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Fortification Texts Sold at the Auction of the Erlenmeyer Collection*

The catalogue for the auction sale of cuneiform tablets from the Erlenmeyer collection at Christie's London in 1988 lists five lots of "dockets, some bearing just seal impressions and

* We are indebted to Irving Finkel for information on the Erlenmeyer sale of 1988, to Ulla Kasten and the Yale Babylonian Collection for information on items in the Rosen Babylonian Collection, and to Jonathan Rosen for permission to publish them; to Mark Garrison for observations on seal impressions; to Wouter Henkelman for critical additions and corrections. Abbreviations: Fort. = unpublished Persepolis Fortification tablets now in the National Archaeological Museum, Tehran, cited from transliterations and photographs by George G. Cameron and notes by Richard T. Hallock; PF = Persepolis Fortification texts in Hallock 1969; PF-NN = unpublished Persepolis Fortification texts cited from transliterations by Hallock; PFS = Persepolis Fortification Seal, cited according to Garrison & Root 1998. Where seal identifications differ from those published in Hallock 1969, they reflect collations by Hallock, Garrison, Root, and the authors.



others both seals and full texts in Late Elamite cuneiform, evidently from Persepolis.” We have no other record on the source or history of these objects. Lots 127 and 128 consisted of five items and four items, respectively, all tablets with cuneiform texts and seal impressions; photographs in the catalogue illustrate the inscribed obverses of two tablets from each of these lots. Lots 129 and 130 consisted of 9 items each, all clay tags with seal impressions only; none are illustrated in the catalogue. Lot 131 consisted of a single item with an incised Aramaic text, shown in a photograph.¹ Antiquities dealers bought these lots at the auction² and the items were later dispersed by resale to collectors and to other dealers.

Five of the nine tablets with cuneiform texts that can be positively identified as coming from Erlenmeyer Lots 127-128 are presented here, along with four other tablets that are probably the remaining texts from these lots.³ General appearance, contents, proper names and seal impressions strongly indicate that all these texts originally belonged to the Persepolis Fortification find, as the Christie’s catalogue suggested.⁴

- ¹ Anonymous 1988: 61. One of the Elamite cuneiform tablets is also shown on the cover of the catalogue.
- ² One dealer bought Lots 128 and 130, another bought Lot 127 and another Lot 129. We do not have information on Lot 131.
- ³ A selection of photographs for each tablet is given here; complete sets of images will be made available in the future *Musée achéménide virtuel et interactif* (www.achemenet.com).
- ⁴ Indeed, they may be part of an ancient group within the Fortification find, since



1-3 Stolper ex-Erlenmeyer

In 1999, three Achaemenid Elamite tablets acquired from the antiquities trade were donated to Stolper. One of them is a text from Lot 127 of the Erlenmeyer sale illustrated in the catalogue. The other two were said to have come from the Erlenmeyer collection, perhaps from the same lot..

1 MWS 1



MWS 1 obverse



MWS 1 obverse

most of them can be linked circumstantially to the administrative vicinity of Tirazziš (Achaemenid Shiraz). Other unexcavated Achaemenid Elamite administrative texts that originally belonged (certainly or probably) to the Persepolis Fortification archive include: Grillot 1986 (Category N); Vallat 1994: 264 (Category T) and 272 (Category E). A special case is the tablet that was evidently removed from Persepolis in pre-modern times and found at Qašr-i Abu Našr, illustrated by Wilkinson 1965: pl. LXXVII fig. 24, and edited by Hallock as PF-NN 2303 (Category C6). Less probably connected with the known Fortification archive is YBC 16813 (Category R; see Jones & Stolper 1986: 249).



Description

Erlenmeyer Lot 127 No. 1.⁵

3.95 × 3.1 × 1.7 cm

Reverse uninscribed

Category: C1



MWS 1 obverse



MWS 1 lower edge

Transliteration

1. 43^{GIŠ} *tar-mu* «GIŠ»
2. ^{GIŠ} *ha-da-ti-iš gi-*
3. *um uk-gi* ʾ *zik*^ʾ-*kak*
4. *ka*₄^{HAL} *hal-sa-ik-ra*[?]-
5. *ba*^{HAL} *sa-da-ba-um*
6. ʾ^{HAL} *za*^ʾ-*ra-ti-ia-na*

Lower Edge

7. ^{AŠ} ʾ *be-ul*^ʾ 28-*me*-ʾ *na*^ʾ

Translation

43 (BAR) of *hadatiš tarmu* (grain) deposited to the account of Halsakraba (or: Sakraba), of the Zaratiya “century.” 28th year.

