



**Gerasimos George Aperghis<sup>1</sup> - University  
College London**

**Antigoni Zournatzi<sup>2</sup> - Institute of Historical  
Research, National Hellenic Research  
Foundation**

## **The Greek Tablet (Fort. 1771) of the Persepolis Fortification Archive<sup>3</sup>**

### **Abstract**

*This paper reflects on the circumstances that could be held to account for the singleton tablet in Greek, Fort. 1771, of the Persepolis Fortification archive. It proposes that this tablet possibly records a wine ration for a functionary of the Persepolis administrative system, which could have been drafted by this functionary himself. The use of Greek would imply that he was a native Greek speaker.*

**1** makisaperghis@gmail.com

**2** azournatzi@eie.gr

**3** This is a revised version of the article posted on ARTA in May 2023. This revision had become necessary because the supplier seal impression on PF 345 which had previously been identified as that of seal PFS 0041 was in fact that of PFS 1673, while the supplier seal impression on PF 344 was that of PFS 0041. This has actually strengthened the argument we make in this paper for the connection of the supplier of wine on Fort. 1771 with Ibaturra. Our thanks to Michael D. Roaf and Mark B. Garrison for correcting this error. The present text has benefited from comments and information provided by Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, Pierre Briant, Wouter F.M. Henkelman, Charalampos Kritzas, Paschalis Paschidis, Michael D. Roaf, Martin Schwartz and Matthew W. Stolper. Photographs of Fort. 1771 and Richard T. Hallock's copy of the original, and permission to include them in this publication, were kindly provided by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The drawing of seal PFS 0041 is illustrated by kind permission of Garrison and Root Persepolis Seal Project. Responsibility for the interpretations proposed here and any errors rests with the authors.



### Keywords

Persepolis Fortification archive, Greeks, PFS 0041, wine rations.

Archive des fortifications de Persépolis, Grecs, PFS 0041, rations de vin.

## Fort. 1771 and the Persepolis Fortification archive<sup>4</sup>

Fort. 1771 (Figs. 1-3) is the only known record in Greek of the Achaemenid administrative archive that was discovered by Ernst Herzfeld in a bastion of the fortification wall at the northeastern corner of the Persepolis terrace in 1933, and which is referred to since as the Persepolis Fortification archive.<sup>5</sup> The excavated tablets and fragments of the archive are estimated to include approximately 15000 full records in Elamite, some 850 monolingual Aramaic documents and some 5000 uninscribed, sealed, tablets. They deal with the storage and distribution of edible commodities and management of livestock in the Persepolis administrative province, whose territory roughly coincided with that of modern Fars.<sup>6</sup> Numerous tablets dated by regnal year provide a chronological range between 509 and 493 BC, or between the 13th and the 28th regnal year of Darius I.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviations of ancient Greek works after OCD<sup>4</sup>. The following prefixes are also used: Fort., NN, PF = (non-Aramaic) Persepolis Fortification tablets, cited according to Hallock 1969 (PF) and OCHRE (Fort., NN, PF); PFAT = Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablet, cited according to OCHRE; PFS = Persepolis Fortification Seal, cited according to Garrison & Root 2003 and updated information by Mark B. Garrison; PT = Persepolis Treasury tablet, cited according to Cameron 1948.

<sup>5</sup> Fort. 1771 is currently conserved in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. For the circumstances of discovery of the Fortification archive and progress in studying the tablets, see e.g. Henkelman 2008, pp. 69-85, Stolper 2017a. For progressive estimates of the number of preserved documents, see Jones and Stolper 2008, pp. 37-44, Azzoni *et al.* 2017. For an overview of the archive, see Hallock 1985 and, more recently, Azzoni *et al.* 2017, with main bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> For administrative structure and process, see, among other discussions, Briant 1996, 964, Aperghis 1999, Henkelman 2008, pp. 126-162; Garrison 2017a, pp. 32-49.

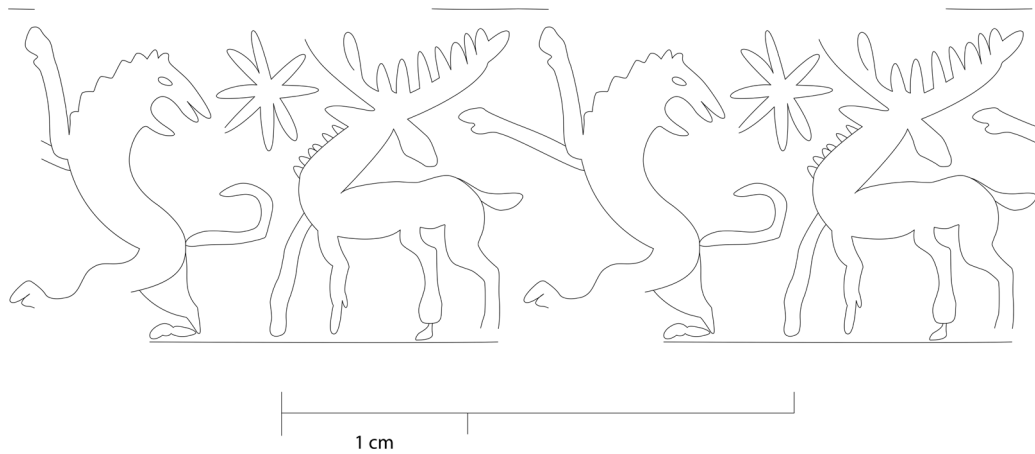
<sup>7</sup> Henkelman 2008, pp. 123-125. For indications that 'the compilers of the Archive could consult records of administrative events before year 13 of Darius', and the possibility that 'the Archive itself was still open for such consultation after year 28', see Stolper, forthcoming.



**Fig. 1.** Administrative document in Greek (Fort. 1771) of the Persepolis Fortification archive. Copy of the original by R.T. Hallock. Drawing courtesy of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



**Fig. 2.** Administrative document in Greek (Fort. 1771) of the Persepolis Fortification archive. Photographs courtesy of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



**Fig. 3.** Animal combat scene depicted on seal PFS 0041. Drawing courtesy of Garrison and Root Persepolis Seal Project.

The Greek text was first presented by Richard T. Hallock in his pioneering publication of some 2100 of the Elamite documents of the archive.<sup>8</sup> It was incised in the clay, along the long axis of the obverse of a tongue-shaped tablet and on the tablet's rounded lower edge. It reads: Οἶνο | ς δύο | ΙΙ | μάρις, | Τέβητ, 'Wine, two *maris*, (month of) Tebet'.<sup>9</sup> David Lewis identified the Greek writing as Ionic of about 500 BC, noting

<sup>8</sup> Hallock 1969, p. 2. The tablet was initially mentioned in Olmstead 1948, p. 178; it is also noted in Nylander 1965, p. 55 n. 39, citing a personal correspondence from Hallock, dated February 7, 1963 (reference owed to Pierre Briant, personal communication, January 5, 2023). Hallock's copy of the original, not published by this scholar himself, is featured in editions of the tablet by Balcer (1979, pp. 279-280), Canali De Rossi (2004, no. 230), Rougemont (2012a, no. 54), and in the commentaries of Boardman (2000, p. 133 with fig. 4.5) and Stolper and Tavernier (2007, p. 3 fig. 2, with additional, good quality photographs in black and white and in color; see also Stolper 2017b, p. XXXIX and color photo on p. XLI fig. 4c). For remarks and discussions of the tablet, see further Cameron 1973, p. 52, Lewis 1977, pp. 12-13, *idem* 1985, pp. 107-108, *idem* 1994, p. 30, Stolper 1984, p. 304, Schmitt 1989, pp. 303-304, Henkelman 2008, p. 94, Tavernier 2008, p. 63, Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, pp. 342-343, Rougemont 2012b, p. 14, Pompeo 2015, pp. 157-169, *eadem* 2017, Azzoni *et al.* 2019, pp. 3-4. For notices in general accounts of the archive, see e.g. Roaf 2004, p. 409, Azzoni *et al.* 2017.

