



ORIENS ET OCCIDENS

Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben

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Band 27

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Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation in der Achämenidenzeit

Mit einem Beitrag von Wouter Henkelman



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ANHANG: EGYPTIANS IN THE PERSEPOLIS ARCHIVES

(edited, translated, and commented by WOUTER F. M. HENKELMAN)

The universalist aspirations of the Achaemenid rulers are well known from their inscriptions and reliefs, but achieved their most tangible form in the empire's heartland. People from all over the known world travelled there on official missions, or came as artists, craftsmen, workers under *corvée* obligations, and prisoners of war. Primary documentation is particularly rich for the eastern part of this core area, ancient Pārsa (roughly the modern province of Fārs); it consists of two Elamite cuneiform archives that were excavated at : the large Persepolis Fortification archive (PFA) and the much smaller Persepolis Treasury archive (PTA). Among many other things, these sources document the presence, activities and statuses of over thirty different ethnic groups, largely defined after the satrapal and sub-satrapal divisions of the empire, hence primarily reflecting an administrative perspective. Egyptians figure prominently in the edited sample, with twenty texts and journal entries from the Fortification archive besides five attestations from the Treasury archive. Even animals – ducks – from Egypt were present in Pārsa (ten more texts in PFA) and will be included in the survey below.

PFA may be described as the paperwork of an institutional economy, more particularly the branch that handled the storage and disbursal of locally-produced edible commodities. PTA belongs to a subordinated (sub-satrapal) level and mainly deals with the payment of silver in lieu of rations in kind. The former archive covers the period 509–493 BCE (but there are a few earlier and later texts), the latter that of 492–457 BCE.

The following presentation aims to give a commented survey of the pertinent material, not an exhaustive treatment of Egyptians in the Persepolis archives. For general introductions in the Fortification and Treasury archives see BRIANT, *Empire*, 422–48, 938–943; KUHRT, *Persian Empire*, 763–814; HENKELMAN, *Other Gods*, 65–179; HENKELMAN, *Administrative realities*; STOLPER, *Fortification Archive*; GARRISON, *Ritual Landscape*. For surveys and references concerning the growing bibliography on non-Persian groups in these sources see HENKELMAN & STOLPER, *Skudrians*, and HENKELMAN, *Bactrians*.

In what follows, some texts are given in translation or paraphrase, others in my collated editions. These editions, published here for the first time, are based on manuscript editions by RICHARD T. HALLOCK in the case of 'NN' texts, and on those of MATTHEW W. STOLPER in case of the 'Fort.' ones. All translations are mine; seal identifications (PFS numbers) have kindly been provided by MARK GARRISON and ERIN DALY. For the sake of convenience, the basic unit of dry and liquid volume (QA) is rendered as 1 litre (actually 0.92–0.97 l.).

Goldsmiths

The Susa Charter (DSf/DSz/DSaa) is not a documentary source on how to build a palace, but rather an ideological statement emphasizing the boundlessness of the realm (materials from its farthest corners) and the harmony among its nations (collaboration in teams; see HENKELMAN, Paleis). Having said so, the inscription does indeed refer to an underlying reality; this appears, among others, from the specialized craftsmen and their background. The Egyptians, for one, are said to have worked (lit. hammered) the gold, carved (lit. worked) the wood, and decorated/painted the terrace. These three specialisations recur in the Persepolis archives. The Egyptian goldsmiths are included in the class of *kurtaš* or dependent workers, but their rations are slightly less frugal than is typical for these. The same is true for most other goldsmiths. It may either mean that the profession was felt to merit higher payment or that it excluded external activities to supplement the institutional rations. Conspicuously, ‘Egyptian’ is thus far the only ethnonym found in texts on people working on and handling gold. The two known texts on Egyptian goldsmiths pertain to teams, perhaps the same, at Persepolis.

NN 0448 (Tf. 4; seal: PFS 0001* left edge, reverse, upper edge, right edge)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. 20 ZÍD.DA^{MEŠ} *kur-mán*^{HAL}
2. *mas-da-ia-áš-na-na*
3. ^{HAL}*kur-taš gal ma-ki-*
4. *ip*^{HAL}^r*mu⁷-iz-zir₀-ri-*
5. *ia-ip*^r*KÛ⁷.GI^{MEŠ} HAL*
6. *kaz₀-^rzî-ip*^{AŠ}*ba-ir-*
7. *šá-an*^{HAL}*šu-ud-da-*
8. *ia-u-^rda da⁷-*

Lower edge

9. *man-na gal-ma du-*

Reverse

10. ^r*iš⁷-da*^{AN}*ITI^rMEŠ AN⁷*
11. ^r*ha-du-kán-na⁷-iš^r-na⁷*^{AŠ}
12. *be-^rul^r [xx]-^rum⁷-me-man-na*
13. 5^r^{HAL}*kur-taš*^{4⁷-na}

Translation

¹ 200 (l.) flour, ¹⁻² allocation from Masdayašna, ³⁻⁴ workers consuming rations, ⁴⁻⁵ Egyptians, ⁵⁻⁶ goldsmiths (lit. gold hammerers), ⁶⁻⁷ (at) Persepolis, ⁷⁻⁹ assigned by Šundayauda, ⁹⁻¹⁰ (those) received (it) as rations. ¹⁰⁻¹² First month, [nth] year. ¹³ 5 workers (each) 40 (l.).

Comments

1. 20: the notation is an ellipsis for 20 BAR (1 BAR equals 10 QA, or roughly 10 l.).
2. Masdayašna (*Mazdayašna-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 244f. [4.2.1081]): a well-attested grain and flour supplier based at Persepolis (cf. H. KOCH, *Verwaltung*, 18–22, 252f.).

- 3f. *kurtaš*: the term transcribes Old Iranian **grda-*, originally ‘domestic (servant)’, but in PFA context ‘dependent worker’. Inclusion of non-Persians in the *kurtaš* class meant a major shift in the evolution of the concept and has major implications for Persian society in the context of empire (cf. HENKELMAN, Bactrians, §§ 2.4-5). The qualification *gal makip*, ‘consuming rations’, clarifies that the workers were deployed in the institutional economy at the time the document was drafted. In the vast majority of cases the rations for *kurtaš* cover only about two thirds of the daily calorie requirement; for adult males this amounts to 30 l./month (full coverage would be about 45 l.). Such rations imply an expectation on behalf of the authorities that the workers had or would find other sources of income. The *kurtaš* in NN 0448 receive 40 l./month, still no luxury, but higher than the average and rare among *kurtaš*. Some individual goldsmiths earn more, however: Dadda (NN 2515), Tuzaza (PF 1519), and [PN] (VALLAT, Fribourg, ‘A’).
4. *Muzzirriyap*: this spelling is one from a series of variants: *mu-iz-zir₀-ri-ia-ip*, *°ra-ia-ip*, *°ra-ia-ap*, *mu-zir₀-ri-ia-ap*, *°ra-ia-ip*, *mu-zir₀-ia-ip*, *mu-iz-ri-ia-ip*, *muz₀-ri-ia-ip*. All of these reflect the gentilic Muzriya, ‘Egyptian’, with suffixed animate plural ending *-p*. Two unique forms, *mu-iz-ri-ip* (NN 2516) and *mi-iz-ri-ip* (PF 1547) are animate plurals directly based on the toponym Muzri/Mizri (already attested in Neo-Elamite: VALLAT, Répertoire, s.v. Muzir).
6. *kazzip*: the verbal base *kazza-* means ‘to hammer, to forge (metal)’ and, metaphorically, ‘to smite’. It is used with iron, silver, and gold. In the Elamite version of the Susa Charter (DSz_e 46f., restored in DSf_e), *kazzip* refers to people engaged in gold working in the overall construction process, hence presumably applying gold leaf or gold sheet to parts of carved wooden beams, doors, furniture, etc. That ‘goldsmiths’ (perhaps better: gold workers) should be taken to imply a range of activities is also born out by NN 1913, where no less than 196 KÛ.GI-*kazzip* are listed.
7. Šuddayauda (Çütayauda-; TAVERNIER, Iranica, 162 [4.2.462]): the occurrence of the name in conjunction with seal PFS 0001* and the term *damanna* (ll. 8f.) indicates that Šuddayauda acts here as general *kapnuškira*, lit. ‘treasurer’, of the so-called Persepolis region. In this role, he coordinated the work of specialized craftsmen in the workshops or factories in his administrative area (HENKELMAN, Local administration). Šuddayauda is in charge of groups of goldsmiths also in Fort. 2293-101 (below) and PF 0872 (no ethnicity indicated; lower rations).
13. 5 *kurtaš*: a group of five goldsmiths is listed together with bronze workers in NN 1984, but no ethnicity is indicated and the rations are lower than is visible in NN 0448.

Fort. 2293-101 (Tf. 5; seal: PFS 0001* left edge, right edge, reverse)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [20](+)⁸ ZÍD.DA^{MEŠ} *kur-mán*⁷
2. ^{HAL}*mas-da-ia-áš-na-*
3. *na*^{HAL} *kur-taš gal ma-*
4. *ki-ip*^{HAL} *mu-iz-zir₀-*
5. *ri-ia-ip* KÛ.GI^{MEŠ}
6. ^{HAL}*kaz₀-zī-ip*^{AŠ} *ba-*
7. *ir-šá-an*^{HAL} *šu-ud-da-*
8. ⁷*ia*⁷-*u-da*⁷ *da*⁷-*man-*

Lower edge

9. ⁷*na*⁷ *gal-ma*⁷ *du*⁷-*iš-*

Reverse

10. $\text{r}da^{\text{AN}}\text{ITI}^{\text{MEŠ}}\text{AN}ka_4-$
 11. $ir-ba-ši-ia-iš-na^{\text{AS}}$
 12. *be-ul 24-um-me-man-na*
 13. $\text{r}7^{\text{HAL}}\text{LÚ}^{\text{MEŠ}}4\text{QA}$

Translation

¹ [2]80 (l.) flour, ¹⁻³ allocation from Masdayašna, ³⁻⁴ workers consuming rations, ⁴⁻⁵ Egyptians, ⁵⁻⁶ goldsmiths (lit. gold hammerers), ⁶⁻⁷ (at) Persepolis, ⁷⁻⁹ assigned by Šuddayauda, ⁹⁻¹⁰ (those) received (it) as rations. ¹⁰⁻¹² Sixth month, 24th year (Aug./Sept. 498 BCE). ¹³ 7 men (each) 401.

Comments

13. 7 men: note the change from *kurtasš* (l. 3). Though the group is larger than that of NN 0448, other elements (location, supplier, rate), allow for the suggestion that the same team is referred to. Slight variations in size are normal among such teams.

Wood-carvers

Two texts from the Treasury archive speak about Egyptian wood-carvers (lit. ‘wood-cutters’). The first, PT 01, is conspicuous because it mentions an Egyptian in the role of ‘centurion’, i.e. head of a group of – nominally – one hundred people. This probably points to a group of specialist craftsmen from Egypt with their own internal hierarchy, an arrangement that may have been common. From Achaemenid Susa, also in institutional context, the comparable case of a ‘scribe/secretary of the Egyptians’ is known (HENKELMAN, Signature § 2.3.1).

The wood-carvers of PT 09 were deployed at Nupištaš, a palatial site and probably a local administrative centre of some sort. At the same site, other Egyptian specialists are found (PT 02 below).

PT 01 (seal: PFS 0113*/PTS 04*)

Edition

CAMERON, PTT, 83f. with collations in HALLOCK, New Look, 96.

Translation

¹ Speak to Šakka: ² Baradkama speaks as follows: ³⁻⁵ “3 *krša* and 2½ sheqel [silver], ⁵⁻⁶ (to) the Egyptian named Haradduma?, ⁶⁻⁷ wood-carver, ⁷⁻⁸ centurion, ⁸⁻⁹ consuming rations at Persepolis, ⁹ under responsibility of Bauka?, ¹⁰⁻¹¹ to him issue in lieu of sheep/goats and wine! ¹²⁻¹³ (The rate is) 1 sheep/goat for 3 sheqel (and) 10l. (wine) for 1 sheqel. ¹⁴⁻¹⁸ Eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth months, during five months in total, 32nd year (Oct./Nov. 490 through Febr./ March 489 BCE). ¹⁹⁻²¹ 1 man monthly receives 6½ sheqel.” ²¹⁻²² Hintamukka wrote (this letter order), ²²⁻²³ he received the order? from Mardukka.

Comments

1. Šakka (*Saka-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 62 [2.2.49]): paymaster at the Treasury, subordinated to Baradkama.
2. Baradkama (*Baratkāma-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 147 [4.2.328]): the ‘Treasurer in Pārsa’, responsible for the Treasury and its transactions, as well as for the craftsmen in the work-

- shops throughout the region of his authority, hence a successor to Šuddayauda (cf. p. 275 *ad* NN 0448.7). See HINZ, Hofverwaltung, 262–264; HENKELMAN, Local administration.
3. *krša*: a unit of 10 sheqel.
 5. Haradduma: the reading is uncertain; there is no clear Egyptian etymology at hand (see MAYRHOFER, Onomastica, 311; TAVERNIER, Non-Elamite, 147).
 - 6f. Wood-carver: Elamite GIŠ-šeškira can mean ‘lumberjack’ (e.g., PF 1569, NN 1999), but also ‘wood-carver’. Given the context (locus, position of H.), the second meaning applies here. In PTA, one also finds GIŠ-šeškip *battikurraš huttip* and *malu-šaškip zila-huttip*, both ‘wood-carvers, makers of sculpture’ (Old Iranian *patikara- and Elamite *zila*; see, e.g., PT 17, PT 25, PT 27). It may well be that the simple ‘wood-carver’ of PT 01 is an abbreviation of this formula. See HINZ, *is-ma-lu*, 414f. and HENKELMAN, Signature, § 3.12 n. 179.
 - 7f. Centurion: the word used, *sadabattiš*, transcribes Old Iranian **θatapatiš*, ‘chief of a hundred, centurion’ (TAVERNIER, Iranica, 431–432 [4.4.7.107]) and belongs to the middle and lower hierarchy of labour organization alongside the decurion, deputy-decurion, and the chief of four. The terminology may be borrowed from the military ranks, hence the translation ‘centurion’ (cf. APERGHIS, Storehouses, 177).
 9. Bauka (*Bauga-; TAVERNIER, Iranica, 148 [4.2.355]): the reading is not entirely certain, but supported by PT 02. Bauka also occurs in PT 1963-19 and, probably, PT 09 (below), each time responsible for groups of craftsmen.
 11. In lieu: the exact meaning of the expression used here, *šaggi-ma*, is disputed: replacement or counterpart. The translation given follows the solution by HINZ, Hofverwaltung, 274–279 (‘Ersatz’).

