

**Matthew W. Stolper – Oriental Institute,
University of Chicago**

From the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, 4

'His Own Death' in Bisotun and Persepolis¹

In the Elamite, Babylonian and Old Persian texts that accompany and explain the relief sculpture carved on the cliff at Bisotun, Darius I says of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, that he had been king previously, that he had killed his brother Bardiya in secret, that he went to Egypt, that a pretender named Gaumata claimed to be Bardiya and became king. Then the three versions say, in terms that are nearly precise counterparts of one another, that Cambyses 'died his own death.' The Old Persian—the last version carved on the rock in antiquity and the first version deciphered in modern times—has *uvamaršiyuš amariyatā* (§11 i 43). The Babylonian has *mītūtu ramanišu mīti* (17). The Elamite has *halpi duhema halpik* (i 33).

The translation and interpretation of these phrases have been matters of disagreement since Henry Rawlinson published the Old Persian in 1847, that is, for exactly as long as it has been possible to translate cuneiform texts and to disagree over their interpretation. In the twentieth century, the history and scholarship on this phrase were surveyed by Dandamaev (1976 [1963]:146-151, cf. Dandamaev 1962), Wiesehöfer (1978:57-60), Walser (1979), Shahbazi (1986:164-165), Balcer (1987:95-99), and Yamauchi (1996:389-90).

The first issue was lexical and etymological. Rawlinson translated "Cambyses, unable to endure his (misfortunes) died." He commented that *uvamaršiyuš* literally signified 'not enduring himself,' allowing an idiomatic translation "he died in his wrath." (Rawlinson 1847:xxviii, 202). Benfey (1847:10, 77) followed both Rawlinson's analysis ("amarshiyu zornig [= a priv und marsh = sskr.

¹ An earlier version of these remarks was presented at the 221st meeting of the American Oriental Society in Chicago, March, 2011. The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project has received timely support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Farhang Foundation, the Getty Foundation, the Iran Heritage Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Geographic Society Committee for Research and Exploration, the PARS Community Foundation, the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute, the University of Chicago Women's Board, the Friends of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, and other donors and organizations.



mrish dulden]: sehr zornig”) and his idiomatic interpretation (“starb ... vor über grossem Zorn”). As early as 1851 Jules Oppert published what he had already told Rawlinson in 1848, that the root in *uvamaršiyuš* was cognate with the accompanying verb, having to do not with enduring but with dying; it meant ‘tuant soi-même’ (Oppert 1851:385-87). Oppert’s corrections provoked rebuttals from Rawlinson, and young Oppert’s cocky readiness to go on correcting the revered Rawlinson appalled Fulgence Fresnel and other members of the French expedition to Babylonia in 1851-55 (Pillet 1922:199f.). Nevertheless, in 1852 Edwin Norris adopted at least Oppert’s general idea in his conjectures about the “Scythian” (that is, Elamite) version, though Rawlinson’s squeeze was very incomplete at this point (‘killing himself(?) was killed’ 1855:100, ‘voluntarily(?) killed himself’ 1855:137). As early as 1862 Friedrich Spiegel recognized that *uvamaršiyuš* was not an adjective but a substantive (Spiegel 1862:81, 151, and 190, see Schulze 1912:687). When the Babylonian version became available it supported this analysis. Eberhard Schrader’s critical appraisal of the decipherments in 1872 rendered the Persian phrase as “darauf starb Kambyses, indem er sich selbst tödtete” and the Babylonian as “das Sterben seiner selbst starb er” and “starb ... den Tod seiner selbst (= tödtete sich selbst)” (Schrader 1872:261, 342).

From Oppert on, as the discussions that accompany some of these analyses and translations show, the issue became interpretive, that is, What does it mean to say that he ‘died his own death?’

To complicate the issue of interpretation, and to cloud the boundary between interpretation and translation, this passage appears in one of the five (of seventy, in the Old Persian version) paragraphs of text whose contents correspond to Herodotus’s account of Darius’s rise to power (Old Persian §§10-13 and §68, corresponding to Elamite §§10-12 and §54, Babylonian §§10-12 and §54, Aramaic §14 [xi 74-77]). They sometimes agree in detail with Herodotus, but in narrating the death of Cambyses Herodotus includes detail and tone that are absent from Darius’s version. Herodotus tells that Cambyses was agitated by remorse over the killing of his brother Smerdis and the ascendancy of the pretender Smerdis, that as he mounted his horse the tip of his scabbard came off, that the blade struck his leg in the same spot where Cambyses himself had struck and killed the sacred Apis bull in Egypt, that he recognized the wound as mortal and as the fulfillment of an oracle, that he changed from a demented tyrant into a sane and sententious sovereign, and that he died after twenty days as a result of the infection and gangrene (Hdt. iii 64-65).

Other ancient mentions of the death of Cambyses, composed or transmitted still longer after the events, include Ctesias *apud* Photius 72 p. 37a 26-40 a 5 (in Babylon, Cambyses, whittling a piece of wood while in a depressed mood, accidentally stabbed his leg and died after eleven days); Trogus *apud* Justin 1.IX.8 (Cambyses’ sword accidentally came out of the scabbard and stabbed him in the thigh, so he met the fate he deserved for fratricide and sacrilege; cf. Herzfeld 1932:129, 1936:591; Kuhrt 2007:165); John of Antioch FrGrH 4, 552 (the Magi killed Cambyses); Josephus AJ xi.30 (Cambyses returned from Egypt but died in Damascus); and the Demotic document on the verso of the papyrus bearing the Demotic Chronicle (Cambyses died without returning to his own country; see Bresciani 1981:218 [‘la propria morte per punizione’], Devauchelle 1995:74 [‘mourut sur la natte?’]).



Oppert (1851:385f.) adduced Herodotus in support of his interpretation, “‘Cambyses mourut, s’étant blessé lui-même’ ou ‘par suicide,’” adding the comment that Cambyses’ death was a suicide, probably involuntary. Many later translators and commentators accepted this ambiguity; others chose between suicide (e.g., Spiegel 1862:7; Weissbach and Bang 1908:15; Justi, Nöldeke, Marquart cited in Walser 1979:9; Herzfeld 1936; Lending 2011a [but contrast Lending 2011b]), self-inflicted accidental death (e.g., Ménant 1872:106; Meyer 1937:192; Cameron 1960:62f.; Von Voigtlander 1978:15), or ambiguity, whether deliberate or not (e.g., Weissbach 1911:17 with n. (d); How and Wells 1912:i, 274; Herzfeld 1936:125; Kent 1953:177; Sharp 1967:33; Dandamayev 1990; Malbran-Labat 1994:109 n. 103; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995:1035; Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2003:vi, 222).² Contradictory choices survive in the modern dictionaries of Akkadian, the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* opting in 1966 for accident (with query: AHW. 663b s.v. *mītūtu*) and the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* in 1977 for suicide (without query: CAD M/II 144 s.v. *mītūtu* usage a).

