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Imbued with the essence of the Gods: the intersection between Zoroastrian theology and the Old Avestan possessive adjectives derived from personal pronouns

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Abstract

The Gāthās of Zaratustra provide us with the Old Avestan attestations of the adjectives *mauuant-*, *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-*. The adjective *mauuant-* occurs twice in the Gāthās, while *θβāuuant-* occurs five times and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* occurs seven times. Over the years, little effort has been put into studying the broader context in which these words are situated or into understanding the specific use and significance of these words in the Gāthās. The basis for their translation has mostly been exogenous, with the early Avestan scholars using the readily available meanings of the Vedic equivalents *māvat-*, *tvāvat-* and *yušmāvat-* for this purpose. In contrast, this article endeavours to understand the meaning and significance of the words *mauuant-*, *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* in the context of Zoroastrian theology. It further seeks to examine the morphological basis of their meaning, to offer updated translation options for them and to situate these updated translations into the Gāthic stanzas in which they occur.

Keywords: Avestan; Gāthās; Indo-Iranian; poetry; spirituality; theology; Zaratustra; Zoroastrianism

Introduction

The notion that living beings can be imbued with the essence of divinity is a well-developed theme in Zoroastrian theology. Attestation of this is found not only in the earliest texts of the Zoroastrian tradition, presumably dating as far into the past as 1500 BC, but is prevalent throughout the rich textual tradition that expanded and spread through the millennia. The most enduring portrayal of this notion is that of Ahura Mazdā engendering and emanating his creations out of his own essence, and of his creations therefore being endowed with aspects of his own nature and quality: a theme consistently found in the Old Avestan, Young Avestan and Middle Persian literature, and very aptly described by Hintze as *creatio ex deo* “creation out of God”.¹

In light of this, the significance and implications of the Old Avestan possessive adjectives *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-*, which are only found in the Gāthās and in Gāthic quotations in Young Avestan contexts, seem to have been largely overlooked by scholars. These adjectives are derived from the second person singular pronominal stem *θβa-* “you” and the second person plural pronominal stem for oblique cases *xšma-/yūšma-* “you (all)”, to which

¹ Hintze (2014: 244).

the **-uant-/*-uat-* possessive suffix is added. The resulting adjectival stems: *θβāuuant-* literally “provided with you, possessing you” and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* literally “provided with you (all), possessing you (all)” harbour interesting semantic implications, given that in each of their attestations these adjectives belong to words spoken by Zaratuštra as he is addressing Ahura Mazda, whose name he speaks in the vocative case. Related to these adjectival stems is also the stem *mauuant-* literally “provided with me, possessing me”, derived from the first person pronominal stem *ma-* “me” to which the **-uant-/*-uat-* possessive suffix has been added. In its attestations, it also belongs to words spoken by Zaratuštra as he is addressing Ahura Mazda. Just like *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* the possessive adjective *mauuant-* is found only in the Gāthās, and in Gāthic quotations in Young Avestan contexts.

To date, there is no in-depth study on the context and significance of these words in the Gāthās. Seeing them as simple grammatical extensions of the personal pronoun without further conceptual nuance or dimension, most scholars have unhesitatingly accepted those translations posited by Bartholomae that centre on the sense of “similarity”, an uncommon semantic realization of the **-uant-/*-uat-* possessive suffix: *θβāuuant-* “dir ähnlich” (“similar to you”), “einer wie du” (“one like you”), *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* “euch ähnlich” (“similar to you [all]”), “einer wie ihr” (“one like you [all]”), *mauuant-* “mir ähnlich” (“similar to me”) and “einer wie ich” (“one like me”), instead of the alternate translations also posited by Bartholomae, which are closer to the sense of “possession” that is much more ubiquitously indicated by the **-uant-/*-uat-* possessive suffix: *θβāuuant-* “mit solchen Eigenschaften, wie du sie hast” (“with such qualities as you have”), *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* “mit solchen Eigenschaften, wie ihr sie habt” (“with such qualities as you [all] have”) and *mauuant-* “mit solchen Eigenschaften, wie ich sie habe” (“with such qualities as I have”).² This has given rise to translations of Gāthic stanzas in which the precise notion of someone or something being described as “provided with you” (i.e. provided with Ahura Mazda), “provided with you (all)” (i.e. provided with Ahura Mazda together with the other Old Avestan divinities) or “provided with me” (i.e. provided with Zaratuštra) is completely absent and replaced with the notion of someone or something being “similar to you, one such as you” (i.e. similar to Ahura Mazda), “similar to you (all), one such as you (all)” (i.e. similar to Ahura Mazda together with the other Old Avestan divinities) or “similar to me, one such as me” (i.e. similar to Zaratuštra). Moreover, following a suggestion made by Bartholomae,³ these adjectives are frequently understood simply as substitutes for the pronouns from which they are derived, and their inherent grammatical and semantic functions are therefore often overlooked. The conceptual and theological implications of this prevalent deviation in our translations of these words in the Gāthās are not insignificant.

Part 1 of this article presents textual and contextual evidence for the well-established theme in Zoroastrian theology – of “possessing” or being “provided with” divinity. In this part of the article I endeavour to demonstrate that according to Zoroastrian theology, living beings and positive aspects of creation can literally be imbued with divinity. Part 2 then evaluates the semantics of *θβāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* and *mauuant-* from a morphological point of view. Here I argue that it is difficult to establish a convincing morphological justification for translations based on the sense of “similarity” for *θβāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* and *mauuant-*, and that from a morphological point of view, translations anchored in a sense of “possession” would be more accurate. Finally, in Part 3, based on both the contextual and the morphological arguments presented in Parts 1 and 2 respectively, I propose updated translation options for these words. I then apply the updated translations of these words into my translations of each of the Gāthic stanzas in which they

² Bartholomae (1904: 797, 1304, 1141).

³ Bartholomae (1904: 797, 1304, 1141).

occur, in order to achieve a more precise and fuller understanding and appreciation of these Gāthic stanzas. Inversely, these Gāthic stanzas help illuminate the specific themes and concepts often associated with these words.

Part I: Imbued with the essence of the Gods – the significance and prevalence of the concept in Zoroastrian thought

In the Zoroastrian textual tradition, we are presented with a range of evidence that demonstrates how the good spiritual and material creations of Ahura Mazdā are brought forth by him from his own essence, and how they have the capacity to be pervaded by, to embody and to manifest aspects of his nature and quality, and likewise, how they have the capacity to be pervaded by, to embody and to manifest aspects of the nature and quality of certain other divinities who are in turn themselves brought forth out of Ahura Mazdā's own essence.

1.1 The begetting of existence and of its orchestrating principle

One of the very well-known pronouncements that portrays Ahura Mazdā being envisioned by Zaratuštra as the engenderer of existence itself can be found in the first two lines of Y 43.5 of the Gāthās:⁴

Y 43.5a–b *spəntəm aṭ θβā mazdā mānghi ahurā*
hīiaṭ θβā aṇhāuš zqθōi darasəm paōuruuīm

O Wise Lord, I realise you are indeed life-giving,
 when I perceive you as the primordial one in the begetting of existence.

In addition to being the engenderer of existence itself, Ahura Mazdā is also envisioned by Zaratuštra as the engenderer of its orchestrating principle, *aša-*. Central to the Zoroastrian spiritual vision, the nuanced metaphysical notion of *aša-* is envisioned and understood as the inherent, underlying and orchestrating “Truth”⁵ that pervades the spiritual and corporeal creations of Ahura Mazdā and thereby expresses itself as the “(divine) Orchestration”, which one participates in, on both a spiritual and corporeal level. It is also recognized as an offspring of Ahura Mazdā, as is directly implied in a rhetorical question posed by Zaratuštra in the Gāthās, in the line Y 44.3b *kasnā zqθā ptā ašahiiā pouruiiō* “Who, through begetting, is the primordial father of the Truth?” Pervading the cosmos, *aša-* is also further understood as a presence and quality inherent within righteous and virtuous beings (divine and human), who are therefore called *ašauuan-* “imbued with the Truth, righteous, virtuous”.⁶

⁴ All Avestan translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵ For more on *aša-*, see Hintze (2007: 53–8), who notes that the word *aša-* derives from the Indo-European (IE) root **h₂er* “to fit, to join, to put in order”, via Indo-Iranian (Iir) **Hrtá-* (past perfect participle) → **árta-* (full grade substantivized neuter noun) > *aša-* (p. 56). Hintze observes that the association of the full grade root with the process of substantivization indicates that this full grade substantive **árta-* most likely arose in the second millennium BC, when the process of vowel gradation caused by accent shift still occurred (p. 56). The substantivized **árta-* would literally mean “what is joined, fitted, ordered”, more specifically used in reference to the “(cosmic) Order” (p. 56). Hintze correctly observes: “Any attempt to translate Av. *aša-* adequately is doomed to fail for the simple reason that the concept which it denotes does not exist in Western European languages” (p. 57), and she summarizes: “Avestan *aša-* denotes the internal, ordered and perfect structure of Ahura Mazdā's spiritual and material worlds, and, in addition, the ordered relationship between the two. Being the pervading principle of both, *aša-* holds them together” (p. 58).

⁶ Throughout this article, whenever capitalized as either “Truth” or “the Truth”, the English word “truth” is specifically referring to the concept and the divinity *aša-*, with all attendant metaphysical connotations and spiritual implications.

Similarly, the concept of *vohu- manah-* “Good Thought” is also imagined as a divinity whose father is Ahura Mazdā. Thus, Ahura Mazdā is addressed in line Y 31.8b of the Gāthās as: *vañhəuš ptarə̄m manə̄hō* “father of Good Thought”. Likewise, the concept of *ārmaiti-* “Sound Mindedness”⁷ is also imagined as a divinity who is the daughter of Ahura Mazdā, evidenced by line Y 45.4d of the Gāthās: *at̄ hōi dugədā ... ārmaitiš* “also, his daughter is Sound Mindedness”. Just like *aša-* “Truth”, the concept of *vohu- manah-* “Good Thought” and of *ārmaiti-* “Sound Mindedness”, in addition to being envisioned as divinities who fully epitomize the concept their names describe, are also ideals and attributes that may be attained, possessed and embodied by virtuous beings.

Referring to these types of multivalent aspect-transecting qualities of the Old Avestan divinities, Boyce notes how the inherent natures of these divinities can merge with and enter into a being, and how they manifest through that being as “indwelling divinity”:⁸

The concepts of divinity and of humanly possessed power seem frequently to blend, through the thought of that power proceeding from the divinity, who has himself actually entered into the person.⁹

Along the same lines, Humbach comments:

In the human, or material, sphere the Ahurian terms denote not only the virtues of human beings and, metonymically, virtuous human beings themselves, but they can also be imagined as appearing materialised in the good things of the world...¹⁰

1.2 Divinity imbuing living beings

In the Old Avestan texts, one of the more emphatic expressions of the desire to be imbued with divinity, as far as it pertains to Ahura Mazdā, is to be found in the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti. It is formulated by the use of the second person singular optative active verbal form *xiia* “may you be” of the verbal root *ah* “to be”. The notion is expressed in the final clause of Y 41.3:

Y 41.3c–e *aθā tū nē gaiiascā astəntāscā xiia*
ubōiiō aṇhuuō
hātəm hudāstəmə

Thus, may you now be for us: life and corporeality
in both existences,
O most well providing of (all) that exists!

Calling upon Ahura Mazdā directly, as “most well providing of (all) that exists”, the worshippers are here literally asking him to be their “life and corporeality” in both spiritual and

⁷ For the etymology of the word *ārmaiti-*, see Bartholomae (1904: 185, 188–9, 335–7), and for its Vedic counterpart *arāmaiti-*, see Mayrhofer (1986–2001, 1: 109–10). In brief summary, the word *ārmaiti-* comprises two components, the first of which, like *aša-*, is ultimately derived from the IE verbal root **h₂er* “to fit, to join, to put in order”, and qualifies the second component, which is, in turn, derived from the well-known Avestan verbal root *man* “to think”. Literally, *ārmaiti-* denotes “befitting or orchestrated thinking” and, more broadly, “a befitting or orchestrated state of mind”, or “an ideal or composed state of mind”. Therefore I translate *ārmaiti-* as “Sound Mindedness”.

⁸ Boyce (1984: 12–14).

⁹ Boyce (1984: 13).

¹⁰ Humbach (1991, 1: 16).

material existence. As noted by Hintze in her edition of the Yasna Haptanḥāiti, the worshippers “wish that their view of Ahura Mazdā would affect their lives to the extent that the latter are entirely imbued with him – on both the material and spiritual planes”.¹¹ In fact, fellowship and union with divinity is the paramount benefaction that the worshippers of the Yasna Haptanḥāiti seek to attain, and they declare this before and after they recite the lines from Y 41.3c–e quoted above: first in Y 40.2e–f: *tauuacā haxəmə ašaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē* “fellowship with you and Truth for all time”, and second in Y 41.6e–f: *tauuacā sarəmə ašaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē* “union with you and Truth for all time”. The “you” is Ahura Mazdā.

The theme of longing for fellowship and communion with Ahura Mazdā is also encountered in Y 28.10–11 of the Gāθās, which reveal the immediacy of the relationship between Ahura Mazdā and Zaraθuštra:

Y 28.10 *aṭ yāṅg ašāaṭcā vōistā vaṇhəušcā dāθəṅg mananḥō*
əraθβəṅg mazdā ahurā aēibiiō pərənā āpanāiš kāməm
aṭ vō xšmaibiiā asūnā vaēdā xʷaraiθiiā vaiṇtiīā srauuaḥ

Now, whom you know (to be), by virtue of the Truth and Good Thought, (those) following (your) principles¹²
 (and those) in accordance with (your) ideals,¹³ O Wise Lord: for them, fulfil their longing through achievements.
 Indeed, I know for you (all), your (own)¹⁴ brimming, resounding,¹⁵ lovable hymns.

