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von Jost Gippert (2011).

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Jost Gippert, Frankfurt 2012

ONOMASTICA IRANO-IBERICA  
I. THE NAME OF VAKHTANG GORGASALI'S PERSIAN WIFE

In his account of the life of Vakhtang Gorgasali, part of the chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba*, ჯუანშერ informs us that the Georgian king married the daughter of the King of Kings of Persia, Urmizd (i.e., Hormizd III.), in order to secure peace with the latter. Later on, the biographer reports about the queen's death, which occurred when she gave birth to Vakhtang's twins, a boy and a girl. In the passages in question, which are preserved in all major manuscripts containing the chronicle, the name of the Persian princess is not attested in unique form, however. Most of the witnesses, esp. those of the redaction undertaken by Vakhtang VI., provide it in the form *Balenduxt*, a spelling that was accepted for the text in both critical editions of *Kartlis Cxovreba*,<sup>1</sup> in accordance with the Armenian version of the chronicle (the *Patmowt'wn Vrac'*)<sup>2</sup> reading *Balendowxt*. This name form has also been taken as the basis for the etymological explanation that is most widespread today. Basing herself upon a proposal by Ferdinand Justi, Mzia Andronikašvili states: „სახელი ბალენდუხტ ნიშნავს ბალენის ასულს, შეადარეთ საგდუხტ, მირანდუხტ და სხვა. ხოლო საკუთარი სახელი ბალენ არის ალბათ სპარსული *Balan*. ახალი სპარსული ფორმა სახელისა *Wardan*, ფ. იუსტის აზრით, იგივეა, რაც *Golanduxt*.”<sup>3</sup>

As a matter of fact, the form Justi relied upon was not *Balenduxt* but *Balanduxt*.<sup>4</sup> This spelling is once met in XVI c. ms. C (= Q 207),<sup>5</sup> but is not the only noteworthy variant of the queen's name. In its first occurrence, the same ms., C, calls her *Šanduxat* instead, a spelling quite close to the form *Bandoxt* which we find in three other pre-Vakhtangian mss., M (= S 30, of A.D. 1633-6), Q (= 1219,

<sup>1</sup> *Kartlis Cxovreba*, ed. S. Qauxčičvili (hereafter: K.Cx.Q.), Tbilisi 1955, p. 158, ll. 11-16 and p. 178, ll. 12-14; *Kartlis Cxovreba*, red. Roin Meṭreveli (hereafter: K.Cx.M.), Tbilisi 2008, p. 171, ll. 11-16 and p. 193, ll. 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Kartlis cxovrebis žveli somxuri targmani*, ed. Ilia Abulaze, Tbilisi 1953, p. 152, l. 8 – p. 153, l. 3.

<sup>3</sup> M. Andronikašvili, *Narkvevebi iranul-kartuli enobrivi urtiertobidan / Studies in Iranian-Georgian Linguistic Contacts*, I., Tbilisi 1966, 445.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 62: “Balanduxt, Tochter des Hormizd III, Gattin des Waḫtang von Georgien, Dorn, *Bullet. Acad. St. Petersb.* April 1842, 37. Brosset, *Hist.* 1, 160. 176. Vgl. *Golandux. Wardanduxt*”. Note that the works Justi refers to (*Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, traduite du géorgien par M. Brosset, 1<sup>re</sup> partie, S.-Pétersbourg 1849, pp. 160/176, and B. Dorn, ‘Versuch einer Erklärung von drei Münzen mit Sasaniden-Gepräge’, *Bulletin de la Classe des Sciences historiques, philologiques et politiques de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, I/3, 1844, p. 37) exhibit the forms *Balendoukht* and *Balendocht* instead.

