and in Y. 8.3:

\[ \text{yō aēšua mazdaiasnēšua mazdaiasnō aofanō ... yūṭa gaēṭā aśāhe māryante} \]

Whoever while saying he is a Mazdayasian among these Mazdayasians ... destroys by sorcery the creatures of Order.

The Rigveda contains numerous references to yātūs and similar expressions, but no examples quite like the Old Persian ones.

3.2.5. TREAT WELL, PUNISH WELL

Part of the king’s protective function is to mete out justice. The formulas involved, OPers. ubartam bara-, Av. hubərəta- bara- “treat well,” and OPers. ufraštam parsə- “punish well” (cf. [3.2.6]) have been discussed by Kellens (1974) and will not be included here. Note that in the conclusion of his article Kellens suggests, cautiously, “that Darius may have borrowed his official phraseology from the religious language, probably the only one that could have provided him with the solemn rhetorical style that was appropriate for fashioning the image of a new type of temporal power.”

3.3. POSSIBLE INSTANCES OF QUOTATIONS

In this group I have gathered examples in which typically Avestan concepts are expressed in Old Persian by formulas that are very close to the Avestan ones. The border line between this group and the preceding is, again, vague.

3.3.1. OLD PERSIAN NAMES

While the names of Cyrus and his close relatives (great-grandfather: Čišpiš, Teispes; grandfather: Kuruš I; father: Kambūjiya I, Cambyses [#600-559]; son: Kambūjiya II [530-522]) are not connected with Avestan terminology, the names of Darius’s close relatives, including himself and the eponym of the dynasty, Achaemenes (not mentioned by Cyrus), are either important Avestan names (his father Vištāspa; his wife Atossa = Av. Hutaosā, daughter of Cyrus and mother of Xerxes; see Boyce, History II, 1982, p. 41) or contain common, important Avestan religious terms. J. Kellens has even suggested that the throne names of Darius and Artaxerxes, as well as the name

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46 The Cyrus cylinder inscription (in Babylonian) contains the following royal nomenclature and descent of Cyrus (lines 20-21): “I, Cyrus (Kuraš), king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumer and Akkad, the king of the four rims of the world, son of Cambyses (Kambuziya), the great king, king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus (Kuraš), the great king, king of Anšan, descendant of Teispes (Sišpiš), the great king, king of Anšan” (Eilers, 1971, p. 165).
of the Persian rebel Vahāyazdāta, may all be based on Gathic passages (Kellens-Pirart, I, 1988, pp. 40-41):

\[ \text{Vahāyazdāta-} < \text{yā dāṭ manō vahīō “(he) who makes thought better” (Y. 48.4)}^{47} \]
\[ \text{Dārayavaḥu-} < \text{aśm yā dāraḷaṭ vahīśtam manō “by which best thought upholds aśa” (Y. 31.7)} \]
\[ \text{Artakṣaḥa-} < \text{aogō dātaḥ aśaḥ xšaθramcā “give might and power according to aśa” (Y. 29.10)} \]

The names of Darius’s other ancestors, —Haxāmani-, Ariyāram(a)na-, Āršāma-, and Vištāspa—also have clear Indo-Iranian and/or Avestan connections.

Haxāmanīš
This name may mean literally “he who has his friend(s) at heart” and reflect the required unselfishness of the sacrificer that leads him to ask boons not solely for himself but also for his friends, as seen in Y. 68.10-12:

\[ \text{yō vō āpō vaŋhiś yazāite ... ahṃāi raēṣca} \]
\[ \text{xāraṇāscā ... dāilatə vaŋhiś āpō} \]
\[ \text{māuuailaca zaootre yazmnnāi ahmākəmca} \]
\[ \text{mazdaiiasnanzq frāiazanznanqm} \]
\[ \text{bhasmca hāuuistananmca} \]

Give, o good waters ..., to him who may worship you wealth and glory, o good waters ... to me who worships in the libation and to us Mazdayasnians who offer (you) worship and to (our) friends and disciples.