PT 09 (seal: PTS 24*)

Edition

CAMERON, PTT, 95–97, with collations in CAMERON, PTT II, 165 n. 5 and HALLOCK, New Look, 97.

Translation

¹ Speak to Baradkama, Appišmanda speaks as follows: ^{3–4} “6 *krša* and 7 sheqel silver, ^{4–5} [Syrian] and Egyptian workers (*kurtasš*), ^{5–6} [wood]-carvers, ^{6–7} who (previously) came from [Sus]a to Persepolis, ⁸ (and) stone-sculptors [...], ^{9–10} [build]ing the palace at Nupištaš, ¹⁰ consuming rations, ^{10–11} under responsibility [of Bauka?], ^{11–12} to them [is]sue [as rations in lieu of sheep/goats! ^{12–13} (The rate is) 1 sheep/goat for 3 sheqel. ^{13–14} One month, the fourth, [32nd? year] (June/July 490 BCE). ¹⁵ 11 men each 3 she[qels]; ^{16–17} 20 men each 1[½] sheqel; ¹⁸ 24 men each 1 she[qel]; ¹⁹ in total 55 workers.” ^{19–20} Hintamukka wrote (this letter order), ^{20–21} Nutannuya delivered the instruction thereto; ^{21–23} he received the order? from Irdakaya.

Comments

2. Appišmanda (*Abiš(h)uvanata-; TAVERNIER, Iranica, 100 [4.2.11]): possibly the deputy director of the Persepolis administration. HINZ, Hofverwaltung, 305f. thought of him as the director, but that was probably Ašbazana.
4. Syrians: if correctly restored, [^{HAL}*at-ti-ip*] probably refers to people from northern Syria (not to Hittites or people from Anatolia). See HENKELMAN & STOLPER, Skudrians, 304.
8. Stone-sculptors: this translation for ^{AŠ}ḪAR^{MEŠ} ^{HAL}*hu-ut-ti[-ip]* modifies the recent analysis for various terms for stone workers by GIOVINAZZO, Artigiani. Whereas GIOVINAZZO thinks of ḪAR-*huttip* as a term of its own (denoting “il compito di rifinire e preparare le pietre” – *ibid.* p. 135), it may actually be an abbreviation for *battikurraš* ḪAR-*huttip* (e.g., PT 24), lit. ‘makers of stone images’, hence ‘stone-sculptors’ (GIOVINAZZO: “sculturi

- su pietra”). The case of the GIŠ-šeškip (*battikurraš huttip*), discussed above, provides a parallel. See also KAWASE, *Masons*, 28; cf. p. 281 *ad* NN 0480.7f.
9. Palace: *ian* (also *hiyan*) may refer to the architectural construction (‘palace’) or the institution (‘court’). See HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. *h.i-ya-an*, *hi-ya-an*; VALLAT, *Palais*; HENKELMAN, *Other Gods*, 322 n. 744, POTTS, *Neo-Elamite courts*, 111f.
 9. Nupištaš: the structure of the text leaves little doubt that all craftsmen listed were deployed here. The place may be identical with the Νιπισταί ‘in Karmania’ mentioned by PTOLEMY (*Geogr.* VI.8.13). It is probably *not* identical with Naqš-e Rostam, as previously claimed (discussion in SCHMITT, *Ortsname*; HENKELMAN, *Other Gods*, 435 n. 1002). Instead, a location in southeastern Fārs, perhaps not far from Šīrāz, may be considered (HALLOCK, *Seals*, 132; SCHMITT *o.c.*; H. KOCH, *Verwaltung*, 49f. n. 235; HENKELMAN, *Signature* § 1.2 n. 9). The name Nupištaš (pronounced /Nipištaš/) transcribes *Nipišta-, lit. ‘written’, hence ‘(place of) writings’ (TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 389 [4.3.146]). As such, it may be an indication for a local administrative centre, which would explain why a palace was built at the site.
 10. [Bauka]: CAMERON reads [D^{is}nu[?]], ‘you’ (i.e. ‘under your responsibility’), but comparison with PT 02 makes restoration of the name Bauka plausible.

Painters

The Egyptian painters in the text below were on their way from Tamukkan (Taoce) on the Persian Gulf to Persepolis. On first sight, this may seem to imply a journey from Egypt by boat. A previous assignment at Tamukkan itself is more likely, however, if only because the group was travelling on a ‘return-authorisation’ (cf. below). More important, Tamukkan was a place where the Persians, starting from Cyrus, had developed palatial sites and administrative centres, deploying a range of specialist craftsmen. The Egyptian stone-masons going *to* Tamukkan (NN 0480 and PF 1557; below) belong to the same dossier.

As with the goldsmiths discussed above, the translation ‘painters’ is an approximation. In the Susa Charter, the same root (*karsu-*) is used in a context that suggests reference to glazed brick reliefs. We may therefore be dealing with enamellists, specialised in producing and applying vitreous materials.

NN 1177 (Tf. 6; seals: PFS 0095 left edge; PFS 2952s reverse)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. 4 3 ^rQA⁷ 20-kur ZÍD.DA^{rMEŠ⁷}
2. kur-mán^{HAL} ú-ma-ia[-na]
3. ^{HAL}zī-na-ú-^ria-pír⁷ [(hi-še)]
4. du-šá 29^{HAL} LÚ^{rMEŠ⁷} [^{HAL}]
5. mu-iz-zir⁰-^rra⁷[-ia-ip^{HAL}]
6. ^rkar-su⁷ <-ip> ^{HAL}hu-^rpī⁷[-be]
7. ^rgal-ma⁷ ap^r du⁷[-nu-iš-da]
8. ^{HAL}un-ra 1 ^rQA⁷ [20-kur]

Lower edge

9. du-iš-da^{AN^r} na⁷-
10. an 1-na^{rAN} ITI^r[^{MEŠ⁷}]

Reverse

11. ^{AN}sa-a-kur-ra-^riz-zī-
12. iš-na-ma ^{AS}be-ul 23-
13. um-me-man-na ^{AS}tam⁵-^ruk^r-
14. ka₄-an-mar ^{AS}ba-^rir-šā-
15. an pi-ri-^rip hal[-mi]
16. ^{HAL}pār-na-ak-ka₄-^rna^r
17. ku-ti-iš na

Translation

¹ 43.51. flour, ² allocation from Umaya, ³⁻⁴ [(a man named)] Zinuyapir received. ⁴⁻⁵ 29 Egyptian men, ⁵⁻⁶ painters, ⁶⁻⁷ to them he (Z.) gave (it) as rations. ⁸⁻¹⁰ Each (man) received 1.5l. daily. ¹⁰⁻¹³ Third month, 23rd year (June/July 499 BCE). ¹³⁻¹⁵ They went from Tamukkan to Persepolis. ¹⁵⁻¹⁷ They carried an authorisation (sealed document) from Parnakka.

Comments

2. Umaya (*Humāya-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 207 [4.2.802]): a grain supplier, often associated with seal PFS 0095 and probably stationed in the central Kāmfirūz region (HALLOCK, *Evidence*, 597; H. KOCH, *Verwaltung*, 140–148, 209f. and index q.v.; HENKELMAN, *Parnakka's Feast*, 146–148; ARFAEE, *Fortification Tablets*, 4).
3. Zinuyapir: the name occurs once more (PF 1808, Dar. 24) as that of a scribe. If the same individual is meant, it would imply a radical change of roles.
6. *karsup*: the verb *karsu-* occurs in the Susa Charter to describe the activity of those working with *haranzanam* (DSf_e 36f., 46f., DSz_e 38f., 51f.), i.e. Old Iranian *āranjana-*, ‘colour material’ (see SCHMITT, *Wörterbuch*, 134; cf. DSaa 16, *simmānū ša uširtum*, ‘materials for the images/reliefs’). The Old Persian version uses a form of the verb *paiθ-*, ‘to adorn, decorate’ (*ibid.* 224). As the object of the activity is said to be the *halmarraš* (Elam., ‘wall, fortified place’), *didā-* (OP, *idem*), É.GAL (Bab., ‘palace’), there is little doubt that craftsmen were making the celebrated panels of glazed brick reliefs that adorned the walls of the residence and perhaps the platform on which it stood (see discussion in ROSSI, *halmarriš*). Having said so, *karsu-* probably means ‘to adorn, decorate, paint’ and could also describe wall painting or the colouring of textiles and manufactured items (HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. *kar-su-ip*, *kar-su-ka₄*). It is therefore likely, but not absolutely certain, that the Egyptian *karsup* of NN 1177 were specialists working with vitreous material and creating glazed brick reliefs.

Incidentally, *atlu*, some (mineral) substance, is used to make *haranzanaš* (another transcription of *āranjana-*), ‘colour material’ in NN 1510, in a context that suggests direct connection with queen Irdabama (mother or wife of Darius; compare also PF 0134). Furthermore, in NN 1876, a single painter (*kursura* = *karsura*) occurs as a subordinate of one Bakaradduš at , which indicates a link with queen Irtašduna (wife of Darius) and with the domain (and palace) she had at this place (HENKELMAN & KLEBER, *Matannan*, 169, 174 n. 39). In short, there is circumstantial evidence relating the activity of *karsup* to royal residences, as in the Susa Charter.

8. 1.51.: this travel ration is intended to cover the caloric needs of adult males; in travel contexts, it most regularly found with *šalup*, free men, but it may also apply to others. The monthly equivalent would amount to 45l., but it is uncertain whether the Egyptians, once arrived at their destination, would have received as much as that. Most other (stationary) groups of *karsup* (also *kursup*, *kursubba*), often characterised as *rabbap*, ‘conscripted’, received much less, only 20l./month (PF 1007, NN 1313, NN 1321, NN 1341, etc.). It may be that such conscripted workers were sent to the heartland under tax obligations on their home satrapies; such arrangements probably included silver to cover (part of) their maintenance while in Pārsa. If so, the meagre rations were not a way to starve the institu-

tion's specialised craftsmen, but reflect a calculated scheme to reduce the costs of building projects. It would not be illogical that a different regime applied as long as the workers were en route, with little or no opportunity to procure part of their rations themselves.

13f. Tamukkan: see p. 281f. *ad* NN 0480.17.

15f. Parnakka (*Farnaka-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 178 [4.2.567]): the mention of a *halmi* (lit. 'seal, sealed document') from Parnakka indicates that the Egyptians had been making a round trip. Parnakka was the highest administrative authority in Pārsa and held a rank equal or comparable to that of satrap. Travellers on official missions starting *from* the heartland typically had a travel authorisation from Parnakka or his deputy, Ziššawiš. Exceptionally, this document was good for the return trip as well, so that the term 'return-authorisation' applies (see TUPLIN, *Seasonal Migration*, 80f.; HENKELMAN, *Bactrians*, § 2.2 with n. 20).

Stonemasons

Beyond the three professions mentioned in the Susa Charter, the Fortification and Treasury archives mention at least four more professions: *dukkašbe/dumakašbe*, *hasup*, brewers, and stonemasons. Of these, the last ones appear in conspicuous numbers: 106 in one text, 690 in another. The exact nature of the work of these 'stonemasons' is hard to establish; they may have been stone-dressers.

NN 0480 (Tf. 7; unsealed)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. 23^{GES}GEŠTIN^{MEŠ}
2. *kur-mán*^{HAL}ú-šá-ia-
3. *na*^{HAL}kam-šá-ba-na
4. *hi-še du-iš-šá*
5. 6 ME 90^{HAL}LÚ^{MEŠ}
6. ^{HAL}*mu-zir*₀-ri-ia-
7. ^{ip}^{AS}HAR^{MEŠ}-maz₀-

Lower edge

8. ^z^f-*ip hu-pi-be-*
9. ^{na}^r *ap du-nu-*

Reverse

10. ^{ka}₄^r *un-ra 30-ir-*
11. *ma-ki ma-ki-*
12. *iš hal-*^{mi}^r ^{HAL}EŠŠANA-
13. *na*^{ku}^r-*ti-iš*
14. ^{AS}*be-ul*^r 23^r-*na*
15. ^{AN}IT^{MEŠ}^r ^{AN}^r
16. *kar-ma-ba-*^{taš}^r

Upper edge

17. ^{AS}*tam*₅-*uk*_<-*ka*₄-*an*_>
18. ^{pa}^r-*ri-*^{iš}-*da*^r

Translation

¹ 230 (l.) wine, ²⁻³ allocation from Ušaya, ³⁻⁴ (a man) named Kamšabana received. ⁵⁻⁷ 690 Egyptian men, ⁷⁻⁸ stonemasons, ⁸⁻¹⁰ to them (it) was given. ¹⁰⁻¹² Each (man) consumed $\frac{1}{3}$ l. ¹²⁻¹³ He (K.) carried an authorisation (sealed document) from the king. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 23rd year, fourth month (July/Aug. 499 BCE). ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ They went to Tamukkan.

Comments

- 2f. Ušaya (**(H)učayā-*; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 204 [4.2.781]): a prolific wine distributor at Parmadan, in the eastern Fahliyān region. See HALLOCK, PFA, 110; ARFA'I, *Grande Route*, 39, 45; HENKELMAN, *Other Gods*, 506f.; HENKELMAN, *Consumed*, 708–710. The location suggests that the Egyptians had come from Susa or further west and were travelling to the Persian Gulf *via* the Fahliyān region.
4. ^{HAL} *kam-šá-ba-na*: HALLOCK (ms.) considered QA as an alternative to BA, but the sign is clear. The name Kamšabana (**Gaušapāna-*; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 189 [4.2.648]) occurs one more time, in PF 1837, where it is borne by a different individual.
5. 90: written over erasure.
- 7f. *ḪAR-mazzip*: the adapted (or pseudo-) logogram *ḪAR* (pronounced /ar/ in Achaemenid Elamite) for 'stone' is included in three appellatives. Apart from *ḪAR-mazzip*, these are *ḪAR-tukkip* and *ḪAR-huttip* (all plural). As GIOVINAZZO's recent analysis has shown, the terms are not mere variants of each other, but denote different levels of specialisation and, related to that, different ration scales and social rank. The *ḪAR-huttip* present the clearest case; they were probably highly-trained stone-sculptors (see above p. 277f. *ad* PT 09.8 and p. 281 *ad* NN 0480.7f.).

