Women in the Old Avesta: Social Position and Textual Composition

MARTIN SCHWARTZ

In memoriam
Mary Boyce and Mary Douglas

This paper originated in a presentation for a conference on women in ancient Iran. My goal here is to examine the four Old Avestan passages bearing on the position of women in Archaic Iran. Of the six passages analyzed, two come from Gathic poems, Yasnas (Y) 46 and 53, and the others from Yasna Haptañhāti (YH) 35, 37, 39, and 41. I mean to illuminate the contents of these passages by detailing their compositional history and thereby their interrelationship.

We begin with Y46.10–11:

Y46.10 ‘Whoever, (be it) man or woman, O Mazda Ahura, would give me those things of existence which Thou knowest are best—Reward for Rightness, power through Good Mind—and those whom I shall join together for the eulogy of Those like You—with them all shall I cross the Assigner's Bridge.'

Y46.11 ‘With their powers, the Karpans and Kavis yoke the mortal to bad actions in order to destroy existence—those whom their own soul and envisionment will vex when they come where the Assigner’s Bridge is, as guests forever in the House of Wrong!’

Y46.10 is a return to the issue of lack of patronage, which is voiced in the earlier part of the poem. What puts into clearer focus the hope for patronage from either male or female is the fact that Y46.10 was originally the last stanza of the original form of the poem, corresponding to the present Y46.2–10. This fact follows from the demonstration that (like other “proto-poems” situated within the final poem) Y46.2–10 form a complete complex ring composition within whose concentrism of concatenated stanzas the central and antipodal stanzas also concatenate. I now adduce a further proof for Y46.2–10 as a poem in its own right. As one of the earliest poems which Zarathushtra composed, Y46.2–10 was “seeded” by a bidirectional stanza-by-stanza recasting of lexical elements from the first-composed Gathic poem, Y29 (see Appendix, Charts I and II) as part of a serial generation resulting in the entire corpus.

That Y46.10 concluded Proto-Y46, which was subsequently expanded by the addition of stanzas
11–19 [and stanza 1], explains why the first part of the final poem [i.e., up to Y46.10] expresses a hope for patronage yet to be given by someone unknown, whereas stanzas 12–19 list a series of patrons, and conclude (18–19) with Zarathushtra’s confident promise of enmities as well as benefactions in reciprocity for treatment not only to Zarathushtra, but also to his community. Y46.18–19 restate and expand the contents of Y46.10, however without the phrase ‘man or woman’, all of the patrons acquired by Zarathushtra having been male. These are listed in stanzas 11–17, i.e., the inner stanzas of Y46.10–19, which is a complete poem (obligatorily constituted by the first stanza of the proto-poem plus the series of additional stanzas) in which 10 and 19 form the outer stanzas of the concatenating concentricity; at the precise center of the this composition, whose chief theme throughout is patronage, is set the name of the principal patron, Kauui Vištāspa.

It emerges from these compositional considerations that Y46.10, the proto-poem’s conclusion, was composed when Zarathushtra did not know who would be his patron and looked to either a man or a woman as potential supporter. It follows that in Zarathushtra’s society women as well as men could possess the wealth and prestige that characterize a patron.

II

The context of our next passage, Y53.5–7, is a hymn composed upon the occasion of the wedding of ‘Pourucistā, youngest of Zarathushtra’s daughters’ [Y53.4a–b]. Some preliminary commentary on the text is in order.

For Y53.4a’ I read *tqm zī vā . . . niuurānī ‘For I entrust her to you’, with *tqm ‘her’ instead of təm ‘him’ [a misreading based on təm ‘him [the bridegroom]’ in the parallel position at Y53.3a’], I take niuurānī- ‘I entrust’, with niuurara- /ni vara/- from vīvar ‘to opt for belief’ [cf. Chart III, Y53.4a ‘niuurānī: Y30.6b varṇitā ‘they opted’]. Y53.4a’ vā ‘to you’ probably refers to Kauui Vištāspa, Zarathushtra’s son Spitāma, and Frašāostra [whose brother Djamasp is traditionally regarded as the bridegroom], who are addressed at Y53.2c. For mss. hapax sax’anī, I read *sax’anī plural of sax’an- ‘proclamation’ [reflected throughout Middle Iranian] alongside Y29.4a’ sax’ārə (*collective), from vəsan ‘to proclaim’, not vəsə ‘to teach’; cf. Chart III, Y53.6a *sax’anī : Y30.8c sastē.