The linguistic formula sākhāyam man- “to think about/consider as one’s friends” is of Indo-Iranian age, cf. RV 10.7.3: \textit{agnim manye pitāram agnim āpim agnim bhṛṭarakam sādam it sākhāyam “I think (of) Agni as a father, as a fellow, as a brother, always as a friend,” but the particular meaning of the Avestan phrase—and presumably the Old Persian one underlying the name—is specifically Iranian.}^{48}

Ariyāram(a)na
This name contains the ethnic self-designation of the “people of the Avesta,” common in \textit{airiiaŋm daīju- “the land of the Aryans,” plus the boon most frequently asked for, namely peace for the (Aryan) lands, as expressed in the hymn to Miθra (Yt. 10.4):

\[ \text{Note also Y. 65.12 vispe yazatəghō yōi vaŋhazdā “all beings worthy of worship, who are givers of better things” (above [3.1.8]).} \]
\[ \text{Cf. RV 4.16.18 sākhāyktō for the form of haxā as the first member of the compound.} \]
Miôram vouru gaôĩiaotim yazamaide
râmašâlianam hušâianam Aîrîäbiîô
daërhubiîô

We worship Miôra ... who provides peaceful dwellings, good dwellings for the Aryan lands.

and, without airia- in the concluding prayers of the yasna ceremony (Y. 68.15): Râma X"äsrm am âñã hâ daërhubôs âfrinâmi “I bless Peacefulness With-good-pastures [a deity] for this land.”

Âršâma
This name, literally “(he) who possesses the force of males,” contains Avestan terms that are, for instance, closely connected with the god of victory, Vœrahraña, as in Yt. 14.7:

ahmãî bitiîô äjasat yazêmno Vœrahrañô
ahuraãtiô gäûs kahrpa aršãnahe srîhahe
zaraniô srûahe yim upairi srûie sanat
amô hutaštô huraoôô

the second (time), Vœrahraña created by Ahura (Mazdã) came flying to him in the form of a male bull with golden hooves, on whom the well-fashioned, well-shaped strength sat up to his horns.

Vištâspa
This, finally, is also the name of the prominent Kauui Vištâspa of the Gâôäs and of the Kayânid Kauui Vištâspa, who stands forth as the supporter of the religion of Ahura Mazdã and Zarathustra in the battle against the Turanians.49

3.3.2. AHURAMAZDÃ’S CREATIVE FUNCTION
Ahuramazdã has two main functions according to the inscriptions. One is his creative activity, which includes his making Darius, Xerxes, and their successors kings. The other is his status as protector and supporter of the king who worships him. Descriptions of the gods’ creative activities are, of course, a common theme in many literatures. What may betray Avestan influence here is therefore the exact parallelism in formulas and the use of the archaic aorist adâ = Av. dât.

The description of Ahuramazdã’s creative activity is included at the beginning of several inscriptions by Darius and Xerxes, e.g., DN 1-8:

49 The name of the second Median king according to Herodotus, was Phraortes = OPers. Fravarti (a Median rebel), which is identical with Av. fravâši, a kind of tutelary spirit, originally perhaps hypothesized “faith” from frauâr. “profess (the faith)” (Hoffmann, III, 1992, p. 738; slightly differently Narten, 1986, pp. 180-81 “choice” [today I lean toward “pre-soul”]). The name of the last Median king, Herodotus’s Astuages—the Ištumegu of the Babylonian sources—may have been *Rši-ûâiga “spear-brandisher,” with which we may compare the Avestan name Vaêsiiaršti-.
baga vazárka Auramazdā hayā imān būmim adā hayā avam asmānām adā hayā martiyam adā hayā šiyātim adā martiyahāyā

The great god is Ahuramazdā, who has made (or: placed) this earth, who has made yonder sky, who has made man, who has made happiness for man.

This “definition” of Ahuramazdā’s creative activity falls into two parts: 1. the creation of the cosmos, 2. the creation of happiness for man.\(^{50}\)

1. The creation of the cosmos.
   In the Yasna Haptaŋghāti Ahura Mazdā’s creative activity is described as follows (Y. 37.1-2):\(^{51}\)

ištā āš yazamaide Ahuram Mazdām yō gamcā ašṭamca dāj apascā dāj uruvarēscā vaŋ’hiš raocāscā dāj būmimcā vispācā vohū ahiśa xšaṛrācā mazānācē hauuapaghažīscā

Thus we worship Ahura Mazdā who has made both the cow and Order, both the good waters and plants, both the heavenly lights and the world, and all good things by his power and greatness and artistrys.

