GATHICA⁽¹⁾

*And those who husbanded the Golden Grain,
And those who flung it to the Winds like Rain,
Alike to no such aureate Earth are turn'd
As, buried once, Men want dug up again.*

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VI

Henceforth *Ardastāna*!

In his *Persepolis* I, Chicago 1953, p. 223, Erich F. SCHMIDT says “The trilingual inscription Darius Persepolis c (Pl. 131 A) occurs eighteen times, on the stone frames of all the windows and niches of the portico and the main hall (including one almost destroyed niche in the eastern wall of the hall). The four windows, between hall and portico, are inscribed on both the northern and the southern faces. The Old Persian text always occurs horizontally on the lintel of the windows and niches. The Elamite version forms a vertical band on the left frame, and the Babylonian balances it in the same position on the right.” The inscription is read:

O.P.: *ardastāna aθa^a gaina Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahyā viθiyā karta*

Elam.: *har-da-iš-da-na – Har^{id}-in-na ¹da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš ¹sunkuk – uelmannu^{id}-e-ma hu-ut-tuk-ka⁽²⁾*

Babyl.: *ku-bu-ur-ri-e aban ga-la-la i-na bi-it ¹da-a-ri-ia-a-muš šar-ri ip-šú⁻²*⁽³⁾

The Old Persian version states “*ardastāna* of stone made for (or in) the House of King Darius.” The reading *ardastāna* is confirmed by the Elamite transcription *har-da-iš-da-na*, because Elam. *-šd-*, although corresponding generally to O.P. *-št-*, can represent O.P. *-st-* as well⁽⁴⁾. The Elamite transcription *har-da-iš-da-na* seems rather to point out the fact that the Darius’ palace (*tačara-*), R. GHIRSHMAN’s so-called Banquet Hall⁽⁵⁾, was named *Ardastāna* by the king himself and intended to win popularity as such among Persians. What is, then, the meaning of *ardastāna*? Three representative explanations have been proposed. Chr. BARTHOLOMAE:

Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1904, col. 193, proposes “Halbstand, vielleicht Fensterkrönung od. -sims”, identifying *arda-* with Av. *arəda-* adj. “half” (Ind. *ardhá-*) while E. HERZFELD: *Zoroaster and his World*, Princeton 1947, p. 684, reads *ardastāna-* “frame, corner-pillar⁽⁶⁾”, connecting *ārda-* most probably with Av. *arəda-* “side” (Ind. *árdha-*). A compromise between the two opinions looks like that of W. WÜST: *Altpersische Studien*, München 1966, p. 22, taking *ardastāna-* as a sort of haplology for **arda-stūnā-stāna-* “Halb-Säulen-Stand”. A third interpretation is that of R. G. KENT: *Old Persian*, New Haven 1953 (2nd and revised edition), pp. 16, 53, 171, taking *arda-* as “light”, hence *ardastāna-*, according to him, “place of light, i.e. window-frame or -cornice”. A dithematic compound noun with *-stāna-* as its second element signifies a place where the object denoted by the first element is to be found (cf. Av. *gaostāna-* “cow-stable”, *aspō.stāna-* “horse-stable”, *uštrō.stāna-* “camel-stable”). Different from his two predecessors, KENT agrees with this principle, who however shares the same opinion that the O.P. *ardastāna-* is a terminus technicus of architecture with other scholars including M. MAYRHOFFER: *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden 1964, Lexikon p. 104: “*ardastāna-* m. Terminus der Baukunst, ‘Fenstergebäude, Steinquader mit Fensteröffnung’ — Etymologisch sicher ist nur *stāna-* als zweites Glied”; see also A. MEILLET et É. BENVENISTE: *Grammaire du Vieux Perse*, Paris 1931, §§ 293 “mon-tant de fenêtre (?)”, 387 “corniche (?)”. In support of his interpretation, KENT refers to O. P. *ardata-*, Av. *arəzata-* “silver” and Ind. *rajatā-* “white”, but his argument is hardly convincing, considering the fact that, in spite of O. P. *raučah-*, Pahl. *rōz*, N. P. *rūz* “day” over against Av. *raočah-*, Ind. *rōcas-* “light”, we have Av. *raočana-*, Pahl. *rōzan*, N. P. *rūzan* “window” and no derivative of **arda-* “light” (for “window”, only O. P. **raučana-* is plausible). That O. P. *ardastāna-* means window-frame or the like because of its being carved on the lintel of the windows may be rejected in the light of the inscription Xerxes’ Persepolis c which is engraved likewise on the lintel of windows but is read only *Xšayāršā xšāyaθiya vazarka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahyā pussa, Haxāmanišiya* (see E. F. SCHMIDT: *op. cit.*, p. 239 and Plate 188). If *ardastāna-* should signify window-frame or the like, it would have been borne on the lintel of the windows in the Palace of Xerxes.

O. P. *arda-* may be connected with Av. *ard-* (*arəd-*), Ind. *ṛdh-* “to be(come) large, prospering, wealthy, rich”. In Av. its verbum finitum is attested only once Yasna 50₁₁:

c *dātā anhēuš*

arədaṭ vohū manaxhā

d *haiθyāvarəštqm**hyaṭ vasnā fərašōtəməm*

To exhibit a striking contrast to other translators, the passage may be interpreted thus:

May the Creator of the world become wealthy, for the realization, through Vohu Manah, of what is the foremost in His will.

haiθyāvarəštqm is an absolute infinitive, “in order to realize, for realization” and *arədaṭ* is root aorist subjunctive 3. pers. sing. active with guṇa *arəd-* < *arəd-* (Ind. *ṛdh-*). Of the same root *arəd-/ṛdh-*, several forms, participial or another, are to be found: Av. *Frədaṭ.fəðrī-* “one (f.) whose father is prospering⁽⁷⁾” (mother of *Astvat.ərəta* — Yašt 13₁₄₂), Av. *arəðwan-* “rich, wealthy, abundant, prospering⁽⁸⁾” (Yt. 10₁₂₀), Av. *arəðwō.biš-* “which cures abundant⁽⁹⁾” (Yt. 12₁₇). In the passage last mentioned *avqm vanqm yā hubiš arəðwō.biš yā vaoče vīspō.biš nqma* “that tree which cures well, cures abundant which is called by the name of *Vīspō.biš* (“which cures all⁽¹⁰⁾”)”, the sequence *hu-*, *arəðwō-* and *vīspō-* is much instructive for the argument that Old Iranian *ard-* (*arəd-*) attested should be intransitive “to be prosperous”, not transitive “to make prosperous, further”. Cf. Ind. *ṛdhád-rā-* “one whose speed is increasing or excessive⁽¹¹⁾”, *ṛdhád-vāra-* “one whose wealth is increasing or abundant⁽¹²⁾”; with *-uka-*: *árdhuka-* “prospering”. For the meaning of Y. 50₁₁, see below p. 25.