<sup>5</sup> K.Cx.Q., p. 178, l. 13 / K.Cx.M., p. 193, l. 7, crit.app.

of A.D. 1679), and m (= H 2135, of A.D. 1736), at the same place. A quasi-intermediate position is taken at the given position by XV c. ms. A (= Q 795), the oldest Georgian manuscript of the chronicle available, which reads *Šalendoxt* instead.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly enough, a similar reading (*Šalendoxt*) is met with in the second attestation of the queen's name, too, but this time in mss. M and m; ms. Q has *Balendoxt* here, while ms. A reads *Balendut*.<sup>2</sup>

Taking this amount of variation into account, the etymology quoted above may be questioned. This is all the more true since the case for Justi's (and Andronikašvili's) proposal is rather weak, except for the fact that we have a compound name here, the second element of which is the Iranian word for 'daughter', Pers. *duxt*, the variants with *-doxt*, *-duṭ*, or *-duxaṭ* showing deformations that are typical for the transmission of the chronicle.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to that, the identification of the first compound member with the elements *Wardan-* and *Golan-* as proposed by Justi is anything but evident. It is true of course that the latter two elements can be taken to represent the same etymon, i.e., the word for 'rose' in what may be its plural form, *gulān* showing the typical Persian development of intervocalic *-rd-* > *-l-*; by-forms such as *balān* or *bālān* (neither Justi nor Andronikašvili note the quantity of the vowels explicitly) are hard to accept, however, as these would reflect the same – Persian – sound change, but in combination with a non-Persian vocalism. To corroborate this, it is necessary to reconsider the sound changes involved in more detail.<sup>4</sup>

First of all, we do find New Persian words beginning with *gu-* where this is likely to go back to older *\*ṷa-*;<sup>5</sup> examples are NP. *gurāz* 'boar' < MP. *warāz-* 'id.' (cf. Avest. *varāza-* and OInd. *varāhā-*), or NP. *gurz* 'club, mace' < MP. *warz* 'id.' (besides *wazr*, cf. Avest. *vazra-* and OInd. *vājra-*).<sup>6</sup> It is further true that in most other cases, older *\*ṷa-* developed into NP. *ba-*<sup>7</sup> as in *barf* 'snow' < MP. *bafr* 'id.' (cf. Avest. *vafra-*) or *bahār* 'spring' < MP. *wahār* 'id.' (cf. Avest. *\*vanhar-*),<sup>8</sup> and that this could lead to pairs such as *barz* 'work, efforts' < MP. *warz* 'id.' (cf. Avest. *varəz-*) contrasting with *gurz* 'club' < MP. *warz* 'id.' (cf. above), or doublets as in the case of the name *Bahrām* < MP. *Wahrām* contrasting with *gu-* in its Georgian variant *Gu(a)ram*. It is also noteworthy in this context that the vowel of *ba-* was prone to being assimilated (in open syllables) to that of a following (stressed)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the crit.app. pertaining to K.Cx.Q., p. 158, l. 13 / K.Cx.M. p. 171, l. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the crit.app. pertaining to K.Cx.Q., p. 178, l. 13 and 177, 10 / K.Cx.M., p. 193, l. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Gippert, 'Zur historischen Onomastik des Georgischen', *Georgica* 7, 1984, pp. 37-42 mit Anm. 12.

<sup>4</sup> My special thanks to Agnes Korn who read a previous version of this article and provided valuable suggestions and corrections. All the remaining errors are mine, of course.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, Straßburg 1895, p. 157, § 47.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. Gippert, *Iranica Armeno-Iberica. Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen*, Vienna 1993, [vol. I] pp. 305-316 s.v. *vazr-*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 155, § 44.

