

**Some Iranian Anthroponyms and Toponyms** — All the following anthroponyms are recorded in LB sources. Nos. 1-9 can originate from Old Iranian (OIran.) forms, whereas Nos. 10-19 presumably go back to Middle Iranian (MIran.) ones (refs. are to A. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia*, 3 : *Diaries from 164 B.C. to 61 B.C.* ; texts and plates ; Vienna 1996, unless otherwise stated ; Nos. 18, 19 are transcriptions of the Greek forms of Middle Iranian anthroponyms, usually dynastic names). All the asterisked forms are Iranian unless otherwise stated. I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr C.B.F. Walker for permission to quote from unpublished BM tablets (and to consult the Bertin copies, henceforth « Bert. »).

### A. Anthroponyms

**1. A-ra-e-uš-tu** (BM 25690, 2 ; 501/0 B.C. ; owner of a house in Babylon) is presumably \*Arya-ušta- « Iranerglück », cf. \*Aspa-ušta- « Pferdeglück » (W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Wiesbaden 1975 [henceforth *ASN*], 46).

**2. Ar-tu-ku** (BM 87345, 4, 13, undated, but hardly pre-Achaemenian) < \*Rtu-ka-, based on OInd. *rtú-* « fixed time, order, rule » (cf. I. Gershevitch, *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata* 2, Rome 1969 [henceforth *StPagliaro*], 192, 194 ; R. Schmitt, *OrNs* 32, 1963, 444). Compare Artwvkh”, name of an Iberian king (66/5 B.C. ; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895 [henceforth *IN*], 40a ; var. *Artaces*, *Artak*, cf. E.A. Grantovskiy, *Rannyaya istoriya iranskikh plemen peredney Azii*, Moscow 1971 [henceforth *RiIP*], 252, 258 : \*Rta-uka-).

**3. Ar-tu-ma-az-za. Ar-tu-az-za** (BM 54107 = Bert. 2845, 2, 3, 5 [the copy has erroneously -KU- for -ma-] and 10 resp.) held a bow-fief in <sup>garrim</sup>Hi-ia-tu<sub>4</sub> (the document was found in Sippar ; from the beginning of Darius I's reign). On the face of it, his name looks identical with that of ^Arqeouazou (gen. of ^Arqeouazh”, cf. D. Braund, *ZPE* 102, 1994, 310f.), provided the latter does not go back to \*Rta-vazdah-. An interpretation of the second component of the LB form as -vazdah- is unlikely as LB <z> hardly renders /zdl. For vaz- « move, proceed, draw, pull » in Iranian anthroponymy see, e.g., Grantovskiy (*RiIP* 237f. :48, but NA *Ú-zak-ku* can render \*Auja-ka-, see Zadok, *NABU* 1996/17, 2) and Schmitt, *Kratylos* 32 (1987), 152 ad 68, 5.

**4. Bag-da-da** servant (<sup>u</sup>qal-la) of Na-din (BM 54189 = Bert. 2871,14, 16 resp. ; obv. translated in Kohler and Peiser, *Rechtsl.* 4, 51 ; Babylon, 433/2 or 372/1 B.C.) < \*Baga-dāta- with dropping of unstressed -a-. This is another example of an intervocalic voiceless dental becoming voiced as in Middle Western Iranian.

5. **<sup>d</sup>Hu<sup>-</sup>-a-pa-a-tu<sub>4</sub>** (see Zadok in K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors [eds.], *Immigration and emigration within the ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipinski*, Leuven 1995, 442). For OInd. *svápatay-* and Av. *x<sup>h</sup>āpa<sup>h</sup>qya-* (and related forms) see also F. Sommer, *Schriften aus dem Nachlass* (ed. B. Forssman, Munich 1977), 46f.

6. **Mi-ti-ri-a-ni** (very prob. a patronym, poss. of Nabû- [...]); *BM* 33121 = Bert. 2825, 12; Til-Gula, time of Darius I) is presumably an *-aina-* (pro-)patronymic (cf. Gershevitch, *StPagliaro* 2, 172) of a retrenched name *\*MĒq<sup>h</sup>ā-*. Compare the spellings *Na-pi-a-ni<sup>-</sup>* and *Na-pe-en-na<sup>-</sup>* for one and the same individual (< *\*Nāfaina-*, Zadok, *IOS* 7, 1977, 115 with nn. 263, 264).

7. **Ra-mi<sup>-</sup>-ia** (*BM* 74551 = Bert. 2636, 11; patronym of the last but one witness; Babylon, 495/4 B.C.) < *\*Ramyā-* « nice, kind, pleasant ». Apparently with *-ya-* > *-iya-*, cf. below, No. 17.

