Matthew W. Stolper - Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

From the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, 6
The Dossier of Šarbaladda, Treasury Secretary at Persepolis*

Since Hallock 1969 made available the first large sample of administrative documents from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, efforts to characterize the organization and operations of the institution that produced the Archive have sometimes noticed a man named Šarbaladda, called a 'treasurer' and perhaps a 'scribe in the treasury' in PF 1947:17 and 19. A growing sample of Elamite Fortification documents, now about three times as large, allows reconsideration of his name, titles, location, status and work.

1 Name

Comparable contexts in ten documents leave no doubt that Šarbaladda (Šá-ir-ba-la-ad-da PF 1947:19, cf. ibid. 17; PF-NN 2356:12; Fort. 1872-103:04 [No. 3, below]; Fort. 2016-101:13, 15 [No. 2, below]) and Šalbaladda (Šá-ul-ba-la-da PF-NN 0544:03, PF-NN 2071:06; Šá-ul-ba-la-ud-da PF-NN 1034:04, PN-NN 2493:09; Šá-ul-ba-la-ad-da Fort. 1355-101:08 [No. 1, below]; Šá-ul-ba-[...] PF-NN 2071:25) are expressions of the same name, indicating the same person.

Mayrhofer (1973: 230) and Hinz (1975: 222) relied on the single published attestation of the rendering Šarbaladda that was listed and marked with a query by Hallock (1969: 754). Mayrhofer offered no analysis. Hinz's eccentric suggestion (-āta extension of *sarbāla-, an antecedent of Persian šalvār, 'trousers') seemed to him uncertain because of the doubtful reading of the Elamite. After occurrences in unpublished texts confirmed the initial reading, Hinz and Koch abandoned this etymological proposal, though they still considered the name to be possibly Iranian and retained the hypothesized Iranian form (Sarbalāta(?), 1987: 1122). They did not associate it with the name Šalbaladda, entered separately (1987: 1143).

Similarly, Tavernier (2007a: 489) listed the form Šarbaladda among uncertain Iranian items, but did not comment on the less Iranian-appearing form Šalbaladda. Hallock's marginal notes in his personal copy of Hallock 1969 equate the two forms. Lewis (1994: 25) took "Šaulbaladda" as the preferred representation of the name.

In the absence of an Iranian or Elamite explanation, an Akkadian or Aramaic source is likely.

The version Šarbaladda invites explanation as an abbreviation of a three-element Akkadian name like Šarru-balāṭu-iqbi or Itti-šarri-balāṭu (Ran Zadok, personal communication; abbreviated Akkadian names transcribed in Achaemenid Elamite administrative texts: Tavernier 2002: 146 s.vv. Ešqu, *Itti-Nabû, Sin-qātēni).

The version Šalbaladda is equally frequent but less easy to explain.

Representation of non-Iranian /l/ with Iranian /r/ in borrowed or transcribed names (Akk. *Idiqlat* ~ Old Pers. *Tigrā-*, Elam. *Tigra*; Akk. *Bābili* ~ Old Pers. *Bābiru-*;
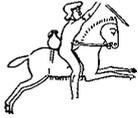
Lycian *Tṛmmili* ~ Elam. *Turmiriya-*) would be unsurprising. Even so, Elamite administrative texts written in the Iranophone environment around Persepolis usually distinguish /l/ and /r/ in transcribed names (rare *Turmila(ya)-* vs. frequent *Turmiriya-*; frequent *Bapili(ya)-* vs. rare *Bapiru-*).

The converse, representation of non-Iranian /r/ with /l/, as here, is unexpected. Zadok (personal communication) suggests that Šalbaladda reflects assimilation of /r/ to the following /l/, presumably by Iranophone writers who heard /r/ and /l/ as allophones. At the same time, occasional examples of /l/ for /r/ elsewhere in Fortification texts (*ullila* for *ullira* PF-NN 0198:08f., *karli* for *kariri* PF 0232:14)—perhaps reflections of an Elamite non-trilled /r/ (Khačikjan 1998: 8f., Stolper 2004: 71)—allow the possibility that the assimilation in Šalbaladda is also affected by the phonology of the Elamite used by some Persepolitan scribes.

For ease of reading, hereafter I take Šarbaladda as the preferred form.

2 Titles

The entries that mention Šarbaladda identify him in three aspects: administrative affiliation ('treasurer,' 'in the treasury'), work ('scribe,' 'scribe on leather'), and location ('Persepolis').

> *kandabarra* 'treasurer' (PF 1947:19, year 20-21)
>> *kandabara Baršaš* 'treasurer (at) Persepolis' (PF-NN 2356:12f., year 19)
>>> *tipira kandabara* 'scribe, treasurer' (PF-NN 0544:03; Fort. 2016-101:13, year 18 [No. 2, below])

> *kapnuškira* 'treasurer' (PF-NN 1034:04f., year 17)
>> *kapnuškira Baršaš* 'treasurer (at) Persepolis' (PF-NN 2493:09, year 19; Fort. 1355-101:08, year 18 [No. 1, below])
>>> *tipira kapnuškira* 'scribe, treasurer' (Fort. 2016-101:15, 17, year 18 [No. 2, below])
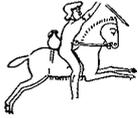
tipira (tuppira) kapnuškima 'scribe in the treasury' (PF 1947:17, year 20-21; PF-NN 2071:06, 25f., year 20; probably Fort. 1995-102:06', year 21 [No. 4, below])

tuppira ᴷᵁˢᴹᴱˢ-*uk-ku*-⸢*na*⸣ *kapnuškima* 'scribe (writing) on leather in the treasury' (Fort. 1872-103:04, year 21 [No. 3, below])

The earliest available mention of Šarbaladda is in a letter-order authorizing a wine-ration to be issued to him (PF-NN 1034, IV/17). All other mentions (years 18-21) are in entries in journals recording rations of grain or wine issued to him and sometimes to his staff. The dates of the entries and the fact that parallel entries in single texts may use different terms establish that the various expressions do not indicate changes in work or rank (*pace* Tavernier 2007b: 68 n. 18).

Each of the terms that characterize Šarbaladda is common in Achaemenid Elamite administrative texts.

The synonymy between the Elamite *kapnuškira* and the transcribed Iranian *kandabara* (also *kanzabara*, Iranian **gandabara-*, var. **ganzabara-*) is long established.

A parallel transcribed Iranian synonym for Elamite *kapnuški*, 'treasury,' however, is uncommon. The transcribed Iranian terms *kanza(m)* (**ganza-*, Tavernier 2007a: 443) and *kantaš* (**ganda-*; e.g., Fort. 1901A-101:12', 14', 28'f., Fort. 1912-103:36', 44', 48', 50', 52'; Stolper n.d., Henkelman n.d.) are usually synonyms of *kapnuški* only in the meaning 'treasure.' Exceptions are *kanzam appa* GN *daki*, PF-NN 1564:17, referring to a treasury located at GN, rather than to treasure deposited there (Henkelman n.d.); and perhaps PN *hiše* 5ⁱ *akkayaše kantašma Baršaš*, 'PN (and) 5 colleagues, scribes in the *k.* (at) Parsa,' Fort. 1901A-101:13'.[1] The agent-noun *kantira*, 'store-keeper,' implies that *kanti*, 'storehouse,' is Elamite, if not a true loanword from Iranian (Henkelman 2008: 398 n. 915).

Tavernier has argued repeatedly and in detail (2007b, 2008, n.d.) that Elamite *tipira* (with the spelling variant *tuppira* representing spoken *tip(p)ira*), 'scribe,'

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[1] But parallel entries in the same journal strongly suggest that this group was detached to escort 'treasure' (*kantaš*) to Susa.
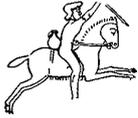
(1) is homophonous with pre-Achaemenid Elamite *teppir*, designating a high-ranking judicial and administrative officer, (2) ordinarily, and perhaps exclusively, refers in Achaemenid Elamite to a scribe writing primarily in Aramaic (literally, 'on leather'), (3) is synonymous with (perhaps even a loan-word from) Akkadian *sepīru*, likewise indicating someone competent in both cuneiform and Aramaic writing and recording. Tavernier (n.d.) also observes (4) that 'scribes of the treasury' are also known in Achaemenid Aramaic (*spry 'wṣr*,' Porten and Yardeni 1989: 110, B4.4:12) and perhaps in Achaemenid Babylonian (*ṭupšarru ša bīt kaṣirānu*, Camb. 384:15f.). Compelling as this argument is, its components allow for reservations.

