. For instance, although the manuscripts do not distinguish between *š, š̠* and *š̮*,[25] Hoffmann (1986) identified the correct distribution (*š* < Iir. *š*; *š̠* < Iir. postonic *rt*; *š̮* < Iir. *ci̯*-).[26] Once we know which was the original form of a word in the Sasanian written Avesta, then we should edit it in its original written form, disregarding the readings attested in the manuscripts. The manuscripts are the way for knowing the original written form of each word, ending or cluster. Once we have discovered this original shape, the witness of the manuscripts in each concrete case has a very secondary value. Thus, independently of which *š* is attested in a concrete passage for *aša-* "Order", since we know that the Sasanian shape of it was *aša-* and not *aša̠-* or *aša̮-*, we should edit it always as *aša-*.

The more significant methodological innovation made by Hoffmann was the introduction of a philological and linguistic method for gathering the original spelling from the variety of readings attested in the manuscripts. Since the variants attested in a concrete passage are to a certain extent erratic, the decision cannot be taken just on the basis of text-critical criteria. The essential features of this new method are summarised in the first chapter of *Der Sassanidische Archetypus* (Hoffmann/Narten 1989, p. 21):

> Der philologische Untersuchungsgang hat nach bewährter Methode für jede in Frage stehende Spracherscheinung der Phonetik, Flexion, Wortbildung, Semantik

25 So it was thought. Nevertheless, I have shown recently that the Iranian liturgical manuscripts of the 17th century distinguish quite well between *š* and *š̠*. The *š̮* is, however, no longer used in the expected osition, but used as an allograph of *š* and *š̠* before *ii*.

26 Geldner also introduced a certain regular distribution, based on the distribution he found in the usage by Mihrabān Kayosrōw: *š̠* e. g. appears always after *x* and *š̮* before *ii*.

oder Syntax das Material möglichst vollständig zu sammeln und jeden Einzel-
beleg nach seiner handschriftlichen Bezeugtheit zu kontrollieren. Abweichungen
von einer eventuell so festgestellten Norm sind daraufhin zu überprüfen, ob sie
überhaupt der betreffenden Spracherscheinung angehören oder nicht vielmehr
anders erklärt werden müssen. …

Ist aber eine bestimmte Interpretation durch den Kontext gefordert und damit
ein bestimmter grammatischer Wert für jede der dastehenden Wortformen, dann
ist aufgrund des am Gesammtmaterial erarbeiteten philologischen Befundes
auch eine entsprechende Lautgestalt für die Wortformen zu postulieren. Die Di-
vergenz zwischen dem philologischen Postulat und dem Überlieferten stellt das
Problem, dessen Lösung es zu suchen gilt.

The editorial decision must therefore be taken on the basis of a complete analysis
of the writings attested for each phonetic, grammatical or lexical unit involved
in a passage. When editing *rašnaoš* in Y 1.7, for instance, we do not rely just on
the evidence of the manuscripts for this passage and the parallel passages, but we
also check the different spellings attested of the genitive singular of the *u-* stems
and of the etymological cluster **ǵn*, and we analyse them trying to discover the
original spelling and the history of the alternative spellings attested. The read-
ings attested in Y 1.7 are:

- *rašnōiš* appears in all the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna, in the Iranian Wīsperad
  Sāde G 18 (2010), in the Indian Yasna Sāde L 17 (100) and B 3 (230) and in the
  only Iranian Yasna Sāde consulted ML 15285 (60)
- *rašnōiš* in the Iranian Wīsperad Sāde AQ 3973 (2020)
- *rasnōiš* in all Indian Yasna Sāde (but L 17 and B 3)
- *rašnaōš* in the Sanskrit Yasna S 1 and as a correction in the Iranian Yasna
  Sāde ML 15285 (60)
- *rašnaoš* in the Indian Pahlavi Yasna J 2 (500) and M 1 (530)
- *rašnaōš* in K 5 (510).

In the Wīdēwdād ceremony VS 1.3 corresponds to Y 1.7 and in the Wīštāsp Yašt
ceremony VytS 1.3. All the Iranian and Indian Sādes show *rašnōiš* in this passage,
except Mf 2 (4020) and the modern part of Wīdēwdād Atabak which have *rašnaoiš*.

The *š* corresponding to an Iir. *ǰ* before *n* should be *š* according to HOFF-
MANN's distribution and, in fact, *š* is clearly better represented in the manu-
scripts. More difficult is the problem of the ending. Although the ending *-aoš*
is limited to the exegetical Indian manuscripts in this passage, NARTEN (1969)
has shown in a general analysis of the ending of the genitive singular of the *u-*
stems that the standard form in Young Avestan is *-aoš*. She assumes that *-oiš*
is a learned change of *-aoš* into *-ōiš* because of the rareness of the ending *-aoš*.
Thus we should edit *rašnaoš* according to HOFFMANN's method, although this
reading is not attested in Y 1.7 and *rašnōiš* is the best attested reading. GELDNER
edited *rašnaoš*, since it is the form attested in Mihrabān's manuscripts and he
gives often the preeminence to Mihrabān's readings.