The Rigveda contains some examples of similar, but not identical, phrases. In the following example note also the association of asuryā- and mahnā, RV 2.35.2:

apām nāpād asuryāśya mahnā, visvāny aryā bhivanā jañāna

Apām Nāpā, the aryā, has generated all beings by his greatness as asura.\(^{52}\)

Closer lexical parallels with the Old Persian are found in the archaic Farvardin yašt, but without explicit references to creation (Yt. 13.153):

imāncē zām yazamaide aomca asmanam yazamaide ūcā vohū yazamaide yā antarēštā

We worship this earth, and we worship yonder sky, and we worship all those good things in between.

Schematically we have:

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\(^{50}\) See also Herrenschmidt, 1991.

\(^{51}\) Cf. Y. 42.3 būmimcē vispācē vohū yazamaide “We worship both the earth and all good things,” and RV 4.26.2 quoted below. The birth of heaven and earth is described in RV 6.48.22 sakṣē dha dyārē ajāyata, sakṣē bhūmīr ajāyata “Only once was heaven born, once was the earth born.”

\(^{52}\) Note also RV 8.3.6 Indro mahnā rōdāsi paprathat “Indra has spread out the two worlds by his greatness.”
AHURA MAZDĀ CREATED BY HIS HEAVEN+ ALL GOOD
(WE WORSHIP) GREATNESS EARTH THINGS
OPers. Auramazdā dā- baga vazarka imām būmim + avam asmānām
Av. (Ahura-) Mazdā- dā- mazōnā raocāscā būmimcā vispācā vohū
yaz- būmimcā imāmcā zām tāca vohū
+ aomcā asmanom yā aṭantarstā
RV apāṃ nápāt jan- asuryāsya mahānā viśvāni bhūvanā

The Old Persian formula haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānām adā is exactly parallel to the Avestan formulas. If the Old Persian formulas are “quoted” from the Avesta—which seems possible—then it is also not improbable that the use of the aorist form adā (beside adadā) in some of these inscriptions is an imitation of Avestan.

2. The creation of happiness for man.
Avestan Šāīti- “happiness” is found together with a word for “man” in Vṛ. 7.3:

\[ x'afiam \text{ mazda\c{c}atem yazamaide Šāītim pasuu\u0101 virai\u1e1} \]

We worship sleep created by Ahura Mazdā (as) happiness for cattle and men.

Schematically we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(WE WORSHIP)</th>
<th>AHURA MAZDĀ</th>
<th>CREATED</th>
<th>HAPPINESS</th>
<th>FOR MAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OPers.</td>
<td>Auramazdā</td>
<td>dā-</td>
<td>šīyāti-</td>
<td>martiya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av.</td>
<td>(Ahura-) Mazdā-</td>
<td>dā-</td>
<td>šāīti-</td>
<td>vira-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yazamaide</td>
<td>mazda-</td>
<td>šāīt-</td>
<td>šāīti-</td>
<td>vira-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that this part of the Old Persian formula corresponds Ahura Mazdā’s creation of all good things (between heaven and earth) in the Avestan ones. That this is meant literally is suggested by RV 4.26.2, where Indra gives the (Aryan) man “rain,” a typical element necessary for human happiness (cf. the “waters” in Y. 37.1 just quoted):

\[ ahām bhūmim adadām āryāya, ahām vṛṣṭim dāśuše máṛtyāya \]

I (Indra) gave the earth to the Aryan, I (gave) rain to the man who sacrifices (to me).

3.3.3. AHURAMAZDĀ’S GREATNESS

The characteristic attributed to Ahuramazdā in the preceding examples as well as constantly elsewhere in Old Persian and frequently in the Avesta is
“greatness.” Thus we are repeatedly reminded that “the great god is Ahuramazdā” (baga vazarka Auramazdā); occasionally he is said to be “the greatest of the gods,” e.g., in DPd 1-2:

Ahuramazdā vazarka haya mazišta bagānām

great Ahuramazdā, who (is) greatest of the gods.

This echoes Avestan formulas such as those in Yt. 17.16:

Ahurō Mazda yō mazištō yazatanqm yō vahištō yazatanqm

Ahura Mazda, who is the greatest of beings worthy of worship, the best of beings worthy of worship.

and Y. 16.1:

Ahurəm Mazdaŋ ... yazamaide huḏaŋhəm mazištəm yazatəm

We worship Ahura Mazda ..., who gives good gifts, the greatest being worthy of worship.