Y 28.11 *yō āiš ašəm nipāḥjē manascā vohū yauuaētātē*
tuuəm mazdā ahurā frō mā sīšā θbahmāt vaōcaḥjē
mainiiəuš hacā θβā əəṇhā yāiš ā aṇhuš pouruiiō bauuaṭ

You, who through these (hymns), protect the Truth and Good Thought for eternity,
 O Wise Lord, with your mouth, teach me to speak forth from your spiritual force
 (these hymns) through which primordial existence came into being!

In Y 28.10c Zaraθuštra declares that he knows the brimming, resounding, lovable hymns of the divinities. In Y 28.11a we learn that it is through these hymns that Ahura Mazdā protects the Truth and Good Thought for eternity, while in Y 28.11c we discover that it is through

¹¹ Hintze (2007: 313).

¹² Humbach (1991, 2: 27) translates *dāθa-* as “just”, but Skjærvø (2011: 123) translates it as “following the established rules”, linking *dāθa-* with *dāta-* “that which is established, rule, principle”. I agree with Skjærvø’s approach here, and translate this word similarly.

¹³ Humbach (1991, 2: 27) translates the word *əraθβa-* as “worthy” and suggests that it is possibly connected with Avestan *ratu-*, and Skjærvø (2011: 123) precisely translates the word as “according to the models”. I concur that the link to *ratu-* “ideal, model” is important to maintain, and therefore translate the word as “in accordance with (your) ideals”.

¹⁴ Humbach (1991, 2: 28), also notes the possible interplay of the genitive plural *vō* with the dative plural *xšmaibiiā* in the construction *vō xšmaibiiā ... vaēdā ... srauuaḥ* “I know for you (all), your (own) hymns”, though he eventually chooses not to translate as such: Humbach (1991, 1: 119).

¹⁵ I translate *xʷaraiθiiā-* as “resounding”, following Humbach’s interesting proposal in Humbach (1959, 2: 11–12) and Humbach (1959, 1: 78) of an Avestan root **xʷar* “to make a sound, to resound” linked to the Vedic root *svar* “to make a sound, to resound”. Alternatively Kellens and Pirart (1991, 3: 27) argue in favour of Bartholomae’s original analysis of *xʷaraiθiiā-* as **hu-arəθa-* “serving good purpose”, for which see Bartholomae (1904: 1869). While Bartholomae’s proposal could also work, Humbach’s proposal is not implausible, and it suits the context admirably. If we were to follow Bartholomae, we could translate Y 28.10c as “Indeed, I know for you (all), your (own) brimming, lovable hymns, (that) serve good purpose”.

these hymns that primordial existence itself came into being.¹⁶ In Y 28.11 Zaraθuštra asks Ahura Mazdā to teach him to speak forth these hymns *θbahmāt ... mainiīuš* “from your spiritual force”, the ablative construction indicating that the source from which the poet desires to speak forth is nothing other than the spiritual force of Ahura Mazdā himself. So not only does Zaraθuštra want to speak these hymns forth – thereby joining into their unique protective and generative purpose – but he further seeks to do so by channelling the very spiritual force of Ahura Mazdā. As if this is not already enough, the poet requests that this teaching be imparted to him by Ahura Mazdā himself, specifically through Ahura Mazdā’s own mouth.

While Y 28.10–11 convey the image of Ahura Mazdā’s own spiritual force being channelled through Zaraθuštra, Y 44.11a–c evokes an image of all those from whom the *daēnā*–“spiritual vision” of Ahura Mazdā is welling forth, and of *ārmaiti*– “Sound Mindedness”, spreading through these individuals:

Y 44.11a–d *taṭ θbā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaōcā ahurā*
kaθā təng ā vījəmīāt ārmaitiš
yaēibiiō mazdā θβōi vašīietē daēnā
ažēm tōi āiš pouruiiō frauuōiuuīdē

This I ask you, speak for me truly, O Lord:
 How shall Sound Mindedness spread across those
 from whom your spiritual vision is welling forth, O Wise One?
 Along with them, I make myself available as your foremost (one).

While in Y 44.11d, together with all those who are welling forth with the spiritual vision, Zaraθuštra makes himself available as the foremost (one) of Ahura Mazdā, in Y 33.14 Zaraθuštra makes himself available in a much more personal and comprehensive manner: by specifically offering the very aspects of his being and his agency to Ahura Mazdā and the Truth¹⁷:

Y 33.14 *aṭ rātqm zaraθuštrō tanuuascīṭ xʷaxiiā uštanəm*
dadāitī pauruuatātəm manajhascā vaṇhāuš mazdāi
šīiaōθənahiiā ašāi.yācā uxδaxiiācā sərəōšəm xšaθrəmcā

Verily, Zaraθuštra is offering as a gift to the Wise One and to the Truth: the vitality of his own body,
 and the pre-eminence of (his) good thought,
 of (his) deed and of (his) solemn utterance, (he is offering them his) attentiveness,
 and (he is offering them) dominion (over himself).¹⁸

¹⁶ It seems relatively clear, given the narrative arc of Y 28.10–11, that *āiš* in Y 28.11a and *yāiš* in Y 28.11c refer to *srauuā* in Y 28.10c. This might also be supported by a reading of Y 29.8, which itself seems to provide a glimpse into the situation of Y 28.10–11 from the perspective of the divinities, and in which we learn that Zaraθuštra *carəkəraθrā srāuuaiiejhē* “wishes to make heard celebratory-hymns” for the divinities. The words *srauuah*– “hymn” (Y 28.10) and *carəkəraθra*– “celebratory-hymn, anthem” (Y 29.8), though derivationally different, somewhat overlap in meaning.

¹⁷ In Y 33.14, I follow Hoffmann and Hintze in reading as dative singular *ašāi.yācā*, in preference to Humbach’s reading as instrumental singular *ašā yācā*; see Hintze (2007: 169).

¹⁸ The theme of Y 33.14 is the offering made by Zaraθuštra to Ahura Mazdā and the Truth of various vital aspects of his own being and of his own agency. I interpret the offering of *xšaθra*– “dominion” in Y 33.14, as a final all-encompassing offering of “dominion (over himself)”. This interpretation agrees with the theme of Y 41.3c–e (quoted earlier).

This significant gesture of making his self available to divinity, and particularly his offering of “the vitality of his own body”, is a sentiment once again found in the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti, Y 37.3c: *tām ahmākāiš azdābišcā uštānāišcā yazamaidē* “We are worshipping him through our corporeality and vital forces”.

Let us briefly review the different variations in the notion of being pervaded by divinity that we have encountered so far. While Y 41.3c–e expresses a desire to be entirely pervaded by divinity, Y 28.11 expresses a desire of wanting to access and speak from, and thus be a conduit for, the spiritual force of divinity, and Y 44.11a–c imagines the spiritual vision of divinity welling forth from people and Sound Mindedness spreading across them. Y 40.2e–f and Y 41.6e–f express a desire for fellowship and union with divinity, while Y 44.11d, Y 33.14 and Y 37.3c depict the act of providing availability of the self to divinity. In addition to this, the stanza Y 31.11 (see below) provides an insight into how Zaraθuštra imagines the aspects of the self as creations of Ahura Mazdā’s own thought, and as therefore proceeding from and comprising the very essence and intention of divinity itself:

Y 31.11 *hiiat nō mazdā paōuruuīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā*
θβā manahā xratūšcā hiiat astuuantəm dadā uštānəm
hiiat śīiaōdanācā sōnghqscā yaθrā varānāṅg vasā dāiietē

Since at the beginning, through your thought, O Wise One, you fashioned for us (our) living beings, spiritual visions, and discernments; since you created (for us our) corporeal vitality, since (you created for us) actions and proclamations, whereby one with volition takes-on choices.

Here we may also note that the Avestan divine name *mazdā-* “Wise One” is an agent noun and compound, ultimately deriving from the IE noun **m̥ns-* “thought” (the double zero grade of the *s*-stem **menos-* “thought”) and the IE verb **d^heh₁-* “to set, to place”.¹⁹ The name *mazdā-* (< IE **m̥ns-d^heh₁-*) is a root noun (the root noun *dā-* is the second member of the compound)²⁰ which etymologically means “one who places his thought, one who arrays his thought”. Interestingly, in Y 31.11, we find Zaraθuštra describing the primordial generative activity of Ahura Mazdā (etymologically: “the lord who arrays his thought”), by imagining him enacting the very meaning of his name in order to fashion the aspects of our beings.

We have so far observed how the aspects or the entirety of self: 1) are desired to be pervaded by divinity, 2) can be developed as a conduit for the spiritual force of divinity, 3) can experience the welling forth of the spiritual vision of divinity and the spreading through of Sound Mindedness, 4) desire to experience union with divinity, 5) provide availability to divinity, and 6) how these aspects of the self are in turn creations emerging through the very thought of divinity itself. But what about the internal relationship between Ahura Mazdā and the divinities of the Old Avesta themselves?

1.3 Permeating the life-giving immortals

The divinities of the Old Avesta are collectively referred to as: 1) *ahura-s* in the Gāθās, as is evidenced by the expression *mazdāscā ahurāṅhō* “the Wise One and the (other) Divinities” in Y 30.9 (vocative function) and in Y 31.4 (nominative function), and as 2) *spənta- aməša-s*

¹⁹ Hintze (2014: 228).

²⁰ Hintze (2007: 285).

“Life-giving Immortals” in the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti.²¹ Throughout the stanzas of the Gāthās these divinities are purposefully depicted interacting with each other and with Ahura Mazdā. Yet, the most beautiful and clear depiction of how all the *spənta-aməša*-s are interwoven with each other – distinct yet combined – and how they are all continuously permeated by the soul of Ahura Mazdā is found in the poetry of the Young Avesta, in a remarkable sequence of stanzas that overlap significantly between and across Yašt 13 and Yašt 19. I have provided the entire sequence below. Notice: 1) how Ahura Mazdā’s soul is mixing into the forms of the Life-giving Immortals in Yt 13.81, 2) how the Life-giving Immortals, though individuated in aspect, are nonetheless spiritually interwoven with each other (Yt 13.83–84 = Yt 19.16–17), 3) how they are all depicted as the children of Ahura Mazdā who is their Father (Yt 13.83 = Yt 19.16), and 4) how they (into whose forms Ahura Mazdā’s soul is continuously mixing, and who are themselves fluidly interwoven with each other) are also appropriately described as “the creators ... of the creations of Ahura Mazdā” (Yt 19.18), thus sharing a sort of nested attribution with him due to the existential inter-fluidity between them all:

Yt 13.80 *vispanəmca āṇhəm paōiriianəm*
frauuašinəm iḍa yazamaide
frauuašim auuəm yəm ahurahe mazdā
mazištəmca vahištəmca
sraēštəmca xraōždištəmca
xraθβištəmca hukərəptəməmca
ašāṭ apanōtəməmca

Of all these primordial affirmative choices,²²
 we are here worshipping that affirmative choice,
 which is of Ahura Mazdā,
 (which is) the greatest and best,
 the most beautiful and most sturdy,
 the most discerning and most well-formed,
 (the one) having attained most on the basis of the Truth,

Yt 13.81 *yeḥhe uruua mąθrō spəntō*
aurušō raōxšnō frādərəsrō
kəhrpasca yā raēθβaiieiti
srīrā aməšanəm spəntanəm
vərəzdā aməšanəm spəntanəm
huuarəxšaētəm auruuṭaspəm yazamaide

(Ahura Mazdā), whose soul is the life-giving mantra,
 white, luminous, perceiving from afar,

²¹ For more on the *ahura*-s and the *spənta-aməša*-s, see Humbach (1991, 1: 13–16) and Hintze (2007: 188–90). For a discussion of the formulation *mazdāscā ahurāṇhō*, also see Hintze (2015: 33), with references. On the Old Avestan word order *spənta-aməša*- and the Young Avestan word order *aməša-spənta*-, see Hintze (2007: 190).

²² The *frauuaši*- “affirmative choice” is the choice freely made by any being in support of Ahura Mazdā, his *daēnā*- “spiritual vision” and his efforts in the existential struggle between good and evil. As the orienting, characterizing and motivating choice that shapes and unfolds the course and destiny of one’s life, it is an immortal aspect of a being’s spiritual existence, and is also imagined as a protective force or “guardian spirit”. In Yašt 13 we learn that Ahura Mazdā and the Life-giving Immortals have also made this affirmative choice, and therefore they themselves have *frauuaši*-s. For more, see Narten (1985: 35–48), Hintze (2007: 171–7) and Dastur (2024: 79–88, 98–108).

and the forms which it is mixing into²³
 (are) the beautiful (forms) of the Life-giving Immortals,
 (are) the matured²⁴ (forms) of the Life-giving Immortals;
 We are worshipping the swift-horsed radiant sun.