From what has been treated above, O. P. *arda-* can be interpreted as “prosperity, wealth, treasure”, hence O. P. *ardastāna-* “place of treasure, i.e. treasury”. Its Indic equivalent **ardha-* can rightly be postulated from *árdhuka-*, cf. *bhāvuka-*: *bhāva-*; *véduka-*: *veda-* (< *vid-* “to find”); *kāmuka-*: *kāma-*; *nāśuka-*: *nāśa-* (< *naś-* “to disappear”); etc. Primary derivation with *-a-* (with radical vowel lengthened or guṇated) is quite common: Av. *vaēda-* m. “finding”: Ind. *veda-* m. “ditto”; Av. *aya-* m. “going”: Ind. *áya-* m. “ditto”; Av. *daēza-* m. “mound”: Ind. *deha-* m. “body”; Av. *gaoša-* m., O. P. *gauša-* m. “ear”: Ind. *ghóṣa-* “noise”; etc. That the Palace (*tačara-*) of Darius in Persepolis was named *Ardastāna-* “Place (or Palace) of Treasure” does not seem to contradict his abiding or staying there, just as Gathic *garō dēmāna-* or *dēmāna- garō*⁽¹³⁾ where not only Ahura Mazdā keeps his residence but also are deposited men’s merits and demerits (cf. Yasna 45₈, 49₁₀, 50₄, 51₁₅). But with no evidence that the king used the palace as his usual residence (see below p. 19), nor that the East Iranian Kavidom designated their Treasury with the expression *garō dēmāna-*, further discussion in this line may be of no use. Phonetically, to the common Iranian pattern belongs O. P. *ardastāna-* which, however, seems to have slipped out of use, priority being given to **ganza-*

diffused so widely in South-West Asia; see MAYRHOFER: *op. cit.*, s. v. **ganza-*, and *Ganj i Šīzīgān* “Treasury of Šīz (in Media)” below pp. 20, 21 as well as *GNZ’ MLK’* “Royal Treasury” attested in Nisā ostrakon No. 2107, dated B. C. 39.

The long-maintained misinterpretation of the Old Persian text seems to have come from the misunderstanding of the Babylonian version, which, however, translates accurately or rather explanatorily the O. P. *ardastāna aθa’gaina* “Treasury (made) of stone” with *ku-bu-ur-ri-e aban ga-la-la* i.e. *kuburrē aban galāla* “kuburrum (made) of dressed stone⁽¹⁴⁾”. Nouns of the pattern *puruss* are “very often⁽¹⁵⁾”, although *kuburrum* itself occurs not so often. *KBR* or *babārum* “to be(come) great, fat” is nothing but an adequate Babylonian contre-partie of Ir. *ard-* (*arad-*), Ind. *ṛdh-*. Derived from *KBR*, *kuburrum* can rightly signify “place of wealth, i.e. treasury”, cf. *kanāku* “siegeln”: *kunukkum* “Siegel”⁽¹⁶⁾; *HBL* “Unrecht tun”: *hubulum* “Schuld- od. Zins-verpflichtung”⁽¹⁷⁾. To cite E. HERZFELD: *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 76, “THUREAU-DANGIN *Rit. temp. d’Anu*, 107, verweist auf vorkommen (des k u b u r r u) in seleukidischen texten bei CLAY *Bab. Rec.* II n. 30 u. 44, und gibt die einzige stelle, wo die bedeutung (des k u b u r r u) ersichtlich ist: „Alle andren gottheiten treten in den tempel ein, aber Papsukkal dans le k u b u r r u de la porte du sanctuaire s’arrêtera“. Die kleinen Papsukkalfiguren liegen immer unter der thürschwelle. Der thürraum in der tiefe der mauer ist sein platz, wo er daher bleibt. k u b u r r u ist dieser raum oder die schwelle, passend zu ap.” *ardastāna-* “treasury”, not to HERZFELD’s alleged *ārdastāna-* “orthostat”, any more than to “frame, window-frame, corner-pillar”. The passage tints *kuburrum* with the implication, not in the way as the German archeologist wishes. B. MEISSNER and W. VON SODEN⁽¹⁸⁾ have sadly enough never criticized but only followed E. HERZFELD in interpreting *kuburru(m)* as “Torturm (aus Quadern)”. As the Babylonian version describes it, the *kuburrum* i. e. Treasury was made of dressed stone (*aban galāla*), hence another appellation “Hall of Mirrors” with good reason.

My interpretation of *ardastāna-* may be justified likewise from the standpoint of architecture. The Darius-tačara was subdivided into at least eighteen spaces as is laid stress by W. WÜST: *op. cit.*, p. 109. Of these spaces, the portico and the north-eastern small hall with four pillars are not, of course, store-room. The small hall has four doorways, three of which have jambs with reliefs representing attendants with cosmetic bottle and towel, or censer and pail while the remaining one, leading to the main hall, with relief of king and his two attendants. These motifs suffice to reveal the small hall to be king’s residence. The

remaining sixteen spaces can, of course, contain guard- and attendant-rooms which, however, cannot exclude store-rooms or treasuries as well. These small treasuries or *ardastānas* constitute the whole *tačara-* as Ardestāna. This argument that the whole structure was called Ardestāna may be justified in two ways. First, the four windows between the main hall and the portico are inscribed on both the northern and the southern faces. Second, the north walls and the inner and outer faces of both the eastern and the western parapets of the southern stairway show a file of servants transferring tributes to the Ardestāna to be deposited there, the relieved animals not intended directly for the banquet alleged to be held there.

To sum up, of a large number of tributes, the most precious or strange were carried into this Ardestāna where Darius the Great, sometimes lasting for a few days, saw, inspected or enjoyed them all.

What has been done thus far by the present writer, is mainly in linguistic domain. One question remains with what circumstantial evidence of history the linguistic argument is to be reinforced. In support of it, Dēnkard passage may be cited — passage, concerning the history of Zoroastrian sacred books, that has been variously interpreted or translated; but now, thanks to Prof. M. J. DRESDEN's recent publication⁽¹⁹⁾, its elucidation is greatly facilitated. My transliteration based on his new publication (< > means my insertion, [] omission, +emendation) and literal translation of the passage (*DkD.*⁽²⁰⁾ 512 [320]₁₆–510 [322]₁₄ = *DkM.*⁽²¹⁾ 411₁₇–413₂₀) are as follows:

- (a) *Wištāsp 'šāh 'kā 'az kārezār i 'abāg Arzāsp pardāxt 'būd, 'ō sar-xwadāyān 'abar-padīrīftan i dēn frēstag ud nibēgihā i 'az wisp-dānāgih pēsīd māzdešn dēn 'pad 'was ēwēnag abzār ud frahang ud 'būd i ham-iz kārē*⁽²²⁾ *frahaxt-uzwān mow-'mard 'abāg 'frēstīd. +Spēdanagan*⁽²³⁾*, Arzrāsp <ud> abārīg i 'az 'bē Xwanirah 'pad dēn-pursišnīh 'ō Frašōštar 'āmad 'hand, spurr āgāhīhā wisīd kerd* (*DkD.* 512_{16–22} = *DkM.* 411₁₇–412₂).