<sup>9</sup> For this transcription, see also Rougemont 2012a, no. 54. Gorissen's (1978, p. 158) reading οἶνο | σ' | δύο | μάρις, '202 *maris* (of) wine', overlooks the gloss of the Greek word δύο ('two'), which denotes the quantity of *maris*, with the numeral strokes 'II'.



that the seemingly lunate, and thus later, epigraphic form of *sigma* in μάρις (transcribed MAPIC by Hallock<sup>10</sup>) could be due to the difficulty of inscribing ‘at the most curving end’ of the tablet the then standard four-bar Ionic shape of this letter, which is also used here in οἶνος (l. 2).<sup>11</sup> This explanation is supported by subsequent observation that the seemingly lunate letter was incised, in fact, in four distinct strokes.<sup>12</sup> A date in or very close indeed to 500 BC is implied by the use of seal PFS 0041 (Fig. 3), which was applied twice to the tablet: once, on its flattened left edge and, a second time, on the tablet’s reverse.<sup>13</sup> To judge by the Persepolis Fortification documents published or pre-published so far, this same seal occurs on Elamite records that were drafted in the 21st, 22nd and 23rd regnal years of Darius I, or 501/500, 500/499, 499/498 BC.<sup>14</sup>

The brief Greek text displays a remarkable combination of terms derived from different languages. Οἶνος<sup>15</sup> is the word for ‘wine’ in Greek. Μάρις, attested as *marriš* in the Elamite tablets, was presumably borrowed from Iranian; it is the liquid measure for wine and beer in the administrative documents found at Persepolis.<sup>16</sup> As Hallock first

<sup>10</sup> See also Balcer 1979, p. 280, Henkelman 2008, p. 94, Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, p. 342. Based on the perception of a lunate letter, Balcer had thought he could identify an Ionian and Anatolian Doric form of Γ (written C) that was common to Samos (but see Jeffery 1990, p. 475 [T]), and reconstruct a corresponding term μάρις(ς), rendering an Old Persian \**mariks*. For the tenuous character of the latter reconstruction, see Schmitt 1989.

<sup>11</sup> Lewis 1977, p. 13 n. 55, cf. Schmitt 1989, p. 304. For the date, see also Rougemont 2012a, no. 54: ‘L’écriture grecque du présent texte convient ... à une datation aux alentours de l’an 500’.

<sup>12</sup> Stolper and Tavernier 2007, pp. 24-25 n. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Clarification about the use of seal PFS 0041 on both the left edge and the reverse of Fort. 1771 was kindly provided by Mark Garrison and Margaret Root (personal communication, March 2-3, 2022). The seal number was first noted in Garrison and Root 2001, p. 6, who anticipate an analysis of this seal in vol. III of their *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. A preliminary drawing of the animal combat scene depicted on the seal was available through OCHRE. For an earlier perception of ‘a cylinder of pure Achaemenid type (king and inverted lions)’, see Boardman 2000, p. 240 n. 32. For a common earlier misunderstanding that the two seal impressions of Fort. 1771 were made by two different seals, see e.g. Lewis 1977, p. 13, *idem* 1994, p. 30, Stolper 1984, p. 304, Henkelman 2008, p. 94, Tavernier 2008, p. 63, Pompeo 2015, pp. 159 and 168, *eadem* 2017, p. 12. As Wouter Henkelman informs us, this misunderstanding emanated from documentation that was available prior to Garrison and Root’s systematic study of the archive’s seals.

<sup>14</sup> See below, pp. 10-11.

<sup>15</sup> A *Kulturwort* (Stolper and Tavernier 2007, p. 20); for its uncertain origin, see Chantraine 1999, s.v.

<sup>16</sup> Hallock 1969, p. 2. For etymology, see Schmitt’s (1989, p. 312) argument for a probable Old Iranian \**mā-ri-* (\**mā-* [‘to measure’] + a suffix *-ri-*, and further references in Tavernier 2007, 4.4.14.4 (s.v. \**Mari-*); for





observed, this is its earliest attestation in Greek. Aristotle<sup>17</sup> and Polyaeus<sup>18</sup> state its equivalence, in terms of Greek measures, to six *kotylai* and 10 *choes*, respectively. In modern estimates, the *marriš* would be about 10 liters.<sup>19</sup> Δύο ('two'), denoting in Greek the quantity of μάρης, is glossed, as Jack Balcer noted, with '[t]he Greek numeral II' which 'appears to have been written as an afterthought, by the same hand'.<sup>20</sup> At Persepolis, the use of two vertical strokes as a gloss for 'two' is also attested on an Aramaic Fortification tablet (PFAT 047).<sup>21</sup> Τέβητ renders a Babylonian - Aramaic month name (*Ṭebēt - Ṭbt*), corresponding to December/January.

Found among thousands of Elamite and hundreds of Aramaic documents, the Greek tablet was regarded, at first, by Hallock as an oddity.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, as with the two singleton records in Old Persian cuneiform and in the Phrygian script, respectively, and one or, possibly, two tablets in Egyptian Demotic that have been identified so far in the same find,<sup>23</sup> the Greek-inscribed tablet must have formed part of the

discussion of ancient sources, see also Briant 1996, p. 426, *idem* 1997, p. 70 n. 163 and pp. 83-84, Amigues 2003, p. 40 and ns. 133-134, Pompeo 2015, pp. 163-166, *eadem* 2017, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Ar. *Hist. an.* 596a6, also cited in Poll. *Onom.* 10.184.

<sup>18</sup> Polyaeus *Strat.* 4.3.32.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Bivar 2010 (2000), quoting an equivalence of the Elamite *marriš* to 10 Babylonian QA or 9.32 liters.

<sup>20</sup> For spelling out in full of numerals, see e.g. the mid-sixth century silver inventory list from the Artemisium at Ephesos (Jeffery 1990, p. 344 no. 53 and pl. 66). For parallel occurrences of the simple stroke in Archaic period Greek contexts (c. 700 - c. 500 BC) as a number of the tallying sort, probably also for denoting the capacity of pottery containers, see, with further references, Johnston 2004, pp. 742-745 and Table G on pp. 752-754, and Verdan 2017. For wider use of the vertical stroke as a numerical mark, see e.g. the one or, possibly, two Carian inscriptions on pottery sherds and fragments of a roof tile, respectively, found at Karabournaki, Thessaloniki, in a context dated to archaic times (Adiego *et al.* 2012). Charalampos Kritzas (personal communication, April 7, 2023) brought to our attention further instances in a *horos* inscription from the temple area at Corinth (c. 475-450?), and on terracotta revetments from the vicinity of Caulonia (late sixth or first half of the fifth century BC); see, respectively, Jeffery 1990, pp. 129 and 132 no. 37 and pl. 21, and pp. 258 and 261 no. 26. With the exception of monetary notations, the vertical stroke was used by the fifth century BC as conventional symbol for 'one' in the 'acrophonic' or 'Attic' system (Guarducci 1987, p. 85).