Comparanda

Cf. PF 0141-0142, PF-NN 1174, PF-NN 1854 (all Category C1, *tarmu kurrusam*, Zaratiya “century,” seals PFS 0161*s and PFS 0451s), PF-NN 1744 (C1, *tarmu kurrusam*, Zaratiya “century,” four other seals, year 24), PF 143 (*tarmu kurasam*, Uštana “century,” PFS 0161*s and PFS 0451s); and below, **No. 9**.

⁵ The second tablet from the left in the illustration at the top of Anon. 1988: 61.



Seals

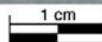
Seal PFS 0161*s, reverse, left edge. Another seal reverse, perhaps PFS 0451s.



MWS 1 left edge



MWS 1 reverse



Comments

- 4. Or: HAL «HAL»? PN apparently hapax. A form of the verb *halsa-* is inappropriate.

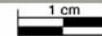
2 MWS 2

Description

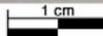
3.5 x 2.7 x 1.6 cm
Lower edge and reverse unincised
Category: M



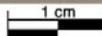
MWS 2 obverse



MWS 2 obverse



MWS 2 obverse





Transliteration

1. 6 *mar-ri-iš*^{GIŠ} GEŠTIN^{MEŠ}
2. *kur-mín* ^rHAL *mar⁷-ri⁷-ia⁷*
3. *da-da-na* ^{HAL} *kur-taš*
4. *gal ma-ki-ip* ^{AŠ}
5. *pír-na-ku-maš*[?] AN
6. ITI^{MEŠ} 2-na *ha*
7. *sa-ti-ka*₄
8. PAP 60 *kur-taš*



Translation

6 *mariš* of wine, allocation of Marriyadadda, given as *sat* to workers consuming rations at Pirnaku, (for) 2 months.

Comparanda

Cf. PF 1123, PF-NN 1364, PF-NN 1822 (all Category M, wine, Marriyadadda), and especially PF-NN 0389 (Category M, Marriyadadda, at Pirnakumaš, wine, *kurtaš gal makip... ha satika*).

Seals

Seal PFS 1077 (probably identical with PFS 0034 = Garrison & Root 2001, No. 73) left edge. Another seal reverse.

The impressions of PFS 0034 and PFS 1077

are visually indistinguishable. Hallock perhaps set ‘Seal 34’ (=



MWS 2 left edge



PFS 0034) apart from the unnumbered seal impressed on the left edge of PF 1123 (later numbered as PFS 1077) on the basis of the contents of the tablets to which they were applied, but the contents are not consistently distinct. Hallock identified impressions of PFS 1077 (in his notation, 'N-33') on PF-NN 0725, 1531, 1822, and 2093 (all Category M or N, wine, Marriyadadda supplier, at Tirazziš or Karikmašdan). He identified impressions of PFS 0034 on 11 tablets published in PFT and 19 more tablets in the PF-NN series; 24 of these belong to Category C1; 21 of those 24 have PFS 0034 on the left edge, and 17 of those 21 refer to deposits at Baktiš. Nevertheless, Hallock also identified PFS 0034 on 6 texts of category M, and the 4 of these that record issues of wine name Mariyadadda as agent, like the texts impressed with PFS 1077 (PF-NN 1364 [Tirazziš and(?) Karikmašdan], 1471, and 1479, all with PFS 0034 on the left edge; PF-NN 1335 [*halmarriš*, "the fortress," probably Tirazziš] with PFS 0034 on the upper edge).⁶

Comments

5. Pirnakumaš (also PF-NN 0389:4f.) = *Pirnakū* PF 2018:34; *Pirnakūš* PF-NN 1697:4, PF-NN 1902:5f.; *Pirnakuya* PF-NN 1498:3; *Parnakuš* PF-NN 1805:4; cf. Koch 1990: 263 (Shiraz district).
8. 60 *kurtaš* × 2 months × ½ QA *sat* (see Hallock 1969: 35) = 6 *marriš*.

⁶ Still other texts of category M or N that record allotments of wine and name Marriyadadda as agent lack impressions of PFS 0034 (e.g., PF-NN 0459, 0715, 1201, all with PFS 0036 on the left edge; PF-NN 0115, 0389).



