

20) New arrivals in the Iranian onomastic zoo: some new Iranian anthroponyms in non-Iranian texts — In the 2007 catalogue of Old Iranian names published by myself (Tavernier 2007), no less than 2142 Old Iranian anthroponyms are discussed. This number keeps on growing, due to the publication of new texts mentioning Old Iranian names or to the re-analysis of some names, formerly unexplained or not considered to be Iranian. In this short note I would like to add some new Old Iranian anthroponyms to the existing corpus (nos. 1-8, 10-16, 18 and 20-22). Three names are not new ones, but are included here due to a re-analysis (no. 8) or to new attestations (nos. 16 and 18). The common aspect of all 22 anthroponyms is that they have as one of their elements an animal and as such enrich the Iranian onomastic zoo.

In addition to the 22 anthroponyms there are also 4 toponyms having an animal as first or second element. The first one of these is a real geographical indication, whereas the other three are anthroponyms used as toponyms, a rather frequent practice in the Iranian world (cf. Tavernier 2006, 383-396).

Anthroponyms

- 1) *Abigauka-: *Abi-gau-ka-, a derivation of a name containing *gau- “cattle”.
– Aramaic: Bgwk: PFAT 0103:1.
- 2) *Aspaçava-: *Aspa-çava- “having a beautiful horse”.
– Elamite: Áš-ba-šu-ma: Fort. 1838-102:12.
- 3) *Aspajivāta-: *Aspa-jiva-āta-, hypocoristic of *Aspajiva- “(making) the horses alive”.
– Elamite: Áš-ban-zí-man-da: Fort. 1356-101:37.
- 4) *Asparga-: *Aspa-rga- “whose horse is valuable”. Tavernier (2007, 475-476 no. 5.3.2.23) does not provide an analysis of this name. Hinz & Koch (1987, 88) only state that the name is probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Áš-pír-ka₄: PFNN 1107:2, 1516:2.
- 5) *Asparšā-: nom. sg. of *Aspa-ršan- “horse-hero”.
– Elamite: Áš-ba-ir-šā: Fort. 2323-101:3.
- 6) *Aspāvanta-: *Aspā-vanta- “rich in horses”. Median equivalent of *Asāvanta- (Tavernier 2007, 118 no. 4.2.146) and masculine equivalent of *Aspāvātī (Tavernier 2007, 121 no. 4.2.166).
– Elamite: Áš-pu-man-da: Fort. 1536-103:2-3.
- 7) *Cakāra-: *Cakā-ra-, -ra-hypocoristic of a name containing *cakā- “lark”.
– Aramaic: Škr: PFAT 0155:1, 0444:1.
- 8) *Cakāta-: *Cakā-āta-, -āta-hypocoristic of a name containing *cakā- “lark”.
– Aramaic: Škt: PFAT 0365:1.
- 9) *Gauka-: a meaning “frog” (Hinz 1975, p. 104; see the Parthian anthroponym Gwk) is preferable to the analysis as a hypocoristic name containing gau- “cattle” (Gershevitch 1969, 188; Hinz 1975, 104; Zadok 1977, 106; Dandamayev 1992, 80; Tavernier 2007, 187 no. 4.2.633).
– Babylonian: Gu-uk-ka-: EE 34:6,10,rev.
– Elamite:
1) Kam-ka₄: Fort. 1638-102:5’.
2) Ka₄-u-ik-ka₄: PFNN 541:5.
3) Ka₄-u-ka₄: PF 1483:2.
- 10) *Gōdavṛka-: < *Gauda-vṛka- « hiding for the wolf ».
– Elamite :
1) Ku-da-mar-ka₄ : PFNN 726:36.
2) Ku-ti-mar-ka₄: PF 1942:11,15; PFNN 726:39.
- 11) *Hucakā-: *Hu-cakā- « Having a good lark ». Tavernier doubts between an Elamite or Old Iranian name (Tavernier 2007, 515 no. 5.4.2.27), but more likely the second option is the right one. Whereas Hinz & Koch (1987, 735) mention *Hužyaka-, a name *Hu-cakā- seems more acceptable.
– Elamite: Hu-za-ik-ka₄: PFNN 1552:5.
- 12) *(H)uvasa- (Old Persian): *(H)uv-asa- “with a good horse”.
– Elamite: Ú-ma-āš-šā: Fort. 2015-101:13,20,25,29,31,34,37.
- 13) *Kaiki-/Kēki-: i-patronymic of *Kaika- “flea”. The Babylonian spellings listed under *Kaika- (Tavernier 2007, 223 no. 4.2.911) rather denote a name *Kaiki-.
– Babylonian:
1) Ke-e-ki: VS 6 226:edge.
2) Ke-ki-i: EE 11:7.
- 14) *Kapadara-: *Kapa-dara- “holding a fish”.
– Elamite: Ka₄-ba-da-ra: Fort. 2355-101:4’.
- 15) *Kapariš-: contracted form of *Kapa-ra-ya-, a double-suffixed hypocoristic of a *Kapa-name.
– Elamite: Ka₄-bar-ri-iš: Fort. 2003-101:9.
- 16) *Krgaca-: *Krga-ca-, -ca-hypocoristic of *Krga- “cock”.

