



Women in the Old Avesta: Social Position and Textual Composition

M A R T I N S C H W A R T Z

In memoriam

Mary Boyce and Mary Douglas

This paper originated in a presentation for a conference on women in ancient Iran.¹ 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 Haptaŋhāiti (YH) 35, 37, 39, and 41. I mean to illuminate the contents of these passages by detailing their compositional history and thereby their interrelationship.

I

We begin with Y46.10–11:

Y46.10 *yā vā mōi nā gənā vā mazdā ahurā
dāiiāt aŋhəuš yā tū vōistā vahištā
ašīm ašāi vohū xšaθrəm manaŋhā
yaścā haxšāi xšmāuuatəm vahmāi.ā
frō tāiš vīspāiš cinuuatō frafrā pərətūm*

Y46.11 *xšaθrāiš yūjən karapanō kāuuaiiascā
akāiš šiiəoθanāiš ahūm mərəŋgəidiiai
mašīm
yəŋg x^və uruuā x^vaēcā xraodaŋ daēnā
hiiat aibī.gəmən yaθrā cinuuatō pərətus
yauuōi vīspāi drūjō dāmānāi astaiiō*

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)² Y46.2–10 form a complete complex ring composition within whose concentricity of concatenated stanzas the central and antipodal stanzas also concatenate.³ 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.⁴

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 concentricism; 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 . . . nīuuarānī* ‘For I entrust her to you’, with **tqm* ‘her’ instead of *tām* ‘him’ (a misreading based on *tām* ‘him [the bridegroom]’ in the parallel position at Y53.3a’). I take *nīuuarānī* ‘I entrust’, with *nīuuara-* */ni vara-/ from *√var* ‘to opt for belief’ (cf. Chart III, Y53.4a’ *nīuuarānī*: Y30.6b’ *vāranātā* ‘they opted’). Y53.4a’ *vā* ‘to you’ probably refers to Kauui Vištāspa, Zarathushtra’s son Spitāma, and Frašaoštra (whose brother Djāmāspa is traditionally regarded as the bridegroom), who are addressed at Y53.2c. For mss. hapax *sāx^vānī*, I read **sax^vānī* plural of *sax^van-* ‘proclamation’ (reflected throughout

Middle Iranian) alongside Y29.4a’ *sax^vārā* (*collective), from *√sanh* ‘to proclaim’, not *√sāh* ‘to teach’; cf. Chart III, Y53.6a’ **sax^vānī* : Y30.8c’ *sastē*.

Y53.4 **tqm zī vā spərədā niuuarānī yā fədrōi vidāt*
paiθiiaēcā vāstriiaēibiiō atcā x^vaētauuē
ašāunī ašāuuabiiō manahō vaṇhəuš
x^vənuuat haṇhuš mām.bāəduš
mazdā dadāt ahurō daēnaiiāi vaṇhuiiāi
yauuōi vīspāi.ā

Y53.5 *sāx^vānī vaziiamnābiiō kainibiiō*
mraomī
xšmaibiiācā vadəmnō mənçā ī mązda-
dūm
vaēdō.dūm daēnābiš abiiascā ahūm
yā vaṇhəuš manahō
ašā vā aniiō ainim vīuuəṅghatū taṭ zī
hōi hušənəm aṇhaṭ

Y53.6 *iθā ī haiθiia narō aθā jənaiiō*
drūjō hacā rāθəmō yəmā spašutā
frāidim
drūjō⁵ aiiesē hōiš⁶ piθā tanuuō parā
vaiiū bərədbiiō duš.x^varəθəm nąsaṭ
x^vāθrəm
drəguuō.dəbiiō dəjīṭ.arətaēibiiō anāiš ā
manahim ahūm mərəṅgəduiē