Shapur Shahbazi observed that Friedrich Spiegel was the first to propose a different interpretation as early as 1873, namely, that ‘died his own death’ means “died a natural death” (Spiegel 1873:302 n.1, see Shahbazi 1986:164). Spiegel later repeated his endorsement of Oppert’s interpretation as suicide (1881:87, reprinting 1862:81, see Shahbazi 1986:164 n. 37), but in 1912 Wilhelm Schulze made a cogent argument for “natural death” on the basis of comparative material from Latin, Greek, Pali, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovenian. Schulze’s argument was endorsed and bolstered with more comparative material from other modern, historical and ancient Indo-European languages and specifically from Indo-Iranian languages by Marquart (1930:66 with note 3 [see Shahbazi 1986:165]), Schaefer (1947), Wüst (1966:43-49), Asmussen (1968a, 1968b:8-10), Puhvel (1969), Lazard (1976:175-78), Hermann (1978), and Shahbazi (1986:164f.), among others. As a result, there is nearly complete agreement among academic philologists that in the Bisotun texts ‘died his own death’ means “died a natural death.” This agreement is reflected in grammars and textbooks of Old Persian (Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964:149f.; Skjaervø 2002:163; cf. Meillet and Benveniste 1931:167 §291), in most modern translations of the Bisotun texts (e.g., Schmitt 1991:51 to line 43; Borger and Hinz 1984:425 with n. f; Grillot-Susini, Herrenschnitt and Malbran-Labat 1993:43; Lecoq 1997:190; Bae 2001:92; Kuhrt 2007:143, 153 n. 21; Lending 2011b), and in some translations and commentaries on Herodotus (e.g., Asheri *et al.* 1990:284-85, 2007:65). Schulze’s interpretation was embraced in the second edition of Pauly-Wissowa (Lehmann-Haupt 1919:1822-23), but not in the *Neue Pauly* (Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2003:222). Other modern translations offer literal renderings, “died his own death” *vel sim.* (e.g., Brosius *apud* Asheri *et al.* 2007:530; Schmitt, 2009:43; Vallat 2010:494). The main impediment to full consensus seems to be the continuing authority of Roland Kent’s translation, “died by his own hand,” with Kent’s erroneous assertion that this is strongly supported by the Akkadian and Elamite versions (Kent 1953:177; cf. Bae 2001:92, with

² On deliberate ambiguity in early translations, see Schulze 1912:688; many of the modern translations add comments on the ambiguity of the original or the uncertainty of the translation, but for a modern English speaker, the translation ‘died by his own hand’ without additional comment (e.g., Olmstead 1948:108) is an unambiguous reference to suicide.



exactly the opposite assertion), which is in turn reinforced by the CAD's unfortunate decision to render the passage not with a translation, but with an interpretation, "Cambyses killed himself" (cf. Malbran-Labat 1994:109 n. 103, with the converse confusion of 'die' and 'kill'). If the CAD's unfortunate editorial choice was made after consulting Kent 1953 and/or influenced by familiarity with Herodotus, as I surmise, this tautology is of course no reinforcement.³

This is still only a partial answer to the particular question, What did Darius mean by saying that Cambyses 'died his own death?' As various commentators have observed or emphasized, Darius did not simply say that "he died." Indeed, there is no other occurrence of *amariyatā* or of another finite form of *mar-* 'die' in the preserved Old Persian corpus. Neither did Darius use the euphemism with which Xerxes later referred to Darius's own passing, Old Persian *gāthavā ašiyava*, "(after my father Darius) went to his place" (XPf OP §4:33, Schmitt 2000:84f., citing the convergent arguments of Schmeja 1982, Skjaervø 1985:602 and De Blois 1995:63a, Schmitt 2009:162; against Kent 1953:81 §251D 150 "[when my father Darius] went away from the throne"), rendered in the Babylonian version with the common euphemism as *šimti illik* 'went (to) fate' (written *ši-im-it il-li-i-ki* XPf Akk. 25; Herzfeld 1938:36; Schmidt 1957:51 and pl. 20b; Steve 1975:24; no Elamite version is extant). Perhaps, then, the phrase 'died his own death' carried a connotation that was more recognizable to an ancient hearer of one or more of the languages than to a modern reader of the translations.

These observations of what Darius did not say were among the reasons for which Herzfeld (1936) re-asserted the view that the phrase must indicate suicide. They are among the reasons for which Dandamaev (1976 [1963]:150) argued that it intends to say that Cambyses died without suffering punishment for his crimes. Shahbazi 1986:165 demonstrated that Dandamaev's argument from Old Iranian usage is untenable. Dandamaev's espousal (1976 [1963]:146) of Herzfeld's (1936:594) argument from the Babylonian, that the abstract substantive *mītūtu* is rather a Gt infinitive *mitūtu*, denoting unexpected or violent death, is rendered equally untenable by the modern dictionaries of Akkadian, which recognize no such form or denotation.

Dandamaev's interpretation of the Old Persian actually inverted an inference that Bartholomae (1904:1854) had drawn from the Old Persian, namely, that the phrase means that he "died (as a *daeua*-worshipper would) by his own fault." Jack Balcer ruled out the nuance of fated retribution, holding that the wording is deliberately uncharged, that "the framers of the Old Persian text at Bisitun wanted us to know that Cambyses had died without the aspect of either fate or the fatal hand of another" (1987:99). Richard Hallock understood the nuance of the phrase in an expository sense, that it highlights Cambyses' "own death" as a sequel to the killing of Bardiya, described in the previous paragraph (1962:55). Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1995:1035) again suggested that the

³ The modern Akkadian dictionaries interpret the phrases *mūt šimtišu mātu*, literally 'die a death of his fate' and *mūt ilišu mātu*, literally 'die a death of his god,' both syntactically and semantically parallel to the expression used of Cambyses, as 'die a natural death,' but the latter seems to have a more charged, positive nuance (Attinger 2014, with previous literature).



implication of “a death befitting him (in agreement with divine justice)” was a possible alternative to the implication of suicide, but did not consider less charged options.

That writing in a high rhetorical register has purposeful connotation and nuance is a realistic assumption. It is even a necessary assumption for interpreting a document as carefully crafted as the suite of texts and reliefs at Bisotun. To consider what connotation could have been intended or understood, however, it is useful to look at comparable statements in a low rhetorical register. Unfortunately, there are almost no such low-register statements in the known Old Persian corpus (the Old Persian administrative text from the Persepolis Fortification Archive [Stolper and Tavernier 2007] is not useful here), but the languages of the other versions offer some purchase.