ḪAR-tukkip are, literally, 'stone-tappers'. As *tukki-* also applies to horses 'making the *tuk* sound' on the road (ANŠE.KUR.RA KASKAL *tukkip*), HALLOCK thought of the verb as onomatopoeic, 'derived from the sound of hammer and chisel on stone' (HALLOCK, *New Look*, 98f.). As for the appellative, he thought of a developed sense, 'to cut, engrave' (HALLOCK, PFT, 763). In PFA, *ḪAR-huttip* are almost invariably styled *kurtaš* (dependent workers) and they earn the standard rations belonging to this class. As they are regularly connected to a *kapnuški*, 'workshop' (e.g., PF 1852), they are unlikely to be quarrymen, despite their relatively low rank. Perhaps they were engravers or inscribers. KAWASE, *Masons*, 29, holds that *ḪAR-huttip* 'were not required to be skilled in stone cutting' *because* they were working in *kapnuški* (*non sequitur*).

ḪAR-mazzip, finally, are situated between the two other professions: their wages appear to have been slightly better than those of the *ḪAR-tukkip*, but still lower than those of the *ḪAR-huttip*. They may be called *kurtaš*, but more rarely than the *ḪAR-tukkip* (NN 0111, NN 0820); in other contexts, they appear as *šalup*, free men (cf. NN 1922 below). As opposed to *ḪAR-tukkip*, they are not found in connection with *kapnuški*. As their designation literally means 'stone-cutters' or 'stone-reducers' (from *mazzi* and older *massi*, 'to cut, reduce, remove, withdraw' – HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. *mas-si-i-h*, *máš-si-h*, *máš-zí*, *máš-zí-iš*, *máš-zik*, etc.), the *ḪAR-mazzip* must be stonemasons of some sort, perhaps more precisely 'stone-dressers'. Compare GIOVINAZZO, who similarly arrives at the conclusion that *ḪAR-mazzip* were "tagliatori di pietra", perhaps specialised in the "scelta e squadratura dei blocchi di pietra" (GIOVINAZZO, *Artigiani*, 126-8). By contrast, the status of *šalup* makes it unlikely that *ḪAR-mazzip* were quarrymen or miners (HALLOCK, PFA, 115; ARFAEE, *Geographical Background*, 73f.; KAWASE, *Masons*, 29f.). Note that the *ḪAR-mazzip* cannot be *har-maz₀-zí-ip*, 'Harmozians', as HALLOCK thought (HALLOCK, PFT, 692, repeated in ARFAEE, *Fortification Tablets*, 20, 159, 270; see HINZ, *Buchungstafelchen*, 439, HENKELMAN, *Bactrians*, § 2.2).

17. ^{AS} *tam₅-uk<-ka₄-an<*: the last two signs are presumably not really omitted, but obliterated by *-iš-da* in line 18. There are two places called Tamukkan (**Tauka-*), one inland, one on the shore of the Persian Gulf. Both places are mentioned as *Ταόκη* by Ptolemy (*Geogr.*

VI.4.2, 7; cf. VI.4.3, VIII.21.15). Tamukkan occurs as the travel destination, a role reserved for administrative centres; in such cases, coastal *Ταόκη*/Tamukkan is meant. It corresponds to a cluster of sites in the Borāzġān region of the Būšehr hinterland. Babylonian evidence on Babylonian businessmen travelling to Taḥ(u)makka during the reign of Cyrus indicates the early date of its development. Persepolis-style sculptural elements, decorations, and an inscriptional fragment point to further development under Darius and his successors. A testimony originating from Alexander's admiral Nearchus underlines Tamukkan's role as administrative centre (STRABO XV.3.3; see also *ARRIAN, Ind.* 39.3). The most important indication comes, however, from the rich dossier of PFA texts on groups of mostly non-Persian craftsmen sent to Tamukkan. These include, apart from Egyptians (PF 1557, NN 0480, NN 1177), Cappadocians, Lycians, Skudrians, Sogdians, and Bactrians. For identification of the site see HENKELMAN, *Gabae to Taoce*; TOLINI, *Taokè*; for further discussion see TOLINI, *Diss. Paris I*, 74–77, 191–200; HENKELMAN, *Tamukkan*; HENKELMAN, *Bactrians* § 2.2; HENKELMAN, *Signature*, § 2.3.3.

18. *pa⁷-ri-⁷iš-da⁷*: the sign RI is clear (not 𐎲U or RI¹, as HALLOCK reads).

NN 1922 (Tf. 8; seals: PFS 0033 left edge, PFS 2435s three times on the reverse)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. 16 BAR 7 QA 1 *tan⁷* QA
2. ZÍD.DA^{MEŠ} HAL⁷ *na-x-x-⁷tan⁷-ba*
3. *hi-še gal-li-ma⁷ du⁷-iš-*
4. *ša⁷ HAL⁷ mu¹-iz-ri-ip⁷ AŠ⁷ HAR-*
5. *maz⁰-zÍ-ip⁷ AŠ⁷ šu-ša-an-*
6. *mar kin-nu-ki ap du-nu-*
7. *iš-da¹ hal-mu⁷ HAL⁷ ba-ka⁴*
8. *na<-na> ku-iz 1⁷ ME⁷ HAL⁷ LÚ⁷ MEŠ⁷*
9. *ša-lu-ip un-ra*
10. 1 QA 1 *tan* QA *du-iš-*
11. *da 6 HAL⁷ li-ba-⁷ip⁷*

Lower edge

15. *1⁷-ra⁷ [1] QA⁷ du-iš⁷-*
16. *da AN⁷ ITI⁷ MEŠ⁷*

Reverse

17. *AN⁷ la⁷-an-e-ul-*
18. *li-⁷na⁷-ma be-ul 23-*
19. *um-me-na*

Translation

¹⁻² 167.51. flour, ²⁻⁴ (a man) named Na[...]tanba⁷ received as rations. ⁴ Egyptians, ⁴⁻⁵ stonemasons, ⁵⁻⁶ coming from Susa, ⁶⁻⁷ to them he gave (it). ⁷⁻⁸ He (N.) carried an authorisation (sealed document) from Bakabana. ⁸⁻¹¹ 100 *šalup* (free men) each received 1.5 l., ¹¹⁻¹³ 6 *libap* (servants) each received [1] l. ¹³⁻¹⁶ Eighth (Elamite) month, 23rd year (Nov./Dec. 499 BCE).

Comments

1. 167.51.: assuming that Na[...] himself received 1.5 l., the total should be 157.51. (1.5 + 150 + 6).
2. HAL⁷ *na-x-x-⁷tan⁷-ba*: perhaps read HAL⁷ *na-kur-iš¹-⁷tan⁷-ba*; the name is not attested elsewhere. The sign *ba* is written on the right edge of the tablet.
4. *mu¹*: text ŠE.

- 4f. HAR-mazzip: see p. 281 *ad* NN 0480.7f.
- 7f. ^{HAL}ba-ka₄-ba-na<-na>: ka₄ is written over erasure. Bakabana (*Bagapāna-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 137 [4.2.274]) was satrap at Susa at the time of Darius I and as such entitled to issue travel authorisations. On this individual see HALLOCK, *Evidence*, 591; LEWIS, *Postscript*, 598; H. KOCH, *Satrapien*, 8–12; Briant, *Suse*; HENKELMAN, *Local Administration*. The supplier's seal, PFS 0033, on the tablet's left edge points to a location in the area of Hidali and Liduma (GARRISON & ROOT, *Seals PFT*, 321f.; HENKELMAN & STOLPER, *Skudrians*, 312 n. 139). Use of an Elamite month name similarly points to the so-called Fahliyān region of western Fārs. The Egyptians were thus coming from Susa, travelling *via* the Fahliyān region and heading either for Persepolis, or, like those of NN 0480, to Tamukkan.
9. *šalup* (pl.; sg. *šalur*) denotes a class of people higher than *kurtaš* or *libap*. The word probably means something like 'free men', but that does not automatically imply an exclusive status (HALLOCK, *New Light*, 248). In PFA, *šalup* mostly occurs as contrastive term, needed to clarify the appropriate ration scales. Besides *šalup* one therefore often finds, especially in travel contexts, *libap* (lit. 'servants, subordinates') or *puhu* (lit. 'boy(s), child(ren)'). The last two terms, when contrasted with *šalup*, mean 'servants, aides' (interpretation of *libap* as slaves would be wrong in this context). The rations received by *šalup* and *libap* in NN 1922 are according to the standard for these categories. For contrasting social terminology, see GIOVINAZZO, *puhu*; HENKELMAN, *šumar*, 129–137; HENKELMAN, *Slavery*.

dukkašbe or *dumakašbe*

The site of Nupištaš, where Egyptian wood-carvers were deployed according to PT 09 (above), hosted another group of craftsmen with the same origin; they were active in the same year. Unfortunately the relevant appellative is broken, allowing for the restoration 'cleaners' as well as 'plasterers'. Given that the workers are said to be constructing a palace, the second option may seem more logical, but it should be pointed out that interpretation of the term itself is not unambiguous.

PT 02 (seal: PTS 24*)

Edition

CAMERON & GERSHEVITCH, *New Tablets*, 187, replacing CAMERON, *PTT*, 85.

Translation

¹ Speak to Baradkama, ² Appišmanda speaks as follows: ³⁻⁴ "29 *krša* and [4] sheqels silver ⁴⁻⁵ to workers (*kurtaš*) who (are) [plast]erers?, ⁵ Egyptians, ⁵⁻⁶ at Nupištaš, ⁶⁻⁷ (where) they are building a palace, ⁷ (who) are consuming rations, ⁷⁻⁸ under [respon]sibility of Bau[ka], ⁸⁻⁹ to them issue [in] lieu of sheep/goats! ¹⁰ (The rate is) 1 sheep/goat for 3 sheqel. ¹¹⁻¹⁷ Seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth months, a payment? (for) 7 months, 32nd year (Sept./Oct. 490 through March/April 489 BCE). ¹⁸⁻²⁰ 14 men each monthly (receives) 3 sheqel. ²⁰ This, Bauka [...]; ²¹ then that each/singly? [...]" ²² Hintamukka wrote (this letter order), ²² Nutannuya [del]ivered (the instruction thereto); ²³⁻²⁴ he received the order? from Mardukka.

Comments

1. Baradkama: see p. 276f. *ad* PT 01.2.
2. Appišmanda: see p. 277 *ad* PT 09.2.

- 4f. Plasterers: CAMERON reads the broken form as ^{HAL}[*du-ma*ʔ]-*kaš-be*, on analogy with PT 13:5, *du-ma-kaš-be*. A third attestation is ^{HAL}*du-^rma⁷-ka₄-ip* in PT 1963-06:5. In the last text, mention is made of palace building, yet at Persepolis. GERSHEVITCH's interpretation of *dumakaš* as transcription of **dāmaka-*, 'builder, carpenter' (GERSHEVITCH, Review PTT, 136; accepted by CAMERON & GERSHEVITCH, New Tablets, 173) is formally excluded. Instead, Hoffmann tentatively proposed **davaka-*, 'cleaner' (HOFFMANN, Bruchzahlen, 248 n. 1; followed by HINZ, Nebenüberlieferungen, 87; TAVERNIER, Iranica 419 [4.4.7.31]). The interpretation needs modification given the contexts in which the term occurs; its precise implications remain opaque.

The rarity of *dumakašbe/dumakap*, regardless of its meaning, makes it worth considering an alternative restoration in PT 02: ^{HAL}[*du-uk*]-*kaš-be*. This form, with its variant *dukabe*, occurs eight times in the Treasury archive, sometimes alongside *razabe* (< *rāza-*; 'bricklayers, masons') and *pirrasanašbe* (< **fraθāna-*; 'burnishers, polishers' – see notably PT 76). As with *dumakaš*, the final -š indicates that word is a loan from Old Iranian (excluding an Elamite etymology, as proposed by HINZ & KOCH, Wörterbuch s.v. *hh.du-qa-be*). Suggested analysis as 'a haplological shortening of **tutuka-*' (supposedly a cognate of Avestan *tūtuk*, 'loam, clay'), hence 'mortar-mixer, plasterer' (GERSHEVITCH *apud* CAMERON & GERSHEVITCH, New Tablets, 175) has rightly met with scepticism (HINZ, Nebenüberlieferungen, 238; TAVERNIER, Iranica, 536 [5.5.3.5]). Still more doubtful is 'Fütterer, Wandverkleider' (HINZ & H. KOCH *l.c.*), which derives from a wordplay involving German *füttern*, 'to feed' (comparing Elamite *duka-*, 'to feed') and *füttern*, 'to line (clothes)' (comparing *dukabel/dukkašbe*); needless to say, this proposal has no value at all. Again, a convincing etymology is not at hand.

Despite the uncertain restoration and uncertain meaning of *dumakašbe* as well as *dukkašbe*, the situation is not hopeless. Restoration of one of the discussed terms is very likely and both these terms occur in contexts that suggest architectural construction. Presence of Egyptian wood-carvers at the same site (PT 09) and apparently engaged in the same building project adds to this perspective. In short, the craftsmen of PT 02 were presumably yet another group of specialists, alongside the goldsmiths, wood-carvers, painters, and stonemasons.

Brewers

Beer was a staple commodity in Achaemenid Iran, especially in the western parts of Fārs and the lowlands of Khūzestān; the highlands of central Fārs, by contrast, were a wine-producing region. Beer was made from cereals, mostly from *tarmu* (possibly emmer), sometimes from barley (HENKELMAN, Consumed, 750–753; HENKELMAN, Signature, § 1.3 n. 24). Its consumption is ubiquitous in the Fortification archive; (roaming) teams of brewers are regularly attested. Two incidental occurrences of Egyptian brewers therefore must have a particular background: not to fill a general demand, but rather to produce special beers according to Egyptian recipes. This impression is bolstered by one of the sites where Egyptian brewers are found: Appištāpdan (or its immediate vicinity), which was a site with a clear royal profile and unmistakably *outside* the normal beer region. In other words, the brewers answer to a profile similar to that of their goldsmith, wood-carver, etc. compatriots: they were craftsmen recruited more for skills than for numbers.

Fort. 1405-102:7-9 (entry in a journal)

Translation

⁷ [60 (l. arley): (in accordance with) a sealed order] (from) Napapartanna (that) was delivered, ⁷ 2 Egyptian men, ⁷⁻⁸ brewers ⁸ ... (*illegible*), ⁸ those received (it) as rations, ⁸⁻⁹ during one month, the second, 17th year (May/June 505 BCE). ⁹ Each received 301.

Comments

7. Napapartanna (Nāfabr̥dana-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 255 [4.2.1149]): in contexts such as the above, *halmi* (lit. ‘seal, sealed document’) refers to letter orders by middle and high-rank officials. In the case of Napapartanna, the rank was that of district manager of grain logistics and rationing. Put concretely: Napapartanna kept the rosters for the various groups of workers deployed in a small area comprising a few villages and towns, one of which was Appištāpdan (other Napapartanna texts: PF 1941, PF 1981, PF 2075, Fort. 1203-101, Fort. 1298-101, Fort. 1982-101).