Note that there is, apparently, no Avestan expression for “great god” or “god is great”; Ahura Mazdā is always simply “the greatest”: Av. Ahurəm Mazdaŋ ... mazištəm yazatəm ~ OPers. Auramazdā ... mazišta bagānām. There is also no mahištā- in Vedic, so the formula is of Iranian date only.

We also note that everything good that happens in the universe (cf. [3.3.2])—and which incidentally is of benefit to the rulers—happens vašnā Ahuramazdāha, which I think there can be little doubt means simply “by Ahuramazdā’s greatness.” Both the Iranian and Old Indic passages quoted above support such an interpretation.

This interpretation of vašnā is etymologically unproblematic, as can be seen from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“great”</th>
<th>“greatest”</th>
<th>“greatness”</th>
<th>“by the greatness”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rigvedic</td>
<td>mahnant-</td>
<td>maz(ant)-</td>
<td>mahnā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avestan</td>
<td>mazištta-</td>
<td>mazan(a)-</td>
<td>maznā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Persian54</td>
<td>vazr-ka-</td>
<td>*vazr (&gt;vadark) / vašn-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53 This is probably also a universal idea. It is commonplace in the Mesopotamian inscriptions.

54 See Szemerényi, 1975, pp. 325-43. I cannot agree with his objections to *vazkka on the grounds that it would be a formation unparalleled in Old Indic and Old Iranian (pp. 333-34); *vazkka- is most probably a late, Old Persian, formation with the productive suffix -ka- (like marika- < *marija-), replacing whatever was the original word for “great.”
3.3.4. THE KING AND AHURAMAZDA\textsuperscript{55}  
There is a curious passage in one of the inscriptions, which has not yet received a satisfactory explanation. In the brief inscription DSk (Kent, 1953, p. 145) Darius states:

\textit{manā AM AMha adam AMm ayadayi \newline AMmâiy upastām barâtuv} \hspace{1cm} \textit{Ahura Mazda belongs to me. I belong \newline to Ahuramazda.} \textsuperscript{56} I worshiped \newline Ahursazdā. May Ahuramazdā bring me support.

A similar sentiment is expressed by a passage in the \textit{Yasna Haptányāīti} (Y.39.1):

\textit{iβā âi yazamaide gaus uruvānmcā \newline tašanmcā ahmākāŋ aat urunō \newline pasukanaŋmcā yoi nā jījšenī \newline yaēbūvascā tōi ā yaēcā aēbūō a aŋhōn} \hspace{1cm} \textit{Thus we sacrifice to the soul and the \newline fashioner of the cow, and to our souls and \newline (the souls) of the domestic animals that \newline try to gain our favors, \newline and (the favors of those) for whom they \newline are and (of those) who shall be for them \newline or: (those) to whom they belong and (of \newline those) who shall belong to them.}

This notion of reciprocity between worshiper and god is an ubiquitous theme in the Old Avestan texts.

3.3.5. EVIL = BAD SMELL

In the Old Persian examples in the preceding sections “evil” is expressed by \textit{gasta-},\textsuperscript{45} literally “rotted.” Another occurrence of this term is in DNa 56-58:

\textit{martiyā hayā Aurmazdāhā framānā \newline hauvtaiy gastā mā Ḩadaya} \hspace{1cm} \textit{O man, may not that which is \newline Ahuramazdā’s command seem evil to \newline you!}\textsuperscript{58}

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\textsuperscript{55}[On the religious function of the king, see now the penetrating synthesis by Herrenschmidt, in Kellens and Herrenschmidt, 1994.]

\textsuperscript{56} Cf. Šāpur I’s statement: ŠKZ Parth. line 29 “just like We exert Ourselves in the matters and services of the gods and are the property (\textit{dastkerd}) of the gods (Gk. line 68 \textit{tōn theōn kîsma esmēn}) and with the help of the gods have sought and held these many lands ...” (Back, 1978, pp. 368-69).

\textsuperscript{57} Borrowed into Aramaic in the expression \textit{gst pțgm (gast patqâm)} “letter of rebuke(?)” in, e.g., A6.8 line 3 (Porten-Yardeni, I, 1986, p. 112: “a harsh word”).