<sup>21</sup> Pompeo 2015, p. 162 with fig. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Hallock himself mentions a further oddity, a tablet in Babylonian, and would have been aware of the tablet in Phrygian earlier mentioned by Cameron 1933-34, p. 272. For the latter tablets, see below, n. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Old Persian (Fort. 1208-101): Stolper and Tavernier 2007, pp. 5-25; Phrygian (A 29797): Brixhe 2004, pp. 118-126, Stolper and Tavernier 2007, p. 4 and fig. 4 on p. 5, edited anew by Oreshko and Henkelman (forthcoming, *non videmus*); Egyptian Demotic (Fort. 2131-401, Fort. 0839-401): Azzoni *et al.* 2019. Also included in the Fortification find are a tablet in 'enigmatic' (Hallock) cuneiform script (Fort. 4797, now PF-NN



archive, whose multilingual character, like that of the Achaemenid imperial bureaucracy in general, is now widely recognized.<sup>24</sup>

The tablet's form (tongue-shaped with two string holes) and size (c. 3.5 x 3 x 2 cm) comply, in particular, with those of other transaction documents of the archive (the so-called memoranda), which usually deal with single commodity transfers.<sup>25</sup> That it, too, formed part of the same 'system of information and recording' is indicated especially by the two impressions of seal PFS 0041, which is further attested on Elamite Fortification tablets, and by its reference, in common with a number of other records, to a small quantity of wine.<sup>26</sup> Mentioning merely a quantity of wine and a month name, the Greek text deviates from the more detailed formulations of Elamite transaction records, which commonly mention the supplier and receiver(s) of the commodity concerned and the purpose of the transaction, and may further include information about different officials who ultimately authorized or acted as intermediaries in the transfer of a commodity to its ultimate recipients, the geographical locations of a commodity's storehouse of origin and destination and/or explicit year dates – all of these details missing from the Greek text. The terse format and lack of syntax of this text find parallels in a number of the archive's Aramaic documents, which sometimes record merely a commodity, personal name, title, month name, or year number.<sup>27</sup> Like the Aramaic documents, the Greek document also gives a Babylonian - Aramaic month name, instead of the Elamite and Iranian ones that are regularly featured in the archive's Elamite records.<sup>28</sup> On the whole, there seems to be little room for doubting its functionality in an Achaemenid bureaucratic environment.

2334A: Stolper and Tavernier 2007, p. 4 and fig. 5 on p. 5, Azzoni *et al.* 2019, p. 3), and a legal document in Babylonian language and script, written at Persepolis, which is considered intrusive (Fort. 11786: Stolper 1984). Brief overviews of these 'irregular' texts are included in Stolper and Tavernier's (2007) study of the Old Persian tablet, and in Henkelman 2008, pp. 93-95, and Azzoni *et al.* 2019, pp. 3-4.

**24** See e.g. Stolper 1984, pp. 304-305, Lewis 1994, p. 21, Henkelman 2008, pp. 86-95, Tavernier 2008, 2017 and 2020.

**25** Hallock 1969, text categories A-S. For the different types of documents encompassed in the archive and corresponding tablet shapes and sizes, see, among others, Jones and Stolper 2008, pp. 29-36, Henkelman 2008, pp. 102-109, Garrison and Henkelman 2020, pp. 176-182.

**26** Stolper and Tavernier 2007, p. 4 and n. 2; cf. earlier, Lewis 1977, p. 13, Stolper 1984, p. 304.

**27** See e.g. Azzoni 2017, p. 456.

**28** As initially pointed out by Stolper (1984, p. 304 n. 12), cf. Schmitt 1989, p. 304 n. 13. For Babylonian-Aramaic month names in Aramaic epigraphs on Elamite cuneiform tablets, see Stolper 2018, p. 297 n. 1. An Iranian month name is used in the Phrygian tablet (above, n. 23; information owed to Matthew Stolper, personal communication, January 12, 2023), see Cameron 1973, p. 52f., cf. Stolper 1984, p. 304, and Brixhe 2004, p. 125.





As pointed out, as far as the non-Greek administrators were concerned, to understand the Greek text might not even require real knowledge of the Greek language but merely the skills of literacy.<sup>29</sup> One concrete indication that some at least of the scribes of the Persepolis Fortification archive were familiar with the Greek script may be provided by an Aramaic Fortification tablet (PFAT 261), wherein a Greek *alpha* was used instead of an *aleph* in the personal name 'Ršyn, although the *aleph* does appear elsewhere in the same text.<sup>30</sup>

Fort. 1771 clearly has implications for the role of Greek and Greeks in the Persepolis administrative environment. As David Lewis stated, for instance, the tablet was drafted by someone '[s]omewhere out on the administrative circuit ... to whom it came most naturally to write in Greek and who, moreover, knew that there was someone at the administrative centre who would know what it meant'.<sup>31</sup> In the opinion of Jack Balcer, 'the Greek who wrote the Greek Persepolis tablet was bilingual; a dragoman in the Persian court'.<sup>32</sup> Equally acknowledging the testimony of the tablet for 'a certain role, however modest,' of Greeks within a Persepolis administrative context, Robert Rollinger and Wouter Henkelman stressed, in particular, the command of the writer of the tablet, in addition to Greek, of terminology common in that context, as attested by his 'acquaintance with the Persian system of measures' and 'use of the name of a Babylonian month'.<sup>33</sup> All the same, the specific context within which this unique document was drafted remained elusive, particularly because of the lack of explicit information in the Greek text about the parties involved in the transaction.

In current opinion the elliptical Aramaic documents of the archive, with which Fort. 1771 appears to compare more closely, 'cannot be regarded as records in the full sense; they must have functioned in tandem with other documents in order to be meaningful in a bureaucratic and archival context'.<sup>34</sup> One cannot rule out that fuller information about the transaction of the equally elliptical Greek text was expressed in some now lost accompanying document(s). The point is, however, that the essentials of that transaction would still be intelligible to Persepolis bureaucrats, owing to complementary information conveyed by the tablet's seal impressions.

Subject for long to uncertainty, the evidence of these impressions can now also be usefully taken into account, thanks to the work of the currently ongoing Persepolis Seal Project, initiated by Margaret Root and Mark Garrison, and Persepolis

**29** Stolper and Tavernier 2007, p. 20, cf. Azzoni *et al.* 2019, pp. 3-4.

**30** Tavernier 2017, pp. 381-382, *idem* 2020, p. 95 and fig. 2.1.1 on p. 96.

**31** Lewis 1977, p. 13, cf. *idem* 1985, pp. 107-108.

**32** Balcer 1979, p. 280.

**33** Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, pp. 342-343.

**34** Garrison and Henkelman 2020, p. 235, cf. earlier Azzoni 2017, p. 456.



Fortification Archive Project, based at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, also including Garrison on its staff. Garrison and Root's systematic scrutiny of the archive's seals established that the two seal impressions on the tablet, which were formerly conjectured to derive from two different seals and to mark two distinct agencies,<sup>35</sup> were made, in fact, by a single seal, PFS 0041. Occurrences of this same seal on a number of Elamite documents of the Fortification archive further allow us to trace its use to a supply official of the Persepolis storehouses system by the name of Ibaterra.<sup>36</sup>

What follows considers the evidence that is now available in support of the association of Fort. 1771 with Ibaterra, and explores the potential of the seal impressions to throw light on the circumstances that accounted for the drafting of the Greek tablet.

## Jurisdiction and area of operations of PFS 0041

There are no reported instances of PFS 0041 on Aramaic tablets of the Fortification archive. Other than on Fort. 1771, this seal is known to date from single impressions, always on the left edge of the tablet, on 17 Elamite Fortification transaction records which deal with single allocations of edible commodities (Fort. 2135-002, PF 0341, PF 0342, PF 0343, PF 0344, PF 0776, PF 0777, PF 1110, PF 1111, PF 1167, PF 1213, PF 1618, PF 2029, NN 0339, NN 0672, NN 1400, NN 2467).<sup>37</sup> Additional seal impressions on all these records indicate the use, in each instance, of a second seal that was applied almost always only once and on the tablet's reverse.<sup>38</sup> In Persepolis archival practice seals

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Lewis 1977, p. 13: '... the seals (sic!) will have done the job of indicating who issued the wine and to whom ...'; Henkelman 2008, p. 94: 'The seals (sic!) and the number "2" in the Greek text will probably have communicated its most vital information'. The perception of two seals affects, among others, Pompeo's (2015, p. 168, and 2017, p. 16) attempt to gain more specific insight into the parties involved in the transaction. See also above, n. 13.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Henkelman 2008, p. 502 n. 1163, for a reference to Fort. 1771 as bearing the seal of Ibaterra, PFS 0041.