(1) and (3) A persistent obstacle to the inference that Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid Elamite *tipira* and Achaemenid Elamite *tuppira* represent a form understood as *teppir*, and heard as a near-homophone of Akkadian/Aramaic *sepīru*, is the absence of unequivocal Achaemenid Elamite writings with the sign TE, otherwise frequent to distinguish between /te/ and /ti/.[2]

(2) A few contexts in Elamite Fortification documents do distinguish scribes on clay (*tipira halat-ukku* Fort. 1909A-101:15 in Azzoni and Stolper 2015: 73 and other contexts noted ibid. 44 and n. 38).

(4) The scribe in Camb. 384:15 concurred in a transaction recorded at Ḫumadešu, in western Iran, perhaps in the vicinity of Persepolis.[3] The 'treasury' in his title (whether in Babylonia or in Iran) is an uncertain postulate. It is inferred from the title *rab kāṣiri*, elsewhere synonymous with *ganzabaru*, hence 'treasurer' (Dandamayev 1992: 61, Abraham 2004: 127); for a 'scribe (*sepīru*) of craftsmen (*ummânī*) under the control of (*ša qātē*) the *rab kāṣiri*, cf. BM 26553 apud Jursa 2010 : 249 n. 1474, *pace* Zadok 2009: 138; for reservations

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[2] *tipira* in the meaning 'scribe' in the most ordinary sense is clear at least as early as the colophon of the Neo-Elamite calendric omen text Scheil 1917: 34, perhaps seventh century B.C. (Tavernier 2007b: 62); the syllabary of this text, like the Achaemenid Elamite syllabary, distinguishes /te/ and /ti/. The personal name *Te-ep-pír* PF-NN 1461:02f., if relevant to this term at all, is likely to reflect older Elamite, not definitive for the Achaemenid Elamite title.

[3] On the obstacles to identifying this Ḫumadešu with the Matezziš that is abundantly attested in the Fortification texts, and the consequent postulate of a similarly-named place located closer to Babylonia, see Tolini 2011: I 208-17, along with the reservations of Henkelman n.d..
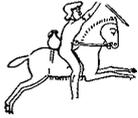
on the general application of 'treasurer' as a translation of *rab kāṣiri*, Bongenaar 1997: 136f. Elsewhere, the phrase *bīt rab kāṣiri* refers to a settlement and/or estate (Zadok 1985: 101, Abraham 2004: 127). At best, the noun-phrase *bīt kāṣirānu*, not otherwise attested, might signify 'house of treasurers?' (if not 'of *k.*-craftsmen'), rather than 'of treasure.' All this warrants the carefully qualified phrasing of Tolini's oblique surmise that the phrase "*pourrait* désigner la Trésorerie à la tête de laquelle se trouvait le Trésorier/*Rab kāṣir*" (Tolini 2011: I, 226, emphasis mine).

In the Fortification texts the combined specification as 'scribe-treasurer,' 'scribe in the treasury' remains exceptional. Apart from Šarbaladda, I am aware only of [PN] and Nutidda, characterized as 'scribe on leather, accountant in the treasury' (*tuppira* KUŠ-*ukku mušin zikkira kapnuškima* Fort. 2016-101: 09', 11' [No. 2, below], perhaps referring to the same men called simply 'scribes,' *tipip*, in PF-NN 2335:38'ff.);[4] and perhaps [...]-*pi*? 5! *akkayaše tuppip kantašma Baršaš* 'PN (and) 5 colleagues, scribes in the treasury (at) Persepolis' Fort. 1901A-101:13' (above).

Similar usage, specifying task, administrative affiliation, and location, characterizes the 'delivery-man' (*ullira*) Zitrina,[5] named before or after Šarbaladda in many of the same journals (also named separately, as Šarbaladda is, in letter-orders):

> *ullira kapnuškira* 'delivery-man, treasurer' (PF 1947:10?, year 21; the name is partially restored: see Hallock 1969: 546 n. o; otherwise Koch 1990: 35)
> *ullira kapnuškima* 'delivery-man in the treasury' (PF 1789:05ff., year 18; PF 1947:31, year 21); vars. [*ullira ka*]*pnuškina* (PF-NN 2071:29ff., 16ff., year 20); *kapnuškima ullira* (PF-NN 0644:03ff., year 20; Fort. 2016-101:11, year 19 [No. 2, below]); *kapma ullira* (PF 1788:05f., year 17)
> *kapnuškima ullira Baršaš* 'in the treasury, delivery man, at Persepolis (PF-NN 2493:12, year 19)[6]

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[4]   And for other identifications of 'scribes' as 'accountants' see Azzoni and Stolper 2015: 44, where the erroneous reference to Fort. 1872-103:04 (No. 3, below) is to be deleted.

[5]   Iran. *Čiθrina-, also spelled Zitturrina, PF-NN 2071:16, 29, Fort. 1995-102:08' (No. 4, below), Fort. 2016-101:11 (No. 2, below).

[6]   And perhaps Zitrina *kantira*, 'storekeeper,' PF-NN 0174:09f., year 24 and Zitrina ᴴᴬᴸKI+MIN (= *bazikara*) *halmarriš*, 'tax-handler (at) the Fortress (Persepolis)' Fort. 0424-106:35.
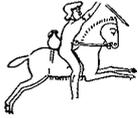
This combined specification is less rare, however. It also identifies at least two other individuals:

> Badda *ullira kapnuškima* PF 1800:06 (year 24), Kadda[?] *ullira kapnuškima* PF-NN 0974:05ff. (year 23), Miššabadda *kapnuškima ullira* PF-NN 2536:06ff. (year 24), Fort. 2303-103:03'f., Miššabadda *… ullira kapnuškima Baršaš* PF-NN 2561:04ff. (year 23), and […]-*da ullira kapnuškira/kapnuškima* in PF 1947:13 and 15 (immediately after an entry that probably names Zitrina), probably all referring to the same person [7];
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> and […]-⌈*iš*⌉-*še-na hiše ullira kapnuškima* Fort. 0575-102:06' (year 18, in broken context, in an entry that continues with mention of Zitrina, ibid. 07').

3 Rank, Location and Work

As Hinz (implicit in 1972: 269), Lewis (1994: 25), and Henkelman (n.d.) have observed, Šarbaladda was not a routine clerical worker. That he was an administrative official of intermediate to high standing is implied by the high rations allocated to him in these documents. He receives 90 liters of grain per month (three times the normal pay for ordinary scribes, and four and a half to six times as much as his crew of eight 'servants,' (PF 1947:17, Fort. 2016-101:14, 16 [No. 2, below]), and he receives 30 liters of wine per month (six times the base pay for ordinary scribes). By contrast, the other attested pair of treasury-scribes receive 45 liters of grain per month each, half as much as Šarbaladda (Fort. 2016-101:10', 12' [No. 2, below]).[8]

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[7] In view of the nearly identical contexts of the letter-orders PF 1800, PF-NN 2536, PF-NN 2561, and Fort. 2303-103, and the analysis of Badda (Iran. *Pāta-) as hypocoristic or retrenchment of a name ending in –pāta (Tavernier 2007a: 268) such as Miššabadda (Iran. *Miθrapāta-), and the possibility that PF-NN 0974:05 is to be emended as [HAL]*ba*ʲ(text: *ka₄*, over erasure)-*ud-da*.

[8] Other 'scribes' who receive monthly grain rations higher than the base rate (Lewis 1994: 25) are infrequent. The single head of a group of scribes on leather working for Parnaka receives 45 liters/month (Fort. 2016-101:08, 10 [No. 2, below]). PF 0866 records a single (unnamed) *tipira*, receiving barley rations at 40 liters per month, at the head of a list 311 treasury personnel (*kapnuškip*) at Rakkan (but the comparable PF-NN 1666 has a single *tuppira* receiving only 20 liters per month in second position in a list of 65 treasury personnel, also at Rakkan. Comparable lists of rations for treasury personnel at other storehouses (PF 864 [Uranduš], PF 865 [Tirazziš], PF 0879 [Kurpun], PF-NN 1524 [Par[...]], Fort. 0350-101 [Tirazziš]) do not mention 'scribes'.
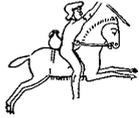
As Hallock (1969: 58), Hinz (1972: 269) and others have also observed, the pay, hence the rank of the treasury delivery-men was as high as or higher than Šarbaladda's. Not only Zitrina but also the others named as '*ullira* in the treasury' receive 90 liters of grain per month like Šarbaladda,[9] and they are usually issued wheat (ŠE.GIG, see Henkelman 2010: 752) while their subordinates receive barley (ŠE.BAR; PF 1800, PF-NN 2536, PF-NN 2561). They regularly receive 60 liters of wine per month, twice as much as Šarbaladda (Zitrina: PF 1788, PF 1789, PF-NN 2071:19, 32, PF-NN 2493:14; Kadda?: PF-NN 0974); and Zitrina once receives 3 sheep (PF-NN 0644), a ration mostly reserved for administrators of the highest rank or members of the royal family, but sometimes—as here—paid to middle managers or exceptional craftsmen or workmen (Henkelman 2005: 158[10]).