Appištāpdan is mentioned in the closing statement of Fort. 1405-102, with the name of Napapartanna, as site on which the transactions mentioned in the journal were centred (ll. 31f.). This village or town, in the Persepolis region, had a park or ‘paradise’, was repeatedly the locus of the King’s dinner as well as the site of *šip* celebrations (HALLOCK, *PFa*, 116; HENKELMAN, *Other Gods*, 439, 549; HENKELMAN, *Consumed*, 715, 727; HENKELMAN, *Parnakka’s Feast*, 109–112, 145f.).

As Appištāpdan was a place squarely in the wine region (e.g., where wine replaced beer as common staple), the occurrence of brewers probably relates to the royal visits. The brewers may have brewed beer in anticipation of the king’s dinner, as Napiyapiš did at , ‘for the royal reserves’ (PF 1943:17f.). The presence of another brewer, Ašbaturda, at Persepolis, probably should be placed in similar context (NN 2173).

- 7f. Brewers: the KAŠ-*hutti*, lit. ‘beer-makers’ were presumably paid for brewing beer, as may have been mentioned in the illegible passage that follows. Compare, e.g., PF 1943:17f. for a similar context. More commonly, brewers occur in receipts for travel rations typically involving eight *šalup*, free men, and up to ten *libap*, ‘servants, subordinates’ (see, e.g., the group of Pidaka: PF 1431, NN 1696, NN 2507). The ethnicity of these brewers is never indicated, but their foremen all seem to have Iranian names. As stated, Persian beer was usually made from *tarmu* (emmer?), but barley was also used. There is one reference to the combined use of *tarmu* and fruit, probably for brewing, hence evoking the dates and other sweet fruits that were sometimes used in ancient brewing (PF 0413). Undoubtedly the Egyptian brewers would have mastered such more delicate techniques.
9. 301.: this is the standard ration for base workers (*kurtaš*). The travelling brewers mentioned in other texts often receive higher rations (1.5l./day, which would translate into 45l./month), but this may be dictated by the context. The 301. ration is too low for adult men and implies other forms of income (see p. 275 *ad* NN 0448.3f.).

PT 1963-16

Edition

CAMERON & GERSHEVITCH, *New Tablets*, 180.

Translation

¹⁻²Speak to Mauš, Treasurer at Pārsa, ²⁻³ speaks as follows: ³⁻⁴“2½ sheqel silver, ⁵(in) lieu of half a (food) ration, ⁵issue! ⁶⁻⁷(It is) the ration of an Egyptian named Zak/Zagi[...]e, ⁷⁻⁸brewer, ⁸⁻⁹at Persepolis.” (*remainder fragmentary*)

Comments

1. Mauš (*Vahuš/*Vauš; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 334f. [4.2.1777], 344 [4.2.1847]): successor of Baradkama as ‘Treasurer at Pārsa’. He is attested in this role from Xer. 12 through Xer. 19 (473–466 BCE), but may have been active for a longer period (HALLOCK, *New Look*, 90, HINZ, *Hofverwaltung*, 262–264; H. KOCH, *Verwaltung*, 236f.; HENKELMAN, *Local Administration*).
- 2f. Irdatakma (*Rtātaxma-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 301f. [4.2.1507]): general director of the Persepolis economy and an indirect successor of Parnakka (H. KOCH, *Verwaltung*, 232).
6. Egyptian: the name of the brewer is damaged. CAMERON read ^{HAL}za-ik[-x-x]-e or ^{HAL}za-ḡ[-x-x]-e.

hasup

There is no doubt that the *hasup* mentioned in the six texts below were specialists of some profession: they occur only in smaller groups, sometimes alone; they receive wine rations (though not very high ones); their work and rations were the concern of the director and the deputy director and the object of letter orders. If one widens the perspective to other, non-Egyptian groups of *hasup*, their exclusivity becomes only more apparent: they are found with *lipte-kuktip*, ‘chamberlains’, they may be mentioned by name, may come from Media, or be labelled as Babylonian. None of the contexts is helpful for the meaning of *hasup*, however, except perhaps PT 55, where bitumen-*hasup* are mentioned.

The lexicon is the most problematic part of the Elamite language: many words lack convincing semantic analysis, not least because Elamite is an isolate. For the non-initiated, the Elamite dictionary (HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*) could give a contrary impression, as most words have been given a translation; the degree of incertitude is not always apparent. Such is the case with *hasup* (pl.), which the dictionary (s.v. *ha-su-ip*) confidently interprets as ‘Salber’ (unguent-makers). The arguments (elsewhere) advanced in support are unconvincing: one is circular, the other circumstantial and probably wrong. There is nothing that offers concrete support for ‘Salber’. The interpretation should be dropped without hesitation, and *hasup* be left untranslated.

Fort. 1237-101:8–10 (entry in a journal)

Translation

⁸x·100 (l. arley), ⁸(in accordance with) a letter order (sealed document) from Irdumartiya (that was delivered, ⁸Egyptian *hasup* ⁸⁻⁹[... secon]d (and) third months, 15th year (May/June through June/July 507 BCE). ⁸6 men (each received) ⁹30 (l.), 1 boy 20 (l.) ⁹⁻¹⁰[... x female² servants² (each)] 20 (l.), ¹⁰x female servants (each) 15 (l.), ¹⁰4² female servants (each) 101.

Comments

8. Irdumartiya (*Rtavardiya-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 13 [1.2.4], 44 [2.2.2]): the bureaucratic protocol in letter-orders and receipts from Irdumartiya suggests that he belonged to the highest echelon of the Persepolis administration. Because he is not, apparently, issuing travel authorisations, he may have not have been general director, but an early ‘Treasurer in Pārsa’, hence also responsible for the local craft centres (*kapnuški*) and crafts-

men. In addition, Irdumartiya may be the same as (or a son of) the Irdumartiya mentioned in the Bīsoṭūn inscription (DB_e III.6, III.14 and parallel passages). See discussion in HINZ, Hofverwaltung, 305; H. KOCH, Hofhaltung, 62–63; HENKELMAN, *šumar*, 123f. n. 27; HENKELMAN, Local administration; GARRISON, Ritual Landscape, 2.3.2.1. Irdumartiya is involved in setting the rations for various non-Persian groups: Babylonians (NN 2486:34'f.), Greeks (NN 2486:57'–59'), and Bactrians (NN 1507; cf. HENKELMAN, Bactrians).

8. *hasup*: the word, mostly in plural form, occurs twelve times in the Fortification archive and once in the Treasury archive. Attestations, apart from those presented here, are PF 0783, PF 1599, NN 0136, NN 0307, NN 0386, NN 2195:14f., and PT 55. The word is usually spelled with the personal determinative (^{HAL}*ha-su-ip*) or without any marker; only once it has the determinative for places and concrete objects (^{AS}*ha-su-ur-ra*, NN 2195:14f.). The word is never marked with GIŠ, which would be expected if its referent were an organic product (almonds, olive, etc.) from which oil was made (cf. below). As stated, *hasup* may be Egyptian and Babylonian (PF 0783); once a *hasurra* is coming from Media (NN 2195:14f.). A number of *hasup* are mentioned by name (PF 0783, NN 0136, NN 2195:14f.), a rarity among craftsmen and specialist professionals in PFA. The connection with *lipte-kuktip*, 'garment-bearers, chamberlains', (PF 1599) is tantalizing as the latter clearly belonged to the sphere of the court (HENKELMAN, *šumar*, 117–129). The only real clue comes from the *kurtas kupirriyaš hasup*, 'workers, bitumen-*hasup*' of PT 55, but even this context is ambiguous as there are many things one can do with bitumen.

HINZ's interpretation of *hasura/hasup* rests primarily on the identification of two individuals named Zimak(k)a (HINZ, *Neue Wege*, 96–98). The first is a Babylonian *hasura* introduced as a *šalur* (free man), accompanied by his own servant, and receiving 45 l. arley/month (PF 0783). The second is referred to as EŠŠANA-ikka ukba'inzakarraš (PF 1853), probably 'unguent-maker to the King' (**upānjakara-*; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 432 [4.4.7.112], but note the alternative possibility **upahinčakara*, 'irrigator'). This second individual is *not* curing Darius with an unguent treatment (as HINZ, *l.c.*; cf. HINZ, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 244), but himself receiving rations given to sick or overburdened (*sitmakalsitmap*) animals and workers. In the case of the second Zimak(k)a these rations amount to only 30 l./month, hence lower than those of the first one (and without additional rations for a servant). Given these differences, and since there are a number of individuals named Zimakka in PFA, there is no reason to identify Zimaka the Babylonian *hasura* with Zimakka the *ukba'inzakarraš*.

The other point raised by HINZ is a supposed connection with *hasur* (^{GIŠ}*ha-su-ur*), a frequently-attested type of fruit, sometimes issued as extra or bonus rations. HALLOCK plausibly connected it with Akkadian *hašhūru*, 'apple', which would fit all the contexts rather well (HALLOCK, PFT, 63, 693). HINZ, by contrast, understood *hasur* as 'olive', *because* that would fit the proposed meaning of *hasup*, which then confirmed the initial proposition. When, at a later point, 'olive' turned out to be expressed by another word, HINZ did not drop his unlikely interpretation of *hasur*, but now proposed 'almond' in explicit preference over 'apple' (HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. ^{GIŠ}*ha-su-ur*). Apart from its circularity, the argument is misdirected in that derivation of the agent noun *hasup* from *hasur* is formally inadmissible (expect *hasurip* or *hasurap*). Also, if *hasup* were derived from a word for a fruit, it would (at least in some of its occurrences) be marked with the determinative GIŠ (cf. above). For the same reason derivation from Akkadian *hašūrum*, a kind of cypress (hence a source of aromatic oil; HINZ, *Neue Wege*, 97) is unattractive.

One might argue, as HINZ does, that the *kupirriyaš hasup* of PT 55 were not making, processing or applying bitumen, but rather *mūmiyā* as a basis of certain unguents. While Achaemenid use of *mūmiyā* for such purposes cannot be excluded, the interpretation is again handicapped by the lack of evidence to support it.

- 9f. Date: it is possible that the name of the first month was mentioned in the gap; if so, the arley was for a period of three months.
10. *libap*: larger groups of *kurtas* sometimes have a small number of *libap* attached to them. In such cases, *libap* probably approaches ‘slaves’ (cf. HENKELMAN, Slavery). To have several categories of female *libap*, as here, is very unusual. Unfortunately, the immediate context is broken, so that the overall composition of the group remains unknown.

NN 1190 (Tf. 9; seal: PFS 0083* left edge, upper edge, reverse)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. ^{DIŠ}da-tap-pár-na ^rtu₄-ru⁷-iš
2. ^{DIŠ}zi-iš-šá-ú-iš na-an KI+MIN
3. 2 mar-ri-iš a-ak $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{GIŠ}rGEŠTIN⁷MEŠ
4. ^{HAL}ha-su-ip ^{HAL}rak¹-ka₄-be ^{HAL}mu-
5. ^rziro⁷-ri-ia-ip gal ma-ki-
6. ip ^{HAL}ú da-ma hu-^rpi⁷[-be]
7. gal-ma ap ^rid⁷-du ^rAN⁷[ITI⁷MEŠ]

Lower edge

8. ^rAN⁷sa-a-ik-^rra-zi⁷-iš 1[-na]
9. ^rAŠbe-u⁷ [10](+)^r8⁷-um-me-na

Reverse

10. 5 ^rHALLÚ⁷MEŠ⁷ un-ra $\frac{1}{2}$ du-^rman-ba⁷
11. ^{HAL}hi¹-^rin-tam⁷-uk¹-ka₄ tal-li-iš
12. du-um-me ^{HAL}na-ni-tin-ik-ka₄-
13. mar du-iš-da

Translation

¹ Speak to Datapparna, ² Ziššawiš speaks as follows: ³ “25 l. wine, ⁴⁻⁵ to Egyptian *hasup*, ⁵⁻⁶ consuming rations, ⁶ assigned by me, ⁶⁻⁷ to them issue as rations! ⁷⁻⁹ Third month, (during) one (month), 18th year (June–July 504[?] BCE). ¹⁰ 5 men each are receiving 5 l.” ¹¹ Hintamukka wrote (this letter order); ¹²⁻¹³ he received the order[?] from Nanitin.

Comments

1. Datapparna (*Dātafarnā; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 169f. [4.2.509]; cf. Gk. Δαταφέρνης): although he sometimes takes the role of supplier, Datapparna was an official in the logistics and ration department, more specifically at Matezziš and Tenukku in the Persepolis region. He also occurs in connection with Egyptians in NN 2493:15f., and 27f. See H. KOCH, *Verwaltung*, 20, 28, 35, 255; HENKELMAN, *Consumed*, 726.
2. Ziššawiš (*Çiçavahuš; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 155f. 4.2.406): deputy-director of the institutional household economy centred on Persepolis, right-hand man to Parnakka. PFS 0083* was the first seal he used (later replaced by PFS 0011*), notably for sealing letter orders. Other such directives to Datapparna are PF 1788, PF 1789, and NN 1093. On Ziššawiš and his seals see HINZ, *Hofverwaltung*, 302; HALLOCK, *Evidence*, 589–590; LEWIS, *Persians*, 114f.; H. KOCH, *Verwaltung*, 227–233; HENKELMAN, *Local Administration*; GARRISON, *Ritual Landscape*, Ch. 5.

NN 2493:27–28 (entry in a journal)

Translation

²⁷ 105 (l. wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Ziššawiš (that) was delivered, ²⁷ Egyptian men, *hasup*, ²⁷ assigned by Ziššawiš, ^{27–28} they receive (it) (as) rations. ²⁸ (During) seven months, ²⁸ from the third through the eighth months, 19th year (May/June through Nov./Dec. 503 BCE). ²⁸ 2 [*recte* 3] men each (receive) 5 (l.).

Comments

27. Assigned by Ziššawiš: the *hasup* were additionally under the responsibility of Datapparna, meaning that he was in charge of their rosters and ration tables. This is probably the same Datapparna addressed in letter order NN 1190 (above). In NN 2493, his name is mentioned in the closing statement of the journal, along with the place on which the transactions were centred: Matezziš, in the vicinity of Persepolis (ll. 61f.).
28. Date: the period of seven months includes the intercalary second sixth month.
28. 2 men: error for 3 men.