Thus, the commonplace Babylonian euphemism that the scribes of Xerxes chose to express Darius’s passing, (*ana*) *šimtu alāku*, given its use in Mesopotamian royal inscriptions, literary texts and legal texts, cannot have been strongly marked with specific connotation for readers or hearers who understood contemporary Babylonian tradition and writing. Given the phrase that Xerxes’ scribes used to indicate the hope of blessing in death, *ina mītūtija* (XPh Akk. 39), ‘when I die’ (corresponding to Old Persian *marta*, ‘dead’ XPh OP 48, and, with different syntax, Elamite *halpenta* ‘when you die’ XPh El. 40) the choice of the same *mītūtu* to express Cambyses’ death without euphemism cannot have intended violent or unexpected death, despite the asseverations of Herzfeld (1936:593–95) and Dandamaev (1976 [1963]:46f.).

Interpreters who see heightened meaning in the Babylonian phrase of the Bisotun text may find comfort in Von Voigtlander’s observation (1978:15) that on the rock face the words *mītūtu* and *mīti*, ‘a death ... he died,’ are cut with “spread enlarged” signs, as if for visual emphasis. No such support can be taken, however, from the fact that the Babylonian phrase has no known exact parallel in Mesopotamian texts. In many features of style, syntax and vocabulary, the Akkadian of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions is manifestly not the Standard Babylonian of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions and later literary transmission, nor is it the Late Babylonian of contemporary letters or legal texts (Rössler 1938, Streck 1996), so inferences based on usage in these corpora or departures from their usage call for scrutiny. Nevertheless, given the frequent appearance of *mītūtu* and *mīt(u)* in Late Babylonian legal texts (occasionally collocated, e.g., PN ... *mītu ... arki mītūti ša* PN TCL 12 120:9 and 12) the elements of the phrase are plain. If the Babylonian versions of the Bisotun inscription that were promulgated in Babylonia (Von Voigtlander 1978:63–66; Seidl 1999a, 1999b) included this phrase it would have been unidiomatic but perfectly clear to a literate audience, and it would have carried no moral connotation.

As for the Elamite version of Cambyses’ death, it is now also possible to seek low-register comparanda at Persepolis, in administrative texts of the Persepolis Fortification Archive.

That the Elamite stem in question, *halpi-*, conveys ‘kill’ in some forms and ‘die’ in others does not need to be reargued. In a blessing near the end of the Daiva-inscription of Xerxes, a conjugation II participial form marked animate singular, *halpikra*, ‘dead (person)’ corresponds to Old Persian *marta*- ‘dead,’ the perfect participle of *mar-* ‘die,’ and to the Babylonian adjective *mītu* (XPh OP 55 [Schmitt 2000:89f.], El. 46 [Cameron 1959], Akk. 46 [Herzfeld 1938:30]). The predicative form used



of Cambyses, *halpik*, occurs alone as a predicate with human subject in Elamite Fortification texts now being prepared for authoritative publication by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Oriental Institute:

PN *hiše ... halnuti marriš am halpik* ‘PN, as he is called, took the tablets, now he is dead’ PF-NN 2203:10; KÙ.BABBAR^{MEŠ} *huttira hupirri halpik* ‘that silver-worker is dead’ *ibid.* 14. Compare the participial use of the bare stem with final *-a* in PN *hiše marrišda* PN *halba* ^{AŠ}*tuppi ak* ^{AŠ}*halmi innie nimak* ‘(the person) called PN took it (the account for years 15 and 16), PN being dead, his tablet(s) and sealed document(s) are not extant’ PF-NN 0548:32f.

1 [...] ^{SAL-SAL}^{MEŠ} <<GIŠ>> 2 ^{AN}^{ITI}^{MEŠ} *inni duš halpik* ‘1 woman [...] did not receive (rations) for 2 months, (being) dead’ PF-NN 0182:24. Compare the participial use of the bare stem with final *-a* in journal entries with comparable content: *hi šÀ-ma 1-ir 8* ^{GIŠ}*bawišna halba* 4 ^{AN}^{KI}+^{MIN} (=ITI^{MEŠ}) *in[ni] duš[da]* ‘including (in the total of scheduled rations issued to female workers during six months) one (woman) at the rate of 8/10 of an *artabe*, being dead, did not receive (rations) for 4 months’ PF-NN 2290:11, *hi šÀ-ma 1-ir halba 1 irtiba duša* ^[AN]^{ITI}^[MEŠ] [...] ‘including (in the list of the total of scheduled grain rations issued to female workers during six months), one (woman), who was dead, received one *artabe* monthly?’ Fort. 1784-101:14’.

With non-human subject: (one horse consumed grain rations for 3 months and 20 days, it received 10 BAR as supplementary ration) *meni halpik* ‘then it died’ PF-NN 2007:15.

And now the entire phrase used of Cambyses appears in another fragmentary Fortification text.

Fort. 0433-101 (Fig. 1a-1h)

Obverse

- (01) []
- (02) []
- (03) []
- (04) [] ^[uk-gi] ^{zik₀-kak} 20-kur az-zik₀(-)
- (05) [] 9 ŠI 1 ME 90+9 ½ ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ} *ha-šá-ka₄ hu-be pí-ru mu²-sí-*
- (06) [] *be* ^{-[ul]} 10+7-na
- (07) [] ^[HAL]^{ap}-^[pu]^{l-uk-ka₄-ik-ka₄-mar}
- (08) [] ^{AŠ}*ha-da*-^[ra]^{l-an} ^{HAL}*kaš-šu-un-da* ^{KI}+^{MIN}
- (09) []
- (10) []
- (11) [] ^[maz₀]^{l-zí-ka₄} ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ} ^{AŠ}*an-tar-an-ti-ia*
- (12) [] ^x ^{HAL}*tu-ma-ra* ^{HAL}*ma-u-uk-ka₄ ul-li-ri-ri*
- (13) [] ^{HAL}^{KI}+^{MIN} *hal-pi du-e-ma hal-pi-ik*



- (14) []
- (15) [] [x x] HAL ma-u-pár-na (erasure) du-iš
- (16) [] KI+MIN HAL pu-uk-te-na KI+MIN
- (17) [] KI+MIN HAL ku-ka₄ HAL man-nu-ia HAL ma-a-ma-ka₄ du-iš
- (18) [] x KI+MIN HAL ia-u-na du-iš
- (19) [] x KI+MIN HAL ha-tar-ra-da du-iš
- (20) [] x KI+MIN HAL pír-ra-tam₅ -ka₄ KI+MIN
- (21) [] KI+MIN HAL áš-ba-tar-da AŠ⁵ ú-ra-x []
- (22) [] x ma gal HAL mar-ri-be AŠ¹ ba-ir-šá []