When king Wištāsp had been relieved from the war with Arzāsp, he, for the sake of lords' acceptance (*'abar- padīrīftan*) of the Religion, sent a messenger and scriptures of the Mazdayasnian Religion decorated with all wisdom concerning many kinds of craft, and learning and historical events (*'būd i ham-iz kārē*)⁽²²⁾, together with a mobed well-versed in (foreign) tongues. Spēdanagan⁽²³⁾, Arzrāsp and others who (were) from (kišwars) other than Xwanirah came to Frašōštar for the inquiry about the Religion and sent (to their own respective

kišwar) perfect informations.

- (b) *+Dārāy i +Dārāyān hamāg Abestāg <ud> Zend ciyōn Zarduxšt 'az Ohrmezd padirift[an] nibišttag⁽²⁴⁾ 2 pacēn, ēk 'pad Ganj i Šizīgān <ud> ēk 'pad Diz i Nibišt dāštan [w]framūd (DkD. 511₁₋₃=DkM. 412₃₋₅).*

Dārāy i Dārāyān ordered to preserve one (copy) in the Ganj i Šizīgān (in Media) and the other in the Diz i Nibišt, (after) having written⁽²⁴⁾ two copies of both the Abestāg and (its) Zend as Zarduxšt had accepted from Ohrmezd.

- (c) *Walaxš i Ašakānān Abestāg <ud> Zend ciyōn abēzagihā 'andar 'āmad 'ēstād āmōg-iz i az-aš, 'har 'cē 'az wizend ua āšuftkārth i Alaksendar ud ēwār ud rōb i Hrōmāyān 'andar Ērān-šahr pargandagihā 'abar-nibišttag⁽²⁴⁾ 'tā 'cē uzwān-abaspārišnīg 'pad dastwar 'mānd 'ēstād 'andar šahr ciyōn frāz mad 'ēstād nigāh-dāštan 'ō šahrhā — i ayyādgār kerdan — framūd (DkD. 511₃₋₈=DkM. 412₅₋₁₁).*

Walaxš of Arsacids ordered to the provinces to watch — i.e. to commit to memory —, just as they had come down, (the teachings)⁽²⁵⁾ up to what had been remained entrusted to oral tradition ('tā 'cē uzwān-abaspārišnīg.....'mānd 'ēstād) with dasturs in province(s), (after) having written down ('abar-nibišttag)⁽²⁴⁾ all of the teachings⁽²⁶⁾ coming from Abestāg and (its) Zend as had come down in pure condition (until the invasion of Alexander, but) which (Abestāg and Zend) had (now) become dispersed in the country of Iran owing to the devastation and harm by Alexander and (owing to) the invasion and plundering by Romacans.

- (d) *'ōi bai Ardaxšahr 'šāhān 'šāh i Pābagān 'pad rāst dastwarth <i> Tōsar 'hān-iz āmōg i pargandag [w]hamāg 'ō 'dar 'xwāst. Tōsar 'abar mad. 'hān i ēk frāz padirift[an] ud abārīg 'az dastwar 'hišt. ud 'ēn-iz framān 'dād 'ku "frāz 'ō 'amāh 'har nigēzišn 'hān ay 'bawēd 'az dēn māzdēs'n 'cē 'nūn-iz āgāhth ud dānišn az-aš frōd 'nēst" (DkD. 511₉₋₁₃=DkM. 412₁₁₋₁₆).*

His Majesty Ardaxšahr (I), king of kings, son of Pābag, under the right authority of Tōsar summoned to the Court all of the teachings which had been dispersed. Tōsar presided over. One he accepted and the other he rejected from the canon. And this order, too, did he give: “Henceforth, for us, all of the expositions should be what come from the Mazdayasnian Religion, because nowadays information and knowledge do not come down from it (Religion)”.

- [illegible]

Šābuhr (I), king of kings, son of Ardashāhr (I), brought back into gathering ('*abāz 'ō ham 'āburd*) those scriptures, too, which, issuing from the Religion, concerning medicine and astronomy (*star-junbišnīh*), movement and time, space, substance, creation, genesis, destruction, jurisprudence (*jadag-xīrīh*)⁽²⁷⁾ and grammar and other arts and crafts, had been scattered in India, Rome and other territories, and (he, Šābuhr I) put (them) together again with Abestāg. And he ordered to deposit to the Ganj i Šīzīgān all (of its) correct copies and took into consultation the establishment (*āstēnīdan*) of an entire treasury (*hamāg ardestān*) concerning the Mazdayasnian Religion.

- (f) *Šābuhr 'šāhān 'šāh i Ohrmezdān hamāg kišwarigān*⁽²⁸⁾ 'pad paigārišn *Ābān āhōg* +kerd +ud hamāg *gōwišn 'ō uskār* <ud> *wizōyišn 'āburd*. 'pas 'az bōxtan *i Ādurbād* 'pad *gōwišn i passāxt*, 'abāg hamāg 'ōišān *jud*+ristagān [ww]nask *ōšmurd*, *hān-cand jud-ristagān 'ēn-iz guft 'ku* "'nūn 'kā-mān dēn 'pad *gēdē 'bē 'dīd 'kas-iz agdēnīh 'bē 'nē 'hilē. weš 'abar tuxšāg tuxšēm*", *ud hamgōnag kerd* (DkD. 511₂₀-510₄=DkM. 413₂₋₈).

Šābuhr (II), king of kings, son of Ohrmezd (II): all the people of the land⁽²⁸⁾ made Ābān defiled, with dispute, took all (of his) statements into investigation and inquisition. After Ādurbād's having been relieved by decision of ordeal, they (i. e. the people of the land) together with all those of different custom (i. e. heterodox) learned the Nasks, that much of different custom (*hān-cand jud-rīstagān*) said even thus: "Now, when we see the religion on earth, anyone should not allow evil religion. We (must be) more endeavouring after (it) and must endeavour", and did they accordingly.

- (g) *'im bai Hōsrōy i 'šāhān 'šāh <i> Kawādān ciyōn-iš ahlomōgih ud sāstārih spurr-
hamēstārihā wānīd ud 'pad paidāgih 'az dēn 'andar 'har ahlomōgih <i> 4 pēšag
āgāhih ud uskārīšn i dōgānig 'wasihā 'bē abzūd[an], 'ēn-iz 'pad yazdān ārasnīh
guft 'ku "rāstih i dēn māzdēsnañ 'bē 'dānest<an> hōšiyārān 'pad uskārīšn*

ōstīgihā tuwān, 'bē 'pad gēdē 'dīd<an> [w]abartar abzōnīg ud pēš-xrad 'būd<an> — mādiyān, 'nē 'pad uskār<išn> 'bē 'pad abēzagih <i> menišn gōwišn ud kunišn +ud + 'weh-mēnōg wāzišnih <i> mānsrīg abēzagihā izišnih i yazdān — šāyēd. 'ud-šān Ohrmezd mowbed 'hān i 'hān 'xwānd 'xwānēm 'kē mēnōg wēnišnih 'andar 'amāh paidāgihist 'ud-mān farrox cārīh mēnōg wēnišnih gēdē handāzag nimāyišnihā-iz 'har 2 ēwēnag spurīg 'ud-šān 'xwāst 'xwāhēm'' (DkD. 510₄₋₁₄=DkM. 413₉₋₂₀).

