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Miscellanea Epigraphica Susiana II Addenda et corrigenda

Abstract

In this article I propose some corrections and additions to my previous contribution Miscellanea Epigraphica Susiana, made possible by the recent publication of a book dealing, among other things, with the same inscriptions (DSe, DSi, A²Se). In particular, I provide: a complete restoration of the final portion of the Elamite version of DSe highlighting some textual parallels found in the Meso-Elamite, Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian epigraphic tradition; an etymological discussion on the newly discovered OP word kabnu- "ruined, dilapidated"; and some improvements in the reading and interpretation of a new fragment of the Elamite version of A²Se.

Keywords

Achaemenid Inscriptions, Susa, Elamite, Old Persian.
Inscriptions achéménides, Suse, Élamite, Vieux perse.

Introduction

A recently[2] published volume (Aliyari Babolghani 2024) presented the first results of the research conducted in the framework of a collaboration between the DARIOSH project and the Louvre Museum, having as its ultimate purpose «the publication of the complete edition of all the Achaemenid inscriptions in the Louvre Museum» (ibid. p. xiv). In this book, Salman Aliyari Babolghani dealt with a selection of inscriptions, some of which were already published and discussed in a former contribution of mine in this bulletin (Fattori 2023). The volume did not take this article into account, as its
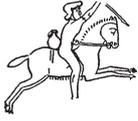
bibliography appears to be updated only to 2021, with the sole exception of an article by Basello (2023) and some of the author's more recent publications. Consequently, he could not incorporate in his study some findings which, in my view, could have improved his edition of the texts and, on the other hand, he missed the opportunity to correct some errors of mine. In the present article I would like to take the opportunity to revise my positions in light of the new data published by Aliyari Babolghani (henceforth abbreviated as AB) and offer some insights on this interesting material.

The final paragraphs of DSe in Elamite

Thanks to the identification of some new fragments, AB (pp. 21-51) could significantly improve the reconstruction of the last lines of the OP version of DSe. Here follows his newly established text (see below for some remarks on the translation), with one minor correction[3].

(44)   … … … … … : ⌈+⌉-[+-+-+-+-… : a-v-i-]

(45)   n-m : dⁱ-i-d-a : ⌈dᵘ⌉-[u-+-+-+-+-+]-⌈y-a⌉ : h-y-

(46)   a : p-rᵘ-u-v-m [: k-r-t-a :] ⌈h-u-v⌉ : k-b-nᵘ-

(47)   u-š : a : p-s-a-⌈v⌉-[dⁱ-i-m : a]-⌈d⌉-m : vⁱ-i-y-k-

(48)   [n]-m : a-n-i-y-a-m ⌈:⌉ [dⁱ-i-d]-a-m : a-d-i-θ-

(49)   ⌈m⌉ : θ-a-t-i-y [: d]-⌈a⌉-r-y-[v-u]-š : Xš : a-u-

(50)   r-m-⌈z⌉-d-a : m-⌈a⌉-[m : p-a-tᵘ]-u-v : h-d-a :

(51)   ⌈b⌉-g-i-b-i-š : [u-t-a-m-i-y] : vⁱ-i-θ-m : u-

(52)   t-a : θ-u-⌈v⌉-[n-m : t-y :] n-i-p-i-š-t-m

"I saw that the … brick building which had previously been built, that was in ruin. Then, I tore it down and I built another brick building. Proclaims Darius the king. May Auramazda, with the (other) gods, protect me and my house and the proclamation which has been written"

The new OP text is of crucial help for the restoration of the Elamite version, which I have edited in Fattori 2023, pp. 2-8. I now believe that a plausible reconstruction of the end of the Elamite text can be obtained by assuming a layout on stone tablet in 40 lines, with ca. 17/18 signs per line. In the following restored text, I indicated in red the fragment published by Stolper 1980, p. 175f. (DSe 05), in green the fragment SB 9747 (DSe 06, Fattori 2023: 6f., AB p. 40, with a better photograph) and in blue the fragment SB 9755 (DSe 07, Fattori 2023, p. 7f.). The text in black outside square brackets is preserved in other witnesses (see Steve 1987, p. 59).

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[3]   At l. 52, I changed <[t-y-m]> (Acc.M.Sg.) into <[t-y]> (Acc.N.Sg.) to ensure the agreement with OP *θaᵘvana-*, which, as AB himself recognized (p. 50), is most likely a neuter noun.

31 |ma-ak in-ni ir-ka$_4$ ra-ma-ak a-ak ^{DIŠ}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš|

32 |^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA na-an-ri za-u-mi-in ^{AN}u-ra-maš-da-na ŠU^{MEŠ}-|

33 |ma ⌜hu⌝-ut-tuk-ka$_4$ ir-še-ik-ki ap-pa ap-pu-ka$_4$ in-ni ka$_4$-|

34 |te- ma hu-ut-tuk-ka$_4$ [hu-be ^{DIŠ}ú ka$_4$-te-ma] ⌜hu-ud⌝-da-ra|

35 |⌜sa⌝-ap ^{DIŠ}ú ⌜zí⌝-e-ia [^{AŠ}hal-mar-ráš +-+]-⌜+-+⌝-[+-+]|

36 |[ap-pa ap-pu-ka$_4$] ⌜hu⌝-ut-tuk-ka$_4$ ⌜hu⌝-[be mi-ši-ir-ma-ak a-ak]|

37 |[me-ni ^{DIŠ}ú (ir) sa-ri](-)ha da-a-ki [^{AŠ}hal-mar-ráš ku-ši-ia]|

38 |^{DIŠ}da-ri-ia-ma-u]-iš ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA na-⌜an⌝-[ri ^{DIŠ}ú ^{AN}u-ra-]|

39 [maš-da ^{DIŠ}ú-un nu-iš-gi]-iš-ni ^{AN}na-[ap-pi-be i-da-ka$_4$]|

40 [ku-ud-da ^{AŠ}ul-hi]⌜^{MEŠ}⌝-mi ku-ud-[da na-an ap-pa tal-li-ka$_4$]|

Although it cannot be proved that all these fragments belong to the same stone tablet, it is clear that, unlike what I proposed before, the layout was very similar and that they all belong to a version in the same number of lines. A fragment of text only known from a photograph taken by Roland de Mecquenem (DSe 04, reverse, Fattori 2023, p. 8f., AB p. 41, with a better photograph) had led me into error in my former edition and caused some problems to AB as well. Neither I nor AB could correctly locate it within the reconstructed text, and we both regarded the traces in the upper and lower fragmentary lines as unclear. Now, I believe it can be demonstrated that this fragment covers ll. 32-35 of the restored text (see above), preserving the right margin of the stone tablet, and must be read as follows:

32   […]-⌜maš-da-na ŠU⌝|

33   […] ⌜ap⌝-pu-ka$_4$ hu-ut-tuk-|

34   [… ka$_4$-te]-⌜ma⌝ hu-ud-da-ra|

35   […] ⌜+-+⌝ […]|

Its correct placement can be inferred from the study of the fragment identified by AB (p. 24, fn. 5) as the obverse of the same tablet (DSe 04, Steve 1987, p. 59), because it partially overlaps with the obverse of DSe 05 published in Stolper 1980, p. 175f. To begin with, we must reckon that the tablets originally had 40 lines, presumably 20 on the obverse and 20 on the reverse, and that the two faces corresponded inversely: so line 1 on the obverse corresponded to line 40 on the reverse, line 2 on the obverse corresponded to line 39 on the reverse and so on 3-38, 4-37, 5-36 … 19-22, 20-21 (always summing up to 41). By looking at Stolper's drawing, we see that DSe 05 had ll. 8-14

on the obverse and ll. 28-34 on the reverse[4]. Since DSe 04 overlaps with DSe 05 at ll. 8-9 on the obverse and preserves the previous lines up to l. 5, we can assume that the range of lines preserved on the obverse should be ll. 32-36. As expected, the traces at l. 32 match quite well the signs <⸢maš-da-na ŠU⸣> of the restored text, and at l. 34 the segment <⸢ma⸣ hu-ud-da-ra|> is found exactly at the end of the line, where it is supposed to occur. The only problem is l. 33, which instead of <ap-pu-ka₄ in-ni ka₄-|te-ma hu-ut-tuk-ka₄> has <ap-pu-ka₄ hu-ut-tuk-|ka₄>. This must be an error in the order of words or, maybe less likely, a deliberate variation in the formulation (e.g. *appa inni katema appuka huttukka* or *appa appuka huttukka inni katema*). The assumption of a textual divergence in this point is the only viable solution to interpret this fragment. Placing the fragment so as to take *huttara* "I did" as the counterpart of OP *viyakanam* "I tore down" (so AB) or *adaiθam* "I built" (so Fattori 2023, before the OP verb was known) would imply an irregular translation of the OP in Elamite and a too wide discrepancy with the lines in the obverse. Also, I see no other way of interpreting meaningfully the traces in the fragmentary upper line. If the fragment is placed as I suggest, we see that the traces in the fragmentary lower line should correspond to the unknown OP word qualifying the dilapidated building torn down by Darius (<⸢du⸣-[u-+-+-+-+]-⸢y⸣-a>).

Before moving on to a commentary of some of the restored words, I would like to draw attention on some textual parallels which clearly represent the model based on which this passage of DSe was composed. The renovation of ruined buildings is a cliché in royal inscriptions in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Elamite tradition. Let us consider the following passages (selected among many others):

Esarhaddon (680-669 BC)
B.6.31.15 ll. 30-33 (Frame 1995, p. 183f.)

> (30) i-nu-ma é-an-na É ᵈa-nu-ú-tu na-ram ᵈ15 GAŠAN-ia šá LUGAL ma-ḫar i-pu-šu (31) la-ba-riš il-lik-ma i-qu-pu É.GAR₈.MEŠ-šú (32) áš-ra-ti-šú áš-te-e'-e ma-qit-ta-šú as-suḫ te-me-en-šú ú-ṣab-bi-ma ki-ma si-ma-ti-šú (33) la-bi-ra-a-ti ina ši-pir ᵈkulla ar-ṣip ú-šak-lil ki-ma KUR-i re-e-ši-šú ul-li
>
> "When Eanna, the temple of highest rank, beloved of the goddess Ištar, my lady, which a previous king had built, became old and its walls buckled, I sought its (original) emplacement, removed its dilapidated parts, (and) surveyed its (entire) foundation. I completely (re)built (it) with the work of the god Kulla according to its ancient specifications (and) raised its top (as high) as a mountain."

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[4] The lines are numbered according to my reconstruction. The last preserved one on the obverse, i.e. l. 14, corresponds to a lost line on the reverse, which would have been l. 27. The same happens for l. 34 on the reverse, which corresponds to a lost l. 7 on the obverse.

Ashurbanipal (668-ca. 631 BC)

B.6.32.14 ll. 33-36 (Frame 1995, p. 218)

(33) ina u$_4$-me-šú-ma É.GAR$_8$ é-zi-da (34) šá la-ba-riš il-lik-u-ma i-ni-˹šú˺ (35) tem-me-en-šú ina BALA-e-a an-ḫu-us-˹su˺ (36) lu-diš-ma ú-za-aq-qí-ir ḫur-sa-ni[š]

"At that time, (with regard to) the (enclosure) wall of Ezida ("True House") which had become old and whose foundation had become weak, during my reign I indeed renovated its dilapidated sections and made (it) as high as a mountain"

Nabonidus (555-539 BC)

15 ll. i 32-ii 6 (Weiershäuser-Novotny 2020, p. 95)

(i 36) i-nu-šu é-˹amaš˺-kù-ga (i 37) É ᵈnin-gal be-let gi-mi-ir el-le-ti (i 38) su-pu-ru e-˹el˺-li (i 39) ša qé-er-ba URU.KISIG*.KI (i 40) ša i-na la-ba-ri i-ni-šu (i 41) i-qu-pu i-ga-ru-šu (ii 1) i-ga-ru-˹šu˺ [qa-a-a-pu-ti] (ii 2) ša i-ni-˹šu˺ [ad-ka-a-ma] (ii 3) te-em-me-˹en˺-[šu la-bi-ra] (ii 4) a-ḫi-˹iṭ˺ [ab-re-e-ma] (ii 5) e-˹li˺ [te-em-me-ni-šu la-bi-ri] (ii 6) ú-˹ki˺-[in li-ib-na-at-su]