Y53.4 ‘For I entrust (dedicate) her to you (for her to be) with that zeal with which she would provide for father, husband, pastors, and family, (as) a woman righteous to righteous people. By virtue of Good Mind, Mazdā Ahura will give a sunny harvest . . .⁷ 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(?),⁸ 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 Haptaŋhāiti which bear on women juxtapose *nar-* 'man' and its derivative *nāirī-* 'woman' in the phrases *narqm̄cā nāirinqm̄cā* at YH37.3 and YH39.2, and *nā vā nāirī vā* 'man or woman' at YH35.6 and YH41.2. The juxtaposition of cognate forms, coordinative and contrastive, is typical of the YH. Thereby *nā vā nāirī vā* differs from Y46.10a *yā vā vā . . . nā gnā vā* (where *gnā* may perhaps have the nuance 'noble woman, lady').⁹ The phrase *nā gnā* is a collocation favored by its rhyme; cf. Y53.6a' *narō . . . jñnaiiō*, where *jñnaiiō*, 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 *yaθā aṭ utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiθīm aθā haṭ vohū taṭ āādū vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi fracā vātōiiōtū iṭ aēibiō yōi iṭ aθa vərəziiq̄n yaθā iṭ astī*

'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 of the same root or stem, we find, in addition to *nā . . . nāirī*, *yaθā . . . aθā*, and *vərəziiōtū . . . vərəziiq̄n*, the framing etymological figure *haiθīm* 'true' . . . *yaθā iṭ astī* 'just as it is'.¹⁰

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 VI).¹¹

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 *xšaθra-* 'power, dominion, rule' in YH35.5 *huxšaθrō.təmāi . . . xšaθrəm* 'dominion . . . to Him who most has good dominion' compares with Y46.10c' *xšaθrəm* countered by Y46.11a' *xšaθrāiš*; YH35.7 *amāhmaidē* furnishes a unique correspondence for Y46.13e' *māhmaidē* 'we have considered'; while YH35.7 *vahməm* '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 *xšaθra-* and *manah-* (*manaḡh-*). Forwards, Y46.10c" *xšaθrəm* > Y49.11a' *-xšaθrāṅg*; Y46.10c" *manaḡhā* > Y49.11b" *manaḡhāṅg*; and Y46.11e" *drūjō dāmānāi astaiiō* > Y49.11d *drūjō dāmānē . . . astaiiō* (see Appendix, Chart IV). Backwards, Y46.11a' *xšaθrāiš* > Y49.8c" *xšaθrōi*; Y46.11a' *yūjān* > Y49.9c" *yūjān*; Y46.10c" *xšaθrəm* > Y49.10d' *-xšaθrā*; and Y46.10c" *manaḡhā* > Y49.11a' *manaḡhō* (see Appendix, Chart V).

The interrelationships between the two Gathic poems of Zarathushtra brought about for the anonymous author of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti a cluster of mnemonic associations which resulted in the above-noted "diversion" from Y49 to Y46 in the incorporation of Gathic 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 *yaθā . . . nā vā nāirī vā haiθīm aθā* and Y53.6 *iθā ī haiθiā*

narō aθā jānāiō we have co-occurrence of the phrase ‘man/men and/or woman/women’ with *haiθiia-* ‘true’ and with correlation of the particles in *-θā*.

Furthermore, YH35.7 *mazdā yasnəmcā vah-məmcā* ‘worship and eulogy of Mazdā’ seems to echo Y53.2b’ *mazdā vahmāi.ā . . . yasnəscā*. The mediating associative item is identifiable as Y46.10d’ *vahmāi.ā*. Note also Y35.9 *paitiia-stārəm* ‘attender(?)’ cognate of the Gathic hapax Y53.3c’ *paitiastīm* ‘attendance(?)’. In addition, the striking image of the cereal-grain (*əθādū-*) in YH35 excellently suits derivation from Y53.4 ‘the sunny harvest of Good Mind’ (although this does not necessitate taking the problematic *mām.bəəduš* as **(-)əθādū-*). The association between the relevant section of Y53 and Y46 is attributable to the similarity of the phrases Y53.6e’ *ahūm mərəngəduiē* and Y46.11b’ *ahūm mərəngəduiāi*, both ‘destroy existence’.

