

and in *Y.* 8.3:

<i>yō aēšuuu mazdaiiasnaēšuuu mazdaiiasnō</i> <i>aojanō ... yāθβa gaēθā ašahe mərəyante</i>	Whoever while saying he is a Mazdayasnian among these Mazdayasnians ... 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. *hubārata- bara-* "treat well," and OPers. *ufrāštam pārsa-* "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 relatives⁴⁶ (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

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 (Šišpiš), the great king, king of Anšan" (Eilers, 1971, p. 165).

of the Persian rebel Vahayazdāta, may all be based on Gathic passages (Kellens-Pirart, I, 1988, pp. 40-41):

- Vahayazdāta*- < *yē dāt manō vahiiō* “(he) who makes thought better” (Y. 48.4)⁴⁷
Dārayavahu- < *ašəm yā dāraiaf vahistəm manō* “by which best thought upholds
aša” (Y. 31.7)
Artaxšaça- < *aogō dātā ašā xšaθrəmcā* “give might and power according to
aša” (Y. 29.10)

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

Haxāmaniš

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:

yō vō āpō vaŋhiš yazāite ... ahmāi raēšca
xʷarənāasca ... dāiata vaŋhiš āpō
māuuaiaca zaθre yazəmnaī ahmākəmca
mazdaiasnanəm frāiiazəmnanəm
hašəmca hāuuīštanəmca

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 *sákhāyam man-* “to think about/consider as one’s friends” is of Indo-Iranian age, cf. RV 10.7.3: *agním manye pitáram agnīm āpím agním bhrátaraṃ sádám ít sákhāyam* “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 *airiianəm daŋhu-* “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):

⁴⁷ Note also Y. 65.12 *vīspe yazatāŋhō yōi vaŋhazdā* “all beings worthy of worship, who are givers of better things” (above [3.1.8]).

⁴⁸ Cf. RV 4.16.18 *sákhāvṛkó* for the form of *haxā°* as the first member of the compound.

*Miθrəm vouru.gaoiiaoitim yazamaide
rāmašaiianəm hušaiianəm Airiiābiiō
daǰhubiiō*

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

and, without *airiia-* in the concluding prayers of the *yasna* ceremony (*Y.* 68.15): *Rāma X^vāstrəm aǰhā daǰhēuš āfrīnāmi* “I bless Peacefulness With-good-pastures [a deity] for this land.’

Aršāma

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

*ahmāi bitiiō ājasaϥ vazamnō Vərəθraϥnō
ahuraδātō gāuš kəhrpa aršānahe srīrahe
zaraniio.sruuahe yim upairi sruuie sanaϥ
amō hutaštō huraoδō*

the second (time), *Vərəθraϥna* created by
Ahura (Mazdā) 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.

Vištāspa

This, finally, is also the name of the prominent Kauui Vištāspa of the *Gāθās* and of the Kayanid Kauui Vištāspa, who stands forth as the supporter of the religion of Ahura Mazdā and Zarathustra in the battle against the Turanians.⁴⁹

3.3.2. AHURAMAZDĀ’S CREATIVE FUNCTION

Ahuramazdā 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 *adā* = Av. *dāi*.

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

⁴⁹ The name of the second Median king according to Herodotus, was Phraortes = OPers. *Fraṇarti* (a Median rebel), which is identical with Av. *fraṇaši*, a kind of tutelary spirit, originally perhaps hypostasized “faith” from *frauuar-* “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 *Ršti-uaiga “spear-brandisher,” with which we may compare the Avestan name *Vaēžtiaršti-*.

*bāga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām
būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā
haya martiyam adā haya šiyātīm adā
martiyahayā*

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 Haptanghāiti* Ahura Mazda’s creative activity is described as follows (Y. 37.1-2):⁵¹

*iθā āt yazamaidē Ahurəm Mazdām yō
gāmcā ašəmccā dāf apascā dāt uruuarāscā
vaŋhiš raocāscā dāt
būmimcā višpācā vohū ahiā xšaθrācā
mazēnācā hauuapaŋhāišcā*

Thus we worship Ahura Mazda 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 artistries.

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 asuryāsya mahnā, višvāny
aryo bhūvanā jajāna*

Apām Napāt, the *arya*, 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):

*imāmcā zām yazamaide aomca asmanəm
yazamaide tāca vohū yazamaide yā
antarastā*

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

Schematically we have:

⁵⁰ [See also Herrenschildt, 1991.]

