3.1.5. ORIGIN OF THE ROYAL POWER

As in the Near East, where the kings claim their power and legitimacy from the gods, and often a particular god, the relationship between Ahuramazdā and the king occupies a prominent position in the Old Persian inscriptions, the purpose of which, as is usual with royal inscriptions, was to legitimate the rule of the king: it was bestowed upon him by the supreme god and was acquired through legitimate succession.

In the Achaemenid inscriptions it is Ahuramazdā who makes the kings, and he does this in return for the kings’ worship by conferring upon them xšaça “power.” The standard formula is:

\[ \text{Ahuramazdā ... xšaça} \, \text{manā frābara} \]

Ahuramazdā gave me the power (or: realm).

For similar formulas in Ancient Near Eastern texts, cf.

From the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.E.): “Great gods, managers of heaven (and) underworld, ... who make great the sovereignty of Tiglath-pileser, ... upon him you set the exalted crown, you grandly established him for sovereignty over the land of the god Enlil ...” (Grayson, 1991, pp. 12-13).

From the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.E.): “At that time my sovereignty, my dominion, (and) my power came forth at the command of the great gods” (ibid., p. 239).

The Indo-Iranian formulaic heritage is illustrated by examples such as the following.

In the Avesta xšaṭra belongs to several deities, but especially to Ahura Mazda, as implicit in Y. 8.5:26

\[ \text{vasasca tú Ahura Mazda uštāca xšaēša hauvanq dāmanq vasō āpō vasō uruuvar vasō vispa vohu ašaciēra xšaiâmnom ašuuânâm dāiïata axšaiâmnom druuanhtom} \]

May you, Ahura Mazda, rule at will and wish over your own creations.

Put at will, o waters, at will, o plants, at will, o all good things who *contain the seed of Order, the follower of Order in power, the follower of the Lie out of power.27

---

26 In the Gāthās the ahuras are the bestowers of “power” (Y. 29.10): yēzēm aēśibīō ahūrā aogō dātā aō xšaṭra mcc aωat “You (all), o Ahuras, give to these (here) strength according to Order, as well as that power.”

27 If the “power” belonged to the Lie, then (Yt. 13.12) yeiōi zi mē nōtī †daiōt upaśtam urrā ašaōṃm fraωaʃaīō nōtī mē iōa dāhāt tōm pasu vīra *yā stō sarwaṃm vahiṣṭa druō aogar druō xšaṭram druō aṣtuau aŋhuś ḍēhāt “for, if the strong fravashis of the followers of Order had not brought me support, then the cattle and men here would not have been mine,
Among other deities bestowing power is Miθra, e.g., Yt. 10.16, 65:

\[
yō vispāhō karšučōhu mainiauω yazatō
\]
\[
vazaite xšaθrō.dā
\]
\[
yō vaθbō.dā yō xšaθrō.dā yō puθrō.dā yō
gaiiō.dā yō hauwar'ho.dā yō
ašauuastō.dā
\]

He, the deity who flies over all the continents giving power.

... who gives herds, who gives power,
who gives sons, who gives life, who gives good living, who makes (men) followers of Order.

In the Rigveda kṣatrām dhā- is a frequent word combination (also ōjo dhā--; see Kellens-Pirart, III, 1991, p. 40). We may note the following passage (RV 1.157.6):

\[
ātho ha kṣatrām ádhī dhattha ugrā, yō
vām havišmān mānasā dadāśa
\]

You two (Aśvins) powerful ones bestow the power on the libation-bearer who has made offerings to you with his heart.

Schematically we have for the realization of this—relatively universal—theme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEITY</th>
<th>GIVE</th>
<th>POWER</th>
<th>TO WORSHIPER/TO KING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opers.</td>
<td>Ahuramazdā</td>
<td>frabar-</td>
<td>xšaθram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av.</td>
<td>yazata (Miθra, etc.)</td>
<td>dā-</td>
<td>ašauuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>Aśvins</td>
<td>dhā</td>
<td>kṣatrām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.6. THE SUCCESSION

Xerxes justifies his succession to the throne, before his (older) brothers, as follows (XPf 28-32): Dārayavauš pučā aniyaicīy āhaθtā Auramazdām avāθā kāma āha Dārayavauš haya manā pitač pasā tanūm mām mabhiθtam akunauš “Darius had other sons as well. Thus Ahuramazdā willed it: Darius, my father, made me greatest after himself.”

This is a Near Eastern literary topos found also in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (680-669): “I was (indeed) the(ir) youngest (brother) among my elder brothers, (but) my own father, upon the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel and Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh (and) the Ishtar of Arbela, has chosen me—in due form and in the presence [...] of all my brothers ...” (tr. Oppenheim, in Pritchard, ed., 1955, p. 289).28

---

3.1.7. AHURAMAZDĀ’S SUPPORTIVE FUNCTION

A common theme in ancient literatures is that of the king/worshiper obtaining the protection and support of Ahuramazdā and the other gods as a “boon” (vānam) for worshiping them correctly. This mutual relationship is expressed in Old Persian in Darius’s boast that he prayed to Ahuramazdā and Ahuramazdā gave him help (DB 1.54-55, 59-60):

\[\text{pasāva adam *Auramazdām}
\text{patiyāvahayaḥ Auramazdāmaiy}
\text{upastām abara ... vaśnā Auramazdāha}
\text{adam xšāyaṭiya abavam}\]
Then I prayed to Ahuramazdā for help.
Ahuramazdā gave me support ... By the
greatness of Ahuramazdā I became king.