Yt 13.82 (Yt 13.82d–g = Yt 19.15b–e) *ašāunqm vaṇ^hiš sūrā spəntā*
frauuašaiiō yazamaide
yā amāšanqm spəntanqm
xšaētanqm⁺ varəzi.dōiθranqm²⁵
bərazatqm aiβiīāmanqm
taxmanqm āhūiriianqm
yōi aiθiiejaṇhō ašauuanō

We are worshipping the affirmative choices of the righteous,
 (that are) good, flourishing with life force, life-giving,
 those of the Life-giving Immortals:
 (who are) the radiant ones, whose eyes are sharp,
 the lofty ones, who formidably approach,
 the intrepid ones, of divine nature,
 who are unforsaken, the righteous ones,

Yt 13.83 (= Yt 19.16) *yōi hapta hamō.manəṇhō*
yōi hapta hamō.uuacəṇhō
yōi hapta hamō.šīiaōθnāṅhō
yaēšqm asti haməm manō
haməm vacō haməm šīiaōθnəm
hamō⁺ ptāca²⁶ frasāstaca
yō daδuuā ahurō mazdā

The seven, who are of the same thought,
 the seven, who are of the same word,
 the seven, who are of the same deed,
 Of whom is: the same thought,
 the same word, the same deed,
 the same father and preceptor,
 who is the creator, Ahura Mazdā,

²³ Note that *rəēθβaiiēiti* “is mixing into” is a third person singular indicative active verbal form, denoting activity ongoing in the continuous present. The subject of this verb is the *uruua* “soul” (nominative singular of *uruuan-* m. “soul”) of Ahura Mazdā, and the object of this verb is the *kəhrpas* “forms” (accusative plural of *kəhrp-* f. “form, manifestation”) of the Life-giving Immortals. Ahura Mazdā’s soul is thus depicted here as manifesting via the forms of the Life-giving Immortals, into which it is mixing.

²⁴ Hintze (2014: 231 fn. 29) translates *varəzdā* (literally: “grown”) as “matured”, and keenly observes that this expression could be referring to the cosmogonic theme of the spiritual creations first gestating within Ahura Mazdā, before being emanated out of him.

²⁵ This emendation has been made in the text of Yt 19.15 by Hintze (1994: 133–5) and applies here to the text of Yt 13.82 as well.

²⁶ This emendation has been made in the text of Yt 19.16 by Hintze (1994: 139) and applies here to the text of Yt 13.83 as well.

Yt 13.84 (= Yt 19.17) *yaēšqm ariiō ariiehe*
uruuānəm aiβi.uuaēnaiti
mərəθβəntəm humataēšu
mərəθβəntəm hūxtaēšu
mərəθβəntəm huuarštaēšu
mərəθβəntəm garō nmānəm
yaēšqm raōxšnāḡhō paṇtānō
āuuaiiatqm auui zaōθrā

Of whom each is gazing into
 the soul of the other:
 mindful in good thoughts,
 mindful in good words,
 mindful in good deeds,
 mindful unto the House of Welcome;
 Whose paths are luminous,
 as they draw near, towards the libations,

Yt 19.18 *yōi hənti āḡhəm dāmanqm*
yaṭ ahurahe mazdā
dātarasca marəxštarasca
θbarəxštarasca aiβiiāxštarasca
nipātarasca nišharətarasca

Who are, of these creations
 which are of Ahura Mazdā:
 the creators and crafters,
 the fashioners and overseers,
 the protectors and guardians.

In addition to being described as the life-giving mantra, Ahura Mazdā's soul is also described using the adjectives *aurušō raōxšnō frādarəsro* "white, luminous, perceiving from afar" in Yt 13.81. In the Bundahišn (Bdh 1.43), we learn that Ahura Mazdā brought forth the form of his own creations from his *xwēš xwadīh* "own selfness, own essence", from light existence, in the form of fire: *ī rōšn ī spēd ud gird ud frāz-paydāg* "luminous, white, round, and visible from afar".²⁷ The use of the almost identical sequence of adjectives to describe Ahura Mazdā's soul, as it is continuously mixing into the forms of his Life-giving Immortals (in Yt 13.81), and to describe the form of fire in which he brought forth his creations (in Bdh 1.43), seems to indicate that the creations being referred to in Bdh 1.43 are indeed the Life-giving Immortals. Both Yt 13.81 and Bdh 1.43 characterize the generative activity of Ahura Mazdā in terms of an emanation of essence that originates from him, either through the process of "the mixing of his soul" or by "the bringing forth from his own essence". The Bundahišn goes on to speak of corporeal creation and how it was first nurtured by Ahura Mazdā in a spiritual state, then incrementally gestating, unfolding, articulating and individuating, much like an embryo within a mother's womb (Bdh 1.57).²⁸ Thus, in Bdh 1.58 Ahura Mazdā is identified as both: the mother and the father of his creations.²⁹

²⁷ Pakzad (2005: 19); Skjærvø (2011: 87); Hintze (2014: 231); Agostini and Thrope (2020: 9, 11).

²⁸ Pakzad (2005: 24–5); Skjærvø (2011: 89); Agostini and Thrope (2020: 11).

²⁹ Pakzad (2005: 25); Skjærvø (2011: 89); Agostini and Thrope (2020: 11).

In light of the description of Ahura Mazda's soul as the "life-giving mantra", and the powerful imagery of it continuously mixing into the beautiful forms of the Life-giving Immortals, who in turn are called the creators of the creations of Ahura Mazda, the Avestan adjective *tanuməθra-* "incarnation of the mantra, embodiment of the mantra", which can be used to describe both mortals and divinities, is pregnant with meaning. It is also translated very evocatively by Bartholomae as "mit dessen Leib das heilige Wort verbunden ist, der es in sich aufgenommen, mit ihm eins geworden ist" ("with whose body the holy word is intertwined, who has absorbed it, become one with it").³⁰ Thus, the emanation of Ahura Mazda's very soul, as the life-giving mantra, can pervade, interfuse and become one with the physical bodies of mortals as they chant these sacred poetic formulations. This is indeed the very activity in which Zaraθuštra is engaged as he chants his Gāθās, desiring to be imbued with the essence of divinity. Zaraθuštra also specifically refers to himself as a *məθrān-* "repository of mantras, virtuoso of mantras"³¹ in his Gāθās (most prominently in Y 50.5–6), and the worshippers of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti also declare themselves to be praisers and *məθrān-*s of Ahura Mazda (Y 41.5). The immediacy with which Zaraθuštra seeks to channel the spiritual force of Ahura Mazda by chanting the "brimming, resounding, lovable hymns" of the divinities has already been discussed earlier, in relation to Y 28.10–11 (complete text and translation in section 1.2), during which he chants: "O Wise Lord, with your mouth, teach me to speak forth from your spiritual force, (these hymns) through which primordial existence came into being!"

1.4 Spiritual kinship

The conceptual coherence of the notion of Ahura Mazda bringing forth the good creations from his own essence remains consistent through millennia: from Old Avestan times, through to Young Avestan times, and well into the Middle Persian period as well.³² By virtue of his own essence flowing through his children, the Life-giving Immortals, and into corporeal creation, of which he is described as both the mother and the father, all his good creations are related to him, and also to each other, through bonds of spiritual kinship. As pointed out by Hintze,³³ the worshippers of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti clearly declare a sense of relationship in Y 39.5:

Y 39.5 *vaŋhəuš xʷaētəuš xʷaētātā*
vaŋhəuš ašahiiā θβā pairijasāmaidē
vaŋhuiiā fšəratuuō
vaŋhuiiā āmatōiš

We proceed around you, with the relationship of a good relative,
 to good Truth,
 to good Joy,
 to good Sound Mindedness.³⁴

³⁰ Bartholomae (1904: 637).

³¹ I follow here the translations of *məθrān-* as "dépositaire des formules divines" by Kellens and Pirart (1990, 2: 287), and as "Spruchkenner" by Hoffmann (1955: 35).

³² Hintze (2014: 232).

³³ Hintze (2007: 280–2).

³⁴ Translation of Y 39.5 by Hintze (2007: 280–2), with only minor changes by me. For the analysis of this stanza, especially the syntactic coordination of the instrumental form *xʷaētātā* with its four dependent genitives, see Hintze (2007: 280–2), who follows Narten's interpretation which takes 1) the etymologically related and most immediate genitive (*xʷaētəuš*) as possessive, and 2) the remaining three genitives as denoting the object.

Hintze also points out that the expression *xʷaētāuš xʷaētātā* is a “stylistic figure of etymologizing stem-repetition, or paronomasia”.³⁵ Interestingly, we have just encountered another example of etymologizing stem-repetition in the Middle Persian expression *xwēš xwadih* “own selfness, own essence” of Bdh 1.43. The semantic core of both expressions – *xʷaētāuš xʷaētātā* of Y 39.5 and *xwēš xwadih* of Bdh 1.43 – goes back to Ilr. **suaī-* “own, one’s own”. In the context of Bdh 1.43, it is clear that the expression means “own selfness, own essence”, but in the case of OAv. *xʷaētu-* and *xʷaētāt-* the semantic sense of “one’s own” refers to the inherent belonging and sense of oneness within a family. Hintze notes:

Narten argues that the expression *xʷaētāuš xʷaētātā* is a metaphor expressing the idea that the worshippers consider themselves to be as closely akin to truth, joy and right-mindedness as they are to their own families. The worshippers thus confirm that their relationship to truth, joy and right-mindedness is as inalienable as the blood ties to their own relatives. It is in this state of mind that they approach Ahura Mazda.³⁶

1.5 Divinity imbuing aspects of the worship

In the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti we find a striking example of how an integral aspect of worship itself may also be permeated by divinity. As observed and discussed by Hintze in her edition of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti, during the course of Yasna 36 the heavenly fire of Ahura Mazda, upon being invoked by the worshippers, descends towards the ritual precinct and merges into the ritual fire – thus becoming incorporated into the very heart and centre of the worship. Hintze further points out that through this act of fusion, the ritual fire “assumes the characteristics of its heavenly counterpart”,³⁷ and “from that moment on, the worshippers consider themselves to be in the presence of Ahura Mazda, whose visible form is the light as embodied by the ritual fire”.³⁸ The invocation is as follows:

Y 36.2 *uruuāzištō huuō nā*
yātāiā paitī.jamiiā
ātarə mazdā ahurahiiā
uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziīā
nəmištahiiā nəmaṅhā nā
mazištāi yāṅhəm paitī.jamiiā

You there, the most joyful one,
 may you come close to us for the sake of the request,
 O fire of the Wise Lord!
 May you come close to us,
 with the joy of the most joyful one,
 with the veneration of the most venerating one,
 for the greatest of the appeals.³⁹

In Yasna 38 of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti, during the worship of the waters, the worshippers specify that they are worshipping the waters with the names given to them by Ahura Mazda at the time when he was making them into providers of goodness (Y 38.4).⁴⁰ The 17 names

³⁵ Hintze (2007: 280).

³⁶ Hintze (2007: 282).

³⁷ Hintze (2007: 127–8).

³⁸ Hintze (2007: 6).

³⁹ Translation of Y 36.2 by Hintze (2007: 119).

⁴⁰ Hintze (2007: 239–44).

through which the waters are worshipped are thus associated with the very moment of their creation and naming, beautifully encapsulating their nature and characteristics as “providers of goodness” and reminding the worshippers that it was indeed Ahura Mazdā who imbued the waters with these characteristics and named them as such.⁴¹ Further, Hintze importantly notes that “there is an affinity between the waters and Ahura Mazdā, and this is implied by the same verbs being used in praise of both”.⁴² Of the 17 names of the waters that are worshipped in Y 38, the final and most personal is *mātarō jītaiiō* “O living mothers”.

Beyond these two specific examples of the fire and the waters, the Old Avestan liturgy of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti is itself composed as a concentrically designed progression of worship that includes Ahura Mazdā along with his good spiritual and material creations in an unfolding sequence.⁴³ By Young Avestan times, the larger Yasna ceremony (itself incorporating the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti into its own centre, and using it as a prototype) already entailed an elaborately orchestrated use of the corporeal correlatives of various Zoroastrian divinities, as integral aspects of the worship and offering, thus literally incorporating the divinities into the worship.

By now we have considered various powerful and intimate expressions of how, through different modalities and to different degrees, Ahura Mazdā and other Zoroastrian divinities may imbue living beings and the positive aspects of creation with their essence and virtues, and thus manifest themselves through the good creations of Ahura Mazdā. Having evaluated some of the textual evidence that provides a conceptual frame that is pertinent to our understanding of the Old Avestan adjectives *θbāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-*, let us now turn our focus onto the morphology and semantics of these adjectives, as well as that of the adjective *mauuant-*. The morphological assessment carried out in Part 2 proceeds independently of the textual evidence presented in Part 1 and is focused on ascertaining the function of the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix in *θbāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* and *mauuant-*. It is only after this function is ascertained that the evidence from Parts 1 and 2 are brought together in the concluding paragraphs of Part 2. Thereafter Part 3 of this article proceeds on the strength of this combined evidence.

Part 2: Morphology and semantics of *θbāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* and *mauuant-*

The Indo-Iranian suffix **-uant-/*-uat-* was very productive, and with the passage of time and the influence of context, its predominant function of denoting a sense of “possession” began to undergo various types and degrees of semantic modulation, expansion and specification, in both the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian language family.⁴⁴ In that process, the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages developed independently from each other, and one must be careful not to uncritically assume that subsequent semantic expansion and specification in one branch necessarily implies similar developments in the other branch. There are well over 1,500 words in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, and well over 150 words in Avestan, that are derivatives of the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix.⁴⁵

In his comprehensive study of the Indo-Iranian possessive suffixes **-mant-* and **-uant-*, Harold H. Bender observes that in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, 1) the primary meaning of

⁴¹ For more on the names of the waters, see Hintze (2007: 14–17).

⁴² Hintze (2007: 16).

⁴³ Hintze (2007: 6–20).

⁴⁴ Bender (1910: 59–76, 93–101).

⁴⁵ Bender (1910: 77, 3).