"At that time, (with regard to) Eamaškuga, the temple of the goddess Ningal — the pure lady of everything — the pure sheepfold that is inside the city Kissik, which a long time ago had become weak (and) whose walls had buckled, [I removed] its [buckled] walls that had become weak [and (then)] I examined (and) [checked its original] foundation(s) and (thereby) secu[red its brick-work] on top of [its original foundation(s)]"

27 ll. i.7-15 (Weiershäuser-Novotny 2020, p. 134)

(i 7) i-na 52 MU.MEŠ šá É šu-a-tum i-ga-ra-tu-šú (i 8) i-qu-pa-a-ma il-li-ku la-ba-ri-iš (i 9) ia-a-ti ᵐᵈAG-NÍ.TUKU LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI (i 10) za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da ina BALA-e-a ki-nim (i 11) šá ᵈ30 ù ᵈUTU i-ram-mu é-babbar-ra šu-a-ti (i 12) ad-ke-e-ma ḫi-iṭ-ṭa-at-su aḫ-ṭu-uṭ te-me-en-šú la-bi-ri (i 13) šá ᵐLUGAL-GIN LUGAL maḫ-ri i-pu-šu a-mu-ur-ma e-li te-me-en-na (i 14) ᵐLU-GAL-GIN i-pu-uš-šu ŠU.SI la a-ṣe-e ŠU.SI la e-re-bi (i 15) uš-˹šú-šú˺ ad-di-ma ú-kin ˹li-ib˺-na-at-su

"In (only) fifty-two years, the walls of that temple buckled and became old. (As for) me, Nabonidus, the king of Babylon who provides for Esagil and Ezida, during my legitimate reign that the gods Sîn and Šamaš love, I removed that Ebabbar and dug pits in it. I found its original foundation(s) that Sargon (of Agade), a king of the past, had made, and I laid its foundations (precisely) on the foundation(s) that Sargon had made, not (even) a fingerbreadth outside or inside (of them), and (thereby) secured its brickwork"
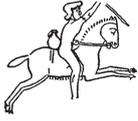
Some parallel passages are also found in Elamite royal inscriptions, especially from the Meso-Elamite period:

Shutruk-Nahhunte (12th cent. BCE)
Brick inscription 2 (Malbran-Labat 1995, p. 82)

(1)   ú ^{DIŠ}šu-ut-ru-uk-^{AN}nah-hu-un-te ša-ak ^{DIŠ}hal-lu-du-uš-^{AN}in-šu-ši-

(2)   na-ak-kí-ik su-un-ki-ik ^{AŠ}an-za-an ^{AŠ}šu-šu-un-ka$_4$ $^{DIŠ.AN}$hu-ban-

(3)   nu-me-na si-ia-an ^{AN}ki-ri-ri-ša ^{AŠ}li-ia-an-ir-ra-me ha-la-at-im-ma

(4)   ku-ši-iš a-ak mi-ši-ir-ma-ma ù sar-ra-ah e-ri-en-tum$_8$ be-ep-ši-ir-ma-ah

(5)   a-ak ku-ši-ih ^{AN}ki-ri-ri-ša na-pír-ú-ri i du-ni-ih

"Moi, Shutruk-Nahhunte, fils de Hallutush-Inshushinak, roi d'Anzan et de Suse, Humbanumena avait édifié le temple de la déesse Kiririsha-de-Liyan en briques crues et, comme il menaçait ruine, moi je l'ai remis en état; j'ai décidé d'en restaurer le briquetage et je l'ai (re)bâti. J'en ai fait don à Kiririsha, ma déesse"

Shilhak-Inshushinak (12th cent. BCE)
Brick inscription 3 (Malbran-Labat 1995, p. 92, but see also nn. 1 and 5)

(1)   ù ^{DIŠ}šil-ha-ak-^{AN}in-šu-ši-na-ak ša-ak ^{DIŠ}šu-ut-ru-uk-^{AN}nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik

(2)   li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik ^{DIŠ}in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik ku-um-pu-um ki-du-ú-ia

(3)   ú-pa-at-ma ku-ši-ik a-ak mi-ši-ir-ma-na sa-ri-ih a-ak e-ri-en-tu$_4$-um-ma

(4)   ku-ši-ih a-ak ^{AN}in-šu-ši-na-ak na-pír-ú-ri i si-ma-ta-ah e ^{AN}in-šu-ši-na-ak

(5)   na-pír-ú-ri hu-ud-tak ha-li-ik-ú-me li-ma nu te-la-ak-ni

(6)   a-ak a-ha-an hi-ih si-tu$_4$-uk-ti-ni

"Moi, Shilhak-Inshushinak, fils de Shutruk-Nahhunte, serviteur bien-aimé d'Inshushinak, comme la chapelle extérieure avait été bâtie en briques crues et qu'elle menaçait ruine, je l'ai remise en état et (re)construite en briques cuites; je l'ai consacrée à Inshushinak, mon dieu. O Inshushinak, mon dieu, que l'œuvre que j'ai réalisée te soit agréable en offrande et puisses-tu rendre prospère le pouvoir (qui) y (est représenté)!"

As can be easily seen, Darius must have had in mind texts of this kind when he decided to celebrate the restoration described in the final passage of DSe. These parallels do not only confirm the reliability of the reconstruction provided by AB, but also allow identifying lexical correspondences between OP, Elamite and Akkadian which ensure a plausible restoration of the text.