3 MWS 3

Description

4.3 × 2.8 × 1.5 cm

Category: M²



MWS 3 obverse



MWS 3 obverse



MWS 3 obverse



MWS 3 lower edge



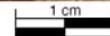
MWS 3 lower edge



MWS 3 reverse



MWS 3 reverse



**Transliteration**

1. 1 ME 25 *mar-ri-iš*^{GIŠ} GEŠ TIN^{MEŠ}
2. [(ø)] *kur-mín*^{HAL} *mar-ri-ia-da-da*¹-
3. [(ø)] *na*^{HAL} [*kur*]-*taš gal ma-ki-ip*
4. [(ø)] ^{AŠ} *hal-mar-ri-iš-ik-ki*
5. [(ø)] ^{HAL} *ap ap*[?] *nu-iš-ki-ip*
6. [(ø)] *a-ak*^{SAL} *ab-ba-mu-iš*¹-«*na*»-
7. [(ø)] *ip*^{AN} ITI^{MEŠ} 3-*na*

Lower Edge

8. [(ø)] ^{AŠ} *be-ul*¹ 17-*um-me-man-na*
9. [(ø)] [^{AN}]¹ ITI¹ MEŠ^{AN} *ka*₄-*ir-ba*-¹ *š*¹-

Reverse

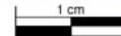
10. [(ø)] [*ia-iš*]-*na sa-ut* ¹ X X¹
11. [(ø)] ¹ PAP² 6 ME 23 ^{HAL} *kur-taš*

Translation

125 *marriš* of wine, allocation of Marriyadadda, [given as] *sat* [to] workers consuming rations in the fortress, treasury workers and women of (the) Abbamuš, for 3 months. 17th year, 6th month. Total: 623 workers.



MWS 3 left edge



MWS 3 reverse

Comparanda

Cf. Fort. 6662, PF-NN 0410 (both Category M, Marriyadadda supplier, *abbamuš*, same seals).



Seals

Seal left edge. Another seal reverse. Same seal upper edge?

Comments

5. The only plausible intention here is *kapnuškip*; hence ^{HAL}<ka₄>-«ap»-*ap-nuškip*, or even *appa kapnuškip*?
- 10f. Expected: ʾap du-ʾ[*nu-ka*₄ PAP]
- 7., 11. 3 months × 623 *kurtaš* = 1869. (Total 1,250 QA) / (1869) = .6688, i.e., approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ QA instead of the usual $\frac{1}{2}$ QA. Perhaps an error for 4 months (4 × 623 = 2492; 1250/2492 = .5016, i.e., close to the appropriate $\frac{1}{2}$ QA)?

The collocation of *halmarriš*, *kapnuški* and *abbamuš* strongly indicates that the wine was issued at Shiraz or in the district of Shiraz.

4 Schoyen ex-Erlenmeyer

A legible photograph of another Achaemenid Elamite administrative tablet appeared in Anonymous 1992, No. 18. A photograph of the same tablet was shown to Stolper in 1991, with the information that it had come from the Erlenmeyer sale. New photographs were shown to Stolper in 1996. At that time the tablet was in the Martin Schoyen collection. It has since been described and illustrated (obverse only) at www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/5/5.21/index2.html#1814 and www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/5/5.21/ms1814.jpg (27/V/2006).

**4 MS 1814****Description**

3.4 × 3.8 × 1.7 cm

Category: K3

Reverse uninscribed

Transliteration

1. 2 *mar-ri-iš*^{GIŠ} GEŠ TIN^{MEŠ}
2. ^{HAL} *ma-ti-ša gal-ma*
3. *du-iš-da*^{AN} ITI^{MEŠ}
4. ^{AN} *mar-ka₄-ša-na-áš-na*
5. *du-iš-da*^{AN} *be-*
6. *ul 20-um-me-na*



MS 1814 obverse

Translation

2 *marriš* of wine Matiša has received as rations. He has received it (for) the 8th month. 20th year.

Comparanda

Cf. PF 1902 (label, wine for Matiša); PF 0685 (beer for Matiša).

Seals

Seal left edge. Another seal reverse. Neither seal is PFS 0162 (= Garrison & Root 2001, No. 249), associated



MS 1814 reverse



with Matiša by Koch 1990: 139. The seal on the reverse resembles PFS 0853 (= Garrison & Root 2001, No. 204), impressed on the reverse of PF 0685 and PF 1487 (both with Matiša as recipient).