“possession” is capable of “manifold expression”⁴⁶ but nonetheless still orbits the primary semantic domain of “possession”, and 2) that there is also a distinct diachronic expansion and development of this primary meaning of “possession” into various secondary meanings, which he categorizes into 20 different classes.⁴⁷

In Avestan, as in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, we find that the primary meaning of possession is capable of “manifold expression”, as Bender puts it. However, while comparing the diachronic development of the secondary meanings within Vedic and Classical Sanskrit with the evidence of the distribution of the diachronic development of secondary meanings in Avestan, and by categorizing the Avestan examples into 20 classes, Bender observes that evidence of semantic expansion into secondary meanings is more limited and contained in Avestan.⁴⁸ This means that Avestan more strongly retains the Indo-Iranian sense of “possession” of the **-mant-* and **-uant-* suffixes. He notes that:

So far as the meaning of the possessives is concerned the Avestan has remained closer to the original Indo-Iranian than has the Sanskrit.⁴⁹ In fact the various semantic ramifications of **-mant-* and **-uant-* in Avestan correspond very closely to those in the Rig Veda.⁵⁰

2.1 Bender’s “class 16”

The meanings which Bender posits in his lists are based on Monier-Williams’ 1899 Sanskrit-English Dictionary (second edition) and on Bartholomae’s 1904 *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, and as such, with a few exceptions, he takes their translations as a given.⁵¹ It is not the purpose of this article to critically evaluate the systematization of Bender’s 20 classes as a whole, nor to revise or update his comprehensive study of the Indo-Iranian **-mant-* and **-uant-* suffixes. But for our analysis, the relevant semantic class from Bender’s categories of secondary significance is the one that he identifies as “class 16”, and which, he posits, comprises those occurrences in which the primary significance of “possession” of the suffix **-uant-/*-uat-* has taken on a secondary significance of “similarity”.⁵² This results in the difference between the realization of the primary meaning of “possessing (something)” and the realization of the secondary meaning of “similar to (something)”. According to Bender, “class 16” includes the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of pronominal stems, including those of the demonstrative, relative, interrogative and personal pronouns. Therefore, it is here that he places our Avestan adjectives *θβāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-*/*yūšmāuuant-* and *mauuant-*.

Evaluating the evidence from the Indo-Aryan examples belonging to “class 16”, Bender claims that “most of these words, especially those in use in the earlier language, are formed from pronominal stems”,⁵³ and he provides Indo-Aryan examples formed from both pronominal and nominal stems.⁵⁴ On the Avestan side he claims that except for a single instance, *afsmainiuuant-*, every example of “class 16” is a derivative of a pronominal stem.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Bender (1910: 60). Bender goes on to note some of these “manifold expressions” of the primary meaning: “having, possessing, provided with, supplied with, furnished with, endowed with, adorned with, containing, filled with, abounding in, rich in, armed with, wearing, bearing, carrying, etc.”.

⁴⁷ Bender (1910: 59–76).

⁴⁸ Bender (1910: 93–101).

⁴⁹ In his study, Bender uses the term Sanskrit for both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit.

⁵⁰ Bender (1910: 100).

⁵¹ Bender (1910: 2).

⁵² Bender (1910: 69–71, 98–9).

⁵³ Bender (1910: 70).

⁵⁴ Bender (1910: 69–71).

⁵⁵ Bender (1910: 70, 99).

Bender translates *afsmainiuuant-* as “like lines of verse”. Interpreting it as an adjective, and as the single Avestan instance of a “class 16” derivative from a nominal stem, he cites Jackson who considers the attested form *afsmaniuuqn* (Y 57.8) to be the nominative/accusative/vocative plural of the posited adjective *afsmainiuuant-*.⁵⁶ With a different morphological analysis, Bartholomae identifies *afsmaniuuqn* in Y 57.8 as an adverb meaning “verszeilenweise” (“line by line”).⁵⁷ In the context of Y 57.8, Kreyenbroek also analyses and renders *afsmaniuuqn* as denoting a specific manner of recitation, and interprets it so as to qualify the causative form *frasrāuuaiiat* “caused to be heard forth, made heard”, thus translating them together as “to recite ... in verse-lines”.⁵⁸ Kreyenbroek discusses the proposals of various scholars who analyse the form differently.⁵⁹ Regardless of which of these proposals may garner more credibility, none of them supports Bender’s translation implying a sense of “similarity”: “like lines of verse”. Bender’s proposal of *afsmaniuuqn* is not defensible and therefore, unlike in Indo-Aryan, there is actually no evidence of the secondary meaning of “similarity” for the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix found in the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of nominal stems in Avestan.

What therefore remains to be evaluated for the presence of the secondary meaning of “similarity” for the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix in Avestan are the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of pronominal stems. Let us begin by evaluating the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronominal stems in Avestan (see Table 1). These are all absent from Old Avestan, though the correlating adverbs *auuat* “so much, so long” and *yauuat* “as much, as long” are found in the Gāthās.⁶⁰

Each of these **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of Avestan pronominal stems either denote specifications of quantitative parameters possessed by an entity, or specifications pertaining to qualitative aspects possessed by an entity. For the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of demonstrative pronominal stems we get the sense of quantity from “having this” > “having this (quantity)” > “so much”, and the sense of quality from “having this” > “having this (quality)” > “of such quality”, and with further specification of an attribute implied by context: “having this” > “having this (much length, size, etc.)” > “so long, so big, so etc.”. Even in the case of *hauuant-*, a sense of similarity does not arise from the suffix, but rather from the specifying function of the pronominal stem to which the suffix is added, and thus we get “having this” > “having this (much size, amount, value)” > “same size, same amount, same value”. With the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of interrogative pronominal stems we get “having how (much)?” > “how much?” and when specific attributes are implied by context then “having how (much length, distance, etc.)?” > “how long, how far, how etc.?”. With the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivative of the relative pronominal stem we get “having which” > “having which (size, amount, distance, etc.)” > “as large, as much, as far, as etc.” In each of these derivatives it is important to observe that the underlying sense is demonstrably one of “possession” of what the pronominal aspect of the derivative refers to and not one denoting similarity to the pronominal aspect of the derivative.

In English we find it cumbersome to write “having how (much size)?”, “having this (much size)”, “having which (size)”, so we may choose to write “how big?”, “so big, same size”, “as big”. But these simplifications in English must not obscure for us the fundamental sense of “possession” inherent in these derivatives. In addition to these considerations, we must note that any correlative sense that might arise in the syntactic coordination of the forms of these various derivatives in the context of certain clauses is not a realization of the

⁵⁶ Bender (1910: 83 fn. 1, 99).

⁵⁷ Bartholomae (1904: 103).

⁵⁸ Kreyenbroek (1985: 39, 80).

⁵⁹ Kreyenbroek (1985: 80).

⁶⁰ Kellens and Pirart (1990, 2: 291, 204); Bartholomae (1904: 1267, 175).

Table 1. The **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronominal stems in Avestan.

The <i>*-uant-/*-uat-</i> derivatives of Avestan demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronominal stems	Meaning
<i>auuant-</i>	<i>tantus</i> , so gross, viel, lang (in English “so much, so large, so much, so long”). Bartholomae (1904: 174–5).
<i>auuuuant-</i>	<i>tantus, talis</i> (in English “so much, such”). Bartholomae (1904: 175–6).
<i>aētauant-</i>	<i>tantus</i> , so gross, so viel (in English “so much, so large, so much”). Bartholomae (1904: 18–19).
<i>hauuant-</i>	<i>gleichgross</i> , -viel, -wertig (in English “same size, same amount, same value”). Bartholomae (1904: 1787).
<i>kuuant-</i>	wie viel? wie gross? (in English “how much? how large?”). Bartholomae (1904: 476).
<i>ciiāuant-</i>	wie gross (in English “how large?”). Bartholomae (1904: 599–600).
<i>cuuant-, cauuant-</i>	<i>quantus</i> , wie gross, viel, weit, lang (in English “how many? how large? how much? how far? how long?”). Bartholomae (1904: 600–01).
<i>yauuant-</i>	<i>quantus</i> , wie gross, viel, weit, lang (in English “as many, as large, as much, as far, as long”). Bartholomae (1904: 1268).

meaning of the suffix, but is simply the manifestation of the inherent pronominal function of being referential. One is mistaken to attribute any such correlative sense, if and when it occurs, to the suffix. For the suffix here is functioning in its proper and primary manner by indicating “possession” of what the pronominal aspect of the derivative refers to. It is, therefore, once again highly doubtful whether any of these derivatives should belong to Bender’s “class 16” at all.⁶¹ A parallel look at the meanings posited by Grassmann and by Monier-Williams for the Vedic **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronominal stems *īvat-*, *tāvat-*, *etāvat-*, *yāvat-*, and *kīvat-* yields similar results.⁶²

In summary, we have found no evidence supporting a secondary meaning of “similarity” for the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix either 1) in the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of Avestan nominal stems, or 2) in the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of Avestan demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronominal stems. This all agrees with an observation made by Debrunner – that other than the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of personal pronouns, the meaning of “similarity” is uncertain (“nicht gesichert”).⁶³ So, even if a secondary meaning of “similarity” for

⁶¹ Bender (1910: 99) includes the stem *huuāuant-* in his list of Avestan **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of pronominal stems based on its analysis as a **-uant-/*-uat-* derivative of the reflexive pronoun by Bartholomae (1904: 1855). On the other hand, Lommel (1927: 129 fn. 4), analyses the stem as *hu-auuant-* “hilfreich” (“helpful”), which analysis is also upheld by Malandra (2018: 282), who notes that, given the number of derivatives of the verbal root *auu* “to help” in the stanza Yt 13.146, Lommel’s analysis especially suits the context. Malandra (2018: 111) substantivizes the adjective and translates it as “helper”. Given the context of Yt 13.146, I am inclined to agree with Lommel and Malandra. Yet, even if taken as a **-uant-/*-uat-* derivative of the reflexive pronoun, one would etymologically translate *huuāuant-* as “provided with oneself, possessing oneself, having selfhood”. It would still not necessarily exhibit any sense of “similarity”.

⁶² See Grassmann (1873: 235, 534, 299, 1110, 328) and Monier-Williams (1899: 171, 445, 231, 852, 285).

⁶³ Debrunner (1954: 876, §706a in the small print).

the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix in Avestan was to somehow be uniquely present, solely in the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of Avestan personal pronominal stems, what might explain its presence?

2.2 Lengthening of the pre-suffixal vowel

The stems *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* exhibit a long pre-suffixal vowel which requires justification. Such vowel lengthening is also exhibited in the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of all the pronominal stems on the Vedic side.⁶⁴ Yet, apart from *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-*, the only other Avestan **-uant-/*-uat-* derivative of a pronominal stem that exhibits a long pre-suffixal vowel is *ciīāuuant-*.⁶⁵ Notably, a long pre-suffixal vowel is not found in the Avestan stem *mauuant-*.⁶⁶

Klingenschmitt offers a proposal, albeit briefly and without much discussion, attempting to explain the phenomenon of pre-suffixal vowel lengthening in the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the interrogative, demonstrative and relative pronouns.⁶⁷ He suggests that for a circumscribed group comprising **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of these pronominal stems, the suffix in question could be attached to an inflected form of the pronoun.⁶⁸ He proposes that the long vowel *-ā-* arises before the suffix as a result of the following: 1) a pronominal stem + 2) the addition of the second laryngeal as the collective suffix (“das Kollektivsuffix”) + 3) the addition of the possessive **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix thereafter.⁶⁹ In thematic neuter stems, it is by the addition of the second laryngeal of the collective suffix that the endings of the nominative plural and the accusative plural forms end in *-ā*.

However, we should keep in mind that unlike their Vedic cognates, the Avestan **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the demonstrative and relative pronouns exhibit no pre-suffixal vowel lengthening, and of the Avestan **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of interrogative pronouns, only *ciīāuuant-* exhibits pre-suffixal vowel lengthening.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Klingenschmitt’s explanation is difficult to apply to **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the personal pronouns, which he does not discuss, because the collective suffix plays no role in their inflection. This poses a significant limitation to his explanation. An alternate proposal could be to explain the long vowel *-ā-* before the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix as resulting from the addition of the first laryngeal marking the case of the instrumental singular. This explanation could theoretically apply to **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the personal pronouns, because the first laryngeal does play a role in their inflection. While an etymological meaning could be argued for on the basis of

⁶⁴ Bender (1910: 69–71).

⁶⁵ Bender (1910: 98–9). On the reason why the stem *huuāuuant-* is not included here, please see the footnote on the same in previous sub-section.

⁶⁶ Forms of this stem are attested only in the dative singular *mauuaitē* in Y 44.1 and Y 46.7; see Geldner (1886: 147, 161). No variant readings with a lengthened pre-suffixal vowel are recorded by Geldner. Checking manuscript readings on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive, hosted by the Freie Universität Berlin (<https://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de> [accessed 31 January 2025]), I found only a single instance in Y 44.1 of a lengthened pre-suffixal vowel in ms. E7 296v: *māuuaitē*. The numerous remaining attestations of this word, as they are found in Y 44.1 and Y 46.7 of the manuscripts, regardless of any other occasional variations they may exhibit, do not have a lengthened pre-suffixal vowel. Based on a review of these manuscripts, we may therefore very confidently concur with Bartholomae (1904: 1141), who posits the stem correctly as *mauuant-*, and with Geldner, who reads the forms in Y 44.1 and Y 46.7 correctly, as *mauuaitē*.

⁶⁷ Klingenschmitt (1972: 108, fn. 6, fn. 7).

⁶⁸ Klingenschmitt (1972: 108, fn. 7).