\textsuperscript{58} Cf. the inscriptions of Kerdir (KNRb 16-17): \textit{parrōn tîs nē-framān ma ēw bawēd} “May he not disobey (?) the command regarding things in the beyond!”
The association of evil and specifically the Evil Spirit with bad smell is typically Zoroastrian, compare the Pahlavi term for the Evil Spirit, Gan(n)âg\textsuperscript{59} Mênôy. The Old Persian formula gasta-\textsuperscript{\textendash}thadayâ- seems to have an Avestan parallel in Hâdôxt nask, where we have the expression (duž)gaîntî- sađaia- (H. 2.25):

\begin{center}
\textit{\textsuperscript{59} Cf. Manichean Parthian gandâg. M7.227-9 dwj\textprime{}rs t\textprime{}ryg 'jd'h'g dwrcyrh gnd\textprime{}g 'wd sy\textquoteright{}w "a hard to ward off(\?), dark dragon, ugly, smelly, and black" (Boyce, 1975, pp. 106-07)}
\end{center}
\begin{center}
\textit{\textsuperscript{60} Cf. H. 2.7 uruwarâhuc a\textquoteright{}zi huc a\textquoteright{}zi huc a\textquoteright{}zi huc "(the soul) seems to be "passing through plants and perfumes." — The descriptions in the Avesta of the journey of the soul after death contain forms of vi\textendash{}dar- "to spread out (and hold firmly in place: pillars of a house, feet, the sky [at creation])" that are rendered in the Pahlavi translations by forms of widar\textendash{} "to pass (through, over)," from Av. vi\textendash{}tar-. It is sometimes assumed that the Avestan forms are corruptions of the latter verb influenced by the Pahlavi forms, but no other forms of vi\textendash{}tar- were changed in this way, so this cannot be the whole truth, at least.}
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\textit{\textsuperscript{60} Cf. H. 2.7 uruwarâhuc a\textquoteright{}zi huc a\textquoteright{}zi huc a\textquoteright{}zi huc "(the soul) seems to be "passing through plants and perfumes." — The descriptions in the Avesta of the journey of the soul after death contain forms of vi\textendash{}dar- "to spread out (and hold firmly in place: pillars of a house, feet, the sky [at creation])" that are rendered in the Pahlavi translations by forms of widar\textendash{} "to pass (through, over)," from Av. vi\textendash{}tar-. It is sometimes assumed that the Avestan forms are corruptions of the latter verb influenced by the Pahlavi forms, but no other forms of vi\textendash{}tar- were changed in this way, so this cannot be the whole truth, at least.}
\end{center}

3.4. PROBABLE INSTANCES OF QUOTATIONS

In this group I have gathered the examples that I feel are most likely to contain “quotations” from the Avesta. The choice is subjective, and others might place some or all of these examples in the preceding group.

3.4.1. THE CORRECT WORSHIP OF AHURAMAZDÂ

The prerequisite for Ahuramazdâ to favor the king is of course that he is recognized as the supreme god and worshiped in proper fashion. As we saw in [3.2.1], Xerxes expresses this requirement by the formula Auramazdâm yad-\textsuperscript{\textendash}artâcâ barzmani\textsuperscript{\textendash}y “to worship Ahuramazdâ artâcâ barzmani\textsuperscript{\textendash}y,” which has elicited a large amount of consensus. There is by now a consensus at least about the term artâcâ, namely that it equals Gathic ašât hacâ “according to the (cosmic and ritual) Order.” From the Young Avesta compare Yt. 8.15:

\begin{center}
\textit{nûrâm [mss. nûrâm] ahmi yesniiasca vahmiiasca ag\textprime{}he astuuaite ašât hacâ yat vahšištât}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
nûrâm \textsuperscript{[mss. nûrâm]} & ahmi yesniiasca vahmiiasca ag\textprime{}he astuuaite ašât hacâ yat vahšištât \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

At the dawning of the third night ... it seems to him to become dawn (again, and) the soul of the man who is a follower of the Lie seems to be *passing through terrors and stenches. Then a wind seems to blow against him from the northern direction (= hell) ... evil-smelling, more evil-smelling than (all) other winds.
Here we may note that the Old Persian expression agrees with the Old Avestan formula rather than with the Young Avestan in not including “best.”