5-8 Rosen ex-Erlenmeyer

Four Achaemenid Elamite tablets in the collection of Jonathan Rosen were made available for study by the Yale Babylonian Collection. Two of them are the tablets from Lot 128 of the Erlenmeyer sale that are illustrated in the auction catalogue. It is likely that the other two come from the same lot.

5 R137

Description

= Erlenmeyer Lot 128 No. 1¹

3.5 × 2.9 × 1.5 cm

Category: F



R137 obverse



R137 obverse



R137 obverse

¹ The tablet on the far left in the illustration at the top Anonymous 1988: 61.

**Transliteration**

1. 3 ME 𐎧𐎱𐎺𐎠.𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 [kur-min]
2. HAL¹ ba-ka₄-𐎧𐎺𐎠-*ad-*
3. -*da-na* HAL¹ ka₄-*rák-*
4. ka₄ hi-še HAL¹ ma-ti-
5. ra du-šá NUMUN
6. MEŠ¹ nu-ti-iš-da
7. AŠ¹ ku-ut-ku-iš
8. HAL¹ su-ut-te-ez-za

Lower Edge

9. šá-ra-man-na
10. AŠ¹ be-ul 25-na

Translation

300 (BAR) of barley, [allocation] of Bakabada, (the person) named Karakka, the *matira*, received and has stored as seed at Kutkuš, Šutezza being responsible. 25th year.

Comparanda

Cf. PF 0637, PF-NN 1244 (Category G, with Karakka, Šutezza, at Kutkuš, same seals); PF 0153 (*Karakka kar huttira*, at Kutkuš, Šutezza); PF-NN 1780 (Bakabada supplier, at Kutkuš). Same combination of seals also on PF 0481, PF 0638.



R137 reverse



R137 reverse



R137 left edge



Seals

Seal PFS 0305 reverse, upper edge. Probably PFS 0042 left edge.

Comments

- 3f. *matira* and *kar huttira* may be associated (hence this Karakka called *kar huttira* PF 0153:4f.) but are perhaps not synonymous (hence the collocation *matip ak kar huttip* in PF-NN 0460:5ff.).

6 R140

Description

3.7 × 3.0 × 1.7 cm

Category: K2

Reverse uninscribed



R140 obverse



R140 obverse



R140 obverse



R140 lower edge



R140 lower edge

**Transliteration**

1. [x+] 3 ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN^{MEŠ} ʾ kur-mínʾ
2. ^{HAL}x-x-pu-zil-
3. la-na ^{HAL}mar-du-
4. uk-ka₄ mu-ši-in ^{HAL}
5. zik-ki-ra gal-
6. ma du-iš-da
7. ^{AN}ITI^{MEŠ} AN
8. ba-gi-[ia-ti]-iš

Lower Edge

9. ^{AN}be[!]-ul ʾ xʾ-
10. um-me-man-na



R140 rev.

Translation

[x+]3 (*marrisš*) of wine, allocation of x-puzilla, Mardukka the accountant has received. 7th month, xth year.

Comparanda

Cf. PF 0780-PF 0782; PF-NN 1769 (Category P, flour received by Marduka and two boys, *mušin zikkiš*); PF 0790 (Category K2), PF-NN 1876 (Category L2) (both grain supplied by Marduka, PFS 0143s); PF-NN 2261:22-25 (K2 entry in a journal, sheep for Marduka and 3 associates, *karamarašbe*).



R140 left edge

Seals

Stamp seal, perhaps PFS 0143s, reverse. Another seal left edge.



Comments

- 2. Perhaps HAL *kur+zap-* for HAL *nap¹-pu-zil-la* (cf. *kurmin HAL nap-zil-la-na* PF 0016, PF 0108, PF 0109, PF 0504, PF-NN 0112, PF-NN 0927, all with PFS 0154 left edge; PF-NN 0927; PF-NN 2315)? But seal on left edge is apparently not PFS 0154.

7 R557

Description

= Erlenmeyer Lot 128 No. 2²

4.8 × 4.4 × 1.8 cm

Category: M



R557 obverse



R557 obverse



R557 obverse



R557 lower edge



R557 lower edge

- 2 The second tablet from the right in the illustration at the top of Anonymous 1988: 61.