⁶⁹ Klingenschmitt (1972: 108, fn. 7).

⁷⁰ For a possible explanation of why it is only *ciīāuuant-* from all the Avestan **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns that exhibit pre-suffixal vowel lengthening, refer to the upcoming footnote on the stem *zaraniīāuuant-*.

the sociative instrumental ($\theta\beta\tilde{a}uu\tilde{a}nt$ - “provided with you”, and so on for the other pronominal derivatives),⁷¹ the specificity of such an explanation, and of its implications for semantic realization, fails to account for the fact that pre-suffixal vowel lengthening is ubiquitous in Indo-Aryan and occurs across many stems that have wide-ranging meanings and for which the pre-suffixal long vowel cannot be consistently explained by either the collective suffix (as proposed by Klingenschmitt) or the instrumental suffix (as proposed over here). Let us now consider the wider evidence.

Bender observes that within “class 16” the final vowel of the pronominal stems directly preceding the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - suffix exhibits vowel lengthening in all Vedic instances, and in less than half of the Avestan instances.⁷² However, in addition to its occurrence in “class 16”, lengthening of the vowel directly preceding the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - suffix is widespread in Indo-Aryan. In Bender’s own estimation there are a total of 117 instances: “98 of $-a$ - before $*\tilde{u}ant$ -, 18 of $-i$ - before $*\tilde{u}ant$ -, and 1 of $-u$ - before $*\tilde{u}ant$ -”.⁷³ This phenomenon is clearly not unique to “class 16”, or to only the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - derivatives of pronominal stems or to only the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - derivatives of thematic stems, though its predominant occurrence is indeed in the case of the latter.⁷⁴ In fact the phenomenon of pre-suffixal vowel lengthening is not even unique to the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - suffix, but as Wackernagel observes, it can also be found in the Indo-Aryan suffixes $-vala$ -, $-vin$ -, $-vana$ - and $-van$ -.⁷⁵ He adduces $kṛṣṭivala$ - “Ackerbauer” (“agriculturalist”) and $dvayāvīn$ - “doppelzüngig” (“duplicitous”), among others.⁷⁶ Vowel lengthening in the final vowel of a preceding member of a compound can also be found, for which Whitney adduces $vayunāvid$ - “learned in rules”, $sadanāsād$ - “sitting on a seat”, among others, and Wackernagel adduces $sahāsrāmagha$ - “having a thousand gifts”, $rathāsāh$ - “managing the chariot”, among others.⁷⁷

Most importantly, the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - examples provided by Bender reveal that the phenomenon of pre-suffixal vowel lengthening is not specifically or consistently associated with any particular secondary semantic meaning, such as “similarity”, for instance.⁷⁸ This all fundamentally weakens the case for any morphological argument attempting to explain the development of the sense of “similarity” through the phenomenon of vowel lengthening. Discussing the widespread occurrences of vowel lengthening directly preceding the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - suffix in Indo-Aryan, Bender summarizes the observations of Whitney, Wackernagel and Bloomfield, each of whom describe this 1) in terms of phonetic phenomena that may be observed when relevant conditions are met, but 2) not as the consequence of a grammatically and/or semantically transformative morphological modification.⁷⁹ The pervasive phonetic phenomenon whereby the final vowel $-a$ - is lengthened to $-ā$ - before the addition of a morpheme beginning in $*\tilde{u}$ - is well summarized by Debrunner.⁸⁰

Let us consider just a few examples that illustrate how final vowel lengthening preceding the suffix is not correlated with the semantic shift from the primary significance

⁷¹ See, for instance, Debrunner (1954: 885, §710b), who alludes to the relationship between $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - stems and the sociative instrumental.

⁷² Bender (1910: 70–1, 98–9).

⁷³ Bender (1910: 46, 45–52).

⁷⁴ One must keep in mind that among the 117 Indo-Aryan words that exhibit vowel lengthening preceding the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - suffix, the $*\tilde{u}ant$ -/ $*\tilde{u}at$ - derivatives of pronominal stems in “class 16” make up only a small handful.

⁷⁵ Wackernagel (1896: 46–7, §42).

⁷⁶ Wackernagel (1896: 46–7, §42). He also adduces $ṛtāvan$ - “die Ordnung einhaltend” (“keeping the Order”) as another example arising out of the phonetic phenomena being described here. However, Tichy (1986: 91–2) explains $ṛtāvan$ - as being based on the nominative or accusative plural neuter form $ṛtā$ of the stem $ṛtā$, formed with the collective suffix.

⁷⁷ Whitney (1879: 76–7, §247) and Wackernagel (1905: 130–5, §56).

⁷⁸ Bender (1910: 47–52).

⁷⁹ Bender (1910: 45–52).

⁸⁰ Debrunner (1954: 887–8, §711c).

of “possession” to the secondary significance of “similarity” in derivatives of the **-uant-/*-uat-* suffix. On the Avestan side, Bender adduces Avestan *zaraniāuuant-*,⁸¹ translated by Bartholomae as “Gold enthaltend, mit Goldstaub versetzt”⁸² (“containing gold, enhanced with gold dust”).⁸³ Though there is a lengthening of the final vowel preceding the suffix, there is clearly no sense of “similarity” in the meaning of the adjective. The same is the case with Avestan *zairimīāuuant-* “der ein festes Haus besitzt” (“owning a permanent house”) derived from *zairimīa-* “festes Haus” (“solid house, permanent house”), and with many Indo-Aryan examples, including *vacanāvat-* “possessed of speech, eloquent”, *sahāvat-* “possessing strength, powerful, mighty” and *madāvat-* “intoxicated, drunk”.⁸⁴ Interestingly while Monier-Williams posits the meaning of Indo-Aryan *ṛṣivát-* (without vowel lengthening) as “like a Ṛṣi”, thus exhibiting a sense of similarity, he renders *ṛṣivāt-* (with vowel lengthening) as “associated with the Ṛṣi’s”.⁸⁵ There is no consistent correlation between the lengthening of the vowel preceding the suffix and a particular change in the meaning of the word.

While Bender notes 117 examples of final vowel lengthening directly preceding the **-uant-* suffix in Indo-Aryan, he notes only seven such examples of final vowel lengthening directly preceding the **-uant-* suffix in Avestan.⁸⁶ Also, while all the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of pronominal stems on the Vedic side show vowel lengthening preceding the **-uant-* suffix, on the Avestan side, other than the examples of *θβāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* and *ciāuuant-*, all the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of pronominal stems do not show vowel lengthening preceding the **-uant-* suffix.⁸⁷

Interestingly, the phenomenon of final vowel lengthening preceding the suffix does not appear in the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of non-pronominal stems on the Indo-Aryan side of Bender’s “class 16”, all of which nonetheless exhibit the sense of “similarity”.⁸⁸ This even further disconnects the phenomenon of vowel lengthening from the semantic shift to “similarity”. For just as its presence does not indicate the semantic shift from “possession” to a sense of “similarity”, its absence does not rule out the semantic shift from “possession” to a sense of “similarity”.

Building on Whitney, Wackernagel and Debrunner, it would therefore seem that vowel lengthening preceding the suffix **-uant-/*-uat-* in *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* is probably best understood as an instance of the more widespread phonetic phenomenon of the final vowel (in this case *-a-*) being lengthened (in this case to *-ā-*) before the addition of a

⁸¹ Hintze (1994: 108) points out that Hoffmann has suggested that there is a lengthening from *-iia-* to *-iiā-* in Avestan, due to the vowel *-a-* being spoken more openly in recitation after **-i-*, and thus being graphically represented by *-ā-*. This phenomenon could possibly explain the long vowel *-ā-* in *ciāuuant-*.

⁸² Bartholomae (1904: 1678).

⁸³ Bender (1910: 88).

⁸⁴ Bender (1910: 88, 45–52); Bartholomae (1904: 1681, 1682); Monier-Williams (1899: 912, 1193, 778).

⁸⁵ Monier-Williams (1899: 227).

⁸⁶ Bender (1910: 88).

⁸⁷ Strangely, Bender (1910: 89) himself, in order to explain the absence of vowel lengthening in the majority of the Avestan **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of pronominal stems, hypothesizes that in case there might have been some relation in Indo-Iranian between vowel lengthening and the sense of “resemblance”, then maybe in the Avestan **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of pronominal stems that have no vowel lengthening, an original lengthened vowel might have been present and subsequently have gone through the phenomenon of vowel shortening. Even if such hypothetical vowel shortening did occur in Avestan, it would be conjecture to link the hypothetical original lengthened vowel to any sense of “resemblance” for precisely the reasons being discussed in this section.

⁸⁸ The example *ṛtvīyāvat-* “in proper time, regular, proper” included by Bender (1910: 71, 48) as an example of “class 16” does not have the meaning of “similarity” according to both Monier-Williams (1899: 224) and Grassmann (1873: 289). It seems incorrectly included in Bender’s “class 16”. As we have earlier seen, there are no **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of non-pronominal stems on the Avestan side of Bender’s “class 16”.

morpheme beginning in *-u-.⁸⁹ If a consistent grammatically or semantically transformative morphological modification, found in both Avestan and Vedic, is therefore not responsible for the sense of “similarity” in these words, then the attribution of this sense of “similarity” to Indo-Iranian times becomes a mere conjecture that needs to be substantiated and proven by an examination of the oldest attestations of Avestan and Indo-Aryan, namely the Gāṇās and the Rig Veda, and cannot be taken as a given. Evidence of a sense of “similarity” in the Vedic cognates *mávat-*, *tvávat-* and *yušmávat-* found in the Rig Veda, even if convincing based on internal context, should not be uncritically transferred to the Gāṇās, wherein the adjectives *mauuant-*, *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* should much rather be understood without any presuppositions of the sense of “similarity”, and wherein the basic meaning of “possession” should be maintained unless convincingly proven otherwise by their own internal context. Yet, translations based on the sense of “similarity” are widespread, and even in his work specifically dedicated to the Old Avestan grammar of the Gāṇās, Beekes does not re-examine this presupposition of “similarity”, and he translates as follows: *mauuant-* “like me”, *θβāuuant-* “like you (sg.)” and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* “like you (pl.)”.⁹⁰

When we look back to Bartholomae’s translations of *mauuant-*, *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-*, a clear presupposition of “similarity” is evident in his (i) and (iii) options for all words:

1. *mauuant-* (i) “mir ähnlich” (“similar to me”), (ii) “mit solchen Eigenschaften, wie ich sie habe” (“with such qualities as I have”) and (iii) “einer wie ich” (“one like me”); nur im Sinn von “ich” (only in the sense of “I”).⁹¹
2. *θβāuuant-* (i) “dir ähnlich” (“similar to you”), (ii) “mit solchen Eigenschaften, wie du sie hast” (“with such qualities as you have”) and (iii) “einer wie du” (“one like you”); 1) Y 31.16, Y 43.3: Gemeint ist der Prophet (Y 31.16, Y 43.3: what is meant is the Prophet); 2) Y 44.1, Y 44.9, Y 48.3: im Sinn von “du” (Y 44.1, Y 44.9, Y 48.3: in the sense of “you”).⁹²
3. *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* (i) “euch ähnlich” (“similar to you all”), (ii) “mit solchen Eigenschaften, wie ihr sie habt” (“with such qualities as you all have”) and (iii) “einer wie ihr” (“one like you all”); nur im Sinn von “ihr” und mit Beziehung auf die Götter gebraucht (used only in the sense of “you” and with reference to the gods).⁹³

In addition to a presupposition of “similarity”, after providing his options for the translation of all three words, Bartholomae further states that these words are used in the sense of the pronouns from which they are derived (except in the case of Y 31.16 and Y 43.3, where he states that *θβāuuqs* indicates *Zarathuštra*). Bartholomae refers to his earlier work in *Arische Forschungen* Vol. 2, wherein he states that the adjective *θβāuuqs*, in Y 44.1 and Y 44.9, serves only to describe or indicate the second person, i.e. *θβāuuqs* stands for *tuuēm*, and further that *mauuaitē*, in Y 44.1, serves only to describe or indicate the first person, i.e. *mauuaitē* stands for *maibiā*.⁹⁴ This assertion reduces the adjectives *mauuant-*, *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* to mere substitutes for the pronouns from which they are derived, and dismisses any other sense of their grammatical and semantic function (i.e. the initial presupposition of “similar to you/me” is further taken to simply stand for “you/me”). Bartholomae does not provide any reasoning to support his assertion, but also refers to Geldner, who in turn, commenting on the form *θβāuuqs* in Y 48.3, states “*θβāuuqs* ganz wie

⁸⁹ Whitney (1879: 76–7, §247; 419, §1233); Wackernagel (1896: 46–7, §42) and Debrunner (1954: 887–8, §711c).

⁹⁰ Beekes (1988: 118).

⁹¹ Bartholomae (1904: 1141).

⁹² Bartholomae (1904: 797).

⁹³ Bartholomae (1904: 1304).

⁹⁴ Bartholomae (1904: 797); Bartholomae (1886: 155, 169).

Ved. *tvávat-*: so wie du erscheinst, wie du ja bist” (“*θβāuuąs* quite like Ved. *tvávat-*: the way you appear, the way you are”).⁹⁵ Bartholomae is in agreement with Geldner, who is himself drawing upon his understanding of the Vedic stem *tvávat-* in order to translate *θβāuuąnt-*.