In Avestan the formula upastām bar- is found in the prayer of Pāruua, the ship’s captain (Yt. 5.62-63):29

\[\text{upa ušāḥram upa.zbaiaṭ Arāduuīm}
\text{Sūrām Anāhītam Arāduūī Sūre Anāhīte}
\text{mośu mē *jasa [mss. jauua] auuājhe}
\text{nūrem mē bara upastām}\]
At dawn he invoked Arāduūī Sūrā
Anāhīta: O Arāduūī Sūrā Anāhīta,
quickly, come to my help! Bring me
support now!

and in Yt. 13.1:

\[\text{mraot Ahurō Mazdā Spitamāi}
\text{Zaraθuṣṭrāī}
\text{aēuwa tē zāuwa oojascav x’arōṇō auuascav}
\text{rafiناسca frauauua ərəzəu Spitama yat}
\text{ašaonaŋm frauauśingəm ... yatha mē jasən}
\text{auuājhe yatha mē barən upastām}\]
Ahura Mazdā said to Zaraθuṣṭra the
Spitāma:
I shall proclaim to you *exactly, o upright
Zaraθuṣṭra, the power and strength, the
glory, the help and support
of the ... faiths of the orderly, so that they
may come to my help, that they may
bring me assistance.

In these Avestan passages we also have the extremely common formula auuājhe jasa- “to come to (one’s) assistance,” with dative of person + final dative, seen also in Y. 72.9 jasa mē auuājhe Mazda “Come to my help, o (Ahura) Mazdā!” or in the hymn to the water, Y. 68.9:

\[\text{surrūntiā nō yasnəm ahurāne Ahurahe}
\text{xšnutiā nō yasnəm ahurāne Ahurahe}\]
May you hear our worship, o lady of the
Lord! May you take pleasure in our
worship, o lady of the Lord!

29 The formula upastām dā- is used in Yt. 13.12, 17 (see n. to [3.1.8]).
This formula is not found in Old Persian; however, the verb patiyāvahqaiy is a denominative, pati-aływ-ia- “ask for help,” from *aƚah-, Av. auuah- and therefore implies exactly the same as the Avestan expression upa.ƚbaiia, ... jasa auuājhe, with which we can also compare the Rigvedic formulas āvase hvā-/hū- and hava- “to invoke for help” (very frequent), cf. RV 2.29.1:

śṛṇvatō vo vāruṇa mītra dévā, bhadrāsyā vidvāṃ āvase huve vah | I invoke you gods, Varuṇa and Mṛta, for help as the listening ones, knowing your blessing.

and āvase gam- in RV 8.54.3:

vāsavo rudrā āvase na á gamañ, chṛṇvāntu maruto hávam | May the Vasus, Rudras, come to our help. Let the Maruts hear our invocation.30

Similar—or identical—formulas are found in Near Eastern texts, where “the idiom rēṣu X alāku ‘to go to the aid of X,’ with the deity as subject and king as object, is common in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings” (pointed out by S. Cole) from Sargon II to Ashurbanipal, cf. from the reign of Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.E.): “I prayed to Aššur, ... the gods, my helpers, to conquer the mighty enemy, and they immediately heard my prayers. They came to my aid” (ed. Luckenbill, 1924, p. 44 col. v 62-67; tr. S. Cole).

3.1.8. AHURAMAZDA’S REMUNERATIVE FUNCTION

In the Avestan examples above Ahuramazdā’s support, as well as that of other deities, is obtained as a reward for good and correct worship. The same theme is found in DB 5.16-20 (= 32-36):

Auramazdām ayadaīya vañā
Auramazdāha yaṭā múṃ kāma avaštādiś
akunavam ... haya Auramazdām
yadātaīy yānam avahayā ahatiy utā
jīvahayā uta mṛtahayā

I worshiped Ahuramazdā. By the greatness of Ahuramazdā, as was my wish, thus I did to them ... He who worships Ahuramazdā, he will obtain a boon both while alive and when dead.

with which cf. RV 1.24.11:

30 Cf. Y. 28.3 ā mōī rafārāī zauuīng jasatā “come to (my) invocations to my support.”
That I ask you (Varuṇa), praising you with (my) prayer; that the worshiping one requests with (his) gifts of worship.

