

**The Iranian name Sá-ta-b/ma-ak-su** – In a document drafted in 487 in D/Ṭamar, a certain Šá-ta-b/ma-ak-su appears together with his colleague Numagazu as the *rab bīti* of a person whose name is unfortunately not preserved (VAS 3, 159: 3). The name Šatab/maksu is undoubtedly Iranian. Zadok recognized the first element as the Babylonian equivalent of Iranian *šyāti-* «prosperity», but he gave no explanation for the second element of this name, *b/ma-ak-su*. Neither did Dandamaev.<sup>1</sup> My proposition is that the second part of this name is Iranian \**baxša-* (Av. *baxš-* «to give, *schengen*, *zuteilen*») or \**-vaxša-* (Av. «to grow, to make grow»).

This proposition implies that an Iranian /š/ can be rendered by a Babylonian *su*-sign. At first sight this looks improbable, as mostly the Iranian /š/ is rendered by a /š/ in Babylonian (cf. the royal names *Dārayavaʾauš*, *Xšayarša-* and *Artaxšaça-*, always spelled with a š in Babylonian: <sup>m</sup>*Da-ri-ia-a-muš*, <sup>m</sup>*Aḥ-ši-ar-šú* and <sup>m</sup>*Ar-tak-šat-su*)<sup>2</sup>. There are, however, some indications in favour of such a phonological feature.

Firstly, this feature is attested in the other direction: Iranian /s/ is rendered by Babylonian /š/, e.g. Iranian \**Aspa-janta* «horse-rutting» appears in a Babylonian text as <sup>m</sup>*Aš-pa-za-an-da*.<sup>3</sup>

A second indication is that sometimes *s* and *š* interchange within one word. The city \**abistāna* is normally written *a-ba-as-ta-nu* (BE 9, 86a: 3; PBS 2/1, 7: 4, 8: 2 and 4, 20: 1, 120: 6, 193: 5, 207: 6), but in one document it appears as *ab-ba-eš-ta-nu* (PBS 2/1, 87: 6). The PN \**Rta-raucah* «having the light of Arta» is spelled <sup>m</sup>*Ar-ta-ru-us* (S.+ 409: 8, in Hebraica 8, p. 134) and <sup>m</sup>*Ar-ta-ru-šú* (Camb.384: 11 and 19).

In addition to these indications, there may also be a real example of this phonological feature: the name of Artaxerxes III, <sup>m</sup>*Ū-MA-SU*. The last sign can be perfectly read as *-su* or *-kuš-*, hence the problems of this example. Schmitt believes that the underlying Iranian name is \**Vauka-* (a hypocoristic of *Dārayava(h)uš*) and therefore reads <sup>m</sup>*Umakeš*. Stolper argues that a reading *su* is preferable «by standards of Late Babylonian orthography» and that the Iranian basis for this form is \**Va(h)uš*, from which a name \**Vauka-* would be derived.<sup>4</sup>

A problem with the connection <sup>m</sup>*Umakeš* and \**Vauka-* is that the latter would never be rendered in Babylonian using a š at the end. As the nominative is the leading case in the transposition from proper names from one language to another,<sup>5</sup> the š of <sup>m</sup>*Umakeš* probably renders the ending of the OP nominative singular of Iranian *iṭ-* and *uṭ-* stems. All Iranian names that appear in Babylonian with an ending š are representations of such *iṭ-* or *uṭ-* stems: <sup>m</sup>*Aḥ-ra-tu-uš* = \*(*A*)-*xratu-š*, <sup>m</sup>*A-tar-ba-nu-uš* = \**Atr-banu-š*, <sup>m</sup>*Pa-ar-mar-ti-iš* = *Fravartiš*, <sup>m</sup>*Pa-ar-nu-uš*, <sup>m</sup>*Par-ri-nu-uš*, <sup>m</sup>*Par-ri-ni-iš*, <sup>m</sup>*Par-ri-nu-ú* = \**Parnu-š*, <sup>m</sup>*Par-ri-na-ʾni-iš* = \**Frīmāni-š* or \**Farnaini-š*, <sup>m</sup>*Ti-ri-a-ia5-muš* =

\**Tirya-va(h)uš*. As \**Vauka-* is an *o/a*-stem, its nominative would certainly not be \**Vauka-š*<sup>6</sup> and would consequently not appear in Babylonian using a *š*. The name is thus to be read <sup>m</sup>Ú-*ma-su* and renders Iranian \**Va(h)uš* <sup>7</sup> (cf. Elamite *ma-hu-iš* in PF 2006: 14). Possibly the beginning /*u*/ of *Umasu* is a representation of the Iranian word *hu-*.<sup>8</sup>

If one reads *Umasu* for Iranian \**vahuš* «the good one», there is an unequivocal attestation of a Babylonian /*s*/ for an Iranian /*š*/. Yet the name is still not clear, as it cannot be determined whether it should be read <sup>m</sup>Šá-*ta-ba-ak-su* or <sup>m</sup>Šá-*ta-ma-ak-su*. The underlying Iranian form of the first possibility would be \*Šyātabaxša-, meaning «he who gives prosperity». This is a plausible name, since both elements of it are also found in other Iranian names.<sup>9</sup> As plausible, however, as \*Šyātabaxša- is the name \*Šyātavaxša- (Bab. <sup>m</sup>Šá-*ta-ma-ak-su*, with Bab. /*m*/ for Ir. /*v*/) «he, who makes prosperity grow». The second element –*vaxš-* also serves as second element in other Iranian names.<sup>10</sup>

A second possibility for explaining this name is a scribal error. Since the LB forms of the signs *su* and *šu* are nearly identical, it is possible that the scribe wrote erroneously *su* for *šu*.

1. R. Zadok, *Iranians and Individuals bearing Iranian names in Achaemenian Babylonia*, in IOS 7 (1977), p. 95 n. 39; M.A. Dandamaev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* (Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6), Costa Mesa, 1992, p.121.
2. These names prove that Iranian /*x*/ can be represented in Babylonian by a /*k*/.
3. BE 10, 66: 4. Cf. R. Zadok, review of W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, 1975, in BiOr 33 (1976), p. 213.
4. R. Schmitt, *Achaemenid Throne Names*, in AION 42 (1982), p. 88 n.13: «The last sign of that name -*SU-* in Late babylonian texts has the values of both *kuš* and *su*, the first of which may be preferred here since the reading in that case seems to be nearer to the primary Iranian form». M.W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: the Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (PIHANS 54), Istanbul, 1985, p. 115 n. 21.
5. R. Schmitt, *The name of Darius*, in Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater (Acta Iranica 30), Leiden, 1990, pp. 194-195.
6. These stems have no endings in -*š* (R.G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexikon* (American Oriental Series 33), New Haven, 1953<sup>2</sup>, p. 58).
7. The end-*u* of <sup>m</sup>Ú-*ma-su* is not a problem for a connection with \**Va(h)uš*. Cf. OP *maguš* (DB OP I 36, 44, 46, 64, 66, 70, IV 8; DBb 2), Bab. *ma-gu-šú* (DB Bab. 15, 18 (two times), 25, 26, 28, 90; DBb 2).
8. Cf. R. Zadok (with I. Gershevitch), in IOS 6 (1976), p. 70.
9. For names constructed with one of these two elements, see W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 1975, pp. 62, 230-231, ...
10. W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, pp. 49 and 169; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Altiranischen Namen* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch 1), Wien, 1979, p. 1/41.

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