

The Khalili Collection

Ancient Aramaic Documents
from Bactria

(Fourth Century B.C.E.)

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM IRANICARUM

Part 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran

Volume V: The Aramaic Versions of the Achaemenid Inscriptions, etc.

TEXTS II

The Khalili Collection

Ancient Aramaic Documents from Bactria

(Fourth Century B.C.E.)

Edited by

Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked



THE KHALILI FAMILY TRUST

First published in 2006
The Khalili Family Trust

The Khalili Family Trust
c/o PO Box 2827
London
W1X 5NL

www.khalili.org

All rights reserved. No part of this publication
may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or
by any means, electronic or mechanical, including
photocopy, recording or any other information
storage or retrieval system, without prior permission
in writing from The Khalili Family Trust.

Photography: Lucilla Phelps and Christopher Phillips
Design: Martin Bragg Associates
Production: Martin Bragg
Printed and bound in China

British Library Cataloguing in Publications Data

Naveh, Joseph and Shaked, Shaul

Ancient Aramaic Documents
from Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)

1. Khalili, Nasser D. – Art
collections – Exhibitions 2. Art,
Japanese – Meiji period,
1868–1912 – Exhibitions
I. Title II. Khalili Family Trust
709. 5'2'09034

?

ISBN 1–874780–74–9

Contents

List of plates and illustrations	8
Foreword	9
Maps	10
Acknowledgements	12
Introduction	13

1. The edition	15
2. The Khalili collection of Aramaic documents	15
3. Historical and topographical considerations	18
4. Administrative practices and terminology; Holders of office and their correspondence	22
5. Disbursement of goods and products	26
6. Functions and titles of office	27
7. Types of military persons	29
8. Taxation practice and terminology	30
9. Economic activities	30
10. Goods and commodities	33
11. Religious terminology	35
12. Measures and weights	37
13. Epistolary conventions	37
14. The Arshama letters and the Bagavant documents: comparative notes	39
15. Linguistic points	51
16. Personal names	57

Texts	63
-----------------	----

A. Documents relating to Bagavant, mostly letters from Akhvamazda, presumably the satrap of Bactria

- A1 [IA6] Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, Marḥešwan, year 6 of Artaxerxes [III], 353 BCE. Concerns camel-keepers. Hashavakhshu is the scribe.
- A2 [IA4] Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, 3 Marḥešwan, year 8 of Artaxerxes [III], 351 BCE. Concerns the issue of vinegar (or the clearing of sand) from a house of Akhvamazda. Daizaka is the scribe.
- A3 [IA2] Letter, badly preserved, from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, 10 Šebaṭ, year 9 of Artaxerxes [III], 349 BCE. Concerns Kumi.
- A4 [IA1] Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, 3 Sivan, year 11 of Artaxerxes [III], 348 BCE. Concerns the building of a wall and a ditch around Nikhshapaya. Daizaka is the scribe.
- A5 [IA3] Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, no date. Deals with the building of a wall in Kish, and could be not far in date from 348 BCE. Nurafratara is the scribe.
- A6 [IA5] Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant. No date. Concerns houses to be roofed and grain to be brought into Akhvamazda's granary. Nurafratara is the scribe.
- A7 [IA11] Fragmentary letter, perhaps from Akhvamazda to Bagavant. No date. Mentions skins kept by the troops. Daizaka is the scribe.
- A8 [IA16] Fragmentary letter. No name of sender or recipient, but it could be from Akhvamazda to Bagavant and others. No date. Concerns a certain Bactrian or the city of Bactra, and taxation.

A9	[IA15] Note or label. Bagavant acknowledges having received certain drugs from his wife. No date.	
A10	[IA14] Note concerning a debt. Bagavant is guarantor. No date.	
B. Other letters		131
B1	[IA7] Letter from Mithrafarnah to Upadvara (?), two persons of equal rank. No date.	
B2	[IA23] Letter from Bagaicha to Vahucha, two persons of equal rank. No date.	
B3	[IA29] Letter from Artainapata to Vahucha, two persons of equal rank. No date.	
B4	[IA24] Letter from Bakhtrifarnah to Chithrachardata, two persons of equal rank. No date.	
B5	[IA8] Letter to a superior. No date.	
B6	[IA18] Letter to Dahyubarzana, from someone of equal rank. No date.	
B7	[IA19] Letter from a superior to an inferior, or between two persons of equal rank. Very fragmentary. No date.	
B8	[IA26] Fragmentary letter. No date. Mentions camels.	
B9	[IA30] Fragmentary letter. No date. Mentions a house.	
B10	[IA28] Fragment of a letter (or legal document) of the fifth century BCE.	
C. Lists of supplies and labels		173
C1	[IA21] Supplies to Bessus in Kislev, year 1 of Artaxerxes [V] (= Bessus). Corresponds to November / December 330 BCE.	
C2	[IA20] Originally unopened document; concerned with the despatch of sheep. Addressed to a superior officer. Wishtaspa is mentioned. Year 1 of an unspecified reign (perhaps of Alexander, i.e. 330/329 BCE).	
C3	[IA22] 20 Šebaṭ, year 2 (perhaps of Alexander, i.e. 329 BCE).	
C4	[IA17] Long list of supplies disbursed. Starts on 15 Sivan, year 7 of Alexander, corresponding to 8 June 324 BCE, and continues for three months.	
C5	[IA25] No date. Supplies to Vahyazaya.	
C6	[IA9] No date. Harnesses?	
C7	[IA13] No date. Horse equipment?	
C8	[IA12] No date. Subject not clear.	
C9	[IA27] No date. Contains a list.	
C10	[IA10] No date. Label.	
D. Tallies		231
I. "From Gauza"		232
D1	[T1] Taitaka, Gauza	
D2	[T2] Bagayaza, Gauza	
D3	[T9] Saryabara, Gauza	
D4	[T11] Khshathraka, Gauza	
D5	[T12] Bagaicha, Gauza	
D6	[T14] Spaita rhhy , Gauza	
II. "From Abudi"		246
D7	[T4] Patiyara, Abudi	
D8	[T5] Tiri, Abudi	
D9	[T6] Taitaka, Abudi	
D10	[T10] Vikanu, Abudi	

D11 [T15] Charatuka, Paritana and Abudi	
D12 [T17] Nayaka, Abudi	
D13 [T18] Aduapa, Abudi	
III. “From Uparivana”	253
D14 [T7] ³hpwy Kaufatacha, Uparivana	
D15 [T13] Taitaka, Uparivana	
D16 [T16] Nafavazata, Uparivana	
IV. “From” not indicated	256
D17 [T3] Chithriyakara	
D18 [T8] Khshathraka	
Bibliography	260
Glossary	269
Index	279

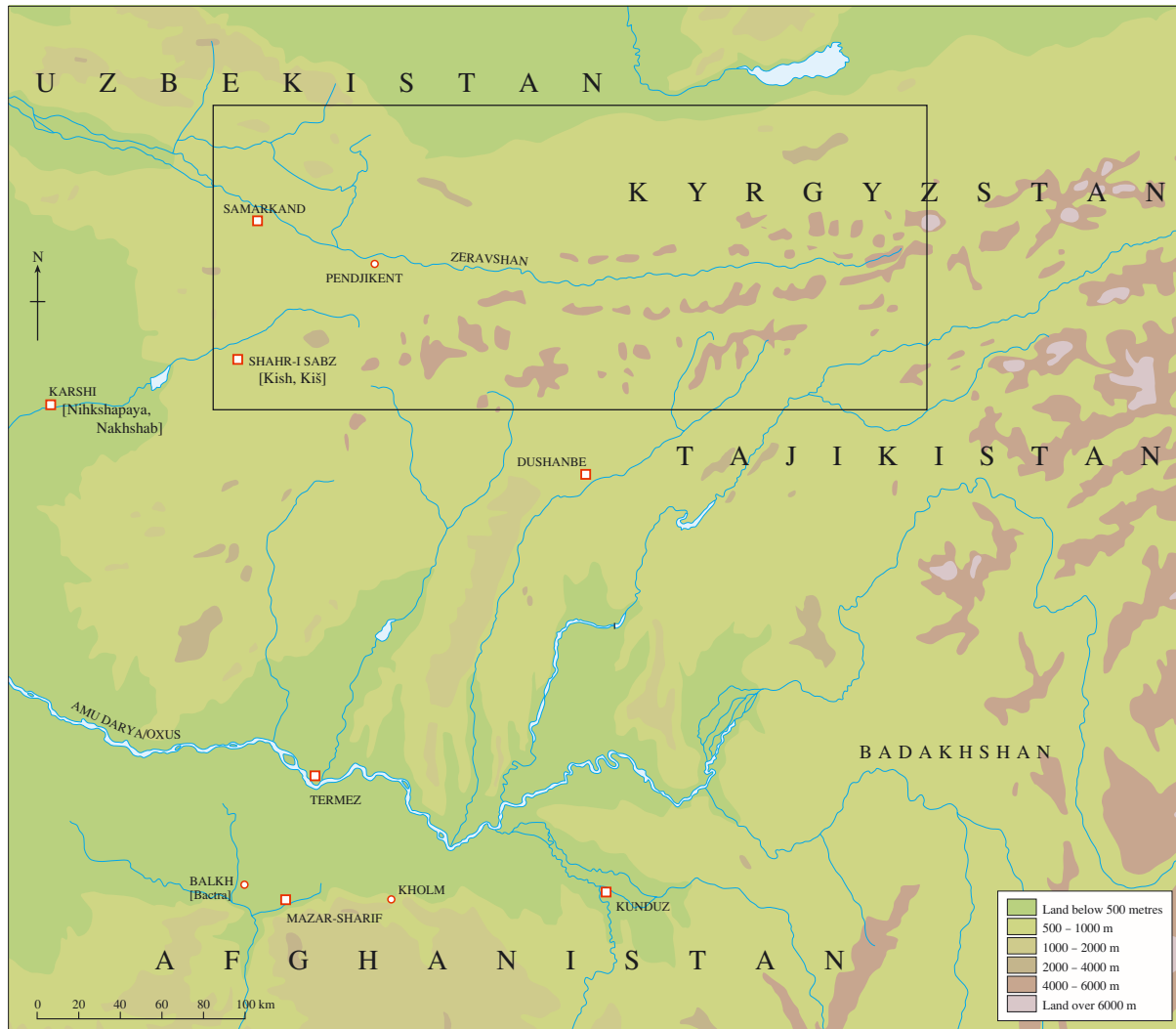
List of Plates and illustrations

[Will be prepared at a later stage]

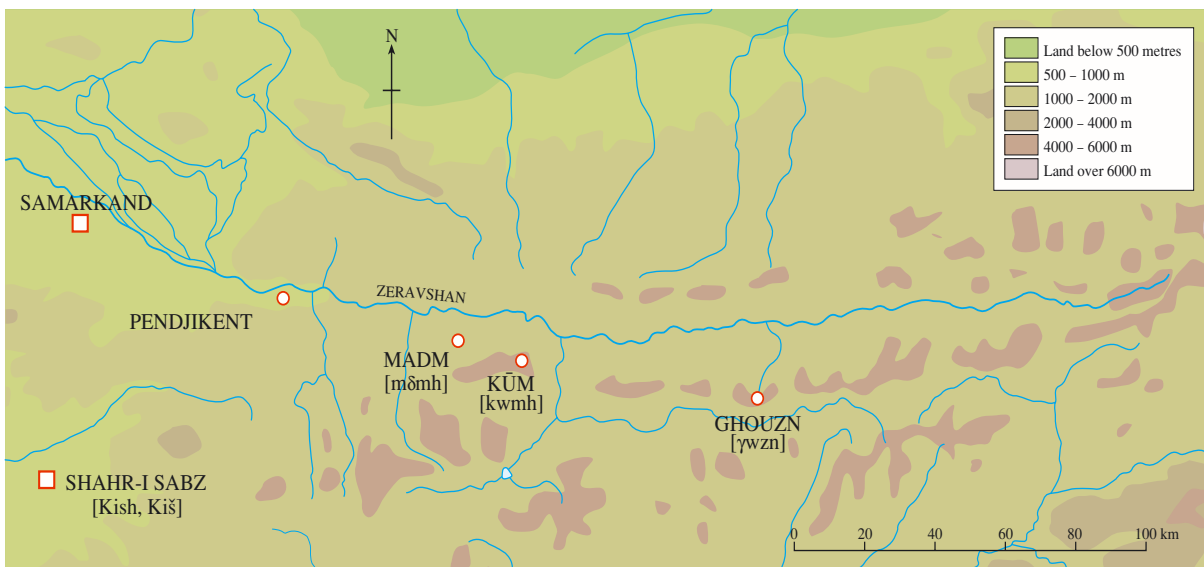
Foreword

one page would allow two for maps

Maps



Map of the area covered by the Khalili documents



The inset map shows localities mentioned in certain Sogdian documents (according to Smirnova 1962), possibly part of the domains of Ak'amazda

Acknowledgements

Work on the documents in this book started in 2000, when four of them were in the possession of Messrs. Manouchehr Aaron and his brother David Aaron, owners of the two Aaron Galleries in London.

Shaul Shaked, who had seen the originals in London, contacted Joseph Naveh. They decided to work on them together, and prepared an edition of the four documents known at that time. Shortly afterwards, Professor David Khalili acquired these four and several other relevant documents. He talked in June 2001 to Naveh and subsequently also to Shaked, and it was agreed that we prepare an edition of the documents to be published.

When the material in the possession of Professor Khalili was seen, it became evident that this is unique material from a hitherto unknown source, namely original Aramaic documents from ancient Bactria. We then discovered that a number of scholars had already done some preliminary work on these documents at the request of some antique dealers, among them the late Professor J. B. Segal and Professor A. D. H. Bivar.

It was later suggested by A. D. H. Bivar, then Chairman of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, that a book be published, a suggestion which was gladly accepted by Professor Khalili and by the present authors.

In the course of this work help and advice was forthcoming from a number of friends and colleagues. Most prominent among these are Nicholas Sims-Williams (whose numerous comments are usually marked by the abbreviation N. S-W) and Frantz Grenet, who have made valuable remarks on specific points. We have also consulted and should like to register our thanks to Dr. Matthew Morgenstern and Professor J. M. Rogers. Nahla Nassar of the Khalili Collections was very helpful when Shaked was working on the documents in London. We should like to thank David Buyaner for undertaking to prepare the index to the volume. He also suggested some important improvements to the discussion.

The photographers for the Khalili Family Trust, Lucilla Phelps and Christopher Phillips, have done a remarkable job in extracting detail and sharpness from the originals, for which we owe them a debt of gratitude. Professor Khalili has spared no effort or resources to ensure that the publication of this volume should be on the same high level of aesthetic appearance as the other volumes in the Khalili series.

We owe a special debt of thanks to the Bodleian Library at Oxford for having kindly supplied us with a set of photographs of the Arshama letters, some of which are included in the present volume. It will be noticed that these documents have become much darker since the original photographs were taken (published in G. R. Driver's book, 1954). This situation made the task of the printers so much more challenging. We hope that the result is satisfactory.

Two institutions, the International Academic Union (*Union Académique Internationale*) and the British Academy, have made it possible, through their financial and moral support, for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* to participate in the present publication. We should like to thank them sincerely.

The production of this book was undertaken by Martin Bragg, who has invested his great experience and expert knowledge in seeing it through the press and in assuring this book a high standard of printing.

Introduction

1. The edition

This is an *editio princeps*. We cannot claim to have solved all the problems of reading, interpretation or historical and topographical background in these rather complicated documents. The linguistic analysis is particularly insufficient, as we are painfully aware, but to have taken the time to prepare an exhaustive treatment would have unduly delayed the publication of the texts. One notices that there are certain points in which these Bactrian documents differ from most of the Aramaic documents found in Egypt; they are perhaps closest to the Aramaic documents on leather published by G. R. Driver (*editio princeps*, 1954; revised edition, 1957). A detailed study of these points will have to be undertaken at a later point, perhaps by other scholars. The documents also bristle with problems of historical toponymy, which are difficult to solve without further material and especially without good acquaintance with the terrain, which we lack. We have been fortunate to obtain expert advice on these matters from a number of colleagues, in particular from Frantz Grenet, but it is obvious that many problems remain.

The readings given of the texts are those which seem to us well-established; conjectural readings have been discarded.

The translation may sometimes be regarded as too free. We have aimed at providing a reasonably acceptable and readable English. This may occasionally have resulted in a deviation from close adherence to the wording of the Aramaic and in some inconsistencies.

The documents in this book are arranged by genre and chronology and are numbered accordingly. The original numbers of the documents in the Khalili collection are however retained in this volume, where they are accompanied by the initials IA [=Imperial Aramaic] or, in the case of the tallies, by the letter T.

2. The Khalili collection of Aramaic Documents

The Khalili collection comprises 30 documents written on leather and 18 inscribed wooden sticks. The leather documents are of varying sizes and in various conditions of preservation; some of them are in good condition and contain texts that are clearly visible, others are fragmentary or have texts whose writing is badly washed off and partly illegible. All the texts in this collection are written in Official Aramaic,¹ a term which describes both the language and the script. In most respects they are similar to the large body of documents of the Achaemenian period retrieved from Egypt,² especially the Arshama letters of the late fifth century BCE published by Driver (1957).

The provenance of these documents, whether written on leather or on wooden sticks, is not known. They were acquired from several dealers in London and elsewhere around the year 2000. It is believed that they derive from Afghanistan, and this is borne out by the texts, which are clearly connected to the Bactrian satrapy in the late Achaemenian period and in that of Alexander the Great. They may even more precisely be placed in or near Balkh, the capital city of Bactria in antiquity. The Bactrian satrapy also incorporated the territory of Sogdiana, to the north of the Oxus, and it seems possible that some of the place-names mentioned in the documents can be located in the Sogdian area. The period covered by the documents in general is rather limited: they represent the final decades of the Achaemenian administration in Bactria and extend up to the year 7 of Alexander the Great.

¹ Some texts in other scripts which were originally part of the lot offered to Professor Khalili by the dealers have been removed from the collection. These include one fragment in a script which resembles Syriac, another which appears to be written in majuscule Greek letters but conveys no sense and a third document seemingly written in the Bactrian script.

² The main documents of that find are now available in the series of four volumes published by Porten and Yardeni 1986/1999, usually designated by the abbreviation *TADAE*.

Of the thirty documents on leather, twenty-nine belong to the fourth century BCE, and may have been found in a single locality. One document stands out from this lot: it is the fragmentary text B10. It is not dated, but judging by its writing it should belong to the first half of the fifth century BCE. All the other texts on leather, as well as all the wooden sticks, are consistent with the dates in the second half of the fourth century mentioned in some of them. The specific dates given in the documents range from 353 to 324 BCE, a period of 29 years. Not only does their script conform to that of the fourth century, but their contents too reflects the situation of eastern Iran during that period as it is known to us (chiefly through Greek historical and geographical sources).

There are enough internal connections between the documents to warrant the assumption that they belonged to a single archival store. It is significant that the time-range covered by these documents goes beyond the end of the Achaemenian dynasty and extends seamlessly up to the seventh year of Alexander, without any visible interruption in style, script or administrative procedure.

The documents in the collection can be classified by genre (and partly by chronology) into the following groups:

- I. An early letter: first half of the fifth century BCE (B10).
- II. Letters of the mid-fourth century BCE (A1-A8; B1-B9).
- III. Lists of supplies (C1, C3-C7). To these may be added a dispatch document, which was acquired into the Khalili collection still sealed like a letter (C2), and a short one-line text which may have served as a label (C10).
- IV. Lists of names (C8-C9).
- V. Notes concerning a debt and acknowledging receipt of goods (A9-A10).
- VI. Wooden sticks recording debts (D1-D18).

The letters of the fourth century BCE, which make up the largest group (II), contain a distinct subgroup of letters (A1-A8) addressed to a single person: Bagavant, who is said to be “in **hlmy**”, and who is designated on one occasion (A2) as “*pahtā*”, or governor, “in **hlmy**”, that is to say, Khulmi. The two notes of an economic character (A9-A10) are also connected to Bagavant.

Khulmi can be quite confidently identified as a place near the town which is nowadays called Khulm. In the late mediaeval period it was called Tashkurgan, but the old name Khulm was re-adopted in the twentieth century. To be precise, above the modern town of Tashkurgan there are ruins called “old Khulm”, where the ancient town may be located. Bagavant was active in Khulmi for at least five years, between 353 and 348 BCE, as is clear from the dated letters A1-A4. The other documents in series A cannot be placed chronologically. One of them (A9) seems to record a transaction between Bagavant and his wife, a highly unusual situation in the ancient world, but the details of the text are too obscure to allow a precise interpretation.

There are good reasons for not assuming that the letters come from Bagavant’s archive, which might have been kept at or close to Khulmi. Practically all letters in this group are rough drafts, meant to be copied later in a neat hand, and in most cases traces of older writing can be seen. In one case (A2) the letter to Bagavant is written by the scribe Daizaka over an old letter addressed to the scribe himself; the old letter was partly erased to make room for the draft. It may be assumed with confidence that the letter was later copied and sent to Bagavant. Besides the erasure of the old letter, A2 itself contains also several cases of corrections and erasures, which strengthen the impression of a draft copy. Even A4, written in good formal hand, is a palimpsest, written over an old erased document, traces of which are still visible. A similar observation can be made with regard to the other letters addressed to Bagavant, which can be described as palimpsests, with many cases of careless writing and omission of

letters or words. These features indicate that these were not neat copies intended to be actually sent, but prototypes from which a fair copy would have been made later.

A further argument points in the same direction. If these letters had been found in Bagavant's archive at Khulmi, one could expect to find there letters addressed to Bagavant from several different sources. All the letters addressed to Bagavant were however written by a single person: Akhvamazda, Bagavant's superior. The letters do not specify the rank or function of Akhvamazda, nor do they tell us where he resides, but there is no doubt that Bagavant is subordinate to him. The style of the letters from Akhvamazda to Bagavant is rough and often admonitory, their tone is one of command, and they do not contain any of the polite formulae used in letters exchanged by equals in the Achaemenian period.³ In his replies, which are quoted *in extenso* in the letters sent to him from Akhvamazda, Bagavant uses language typical of a subordinate: he explains, requests, and apologizes.

The conclusion which must be drawn from these remarks is that the letters in our collection come not from the archive of Bagavant but from that of Akhvamazda. It is possible to assume that the draft letters were kept in the issuing office as a record of the outgoing mail. These drafts were most often written on recycled leather. Animal skin prepared for writing was an expensive commodity, but it was indispensable for administrative communications in a country where the cheaper alternative, papyrus, was not available. It may be recalled that most of the Aramaic documents retrieved from Egypt were written on papyrus. Only the letters of Arshama, found in Egypt but written somewhere in the area of Babylon and Susa, use leather as writing material. It thus seems likely that the rough copies written by Akhvamazda's scribes were left there for reference when the neat letters were prepared and sent.

Where was Akhvamazda's place of residence? Bagavant, who carries the title **pḥt**, "governor", must have been quite an important official, residing in Khulmi, and having responsibilities over several other localities, of which the one which can be identified with some plausibility, is Nihshapaya. This should be the locality known throughout the mediaeval period by the name of Nakhshab or Nasaf and nowadays called Karshi. It lies to the north-west of Khulmi, beyond the river Oxus, at a distance of some 300 km. from Khulmi, in the area of Sogdiana. As mentioned above, Bactria and Sogdiana formed a single satrapy.⁴ Bagavant is ordered to build a wall and a ditch around the town of Nihshapaya, perhaps as a fortification against incursions from the north. In a later period we know that some of the Scythian tribes constituted a grave danger to the Bactrian kingdom,⁵ and it is possible that fear of such attacks was already a feature of the late Achaemenian period. Akhvamazda, who gives orders to Bagavant, has property and other economic interests in the area over which Bagavant holds responsibility, and Bagavant must report to him concerning houses and crops which belong to the estates of Akhvamazda (cf. A6). These may be private possessions or state property: it is difficult to tell the difference from these documents. The situation is not unlike that which we encounter with regard to Arshama in Egypt.⁶

It seems quite likely that Akhvamazda is the satrap over Bactria (including Sogdiana) at least for part of the period of Artaxerxes III. The historical sources covering the period do not give us the name of the satrap. The place of residence of the satrap was most likely in Bactra (nowadays Balkh), the capital of Bactria, or in the adjacent fortress of Zariaspa. Balkh lies some 80 km. west of Khulm.

³ Cf. for example document B1 in our collection and several documents from the Arshama collection in Driver 1957, e.g. letters 1-3.

⁴ Briant (1984:71 and 1996:766-767) establishes with high probability that the satrap of Bactria was also responsible for Sogdiana, since there is no mention of a specific satrapal figure in the latter region.

⁵ Cf. Grousset 1965:66-69.

⁶ Cf. below.

The name of the town Bactra seems to occur in our documents under the form **bḥtry**. The province of Bactria was probably indicated by the same word. To add to the confusion, **bḥtry** may also be understood according to the context as an adjective meaning “Bactrian”. The town **bḥtry** is mentioned in a very fragmentary context in A7:2 and in A8:2. For a discussion of the various attestations and forms of the name Bactra cf. Witzel 1980:90-94, 97-101, with the corresponding notes. The latter document has also a reference to **zrympy byrt**², which, if an error is assumed, could refer to the fortress Zariaspa, which was located in or close to Bactra. Bactra is also mentioned in C1:3 and C1:51, where we read that Bayasa, whom we take to be the famous Bessus, obtained supplies in Maithanaka when he was on his way “from Bactra to Varnu”. The historical situation behind C1 will be discussed more fully in the next section of this introduction. If this hoard of documents was found in Bactra, it is possible that the list of supplies C1 was prepared in Bactra prior to Bayasa’s journey; or that Maithanaka, the halting place of Bayasa, lay not far away from Bactra, and that the document of supplies was sent back to the archive in Bactra; or, finally, that C1 is a copy, sent back to the archive, while the original document was attached to the supplies.

One of the most extensive Aramaic documents in the Khalili collection, C4, is dated to the seventh year of Alexander, which corresponds to 324 BCE. This is the latest dated document in the collection. It contains various place names, so far unidentified, but not the name of the place where it was written. It is possible, although not certain, that it was written in Bactra.

It may thus be concluded that the main part of this group of Aramaic documents derives from an archive belonging to the satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana in Bactra (Balkh). This archive contained, amongst other items, drafts of letters sent to, and documents related to, Bagavant, who served as governor (**pḥt**) in Khulmi. The other documents in the Khalili collection may also come from the same source, but at the moment it is not possible to establish with certainty that they derive from the same archive.

One part of the Khalili collection consists of a group of wooden sticks, which evidently served as tallies recording amounts of provisions given out to certain persons, presumably from the stores of the satrap or the governor. A more detailed discussion of this practice and of the suggested meaning of these tallies will be found below, in Chapter 9 of this Introduction.

3. Historical and topographical considerations

The documents under discussion, to judge by the dates explicitly given in them, span a period of less than thirty years, from 353 to 324 BCE. This was however a period of great turmoil and of far-reaching consequences for the history of the East, particularly of Central Asia. During this period, which begins with the reign of Artaxerxes III (Artaxšaθra or Artaxšaça, in the Aramaic orthography **ʾrthšš**), the Achaemenian Empire came to an end, the kingdom was captured by Alexander the Great, and his administration was established for the brief period of his reign. King Darius III found his death at the hand of his satrap in Bactria, Bessus, and the latter, who proclaimed himself king under the name of Artaxerxes [V], tried to resist Alexander’s incursion into the territories of Bactria, perhaps by creating a scorched earth in front of the advancing army. He then fled to Sogdiana, was captured and put to death.

The official letters written on leather and carrying a date all refer to a date in the reign of Artaxerxes, which must be the third of this name. Most of the wooden sticks carry a single date: the third year of Darius, evidently Darius III. Two of the other documents are also datable. One is a list of

goods disbursed to Bayasa (Bessus), and the other a list of disbursements made in the seventh year of Alexander.

It is exciting to come across original documents here which are related to some of the major events of the period. This is the case with C1, which refers to Bessus in the crucial year 330/329, and to C4, which belongs to the period after the conquests of Alexander.

Document C1 is dated to the month of Kislev, year 1 of Artaxerxes. If this refers, as we think, to the first and only year in the reign of the pretender Bessus (330/329 BCE), the month of Kislev will correspond to the period from 25 November to 24 December 330 BCE. In that period Alexander, on his way to Bactria, was still in the Hindukush mountains. It is remarkable that, if our understanding of the document is correct, Bessus is mentioned by name, but the dating formula uses the regnal name he assumed when he ascended the throne, Artaxerxes. His own name is given in Aramaic as **bys**, which may represent an Iranian name Bayasa or Bayaça (from **baya-θra-* “protecting against fear”). It would be regular for such a name to be spelled Bessos in Greek.

BACTRA AND VARNU

The document C1 consists of a long list of provisions apparently given to Bessus’ troops in Maithanaka, where he made a stop when he was on his way from Bactra to Varnu. The only recorded military movement of Bessus during the short period after he killed Darius III and before his capture by the Greeks is his flight from the approaching Alexander. The Macedonian army was approaching Bactra from the east, coming down from the Hindukush mountain range in the spring of 329. We know that Bessus eventually fled to the north of Bactra, to Sogdiana, where he hoped to find refuge among the Sogdian chieftains. There is no record in the sources that he made any attempt to face the Greek army, although this is a possibility which cannot be excluded. At least one recent biography of Alexander makes Bessus await Alexander at Aornus.⁷

We are quite familiar with the location of Bactra, modern Balkh, but the topographical identity of the two other localities mentioned here is unclear. The ancient Bactrian city of Aornos, as it is called in the Greek sources, is undoubtedly the same place as Varnu. This place name is attested in the Bactrian documents recently published by Sims-Williams under the form *oāpvo* (= Varnu; cf. Sims-Williams 2000:210), but the Bactrian documents do not contain a topographical identification. Where should one look for it? This question has exercised the ingenuity of scholars for several decades. There are at least four different proposals for localizing Aornos:

1. Tashkurgan, also known under the name Khulm. Khulm is prominently featured in our documents as the administrative seat of Bagavant. In Aramaic it is spelled **hlmy**, probably to be pronounced Khulmi. It lies some 80 km. east of Balkh. That Aornos / Varnu is to be sought in Khulm / Tashkurgan is the opinion of several scholars, perhaps the majority. The name Aornos is mentioned in Arrian, *The campaigns of Alexander*, p. 196, and it may be best to quote A. B. Bosworth’s comments on this passage (1980a:372): “Arrian’s account makes it quite clear that it was the principal citadel of Bactria. ... Von Schwarz was probably right [cf. Schwarz 1893:27-28] to identify it as the modern town of Khulm, a prominent strongpoint at the head of the valley leading to the Salang Pass”. A similar view is held by several other scholars. Mention may be made of Tarn 1948, I:66; Engels 1978:97 (who proposes an identification with Shahr-i Banu, not far from Khulm); Badian 1985:455; Seibert 1985:127 n. 10; Holt 1988:28; Green 1992:351; Bernard 1998; *Der Neue Pauly* (Cancik and Schneider 1996-), s.v. Aornos.

⁷ Cf. Green 1992:351. A short discussion of the events surrounding Bessus’ flight from Alexander can be found in Badian 1985:455-456.

The identification of Aornos with Khulm would seem at the outset to be quite likely, as the progress of Alexander as described in the Greek sources is from the east westwards, from the Hindukush via Drapsaca and Aornos to Bactra (cf. Arrian, *Anabasis* III:29). Ancient Drapsaca, which should lie to the east of Aornos, has been identified by some scholars with modern Kunduz (cf. Badian 1985:455; Holt 1988:28 n. 67).

Against the identification of Aornos with Tashkurgan / Khulm speaks the fact that the name Khulm is now attested in the Aramaic documents of the Khalili collection. These refer to an important town called Khulmi, which was the seat of a governor responsible, it seems, for quite a vast region, and there can be little doubt that this is the ancient form of Khulm, near which the modern town of Tashkurgan was built. These documents also mention, in other contexts, Varnu, which must be Aornos. It is of course perfectly possible for one locality to have more than one name, a conspicuous example being Bactra, which is also called Zariaspa in the ancient sources, the latter name designating a fortress close to Bactra (see the literature cited below in the commentary to A8:3). It is, however, not very common for one town to have two names, and we have no indication in the ancient sources that Aornos was also known by any other name.

It may be pointed out that the identification of Aornos with Khulm / Tashkurgan is based at least in part on the (pseudo-)etymological analysis of the Greek name Aornos. To quote the reasoning of von Schwarz: “In Bezug auf Aornus dagegen weichen die Meinungen der verschiedenen Erklärer von einander ab. Nach meiner Ansicht kann damit nur das heutige Chulum gemeint sein. Die Griechen gebrauchten den Namen Aornus immer nur für hochgelegene Städte und Festungen. Nun liegen aber alle grösseren Städte des afghanischen Turkestan in der Ebene mit alleiniger Ausnahme von Chulum, welches sich an den Nordfluss des Hindukusch anlehnt”. Another etymologically-based attempt at identifying Aornos is made by Foucher 1942/47:116, 203, who assumes that the name derives from the Indian *āvaraṇa*- “a high place for shelter”. The name Varnu, Bactrian *oāpvo*, graecized Aornos, is attested now for the first time in Aramaic; it is certainly not a Greek designation or an Indian form, but a local name. Its connection to the Avestan place name *Varəna* is not entirely clear. Henning 1947:52-53 sought to identify *Varəna* with the modern Buner, a view quoted with sympathy by Gnoli 1985:28. A detailed study of the historical and literary connections of the Avestan *Varəna* and the various identifications proposed to it can be found in Gnoli 1980:46-48.

If Khulm / Tashkurgan is indeed the location of Aornos / Varnu, we should be looking for a locality along the road which could be identified with Maithanaka. The distance between Balkh and Khulm is about 80 km., and can conveniently be covered in two days’ walk (according to the Arab geographers, cf. Le Strange 1966:427; Barthold 1968:67); this would hardly require a halt for restocking. This observation provides a further argument against the identification of Khulm with Varnu.

2. The region of Kunduz, some 180 km. east of Balkh, has also been proposed as the site of Aornos. This is the suggestion of Humbach 1975 and Stavisky 1977 (for the latter cf. Rtveladze 1982). Markwart 1938:44-45 puts Warwaliz in the area of Kunduz, and it seems not unlikely that Warwaliz preserves a name derived from Varnu (cf. Sims-Williams 1997:16-17). This identification has the advantage of placing Varnu at a sufficient distance from Bactra for one or more restocking halts to be necessary. Warwaliz is said to be at two days’ distance from Khulm or four days from Balkh (Le Strange 1966:428; Barthold 1968:67).

3. Rtveladze (1982; 2002:28) proposes to identify Aornos with the ruins of Altyn-diljer-tepe, a large archaeological site about 35 km. north of Balkh, halfway from Balkh to the Oxus. This is again

open to the objection that Varnu would be too close to Bactra, but it might be in the right direction if Document C1 was drawn up when Bessus was on his flight north from Alexander.

4. Kafir Qaleh in the Balkh river basin, apparently south-east of Mazar-i Sharif, is the proposal of Foucher and Bazin-Foucher 1942/7:116, 203. It is perhaps this place which Adamec 1979:285f. refers to under the spelling Kafir Kala as a *kotal* (a mountain pass). On top of a steep hill there is a small plateau, where the remains of an ancient fort exist. The description in Adamec 1979 goes on as follows: “From the edge of the plateau the road leads northeast, making an oblique descent of 600 or 700 yards to a deep ravine, which runs south. At rather less than a mile from the kotal is Chashma Kafir Kala, a spring half choked with vegetation. There is a short ascent followed by a gentle descent to Chashma Maidanak where the road from Shah Anjir by the Mehtar Abil Kotal to Arghail Kotal is entered”. It is interesting to notice here the place called Chashma Maidanak, which could possibly reflect the ancient toponym Maithanaka. The area of Kafir Qaleh stands a chance to fulfil the various requirements for the toponyms involved. A survey of the terrain, possibly combined with a search for further data on recent and mediaeval place names, may help in locating these places more precisely.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of proposals.⁸ It seems at this stage impossible to reach a definitive solution to the topographical puzzles, but Kunduz may be regarded as a very likely identification for the site of Aornos, for topographical as well as for linguistic reasons. It is clear that any future discussion of the problems of the ancient topography of the region will have to take into account the data of the Aramaic documents in the Khalili collection.

DOCUMENT C4: THE 7TH YEAR OF ALEXANDER

The latest dated document in the collection (C4) bears the date of year 7 of Alexander. This is the largest document in size and has the longest text in this collection. It seems to be an extract from a ledger of disbursements covering the months of Sivan, Tammuz and Ab (roughly June-August), although there are considerable lacunae owing to the imperfect state of preservation of the document. The quantities allocated in each month and the officials involved are all carefully noted. At first sight one would assume that this is a document written in stages, recording the allocations as they were made, but in fact it seems rather to be a copy from an original book of records, since there is no variation in handwriting or unevenness in the various entries, as would be the case if the document had been written over a long period. The original document may have been written in one of the localities mentioned in the records and a copy made to be deposited in the central archive in Bactra. For further discussion of the administrative practices in this document see the next chapter.

In so far as the documents in the Khalili collection yield information about the place where they were made, this seems to be compatible with the assumption that they come from a central depository of documents at the seat of the satrap of the land.

PLACE NAMES IN THE KHALILI DOCUMENTS

The places which occur in the Khalili documents are listed below. Some of these place names must be situated in the region governed by Bagavant, and others may be sought somewhere not far away. The size of the area over which Bagavant seems to have authority, and the scattering of Akhvamazda's domains as revealed in these documents, may cause astonishment. The distance of Nikhshapaya, Kish

⁸ Note, for example, that Ahmed 1968 places Aornos in Derbent.

and Kumi from Khulmi is about 300 km. in various directions (mostly to the north), and Akhvamazda is concerned with the management of these localities and of domains in them. We may recall that Arshama, the satrap of Egypt, held domains scattered over an even larger area, in Babylonia, Egypt and along the route between them, in the Fertile Crescent.⁹ Arshama may have been an exceptionally important person in the central government of the Achaemenids, but he was probably not unique. Other prominent people, and especially other satraps, may have similarly used their power and influence, and the service which they could expect to get from the governors under their command, to establish landed possessions over a wide area. Akhvamazda seems to have made full use of the opportunities which were at his disposal as a satrap.

LIST OF PLACE NAMES

ʾmynkn (C4:6, 38), Amainakana (?), perhaps Mīnak (or Mīnk) in Ushrushana, in Sogdiana

ʾpstšny (C8:6)

ʾrtdtnh (A2:3, *6), Artadatana, described as a desert

ʾrtwky (A6:2, 6; C1:49); **ʾrtwk** (A2:2)

ʾrywnt (C4:4), Araivant (?)

ʾsprst (?) (C1:33)

bḥtry (A8:2; C1:3, 51), Bactra (the town) or Bactria (the province), or possibly an adjective referring to one of the two senses

dstkny (A6:1—perhaps meaning “my domain”?)

ḥlmy (A1:4, *13; A2:8; A4:7; A5:*4; A6:3, 12), Khulmi, modern Tashkurgan

kš (A5:4; B9:2: “my house [*or: my domain*] in Kish”), Kiš(š), modern Shahr-i Sabz

kwmy (A3:6), Kumi, mediaeval Kūm

mytnk (C1:2, 51), Maitanaka or Maithanaka, location unidentified

nhšpy (A4:2, 8), Nikhshapaya, perhaps the Greek Xenippa, modern Karshi

whwmty (A6:1, 2, 6)

wrnw (C1:3, 51), Varnu, Greek Aornos

wryn (C4:35, 36, 37, 42), Varaina

[z]rtn (A9:3); **zrtny** (C4:22)

zrtngrškn (C9:7)

zrympy byrt⁹ (A8:3), possibly an error for ***zryspy**, Greek Zariaspa

Possibly not in the close vicinity of the region in which the Khalili documents were written is **kptwk** (C6:2; C7:2), which seems to refer to Cappadocia as the country of origin of certain goods. In addition we have several adjectives derived from toponyms, some of which relate certain products to regions from which they were presumably imported, e.g. **hrḥwny**, which may refer to Arachosia, and **šstk**, which may refer to Chisht in the region of Herat.

4. Administrative practices and terminology; Holders of office and their correspondence

The documents published here present a fascinating and at the same time puzzling picture of Achaemenian administrative practices in the period shortly before and after the Macedonian conquest of Bactria. The documents probably belong to the archive of the satrap of Bactria, whose seat was, it may

⁹ Cf. Porten 1968:54.

be assumed, in Bactra. A fairly large group contains letters addressed to Bagavant, a governor (**pht'**)¹⁰ residing in Khulmi, as well as some notes which have to do with his economic activities. Bagavant was active in the reign of Artaxerxes III. He administered property belonging to Akhvamazda, who seems to have been the satrap of Bactria. The letters contain instructions which Bagavant is expected to fulfil, and he is sometimes reprimanded in sharp terms for not carrying out the orders sent to him by Akhvamazda.

Akhvamazda, for his part, has a network of officials depending on him and residing in the area governed by Bagavant. These officials keep him informed of the way his domains are run. They are evidently expected to tell him of any failure on the part of Bagavant to carry out instructions issued by Akhvamazda. All of this is perfectly in keeping with other information about the working of the Achaemenian administration.¹¹ On the function of spies in the Achaemenian administration, who may usually have been employed for gathering political information, we have some indirect and rather vague knowledge from the Greek and Aramaic sources. They sometimes seem to be called “eyes” or “ears” of the king in Greek, “listeners”, or perhaps rather “eavesdroppers”, in Aramaic.¹² Whether such informers were distributed over the various levels of government, some serving the Great King and others the satrap, is not clear. It is also far from clear whether such people had it as their main function to gather information and transmit it to the authorities. It would rather seem from the documents at hand that subordinate officials felt duty bound to report infringements of orders or other improper deeds of their colleagues to the satrap or the king. In many cases such denunciations may have served the personal interests of the informers.¹³ While the evidence of our documents cannot substantiate the existence of a network of regular informers, it does indicate that reporting to the satrap may have been a frequent phenomenon, encouraged by the authorities, and one may take it that it was also a common practice to write denunciations to the King.

The custom of indicating the name of the scribe in an official letter is a feature of the Khalili documents, just as it is of the Arshama letters. The sequence of scribes in the Bagavant letters, in so far as they are known, is as follows: Hashavakhshu (A1), Daizaka (A2, A4, A7), Nurafratara (A5, A6). In some cases, the name of a person entrusted with the execution of the commands expressed in the letter is also given, again as in the Arshama letters. In the Arshama letters, e.g. Driver No. 8, Artavahya is the one in charge of the command (the Aramaic expression is **yd' t'm' znh** “is cognizant of this order”) and Rashta is the scribe. In our letters the scribe is generally also the person entrusted with the supervision over the execution of the order. Compare for example Document A4, where Daizaka is both the scribe and the one who “knows the order”, or Documents A5, A6, where Nurafratara is designated in both functions. Only in one of our letters is there a separation between the scribe and the “master” of the

¹⁰ For this Achaemenian title cf. the comments by Kraeling 1953:35.

¹¹ For example, a letter of denunciation sent to King Artaxerxes (I or II) by officials in Samaria concerning the building of Jerusalem is contained in Ezra 4:8-16. Cowley 1923, No. 27 (*TADAE* A4.5; cf. also Porten 1996:136), may be regarded as another example: this is a letter of petition which also contains a denunciation of other people, the perpetrators of a supposed misdeed.

¹² The function of informers or denunciators is expressed by the title which is preserved in the Aramaic plural form, **gwšky'** (Cowley 1923, No. 27:9). On the Aramaic expression in connection with the Greek title “the king’s ears” (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8,ii,10ff.) cf. Schaefer 1934:5; Lommel 1953:326-327; Pagliaro 1954:139; Benveniste 1964:9-11; Perikhanian 1968:29-30 (on Armenian *gušak*); Hinz 1973:98-101; 1975:105-106; Shaked 1982:301-303. The data relating to this problem is discussed in Porten 1968:50-51. For the term **wšy mlk'** in Aramaic cf. Shaked 1995:278-279.

¹³ Hirsch (1985:101-139) thoroughly examines the evidence and comes to a negative conclusion concerning the assumption of an Achaemenian post or office designated by the title “the eye of the king”, or indeed concerning the very existence of an intelligence service in the ancient world. A discussion in a similar vein is to be found in Briant 1996:355-356. The most recent detailed discussion of the problem is by Shahbazi (1996/7), who tends to accept the historical reality of the function.

order: document A2 seems to designate Daizaka as the scribe and Athfiya as the “master of the order” (*be^cel te^cem*).¹⁴ The last point is however uncertain. The name Athfiya is written above the line, and it is possible, though unlikely, that he also shares the function of scribe together with Daizaka. In any case, it may be taken that the one who “knows this order (*yd^c t^cm^c znh*)” has a specific responsibility for its execution. The two expressions, “X knows this order” and “X is master of the order (*b^cl t^cm*)” may have served a similar function, though the latter looks like a title of office rather than an *ad hoc* commission.¹⁵ A different interpretation of the term *b^cl t^cm* was given by Cowley (1923:97); he suggested that it refers to someone who “drew (the document) up for approval by Arsames” before it was copied by a clerk. The letter Cowley 1923, No. 26, seems to provide some indication that this is not the case. In line 23 of that letter ‘Anani the scribe is said to be “master of the command”, while Nabu‘aqab is said to be the one who wrote the document. In what can be read of the address lines below (lines 27-28) only Nabu‘aqab the scribe is mentioned alongside Arshama (as well as, most likely, the recipient of the letter). If the scribe who “wrote” the document was merely a person writing by dictation, it is not likely that he would be mentioned while the person responsible for its redaction was ignored in the address section. (It must, however, be noted that the end of line 27, where ‘Anani’s name could have been mentioned, is lost.) The name in the address lines is surely meant for easily locating the document when folded, and only names relevant for the identification of the document in an archive may have qualified to be written in this section of the letter; this would not be the case if the scribe was no more than a copyist. It thus seems likely that the writer of the document is also responsible for its redaction. The “master of the command” is most likely a higher authority, but his name may not have been considered essential for identifying the document when folded. It is noteworthy that letter No. 26 in Cowley (1923) is the only case where the name of an official other than that of the author and the addressee is given in the address lines. Further material is certainly needed before the precise significance of these expressions can be determined.

Not all the instructions given to Bagavant are clear to us. One straightforward order that he receives is to build a wall and ditch around the town of Nakhshapaya.¹⁶ This place can be identified as the mediaeval Nakhshab or Nasaf (modern Karshi), which is on the other side of the Oxus and at a distance of some 300 kms. from Khulmi, where Bagavant resides. Because of this considerable distance, Frantz Grenet—who possesses detailed knowledge of the terrain as well as an excellent command of the sources and to whom we are indebted for several helpful suggestions—would prefer to look for *nḥšpy* on the left bank of the Oxus, in the general area of Balkh-Tashkurgan. However, in view of the practical identity of name and in the absence of a positive identification of the site of *nḥšpy* elsewhere, we are reluctant to abandon the identification with Nakhshab. It transpires from the correspondence (cf. A4, dated to the year 11 of Artaxerxes [III]) that the order cannot be carried out immediately. The letter was written on the third of the month of Sivan, which corresponds to 21 June 348 BCE. According to Bagavant’s report the troops who are required to build the defences complain that there is a plague of locust in the fields. They need time to harvest the crops, for otherwise the area is in danger of devastation. Bagavant asks and obtains permission from Akhvamazda to postpone the

¹⁴ A similar situation is in Ezra 4:8, 9, 17. The letter of complaint discussed there was written by “Rehum *b^cl t^cm* and Šimšay *spr*”. It seems from the biblical text that *b^cl t^cm* is a fixed title, just like *spr*, “scribe”.

¹⁵ See also the preceding note. For a discussion of this terminology cf. Driver 1957:18; Porten 1968:55-56; Kutscher 1954.

¹⁶ This transcription of the town’s name is based on the assumption that it is derived from **nīxša-pāya-*, for which see the commentary to A4:2. Sims-Williams *apud* Grenet 2002:210 n. 40 suggests that Xenippa, the name of Nakhshab in the Greek sources, might be a corruption of **Nexippa*, which is close enough to the *nḥšpy* of our documents.

building operation. In another letter (A5, which is undated), an instruction is repeated to build a defence wall for another locality, Kish (nowadays Shahr-i Sabz), some 100 km. north-east of Nikhshapaya and some 300 km. to the north of Khulmi. The letter containing the original order to build the wall is not preserved, nor the correspondence which must have given permission for a delay. In this case we do not know the reason for the delay, but it could well involve a problem similar to that which occurred in the case of Nikhshapaya.

The walls built around the northern towns of Nikhshapaya and Kish were no doubt meant to fortify them as part of the defence of the frontier. Nikhshapaya may have been a stronghold on the border of the empire. The local garrison of troops seem to have held plots of land as part of their remuneration, and in time of hardship, such as when locust swarms menaced the crops, they felt that they had to attend to their fields first. The danger to the harvest is ultimately not only the personal concern of the troops but also that of the government, for it cannot afford to leave the area without enough grain to feed the population.

Apart from such instructions which seem to belong by right to the duties of a provincial governor, some of the letters from Akhvamazda contain demands which have the appearance of serving the personal interests of the satrap. Thus Bagavant is required (in Document A6) to repair the roofs of certain old buildings belonging to Akhvamazda and to deliver to the latter's granary "the corn and the sesame, for sowing as seed" which he is bound to pay into the granary of the satrap. It is of course possible that these properties are state owned, but the wording of the instructions suggests that they belong to Akhvamazda personally. The news of Bagavant's failure to carry out these instructions was transmitted to Akhvamazda by his officer Vahya-atar, who was evidently expected to act as informer about Bagavant's activities.

Much more obscure is the situation underlying A2, dated to year 8 of Artaxerxes. From this document, as well as from A1, it is clear that Bagavant, who normally resides in Khulmi, often visits the court of Akhvamazda, which may be assumed to be in Bactra. Bagavant is required to take out, i.e. presumably to disburse and apportion, vinegar from the house of Akhvamazda.¹⁷ Some of the assignment should be carried out with the assistance of troops under Bagavant's command, troops "who go to the towns" or "to the market towns". According to the latter interpretation they could act as market inspectors. The chief lieutenant of Bagavant should however go with the other troops to the house of Akhvamazda to take the provisions from there.

A1, dated to the year 6 of Artaxerxes, deals with a complaint made against Bagavant. The substance of the complaint is that Bagavant unnecessarily detained and imposed improper taxes on certain camel-keepers in the service¹⁸ of the claimant, a certain Vahuvakhshu son of Chithrabarzana.¹⁹ Although these camel-keepers are employed by Vahuvakhshu, the implication is that they are in charge of keeping the camels of the king; in this context the term "king" may mean the satrap. Akhvamazda decides in favour of the claimant, and orders Bagavant to give back what has been taken from them, to release them from bondage, and not to impose on them taxes which they are not bound to pay. Bagavant is said to have been at the place of Akhvamazda, namely in Bactra, if our reconstruction is correct. He may have come

¹⁷ An alternative interpretation of the situation is that he is required to clear the house of Akhvamazda of sand, perhaps caused by a desert storm or the like. The Aramaic words for "vinegar" and "sand" may have been pronounced differently, but they have the same consonantal spelling **hḏ**.

¹⁸ These are described as the **hnškrṭ** of the claimant; if the etymology suggested for this word is correct, the term denotes something like "apprentices, young servants" or the like.

¹⁹ It is unusual for people to be mentioned by their patronyms in these documents. Another case is **whšw'bdṭ br ḥštrkn** in C4:41. The exception made in these cases may be due to the necessity to distinguish between two bearers of the same name.

there from Khulmi for the summons issued in connection with the present complaint. He is said to have left before the decision was given and to have gone back to his home in Khulmi.

One of the letters (A2) reveals some confusion apparently caused by conflicting successive instructions given by Akhvamazda to Bagavant. Bagavant received one instruction (**hndrz'**) when he returned from a visit to Akhvamazda, presumably in the town of Bactra. Afterwards a messenger was sent from Akhvamazda with other instructions, but the text of the letter is quite badly damaged and it is difficult to reconstruct the missing portions of the text.

5. Disbursement of goods and products

Several of the documents seem to deal with the distribution of goods and products to various officials, including their servants and other people in their employ. The terminology here is not always clear, and it is difficult to get a precise sense of the purpose of these disbursements.

C4 is a document which records a set of elaborate disbursement transactions from an administrative court to a group of officials. It refers to dealings over a space of three months: Sivan (starting with the 15th of the month), Tammuz and Ab, roughly corresponding to June to August, in the seventh year of Alexander, which, by the Babylonian reckoning, is equivalent to 324 BCE. It concerns the issue of products (**'zgm** or **npqt**²⁰) made in two centres, Araivant and Varaina, under the jurisdiction of two officials, respectively Vakhshudata, **ywbr** in Araivant, and Vishtaspa, **ywbr** in Varaina. The title of these two officials, Old Iranian **yava-bara-*, indicates a person in charge of bringing or supplying barley. In both cases a series of other officials are involved, with functions which are hard for us to determine. Nafabarzana, an official who acts in both centres, is said to have performed an action which is expressed by the verb **nmyt**, and afterwards another action designated by the verb **nšp**.²¹ The first verb may designate something like “to assess, estimate”; the second possibly means “to distribute”.

A third official, who carries the title *upadīta*, perhaps “supervisor”, is also mentioned. In Araivant the official with the title *upadīta* is Atarvaza, in Varaina it is Ahuradata. The action performed by this third official is designated by the verb **gbh**. We assume that this verb, which in Aramaic and Hebrew generally refers to the levying of taxes, that is to say the collection of payments on behalf of the treasury or some other public fund, means here something like “to pay out, disburse (from a public warehouse or treasury)”. For further discussion see the commentary to C4:6.

The official who performs the action of **gbh**, which we translate by “collect”, seems to hold a lower rank in the hierarchy than those who perform the two other actions, viz. **nmyt** and **nšp**. In Araivant the function of collection (expressed by **gbh**) is fulfilled by Atarvaza the supervisor (C4:5-6, 8) and by Danga the ration-provider (C4:10, 25). In Varaina it is only performed by Ahuradata the supervisor (C4:37, 39, 44-45, 48). In addition to these, we know of **'mwdt** the supervisor in **zrtny**, who “collected” barley (C4:22-23), but it is not clear whether **zrtny** is a third centre of distribution, or whether it forms part of the distribution centre in Araivant mentioned earlier.

In most cases **gbh** is followed by the preposition **l** or **l-** “to”. This preposition normally introduces in C4 a group of workers or an abstract concept, such as **'pyt**, which perhaps has a rather general

²⁰ In C2:1 we again see the correspondence between **'zgm** and the Aramaic verb **NPQ**.

²¹ In the second instance, in Varaina (C4:37), the verb is given in the plural form, **nšpw**; it is possible that another person is involved, if **prtm** is not an adverb but a title, but there are a number of cases in which singular and plural forms are confused; cf. below, Chapter 15 of the Introduction. **nšp** seems to correspond in function to the verb **hlq** “to distribute”, in C1:34.

meaning such as “that which is necessary”.²² As **pyt** is a rather vague designation, it is followed in two cases by the descriptive phrase **zy ybl** **l** **mykn** “which he conveyed to Amainakana” (C4:6, 38). In C4:46 the phrase is: **hrdt gbh** **l** **zr** “Ahuradata collected [10 *griv* of millet] for sowing”. For this phrase one may compare the Aramaic ostrakon of Tell Far‘ah, the reading and interpretation of which were corrected in Naveh 1985:115. The text there reads **lzt** **bhl** **qrbt** **š k 3 b** **hrt** [*or: b* **hdt**] **k 35** “For sowing in the near field, 3 *kor* of barley; in the other field (*or: in the property*), 35 *kor*”.

We encounter a number of cases of the transfer of goods to groups of people designated by the kind of work they perform. Thus, **lwzn**, literally “for the geese”, should evidently be understood “for the people taking care of the geese” (C4:1a, 40). A similar designation of a group of people is **lrytky** “for the servant-boys” (C4:24; 27²³), a group which is sometimes qualified by further terms, e.g. **hstrknt w** **sngšn** (C4:13, 27).

In two instances, the direction of the transfer is designated by the expression **l** **ywdh**, which perhaps means (C4:8, 39) “for a gift of barley”. It is not clear whether this is a personal name or some function of office. This allocation is carried to **wrswrzn** in its first occurrence. At its second occurrence the end of the phrase is illegible.

In some cases the phrase which contains **gbh** seems to be replaced by another phrase, where the name of the distributing official is not mentioned, and instead the recipients are mentioned with the verb **lqh**. This is the case with C4:18: **wzy** **lymn w** **mht dmydtknn ptp** **lqh** **[w]** “And that which the (male) slaves and the slave-girls, livestock (?) attendants, received as a ration”. This would convey the same meaning as: “So-and-so collected (**gbh**) for (**l**) the (male) slaves etc.” In other cases the verb is implied rather than explicit. Thus, in C4:27-28: **wzy** **rytky** **hstrknt w** **sngšn ptp** **yrh** **[tm]wz** “And that which the servant-boys, **hstrknt** and **sngšn**, (received as) ration for the month of [Tamm]uz”.

In one other case the verb used is the passive of YHB “to give”, which perhaps has the same functional meaning as **gbh** with reference to the disbursement of food products: **l** **why** **trw yhyb zy whšwbn** **dk h** **lq** / **lptpk** **<n>y** ... / **wzy** **hšdt** **wrsykn gbh** **l** **rtwky** “To Vahya-atar was given that which Vakhshubandaka distributed to the ration-providers: [*quantities of flour specified*], and that which Khvachadata Avarshayakana collected for Artuki: [*quantities of flour specified*]” (C1:46-50). It is possible that the function of the verb **HLQ** “to distribute” is somewhat more precise than that of YHB, namely “to hand over for distribution”.

6. Functions and titles of office

One can compile a list of the various functions and titles occurring in these texts, although in several cases it is impossible to determine the exact significance of the terminology used.

The satrap, not mentioned by this title, is probably Akhvamazda, who is the author of the letters A1-A6 and possibly also of A7-A8.

The governor, called **pht**, whose residence is in Khulmi, is Bagavant. Bagavant is under the authority of the satrap Akhvamazda. People send complaints about him to Akhvamazda, and he is interrogated by the satrap for alleged wrong-doing (A1:3-4). Occasionally he is said to disobey orders of the satrap (A1:6).

²² The phrase **gbh** **l** **pyt** “he collected for the necessities” occurs in C4:6, 38 (partly reconstructed), 44-45; the same phrase can be restored in C4:23, and it may underlie the phrase in C4:48-49.

²³ In this passage **lrytky** does not occur in connection with the verb **gbh**, but certainly in the same function. The same observation is perhaps also valid in C4:42. One may add a reference to C4:11, where the word **lrytky** may be restored.

The governor Bagavant is certainly careful to get prior approval from his superior when he cannot carry out his orders. Thus, in A4, he tells of circumstances which stand in the way of carrying out an instruction received from Akhvamazda, and asks permission for a delay in executing Akhvamazda's instructions. The problem arises from the fact that the governor has been ordered to build a wall and a ditch around the town of Nikhshapaya, but the military people, one of them being Spaita, accompanied by "the magistrates" (or by a man called Dainaya?), tell him of the problem caused by locusts in the fields. If they are to be busy with the wall and the ditch, the locust may cause great damage. Akhvamazda, who quotes Bagavant's letter, approves a delay in the work until the locust problem has been solved and the crop harvested. In A5, which deals with a similar situation, a renewed instruction is sent to Bagavant to carry out a previous order for building a wall in Kish. Besides Bagavant two other officials are mentioned in A5, Vakhshuvahishta and Azdayapa, who are perhaps the local agents in Kish.

Next to the governor certain other names or titles are mentioned. **dyny**⁷, which occurs in A1:1, is an emphatic plural form referring to "judges" who work with the governor. The documents found in Egypt, as well as the letter quoted in Ezra 4:9, abound in references to judges in the plural. A detailed survey of the functions of the judges and the references to them in the documents found in Egypt is in Porten 1968:47-49; cf. also Greenfield 1990:90. The fact that the letter is addressed: **l bgwnt wdyny**⁷ (A1:13) looks like another attestation of this collective function of judges in the Achaemenian government. It may be noted that the designation **wknwth** "his colleagues", which usually accompanies the reference to the judges, is absent in this case; this fact has caused us to hesitate in recognizing the same function here as in the other documents. This absence can however be explained by suggesting that it may not have been appropriate to refer to the judges in the court of Bagavant, a governor, as his colleagues.

Another associate of Bagavant is Ahuradata, who is designated as his *frataraka* (A1:8). The governor, together with Ahuradata and **dyny**⁷ (whether a personal name or the collective "judges"), have the power to confiscate or take away property, to impose taxes, and to detain people. The object of the complaint in A1 is that they exercised their power in an improper way.

Fairly highly-placed officials in the employ of the governor are mentioned by name and sometimes also by function in the long document of disbursement C4. One of these functions is that of "yavabara (supplier of barley) in Araivant", fulfilled by Vakhshudata (C4:2-3, 20, 59). The counterpart of this person is the "supplier of barley in Varaina", Vishtaspa (C4:35). Another title is *upadāta* (supervisor). This function is fulfilled in Araivant by Atarvaza (C4:5), in Varaina by Ahuradata (C4:37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 48), and in Zartani by Amavadata (C4:22). Danga is *piθvakāna* (ration provider) in Araivant. It seems that *fratama*, which could be a title of office, is not used in this sense in C4:37, but the text is ambiguous.

Certain people, mentioned by name, complain to the satrap concerning Bagavant. One of them is Vahuvakhshu son of Chithrabarzana (A1:1). The function of such a person is perhaps simply that of informer, but it is more likely that he was an administrator with a specific function of his own, although it is impossible to determine what office he fulfilled. Vahuvakhshu son of Chithrabarzana had servants, to whom he refers by the term **hnškrt**; the servants are in this particular context **štrpny**⁷, camel keepers.

Most official letters contain the name of the scribe, *sāfrā*, and the name of a person who "knows this order" (the order contained in the letter), i.e. the person who is responsible for following it up. In most letters, including A1, one person is designated both as the scribe and as the one who "knows this

order”. The only exception to this rule in the Khalili documents is A2, where two separate persons are designated as the scribe and the “master of the order” respectively.²⁴

Another person involved with the dispatch of letters is the person who is ordered: “Bring this letter!” (**hyty** **grt** **z**); the verb seems to be in the imperative). It is not clear why in all cases (A1:14; A2:9; A3:6; A4:8; also perhaps A8:6) no name is given for the carrier of the letter, and if no name is given, what is the purpose of the phrase “Bring this letter”.

A group of officials called by the Persian title *sarakara* or *sarakāra* (in the Aramaic plural, **srkrn**), literally “chiefs, superintendents”, gets an allocation of wine (C3:40-41). Another person or group, called *sraušya* (**srwšy**), a term which may be presumed to refer to persons concerned with the meting out of punishment, receives the small amount of 1 *ḥufn* of wine (C3:41). The scribe Ahuradata gets 1 **g**, presumably *gun*, and, in the same document, Bagaicha, whose function is not specified, gets 4 *se’a* (C3:41-43).

In C3:21, 22 **lymn** and **gmln** are mentioned. These are two groups of servants: the first one designates generally “servants”, and the second one refers to those who take care of camels. Literally **lgmln** means “for the camels”, but the camel keepers are meant. Similarly, **wzn** (C4:1a, 40) designates not “geese” but those who look after the geese.

Servants in general are designated by the term **rytky** (C4:11, 13—restored in both cases; also, fully preserved, 24, 27, 42) or **lymn** (masculine) and **mh<** (feminine) (C4:18, where both terms come side by side; **lymn** by itself comes in C3:21). Personal names do not occur with such collective designations, but they are sometimes accompanied by more precise definitions of functions. The meaning of these is not always clear to us: **ḥštrknt w’sngšn** (C4:13, 27, perhaps for females and males respectively, but the sense is obscure); **dmdtknn** (C4:18, probably livestock attendants).

7. Types of military persons

We have references to groups of soldiers designated by their ethnic or regional affiliation. Such a designation occurs in A2:5, written above the line: **krthrn whrkyn**. The first word cannot be identified, but the second may perhaps represent *Haraivaka-, an adjectival form derived from the Old Persian name of the province Haraiva, Greek Aria, later Herat (cf. Bartholomae 1904:1787; Kent 1953:213; Lecoq 1997:139). We might have expected, however, that the Aramaic plural form would be spelled ***hrywkn**.

These two ethnic groups of soldiers are also qualified as **zly mhzt** “those who go to the towns”, an obscure phrase. For a discussion of the semantics of **mhzt** cf. Kutscher 1970:5-18; Kaufman 1974:68 (where further bibliography is given). If it is to be taken literally here, as “port town, harbour” or “market town”, the soldiers who “go to the towns” may be those in charge of keeping the public order in the markets or those who guard frontier towns. What they are expected to do in the letter A2 is however connected with the issuing of vinegar (or the clearing of sand) from the domain of Akhvamazda.

One group of soldiers are called in the same context **k[r]tnk** (A2:6), which, if the etymological reconstruction **kāra-tanu-ka-* is correct, may be interpreted as “body-guard” (but cf. comments to the text).

²⁴ A fuller discussion of this point will be found in Chapter 4 above.

8. Taxation practice and terminology

Two taxation terms occurring in the Khalili documents are known already from other sources. **hlk'** (A1:2, [12], 14) is well attested in Aramaic as a term for a tax, usually designating a land tax, but it is not certain that this is the sense it has in Document A1. The term occurs in the Biblical text of Ezra (4:13, 20; 7:24) in the combination *mindā*, *bālō*, and *hālāk*, referring to three types of tax. In one of the Arshama letters it occurs specifically for a land tax (cf. Driver 1957, No. 8:5).

The Aramaic word is also attested at a later period under the forms **krḡ'**, **kr'g'**, **'krḡ'** in the Babylonian Talmud (cf. Sokoloff 2000:599) and was borrowed from Aramaic into Middle Persian under the form *harāγ* and into Arabic under the form *kharāj* (cf. Henning 1935).

The derivation of the Aramaic word has been the subject of some discussion. Henning (1935) takes up a suggestion made earlier by Schrader to connect it to Akkadian *ilku*, and explains the different vocalization of the Aramaic as against the Akkadian form by assuming that the Aramaic does not represent a direct borrowing from Akkadian but a new formation on the basis of the root HLK with a different pattern. In a later publication (1958:41 and n. 4), Henning discusses several other Iranian forms, including Middle Persian *harg*, Armenian *hark*,²⁵ which he derives from the same Akkadian source, suggesting that the word was borrowed in different roundabout ways and entered Iranian under two distinct forms. A different view is expressed in the notes to Driver 1957, No. 8:5 (Driver 1957:70), where it is suggested that **hlk'** is derived not from Akkadian *ilku(m)*, but from *alāku(m)* “to go, go on, perform feudal service”. The derivation from *ilku* is however maintained by Kaufman (1974:58).

Mindā, known from the Book of Ezra (cf. above), occurs also in the Khalili documents under the form **mndt mlk'** (A8:2). It may be derived from Akkadian *maddattu* (Kaufman 1974:67). In the Arshama letters it seems mostly to be used for the rent on landed domains (Driver 1957, Nos. 10 and 11). Other possible meanings are listed in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:656. It seems likely that in the fragmentary letter A8 the term **mndt mlk'** refers to rent which has to be paid on domains belonging to the king or satrap. The latter seems to be called *malkā* in these documents; cf. A1:3, where the “camels of the king” may well be camels of the satrap. In A8:3 it is said that a payment, in all likelihood the *mindā*, should be brought to the writer, quite possibly Akhvamazda, at the fortress **zrympy** (perhaps an error for Zariaspa).

A new term, which has not yet been encountered elsewhere, is **nhmrnyt'** (A1:9, 11). The context suggests that this word designates an additional or excessive, perhaps unlawful, payment demanded by the authorities. In both occurrences of the word the complete phrase is: **nhmrnyt' ytyr ... kzy** with the verb YHT, giving the sense of “excessive (payment), more than ...”. There is no convincing etymology for this word, but cf. commentary to A1:9.

9. Economic activities

Some of the documents in the Khalili collection concern activities in the economic sphere:

A9 is a note testifying that Bagavant received certain herbs or drugs (**smyn**) from his wife.

A10 is a note which states that Bagavant is a guarantor for Dathushafarnah.

B3 seems to deal with the sale of land and a house, although the precise situation is not clear.

B4 deals with some kind of trade in donkeys or with administrative exchanges involving donkeys.

²⁵ To which may be added Bactrian *uōpyo* “rent (for land), hire (of a workman)”, Sims-Williams 2000:228.

A “letter” sent “in exchange for” donkeys may refer to a written receipt for donkeys.

B5 deals with the payment of indemnity, but the details are not clear.

C5 is a document which registers rations to Vahyasaya and perhaps other people for a specified number of days, perhaps the number of days they have to spend on a journey. This suggestion is made plausible by the phrase C5:7-9, which informs the recipient that certain people “found their ration on the roads and [put it] in a basket”. It is not certain whether this is an activity which should be denounced or one that should be emulated, although the former possibility is more plausible.

THE TALLIES

The tallies in the Khalili collection, D1-D18, testify to a form of bookkeeping which was quite widespread in antiquity, but of which not many examples have survived. The tallies are short wooden sticks cut in two so as to form two half-sticks with a flat (interior) surface and a convex (outer) surface, from which the bark of the tree is usually cleaned. An inscription was written on the flat surface of the stick, sometimes continuing on the convex surface. The inscription on these tallies is uniform in style. The standard formula is: “With PN₁ from PN₂. In the year 3 of King Darius”. Only on two occasions (D1, D2) are there further elements added to this formula, and only in one case (D18) does the formula lack the date and the indication “from PN₂”.

All the tallies (except D18, which is undated) are dated to the reign of Darius, evidently, given the context of the Khalili collection and the palaeography, Darius III (336-330 BCE). On this king, and especially on his image in subsequent literature, see Briant 2003. A succinct summary of the documents dated to his reign can be found there on p. 63.

There are no further verbal indications as to the nature of the goods involved in these operations, and it may be taken that these belong to a standard type of commodity, perhaps flour, so that no specification was necessary. The quantities are not mentioned in writing but appear to be indicated by a series of notches in the long edges of the tallies. The notches vary both in number and in breadth: some of them are angular in shape, some are broad and deep, while others are fine incisions. These three types of notches must have denoted different measures. The notches are quite numerous on some of the tallies, and sometimes they are placed on both edges of the tally. They could have been made on different occasions when allocations were made and have been added to within the same year according to need.

It appears that these tallies were a way of keeping accounts. The supplier and the receiver each held one of the two matching halves of the stem which had been cut in two. The inscription indicated, besides the year to which the tally belongs, the name of the receiver (preceded by the preposition “with”, implying that he is the one who has the commodity) and the name of the supplier (preceded by the preposition “from”). The notches were made, one may take it, on both halves held together, so that each of the parties to this transaction held a record that was identical to the one held by the other. In case of dispute the two halves could be matched and any discrepancy would be evident.

The preposition “with” preceding the first personal name may be explained from the Aramaic terminology of loans. The debtor typically declares: ‘**my ’nh PN ksp zwzyn** ... “With me, I, PN, there are [*so many*] zuz of silver”, which means: “I have [*so many*] zuz of silver in debt”.²⁶

Such a system of keeping accounts between two partners for a loan or a deposit is quite well-known in antiquity and was indeed used up to modern times. In mediaeval Europe money lending, tax gathering and, until the nineteenth century, buying on credit, were often recorded by means of tallies.²⁷

²⁶ A more detailed discussion and references can be found in Naveh and Shaked 2003.

²⁷ Cf. *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Fowler *et al.* 1949:1249) for a definition of the term “tally”.

Examples of tallies used in England are kept in the British Museum²⁸ and in the Jewish Museum in London (Barnett 1974: Nos. 633 and 633a, pl. CLXVIII),²⁹ and probably in several other collections. For antiquity we have an allusion to this practice in the Book of Tobit 5:3 (Long version),³⁰ where Tobit says to his son Tobias that he placed a deposit with Gabael in Rages and enjoins him to go and claim it back. He describes the registration of the deposit in the following terms: “He gave me his handwriting, and I gave him my handwriting. And I divided it in two, and each one of us took a part, and then I put (it) with the money <in the bags with the seals>. And now, see, it is twenty years since I left this money in trust. Well now, my boy, seek out for yourself a trustworthy man who will go with you. We shall give wages when you come back. Then take this money from him”. The phrase in angular brackets is inserted following the wording of Tobit 9:5, where it is described how the “bags with their seals” were given to Raphael, to be returned to Tobias. The handwriting mentioned in this text refers presumably to the signed tally which was divided in two.

