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.

*The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Oriental Institute, from which these observations arise, has received timely support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Farhang Foundation, the Getty Foundation, the Iran Heritage Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Geographic Society Committee for Research and Exploration, the PARSA Community Foundation, the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute, the University of Chicago Women’s Board, and other donors and organizations. Thanks are due to Michael Jursa, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Tytus Mikolajczak, Jan Tavernier, and Ran Zadok for comments, information, references, and suggestions. Responsibility for errors of substance and judgment remains with the author. Draft editions and images of many of the unpublished Persepolis Fortification texts and tablets cited here by the sigla Fort. and PF-NN (many of them preliminary, uncollated and uncorrected) are displayed on line by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (OCHRE, see https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/ochre/projects.html). High-quality images of many of these tablets are also available on line from Inscriptifact (see http://www.inscriptifact.com/). Images and collated editions of about 200 PF-NN documents are also available on line from Achemenet (http://www.achemenet.com/fr/tree/?/sources-textuelles/textes-par-langues-et-ecritures/elanmite/archives-des-fortifications-de-persepolis/tablettes-des-fortifications-de-persepolis#set).
Name


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 (Sarbālāta(?), 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 Šalbaladda is equally frequent but less easy to explain.

Lycian Trmmili ~ 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 KUS ME.S.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.


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,’

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 ’wšṛ,’ Porten and Yardeni 1989: 110, B4.4:12) and perhaps in Achaemenid Babylonian (*tupšarru ša bit kūširānu*, Camb. 384:15ff.). 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 *tuppīra* 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/.


(4) The scribe in Camb. 384:15 concurred in a transaction recorded at Ḫūmadešu, in western Iran, perhaps in the vicinity of Persepolis. 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 (*ummānī*) under the control of (*ša qāṭē*) the *rab kāṣiri*, cf. BM 26553 apud Jursa 2010: 249 n. 1474, pace Zadok 2009: 138; for reservations

---

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-pīr* 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 Ḫūmadešu 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 kāširi*, Bongenaar 1997: 136f. Elsewhere, the phrase *bīt rab kāširi* refers to a settlement and/or estate (Zadok 1985: 101, Abraham 2004: 127). At best, the noun-phrase *bīt kāširānu*, 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 kāšir” (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’ (*tuppipra 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.'); and perhaps [...]-*pi? 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, 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 kapnuškina* (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)’

---

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.


6 And perhaps Zitrina *kantira*, ‘storekeeper,’ PF-NN 0174:09ff., year 24 and Zitrina *šašiš KI+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 ulla ra kapnuškima** PF 1800:06 (year 24), **Kadda ulla ra kapnuškima** PF-NN 0974:05ff. (year 23), **Miššabadda kapnuškima ulla ra PF-NN 2536:06ff.** (year 24), Fort. 2303-103:03'ff., **Miššabadda ulla ra kapnuškima Baršaš PF-NN 2561:04ff.** (year 23), and [...] da ulla ra kapnuškira/kapnuškima in PF 1947:13 and 15 (immediately after an entry that probably names Zitrina), probably all referring to the same person 7;

and [...] iš-še-na hiše ulla ra 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]).

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 *u4=ba* (text: ka, over erasure)-ud-da.

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 [Urandus], PF 865 [Tirazziš], PF 0879 [Kurpun], PF-NN 1524 [Par[...]], Fort. 0350-101 [Tirazziš]) do not mention ‘scribes’.

---

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 *u4=ba* (text: ka, 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 [Urandus], 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 storehouses 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 (tuppiš (Baplip) 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,’ corroborating Hinz’s supposition that both men belonged to the upper management of the Persepolis institution (1972: 268f.).

\(^9\) 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’ ([kapnukšip] 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 ṭuḫšarru and sepišru.

