

Aršāma and his World:
The Bodleian Letters in Context

Volume I: The Bodleian Letters

Edited by Christopher J. Tuplin and John Ma

OXFORD STUDIES IN ANCIENT DOCUMENTS



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The Bodleian Letters in Context

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CHRISTOPHER J. TUPLIN AND JOHN MA

VOLUME I
THE BODLEIAN LETTERS

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Acknowledgments

Publication of *Aršāma and his World* completes a project that began a decade ago with a year of intensive work in Oxford. But, although it represents the formal conclusion of that project, it is not the end of the matter. On the contrary, our primary hope is that these volumes will stimulate further research on the Bodleian collection (letters, letter-*bullae*, and leather bags) and the wider Aršāma dossier, both to improve understanding of topics upon which we and our fellow-authors have touched in greater or lesser detail and (especially) to address properly topics on which we have said little or nothing. Though focusing on a particular body of material, the work as a whole embraces the extraordinary interdisciplinarity, detailed richness and scope of Achaemenid history as a field—hence a complex book, and the necessity for these Acknowledgments

The Preface explains the long gestation of the project, and duly records our gratitude to institutions and individuals without whose contribution it would have been impossible to mount the series of Aršāma-related activities that underpins this volume and its two companions. Since then a number of institutions and individuals have also put us greatly in their debt.

In the first place warmest thanks are due to: Oxford University Press for undertaking publication; successive Classics editors (Charlotte Loveridge, Georgina Leighton and Emma Slaughter) for unfailing and generous support; the editors of *Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents* for accepting the work as part of that series; Alison Cooley for acute advice about disposition of material across the three volumes; Henry Clarke for valuable help with illustrations; Kathleen Fearn for outstanding copy-editing of a complex, multi-lingual manuscript; and Juliet Gardner for sharp-eyed proof-reading. The final phase of production occurred under the shadow of the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020: this has increased our sense of the obligation we owe to the Press and particularly to Emma Slaughter.

We are extremely grateful to the Bodleian Library for producing new photographs of the documents and *bullae*, as well as allowing access to the 1980s set of infra-red photographs; to Gillian Evison for her assistance in this and other contexts; and to Bezalel Porten for providing a copy of one of the items missing from that set.

We are indebted to Cary Martin for sharing information about the new Demotic additions to the Aršāma dossier and for assistance with Demotic material in this and other contexts. We are similarly indebted to Marc Van De Mieroop for assistance with Akkadian material.

Dan Sofaer, Jacob Stavis and Rhyne King saved us an immense amount of labour by preparing an *index nominum* and *index locorum* for (respectively)

Volumes I, II and III. We are obliged to the Stanley Cockey Lodge Fund (Columbia University) for the timely financial support that made this possible.

We thank our fellow-authors for their patience during the long period in which this publication has been in preparation. We also thank the individuals (fellow-authors and others) who have answered queries and offered advice, especially about topics beyond the normal edges of our expertise. Acknowledgements at various points in the text understate the extent of this debt to friends and colleagues.

Finally, we must acknowledge the share in the burden of Aršāma that our families have been forced to accept. It has not been a continuous burden (the project has had fallow periods), but from time to time it has been a very heavy one. We can only crave forgiveness and offer humble gratitude for the love and support that has been lavished on us.

It is noticeable that no one in the Bodleian Letters ever says ‘thank you’ – though there are plenty of threats or ‘severe sentences,’ *gst ptgm* (on which see i 140–5). But we can quote Aršāma himself (from a letter to Artavanta, a peer or perhaps even a family-member) in wishing ‘much peace and strength,’ *šlm wšrrt šggy*, to all who have helped us.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

ABC	Grayson 1975
ABL	Harper 1892–1914
Ach.	Achaemenid
AD	Sachs and Hunger 1988–2001
ADAB	Naveh and Shaked 2012
ADD	Johns 1898–1901
AHw	von Soden 1965–81
AL	Lemaire 2002a
AnOr 8	Pohl 1933
AO	Antiquité Orientales (Musée du Louvre)
Arad	Naveh 1981
ARTA	Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology (see http://www.achemenet.com)
ATNS	Segal 1983
ATTM	Beyer 1984–94
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1979
BE 8	Clay 1908
BE 9	Clay and Hilprecht 1898
BE 10	Clay 1904
BIN 1	Keiser 1917
BM	British Museum
BOR	Babylonian and Oriental Record
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
Camb.	Strassmaier 1890a
CBS	tablets in the Collections of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia
CDA	Black, George, and Postgate 2000
CDD	Chicago Demotic Dictionary
CG	Lozachmeur 2006
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CPJ	Tcherikover and Fuks 1957–64

CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
Cyr.	Strassmaier 1890b
Dar.	Strassmaier 1897
DemNB	Lüddekens 1980–
DJD 2	Benoit 1961
DN	divine name
EE	Stolper 1985
EN	Eph'al and Naveh 1996
EPE	Porten 2011
Erm.	Ermitage (St Petersburg)
FdX	Fouilles de Xanthos
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin 1923–30, Leiden 1940–58, 1998–9, 2018–19)
Fort. ####	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, edited by G. G. Cameron, collated by R. T. Hallock, C. E. Jones, and M. W. Stolper, published in Arfaee 2008a, re-collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
Fort. ####–###	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, edited by M. W. Stolper
Fribourg	Vallat 1994
GCCI	Dougherty 1933
GN	geographical name
HRETA	Nies and Keiser 1920
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
I.Labraunda	Crampa 1969–72
IMT	Donbaz and Stolper 1997
I.Mylasa	Blümel 1987–8
ISAP	Institute for the Study of Aramaic Papyri (acquisition numbers of Idumaeian ostraca)
J	Jaussen and Savignac 1909–22
JA	Jewish Aramaic
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
KAI	Donner and Röllig 1966–9 and 2002

LAS	Parpola 1970–83
LBW	Le Bas and Waddington 1853–70
LSJ	H. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, <i>Greek–English Lexicon</i> (ninth edition with revised supplement: Oxford, 1996)
M	Shlomo Moussaieff Collection
MA	Middle Assyrian
MP	Middle Persian
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NALK	Kwasman 1988
NbBU	Ebeling 1930–4
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection
Nbk.	Strassmaier 1889
Ner.	Evetts 1892
Ni.	tablets excavated at Nippur, in the collections of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
NN	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, edited by R. T. Hallock, currently being collated and prepared for publication by W. F. M. Henkelman
NP	New Persian
NWS	North-West Semitic
OCHRE	Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (Oriental Institute, Chicago)
O.Man.	ostraca from Ain Manawir (http://www.achemenet.com/fr/tree/?/sources-textuelles/textes-par-langues-et-ecritures/egyptien-hieroglyphique-et-demotique/ostraca-d-ayn-manawir#set)
OP	Old Persian
Pahl.	Pahlavi
PBS 2/1	Clay 1912
Pell.Aram.	leather document associated with Aršāma, Bodleian Library
PF	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, published by R. T. Hallock (1969)

PFa	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, published by R. T. Hallock (1978) and collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
PFA	Persepolis Fortification archive
PFAE	Aramaic epigraph on a tablet in the Persepolis Fortification archive
PFAT	Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablet, for clay tablets on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, provisionally edited by R. A. Bowman, edited and prepared for publication by Annalisa Azzoni
PFATS	Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablets Seal
PFATS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFATS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal
PFS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PFUTS	Persepolis Fortification Uninscribed Tablet Seal
PFUTS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFUTS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PN	personal name
PNAE 2.1	Baker 2000
Porten–Yardeni	see TADAE
PT	Elamite documents from the Treasury archive edited by Cameron (1948, 1958, 1965), with collations and corrections in Hallock 1960, Arfaee 2008b, and Jones and Yie 2011
PTA	Persepolis Treasury Archive
PTS	tablets in the Princeton Theological Seminary
QA	quart
RLA	Reallexicon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie
RO	Rhodes and Osborne 2003
ROMCT	McEwan 1982
SAA 6	Kwasman and Parpola 1991
SAA 13	Cole and Machinist 1998
SAA 15	Fuchs and Parpola 2001
Sardis VII	Buckler and Robinson 1932

SBS	Dunant 1971
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
S.H5-DP	Demotic papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, Saqqara
SIG ³	Dittenberger 1915–24
Sigill.Aram.	sealed letter- <i>bullae</i> associated with the Aramaic leather documents of Aršāma, Bodleian Library
TADAE	Porten and Yardeni 1986–99
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris
TAOI	Porten and Yardeni 2014–18
TCL 13	Moore 1935
TEBR	Joannès 1982
TuM 2/3	Krückmann 1933
UET 4	Figulla 1949
UPZ	Wilcken 1927–57
VS	San Nicolò & Ungnad 1935
Warka	field numbers of tablets excavated at Warka
WD	<i>bullae</i> attached to Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyri
WDSP	Gropp 2001, Dušek 2007
WHM	World Heritage Museum (University of Illinois)
YBC	tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS 3	Clay 1919
YOS 6	Dougherty 1920
YOS 7	Tremayne 1925
YOS 17	Weisberg 1980

PERSIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

The following *sigla* represent Persian royal inscriptions: DB, DNa, DNb, DPa, DSe, DSf, DSaa, DSab, DSz, DZc, XPh, A²Ha, A²Sa. For these see Kent 1953 (text and English translation of the OP version), Schmitt 2009 (texts and German translations of the OP versions), Lecoq 1997 (French translation covering OP, Akkadian, Elamite, and Aramaic versions), Steve 1987 (text and French translation of Susa inscriptions covering OP, Akkadian, and Elamite versions), Schmitt 1991 (text and English translation of the OP version of DB), Grillo-Susini, Herrenschmidt, and Malbran-Labat 1993 (text and French translation of Elamite version of DB), Von Voigtlander 1978 (text and English translation of the Akkadian version of DB), Malbran-Labat 1994 (text and French translation of the Akkadian version of DB), TADAE C2.1 (text and English translation of the Aramaic version of DB) Schmitt 2000 (text and English translation of the OP version of the Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis inscriptions). Most important items are also available in English translation in Kuhrt 2007.

ARAMAIC TEXTS

The majority of the Aramaic texts to which reference is made in this publication are from four *corpora*, TADAE, ATNS, CG, and ADAB. *Sigla* in the form A6.3 (i.e. letter (A–D) number, stop, number) designate texts published in TADAE. Specific line numbers within a text are indicated by appending a colon and number, e.g. A6.3:2. *Sigla* in the form A2 (i.e. letter (A–D) and number) designate texts in ADAB. Specific line numbers within a text are indicated by appending a colon and number, e.g. A2:2. Texts from CG or ATNS are always labelled as such, e.g. CG 175 or ATNS 25 or (with a specific line number) CG 175:2 or ATNS 25:2.

PAPYRI

In the absence of information at the point of citation, papyrus publications can be identified from J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong, and K. A. Worp (edd.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, fifth edition (2001) or online at <http://www.papyri.info/docs/checklist>.

JOURNAL TITLES

Abbreviations for journal titles follow the lists in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 20 (U and W)* (Chicago, 2010), vii–xxix and *L'Année philologique* (see <https://about.brepolis.net/aph-abbreviations>), giving precedence to the former in cases of disagreement. Journal titles are left unabbreviated in cases of ambiguity or when the journal in question is absent from both lists.

DATES

Unless otherwise indicated all dates, except modern publication dates, are BC.

Month–year dates in Persepolis documents are given in the form: XI/23, which designates the eleventh month of year 23. The form XIe indicates that the text uses the Elamite, not the Persian, month name. Occasionally a specific day is indicated as well, giving e.g. 29/XII/21.

CROSS-REFERENCING

Commentary A single line in one of the Bodleian letters regularly generates several distinct notes in the Commentary (on distinct lemmata). When this occurs the notes are numbered (1), (2), (3) etc., this number being appended to the relevant line number, giving e.g. ‘line 1(2)’. A cross-reference in the form A6.3:1(2) n. refers to the second note on A6.3:1. Cross-references within the commentary on a single letter may be in the form ‘above, line 1(2) n.’.

Essays A cross-reference in the form Tuplin iii 34 refers to p. 34 of volume III of this publication. Cross-references within a single essay are characteristically indicated with a simple page or note number (e.g. ‘above, p. 27’, ‘below, n. 27’).

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A Note on the Representation of Names

IRANIAN (AND OTHER) PERSONAL NAMES

Except in contexts that are specifically philological, scholarship on Achaemenid history is generally happy to represent the names of Iranian individuals in the form proper to the textual sources from which the information about that individual relevant to the discussion in hand is derived. Very many individuals are known from only one (linguistic) type of source (that is particularly true of people attested in the PFA). Where that is not the case, different name-forms may rationally appear in different contexts of discussion: thus we have Datis in a discussion of Marathon, but Datiya in a discussion of PFA travel texts, or Gobryas in a discussion of Herodotus' account of Darius' accession but Gubaru in a discussion of early Achaemenid Babylonia. (Regnal names, however, are traditionally not subject to this tendency, and we respect that principle.) In all cases, what is presented on the page is a conventional representation in Latin characters of the conventional representation in the source's writing system of a name whose original form may never be directly attested and may never have been written in antiquity in a writing form specific to Old Iranian. In some cases the conventional representation in Latin characters is relatively straightforwardly derived from that in the source by a standard system of transcription—relatively, because there can be different opinions about which system of transcription (e.g. should it be Pharnabazos or Pharnabazus?). This is the situation with Greek, Babylonian, or Elamite. In other cases, notably Aramaic and Egyptian, the situation is more difficult, since the absence of written vowels means that interpretation is required as well as transcription. Vowels have to come from somewhere, and the only rational source is the attested or (in the vast majority of cases) reconstructed Iranian form. So linguistic scholarship intrudes into the establishment of a conventional representation in Latin characters of *ršm* or *bgdt* in a way that it does not when e.g. Ἀρσάμης and *Ar-ša-ammu* become Arsames and Aršammu or Βαγαδάτης, *Ba-ga-a-da-tú*, and *Ba-ka₄-da-ad-da* become Bagadates, Bagadatu, and Bakadadda.

This poses the question of how far we move from the consonants produced by mere transcription towards the exact (putative) original Iranian form. When we encounter Φερενδάτης in a Greek text we substitute Pherendates, not *Farnadāta-, but what should we do when we encounter *Prntt* in a Demotic text? Many people substitute Pherendates, but that approach confers excessive status on the Greek language. It effectively says that, if we know what a Greek would have written, that trumps all other considerations. But since we are writing about an Iranian empire, seen through non-Greek texts, we should surely

privilege linguistically Iranian forms. The only choice—if we reject the logical but over-austere one of retaining *Prntt*—is between *Farnadāta- (the form one finds in strictly philological publications) and a simplified version, e.g. Farnadāta or Farnadata.