<sup>37</sup> Information about the use of seal PFS 0041 on Elamite Fortification tablets, as well as about associated seals, derives from the updated concordance published by Garrison and Root (2003), OCHRE, Mark Garrison (personal communication, March 2, 2022, July 13, 2022, and June 6, 12 and 14, 2023), Michael Roaf (personal communication, June 5, 2023) and Matthew Stolper (personal communication, January 11, 2023).

<sup>38</sup> The additional seal impressions were made with 13 different seals: PFS 0015 (NN 1400), PFS 0126 (PF 1110, PF 1111, PF 1618, NN 2467), PFS 0194s (PF 0776), PFS 0225 (PF 1167), PFS 0240 (PF 0344, PF 2029), PFS 0591 (PF 0341), PFS 0592 (PF 0342), PFS 0593 (PF 0343), PFS 0905s (PF 0777), PFS 1161\* (PF 1213), PFS 2124 (NN 0339), PFS 3197 (NN 0672), PFS 3363 (Fort. 2135-002). PFS 0194s is applied on the reverse and on the upper edge of PF 0776. PFS 15 is applied on the reverse, upper edge and right edge of NN 1400. On PF 1213, where the



served as tokens of jurisdiction and agency, and were applied according to standard protocols.<sup>39</sup> In the protocol involving two different seals ('counter-sealing') followed here, one of the seal impressions, occurring on the tablet's left edge, denoted the jurisdiction of the supplier. The second one, usually on the tablet's reverse, could variously denote the identity or capacity of the consumer(s), or the overseer of the transaction, or the agency that mediated the transfer of the commodity to its ultimate recipient(s). Occurring consistently on the tablet's left edge, seal PFS 0041 was evidently a supplier seal. Its use can be linked, furthermore, through the accompanying texts with the activities of a named supply official and a more or less defined geographical region.

All 17 Elamite tablets with PFS 0041 deal with allocations made by Ibaturre. This functionary appears 16 times, all explicitly dated to the 21st, 22nd or 23rd year of Darius I, as supplier of wine (Fort. 2135-002, PF 0341, PF 0342, PF 0343, PF 0344, PF 0776, PF 0777, PF 1110, PF 1111, PF 1213, PF 1618, PF 2029, NN 0339, NN 0672,<sup>40</sup> NN 1400, NN 2467), and once, in year 23 of the same ruler, as supplier of dates or figs (PF 1167).<sup>41</sup> The dates or figs were issued as *kamakaš*<sup>42</sup> for dependent (female) workers (PF 1167). The outlays of wine were rations for named agents/officials (PF 0776, PF 0777), 'horsemen' (i.e. persons responsible for feeding/maintaining horses) (PF 1618, NN 2467) and horses (NN 0672), allocations for cultic activities (PF 0341, PF 0342, PF 0343, PF 0344, PF 2029, NN 0339, NN 1400, Fort. 2135-002), *sat* (bonuses?) for dependent workmen (PF 1110, PF 1111) and gratuities for mothers (PF 1213).

Some of the texts name the locations of the storehouses from which the commodities were dispensed and/or these commodities' places of destination, providing indications about the area of operations of seal PFS 0041. Palak (PF 0341), Sulušuna (Fort. 2135-002, PF 0342), Hasur (PF 0343) and Tašpak (PF 0344, PF 2029) occur as

reverse is entirely occupied by writing, PFS 1161\* is impressed on the upper edge. PFS 3197 is impressed on the upper edge of NN 0672. Information provided by Mark Garrison (personal communication, June 12, 2023).

**39** For seals and sealing protocols attested in the Fortification archive, see e.g., in addition to the preliminary discussion of Hallock (1977), Aperghis 1999, Henkelman 2008, pp. 129-135, Root 2008, Garrison 2017a, pp. 49-71, *idem* 2017b.

**40** Information about the still unpublished tablet NN 0672 owed to Matthew Stolper (personal communication, January 11, 2023).

**41** The meaning of the Achaemenid-Elamite logogram <sup>GI</sup>ŠMA<sup>MEŠ</sup>, interpreted as 'dates' by Hallock, is subject to uncertainty. See, with earlier literature, Henkelman 2021, pp. 157-160, with a tentative preference for an interpretation of MA as 'figs' and *pit* (<sup>GI</sup>Špit<sup>MEŠ</sup>) as 'dates'; cf. Henkelman and Stolper 2021, p. 183 and Table 1 on p. 172, Stolper 2021.

**42** For *kamakaš*, as a 'reward, bonus' ration, see Henkelman 2017a, p. 292, with the earlier bibliography.



places of storehouses; Hišema (PF 1110<sup>43</sup>) and the River Betir (NN 0339) occur as localities to which commodities were transferred.<sup>44</sup> None of the toponyms mentioned can be confidently placed on the map. However, Hišema is attested as a travel station on the branch of the royal road that connected Persepolis with Susa (PF 1442); it is held to have been located either in the vicinity of Behbahan<sup>45</sup> or between Basht and Fahliyan.<sup>46</sup> On the basis of Ibaturre's activities and patterns of seal use in the Elamite Fortification tablets, the district of operations of Ibaturre would be located somewhere to the northwest of Persepolis, in the Fahliyan area of present-day Fars or, more probably, beyond it, towards Behbahan and Ram Hormuz.<sup>47</sup> The seal overlap between Fort. 1771 and the Elamite records suggests that the Greek-inscribed tablet must have been drafted in this same district before it was moved for accounting and storage purposes to Persepolis, as all tablets in the Persepolis jurisdiction seem to have been.

Unlike the rest of the tablets carrying PFS 0041, the Greek tablet does not name the supplier responsible for the transaction nor does it provide any verbal indications about this transaction's nature and recipient(s). Some reflection on these issues is still possible, on the basis of the archive's testimony about the scope of the activities of the named user of PFS 0041, the amount of wine and month notation stated in the

<sup>43</sup> For the reading Hišema, instead of Itema, in PF 1110, see Hallock 1969, p. 706 s.v., and Henkelman 2008, p. 501 n. 1163.

<sup>44</sup> For a further, however uncertain, reference to a geographical name, Titi (?), in NN 1400, see Henkelman 2008, p. 559.

<sup>45</sup> Aperghis 1996, p. 27 and map.

<sup>46</sup> Arfa'i 1999, fig. 1.

<sup>47</sup> For Ibaturre as operating broadly in the Fahliyan region, see Henkelman 2008, pp. 380 and 501-503 (App. 7.3), further placing Tašpak in the central sector of that region, and allowing (p. 501 and n. 1162) for a possible identification of Tašpak with the Ταίσπα placed by Ptol. *Geog.* vi.4.6 northwest of Persepolis. An area toward Behbahan and Ram Hormuz would be more probable, if the extent of Ibaturre's district was the same as that of the grain and flour supplier Paruru. For Paruru's places of activity, in addition to Tašpak (e.g. PF 0345), see Aperghis 1999, pp. 171-180 and map on p. 154 (cf. earlier Aperghis 1996 and map on p. 30), who suggests a territory toward Behbahan and Ram Hormuz. Paruru's dealings with Susa would also tend to place the reach of his (and, if the same, Ibaturre's) district toward the northwestern boundary of the territory covered by the Persepolis Fortification tablets (below, n. 63). More recent evidence for situating this boundary at Tepe Bormi, in the immediate vicinity of Ram Hormuz, is discussed in Henkelman, forthcoming. The still strong Elamite element in the area of operations of Ibaturre and Paruru during the Achaemenid period is reflected in the frequent use of Elamite month names in the relevant records (Matthew Stolper and Wouter Henkelman, personal communication, January 11 and 24, 2023).



Greek text, and the application of PFS 0041 on two different surfaces (without any other seal), a manner of seal application that is deemed unusual for suppliers' seals.

