Inhalt

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Iranian Toponyms in the Elamite Fortification Archive

Zusammenfassung: In diesem Aufsatz werden einige altiranischen Toponyme, bezeugt in den Verwaltungstäfelchen aus Persepolis, untersucht. Zweitens gibt es eine Studie über die typologischen Übereinstimmungen zwischen altiranischen Personennamen und Toponymen.

Abstract: The article discusses some non-analyzed Old Iranian toponyms, attested in Achaemenid Elamite texts from Persepolis. In addition a study is conducted on the similarities between Iranian toponyms and anthroponyms attested in this same category of texts.

The excavation of thousands of cuneiform tablets in Persepolis in 1933-1934 remains one of the most important discoveries in the fields of Achaemenid socio-economic history and Irano-Elamite linguistics. The texts have revealed an enormous amount of information, despite the fact that they also generate as many new questions. This information was and still is studied by many scholars, historians as well as philologists.

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[1] Abbreviations are cited according to the system used in Northern Akkad Project Reports 8, 1993, 49-77, except for Dar. = J.N. Strassmaier, Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521-485 v. Chr.) (Babylonische Texte 10-12), Leipzig, 1892-1897; EIW = W. Hinz & H. Koch, Elamisches Wörterbuch; Fort. = Elamite texts from Persepolis (siglum); MDP = Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse; OIP = Oriental Institute Publications; PBS = University of Pennsylvania. The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section; PF = Elamite texts from Persepolis, published by R.T. Hallock, Persepolis Fortification Texts; PFa = Elamite texts from Persepolis, published by R.T. Hallock, Selected Fortification Texts, Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran 8, 109-136; PFNN = Persepolis Fortification NN. Unpublished tablets, numbered and transliterated by Hallock; PIHANS = Publicaties van het Nederlands Historisch-archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul; PT = Elamite texts from Persepolis, published by G.G. Cameron, Persepolis Treasury Tablets; TAD B,C,D = B. Porten & A. Yardeni, Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, vols. 2-4, Jerusalem, 1989-1999; TCL = Textes cunéiformes du Louvre; VAT = Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Vorderasiatische Abteilung (museum number). It should be emphasized that the PFNN citations are drawn from copies of Hallock's working transliterations and not from the original documents. – The author is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow of the Research Foundation – Flanders (Belgium) (F.W.O. Vlaanderen).

One of the fields to which the Persepolis Fortification Archive has made a substantial contribution is the study of proper names. A very high number of personal names, belonging to several languages (Elamite, Iranian, Babylonian, West Semitic, etc.) are attested in the Archive. Scholars such as Benveniste, Gershevitch, Hinz, Mayrhofer, Schmitt[2] and others conducted studies on the various anthroponyms, a work which is still not finished.

The large scale of attention given to the anthroponyms contrasts sharply with the poor attention given hitherto to the research of the toponyms occurring in the Archive. The hundreds of toponyms have indeed been included and partly analyzed by Hinz[3] and in the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* and have later been the basis for the historical study of Koch[4], but linguistically they lack a broader investigation, which goes beyond the study of individual toponyms.

This article consists of two parts. Firstly some hitherto unanalyzed Iranian toponyms will be discussed. The second part focuses on the relation between personal names and place names in the Elamite texts from Persepolis.

I. Some newly analyzed Iranian toponyms

1. *^{AŠ}Ba-nu-ia-iš*[5]. – In all likelihood this spelling represents **Pānīya-*, 'drinking place' (OInd. *pā́na-*, 'drinking' and *pānīya-*, 'drinkable'). The same expression is also attested as a loan word[6] in the Fortification Archive, meaning 'drinking (animal)'[7].

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[2] É. Benveniste, Titres et noms propres; I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II; Id., Transactions of the Philological Society 1969; Id., Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 33 (1970); W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana; R. Schmitt (see bibliography). The most recent study on Iranian proper names and loan words in non-Iranian texts from the Achaemenid period is J. Tavernier, Iranica in de Achaemenidische periode (ca. 550-330 v. Chr.).

[3] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut.

[4] H. Koch, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden.

[5] Attestation: PFNN 2272:1.

[6] Spelled *ba-nu-ia-še* (= OP *šē-* < *šai-* 'his') and attested in PFNN 185:6.

[7] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 178.

2. *^{AS}Bar-na-ku-iš*, *^{AS}Pír-na-ku-iš* and *Pír-na-ku-ia*[10]. – Hinz & Koch confirm the Iranian character of this toponym, whereas Koch reconstructs **Prnaku-*, without, however, clarifying this reconstruction[11]. The two first spellings probably reflect **Farna-gu-š* 'having glorious cattle'. *Pír-na-ku-ia* renders **Farnagu-ya-*, a *-ya*-extension of **Farnaguš*.

3. *^{AS}Bar-ru-rat-sa(-an)*[12]. – In the past some scholars have postulated the existence of a phoneme /δ/ (< PIE */ĝ/) in Old Persian, corresponding with /θ/ (< PIE */k̂/)[13]. By reconstructing **Parurāδa-* for *^{AS}Bar-ru-rat-sa*, Hinz & Koch[14] clearly express their belief in the existence of such a phoneme, which in their view was rendered by the Elamite sequence *-rat-sa-*.

Yet this assumption has some severe phonetic and graphic problems[15]. First of all no specific writing characters were invented for this phoneme[16]. Secondly the co-existence of two dental fricatives /δ/ and /θ/ would certainly have led to the disappearance of the contrast between /d/ and /δ/, as a result of which /δ/ would have ceased to exist[17]. In the author's view Old Persian did not have a phoneme /δ/.

This immediately excludes the reconstruction **Parurāδa-*. Alternatively one may consider the sequence *-rat-sa-* as one of the various possible renderings of the Old Persian interdental /θ/, since *-t-s-* is nothing more than a combination of two

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[8]   Attestation: PFNN 1805:4.

[9]   Attestations: PF 2018:34; PFNN 1697:4, 1902:5-6.

[10] Attestation: PFNN 1498:3.

[11] EIW, p. 211; H. Koch, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 263.

[12] Attestations: PFNN 754:5, 2270:14, 2363:8, 2370:9,34,39, 2539:15.

[13] W.P. Schmid, Indogermanische Forschungen 69 (1964) p. 265; W. Hinz, Neue Wege, pp. 31-33; W.B. Bollée, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 38 (1975) p. 451; I. Gershevitch, Transactions of the Philological Society (1979) p. 148, n. 37.

[14] EIW, p. 158.

[15] I.M. Oranskij, Иранские языки, pp. 45-46; M. Mayrhofer, Anzeiger der Öster-reichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 105 (1968) p. 8, n.36; Id., Archiv für Orientforschung 25 (1974-77) p. 181; R. Schmitt, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 226 (1974) pp. 102-103; K. Hoffmann, in: Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik, II, pp. 628-629.

[16] This may be illustrated by a lexical example. Old Persian has two verbs *dī-*: (1) *dī-* 'to see' (PIE **dʰeiH-* or **dʰeH-i-*, OInd. *dhī-*, Av. *dī-*, MP and NP *dīdan*) and (2) *dī-* (or *δī-*, if /δ/ exists) 'to take away' (OInd. *jyā-*, Av. *ziiā-*, Sogd. *zyn-/zyt-*). It would at least be strange that the OP writing system would not make a graphic distinction between /d/ and /δ/ concerning these two verbs (M. Mayrhofer, Anzeiger der Österreichischen Aka-demie der Wissenschaften 105 [1968] p. 8, n. 36; Id., Archiv für Orientforschung 25 [1974-77] p. 181).

[17] Cf. A. Martinet, Économie, pp. 78-80.

common ways to render /θ/, i.e. *t* and *s*. The result of this idea is a reading *Paru-raθa-* 'having many chariots' (OInd. *rátha-* and Av. *raθa-* 'chariot').

4. ᴬˢBa-ti-ik-ka₄-an[18]. – Expression of an Old Persian toponym *Paθī-ka-* 'path' (cf. OInd *path-*, Av. *paθā* and OP *paθī-*, all meaning 'road, path').

5. ᴬˢBu-za-an(?)-ti-iš[19]. – Hinz & Koch[20] recognize the Iranian character of this toponym. In all probability this spelling is a rendering of Ir. *Bujant-ī-š*, the contracted equivalent of *Bujant-iya-*, itself an *-iya*-extension of the participal form *Bujant-* 'releasing' or 'bestowing benefit' (from *buj-*, cf. OInd. *bhuj-*).

6. ᴬˢDa-hu-pír-ra-sa[21]. – Hinz[22] reads ᴬˢDa-hu-ut-ra-sa and reconstructs *Dāvayatraθa-* '(place) which makes the chariot ride'. PÍR, however, is very clear[23]. The new reading ᴬˢDa-hu-pír-ra-sa probably renders *Dahyu-fraθa-* 'expansion of the land'.

7. ᴬˢDa-ka₄-ma-na[24] and ᴬˢDa-ka₄-ma-nu-iš[25]. – Hinz[26] pleads for *Ta-kamāna-* 'run-house', while Hinz & Koch[27] connect these two spellings with the personal name ᴵDa-ka₄-ma-nu-iš, which is being read as *Takavānā-* 'run-victory'[28]. Yet it is more plausible that ᴵDa-ka₄-ma-nu-iš stands for *Tāgavanū-š* 'loving crowns'[29] and that this anthroponym and the toponym discussed here should be separated.

With OP *takabara-* 'bearing *petasos*-shields' in mind, the author proposes to reconstruct *Takamāna-* 'house of the *petasos*-shields', a plausible toponym. ᴬˢDa-ka₄-ma-nu-iš renders a contracted form: *Takamāniya-* > *Takamānī-š*.

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[18] Attestations: PFNN 2348:2,5 (ᴬˢBa-[t]i-ik-ka₄-an), 9.