Consonants as well as vowels can raise questions. In the case just mentioned, to write the aspirated P of the linguistic reconstruction as Ph (Pharnadāta or Pharnadata) grants too much influence to *Φερεινδάτης*. But should the transcription of *ʾhmzd* start with Axva- or Akhva-? Should *ʾrthy* become Artaxaya, Artakhaya—or even Artahaya (as in TADAE)? Should *ʾhmnš* in A6.1 be Hakhāmaniš (or Hakhamaniš) or Haḥāmaniš (or Haḥamaniš)? Consciousness of Greek *Ἀχαιμένης* / Achaemenes will make some prefer the first option. (Again, as with *Prntt* / Pherendates above, simply substituting Achaemenes—which is the solution in TADAE—does not seem right. Nor would it be right to substitute Artachaees for *ʾrthy*, though there has been less inclination to do this.) In most cases using š (rather than sh) is unproblematic. But some *shins* have to become č: it would be misleading to represent *Bgyš* (ADAB B2:1 etc.) as Bagaiša, when the correct form of the name is *Bagaiča-, and Bagaiča is therefore the natural simplified representation. But some may feel that *Mspt* (TADAE A6.15) should remain as Misapāta (Misapata) rather than become Miçapāta (Miçapata), since s and ç sound roughly the same (whereas š and č do not) and s is what the Aramaic version has.

Faced with questions of this sort, we have opted in all contexts that are not strictly philological for slightly simplified versions of the Iranian forms (whether directly attested or reconstructed) of philological scholarship, marking long vowels, employing š, č, ç, and θ (but eschewing ʀ in favour of ar), and using x rather than kh. This last is perhaps the most disconcerting for the non-specialist reader since it represents the sound *kh*, not *ks*.

The problem that interpretation as well as transcription is required where Aramaic and Egyptian texts are involved is not, of course, confined to Iranian names. In the case of Egyptian names it has been possible to follow existing conventions fairly unreflectingly, while seeking as a general rule to use the same transcription for a particular name in all circumstances. In the case of Semitic names, we have often followed the lead of the personal names section of Porten and Lund 2002, and this results in some Judaeans' names appearing in a form different from that in much of the literature. Babylonian names appearing in Aramaic are not represented by a full restoration of the Babylonian form but simply by transcription of the Aramaic: so Iddinnabu is not turned into Iddin-Nabû. At all relevant points we have thought it worth preserving the distinction between *ḥ* and *h* and to indicate the presence of *ayin* (').

Finally, there is the question of Greek names. As already remarked, no vowels need to be supplied, but one does have to choose a system of transcription. We have chosen traditional Latinization, confident that this is no more likely to satisfy everyone than are any of the other decisions rehearsed above.

PLACE NAMES

Speaking of the ancient world commits one to a mixture of ancient and modern place names, if only because some sites of importance have no known ancient names. Where that is not the case, it is sometimes appropriate to use the ancient name, sometimes the modern one. Other things being equal we tend to the former option. Modern names can take different forms because of different transcription choices. Here we favour simple conventional versions, though the authors in volume II deviate from this to some extent. The preferences of different language groups can be an additional complication even with modern names and it certainly arises (along with choice of transcription system) with a number of ancient ones. Other things being equal we opt for a single name-form for any given place irrespective of context and (again) go for simple conventional versions in selecting that single name-form. But the possibility of inconsistency is ever present.

1

Introduction

1.1

Preface

John Ma and Christopher J. Tuplin

It must have been in Spring 2009 that the idea emerged of setting up a group to work on the letters addressed by Aršāma, the Persian satrap of Egypt, to his estate manager, Nakhtḥor: these documents were fascinating, well-known to ancient historians but deserving of further attention, they were written in a version of Aramaic that might be easily accessible, and, most astonishingly, the letters sat in the Bodleian Library. Such thoughts were aired in general terms over coffee at the Oriental Institute at Oxford, but it was Fergus Millar who urged, with characteristic insight and insistence, a concrete project of collaboration between Classicists and Orientalists to study these texts in the original. With institutional support this idea snowballed into an AHRC-funded Research Network, entitled *Communication, Language and Power in the Achaemenid Empire: The Correspondence of the Satrap Arshama*. The result was an ambitious programme of activities in Oxford in 2010–11: weekly Aramaic language and reading classes over a whole academic year, five one-day workshops, a small exhibition in the Bodleian Library, a public lecture, and a concluding three-day conference. The enterprise as a whole was overseen by two ancient historians (JM, CJT), the language classes were taught by a Syriacist (David Taylor), the workshops, lecture, and conference involved over twenty speakers representing various academic specialisms, and the programme of events (including the conference) attracted a gratifyingly wide audience.

For this year of intensive Aramaic study and collaborative interdisciplinary Achaemenid history, we express our warmest gratitude to the AHRC for its funding; the Faculty of Classics and Corpus Christi College for providing venues for the language classes, workshops, lecture, and conference; the Bodleian Library (and particularly Gillian Evison and David Howell) for affording access to the documents, letter-*bullae*, and leather bags at the heart of the project, as well as enabling us to mount the exhibition; the Craven Fund for additional funding; other Oxford colleges for providing accommodation for visiting colleagues; David Taylor for teaching the Aramaic classes and leading the

reading sessions that allowed us to pore over the texts in the original; and everyone who participated in whatever fashion in all or any of the project events—a much larger group than that represented by the twenty-two authors who have contributed to this book. The activities arising from the AHRC-funded Research Network were largely organized and marshalled by JM, up to the online publication of photographs, a first version of the commentary on the texts, and three introductory essays (now superseded).¹ The commentary on the Bodleian letters was prepared by CJT, and he has done the major part of the editorial work involved in putting together the multi-author, multi-volume final publication.

The body of material at the heart of this project is truly remarkable: to expand and refine the sketch given above, we are dealing with a well-preserved, generally perfectly legible set of letters on leather, written in what is variously known as Imperial Aramaic or Official Aramaic, an administrative language in use across the empire, a set of eight clay sealings (seven of them from the same seal), and the fragments of two leather bags in which this assemblage is presumed to have been stored. This material appeared in Berlin in the 1930s, and was acquired during the Second World War by the Bodleian: the circumstances and the nature of the assemblage are discussed by Lindsay Allen in the next chapter. A number of things remain unclear about this cache (notably its find-spot), but what *is* clear from the text of the letters is that they concern the affairs of a figure named Aršāma, who can securely be identified with the fifth-century satrap of Egypt in the days of the Persian kings Artaxerxes I and Darius II. Taken together with other material associated with the same individual, they offer a remarkable point of entry into the Achaemenid world of which Aršāma was a privileged member.

The full diversity of this wider dossier—the textual and documentary evidence involves four different languages (including the Greek of literary sources)—is a reflection of the richness and diversity of Achaemenid studies. Such diversity explains why interdisciplinary networks have been a favourite way of approaching Achaemenid history. This field explores the history of an imperial state that ruled for some two centuries over diverse communities (from the Aegean to Central Asia), from the rapid creation of a new Near Eastern imperial order in the mid-sixth century to its destruction and transformation by Macedonian aggression in the decade 336–323. This empire existed by combining attention to local conditions with a strong central apparatus of control and extraction. The study of the Achaemenid world involves archaeology, art history, epigraphy, papyrology, philology and literary interpretation, political and narrative historiography, and hence crosses major disciplinary boundaries, notably between ‘Classical’ ancient history and the history of the ancient Near East. The

¹ David Taylor’s teaching materials for imperial Aramaic as used in 2010–11 can currently (1 July 2020) be seen at <http://arshama.classics.ox.ac.uk/aramaic/index.html>.

development of Achaemenid studies is arguably one of the most exciting and fertile innovations of the last few decades in the study of the ancient world.

How do the letters preserved in the Bodleian contribute? They constitute a small archive, made up (for the main part) of letters from Aršāma, addressed from Babylonia to people in Egypt—a fellow Persian high-official, an Achaemenid military commander, and, especially, the Egyptians Psamšek and Nakhtḥor, Aršāma's *pqydn* or managers in Egypt. It is likely that the Bodleian cache of letters comes from Nakhtḥor's personal papers, since it also contains three letters from other Persians to the *pqyd*. The cache does not constitute a full archive, and does not allow for detailed micro-history or historical biography or even, at the simplest level, a coherent and well-situated narrative of some events in the Achaemenid satrapy of Egypt. What this small body of Aršāma letters (or perhaps better Nakhtḥor letters) does is to offer a vivid snapshot of social, economic, cultural, organizational, and political aspects of the empire as lived by a member of the Achaemenid elite and his entourage. *En vrac*, these aspects include multilingual communication, epistolary rhetoric, accountancy-culture, land tenure, satrapal remuneration, enforced labour, cross-regional ethnic movement, fiscal processes, storage and disbursement of resources for state use, military systems, long-distance travel, the employment of skilled craftsmen, religious language and belief, and iconographic projection of ideological messages.

The Bodleian Aramaic letters thus resemble, in the richness of their contribution, the set of letters and other documents recently published in Shaked and Naveh 2012, which come from a quite different Achaemenid province, Bactria, and were written some eighty to a hundred years later—around the time when Alexander's expedition put an end to the Achaemenid order, by military conquest and by the appropriation and turning to new ends of the various elements of the imperial apparatus. The exploration of the topics outlined above, in the light of the comparable data from other well-defined documentary ensembles such as the Bactrian letters, illuminates the content, manner, and limits of provincial government in the Achaemenid empire. Nonetheless, although the Aršāma letters have often been referred to in Achaemenid studies, they have never received sustained historical analysis.

A similar fate has befallen the sealings that accompanied the letters, and particularly the seven sealings representing the seal of Aršāma. A photograph of one of them does appear in Boardman's monograph on the genesis of Achaemenid art (2000: 163, fig. 5.21), and indeed presents it rather more clearly than the photograph in Driver's original publication from which it is derived. But the seal's impact in Achaemenid studies has been much more modest than its magnificence warrants. The present work not only redresses the balance in general terms (providing the first full description and reconstruction of the seal) but makes public the remarkable discovery that the very same seal was already in existence in the first decade of the fifth century, when it was used

by the satrap's namesake, the son of Darius I and his favourite wife Artystone (Irtašduna).

'From Aršāma to Nakhthor: and now . . .'—not micro-history, but a series of illuminating and precise insights into the workings and the nature of a vast, multi-ethnic empire. Some interconnected, recurring themes are particularly rich and thought-provoking for scholars of the Achaemenid world, but also for historians of empire more generally. One of them is obviously 'bureaucracy', or rather the role of written communication in maintaining control and in constructing a space and a community of knowledge that is the concrete, practical form taken by imperial power.² The modalities of communication, the significance of variation, the different geographical locales involved (Babylon, Susa, Egypt), the presence of different officials at both ends of the communicative transaction ('scribes', 'accountants', or simply Nakhthor's 'colleagues', *knwth*)—all these issues repay close study. So, too, does the substance of what is communicated, which can take perhaps surprising forms, as for example in the papyrus letters relating to the religious life of the Jewish garrison at Elephantine (see below).

Communication in Aramaic unites, across the space of empire, a number of agents of different ethnicities, from the Persian Aršāma to the Egyptian *pqydy*n or the mysterious Cilician 'pressers' (thirteen slaves of Aršāma, with their diverse onomastics: A6.7). This diversity reflects the situation of the Achaemenid empire, which was structured by the relations between an empire-wide dominant 'ethno-class' (P. Briant) of Iranian extraction and local populations, and the movement of individuals and groups within the empire. Hence the Cilician workers; but the phenomenon is known everywhere, especially in the Persian heartland around Persepolis³ or at Elephantine, where a Jewish garrison had difficult relations with the local priestly group of the temple of the ram-god Khnum. (Aršāma appears in the material from Elephantine, in some vivid documents, notably A4.5, 7, 10.) The father-son succession of Egyptians in Aršāma's service (A6.4), combined with the background of generalized revolt by Egypt (A6.7, A6.10), raises the question of different choices and relations (collaboration, resistance, and what else?) between the 'natives' and the masters. Aršāma's seal, whose image is preserved on the clay *bullae* in the Bodleian cache, shows ethnicity and power in another guise: the victory of a figure visually marked as Iranian over several foes whose costume shows them to be steppe nomads.⁴ Found in Egypt, at one end of the Achaemenid space, in the archive of the Egyptian dependant of a Persian prince, the sealings showed Achaemenid victory and dominance over non-Persians at the other, eastern end of the empire.

² Bertrand 1990 and 2006 are examples of the analysis of the circulation of the written word as a constituent of imperial power in the case of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

³ Hallock 1969; Briant, Henkelman, and Stolper 2008.

⁴ On the iconography see Garrison & Henkelman ii 83–129, Tuplin 2020.

The multi-ethnic empire is thus run to the profit of a particular group, and the Aršāma letters throw precise light on the mechanisms of control and repression—and the limits of such mechanisms. Achaemenid Egypt is held by armed forces (*hyl*), which can occasionally be seen (A6.7, 8); in a context of revolt, a fortress (or more precisely ‘the fortress’, *byrt*’, not named in the body of A6.7, but perhaps called Mišpeh) appears, thus giving a sense of how troops and garrisons might be articulated on the ground in times of crisis.⁵

One particular form that empire took on the ground was economic exploitation. A number of actors—Egyptians as well as Persians—held land grants from the king (and from Aršāma) in return for the payment of dues (A6.4, 11, 13). Most striking, though unsurprising in light of the nature of the dossier, is the importance of Aršāma’s private interests as holder of a ‘house’—the doings and welfare of ‘my house’ (*byt’ zyly*) or ‘my domains (*bgy’ zyly*) in Upper and Lower Egypt’ are the leitmotiv of the Bodleian letters. Aršāma’s ‘house’ produces surplus in kind, which Aršāma disburses to dependants: this may be the case for his *pqyd* on his travels (A6.9), and it is explicitly seen to be happening for the artist who receives, along with his household, rations ‘like the other personnel’ (A6.12). The house itself, apart from being an economic entity, is also a set of relations between the lord and his personnel, whose members Aršāma often refers to as ‘my slave’, literally ‘my boy’ (*wlym’ zyly*), to express their dependency and inferiority. If the estates produce rations in kind, they also must produce rent in silver (*mndh*: A6.13, 14)—which Aršāma and others of his class get transported overland to them in Babylonia (for what purpose? conspicuous expenditure? involvement in the economy of lending in Babylonia?). The artist on rations produces artworks, sent to Aršāma (in Mesopotamia or Iran): the enjoyment of leisure goods, matched by the very high standard of craftsmanship of the leather bags, the letters themselves (also leather), and the fine big clay sealings in the Bodleian assemblage, helps us understand the lifestyle of an Achaemenid prince, one of the members of the absolute top of the social pyramid of empire. Another letter (A6.10) makes starkly clear the economic basis of this lifestyle: Aršāma expects his estate never to suffer losses, and his managers to guard his estate zealously, and indeed to increase it by seeking ‘personnel of artisans of every kind and sufficient goods’, to be brought to his courtyard and branded; this is also normal behaviour for the managers of other Persian ‘lords’ in Egypt (as Aršāma notes peevishly, when remonstrating with his own man, Nakhthor, for dereliction). The relationship between social position, access to political power, extraction, and violence is shown to lie at the heart of the Achaemenid world.