YH37.3 (*təm*) *ašaonəm frauuāšiš narəmcā nāirinəmcā yazamaidē* ‘(Him) we worship the *frauuāšiš* of righteous men and women’ (where *təm* 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 *frauuāšiš* from the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti allows comparison with the Gathas, which mention only souls, but not *frauuāšiš*; cf. the next item to be discussed.

YH39.2 *ašāunəm āaṭ urunō yazamaidē kudō. zātanəmcīṭ narəmcā nāirinəmcā yaēšəm vahe-hiš daēnā vanaiṭī vā vəṅghən vā vaonarə vā*

‘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 *Pitara*s ‘Fathers’ and the Greek cult of heroes, but finds its Young Avestan continuation in the Farvardin Yašt’s (Yt13) long name-lists of righteous women whose *frauuāšiš* are worshipped. YH39.2 *daēnā vanaiṭī* etc. may now be derived from the earlier collocation of *daēnā-* pl. ‘envisionments’ and *√van* ‘to win’ at Y53.5c–d.

Finally we come to YH41.2:

huxšaθrastū nē nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiō aṅhuuō hātəm hudāstəmā

‘May a good ruler, man or woman, rule over us in both existences, O Thou most beneficent¹² of beings!’

Compositionally, this passage in the last poem of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti hearkens back, in the manner of a loose ring-composition,¹³ 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 *huxšaθra-* ‘good ruler’, more precisely ‘one having good rule’, corresponds to its superlative in YH35.5 *huxšaθrō.təmāi xšaθrəm* ‘[we give and allot . . .] rule to Him Who most has good rule’, whose additional reference to Mazdā Ahura’s rule (*xšaθra-*) has its analog in the incipit of YH41.2, *vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yauuē* ‘may we obtain Thy good rule, O Mazdā Ahura, for all time’. The phrase YH41.1 *dadəmahicā cīsmahicā* ‘we give and allot’ is repeated from YH35.5. In the final stanza, YH41.6, *sarəm ašahiā (vīspāi yauuē)* ‘Rightness’ union (for all time)’, which matches Y49.8 *ašahiā . . . sarəm (. . . yauuōi vīspāi)*, correlates with Y35.8 *ašahiā . . . sairī* ‘in Rightness’ union’. YH41.2 *ubōiō aṅhuuō* matches YH35.3 *ubōiā ahu-biā* and indicates that the rule by man or woman extends to both realms of existence in this world.¹⁴

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

Y29.1a' <i>gərəždā</i>	Y46.2c' <i>gərəžōi</i>	<i>gərəž-</i> 'complain'
Y29.1c' <i>sąstā</i>	Y46.3e' <i>sąstrāi</i>	<i>sąs-t-</i> 'proclaim'
Y29.2a' <i>gəuš . . . gauuōi</i>	Y46.4b' <i>gā, e' frō.gā</i>	<i>gau-</i> 'bovine'
Y29.3a' <i>paitī.mrauuat</i>	Y46.5d' <i>mruiiāt</i>	<i>√mrū</i> 'tell'
Y29.4c' <i>vīcirō</i>	Y46.5d' <i>vīcirō</i>	'judicious'
Y29.5a' <i>frīnəmnā</i>	Y46.6d' <i>frīiō</i>	<i>√frī</i> 'be near and dear'
Y29.5c' <i>drəguuasū</i>	Y46.7b' <i>drəguuā</i>	<i>drəguuaŋt-</i> 'wrongsome'
Y29.6a' <i>vaocat</i>	Y46.7e' <i>frauuaočā</i>	<i>vaoca-</i> 'speak'
Y29.6b' <i>nōiēt</i>	Y46.8b' <i>nōiēt</i>	'not'
Y29.7a'–b' <i>tašaēt . . . gauuōi</i>	Y46.9d' <i>gəuš tašā</i>	<i>√taš</i> 'to fashion'; <i>gau-</i> 'cow'
Y29.7c' <i>yā . . . dāiiāt</i>	Y46.10a'–b' <i>yā . . . dāiiāt</i>	'whoever would give'