Placing Zitrina is more elusive. His title, ulla-ra, 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 ulla-ras 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 suggest 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)

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

Obverse

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

[02] x Gdš GIR 3 MES šu-ra-ma ak-ka₄ a₄-an-za-an ha-me-ir da-u-sá-um

[03] be-ul] 10+8-na ANITIMES A₄-kₐ₄ ir-ba-ši-ia-iš

[04] x ḫ₁-da ḫ₁-šše GIR 3 MES hu-ut-ti-ip A₄-kₐ₄ ra-ku-sá-an

[05] HAL da-tap-pár-na šá-ra-t₄ ma₃

[06] ḫ₁-ra₄-na a-ak pîr-ra-mat-ti-iš-na da-u-sá-um A₄-na-ap-pa-

[07] tu-ma A₄ be-ul 10+8-na

[08] 6 na-an AN³ ha₃ du¹-kán-na-iš 8 na-an A₄-kar-ma-ba-ta₃ 1 AN³ na-an ANITIMES

[09] A₄-mar-ka₄ šá-na-iš

[10] 10+5 hal-mi HAL-PN-na ḫ₁₁-ka₄ HAL-sá-ul-ba-l₄-ad-da hi-še A₄ ka₄-₄ ap-nu ḫ₁-ki-ra₄ A₄-ba-


[14] 20+1 hal-mi HAL-PN-na li-ka₄ HAL-mi-iš-šá-ba-ad-da hi-še A₄ bat- ḫ₁-ra-₄ kar-ra A₄-ba-ir-

[15] šá-iš hu-pîr-ri gal-ma

[16] du-iš-da ANITIMES 4-na AN³ ha¾ i-a-ti-iš-mar ku-iš A₄ mi-k₄ na-iš be-ul 10+8-na

[17] a-ak ANITIMES 3-na AN³ ha-du-

[18] kán-na-iš-mar ka-iš A₄ sa-a-kur-ri-zi-iš be-ul 10+9-na PAP 7 ANITIMES ha-tu₁ ma be-


[20] x hal-mi HAL-PAR] ḫ₁₁-ak-ka₄ na li-ka₄ 3 ME 80+9 HAL muzu₂ ḫ₁-ia₁-ip a-ak

[21] HAL ba-ak-ši-ia-₄ ap a-ak HAL hi-du-i₃ ap HAL ba-₁ ka₄


[23] be-ul 10+8-na un-ra 2 QA du-iš-da ḫ₁
d

[24] x ḫ₁-x₄ du-iš-da A₄₃ ka₄ ra-ku-s₄ an₁ [x na₃] ḫ₁₄ ha-tu-ma

[25] AN³ ha-du-kán-na-iš ḫ₁₄ be-ul 10+8-na

[26] x hal-mi PN-na ḫ₁₁-ka₄ HAL kur-t₄ A₄ ma-te-zi-iš HAL kar-kì-iš šá-ra₄-ma hu-pî-be
gal-ma du-iš-da

[27] ḫ₁₁-x₄ ḫ₁ be-ul 10+8-na 1 HAL-LU 3-na 20+5 HAL-LU 2-na 1 HAL-LU

[28] 1 ḫ₁₄ na 1 ME 10+9 HAL-LU 1-na

[29] ḫ₁-PAP 3 ME 40+5 HAL kur-ta₄

[30] x ḫ₁₄ HAL kar-t₄ ki-iš³ šá-ra₄ ma hu-pî-be gal₅ ma₃ du-iš-da ANITIMES 1-na

[31] ḫ₁₄ traces
Reverse

(01') [ 
(02') [ 
(03') [ 
(04') [ 
(05') [ 
(06') [ 
(07') [ 
(08') [ 
(09') [ 
(10') [ 
(11') [ 
(12') [ 
(13') [ 
(14') [ 

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, GIR 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.
[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.

[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?).

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

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

Reverse

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

[x (wine) PN], a Kapirriyan, received , year 18.

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

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

[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.

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

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


(12) 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-k]-ra-kur-ra, an otherwise unattested transcription of *patikarakara- ‘sculptor’ (Aram. ptkkrk, Tavernier 2007a: 429).


(15) –šá- over erasure.


