3.4.3. THE KING'S "SOCIO-LEGAL" RESPONSIBILITIES

Among the more-pressing social matters broached by Darius in his inscriptions is the relationship between the weak and the powerful. This, too, has clear Avestan parallels, cf. *DNb* 8-11:

naimā kāma taya **skauθiš**	It is not my desire that **a weak (man)**
tunuvantahayā *rādiy miθa kariyaiš*	should be wronged by **a mighty (one)**,
naimā ava kāma taya **tunuvā skauθaiš**	nor is it my desire that **a mighty (man)**
rādiy miθa kariyaiš	should be wronged by **a weak (one)**.

With this cf. *Y.* 47.4:

kasəušcīṯ *nā ašāunē kāθə aŋhaṯ*	**The man of a little,** for how long shall he be for the benefit of the follower of Order,
isuuācīṯ *hąs paraoš akō drəguuāitē*	and the bad one **who possesses much,** (for how long shall he be) for the benefit of the follower of the Lie?

and *DSe* 37-41:

dātam taya manā hacā avanā tạrsatiy	the law which is mine, that he fears, so
yaθā haya **tauviyā** *tayam* **skauθim** *naiy*	that he who is **stronger** does not crush the
jantiy naiy vimardatiy	**weak** nor wipe (him) out.

Cf. also *Y.* 57.10 (to Sraoša):

yō **driyaošca drīuuiiåsca** *amauuaṯ*	who timbers the strong home **of the poor**
nmānəm hąm.tāšti ... yō Aēšməm	**man and woman** ... who strikes Fury a
stərəθβata snaiθiša vīxrūmaṇtəm x^varəm	bloody wound with (his) paralyzing
jaiṇti	weapon. And then, having struck, again
aṯca hē bāδa kamarəδəm jaɣnuuå paiti	and again he thrashes at its head, like **a**
x^aŋhaiieiti yaθa **aojå nāidiiåŋhəm**	**strong one an inferior one.**

In the last pair of examples we notice two formulaic parallels involving "the mighty" and "the weak":

	STRONG	ON THE SIDE OF EVIL	AGAINST WEAK	(ON THE SIDE OF GOOD)
OPers.	tunuvant-	miθa kariyaiš	skauθi-	
Av.	isuuaṇt- paraoš	aŋhaṯ drəguuāite	kasu-	ašāunē aŋhaṯ

In the second example the pair *aojå nāidiiåŋhəm*, although used to describe Sraoša's punitive action, still is in the context of "protection of the

weak from the mighty":

	STRONG(ER)	STRIKE	WEAK(ER)
OPers.	tauviyā	jan-	skauθim
Av.	aojå	jan-	nāidiiåŋhəm

The theme of protecting the weak and the unprotected is also found in the Near East, however, e.g., in *Code of Hammurapi* (1792-1750 B.C.E.), col. 47: "... in order to ... offer justice to the oppressed, **so that the strong might not oppress the weak ...**"

In this case Darius has innovated as compared both to the Avestan and Near Eastern traditions by vowing also to protect the interests of the mighty against wrong-doing by the weak!

3.4.4. THE GOAL OF THE GOOD MAZDAYASNIAN

The goal of the good Mazdayasnian is set forth in several Old Persian inscriptions, e.g., XPh 46-56 (cf. above [3.2.1]):

*tuva kā haya apara yadi-maniyāiy **šiyāta** **ahaniy jīva utā mạrta ạrtāvā ahaniy** avanā dātā parīdiy taya Auramazdā niyaštāya ...*	You who (come) hereafter, if you think: **Let me be happy (while) alive and follower of Order** (when) dead! (then) behave according to that Law which Ahuramazdā established ...
*martiya haya avanā dātā pariyaita taya Auramazdā nīštāya ... **hauv utā jīva šiyāta bavatiy utā mạrta ạrtāvā bavatiy***	The man who behaves according to that Law which Ahuramazdā established ... **he becomes both happy** (while) **alive and follower of Order** (when) dead.[69]

From the Avesta compare *Y.* 71.15-16:

... ustəme uruuaēse gaiiehe .... *yaθa vaši ašāum **iδa aŋhō ašauua***	... at the last turn of (your) life ... as you desire, o follower of Order (= Zarathustra), (already) **here you shall be a follower of Order.**

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[69] Cf. Kerdīr's statement in his inscription at Naqš-e Rajab (19-21): *ud kē kirbakkar ān frāz ō wahišt šawēd ud kē bazakkar ān ō dušox *abganīhēd ud kē kirbakkar hād ud abar kirbag nēw rawād ōy im astwand tan husrawīh ud ābādīh rasād u-š ōy astwand ruwān ardāyīh abar rasād* "And whoever does good, he goes forth to Paradise; and he who does evil, he *is thrown into hell. And whoever does good and behaves well in good deeds, renown and wealth will befall this material body of his, and blessedness will befall that material soul of his."

| *frapāraiiåŋhe uruuānəm parō cinuuatō* *pərətūm vahištahe aŋhəuš*[70] *ašauua jasō* | You shall convey (your) soul across the bridge of the compiler to Paradise, **arriving a follower of Order.** |

and *V.* 5.61-62:

| *yezica aēte mazdaiiasna upairi aētəm* *iristəm ... juuascit nōit buuat ašauua* *məšascit nōit baxšaite vahištahe aŋhəuš* | If these Mazdayasnians ... over this departed one, **then neither will he be a follower of Order** (while) **alive, nor will he partake of the Best Being** (when) **dead.** |