Chart II

Y29 (forwards) > Proto-Y46 (backwards)

Y29.1c' <i>xšmaēt</i>	Y46.10d' <i>xšmaāuuatəm</i>	<i>xšma-</i> 'You'
Y29.2a' <i>tašā gəuš</i>	Y46.9d' <i>gəuš tašā</i>	'Fashioner of the Cow'
Y29.3a' <i>paitī.mrauuat</i>	Y46.9d' <i>mraoēt</i>	<i>mrau-</i> 'speak'
Y29.4b' <i>pairī ciθiēt,</i> c' <i>aipī ciθiēt</i>	Y46.9a' <i>cōiθat</i>	<i>√c(a)θ</i> 'recognize' ¹⁵
Y29.5c' <i>fra-jiiāitiš</i>	Y46.8e' <i>duž-jiiātōiš</i>	'life'
	Y46.8d' <i>hu-jiiātōiš</i>	
Y29.6a' <i>vaocat</i>	Y46.7e' <i>fra-uuaočā</i>	'tell'
Y29.7c' <i>dāiiāt</i>	Y46.6e' <i>dā</i>	<i>√dā</i>
Y29.8b' <i>huuō</i>	Y46.6b' <i>huuō</i>	'he'
Y29.9c' <i>auuō</i>	Y46.5e' <i>uzūiθiioi</i>	<i>√ū/auu</i> 'help'
Y29.10a' <i>xšaθrāt</i>	Y46.4d' <i>xšaθrāt</i>	'from dominion'
*Y29.11b' ¹⁶ <i>aṅhəuš</i>	Y46.3b' <i>aṅhəuš</i>	'of/from existence'

Chart III

Y30 > Y53

Y30.1a' <i>išəntō</i>	Y53.1a' <i>ištiš</i>	<i>√iš</i> 'be in motion, on a mission, seek'
Y30.2a' <i>sraotā</i>	Y53.1a' <i>srāuuī</i>	<i>√sr(a)u</i> 'to hear'
Y30.2a' <i>vahištā</i>	Y53.1a' <i>vahištā</i>	'best things'

Y30.3b <i>manahi-cā vacahi-ca</i> <i>šiiāoθanōi</i>	Y53.2a'–a'' <i>manaṇhō uxδāiš</i> <i>šiiāoθanāiš-ca</i>	'mind, word (<i>uk/vac</i>), and action'
Y30.3c <i>hu-dāṇhō . . .</i> <i>duž-dāṇhō</i>	Y53.2d' <i>dāṇhō</i>	'doer(s)'
Y30.4c'' <i>vahištəm manō</i>	Y53.3c'' <i>vaṇhəuš . . . manaṇhō</i>	'Good/Best Mind'
Y30.5a <i>varatā . . . vərəziiō</i>	Y53.3d' <i>varəšuuā</i> ¹⁷	√ <i>var</i> 'opt', √ <i>varz</i> 'to effect'
Y30.5b' <i>spəništō</i>	Y53.3d'' <i>spəništā</i>	'holiest'
Y30.6b' <i>vərnātā</i>	Y53.4a' <i>nī-uuarānī</i>	√ <i>var</i> 'opt for, believe in'
Y30.7c' <i>aṇhaṭ</i>	Y53.5d''' <i>aṇhaṭ</i>	'will be'
Y30.8c' <i>sastē</i>	Y53.6a' <i>sāx^vəni = *sax^vəni</i>	√ <i>sanh</i> 'proclaim'
Y30.9c'' <i>ahūm</i>	Y53.6d'' <i>ahūm</i>	'existence (acc.)'
Y30.9c'' <i>aṇhaṭ</i>	Y53.7a' <i>aṇhaṭ</i>	'will be'
Y30.10b'' <i>hu-šitōiš</i>	Y53.8c''' <i>šieitibiiō</i>	* <i>šiti-</i> 'dwelling'
Y30.11b' <i>x^v-itī (ənə)itī</i>	Y53.9c''' <i>vasə.-itōiš</i>	<i>iti-</i> 'a going'
Y30.11c' <i>ašauuabiiō</i>	Y53.9c' <i>ašauuā</i>	'righteous'