For our inscribed tallies from Bactria, it is possible to suggest the following scenario: The person whose name follows the preposition “with” was indebted for the payment that he got (probably in provisions); his creditor is the person whose name comes after “from”, and who provided certain items the quantity of which is indicated by the number of the incisions. The indebtedness may in this case consist of rations allotted to workers or soldiers by the treasury. Since there are only three providers in this collection, and about fifteen recipients, it seems likely that the tallies reflect a situation in which three government clerks issued goods to workers or soldiers on account of their wages. These 18 tallies were kept in the government office, but each worker or soldier presumably held the other half of the wooden stick. If additional payments were made, the two halves might have been fitted together, and further notches were incised on the edge of the stick. The half stick held by the receiver of rations could be used for checking the registration kept by the authorities, and both halves may have been left in the hands of the receiver when the full amount had been disbursed.

Another recent find of sticks used as tallies also comes from Afghanistan, but belongs to a much later period. These are pieces written in Bactrian, the Middle Iranian language of Bactria, written in the Greek alphabet. According to N. Sims-Williams, the Bactrian documents of this find seem to be generally datable to the fifth century CE. They have roughly the same appearance as the Aramaic documents, and are described by their editor, Nicholas Sims-Williams, in the following terms:

A series of 29³¹ wooden slips, each consisting of a stick split lengthwise and inscribed with up to three lines of text. The primary text is always inscribed on the flat inner surface, in principle in one line, occasionally with a small addition below at the end. The convex side is often blank; sometimes part of it is whittled flat, especially if this surface is inscribed. ... Several notches are usually cut above or below the text (or both), perhaps as an indication of the number of items or measures supplied. Many sticks³² are broken in half, so that only one end survives. In some cases the break seems to be deliberate, being partly cut with a knife. In the cases of am 5+6 and am 14+15 the two halves can be joined (although the breaks seem to be old).³³

²⁸ Seen on display (in September 2002) in the Department of Coins and Medals, Room 68.

²⁹ Ruth Jacoby is to be thanked for the last reference.

³⁰ We owe this reference to Professor Menahem Kister.

³¹ The number now reaches 37, as we learn from Professor Sims-Williams.

³² Sticks cut into halves lengthwise are meant [JN & SS].

³³ Sims-Williams 2000:22.

There are a number of wooden slips also among the Sogdian documents from Mt. Mug, datable roughly to the eighth century CE (cf. Freiman 1934: 47ff.). The formula occurring on one of these wooden slips (Document B4, written on both sides of the stick) is the following: “(In) the month ... on the day ... I, *PN*₁, received ... from the commander *PN*₂ for (the village) *XX*”.³⁴ The Sogdian scribes registered all the details of the transaction on the surface of the slip, thus turning what used to be a tally into a regular document recording receipt. Texts of the same type written on leather are also found among the Sogdian documents from Mt. Mug.³⁵

The practice of using wooden sticks cut in half as records of indebtedness brings to mind the Aramaic and Hebrew terms **tbr** / **šwbr**, literally “break”, which are used for documents of loan and indicate “receipt”. Both the Aramaic and the Hebrew terms are used in the rabbinical sources (e.g., Babylonian Talmud, Baba Bathra 173a, 171a), and they seem to correspond in usage to terms meaning literally “a knot” in Aramaic and Hebrew (**qtr** / **qšr** respectively). It may be suggested that the use of a wooden stick cut in two, as attested in our tallies, may lie behind the terminology quoted: the half held by the creditor was given back and served as a receipt when the debt or the deposit was returned.³⁶

10. Goods and commodities

Various goods and commodities supplied and possessed are mentioned in the Khalili documents. The following list, arranged by broad categories, in so far as the vocabulary is clear to us, may give an idea of the economic and administrative activity involved with these commodities. Obviously the quantities are important, especially the ratio of quantities to the people and the time during which they are meant to be consumed, but for this the documents do not supply the data. In general one may note that the higher officials receive a better kind of grain, while servants get low-grade grain. The servants usually receive millet (C4:13-14, 18-21, 24-26, 27-29, but barley in C4:42-43), while for other categories of persons, or for other needs, barley is usually allotted (C4:8-9, 22-23, 37-38, 40, 44-45, 48-49; in C4:45-46, 50 perhaps millet). When flour is disbursed to a group of people, there is a rising scale of quantities: finest flour (**smyd**) is disbursed in much smaller quantities than fine flour (**hwry**, “white”), and the largest amounts by far are of ordinary flour (**dmy**, **damya*-), cf. C1:14-16, 47-48. In C1:34-35, the quantities distributed to the inhabitants of Asparasta contain equal amounts of “white” flour and “ordinary” flour, in both cases 7½ *ardab*. The flour allocated for ritual purposes consists in C1 only of “white” flour; cf. C1:38, 41, 42, 44.

Quadrupeds at pasture (**šrk**) are listed in larger quantities than those under shelter (**syt**; cf. C1:5-11).

QUADRUPEDS

Cattle:

mrn “lambs” (C1:10)

gl “calf” (C1:6)

qn “sheep” (C1:9); **qn**, divided into **syt** and **šrk** (C1:9, 11); **qn** (C5:4, 6)

³⁴ Based on Bogoljubov and Smirnova 1963a:65; 1963b:124, with some details omitted. An illustration of B4 is in Freiman 1934:47; Bogoljubov *et al.* 1963b:123. Similar to this text is Doc. B21 (Bogoljubov *et al.* 1963b:126), where some of the elements of the same formula occur.

³⁵ For examples see Bogoljubov *et al.* 1963b.

³⁶ A fuller discussion of these questions will be found in Naveh and Shaked 2003. To the bibliography concerning the interpretation of the Aramaic and Hebrew term **tbr** / **šwbr** one should add Weinfeld 2001:101, who adduces the Akkadian expression *tuppam hepû* “to break the tablet” in the sense of “to cancel an agreement”.

twr “bull, cow”, divided into **syt** and **šrk** (C1:5, 7)

Riding and pack animals:

gmln “camels” (A1:3)

hmr “donkey(s)” (A:8; C1:8)

swsh “horse(s)” (C1:4)

Wild animals (?):

grdtk (C6:1)

BIRDS

tr[n]gln “chicken” (C1:13)

wzn “geese” (C1:12)

GRAIN AND FLOUR

dhñ “millet” (C4:4, 14, 21, 26, 28, 36, 46, *50)

hntñ “wheat” (C4:4, 36, in both cases in the combination **š‘rn hntñ wdñ**’, “barley, wheat and millet”. Whereas barley and millet are actually mentioned in the lists with the quantities allotted, wheat never figures separately. It may well be that the sequence of three types of grain is a mere linguistic topos, and that wheat was not actually grown or used.)

š‘rn “barley” (C4:2, 4, 9, 23, 36, 38, 40, 43, 45, 48, 51)

Flour:

qmḥ, “flour”, divided into: **ḥwry** and **dmy** (C1:15, 16); **qmḥ ḥwry** (C1:34); **ḥwry** (C5:5);

ḥwr (?—D2:2) **qmḥ dmy** (C1:35)—the distribution of flour by grade is related to the social position of the recipients; **dmy gpryš** (B2:2), a description of low-grade flour. **dmy** (C3:21, 22, 38).

smyd “finest flour” (C1:14)

šḥty “barley meal” (?) (C1:21)

OTHER PLANT PRODUCTS

Oil:

mšḥ ḥwry “white oil” (C1:25)

mšḥ lnwr “oil for the fire” (C1:26)

Wine:

hmr ... bšym “sweet wine” (C4:52-53, *57)

hmr ‘**l srkrn ... <‘l> srwšy ... ‘l ‘hrdt spr’ ... ‘l bgyš ...** “wine for [various purposes]” (C3:40-43)

hmr šstkñ (C1:30); **hrḥwny** (C1:31) “wine of [various regions?]”

Fodder:

ksh (C1:32. 36; C3:22)

SPICES OR DRUGS (?)

ḥlh, ḥl’ “vinegar” (A2:6 [?]; C1:27; C3:45, 46)

smyñ, sm’ “herbs” or “drugs” (A9:1, 3)

tblñ “spices” (C1:22)

OTHER EDIBLE ITEMS

dwg “sour milk” (C1:29)

TEXTILES AND GARMENTS

ʾrgwn ʾkrst kptwk “purple wool garment of Cappadocia” (C6:2)

sndst ʾrgwn “purple brocade” (C6:3)

HORSE EQUIPMENT

ʾspmng “horse cords [made of hemp]” (C7:5)

ʾsrhlš “harness” (C6:4, *5; C7:4)

swḥtk lswsy “burnt [something] for the horses of ...” (C7:3)

UNCLEAR

ʾšrn (C1:20)—a general term for “necessities”?

gbnn (C1:24)—“cheese pieces”?

kskyn (C1:17)

rzbs (C1:19)

šḥ rwtn ʾtmn (C1:23)—the first word perhaps designating dates.

šrgm (C1:28)

wrdwš (C1:18)—some fruit?

11. Religious terminology

The calendar generally used in these documents is the one familiar from other Achaemenian documents and conforms to the Babylonian usage. In one case, however, there seems to be an allusion to the Zoroastrian calendar in addition to the Babylonian one. In C3:2, and perhaps also in C3:18, where the reading is uncertain, an indication of date occurs: **bywm dyn**. This is most likely a reference to the Zoroastrian designation of the twenty-fourth day of each month, which is called after the divine entity *dainā* “religion”, a term which can also be defined as “a non-material component of the human person, which represents the religious accomplishments of the person”. Of the vast bibliography on the theme of the *dainā* in Zoroastrianism one may single out Molé 1960; Boyce 1975/91, 2:236-240. If the word **dyny** in A1:1, 2, 13 is indeed a personal name (and not a word meaning “judges”), the name is derived from the same term *dainā*.

The names of the days according to the Zoroastrian calendar are set out in Yasna 16 (cf. Boyce 1975/91, 2:245; Panaino 1990:661). According to Taqizadeh (1938:44-49; also 1316 AHŠ:130-147), the Young Avestan calendar, as he calls it, was introduced about 441 BCE; according to Mary Boyce (1975/91, 2:243-250), it was established somewhat later, in the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-358 BCE). Both of these reconstructions allow for its use in the period of our documents, in the second half of the fourth century BCE. One should however distinguish between the use of the Zoroastrian calendar in the sense of the use of the names of days and months familiar from the Zoroastrian sources, and the use of the solar calendar system which strives to keep the year in conformity to the astronomical year. This important observation was made by Bickerman 1967, in an article which criticized the various theories propounded for the introduction of the Zoroastrian calendar. According to him, the earliest attestation of the use of the Zoroastrian month names is from the year 90 BCE, in one of the Nisa ostraca; other

Parthian documents show the use of both month and day names according to the Zoroastrian system (cf. Bickerman 1967:204). Bickerman (pp. 204-205) concludes that the Zoroastrian names for months and days were introduced in the Persian official calendar “between 459 and 90 B.C.” Willi Hartner (1985:782-783) calculated, by comparing the dates occurring in the *Āfrīnagān Gāhānbār* text of the Avesta with the assumed astronomical dates of the original introduction of the calendar in 503-500 BCE, that the designation of days by the names of deities, as is found in the Avestan calendar, must have been introduced between 447 and 444 BCE. On the whole issue of designating days of the month by names cf. the important discussion by Hartner 1985:774-777. A recent survey of the evidence and of the scholarly discussion is in Panaino 1990.

If the interpretation of **bywm dyn** offered here is valid, this would be the earliest textual evidence for the use of the Zoroastrian day names in the calendar. The text is too fragmentary to determine whether this specification of a day is plausible in combination with the date “On 20 Šebaṭ”. It may however be suggested that the reference to the day *dainā* is not meant to be merely another indication of date, but that it perhaps serves to underline a ritual significance associated with this day, perhaps in connection with the occasion of the disbursement of provisions.

Another indication of the use of the religious calendar may be found in the personal name **dtš’prn**, if it is interpreted as Dathushafarnah (see the commentary to A10:2).

Other expressions which may well relate to a cult are the following (for further details cf. the commentary to the texts):

A libation (**zwtr’**) brought to the temple of Bēl and consisting of a mixture of 8 *ardab* of white flour and 15 *mari* of wine is mentioned: **zwtr’ 1 bgn’ lbyl hwry 8 hmr mry 15** (C1:37-39). Bel is a Semitic, non-Zoroastrian deity, and one may wonder whether he was actually worshipped in Bactria. The alternative may be that the Semitic name was taken over as a designation for a local deity (perhaps even for Ahura Mazda?).

In C1 there are several references to allocations involving the term **bgy**, perhaps representing **bāgya-*. This may be interpreted as denoting literally “that which is to be allotted”, and it seems to be used chiefly in the sense of an offering for religious purposes. In two instances **bgy** is associated with religious terms familiar from Zoroastrian usage. (1) **bgy 1 yšt’ hwry 1 hmr mry 3** (C1:44-45) “That which is to be allotted for the *yasht*. 1 *ardab* of white flour and 3 *mari* of wine”. The term *yasht* “sacrifice” is often synonymous with *yasna*, which denotes the central ceremony of the Zoroastrian cult. (2) **bgy <1> prwrtn s 2 <1> pšbr’ hlyh s 2 h 1** (C3:43-46) “That which is to be allotted <for> the *fravartis*: 2 *se’a* [of wine]. (That which is to be allotted) <for> provisions for the road: 2 *se’a* and 1 *hufn* of vinegar”. “For the *fravartis*” may mean for the celebration of the feast dedicated to the souls of the righteous ancestors; in this religious context “provisions for the road” might mean provisions for a pilgrimage journey, but this is a mere guess.

One other reference may reasonably be explained as connected to a Zoroastrian ritual. **bgy <1> wty hwry 2 gryw 2 hmr mry 10** (C1:42-43) “That which is to be allotted <for> the offering to Vāta: 2 *ardab*, 2 *grīv* of white flour, and 10 *mari* of wine”. Vāta is the Zoroastrian deity of the Wind, but the Old Iranian word *vātya-*, which may underlie the writing **wty**, is attested in Vendidad 10:14 as the name of a demon (cf. Bartholomae 1904:1410). Our translation is based on the assumption that the “orthodox” Zoroastrian deity is referred to here, rather than a demon. We are indebted to N. Sims-Williams for the attractive suggestion that **wty** may alternatively represent **vātahya*, the genitive form of the word *vāta-*, denoting “(day) of the Wind”.

One instance of **bgy** remains without a plausible explanation: **bgy ʿ1 zyrw ḥwry ʾ3 ḥmr mry 10** (C1:40-41) “That which is to be allotted for **zyrw** (or **zydw**): 3 *ardab* of white flour, 10 *mari* of wine”. The word **zydw** / **zyrw** has resisted all attempts at explanation.

In some cases one can infer from theophoric personal names the existence of deities not yet attested in other sources. Some examples: Chithrachardata (B4:1) “Created by him who makes bright”; Vacha(h)data (B1:7) “Created by Speech”.

12. Measures and weights

For the units in use in the Aramaic documents from Egypt, cf. Porten 1968, especially the chapter “Weights and measures”, pp. 62-72; Porten and Yardeni 1989/99, *TADAE* 3:295. A useful discussion can also be found in Bivar 1985:631-639.

The units of measurement for dry goods, with the relations between them, are as follows:

gwn (abbreviated g)	1		
ʾ rd (abbreviated ʾ)	10	1	
gryw (abbreviated g), sʿh (s)	30	3	1
ḥpn (abbreviated ḥ)	300	30	10

The equivalent of ʾ**rd** in the Elamite tablets is *artab*, which is equal to 29.1 litre (Hinz and Koch 1987:11).

Seʿa is equal to 9.7 litre (Hinz and Koch 1987:11).

On the unit of measurement **ḥpn** [*ḥufn*] cf. the remarks in Driver 1957:60. **ḥpn**, which has a ratio of 1:10 to *seʿa*, is designated by QA in Elamite, and equals 0.97 litre (Hinz 1987:11).

It should be noted that **sʿh**, **ḥpn** and sometimes **gwn** are also used occasionally for measuring fluid goods. Cf. C3:40-46. The term **gwn** has the same value as **kwr** or **ḥwmr**. It may be noted that **g** serves as an abbreviation for both **gwn** and **gryw**. Document C3 does not add up correctly.

For fluid measures, the following terms are used:

- mry** (C1:31). The equivalent Elamite measure *mariš* is said to be equal to 9.7 litre (Hinz and Koch 1987:11).
- sp** (C1:27, 28, 29, 30)

The relationship between the two terms does not seem to be fixed. The term **sp** may have derived from that of a jar as a container for wine or similar liquids (see further on this word in the commentary to C1:27). **mry** is a measure used exclusively for wine, quite possibly also indicating originally a wine jar of a specific size or the like. This is also the manner in which the term **mry** is used in the Parthian documents from Nisa.

13. Epistolary conventions

The letters in the Khalili collection generally display the characteristic features of the epistolary style of the Achaemenian period, especially that familiar to us from the Arshama letters.

Letters begin with a “from ... to ...” formula. When the writer is of a superior rank to the recipient, the opening formula is extremely short, and contains nothing but the relevant names after the prepositions. This is followed by **wkʿt** “and now”, which introduces the text of the letter proper. No words of greeting are exchanged. This is the case in letters A1-A6.

When the letters are exchanged between equals, the “from ... to ...” formula sometimes contains the term of endearment “my brother” before the name of the recipient, and this is followed by a phrase of greetings: “I send you much peace and strength”. After this opening section there may come another note of personal greetings: “And now, here, with me, there is peace. May there (also) be peace with you” (B4, B6). After this introduction comes the word **wk’t**, which serves to indicate the beginning of the letter (the shorter formula is in B1, B2).³⁷

The official letters issued from the office of a superior end with a mention of the name of the scribe, who is usually also described as “the one who knows this command”, probably meaning that he is designated as responsible for checking that it is carried out (see Chapter 4 above). The less formal letters exchanged between equals do not have a fixed concluding formula.

The back of the letter contains a line of address, with enough space left between the preposition “to” and the name of the recipient to place a bulla impressed with a seal. A narrow band of leather normally tied the letter closed after it was folded, with the bulla attached to it and to the leather of the letter, making it impossible to untie the letter without breaking the seal. An example of this practice is provided by C2, which is a certificate of despatch rather than a letter, but was prepared like a regular letter. It was found with the bulla unbroken and with the band of string still holding the letter closed.

Beside the address on the outside of the letter, usually in a separate line, comes the date. The date is followed by the preposition **b-** or **’l** preceding a noun which describes the main contents of the letter (**bhlk**, A1:14; **bnhšpy**, A4:8; **’l np[q] byty**, A2:9). In one letter the contents are summarized by a short phrase: **zy lmbny** “(concerning that) which is to be built” (A5:4).

After this comes the phrase “Bring this letter”. (A3:6 possibly names the bringer of the letter, but this interpretation is uncertain; it seems more likely that the word on the back of the letter identifies the subject-matter of the letter itself, the text of which is largely illegible.)

The date, the subject-matter, and the phrase “bring this letter” are missing from A6. The date is missing in A5. The less formal letters between equals do not contain these elaborate formulae.

A typical phrase in the letters of subordinates quoted by their superiors is the statement: “Therefore I inform” (A1:3; A6:4). The respect due to a superior is expressed by a third-person address: “to my lord” instead of “to you” (e.g., A1:1).

An important element in the official letters contained in group A is the fact that previous correspondence relevant to the subject of the letter is quoted verbatim at the beginning. In A1 and A6, the previous letters quoted are letters of complaint against the recipient, which cause the writer, Akhvamazda, to issue his decree. In A1 the quoted letter comes in lines 1-9, and the decision of Akhvamazda is couched in short phrases in lines 10-12, following the word **k’t**, which signifies the start of a new section. The proportions are different in letter A6, but the pattern is similar: extensive quotation of the background history of the subject-matter, and relatively brief command and reprimand by the ruler. In A2 and A4 a previous letter of the addressee is quoted. In A4, the quotation of the addressee’s letter begins with a quotation from an earlier message of the writer’s. A5 does not quote a previous letter, but refers to a previous order issued by the writer.

Another feature of the official letters in this collection is the strong language often used by Akhvamazda in his correspondence with Bagavant. “Do not act in a contrary manner” is a phrase repeated several times in this correspondence; “when you come (to me), you will be interrogated” (A1:10)

³⁷ On the various formulae used in Achaemenian and subsequent epistolography cf. Fitzmyer 1974; Whitehead 1974; Greenfield 1982:4-7.

is another menacing phrase. In A6:5-6 we read: “you have not done well by acting in disobedience and by not acting according to my law”, followed by a threat (A6:8-11): “if you do not give instruction that those houses be roofed ... and if you do not bring in the corn ... you shall not be let go, and you shall pay the whole amount from your own house to my house”. Cf. also “carry out the instruction strictly” (A5:2); “[if you] do not act in complete (conformity) as [you were told] ...” (A8:5).

In some cases it seems that the writing material of a document served also for other notes. Thus, a note headed by the word **ldkrn** (C4:52) “for memory”, written at the back of a document, may have been intended for a private or official reference at a future date, and does not seem to bear a direct relationship to the contents of the document.

The practice of noting the subject matter of a document on the outside in order to facilitate the quick identification of a document in an archive where many documents are kept is attested in at least one of the Khalili documents. On the verso side of C3, in line 47, one can read: **’zgm mn**. These two words, “Disbursement from”, are followed by nothing, although the presence of the preposition would require that the place or person from which the disbursement is made should be specified. One possible explanation for this truncated inscription is that the writer was interrupted and did not complete the note. It seems more likely, however, that the words “disbursement from”, a quotation from the beginning of the document (lines 1-2), were considered sufficient to evoke the type of document contained on the recto side. Such notes concerning subject matter tend to be extremely brief, as we have seen in the case of those written on the verso of letters.

14. The Arshama letters and the Bagavant documents: comparative notes

One group of documents with a close similarity to some of the letters in the Khalili collection is the archive of letters written by Arshama and published by Driver (1957). The Arshama documents included in that publication were most probably found somewhere in Egypt (cf. Driver 1957:3) and are nowadays preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. To these may be added some letters on papyrus emanating from or addressed to Arshama. These are Cowley 1923, Nos. 17 and 26, and several other letters in which Arshama is alluded to. Arshama was a prominent figure in Egypt, and the abundance of material relating to him allows a reconstruction of his career and activities (cf. Driver 1957:12-14; Grelot 1972:60-74). The Arshama letters published by Driver (1957) belong to the period of his activity which he spent in Babylonia, or, as the documents put it, when “he went to the King” (Cowley 1923, No. 27:2-3; 30:4-5). This took place toward the end of the fifth century BCE (Cowley 1923, No. 27, is datable to c. 410 BCE; Cowley No. 30 is dated 408).

The most obvious physical similarity between the two corpora of documents—those in the Khalili collection and those published by Driver—is the fact that they are both written on leather. All the other documents found in Egypt were written on papyrus, a cheaper writing material abundantly used in Egypt but seldom elsewhere. The epistolary style of the two sets of documents is also quite similar: the address formulae, the structure of the letter, the address conventions, the general contents, the language, and so on. The status of the writer is also the same: in both cases the letters come from the office of the satrap. In the case of the Oxford collection, from Arshama, the satrap of Egypt; in that of the Khalili documents, from Akhvamazda, most likely the satrap of Bactria. Although the Arshama letters were found in Egypt, they were not written there, but somewhere in the area of Babylon and Susa.

In most of the Khalili letters A1-A8, the opening formula is identical. They are addressed by the





Bodleian Library. Pell. Aram. IV. G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1954 (2nd edition, 1957), Letter 5

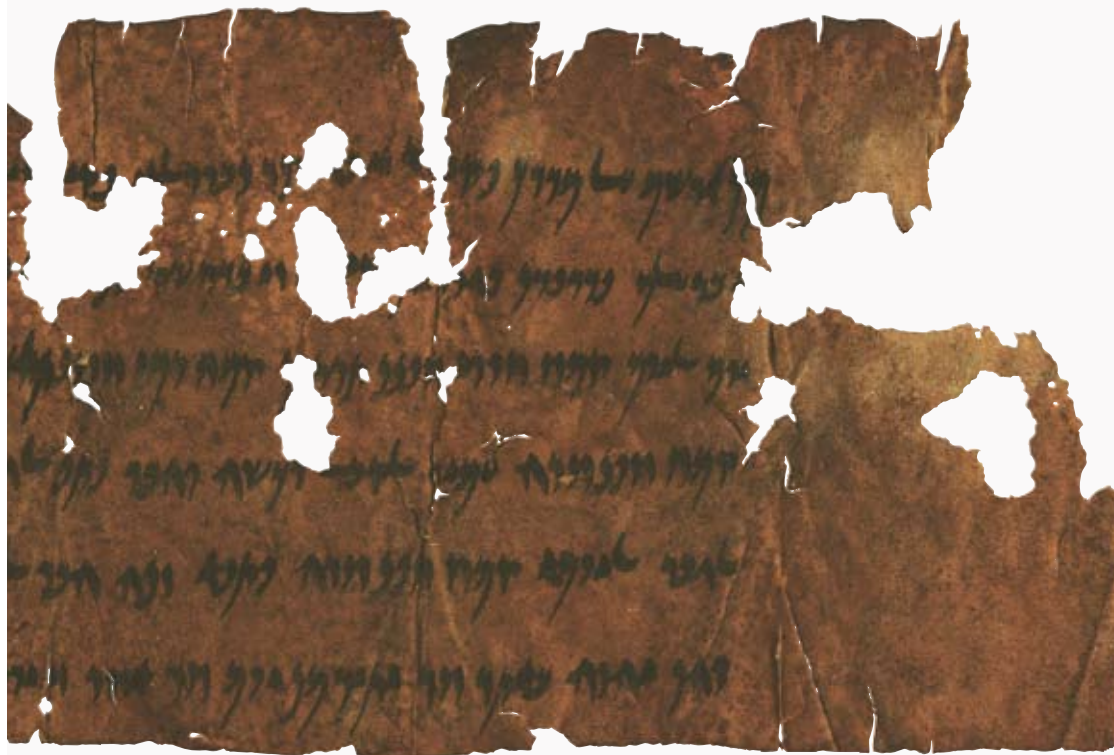
“From Aršāma *Bar-bayta* to Artahont [=Artawant] who is in Egypt”; “Concerning the Cilicians who were on my domain, who did [not] succeed in entering Mišpeh”





Bodleian Library. Pell. Aram. IV, outside. G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1954 (2nd edition, 1957), Letter 5, verso





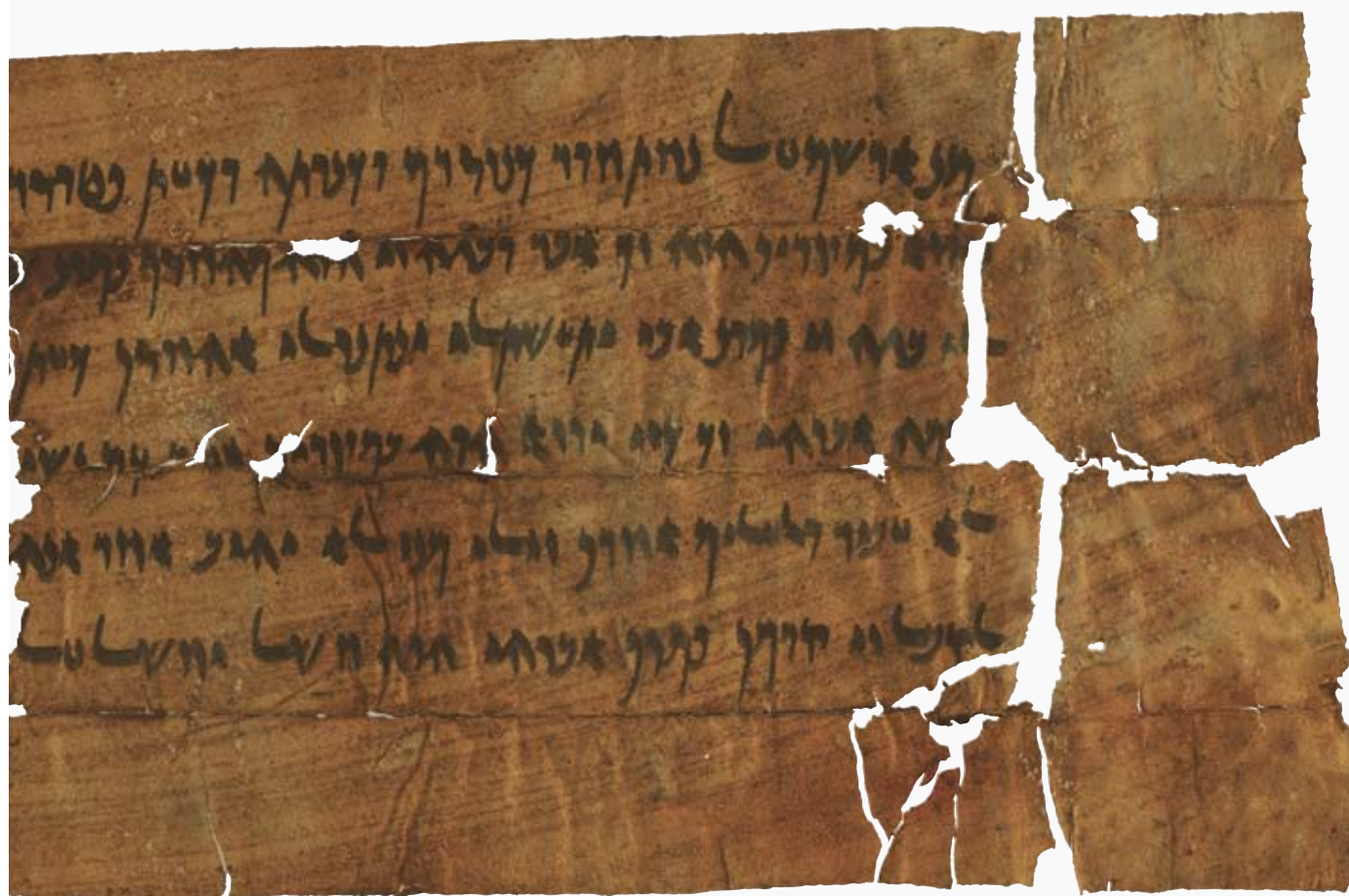
Bodleian Library. Pell. Aram. VIII. G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1954 (2nd edition, 1957), Letter 6

“From Aršāma to Marduk, the officer who is at ..., Nabû-dālani, the officer who is at La‘ir, Zātuvahya, the officer who is [at] Arzūhim, Upastābara, the officer who is at Arbel, Ḥalšu (?) and Māt-āl-Ubaš (?), Bagafarna(h), the officer who is at Sa‘lam, Frādafarna(h) and Gavazāna (?), the officers who are at Damascus”

The letter gives order that an officer of Aršāma, Neḥtiḥūr by name, who is embarking on a journey to Egypt, be given provisions from the domains of Aršāma along his journey. The details of these provisions and the quantities involved are enumerated in the letter.

No writing outside

א יצחק דוד שני טלמך שלחטלם דוד ארזי אהרן קרן
קדש ארזי אהרן דוד שני טלמך שלחטלם דוד ארזי אהרן קרן
דוד ארזי אהרן דוד שני טלמך שלחטלם דוד ארזי אהרן קרן
דוד ארזי אהרן דוד שני טלמך שלחטלם דוד ארזי אהרן קרן
דוד ארזי אהרן דוד שני טלמך שלחטלם דוד ארזי אהרן קרן
דוד ארזי אהרן דוד שני טלמך שלחטלם דוד ארזי אהרן קרן

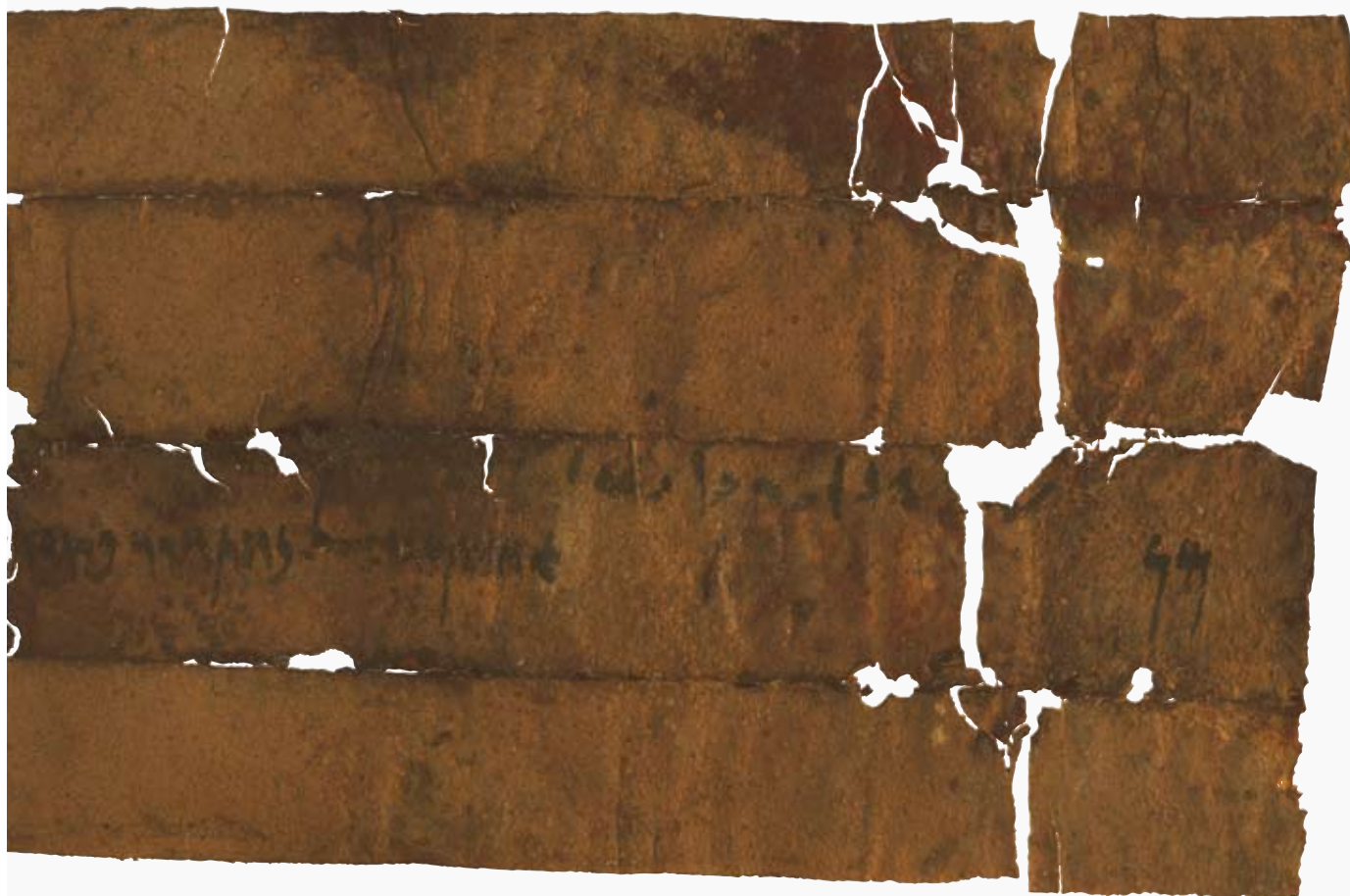


Bodleian Library. Pell. Aram. XIII. G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1954 (2nd edition, 1957), Letter 8

“From Aršāma to Neḥtiḥūr the officer, the comptroller (?), and his colleagues the accountants, who are in Egypt”

Peṭôšîrî, a forester, asked for a restitution of the domain of his father, lost during a rebellion. Aršāma orders that his restitution be effected and that the petitioner pay the land-tax formerly paid by his father.





Bodleian Library. Pell. Aram. XIII, outside G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1954 (2nd edition, 1957), Letter 8, verso

satrap to a subordinate. The beginning of the letter is always “From PN₁ to PN₂”, with the name of the satrap coming first; the text of the letters starts immediately after this curt form of address. A1-A8 are all addressed to Bagavant, while the Arshama letters are destined for several recipients and in some cases were written by Arshama’s officers in the East. Some of the Arshama letters are addressed to Artahant or Artawant, a person of a rank close to that of the satrap; the form of address in these letters includes a polite opening formula.

The letters are all written by professional scribes. In the Arshama letters there is frequently a distinction between the scribe and a man called “knower of the command”, presumably the person in charge of overseeing its execution and perhaps reporting back to the satrap (in some other documents, and once in the Khalili letters, the term **b’l t’m**, “master of the command” may denote the same function). In the Khalili letters the two functions are fulfilled by the same person, except in A2, where Daizaka is mentioned as the scribe and Athfiya as the “master of the command”. For further notes on this subject see Chapter 4 above.

In both sets of documents the same kind of relationship can be noticed between the satrap and his subordinate. The former reacts to letters of complaint sent to him in which the addressee is denounced; he demands action from the latter, rebukes him, and threatens to punish him if he does not comply with the orders of the satrap fully and speedily. Thus, for instance, we read in one of the Arshama letters:

**k’t ršm kn ’mr ’ntm hndrz ’bdw lhtwbsty pqyd wrwhy zy ’d mndt bgy’ zy
wrwhy ’sprn whd’bgw yhnpy wyhyth wy’t h ’m gnz’ zy mny šym lhytyh bb’l**
(Driver 1957:33-34, No. 10:4-5).

Now Arshama says thus: Do you instruct Ḥatubāstī, Varavahya’s officer, to collect the rent on Varavahya’s domains to the full amount and with interest. And he should bring it and come with the treasure concerning which an order was given by me to bring it to Babylon.

Compare to this the phrases from the Akhvamazda correspondence:

**k’t hn knm lqbl zy <mn> why’trw zk šlyh ’ly ’hr P t’b ’bdt ... ’nt hndrz’ ’bd kzy
byty’ ’lk ... tlyln yhwwn zy qdmnm mny šym lk t’m** (A6:4-7)

Now, if it is thus as was sent to me by that Vahya-atar, you have not done well ...
Give instruction that those houses ... be roofed, as was earlier ordered by me to you
(to do).

Or the following extract from the Arshama correspondence:

kzy t’t h bznh mh zy lqht zyny tšlm wtšt’l ’lznh (Driver 1957:35-36, No. 12:7-8)

When you come here, you will pay penalty for that which you have taken, and you
will be called to account on this.

With which we may compare the phrase from our documents:

kzy t’twn tšt’lwn lhn k’n zy hnšltm twb htbw lhm (A1:10)

When you come (here) you will be interrogated, but now what you have taken give
back to them.

Both sets of documents contain a large number of loanwords from Persian. Since in both cases the letters were presumably dictated in Old Persian and only written down in Aramaic, one may expect a

certain number of calque translations, where the Aramaic bears the marks of a Persian original. As an example one may quote the phrases **byn bgy' zyly** “in my domains” (Driver 1957, No. 1:2; 2:2; 5:5), **byn šnyh** “in his grain fields” (?) (A8:1), **byn ywmn 2** “in two days” (A10a:8), where the independent preposition **byn** is used, instead of the more natural Aramaic **b-**. This may hint at an Aramaic rendering of Old Persian *antar* (**BYN** was indeed later adopted as a heterogram in Middle Persian for the preposition *andar* “in”). Similarly, **hndrz' 'bd** “to instruct” is the sort of verbal phrase which must have been current in Old Persian (as it is in Middle Persian, where *andarz kardan* is sometimes used, alongside the more common denominative verb *andarzēnīdan*); it could more naturally have been replaced by an appropriate Aramaic verb of command. An expression like **why' hndyz hww** “and the troops were assembled in the fortress” (Driver No. 5:6) also looks like a calque of an Old Persian phrase. The hint at a severe reprimand contained in the more refined Aramaic verb **tšt'l** “you (sg.) will be interrogated” (Driver No. 4:3), **tšt'lwn** (A1:10, pl., see commentary to A1:4), is certainly a calque on an Old Persian expression containing a form of the verb *přs-*, *fras-*, literally “ask, interrogate”, which is often associated with judicial enquiry which ends with a punishment. The end result of this semantic development is attested in Middle Persian *pādefrāh*, which means “punishment”.

There are of course also a few differences between the two sets of documents. The most obvious formal difference is the fact that the Arshama letters were written down in the centre of the Achaemenian empire, whence they were sent to Egypt, while the Akhvamazda documents are part of correspondence exchanged locally for purposes of administrative housekeeping, written and meant to be read in Bactria, in the far east corner of the Empire. Another difference is the gap of about sixty years between the two groups: the Arshama letters belong to the late fifth century BCE, while the Akhvamazda letters are dated between 353 and 348 BCE. Equally important is the fact that the Arshama letters are the actual documents sent, while the Akhvamazda letters A1-A8 are obviously not the clean copies which were eventually sent to their destination but rough copies written on used leather and constituting palimpsests.

It is possibly as a result of the geographical and chronological distance between the Arshama letters and those of Akhvamazda that the Aramaic of the latter contains some grammatical lapses which seem to betray a certain disintegration of the scribes' command of Aramaic. This matter will be discussed in the next chapter.

15. Linguistic points

In general the language used in the Khalili documents is very similar to that familiar from the Aramaic documents found in Egypt and in particular from the Arshama letters. It is however characterized by a larger number of slips in grammar. The fairly large number of errors may partly be explained by the fact that these documents are for the most part drafts rather than original letters (see Chapter 14 above) and partly by the fact that they are mostly of the later half of the fourth century BCE, and that they come from Bactria, in the extreme east of the Persian empire, far from the main centres of Aramaic learning. The scribes bear Iranian names, and may be presumed to be Iranians who had gone to a scribal school—we cannot tell at what place—where they acquired a knowledge of Aramaic, chiefly, one may assume, in order to be able to read and write. So far as we can tell, Aramaic was not used as a living language for verbal and oral communication in the Bactrian environment. All these considerations may make the lack of firm grasp of Aramaic on the part of the scribes more easily comprehensible. Thus the Khalili documents are valuable as some of the earliest specimens of the

writing of Aramaic for official purposes in a period when it was beginning to disintegrate and was on the way to becoming a mere writing system for conveying Iranian languages. This is certainly not yet the case with the documents published in this volume, but the occasional errors point to the direction which Aramaic writing would take some time after the period of these documents.

A. Grammatical notes

The tendency towards using a passive construction with transitive verbs in the past tense was already noticed by scholars in Aramaic texts of the Achaemenian period published earlier (an analysis of such constructions is to be found in Kutscher 1969), and is apparent in the Khalili documents too. In the following examples the source of the action is not indicated, although it is usually clear from the context: **‘d ptgm’ l’ ‘myr lh** (A1:4) “before the decision was pronounced to him”; **šlyh ‘l bgwnt šym lh t’m** (A1:5) “(a message) was sent to Bagavant and an order was given to him”; **‘l why’trw yhyb zy whšwbndk hlq lptpk<n>y’** (C1:46) “To Vahya-atar was given that which Vakhshubandaka distributed to the ration-providers”.

Several passive phrases contain a reference to the source of the action, usually by means of the preposition **mn**: **mn mr’y š’y l bgwnt** (A1:3-4) “Bagavant was interrogated by (*or: on behalf of*) my lord”; **mn tr’ mr’y gbrn mnyw** (A1:6-7) “by the court of my lord (certain) men were appointed”; **zy mn mr’y šym t’m** (A6:2-3) “concerning which an order was issued by my lord”; or the source is mentioned, and the preposition is omitted, apparently by mistake: **lqbl zy <mn> why’trw zk šlyh ‘ly** (A6:5) “as was sent to me <by> the said Vahya-atar”. In a different construction, the preposition **l-** is used to indicate the person concerned in connection with a passive participle of the verb “to wish”: **hn lk šbh** (B3:4) “if it is desirable to you”, literally “if it is desired of (=by) you”. This phrase is reminiscent (as pointed out to us by N. S-W) of an Old Persian expression such as *yaθā mām kāma* (DB 4.34f.) “as was my desire”, with the obvious difference that in Old Persian the noun “desire” is used with an accusative which relates it to the person experiencing the wish (cf. Kent 1946; 1953:80, §249.I), while the Aramaic phrase is a regular dative/genitive construction.

Passive forms of the *pe’al* construction in the imperfect are attested. Cf. the phrase: **hn hndrz’ l’ t’bd ... kzy ‘pršt l’ tšbq** (A6:8-10) “If you do not give instruction ... as instructed, you shall not be let go”.

The preposition is omitted in the expression **štr mn** in A6:4. This could be due to the draft character of the document, which contains a number of other omissions and transpositions.

In the Khalili documents there is sporadic but not quite consistent use of jussive forms: **w’bwr’ yhšdw wkzy ‘dn yhwh ‘dyn ‘gr’ zk wprkn’ y’bdwn** (A4:6) “and let them reap the crop; and when the time comes, they will build that wall and ditch”. For consistency one might have expected **y’bdw**.

Fairly frequent use is made of adverbial expressions ending with *mem*: **w’d k’nm** (A6:3) “until now”; **knm** (A6:5); **qdmnm** (A6:7).

The form of the plural of **byt** “house”, **bytn ‘tyqn** (A6:2) “old houses”, **byty’** (A6:6) with the *yod* retained, is noteworthy. Cf. the survey of attested forms of this noun in Folmer 1995:173-175 and the short discussion in Muraoka and Porten 1998:75, §18y. In the singular, beside the usual **byt’** (**byt**) we once have **bt** (B3:3).

It may be remarked that the Iranian loanwords in the text are not always fully integrated into the Aramaic grammatical context. For example, in the phrase **l’štrpny’ hnškrtyly** (A1:2) “the camel-keepers, my apprentice-servants”, the main noun **uštrapānāyā*, a loanword from Iranian, behaves like an Aramaic noun, and receives the ending of the plural in the emphatic state, but **hnškrty**, which

is in apposition to it, remains undeclined. Some Iranian words have the Aramaic plural endings, but in some cases the situation is not clear, because the etymology of the words is not fully understood. Thus, **dmydtknn** (C4:18) has the ending of the Aramaic plural in the absolute state, but it is difficult to tell what endings **ḥštrknt** and **ʾsngšn** (C4:27) have, since the first word does not have a regular plural feminine ending (it looks as if it has the ending of the construct state); the second has the ending of the plural masculine absolute, but is in apposition to **rytkyʾ**, which has the Aramaic plural of the masculine emphatic state. The same incongruity occurs with the Aramaic nouns **ʾlymn wʾmht** (C4:18): pl. m. absolute and pl. f. construct, respectively. The following **dmydtknn** cannot be construed with the construct form **wʾmht**, as it is in apposition to it and to **ʾlymn**.

In some cases agreement of number is not observed. There is no agreement between the verb and its subject in A1:2-3: **bgwnt wdynyʾ ... Pštrpnyʾ ... hnšl bzz ʾsr wngdw bhlkʾ zy P ḥybn P šbqn lhm gmln zy mlkʾ lmntr** “... Bagavant and the magistrates ... removed (things from) [sg.], despoiled [sg.], detained [sg.] the camel-keepers, and imposed [pl./] (on them) a tax which they are not obliged to pay, not letting them guard the camels of the king”. Of the four verb forms, **hnšl bzz ʾsr wngdw**, the first three are given in the singular, the fourth is in the plural; **šbqn**, an active participle, is in the absolute plural. There is no agreement in number between the subject and the verb in the following two phrases: **npbrzn prtm nšpw** (C4:37), **wḥš[wʾ]brdt br ḥštrkn nšpw** (C4:41). A lack of agreement in the opposite direction is found in the following phrase: **wḥšwʾbrdt ʾm mtrwḥšw nšp** (C4:47). These examples suggest either a lack of understanding of the structure of Aramaic or a tendency to neglect the pronunciation of the final *waw* in the ending of the third person plural of verbs in the perfect, a phenomenon attested only several centuries later in Syriac. If the second alternative is correct, it would explain both the false plural forms of the perfect (as a hypercorrection) and the seemingly singular forms which are occasionally attested in the above examples. It goes well with the fact that some of the verbal heterograms in Pahlavi show the ending **-W** or **-WN** (cf. Shaked 2003:133).

There is no agreement in gender or state in the phrase **štr mn ʾgrtʾ ḥd** “apart from one letter” (B5:9). There is no agreement of number in the phrase **ḥlp ʾrqʾ ʾlk wbt** “in exchange for these (!) land and house” (B3:3) (unless the plural **ʾlk** anticipates the following **wbt**, but the order of words would be irregular). There is no agreement in state in the following phrases, where an indefinite form is used with a demonstrative: **nwrprtr sprʾ ydʾ ʾm znh** “Nurafratara the scribe knows this order” (A6:11); **bgwnt P ʾbh lmšbq gbrn ʾlk** “Bagavant refused to release those men” (A1:6). We would expect a definite form of the noun with a demonstrative, and in A1:7, 8 we indeed have **gbryʾ ʾlk**. The expression **zʾ ʾgrt** (A4:8) shows the same irregularity.

A combination of a demonstrative pronoun with a possessive phrase is found in A2:7, **zk zyly**, and A6:8, **zyly zk**.

The Khalili documents contain a few noteworthy verbal forms. Besides *haʿel*, which is normal in the Khalili documents, there is an occasional form of *afʿel*: **ʾytt** (B1:3). For *itpeʿel* we have the freak form **ʾwštytp** (B1:2) instead of the expected ***štwtp**.

Some infinitive forms used do not follow the general norm. We have **lhtbh** (A1:6) from TWB, but **lmhyty** (B3:3, 4) from ʾTY / ʾTʾ instead of ***lhytyh**. The infinitive form of GBY *peʿal* occurs as **lmgbyh** (A8:2).

In the field of orthography, one may note a lack of consistency between plene and defective writing, as in **ʾbd** (A2:1), a passive participle, as against **ʾbyd** (A5:2). In one case there is variation between *tet* and *taw*: **štr (mn)** “except” is once written **štr** (B5:9).

A number of errors can be detected in these documents:

hnšln (A1:10) is an error for ***mhnšln**.

ʾl yhytw (A1:11) is an error for **ʾl *t(y)hytw**.

ʿbdw (A1:11) is an error for ***yʿbdw**.

ʿlymy (A6:1) is an error for ***ʿlym**.

We have explained these errors on the assumption that the documents in the Khalili collection are draft copies. One phrase which presents an almost impossible combination of nominal forms is **znh ʾwstk gwnkn bry** in C10 (a complete document). A tentative interpretation is offered below in the edition of C10.

B. Vocabulary

For the verb “to wish, desire” two alternative roots are used. The regular Aramaic verb is **šBH**, which is attested once (B3:4). The other verb used is **ʾBH** (A1:6; B3:3), in both cases with a negative. It is interesting to note that both verbs occur in the same document, B3.

Two alternative forms are used to express “because”. Beside the usual **ʾl znh** (A1:3, 9; A2:8; A4:4; A6:4; B2:3; B3:5; B5:6, 7), [**ʾl dbr znh** occurs once in A1:8 (a document in which **ʾl znh** is also attested).

The Khalili documents contain a large number of Iranian loanwords. Some of the Persian words in the following list are already familiar from other Aramaic documents, but in some cases the usage here is semantically or morphologically different from that attested elsewhere: **prtm** differs in meaning from its earlier attestation (in Hebrew, in the Book of Esther), while **ʾdwš** and **ptzbn** show morphological differences as compared with earlier occurrences.

List of Iranian loanwords

The Iranian loanwords in the Khalili documents may in general be characterized as deriving from Old Persian. To be more precise, most words of which the Iranian etymology is clear show a phonetic form which accords with the phonology of Old Persian; none show an unequivocal affinity with Avestan phonology, despite the fact that we may expect the local Iranian language of ancient Bactria to be a variety of East Iranian (see, for example, the comments in Schmitt 1994:174). The loanwords are not entirely homogeneous phonetically, but this is also true of the vocabulary attested in the Old Persian inscriptions. The consonant *θ* may be expected to appear as Aramaic **t**, but it may also be represented by **s** (although this point is uncertain), cf. **ptp** / **ptw**, as against **ʾngšn**. The cluster **θr* appears in some words as Aramaic **s**, in agreement with Old Persian *ç*, but in other cases as Aramaic **tr** (representing *θr*, often assumed to be a feature of Median): cf. perhaps **syt**, as against **hštrknt**, **zwtr**. Old Iranian **θv* occurs as **tw** or **tp**, sometimes even in the same word, cf. **ptp**, **ptw**. Old Persian *š* and *č* are both represented by Aramaic **š**, as is the case later in Inscriptional Parthian, cf. **hnškrt**, **wšk**; **srwšy**, **dwšhwr**, **pšbr**, while *j* is represented by **g**, cf. **gpryšt**, and *dv* (which usually appears in Avestan as *b* or *db*, *t̪b*) by **dw**, cf. **ʾdwš**.

In the following list, a whole expression is quoted in some cases to illustrate the usage. Each constituent loanword is nevertheless listed separately in its proper place. A more detailed etymological discussion will be found in the commentary to the first occurrence of the word in question.

LEGAL TERMINOLOGY

ādranga-* (ʿdrng**, A6:4; A10:1) “guarantor” or “liable” for a debt

uṣpṛna-* (ʿspṛn**, A6:8, 10) “in full”, used of paying a debt

OFFICIAL AND ECONOMIC TERMINOLOGY

ā-frašta-* (ʿpršt**, A6:10) “instructed, required”

an(y)a-ravya-* (ʿnrwy**, A6:5) “contrariness, contravention”; ʿ**nrwy** ʿ**l t** **bdw** (A5:2-3; B2:*3; B7:3) “do not act in transgression, (in a) contrary (manner)”

aspa-manga-* (ʿspmng**, C7:5) “hemp-cords for horses”, possibly “harness”

ava-stāka-* (?) (ʿwstk**, C10:1) “document” (?)

azdā* (ʿzd**, B1:3) “known”

dauša-xwar-* or **dauša-xwāra-* (dwšhwr**ʿ, A2:*1; C1:2, 51; **dwš**ʿ[**hwr**ʿ], A2:6) “provisions for the road”. Corresponds in meaning to **upaita-*, **pašyābara-* (or **pašcābara-*).

fra-kāna-* or **pari-kāna-* (prkn**ʿ, A4:1, 6) “ditch, moat”

handarza-* (hndrz**ʿ, A2:1; A4:1; A5:2; A6:6, 9) “instruction, injunction”. Always used in these documents with the verb ʿBD.

maiθmāniya-* or **maiθmān-* (?) (mytmny**ʿ, C1:33) “inhabitant”, cf. Middle Persian *mehmān* “inhabitant, guest”

nhmrnytʿ (A1:9, 11) “(a tax) not brought into account, unaccounted for” (?). See comments ad loc.

nišāvan(a)-* (nštwn**ʿ, A1:10; A6:6) “decree, edict, ordinance”

**pari-kāna-*: see **fra-kāna-*

pašyābara-* or **pa(s)čābara-* (pšbr**ʿ, C3:44) “provisions for the road”

patigāma-* (ptgm**ʿ, A1:4) “word, command”, perhaps also specifically “verdict, punishment”

patizbāna-* (ptzbn**ʿ, A1:5, 7) “proclamation of a prohibition”

piθvā-* (ptp**ʿ, **ptw**ʿ, B2:2; C4:10, 42; C5:8) “ration”

upa-bariya-* (ʿpbry**, C1:33) “additional delivery”

upaita-* (ʿpyt**ʿ, A2:3) “that which is necessary; provisions”; **gbh** ʿ**l** ʿ**pyt**ʿ (C4:6, *23, 38, 45); **nšp** ʿ**l** ʿ**pyt**ʿ (C4:44, 48); also variant **upaitaya-* (ʿ**wpyty**, B5:6)

uz-gāma-* (ʿzgm**(ʿ), A10:11; C2:1; C3:1, 47; C4:2) “disbursement”

vāčaka-* (wšk**, B1:4, 6) “word, utterance, command”

yava-dāh-* (ywdh**, C4:8, 39), possibly “a gift of barley” (if it is not a personal name)

zyānā-* (zy**ʿ**nh**, B5:4, 7, 8) “damage; restitution, indemnity”

TITLES AND FUNCTIONS

āθangiča-* (?) (ʿsngšn**, C4:13, 27) “a young performer of melodies” (?)

azgand-* (?) (ʿzgnd**ʿ, A2:*2; A5:4) “messenger”

dāmya-data-kāna-* (dmydtknn**, C4:18) “livestock attendant”

frataraka-* (prtrk**, A1:8; A5:4) “foreman, chief of workers”

ga(n)za-bara-* (gzb[r]**ʿ, B10:2) “treasurer”

hančyā-kṛta-* (hnškr**t, A1:2) “apprentice, servant”

kāra-tanuka-* (k[r]tnk**ʿ, A2:6) “troops of the body, bodyguard” (?), or possibly: “the body of the army, the main part of the troops”

piθvakāna-* (ptpkny**ʿ, C1:*47; **ptpkn** C4:10, 25) “provider or distributor of rations”

- **sarakāra-* (**srkrn**, C3:40) “superintendent, chief”
 sraušyā-* (srwšy**, C3:41) “punishment; official in charge of inflicting penalties”
 upa-dīta-* (ʾpdyt**ʿ, C4:5, 22, 37, 39, 44, 48) “supervisor”
 uštra-pāna-* (ʾštrpny**ʿ, A1:2, 5, 7, 8, 11) “camel-keeper”
 xšaθra-kanyā-* (hštrknt**, C4:13, 27) “a girl of the kingdom” > “entertaining girl” (?)

RELIGIOUS TERMINOLOGY

- **bāgya-* (**bgy**, C1:40, 42, 44; C3:43) “offering, gift to a deity” (?)
 bagina-* (bgn**ʿ, C1:37) “temple” or “altar”
 dainā-* (dyn**, C3:2, 18) “religion; the 24th day in the Zoroastrian month”
 fravarti-* (prwrtn**, C3:44) “*fravashi*; spirit of the dead”
 vātya-* (wty**, C1:42) “that which is related to Wata, the deity Wind”; or **vātahya* “(the day) of the Wind” (reading uncertain). See commentary ad loc.
 yašta-* (yšt**ʿ, C1:44) “sacrifice, a ritual”
 zauθra-* (zwtr**ʿ, C1:37) “libation”

PREPOSITIONS, ADVERBS AND OTHER FUNCTIONAL WORDS

- **antar* (ʾ**ntr**, A1:4), used adverbially: “in the meantime”
 fratama-* (prtm**, C4:37; **yʾsšt wprtm**, A5:2; A6:6, 9) “(in) the best (manner)”
 frāyah-* (pry**, B1:6) “further, more”
 yāsišta-* (yʾsšt wprtm**, A5:2; A6:6, 9) “(in) the most desirable (manner)”

WORDS DESIGNATING ANIMALS OR RELATING TO THEM

- **čarāka-* (**šrk**, C1:7, 11) “grazing”
 gari-datika-* (grdtk**, C6:1) “wild animals of the mountain” (?)
 patikarava(nt)-* (ptkrw**, C6:*5; C7:4) “provided with a picture” (?), an adjective describing a harness
 sita-* or **čāyita-* (sy**t, C1:5, 9) “at rest” or “protected” (denotes sheltered animals)
 suxtaka-* (swḥtk**, C7:3) “burnt, burnished”
 uštra-* “camel” (only in ʾštrpny**ʿ, see above; otherwise **gmln**)

AGRICULTURAL TERMS

- **tauxma-kaniš* (**thmknš**ʿ, A6:3, 7, 10) “seed-sowing”
 upa-hmata-* (ʾphmt**, A4:3) “ripe”
 vṛduš* (wrdwš**, C1:18), perhaps “plum” or some other fruit

COLOURS

- **kapauta-* (**kpwt**, C7:2) “blue, grey-blue, pigeon-coloured, lapis lazuli”
 kāsakaina-* (kskyn**, C1:17) “green” or “blue”
 sāma-gauna-* (smgwn**, C6:4) “of black colour”

FOOD ITEMS AND RELATED WORDS

- **čistakāna-* (**šstk**n, C1:30), an adjective designating a type of wine, perhaps by reference to a place-name *Chist, later Chisht

damya-* (dm̐y**), B2:2 etc.) “household (flour), plain, ordinary (as an attribute of flour)”
 dūga-* or **dauga-* (dwg**, C1:29) “sour milk”
 gafrišta-* (?) (gpr̐št**, B2:2) “lowest, most inferior” (of the quality of flour)
 harax^vanya-* (hr̐hwny**, C1:31) “Arachosian” (designating a type of wine)

OTHER WORDS

ā-črna-* (šrn**, C1:20) perhaps “necessities, essentials”, here denoting some edible item
 ā-dv(a)iša(h)-* (dwš[?]**, A4:3) “affliction, trouble”
 ākṛsta-* (krst**, C6:2), a kind of garment (literally “something cut”)
 frabāra-* or **paribarānā-* (prbrn**, C6:2) “gift(s)”
 gav-varza-* (gwrz**, C4:54) “cattle-breeder” or “worker with cattle” (?)
sndst (C6:3) “brocade” (shape of word uncertain)
 xšvip(a)-* (hšpn**, B7:2) “agitated” (?)
 xvašainaka-* (?) (hšnk**, B4:3) “fine, splendid” (describing a donkey)

WORDS OF UNCERTAIN READING OR MEANING

ndr[?], C6:1
bry, C10:1
nwtš(y), A1:3; A4:4, see commentary to A1:3
rzbš, C1:19, probably some edible item

16. Personal names

Almost all of the personal names in these documents are Iranian. Most of them have transparent Old Persian etymologies and some are characteristically Zoroastrian. Some of these names may be said to be typical of the area of Bactria, with a theophoric element derived from the genius of the River Oxus or of Bactra.

In the following list, names to which a patronym, epithet, title of office or the like is attached are quoted with that complement.

A. HISTORICALLY RECOGNIZED NAMES

Alexander (**lksndrs mlk[?]**, C4:*1)
 Artaxerxes III (**rthšš mlk[?]**, A1:14; A2:9; A3:6; A4:8)
 Artaxerxes V (**rth[šš] mlk[?]**, C1:1)
 Bessus (**bys**, C1:*2, 51)
 Darius III (**drywhwš mlk[?]**, D1:1; D2:1; D3:2; D4:1; D5:1; D6:*1-2; D7:2; D8:2; D9:2; D10-D17)

B. PEOPLE KNOWN ONLY FROM THE KHALILI DOCUMENTS

IRANIAN NAMES

ZOROASTRIAN NAMES AND NAMES WITH OTHER RELIGIOUS CONNECTIONS

Ahura-dāta, foreman (**hrdt prtrkh [zy bgwnt]**, A1:8), “Created by Ahura”
 Ahura-dāta, scribe (**hrdt spr[?]**, C3:42)

Ahura-dāta, supervisor (**ʿhrdt ʿpdytʿ**, C4:37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 48)
 Anu-misa or Anu-miça (**ʿnms**, A2:4), perhaps a name containing the theophoric element
 Miça = Mithra
 Artaina-pāta (**ʿrtynpt**, B3:*1, 8) “Protected by the righteous”
 Āt(a)r-pāta, a man of Araivant (**ʿtrwpt ʿrywktʿ**, C5:5), “Protected by (the deity) Fire”
 Āt(a)r-vāza, supervisor in Araivant (**ʿtrwz ʿpdytʿ bʿrywnt**, C4:1a, 5, 8), “Fire blower”
 Āθfiya (**ʿtpyʿ**, A2:7), a name attested in the Avesta as Āθwya
 Axʷa-mazdā, satrap of Bactria (**ʿhmzd**, A1:1, 9; A2:1, 5; A2a:4; A3:*1; A4:1; A5:1; A6:1, 2),
 “Having the mind, or the existence, of Mazdā”
 Bagaīča (**bgys̥**, B2:1, 4; B2a:1; C3:43; D5:1), a hypocoristic from Baga
 Bagavant, governor in Khulmi (**bgwnt ph̥tʿ bhlmy**, A1:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13; A2:1, 8; A3:1, 5; A4:1, 7; A5:1, 4; A6:1, 3, 4, 12; A9:1, 11; A10:2), “Belonging to, adherent of, Baga”
 Baga-yaza (**bgyz**, D2:1) “Worshipper of Baga”
 Čīθra-čar-dāta (**štršrdt**, B4:1) “Created by the maker of brightness”
 Dainaya (**dynyʿ**, A1:1, 2, 8, 13; A4:2) “Relating to Dainā” (if it is a personal name)
 Dānga, ration provider (**dng ptpkn**, C4:10, 25), possibly the name attested in the Avesta as
 Dāṇha. Bartholomae (1903:744) suggests no explanation for this name.
 Daθuša(h)-farna(h) (**dtšʿprn**, A10:2) “Possessing the splendour of the day/month called:
 ‘of the Creator’”
 Farna(h)-pāta (**prnpt**, C8:2) “Protected by the (divine) splendour”
 Humanah or Haumanaha (**hwmnh**, B10:1) “Good Mind” or “Cheerfulness”
 Miθra-farna(h) (**mtrprn**, B1:9) “Possessing the fortune of Mithra”
 Miθra-pāta (**mtrpt**, B6:5) “Protected by Mithra”
 Miθra-vaxšu (**mtrwḥšw**, C4:47) “(Adherent of) Mithra and the Oxus”
 Tīr(a)ya (**tyry**, D8:1) “Related to (the deity) Tīri”
 Tīri-vahišta (or Tīra-vahišta) (**trwḥšt**, B1:10) “(Adherent of) the best Tīri”
 Vača(h)-dāta (**wšdt**, B1:7) “Created by Speech”
 Vahya(h)-āt(a)r, officer in Dastakani and Vahumati (**whyʿtrw pqydʿ zy bdstkny wwhwmty**,
 A6:1, 5; C1:46), “(Adherent of) Fire, the better (deity)”
 Va(h)ya(h)-zaya, or Vayu-zaya (**wyzʿy**, C5:1, 7), perhaps “Born of the better one”, or “of Vagu”
 Xšaθraka (**ḥštrk**, D4:1; D18:1) “Relating to (the deity) Kingship”
 Xšaθrakāna (**ḥštrkn**, C4:*41) “Relating to (the deity) Kingship”
 Xʷača(h)-dāta son of Avi-aršya (**ḥšdt ʿwršykn**, C1:49) “Created by Good Speech” (?)
 Xʷar-d(a)ušta(r) (**ḥrdwšt**, A2a:1) “Friend of the sun”

NAMES RESONANT OF HISTORY (ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY BELONGING TO
 HISTORICALLY KNOWN PERSONS)

Sāsāna (**ssn mr[ʿy]**, C4:56)
 Vištāspa Kār(a)nya (**wštʿsp krny**, C2:1)
 Vištāspa, barley-supplier (**wštʿsp ywbr**, C4:35)

NAMES RELATING TO BACTRIA OR TO OTHER REGIONAL ELEMENTS

Baxtri-farna(h) (**bḥtrprn**, B4:1) “Having the fortune of Bactria”
 D(a)izaka (**dyzk**, A2a:1) “Relating to the fortress (or to a place called Dizā)”

D(a)izaka, scribe (**dyzk spr** yd' t'm' znh, A2:7; A4:6; A7:2)
 Haš(y)a-vaxšu, scribe (**hšwhšw spr**, A1:12), “(Adherent of) the Truthful Oxus”
 Kaufa-dāta (**kwpdt**, C2:1, 3) “Created by the mountain” or “by the Kabul river” (?)
 Margu-dāta, treasurer (**mrgdt gzb[r]**, B10:2), “Created by (the genius of) Margiana”
 Miθra-vaxšu (**mtrwhšw**): see above under Zoroastrian names
 Vahu-vaxšu son of Čiθra-b(a)rzana (**whwhšw br štrbrzn**, A1:1) “(Adherent of) the Good Oxus”
 Vaxšu-abra-dāta son of Xšaθrakāna (**whšw brdt br hštrkn**, C4:*41, 43, 45, 47) “Created by the Oxus cloud”; alternatively Vaxšu-abda-dāta “Created miraculously by the Oxus”
 Vaxšu-bandaka (**whšwbndk**, C1:46) “Slave or servant of the Oxus”
 Vaxšu-dāta, barley-supplier (**whšwdt ywbr**, C4:2, 20, 59), “Created by the Oxus”
 Vaxšu-vahišta, messenger (**whšwhšt zgnđ**, A5:1, 4), “(Adherent of) Oxus the Best”

OTHER IRANIAN NAMES

Ādu-āpa (**dw p**, D13:1) “Having seed and water” (?)
 Amava-dāta, supervisor (**mwdt pdyt**, C4:22), “Created by the mighty one”
 Avaršayakāna (?) (**wršykn**, C1:49), a patronymic
 Ax'a-pav-ya (**hpwy**, D14:1) “related to a pure existence” (?)
 Azdā-yāpa, foreman of Vaxšu-vahišta (**zdyp prtrkh**, A5:1, 4), “Receiver of (good) news”
 Bārya (**bry**, C10:1) “Delicate, noble” (if it is a personal name)
 Čiθra-b(a)rzana (**štrbrzn**, A1:1) “Of high lineage”
 Čiθra-vahišta (**tytrwhšt**, B4:3) “Belonging to the best family”
 Čiθriya-kara (**štrykr**, D17:1) “One who makes (people) to be with a pretty or cheerful countenance”
 Dahyu-b(a)rzana (**dhywbrzn**, B6:1) “Possessor of the high country” or “One who elevates the country”
 Daimaka (of) Zaratanugaričakāna (**dymk zrtngrškn**, C9:7)
 Frādaka (**prdk**, A10:11), from the root *frād-* “to further”
 Gaunakāna (**gwnkn**, C10:1), a patronymic formed from Gaunaka “Hairy”
 Gauza (**gwzh**, D1-D5), from the root *gauz-* “to hide”; or Gavāza “Cattle-prod”
 Karta-daima(n) (**krttdym**, C8:5) “Having a knife-like gaze” (?)
 Maza-tanu-pati (**mztnpty**, C8:4) “Chief of (the men) with a great body” (?)
 Migdaspākāna (**mgdspkn**, A3:6), a patronymic derived from *Migda-spā- “one who grows fruit” (?) (if it is a personal name)
 Nāfa-b(a)rzana (**npbrzn**, C4:3, 36, 37) “Belonging to an elevated family”
 Nāfava-zāta (**npwzt**, D16:1) “Born from someone belonging to a (distinguished) family”
 Nayaka (**nyk**, D12:1) “Leader” (?)
 Nura-fratara, scribe (**nwrprtr spr**, A5:3; A6:11) “clever (and) foremost”
 Pari-tana (**prtn**, D11:1) “One who keeps (something) away”
 Patiyāra (**ptyr**, D7:1) “Adversary”
 Sarya-bara (**srybr**, D3:1) “Manure carrier”
 Saryava(nt) (**sryw**, A10a:9), possibly “Possessing manure” (if it is a personal name)
 Spāda-farna(h) (**spdprn**, B3:3) “(Possessing) the splendour of the army”
 Sp(a)ita (**spyt**, A4:2) “White”
 Sp(a)ita (**spyt rhhy**, D6:1) “White”

Upa-dvāra (**ʾwpdwr**, B1:1, 9) “One who walks up to (a goal)” (?)
 Upari-vana (**ʾprwn**, D14-D16) “Victorious over (all)”
 Vahuča (**whwš**, B2:1, *4; B3:1, 8) “The good one” (a diminutive form)
 Va(h)ya(h)-pakaya (?) (**wypky**, C8:3), see commentary ad loc.
 Vaidyūra or Vaidya-vara (**wdywr**, C2:2), “Knowledgeable, wise” or “Choosing knowledge”
 Varča(h)-varzana (**wršwrzn**, C4:9) “Acting with energy”
 Vartaina (**wrtyn**, B1:9) “Turning”
 Vasamakāna (**wsmkn**, C9:4), patronym of Xšaita, of unclear significance
 Vi-kana-va(nt) (**wknw**, D10:1) “Destroyer” (?)
 Xšaita (**hšyt wsmkn**, C9:4) “Bright, luminous”, with a patronym, Vasamakāna, q.v.
 (1) Zr̥va-gavaθya or (2) Zarō-gavaθya (**zrwgwt̥y**, B4:4). The two readings give the following alternative meanings: (1) “One whose herd is of long duration” or “One who tends the herd of Zurvan”; (2) “One who possesses an old herd”.