The translations and interpretations of *mauuąnt-*, *θβāuuąnt-* and *xšmāuuąnt-/yūšmāuuąnt-*, based on presuppositions of the sense of “similarity” by the early Avestan scholars, thus seem to grow out of their understanding of the Vedic cognates. But, as demonstrated above, in the absence of a clear, consistent and common morphological explanation for the sense of “similarity” in both Vedic and Avestan, it is just conjecture to assume that a sense of “similarity”, or the use of these adjectives as substitutes in place of the pronouns from which they are derived, even if contextually defensible in Vedic, would necessarily apply to the Avestan cognates. In Avestan, the basic and primary meaning of “possession” should prevail and take precedence, unless convincingly proven otherwise by internal context. This basic meaning of “possession” would also be in accordance and conformity with what we find in all the **-uant-/*-uat-* derivatives of the Avestan demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns. It is only Bartholomae’s (ii) translations (“with such qualities as I/you/you-all have”) that somewhat adheres to this sense of “possession”.

Notably, as far as *θβāuuąnt-* is concerned, while maintaining the translation “similar to you”, Kellens and Pirart nonetheless do make the observation that according to them, in all of its attestations the word seems to indicate that either the ritual fire or Zaratuštra participate in the qualities of Ahura Mazda.⁹⁶ This interpretation somewhat accords with Bartholomae’s (ii) translation. As for *mauuąnt-*, Kellens understands the word to be used emphatically for the first person pronoun, but Pirart understands *mauuąnt-* as “accompanied by me, one who is with me” with a sense of “accompaniment” rather than “similarity”.⁹⁷ In their glossary Kellens and Pirart posit two translation options for *xšmāuuąnt-/yūšmāuuąnt-* “one who is like you” (i.e. based on “similarity”), “one who is with you” (i.e. based on “accompaniment”), but they understand the attested forms of *xšmāuuąnt-/yūšmāuuąnt-* in the Gāthās to be used as pronouns and as genitive complements of nouns expressing a ritual act, and they translate these forms in situ as “(the ritual act) which is due to you”.⁹⁸ While these translations and interpretations do not clearly anchor in the primary sense of “possession”, they nonetheless demonstrate a considered re-evaluation of the function of these words.

As argued in Part 1 of this article, the notion that living beings and the positive aspects of creation can literally be imbued with, and thus possess, the essence of divinities, has deep significance, and is familiar, consistent and prevalent throughout Zoroastrian thinking. The widespread evidence examined in Part 1 arises in stanzas or passages where *θβāuuąnt-* and *xšmāuuąnt-/yūšmāuuąnt-* are themselves not used (therefore avoiding any tautological arguments). Taken together with the morphological assessment of *θβāuuąnt-*, *xšmāuuąnt-/yūšmāuuąnt-* and *mauuąnt-* carried out in Part 2 of the article, we may now argue that the evidence jointly substantiates the case in favour of translations for *θβāuuąnt-*, *xšmāuuąnt-/yūšmāuuąnt-* and *mauuąnt-* based on the sense of “possession”, and we may further conclude that there is insufficient justification for Bartholomae’s translations involving “similarity”. Given the arguments presented so far, it would seem that the burden of proof should be on those making the case for “similarity”, rather than on those making the case for the basic meaning of “possession”.

⁹⁵ Bartholomae (1904: 797); Geldner (1890: 530).

⁹⁶ Kellens and Pirart (1990, 2: 252).

⁹⁷ Kellens and Pirart (1990, 2: 281–2).

⁹⁸ Kellens and Pirart (1990, 2: 234; 1988, 1: 110, 124, 125, 126, 148, 161, 172).

Part 3: The Gāthic contexts of *θβāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* and *mauuant-*

In all their Avestan attestations, which are confined to the Gāthās (or to Gāthic quotations in Young Avestan contexts), the adjectives *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* occur in the contextual vicinity of the vocative singular forms *mazdā* “O Wise One” (eight times), *ahurā* “O Lord” (twice) or *mazdā ahurā* “O Wise Lord” (twice). These forms in the vocative singular indicate that in these instances the second person singular personal pronoun from which the adjective *θβāuuant-* is derived, refers to Ahura Mazda, and the second person plural personal pronoun from which the adjective *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* is derived, implies Ahura Mazda together with the other Old Avestan divinities, although the vocative forms are all in the singular. The substantives which these adjectives describe in the Gāthās are therefore literally characterized as being “provided with you, possessing you”, i.e. Ahura Mazda, or as being “provided with you (all), possessing you (all)”, i.e. Ahura Mazda and the other Old Avestan divinities. Correspondingly, in each of its two attestations, the adjective *mauuant-* occurs in the contextual vicinity of the first person singular personal pronoun that is being used by the speaker of the Gāthās to refer to himself while he is speaking to Ahura Mazda. This indicates that in these instances the first person singular personal pronoun from which the adjective *mauuant-* is derived, refers to the first person speaker of the two Gāthic stanzas in which it occurs. Given that the first person speaker is indeed Zaratuštra, the words which *mauuant-* describes (in Y 44.1 it describes *friia-* “dear one”, with which it agrees in case, number and gender, while in Y 46.7 it denotes the indirect object) are thus, in this context, literally characterized as being “provided with me, possessing me”, i.e. Zaratuštra. In what follows, each of the attestations of these adjectives is discussed and translated.

3.1 *θβāuuant-* “imbued with you, imbued with your essence”

The translation proposed here for *θβāuuant-* as “imbued with you, imbued with your essence” is meant to reflect the theological significance and semantic context outlined in Part 1 above, while remaining faithful to the fundamental morphological sense of “provided with you, possessing you” evaluated in Part 2 above. The adjective *θβāuuant-* only occurs in the nominative singular form *θβāuuqs* and is found in the five Gāthic passages Y 31.16, Y 43.3, Y 44.1, Y 44.9 and Y 48.3. In each of them it refers to an idealized individual whom the adjective describes as being imbued with Ahura Mazda’s essence. As we have seen in Part 1 above, elsewhere in the Gāthās, Zaratuštra himself aspires and emerges to be just such an individual. Let us now consider the themes of these stanzas sequentially (Y 44.1 which contains forms of *θβāuuant-*, *xšmāuuant-* and *mauuant-* will be considered in sub-section 3.3.1):

3.1.1 *Striving to further the rule of the home, or the settlement, or the land, through the Truth* (Y 31.16)

In Y 31.16 Zaratuštra eagerly anticipates the coming into being of one whom he describes as *θβāuuqs*:

Y 31.16 *pərəsā auuat yaθā huuō yē hudānuš dāmanahiiā xšaθrəm*
šōiθrahiā vā daxiiūš vā ašā fradaθāi aspərəzatā
θβāuuqs mazdā ahurā yadā huuō aṇhaṭ yā.šīiāōθanascā

This I ask about that well providing one who strives to further the rule of the home,
 or the settlement, or the land, through the Truth,
 (the one) imbued with your essence, O Wise Lord: (I ask about) when he shall come to
 be, and with what deed.

Here, the sphere of influence of the one described as *θβāuuqs* is seen to be any of the three incremental gradations of societal domains that require varying dimensions and degrees of governance or “rule”, and the furtherance of this governance or “rule” in each domain is to be achieved only through *aša*- “the Truth”.

3.1.2 *Teaching us the straight pathways where the Lord dwells* (Y 43.3)

In Y 43.3 the one described by *Zaraθuštra* as *θβāuuqs* is depicted as someone who reveals to others those pathways where *Ahura Mazda* dwells:

Y 43.3 *aṭ huuō vaṇhəuš vahiiō nā aibi.jamiiāt*
yā nā ərəzūš sauuaṇhō paθō sišōiṭ
ahiiā aṇhəuš astuuatō mananḥascā
haiθiiāṇg āstiš yāṇg ā.šaēti ahurō
arədrō θβāuuqs huzəntuša spəntō mazdā

May that man attain (what is) better than good,
 (that one) who may teach us the straight pathways of flourishing vitality,
 (those) of this corporeal existence and (those) of thought:
 the real ascents⁹⁹ where the Lord dwells.
 The proficient (man) imbued with your essence, well-begotten (and) life-giving, O
 Wise One.

While in Y 31.16, the one described as *θβāuuqs* is associated with the worldly and societal mission of furthering the rule of the home, settlement or land through Truth, in Y 43.3 the one described as *θβāuuqs* is portrayed as a proficient, well-begotten and life-giving teacher who can reveal to others the straight pathways which are the real ascents where the Lord dwells.

3.1.3 *The spiritual vision, as a teacher, residing on a throne with Truth and Good Thought* (Y 44.9)

While the act of teaching is already seen to be associated with *θβāuuqs* in Y 43.3, in Y 44.9 the word *θβāuuqs* describes the noun *asīsti*- “teacher”, through which it indirectly describes the *daēnā*- “spiritual vision” of *Zaraθuštra*:

Y 44.9 *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaōcā ahurā*
kaθā mōi yaṃ yaōš daēnaṃ [yaōž]dānē
yaṃ hudānaōš paitiša saxiiāt xšaθrahiā
ərəšuuā xšaθrā θβāuuqs asīstiš mazdā
hadəmōi aša vohucā šiiqs mananḥā

⁹⁹ In Humbach (1959, 2: 49) and Humbach (1959, 1: 111), Humbach analyses *āstiš* as an entheos compound *ā.sti*- from the adverb or the preposition *ā* and the noun *sti*-. He interprets *sti*- as “Besitz” (“possession”), and therefore goes on to translate *ā.stiš* in Y 43.3 as “mit Besitz versehenen” (“provided with possession”). In Humbach (1991, 2: 136) and Humbach (1991, 1: 152), Humbach analyses *ā stiš* as the preposition *ā* “towards” with an accusative form *stiš*, and translates them as “to the possessions”. Insler (1975: 233), on the other hand, analyses the word *āstiš* as the form of a noun *ā.sti*- “height” and links it with Vedic verb *ā-sthā* “to ascend, to mount”. Kellens and Pirart (1990, 2: 219) likewise link with Vedic verb *ā-sthā*, and translate the stem *āsti*- as an adjective “carrossable” (“traversable”). They analyse the form *āstiš* as the accusative plural masculine, coordinated with the substantive *paθō*. This would agree with the adjective *haiθiiāṇg* and the pronoun *yāṇg* which would then also coordinate with the substantive *paθō* (“the real ascendable/traversable (pathways) where...”). Another option would be to follow Insler (1975: 61), who translates *āstiš* as the accusative plural form of a masculine noun *ā.sti*- “height” with which the adjective *haiθiiāṇg* and the pronoun *yāṇg* are coordinated, and which also alludes to the substantive *paθō* in the second line. For *āstiš* I find the analysis of either Insler or of Kellens and Pirart more convincing than that of Humbach, and I follow Insler’s approach to this word.

This I ask you, speak for me truly, O Lord:
 How (for myself) shall I set into (the sphere of) life, the spiritual vision which (is) mine,
 which a master of well providing rule may proclaim?
 (The spiritual vision, which) through lofty dominion (is) a teacher imbued with your essence, O Wise One,
 (and is) residing on a throne with Truth and Good Thought.

In Y 44.9 the two distinct yet related functions of 1) one who furthers worldly and societal rule through the Truth (see Y 31.16 above), and of 2) one who teaches others the pathways where the Lord dwells (see Y 43.3 above) are desired to be jointly harnessed for the benefit of the spiritual vision. In his capacity as a spiritual teacher, Zaraθuštra seeks to place his spiritual vision into the sphere of life, and he hopes that a master of well providing rule may then recognize and proclaim this spiritual vision.¹⁰⁰ The spiritual teacher is therefore seeking out a virtuous patron or ally, for the purpose of establishing and furthering his spiritual vision in the world. This theme becomes predominant in Yasna 46, where Prince Vištāspa is eventually identified as Zaraθuštra's *aṣauuā uruuuθō* "righteous ally" (Y 46.14).

In Y 44.9 we also find an Old Avestan attestation of the *daēnā*- imagined as a teacher imbued with the essence of Ahura Mazdā, and residing on a throne (literally a "seat") with Truth and Good Thought. In the Yašt dedicated to the divinity *daēnā*-, we encounter an image of Zaraθuštra calling out (in Yt 16.2) with the words *usā.hišta haca gātuuō* "arise from your throne!" to the divinity *cistā*- "insight", who is herself identified throughout Yašt 16 as *yam vañ'hīm daēnəm māzdaiiasnīm* "(she) who is the good *daēnā*- of those who worship Mazdā". The imagery from stanza Y 44.9 is very conceivably the Old Avestan prototype for the Young Avestan imagery in Yt 16.2. While in the Gāθās the *daēnā*- appears as an enthroned *asīšti*- "teacher", in Yašt 16 the *daēnā*- appears enthroned as the divinity *cistā*- "insight".

3.1.4 One to whom the best of teachings are available, who even knows the hidden pronouncements (Y 48.3)

Continuing with the theme of teaching, in Y 48.3 the adjective *θβāuuqs* refers to the participle in the middle voice *vaēdāmna*- "one who finds (for oneself)". In this stanza we learn that *vahištā sāsnaṇqm* "the best of teachings" are available to this one. Throughout the Gāθās, it is clear that Zaraθuštra is indeed "one who has found what is best", and that he is intent on sharing what he has found with others (for instance, see Y 30.1–2, Y 31.5, Y 31.7–8, Y 43.5, Y 45.1–5, Y 45.8, etc.).¹⁰¹ The *vaēdāmna*- "one who finds (for oneself)" in Y 48.3, while meant in a general sense, might therefore also include a subtle reference to Zaraθuštra as well.