That the Achaemenid order is institutionalized so openly to the profit of a class of Persian lords raises the question of the nature of the Achaemenid

⁵ On the role of fortresses in controlling empire, and the interest as well as the difficulty in using narratives of crisis to try to understand the mechanisms of control, see Tuplin 1987.

empire, a question which the Bodleian letters problematize. The word *pqyd* is used for men who are undoubtedly Aršāma's private managers; but it also turns up in the crucial document enabling Nakhtḥor and his entourage to draw rations as they travel from Babylon to Egypt, which implies that the various *pqydyn* have their own provinces (*mdntkm*), a terminology which might in turn imply that the officials are imperial officials of the Achaemenid state. 'Public' and 'private': the terminology, however inadequate, corresponds to our understanding of the distinction between the affairs of the state (administered by Aršāma the satrap, a power holder), and private patrimonial business (managed by Aršāma the lord, an estate holder). But the letters constantly show transactions which seem to straddle the divide. Artavanta, obviously an important Persian (A6.3, A6.4), intervenes both in the affairs of Aršāma's house and in matters of land-tenure after a grant from Aršāma and the king, which should belong to the 'public' or imperial sphere. The commander of a military troop is ordered to help Psamšek, Aršāma's *pqyd*, 'in the affair of my estate', thus using state means for a private affair (A6.8)—though it is clear that the commander at first refused to acknowledge instructions from the *pqyd*, and the transaction needed direct intervention by Aršāma, backed up by threats. This shows that the distinction between state and private is not entirely our own categorization: the distinction existed, but was porous or open to abuse, a state of affairs which is very instructive as to the workings of empire.

Once again: not micro-history, but a strong sense of the texture of the Achaemenid world. The present work invites the reader to approach this world within the framework of a particular test-case. The Aršāma letters can play a role in introducing ancient historians to the Aramaic language, and the present publication, with its presentation of the texts, translations, and glossary, complemented by teaching materials (see above, n.1), will, we hope, contribute to this process. But their principal function is to prompt a reading of the Achaemenid empire in detail. These letters, moving between Babylonia and Egypt, the master and his man, are also full of stories of movement—the artist Ḥinzani between Susa and Egypt, his works travelling to Mesopotamia, the Persian lords' rent being conveyed to them from the Nile valley to the Euphrates plain, Nakhtḥor riding from Babylon to Egypt, and the thirteen Cilician 'pressers', wandering around in time of revolt, before being picked up by the rebel leader, and later having to justify themselves before Artavanta and Aršāma. The present work is also an invitation to follow these movements, for nothing can better make one feel what the Achaemenid empire was like.⁶

⁶ As on a previous occasion in the context of an analysis of ethnicity and domination in Achaemenid art (Ma 2008), this expression is a calque off Louis Robert's response to the discovery of identical copies of administrative documents in Asia Minor and in Iran: 'rien ne peut mieux faire sentir ce qu'était l'empire séleucide' (Robert 1949: 8).

In pursuit of these aims, then, this publication presents the Bodleian letters and seeks to explain and contextualize them in various fashions, the principal ones being translation, extensive line-by-line commentary, and a series of essays dealing with historical topics about which one is prompted to think by the letters and other texts associated with Aršāma—for it is important to understand that the Bodleian letters are the core of a wider dossier of texts in Aramaic, Demotic Egyptian, Old Persian, Akkadian, and Greek.⁷

The commentary deals in the first instance with linguistic matters: textual restoration; lexical, onomastic, and grammatical issues; inter-language borrowings and calques; the verbal tropes and overall structure of epistolary communication; other stylistic choices of language; and the terminology of (quasi-) servile status, productive or administrative function, land-holding and estate organization, treasure, tax, revenue and/or rent, food resources and their consumption, clothing, metrology, elite class, and geographical description. But consideration of such linguistic matters leads more broadly to the illumination of various worlds: an Aramaic-using world stretching from Egypt and Anatolia to Persia and Bactria; an administrative world of provinces, hierarchical differences, awkward relationships, complaint and punishment, chancellery procedures, individual and collective responsibility, and ultimate royal supervision; an elite world of personal authority and estates with multi-ethnic personnel (ideally growing in number), consumable resources and transportable profits; a subaltern world of order-taking and precarious land occupancy; a politico-military world of response to disorder and the occasional recalcitrant troop commander; an artistic world of image-making; and an interconnected world of organized long-distance travel.

The subject matter of the essays includes the general setting of Achaemenid history (Kuhrt iii 123–35), the acquisition of the Bodleian collection (Allen i 12–18), an overall introduction to the Aršāma dossier (Tuplin iii 3–72), the language and rhetoric of epistolary communication (Tavernier iii 75–96, Hilder iii 97–109, Jursa iii 110–19), the letter-*bullae* of the Bodleian archive and their connections across time and space (Garrison & Henkelman ii 46–166, Garrison & Kaptan ii 167–71, Kaptan ii 172–92), and Nakhtḥor’s travel-authorization seen against the wider imperial system of travel-management,

⁷ The contents of this wider dossier are listed at Tuplin iii 3–6, and the status of some problematic items discussed at Tuplin iii 7–15. In Appendices 3.1–3.2 of the present volume we provide a text and translation of the Egyptian document (first published in 2009 and not available except in the *editio princeps*) and of the thirteen Akkadian texts, which have never before been made fully available in transcription and translation. (There is also a report on some recently discovered Demotic material, full publication of which lies some way in the future.) The brief Old Persian and Greek items are cited in full in the discussion at Tuplin iii 7–15. For the remainder of the Aramaic dossier we refer the reader to the editions (with translation) in TADAE I and to translations in EPE.

viewed both documentarily (Henkelman ii 193–253) and as a literary topic (Almagor iii 147–85). A notable component of the dossier is a set of documents relating to the Judaeans of Elephantine: one of those documents, the so-called Passover Letter (A4.1), is arguably the most widely celebrated single item in the entire dossier (indeed in the corpus of Egyptian Aramaic papyri) and, together with other texts dealing with the fate of the temple in Elephantine, has probably attracted more scholarly discussion over the last twelve decades or so than any other single subject dealt with here: two essays add to this discussion (Granerød iii 329–43, Tuplin iii 344–72). The Judaeans and the Bodleian letters, discrete entities in many ways, nonetheless intersect in what might be called Aršāma's absenteeism, prompting two essays, one dealing with a particular absence (Hyland iii 249–59), the other with the wider pattern (Keaveney iii 136–46). They also both presuppose the military environment: the Judaeans were Persian garrison soldiers, one of the Bodleian letters introduces us to a Lycian troop commander, and texts from both groups as well as elsewhere in the dossier alert us to violent unrest in Egypt of the sort that military power might have been expected to restrain. A full discussion is therefore offered of the Persian military presence in Egypt (Tuplin iii 291–328), as well as further comment on the nature of Persian administration (Fried iii 278–90). Economic and fiscal issues—in the shape of the activities of Aršāma's estate—are prominently reflected in the Bodleian material and the Akkadian texts, and provide subject-matter for three essays (Ma iii 187–208, Bresson iii 209–48, Hyland iii 249–59).⁸ Finally the multi-ethnic *dramatis personae* of the Egyptian part of the dossier are contextualized by a discussion of multi-cultural Egypt (Vittmann iii 263–77) and Aršāma's Egypt is viewed from the perspective of post-Achaemenid conditions (Thompson iii 373–86), when a different group of non-Egyptians took control and created a version of the country that would not be fundamentally subverted until the best part of a millennium had passed.

Not everything that might have prompted an essay has done so: further reflections about Achaemenid art could flow from Aršāma's instructions for the image-maker Ḥinzani (A6.12), though there is germane material in Garrison & Henkelman ii 83–129 and Kaptan ii 172–92, and (moving beyond the Bodleian letters) the boat-repair text (A6.2) perhaps calls for informed commentary and speculation about Egyptian boat design and, more broadly, riverine transport—a specific Egyptian aspect of the wider theme of imperial communications. It is also a matter of regret that it proved impossible to carry out further study of the leather bags, as they deserve, or therefore to provide a fuller description and contextualization of these rather remarkable survivals. Nonetheless, the historical studies presented here, taken together

⁸ The material in the dossier directly related to fiscal matters is also reviewed separately in Tuplin n.d.

with the commentary, highlight a substantial variety of perspectives from which the Aršāma dossier can be viewed, explicating its details, illustrating its links with data and analysis from other parts of the Achaemenid historical landscape, and contributing to a better understanding of the connectedness of the empire.

1.2

The Bodleian Achaemenid Aramaic Letters

A Fragmentary History

Lindsay Allen

The Aršāma collection entered the Bodleian Library in 1945, in fulfilment of a contract of sale agreed at some point between 1938 and 1944 (Craster 1952). This purchase, from the estate of the archaeologist Ludwig Borchardt (1863–1938), remains the group’s only known provenance. Silence, elision, and mythopoesis punctuate the story of the collection’s origin in Borchardt’s hands. During their first fifty years in the university library, where the lettered surface is paramount, the legible letters were selectively read for their documentary content. The full collection, however, comprises not just thirteen largely complete letters and numerous fragments, but also eight clay sealings, which carry images of two seals, and two fragmentary bag sections. These items acquired the resonant but vague identity of dispatches discovered within ‘the post-bag in which they had been conveyed and preserved’ in the first full publication in 1954. This characterization has influenced the terms on which scholars have engaged with the content of the letters ever since. The current re-examination of the entire corpus offers an opportunity to raise previously neglected questions about its assumed archaeological unity and physical coherence. This introductory discussion aims to highlight the obscurity of the collection’s published origins and to articulate the different impositions of identity made during its early transaction history.

BORCHARDT AND THE DEALER WITH NO NAME

The date(s) and place(s) of discovery of the Aršāma collection are unknown. Nevertheless, two main narratives of their discovery in the hands of a dealer exist. The first, told by their first known buyer, Borchardt, was later selectively

translated and rephrased by Driver. Borchardt's story was published in 1933 at the beginning of a two-page outline of his acquisition of the corpus, the final paper of a collection of short essays published by the author on the occasion of his own seventieth birthday. The essays are on an assortment of small topics, mostly relating to Egyptian architecture, which was Borchardt's core area of expertise. This first *Nachricht* of the find is often cited, but under-examined, and Borchardt's narrative deserves greater attention.

His account opens with the introduction of a strange and secretive dealer, previously unknown to the archaeologist, who presented him with a mysterious bundle of ancient letters. Borchardt says that the dealer gave him a false name, so this falsity is not worth repeating in the published text; moreover, the dealer would not say where he was from. He enticed the scholar by revealing three letters that he had already successfully opened by laying them in the dawn dew. Borchardt recognized the language as Aramaic but, judging by the paucity of detail in his account, he was unable to read most of it. The dealer had with him a leather bag in which he said the letters were found, but Borchardt was not sure whether it was large enough for the surviving collection. He also speculated whether it was a division from a larger find. The dealer would not say where he had obtained the objects. Borchardt reports that he asked whether they were from Assuan, but the dealer would not speak and 'did not even blink' in reply. He concludes that the dealer himself may not have known the origin of the material, but had acquired it by purchase. Borchardt gives no date for the encounter.

Thus the account comprises several layers of silence, with a caesura in knowledge between the buyer and seller (and between the seller and the entire world of words). Borchardt describes a dealer with no verifiable name, no origin, and besides, no authentic knowledge of the objects, while he himself could glean no information even from the legible texts. The only geographical anchor, Assuan, appears as an unanswered question in a one-sided dialogue. Its appearance serves to float a mirage of believable provenance into the story without linking Borchardt to any disreputable recovery of antiquities. This protective narrative scaffold invites inevitable suspicion about the narrator. 'Bazaar archaeology' of the 1920s and 1930s often depended on the shameless attribution of marketed antiquities to common but fake provenances. One such classic locale was Hamadan in Iran, to which Luristani bronzes and Achaemenid gold were attributed (Muscarella 1980). Middlemen in the transit of antiquities could give an adjacent or slightly altered region of discovery to that which they learned from their suppliers, possibly in order to preserve their sources. Total silence and obfuscation of even an assigned place of origin on the part of the dealer is unusual. The particular vividness in the popular imagination of archaeology in Egypt during the 1920s blurred the boundaries between fiction and reality. Egyptian terrain became an unreal and magical zone from which curses, monsters, and strange texts could emerge. The cinematic mystery of

Borchardt's encounter with his dealer settles into this imaginative landscape. Whether there was a reason for his mystification is another matter, and relates to Borchardt's previous career.

Borchardt was a well-known and experienced excavator, having led the Imperial German Institute for Egyptian Archaeology from 1907 until 1928. He was not untouched by scandal; the Egyptian government accused him of secretly exporting to Berlin the famous limestone bust of Nefertiti. He had probably excavated this piece at Amarna between 1912 and 1913, but failed to exhibit it the following year in a presentation of the finds, and may not have declared it during the partition of finds (Breger 2005: 146 n. 25: 'Inspector Lefebvre... who was responsible for the partition in question, later said he could no longer reconstruct what exactly he had seen that day'). Here too, silences and lack of evidence punctuate Borchardt's handling of an object. While no directly incriminating evidence has since come to light, the decision not to exhibit the bust publicly for over a decade resembles 'an explicit policy of concealment' (Breger 2005: 145–6). When Nefertiti resurfaced in Berlin in 1924, Borchardt's apparent deviousness angered the Egyptian authorities. The head's geographical and museological dislocation from its place of origin has since enabled its 'material and phantasmic appropriation' as an icon of world art, as well as of German twentieth-century historical imagination.