The parallelisms in vocabulary and syntax in these examples is remarkable, especially the use of the thematic subjunctive of the root *ah-* opposed to forms of *bav-*:

>   *ạrtāvā ahaniy*   ~   *aŋhō ašauua*
>   *ạrtāvā bavatiy*   ~   *nōit buuat ašauua.*

The main difference between the Avestan and the Old Persian realizations of the formula is the shift of *ašauuan-/ạrtāvan-* from "here" to "beyond." Schematically we have as the consequence of behaving correctly:[71]

	WILL BE(COME)	IN LIFE	HAPPY	DEAD	HAPPY
OPers.	*ahaniy*	*jīva*	*šiyāta*	*mạrta*	*artāvā*
	bavatiy	*jīva*	*šiyāta*	*mạrta*	*artāvā*
Av.	*aŋhō*	*iδa*	*ašauua*	*(ustəme uruuaēse gaiiehe)*	*vahištahe aŋhəuš jasō*
	(nōit) buuat	*juuascit*	*ašauua*	*məšascit*	*(nōit) baxšaite vahištahe aŋhəuš*

In this case the Rigveda has nothing comparable; as a matter of fact, "*ṛtávan* essentially never modifies humans but only gods or super-human beings (like the *kavis* of old)" (as put by S. Jamison).

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[70] The genitive for the accusative appears to be due to passages such as the next one (*V.* 5.61-62).

[71] The Rigveda does not seem to have these particular formulas, although an "echo" is found *RV* 1.77.1, where Agni is both immortal among mortals and followers of Order: *yó mártyeṣv ámṛta ṛtávā, hótā yájiṣṭha ít kṛṇóti devā́n* "Immortal (and) a follower of Order among the mortals, the best-worshiping Libator, who makes the gods (come)."

3.4.5. STAYING ON THE STRAIGHT PATH

Abiding by the Law, that is, by what has been established as true and correct behavior, also means not leaving the straight path in rebellion against the authorities, as expressed in *DNa* 58-60:

paθim tayām rāstām mā ava^harda mā sta^nbava	**Do not renounce**[72] **the straight path, do not rebel!"**

In the Avesta the "straight/straightest path" is the one that leads to Paradise,[73] cf. *Y*. 68.13:

razištahe paθō aēšəmca vaēδəmca yō asti razištō ā ašāṯ vahištəmca ahūm ašaonąm	the search for and finding of **the straightest path**, which is the straightest one (leading) to Order and the Best Being of the followers of Order.

Ahura Mazdā is said to dwell on these paths, cf. Gathic *Y*. 33.5-6:

yastē vīspə.mazištəm[74] *səraošəm zbaiiā auuaŋhānē apānō darəgō.jiiāitīm ā xšaθrəm vaŋhəuš manaŋhō ašāṯ ā ərəzūš paθō yaēšū Mazdå Ahurō šaēitī*	I who invoke your very greatest hearing at the end of the road, having obtained long life and the power of good thought, (and) **the straight paths** (leading) **to Order, on which**[75] **Ahura Mazdā dwells.**

and *Y*. 43.3:

aṯ huuō vaŋhəuš vahiiō nā aibī.jamiiāṯ yə nå ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paθō sīšōiṯ ahiiā aŋhəuš astuuatō manaŋhascā	Thus may that man come to what is better than good, (he) who might teach us **the straightest paths** of strengthening of the corporeal existence and the spiritual one—

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[72] Cf. Av. *auuaŋharəz-* "to leave alone, renounce."

[73] In the Rigveda "straight/straightest paths (of Order)" are common, but there is little trace of the moral metaphor of "staying on/straying from the straight path." Still, "the path of Order" leads across *duritá-* "danger," cf. *RV* 7.65.3: *tā bhū́ripāśāv ánṛtasya sétū, duratyétū ripáve mártyāya / ṛtásya mitrāvaruṇā pathā́ vām, apó ná nāvā́ duritā́ tarema* "Those two are binders of un-Order with many chains and for the evil man hard to avoid. May we on your path of Order, o Mitra and Varuṇa, cross over dangers as over the waters on a ship!" and *RV* 10.133.6: *ṛtásya naḥ pathā́ nayáti víśvāni duritā́* "Lead us (o Indra) across all dangers on the path of Order!"

[74] The argument in Kellens-Pirart, III, 1991, p. 100 (with refs.) that the type of compound *vīspə.mazišta-* "greatest of all" is unusual in Iranian, is not quite correct, as the type is frequent in Khotanese (*biśśä-hvāṣṭa-*, etc.).