Here follow some observations on my restoration and on the corresponding words in the parallel versions.

l. 35: AB (p. 45) rightly observes that before OP *hayā par^uvam* [*kr̥tā*], Elam. [*appa appuka*] *huttukka* and Akk. [*ša*] *ina panama ipšuma* there is a gap in all three versions. Only some very ambiguous traces of signs are preserved in the fragmentary lower line of DSe 04, discussed above. The OP word(s) must have occupied about 9 signs <⌈d^u⌉-[u-+-+-+-+]-⌈y⌉-a> and probably contained a designation of the building. In principle, it would be logical to think of a proper name, as was done before by Scheil, but in such a case the OP "naming construction" with *nāma-* would be expected. Instead, in light of the Elamite parallels, one might suspect that the lacuna contained a reference to the material with which the bricks of the building were made (see below on the idea that OP *didā-* indicates a brick building). In the case of a compound, the second element could be **išt^iiya-* "raw brick" (perhaps <du-⌈u⌉-[š-i-š-t-i]-⌈y⌉-a> **dušišt^iyā* "with damaged bricks"?): compare YAv. *ištiia-* "id.", occurring as a second compound member in *zəmō.ištuua-* "with clay bricks" (likely a corruption for **zəmō.ištiia-*) and the numerous Ved. compounds such as *hiraṇyeṣṭakā-* "golden brick".

l. 36: [*miširmak*] "it became ruined". This Elamite verb (so inflected in Conj. IIm, but also attested in non-finite forms such as *miširmana* or *miširmama*) is typically used to indicate dilapidated buildings[5]. In Akkadian, the expression *lābariš alāku* "to go to ruin" is an equally formulaic expression used in the same context (see the passages quoted above). AB, in his commentary to the restored text (p. 47), takes the word written as a single <a> after the adjective <k-b-n^u-u-š> "dilapidated, ruined" (which I read as *kabnŭš*, see below) as a linker opening the following sentence (so already Fattori 2023, p. 6). This requires postulating an implied verb "was", which does not seem very likely, because *pasāva* "afterwards" is a linker itself, and typically introduces a new sentence. In view of parallels such as <θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : k-a-r : p-a-r-s : u-[t-a : m]-a-d : h-y : u-p-a : m-a-m : a-h : h-u-v : k-m-n-m : **a-h** : p-s-a-v ...> (DB II, p. 18f.) "Proclaims Darius the king - The Persian and Median troops who were under my control, these were few. Then ...", one would really expect to find an inflected verbal form before *pasāva*. It is then tempting to see in OP *ā*, spelled as <a>, a variant form of *āha* "it was" (Impf.3.Sg.), issued from intervocalic *h*-deletion. Although this sporadic change is not often considered in the grammatical descriptions of OP, several plausible examples exist in the corpus: *r̥tācā* (XPh) "according to R̥ta" < **r̥tā hacā*, OAv. *aṣ̌āt̰ hacā*; *avarda* (DNa) "(do not) leave" Inj.Pres.2.Sg. < Ir. **avahr̥jah*,

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[5] Cf. Malbran-Labat 1995, p. 82 and Hinz-Koch 1987/2, p. 937. As shown by Stolper 2021, p. 27-29, a base *miši-* "to become old, to go bad" should also be recognized in Elam. *mišina* "old", used in the PFT to qualify foodstuff, and in *mišnuka* "bad" (note that OP *duš-kr̥ta-* is translated by Elam. *mišnuka huttukka* in XPh). The opposite concept is expressed by the base *pipši-* "to be new", seen in the verb *pipširmah* "I renovated" (Brick inscription 2 of Shutruk-Nahhunte, see above) and in the adjective *pipšina* "new".

vs. OP *avahṛ*[*da*] Inj.Pres.3.Sg. in DB II: 94; *aištatā* "stayed" (DB I, p. 185) Impf.3.Sg.Mid. < **ahištatā; maniyāi* (XPh) "(if you) think" Subj.Pres.2.Sg.Mid. < *maniyāhai* (DNa, DPe etc.)[6]. Our sentence would then be *avainam didā … hayā paruvam kṛtā, hau kabnŭš ā* "I saw (that) the brick building which had been built before, that was in ruin".

l. 37 [*sari*]*ya* "I tore down" (or [*sari*] *ha* "I tore down. There …")[7]. As rightly remarked by AB (p. 47, fn. 48), Elam. *sari-* is the expected translation of OP *vi-kan-* "to destroy, tear down", lit. "to dig away" (XPh OP *adam avam daivadānam v*i*yakanam*, Elam. *u hube daivadanam sari* "I destroyed that temple of the *daiva*")[8]. The discovery of the OP verb *v*i*yakanam*, which perfectly conveys the idea of "tearing down to the foundations", expressed in a more elaborate way in the Akkadian parallels, does not only help in restoring the text of DSe, but also provides a guide for understanding correctly the verb *sari-* in the Meso-Elamite inscriptions quoted above. In these texts, Hinz and Koch (1987) systematically read the sign <sar> as <šar$_8$> and postulated a base *šarra-* "to restore, rebuild". Malbran-Labat (1995), whose translation was given above, did the same ("je l'ai remis en état"), despite one occurrence of the explicit spelling <sa-ri-ih>. The correct meaning of these verbal forms had already been identified by Stolper (1981), who translated "I cleared it". The verb employed in the above-cited Akkadian passages to describe the act of digging up the foundations of the building is *dekû* "to raise, remove", e.g. in Nabonidus 27 <ad-ke-e-ma> "I removed it" (see also Schaudig 2001, p. 192 for more examples). In light of this, I believe that <[ad]-ke-'-ma> could be a better reading and restoration than Scheil's <[ú-šá]-qí-'-ma> (vb. *šaqû* "to grow high, to ascend")[9] for the verb corresponding to OP *v*i*yakanam* at l. 35 of the Akkadian version of DSe [10].

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[6]   Cf. Schmitt 1989, p. 70 for a sceptical position and Skjærvø 2011, p. 327a, who recognizes the reality of such a phenomenon.

[7]   The historical spelling <sa-ri-ha> for *sariya* "I tore down" Conj.I.1.Sg. could be paralleled in the form <ma-ri-ha> *mariya* "I seized" in the fragmentary text DSu. Anyway, many other cases of <ha> for *ya* are attested in the spelling of Iranian words transcribed in the PFT: e.g. <ba-ki-ha-zí-iš> for the month name **Bāgayāzi-* (cf. Schmitt 2003, p. 21, with further examples). Alternatively, one might take *ha* as the locative adverb "there, in it", lacking a counterpart in the OP text and referred to the following sentence "There I built another brick building".

[8]   I do not understand the logic behind Cheung's (2007) choice to separate a root **kan-* "to destroy" from a root **kanH-* "to dig".

[9]   Cf. Scheil 1933, pp. 119, 121 "je l'exhaussai (?)" and Steve 1987, p. 63.