[19] Attestation: PFNN 645:7.

[20] EIW, p. 243.

[21] Attestation: PF 158:5-6.

[22] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, pp. 87-88; also H. Koch, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, P. 84 and p. 245.

[23] M.W. Stolper, pers. comm., 20/06/2000.

[24] Attestations: PF 2003:1; PFNN 609:52 (°-n[a]), 2539:9.

[25] Attestations: PFNN 548:16 ([Da-k]a₄°),27, 2211:2.

[26] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 233; also H. Koch, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 109.

[27] EIW, p. 288.

[28] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 234.

[29] R. Schmitt, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen 84 (1970) p. 20.

8. ^{AS}Da-u-ti-$ia(-iš)^{30}$ and ^{AS}Da-$ú$-ti-$ia(-iš)^{31}$. – These spellings are an expression of Ir. *$Dautiya$-, an -iya-extension of *$Dautā$ 'priest', the Old Persian equivalent of Av. $zaotar$-. Koch[32] also had Av. $zaotar$- in mind when she reconstructed *Δau-$tiya$-, but a phoneme /δ/ is not attested in Old Persian (cf. I.3.).

9. ^{AS}Du-$ši$-ia^{33}. – Most likely a rendering of *$Tōsa$-ya- ($<$ *$Tausa$-ya-) or *$Tōsiya$- ($<$ *$Taus$-iya-), an -$(i)ya$-extension of *$Tausa$- 'bestowing richly' (OInd. $tosá$-). Closely related to *$Tōsa$-ya-[34], a -ya-extension of the same base. Cf. II.1.13.

10. ^{AS}E-ia-$na(-iš/$-$um)^{35}$ and ^{AS}He-ia-na^{36}. – Hinz and Koch[37] recognize the name as Old Persian, while according to Koch[38] a place name *$Yana$- is intended. This is, however, very unlikely, since both spellings seem to indicate an initial vowel or initial /h/. Of all Iranian proper names and loan words beginning with /y/ and attested in Elamite, not a single one begins with V-ia-° or hV-ia-°.

Therefore a name *$Ayan\breve{a}$- '(place of the) travel route' (Av. $aiian\breve{a}$-) is suggested, although alternatively a name *$Ayana$-, derived from Av. $aiian$- 'day', is also possible.

11. ^{AS}Ir-$iš$-ba-da^{39}. – Hinz & Koch[40] recognize this spelling as reflecting an Iranian toponym, without offering further information. It could render *$Ṛša$-$pāta$- 'protected by a hero'. The equation El. ir-$iš$ = Ir. /ṛš(a)/ is corroborated by ^{HAL}Ir-$iš$-bar-na (Ir. *$Ṛšafarnā$), ^{HAL}Ir-$iš$-da-$ú$-$pír$-na (Ir. *$Ṛšti$-$hufarnā$), ^{AS}Ir-$iš$-du-$ma(-ak)$-ka_4 ($=$ Ir. *$Ṛštivaka$-), ^{HAL}Ir-$iš$-$šu$-ur-ra (*$Ṛšūra$-), ^{HAL}Ir-$iš$-te-ia (Ir. $Ṛštiya$-) and ^{HAL}Ir-$iš$-ti-man-ka_4 (Ir. *$Ṛštimanga$-).

12. $^{AS}Iš$-da-ti-iz-za^{41}. – Concerning the spelling $^{AS}Iš$-da-ti-iz-za a place name *$St\bar{a}$-$tiča$- 'the safe place' should be looked for, with *$St\bar{a}ta$- being a derivation from the

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[30] Attestations: PF 244:2; PFNN 576:6-7 ⟨Da-[u]-ti-ia-$iš$⟩,20, 1006:7.

[31] Attestations: Fort. 9042:5; PFa 1:5.

[32] Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 104.

[33] Attestation: PFNN 2369:7.

[34] Spelled ^{HAL}Du-$šá$-ia (PF 1353:3). Hinz & Koch (EIW, p. 377) only confirm its Iranian character.

[35] Attestations: PF 1958:13-14, 1960:2, 1961:8,25, 2078:3; PFNN 762:23, 2358:11,13,26.

[36] Attestation: PFNN 2490:24.

[37] EIW, p. 403 and p. 675.

[38] Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 120.

[39] Attestation: PFNN 2364:6.

[40] EIW, p. 774.

[41] Attestations: PF 2006:14; PT 1963-3:7.

root *stā- 'to stand'. Its meaning is 'standing, stable' (cf. Av. *stāt-* 'standing, stable'), hence 'safe'. Hinz & Koch[42] merely accept its Iranian character.

13. *^{AŠ}Ka₄-ir-da-ru-iš*[43] and *^{AŠ}Kar-da-ru-iš*[44]. – Again Hinz & Koch[45] confirm the Old Persian character of this name. Both Elamite spellings denote *Kar(a)-dāru-š* 'place where wood is being processed' (OInd. *dāru-*, Av. *dāru-*, OP *dāru-*).

14. *^{AŠ}Kán-sa-an*[46], *^{AŠ}Kán-sa-ka₄*[47] and *^{AŠ}Kán-sa-nu-ia*[48]. – Old Iranian according to Hinz & Koch[49]. *^{AŠ}Kán-sa-an* (with *-n* as locative ending) might render *Xan-ča-* 'source, well' (Av. *xan-*), while the two other spellings are representations of resp. *Xanča-ka-* and *Xanča-n-iya-*.

15. *^{AŠ}Ka₄(?)-ra(?)-da-nu-iš*[50]. – Hinz & Koch[51] recognize the Iranian character of this name, but do not venture an analysis. There are, however, two possible meanings of this toponym: (1) *Kāra-dānu-š* 'grain for the people' (OP *kāra-* 'people' and Av. *³dānu-* 'grain') or (2) *Kara-dānu-š* 'the *kara*-river', with *kara-* indicating a kind of fish (cf. Av. *¹kara-*) and *dānu-* meaning 'river' (Av. *¹dānu-*).

16. *^{AŠ}Ka₄-ra-mi-iš*[52]. – This Elamite spelling denotes Ir. *Kārāmīš < *Kāra-am-iya-* 'having the power of an army' (cf. Av. *ama-* 'strength, power' and OP *kāra-* 'army, people') and is based on the personal name *Kārāmīš*[53]. Cf. II.1.19.

17. *^{AŠ}Kar-maš*[54] and *^{AŠ}Kar-mi-iš*[55]. – Koch[56] reconstructs *Karvya-* 'the bold place' (cf. Av. *kauruua-*) for both spellings. Yet this is untrue. It is indeed clear that both spellings render the same toponym, but Koch's reconstruction is wrong. The most correct spelling is *^{AŠ}Kar-mi-iš*, because the vocalic quality of CVC-signs

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[42] EIW, p. 787.

[43] Attestations: PFNN 1526:5, 1899:4.

[44] Attestations: PFNN 2339:12, 2357:8,21.

[45] EIW, p. 416 and p. 440.

[46] Attestations: PF 851:6, 1637:2-3,5-6, 1857:12, 1964:14; PFNN 266:3-4, 376:14, 741:2-3,5-6, 940:2-3,13-14, 966:15, 1010:27,32, 1084:4-5 (°-*[an]*), 2209:4, 2369:3 (°-*a[n]*).

[47] Attestations: PF 1179:4, 1942:25,26.

[48] Attestation: PF 1948:64.

[49] EIW, pp. 431-432.

[50] Attestation: PFNN 2540:19.

[51] EIW, p. 438.

[52] Attestations: PFNN 534:37, 1294:3, 2369:4,8.

[53] Spelled *^{HAL}Ka₄-ra-mi-iš* (PFNN 1311:2).

[54] Attestations: PF 1942:32,33; PFNN 546:35, 597:5.

[55] Attestation: PFNN 2196:18.

[56] Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 253, n. 89.

(e.g. MAŠ) is not certain. The name looked for must be *Garmī-š. This form evolved through contraction (/iya/ > /ī/) from *Garmiya-, an -iya-extension of *Garma- 'the hot place' (cf. OInd. gharmá- 'warmth' and Av. garəma- 'hot').

18. Ku-ri-iš-taš[57] and Ku-ri-iš-ti-iš[58]. – Here a toponym *Gōrista- < *Gau-rista- 'connected with cattle' (to Av. irista-, the pass. perf. part. of rāθ- 'to be connected with') is involved. Hinz & Koch[59] reconstruct *Xrūstiš, to MP xrōstan 'to call'. The second spelling reflects *Gōristiš < *Gaurist-iya-.

19. ᴬˢKur-ka₄-ra-[ka₄][60] and ᴬˢKur-ka₄-rák-ka₄/kaš[61]. – Renderings of *Krka-ra-ča-, a hypocoristic of *Krka- 'cock' (Av. kahrka-). The anthroponyms *Krka-[62], *Krkača-[63] and *Krk-iča-[64] are linguistically closely related to this toponym[65]. Cf. II.1.21. and II.2.10.

20. ᵈMa-ir-ma-iš[66] and ᴬˢMar-maš[67]. – These spellings are a rendering of *Varmā, the nominative sg. of *Varman- '(place of) first choice' (Av. varəman-).

21. ᴬˢMi-ip-ra-ka₄[68]. – Hinz & Koch[69] recognize the Iranian character of this toponym. The Elamite spelling possibly renders *Vifra-ka- 'experienced' (Av. vifra-).

22. ᴬˢMi-sa-an-na[70]. – Again Hinz & Koch[71] believe the name to be Iranian. In fact the spelling renders Old Persian *Viθ-a-na-, a -na-extension of OP viθ- 'house, dwelling, royal palace' (OInd. viš-, Av. vīs-).

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[57] Attestation: PF 1857:15.