The paper of K. Hoffmann about the accusative plural of the thematic stems (Hoffmann 1970) is paradigmatic of this approach, as is Narten's paper, mentioned above (p. 464), on the genitive singular of the *u*-stems.[27]

Although Hoffmann never edited an Avestan text, his methodology has been applied to most subsequent editions of Avestan texts, and his transliteration and method have been common features of most new editions of Avestan texts ever since. In fact, it has been the final impulse behind most of the editions of single Avestan texts produced in the past years The first edition following this methodology was Narten's Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (Narten 1986a) and many followed (cf. Hintze's "On editing the Avesta"). This methodological change would in itself have justified a new edition of the Avesta. Yet some aspects of this methodology are worth a deeper reflexion. This cannot and will not be done here, Geldner's dependence on Mihrabān and his lack of systematic methodology in the choice of readings being sufficient in itself to show the necessity of a new edition of the Avestan texts (and this is the aim of this paper). Nevertheless, I deem advisable to start a discussion about some editorial problems raised by the systematic application of Hoffmann's method with a series of very general remarks. These difficulties differ in nature and range. On the one hand, the theoretical frame that entitles us to edit the ritual texts in their *Sasanian* shape might be illusive. On the other hand, the resulting text might be incoherent from the chronological point of view and show an illusory uniformity.

Hoffmann (as Westergaard and Geldner before him) assumes a linear history of the Avestan manuscripts descending from the Sasanian archetype to the hyparchetypes (the Yazd-original for Westergaard) and then to the extant manuscripts. Therefore, the result of the analysis of the variants in the manuscripts is the original form in the Sasanian archetype, that is, the way in which the oral recitation in the Sasanian times was put into the written form in Sasanian times. Since all our texts derive from this Sasanian archetype, we are entitled to edit them in their oldest written shape. Actually, the linearity of the transmission from the alleged Sasanian archetype is questioned several times in this volume. Our manuscripts reproduce the text of different liturgies and do not derive from the Sasanian Great Avesta. They derive from a parallel liturgical collection (according to Kellens) or rather they reproduce the descriptions of the ceremonies used in the priestly schools for the training of priests.[28] The liturgical Avestan texts preserved in the manuscripts do not derive from the

---

27 There are numerous contributions with similar methodology and target. I quote only some of the most representative samples: Narten 1975; Schindler 1982; Kellens 1986, 1997; Narten 1986a; de Vaan 2000, 2003; Tremblay 2009.

28 In fact, when a ceremony is no longer celebrated, it ceases to be copied. Thus, the Sasanian Bayān Yašt ceremony is not to be found in the extant manuscripts because it was probably no longer celebrated from the 13th century on. Manuscripts of the Wīštāsp Yašt ceremony are only of Iranian origin, probably because this ceremony was not celebrated in India. The collective character is obvious, however, for the Xwardag Abastāg and the Yašt.

Great Avesta, but are guides for the really celebrated ceremonies that can have been written down at different times and in different places. Consequently, we cannot assume that all manuscripts of the ceremonies derive from a Sasanian original, which is why, if we edit them in their *Sasanian* shape, we might be creating illusory texts or shaping them in a way in which they have never been written down. In fact, different orthographic conventions like the abbreviations (cf. TREMBLAY in this volume, p. 118ff.) for the ritual Avesta and the texts surviving from the Great Avesta (like the Husparom) might reveal different schools and perhaps different chronologies for the writing down of both collections.

Furthermore, the simplification of the recitation and the loss of the distinctive pronunciation of different sounds are progressive. Thus the manuscripts show different degrees of confusion for different phenomena. Whereas there is very little evidence of the real use of the Avestan letter for *ą̇* in the manuscripts or even less of the original value of the initial *y* used in India, the distribution between *ṣ̌* and *š* is still quite correct in the Iranian manuscripts of the 17th century. Therefore, we can assume that the confusion of nasal *ə̨* and *ą* took place before the confusion between *ṣ̌* and *š*. Consequently, if we edit our texts with the original distribution between *ą̇* (for *ə̨*) and *ą*, we give the text either in its *original written shape* or at least in the shape of a stage older than the one reproduced if we kept to the original distribution of *ṣ̌* and *š*. Only if we chose the Sasanian archetype as a chronological horizon were we entitled to edit our ritual texts in their reconstructed *original written shape*.

While HOFFMANN worked mainly on the basis of the incomplete data provided by GELDNER in his text-critical apparatus, we have today at our disposal, thanks to the Avestan Digital Archive, an important set of manuscripts so that an analysis of the orthographic conventions in each manuscript and group of manuscripts is possible. Thus we are able to learn about the degree of confusion of the pronunciation of some sounds in different places and at different times. This knowledge will allow us to take a more conscious decision about the chronology of the text we want to edit.