## The wine supplier of Fort. 1771

The testimony of the Fortification archive implies a usual association of individual suppliers with particular kinds of commodities. Studies of sealing practices in the archive further document the use of both personal and office/institutional seals, although it is not always possible to ascribe particular seals to one of these two categories with as much certainty as one would have desired.<sup>48</sup> In this case, however, the available evidence is heavily weighted in favor of an association of PFS 0041 with Ibaturre – its sole attested user – as wine supplier.

Appearing with wine in 16 of the 17 known Elamite transaction records with PFS 0041, Ibaturre is equally associated nearly exclusively with this commodity elsewhere in the archive.<sup>49</sup> His disbursements with PFS 0041 from/at Palak, Sulušuna, Hasur and Tašpak further suggest that his responsibility encompassed a number of storehouses. The transaction, whether in dates or figs, in PF 1167 need not upset the otherwise consistent pattern of his activities as wine supplier with PFS 0041. Since wine could also be produced from dates, the same supplier could be in charge of both of these

<sup>48</sup> This uncertainty has also been thought to apply to PFS 0041. See the earlier identification of PFS 0041 as 'Ibaturre's own seal' by Henkelman (2008, p. 502 n. 1163), who now favors, however, an interpretation as an office seal (personal communication, July 31, 2022). For personal seals used on occasion as office seals, see e.g. Garrison 2017b, p. 531. For office seals, see further Garrison and Henkelman 2020.

<sup>49</sup> The publication record on Ibaturre's activities is not yet complete. There are some 14 records of this supplier's activities with other seals. 13 of these deal with issues of wine: PF 1181 and NN 0251 in year 18; NN 0153, NN 0774, NN 1064 in year 21; Fort. 1019-101 in year 22; PF 0817, PF 1214, NN 0621, NN 0749, NN 1175, NN 1222, NN 1377 no/unspecified date. The only known transaction of this supplier with another seal that deals with a different commodity is a supply of flour in the still unpublished NN 1234 (Matthew Stolper, personal communication, July 25, 2022). As Mark Garrison notes on the basis of textual details provided by Wouter Henkelman, in addition to the different commodity, NN 1234 is dated at least seven months later than the latest attested wine allocation by Ibaturre. So one could consider three scenarios for the allocation: 1) the flour supplier Ibaturre is a different individual than the wine supplier; 2) Ibaturre's responsibilities changed sometime in year 24; 3) Ibaturre the wine supplier stepped in to allocate flour in an extraordinary circumstance. Speculative though all these scenarios may be, Garrison would tend to prefer the last option, namely, that the NN 1234 tablet records an irregular allocation by the wine supplier Ibaturre (personal communication, June 14, 2023).



commodities. We know of supply officers who handled both wine and fruit.<sup>50</sup> Ibaturre was, then, responsible for wine and dates or figs in a particular area. He had a seal, perhaps not personal, but that of the area manager of the commodity he handled, and this seal was PFS 0041.<sup>51</sup>

The tablets recovered from the Persepolis fortification represent only a portion of the documents that were produced in the administrative region of Persepolis between 509 and 493 BC,<sup>52</sup> and the publication of the preserved tablets is still in progress. There can, thus, be no certainty that we possess a fully reliable picture of the activities of Ibaturre and/or the uses of seal PFS 0041. At least on present evidence, however, there is a distinct probability that the wine transaction recorded in Fort. 1771 and sealed with PFS 0041 – a transaction in a commodity exclusively associated with Ibaturre in the known Elamite tablets using the same seal, and a commodity with which this supply official is also associated nearly exclusively in other documents of the archive – fell within the purview of Ibaturre.

## The recipient(s) of the wine

The mention of a small quantity of wine and a month name in Fort. 1771 refers us to ration texts in the broad category of transaction documents. To judge by the different rations expressed in the archive, the allocation of 2 *marriš* wine in a given month could point, theoretically, to a range of potential recipients. It could amount to a single disbursement to a senior official, to rations for a number of days or a month for a junior or middle-ranking official, or to special rations for workmen or animals for a period of several days or months. Given this general uncertainty, more specific leads to at least two different lines of speculation about the identity of the recipient(s) may be provided by the tablet's Greek script and the manner of application of seal PFS 0041.

The use of a Greek script drew from the outset the attention of the commentators on Fort. 1771 to textual references to Greek workmen and craftsmen present in Iran during the time when this tablet was drafted. Hallock, for instance, noted the presence at Persepolis and Susa of “Ionians” ... presumably acquainted with the Greek language’, citing references to them among the multiethnic workforce engaged

<sup>50</sup> Hallock 1969, p. 57.

<sup>51</sup> This does not preclude that his activities could take place on given occasions, either during or beyond the period of his use of PFS 0041, under the seals of different storehouses of his district and/or different (higher) authorities; see instances cited above, n. 49.

<sup>52</sup> Henkelman (2008, pp. 79 and 177-179) estimates that no less than 100,000 Elamite tablets would have been originally produced in the interval 509-493 BC.





in the construction of Darius I's palace at Susa and, as ration recipients, in a number of the Persepolis tablets.<sup>53</sup> There is some evidence that Greeks and other foreign workmen relocated to Iran were organized into separate communities which had their own internal social structures<sup>54</sup> and, in one instance, there is a probable reference to a scribe of such a group. An administrative tablet in Elamite, probably from Achaemenid Susa, mentions a 'scribe/secretary of the Egyptians' (*teppir Muzripena*) with an Egyptian-sounding name, Harkipi.<sup>55</sup> He is considered likely to be a native Egyptian writing in the Demotic script, which was used, as we now know, in a Persepolis administrative context.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, one might speculate that the Greek tablet records an issue of wine to a Greek group, and that it was drafted by a native speaker who was integrated in the local system, like the 'scribe/secretary of the Egyptians',<sup>57</sup> or even by a literate member of the Greek group in the absence of a regular scribe.<sup>58</sup> A different line of speculation about the recipient of the wine may be implied, however, by the two impressions of the supplier seal PFS 0041 as the only seal used on the tablet.

**53** Hallock 1969, p. 2.

**54** For indications that relate to the organization of foreigners into separate ethnic communities, see, in general, Henkelman 2018, with the earlier bibliography. See also Stolper's (1984, p. 310) general proposition that 'the many national and ethnic labels used in Achaemenid texts ... were also the result of some reality of legal behavior that was necessary for the management of a polyglot, continental empire and observed in the Persian homeland itself'. For Greek communities, in particular, see e.g. Herodotus' (6.119) report that the enslaved Eretrians, who were carried by Datis and Artaphrenes to Persia in 490 BC, were settled by Darius I at Ardericca, near Susa (for an identification of Herodotus' Ἀρδέρικκα with Assyrian Urdalika in Elam/southern Babylonia, modern Tappeh Garan in the Deh Luran plain, see Henkelman 2008, p. 508 n. 1192). The language of Herodotus evokes concession of land and creation of a colony (Δαρείος ... σφέας ... κατοίκησε ἐν σταθμῷ ἑωντοῦ) (cf. Henkelman 2018, p. 241). They still dwelt there until Herodotus' time, keeping their ancestral language (φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν). The Greek craftsmen brought to Persia by Darius III's predecessors, who came to meet Alexander at the outskirts of Persepolis, apparently also kept together as a group, and had their own leaders (προεστηκότας) (Diod. 17.69.3-9; cf. Curt. 5.5.5-24; Just. 11.14.11-12).

**55** The tablet is in the Yale Babylonian Collection, YBC 16813. It was first published by Jones and Stolper 1986, pp. 247-253. For the 'scribe/secretary' of the Egyptians, see also Henkelman 2017b, pp. 119-121, Tavernier 2008, p. 64, *idem* 2017, p. 353, Henkelman 2017a, p. 276, Azzoni *et al.* 2019, p. 5.

**56** Tavernier 2008, p. 64. For use of the Demotic script in the Fortification archive, see Azzoni *et al.* 2019.

**57** Cf. e.g. Henkelman 2017b, pp. 120-121. For speakers of different languages in storehouses, see e.g. Azzoni *et al.* 2019, p. 14.