[10] AB (p. 47f.) claims that, based on the examination of a new unpublished photograph, he could verify that the reading of the sign <'> (MZL 635) by Scheil and Steve is incorrect, and that the sign is rather <ši>/<lùm>

l. 37 [*kušiya*] "I built". The newly established OP text shows that the verb used to describe the act of building a new *didā-* (Elam. *halmarriš*) is not *kar-* (Elam. *hutta-*), as usual, but rather *daiθ-*. This suggests that a different verb should also be restored in the Elam. version. In fact, both in the Meso-Elamite parallel texts cited above and, more significantly, in DPf, a monolingual inscription dealing with the construction of a *halmarriš* in Persepolis, the verb *kuši-* "to build, to create" is used[11]. The discovery of a new OP verb *daiθ-* "to shape, mold, fashion" in this context is very significant. This verbal stem ultimately goes back to the IIr. root **daiǰ-* (Ved. *deh-* "to form, shape", Av. *daēz-* "to build"), which however, in several Iranian languages, unexpectedly shows reflexes ending in a voiceless *s*: MP *dēs-* "to build", Parth. *dēs-* "id.", CSogd. *dys-* "id." etc. (see Cheung 2007, p. 52f.). Since also OP *didā-* descends from the same root (IIr. **dijā-*, MP *diz* "fortress", Bactr. λιζο "id.", MSogd. *dyz-* "id."), though preserving the regular outcome of IIr. **j*, the phrase *didām adaiθam* must be considered an etymological figure[12]. The choice of using this verb exactly when describing the construction of a *didā* could tell something about the technical characteristics of the latter. The root originally indicates the act of shaping a soft material, typically clay, so it seems reasonable to me that it could indicate that a *didā* was a construction made with bricks, i.e. building blocks which must be molded from a soft substance[13]. The expression **didām dištanai* would then literally mean something like "to fashion a brick building". This assumption allows formulating, by way of contrast, an idea which, to my knowledge, has never been proposed before about the semantics of the verb *kar-* in the Achaemenid inscriptions. As is well-known, in all the other Achaemenid building inscriptions, celebrating the construction of monumental palaces made in stone, the

(MZL 724). I could be wrong, only having access to the squeeze published by Scheil (1933, pl. VI), but I have to say that the sign at issue does not really look like <ši>, and a reading as <'> seems much more likely to me.

[11] On the semantics of Elam. *kuši-*, which is both used to indicate the construction of brick buildings and the act of giving birth to a child, see Romagnuolo 2012. Apparently, the common ground between these two actions is "to form, to create", which matches quite well the idea conveyed by Ir. **daiǰ-/daić-* discussed further below in the text.

[12] A further cognate in OP is *par(i)daida-* "enclosure wall", which also in other Iranian languages shows the regular outcome of **ǰ*: YAv. *pairidaēza-*, Arm. loanw. *partez*, MSogd. *prδyz*, NP *pālīz*. The absence of the voiceless variant in nominal forms apparently confirms Cheung's (2007, p. 53) assumption that it secondarily developed in verbs, based on the forms of the paradigm where voice opposition is neutralized, such as the PPP. **dišta-* (Av. *°dišta-*, Parth. *dišt*, BSogd. *δšt'y*). The new OP attestation reveals that the extrapolation of a voiceless variant **daić-* – possibly influenced by the homophonous **daić-* "to show"? – should be projected in an Old or even Proto-Iranian stage.

[13] On earlier positions about the meaning of OP *didā-* cf. the thorough discussion offered by Rossi 2010.

verb *kar-* is used. It is commonly assumed that, in such cases, the meaning "to build" is a secondary specialization of the common meaning "to do" of *kar-*[14]. However, in OP there are some cases in which this verb seems to be employed in a fairly technical way with reference to the manufacture of stone or other hard materials: e.g. *mart͎yā kr̥n͎vakā tayai aθangam akunavantā* (DSf) "stone-cutters who worked the stone"[15], *iyam patikara aθangaina tayam Dārayavauš xšāyaθ͎ya n͎yaštāya cartanai* "this stone image that Darius ordered to be made" (note that *patikara-* is also used to designate the bas-reliefs at Bisotun and Naqš-e Rostam). Rather than being a later specialization, I wonder if this usage could not reflect a preservation of a very ancient meaning of *kar-* "to cut, carve", which is ultimately that of its PIE etymon *(s)kᵘer-* "to cut, carve" (cf. Rix 2001, p. 391f.). Should this be the case, the usage of *kar-* with reference to monumental palaces made of stone could be considered just as technical as that of *daiθ-* with reference to brickwork.

L. 39 [*nan*] "proclamation, message". AB's restoration of a word *θaᵘvanam* "proclamation, message" (< Ir. *ćahvan-*, MP *saxwan* "word, speech") is elegant and compelling. I propose as its Elam. counterpart the noun *nan* "speech, declaration" (see Hallock 1969, p. 736b and Hinz-Koch 1987/2, p. 968), corresponding to the verb *nanri* "proclaims", since I assume that the OP verb *θāti* is etymologically connected with the newly established word *θaᵘvana-* (both to root *θanh-* "to state, declare").

OP *kabnu-* "dilapidated, ruined"

Among the newly established words in AB's edition of the final paragraph of DSe, the most interesting one from a linguistic point of view is undoubtedly <k-b-nᵘ-u-š>. This is apparently an adjective indicating the state of decadence of the brick building which Darius has restored. AB's reading /kahbanūš/ (p. 46) is clearly a back-formation based on MP *kahwan* "old", but makes little sense in an Indo-Iranian morphological perspective, in addition to having a phonetically implausible sequence *hb* (with unwritten *h*?). As long as the word is not considered a loanword – and it does not seem to be the case – a reasonable explanation of this word as an Old Iranian formation must be found.

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[14] So Brust 2018, pp. 157-159, Schmitt 2014, p. 200f., Rastorgueva-Èdel'man 2000-2020/4, p. 246, Mayrhofer 1992-2001/1, pp. 307-309.

[15] OP *kr̥n͎vaka-* "stone-cutter" is a noun derived from the present stem Ir. *kr̥nau-*, Av. *kərənao-*, see Schmitt 2014, p. 204.

In my view, the most likely option is reading it as *kabnŭš*, a Nom.Sg.F. of a deverbal adjective built with the suffix *-nú-* as Ved. *gṛdhnú-* "hasty", *dhṛṣnú-* "bold" etc. [16]. In light of the semantics required by the context, the most suitable verbal root is the one usually reconstructed as **kap/f-* "to fall" (intransitive), "knock down" (transitive): MP, Parth. *kaf-* "to fall", Chor. *mkf-* "to befall, happen" etc.