⁵¹ Cf. Y. 42.3 *būmimcā višpācā vohū yazamaidē* “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 *sakfd dha dyaūr ajāyata, sakfd bhūmir ajāyata* “Only once was heaven born, once was the earth born.”

⁵² Note also RV 8.3.6 *indro mahnā rōdasī paprathat* “Indra has spread out the two worlds by his greatness.”

	AHURA MAZDĀ (WE	CREATED WORSHIP)	BY HIS GREATNESS	HEAVEN + EARTH	ALL GOOD THINGS
OPers.	<i>Auramazdā</i>	<i>dā-</i>	<i>baga vazarka</i>	<i>imām būmim</i> + <i>avam asmānam</i>	
Av.	<i>(Ahura-) Mazdā-</i>	<i>dā-</i> <i>yaz-</i>	<i>mazēnā</i>	<i>raocāscā būmīmā</i> <i>būmīmā</i> <i>imqmca zqm</i> + <i>aomca asmanəm</i>	<i>višpācā vohū</i> <i>višpācā vohū</i> <i>tāca vohū</i> <i>yā aņtarastā</i>
RV	<i>apām nāpāt</i>	<i>jan-</i>	<i>asuryāśya mahnā</i>	<i>viśvāni bhūvanā</i>	

The Old Persian formula *haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam 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 *šāiti-* “happiness” is found together with a word for “man” in *Vr.* 7.3:

<i>xʷafnəm mazdaδātəm yazamaide šāitīm</i> <i>pasuuā vīraiiā</i>	We worship sleep created by Ahura Mazdā (as) happiness for cattle and men .
---	--

Schematically we have:

	(WE WORSHIP)	AHURA MAZDĀ	CREATED	HAPPINESS	FOR MAN
OPers.		<i>Auramazdā</i>	<i>dā-</i>	<i>šiyāti-</i>	<i>martiya-</i>
Av.		<i>(Ahura-) Mazdā-</i> <i>yazamaide</i>	<i>dā-</i> <i>δāta</i>	<i>šāiti-</i> <i>šāiti-</i>	<i>vīra-</i> <i>vīra-</i>

Note that this part of the Old Persian formula corresponds Ahura Mazda’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):

<i>ahám bhūmim adadām āryāya, ahám</i> <i>vṛštīm dāsūše mártiyāya</i>	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.”⁵³ 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:

<i>Auramazdā vazarka haya maθišta bagānām</i>	great Ahuramazdā, who (is) greatest of the gods.
---	---

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

<i>Ahurō Mazdā yō mazištō yazatanəm yō vahištō yazatanəm</i>	Ahura Mazdā, who is the greatest of beings worthy of worship , the best of beings worthy of worship.
--	---

and *Y.* 16.1:

<i>Ahurəm Mazdqm ... yazamaide huđāghəm mazištəm yazatəm</i>	We worship Ahura Mazdā ..., 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 Mazdqm ... mazištəm yazatəm* ~ OPers. *Auramazdā ... maθišta bagānām*. There is also no *mahiṣṭha-* 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:

	Rigvedic	Avestan	Old Persian ⁵⁴
“great”	<i>mahánt-</i>	<i>maz(ant)-</i>	<i>vazqr-ka-</i>
“greatest”		<i>mazišta-</i>	<i>maθišta-</i>
“greatness”	<i>mahimán-</i>	<i>mazan(a)-</i>	* <i>vazar</i> (* <i>vadar</i>) / <i>vašn-</i>
“by the greatness”	<i>mah(i)nā</i>	<i>mazēnā</i>	<i>vašnā.</i>

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 **vazrka* on the grounds that it would be a formation unparalleled in Old Indic and Old Iranian (pp. 333-34): **vazrka-* is most probably a late, Old Persian, formation with the productive suffix *-ka-* (like *marika-* < **marja-*), replacing whatever was the original word for “great.”

3.3.4. THE KING AND AHURAMAZDĀ⁵⁵

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:

*manā AM AMha adam AMm ayadaiy
AMmaiṽ upastām barātuv*

Ahura Mazdā belongs to me. I belong to Ahuramazdā.⁵⁶ I worshiped Ahuramazdā. May Ahuramazdā bring me support.