<sup>8</sup> The form *vanri* in the Frahang-i ōim (VIII.) is likely to be a locative case; cf. P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Straßburg 1893, p. 56 nr. 243.

syllable as in *bihīšt* ‘best’ < MP. *wahīšt* ‘id.’ (cf. Avest. *vahišta-*, OInd. *vásiṣṭha-*); this assimilation may even have occurred in pre-Islamic times, as in *buzurg* < MP. *wuzurg*<sup>1</sup> < OP. *vazarka-*<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, we find \**u-* > NP. *ga-* in *gaštan* ‘turn, return, become’ < MP. *waštan* ‘id.’, *gardiš* ‘change, turning’ < MP. *wardišn* and other derivatives of the root meaning ‘to turn’ (cf. Avest. *varət-*, OInd. full grade *vart-*);<sup>3</sup> in these cases, the change can be shown to have occurred in Sasanian Middle Persian, too, as spellings like <gltytn> = *gardīdan* ‘turn, revolve’ or <glšn> = *gardišn* ‘revolution’ show. It is likely that the sound change leading from *w-* to *g(u)-* (via \**gu-*) was a general feature of early Sasanian Middle Persian as it is clearly reflected in the Greek version of the inscription of Šāpūr I. at the Ka‘ba-i Zardošt (ŠKZ) in names such as Γοραζδουκτ (i.e., *gurāzduxt*, vs. MP. <wr‘cdwht-y>, cf. NP. *gurāz* < *warāz-* ‘boar’) or Γουαραθραν (i.e., *g<sup>u</sup>araθrān*, vs. MP. <wrhr’n>, cf. Georgian *Gu(a)ram*).<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the few cases mentioned above where *gu-* is likely to reflect \**u-*, *gu-* has more regularly emerged from older \**ui-* as in *guzardan* / *guzāštan* ‘to pass by’ / *guzārdan* ‘to let pass by’ < MP. *widardan* / *widaštan* / *widārdan* ‘id.’, *gunāh* ‘sin, crime’ < MP. *wināh* ‘id.’, *guš* ‘poison’ < MP. *wiš* ‘id.’, or the name *Guštāsp* < MP. *Wištāsp* (cf. Avest. *Vištāspa-*).<sup>5</sup> This change, too, is already attested for Sasanian Middle Persian; cf., e.g., NP. *guwāh* ‘witness’ < MP. *gugāy* ‘id.’ < \**ui-kāy-a-* (cf. Arm. *vkay*)<sup>6</sup> or NP. MP. *gumān* ‘doubt’ < \**uimāna-* (vs. Avest. *vīmana-*).<sup>7</sup> To these instances we may add a list of words where NP. MP. *gu(r)-* reflects \**u(r)-* < zero-grade \**u-* as in NP. *gurda*, MP. *gurdag* ‘kidney’ < \**uərt-ak-a-* < \**uərt-k-a-* (cf. Avest. *vəṛəḍka-*, OInd. *vṛṛka-*), NP. MP. *gurg* ‘wolf’ < \**uərka-* < \**uṛṛka-* (cf. Avest. *vəhrka-*, OInd. *vṛṛka-*), or NP. MP. *gušn* ‘male, stallion’ (also in the name *Gušnāsp*) < \**uə(r)šni-* < \**uṛšni-* (cf. OInd. *vṛṣṇi-* ‘ram’, vs. Avest. *varəšni-*).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the spelling preferred by D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London 1971, p. 93, in accordance with Arm. *vzurk/vzruk* (cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 157, § 48); the variant with *gu-* we would expect as the NP. outcome of \**wu-* is present in Pāzend *guzurg* (cf. Hübschmann, ib.).

<sup>2</sup> The usual vocalization of OP. *wa-za-ra-ka-*, *vazraka-*, is improbable as this would not have led to *wazurg*, the *-ur-* presupposing a syllabic *-r-* (typically realized as *-ər-*); cf. already H. Hübschmann, ‘Iranica’, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 27, 1885, pp. 108-12 and *Persische Studien*, p. 29 nr. 214. Note that a stem \**wazrak-* ‘club’ must have existed in Middle Iranian as a derivative of *wazr* / *warz* ‘id.’, as Georgian *mazrak-i* / *marzak-i* shows (cf. Gippert, *Iranica*, p. 305-316 s.v. *vazr-*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, pp. 156-7, §46.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. Back, *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*, Leiden 1978, pp. 131 and 152.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 154, § 43 and pp. 155-6, § 45.