If we decide to reconstruct the oldest stage of the written Avesta for all texts (which still remains, of course, a legitimate decision) and try to edit the oldest available form, we must be aware that we will then probably be reconstructing an incoherent text from the chronological point of view. While the existence of dead letters and other analyses often allows us to reconstruct a likely version of the *Sasanian* shape of the Avestan texts, as often as not they do not. A very unpretentious example: which was the *original* shape of the diphthong *ao*? Was it *aō* or *ao*?

The problem becomes even more acute if instead of asking about the phonetic pronunciation of each phonetic cluster, we ask about the date of the introduction of some conscious changes made to the text. Thus in Y 1.9 the manuscripts show *fraōuruuaēštrimāi*, although the original form is probably **fraōraēštrimāi*. The attested form is influenced by the simple *uruuaēstrima-*, but when was the

original form changed into *fraōuruuaēštrimāi*? The restitution of the simple form in compounds can be pre-Sasanian, Sasanian or later. Even in the course of the written transmission of the texts, we find instances of such reintroductions of the simple in compounds. A clear case is the change of *huδāmanō* into *huδåmanō* in Y 1.1 in most of the Iranian manuscripts because of the influence of *huδå*. Since the oldest Iranian liturgical manuscript (Ave 976 [4000]) retains the old form, it is likely that the simple *huδå* was introduced into the compound independently in India and Iran in the course of the written transmission. And similar questions arise, for instance, in the case of extended dedicatories that appear only in the Indian versions of the ceremonies. Should we edit them in their *Sasanian* shape or as they appear in the manuscripts?

The last problem posed by Hoffmann's editorial methodology is, so to speak, a natural consequence of it. Since the aim is to reduce the diversity of witnesses to the original form, it artificially produces a linguistic uniformity. It assumes that the oral transmission was so accurate that in Sasanian times all the original phonetic groups were transmitted exactly in the same way (for example, that the minimal distinction between *ŋ* and *ń* was kept throughout all the texts) and that all the texts were written down from a very accurate source in an equally accurate manner. But a different picture of the writing down of the Avestan rituals is more likely: the rituals were written down in different places and at different times by different transcribers. Thus, a certain degree of variety is to be assumed and the reconstructed uniformity might be illusory. Whereas Geldner (1886, I, p. l) tried to be "as consistent as possible without doing too much violence to the text as transmitted",[29] and after finishing his work he even said that he should have admitted some further inconsistencies into the text, the new methodology feels free to create consistencies everywhere.

In fact, the manuscripts are hardly consistent, even in cases where they seem to be so. The case of *ń* is a good example. According to Hoffmann and Narten (1989, p. 59ff.) *ń* was originally always used before *i(ii)* and *e*. The Iranian manuscripts make frequent use of the *ń*, while in the Indian ones it appears only very rarely. Before *ii* its use is regular in the oldest liturgical Iranian manuscripts.[30] On the other hand, it is only rarely used before *i* and *e* (e.g. Y 9.2 *staōmaińe* in Mf 2 [4020] that appears as *staōmaińi* in G 18b [2010] and *stōmaińi* in Ml 15284 [20], whereas the rest of manuscripts show *n*). Nevertheless, as already noticed by Bartholomae (1883, p. 194f.) and Hoffmann and Narten (1989, p. 60),

---

29 Brockhaus, on the other hand (1850), decided to reflect in his diplomatic edition of the Wīdēwdād ceremony the orthographic differences of the two manuscripts used by him. Nevertheless, he dispensed with some very frequent differences that he considered paleographical, like the one between *ao* and *aō*.

30 But even there the attestation in the manuscripts is not regular. Thus, in VS 1.2 (=Y 1.2) *asńiiaēibiiō* appears in the Iranian Wīdēwdād Sāde manuscripts 4000 (Ave 976) and 4051 (the new part of Wīdēwdād Atabak), whereas in the rest of the Iranian manuscripts we find *asniiaēibiiō*.

the frequent verb *ńiuuaēδaiiemi* appears in almost all Iranian manuscripts sys-
tematically spelt with an *ń*. However, I have not found other examples of the
preverb *ni* spelt with an *ń*. Even in the same phonetic context it always appears
as *ni-* (*niuuazaiti* V 5.8, *niuuāitiš* Y 10.16, etc.). This might be explained in dif-
ferent ways: a historical spelling in this endlessly repeated word or an emphatic
pronunciation in the very initial position, for example. In any case, even if the
Sasanian pronunciation of the preverb *ni-* was *ńi*, should we always edit it as
ńi- against the witness of the manuscripts and brush aside the clear distribution
attested in the manuscripts? Or should we limit the use of *ń* to *ńiuuaēδaiiemi*
and be inconsistent regarding the use of *ń* before *i* from the point of view of
the historical phonetics? Or must we assume that *ń* was created for palatalised
n before *ii* and that only in Iran this letter was sometimes used for the more
palatalised pronunciation of *n* before *i* and *e*? There are numerous examples like
these, where the best choice from the point of view of textual criticism (*ńi* only
in *ńiuuaēδaiiemi*) produces inconsistencies from the linguistic point of view.