R557 reverse



R557 reverse

Transliteration

1. 27 *mar-ri-iš* 3 [□]QA [□]
2. KAS^{MES} *kur-mín* ^{HAL}ka₄?-
[□]x-x-na[□]
3. ^{HAL}*kur-taš gal-*
(2 erasures?)-^{lu}? ^{HAL}ra-
4. *áš-da šá-ra-man-na sa-ti*?-
5. *ik* ^{HAL}ti-<ud>-*da*? *hu-ut-ti*-
6. *ip* [□]sa^{!?}-[□]ti-iš-*da* ^{AN}ITI
7. *ha-du-kán-nu-iš* ^{AN}sa-
8. *kur-ri-zí-iš* ^{□AN}tur[□]-[na]-
9. *ba-zí-iš* ^{AN}ba-gi-
10. [□]ia-ti[□]-^{iš} ^{AN}

Lower Edge

11. *ha-ši-ia-ti*-[iš]

Reverse

12. ^{AN}*mi-ia-kán-na*-[□]iš[□]
13. ^{AN}ITI 6 *ha-tu sa-ti-ik*
14. PAP 91 ^{HAL}*kur-taš* ^{AŠ}be-ul
15. 22-*um-me-man-na*



R557 reverse



R557 right edge



Translation

48.3 *marriš* of beer, allocation of Ka-x, supplied as *sat* to workers (consuming) rations, for whom Rašda is responsible. The *tidda*? makers supplied *sat*. Supplied as *sat* during 6 months, the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th (and) 12th months. Total 91 workers. 22nd year.



R557 left edge



R557 upper edge

Comparanda

Cf., e.g., PF 1092, PF 1129, PF-NN 0029, PF 1944:24-29.

Seals

PFS 0115* reverse, upper edge. Another seal left edge.

Comments

2. Karkiš? Cf. PF-NN 0215 (Category M, Karkiš supplier, Rašda responsible, 3 months).
6. Parallels suggest *ha satiš*, (*ap*) *satišda* or *hupibe satišda*.
12. *Samiyamaš*, 11th month, is expected.
14. 91 *kurtaš* × 6 months × 1/2 QA *sat* = 273 *marriš*.

**8 R558****Description**

4.1 × 3.0 × 1.4 cm

Category: D



R558 obverse



R558 lower edge



R558 lower edge

Transliteration

1. []
2. [] x x x []
3. ^rHAL ú-ka₄-ma ^{AŠ} be-iž[?]-zi[?] ^r-
4. ia-ma-ti-ia
5. ^{HAL} taš-š[?]u-íp i-^r da^r-ka₄
6. ^{3?} gal^{ul?} ^r du^r-iš-da
7. ^{AŠ} da[?]-ša-x-ti^{AN}

Lower Edge

8. be-ul 22-me-na
9. ^{AN}ITI SIG₄[?]-me-man-na

**Translation**

[...] Ukama the Beziyamatian, together with troops, has received for² 3² rations. At Daša-x-ti. 22nd year. 3rd month.

Comparanda

Cf. PF 0330, PF 2027, PF-NN 1159, PF-NN 1254, PF-NN 1816 (all Category D, Ukama *taššup idaka*, seal PFS 0284*).

Seals

PFS 0284* (= Garrison & Root 2001, No. 111), seal of Ukama, reverse, left edge.



R558 reverse

Comments

3. Ukama the Beziyamatiyan:
see Henkelman 2003: 133f.
with n. 54.

6. In parallels, nothing intervenes
between *idaka* and *dušda*.

7-9. In parallels, ^{AŠ}GN ^{HAL}PN ^{HAL}*ir-*
ma-ut-tám-me-ma, “at GN, at the estate of PN,” follows *dušda*.



R558 left edge

9 ex-Erlenmeyer ex-Christie's

Finally, another tablet from the Erlenmeyer collection is partially legible from a photograph in the sale catalogue.



9 Erlenmeyer Lot 127 No. 2³

Description

Category: C1

Transliteration

1. 3[?] ME^{??} 80[?]+3[?] GIŠ[?] tar-mu
2. GIŠ[?] kur-ru-sa-um gi-
3. um uk-gi zik-ka₄-
4. ka₄^{HAL} bat-ti-iš[?]-šá
5. AŠ[?] sa-du[!]-ba-um^{HAL}
6. ʾza[?]-ra[?]-ti-ia^{AŠ[?]} be[?]-ul[?]

Lower Edge

7. ʾx-um-ma-na[?]

Translation

383 (BAR) of *kurrusam tarmu* (grain), deposited to the account² of Battišša, of the Zaratiya “century.” xth year.

Comparanda

Cf. especially **No. 1**, above.

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³ The tablet on the far right in the illustration at the top of Anonymous 1988: 61.



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