Fort. 1229-107 (Tf. 10; PFS 0011* left edge)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [D^{IS}mar-ra-za tu₄-ru-iš]
2. [D^{IS}z^í-iš-šá-ú-iš na]-
3. [an KI+MIN 1 mar-ri-iš a-ak]
4. ^r_{1/2} [G^{IS}GĒŠTIN^{MEŠ} HAL^{ha-su-ip}]
5. ^rap-pa¹ HAL^{mu-zir₀}[-ri-ia-ip]
6. ^rHAL^{ú da⁷-ma gal^r ma⁷}[-ki-ip]
7. HAL^{hu-pi-be gal} [ap id]-
8. du¹ ^rAN^{ITI}^{MEŠ} AN^rmi⁷-

Lower edge

9. kán-na-iš ap-pu-ka₄-^rna⁷
10. 1-^rna^{AŠ}be⁷-ul 22-na-ma

Reverse

11. 2 ^rHAL^{LÚ}^{MEŠ} a-ak
12. 1 ^{SAL}SAL^{MEŠ} TUR un-ra ^{1/2}-^rna⁷
13. HAL^{hi-in-tam₅-uk-ka₄ tal-li-iš}[-da]
14. bat-ti-ka₄-maš^{HAL}ka₄-me-
15. iz-za ^rli⁷-iš-da^r du-me⁷
16. ^rHAL^{hi-ti-be-ul-ik⁷}-
17. [ka₄-mar du-iš-da]

Translation

¹ [Speak to Maraza, ^{2–3} Ziššawiš speaks as follows: ^{3–4} “1]5 [l. wine] ^{4–5} for Egyp[tian *hasup*], ⁶ assigned by me, ⁶ (who) are consu[ming] rations, ^{7–8} to them issue (as) rations! ^{8–9} Twelfth month, ¹⁰ (during) one (month), 22nd year (Febr./March 499 BCE). ^{11–12} Two men and one young woman each (receive) 5 l.” ¹³ Hintamukka wrote (this letter order); ^{14–15} Kamezza delivered the instruction (thereto); ^{15–17} he (H.) [received] the order² [from] Hitibel.

Comments

- 1–3. These lines are restored after PF 1814 (below); the exact line division is uncertain.

5. *pa*¹: the sign has the same shape in PF 1814. *mu-zir*₀¹: the traces match *mu-zir*₀ in PF 1814 almost perfectly.
9. *appukana*: Dar. 22 had an intercalary thirteenth month. To exclude confusion, the scribe wrote ITI *miyakannaš appukana*, lit. ‘the former twelfth month’ (i.e. pre-intercalary).

PF 1814 (seal: PFS 0011* left edge)

Edition

HALLOCK, PFT, 496.

Translation

¹ Speak to Maraza, ²⁻³ Ziššawiš speaks as follows: ³⁻⁴ “15 l. wine ⁴⁻⁶ for Egyptian *hasup*, ⁶ consuming rations, ⁷ assigned by me, ⁷⁻⁸ to them issue (as) rations! ⁹⁻¹⁰ Intercalary thirteenth month, ¹¹ (during) one (month), 22nd year (March/April 499 BCE). ¹²⁻¹³ Two men and one young woman each (receive) 5 l.” ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ Hintamukka wrote (this letter order); ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ Kamezza delivered the instruction (thereto); ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ he (H.) received the order⁷ from Hitibel.

Comments

1. Maraza (*Varāza-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 338 [4.2.1802]): name of several individuals, one of whom was a ‘wine master’ (cf. below), i.e. head of a larger wine storage and distribution facility. He was responsible for wine allocations at Rakkan, Tenukku, Matezziš and other places near Persepolis. See ARFAEE, *Fortification Tablets*, 16.

PF 1806 (seal: PFS 0016* left edge, right edge)

Edition

HALLOCK, PFT, 494.

Translation

¹⁻² Speak to Maraza the wine master, ³ Parnakka speaks as follows: ⁴⁻⁵ “25 l. wine issue to them (*sic*), ⁵⁻⁷ to Egyptian *hasup*, ⁷ who are assigned by me, ⁸ as rations! ⁸⁻¹⁰ By 1 man, monthly 5 l. were received. ¹⁰⁻¹⁶ eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth months, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ during a total of 5 months, 23rd year (Nov./Dec. 499 through March/April 498 BCE).” ¹⁸⁻²⁰ Takmaziya wrote (this letter order); ²⁰⁻²² he received the order⁷ from Yauna.

Comments

2. GEŠTIN-*kutira*: literally a ‘wine carrier’. This type of compound corresponds to (and probably is a calque of) an Old Iranian formation with *bara-* ‘carrier’. It generally denotes leading positions. Compare **ganzabara*, ‘treasurer’, **maribara*, ‘cellar-master’ (lit. ‘jar-carrier’), etc. See HENKELMAN, *Cyrus*, 592 n. 52.
5. Issue to them: though the scribe starts out speaking of *hasup* (pl.) and uses a plural pronoun (*ap*), the recipient of the wine rations is a single man (l. 8). The error is understandable, since most of the texts on *hasup* speak of several individuals.

Other travelling groups

The following four texts speak of travelling Egyptians, mostly *kurtaš*, dependent workers. No professional designations are given. The case of PF 1557, mentioning a group of 547, suggest base labourers with little or no special qualification. Other groups, such as the 29 women of NN 1924, are more likely to point to skilled craftsmen, but here again the scribe felt it unnecessary to make that explicit.

The group of 547 Egyptians received wine on their way from Susa to Tamukkan, hence probably to one of the building sites. The wine rations they receive are comparable to those received by the 690 Egyptian stonemasons going to Tamukkan, three years later (see NN 0480 above). The Egyptians of PF 1557 may have done similar work; they are unlikely to have been as specialised as the small group of Egyptian painters coming from Tamukkan to Persepolis (NN 1177).

The fact that the professional travel guide of the 547 Egyptians of PF 1557, Bakabaduš, recurs in NN 2516 may point to the same group, this time on its way to Parnakka. If so, the bonus ration of roasted barley they received was sardonically small: less than 0.02 l. per person.

Little can be said about the other two groups. All-female travelling groups, such as the 23 Egyptian women of NN 1924 are rare but not unique. The relatively small size of the group may suggest skilled labour, hence comparable to that of the ten travelling female barley roasters (NN 2041:8–10). Likewise, the 30 *kurtaš* of PF 1547 may have been professionals of some kind, but nothing in the text yields a clue as to what this may have been. What links the two texts is Širaka/Širukka, like Bakabaduš a professional guide.

PF 1557 (seals: PFS 0017 left edge, PFS 1442 reverse and upper edge)

Edition

HALLOCK, PFT, 435.

Translation

¹⁻² 180 l. wine, ²⁻³ allocation <from> Ušaya, ³⁻⁵ a travel guide named Bakabaduš received. ⁵⁻⁷ 547 Egyptian workers (*kurtaš*), ⁷⁻⁸ to them he gave (it). ⁹⁻¹⁰ They went to Tamukkan. ¹⁰⁻¹² He (B.) carried an authorisation (sealed document) from Bakabana. ¹²⁻¹³ 21st year (501/500 BCE).

Comments

- 2f. Ušaya: see p. 281 *ad* NN 0480.2f.
- 3f. Bakabaduš (*Bagabāduš; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 131 [4.2.234]): of the various individuals of this name referred to in the archive, this Bakabaduš was a professional guide, perhaps identical with the travelling Bakabaduš of PF 1369, PF 1406, NN 0827, and Fort. 7863. He may or may not be identical with the road surveyor of NN 0621 and NN 1814 (on whom see HENKELMAN, *Signature*, § 1.4 with n. 43). Given the recipient seal used (PFS 1442), he certainly is identical with the Bakabaduš of NN 2516 (below).
- 4f. *barrišdama* (also *barišdama*): a transcription from Old Iranian **paristāva-*, lit. 'he who stands about' (TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 428 [4.4.7.81]; cf. *ibid.* 404 [4.4.1.6]), but in PFA context a term for professional guides on the royal roads network (see SEIBERT, *Unterwegs*, 35–39).
11. Bakabana: satrap at Susa; see p. 283 *ad* NN 1922.7f.

NN 2516 (Tf. 11; seals: PFS PFS 0107 left edge, PFS 1442 reverse)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. 1 Ø QA.BAR
2. ŠE.SA.A^{MEŠ}
3. *ka₄-ma-ak-ka₄*
4. ^{HAL}*ba-ak-ba-^rdu^r*
5. ^{HAL}*ak-ka₄-a-še*
6. *du-^riš^r-šá*
7. ^{AŠ}*mu-iz-ri-ip*

Lower edge

8. *ap du-nu-iš-da*
9. ^{HAL}*ú-^riš-da-na^r-ik-mar*

Reverse

10. ^{HAL^r}*pár-na^r-ik[-ka₄]*
11. *pa-ri-iš-^rda^r*
12. *be-ul 21-um-me<-na>*

Translation

¹⁻² 10 l. roasted barley, ³ (as) *kamakaš*, ⁴⁻⁶ Bakabaduš (and) his companion(s) received; ⁷⁻⁸ they gave it to Egyptians. ⁹⁻¹¹ They went from Uštana to Parnakka. ¹² 21st year (501/500 BCE).

Comments

2. ŠE.SA.A^{MEŠ} (^{MEŠ} is followed by an erasure): for the interpretation ‘roasted barley’ see HALLOCK, PFT, 20, 756 and GARRISON & HENKELMAN, Suppliers, § 4.2. Roasted barley, when issued to workers, is always an extra; it is issued without indication of ration scales (or number of workers), which may imply very small amounts.
3. *kamakaš*: this word, transcribing **kāmaka-*, ‘reward, bonus’ (lit. ‘desire’, TAVERNIER, Iranica, 408 [4.4.3.5]), refers to the most common of a range of gratuities. It is a regular phenomenon in case of stationary groups, including non-Persians, such as the Skudrians receiving roasted barley (PF 1176). It is rare for travel parties. Close parallels are found in three groups of *kurtaš* travelling from Pārsa to Elam: Skudrians receiving roasted barley, *mitli* and *hamarram* (PF 1575), Cappadocians receiving dates (PF 1577) and Lycians drinking a small glass (0.1 l.) of wine (NN 0123). On *kamakaš* and other bonus rations, and on their ideological background see HALLOCK, PFT, 32–35; H. KOCH, Lohnverhältnisse, 25–35; BROSIUS, Women, 169–180; HENKELMAN, Humban, § 4.
7. Muzrip: see p. 275 *ad* NN 0448.4.
9. Uštana: the context implies a (deputy) satrap, but Uštana is not otherwise known in this role. *ik-mar*: written on the right edge.
12. 21: written over erasure.

NN 1924 (Tf. 12; seals: PFS 2807 left edge, PFS 1409 reverse)

Transliteration

Reverse

1. 7 QA ^rGEŠTIN^{MEŠ^r} *kur-mán*

Upper edge

2. ^{HAL}*ú-šá-ia-na* ^{HAL^r}*šá^r-*

Obverse

3. *ra-ka₄ hi-še ba-ri-*
4. *iš-da-ma 23 SAL*
5. ^{MEŠ} ^{AŠ} *mu-zir₀-ra-^ria¹-ip*
6. *ku-iz-za un-ra 30-ir-ma-*
7. *ki^rki^r-iz-za hal-mi^{HAL} pá^r-*
8. *^rna^r-ak-ka₄-na-ma*

Lower edge

9. [^{AŠ}]^r*ba-ir^r-šá-iš pa-ri-*
10. [*iš*]

Translation

¹ 7 l. wine, ¹⁻² allocation from Ušaya, ²⁻⁴ Širaka the professional guide (received); ⁴⁻⁶ he escorted 23 Egyptian women. ⁶⁻⁷ (For) each he (M.) poured $\frac{1}{3}$ l., ⁷⁻⁸ in accordance with an authorisation (sealed document) from Parnakka. ⁹⁻¹⁰ They went to Persepolis.

Comments

1. 7 QA: the total should be $7\frac{2}{3}$ l., unless 23 in l. 4 is an error for 21.
2. Ušaya: see p. 281 *ad* NN 0480.2f.
- 2f. Širaka: (Çīrakā, var. of *Çīruka- and *Çīrauka-; cf. TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 160f. [4.2.450, 452, 454]): HALLOCK (ms.) reads the name as ^{HAL}^r*mī^r-ra-ka₄*, but collation shows that ^{HAL}^r*šī^r-ra-ka₄* is a viable if not better alternative. It is certainly endorsed by the recipient seal, PFS 1409, which recurs on PFS 1513. There, Širauka (^{HAL}*šī^r-ra-u-ka₄*) leads a group of 23 *kurtaš* and carries an authorisation from Parnakka. The two groups are probably the same (the use of the determinative HAL in ^{HAL}*kur-taš* in PF 1513 is not decisive as it marks males, but also people in general). Finally, the Širukka of PF 1547 (below) is probably the same individual, even if the tablet does not have a recipient seal to confirm this suspicion.
4. All-female travelling groups are uncommon, but not unparalleled. Compare the 150 Skudrian women with three guides and nine servants (PFa 18), the travelling Skudrians receiving livestock (NN 2261:30–32), the 369 Lycian women (NN 2349:10–12), the Bactrian women heading for Media (Fort. 1316-101:05’f.), and the groups of 1570, 1359, and 600 women coming from Media (NN 2349:1–3, 4–6, 7–9).
7. *kizza*: probably a contracted form of *kitišda*, from *kiti-*, ‘to pour’.
- 7f. Parnakka: the name of the director of the Persepolis economy, in combination with the destination, Persepolis, implies a return-trip (cf. p. 280 *ad* NN 1177.15f.).

PF 1547 (seal: PFS 1439 left edge)

Edition

HALLOCK, PFT, 432.

Translation

¹⁻² 20 l. beer ²⁻³ Širukka received (for) ⁴⁻⁵ 30 Egyptian workers (*kurtaš*). ⁵⁻⁸ They went from Susa to Matezziš. ⁹⁻¹⁰ 21st year (501/500 BCE). ¹¹⁻¹² He (Š.) carried an authorisation (sealed document) from Bakabana.

Comments

- 2f. Širukka: see above *ad* NN 1924.2f.
- 4f. Mizrip: see p. 275 *ad* NN 0448.4.
- 6f. Matezziš (Uvādaicaya-/*Uvādēca-/*Uvādēcīš, ‘residence’ – see TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 31 [1.3.41], 71 [2.3.22], 76 [2.3.49]): this town, in close proximity of the future site of Perse-

polis, is first known from the reigns of Cambyses and Bardiya, when it was visited by leading Babylonians seeking to connect with the court or the heartland administration. Babylonian texts, which use the form *Ḫumadēšu*, already refer to groups of workers sent to the town. *Matezziš/Uvādaicaya* recurs in the *Bīsotūn* inscription as the place where *Vahyazdāta* was executed (DB_e III.19, DB_p III.52, DB_b 78). In PFA, it sometimes occurs as a travel destination; in such cases, it serves as a near-equivalent for *Barša* (*Pārsa*, Persepolis). For recent discussions of the evidence see TOLINI, *Diss. Paris I*, 80–84, 207–233 (sceptical on the location near Persepolis, for which, however, there are good arguments) and HENKELMAN, *Signature* § 2.3.3.