- Aramaic: Krgš: PFAT 0327:3, 0360:1.
- 17) *Kṛkica-: *-ica*-hypocoristic of *Kṛka- “cock”. This is not a real new name, as it is already discussed by Tavernier (2007, 232 no. 4.2.984). It is mentioned here because of the new Demotic spelling Grgše (P. BME A 76274.1, Ft, col. II. 7,8; cf. MARTIN 2019, 189).
- 18) *Paθva-: variant of *Paθu- “sheep and/or goat”. Not *Pati-tavah-, as Zadok (2009, 285 no. 446) believes.
– Babylonian: Pat-tu-ú: VS 6 188:1.
- 19) *Paθvaka-: *-ka*-hypocoristic of a name with *Paθva- (Tavernier 2007, 273 no. 4.2.1292).
– Aramaic: ʿbʿdwʿkʿ: PFAO 18 (cited with kind permission of Annalisa Azzoni and Mitchka Shahryari). The Aramaic spelling is a nice example of how a scribe writing Aramaic could be influenced by the Elamite writing practices (in this case, by the El. spelling Bad-du-ma-ak-ak₄). This is shown here by the mistakes against the Aramaic distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, distinction which is non-existing in Elamite (cf. TAVERNIER & AZZONI 2023).
- 20) *Rādāsiš (OP): *Rāda-as-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Rād-asa- “readying the horse”.
– Elamite: Ra-da-ši-iš: Fort. 1993-103:9.
- 21) *Rdasāna- (OP): *Rd-asa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Rd-asa- “he who takes care of horses”.
– Aramaic: ʾRdsn: PFAT 0308:3.
- 22) *Vṛkazāta- (Med.): *Vṛka-zāta- “born of a wolf”.
– Aramaic: Wrkzt: PFAT 0142:1.

Toponyms

- 23) *Asparāsta-: *Aspa-rāsta- “(a way) laid out for horses, hippodrome” (NAVEH & SHAKED 2012, 184).
– Aramaic: ʾSprst: ADAB C1:33.
- 24) *Maišātiš: *Maiša-āt-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of an *-āta*-hypocoristic of a name with *maiša- “sheep”. Personal name used as place name.
– Elamite: Ma-a-šá-ti-iš: Fort. 1348-101:2.
- 25) *Varāda- (Old Persian): “boar”. Also attested as personal name (Tavernier 2007, 338 no. 4.2.1800).
– Elamite: Mar-ra-taš: Fort. 1901-101:10ʹ, 17ʹ.
- 26) *Zaryāspi- (Median): *-i*-patronymic of *Zarya-aspa-, “having gold-coloured horses”. Especially known as anthroponym (Tavernier 2007, 370 no. 4.2.2054), but also the name of the fortress in Bactra (NAVEH & SHAKED 2012, 121).
– Aramaic: Zrympy (error for Zryspy): ADAB A8:3.

Glossary (cf. Tavernier 2007, 547-573)

1. Animals

Asa- (Old Persian) “horse”: Old Indian *ásva*-, Old Persian *asa*-.
 Aspa- (Median) “horse”: Avestan *aspa*-, Sogdian *ʾsp*.
 Cakā- “lark”: Middle Persian *čakōk*, New Persian *čakā*, *čagūk* and *čakok*.
 Gauka- “frog”: Sogdian *γwk*, New Persian *gūk*.
 Kaika- “flea”: New Persian *kaik*.
 Kapa- “fish”: Sogdian *kp*.
 Kṛga- “cock”: Pašto *čirg*, Ormuri *kirži*. Cf. also New Persian *kurg* “hen which has done laying and is inclined for the cock”.
 Maiša- “sheep”: Old Indian *meśá*-, Avestan *maēša*-, Middle and New Persian *mēš*.
 Paθva- “sheep and/or goat”: variant of **paθu*-, the Old Persian equivalent of **pasu*- (Old Indian *paśú*-, Avestan *pasu*-, Middle Persian *pah*, Khotanese *pasa*-, Pašto *psə*, Ossetic *fys/fus*).
 Vṛka- “wolf”: Old Indian *vṛka*-, Avestan *vəhrka*-, Sogdian. *wyrk*, Khotanese *birgga*-, New Persian *gurg*, Kurdish *varg*, Baluči *gvark*, Šuryni *wurj*.