UNEXPLAINED NAMES

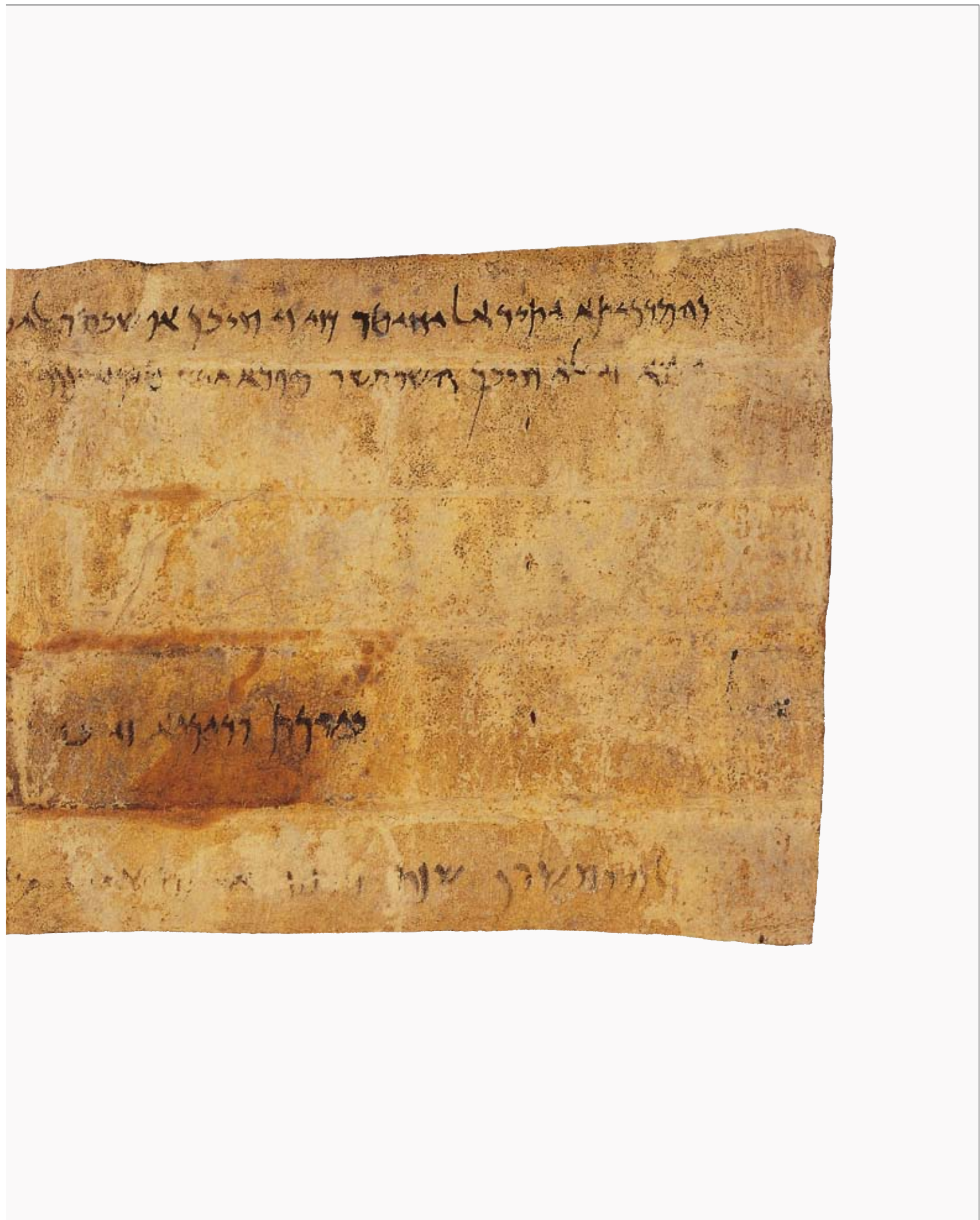
ʾbwdy (D7-D13)
ʾhpwy qwptš (D14:1)
ʾlkm (C5:3)
ʾqmt̥y (C5:2)
ʾrbztkw (A10a:10) (PN?)
ʾšmy (B5:8)
nkwr (B1:6)
qwptš (D14:1)
šrtwk (D11:1), containing as first element *čāra*- “means, help” (?)
ttk (D1:1; D9:1; D15:1) Taitaka

THE TEXTS

A. Documents relating to Bagavant,
mostly letters from Akhvamazda,
presumably the satrap of Bactria



A1. [Khalili IA 6] *Verso*



A1. [Khalili IA 6]

Height 146 mm.; width 322 mm. Well preserved document. Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant. Dated Marḥešwan, year 6 of Artaxerxes III, corresponding to November / December 353 BCE. The corresponding date according to the Julian calendar is calculated here and in the following from the data in Parker and Dubberstein 1956. Hashavakhshu is the scribe.

Recto

- 1 מן אחמזד על בגונת ודיניא וכעת והוחשו בר שתרברזן כן אמר אנה קדמנם קבלת למראי אחמזד מן
- 2 בגונת ודיניא איך זי לאשתרפניא הנשכרת זילי הנצל בזו אסר ונגדו בהלכא זי לא חבין לא שבקן
- 3 להם גמלן זי מלכא למנטר בזנה דב ונותשי הוה בגמלן זי מלכא על זנה אנה מהודע אחר מן מראי
- 4 שאיל בגונת אנתר עד פתגמא לא אמיר לה בגונת זך אזל על חלמי אנה תוב קבלת למראי אחר
- 5 שליח על בגונת שים לה טעם גבריא אלך אשתרפניא זי אסירן למשבק ופתזבנא למאמר מן
- אשתרפניא
- 6 [ווי הנ]ציל תוב להתבה בגונת זך לא אבה למשבק גברן אלך אנה תוב קבלת למראי אחר מן תרע
- מראי
- 7 גברן מניו זי גבריא אלך אשתרפניא שבקו מן אסורא ופתזבנא אמרו לבגונת אחר על אחרן אחרי
- פתזבנא
- 8 [על דבר זנה זי גבריא אלך קבלו כן בגונת אהרדת פרתרכה ודיניא הנצלו מן אשתרפניא תור 1
- חמר 2
- 9 [קן 34 אף נהמרניתא יתיר יחיטו עליהם כזי לאחרן מתא הן על מראי אחמזד טב יתעשת לי על זנה
- כעת
- 10 על זי <מ>הנצלן אנתם ואסרן לגבריא אלך שטר מן נשתונא זילי כזי תאתון תשתאלון להן כען זי
- הנצלם תוב התבו להם אף

Verso

- 11 נהמרניתא יתיר אל <ת>יחיטו כזי זי חבין אף שבקו לגבריא אשתרפניא עבדת נפשהם <י>עבדו אל
- תנגדו להם בארקה
- 12 [הלכ]א זי לא חבין השוחשו ספרא ידע טעמא זנה

Verso, following a large space:

- 13 אל vacat בגונת ודיניא זי בח[למ]י
- 14 [...] למרחשון שנת 6 ארתחש[סש] מלכא בהלך היתי אגרתא זא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- A1:1 mn 'h̄mzd 'l bgwnt wdyny' wk't whwḥšw br štrbrzn kn 'mr 'nh qdmnm qblt lmr'y 'h̄mzd mn
A1:2 bgwnt wdyny' 'yk zy l'štrpny' hnškrt zyly hnšl bzz 'sr wngdw bhlk' zy l' ḥybn l' šbqn
A1:3 lhm gmln zy mlk' lmntr bzn̄h db wnwṭšy hwh bgmln zy mlk' 'l znh 'nh mhwḏ' 'ḥr mn mr'y
A1:4 šyl bgwnt 'ntr 'd ptgm' l' 'myr lh bgwnt zk 'zl 'l ḥlmy 'nh twb qblt lmr'y 'ḥr
A1:5 šlyḥ 'l bgwnt šym lh 'm gbry' 'lk 'štrpny' zy 'syrrn lms̄bq wptzbn' lmr' mn 'štrpny'
A1:6 [wzy hn]šyl twb lhtbh bgwnt zk l' 'bh lms̄bq gbrn 'lk 'nh twb qblt lmr'y 'ḥr mn tr' mr'y
A1:7 gbrn mnyw zy gbry' 'lk 'štrpny' šbqw mn 'swr' wptzbn' 'mrw lbgwnt 'ḥr 'l 'ḥrn 'ḥry ptzbn'
A1:8 ['l] dbr znh zy gbry' 'lk qblw kn bgwnt 'hrdt prtrkh wdyny' hnšlw mn 'štrpny' twr 1 ḥmr 2
A1:9 [q]n 34 'p nhmrnyt' ytyr yḥyṭw 'lyhm kzy l'ḥrn mt' hn 'l mr'y 'h̄mzd ṭb yt'št ly 'l znh k't
A1:10 'l zy <m>hnšln 'ntm w'srn lgbry' 'lk štr mn nštwn' zyly kzy t'twn tšt'lwn lhn k'n zy hnšltm
twb htbw lhm 'p

Verso

A1:11 nhmrnyt' ytyr 'l <t>yhytw kzy zy hybn 'p šbqw lgbry' 'štrpny' 'bdt npšhm <y>'bdw 'l
tngdw lhm b'rqh

A1:12 [hlk]' zy l' hybn hšwšw spr' yd' t'm' znh

Verso, following a large space

A1:13 'l [vacat] bgwnt wdyny' zy bh[lm]y

A1:14 [...] mršwn šnt 6 'rthš[sš] mlk' bh/k hyty 'grt' z'

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Akhvamazda to Bagavant and the magistrates. And now: Vahuvakhshu son of Chithrabarzana said thus: "I complained earlier to my lord Akhvamazda concerning
- 2 Bagavant and the magistrates, how they removed (things) from the camel-keepers, my apprentice-servants; they despoiled and detained them, and extracted (from them) a tax which they (viz. the camel-keepers) are not obliged (to pay), not letting
- 3 them guard the camels of the king. As a result of this, there will be (?) a flow (?) and a renewed flow (?) among the camels of the king. Therefore I inform (my lord). There after, Bagavant was interrogated
- 4 by my lord. In the meantime, before the decision was issued to him, the same Bagavant went to Khulmi. I again complained to my lord. Afterwards
- 5 (a message) was sent to Bagavant (and) an order was given to him to release those men, the detained camel-keepers, and to proclaim a prohibition concerning the camel-keepers,
- 6 [and that which he] removed to give back. The same Bagavant refused to release those men. I again complained to my lord. Afterwards, (certain) men were appointed
- 7 by the court of my lord, who released those men, the camel-keepers, from prison, and (who) issued a prohibition to Bagavant. Afterwards, finally, after the (issue of the) prohibition,
- 8 because those men complained, Bagavant, Ahuradata his foreman and the magistrates removed from the camel-keepers one bull, two donkeys
- 9 (and) 34 [sheep]. Furthermore, they imposed on them a surcharge (?) more than (is imposed on) another land. If my lord Akhvamazda deems this appropriate, may he consider (the issue) in my favour concerning this matter." Now:
- 10 because you are removing (things from) those men and are imprisoning (them) against my decree, when you come (to me), you will be interrogated. But now, what you have removed, give back to them. Furthermore,

Verso

- 11 do not extract (from them) a surcharge (?) more than what they owe. Also, release those men, the camel-keepers, to do their own work. Do not impose on the land
- 12 [a tax] which they do not have to pay. Hashavakhshu the scribe is aware of this command.

Verso, following a large space:

13 To [blank space] Bagavant and the magistrates, who are in Khulmi.

14 ... of Marḥešvan, year 6 of Artaxerxes the king. Concerning a tax. Bring this letter.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ḥmzd:** Ax^va-mazdā “Having the mind, or the existence, of Mazdā” (or, as N. S-W points out, Ax^va-mižda, which would signify something like “Having the reward of existence”). It may be deduced from the contents of these letters that Akhvamazda is the satrap of Bactria.

bgwnt: Bagavant “Belonging to, adherent of, Baga”. An Old Persian personal name *Bagavanta, with secondary thematization, is reconstructed from the Elamite; see Mayrhofer 1973, No. 8.240, s.v. Bakunda, and Hinz 1975:60, where further literature is quoted. We have adopted Bagavant as the standard transcription of this name, but the alternative Bagavanta should be kept in mind. According to A2:8, Bagavant is the governor (**pḥt**) in Khulmi.

dyny’: “the magistrates”. The plural **dyny’** occurs in Cowley 1923, Nos. 6:6; 8:24; 17:6; 27:9; 80:8; 82:1; Segal 1983, Nos. 16:2; 27:2; 30a:2; 79:1; 121:2; Ezra 4:9, and it seems best to take the word here in the same sense. The word could however also be interpreted here and in A4 as a personal name: Dainaya “Relating to Dainā”. Greenfield 1990:90 notes that the judges or magistrates in the documents found in Egypt are usually mentioned as an undifferentiated group. Their precise function is rarely easy to make out. One may surmise that they were used here in order to endow the activity of the governor with a legal form, although the plaintiff claims precisely that what was done by the governor was not according to the law, a complaint upheld by the satrap.

whḥšw br štrbrzn: It is rare in Achaemenian administrative documents to refer to people with their patronymic. The names can be interpreted as Vahu-vaxšu son of Čithra-b(ar)zana. The first name and several other names in this document refer to the Good Vakhshu or Oxus, the genius of the Amu Darya river and a powerful deity of the Bactrian region in antiquity; cf. Grenet and Rapin 1998:80. The meaning of the father’s name is “Of high lineage”.

qblt ... mn: Note that **qbl** takes the preposition **mn** to express the notion of “to complain of”. Cf. also Driver No. 4:3, where **mn** follows a nominal form of the verb, and Syriac **qbl**, which can be followed by **mn** or **l** to express the object of the complaint.

Line 2. **štrpny’:** “camel-keepers”, reflecting an Aramaic plural form of Old Persian *uštra-pāna-. This word is attested in New Persian, cf. *šuturvān* “a camel-driver”, quoted in Browne 1894:473.

hnškrt: “servants”. The word may be the precursor of MP **hšgyrd**, Armenian loanword *ašakert*, New Persian *šāgird* “apprentice”. For the etymological derivation that follows we are indebted to N. S-W (in a private communication), who derives it from *hančyā-kṛta- “placed together”. For the first element compare Av. *hamča* “together, placed together” (Bartholomae 1904:1778), Khotanese *hamtsa* “together” (< *ham-čyā, Bailey 1979:452). Ossetic has *xæccæ*

“together” (cf. Abaev 1958/89, vol. 4:151), which also displays an original **ham* with a suffix containing an original *-č-*. Cf. also Sims-Williams 1985:107. The second element, *kṛta-*, when combined with a word with a locative sense, can have the meaning of “placed at”. For this usage N.S-W compares Parthian *dastēgird* “estate”, from **dastaya-kṛta-*, literally “placed in the hand”.

Apprentices were evidently conceived of as forming a group of young people attached to their master. The semantic development seems to be via “companion, follower” to “apprentice, pupil”. Words denoting “young man, boy” often develop the meaning “servant”, like Aramaic *ʾlym*, occurring in the documents published here, or Arabic *ḡulām*, Greek *παῖς*. Similarly, Arabic and New Persian *ṣāhib* has the sense of “companion, disciple”, and the Arabic verb *ṣḥḥ* refers to being in the company of a master. NP *čākar* may be etymologically connected, although the process by which the word was transformed is not quite clear.

Benveniste (1945a:69-70) proposed to derive NP *šāgird*, MP *hšgyrd*, from Old Iranian **hašyā-kṛta-* “qui est rendu authentique, accompli, en parlant du disciple qui a fait ses preuves”, and referred to Schaeder (1940:378-379), who had made an earlier suggestion on the same lines. This etymology was accepted by Bailey (1953:111) and Widengren (1969:90 n. 71; 1983:112); the latter characterized this word as a Parthian “feudal” term. This etymology is now rendered obsolete by the Aramaic word, which helps to establish the original Old Persian form of the word.

hnšl bzz ʾsr wngdw: Note that the first three verbs are in the singular, while the fourth is in the plural. On the meaning of the verb **hnšl** cf. Greenfield 1983; our document seems to suggest a specialized meaning in addition to those already noted, viz. “to take away by force or unlawfully”.

ngd: The meaning “to take away, remove” is attested in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; cf. Sokoloff 2002:727.

hlkʾ: This is a well-known Aramaic term for a type of tax, usually a land-tax. It has been connected on the one hand to Akkadian *ilku*, from which it is supposed to be derived, and on the other to Manichaean Middle Persian **hrʾg**, Arabic loanword *kharāj*, which borrowed the word from Aramaic. The connection with Akkadian *ilku* is somewhat complicated by the long vowel (following the consonant *l / r*) found in Biblical and Talmudic Aramaic and in the words borrowed from Aramaic in Iranian and Arabic. For more extensive discussion and references see Chapter 8 in the Introduction.

ʾ šbqn: Active participle, used as gerund or as an asyndetic phrase.

Line 3. **gmln ... lmnṭr:** The meaning of this Aramaic phrase corresponds exactly to that of the Iranian title *uštra-pāna-*.

db wnwšy hwh: There is a clear break between **wnwšy** and **hwh**, but in A4:4 we find the phrase [**db**] **wnwš yʿbd**. It is accordingly better to assume a scribal error here and to read **db *wnwš *yhwh**. Both here and in A4 it would also be possible to read **rb(?) wnwš**, where **rb(?)** could be the Aramaic adjective or adverb “much”, and **nwš**, as Dr. M. Morgenstern has suggested to us, might possibly be a verbal noun from NTŠ “to tear, lacerate”, a verb attested in Syriac with the nominal form **nwtšʿ**. This explanation is however open to some reservations: the verbal noun form *qūṭāl* is not otherwise known in Official Aramaic; one should not have a *plene* writing in Official Aramaic, i.e. the *waw* before the *taw* is unexpected; and the form *rabbā*—the *aleph* is plausibly restored in A4:4—is not called for. These considerations favour a different explanation for the phrase **db wnwš**.

db: **daba-* could be an Iranian word derived from the Iranian verb “to deceive; to harm” (Bartholomae 1904:679-680; for the range of meanings of *dab-* cf. Bailey 1979:166a). However, in view of the combination with the following word, it seems preferable to suppose that **db** is connected to the Aramaic root DWB “to flow out, discharge, drip”. **db** (perhaps vocalized *dub*) may then be a verbal noun meaning “liquid discharge, flow”.

nwtšy: In harmony with the presumed meaning of **db**, ***nwš** may be interpreted as reflecting an Iranian compound: **nava-tača-*, which means “newly flowing, newly current” (?). The combination **db *wnwš** (assuming that the final *yod* belongs to the next word) could then mean “discharge and renewed discharge of liquid”, a metaphorical expression designating an illness which gets constantly worse. The two elements of this expression, **db** and **nwtš**, have their origins, if this interpretation is accepted, in Aramaic and Old Persian respectively. It must be noted however that such a bilingual expression is extremely unusual in Official Aramaic.

hwh: This could be a participle (as translated) or a perfect (“there was discharge and renewed discharge ...”). It is quite possible, however, that the final *yod* of **wnwšy** belongs here, giving ***yhwh** (see above).

Line 4. **šʿyl bgwnt:** The phrase is passive, employing the preposition **mn** to indicate the agent (as in line 6 and in the phrase **mny šym ʿm**, for which see Kutscher 1969). **šʿyl** is the passive participle of ŠʿL. In line 10 **tštʿlwn** in *itpeʿel* is also passive: “to be interrogated / punished”. The Aramaic root ŠʿL corresponds to the Iranian root *pʃs-*, *fras-*, which displays the same semantic range: “to ask, interrogate, put on trial, punish”. Cf. in particular Driver 1957, No. 4:3, and the comments in Driver 1957:50. Middle Persian has *pādefrāh*, and the loanword ***ptypʿrsʿ** (corrupted in the manuscripts to **mṭwprʿsʿ**) is attested in the Babylonian Talmud (cf. Sokoloff 2002:896-897 s.v. **ptwprʿsʿ**). Cf. Greenfield 1982:9-10 on the usage of the verb ŠʿL together with **ptgm**. The unusual frequency of passive forms in this document is noteworthy. This became a standard feature of the later languages, Middle Persian and Middle Aramaic, but is not yet very common at the stage of Official Aramaic. On the passive construction in Aramaic cf. Kutscher 1969; Folmer 1995:376-392; Muraoka and Porten 1998, §54 (pp. 201-203).

’ntr: The Old Persian preposition *antar* means “in, between, in the midst of” (Bartholomae 1904:131-132). Here the context requires that it should be translated as an adverbial expression, “in the meantime”, an unusual sense for this word.

’d ptgm’ l’ ’myr lh: literally “until the decree was not spoken to him”, here obviously in the sense of “before”. **’d** is used like *tā* in Middle and New Persian. It may be recalled that **’D** is used as the heterogram for *tā* in Zoroastrian Middle Persian.

ptgm’: “command”, literally “word”. What is meant, presumably, is the verdict and the ensuing command of Akhvamazda. On the sense of **gst ptgm** in the Arshama letters, which probably mean something harsher than just “reprimand”, cf. Greenfield 1982:9, who suggests that **ptgm** is to be understood as “punishment” in the Hebrew text of Ecclesiastes 8:11.

’zl ’l hlmy: “went to Khulmi”. We know from this and some of the other documents that Khulmi was the place of residence of Bagavant. The seat of Akhvamazda is not explicitly stated in the documents, but was undoubtedly Bactra, the capital of the satrapy.

Line 5. **wptzbn’ lm’mr:** “to speak a proclamation (of prohibition)”. The meaning of the noun is assured from the occurrence of a related Iranian loanword in the Aramaic of the Aśoka inscription Kandahar 1:4-5, **’<p>zy nwny’ ’hđn ’lk ’nšn ptyzbt** “and those who catch fish, those men are forbidden”. This Iranian loanword was explained by Benveniste (in Schlumberger *et al.* 1958:40), who refers to the Old Persian present stem *pati-zbaya-* (from the root *zav-*, *zbā-*) “to proclaim (a prohibition)”. The word **patizbāna-* is the verbal noun “proclamation (of a prohibition)” or simply “prohibition, interdiction”. The Aramaic phrase with **lm’mr** “to proclaim” is pleonastic.

Line 6. **wzy hnšyl:** The verb is written with an unusual *plene* notation of the final syllable.

twb lhtbh: “to give back”, literally “to give back again”. The same usage occurs again in line 10.

’bh: This verb is rare in Aramaic and more typical of Hebrew. But the two verbs **’bh** and **šbh** are used interchangeably in B3.

tr^c mr’y: For the word “gate” in the sense of a royal court or an establishment for judicial procedures, cf. Hebrew *ša‘ar* (Esther 4:2, 6), Biblical Aramaic **tr^c** (Dan 2:49); Akkadian *bābu*. The Aramaic **BB’** is used as a heterogram for *dar* “royal court” in Zoroastrian Middle Persian.

Line 7. **mnyw:** This is a rare instance of a passive form of the *pa^{cc}el* perfect. Cf. Muraoka and Porten 1998, §30 (pp. 119f.), where no case of a passive *pa^{cc}el* in the perfect is cited, and only one instance of a passive of *hof^{al}* in the perfect. The passive participle plural **mmnyn** occurs in Driver 1957, No. 5:5.

’hr ʾl ʾhrn ʾhry ptzbn’: Note the heaping up of adverbial expressions.

Line 8. **kn**: This is a particle which introduces the main clause.

prtrkh: The final *he* is undoubtedly the possessive pronoun of the third person singular. Here Ahuradata is the *frataraka* of Bagavant. The title **frataraka-* means something like “foreman, chief”, cf. Hinz 1975:98f.; in our documents the word seems to denote a person under the command of someone else, which also seems to fit the contexts in which this word is attested in the Cowley papyri. There seems to be no strong reason for the statement: “the *frataraka* may have served as a court of appeal or higher instance” (Greenfield 1990:89f.), though the combination of **frataraka-* with *dayyānāyā* “the judges” (if this is the correct interpretation of the word) may imply a judicial connection. For a survey of the etymological and historical problems connected with the title **frataraka-* cf. Wiesehöfer 1991; Boyce and Grenet 1991:110-116. Ito 1994 tends to give too much weight to the meaning of the Armenian loanword *hratarak* “announcer” for explaining the Iranian term.

Line 9. **qn**: A small remnant of a letter visible before the *nun* is more easily compatible with *qof* than with most other letters. Cf. **qn** in C1:9, 11; C2 :1, 2 ; C5 :4, 5.

nhmrnyt: This term apparently designates excessive, perhaps unlawful, imposition of tax. Etymologically it seems that the word contains the element **hmāra-* “account”. The final element may be identified as *nīta-*, passive participle of *nī-* “to lead”. The first element should be a negative particle, but the choice of particle is not clear. It could in theory be *ana-* (cf. Avestan *ana-*), but an initial *a-* is not otherwise omitted in Aramaic loans of the Achaemenian period. As N. S-W suggests, it could be the preverb *nī*, which sometimes has negative force (cf. Gershevitch 1972:125); the following *h* should then have been realized as *š*, but this law of sandhi is not always observed. Alternatively, one might even suggest that **n-** represents the Old Persian negative *nai*. It is sometimes assumed that Old Persian *naiy* represents **nait*; this is however uncertain. One may agree with those scholars (e.g. Hoffmann 1976:635 n. 23) who regard the spelling *naiy* as representing a phonetic reality. In this case we would have not a compound but a phrase, borrowed as a lexical unit: **nai *hmāra(h) *nīta(h)* “the account not introduced”, in the sense of “the account being unregistered (in the books)”. An Aramaic word ending in **-yt** would normally be feminine, but the form **ytyr** (if it is used as an attribute and not adverbially) shows that **nhmrnyt** is masculine, in accordance with the proposed etymology.

yhytw: This verbal form is to be analyzed as the perfect 3rd pl. of YḤṬ in *pa^{el}*, “they imposed (payment)”. A similar occurrence of this verb is in Ezra 4:12, where it has the sense of “to lay (foundations)”, cf. Rosenthal 1963:56. Arabic has a verb ḤṬṬ in the sense of “to put, pay” (among other meanings), which could belong to the same semantic range as YḤṬ.

ytyr ... kzy l’hrn mt: **kzy** here and in line 11 is used like **mn**, which is the normal expression for indicating comparison after **ytyr** (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:481f.; such a usage is

however not recorded by Muraoka and Porten 1998:332f., §88c). An alternative translation would be: “more than (is imposed on the people of) another town” (?). One would expect **lmt’ hry**; the unusual morphology and syntax may be due to the influence of Persian, where forms of the words *anya-* and *dahyu-* might be postulated. Middle Persian has the compound *anšahrīg*, literally “belonging to another kingdom”, which effectively means “slave” (cf. MacKenzie 1971:10). One wonders whether it may be possible to attribute a similar sense to the Aramaic expression “of another town”.

k’t: The particle **k’t** indicates a new beginning. At this point Akhvamazda stops quoting from the letter he received from Vahuvakhshu and issues his own command.

Line 10. **<m>hnšln**: An active participle is clearly required. Similarly, **’srn** is an active participle plural masculine.

štr mn: Literally “outside of”, hence “not in conformity with”. Cf. also A6:4 (where **mn** is omitted) and B5:9 (where it is spelled **štr mn**).

nštwn’: An Aramaic borrowing from Old Persian **ništāvan(a)-* “decree, edict, ordinance”, already attested in Ezra 4:7, 18, 23; 5:5; 7:11 and in Cowley 1923, No. 17:3. For references to the rich scholarly bibliography on this word cf. Hinz 1973:43-44; 1975:176; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:766. From the two passages where this word occurs in the Khalili documents (the other being A6:6) it does not seem that a **nštwn** needs to be a written document, and the frequent references in the Biblical passages and in the Cowley document to a *written nštwn* may likewise be interpreted as implying that the decree was not always written.

tšt’lwn: “you will be interrogated”, that is to say, punished. Cf. above on line 4.

Line 11. **ytyr ... kzy**: “more than”, cf. above, note to line 9.

šbqw lgbry’ ... bdt npšhm <y>’bdw: Cf. the similar turn of phrase in A4:5: **hyl’ lk ... šbq yhkwl’ bydthm** “those troops ... release them to go about their work”.

’l tngdw lhm b’rqh [hlk]’: Literally, “do not impose on them, on (their) land, a tax”. **’rqh** seems to be the absolute state of this feminine noun; cf. the single occurrence of the determined state **’rqt’** in Driver 1957, No. 12:6. See further in the commentary to B3:3 below.

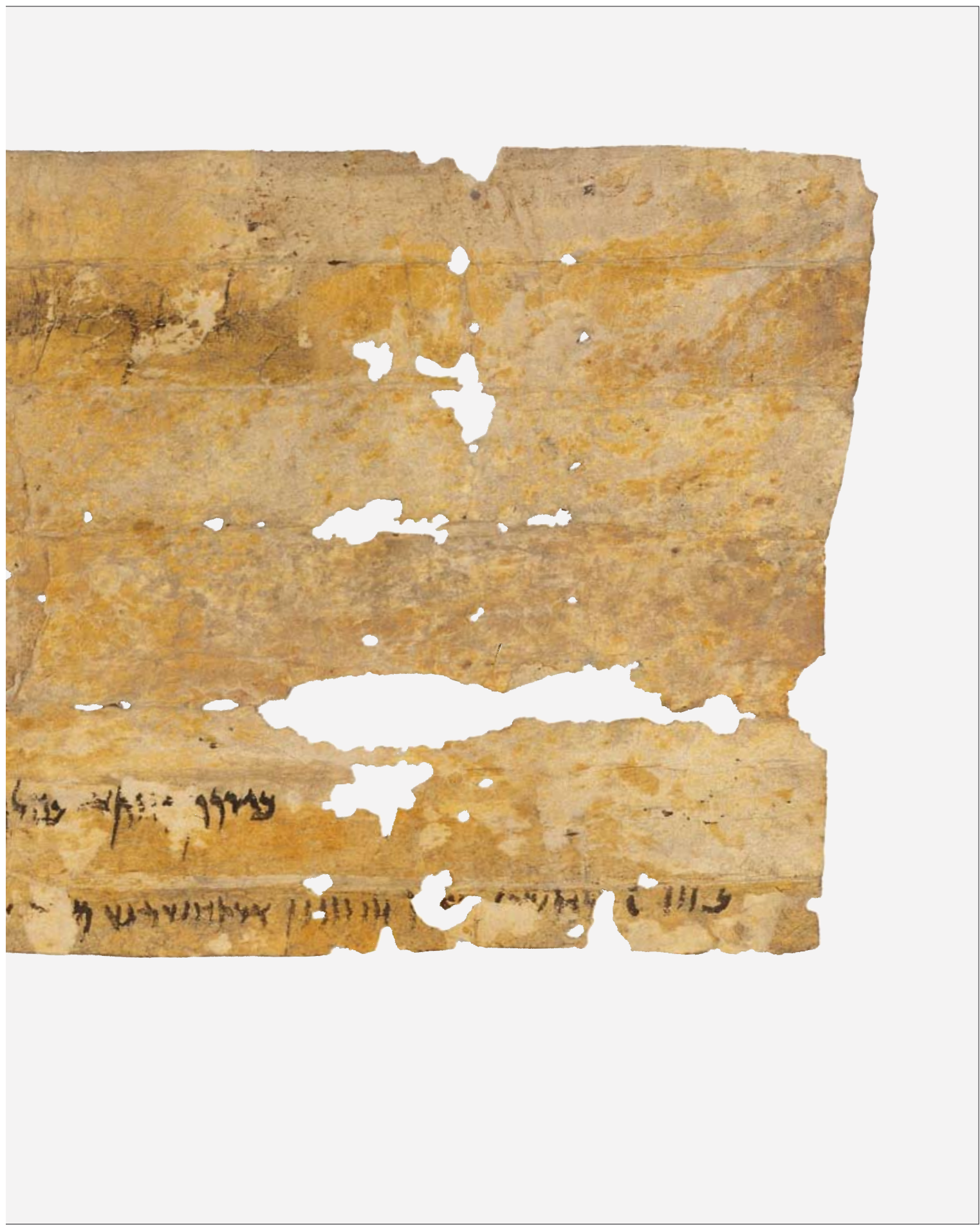
Line 12. **hšwḥšw**: The name Haš(y)a-vaxšu means “(Adherent of) the Truthful Oxus”.



A2. [Khalili IA 4] *Recto*



A2. [Khalili IA 4] *Verso*



A2. [Khalili IA 4]

Height 153 mm.; width 320 mm. Large holes and large areas where the ink was rubbed off. The fragmentary state of the document and the fact that much of the writing is lost does not allow complete certainty as to its interpretation. Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, 3 Marḥešwan, year 8 of Artaxerxes III, corresponding to 19 November 351 BCE. Daizaka is the scribe.

Recto

- 1 מן [א]חמזוד על בגו[נ]ת וכעת זי שלחת עלי אנה לם זי עדית מן מראי תנה הנדרזא עבד על
דו[ש]חורא ארחא
- 2 [ורכש בדבר ארתדתנה ...] ארתור [חלא להנפקה] מן ביתא זילך אחר [אז]גנדא מן מראי [היתי
אגרת אנ]ת לם קח
- 3 [גברן ...]ין ו[.].לין 40 (?) ב 3 למרחשון אתה ל[...]. אחרכן [עבד] זמנא [איך] זי אפיתא ארחא
[ו]רכש [ב]דבר ארתדתנה
- 4 [וח]לא אהנפק מ[ן] ביתא זילך אף אנמס אתה עבד [ז]מנא אחרכן [אנה אגרת]ת על זנה שלחת
עלי[ן] ...
- 5 כען אמר אחמזוד [כעת] חילא כרתהרן והרכין אזלי מחזותא זי לידך אלך כלא קח [היתי] עלי ב 10
למרח[שון] ... עד
- 6 ביתא זילי להן כ[ר]תנכא זילך עם שארית חילא זי תמה דושא[חורא] ארחא ורכש בדבר
[אר]ת[דתנא] [...] וחלא זך
- 7 יהנפקו מן ביתא זך זילי דיוך ספרא ואתפיא בעל טעם

Verso

- 8 [אל] vacat בגונת פחתא בחלמי
- 9 ב 3 ל[מ]רחשון [שנת] 8 ארתחשש מ[לכא] על נפ[ק] ביתי היתי אגרתא זא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- A2:1 mn [ʔ]ḥmzd ʿl bgw[n]t wkʿt zy šlḥt ʿly ʿnh lm zy ʿdyt mn mrʿy tnh hndrzʾ ʿbd ʿl dw[š]ḥwrʾ rḥʾ
- A2:2 [wrkš bdbʾ rtdtnh ...] ʾrtwk [ḥlʾ lhnpgḥ] mn bytʾ zylk ʾhr [ʔ]gndʾ mn mrʿy [hyty ʾgrtʾ n]t lm
qh
- A2:3 [gbrn ...]yn w[.]lyn 40 b 3 lmrḥšwn ʾth l[...] ʾhrkn [ʿbd] zmnʾ [ʔyk] zy ʾpytʾ rḥʾ [w]rk[š b]dbr
ʾrtdtnh
- A2:4 [wḥlʾ] ʾhnpq m[n] bytʾ zylk ʾp ʾnms ʾth ʿb[d z]m[n] ʾhrk[n] ʾn[h ʾgr]t ʿl znh šlḥt ʿly[k...]
- A2:5 kʿn ʾmr ʾḥmzd {kʿt} ḥylʾ krthrn whrkyn ʾzly mḥztʾ zy lydk ʾlk klʾ qḥ [hyty] ʿly b10 lmrḥ[šwn ...]
ʿd
- A2:6 bytʾ zyly lhn k[r]tnkʾ zylk ʾm šʾryt ḥylʾ zy tmh dwš[ḥwrʾ] rḥʾ wrkš bdbʾ [ʾrt]dtnʾ [...] wḥlʾ zk
- A2:7 yhnpgw mn bytʾ zk zyly dyzk sprʾ wʾtpyʾ bʿl ʿm

Verso

- A2:8 [ʔl] [vacat] bgwnt pḥtʾ bḥlmy
- A2:9 b 3 l[m]rḥšwn [šnt] 8 ʾrḥšš m[lkʾ] ʿl np[q] byty hyty ʾgrtʾ zʾ

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Akhvamazda to Bagavant. And now, concerning (the message) that you sent to me, saying: “As soon as I went away from my lord, an instruction was issued here concerning the provisions (of) the wayfarers
- 2 [and the horses in the desert of Artadatana *on the way to* (?)] Artuka [to take out the sand / the vinegar] from your house. Then [a mess]enger [brought a letter] from my lord saying: ‘You take
- 3 (40?) [men *originating from* GN₁ and GN₂] on the third of Marḥešvan (and) come to [...]’. Then a time [was set] as (for) the needs (of) the wayfarers and the horses in the desert of Artadatana,
- 4 so that I should take out the [sa]nd / [vin]egar from your house. Also Anumisa came and set a time. Then I sent to you a [letter] concerning this matter [...].”
- 5 Now Akhvamazda says: The troops [*above the line*: the **krthrn** and the Heratis (?)] that go to the towns, who are under your authority, take all those [and bring] to me on the tenth day of Marḥešvan [...] to
- 6 my house. But let your bodyguard (?), with the rest of the troops that are there, [bring?] the provisions (of) the wayfarers and the horses in the desert [of Arta]datana, and let them take out
- 7 that sand / vinegar from that house of mine. Daizaka is the scribe and Athfiya is in charge of the command.

Verso

- 8 [To] [*blank space*] Bagavant the governor in Khulmi.
- 9 On 3 of Marḥešvan [(in the) year] 8 of Artaxerxes the King. Concerning: taking out (?) from my house. Bring this letter.

COMMENTARY

General remarks: This letter seems to have a structure similar to that of A4. One possible way of reconstructing its general contents is as follows: When Bagavant returns home to Khulmi after a visit to his master Akhvamazda, he receives a command to clear sand from the house or domain of Akhvamazda, which is found on the way to Artuk(a), a place mentioned also in other documents. A messenger then comes from Akhvamazda with a new command to take troops to Akhvamazda (apparently soldiers of two ethnic origins, but the interpretation of the two adjectives is uncertain). Bagavant asks for further instructions, and from line 5 onwards comes the response of Akhvamazda. The house of Akhvamazda is apparently a caravanserai, probably a station on the road in the Persian postal system (cf. Herodotus 8:98). This is made plausible by the fact that horses (**rkš**, as in Esther 8:10, 14) are mentioned, and not camels. The house is in a desert or open area, **dbr**. The area to the south of the Oxus and immediately north of the line Bactria-Khulmi-Kunduz is a plain which Adamec 1979:5-6 describes in the following terms: “South of this strip is a band of sandy desert. Its breadth varies from 10 to 20 miles—15 is a fair average—though, as many roads cross it diagonally, it may seem more to the ordinary traveller”. Sand storms are frequent in such areas, requiring routine maintenance works for clearing the houses of the accumulated sand. It is stated that the clearing of the sand

should be done for **pyt** (variant: **dwš[ʔ]hwr**) **rh** **wrkš** “for the provisions, the travellers (or riders), and the horses”.

The crucial word here is **hl**, which may mean “sand”, but which may alternatively mean “vinegar”. In view of this ambiguity it is possible to interpret the sense of the instructions differently, as an order to obtain a supply of vinegar, a term which usually refers to wine whose fermentation was stopped prematurely (cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 3:186). This was used as part of the provisions given to soldiers or workers, presumably as low-grade wine or as a seasoning. Cf. further notes on the use of vinegar in antiquity in the commentary to line 6. The vinegar is to be obtained from the domain of Akhvamazda which lies in the open area of **ʔrtdtnh**.

Line 1. **hndrz** **bd**: For **handarza-* “instruction, injunction”, cf. Driver 1957:75 (a note perhaps written by Henning); Hinz 1975:115. This sense foreshadows that attested in Middle and New Persian *handarz*, *andarz* “instruction, moral, manners”, also “chastisement”. Avestan *handarəza-*, however, displays the sense directly derived from the verb *ham-darz-* “to bind, chain” (cf. Bartholomae 1904:1771). On the Middle Persian usage cf. Shaked 1985. In Driver 1957, No. 11:3 we have, as here, the emphatic form **hndrz**. The expression **bd hndrz** occurs in Driver 1957, No. 10:3, 4. **bd** may here be a passive participle, written defectively for **byd**.

dwš[h]wr: This could be a word derived from Old Persian **dauša-xwār(a)-* “food (carried on) the shoulder”, hence provisions for the road, or “(people) carrying food on their shoulders”. For **xʷāra-* “food, meal” cf. Humbach 2002:75. The word occurs also, in a fragmentary form, in line 6, where the spelling seems to be **dwš[ʔ]hwr**. The same word seems to be attested also in C1:2, 51, where the context requires a word with a meaning like “provisions”. It may be noted that in line 3 in our document **pyt** occurs in place of **dwšhwr** in a phrase which is otherwise identical with the one that we have here; one may assume that the two words fulfil a similar semantic function.

Line 2. **ʔrtdtnh**: Restored following line 3. In line 6 only the final portion of the word is visible, to be reconstructed **ʔrt]dtn**. It seems that **tnh/tn** is not an independent word (“here”) but part of the place name, which may be explained as **Arta-dātana-* “Relating to the law of truth”. The final *he* in this word, as written in line 3, is however unusual.

ʔrtwk: A form which may be reconstructed as Old Persian Artuka is attested as a personal name in Elamite; cf. Mayrhofer 1973:166 (No. 8.613). The name of an estate **ʔrtwk** is attested in the Nisa documents (cf. Diakonoff and Livshits 1966:136; Diakonoff et al. 1997-2001:186; the spelling **ʔrtwky** is also attested there once, in ostrakon 1316). A place name **ʔrtwky** occurs in A6:2, 6; in C1:49 **ʔrtwky** could be a personal name.

ʔz]gnd: “messenger”. Cf. below on A5:4.

Line 3. **ʾpytʾ**: The word seems to have a sense close to that of **dwšḥwrʾ**, occurring in the same context in line 1. Aramaic also attests the related forms **ʾpyty** (Cowley 26:9, cf. Porten and Yardeni 1986/99, I:96ff. = *TADAE* A 6.2) and **ʾwpyty**, below in B5:6 (which could be another spelling of the same word). It may be concluded from these forms that there were two Old Iranian words underlying the Aramaic borrowings: an Old Iranian passive participle **upa-ita-* and a noun **upa-iti-*, giving respectively the meanings “needed” and “necessity”. In the Vendidad, two similar words based on the same combination of verb and preverb are attested, but the resulting nouns convey a different meaning: *upaēiti-* “copulation”, and, with an additional preverb before the verbal element, *upāiti-* “arrival, approach” (in the compound *vasō.upāiti-*), cf. Bartholomae 1904:390, 397-398. For the interpretation of the second word cf. Benveniste 1935:29-30.

In the later Iranian languages this combination of elements gives a range of meanings connected with “necessity”. Cf. Parthian **ʾbyd** “necessary, in need” (Ghilain 1939:48; MacKenzie 1974:274), MP *abēdāg* “necessary, incumbent” (for which cf. Nyberg 1974:25-26), Bactrian *αβιδανο* “obligation” (cf. Sims-Williams 2000:175 s.v *αβιν-*) and the Armenian loanwords *pētkʿ* “necessity”, *pitak* “necessary” (cf. Ačaṙean 1971/9, vol. 4:79). Our document shows how this word, which originally means “that which is necessary”, could also be used in the sense of “food, provisions”.

For the Middle Persian usage of *abēdag* one may quote *MHD* 39:17-40:1, *grawagāndār ke graw abēdag bawēd hān ī kadag-xwadāy kard gōhrīg ne ud hān ī dādwar kard gōhrīg pādexšāy xwāst* “A pawn keeper, who has need for the pawn, is not authorized to request the exchange of a pawn made by a householder, but is authorized to request the exchange of that which was made by a judge”, in other words, a pawn-keeper may demand that a pawn be exchanged for its value if it was deposited by order of a judge, but not if it was deposited by a private person, presumably with an agreement to a time limit. Maria Macuch 1993:280, 285, 294f., understands the phrase differently, taking *abēdag* to belong to the sense of “lost; stray animal”. Similarly, in *GBd* 13:10: *če-š abāz ō gētīg abāyast dādan u-š nōg-tar pad tan ī pasēn anāgīh azeš be abēdāg burdan* “for it is necessary for him to create them back into *gētīg*, and he needs to remove evil again from it in the Future Body”, with *abēdāg* parallel to *abāyast* (this is the translation given by Nyberg 1931:18f.; the translation in Shaked 1971:65 should be emended).

Line 5. **kʾn ʾmr ʾhmzd**: After these words there seems to be a smudge caused by the scribe having wiped out the word **kʾt**.

krthrn whrkyn: These two words appear to refer to two ethnic or regional groups. While the first word cannot be identified, the second may perhaps represent **Haraivaka-*, an adjectival form derived from the Old Persian name of the province Haraiva, Greek Aria, later Herat (see references in the Introduction, Chapter 7), although the spelling in Aramaic seems deficient.

ʿzly mḥztʿ: “those who go to the towns”, an obscure expression which marks the function of this group of soldiers. Cf. remarks in the Introduction, Chapter 7.

Line 6. **k[r]tnkʿ**: This seems to be the most likely reading. **kāra-tanu-ka-*, not previously attested, may be a designation for the “troops of the body”, in other words, presumably, “body-guard”; or “the body of the army corps”, i.e. the main body of troops.

dwšʿ[hwrʿ] ʿrh wrkš bdbṛ [ʿrt]dtnʿ: These words are probably an explicatory apposition to **šʿryt hylʿ zy tmh** “the rest of the troops who are there”, the troops consisting of “provisions, wayfarers and horses”.

whlʿ zk: The word **hlʿ** normally means “sand”. If it does so here, the intention is no doubt to clear the house of sand and thus render it usable. The house, which is said to lie somewhere in the desert, may have served as a station on the postal route. On the other hand “vinegar”, which is usually spelled **hlh** (thus several times in the Nisa ostraca, cf. Diakonoff and Livshits 1997/2001:191-192), is clearly written **hlʿ** at least in C1:27. For the use of vinegar in daily nourishment cf. Ruth 2:14: *wayyomar lah boʿaz leʿeth haʿokhel geši halom weʿakhalt min hallehem wetabhalt pittekh behomeš wattedebh miššadh haqqoṣerim wayyišboṭ lah qali wattokhal wattišbaʿ wattother* “When meal-time came round, Boaz said to her, ‘Come here and have something to eat, and dip your bread into the sour wine.’ So she sat beside the reapers, and he passed her some roasted grain. She ate all she wanted and still had some left over” (New English Bible version). For the use of vinegar, possibly to alleviate thirst, one may refer to the Gospel passion story in Mark 15:36; John 19:29-30. Version A of *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* has (p. 71) two phrases which allude to the utility of vinegar, for its being a humble and relatively inexpensive drink, and also to the fact that it is one of the basic ingredients in everyday use: “Someone (a Jew) thirsts for a drop of vinegar or an intoxicating drink (*šekhar*), but the Gentiles ask from him the choicest wine of all countries”; further on in the same context a popular curse wishing extreme destitution on one’s enemies is quoted: “May you have no vinegar or salt in your house”. On the use of vinegar in antiquity cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 3:186; Brothwell 1998:160-162; *Der Neue Pauly* 4:149 s.v. “Essig”.

Line 7. **zk**: This word is erased.

dyzk: D(a)izaka, a personal name derived from **dizā-* “wall, fortress”, Old Persian *didā-*. The name, which would originally signify “Belonging to the fortress”, is derived from a place name which reflects a form belonging to an Iranian language other than Old Persian. New Persian *diz* “fortress” also derives from such a form. Various toponyms attested in later sources may be connected: Dīdakī, a stop on the road from Nakhshab to Tirmidh in the Middle Ages (cf. Tomaschek 1877:92); Dīzak (Jīzak), in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky 1937:25; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II:543; Barthold 1968:123, said to be in the region of Samarkand.

The scribe D(a)izaka is also mentioned in A4:6; A7:2.

ʾtpyʾ: Cf. Avestan *Āθwya* (Yasna 9:7; patronymic adjective *āθwyāni-*), the name of the father of Thraētaona, cf. Bartholomae 1904:323. A hypocoristic derivative of the name was recognized by Gershevitch in Elamite; cf. Hinz 1977:50 with earlier literature.

A2a. PALIMPSEST

Underneath the main writing there are clear traces of another letter:

1	מן ... חרדושת על דיזך [שלם ו]שררת שגיא הושרת [לך ... על זי ל[...]
2	עבדת [...]
3	שאייל [...]
4	אחמזוד כן אמר [...]
5	אנתר מן [...]
6	אנתן [...]
7	[...]
8	מן [...]

ROMANIZED TEXT

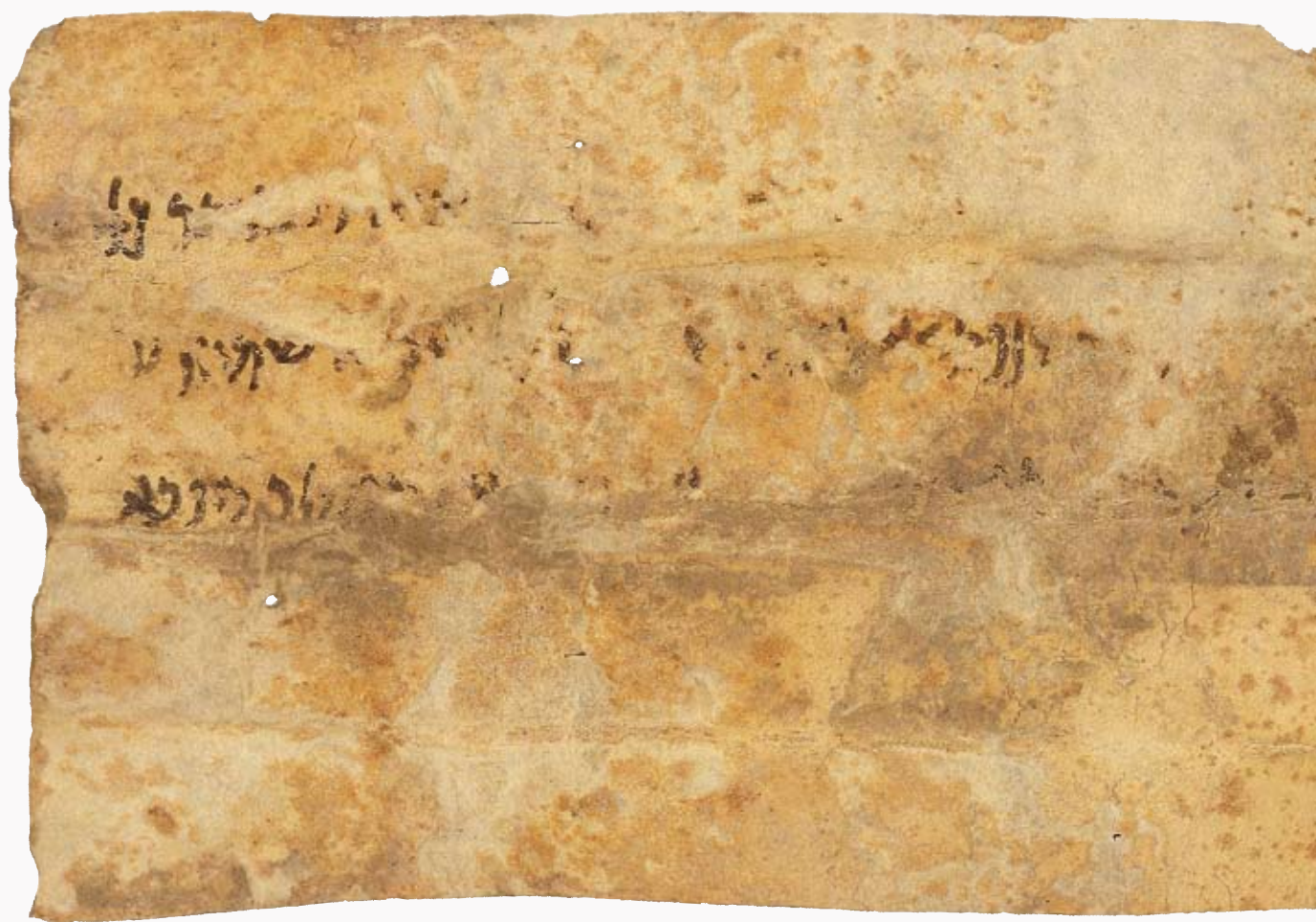
A2a:1 [mn...] ḥrdwšt 'l dyzk [šlm w]šrr<t> šgy' hwšrt [lk...] 'l zy l[...]
 A2a:2 [...] 'bdt
 A2a:3 [...] š'y
 A2a:4 [...] 'ḥmzd kn 'mr[...]
 A2a:5 [...] 'ntr mn
 A2a:6 [...] 'ntn [...]
 A2a:7 [...]
 A2a:8 mn [...]
 A2a:9 wbṭ [...]

TRANSLATION

1	[From ...] Khvardushta to Daizaka. [Peace and] health much I send [you ...] concerning [...]
2	[...] I/you have done
3	[...] interrogated
4	[...] thus says Akhvamazda ...
5	[...] within
6	[...]
7	[...]
8	from [...]
9	[...]

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ḥrdwšt:** A personal name of unclear meaning. It could be interpreted as **x'ar-dauštar-* or **x'ar-dušta-* "Friend of the sun".

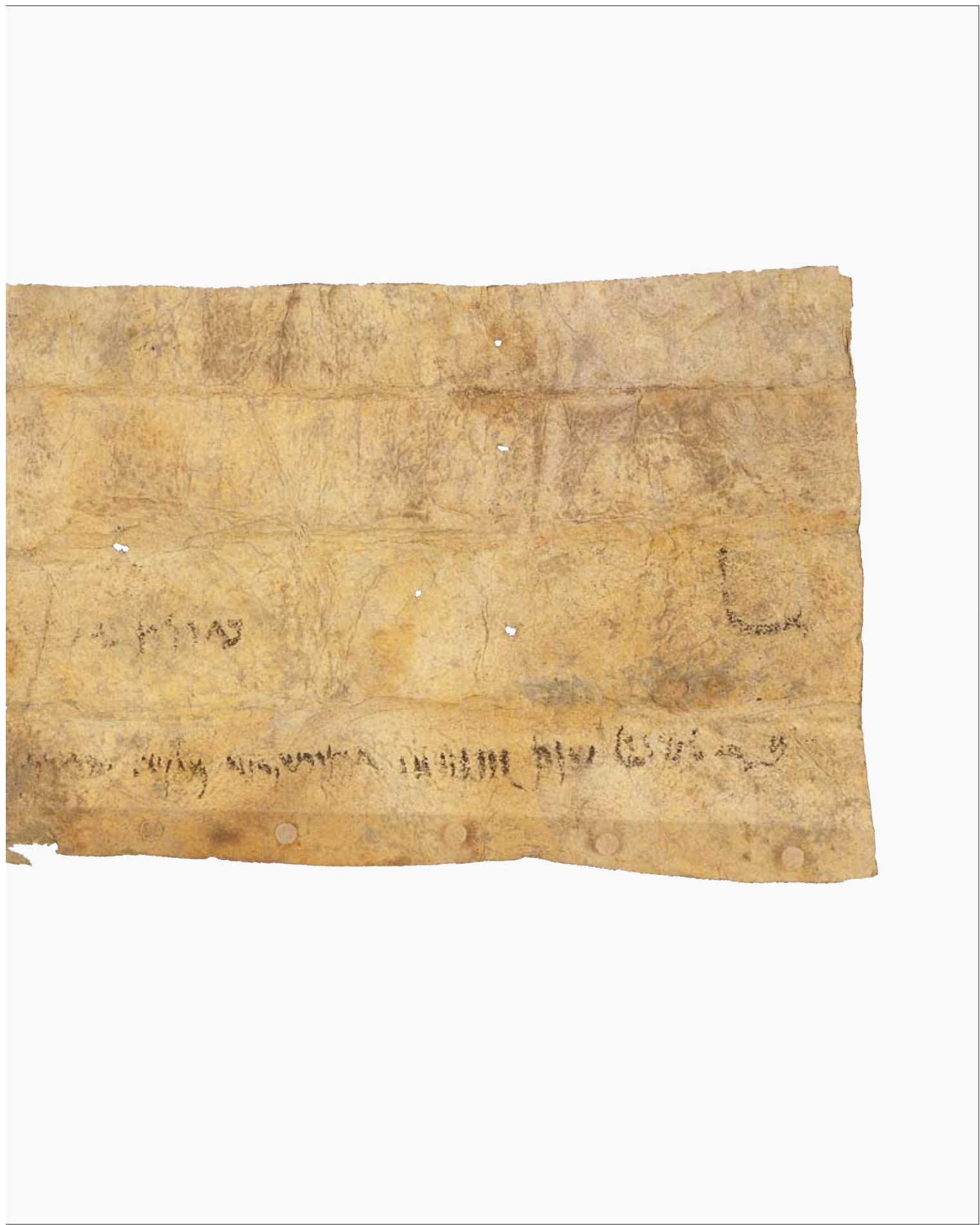


A3. [Khalili IA 2] *Recto*





A3. [Khalili IA 2] *Verso*



A3. [Khalili IA 2]

Badly faded document. Maximum width c. 355 mm.; height 125 mm. Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, 10 Šebaṭ, year 9 of Artaxerxes III, which corresponds to 12 February 349 BCE.

Recto

1 מן אח(מזד) על בגוֹנֶת (ו)כעת (.)ומין [...] כל
2 זנה [...] זנה
3 [...] ספרא
4 ידע טעמא ז[נ]ה

Verso

5 אל vacat בגונת זי ב[...]
6 ב 10 לשבט שנת 9 ארתחשש מלכא מגדספכן זי בכומי היתי אגרתא זא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

A3:1 mn ʾh[mzd] ʿl bgwnt [w]kʿt [.]wmyn[...] kl
A3:2 znh [...]
A3:3 [...] sprʾ
A3:4 ydʿ ʿmʾ z[n]h

Verso

A3:5 ʾl [vacat] bgwnt zy b[...]
A3:6 b 10 lšbt šnt 9 ʾrthšš mlkʾ mgdspkn zy bkwmy hyty ʾgrtʾ zʾ

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Akhva[mazda] to Bagavant. [And] now [...] all
- 2 this [...]
- 3 [...] the scribe
- 4 is in charge of this command.

Verso

- 5 To [blank space] Bagavant who is in ...
- 6 On 10 Šebaṭ, year 9 of Artaxerxes the King. ... which concerns **kwmy**. Bring this letter.

COMMENTARY

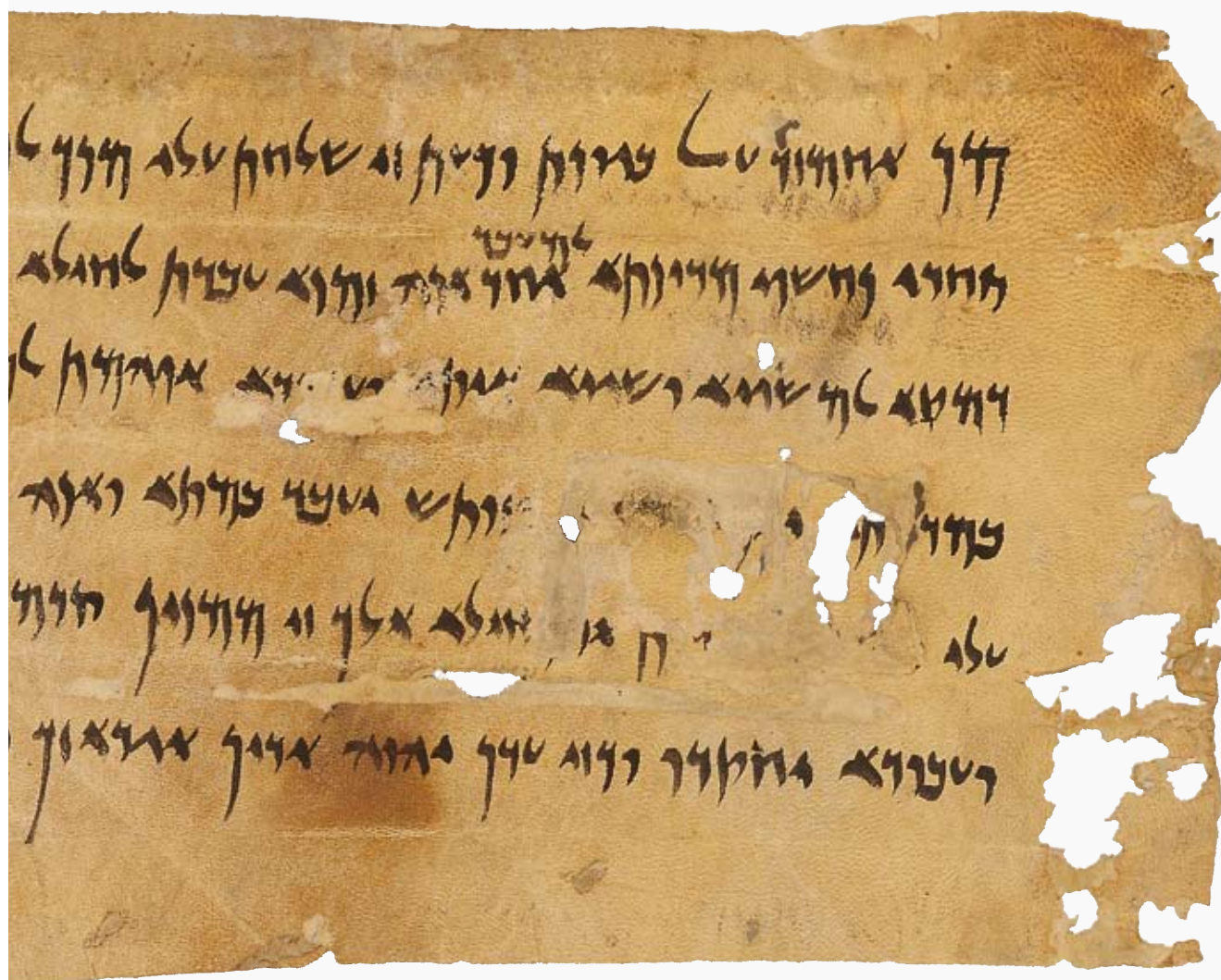
Line 3. [...] **spr**: The traces of letters which give the name of the scribe do not seem to give a name like that of any of the known scribes of Akhvamazda.

Line 6. **mgdspkn**: Could be a family name or a gentilic derived from **migda-spā*- “fruit-grower”. On **migda*- cf. Henning 1947:56; Hinz 1975:165-166. But the word could alternatively constitute a reference to the subject-matter of the letter.

bkwmy: The locality called **kwmy** may be identified with the mediaeval Kūm, which is mentioned, together with another locality still identifiable, Madm, in the Sogdian documents from Mt. Mug. It is situated on the Zerafshan river, a little to the north-east of Karshi / Nakhshab-Nasaf. Kūm is mentioned in Ṭabarī’s *History* (II:1447; ed. M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 7:11), where it is said to be the place of the battle between Sulaymān b. Abī l-Sarī and a Sogdian chieftain in the year 104 AH / 722 CE. The place is described as being close to the valley of Sogdiana; near it was a fortress where the *dihqān* or local ruler was Dewashtich, who was defeated by the Arabs. The history is given in Gibb 1923:63-64 (although without the names which are relevant for our discussion). Fuller discussions are in Kračkovskaja and Kračkovskij 1934:63-66; Smirnova 1970:247-257. The precise location of Kūm is given by Smirnova 1962:331-332, see the map on p. 335; cf. also Bogoljubov and Smirnova 1963a:104. See also the map in this volume p. 11.

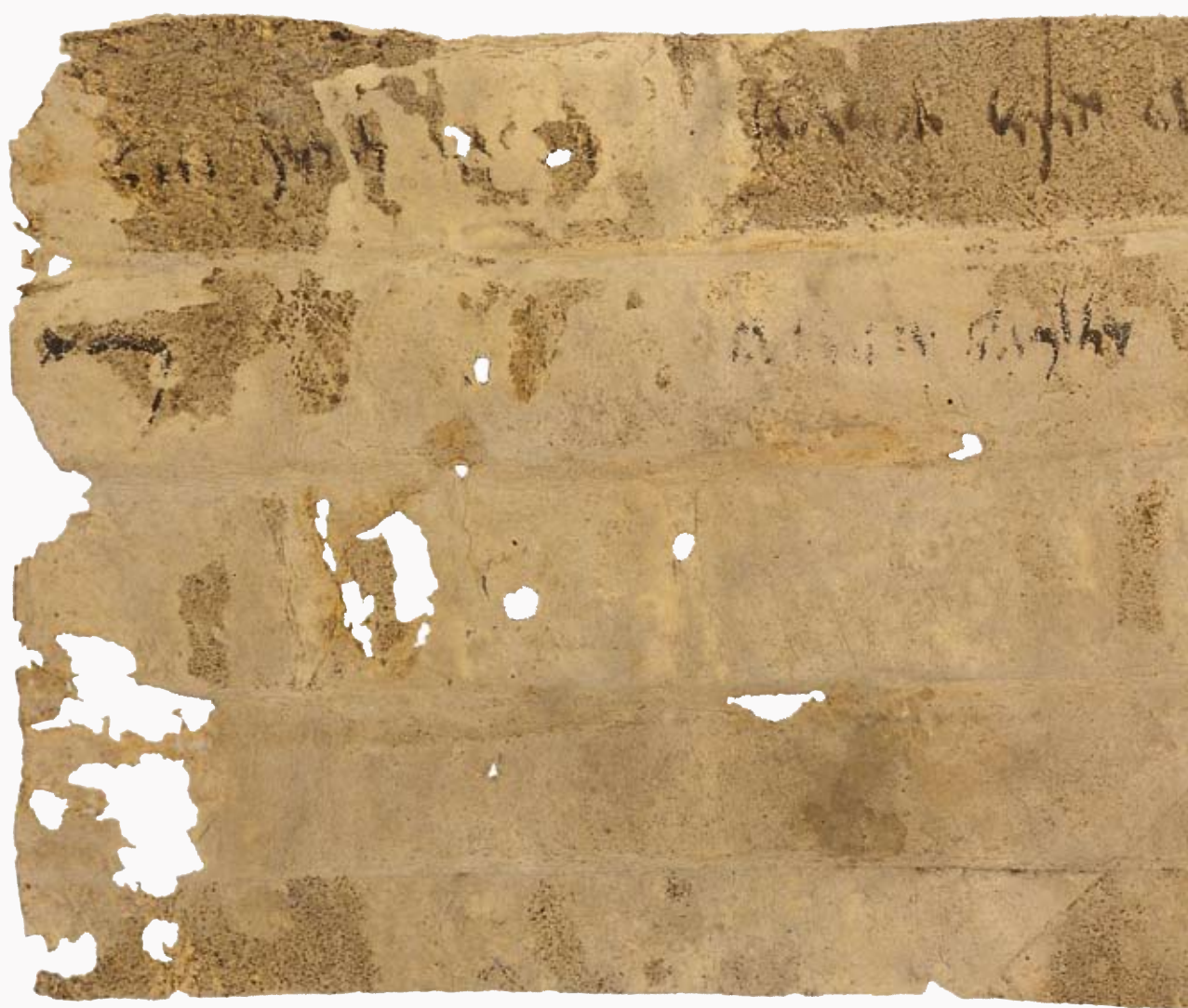
ה' שלח אל אהרן ואל בני ישראל
והוא יאמר אל בני ישראל
ה' שלח אל אהרן ואל בני ישראל
והוא יאמר אל בני ישראל
ה' שלח אל אהרן ואל בני ישראל
והוא יאמר אל בני ישראל
ה' שלח אל אהרן ואל בני ישראל
והוא יאמר אל בני ישראל

A4. [Khalili IA 1] *Recto*

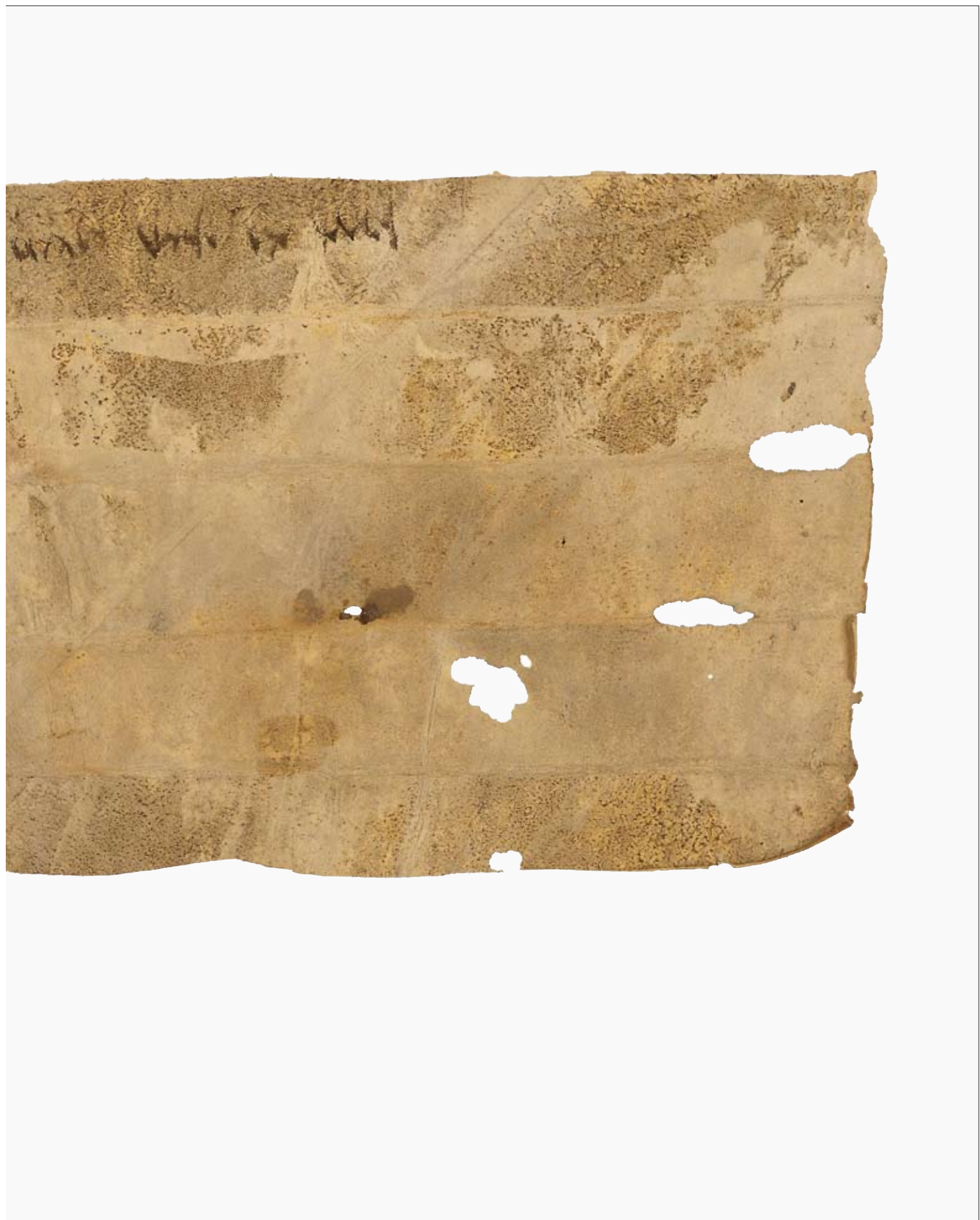


A4. [Khalili IA 1]

Height c. 140 mm.; width 340 mm. Some small holes and some areas in which the ink was rubbed off. Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant, 3 Sivan, year 11 (or possibly 12) of Artaxerxes III. The earlier date corresponds to 21 June 348, the later date to 10 June 347 BCE. Daizaka is the scribe.