As is clear from Cheung's (2007) notation of the reconstructed form, the identification of the final consonant of this root is problematic. In reality, this root poses a number of problems, including the correct identification of its reflexes and of its original semantics. Cheung (2007) reconstructs no less than three different roots, of suspiciously similar shape: *kap/f¹-* "to (be)fall, strike down", *kap/f²-* "to split, cut, scrape, dig" and *skap/f-* "to split, make a crack, crack"[17]. However, verbal forms from these alleged doublets are often in complementary distribution within a single language (e.g. Parth. *kaf-* "to fall" vs. *kāf-* "to split, cleave"), and it is far from unlikely that they all trace back to one and the same root (with a *s-mobile* variant), with complex semantic developments still to be clarified. I find Cheung's (2007, p. 234f.) idea that this verb could originally refer to the act of felling trees quite attractive, as it would both explain the transitive meaning "to chop, cleave" and the intransitive one of "to fall, be knocked down". For the purpose of the present discussion, we will only be concerned with the intransitive meaning "to fall".

Returning to the shape of the root, it should be emphasized that a Proto-Iranian form **kaf-* is simply unlikely in light of the rarity of the IIr. phoneme **pʰ* (or **pH*), and that no attested form unambiguously points to Ir. **p*. Thus, it is worth exploring the possibility that the root originally ended in Ir. **b* < IIr. **bʰ*, which would reconcile it with OP *kabnu-*. The unexpected presence of an *f* instead of a **b* is already attested in the Iranian roots **rab-* "to reach (for), attack, seize" (MP *raw*, "to go, reach", PPP. *raft*, Parth. *raf-* "to attack", BSogd. *rnβ-* "to fight, attack", Ved. *rambh-* "to take hold of, grasp" etc.)[18] and **vab-* "to weave" (MP, Parth. *waf-* "to weave", Sogd., Chor. *wʼf-* "id."), which have a more solid etymology. When dealing with verbal formations, one can reasonably expect the *f* to be a generalization of the consonant of the PPP (so Cheung 2007, p. 402, see above fn. 10 for the parallel case of **daić-* << **daij-*). However, cases

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[16] Cf. Debrunner 1954, pp. 696f, 741-743. In Avestan this suffix more frequently builds abstract nouns such as *tafnu-* "heat" or *jąfnu-* "depth". Note that in Vedic the feminine form of *nu*-adjectives is either *-nu-* (e.g. Ved. *dhenú-*, Av. *daēnu-* "lactating") or *-nū-*, but never **-nvī-* (cf. Sommer 1916, pp. 174-190), so a feminine stem *kabnŭ-* is indeed expected in OP.

[17] See also Rastorgueva-Èdel'man 2000-2020/4, pp. 223-236.

[18] *Pace* Cheung (2007), who separates these forms, the etymology from **rabʰ-* upheld by Häusler 2000 is formally and semantically compelling. In Fattori 2025, p. 7f. fn. 13 I proposed that the OAv. present stem *nərəfsa-* "to wane, go down" could be an inchoative formation from this same root.

of alternation between voiced stops and voiceless fricatives are also found outside verbal paradigms: YAv. *jaiβi.vafra-* "with deep snow", Khot. *ggampha-* "extent, expanse" and probably the toponym **Gaba-* (Gr. Γάβαι, MP *Gay*, Henning 1951), vis-à-vis YAv. *jąfnu-* "depth", *jafra-* "deep" (NP *žarf*, Ved. *ga(m)bhīrá-* "deep"), to root IIr. **ǰambʰ-*; YAv. *nabānazdišta-* "closest relative" (Ved. *nābhānédiṣṭha-*) vis-à-vis YAv. *nāfa-* "navel, kinship", MP *nāf* "family" (Ved. *nā́bhi-* "navel"), to root IIr. **Hnabʰ-*; YAv. *zəmb-* "to crush, grind" (Ved. *jambh-* "id.") vis-à-vis YAv. *zafan-* "mouth" (MP *dahan*), *vī.zafāna-* "with open mouth", to root IIr. **ǰambʰ-*[19]. Whatever the correct explanation for the f, my purpose here was just to demonstrate that postulating a root Ir. **(s)kab-* "to fall, be knocked down" (intransitive), "to fell, cut down" (transitive/causative) < IIr. **(s)kabʰ-* is plausible and can account for the new OP adjective *kabnu-*, lit. "falling apart"[20].

Such a reconstruction brings support to Bailey's (1945, p. 30) etymology **kafvan-* of the base for "old", reflected in MP *kahwan*, NP *kuhna* (< MP **kahunag*), MParth. *kafwan*, *kafnag*, LKhot. *kuhana-*, Bactr. καβογγο[21]. We would then have two old adjectival formations from the root **kab/f-*: **kab/f-nu-* "falling apart, dilapidated" and **kab/f-van-* "unsound, stumbling" or "decadent"[22]. The latter formation mostly surfaces in the *f* variant, but the original **b* is apparently preserved in Bactrian καβογγο < **kabun-aka-* (with zero grade of the suffix *-van-* + *-aka-* suffix, cf. Sims-Williams 2007, p. 219b).

A new exemplar of the Elamite version of A²Se in 9 lines

AB (pp. 193-238) could add to the already known Elamite witnesses of A²Se (cf. Fattori 2023: 13-24) a new fragment from the museum of Susa (A²Se 05, Su 018), previously only published in an inaccurate transliteration by Vallat 1977, p. 231, Inc. S b). The publication of a good photograph of this fragment and its identification as

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[19] See, respectively, Mayrhofer 1992-2001/1, p. 464f.; 2, p. 14; 1, p. 572.

[20] As long as the details of the reconstruction of such a root are unclear and an obvious Vedic counterpart is absent, further etymological connections within PIE remain uncertain. Pokorny 1959, pp. 930-933 groups together a number of forms pointing to PIE **skep-/skop-/skap-/skebʰ-/skobʰ-/skabʰ-* "mit scharfem Werkzeug schneiden, spalten", which could also include our root. If the original semantics of the root is "to chop, to cut down", one could also consider a connection with OP *kamna-* "few, little", MSogd. *kβn-* "id." (Ir. **kambna-*), comp. **kambyah* > MP *kamb* "fewer", MSogd. *kmbyy* "defective, faulty", superl. YAv. *kambištəm* "at least", assuming a basic meaning "cut short, truncated" (cf. Brust 2018, p. 157 and Orel 2003, p. 333b, where a connection to Germanic **skammaz* "short, scanty" is suggested).