Chart IV

Y46 > Y49 (forwards)

Y46.1c' <i>xšnāuš,</i> <i>e'' xšnaošāi</i>	Y49.1b' <i>cixšnušā</i>	<i>xšn(a)u-š-</i> 'to satisfy in reciprocity'
Y46.2d' <i>rafədrəm</i>	Y49.1c <i>ā . . . rapā</i>	√ <i>rap</i> 'to support'
Y46.3b' <i>darəθrāi</i>	Y49.2c' <i>dōrəšt</i>	√ <i>dar</i> 'to hold'
Y46.3e'' <i>vərnē</i>	Y49.3a'' <i>varənāi</i>	<i>v(a)r-n-</i> 'to opt'
Y46.4a' <i>drəguuā</i>	Y49.3d'' <i>drəguuatō</i>	'wrongsome'
Y46.4c' <i>dužazōbā</i>	Y49.4b' <i>hizubiš</i>	√ <i>zū/zu'ā</i> 'to invoke' ¹⁸
Y46.4d' <i>xšaθrāṭ</i>	Y49.5d' <i>xšaθrōi</i>	'Dominion'
Y46.5b'' <i>huzəṇtuš</i>	Y49.5c'' <i>huzəṇtuš</i>	'(good) kinsman'
Y46.5d' <i>mruiiāṭ</i>	Y49.6a'' <i>mrūitē</i>	√ <i>mrū</i> 'to speak'
Y46.6e' <i>daēnā</i>	Y49.6d' <i>daēnəm</i>	'envisionment'
Y46.6e'' <i>dā</i>	Y49.7d'' <i>dāṭ</i>	√ <i>dā</i> 'establish'
Y46.7a'' <i>dadā</i>	Y49.8a'' <i>dā</i>	
Y46.8c'' <i>paitiiaogəṭ</i>	Y49.9c'' <i>yūjən,</i> <i>d' yuxtā</i>	√ <i>y(a)ug/j</i> 'to yoke' ¹⁹
Y46.9c'' <i>ašauuanəm</i>	Y49.10b'' <i>ašāunəm</i>	'righteous'
Y46.10c'' <i>xšaθrəm</i>	Y49.11a' <i>-xšaθrəṅg</i>	'dominion'
Y46.10c'' <i>manaṇhā</i>	Y49.11b'' <i>-manaṇhəṅg</i>	'mind'
Y46.11e'' <i>drūjō dəmānāi</i> <i>astaiiō</i>	Y49.11d <i>drūjō dmānē . . .</i> <i>astaiiō</i>	'guests for/in the House of Wrong'
Y46.12b'' <i>friiānahiiā</i>	Y49.12c'' <i>frīnāi</i>	√ <i>frī</i> 'be near and dear'

Chart V

Y46 (backwards) > Y49

Y46.19d' <i>-vistāiš</i>	Y49.1d'' <i>vidā</i>	√ <i>vid</i> 'to obtain'
Y46.19a' <i>ašāṭ</i>	Y49.2a' <i>ašāṭ</i>	'from Rightness'