A4. [Khalili IA 1] *Verso*



Recto

- 1 מן אחמזד על בגונת וכעת זי שלחת עלי מנך לם שליח עלי הנדרזא למעבד עד זי אגרא ופרכנא זי
2 סחרי נחשפי מדינתא למעבד אחר אנה זמנא עבדת לחילא קרבת ספית ידיניא ואחרנן חיל מתא אתו
עלי כן אמרן
3 כמצא לם שויא ושגיא איתי וע[ב]ורא אפהמת למחצד הן אגרא זך נעבד אחר כמצא אדושא זי איתי
4 במד[ינ]ת[א] י[שגא ודבא] ונותש יעבד במתא ואנה לא שליט למשבקהם ואחרן זי אמר אנת על זנה
שלחת
5 עלי [...] [...] [...] חילא אלך זי ממנין קדמיך שבק יהכו על עבדתהם כמצא זך יח[שלו]
6 ועבורא יחצדו וכזי עדן יהוה אדין אגרא זך ופרכנא יעבדון דיוך ספרא י[דע טעמא זנה]

Verso

- 7 אל vacat בגונת זי בחלמי
8 ב 3 לסי[ו]ן [שנת] 11 [ארת] חשש מלכא בנחשפי היתי זא אגרת

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- A4:1 mn 'h̄mzd 'l bgwnt wk't zy šl̄ht 'ly mnk lm šlyh 'ly hndrz' lm'bd 'd zy 'gr' wprkn' zy
A4:2 šhry nhšpy mdynt' lm'bd 'hr 'nh zmn' 'bdt lhyl' qrbt spyt 'wdyny' w'hrnn hyl mt' 'tw 'ly kn
'mrn
A4:3 kmš' lm šwy' wšgy' 'yty w'[b]wr' 'phmt lm̄šd hn 'gr' zk n'bd 'hr kmš' 'dwš' zy 'yty
A4:4 bmd[yn]t['] y[šg' wdb'] wnwš y'bd bmt' w'nh l' šlyt lm̄šbqhm w'hrn zy 'mr 'nt 'l znh šl̄ht
A4:5 'ly [...] [...] [...] hyl' 'lk zy mmnyn qdmyk šbq yhw 'l 'bydthm kmš' zk yh[šlw]
A4:6 w'bwr' yhšdw wkzy 'dn yhw 'dyn 'gr' zk wprkn' y'bdwn dyzk spr' [y]d' 'm' znh

Verso

- A4:7 'l [vacat] bgwnt zy bhlmy
A4:8 b3 lsy[w]n [šnt] 11 [rt]hššš mlk' bn̄špy hyty z' 'grt

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Akhvamazda to Bagavant. And now, concerning that which you sent to me, saying:
“(A message) was sent to me from you to give instruction to build the wall and the ditch
2 around the town of Nikhshapaya. Subsequently, I set a time and made the troops come close.
Spaita, the magistrates and others (of) the garrison of the land, came to me saying thus:
3 ‘There is locust, heavy and numerous, and the crop is ripe (?) for reaping. If we build this
wall, then the locust, the blight that is
4 in the town, [will increase], and it will cause [a flow (?)] and a renewed flow (?) in the land’.
(But) I have no authority to let them go. And another (matter). That which you say, concern-
ing that which you communicated
5 to me (in your message), [...]”. And now, [...] those troops that are appointed in your presence,
set them free to go about their work. That locust let them [smash (?)],
6 and let them reap the crop. And when the time comes, they will build that wall and ditch.
Daizaka the scribe is in charge of this command.

Verso

- 7 To [blank space] Bagavant who is in Khulmi,
8 on (day) 3 of Sivan, [year] 11 of Artaxerxes the King, concerning Nikhshapaya. Bring
this letter.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **gr' wprkn'**: These are terms for two types of fortification. The first word is familiar in the sense of “wall”. **prkn'** is probably “moat, ditch”, to be read **fra-kāna-*; cognates of this word are still preserved in New Persian *farkan*, *farkand*, and perhaps in the toponym Farghāna. In one Middle Persian text the word *fragān* is said to possess the sense of “surrounding wall”: *PRiv* 46:4, *u-š pahnāy ud bālāy rāst, u-š zahīh ī fragān hān and ast čand pahnāy ī tuhīgīh*, “and its width and height are equal, and the depth of its surrounding wall is as much as the breadth of empty space” (cf. Williams 1985:691); the context, however, seems rather to favour the sense “ditch”. Other texts use this word in a much vaguer sense: *Dk* 3,29:3, *wuzurg bōzišn ud frāxwīh ud rāyēnišn ud fragān ī-šān sūd azeš paywastag*, “(there accrued) great salvation, prosperity, order, and protection (?), from which there was benefit to them”; *GBd* I:§10 (p. 4:1-4), *ohrmazd pad harwisp-āgāhīh dānist ku gannāg-mēnōg ast, abar +handāzišn kunēd pad arešk-kāmagīh, čēōn gumēzēd, abar fragān, abar frazām, pad čand afzārān*, “Ohrmazd knew by his omniscience that the Evil Spirit exists, that he would attack him by his envy, how he will make the mixture, (he knew) about the protection (?), about the end, and by how many several instruments”.

Aramaic **prkn** is attested in the inscriptions on the Persepolis chert bowls in the combination **bprkn byrt'** “in the fortress **prkn**”, where it seems to denote a type of fortress (from the idea of a surrounding wall or a ditch?), or, more likely, a toponym. Cf. Naveh and Shaked 1973:446-448.

With a different preverb we have **pari-kāna-*, which may mean a surrounding structure. It is attested in Sogd. **prk'yn** “ditch” and (with a long first vowel) MP **p'rgyn**, New Persian *pārgīn*. Cf. also Bactrian *παροργανο* (Sims-Williams 2000:186 s.v. *βαργονανο*).

Line 2. **nhšpy**: The Old Iranian form of this place name may be reconstructed as **Nīxša-pāya-*, which would mean something like “guarding the front”. For the first element in this compound we are following the comment of Gershevitch 1959:277-278 on *Yt.* 10:127. As pointed out above, in Chapter 4 of the Introduction, this toponym has a good chance of being the old name of the town known in mediaeval Islamic times by the name of Nakhshab or Nasaf, on one of the rivers adjacent to the Oxus, south-east of Bukhara, south-west of Samarkand, and north-west of Tirmidh, in present-day Uzbekistan, not very far from the border of Afghanistan. Nowadays the town is called Karshi (cf. Le Strange 1905:470f.); its coordinates are 38 53N, 65 48E. Schwarz 1893:39 describes Karshi and remarks that the place is famous for the quantity and quality of its horses; cf. also A.B. Bosworth 1980:377. On the place in the Middle Ages, cf. Markwart 1901:303-304; Le Strange 1905:441-443, 469-472; Markwart 1938:91-92; Barthold 1968:134ff.; Minorsky 1993.

lhyl' qrbt: This expression may alternatively denote “I approached the troops”.

spyt: Spaita or Spita, “White”.

dyny': Here, as in A1:1 above, this is probably a plural form of the word for “magistrates”, rather than a personal name. The magistrates, if the translation is correct, seem to be part of the garrison of the town.

Line 3. **kms'**: “locust” is usually written in Aramaic **qms'**; the present spelling is the result of a dissimilation of the emphatic consonants. A similar spelling is attested in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; cf. Sokoloff 2002:586, 1026, where the forms occurring in Syriac and Mandaic are also mentioned.

šwy': This word (participle, active or passive, of ŠWY) may mean either “worthy”, i.e. “heavy, large”, or “fast”. The first meaning may be an extension of the sense of the verb ŠWY “to be worthy, equal” (cf. Jastrow 1903 s.v. ŠWY; Sokoloff 1990 s.v. ŠWWY; Sokoloff 2002 s.v. ŠWY, as passive participle, and similarly in Syriac). The meaning “swift” is attested in Samaritan Aramaic, cf. Ben-Ḥayyim 1967:69 n. 23; and in the Palestinian Aramaic documents of the Bar Kokhba period, where **šwh** means “immediately” (cf. Yadin *et al.* 2002:290-291, P. Yadin 50:5).

phmt: “ripe”. N. Sims-Williams (personal communication) suggests reconstructing this as **upa-hmata-*, a past participle from the root *gam-*, representing an intermediate stage between the Old Persian form *-gmata-* and the Middle Persian *-mad* in *āmad*. The same root occurs in Choresmian **fr'mk** “mature, adult” (Sims-Williams *apud* Sundermann 1981:196). Christian Sogdian **fr'mt**, Buddhist Sogdian **βr'mt** “ripe” and **βr'mty'** “ripeness, harvest” are probably to be derived from a different root “to go”, namely *ram-*, cf. Sims-Williams 1995:299-300.

kms' dwš': The second word is in apposition to the first. **dwš'** evidently means “affliction, trouble”. Etymologically it can be derived from Old Iranian **ā-dv(a)iša(h)-* “adversity, molestation” etc., attested in the extant Iranian sources without the preverb (cf. Bartholomae 1904:814f., s.v. *ṭbaēšah-*, *dvaēšah-*; Middle Persian *bēš*). This word cannot be separated from **dwšy'** in the bilingual Aśoka inscription from Kandahar (a location not far removed from the presumed location of our documents). In a much debated passage in that inscription we have the phrase: **mn dyn z'yr mr lklhm nšn wklhm dwšy hwbd wkl r'q r'm šty** (Kandahar inscription, lines 2-3; cf. Donner and Röllig 1966/71, I, No. 279, with an extensive bibliography in vol. II:335). This may be translated as follows: “From then on disease (i.e. trouble, misfortune) has decreased to all people, he (i.e. our lord Priyadarśi, Aśoka) eliminated all adversities, and joy is rising in the whole land” (cf. Kutscher *et al.* 1970:129ff.). **r'm šty** has been explained as an Iranian *dvandva* compound, **rāma-š(y)āti-*, but the spelling of the first word with an internal *alef* favours an Aramaic present participle “rises, increases” (cf. Kutscher *et al.* 1970:132f.). Boyce and Grenet 1991:141 prefer an Iranian derivation for both words. Benveniste (in Schlumberger *et al.* 1958:38) derives **dwšy'** from **a-dauša-*

“undesirable, unwanted”. The evidence of our document gives us the form of the singular and shows that the form in the Kandahar inscription is an Aramaic plural. The interpretation given by Ito (1977:159) is clearly untenable.

Line 4. **bmd[yn]t['] y[šg' wdb'] wnwts y'bd:** The restoration is based on **wdb wnwtsy** in A1:3, where a commentary on the possible meaning of these words will be found. Judging by the space in the rubbed-off area, it seems possible to supplement here an additional *alef*: **[wdb']**.

Line 5. [... ...]: In this gap we must place the ending of the quotation by Akhvamazda from the letter of Bagavant, and the beginning of Akhvamazda's response, preceded, as usual, by **k'n**.

mmnyn qdmyk “appointed in your presence” signifies “appointed (by me to serve) for you”. Cf. Driver 1957:32, No. 9:2, **'bd qdmy** “he made for me”.

kms' zk yḥ[šlw]: This reading seems best to reflect the traces of letters which survive. The verb ḤŠL usually means “to forge, hammer, crush” (cf. Jastrow 1903 s.v.; Sokoloff 2002:488b distinguishes two homophonic verbs, the first of which applies to animals); this may be the first instance of its use for fighting locusts. One might be tempted to restore **yq[tlw]**, which would give the expected sense here, but this seems excluded on palaeographic grounds.

Line 6. Daizaka the scribe is also mentioned in A2:7; A7:1.

Line 7. **bḥlmy:** Khulmi (?), the mediaeval and modern Khulm, called also Tashkurgan in modern times. In our documents it is mentioned as the seat of Bagavant, who is **pḥt'** there. This is the town known in the mediaeval period under the name of Khulm, east of Balkh and south-east of Tirmidh, in present-day Afghanistan. Khulm is situated at about 36 42N, 67 41E. It seems to be approximately 300 km. from Nikhshapaya (present-day Karshi), which was presumably under the authority of Bagavant. This is a distance which might have taken 5 or 6 days to cross in antiquity. The modern town of Khulm was founded in the eighteenth century by Ahmad Shah under the name of Tashkurgan. The name was changed from Tashkurgan to Khulm by a royal decree in 1946, and modern maps of Afghanistan therefore give the name of this town as Kholm, but in the early 1970s most of the population still called it Tashkurgan (cf. Centlivres 1972:12 n. 4). For what can be gleaned about the town from mediaeval sources cf. Markwart 1901:82, 218f.; Le Strange 1905:427, 432. For the topography and history of the city cf. Barthold 1984:21ff.; Minorsky 1937:108; C.E. Bosworth 1986a. Detailed data on the topography and population of Khulm / Tashkurgan and its region are to be found in Adamec 1979:332-335, 564-575; Centlivres 1972; Charpentier 1972.

Line 8. There is room for one more vertical stroke after the signs **xi**. The figure indicating the year may consequently be “12”.

z' grt: One would have expected **'grt'**.



A5. [Khalili IA 3] *Recto*

תן אוקור טל עבנת דהשדושא דאוריך דעיה אג
אף ו פלגא חור שח סחך מלכא חמא חמא
חמא חמא חמא חמא חמא חמא חמא חמא



A5. [Khalili IA 3] *Verso*



A5. [Khalili IA 3]

Generally well preserved. Width 372 mm., maximum height 113 mm. Letter written by Akhvamazda to Bagavant, no date. Deals with a topic similar to that of A4, and may be close in date to that document, 348/347 BCE. Nurafratara is the scribe.

Recto

- 1 מן אחמזד על בגונת וחשוהשת ואודיף וכעת אגרא זך זי מני שים טעם למבני ולמעבד לקבל זך
יתבני ויתעבד
- 2 איך זי קדמנמ מני שים טעם הנדרזא חסין עבדו כזי אגרא זך יאסשת ופרתם בני ועביד יהוה אנרוי
אל
- 3 תעבדו נורפרתר ספרא ידע טעמא זנה

Verso

- 4 אל *vacat* בגונת זי בח[למי] וחשוהשת אזגנדא אודיף פרתרכה זי למבני זי בכש

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

A5:1 mn ʾḥmzd ʾl bgwnt wḥšwhšt wʾzdyp wkʾt ʾgrʾ zk zy mny šym ʾm lmbny wlmʾbd lqbl zk
ytny wytʾbd

A5:2 ʾyk zy qdmnm mny šym ʾm hndrzʾ ḥsyn ʾbdw kzy ʾgrʾ zk yʾsšt wprtm bny wʾbyd yhw
ʾnrwy ʾl

A5:3 tʾbdw nwrprtr sprʾ ydʾ ʾmʾ znh

Verso

A5:4 ʾl [*vacat*] bgwnt zy bh[lmy] wḥšwhšt ʾzgndʾ ʾzdyp prtrkh zy lmbny zy bkš

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Akhvamazda to Bagavant, Vakhshuvahishta and Azdayapa. And now, that wall, which
it was commanded by me to build and to make, let it be built and made
- 2 just as it was commanded by me earlier. Carry out the instruction strictly, so that the said
wall shall be built and done in a most desirable and best manner. Do not
- 3 act in a contrary manner. Nurafratara the scribe is the one in charge of this command.

Verso

- 4 To [*blank space*] Bagavant who is in Khulmi, Vakhshuvahishta the messenger, and
Azdayapa his foreman. That which is to be built. That which concerns Kish.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **whšwhšt:** Vaxšu-vahišta “(Adherent of) Oxus the Best”.

ʾzdyp: Azdā-yāpa “Receiver of (good) news”.

Line 2. **yʾsšt:** *yāsišta- “(in) the most desirable, most appropriate (way)” is evidently a superlative of Old Iranian yās- “to desire, wish”. In New Persian a noun yāsa is listed in the dictionaries (e.g. *Burhān-i Qāṭi*ʿ, in *Burhān* 1342, vol. 4:2419) in the sense of “wish, desire”.

prtm: The word *fratama*- “foremost” is so far attested in the sense of “a highly placed official in the royal court”, e.g. in *Esther* 1:3, where it is used as a substantive with a Hebrew plural. This official title is discussed in Eilers 1955; Hinz 1975:98. Here it serves as an adverb in the sense “(in) the best (manner)”. The word occurs also in the same combination in *A6:6, 9*, and in a different context in *C4:37*, **npbrzn prtm nšpw**, see commentary ad loc. A derived adjective **fratamya*- “primus, outstanding” is reconstructed by Gershevitch from Elamite, where it describes asses; cf. Hallock 1969:63.

Lines 2-3. **ʾnrwy ʾl tʾbdw:** “Do not act in transgression, (in a) contrary (manner)”. This phrase, not previously known, occurs several times in our documents. The first element in **ʾnrwy** is almost certainly **anya*- “different”. The second element may be derived from **rav*- “to flow”, cf. Avestan *raon*- “river, flow of a river”, which has given rise to MP and NP *rōn* “direction” (also as a suffix meaning “for the sake of”), cf. Bartholomae 1904:1512 s.v. *ravan*-. Thus **anya-ravi(a)*- may mean “flowing in a different direction” or perhaps “having a different flow (=direction)”.

We owe to N. Sims-Williams the observation that Bactrian οἷζαγγοδαρο μακιρηδο (impv. 2 pl.), οἷζαγγο μακιρο (impv. 2 sg.) “do not do otherwise”, the final phrase of several unpublished letters, represents an analogous usage. Christian Sogdian has **nyʾ-zng** “different”, cf. Müller and Lentz 1934:534, 5:33, Buddhist Sogdian **nyʾzʾnk**, **nyʾznk** (quoted Müller and Lentz 1934:590; cf. MacKenzie 1976:82); Manichaean Sogdian **nyʾzng** (Gershevitch 1954a, §1288).

In Aramaic one may compare the verb ŠNY in *afʿel*, literally “to alter, make different”, which is used in the sense of “to transgress, to act in a contrary manner”. Thus in *Daniel* 6:9, **tqym ʾsrʾ wtršm ktbʾ dy ʾl lhšnyʾ kdt mdy wprs dy ʾl tʾdʾ** (cf. also *Ezra* 6:11). This is rendered by the New English Bible as follows: “Issue the ordinance and have it put in writing, so that it may be unalterable, for the law of the Medes and Persians stands for ever”. In this verse, **dy ʾl lhšnyʾ** may be more precisely understood as meaning “so that it may not be acted upon in a contrary manner”. A discussion of the biblical expression by P. Frei can be found in Frei and Koch 1996:84.

Another Aramaic verb which conveys the sense of transgression against the law is ʾDY, used in the same verse of *Daniel* with regard to the laws of the Medes and the Persians. We may accordingly translate more accurately in the latter part of *Daniel* 6:9, “as (with regard to)

the law of the Medes and the Persians, which is not to be trespassed”. This understanding is confirmed by Ezra 6:11f.: **wmny šym t‘m dy kl ’nš dy yhšn’ ptgm’ dnh ytnsh’^{xc} mn byth wzqyp ytmh’ lhy whyth nwlw yt‘bd l dnh. w’lh’ dy škn šmh tmh ymgr kl mlk w‘m dy yšlh ydh lhšnyh lhblh byt ’lh’ dk dy byrwšlm ’nh drywš šmt t‘m ’sprn’ yt‘bd** “A decree has been issued by me (to the following effect): Any man who transgresses this edict, in retribution a piece of wood will be pulled out of his house and he shall be flogged while fastened erect to it, and his house shall be made a ruin (?). May God, who made His name dwell there (i.e. in the Jerusalem temple), vanquish any king or people that may stretch their hand to transgress (this decree), to damage this house of god which is in Jerusalem. I, Darius, have issued a decree. It is to be carried out in full” (Our translation). Cf. also Esther 1:19: **wyktb bdy prs wmdy wl’ y‘bwr** “let it be written in the laws of the Persians and Medes, which should not be transgressed”. On a stone sarcophagus found apparently in Jerusalem, dating to the first century CE, the following Aramaic inscription is found: **skr ’mr dy l’ lhšnyh wlh yqbr ’mh b’rnh dnh kwl ’nš**, “Closed (is the coffin). An oath (to the effect) that it should not be trespassed. No (other) person is to be buried with him (i.e. with the deceased) in this coffin of his”. This text was first published by Puech 1989; the present translation is adopted from Naveh 1992:196-198, where a detailed commentary is given.

For a similar usage in Greek, one may compare a letter of the Bar Kokhba period, P. Yadin 52:10f. (in Yadin *et al.* 2002:354, edited by H.M. Cotton), μή ἄλλως π[ο]ύησῃται “Do not do otherwise”.

Line 3. **nwrprtr**: The name is perhaps to be explained as Nura-fratara “clever (and) foremost”; for the first element cf. the Avestan adverb *nurəm* “craftily” (Bartholomae 1904:1089).

Line 4. The reading of the end of the line is somewhat doubtful.

’zgnd’: “messenger”. The Khalili documents provide the first occurrences of this word in Official Aramaic, though it is well attested in other forms of Aramaic, e.g. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **’yzgd’**, Mand. **ašganda**, Syr. **’yzgd’**, **’zgd’**, all meaning “messenger”, as well as Akkadian *ašgandu*. Cf. Sokoloff 2002:112; Geiger 1937:14. The word is also found in Sogd. (S) **’zy’nt**, (X) **žyntt**, (B) **zy’nt(t)** “messenger”. According to Gershevitch 1954a, §342¹, the Sogdian words might belong to the root “*zgnd-”, but the spelling of Official Aramaic **’zgnd’** and the existence of the Greek loanwords discussed by Happ (1962) make the assumption of a prothetic vowel unlikely.

zy lmbny: This phrase gives a succinct summary of the contents of the letter.

bkš: Kiš or Kišš is a town about 100 km. north-east of Nakhshab, and perhaps 300 km. north of Khulm / Tashkurgan. It is well-known in the Middle Ages under this name, but is nowadays called Shahr-i Sabz. Cf. Le Strange 1905:469; Barthold 1968:134-135; Minorsky 1937:113, 200. A further possible mention of this town is in B9:2. See the map above p. 11.

A5a. PALIMPSEST

above the address line, in the left-hand margin, belongs to an earlier layer of writing:

5 [...]ב על טעם

ROMANIZED TEXT

A5:5 [...]b]ʿl tʿm

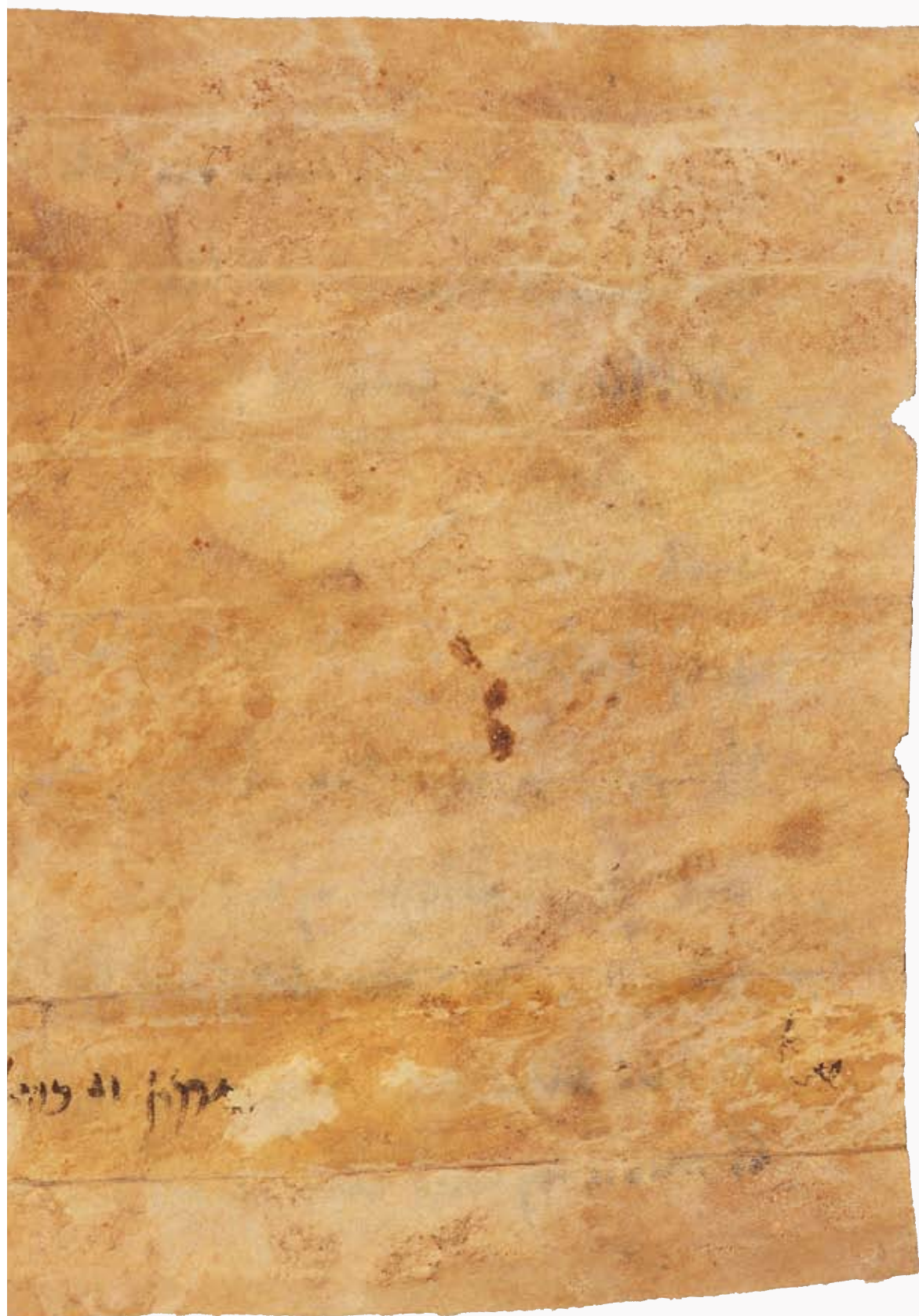
TRANSLATION

5 [...] NN is in] charge of the command.

כך אחריו ל' כחון דחין דחין דחין דחין
ען דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין
טח ל' כחון דחין דחין דחין דחין
דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין
דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין
דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין
דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין
דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין
דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין
דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין דחין



A6. [Khalili IA 5] *Verso*



A6. [Khalili IA 5]

A letter preserved in its entirety. Signs of folding are clearly visible, with slight damage to the ink in some points along the folds. Justified to the right, but not to the left. Maximum height 227 mm.; maximum width 315 mm. Letter from Akhvamazda to Bagavant. No date. Nurafratara is the scribe.

Recto

- 1 מן אחמזד על בגונת וכעת והיאתרו פקידא זי בדסתכני ווהומתי עלימ{י} א זילי שלח עלי
- 2 כן אמר איתי ביתן עתיקן בוהומתי וארתוכי {בית וסם} זי מראי אחמזד זי מן מראי שים
- 3 טעם לבגונת זי בחלמי למטלל ועד כענם לא מטללן אף עבזרא ושמשמן תחמכנשא זי
- 4 חייב בגונת להנעלה על בית <וסם זי> מראי לא מהנעל שטר <מן> אדרנג על זנה מהודע למראי
כעת הן
- 5 כנם לקבל זי <מן> והיאתרו זך שליח עלי אחר לא טב עבדת זי אנרוי עבדת ולא עבדת
- 6 לקבל נשתונא זילי אנת הנדרזא עבד כזי בתיא אלך זי בוהומתי וארתוכי יאסשת ופרתם
- 7 טלילן יהוון זי קדמנם מני שים לך טעם אף עבזרא ושמשמן תחמכנשא זי חייב
- 8 אנת להנעלה על בית וסם זילי זך אספרן הנעל לקבל זי חייב אנת ידיע יהוה לך הן
- 9 אנת הנדרזא לא תעבד עד זי בתיא אלך יאסשת ופרתם טלילן יהוון לקבל זי מני שים
- 10 טעם ועבזרא תחמכנשא אספרן לא תהנעל כזי אפרשת לא תשבק וכלא מן ביתך תשלם
- 11 על בתיא זילי נורפרתר ספרא ידע טעם זנה

Verso

- 12 אל vacat בגונת זי בחלמי

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- A6:1 mn 'hmzd 'l bgwnt wk't why'trw pqyd' zy bdstkny wwhwmty 'lym{y}' zyly šlh 'ly
 A6:2 kn 'mr 'yty bytn 'tyqn bwhwmty w'rtwky {byt wsm} zy mr'y 'hmzd zy mn mr'y šym
 A6:3 t'm lbgwnt zy bhlmy lmtll w'd k'nm l' m'tlln 'p 'bwr' wšmšmn tḥmknš' zy
 A6:4 ḥyb bgwnt lhn'lh 'l byt <wsm zy> mr'y l' mhn'l štr <mn> 'drng 'l znh mhwd' lmr'y k't hn
 A6:5 knm lqbl zy <mn> why'trw zk šlyḥ 'ly 'hr l' tḥ 'bdt zy 'nrwy 'bdt wl' 'bdt
 A6:6 lqbl nštwn' zyly 'nt hndrz' 'bd kzy byty' 'lk zy bwhwmty w'rtwky y'sšt wprtm
 A6:7 tlyln yhwwn zy qdmnm mny šym lk t'm 'p 'bwr' wšmšmn tḥmknš' zy ḥyb
 A6:8 'nt lhn'lh 'l byt wsm zyly zk 'sprn hn'l lqbl zy ḥyb 'nt ydy' yhwḥ lk hn
 A6:9 'nt hndrz' l' t'bd 'd zy byty' 'lk y'sšt wprtm tlyln yhwwn lqbl zy mny šym
 A6:10 t'm w'bwr' tḥmknš' 'sprn l' thn'l kzy 'pršt l' tšbq wkl' mn bytk tšlm
 A6:11 'l byt' zyly nwrprtr spr' yd' t'm znh

Verso

- A6:12 'l [vacat] bgwnt zy bhlmy

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Akhvamazda to Bagavant. And now: Vahya-ātar, the officer who is in Dastakani and Vahumati, my servant, sent to me (a message),
- 2 saying thus: “There are old houses in Vahumati and Artuki which belong to my lord Akhvamazda, concerning which a command
- 3 was issued by my lord to Bagavant, who is in Khulmi, to roof them, but until now they are not roofed. Also the corn and the sesame, (for) sowing as seed, which
- 4 Bagavant is under duty to bring in to the <granary> building of my lord, he does not bring (them) in, although (he is) obliged. Concerning that (I) inform my lord.” Now, if it is
- 5 thus as was sent to me <by> the said Vahya-ātar, you have not done well by acting in disobedience and by not acting
- 6 according to my decree. Give instruction that those houses which are in Vahumati and Artuki be roofed in the most desirable
- 7 and best manner, as was earlier ordered by me to you (to do). Also deliver in full the corn and the sesame, (for) sowing as seed, which you are under duty
- 8 to bring in to that granary building of mine in accordance with what you are obliged. Let it be known to you: if
- 9 you do not give instruction that those houses be roofed in the most desirable and best manner, as was ordered by me,
- 10 and if you do not deliver in full the corn, (for) sowing as seed, as instructed, you shall not be set free, and you shall pay the whole amount from your own house
- 11 to my house. Nurafratara has knowledge of this order.

Verso

- 12 To [blank space] Bagavant who is in Khulmi.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **why³trw:** Vahya(h)-ātr- (or -ātar-) is a name meaning “(Adherent of the) better fire”. The Persian element *āt(a)r- in proper names is sometimes spelled in Aramaic ³trw, reflecting a tendency to introduce a rounded back vowel in the environment of -tr-. This -w- is already attested in the Aramaic documents from Egypt by the name ³trwprn (Cowley 1923, No. 6:9 = TADAE B2.2:9), which elsewhere has the form ³trprn (Kraeling 1953, No. 5:16 = TADAE B3.6:16). The forms are listed in a table by Porten (2003:182). Another instance for this phenomenon in our documents is the spelling of the name ³trwpt (C5:5). The name ³trwz (C4:1a, 5, 8) “fire-blower” could belong here, but this is uncertain, as the -w- forms part of the following element in the compound. An -u- vowel is attested in this word in the Middle Persian form ādur, as in the name Ādurbād (= ³trwpt).

dstkny wwhwmty: Two place names whose location cannot be determined. The name Dastakāni may be explained as meaning “an estate” (of the satrap or governor?); it could be a shorter form of the compound attested in Middle Iranian (Middle Persian, Parthian, and Bactrian) under the form *dast-kerd*, Pth. *dastegerd*, Bactrian λιστηγερδο, λιστιγερδο (cf. Sims-Williams 2000:201). As a loanword this is attested in Armenian *dastakert* (cf. Sarkisian 1967),

Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Syriac **dsqrt**³, Arabic *daskara*; cf. B. Geiger 1935:121ff; 1937:146. In Official Aramaic the form **dstkh** seems to be attested (in Cowley 1923, No. 75), probably in the sense of “estate” (Porten and Yardeni 1986-1999, 3:244, prefer to read **rstkh**, which is palaeographically possible). In Pahlavi (*PRiv* 49:3), the corresponding word is written **dst**¹, **dstk**¹, which may indicate that a shorter form **dastaka-* existed side by side with the full compound.

whwmty: This toponym seems to reflect **Vahu-maiti(a)* “Good abode”, but a reading **Vahvi-maiti(a)* “Abode on the Ochus” cannot be excluded. For *Vaṇhvī-(Dāityā)*, later *Vakh(-āb)*, as the ancient name of the Ochus cf. Grenet and Rapin 1998:80, with notes and further literature on p. 87. According to both of these etymologies one might however expect the second part of the compound to be spelled **myty** in Aramaic. An alternative interpretation of the Iranian toponym is **Vahu-mati-*, which may be interpreted as “good dwelling” (from the root *man-* “to stay, dwell”) or “good promontory” (cf. Avestan *mati-*, Bartholomae 1904:1112-1113).

lymy³: The plural form written in the document is an error for the singular **lym**³, as it refers to *Vahya-ātar*.

Line 2. **bytn**: The determined status of this noun, **byty**³, is attested in lines 6 and 9. This is the regular spelling of the noun in Official Aramaic, although in some cases the internal *yod* is omitted; cf. Folmer 1995:173-175; Muraoka and Porten 1998:75.

bwhwmty w³rtwky: The second name can be read **Artuk(i)* or **Artawak(i)*. This might be another name for **dstkny**, but it seems more likely that while **dstkny** and **whwmty** in line 1 define the area of authority of *Vahya-ātar* by its two prominent localities, **whwmty** and **rtwky** in line 2 indicate two villages or a village and an estate within that area. An estate with a similar spelling occurs in the Nisa ostraca (see commentary to A2:2), but given the distance between Nisa and Bactria it is unlikely that both indicate the same locality.

byt wsm: These words seem to have been inserted here by mistake. The letter of *Vahya-ātar* contains two complaints against Bagavant: one concerns certain old buildings which need to be roofed, and the other concerns grain which Bagavant failed to deliver to the granary of *Akhvamazda*. There is no sense in mentioning the granary here together with the old buildings. In contrast, a reference to the granary—**byt wsm**—seems to have been omitted from line 4. This double mistake cannot be explained by a common scribal error such as homoioteleuton but may have been caused by oral dictation. The combination **byt wsm** is probably a single phrase denoting a granary; the *waw* seems to be part of the word **wsm**, which can be expressed also without an initial *waw*, **sm**, or with an initial *alef*, as in later Aramaic **sn**³, Hebrew **sm**. It is clear from line 6, **byty**³ **lk**, that the old houses are in the plural. In line 8, **l byt wsm zyly zk**, the demonstrative pronoun in the singular may possibly refer to the granary (although it is also possible to take it as the object of **hn**¹, as we have done; cf. commentary to line 4). The error committed here, together with the other errors in this document, indicate that it is a draft.

Line 3. **w'd k'nm:** This adverbial expression is marked by a suffixed **-m**. Other examples occur in lines 5 (**k'nm** “thus”, to be compared to Biblical Aramaic **k'nm**’, cf. Rosenthal 1963, §91) and 7 (**qdmnm** “at an earlier time, on an earlier occasion”). It is not clear whether **zkm** belongs with this category of words; cf. commentary to C4:8, but even without it the list of adverbs with this suffix given in Porten and Muraoka 1998:92 can now be expanded considerably.

tḥmknš’: This word occurs also in lines 7 and 10 of this document, always in the same context, and seems to qualify the grain which Bagavant is required to bring to the granary of Akhvamazda. One may reconstruct a compound **tauxma-kaniš*, perhaps nominative of **tauxma-kani-*, with an Aramaic definite ending, meaning “seed-sowing”. The form may be connected to the Old Persian month name, DB 2:69, *ādu-ka[ni]šahya*, explained by Emmerick (1966:4; 1969:202) as relating to “grain-sowing”. Cf. further Hinz 1973:65-66; 1975:23; Sims-Williams 1978:97-98. Another interpretation of the month-name compound makes it mean “canal-digging”, cf. Kent 1953:167; Lecoq 1997:172. It is noteworthy that Buddhist Sogdian has **txmcyk** ’ḏ’**wkh** “seed-containing grain” (*Dhūta* 29; cf. MacKenzie 1976:34; Emmerick 1966:4). The practice of setting aside grain for seed is discussed in the context of the Elamite Persepolis tablets by Hallock 1969:20-22.

Line 4. **’l byt <wsm zy> mr’y:** See above on line 2.

štr <mn>: The preposition **mn** seems to have been omitted by mistake. The phrase means literally “outside of”. For **štr mn** in the sense of “outside, excluding, contrary to”, cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, II:1125. The same expression is also attested in A1:10; B5:9 (in this last case with *taw* instead of *tet*). It is not appropriate to read **štr ’drng** “a deed of debt”.

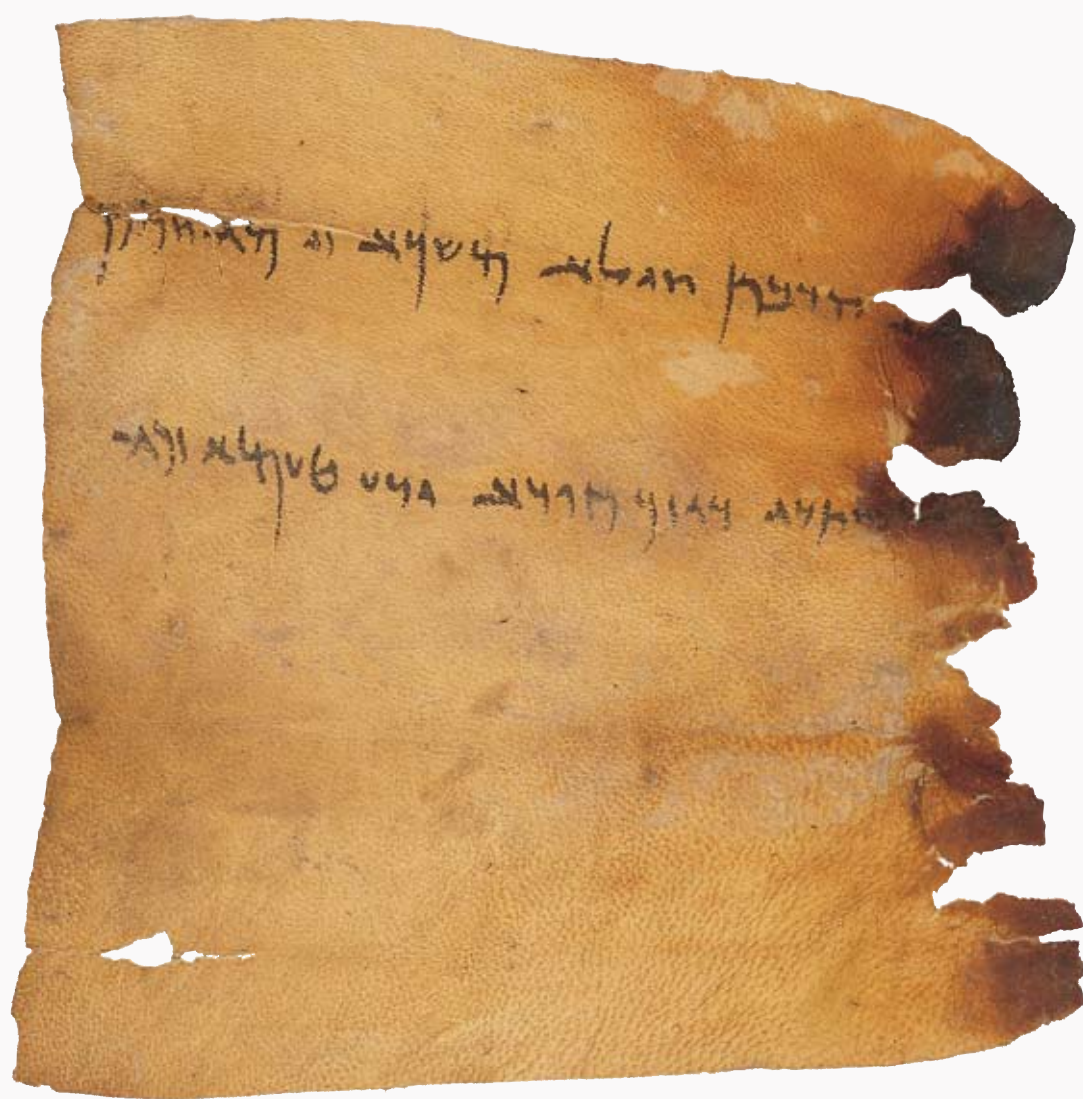
’drng: “obliged, indebted”, to be reconstructed **ādranga-*. **’drng** was discussed by Porten and Greenfield 1969, who rightly defined it as “guarantor”; the semantic transition from “firm, solid” to “one who bears a guarantee, a surety” seems easy; cf. also Hinz 1975:22-23. The word may have included both the notion of “obligation, liability, indebtedness” and that of “guilt, conviction”, for the Middle Persian word *ērang* “guilty” (synonymous with the passive participle *ēraxt*) is derived from **ādranga-*, cf. Shaked 1991:167f. The same ambiguity is borne by the Semitic root ḤWB, whose derivative *ḥayyāb* in Aramaic (cf. lines 7, 8 in the present document) and Hebrew conveys notions of both obligation and guilt. Cf. Kraeling 1953, Nos. 9, 10, 11. It is quite possible that the Talmudic expression **štr ’drkt**’, which may be defined as “a document of liability”, is derived from the same Iranian root. A different interpretation of this word is to be found in Muffs 1992:113-120.

Line 5. **šlyḥ:** One expects either **šlh* or else **<mn> why’trw zk šlyḥ** ‘ly. We have chosen the latter emendation.

’hr l’ tḥ ’bdt: Literally: “then you have not done well”.

’nrwy ’bdt: See above, A5:2-3.

- Line 6.* “Give instructions”: the Aramaic has “You give instructions”.
- Line 8.* **ʾsprn:** Old Persian **uspr̥na-*, or, as in Avestan, **aspr̥na-*, “fully, in full”; cf. Hinz 1975:246, where a survey of previous literature is found.
- Line 10.* **ʾpršt:** “instructed, required”, from Old Iranian **āfrašta-*, to Av. *ā-fra-*, MP *āfrāh* “instruction”. Cf. Bailey 1979:47 s.v. *aurās-*. The possibility that **ʾpršt** is an Aramaic verbal form should however not be excluded, although it seems less likely. It could be an *af^{el}* form of PRŠ, meaning “you have set aside”. The translation of the phrase would then be: “and if you do not deliver the corn harvested for grain sowing in full as you have set aside, you shall not be set free”. Although *haf^{el}* is the common form in Official Aramaic, *af^{el}* is also attested; for a full survey of the situation in the Egyptian documents see Muraoka and Porten 1998:113ff., §28.
- šbq** seems to be a passive form here. The passive of the imperfect forms in *pe^{al}* is notoriously difficult to establish (cf. Folmer 1995:221-222; Muraoka and Porten 1998:119).
- Line 12.* There is no date in this address formula. A5, written by the same scribe, also lacks a date. The same scribe shows other stylistic peculiarities in these two documents. In both of them the following expressions occur: **ʾnrwy** with the verb **BD**; **yʾsšt wprtm**; **qdmnm**.



A7. [Khalili IA 11]

A7. [Khalili IA 11]

Maximum height 152 mm.; maximum width c. 150 mm. Small fragment, constituting the left-hand part of a short elongated letter. The right-hand part is torn and blackened. Parts of two widely-spaced lines of writing are preserved. Fragmentary letter, perhaps from Akhvamazda to Bagavant. No date, and nothing is preserved on the verso. Daizaka is the scribe, hence the letter may belong to a date between 351 and 347 BCE.

קרבת חילא משכא זי מהחסנן 1
בחתרי דיוך ספרא ידע טעמא זנה 2

ROMANIZED TEXT

A7:1 [...] qrbt ḥyl' mšk' zy mhšsnn

A7:2 [...] bḥtry dyzk spr' yd' t'm' znh

TRANSLATION

- 1 ... I approached the troops (?). The leather (bottles?) which they have
- 2 ... Bactrian (or: Bactra) ... Daizaka the scribe is in charge of this command.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **qrbt ḥyl'**: An alternative translation of the first phrase is “I made the troops come near”, but in either case one would expect a preposition **l-** before **ḥyl'**; cf. the similar expression **lḥyl'** **qrbt** in A4:2. Alternatively it is possible to assume that **qrbt** belongs to a preceding phrase, and that **ḥyl'** is the first word of a new phrase: “The troops [did or are doing something with] the leather(-pieces or skin-bottles) which they hold”.

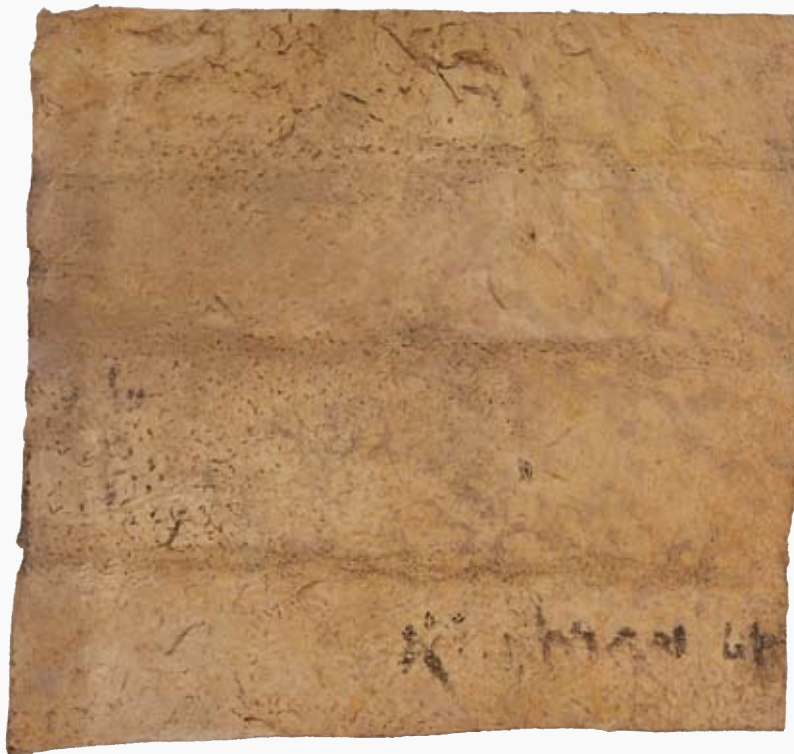
mšk': Inflated skin-bottles were commonly used in military activities for crossing a body of water. Skin-bottles were often used as containers for drinking water or wine.

Line 2. **bḥtry**: This is the name of Bactra, the capital city of Bactria; but it is also the gentilic form designating a person who comes from Bactria. Cf. also A8:2.

dyzk: Daizaka the scribe is also mentioned in A2:7; A4:6.



A8. [Khalili IA 16] *Recto*



A8. [Khalili IA 16] *Verso*

A8. [Khalili IA 16]

Tiny fragment. Maximum width 102 mm.; maximum height 95 mm. A letter. No name of sender or recipient, but it could be from Akhvamazda to Bagavant and others; at any rate, it is formulated as a letter from a highly placed individual to officials under his command. No date. Concerns a certain Bactrian or the city of Bactra, and taxation.

Recto

- 1 [...]ל [...] עֲבַדְתֶּם בִּין שְׁנִיָּה
- 2 [...]ת בַּחֲתָרִי מִנְדַּת מַלְכָּא לְמַגְבִּיָּה
- 3 [...]הִיתוּ עָלַי עַל זְרִימְפִי בִּירְתָּא
- 4 [...]א מִרְתָּ וְכֵן עֲבַדוּ כֹזִי בַּחֲדָא
- 5 [...]וְהֵן] לֹא מִשְׁלָם תַּעֲבֹדוֹן כֹּזִי [...]

Verso

- 6 [...]הִי] תִּי אֲגֵרְתָּא זָא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- A8:1 [...]l [...] 'bdtm byn šnyh
 A8:2 [...]t bḥtry mndt mlk' lmgbyh
 A8:3 [...]hytw 'ly 'l zrympy byrt'
 A8:4 [...] 'mrt wkn 'bdw kzy bḥd
 A8:5 [...] whn] l' mšlm t'bdwn kzy [...]

Verso

- A8:6 [... hy]ty 'grt' z'

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 ... you worked in his grain (field)
- 2 ... Bactria, in order to collect the rent of the king.
- 3 ... bring (*imperative pl.*) to me, to the fortress Zarimpi
- 4 ...[as?] I said, and thus act (*imperative pl.*), as in one
- 5 ... [and if you] do not act in complete (conformity) as [you were told?] ...

Verso

- 6 ... bring this letter.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ʿbdtm:** This could also be read **dbrtm**.

byn šnyh: The second word may be interpreted as Old Persian *čīna- “grain”, cf. NP čīna, which is most probably derived from the root *kay-/či-* “to collect”; cf. Henning 1933:202, where further references are given. The Aramaic plural *čīnāyā could be a shorthand expression for “grain field”. The final *he* represents the possessive pronoun. For the expression with the preposition **byn**, compare Driver No. 5:5, **mmnyn hww byn bgyʾ zyly** “they were appointed in my fields”.

Line 2. **bḥtry:** This could be the name of the town Bactra or the province Bactria, or an adjective “Bactrian” (cf. also C1).

lmgbyh: This is the infinitive with the suffix for the 3rd person sg. f.

Line 3. **hytw:** Before this word perhaps restore **wkn**.

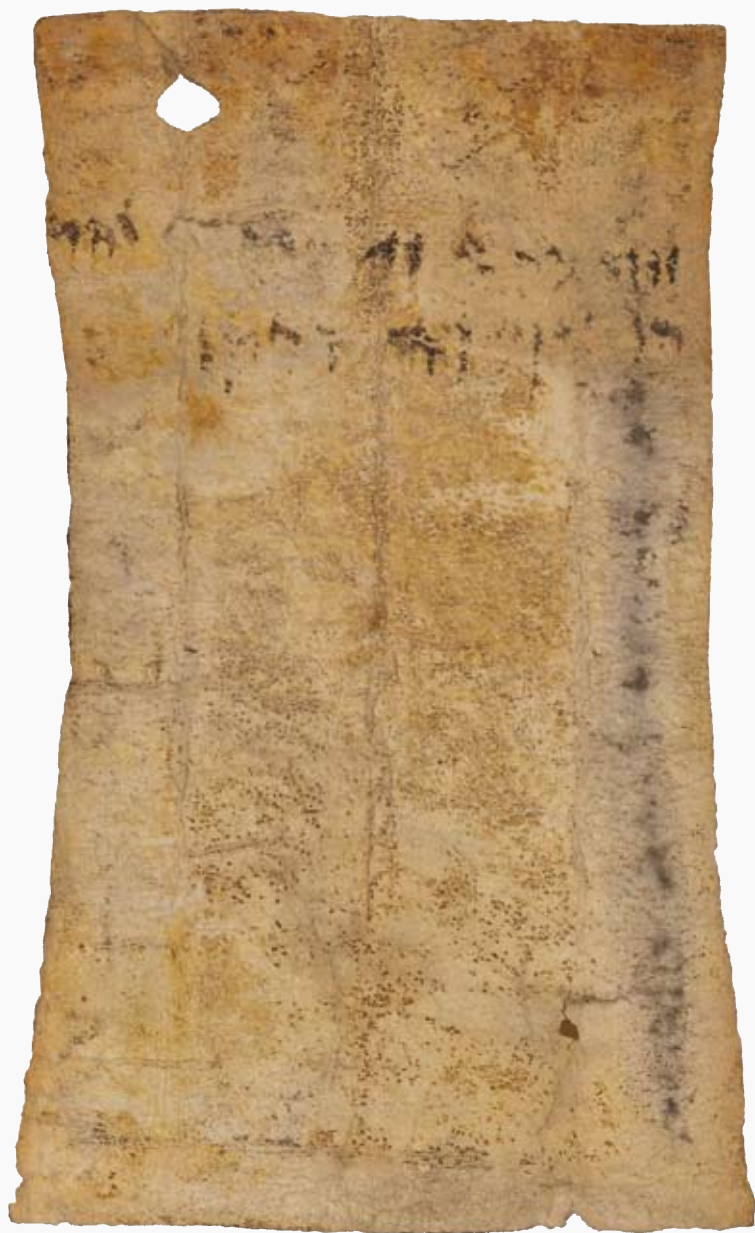
zrympy: This word could be an error for Zariaspi, since there is some similarity between the forms of *mem* and *samek*. Zariaspa is known as the name of the fortress in Bactra. It is often used interchangeably with Bactra and can be assumed to have served as the place of residence of the satrap of Bactria. Reuss 1907:591-595 believes (against von Schwarz) that Baktra and Zariaspa are the same town, and so does Treidler in Pauly-Wissowa vol. 9A (1967):2326-2328 s.v. Zariaspa. Although an error concerning the spelling of the name of the satrapal residence seems strange in an official letter, the possibility cannot be excluded, especially as this, like most of the other documents in the Khalili collection, is most probably a draft (see Introduction, Chapter 2). If Akhvamazda is the author of this letter, as seems possible by the tone it uses (see below on line 5), the possibility that **zrympy** stands for Zariaspi must be taken seriously.

Line 5. **whn ʾ mšlm tʿbdwn kzy ...:** The tone of threat implied in this phrase is consistent with the assumption that the letter is written by Akhvamazda. It could be addressed to Bagavant together with other recipients.

Line 6. **hyty ʾgrtʾ zʾ:** This is the formula used in most of the official letters of Akhvamazda to Bagavant (A1, A2, A3, A4).



A9. [Khalili IA 15] *Recto*



A9. [Khalili IA 15] *Verso*

A9. [Khalili IA 15]

A small document, preserved almost in its entirety, though the writing is rubbed off in parts. Maximum width 156 mm.; height varies between 83 and 96 mm. The document concerns Bagavant and his wife. It is perhaps a label originally attached to a jar or a basket. A hole on the left-hand side of the recto may have served to attach the document by means of a narrow strip to the container. No date is given. The text is difficult to interpret, and the following restoration and translation should be regarded as tentative.

Recto

- 1 זנה סמין זי בגונת בנפשה
- 2 [ל]קח מן אנתתה
- 3 [בו]רתן זי קדם רת סמא
- 4 [זנ]ה זנא 3 זי אנתתה
- 5 [...]אכל [...]לן ינה חור זי למאכל
- 6 [ז]י ינכא נדי זנתי אחדן
- 7 [...]מן זי אנתתא אכל אמת

On the right-hand margin

- 8 [ז]י מן [...] ...
- 9 חש[.]דת עד [מ]תנה
- 10 יהוה

Verso, along the narrow side (portrait direction)

- 11 זנה ס[מא] זי בגונת לקח
- 12 מן אנתתה [...]

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- A9:1 znh smyn zy bgwnt bnpšh
 A9:2 [l]qh mn 'ntth
 A9:3 [bz]rtm zy qdm rt sm'
 A9:4 [zn]h zn' 3 zy 'ntth
 A9:5 [...]kl [...]ln znh hwr zy lm'kl
 A9:6 [z]y ynk' ndy znty 'hdn
 A9:7 [...]mn zy 'ntt' 'kl 'mt

On the right-hand margin

- A9:8 [z]y m[n... ...]n
 A9:9 hš[.]dt 'd [m]tnh
 A9:10 yhwh

Verso, along the narrow side

- A9:11 znh s[m'] zy bgwnt lqh
 A9:12 mn 'ntth [...]

TRANSLATION

- 1 This is: drugs that Bagavant himself
2 [re]ceived from his wife
3 [in Za]rtan, which is in the presence of the judge (?). This drug
4 (is) the third kind, of his wife
5 this white one, which is for eating,
6 [whatever] he deducts (of it), remove (?). **znty** (?) are taken (?)
7 ... from that of the wife. Eat when

On the right-hand side:

- 8 ...
9 ... so that it may be
10 [a pr]esent.

Verso, along the narrow side:

- 11 This is the drug which Bagavant received
12 from his wife ...

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **znh**: A demonstrative pronoun in the singular precedes what looks like a noun in the plural. Lack of agreement between the demonstrative pronoun and a predicate is widespread in Official Aramaic, especially in documents of the fifth century onwards; cf. the material assembled by Folmer 1995:488-492; Muraoka and Porten 1998, §76c.

smyn: It is difficult to assign to this word, which occurs as a singular **sm**³ in line 3, a sense other than “herb” or “drug”.

bnpšh: We assume that the last sign was intended to be *he*, though it is quite different from the way our scribe usually writes this letter and looks rather like **20**.

Line 3. **...rtn** could be the ending of the wife’s name. It has been taken here to be the toponym Zartan, which is elsewhere (cf. C4:22) written **zrtny**. A similar variation in spelling is found with the toponym **ʾrtwk**, **ʾrtwky** (cf. A2:2, against A6:2).

rt: This may be taken to represent Old Iranian *ratu-*, although a final *waw* would have been expected. An alternative interpretation of the phrase is to take **rt** with **sm**³ as a status constructus: “the judge of drugs”.

Line 4. **zy ʾntth**: This could alternatively be the beginning of a relative clause: “which his wife [...]”.

Line 5. **...ʾkl**: A restoration **[lm]ʾkl** is tempting, but is excluded by the visible traces of letters.

Line 6. **ʾnkyʾ**: The verb NKY is attested in the sense of “to deduct” in Jewish Babylonian and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; cf. Sokoloff 2002:754; 1990:350.

ndy: The verb NDY is so far unattested in Official Aramaic. It is however quite widely used in Jewish Aramaic, mostly in the sense “to revile, reject” or “excommunicate” (cf. Sokoloff 2002:730-731); cf. also Syriac NDʾ, ND.

ʾhdy: From the root ʾHD “to hold, seize”. The form may be that of the active or passive participle (the latter written defectively), m. pl.

Line 7. The text was probably continued on the margin.

Line 10. **[m]tnh**: with the final *he*, the word may possibly denote “his present”.

A9a. PALIMPSEST

verso, along the wide side

[erased writing] 13

ROMANIZED TEXT

13 *[a line completely rubbed off]*



A10. [Khalili IA 14]

A10. [Khalili IA 14]

Maximum height 200 mm.; width 105 mm. A palimpsest, with some writing visible underneath the lines and below them. Note serving to record a debt. Bagavant is the guarantor or debtor. No date.

אדרנג אחרי 1
 בגונת על דתשאפרן 2
 ג 1 ס 3 3
 כל ג 1 ס 8 4

6 lines erased

Bottom line, after a large space (could belong to the erased part):

אזגם vacat פרדך 11

ROMANIZED TEXT

A10:1 ʾdrng ʾhry
 A10:2 bgwnt ʾl dtšʾprn
 A10:3 g 1 s 3
 A10:4 kl g 1 s 8
[6 lines erased]

Bottom line, after a large space (could belong to the erased part):

A10:11 ʾzgm [*vacat*] prdk

TRANSLATION

- 1 Liable (and) responsible
 - 2 is Bagavant to Dathushafarnah
 - 3 (concerning) 1 *gun*, 3 *seʾa*.
 - 4 Total: 1 *gun*, 8 *seʾa*.
- [6 lines erased]*

Bottom line, after a large space (could belong to the erased part):

- 11 Disbursement (*from?*) [*blank space*] Fradaka.

...

COMMENTARY

Line 1. ʾdrng: See commentary to A6:4. After the initial *alef* here there is a letter, perhaps a *dalet* or a *pe*, which seems to have been scratched off.

ʾhry: “liable, responsible” or “guarantor”. Beyer 1984:508 translates “bürgend, haftbar”, while Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:40-41 translate the word as an abstract noun “guarantee”. The following preposition ʾl seems to precede the name of the person to whom Bagavant is liable, rather than the person for whom he is a guarantor. The preposition **l-** is used thus after the words denoting “liable” in a Naḥal Ḥever document, Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978:156, No. 51:11: ʾhry ʾrb, and in a Murabbaʿat document, Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978:150, No. 47:10: ʾhry wʾrb. It may accordingly be suggested that ʾdrng ʾhry in our text is the semantic equivalent of Palestinian Aramaic ʾhry (w)ʾrb.

- Line 2.* **dtš³prn:** Before the name there occurs an *alef*, which seems to belong to an earlier layer of writing. The second element of the name is *farnah*- “(divine) splendour”. The first part of the compound could be interpreted as the name of the tenth month and of the first, eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of the month according to the Avestan calendar, all of which are named after the Creator Ahura Mazda. This name has the genitive form *daθušō*, or, transposed into Old Persian (as an Avestan loanword), **daθušā(h)*. Bactrian has δαθβο (cf. Sims-Williams 1997:12). The name Daθušā(h)-farna(h) could then be explained as “possessing the splendour of the day/month called: ‘of the Creator’”. Such a name could refer to its bearer’s birthday. For the use of the Zoroastrian calendar in these documents cf. Introduction, Chapter 11.
- Line 3.* **g:** The abbreviation **g** stands, in most cases, for *gaun* or *gun*, a measure of capacity. Sims-Williams suggests a connection with Skt. *goṇī*- “sack”, Bactrian γωνζο, Pashto *gūnj* (cf. Sims-Williams 2000:189). He remarks (in a personal communication): “The ultimate origin of the word seems to be unknown, but the Bactrian and Pashto forms suggest that even if it is an Indian loanword in Iranian, it must be quite an ancient one”. It may be possible to adduce here also Ossetic *gon*, *gom* “a corn-bin, barn, granary”; cf. Abaev 1958/89, I:523-524, where some cognates are quoted but no Iranian etymology proposed. The word is written out in full, **gwn**, several times in C4 (once, in C4:43, accompanied by another, smaller unit of measure indicated by the abbreviation **g**). On the various units of measure cf. Introduction, Chapter 12.
- Line 7.* **sryw:** The status of this word as a personal name or a common noun is unclear. If it is a personal name, it may perhaps be explained as Saryava(nt), “possessing manure”.
- Line 10.* **rbztkw:** Possibly a personal name, but its structure is not clear.
- Line 11.* **zgm:** Cf. on C4:2 below.

A10a. PALIMPSEST

7 סוסי סריו זי א[...]

8 מהחסן בין יומן 2 א[...]

9 סוסי ושכוש [...] כסה [...]

10 ס 2 ארבזתכו [...]

ROMANIZED TEXT

A10a:7 swsy sryw zy '[...]

A10a:8 mhḥsn byn ywmn 2 '[...]

A10a:9 swsy wškwš [...] ksh [...]

A10a:10 s 2 'rbztkw [...]

TRANSLATION

7 the horses of (?) **sryw** which ...

8 he holds. In 2 days ...

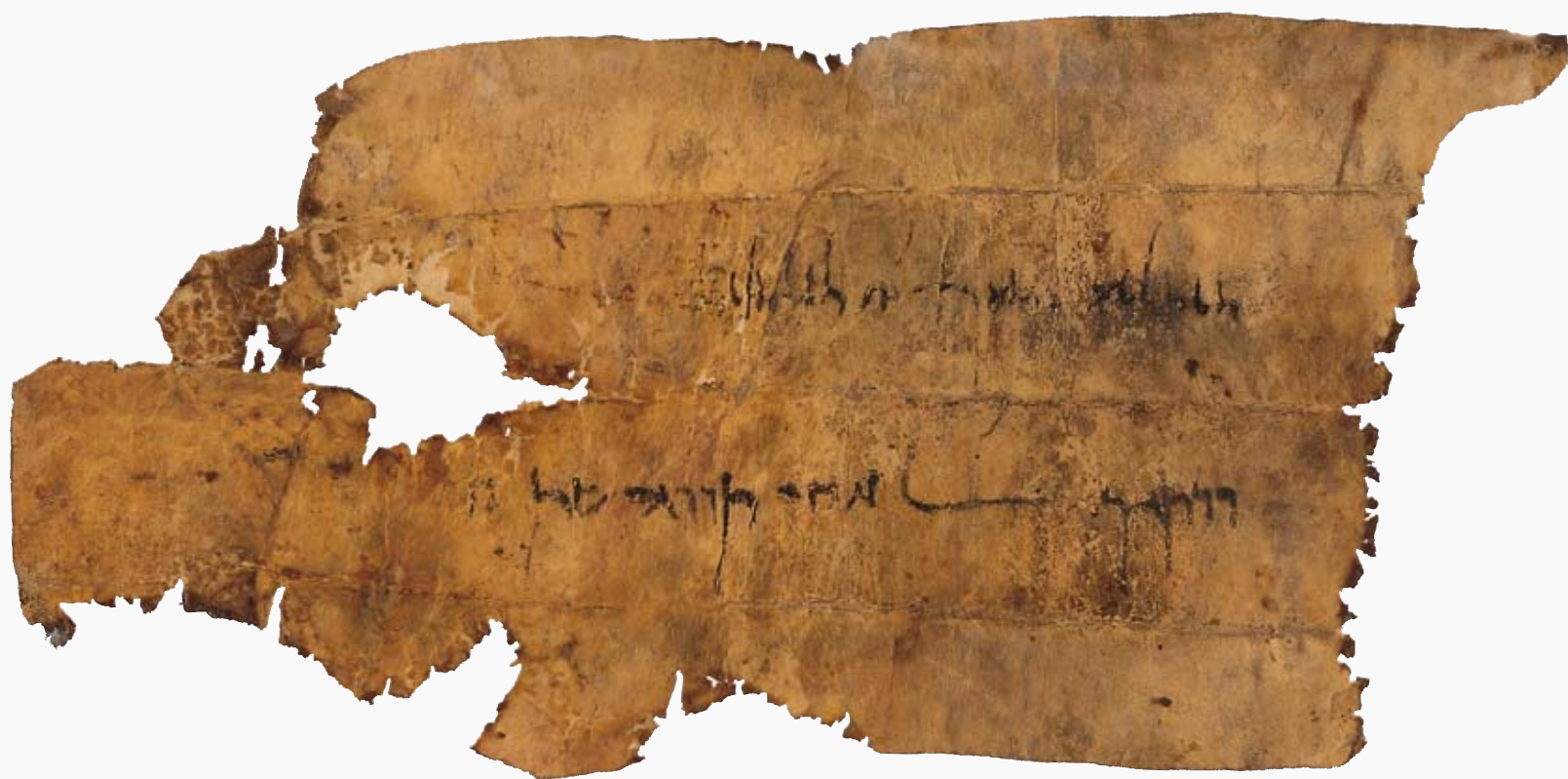
9 horses of **wškwš** ... fodder ...

10 2 *se'a* **'rbztkw**

B. Other letters



B1. [Khalili IA 7] *Recto* — (size reduced)



B1. [Khalili IA 7] *Verso* — (size reduced)

B1. [Khalili IA 7]

Height 115 mm.; width 237 mm. Small document, damaged on both sides, and with a hole in the middle.
Letter from Mithrafarnah to Upadvara (two persons of equal rank). No date.

Recto

- 1 [מן מתרפרן] על אחי אופדור שלם ושררת שגיא הושרת לך וכעת לא ש[לחת ...]
- 2 [...] בביתא זילך כען אושתיתף לך 1 כונה יהוה אחד לנא כלא [...]
- 3 [...]בש[... עב]ד אנת אזד זי לכלא חילא כונה איתת להן תרשי כ[...]
- 4 [...] לשציה יהוה ואנה שים ושך מתרדת למאמ[ר ...]
- 5 בנפשי י[... ולכלא חילא שגיא משחו בצבוחא יי נפשי ב[...]
- 6 זי אנה אשלח עליך ביד נכור וזי ושך יאמר לך זך ופרי [...]
- 7 [...]ת [...]די ושלם קדמך כן ושדת ישלח עליך [...] ...]
- 8 [...]ש[מ]ע

Verso

- 9 [מן] vacat מתרפרן על אחי אופדור

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- B1:1 [mn mtrprn] 'l 'hy 'wpdwr šlm wšrrt šgy' hwšrt lk wk't l' š[łht...]
 B1:2 [...] bbyt' zylk k'n 'wštyr lk 1 kznh yhw h'd ln' kl' [...]
 B1:3 [...]bš[... t'b]d 'nt 'zd zy lkl' hyl' kznh 'ytt lhn tršy k[...]
 B1:4 [...]lšsyh yhw w'nh šym wšk mtrdt lm'm[r...]
 B1:5 bnpšy y[...] wkl' hyl' šgy' mšhw bšbwt' npšy b[...]
 B1:6 zy 'nh 'šlh 'lyk byd nkwr wzy wšk y'mr lk zk wpry [...]
 B1:7 [...]t[... ...]dy wšlm qdmyk kn wšdt yšlh 'ly[k ...]
 B1:8 [...]m'

Verso

- B1:9 [mn] [vacat] mtrprn 'l 'hy 'wpdwr

TRANSLATION

- 1 [From Mithrafarnah] to my brother Upadvara, I send you much peace and strength. And now:
[I/you have] not s[ent] ...
- 2 ... in your house. Now, I shall share with you alone. In this manner the whole ... will be
owned by us. ...
- 3 ... You make known (the fact) that you have thus brought all the troops. But you start a suit
(?) ...
- 4 ... for completion. I am establishing the word of Mithradata for saying (?) ...
- 5 by myself, ... and anoint the whole large army by my desire ...
- 6 that which I shall [send?] to you by the hand of Nakor, and whatever word he will say to you,
that and more (?) [perform?] ...
- 7 ... And may there be to you peace. Vachadata will thus send to you ...
- 8 ... [hea]rs.

Verso

9 [From] [blank space] Mithrafarnah to my brother Upadvara.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ʾwpdwr:** Upa-dvāra (?) could be understood as “One who walks up to (a goal)”. However, it must be noted that the verb *dvar-* and its Middle Persian descendant, *dwāristan*, are attested in the Avesta as denoting daēvic activities.

Line 2. **ʾwštytp lk 1:** “I shall share with you alone”, or as imperative: “Now, take a share for yourself, one (*item*)”. The form **ʾwštytp** does not seem to be correct; one might have expected **ʾštwtp**. For the numeral sign “1” in the sense of “alone” cf. Hermopolis 3:4 in Bresciani and Kamil 1966:392: **lh šbq ʾnh lh 1 kdy mṭʾh ydy** “I shall not leave him alone as much as it is within my power”.

Line 3. **ʾzd:** This word no doubt belongs to **ʾzd** etc. in Biblical Aramaic, although it seems to be used differently here. In Biblical usage the word means “(publicly) known, evident, established” (cf. Rosenthal 1963:59). Similarly, in Cowley 27:8-9, a close translation of **hn ʾzd ytʾbd mn dynyʾ typtyʾ gwškyʾ ... yty[dʾ] lmrʾn lqbl znh zy ʾnhnh ʾmrn** would be “if (things) are established by the magistrates, police and spies ..., it will be known to our lord (that they are) in accordance with what we say”. The sense “enquiry” attributed to this word, first by Cowley ad loc. and then by most other scholars (also in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995), creates an unnecessary division of meanings. In the fragmentary text of North Saqqara, Segal 1983, Papyrus 21:4, the text can be interpreted similarly: **ʾzd ʾbdw ʾyk** “Make known that ...” (cf. Shaked 1987:409). A recent discussion of the word is in Huyse 1998:31-37.

ʾytt: For the form in *af^{el}* rather than *haf^{el}*, cf. Muraoka and Porten 1998:113-116 (§28).

tršy: Or: “you will give / have authority”.

Line 4. **šym:** the reading **šʾm** is also possible. In either case the form represents the present active participle of ŠWM.

wšk: A loanword from Old Persian **vāčaka-* “word”, of which this is the first occurrence (also in line 6). The form attested in Old Iranian (both in the Gathas and in the Younger Avesta) is *vačah-* “Sprechen, Reden, Wort (als Tätigkeitsbezeichnung)”, cf. Bartholomae 1904:1340. The form **wʾc** is attested in Manichaean Middle Persian (where it is also spelt **wʾz**) and Parthian; Zoroastrian Middle Persian has **wʾckʾ** = *wāzag* “word, utterance”.

Line 5. **mšhw:** The verb MŠḤ can mean either “to anoint” or “to measure”. The former meaning seems more likely in this context.

bšbwtʾ zy npšy: The addition of **zy** above the line is one of the details indicating that this letter is a draft.

Line 6. **ʾšlh:** The first letter looks rather like *yod*.

wpry: The word **pry** is perhaps a loanword from Old Iranian *frāyah-* “further, more” (Bartholomae 1904:1018). It is also possible to think of Avestan *frya-* “friendly, dear, kind” (Bartholomae 1904:1026), but in the absence of the rest of the phrase, it is difficult to be sure.

Line 7. **wšdt:** *Vača(h)-dāta*, “Created by Speech”. Another name containing the element **wš-** is found in Cowley 1923, No. 22:133, 134, where the name **wšhy** was quite plausibly interpreted by Hinz (1975:248) as *Vačaxaya-*, perhaps a shortened form of *Vača(h)-xratu-*. This may now be understood as a *dvandva* compound “(Adherent of) Speech and Wisdom”, two notions probably deified.

Line 8. For a concluding sentence containing the verb *šM'* cf. B3:6.

Line 9. **mtrprn:** *Miθra-farna(h)* “Possessing the fortune of Mithra”.

B1a. PALIMPSEST

Verso, written in the opposite direction, presumably an address belonging to an earlier letter written on the same piece of parchment

10 [מן] vacat ורתין על אחי תרוהשת ח[...]

ROMANIZED TEXT

B1:10 [mn] [vacat] wrtyn ʿl ʾhy trwhšt ḥ[...]