**58** Suggested as a further possibility by Wouter Henkelman (personal communication, July 31, 2022).



In the Fortification archive in general, the use of a single seal ('single seal protocol'), whether once or on more than one tablet surface, usually signals an official or office of a higher administrative rank, whose authority rendered counter-sealing unnecessary.<sup>59</sup> Even though this is more prominently exemplified by tablets that bear seals of the most senior officials of the Persepolis administrative hierarchy, such as the director Parnakka<sup>60</sup> and the senior apportioner Irtuppiya,<sup>61</sup> the single seal protocol is equally encountered in the cases of seals connected to more junior officials than these.

A case in point is the apportioner Uštana, who operates in the district comprising Hišema, Šurkudur, Ibaraš, Tašpak and Zila-Umpa in year 19 with his sole seal, PFS 0043\*, on ten tablets (PF 0388, PF 0507, PF 0580, PF 0653, PF 0996, PF 1266, PF 1267, PF 1668, PF 1713, PF 1750). Parru is responsible for barley and flour there, but a storehouse seal is not applied.<sup>62</sup> This is the same district where Ibaturra will be later responsible for wine and dates or figs.

The use of the single seal protocol is deemed very unusual for seals of suppliers and their offices.<sup>63</sup> From certain references in the Elamite Fortification tablets, however, one can at least envisage situations that would warrant the use of this protocol

**59** For the single seal protocol, see the preliminary remarks of Hallock 1977, pp. 127-128, and, among subsequent discussions, Aperghis 1999, pp. 180-187, Henkelman 2008, pp. 129-134, Garrison 2017a, pp. 53-55.

**60** For Parnakka, see e.g. Garrison and Root 2001, cat.nos. 22 (PFS 0016\*) and 288 (PFS 0009\*).

**61** For Irtuppiya, see Aperghis 1999, pp. 181-182, Garrison and Root 2001, cat.no. 3 (PFS 0002).

**62** See Aperghis 1999, pp. 179-180 and Table 8; for PFS 0043\*, see Garrison and Root 2001, cat.no. 207.

**63** So e.g. Garrison and Henkelman 2020, p. 248, with reference to the attestation of PFS 0018 thrice in the single seal protocol on PF 0089, NN 1988 and Fort. 0867-102. The latter tablets, all of them dealing with transfers of flour to Susa in the 23rd year of Darius I, and all mentioning an official named Parru, arguably support the suggestion that the district of the Persepolis supplier Parru was located toward Behbahan and Ram Hormuz (above, n. 47). The three tablets' references to Susa were previously tentatively thought to imply, perhaps, the existence of another, Susan official by the same name (see Garrison and Henkelman 2020, p. 248: 'the [Susan?] official Parru'). If, however, there were a Susan official Parru, his tablets probably would not have found their way into the archive of the Persepolis administrative area but into the corresponding one for Susa. Furthermore, all three transfers of flour to Susa are referred to the Persepolis administration, to which the known Parru belonged, through the use of seal PFS 0018, which is associated with the Persepolis grain supplier (*tumara*) at Umpuranuš, Mirayauda (for Mirayauda and his seal, see Garrison and Root 2001, cat.no. 15, with the earlier bibliography, Henkelman 2008, pp. 504-505, Garrison and Henkelman 2020, pp. 237-250). The commodity Parru is dealing with is flour, which has to be processed from barley or another grain. Not all storehouses of grain would have had the required facility or, perhaps, there was a shortage at Susa, and the district of the Persepolis administration, where Parru was active, stepped in to help (for possible collaboration among administrative districts, see also Henkelman 2017b,



by storehouse officials. One such situation arises when the issuer of a commodity from a storehouse appears to also be acting as apportioner. In PF 0123 it is noted that Parru, still in his role as responsible for a district of grain storehouses, is to apportion himself the grain he receives at Šurkudur. So someone responsible for the storehouses of a district could be an apportioner, too, at least for his own staff.<sup>64</sup> Certainly, the staff at storehouses would be expected to receive rations, too, as their pay. Elsewhere the issuer of a commodity from a storehouse appears to be obtaining this commodity for his own use. For instance, in an account record for years 18 and 19 prepared at the fortress Aškamanta (PF 1974), Mauparna the *amparabaraš* ('storekeeper') at Dazzarakka is said to have withdrawn '21 and 51/60 (?) (*irtiba* of) grain' for the 18th year, but to not have expended them for his herd because he died. If the conventional sealing protocols recognized in the Elamite tablets applied in the case of Fort. 1771, the use of the supplier seal PFS 0041 alone twice might offer us a concrete illustration of the sealing method employed by storekeepers/suppliers when acting as apportioners or when personally withdrawing from the supplies they handled.

In the former instance, Ibaturre (or perhaps a delegate<sup>65</sup>) could be using PFS 0041 as an apportioner to distribute the wine to people working for him, as the supplier Parru seems to have done (PF 0123). As we saw, we also have Uštana, a verified apportioner, using his seal (PFS 0043\*) on its own to receive supplies for his workers and animals in the area of storehouses where Parru was active.

We cannot know for certain, but, on balance, we are inclined to consider that the absence of any other identifying information on Fort. 1771, apart from Ibaturre's seal, would more probably indicate instead that the wine was for this individual's own use. It is not known what time period the month notation of Fort. 1771 refers to. Except in the case of travel texts, where one or, rarely, two days are the norm, ration texts cover periods ranging from several days to several months. Beer and wine rations seem to be the same. Ibaturre's 2 *marriš* (20 QA) of wine may conceivably be the ration for one day, equal to what a senior apportioner, Karkiš, received in beer (PF 0682). But

pp. 123-129). The actual Susan recipient/apportioner of the flour and his seal would be unrecognizable, however, to the Persepolis administration. As the flour left the Persepolis area, Parru must have acted as nominal recipient on the unknown recipient/apportioner's behalf, and a supplier seal familiar to the Persepolis bureaucracy must have been applied. The use of Mirayauda's seal in this instance, instead of that of Parru, can be explained if Mirayauda, who operated from Umpuranuš, was a subordinate of Parru, who was responsible for Umpuranuš and other storehouses. This view on the transactions recorded in PF 0089, NN 1988 and Fort. 867-102 would allow to assume that Parru was involved because he was active in the district closest to Susa and, thus, at the northwesternmost district of the Persepolis administration.

<sup>64</sup> Aperghis 1999, pp. 173-174.

<sup>65</sup> For this general possibility, see e.g. Jones and Stolper 2008, p. 33.



this is unlikely. As we see in a number of texts, where the recipient has some sort of function, it could more probably be the ration for, say, 10 or 20 days, at the rate of 1 or 2 QA per day (e.g. PF 1271-1277 *passim* [beer], PF 1280 [wine]; ‘law officer’, ‘accountant’, ‘*karamaraš* person’, ‘*marduš* official’), or for one month (e.g. PF 0874 [beer], PF 0875-0879 [wine]; ‘doorkeeper’, ‘treasury worker’, ‘*etira*’). By comparison, ordinary workers receiving wine or beer as *sat* could expect as little as 1/60th of a QA per day (e.g. PF 1107-1123 [wine], PF 1125 [beer]). The 2 *marriš*, then, of Fort. 1771 could represent a wine ration appropriate for a middle-level official, which may well have been Ibaturre’s rank, since he was responsible for the issuing of wine and dates or figs in what may be understood to have been a district encompassing several storehouses.