Relying on a single published journal, Koch identified Šarbaladda and Zitrina as belonging to the senior management of the storehouse whose outlays are compiled in PF 1947, at Rakkan, near Persepolis (1990: 35f., 259, similarly Kuhrt 2007: 789f.). She inferred that Zitrina was directly subordinate to Parnaka, the general director of the central Persepolis institution, and that Šarbaladda was the director of a subtreasury at Rakkan.

Denser documentation of Šarbaladda and Zitrina now includes journals compiling outlays not only at Rakkan (Fort. 2016-101 [No. 2, below]) but also at other store-houses in the region around Persepolis (Pirritukkaš PF-NN 2071; Matezziš PF-NN 2493; Karakušan Fort. 1355-101 [No. 1, below]). They include entries for rations issued to other clerical workers under the directors of the Persepolis institution (*tuppip* (*Bapilip*) KUŠ-*ukku Parnakka/Ziššawiš dama* '(Babylonian) scribes on leather assigned by Parnaka/ Ziššawiš PF 1947:23, 25, 29, PF-NN 2493:22, 24, Fort. 2016-101:07, 09 [No. 2, below]) and to security personnel at Persepolis (*tidabattišbe Baršaš* 'fortress guards at Persepolis' PF-NN 2071:02, 11, 21; PF-NN 2356:06, 09). And they characterize Šarbaladda explicitly as a 'Persepolis treasurer' and Zitrina as a 'Persepolis *ullira* in the treasury,' corrob-orating Hinz's supposition that both men belonged to the upper management of the Persepolis institution (1972: 268f.).

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9   Likewise Šedda, characterized as *ullira kurtašna*,'delivery-man of worker(s),' PF 0786, but not, for example, the *ulliras* in PF 0787, PF 0788, receiving barley at the common 30 liters per month.

10   Sheep for treasury personnel? ([*kapnu*]*škip*) at the rate of 1 sheep for 30 workers: PF-NN 0727.
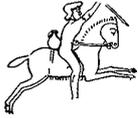
Both appear only as recipients of rations, never in memoranda of outlays written in the region around Persepolis. No available text names either as authorizing outlays or shipments or overseeing workers. The purview of their work, therefore, seems to have been limited to the central administrative institution at Persepolis itself.

Following the implication of the single passage that calls Šarbaladda a 'scribe on leather,' Henkelman (n.d.) plausibly proposes that he was the chief clerk and head of Aramaic record keeping at the central treasury of Persepolis. The circumstance that the only other men with similar titles draw significantly lower pay allows the supposition that Šarbaladda was the single head of this internal administrative service. If so, he ranked directly below the uppermost directors of the Persepolis institution. His rank and duties would then be roughly analogous to those of the 'temple scribes' of Neo-Babylonian Uruk, Sippar and perhaps Borsippa (Bongenaar 1997: 56-60; Frame and Waerzeggers 2011). The suggestion to call him a 'treasury secretary' attempts to convey the combined administrative and professional nuances that the Elamite term *tipira* shares with Babylonian *ṭupšarru* and *sepīru*.

Placing Zitrina is more elusive. His title, *ullira*, agent noun from *ulla-* 'deliver' (hence the clumsy 'delivery-man,' 'Lieferant,' Hinz and Koch 1987: 1221) implies that his administrative service handled goods, not information. He is not named, as other *ulliras* are, in the epitomes of journals and accounts, as one of the district administrators accountable for transactions at a regional storehouse (Hallock 1969: 57f.), and the Archive includes no such journals of transactions at Persepolis itself. It is likely, as Koch suggests, that Zitrina served directly under the general directors of the Persepolis institution, and his rations imply a rank at least as high as Šarbaladda's. His shared title, and the fact that others with the same title draw the same rations suggests that he was not the single director of his administrative service, not a sort of 'general secretary of logistics.'

4 Conclusion

Some if not most of the 'Babylonian scribes on leather' who wrote Aramaic records at Persepolis were of necessity, like their Babylonian counterpart *sepīrus*, competent in handling both Aramaic and cuneiform records (Tavernier 2008: 61). The workflow of the central records office at Persepolis included, perhaps culminated in, preparing Aramaic copies or digests of essential administrative information (Azzoni and Stolper 2015: 43ff.). In this light, Šarbaladda and/or his successors were substantially responsible for the form of the Persepolis Fortification Archive as we have it and also for a large part of the Archive that we do not have.
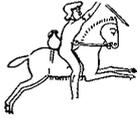
Appendix Fort. Documents Naming Šarbaladda (Šalbaladda)
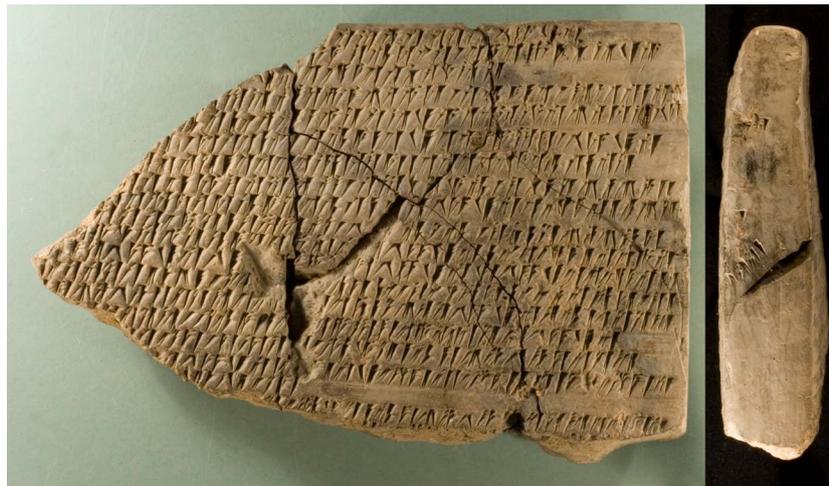
Fort. 1355-101 Obverse   1 cm

Fort. 1355-101 Reverse   1 cm

Fig. 1a-b. Fort. 1355-101 Obverse, Right Edge, and Reverse
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute)
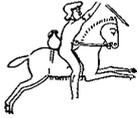
1. Fort 1355-101 (   )

Obverse

(01) [x   ] na-ap-pi-na du-iš-⌈da⌉ be-ul 10+8-⌈na⌉

(02) [x   GIŠ]⌈GIR?⌉MEŠ šu-ra-ma-ak-ka₄ AŠan-za-an ha-me-ir da-u-šá-um

(03) [be-ul] ⌈10+8-na⌉ ANITIMEŠ ANka₄-ir-ba-ši-ia-iš

(04) [x   ]-⌈x⌉-da ⌈hi⌉-še GIŠGIRMEŠ hu-ut-ti-ip AŠka₄-ra-ku-šá-an
HALda-tap-pár-na šá-ra-⌈ma⌉

(05) [   ]-⌈ra⌉-na a-ak pír-ra-mat-ti-iš-na da-u-šá-um ANna-ap-pan-na hu-ut-taš-da be-ul [10+8]-na

(06) [x   ]-⌈x⌉ AŠrak₀-ka₄-an a-ak AŠka₄-ra-ku-šá-an 10+5 ANna-⌈an ha⌉-tu-ma AŠbe-ul 10+8-na

(07) [6 na-an ANha]-⌈du⌉-kán-na-iš 8 na-an ANkar-ma-ba-taš 1 ANna-an ANITIMEŠ
ANmar-ka₄-šá-na-iš

(08) [10+5 hal-mi HALPN-na] ⌈li?⌉-ka₄ HALšá-ul-ba-la-ad-da hi-še AŠ ka₄-ap-nu-⌈iš⌉-ki-ra AŠba-ir-šá-iš hu-pír-ri gal-ma

(09) [du-iš-da ANITIMEŠ 5-na] ANkar-ma-ba-taš-mar ku-iš ANmar-ka₄-šá-⌈na-iš⌉ be-ul
10+8-na ANITIMEŠ-na 3 mar-ri-iš

(10) [20+1 hal-mi HALPN]-na li-ka₄ HALmi-iš-šá-ba-ad-da hi-še AŠ?bat-[   ]-ra-kur-ra AŠba-ir-šá-iš hu-pír-ri gal-ma