[75] [I now prefer: "the straight paths ... to (those) among whom Ahura Mazdā dwells."]

| haiθiiəng āstīš yə̄ng ā.šaēitī Ahurō ... Mazdā | (the straightest paths), on which,[76] true (and) passable (?), dwells Ahura Mazdā. |

From the Rigveda cf. *RV* 10.85.23:

| anŗkṣará ŗjávaḥ santu pánthā, yébhiḥ sákhāyo yánti no vareyám | "Let the roads be without thorns (and) straight on which our friends go wooing. |

and *RV* 1.41.4-5:

| sugáḥ pánthā anŗkṣará ádityāsa ŗtám yaté / ...

yáṃ yajñáṃ náyathā nara ádityā ŗjúnā pathā́ / prá vaḥ sá dhītáye naśat / | Easy to walk (and) without thorns (is) the road, o Ādityas, for him who walks according to Order ...
The sacrifice that you, o lords, o Ādityas, lead along the straight path, that will come to your attention.[77] |

Losing the straight path is characteristic of the follower of the Lie (*Y.* 51.13):

| tā drəguuatō marədaitī daēnā ərəzaoš haiθīm yehiiā uruuā xraodaitī cinuuatō *pərətāu ākā̊ x°āiš šiiaoθanāiš hizuuascā ašahiiā nąsuuā̊ paθō̄ | Thereby the *daēnā* of the follower of the Lie ignores the true (formula) of the straight (path), he whose soul laments in view of the Bridge of the Compiler,[78] having lost the path of Order on account of his own acts and (the words) of (his) tongue. |

and is also equated with having bad *x°arənah* (*Yt.* 10.105):

| dušx°arənā̊ naštō razišta | The one of bad glory, having lost the straight (paths). |

The evil-doers have also left or lost the straight path or are punished by being diverted from it, as in *Yt.* 10.27 (cf. *Yt.* 10.78 cited above, no. 5):

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[76] [See preceding note.]

[77] Note the connection of both Av. *daēnā-* ~ OInd. *dhī-* with "path."

[78] Note *V.* 19.30 *hāu ... jasāiti spānauuaiti* "She (the *daēnā-*) ... comes, with (her) dogs," and *RV* 10.14.11 *yaú te śvā́nau yama rakṣitā́rau, ... pathirákṣī* "your two guardian dogs, o Yama, ... who guard the path."

*yō daṅhǝuš rǝxšiiqiθiiå **para razištå***
***baraiti** paiti xᵛarǝnå vāraiieiti apa*
vǝrǝθraɣnǝm baraiti

| who **takes away the straightest (paths)** of the *rebellious land, (who) *turns the glories away, carries away the resistance-smashing ability. |

In the Rigveda we have the corresponding notion of the "path of Order," which is also "straightest" in *RV* 1.79.3 *r̥tásya pathíbhī rájiṣṭhaiḥ*, as well as the notion of the evil-doers' not being able to go along this path (*RV* 9.73.6):

ápānakṣáso badhirá̄ ahāsata r̥tásya
pánthāṃ ná taranti duṣkr̥taḥ

| The blind (and) deaf have fallen behind. The evil-doers cannot traverse the road of Order |

Although none of the formulas have the same or semantically equivalent verbs the "moral metaphor" is typically Avestan, and the Old Persian formula may therefore express the Avestan concept. Some doubt must remain, however, as the "straight path" is also found in Near Eastern literature, e.g., *Code of Hammurapi* (1792-1750 B.C.E.), col. 5: "When Marduk commanded me to **direct the people along the right path** ..."; col. 48: "Lord Hammurabi ... has pleased Marduk, his lord, and secured the permanent welfare of the people and **led the land along the right path**."

"The idea of "straight" is further related to that of "true," "not false," discussed next [3.4.6].

3.4.6. THE KING AS KEEPER OF TRUTH AND PUNISHER OF FALSEHOOD

The main human keeper of truth and punisher of falsehood is, of course, the king himself.[79] Thus, in *DB* 4.44-45, Darius pronounces an oath that what he has said in his inscription is the truth:

*ima **hašiyam** naiy **duruxtam***

| This is **true**, not **false**.

Truth and falsehood feature prominently in *DNb* 6-13:

*vašnā Auramazdāhā avākaram amiy **taya***
rāstam daustā amiy miθa naiy daustā
***amiy** ...*
*taya **rāstam** ava mām kāma martiyam*
***draujanam** naiy daustā amiy*

| By the greatness of Ahurmazdā I am such that **I am the friend of what is straight,** **I am not the friend of what is false** ... What(ever) is **straight**, that is my wish. I am not a friend of a man **who follows the Lie.** |

With these passages we may compare an Avestan prayer, *Y.* 60.5:

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[79] On the Indo-European formulas involving "truth" see also Watkins, 1994, II, pp. 626-43.

vainīt ahmi nmāne sraošō asruštīm ...	In this home **may** obedience (listening)
aršuxδō vāxš miθaoxtəm vācim aša	**win over** disobedience (lack of listneing),
drujim	the correctly spoken word (win over)
	the false word, (and) Order (win over)
	the Lie!

Schematically we have:[80]

	BE FRIEND OF	STRAIGHT (TALK)	BE NO FRIEND OF OVERCOME	FALSE (TALK)
OPers.	*dauštā ah-*	*rāstam*	*naiy dauštā ah-*	*miθah draujana*
Av.		*aršuxδō vāxš aša*	*van-*	*miθaoxtəm vācim drujim*

For *rāstam ~ aršuxδō* note that *aršᵒ* (OAv. *ərəšᵒ*) is the form taken ·in compounds by *ərəzu-* (see [3.4.5]), like *asᵒ* "great" corresponding to *maz(ant)-* (Schindler, 1987, pp. 345-46). Note also the that OPers. *rāstam* corresponds to Av. *aša-*, Rigv. *r̥tá-* in connection with the straight road of Order (see [3.4.5]). The lexical correspondences are therefore nearly perfect.