Lower Edge

- (23) [] gal HAL KI+MIN AŠ⁵ KI+MIN []
- (24) [] be-ul 10+] [5⁷] -na []
- (25) [] [] []

Reverse

- (26) [] mazo] - [z¹] -ka₄
- (27) [] x / 2 ŠI 1 ME 90 / ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ} HAL.A^[MEŠ] []
- (28) [] [60] / / NAGA.TUR^{MEŠ} [KI+MIN] []
- (29) [] / PAP / PAP be-ul 10+5-na
- (30) [] / / ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ} HAL.A^{MEŠ}
- (31) [] 60 / / NAGA.TUR^{MEŠ} KI+MIN
- (32) [] 50 / / ŠE.GAL^{MEŠ}
- (33) [] / PAP / PAP be-ul 10+6-na
- (34) [] / 4 ŠI 8 ME 50 / ŠE.BAR^[MEŠ] HAL.A^{MEŠ}
- (35) [] / NAGA.TUR^{MEŠ} KI+MIN
- (36) [] /] / ŠE.GAL^{MEŠ}
- (37) [] / PAP] / PAP be-ul 10+7-na
- (38) [] x x 7 ME 50+7 ½² PAP hi HAL har-ru-na šá- [ra] -ma
GUD^{MEŠ} HAL EŠŠANA- [na] [nu-tuk-ka₄]
- (39) []]
- (40) []] x-mar-ti-ia-na-ma
- (41) []] be-ul 10+5-na
- (42) []]
- (43) []]
- (44) []]

Reverse ns_h
ns_h

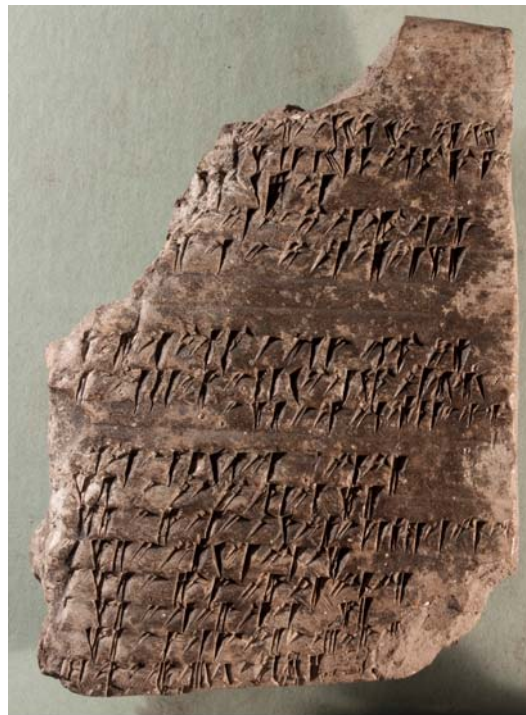


[6.6] × 8.6 × 2.1 cm.

Category W[?]

PFS 0012a reverse

05. -ka₄ pír-ru to end on right edge. *pirru musika*: for the present, Henkelman 2005:151 n. 28.
07. Cf. Appukka *tumara* (at Rakkan), PF 1945:6 etc., 1946:[82], 1947:93.
08. Cf. ^{AS}*hadaran kurmin* ^{HAL}ka₄-šú-un-da PF 1943:39; [*kurmin*] ^{HAL}[ka₄-šú]-in-da-na ... ^{AS}[*ha*]daraš PFa 32:11f. (W, at Hadaran).
17. Cf. ^{HAL}ku-^{ra}ú¹-ka₄ ^{HAL}tumara, ^{HAL}man-ma-ak-ka₄ ^{HAL}ulliriri PF 1940:25 (V, at Matezziš); ^{HAL}ma-nu-iš^{ra} ^{HAL}ma^{ra} ^{HAL}man-ma-ak-ka₄ ^{HAL}ulliriri PF 0054:05-06 (B, at Persepolis).
19. Cf. ^{HAL}ha-tur-ra-ad-da abbebe *huttira* PF 1940:07. *kurmin Haturaddana*, at Antarantiš (line 11), PF 0547 etc.
21. Cf. ^{HAL}aš-ba-tur-da ^{GIS}KAŠ^{MEŠ} *huttira* PF-NN 0760, 2487.
38. šá-^{ra}ma to end on right edge. Cf. ^{HAL}har-ru-na *dama* PF 1940:11,12. ^{HAL}har-ru-na ^{HAL}kurdabattiš Fort. 2021-101:18' (also PF 1940, 1942, 1943).
41. Perhaps [PAP x ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ} *hal-mi* ^{HAL}ir]-^{ra}du¹-mar-ti-ia-na-ma as in PF 1991:05 and parallel PF-NN 1017:05 (both Category W, sesame), and PF-NN 0522:35' (W, wine). If so, the following lines are presumably [x KI+MIN *haduš* ^{AS}]be-ul 10+5-na, [x KI+MIN *amma*], etc.
- Reverse: The Aramaic epigraph, in ink, is in the middle column, at lines 31-33.



Fort. 0433-101 Obverse



Fig. 1a: Fort. 0433-101 Obverse
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)



Fort. 0433-101
Lower Edge



Fig. 1b: Fort 0433-101 Lower Edge
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)



Fort. 0433-101 Right Edge



Fig. 1c: Fort. 0433-101 Right Edge
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)



Fort. 0433-101 Reverse



Fig. 1d: Fort 0433-101 Reverse
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)



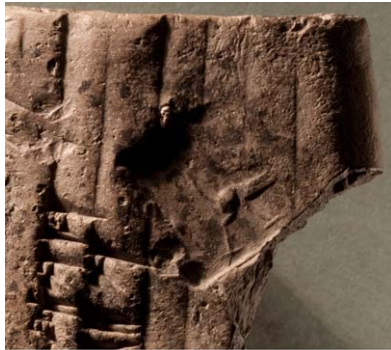
Fort. 0433-101 Obverse

*Fig. 1e: Fort. 0433-101 Obverse, detail, including lines 12f.
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)*



Fort. 0433-101 Reverse

*Fig. 1f: Fort. 0433-101 Reverse, detail: Aramaic epigraph, with polarizing filter
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)*



Fort. 0433-101
Reverse

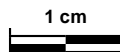


Fig. 1g: Fort. 0433-101 Reverse, detail: impression of PFS 0012a. Scale 1:1.5 (Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)

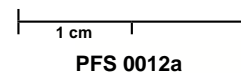


Fig. 1h: PFS 0012a. Scale 1:1.5 (drawing by Mark B. Garrison)

Although the surviving text of Fort. 0433-101 is too fragmentary for meaningful translation it is comprehensible in general. It belongs to an administrative record of a familiar kind, but lacks close formal parallels. The original document is a ledger digesting transactions in cereals in an administrative district monitored from a district center (not preserved), in regnal years 15 through 17 of Darius I, 507/6 through 505/4 B.C., with a tabular summary of amounts set aside, received and expended, and an amount 'set aside' for 'cattle' (probably not literal, but referring rather to separate accounts, Henkelman *apud* Tuplin 2006:334f., etc.). Like more than 90 of the known journals and accounts in the Fortification Archive, this tablet bears an Aramaic epigraph, *ns(y)h*, indicating that it was checked, digested and/or copied, perhaps in an Aramaic document on leather or another perishable material (Azzoni and Stolper n.d.).