2. Others

Abi-: prepositional prefix (Old Indian *abhí*-, Avestan *aibī*-, Old Persian *abi*-).
 -āna-: suffix indicating a patronymic.
 -āta-: hypocoristic suffix reinforcing the meaning of the word it determines.
 -ca-: hypocoristic suffix.
 Čava- (Old Persian): “beautiful”: Avestan *srauuu*-.
 Dar- “to hold”: Old Indian *dhar*-, Avestan *dar*-, Old and Middle Persian *dar*-, Parthian *dʾr*, Sogdian *δʾr*, Khotanese *dār*-, Choresmian *dʾr*, New Persian *dāstan*, Ossetic *daryn* and *darun*.
 Gaud- “to conceal”: Avestan *gaoz*-, Old Persian *gaud*-.
 (H)u- “good”: Old Indian *su*-, Avestan *hu*-, Old Persian *u*-, Middle Persian *hu*-, Khotanese *hu*-, New Persian *xu*-.
 -i-: suffix indicating a patronymic.
 -(i)ya-: hypocoristic suffix.
 Jīva- “alive, living”: Avestan *jūua*-, Old Persian *jīva*-.

-ka-: hypocoristic suffix.

Rāda- “readying”: present stem of *rād- “to lay out; prepare” (Avestan *rād-*).

Rāsta- “laid out”: pass. part. of *rād- “to lay out; prepare” (Avestan *rād-*).

Ṛd- “to make prosper, take care of”: Old Indian *ṛdha-*, “to prosper”, Avestan *arəd-* “to make thrive”.

Rg- “to be valuable, worthy”: Old Indian *ārḥ-*, Avestan *arəg-*, New Persian *arzīdan*.

Ršan- “hero”: Avestan *aršan-*.

-ra-: hypocoristic suffix.

-vant-, -vatī- (fem.) “provided with, rich in”: Old Indian, Avestan and Old Persian -vant-.

Zarya- “gold-coloured, yellow”: Old Indian. *hari-*, Avestan *zairi-*, Middle and New Persian *zard*, Khotanese *ysarūna*.

Zāta- “born” (Median): Avestan *zāta-*. Median equivalent of Old Persian *dāta-*.

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Specific abbreviations

ADAB = Naveh & Shaked 2012.

Fort. = Persepolis Fortification tablets, mostly unpublished, cited from draft editions by M.W. Stolper, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (<https://ochre.uchicago.edu/>); images of some available via InscriptiFact (<http://www.inscriptifact.com/>).

PF = Persepolis Fortification texts, published in Hallock 1969.

PFAO = Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Ostraca (to be published by Analisa Azzoni and Mitchka Shahryari).

PFAT = Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Texts, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (<https://ochre.uchicago.edu/>); images of some available via InscriptiFact (<http://www.inscriptifact.com/>).

PFNN = Persepolis Fortification texts in draft editions by R.T. Hallock, cited from collated and corrected editions by W.F.M. Henkelman, some available via the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (<https://ochre.uchicago.edu/>); images of some available via InscriptiFact (<http://www.inscriptifact.com/>).

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21) L’ummān-manda dans la stèle de Cutha — Les auteurs de la *Stèle de Cutha*, désignaient l’ennemi par l’expression *ummān-manda*, « la grande armée » (version standard, vers 54). Elle était le correspondant akkadien de l’ugnim sumérien, qui qualifiait les Gutéens dans la tradition historiographique. Elle figurait également dans la traduction hittite.

ugnim était écrit *ki^{-kuš}lu-ub₂-gar*, « le lieu où sont disposés les sacs en cuir », une métaphore pour désigner un campement militaire ou une métonymie pour dire une armée.

Le mot sumérien est communément traduit par « horde », et rien n’interdit de traduire de même son correspondant akkadien. Pour mémoire, un fait comparatif. Les successeurs de Jochi, le fils aîné de Gengis Khan, appelaient leur empire Orda, la « horde », un régime flexible capable de bien des adaptations. Là où se trouvait un chef, se trouvait la horde. Le mot, nous enseigne Marie Favereau, pouvait désigner une armée, un emplacement, un peuple ou un campement (*La Horde. Comment les Mongols ont changé le monde*, Perrin, Paris, 2021).