[58] Attestations: PF 495:3-4, 850:2-3, 851-853:3, 966:3, 1663:3-4; PFNN 368:2-3, 513:3-4, 780:2-3, 823:2-3, 2452:3-4, 2470:3-4.

[59] EIW, p. 522.

[60] Attestation: PFNN 2257:18.

[61] Attestations: PF 1968:12, 1990:16, 2074:12 (ᴬˢKur-ka₄-[rák]-[ka₄-an]); PFNN 2184:5,35,39, 2371:28.

[62] Spelled ᴴᴬᴸKur-ka₄ (PF 757:4, 2036:3; PFNN 1663:2-3, 2261:14).

[63] Spelled ᴴᴬᴸKar-kaz-za (PF 814:2-3).

[64] Spelled ᴴᴬᴸKar-ki-iz-za (PF 1982:9; PFNN 2365:8-9).

[65] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 152.

[66] Attestation: PFNN 2510:7-8.

[67] Attestations: PF 2032:13; PFNN 662:3,6, 1166:3 (ᴬˢMar-[maš]).

[68] Attestation: PFNN 718:4-5.

[69] EIW, p. 923.

[70] Attestation: PFNN 2333:1-2.

[71] EIW, p. 935.

23. *ᴬˢMi-šá-bar*[72]. – Old Persian **Visa-bara-* 'bearing all', whereby it is not clear whether the elision of the final vowel is due to Elamite phonological aspects or to Iranian phonological developments. Hinz[73] mentions **Visa-farrah-*, the Middle Iranian equivalent of **Visa-farnah-* 'all-glory', but such a reconstruction is not very likely.

24. *ᴬˢMi-ú-ka₄-an*[74] and *ᴬˢMi-ú-uk-ka₄-an*[75]. – Both spellings bear the locative suffix *-n-* and render Ir. **Viyuka-*, an *-uka*-extension of a name containing **Viyā-* 'to travel, pass through' (cf. OInd. *vi-yā-*). The personal name **Viyuka-*, from which the toponym evolved, is also attested in Achaemenid Elamite[76]. Cf. II.1.26.

25. *ᴬˢNa-ku-iš*[77]. – This is a rendering of the East Iranian name **Naxva-* 'the first (place)' (cf. MP *naxust*, Parth. *nxwšt* and NP *naxost*).

26. *ᴬˢNa-ma-ka₄-nu-iš*[78] and *ᴬˢNa-u-ka₄-nu-iš*[79]. – Both spellings reflect **Navakānī-š* < **Nava-kān-iya-*, a *-ya*-extension of **Nava-kāna-* 'new mine, pit'.

Hinz[80] reconstructs **Nava-kāna-* 'nine-pit'. Hinz & Koch[81] read **Nāma-kāna-* 'name-pit', because in their eyes **nava-* would appear as *nu-ma-*. Nevertheless there are other examples of Ir. /năva/ ≈ El. *na-ma*, e.g. El. *Bar-na-ma-ti-iš* for Ir. **Farnavatiš* and El. *na-mar-ka₄-ra* for Ir. **nāvarakara-*.

27. *Pír-ra-a-da-še*[82]. – Possibly **Fraitaše-* < **Frait-aša-ya-* 'walking the path of Arta'. Hinz & Koch[83] read *Pír-ra-da-a-meš*, but the sign ŠE is clear[84].

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[72]   Attestation: Fort. 6179:4.

[73]   Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 264.

[74]   Attestation: PF 1582:2-3.

[75]   Attestation: PF 1144:4-5.

[76]   Spelled *ᴴᴬᴸMi-hi-ú-uk-ka₄* (PFNN 1610:2-3).

[77]   Attestation: PF 2077:22.

[78]   Attestations: PF 1975:4-5 (°-nu-[i]š); PFNN 2265:24, 2276:10.

[79]   Attestation: PFNN 2373:1.

[80]   Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 175.

[81]   EIW, p. 983; also H. Koch, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 122.

[82]   Attestation: PF 673:7.

[83]   EIW, p. 213.

[84]   M.W. Stolper, pers. comm., 13/04/2000.

28. [AS]*Pu-ru-iš*[85]. – According to Hallock[86] this place name is identical with Gk. Ποῦρα, the capital of Gedrosia. Hinz & Koch[87], however, do not accept this and situate the place in Persia proper. Koch[88] argues that *Puruš* is the name of the land, of which Karmana was the capital. In the Persepolis texts Karkiš appears as the satrap of Puruš.

The Elamite spelling probably renders **Pōru-š*, a more recent equivalent of **Pauru-š* (with -*au*- > -*ō*-) 'much', which is a short form of a name containing **pauru*-. If Hallock's connection with Gk. Ποῦρα is right, then the Greek form corroborates the reading **Pōruš* < **Pauruš*.

Hinz[89] reads **Pūruš* and thus implicitly connects it with OInd. *pūrú*- 'human being'. Mayrhofer[90], however, explicitly rejects this possibility.

29. [AS]*Tab-ba-an*[91]. – Probably **Tapa*- 'warm (place)', to Av. *tap*- 'to be hot'.

30. [AS]*Ú-iš-šá-kam-pa(-an/-iš)*[92] and [AS]*Ur-šá-kam-pa*[93]. – The reading *taš-šá-kam-pa*[94] instead of *Ur-šá-kam-pa* has misled some scholars. Benveniste[95], who considered it to be an indication of a profession, proposed **taša-kampa*- 'he who bends axes' (Av. *taša*- 'axe', Sogd. *nk'np* < **kamp*- 'to bend'). An objection against this proposal might be that the sign PA only rarely renders Ir. -/pa/-.

According to Hinz[96] [AS]*Ú-iš-šá-kam-pa(-an/-iš)* is a rendering of **Ušša-kaufa*- 'Mountain of camels' (Av. *uštra*-, OP *ušša*- 'camel'). He reads the other spelling as [AS]*Taš-šá-kam-pa* and considers this to be the El. rendering of Ir. **Dasa-kaufa*- 'Ten-mountain' or **Taša-kaufa*- 'Mountain of axes'.

The problem, however, with this theory is that both spellings refer to the same place[97], as a result of which the reading [AS]*Ur-šá-kam-pa* should be preferred.

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[85]   Attestations: PF 681:4,12.
[86]   Persepolis Fortification Tablets, p. 746.
[87]   EIW, p. 236.
[88]   Achämeniden-Studien, pp. 16-20.
[89]   Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 194.
[90]   Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen, II, p. 156.
[91]   Attestation: PF 679:9.
[92]   Attestations: PF 254:6, 646:8-9, 989:3-4; PFNN 1432:3-4 (°-*[p]a-an*), 1520-1521:4-5 (°-*[k]am-pa*-°), 1560:7, 1776:5-6, 2342:11-12.
[93]   Attestations: Fort. 7109:4; PF 2043:3-4; PFNN 1737:4-5, 1748:6-7 ([AS]*Ur-[šá-k]am-pa-an*), 2160:4.
[94]   G.G. Cameron, Persepolis Treasury Tablets, p. 51, n. 39.
[95]   É. Benveniste, Journal Asiatique 246 (1958) pp. 59-60.
[96]   Neue Wege, p. 79; Id., Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 84.
[97]   R.T. Hallock, Persepolis Fortification Tablets, p. 771.

Koch[98] mentions *Ršä-kaufa- 'Mountain of heroes' and thus provides us with the right solution. Both ú-iš-° and ur-° can render Iranian /ṛ/, as is proven by some examples: *HAL*Iš-ti-man-ka₄ renders *Ṛštimanga-, iš-ti-bar-ra stands for *ṛštibara- and *HAL*Am-ma-ur-da is an Elamite transcription of *Amavṛta-.

31. *AŠ*Ú-mar-za-nu[99]. – This Elamite spelling probably renders Med. *(H)u-vṛzäna- 'good town, good community' (cf. OInd. vṛjäna- 'enclosed space', Av. varazäna- 'community' and OP vardana- 'town'). Hinz[100] reconstructs *Hvar-čanah- 'longing for the sun', which is also an anthroponym.

32. *AŠ*Zí-ka₄-ra-an[101]. – A name *Jigara- 'liver' (NP jigar) was proposed by Hinz[102]. Alternatively Zí-ka₄-ra might stand for *Jī-kara- 'making alive' (cf. Av. jī- 'alive, living' and OP kar- 'to make, to do').

33. *AŠ*Zir-ra-mi-iz-za[103]. – According to Hinz & Koch[104] Zirramizza is a Median name, but this is not necessarily true. A toponym *Čira-v-iča- 'capable (place)', an -iča-extension of *Čira-va- (cf. Av. čiriia- and NP čīra 'capable'), can both be Median or Old Persian.

II. The relation between Iranian toponyms and personal names

It is interesting to see that some Iranian toponyms are identical to anthroponyms, while others have a structure very similar to the structure of personal names. In the major part of the world's languages this way of composing toponyms is widely attested[105]. The relation between person and place name can have many aspects: property, usefulness, honouring a person, etc. The latter, however, is the most frequent aspect.

In general three types exist of such toponyms: (1) those identical to the name (e.g. Bermuda, Columbus [USA], Monrovia [Liberia], Tasmania, Tolyatti [Russia], Victoria [Canada], Washington [USA], etc.), (2) those adding a topographical suffix to the anthroponym (e.g. Buckinghamshire [United

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[98] Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 78 and p. 244.

[99] Attestations: PF 1885:1-2, 1952:4.

[100] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 130.

[101] Attestations: PF 946:4, 1796:5-6; PFNN 848:6, 2248:3-4, 2456:4.

[102] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 143.

[103] Attestation: Fort. 8960:24-25.

[104] EIW, p. 1091.

[105] A. Bach, Deutsche Namenkunde, II/1, pp. 325-328; B. Helleland, in: Namenforschung: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik, p. 1389; P.E. Piémont, La Toponymie, pp. 37-40.