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

(15') Ruled, but probably uninscribed.
Fig. 2a-b. Fort. 2016-101 Obverse and Reverse  
(Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute).
2. Fort. 2016-101 (Fig. 2a-b)

Obverse

(01) [x | ] x AN-na-ap-pan-na du-iš
ême-ul 10+8-na
(02) [30+6 | ] da-u-sá]-um AN-la-an-na du-iš
ANITMES 10+2 ha-tu-ma be-ul 10+8-na ANITMES na 3 GE BAR MES du-iš
(03) [x | ] da ANITMES AN-ha-shi-ia-ti-iš be-ul 10+8-na
(04) [x | ] ANkar-ma-ba-taš be-ul 10+8-na
(05) [x | ] hal-mi HALPN-na li-ka₄ HAL-tup-pi-ip KUŠMES-uk-ku HAL-pár-na]-ak-ka₄
da-ma ANITMES 1-na AN ša-biš-ia-iš x HALOMES 4½-na 1 HALOMES 4-na 9 HALOMES
(06) [x | ] 2 HALOMES 1½-na HAL pu-hu 1½-na 8 SALSALMES
(07) [1 ME 30+3 | ] hal-mi HALPN-na] li-ka₄ HAL-tup-pi-ip KUŠMES-uk-ku HAL-pár-na-ak-ka₄
da-ma gal du-iš ANITMES 2-na AN-sa-mi-man-taš a-ak AN-mi-kán-[na-iš]
(08) [x | ] 1½ HALOMES 4½-na 10+1 HALOMES 4-na 3½ HAL pu-hu 1½-na 8 SALSALMES
1½-na 1 SAIL pu-hu 1-na 8 HAL-li-ba-ip 1½-na HAL 30+2 HAL kur-taš
(09) [1 ME 20+4 | ] hal-mi HALPN-na] li-ka₄ HAL-tup-pi-ip KUŠMES-uk-ku HAL-pár-na-ak-ka₄
da-ma gal du-iš ANITMES 2-na AN-ha-shi-ia-ti-iš a-ak AN-ha-
(10) [x | ] na-ma-kaš] 1 HALOMES 4½-na 10+1 HALOMES 3-na 1 HALOMES 4-na 1
HAL pu-hu 1½-na 4 SALSALMES 2½-na 2 SAIL pu-hu 1-na 8 HAL-li-ba-ip 1½-na
(11) [2 ME 10 | ] hal-mi HALPN-na] li-ka₄ HALdí-tur-ri-na hi-še Á₃ ka₄-ap-nu-iš-ki-ma
(13) [2 ME 10 | ] hal-mi HALPN-na] li-ka₄ HALdí-šár-ba-la-ad-da HALtí-pi-[ra Á₃ kán]₁
dabar-ra gal du-iš ANITMES 1-na AN mar-ka₄-sha-na-iš be-ul 10+8-na
(14) [x | ] 1 HALOMES 9-na] 8 HAL-li-ba-ip 1½-na PAP 9 HAL kur-taš
(15) [4 ME 20 | ] hal-mi HALPN-na li-ka₄ Á₃ šár]-ir-ba-la-ad-da hi-še HAL-ti-[pi]-ra Á₃ kap₄
nu-iš-ki-ra gal du-iš ANITMES 2-na AN-ha-shi-ia-ti-iš a-ak AN-ha-
(17) [x | ] hal-mi HALPN-na li-ka₄ HALdí-šár-ba-la-ad-da hi-še HAL-ti]-pi]-ra HAL kap₄
nu-iš-ki-ra] gal du-iš ANITMES 2-na AN ka₄-ir-ba-shi-ia-iš A₃-a-ak
(18) [x | ] ANba-gi-ia-ti-iš
(19) [x | ] x-
Reverse

(01) [x̄(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) [x̄(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.

Synopsis

Obverse

(01) [x̄(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) [x̄(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,), 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’) zik³ -ra³ (not: -ip³) vs. 2 ma₄₂₆₅₅ : sic.

(10’f.) Cf. Nukudda and Nutidda tišip PF-NN 2335:38’.