Y46.18d'' <i>vārəm</i>	Y49.3a'' <i>varənāi</i>	√ <i>var</i> 'to wish/opt'
Y46.17d'' <i>dāθəm</i>	Y49.3a'' <i>nī-dātəm</i>	√ <i>dā</i> 'to lay down'
Y46.16e'' <i>varədməm</i>	Y49.4a'' <i>varədən</i>	√ <i>vard</i> 'to increase'
Y46.16e' <i>mazdā</i>	Y49.5a' <i>mazdā</i>	'Mazdā' ²⁰
Y46.16d <i>vaṇhəuš . . .</i> <i>manajhō</i>	Y49.5b' <i>vohū . . . manajhā</i>	'Good Mind' ²⁰
Y46.16d'' <i>xšaθrəm</i>	Y49.5d'' <i>xšaθrōi</i>	'Dominion' ²⁰
Y46.16c'' <i>ārmaitiš</i>	Y49.5c' <i>ārmatoiš</i>	'Concordant Mind' ²⁰
Y46.16c' <i>ašā</i>	Y49.5d'' <i>ašā</i>	'with Rightness' ²⁰
Y46.15b' <i>vīcaiiāθā</i>	Y49.6c' <i>vīcidiīāi</i>	√ <i>i</i> + √ <i>c(a)i</i> 'discriminate'
Y46.14b'' (<i>fra</i>) <i>srūidiiāi</i>	Y49.7a'' <i>sraotū</i>	√ <i>sr(a)u</i> 'to hear'
Y46.13b'' (<i>fra</i>) <i>srūidiiāi</i>	Y49.7b' <i>sraotū</i>	√ <i>sr(a)u</i> 'to hear'
Y46.12e'' <i>sastē</i>	Y49.7d' <i>fra-sastīm</i>	(-) <i>sast(a)i</i> - 'proclaiming'
Y46.11a' <i>xšaθrāiš</i>	Y49.8c'' <i>xšaθrōi</i>	'Dominion'
Y46.11a' <i>yūjən</i>	Y49.9c'' <i>yūjən</i>	'they yoke'
Y46.10e'' <i>xšaθrəm</i>	Y49.10d' <i>-xšaθrā</i>	'Dominion'
Y46.10e'' <i>manajhā</i>	Y49.11a' <i>manajhō</i>	'mind'
Y46.9e'' <i>išəntī</i>	Y49.12d'' <i>ištā</i>	√ <i>iš</i> 'be in motion, on a mission, seek'

Chart VI

Y49.3 <i>varənāi</i>	YH35.3 <i>vairimaidī</i>	√ <i>var</i> 'to opt'
	YH35.3 <i>varəzimācā</i>	
Y49.4 <i>huuarštāiš</i>	(cf. YH35.2 <i>huuarəštanəm</i>) . . .	√ <i>v(a)rz</i> 'to accomplish'
Y49.6 <i>fraēšiiā</i>	YH35.4 <i>fraēšiiāmahī</i>	<i>fraēšiiā</i> - 'impel, dispatch'
Y49.6–7 <i>srāuuaiiāēmā . . .</i> <i>sraotū</i> (2×)	YH35.4 <i>surunuuatascā</i> <i>asurunuuatascā</i>	√ <i>sru</i> 'hear'
Y49.d–8a–b <i>vərəzənāi . . .</i> <i>ašahiiā . . . sarvm</i>	YH35.8 <i>ašahiiā āaṭ sairī</i> <i>ašahiiā vərəzənē</i>	<i>vərvəzəna</i> - 'community', <i>sar</i> - 'connection, union', 'of Rightness'
Y49.8 <i>uruuāzištəm yāsā</i>	YH36.1 <i>vərəzənā ašahiiā</i> YH36.2 <i>uruuāzištō . . . yātaiiā</i> <i>uruuāzištahiiā</i>	√ <i>yā</i> homophonous 'entreat' and 'apportion', ²¹ <i>uruuāz(išta)</i> - '(most) bliss(ful)'

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' *maibiiō θβā* 'Thee, for me . . .' concatenates formally with Y46.9e *mā . . . tōi* 'me . . . to Thee.'

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

5. This *drūjō* represents a secondary insertion due to dittography.

6. For -š as incorporation of the Pahlavi gloss of *hōi*, see Schwartz 2006a, 62, n. 10.

7. *məm.bəduš*, taken by Humbach as corruption of **mən.bənduš* 'thinking of the bonds of kinship'. More difficult, but contextually apt, would be *-əduš* representing *əādū*- 'cereal grain'.

8. *vaiiū bərədbiiō* (*vaiiū.bərədbiiō*): cf. Y53.7d'' *vaiiōi* '(the sound of) woe(!)' and Y31.12a', Y50.6a' *vācəm* (. . .) *baraitī* 'raises his voice'.