Kingdom], Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl [Mexico], Florianópolis [Brasil], Fredericton [Canada], Leopoldsburg [Belgium], Ormskirk [United Kingdom], etc.) and (3) those adding the function of the eponymous person in the name (e.g. Charleroi [Belgium], Presidente Bernardes [Brasil], etc., Región del Libertador General Bernardo O'Higgins [Chile], etc.).

The frequent occurrence of this phenomenon in general linguistics raises the expectation that it is also traceable in the languages of the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations. A quick look at Ancient Near Eastern toponyms fulfills this expectation. In Mesopotamia place names could belong to a type *Bīt-PN* (*É-PN*). This type of toponym is already attested – albeit it very rarely – in the Pre-Sargonic (*É-Da-da*[106]; *É-Ma-ma*[107]) and the Sargonic period (*Bīt-Imi-'ilum*[108]). From the Middle Babylonian period onwards there is a significant rise in the number of this type of toponyms.

The Hittite onomasticon contains, as Laroche[109] pointed out, many personal names that are derived from toponyms (the reverse direction), but some of his examples may very well be toponyms that are based on anthroponyms, e.g. *Antarlaya* and *Šunupašši*.

The Elamite language too has such toponyms, although they are much less frequent than in Akkadian and Iranian. Admittedly it is not always entirely sure that the anthroponym was the original name. Examples are:

1) *A-al Un-taš-ᵈGAL*[110] 'the city of Untaš-Napiriša', old name of *Čōga Zanbīl* (Middle El.).

2) *ᵃˢAn-da-da*[111]: although the toponym is attested earlier (Neo-El.) than the personal name (Achaemenid), this does not necessarily mean that the latter has developed out of the former. It is equally possible that the anthroponym already existed during the Neo-Elamite period (or even earlier), but that it is incidentally not attested in the texts from this period.

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[106] H. Limet, L'anthroponymie, p. 392; D. O. Edzard – W. Farber – E. Sollberger, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen, p. 38.

[107] H. Limet, L'anthroponymie, pp. 491-492; D. O. Edzard – W. Farber – E. Sollberger, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen, p. 46.

[108] D. O. Edzard – W. Farber – E. Sollberger, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen, p. 28. *Imi'ilum* is an Old Akkadian personal name. To the same type of name belongs *Imi-Sîn* (J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung, p. 207).

[109] Les noms des Hittites, pp. 265-279.

[110] EIW, p. 14; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 8.

[111] EIW, p. 57; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 10.

3) *Aš-gu-pe-en*^{KI}[112]: based on the *PN* Aš-gu-pe (Old El.).

4) *Bi-a-la*^{KI}[113]: certainly related to the Achaemenid Elamite anthroponym *Pi-ia-la*[114].

5) *Bi-ib-da-ri*[115]: Old El. anthroponym and toponym.

6) *Ga-an-za-ra* / ^{URU}*Ga-an-za-ra*[116]: anthroponym as well as toponym occurring in the Old Babylonian texts from Susa[117].

7) *Ki-bu* / ^{AŠ}*Ki-pu-ú*[118]: *Ki-bu* is an Old Elamite personal name, while *Ki-pu-ú* is a Middle Elamite toponym.

8) *Pi-la-a-ak* / *Pi-la-ak-ku*[119]: both date from the Old Elamite period. The former is a place name, the latter a personal name. Note also *URU*^{KI} *Pi-la-a-ak* 'the city of Pilak', with the interesting place of the determinative *KI*, suggesting the place name is composed out of a personal name.

9) ^{AŠ}*Um-pu-uk-ka₄*[120]: this place name is named after a person ^{HAL}*Um-pu-ka₄*. Both occur in the Persepolis texts (Achaemenid Elamite).

10) ^{AŠ}*Za-ap-pi*, ^{AŠ}*Zap-pi*[121]: Achaemenid Elamite toponym, possibly to be linked with the Old Elamite anthroponym *Za-ap-pi*.

11) *Za-ap-pi-ia*[122]: the expression *URU šà Za-ap-pi-ia* 'the city of Zappia' indicates that we are dealing with an anthroponym *Za-ap-pi-ia*, used in a place name (Old El.).

12) ^{AŠ}*Za-ri(-be-na/ra)*[123]: related to the anthroponym *Za-ri*, also occurring in a Neo-El. text.

As can be seen, the system of composing place names by using personal names was widespread in the Ancient Near East. It existed not only in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, but also in Elam. In Mesopotamia this prac-

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[112] EIW, p. 87; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 21.

[113] EIW, p. 190; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 21.

[114] R. Zadok, Bibliotheca Orientalis 34 (1977) p. 79.

[115] EIW, p. 192; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 41.

[116] EIW, p. 406. Most likely the spelling *Ka-an-za-ri* (MDP 22 113:5) renders the same anthroponym.

[117] MDP 28 486:rev.1, 549:5; toponym: MDP 28 533:15.

[118] EIW, p. 461 and p. 480; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 140.

[119] EIW, p. 203; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 216.

[120] EIW, p. 1234; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 296.

[121] EIW, p. 1271 and p. 1283; H. Koch, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, passim, esp. pp. 197-198; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, p. 309.

[122] EIW, p. 1271; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, l.c.

[123] EIW, p. 1285; F. Vallat, Les noms géographiques, l.c.

tice was in use from the earliest periods on. The oldest Elamite examples belong to the Old Elamite period. Referring to the aforementioned typology of this category of toponyms, it is clear that most of the Akkadian toponyms belong to the second type (toponym = anthroponym plus topographical suffix). The Elamite toponyms belong mostly to the first type (toponym is identical with anthroponym).

Iranian texts too contain such constructions. In Avestan there are a few examples: *ərəzifya-*[124], the name of a mountain, is most likely attested as an anthroponym in the Fortification Archive (*Ṛdifya-*)[125]. The oronym *Manuša-*[126] is certainly related to *Manuš*, the name of a mythological hero. Finally the mountain *Siiamaka*[127] is reflected in the anthroponyms *Syā-maka-*[128] and New Persian *Syāmak*[129].

The Arsacid ostraca from Nisa also display some connection between toponyms and anthroponym. Several names of vineyards are mere hypocoristics of personal names: *Artabānukān* ('of Artabāna'), *Artaxšahrakān* ('of Artaxerxes'), *Artōk* ('of Artavaka'), *Friyapātikān* ('of Friyapāti'), *Gōtarzakān* ('of Gotarzes'), *Mihrdātakān* ('of Mithradāta')[130]. Other Middle and New Iranian examples are mentioned in Eilers' study on Semiramis[131].

The following two sections respectively list toponyms that have precisely the same form as their corresponding anthroponyms and toponyms that have a specific structure (anthroponym plus hypocoristic suffix) or that are generally very similar to their corresponding anthroponyms.

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[124] Attested in Yašt 5,45 and 19,2.

[125] Spelled $^{HAL}Ir(?)-du(?)-pi-ia$ (PFNN 550:8-9), $^{HAL}Ir-tap-pi-ia$ (PF 711:3-4, 1606:3; PFNN 554:2) and $^{HAL}Ir-tup-pi-ia$ (PF 15:3, 45:10-11, 330:7-8, 406:2, 465:3, etc. in PFT; PFa 6:3; PFNN 525:4, 738:2-3, 783:2, 1504:1-2, etc. in PFNN; cf. W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 275). It is generally assumed that this name is the Old Persian equivalent of Median *Rzifya-* (PIE *ṛ̂gi-pi-o, Av. *ərəzifiia-*). Nevertheless a Hurro-Urartian etymology too seems to be possible (I.M. D'jakonov, Journal of the American Oriental Society 105 [1985] p. 602), albeit less probable: Proto-Eastern-Caucasian *'wārççiw'V. In D'jakonov's view it might be a Hurro-Urartian loanword in Indo-Iranian or vice versa.

[126] Attested in Yašt 19,1.

[127] Attested in Yašt 19,5.

[128] Attested in Aramaic: Symk (TAD C 3.15:27; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 229).

[129] F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 299.

[130] Cf. I.M. D'jakonov – V. A. Livshits (Parthian Economic Documents, p. 3) for these and more examples.

[131] W. Eilers, Semiramis, p. 26, n. 30.

1. Toponyms identical with anthroponyms

1.1. ^{AŠ}*A-a-na-ak-ka₄*[132]. – This is the only Neo-Elamite example discussed here. Hinz[133] wants to connect this spelling with the Achaemenid anthro-ponym ^{HAL}*A-na-ak-ka₄*[134] / ^{HAL}*A-na-ik-ka₄*[135] and reconstructs an Iranian name **Ainaka-*. Yet this is impossible, since a spelling *A-na-°* can never be the rendering of Ir. /ai/. The connection is only possible if all spellings denote **Hanaka-*, which is not likely because of ^{AŠ}*A-a-na-ak-ka₄*. Therefore one must assume that ^{AŠ}*A-a-na-ak-ka₄* renders **Ainaka-* and that ^{HAL}*A-na-ak-ka₄* renders **Hanaka-*. Possibly **Aina-ka-* is related to Av. *aēnah-* 'violation, violence'.

This toponym has a personal name as equivalent: ^{m}*A-a-na-ak-ka₄* is attested on a Neo-Elamite seal[136].

1.2. ^{AŠ}*An-tur-ma*[137]. – ^{AŠ}*An-tur-ma* is the Elamite transcription of an Iranian name **Āθravā* (nom. sg. of **Āθravan-*, to Av. *āθrauuan-*) 'priest'. Also an anthroponym[138].

1.3. ^{AŠ}*Ap-pi-iš-man-da*[139]. – For a long time this spelling was considered to be a personal name **Abiš(h)uvanta-*, but Hallock[140] has shown that the determinative preceding this name should be read AŠ instead of HAL and that *Appišmanda* – only in its attestation in PF 672 – is a place name. Cf. Weber[141] for a discussion of the corresponding personal name[142].