Lines 11-14 give an interim summary, indicating a total of grain issued and registered at the place Antarrantiš and the names of the responsible officials with the titles characteristic of journals and accounts dealing with grain. One of them, entitled *ullira*, conventionally translated 'delivery-man,' bears the Iranian hypocoristic Vahuka, 'Good,' corresponding to Greek *Ōchos*, and transcribed in Elamite as Maukka (Tavernier 2007:21 §1.2.31, 64 §§2.2.59, 2.2.61). The interim summary concludes with the exceptional statement that Maukka died exactly as Cambyses did, 'in his own death.' (The historical spelling difference between *du-e-ma* in Fort. 0433-101:13 and *du-hi-e-ma* DB i 33 is without significance for meaning; cf. Hallock 1969:682; Hinz and Koch 1987:346f.)

The name Maukka/Vahuka is common. It is the patronym of Ardumaniš, the last of the six Persian men whom Darius names at the end of the main Persian text of Bisotun as his collaborators in the killing of Gaumata, whose descendants are to be cared for by future rulers (El. iii 92, corresponding to OP iv 86). It is also the name of several individuals who appear in commonplace roles in Persepolis administrative texts: a supplier of grain and fruit (e.g., PF 0492-0494, 0566, 0645, PF-NN 0787, 1447[?], 2166), an intermediary recipient of wine for workers (e.g., PF 1121,



1122, 1210, PF-NN 0929), an intermediary recipient of grain or wine supplied to horses (e.g., PF 1654, 1655, PF-NN 2329), a supplier of wine (PFa 31:28) to travelers drawing rations en route between Susa and Persepolis (e.g., PF 1416, PF-NN 2407), with the title *bazikara*, conventionally rendered as ‘tax handler’ (PF 1965; Hallock 1969:16, Tavernier 2007:417 §4.4.7.15, Tuplin 2006:331-35, Henkelman 2008:320 n. 739). The name also appears a generation later in texts from the Treasury Archive, PT 63:8, dated in the reign of Xerxes and perhaps the reign of Darius (PT 63, 4², and 7³). To my knowledge, the name does not recur in known Fortification texts with the title *ullira*, or in a context with circumstantial connections to Fort. 0433-101, and there is no secure basis for identifying the Maukka of this text with one of those mentioned in other texts. Conversely, there is no reason to suppose that the Maukka of Fort. 0433-101 was anything more than an ordinary district functionary in the organization documented by the Persepolis Fortification Archive. That is, there is no reason to suppose that his rank, family, or social status called for his death to be recorded in unusually delicate terms.

That Maukka was dead, apparently near the end of a three-year accounting period, was useful information. That he died by his own hand, or without violence, or as he deserved, or without his deserts is not. It is highly unlikely that ‘he died in his own death’ in this context was freighted with any more connotation than “PN died.” It is highly likely that the phrase is as bland as the modern English euphemism “passed on.” And if that is so, it is highly unlikely that Darius’s use of the same phrase carried any moral connotation that a contemporary hearer or reader would have understood unambiguously. The difference between “dying” and “dying (in) one’s own death” is surely more a matter of courtesy and verbosity than of implication.

If this is true of the Elamite, it is also true of the other versions. The three versions correspond exactly word-for-word and almost exactly morpheme-for-morpheme. The only significant discrepancy is the locative postposition *-ma* in the Elamite form *du(hi)ema*, ‘in his own,’ without a counterpart locative case or preposition in the Old Persian and Babylonian versions. It is now well established and widely accepted that an Elamite version was the first one displayed on the rock face at Bisotun, and that the Old Persian, accompanied by a second Elamite version, was the last (Trümpelman 1967, Luschej 1968, Borger 1982:108-110, etc.). It is equally clear that all three versions were composed, as the Elamite and Aramaic administrative documents from Persepolis were, by and for speakers of Old Persian and other Old Iranian dialects. Although ‘die (in) his own death’ is now known from two occurrences in Achaemenid Elamite and only one in Old Persian, the many Indo-European and Indo-Iranian parallels compel the initial assumption that the expression originated in Persian, and that the other versions at Bisotun are loan-translations (e.g., Walser 1979:13f.; Streck 1996:283).

This does not revive Ilya Gershevitch’s thesis of Elamite as an alloglottographic representation of a Persian text (Gershevitch 1979, cf. Henkelman 2011a:614-22). It does acknowledge an ancient reality in which literate people were literate in more than one language. They produced documents in which interference among languages was reflected in ways that were not limited to transcribed words, mixed compounds, and syntactic calques but, as this instance shows,



even allowed a transcribed phrase. What Streck says of the Babylonian idiom of Bisotun, that it exhibits a tension among high literary archaism, innovation in contemporary spoken language, and wholly different structures of the languages of the other versions (1996:284), also applies, albeit in different degrees and particulars, to the idioms of the other versions.

To sum up, the assertion found in some dated but still influential works, that Cambyses died by his own hand, is wrong. The assertion found in some current work, that what Darius said is ambiguous, that it might have connoted suicide, accident, or culpable death, has no basis in the Bisotun texts. Darius did not choose a true euphemism. He said that Cambyses died. If Darius suggested that it was not by his own hand, not by the hand of another, and not by the hand of fate, it was because he did not say any of those things, not because he added '(in) his own death.' The Elamite administrative text Fort. 0433-101 compels the supposition that this addition was not strident, not ideologically charged, not connotative in a way that would have impressed a contemporary hearer or reader. Even if it was wordy, it was a quiet way to make a plain point.

This view is based on a sample that has taken 168 years to increase from one occurrence to two occurrences. It may need to be adjusted if the sample continues to grow—not merely to be corroborated, I hope, but superseded.



Addendum: Wonder-Birds in Paradise

The Persepolis Fortification Archive adds to contemporary understanding of Achaemenid languages not only by building the explicit corpora of Achaemenid Elamite and Achaemenid Aramaic and the implicit corpus of the underlying Old Iranian languages, but also, as the phrase ‘died (in) his own death’ exemplifies, by showing correspondences to the high rhetorical register of the royal inscriptions in the low register of administrative documents. A second new example of such correspondence is Elamite *pirrašam*, transcribing Old Persian *fraša-*.

