26) Two phonetic complements in Achaemenid Elamite Iranica – In 1989 the French scholar François Vallat published an article in which he pointed out that some Elamite words and variant spellings used phonetic complements to clarify the character of a CVC-sign. Examples are ḏa-na-na-kaš vs. ḏa-na-na-kašiš, pa-raš-da vs. pa-raš-da and pa-rašiš-da, mRa-ti-n-da vs. mRa-ti-niš-da, etc.

In this note two other examples of phonetic complements in Achaemenid Elamite are presented. In both cases the use of phonetic complements is important for the etymological analysis of the expression.

1) Ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še

The word ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še is found in an unpublished Fortification text (PFNN 2264: 5). The last sign ŠE, which at the end of a word is mostly a rendering of the Iranian enclitic -šai, “his,” suggests an Iranian origin of this term and indeed, an Iranian origin has already been acknowledged (*apabarga-šai, “his/its apabarga”)², but unfortunately it lacks any explanation. The etymology of this word still remains to be established.

In order to get to a better understanding of this word, it is useful to have a look at the context in which it occurs. Information on this was supplied by Hinz & Koch, according to whom the text is dealing with an amma (account) of 21390 units of barley (line 3). In line 4 170 of these units are being dispensed and finally line 5 mentions a damaged number (x+7) followed by ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še. Accordingly this word is being used to designate one tenth of the dispensed barley.

A closer look at the text, however, gives other numbers than the ones given by Hinz & Koch³. Lines 1 and 2 mention 1029 and 1110 units of barley. Line 3 sums up the total of lines 1 and 2, being 2139 units of barley. In line 4 170 of these units are being dispensed and finally line 5 mentions a damaged number (x+7) followed by ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še. Accordingly

3 The numbers quoted are the ones from Hallock’s MS of the NN texts, collated on the tablet by M.W. Stolper.
the exact rate of the *abbabarka* is not known, but it could very well be one tenth of the dispensed barley.

A word, appearing in perfectly comparable contexts and thus possibly providing more information on the nature and etymology of *abbabarka*, is *ab-ba-ka₄-na-še*. Although the exact nature of this expression is not known either, Koch’s suggestion that it is a special kind of tax, which could be used for several purposes (among others for the royal court itself), is not invaluable. Its rate is 1/30 (cereals) or 1/10 (wine)⁴.

The *abbabarka* appears in the same contexts as the *abbakana* and can thus be considered a special tax too. Now that the context is known better one can look for the Old Iranian word, which is rendered by *ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še*. In my view the reconstruction *apabarga*- of Hinz & Koch is not tenable. A more plausible reading is revealed, when one considers the sign *ba* to be a phonetic complement, yielding a reading *ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še*. Such a reading can easily render an Old Iranian *apārga-, a compound of the prefix *ap-, “away”⁶ and *arga-, “value, worth”⁶. This etymology fits well the contextual (fiscal) meaning of the word.

2) AŠKu-rák-ka₄⁷ and AŠKu-ra-rák-ka₄⁸

These two spellings have always been considered as rendering two different places.⁹ The name Kurarakka has not yet been analyzed,¹⁰ while Kurakka renders Ir. *Kura-ka-, “family” (cf. OInd. *kúla-*). The equivalent personal name¹¹ is discussed by Gershevitch, Mayrhofer and Hinz¹².

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⁵ OInd. *apa- and Gr. ἄνθος.
⁶ Cf. OInd. *ār-, “to be worth”, Av. *arag-, “to be worth(y)” and NP *arzidan*.
⁷ Attested in PF 514: 5; PFNN 2121: 11-12.
⁸ Attested in PF 1969: 18,22; 2084: 14; PFNN 2372: 34.
¹¹ Spelled *HA*Ku-rák-ka₄ (PF 791: 1-2; PFNN 1207: 2).
In her study on the Fortification texts, Koch situates Kurakka in the Persepolis-district, while Kurarakka should be situated in the south-western district.\(^\text{13}\) Kurarakka was a larger place, where several officials were at work: *Ārava-, *Bagafarnah-, *Rašuku-, Šimut-ap, and *Vinduka.-\(^\text{14}\)

Unlike the relatively large amount of information on Kurarakka, the information on Kuraka is very scanty. This place is attested in only two texts (PF 514 and PFNN 2121) and the persons, connected with Kuraka, cannot with certainty be related to another place: Kelizza as well as *Parbara do not occur elsewhere and *Bagadāta is a name that widely spread that one cannot connect it with only one individual. The only remaining personal name in PFNN 2121, *Arbamiūra-, might bring one a little bit further. This person is named in connection with some other place names such as AŠAn-tur-ma, AŠPīr-mi-ia and AŠZī-ka-ra. Koch does not situate AŠAn-tur-ma, but she does situate AŠZī-ka-ra in the south-eastern district and AŠPīr-mi-ia in the south-western district,\(^\text{15}\) the same district where one has to look for Kurarakka.

Conclusively we can assume that both texts, mentioning Kurakka, do not give any clue to a connection between Kurakka and the Persepolis district. Nevertheless PFNN 2121 might lead one towards a connection between Kurakka and the south-western district, although this is very uncertain. It is thus perfectly possible that both names, Kurakka and Kurarakka, refer to the same place. In this case one just has to read AŠKu-rarák-ka with -ra- as a phonetic complement.

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\(^\text{14}\) H. Koch, Verwaltung, pp. 114 and 279.

\(^\text{15}\) H. Koch, Verwaltung, p. 72 n. 325, 90 n. 394, 274 and 287-288.