A similar sentiment is expressed by a passage in the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti* (Y.39.1):

*iθā āt̄ yazamaidē gauš uruuānəmcā
tašānəmcā ahmākəṅg āaṭ urunō
pasukanaḡmcā yōi nā jījišəṅftī
yaēibiūascā tōi ā yaēcā aēibiūō ā aṅhən*

Thus we sacrifice to the soul and the fashioner of the cow, and to our souls and (the souls) of the domestic animals that try to gain our favors, and (the favors of those) for whom they are and (of those) who shall be for them or: (those) to whom they belong and (of 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 *gasta-*,⁴⁵ literally “rotted.” Another occurrence of this term is in DNā 56-58:

*martiyā hayā Aurmazdāhā framānā
hauvtaiy gastā mā θadaya*

O man, may not that which is Ahuramazdā’s command seem evil to you!⁵⁸

⁵⁵ [On the religious function of the king, see now the penetrating synthesis by Herrenschildt, in Kellens and Herrenschildt, 1994.]

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 (*dastkerd*) of the gods [Gk. line 68 *tōn theōn ktísma esmén*] and with the help of the gods have sought and held these many lands ...” (Back, 1978, pp. 368-69).

⁵⁷ Borrowed into Aramaic in the expression *gst ptgm* (*gast patgām*) “letter of rebuke(?)” in, e.g., A6.8 line 3 (Porten-Yardeni, I, 1986, p. 112: “a harsh word”).

⁵⁸ Cf. the inscriptions of Kerdīr (KNRb 16-17): *parrōn tis 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)āg*⁵⁹ *Mēnōy*. The Old Persian formula *gasta- θadaya-* seems to have an Avestan parallel in *Hāδōxt nask*, where we have the expression (*duž*)*gaiñti- sadaiia-* (*H.* 2.25):

θritiiā xšapō θraošta ... viiusq sadaiieiti
yō narš druatō uruua aēiθāhuca paiti
gaiñtišca (ms. *gaiñtišca*) *vidiārəmnō*⁶⁰
sadaiieiti

ā dim vātō upa.vāuuō sadaiieiti apāxtarət
haca naēmāi ... dužgaiñtiš dužgaiñtitarō
aniiaēibiūō vātaēibiūō

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.

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 AHURAMAZDĀ

The prerequisite for Ahuramazdā 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 *Auramazdām yad- artācā barzmaniy* “to worship Ahuramazdā *artācā barzmaniy*,” which has elicited a large amount of commentary. There is by now a consensus at least about the term *artācā*, namely that it equals Gathic *ašāt hacā* “according to the (cosmic and ritual) Order.” From the *Young Avesta* compare *Yt.* 8.15:

nūrəm [mss. *nūrəm*] *ahmi yesniasca*
vahmiasca aṅhe astuuaita ašāt haca yat
vahištāt

Now I (Tištriia) am to be both worshiped and prayed to by the material existence according to the Order, the best.

⁵⁹ Cf. Manichean Parthian *gandāg*. M7.227-9 *dwj'rws t'ryg 'jdh'g dwrcyhr gnd'g 'wd sy'w* “a hard to ward off(?), dark dragon, ugly, smelly, and black” (Boyce, 1975, pp. 106-07)

⁶⁰ Cf. *H.* 2.7 *uruuarāhuca paiti baoidišca vidiārəmnō sadaiieiti* “(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 *vī-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-* “to pass (through, over),” from Av. *vī-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 *vī-tar-* were changed in this way, so this cannot be the whole truth, at least.

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 *brzmnⁱiy* 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 *bráhman-*. Henning’s comparison with Old Avestan *uruuāzəman-*, Young Avestan *uruuāsman-*, and Middle Persian *urwāhm-* (p. 109; *SP* II, p. 194) is unfortunately not conclusive, as there are two forms of this stem in Avestan, *uruuād-* and *uruuāz-*, and the Middle Persian form may well go back to **uruuāδiθman-*; similarly MPers. *(h)ēmag* “firewood” may also be from **aiθma-* from the root *aid* 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 **braδman-/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*₆ (*qr*), cf. Elam. *bir-ti-ya* = *Bardiya*. On the other hand, comparison with Elam. *zir-ra-an-ka* = *Zranka* and *pīr-ra-šá-um* = *frašam* gives a primary reading *brazmaniy(a)* 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 *bar^zmaniy*, 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 *barəziman-* “height,” seen in *Y.* 36.6 (cf. Narten, 1986, pp. 164-67):

sraēštaqm aṭ t, i kəhrpəm kəhrpam
āuuāēdaiimahī Mazdā Ahurā imā raocā
barəzištəm barəzimanəm auuac̄ yāt
huuarə auuāc̄i

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

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

⁶² Similarly, the R̥gvedic gods, among them Agni, Indra, and Varuṇa, are said to be *bərhan-* “high, exalted,” as in *RV* 6.68.9: *prā samrāje bṛhaté mānma nū priyām, ārcā devāya vāruṇāya saprāthaḥ* “Intone a pleasant song for the exalted ruler of all, an extensive one for the god Varuṇa.”