In royal inscriptions, the Old Persian word and its Elamite transcription appear in two contexts: first, in Darius’s tomb inscription at Naqš-i Rostam and in Xerxes’ adaptation of it, where it designates the whole of the visible creation of Ahura Mazda, replacing the usual ‘this earth, that sky, mankind’ (DNb OP 2, El. lost; corresponding to Akk. *būnu*; XPl OP 2, El. §1:1f. [*pír*]-*ra-ša-um*¹⁴); second, in various inscriptions of Darius from Susa, referring to the palace that Darius ordained and constructed there (DSa OP 5; DSf OP 56f., El. 49f.; DSj OP 6, El. 5, Akk. lost; restored DSo OP 4 [Kent 1953:146, Schmitt 2009:139, Akk. lost; DSz El. 54f.]). Modern translations and interpretations fall into two sets: one without ideological charge (‘excellent, beau, magnifique, herrlich, erlesen, etc.’) and another with high ideological charge (‘wonder(ful), marvelous, merveilleux, wundervoll, etc.’). Lecoq, for example, opts for the former, strictly distinguishing Avestan and Old Persian connotations and considering the extensive discussions of the word to be in vain (1997:221f.). Schmitt, for example, opts for the latter, insisting that translations like Kent’s ‘excellent (work)’ are erroneous (2009:105, cf. 2000:41 and 2014:176f.). Lincoln expounds the religious significance of the term and the comparison implied by the inscriptions, Darius:Ahuramazda :: Palace:Creation (2012:191-94 with extensive bibliography 192 n. 11, 204, 369-72).

Lincoln also remarks (211 n. 41) on a low-register occurrence of El. *pirrašam* naming a sort of poultry in the Persepolis Fortification fragment Fort. 0013-101, to which can now be added another occurrence in a fragment of a similar kind, Fort. 1372-102.

Fort. 0013-101 (Fig. 2a-d)

Obverse

(01) *mu-ši-in hi MUŠEN^{MES} pír-ra-ša-um*

(02) *AŠpár-te-taš AŠma-te-zí-íš¹*

(03) *kur-mán HALŠu-du-ud-da-na HALda-*

4

An Elamite version of XPl was identified in 2014 among excavated fragments in the collections of the Oriental Institute by Tytus Mikołajczak, whose publication of this find is in preparation. The extensive restoration of DSS by Brandenstein 1932:65f., followed by Kent 1953:146, with OP *fraša-* in similar context, is taken as secure by Lincoln 2012:369 with n. 44, but as Schmitt remarks (2009:140, citing Schweiger 1998:440), all restorations of the first lines of this text are entirely speculative, and even the attribution to Darius is open to question.



- (04) *tap-pár-na šá-ra-ma*
(05) 1 ME 40+1 GURUŠ^{MEŠ}-*na ha-sa-na*
(06) 5 KI+MIN *ti-ut-pi* PAP 1 ME 40+6 GURUŠ^{MEŠ}-*na*
(07) 1 ME 9 SAL^{MEŠ}-*na ha-sa-na*
(08) 4 KI+MIN *ti-ut-pi* PAP 1 ME 10+3 SAL^{MEŠ}-*na*
(09) PAP 2 ME 50^l+9 MUŠEN^{MEŠ} *pír-^lra^l-[šá-um ...] x x*
(10) *x x [...](-)da-ka₄*

Reverse

- (01') [] ^lx x ^l[]
(02') *mu-ši-in [AŠ^lbe]^l-^lul 18-na^l*
(03') *hu-ud-da-ka₄*

(1-4) This is an account of wonder-birds at the paradise at Matezziš, allocation of Šudduda, under the authority of Dataparna:

(5-9) 141 adult males

5 male chicks; total 146 males.

109 adult females

4 female chicks; total 113 females.

(Grand) total 259 wonder-birds [...]

(reverse 2^l-3^l) (This) accounting made in year 18.

5.8 × [5.0] × 1.8 cm.

Category W

PFS 0120 reverse

01. Poultry, like other livestock, is sometimes said in Fortification texts to be at a 'stockyard' (*nutannuyaš*, e.g., PF 2014, PF-NN 2030; cf. Henkelman 2005:157 n. 41), but hitherto not at a 'paradise, enclosure' (*partetaš*). Indirect evidence that a stockyard was among the facilities of a *partetaš* at or near Persepolis (and perhaps elsewhere): Henkelman 2008:429.
Matezziš is not among the 20 locales with a *partetaš* hitherto mentioned in Elamite Fortification texts (Henkelman 2008:430 n. 990; Tuplin 1996:178-182). If Matezziš is the chief settlement in the immediate vicinity of the palace complex of Persepolis, this may be a reference to the 'paradise' otherwise said to be at Parsa.
03. Cf. Šudduda PF 0322 (Category D), PF-NN 1011:08 (Category W, grain).
- 06, 08. *titpi*: in PF 0280, PF 2014, PF-NN 1259, Fort. 1372-102 (below), etc., beside birds classified as *hasana* 'adult,' and *bel 1-na* 'yearling,' hence indicating birds younger than a year.
09. 50^l: text 40.
10. (-)da-ka₄ on right edge.



Fort. 0013-101 Obverse 1 cm



Fort. 0013-101 Reverse 1 cm

Fig. 2a: Fort. 0013-101 Obverse (Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)

Fig. 2b: Fort. 0013-101 Reverse (Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)



Fort. 0013-101 Right Edge 1 cm

Fig. 2c. Fort. 0013-101 Right Edge (Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)

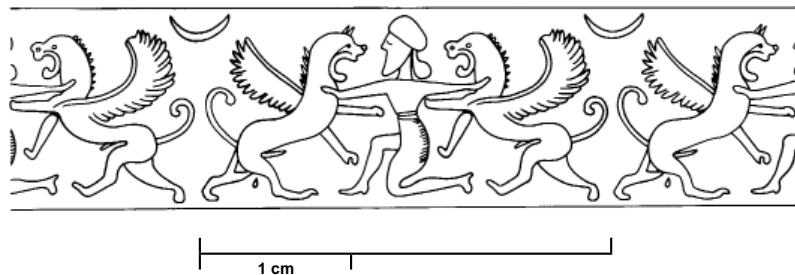


Fig. 2d. PFS 0120. Scale 2:1 (Garrison and Root 2001:123f. No. 49)

Fort. 1372-102 (Fig. 3a-d)