Y 48.3 *aṭ vaēdāmnaī vahištā sāsnaṇqm*
yqm hudā sāsī aṣā ahurō
spəntō vīduuā yaēcīt gūzrā səṇghāṇhō
θβāuuqs mazdā vañhēuš xraθβā manəṇhō

¹⁰⁰ The *hudānaōš paitišā... xšaθrahiā* "master of well providing rule" in Y 44.9 evokes *huuō yā hudānuš dāmanahiā xšaθraṇm šōiθrahiā vā daxiiāuš vā aṣā fradaθāi aspərazatā* "that well providing one who strives to further the rule of the home, or the settlement, or the land, through the Truth" of Y 31.16.

¹⁰¹ In the Yasna Haptaṇhāiti as well, the same sense – that the poet has found what is best and seeks to share it with others – is one of the major themes recurrent throughout Y 35. On the possibility that the identity of the poet of the Yasna Haptaṇhāiti might also be Zaraθuštra, see Hintze (2007: 92–3).

The best of teachings, which the well providing Lord teaches through the Truth,
is indeed for the one who finds (for oneself).
The life-giving (one), who even knows the hidden pronouncements
through the discernment of Good Thought, the (one) imbued with your essence,
O Wise One!

Y 48.3, which talks about “the best of teachings”, is aptly followed by one of the most consequential teachings of the Gāθās (in Y 48.4): that by virtue of our thinking we shape the nature of our own inner *daēnā*- “spiritual vision” through our deed and our word. Our *daēnā*- follows our inclinations, likings and – most importantly – our choices. The final line of Y 48.4 reveals that it is by virtue of this that our eventualities are differentiated in Ahura Mazda’s discernment:

Y 48.4 *yā dāt manō vahiiō mazdā ašiiascā*
huuō daēnəm šiiāōdanācā vacanḥācā
ahiiā zaōšēng⁺ uštīš¹⁰² varənēng hacaitē
θbahmī xratāu apēməm nanā aṇhaṭ

He who makes (his) thinking better or worse,
that one (makes his) spiritual vision (better or worse), through deed and word.
It follows his inclinations, likings, and choices.
In your (i.e. Ahura Mazda’s) discernment, (accordingly) the eventuality shall be differentiated (for him).¹⁰³

The teaching of how we each have the agency and choice to shape an integral aspect of our own being, and the personal spiritual consequences of whether we do so for better or for worse, soon becomes one of the cornerstones of Zoroastrian doctrine and eschatology. It arguably gives rise to the iconic depictions found in the later Zoroastrian tradition, of the afterlife encounter between two interrelated aspects of an individual’s spiritual being. In brief summary: after the end of mortal life, a person’s own *daēnā*- “spiritual vision”, either enhanced or degraded by the person’s choices of thought, word and deed during life, manifests itself to the person’s *uruuan*- “soul” and either prefigures the soul’s transition into the presence and domain of Ahura Mazda or prefigures the soul’s transition into the presence and domain of Anra Mainiiu “the evil spiritual force”. The reading of Y 48.3–4 together suggests that one who is imbued with the essence of Ahura Mazda should possess the important understanding of how we each have the opportunity, agency and choice to steer and shape our own “spiritual vision”, and how the differentiation of our fates in the afterlife shall be based on how we use this opportunity, agency and choice during our life.

3.2 *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* “imbued with you (all), imbued with the essence of you (all)”

As is the case with the translation proposed for *θbāuuant-*, the translation proposed here for *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* as “imbued with you (all), imbued with the essence of you (all)” is meant to express the theological significance and semantic context outline in Part 1 above,

¹⁰² On the occasional confusion between the nominative singular and accusative plural forms of *i*-stems in the manuscripts, and the emendation of the transmitted form *uštīš* to the expected form *uštīš*, see Hintze (2007: 59 fn. 35).

¹⁰³ Translation of Y 48.4 is based on Hintze (2007: 58–60), with minor changes made by me. Also, the last line of the stanza was not translated by Hintze, so I have translated it here. I use the English word “differentiated” as an adjective describing “the eventuality”.

while remaining faithful to the fundamental morphological sense of “provided with you (all), possessing you (all)” evaluated in Part 2 above. In contrast to the forms of *θβāuuant-*, which are all found in the nominative singular, the forms of *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* are all found in the genitive singular or genitive plural, with the exception of the locative plural *xšmāuuasū* found in Y 34.3 (where it denotes the recipients of *sauuō* “flourishing vitality”). In Y 29.11 the genitive plural form *yūšmāuuatqm* denotes the agents, including Zaraθuštra, who are gift-givers offering a *rāiti-* “gift” to Ahura Mazdā and the Old Avestan divinities as part of the ritual gift-exchange. In Y 46.10 the genitive plural form *xšmāuuatqm* denotes the subjects who shall perform a *vahma-* “prayer”, accompanied by Zaraθuštra. In Y 33.8 the genitive singular form *xšmāuuatō* denotes the subject who shall perform a *yasna-* “worship”, most likely referring to Zaraθuštra, and in Y 34.2 *xšmāuuatō* denotes the subject performing a *vahma-* “prayer”, also most likely referring to Zaraθuštra. In Y 44.1 *xšmāuuatō* denotes a subject envisioned performing a *nəmah-* “veneration”, and in Y 49.6 *xšmāuuatō* denotes one to whom the *daēnā-* “spiritual vision” belongs.

3.2.1 The gift (Y 29.11)

In Y 29.11, Zaraθuštra, with familiarity and authority, demands the attention and presence of Ahura Mazdā and the Old Avestan divinities for the purpose of the ritual gift-exchange:

Y 29.11 *kudā ašəm vohucā manō xšaθrəmcā aṭ mā mašā*
yūžəm mazdā frāxšnənē mazōi magāi.ā paiti.zānatā
ahurā nū nā auuarō əhmā rātōiš yūšmāuuatqm

Where are Truth, Good Thought, and Dominion? Now take me into cognisance,¹⁰⁴
 all of you; (and) recognise (me) in foreknowledge, O Wise One, for the great gift-exchange.¹⁰⁵
 O Lord, (come) down unto us now, by virtue of the gift (offered) by us (to you), (the gift) of those imbued with the essence of you (all).

The intended recipients of the gift being offered in Y 29.11 are Ahura Mazdā and the Old Avestan divinities who are emphatically invoked by Zaraθuštra specifically for this reason. The word *yūšmāuuatqm* denotes the agents (the gift-givers) and characterizes them as being imbued with the essence of the divinities who are themselves invoked in this stanza. This underscores the inherent qualitative consonance and the essential reciprocal belonging shared by the divinities and the gift-givers. For not only do they share in the gift-exchange, they also share in the same essence. In the previous stanza, Y 29.10, the gifts desired by the gift-givers of Y 29.11 seem to already be specified: *aḡō... ašā* “strength through the Truth”, *xšaθrəmcā auuat vohū manəjhā yā hušəitiš rāmqmcā dāt* “and that Dominion through Good Thought, by which one may establish good dwellings and peace”. The three divinities – Truth, Good Thought and Dominion – invoked in Y 29.11a also feature in the desired gifts being requested in Y 29.10. In Y 29.10 it is the gathered gift-givers who are the potential recipients of gifts, while in Y 29.11 it is now these same gift-givers who are the agents offering their own reciprocal gift to Ahura Mazdā and the Old Avestan divinities.

¹⁰⁴ On the discussions related to *mašā*, and the various competing proposals for its analysis, see Peschl (2022: 202), who, following Schwartz, analyses the form as the second person plural imperative of the root aorist *mar-* “to remember, to take cognisance”. For a brief review of the various competing proposals, and the arguments in favour of his preferred analysis of this form, see Peschl (2022: 202).

¹⁰⁵ For more on Avestan *maga-* “gift-exchange”, see Hintze (2004: 27–45).

3.2.2 The worship (Y 33.8)

In Y 33.8, the genitive singular form *xšmāuuatō* denotes the subject, in this case most likely Zaratuštra himself, who will perform a *yasna*- “worship”, which shall be set into motion through Good Thought:

Y 33.8 *frō mōi [fra]uuōizdūm arəθā tā yā vohū šiiuuāi manəḥhā*
yasnəm mazdā xšmāuuatō aṭ vā ašā staōmiiā vacā
dātā vā amərətāscā utaiiūiti hauruuatās draōnō

Acknowledge these aspirations of mine, which I shall set into motion through Good Thought:

A worship performed by one imbued with the essence of you (all), O Wise One, or even words of exaltation through the Truth.

(These are) offered for you (as your) portion, and (so is) immortality with endurance,¹⁰⁶ (and also) wholeness.

The genitive singular form *xšmāuuatō* “of one imbued with the essence of you (all)” is translated more freely in the context of this stanza, as “performed by one imbued with the essence of you (all)”, to make it clear that the genitive denotes the subject. I have likewise translated the form *xšmāuuatō* freely in context of the stanzas Y 34.2 and Y 44.1 that follow, and I have similarly translated the genitive plural form *xšmāuuatəm* in Y 46.10 as well.

3.2.3 The prayer (Y 34.2) and flourishing vitality (Y 34.3)

Let us now consider one of the more intricate examples of the use of these words in the sequence of stanzas Y 34.1, Y 34.2 and Y 34.3:

Y 34.1 *yā šiiāōθanā yā vacəḥhā yā yasnā amərətātātəm*
ašəmcā taibiiō dāḡhā mazdā xšaθrəmcā hauruuatātō
aēšəm tōi ahurā əhmā pourutəmāiš dastē

The deed, the word, the worship, through which you give to yourself immortality and the Truth and the dominion of wholeness, O Wise One: Out of these is being offered to you by us, (who are here) by the greatest numbers, O Lord.

Y 34.2 *aṭcā ī tōi manəḥhā mainiiūšcā vaḡhəuš vīspā dātā*
spəntaxiiācā nərəš šiiāōθanā yehiiā uruuā ašā hacaitē
pairigāēθē xšmāuuatō vahmē mazdā garōbiš stūtəm

And indeed, this (offering) has been established through your thought, and through all (who are) of the good spiritual force, and through the deed of the life-giving man whose soul is accompanied by the Truth, in a prayer surrounded by living beings, performed by one imbued with the essence of you (all), O Wise One, through welcomings of praises.

¹⁰⁶ On *utaiiūiti*- adj. “enduring” noun “endurance”, see Bartholomae (1904: 386), who suggests the adjectival use in this stanza. However, I find that *utaiiūiti* as the instrumental singular form of the noun suits the context better here. Also, as suggested by Kellens and Pirart (1990, 2: 226), compare Avestan *utaiiūiti*- with Vedic *itāūti*- < *itā-ūti*-, for which see Grassmann (1873: 203) and Monier-Williams (1899: 165).

Y 34.3 *aṭ tōi miiazdām ahurā nəmanhā ašāicā dāmā*
gaēθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi yā vohū θraōštā manahā
ārōi zī hudānhō vīspāiš mazdā xšmāuuasū sauuō

Now, with veneration O Lord, as an offering for you and for the Truth, we will place into (your) dominion all (our) living beings, which you (all) have nourished with Good Thought.

Indeed, the flourishing vitality of the well providing one has been granted by (you) all, within those imbued with the essence of you (all), O Wise One.

In Y 34.1, the worshippers seek to derive their own offering out of the deed, word and worship through which Ahura Mazda gives himself immortality and the Truth and the dominion of wholeness. In Y 34.2, the offering is further described as something that has been established: *tōi manahā* “through your thought”, *mainiiāušcā vañhāuš vīspā* “and through all (who are) of the good spiritual force”, *spəntaxiiācā nərəš šīiaōdanā* “and through the deed of the life-giving man” (three instrumental phrases),¹⁰⁷ *pairigaēθē xšmāuuatō vahmē* “in a prayer surrounded by living beings, performed by one imbued with the essence of you (all)” (a locative phrase) and *garōbiš stūtəm* “through welcomings of praises” (a final instrumental phrase). It seems likely that the life-giving man whose soul is accompanied by the Truth, and the one performing the prayer surrounded by living beings, is none other than Zaraθuštra. In Y 34.3 Zaraθuštra declares that he, along with those gathered together, shall place their living beings, as an offering, into the dominion of divinity (likely referring to Ahura Mazda’s “dominion of wholeness” in Y 34.1).