In fact, even in the practice of the Erlangen school the expected coherence
is not always *restored*. For instance, the analysis of Narten (1969) of the geni-
tive singular of the *u-stems* shows some reliable results: the ending is *-ə̄uš* in
Old Avestan and *-aoš* in Young Avestan. However, some Old Avestan forms
(*marəθiiaoš*, *hudānaoš*, *paraoš*, *ərəzaoš* and *yaoš*) appear modernised in the
manuscripts. Since the manuscripts are consistent in the modernised forms,
these are retained in the editions, although we do not know the date of such a
modernisation. Yet in other cases, like the distribution of *š, š̌* and *ś*, the tendency
is to edit the form in their original written shape disregarding the material evi-
dence in each passage.

Future editions should lay down clear criteria about their procedure and ex-
pressly define the stage of language they want to edit. Under which conditions
are we prepared to edit the form expected according to our linguistic or philo-
logical criteria against the evidence of textual criticism? Only when the expected
form is attested in the specific passage, even though it should be rejected ac-
cording to text-critical criteria? Or when the evidence appears in other passages
attesting the same grammatical form or the same cluster?[31] Or even without any
evidence in the manuscripts at all?[32] A deep reflection about our editorial meth-
odology seems to be necessary. Hoffmann's work has revealed the deficiencies
of Westergaard's and Geldner's method and has inaugurated a new era in the
edition of the Avesta, but the rules of this process still need to be clearly defined.

Because of the limited access of Hoffmann to the original manuscripts, lit-
tle importance is given to the individual value of each manuscript or groups of

31   In this case, we should then probably correct the modernised g.sg. *marəθiiaoš*, etc., into
     marəθiiə̄uš.
32   Cf. Perazzini's hyperbolic words used programmatically by Hintze as an opening for
     her paper "On editing the Avesta": "… nor should any text be sacred, unless it has first
     been perfectly emended."

manuscripts. While the linguistic and philological tools and the comparison with the attested forms were perfectly developed in Hoffmann's method, the proper text-critical analysis received only little attention. However, for the correct evaluation of the readings attested in a manuscript, it is important to know its position in the *stemma* of its group of manuscripts, its degree of influence of the ritual-oral transmission[33] and, above all, its orthographical uses and conventions.[34]

The text-critical apparatus

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, Hintze and Andrés-Toledo express some pertinent criticism of the critical apparatus offered by Geldner in his edition, most of which holds for Westergaard's apparatus, too. I shall therefore limit myself here to some extra considerations concerning the size of the apparatus.

The extreme variability of the each single word within the impressive homogeneity of the text poses several problems when creating an apparatus. An exhaustive apparatus will become so enormous that it would complicate the use of the edition and still more the use of the apparatus proper. Geldner includes only relevant variants of the most important manuscripts. He defines his method as follows (Geldner 1896, p. lii):

> The variant readings have been selected in such a manner as to allow a judgement to be formed regarding the most important manuscripts, so far as possible without personal examination. In cases where the text is quite uncertain, the attempt has been made to give as complete a picture as possible. […] In the notes, therefore, when a divergent reading is cited and is quoted from several manuscripts, it answers with absolute exactness only to the first manuscript; on the manuscripts that follow, one or other of the above mentioned differences may exist.

33   Usually the exegetical manuscripts are less influenced by the ritual practice and therefore, although I attach more importance to the liturgical manuscripts when it comes to establishing the text, the witness of the exegetical manuscripts seems important when deciding between minimal variations. But there are huge differences even between the liturgical manuscripts. Manuscripts B 3 and L 17 show a great influence of the ritual practice and their variants are strongly influenced by the oral transmission, but they (especially B 3) preserve a "better text" than other more accurate manuscripts. They are useful for the establishment of the text, but not for the choice of variants.

34   For instance, a group of Iranian manuscripts (like the Yasna Sāde Ml 15285 [60] and the Wīdēwdād Sādes 4031 [the first part of Ave 992] and Ml 15283 [4100]) often shows $\bar{a}$ instead of u (*zaṇtāmāica* Y 1.4, *daxiiāmāica* Y 1.5). This helps to locate the three manuscripts with some probability in the same sphere and makes it impossible at the same time to use one $\bar{a}$ appearing in these manuscripts as evidence for editing a form with $\bar{a}$ (against u in other witnesses), even if the form with $\bar{a}$ might be preferred from a linguistic or philological point of view.