3.4.7. THE BATTLE AGAINST THE LIE

The constant battle between good and evil in the world, which is the hallmark of the Iranian "dualistic" religious systems (Zoroastrianism and Manicheism), is clearly reflected in the Old Persian inscriptions. We have already seen how the king prays to the gods for protection against *gasta-* "evil" ([3.2.4], and cf. [3.2.5]). On a larger scale the battle is against *drauga-* "the Lie," corresponding to Avestan *druj-*, which is portrayed as the evil genius of all persons and lands that rebel against Darius.[81] Thus the king is waging a constant battle against the *drauga-* and those who follow the Lie, a battle is constantly fought by gods and men alike throughout the Avesta. The necessity of combating the Lie and punishing its adherents is spelled out in the following passage (*DB* 4.33-40):

dahạyāva imā tayā hamiçiyā abavaⁿ	These lands which became rebellious, **the**
***draugadiš *hamiçiyā akunauš** taya*	**Lie made them rebellious**, so that these
*imaiy kāram **adurujiyaš** pasāvadiš*	(men) **lied** to the people. Then
*Auramazdā manā dastayā akunauš	**Ahuramazdā delivered them into my**
	hands;

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[80] Note the enumeration in *Y.* 33.1 of all the key terms (see also [3.2.1]): *dātā ... razištā ... drəguuataēcā ... ašāunē .... miθahiiā .... ārəzuuā.*

[81] For a Near Eastern parallel: "sinning against Assur," see Boyce, II, 1982, p. 83.

yaθā mām kāma avaθādiš akunavam ...	as was my wish thus I treated them ...
tuvam kā *xšāyaθiya aparam āhạy **hacā**	You who will be king in the future,
draugā dạršam patipayauvā *martiya*	**guard strongly against the Lie.** The
[haya] draujana ahatiy avam ufraštam	man who is evil, him punish well if you
pạrsā yadiy avaθā maniyāhạy **dahạyāuš-**	think as follows: **May my country be**
maiy duruvā ahatiy	**healthy.**

Avestan echoes of the expression *hacā draugā dạršam patipayauvā* are seen in *Yt.* 1.14 (to Ahura Mazdā):

aδauuiš nạma ahmi vīδauuiš nạma ahmi	I am called **deceitless.** I am called
***paiti.pāiiuš** nạma ahmi*	**dispeller of deceit.** I am called
	watchman.

and *Yt.* 10.19:

ahmāi naēmāi uzjasāiti Miθrō graṇtō	Miθra angered and enraged will come up
upa.tbištō yahmāi naēmanạm	(upon him) in (exactly) that side where **the**
*miθrō.druxš naēδa mainiiu **paiti.pāite***	**contract-belier is not at all on** (his)
	guard by his mind.

More importantly, the entire complex passage of *DB* 4.33-40 has three important Avestan parallels in *Yasna* 30:[82]

(1) The theme of **being bewildered and deceived by the Lie** is seen in *Y.* 30.6:

aiiā̊ nōiṭ ạrəš vīšiiātā daēuuācinā hiiaṭ īš	Especially the *daēuuas* do not distinguish
*ā dəbaomā pərəsmanə̄ṇg **upā.jasaṭ** hiiaṭ*	between these two because **deception**
vərənātā acištəm manō	**comes over them** as they are deliberating,
	so that they choose very bad thought.[83]

with which we may compare *Y.* 32.5:

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[82] See also above [3.1.9], and note *Y.* 58.6 *pairī pasūš pairī vīrə̄ṇg spəṇtāi mainiiauuē dadəmahī hauruuafšauuō druuō.gaēθā druuafšauuō druuō.vīrā* "We distribute (our) cattle and men for the Beneficial Spirit, guarding the cattle, having healthy living beings, having healthy cattle, having healthy men."

[83] In the *Avesta* we find a mythological parallel in the story of Yima, in a passage that contains one of only two occurrences of the word *draoya-* (*Yt.* 19.33): *para anādruxtōiṭ para ahmāṭ yaṭ hīm aēm draogəm* [the best manuscript reading is F1 *draogəm*; J10 has *draoyəm*] *vācim aŋhaiθīm cinmāne paiti.barata* "before, while he had not yet lied—before this one induced him to *think deceit, untrue word(s)."

tā dəbənaotā mašīm hujiiātōiš *amərətātascā hiiaṭ vā akā manaohā yə̄ŋg* *daēuuə̄ŋg akascā mainiiuš akā* *šiiaoθanəm vacaŋhā yā fracinas* *drəguuaṇtəm xšaiiō*	"**You deceive mortal man** of good livelihood and immortality with that evil thought **because the evil spirit, too,** **(deceives) you the daēuuas** (therewith), (and your) act with (his) evil speech, by which the *one in command identifies the follower of the Lie."[84]