His present Majesty Hōsrōy (I), king of kings, son of Kawād (I), as soon as he overcame with perfect opposition the heresy and tyranny and by the revelation from the Religion there grew in large number the information and detailed deliberation among all of the heretics in four classes, said thus concerning the theosophic means: “The righteousness of the Mazdayasnian Religion wise men can steadfastly recognize through meditation, but on earth man is able to see the higher beneficent and to become prescient in particular, not by meditation, but by the purity of thought, word and deed and reciting, with good mind, of manthras and worshipping, with purity, of gods. And let us call Ohrmezd the mobed (*mowbed 'hān*) whom (Ohrmezd) they (people) have so called (*..... -šān i 'hān 'xwānd*), because His (lit. whose) spiritual eye has become manifest among us. And our means of attaining happiness shall become perfect in both ways (i. e. in this world and in the next) by our showing the worldly similitude of His spiritual eye. And they (people) have sought after and we will (too) seek after.”

Of the Dēnkard passages, text (e) offers us circumstances to be noticed. Šābuhr I wanted to establish *hamāg ardestān 'abar dēn māzdešn*, that is, a treasury (*ardestān*) containing all (*hamāg*) what has concerns with Zoroastrianism. Pahlavi script 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 can be read either *ardestān*, or *ālestān* with Persian treatment *āl-* < *ard-* in *arda-* (cf. *wāl-* [in *wālidan* “to grow”] < *ward-*: *vard-*, Ind. *vṛdh-*). The **āl-* has retained itself in Arabo-Persian *ālat*, pl. *ālāt*. The second element *-estān* is represented not infrequently with scriptio plena with *yōd* (*-yst'n*). To the present writer, however, the reading *ardestān* seems preferable. Even after the collapse of the Achaemenid dynasty, Pārs had long preserved its own traditional elements. During the Seleucid-Parthian period, the territory enjoyed its own semi-independence. The royal family Frataḍār (*PRTDR'*)⁽²⁹⁾, claiming the Achaemenid lineage, established a temple outside the platform of Persepolis.

Persepolis, O. P. *Pārsa Staxra*, was taken after by Sasanid Family with Staxr as their capital — Staxr, its principal remains being at Taxt e Ta'os near Pozah. Persepolis-Staxr was the homestead or cradle of both families, Frataḍār and Sasanids. Their claiming succession to the Achaemenids is clearly shown either by the sovereign names *Artaxšahr* and *Dārayaw* read on the legend of some Frataḍār's coins or by the name of *Ardaxšēr* (*Ardaxšahr*), founder of the Middle Persian Empire. Šābuhr, Sagān šāh had his inscription carved on the very face of the Ardaštāna (ardestān) of Darius I (on the southern face of the east jamb of the doorway which links the portico with the main hall). In the light of these circumstances, it is highly probable that the palace name **Ardaštāna* remained unchanged, hence *ardestān* preferable to *ālestān*. We are, however, quite uncertain whether the *Hamāg Ardestān* or Entire Treasury Šābuhr I wished to establish was brought to pass or not. Does the wording *āstēnīdan i hamāg ardestān* “to establish an entire treasury” mean to restore the then ruined Ardaštāna of Darius I, or newly to establish another like structure, and, if so, was it established in Ardestān, 100 km. N.-W. of Nā'in, 140 km. east of Iṣfahān, or elsewhere? Ardestān is located amidst the territory of the Parthian dialect, hence retaining *-rd-*, not *-l-*, but no Arabo-Persian historian or geographer has referred to this town in connection with Šābuhr I. Be the matter what it may, to the Entire Treasury concerning the Mazdayasnian Religion, Šābuhr I would have deposited the Zoroastrian scriptures which leads us to infer that Darius' Ardaštāna could have contained also documents or scriptures of various characters, no less than a large number of tributes, if not all, relieved on the faces of Persepolis or referred to in his inscriptions. A like instance to name a structure after its use may be seen in Madustān (<**madustāna-*) “Wine-Cellar” of Mihrdāt-kirt in Parthian metropolis Nisā or Parthaunisa.

Darius I established his *tačara-*, named it Ardaštāna “Treasure-House or Treasury” and had trilingual inscription carved on its surface as many as eighteen times in somewhat decorative way. O. P. *tačara-* is a d e t a c h e d structure, so that it can be winter-palace, summer-palace, treasure-house, etc., as the case may be⁽³⁰⁾. At the outset, Tripylon must have functioned as Council or Throne Hall, while the Tačara as Treasury. The latter should now and henceforth be called Ardaštāna as was named by its founder Darius I, and most probably by the Frataḍār family and the Sasanid sovereigns as well.

In the last, but not to the least, the Dēnkard passage (f) cited above p. 21, if my interpretation is correct, gives us a new fact important for the history of

Zoroastrianism. Unaware of its leader, Ābān, we have so often referred to the movement the orthodox Ādurbād ī Mahrāspendān acted against.

VII

arədra-

Of Av. *arədra-*, so far as my knowledge is concerned, three representative meanings have been proposed: (1) Chr. BARTHOLOMAE⁽³¹⁾ “getreu, verlässig” accepted with or without reservation by H. LOMMEL⁽³²⁾, Maria W. SMITH⁽³³⁾, S. WIKANDER⁽³⁴⁾, K. BARR⁽³⁵⁾, W. B. HENNING⁽³⁶⁾, I. GERSHEVITCH⁽³⁷⁾, G. WIDENGR-EN⁽³⁸⁾ and formerly by the present writer⁽³⁹⁾; (2) J. HERTEL⁽⁴⁰⁾ “brennend” followed by H. S. NYBERG⁽⁴¹⁾, J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN⁽⁴²⁾ and W. HINZ⁽⁴³⁾; (3) H. HUM- BACH⁽⁴⁴⁾ “Gedeihbringend”. These interpretations seem, however, not to get to the core, but to roam about the peripheries of the word *arədra-*. Now from what has been dwelt upon under VI Henceforth *Arđastāna*!, in particular p. 16 ff., *arədra-* signifies nothing else than “prosperous, wealthy, rich”.