9. Thus Narten, 189–94 on YH *gənābiš* 'divine/mythological women'.

10. For YH35.6 *vaēdā* ‘knows’ + obj. *haiθīm* ‘true’ + *√ah* ‘to be’ cf. Y31.5 *taṭ vaocā . . . viduiē . . . tācīt . . . yā nōiṭ vā aṇhaṭ aṇhaitī vā* ‘tell me that for the knowing . . . the things which will or will not be’ followed by Y31.6a’-b’ *yā mōi vīduuā vaocāṭ haiθīm maθrām* ‘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 *haiθiia-* ‘true’ to *√ah* ‘to be’, neuter pres. ptc. YH35.6 *haṭ*; cf. Schwartz 2006b, 459, n. 1.

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

12. *hudāstāmā*, superlative of *hudāh-*. The latter means not ‘munificent’ < *√dā* ‘to give’, but ‘beneficent’ < *√dā* ‘to bring about’, since *hudāh-* contrasts with *duzdāh-* (Y30.3c) ‘evildoer’, whose mg. is proved by Persian *duzd* ‘thief’.

13. For other aspects of ring composition in the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti, see Schwartz 2006b, 486–88. A study of other aspects of ring-composition in the YH will appear in Prof. Almut Hintze’s forthcoming book on this text.

14. This is made clear from the analysis of *ubōiio aṇhuuō* by Narten, 290–95.

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

16. *Y29.11b” = Y27.13b” as the original final stanza of Y29; see Schwartz 2003, 215–17.

17. The homophony of *varəšuuā* is “deconstructed” by Y53.8a’ (*anāiš ā*) *dužuuarəšnāṇhō* ‘(through these things) the persons of evil effects’ and Y53.9a’ *dužuuarənāiš* ‘through the persons of evil options’.

18. I see here a folk etymology of ‘tongue’, with *hizū* (< **sizū*) < PIIr. **zizū-*, and similarly *hizuuā* < **zizū*’u’ā derived from Av. *√zū*, *√zu’ā* (PIIr. *√zū*, *√zū’ā*) ‘to call, invoke’.

19. That *paitiiaogəṭ* ‘*conjoinedly, in reciprocation/doubly’ is from the root ‘to yoke’ and not, as formerly

thought, from *√aug* ‘to declare’, is shown by the recastings of Y46 in Y44, in which *paitiiaogəṭ* yields Y44.4d’ *yaogəṭ* ‘yoked’.

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

21. In the remainder of YH36.2, (*uruuāziiā . . .*) *mazištāi yāṇhqm* is due to a conflation, via Y49.8 *uruuazištqm* + Y49.8 *yāhī*, with Y30.1 *uruuāzā* + Y30.2 *mazə yāṇhō* (*uruuāz-* ‘bliss’, *yāh-* ‘race, contest’; *maz-* ‘great’); thus Y30.2 *maz-* > *mazišta-* ‘greatest’ as one of the serial superlatives of YH36.2.

Bibliography

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| Narten 1986 | J. Narten. <i>Die Yasna Haptaṅhāiti</i> . Wiesbaden. |
| Schwartz 2003 | M. Schwartz. “Gathic Compositional History, Y29, and Bovine Symbolism.” In <i>Paitnamāna: Essays in Iranian, Indo-European, and Indian Studies in Honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt</i> , ed. S. Adhami, 195–249. Costa Mesa. |
| Schwartz 2006a | _____. “How Zarathushtra Generated the Gathic Corpus: Inner textual and Intertextual Composition.” <i>BAI</i> 16 (2002 [2006]):53–64. |
| Schwartz 2006b | _____. “Old Avestan Poetics.” In <i>La langue poétique indo-européenne</i> . Actes du colloque de travail de la Société des Études Indo-européenne, Paris, 22–24 octobre 2003, ed. G.-J. Pinault and D. Petit, 459–98. Leuven. |