Modern editions, since they are mostly based on GELDNER, inevitably have the same selection of variants. Editions making use of some of the manuscripts, but essentially still based on GELDNER, quote GELDNER and additionally all the readings of the consulted manuscripts (although with different criteria than GELDNER, since they mostly quote each variant of the used manuscript or manuscripts).

But when trying to produce a new edition which is no longer to be based on GELDNER but directly on the manuscripts, we face the danger of producing a huge apparatus, most of whose variant readings will be pure phonetica or orthographica and not offer any additional information. Even if we opted for a negative apparatus in which only the witnesses of the alternative readings would be quoted, the outcome would be an enormous apparatus, difficult to use and in which important alternative readings might be easily overseen. A good example is the following sample edition of Y 1.2 based only on a selection of manuscripts and using sigla that produce a shorter apparatus:

Y 1.2

ńiuuaēδaiiemi. haṇkāraiiemi. vaŋhauue. manaŋhe. ašāi. vahištāi. xšaθrāi. vairiiāi. spəṇtaiiāi. ārmatəe. hauruuaṯbiia. aмərətaṯbiia. gə̄uš. tašne. gə̄uš. urune. āθre. ahurahe. mazdå. yaētuštəmāi. aмəšanąm. spəṇtanąm.

──────

Y 1.2,2 ńiuuaēδaiiemi haṇkāraiiemi] abbr. 420 (niuuaēδiiaemi), 4041 (ń. h.), 4100 (ń. h.) | ńiuuaēδaiiemi] niuuaē-δaiiemi δ3 (vl. niuuaē-δaiieme 4220). niuuaē-daiiaēmi 100. niuuaēδaiiemi 110. naiuuae-saiiaimi 235. niuuaeiδaiiemi 4250 | haṇkāraiiemi] han. kāraīaēme 100. həŋkāraiiemi 110. haṇkāraiiaemi 235 | vaŋhauue] vaŋhuue A (-40; ac. 60), 2010, 4000. vaŋhuiie 570. vaŋhauua 120 | manaŋhe] manaŋha 2020 | ašāi] ašāi A 12, 100, 235 3 vahištāi] vahištāi 4250. vahe-štāe 100. vaheštāi α 1, 4240 xšaθrāi] xšaθrāi A (-40; pc. 60), 510. xštrāi 4031 | vairiiāi] vaeriiāe α2 spəṇtaiiāi] spəm-taiāe α2. spəṇtaiiå δ2, 120, 2010, 420 (vl. spəṇtaiiå), 570 (vl. spəṇtaiiiå), 4000, 4060. spəṇtaiiå 4100 | ārmatəe] ārmaetəe α2 (vl. ārmae-təe 100). ārmaitəe α1 (-235) A 11, 410. ārmaitəe 450. ārmatē 2010 (ac.). ārmaitē Γ1 (pc. 2010) δ1, 235, 570, 4020. ārmaitə 4230, 4240. āramaitaē 400. ārmatōiš 4020, 4031 (vl. [.]ramatōiš), 4060, 4100 hauruuaṯbiia] hauruuaṯ-biia 110, 2010, 4100, 4230 (pc.), 4240. haouruuaṯ-biia 235. hauruuatabīa α2. hauruuaδbiia 410, 2020, 4220. haoruuatbiiō 570. huruuatbiia 4010 (ac.) huruuaṯ-biia 120, 4230 (ac.) 4 aмərətaṯbiia] aмərətaṯ-biia A 1 (-235), 4100, 4240, 4250. aмərətatabiia 4230. aмərətata-bīa α2. aмərətaδbiia 2010. °biiō 4010 (ac.) | gə̄uš 1] gīuš 4031 | tašne] tašni α (-120), 450, 570. tašna 420. tašne A 2 (-570) Γ1, 4031. tšnei 4230. tasni 120 | gə̄uš 2] gīuš 4031 | urune] urue 4010 (ac.). uruni 120 | āθre] āθra 420. āθrō 4010 (ac.), 4240. āθri 4020. āθrahe 120 5 yaētuštəmāi] yaēt-uštəmāi A (-40). yaētuštumā α2. yetustəmāi 110 (ac.), 570. yaētustəmāi δ (vl. °timāi 4230). yaetustəmāi 110 (pc.), 130. yē-tuštəmāi A 1², 409. yətuštəmāi 420 (vl. yə-tuštəmāi), 4031, 4051. yaitustimāi 235. yaētištumāi A 2¹. yaētuštəmå 4000 | aмəšanąm] aмəšanąm α (-235), 400, 410, 4060, 4230. aмəšnąm A 1¹, 450, 235, 570, 4240, 4250 spəṇtanąm] spəm-tanąm 230. spaṇtanąm 420. om. 4100