The theme of asking the deities for a boon is common both in Iran and India. The typical Old Persian formula is seen in DPd 20-24 (with Schlerath, 1968):

_that I ask Ahuramazdā as a boon together with all the gods. May Ahuramazdā give me this as a boon together with all the gods._

and the Avestan one in Y. 65.11-12:

O waters, I ask you for a great boon—give it to me! ... This I request from you, o waters, this, o earths, this, o plants, this, o Beneficial Immortals of good power, giving good gifts, (you) good males and (you) good females, givers of good things ... this, o all beings worthy of worship, who are givers of better things and followers of Order.

In the Rigveda a great variety of verbs and nouns are used to express this theme. Note especially the use of yā—etymologically related to yāna—corresponding to yānam jadiya- and yānam jaišiia-lyāsa- (pointed out by S. Jamison).

One further point to note in DPd 20-24 and Y. 65.11-12 is the typical formula in which the prayer is addressed to the supreme deity, Ahura Mazda, plus all the gods. Schematically:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I ASK</th>
<th>A BOON</th>
<th>OF A DEITY/DEITIES</th>
<th>AND/TOGETHER WITH ALL (OTHER) GODS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OPers.</td>
<td>jadiya-</td>
<td>yānam</td>
<td>*aitamaiy *yānam Ahuramazdā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av.</td>
<td>yāsa-</td>
<td>yānam</td>
<td>āpō ... vō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jaišiia-</td>
<td>imat</td>
<td>vō āpō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These formulas may be regarded as basic cautionary measures to guard against the possibility that some god might have been insulted at being left out and not having been invoked and thus might ruin the effect of the prayer, as expressed explicitly in Y. 1.(20-21), 22:31

ratuuō vispe mazišta ašāum ašahe
ratuuō yezí (θβα) vō diduaša ... ā (tē)
vō ağhe fraca stiuie nī (tē) vō vaçeaieni yezí (tē) vō ağhe awud.urūraoda yat
yasnaheca vahmaheca

O all greatest Models! O Model of Order, follower of Order, if I have made you angry ... I confess this to you, I make it known to you—if I have barred you from this, the worship and the prayer.

3.1.9. PROTECTING THE KING’S RECORDS TO OBTAIN AHURAMAZDĀ’S FAVOR

One of the most wide-spread concepts throughout both the Ancient Near East and the Indo-Iranian world to be expressed in the literatures of these peoples is that of the prayer for remuneration: long life and numerous and strong descendants for the good and the reverse for the evil. This theme is found frequently in the texts we are discussing, but in this case we are clearly dealing with thoughts common to humanity in diverse places. The Old Persian and Avestan formulas, however, may be historically related.

In the Old Persian inscriptions this kind of prayer is found in the context of an exhortation by Darius to his successors to protect and make public the records of the king’s deeds:32

DB 4.53-59:

nūram θuvām vārnavaṭām taya manā
kartam avaštā kārhaḥyā rādīy mā
apagaudāya yadiy imām hadugām naīy
apagaudāyāhag kārhaḥyā ṭāḥay
Ahuramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā utāṭāiy
taumā vasiy biyā utā dargam jīvā ...
yadiy imām hadugām apagaudāyāhag naīy
ṭāḥay kārhaḥyā Ahuramazdātaisy jaṭā biyā
utāṭāiy taumā mā biyā

Now believe that which I have done!
Thus do not hide it from the people! If you do not hide this testimony (but) tell it to the people, (then) may Ahuramazdā be your friend, and may you have much family—and you shall live long. If you do hide this testimony (and) do not tell it to the people, may Ahuramazdā smite you, and may you have no family.

31 The antiyāha bagāha “other gods” are no doubt just all gods other than Ahuramazdā without specification. Differently Gershevitch, 1964, pp. 18, 35, and Boyce, II, 1982, p. 83 with n. 16.
32 On this theme in Sasanian Iran see Skjærvø, 1985.
DB 4.72-80:

yadīy imām dipim vaināhāy imaivā
patikarā naiydiś vikanāhāy utātaiy yāvā
taumā [ahatiy] paribarāhādiś Auramazdā
θuvaṃ dauśiā biyā

If you see this inscription or these reliefs and do not destroy them and as long as you have family/strength\(^{33}\) respect them, (then) may Ahuramazdā be your friend and may you have much family—and you shall live long.

And that which you do, that may Ahuramazdā make easy for you! If you see this inscription or these reliefs and do destroy them and as long as you have family/strength do not respect them, (then) may Ahuramazdā smite you, and may you have no family. And that which you do, that may Ahuramazdā destroy!

utātaiy taumā vasiy biyā utā dargam
jīvā utā taya kunavāhāy avatāi
Auramazdā ucaṃam kunautuv ...
yadīy imām dipim imaivā patikarā
vikanāhāy vikanāhādiś utātaiy yāvā taumā
ahatiy naiydiś paribarāhāy
Auramazdātaiy jātā biyā utātaiy taumā
mā biyā utā taya kunavāhāy avatāi
Auramazdā nikaŋtuv

Among Near Eastern examples of prayers for descendants cf. from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon (604-562 B.C.E.): “O Ninmah, ... spread my seed out, make my descendants numerous, let my descendants be blessed with children!” (Langdon-Zehnpfund, 1912, p. 85, my English paraphrase).