Y53.4 *tqm zī vā sparadā niuurānī yə faĚroi vidāt
pādhiāecā vāstriāeibiiō atcā x’āetauue
ādānī āṣauuabiō mənəhaŋ hoŋəhuṣ
x’muunəu haŋəhuṣ mən.bəəduṣ
mazdā dadat ahuro daŋnaiai vəŋhuuiiā
yaunoi vispāi.

Y53.5 sax’anī vaiiyanmābiiō kainibiiō
mraomi
x’maibiiacā vədəmnō məncā ı maza-da-
dūm
vaedo.đam daenəbiiś abiiasca ahūm
yə vəŋhūṣ mənəhaŋ hoŋ
aša və aniio aiim əliuŋhhatu tət zī
hōi hušnəm anhaṭ

Y53.6 ılah ı haiiiā naŋo aha iŋnaiō
druijo hacac rəhəmō yəma spašwə
frəidim
druijo5 aiise hoii6 piŋa tənuuŋ paŋā
vaisu barəbdibiiō duṣ.x’arəm nəsaț
x’əbəm
draguo.Ďəbiiō ḏaŋ.əraəeibiiō anaiś ā
manaḥim ahūm məraŋəduuīe

Y53.4 ‘For I entrust [dedicate] her to you [for her to be] with that zeal with which she would provide for father, husband, pastur- ers, and family, (as) a woman righteous to righteous people. By virtue of Good Mind, Mazdā Ahura will give a sunny harvest . . .’ for the good envisionment, forever.

Y53.5 ‘I speak [in] proclamations, addressing you maidens who are to be married. Give mind to these things, possess them with your envisionments, and (thus possess) the existence (realm) of Good Mind. May you win one another with Rightness, for that will be for it good gain.

Y53.6 ‘Thus are these things true, O men, so, O women. As for the adherent of Wrong whom you see profiteering[?], I shall remove the protections from his body. For
such persons as they raise howls[?], bad food shall overtake their comfort, those wrongsome ones, the ruiners of Rightness. Through such people will you destroy your spiritual existence.’

The moral message is directed to both men and women.

III

The four passages in the Yasna Haptaññātī which bear on women juxtapose nar- ‘man’ and its derivative nārī- ‘woman’ in the phrases nāraṃcā nārīrinmācā at YH37.3 and YH39.2, and nā vā nārī vā ‘man or woman’ at YH35.6 and YH41.2. The juxtaposition of cognate forms, co-ordinate, and contrastive, is typical of the YH. Thereby nā vā nārī vā differs from Y46.10a yā vā . . . nā gnā vā [where gnā may perhaps have the nuance ‘noble woman, lady’]. The phrase nā gnā is a collocation favored by its rhyme; cf. Y53.6a’ narō . . . jōnaiiō, where jōnaiiō, plural of jani-, etymologically a variant of gnā, was probably selected for prosodic reasons. As we shall now see, the phraseological parallelism between YH35.6 and Y46.10 ‘man or woman’ is not accidental.

YH 35.6 yahā āt ātā nā vā nārī vā vaēdā haiñiñm aṭā haṭ voḥu taṭ ṭādū vāraziointments īt ahmā frācā vātōiōti īt āeibīiō yōi īt aṭā vāraziñm yahā īt īt āti

‘Now when a man or woman knows something (as being) true, this being so, then let him/her cultivate it for himself/herself as a good cereal-grain, and let him/her bring about awareness of it, so that others will cultivate it, just as it is.’

In accordance with the YH style of multiplying variant forms to the same root or stem, we find, in addition to nā . . . nārī, yahā . . . aṭā, and vāraziointments . . . vāraziñm, the framing etymological figure haiñiñm ‘true’ . . . yahā īt īt āti ‘just as it is’.

As for a relationship between YH35.6 and YH46.10, suggested by the shared phrase meaning ‘man or woman’, I would now bring into consideration of this question my recent independent observation that the phraseology of YH35.3–4 and YH36.8–YH36.2 draws sequentially upon the phraseology of Y49.3–8 [Schwartz 2006b, 283–84, schematically summarized below in Chart VII].