(2) The theme of **delivering the evil-doer into the hands of the good** is seen in *Y*. 30.8:

aṭcā yadā aēšạm kaēnā jamaiṭ aēnaŋhạm *aṭ mazdā taibiiō xšaθrəm voh manaohā* *vōivdaitē* *aeibiiō sastē ahurā yōi ašāi dadən* *zastaiiō drujəm*	And in the same way, when the retribution comes for their offenses, then, o Mazdā, the power will be assigned to you through good thought, for (you) to announce, o Mazdā, to these **who shall deliver the** **Lie to Order into his hands.**

and in *Y*. 44.14:[59]

taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā Ahurā *kaθā ašāi drujə̄m diiạm zastaiiō* *nī hīm mərạždiiāi θβahiiā mạθrāiš* *sə̄nghahiiā* *ə̄mauuaitīm sinạm dāuuōi drəguuasū* *ā īš duuafšə̄ŋg Mazdā anāšē ạstạscā*	I ask you this: tell me truly, o Ahura! **How can I deliver the Lie into the** **hands of Order** to rid myself of him by the formulas of your announcement (on how) to make strong the *division among the followers of the Lie (and) to lead them to torments, o Mazdā, and misery?

The expression *hástayōr dhā-* "place in the hands; hold in the hands" is found several times in the Rigveda (see Kellens-Pirart, III, 1991, p. 51) but always in a concrete sense, and more often than not the things held are good. The expression "to deliver a vanquished enemy into the hands of the king" is found in the Ancient Near East, however. I have noticed, e.g., from the reign of Narām-Sîn (2254-2218 B.C.E.) "When the god Dagān ... delivered into his hands (*qātissu iddinu-ma*) Rīd-Adad, king of Armānum." Thus, while the Old Persian again uses a Near Estern formula for an Avestan theme, in this case the formula is also original in Iranian.

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[84] Ahura Mazdā is speaking.
[85] Note that this strophe is followed by one concerning warfare (*Y*. 44.15) *yezī ahiiā ašā pōi maṭ xšaiiehī hiiaṭ hə̄m spādā anaocaŋhā jamaētē auuāiš uruuātāiš yā tū Mazdā dīdərəžō kuθrā aiiā kahmāi vananạx̌m dadā* "If you together with Order rule over this (state) in order to protect (it) when two armies come together because of mutual dislike, by those ordinances which you, o Mazdā, wish to keep firmly, to which side of the two and to whom do you give victory?"

(3) The theme of **punishing sinners to keep the land healthy** has a pendant in *Y.* 30.8-9:

Old Persian:

martiya haya draujana ahatiy avam	**The man who is evil, him punish well**
ufraštam parsā yadiy avaθā maniyāhay	if you think as follows: **May my country**
dahayāuš-maiy duruvā ahatiy	**be healthy.**

Avestan:

atcā yadā aēšąm kaēnā jamaitī	**When punishment for** the sins of **these**
aēnaŋhąm at mazdā taibiiō xšaθrəm vohū	(evil-doers) **comes,** then, o Mazdā, the
manaōhā vōivīdaitē aēibiiō sastē ...	power will be assigned to you through
atcā tōi vaēm x̌iiāmā yōi īm fəraṣ̌əm	Good Thought, for (you) to command
kərənaon ahūm	those (= us) ... and so **we shall** be those
	who **make the existence Precious.**

The connection between the Avestan and the Old Persian passages may become clearer if we look at the Pahlavi translation of the beginning of *Y.* 30.8: *ēdōn-iz ī pad ān dahišn [pad tan *ī pasēn] ō awēšān kēnīgān [**wināhkārān**] rasēd kēn [kū-šān **pādifrāh kunēnd**]* "Thus too at that creation [i.e., the Final Body] upon those vindictive ones [i.e., the sinners] will come vengeance [i.e., they will punish them]." With this compare *DNb* 19-21 *naimā kāma taya martiya vinālayaiš naipatimā ava kāma yadiy **vināθayaiš naiy fraθiyaiš** martiya* "It is not my desire that a man should work damage, nor is it my desire that he should not be punished if he should work damage."

In view of the perfect parallel

> *wināhkārān ... pādifrāh kunēnd* "they will punish the sinners"
> *yadiy vināθayaiš ... fraθiyaiš martiya* "if a man should work damage [=sin] he should ... be punished"

it is quite possible that the "Old Persian version" of the Gathic passage actually used formulas very close to the one in *DNb* 19-21, which were replaced by the more pregnant ones in *DB* 4.33-40 (*martiya- vināθaya- ~ draujana-*).

In summary: We have in this complex example two passages, one Old Persian and one Avestan, containing the development of four identical or closely related ideas or themes:

1. The deceiving of men/*daivas* causing them to become followers of the Lie;

2. Ahura Mazdā delivers (causes to be delivered) the followers of the Lie

into the hands of Order/the king;
3. (this serves as an example:) the punishment of the followers of the Lie
   is a prerequisite for
4. making the land healthy/the existence (here) Precious (*fraša*).