About the word written brzmniy there is less agreement. One commonly accepted interpretation is that of W. B. Henning, 1944, who connected the word with Middle Persian and Parthian brahm “fashion” and Old Indic brāhman-. Henning’s comparison with Old Avestan uruūāzman-, Young Avestan uruūâsman-, and Middle Persian urwāhm- (p. 109; SP II, p. 194) is unfortunately not conclusive, as there are two forms of this stem in Avestan, uruūād- and uruuāz-, and the Middle Persian form may well go back to *uruuādīrman-; similarly MPers. (h)ēmag “firewood” may also be from *aiðma- from the root aīd rather than a form with a sibilant, as Av. aēsma-. On the other hand, Middle Persian and Parthian have āsmān corresponding to Avestan and Old Persian asmānam and razm corresponding to Avestan rasman-, which indicates that sm and zm remained in these languages. A derivation from *braðman-/braθman- with OPers. d = Median and Av. z, would therefore work for Middle Persian, but not for Parthian.61

The Elamite and Akkadian spellings of the word are bir-ra-iz-man-nu-ya and bi-ra-za-man-ni-i, respectively. The Elamite initial bir- indicates either the lack of a vowel or a syllabic r (ṛ), cf. Elam. bir-ti-ya = Bardiya. On the other hand, comparison with Elam. zir-ra-an-ka = ZrANKA and pīr-ra-šā-um = frašam gives a primary reading brazmaniya for Elam. bir-ra-iz-man-nu-ya (cf. Henning, loc. cit.). We should keep in mind, however, that the Elamites may have had problems with sequences of more than two consonants, so a reading bâr²zmaniya, for *brzmani, cannot be excluded. I therefore suggest that we have here the locative singular (ending -i or -ija) of a word meaning “height,” corresponding to—or adapted from—Old Avestan barziman- “height,” seen in Y. 36.6 (cf. Narten, 1986, pp. 164-67):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sraēštakm at t ī khrpm khrpm} \\
\text{āuaēdaiamahī Mazdā Ahurā imā raocā} \\
\text{barzištom barzimanānt amaat yāt} \\
\text{huwarā awaēcī}
\end{align*}
\]

- We recognize, o Mazdā Ahura, as your body the most beautiful of bodies, namely these lights, the highest of heights, (just) as high as the sun has been said (to be).

From this passage we see that the place of Ahura Mazdā is in the highest of heights.62 Next, in Y. 36.6 the sun is said to be the highest of all things,63

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61 Henning omits discussion of how the Middle Persian word could have been borrowed into Parthian.

62 Similarly, the Rigvedic gods, among them Agni, Indra, and Varuṇa, are said to be boerhtant “high, exalted,” as in RV 6.68.9: prā samrāje bhratā māna nā priyām, arca devāya varuṇāya saprāthaḥ “Intone a pleasant song for the exalted ruler of all, an extensive one for the god Varuṇa.”

63 Hence the expression huwara barzavaha “to the height of the sun” (Y. 60.4), the highest possible height.
which is also an Indo-Iranian concept, cf. Rigveda (see Kellens-Pirart, III, 1991, p. 139) e.g., RV 5.27.6:

Indra and Agni, uphold the power high in the sky,\textsuperscript{64} like the sun, unaging!

Finally we should note that Avestan \textit{aša} is closely connected with the sun, as in \textit{Y. 32.2 aša ... x\textsuperscript{2}nuuātā “sunny Order,”}\textsuperscript{65} and in \textit{Y. 37.4 aša-} is said to be full of light (\textit{raocah-});\textsuperscript{66}

We worship \textit{aša}, which is the best, which is the most beautiful, which is beneficial (and) immortal, which is full of light ...

On the basis of these correspondences I believe that Darius may have adopted the ancient symbol of the winged sun disk as a representation of *\textit{arta} (\textit{aša}), that Xerxes’s formula contains a reference to the depiction of Ahuramazdā and Order and their place on high, and that the Achaemenid reliefs where the kings offer worship to Ahuramazdā standing above in the solar disk representing *\textit{arta} is its artistic expression. It is also possible that the expression \textit{aŋачa} had been reinterpreted as “together with *\textit{arta}”\textsuperscript{67} and that the whole expression was understood as “I worshiped Ahuramazdā together with *\textit{arta} on high.”