TRANSLATION

10 [From] [blank space] Vartaina to my brother Tirivahishta ...

COMMENTARY

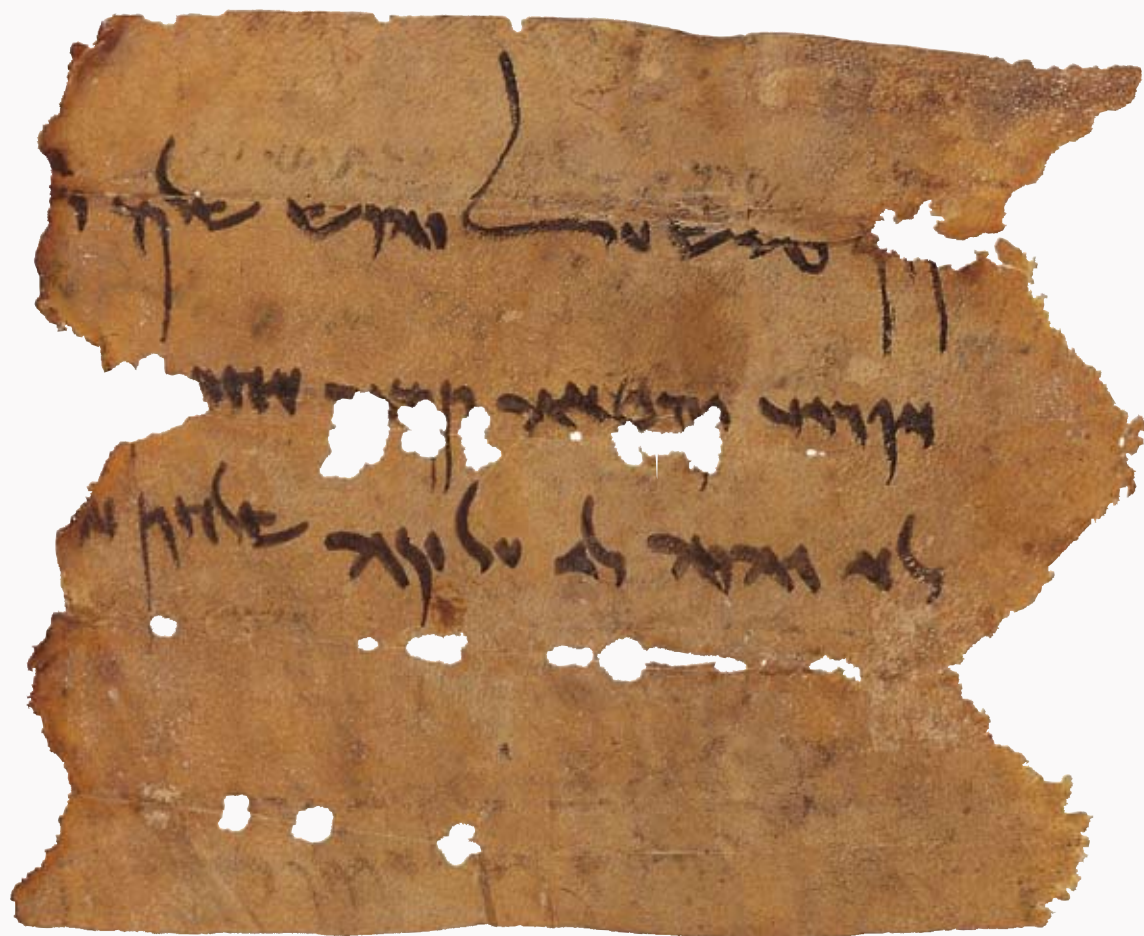
Line 10. This is presumably the address of an earlier, erased, letter.

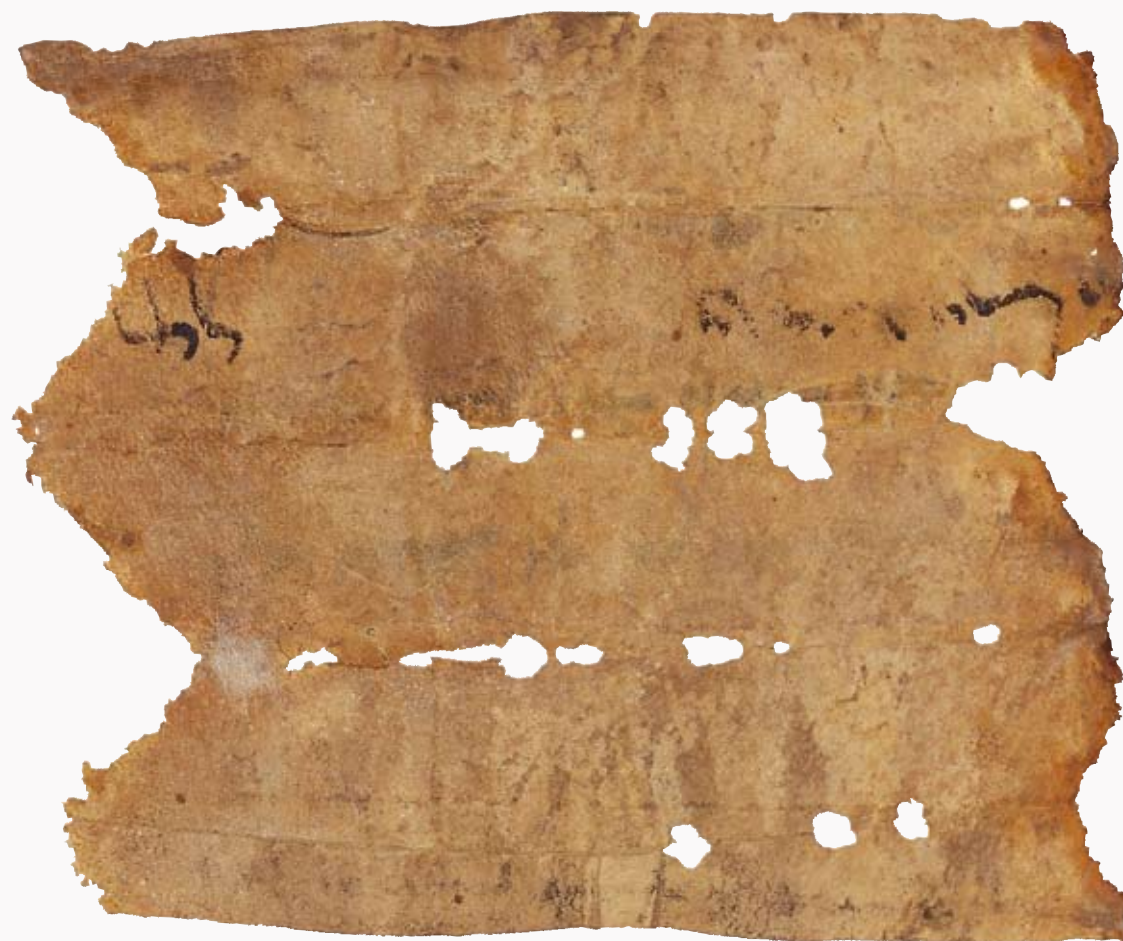
wrtyn: Vartaina. The name is perhaps related to the name Vardānag, attested (though it is restored) on a Sasanian seal; cf. Gignoux 1986, No. 948. The significance of the name, probably derived from *varta-, may be “rolling, turning”. It could alternatively be derived from a place name.

trwhšt: Tīri-vahišta (or Tīra-vahišta) is a name dedicated to “the best Tīri”. For the element Tīri or Tīra in personal names cf. Bartholomae 1904:651; Hinz 1975:237-238. A wealth of material on this deity and on the historical puzzles which are connected with him (despite his prominence in later Zoroastrianism) can be found in Gray 1929:110-115; Boyce 1975/1991, I:75-77.



B2. [Khalili IA 23] *Recto*





B2. [Khalili IA 23] *Verso*



B2. [Khalili IA 23]

Palimpsest. Width (in the present arrangement of the document, where the central portion is missing) c. 265 mm.; height c. 120 mm. The document consists of two separate parts, between which there existed originally a gap of considerable length (the words supplemented in lines 1 and 3 may give an idea as to the amount of text missing). Letter from Bagaicha to Vahucha, two persons of equal rank. No date.

Recto

- 1 מן בגיש על והוש שלם ו[שררת שגיא הו]שרת לך וכעת הא מ[... ...]
2 אפריע ימטאה תמה אחר [שלחת עלי ...] ודמי גפרישת זי מנדעם פתוא
3 לא יהוה לי על זנה שלחת ע[ליך אנרוי אל] תעבד

Verso

- 4 מן *vacat* בגיש על ו[הוש]

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- B2:1 mn bgyš 'l whwš šlm w[šrrt šgy' hw]šrt lk wk't h' m[... ...]
B2:2 'pry' ymṭ'h tmh 'hr [šlḥt 'ly] wdmy gpryšt zy mnd'm ptw'
B2:3 l' yhwh ly 'l znh šlḥt '[lyk 'nrwy 'l] t'bd

Verso

- B2:4 mn [*vacat*] bgyš 'l w[hwš]

TRANSLATION

- 1 From Bagaicha to Vahucha, I send you [much] peace and [health]. And now, behold ...
2 let it reach him there immediately. Afterwards ... [you sent to me ...] and (it is) plain (flour), the lowest, so that there will be no
3 ration to me. Concerning this I send [you (this letter)]. Do not] act [contrary (to my command)].

Verso

- 4 From [*blank space*] Bagaicha to Va[hucha].

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **bgyš:** Here Bagaicha is clearly a personal name. A similar name can be reconstructed from Elamite and Akkadian, cf. Hinz 1975:56. In C3:40, where this word occurs again, there may be some doubt as to whether the word designates the name of a person or the title of an office (see commentary there). The name is a hypocoristicon formed from the name Baga or from a name containing Baga as a first element.

whwš: Vahuča, another personal name. Such a name is not attested outside these documents, but may be explained as derived from *vahu-* “good” with diminutive suffix *-ča*; cf. the name Vahuka, which has been reconstructed from Elamite (see Mayrhofer 1973:208, No. 8.1188; Hinz 1975:250). Alternatively, Vahuča could be explained as a short form of a compound

name such as Vahu-čiθra / Vahu-čiça, of which the two parallel dialect forms have both been reconstructed from Elamite (cf. Hinz 1975:250). Another possible reading is Vahuš, a name attested in Elamite, which Mayrhofer (1973:197, No. 8.1054) takes as a short form of a name such as Dāraya-vahuš; cf. also Hinz 1975:251.

Line 2. **wdmy:** For a discussion of **rmy** / **dmy**, the adjective designating plain flour, and the various suggestions for its explanation, cf. commentary to C1:16.

gpryšt: This word seems to represent Old Persian **gafrīšta-*, **jafrīšta-* or **gufrīšta-* “the lowest, deepest”, superlative to Av. *jafra-*, *gufra-* “deep”, Manichaean Parthian *jafr*, and the comparative **jfryst**, Zoroastrian and Manichaean Middle Persian **zwpr** (interpreted by Bartholomae 1904:603 as *žufr*, by MacKenzie 1971:99 as *zofr*, but perhaps to be read *žofr*; cf. New Persian *žarf*). Cf. also Skt. *gabhīrāḥ* “deep”, Mayrhofer 1956/80, I:323, where the Iranian cognates are discussed. The complaint of the highly-placed writer of the letter seems to be that he received flour of such inferior quality that there is nothing suitable for him to eat. As N. S-W remarks, however (in a personal communication): “the formation [of **gafrīšta-*] is problematic, since *-īšta-* is never added to an adjective stem such as **gafra-*, but always to the underlying root, cf. Skt. *gāmbhīṣṭha-*”.

ptw’: This word, which means “ration”, is usually spelled **ptp’** in the Khalili documents and in Aramaic generally (cf. references in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:953); it survived into Middle Aramaic, cf. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **pytp’** in Sokoloff 2002:908. The original Iranian form is *piθvā-*, which explains our present spelling, and shows that Old Iranian *v* could be replaced in certain phonetic situations by *f*.

B2a. PALIMPSEST

Recto (same direction as the main writing)

בגיש [...] 1
[...] 2-5

Verso (upside down in relation to the main writing)

[...]א 6

ROMANIZED TEXT

B2a:1 [...] bgyš
B2a:2-5 [...]
B2a:6 [...]

TRANSLATION

Recto (same direction as the main writing)

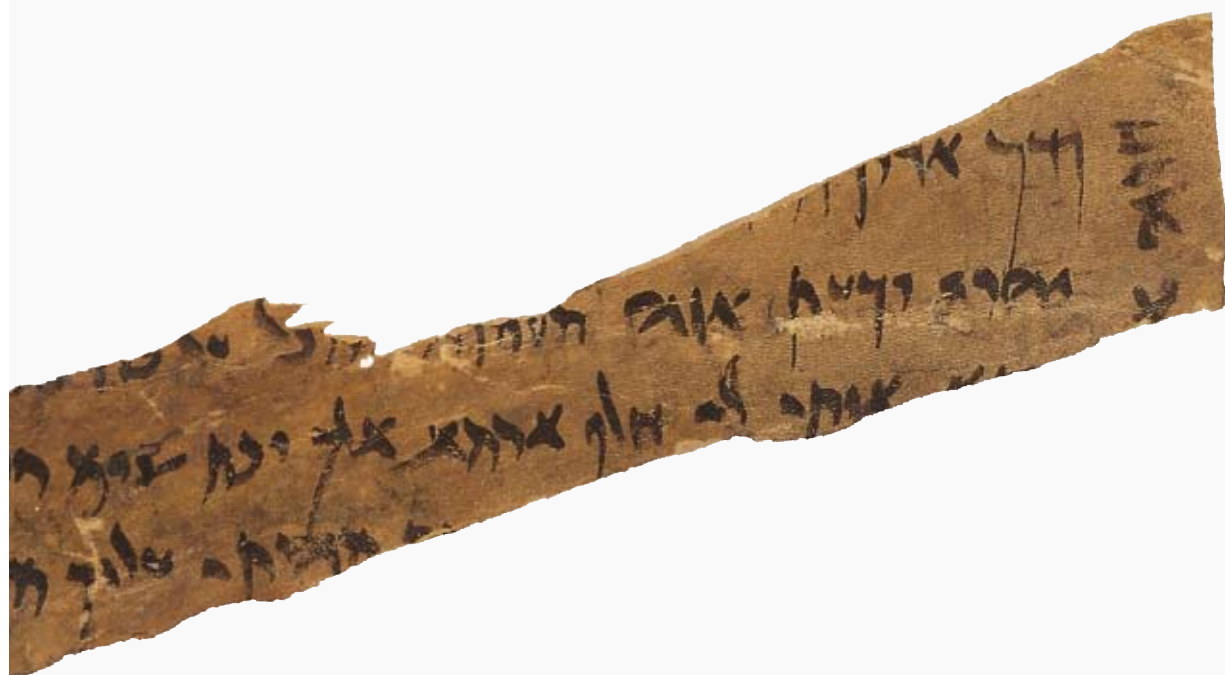
1 ... Bagaicha
2-5 ...

Verso (upside down in relation to the main writing)

6 ’[...]



B3. [Khalili IA 29] *Recto*





B3. [Khalili IA 29] *Verso*



B3. [Khalili IA 29]

Maximum height 65 mm.; maximum width 345 mm. An oddly shaped fragment of a document. A palimpsest, with traces of earlier writing underneath the present letter. Letter from Artainapata to Vahucha, two persons of equal rank. No date.

Recto

- 1 מן ארת[ינפת על אחי והוש שלם ושררת שגיא הושרת לך וכעת קדמי שלם קדמיך שלם]
- 2 יהוה וכעת אנה ק[... יובל על ב[...]
- 3 [...]א אנת לי חלף ארקא אלך ובת שים ספדפרן גטא [ז]ך למהיתי וספדפרן לא אבה למהיתי
- 4 [...]מהיתי עליך מן זך ידיע יהוה לך להן הן לך צבה אחר אנת
- 5 [...] שלם אמ[... תמה על זנה שלחת
- 6 [...] שלח עלי זי [...] שמע

On the margin

7 חדה א[נה [...]

Verso

8 [מ]ן vacat ארת[ינפת על אחי והוש]

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- B3:1 mn ʾrt[ynpt ʾl ʾhy whwš šlm wšrrt šgyʾ hwšrt lk wkʾt qdmy šlm qdmyk šlm]
- B3:2 yhwh wkʾt ʾnh q[...] ywbl ʾl b[...]
- B3:3 [...]ʾnty ly ʾlp ʾrqʾ lk wbt šym spdprn gʾ [z]k lmhyty wspdprn lʾ ʾbh lmhyty
- B3:4 [...]mhyty ʾlyk mn zk ydyʿ yhwh lk lhn hn lk šbh ʾhr ʾnt
- B3:5 [...] šlm ʾm[...] tmh ʾl znh šlht
- B3:6 [...] šlh ʾly zy [...] šmʿ

On the margin

B3:7 ʾdh ʾ[nh ...]

Verso

B3:8 [m]n [vacat] ʾrtynpt ʾl ʾhy whwš

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Art[ainapata to my brother Vahucha. I send you much peace and health. And now, there is peace with me, with you, (too),]
- 2 may there be [peace]. And now: I ... conveyed to ...
- 3 ... [give?] you (*f. sg.*) to me in exchange for the land those (things) and a house. Spadafarnah was appointed to carry that document, (but) Spadafarnah refused to carry (it)
- 4 ... to carry (it) to you. May that be known to you. But if it is desired by you, then you (*m. sg.*)
- 5 ... peace ... there. For this reason I have sent
- 6 ... send to me that which ... heard.

On the margin

7 [I] rejoice.

Verso

8 [From] [blank space] Artainapata to my brother Vahucha.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ʾrt[ynpt]**: The name is fully preserved in the address line on the verso side (line 8), see discussion below.

[whwš]: Supplemented on the basis of the address, line 8. On the name see B2:1.

[šlm wšrrt] etc.: For the restoration in brackets cf. e.g. B4:1-2.

Line 3. **ʾrqʾ ʾlk wbt**: On the face of it, this is an unusual order of words, with the plural pronoun placed between the two items which it qualifies. It is however possible to reconstruct the syntax of this fragmentary phrase as given in the translation above.

Note the archaic spelling **ʾrqʾ**; on the distribution of **ʾrq** / **ʾrʿ** in the Aramaic documents of the Achaemenid period cf. Folmer 1995:67-68; Muraoka and Porten 1998:8-9. The form of **ʾrqʾ** seems to be that of the determined state; cf. Cowley 1923, No. 6 (Porten and Yardeni 1986/1999, *TADAE* B2.2), where **ʾrqʾ** (and once also **ʾrʿ**) occurs several times with the demonstrative pronoun **zk** or with a relative clause (see also Folmer *ibid.*). Driver 1957, No. 12:6 (Porten and Yardeni 1986/1999, *TADAE* A6.15), has the unusual determined form **ʾrqtʾ**. For the absolute state we encounter the form **ʾrq** (Folmer 1995:68; also in Kandahar II, cf. Shaked 1969:120) as well as possibly **ʾrqh** in A1:11 above.

wbt: This form for the singular absolute of **byt** is rarely attested. On the phenomenon of the omission of the *yod* in the spelling of the diphthong *-ay-*, possibly as a result of monophthongization, cf. Beyer 1984:116-120; Folmer 1995:173-184; Muraoka and Porten 1998:36-38. This development is placed by Beyer at 200-150 BCE, but as he notes there is sporadic evidence in earlier Aramaic writings for the omission of *yod* (and *waw*) where a diphthong is expected.

šym: The most likely reading of this word is *šim*, passive participle. The phrase seems to be elliptical for **šym <ʾm> spdprn gʾ zk lmhyty**. Similar cases of ellipsis are attested, e.g. Driver 1957, No. 10:5, **zy mny šym lhytyh** “which was by me ordered to bring”, and the inscription of Aśoka in Lampaka (for which cf. Henning 1949:83-84), **šymw lmkth bʾm[wdʾ]** “give order to write on the pillar”.

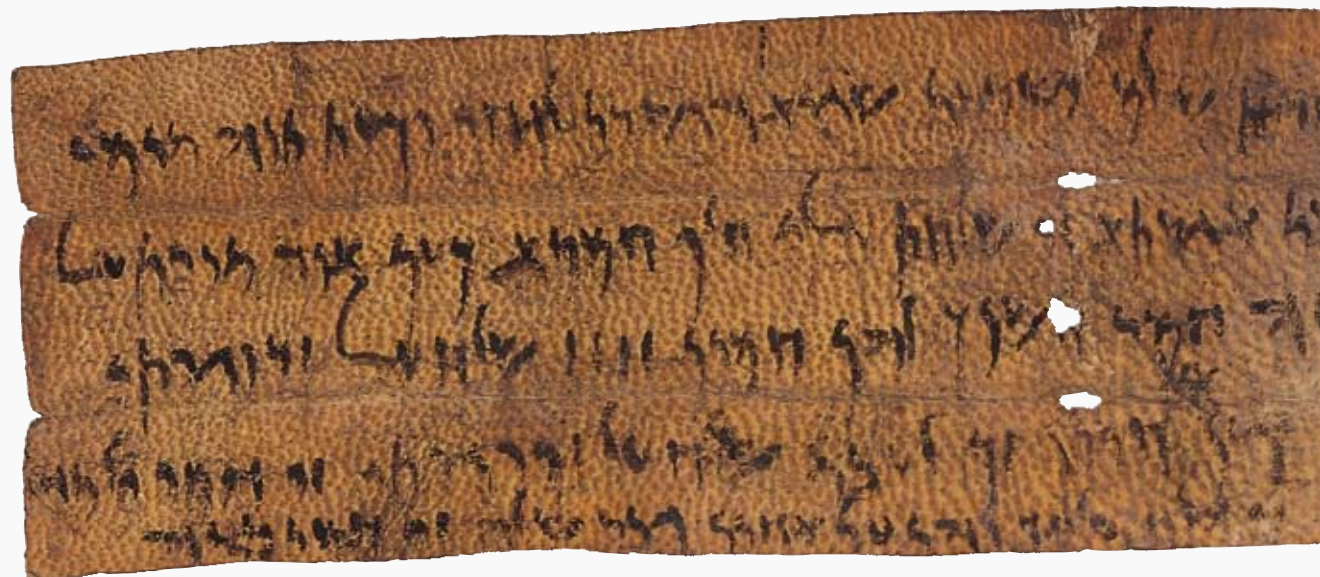
spdprn: *Spāda-farna(h)* “(Possessing) the splendour of the army”. This name is not otherwise attested.

lmhyty: On the forms of the infinitive of *haf^cel* in Aramaic cf. Folmer 1995:192-195. For a study of infinitive forms see Greenfield 1991; a table is given in Muraoka and Porten 1998:142. This form of the infinitive is not previously attested, although similar forms with prefixed *mem* occur in the Hermopolis documents.

’bh: On this verb cf. above, commentary to A1:6, and below, commentary to line 4.

Line 4. **hn lk šbh:** “If you desire”. **šbh** seems to be a passive participle, though the expected form would be **šby**. If it is taken as an active participle, the phrase may alternatively be translated: “If he desires you”; in the absence of a context it is difficult to tell which construction applies. Note that the two verbs for “to desire”, **’BH** and **šBH**, are used interchangeably in lines 3 and 4.

Line 8. **’rtynpt:** Artaina looks like an adjectival formation from Arta “truth, cosmic order; the deity representing these notions”. The form **’rtyn** is found in Aramaic on the Persepolis chert mortars, cf. Bowman 1970:123 (No. 53:3), in the Armenian name Artēn, cf. Hübschmann 1897:30, and in Elamite Ir-te-na (cf. Mayrhofer 1973:169, No. 8.653; for the suffix cf. however R. Schmitt apud Mayrhofer 1973:291f.). A corresponding Middle Persian name **’ltyn-** is also attested (cf. Gignoux 1986:47, No. 133). If this adjective could have the meaning of “just, righteous”, Artaina-pāta may be explained as “Protected by the righteous”.



B4. [Khalili IA 24] *Recto*



B4. [Khalili IA 24] *Verso*



B4. [Khalili IA 24]

Dark leather. Width c. 277 mm.; height c. 72 mm. Letter from Bakhtrifarnah to Chithrachardata, two persons of equal rank. No date.

Recto

- 1 מן בחתרפרן על א[חי] שתרשודת שלם ושררת שגיא הושרת לאחי וכעת תנה קדמי
- 2 שלם קדמיך שלם יהוה וכעת אגרתא זי שלחת עלי חלף חמרא כען אנה קרבת על
- 3 תיתרוהשת [... ..]ה חמר חשנך להן חמרן 4 שלח על זרוגותי
- 4 א[ח]ר תמה [... ..]כען חמר'א זך לעבק שלח על זרוגותי זי חמר ילקח
- 5 [עד] תנה [...] זי שלח עליך והן על אחרן [...]

Recto, on the right-hand margin

- 6 קמח'חורי א חד
- 7 שלח [ע]ליך

Verso

- 8 מן vacat [בחתרפ]רן על ש[...]

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- B4:1 mn bħtrprn 'l '[hy] štršrdt šlm wšrrt šgy' hwšrt l'hy wk't tnh qdmy
 B4:2 šlm qdmyk šlm yhw h wk't 'grt' zy šlht 'ly hlp hmr' k'n 'nh qrbt 'l
 B4:3 tytrwhšt [... ..]h hmr hšnk lhn hmrn 4 šlh 'l zrwgwt
 B4:4 '[h]r tmh [...] k'n hmr' zk l'bq šlh 'l zrwgwt zy hmr y/qh
 B4:5 ['d] tnh [...] zy šlh 'lyk whn 'l 'hrn [...]

Recto, on the right-hand margin

- B4:6 qmḥ ḥwry ' ḥd
 B4:7 šlh [']lyk

Verso

- B4:8 mn [vacat] [bħtrp]rn 'l š[...]

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 From Bakhtrifarnah to my brother Chithrachardata (?). I send my brother much peace and health. And now, here, with me,
- 2 there is peace; may there be (also) peace with you. And now, (concerning) the letter that you sent to me instead of (sending) the donkey—now: I approached
- 3 Tithravahishta ... fine (?) donkeys. But send 4 donkeys to Zrvagavathya.
- 4 Afterwards to that place ... Now: That donkey send immediately to Zrvagavathya, that he may take the donkey
- 5 [to] this place. ... which he sent to you. But if, at the end, ...

On the right-hand margin

- 6 White flour, 1 *ardab*
7 he sent to you.

Verso

- 8 From [blank space] [Bakhtrifa]rnah to ...

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **bḥtrprn:** Baxtri-farna(h) “Having the glory of Bactria”. The name seems to be typical of the region in which the documents were prepared, like the names with Vakhshu “Oxus”.

štršrdt: The reading is uncertain, perhaps as a result of the interference of a palimpsest writing. The address on the verso, line 8, seems to have a name spelled somewhat differently. The name may be reconstructed as Čiθra-čar-dāta. The word *čiθra-*, Old Persian *čiça-*, means both “seed, descent, origin” and “bright” (Mayrhofer 1970:289; Hinz 1975:72). Čiθra-čar could be an epithet of a deity, unattested so far, in the sense of “Maker of brightness”. With the final element *dāta-* the name indicates that its bearer was created by the deity who possesses this epithet.

Line 2. **ḡrt’ ... ḥlp ḥmr’:** As an alternative explanation of the text (different from the one implied by the translation given above), it is possible to suggest that the letter was sent “in exchange for” the donkey, possibly in the sense of a document acknowledging the receipt of one or several donkeys. **ḥmr’** could of course be used as a collective designation.

Line 3. **tytrwhšt:** A personal name, dissimilated from *Čiθra-vahišta “Having the best seed, the best stock; belonging to the best family”. In the Greek tradition this name appears as Τιθράουστης (cf. Justi 1895:164). In Old Persian one would expect the first element to have the form *Čiça-*, commonly rendered in Elamite as *Zišša-*, cf. Mayrhofer 1973:256-257, Nos. 8.1871-1879, but Elamite also has *Tišša-*, cf. Mayrhofer 1973:240, No. 8.1646, which seems to reflect a putative Old Persian **Tiça-*. If this explanation holds, the phonetic treatment of the element *Čiθra-* is quite different in the names **štršrdt** and **tytrwhšt**.

ḥšnk: (1) “white, bright-coloured” or “dark”; or (2) “fine, splendid”.

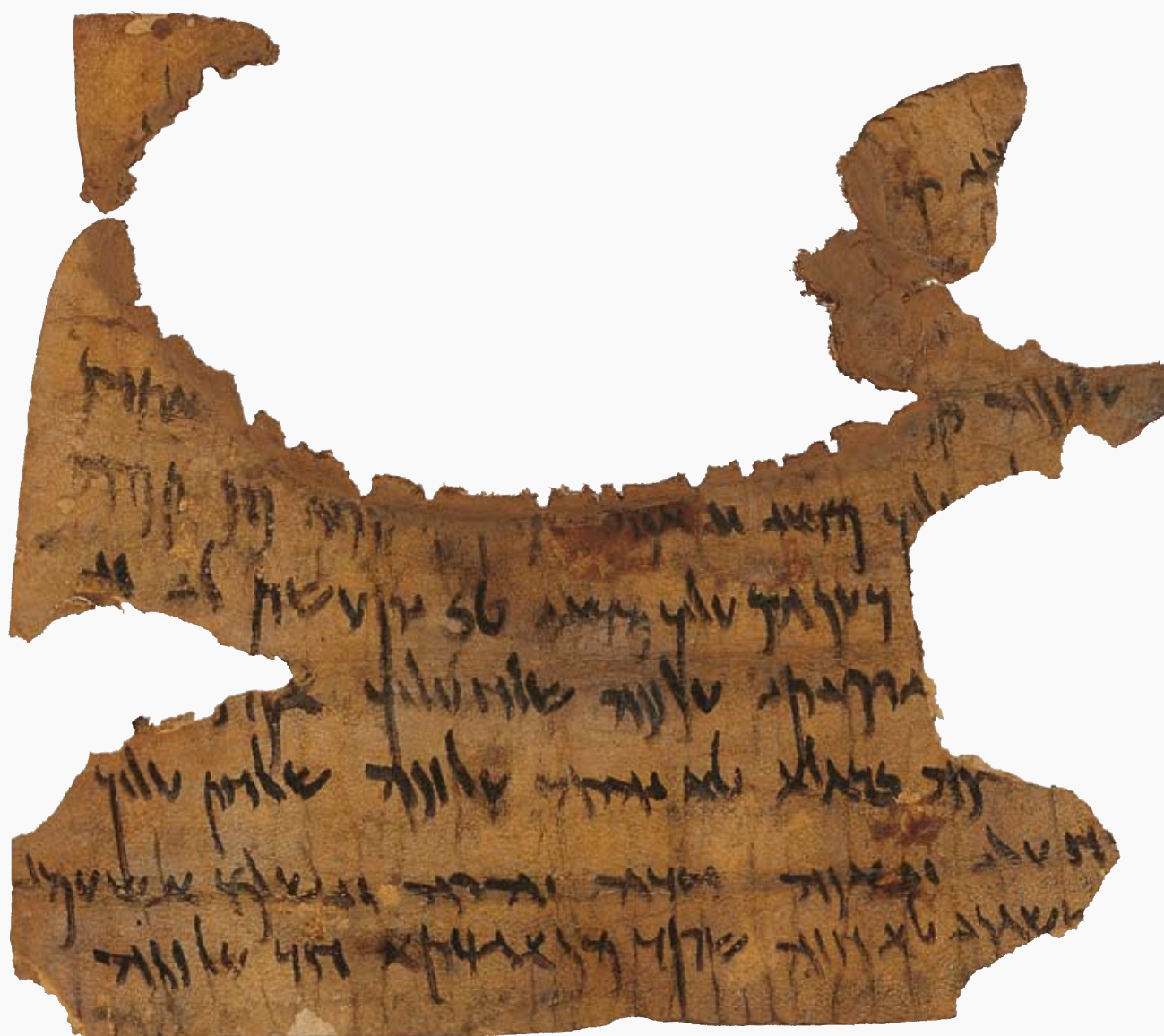
For the first meaning, cf. Avestan *axšaēna-* “dark” (Vd. 22:4), Old Persian *axšaina-* (DSf 39), whose initial *a-* has been taken to be a privative prefix (cf. Bartholomae 1904:51; Kent 1953:165). If that interpretation is correct, the present word may be taken as its positive counterpart **xšaina-ka-* “bright”. An alternative etymology of *axšaēna-* to Skt. *akṣa-* “blue vitriol” is however proposed by Morgenstierne 1927:74 s.v. *šin*; thus also Bailey 1979:26-27. Old Persian *axšaina-* perhaps signifies “turquoise” (thus Kent 1953:165, where further literature is quoted), qualifying as it does *kāsaka-* “lapis lazuli”. Cf. also Pahlavi *xšēn* (discussed by Darmesteter 1883, II:53), New Persian *xašīn*, and Sogdian **’xs’yn’k**, which apparently means “green-coloured” (cf. MacKenzie 1970:44). The personal name Akšena

attested in Elamite also seems to be connected, cf. Benveniste 1966:77; Mayrhofer 1973:123. Extensive discussion of this word is in Rastorgueva and Édel'man 2000/3, I: 284–286.

For the meaning “fine, splendid”, which seems preferable in this context, Sims-Williams suggests, in a private communication, a connection with Sogdian **ʾxšnk-** “splendid, wonderful”, which is probably cognate with New Persian *qašang* “fine, splendid”. In Sims-Williams 1983b:47-48 an attempt was made to connect the New Persian word with Middle Persian *gašnag*, Pth. **gyšng** “small” (assuming a semantic development from “small” to “fine”, hence “beautiful”). The case of **gwšqr**, **kwšqr** (Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 56a, cf. also Sokoloff 2002:567), which may be connected to New Persian *xuškāre* “inferior flour”, may be relevant for claiming a sporadic phonetic alternation of *g* and *x*. Alternatively, **hšnk** may possibly represent **x^vašainaka-*, cf. Middle and New Persian *x^vaš(š)* “pleasant, sweet, good, fine, splendid”, the etymology of which is uncertain (cf. Horn 1893:113; Hübschmann 1895:57-58; Bailey 1979:73a s.v. *khašša-*).

zrwgwt: Zrva-gavaθya “One whose herd is of long duration” or “One who tends the herd of Zurvan”; or Zarō-gavaθya “One who possesses an old herd”.

Line 8. The name of the addressee seems to be spelt differently here from the way it is written in line 1, but a precise reading does not seem possible at this stage.



B5. [Khalili IA 8]

B5. [Khalili IA 8]

Maximum width 160 mm.; maximum height 143 mm. Small, torn fragment of a letter. Traces of earlier writing. Letter to a superior. No date. Probably same hand as B6.

Recto

- 1 [אל מר]אי [...] שלם ושררת שגיא הושרת] לך
- 2 [...]
- 3 [...] עד זנה ת[... ...] את[...]
- 4 [...] עליך מראי זיאנה [...] ינמה מן תמה
- 5 [...] כען הן עליך מראי טב יתעשת לי זי
- 6 [...] אופיתי על זנה שלח עליך אף [...]
- 7 [...] כזי זיאנה בדגלא לא יהוה על זנה שלחת עליך
- 8 [של]ח עלי זיאנה חדה יהוה זי שלם אשעמי
- 9 [...] תשגני לא חזה שתר מן אגרתא חד על זנה

Verso

[...] 10

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- B5:1 [ʔl mr]y [...] šlm wšrrt šgyʔ hwšrt] lk
 B5:2 [...]
 B5:3 [...] ʔd znh t[...] ʔt[...]
 B5:4 [...] ʔlyk mrʔy zyʔnh [...] ynmh mn tmh
 B5:5 [...] kʔn hn ʔlyk mrʔy tʔb ytʔšt ly zy
 B5:6 [...] ʔwpyty ʔl znh šlh ʔlyk ʔp[...]
 B5:7 [...] kzy zy]ʔnh bdglʔ ʔ yhwʔ ʔl znh šlh ʔlyk
 B5:8 [šl]h ʔly zyʔnh hʔdh yhwʔ zy šlm ʔšʔmy
 B5:9 [...] tšgny ʔ hʔzh štr mn ʔgrtʔ hʔd ʔl znh

Verso

B5:10 [...]

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 [To] my l[ord ... I send] to you [much peace and strength.]
- 2 ...
- 3 ... to this ...
- 4 ... to you, my lord, its damage [should not be? ...] from there
- 5 ... Now, if it pleases my lord, may he think well of me that
- 6 ... the equipment. Therefore he sent to you. Also ...
- 7 [... so that] there should be no [d]amage in the (military) division. For this reason I sent to you:
- 8 [sen]d to me its indemnity (?). He will be glad who has paid ʔšʔmy
- 9 ... [do not?] lead me astray (?). He saw no letter apart from a single one in this matter.

Verso

10 ...

COMMENTARY

Line 4. **zy^ʾnh:** This is probably an Old Iranian *zyānā- “damage”. In the Egyptian Aramaic document Driver 1957, No. 12:8, the form of the word is **zyny**, reflecting the Old Iranian stem form *zyāni-* (cf. Bartholomae 1904:1700f.). In Middle and New Persian this word has the form *ziyān*, and in Buddhist Sogdian **zy^ʾn** (cf. Gharib 1995:470). It is attested also in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic under the forms **zyyn^ʾ**, **zywn^ʾ**, **dy^ʾn^ʾ** “damage”, Mandaic **zyn^ʾ**, **z^ʾyn^ʾ**. The Jewish Aramaic forms are discussed in Telegdi 1935:242; Geiger 1937:171. The meaning of the word could be both “damage” and “indemnity for damage”; for this ambiguity one may compare the range of meanings of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **nyzq^ʾ** (cf. Sokoloff 2002:749).

An alternative reading here could be: **zy^ʾnh** “which I”. The same uncertainty applies to lines 7 (where however the first part of the word is restored) and 8; in the two latter instances however no meaning can be obtained if one reads **zy^ʾnh** as two words.

Line 6. **ʾwpyty:** This is probably the same word as **ʾpyty** “necessary” in Cowley 1923, No. 26:9-10, **ʾdn hwh ʾwpš[r]h lmʾbd znh ʾšrn^ʾ zy ʾpyty ʾwpšrh lmʾbd** “The time has come to make repairs. These are the materials which are necessary to make repairs” (text and translation according to Porten and Yardeni 1986/99, I:96-99, A 6.2). For further discussion see the commentary to A2:3 above.

Line 7. **[zy]^ʾnh:** Cf. line 4.

Line 9. **tšgny:** This could be a form of the verb ŠGY, ŠG^ʾ “to stray, go astray; to lead astray”. The transitive meaning is attested, as can be expected, in the *haf^ʿel* form (cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.vv.), but the form here does not have the expected *haf^ʿel* marker.

štr: This seems to be an error for the more common **štr^ʾ**.

ʾgrt^ʾ ḥd: An error for the expected **ʾgrt^ʾ ḥdh**.



B6. [Khalili IA 18] *Recto*



B6. [Khalili IA 18] *Verso*

B6. [Khalili IA 18]

Height 49-104 mm.; width 40-80 mm. Dark leather, irregular fragment. Missing text on the right, on the left and at the bottom, as well as a portion of the leather at the top left-hand corner and a piece from line 3 to the bottom. Letter to Dahyubarzana, but the sender's name is lost (they are two persons of equal rank). No date. Letters B5 and B6 are probably by the same hand.

Recto

- 1 [מן ... על] אחי דהיוברזן ש[לם ושררת שגיא הושרת לך וכעת תנה קדמי]
- 2 [שלם אף תמה] קדמיך שלם יהוה וכעת ...
- 3 [... חמר]ן 3 [...] מנכם [...]
- 4 [...] ג[חדת עבד באנ] [...]
- 5 [...] פתני[...] מתרפת זי [...]
- 6 [...] ח[מרן 3 [...] דבר עליכם על ז[...]
- 7 [...] מראי [...] ת וקדמיך ש[לם יהוה]
- 8 [...] וה[...] ה על שערן ח[נטן ודחנא]

Verso

- 9 [...] א[נ] [...] א[נ]

ROMANIZED TEXT

Recto

- B6:1 [mn ... 'l] 'hy dhywbrzn š[lm wšrrt šgy' hwšrt lk wk't tnh qdmy]
 B6:2 [šlm 'p tmh] qdmyk šlm yhw[h wk't ...]
 B6:3 [... ḥmr]n 3[...] mnkm [...]
 B6:4 [...] g[...]ḥdt 'bd b'n[...]
 B6:5 [...]ptny[...] mtrpt zy [...]
 B6:6 [...] ḥ]mrn 3 [...]dbr 'lykm 'l z[...]
 B6:7 [...]mr'y [...]t wqdmyk š[lm yhwh]
 B6:8 [...]wh[...]h 'l š'rn ḥ[nṭn wdḥn']

Verso

- B6:9 [...] 'n [...] ' [...]

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 [From ... to] my brother Dahyubarzana, p[ea]ce and much health I send you. And now,
there is]
- 2 [p[ea]ce here with me. May there too] be p[ea]ce with you [there]. [And now ...]
- 3 [...] 3 [donkey]s [...] from you [...]
- 4 [...] new he worked (?) in [...]
- 5 [...] Mithrapata who is [...]
- 6 [...] 3 [do]nkeys [...] will be] brought over to you to Z[...]
- 7 [...] my lord [...] and [may there be p[ea]ce] in your presence [...]
- 8 [...] concerning barley, w[heat and millet ...]

Verso

- 9 ...

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **dhywbrzn:** Dahyu-b(a)rzana, a personal name meaning “Possessor of the high country” or “One who elevates the country”. The same name with a different phonetic form, *Dahyu-brḡḡana, has been reconstructed from Elamite, cf. discussion and literature in Hinz 1975:79.

Lines 1-2. Restored following Driver 1957, No. 5:1-2.

Line 4. **ḥdt:** If this is a complete word, it may mean “new”; but it is also possible to restore [']ḥdt “you/I have seized”.

Line 5. **mtrpt:** The name Miθra-pāta “protected by Mithra” follows a well-known pattern for theophoric names in the Iranian tradition, but is not as common as one might expect. Cf. Justi 1895:209 (s.v. Μιτροβάρτης); Mayrhofer 1973:204 (8.1138), 207 (8.1168). A later form of the name is attested as Mihrbādag, cf. Gignoux 1968:127 (No. 634). A dialectal variant in Aramaic is **mspt** = Miṣa-pāta, cf. Eilers 1954/6:332a.

Line 6. **z[...]:** Possibly **zrympy** (according to A8:3) or **zrtny** (according to C4:22) should be restored; but it is equally possible to read **2** or **3** instead of **z**.



B7. [Khalili IA 19]

A small fragment, irregularly shaped, and missing the top as well as the right and left-hand sides. Line 3 is probably the last line. Maximum width 98 mm.; maximum height 56 mm. Letter from a superior to an inferior (or between two persons of equal rank). No date.

[...]נתי[...] 1
[...]ה אנתם חשפן תהוו מן [...] 2
[...]ת אנרוי אל תעבדו כן [...] 3

ROMANIZED TEXT

B7:1 [...]nty [...]
B7:2 [...]h 'ntm ḥšpn thww mn [...]
B7:3 [...]t 'nrwy 'l t'bdw kn [...]

TRANSLATION

- 1 [...]
- 2 [...] you will be agitated by [...]
- 3 [...] do not act (pl.) contrary (to my command). Thus [...]

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ḥšpn:** Possibly from Old Iranian *xšvip- “agitated, trembling, swift”, cf. Avestan xšviwi° (Bartholomae 1904:563; cf. also Mayrhofer 1956/80, I:289, s.v. *kṣipāti*). To the same root belong Man. Sogd. **xwšyp**, NP *šēb* “whip”, for which cf. Henning 1936:63 on line 523; 1940:23 on lines 17-18. Cf. also MP *šēbišn* “confusion”.

Line 3. **'nrwy 'l t'bdw:** Cf. commentary to A5:2-3.



B8. [Khalili IA 26]

Height 120 mm.; maximum width 52 mm. Traces of writing on the back, indicating that this is a palimpsest. The top, left-hand and bottom margins seem to be intact, but a large portion of the original document is evidently missing on the right-hand side, leaving a rough and irregular margin. Fragmentary letter. No date. Mentions camels.

אי[תי גמלן זי] ... 1
ב[מדינתא] ... 2
ברעו בקלמא [...] 3

ROMANIZED TEXT

B8:1 [... ʾy]ty gmln zy

B8:2 [... b]mdyntʾ

B8:3 [...] brʿw bqlmʾ

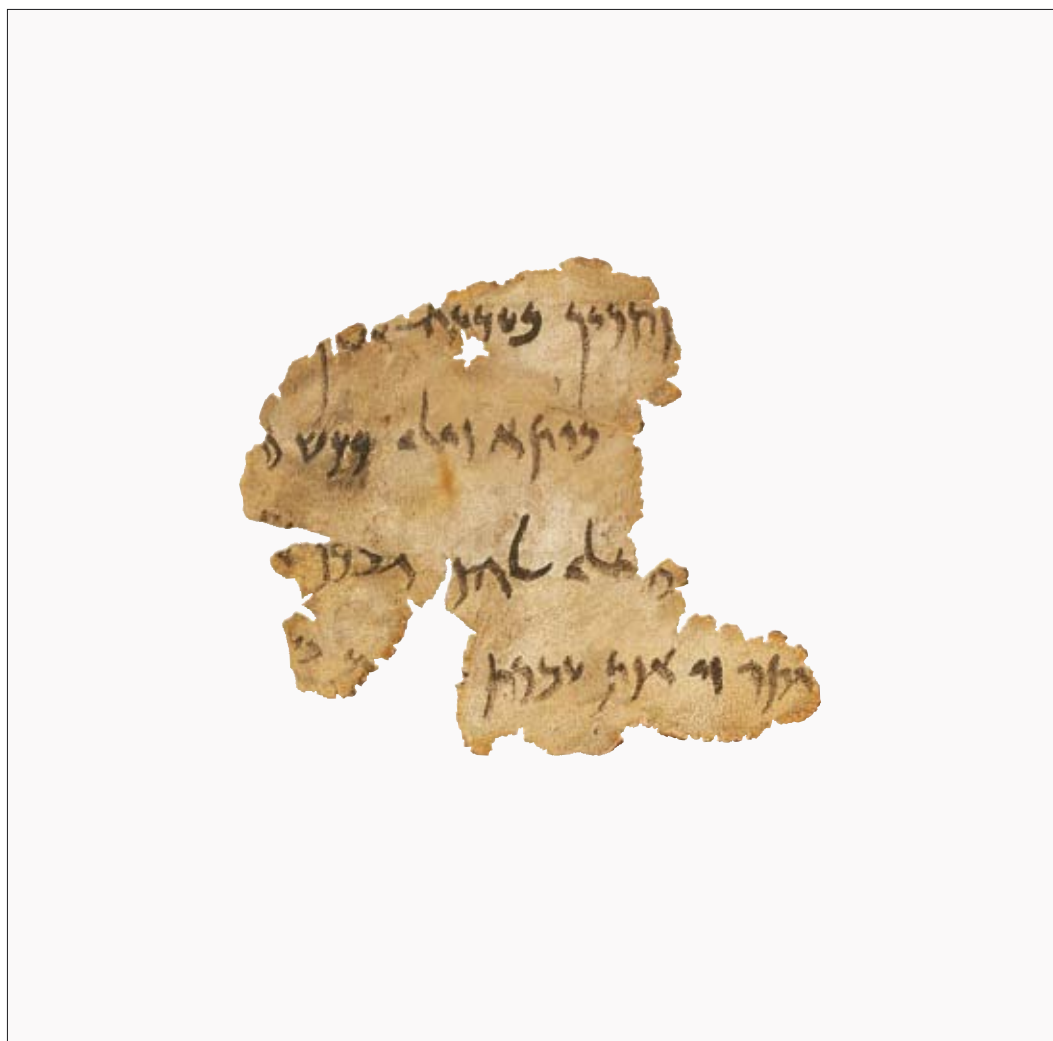
TRANSLATION

- 1 ... there are camels which
- 2 ... [in] the town(s)
- 3 ... in a pasture on the hill

COMMENTARY

Line 3. **brʿw: rʿw** is the absolute form of a word meaning “pasture”. It is attested in a fragment of a Jewish Palestinian Targum to Genesis 13:7: **lʿtr drʿw** “to a place of pasture”. Cf. Ginsburger 1899:9; Sokoloff 1990:527.

qlmʾ is known to possess the meanings of both “hill” and “valley”. The word occurs in Palestinian Aramaic sources with an initial **g**, cf. Sokoloff 1990:130 s.v. **glmh**. It is also attested in Amulet 9:8, where we have **wṭwryh wqlmth mzdʿ[zʿyn]** (to be read thus!) “and mountains and hills shake” (cf. Naveh and Shaked 1985:82-83). It is also attested in a magical text from the Cairo Geniza, T-S NS 322.10, published in Schäfer and Shaked 1994:85, where the following text occurs (1a:2-3): **lʿ ql ṭwryn mthpkyn lʿ ql glmt** “not the noise of overturning mountains, nor the noise of <overturning> hills”.



B9. [Khalili IA 30]

Maximum height 65 mm.; maximum width 72 mm. Small fragment, irregularly shaped.

[...]תקרינ בעדרה א[...] 1
[...] ביתא זילי בכש [...] 2
[...] ילי להן גברן [...] 3
[...]אתו זי אנת עבדת [...]ם [...] 4

ROMANIZED TEXT

B9:1 [...] tqryn b^cdrh ʾ[...]
B9:2 [...] byt^ʾ zyly bkš [...]
B9:3 [...] zyly lhn gbrn [...]
B9:4 [...]ʾtw zy ʾnt ʿbdt [...]m [...]

TRANSLATION

- 1 ... you (*f. sg.*) will call for his help ...
- 2 ... my house in Kish ...
- 3 ... my ..., but men ...
- 4 ... come. That which you have done ...

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **tqryn:** It is possible that this was preceded by a negative particle such as ʾl, giving the meaning “[Do not] call for his help”. The form **tqryn** can be explained as a 2nd m. sg. verb with a free-standing energetic *nun* (cf. Muraoka and Porten 1998:200, §53g). Alternatively it is possible to translate “you will come to his help” or “[do not] come to his help”, from the verb **qry** “to happen”.

b^cdrh: Could also be read **b^cddh**. It is not sure whether this is the same word as **b^cddh** / **b^cdrh** in Aḥiqar lines 99, 126, 167 (Cowley 1923:215-218). The meaning is not clear from either context. For Aḥiqar the meaning “time” or “number” has been suggested (cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:828; Porten and Yardeni 1986/99, *TADAE* C1.1).

Line 2. **bkš:** On this town see the commentary to A5:4 above.



B10. [Khalili IA 28]

Height c. 32 mm.; maximum width c. 205 mm. A small elongated strip, containing two lines from a document, which may have been a legal document or a letter. The script is of an earlier period than the rest of the Aramaic writings in the Khalili collection; it could well belong to the first half of the fifth century BCE.

1 [...] הומנה כזי אף אלכי

2 [...] וכן אשלח עליך אף כן כת[יב] הוה בספרא זכי למרגדת גזב[רא] [...]

ROMANIZED TEXT

B10:1 [...] hwmnh kzy 'p 'lky

B10:2 [...] wkn 'šlh 'lyk 'p kn kt[yb] hwh bspr' zky lmrgrdt gzb[r' ...]

TRANSLATION

1 ... Haumanah, as also these

2 ... and thus shall I send you. Thus was it also written in that document for Margudata (?) the *gazabara* ...

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **hwmnh:** Possibly a personal name derived from *hu-manah-*, signifying “Of good mind”. Cf. the discussion in Mayrhofer 1973:245 No. 8.1717; Hinz 1975:250. In sense the name seems to evoke that of the Amesha Spenta Vohu Manah “Good Thought”.

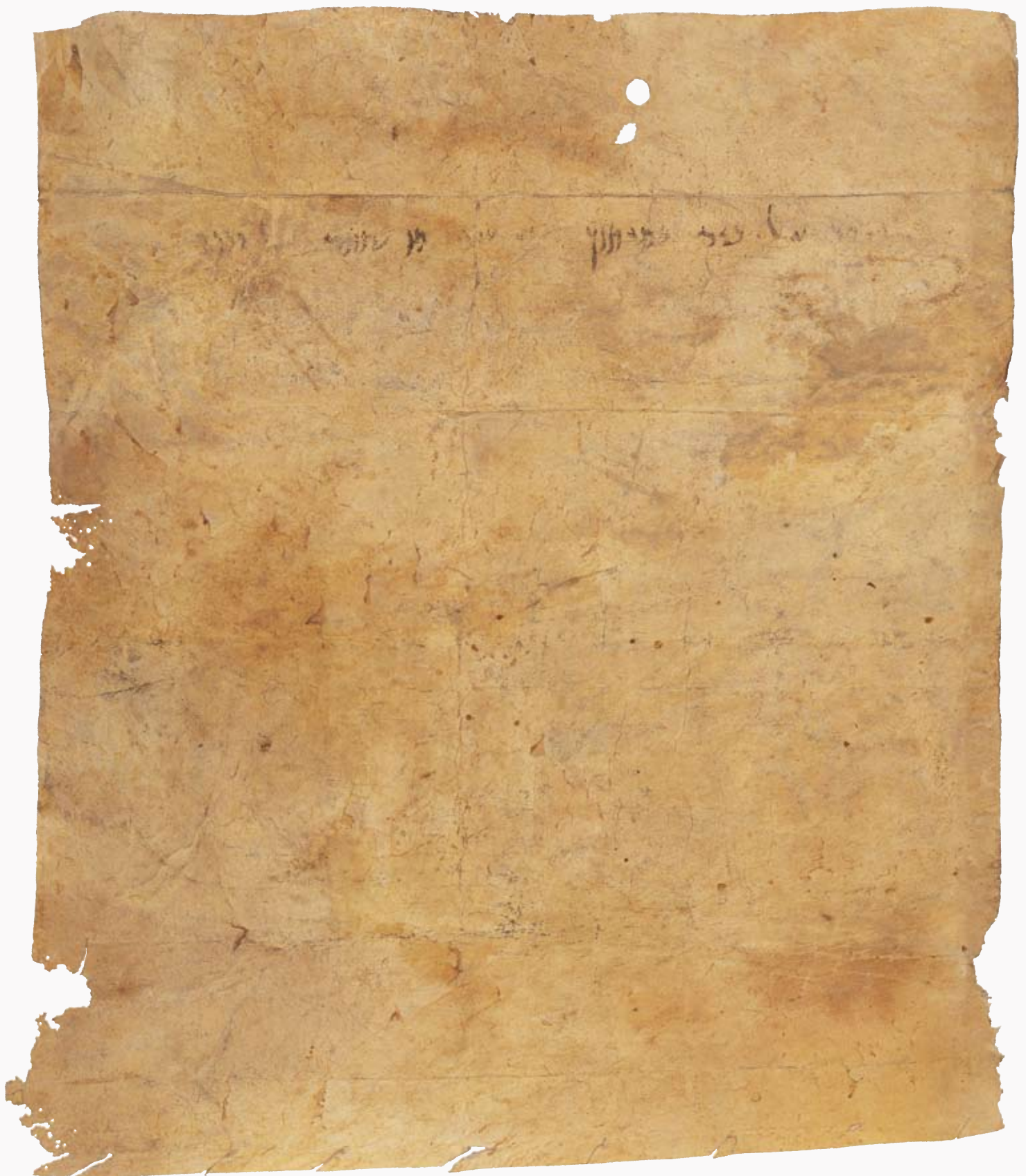
Line 2. **lmrgdt:** The name Margu-dāta can be explained as “Created by (the genius of) Margiana”.

gzb[r']: The Old Persian word **ganzabara-* is quite well attested as a loanword in Aramaic; cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:229. The *n* is here assimilated to the following sibilant. This has so far been seen only in Biblical Aramaic and in later regional Aramaic, notably in Hatra, Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, as well as in Hebrew. Elamite has forms with and without the nasal. Cf. Hinz 1975:102 for a survey of the evidence and for references to the scholarly literature.

C. Lists of supplies and labels



C1. [Khalili IA 21] *Recto* — (size reduced)



C1. [Khalili IA 21] *Verso* — (size reduced)

C1. [Khalili IA 21]

Height 330 mm.; width 395 mm. Written in two columns. Kislev, year 1 of Artaxerxes, presumably Artaxerxes V, as the royal name assumed by Bayasa / Bessus. List of supplies for Bayasa / Bessus. The date corresponds to November / December 330 BCE.

Column 1

120	הרחוני מרי	31	1	בירח כסליו שנת 1 ארתח[שסש] מלכא
100	כסה א	32	2	דושחור במיתנך על ב[יס] אדין זי
	אפברי למיתמניא זי אספרסת	33	3	עדה מן בחתרי על ורנו
	חלק קמח חורי א 7 ופלג	34	4	סוסה 1
	קמח דמי א 7 ופלג	35	5	תור סית 1
	כסה א 15	36	6	עגל 1
	זותרא על בגנא לביל	37	7	תורן שרך 2
	חורי א 8	38	8	חמר 1
	חמר מרי 15	39	9	קן סית 33
	בגי על זירו חורי א 3	40	10	אמרן 33
	חמר מרי 10	41	11	קן שרך 100
	בגי <על> ותי חורי א 2 גריו 2	42	12	וזן 5
	חמר מרי 10	43	13	תר[נ]גלן 30
	בגי על ישתא חורי א 1	44	14	סמיד א 3 גריו 2
	חמר מרי 3	45	15	קמח חורי א 63
	על והיאתרו יהיב זי וחשובנך חלק	46	16	קמח דמי א 100
	לפתפכ>נ<יא קמח חורי א 4	47	17	כסכין גריו 1
	קמח דמי א 93	48	18	ורדוש גריו 1
	וזי חשדת אורשיכן גבה על ארתוכי	49	19	רזבש גריו 1
	חורי א 10	50	20	אשרן א 5
			21	שחתי גריו 1
			22	תבלן א 1
			23	סחש רותן עטמן 7
			24	גבנן 1

Verso

51 דושחור על בים במיתנך [כ]זי עדה מן בחתרי
על ורנו

Column 2

25	משח חורי ח 2
26	משח לנורא מרי 2
27	חלא ספן 2
28	שרגמא ספן 2
29	דוג סף 1
30	חמר שסתכן ספן 10

ROMANIZED TEXT

Column 1

C1:1 byrḥ kslyw šnt 1 ʾrtḥ[šš] mlkʾ
C1:2 dwsḥwr bmytnk ʾl b[ys] ʾdyn zy
C1:3 ʾdh mn bḥtry ʾl wrnw
C1:4 swsh 1
C1:5 twr syt 1
C1:6 ʾgl 1
C1:7 twrn šrk 2
C1:8 ḥmr 1
C1:9 qn syt 33
C1:10 ʾmrn 33
C1:11 qn šrk 100
C1:12 wzn 5
C1:13 tr[n]gln 30
C1:14 smyd ʾ 3 gryw 2
C1:15 qmḥ ḥwry ʾ 63
C1:16 qmḥ dmy ʾ 100
C1:17 kskyn gryw 1
C1:18 wrdwš gryw 1
C1:19 rzbš gryw 1
C1:20 ʾšrn ʾ 5
C1:21 šḥty gryw 1
C1:22 tbln ʾ 1
C1:23 šḥ rwtm ʾtmm 7
C1:24 gbnn 1

Column 2

C1:25 mšḥ ḥwry ḥ 2
C1:26 mšḥ lnwrʾ mry 2
C1:27 ḥlʾ spn 2
C1:28 šrgmʾ spn 2
C1:29 dwg sp 1
C1:30 ḥmr šstkn spn 10
C1:31 hrḥwny mry 120
C1:32 ksh ʾ 100
C1:33 ʾpbry lmytmnyʾ zy ʾsprst
C1:34 ḥlq qmḥ ḥwry ʾ 7 wplg
C1:35 qmḥ dmy ʾ 7 wplg
C1:36 ksh ʾ 15

TRANSLATION

Column 1

1 In the month of Kislev, year 1 of
Artax[erxes] the King.
2 Provisions in Maithanaka for Ba[yasa],
when
3 he passed from Bactra to Varnu:
4 1 horse
5 1 sheltered bovine
6 1 calf
7 2 grazing bovines
8 1 donkey
9 33 sheltered sheep
10 33 lambs
11 100 grazing sheep
12 5 geese
13 30 chicken
14 fine flour, 3 *ardab*, 2 *grīv*
15 white flour, 63 *ardab*
16 plain flour, 100 *ardab*
17 lapis-lazuli-coloured (?), 1 *grīv*
18 plums (?), 1 *grīv*
19 **rzbš**, 1 *grīv*
20 **ʾšrn**, 5 *ardab*
21 barley meal, 1 *grīv*
22 spices, 1 *ardab*
23 **šḥ rwtm ʾtmm** 7
24 cheese (pieces), 1

Column 2

25 white oil, 2 *ḥufn*
26 oil for fire, 2 *mari*
27 vinegar, 2 *sap*
28 **šrgmʾ**, 2 *sap*
29 sour milk, 1 *sap*
30 wine of Chistakana (?), 10 *sap*
31 (wine of) Arachosia, 120 *mari*
32 fodder, 100 *ardab*
33 An additional delivery (?), for the
inhabitants (?) of Asparasta (?)
34 he distributed (the following): white
flour, 7½ *ardab*;
35 plain flour, 7½ *ardab*;
36 fodder, 15 *ardab*.

C1:37 *zwtr* 'l *bgn* 'l *lbyl*

C1:38 *ḥwry* ' 8

C1:39 *ḥmr mry* 15

C1:40 *bgy* 'l *zyrw ḥwry* ' 3

C1:41 *ḥmr mry* 10

C1:42 *bgy* <'l> *wty ḥwry* ' 2 *gryw* 2

C1:43 *ḥmr mry* 10

C1:44 *bgy* 'l *yšt* ' *ḥwry* ' 1

C1:45 *ḥmr mry* 3

C1:46 'l *why* 'trw *yhyb zy wḥšwbndk ḥlq*

C1:47 *lptpk* <n>y' *qmḥ ḥwry* ' 4

C1:48 *qmḥ dmy* ' 93

C1:49 *zy ḥšdt* 'wršykn *gbh* 'l 'rtwky

C1:50 *ḥwry* ' 10

Verso

C1:51 *dwšhwr* 'l *bys bmytnk [k]zy* 'dh mn
bḥtry 'l *wrnw*

37 Libation for the temple, to Bel:

38 white (flour), 8 *ardab*;

39 wine, 15 *mari*.

40 Divine offering for **zyrw**, white (flour),
3 *ardab*;

41 wine, 10 *mari*.

42 Divine offering <for> **wty**, white
(flour), 2 *ardab*, 2 *grīv*;

43 wine, 10 *mari*.

44 Divine offering for the sacrifice, white
(flour), 1 *ardab*;

45 wine, 3 *mari*.

46 To Vahya-atar was given that which
Vakhshubandaka distributed

47 to the ration-providers: white flour, 4
ardab;

48 plain flour, 93 *ardab*,

49 and that which Khvachadata
Avarshayakana collected for Artuki:

50 white (flour), 10 *ardab*.

Verso

51 Provisions to Bayasa in Maithanaka,
when he passed from Bactra to Varnu.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ʾrth[šš]**: In view of the fact that Bessus is mentioned in this document, it seems that the reigning king referred to here under the name Artaxerxes is Bessus himself, who adopted this name (cf. e.g. Holt 1988:45-51). As Arsēs was named Artaxerxes [IV] (cf. Briant 1996:18), Bessus, who adopted the name Artaxerxes, should be regarded as Artaxerxes V.

Line 2. **dwšhwr**: Cf. above on A2:1.

bmytnk: Maithanaka or Maitanaka must be a locality on the way from Bactra (modern Balkh) to Varnu (location uncertain). The name means “a halting place, a dwelling place”. Herzfeld (1968:22-23) reconstructs an Old Iranian **maitāna-* to explain the Arabic term *maydān* “race course”. Whether this connection is acceptable or not, it is not relevant to our discussion. Maithanaka should rather be compared with Sogdian *mēthan* “dwelling”, a frequent component in place names. One such is **Farn-mēthan*, from which we have the derived adjective **prnmyδnč** in the Mt. Mug document A 5:3; cf. Bogoljubov and Smirnova 1963a:107, where the etymological connection with Avestan *maēθana-* is given.

b[ys]: Cf. line 51, **bys**, which may be read Bayasa. This is the Aramaic spelling of the Iranian name familiar through Greek transmission as Bessus. On Bessus, who proclaimed himself king under the name Artaxerxes after he killed Darius III, and who was subsequently killed when he fled from Alexander to Sogdiana, cf. in particular Holt 1988:45-51. The name **bss** in the Brooklyn Papyri (cf. Kornfeld 1978:44) is evidently different, as is Βησσοῦς, Βισσοῦς in Preisigke 1922:75. The name **bys** may be explained etymologically as reflecting Old Persian **Bayaça < *Baya-θra* “protecting against fear”.

Line 3. **bḥtry**: This is the Aramaic spelling of the name of the capital of Bactria, known in Greek as Bactra, and surviving to the present day under the name of Balkh. Literature concerning Bactra is quoted in Seibert 1985:127; cf. also Schwarz 1893:27; A.B. Bosworth 1980:372. Reuss 1907:591-595 believes (against Schwarz) that Bactra and Zariaspa are the same town, and so does Treidler in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* 9a (1967), col. 2326-2328 s.v. Zariaspa; similarly in *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. Balch (Cancik and Schneider 1996-). See also above, commentary to A8: 3. On the town of Balkh in the mediaeval period cf. *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* (in Minorsky 1937:108).

wrnw: This is the town known from the Greek sources as Aornos and in Bactrian as oarpvo, reflecting Iranian Varnu (cf. Sims-Williams 2000:210). Its precise position is disputed. A survey of the most important proposals for identifying the location of Aornos / Varnu is given in the Introduction, Chapter 3. As pointed out there, the majority of scholars favour Khulm as the place of Aornos, but our documents put this identification under considerable strain. As both these place names occur in the Khalili documents, it is difficult to accept that they could be one and the same place. It is true that there are some cases where two alternative names are used in antiquity for the same locality. Bactra, for example, had a fortress called Zariaspa,

and the two designations are almost interchangeable (cf. above). Such cases are however rare, and one would need explicit evidence from ancient sources to claim that Khulmi was known also as Varnu. Modern Kunduz may be considered a likely candidate for being identified as Aornos / Varnu.

Our document, if it refers to the famous journey which Bessus made while he fled from the advancing Alexander, adds to the difficulty of identifying Varnu with Khulmi. We know that he ultimately escaped northwards, to Sogdiana, and it is not easy to understand why he should have set out from Bactra to the east, which was the direction from which Alexander was coming. However, it is conceivable that in November-December 330 BCE Bessus went first towards the east, in order to block the descent of Alexander's army from the Hindukush mountains with the advent of spring. (It is known that Alexander reached Bactria in the spring of 329 BCE.) Eventually Bessus may have changed his mind and turned north towards Sogdiana. Given this hypothetical scenario, Varnu could be sought in Khulmi or even further east in Kunduz.

Line 5. **twr syt**: Some of the animal designations in this list are differentiated by means of the adjectives **syt** and **šrk**. The first term may mean “sheltered, kept in an enclosure”, if it is taken from Old Persian **čāyita-* “protected”, a passive participle of the verb *θrā-*, with a secondary past stem of the type attested in Middle Persian *-īd* (the form of the participle is a suggestion of N.S-W); or “resting, at rest”, if it reflects an Old Iranian **sita-*, from the verb *say-* “to lie down”, widely attested in Middle and New Persian, e.g. *āsūdan*, *āsāy-* “to rest, repose”, *āsān* “easy”. The other term, **šrk**, means “grazing”, see the next note. This classification of animals is somewhat reminiscent of the one in Yt. 13:74, where domestic animals, such as cattle, are called *pasuka-*, while freely grazing, undomesticated animals are called *fravascarāt-*. The first category, however, does not necessarily imply “sheltered animals”; the two categories do not occur side by side, and are, besides, two of several other categories of animals whose soul (*urvan*) is an object of veneration. The first category is more valuable, to judge from the fact that the quantities of the “sheltered” or “resting” animals are considerably smaller than those of the “grazing” ones: 1 against 2 respectively for the bovines; 33 against 100 respectively for the sheep. The quantities of the calves and lambs follow those of the “sheltered” livestock.

Line 7. **šrk**: noun “pasture”, or adj. “grazing”, Old Iranian **čarāka-*. The word has been reconstructed from Elamite *za-rák-kaš*, where it qualifies fowl, according to Hallock 1969:523, based on the text PF 1940:14, but according to Hinz 1975:71 (on Hallock's authority) it may also qualify camels and cattle. Hinz translates the word “weidend”. Cf. also Chr. Sogd. **čr'q** “pasture” (Gharib 1995, No. 3250).

Line 16. **dmy**: The word, so far usually read **rmy**, is known already from the Arshama documents, cf. Driver 1957, No. 6:3, with a commentary on p. 60, where the word is taken to be a passive participle of Aramaic RMY in the sense of “rejected” (literally “thrown away”), a usage which is not otherwise attested. Hinz 1973:40; 1975:198 explains **rmy** as Iranian **ramya-*, comparing

Sanskrit *ramyā*- “pleasing, enjoyable, beautiful”. Both explanations may be criticized. The first would imply that this flour was designated as unfit for use, while in fact it is apportioned to various groups; it is unlikely that such a negative designation would be applied to a kind of flour that was part of the staple food of government officials. The second explanation would imply a fine flour; but it is clearly inferior in value to the *ḥwry* flour, to judge by the quantities of *rmy* / *dmy* flour, which are consistently higher than those of the *ḥwry* flour. As an alternative one may propose Iranian **dāmya*- “homely, for home use”, indicating a plain type of flour to be consumed on a daily basis. This explanation does not involve a pejorative designation. The word *dāmya*- is attested in Sanskrit, though not with the definition suggested here; **dāmya*-, which has been reconstructed in order to explain the New Persian phrase *dām u dad* (cf. commentary to C4:18), may also belong here. An etymology from OIr. *dama*- was proposed by Darmesteter 1883, 2:151 fn.

- Line 17.* **kskyn:** **kāsakaina*- should be an adjective meaning “green” or “blue”, derived as it seems to be from Old Persian *kāsaka*- “lapis lazuli” (Kent 1953:180; cf. also Herzfeld 1968:323 for a discussion of the stone and its provenance and Cameron 1948:42 for a reference to this stone in Elamite). In this context the word probably designates a food product, perhaps a type of flour (?). Alternatively one can think of a misspelling of **ksnyn*, which might be connected to the word attested in Syriac *kesānā* “fruits, mostly dried fruits”, and in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *kysn*³, which denotes hemp-seed or, in the plural, “a dish made of wheat, fruit and other ingredients” (cf. Sokoloff 2002:577).
- Line 18.* **wrđwš:** This could perhaps be connected to New Persian *ālū*, which designates various kinds of fruit, chiefly plums, if this may be interpreted as a contraction of Old Persian **ā-vrdu*-, with prefixed *ā*. The final *šin* of the Aramaic form may indicate the addition of a diminutive ending *-ča*-, or the presence of the nominative ending.
- Line 19.* **rbš:** This word probably refers to some edible item. It may contain as initial element **raza*- “vineyard” (?).
- Line 20.* **ʾšrn:** The word is widely attested and much discussed. It occurs in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 5:3, 9) and in Official Aramaic (Cowley 1923, Doc. 26:5, 9, 21; 27:18; 30:11; Kraeling 1953, Doc. 3:23; Segal 1983, No 26:8, 10), but its precise sense is not yet clearly determined. “Furnishings”, “equipment”, “materials”, “timber” and other building materials have been suggested, cf. Benveniste 1954:303; Henning, apud F. Rosenthal 1963:59; Bogoljubov 1971:16; Hinz 1975:21; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:129-130. In our context it does not seem likely that any of these meanings would be applicable, for in this context one would expect some edible item. It may however be suggested that a general sense such as “necessities, essentials” could fit all or most of the contexts. This sense can be obtained by reconstructing a form such as **ā-črna*-, from the base attested in Manichaean Parthian *čʾr* “necessary”, possibly also Middle Persian *čārag*, New Persian *čāre* “escape, means, remedy” (from the idea of something that is acutely necessary in a risky or precarious situation). The practical

sense of the term would thus vary according to the context, leaving us with the problem of finding an appropriate precise translation for each text.

Line 21. **šḥty**: “barley meal”. Cf. Syriac *šahṭī* f. “barley-meal, barley porridge made of barley-meal, honey and fat” (Payne Smith 1903:573).