(11) [du-iš-da ANITIMEŠ 4-na AN]ha-ši-ia-ti-iš-mar ku-iš ANmi-kán-⌈na-iš⌉ be-ul 10+8-na
a-ak ANITIMEŠ 3-na ANha-du-

(12) [kán-na-iš-mar] ku-iš <ANsa-a-kur-ri-zí-iš> be-ul 10+9-na PAP 7 [AN]⌈ITIMEŠ ha-tu⌉-ma be-ul 10+8-na KI+MIN be-ul 10+9-na ANITIMEŠ-na 3 mar-ri-iš du-šá

(13) [x   hal-mi HALpár]-⌈na⌉-ak-ka₄-na li-ka₄ 3 ME 80+9 HAL⌈muz₀?⌉-[   ]-⌈ia⌉-ip a-ak
HALba-ak-ši-ia-ip a-ak HALhi-du-ia-ip HALba-⌈ku⌉-

(14) [un-da šá-ra]-ma hu-pi-be gal-ma du-iš-da AN⌈ITI⌉[MEŠ 1]-⌈na⌉ ANsa-a-kur-ri-zí-iš
be-ul 10+8-na un-ra 2 QA du-iš-⌈da!⌉

(15) [x   ]-⌈x-x⌉ du-iš-da AŠka₄-ra-ku-šá-⌈an⌉ [x na?]-⌈an?⌉ ha-tu-ma
ANha-du-kán-na-iš AŠbe-ul 10+8-na

(16) [x   hal-mi PN-na] ⌈li?⌉-ka₄ HALkur-taš AŠma-te-zí-⌈iš⌉ HALkar-ki-iš šá-ra-ma hu-pi-be
gal-ma du-iš-da

(17) [   ]-⌈x-iš?⌉ be-ul 10+8-na 1 ⌈HAL⌉[LÚ]MEŠ 3-na 20+5 HALLÚMEŠ 2-na 1 HALLÚMEŠ
1⌈½⌉-na 1 ME 10+9 HALLÚMEŠ 1-na

(18) [   ]⌈PAP⌉ 2 ME 40+5 HALkur-taš

(19) [x   ] x HALkar-⌈ki-iš⌉ šá-ra-ma hu-pi-be gal-⌈ma⌉ du-iš-da ANITIMEŠ 1-na

(20) [   ]⌈traces⌉

Reverse

(01') [　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　] ⌜na? ᴴᴬᴸra x x x⌝
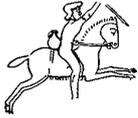
(02') [　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　] ˢᴬᴸ?kurⁱ-taš be-ul 10+9-na

(03') [　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　]

(04') [　　　　　　　　　　　　　] ⌜x ᴬˢka₄⌝-ap-pír-ri-ia hu-pír-ri du-iš-da

(05') [　　　　　　　　　　　] be-ul 10+8-na

(06') [　　　　　　　　du]-⌜iš⌝-da ᴬˢap-pi-iš-tap-da-an ku-iz-za ᴴᴬᴸna-su-uk-ka₄ hi-še

(07') [　　　　　　　　　　]

(08') [　　　　　]-⌜x⌝-ra ᴬˢka₄-ap-⌜pír⌝-ri-ia ᴴᴬᴸⁱir-ma-tam₆ ᴴᴬᴸbad-du-⌜ma⌝-ak-ka₄-na hu-pír-ri

(09') [　　　　　]-x ᴴᴬᴸna-su-uk-ka₄ hi-še du-iš-da be-ul 10+8-na

(10') [　　　　　　] (blank)

(11') [　　　　　　] (blank)

(12') [　　　　　　] (blank)

(13') [　　　　be-ul] ⌜10⌝+8-na ᴬˢka₄-ra-⌜ku⌝-šá-⌜an kur⌝-mín ᴴᴬᴸman-nu-iz-za ᴳᴵˢGEŠTINᴹᴱˢ ku-ti-⌜ra⌝ a-ak

(14') [　　　PN ul-li-ri]-⌜ri⌝ ᴴᴬᴸda-tap-pár-⌜na⌝ šá-⌜ra-ma⌝

Synopsis

Obverse

(01)　[x (wine) received] for the god(s), year 18.

(02-03) [x (wine) received], to replace? x, a *daušam*-offering [took place] at the place Anzan, [year] 18, month VI.

(04-05) [x (wine) received by PN and] a person named [...]da, ɢɪʀ makers at the place Karakušan for whom Datapparna is responsible, for [an offering by the ...] and the chief (magus?), who made a *daušam* offering, year [18].

(06-07) [x (wine) received by PN] at the places Rakkan and Karakušan during 15 days, year 18: [6 days in] month I, 8 days in month IV, 1 day in month VIII.

(08-09) [150 liters (of wine), a letter order from PN] having been delivered, a man named Šalbaladda, a treasurer at Persepolis, (received) as rations for [5 months], from month IV through month VIII of year 18, (at) 30 liters per month.
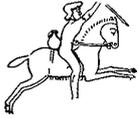
(10-12) [210 liters (of wine), a letter-order from PN] having been delivered, a man named Miššabadda, *bat*[*x*]*rakurra* at Persepolis, received as rations for [4 months] from month IX through month XII of year 18, and 3 months from month I through month III of year 19, during a total of 7 months in year 18 (and) ditto (= during months?) in year 19, at 30 liters per month.

(13-14) [778? liters (of wine), a letter order from] Parnaka having been delivered, 389 Egyptians?, Bactrians and Indians for whom Bakunda is responsible received as rations for 1 month, month III of year 18. Each received 2 liters (per month?).

(15) [x (wine), x] received during [x] days?, month I of year 18.

(16-18) [1,735? liters (of wine), a letter-order from PN] having been delivered, workers at the place Matezziš for whom Karkiš is responsible received as rations [for month x] of year 18: 1 man at 30 liters, 25 men at 20 liters, 1 man at 15 liters, 119 men at 10 liters.

(19-20) [x (wine), workers] for whom Karkiš is responsible, received for rations for 1 month [...]

Reverse

(01'-03') [x (wine) received as rations by x] female? workers, year 19.

(04'-05') [x (wine) PN], a Kapirriyan, received , year 18.

(06'-07') [x (wine) PN] received and transported to Appištapdan; a man named Nasukka [received it.]

(08'-09') [x (wine)] PN, a Kappirriyan at the estate of Badumakka [received.] A man named Nasukka received it, year 18.

(13'-14') [Summary: account of wine expended in year] 18 at Karakušan, allocations by the wine-supervisor Mannuzza and [...], PN his delivery-man. Datapparna overseeing.
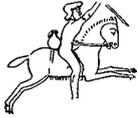
Comments

Category V

(14.2) x (9.1) x 2.6 cm

No preserved seal.

(02) *šu-ra-ma-ak-ka₄*: *šura-* 'replace' (with Hinz and Koch 1987: 1193f.; vs. 'present[?],' Hallock 1969: 759); cf. grain for wine *ha šurraka*, for the god Humban (AN*Umbanna ha hutta-*) PF 0346, grain for set-aside (seed?) *ha šurraka*, for god(s) (AN*nappina ha hutta-*) PF 0365.

(04) Cf. wine, on order from Datapparna, for PN GIŠGIRMEŠ *huttira* at Persepolis PF-NN 2493:04; GIŠGIRMEŠ *huttira* at Karakušan PF 1946:79. GIR *huttip* perhaps 'potters': Henkelman in Henkelman and Stolper 2009:280 n. 27.

(05) *pír-ra-mat-ti-iš*: also Fort. 0000-102:03, in damaged context. KUR = *mat/d*: AN*iš-ban-da-ra-mat-ti-iš*, Iran. *Spantārmatiš* (Razmjou 2001, Tavernier 2007a: 98); AŠ*ak-mad-*⌈*da*⌉*-na-be*, PF-NN 0454:04 (Henkelman n.d.). Cf. *pirramadda*, Iran. *framātā-*, 'master, commander,' in connection with *lan* offerings (Henkelman 2008: 235 n. 517); also PN *pír-ra-ma-ud-da* Fort. 1978-101:18' in connection with 'rations' for the god Napiriša (*galla* AN*GAL*MEŠ-*na*) and PN *makuš pír-ra-ma-da* Fort. 2262-101:09 in connection with 'rations' for Napiriša, two mountains and 'All Gods' (AN*miššebakana*). Here, perhaps abbreviating *makuš pirramatiš*, 'chief magus,' and perhaps preceded by [*lan liri*]*ra*, '*lan*-offering performer'. [10+8]-*na* on right edge.