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[132]   Attestations: MDP 9 80:10-rev.1, 93:10, 100:9-10, 133:rev.8, 179:rev.8.

[133]   W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 26.

[134]   Attestations: PFNN 472:3, 510:7, 1360:10; 1447:2, 2256:12-13, 2541:24.

[135]   Attestation: PFNN 2209:6.

[136]   W.H. Ward, The seal cylinders, p. 331, no. 1076.

[137]   Attestations: PF 1603:4-5; PFNN 1495:27, 2364:15.

[138]   Spelled ^{HAL}*An-tar-ma* (PF 1956:27, 1969:19, 2084:13; PFNN 573:28), ^{HAL}*At-tur-ma* (PF 1961:26, 2077:20), ^{HAL}*Ha-tar-ra-ma* (PF 1958:1) and ^{HAL}*Ha-tur-ma* (PF 2078:5). Cf. W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 50.

[139]   Attestation: PF 672:3.

[140]   Apud H. Koch, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, p. 228, n. 629.

[141]   Apud W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 19.

[142]   Spelled ^{HAL}*Ap-pi-iš-man-da* (PF 485:7-9) and ^{m}*Ap-pi-iš-man-da* (PT 2:2, 9:2, 9a:2, 9b:2).

1.4. ^{AŠ}At-ia[143], ^{AŠ}At-ti-ia[144], ^{AŠ}Ha-ti-ia[145]. – This toponym is a rendering of Ir. *$Ha\theta ya$-, 'the true one' (Av. $hai\theta iia$-, OP $hašiya$-) and is also an anthroponym[146].

1.5. ^{AŠ}Ba-ak-ti-$iš$[147] **and** Ba-gi-ti-$iš$[148]. – Hinz[149] rightly derives this name from NP $baxt$ 'fate, destiny'. Its anthroponymic equivalent (^{BE}Ba-ak-ti) is attested in a Neo-Elamite text from Susa[150].

1.6. ^{AŠ}Bar-mi-iz-za-(an)[151]. – Rendering of *$Par(u)v$-$iča$-, -$iča$-hypocoristic of *$Par(u)va$- 'first' (OP $paruva$-). Hinz[152] reconstructs the equivalent anthroponymic name[153] as Ir. *$Par(u)vyača$-, a hypocoristic (with the suffixes -ya- and -$ča$-) of *$Par(u)va$-. It is wiser, however, to assume a simple -$iča$-hypocoristic of *$Par(u)va$-.

1.7. ^{AŠ}Bar-ru-$sa(-an/$-$na)$[154]. – Rendering of *$Paru$-$ča$-, a -$ča$-extension from a name containing *$Paru$- 'much'. Also an anthroponym[155].

1.8. ^{AŠ}Bar-sa-$ra/raš$[156]. – Elamite representation of *$Par\theta ara$- 'Parthian'. Mayrhofer and Hinz[157] have analyzed the corresponding personal name[158].

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[143] Attestation: PF 243:4.

[144] Attestation: PF 2084:9.

[145] Attestations: PF 1970:17-18,23.

[146] Spelled ^{HAL}At-te-hi-ia (PF 1948:38,44) and ^{HAL}At-ti-ia (PF 1941:2; PFNN 517:3-4, 1475:7-8). Cf. I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 190; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.161; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 119.

[147] Attestations: PF 169:8, 170:7, 171:6-7, 172:7, 173-174:6, 175:6 ($^{\circ}$-$t[i$-$iš]$), 176:5-6 (^{AŠ}Ba-$[a]k$-$^{\circ}$), 177:9-10 ($^{AŠ}[Ba]$-$^l ak$-ti^l-$[iš]$), 199:4-5, 850:6, 852:6, 1129:5, 1664:6; PFNN 368:5, 888:5-6, 896:6, etc. in PFNN.

[148] Attestation: PFNN 1234:7-8.

[149] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 62.

[150] MDP 36 79:4.

[151] Attestations: PF 492:9, 566:7, 891-892:4-5, 896:5, 1107:8-9, 1133:4-5, 1834:5; PFNN 107:4, 510:10, 1506:5, 1530:4-5, 1584:4-5, etc. in PFNN; PT 5:4.

[152] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 183.

[153] Spelled ^{HAL}Bar-mi-iz-za (PF 1771:2) and $^{HAL}Pír$-mi-iz-za (PF 194:3-4).

[154] Attestations: PF 238:13, 1888:2, 1952:10; PFNN 2043:26 (^{AŠ}Bar-ru-sa-$[an]$).

[155] Spelled ^{HAL}Ba-ru-iz-za: PFNN 2277:6.

[156] Attestations: PF 285:15, 1815:7; PFNN 260:5, 1280:6, 1368:7, 1483:20, 2298:32.

[157] M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1297; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 119.

[158] Spelled ^{HAL}Bar-sa-ra (PF 514:2, 1945:1; PFNN 700:4, 2121:2, 2124:8, 2298:32).

1.9. $^{AŠ}KUR^{MEŠ}Bat$-ti-na-$šá$[159]. – Rendering of *$Patināša$- 'supporting' (Av. $nāš$-). Its equivalent anthroponym[160] is discussed by Hinz[161].

1.10. $^{AŠ}Bu(?)$-$raš(?)$-$še$[162]. – Denotes *$Bōrāsē$-, which evolved from *$Baura$-asa-ya- 'having brown horses' (cf. MP $bōr$ 'red-brown') through monophthongization (/au/ > /ō/) and contraction (/aya/ > /ē/). *$Baurasa$- is the Old Persian form of the Median anthroponym *$Bauraspa$- (Gr. Βόρασπος[163]).

1.11. ^{AŠ}Da-ab-da-um[164] and ^{AŠ}Da-ip-$da(-an)$[165]. – These Elamite spellings render Ir. *$Tāfta$- 'warm' (MP $tāftan$ 'to be warm'[166]). Also a personal name[167].

1.12. ^{AŠ}Da-u-ka_4-an[168], $^{AŠ}Tam_5$-$ka_4(-an)$[169] and $^{AŠ}Tam_5$-uk-$ka_4(-an)$[170]. – Ir. *$Tauka$- 'offspring', both toponym and anthroponym[171]. Cf. also Gr. Ταόκη[172].

1.13. ^{AŠ}Du-$ši$-ia. – On this spelling, cf. 1.9.

1.14. ^{AŠ}Du-ti-na[173]. – Ir. *$Dūt$-ina- 'messenger', just as its equivalent anthroponym *$Dūt$-ina-[174] being an -ina-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a

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[159] Attestations: PFNN 2265:3, 2362:4.

[160] Spelled ^{HAL}Bat-ti-na-$iš$-$šá$ (PT 69:5, 1963-18:4-5) and ^{HAL}Bat-ti-na-$šá$ (PF 452:5; PFNN 2200:21, 2363:20; PT 9a:7-8, 51:5-6, 1963-5:7-8).

[161] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 188.

[162] Attestation: PFNN 2191:7.

[163] F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 70; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 66.

[164] Attestation: PFNN 1318:8-9.

[165] Attestations: PF 301:2; PFNN 2348:3,6,8.

[166] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 231.

[167] Spelled ^{HAL}Da-ab-da (PFNN 2508:2-3). Cf. ElW, p. 246.

[168] Attestations: PF 1452:9; PFNN 171:13 (^{AŠ}Da-u-<<ma>>-ka_4), 424:8-9, 879:8-9, 1398:7.

[169] Attestations: PF 157:5 ($^{AŠ}[Ta]m_5$-ka_4-an), 427:7, 444:6, 481:6, 679:8, 984:3, 1098:6, 1138:4, 1992:1; PPa 18:7-8; PFNN 534:46, 1753:6, 1771:6, 1810:4, etc. in PFNN.

[170] Attestations: PF 1363:7, 1368:10, 1557:9, 1790:28, 1992:8, 2055:15, 2076:53; PPa 30:11,14; PFNN 111:6, 480:17 ($^{AŠ}Tam_5$-uk-<ka_4>), 521:1,13,40, 862:6, 1177:13-14, 2283:8-9.

[171] Spelled $^{HAL}Tam_5$-ka_4 (PF 498:3-4, 2047:3-4; PFNN 1619:3, 2292:3). Cf. I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 235; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1602; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 235.

[172] R.T. Hallock, Persepolis Fortification Tablets, p. 670.

[173] Attestation: PFNN 830:9.

[174] Spelled ^{HAL}Du-ti-na (PF 216:3).

Dūta-name or of *Dūta*- 'messenger'[175]. A derived toponym is *Dūtiniš* (< *Dūtin-iya-*), spelled ᴬˢ*Du-ti-nu-iš*[176].

1.15. ᴬˢKUR^(MEŠ)*Har-ri-ia-ra-man-na*[177] **and** ᴬˢKUR^(MEŠ)*Har-r[i-ia-r]a-um-na*[178]. – The Old Persian anthroponym *A-r-y-a-r-m-n-* (*Aryāramna*- 'who creates peace for the Aryans') is reflected in this oronym[179].

1.16. ᴬˢ*Hu-bu-ti-iš*[180]. – Renders Ir. **(H)ubōdiš* < **(H)ubaudiš* 'odoriferous'[181].

1.17. ᴬˢ*Ka₄-ab-ba-iš*[182] **and** ᴬˢ*Ka₄-ba-iš*[183]. – Represents together with its corresponding anthroponym[184] Ir. **Kapa*- 'fish' (Sogd. *kp* 'fish').

1.18. ᴬˢ*Kam-mi-za*[185]. – Elamite spelling of Ir. **Gaum-iča*- 'having cattle', which is also attested as a personal name[186].