Line 23. **shš**: “date palms” (?). Cf. Akkadian *suḥuššu(m)* “young date palm, palm-shoot” (Black et al. 2000:326).

rwtn or **dwtm**: The meaning of this word is unknown. One may wonder whether it could be connected with Syriac *rautā* “a triplex halumis, orach, a wild potherb”.

ṭmn: This would normally be the plural of a word meaning “thigh, flank, side”, but the combination **rwtn ṭmn** with the senses indicated does not make good sense.

Line 24. **gbnn**: the meaning “cheese” is attested in Syriac and in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic but also already in Official Aramaic (cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:210). It is alternatively possible to suggest that **gbnn** is an adjective, perhaps in the sense of “curdled”, which may serve as an alternative description of the preceding item (which remains obscure).

Line 27. **spn**: The word **sp** is attested as a container for liquids in Ex 12:22 (where blood is collected in a *saf*). It occurs in Phoenician, plural **spm** (Donner and Röllig 1966, KAI 137:5). In Cooke 1903, No. 8:1, 5, 6, **sp** denotes a large container. In the customs account of Egypt of the fifth century BCE wine and oil are transported in **spn** (cf. Yardeni 1994:74).

Line 28. **šrgm**: Probably some liquid substance, measured by **sp**.

Line 29. **dwg**: “sour milk”. Cf. NP *dūγ*, Syriac loanword *dūyā*.

Line 30. **šstkn**: Perhaps an adjective referring to a place name. One may think of Čišt in the region of Herat, for which cf. Minorsky 1937:343. The mediaeval remains of the place are described in Ball and Gardin 1982, I:76. Cf. also C.E. Bosworth’s entry “Češt” in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

Line 31. **hrḥwny**: This could be another adjective derived from a place name. The most likely derivation is from Harahvatī, Old Persian *Hara^huvatī*, the name of Arachosia, via a hypothetical basic form **haraxva-*. Cf. the Aramaic spellings of this name: **hrḥwty** in Bowman 1970; **hrwḥty** (following the Akkadian spelling) in the Aramaic version of the Behistun Inscription, cf. Greenfield and Porten 1982:42-43, line 53.

mry: This unit of measure for liquids is well attested in Aramaic. It was also used in the Elamite texts (cf. Hallock 1969:726); according to Hallock 1969:37, 1 *marriš* equals 10 quarts.

Line 32. **ksh**: “fodder, hay”, cf. Syriac **kst** “fodder, hay”.

Line 33. **’pbry**: **upa-bariya*- “additional delivery, delivery on top” (?). Bactrian ¹αβαρο in Sims-Williams 2000:173 may derive from the same etymon rather than from **ā-bāra*- “delivery”, as postulated by Sims-Williams. The phrase: παρο οισπο ασο ι νογο αβαρο (Bactrian document H6-7) could perhaps be translated “everything due from the new additional delivery”.

lmytmny: perhaps “inhabitants” from **maiθmāniya*- (or **maiθmān*-), with Aramaic plural ending. N.S-W compares Middle Persian *mehmān* “inhabitant, guest”, Pashto *melma*.

’sprst: This is most likely a place-name. Aspa-rāsta could mean “(a way) laid out for horses; hippodrome” (?).

Line 37. **zwtr**: “libation”, “sacrifice”, Avestan *zaoθra*- “libation”. The word is attested as a loanword in Syriac **zwtr** “a cake made of fine flour, oil, and honey, offered to idols” (Payne-Smith 1903:114), Armenian *zoh* “sacrifice” (Hübschmann 1897:151) and Elamite *daušam* “libation” (Hallock 1969:681). Another possible Elamite cognate is *tamšiyam*, which, as suggested in Hallock 1969:19, could derive from an Old Persian **daučiya*-, corresponding to Avestan **zaoθrya*-, an adjective derived from *zaoθra*-. Gershevitch, *ibid.*, prefers however to reconstruct Old Persian **daušiyam* “what serves for satisfaction, propitiatory offering”.

bgn: Old Persian **bagina*-, “temple” or “altar”, attested later in Sogdian βγn- and as a loanword in Armenian *bagin* “altar”, cf. Hübschmann 1897:114.

lbyl: “for Bel”. A temple dedicated to the Babylonian deity Bel is an indication of a certain religious syncretism in Bactria in the fourth century BCE.

Line 38. **hwry**: No doubt a shorthand designation for **qmḥ hwry** “white flour”.

Line 40. **bgy**: OP **bāgya*- “that which is to be allotted” seems to indicate a type of sacrifice or offering. The same word possibly occurs once in the Saqqara papyri, cf. Segal 1983:65f., No. 46:5, where the context is too damaged to allow certainty. The offering is enumerated in lines 40-41. Similarly lines 42-43 and lines 44-45 enumerate the offerings which belong to the classes of Vāta(h)ya (?) and of “the sacrifice” respectively.

zyrw or **zydw**: This should be a term designating a deity or a type of temple offering. A personal name which may be related, ζῆρο (Zēr), is attested in Bactrian, cf. Sims-Williams 2000:45, Document F4, 6, 9.

Line 42. **wty**: Only the upper part of the first letter is preserved. This seems to conform best to the shape of **w**, but a reading **p** or **d/r** cannot be entirely excluded. *Vātya*- may be interpreted

to mean: “that which is devoted to (the deity) Vāta, i.e. the Wind”. An attractive alternative (N.S-W) is to interpret the word as **vātahya*, the genitive form of the word *vāta-*, denoting “(day) of the Wind”. If one were to read **dy**, one could compare Avestan Dāityā, which is attested in the Yashts as the name of a mythological river in Aryana Vaējah, and which could have been used to designate the genius of a river in Bactria.

Line 44. **ʾlyšt**: “for the sacrifice” or “for the *Yasht* ritual”, which may have been synonymous with the term *Yasna*. *Yasht* is also the name of a division of the Avesta.

Line 46. **whyʾtrw**: This is attested as a personal name in A6:1. The person with this name is an official of Akhvamazda.

whšwbndk: Vaxšu-bandaka “Slave or servant of the (genius of the) Oxus”.

Line 47. **lptpk<n>yʾ**: The restoration is based on the assumption that this is the definite plural form of **ptpkn**, attested as a singular in C4:10, 25.

Line 49. **hšdt**: This name may be tentatively interpreted as X^vača(h)-dāta “Created by Good Speech”. However, *Hu-vačah-* is not known as a divine appellation, and it is doubtful whether the initial consonant of such a form should be spelt **h** in Aramaic. An alternative reading could be *X^vaša-dāta, with a first element connected with Middle and New Persian *xʿaš(š)* “good, fine, pleasant” (Pahlavi heterogram **BSYM**). Another possible occurrence of this element in our documents is the word **hšnk**, for which cf. B4:3. If the second element of the name is *dāta-*, one would have to assume that *X^vaša* served as a divine name, a usage which is not otherwise attested.

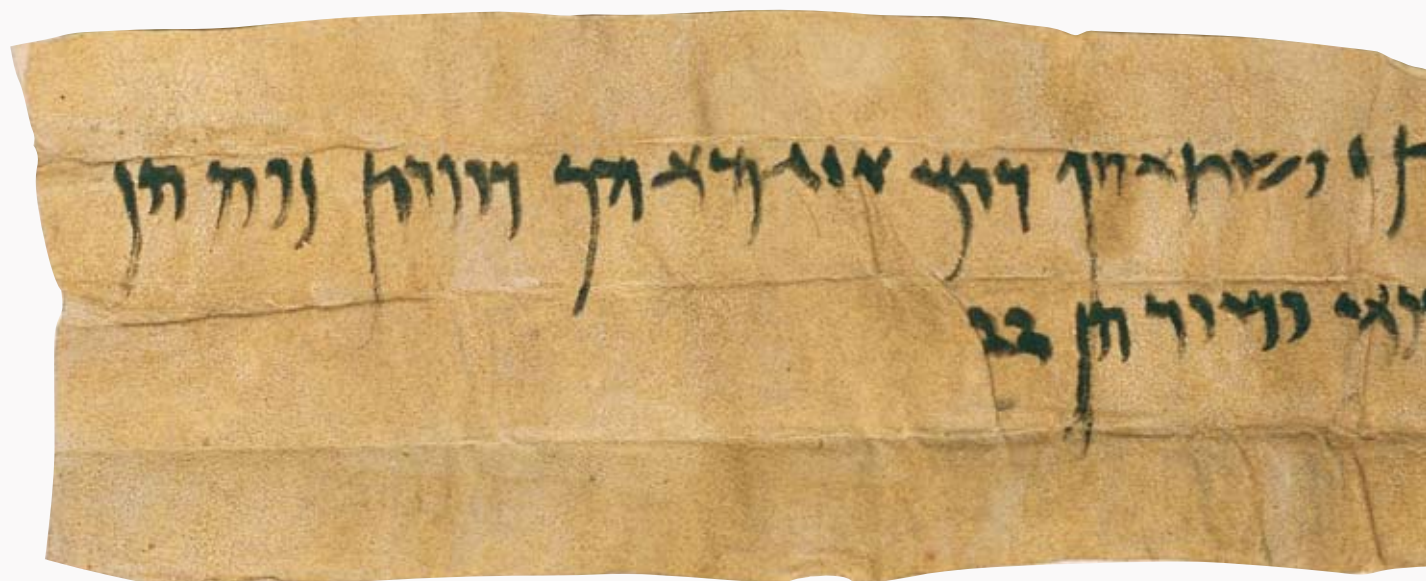
ʾwršykn: This looks like a patronymic with the ending *-kāna*, but the underlying name is not clear.

gbh: For the use of this verb cf. the commentary to C4:6.

ʾrtwky: This looks like a personal name, but **ʾrtwk**, **ʾrtwky** is attested elsewhere in our documents as a place name. Cf. above A2:2; A6:2, 6.



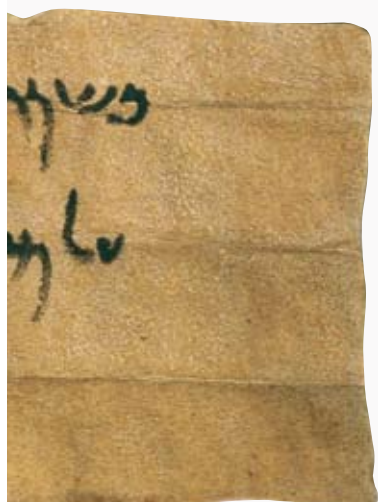
C2. [Khalili IA 20] Seal — (enlarged x 5).



C2. [Khalili IA 20] *Recto*



C2. [Khalili IA 20] *Verso*



C2. [Khalili IA 20] (actual size).

C2. [Khalili IA 20]

Acquired into the collection unopened. It has been opened for photography and reclosed, and is now once again tied around and sealed. Length 230 mm., width 74 mm. The document is preserved in its entirety and is clearly legible. Addressed to a superior officer, and announcing a despatch of sheep. Year 1 of an unspecified reign; assuming that this is a date according to the regnal year of Alexander the Great by the Babylonian reckoning (cf. Parker and Dubberstein 1956:19), it would correspond to 330/329 BCE. Vishtaspa Karanya is mentioned.

Inside

1 בשנת 1 ושתאסף כרני אִזְגְּמָא מִן כּוּפְדַּת נִפְקָ קֵן

2 עַל מְרָאִי וּדְיֹור קֵן 40

Outside

3 כּוּפְדַּת

ROMANIZED TEXT

Inside

C2:1 bšnt 1 wšt'sp krny 'zgm' mn kwpdt npq qn

C2:2 'l mr'y wdywr qn 40

Outside

C2:3 kwpdt

TRANSLATION

- 1 In the year 1. Vishtaspa Karanya. The disbursement from Kaufadata: sheep came out
2 to my lord Vaidyura, 40 sheep.

Outside:

- 3 Kaufadāta.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **bšnt 1:** The reign to which this date belongs is not specified.

wšt'sp krny: Vishtaspa (Vištāspa, Hystaspes) is a very common personal name in ancient Iranian history. There is however no suitable monarch who could be associated with the date “year 1” mentioned here. The only Vishtaspa in Achaemenian history who could have used a regnal year is Hystaspes, son of Xerxes I (486-465 BCE) and brother of Artaxerxes I (465-424 BCE), who was a satrap in Bactria during his father's reign. He seems to have revolted against his brother when the latter acceded to the throne, but the revolt was promptly crushed by Artaxerxes I. Ctesias §31 tells of this revolt, but gives the name of the satrap of Bactria as Artaban; Briant (1996:587-588) assumes with some confidence that that was really Hystaspes, who is named by Diodorus XI,69:2 as the satrap of Bactria at that time. If this were the Hystaspes according to whose reign the document is dated, his first (and only) year would be 465 BCE. However, this is about a century earlier than the date which would be assigned to the document on the basis of its palaeography; most of the other documents in this hoard belong to the fourth century BCE.

A certain Hystaspes is mentioned as the husband of the granddaughter of Ochus (=Artaxerxes III). This Hystaspes is said to have been a relative (*propinquus*) of Darius [III], and to have obtained a high military post (Quintus Curtius VI,2, 7; quoted by Briant 1996:801f.).

Our documents also mention a Vishtaspa who was “barley-supplier in Varaina” (see C4:35).

The full name given here, **wšt’sp krny**, suggests that the Vishtaspa in question belongs to a family well known in later Iranian history, that of Kāren. In the Parthian inscriptions the spelling is indeed **krny**, while the Middle Persian spelling is **k’lny** (where **l** = *r*); cf. Maricq 1965:64-65, 77; Gignoux 1972:25, 55. Individual members of the family are mentioned in the inscription of Shabur in the same way as here, by a personal name followed by the name Kāren. On the family in Parthian and Sasanian history cf. Christensen 1944:103-110; Frye 1984:226, 295. The Kāren family of the Parthian and Sasanian periods was based in Western Iran, more particularly in Nihāvand (details in Marquart 1895:635-636), but there is nothing improbable in their having ancient connections in the eastern regions such as Bactria, as is suggested by our present document. For a list of people with the surname Kāren in Iranian history cf. Justi 1895:156-158.

wšt’sp krny ’zgm’ mn kwptd: The translation given above is the one which seems most likely. It could however be interpreted to mean “The disbursement of Vishtaspa Karanya”. If this is correct, the syntax is not typical of Aramaic, but rather of Iranian. In Aramaic we would expect the word-order **’zgm** (or **’zgm’ zy**) **wšt’sp krny**.

kwptd: This could be the name of a person or of a place, perhaps with a certain preference for the former possibility, as the note on the outside is more likely to refer to a person. There are some Iranian names formed with the Old Iranian element *kaufa-* (Middle and New Persian *kōh*) “mountain”; cf. Justi 1895:165, s.v. Kōhzād; Hinz 1975:151; Gignoux 1986:107. It is however puzzling that the word “mountain” should be treated as a theophoric element as *Kaufa-dāta* “Created by the mountain” would seem to imply. Alternatively, one may propose to derive this name from the name of the Kabul river, which is attested as *Kōphēn* or *Kōphēs* in the Greek sources (cf. *Der Kleine Pauly* 3:296, where references are given). Rivers could be divine entities, as can be seen from the various theophoric names composed with the name of the Oxus. See also note to line 3.

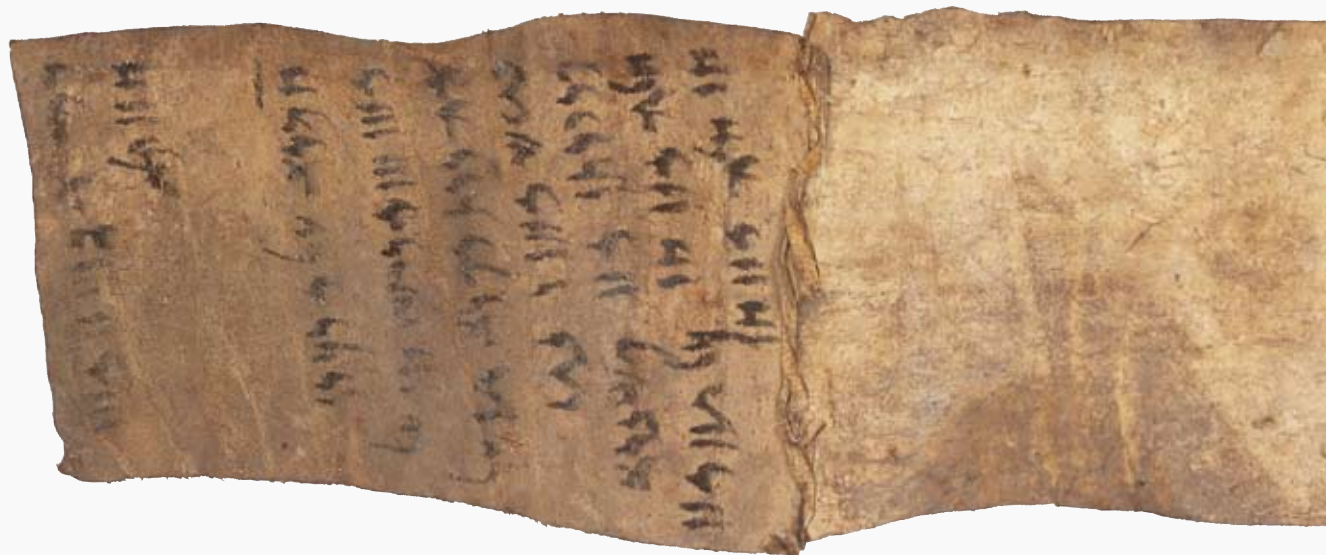
Line 2. **’l mr’y**: The honorific form of address indicates that the consignment as well as this notice are sent to the person indicated.

wdywr: Vaidyūra, a personal name meaning “knowledgeable, wise”; or Vaidya-vara “Choosing knowledge”. The first element figures in the Iranian name reconstructed by Gershevitch (1969b:192) from Elamite *mitiyawiš*.

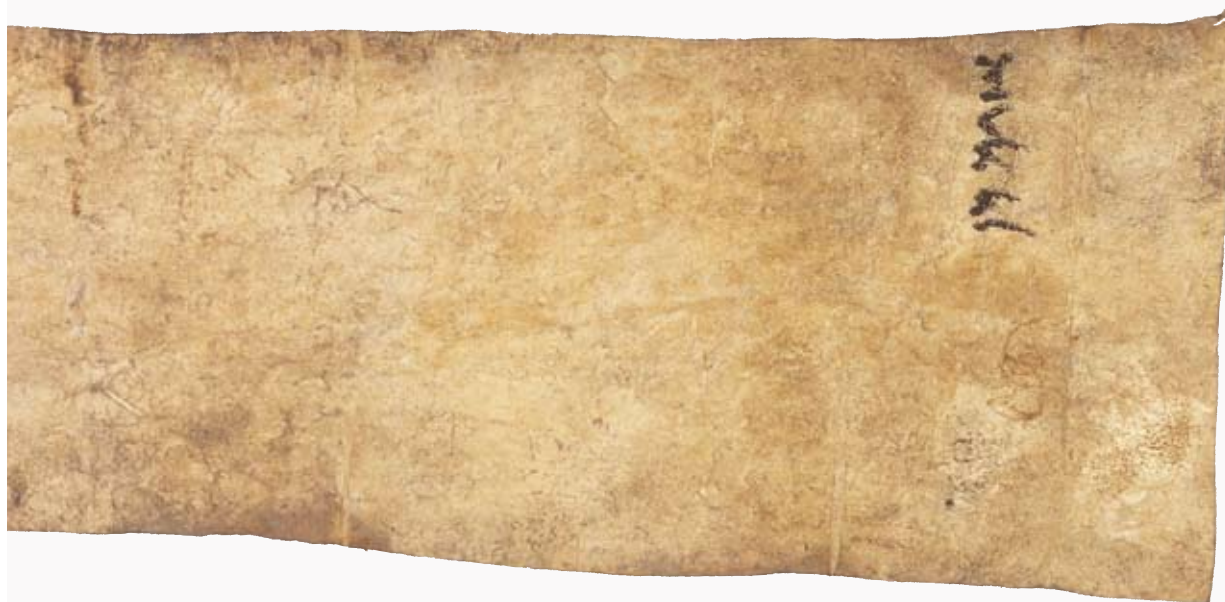
Line 3. **kwptd**: The note on the outside refers regularly to the person to whom a letter or a note is sent. It seems strange that the name of the person *from* whom the sheep were despatched should be written on the outside, unless this note is meant to serve as a label for the archive.



C3. [Khalili IA 22] *Recto* — (size reduced)



C3. [Khalili IA 22] *Verso* — (size reduced)



C3. [Khalili IA 22]

A sheet composed of two pieces of leather of uneven colour sewn together. Maximum length c. 415 mm.; maximum width c. 96 mm. Most of the writing on the recto side is wiped off, perhaps through exposure to light or moisture. Date: 20 Šebaṭ, year 2, but the reign is not specified. If it is to be dated to the reign of Alexander the Great (see introductory remarks to C2), it would correspond to 12 February 329 BCE.

Recto

ב 20 לשבט שנת 2 אֲזַגְ[ם]	1
מִן [...] בְּיוֹם דִּין	2
[...]	3-17
<hr/>	
בְּיוֹם דִּין [...] 18	18
[...]	19
[...]	20
לְעִלְיָמֵן דְּמִי א 1 ס 9	21
לְגַמְלִין דְּמִי א 2 ס 6 כֶּסֶה	22
א 2 ס 5 [...]	23
ס 2 [...]	24
[...]	25-37

Recto

C3:1	b20 lšbt šnt 2 ʿzg[m]
C3:2	mn [...] bywm dyn [...]
C3:3-17	[...]
<hr/>	
C3:18	bywm dyn [...]
C3:19	[...]
C3:20	[...]
C3:21	lʿlymn dmy ʿ 1 s 9
C3:22	lgmln dmy ʿ 2 s 6 ksh
C3:23	ʿ 2 s 5 [...]
C3:24	s 2 [...]
C3:25-37	[...]

Verso, top

דְּמִי ג 25 ס 3	38
ח 2 וּפְלַג	39
<hr/>	
חֲמֵרָא עַל סְרַכְרֵן	40
ס 6 <עַל> סְרוּשִׁי ח 1 עַל	41
אֶהְרַדַּת סְפָרָא ג 1 עַל	42
בְּגִישׁ ס 4 בְּגִי	43
<עַל> פְּרוּרְתֵן ס 2 <עַל> פִּשְׁבְּרָא	44
חֲלָה ס 2 ח 1 כֹּל ג 2 ס 2	45
ח 1 חֲלָה ס 2 ח 1	46

Verso, top

C3:38	dmy g 25 s 3
C3:39	ḥ 2 wplg
<hr/>	
C3:40	ḥmr ʿ 1 srkrn
C3:41	s 6 <ʿl> srwšy ḥ 1 ʿl
C3:42	ʿhrdt spr ʿ g 1 ʿl
C3:43	bgyš s 4 bgy
C3:44	<ʿl> prwrtn s 2 <ʿl> pšbr ʿ
C3:45	ḥlh s 2 ḥ 1 kl g 2 s 2
C3:46	ḥ 1 ḥlh s 2 ḥ 1

Verso, at the bottom of the sheet

אֲזַגְּמֵן מִן vacat 47

Verso, at the bottom of the sheet

C3:47 ʿzgm mn [vacat]

TRANSLATION

Recto

- 1 On 20 Šebaṭ, year 2. Disbursement
 2 from ... On the day *dainā* ...
 3-17 ...

 18 On the day *dainā* (?) ...
 19 ...
 20 ...
 21 For the servants, plain (flour), 1 *ardab*, 9 *seʿa*.
 22 For the camel-drivers, plain (flour), 2 *ardab*, 6 *seʿa*; fodder,

23 2 *ardab*, 5 *se'a*, ...
 24 2 *se'a* ...
 25-37 ...

Verso, top

38 Plain (flour), 25 *gun*, 3 *se'a*,
 39 2½ *hufn*.

40 Wine to the superintendents,
 41 6 *se'a*. <To> (the official in charge of) penalties, 1 *hufn*. To
 42 Ahuradata the scribe, 1 *gun*. To
 43 Bagaicha, 4 *se'a*. Divine gift
 44 <for> the spirits of the dead, 2 *se'a*. <For> provisions for the road:
 45 vinegar, 2 *se'a*, 1 *hufn*. Total: 2 *gun*, 2 *se'a*,
 46 1 *hufn*; vinegar, 2 *se'a*, 1 *hufn*.

Verso, at the bottom of the sheet

47 Disbursement from [*nothing further is written*]

COMMENTARY

Line 2. **bywm dyn:** This expression, which seems to be repeated in line 18, can hardly be interpreted as “on this day”, for the demonstrative pronoun in Official Aramaic is **znh**, **dnh**. Moreover, if this were a demonstrative pronoun, the noun should have been in the determined state. As suggested above, in Chapter 11 of the Introduction, this expression is best explained as referring to the Zoroastrian calendar, according to which the twenty-fourth day of the month is called *dainā*, Middle Persian *dēn*. In that case this would be the earliest textual evidence for the use of Zoroastrian day names in the calendar.

Line 21. **s:** The interpretation of this abbreviation as *se'a* is uncertain, here and in the following two lines. 3 *se'a* should correspond to 1 *ardab*.

Line 22. **lgmln:** The word **gmln** “camels” here is probably an abbreviated reference to the “camel keepers”, cf. the expression **lwzn** “for geese” in the sense “for the keepers of the geese” (C4:1a). If it is read *gammāl* (as in Syriac and Hebrew), **gml** could perhaps also designate “camel attendant” or “camel driver”, but this seems less likely.

Line 40. **srkrn:** Old Iranian **sarakāra-*. The word was not previously attested in Aramaic. An apparent descendant of this word survives in New Persian *sarkār* “chief, superintendent, supervisor, overseer, agent” (Steingass 1892 s.v.).

Lines 41-46. **s** has been interpreted, here as earlier in this document, as *se'a*, but as the commodities listed here are fluid—wine and vinegar—it may be possible to interpret **s** as **sp**.

Line 41. **srwšy**: This is the same word as **srwšyt**³ (Driver 1957, Letter 3:6,7), identified (in Driver 1957:47) as a loan-word from Iranian **sraušyā-* “punishment”, represented by Avestan *sraošyā-*. Two possibilities for explaining the form of the word have been offered (ibid.): one, that the Iranian word, a feminine noun, was treated as a feminine Aramaic noun, hence the *-tā-* added to it; the other (suggested by Benveniste 1954:304, and followed by Hinz 1975:227; Greenfield 1982:8-9), that Aramaic **srwšyt**³ is an Old Persian abstract **sraušyatā-* “discipline”. The occurrence of **srwšy** in our document adds force to the first theory. It is fully formulated in Rosenthal 1963:29 §57, in connection with the Aramaic word *šerōšī* (Ezra 7:26, spelled in the *ketib* tradition *šršw*; cf. also Rosenthal 1963:16 §19; 59 §189) “punishment”, clearly a variant spelling of the word attested here. According to this explanation, the Iranian loanword **sraušyā-* was assimilated to the Aramaic system of noun formation and re-interpreted as having an *-ī* ending for the Aramaic abstract noun in the absolute state, with *-tā* as its determined state. This formation in Aramaic is feminine, like the underlying Iranian word. Cf. also Bogoljubov 1971:18, who tries to establish a pattern for the assimilation of certain Iranian loan-words in Aramaic.

In this case, as elsewhere in this list, the designation <‘l> **srwšy** “<for> punishment” seems to be a shorthand allusion to be interpreted as: “for those who mete out punishment”.

Line 42. **‘hrdt**: Here Ahuradata is a scribe. There are several other occurrences of this name in the present collection of documents, and it is not certain whether in all cases it is the same person. In A1:8 a certain Ahuradata is mentioned as the *frataraka*, “foreman” or the like, of Bagavant. In C4:37ff. Ahuradata serves as *upadīta*, presumably “supervisor”, in Varaina. The chronological distance of 29 years between A1 (353 BCE) and C4 (324 BCE) does not exclude the possibility of a single person appearing in both documents. If this is the case, it seems reasonable to assume that *frataraka* is a more junior position than *upadīta*. The title “scribe” is probably less precise than the other two titles.

Line 43. **bgyš**: Bagaicha is attested in our documents as a personal name in B2, where he is the author of a letter to Vahucha. The word **bagaiča-* “divine” (with a diminutive suffix) could however also be a term for a holder of a religious function or a performer of a divine ritual.

bgy: We translate on the assumption that this is a noun denoting some religious activity, cf. above on C1:40. Bagaya is however quite widely attested as a personal name; cf. references in Hinz 1975:61. If it is a personal name here too, one should assume a preposition **l-** or **‘l** before **bgy**. The following **prwrtn** may then be a second name of Bagaya (in which case no preposition need to be placed before it), or a specification of the purpose of the allocation of provisions to Bagaya.

Line 44. **prwrtn**: This is obviously a form derived from *fravarti-* “the (eternal) spirit or soul of a person”. The term is usually applied to the righteous dead, though the *fravarti-*, Avestan *fravaši-*, was also conceived of as a protective genius. The form here clearly conforms to Old Persian rather than Avestan phonology. Fravarti is quite well attested as a personal name,

cf. Justi 1895:105, but it would be hard to account for the final **-n** if it were a personal name here. This is probably the Aramaic plural absolute ending, though it is also worth considering whether it may not represent an early shortening of the Old Iranian genitive ending *-inām*. The shortened form *-in* is attested in Middle Persian Frawardīn, the name of the first month and of the nineteenth day of the month in the Zoroastrian calendar. If **prwrtn** here indicates the occasion of a religious offering, it is possible that this was what was later known as Frawardīgān, the feast of the *fravartis*, celebrated during the last days of the Zoroastrian year (cf. Boyce 1975/1991, vol. I:222-224, for an account of the celebrations). If the Zoroastrian solar calendar starting at the vernal equinox was in force at the time of this document, at least for religious purposes, the festival of Frawardīgān and the month Frawardīn would be just over a month away from the date of the present document, written in February.

pšbr': The word has been compared to Elamite *baššabara* (PF 1703:8f.), Sogdian Man. **pš'br**, in Sogd. script **pš''br**, **pys''br**, Chr. **pš'br**; Kharoṣṭhi *pačēvara*; Armenian loanword *pašar*, all meaning “*viaticum*, provisions for the road”; cf. references in Hinz 1975:184; Gharib 1995:300. Henning (1936:63 on line 523) connected the word to Old Iranian *piθwā-* (but retracted this suggestion later, in Henning 1965:246 n. 33); Gershevitch (*apud* Hallock 1969:47) proposed as etymology Old Persian **pašyābara-* “that which is carried on the road”; Szemerényi (1970:418-419) reconstructed Old Iranian **pati-ā-bara-*. Cf. also Bailey 1946:795. All these etymologies present problems, as pointed out by Weber (1975:91-95), who proposed to derive the word from Old Iranian **pasčābara-*, which he translates “that which is carried behind (oneself)”, as an allusion to the Central Asian custom of carrying the provisions at the back of the caravan group. It may be suggested, however, that the compound could be understood better if one took the first element, **pasča*, as referring to time rather than to space: “carrying (food for) afterwards”. For this kind of composition, cf. Old Iranian **pasča-dāta-* “given after, after-gift, after-dowry”, presumably in the sense of a “gift given afterwards, dowry promised for afterwards”, attested in Aramaic **psšdt** (thus read correctly by Perikhanian; cf. Kraeling 1953, No. 10:7, 9; 12:9, 18, where the word is read **psšrt**). The Armenian loanword *paštatakan*, which has a similar structure, is apparently used simply in the sense of “dowry”; cf. Perikhanian 1986/7. Other Sogdian compounds with an initial element **pš'**, some of which denote “after” in a temporal sense, are listed in Gershevitch 1954a, §1143 (with Addenda, p. 250).

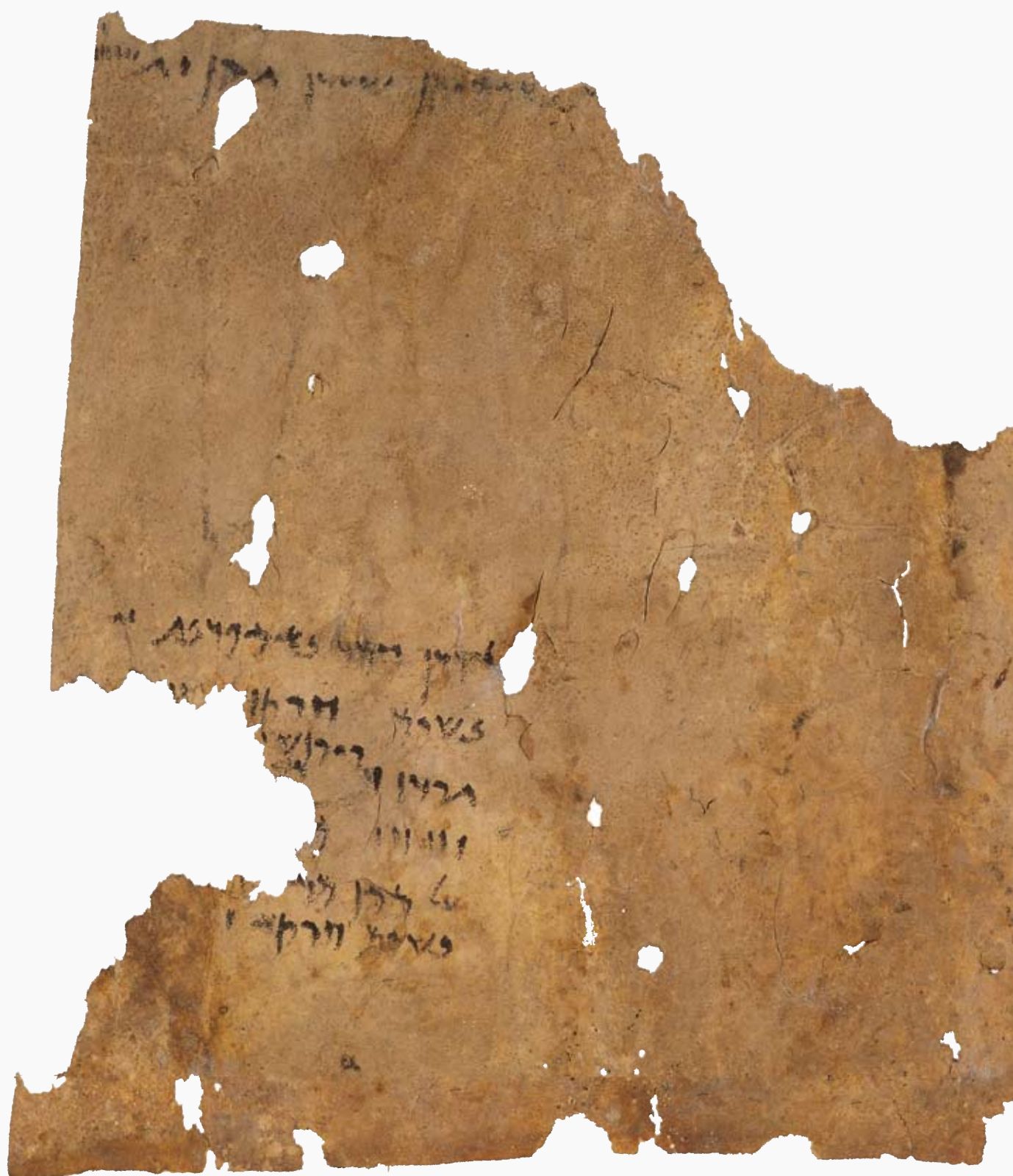
The fact that **pasča* is represented by two sibilants in **psšdt**, while **pšbr'** has only one, puts Weber’s suggestion under some strain. However, N.S-W suggests that Aramaic may have simplified some forms with two sibilants and points out that dialect forms in *-č-* are attested for **pasča* in the Middle Iranian period (for this cf. Gershevitch 1954b:125).

Lines 45-46. **kl g 2 s 2 ḥ 1**: The total given here is evidently that of the provisions of wine (excluding vinegar, which is mentioned separately in line 46). The quantities of wine mentioned in lines 38-41 amount to 1 *gun*, 12 *se'a*, 1 *ḥufn*. They do not seem to correspond to the total given in the document; normally 30 *se'a* = 1 *gun*. Cf. the discussion of measures in the Introduction.



C4. [Khalili IA 17]

Width 496 mm.; height between 175 and 291 mm. Much of the width of the document is preserved at the top, although there is a tear and loss of text on the left-hand side and several holes in the middle. The bottom area of the document is much more mutilated, with large areas missing. The ink is fairly well-preserved on the surviving portions of the surface of the leather. A long list of supplies disbursed. Starts on 15 Sivan, year 7 of Alexander, corresponding to 8 June 324 BCE, and continuing over three months.



C4. [Khalili IA 17] *Verso* — (size reduced)



On the right-hand margin

1a אף לוזן אתרוז [גבה ...]

Column 1

- 1 15 [ל]סיון שנת 7 אלכסנדרס
- 2 מלכא אזגם שערן וחשודת יוברא
- 3 באריונת אחריכן כזי נפברזן נמית
- 4 באריונת שערן חנטן ודחנא
- 5 נפברזן נצף אתרוז אפדיתא באריונת
- 6 [ג]בה על אפיתא זי יבל על אמינכן
- 7 [שערן ג ...] 3
- 8 [וזי גבה ז]כם אתרוז על יודה
- 9 [יבל ע]ל ורשורזן שערן ג 10
- 10 וזי דנג פתפכן [ב]אריונת גבה פתפא
- 11 [לריתכיא באריונת בירח סיון
- 12 [...] גון 1 ס 9
- 13 [וזי ריתכיא] חשתרכנת ואסנגשן
- 14 [פתפא ירח ס]יון דחנא ג 7
- [-----]
- 15 [...] בירח
- 16 [...] [סיון ...]
- 17 [...]

Column 2

- 18 וזי עלימן ואמהת דמידתכנן
- 19 פתפא לקח[ו] בירח סיון
- 20 מן וחשודת יובר באריונת
- 21 דחנא ג 5
- 22 וזי אמודת אפדיתא בורתני
- 23 גבה על [אפיתא] שערן ג 10
- 24 וזי ירח [תמוז פתפא] לריתכיא
- 25 באריונת דנג פתפכן גבה
- 26 דחנא גון 1
- 27 וזי ריתכיא חשתרכנת ואסנגשן
- 28 פתפא ירח [תמ]ז דחנא ג 6
- 29 6 ס

[...] 34-30

Column 3

- 35 וזי נפקתא מן ושתאסף יובר בורין אחריכן
- [כזי]
- 36 נפברזן נמית בורין שערן חנטן ודחנא
- 37 נפברזן פרתם נצפו אהרדת אפדיתא בורין
- [גבה]
- 38 על אפיתא זי יבל על אמינכן [שערן ג ...]
- 39 אהרדת אפדיתא גבה על יודה [...]
- 40 זכם אהרדת גבה לוזן שערן ג 2 [...]
- 41 על אחרן וחש[וא]ברדת בר חשתרכן נצפו
- 42 פתפא ריתכיא בורין בירח תמוז
- 43 שערן גון 1 ג 24 זכם וחשואברדת
- 44 נצף על אפיתא אהרדת אפדיתא גבה
- 45 על אפיתא שערן גון 1 זכם וחשואברדת
- 46 נצף דחנא ג 10 אהרדת גבה על זרע
- 47 [בי]רח לאב וחשואברדת עם מתרוחשו נצף
- 48 [על] אפיתא אהרדת אפדיתא גבה שערן
- 49 [גון 1] ג 8
- 50 [כל דחנא] גון 8 ג 24
- Verso, top*
- 51 [...] יתן שערן גון 1 ג 6
- Verso, in the middle*
- 52 לזכרן חמר באספרבג זי
- 53 בשים חות 1 [...] 4 [...]
- 54 גורז 1 ויוגש [...] [...]
- 55 [...] 6
- 56 על ססן מר[אי] ...
- 57 בשים חותא 1
- Verso, at the bottom, along the narrow end*
- 58 [...] שנת 7
- 59 [...] מן וחשודת יובר[ר]

ROMANIZED TEXT

On the right-hand margin

C4:1a ʔp lwzn ʔtrwz [gbh...]

Column 1

C4:1 b 15 [l]sywn šnt 7 ʔlksndrs

C4:2 mlkʔ ʔzgm šʕrn wḥšwdt ywbrʔ

C4:3 bʔrywnt ʔḥrykn kzy npbrzn nmyt

C4:4 bʔrywnt šʕrn ḥnṭn wdḥnʔ

C4:5 npbrzn nšp ʔtrwz ʔpdytʔ bʔrywnt

C4:6 [g]bh ʕl ʔpytʔ zy ybl ʕl ʔmynkn

C4:7 [šʕrn g ...] 3

C4:8 [wzy gbh z]km ʔtrwz ʕl ywdh

C4:9 [ybl ʕl wršwrzn šʕrn g 10

C4:10 wzy dng ptpkn [b]ʔrywnt gbh ptpʔ

C4:11 [lrytky]ʔ bʔrywnt byrh sywn

C4:12 [...] gwn 1s 9

C4:13 [wzy rytky]ʔ ḥštrknt wʔsngšn

C4:14 [ptpʔ yrḥ s]ywn dḥnʔ g 7

[—]

C4:15 [...] byrh

C4:16 [sywn ...]

C4:17 [...]

Column 2

C4:18 wzy ʕlymn wʔmht dmydtknn

TRANSLATION

On the right-hand margin

1a Also for (those who take care of) geese,
Atarvaza [collected] ...

Column 1

1 On the 15th of Sivan, year 7 of
Alexander

2 the King. Disbursement of barley
<from> Vakhshudata, the barley-
supplier,

3 in Araivant. Afterwards, when
Nafabarzana assessed

4 in Araivant barley, wheat and millet,

5 Nafabarzana determined (their
distribution). Atarvaza, the supervisor
in Araivant,

6 collected for that which is necessary,
which he conveyed to Amainakana:

7 [barley, *gun* ...] 3.

8 [And that which] the same Atarvaza
[collected] for **ywdh**

9 [(and) conveyed] to Varchavarzana:
barley, 10 *gun*.

10 And that which Danga, the ration-
provider in Araivant, collected
(as) ration

11 [for the servant boys] in Araivant in the
month of Sivan:

12 ... 1 *gun*, 9 *seʔa*

13 [And that which the servant boys,] the
ḥštrknt and the **ʔsngšn**,

14 [(received as) ration in the month of
S]ivan: millet 7 *gun*.

[—]

15 ... In the month

16 [of Sivan ...]

17 ...

Column 2

18 And that which the (male) slaves and
the slave-girls, livestock (?) attendants,

C4:19 ptp' lqh[w b]yrh sywn
 C4:20 mn whšwdt ywbr b'rywnt
 C4:21 dhn' g 5

C4:22 wzy 'mwdt 'pdyt' bzrtny
 C4:23 gbh 'l ['pyt'] š'rn g 10

~~~~~  
 C4:24 wzy yrh [tmwz ptp]' lrytky'  
 C4:25 b'rywnt dng ptpkn gbh  
 C4:26 dhn' gwn 1

---

C4:27 wzy rytky' hštrknt w'sngšn  
 C4:28 ptp' yrh [tm]wz dhn' g 6  
 C4:29 s 6  
 C4:30-34 [...]

*Column 3*

C4:35 wzy npqt' mn wšt'sp ywbr bwryn  
 'hrykn [kzy]  
 C4:36 npbrzn nmyt bwryn š'rn hntn wdhn'  
 C4:37 npbrzn prtm nšpw 'hrdt 'pdyt' bwry[n  
 gbh]  
 C4:38 'l 'pyt' zy ybl 'l 'mynkn š[ 'rn g...]

---

C4:39 'hrdt 'pdyt' gbh 'l ywdh [...]

19 received as a ration in the month of  
 Sivan  
 20 from Vakhshudata, the barley-supplier  
 in Araivant:  
 21 millet 5 *gun*.

---

22 And that which Amavadata, the  
 supervisor in Zartani,  
 23 collected for [that which is necessary]:  
 barley 10 *gun*.

---

~~~~~  
 24 And that (for) the month of [Tammuz,
 the ratio]n for the servant-boys
 25 in Araivant, Danga the ration-provider
 collected
 26 millet, 1 *gun*.

27 And that which the servant-boys,
hštrknt and **'sngšn**,
 28 (received as) ration for the month of
 [Tamm]uz: millet 6 *gun*,
 29 6 *se'a*.
 30-34 ...

Column 3

35 And that which (concerns) the
 disbursement from Vishtaspa, the
 barley-supplier in Varaina:
 Afterwards, [when]
 36 Nafabarzana assessed the barley, wheat
 and millet, in Varaina,
 37 Nafabarzana determined (their
 distribution) in the best
 manner. Ahuradata, the supervisor
 in Varaina, [collected]
 38 for that which is necessary, which he
 conveyed to Amainakana: b[arley ...
gun ...]

39 Ahuradata the supervisor collected for
ywdh: ...

C4:40 zkm 'hrdt gbh lwzn š'rn g 2[...]

C4:41 'l 'hṛn wḥš[w']brdt br ḥštrkn nšpw

C4:42 ptp' rytky' bwryn byrḥ tmwz

C4:43 š'rn gwn 1g 24 zkm wḥšw'brdt

C4:44 nšp 'l 'pyt' 'hrdt 'pdyt' gbh

C4:45 'l 'pyt' š'rn gwn 1 zkm wḥšw'brdt

C4:46 nšp dḥn' g 10 'hrdt gbh 'l zr'

^^^^^

C4:47 [by]rḥ l'b wḥšw'brdt 'm mtrwḥšw nšp

C4:48 ['l] 'pyt' 'hrdt 'pdyt' gbh š'rn

C4:49 [gwn 1] g 8

C4:5 [kl dḥn]' gwnn 6 g 24

Verso, top

C4:51 [...]ytn 'rn gwn 1 g 6

Verso, in the middle

C4:52 ldkrn ḥmr b'sprbg zy

C4:53 bšym ḥwt 1 [...] 4 [...]

C4:54 gwrz 1 wywnš [...] [...]

C4:55 6 [...]

C4:56 'l ssn mr[?y ...]

C4:57 bšym ḥwt' 1

Verso, at the bottom, along the narrow end

C4:58 [...] šnt 7

C4:59 [...] mn wḥšwdt ywb[r]

40 The same Ahuradata collected for (the caretakers of) geese: barley 2(+) *gun*.

41 Finally, Vakhshuabradata son of Khshathrakana determined

42 the ration (of) the servant-boys in Varaina in the month of Tammuz:

43 barley, 1 *gun*, 24 *grīv*. The same Vakhshuabradata

44 determined (their distribution) for that which is necessary. Ahuradata the supervisor collected

45 for that which is necessary: barley, 1 *gun*. The same Vakhshuabradata

46 determined (supplies): millet 10 *grīv*. Ahuradata collected for sowing.

^^^^^

47 In the month of Ab, Vakhshuabradata with Mithravakhshu determined (their distribution)

48 for that which is necessary. Ahuradata the supervisor collected: barley

49 [1 *gun*,] 8 *grīv*.

50 [Total of millet (?)] 6 *gun*, 24 *grīv*.

Verso, top

51 ... barley 1 *gun*, 6 *grīv*.

Verso, in the middle

52 For memory (?). Wine in Asparabaga, which is

53 sweet, 1 jar. ... 4 ...

54 1 cattle-grower (?), and a small barley field (?)

55 6 ...

56 to Sasan my l[ord] ...

57 sweet, 1 jar.

Verso, bottom, along the narrow end

58 ... year 7,

59 ... Vakhshudata the barley-supplier.

COMMENTARY

Line 1a. **lwzn:** Literally, “for geese”. One may assume that what is meant is (supplies) for the people who tend geese. The commonly attested form is **’wz**, cf. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Sokoloff 2002:86, but Syriac *wazzā* suggests a form without an initial *alef*. An allocation for the same group occurs in line 40. The same word occurs also in C1:12.

’trwz: Personal name *Āt(a)rvāza* “Fire blower”. The man who has this name is the supervisor in Araivant.

Line 1. 15 Sivan of the year 7 of Alexander corresponds to 8 June 324 BCE according to the Babylonian reckoning associated with the accession of Alexander. The alternative reckoning for the reign of Alexander, which starts with his Macedonian accession in 336 BCE, would give as date 15 June 330, when Alexander had not yet conquered Bactria; this can hardly be relevant here. The conversion is based on the data given in Parker and Dubberstein 1956.

’lksndrs: The spelling of the name Alexander in this document is different from that which occurs in the ostraca from Idumaea, where it is spelled **’lksndr**. Cf., e.g., Eph’al and Naveh 1996, No. 112; Lemaire 1996:41-47, Nos. 38-39, where a discussion of the dating can be found; Lemaire 2002:55-57, Nos. 87-89. The spelling **’lksndr** is also found on coins from Hierapolis, cf. Lidzbarski 1902:217.

Line 2. **’zgm:** Literally “coming out”, from **uz-gāma-*. Cf. Bactrian *αζγαμο* (Sims-Williams 2000:178); Manichaean Parthian *’zg’m* “exit, passing away”; Sogd *zy’m* “end”. Our contexts suggest a meaning such as “expenditure, disbursement”. The meaning is akin to that of the Middle Persian word *uzēnag*, attested as a loanword in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **’wzynq’**, “expenditure”, which has a similar etymology but is derived from the root *ay-* rather than *gam-*. The Middle Persian word is discussed in Bartholomae 1916:30-47, who also shows that *uzēn* has the basic sense of “exit, coming out”. New Persian *hazīne* “expenditure, disbursement, household expenses” is a direct descendant of the Middle Persian word. For the Aramaic loanword cf. Sokoloff 2002:87; Epstein 1921/22:331f. [=Epstein 1984:103f.]; Geiger 1930:199; 1937:16; Telegdi 1935:10.

In our documents, **’zgm** corresponds semantically and functionally to **npqt’**, which occurs below in line 35. Consequently, we may assume omission of **mn** in line 2 and reconstruct the full phrase: **’zgm š’rn <mn> whšwdt ywbr b’rywnt**. It is not necessary to assume that the omission is the result of an error; other examples of a tendency to abbreviate by omitting repetitive prepositions can be quoted from these and other official documents.

whšwdt: *Vaxšu-dāta* “Given, established, created by the Oxus”.

ywbr’: **yava-bara-*, literally “carrier of barley”, is a title of office, applied to Vakhshudata (in Araivant) and to Vishtaspa (in Varaina). For the latter see line 35. The title seems to indicate a function such as “barley-supplier”.

Line 3. **ʾrywnt:** Araivant, name of a town or region. This could be the mediaeval Rēvand or Rīvand, a district lying to the north-west of Nishabur; cf. Hoffmann 1880:290-291; Le Strange 1905:387; Minorsky 1937:326. The difficulty with this identification is that Rēvand is considerably to the west of the area to which most of our documents belong.

npbrzn: Nāfa-b(a)rzana, a personal name meaning “Belonging to an elevated family”.

nmyt: Presumably derived from the Iranian root *mā-* “to measure” with the preverb *ni*. One may explain the form as a passive participle **ni-mita-* “measured, assessed”, in which case the construction here may be an early precursor of the Middle Persian use of the passive participle for indicating the past tense of transitive verbs in what is sometimes called the ergative construction. For the sense one may compare Ossetic *nymajyn* “to count, compute, value, esteem”; cf. Abaev 1958/89, II:199-200, who adduces various Iranian cognates including Sogdian **nm’y-** “to judge”. (We thank N.Sims-Williams for his observations.) It may be noted that Nafabarzana performs this action as well as the one indicated by the verb **nšp** in both regions, Araivant and Varaina (cf. lines 36-37 below), while the actual collection of the supplies is done by local officials, Atarvaza the Supervisor in Araivant, and Ahuradata the Supervisor in Varaina.

Line 5. **nšp:** A Semitic verb, which may mean “to divide” in the sense of “to determine the distribution (of the products)”. For the sense one may compare Ugaritic **nšp** “half”, Arabic *NṢF*, which gives the noun *niṣf* “half” and the verb *anṣafa* “to be fair, impartial, equitable”. Cf. also the Hebrew word inscribed on an ancient weight in Judah, **nšp**, which has been taken to mean “half” (cf. Even Shoshan 1966 s.v.). The action implied by *NṢP* precedes the action of *GBH* “to collect” (cf. also lines 37, 44, 46) and seems to constitute a necessary preliminary to the latter.

ʾpdytʾ: A title of office, qualifying Atarvaza and Ahuradata, regional officials respectively in Araivant and Varaina. The title is attested in the Parthian documents from Nisa in the form **ʾwpdyt**, cf. Diakonoff and Livshits 1997/2001:187, where the word is transcribed *updēt* and translated “keeper”. There can be little doubt about the identity of the two forms, although the Parthian title seems to indicate a much lesser official than the **ʾpdytʾ** of our documents. Akkadian *up-pa-di-e-ti* may possibly reflect a similar title (cf. Eilers 1940:42 fn.; Hinz 1975:243). According to Gershevitch a title **upa-daya-* “supervisor” may be reconstructed on the basis of a personal name in Elamite (cf. literature in Hinz 1975:243). The title seems to be derived from *upa* + *√dā(y)-* “to see”. The Greek sources (especially Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.6.16) refer to officials on tours of inspection in the provinces (*ephodoi*), as well as to an official called *episkopos* who visits places in order to inspect them. (The last term is cited from Hesychius. The material is discussed in Hirsch 1985:107-109.) It is not clear whether these references have anything to do with the function fulfilled by the **ʾpdytʾ**. One cannot help being reminded also of an official function expressed in Ezra 7:14 by the verbal form **lbqrʾ** derived from the Semitic root *BQR*; see the recent discussion by Steiner 2001. The function of **ʾpdytʾ** seems to have to do mostly with the collection of taxes, while the function of the **mebaqqer*,

as he may have been called in the context of Ezra, may be assumed to have covered a variety of duties, including supervision and reporting back to the king.

Line 6. **gbh**: Elsewhere in Aramaic and Hebrew this verb normally means “to levy, collect, exact (tax)”, used especially for payments made by private people to the public purse. This is the usage in A8:2, **mndt mlk’ lmgbyh**. (The only previously known occurrences of this verb in Official Aramaic are in two passages of the texts from North Saqqara published by Segal 1983 [No. 22:4; 43:6], where the contexts are badly damaged; in No. 35:4 the reading is uncertain.) In this document, however, it makes better sense to assume that the verb means “to pay out, disburse (from a public warehouse or treasury)”; the commodities thus paid out are distributed for various purposes, such as payments to officials or servants or the expenses of religious rituals. A similar ambiguity may apply to the Bactrian term αβυαγγο, translated “deduction, levy” by Sims-Williams 2000:176. Sims-Williams derives this word from **apa-thanga-*, which would support the sense of “deduction”. It is however possible to derive the Bactrian word from **upa-thanga-*, literally “pulling up, raising”, with the possible sense of “levy, payment”. The context of the document in Sims-Williams 2000, Doc. aj9-11 is: οδο ωρομοζδο αλο ιατοασπο αβυαγγο, which may be translated: “and the levy / payment of Ormuzd together with Yat-asp”. “Payment of” may indicate a payment given *by* someone or one given *to* someone. The context of the Bactrian document is, however, not explicit enough.

gbh ʾl (or **l-**): This phrase indicates the bestowal of rations; the receipt of the rations is expressed by the verb **lqh** (see line 19). The two terms indicate the same action, that of giving out goods or supplies from the royal (or rather satrapal) treasury to people in the service of the authorities, and are thus effectively alternatives. The difference between them is that **gbh l-** requires the name of an official who pays out rations to be specified, while **lqh** merely indicates that provisions were granted and received.

ʾmynkn: If this is a place name, as it seems to be, it could conceivably be identified with the mediaeval town of Mīnak (or Mīnk) in Ustrushana, in Sogdiana. Cf. Le Strange 1905:475-476; Barthold 1968:168. The exact location of this town is not indicated, but it seems to be quite some distance to the north of Bactra, the area around which our documents are centred.

ʾpytʾ: See above, A2:3.

Line 8. **zkm**: “the same, the above-mentioned” is attested several times in the fifth-century BCE documents in Cowley 1923, 9:2; 20:4; 65:3; Kraeling 1953, pap. 7:2 (**dkm**) and at a later period in the Nisa documents (cf. Diakonoff et al. 1977/2001: 207). According to a suggestion of Nöldeke 1907:140, accepted by Kutscher 1971:115 (cf. also Beyer 1984:553), **zkm** contains a suffix of the second person pl. m., and would thus belong to the series of deictic pronouns which relate the object pointed out to the person addressed. The difficulty with this interpretation is that the meaning of **zkm** is not that of a regular deictic pronoun; it is an adjective in the sense of “the same” (as is pointed out by Folmer 1995:205). It is possible to

assume, as Folmer suggests, that this is a specialized meaning of a pronoun that originally meant just “that (of yours)”; but it seems equally possible that **zkm** is **zk** with the addition of the adverbial suffix **-m** (cf. above, commentary to A6:3). The semantic development may have been from “in that manner”, “that-wise”, “likewise” to “the same”.

ywdh: Unclear word, which could be a personal name or a common noun indicating some activity or function. **yava-dāh-* could mean “a gift of barley”. Atarvaza, the supervisor in Araivant, is the official who collects “for **ywdh**” here, and the supplies are carried to Varchavarzana; in line 39 Ahuradata the supervisor in Varaina collects for **ywdh**.

Line 9. **wršwrzn**: Personal name, Varča(h)-varzana “acting with energy”.

Line 10. **dn̄g**: Personal name, perhaps the same name as is attested in the Avesta, Yt. 13:98, under the form Dāṇha (Bartholomae 1904:744).

ptpkn: A title of office, **piθva-kāna-*, indicating an official in charge of providing rations (*piθvā-*, **piθfā-*, for which cf. the note to B2:2). The plural form is **ptpkny* (cf. B2:46-47).

Line 11. [**lrytky**]: The restoration is based on line 24.

Line 13. [**wzy rytky**]: The restoration of the missing part at the beginning of the line is based on the text of line 27. **rytky** seems to indicate a category of servants, as does the later Middle Persian development of this word, *rēdag* “young boy; servant”.

ḥštrknt w'sngšn: These two terms are hard to explain. They look like Iranian words, but do not seem to be personal names; probably they are terms defining groups of workers or people who fulfil certain functions. The endings indicate Aramaic plural forms, feminine and masculine respectively (cf. the similar pair of masculine and feminine designations in line 18: **lymn w'mht**). The endings are not grammatically correct, however: **ḥštrknt** has a construct f. pl. ending, while **'sngšn**, if it is m. pl., has the ending of the indefinite state. It is difficult to suggest a plausible meaning for these words, with or without their presumed Aramaic endings. Both terms seem to be associated with **rytky** (as is certainly the case at their second occurrence in line 27), and may refer to two groups of young courtiers, perhaps performers of some kind. If **ḥštrkn** represents **xšaθra-kāna-*, or perhaps rather **xšaθra-kanyā-*, it may mean something like “(a girl) of the kingdom”, hence possibly “entertaining girl” or the like. One possible etymology of this word is from **xšaθrī-kanyā-* (or *-kanī-*) “a female maiden” (?), perhaps a reference to women of pleasure. Still more complicated is the case of **'sngšn**. One could derive the word, with some hesitation, from **āθang-iča-*. In Middle and New Persian *āhang* < **ā-θanga-* means, among other things, “melody”; a derivative with suffix *-iča-* might have meant “young performer of melodies”. There is, however, the phonetic difficulty that Old Persian *θ* is usually reflected in Aramaic by **t**, not by **s**.

Line 14. The restoration is based on lines 19, 28 (and on the available space).

Lines 15-16. **byrḥ** / [...]: As the records are arranged chronologically, the month in question is surely Sivan. The beginning of the month of Tammuz may be quite confidently placed in line 24, because the double separation line before it marks the beginning of a new month. The beginning of the month of Ab at line 47 is marked similarly with two lines, one wavy and the other straight.

Line 18. **ʿlymn wʾmht**: Note the use of masculine and feminine forms of the plural for “male slaves” and “maids” respectively (the final **t** in the second word is however a construct ending, not a separate one). Cf. also the note to line 13 above.

dmydtknn: “animal attendants”. The compound *dāmi-dāta-* is attested in the Avesta in the sense of “created by the Creator” (cf. Bartholomae 1904:737; Gershevitch 1959:210-212). In Middle and New Persian, however, *dām u(d) dad* (or with inverse order of the elements) is a *dvandva* compound signifying the whole of the animal world, literally “tame and wild animals”. For the etymologies cf. Darmesteter 1883, 2:150-152; Abaev 1957/89, I:365-366; Bailey 1979:151 s.vv. *dam-*, *data-*. On the basis of the Aramaic form one may reconstruct an Old Persian compound **dāmya-data-* “tame and wild animals”. With the suffix *-kāna-* the sense of the compound would be “(servants whose function is) related to animals”. The word **dmydty** occurs in the Aramaic inscription of Taxila, but its interpretation is unclear (cf. Hinz 1975:81-82), and it may not be relevant for our word. *Dāmidāta* is also attested via Elamite and Aramaic transmission as a personal name (cf. Hinz 1975:81).

Line 22. **ʾmwdt**: Personal name, *Amava-dāta* “Created by the mighty one”. The first element shows the tendency familiar from the Avesta to treat the stem **amavant-* “mighty” as a *-van-* stem (cf. the form *amava* in Yt. 10.64 with the comments by Gershevitch 1959:213).

Line 23. **[ʾpytʾ]**: The word is supplemented here on the basis of similar phrases, e.g. line 38. The term seems to indicate use of the allocation for general necessities as opposed to more specific uses such as **lrytkyʾ** “for the servants” in line 24, **ʾlywdh** (?) in lines 8, 39, **lwzn** “for the geese” in lines 1a and 40.

Line 35. **npqtʾ**: this word seems to be used in a function similar to that of **ʾzgm**. The Aramaic word, from NPQ, and the Persian word, from **uz-gāma-*, are similar in their etymological significance: they both designate the action of taking out or the object taken out, e.g., expenditure, disbursement.

Lines 36-37. The phrases here take up again the three activities which were mentioned earlier, with the difference that this time the action takes place in Varaina rather than Araivant. **nmyt** presumably indicates the action of assessing the quantity of the allocation; **nsp** refers to determining the distribution of the commodities allocated to a group of people “in the best

manner”; **gbh** (which is assumed to occur in line 37 and which is written in line 39) presumably signifies the actual transfer of the commodities.

Line 37. **prtm** can be used as an adverb, as it is in A5:2; A6:6, 9. It is however also attested as a title of rank, as in Esther 1:3; 6:9; Daniel 1:3 (in all of these places the word occurs as **prtmym**, with the Hebrew plural ending). It seems more plausible to take it here as an adverb.

npbrzn ... nšpw: The use of a verb in the plural with a subject in the singular is attested not only here (and in line 41) but also in the inscriptions on chert vessels from Persepolis published in Bowman 1970, where **bdw** occurs with a singular subject; cf. Naveh and Shaked 1973:452-454; Skjærvø 1995:289, 297; Shaked 2003:132-133. A possible reason for the confusion between singular and plural forms of the verb could be that the final vowel was not pronounced in the third person plural of the perfect; see Introduction, Chapter 15, and the note to line 47 below.

ṣpdyt: See above, line 5.

Line 38. **ṣpyt**: See above, lines 6, 23, and commentary to A2:3.

ṣmynkn: See above, line 6.

Line 40. **lwzn**: See above, line 1a.

Line 41. **ṣḥrn**: “finally”, presumably because this is the last entry for the month of Tammuz.

whšwṣbrdt br ḥštrkn: This is one of only two persons in these documents to be mentioned with a patronym. One reason for using a patronym might have been that there were two people in the administration with the same personal name. We have a **whšwdt** in our document, line 2, but this is certainly not the same name as **whšwṣbrdt**. Vaxšu-abra-dāta may be interpreted as meaning “Created by the Oxus cloud”. In Hinz 1975:20-21 there are several reconstructed names which contain the element *abra-* “cloud; rain”. Cf. above, Introduction chapter 16, for the possibility of reading Vaxšu-abda-dāta. Xšaθrakāna could mean “Relating to (the deity) Kingship”; in lines 13 and 27 of our document the same spelling is apparently used for a Persian loanword with a completely different meaning.

Line 42. **rytky**: The preposition **ṣl** or **l-** was omitted here.

Line 43. **gwn 1 g 24**: The abbreviation **g** is obviously not always an indication of *gun*, but sometimes indicates a smaller unit. One may assume that **g** here and in the following stands for *grīv*, which is a synonym of *se’a*.

Line 46. **nšp**: The purpose of the action is omitted, but it is no doubt the same as that of **gbh**, namely **lzc** “for sowing”.

Line 47. **Pb:** The superfluous preposition was presumably written because the month name is usually preceded by a **l-** after the indication of the day.

mtrwḥšw: Miθra-vaxšu, possibly to be interpreted as a *dvandva* “(Adherent of) Mithra and the Oxus”.

Exceptionally, two officials here perform the action denoted by NŞP, but the verb is in the singular. Together with the cases in which **nşpw** is written for a singular subject (see above on line 37), this is strong evidence for the assumption that the distinction in pronunciation between *nşaf* and *nşafū* was not strongly marked (or not marked at all). The reason why two officials are here engaged in this activity is not given. It is possible that the first official was ceding his post to the second in the month of Ab.

Line 52. **ldkrm:** An uncertain reading; if it is accepted, the implication may be that an earlier notice is here recapitulated, or that this note is intended as a memorandum for future reference. The word is attested more than once in texts relating to the Achaemenian period, in Aramaic as well as in Hebrew. It occurs (under the form **zkrm**) in Cowley 1923, No. 32:1, 2, apparently in the sense of a memorandum, and has been discussed in this sense by Greenfield (2001:277).

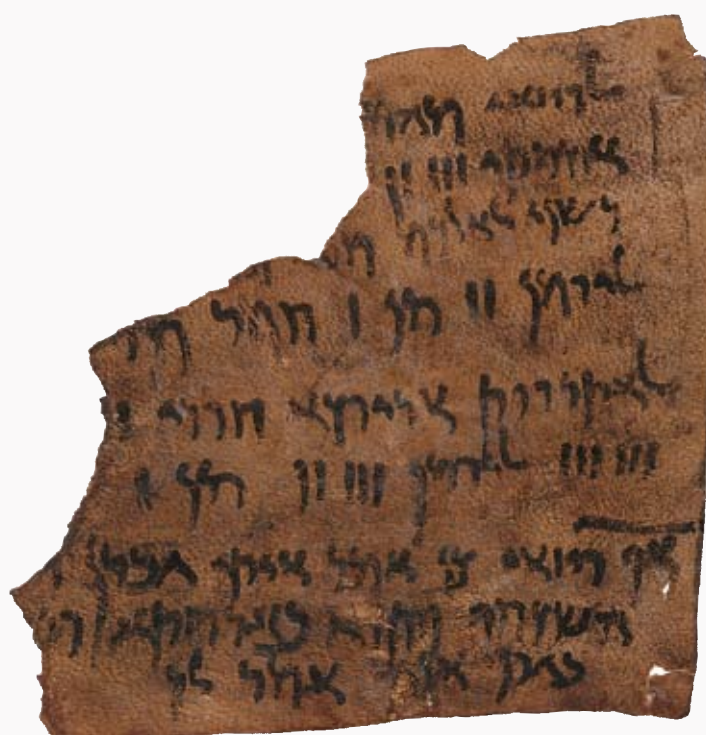
ʾsprbg: Apparently a place name.

Line 53. **ḥwt:** The same form of this word for a receptacle for wine occurs in the Parthian Nisa documents, cf. Diakonoff and Livshits 1997/2001, glossary. In Nisa we have also the form **ḥwtʔ**. In the Parthian script it is difficult to distinguish between *bet* and *vav*, but it is clear from our documents that the form **ḥwtʔ** was in use in Bactria in the fourth century BCE.

Line 54. **gwrz:** Possibly **gau-varza*- “cattle-breeder” or “worker with cattle”.

wywnš: The first **w** is probably a conjunction. *yavan-* / *yaon-* is attested in the Avesta in the sense of “barley-field”. The final **š** may be explained as the diminutive suffix *-iča-*.

Line 56. **ssn:** Sāsān(a), a well-known name, used in a later period as the eponymous name of the Sasanian dynasty. In this case Sasan seems to be the name of a highly placed person. It is doubtful whether this personal name is related to the ancient demonic name Sesen recently discussed by Martin Schwartz (1996, 1998).



C5. [Khalili IA 25]

C5. [Khalili IA 25]

Maximum height 93 mm.; maximum width 95 mm. Right-hand margin preserved, and possibly the bottom. The left-hand margin and the top are torn. List of supplies to Vahyazaya. No date.

לויזאי מהמ[...]	1
אקמתי 5 [...]	2
דשני לאלכם ו[...]	3
ליומן 2 קן 1 חמר מר[...]	4
לאתרופת אריוכא חורי 2 [...]	5
6 ליומן 5 קן 1	6
<hr/>	
אף ויזאי כן אמר איתי גברן ז[...]	7
השכחו פתפא בארחתא ו[שמו]	8
בגון אנה אמר לך	9

ROMANIZED TEXT

C5:1 lwyz'y mhm[...]
 C5:2 'qmti 5 [...]
 C5:3 dšny l'lkam w[...]
 C5:4 lywmn 2 qn 1 ḥmr mr[y ...]
 C5:5 l'trwpt 'rywk' ḥwry 2[...]
 C5:6 6 lywmn 5 qn 1

 C5:7 'p wyz'y kn 'mr 'yty gbrn z[y]
 C5:8 ḥškḥw ptp' b'rḥt' w[šmw]
 C5:9 bgwn 'nh 'mr lk

TRANSLATION

- 1 To Vahyazaya ...
- 2 Aqmati 5 ...
- 3 My present (?) to Elkam and ...
- 4 for 2 days: 1 sheep, [--] mari of wine, ...
- 5 To Atarpata Araiwaka: white (flour) 2(+) ...
- 6 6. For 5 days: 1 sheep.
-
- 7 Vahyazaya said also thus: There are men who
- 8 found the ration on the roads and [they put (it)?]
- 9 in a basket. I communicate (this) to you.

COMMENTARY

- Line 1.* **lwyzy:** The name is difficult to interpret, and it is not certain that it is an Iranian name. If it is Iranian, its first element could refer to the Wind deity Vayu. On the analogy of Vayu-bāzu (reconstructed from Greek, cf. Hinz 1975:259) one could propose Vayu-zaya “having the arms (or: born) of the Wind (god)”. Alternatively, as the *-h-* of *vahyah-* is not always written in Aramaic, it is possible that the name is Vahya(h)-zaya, to be compared with Vahyaz-daya- (a name reconstructed from Elamite, cf. Hinz 1975:253).
- Line 2.* **ʾqmt:** In all likelihood a non-Iranian name, although it does not seem possible to identify the language.
- Line 3.* **Plkm:** Another name which is difficult to place. The first element, if it is El, may indicate a Semitic connection.
- Line 4.* **lywmn 2:** The text seems to deal with supplies to a group of people for a specified number of days. Driver 1957:27, No. 6 (= Porten and Yardeni, *TADAE A* 6.9 cf. plate 0000 above, Introduction chapter 14), contains a somewhat similar list of rations to be given per person per day; in both cases the rations are provided for people on a journey. The quantities in the two documents cannot be compared, however, since we lack data on the number of people.
- Line 5.* **Ptrwpt ʾrywk:** The first word is the Iranian name Āt(a)r-pāta “protected by (the deity) Fire”. Araivaka, which may be an adjective qualifying the name, may be interpreted as a *nisba* reference to the town of Araivant, which occurs in our documents in C4:2 and several times further on in that document. A very similar name, spelled **ʾrywk**, occurs in two separate contexts in the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible, in Gen. 14:1, 9 and in Dan. 2:14-15. One attempt to explain the biblical name has been to derive it from Iranian **aryaka-* (cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica* vol. I, col. 564). The spelling of the name here does not support such a derivation.
- Line 6.* **lywmn 5:** Another batch of supplies which should be sufficient for five days.
- Line 8.* **hškhw ptp ʾbʾrht:** “Found the ration(s) on the roads”. This may mean that the men concerned obtained their rations from villages and towns along the way; this is easy to imagine if they were soldiers or state officials. **ʾrht** could alternatively indicate caravans, but this seems less likely in the present context.
- Line 9.* **bgwn:** The word **gwn** may be the same as the one indicating a unit of measurement, and may mean “a basket” or whatever other primary sense (probably a container) the word **gwn** may have had. Alternatively one may translate **bgwn** “in our midst”.