In the Avesta the rewards are given by various deities to those who perform the correct rituals and worship, e.g., by the Waters (Y. 68.10-12):

yō vō āpō vaŋ'hiš yazāite ahurānīś
Ahurahe ...
ahmāi tanuuō druwatātām ahmāi
asmancīt fraザnit'am ahmāi darayām
darayō,jītīm dāitäta vaŋ'hiš āpō ...

Whoever worships you, the waters, the Ahurian ones belonging to Ahura (Mazdā) ... to him give health of (his) body, to him *noble offspring, to him, o good waters, give longevity.\(^{34}\)

by the Haoma (Y. 9.19):

imām ḏhāṃ paoiirim yānām Haoma
jaišiemi dūraoṣa vahištam ahūm
āṣaonām ...

This I ask you as the first favor, death-averting haoma: the Best Being of the followers of Order ...

---

\(^{33}\) [According to the Elamite, in this expression taumā is “strength,” i.e., \(<\text{tauman}^{-}\). The other taumās are either “family” \(<\text{taumā}^{-}\) or “seed, offspring” \(<\text{tauhman}^{-}\).]

\(^{34}\) Literally “long longevity.” — Prayers for long life are common in the Avesta, see Bartholomae, Air. Wb., cols. 694-5.
This I ask you as the second favor, ...:
health of this body.

This I ask you as the third favor, ...: long
life for (my) vital spirit.

Who shall worship me, who shall believe
me? Who with good worship, who with
bad? ... For whom shall I henceforth
exalt (his) *noble offspring?

O Indra and Varuṇa, bestow upon the
yajamānas sober-minded happiness,
growth of wealth!
Bestow upon us offspring, prosperity,
abundance! Stretch out our life for long
life!

Agni has given (me) both wealth and
sons ...
O remunerating Indra, give this one good
sons and a good share! Bestow on her ten
sons (and) make the husband the
eleventh.35

The theme of blessing for the protectors and restorers of the king’s records
but threats against their destroyers have Ancient Near Eastern predecessors,
cf.:
From the reign of Esarhaddon: If a future ruler sees deterioration in his
predecessor’s work then “may he anoint the inscription with my name with
oil and bring it back to its place. Then the gods will hear his prayer; he will
have long life and increase his family” (Borger, 1956, p. 75, my English
paraphrase).36
From the reign of Narâm-Sîn “As for the one who removes this inscription

35 Cf. Yt. 10.28: āat ahmāi nmnāi dađāiti gōuśca vaṭāka viranqmca *yahmi [mss.: yahuua Fl
(anticipating the following yahuua?); yahuua J10] xšnētō baauaiti upa aniiā scindaiieiti
yahuua ībišō baauaiti “Thus he (Mītra) gives herds of cow(s) and men to that house in
which he is satisfied. The others he breaks up, in which he is antagonized.”
36 A similar passage from the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.E.) is seen in Grayson,
may the gods Šamaš and Lugalmarda tear out his foundation and destroy his progeny!” (Frayne, 1993, p. 112); and the colophons from the library of Assurbanipal contain such statements as the following: “He who trusts you shall not come to shame, o king of gods, Assur! (But) whoever carries off (these tablets) or writes his name next to (var. in place of) mine, him may Assur and Ninlil angered and enraged topple and destroy his name and his seed in the land!” (tr. after Hunger, 1968, p. 98 and passim).

In the Avesta it is the daēuvas who deprive humans of these same rewards, cf. from the Gāthās (Y. 32.5):

dēwēnaotā māṣīm hūjiātōiš amārētātascā you deceive the man of good livelihood and immortality.37

cf. Y. 46.8:

pattiaogat tā ahmāi jasōtī duwaēṣaghā

tanuām ā yā im hūjiātōiš pāiīt

On the contrary, may (that) come with hostility to him upon (his) body, (that) by which one may keep him away from good living.

The large-scale consequences of divine anger are seen, e.g., in Yt. 10.18:

yezi vā dim aīṣi druظامt ... đāžhōus vā
dažhumatiš fraša upa.ścmdaieitī Mihrō

granţō upa.tištō uta mānem uta višem

uta zanīum uta dašiium

But if one deceives him ... a land-lord of the land, forthwith Mihrā angered and enraged breaks up both the home, house, tribe, and land.

and Yt. 10.108:

kahmāi āsnaṃcit frazaintim hahra jata

nījanāni

For whom shall I smite down here and now (his) *noble offspring.

3.1.10. OBEDIENCE BY DAY AND NIGHT

A curious (coincidental?) parallel between Old Persian and Avestan is the following one, which involves an expression for “day and night,” cf. DB 1.19-20 (and DB 1.23-24 quoted above [3.2.1]):

---

37 Kellens-Pirart, III, 1991, p. 84, compare RV 10.60.8 (= 9, 10) evā dādhāra te māno jīvātaye nā mṛtyēvē ’tho ariṣṭātātaye “Thus has he upheld your mind for life—not for death but for not being hurt.”
The theme itself is Near Eastern, cf.:

From the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II: “I am prepared **day and night to revere the gods**” (Langdon-Zehnpfund, 1912, p. 151, my English paraphrase).