Thus, four lines of Avestan text take almost one complete page of the edition, although from the point of view of the text constitution only a few of them might be of interest:

vaṇhauue] vaŋhuue A (-40; ac. 60), 2010, 4000. vaŋhuiie 570. vaŋhauua 120
spəṇtaiiāi] spəṇtaiiā δ², 120, 2010, 420 (vl. spaṇtaiiå), 570 (vl. spəṇtāiiå), 4000, 4060.
spəṇtaiiā 4100
ārmatəe] ārmatōiš 4020, 4031 (vl. [.]ramatōiš), 4060, 4100
āθre] āθrō 4010 (ac.). āθrahe 120

It is obviously very impractical to include all the phonetica and orthographica
as done in the sample. A distinction between significant variant readings on the
one hand and phonetica/orthographica on the other, and a division of both into
two separate apparatuses would make the use of the apparatus more comfort-
able:

Y 1.2

*ńiuuaēδaiiemi. haṇkāraiiemi. vaṇhauue. manaŋhe. ašāi. vahištāi. xšaθrāi.
vairiiāi. spəṇtaiiāi. ārmatəe. hauruuaṯbiia. aməratataṯbiia. gəuš. tašne. gəuš.
urune. āθre. ahurahe. mazdå. yaētuštəmāi. aməšaną̇m. spəṇtaną̇m.*

―――――――

Y 1.2,2 vaṇhauue] vaŋhuue A (-40; ac. 60), 2010, 4000. vaŋhuiie 570. vaŋhauua 120
| spəṇtaiiāi] spəṇtaiiå δ2, 120, 2010, 420 (vl. spaṇtaiiå), 570 (vl. spəṇtāiiå), 4000, 4060.
spəṇtaiiā 4100 | ārmatəe] ārmatōiš 4020, 4031 (vl. [.]ramatōiš), 4060, 410 | āθre] āθra 420.
āθrō 4010 (ac.), 4240. āθri 4020. āθrahe 120

―――――――

Y 1.2,2 ńiuuaēδaiiemi haṇkāraiiemi] abbr. 420 (niuuaēδiiaemi), 4041 (ń. h.), 4100
(ń. h.) | ńiuuaēδaiiemi] niuuaē-δaiiemi δ3 (vl. niuuaē-δaiieme 4220). niuuaē-daiiaēmi
100. niuuaēδaiiemi 110. naiuuae-saiiaimi 235. niuuaeiδaiiemi 4250 | haṇkāraiiemi] han.
kāraīaēme 100. həṇkāraiiemi 110. haṇkāraiiaemi 235 | manaŋhe] manaŋha 2020 | ašāi]
ašāi A 1², 100, 235 3 vahištāi] vahistāi 4250. vahe-štāe 100. vaheštāi α 1, 4240 xšaθrāi]
xšaθrāi A (-40; pc. 60), 510. xštrāi 4031 | vairiiāi] vaeriiāe α 2 spəṇtaiiāi] spəm-taīāe α 2
| ārmatəe] ārmatəe α 2 (vl. ārmae-təe 100). ārmaitəe α 1 (-235) A 1¹, 410. ārmaitəe 450.
ārmatē 2010 (ac.). ārmaitē Γ 1 (pc. 2010) δ1, 235, 570, 4020. ārmaitə 4230, 4240. āramaitəē
400. | hauruuaṯbiia] hauruuaṯ-biia 110, 2010, 4100, 4230 (pc.), 4240. haouruuaṯ-biia 235.
hauruuatabīa α 2. hauruuaδbiia 410, 2020, 4220. haoruuatbiiō 570. huruuatbiia 4010 (ac.)
huruuat-biia 120, 4230 (ac.) 4 aməratataṯbiia] aməratat-biia A 1 (-235), 4100, 4240, 4250.
aməratatabiia 4230. aməratata-bīa α 2. amərataδbiia 2010. °biiō 4010 (ac.) | gəuš 1] gīuš
4031 | tašne] tašni α (-120), 450, 570. tašna 420. tašne A 2 (-570) Γ 1, 4031. tšnei 4230.
tasni 120 | gəuš 2] gīuš 4031 | urune] urue 4010 (ac.). uruni 120 5 yaētuštəmāi] yaēt-
uštəmāi A (-40). yaētuštumā α 2. yetustəmāi 110 (ac.), 570. yaētustəmāi δ (vl. °timāi
4230). yaetustəmāi 110 (pc.), 130. yē-tuštəmāi A 1², 409. yətuštəmāi 420 (vl. yə-tuštəmāi),
4031, 4051. yaitustimāi 235. yaētištumāi A 2¹. yaētuštəmå 4000 | aməšaną̇m] aməšaną̇m α
(-235), 400, 410, 4060, 4230. aməšną̇m A 1¹, 450, 235, 570, 4240, 4250 spəṇtaną̇m] spəm-
taną̇m 230. spaṇtaną̇m 420. om. 4100