The offering of one’s own living being to divinity continues a theme we have already examined in Part 1 of this article. Most notably, consider Y 33.14 (complete text and translation in section 1.2), which is the stanza that immediately precedes Y 34.1–3, and in which Zaraθuštra “is offering as a gift to the Wise One and to the Truth: the vitality of his own body, and the pre-eminence of (his) good thought, of (his) deed and of (his) solemn utterance; (he is offering them his) attentiveness, and (he is offering them) dominion (over himself)”. The idea that the worshippers who then join Zaraθuštra in Y 34.1–3 also choose to place their living beings into the dominion of the Lord is hardly surprising. In Y 34.2 the first factor through which the offering is described as being established is *tōi manahā* “through your thought”, which calls to attention Y 31.11 (complete text and translation in section 1.2) in which we learn that our “living beings” are indeed fashioned *θβā manahā* “through your thought”. In addition to this, in Y 34.3 Zaraθuštra speaks of how “all (our) living beings” have been nourished by the divinities with *vohu- manah-* “Good Thought”. Referring to this spiritual nourishment, Zaraθuštra goes on to say that *sauuō* “flourishing vitality” has been granted *vīspāiš* “by (you) all” *xšmāuuasū* “within those imbued with the essence of you (all)”. Therefore the offering, being the living beings of the worshippers, is created by, nourished by, internally vitalized by, imbued with and offered to divinity. A somewhat parallel notion, of offering to Ahura Mazda various good things that all ultimately derive from the creative and positive activity of Ahura Mazda himself, is found in Y 39.4 of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti:

Y 39.4 *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā*
mānəghācā vaōcascā dāscā varāścā
yā vohū
aθā tōi dadəmahi

¹⁰⁷ Note here the structural parallel of three instrumentals, with the three opening instrumentals of Y 34.1 *yā šīiaōdanā yā vacaṅhā yā yasnā* “through which deed, through which word, through which worship”.

aθā cīšmahī
aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē
aθā nəmaxiiāmahi
aθā išūidiāmahi
θβā mazdā ahurā

As indeed, O Wise Lord,
 you think, speak, create and practice
 these (things) which (are) good,
 so we offer (them) to you,
 so we assign (them to you),
 so by them we worship you,
 so (by them) we offer veneration (to you),
 so (by them) we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.¹⁰⁸

3.2.4 The prayer, and crossing the Bridge of Summation (Y 46.10)

Y 46.10 accords perfectly with the underlying theme of Yasna 46, in which Zaraθuštra is seeking out the backing of virtuous rulers and genuine followers who shall align themselves with the vision of Ahura Mazda, and help establish and spread good rule throughout the lands. The means by which Zaraθuštra shall in turn support these virtuous rulers and genuine followers is indicated in Y 46.10:

Y 46.10 yē vā mōi nā gənā vā mazdā ahurā
dāiiāṭ aṇhəuš yā tū vōistā vahištā
ašəm¹⁰⁹ ašāi vohū xšaθrəm manəḥhā
yāscā haxšāi xšməuuatəm vahmāi.ā
frō tāiš vīspāiš cinuatō [fra]frā pərətūm

(The one) who indeed, O Wise Lord, a man or a woman,
 shall establish for me, what you know to be the best of existence,
 (namely), Truth for the sake of Truth (itself), (and) Dominion through Good Thought,
 and whom I shall accompany for prayer performed by those imbued with the essence
 of you (all):
 with them all, I shall cross forth the Bridge of Summation.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Translation of Y 39.4 by Hintze (2007: 275–9), with the minor change of replacing “pay homage” with “offer veneration (to you)” in the 7th line, and by adding “(by them)” in parenthesis in the 7th and 8th line.

¹⁰⁹ On the preference for the reading *ašəm* in J7 versus *ašim* in J 2.3.6 (see Geldner 1886: 162), Insler (1975: 270) makes a good observation about the stylistic parallel between Y 46.10c *ašəm ašāi* “Truth for Truth” and Y 43.5d *akəm akāi* “evil for evil”. Beyond this, I also find Y 46.10c *ašəm ašāi* “Truth for Truth” a preferable reading in light of its similarity to the prominent last line of the *Ašəm Vohū* mantra: Y 27.14c *hiuṭ ašāi vahištāi ašəm* “since Truth is for the best Truth”, especially given that the assertion in Y 27.14a *ašəm vohū vahištəm asti* “Truth is the best Good” also relates very closely to Y 46.10b *aṇhəuš yā tū vōistā vahištā* “what you know to be the best of existence”.

¹¹⁰ In Humbach (1991, 1: 170), and Humbach (1991, 2: 184), Humbach translates the genitive singular form *cinuatō* of the present participle *cinuuant-* as “account keeper”. Insler (1975: 83) translates the participle as “judge”. A more literal translation of the present participle *cinuuant-* would be “stacking, layering, assembling”, given that the participle is derived from the verbal root *ci* “to stack, to layer, to assemble”. Both an “account keeper” and a “judge” would indeed need to stack, layer or assemble information, before evaluating it in order to “keep account” or to “pass judgement”. In the Gāthās the present participle *cinuuant-* most likely refers to the notion of the “stacking-up” of one’s thoughts, words and deeds in the discernment of Ahura Mazda (see translation of Y 48.4 above) wherein one’s eventuality is differentiated. In the subsequent development of Zoroastrian eschatological thinking, this arguably provided some of the inspiration for the imagery of the divinity Rašnu stacking-up

In stark contrast to the well-intentioned supporters of Zaratustra, the experience of the (deceitful) priests and (devious) princes shall be very different when they arrive at the Bridge of Summation:

Y 46.11 *xšaθrāiš yūjān karapanō kāuuaiiascā
akāiš śiaōdanāiš ahūm mərəngəidiāi mašim
yəng x'ə uruūā x'aēcā xraōdaṭ daēnā
hiiaṭ aibi.gəman yaθrā cinuuatō pərətuš
yauuōi vispāi drūjō dəmānāi astaiiō*

(Inversely,) through (their) dominions, the (deceitful) priests and (devious) princes unite a mortal with evil deeds, to (thereby) destroy existence.
(But) their own soul and own spiritual vision shall perturb them,
when they arrive unto where the Bridge of Summation (is):
as guests for the House of Deceit, for all time!

3.2.5 The spiritual vision (Y 49.6)

In Y 44.9 Zaratustra wants to set his *daēnā*- (described as an *asīšti*- “teacher” imbued with the essence of Ahura Mazdā) into the sphere of life. In Y 49.6, Zaratustra wants to truly distinguish how to “make heard” the *daēnā*- which belongs to one who is imbued with the essence of Ahura Mazdā and the other Old Avestan divinities. Both stanzas communicate Zaratustra’s deep and driving motivation to correctly establish and spread his spiritual vision in the world.

Y 49.6 *frō vā [fra]ēšiiā mazdā ašəmcā mrūitē
yā vā xratāuš xšmākahiiā ā.manəhā
ərəš viciidiāi yaθā ī srāuuaiiāemā
təm daēnəm yā xšmāuuatō ahurā*

O Wise One, I urge you (all) and the Truth, to tell (us)
what for you (all), (are) the intentions of your discernment,
so (we may) truly distinguish how we should make heard
that spiritual vision which belongs to one imbued with the essence of you (all), O Lord.

3.3 mauuaṇt- “imbued with me, imbued with my essence”

The literal meaning of *mauuaṇt*- is “provided with me, possessing me”. In the Gāthās this word is spoken only twice by Zaratustra, in Y 44.1 and Y 46.7, and in both instances it occurs in the dative singular form *mauuaitē*. Frequently in the Gāthās we find that Zaratustra aspires and emerges to be imbued with the essence of divinity. He even seems to refer to himself as *θβāuuqs* in Y 48.3, and more clearly as *xšmāuuatō* in Y 33.8 and Y 34.2. But beyond this he also refers much more generally to those who are *θβāuuṇt*- and *xšmāuuṇt*-/*yūšmāuuṇt*-. Zaratustra and these others, whoever they may be, therefore share in the essence of Ahura Mazdā and the Old Avestan divinities, and in that regard, possess the same essence. Furthermore, if one of the inherent qualities of divinity is that it can impart its

the merits and the demerits of one’s soul in his balance. In either case, the genitive singular form *cinuuatō*, taken together with the accusative singular *pərətūm*, would literally give us the translation: “the Bridge of Stacking-up”. A slightly less literal option for translation could be: “the Bridge of Summation”. While this option properly maintains the underlying sense of sequential accumulation inherent in the root *ci*, it also alludes to the sense of finality and evaluation.

essence to other beings, then once that essence is indeed imparted to a being, that being by virtue of this very essence will in turn have the capacity to impart its own essence along to another being. I therefore suggest that an updated translation of *mauuant-* as “imbued with me, imbued with my essence” might work rather well, and still remain faithful to the literal meaning of the word.¹¹¹ It would also be in keeping with the sense and the function of *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* in the Gāthās, with Zaraθuštra’s affinity to others who are also *θβāuuant-* and *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* like him, and with his hope that they step forth and help in furthering his virtuous purpose.

3.3.1 Cherished fellowships (Y 44.1)

One of the more syntactically playful constructions in the Gāthās occurs in the opening stanza of Yasna 44:

Y 44.1 *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaōcā ahurā*
nəmanhō ā yaθā nəmē xšmāuuatō
mazdā friiāi θβāuuqs saxiiāṭ mauuaitē
aṭ nē ašā friiā dazdiiāi hākurənā
yaθā nē ā vohū jimaṭ manahā

This I ask you, speak for me truly, O Lord:
 Of veneration, such a veneration, as is performed by one imbued with the essence of you (all),
 may one imbued with your essence proclaim to a dear one¹¹² imbued with my essence,
 O Wise One,
 so cherished fellowships are established for us through Truth,
 such that one may come towards us with Good Thought.

In this stanza there is intentional poetic play in: 1) how one imbued with the essence of divinity (*θβāuuant-*) may reveal 2) a veneration that is performed by one imbued with the essence of the divinities (*xšmāuuant-*), to 3) a dear one who is imbued with the essence of Zaraθuštra (*mauuant-*), and that 4) this shall give rise to cherished fellowships established through “Truth”, that in turn 5) induce others to approach with Good Thought. Thus, the paramount basis for weaving together cherished fellowships in accordance with Truth, is identified here as the inherent nature and quality of their participants.

3.3.2 A protector for one imbued with my essence (Y 46.7)

In Yasna 46 Zaraθuštra bemoans the prevalence of devious rulers and deceitful priests, and undertakes an impassioned search for help, with the purpose of making manifest the principles of his spiritual vision in the arena of day-to-day practice and worldly rule. In Y 46.7 Zaraθuštra wonders who, apart from the fire and the thought of Ahura Mazdā, will bring him and those imbued with his essence deliverance from the clutches of the deceitful one. Here Ahura Mazdā’s fire quite possibly represents the arena of ritual, while Ahura Mazdā’s

¹¹¹ The Av. hapax **mauuaiθiia-* (< Ilr **ma-ya-t-ja-*) derived from *mauuant-* (see Bartholomae 1904: 1141; Hintze 2007: 289–91, 347–8), found in Y 40.1 of the Yasna Haptanhāiti, would accordingly mean “belonging to one imbued with my essence, appropriate to one imbued with my essence”.

¹¹² Both Humbach (1991, 1: 156) and Insler (1975: 67) translate *friia-* as “friend”. The Avestan root from which *friia-* is derived is *fri* “to be dear”. While a friend can be someone “dear”, so can a family member or a teacher or a student or a patron or a priest or a disciple or others who do not qualify primarily as “friends”. The choice of translating *friia-* as “friend” inserts a unique connotation into the English that obscures the precise and simultaneously wider implications of the word in Avestan. Therefore I translate *friiāi* as “to a dear one” and *friiā ... hākurənā* as “dear fellowships, cherished fellowships”.

thought quite possibly represents the spiritual arena, and as mentioned by Zaratuštra, it is through both of these mediums that one nourishes the Truth. Yet, in order for the right ritual practices and the right spiritual principles to take root in this world where evil is rampant, Zaratuštra, and anyone imbued with his essence, will need protection from the forces and agents of evil:

Y 46.7 *kām nā mazdā mauuaitē pāiūm dadā*
hiiaṭ mā drəguuā dīdarəšatā aēnaṇhē
aniiām θbahmāt āθrascā manāṇhascā
yaiiā śīaōdanāiš ašəm θraōštā ahurā
tqm mōi dąstuuqm daēnaiiāi frāuuaočā

Whom have you assigned (as) protector for one imbued with my essence,
 when the deceitful one has seized me for transgression?
 (Whom) apart from your fire and (your) thought,
 through (both of) whose deeds one has nourished the Truth, O Lord?
 Speak forth this counsel, for the sake of my spiritual vision!

This stanza goes on to become the basis of one of the most well-known prayers of the Zoroastrian tradition, called the *Kām Nā Mazdā*.

Conclusion

The Gāthic passages surveyed above show that the predominant theme with which the word *θbāuuant-* is associated in the Gāthās is the theme of spiritual teaching (Y 43.3, Y 44.1, Y 44.9 and Y 48.3). In one instance it is also associated with the theme of the worldly and societal mission of furthering the rule of the home or settlement or land through the Truth (Y 31.16). In each of its attestations, *θbāuuant-* occurs in the nominative singular form. The word *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-*, on the other hand, is always associated with a medium of interrelation between divinity and worshipper, i.e. the gift-exchange (Y 29.11), the worship (Y 33.8), the prayer (Y 34.2, Y 46.10), the granting of flourishing vitality (Y 34.3), the veneration (Y 44.1) and the spiritual vision (Y 49.6). In Y 29.11, Y 33.8, Y 34.2, Y 44.1, Y 46.10 and Y 49.6, *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* appears in either the singular or plural genitive form and denotes the human agent/s engaged in effectuating and practising the medium of interrelation. In one instance, the locative plural form *xšmāuuasū* denotes the human recipients of *sauuō* “flourishing vitality” (Y 34.3), which is imparted to them by the divinities. In all of its attestations the word *xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-* contributes rather interestingly to the theme of interrelation between divinity and worshipper, because whatever the medium of interrelation might be, the divinities and worshippers engaging in that interrelation are characterized as being fundamentally connected to each other by virtue of their shared essence. Finally, *mauuant-*, which in both attestations occurs in the dative singular, is used in Y 44.1 to describe the intended beneficiary of a particular teaching/proclamation that would in turn result in this beneficiary being inducted into a cherished fellowship established through Truth, while in Y 46.7 it refers to the intended beneficiary of protection against the deceitful one. In the first instance *mauuant-* is associated with induction into that which is good, and in the second instance it is associated with protection, and thus exclusion, from that which is evil.

On the one hand, these words are all thoughtfully used and integrated into some of the more salient themes in the Gāthās, and on the other hand, they themselves encapsulate a foundational theological theme: that virtuous living beings can literally be imbued with the

essence of the Gods, and in turn impart their own essence to others. The notion of “divinity dwelling within”, when taken together with the notion that all the good creations were first created and gestated within Ahura Mazdā, and were therefore “dwelling within divinity”, brings to light the immediacy and reciprocal intimacy that characterizes the relationship between creator and creation in Zoroastrian theology.

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