From the reign of Nabonidus: “Nabonidus ... who attends to the **reverence for the gods**, who is untiring **day and night**” (ibid., p. 231, my English paraphrase).

The Avestan “parallel” is found in Y. 57.17 (to Sraoša “Obedience”):

\[
\begin{align*}
yō \text{ vispāiś} & \text{ aīqanca xšafnasca} \text{ yūīiēitti} \\
māzaniāēībitō & \text{ haḍa daēwuaēībitō}
\end{align*}
\]

(Sraoša ...) **who all days and nights** battles with the Mazanian daēwus.

What links the two Iranian passages is the theme of **listening to the word of God** = *sraoša* - to ensure the maintenance of the (macro)cosmic order and **listening to the word of the king** (see [3.2.1]) to ensure the maintenance of the political (microcosmic) order. 38

### 3.1.11. CROSSING RIVERS

One final remarkable theme common to Old Persian and Near Eastern inscriptions but which also has an echo in Avestan involves stratagems for crossing a river and contains the grammatical expression *aniya*- ... *aniya*- ~ Av. *aniita*- ... *aniita*- “some ... others.” The Old Persian version is found in *DB* 1.85-87:

\[
\begin{align*}
kāra haya Nadi̲ntabairahayā Tigrām & \text{ adāraya ... nāviyā āha pasāva adam} \\
& \text{ kāram maśkāuvā avākanam aniyam} \\
& \text{ ušabārīm akunavam aniyahayā asam} \\
& \text{ frānayam}
\end{align*}
\]

The army that belonged to Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris. It was navigable. Then I loaded the army onto inflated hides.

Some of (the army) I mounted on camels, another (still) I brought horse(s) for.

and the Avestan one in Yt. 5.78:

---

38 The expression “by night and by day” is otherwise quite common in Old Indic, cf. *RV* 1.98.2: *sā no divā sā rīṣāh pātu nāktam* “Let him protect us from harm day and night!” — As J. Katz points out to me, the variation in case between the two members of the expression—*xaipa* (gen. sing.) ~ *rauca*—(acc. sing.) *pati; vispāiś aīqna* (instr. plur. for acc. plur.) ~ *xšafnas* (gen. sing. or acc. plur.), and *divā* (instr. sing.) ~ *nāktam* (acc. sing.)—may be a stylistic devise of Indo-Iranian age.
armédiaśtā anītā āpō kṛṇaṅgapraśa anītā  
*fraṭacaiat [mss. fraṭacat] huśkem pośum rācaitāt tarō vaṭ'hiṃ Viṭaṅ'haitim

Some of the waters she made stand still, others she *made flow forward. She left a dry ford over the good Viṭaṅ'haiti.

We also have anya- ... anya-39 in the description of the waves in the famous “Viśvāmitra’s crossing of the rivers” (RV 3.33.2):

िद्रेṣीते प्रसावम् भुक्षमाने, अचा  
समुद्रानं रथ्येवा यातहि सा  
समारणे उर्मिभिः पिनवामाने, anyā vām  
anyām āpy eti ūṣhre

Driven on by Indra, requesting (leave to) gallop, you go to the sea like to chariot steeds. Having joined with the waves, swelling up, the one of you goes into the other, o pretties!

Another parallel is seen in the composition of the Avestan and Rigvedic passages. Vistauru applies a “truth utterance,” describing his battle against the daēuua-worshipers, to command Arāduhi Śūrā Anāhitā to help him cross the river (Yt. 5.76-77):

tām yazata Vistauruś yō Naotairiśū̄ ṣu paśakam yam Viṭaṅ'haitim arāṣuxdaḥ paiti vacājhaḥ uti vacobiś aojano 

Vistauru the Naotarid worshiped her by the water Viṭaṅ'haiti with speech correctly spoken, saying the following words:

By that Order, by that correctly spoken (word), o Arāduhi Śūrā Anāhitā, that ‘I have smashed down as many demon-worshippers as I carry hairs on the head,’ so leave for me, you, o Arāduhi Śūrā Anāhitā, a dry ford over the good Viṭaṅ'haiti!

Similarly, in the Rigvedic hymn, Viśvāmitra and the rivers engage in a brief exchange, recalling Indra’s heroic smashing of Vṛtra and release of the waters. Then the rivers add, RV 3.33.8

etād vācro jāritar māpi mṛṣṭhā, ā yāt te  
ghoṣān āttarā yugāṇi

Do not forget this word, o praise-singer, that future generations may hear it from you!

but the actual crossing is not mentioned until strophes 9-10:

---

39 Kindly pointed out to me by J. Katz. On the formula see Jamison apud Watkins, 1994, chap. 29 n. 11.
Darius is here, as always, campaigning against a follower of the Lie, whom he will—like Vistau and Indra—smash with the assistance of Ahuramazdā. The description of overcoming natural obstacles (usually mountains) during campaigns by clever stratagems—specifically rivers—is common in the Ancient Near East, cf.:

From the reign of Ashurnasirpal II: "I crossed the Euphrates at the city Haridu by means of the boats which I had made, (and on) rafts (made of inflated) goatskins which had moved along the road simultaneously (with the army)" (after Grayson, 1991, p. 214).