It is precisely the gap between YH35.4 and YH35.8 which is filled by verses reflecting the phraseology of Y46.10 and its close environs. Thus, in addition to YH35.6 and Y46.10 ‘man and woman’, YH35.6 vaēdā ‘knows’ compares with Y46.10b vōistā ‘knowest’; the repetition of xšātra- ‘power, dominion, rule’ in YH35.5 huxšatrō. tōmāi . . . xšātrañm ‘dominion . . . to Him who most has good dominion’ compares with Y46.10c xšātrañm countered by Y46.11a’ xšātraeiš; YH35.7 amēhmaidē furnishes a unique correspondence for Y46.13c amēhmaidē ‘we have considered’, while YH35.7 vahmām ‘eulogy’, the object of the former word, corresponds to Y46.10d’ vahmāi.ā.

In YH35.5–7, the entrance of lexical material from Y46.10–13 and particularly the closely linked pair Y46.10–11, in a kind of substitutive diversion from the material from Y49, is to be explained as a conflation between the relevant portions of Y49 and its source-text, Y46. The close bidirectional relationships between the two texts culminate in recastings which are both notably precise in their detail and are in proximity to two recastings, in each direction, of forms of xšātra- and manah- [manah-]. Forwards, Y46.10c’ xšātrañm > Y49.11a’-xšātraŋ; Y46.10c’ manahñhā > Y49.11b’ manahhnŋ; and Y46.11c’ drūjō damānāi astaiiō > Y49.11d drūjō damānē . . . astaiiō [see Appendix, Chart IV]. Backwards, Y46.11a’ xšātraeiš > Y49.8c’ xšātraei; Y46.11a’ yūjān > Y49.9c’ yūjān; Y46.10c’ xšātrañm > Y49.10d’-xšātra; and Y46.10c’ manahñhā > Y49.11a’ manahhnō [see Appendix, Chart V].

The interrelationships between the two Gāthic poems of Zarathushtra brought about for the anonymous author of the Yasna Haptaññātī a cluster of mnemonic associations which resulted in the above-noted “diversion” from Y49 to Y46 in the incorporation of Gāthic lexical materials in YH35.5–7.

In addition to its dependence on Y46.10 seq., YH35.6 seq. evidences a similar relationship to Y53.3–6, again involving mnemonic associations of similar items. In both YH35.6 yahā . . . nā vā nārī vā haiñiñm aṭā and Y53.6 iḍā ī haiñiñm
We worship the souls of men and women with *haudha-i, ‘true’ and with correlation of the particles in -∂ā. Furthermore, YH35.7 mazdā yasnmaca vahmācā ‘worship and eulogy of Mazdā’ seems to echo Y53.2b mazdā vahmāi.ā . . . yasnacā. The mediating associative item is identifiable as Y46.10d” vahmāi.ā. Note also Y35.9 paitia-stārma ‘attender[!]’ cognate of the Gothic hapax Y53.3c’ paitiastrīm ‘attendance[!]’. In addition, the striking image of the cereal-grain [əɾədāt]-| in YH35 excellently suits derivation from Y53.4 ‘the sunny harvest of Good Mind’ [although this does not necessitate taking the problematic mām.bərdas as *[-əɾədāt]-]. The association between the relevant section of Y53 and Y46 is attributable to the similarity of the phrases Y53.6e” ahūm marangaduiiē and Y46.11b” ahūm marangaduiiiā, both ‘destroy existence’.

YH37.3 (tām) ašaonam frauxašis naramcā nārinimacā yazamaide ‘[Him] we worship the frauxašis of righteous men and women [where tām is repeated from the stanza’s preceding incipits], in a text which otherwise is devoted to Mazdā and his aspects, must be a Young Avestan interpolation [based on the stanza’s foregoing mention of ‘names’]. The elimination of the frauxašis from the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti allows comparison only with the Gathas, which mention only souls, but not frauxašis; cf. the next item to be discussed.

YH39.2 ašaunam aat urunō yazamaide kudō. zatanaamcīt naramcā nārinimacā yaēśam vahehiš daēnā vanaintī və vāŋghan və vaonarvä və ‘We worship the souls of men and women wherever they are born, whose better envisionments win, will win, and have won’.