1.19. ᴬˢ*Ka₄-ra-mi-iš*. – Cf. I.16. on this spelling.

1.20. ᴬˢ*Ku-^(ra)rák-ka₄*[187]. – Ir. **Kura-ka*- 'family' (cf. OInd. *kúla*-). The equivalent personal name[188] is discussed by Gershevitch, Mayrhofer and Hinz[189].

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[175] M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.397; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 90.

[176] Attestation: PF 1883:1-2.

[177] Attestation: PF 1955:2.

[178] Attestation: PFNN 2358:2.

[179] EIW, p. 518.

[180] Attestation: PF 339:6.

[181] The corresponding anthroponym is spelled ᴴᴬᴸ*Ú-bu-ti-iš* (Fort. 6180:3-4; PF 2087:43). Cf. also the female name **(H)ubōdā-*, El. ᶠ*Hu-bu-da* (PFNN 541:59; I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 243; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.547; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 122).

[182] Attestations: PF 1993:10 (<*Ka₄*>-*ab-ba-iš*); PFNN 208:2-3, 436:2-3, 533:6-7, 819:3-4.

[183] Attestations: PF 157:5, 1894:2; PFNN 757:15, 778:5-6 (ᴬˢ*Ka₄-ba-[i]š*), 994:1-2, 2052:2 (ᴬˢ*Ka₄-ba-i[š]*), 2261:41-42, 2265:12, 2280:12-13, 2364:26.

[184] Spelled ᴴᴬᴸ*Ka₄-ab-ba* (PF 664:2-3; PFNN 2149:2), ᴴᴬᴸ*Ka₄-ba* (PFNN 1433:2) and ᴴᴬᴸ*Ka₄-ib-ba* (PF 325:5, 2030:1-2; PFNN 1257:2, 1434:2, 2252:2). Cf. I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 199 ; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 146.

[185] Attestations: PFNN 609:54, 754:7.

[186] Spelled ᴴᴬᴸ*Kam-mi-iz-za* (Fort. 226-2:2) and ᴴᴬᴸ*Kam-mi-za* (PF 1954:25). Cf. M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.724; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 104.

[187] Attestations: PF 514:5, 1969:18,22, 2084:14; PFNN 2121:11-12, 2372:34.

[188] Spelled ᴴᴬᴸ*Ku-rák-ka₄* (PF 791:1-2; PFNN 1207:2).

1.21. ^{AS}Kur-ka_4[190]. – This place name should be connected with the personal name *Kr̥ka- 'cock' (Av. kahrka-[191]). Cf. I.19.

1.22. $^{AS}Ma(?)$-an-za-na[192]. – Ir. *(H)uvančanah- 'longing for the sun'. The equivalent anthroponym[193] was read *Xvačanah- by Hinz[194], but El. *m* never denotes Ir. /xv/[195].

1.23. ^{AS}Man-nu-ia[196]. – Rendering of Ir. *Manu-ya-, cf. Hinz[197] for more detailed information on this personal[198] and topographical name.

1.24. ^{AS}Mar-tuk-$ka_4(?)$[199]. – El. ^{AS}Mar-tuk-$ka_4(?)$ is a transcription of Ir. *Vr̥ta-ka- 'hero' (cf. NP *gord*). Hinz[200] studied the corresponding anthroponym[201].

1.25. ^{AS}Ma-$zí$-ik-ka_4[202] and ^{AS}Ma-$zí$-ka_4[203]. – Hinz[204] pleads for an Ir. toponym *Vazika- 'driving'. Yet a name *Maz-ika- 'big (place)', a hypocoristic of *maz- (Av. maz-) looks more plausible. The equivalent anthroponym occurs once[205].

1.26. ^{AS}Mi-$ú$-ka_4-an and ^{AS}Mi-$ú$-uk-ka_4-an. – Cf. I.24. on these spellings.

1.27. ^{AS}Na-da-an[206], ^{AS}Na-da-nu-$iš$[207] and ^{AS}Na-ti-nu-$iš$[208]. – These spellings

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[189] I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 201; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.863; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 154.

[190] Attestations: PF 1926:2-3, 1957:30, 1975:2; PFNN 728:27, 2274:22, 2371:1.

[191] I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 200; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.874; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 152.

[192] Attestations: PFNN 2365:24.

[193] Spelled ^{HAL}Man-za-na (PF 531:8-9, 591:9, 592:8-9, 651:10-11; PFNN 775:4-5, 864:8-9, 869:8, 976:8-9).

[194] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 139.

[195] J. Tavernier, Iranica in de Achaemenidische periode, pp. 183-186.

[196] Attestation: PFNN 509:2.

[197] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 159.

[198] *Manuya- (masc.): spelled ^{HAL}Man-nu-ia (PF 741:2, 794:2, 1342:2-3, 1941:18, 1942:23,25; PFNN 101:4, 760:14) and Ma-nu-ia (Fort. 7862:2). *Manuyā (fem.): ^{f}Man-nu-ia (PFNN 225:2).

[199] Attestation: PFNN 2395:3-4.

[200] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 271.

[201] Spelled ^{HAL}Mar-tuk-ka_4 (PT 84:18).

[202] Attestation: PF 252:4.

[203] Attestations: PFNN 477:2-3, 762:26, 2490:20.

[204] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 259.

[205] Spelled ^{HAL}Ma-zik-ka_4 (PFNN 573:21).

[206] Attestation: PFNN 1187:6.

represent Ir. *Nadāniš, an -āni-patronymic of *Nada- 'reed' (Av. nada-, MP nay);
also attested as anthroponym[209].

1.28. ᴬˢ*Na-re-e-ez-za(-an/-iš)*[210] and ᴬˢ*Na-re-e-za(-an/-iš/-ši)*[211]. – The
corresponding anthroponym[212] was analyzed by Gershevitch and Hinz[213] as a
rendering of *Naryaiča-, an -aiča-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name
containing *narya- (Av. nairiia-), itself an adjectival extension of Av. nar- 'man'.
Yet the spellings mentioned above rather represent *Narēča-, a contracted form of
*Naryaiča- (/yai/ > /ē/). It is obvious that this analysis is also valid for the
homonymous toponym. A derivation *Narēčī- < *Na-ryaič-iya- is also
attested[214].

1.29. ᴬˢ*Ra-ad-du-uk-ka₄*[215], ᴬˢ*Ra-a-du-uk-ka₄*[216], ᴴᴬᴸ*Ra-du-uk-kaš*[217].– These
three spellings denote *Ratu-ka-, a hypocoristic form from *ratu- 'judge' (Av. ra-
tu-). The equivalent personal name[218] has been discussed by Hinz[219].

1.30. ᴬˢ*Ra-pi-iš-be-na/nu*[220] and ᴬˢ*Ráp-pi-iš-be-na/nu*[221]. – Old Iranian
*Rapiθfēna- < *Rapiθfaina- 'noonish'[222] (cf. Av. rapiθβina-, an adjectival

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207 Attestation: PFNN 2256:12.

208 Attestations: PF 616:1-2, 1988:21,31-32.

209 Spelled ᴴᴬᴸ*Na-da-nu-iš* (PFNN 39:4). Cf. I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia
     Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 192; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 170.

210 Attestations: PF 878:5, 890:5, 1059:5, 1202:5-6, 1203:5, 1825:6; PFNN 50:5-6 (*ᴬˢNa]-
     re-ez-za-i[š]*), 727:5-6,10 (ᴬˢ*Na-r[e-e-ez-za]*), 843:3, 1262:6-7, 2176:3-4.

211 Attestations: PF 302:8, 769:7, 2018:26 (ᴬˢ*Na-re-[e]-za-an*); PFNN 1262:6-7, 1306:4-
     5, 2174:7-8, 2386:3-4.

212 Spelled ᴴᴬᴸ*Na-re-e-ez-za* (PF 769:2, 1965:29-30; PFNN 848:2-3, 2369:6), ᴴᴬᴸ*Na-re-he-ez-
     za* (Fort. 9407:3) and ᴴᴬᴸ*Na-ri-ia-a-za* (PFNN 345:3).

213 I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 187; W.
     Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 173.

214 Spelled: ᴬˢ*Na-re-e-ez-zí-iš* (Fort. 2512:10; PF 962:4-5, 1825:1-2; PFNN 843:3) and ᴬˢ*Na-
     re-e-zí-iš* (PT 52:7, 1963-14:8).

215 Attestation: PF 293:7-8.

216 Attestations: PF 1094:3,6-7, 1116:7.

217 Attestation: PF 1827:5.

218 Spelled ᴴᴬᴸ*Ra-ad-du-ka₄* (Fort. 3568:4; PF 1620:10-11), ᴴᴬᴸ*Ra-ad-du-uk-ka₄* (Fort.
     3562:10-11; PFNN 31:9, 494:10-11, 612:3-4) and ᴴᴬᴸ*Rad-du-uk-ka₄* (PFNN 2355:3).

219 Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 201.

220 Attestations: PFNN 198:4-5, 1502:7-8 (ᴬˢ*Ra-pi-[iš-be-na]*), 1868:3-4 (ᴬˢ*R[a]-p]i-°*).

221 Attestations: PF 55:2, 713:6, 724:5-6, 1950:15,22; PFNN 525:10-11, 2006:5, 2254:9-
     10.

222 W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 199, where he reads *Rapiθβaina-.

derivation from *rapiθβā-* 'noon'). Information on the corresponding anthroponym[223] is provided by Benveniste, Mayrhofer and Hinz[224].

1.31. ^{AS}*Ra-šá-nu-iz-za*[225], ^{AS}*Ra-ši-nu-iz-za(-an)*[226]. – Renderings of Ir. **Rašnuča-*, a hypocoristic of **Rašnu-* 'equitable, fair, just' (Av. *raš- nu*[227]). This proper name occurs also as an anthroponym[228].