C6. [Khalili IA 9]

Maximum width 160 mm.; maximum height 94 mm. Small fragment, torn and wrinkled. Part of the original top and left-hand margins preserved. Traces of earlier writing. Obviously a list of supplies. Harnesses are mentioned, although much is unclear. No date.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | גרדתך אנדרא 4 סרפי [...] |
| 2 | [...] ש ארגון אכרסת [זי] כפתוך פרברן [...] |
| 3 | [...] שיה 2 סנדסת ארגון 1 |
| 4 | [...] א סרחלץ סמגון 1 |
| 5 | [...] א סרחלץ פתכרו [...] |

ROMANIZED TEXT

- C6:1 grdtk 'ndr' 4 srpy [...]
 C6:2 [...]š 'rgwn 'krst [zy] kptwk prbrn [...]
 C6:3 [...]šyh 2 sndst 'rgwn 1
 C6:4 [...]srhlš smgwn 1
 C6:5 [']srhl[š ptk]rw [...]

TRANSLATION

- 1 Wild mountain animals (?) ...: 4. Gulps (?) of ...
- 2 ... purple wool, a garment of Cappadocia (?), gifts (?) ...
- 3 ...: 2. Purple brocade (?): 1.
- 4 ... harness (?) of black colour: 1.
- 5 [H]arne[ss decorated by a pictu]re [...]

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **grdtk:** The reading is uncertain. The word may be interpreted, with considerable hesitation, as a compound *gari-datika- “wild animals of the mountain”. A different solution may be from *gṛda-taka- “running around the house”, as a description of an animal species or of humans.

'ndr': No suitable meaning has been found for this word.

srpy: The word may be related to the well-attested Jewish Babylonian Aramaic word **šrp** (for which cf. Sokoloff 2002) or to Jewish Aramaic **šrp** “resin, balsam” (for which cf. Jastrow 1903:1633).

Line 2. **'krst:** This may be explained as *ā-kṛsta- < √krt- “to cut”, from which various words for items of dress are derived (cf. Abaev 1958/89, I:609).

kptwk: The name of Cappadocia, Greek Καππαδοκία, is attested in the Old Persian inscriptions under the form Katpatuka. The same Old Persian form serves also for the adjective “Cappadocian”; cf. Kent 1953:178. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic has the form **qpwtq'h** for the adjective “Cappadocian”, cf. Sokoloff 2002:1031. The same word occurs also in C7:2.

prbrn: At first sight this appears to represent an Iranian word which is widely attested as a loanword in Aramaic and Hebrew. **prbr** is attested in Biblical Hebrew (1Chron 26:18) and Aramaic (in the Sardis inscription, Donner and Röllig 1962:50, No. 260:3, 5); **prwr** is a variant spelling in Biblical Hebrew (2Kings 23:11), where it seems to mean “a subsidiary area in a complex of buildings”. In rabbinical Hebrew and Aramaic **prwwr**, **prwwr**³ has the meaning of “outwork, outskirts, courtyard”. The word is also known under a variety of spellings in Elamite (for a list of forms see Hinz 1975:179). Avestan *pairivāra-* means “defence, circumvallation” and Pahlavi *parwār* is defined as “citadel; circumvallation; suburb, surroundings” (MacKenzie 1971:65). New Persian has *farbāl(e)*, *farvāl(e)* denoting a summer house or the like, possibly connected to the same group of words, perhaps with the preverb *fra*. All these forms imply a structure, a group of buildings, or an area.

As none of these senses fits the present context, we need to look for another word with a more suitable meaning. The combination of the verb *bar-* with the preverb *fra* is well attested in both Avestan and Old Persian with the sense of “to give, offer, grant”. A verbal noun is found in Avestan *aš.frabərati-* “abundant offering” and *hufrabərati-* “good offering” (both in Yt 10:77). In Sogdian **fra-bara-* is represented by Sogdian (Bud.) **δβʿr-**, (Man.) **δβr-**, (Chr.) **θbr-** “to give”, i.e. *θvar-* by dissimilation from **fvar-* (cf. Gershevitch 1946:181 n. 3; 1954a:246, on §621). The noun “gift” is represented in all three varieties of Sogdian by forms which can be interpreted as *θvār* from **fra-bāra-*. The present attestation of Aramaic **prbr** may therefore be assigned the same derivation and the same sense. In this reconstruction, the final **-n** would indicate the Aramaic plural in the absolute state.

An alternative approach may however be mentioned. The Sogdian word **prβr'nh** occurring once in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (line 132) is understood by Benveniste (1946:9) to mean “offering”. If this is true, it reflects an Old Iranian word **paribarānā-*, which may also underlie our **prbrn**. Gershevitch (1954a §1032) attributes to the Sogdian word the sense of “chariot”, no doubt by comparing Sogdian (Bud., Man.) **prβʿr** “chariot” (Gharib 1995:282) and the verbal forms derived from **pari-bar-*: Sogdian (Bud.) **prβʿyr-**, (Chr.) **prbyr-** etc. “to relate, impart, explain” (references in Gharib 1995:282-283), which display the basic sense “to convey”. The similarity of Aramaic **prbrn** and Sogdian **prβr'nh** may now invite us to reconsider the interpretation of the passage in the *Vessantara Jātaka*.

Line 3. **sndst:** A New Persian word which may be related is *sundus* “brocade, silk wrought with gold or silver” (thus in Steingass 1892, where it is said to derive from Arabic, but the word is unlikely to be Semitic in origin). Iranian words often lose a final cluster *-st* when they are borrowed into Semitic; cf. Aramaic **dsqrt**³ (from **dast-kṛta-*); **ṭs**³, Arabic *ṭass* (the latter word is also attested by a later borrowing with the form *ṭast*).

Line 4. **ʾsrhlṣ:** The word seems to be composed of two Aramaic verbal forms, which may be interpreted as active participles: “binds (and) releases” or as passive participles: “bound (and) released”.

It may, at a guess, indicate something like “a harness” or “a cuirass”. It occurs also in *C7*, and as that document seems to deal with horses, “harness” would be the preferred sense.

smgwn: Old Persian **sāma-gauna-* “of black colour”.

Line 5. The text is restored following *C7:4*, where other elements similar to our text occur. Further comments on **ptkrw** will be found there.



C7. [Khalili IA 13] *Recto*



C7. [Khalili IA 13] *Verso*

C7. [Khalili IA 13]

Maximum height 190 mm.; maximum width 110 mm. Long narrow strip; the right-hand and the bottom margins are preserved. Traces of earlier writing. List of supplies, dealing with equipment for horses. No date.

Recto

1 בונה [...] 1
2 כפתוך כפות [...] 2
3 סוחתך לסוסי פר[...] 3
4 אסרלץ פתכרו 2 4
5 אספמנו 30 א[...] 5

Following a space, an illegible line (perhaps part of an earlier document)

6 [...] 6

Verso

7 כל ס 1 ח 3 7

Verso, after a large space

8 מנינא vacat סוסינ 8

ROMANIZED TEXT

C7:1 bznh [...]
C7:2 kptwk kpwt [...]
C7:3 swḥtk lswsy pr[...]
C7:4 ṣrḥlṣ ptkrw 2
C7:5 ṣpmng 30 ṣ[...]

Following a space, an illegible line (perhaps part of an earlier document):

C7:6 [...]

Verso

C7:7 kl s 1 ḥ 3

Verso, after a large space

C7:8 mnynṣ [vacat] swsyn

TRANSLATION

- 1 By this ... [of?]
- 2 Cappadocia, blue (?) ...
- 3 burnt, for the horse of Fra...
- 4 harness (?) decorated by a picture, 2.
- 5 hemp cords for horses (?), 30. ...

Following a space

6 ...

Verso

7 Total: 1 *se'a*, 3 *hufn*.

Verso, following a large space

8 The number [blank space] horses.

COMMENTARY

Line 2. **kptwk**: See above, commentary to C6:2.

kpwt: This is no doubt a designation of colour, “blue, grey-blue, pigeon-coloured, lapis lazuli”, attested in Old Persian as *kapautaka*- and in Middle Persian as *kabōd* (similarly in New Persian). Cf. Kent 1953:178, where further literature is adduced.

Line 3. **swhtk**: An adjectival form with a suffixed *-ka-* of the passive participle *suxta*- “burnt, burnished”. As the context deals with horses, this could well qualify horse-shoes.

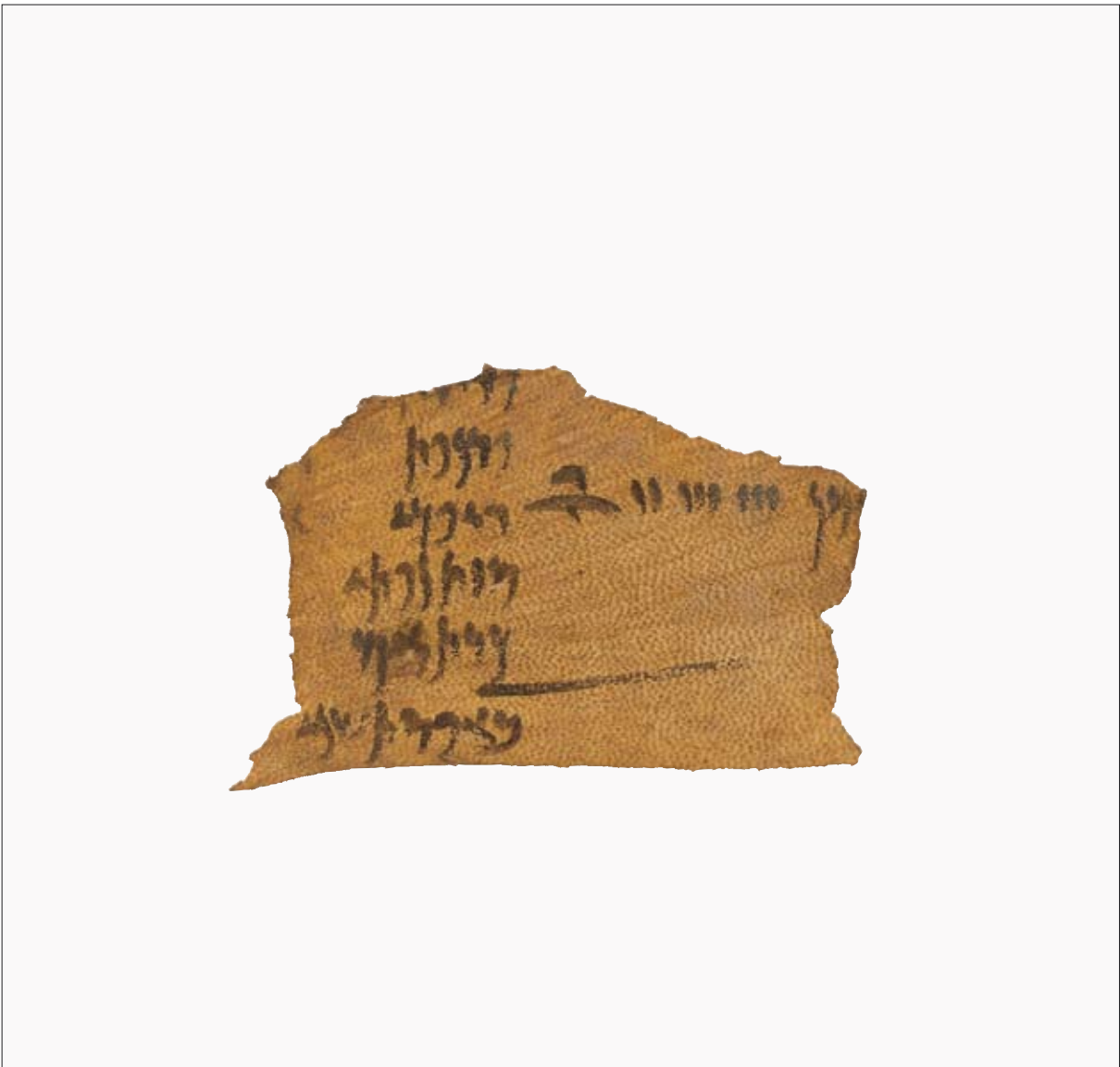
pr...: This could equally well be a Persian name or word beginning with *fra-* or the beginning of the Aramaic **prš(yn)** “horseman, horsemen”.

Line 4. **ʾsrhlš**: See above on C6:4.

ptkrw: This may be explained as a loan-word from Old Iranian **patikaravant*- “endowed with, decorated by, a picture”. *patikara*- “picture, visual representation” is known from Old Persian and is continued in Middle and New Persian *pahikar*, *paykar*; the ending *-vant*- can be represented by **-w** in Aramaic, if our interpretation of **bnw** is correct (cf. D2:2).

Line 5. **ʾspmng**: A compound of *aspa*- “horse” and *manga*-, the latter element perhaps related to Avestan *baṇha*-, which refers to hemp as a narcotic plant (Bartholomae 1904:925). See the discussion of *bang* and *mang* by Schwartz, in: Flattery and Schwartz 1989:121-129. If our identification of the word **ʾspmng** is correct, it may be used to support the interpretation of *mang* as “hemp” (and not “henbane”) at a fairly early period. Since hemp is also the source of cords, “horse-hemp” could conceivably be a designation for the cords made from hemp, possibly used as a harness.

Line 8. **mnynʾ swsn**: The first word does not have the construct form which might be expected. The fact that there is a blank space between the two words underlines the fact that they are not grammatically linked. The space may have been left free for a number to be added.



C8. [Khalili IA 12]

Maximum height 62 mm.; width c. 98 mm. The document is written in two columns, of which six lines are partly preserved. The bottom margin may be original. Apparently a list of supplies, but the subject-matter is not clear. No date.

[...]	[...]	1
פרנפת	<i>vacat</i>	2
ויפכי	800 מן[א]	3
מזתנפתי	<i>vacat</i>	4
כרתדים	<i>vacat</i>	5
<hr/>		
באפסתשני	<i>vacat</i>	6

ROMANIZED TEXT		TRANSLATION
C8:1 [...]	[...]	<i>Right-hand column</i>
C8:2 [<i>vacat</i>]	prnpt	3 800 cubits.
C8:3 [ʾ]mn 800	wypky	<i>Left-hand column</i>
		1 ...
		2 Farnapata
		3 Vahyahpakaya
C8:4 [<i>vacat</i>]	mztnpty	4 Mazatanupati
C8:5 [<i>vacat</i>]	krtwym	5 Kartadaima
<hr/>		<hr/>
C8:6 [<i>vacat</i>]	bʾpstšny	6 In Upastachini

COMMENTARY

Right-hand column, line 3. The reading ʾmn, partly restored, is conjectural.

Left-hand column, lines 2-5. A series of what may be taken to be personal names.

prnpt: Farna(h)-pāta could signify “Protected by the (divine) splendour”: a similar name is attested for a Parthian military commander, whose name in the Greek sources is written Φαρναπότης (with some other variant spellings; cf. Justi 1895:103).

wypky: The name may contain *va(h)ya(h)- “better”, but is otherwise obscure.

mztnpty: Maza-tanu-pati, perhaps “Chief of (the men) with a great body”.

krtwym: Karta-daima(n), perhaps “Having a knife-like gaze”.

Line 6. **bʾpstšny:** Upastačani or Upastačini seems to be a toponym, which may be explained as meaning “seeking a shelter” or “selecting a shelter”, from *upasta- “lap; a secure place; a place”, attested in Old Indian *upastha-*, and reconstructed for Old Iranian on the basis of Ossetic *bæstæ* “country, region, world” (cf. Abaev 1958/89, I:254f.), with a form of the verb *kan-* “to wish” or *kay-* “to select”.



C9. [Khalili IA 27]

Maximum height 213 mm; maximum width 120 mm. Apparently a fragment of a list, of which only the ending of some of the longer lines is preserved, hence the unusually large gaps between the lines. There may be up to two invisible shorter lines between lines 1 and 4, as well as between lines 4 and 7. Since the visible portion of this list is so fragmentary, one can hardly attempt a reconstruction of its meaning. It could provide details of provisions given to groups of people residing in specific places; alternatively, it could deal with taxes levied on groups of people, with their places of residence indicated; or it could, as a further alternative, allocate the places of residence to groups, whose names look like those of tribes. No date.

1 [...]זנוכך
2 [...]
3 [...]
4 [...]בזי חשית וסמכך
5 [...]
6 [...]
7 [...]בני דימך זרתנגרשכך

ROMANIZED TEXT

C9:1 [...]znwkn
C9:2 [...]
C9:3 [...]
C9:4 [...]b]ny ḥšyt wsmkn
C9:5 [...]
C9:6 [...]
C9:7 [...] bny dymk zrtngrškn

TRANSLATION

1 [...] (of) ...]zanukana
2 ...
3 ...
4 [...] the s]ons of Khshaita (of) Vasamakana.
5 ...
6 ...
7 [...] the sons of Daimaka (of) Zaratanugarichakana.

COMMENTARY

Line 4. **ḥšyt:** Xšaita is a name which signifies “bright, luminous”. Cf. Mayrhofer 1973:228 (No. 8.1470), 232 (No. 8.1530), and Hinz 1975:134, where further references are given.

wsmkn: The initial *waw* is probably part of the name, hence we may read Vasamakāna, presumably a patronym or an adjective referring to a place of origin or residence.

Line 7. **dymk:** Possibly connected to Avestan *daēman*- “eye, gaze”, in later Iranian (e.g. New Persian *dīm*) “face, countenance”.

zrtngrškn: One may propose here a compound place-name: *Zara-tanu-gariš or (with a diminutive suffix) -gariča- “the gold-bodied mountain”. Cf. the place name **zrt(n)y** in C4:22 and perhaps also in A9:3.



C10. [Khalili IA10]

Maximum width 95 mm.; height c. 40 mm. Tiny piece of leather with only one line. Label. No date.

1 זנה אוסתך גונכן ברי

ROMANIZED TEXT

C10:1 znh ʾwstk gwnkn bry

TRANSLATION

1 This is the document (of) Gaunakana Barya (?).

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ʾwstk:** Almost certainly an Old Persian word, but it is difficult to establish its form and meaning in the absence of a larger context. It could presumably indicate a type of document, deriving from Old Persian **ava-stāka-* (?), cf. Old Persian *ava-stā-* “set down, place, restore” (Kent 1953:210), Sogdian **ʾwst-**, **ʾwstʾt-** etc. “to place, set, set up”, hence, in all likelihood, “establishment, settlement; document”. The word in this sense could be connected with Middle Persian *ōstīgān* “reliable, sure, strong, stable”, often used in connection with documents. As the small fragment may have been intended to serve as a label, a possible alternative is that **ʾwstk** designates some kind of receptacle or commodity, but no suitable Iranian word comes to mind.

gwnkn: The word looks like a personal name with the suffix *-kāna-* typical of patronyms. A personal name Gaunaka, perhaps meaning “Hairy”, has been reconstructed from Elamite sources; cf. Hinz 1975:105, where previous literature is listed.

bry: In the absence of meaningful context it is difficult to determine the sense of this word. It could be a loanword from Iranian, perhaps a derivative of *bar-* “to bring, carry”. Hardly a form of Aramaic *bar* “son”, which would only be possible if one were to assume that this is a very early instance of ideographic writing (**gwnkn BRY** = “the son of the Gaunaka family”). It seems more likely that this is a personal name, *Bārya* “delicate, noble” or the like, an Old Persian word which has been reconstructed from an Elamite transcription and which survives in Middle Persian *bārīg*; cf. Hinz 1975:64.

D. Tallies

General remarks

The tallies are inscribed with ink on the flat surface of a wooden stick cut lengthwise in two halves, of which only one is extant. In some cases the inscription continues on the back, or curved, side. The tallies carry notches, which are marked as a rule on the back or curved side of the sticks, close to the edge. These notches can be found on one edge of the stick or on both. They are evidently meant to indicate quantities of supplies given and received. There are three types of incisions: A distinction is made between broad and narrow incisions, and there are also in some cases incisions which are angular in shape, forming a pattern like this: Λ . The intended denomination is not specified, but the hierarchy, descending from angular to broad and to regular, suggests that large, medium and small units of weight or capacity are meant (e.g. *gun*, *ardab*, and *griv* or *se'a*), or perhaps large in contrast to small numbers (e.g. hundreds, tens and units).

The numbers relating to angular incisions are printed in this book in boldface, with a larger font, and underlined (**1**); those referring to broad incisions are printed in boldface with a regular size font (**1**), while that of the narrow incisions is given in regular font (1). We count the notches from right to left looking at the curved surface (the only way they are clearly visible) when the notches are aligned to the right, the way they were undoubtedly made. Groups of notches intended to be read as a single figure are separated from each other by a comma; a more pronounced space, probably intended to distinguish between different occasions, is marked by a semi-colon.

The right-to-left counting seems natural when the writing also runs from right to left, and it is supported by the fact that when read in this way the groups of notches that combine angular, broad and narrow incisions start as a rule with the larger values.

I. “FROM GAUZA”



D1. [Khalili T1]

197x20 mm. The number of notches above, 1, 6; 3; 4, 8; 1, 3; 4, 8. Below, 9, 4, 6, 4. Total, 61 notches. There is a single additional narrow incision at the end of the line of writing on the curved surface, at some distance to the left of the writing, which may have been used for another purpose, e.g. to mark the end of the inscription or the conclusion of the transaction.

On the flat surface

1 עם תתך מן גוזה בשנת 3 דריוהוש מלכא

On the curved surface

2 תנין [vacat] —

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D1:1 ‘m ttk mn gwzh bšnt 3 drywhwš mlk’

Curved surface

D1:2 tny [vacat] —

TRANSLATION

Flat surface

1 With Taitaka, from Gauza, in the year 3 of Darius the King.

Curved surface

2 A second (tally).

COMMENTARY

Line 1. ‘**m**: In Aramaic “with” usually indicates the debtor. In this case, it presumably indicates the person who receives (and therefore holds) the goods concerned, and as a result is indebted to the other party. “From” indicates the person who hands out the goods; as these seem to be official transactions, the person mentioned after “from” is presumably an official in charge of supplies. The expression ‘**my** “with me (there is)” occurs in the sense of “I owe” in Papyrus Wadi Murabba‘at No. 18 (*DJD*, II:100-104); Papyrus Wadi Seyal No. 13 (*DJD*, XXVII:65-70, a text defined as “a receipt for a ketubba”, see Yardeni and Greenfield 1996); Papyrus Wadi Seyal No. 49 (*DJD*, XXVII:121-22); also in a Nabatean Aramaic papyrus from Naḥal Ḥever (No. 1:13) in Yadin *et alii* 2002: 178-179.

The reading of the name **ttk** as Taitaka is based on the Bactrian form Τητοκο (cf. Sims-Williams 2000:156, Document af1), for advice on which we thank N. S-W. The reading of the other name, **gwzh**, is not transparent. It could be Gauza, for which one may compare the name

reconstructed from Elamite, Gauzaina (cf. Hinz 1975:106, with literature), which has been suggested to derive from the root *gauz-* “to hide”; or Gavāza “cattle-prod” (cf. Bartholomae 1904:511).

Line 2. **tnyn:** This word seems to imply the existence of a previous tally with the same name or names. There are in fact two other tallies with **ttk** in this collection (D9, D15), and there are 6 altogether with the name **gwzh** (D1-D6), but we have no other tally with the two names combined. It is noteworthy that **ttk** is always used with the preposition ‘**m** and that **gwzh** consistently takes the preposition **mn**. On the basis of what is said above concerning the function of the preposition “with” in these tallies, one may conclude that Taitaka received rations or the like from all three of the suppliers known to us. Taitaka is the recipient most frequently named in the tallies. Of the other recipients, only Khshathraka occurs more than once (D4 and D18).

There is a curved horizontal line in the middle of the line. At the far left there is an incision. These could conceivably indicate the conclusion of the account.



D2. [Khalili T2]

227x20 mm. The writing on the curved surface goes in the opposite direction to that of the flat surface, and is justified to the left. The notches are aligned in the opposite direction, and need to be looked at when the writing is upside down on that side: Above, 1, 6; 1, 7; 4, 7; 1, 7; 4, 7. Below, 4; 6; 7; 1, 6; 1, 6. Total, 77 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם בגיז מן גוזה בשנת 3 דריוהוש מלכא

On the curved side (writted in the same direction)

2 [vacat] חור בנו 3 חלף שחדן

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D2:1 'm bgyz mn gwzh bšnt 3 drywhwš mlk'

Curved surface (written in the same direction)

D2:2 [vacat] ḥwr bnw 3 ḥlp šḥdn

TRANSLATION

Flat surface

1 With Bagayaza. From Gauza. In the 3 of Darius the King.

Curved surface

2 Three white (and) resplendent [*items not specified*] in exchange for gifts.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. Baga-yaza is a personal name meaning “Worshipper of Baga”.

Line 2. The line is aligned to the left, perhaps because the writing is in the same direction as the writing on the flat side (so that the two sides are aligned to the same extremity of the tally). The notches above and below the writing on the curved side seem also to be justified to the left. This is the only tally which seems to give an indication as to the substance supplied. **ḥwr** “white” usually indicates white flour, which is considered to be of good quality. The other words in this line are enigmatic, and the translation offered is conjectural.

bnw: This could be related to **bnwy**³, which occurs in Cowley 1923, No. 9:12, in the sense of “construction, building” (cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:173), but the meaning seems unsuitable for the context. One may alternatively propose to regard it as a loanword connected to Old Iranian *bānu-* “ray or beam of light” (Bartholomae 1904:954), used

perhaps as an adjective close in sense to Aramaic **ḥwr** “white”. One regularly formed adjective from this noun, attested in Avestan, would correspond to Old Persian **bānuvant-*; its nominative might be **bānuva*, which would be spelled **bnw** in Aramaic (cf. the assumed treatment of **amavant-* in **ṣmwdt**, C4:22, and of **nāfavant-* in **npwzt**, D16). If this is the sense of the word, we are left without the noun qualified by the two adjectives. The text of the tallies is by its nature compressed, and one is left wondering what might be implied by the figure “3” and whether **bnw** could be used as another term for high-quality flour.



D3. [Khalili T9]

115x19 mm. The number of notches is: Above, 4, 9, 4. Below, 3; 1, 3; 1. Total, 22.

On the flat surface

1 עם סריבר מן גוזה בשנת 3
2 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D3:1 'm srybr mn gwzh bšnt 3

D3:2 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Saryabara. From Gauza. In the year 3
- 2 (of) Darius the king.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **srybr:** A personal name which contains the element *-bara-* “carrier”; the first element could be *sarya-* “dung, manure” (cf. Bartholomae 1904:1567).



D4. [Khalili T11]

253x20 mm. The number of notches from right to left, when held with the notches aligned to the right: Above, 1, 6; 6; 3; 9; 1; 3, 5; 7. Below, 7; 1; 1, 2; 4, 1; 1, 5; 4, 1. Total, 68 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם חשתרך מן גוזה בשנת 3 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D4:1 'm ḥštrk mn gwzh bšnt 3 drywhwš mlk'

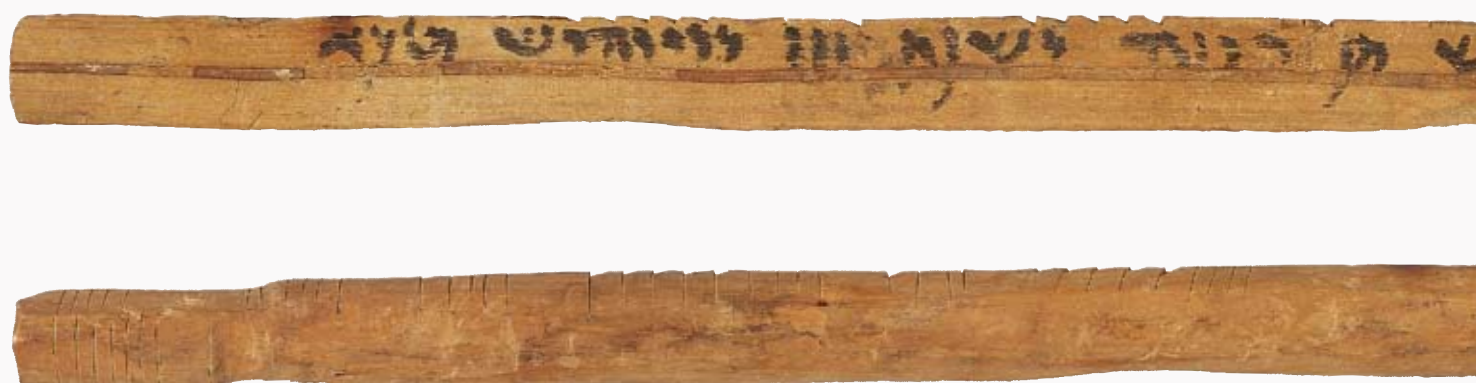
TRANSLATION

1 With Khshathraka. From Gauza. In the year 3 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ḥštrk:** This name, a derivative of *xšaθra-* “kingdom”, also occurs in D18, where there is no indication “from” whom the supply was received.





D5. [Khalili T12]

228x20 mm. The number of notches is: Above, 6; 1. Below, 5; 6; **1**, 4; **5**, 4; **1**, 3; **5**, 4.
Total, 45 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם בגיש מן גוזה בשנת 3 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D5:1 'm bgyš mn gwzh bšnt 3 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

1 With Bagaicha. From Gauza. In the year 3 (of) Darius the King.





D6. [Khalili T14]

207x22 mm. The stick is not straight. The surface is badly damaged, perhaps already in antiquity, on the side which contains the end of the inscription. The number of notches is: Above, 3, 3; 1, 3; 1, 2; 4; 1, 3+ (?). No notches below. Total, 21+ notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם ספית להח'י מן גוזה בשנת [3 דריוהוש]
2 מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D6:1 'm spyt *rhhy* mn gwzh bšnt [3 drywhwš]

D6:2 mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Spaita **rhhy**. From Gauza. In the year [3 (of) Darius]
2 the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **spyt rhhy**: The first word is the fairly widespread personal name meaning “White”, see A4:2. The second word may be read alternatively **dhhy**, but neither reading can be explained. If a corruption from ***hrhy** is proposed, this could be related to Haraxvati, the Iranian name of Arachosia, assuming that the *-ti-* ending could be omitted.

II. “FROM ABUDI”



D7. [Khalili T4]

92-93x20 mm. Number of notches: Above, 3, 2. No notches below. Total, 5 (all broad incisions).

On the flat surface

1 עם פתיר מן אבודי בשנת
2 3 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D7:1 'm ptyr mn 'bwdy bšnt

D7:2 3 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Patiyara. From Abudi. In the year
- 2 3 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ptyr:** If the reading offered here is correct this name means “Adversary”, cf. Middle Persian *petyār(ag)*, used as a designation of the devil; rather strange as a personal name.

'bwdy: The name is difficult to explain.



D8. [Khalili T5]

C. 90x18 mm. Number of notches: Above, 3, 3; 2, 3. No notches below (but there is a shallow break that looks like a notch). Total, 11 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם תירי <מן> אבודי בשנת
2 3 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D8:1 'm tyry <mn> 'bwdy bšnt

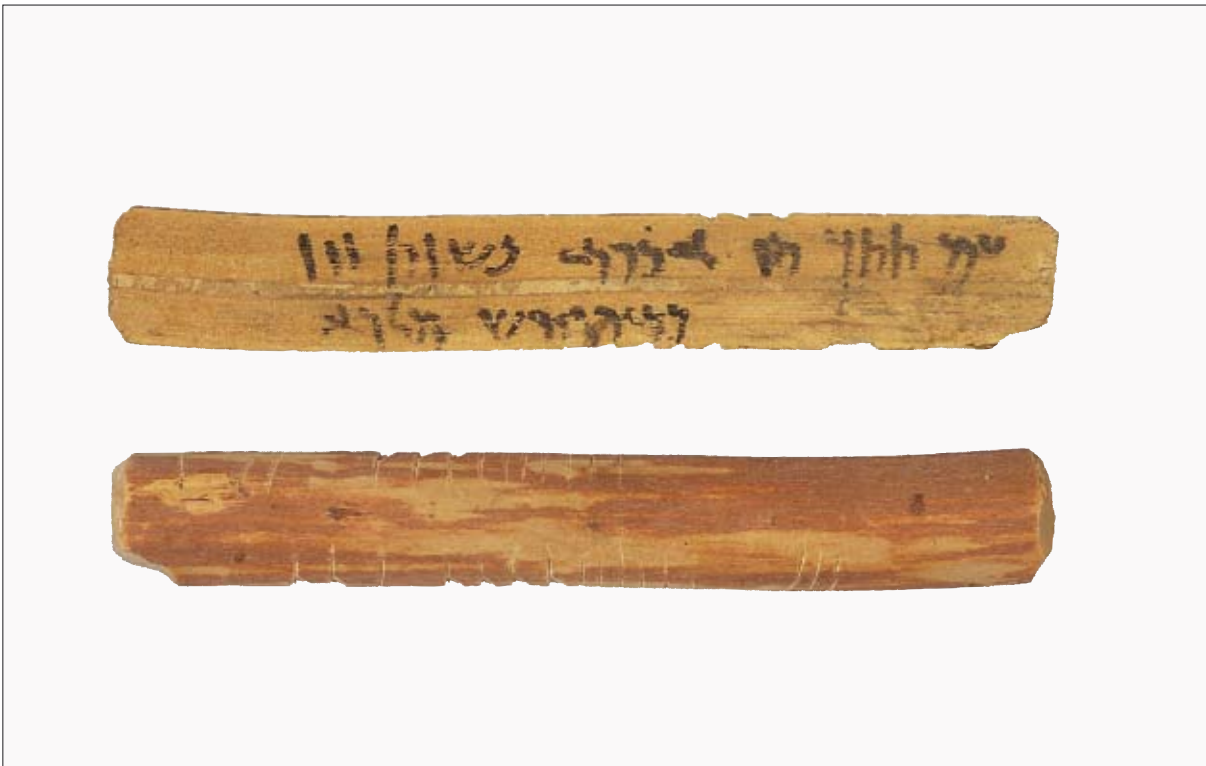
D8:2 3 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Tiri. <From> Abudi. In the year
- 2 3 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **tyry:** Tīr(a)ya, a name associated with the deity Tīri, Tīra; it could be an abbreviation from a common theophoric name such as Tīri-dāta; cf. references in Mayrhofer 1973:239-240; Hinz 1975:237-238.



D9. [Khalili T6]

125x18 mm. Number of notches: Above, 2, 1; 4, 6; 3. Below, 1; 2; 3, 7. Total, 16 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם תתך מן אבודי בשנת 3
2 vacat דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D9:1 'm ttk mn 'bwdy bšnt 3

D9:2 [vacat] drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Taitaka. From Abudi. In the year 3
- 2 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ttk**: Cf. above, D1.



D10. [Khalili T10]

155x16 mm. Number of notches: Above, 3, **5**; **2**, 5; 7. Below: 2; **2**, 8; **6**; **1**, 1. Total, 42 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם וכנו <מן> אבודי בשנת 3
2 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D10:1 'm wknw <mn> 'bwdy bšnt 3

D10:2 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Vikanu. <From> Abudi. In the year 3
- 2 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **wknw**: The name is not clear. Perhaps Vi-kana-va(nt) “Destroyer” (?).



D11. [Khalili T15]

187x20 mm. Number of notches: Above, 5; 2, 9, 3. Below, 6; 2, 3, 7.

On the flat surface

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| עם שרתוך | 1 |
| דריוהוש מלכא | 2 |

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D11:1 'm šrtwk <mn> prtn w'bwdy bšnt 3

D11:2 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | With Charatuka. <From> Paritana and Abudi. In the year 3 |
| 2 | (of) Darius the King. |

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **šrtwk prtn w'bwdy:** It is doubtful whether **mn** is to be restored before **prtn**, which would make this the only case of two “suppliers” in this group of tallies; or whether it should be placed before **'bwdy**, in which case one would have to take the *waw* preceding **'bwdy** as an error. The personal names are not easy to explain. The first may contain an element *čāra*- “means, instrument”, or *čara*- “to pasture”, while *Pari-tana* may mean “One who keeps (something) away”, cf. Bartholomae 1904:633.



D12. [Khalili T17]

143x20 mm. Number of notches: Above, 1; 6, 5; 1, 6; 1, 4. Below, 3; 3, 2; 3, 8; 5. Total, 48.

On the flat surface

1 עם ניק מן אבודי בשנת 3
2 דריוהוש מלכא vacat

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D12:1 'm nyk mn 'bwdy bšnt 3

D12:2 [vacat] drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Nayaka. From Abudi. In the year 3
- 2 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **nyk:** The name may be connected to the root *nay-* “to lead”, hence perhaps “Leader”.



D13. [Khalili T18]

129x13 mm. Number of notches: Above, 5; 4; 1, 8, 1. Below, 2, 4. Total, 25 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם אדואפ <מן> אבודי בשנת 3
2 דריוהוש מלכא *vacat*

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D13:1 'm 'dw'p <mn> 'bdy bšnt 3

D13:2 [*vacat*] drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With Aduapa. <From> Abudi. In the year 3
- 2 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. 'dw'p: Possibly Ādu-āpa “Having seed and water” (?). The reading of the name is uncertain. One could also think of 'wp'p, 'pw'p.

III. “FROM UPARIVANA”



D14. [Khalili T7]

127x23 mm. Above the writing, from left to right: 8, 6, 1, 2; 6 notches (total 23 notches). Below the writing: 3, 3, 1 (total 7 notches).

On the flat surface

1 עם אחפזי קופתש מן אפרון
2 בשנת 3 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D14:1 'm 'ḥpwy qwptš mn 'prwn

D14:2 bšnt 3 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

- 1 With 'ḥpwy Kaufatacha (?). From Uparivana.
- 2 In the year 3 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. 'ḥpwy qwptš: The two names are unfamiliar and hard to explain. The first name may be speculatively interpreted as *ax'a-pav-ya-, which may contain a reference to “pure existence”. The second, if it can be assumed to reflect an Iranian name (which is unlikely, in view of the fact that it contains a q), as Kaufa-tača “Mountain-runner”.

'prwn: personal name, Upari-vana “Victorious over (all)”.



D15. [Khalili T13]

175x19 mm. Number of notches: Above, 1; 2; 1, 6; 3, 8; 2. Below, 5, 4, 3, 9.
Total, 44 notches.

On the flat surface:

1 עם תתך מן אפרון בשנת 3 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D15:1 'm ttk mn 'prwn bšnt 3 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

1 With Taitaka. From Uparivana. In the year 3 (of) Darius the King.



D16. [Khalili T16]

190x24 mm. Number of notches: Above, 1; 2; 9, 2; 4, 3. Below, 3; 5; 7; 2, 1; 7.
Total, 46 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם נפוזת מן אפרון בשנת 3 דריוהוש מלכא

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D16:1 'm npwzt mn 'prwn bšnt 3 drywhwš mlk'

TRANSLATION

1 With Nafavazata. From Uparivana. In the year 3 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **npwzt:** The first element in this name is probably *nāfa*- “family”. The whole name may be reconstructed as *Nāfava(n)-zāta* “Born from someone belonging to a (distinguished) family”. The name may refer to a father who could be called *Nāfavant*, a name which has been reconstructed from Elamite (cf. Hinz 1975:175).

IV. “FROM” NOT INDICATED



D17. [Khalili T3]

87x13 mm. Number of notches: Above, 3, 8; 3, 4. Below, 1, 8. Total, 27 notches.

On the flat surface

עם שתריכר {עם.ל.} [vacat] 1
בשנת 3 2

On the curved surface (written in the opposite direction)

דריוהוש מלכא 3

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D17:1 ‘m štrykr [vacat] {‘m.l...}
D17:2 bšnt 3

On the curved surface (written in the opposite direction):

D17:3 drywhwš mlkʿ

TRANSLATION

Flat surface

- 1 With Chithriya-kara. [blank space] {With ...}
- 2 In the year 3

Curved surface

- 3 (of) Darius the King.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **štrykr:** The first element of the name is probably to be derived from *čiθra-* “seed, descendance, appearance”; Čiθriya-kara would mean approximately “One who makes (people) to be with a pretty or cheerful countenance”. For **čiθriya-* we may compare Middle Persian *čihrīg* which denotes, amongst other things, “having a pretty face”.

On the left-hand side there is writing that seems to have been deliberately rubbed off.



D18. [Khalili T8]

75x19 mm. Number of notches: Above, **3**. Below, after a space, **3**, **5**. Total, 11 notches.

On the flat surface

1 עם חשתרך

ROMANIZED TEXT

Flat surface

D18:1 'm ḥštrk

TRANSLATION

1 With Khshathraka.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. **ḥštrk**: See above, D4.

Bibliography

Glossary

Index

Bibliography

- Abaev, V. I. 1958/89. *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, 4 vols., Moscow and Leningrad.
- Ačařean, Hr. 1971/9. *Hayeren armatakan bařaran*, 4 vols., Erevan.
- Adamec, Ludwig W. 1979. *Historical and political gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Vol. 4, Mazar-i-Sharif and north-central Afghanistan, Graz: Akademie.
- Ahmed, Sami S. 1968. "Geography of Bactria in Greek sources", *Afghanistan. Historical and Cultural Quarterly* vol. 20, No. 4:27-39.
- Arrian. *Anabasis Alexandri; Indica*, 2 vols., tr. E. I. Robson and P. A. Brunt (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Ma. and London, 1967/83. *The campaigns of Alexander*, tr. A. de Sélincourt, rev. J. R. Hamilton (The Penguin Classics), London: Penguin, 1971.
- Avot de-Rabbi Natan: Aboth de Rabbi Nathan ...* ed. Solomon Schechter, Vienna 1887 [Reprinted in: *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan. Solomon Schechter edition*, Prolegomenon by Menahem Kister, New York and Jerusalem 1997].
- Badian, Ernst. 1965. "The administration of the empire", *Greece and Rome* 12:166-182.
- 1985. "Alexander in Iran", Chapter 8 in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2, edited by I. Gershevitch, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 420-501.
- Bailey, H. W. 1946. "Gāndhāri", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11:764-797.
- 1953. "Analecta indoscythica I", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 95-116.
- 1979. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge.
- Bal'amī, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. 1995. *Tārīxnāme-ye Ṭabarī gardānīde-ī mansūb be Bal'amī*, ed. Moḥammad Rowšan, 2 vols., Tehran: Soruš 1374.
- Ball, Warwick ; and Jean-Claude Gardin. 1982. *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan*, 2 vols., Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations.
- Barnett, R. D. 1974. *Catalogue of the permanent and loan collections of the Jewish Museum London*, London: Harvey Miller.
- Barthold, W. 1968. *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 3rd edition (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial), London: Luzac.
- 1984. *An historical geography of Iran*, tr. Svat Soucek, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Modern Classics in Near Eastern Studies), Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press [Translation of: *Istoriko-geografičeskij obzor Irana*, Moscow, 1971].
- Bartholomae, Christian. 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg [Reprint, Berlin 1961].
- 1916. *Zur Kenntnis der mittelliranischen Mundarten*, I (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrg. 1916, 9. Abhandlung), Heidelberg.
- Ben-Ḥayyim, Zeev. 1967. *Yvrit ve-aramit nusah šomeron*. Vol. 3, Book 2, Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language [*The literary and oral tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*].
- Benveniste, Émile. 1935. *Les infinitifs avestiques*, Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- 1945a. "Études iraniennes", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 39-78.
- 1945b. "Deux noms divins dans l'Avesta", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 130:13-16.
- 1946. *Vessantara Jātaka. Texte sogdien édité, traduit et commenté* (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, Série in-quarto, IV), Paris.
- 1954. "Éléments perses en araméen d'Égypte", *Journal Asiatique* 242:297-310.
- 1964. "Éléments parthes en arménien", *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* N.S. 1:1-39.
- 1966. *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien* (Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de Paris, 1), Paris.
- Bernard, Paul. 1998. "Greek geography and literary fiction from Bactria to India: the case of the Aornoi and Taxila", in: M. Alram and D. E. Klimburg-Salter (eds.), *Coins, art and chronology*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 51-98.
- Beyer, Klaus. 1984. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Geniza, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Bickerman, Elias J. 1967. "The 'Zoroastrian' calendar", *Archiv Orientalní* 35:197-207.
- Bivar, A. D. H. 1985. "Achaemenid coins, weights and measures", Chapter 12 in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2, edited by Ilya Gershevitch, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 610-639.
- Black, Jeremy; Andrew George; and Nicholas Postgate (eds.). 2000. *A concise dictionary of Akkadian*, 2nd (corrected) printing (SANTAG 5), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bogoljubov, M. N. 1971. "O neskol'kyx terminax v rasporjaženii Aršama o remonte korablja", *Voprosy filologii stran Azii i Afriki* (Festschrift I. N. Vinnikov), Leningrad, 15-19.

- Bogoljubov, M.N.; and O.I. Smirnova. 1963a. *Xozjajstvennye dokumenty. Čtenie, perevod i komentarii* (Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug, vypusk 3), Moscow.
- 1963b. “Xozjajstvennye dokumenty iz mugskogo sobranija (Raspiski)”, *Ėpigrafika Vostoka* 16:115-126.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1980a. *A historical commentary on Arrian's 'History of Alexander'. Vol. 1: Commentary on Books I-III*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1980b. “Alexander and the Iranians”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100:1-21.
- Bosworth, C.E. 1986a. “Khulm”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5:47-48.
- 1986b. “Kūmis”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5:377-378.
- Bowman, Raymond A. 1970. *Aramaic ritual texts from Persepolis* (The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XCI), Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Boyce, Mary 1975/1991. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, 3 vols. [vol. 3 (1991) with Frantz Grenet] (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, 8. Band, 1. Abschnitt, Lieferung 2, Heft 2), Leiden etc.: Brill.
- Bresciani, E.; and M. Kamil. 1966. *Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli* (Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno 363; Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, serie VIII, vol. XII, fasc. 5), Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
- Briant, Pierre. 1984. *L'Asie Centrale et les royaumes proche-orientaux du premier millénaire (c. VIII-IVe siècles avant notre ère)* (Mémoire No. 42), Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations.
- 1996. *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris: Fayard.
- 2003. *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre*, Paris: Fayard.
- Brothwell, Don; and Patricia Brothwell. 1998. *Food in Antiquity. A survey of the diet of early peoples*, Expanded edition, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Browne, Edward G. 1894. “Description of an old Persian commentary on the *Qurʾān*”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 417-524.
- Burhān, Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Xalaf Tabrīzī. 1342 AHŠ. *Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Muʿīn, 2nd printing, 5 vols., Tehran.
- Cameron, George G. 1948. *Persepolis treasury tablets* (Oriental Institute Publications, 65), Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cancik, Hubert; and Helmuth Schneider (eds.). 1996-. *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler.
- Centlivres, Pierre. 1972. *Un bazar d'Asie Centrale. Forme et organisation du bazar de Tāshqurghān (Afghanistan)* (Beiträge zur Iranistik), Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Charpentier, C.J. 1972. *Bazar-e Tashqurghan—ethnographical studies in an Afghan traditional bazaar* (Studia ethnographica uppsaliensia, 26), Uppsala.
- Christensen, Arthur. 1944. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2e éd., Copenhagen.
- Cooke, G.A. 1903. *A text-book of the North-Semitic inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish*, Oxford.
- Cowley, A.E. 1923. *Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford.
- Darmesteter, James. 1883. *Études iraniennes*, 2 vols., Paris.
- Diakonoff, I.M.; and V.A. Livshits. 1966. “Novye naxodki dokumentov v staroj Nise”, *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik* 2:134-157.
- 1997-2001. *Parthian economic documents from Nisa*, Texts I, ed. D.N. MacKenzie, A.N. Bader and N. Sims-Williams (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II, Vol. II), London: CII and SOAS.
- Diringer, David. 1953. *The alphabet. A key to the history of mankind*, New York: Philosophical Library.
- DJD = Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, Oxford.
- Donner, H.; and Wolfgang Röllig. 1966/71. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols., 2nd edition, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. (=KAI)
- Driver, G.R. 1954. *Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1957. *Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Abridged and revised edition, with help from a typescript by E. Mittwoch, W.B. Henning, H.J. Polotsky, F. Rosenthal, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Eilers, Wilhelm. 1940. *Iranische Beamtennamen in der Keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*, Teil 1 (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft), Leipzig.
- 1954/6. “Neue aramäische Urkunden aus Ägypten”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17:322-335.
- 1955. “Altpersische Miscellen I”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* NF Bd. 17 (51):225-236.
- Emmerick, Ronald E. 1966. “Some reinterpretations in the Avesta”, *Transactions of the Philological Society* pp. 1-23.
- 1969. “Avestan *ādū* again”, *Transactions of the Philological Society* pp. 201-202.

- Encyclopaedia Biblica / Ensiqlopedia miqra'it*. 9 vols., 4th printing, Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1972-1988.
- Engels, Donald W. 1978. *Alexander the Great and the logistics of the Macedonian army*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.
- Eph'al, Israel; and Joseph Naveh. 1996. *Aramaic ostraca of the fourth century BC from Idumaea*, Jerusalem: The Magnes Press and Israel Exploration Society.
- Epstein, J. N. 1921/22. "Notes on post-Talmudic Aramaic lexicography. II. Sheeltot", *JQR* NS 12:299-390 [Hebrew version in Idem, *Mehqarim be-sifrut hattalmud u-bi-lšonot šemiyyot*, I, Jerusalem: Magnes 1984, pp. 85-135]
- Even-Shoshan, Abraham. 1966. *Hammillon hehadaš*, 7th printing, Jerusalem.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 1974. "Some notes on Aramaic epistolography", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93:201-225.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A.; and Daniel J. Harrington. 1978. *A manual of Palestinian Aramaic texts* (Biblica et Orientalia, 34), Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
- Flattery, David Stophlet; and Martin Schwartz. 1989. *Haoma and harmaline. The botanical identity of the Indo-Iranian sacred hallucinogen "soma" and its legacy in religion, language and Middle Eastern folklore*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.
- Folmer, M. L. 1995. *The Aramaic language in the Achaemenid period. A study in linguistic variation* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 68), Leuven: Peeters.
- Foucher, A.; and E. Bazin-Foucher. 1942/7. *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (Mém. DAFA, 1), 2 vols., Paris.
- Frei, Peter; and Klaus Koch. 1996. *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich*, 2., bearbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage (Orbis Biblicum und Orientalis, 55), Freiburg, Schweiz and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Frye, R. N. 1984. *The history of ancient Iran* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 3. Abt., 7. Teil). München.
- Geiger, Bernhard. 1930. "Zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Aramäischen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 37:195-203.
- 1935. "Mittelpersische Wörter und Sachen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 42:114-128.
- 1937. [Notes on Iranian words *apud*:] S. Krauss, *Additamenta ad librum Aruch Completum Alexandri Kohut (Tosefot he-‘arukh haššalem)*. [Reprint: New York 1955].
- Gershevitch, Ilya. 1946. "On the Sogdian St. George passion", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 179-184 [Reprinted in: Gershevitch 1985:19-24].
- 1954a. *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Publications of the Philological Society), Oxford.
- 1954b. "A Parthian title in the Hymn of the Soul", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 124-126 [Reprinted in: Gershevitch 1985:162-164].
- 1959. *The Avestan hymn to Mithra* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, 4), Cambridge University Press.
- 1969a. "Amber at Persepolis", *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata*, Rome, II:167-251.
- 1969b. "Iranian nouns and names in Elamite garb", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, pp. 165-200.
- 1972. "Notes on the toponyms Āsh and Nisā", *Iran* 10:124-125 [Reprinted in: Gershevitch 1985:262-264].
- 1985. *Philologia iranica*, selected and edited by N. Sims-Williams (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 12), Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- Gharib, Badrezzaman. 1995. *Sogdian dictionary*, Tehran: Farhang Publications.
- Ghilain, A. 1939. *Essai sur la langue parthe. Son système verbal d'après les textes manichéens du Turkestan oriental* (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 9), Louvain.
- Gibb, H. A. R. 1923. *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, New York [Reprint, New York 1970].
- Gignoux, Philippe. 1977. *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary series, 1), London: Lund Humphries.
- 1986. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, herausg. von M. Mayrhofer und R. Schmitt. Bd. II, Faszikel 2: *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse; Sonderpublikation der iranischen Kommission), Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Ginsburger, Moses. 1899. *Das Fragmententhargum (Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch)*, Berlin.
- Gnoli, Gherardo. 1980. *Zoroaster's time and homeland. A study on the origins of Mazdaism*

- and related problems (Istituto Universitario Orientale. Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor, VII), Naples.
- 1985. *De Zoroastre à Mani. Quatre leçons au Collège de France* (Travaux de l'Institut d'études Iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 11), Paris.
- Green, Peter. 1992. *Alexander of Macedon, 356-323 B.C. A historical biography*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.
- Greenfield, J. C. 1982. "Some notes on the Arsham letters", in: S. Shaked (ed.), *Irano-Judaica*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 4-11.
- 1983. "Aramaic hñšl and some biblical passages", in: *Meqor Hayyim. Festschrift für Georg Molin zum 75. Geburtstag*, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, pp. 115-119 [=Greenfield 2001:214-216].
- 1990. "The Aramaic legal texts of the Achaemenian period", *Transeuphratène* 2:85-92 [=Greenfield 2001:305-312].
- 1991. "Le-šurat hammaqor baššetarot ha-aramiyyim mi-wwadi murabba'at u-minnaḥal ḥever", in: *Šay le-Ḥayyim Rabin. Asufat meḥqerei lašon li-khvodo bimlot lo šiv'im ve-ḥameš*, Jerusalem, pp. 77-81.
- 2001. 'Al kanfei Yonah. *Collected studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic philology*, ed. S. M. Paul, M. E. Stone and A. Pinnick, 2 vols., Leiden etc.: Brill and Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Greenfield, J. C.; and Bezalel Porten. 1982. *The Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great. Aramaic version* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part I, vol. V), London.
- Grenet, Frantz. 2002. "Zoroastre au Badakhshān", *Studia Iranica* 31:193-214.
- Grenet, Frantz; and Claude Rapin. 1998. "Alexander, Aī Khanum, Termez: remarks on the spring campaign of 328", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* NS 12:79-89.
- Grousset, René. 1996. *L'empire des steppes. Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan* (Bibliothèque historique Payot), 4e édition, Paris: Payot.
- Hallock, Richard T. 1969. *Persepolis fortification tablets* (Oriental Institute Publications, 92), Chicago.
- Happ, H. 1962. "Zu ἀσγάνδης, ἀσκάνδης, ἀστάνδης = 'Bote'", *Glotta* 40:198-201.
- Hartner, W. 1985. "Old Iranian calendars", Chapter 16 in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2, edited by Ilya Gershevitch, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 714-792.
- Henning, W. B. 1933. "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente", *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 9:158-253 [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 14:65-160].
- 1935. "Arabisch ḥarāḡ", *Orientalia* 4:291-293 [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 14:355-357].
- 1936. "Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch", *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1936, No. 10), Berlin, 417-557 [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 14:417-557].
- 1937. "A list of Middle Persian and Parthian words", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9:79-92 [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 14:559-572].
- 1940. *Sogdica* (James G. Forlong Fund, XXI), London [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 15:1-68].
- 1947. "Two Manichaean magical texts, with an excursus on the Parthian ending -ēndēh", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12:39-66 [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 15:273-300].
- 1949. "The Aramaic inscription of Aśoka found in Lampāka", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13:80-88 [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 15:331-339].
- 1958. "Mitteliranisch", *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I, IV, 1, Leiden, pp. 20-129.
- 1965. "A Sogdian god", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28:242-254 [Reprinted in: *Acta Iranica* 15:617-629].
- Herrmann, Albert. 1914. "Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebiets", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, NF 15/4:30-35.
- Herzfeld, Ernst. 1968. *The Persian empire. Studies in geography and ethnography of the Ancient Near East*, ed. from the posthumous papers by Gerold Walser, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Hinz, Walther. 1973. *Neue Wege im Altpersischen* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, III. Reihe, Bd. 1), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1975. *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Neben* (Göttinger Orient, III. Reihe, Bd. 3), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hirsch, Steven W. 1985. *The friendship of the Barbarians. Xenophon and the Persian Empire*, Hanover and London: University Press of New England.
- Hoffmann, Georg. 1880. *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, VII. Band, No. 3), Leipzig [Reprint: Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1966].
- Hoftijzer, J.; and K. Jongeling. 1995. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic inscriptions*, 2 parts, Leiden, New York & Köln: E. J. Brill.

- Holt, Frank Lee. 1988. *Alexander the Great and Bactria. The formation of a Greek frontier in Central Asia* (Mnemosyne, Supplementum 104), Leiden etc.: Brill.
- Hübschmann, Heinrich. 1895. *Persische Studien*, Strassburg.
- 1897. *Armenische Grammatik I*, Leipzig [Reprint, Hildesheim and New York 1972].
- Ḥudūd al-‘ālam, ‘The regions of the world’. A Persian geography, 372 A.H.-982 A.D, translated and explained by V. Minorsky (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. XI), London 1937.
- Humbach, Helmut. 1975. “Ptolemej i Central’naja Azija v kušanskuju epoxu”, in: *Central’naja Azija v kušanskuju epoxu*, II:71-75.
- 2002. “Yasna / Yima / Jamšēd, King of Paradise of the Iranians”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 26:68-77.
- Humbach, Helmut; and Susanne Ziegler. 1998. *Ptolemy: Geography, Book 6. Middle East, Central and North Asia, China*, Part 1. Text and English/German translations by Susanne Ziegler, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Huyse, Philip. 1998. “Quelques remarques sur deux mots iraniens”, *Studia Iranica* 27 :31-40.
- Ifrah, Georges. 1985. *From one to zero. A universal history of numbers*, tr. Lowell Bair, New York: Viking [Translation of: *Histoire universelle des chiffres*, Paris: Seghers, 1981]
- Ito, Gikyo. 1977. “A new interpretation of Aśokan inscriptions, Taxila and Kandahar I”, *Studia Iranica* 6:151-161.
- 1994. “Armenian hratarak and tačar”, *Acta Kurdica* 1:113-120.
- Jastrow, Marcus. 1903. *A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*, 2 vols., New York [Reprint: New York 1950].
- Justi, Ferdinand. 1895. *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg [Reprint, Hildesheim, 1963].
- Kaufman, Stephen A. 1974. *The Akkadian influences on Aramaic* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Assyriological Studies, 19), Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Kent, Roland G. 1946. “The accusative in Old Persian *mām kāma*”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 66:44-49.
- 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar, texts, lexicon* (American Oriental Series, 33), 2nd edition, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Kornfeld, Walter. 1978. *Onomastica aramaica aus Ägypten* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 333. Bd.), Wien.
- Kračkovskaja, V. A.; and I. Ju. Kračkovskij. 1934. “Drevnejšij arabskij dokument iz Srednej Azii”, *Sogdijskij Sbornik. Sbornik statej o pamjatnikax sogdijskogo jazyka i kul’tury najdennyx na Gore Mug v Tadžikskoj SSR*, Leningrad, 52-90.
- Kraeling, Emil G.H. 1953. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic papyri. New documents of the fifth century B.C. from the Jewish colony at Elephantine*, New Haven.
- Kutscher, Eduard Yechezkel. 1954. “*be’el te’em*”, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, vol. 2:293-294.
- 1969. “Two ‘passive’ constructions in Aramaic in the light of Persian”, in: *Proceedings of the International Conference of Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965*, Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, pp. 132-151 [reprinted in: Kutscher 1977:70-89].
- 1970. “Be’iqvot Ugaritica V”, *Lešonenu* 34:5-19 [Reprinted in: Kutscher 1977, pp. š‘z-šš’].
- 1977. *Hebrew and Aramaic studies (Meḥqarim be-‘ivrit u-v-aramit)*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Kutscher, Y.; J. Naveh; and S. Shaked. 1970. “Hakketovot ha-aramiyyot šel ašoqa”, *Lešonenu* 34:125-136 [“The Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka”].
- Lagarde, Paul de. 1866. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Leipzig.
- Lecoq, Pierre. 1997. *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*. Traduit du vieux perse, de l’élamite, du babylonien et de l’araméen, présenté et annoté par Pierre Lecoq, [Paris:] Gallimard.
- Lemaire, André. 1996. *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d’Idumée au Musée d’Israël* (Supplément n^o 3 à *Transeuphratène*), Paris: Gabalda.
- 2002. *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d’Idumée*, tome 2 (Supplément n^o. 9 à *Transeuphratène*), Paris: Gabalda.
- Le Strange, Guy. 1905. *The lands of the Eastern caliphate. Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem conquest to the time of Timur*, Cambridge University Press [Reprinted, London 1966].
- Lidzbarski, Mark. 1902. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I, Giessen.
- Livshits, V.A. 1999. “«Glava podatej» v parfjanskom i sasanidskom Irane”, in: *Podati i povinnosti na drevnem vostoka* [“Taxes and duties in the Ancient East”], (Serija Orientalia), St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences.

- Institute of Oriental Studies. St. Petersburg Branch, pp. 109-121.
- Lommel, Herman. 1953. "Die Späher des Varuna und Mithra und das Auge des Königs", *Oriens* 6:323-333 [French translation in: *Acta Iranica* 2 (1974):91-100].
- MacKenzie, D.N. 1970. *The 'Sūtra of the causes and effects of actions' in Sogdian* (London Oriental Series, 22), London: Oxford University Press.
- 1971. *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London: Oxford University Press [Reprint, 1986].
- 1974. "Finding's keeping", *Mélanges J. de Menasce*, Louvain, 273-280 [Reprinted in: MacKenzie 1999, I, MG, pp. 65-72].
- 1976. *The Buddhist Sogdian texts of the British Library* (Acta Iranica 10; 3e série, vol. 3), Leiden: Brill and Teheran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi.
- 1999. *Iranica diversa*, ed. Carlo G. Cereti and Ludwig Paul (Serie Orientale Roma, 84,1-2), 2 vols., Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
- Maricq, André. 1965. *Classica et orientalia*, Paris: Geuthner.
- Markwart, Josef. See: Marquart.
- Marquart, Josef. 1895. "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erân", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 49:628-672.
- 1901. *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar und historischen und topographischen Excursen (Abhandlungen der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, NF 3, Nr. 2), Berlin.
- 1907. "Untersuchung zur Geschichte von Eran, II" *Philologus*, Supplementband 10:1-258.
- [J. Markwart] 1931. *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr* (Pahlavi text, version and commentary), edited by G. Messina (Analecta Orientalia, 3), Rome.
- [J. Markwart] 1938. *Wehrot und Arang. Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*, herausg. H.H. Schaeder, Leiden.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1956/80. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. A concise etymological Sanskrit dictionary*, 4 vols., Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- 1970. "Das Altpersische seit 1964", in: *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London: Lund Humphries, pp. 276-298.
- 1973. *Onomastica persepolitana. Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 286. Bd.; Veröffentlichungen der iranischen Kommission, I), Wien.
- Minorsky, Vladimir. 1937. See *Hudūd al-‘ālam*.
- 1967. "A Greek crossing on the Oxus", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30:45-53 [reprinted in Minorsky, *Medieval Iran and its neighbours* (Variorum Reprints), London 1982, Article XI].
- 1993. "Nakhshab", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 7:925.
- Molé, Marijan. 1960. "Daênâ, le pont Činvat et l'initiation dans le mazdéisme", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 157:155-185.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1927. *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo.
- 1974. *Etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 6), Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Muffs, Yochanan. 1992. *Love & joy. Law, language and religion in ancient Israel*, New York and Jerusalem: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.
- Müller, F. W. K.; and Wolfgang Lentz. 1934. "Soghdische Texte, II", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1934, XXI:504-607.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu; and Bezalel Porten. 1998. *A grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, 32. Band), Leiden etc.: Brill.
- Naveh, Joseph. 1985. "Published and unpublished Aramaic ostraca", *Atiqot* 17:114-121.
- 1992. *‘al heres ve-gome. ketovot aramiyyot ve-‘ivriyyot miyyeme bayit šeni, hammišna ve-hattalmud*, Jerusalem: Magnes [On sherd and papyrus. Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions from the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic periods].
- Naveh, Joseph; and Shaul Shaked. 1973. "Ritual texts or treasury documents?", *Orientalia* 42:445-457.
- 1985. *Amulets and magic bowls. Aramaic incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem: Magnes and Leiden: Brill [3rd ed., 1998].
- 2003. "A 'knot' and a 'break': terms for a receipt in antiquity", *Israel Exploration Journal* 53:111-118.
- Neue Pauly*, Der = Cancik and Schneider 1996-.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. 1907. "Die aramäischen Papyri von Assuan", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 20:130-150.

- Nyberg, H. S. 1928/31. *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, 2 vols., Uppsala.
- 1964/74. *A manual of Pahlavi I-II*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Pagliaro, Antonino. 1954. "Riflessi di etimologie iraniche nella tradizione storiografica greca", *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. VIII, vol. 9, fasc. 5-6:133-153.
- Panaino, Antonio. 1990. "Calendars. I. Pre-Islamic calendars", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 4:658-668.
- Parker, Richard A.; and Waldo H. Dubberstein. 1956. *Babylonian chronology 626 B.C. – A.D. 75*, Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press.
- Pauly-Wissowa: Pauly, August Friedrich von; and Georg Wissowa. 1893-1978. *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart (includes Supplement volumes).
- Payne Smith, J. 1903. *A compendious Syriac dictionary*, Oxford.
- Perikhanian, Anahit G. 1968. "Notes sur le lexique iranien en arménien", *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* N. S. 5:9-30.
- 1986/7. "Un terme pour la 'dot' en iranien et en arménien", *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* NS 20:47-53.
- Porten, Bezalel. 1968. *Archives from Elephantine. The life of an ancient Jewish military colony*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- 1996. *The Elephantine papyri in English. Three millennia of cross-cultural continuity and change*, by B. Porten with J. J. Farber, C. J. Martin, G. Vittmann, L. S. B. MacCoull, S. Clackson and contributions by S. Hopkins and R. Katzoff (*Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, 22), Leiden: Brill.
- 2003. "Persian names in Aramaic documents from Ancient Egypt", in: S. Shaked and A. Netzer (eds.), *Irano-Judaica*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, pp. 165-186.
- Porten, Bezalel; and J. C. Greenfield. 1969. "The guarantor at Elephantine-Syene", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89:153-157.
- Porten, Bezalel; and Ada Yardeni. 1986/1999. *Textbook of Aramaic documents from Ancient Egypt, newly copied, edited and translated into Hebrew and English* (The Hebrew University, Dept. of the History of the Jewish People, Texts and Studies for Students), 4 vols., Jerusalem. (=TADAE)
- Preisigke, Friedrich. 1922. *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg.
- Puech, Émile. 1989. "Une inscription araméenne sur un couvercle de sarcophage", *Eretz-Israel* 20:161*-165*.
- Qimron, Elisha. 1993. "Qoveš ḥadaš šel ketovot u-t'udot qedumot", *Lešonenu* 57:267-272.
- Rapin, Claude. 1998. "L'incompréhensible Asie centrale de la carte de Ptolémée. Propositions pour un décodage", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* NS 12:201-225.
- Rastorgueva, V. S.; and D. I. Edelman. 2000/3. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' iranskix jazykov*, vols. 1-2, Moscow: Vostočnaja literatura.
- Reuss, Fr. 1907. "Hellenistische Beiträge", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 62:591-600.
- Ronca, Italo. 1971. *Ptolemaios. Geographie* 6,9-21. *Ostiran und Zentralasien*, Teil 1. Griechischer Text neu herausgegeben und ins Deutsche übertragen (IsMEO. Reports and memoirs, XV,1), Rome: IsMEO.
- Rosenthal, Franz. 1963. *A grammar of biblical Aramaic* (*Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, neue Serie, V), 2nd revised ed., Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Rtveladze, E. V. 1977. "K lokalizacii 'grečeskoj' perepravny na Okse'" ["Sur la localisation du « passage grec sur l'Oxus »"], *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1977/4 (142):182-188.
- 1982. "O mestopoloženii baktrijskogo goroda Aorna" ["Sur la localisation de la ville bactrienne d'Aornos"], *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1982/1 (159):149-152.
- 2002. *Aleksandr Makedonskij v Baktrii i Sogdiane. Istoriko-geografičeskije očerki* (*Akademija xudožestv Respubliki Uzbekistan. Otdel istorii iskusstv NII iskusstvoznanija*), Taškent.
- Sarkisian, G. X. 1967. "O dvux značeniach termina dastakert v rannix armjanskix istočnikax", *Ėllinističeskij bližnij vostok, Vizantijskij Iran. Istorija i filologija. Sbornik v čest' ... N. V. Pigulevskoj*, Moscow, 97-101 [French version, *Revue des Études Arméniennes* NS 5 (1968):43-50].
- Schaeder, Hans Heinrich. 1934. *Iranica* (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3. Folge, No. 10), Berlin.
- 1940. [Review of: Benveniste, *Les mages dans l'ancien Iran* (1938)], *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 43:375-383.
- Schäfer, Peter; and Shaul Shaked. 1994. *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, I, in Zusammenarbeit mit M. Jacobs, C. Rohrbacher-Sticker und G. Veltri (Texte

- und Studien zum Antiken Judentum, 42),
Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Schlumberger, D.; L. Robert; A. Dupont-Sommer;
É. Benveniste. 1958. "Une bilingue gréco-
araméenne d'Asoka", *Journal Asiatique*
246:1-48.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1994. "Sprachzeugnisse alt- und
mitteliranischer Sprache aus Afghanistan",
in: R. Bielmeier, R. Stempel et al. (eds.),
*Indogermanica et caucasica. Festschrift
für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*
(Studies in Indo-European Language and
Culture, 6), Berlin and New York: Walter de
Gruyter, 168-196.
- Schwartz, Martin. 1996. "Sasm, Sesen, St.
Sisinnios, Sesengen Barpharangēs, and ...
'Semanglof'", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
10:253-257.
- 1998. "Sesen: a durable East Mediterranean
god in Iran", in: N. Sims-Williams (ed.),
*Proceedings of the Third European
Conference of Iranian Studies held in
Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*,
Part 1: Old and Middle Iranian Studies
(Beiträge zur Iranistik, 17), Wiesbaden: Dr.
Ludwig Reichert, pp. 9-11.
- Schwarz, Franz von. 1893. *Alexander des Grossen
Feldzüge in Turkestan. Kommentar zu den
Geschichtswerken des Flavius Arrianus und
Q. Curtius Rufus auf Grund vieljähriger
Reisen im russischen Turkestan und
angrenzenden Ländern*, Munich. [2nd
edition, *1906]
- Segal, J.B. 1983. *Aramaic texts from North Saqqāra
with some fragments in Phoenician*
(Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from
Excavations, 6th Memoir), London.
- Seibert, Jakob. 1985. *Die Eroberung des
Perserreiches durch Alexander den Großen
auf kartographischer Grundlage* (Beihefte
zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, B
68), Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Shahbazi, A. Shapur. 1996/7. "Irano-Hellenic notes.
2: 'The King's eyes' in Classical and Iranian
literature", *American Journal of Ancient
History* 13 (1988): 170-189.
- Shaked, Shaul. 1969. "Notes on the new Aśoka
inscription from Kandahar", *Journal of the
Royal Asiatic Society*, 1969, 118-122.
- 1971. "The notions *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in
the Pahlavi texts and their relation to
eschatology", *Acta Orientalia* 33:59-107
[Reprinted in: Shaked 1995a, II].
- 1982. "Two Judaeo-Iranian contributions",
in: S. Shaked (ed.), *Irano-Judaica*,
Jerusalem, 292-322.
- 1987. [Review of: J. B. Segal, *Aramaic
texts from North Saqqāra*, London 1983],
Orientalia 56:407-413.
- 1991. "Irano-Aramaica: On some legal,
administrative and economic terms", in:
R.E. Emmerick and D. Weber (eds.),
*Corolla iranica. Papers in honour of D.N.
MacKenzie*, Frankfurt a.M. etc.: Peter Lang,
167-175.
- 1995a. *From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam.*
*Studies in religious history and intercultural
contacts* (Collected Studies Series, CS505),
Aldershot: Variorum.
- 1995b. "Qumran: some Iranian connections",
in: Ziony Zevit; Michael Sokoloff; and
Symour Gitin (eds.), *Solving riddles
and untying knots: Biblical, epigraphic,
and Semitic studies in honor of Jonas C.
Greenfield*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns,
265-269.
- 2003. "Between Iranian and Aramaic. Iranian
words concerning food in Jewish Babylonian
Aramaic, with some notes on the Aramaic
heterograms in Iranian", in: S. Shaked and A.
Netzer (eds.), *Irano-Judaica* 4, Jerusalem: Ben-
Zvi Institute, pp. 120-137.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 1978. [Review
of Mayrhofer 1973. *Onomastica
Persepolitana*], *Indo-Iranian Journal* 20:95-
99.
- 1985. *The Christian Sogdian manuscript
C2* (Akademie der Wissenschaften der
DDR. Zentralinstitut für alte Geschichte
und Archäologie. Schriften zur Geschichte
und Kultur des Alten Orients. Berliner
Turfantexte XII), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- 1995. "Christian Sogdian texts from the
Nachlass of Olaf Hansen. II: Fragments
of polemic and prognostics", *Bulletin of
the School of Oriental and African Studies*
58:288-302.
- 1997. *New light on ancient Afghanistan: the
decipherment of Bactrian*, London: SOA S.
- 2000. *Bactrian documents from Northern
Afghanistan. I. Legal and economic
documents* (Studies in the Khalili Collection,
3; Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, II, VI),
Oxford: Oxford University Press and Nour
Foundation.
- Skjærvø, P.O. 1995. "Aramaic in Iran", *Aram* 7:283-
318.
- Smirnova, O.I. 1962. "La carte des régions du Haut
Zerafschan d'après les documents du Mt.
Mough", *Trudy 25-ogo meždunarodnogo
kongressa vostokovedov*, Moscow, vol.
2:329 -337.