(13’) Traces do not suit restoration of Appukka tumara as in PF 1946-PF 1947.
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 (Fig. 3a-f)

Obverse

(01) \[10^2+2^3\]

\[x x x x x^1-da-i\-f x x^1-ra \text{HAL}_\text{M}_{\text{A}} \text{ma-ku} \text{-iš } \text{HAL}_\text{M}_{\text{A}} \text{ha-tar} \text{-ma-ak-šá} \text{AS}_\text{F}_{\text{A}} x x^1 \text{[ ] x}^1\]

(02) \[\text{[ ] } \text{f} \text{\alph{A}}\text{S}_\text{A} \text{da}^1 \text{-u-šá-tum } \text{AN}_\text{A} \text{-an} \text{-na } \text{AN}_\text{A} \text{TITI} \text{M}_{\text{E}} \text{S}^1 \text{10}^2 \text{-} \text{na } \text{f} \text{ha} \text{-du} \text{-kán-nu} \text{-iš}^1 [\text{ka}] \text{fiš AN}_\text{A} \text{TITI} \text{M}_{\text{E}} \text{S}_\text{A} \text{-be-ul}^1 \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na } <\text{AN}_\text{A} \text{TITI} \text{M}_{\text{E}} \text{S}_\text{A} \text{-na} \text{-ba} \text{-zi}^1 \text{iš AS}_\text{S} \text{-be-ul}^1 \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na}\]

(03) \[6\]

\[\text{hal-[mi } \text{HAL} x x x \text{-} \text{na } \text{l} \text{-} \text{ka}^1 \text{HAL} \text{á} \text{-iš}^1 \text{-} \text{šá} \text{-ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš } \text{hi-še } \text{HAL} \text{uk} \text{-ba-kán-da-bar} \text{-ra } \text{du} \text{-iš} \text{-da}^1\]

(04) \[4 \text{ha}^1 \text{tin}^1 \text{kur} \text{-su} \text{-ka}^1 \text{-na}^1 \text{pu-pu} \text{-man} \text{ra } \text{AN}_\text{A} \text{TITI} \text{M}_{\text{E}} \text{S}_\text{A} \text{-a}^1 \text{kur} \text{-zi}^1 \text{-iš}^1 \text{-na } \text{be-ul } \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na}^1\]

(05) \[8^1 \text{QA } \text{HAL} \text{pi}^1 x^1 \text{hi-še } \text{HAL}^1 \text{-kur} \text{-taš } \text{HAL} \text{bu} \text{-za} \text{-an}^1 \text{ti}^1 \text{HAL} \text{ba} \text{-ka}^1 \text{ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš} \text{-ik} \text{-ka}^1 \text{-mar} \text{AS}_\text{S} \text{-be-ir}^1 \text{šá} \text{-iš } \text{la}^1 \text{-kaš} \text{-da}\]

(06) \[1 \text{HA} \text{ll} \text{mi } \text{HAL} \text{[šu]} \text{-ud}^1 \text{-} \text{da} \text{-iu} \text{-da} \text{-na } \text{li} \text{-} \text{ka}^1 \text{HAL} \text{á} \text{-iš}^1 \text{-} \text{šá} \text{-ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš } \text{hi-še } \text{HAL} \text{uk} \text{-ba-kán-da-bar} \text{-ra } \text{du} \text{-iš} \text{-da}^1\]

(07) \[4 \text{ha}^1 \text{tin}^1 \text{kur} \text{-su} \text{-ka}^1 \text{-na}^1 \text{pu-pu} \text{-man} \text{ra } \text{AN}_\text{A} \text{TITI} \text{M}_{\text{E}} \text{S}_\text{A} \text{-a}^1 \text{kur} \text{-zi}^1 \text{-iš}^1 \text{-na } \text{be-ul } \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na}^1\]

(08) \[2 \text{HA} \text{ll} x x x x^1 \text{hi-še } \text{HAL} x^1 x^1 x x x^1 \text{ka}^2 x^1 \text{x x} \text{giš}^1 x x^1 \text{zi-ia} \text{-iš} \text{-da}^1 \text{me}^3 \text{-mi}^1 x x x^1\]

(09) \[1 \text{na}^1 \text{HA} \text{ll} \text{mi } \text{HAL} \text{pa} \text{-ka}^1 \text{ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš} \text{-na } \text{ku} \text{-iz} \text{-za}^1\]

(10) \[2 \text{QA } \text{HAL} x x x x^1 \text{hi-še } \text{HAL} x^1 x^1 x x x^1 \text{ka}^2 x^1 \text{x x} \text{giš}^1 x x^1 \text{zi-ia} \text{-iš} \text{-da}^1 \text{me}^3 \text{-mi}^1 x x x^1\]