(10) *bat*(or: *be*)-[*x*]-*ra-kur-ra*: despite determinative AŠ (for HAL), presumably an Iran. title, *x-kara-*, not yet otherwise attested, indicating an administrator of middle rank, as the position of the entry and the ration rate suggest. Might this be another title for Miššabadda the *ullira* in the treasury at Parsa (above)? Less likely in this context, *bat-*[*ti-ka₄*]*-ra-kur-ra*, an otherwise unattested transcription of *patikarakara-* 'sculptor' (Aram. *ptkrkr*, Tavernier 2007a: 429).

(12) *-ri-iš du-šá* on right edge.

(13-14) Cf. Bactrian and Indian workers, Bakunda *šaramana* PF-NN 0939.

(15) *–šá-* over erasure.

(04', 08') In view of determinative AŠ, perhaps gentilic on place-name Kaupirriš (var. Kaupirriya). Otherwise, cf. PN Kappirruš var. Kapruš (Tavernier 2007a: 515).

(07') Cf. wine transported to the place Appištapdan, received by Nasukka and Šariza PF-NN 1581 (year 21).

(10'-13') Ruled, but probably uninscribed.
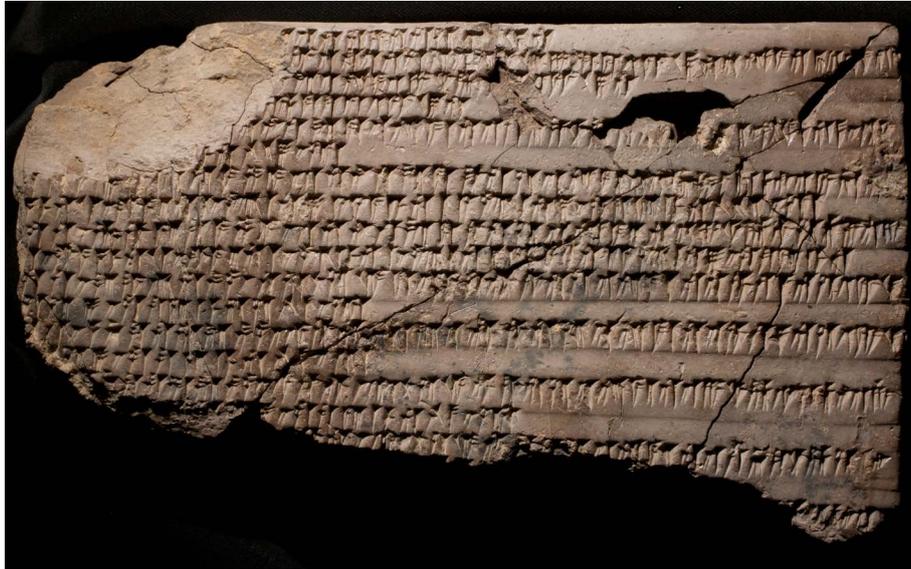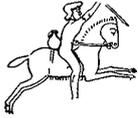
Fort. 2016-101 Obverse

1 cm

Fort. 2016-101 Reverse

1 cm

Fig. 2a-b. Fort. 2016-101 Obverse and Reverse
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute).
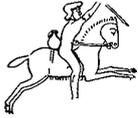
2. Fort. 2016-101 (   )

Obverse

(01) [x |] x ᴬᴺ*na-ap-pan-na du-iš*
⌈*be*⌉-[*ul*] 10+8-*na*

(02) [30+6 | *da-u-šá*]-*um* ᴬᴺ*la-an-na du-iš*
ᴬᴺ⌈ITIᴹᴱˢ 10+2⌉ *ha-tu-ma be-ul* 10+8-*na* ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ-*na* ⌈3 ᴳᴵˢBARᴹᴱˢ⌉ *du-*⌈*iš*⌉

(03) [x |]-*da* ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ ᴬᴺ*ha-ši-ia-*⌈*ti-iš*⌉ *be-ul* 10+8-*na*

(04) [x | ᴬᴺ]*kar-ma-ba-taš be-ul* 10+8-*na*

(05) [x | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸ*tup-pi-ip* ᴷᵁˢᴹᴱˢ-*uk-ku* ᴴᴬᴸ*pár-na*]-*ak-ka₄*
da-ma ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ 1-*na* ᴬᴺ⌈*ka₄-ir*⌉-*ba-ši-*⌈*ia-iš* x ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 4½-*na*⌉ 2 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 4-*na* 9 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ

(06) [| 4-*na*   1]½-*na* PAP 20+8 ᴴᴬᴸ*kur-taš*

(07) [1 ME 30+3ˀ | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na* ⌈*li-ka₄*⌉ ᴴᴬᴸ*tup-pi-ip* ᴷᵁˢᴹᴱˢ-*uk-ku* ᴴᴬᴸ*pár-na-ak-ka₄*
da-ma gal du-iš ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ ⌈2-*na* ᴬᴺ*sa-mi-man-taš*⌉ *a-ak* ᴬᴺ*mi-kán-*⌈*na-iš*⌉

(08) [| 1ˀ ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ] 4½-*na* 10+1 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 4-*na* ⌈3ˀ⌉ ᴴᴬᴸ*pu-hu* 1-⌈*na* 8⌉ ˢᴬᴸSALᴹᴱˢ
1½-*na* 1 ˢᴬᴸ*pu-hu* 1-*na* 8 ᴴᴬᴸ*li-ba-ip* 1½-*na* PAP 30+2 ᴴᴬᴸ*kur-taš*

(09) [1 ME 20+4ˀ | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na*] *li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸ*tup-pi-ip* ᴷᵁˢᴹᴱˢ-*uk-ku* ᴴᴬᴸ*pár-na-ak-ka₄ da-*
ma gal du-iš ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ 2-*na* ᴬᴺ*ha-ši-ia-ti-iš a-ak* ᴬᴺ*ha-*

(10) [| *na-ma-kaš*] 1 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 4½-*na* 10+1 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 3-*na* 1 ᴴᴬᴸ*pu-hu* 1½-*na* 1
ᴴᴬᴸ*pu-hu* 1-*na* ⌈4 ˢᴬᴸSALᴹᴱˢ 2ˀ⌉-*na* 2 ˢᴬᴸ*pu-hu* 1-*na* 8 ᴴᴬᴸ*li-ba-ip* 1½-*na*

(11) [2 ME 10 | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na*] *li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸ*zí-tur-ri-na hi-še* ᴬˢ*ka₄-ap-nu-iš-ki-ma*
ᴴᴬᴸ⌈*ul-li-ra*⌉ *gal du-iš* ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ 1-*na* ᴬᴺ*mar-ka₄-šá-na-iš be-ul* 10+8-*na*

(12) [| 1 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 9-*na*] *du-iš* 8 ᴴᴬᴸ*li-ba-ip* 1½ *du-iš* PAP 9 *kur-taš*

(13) [2 ME 10 | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na*] ⌈*li-ka₄*⌉ ᴴᴬᴸ*šá-ir-ba-la-ad-da* ᴴᴬᴸ*ti-pi*ⁱ-⌈*ra* ᴬˢ*kán*⌉-*da-*
bar-ra gal du-iš ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ 1-*na* ᴬᴺ*mar-ka₄-šá-na-iš be-ul* 10+8-*na*

(14) [| 1 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ] ⌈9⌉-*na* 8 ᴴᴬᴸ*li-ba-ip* 1½-*na* PAP ⌈9 ᴴᴬᴸ*kur-taš*⌉

(15) [4 ME 20 | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸ*šá*]-*ir-ba-la-ad-da hi-še* ᴴᴬᴸ*ti-*⌈*pi*⌉-*ra* ᴬˢ*kap₀-*
nu-iš-ki-ra gal du-iš ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ 2-*na* ᴬᴺ*ha-ši-ia-ti-iš a-ak* ᴬᴺ*ha-*

(16) [| *na-ma-kaš*] ⌈1⌉ [ᴴᴬᴸ]⌈LÚᴹᴱˢ 9-*na* 8⌉ ᴴᴬᴸ*li-ba-ip* 1½-*na* PAP 9 ᴴᴬᴸ*kur-taš*

(17) [x | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸ*šá-ir-ba-la-ad-da hi-še* ᴴᴬᴸ*ti*]-⌈*pi*⌉-*ra* ᴴᴬᴸ*kap₀-*
nu-iš-ki-ra ⌈*gal du-iš* ⌉ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ 2-*na* ᴬᴺ*ka₄-ir-ba-ši-ia-iš* ⌈*a*⌉-*ak*

(18) [| ᴬᴺ*ba-gi-ia-ti-iš*   ]