Thus the real variant readings are easily recognised, but the apparatus continues
to be too long. I therefore believe it is possible to do without the apparatus of
phonetica/orthographica to make our edition even more user-friendly:

Y 1.2

*ńiuuaēδaiiemi. haṇkāraiiemi. vaṇhauue. manaŋhe. ašāi. vahištāi. xšaθrāi.
vairiiāi. spəṇtaiiāi. ārmatəe. hauruuaṯbiia. aməratataṯbiia. gəuš. tašne. gəuš.
urune. āθre. ahurahe. mazdå. yaētuštəmāi. aməšaną̇m. spəṇtaną̇m.*

Y 1.2,2 vaŋhauue] vaŋhuue A (-40; ac. 60), 2010, 4000. vaŋhuiie 570. vaŋhauua 120 | spəṇtaiiāi] spəṇtaiiā̊ δ2, 120, 2010, 420 (vl. spaṇtaiiā̊), 570 (vl. spəṇtāiiā̊), 4000, 4060. spəṇtaiiā 4100 | ārmatəe] ārmatōiš 4020, 4031 (vl. [.]ramatōiš), 4060, 410 | āθre] āθra 420. āθrō 4010 (ac.), 4240. āθri 4020. āθrahe 120

Omitting the apparatus of orthographica is, in my opinion, only possible under two conditions:

1. The print edition is complementary to an electronic edition. In this electronic edition a complete collation of the witnesses is available so that the different orthographical variants are easy to consult. In fact, today any new edition of the Avesta or of some Avestan texts should not be conceived just as a book, but as a set of tools including the print edition, an electronic edition and a digital publication of the manuscripts in facsimile, where possible, or in the form of complete and accurate transcriptions, when facsimiles are for some reason out of the question.
2. The introduction to the edition must include a catalogue of the principal phonetica/orthographica and of the most usual conventions in each manuscript and group of manuscripts.

Alternatively, the apparatus of phonetica and orthographica could be printed at the end of the volume or in a separate volume.

Another important feature that could help to make the apparatus easier to use and more clear is the use of sigla. Different manuscripts can be grouped under a siglum when for some reasons they usually share the same readings. It is very frequent, for instance, that manuscripts of the same text types share similar readings, therefore it would be very convenient to use sigla for the different text types like Indian Wīdēwdād Sāde or Iranian Pahlavi Yasna, etc.

Furthermore, we can detect within each text type groups of manuscripts that often share the same readings, for instance because they are genealogically related or because they belong to the same priestly school. Thus we find among the oldest Indian Yasna Sāde two clear sets of manuscripts that can be grouped in sigla: 1. B 3 (230) and L 17 (100); and 2. K 11 (110), Lb 2 (120), G 26 (234) and G 97 (235). A clear coherent group also appears within the Indian Wīdēwdād Sāde manuscripts: R 278 (4220), O 2 (4250), P 1 (4260), on the one hand, and B 2 (4210) and T 46 (4240), on the other.

The number of similar groups already known to us is quite important and it will increase as our analysis of the manuscripts progresses.

Conclusions

A new edition of the Avesta is definitely one of the tasks Avestan studies have to face. GELDNER's edition has served its purpose for more than a century, but today important methodological changes and advancements in each aspect of the editorial process make a new edition necessary. In the *collectio fontium*, besides the imperative of autopsy of the sources (very often disregarded by GELDNER), new important manuscripts have appeared, mainly in Iran. Unfortunately, no systematic search of manuscripts was undertaken in Iran prior to GELDNER's edition. In a simplifying manner, we could say that WESTERGAARD's edition covered the manuscripts available in Europe; GELDNER's edition, the Indian ones; and the future edition of the Avesta should incorporate and highlight the Iranian manuscripts.

Moreover, GELDNER's analysis of the manuscripts was quite superficial and has thus hidden important facts. An individualised analysis of each manuscript is one of the pending tasks of Avestan philology. Further, GELDNER's methodology for determining the dependencies between manuscripts is not appropriate for the Avestan transmission and for the strong interrelation between copying, ritual practice and ritual teaching. Variants did not merely spread through the process of copying, but also through priestly authority and ritual practice. Consequently, the principle of agreement in error, which is the basis of GELDNER's analysis of the dependencies between manuscripts, loses its decisiveness. A new methodology for the analysis of dependencies, based on other principles, must be developed. The Tool for Avestan Text Criticism, presented in my paper "Building trees" is a first tentative approach to this problem.

Perhaps the most important reasons for the necessity of a new edition of the Avesta concern the *constitutio textus.* On the one hand, GELDNER basically edited the text of the exegetical manuscripts including variants of the ritual manuscripts. This has made it difficult to be aware of the true ritual nature of the preserved Avestan texts. The basis for a new edition of the ritual Avesta must be the liturgical manuscripts.

