

**107) An Irano-Elamo-Aramaic Note<sup>1)</sup>** — In various Fortification Texts from Persepolis (Fort. 00X2-101:2' (Ir-du-maš-[da]),<sup>4)</sup> 1290-102+2177-101:39,45, 2287-102:4; PF 679:4, 1801:4; PFNN 1074:5, 2135:4, 2358:1)<sup>2)</sup> a name *Ir-du-maš-da* occurs. This is clearly the rendering of an Iranian name and this fact was already quickly recognized.

The first to analyze this name was Émile BENVENISTE (1966: 84), who argued that *Ir-du-maš-da* renders the Old Iranian name \*Ṛta-vazdā, the nominative singular of \*Ṛta-vazdah- “possessing endurance through Arta”. This proposal was generally accepted by modern scholarship (MAYRHOFER 1970, 229 n.35 and 1973, 167 no. 8.617; HINZ 1975, 217; BOGOLJUBOV 1976, 211; SCHMITT 2002, 45).

This name is well-established by its occurrences in other languages: Avestan Ašauuazdah-, Middle Persian Ašavazd, Armenian Artawazd, Greek Ἀρταβάζης, Ἀρτάβαζος, Ἀρταβάσδης, Ἀρτάοζος, Ἀρταουάζης and Ἀρταουάσδης, Latin Artabazus, Artabazes, Artabasdes, Artavasdes and Artavazdes. It is also attested as Ardavasti in the medieval *Testamentum of the hypatus of Gaeta* (Docibilis I; cf. MAYRHOFER 1970, 228-229).

In 2002, however, SCHMITT (2002, 45 n.17) cast doubts on this analysis in a footnote, when he rightfully referred to the Aramaic gloss on the tablet PF 1801 (rev.). There the Aramaic spelling is ʾRtmʿzʾd<sup>3)</sup>, a spelling clearly contradictory to an analysis \*Ṛtavazdā, as such a name would have been written ʾRtw z d in Aramaic.

Schmitt's remark was picked up by TAVERNIER (2007, 297-298 no. 4.2.1484; cf. also SCHMITT 2011, 99) who proposed to see Elamite *Ir-du-maš-da* as a rendering of Old Iranian \*Ṛta-Mazdā, the nominative singular of \*Ṛta-Mazdah-, a *dvandva*-compound of the two divine names \*Ṛta- and \*Mazdah-.

Nevertheless, this solution is not unproblematic either. The Elamite cuneiform sign DU is frequently attested in Elamite renderings of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords, but never is it the rendering of Ir. -/ta/- in medial position. The only exceptions to this occur when -/ta/- is followed by Ir. /w/, causing vowel colouring, as a result of which the expected El. sign DA was replaced by DU. Two examples are:

(1) El. *Da-ad-du-man-ia* for Ir. Dātavahyah- (Old Persian d-a-t-v-h-y-, in the well-known Bisitun Inscription).

(2) El. *Ir-du-mar-ti-ia* for Ir. Ṛtavardiya- (Old Persian A-r-t-v-r-di-i-y-, also in the Bisitun Inscription).

Summarizing, it is sure that El. *Ir-du-maš-da* and Aram. ʾRtm z d refer to the same name (one individual), but hitherto both the proposed etymologies are problematic.

In order to solve this problem, one has to change his strategy. It is therefore suggested here that the Aramaic spelling is an orthography influenced by the Elamite one. In other words, Aramaic -m- appears here because of the Elamite use of the cuneiform sign MAS.

Although strange at first sight, this feature is not isolated. In an article on the use of languages in the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Archives, TAVERNIER (2008, 74-75) has listed four similar examples, where the Aramaic spellings are most probably influenced by the Elamite ones (for example where the Aramaic makes mistakes against the distinction of voiced and voiceless consonants, a feature unknown

in Elamite). The nicest example is PF 1791 where the Aramaic has Mšbd for \*Miçapāta- “Protected by Mithra”, written as such under influence of the Elamite spelling *Mi-iš-šá-ba-da*, attested in the same text and thus securing the identity of both names.

If this is accepted, then the real Iranian name behind both El. *Ir-du-maš-da* and Aram. 'Rtm z d must be \*Ṛta-vazdah- and so it can be established that Benveniste after all was right in his analysis. The name \*Ṛta-mazdah- should accordingly be removed from the Irano-Elamite onomastical corpus.

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**2** Please note the following codes for the Elamite texts:

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.

PF-NN = 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/>).

**3** And not 'Rtm<z>[d], as previously read (source: OCHRE, PF 1801Ar, consulted on 01/09/2015).

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