(19) [x |]-⌈*x-*
iš⌉ *a-ak* ᴬᴺ[*x*]-

Reverse

(01') [ ]10+3 ^{HAL}li-⌈ba⌉-[ip]

(02') [ ] ⌈PAP 1 ME 60⌉+9 ^{HAL}kur-⌈taš⌉

(03') [ ] x x ^{AN}⌈sa-mi⌉-man-taš

(04') [ ]

(05') [ ]-iš be-ul 10+8-na 30 ^{HAL}LÚ^{MEŠ} 3-na

(06') [ ]

(07') [ ] x [x] x ^{AN}ITI^{MEŠ} 2-na ^{AN}⌈sa-mi-man-taš⌉

　　a-ak ^{AN}mi-kán-na-iš

(08') [ ] x

(09') [x | hal-mi ^{HAL}PN-na li-ka₄ ^{HAL}PN ^{HAL}] ⌈tup-pi-ra⌉ KUŠ^{MEŠ}-uk⌉-ku mu-ši-in

　　⌈zik⌉-ki-⌈ra ^{AŠ}kap₀-nu-iš-ki⌉-ma gal du-iš ^{AN}ITI^{MEŠ} 2-na

(10') [| be-ul 10]+8-na 2 ^{HAL}LÚ^{MEŠ} 4½-na ⌈x ^{HAL}li-ba-ip 2⌉-[na]

(11') [1 ME 70⌉ | hal-mi ^{HAL}PN-na li-ka₄] ^{HAL}nu-ti-ud-da ^{HAL}tup-⌈pi-ra KUŠ⌉^{MEŠ}-uk-ku

　　⌈mu-ši⌉-in ⌈zik⌉-ki-ra ^{AŠ}⌈kap₀⌉-nu-⌈iš-ki-ma⌉ gal du-iš

(12') [| ^{AN}ITI^{MEŠ} 1-na ^{AN}⌈mar⌉-ka₄-šá-na-iš be-ul ⌈10+8-na 2⌉ ^{HAL}⌈LÚ^{MEŠ}⌉ 4½-na

　　4⌉ ^{HAL}li-ba-ip 2⌉-[na]

(13') [|] ⌈tup-pi⌉ hi-ma ^{AŠ}rak₀-ka₄-an ^{HAL}x-x-x-x-[-x ^{HAL}]⌈tu⌉-ma-⌈ra

　　^{HAL}kam-be-iz-za ^{HAL}⌉[ul-li]-ri-ri da⌉-ma

(14') [| be-ul 10]+8 hu-ud-da-ka₄

Synopsis

Obverse

(01) [x (grain) received] for the god(s), year 18.

(02) [360 liters (of grain)] received for *daušam* offering for the *lan* ceremony during 12 months of year 18, 30 liters per month.

(03), (04) (Unclear), month IX and month IV of year 18.

(05-06) [x (grain), a letter-order from PN having been delivered, received by] 28 [scribes on leather?] assigned by Parnaka as rations for 1 month, at rates from 45 to 15 liters per month.
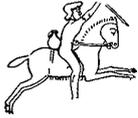
(07-08) [1,330? liters (of grain), a letter-order from PN] having been delivered, received as rations by scribes on leather assigned by Parnaka as rations for two months, months XI and XII, altogether 32 men, boys, women, girls, and servants at rates from 45 to 10 liters per month.

(09-10) [1,240? liters (of grain), a letter-order from PN] having been delivered, received by scribes on leather assigned by Parnaka, as rations for two months, months IX and X, 26 men, boys, women, girls, and servants, at rates from 45 to 10 liters per month.

(11-12) [2,100 liters (of grain), a letter-order from PN] having been delivered, the man named Zitrina, delivery-man in the treasury received as rations for one month, month VIII of year 18, at 90 liters per month, along with 8 servants at 15 liters per month.

(13-14) [2,100 liters (of grain), a letter-order from PN] having been delivered, the man named Šarbaladda, scribe, treasurer, received as rations for one month, month VIII of year 18, at 90 liters per month, along with 8 servants at 15 liters per month.

(15-16) [4,200 liters (of grain), a letter-order from PN] having been delivered, the man named Šarbaladda, scribe, treasurer, received as rations for two months, months IX and X of year 18, at 90 liters per month, along with 8 servants at 15 liters per month.

(17-18) [x (grain), a letter-order from PN having been delivered, the man named Šarbaladda,] scribe, treasurer, received as rations for two months, months VI and VII [...].

(19) (Unclear.)

Reverse

(01'-04') [x (grain) received as monthly rations by] 169 workers [for x months, including] month XI.

(05'-06') [x (grain)] received as rations by workers in year 18, including 30 men at 300 liters per month.

(07'-08') [x (grain) received as rations] for months XI and XII.
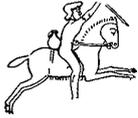
(09'-10') [x (grain), a letter-order from PN having been delivered, PN$_2$], scribe on leather, accountant in the treasury, received as rations for two months [of year 18], 2 men at 45 liters per month x 'servants' at 20$^?$ liters per month.

(11'-12') [1,700$^?$ liters (of grain), a letter-order from PN having been delivered,] Nutidda, scribe on leather, accountant in the treasury, received as rations for [1 month], month VIII or year 18, 2$^?$ men at 45 liters per month, 4$^?$ 'servants' at 20 liters per month.

(13'-14') [Total x grain] on this tablet, at Rakkan, PN the grain-handler, Kambezza his delivery-man. [Account$^?$] done in year 18.

Comments

Category V

(19.5) x (11.5) x 2.8 cm

No preserved seal.

(09') ⌈*zik*⌉-*ki*-⌈*ra*⌉ (not: -⌈*ip*⌉) vs. 2 ^{HAL}LÚ^{MEŠ}: sic.

(10'f.) Cf. Nukudda and Nutidda *tipip* PF-NN 2335:38'.

(13') Traces do not suit restoration of Appukka *tumara* as in PF 1946-PF 1947.

Fort. 1872-103 Obverse 1 cm

Fort. 1872-103 Lower Edge 1 cm

Fort. 1872-103 Left Edge 1 cm

Fort. 1872-103 Reverse 1 cm

Fig. 3a-f. Fort. 1872-103 Obverse, Reverse, Left Edge and details of seal impressions, Obverse and Reverse (Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute).
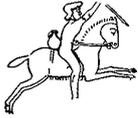
3. Fort. 1872-103 (   )

Obverse

(01) [10?+2?   ] ⸢x x x x x x⸣-da-ia-⸢x x⸣-ra ᴴᴬᴸ!ma-ku-iš ᴴᴬᴸ!ha-tar-ma-ak-šá
ᴬˢ⸢x-x⸣-[   ]⸢x⸣

(02) [   ] | ⸢ᴬˢ?da⸣-u-šá-⸢um ᴬᴺla-an-na ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ⸣ 10+2-na ⸢ha-du-kán-nu-iš⸣ [ku]-⸢iš⸣
ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ mi⸣-kán-na ᴬˢ⸢be-ul⸣ 20+1-na <ᴬᴺ>⸢ITIᴹᴱˢ⸣-na 1-na

(03) [x   ] | ⸢ᴴᴬᴸpár⸣-na-ak-ka₄ gal-ma du-⸢iš ᴬˢx-x- zí?-iš-šá ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ ᴬᴺtur-na-ba-zí⸣-iš
ᴬˢbe-[ul] 20+1-na

(04)   6 | hal-[mi ᴴᴬᴸx-x-x-na] ⸢li-ka₄ ᴴᴬᴸšá-ir-ba-la-ad-da ⸢hi-še ᴴᴬᴸtup⸣-pi-⸢ra
ᴷᵁˢᴹᴱˢ-uk-ku-⸢na?⸣ ᴬˢka₄-ap-nu-iš-ki-ma ⸢hu⸣-

(05) | ⸢pír-ri gal du-iš ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ⸣ 2-na ᴬᴺ⸢kar-ma⸣-ba-taš ᴬᴺ⸢tur⸣-na-ba-⸢zí⸣-iš-na
ᴬˢbe-ul 20+1-na

(06) | ⸢ᴬᴺ!ITI!⸣[ᴹᴱˢ-na 3] ⸢mar-ri⸣-iš du!-iš-da

(07)   1 ⸢½⸣ | ⸢hal-mi ᴴᴬᴸ[šu]-⸢ud⸣-da-ia-u-da-na li-ka₄ ᴴᴬᴸú-iš⸣-šá-ba-du-iš ⸢hi-še
ᴴᴬᴸuk-ba-kán-da-bar-ra ⸢du-iš-da⸣