The Egyptian travellers in the above texts are not said to travel to or from Egypt, because they travelled *via* Susa, where they received new travel authorisations (and, presumably, new guides). For this very reason ‘Egypt’ rarely occurs in the archive, despite the ample evidence for connections between the satrapy and the heartland. There are a few exceptions to this rule, mentioned here only in passing as it is uncertain that the travellers in question were Egyptians rather than Persians on missions to/from Egypt.

The name of Egypt (^{Aš}*mu-iz-ri*) occurs only once, as the destination of one *Miš-dana* (**Vištāna-*; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 354 [4.2.1931]), who had started his journey at, or passed through, Persepolis (PF 1544, IX/23). He may be the same as the *Miš-dana* who travelled *via/from* Susa to *Tamukkan*, three months earlier (NN 1398).

Indirect references to Egypt are found in the name of *Parindadda*, an official issuing travel authorisations in two texts (NN 1271, NN 2472). In the first case, the carrier of the authorisation is a fast messenger, *Akmušša*; the same is probably true for *Šaddamišša* in the second text (cf. HENKELMAN, *Signature*, § 1.4 with n. 52). As travel passports were only issued by satraps and their deputies (and by the king and certain members of the royal house), *Parindadda* presumably was a satrap. His name actually is easily recognisable as a transcription of **Farnadāta* or **Farndāta* (SCHMITT, *Persepolitinisches V*, 82–84; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 177f. [4.2.565]), in this case the satrap of Egypt, better known as *Pherendates* (Aramaic *Prndt*; Demotic *Prntt*; see HENKELMAN, *Local Administration*).

Other stationary groups

The three texts gathered below do not form a coherent group, but lack sufficient context or clarity to assign them to any of the categories defined above. The first, NN 0745:3–5, is an entry in a fragmentary journal (register), presumably pertaining to a place in the Persepolis region in year 18; the Egyptians mentioned receive bonus rations. The second, PF 1957:2–4, likewise a journal entry, contains obscure terminology and does not allow continuous translation. It may relate to processing animal hides, but this is no more than a tentative suggestion. PT 15, finally, deals workers involved in the construction of a palace at or near Persepolis, but does not specify the nature of their work (compare PT 02 and PT 09 above).

NN 0745:3–5 (entry in a journal)

Translation

³ 80 (l. arley), (in accordance with) a letter order (sealed document) from Ziššawiš (that) was delivered [... ..] ⁴ and Egyptians at [GN ...] ⁴⁻⁵ received (as) *kamakaš*. ⁵ First/Tenth month, [18th year ...] (April/May 504[?] or Dec. 504[?]/Jan. 503[?] BCE).

Comments

3. Ziššawiš: see p. 288 *ad* NN 1190.2. The journal has entries referring to groups for whom Karkiš or Abbataya were responsible, which links it to the Persepolis region. Some entries preserve the year date of Dar. 18.
- 4f. *kamakaš*: see p. 292 *ad* NN 2516.3.

PF 1957:2–4 (entry in a journal)

Translation

² 588 (*recte* 528) l. (arley) Tandupirzana received; ²⁻³ to Bakabada who is ... ing Egyptians of the *galladim*, ... *aššip* (pl.), ³ to them he (T.) gave (it) as rations. ³ (During) eight months. ⁴ One man (receives) 40l.; ⁴ one woman (receives) 20l.; ⁴ one boy (receives) 6l. ⁴ Monthly there is 66l. arley.

Comments

2. Tandupirzana (also Dandupirdana, Šandupirzana, reflecting *Dantubrzana-/°dana-/*Zantubrzana-; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 166 [4.2.486-7], 368 [4.2.2040]): an officer responsible for various groups of artisans and sometimes involved in the collection and processing of animal hides (PF 0077; NN 0880; perhaps PF 0323). The journal's summary (ll. 34–6) reveals that its subject is allocations of arley by Battiš, supplier at Udarakkaš, in the 22nd year (500/499 BCE). Tandupirzana's connection with Udarakkaš is also attested elsewhere (NN 0880, PF 1957:5f.).
- 2f. Bakabada is said to be *sumanra* (3rd pers. sg., conj. III, perhaps with *-ma* extension) Egyptians ^rGIŠ^r *gal-la-dím-na*, 'of the *galladim*'. The group is further qualified as *x-ul áš-šip*₀, but this reading should be considered highly uncertain; the first and last signs may actually be erased and, if so, the middle two signs may read GUD^{MEŠ}, 'cattle, possession' (cf. GUD^{MEŠ} in l. 41). The two other problematic terms, *galladim* and *sumanra*, recur in PF 0306; the same is perhaps true for GUD^{MEŠ} (reading ^rGIŠ^r *gal-la-dím-na* ^rGUD[?]MEŠ^r for HALLOCK's ^rGIŠ^r *gal-la-dím-na* KASKAL[?]MEŠ[?] in l. 8 [collated]). PF 0306 also has the same date, location, supplier, and quantity of arley as mentioned in PF 1957:2–4. It is well possible that the same group and context are referred to, but this does not, unfortunately, resolve the meaning of *galladim* and *sumanra*. Although Neo-Elamite contexts make it clear that *galladim* is a mineral or an organic product measured by weight, the interpretation 'cotton' (HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. GIŠ.gal-la-tam₆) is purely conjectural. Similarly, analysis of *suma-* as a variant of *zami-lzaumi-*, 'to exert' (*ibid.* s.v. *su-man-ra* [implied]; cf. HINZ, *Neue Wege*, 92) remains uncorroborated. Since GUD^{MEŠ} 'cattle, possession' is mentioned in both texts, and since Tandupirzana may have a connection with tanning and/or the processing of leather (cf. above), the activity of the Egyptians may – with all due caution! – be sought in the same direction.

Incidentally, the parallel between PF 1957:2-4 and PF 0306 led GIOVINAZZO to the opinion that ^{HAL}*ba-ka₄-ba^r-ud-da hi-še* ^rHAL[?] | *ka₄-mu-iš-ra* ('Bakabadda by name, a *ka-mušra*') in lines 6–7 of the second text should be corrected to ^{HAL}*ba-ka₄-ba^r-ud-da hi-še* ^rak^r - | *ka₄ mu-iz-ra* ('Bakabadda by the name, the Egyptian' – GIOVINAZZO, *Bakabadda*, followed by ZADOK, *Egyptians III*, 146). This is a fine example of why emendations should be based on autopsy, or not be proposed at all: as collation by MATTHEW STOLPER

(pers. comm.) and by HENKELMAN shows, 'ak' is an unlikely alternative for 'HAL ?' (l. 6) and reading *iz* (GIŠ) for *iš* (IŠ) in (l. 7) effectively excluded. Note also that the name of Egypt is never spelled with *mu-iš-* in PFA.

PT 15 (seal: PTS 01*)

Edition

CAMERON, PTT, 110–112, with collations in HALLOCK, *New Look*, 97.

Translation

² Speak to Baradkama, ² Tarkawiš speaks as follows: ²⁻⁴ “43 (*recte* 143) *krša* and $3\frac{2}{9}$ sheqel silver, ⁵⁻⁶ (to) workers (*kurtuš*) (from) the land (of the) Syrians, Egyptians, and Greeks, ⁶ consuming rations, ⁶⁻⁷ under responsibility of Mauš, ⁷ (at) Persepolis, ⁷⁻⁸ to them issue as wages (or: for rations)! ⁸⁻⁹ (For those) who are not⁹ on (the rolls of) the Court, ⁹ as payment⁹ for building the palace, ¹² you add up the wages, ¹²⁻¹⁴ seventh through twelfth months, ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ during a total of six months, year 3 (of Xerxes) (Oct./Nov. 483 through March/April 482 BCE), ¹⁰ (rations) in lieu of sheep/goats and wine! ¹⁰⁻¹² (The rate is) 1 sheep/goat for 3 sheqel (and) 10l. wine for 1 sheqel silver. ¹⁶⁻¹⁷ 63 men, centurions and vice-centurions, ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ each monthly receive $1\frac{7}{8}$ sheqel; ²⁰⁻²¹ 46 men each monthly receive $1\frac{1}{16}$ sheqel; ²²⁻²³ 46 men each monthly receive 1 sheqel; ²⁴⁻²⁶ 46 men each monthly receive $\frac{9}{16}$ sheqel; ²⁶ a total of 201 workers.” ²⁷⁻²⁸ Uratinda wrote (this letter order), ²⁸⁻²⁹ he received the order⁷ from Irdakaya. ²⁹⁻³⁰ This silver was added up by PidabarnaPidabarna and his colleagues, accountants.

Comments

2. Tarkawiš (*Dargāyuš; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, 168 [4.2.501]): presumably director or deputy director of the Persepolis economy (like, previously, Parnakka and Ziššawiš). See GARRISON, *Royal-name seals*, 77f. (with full references).
5. Syrians: see p. 277 *ad* PT 09.4. The Yaunap of the Achaemenid sources (inscriptions and Persepolis archives) are not ‘Ionians’, but more generally ‘Greeks’ (see ROLLINGER & HENKELMAN, *Greeks*, for a survey). On the occurrence of, apparently, mixed groups such as the one mentioned here, see HENKELMAN, *Bactrians*.
- 8f. *īyan*: if correctly interpreted, the word occurs here in metaphorical (‘Court’) and more literal (‘palace’) sense. See p. 278 *ad* PT 09.9.
12. *pirri mušši*: proper understanding of this syntagm as ‘account together’, hence ‘add up, compute’ was established by HENNING (*apud* GERSHEVITCH, *Review PTT*, 142 n. 1) and elaborated by CAMERON (PTT II, 170 with n. 40; cf. HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. *pír-ru*, *pír-ru.mu-iš-si-qa*). The complicated fractions and the reference to accountants (*muššin-zikkip*, perhaps ‘up-pilers of tokens’) strongly imply the use of a counting board (cf. HENKELMAN & FOLMER, *Tally*, 168, 198).
25. $\frac{9}{16}$: this figure results from emendation by CAMERON; it gives a grand total of $1433\frac{1}{4}$, hence close to the amount stated in ll. 2–4 (there also with emendation!).

Named individuals

Non-Persian individuals are only mentioned by name if there is a special reason for it, usually because they are important or singular individuals. For this reason it is rather unfortunate that not much context is available for the following two texts.

NN 1057:16' (entry in a journal)

Translation

^{16'} 1501. (barley?) Bakkuša the Egyptian received (as) rations. ^{16'} Daily he received 1 l., (during) 5 months.

Comments

^{16'}. Bakkuša: the name may be Egyptian. Its bearer occurs only here. Other entries in the journal point to the so-called northern-cluster, a geographical area along the road to Media (HENKELMAN, Humban, *ad* Fort. 1316-101:21').

NN 2493:15–16 (entry in a journal)

Translation

¹⁵ 20 (l. wine), (in accordance with) an authorisation from Parnakka (that) was delivered, ¹⁵ an Egyptian named Baddubaštiš, ¹⁵ at , ¹⁵ assigned by Parnakka, ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ he ¹⁶ received (it as) rations. ¹⁶ (During) four months, ¹⁶ from the ninth through the twelfth month, 19th year (Dec. 503/Jan. 502 through March/April 502 BCE). ¹⁶ Monthly he received 5 (l.).

Comments

15. Baddubaštiš: the Elamite form reflects the Egyptian name Petubastis (*P3-dj-B3št.t*; cf. SCHMITT, *Persepolitannisches* V, 81f.; ZADOK, *Egyptians* III, 146; TAVERNIER, *Non-Elamite Individuals*, 147).
16. : a town and way station not far west of Persepolis (HALLOCK, *PFa*, 114), locus of the King's dinner in Dar. 19 (HENKELMAN, *Consumed*, 729) in the same year that Baddubaštiš was stationed there.

Ducks

The derivation of Elamite *basbas*, which occurs already in Middle Elamite, from Babylonian *paspasu*, 'ducks' is unproblematic. Interpretation as 'peafowl' (HINZ & KOCH, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. *ba-as-ba-as.lg*, *ba-is.KI.MIN*) rests on analysis of ration scales and the ratio of males and females (and on an orientalist conception of the Achaemenid court as decadent and exotic). Closer inspection revealed that the amounts given to *basbas* agree with feeding patterns of ducks, respectively with ducks subjected to gavage. Another important argument is that *basbas* may be *zarakkaš* 'grazing' (**caraka-*), which strongly argues against 'peafowl' and favours the interpretation 'duck' (see further discussion in HENKELMAN, *Consumed*, 736f., 753; see also STOLPER, *Death*, 21). An additional element, relevant to the current discussion, is that some *basbas* are qualified as *muzirrayap*, 'Egyptian', whereas peafowl is native to India and Sri Lanka. As *basbas* (unqualified) is much more

frequently attested, *basbas muzirrayap* probably referred to a special group. The ‘Egyptian duck’ may have been the (northern) pintail (*Anas acuta*) or another species common in Persian-period Egypt (cf. JANKOVIĆ, Vogelzucht, 5f.; note, however that the pintail does occur in the northern parts of modern Iran).

In the Fortification archive, ducks mainly occur in animal inventories and in receipts for fodder. Slaughter and consumption are rarely recorded; where it is, the context is either the royal court or the (royal) *šip* feast (HENKELMAN, Other Gods, 420–421; HENKELMAN, Parnakka’s Feast, 113). The Egyptian ducks are not conspicuous in comparison to other ducks in PFA. NN 2375, an elaborate account on Egyptian ducks, does not differ from accounts on unqualified ducks (compare, e.g., NN 2295, NN 2296). The same is true for animal inventory PF 0280 (compare, e.g., NN 1259).

PF 0280 (PFS 0071*/PTS 33*, seal of Irdumartiya [cf. Fort. 1237-101] left edge and reverse)

Edition

HALLOCK, PFT, 139.

Translation

¹ 22 male adults, ² 30 male ducklings, ³ 22 female adults, ⁴ 3 female yearlings, ⁵ 10 female ducklings. ⁶⁻⁷ Total: 87 Egyptian ducks, ⁷⁻⁸ alive, ⁸⁻⁹ for allocations by Marriyadadda, ⁹⁻¹⁰ under responsibility of Iršena. ¹¹⁻¹² (This) account was made in the 14th year (508/507 BCE); ¹³⁻¹⁴ Irzaparrawrote (it).