8. **Šá<sup>-</sup>dak-ku**, father or ancestor (A) of the judge *Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>* (*BM* 33936 = Bert. 2839, 19; time of Darius I). Cf. Mīran. *Šādag* (based on *Šād* « joyous, happy », P. Gignoux, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* [henceforth *IPNB*] 2/2, 163 :864), *Šādak* (a diminutive « der kleine Frohe », see W. Sundermann, *Sprache* 36, 1994, 259).

9. **<sup>f</sup>Ū-par-na-ak-ka** (*OECT* 10, 229, 2, time of Artaxerxes [I rather than II or III ?], cf. M.W. Stolper, *JAOS* 114, 1994, 623a ad 130), i.e. *\*Hu-farnakā*, is presumably a *ka*-extended form of *\*Hu-farnah-* « with good Fortune » or « endowed with good Fortune », cf. S. Zimmer, *AOF* 18 (1991), 134 ad 453 (Mīran. *Hu-farr-*).

10. **A-ri<sup>-</sup>-a-b/pu** (94 :-144, 16<sup>7</sup>; 145 B.C.), poss. < *\*Aryā-pā-* (« protector of the Iranians ») or *\*Aryā-p-a-* (a compound hypocoristic, cf. Schmitt, *BNF NF* 7, 1972, 73ff., 339f.).

11. **Ar<sup>-</sup>-a-bu-za-na-a** (134 :-140, A, r. 7<sup>7</sup>; 141 B.C.) < *\*Aryā-baujāna-*, « serving the Iranians », cf. *\*MĒq<sup>h</sup>ā-baujāna-* and *\*Višta-baujāna-* (*ASN*, 167, 267). It ends with LB <Ca-a> for Iran. *-al* like other names from the early Arsacid period, such as *Ar-šā-ka-a* (134 :-140, A, r. 8<sup>7</sup>; 141 B.C.) < *\*Ršaka-*, *Mi-it-za-da-ta-a* (404 :-99, « flake », 15<sup>7</sup>; 100 B.C.) < *\*MĒq<sup>h</sup>ā-dāta-*, *Ba-ga-A+A-šā-a* (160 :-137, A, 18<sup>7</sup>; 138 B.C.; cf. below, No. 14) and Nos. 12, 16 below.

12. **Ár-ta-ba-na-a** (brother of the king; 326 :-118, A, 20<sup>7</sup>; 119 B.C.) is presumably homonymous with other Arsacid dynasts (cf. *IN*, 31f., 412), in which case his name would originate from OIran. *\*Rta-bānu-* with transition to an *-a-* stem, cf. *Ti-ri-ba-za<sup>-</sup>* (< *\*Tivī-bāzu-*, Zadok, *BiOr* 1996, 491; by the way, read Kamax for kama<sup>7</sup> in the line following it). An interpretation of <*-ba-za-*?> as *-vazdah-* is unlikely as LB <z> hardly renders /zdl/. *\*Rta-pāna-* « having protection through Truth » (cf. Schmitt, *IPNB* 5/4, 29 :2) seems less likely (cf. Schmitt, *Recherches de linguistique. Hommages à Maurice Leroy*, Brussels 1980, 199ff.).

13. **As-pa-as-ta-nu** (454 :-87, C, 32<sup>7</sup>; 88 B.C.) < *\*Aspa-stāna-* « He whose place is with horses » (cf. W. Eilers apud R.A. Bowman, *Aramaic ritual texts from Persepolis*, Chicago 1970, 173 ad 126, 2). Cf. also Gershevitch, *StPagliaro* 2, 184, s.v. *Ašbašda*.