[21] AB (p. 46, fn. 41) rejects this etymology in light of his own reading †*kahbanūš*.

[22] For the IIr. suffix **-van-* cf. Debrunner 1954, pp. 894-905.

an exemplar of A²Se in 9 lines indeed represents a contribution in the reconstruction of the text. However, I cannot follow AB in some points of his reading and in his placement of the preserved portions of text within the overall reconstruction of A²Se. Leaving aside his restoration of the whole Elamite version, which is based on an incomplete OP text, incompatible with the fragment Louvre SB 9907 (ex-XSc, see Fattori 2023, pp. 17-24), I shall first present my own reading and restoration of the fragment (line-breaks are obviously approximate, and the number of estimated signs per line is marked in superscript after the line number):

(1³⁷) [ᴰᴵ�šú ᴰᴵšir-takⁱᵏ-šá-áš-šá ᴰᴵšEŠŠANA] ⌜ir⌝-šá-ir-ra ! ⌜EŠŠANA⌝-[ip-in-na ᴰᴵšEŠŠANA ᴰᴵšda-a-hu-iš-be-na ᴰᴵšEŠŠANA ᴬšmu-ru-un hi uk-ku]

(2³⁷) [ᴰᴵšda-ri-ia-ma-u-iš ᴰᴵšEŠŠANA šá]-⌜ak⌝-ri ᴰᴵšha-ak-[ka₄-man-nu-ši-ia na-an-ri ᴰᴵšir-takⁱᵏ-šá-áš-šá ᴰᴵšEŠŠANA ᴰᴵšLÚᴹᴱš-ir-ra]

(3³⁸) [ak-ka₄ hu-be hu-ud-da-ma-ik] ⌜ap⌝-pa ᴬᴺu-⌜ra⌝-[maš-da ha-ni-ra … 19 signs …]

(4³⁶) [a-ak ᴰᴵšLÚᴹᴱš-ir-ra ak-ka₄ hu-be in-ni] hu-ud-da-manⁱ-⌜ra⌝ [ap-pa ᴬᴺu-ra-maš-da ha-ni-ra … 8 signs …]

(5³⁷) [… 11 signs …] tukⁱ-ma-ik ⌜?⌝-[… 22 signs …]

(6³⁷) [na-an-ri ᴰᴵšir-takⁱᵏ-šá]-⌜áš⌝-šá ᴰᴵšEŠŠANA ᴰᴵšú ᴬᴺu-[ra-maš-da ši-ib-be hu-ud-da-+-+ ir-da-ha-zí pír-ra-iz-man-nu-ia]

(7³⁷) [… 12 signs … hu]-ut-taš-da ku-[ud-da … 18 signs …]

(8³⁷) [+-+ ᴰᴵšú ᴬᴺu-ra-maš-da un nu]-iš-gi-⌜iš⌝-[ni … 22 signs …]

(9³⁷) [… 10 signs … hu-ud]-⌜da⌝-ra ⌜?⌝-[… 22 signs …]

My reconstruction differs from that of AB in some points, which deserve comment (cf. the photograph of A²Se 05 in AB, p. 210 and my reconstruction of the OP text in Fattori 2023, p. 20).

l. 4: the portion of text preserved by this new exemplar at l.4 must coincide with the verb <hu-ud-da-ma-ik> of the other witnesses, which is the reason why I interpret it as an irregular spelling of <hu-ud-da-manⁱ-⌜ra⌝> for *huttamanra* "does", Conj. IIIm.3.Sg. form of the verb *hutta-* "to do" (OP *kunauti*)[23]. This correspondence can be demonstrated by a comparison with the other witnesses. Let us look at the expected alignment of the first lines of the main piece, in 5 or 6 lines (A²Se 01 = SB 9986+Su 038), and of the small fragments implying a layout in 7 lines (A²Se 02 = SH 085354, A²Se 03 = SB 9998, A²Se 04 = SB 10040). As shown in the following reconstruction, the distance

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[23] I assume that, either in the draft on clay or during the carving process, an extra vertical wedge was added to <man>. AB's reading <hu-ud-da-ud> "we did" (p. 221f.) does not fit the reconstructed OP text and would be an unlikely spelling for Elam. *hutta(h)ut* anyway (see Stolper 2017, p. 765f.).
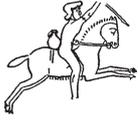
between the signs <ap> (first preserved sign at l. 3 of A²Se 05) and <hu> (first preserved sign at l. 4 of A²Se 05), marked in red type, is around 40 signs, which is approximately the length of one line of A²Se 05. This means that, starting from the same sign and counting ahead in the reconstructed text for around 40 signs, one finds <hu-ud-da-ma-ik> in A²Se 01 and 02 and <hu-ud-da-manᵎ-⌈ra⌉> in A²Se 05.

Version in 6 lines (ca. 55 signs x 6 = 330), first 3 lines:

(1⁵⁷) [ᴰᴵˢú ᴰᴵˢir-takⁱᵏ-šá-áš-šá ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA ir]-⌈šá⌉-ir-ra ! EŠŠANA-ip-in-na ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA ᴰᴵˢda-a-hu-iš-be-na ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA ᴬˢmu-⌈ru⌉-[un hi uk-ku ᴰᴵˢda-ri-ia-ma-u-iš ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA šá-ak-ri ᴰᴵˢha-ak-ka$_4$-man-nu-ši-ia]

(2⁵⁵) [na-an-ri ᴰᴵˢir-takⁱᵏ-šá-áš-šá ᴰᴵˢ]⌈EŠŠANA⌉ ᴰᴵˢLÚᴹᴱˢ-ir-ra ak-ka$_4$ hu-be hu-ud-da-ma-ik ap-⌈pa⌉ [ᴬᴺu-ra-maš-da ha-ni-ra ... 19 signs ...]