Borchardt's behaviour in the Nefertiti saga should perhaps not be wholly extrapolated into the interpretation of his Aršāma acquisition story. The two types of objects carried very different levels of transformative cultural power for their exhibitor at the time, not least because the Aramaic letters were far less identifiable as 'Egyptian', and projected no comparably iconic visual. Borchardt claimed an archaeological provenance for the Nefertiti bust in 1924, despite intentionally concealing the object. This suggests that Borchardt could have admitted to involvement in the excavation of the Aramaic letters, if such had been the case. However, the controversy over Borchardt's actions in the 1920s may have made him more circumspect in his later publications. By 1933, when his essay collection was published, the question of restitution of the Nefertiti bust was still being discussed (Breger 2005: 154–5). Additionally, by the mid-1920s, the plundering of sites for the market was beginning to impinge on both academic and political discourses as a problem. In 1926, James Henry Breasted authorized the posting of a letter on the noticeboard of the University of Chicago's Luxor house, which forbade the buying of antiquities in the marketplace by expedition members.¹ By these emerging standards, Borchardt's reported purchase was dubious, whether his published account was real or not. His silent and nameless dealer partly absolved Borchardt in either case, either by obscuring his own illicit export of excavated finds or by mitigating his

¹ I am grateful to John Larson of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, for bringing this letter to my attention.

market purchase by making the loss of context appear irreversible. As well as romance and comparative innocence, Borchardt's story bestows a profound dislocation upon the Aršāma corpus: they are from a nameless source, from nowhere.

THE FIRST ANALYSES

By the time they arrived in the Bodleian, most of the well-preserved letters were already opened and had been sealed between glass. There had been a significant period of study of the collection in Germany, between its export from Egypt and Borchardt's death in 1938. Borchardt had already had photographs taken, which he had sent to his colleague Eugen Mittwoch in order to identify the texts before the publication in 1933. Mittwoch, who recognized Aršāma's name, related him to the Elephantine papyri published by von Sachau in 1906 and supplied a rough translation of the first letter. Borchardt's accompanying comments are framed by his encounter with the dealer, and are intermixed with his own uncertainty about the nature and provenance of the collection. Partly because of the texts' illegibility and his own archaeological interests, he responded with interest to the sealings. Frustratingly, he does not specify whether any of them were still attached to a folded letter when he purchased them. Instead, Borchardt read the iconography, describing the strange, un-Egyptian shapes and reddish-tinged clay. He saw in the impressions a Persian king about to fell an already-beaten enemy, flanked by 'war-horses', and the dead below.

Borchardt concluded his essay with the expectation of further insight from Mittwoch, and with the hope that his collection would reach 'the right hands'. A single, tantalizing photographic plate accompanied the essay, making it unclear whether this first publication constituted a communication, or an advertisement. By the time of Borchardt's death in 1938, the Aršāma collection constituted not just the letters, bag(s), and sealings, but also a full set of photographs and a compiled typescript of scholarly commentary produced by a team of scholars including Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942), Walter Henning (1908–1967), Hans Jacob Polotsky (1905–1991), and Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003). This initial phase of study proved to be influential, since, when the Bodleian made its purchase, it acquired the entire assemblage, ancient and modern. Craster's 1952 history of the Bodleian Library told the story of the purchase, stating that the library contracted to buy this 'post bag' of the 'Governor of Egypt' in 1944. Since communication was weak in wartime, the 'documents and their post bag' were delayed and only reached Oxford after the war. Craster concluded that the Bodleian had acquired the 'only known original official documents of the Achaemenid Empire'. His view was uncomplicated by awareness of the

Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives, discovered in the course of the Oriental Institute of Chicago excavations in the 1930s.

Craster's presentation was influenced by Driver's initial write-up of the acquisition in 1945, in the *Bodleian Library Record*. Opening with the same single photograph from Borchardt's 1933 publication, he elaborated on the value of this collection over the papyri already known from Egypt. These letters were special because (he concluded) they were from the Achaemenid government, and related to someone of 'royal Achaemenid blood'. He stated that they were 'all . . . found together with the remnants of the post-bag in which they had been conveyed and preserved'. He admitted that some 'semi-official or unofficial matters' might have crept into the correspondence, but he summed up that 'the probability is that they came from Susa or Babylon . . .'. Driver's narrative of imperial government began to eliminate some of Borchardt's uncertainty from the documents' history. Several aspects of his account became accepted as fact in many subsequent references to the collection, most particularly the 'post-bag' characterization of the whole group.

In other ways, Driver's full publication of the material in 1954 was indebted to Borchardt's original presentation, and the ensuing collective scholarly work in Germany. Driver paraphrased Borchardt's description of his encounter with the mysterious dealer in his introduction, but omitted the uncertainty expressed about the relationship between the letters and the bag (Driver 1954: 1). Driver's description of the iconography of the seal followed Borchardt's quite closely, but he did not mention the single sealing which differed from the rest: an impression that shows a Babylonian-style stamp seal (Driver 1954: 2). He did not number the individual sealings, which received no fixed catalogued identity until 2011. The first edition of his publication featured a full selection of photographs of the letters, sealings, bags, and a single still-closed letter, all of which were of a similar type and quality to Borchardt's first published picture. The first edition also made no mention of the unpublished study material which the library received as part of the purchase, but this changed in the second, revised edition. Perhaps in response to prompting, the revised title page prominently featured the subscription 'with help from a typescript by E. Mittwoch, W. B. Henning, H. J. Polotsky and F. Rosenthal'. The whereabouts of the original typescript itself is not currently known. The dismay of its original authors at the extent to which Driver's publication made unacknowledged use of their work became an oral memory within the discipline.²

Driver's emphasis on the imperial character of the collection, documents from a 'Persian chancery', suggests some of the specific appeal of the purchase to the Bodleian in the context of the late 1930s and early 1940s. The library's greatest expansion of its holdings in Hebrew and Aramaic dated to the tenure of Arthur Cowley as librarian between 1906 and 1923, at a time when other

² I am grateful to Shaul Shaked for recalling this memory with particular reference to Polotsky.

institutions too were competing to build papyrological collections (Emmel 1989: 47). Craster refers to the period immediately following the First World War as a golden age of gifts and acquisitions in this area. By the 1930s, a new collecting context had evolved which may have been a catalyst for the Bodleian's acquisition. A series of exhibitions in 1927, 1931, and 1940 fostered a new, international vogue for acquiring 'Persian Art', a category that evolved to include both Islamic and pre-Islamic artefacts from far beyond the borders of modern Iran. The Achaemenid empire formed a significant antique core to the celebrated exhibitions of 1931 and 1940, which were staged in London and New York (Pope 1931, Ackerman 1940). At the same time, the Oriental Institute in Chicago raised the art of publicity to new heights with their archaeological expeditions in the Middle East; their dig at Persepolis prominently featured in the *Illustrated London News (ILN)*, the *Times*, and *National Geographic* from 1933 onwards (Anonymous 1933a and 1933b; Breasted 1933a and 1933b). Arthur Upham Pope inflated the popular glamour of the Achaemenids with publications of unprovenanced artefacts in silver and gold in successive editions of the *ILN* during the same period. Pope worked in Oxford on his monumental series *A Survey of Persian Art* between 1938 and 1939, and the Clarendon Press produced the series of six volumes from that year onwards.

All of this publicity created a new market for Persian antiquities, in which both American and European museums purchased unprovenanced architectural fragments, inscriptions, jewellery, and tableware. This wave of acquisition spread even to established collections that already held significant collections of Near Eastern antiquities, such as the Louvre. In London, the British Museum, whose unparalleled quantities of Achaemenid architecture were donated and purchased in the previous century, lobbied the National Art Fund in 1937 to purchase an additional relief that had emerged on the local market (Smith 1938).³ This climate might have encouraged the Bodleian's investment in the Achaemenid period through the purchase of Borchardt's collection.

DISLOCATED OBJECTS

Despite the increased visibility of the Achaemenid aesthetic world after the 1930s, Driver's publication of 1954 marked the beginning of an academic drift in which the texts dominated the collection of associated artefacts. The 1954 folio reproduced all available photographs, and included an image of all eight sealings together. The plate was placed towards the end of the book, and came at the end of a series of plates showing increasingly atomized and illegible letter

³ Sidney Smith to the Chairman, National Art Collection Fund, October 1937, Department of Egyptian & Assyrian Antiquities, CORRESPONDENCE, A-N.

fragments. The unnumbered sealings echoed the fragments in arrangement. Following the sealings are slightly murky images of the bag fragments, as though the plates were assembled according to an ascending scale of incoherence. In the 1957 edition and later reprints, the illustrations of the sealings and bags were omitted. J. David Whitehead subsequently re-examined the texts in detail, and new photographs were prepared for the edition of the texts produced by Porten and Yardeni in 1986, at which point the remaining sealed letter was also opened (Porten, personal communication).

Whitehead's study gave consideration to the evidence in the letters for sealing and format, but did not include a detailed publication of the sealings themselves. Meanwhile, the sealings surfaced in composite form in an anepigraphic line drawing published by Roger Moorey in 1978, and then again in a photograph reproduced by John Boardman (Boardman 2000: 164, fig. 5.21). In both cases, Aršāma's seal served as an example of artistic production in the Achaemenid empire, but without reproduction of the letters which they accompanied. The twin streams of iconographic and textual interest were therefore expressed in not just disciplinary but also geographical zones of publication—impressions of Aršāma's seal were sourced exclusively from scholars who made them visible from inside Oxford. The post-bag, which has so dominated the scholarly profile of the collection, occupied no publication zone at all. The Bodleian's primary mission as a repository of text had not always excluded objects. The library housed coins until 1922, and retained some of its sculpture collection until 1933 (Macgregor 2001: 41–2). Within the rationalized institution, the artefactual detritus of the Aramaic letters became a shadow to the texts they carried. In 2011, at the first encounter of the project team with the whole assemblage of letters and objects, each sealing was given a number. During the course of this project, we began to ask detailed questions of each component of the Bodleian's purchase from Borchardt, and to ask whether and in what fashion they may fit together.

2

The Bodleian Letters

2.1

The Bodleian Letters

Text and Translation

D. G. K. Taylor

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

- [] Letters or words lost due to damage to original text.
- Trace of indecipherable letter.
- ⚭ Uncertain reading of letter.
- ^ ✱ ^ Supralinear addition by scribe.
- 2-3-3 Transcription of Aramaic numerical digits (add together for total).
- Htp* Egyptian text written in Demotic script.

CONVENTIONS IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

- [] Letters or words lost due to damage to original text.
- () Letters or words supplied by translator.
- 8 (Sum of) Aramaic numerical digits (as opposed to numerals written out with letters).
- PN Personal name, unrestorable due to damage to original text.
- TWY Aramaic letters which cannot be translated, or which remain in damaged context.
- ? Uncertain translation or restoration.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

I have endeavoured to produce as close a rendition of the Aramaic as possible, to enable the reader to see exactly what is, and what is not, contained in the surviving Aramaic texts of these documents. Literary elegance and English idiom have thus often been sacrificed in the attempt to mirror the contents of the source texts.

TADAE A6.3

INSIDE

מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל אַרְתוֹנַת שְׁלָם וְשִׁרְרַת שְׁנִיא הוֹשֶׁרֶת לְךָ וְ[כַעַת פֶּס]מִשְׁךְ שִׁמָּה בֵּר עַחְחַפְיָן עֲלִימָא זִילִי קִבֵּל	1
בּוֹזָה כֵּן אֲמַר כּוּזִי אַנְהָ הוּיִת אַתָּה [ע]ל מְרָאֲנִי [עב]דן זִי עַחְחַפִּי אֲבִי זִי אַנְהָ מוֹ..... [.....]	2
אַחֲרֵי עַל מְרָאִי פֶסֶםשְׁכַחְסִי שִׁמָּה [בֵּר 1 בֵּר]טוּי 1 עַחְחַפִּי בֵּר [פ]שְׁנַפְ[בֵּר חַפְיָ 1 אַחֲרֵי]טִיס	3
בֵּר פֶּסֶםשְׁךְ 1 פֶּשׁוּבְסַתִּי בֵּר חוֹרֶס [1 בֵּר ש]חַפְמוּ 1 פֶּסֶםשְׁךְ בֵּר וְחַפְרַעֲמַחִי 1 [.....]י בֵּר וְחַ[פֶּרַע 1]	4
כָּל גִּבְרִין 2-3-3 נְכַסִּי לְקַחְוּ וְקַרְקוּ מְנִי כַעַן הֵן עַל מְרָאִי טַב יִשְׁתַּלַּח עַל אַרְתוֹנַת [כּוּזִי עַבְדִּיא] אֲלֹכִי	5
אַהֲקַרְבִּי קְדַמוּהִי סְרוּשִׁיתָא זִי אַנְהָ אֲשִׁים לֵהֶם טַעַם יִתְעַבֵּד לֵהֶם כַּעַת [אַרְשָׁם [כֵּן] אֲמַר [פ]סֶםשְׁ[כַחְסִי]	6
זְכִי וְכִנּוּתָה עַבְדִּי עַחְחַפִּי זִי פ[ס]מִשְׁךְ יִהְיֶה קְדַמִּיךְ ת[מַת] אַנְתָּ שֵׁם [טַעַם סְרוּשִׁי]תָא זִי פֶסֶםשְׁךְ י[שִׁים]	7
לֵהֶם טַעַם לְמַעַבְדֵּד זְכִי יִתְעַבֵּד לֵהֶם	8

OUTSIDE

מִן אַרְשָׁם בֵּרְב[יִתָּא עַל אַרְתוֹנַת זִי בַמ]צִרִין	9
עַל [.....]	10
ל[...]	11
זִי [.....]	12

RELATED FRAGMENTS

[פֶּסֶםשְׁכַחְסִי]חַס [י..]	7.2
[עַח]חַפִּי [..]	11.5

TADAE A6.3

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Artavanta. I send you (wishes for) much peace
and strength! And [now]: (he) whose name is [Ps]amšek son of
‘A(n)khoḥap[i], my servant, has complained
- 2 in this (place). He says thus: ‘When I was coming [t]o [my] lord [.....
..... the sla]ves of ‘A(n)khoḥapi my father whom I [was bringing (?)]
- 3 after me to my lord, (who were): (he) whose name is Psamšekḥasi [son
of PN, 1; PN son of PN] TWY, 1; ‘A(n)khoḥapi son of P[šenpe]berekhef,
1; Aḥer[ṭais]
- 4 son of Psamšek, 1; Pšubaste son of Ḥor[i, 1; PN son of Tja]ḥapiemou, 1;
Psamšek son of Waḥpre‘makhi, 1; [PN]Y son of Waḥ[pre‘, 1.]
- 5 (In) all, 8 men. They took my goods and fled from me. Now, if it (seems)
good to my lord, let (word) be sent to Artavanta (that) [when] those
[slaves]
- 6 I shall present before him, the punishment which I shall order for them,
it shall be done to them.’ Now, Aršāma says [thus]: ‘That [P]samše[kḥasi]
- 7 and his companions, the slaves of ‘A(n)khoḥapi, whom P[s]amšek shall
present before you th[ere], you are to order the punishment which
Psamšek shall [issue]
- 8 for them (as) an order to carry out; that (punishment) shall be done to
them.’

OUTSIDE

- 9 From Aršāma the prin[ce to Artavanta who is in E]gypt.
- 10 Concerning [.....]
- 11 [.....]
- 12 [.....]