Apart from the two texts already mentioned, Egyptian ducks only occur in fodder texts. Some of these can be grouped together as pertaining to the same herd; prosopographic analysis may add yet other texts with similar parameters, yet mentioning unqualified rather than Egyptian ducks. The duckherd Akkumapiš, for example, occurs in contexts very similar to those cited below, perhaps involving the same animals (PF 1718, NN 0267, NN 2406). It is uncertain how one should evaluate this find: is it a sign that all ducks were of the ‘Egyptian’ species, but that the scribes not always carried to record this? This seems not very likely; rather, there was a real difference, but noting it not always necessary. It may, e.g., have mattered more to the King’s poultry purveyors than to the suppliers of barley for fodder.

All ducks listed below, except for one group, receive regular rations of 101. grain per month (0.331. per day), or half of that in the case of ducklings. These amounts correspond to slow fattening. One text (NN 0028) speaks of flour for grazing ducks. The amount is very high (1 l. per day per animal), presumably force-fed in the form of dough paste (cf. JANKOVIĆ, Vogelzucht, 7 n. 25, 19, 42; HENKELMAN, Signature, § 2.3.1 on PF 1752, PF 1753).

Text	seals (PFS)	date	com- modity	supplier	recipient	ducks/ monthly ration
NN 0891	0003	III/ Dar. 23	barley 2 100 l.	Umaya at Kurra	Akkumapiš (at Kurra)	260 ducks: 160 adults/10 l. 100 ducklings/5 l.
NN 1164	0003	IX/ Dar. 23	barley 2 600 l.	Umaya at Gimarukkaš	Akkumapiš at Kurra	260 ducks: 260 (adults)/10 l.
NN 0966	0003	I–III/ Dar. 23	barley 1 500 l.	Turpiš at Kurištiš	Battimuna at Kansan	100 (ducks): 100 ducklings/5 l.
NN 0940	0003	IV/ Dar. 23 ²	barley 1 660 l.	Turpiš at Kansan	Battimuna at Kansan	216 ducks: 116 adults/10 l. 100 ducklings/5 l.
Fort. 0758 -101	0003	V/ Dar.[23]	barley 1 600 l. (<i>sic</i>)	Turpiš at Kansan	Battimuna at Kansan	216 ducks [116] adults/10 l. 100 ducklings/5 l.
Fort. 6831	0006	II–III/ Dar. 20	barley 600 l.	Manukka ²	Puraya	30 ducks: (30 adults/10 l.)
Fort. 0339 -101	[PFS x]	10 months Dar. 22 ²	barley [550 ² l.]	Miššu(ma)nda	Manuzza	6 ² ducks 5 (adults)/10 l. [1 ²] (duckling ²)/[5 ²] l.
NN 0028	0035*; 2017	VII–XII/ Dar. 20	flour 600 l.	Zakamanna ²	–	10 ducks (grazing)

ABKÜRZUNGSVERZEICHNIS

Allgemeines

# a	Jahreszahl a: <i>ante Christum</i>	DZeg1–6[a–b]	Darius Suez Egyptian 1–6[a–b]; s. S. 100
Abb.	Abbildung		
äg.	ägyptisch	DZf	Darius Suez f; s. S. 193
ang.	angeblich	EA	El-Amarna; Sigle der Grabnummern
Anm.	Anmerkung		
B/bab.	Babylonian / babylonisch	elam.	elamisch
BCE	before common era; im Anhang	et al. f.	et alii folgende
bes.	besonders	FD-III-Zeit	Frühdynastisch-III-Zeit
bzw.	beziehungsweise	fig(s)., Fig(s).	figure(s), Figure(s); in zitierten Werken
ca.	circa		
cf.	confer; im Anhang	Fort. #	Sigle der Persepolis Fortification Texts
Dar. #	Darius I.: Regierungsjahr #; im Anhang	g	Gramm
DB	Darius Bisotun; s. S. 31	GN	Göttername
DB ^[b/e/p]	Darius Bisotun [bablyo- nisch / elamisch / persisch]; im Anhang	ibid. Inv.-Nr.	ibidem Inventarnummer
ders.	derselbe	Jh.	Jahrhundert
DH	Darius Hamadan; s. S. 32	K.	Kolumne
dies.	dieselbe	Ka	Kabret-Stele
DNa	Darius Naqsh-e Rostam a; s. S. 31	Kat.	Katalognummer; in zitierten Werken auch Katnr
DNb	Darius Naqsh-e Rostam b; s. S. 113	KHM	Kunsthistorisches Museum (Wien)
DNe	Darius Naqsh-e Rostam e; s. S. 31	km	Kilometer
DPa	Darius Persepolis a; s. S. 61	KMKG-MRAH	Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis – Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire (Brüssel)
DPc	Darius Persepolis c; s. S. 61		
DPd	Darius Persepolis d; s. S. 188	KN	Königsname
DPe	Darius Persepolis e; s. S. 31	Ku	Kubri-Stele
DPh	Darius Persepolis h; s. S. 32	KV	King’s Valley; Sigle der Grabnummern im Tal der Könige, Theben
DSaa	Darius Susa aa; s. S. 31		
DSab	Darius Susa ab; s. S. 100	#1.	Liter
DSe	Darius Susa e; s. S. 31	1. # / II. #	line/lines; im Anhang
DSf	Darius Susa f; s. S. 45	lit.	literally; im Anhang
DSeg1–5[a–b]	Darius Susa Egyptian 1–5[a–b]; s. S. 100	M	Maskhuta-Stele
DSz	Darius Susa z; s. S. 45	Mon.	Monat
Dyn.	Dynastie	MW	Melanie Wasmuth
DZ[a–c]	Darius Suez[a–c]; s. S. 100	n. Chr.	nach Christi Geburt
DZd	Darius Suez d; s. S. 196	NN	Sigle der Persepolis Fortification Texts
DZe	Darius Suez e; s. S. 187	Nr.	Nummer

o.A.	ohne Angabe	s.	siehe
o.ä.	oder ähnlich	s.l.	sine loco
o.J.	ohne Jahresangabe	s.o.	siehe oben
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago)	s.u.	siehe unten
OP	Old Persian; im Anhang	s.v.	sub verbo <i>oder</i> voce
p.	page; im Anhang	s.vv.	sub verbis
PID #	Katalognummer aus POSENER, Ière	Š.	Schekel
	Domination; in der Synthese)	Tb	Totenbuchspruch
		Tf.	Tafel
		TT	Theban Tombs; Sigle der Privatgrabnummern in Theben
pers.	persisch (= altpersisch)		
PF	Sigle der Persepolis Fortification Texts	Udj.	Udjahorresnet; in der Synthese
PFA	Persepolis Fortification Archive	Ü	Übersetzung
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal(ing)	v. Chr.	vor Christi Geburt
PFT	Persepolis Fortification Tablets/Texts	VAM	Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin)
pl(s), Pl(s).	Plate(s)/Planche(s); in zitierten Werken	verm.	vermutlich
		vgl.	vergleiche
		vol(s), Vol(s).	volume(s), Volume(s); in zitierten Werken
PN	Personenname	Xer. #	Xerxes I.: Regierungsjahr #;
pName	Papyrus „Name / Bezeichnung des Papyrus“	XPg	im Anhang s. S. 188
		XPh	s. S. 31
PT	Sigle der Persepolis Treasury Texts	XPl	s. S. 188
		Z.	Zeile
PTA	Persepolis Treasury Archive	z.B.	zum Beispiel
PTT	Persepolis Treasury Tablets/Texts	ZwZt	Zwischenzeit
S.	Seite		

Zeitschriften-, Reihen-, und Buchtitel

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
AALM	Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Memorie, Rom.
AAW	Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Wien.
Abusir	Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology: Abusir, Prag.
AbhKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Stuttgart.
AbhKM 50/1	Martin Kraatz, Jürg Meyer Zur Capellen & Dietrich Seckel (Hrsg.), Das Bildnis in der Kunst des Orients, AbhKM 50/1, Stuttgart 1990.
AchHist	Achaemenid History, Leiden.
AchHist 1	Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Hrsg.), Sources, Structures and Synthesis. Procee- dings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop, <i>AchHist</i> 1, Leiden 1987.
AchHist 3	Amélie Kuhrt & Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Hrsg.), Method and Theorie. Proce- edings of the London 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop, <i>AchHist</i> 3, Leiden 1988.

- AchHist 6* Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg & Amélie Kuhrt (Hrsg.), *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop*, *AchHist 6*, Leiden 1991.
- AchHist 11* Maria Brosius & Amélie Kuhrt (Hrsg.), *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, *AchHist 11*, Leiden 1998.
- AcIr* Acta Iranica. Encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes, Teheran, Liège & Leiden.
- AcIr 1* Commémoration Cyrus. Actes du Congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500^e anniversaire de la Fondation de l'Empire Perse. Hommage Universel I, *AcIr 1* (1ère série), Teheran, Liège & Leiden 1974.
- AcIr 2* Commémoration Cyrus. Actes du Congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500^e anniversaire de la Fondation de l'Empire Perse. Hommage Universel II, *AcIr 2* (1ère série), Teheran, Liège & Leiden 1974.
- AcIr 4* Hommages et Opera Minora. Momentum H.S. Nyberg I, *AcIr 4* (2ème série), Teheran, Liège & Leiden 1975.
- AION* Annali Instituto Orientale Napoli, Neapel.
- ÄAT* Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments, Wiesbaden.
- ÄF* Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt.
- AegMon* Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia, Aachen.
- AegTrev* Aegyptiaca Treverensia. Trierer Studien zum griechisch-römischen Ägypten, Mainz.
- AegTrev 2* Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier, *AegTrev 2*, Mainz 1983.
- Aegyptus* Aegyptus. Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia, Mailand.
- ÄL* Ägypten & Levante. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete – Egypt and the Levant. International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines, Wien.
- AfO* Archiv für Orientforschung. Internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient, Graz.
- AHW* Wolfram von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, Wiesbaden 1965–1985.
- AION* Annali dell' Instituto Orientale Napoli, Rom.
- AJA* American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, Series 2, Boston.
- AJN* American Journal of Numismatics, New York.
- AJSLL* American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago.
- Akkadica* Akkadica. Périodique bimestriel de la Fondation Assyriologique Georges Dossin / Tweemaandelijke periodiek van de Assyriologische Stichting Georges Dossin, Brüssel.
- AVO* Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients. Archäologische Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients, Münster.
- AMI* Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan; bis N.F. Bd. 28: Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Berlin.
- AMI Erg.-Bd. 6* Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, 1979.
- AMI Erg.-Bd. 10* Heidemarie Koch & David Neil MacKenzie (Hrsg.), Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben: Beiträge eines Symposiums vom 18.-21.11.1981 in Göttingen, Berlin 1983.
- Anatolica* Anatolica. Annuaire international pour les civilisations de l'Asie antérieure, Leiden.
- ANES Suppl.* Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Supplement, Leuven.
- AnOr* Analecta Orientalia. Commentationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui, Rom.

<i>ANRT</i>	Atelier national de reproduction des thèses, Lille.
<i>AOAT</i>	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments, Neukirchen-Vluyn bzw. Münster.
<i>AÖAW</i>	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
<i>AOB</i>	Acta Orientalia Belgica, Brüssel.
<i>AoF</i>	Altorientalische Forschungen, Leipzig.
<i>ARTA</i>	Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology (online newsletter; http://www.achemenet.com/).
<i>ASAE</i>	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, Kairo.
<i>BA</i>	Biblical archaeologist. Perspectives on the ancient world from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean, Atlanta.
<i>BACE</i>	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology, North Ryde.
<i>BAR IS</i>	British Archaeological Reports International Series, Oxford.
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem.
<i>BdE</i>	Bibliothèque d’étude: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Kairo.
<i>BEFAR</i>	Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, Rom.
<i>BES</i>	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar, New York.
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l’Institut Française d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Kairo.
<i>BiGen</i>	Bibliothèque générale: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Kairo.
<i>BMB</i>	The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin, Brooklyn, NY.
<i>BMPKS</i>	Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Berlin.
<i>BMQ</i>	The British Museum Quarterly, London.
<i>BSAE and ERA</i>	British School of Archaeology in Egypt, and Egyptian Research Account, London.
<i>BSFE</i>	Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie, Paris.
<i>Bull. SEHGIS</i>	Bulletin de la Société d’Études Historiques et Géographiques de l’Isthme de Suez, Kairo.
<i>CAA KHM</i>	Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Mainz.
<i>CAA MFA</i>	Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Mainz.
<i>CAD</i>	Ignace J. Gelb <i>et al.</i> (Hrsg.), The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago.
<i>CAH IV</i>	John Boardman <i>et al.</i> , Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 B.C., <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> 4, Cambridge 1988..
<i>CahStudIr</i>	Les cahiers de studia iranica, Paris & Leuven.
<i>CDAFI</i>	Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran, Paris.
<i>CdE</i>	Chronique d’Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la fondation Égyptologique reine Élisabeth affilié à l’union de la presse périodique Belge, Brüssel.
<i>CEFR</i>	Collection de l’École Française de Rome, Paris.
<i>CG</i>	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Kairo.
<i>CHI</i>	The Cambridge History of Iran, Cambridge <i>et al.</i> .
<i>CHI II</i>	Ilya Gershevitch (Hrsg.), The Median and Achaemenian Periods, <i>CHI II</i> , Cambridge 1985.
<i>CHJ</i>	William David Davies <i>et al.</i> (Hrsg.), The Cambridge History of Judaism, Cambridge.
<i>CII</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, London.
<i>CNI-Publications</i>	Carsten Niebur Institut: Publications, Kopenhagen.
<i>CleO</i>	Classica et Orientalia, Wiesbaden.
<i>CleO 2</i>	Bruno Jacobs & Robert Rollinger (Hg.), Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema „Griechische und

- lateinische Überlieferung und Altvorderasien“, Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23.–25. Mai 2007, *CleO* 2, Wiesbaden 2010..
- CRAIBL* Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris.
- CRIPEL* Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille, Lille.
- DE* Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford.
- Descr. Egypte* Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'Armée Française publié par les ordres de Sa Majesté l'empereur Napoléon le Grand, Paris.
- DNP* Hubert Cancik & Helmuth Schneider (Hrsg.), Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike, Stuttgart & Weimar, 1996–2003.
- DÖAW* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie, Wien.
- EA* Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of The Egypt Exploration Society, London.
- EAO* Égypte. Afrique & Orient, Avignon.
- Edfu Bh 1* Dieter Kuhrt (Hrsg.), Edfu: Studien zu Ikonographie, Textgestaltung, Schriftsystem, Grammatik und Baugeschichte, *Edfu Begleithefte* 1, 1990.
- Edfu* Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Wiesbaden.
- EEF* Egypt Exploration Fund. Memoirs, London.
- EES Memoir* Egypt Exploration Society: Excavation Memoir, London.
- EncIr* Ehsan Yarshater (Hrsg.), Encyclopaedia Iranica, London *et al.*
- Enchoria* Enchoria. Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie, Wiesbaden.
- EncIr online* online-Version zu *EncIr* (<http://www.iranicaonline.org/>).
- EVO* Egitto e Vicino Oriente, Pisa.
- FdX* Fouilles de Xanthos, Paris.
- GM* Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion, Göttingen.
- GMS* Grazer Morgenländische Studien, Graz.
- GMS 1* Hannes D. Galter (Hrsg.), Kulturkontakte und ihre Bedeutung in Geschichte und Gegenwart des Orients. Beiträge zum 1. Grazer Morgenländischen Symposium (19.3.1986), 1986.
- GOF* Göttinger Orientalforschungen: Veröffentlichungen des Sonderforschungsbereiches Orientalistik an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Wiesbaden.
- HdO* Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden.
- HSAO* Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient, Heidelberg.
- IBS* Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Innsbruck.
- ICA Publ.* Instituut voor Culturele Antropologie en Sociologie der Niet-Westerse Volken (Leiden): Publications, Leiden.
- IDD* Christoph Uehlinger *et al.* (Hrsg.), Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East. An Iconographic Dictionary with Special Emphasis on First-Millennium BCE Palestine/Israel, Zürich & Leiden (<http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/>).
- IF* Istanbulur Forschungen, Berlin.
- IM* Istanbulur Mitteilungen, Tübingen.
- Iran* Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, London.
- IrAnt* Iranica antiqua, Leiden.
- Iraq* London
- IsMEO* Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Centro studi e scavi archeologici in Asia. Reports and Memoirs, Rome.
- JA* Journal asiatique, Paris.
- JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, CT.
- JARCE* Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Locust Valley, NY.
- JEA* The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.