Obverse

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----|---|---|---|
| (01') | [|] | [x x x] | [|] |
| (02') | [PAP 60]+ | 9 | am ¹ -ma be-ul 10+4-na mu-ši-me be ¹ -ul ¹ | | |
| (03') | | | 10+5-na hu-ut-tuk-ka ₄ HAL ^x -iš-du ² -ma | | |
| (04') | | 1 | ti-ut-pi GURUŠ ^{MEŠ} -na be-ul 10+4-na ku- ¹ ši ¹ -ka ₄ | | |
| (05') | PAP 70 | | pír-ra-šá-um am-ma ni-ma-ka ₄ | | |
| (06') | | 5 | GURUŠ ^{MEŠ} -na ha-sa-na | | |
| (07') | | [4] | SAL ^{MEŠ} -na ha-sa-na | | |
| (08') | | 2 | [KI+MIN be-ul ¹] 1-na | | |



| | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| (09') | PAP 10+1 | <i>pi-ti-ka₄</i> |
| (10') | | [<i>ap¹-pa ka₄-tuk-ka₄</i> |
| (11') | 20+5 | [<i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}-[na ha¹-sa-na</i> |
| (12') | [10+1] | KI+MIN <i>ti-ut-pi</i> PAP [30 [?] +6] <i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}-na</i> |
| (13') | [10] [+9] | <i>SAL^{MEŠ}-na ha-sa-na</i> |
| (14') | [10 [?] +4 [?] | KI+MIN] <i>be-ul 1-na</i> PAP 30+3 <i>SAL^{MEŠ}-na</i> |
| (15') | [PAP 60+9 |] [<i>ka₄¹-tuk-ka₄ am-ma be-ul 10+4-na mu-ši-</i> |
| (16') | [| <i>me</i>] [<i>be-ul¹ 10+5-na HAL-x-iš-du-ma</i> |
| (17') | [|] [<i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}¹-na ha-sa-na</i> |
| (18') | [|] <i>ti-ut-pi</i> |
| (19') | [|] <i>SAL^{MEŠ}-[na¹ ha-sa¹ -na¹</i> |
| (20') | [|] x [<i>be-ul¹ 1-na</i> |
| (21') | [|] [<i>x¹ [] x</i> |
| Lower Edge (uninscribed) | | |
| Reverse | | |
| (22') | [|] [<i>x x¹</i> |
| (23') | [|] [<i>ka₄</i> |
| (24') | [| <i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}]-[na¹ ha-sa-na</i> |
| (25') | [| <i>SAL^{MEŠ}]-<na> ha¹-sa-na</i> |
| (26') | [|] [<i>pír-ra-šá¹-um [ka₄-tuk-ka₄¹ am-ma be-ul</i> |
| (27') | [|] [<i>10+6-na mu-ši-me be-ul 10+7-na hu-ut-tuk</i> |
| (28') | [|] [<i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}-na ha-sa-na</i> |
| (29') | [|] [<i>SAL^{MEŠ}-na [ha¹-sa-na</i> |
| (30') | [|] <i>am-ma</i> |
| (31') | [|] <i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}]-[na¹ ha-[sa¹-na ha-za-tap ir hal-pi-</i> |
| (32') | [|] [<i>iš¹-da¹] 1 ŠU^{MEŠ}? ha-za-tap[?] ma-ak-iš-da</i> |
| (33') | [|] 1 [<i>SAL^{MEŠ}-na [ha¹-sa-na hal-pi-[ka₄¹</i> |
| (34') | [] PAP 2 | <i>hal-mi HALab-ba-te-ia-na AŠHAR^{MEŠ} tuk-ki-</i> |
| (35') | [|] [<i>ip ap-pa AŠ[ba¹-ir-šá-an za[?]-mi[?]-x x x</i> |
| (36') | 8 | <i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}-na ha-sa-na</i> |
| (37') | 5 | <i>SAL^{MEŠ}-na</i> |
| (38') | [PAP ¹ 10+3 | <i>pi-ti-ka₄</i> |
| (39') | PAP 10+5 ¹ | <i>hal-pi-ka₄ a-ak pi-ti-ka₄</i> |
| (40') | | <i>ap[?] -pa am¹ ka₄-tuk-ka₄</i> |
| Left Edge | | |
| (01'') | [|] [<i>be-ul 10+8¹-na mu-[ši¹]-[me hu-ut-tuk]</i> |
| (02'') | [| <i>GURUŠ^{MEŠ}]-[na¹-sa-na []</i> |
| (03'') | [|] / [<i>SAL^{MEŠ}-na []</i> |
| (04'') | [|] / [] [<i>x x x x¹ tuk[?] -ka₄[?] be[?] -[ul[?]] []</i> |



6.2 × [10.3] × 2.0 cm.

Category W

No seal impression

(01'-04') ... [Total: 6]9 on hand in year 14; the accounting was done in year 15, PN²; 1 male chick was born in year 14; (grand) total: there were 70 wonder-(birds) on hand.

(06'-09') 5 adult males; 4 adult females; 2 yearling females: total 11 lost.

(10'-16') Those that are living: 25 adult males; 11 male chicks: total 36 males. 19² Adult females; [14² female] yearlings: total 33 females. [(Grand) total 69²] living (birds) on hand in year 14; the accounting was done in year 15; PN²

(17'-21') [x] adult males; [x (male)] chicks; [x] adult females; [x (female)] yearlings ...

Reverse

(22'-23') [...]

(24'-27') [x] adult [males]; [x] adult [females]; [total x] living wonder-(birds) on hand in year 16; the accounting was done in year 17.

(28'-30') [x] adult males; [x] adult females; [total: x] on hand.

(31'-32') A *hazatap* slaughtered² [x] adult males; the *hazatap* consumed² 1/3².

(33'-35') 1 adult female died. Total 2, on an authorization from Abbateya, stone masons who are at Persepolis ...-ed.

(35'-36') 8 adult males; 5 (adult) females: total 13 lost. ^(37¹) (Grand) total: 15¹ dead and lost.

(39') Those that are now alive: [...]

(01''-04'') [...] the accounting was done in year 18. [x] adult [males]; [x] females; [...].

04'. -[š]i¹-ka₄ on right edge.

10'. Written in smaller, shallower script than the remainder of the text, apparently a later insertion.