- 1970. *Očerki iz istorii Sogda*, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka.
- Sokoloff, Michael. 1990. *A dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period* (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum, II), Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.
- 2002. *A dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic periods*, Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University and Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Staviskij, B. Ja. 1977. *Kušanskaja Baktrija: Problemy istorii i kul'tury*, Moscow.
- Steingass, F. 1892. *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, London [Fourth impression, 1957].
- Steiner, Richard C. 2001. "The *mbqr* at Qumran, the *episkopos* in the Athenian empire, and the meaning of *lbqr*' in Ezra 7:14: On the relation of Ezra's mission to the Persian legal project", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120:623-646.
- Sundermann, Werner. 1981. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts, mit einem Appendix von Nicholas Sims-Williams* (Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients. Berliner Turfantexte XI), Berlin: Akademie.
- Szemerényi, Oswald. 1970. "Iranica III (Nos 32-43)". *Henning Memorial Volume*, 417-426.
- 1975. "Iranica V", *Acta Iranica* 5 (Monumentum Nyberg), Leiden-Tehran, 313-394.
- Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *History: Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et alii, Leiden 1879-; *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 10 vols., Cairo 1969.
- TADAE = Porten and Yardeni 1986/1999.
- Taqizadeh, S. H. 1938. *Old Iranian calendars* (Prize Publication Fund, 16), London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- 1316 AH Š. *Gāhšomārī dar Īrān-e qadīm*, Tehran.
- Tarn, W. W. 1948. *Alexander the Great*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Telegdi, Sigismund. 1935. "Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique", *Journal Asiatique* 226:177-256.
- Tomaschek, Wilhelm. 1877. "Centralasiatische Studien. I. Sogdiana", *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Classe*, Wien, 87:67-184.
- Von Schwarz, Fr. *see* Schwarz, Franz von.
- Weber, Dieter. 1975. "Sogdische Miszellen", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 80:90-96.
- Weinfeld, Moshe. 2001. 'aseret haddibberot u-qri'at šema': gilgulehen šel hašharot emuna [The decalogue and the recitation of "Shema": the development of the confession], Tel-Aviv: Hakibutz Hameuchad.
- Whitehead, John David. 1974. *Early Aramaic epistolography: the Arsames correspondence*, Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago, 1974 [mimeographed thesis].
- Widengren, Geo. 1969. *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran. Männerbund - Gefolgswesen - Feudalismus in der iranischen Gesellschaft im Hinblick auf die indogermanischen Verhältnisse* (Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 40), Köln und Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- 1983. "Leitende Ideen und Quellen der iranischen Apokalyptik", in: D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), pp. 77-162.
- Wieshöfer, Josef. 1991. "prtrk, rb hyl', sgn und mr'. Zur verwaltung Südägyptens in Achaimendischer Zeif", in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid history* IV, Leiden, 305-309.
- Witzel, Michael. 1980. "Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda", *Persica* 3:86-128.
- Yadin, Yigael; J. C. Greenfield; A. Yardeni and B. Levine. 2002. *The documents of the Bar Kokhba period in the Cave of Letters. II. Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic and Nabataean Aramaic papyri*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University; Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum.
- Yāqūt, Šihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abdillāh ibn 'Abdillāh al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī al-Bayḍādī. *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 5 vols., Beirut: Dār Šādir and Dār Bayrūt, 1376 AH/ 1957 CE.
- Yardeni, Ada. 1994. "Maritime trade and royal accountancy in an erased customs account from 475 B.C.E. on the Aḥiqar scroll from Elephantine", *BASOR* 293:67-78.
- Yardeni, Ada; and J. C. Greenfield. 1996. "Shover shel ketubba", in: Y. Gafni et al. (eds.), *The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World. Studies in the Memory of Menachem Stern*, Jerusalem, pp. 197-208.

The words in the glossary are arranged in the order of the Aramaic alphabet.

Glossary

* indicates that the word is restored or that the reading is partly uncertain

Abbreviations:

act.=active

adv.=adverb

GN=geographical name

haf.=*haf'el*

imper.=imperative

imperf.=imperfect

inf.=infinitive

itp.=*itpe'el*

pa.=*pa'el*

part.=participle

pass.=passive

pe.=*pe'el*

perf.=perfect

pl.=plural

PN=personal name

prep.=preposition

pu.=*pu'el*

vb.=verb

w.=with

- 1 “alone”.
B1:2 [Note that numbers occurring in the texts to indicate quantities are not listed here]
- ’ an abbreviation for *ardab*, a measure of capacity
B4:6; C1:14; C1:15; C1:16; C1:20; C1:22; C1:32; C1:34; C1:35; C1:36; C1:38; C1:40; C1:42; C1:44; C1:47; C1:48; C1:50; C3:21; C3:22; C3:23
- ’b month name: Ab
C4:47
- ’BH vb. to wish, desire
A1:6; B3:3
- ’bwdy PN
D7:1; D8:1; D9:1; D10:1; D11:1; D12:1; D13:1
- ’gr wall
’gr’ A4:1; A4:3; A4:6; A5:1; A5:2
- ’grh letter
’grt A4:8; ’grt’ A1:14; A2:9; A3:6; A8:6; B4:2; B5:9
- ’dw’p PN
D13:1
- ’dws’ blight, distress
’dws’ A4:3
- ’dyn then
A4:6; C1:2
- ’drng liability, warranty
A6:4; A10:1
- ’hrdt PN: Ahuradāta
A1:8; C3:42; C4:37; C4:39; C4:40; C4:44; C4:46; C4:48
- ’wstk document (?)
C10:1
- ’wpdwr PN: Upadvāra (?)
B1:1; B1:9

- ’wpyty something necessary (?). See also ’pyt’.
B5:6
- ’wršykn PN (patronym?)
C1:49
- ’zgm allocation, disbursement, expenditure
A10:11; C3:*1; C3:47; C4:02; ’zgm’ C2:1
- ’zgnd messenger
’zgnd’ A2:*2; A5:4
- ’zd known, published
B1:3
- ’zdyp PN: Azdayāpa
A5:1; A5:4
- ’ZL vb. to go
perf. A1:4; part. pl. construct ’zly A2:5
- ’h brother
w. possessive suffix ’hy B1:1; B1:9; B1:10; B3:8; B4:1; B6:1
- ’HD vb. to hold, seize
pass. part. ’hd B1:2; pl. ’hdyn A9:6
- ’hmzd PN: Akhvamazda (probably satrap of Bactria)
A1:1; A1:9; A2:*1; A2:5; A2a:4; A3:*1; A4:1; A5:1; A6:1; A6:2
- ’hpwy PN
D14:1
- ’hr adv.: afterwards; then
A1:3; A1:4; A1:6; A1:7; A2:2; A4:2; A4:3; A6:5; B2:2; B3:4; B4:*4; ’hrkn A2:3; A2:*4; ’hry prep. A1:7; ’hrykn C4:3; C4:35
- ’hry guarantor
A10:1
- ’hrn other
A1:9; w’hrn A4:4; ’hrnn A4:2; ’l’hrn “finally”
A1:7; B4:5; C4:41
- ’yk how, as
’yk zy A1:2; A2:*3; A5:2
- ’yty there is, there are
A4:3; A6:2; B8:1; C5:7
- ’KL vb. to eat
A9:7; inf. *lm’kl* A9:5
- ’krst garment (?)
C6:2
- ’l₁ particle of negation
A1:11; A5:2; B7:3
- ’l₂ prep.: to (only in address), see also ’l
A1:13; A3:5; A4:7; A5:4; A6:12
- ’lk see *znh*
- ’lkm PN (?)
C5:3
- ’lksndrs PN: Alexander
C4: 1
- ’mh₁ a measure of length: cubit
pl. ’mn C8:3
- ’mh₂ slave-girl, servant
pl. ’mht C4:18
- ’mwdt PN: Amavadāta
C4:22
- ’mykn GN (?)
C4:6; C4:38

- MR₁** vb. to say, speak
perf. **mr** A1:1; A2:5; A2a:4; A4:4; A6:2; C5:7;
C5:9; **mrt** A8:*4; **mrw** A1:7; imp. **y^{mr}** B1:6;
part. act. pl. **mrn** A4:2; part. pass. **myr** A1:4;
inf. **lm^{mr}** A1:5; B1:*4
- mr₂** lamb, sheep
pl. **mrn** C1:10
- mt** when
A9:7
- ndr** ?
ndr^o C6:1
- nh** pronoun: I
A1:1; A1:3; A1:4; A1:6; A2:1; A2:*4; A4:2;
A4:4; B1:4; B1:6; B3:2; B3:7; B4:2; C5:9
- nms** PN
A2:4
- nrwy** differently, in a contrary manner
A5:2; A6:5; B7:3
- nt** pronoun m. sg.: you
A4:4; A6:6; A6:8 (2x); A6:9; B1:3; B3:4; B9:4;
f. sg. **nty** B3:3; pl.m. **ntm** A1:10; B7:2; pl. f.
(?) **ntn** (or imperf. 1st sg. of NTN?) A2a:6
- nth** woman, wife
ntt^o A9:7; **ntth** A9:2; A9:4; A9:12
- ntr** in, within; in the meantime
ntr^o A1:4; **ntr mn** A2a:5
- swr** prison, imprisonment
swr^o A1:7
- sngšn** noun, m. pl. (?): musicians (?)
hštrknt w^{sngšn} C4:13; C4:27
- spmng** horse cords (?)
C7:*5
- sprbg** GN
C4:52
- sprn** adv. in full, completely
A6:8; A6:10
- sprst** GN (?)
C1:33
- SR** to bind, imprison
perf. **sr** A1:2; act. part. m. pl. **srn** A1:10; pass.
part. m. pl. **syrn** A1:5
- srhls** ‘binding-untying’, hence perhaps ‘harness’
(?)
C6:*4; C6:*5; C7:4
- p** also, in addition
A1:9; A1:10; A1:11; A2:4; A6:3; A6:7; B5:6;
B10:1; B10:2; C4:01a; C5:7
- pbry** an additional delivery (?)
C1:33
- pdyt** supervisor, inspector (?)
pdyt^o C4:5; C4:22; C4:37; C4:39; C4:44; C4:48
- phmt** ripe, ready
A4:3
- pyt** a necessary thing. See also **wpyty**.
pyt^o A2:3; C4:6; C4:38; C4:44; C4:45; C4:48
- pstšny** GN
C8:6
- prwn** PN: Uparivana
D14:1; D15:1; D16:1
- pry^o** immediately
B2:2
- pršt** instructed, given orders
A6:10
- qmt^y** PN (?)
C5:2
- rbztkw** PN (?)
A10a:10
- rgwn** purple wool
C6:2; C6:3
- rh₁** way, road
pl. **rh^t** C5:8
- rh₂** wayfarer(s)
rh^o A2:1; A2:3; A2:6
- rywkw^o** PN (?), perhaps Araivaka, relating to the
town Araivant?
C5:5
- rywnt** GN: Araivant (?)
b^{rywnt} C4:3; C4:4; C4:5; C4:*10; C4:11;
C4:20; C4:25
- rqh** land, plot of land
A1:11; **rq^o** B3:3
- rtdtnh** GN: Artadātana (?)
[b]dbr^o rtdtnh A2:3; **bdb^r [rt]dtn^o** A2:6
- rtwk** GN
A2:2; **rtwky** C1:49; **whwmt^y w^{rtwky}** A6:2;
A6:6
- rthšš₁** Artaxerxes [III]
A1:14; A2:9; A3:6; A4:8
- rthšš₂** Artaxerxes [V], regnal name of Bessus
C1:1
- rtynpt** PN
B3:*1; B3:8
- šd, šr** ?
šdn C1:20
- š^omy** ?
B5:*8
- štrpn** m. pl. camel keepers
štrpn^y A1:2; A1:*5; A1:7; A1:8; A1:11
- TH** vb. to come
pe. perf. **th** A2:3; A2:4; **tw** A4:2; imperf. **t^{tw}**
A1:10; *haf.* **ytt** B1:3; **hyty** A1:14; A2:9; A3:6;
A4:8; A8:6; **hytw** A8:*3; inf. **lmhyty** B3:3;
B3:*4
- tpy^o** PN: Āθfiya
A2:7
- trwz** PN: Āt(a)rvāza
C4:1a; C4:5; C4:8
- trwpt** PN: Āt(a)rpāta
C5:5
- b** prep. [*Only a selection of references is given,
arranged by meanings*]
•in (temporal or local): in dating formulae A2:3;
A2:5; A2:9; A3:6; A4:8; C1:1; C2:1; C3:1;
C3:2; C3:18; C4:1; C4:15; D1:1; D2:1; D3:1;
D4:1; C4:11; C4:42; D5:1; D6:1; D7:1; D8:1;
D9:1; D10:1; D11:1; D12:1; D13:1; D14:2;
D15:1; D16:1; D17:2
•in (a place) A2:6; A4:4; A6:2; A6:6; B9:2;

- C1:2; C1:51; C5:8; C4:52; C8:6
 •in (a receptacle) C5:9
 •in (a book, a letter) B10 :2
 •by, in the hand of (adverbial) A8:4; A9:1; **byd** B1:6; **bnpšy**, **bšbwt' zy npšy** B1:5
 •concerning, as regards, by A1:2; A1:3; A1:11; A1:14; B5:7; A4:8; A5:4; C7:1
 •in charge of, (ruling) over, functioning in; performing a task in (=with regard to) A1:13; A2:8; A3:5; A3:6; A3:6; A4:7; A5:4; A6:1; A6:3; A6:12; C4:3; C4:4; C4:5; C4:20; C4:22; C4:25; C4:35; C4:36; C4:37; C4:42
- bgwnt** PN: Bagavant, *pahtā* over Khulmi
 A1:1; A1:2; A1:4; A1:5; A1:6; A1:7; A1:8; A1:13; A2:1; A2:8; A3:*1; A3:5; A4:1; A4:7; A5:1; A5:4; A6:1; A6:3; A6:4; A6:12; A9:1; A9:*11; A10:2
- bgy** share, portion, divine gift (?)
 C1:40; C1:42; C1:44; C3:43
- bgyz** PN: Bagayaza
 D2:1
- bgyš** PN: Bagaica
 B2:1; B2:4; B2a:1; C3:43; D5:1
- bgn** temple
bgn' C1:37
- BZZ** vb. to despoil
 A1:2
- bḥtry₁** Bactria, Bactrian
 A7:2; A8:2
- bḥtry₂** Bactra (name of a town)
 C1:3; C1:51
- bḥtrprn** PN: Baxtrifarnah
 B4:1; B4:8
- byl** Bēl, name of a deity
 C1:37
- byn** prep. in, in between
 A8:1; A10a:8
- bys** PN: Bayasa (corresponds to Greek Bessus)
 C1:2; C1:51
- byrh** fortress
byrt' A8:3
- byt** house, domain
byt A6:2; A6:4; A6:8; **bt** B3:3; **byt'** A2:2; A2:4; A2:6; A2:7; A6:11; B1:2; B9:2; w. possessive suffixes: **byty** A2:9; **bytk** A6:10; pl. **bytn** A6:2; **byty'** A6:6; A6:9
- BNH** vb. to build
pe. **bnw** D2:2; part. pass. **bny** A5:2. inf. **lmbny** A5:1; A5:*4; *itp.* **ytnby** A5:1
- bnw** adj. bright, resplendent (?)
 D2:2
- b'l** master, owner
b'l t'm "master of the command", one in charge of, or supervisor of, the carrying out of the order
 A2:7; A5:*5
- br** son
 A1:1; C4:41; pl. **bny** C9:4; C9:7
- bry** PN: Bārya (?)
 C10:1
- bšym** adj. sweet (wine)
 C4:53; C4:57
- g** abbreviation for a measure of capacity for dry goods, perhaps usually *gun*, but could be sometimes *griv*
 A10:3; A10:4; C3:38; C3:42; C3:45; C4:09; C4:14; C4:21; C4:23; C4:28; C4:40; C4:43; C4:46; C4:49; C4:50; C4:51
- GBH** vb. to levy, collect (tax); in the Khalili texts mostly: to collect provisions for supplies
pe. perf. C1:49; C4:6; C4:10; C4:23; C4:25; C4:39; C4:40; C4:44; C4:46; C4:48; inf. w. suffix **lmgbyh** A8:2
- gbn** cheese
 pl. **gbnn** C1:24
- gbr** man
 pl. **gbrn** A1:6; A1:7; B9:3; C5:7; **gbry'** A1:5; A1:8; A1:10; A1:11
- gwzh** PN
 D1:1; D2:1; D3:1; D5:1; D6:1
- gwn₁** a measure of capacity for dry goods.
 See also **g.**
 C4:12; C4:26; C4:43; C4:45; C4:51; pl. **gwnn** C4:50
- gwn₂** basket (?)
 C5:9
- gwnkn** a patronym (?)
 C10:1
- gwrz** cattle tender (?)
 C4:54
- gzbr** treasurer
 B10:*2
- gt** document
gt' B3:3
- gml** camel
 pl. **gmln** A1:3; B8:1; C3:22
- gpryšt** lowest, inferior (in quality, of flour)
 B2:2
- grdtk** wild mountain animals (?)
 C6:1
- gryw** a measure of capacity for dry goods.
 See also **g.**
 C1:14; C1:17; C1:18; C1:19; C1:21; C1:42
- db** flow, liquid discharge (?)
 A1:3
- dbr₁** word; matter
'l dbr znh A1:8
- dbr₂** plain, desert
 A2:3; A2:6
- dgl** military division
dgl' B5:7
- dhywbrzn** PN: Dahyubarzana
 B6:1
- dwg** sour milk, yoghurt
 C1:29
- dwšḥwr**, **dwš'ḥwr** provisions
dwšḥwr C1:2; C1:*51; **dw[š]ḥwr'** A2:*1; **dwš'[ḥwr']** A2:*6

dwtń	<i>see</i> rwtn	wdywr	PN: Vaidyūra
dzbs̥	<i>see</i> rzbs̥		C2:2
dhń	millet	whw̥šw	PN: Vahuvaxšu
	dhń ^ʔ C4:4; C4:14; C4:21; C4:26; C4:28; C4:36; C4:46		whw̥šw br štrbrzn A1:1
dzyk	PN: Daizaka	whwmtý	GN: Vahumati
	A2:7; A2a:1; A4:6; A7:2		A6:1; A6:2; A6:6
dymk	PN: Daimaka	whwš	PN: Vahuča
	C9:7		B2:1; B2:4; B3:8
dyn₁	day name: Dainā	why^ʔtrw	PN: Vahya-āt(a)r
	C3:2; C3:18		A6:1; A6:5; C1:46
dyn₂	judge, magistrate	wz	goose
	pl. dyny^ʔ A1:1; A1:2; A1:8; A1:13; A4:2		pl. wzn C1:12; C4:1a; C4:40
dkrn	memory, memorandum	whšw^ʔbrdt	PN: Vaxšuabradāta
	ldkrn C4:52		C4:*41; C4:43; C4:45; C4:47
dmy	plain, ordinary, low-grade (attribute of flour)	whšwbndk	PN: Vaxšubandaka
	B2:2; C1:16; C1:35; C1:48; C3:21; C3:22; C3:38		C1:46
dmydtkn	livestock attendant (?)	whšwdt	PN: Vaxšudāta
	pl. dmydtknn C4:18		C4:2; C4:20; C4:59
dng	PN: Dānga	whšwhšt	PN: Vaxšuvahišta
	C4:10; C4:25		A5:1; A5:4
dstkny	GN: Dastakāni	wyz^ʔy	PN: Vahyazaya (?)
	A6:1		C5:7. lwyz^ʔy C5:1
drywhwš	Darius [III]	wypky	PN
	D1:1; D2:1; D3:2; D4:1; D5:1; D7:2; D8:2; D9:2; D10:2; D11:2; D12:2; D13:2; D14:2; D15:1; D16:1; D17:3		C8:3
dšń	present, gift	wknw	PN: Vikanava (?)
	w. possessive suffix dšny C5:3		D10:1
dtš^ʔprń	PN: Dathušafarnah	wsm	<i>see</i> sm
	A10:2		wsmkn (or smkn ?) PN
h^ʔ	behold!		[b]ny hšyt wsmkn C9:4
	B2:1	wrdwš	plums (?)
HWH	vb. to be, become		C1:18
	<i>pe.</i> perf. hwh A1:3; B10:2; imperf. ywhw A4:6; A5:2; A6:8; A9:10; B1:2; B1:4; B2:3; B3:2; B3:4; B4:2; B5:7; B5:8; B6:2; yhwwn A6:7; A6:9; thww B7:2	wryn	GN: Varaina
HWK	<i>see</i> HLK		bwryn C4:35; C4:36; C4:*37; C4:42
hwmnh	PN: Haumanah	wrnw	GN: Varnu (= Greek Aornos)
	B10:1		C1:3; C1:51
HLK, HWK	vb. to go, walk	wršwrzn	PN: Varčah-varzana
	<i>pe.</i> imperf. yhkw A4:5		C4:9
hlk	tax, land tax	wrtyn	PN: Vartaina
	A1:14; hlk^ʔ A1:2; A1:*12		B1:10
hn	conjunction: if	wšdt	PN: Vača(h)dāta
	A1:9; A4:3; A6:4; A6:8; B3:4; B5:5; whn B4:5		B1:7
hndrz	instruction, order (always w. ^ʔ BD)	wšk	word, speech, instruction
	hndrz^ʔ A2:1; A4:1; A5:2; A6:6; A6:9		B1:4; B1:6
hnšl	<i>see</i> NŠL	wšt^ʔsp	PN: Vištāspa (Hystaspes)
hnškrt	apprentice, disciple, worker		C2:1; C4:35
	A1:2	wty	name of a deity: Vātya (?)
hrhwny	adj. Arachosian (wine)		C1:42
	C1:31	z^ʔ	<i>see</i> zk
hrkyn	adj. Haraivan (=Herati) (troops)	zwtr	libation
	A2:5		zwtr^ʔ C1:37
hšwhšw	PN: Hašavaxšu	zy	relative pronoun, “which, who”. The classification of meanings here reflects the translation, but in some cases the meaning is not clear-cut.
	A1:12		•introducing a relative clause A1:2; A1:5; A1:7; A1:12; A1:13; A2:5; A3:5; A3:6; A4:1; A4:5; A4:7; A5:1; A5:4; A6:1; A6:2; A6:3; A6:6; A6:7; A7:1; A9:1; A9:3; A9:4; A9:5; A9:*8; A9:11; A10a:7; B1:3; B2:2; B3:6; B4:2; B4:5;

- B6:5; B8:1; B9:4; C4:6; C4:38; C5:*7
 •of A1:3; A6:2; B1:5; C1:33; C4:52 •that B4:4; B5:5; that which, he who A1:10; A1:11; A2:1; A4:1; A5:4; A6:5; A6:7; A9:6; B1:6; B5:8; C1:46
 •as soon as A2:1
 •Combinations: ³dyn zy C1:2; ³yk zy A1:2; A2:*3; A5:2; **wzy** C1:49; C4:10; C4:18; C4:22; C4:24; C4:27; C4:35; **kzy** A1:9; A1:10; A1:11; A4:6; A5:2; A6:6; A6:10; A8:4; A8:5; B10:1; C1:*51; C4:3; **lqbl zy** A6:5; A6:8; A6:9; ¹ dbr **znh zy** A1:8; ¹ zy A1:10; A2a:1; ⁶ d zy A4:1; A6:9
 •Possessive combinations: **zyly** A1:2; A1:10; A2:6; A2:7; A6:1; A6:6; A6:8; A6:11; B9:2; B9:3; **zylk** A2:2; A2:4; A2:6; B1:2
zy³nh damage, indemnity (?)
 B5:4; B5:7; B5:8
zyrw ?
 C1:40
zk demonstrative pronoun, that (m.)
 A1:4; A1:6; A2:6; A4:3; A4:5; A4:6; A5:1; A5:2; A6:5; B1:6; B3:*3; B4:4; **lqbl zk** A5:1; **zk zyly** A6:8; **zyly zk** A2:7; **zky** B10:2; **mn zk** B3:4; **zkm** the same, the afore-mentioned C4:8; C4:40; C4:43; C4:45
 z² demonstrative pronoun, this (f.): ³grt³ z² A1:14; A2:9; A3:6; A8:6; z² ³grt A4:8
zmn time, fixed appointment
zmn³ A2:3; A2:*4; A4:2
zn kind, sort
zn³ A9:4
znh ?
 A9:*4; A9:5; **znty** A9:*6
znh demonstrative pronoun: this
 A1:12; A3:2; A3:*4; A4:6; A5:3; A6:11; A7:2; A9:1; A9:11; C10:1; **bznh** A1:3; C7:1; **kznh** B1:2; B1:3; ⁶ d **znh** B5:3; ¹ **znh** A1:3; A1:9; A2:4; A4:4; A6:4; B2:3; B3:5; B5:6; B5:7; B5:9 ³lk A1:5; A1:6; A1:7; A1:8; A1:10; A2:5; A4:5; A6:6; A6:9; B3:3; ³lky B10:1
¹ dbr **znh** see **dbr**
zrwgwt PN (?)
 B4:3; B4:4
zrympy name of a fortress
 A8:3
zr⁶ seed
 C4:46
zrt GN
 A9:3
zrtngrškn a tribal name (?)
 C9:7
zrtny GN
bzrtny C4:22
h abbreviation of **hpn** “handful”
 C1:25; C3:39; C3:41; C3:45; C3:46 (2x); C7:7
hd one. See also s.v. **1**.
 B4:6; B5:9; **bhd** A8:4. See also **1**.
- HDH** vb. to rejoice
pe. act. part. **h³dh** B3:7; B5:8
hwr white
 A9:5; D2:2; **hwry** (used most often for flour and oil) B4:*6; C1:15; C1:25; C1:34; C1:38; C1:40; C1:42; C1:44; C1:47; C1:50; C5:5
hwt jar (for wine)
 C4:53; **hwt³** C4:57
HZH vb. to see
pe. act. part. **hzh** B5:9
hyb obliged, bound by law or command
 A6:4; A6:7; A6:8; pl. **hybn** A1:2; A1:11; A1:12
hyl sg. troops, soldiers
hyl³ A2:5; A2:6; A4:2; A4:5; A7:1; **kl³ hyl³** B1:3; B1:5; **hyl mt³** A4:2
hl₁ sand (or vinegar?)
hl³ A2:*4; A2:6
hl₂, h³lh vinegar
h³lh C3:45; C3:46; **hl³** C1:27
hlmy GN: Khulmi
 A1:4; A1:*13; A2:8; A4:7; A5:*4; A6:3; A6:12
hlp instead of, in exchange for
 B3:3; B4:2; D2:*2
HLQ vb. to divide, distribute
hlq C1:34; C1:46
hmr₁ donkey
 A1:8; B4:3; B4:4; C1:8; **hmr³** B4:2; B4:*4; pl. **hmrn** B4:3; B6:*3; B6:*6
hmr₂ wine
 C1:30; C1:39; C1:41; C1:43; C1:45; C4:52; C5:4;
hmr³ C3:40
hn³th wheat
 pl. **hn³tn** B6:*8; C4:*4; C4:36
hsyn strong, firm, strict (used adverbially)
 A5:2
HSN vb. (in *haf.*) to hold, have
haf. act. part. **mh³sn** A10a:8; pl. **mh³snn** A7:1
HSD vb. to reap
y³h³sdw A4:6; inf. **lm³h³sd** A4:3
hrdwšt PN: X^vardušta (?)
 A2a:1
hšdt PN: X^vaša-dāta or X^vačah-dāta (?)
 C1:49
hšyt PN: Xšaita
 C9:4
HŠL vb. to smash, crush
 A4:*5
hšnk fine, of good quality (?)
 B4:3
hšp confused, agitated (?)
 pl. **hšpn** B7:2
hštrk PN: Xšaθraka
 D4:1; D18:1
hštrkn PN: Xšaθrakāna
 C4:41
hštrknt f. pl. form (?) of **hštrkn**, designating entertaining girls (?)
 C4:13; C4:27

ṭb	good, well A1:9; B5:5; P ṭb ^ḥ bd A6:5	kslyw	month name: Kislev C1:1
TLL	vb. to roof over, cover with a roof <i>pe.</i> pass. part. pl. m. ṭlyln A6:7; A6:9; <i>pa.</i> pass. part. pl. m. mṭlln A6:3; inf. lmṭll A6:3	k'n	now A1:10; A2:5; B1:2; B4:2; B4:*4; B5:5; k'n A6:3
ṭ'm	command, order. See also b'l ṭ'm . A1:5; A5:1; A5:2; A6:3; A6:7; A6:10; A6:11; ṭ'm A1:12; A3:4; A4:6; A5:3; A7:2	k't	now A1:9; A2:5; A6:4; wk't A1:1; A2:1; A3:*1; A4:1; A5:1; A6:1; B1:1; B2:1; B3:2; B4:1; B4:2
y'sšt	most desirable (used adverbially) y'sšt wprtm A5:2; A6:6; A6:9	kpwt	blue (?) C7:2
YBL	vb. to lead, convey, transport perf. ybl C4:6; C4:38; ywbl B3:2	kptwk	Cappadocia C6:2; C7:2
yd	hand byd B1:6; lydk A2:5	krny	PN C2:1
YD'	vb. to know <i>pe.</i> act. part. yd' ṭ'm / ṭ'm znh A1:*12; A3:4; A4:*6; A5:3; A6:11; A7:2; pass. part. ydy' yhw h lk A6:8; B3:4; <i>haf.</i> act. part. mhwd' A1:3; A6:4	krthrn	adj., pl. m. A2:5
YHB	vb. to give <i>pe.</i> pass. part. yhyb C1:46	krtnk	body guard (?) krtnk' A2:6
ywbr	barley-supplier C4:20; C4:35; C4:*59; ywbr' C4:*2	krtrym	PN or name of a group (?) C8:*5
ywdh	a gift of barley (?); or a PN C4:8; C4:*39	kš	GN: Kiš A5:*4; B9:2
ywm	day C3:2; C3:*18; pl. ywmn A10a:8; C5:4; C5:6	KTb	vb. to write <i>pe.</i> pass. part. ktyb B10:2
ywnš	a small corn field (?) wywnš C4:54	I	prep. See also s.v. yd . to, w. verbs of speech and command A1:4; A1:6; A6:3; A6:4; B4:1; to, w. verbs of giving A1:10; to, before month name in a dating formula A1:14; A2:3; A2:5; A2:9; A3:6; A4:8; C3:1; C4:47; accusative marker A1:2; A1:11; A4:2; B1:5; of, concerning A1:9; of, belonging to B10:2 (?); C1:33; for, indicating purpose or target C1:26; C1:37; C1:47; C3:21; C3:22; C4:1a; C4:24; C4:40; C5:3; C7:3; for, indicating a period of time C5:4; C5:6; impossible to determine for lack of context A8:1; C5:1; w. possessive suffixes: ly B2:3; B3:3; B5:5. lk A6:7; A6:8; B1:1; B1:2; B1:6; B2:1; B3:4 (2x); B5:*1; C5:9; lh A1:4; A1:5; ln' B1:2; lhm A1:3; A1:10; A1:11
YḤT	vb. to put, impose imperf. yhyṭw A1:9; <t> yhyṭw A1:11	P	negative particle: no A1:2 (2x); A1:4; A1:6; A1:12; A4:4; A6:3; A6:4; A6:5; A6:10 (2x); A8:5; B1:1; B2:3; B3:3; B5:7; B5:9; in a negative imperative phrase A6:9; wl' A6:5
ynmh	? B5:*4	lhn	but A1:10; A2:6; B1:3; B3:4; B4:3; B9:3
yrh	month C4:24; C4:28; byrh C1:1; C4:11; C4:*15; C4:*19; C4:42; C4:*47	lm	particle marking a quotation in direct speech A2:1; A2:2; A4:1; A4:3
YŠR	<i>haf.</i> to send hwšrt A2a:1; B1:1; B2:*1; B4:1	I'bq	see 'bq
yšt	<i>Yasht</i> , sacrifice, a Zoroastrian ceremony yšt' C1:44	lqbl	see qbl
ytyr	more, superfluous A1:9; A1:11	LQH	vb. to take <i>pe.</i> perf. lqh A9:*2; A9:*11; lqh w C4:*19; imperf. ylqh B4:*4; imper. qh A2:2; A2:5
kwmy	GN: Kūmi A3:6	mgdspkn	? A3:*6
kwpdt	GN or PN C2:1; C2:3	mdynh	town, province mdynt' A4:2; A4:*4; B8:*2
kzy	see under zy		
kl	all, total A3:*1; A10:4; C3:45; C7:7; kl' A2:5; A6:10; B1:2; B1:3; B1:5		
kms	locust kms' A4:3; A4:3; A4:5		
kn	thus A1:1; A1:8; A2a:4; A4:2; A6:2; A8:4; B1:7; B7:3; B10:2 (2x); C5:7; knm A6:5		
ksh	fodder A10a:9; C1:32; C1:36; C3:22		
kskyn	lapis-lazuli coloured (?) C1:17		

pe. perf. **nsp** C4:5; C4:44; C4:46; C4:47; **nspw** C4:37; C4:41
nštwn command, statute
nštwn A1:10; A6:6
NTN (?) **ntn** see s.v. **nt**
s abbreviation for *seʿa*, a measure of capacity for dry items
A10:3; A10:4; A10a:10; C3:21; C3:22; C3:23; C3:24; C3:38; C3:41; C3:43; C3:44; C3:45 (2x); C3:46; C4:12; C4:*29; C7:7
swhtk burnished (?)
C7:3
swsh horse
C1:41; **swsy** A10a:7; A10a:9; **lswsy** C7:3; **swsyn** C7:8
shry around
A4:2
shš date palms (?)
C1:23
sywn month name: Sivan
sywn C4:11; C4:14; C4:19; **lsywn** A4:*8; C4:*1
syt sheltered (animal) (?)
C1:5; C1:9
sm₁ (or **wsm**?) granary
byt wsm A6:2; A6:*4; A6:8
sm₂ herb, spice (?)
sm A9:3; A9:*11; **smyn** A9:1
smgwn of black colour (?)
C6:4
smyd fine flour (?)
C1:14
smkn see **wsmkn**
sndst brocade (?)
C6:3
ssn PN: Sāsān
C4:56
sp jug; a measure of capacity for liquid
C1:29; pl. **spn** C1:27; C1:28; C1:30
spdprn PN: Spādafarnah
B3:3
spyt PN: Spaita or Spita
A4:2; D6:1
spr₁ scribe, secretary
spr A1:12; A2:7; A3:3; A4:6; A5:3; A6:11; A7:2; C3:42
spr₂ letter, document
spr B10:2
srwšy discipline, punishment (?)
C3:41
srybr PN: Saryabara (?)
D3:1
sryw ?
A10a:7
srkr chief, superintendent (?)
pl. **srkrn** C3:40
srp gulp; or resin, balsam
srpy C6:1
BD vb. to do, act
pe. perf. **bd** A2:*4; B6:4 (?); **bdt** A4:2; A6:5;

A6:5; B9:4; **bdm** A8:1; imperf. **ybd** A4:4.
tbd A6:9; B2:3; **nbd** A4:3; **tbdw** A5:3; B7:3;
tbdwn A8:5; **ybdw** A1:*11; **ybdwn** A4:6;
imper. **bd** A6:6; **bdw** A5:2; A8:4; pass. part.
bd A2:1; **byd** A5:2; inf. **lmbd** A4:1; A4:2;
A5:1; *itp.* **ytbd** A5:1
bdh, **bydh** work, task
bdt A1:11; A2a:2; **bydthm** A4:5
bwr corn, crop
bwr A4:*3; A4:6; A6:3; A6:7; A6:10
bq haste
lbq B4:4
gl calf
C1:6
d until
A2:5; A9:9; **ntr d** A1:4; **d zy** A4:1; A6:9; **d k'nm** see **k'nm**
DH vb. to pass, move
pe. perf. **dyt** A2:1. **dh** C1:3; C1:51
dn time
A4:6
dd or **dr** ?
B9:1
tm ?
tmn C1:23
l prep.: on, over. See also **l hrn** s.v. **hrn**.
to, the destination of a letter or message A1:1;
A1:5 ; A2:1; A2a:1; A3:1; A4:1; A5:1; A6:1;
A10:2; B1:1; B1:9; B1:10; B2:1; B2:4; B3:8;
B4:1; B4:8; to, the destination of a movement,
of transportation, of an allocation A1:4; A6:4;
A6:8; A6:11; A8:3; B3:2; B4:2; B4:3; B4:4;
B6:6 (?); C1:2; C1:3; C1:46; C1:51; C4:56;
for, the purpose of an allocation C1:49; C3:40;
C4:6; C4:8; C4:23; C4:39; C4:44; C4:45; C4:46;
to, the destination of an injunction A2:1; to,
for, the destination of a sacrifice C1:37; C1:40;
C1:44; C3:41; C3:42; in the eyes of A1:9;
being engaged *in* A4:5; concerning (?) B6:8; w.
personal suffixes: **ly** A2:1; A2:5; A4:1; A4:2;
A4:5; A6:1; A6:5; A8:3; B3:6; B4:2; B5:8;
lyhm A1:9; **lyk** A2:4; B1:6; B1:*7; B2:*3;
B3:4; B4:5; B4:*7; B5:4; B5:5; B5:6; B5:7;
B10:2; **lykm** B6:6
Combination: **l zy** A1:10; A2a:1
lym boy, servant
lymy A6:*1; pl. **lymn** C3:21; C4:18
LL *haf.* to bring in
haf. imperf. **thn'l** A6:10; imper. **hn'l** A6:8; part.
mhn'l 6:4; inf. **lhn'lh** A6:4; A6:8
m prep.: with
together with A2:6; C4:47; in the hands of,
received by D1:1; D2:1; D3:1; D4:1; D5:1;
D6:1; D7:1; D8:1; D9:1; D10:1; D11:1; D12:1;
D13:1; D14:1; D15:1; D16:1; D17:1 (2x); D18:1
ŠT vb. *itp.* to think, consider
imperf. **ytšt** A1:9; B5:5
tyq old
pl. m. **tyqn** A6:2

pḥh	governor		qlm	hill
pḥt'	A2:8		qlm'	B8:*3
plg	half		qmh	flour
	C1:34; C1:35; C3:39		qmh ḥwry	B4:*6; C1:15; C1:34; C1:47; qmh
pqyd	officer		dmy	C1:16; C1:35; C1:48
pqyd'	A6:1		qn	sheep
prbr	gift, present			A1:*9; C2:1; C2:2; C5:4; C5:6; qn syt C1:9; qn
pl. prbrn	C6:2		šrk	C1:11
prdk	PN: Frādaka (?)		QRB	to come near, <i>pa.</i> to bring near
	A10:11			<i>pe.</i> perf. qrbt A7:1; B4:2; <i>pa.</i> perf. qrbt A4:2
prwrt	Fravarti, soul of the righteous dead		rhhy	an adjective qualifying a person
pl. prwrtn	C3:44			D6:*1
pry	more		rwtm	?
wpry	B1:6			C1:23
prkn	ditch, moat		rbš	?
prkn'	A4:1; A4:6			C1:*19
prnpt	PN: Farna(h)pāta		rytk	boy, servant
	C8:2		pl. rytky'	C4:24; C4:27; C4:42
prtm	foremost, first; used adverbially: in the best manner		rkš	horses (collective)
	C4:37; A5:2; A6:6; A6:9			A2:*3; A2:6
prtn	PN: Paritana (?)		r'w	pasture
	D11:1			B8:*3
prtrk	foreman, chief		RŠH	vb. to start a suit (?)
w. possessive suffix: prtrkh	A1:8; A5:4			B1:3
pšbr	provisions for the road		rt	judge (?)
pšbr'	C3:44			A9:3
ptgm	speech; decision by a high authority		Š'L	vb. to ask, conduct an interrogation
ptgm'	A1:4			<i>pe.</i> pass. part. š'yl A1:4; A2a:3; <i>itp.</i> tšt'lwn
ptw	see ptp			A1:10
ptzbn	(proclamation of) a prohibition		š'ry	rest, remainder
ptzbn'	A1:5; A1:7		š'ryt	A2:6
ptyr	PN: Patiyāra		šbt	month name: Šebaṭ
	D7:1			A3:6; C3:1
ptkrw	decorated by a picture (qualifies harness)		ŠBQ	vb. to leave, abandon; let go
	C6:5; C7:4			<i>pe.</i> perf. šbqw A1:7; imperf. tšbq A6:10; imper.
ptp, ptw	ration, food portion			šbq A4:5; šbqw A1:11; act. part. pl. šbqn A1:2;
ptp'	C4:10; C4:19; C4:28; C4:42; C5:8; ptw'			inf. lmšbq A1:5; A1:6; lmšbqhm A4:4
	B2:2		ŠGH	vb. to roam, err; <i>haf.</i> to mislead
ptpkn	distributor of rations			<i>haf.</i> imperf. w. object suffix tšgny B5:9
	C4:10; C4:25; pl. ptpk<n>y'		šgy'	much, numerous
ŠBH	vb. to wish, desire			A2a:1; A4:3; B1:1; B1:5; B4:1
<i>pe.</i> pass. part. šbh	B3:4		šwy	heavy, substantial
šbw	wish, desire		šwy'	A4:3
šbwt'	B1:5		ŠWTP (ŠTP)	vb. to associate
QBL₁	vb. to complain			<i>itp.</i> 'wštytp (?) B1:*2
<i>pe.</i> perf. qblt	A1:1; A1:4; A1:6; qblw		šhd	gift, present; bribe
qbl₂	prep. before; in accordance with		pl. šhdn	D2:2
lqbl	A6:6; lqbl zk ... 'yk		šhty	barley meal
lqbl zy	A6:5; A6:8; A6:9			C1:21
qdm	prep. before, in the presence of, with, under the command of		štr, štr	except, apart (from), usually with mn
	A9:3; w. possessive suffixes: qdm_y		štr	A1:10; A6:4; štr
qdm_yk	A4:5; B1:7; B4:2; B6:2; B6:7			B5:9
qdmn	adv. beforehand, earlier		ŠYM	vb. to put, establish
qdmnm	A1:1; A5:2; A6:7			<i>pe.</i> act. part. šym B1:*4; pass. part. šym A1:5;
qwptš	PN: Kaufatača (?)			A5:1; A5:2; A6:2; A6:7; A6:9; B3:3
	D14:1		ŠKH	vb. <i>haf.</i> to find
				perf. hškhw C5:8
			ŠLH	vb. to send
				<i>pe.</i> perf. šlh A6:1; B4:5; B4:7; B5:6; šlht A2:1;

	A2:4; A4:1; A4:4; B1:*1; B2:3; B3:5; B4:2; B5:7; imperf. yšlh B1:7; šlh B1:*6; B10:2; imper. šlh B3:6; B4:3; B4:4; B5:*8; pass. part. šlyh A1:5; A4:1; A6:5		
šlyt	possessing authority or power		tytrwhšt PN: Čiθravahišta
	A4:4		B4:3
ŠLM₁	vb. <i>pa.</i> to pay	tmh	adv. there
	imperf. tšlm A6:10		B2:2; A2:6; B3:5; B4:4; B5:4
šlm₂	peace	tmwz	month name: Tammuz
	B1:1; B1:7; B2:1; B3:5; B4:1; B4:2 (2x); B6:*1; B6:2; B6:*7		C4:*28; C4:42
ŠM^c	vb. to hear	tnh	adv. here
	contexts unclear: šm^c B1:*8; B3:6		A2:1; B4:1; B4:5
šmšm	sesame	tnyn	second
	pl. šmšmn 6:3; A6:7		D1:2
šn	grain field (?)	trwhšt	PN: Tīrivahišta
	pl. šnyh A8:1		B1:10
šnh	year	trngl	chicken
	construct šnt A1:14; A3:6; C1:1; C3:1; C4:1; C4:58; in dating formulae: bšnt C2:1; D1:1; D2:1; D3:1; D4:1; D5:1; D6:1; D7:1; D8:1; D9:1; D10:1; D11:1; D12:1; D13:1; D15:1; D16:1; D17:2		pl. trngln C1:*13
šstkn	an adjective describing wine: of Čista (?)	tr^c	gate; royal court
	C1:30		A1:6
š'r	barley	ttk	PN: Taitaka
	pl. š'rn B6:8; C4:2; C4:4; C4:*9; C4:23; C4:36; C4:*38; C4:40; C4:43; C4:45; C4:48; C4:51		D1:1; D9:1; D15:1
ŠŠY	vb. to complete		
	inf. lšsyh B1:*4		
šrgm'	?		
	C1:28		
šrk	pasturing (adj.)		
	C1:7; C1:11		
šrrt	firmness, strength		
	A2a:*1; B1:1; B4:1		
šrtwk	PN: Čāratuka (?)		
	D11:1		
ŠTP	see ŠWTP		
štr	see štr		
štrbrzn	PN: Čiθrabarzana		
	whwhšw br štrbrzn A1:1		
štrykr	PN: Čiθriyakara		
	D17:1		
štršrdt	PN: Čiθračardāta (?)		
	B4:*1		
tbl	spice, herb		
	pl. tbln C1:22		
TWB	vb. <i>haf.</i> to give back		
	imper. htbw A1:10; inf. lhtbh A1:6		
twb	adv. again		
	A1:4; A1:6; A1:10		
twr	bovine, cow		
	A1:8; C1:5; pl. twrn C1:7		
tḥmknš	sowing as seeds (?)		
	tḥmknš' A6:3; A6:7; A6:10		
tyry	PN: Tīri		
	D8:1		

Index

A. NAMES AND SUBJECTS

- Achaemenian dynasty 16, 22
 Achaemenian Empire 18, 51
 administration 15, 18, 23, 211
 Afghanistan 15, 32, 97, 99
 Ahurādata 26, 27, 28, 29, 58, 69, 74, 195, 196, 204, 205, 207, 209, 269
 Ahura Mazda 36, 129
 Akh^ʿamazda 17, 21-30, 38, 39, 50, 51, 58, 63, 68, 69, 70, 73, 75, 80, 81, 82, 85, 90, 91, 93, 96, 99, 104, 112-115, 118, 120, 121, 185, 269
 Alexander the Great 15, 16, 18-21, 26, 57, 180, 181, 189, 193, 199, 203, 206, 269
 Amainakana (Mīnak, Mīnk) 22, 27, 203, 204
 Amesha Spenta 171
 Amu Darya 70. See also Oxus
 Aornus, Aornos 19-22, 180, 181, 272. See also Varnu
 Arachosia 22, 57, 178, 183, 245, 272
 Araivānt 22, 26, 28, 58, 203, 204, 206, 207, 209, 210, 215, 270
 archive 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 39, 191
 Arshama, Arshama documents 12, 15, 17, 22, 23, 24, 30, 37, 39, 50, 51, 73, 181
 Arta 150
 Artadatana 22, 81, 81, 270
 Artaxerxes I 190
 Artaxerxes (I or II) 23 n.
 Artaxerxes II 35
 Artaxerxes III 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 57, 68, 70, 80, 81, 90, 91, 93, 97, 190, 270
 Artaxerxes IV (Arses) 180
 Artaxerxes V 18, 57, 177, 178, 180, 270. See also Bayasa
 Aśoka inscriptions 73, 98, 99, 149, 210
 Athfiya, Āθfiya 24, 50, 58, 81, 270
 Babylonian Talmud 30, 33, 72, 156
 Bactra 17, 18-23, 25, 26, 57, 73, 118, 120, 121, 178, 179, 180, 181, 208, 271. See also Balkh
 Bactria 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 32, 36, 39, 51, 54, 57, 58, 63, 70, 81, 114, 118, 120, 121, 155, 180, 181, 184, 185, 190, 191, 206, 212, 269, 271
 Bagavant 16-19, 21-28, 30, 38, 39, 50, 52, 53, 58, 63, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 80, 81, 90, 91, 93, 96, 97, 99, 104, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 120, 121, 124, 125, 128, 196, 271
 Balkh 15, 17-21, 24, 99, 180. See also Bactra
 barley 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 55, 58, 59, 163, 178, 183, 191, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209, 212, 274, 277, 278
 barley-supplier 26, 28, 58, 59, 191, 203, 204, 205, 206, 274
 Bayasa, Bayāça, Bessus 18, 19, 177, 179, 180, 270, 271. See also Artaxerxes V
 Bessus, see Bayasa
 Bukhara 97
 Buner 20
 Cappadocia 22, 35, 217, 222, 274
 Central Asia 18, 197
 Chisht 22, 56, 183
 Chithrabarzana 25, 28, 69, 278
 corn 25, 39, 113, 116, 276
 Daizaka 16, 23, 24, 50, 58, 80, 81, 84, 85, 93, 96, 99, 118, 272
 Danga 26, 28, 58, 203, 204, 272
 Darius III (Dārayavahuš) 18, 19, 31, 57, 143, 180, 190, 233, 237, 239, 241, 243, 245-256, 272
 Drapsaca (Kunduz) 20
 Egypt 15, 17, 22, 28, 37, 39, 41, 45, 47, 51, 70, 113, 183
 Farghāna 97
 “foreman” 55, 57, 59, 69, 74, 104, 196, 277
 fortification 17, 97
 fortress 17, 18, 20, 30, 51, 58, 84, 91, 97, 120, 121, 180, 271, 273
 garrison 25, 96, 98
 governor 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 58, 70, 81, 113, 277
 granary 25, 113, 114, 115, 129, 276
 Hashavakhshu 23, 59, 68, 69, 272
 Herat 22, 29, 83, 183
 Hindukush 19, 20, 181
 judge(s) 28, 35, 70, 74, 83, 125, 272, 277
 Karshi 17, 22, 24, 91, 97, 99. See also Nakhshab, Nasaf and Nikhshapaya
 Khulm, Khulmi 16-20, 22-27, 58, 69, 70, 73, 81, 97, 99, 104, 106, 113, 180, 181, 271, 273. See also Khulmi, Tashkurgan
 Kish 21, 22, 25, 28, 104, 169, 274. See also Shahr-i Sabz
 Kūm, Kūmi 22, 274
 Kunduz 20, 21, 81, 181
 locust 24, 25, 28, 96, 98, 99, 274
 Maithanaka 18-22, 178, 179, 180, 275
 “master of the command (order)” 24, 29, 50, 271

Mazar-i Sharif 21
 millet 27, 33, 34, 163, 203, 204, 205, 272
 Mīnak, Mīnk, see Amainakana
 Nakhshab, Nasaf 17, 24, 24 n. 16, 84, 91, 97,
 106. See also Nikhshapaya, Nasaf and
 Karshi
 Nikhshapaya 17, 21, 22, 24, 24 n. 16, 25, 96,
 97, 99, 275. See also Nakhshab, Nasaf and
 Karshi
 Nurafratara 3, 22, 53, 59, 104, 112, 113, 275
 Ochus (Artaxerxes III) 190
 Ochus 114
 Oxus (Vakhshu) 15, 17, 20, 24, 57, 58, 59, 70,
 75, 81, 97, 105, 155, 185, 191, 206, 211,
 212
 palimpsest 16, 51, 85, 107, 126, 128, 130, 137,
 143, 148, 155, 167
 Persepolis 97, 115, 150, 211
 “ration provider” 26, 27, 28, 52, 55, 58, 179,
 203, 204, 277
 Samarkand 84, 97
 Sardis inscription 218
 satrap 15, 17, 17 n. 4, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28,
 30, 39, 50, 58, 63, 70, 113, 121, 190, 269
 satrapy 15, 17, 73
 scribe 16, 17, 23, 24, 24 n. 14, 28, 29, 33, 38,
 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 68, 69, 80, 81, 83,
 84, 91, 93, 96, 99, 104, 112, 116, 118, 125,
 195, 196, 276
 Scythians 17
 sesame 25, 113, 278
 Shahr-i Sabz 22, 25, 106
 Sogdiana 15, 17, 17 n. 4, 18, 19, 22, 91, 180,
 181, 208
 soldier(s) 29, 32, 81, 82, 84, 215, 273
 “superintendent” 29, 56, 195, 276
 supervisor 26, 28, 56, 58, 59, 195, 196, 203-207,
 209, 270, 233
 tallies 15, 18, 31, 32, 33, 231, 234, 238, 250
 Tashkurgan 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 99, 106. See also
 Khulm
 taxes 25, 26, 28, 207, 227
 Tirmidh 97
 Turkestan 20
 troops 19, 24, 25, 51, 55, 75, 81, 84, 96, 98, 118,
 134, 272, 273
 Ushrushana 22, 208
 Uzbekistan 97
 Vahuvakhshu 25, 28, 59, 69, 75, 272
 Vakh-āb see Ochus
 Vakhshudata 26, 28, 59, 203-206, 272
 Vanhvī-Dāityā, see Ochus
 Varaina 22, 26, 26 n. 21, 28, 191, 196, 204, 205,
 206, 207, 209, 210, 272
 Varāna 20
 Varnu 18-22, 178-181, 272. See also Aornus
 Vishtaspa 26, 28, 58, 189, 190, 191, 204, 206,
 272
 Vohu Manah 171
 Warwaliz 20
 wheat 34, 182, 203, 204, 273
 Xerxes I 190
 Zariaspa 17, 18, 20, 22, 30, 121, 180

B. WORDS

I. IRANIAN

OLD IRANIAN

**ā-bara-* or *ā-bāra-* 184
abra- 211
**ā-črna-* 57, 182
**a-dauša-* (?) 98
**ādranga-* 55, 115
**ādu-āpa-* 59, 252
ādu-ka[ni]šahya 115
**ā-dv(a)iša(h)-* 57, 98
ā-fras- 116
**ā-frašta-* 55, 116
**ahura-dāta-* 57
**ā-kṛsta-* 57, 217
**amava-dāta-* 59, 210
amavant- 210, 238
antar 51, 56, 73
**anu-misa-*, **anu-miça-* 58
**anya-* 75, 105
**an(y)a-ravy(a)-* 55, 105
**apa-θanga-* 208
**arta-* 150
**arta-dātana-* 82
**artaina-pāta-* 58, 150
**aryaka-* (?) 215
**aspa-manga-* 55, 223
**aspa-rāsta-* 184
aš.frabərəti- Av. 218
āt(a)r- 113
**āt(a)r-pāta-* 58, 113, 215
**āt(a)r-vāza-* 58, 113, 206
**āθanga-* 209
**aθang-iça-* 55, 209
**aθfiya-*, *aθwya-* Av., *aθwyāni-* Av. 58, 85
ava-stā- 229
**ava-stāka-* (?) 55, 229
**ā-vṛdu-* 182
axšaēna- Av., *axšaina-* OP 155
**ax^va-mazdā-* 58, 70
**ax^va-mižda-* 70
**azdā-yāpa-* 59, 105
**azgand-* 55
**bagaiça-* 58, 142, 196
**bagavant-*, **bagavanta-* 58, 70
**baga-yaza-* 58, 237
**bagina-* 56, 184

**bāgya-* 36, 56, 184
baṇha Av. 223
bānu- Av. 237
**bānuvant-* 238
**-bara-* 239
**bārya-* 59, 229
**baxtri-farna(h)-* 58, 155
**baya-θra-*, OP **baya-ça-* 19, 180
čara- 250
čāra- 250
**čaraka-*, **čāraka-* 56, 181
**çayita-*, see **sita-*
**čiça-*, **tiça-*, see **čiθra-*
**čina-* 121
**čistakāna-* 56, (183)
**čiθra-*, OP *čiça-* 155, 257
**čiθra-b(a)rzana-* 59, 70
**čiθra-čar-dāta-* 58, 155
**čiθra-vahišta-* 59, 155
**čiθriya-*, **čiθriya-kara-* 59, 257
dab-, **daba-* (?) 72
daēman- Av. 228
dahyu- 75
**dahyu-b(a)rzana-*, **dahyu-brδana-* 59, 163
**daimaka-* 59, 228
**dainā-* 35, 56, 58, 70, 194, 195, 272
**dainaya-* 58, 70
**daizaka-* 84
**dama-* 182
dāmi-dāta- Av. 210
**damya-* 33, 57, 182
**dāmya-data* 182, 210
**dāmya-data-kāna-* 55, 210
**dānga-*, *dāṇha-* 58
**dastaka-* 114
**dastakāni-* 113
**dastaya-kṛta-* OP 71
**dast-kṛta-* 218
**dāta-* 185
daθuš- Av. 129
**daθuša(h)-farna(h)-* 58, 129
**dauçiya-* OP 184
**dauša-xwar-*, *dauša-xwāra-* 55, 82
**daušiyam* OP 184
dā(y)- 207
didā- OP, **dizā-* 84
**dauga-*, *dūga-* 57
dvar- Av. 135
**farnah-* 129
**farnah-pāta-* 58, 225

**fra-bāra-* (?) 57, 218
frād- 59
**frādaka-* 59
**fras-*, see **pṛs-*
**fra-kāna-*, **pari-kāna-* 55, 97
fratama OP 28, 56, 105
**fratamya-* 105
**frataraka-* 28, 55, 74, 196
**fravarti-* 36, 56, 196, 197
fravascarāt- Av. 181
fravaši- Av. 196
**frāyah-* 56, 136
frya- Av. 136
**gafrišta-* 57, 143
**gam-* 98
**ga(n)za-bara-* 55, 171
**gari-datika-* (?) 56, 217
**gaunaka-* 229
**gaunakāna-* 59, (229)
**gau-varza-* (?) 57, 212
**gauz-*, **gauza-* 59, 233
**gavāza-* 59, 233
-gmata- OP 98
**gṛda-taka-* (?) 217
**gufrišta-* 143
**ham-čyā* 70-71
ham-darz- Av. 82
**hančyā-kṛta-* 55, 70-71
handarəza- Av. 82
**hašyā-kṛta-*, see **hančyā-kṛta-*
**handarza-* 55, 82
**haraivaka-* 29, 83, 272
hara^huvatī OP 183
**harahvatī*, **haraxvati* 183, 245
**haraxva-* 183
**harax^vanya-* 57, (183)
**haš(y)a-vaxšu-* 59, 75
**haumanaha-*, see **humanah-*
**hmāra-* 73
hu.frabərəti- Av. 218
**hu-manah-* 58, 171
-inām 197
jafra-, *gufra-*, **jafrišta-* 143
**kan-* 225
**-kāna-* 185, 229
**kapauta-* 56
kapautaka- OP 223
**kāra-tanu-ka-* 29, 55, 84
**kart-* 217
**karta-daima(n)-* 59, 225
kāsaka- OP 155, 182
**kāsakaina-* 56, 182
**kaufa-* 191
**kaufa-dāta-* 59, 191
**kaufa-tača-* (?) 253
**kay-* 225
**kay-*, *či-* 121
**kṛta-* 71
mā- 207
**maiθmāniya-*, **maiθmān-* 55, 184
**maitāna-* 180
**man-* 114
**manga-* 223
**margu-dāta-* 59, 171
mati- Av. 114
**maza-tanu-pati-* (?) 59, 225
**migda-* 91
**migda-spā-* (?), **migda-spā-kāna-* (?) 59, 91
**miθra-farna(h)-* 58, 136
**miθra-pāta-* 58, 163
**miθra-vaxšu-* 58, 59, 212
nāfa-, **nāfavant-*, **nāfava(n-)zāta-* 59, 238, 255
**nāfa-b(a)rzana-* 59, 207
**nait* (?), **nai(y)* OP 74
**nava-tača-* (?) 72
nay- 251
**nayaka-* 59, 251
nī- / *nay-* 74
**ni-mita-* 207
**ništavan(a)-*, *ništāvan(a)-* 55, 75
**nita-* 74
**nīxša-pāya-* 24 n., 97
**nura-fratarā-* 59, 106
nurəm Av. 106
pairivāra- Av. 218
**pari-bar-* 218
**paribarānā-* (?) 57, 218
**pari-kāna-* see **fra-kāna-*
**pari-tana-* 59, 250
pasuka- Av. 181
**pasča* 197
**pasčābara-* 55, 197
**pasča-dāta-* 197
**pašyābara-* (?), see **pasčābara-*
**pati-ā-bara-* (?) see **pasčābara-*
**patigāma-* 55
patikara- OP, **patikaravant-* 56, 223
**patiyara-* 59, 246
**patizbana-*, **patizbāna-* 55, 73
pati-zbaya- OP 73

**piθva-*, **piθvā-*, **piθfa-*, **piθfā-* 55, 209
**piθva-kāna-* 28, 55, 209
**pr̥s-*, *fras-* 51
**ram-* 98
**rāma-š(y)āti-* 98
**ramya-* 181
raon-, *ravan-* Av. 105
**rav-* 105
**raza-* 182
**sāma-gauna-* 56, 219
**sarakara-*, *sarakāra-* 29, 56, 195
sarya-, **sarya-bara-* 59, 239
**saryava(nt)-* 59, 129
**sita-*, *ṣāyita-* 56, 181
**spāda-farna(h)-* 59, 149
**sp(a)ita-* 59, 98, 245
**sraošyā-* Av. 196
**sraušya-*, **sraušyā-* 29, 56, 196
**sraušyatā-* OP 196
**suxta-(ka)-* 56, 223
**tauxma-kaniš* 56, 115
tbaēšah-, *dvaēšah-* Av. 98
**tīr(a)ya-* 58, 247
**tīri-dāta-* 247
**tīri-vahišta-*, *tīra-vahišta* 58, 137
**θrā-* 181
**upa-bariya-* 55, 184
**upa-daya-* 207
**upa-dīta-* 26, 28, 56, 196
**upa-dvāra-* (?) 59, 135
upaēiti-, *upāiti-* Av. 83
**upa-θanga-* 208
**upa-hmata-* 56, 98
**upa-ita-*, **upa-iti-* 55, 83
**upāiti-*, see *upaēiti-*
**upari-vana-* 59, 253
**upasta-*, *upastačani-*, **upastačini-* 225
**uspr̥na-*, **aspr̥na-* 55, 116
**uštra-* 56
**uštra-pāna-* 52, 56, 70
**uz-gāma-* 55, 206, 210
vačah- Av. 136
**vača(h)-dāta-* 58, 136
**vača(h)-xratu-* 136
**vāčaka-* 55, 136
**vačaxaya-*, see **vača(h)-xratu-*
vahu- 142
**vahuča-*, **vahuč-* 60, 142-143
**vahu-čiθra-*, **vahu-čiça-* 143
**vahu-maiti(a)-*, **vahu-mati-* 114

**vahu-vaxšu-* 59, 70
**vahvi-maiti(a)-* 114
**va(h)ya(h)-* 215, 225
**vahya(h)-ātr-*, **va(h)ya(h)-ātar-* 58, 113
**va(h)ya(h)-zaya-* (?) 58, 215
**vahyaz-daya-* OP 215
**vaidya-vara-* (?) 60, 191
**vaidyūra-* (?) 60, 191
vaphvī-dāityā Av. 114
**varča(h)-varzana-* 60, 209
**varta-* 136
**vartaina-* 60, 136
**vātahya*, **vātya-* 36, 56, 184-185
**vaxšu-abda-dāta-* (?) 59, 211
**vaxšu-abra-dāta-* (?) 59, 211
**vaxšu-bandaka-* 59, 185
**vaxšu-dāta-* 59, 206
**vaxšu-vahišta-* 59, 105
**vayu-bāzu-* 215
**vayu-zaya-* (?) 58, 215
**vi-kana-va(nt)-* (?) 60, 249
vohu manah Av. 171
**vṛduš* (?) 56, 182
**xšaina-ka-* 155
**xšaita-* 60, 227
**xšaθra-* 241
**xšaθraka-* 58, 241
**xšaθrakāna-* 58, 211
**xšaθra-kāna-*, **xšaθrī-kānī-*, **xšaθra-kānyā-* 56, 209
**xšvip(a)-* 57, 165
xšviwī° Av. 165
**xʷača(h)-dāta-* (?) 58, 185
**xʷāra-* 82
**xʷar-d(a)ušta(r)-* 58, 85
**xʷaša-* (?), **xʷaša-dāta-* (?) 185
**xʷašainaka-* 57, 156
**yās-*, **yāsišta-* 105
yasna- 36
yaθā mām kāma OP 52
**yava-bara-* 26, 28, 206
**yava-dāh-* 55, 209
zaoθra- Av., **zaoθrya-* 184
**zara-tanu-gari-ča-kāna-*, **zara-tanu-gariš-* *kāna-* 59, 227
**zarō-gavaθya-* (?) 60, 156
**zauθra-* 56
**zgnd-* (?) 106
**zṛva-gavaθya-* (?) 60, 156
**zyānā-*, **zyānī-* 55, 159

BACTRIAN

αβαρο 184
αβιδανο 83
αβυαγγο 208
αζγαμο 206
γωνζο 129
δαθβο 129
ζηρο 184
λιστηγερδο, λιστιγερδο 113
οαρνο 19, 180
οιζαγγο, οιζαγγοδαρο 105
παρογανο 97
υαργο 30 n.
τητοκο 233

CHORESMIAN

fr'g'mk 98

KHOTANESE

hamtsa 70

OSSETIC

bæstæ 225
gon, gom 129
nymajyn 207
xæccæ 70-71

PARTHIAN

'byd 83
'wpdyt see *updēt*
'zg'm 206
Č'r (Man.) 182
dastegerd, dastegird 71, 113
gyšng 156
hwt 212
jafr (Man.) 143
jfryst (Man.) 143
krny (Inscr.) 191
updēt 207
w'c 136

PASHTO

gūnj 129
melma 184

PERSIAN, MIDDLE

abēdag, abēdāg 83
ādur 113
ādurbād 113
āfrāh 116
āhang 209
'ltyn- 150
āmad 98
andar (BYN) 51
andarz kardan, andarzēnīdan 51
anšahrīg 75
āsān 181
āsūdan, āsāy- 181
bang, mang 223
bārīg 229
bēš 98
čārag 182
čihriḡ 257
dām ud dad 210
dar (BB') 73
dast-kerd "estate" 113
dēn 195
dwāristan, dwār- 135
ērang "guilty" 115
fragān 97
frawardīn 197
gašnag 156
gwnkn BRY 229
handarz 82
harāy, harg 30
hr'g 71
hš'gyrd 70, 71
-īd 181
kabōd 223
k'lny (Inscr.) 191
kōh 191
-mad, see *āmad*
mang, see *bang*
mehmān 55, 184
ōstīgān 229
pādefrāh 51, 72
pahikar 223
paykar see *pahikar*
p'rgyn 97
petyār(ag) 246
rēdag 209
rōn 105
šēbišn 165
tā ('D) 73

uzēn, uzēnag 206
w'c, w'z (Man.) 136
wāzag (**w'ck**) 136
xwaš(š) (**BSYM**) 156, 185
ziyān 159
zofr, *žofr, *žufz* (zwpr**) 143

PERSIAN, NEW

āhang 209
ālū 182
andarz 82
āsān 181
āsūdān, āsāy- 181
čākar 71
čāre 182
čina 121
dām u dad 182, 210
dīm 228
diz 84
dūy 183
farbāl(e), farvāl(e) 218
farkan(d) 97
hazīne 206
kabōd 223
kōh 191
pārgīn 97
paykar 223
qašang 156
rōn 105
ṣāḥib 71
sarkār 195
sundus 218
šāgird 70, 71
šēb 165
šuturvān 70
tā 73
xašīn 156
xuškāre 156
x^vaš(š) 156, 185
yāsa 105
ziyān 159
žarf 143

SOGDIAN

'wst-, 'wst't- 229
'xs'yn'k 156
'xšnk- 156
'zγ'nt 106
βγn 184
βr''mt, βr'mty' 98
čr'q 181
δβ'r-, δβr- 218
fr'mt 98
mēθan 180
nm'y- 207
ny'z'nk, 'ny'znk 105
ny'-zng 105
ny'zng 105
prβ'r 218
prβ'yr- 218
prbr'nh 218
prβyr 218
prk'yn 97
pš'βr, pyš'βr, pš'br, pš'br 197
pyš''βr, see pš''βr
txmcyk ''δ'wkh 115
θbr-, θvar- 218
xwšyp 165
zγ'm 206
zγ'nt(t) 106
zy''n 159
žyntt 106

II. OTHER LANGUAGES

Arranged alphabetically

AKKADIAN

alāku(m) 30
ašgandu 106
bābu 73
ilku(m) 30, 71
maddattu 30
suḥšš(m) 183
ṭuppam ḥepû 33 n. 36
up-pa-di-e-ti 207

ARABIC

daskara 114
γulām 71
ḤṬṬ 74
kharāj 30, 71
maydān 180
niṣf 207
NŞF, *anṣafa* 207
ŞHB, *ṣāhib* 71

ARAMAIC, JEWISH BABYLONIAN

'drkt', **štr 'drkt'** 115
'wz 206
'yzgd' 106
dsqrt' 114
gwšqr', **kwšqr'** 156
krq', **kr'g'**, **'krq'** 30
kysn' 182
mṭwprs', see *ptyprs'*
NDY 126
NGD 71
NKY 126
nyzq' 159
prwwr' 218
***ptyprs'**, ***pṭwprs'**, **mṭwprs'** 72
pytp' 143
qṭr' 33
Š'L 71
ŠWY 98
tbr' 33, 33 n.
zyyn', **zywn'**, **dy'n'** 159

ARAMAIC, OFFICIAL (AND BIBLICAL)

'rywkw 215

'šrn 182

'zd' 135

be 'el ṭe 'em (b'l ṭ'm) 24 n.

bəlō 30

gzbr' 171

hālāk 30

knm' "thus" 115

lhšny' "to alter, act upon in a contrary manner, transgress" 105, 106

mindā 30

prbr 218

spr' 24n. 14

ŠNY 105

tbr' 24n. 14

tr' "gate" 73

zkrn "memorandum" 212

ARAMAIC, PALESTINIAN

lhšny' "to transgress, trespass" 106

NKY 126

ARMENIAN

artēn 150
ašakert 70
bagin 184
gušak 23 n. 12
dastakert 113
hark 30
hratarak 74
pašar 197
paštatakan 197
pētk' 83
pitak 83
zoh 184

ELAMITE

(including forms reconstructed from Elamite)

Akšena 156
artab 37
Artuka 82
Bagaiča 142
Bagavanta 70
Bārya 229
baššabara 197
Dahyu-brδana 163
Dāmidāta 210
daušam 184

fratamya- 105
Gaunaka 229
Gauzaina 233
Ir-te-na 150
mar(r)iš 37, 183
mitiyawiš 191
Nāfavant 255
QA 37
tamšiyam, see *daušam*
Tišša 155
Upa-daya 207
Vahu-čiθra 143
Vahu-čiça 143
Vahuka 142
Vahuš 143
Vahyaz-daya 215
za-rák-kaš 181
Zišša 155

GREEK

Ἀόρνος 20, 22, 180
Ἀρια, 83
Βήσος 19
ἐπίσκοπος 207
ἐφοδοί 207
Ζαριάσπα 22
Καπαδοκία 217
Κωφήν or *Κωφής* 191
Ξερίππα 22, 24
μή ἄλως ποιήσεται 71
παῖηζ
Τιθράνστης 155
Φαρναπάτης 225

HEBREW

ʾrywk 215
gammāl 195
GBH 207-208
gzbr 171
NŠP 207
nšp 207
prbr, *prwr*, *prwwr* 218
prtm 54, 105, 211
prwr, see *prbr*
ptgm 73
qšr 33
šwbr 33, 33 n. 36
šaʿar 73
zkrn 212

INDIAN, OLD

akṣa- 155
āvaraṇa- 20
damya- 182
gabhīrāḥ 143
gāmbhiṣṭha- 143
goṇī- 129
kṣipāti 165
ramyā- 182
upastha- 225

MANDAIC

ašganda 106
qmsʾ 98
zynʾ or *zʾynʾ* 159

PHOENICIAN

spm 183

SYRIAC

ʾzgdʾ, *ʾyzgdʾ* 106
gammāl 195
dūyā 183
dsqrtʾ 114
kesānā 182
kstʾ 184
NDʾ, *ND* 126
nwtšʾ 72
QBL 70
qmsʾ 98
rautā 183
ŠWY 98
šahθī 183
wazzā 206
zwtrʾ 184

UGARITIC

nšp “half” 207