RELATED FRAGMENTS

- 7.2 [Psamšek]ḥas[i....]
- 11.5 [‘A(n)kho]ḥapi[....]

TADAE A6.4

INSIDE

- | | |
|--|---|
| מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל אַרְ[תוֹנ]ת שְׁלָם וּשְׁרַרְת שְׁנָ[י]א הוֹשֵׁרְת לְ[ךְ וּכְעַת
דְּשֵׁנָא מִ] מְלַכָּא וּמְנִי יְהֵב לְעַחְחַפִּי | 1 |
| עֲלִימָא זִילִי זִי פִקְ[יֵד] הוּהּ בִּין בְּנִיָּא זִילִי זִי בַע[לִיתָא וְתַחְתִּיתָא כְּעַן
פִּסְ]מִשְׁךְ בְּרַה זִי עַחְחַפִּי זִי כְּעַן | 2 |
| פִּקִּיד עֵבֶד חֲלָפוּהִי בִין בְּנִיָּא זִילִי זִי בַעֲלִיתָא [וְ]תַחְתִּיתָא שְׂאֵל
לְמִנְשָׂא] דְּשֵׁנָא זְכִי זִי מִן מְלַכָּא וּמְנִי | 3 |
| [י]הֵב לְעַחְחַפִּי פִּסְמִשְׁךְ בְּרַה שְׁלִיט יְהוּי לְמִנְשָׂא דְשֵׁנָא זְכִי תַמָּה
בְּמִ[צְ]רִין | 4 |

OUTSIDE

- | | |
|---|---|
| [מִן] אַרְשָׁם בְּרַבִּית[א] עַל [אַרְתוֹנַת זִי בְּמִצְרִין] | 5 |
| עַל דְּשֵׁנָא | 6 |
| זִי עַחְחַפִּי | 7 |
| פִּקִּידָא זִי | 8 |
| [.....] | 9 |

TADAE A6.4

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Ar[tavan]ta. I send yo[u] (wishes for) m[u]ch peace
and strength! [And now: the grant (which) was given b]y the king and
by me to ‘A(n)khoḥapi
- 2 my servant, who was an offi[cial] among my domains which are in
U[pper and Lower (Egypt). Now, Psa]mšek the son of ‘A(n)khoḥapi
who now
- 3 has been made an official instead of him among my domains which are
in Upper [and] Low[er (Egypt), he has asked to receive] that grant
whi[ch] by the king and by me
- 4 was [g]iven to ‘A(n)khoḥapi. Let Psamšek his son be authorized to
receive that grant there in E[g]ypt.

OUTSIDE

- 5 [Fr]om Aršāma the princ[e] to [Artavanta who is in Egypt.]
- 6 Concerning the grant
- 7 of ‘A(n)khoḥapi
- 8 the official who
- 9 [.....]

TADAE A6.5

INSIDE

- [מן ארשם על] ארתונת שלם [ושררת שניא הושרת] לך וכענת שלם 1
 בזנה קדמי אף] שלם תמה קדמיך [יהוי וכעת]
] ל כוסכן ורשבר [.....] 2
] הוה בין בניא זילי זי [במצרין] זי כל
] עלי אנת שם ט [ע]ם [.....] 3
] יאתו עלי

OUTSIDE

- מן א [ארשם ברביתא על ארתונת ...] 4
 על [.....] 5
 [.....] 6
 [.....] 7

DRIVER FRAGMENT 1A

INSIDE

- [.....] 1
 [פ]סמשך פקי [דא] 2

OUTSIDE

- [מן] [כ]וסכן] 3

TADAE A6.5

INSIDE

- 1 [From Aršāma to] Artavanta. [I send] you [(wishes for) much] peace
[and strength!] And no[w, (there is) peace in this (place) before me.
May there also be] peace there before you. [And now:]
- 2 [.....] Kosakan the ^ʔplenipotentiary (**xvaršabara*)
[.....] was among my
domains which [are in Egyp]t which all
- 3 [.....] to me. (As for) you, issue an or[d]er
[.....] let
them come to me.

OUTSIDE

- 4 From A[ršāma the prince to Artavanta....]
- 5 Concerning [...]
- 6 [.....]
- 7 [.....]

DRIVER FRAGMENT 1A

INSIDE

- 1 [.....]
- 2 [.....P]samšek the offi[cial.....]

OUTSIDE

- 3 [From] K[osakan....]

TADAE A6.6

INSIDE

מ]ן ארשם על ארתונת שלם ושררת שניא הוש]רת לך תנה [לי שלם אף תמה לך אל]היא שלם ישמו	1
ו]כעת [..... נחתחור ש]מה בר עלימא זילין] זי במצרין שלח עלי כן	2
אמ]ר [.....] ◦ בר	3
ינחרון] [.....] זך	
אתעדי מן בין בגיא זי	
מרא]י [.....] ◦ ח] [כ]עת ארשם	4
כן אמר הן	
[.....]	5
[.....]	6
[..] ◦ נת] [..]	

TADAE A6.6

INSIDE

- 1 F[rom Aršāma to Artavanta. I se]nd you [(wishes for) much peace and strength!] Here [for me (there is) peace. May the go]ds appoint peace [also there for you!]
- 2 And [now:he whose] name is Nakhtḥor [son of PN, my servant] who is in Egypt, has sent (word) to me. Thus
- 3 he sa[ys: ‘] son of Inḥarou [.....] that one was removed from among the domains of
- 4 [my] lord [.....]’ N]ow, Aršāma says thus: ‘If
- 5 [.....]
- 6 [.....]

TADAE A6.7

INSIDE

- | | |
|---|---|
| מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל אַרְתְּהַנְתָּ שְׁלָם וְשִׁרְרַת שְׁנִיא הוֹשֶׁרֶת לְ[ךָ] וְכַעַת בּוֹזְנָה
קִדְמֵי שְׁלָם | 1 |
| אַף תְּמָה קִדְמֵ[י]ךָ שְׁלָם יִהְיוּ וְכַעַת אִיתִי גְבָרָן חֵיל[כִּי]ן עֵבֶדְךָ זִילֵי
בְּמִצְרַיִן | 2 |
| פְּרִימָא שְׁמָה 1 אֲמוּן שְׁמָה 1 סֶרְךְ שְׁמָה 1 תַעֲנֹרִי [ש]מָה 1 [1]... מִי שְׁמָה 1
סֶדְסַבְנֵז שְׁמָה | 3 |
| [1] א[נ]ד[ם] שְׁמָה 1 סֶרְמִנֵז שְׁמָה 1 כֹּא שְׁמָה 1 בְּנַפְרָן שְׁמָה 1 פִּיתְרַעֲנֵז
שְׁמָה 1 אֲסִמְרוּף | 4 |
| שְׁמָה 1 מוֹסֶרֶם שְׁמָה 1 כֹּל גְּבָרָן 10-3 אֲבִשׁוּכָן מִמְנִיָן הוּוּ בֵין בְּנִיא
זִילֵי זִי | 5 |
| בְּעִלִּיתָא וְתַחְתִּיתָא אַחַר כְּזִי מִצְרַיִן מְרַדְתָּ וְחֵילָא הַנְדִיז הוּוּ אֲדִין | 6 |
| פְּרִימָא זָךְ וְכַנּוּתָה לֹא שְׁנַצִּיז לְמַנְעַל בְּבִירְתָא אַחַר [י]נ[ח]רו לְחִיא
אַחַד הַמוֹ | 7 |
| עֵמָה הוּוּ כַעַן הֵן עֲלִיךָ כּוֹת טַב מִנְךָ יִתְשֵׁם טַעַם כְּזִי אִישׁ מִנְדַעַם
בְּאִישׁ לֹא | 8 |
| יַעֲבֹד לְפִירְמָא זָךְ וְכַנּוּתָה יִשְׁתַּבְּקוּ עֲבִידְתָא זִילֵי יַעֲבֹדוּ כְּזִי קִדְמֵן | 9 |

OUTSIDE

- | | |
|---|----|
| מִן אַרְשָׁם בְּרִבִּיתָא עַל אַרְתְּהַנְתָּ זִי ב[מִצְרַיִן] | 10 |
| עַל חֵילְכִיא | 11 |
| [...] זִילֵי | 12 |
| [..] שְׁנַצִּיז | 13 |
| [..] לְמַצְפָּה | 14 |

TADAE A6.7

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Artavanta ('Artahanta'). I send yo[u] (wishes for) much
 peace and strength! And now, (there is) peace in this (place) before me.
 2 May there also be peace there before y[o]u. And now: there are
 Cili[cian] men, my slaves, in Egypt:
 3 (he) whose name is Pariyama, 1; (he) whose name is Ammuwana, 1;
 (he) whose name is Saraka, 1; (he) whose [n]ame is T^cNDY, [1;] (he)
 whose name is [...] MY, 1; (he) whose name is Sadasbinazi
 4 [1;] (he) whose name is I]nda[ma (?), 1; (he) whose name is Sarmanazi,
 1; (he) whose name is Ka', 1; (he) whose name is Bagafārna, 1; (he)
 whose name is Piyatarunazi, 1; (he) whose name is Asmaraupa,
 5 1; (he) whose name is Muwasarma, 1. (In) all, 13 men. They were
 appointed (as) pressers (?) among my domains which are
 6 in Upper and Lower (Egypt). After, when Egypt rebelled, and the
 (armed) force was garrisoned, then
 7 that Pariyama and his companions were not able to enter into the
 fortress. After, the wicked [I]n[h]arou seized them,
 8 (and) they were with him. Now, if (it seems) like a good thing to you, let
 an order be issued by you, so that a person should not do anything bad
 9 to that Pariyama and his companions. Let them be released. Let them
 do my work as previously.

OUTSIDE

- 10 From Aršāma the prince to Artavanta ('Artahanta') who is in
 [Egyp]t.
 11 Concerning the Cilicians
 12 [slaves] of mine
 13 [who were not] able
 14 [to enter] into Mišpeh (?)

TADAE A6.8

INSIDE

- | | |
|--|---|
| מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל אַרְמְפִי וּכְעַת פִּסְמִשְׁךְ פִּקִּידָא זִילִי שְׁלַח עֲלֵי כֵן אֲמַר | 1 |
| אַרְמְפִי עִם חֵילָא זִי לִידָה לֹא מִשְׁתַּמְעֵן לִי | |
| בְּצִבּוֹת מִרְאִי זִי אֲמַר אַנְהּ לֵהֶם כְּעַת אַרְשָׁם כֵּן אֲמַר צִבּוֹת בֵּיתָא זִילִי | 2 |
| זִי פִסְמִשְׁךְ יֹאמַר לְךָ וּלְחֵילָא זִי לִידֶךָ זָכִי | |
| אַשְׁתַּמְעוּ לָהּ וְעַבְדוּ כֵּן יִרְ[י] עֵי הוּוּה לְךָ הֵן פִּסְמִשְׁנֶךָ] אַחַר קִבְלַת מִנְךָ | 3 |
| יִשְׁלַח עֲלֵי חֶסֶן תִּשְׁתַּאֲל וּגְסַת פִּתְגָם | |
| יִתְעַבֵּד לְךָ בְּגִסְרוֹ יִדַע טַעְמָא זִנְה אַחְפִּי סִפְרָא | 4 |

OUTSIDE

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| מִן [א] רְשָׁם עַל אַרְמְפִי | 5 |
| עַל זִי פִּסְמִשְׁנֶךָ] | 6 |
| אֲמַר לֹא מִשְׁתַּמְ[עֵן] | 7 |
| לִי | 8 |

TADAE A6.8

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Armapiya. And now: Psamšek my official has sent
 (word) to me. He says thus: ‘Armapiya with the (armed) force which is
 at his control (“to his hand”) do not obey me
 2 in the affair of my lord which I am telling them.’ Now, Aršāma says thus:
 ‘The affair of my estate which Psamšek shall tell to you and to the force
 which is at your control, (in) that (affair)
 3 obey him and act. Thus let it be kn[o]wn to you: If Psamše[k] afterwards
 should send me a complaint about you, you will be questioned
 forcefully, and a severe sentence
 4 will be produced for you.’ Bagasravā knows this order. Aḥpepi (or
 ʾḤWPY) is the scribe.

OUTSIDE

- 5 From [A]ršāma to Armapiya
 6 Concerning that Psamše[k]
 7 said: ‘They do not ob[ey]
 8 me.’

TADAE A6.9

INSIDE

- 1 מן ארשם על מרדך פקידא זי בגן[.] כד נבודלני פקי[דא] זי בלער
זתוהי פקידא [זי ב]ארזוחן אפסתבר פקידא זי בארבל חל[.]
ומתלבש בגפרן פקידא
- 2 [זי] בסעלם פרדפרן והן[מד]ת[פ]קי[די]א זי בדמשק וכ[ע]ת[ה]א
נחתחור שמה פקידא זיל[י]אז[ל] מצרין אנתם הבו [לה פ]תף מן ביתא
זילי זי במדינתכם
- 3 יום ליום קמח חורי חפנן תרת[י]ן קמח רמי חפנן תלת חמר או שכר
חפנן תרתין [...] ר' חד ולעלימוהי גב[ר]ן עשרה לחד ליומא
- 4 קמח חפן חדה עמיר לקבל רכשה והבו פתף לגברן חלכין תרין אמן
חד כל תלתה עלימן זילי זי אזלן עמה מצרין לגבר
- 5 לגבר ליומא קמח חפן חדה פתפא זנה הבו להם מן פקיד על פקיד
לקבל אדונא זי מן מדינה עד מדינה עד ימטא מצרין
- 6 והן יהוה באתר חד יתיר מן יום חד אחר זי יומיא אלך יתיר פתף אל
תנתנו להם בגסרו ידע שעמא זנה רשת ספרא

TADAE A6.9

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Marduk the official who is in [.....]; Nabudalani the
 offic[ial] who is in La'ir; Zātavahyā the official [who is in] Arzuḥin;
 Upastābara the official who is in Arbel, ḤL[.], and Matalubaš; Bagafārna
 the official
- 2 [w]ho is in Sa'lam; Frādafarnā and Hau[madā]ta (?) the [o]ffi[cial]s
 who are in Damascus. And now, [behol]d, (he) whose name is
 Nakhtḥor, m[y] official, [is goi]ng to Egypt. (As for) you, give
 [him ra]tions from my estate which is in your provinces,
- 3 day by day: white flour, two measures (ḤPNN); inferior (?) flour, three
 measures; wine or beer, two measures; [cheese (?) or lamb (?)], one.
 And for his servants, ten m[e]n, to each per day:
- 4 flour, one measure; fodder in proportion to his horses. And give rations
 to the (following) men: two Cilicians, one artisan, (in) all, three (men),
 my servants who are going with him to Egypt, to each
- 5 man per day: flour, one measure. Give them this ration, from (one)
 official to (the next) official, in accordance with the route which is from
 province to province, until he shall reach Egypt.
- 6 And if he should be in (any) one place more than one day, then for
 those days you shall not give them further rations. Bagasravā knows this
 order. Rāšta is the scribe.