The worship here of souls of both men and women contrasts with the Vedic cult of the Pitaras ‘Fathers’ and the Greek cult of heroes, but finds its Young Avestan continuation in the Farvardin Yasht’s [Yt13] long name-lists of righteous women whose frauxašis are worshipped. YH39.2 daēnā vanaintī etc. may now be derived from the earlier collocation of daēnā- pl. ‘envisionments’ and vīvan ‘to win’ at Y53.5c–d.

Finally we come to YH41.2:

huxšārastā nā nā və nairī və xšaētā ubōiō aŋhuvō hātam hudāstmā

‘May a good ruler, man or woman, rule over us in both existences, O Thou most beneficient of beings!’

Compositonally, this passage in the last poem of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti hearkens back, in the manner of a loose ring-composition, to the section of the first poem, YH35, which includes the phrase ‘man or woman’ in stanza 6. For this ring-compositional relationship, note that YH41.2 huxšārta ‘good ruler’, more precisely ‘one having good rule’, corresponds to its superlative in YH35.5 huxšārto.tamāi xšaētām ‘[we give and allot . . .] rule to Him Who most has good rule’, whose additional reference to Mazdā Ahura’s rule (xšārta-) has its analog in the incipit of YH41.2, vohū xšaēram tōi mazdā aŋhuru apāēnā vispāi yauuē ‘may we obtain Thy good rule, O Mazdā Ahura, for all time’. The phrase YH41.1 daēmāhcā cišmahicā ‘we give and allot’ is repeated from YH35.5. In the final stanza, YH41.6, saram ašahiiā (vispāi yauuē) ‘Rightness’ union [for all time], which matches Y49.8 ašaḥiiā . . . saram ( . . . yauuē vispāi), correlates with Y35.8 ašaḥiiā . . . sairī ‘in Rightness’ union’. YH41.2 ubōiō aŋhuvō matches YH35.3 ubōiō ahu-biiā and indicates that the rule by man or woman extends to both realms of existence in this world.

Combining the evidence of YH41.2 with the related material from Y46, Y53, YH35.6, and YH39.2, we arrive at the clear conclusion that in the early Iranian society which is reflected in the Old Avesta, women, as much as men, were regarded as qualified for being not only patrons but even rulers, and were regarded in general as participants in both secular and spiritual life, and were ritually memorialized for their achievements. In bringing forth this evidence from arcane and obscure texts, it is hoped that these realia of egalitarianism in most ancient Iran will enter the light of social history and, as much as possible, have a role in human progress.
Appendix

Chart I

Y29 [forwards] > Proto-Y46

Y29.1’ garzḑā
Y29.1c’ saštā
Y29.2” gāuš...gauuō
Y29.3a’ paitī.mrauuaț
Y29.4c’ vicirō
Y29.5a” frīmmnā
Y29.5c’ druguustā
Y29.6a’ vaocaț
Y29.6b’ nōiτ
Y29.7a–b’ taśaτ...gauuō
Y29.7c” yā...dāiīaț

Y46.2c’ garzōi
Y46.3e” sastrāi
Y46.4b’ gāuštaśā
Y46.5d” mruiaț
Y46.5d’ vicirō
Y46.6d” frīiō
Y46.7b’ druguuā
Y46.7e’ frauuațō
Y46.8b’ nōiτ
Y46.8d” āuuațom
Y46.9d” gauštaśā
Y46.10a–b’ yā...dāiīaț

Y46.2–c’ garz-‘complain’
Y46.3” sās-t-‘proclaim’
Y46.4b’ gau-‘bovine’
Y46.5d” v’mrū‘tell’
Y46.5d’ ‘judicious’
Y46.6d” vfrī‘be near and dear’
Y46.6d” druguuānt-‘wrongsome’
Y46.7e’ vaoca-‘speak’
Y46.8b’ ‘not’
Y46.8d” ‘whoever would give’

Chart II

Y29 [forwards] > Proto-Y46 [backwards]

Y29.1c’ xšmaț
Y29.2a’ taśa gauš
Y29.3a” paitī.mrauuaț
Y29.4b” paitī ciūțī, c” āiī ciūțī
Y29.5c” fra-jīiāīiș
Y29.6a’ vaocaț
Y29.7c” dāiīaț
Y29.8b” huuū
Y29.9c” auaț
Y29.10a” xšaǜrtā
*Y29.11b’vle anhāuș