If, as we believe likely, the wine was for Ibaturre’s own use, his seal would have been sufficient to identify him as the recipient. In this case the possibility that an unnamed Greek wrote the text is not out of the question, but it seems most unlikely. If this were a regular scribe, why would he use Greek in an environment where Elamite was the required language? And if this were not a scribe, but a member of some Greek workforce, why give him the authority to use Ibaturre’s seal? The use of Greek would then suggest that Ibaturre probably inscribed the tablet himself, and that he was therefore a native speaker of Greek. Not being competent in writing Elamite,<sup>66</sup> he used his native Greek, transliterating standard terminology<sup>67</sup> and appropriately applying, simultaneously, his seal as issuer and recipient, in the expectation that the

<sup>66</sup> One allows that there could be scribes with at least some working knowledge of the Greek script, even though they regularly wrote in Elamite or Aramaic. By the same token, one could allow for a supplier with some working knowledge of the Elamite language/script, but to whom, as Lewis (1977, p. 13) put it, ‘it came most naturally to write in Greek’.

<sup>67</sup> Stolper and Tavernier (2007, p. 20) noted that οἶνος (‘wine’), one of the only two Greek words employed in the text, ‘is a *Kulturwort*, perhaps recognizable to an Aramaic speaker’. It is even more likely to have been recognizable to storehouse staff working daily with a Greek wine supplier. In the case of δύο (‘two’), the only other Greek word used, the problem of intelligibility would have been naturally eliminated by the gloss (‘as an afterthought’, as Balcer suggested) with the numeral strokes ‘II’, also attested on an Aramaic Persepolis Fortification tablet (above, n. 21). Contrary to Pompeo’s (2015, p. 168, and 2017, p. 16; cf. Azzoni *et al.* 2019, pp. 3-4) apparent implication, the expression of the name of the commodity in the nominative, instead of the genitive case that would be normally expected in regular writing, and the Greek text’s lack of syntax need not at all imply a lack of competence in Greek on the part of the person who wrote the tablet. Both of these features can be cogently explained as being incidental to the drafting of the text in shorthand manner by a Greek, with the aim, not least, of making it intelligible to non-Greeks with at least some working knowledge of the Greek script. See also Lewis’ (1977, p. 13) initial perception of the text as an ‘aide-memoire’, without doubting that it was written by a Greek.



scribe would inscribe the correct tablet in Elamite later. Either this did not happen or the tablet was lost, and the Greek version found its way into the archive. Be that as it may, even in the absence of verbal clarifications, Ibaturre's agency as recipient would have been recognized by Persepolis bureaucrats who handled Fort. 1771, just as readily as his jurisdiction as supplier, through the manner of application of his seal.

## A Greek wine supplier in the Persepolis administrative system?

The monumental remains of the homeland Iranian centers and the Persepolis tablets' references to groups of Yauna/'Ionians' direct attention primarily to a Greek presence in the area as dependent craftsmen and workmen. Yet there is no reason to preclude that some at least of the numerous Greeks who were relocated to Iran by the Achaemenid rulers could rise to middle-ranking positions in the local administration.<sup>68</sup> Up until now, it has not been possible to identify with confidence individuals of Greek origin among the functionaries mentioned in the Persepolis tablets. Their presence may be at least hinted at, however, by references to two or, possibly, three functionaries by the name Yauna and a functionary by the name Pilpisu.<sup>69</sup>

In two texts (PF 1942.27, PF 1965.29) a person named Yauna is identified as 'grain handler' (*tumara*) and grain 'supplier' (*kurmin*) at the station of Battirakkan in years 19 and 20 of Darius I, or 503/502 and 502/501 BC, respectively. Another(?) Yauna appears to have had a middle-level, secretarial position connected with the highest echelon of the Persepolis administrative hierarchy in years 23 and 24 of Darius I, or 499/498 and 498/497 BC; he is stated to have drafted the *dumme* ('orders') that underlie a number of the letter orders issued by the offices of the director, Parnakka, and the deputy director, Ziššawiš.<sup>70</sup> A (presumably) different person named Yauna, with an analogous

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. Lewis' (1977, pp. 12-14) comments with reference to Greeks serving at the Persian court (e.g. as doctors) and their potential usefulness in a homeland Iranian administrative context; cf. Brosius 2011. Boardman (2000, pp. 240-241 n. 32) recalls the Greek accountant for tribute (at Πέρσαι/Persepolis?) on the lowest register of the Apulian 'Darius Vase' of late fourth century BC date (Trendall 1989, fig. 203).

<sup>69</sup> Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, pp. 340-343. From Mayrhofer's (1973, 8.1717, 8.1294, 8.1296) citations of 'Eumenes/Umanna', 'Polyanor/Parruna', 'Polys/Parrush' as parallels between Greek and Iranian name typologies, Balcer (1979, p. 279) and, at first, also Rollinger (2006, p. 211) considered that any of these instances might imply loan-translations of Greek names transcribed in Elamite in the archive; see, however, the more cautious approach adopted in Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, p. 343 n. 77.

<sup>70</sup> For a list of relevant Elamite Fortification tablets, see Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, p. 342. For this Yauna's function, see Lewis 1977, p. 12 (further suggesting that he might be the same person as the grain



secretarial function in connection with the high official Artatakhma, is attested in a Persepolis Treasury tablet from year four (of Xerxes) or 482/481 BC (PT 21.20f.). Used in the foregoing instances as a personal name, Yauna evokes, simultaneously, the Greek land and ethnic names 'Ionia'/'Ionian(s)' (Ἰωνία / Ἴων, pl. Ἴωνες) and cognate Near Eastern terminology used to designate the Greek domain and Greeks in general – spelt Yauna- and Yaunap-, respectively, in Achaemenid royal inscriptions and Elamite administrative documents.<sup>71</sup> In one view, it was perhaps a gentilic ('the Ionian'), and so would denote the 'Ionian' identity of the functionaries so named.<sup>72</sup> The Greek identity of the persons named Yauna has been questioned by others in deference to an Iranian etymology of Yauna as 'home' or 'homestead', specifically when used as a personal name.<sup>73</sup> However, in as much as personal names derived from ethnonyms are attested in the archive, the same cannot be ruled out in the case of the persons called Yauna.<sup>74</sup>

The name Pilpisu (Elamite Pi-ul-pi-su) belonged to a functionary, who is referred to as an 'accountant' in PF 1276. It has been suggested that it renders the Greek name Philippos.<sup>75</sup> If this interpretation is correct, this individual may represent, as Henkelman and Rollinger note, another instance of a Greek at a middle-level admin-

supplier/grain-handler attested three or four years earlier), Stolper 1984, p. 305 and n. 17. On *dumme*, see further Henkelman 2008, pp. 148-151.

**71** For a survey of the uses of Yauna-/Yaunap- to designate Greeks in general in Achaemenid texts, see Rollinger 2006, pp. 210-211, Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, cf. Henkelman 2017a, p. 296. For the Greeks' awareness that the Persians referred to them as Yauna, see Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, produced in 425 BC. Therein, Ἰαονᾶ and Ἰάονας (verses 104, 107), a form attested in Homer (*Il.* 13.685) but here meant to evoke Persian Yauna, are used to designate the Athenians in a mock Athenian exchange with the Great King's Eye.

**72** E.g. Cameron 1948, comment on PT 21.19-20 ('[t]he "Ionian," perhaps a gentilic'); cf. Stolper 1984, p. 305 (a 'sobriquet – Yaunā, "Ionian"'). See also in the same sense Gershevitch 1969, p. 246, Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1804, Lewis 1977, pp. 12-14, *idem* 1985, pp. 107-108, Rollinger 2006, pp. 210-211, Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, p. 341.

**73** E.g. Tavernier 2007, 4.2.2022 (see also 3.2.15 and 3.2.16, where \*Yauna- and \*Yauniya- are interpreted as 'Ionian'/'Ionians'), and *idem* 2008, p. 68 n. 26. For problematic aspects of this analysis, see Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, p. 341.

**74** So Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, p. 341, with particular reference to personal names derived from the ethnonyms Babiruš and Hinduš. See PF 1288 (Babiruš); PF 0596 (Hiduš), and Tavernier 2007, 4.2.758-4.2.761: \*Hindauka-/ \*Hindaukā-, \*Hinduka-/ \*Hindukā-. For the use of Šakka, 'Scythian', as a personal name (Stolper 1984, p. 305 n. 19), see PT 1.1 (Šakka, a treasury worker), PF 1340 ('Šakka the caravan leader'), PF 1970.19 ('Šakka the *etira*').