TADAE A6.10

INSIDE

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|--|----|
| מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל נַחְתְּחוּר וּכְעַת קִדְמָן כִּזִּי מִצְרִיא מִרְדּוֹ אַדִּין סַמְשָׁךְ
פְּקִידָא קִדְמִיא גִרְדָּא וּנְכִסִּיא | 1 |
| זִילְנָא [זִי] בְּמִצְרִיָּן חֲסִין נִטְר כֵּן כִּזִּי מִנְדַּעַם כִּסְנַתּוֹ לֹא הוּוּה מִן בֵּיתָא
זִילִי אַף מִן אַתְר אַחֲרָן גִּרְד | 2 |
| אַמְנָן וּסְפִזָּן וּנְכ[ס] אַחֲרָנָן שְׁפִיק בַּעַה וְעַבְד עַל בֵּיתָא זִילִי וּכְעַן תְּנַה
כֵּן שְׁמִיעַ לִי כִּזִּי פְּקִידִיא זִי | 3 |
| [בְּתַח] תִּיְתָא בְּשׁוּזִיא מִתְנַצְחָן גִּרְדָּא וּנְכִסִּי מִרְאִיהֶם חֲסִין נִטְרָן אַף
אַחֲרָנָן בְּעִי[ן] מִן אַתְר אַחֲרָן | 4 |
| וּמְהוּס[פִּן ע] לְבֵית מִרְאִיהֶם וְאַנְתָּם כֵּן לֹא עַבְדָּן כְּעַן אַף קִדְמָן שְׁלַחַת
עֲלִיכֶם עַל זְנַה אַנְתָּם [א] תְּנַצְחוּ גִרְדָּא | 5 |
| וּנְכִסִּי [א זִיל] י חֲסִין טְרוּ כֵּן כִּזִּי מ[נ] דַּעַם כִּסְנַתּוֹ לֹא יְהוּוּה מִן בֵּיתָא זִילִי
אַף מִן אַתְר אַחֲרָן גִּרְד אַמְנָן | 6 |
| וּסְפִזָּן שְׁפִיק בַּעַו וְהִנְעֵלוּ בְּתֵר בְּצֹא זִילִי וּסְטְרוּ בְּשַׁנְתָּא זִילִי וְעַבְדּוּ עַל
בֵּיתָא זִילִי כֵּן כִּזִּי פְּקִידִיא | 7 |
| [קִד] מִיא הוּוּ עַבְדָּן כֵּן יִדְיעַ יְהוּי לָךְ הֵן מִן גִּרְדָּא אִו מִן נְכִסִּיא אַחֲרָנָן
זִילִי מִנְדַּעַם כִּסְנַתּוֹ יְהוּוּה | 8 |
| וּמִן אַתְר אַחֲרָן לֹא תַבְעוּן וְלֹא תְהוּסְפוּן עַל בֵּיתָא זִילִי חֲסִין תְּשַׁתְּאֲלוּן
וּנְסַת פְּתַנְגַּם יִתְעַבְד | 9 |
| לָךְ [אַר] תְּחִי יִדְעַ טַעְמָא זְנַה רֶשֶׁת סַפְרָא | 10 |

OUTSIDE

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|---|----|
| מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל נַחְתְּחוּר פְּקִידָא זִי בְּמִצְרִיָּן בְּתַחְתִּיתָא | 11 |
| עַל הַנְּדִרְזָא | 12 |
| זִי [.....] | 13 |

TADAE A6.10

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Nakhthor. And now: previously, when the Egyptians
 rebelled, then Samšek the previous official, our personnel and goods
 2 [which] are in Egypt he guarded with force, so that there was not any
 loss from my estate. Also, from elsewhere ('another place'), personnel
 3 of artisans of every kind and other goods, sufficiently he sought and
 made over to my estate. And now: it is thus heard by me here, that the
 officials who are
 4 [in Lo]wer (Egypt) are being diligent in the disturbances (?), and are
 forcefully guarding the personnel and goods of their lords. They are also
 seeking others from elsewhere,
 5 and are add[ing t]o the estate of their lords. But you (and your
 colleagues) are not so doing. Now, I have also previously sent (word) to
 you concerning this: 'You are to be diligent.
 6 Guard [my] personnel and goods forcefully, so that there shall not be
 a[n]y loss from my estate. Also, from elsewhere, personnel of artisans
 7 of every kind, seek (in) sufficient (numbers), and bring (them) into my
 courtyard, and mark (them) with my brand, and make (them) over to
 my estate, just as
 8 the [pre]vious officials were doing.' Thus let it be known to you, if from
 the personnel or from my other goods there should be any loss,
 9 or from elsewhere you should not seek and should not add to my estate,
 you will (all) be questioned forcefully, and a severe sentence will be
 produced
 10 for you (Nakhthor). [Ar]taxaya knows this order. Rāšta is the scribe.

OUTSIDE

- 11 From Aršāma to Nakhthor the official who is in Egypt, in Lower
 (Egypt).
 12 Concerning the instruction
 13 which [.....]

TADAE A6.11

INSIDE

- 1 מן ארשם על נחתחור כנזסרם וכנותה וכעת פטוסרי שמה ורשבר
עלים זילי שלח עלי כן אמר איתי פמון שמון א[בי כזי
- 2 יוזא במצרין הוה זך אבד ובגה זי הוה מהחסן פמון שמה אבי בית
זרע א 20(-)10 ז[ך] אשתבק בגו בזי נשי ביתן כלא א[ברו לא יהיב]
- 3 לי בגה זי פמון אבי יתעשת לי ינתנו לי אתחסן כעת ארש[ם] כן אמר
הן כנם הו כמליא אלה זי פטסרי שלח [עלי זי פמון]
- 4 שמה אבוהי זך כזי יוזא הוה במצרין אבד עם נשי [ביתה ו] בגה זי
פמון זך אבוהי בית זרע א 20(-)10 זך אשתבק ועל ביתא זילי]
- 5 לא עביד לעלים אחרן זילי מני לא יהיב אחר אנה בגה זי פמון זך
יהבת לפטסורי אנתם החוהי יהחסן והלכא
- 6 לקבל זי קדמן פמון אבוהי הוה חשל יחשל על ביתא זילי ארתוהי
ידע טעמא זנה רשת ספרא

OUTSIDE

- 7 מן ארשם על נחתחור פקידא [כנז]סרם וכנותה [המרכ]ריא זי
במצרין
- 8 $r^{-f}tb^{\gamma} n_3 ; \dot{h}(w) n Pa^{-2}Imn r.ty(=y) (n) P_3-ty-Wsir$

TADAE A6.11

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Nakhtḥor, Kenzasirma, and his colleagues. And now:
 (he) whose name is Peṭosiri the plenipotentiary (**xvaršabara*), my
 servant, has sent (word) to me. He says thus: ‘There is (a man) [whose]
 name is Pamun, my [fa]ther. When
- 2 there was unrest (?) in Egypt that (man) perished. And his domain,
 which he whose name is Pamun, my father, was occupying (as heir), a
 seed-place of 30 *a(rdab)*, th[at] (domain) was abandoned within (Egypt)
 since the people of our household all p[erished. It was not given (?)]
- 3 to me, the domain of Pamun my father. Let there be thought for me.
 Let them give (it) to me. Let me occupy (it as heir): Now, Aršā[ma] says
 thus: ‘If it is thus, in accordance with these words which Peṭosiri has
 sent [to me,—that] he whose name is [Pamun]
- 4 his father, that one, when there was unrest (?) in Egypt, perished with
 the people of [his household, and] his domain, of that Pamun his father,
 a seed-place of 30 *a(rdab)*, that one was abandon[ed, and to my estate]
- 5 it was not made over, (and) it was not given by me to another servant of
 mine,—then I give the domain of that Pamun to Peṭosiri. You tell him
 (that) he shall occupy (it as heir), and the tax,
- 6 in accordance with (that) which Pamun his father was previously
 paying, he shall pay to my estate. Artāvahyā knows this order. Rāšta is
 the scribe.

OUTSIDE

- 7 From Aršāma to Nakhtḥor the official, [Kenza]sirma, and his
 colleagues [the account]ants, who are in Egypt.
- 8 (DEMOTIC) *Concerning* the fields of Pamun which I have given to
 Peṭosiri.

TADAE A6.12

INSIDE

- 1 מן ארשם על נחתחור כנזסרם וכנותה וכעת חנזני שמה פתכרכר
 עלימ[א] זילי זי בגסרו היתי שושן זך פתפא הב
 2 לה א ולנשי ביתה א כאחרנן גרד בדיכרן זילי ויעבד פתכרן זי פרש [...]
 יהוון ויעבד פתכר סוסה עם רכבה לקבל זי קרמן עבד קרמי
 3 ופתכרן אחרנן והושרו יהיתו עלי אפריע לעבק ול[עב]ק ארתוהי
 ידע טעמ[א ז]נה רשת ספרא

OUTSIDE

- 4 מן ארשם על נחתחור פקי[דא] כנזסרם וכנותה המ[ר] כריא זי
 במצריין
 5 על [...]
 6 [.....]
 7 [.....]
 8 [.....]
 9 *Ḥtp-ḥp*

TADAE A6.12

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Nakhtḥor, Kenzasirma, and his colleagues. And now:
 (he) whose name is Ḥinzani (?), a sculptor, my servant, whom
 Bagasravā brought to Susa, that one, give rations
 2 to him, and to the people of his household, as (to) the other personnel,
 my stonecutters (*brykṛn*) / on my memorandum (*bdykrn*). And let him
 make statues (on) which there shall be horsemen (?), and let him make
 a statue of a horse with its rider, just as previously he made before me,
 3 and other statues. And send (them), and let them bring (them) to me
 at once, with haste and h[ast]e! Artāvahyā knows thi[s o]rder. Rāšta is
 the scribe.

OUTSIDE

- 4 From Aršāma to Nakhtḥor the offi[cial], Kenzasirma, and his
 colleagues the acco[un]tants, who are in Egypt,
 5 Concerning...
 6 [.....]
 7 [.....]
 8 [.....]
 9 (DEMOTIC) Ḥotepḥep

TADAE A6.13

INSIDE

- 1 מן ארשם על נחתחור כנזסרם וכנותה וכעת ורוהי בר ביתא בזנה כן
אמר לי בנא לם זי מן מראי יהיב לי
- 2 במצריין וך מנדעם מן תמה לא מהיתין עלי הן על מראי לם כות שב
אגרת מן מראי תשתלח על נחתחור פקידא
- 3 והמרכריא כזי הנדרזי יעברון לחתובסתי שמה פקידא זילי זי עד
מנדת בניא אלך יהנפק ויהיתה עלי עם מנדתא זי
- 4 מהיתה נחתחור כעת ארשם כן אמר אנתם הנדרזי עברו לחתובסתי
פקיד ורוהי זי עד מנדת בניא זי ורוהי אספרן
- 5 והדאבנו יהנפק ויהיתה ויאתה עם גנזא זי מני שים להיתה בבאל
ארתוהי ידע טעמא זנה רשת ספרא

OUTSIDE

- 6 מן ארשם על נחתחור פקידא כנזסרם וכנותה המרכריא זי במצריין
- 7 על הנדרזא
- 8 זי [.....]
- 9 [.....]
- 10 [.....]
- 11 *Htp-ḥp*

TADAE A6.13

INSIDE

- 1 From Aršāma to Nakhtḥor, Kenzasirma, and his colleagues. And now:
 Vāravahyā the prince says to me thus in this (place), saying: ‘The
 domain which was given to me by my lord
 2 in Egypt, that one, they do not bring me anything from there. If it
 (seems) like a good thing to my lord, let a letter be sent by my lord to
 Nakhtḥor the official
 3 and the accountants, in order that they might make an order to (him)
 whose name is Aḥatubaste, my official, to the effect that the revenue of
 those domains he should disburse, and should bring (it) to me with the
 revenue which
 4 Nakhtḥor is bringing.’ Now, Aršāma says thus: ‘(As for) you, make an
 order to Aḥatubaste the official of Vāravahyā, to the effect that the
 revenue of the domains of Vāravahyā in full,
 5 and the (accrued) interest, he should disburse and bring, and he should
 come with the treasure (concerning) which (an order) was issued by me
 to bring (it) to Babylon.’ Artāvahyā knows thi[s o]rder. Rāšta is the
 scribe.

OUTSIDE

- 6 From Aršāma to Nakhtḥor the official, Kenzasirma and his
 colleagues the accountants, who are in Egypt,
 7 concerning the order
 8 which [.....]
 9 [.....]
 10 [.....]
 11 (DE MOTIC) Ḥotepḥep

TADAE A6.14

INSIDE

- 1 מן ורוהי על נחתחור וכנדסירם וכנותה וכעת תנה אנה קבלת
לארשם על אחתבסתי
- 2 פקידא זילי זי מ[נדר]ת[א] מנדעם לא מהיתה לי אח[ר].....[.....]ת
- 3 מהיתין בב[אל] כ[ע]ת אנתם
אתנצח[ון] והנדרזא עבדו לפקידא [זי]לי ער מנדת [בניא אלך]
- 4 יהי[תה] עלי בבאל כן עב[דו]
כזי לי תחדון אף הא שגן שגיא זי בגא זך [.....] לא כשר אף אחתבסתי
- 5 פקידא זילי
או אחוהי או ברה יאתה עלי בבאל עם מנדתא

OUTSIDE

- 6 מן ורוהי על נחתחור וחנדסירם פק[ידא].....[.....]

TADAE A6.14

INSIDE

- 1 From Vāravahyā, to Nakhtḥor, and Kenzasirma and his colleagues. And
now: here I have complained to Aršāma concerning Aḥatubaste,
- 2 my official, that he is not bringing me any re[ven]u[e]. Oth[er officials
(??)] are bringing [revenue (?)] to Baby[lon]. N[o]w, (as for) you,
- 3 be diligen[t] and make an order to [m]y official so that the revenue of
[those domains he should br]ing to me to Babylon. Ac[t] thus,
- 4 in order that you might please me. Also, behold, (it is) many years that
that domain [...] was not suitable. Also, Aḥatubaste my official,
- 5 or his brother or his son, let him come to me to Babylon with the
revenue.

OUTSIDE

- 6 From Vāravahyā, to Nakhtḥor, and Kenzasirma the off[icials...]