Cf. also from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, king of Assyria (1114-1076 B.C.E.): "In the high mountains, which thrust up like pointed daggers and which were impassable for my chariots, I put the chariots on (the soldiers’) necks (and thereby) passed through the difficult mountain range" (ibid., p. 18).

I am not suggesting that the common grammatical form anya- ... anya- is an inherited poetic formula in these examples, but that its use by Darius may have been prompted by its occurrence in the inherited theme of stratagems for crossing rivers present in contemporary oral literary tradition; thus, Darius’s description incorporates a Near Eastern literary topos but employs literary devices of Indo-Iranian date.\(^{32}\)

3.2. INHERITED THEMES

While the preceding section contained examples of Near Eastern themes expressed using Indo-Iranian forms, in the following section I have gathered examples of themes that are probably of proto-Iranian or Indo-Iranian date. Some of these are of general nature, however, and might perhaps also be included in the preceding group (e.g., [3.2.1]).

3.2.1. THE LAW OF AHURAMAZDĀ AND THE KING

The king’s various functions are common themes in the inscriptions. He has to protect the land, he has to ensure that the land remains stable, that his people abide by the Law (dāta-, lit. “that which has been set down”), and especially that they treat each other according to the Law (DB 1.23-24):

\(^{32}\) Cyrus’s expedition against the Massagetae may have been undertaken in the same spirit.
imā dahāyāva tayanā manā dātā
apariyāya yatāḥsām hacāma aṭahaya
avaḍā akunavayaṭā

These lands which behaved according to the Law that was mine, as I told them, thus they would do.

DNA 16-22:

ima dahāyāva taya adam āgarbāyam ...
tayaṃ hacāma aṭahya ava akunava
dātām taya manā avadiś adāraiya

These lands which I seized ... whatever they were told by me, that they did. The law that was mine, that held them.

If people abide by the Law of Ahuramazdā they obtain good recompense in life and death (XPh 46-56; cf. DB 5.16-20 = 32-36 cited in [3.1.8]):

tuva kā haya aparā yadī-maniyāiḥ śiyāṭa
ahanīy jīva utā mārta arṭāvā ahanīy
avanā dātā paridīy taya Auramazdā
niyaṭāya ...

You who in the future if you think: Let me be both happy (while) alive and blessed (when) dead! (then) behave according to that Law which Ahuramazdā established ...

martya haya avanā dātā pariyaita taya
Auramazdā niṣṭāya utā Auramazdām
yadatāiḥ arṭācā bārzmanīy hauv utā jīva
śiyāṭa bavaiti utā mārta arṭāvā bavaiti

The man who behaves according to that Law which Ahuramazdā established and worships Ahuramazdā according to the Order in the high(est), he becomes both happy (while) alive and blessed (when) dead.

The importance of honoring the Law of Ahura Mazdā is implied in the Mihr yaṣī (Yt. 10.139):

nōit xšānvaiieiti Ahuram Mazdām ... yō Mazdām tarō maniie ... tarō dātonca Rašnumca arṣātīmca frādat.gāētham
varāda.gāētham

He does not satisfy Ahura Mazdā ... whoever despises (Ahura) Mazdā ... and (his) Law and Rašnu and world-furthering, world-increasing righteousness.

The concept of the “Law” is not prominent in the Avesta, but if we look at the “contents” of the Law of Ahuramazdā as expressed implicitly in DB 4.61-69, we find several parallels with Yt. 10.139:

θātīy Dārayavaūš xšāyaṭīya
avahyarādīmāiy Auramazdā upastām
abara ...

upariy arṣām upariyāyam nāyi
śkaudīm naiy tnuvaṣṭām zūra
akunavam

Thus says King Darius: on account of the following Ahuramazdā brought me support ...

I abided in rectitude. I did no injustice to either wealthy or poor.
Even though the passages themselves are not parallel, there are several lexical echoes between them: Because Darius abides (*upariyay*) in rectitude (*uparit arštām*) and does no injustice (*zūraḥ*) Ahura Mazda brings him support, and because men abide (*pariyay*) by the king’s Law, the land is at peace. In the Avestan text, in order for Miōra to benefit them, men are enjoined not to despise Ahura Mazda, Rašnu, or rectitude (*arštāt*), which is needed for the world to prosper. Note here that *rašnu-* is from *raza-* “straight,” the opposite of *zūrah-* , literally “crooked.” These concepts are closely connected with that of the “straight path,” on which see [3.4.5].