(11) \[4 \text{HA} \text{ll} x x x x \text{ip} x x x \text{na}^1 \text{-ik}^2 \text{-ka}^1 \text{-mar}^1 x x x^1 \text{na}^1 \text{ak} \text{AS}_\text{S}^1 \text{[ ] x x x^1}\]

(12) \[x x x x^1 \text{na}^1 \text{AS}_\text{S} \text{-be-ul } \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na } \text{na}^1 \text{-zi}^1 \text{-na } \text{QA } \text{du} \text{-šá } \text{HAL} \text{mi } \text{HAL}^1 \text{pa} \text{-ka}^1 \text{ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš} \text{-na } \text{ku} \text{-iz} \text{-za}^1\]

(13) \[4 \text{HA} \text{ll} x x x x \text{ip} x x x \text{na}^1 \text{-ik}^2 \text{-ka}^1 \text{-mar}^1 x x x^1 \text{na}^1 \text{ak} \text{AS}_\text{S}^1 \text{[ ] x x x^1}\]

(14) \[x x^1 \text{[ ] na}^1 \text{ak} \text{20 } \text{na}^1 \text{an} \text{HAL}^1 \text{tur}^1 \text{ka}^2 \text{-iš}^1 \text{HAL} \text{pi}^1 \text{ra}^1 \text{na}^1 \text{-ak}^2 \text{-ka}^1 x x x x^1 \text{na}^1 \text{AK} \text{-iš} \text{-da}^1 \text{me}^3 \text{-mi}^1 x x x^1\]

(15) \[x x x x^1 \text{na}^1 \text{AS}_\text{S} \text{-be-ul } \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na } \text{na}^1 \text{-zi}^1 \text{-na } \text{QA } \text{du} \text{-šá } \text{HAL} \text{mi } \text{HAL}^1 \text{pa} \text{-ka}^1 \text{ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš} \text{-na } \text{ku} \text{-iz} \text{-za}^1\]

(16) \[x x x x^1 \text{na}^1 \text{AS}_\text{S} \text{-be-ul } \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na } \text{na}^1 \text{-zi}^1 \text{-na } \text{QA } \text{du} \text{-šá } \text{HAL} \text{mi } \text{HAL}^1 \text{pa} \text{-ka}^1 \text{ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš} \text{-na } \text{ku} \text{-iz} \text{-za}^1\]

(17) \[x x x x^1 \text{na}^1 \text{AS}_\text{S} \text{-be-ul } \text{20}^1 \text{-} \text{na } \text{na}^1 \text{-zi}^1 \text{-na } \text{QA } \text{du} \text{-šá } \text{HAL} \text{mi } \text{HAL}^1 \text{pa} \text{-ka}^1 \text{ba} \text{-du} \text{-iš} \text{-na } \text{ku} \text{-iz} \text{-za}^1\]

Left Edge

(18) \[x x x^1 \text{giš}^1 \text{GEŠTIN} \text{M}_{\text{E}} \text{S} \text{šá} \text{-si} \text{-ka}^1 \text{ki}^3 \text{[ut} \text{-ka}^1 x x^1 \text{[ ] x}^1\]

(19) \[\text{ra}^1 x x x x^1 \text{[ ] x x x^1}\]

Achemenet Mars 2017
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.

1. HAL! written أ، twice.
3. ukbakandabarra (*upagandabarra, 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.
4. 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.
6. ʃ at beginning of line perhaps erased.
7. Blank space equivalent to about two lines between lines 15 and 16, with impression of PFS 0120.
Fig. 4a-c. Fort. 1995-102 Obverse, Reverse, Left Edge (Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, Oriental Institute).
4. Fort. 1995-102 (Fig. 4a-c)