<sup>6</sup> The etymology tentatively proposed by Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 156, § 45 (“*guvāh* ‘Zeuge’ = phl. *gukās*, skr. \**vikāṣa-*”) is based on a wrong reading of the MP. word as occurring in Book Pahlavī (<gwk’s> instead of <gwk’dy>), the correct reading (for which cf. MacKenzie, *Dictionary* s.v.) now being clarified by the Manichean spelling (<gwg’y>, attested e.g. in the Manichean text KPT 36, cf. W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin 1973, p. 102, l. 13=1988).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 95, nr. 932 and p. 156, § 45.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 156, § 45.

When initial \*u̇ was followed by a long vowel or (monophthongized) diphthong, the development to g- seems not to have occurred. Instead we usually find \*u̇ > b-,<sup>1</sup> as in NP. *bād* ‘wind’ < MP. *wād* ‘id.’ (cf. Avest. *vāta-*, OInd. *vāta-*), *bārān* ‘rain’ < MP. *wārān* ‘id.’ (cf. Avest. *vāra-*, vs. OInd. *vār-*, *vāri-* ‘water’), or *bāzār* ‘market’ < MP. *wāzār* ‘id.’ (< O.Iran. \**u̇āičāra-*); NP. *bēd* ‘willow’ < MP. *wēd* ‘id.’ (cf. Avest. *vaēiti-*; OInd. *vetasá-* ‘reed, cane’), or *bēxtan* ‘sieve’ < MP. *wēxtan* ‘id.’ (cf. OInd. *√vic* ‘winnow’); NP. *bīst* ‘twenty’ < MP. *wīst* (cf. Avest. *vīsaiti-*, vs. OInd. *viṃśati-*), or *bīmār* ‘ill’ < MP. (Pāz.) *wīmār*.<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that there is no case where we would find doublets with b- and g- side by side in these constellations, and in no case do we find g- besides b- where the latter reflects OIr. b- (as in NP. *banda* ‘slave’ < MP. *bandag* < OP. *bandaka-* or NP. MP. *bun* ‘base, bottom’, cf. Avest. *buna-*, OInd. *budhná-*).

Second, we have to reconsider the sound change leading from *-rd-* > *-l-*, which is regarded as a “shibboleth” for South-West Iranian.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the examples like NP. MP. *dil* ‘heart’ < \**j̇rd-* (< PIIr. \**ġ<sup>h</sup>rdaja-*, cf. Avest. *zərədaiia-*, OInd. *hṛdaya-*), NP. MP. *buland* ‘high’ < \**bṙrdant-* < PIIr. \**bṙ<sup>h</sup>ant-* (cf. Avest. *bərəzant-*, OInd. *bṙhánt-*), or NP. *mul* ‘wine’ < \**ṁrd-* (cf. OInd. *mṛdvīkā-* ‘vine, grape’)<sup>4</sup> where the *-l-* is preceded by a short vowel probably reflecting a shewa again that emerged anaptyctically in combination with \**ṙ*<sup>5</sup> (\**j̇ard-*, \**bard-*, \**mard-*), we regularly find a lengthening when \**-rd-* follows the vowel *a*<sup>6</sup> as in NP. MP. *sl* ‘year’ < \**sard-* (cf. Avest. *sarəda-*; OInd. *śarād-*); this is also true when the \**-rd-* relies upon older \**-rj̇-* (< PIIr. \**-rj̇<sup>h</sup>-*) as in *mālīdan* ‘rub, sweep’ < PIr. \**marj̇-* (cf. Avest. *marəz-*), or *bālīš* ‘cushion’ < PIIr. \**barj̇<sup>h</sup>iš-* (cf. Avest. *barəziš-*, OInd. *barhīš-*), and when a former vowel was elided between \**-r-* and \**-d-* as in *pālēz* ‘garden’ < \**pardēz* < \**paridēz-* (cf. Avest. *pairi.daēza-*).<sup>7</sup> What is important now, is that the same rule of lengthening also applies when \**-rd-* was preceded by \**u̇a-*, the constellation leading to MP. *wāl-*, NP. *bāl-*; cf. NP. *bālīdan* ‘grow, increase, prosper’ < MP. *wālīdan* ‘id.’ < \**u̇ard-* (cf. Avest. *varəd-/varəδ-*, OInd. full grade