3.2.2. AHURAMAZDA’S PROTECTIVE FUNCTION

Once Ahuramazdā has made the king what he is, it becomes his duty to protect and support him. These functions are seen in two contexts: first, in prayers to Ahuramazdā to protect the king, his land, and his work, and, second, in the mutual give-and-take relationship between god and king, in which the god, in return for the king’s fidelity as worshiper, assists him in overcoming his enemies. The theme is also Near Eastern, and the sentiment is clearly universal.

The inscriptions contain several prayers for the protection of the land in combination with prayers for the protection of the king’s work and prayers for the protection against evil.41

Protection of the king’s realm/land and his work is seen in *XPa* 18-20:

\[
\begin{align*}
mām & \text{ Auramazdā } pātvu \text{ utamaly} \\
xšačam & \text{ utā taya manā } kartam \text{ utā} \\
tayamaiy & \text{ piça } kartam \text{ avaščiy Auramazdā } pātvu
\end{align*}
\]

May Ahuramazdā protect me and my realm and that which I have done, and that which my father has done, that too may Ahuramazdā protect.

and *APa* 24-26:

\[
\begin{align*}
mām & \text{ Auramazdā } \text{ utā Miōra } \text{ baga pātvu} \\
\text{utā imām } & \text{ DHyaum } \text{ utā taya mām } \text{ kartā}
\end{align*}
\]

May Ahuramazdā and Miōra the god protect me, this land, and that which I have made.

See also below on “protecting the land from evil.”

Protection of the land or the Aryan land is seen in the Avesta, cf. *Yt*. 10.78:

---

41 In these formulas deities other than Ahura Mazda are not mentioned by name before the inscriptions of Artaxerxes.
tūm *tā daģhuûd nipāhi *yā hubarziīm *yātaieieii Mīтраhe vouru.gaoiiaotōiś

You protect those lands which establish good treatment of Mītra who provides wide grazing grounds.

and Yt. 19.69:

tāt asti kauwaēm x'aronō orādram ariianām daśīiunām gūśca
*pāncō.hīiaita [mss. 6iiaii] auwañhe narqm ašaonq daēnaiūsca māzdaiiasñoīś

That is the Glory of the poets: protection of the Aryan lands and the five kinds of cattle for help to the men who follow Order and to the Mazdayasian Religion.

Note the combination of nipā- and vrjana- in RV 1.73.2 and that in Old Persian vardana is a smaller unit of a daḥayu:

devō nā yāḥ savitā satyāmanmā krātvā nipāti vrjānāni viśvā

He whose prayers come true protects, like god Savitar, by his kratu all the vrjanas.

Schematically we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIVINITY</th>
<th>PROTECT</th>
<th>(KING)</th>
<th>THE LAND</th>
<th>(KINGS’ WORK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auranzadā</td>
<td>pā-</td>
<td>-maiy xšaça-</td>
<td>taya manā kartam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auranzadā,</td>
<td>pā-</td>
<td>“me”</td>
<td>imām Dhyaum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mītra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>taya mām kartā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mītra</td>
<td>ni-pā-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kauwaēm x'aronō</td>
<td>orādram</td>
<td>daṇh-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>airiianām daśīiunām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Protection of the land from harm is seen in DPd 13-18:

manā Auranzadā upastām baratuv hadā visaiši bagabiši utā imām dahayāum Auranzadā pātuv hacā haināyā hacā dušiyārā hacā draugā

May Ahuramazdā together with all the gods bring me support! And may Ahuramazdā protect this land from the (enemy) army, from bad seasons, and from the Lie!

and in DNA 51-53:44

---

42 The substitution in the mss. of the ending -uuō for the acc. plur. ending -uš is seen also in V. 2.8, 9 nōt ... gatuuo viṇdaṇ “they did not find places.”
43 Fl has tā dağh (a superscript) uuō ... yā hubarziīm yātiieii. The text looks corrupt.
44 Also A²Sa 5-6: AM Anahaṭa utā Mītra mām pāntuv [hacā] vispā gastā “May Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā, and Mītra protect me from all evil!” (Steve, 1987, p. 90).
AVESTAN QUOTATIONS IN OLD PERSIAN?

*mām Āuramazdā pātvu hacā *gastā
utāmai viḍām utā imām dahāyāum

May Ahuramazdā protect me from evil,
as well as my house and my land!

In the Avesta the protection against evil granted by Ahura Mazdā and
other deities is frequently mentioned, e.g., in the Srōšbāz 3:

pāta nō ṭbišišantat pari Mazdāscā
Ārmaitišca Spāntacā

Protect us from evil, o (Ahura) Mazdā
and Spāntā Ārmaiti!"

with which cf., e.g., RV 10.42 (43, 44).11:45

bhāspātir nah pāri pātu paścād,
utōttarasmād ādharād aghāyōḥ

Let Bṛhaspati protect us from the evil-
minded one, from behind, from above,
from below!