Y46.10d” xšmauuatam
Y46.9d” gauš taśa
Y46.9d” mraaț
Y46.9a” cōiīaț
Y46.8e” duž-jiātōiș
Y46.8d” hu-jiātōiș
Y46.7e” fra-uuuațō
Y46.6e” dā
Y46.6b’ huuū
Y46.5e” uzūiīișōi
Y46.4d” xšaǜrtā
Y46.3b” anhāuș

Y46.10d” xšma-‘You’
Y46.9d” ‘Fashioner of the Cow’
Y46.9d” mraa-‘speak’
Y46.9a” āuuațō ‘recognize’
Y46.8e” ‘life’
Y46.8d” ‘to hear’
Y46.7e” ‘best things’
Y46.6e” ‘be in motion, on a mission, seek’
Y46.5e” ‘he’
Y46.4d” ‘from dominion’
Y46.3b” ‘of/from existence’

Chart III

Y30 > Y53

Y30.1a’ iśṇtō
Y30.2a’ sraotā
Y30.2a’ vahištā

Y53.1a’ īṣtiș
Y53.1a’ sṝauuī
Y53.1a’ vahištā

Y53.1a’ viš ‘be in motion, on a mission, seek’
Y53.1a’ sṝ(a)u ‘to hear’
Y53.1a’ ‘best things’
### Chart IV

| Y46 > Y49 (forwards) | Chart V
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y46.1c’ xšnāuš, e” xšnaošāi</td>
<td>Y46 (backwards) &gt; Y49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Y46.2d’ rafōrōm | Y46.1d’ vidā | Y46.19d’ -vistāiś
| Y46.3b’ darōrāi | Y46.1a’ ašāt | Y46.19a’ ašāt |
| Y46.3c’ xšnhāt | | |
Notes

1. “‘Man or Woman’: Poetic and Pragmatic Aspects of Old Avestan Egalitarianism,” in “Images and Lives of Women in Ancient Iran,” California State University, Fullerton [Razi Family Foundation Lecture Series], conference held at the Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, April 21, 2007. For a projected conference volume of the Journal of Indo-European Studies I plan a supplementary account of material in the present article.

2. Schwartz 2006a, 53.

3. See Schwartz 2003, 238–39 with 197 and 219–20. Add that Y46.3e' maibii ùgh ‘Thee, for me...’ concatenates formally with Y46.9e má... toí ‘me... to Thee.’

4. See Schwartz 2006a, 55–63, for a general account of this compositional technique.

5. This drújjó represents a secondary insertion due to dittography.

6. For -s as incorporation of the Pahlavi gloss of hói, see Schwartz 2006a, 62, n. 10.

7. móm.bázdúš, taken by Humbach as corruption of *món.bázdúš ‘thinking of the bonds of kinship’. More difficult, but contextually apt, would be -sádz representing sázád ‘cereal grain’.

8. vaiití barádbiitú (vaiití barádbiitú): cf. Y53.7d' vaiíi ‘(the sound of) woe(!)’ and Y31.12a’, Y50.6a’ váca (... ) baráití ‘raises his voice’.

9. Thus Narten, 189–94 on YH gonábiš ‘divine/mythological women’.

---

Chart VI

| Y49.3 varanái | YH35.3 vairimaidí | vár ‘to opt’ |
| Y49.4 huurastáiš | YH35.3 varazimáca | vár(a)rz ‘to accomplish’ |
| Y49.6 fráššiái | YH35.4 fraššiámaáhi | fraššií ‘impel, dispatch’ |
| Y49.6–7 straúniaémá... | YH35.4 surununuatascá | sru ‘hear’ |
| Y49.d–8a–b varazánaí... | YH35.8 ašáhiá... ašáhiá... sarvm | varvzána ‘community’, sar- ‘connection, union’, ‘of Righteousness’ |
| Y49.8 uruuázištám yášá | YH36.2 uruuázištóm... yátaíiá uruuázištahíiá | výyá homophonous ‘entreat’ and ‘apportion’,21 uruuáž(ištá) ‘[most] bliss[ful]’ |