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 154, § 43 with n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 34, nr. 259. – Examples for \**wō-* and \**wū-* are not available as these constellations did not occur in Middle Iranian.

<sup>3</sup> Except for Persian proper, the change seems only attested in neighbouring “Kurdish” varieties; cf. D.N. MacKenzie, ‘The Origins of Kurdish’, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1961, 78 (/ *Iranica Diversa*, vol. II, 379); examples from more “North-Western” languages such as Semnānī or Gorānī (cf. L. Paul, ‘The Position of Zazaki among West Iranian Languages’, in: N. Sims-Williams (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*, Pt. 1, Wiesbaden 1998, 169) are more likely to be borrowings.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, p. 222, nr. 990 (after H. Hübschmann, ‘Armeniacae III’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 36, 1882, p. 133 n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 149, § 37 as to this “unbestimmten Vokal”.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, pp. 131-2, § 9a and, more explicitly, p. 260 § 157.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 123, § 3; p. 260, § 157; and p. 189, § 84. The Syriac spelling <mhldgrd> for the place name *Milādḡird* (mentioned l.c.) proves that a preceding *-h-* (of \**Mihr-*) did not prevent the change from *-rd-* > *-l-*. The lengthening of the *ī* in NP. *Milād* < *Mihrdād* < \**Miṣra-dāta-* is likely to be due to the loss of the *h*; cf. the examples adduced by Hübschmann, o.c. 268, § 165.

*vardh-*). In all these cases, variants with *gu-* do not exist, nor do we meet †*gū-* or the like.

All this renders it rather unlikely that *bā//* in the name of Vakhtang Gorgasali's Persian wife might represent a variant of the Persian word for 'rose', *gul*. As a matter of fact, the evidence provided so far forces us to assume that *gul* must reflect a zero-grade base, quasi \**u̯ard-a-* < \**u̯rd-a-* matching Greek ῥόδος < \**ῥρόδος* < \**u̯rd-o-*, since a full-grade variant \**uard-a-* would not have led to *gul*. On the other hand, *bāl-* might well represent such a full-grade base, which seems also to be attested in Avestan *varəda-*, Parthian *wār* 'flower',<sup>1</sup> and in Armenian in the stem *vard* (with Georgian *vard-i* matching this) and the name *Vardan*. However, it is *a priori* doubtful that a thematical stem of the given type might have shown root ablaut and that both ablaut types might have manifested itself within one Iranian language. As a matter of fact, we might have a case of *vṛddhi* formation here, but this would imply a derivational status (\**uard-* 'flower' = "belonging to a \**u̯rd-* 'plant' "). The crucial point that remains is that both *gul* and *bāl-* would have to be identified as Persian, i.e., South-West Iranian forms, given that the *-l-* they contain can only be motivated by a purely South-Western sound change. And, to be sure, only the zero-grade variant is attested outside of Iranian, in the Greek word mentioned above, so that only *gul* can be regarded as the regular Persian outcome of this word.