⁶³ Hence the expression *huuarə barəzacha* “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:

Indrāgnī ... kṣatráṃ dhārayatam bṛhád,
diví súryam ivājāram

Indra and Agni, uphold the power **high in**
the sky,⁶⁴ **like the sun,** unaging!

Finally we should note that Avestan *aša* is closely connected with the sun, as in Y. 32.2 *aša ... x^vənuuātā* “sunny Order,”⁶⁵ and in Y. 37.4 *aša-* is said to be full of light (*raocah-*):⁶⁶

ašəm at vahištəm yazamaidē hiiat
sraēštəm hiiat spəntəm aməšəm hiiat
raocōḡhuuat ...

We worship *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 **arta* (*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 **arta* is its artistic expression. It is also possible that the expression *artāca* had been reinterpreted as “together with **arta*”⁶⁷ and that the whole expression was understood as “I worshiped Ahuramazdā together with **arta* on high.”

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

On the political level a **country in commotion** can be pacified with the help of the gods. The king’s duty is **to 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. *DNa* 31-36:

⁶⁴ The sky itself (*dyáuḥ/div-*) is, of course, also *bṛhant-*, as in RV 1.136.6: *námo divé bṛhaté rōdasibhyām, mitrāya vocaṃ vāruṇāya mīhūṣe* “I have spoken reverence to the exalted sky, to the two worlds, to Mitra, (and) to remunerating Varuṇa.”

⁶⁵ The Sogdian Manichean term for the element Light is *ʾrtxwšt/ art^uxušt/*, from Proto-Avestan **artam vahištam*.

⁶⁶ The heavenly lights (*raocā*), in turn, are closely connected with the sun, e.g., Y. 36.6 (above), Y. 50.10 *raocā x^vəng* “the lights of the sun,” and Y. 44.3 *kasnā zqθā ptā ašahiia pouruiō kasnā x^vəng strēmā dāt aduuanəm kē yā mā uxšiiēitī nərəfsaitī θβat* “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?”

⁶⁷ Old Persian “together with” is *hadā*, but we may be dealing here with an Avestan, or at least archaic, expression. This assumption is not necessary for my argument, however.

*Auramazdā yaθā avaina imām būmim
yau[daⁿtim] pasāvadim manā frābara
mām xšāyaθiyam akunauš ... adamšim
gāθavā niyašādayam*

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 aⁿtar aitā dahayāva tayaiy upariy
nipištā ayaudaⁿ pasāvamaⁱy Auramazdā
upastām abara
vašnā Auramazdahā ava dahayāvam
adam ajanam utašim gāθavā nišādayam*

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 Apam Napāt pacify the countries in commotion, cf. *Yt.* 13.95 (the parallel was noted by Schlerath, 1968):

*iða apam Miθrō ... fraḍāt višpā
fratmatātō daḫiiunam yaozaintišca
rāmaieiti
iða Apam Napā sūrō fraḍāt višpā
fratmatātō daḫiiunam yaozaintišca
nišāsāite*

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:

	(KING WITH HELP OF) DIVINITY	PACIFIES / RESTRAINS	LANDS IN COMMOTION
OPers.	<i>adam vašnā Auramazdāha</i>	<i>gāθavā nišādaya-</i>	<i>būmi yaudati, dahayāva ayauda</i>
Av.	<i>Miθra, Apam Napāt</i>	<i>rāmaia-, nišāsa-</i>	<i>daḫiiunam yaozantīš</i>

⁶⁸ This is, in a sense, the same as “to become *artāvan-jašauuan-*” that is, agreeing with Order, playing one’s proper part in the universal scheme; *gāθavā* “in (the proper) place” and *artāvan-* “adhering to the universal scheme” is also seen in the phrase *gāθavā ašiyava* “went to (his) place,” which functions more or less as the intransitive of *gāθavā nišādaya-* and means approximately the same as *artāvan- ah-/bava-* “be blessed (after death).” Cf. also MPers. *ō bayān gāh šud* “went to the place of the gods.” — The phrase *gāθavā nišādaya-* in its concrete meaning is found in the *Hāḍōxt nask* 2.14: *frataire gātuuō āphanam fratarō.taire gātuuō nišādaiiōiš* “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.