(3⁵⁶) [a-ak ᴰᴵˢLÚᴹᴱˢ-ir-ra ak-ka$_4$ hu]-⌈be⌉ in-ni hu-ud-da-ma-ik ap-pa ᴬᴺu-ra-maš-da ha-ni-⌈ra⌉ [... 28 signs ...]

Version in 7 lines (ca. 47 signs x 7 = 329), first 3 lines (A²Se 02 in blue type, A²Se 03 + A²Se 04, mostly overlapping, in green)

(1⁴⁷) [ᴰᴵˢú ᴰᴵˢir-takⁱᵏ-šá-áš-šá ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA ir-šá-ir-ra ! EŠŠANA-ip-in-na ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA ᴰᴵˢda-a-hu]-⌈iš⌉-be-na ᴰᴵˢ[EŠŠANA ᴬˢmu-ru-un] hi uk-ku ᴰᴵˢda-[ri-ia-ma-u-iš ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA šá-]

(2⁴⁸) [ak-ri ᴰᴵˢha-ak-ka$_4$-man-nu-ši-ia na-an-ri ᴰᴵˢir-takⁱᵏ-šá-áš-šá ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANA ᴰᴵˢLÚMEŠ-ir-ra] ⌈ak⌉-ka$_4$ hu-be [hu-ud-da-ma]-⌈ik⌉ ap-pa ᴬᴺu-ra-[maš-da ha-ni-ra +-+]

(3⁴⁷) [...16 signs ... a-ak ᴰᴵˢLÚᴹᴱˢ-ir-ra ak-ka$_4$ hu-be in-ni hu-ud-da-ma-ik ap-pa ᴬᴺ] u-ra-maš-[da ha-ni-ra +-+-+]

The presence of a variant *huttamanra* (Conj. IIIm), which, quite remarkably, is the expected translation of OP *kunauti* "does" unlike *huttamak* (Conj. IIm), is puzzling[24]. The shared omission of <ᴰᴵˢEŠŠANAᴰᴵˢ> in the initial titulature suggests a close textual affinity between A²Se 05 and A²Se 01, which is hard to reconcile with a deliberate variation in the choice of the verbal form. In the absence of further data, the interpretation of the relationship between the different witnesses of the Elamite version of A²Se cannot but remain doubtful.

[24] On the irregularity of *huttamak* in this text cf. Fattori 2023, p. 14f. and AB, pp. 219f., with further literature.

l. 5: the preserved text is problematic and cannot be interpreted without postulating some errors in the shape of signs[25]. The first trace is clearly a low vertical wedge, not a horizontal one, so AB's <na> cannot work[26]. Since the stone surface before this sign is preserved and empty, it seems reasonable to assume that a new sign began with it. No sign exists in the Elamite syllabary which has a single short vertical wedge as its first sign, so postulating some kind of error seems unavoidable. In my view, the most likely solution is to assume a mistake in the shape of <tuk>, with the tall vertical wedge moved after the two horizontal ones. As can be seen by comparing the shape of <taš> and <ku> at l. 7, the sequence of a short and tall vertical wedge is oddly written in this fragment, with the first wedge being very short and very distant from the following one. A reading <⌜tuk!⌝-ma-ik> allows recognizing a plausible Elamite word, i.e. *tukmak* "wishes", a Conj.IIm.3.Sg. form of the verb *tuk-* "to want, wish", which elsewhere in the corpus is used to translate the OP *kāma*-construction (e.g. OP *Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha*, Elam. *Auramašda hi zila tukminina* "this was Auramazda's desire", DSf, DSz). If we retain the assumption that, despite the above-mentioned textual variant, we are dealing with different exemplars of the exact same text, then this verb cannot correspond to the first two occurrences of OP *kāma*, because this word is translated by means of Elam. *hani-*. Perhaps the full message of the first part of the inscription was something like "The man who does what Auramazda desires, then [Auramazda grants him what he wishes]", in which case it would be conceivable that *tuk-* corresponded to the second verb "wishes".

The last sign of line 5 must contain an error too. AB's assumption that it should be a miswritten <ku> is not particularly convincing, as this would imply a double error, both in the height of the first wedge and in the number of horizontal wedges. A miswritten <ik> or <áš> seems more likely to me, but in the absence of a context it is safer to leave the sign unread.

l. 7: here, I can clearly see the signs <]iš-gi[> of the word *niškišni* "may he protect" (Conj.I.3.Sg. prec.), expected in this point of the text and corresponding to OP *pātu*, plausibly restored at the beginning of l. 7 of the OP version. A trace of the upper horizontal wedge of the following <⌜iš⌝> is also visible in the fragment. The signs are

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[25] Note that, unlike the other exemplars, A²Se 05 shows irregularities in the writing that recall the Elamite versions of A²Sa and A²Sd, surely engraved by stonemasons who were not actively competent in the Elamite script and often made mistakes due to their misunderstanding of the draft on clay.

[26] AB (p. 224) himself calls attention to the difficulties implied in his reading and restoration, which require postulating an irregularity in spelling in both the restored words Elam. †<na-ma-ik> (for <ni-ma-ik> *nimak* "is") and OP †<[b]-u-t-i-y> (for <b-v-t-i-y> *bavati* "is").

oddly spaced, confirming the impression that the engraver was not very familiar with the Elamite script.

After struggling a lot, with rather poor results, to match the text in 9 lines preserved by A²Se 05 with a possible layout in 7, 6 or 5 lines implied by the other witnesses, I decided not to propose a full reconstruction of the text. Several factors of uncertainty are at play, such as the unevenness of the size of signs in the different Elamite exemplars[27], the imperfect correspondence with the text of the OP version[28], and the possibility that other variants are hidden in the lost portions of Elam. text. All in all, it seems better to have provided a reliable description of the available data, limiting the conjectures to the minimum. Any improvement in our understanding of this intriguing inscription clearly depends on the finding of new epigraphic fragments.

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[27] For example, in the fourth line of A²Se 01 the signs are so cramped up that a ratio of almost 1: 1.5 can be suspected compared to the first line. This would imply a layout in 5 rather than 6 lines, as assumed above.

[28] The sole fact that the word for "king" is written phonetically in OP (7 signs), and logographically in Elamite (3 signs, one being the small <ᴰᴵˢ̌>) implies a substantial mismatch between the two versions in the first lines.

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Arta

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