Morphologically, *arədra-* is a kind of primary derivative with *-ra*, having root *gunāted*. The like derivation with the root in zero degree is quite common: Av. *awra-*, Ind. *abhrá-* (Av. *nab-*, Ind. *nabh-*; *imber*, ἀφρός); Av. *daŋra-* (i.e. **dahra-*), Ind. *dasrá-* (Av. *daŋhah-*, Ind. *dámsas-*); Av. *ugra-*, *uŋra-*, Ind. *ugrá-* (Av. *aoŋyah-*, Ind. *ójiyas-*); Ir. *dūra-*, Ind. *dūrā-* (Av. *dav-*, Ind. *dávīyas-*); etc. In Indic, the *arədra-* type has always *ī* inserted before *-ra*⁽⁴⁵⁾ and is less frequent: *sthāvira-* (*sthūrā-*, στῆλος), *sarirā-* (*sŕ-*), *śāvīra-* (*śū/śvā-*); while in Iranian, suffixed directly with *-ra*, only two forms are attested: *arədra-* and *ōifra-* which latter may be identified with **vōifra-*, if not with **vifra-*, Ind. *vīpra-*. From Yt. 13₁₀₃ where *ōifra-* occurs, nothing concrete can be deduced, but Ind. *vīpra-* said of sages and gods “inwardly excited, inspired or wise” gives a clue to the deduction. It is interesting to notice that *ōifra-* and *arədra-* are both found in religious domain of terminology.

arədra- is seven times attested in the Gathas (Y. 34₇, 43₃, 46_{9,16}, 48₈, 50_{4,8}) and in YAv. (Yašt 5_{19,132}, 10₆₅, 13_{32,75}, 15_{1,21}) respectively. In the latter case it occurs in stereotyped expression referring to the Mazdayasnian pious except Aži Dahāka (Yašt 15₂₁), hence not connotative of what it means. In the Gathas, *arədra-* “rich, wealthy” opposes to *drigu-* “poor”. What is, then, the *arədra-* endowed with and what is the *drigu-* destitute of? In this regard, we remember the Manichean *electa*=*wizīdag* and *auditor*=*niyōšāg*. Gathic *arədra-*

is he who is entitled to and endowed with *īšti-* “possessions, properties” or *savah-* “profit, advantage, salvation” with which Ahura Mazdā and other Entities abide in the *garō dāmāna-*, hence the Deities themselves are also *arədra-* (Y. 34₇, 43₃). In Y. 34₇, *arədra-* are Ahura Mazdā and other Archangels, because (surely with their *īšti-*) they change the hardships of the pious to happiness (*ušəuru-*)⁽⁴⁶⁾, while in Y. 43₃ Ahura Mazdā as *arədra-* keeps His residence in the Land of truth, the way thither rightly called “straight paths of *savah-*”. Frašaoštra is advised to go to the Land of *īšti-* and *savah-* with his associates *arədra-* (Y. 46₁₆). Zoroaster asks, in order to show (*ākā, ākās-*)⁽⁴⁷⁾ it to those *arədra-*, what *īšti-* lies in the Kingdom (Y. 48₈), or what *īš-* “things refreshing (in the supreme world)” awaits them on the way there (Y. 50₄). *īš-*, here, may be taken as a synonym of *īšti-*. In Y. 46₉, Ahura Mazdā or another Archangel is most likely to be identified with an *arədra-* having His *īšti-* in the Paradise to make the people aware of it. The conclusion is now almost unavoidable that *arədra-* means “rich and endowed with such a heavenly gift”. Man can readily see why the creator of the world is wished for to “become wealthy for the realization ... of what is the foremost in his will” (Y. 50₁₁): having the heavenly *īšti-*, he is an unfailing source for the salvation of his worthy creatures.

Gathic *drigu-* “poor” is three times attested (Y. 27₁₃, 34₅, 53₉). The *yathā ahū vairyō* prayer (Y. 27₁₃) may be translated thus:

<i>yaθā ahū vairyō</i>	<i>aθā ratuš ašāt-čēt hačā</i>
<i>vənhəuš dazdā manəhō</i>	<i>šyaəθananəm ənhəuš mazdāi</i>
<i>xšaθrəm-čā ahurāi ā</i>	<i>yim drəγubyō dadat vāstārəm</i>

Just-like as leader he (Zoroaster) is one-desirable, so also as judge he is, in-accordance-with Aša,

One-who shepherds (*dazdā*)⁽⁴⁸⁾, belonging himself to Vohu Manah, the deeds of the world to Mazdā

And the (worldly) kingdom to Ahura, whom (Zoroaster) they (i.e. Aša, Vohu Manah and Mazdā Ahura) have appointed pastor of the poor (*drəγubyō*).

That the *drigu-* “poor” is destitute of the heavenly gift such as *īšti-* or the like, over against the *arədra-* “rich”, is definitely guaranteed by Y. 34₅ where Mazdā, Aša and Vohu Manah are asked for to rescue the *drigu-* with power (*xšaθra-*) and *īšti-*. The deities concerned are no other than those by whom Zoroaster was appointed pastor of the poor. What is connoted by the prayer clearly shows that the *drigu-* are destitute of and to be rescued with *īšti-* or the like. Mazdā

is, therefore, rightly said to give the *drigu-* what is better through his power (*xšaθra-*) — what is better is nothing other than *īšti-* (Y. 53₉).

īšti- lies in the paradise (Y. 46₁₆). In India this connection is, although almost faded away, still discernible with Vedic *iṣṭi-*⁽⁴⁹⁾. *arədra-* is he who is promised the *īšti-* (Y. 46₁₆, 48₈), but without getting the divine eye (*čisti-*) he is unable to see it. Therefore, *Ĵāmāspa*, *arədra-* as he is, is desirous of getting the divine eye to see the very *īšti-* (Y. 51₁₈). Being himself *arədra-* (53₁), Zoroaster has already got the divine eye and so he is able not only to see the *īšti-* (44₁₀) but also to show it to the other *arədra-*: *arədra-* one, in so far as he cannot attain *čisti*hood, cannot help having the *īšti-* shown by Zoroaster (48₈). The Prophet is capable of seeing the *īšti-* with his own *čisti-* which is represented as his solicitation to Ahura Mazdā (46₂, 48₈, 51₂). Such an *īšti-* is that with which Ahura Mazdā and Vohu Manah rescue the *drigu-* (34₅) and that from which evil teachers are endeavouring to prevent the people (32₉). This *īšti-* is for the sake of enjoying the eternal, good life in heaven (53₁), endowed with a second beautiful body (51₁₇). How and by what means, then, is this *īšti-* certificated?

According to Y. 44₁₀, having his own *daēnā-* “ego” in accordance with justice and making the world prosperous with his word and deed originating from his submissive mind, man can be entitled to the *īšti-*. The like tenet recurs in Y. 53₁:

<i>vahištā īštiš srāvi</i>	<i>Zaraθuštrahē</i>	
<i>Spitāmahyā yezi hōi</i>	<i>dāt āyaptā</i>	
<i>ašāt hačā Ahurō</i>	<i>Mazdā yavōi vīspāi ā</i>	<i>hvaṇhəvīm</i>
<i>yaēčā hōi dabēn saškən[čā]</i>	<i>daēnayd vānhuyd</i>	<i>uxdā šyaθanāčā</i>

As the best *īsti-* have been heard Zaraθuštra-
 Spitāma’s boons, which, indeed, has given him,
 according to justice, Ahura Mazdā, for the good life for ever
 and (He will give also to those) who submit to and exert themselves for
 Him with their own words and deeds originating from their good
daēnā- “ego”.

dabēn (l. 4) is 3. pers. pl. injunctive of **damb-* (Ary. **dambh-*), *-b(h)-* enlargement of *dam-* (Ind. *dam-*, v.i. “to be tamed”, v.t. “to tame”). My postulation of **damb-* can easily explain Y. 53₈ ab:

<i>anāiš ā dužvarəšnənhō</i>	<i>dafšnyā hēntū</i>
<i>zah:yāčā vīspānhō</i>	<i>xraosəntqm upā</i>

With these, evil doers should be subdued

and forsaken: all (of them) should cry (with pain).