TADAE A6.15

INSIDE

- 1 מן ורפש על נחתחור וכעת מספת פקידא זילי^א שלח עלי^א כן אמר בבל
לם אנרת מן ארשם יהבת
- 2 על פס[מש]ך בר עחחפי למנתן חלכין [גברן 3-1]-1 ובבל [יהב] לי
חלכין 2-3 כל גברן [10]
- 3 אחר חלכיא גברן 2-3 שאל מן [נח]תחור ולא יהב לי כעת ורפש כן
אמר הא אנת
- 4 חזי אנרת ארשם זי היתיו על פסמשך על חלכיא זי מלכו לי גברן 2-3
[ואנת] הב למספת
- 5 חלכיא אלך 2-3 שטר מן זי יהבו בבבאל גברן 2-3 אף קבילה שלח
עליך חמרא לם
- 6 זי בפפום ועבור ארקתא כלא נחתחור לקח עבד לנפשה כעת חמרא
עבורא ומנדע[ם]
- 7 אחרן זי לקחת כלא התב הב למספת יעבד על ביתא זילי למה כזי
תאתה בזנה
- 8 מה זי לקחת זיני תשלם ותשתאל על זנה אף מספת שלח גרדא לם
זי מראתי
- 9 כתש ונכסן לקח מנה כעת אנת וגרדא זילי עבדה לא איתי לך ומה זי
לקחת נכס[ן] מן גרדא התב הב להם
- 10 כן כזי מספת קבילה תובא לא ישלח
ע[ליך]
- 12

OUTSIDE

- 13 מן ורפש על [נ]חתחור[ר פקידא זי ב]מצרין
- 14 על[.....]
- 15 זי[.....]
- 16 מספת[.....]
- 17 [.....]ooo

TADAE A6.15

INSIDE

- 1 From Virafša to Nakhtḥor. And now: Miçapāta my official has sent
 (word) to me. He says thus, saying: 'In Babylon, a letter from Aršāma
 was given
 2 to Psa[mše]k the son of 'A(n)khoḥapi, (ordering him) to give (me)
 Cilicians, [4+]1 [men]. And in Babylon [he had (already) given] me
 Cilicians, 5. (In) all, [10] men.
 3 After, he asked for the Cilicians, 5 men, from [Nakh]tḥor, and he did
 not give (them) to me.' Now Virafša says thus: 'Behold, (as for) you,
 4 look at the letter of Aršāma which they brought to Psamšek concerning
 the Cilicians which they promised to me, 5 men. And you, give to
 Miçapāta
 5 those Cilicians (who are) 5, apart from the 5 men whom they gave (to
 me/him) in Babylon.' Also, he has sent a complaint against you, saying:
 'The wine
 6 which is in Papremis (?), and the grain of the lands, all of it, Nakhtḥor
 has taken and made (it over) to himself.' Now, the wine, the grain, and
 anythin[g]
 7 else, which you have taken, return all of it (and) give (it) to Miçapāta.
 Let him make (it over) to my estate, lest, when you come to this (place),
 8 you shall pay damages (for) what you took, and you shall be questioned
 about this. Also Miçapāta has sent (word), saying: 'The personnel of my
 lady
 9 he assaulted, and he took goods from her.' Now, (as for) you and my
 personnel, it is no business of yours. And whatever
 10 goods you took from (my) personnel, return (and) give (them) to them
 11 thus, so that Miçapāta shall not again send a complaint
 12 ag[ainst you].

OUTSIDE

- 13 From Virafša to [N]akhtḥo[r the official who is in] Egypt.
 14 Concerning [.....]
 15 which [.....]
 16 Miçapāta [.....]
 17 [.....]

TADAE A6.16

INSIDE

- 1 מן אר[ת]ח[ין] על נחתחור שלם ושררת שניא הושרת לך וכע[ת אנ]ת
אתנצח [.....]
- 2 [.....] כן עבד כזי לאלהיא ולארשם תחד[ין] אף זי הושרת
[היתין] עלי ביד אנא [.....]
- 3 [.....] תחדו כתן 1 גלדי תולע 2 זך היתי עלי להן לא [חדית]
אנת הושרת ו[היתי]
- 4 [עלי זי לא ח]סרת ואנה ל[א] חדית אנת שניא פתסו לי
ומנ[ו] [.....] תמ[ו] [.....]
- 5 [.....] כזי [אלהיא שלם ישמו לך]

OUTSIDE

- 6 מן ארתחי על נחתחור

TADAE A6.16

INSIDE

- 1 From Ar[t]axa[ya] to Nakhtḥor. I send you (wishes for) much peace and strength! And no[w: (as for) yo]u, be diligent [.....]
- 2 [.....] Act thus, in order that you should pleas[e] the gods and Aršāma. Also, that which you have sent, [he brought] to me, by the hand of 'N'[.....] (= PN ?),
- 3 [.....] THDW linen-tunic, 1; skins of purple, 2. That (man) has brought (them) to me, but [I was] not [pleased]. You sent and [he brought]
- 4 [to me what I was not la]cking, and I was no[t] pleased. You are very praiseworthy to me and [.....]
- 5 [.....that] the gods shall appoint peace for you.

OUTSIDE

- 6 From Artaxaya to Nakhtḥor

2.2

The Bodleian Letters: Glossary and Concordance

GLOSSARY

This is a simple glossary, and not a full-blown dictionary, and so there is a bare minimum of annotation.

All lexemes are listed alphabetically, and not by semitic root.

Vocalization has been added as a guide to pronunciation for those without extensive experience of reading Aramaic texts. It is mostly based on Biblical Aramaic and later dialects. In most cases the vowel pattern/structure should be correct, although the precise value of vowels is often far from certain.

Verbs are always listed according to their trilateral stem. Verb forms, if not otherwise marked, are presented in the unmarked S3M ('he') Perfect of the Ground [G] (or Pə'al) form. If a verb is only attested in other forms, these are indicated by the standard abbreviations listed below. When the attested form has prefixes, or the trilateral stem might not be immediately obvious, the stem is listed first, without vowels.

Nouns and adjectives are usually listed in their absolute/indeterminate singular form.

Proper nouns are listed separately, after this glossary.

All text references are given according to the numbering of the texts in TADAE, followed by line numbers. (Contrary to the practice elsewhere in this publication, line numbers are separated from text numbers by a full stop, not a colon.) Words that have been entirely restored by scholars, without any letters remaining on the documents themselves, are excluded from this glossary.

Abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
D	Doubled (Pa'el) form
F	Feminine

G	Ground (Pə'al) form
Gp	Internal passive of G form (Pə'il)
H	Causative (Haph'el) form
M	Masculine
P	Plural
Pers.	Persian
Quad.	Quadriliteral verb
S	Singular
tD	Passive of D form (Ithpa'al)
tG	Passive of G form (Ithp'el)

א

א	see אָרְדֵּב
אב, אָבָא	father 6.3.2; 6.11.1, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6
אָבֵד	to perish, be lost 6.11.2, 2, 4
אָבְשׁוֹן	presser (?) [Pers.] 6.7.5
אָבִירָת	letter [Akk.] 6.13.2; 6.15.1, 4
אָרְוֵן	route [Pers.] 6.9.5
אָרְוֵן	then 6.7.6; 6.10.1
אוּ	or 6.9.3; 6.10.8; 6.14.5, 5
אָוֵל	to go 6.9.2, 4
אָח, אָחָא	brother 6.14.5
אָחַד	to hold, take, seize 6.7.7
אָחֵר	then, afterwards 6.7.6, 7; 6.8.3; 6.9.6; 6.11.5; 6.15.3
אָחֵרִי	after 6.3.3
אָחֵרִין	other, another 6.10.2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 8, 9; 6.11.5; 6.12.2, 3; 6.15.7
אִישׁ	man, person, anyone 6.7.8
אִיתִי	there is / are 6.7.2; 6.11.1; 6.15.9
אֵל	not 6.9.6
אֵלֶּה	these 6.11.3
אֵלֹהִים, אֵלֹהָא	god 6.6.1; 6.16.2, 5
אֵלֶּיךָ	those 6.9.6; 6.13.3; 6.15.5
אֵלֶּיכִי	those 6.3.5
אָמֵן, אָמְנָא	artisan 6.9.4; 6.10.3, 6
אָמַר	to say; to command 6.3.2, 6; 6.6.3, 4; 6.8.1, 2, 2, 2, 7; 6.11.1, 3; 6.13.1, 4; 6.15.1, 3
אָנֹכִי	I 6.3.2, 2, 6; 6.8.2; 6.11.5; 6.14.1; 6.16.4
אָנֹשׁ, אָנֹשִׁי	person 6.11.2, 4; 6.12.2
אַנְתָּ	you [SM] 6.3.7; 6.5.3; 6.15.3, 9; 6.16.1, 3, 4
אַנְתָּם	you [PM] 6.9.2; 6.10.5, 5; 6.11.5; 6.13.4; 6.14.2
אִסְפָּרִין	in full [Pers.] 6.13.4
אִף	also, even 6.7.2; 6.10.2, 4, 5, 6; 6.14.4, 4; 6.15.5, 8; 6.16.2
אִפְרִיעַ	at once 6.12.3
אָרְדֵּב, א	ardab (measure) [> ἀράβη] 6.11.2, 4
אָרֶב	earth, land 6.15.6
אָתָּה; הִיתִי	to come; [H] to cause to come, to bring 6.3.2; 6.5.3; 6.12.1, 3; 6.13.2, 3, 4, 5, 5, 5; 6.14.2, 2, 3, 5; 6.15.4, 7; 6.16.3
אָתֵּר	place 6.9.6; 6.10.2, 4, 6, 9

ב

בִּי	in, through, by (means of) <i>Passim</i> .
בָּאִישׁ	evil, bad 6.7.8.
בְּנָא , בְּנָא	domain, estate [Pers.] 6.4.2, 3; 6.5.2; 6.6.3; 6.7.5; 6.11.2, 3, 4, 5; 6.13.1, 3, 4; 6.14.4
בִּנְו	within 6.11.2
בִּזְנָה	see זְנָה
בֵּין	between, among, in 6.4.2, 3; 6.5.2; 6.6.3; 6.7.5
בִּירְתָא , בִּירְתָא	citadel, fortress [Akk.] 6.7.7
בֵּית , בֵּית , בֵּיתָא	house, place, estate, household 6.3.9; 6.8.2; 6.9.2; 6.10.2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9; 6.11.2, 2, 4, 6; 6.12.2; 6.13.1; 6.15.7
בְּעָא , בְּעָא	to seek, request 6.10.3, 4, 7, 9
בֶּר , בֶּרָא	son. 6.3.1, 3, 4, 4, 4, 9; 6.4.2, 4, 5; 6.6.3; 6.7.10; 6.13.1; 6.14.5; 6.15.2
בֶּר בֵּיתָא	house-born, prince 6.3.9; 6.4.5; 6.7.10; 6.13.1
בִּרְכִירָן	artisans (?) [Pers. ?] 6.12.2 (very uncertain; <i>see also</i> דִּיכְרָן)

ג

גְּבַר , גְּבַרָא	man 6.3.5; 6.7.2, 5; 6.9.3, 4, 4, 5; 6.15.2, 3, 4, 5
גְּלָדָא , גְּלָדָא	leather, hide 6.16.3
גְּנָזָא	treasure [Pers.] 6.13.5
גְּסַת פְּתָנָם	severe reprimand [Pers.] 6.8.3; 6.10.9
גַּרְדָא , גַּרְדָא	domestic staff, personnel [Pers.] 6.10.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8; 6.12.2; 6.15.8, 9, 10

ד

דִּיכְרָן	memorandum, record, list 6.12.2 (but use here very uncertain; <i>see</i> בִּרְכִירָן)
דִּשְׁן	grant, gift [Pers.] 6.4.3, 4, 6

ה

הָא	behold! 6.9.2; 6.14.4; 6.15.3
הֶרָאבְנָו	accrued increment, interest [Pers.] 6.13.5
הוּ	he 6.11.3
הִנְה	to be; to exist 6.3.2; 6.4.2, 4; 6.5.2; 6.7.2, 5, 6, 8; 6.8.3; 6.9.6; 6.10.2, 6, 8, 8, 8; 6.11.2, 2, 4, 6; 6.12.2
הִלְדָא	tax, tribute [Akk.] 6.11.5
הֵם , הֵמוּ , הֵמוֹן	they, them [PM] 6.7.7.
הַמְרְכָר	accountant [Pers.] 6.11.7; 6.12.4; 6.13.3, 6
הֵן	if, whether 6.3.5; 6.6.4; 6.7.8; 6.8.3; 6.9.6; 6.10.8; 6.11.3; 6.13.2
הַנְדִיז	garrisoned [Pers.] 6.7.6
הַנְדִרָז	order, instruction [Pers.] 6.10.12; 6.13.3, 4, 7; 6.14.3

ו

- וְ- and, also, but *Passim*.
 וְכָל־ of every kind [Pers.] 6.10.3, 7
 וְרֶשֶׁבֶת plenipotentiary [Pers.] 6.5.2; 6.11.1

ז

- זַי (a) sign of the genitive 6.3.2; 6.4.2, 7; 6.6.3; 6.11.3, 4, 5; 6.13.4; 6.15.8;
 (b) relative pronoun: who, which, that, etc. 6.3.2, 6, 7, 7; 6.4.2, 2, 2,
 3, 3, 8; 6.5.2, 2; 6.6.2; 6.7.5, 10; 6.8.1, 2, 2, 2, 6; 6.9.1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 4,
 5; 6.10.3, 11, 13; 6.11.2, 3, 6, 7; 6.12.1, 2, 2, 4; 6.13.1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8;
 6.14.2, 4; 6.15.4, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15; 6.16.2
 (c) conjunction: that, for, so that, in order that, because, etc. 6.9.6,
 6.13.3, 4
 כִּי when, as soon as, just as; in order that 6.3.2; 6.7.6, 8, 9; 6.10.1, 2, 3,
 6, 7; 6.11.1, 4; 6.13.3; 6.14.4; 6.15.7, 11; 6.16.2
 זֵיל- (possessive pronoun, with pronominal suffixes) 6.3.1; 6.4.2, 2, 3;
 6.5.2; 6.7.2, 5, 9, 12; 6.8.1, 2; 6.9.2, 2, 4; 6.10.2, 2, 3, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7, 8, 9;
 6.11.1, 5, 6; 6.12.1, 2; 6.13.3; 6.14.2, 3, 4; 6.15.1, 7, 9
 זִנְיַי damages [Pers.] 6.15.8
 זָדַד that [SM] 6.6.3; 6.7.7, 9; 6.11.2, 2, 4, 4, 4, 5; 6.12.1; 6.13.2; 6.14.4; 6.16.3
 זָכַי that [SM; SF] 6.3.7, 8; 6.4.3, 4; 6.8.2
 זִנְיָהּ this [SM] 6.8.4; 6.9.5, 6; 6.10.5, 10; 6.11.6; 6.12.3; 6.13.5; 6.15.7
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Concordance of Texts (TADAE Order)

TAD	DRIVER	BODLEIAN	JOINS IN TADAE*	GRELOT	LIND.
A6.3	3	Pell. Aram. VII	Frag. 7.1–3; 10.9; 11.1, 11.5, 11.20	64	39
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A6.16	13	Pell. Aram. X		74	48

*For joins in TADAE, see TADAE IV, p. 150. For further details see below, Appendix 3.3.