3.4.2. THE KING’S FUNCTION OF REESTABLISHING (POLITICAL) ORDER

On the political level a \textit{country in commotion} can be pacified with the help of the gods. The king’s duty is to \textit{put it back in its place}, by which is meant its proper function according to the Order of the universe as set down by Ahuramazdā at the beginning of time, cf. \textit{DN}a 31-36:

\textsuperscript{64} The sky itself (\textit{dyauhi/div-}) is, of course, also \textit{byhant-}, as in \textit{RV} 1.136.6: \textit{nāmo dīvē byhate rōdasiyām, mitrāya vocam vāruñāya milhūse “I have spoken reverence to the exalted sky, to the two worlds, to Mītra, (and) to remunerating Varuṇa.”}

\textsuperscript{65} The Sogdian Manichean term for the element Light is \textit{rtxwīst /art\textsuperscript{x}uśī/, from Proto-Avestan \textit{arīam vahištam.}}

\textsuperscript{66} The heavenly lights (\textit{raocā}), in turn, are closely connected with the sun, e.g., \textit{Y. 36.6} (above), \textit{Y. 50.10 raocā x\textsuperscript{2}ng “the lights of the sun,” and Y. 44.3 kasnā żādā ptā ašahiā pouwiiō kasnā x\textsuperscript{2}ng strēmcā dāt aduwaṇaṃ kō yā mā uxšiieitī naraʃsaiti tbatim “Who is the primeval father of aša by virtue of (its) conception? Who has made the road of the sun and the stars? Who is it on account of whom the moon first waxes, then wanes?”}

\textsuperscript{67} Old Persian “together with” is \textit{hada}, but we may be dealing here with an Avestan, or at least archaic, expression. This assumption is not necessary for my argument, however.
Auramazdā yaēā avaina imām būnim yau[daŋtim] pasāvadim manā frābara mām xāyahtīyam akunauš ... adamṣim gāthavā niśādayam

When Ahuramazdā saw this earth being in commotion, then he gave it to me. He made me king ... I put it in its place.

and XPh 30-35:

astiy aŋtar aitā dahāyāva tayaity uparīy nipištā ayauḍap pasāvamaiy Auramazdā upastām abara vaśnā Auramazdahā ava dahayāvam adam ajanam utaṣim gāthavā niśādayam

There were among these lands which are written above (some that) were in commotion. Then Ahuramazdā bore me support. By the greatness of Ahuramazdā I smote that land and put it in its place.\(^{68}\)

In the Avesta, Miθra and Apaṃ Napāt pacify the countries in commotion, cf. Yt. 13.95 (the parallel was noted by Schlerath, 1968):

iōa apaṃ Miθrō ... fraḍāt vispā fratmatātō daxiuṇṇam yaozauntīṣca rāmaieitī
iōa Apaṃ Napā sūrō fraḍāt vispā fratmatātō daxiuṇṇam yaozauntīṣca niūsāite

Here, once more, Miθra ... shall further all the foremost offices of the lands, and he pacifies those that are in commotion. Here the strong Offspring of the Waters shall further all the foremost offices of the lands, and he shall keep a firm hold on those that are in commotion.

Schematically we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KING WITH HELP OF DIVINITY</th>
<th>PACIFIES / RESTRAINS</th>
<th>LANDS IN COMMOTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OPers. adam vaśnā Auramazdā</td>
<td>gāthavā niśādaya-</td>
<td>būmi yauḍati,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. Miθra, Apaṃ Napā</td>
<td>rāmaieitā, niīṣa-</td>
<td>dahayāva ayauḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daxiuṇṇam yaozauntīṣ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{68}\) This is, in a sense, the same as "to become artāvan-laṣauun." that is, agreeing with Order, playing one’s proper part in the universal scheme; gāthavā “in (the proper) place” and artāvan- “adhering to the universal scheme” is also seen in the phrase gāthavā aṣiyava “went to (his) place,” which functions more or less as the intransitive of gāthavā niśādaya- and means approximately the same as artāvan- ah-/bava-“be blessed (after death).” Cf. also MPers. ō baṇān gāḥ šud “went to the place of the gods.” — The phrase gāthavā niśādaya- in its concrete meaning is found in the Ḥādšōxt nask 2.14: frataire gātouō aṣiham fratarōtai gātouō niśādaitōič “Sitting on an outstanding seat, you seated me on a still more outstanding seat.” Similar expressions are also found in the Near Eastern texts, e.g., Essarhaddon’s “bring it back to its place” in [3.1.9] above.