(08) | 4 ha-⸢tin⸣ kar-⸢su-ka₄-na⸣ pu-pu-man-ra ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ ᴬᴺsa-a-⸢kur-zí-iš⸣-na be-ul
20+1-⸢na⸣

(09)   8! QA | ᴴᴬᴸpi?-⸢x⸣ hi-še 20+⸢4?⸣ ᴴᴬᴸkur-taš ᴴᴬᴸbu-za-an-⸢ti ⸣ᴴᴬᴸba-ka₄-ba-du-iš-ik-ka₄-
mar ᴬˢba-ir-⸢šá-iš la⸣-kaš-da

(10) | 1 na-⸢an⸣ ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ ᴬᴺsa-a-kur-zí-iš-na be-ul 20+1-na 3-ip-⸢na⸣ 1
QA du-šá hal-mi ᴴᴬᴸ⸢ba-ka₄-ba-du-iš-na ku-iz-za⸣

(11)   2 QA | ᴴᴬᴸ⸢x-x-x-x ⸣ hi-še ᴴᴬᴸ⸢x ⸣-x-ka₄ x x x ka₄? ⸢x x ⸣ x x GIˢ? ⸢x x ⸣ zí-ia-iš-da
⸢me?-ni? x x x x ⸣

(12) |⸢x x x x ⸣-na ᴬˢbe-ul 20+1-na na-zir₀-na 2 QA du-iš-⸢da x x x x x x x x ⸣

(13)   4 | ᴴᴬᴸx x x x x ip x x x na?-ik?-ka₄-mar? x x x x ⸢na ⸣ ak ᴬˢx-[   ]

(14) ⸢x ⸣ | ⸢x x ⸣[   ] na? ak 20 na-an ᴴᴬᴸ?⸢tur? ⸣-ka₄-ú-⸢iš ⸣ᴴᴬᴸ?pár?-⸢na?-ak?-ka₄? ⸣ x x
x x x ⸣

(15) | ⸢x x x x ⸣na ᴬˢbe-ul 20+1-na na-zir₀-na 2 QA du-iš-⸢da x x x x x x x ⸣
     [   ]

(16) ⸢PAP 7 6 QA? ⸣   ᴳᴵˢGEŠTINᴹᴱˢ šá-si-ka₄ ⸢ki⸣-[ut-ka₄   ⸢x x ⸣[   ]
⸢x x x x x x ⸣

(17)   ⸢na? ᴴᴬᴸ? x-gi?-x-x⸣[   ]
 -⸢ra? x x x x ⸣[   ]

Left Edge

(18) [   ]⸢x x x ⸣ ᴳᴵˢ⸢GEŠTIN ⸣[ᴹᴱˢ   ]

(19) [   ] ⸢be-ul⸣ 20+1-na ᴬˢ⸢x⸣-[   ]

Synopsis

Obverse

(01-02) [120 liters (of wine)] PN, a magus and *hatarmakša* [received, for] *daušam*-offerings for the *lan* ceremonies for 12 months, month I through month XII, year 21, 10 liters per month.

(03) [2,700? liters (of wine)] Parnaka received as rations at GN, month V, year 21.

(04-06) 60 liters (of wine), a letter-order [from PN] having been delivered, the man named Šarbaladda, scribe on leather in the treasury, received as rations for 2 months, months IV and V of year 21. He received [30] liters per month.

(07-08) 15 (liters of wine), a letter-order from Šuddayauda having been delivered, a man named Uššabaduš, deputy treasurer, received, for ...-ing 4 colored *hatin*-vessels. Month III, year 21.

(09-10) 8 liters (of wine) a man named PN (with) 24 workers at Buzanti, travelling from Bakabaduš to Persepolis, received (as travel ration) for 1 day in month III of year 21, at 1 quart for 3 men. They carried an authorization from Bakabaduš (governor of Arachosia).

(11-12) 2 liters (of wine) received as one day's ration in a month of year 21.

(13) 40 liters (of wine. Remainder unclear.)

(14-15) (Wine) expended as daily rations for 20 days? in year 21, at 2 liters per day.

(16-17) A total of 76 liters of wine was left over?, expended ...

Left Edge

(18-19) Summary: x wine, year 21, expended at [...]
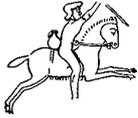
Comments

Category V

13.7 x 8.8 x 1.8 cm

PFS 0120 obverse, reverse.

Reverse ruled but uninscribed.

(01) ᴴᴬᴸᴵ written ᴬˢ, twice.

(07) Uššabaduš, Iran. *ušša-pāta-, cf. Tavernier 2007a: 332 s.v. Uššaba, Naveh and Shaked 2012: 275 s.v. *'štrpn*.

(07) *ukbakandabarra* (*upagandabara, Aram. *'pgnzbr'*) 'deputy treasurer,' previously unattested in Achaemenid Elamite. Not the deputy to the director of the central treasury of Persepolis for whom Hinz 1972: 264 postulated this title, but an administrator involved with production or materials handling, like similarly titled deputies in Arachosia (Henkelman n.d.); hence, the outlay to him is authorized by a regional director of personnel, and not by the uppermost staff of the Persepolis Fortification institution.

(08) Cf. PF 0808, PF 0809, PF-NN 1951, Fort. 02509 (Arfaee 2008: 112ff.) all with 3 quarts of wine per *hatin* and PF-NN 0738, with 3 quarts of flour per *hatin*.

(09f.) Cf. Fort. 1912-103:22': Q entry in V text, travel to Parsa from Bakabaduš at (or via) Buzantiš (cf. Henkelman n.d.).

(14) ⌈*x*⌉ at beginning of line perhaps erased.

(15) Blank space equivalent to about two lines between lines 15 and 16, with impression of PFS 0120.
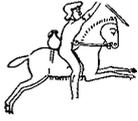
Fort. 1995-102 Obverse

1 cm

ort. 1995-102 Left Edge   1 cm   Fort. 1995-102 Reverse

1 cm

Fig. 4a-c. Fort. 1995-102 Obverse, Reverse, Left Edge
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute).
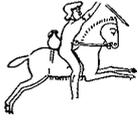
4. Fort. 1995-102 (   )

Obverse

(01') [   ] x 2 x [   ]

(02') [   ]-*da-ma hu-*
[   ]

(03') [   ]   (blank)   [   ]

(04') [   ]-⌜*x*⌝-*na-na* ⌜*x x*⌝ ᴴᴬᴸ*ap-pi-iš-*
man-da a-[*ak*   ]

(05') [ᴬᴺ*mar*]-*ka₄-šá-na a-ak* ᴬᴺ*ha-ši-ia-ti-iš be-ul*
20-na [   ]

(06') [10+8 | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸ*šá?-ir?-ba?-la?*]-⌜*ad?-da*⌝ *hi-še* ᴴᴬᴸ*ti-pi-ra* ᴬˢ*ka₄-ap-*
nu-iš-ki-ma hu-pír-[*ri gal-ma* ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ]

(07') [| 2-*na* ᴬᴺ]⌜*mar-ka₄*⌝-*šá-na-iš a-ak* ᴬᴺ*ha-ši-ia-ti-iš be-ul 20-na* 1 [ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 9-*na*]

(08') [20+7 | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸPN-*na li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸ]*zí-ut-tur-ri-na hi-še* ᴴᴬᴸ*ul-li-ra* ᴬˢ*ka₄-ap-nu-*⌜*iš*⌝-
ki-ma hu-pír-[*ri gal-ma* ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ 3-*na*]

(09') [|] ⌜ᴬᴺ*ba-gi-ia-ti*⌝-[*iš a-ak* ᴬᴺ]⌜*mar-ka₄*⌝-*šá-na a-ak* ᴬᴺ*ha-ši-ia-ti-iš* ᴬˢ*be-ul*
20-na 1 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 9-*na* [   ]

(10') [*x*   ] | ᴬˢ*hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸ*pár-na-ak-ka₄-na* [*li-ka₄ x* ᴴᴬᴸ*pu*]-⌜*hu*⌝ ᴴᴬᴸ*pár-na-ak-ka-na hu-*
pi-be gal-ma du-iš-da ᴬᴺ⌜ITI⌝[ᴹᴱˢ   ]

(11') [*x*   ] | ᴬˢ*hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸ*pár-na-ak-ka₄-na* [*li-ka₄ x* ᴴᴬᴸ*kur-taš*] ᴴᴬᴸ*za-mi-*⌜*ši*⌝-*ia-ip*
ᴴᴬᴸ*ba-*⌜*ku*⌝-*un-da šá-ra-ma* ⌜*x x x*⌝ [ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ]