But how, then, to account for Arm. *vard* (and Georgian *vard-i*)?<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, this stem need not represent a full-grade form \**uard-a-*, as it may (and is likely to) be a borrowing from another, probably North-West Iranian layer where \**r* developed to \**ar*, not †*ər* (or, later, †*ir*, †*ur*). That such a layer existed and left its traces in the Caucasus, is clear from the Arm. word for 'prophet', *margarē*, which together with its newly found counterpart in Caucasian Albanian, *marġaven*, has been suggested to contain the word for 'bird' (as a compound 'bird-seer', with *-rē* < *-daj* – and *-ven* < \**-uēn-* representing the preterite and present stems of the verb 'to see', resp.),<sup>3</sup> in a form \**mary* contrasting with NP. *murġ*, MP. *murw* (cf. also MP. *murw-nīš* 'augur, soothsayer', lit. 'bird-observer'), and Avest. *mərəya-* 'id.' (cf. also OInd. *mṛgá-*).<sup>4</sup>

This raises the question whether *bā//* in the name of Vakhtang's wife might not represent \**uard-* as a borrowing from North-West Iranian into Persian that was later affected by inner-Persian sound changes (\**u-* > *b-* and \**-rd-* > *-l-*).<sup>5</sup> It is true,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. V.S. Rastorgueva / E.K. Molčanova, 'Parfjanskijazyk', in: *Osnovy iranskogo jazykoznanija* 2, Moskva 1981, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the question raised by Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 156, § 45: "gul 'Rose' aus vṛd-?, vgl. arm. vard."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Gippert, 'Armeno-Albanica', in G. Schweiger (ed.), *Indogermanica. Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt*, Tübingen 2005, pp. 163-5.

<sup>4</sup> \**mary* is also presupposed by Georg. *paršamang-i* and Arm. *siramarg* 'peacock', cf. Gippert, *Iranica Armeno-Iberica*, vol. I, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Parthian *wār* can hardly be the source for such a borrowing as it presupposes the loss of the *-d-*.

of course, that Persian is well equipped with dialectal elements stemming from other, mostly North-West, Iranian languages and that these may have undergone “Persian” changes after their incorporation; and doublets with *ba-* instead of *gu-* as dealt with above may be good candidates for such an assumption. Indeed, we find good evidence for names like *Bahrām* or words like *barz* ‘effort’ being loan words in Persian,<sup>1</sup> given that the former contains *-hr-* < \**-gr-* (\**ur̥gra-γna-* ‘enemy-killing’, cf. Avest. *vārəθraγna-*, OInd. *vṛtraghn-* [weak stem of *vṛtrahán-*]) which in Persian should be represented by *-s-* (cf. *pus* ‘son’ < \**pugr-a-*, cf. Avest. *pugra-*, OInd. *putrá-*), and the latter exhibits the sequence *-rz-* < \**-rj-* (cf. the Avest. root *varəz-* corresponding to German *wirken* etc.) which in Persian would have yielded *-l-* (via *-rd-*).<sup>2</sup> In both cases, we may wonder again whether the \**-ar-* of the first syllable represents a former full-grade or, rather, a zero-grade, *-r-*. In the case of *barz*, the former solution is preferable as its etymon (\**ur̥j-*) may thus be taken to be identical with Gk. *ἔργον* and German *Werk* (PIE. \**uérǵ -o-*). For the name *Bahrām*, we have to take into account that its “Persian” counterpart is reflected in Old Georgian in the form *Guaram*, not (yet) *Guram*,<sup>3</sup> which together with Greek *Γουαραθραν* speaks in favour of an original *-a-*;<sup>4</sup> however, the name might also represent the long-grade (*vṛddhi*) derivate that we have in Avest. *vārəθraγni-* so that this cannot be taken to prove the development of \**-r-* > \**-ar-*. Be that as it may,<sup>5</sup> both cases illustrated above only show that in borrowings from other Iranian languages, \**ya-* could develop into *ba-* (or even *gua-*) in Persian. There is no case, however, which would prove that a sequence of \**-rd-* contained in a borrowing could undergo the change to *-l-* in this language. As a matter of fact, it is likely that the latter change was accomplished relatively early within the history of Persian, in Arsacid times,<sup>6</sup> as it did not affect the great many sequences of secondary *-rd-* emerging from \**-rt-* in Sasanian Middle Persian.