**75** Tavernier 2002, p. 148.





istrative rank, who might still possess ‘an appropriate knowledge of writing and speaking’.<sup>76</sup>

Might one allow that in the person of the wine supplier Ibaterra we could have another possible Greek functionary in the Persepolis administrative system? Broadly speaking, a Greek functionary in the wine supply sector of the Persepolis redistributive system strikes one as an apposite appointment, given the Greeks’ expertise in the production and trade of wine. All the same, confirmation for this suggestion is, admittedly, difficult to procure from his name. Analyses of ‘Ibaterra’ (variously written in Elamite I-ba-tur-ra / Hi-ba-tur-ra / Hi-ba[!]-tur) have only resulted so far in a questionable Iranian etymology.<sup>77</sup> However, an attempt to interpret it as Greek is not without problems, either. We do not have a sample of Elamite renderings of Greek names, and are unable to ascertain what Elamite (H)I- and -turra / -tur might represent in terms of Greek onomastics. The difficulties, as explained to us by Wouter Henkelman and Martin Schwartz, are extensive. A compound in ἵππο- is problematic because of the persistent /a/ in the Elamite spellings; one would normally expect an Elamite \*(H)ibu- or \*(H)ibbu-. Consideration of -baterra / -batur as perhaps expressing Greek -πατρος / -πατωρ (or even -turra / -tur as expressing -δωρος / -δρος?) equally fails to lead to whole Greek names with convincing correspondence to ‘Ibaterra’. For instance, it seems not especially likely that the Eu- of Greek Εὐπάτωρ,<sup>78</sup> whether Eu- is perceived as diphthong or a sequence of vowels, would be heard so as to give rise to an Elamite rendering Ibaterra (for which an underlying Greek form Εὐπατρος is even less likely), but there can be little certainty. As appealing as it may be, at least at first sight, a comparison of the similar sounding ‘Ibaterra’ and Greek Ἀπατούριος / Ἀπατούρις does not appear to be possible to validate, either, owing, not least, to the difficulty of accounting for the rendering of an initial Greek A- as (H)I- in Elamite.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Rollinger 2006, p. 211, Rollinger and Henkelman 2009, p. 343. However, *pilpi-* is also attested in Elamite, as ‘a term expressing (agnate) relation, perhaps daughter-in-law’ (Wouter Henkelman, personal communication, January 24 and March 21, 2023).

<sup>77</sup> Mayrhofer (1973, 8.552) wondered if the name might be Elamite, but this possibility was rejected by Hinz (1975, p. 141). Gershevitch (1970, pp. 85–86; see also Tavernier 2007, 4.2.882) proposed a Median etymology \*ibaθra-, ‘family-protector’. As Martin Schwartz informs us (personal communication, July 23, 2022), \*iba- is based on Old Indic *ibha-* ‘household personnel, servants’, which is expressed otherwise in Old Iranian; the rest is phonically questionable, and the whole semantically dubious.

<sup>78</sup> The tentative suggestion of Εὐπάτωρ is owed to Paschalis Paschidis (personal communication, July 20, 2022).

<sup>79</sup> Elamite /i/ is sometimes used when Greek has /a/ for initials of Persian names (e.g. El. *Irtakšašša* / Gk. Ἀρταξέρξης; El. *Irdapirna* / Gk. Ἀρταφέρνης), and Elamite /ba/ when Old Persian and Greek has /pa/ and /πα/ (El. *Ašbašana* / OP *Aspačana* / Gk. Ἀσπαθίνης). But in the case of Old Iranian names, an initial



The difficulty in finding a suitable Greek etymology for Ibaturre may mean that our interpretation of the significance of the two impressions of PFS 0041 – which supplied reason for the suggestion that Ibaturre could be a native speaker of Greek – is somehow misguided, or even that the standard sealing procedure attested in the Elamite tablets, at least as it is presently understood, did not apply in this unique Greek instance.<sup>80</sup> However, Elamite scribes, and native inhabitants in general, faced with a foreign and to them incomprehensible Greek name, may not have been as scrupulous as modern scholars are about complying with linguistic rules.<sup>81</sup> To judge by two possible instances of Greeks, who bore a Babylonian and an Iranian name, respectively, in Achaemenid period Babylonian texts,<sup>82</sup> and, not least, by the close coexistence (and intermarriage) of Greeks with members of other ethnic groups in, say, the coastal Anatolian ‘Ionian’ domain, it is not entirely unfathomable, either, that, even though Ibaturre might be a native Greek speaker, he could bear a non-Greek name.

Elamite I-/(H)I- for Greek A- would only work with names starting with vocalic /r/, which is rendered in Greek as Ap- and in Elamite as Ir-. See also Kent 1953, p. 18 §30.

**80** This possibility has also been raised with reference to the Aramaic and Demotic Fortification tablets, but the instances examined so far would tend to indicate that the same sealing patterns applied, as on Elamite tablets; see e.g. Garrison 2008, pp. 158-167 and 183, and Azzonni *et al.* 2019, p. 58. Cf. earlier Stolper 1984, p. 304.

**81** Departures from what is expected in the Elamite rendition of foreign names could be due, *inter alia*, to popular interpretations. See e.g. Avestan *axšaēna-* (‘dark colored’) > Greek (Πόντος) \*Ἀξείνος (‘inhospitable’ by Greek folk etymology), changed euphemistically to (Πόντος) Εὐξείνος (Kent 1953, p. 165 s.v.); Greek Μεγάβουρος = Old Persian *Bagabuxša*, with Μεγα- (‘big’) for *Baga-* (‘god’) (Schwartz and Manaster Ramer 2019, p. 359 and n. 5, with further examples of Greek folk-etymological retouching of Iranian names).

**82** In one of these documents, a barley receipt from the reign of Darius I (Abraham 2004, pp. 328-329 no. 69), a certain individual with the Babylonian name Iddin-Nabû (or Arad-Nabû) is designated ‘Greek’. The second text, from Nippur, dated to the reign of Darius II, mentions a ‘field of Uštāna (and) Yamanāya’ (i.e. a field of Uštāna and the ‘Greek’) or ‘a field of Uštāna, the Greek’ (Donbaz and Stolper 1997, pp. 104-105 no. 32). For further discussion of these examples as possible instances of Greeks bearing non-Greek names, see Rollinger and Henkelman, 2009, pp. 343-344. The possibility that Ibaturre had a Greek and, say, an Elamite name was raised by Martin Schwartz (personal communication, July 23, 2022).



## Concluding remarks

This paper has argued that the small amount of wine and month notation mentioned in the single Greek tablet Fort. 1771 of the Persepolis Fortification archive could refer to a wine ration withdrawn by a wine supplier of the Persepolis storehouses system for himself.

The context within which Fort. 1771 was drafted has remained elusive for long, owing in particular to the lack of explicit information in the terse Greek text about the identity of the supplier and the receiver of the recorded issue of wine. In Persepolis bureaucratic and archival practice in general, however, these two parties were normally recognized through impressions made on the tablets by their respective seals. The present argument hinges on observation that the two seal impressions of Fort. 1771 were made by a single seal, PFS 0041, and on parallel evidence for the exclusive use of this seal on known Elamite Fortification tablets by the wine supplier Ibaturre, who was active in a district to the northwest of Persepolis, in the area of modern Fahliyan or, more probably, beyond it, towards Behbahan and Ram Hormuz, around 500 BC.

Given also the absence of any other identifying information in the Greek text, it is possible, as we suggest here, that the double application of PFS 0041 served to denote Ibaturre's jurisdiction and agency as, at once, supplier and receiver. And in this case, one cannot preclude that the ration was recorded by this storehouse official himself, and that he could be a native Greek speaker.

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[arta@cnrs.fr](mailto:arta@cnrs.fr)

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