<i>JEOL</i>	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden.
<i>JESHO</i>	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Leiden.
<i>JHS</i>	The journal of Hellenic studies, London.
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
<i>JAC</i>	Journal of African Civilizations New Brunswick et al.
<i>JSOR</i>	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Toronto.
<i>Kadmos</i>	Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgeschichtliche Epigraphik, Berlin.
<i>KÊMI</i>	Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes, Paris.
<i>Klio</i>	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Berlin.
<i>La Nouvelle Clío</i>	La nouvelle Clío. Revue mensuelle de la découverte historique, Brüssel.
<i>LÄ</i>	Wolfgang Helck & Wolfgang Westendorf (Hrsg.), Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden 1972–1992.
<i>LAAA</i>	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.
<i>LGG</i>	Christian Leitz (Hrsg.), Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Leuven 2002–2003.
<i>LingAeg</i>	Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian studies, Göttingen.
<i>MÄS</i>	Münchener ägyptologische Studien, Berlin.
<i>MbKPAWB</i>	Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Berlin.
<i>MDAIK</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo, Mainz.
<i>MDP</i>	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse, Paris.
<i>MH</i>	Museum Helveticum. Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft, Basel.
<i>MIFAO</i>	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Kairo.
<i>Mizraim</i>	Mizraim. Journal of papyrology, egyptology, history of ancient laws, and their relations to the civilizations of Bible lands, New York.
<i>MMA Papers</i>	The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Papers, New York.
<i>MVEOL</i>	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux", Leiden & Leuven.
<i>NABU</i>	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires, Paris.
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Fribourg & Göttingen.
<i>OBO SA</i>	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series archeologica, Fribourg & Göttingen.
<i>OIC</i>	Oriental Institute Communications, Chicago.
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago.
<i>OLA</i>	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven.
<i>OLA 82</i>	Christopher J. Eyre (Hrsg.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995, 1998.
<i>OLP</i>	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Leuven.
<i>OMRO</i>	Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden, Leiden.
<i>OpAth</i>	Opuscula Atheniensia. Annual of the Swedish Institute at Athens, Stockholm.
<i>Orient</i>	Orient. Report of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan, Tokyo.
<i>Orientalia</i>	Orientalia. Commentarii trimestres a facultate studiorum orientis antiqui, Rom.
<i>PAPS</i>	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
<i>PBS</i>	Publications of the Babylonian Section, Philadelphia.
<i>PdÄ</i>	Probleme der Ägyptologie, Leiden.
<i>Philippika</i>	Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden.
<i>PIHANS</i>	Uitgaven van het Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te İstanbul / Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique de Stamboul, Leiden.
<i>PKG</i>	Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Berlin et al..

- PM* Bertha Porter & Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Oxford.
- PMMA* Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition, New York.
- PSBA* Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.
- RAr* Revue archéologique, Paris.
- RAss* Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, Paris.
- RdE* Revue d'Égyptologie, Paris.
- REA* Revue de l'Égypte ancienne, Paris.
- RivBib* Rivista Biblica. Organo dell'Associazione Biblica Italiana. Pubblicazione trimestrale, Bologna.
- RT* Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, Paris.
- SAAB* State Archives of Assyria Bulletin, Padua.
- SACE* Studies: Australian Centre for Egyptology, Sydney.
- Saeculum* Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte, Freiburg & München.
- SAK* Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.
- SAOC* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago, IL.
- SAT* Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch, Wiesbaden.
- SbÖAW* Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
- SCO* Studi Classici e Orientali, Pisa.
- SIMA* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Jonsered.
- SOAC* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago.
- SPAW* Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
- StHR* Numen Book Series: Studies in the History of Religions, Leiden.
- StIr* Studia Iranica, Leiden et al..
- StudAeg* Studia Aegyptiaca n.s., Budapest.
- StudPhoen* Studia Phoenicia. Bijdragen van de Interuniversitaire contactgroep voor Fenicische en Punische studies, Leuven.
- Sumer* Sumer. A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq, Baghdad.
- Syria* Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie, Beirut.
- TAVO Beih.* Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Beihefte, Wiesbaden.
- TF* Teheraner Forschungen, Berlin.
- Tel Aviv* Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv.
- Trans* Transeuphratène. Recherches pluridisciplinaires sur une province de l'Empire Achéménide, Paris.
- Trans 8* Actes du IIe Colloque international *La Syrie-Palestine à l'époque perse: Continuités et ruptures à la lumière des périodes néo-assyrienne et hellénistique*, Paris 3-5 octobre 1991, 1994.
- Trans 9* Actes de la Table ronde *La Transeuphratène et l'Égypte à l'époque perse*, Institut Protestant de Théologie de Paris, 10-11 mai 1993, 1995.
- Trans 14* Mélanges JACQUES BRIEND I, 1998.
- Trans 19* Actes du IV^e Colloque international *La Transeuphratène à l'époque perse: Économie, commerce et monnaie*, Institut Protestant de Théologie de Paris, 20-22 novembre 1997, Première partie, 2000.
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- TUAT* Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Gütersloh.
- TUAT I/6* Diethelm Conrad *et al.*, Historisch-chronologische Texte III. Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden, TUAT I/6, Gütersloh 1985.

<i>UF</i>	Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas, Münster.
<i>UMI</i>	University of Microfilms dissertation services, Ann Arbor.
<i>Urk.</i>	Georg Steindorff (Hrsg.), Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Berlin.
<i>VA</i>	Varia Aegyptiaca, San Antonio.
<i>VDI</i>	ВЕСТНИК ДРЕВНЕЙ ИСТОРИИ – Journal of Ancient History, Moskau.
<i>WB</i>	Adolf Erman & Hermann Grapow (Hrsg.), Das Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, Leipzig 1926–1963.
<i>WJA</i>	Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, Würzburg.
<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien.
<i>YES</i>	Yale Egyptological Studies, New Haven.
<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Berlin.
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin.
<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Mainz.

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**Tf. 4**

NN 0448: upper edge, left edge, obverse (3x), right edge, lower edge and reverse (2x) [from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, date not preserved]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 5**

Fort. 2293-101: upper edge, obverse (3x), left edge, lower edge, right edge, and reverse (2x) [from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, Darius I (year 24)]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 6**

NN 1177: upper edge, left edge, obverse (3x), lower edge, and reverse (3x) [from the *Persepolis Fortification Archive, Darius I (year 23)*]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 7**

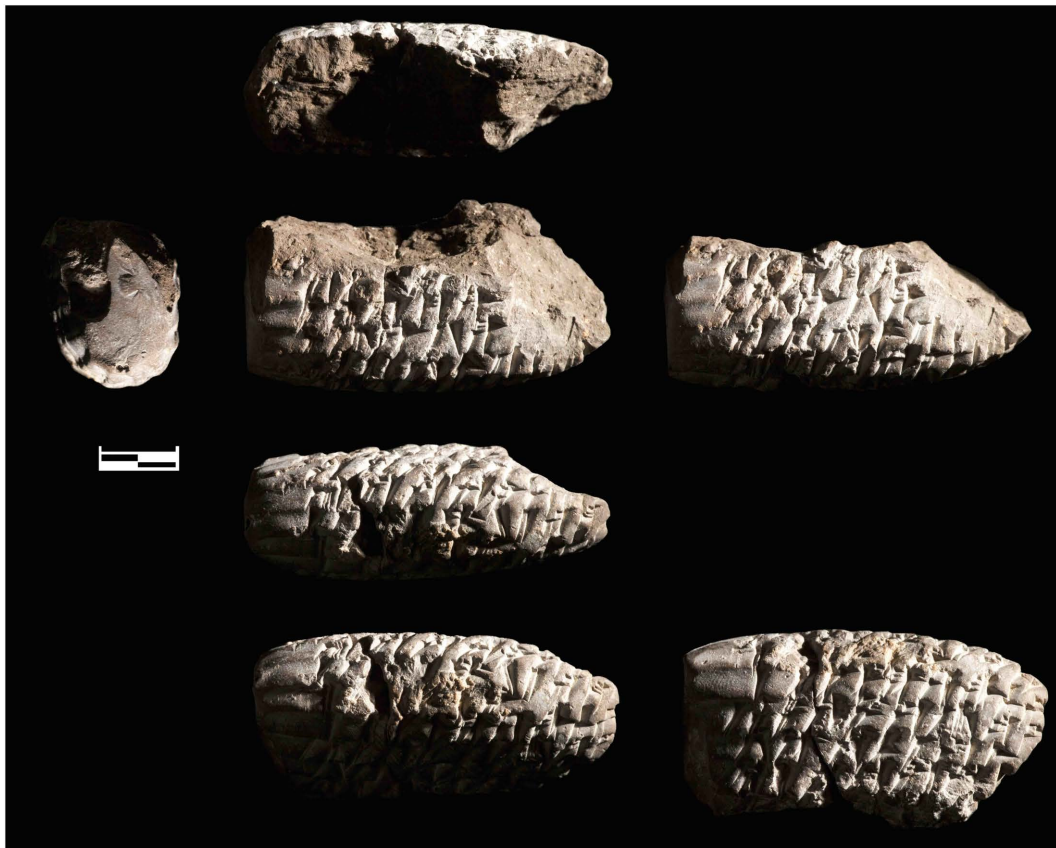
NN 0480: left edge, obverse (3x), lower edge, reverse (2x), and upper edge [*from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, Darius I (year 23)*]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 8**

NN 1922: upper edge, left edge, obverse (2x), right edge, lower edge and reverse [from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, Darius I (year 23)]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 9**

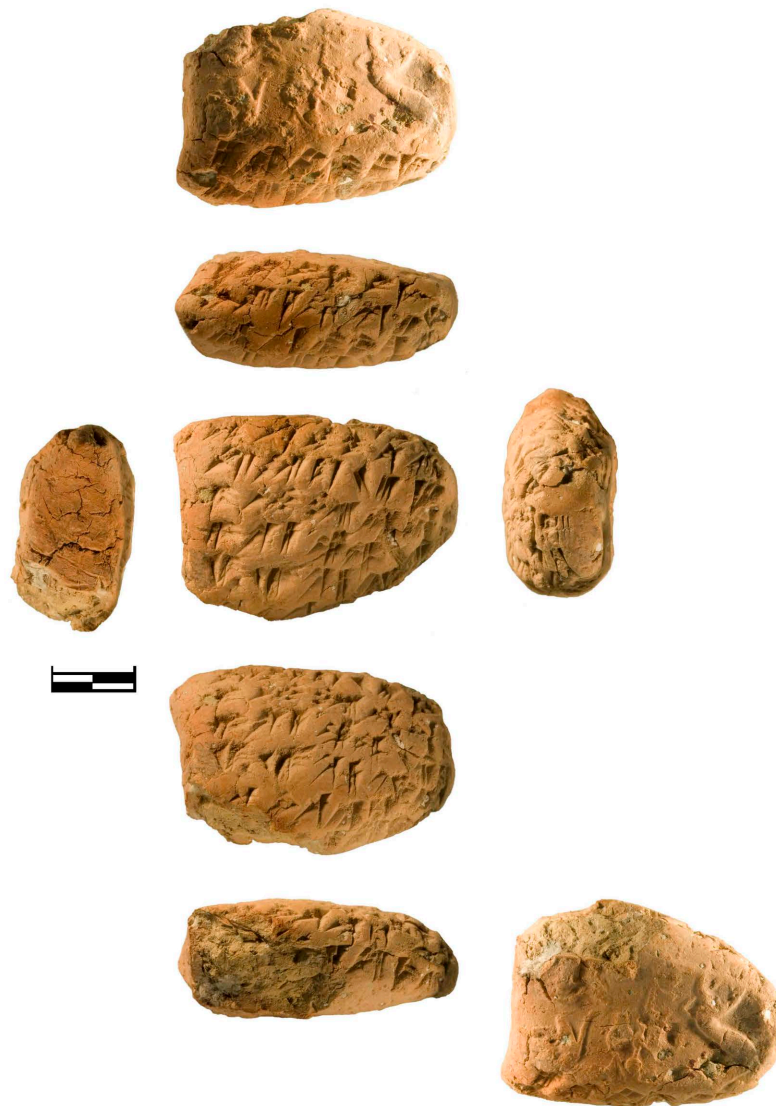
NN 1190: upper edge, left edge, obverse (2x), lower edge (2x), and reverse (2x) [from the *Persepolis Fortification Archive, Darius I (year 18²)*]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 10**

Fort. 1229-107: upper edge, left edge, obverse (2x), lower edge (2x) and reverse [from the *Persepolis Fortification Archive, Darius I (year 22)*]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 11**

NN 2516: upper edge, left edge, obverse (2x), lower edge, reverse, and right edge [from the *Persepolis Fortification Archive, Darius I (year 21)*]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

**Tf. 12**

NN 1924: reverse, upper edge, left edge, obverse (2x), right edge, lower edge, and reverse [*from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, not dated (Darius I)*]. Images courtesy Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.