Returning to the name of Vakhtang Gorgasali’s Persian wife, the case for *Balenduxt* being an equivalent of \**Gulānduxt* or \**Wardānduxt* is thus really weak,

<sup>1</sup> The same is true for NP. *gawāzā* ‘abuse’ vs. MP. *wad-wāzag* ‘id.’ which can hardly be “Persian” because of its *-ž-*.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that *gurz* ‘club’ does contain *-rz-* albeit it exhibits *gu-* < \**ya-* does not contradict its being “Persian” proper, for in this word, *z* has not emerged from \**j* but from \**d<sup>h</sup>s* or a similar constellation (PIIr. \**ud<sup>h</sup>sra-*, cf. OInd. *vájra-*). Furthermore, the metathesis implied (*-rz-* < \**-zr-*) may have occurred later than the development of \**-rd-* > *-l-*.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling *guram* occurs once in the Čeliši redaction of *Mokcevey Kartlisay* (95, 17); in all other attestations, the same redaction has *guaram* throughout (97,13<sup>2</sup>; 97,21) as does the Šaṭberdi text (326,17; 327,13<sup>2</sup>; 327,16; 327,18). *guram* in Č may therefore be regarded as an abbreviated spelling.

<sup>4</sup> Note also Balōē *Gwahrām* which, however, might as well “have been borrowed from MP *Wahrām* or modelled on NP *Bahrām*” (A. Korn, *Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi*, Wiesbaden 2005, 279).

<sup>5</sup> The name requires further investigation, also with respect to its Arm. representatives *Vahagn*, *Vahram* and *Vřram*; this is to be addressed in a later part of the present treatise.

<sup>6</sup> Back, *Staatsinschriften*, p. 137 assumes the change to have taken place between “spap.” = late Old Persian and “mp.” = Middle Persian. Note that Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 260, §157 still considered Arm. *vard* etc. as Middle Persian (“Pehlevi”) loans.

and it seems worth while looking for other solutions. First of all it is clear that a derivation from MP. *bālēn*, a word meaning both ‘top, peak’ and ‘cushion, pillow’,<sup>1</sup> is semantically unsatisfying in both these senses. The same is true for the MP. plural form *bālān* ‘heights’ that is obviously attested in the MP. inscription of Kartīr in Sar Mašhad.<sup>2</sup> What is more important, these derivations would not account for the spelling variation of the name we find in the manuscripts containing *Kartlis Cxovreba*. To begin with, there is no doubt that a variation of <b-> and <š-> as presupposed by the readings *Šanduxat*, *Šalenduxt* and *Šalendoxt* is well attested elsewhere in the Georgian tradition and anything but astonishing if we consider the shape of the respective Nuskhuri minuscules, ზ and შ. What is more essential in the given context is the lack of the second consonant, *l*, and the vowel following it, in variants like *Bandoxt* and *Šanduxat*. As a matter of fact, much of the variation of proper name forms we find in the manuscripts of the Georgian chronicle is due to the fact that they were written in abbreviated form; however, the suspension of a word-internal syllable beginning with *-l-* remains a rather irregular case as it was usually only vowels that were suspended, not consonants, except in words of common usage such as the pronouns *romeli* spelt *r~i*, or *upali* ‘Lord’ spelt *o~i*. It is therefore legitimate to propose an analysis not substantiated as such by the attestations. If we consider that in both the (majuscule) Asomtavruli script and its minuscule (Nuskhuri) successor, the character that is most often confused with <l> was <h> (cf. ზ and ზ, ლ and ლ), we might wonder whether the name in question might not have contained an <h> instead of the <l> preserved in the majority of manuscript attestations.<sup>3</sup> In intervocalic position, this <h> might have been lost in the other group of variant readings, as elsewhere in the Georgian tradition.<sup>4</sup> We thus arrive at *\*bahe/anduxt* (> *\*bae/anduxt* > *banduxt*) and *\*šahenduxt* (> *\*šaenduxt* > *šanduxt*) as possible candidates, of which only the latter, interpreted as *\*šāhēnduxt*, reveals a promising etymological perspective. Considering the amount of Iranian names relying upon *šāhēn* ‘falcon’,<sup>5</sup> we are led to suppose that the given name might designate the daughter of Hormizd III. as the ‘daughter of a falcon’, a name well matching the principles of Iranian onomastics of Sasanian times.<sup>6</sup> As an alternative solution, we might assume an underlying