Schematically we have:

	DECEPTION	MADE	THE REBELS THE *DAĒUUAS*	FOLLOWERS OF THE LIE
OPers.	*draoga-*	*kar-*	*hamiçiya-*	*durujiya-*
Av.	*dəbaoman*	*upājasa- ... hiiat*	*daēuuā*	*var- acištəm manō*

BUT:

	AHURA MAZDĀ	DELIVER	(FOLLOWERS OF) THE LIE	INTO HANDS OF	(FOLLOWER OF) ORDER
OPers.	*Auramazdā-*	*kar-*	*-diš (= hamiçiya-)*	*dastayā*	*manā (= king)*
Av.	*(Mazdā-)*	*dā-*	*druj-*	*zastaiiō*	*aša-*

THEREFORE:

	PUNISH PUNISHMENT COMES	THE SINNER (AND) FOR THEIR SINS (AND)	YOUR LAND THIS WORLD	WILL BE PERFECT/WE SHALL MAKE PERFECT
OPers.	*ufraštam pạrsā*	*martiya haya draujana*	*dahạyāuš-maiy*	*duruvā ahatiy*
Av.	*kaēnā jamaitī*	*aēšạm ... aēnaŋhạm*	*īm ... ahūm*	*vaēm ... kərənaon fərašām*

We have in addition one identical formula (no. 2) and one (no. 1) with
strong underlying thematic parallelism. Neither formula seems to have a
close Rigvedic parallel and at least one of them represents a typically Iranian-
Mazdayasnian concept, namely the influence of the Lie/Deceit upon the
minds of men/*daivas*, which causes them to make the wrong choices.

In view of the different contexts (political vs. religious text) and style
(simple prose vs. highly artistic poetry) I find these parallels remarkable.

3.4.8. THE KING'S "ESTHETIC" FUNCTION

By the king's "esthetic function" I mean his efforts to produce "Precious
(*fraša*) work." This function corresponds to Ahura Mazdā's cosmological
and eschatological function of "making the existence Precious." Cf. *DNb* 1-
5:

*baga vazạrka **Aurmazdā** haya **adadā***	The great god (is) **Ahuramazdā**, who
***imam frašam** taya vainataiy*	**made this Precious** (work) that is seen.

and *DSf* 55-57:

θātiy Dārayavauš XŠ Çūšāyā **paruv** *frašam framātam* **paruv frašam** **kạrtam*	(Thus) says Darius the king: 'In Susa **much Precious** (work) had been ordered, **much Precious** (work) **has been made.**'

Xerxes uses *naiba-* instead of *fraša-* (and *vasiy* instead of *paruv*, see [2.2.3]; *XPg* 3-5):

vasiy *taya* **naibam** *akunauš utā framāyatā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya haya manā pitā*	(There was) **much good** that Darius the king, my father **did** and ordered.

Both adjectives have Avestan parallels (*Yt.* 19.10):

yaθa *dāmạn daθaṭ Ahurō Mazdå* **pouruca** *vohuca ...* **pouruca frašaca**	when Ahura Mazdā made the creatures both **plentiful** and **good** ... both **plentiful** and **Precious.**

From Old Avestan cf. *Y.* 34.15:

mazdā aṭ mōi vahištā srauuåscā šiiaoθanācā vaocā tā tū vohū manaŋhā ašācā išudəm stūtō xšmākā xšaθrā **ahurā** **fərašəm** *vasnā haiθiiəm då ahūm*	Thus, o Mazdā, say that my hymns and actions are the best! **Make you, o Ahura**, by good thought and Order, through this your power, o Ahura, the invigorant of the praises as exchange price,[86] **(this) world precious** (and) true.

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[86] I have translated *vasnā* as "exchange price" in the sense of "price of goods offered in exchange," cf. Latin *vēnum (dare)*, etc. (Humbach's latest translation [1994] has "value"). Traditionally (Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*; Kellens-Pirart, etc.) the word is derived from √*vas* "to wish" and equated with OPers. *vašnā*, which, however, probably means "greatness" (see above [3.3.3]). In the Rigveda *vasná-* means "price (of goods offered in exchange)" (4.24.9: *bhūyasā vasnám acarat kánīyaḥ* "He has offered a lesser price for something worth more"); *vasnaya-* "demand ransom" (6.47.21: *áhan dāsā́ vṛṣabhó vasnayántaḥ* "The bull smashed the two Dāsas who were demanding ransom"); and *vasnya-* "offered in exchange(?)" (10.34.3 *áśvasyeva járato vásnyasya, nāhám vindāmi kitavásya bhógam* "I find no value in the gambler, like an old horse offered in exchange." In the *Gāθās, vasnā* is used with *fəraša-* only when those who make *fəraša-* are the gods (*Y.* 34.15, 46.19, 50.11), not when they are the human (*Y.* 30.9). J. Katz also points out that the last example occurs *within* a *Gāθā* (in the middle of the *Ahunauuaitī Gāθā*), while each of the other three is in the concluding strophe of its *Gāθā* (*Ahunauuaitī, Uštauuaitī*, and *Spəntā.mainiiū*; the formula is not found in the *Vohuxšaθrā* and the *Vahištōištī*); see also Kellens-Pirart, III, 1991, p. 113 (whose "chaque Gāθā" should be "the first three *Gāθās*"). [I translated Avestan *fraša-* as "Precious" because of the phonetic echo; today I prefer "juicy," that is, "filled with life-giving juices."

Schematically we have:

	RULER OF THE WORLD	MAKE	THE WORLD	PRECIOUS
OPers.	*Aurmazdā*	*dā-*	*imɜm taya vainataiy*	*frašam*
Av.	*Ahurō Mazdā*	*dā-*	*ahūm*	*fɜrašɜm*

	RULER OF THE WORLD/LAND	MAKE	MUCH	PRECIOUS
OPers.	*Dārayavauš XŠ*	*kar-*	*paruv*	*frašam*
			vasiy	*naibam*
Av.	*Ahurō Mazdā*	*dā-*	*pouru*	*frašɜm*
			pouru	*vohu*

One of the strongest pieces of evidence, in my opinion, for Darius's and his successors' intentional use of scriptural terminology is seen here. Aside from the complete formulaic identity, we should also note that this action of the king is not the kind of universal duty seen in many of the examples above (as pointed out by S. Jamison).