On the other hand, concerning the selection of readings to be included in the text, HOFFMANN's works on the Avestan script and transmission have brought about a new methodology for the choice of the readings for each single word. This revolution of the Avestan studies by K. HOFFMANN has stimulated an important editorial activity in the last forty years and its one important argument for a new edition of the Avesta, although some further discussion would be advisable.

Further reasons could be added to the list, such as GELDNER's arrangement, often criticised, of the critical apparatus, the fact that his edition is incomplete, etc., but in my view the main arguments are the insufficient analysis of the manuscripts and the deficiencies in the text constitution.

A new edition of the Avesta is indeed required, but a new one that tries to solve all the principal weaknesses of available editions. Recent editions of single Avestan texts were based mainly on Geldner's data (in some cases supplemented with additional manuscripts). Their fundamental aims were to adapt Geldner's text to the new shape of the Avesta introduced by Hoffmann, to offer a better organised critical apparatus and to present some alternative readings to Geldner's text. Despite the contribution such editions have made to our understanding of the Avesta and of the single texts, they are not suited to substitute Geldner's edition of the Avesta or to solve all its problems.

A new edition of the Avestan long liturgy must be based on the autopsy of the manuscripts as well as on a new analysis of the transmission, and it must reproduce the ritual and variable character of the recitatives of the Avestan liturgies (especially when editing texts of the long liturgy).

Bibliography

Bédier, J. 1928: "La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre. Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes." In: *Romania* 54, pp. 161–196, 321–356.

Brockhaus, H. 1850: *Vendidad sade. Die heiligen schriften Zoroaster's Yaçna, Vispered und Vendidad.* Leipzig.

de Vaan, M. 2000: "Die Lautfolge -*āum* im Vīdēvdād." In: R.P.B. Forssman (ed.): *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1997 in Erlangen.* Wiesbaden, pp. 523–534.

— 2003: *The Avestan vowels.* Amsterdam/New York.

Geldner, K.F. 1886: *Avesta. The sacred books of the Parsis.* Stuttgart.

Hintze, A. 2009: "The Return of the Fravashis in the Avestan Calendar." In: D. Durkin-Meistererernst/C. Reck/D. Weber (eds.): *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann.* Wiesbaden, pp. 99–122.

Hoffmann, K. 1970: "Zur avestischen Textkritik: Der Akk.Pl. mask. der a-Stämme." In: *Henning Memorial Volume.* London, pp. 64–73.

— 1971: "Zum Zeicheninventar der Avesta-Schrift." In: *Festgabe Deutscher Iranisten zur 2500-Jahrfeier Irans.* Stuttgart, pp. 64–73.

— 1979: "Das Avesta in der Persis." In: *Prologomena to the sources of the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Budapest, pp. 89–93.

— 1986: "Avestisch ṣ̌." In: *Studia grammatica iranica. Festschrift Helmuth Humbach.* München, pp. 163–183.

Hoffmann, K./J. Narten 1989: *Der Sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchungen zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen.* Wiesbaden.

Kellens, J. 1986: "Comme faut-il éditer les formes vieil-avestiques de *paoiriia-*?" In: MSS 13, pp. 217–226.

— 1997: "L'accusatif pluriel des thèmes en -a- en avestique." In: A. Lubotsky (ed.): *Sound law and analogy. Papers in honour of Robert P. Beekes on the occasion of his 60th birthday.* Amsteram/Atlanta, pp. 131–132.

Kellens, J. 1998: "Considerations sur l'histoire de l'Avesta." In: JA 286, pp. 451–519.

Kotwal, F. M. / G. Kreyenbroek 1992–2008: *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān.* 3 vols. Paris.

Maas, P. 1927: *Textkritik*. Leipzig.

Narten, J. 1969: "Jungavestisch *gaēsāuš, bāzāuš* und die Genitive auf *-aoš* und *-ōuš*." In: KZ 83, pp. 230–242.

— 1975: "Avestisch ciš." In: *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*. 2. Leiden (AcIr 5), pp. 81–92.

— 1986a: *Der Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*. Wiesbaden, Reichert.

— 1986b: "Zum Vokalismus in der Gatha-Überlieferung." In: *Studia Grammatica Iranica: Festschrift f. H. Humbach*. München, pp. 257–278.

Pasquali, G. 1952: *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*. Firenze.

Schindler, J. 1982: "Zum Nom.Sing.m. der nt-Partizipien im Jungavestischen." In: *Gedenkschrift Kronasser*. Wiesbaden, pp. 186–209.

Tremblay, X. 2009: "Les prépalatales indo-européennes devant dentale en iranien. Essais de grammaire comparée des langues iraniennes XIV." *Zarathushtra entre l'Inde et l'Iran. Études indo-iraniennes et indo-européennes offertes à Jean Kellens à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire.* Wiesbaden, pp. 327–359.

Westergaard, N. L. 1852–1854: *Zendavesta, or The religious books of the Zoroastrians*. Copenhagen.