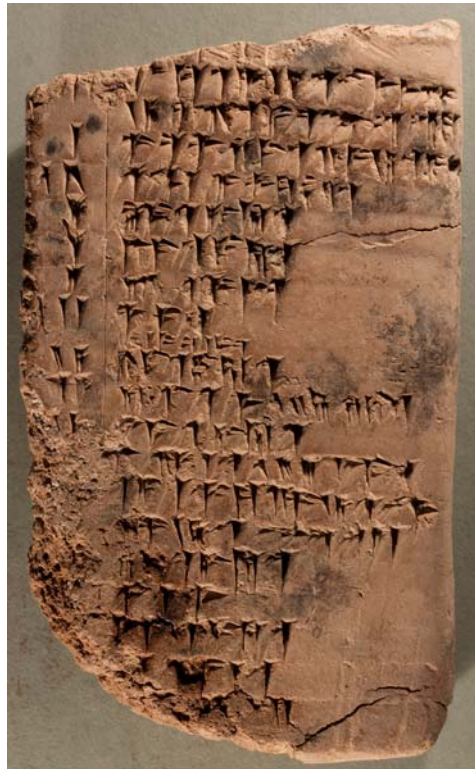
27'. -ut-tuk on right edge.

31'f. *hazatap*, ordinarily with determinative ^{HAL}, the title of persons involved with handling cattle, does not occur otherwise in connection with poultry.

32'. -da on right edge.

34'. Cf. PF 1948:27f., 67f. (L entries in Category V, grain for stone masons (^{A5}HAR^{ME5} *tukkip*) on authorization (*halmi*) of Abbateya; PF 1852 (letter-order [T] from Abbateya authorizing rations [L] for stonemasons, for whom he is responsible [*šaramana*]); PF 1182 (M), 1580-1584 (R), 1801 (T), PF-NN 0191 (T), 0299 (T), 1441 (M), 1590 (T), 1799 (T) etc. (artisans, stone masons, Abbateya responsible).

35'. Last two signs on right edge.



Fort. 1372-102 Obverse



Fig. 3a. Fort. 1372-102 Obverse
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project,
Oriental Institute)



Fort. 1372-102 Reverse



Fig. 3b. Fort. 1372-102 Reverse
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project,
Oriental Institute)



Fig. 3c. Fort. 1372-102 Right Edge
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project,
Oriental Institute)

Fort. 1372-102
Right Edge



Fort. 1372-102 Left Edge



Fig. 3d. Fort. 1372-102 Left Edge
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)

Inventories of livestock are numerous among Fortification texts. Almost all are on distinctive tall, slender tablets of various sizes (Brosius 2003:268-70), as these fragments are. Most concern sheep and goats or cattle; smaller numbers concern donkeys and camels; a few concern livestock of several kinds (e.g., PF-NN 0757 [camels, cattle, donkeys, *basbas*-birds], Fort. 1949-102 [donkeys, cattle], Fort. 1998-103 [sheep/goats, cattle]). Inventories of fowl in this format are uncommon (e.g., PF 2014, PF-NN 0568, 0755, 1030, 2295, 2296, Fort. 0229-101, 0559-101, 1420-101, 1928A-101 1958-101, 1990-102, all listing *basbas* birds, ‘ducks?’; Fort. 1300-101 [šudaba(h) birds, ‘doves’, see Henkelman 2010:748-50]). This may reflect the circumstance that fowl, whether for consumption or display, were reserved for the highest echelons of society at the Achaemenid court (Henkelman 2008:420f., 2010:671, 2011b:113).



Persepolis administrative texts indicate fowl by species names, and sometimes as birds ‘of all kinds’ (*mišbašana*, *mišbazana*, *mišbatanna* [representing Ir. **visadana-*, **vispadana-*, **vispazana-*, Tavernier 2007:78]), but not with the terms that distinguish grades of equids (*nutammaš* [Ir. **nitama-*] ‘of low quality,’ *pirratamiyaš* [Ir. **fratamya-*] ‘of best quality’ Hallock 1969:63, Tavernier 2007:405f.) or food products (e.g., *mariyam* [Ir. **varya-*] ‘excellent,’ *ramiyam* [Ir. **ramya-*] ‘fine,’ Tavernier 2007:406f.). Hence, El. *pirrašam* is not a term indicating quality; these are not, ‘excellent’ birds, premium poultry.

If the administrative use of the phrase ‘died (in) his own death’ encourages us to see the use of the phrase in DB as free of connotation, the relationship is inverted here. The contexts and connotations of *pirrašam* in inscriptions encourage us to seek something visibly ‘wonderful’ in its administrative referent.

If the transcribed Iranian word is a synonym used as a rare replacement for an Elamite word, the Elamite counterpart is not evident. The prime candidate is *basbas*, the bird-name that appears almost without exception in other inventories of the type to which Fort. 0013-101 and 1372-102 belong. And if El. *basbas* indicates peafowl, not ducks like the corresponding Akkadian *paspasu* (so Hinz and Koch 1987:125), it might well qualify as ‘wonderful.’ But Henkelman’s arguments against this proposal (2010:736f.) are decisive. One may add that if *basbas* is an onomatopoeic word, like Akk. *laqlaqqu*, ‘stork’ and its ancient and modern cognates, it can scarcely reflect the characteristic sounds of peafowl. And precisely because *basbas* is the most commonly mentioned fowl in Fortification texts, it is not likely to be called ‘wonderful.’

‘Wonderful’ peafowl, however, are not to be ruled out. Lincoln (2012:211 n. 41) evokes Middle Persian *fraša-murw* (and its echo as a loanword in Georgian) as a name for peacock, and suggests that the Old Iranian antecedent appears in these Fortification texts. His proposal that the wonder-birds of Persepolis are peafowl— ‘Median birds,’ according to late Greek authors (Steier 1938:1416, Hünemörder 2000:689)—is cogent, and if it is corroborated, it adds a rich context to the scanty Classical evidence for peafowl in *paradeisoi* (Tuplin 1996:108 with n. 93).

Matthew W. Stolper
m-stolper@uchicago.edu



Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| AJ | <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> |
| Akk. | Akkadian |
| AHw. | Wolfram von Soden (ed.), <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden |
| CAD | A. Leo Oppenheim <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Locust Valley NY and Chicago |
| DB, DSf, XPf, etc. | Achaemenid royal inscriptions cited according to the sigla assigned by Kent 1953, extended by Mayrhofer 1978, Schmitt 2009 |
| Diod. Sic. | Diodorus Siculus |
| El. | Elamite |
| Fort. | Elamite tablet, fragment and/or text recorded by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago |
| FrGrH. | Jacoby 1923- |
| Hdt. | Herodotus |
| Ir. | Iranian |
| OP | Old Persian |
| PF | Elamite text published in Hallock 1969 |
| PFa | Elamite text published in Hallock 1978 |
| PF-NN | Elamite text in draft editions by Richard T. Hallock, cited from collated and corrected editions by Wouter F. M. Henkelman |
| PFS | Persepolis Fortification Seal, cited according to Garrison and Root 1998 |
| TCL 12 | Contenau 1927 |

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Arta

Directeur de la publication : Pierre Briant

arta.achemenet@louvre.fr

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