In the same way that almost a millennium later the first Sasanian kings, Ardašēr and Šāpūr, combined their claims to the throne with intensive religious propaganda that emphasized crucial aspects of Mazdayasnaism, so did Darius combine his claim to political legitimacy with a claim to the real faith, as revealed to him by Ahuramazdā. Indeed, judging by the inscriptions, he saw himself as fulfilling the ideal function of the worshiper of Ahuramazdā of making the world, or at least part of it, *fraša* "Precious," just as it had been originally made. This "esthetic" function of the king matches Ahuramazdā's creative, but also eschatological function (see below [3.4.8]).

In the Avesta, *ahūm frašɜm kar-* "make existence Precious " is an aspect of the *ritual* that has a double meaning: making existence here and now "Precious" through sacrifice both recreates the original state of the world and anticipates its end, when it will again be "Precious. "Precious" here implies that the "world" returns to the state it was in when it was first made by Ahura Mazdā (= Order, the creation of Ahura Mazdā's Beneficial Spirit). In practice it means that day and sun return and dispel darkness (= chaos, the creation of the Evil Spirit of the Lie). That the sacrificers themselves are important participants in this process of remaking and rejuvenation is clear from *Y.* 30.9 (discussed above [3.4.7]):

aɪcā tōi vaēm x̌iiāmā yōi īm fɜrašɜm	And may we be the ones who shall make
kɜrɜnaon ahūm	this existence precious!

We therefore have a threefold scheme: God, king, sacrificer, as pointed out to

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The Achaemenid kings obviously understood it differently.1

me by R. Shayegan. The king unites in his person, as it were, both the others:
as God's agent on earth and as the prime sacrificer (cf. the recurrent formula
Ahuramazdām ayadaiy "I sacrificed to/worshiped Ahuramazdā").

.Whether the Iranian religion at this time had already developed its
eschatological ideas to the stage in which they appear in the Sasanian period
and whether Darius saw himself as a "savior" (Av. *saošiiaṇt-*) in this
eschatological scheme are interesting questions, but difficult to answer.
Darius could certainly have found justification for seeing himself in such a
role in *Y.* 48.12:

aṯ tōi aŋhən **saošiiaṇtō daxiiunąm**	Those shall be **the Benefit-Providers of**
yōi xšnūm vohū manaŋhā hacåṇtē	**the lands** who through Good Thought
šiiaoθanāiš *aṣ̌ā θβahiiā mazdā*	pursue the pleasing (of you), o Mazdā,
sə̄nghahiiā *tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō*	through Order **with actions** (according to
aēš̌əm.mahiiā	the dictates) **of** your **Word**. For they have
	been made (as) opponents of the Fury.

Of the features assigned to the *saošiiaṇts* expressed here, the first: that
Darius pleased Ahuramazdā, is clear from the fact that the God chose him to
be king (DSf 15-18):

*Auramazdām *avaθā kāma āha	Thus Ahuramazdā willed it: He chose me,
haruvahạyāyā [BUyā] *martiyam mām	the (only) man of the whole [earth]. He
*avạrnavatā *mām XŠyam *akunauš	made [me] king of this earth.
*ahạyāyā BUyā	

Darius clearly regarded his commands as reflecting those of Ahuramazdā.
Whether this is reflected in his choice of the verb *θaⁿha-* "proclaim" =
Avestan *sə̄ngh-/sạh-* cannot be definitely proved, but we may note that "say"
is otherwise *gauba-*.

Since whoever cares for the poor also smites Fury (see [3.4.3]), Darius
matches this last feature, as well, and is therefore a *saošiiaṇt* in the sense of *Y.*
48.12.

The passage in *DB* 1.19-20 also belongs in this context. Already in the
Young Avesta Aēšma is the opponent of Sraoša "obedience" = "listening to
the *word* of God," which is expressed—*mutatis mutandis*—by Darius as
follows (*DB* 1.19-20):

manā baⁿdaka āha ... **tayašām hacāma**	They were my bondsmen ... **That which**
aθahạya xšapavā raucapativā **ava**	**was said to them by me** by night or by
akunavayaⁿ**tā**	day, **that they would do.**

3.5. AVESTAN–OLD PERSIAN WORDS IN ELAMITE?

In the Elamite version of the royal Achaemenid inscriptions we occasionally find Old Persian words quoted rather than translated. The reason for this is not clear. Here I would like to mention the possibility that these Old Persian words are quoted because they were regarded as quotations from Avestan in Old Persian. Thus the formula *artācā barzmaniy* (discussed in [3.4.1]) would not merely reflect an Avestan formula, it could actually be one.

As no study or even compilation has been made of the Old Persian words in Elamite inscriptions, it is difficult to evaluate this hypothesis. The following examples were found with the help of Hinz, 1973, pp. 52-70, 119-60.