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MacKenzie, *Dictionary* s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> KSM 48; cf. Back, *Staatsinschriften*, pp. 136, 200-1 and 467.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gippert, ‘Onomastik’, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., doublets of names such as *abraham* vs. *abraam*, *iohane* vs. *ioane* (vs. *iovane*), or hypercorrect spellings such as *aherni* vs. *haerni* and *aerni* (as in mss. BC of the Bala(h)variani, ch. 63, cf. the edition by I. Abulaze, *Balavarianis kartuli redakciebi*, Tbilisi 1957, p. 153 l. 23).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 274-5, with more than 20 instantiations of this name, and F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935 / repr. Hildesheim 1965, p. 551 as to attestations of NP. *šāhīn* ‘(Jagd-)Falke’. The proposal by Ph. Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch, II/2), Wien 1986, II/163, to regard *Šāhēn* as an “autre hypocoristique de l’appellatif du roi *šāh*” is also valid; however, the existence of several MP. names containing *sēn* ‘griffin’ (ib. II/158) speaks in favour of assuming the bird’s name here.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. St. Zimmer, ‘Zur sprachlichen Deutung sasanidischer Personennamen’, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18, 1991, pp. 117-9 as to MP. women’s names containing *-duxt*.



compound \**šāhāhduxt* ‘daughter of kings’ which, however, would only be supported by one witness, viz. the isolated variant reading *Balanduxt* of the XVI<sup>th</sup> c. ms. C (= Q 207) mentioned above; as such a name is attested elsewhere in the Caucasian tradition,<sup>1</sup> this solution cannot be excluded but it remains less probable given the preponderance of the second syllable vowel *-e-* in the written tradition. \**Šāhēnduxt* thus remains the best candidate for being the original name of Vakhtang Gorgasali’s Persian wife.

The assumption that the divergent forms of the name of the daughter of Hormizd III. lastly depend on an <h> letter that was prone to being misread or lost, is further supported by other names in the given context. These will be the subject of future treatises.

#### Abbreviations

Avest.	Avestan	OP.	Old Persian
MP.	Middle Persian	PIE.	Proto-Indo-European
NP.	New Persian	PIIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian
OInd.	Old Indic	PIr.	Proto-Iranian
OIr.	Old Iranian		

*იოსტ ვიპერტი*

### ირანულ-ქართული ონომასტიკა I. ვახტანგ გორგასლის სპარსელი ცოლის სახელი

#### რეზიუმე

სტატიამი განხილულია ვახტანგ გორგასლის სპარსელი ცოლის სახელი, რომელიც სხვადასხვა ფორმით წარმოგვიდგება ისტორიულ წყაროებში (*ქართლის ცხოვრებასა* და მის სომხურ ვერსიაში). დასაბუთებულია, რომ ტრადიციული ეტიმოლოგია, რომელიც ემყარება ვარიანტს *Balenduxt* და უკავშირდება „ვარდის“ აღმნიშვნელ სიტყვას *gul*, არ არის გასაზიარებელი. შემოთავაზებულია ვარაუდი, რომ ამ სახელის ვარიანტები მომდინარეობენ სავსისი ფორმიდან \**Šāhēnduxt*, რომლის მნიშვნელობაა: „არწივის ქალიშვილი“.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 273 s.v. Šahandūxt with 4 instantiations.