---

Y46.18d’ várán | Y49.3a’ váránái | vár ‘to wish/opt’ |
Y46.17d’ dáďam | Y49.3a’ ní-dáďam | dâ ‘to lay down’ |
Y46.16e’ varadmn | Y49.4a’ varadán | várard ‘to increase’ |
Y46.16e’ mažá | Y49.5a’ mažá | ‘Mazdâ’ |
Y46.16d’ vãhãš... | Y49.5b’ vohú... manañhá | ‘Good Mind’ |
Y46.16d’ xšaďerom | Y49.5d’ xšaďrei | ‘Dominion’ |
Y46.16e’ ármaitíš | Y49.5e’ ármatóíš | ‘Concordant Mind’ |
Y46.16e’ asã | Y49.6c’ vícidiáši | víc + víc(a)í ‘discriminate’ |
Y46.15b’ vícattááá | Y49.7a’ sraotú | všr(a)ú ‘to hear’ |
Y46.14b’ (fra)sruúdiáí | Y49.7b’ sraotú | všr(a)ú ‘to hear’ |
Y46.13b’ (fra)sruúdiáí | Y49.7d’ fra-sastí | (-)sast(a)i- ‘proclaiming’ |
Y46.12e’ sásté | Y49.7d’ fra-sastí | ‘Dominion’ |
Y46.11a’ xšaďraíš | Y49.8e’ xšaďrei | ‘they yoke’ |
Y46.11a’ yúján | Y49.9c’ yúján | ‘Dominion’ |
Y46.10e’ xšaďrom | Y49.10d’ xšaďra | ‘mind’ |
Y46.10e’ manañhá | Y49.11a’ manañhó | viš ‘be in motion, on a mission, seek’ |
Y46.9e’ išñtí | Y49.12d’ ištá |...
10. For YH35.6 vaēdā ‘knows’ + obj. ḫādīm ‘true’ + vāh ‘to be’ cf. Y31.5 taṭ vaocā...viduiē...tācit...yā nōīt vā āhāt āhāti vā ‘tell me that for the knowing...the things which will or will not be’ followed by Y31.6a–b’ yā nōīt vīduuā vaocāṭ ḫādīm māqōram ‘the knowing one who will tell me the true (thing, the) mantra’. In each instance, what is known as a truth to be enacted is transmitted to others. Both passages play on the etymological relationship of ḫādīa- ‘true’ to vāh ‘to be’, neuter pres. ptc. YH35.6 hat; cf. Schwartz 2006b, 459, n. 1.

11. For authorship of the Yasna Haptaḥāti as different from and subsequent to that of the Gathas, see Schwartz 2006b, 483–88.

12. hudāštāma, superlative of hudāḥ-. The latter means not ‘munificent’ < vādā ‘to give’, but ‘beneficent’ < vādā ‘to bring about’, since hudāḥ- contrasts with duzdāḥ- [Y30.3c] ‘evildoer’, whose mg. is proved by Persian duzd ‘thief’.


14. This is made clear from the analysis of ubōiūd aḥhvāu by Narten, 290–95.

15. This recasting confirms that the irregular formation -cizū, with weak gradation of both root and suffix, represents the root c(a)izū; cf. already Schwartz 2003, 209–10.


17. The homophony of varāsūnā is “deconstructed” by Y53.8a’ (anās ā) duzdāsūndānāhō ‘through these things’ the persons of evil effects’ and Y53.9a duzd- uuuānsūnās ‘through the persons of evil options’.

18. I see here a folk etymology of ‘tongue’, with hizū < *sizū < PIIr. *sizū, and similarly hizuūa < *sizūhā ‘derived from Av. vāzū, vāzūa [PIIr. vāzdū, vāzdū ‘to call, invoke’.

19. That paitiiaogat ‘*conjoinedly, in reciprocation/doubly’ is from the root ‘to yoke’ and not, as formerly thought, from vaug ‘to declare’, is shown by the recastings of Y46 in Y44, in which paitiiaogat yields Y44.4d’ yaogat ‘yoked’.

20. From Y46.16e–c’, Y49.5a–5d” repeats the pedant of divine entities.

21. In the remainder of YH36.2, (uruuāziā...mazīštāi yāŋhām) is due to a conflation, via Y49.8 uruuaistiām + Y49.8 yāḥi, with Y30.1 uruuāziā + Y30.2 mazā yāḥhō (uruuāz- ‘bliss’, yāḥ- ‘race, contest’, maz- ‘great’); thus Y30.2 maz-> mazištā- ‘greatest’ as one of the serial superlatives of YH36.2.

Bibliography

Narten 1986

Schwartz 2003

Schwartz 2006a

Schwartz 2006b