As for *dam-*: **damb-*, cf. *nam-*: **namb-* which can explain Pahl. *fra-naftan* “to proceed, go” and Sogd. *rtȳ* “attacked”: Sogd. *rnβ-* & Parth. *raf-* (see Jes P. ASMUSSEN: *Iranica* in *Acta Orientalia* XXXI, Copenhagen 1968, p. 12, c. n. 12). *saškən* which appears immediately after *dabān* is 3. pers. pl. intensive injunctive of *sak-* (Ind. *śak-*). In Y. 46₁₈, Zoroaster has promised *išti-* to the one favourable (*yaoš*) to him who makes Ahura Mazdā’s wish and desire satisfied. From his statement the conclusion is almost inevitable that anyone, whether Zoroaster himself or not, can be guaranteed the *išti-* when his thought, word and deed are in accordance with the Lord’s wish and desire. *išti-* has, thus, a very close connection with the yonder world and cannot be gained by our only worldly activities. Ahura Mazdā grants it to the worthy beings for their salvation. In this respect, Zoroastrianism can reasonably be called Religion of Grace and Favour. In Y. 34₅, *drigu-* is used of those who are to be saved by Ahura Mazdā and Vohu Manah by means of *išti-* and power. In Y. 53₉, *drigu-* is the being to be saved by Ahura Mazdā by means of what is better, i.e. *išti-* above referred to. Here the *drigu-* accompanies *ərəžə-jī-* adj. “rightly living”, which does not mean that a being, *drigu-* but not rightly living, is likewise to be found, but that a being *drigu-* is a priori a rightly living one. *ərəžə-jī-* occurs elsewhere in Y. 29₅ and 50₂. In the former case, it is applied to the shepherds opposing to the wicked:

ərəžə-jyōi.....fšuyentē drəgvasū pairi

to the rightly living shepherds among the surrounding wicked.

The wording corresponds to Y. 50₂

ərəžə-jīš ašā pourušū hvarē pišyasū⁽⁵⁰⁾

ākās⁽⁵¹⁾-tāng mā nišqsyā⁽⁵²⁾ dāθəm dāhvā

rightly livings in accordance with justice among many preventing⁽⁵⁰⁾ the sun:

in order to show⁽⁵¹⁾ (it) to them, indeed, I (Zoroaster) want to attain to⁽⁵²⁾ the givers’ gifts.

A comparison of the two passages will soon reveal *drəgwant-* “wicked” to be a synonym of *hvarē pišyant-* “one preventing the sun”. And if we understand *ərəžə-jī-* a priori to be *drigu-* as Y. 53₉ points it out affirmatively, it is obvious that with the term “*drigu-*” are meant those who do not observe the traditional belief or religious ceremony, or do not rely upon plunder and pillage, characteristic of them. The *drigu-* as such are on the side of Zoroaster who acted against the traditional surroundings, but they seem to be required further endeavour for

the attainment of *īṣṭi-*. The *īṣṭi-* was most likely endowed by *saoṣyant-*. Zoroaster, as *saoṣyant-*, led the *drigu-* to this attainment, as the *yathā ahū vairyo* prayer shows it. The *saoṣyants* in the Gathas as well as in the Fravarānē Confession most probably acted likewise. Therefore *arədra-* may be translated “bliss-endowed, beatified” while *drigu-* “bliss-destitute, non-beatified”. The contrast between *arədra-* and *drigu-* may readily be understood by citing Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra. In the so-called Eighteenth Vow, Bodhisattva Dharmākara says thus⁽⁵³⁾:

設我得仏十方衆生至心信樂欲生我國乃至十念若不生者不取正覺唯除五逆誹謗
正法

Even when I (Dharmākara) shall have attained Buddhahood, those beings of the ten quarters of the world who have trusted on me with their serene thought — if they should, so many as ten times (at least), seek to be born in the Land of mine and should not be born there, then may I not attain Enlightenment, barring those who have committed the Five Grave Sins and slandered the Buddha’s Law.

Another passage, ascribed to Śākyamuni Buddha, has explained it thus⁽⁵⁴⁾:

諸有衆生聞其名号信心歡喜乃至一念至心廻向願生彼國即得往生住不退轉唯除
五逆誹謗正法

All of the beings who have heard the name of that Buddha (Amitāyus) and rejoiced with their believing heart — if they, so many as one time (at least), bring their serene thought to maturity and seek to be born in His Land, then they will (become destined to) be born there and never (to) turn away, barring those who have committed the Five Grave Sins and slandered the Buddha’s Law.

The sentient beings referred to in the 18th Vow are least endowed with self-rescuing abilities as compared to those in the succeeding two Vows (19th and 20th)⁽⁵⁵⁾, but none the less, as the text clearly shows it, they, already believers in Buddha Amitāyus, are further demanded to bring their serene thought to maturity and to seek to be born in His Land. When they perform accordingly, one or ten times only, they can be entitled to the entrance to His Pure Land. Here, the mere believer may be compared to *drigu-* while the performer to *arədra-*. A minor argument against the present writer may be conveyed to another third passage⁽⁵⁶⁾ following that of the last-mentioned Sukhāvatīvyūha. According to it, ascribed likewise to Śākyamuni Buddha, all of the sentient beings, divine or human, of ten directions who have believed in Amita Buddha and seek to enter His Pure Land, are divided into three grades: high, middle