A long series of variations on the “protection” theme is found in Y. 58.2,
5:

taṭ nō nema nā tā pari daēwāątcā
ṭbačaśaŋhāt mašsīaŋcā ahṃāi nemaŋhe
auwaedaiamaidē gaeθāscā tanuwaescā
nipātaiaiceā nīsaŋharotaiaycā
harotaiicā aištǐaśtraiicā ...

yaθā nō datā Amɔṣa Spantā aθā nā
θrazdum θrazdum nō vaŋhauwō
θrazdum nō vaŋ’hiŋ θrazdum nō Amɔṣa
Spantā huxšaθra huxšaθho
naecim tām aniśm yušmaθ vaθeθ aθā aθā
nā θrazdum

Let this reverence protect us (both) from
the evil demon and man. We make our
living beings and bodies known to (this)
reverence for (their) protection,
watching, guard, and overseeing ...

As you have made us, o Beneficial
Immortals, thus protect us. Protect us, o
good males, protect us, o good females!
Protect us, o Beneficial Immortals with
good power, giving good gifts! I know
none other than you, so protect us!

With reference to “(other) gods” as in DPd just cited, cf. RV 1.106.7 (=
4.55.7):

devair no devy āditir ni pātu devās
trātā trāyatām āprayuchan

Let the goddess Aditi protect us
together with the (other) gods! Let the
god protector protect (us) constantly!

Schematically we have:

45 Cf. also Yt. 13.146 tā nō qzahucīt hatō thrāiene te aiš던 darštaiš auwobis “They protect us even
in (dire) straits with visible (acts of) aid”; and RV 7.1.15 sēd agnīr yō vanuṣyatō nipāti
sametdhāram ōṃhasa urugyāt “He is Agni, who protects (us) from him who envies (us), who
shall deliver him who lights the fire from straits.”
3.2.3. THE KING’S PROTECTIVE FUNCTION

The primary duty of the king is to protect his land against internal and external enemies, as in DB 2.34-36:

avādā hamaranam akunavā Auramazdā- maīy upastām abara vaśnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamiciyam aja vasiy

There they did battle. Ahuramazdā bore me support. By the greatness of Ahuramazdā my army smote that army, which was rebellious, strongly.

and Yt. 17.12:

taxnām stotāram vazantiago āsu.asram darzērātham ... paskā hamaraəām janārām

(Their horses) convey the brave praiser with fast horses, with solid chariot ... who smites the opponent from behind.

Note that both formulas contain the elements hamar- + jan-. Schematically we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>stotar-</th>
<th>hamaranam kar-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OPers.</td>
<td>kāra haya manā</td>
<td>hamaranam aja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another point of interest here is the variant of the Indo-European formula hero slay adversary, on which see Watkins (1994, passim).

By protecting the land the king guarantees long-lasting peace (DPe 22-24):

yadiy kāra Pārsa pāta ahatiy háyā *duvāsītam šiyātis axšatā hauvciy aurā nir(a)stāy abiy imām viđam

If the Persian people are protected, (then) the longest-lasting unbroken peace will descend upon this house.

In the Avesta the gods give peace to the land and strength to its ruler—as in
Darius’s inscription—presumably to make him able to protect his land (Yt. 16.19 to Cistā):

quam yazata sāsta daŋhōuŋ daŋhupaitiš āxšti isəmnō daŋhaue aməm isəmnō tanuie

whom the ruler of the land, the lord of the land worshiped seeking peace for his land and strength for his body.

3.2.4. MAGICIANS AND SORCERERS

Among the agents of Evil are magicians and sorcerers, who are bent upon destroying the work of Order. These are frequently mentioned and proscribed in the Avesta, and precautions are taken against their activities in the building inscription of Artaxerxes II at Susa (A²Sa 5-6; Steve, 1987, p. 90):

AM Anahatā utā Miθra mām pārτuv [hacā] vispā gasti utā imam taya akunā mā yātum mā kavadā vi[x x x]jitu[v]

May Ahurmazdā, Anāhitā, and Miθra protect me from all evil. And may no magician or sorcerer *destroy this which I made!

Their destruction of the land is seen in Yt. 10.2:

marānçaite *vispam [mss. vispanqm] daŋhaom mairīō miθrō.druxš Spitama yaβa saβm kaiiašanqm auiuuaat aʃauua.jaciř

The rogue who is false to the treaty, o Spitāma, destroys the *whole land like a hundred magicians; so much does he smite the righteous.

Cosmic destruction by magicians and sorcerers is seen in Y. 61.1-3:

Ahunamca Vairim fraššiāmahi antaracca zam antaracca asmanom ... hamistaiāeca nižboratiaeca Angrahe Mainišuš ... hamistaiāeca nižboratiaeca kaiiašanqmca ... yatumatamca

We set in motion the Ahuna Vairiia between heaven and earth ... for the discomfiture and removal of the Evil Spirit ... for the discomfiture and removal of sorcerers ... and magicians.

in Yt. 8.44:

Tīštrim yazamaide ... yim nōiṯ maraŋnte
Aŋrō Mainišuš nōiṯ yātauuo mašiianqm naēda vispe haθra daēuua

We worship Tīštīria ... whom neither the Evil Spirit destroys nor the sorcerers among men, nor all the daēuwas together.