(12') [   ] | 1-*na* ᴬᴺ⌜*ba-gi-ia-ti-iš*⌝ [*be-ul* 20]-⌜*na*⌝ 1 ME 60+1 ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ 3-*na* 2 ᴴᴬᴸ*pu-*
hu 2-*na* 20+⌜5?⌝ [   ]

(13') [*x*   ] | ᴴᴬᴸ*zí-iš-*⌜*šá*⌝-*u-ú-iš gal-*⌜*ma*⌝ [30?]+7 ᴬᴺ*na-an ha-tu-*⌜*ma*⌝ ᴬˢ*be-*
ul 20⌝-*na* ᴬˢ⌜*rak₀-ka₄*⌝-[*an   ]

(14') [   ] | 8 ⌜ᴬᴺ⌝*na-an* ᴬᴺITI⌜ᴹᴱˢ⌝ [   ]-*na a-ak* 4 ᴬᴺ*na-an* ᴬᴺ[   ]
⌜*x x x*⌝ [   ]

(15') [   ] | ⌜*a-ak*⌝ 3 ⌜ᴬᴺ⌝*na-an* ᴬᴺITIᴹᴱˢ ᴬᴺ⌜*tur-na*⌝-*ba-zí-iš a-ak* 10 ᴬᴺ*na-an* ⌜ᴬᴺ⌝[   ]

(16') [   ] ⌜50⌝ | *hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸ*zí-iš-šá-u-*⌜*ú-iš*⌝-*na li-ka₄* ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ ᴴᴬᴸ*ti-*⌜*ud?-da?*⌝[   ]

(17') [   ] | ⌜*x*⌝-*ma-iš-*⌜*da* ᴬᴺITI⌝ᴹᴱˢ 2-*na* ᴬᴺ*ha-na-*⌜*ma*⌝-[*kaš   ]

(18') [   ]   9 | ⌜*hal-mi* ᴴᴬᴸ⌝*zí-iš-šá-u-ú-iš-na li-ka₄* [ᴴᴬᴸ*zí*]-

(19') | ⌜*iš*⌝-*šá-u-ú-iš* ⌜*da*⌝-[*ma   ]

(20') | *a-ak* ᴬᴺ*ka₄-*⌜*x-x*⌝-[   ]

(21')   50   [   ]

Reverse

(01″) [ ] ⌜x x⌝ [   ]

(02″) [   ] |⌜x x x x x x⌝ [   ]

(03″) [   ]   6 |⌜hal-mi ᴴᴬᴸšu-ud-da-ia⌝-[u-da-na li-ka₄   ]

(04″) [   ] | hu-pi-be gal-ma ⌜du⌝-[iš   ]

(05″) [   ] |⌜x ˢᴬᴸpu⌝-hu ½-na 1ˀ ˢᴬᴸ[   ]

(06″) [x   ] |[hal-mi] ᴴᴬᴸšu-ud-⌜da-ia-u⌝-[da-na li-ka₄   ]

(07″) [   ] |⌜ᴬᴺITI⌝ᴹᴱˢ 1-na ᴬᴺ⌜x-x⌝ [   ]

(08″) [   ] |⌜ˢᴬᴸpu-hu 1ˀ-na⌝ 2 ᴍᴇ 40 [   ]

(09″) [x   ] [hal-mi ᴴᴬᴸšu-ud]-⌜da⌝-ia-u-⌜da⌝[ᴬˢ]⌜rak₀-ka₄-

an⌝ ᴴᴬᴸšu-ud-⌜da⌝-[ia-u-da   ]

(10″) [   ]⌜x ᴬᴺITI⌝[ᴹᴱˢ   ]⌜x x⌝ [   ]⌜ku-iš⌝ ᴬᴺmi-kán-na-

iš ᴬˢbe-⌜ul⌝ [20-na   ]

(11″) [   ]⌜1 ˢᴬᴸpu-hu⌝ [ ]-na ᴘᴀᴘ 30 ᴴᴬᴸkur-taš

(12″) [   ] x hi-še ᴴᴬᴸšu-ud-da-ia-u-da šá-ra-ma ⌜x⌝

[   ]

(13″) [   ]⌜x x⌝ [   ]⌜x x⌝   (blank)

[   ]

(14″) [   ]⌜x x x-na⌝ [   ]⌜x x x x⌝

šá-ra-ma hu-pi-be gal-ma [   ]

(15″) [   ]-⌜maˀ ᴬˢbeˀ-x-x x ᴴᴬᴸLÚᴹᴱˢ⌝ 4½-na ⌜3ˀ ᴴᴬᴸLÚ⌝ᴹᴱˢ

2-⌜na⌝[ ]

(16″) [   ]⌜x x⌝ [   ]⌜2-na⌝ 8

⌜ˢᴬᴸpu-hu 1½-na x ˢᴬᴸpu-hu 1-na⌝ [   ]

(17″) [   ] ᴴᴬᴸir-še-na šá-⌜ra⌝-

ma [   ]

(18″) [ᴴᴬᴸ] ⌜LÚ⌝ᴹᴱˢ ⌜3⌝-[na]

(19″) [   ]⌜x x⌝ [   ]

Left Edge

(01‴) | kur-mín ⌜ᴴᴬᴸx-x⌝ [   ]

Synopsis

Obverse

(01'-03') (Unclear.)

(04'-05') [x (grain) expended in] two (or more) months of year 20.

(06'-07') [180 liters (of grain), a letter-order from PN having been delivered, the man named Šarbal]adda?, scribe in the treasury (received) [for rations for two months], months VIII and IX of year 20, 1 [man at 90 liters (per month)].

(08'-09') [270 liters (of wine), a letter-order from PN having been delivered], the man named Zitrina, delivery-man in the treasury, [(received) for rations for 3 months), month VII and month VIII and month IX of year 21, 1 man at 90 liters (per month).

(10') [x (grain)], a letter-order of Parnaka [having been delivered, x] boys under Parnaka received for rations for month [...].

(11'-12') [x (grain)], a letter-order of Parnaka [having been delivered, x] *zamišiya* [workers] for whom Bakunda is responsible [received as rations] for 1 month, month VII of [year 20]: 161 men at 30 liters, 2 boys at 20 liters, 25? [women? at 20? liters ...].

(13'-15') [x (grain)] received by Ziššawiš, for daily rations at the place Rakkan for 37 or more days during 4 or more months.

(16'-17') 500 liters (of grain), a letter-order from Ziššawiš having been delivered, received [as monthly rations] by report-[makers?], for two months, months X [and XI].

(18'-20') 9 liters (of grain), a letter-order from Ziššawiš having been delivered [was received by workers] assigned by Ziššawiš.

(21') 500 liters (of grain) [...].

Reverse

(03''-05'') 60 liters (of grain), a letter-order from Šuddayauda having been delivered, received as (monthly) rations by a group of workers.
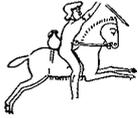
(06''-08'') [x (grain)], a letter-order from Šuddayauda [having been delivered, received as rations] for one month by a group of workers.

(09''-11'') [x (grain), a letter-order from] Šuddayauda [having been delivered, received as rations] for x months, from month x through month XII of year [20], by a group of 30 workers.

(12''-13'') [x (grain) received by workers] for whom Šuddayauda is responsible.

(14''-16'') [x (grain) received] as (monthly) rations by a group of workers for whom PN is responsible.

(17''-19'') [x (grain) received as monthly rations by a group of workers] for whom Iršena is responsible.

Left Edge
(01''') [Summary: total x grain], allocations of PN [...].

Comments

Category V

No preserved seals.

(11') *zamišiyap*: for *zamišap* (PF 1816, PF 1817, PF 1818, PF-NN 0333, PF-NN 0349 etc., all letter-orders from Ziššawiš, Bakunda *šaramana*).

Abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
Aram.	Aramaic
Elam.	Elamite
Fort.	(as in Fort. 02509) Elamite Persepolis Fortification text published in Arfaee 2008; (as in Fort. 1872-103) Elamite Persepolis Fortification tablet or text recorded by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project
Iran.	Iranian
Old Pers.	Old Persian
PF	Elamite Persepolis Fortification texts published in Hallock 1969
PF-NN	Elamite Persepolis Fortification texts cited from draft editions by Richard T. Hallock, collated and corrected by Wouter F. M. Henkelman
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal, cited according to Garrison and Root 1998 (with updates by Mark B. Garrison)

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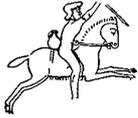
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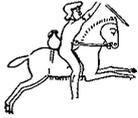
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Arta

Directeur de la publication : Pierre Briant