In *DB* Elam. *ha-tar-ri-man-nu* is repeatedly used together with *da-mi hu-pa-ip-pi* to render *fratamā anušiyā* "foremost followers." The Elamite word can be read variously as *(h)ăt(a)rVmani*, and Hinz chooses **haθra-mani*. If this is the correct interpretation we may compare such Avestan passages as *Y.* 30.9:

*hiiat̰ **haθrā manå** buuat̰ yaθrā cistiš* *aŋhat̰ maēθā*	if (our) **thoughts** are **in one and the same place** (= constant) where (our) understanding is changing (?).

and *Y.* 28.4:

*yə̄ uruuānəm mən gaire vohū dadē **haθrā** **manaŋhā***	I who keep (my) soul in mind for the song of praise **with** (my) good **thought in one and the same place.**

If the word in Elamite actually has a final *-i*, then it is probably a *vṛddhi*-formation of the common Old Persian type and should be read as **hāθramani-* "he whose thought is in one and the same place; constant; loyal" < **haθra-manah*. The doubling of the terms in the Elamite version may reflect the use of a solemn, Avestan, word plus the the literal translation of the Old Persian itself.

Corresponding to *dahạyāušmaiy duruvā ahatiy* in *DB* 4.39-40, the Elamite has *da-a-ya-u-iš-mi tar-ma áš-du*, with the imperative **astu* instead of the subjunctive. With this we may compare the use of the imperative in Avestan as seen in *Y.* 53.8: *rāmạmcā āiš dadātū šiieitibiiō vīžibiiō īratū iš duuafšō huuō dərəzā mərəθiiaoš mazištō mošucā **astū*** "And may it (= Right-mindedness) in spite of[87] them (= the followers of the Lie) give peace to the settlements! May the greatest torment pull them by the chain of death and **let**

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[87] Thus Kellens-Pirart.

it be at once!"; and in the common formula *Sraošō (iδă)* **astŭ** (and vars.) "**Let** Sraoša/listening **be** present!"

In *A²Sa, mā yātum mā kayadā vi[x x x]itu[v]* "May no magician or sorcerer destroy this which I made!" is rendered by Elamite *an-nu (anni* "may not") *hi-ya-du an-nu ki-ya-da me-ul-qa-in* (?). Here again the two words *yātum* and *kayadā* may have been regarded as literary, Avestan, words and were therefore kept untranslated (cf. [3.2.3]).

The important term *frašam* "Precious" (discussed in [3.4.8]) is quoted in the Elamite as *pír-ra-šá-um*, conceivably as an Avestan term.

4. CONCLUSION

With regard to the three possible sources of tradition reflected in the Old Persian inscriptions we can now conclude.

1. The authors of the Old Persian were strongly influenced by Near Eastern models, although they often had at their disposal Iranian and Indo-Iranian literary forms to cast these themes in. Near Eastern themes and even forms are present in instances where the Iranian or Indo-Iranian origin of the theme at first sight seemed clear. These coincidences—which will no doubt become still more numerous when the material is more closely investigated—are clearly attributable to the universality of the themes involved and similarities between the structures of the languages which entailed similar wordings.[88]

2. The Indo-Iranian heritage is very strong in many parallels between Old Persian and Avestan, but in most cases it cannot be determined whether it is to be accounted for by the individual heritages of the two languages or influence of Avestan on Old Persian.

3. There remain a few instances of parallels for which both Indo-Iranian heritage and Near Eastern influence seem excluded. If we assume these parallels are due to common Iranian heritage we must also conclude that the themes and forms in question 1. belong to the pre-Avestan period and 2. were transmitted for over a millennium with utmost faithfulness, which is possible. Keeping in mind, however, that the Avestan calendar, which reflects the religious concepts of the Avesta, was present in the Achaemenid empire from the 5th century—but had not been inherited by the Old Persians, who continued to use their own calendar—by far the simpler scenario would be to assume that the parallels in the last group are due to direct influence of the Avesta itself.

In one sense this investigation has to end as it started: with a query; however, I hope I have added to the cumulative evidence for the presence of

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[88] Among the many desiderata in Old Persian studies is a complete edition—with synoptic glossaries—of the Akkadian Achaemenid inscriptions and a comparison of their vocabulary and formulary with those of Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions.

the Avesta in Persia from the earliest Achaemenids onward.

One subsidiary point that emerges from this survey is that the king (or his "speech-writer") portrays himself in his inscriptions within the framework of the ancient literature, both the Near Eastern—oral and written—and the old Iranian oral literature.[89] The patterns of imitation discussed by Bickerman and [3.1.6] above also show that, even when the kings portrayed actual events, they would have recourse to the themes and forms of this traditional literature. The tradition served them well, because it allowed them to cover their more questionable acts with a familiar—and therefore credible—veil of popular story-telling.

The use of traditional literary themes and forms, including those used in the Old Persian inscriptions (see Skjærvø, 1985) was to remain a feature of royal inscriptions in Iran at least until the Sasanian period, when King Narseh (ca. 290) borrowed themes and formulas from the epic tradition for his big inscription at Paikuli, as I show elsewhere.[63]

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[89] Thus Darius even alludes to the old myth of the dragon-slaying hero by his use of the word *jan-* "to smash, smite," no less than the author of the *Deeds of Ardašīr son of Pābag* (first Sasanian king) with his explicit *kirm ōzad būd* "(he) had smitten the worm" (see Watkins, 1994, chap. 43).

[90] [Skjærvø, 1998.]

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