Obverse

[01] [x x x[ ]-da-ma hu-
[02] (blank) [ ]
[03] x x x [ ]-x x x hal-pi-iš-
man-da a-[ak]
[05] AN[mar]-ka₄-a₈-na a-ak AN[ha]-ši-ia-ti-iš be-ul
20-na [ ]
[06] 10+8 | hal-mi HALPN-na li-ka₄ HAL[ša₃]-il₃-ba₄-la₃]-[ad₃]-[da₃] hi-še HAL-ti-pi-ra AS[ka₄]-ap-
uu-iš-ki-ma hu-pír-[ri gal-ma ANITIMEŠ]
[07] | 2-na AN³] mar-ka₄-a₈-na-a₈ ha-ši-ia-ti-iš be-ul 20-na 1 [HALU³MES 9-na]
[08] | 20+7 | hal-mi HALPN-na li-ka₄ HAL[zi]-ut-tur-ri-na hi-še HAL-ul-li-ra AS[ka₄]-ap-na-f₃]-
ki-ma hu-pír-[ri gal-ma ANITIMEŠ 3-na]
[09] | ] fAN[ba-gi-ia-ti₁-[iš a-ak AN³] mar-ka₄-a₈-na-a₈ ha-ši-ia-ti-iš AS be-ul
20-na 1 HALU³MES 9-na [ ]
[10] | x 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 ANITIMEŠ]
HAL-ba₁-lun-da₃-sa-ra-ma [x x x ANITIMEŠ]
[12] | ] 1-na AN³] ba-gi-ia-ti-iš [be-ul 20]-[na] 1 ME 60+1 HALU³MES 3-na 2 HAL-pu-
hu 2-na 20²⁵⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻{-an
[14] | ] 8 AN³] na-an ANITIMEŠ [ ] na-a-ak 4 AN³] na-an AN[ ]
[15] [x x x [ ]
[16] | [a-ak] 3 AN³] na-an ANITIMEŠ ANF tur-na₃-ba₂-ši-a₈ a-ak 10 AN³] na-an AN[ ]
[17] | ] 50⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻{-an
[18] | ] 50⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻{-an
[19] | ] 9 | hal-mi HAL[zi]-ša₂-ša₂-u₃-iš-na li-ka₄ HALU³MES 2-na AN³] na-an AŠ[ma]
[20] | ] a-ak AS[ka₄]-x x [ ]
Reverse

(01'') [ ] x x x

(02'') [ ] x

(03'') [ ] x

(04'') [ ] x

(05'') [ ] x

(06'') [ ] x

(07'') [ ] x

(08'') [ ] x

(09'') [ ] x

(10'') [ ] x

(11'') [ ] x

(12'') [ ] x

(13'') [ ] x

(14'') [ ] x

(15'') [ ] x

(16'') [ ] x

Left Edge

(01''') [ ] x x x

(02''') [ ] x x x

(03''') [ ] x x x

(04''') [ ] x x x

(05''') [ ] x x x

(06''') [ ] x x x

(07''') [ ] x x x

(08''') [ ] x x x

(09''') [ ] x x x

(10''') [ ] x x x

Achmenet Mars 2017

27
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 Šuddayuda [having been delivered, received as rations] for one month by a group of workers.

(09'-11") [x (grain), a letter-order from] Šuddayuda [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 Šuddayuda 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 Zilšawiš, 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)

References

ABRAHAM, Kathleen 2004. Business and Politics under the Persian Empire, the Financial Dealings of
Studies Series 5. Tehran: Centre for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia.
AZZONI, Annalisa and Matthew W. STOLPER 2015. From the Persepolis Fortification Archive
Project, 5: the Aramaic Epigraph nṣ(y)h on Elamite Persepolis Fortification Documents,
BONGENAAR, A.C.V.M. 1997. The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: its Administration and
its Prosopography, Publications de l’Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de
DANDAMAYEV, Muhammad A. 1992. Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia, Columbia Lectures on
FRAME, Grant and Caroline WAERZEGGERS 2011. The Prebend of Temple Scribe in First
GARRISON, Mark B. and Margaret Cool ROOT 1998. Persepolis Seal Studies, corrected edition,
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.


NAVEH, Joseph and Shaul SHAKED 2012. Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century BCE) from the Khalili Collections. London: Khalili Family Trust.


TAVERNIER, Jan n.d. The Use of Languages on the Various Levels of Administration in the Achaemenid Empire, in B. Jacobs and W. F. M. Henkelman (eds.), The Administration of the Achaemenid Empire—Tracing the Imperial Signature, Classica et Orientalia 17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

TOLINI, Gauthier 2011. La Babylone et l’Iran, les relations d’une province avec le cœur de l’empire achéménide (539-331 avant notre ère). Doctoral dissertation, Université Paris I.