- 14. Ba-a-ga-A+A-šá-a** ( 194 :-134, B, 16 : -[a] ; 135 B.C. ; 216 :-132, B, r. 22 ; 133 B.C.) ; *Ba-ga-A+A-šá* (312 :-119, B, r. c 12' ; 120 B.C.) < \**Bagaica-* (ASN 56). For *-aica-* cf., by implication, E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien* (Paris 1966), 80, 82 ; Gershevitch, *StPagliaro* 2, 187f., 204, s.v. *Manezza*. Alternatively \**Baga-aiša-* (cf. Zadok, *Ios* 7, 1977, 96, 138 :1.2.44). For <A+A> = *-layl-* cf. *hi-<sup>3</sup>-A+A-lu* (173 :-137, D, r. 24 ; 138 B.C.), i.e. Aram. *hyl* (< \**hayl*) « military force » ; with <a> (see No. 11 above).
- 15. Mi-it-ra-a-ṭu** (434ff. :-90, 15', 32' ; 91 B.C. ; 456 :-87, C, r. 49' : [...]-a-ṭu ; 88 B.C. ; 470ff. :-83, 6, r'. 17 : *Mi-it-r[a-...]*, 19 : *-[u]* ; 84 B.C.) ; < \**MĒq̄ā-īā-* (cf. Schmitt, *IPNB* 5/4, 1982, 31f. :11) ; with LB <ṭ> for (original) Iran. *ltl*.
- 16. Ra-as/z-nu-mi-it-ra-a** (480 :-82, B, r. 5' ; 83 B.C.) < \**Razna-MĒq̄ā* « having Mithra's order, statute, duty », cf. Av. *rāzan-* (*rašn-*) « order, statute, duty » (e.g. of Ahura-Mazdah) and perhaps the RAE toponym *Ra-zí-nama/mu-ut-ti-iš* < \**Razna-vatī-* (fem.) « Reich an Gebot, Gebühr, Satzung » (see Hinz, *Neue Wege im altpersischen*, Wiesbaden 1973, 78 ; ASN, 204).
- 17. Ur-ri-<sup>2</sup>-a** (274 :-124, B, 21' ; 125 B.C.) < \**Varya-* « desirable, excellent ». Apparently with *-ya-* > *-iya-*, cf. above, No. 7.
- 18. Ú-ru-de-e-su** (370 :-107, B, r. 16' ; 108 B.C.) < jOrwvdh", JURwvdh" (< \**Hu-rauda-*, *IN*, 133, cf. Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasbourg 1904, 1836f.).
- 19. In-du-pa-ni-e** (254 :-126, 8' ; 127 B.C.) seems to originate from *Vinda-farnah-*, compare *As-pa-si-ni-e* < \**Aspa-cina-* in the same line (also *As-pa-a-si-ni-e*, 168 :-137, D, 14' ; 138 B.C.) on the one hand and Lat. *Bagophanes* (< \**Baga-farnah-*? see Schmitt, *Kratylos* 39, 1994, 85 ; cf. Stolper, *JAOS* 114, 1994, 619a ad 59) on the other. As far as I know, a combination of *Vinda-* and *-pāna-* is not recorded in the Iranian onomasticon.

## B. Toponyms

- 1. <sup>kur</sup>Ra-za-un-da** (LB ; 367/6 B.C. ; JRazou'nda in Media, see P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris 1996, 634, 761, 1010) < \**Raza-vant(a)-* « provided with vines, vineyards ».
- 2. Sa-ag-bi-ta**, *Sa-ag-ba-at*, *Sad-bat* (NA ; AOAT 6, 298 ; L.D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian stelae*, Toronto 1973, Pl. 11, 69 ; H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III*, Jerusalem 1994, 106 [henceforth : Tadmor, *Tigl III*], St. II, B, 31' ; from the end of the 9th down to the 8th century B.C.) cannot be the fore-runner of OIran. \**Han-gmata-* (cf. OPers. *Ha<sup>g</sup>matāna-* > *Hamadān*) since the explicable pertinent Old Iranian material from Western Iran in NA renderings shows that Indo-Aryan *s-* has already shifted to *h-* in Old Iranian by then (pace I.N. Medvedskaya, *VDI* 1995, 147ff., quoting Diakonoff [I.M. D'yakov, *Istoriya iranskogo gusudarstva i kultur'i*, Moscow 1971, 142] on p. 152, n. 36 as claiming that the terminus ante quem for this shift is the 7th century B.C.). The following examples from Western Iran of the same period may suffice : *Uk<sup>1</sup>-sa-tar* (Tadmor, *Tigl III*, 106, St. II, B, 33'), *Ú-ak-sa-tar* < \**Hu-vaxštra-* (cf. K. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch der altpersischen*,

Wiesbaden 1964, 149, s.v. *Uvaḥštra-*); *Ú-da-ki* < *\*Hu-dā-ka-*; *Uš-ka-ia* < *\*Huškaya-* (or sim. ; *RHP*, 68, 70, 186f., 276, 316 ; the reading of *A-ú-ri'-pa'-ar-nu* < *\*Ahura-farnah-*, 328, is not certain), as well as *Uš-ru-ú*, *Ú-šu-ru-[ú]* < *\*Hu-srava-* (Zadok, *NABU* 1996/17).

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