1.32. ^{AS}*Ra-u-taš*[229]. – This toponym is clearly related with Av. *rautah-* 'river'[230]. Its equivalent anthroponym[231] is only attested in an Aramaic text from Egypt.

1.33. ^{AS}*Šá-ri-iz-za*[232]. – Representation of **Sār-iča-*, a hypocoristic of **Sāra-* 'head'. The corresponding personal name[233] has been discussed by Hinz[234].

1.34. ^{AS}*Šu-du-uk-ka/kaš*[235]. – This Elamite form reflects Old Ir. **Çut-uka-* 'famous'[236] and is also attested as a personal name[237].

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[223] Spelled ^{HAL}*Ra-pi-ut-be-na* (PF 1423:7).

[224] É. Benveniste, Titres et noms propres, p. 91; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1407; W. Hinz, l.c.

[225] Attestations: PF 42:4; PFNN 1644:10-11.

[226] Attestations: PF 292:6, 1884:1-2, 1989:7, 2004:5, 2084:6; PFNN 631:1-2, 2104:5, 2372:27 (°-iz-[za]).

[227] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 200.

[228] Spelled ^{HAL}*Ra-šá-nu-iz-za* (PFNN 1644:10-11). Cf. EIW, p. 1030.

[229] Attestation: PF 2070:11-12.

[230] EIW, p. 1035.

[231] Spelled *Rwt* (TAD D 9.11:1; cf. Shaked, apud TAD D: lxxi).

[232] Attestation: PFNN 2117:3.

[233] Spelled ^{HAL}*Šá-ri-iz-za* (PF 1954:1) and ^{HAL}*Šá-ri-za* (PF 1581:14-15). The spelling ^{HAL}*Šá-ri-iz-zí-iš* (PF 1955:8) is either inaccurate or renders **Sāričiš* < **Sāričiya-*. ^{HAL}*Šá-ri-su-iš* (PF 1695:2) too is either inaccurate or denotes **Sāričuš*.

[234] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 221.

[235] Attestations: PF 574:5, 642:4-5.

[236] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 78.

[237] Spelled ^{HAL}*Šu-du-ka₄* (PFNN 1577:2) and ^{HAL}*Šu-du-uk-ka₄* (PF 1941:3,6). Cf. M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1571.

1.35. ^{AŠ}Ti-ik-$ra(-iš)^{238}$, ^{AŠ}Ti-ik-$raš^{239}$ and ^{AŠ}Tuk-$raš^{240}$. – Representation of Ir. *$Tigra$ 'sharp; slim, slender'. Also a personal name[241].

1.36. ^{AŠ}Ti-ak-ra-$kaš^{242}$, ^{AŠ}Ti-ik-$rák$-$ka/kaš^{243}$ and ^{AŠ}Tuk-$rák$-$kaš^{244}$. – Elamite expressions of Ir. *$Tigraka$-, a -ka-suffixed hypocoristic of *$Tigra$- 'sharp, lender'[245].

1.37. ^{AŠ}Tur-$ka_4(-an)^{246}$. – This writing represents *$Darga$- 'the long one', used as a personal name in an Aramaic text from Egypt[247].

1.38. ^{AŠ}Za-ir-na-mi-ia^{248}. – Both the toponym and the anthroponym[249] reflect Ir. *$Zarnamiya$- 'having a golden necklace'[250].

2. Toponyms not entirely identical but closely related to anthroponyms

Next to these toponyms there are also toponyms that are closely connected to anthroponyms, but not exactly the same. Yet it can be safely assumed that their formation is based on the formation of personal names.

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[238] Attestations: Fort. 9042:10; PFa 1:10, 33:30.

[239] Attestations: PF 581:3, 2073:18,25; PFNN 462:7 (^{AŠ}Ti-ik-$rá[š]$).

[240] Attestations: PF 492-493:2, 566:2, 582:3, 583:6, etc. in PFT; PFNN 187:5, 192:4, 238:5, 360:4, 635:6, 678:4, 787:2, etc. in PFNN; PT 83:7.

[241] Babylonian $^m Ti$-gi-ra-' (BE 10 67:18, 90:11,Lo.E.) and $^m Ti$-ig-ra-' (PBS 2/1 192:20,U.E.). Elamite ^{HAL}Ti-ik-ra (Fort. 3546:2). Cf. W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 235.

[242] Attestations: PFa 2:10.

[243] Attestations: PF 352:10, 1226:16, 2004:1, 2084:2; PFa 3:7 ($^{AŠ}[T]i$-ik-$rák$-$kaš$); PFNN 358:15 (^{AŠ}Ti-ik-$r[ák$-$ka_4]$), 2300:14,24.

[244] Attestations: PF 2080:10 (^{AŠ}Tuk-$rák$-$[ka]š$), 22 (^{AŠ}Tuk-$r[á]k$-$kaš$); PFNN 1526:4.

[245] The corresponding anthroponym is written ^{HAL}Ti-ik-$rák$-ka_4 (PF 1955:19; É Benveniste, Titres et noms propres, p. 94; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1633; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 236.

[246] Attestations: PF 1973:2; PFNN 573:21, 2200:6, 2351:4,6,8-9.

[247] Spelled Drg' (TAD B 2.1:18). Cf. R. Schmitt, Die Sprache 21 (1975) p. 180.

[248] Attestations: PFNN 699:16, 1670:8, 2274:24, 2435:1-2.

[249] Spelled $^{HAL}Šá$-ir-na-mi-ia (PF 1116:8) and ^{HAL}Za-ir-na-mi-ia (PF 1117:7-8, 1941:7,12, 1959:1, 1986:8, 1987:10,12,14, 2058:2-3, 2077:18, 2084:11; PFNN 728:26, 2192:36-37, 2282:3, 2290:4, 2293:13, 2370:8, 2539:19).

[250] R. Schmitt, apud M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1836; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 277.

2.1. ^{AŠ}*An-za-am-na-ak-ka₄*, etc.[251]. – The anthroponym *Hanjāma-āna-*[252] is a patronymic of *Hanjāma-*, which is an abbreviated and palatalized form of *Hangāma-asā-* 'collecting horses'[253]. The Iranian toponym *Han-jāmā-naka-*, reflected by the Elamite form above, is a *-ka-*extension of *Hanjāmāna-*[254].

2.2. ^{AŠ}*Ba-gi-zí-iš*[255]. – *Bagiziš* renders Ir. *Bagičīš* < *Bag-iča-ya-* 'place of Baga'[256]. This toponym is closely related to the anthroponym *Bagi-ča*[257].

2.3. *Bar-ru-ma-tur-ri-iš.* – This spelling, attested in PF 129:3-4 and written without a determinative, has long been considered a personal name[258], but Koch has given some plausible indications in favour of a place name[259]. A quick look at some similar PF texts (PF 126-130) makes clear that:

- PF 126 and 127 have exactly the same initial structure as PF 129: *'commodity' kurmin PN GN*. The text of PF 129:1-4 goes as follows: *¹ 1 mar-ri-iš w.Í⟨.lg⟩ ² kur-min* ^{ḪAL}*Ba-ke-³ia-šá-na Bar-ru-ma-⁴tur-ri-iš.* This pleads for *Barrumaturriš* as a geographical indication.
- The person who supplies (*kurmin*) the commodity in these texts (126-130) is always the same as the one who delivers (*ullašda*) the commodity to the treasury. If *Barrumaturriš* were a personal name, PF 129 would be the only exception to this feature.

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[251] Attestation: PF 692:5. The other spellings of this toponym are ^{AŠ}*An-za-man-kaš* (PFNN 2275:17), ^{AŠ}*An-za-man-na-ak-ka₄* (PF 702:4-5; PFNN 2041:1,27-28, 2269:6, 2371:2), ^{AŠ}*An-za-man-na-ak-kaš* (PF 1896:2-3; PFNN 1022:24, 2269:16-17), ^{AŠ}*An-za-man-na-ka₄* (PFNN 1008:33, 2273:16) and ^{AŠ}*An-za-man-na-kaš* (PF 1976:2).

[252] Spelled ^{ḪAL}*An-za-man-na* (PF 96:3).

[253] I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 177.

[254] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 117.

[255] Attestations: PF 986:4; PFNN 963:4, 1813:3-4, 2122:4.

[256] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 56 (reconstructing, however, *Bagaičya-*).

[257] Spelled ^{ḪAL}*Ba-gi-iz-za* (PF 407:2-3, 649:6, 650:8, 703:7, 864:2, 956:2, 1615:2, 1772:4, 1941:14; PFNN 390:2, 1483:60, etc. in PFNN; PT 4:13), ^{ḪAL}*Ba-gi-za* (PFNN 1209:6), ^{ḪAL}*Ba-ki-iz-za* (PF 1988:12) and ^{ḪAL}*Ba-ki-za* (PF 609:6). Cf. É. Benveniste, Titres et noms propres, p. 80; I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 187; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.229; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 56 (reconstructing, however, *Bagaiča-*).

[258] R.T. Hallock, Persepolis Fortification Tablets, p. 742; I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 219; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1219; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 182.

[259] Apud EIW, p. 157.

For these reasons one should consider *Barrumaturriš* a place name (*Paruhvāθriš*), which can be connected with the anthroponym *Paruhvā-θra-*[260] 'giving much comfort'[261].

2.4. ^{AŠ}*Da-ka$_4$-na*[262]. – Rightly recognized by Hinz[263] as *Takāna-* 'who runs', a patronymic of the anthroponym *Taka-*[264].

2.5. ^{AŠ}*Ha-ri-na*[265], ^{AŠ}*Har-ri-na*[266] and ^{AŠ}*Har-ri-nu*[267]. – This is a rendering of *Arina-*, an -*ina*-extension of the Avestan personal name *Ara-* 'wild'[268].