- (4) É. BENVENISTE: *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*, Paris 1966, p. 77: *Akmašdana* = *haxmastāna*-, p. 81: *Baltišdana* = *patistāna*-, p. 85: *Irtāšduna* = *Ἀγραστόωνη*, p. 88: *Mipušda* = *vibusta*-.
 (5) *Persia*, translated by S. GILBERT and J. EMMONS, 1964, p. 208. Darius' Persepolis a: *Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vazarka*, *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*, *xšāyaθiya dahyūnām*, *Vištāspahyā pussa*, *Haxāmanišiya hya imam tačaram akunauš*.
 (6) In support of his interpretation, HERZFELD has postulated a root *KBR* "ὀφείλειν" for the Babylonian version *kuburum*. But previously he had read *ārdastāna*- "ὀρθοστάτην, orthostat", connecting *ārda*- with Av. *arəduwa*-, *arəduva*- "upward, above" (cf. Ind. *ūrdhvā*-) and *kuburum* with *KBR* "to be great" (*Altpersische Inschriften*, Berlin 1938, pp. 74–76); cf. below, n. (18).
 (7) Against *AirWb.* 350 "die dem Vater Gedeihen schafft" fem. zu **arədaṭ.pitar*-. My interpretation is justified by the Pahl. translation *Gōbāg-pid* "whose father is thriving", see H. W. BAILEY: *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-century Books*, Oxford 1943, p. 83 and M. MOLÉ: *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi*, Paris 1967, p. 229, n. 15.
 (8) Yt. 10₁₂₀: *Miθrō višpā mazdayasnanəm yaṃ ašaonəm arəduwāča kərəθwāča* "Mithra (is) prosperous and active among all of the righteous Mazdayasnians", over against *AirWb.* 350: *arəduwan*- "der gedeihen lässt, fördert" and I. GERSHEVITCH: *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge 1959, pp. 132–33 "furtherer and guardian of (*arəduwāča kərəθwāča*)". *kərəθwan*- to **kar*- "to be active".
 (9) Against *AirWb.* 351 "der energische, kräftige Heilmittel hat" and J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN: *Les Composés de l'Avesta*, Liège-Paris 1936, §201, 19 (p. 158) "aux remèdes efficaces".
 (10) Against *AirWb.* 1469 "der alle Heilmittel hat" and DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN: *op. cit.*, §103 (p. 71), §201, 71 (p. 164) "qui a tous les remèdes". See É. BENVENISTE: *Notes Sogdiennes in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 9 (1937–39), p. 506 "qui guérit tout".
 (11) *R̥gveda* VIII 46₂₃: *dāśa śyāvā ṛdhād-rayo vītā-vārāsa āśāvah | mathrā nimīnī nī vāvṛtuḥ* || (according to Sāyaṇa: *ṛdhād-rayo pravṛddha-vegā*)
 (12) *R̥gveda* VI 3₂: *ījé yajñēbhiḥ śaśamē śamībhir ṛdhād-vārāyāgnāye dadāśa | evā canā tān yaśāsām ājuṣṭir nāmho mārtaṃ naśate nā prādṛptiḥ* || (Sāyaṇa: *ṛdhād-vārāyāgnāye ṛdhat samṛddham vāraṃ varanīyaṃ dhanam yasya tādṛśyāgnāye*)
 (13) Whatever the etymological treatment of *gar*- may be, the characteristic of *garō dāmāna*- as house of assemblage cannot be denied.
 (14) *aban galāla* "dressed stone" — of many articles referring to this word, here may be cited only E. HERZFELD: *Altpers. Inschriften*, p. 100 and F. ROSENTHAL: *An Aramaic Handbook* ed. by —, Part 1/2, Glossary (compiled by H. L. GINSBERG), Wiesbaden 1967, p. 21, s.v. *g'lāl* in *'aḇēn g'lāl* dressed stone.
 (15) W. VON SODEN: *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, Roma 1952, p. 63, §55, q, 32 a) *puruss*.
 (16) VON SODEN: *op. cit.*, p. 63, §55, q.
 (17) VON SODEN: *op. cit.*, p. 63, §55, q; p. 52, §50, d.
 (18) *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Band I, A-L, Wiesbaden 1965, p. 498, citing E. HERZFELD: *Altpers. Inschriften*, " 'Torturm' (ap. *ārdastāna*) aus Quadern" — cf. above note (6).

- (19) *Dēnkart, A Pahlavi Text — Facsimile edition of the Manuscript B of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay* edited by M. J. DRESDEN, Wiesbaden 1966.
- (20) *DkD.* = Dēnkard, ed. by DRESDEN, referred to in n. (19).
- (21) *DkM.* = Dēnkard, ed. by Madan i.e. *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* published under the supervision of D. M. MADAN, I–II, Bombay 1911.
- (22) Cf. Skt. *itihāsa* i.e. *iti ha āsa*.
- (23) Reading fairly uncertain, cf. Av. *spaētō.ainika-*. M. MOLÉ: *op. cit.*, p. 189, reads *Spityōš*.
- (24) Participial constructions in Pahlavī are apt to be unobserved. A. BAUSANI: *Letteratura Neopersiana (Storia della Letteratura Persiana)*, Milano 1960, p. 235, making no reference to it, has only said “Uno dei principali strumenti per introdurre un minimo di ipotassi e di costruzione nel periodare postsadiano è il participio passato gerundivale in -ē. Esso è ormai comunissimo in Mīrkhānd (secolo XV): Quest’ uso, rarissimo nella prosa sadiana e che comincia a diffondersi largamente soprattutto col periodo mongolo, contribuisce a donare una certa aria di ipotassi al periodare.”
- (25) “(the teachings) in province(s)” i.e. the teachings not coming from Abestāg and Zend, that had been preserved in the form of oral tradition by provincial dasturs.
- (26) “all of the teachings in the country of Iran”, lit. “Abestāg and (its) Zend as had come down in pure condition — teachings from it (Abestāg and Zend): all (of the teachings) which had (now) become dispersed in the country of Iran”.
- (27) or *jus ad rem*.
- (28) or *kišwarīgān ‘pad paigārišn < i > Ābān āhōg kerdan hamāg* “..... the people of the land while disputing in order to make Ābān defiled took”
- (29) After the Aramaic orthography. The final ’ represents -ā of the status determinatus, hence the whole may be uzwarized *Frataḍār*. Cf. P. NASTER: *Note d’Épigraphie monétaire de Perside: fratakara, frataraka ou frataḍāra?* in *Iranica Antiqua*, vol. VIII (1968), p. 74 ff.
- (30) O.P. *tačara-* to *tak-* (Ind. *tac-*). To render *tačara-* with “Winter-house” because of its having windows facing to the south is hardly convincing, cf. N.P. *tazar* “summer-house”.
- (31) *AirWb.* 195.
- (32) *Die Yāšt’s des Avesta*, Göttingen-Leipzig 1927, Yt. 10₆₅ and 15₂₁ “(ge)treu(?)” and Yt. 13₃₂ “streitbar(?)”, otherwise “(ge)treu”; F. C. ANDREAS† — H. LOMMEL: *Gāthā’s des Zarathustra Yasna* 43–46, Berlin 1934, p. 69, to Y. 43₃ note e) “einsichtig: Andreas, der jedoch diese Bedeutung auch nur als Versuch, neben „getreu, gläubig“”.
- (33) *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra*, Philadelphia 1929, p. 95 “loyal”.
- (34) *Vayu I*, Lund 1941, pp. 1, 4 “fromm”.
- (35) *Avesta*, København 1954, pp. 67, 72, etc. “trofast”.
- (36) “loyal”, apud I. GERSHEVITCH: *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford 1954, §154, connecting it with *i’rōwky*, *’yw’rōkw*.
- (37) *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, pp. 103, 215 “loyal”.
- (38) *Iranische Geisteswelt*, Baden-Baden 1961, p. 122 “getreu (?)” (Yt. 10₆₅).
- (39) *Gathica* II, p. 11; IV, p. 13.
- (40) *Arische Feuerlehre*, Leipzig 1925, p. 146 & passim “brennend”, connecting it with Lat. *ardere* “to burn”.