2.6. ^{AŠ}*Hi-ti-iš-ka$_4$*[269]. – Ir. *Hiθiška-*, a -*ka*-extension of the PN *Hiθiš*[270], an -*i*-patronymic of *Hiθa-* 'ally' (cf. Av. *hiθa-*).

2.7. ^{AŠ}*Hi-ú-ud-da-ma*[271]. – This spelling renders *Yuta-va-*[272] and is a derivation from the personal name *Yuta-*[273] 'bound' (cf. OInd. *yutá-*, the passive participle of *yáu-*). Schmitt[274] presents three readings: (1) *Yaudāyana-*, (2) *Yaudina-*, (3) *Yautāyana-*.

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[260] Spelled ^{HAL}*Bar-ru-ma-ut-ra* (Fort. 1020:3-4; PF 450:1-2, 571:4; PFNN 1287:4, 1454:6, 2386:2-3).

[261] É. Benveniste, Titres et noms propres, p. 80; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.295; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 182.

[262] Attestations: Fort. 8960:17; PF 607:4, 2004:4; PFNN 602:2, 2350:22.

[263] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 233.

[264] Spelled ^{HAL}*Da-ak-ka$_4$* (PF 454-457:2, 570:5-6, 681:2-3, 913-914:2, 1163:2-3; PFNN 303:2-3, 700:5, etc. in PFNN). Cf. I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 234; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.339; W. Hinz, l.c.

[265] Attestation: PF 2084:13.

[266] Attestation: PF 2084:18.

[267] Attestation: PF 1562:6-7.

[268] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 36; M. Mayrhofer, Die altiranischen Namen, I, pp. 19-20.

[269] Attestation: PF 1622:3.

[270] Spelled ^{HAL}*Hi-ti-iš* (PT 19:19-20).

[271] Attestations: PF 1899:2-3; PFNN 2190:16-17.

[272] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 275.

[273] Spelled ^{HAL}*Hi-ú-da* (PF 2031:7-8).

[274] R. Schmitt, apud M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 11.1.8.7.10.

2.8. ^{AS}Hu-$i\check{s}$-$\check{s}\acute{a}$-ra^{275}, $^{AS}Hu/\acute{U}$-$i\check{s}$-$\check{s}\acute{a}$-$ra\check{s}^{276}$ and $^{AS}\acute{U}$-$i\check{s}$-$\check{s}\acute{a}$-ir-ra^{277}. – Also this toponym is most likely derived from a personal name. It represents *(H)u-sāra- 'with a good head' (Av. sāra-) and is closely related to the anthroponym *Husāra- ka-[278], attested in an Aramaic text from Persepolis[279].

2.9. $^{AS}Ka_4$-ri-nu-$i\check{s}^{280}$. – Contracted form (*Kārinī-š) of *Kār-in-iya-, a hypocoristic of a name containing *kāra- 'army, people'. *Kārinā[281] is the related anthro- ponym[282].

2.10. ^{AS}Kur-ka_4-ra-$[ka_4]$ and ^{AS}Kur-ka_4-$rák$-$ka_4/ka\check{s}$. – Cf. I.19. on these spellings.

2.11. ^{AS}Man-na-an-da-na^{283} and ^{AS}Man-na-an-da-nu-$i\check{s}$. –[284]. – The first spell- ing represents an -āna-patronymic of *Vanant- 'victorious', which is attested as a personal name[285] in the Elamite Nebenüberlieferung[286]. The second spelling is a rendering of *Vanantanī-š < *Vanant-an-iya-.

2.12. ^{AS}Mar-$z\acute{i}$-na^{287}. – The place name *(H)uvarčinā (nom. sg. of *(H)u- varčinah- 'longing for the sun') is very similar to the anthroponym *(H)uvarčanā[288], since Av. čanah- and činah- are merely variants.

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275 Attestation: PFNN 2476:20.

276 Attestations: PFNN 1483:22, 1651:2-3.

277 Attestations: PF 1857:25; PFNN 1048:15.

278 Spelled *Hsrk* (OIP 91 98:2).

279 W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 127.

280 Attestations: PFNN 1836:7, 2135:8-9, 2243:7.

281 Spelled $^{HAL}Ka_4$-ri-na (Fort. 6352:8; PF 415:4, 1310:2; PFNN 301:3, 971:3, 1706:4) and ^{HAL}Kar-ri-na (PF 1861:6-7). Note also the female anthroponym *Karinā- ($^fKa_4$-ri-na: PF 1209:7).

282 R. Schmitt, Die Sprache 18 (1972) pp. 189-190; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepoli- tana, 8.768; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 149.

283 Attestations: PFNN 2206:10,23 (^{AS}Man-$[na$-an-da-$na]$), 2364:13.

284 Attestations: PF 328:4; PFNN 1310:3-4.

285 Spelled ^{BE}Ma-na-an-da (Neo-Elamite: MDP 9 101:6, 142:2), ^{HAL}Ma-na-an-da (PF 1084:2; PFNN 2251:2, 2522:2-3; PT 33:6-7), ^{HAL}Ma-na-in-da (PFa 25:3), ^{HAL}Man-na-an-da (PF 138:8, 139:10, 1942:32, 1956:3, 1963:27; PFNN 351:5, 597:4, 726:50, 776:19, 2193:28, 2263:19, 2493:42,46,49, 2581:8-9, etc. in PFNN; PT 30-31:5-6, 34:5, 35:6).

286 I. Gershevitch, in: Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata, II, p. 203; M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.942; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 254.

287 Attestations: PF 1952:8; PFNN 506:7, 609:5, 754:34 (^{AS}Mar-$z\acute{i}$-$[na]$), 2043:18,23, 2150:1, 2349:26, 2363:16.

288 Spelled $^mÚ$-ma-ar-za-nu (VAT 15620:4 [cf. W. Eilers, Iranische Beamtennamen, p. 219]) and $^mÚ$-mar-za-na-' (Dar. 458:15) in Babylonian and $^{HAL}Ú$-mar-za-na (PFNN 2346:6) in Elamite. Cf. W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 130.

2.13. ^{AS}*Ma-u-du-nu-iš*[289]. – Ir. **Vauθunīš*, contracted form of **Vauθuniya-*, to be connected with the anthroponym **Vauθuna-*[290] 'who makes the good prosperous'[291].

2.14. ^{AS}*Mur-ka-zí-ia*[292] and ^{AS}*Mur-ka-zí-iš*[293]. – Hinz & Koch[294] reconstruct **Vṛkačaya-*, which is, however, not credible. Rather a patronymic form **Vṛkač-ī-š* (cf. Av. *vǝhrka-* 'wolf') of a personal name **Vṛka-ča-*[295], itself a hypocoristic[296], is involved.

2.15. ^{AS}*Šá-u-šá-ka₄*[297]. – This is a *-ka*-hypocoristic of a personal name **Çauša-* 'the obedient one', which is also reflected in the anthroponym **Çauša-ya-*[298].

2.16. ^{AS}*Šá-ut-te-nu-iš*[299]. – Hinz[300] reconstructs **Syāta-aina-*, a hypocoristic form. Nevertheless it is better to read **Šātēnī-š* < **Syāta-ain-iya-*. A closely related anthroponym[301] **Šātēna-* may be found in three Babylonian documents[302].

2.17. ^{AS}*Tur-ši-(ik)-ka₄(-an)*[303], *Tur-tuk-ka₄(-an)*[304], *Tur-tuk-kaš*[305]. – Denotation of Ir. **Dṛθ-ika-* 'who sees, beholds' (OInd. *darś-*, Av. *darǝs-*). The element

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[289] Attestation: PFNN 2213:5.

[290] Spelled ^{HAL}*Ma-u-du-na* (PF 1159:2-3).

[291] M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana, 8.1032; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 251.

[292] Attestations: PFNN 222:5-6, 260:3, 1011:23, 2290:34, 2487:27-28.

[293] Attestations: PF 246:10; PFNN 453:5, 520:6,9-10,12, 575:2, 875:3,5-6.

[294] EIW, p. 953.

[295] Spelled ^{HAL}*Mar-ka₄-šá* (PFNN 2487:28) and ^{HAL}*Mar-ka₄-za* (PFNN 2293:28).

[296] EIW, p. 884.

[297] Attestation: PFNN 2364:14.

[298] Spelled ^{HAL}*Šá-u-šá-a* (PF 1324:3). The related spelling ^{HAL}*Šá-u-še-iš* probably renders the contracted form **Çauše-*. Cf. W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 75.

[299] Attestations: PF 721:5; PFNN 766:6.

[300] Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 230.

[301] Spelled ^{m}*Šá-a-te-en-na-'* (PIHANS 54 62:3), ^{m}*Šad-da-a-a-nu* (TCL 13 183:7) and ^{m}*Šá-ta-'-a-ni-'* (PBS 2/1 116:7).

[302] W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut, p. 230; R. Zadok, BNF NF 14 (1979) p. 299.

[303] Attestations: PF 208:10-11, 2022:10-11 (^{AS}*T[ur]-ši-ka₄-an*); PFNN 2200:14, 2364:16.

[304] Attestations: PF 1221:11, 1232:12, 1964:8,17; PFNN 2297:21,27,29.

[305] Attestation: PF 1964:11. The spelling [^{AS}*Tur]-šu-uk-ka₄-an* (PFNN 1517:6-7) might also reflect this toponym, if at least the restoration is correct.

drθ- (Old Persian equivalent of *dr̥s*-) occurs also in the anthroponyms *Drθi-š*[306] and *Drθ-iya*-[307].

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[306] Spelled *ᴴᴬᴸTu[r]-ši-iš* (PFNN 308:2). Cf. EIW, p. 373.

[307] Spelled *ᴴᴬᴸTu[r]-ši-ia* (PFNN 2539:7).

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