- (41) *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, p. 454 “brennend”.
- (42) *Zoroastre*, Paris 1948, pp. 178, 184, etc. “ardent”.
- (43) *Zarathustra*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 220 “innig-fromm”.
- (44) *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, Heidelberg 1959, II p. 45, referring to Av. *ard-* (*arad-*), Ind. *ṛdh-* “gedeihen lassen”.
- (45) When the stem ends in *-a* or *-u* before *-ra*, it may be identified with present stem in *-a* or *-u*-enlargement respectively. The suffix *-ra* is so productive that the foregoing stem form varies, sometimes influenced even by Middle Indic.
- (46) Cf. Gathica IV *uṣṇuru-* (pp. 13–14).
- (47) Cf. Gathica II *ākā* (pp. 9–11).
- (48) *dazdar-* to *dqh-* AirWb. 746 “lehren” (not to *ḍā-* AirWb. 711).
- (49) Cf. Ṛgveda X 70₁₁: *agne vaha Vāruṇam iṣṭāye na Indram divó Marúto antárikṣāt | śídantu barhtr víśva á yájatrāḥ svāhā devā amṛtā mādayantām ||*; I 129₄: *asmākaṁ va Indram uśmasiṣṭāye sákhāyaṁ víśvāyaṁ prāsāhaṁ yújāṁ vājeṣu prāsāhaṁ yújāṁ | asmākaṁ bráhmotāye ’vā pr̥tsūsū kāsū cit | naht tvā sátruḥ stárate stṛṇóṣi yám víśvaṁ sátruṁ stṛṇóṣi yám ||*
- (50) *piśyasū*, see Gathica II, p. 11, c. n. 29).
- (51) See above n. (47).
- (52) *niṣṣyā*, 1. pers. sing. pres. subjunctive active of *niṣ-qs-* to *qs-* “to attain, to get”. My former interpretation, Gathica II, p. 11, c. n. 30) should now be superseded.
- (53) *Muryōju-kyō* (Taishō, vol. 12, p. 268 a). In Sanskrit text, rather comparable is the Nineteenth Vow: *sacen me bhagavan bodhiprāptasyāprameyāsamkhyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ye sattvāḥ mama nāmadheyam śrutvā, tatra buddhakṣetre cittam preṣayeyur, upapattaye kuśalamūlāni ca parināmayeyus, te ca tatra buddhakṣetre nopapadyeran, antaśo daśabhiḥ cittotpādāparivartaiḥ, sthāpayitvānantaryakāriṇaḥ saddharmaṇḍikāpāraṇāyātāṁs ca sattvān, mā tāvad aham anuttarāṁ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyeyam*, over against the Eighteenth Vow: *sacen me bhagavan bodhiprāptasya, ye sattvā anyeṣu lokadhātusv anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ cittam utpādyā, mama nāmadheyam śrutvā, prasanacittā mām anusmareyus, teṣāṁ ced aham maraṇakālasamaye pratyupasthite bhikṣusaṅghaparivṛtaḥ puraskṛto na purataḥ tiṣṭheyam, yad idaṁ: cittāvikṣepatāyāi, mā tāvad aham anuttarāṁ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyeyam*. Cf. *Sukhāvativyūha*, édité par A. ASHIKAGA, Kyoto 1965, pp. 13–14. For the corresponding vow in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarika Sūtra*, see Y. UJITANI: *Hike-kyō no Kenkyū*, Nagoya 1969, p. 100 (English résumé p. 12) — the 44th Vow: *bodhiprāptasya ca mamāprameyeṣv asaṁkhyeṣv anyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ye sattvā nāmadheyam śṛṇuyus, te sarve buddhakṣetrakuśalamūlaparināmanam kṛtvā, mama buddhakṣetra upapadyeyuḥ, sthāpayitvānantaryakārakān sattvān saddharmaṇḍikāpāraṇāyātāṁs* (Manuscripts of Kyoto University: I fol. 42 b, l. 8–f. 43 a, l. 1; II fol. 51 a, ll. 7–8 — I: *mamāprameyaṁśv aneṣu* for *mamāprameyeṣv asaṁkhyeṣv anyeṣu*; *nāmadhayaṁ* for *nāmadheyam*; *terve* for *te sarve*; *parināmanam* for *parināmanam*/II: *deest asaṁkhyeṣv*; *kṣatreṣu* for *ksetresu*; *ya* for *ye*; *kṣatra* for *kṣetra* [2]). For the Chinese translations, *Hike-kyō* (Taishō, vol. 3, p. 184 b, ll. 10–13) and *Daijō-hifundari-kyō* (ditto, p. 250 a, ll. 21–24).
- (54) *Muryōju-kyō* (Taishō, vol. 12, p. 272 b). Cf. Sanskrit text (p. 42): *ye kecit sattvās tasya ’mitābhasya tathāgatasya nāmadheyam śṛṇvanti, śrutvā cāntaśa ekacittotpādam apy adhyāsayena prasādasahagatam utpādayanti, sarve te ’vaivartikatāyāṁ saṁtiṣṭhante anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ*.
- (55) *Muryōju-kyō* (Taishō, vol. 12, p. 268 a-b).

- (56) *Muryōju-kyō* (Taishō, vol. 12, p. 272 b-c).
- (57) (其下輩者十方世界諸天人民其有至心欲生彼国) 假使不能作諸功德当發無上菩提之心一向專意乃至十念念無量寿仏願生其国若聞深法欲喜信樂不生疑惑乃至一念念於彼仏以至誠心願生其国 (此人臨終夢見彼仏亦得往生功德知慧次如中輩者也)
- Cf. Sanskrit text (p. 43): *ye punar Ānanda sattvās taṁ tathāgataṁ daśacittotpādāṁ samanu-smariṣyanti; sphāṁś ca tasmin buddhakṣetre utpādayiṣyanti; gambhīreṣu ca dharmeṣu bhāṣyamāṇeṣu tuṣṭiṁ pratilapṣyante, na vipatsyante, na viśādam āpatsyante, na saṁśīdam āpatsyante; 'ntaśa ekacittotpādenāpi taṁ tathāgataṁ manasikariṣyanti, sphāṁ cōtpādayiṣyanti tasmin buddhakṣetre, te 'pi svapnāntaragatās tam A(m)itābhaṁ tathāgataṁ drakṣyanti; Sukhāvatyaṁ lokadhātāv upapatsyante; 'vaivarttikāś ca bhaviṣyanty anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ.*
- (58) *xratu-*, Iranian equivalent for Vedic *krātu-* preluding to the later *pra-ṇi-dhā-*, occurs in the Gathas. Most instructive is Y. 31₇ ab:
- yastā mantā paouruṣyō raočēbiṣ rōiθwən x^aāθrā*
hvo xraθwā dāmiṣ ašəm yā dārayaṣ vahištəm manō
- Who at the beginning thought to fill those blissful places with light,
 He created with *xratu-* the Aša through which He has maintained the best Vohu Manah.
- As regard the *xratu-* of Zoroaster, see Y. 46₁₈.
- (59) Cf. Y. 31_{7,19}, 44₃.
- (60) Y. 28_{2,6,8} et passim. Cf. also the *ašəm vohū* prayer (Y. 27₁₄).
- (61) Y. 28_{1,3} et passim. Cf. also *ašəm vohū* prayer.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

After my article came to press, I have found M. MAYRHOFER: *Das Altper-sische seit 1964* in *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London 1970. According to it (p. 284), W. B. HENNING (JNC, 6th Series, XVI, 1956, 328 and note I) had interpreted O. P. *ardastāna-* as “threshold, sill”, connecting it with N. P. *āstān(e)* “ditto” (<*āl-stān < ardashāna-). By Prof. MAYRHOFER the interpretation is called ein entscheidender Fund, but no reason can be found to alter or emend my argument.