Concordance of Texts (Driver Order)

DRIVER	BODLEIAN	TAD	JOINS IN TADAE*	GRELOT	LIND.
1	Pell. Aram. VI	A6.5	Frag. 12.8	63	—
2	Pell. Aram. XII	A6.4	Frag. 4.16; 9.6	62	37
3	Pell. Aram. VII	A6.3	Frag. 7.1–3; 10.9; 11.1, 11.5, 11.20	64	39
4	Pell. Aram. II	A6.8		65	38
5	Pell. Aram. IV	A6.7		66	40
6	Pell. Aram. VIII	A6.9		67	41
7	Pell. Aram. I	A6.10		68	49
8	Pell. Aram. XIII	A6.11	Frag. 9.8	69	42
9	Pell. Aram. III	A6.12		70	46
10	Pell. Aram. IX	A6.13		71	44
11	Pell. Aram. V	A6.14		72	45
12	Pell. Aram. XIV	A6.15		73	47
13	Pell. Aram. X	A6.16		74	48
Frag. 5	Frag. 5.1, 5.5–6	A6.6	Frag. 3.3, 3.11	—	—

*For joins in TADAE, see TADAE IV, p. 150. For further details see below, Appendix 3.3.

2.3

The Bodleian Letters

Commentary

Christopher J. Tuplin

TADAE A6.3 (DRIVER 3, GRELOT 64, LINDENBERGER 39)

Punishment of the Slaves of ‘Ankhoḥapi

Summary

Aršāma writes to Artavanta giving instructions for the punishment of eight slaves belonging to ‘Ankhoḥapi. This arises because Psamšek son of ‘Ankhoḥapi (Aršāma’s servant) has reported that, when he went to Aršāma, the slaves of his father took his property and fled. He has asked Aršāma to ask Artavanta to punish the slaves that he (Psamšek) presents before him. Aršāma therefore issues the requested instruction.

Text

The Porten–Yardeni text in TADAE I differs from Driver’s in incorporating fr. 7.1. See below, line 1(10) n. and line 2(5) n. There are also some further relevant fragments identified in TADAE IV. See Appendix 3.3 and below, lines 3–5 n. and line 5(4) n. As noted there, Lindenberg, while drawing attention to the information in TADAE IV, incorporates it in his text and/or translation somewhat inconsistently. His text also differs slightly from Porten–Yardeni in lines 2, 6, 7, and 9 in his judgment of where the square brackets marking the

Note. In discussions of particular passages or letters, references to Cowley, Driver, Grelot, Kottsieper, Porten–Yardeni, Lindenberg, or Whitehead without further specification should be understood as drawn from the relevant author’s (or authors’) presentation of the passage/letter in question in their editions and/or commentaries (Cowley 1923, Driver 1965, Grelot 1972, Kottsieper 2006, Lindenberg 2003, Porten and Yardeni 1986, Whitehead 1974). I do not distinguish the first and second editions of Driver’s commentary unless there are substantive differences.

start or end of a lacuna should be placed. This does not affect the text that he actually prints (which matches Porten–Yardeni). This phenomenon is a regular feature of his edition and normally involves putting more letters inside square brackets than is the case in Porten–Yardeni. Lindenberger is also more prone to mark individual letters as damaged, though reasonably certain.

line 1(1) מן ארשם על ארתונת, *mn ʾršm ʾl ʾrtwnt*, ‘from Aršāma to Artavanta’. The principle seems to be that the more important party is mentioned first, irrespective of whether that is the sender (as in A6.2 and throughout A6.3–16) or the receiver, as in A6.1, which starts [*ʾl mrʾn ʾrš]m ʾbdyk ʾhmnš wknwth*, ‘to our lord Aršāma, your servants Haxāmaniš and his colleagues’. In most contexts, of course, if sender and recipient are not of markedly different status, the sender politely affects to ascribe higher status to the recipient, which is why Egyptian Aramaic letters standardly begin ‘To PN’. (But ‘from PN₁ to PN₂’ occurs on CG 144 and CG 228, and ‘to PN’ is sometimes replaced on ostraca by *šlm* PN.) Almost all the Bactrian letters begin ‘From PN₁ to PN₂’. This is unremarkable in letters from the satrap Axvamazdā (ADAB A1–6), but interestingly it is true of most of the other letters too (B1–4,6), with only B5, [To] my [ord...I send] to you [much peace and strength]’ working the other way. Perhaps the writers of B1–4 and B6 were all more important than their addressees: we know nothing of them that can determine this one way or another. The fact that their addressees are regularly described as ‘my brother’ (only B2 does not have this feature) and are always accorded a polite greeting (as, of course, Artavanta is by Aršāma) are not necessarily counter-indications.¹ For further discussion see Folmer 2017: 419–22, who suggests that the ‘from PN₁ to PN₂’ formula originated in satrapal chancelleries.²

line 1(2) ארשם, *ʾršm*, ‘Aršāma’. The name’s OP form, Aršāma-, is directly attested in royal inscriptions (Tavernier 2007: 13, giving its meaning as ‘having a hero’s strength’) and indirectly in Aramaic, Akkadian, Demotic, Elamite, and Lycian (Tavernier 2007: 44). Neither Aršāma nor any of his correspondents ever refers to him as ‘satrap’. He is ‘Aršāma who is in Egypt’ (A6.1, A6.2) or (extremely tantalizingly) ‘Arsames who is in Egypt as [...]’ (P.Mainz 17)³ or ‘lord’ or ‘son of the house’. This is unremarkable. The term ‘satrap’ is far from

¹ Note that in Neo-Babylonian letter-writing, superiors in a temple setting address subordinates (as well as equals) as ‘brothers’ not ‘servants’ (Kleber 2012: 228).

² Fales 1987: 454 already observed that the formats ‘From Y to X (greeting)’, ‘Y to X (greeting)’ and ‘To X (greeting)’ were not influenced by Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian habits in addressing letters.

³ Vittmann 2009: 103–4. It is preceded by a regnal date (year 36 of, presumably, Artaxerxes I), producing an effect resembling the Mylasan inscription I.Mylasa 1–3 = SIG³ 167 = RO 54, the Lydian (funerary?) text in Gusmani and Akkan 2004 (starting with the seventeenth year of Artaxerxes and the satrap Rhosaces) and the Aramaic version of the Xanthos Trilingual (the Greek and Lycian versions omit the regnal date): FdX 6.136; <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/aramaic/lycie01.pdf>.

omnipresent even in Greek sources and decidedly rare in Persian and the other non-Greek languages of the empire. (It does not occur, for example, in the Bactrian Aramaic letters, leaving us strictly speaking unsure of the status of Axvamazdā.) In Egypt a Demotic version of the word appears on a Saqqara ostrakon (S.75/6–7:2), apparently in reference to the Petisis of Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.2,⁴ and in the text on the *verso* of the Demotic Chronicle that recounts Darius' commissioning of a collection of Egyptian laws, but otherwise (apparent) holders of the office are referred to as 'to whom Egypt is entrusted' (P.Berl.Dem. 13539–13540) or 'lord of Egypt' (P.Ryl.Dem.9: 2.17) or (perhaps) 'the great one who ruled Egypt'.⁵ The low incidence of official use of the title might have some bearing on the sparseness of its use in Greek sources before the fourth century.

line 1(3) על, ל, 'to'. The use of ל, rather than ל', in letter addresses is characteristic of the Bodleian letters, but not other Egyptian Aramaic letters, where ל' is universal (except for A2.4:1 and A6.2:1)—despite the fact that, in general, ל' = 'to' is avoided in Egyptian Aramaic. In ADAB ל' is standard in the first line of the letter, but ל is used in the *external* address line (ADAB A1:13, A3:5, A4:7, A5:4, A6:12). This oddity (which recurs in TADAE A2.4, uniquely among the Hermopolis letters), and the occurrence of ל in A6.2 (written in Egypt), suggest that the contrast between the Bodleian letters and the generality of Egyptian Aramaic letters is not simply a matter of where the letters were written (as Alexander 1978 supposed), but may be something to do with official conventions. (Note also its appearance in Ezra 4.11, 17.) Folmer 2017: 419 describes the use of ל in internal addresses as a hallmark of Official Aramaic, and the appearance of ל on the outside of the Axvamazdā letters as an archaism (and perhaps (445) the product of personnel mobility).

line 1(4) אַרְתַּוְנַת, *rtwnt*, 'Artavanta' Iranian **Rtavanta*- ('righteous': Tavernier 2007: 303), the equivalent of Greek Artayntes or Artontes. Variouslly written in Aramaic as *rthnt* (A6.7, D6.4 (f))—the use of H for /V/ is 'exceptional' (Tavernier) but 'represents a linguistic development of late Old Persian/early Middle Persian' (Elizabeth Tucker (personal communication))—and *rtwnt* (A6.3, 6.4, 6.5, D6.4 (g)). (There can be no doubt that the same person is designated by these two spellings.) He never has a title, but is addressed respectfully by Aršāma,⁶ and must be of substantial standing (Grelot 1972: 300: 'haut

⁴ The belief that it occurs in S.H5-DP 450 (cf. Tavernier 2007: 436) must be abandoned: cf. Smith and Martin 2009, 51–3. The correct reading is *Hšsry* (? = OP *Xšačāriya, a personal name).

⁵ Such, at least, is Menu's understanding of this phrase in one of its occurrences in the Wn-nfr = Onnophris stela: cf. Menu 2008: 157.

⁶ On one occasion he is the recipient of what, formulaically speaking, seems to be an especially polite greeting: cf. A6.7:1–2 n. It may be another aspect of Aršāma's politeness to him that the external addresses of letters to Artavanta describe Aršāma as *br byt'*, whereas this title is never used in the external addresses of letters to *pqdydn*. Aršāma's failure to assign Artavanta a title is

personage'). Driver thought he was approximately equal in rank to Aršāma and perhaps acting temporarily as his representative in charge of Egyptian affairs (1965: 13); and, although it is unclear whether he meant this to include state/political affairs (i.e. that he was a temporary/deputy satrap), some have certainly supposed that to be the case. Fried 2004: 91 postulates that Artavanta was Aršāma's hyparch and garrison commander in Memphis; but (although the concept of a deputy-satrap is not ill-formed: Henkelman ii 212–3) there is no specific cause to say that—i.e. to put him firmly in the 'public' sphere, let alone propose such precise official roles. Whitehead, while acknowledging that Artavanta's status is a puzzle (and not including him in a table of authority in estate administration: 1974: 23), remarks that A6.7 suggests that he has 'authority even over Arsames' enemies' (1974: 20 n.1): that sounds exciting, but is misleading. We must (or we certainly can) assume that, so far as the Mišpeh Thirteen are concerned at any rate, Aršāma's enemies have been worsted: Artavanta simply has authority in the ensuing situation. More generally, he is involved in cases of e.g. domain-assignment (A6.4) and punishment (A6.3) or non-punishment (A6.7) that go beyond the normal authority of the *pqyd* (or, in the case of A6.3, *pqyd* family-member) but still lie essentially within the purview of estate business.⁷ Letters to Artavanta lack subscript formulae: in some sense, then, they are in a different realm of the bureaucratic process—but what that signifies remains debatable, given that letters that *do* have subscript formulae are also essentially concerned with estate business. Since subscript formulae and salutations (see next n.) are mutually exclusive, one explanation is that the presence of the former is dictated by the relative status of addressor and addressee as much as by the nature of the business dealt with in the letter. (On subscript formulae see below, pp. 269–83.) Elsewhere I have speculated that Artavanta was (to use Babylonian terminology) Aršāma's *mār bīti* (see Tuplin iii 45, Tuplin 2017: 622). Other theoretical possibilities are that he was a 'judge of the estate of Aršāma'⁸ or even his son.

probably in itself a sign of the latter's status. Another notable addressee of Aršāma without a title is Waḥpremaḥi in A6.2, a letter in which everyone else is labelled. But before we leap to any conclusions we should recall that (i) a title is not to be expected in the internal address and (ii) the external address line is not well enough preserved to preclude the possibility that Waḥpremaḥi was given a title there. The eventual order to him (22–3) is phrased fairly abruptly, so it is unlikely that he was someone of specially high status.

⁷ A6.11, addressed to Nakhtḥor, Kenzasirma, and colleagues, is about land (*bg*) assignment. But what differentiates A6.4 is that it concerns the assignment of a *dšn* to the *pqyd* himself. There is perhaps a similar issue of potential conflict of interest in A6.3 on top of the possibility that Psamšek is not yet *pqyd*. A6.7 deals with circumstances (treachery in a time of rebellion) sufficiently serious to exceed the *pqyd*'s authority.

⁸ For such people in Babylonia see BM 79541 (MacGinnis 2008: judges of the estate of Undaparna'), BE 10.97, TuM 2/3 185 (judge of the estate of Parysatis—also entitled 'judge of the Gate of Parysatis' in PBS 2/1 105). The judges of Undaparna' have Persian names, though Parysatis' one is onomastically Babylonian.

line 1(5) לך...שלם, *šlm...lk*, ‘I send you...strength’. Among Persian addressors the use or non-use of greetings formulae plainly reflects relative status. There are no greetings from Aršāma to Nakht̥hor (A6.10–13), Armapiya (A6.8), the Mesopotamian and Levantine *pqydyn* (A6.9) or Waḥpremaḥi (A6.2) or from Vāravahyā or Virafša to Nakht̥hor (A6.14–15) or from Axvamazdā to Bagavanta (ADAB A1–6), because the recipients are evidently too inferior. Artavanta, by contrast, is greeted by Aršāma (A6.3–7) and Nakht̥hor by Artaxaya (A6.16). Similarly most PFA letters lack greetings formulae, but we do find ‘may your *širi* be made by the gods and the king’ (i.e. ‘may your wishes be fulfilled by the gods and the king’)⁹ in a sub-class of letters written on rectangular tablets and sent among officials of equal status or from officials to superiors (PF 1832, PF 1857–60, PF 2079, NN 0394, NN 0702, NN 2544). Persian greeting of one’s superior is attested in the Aramaic environment in A6.1 (Haxāmaniš and others to Aršāma). Given Aršāma’s high status, Artavanta’s receipt of a greeting is in the circumstances quite striking. So too is Nakht̥hor’s receipt of a greeting from Artaxaya, considering that the latter was Persian and (apparently) complaining about Nakht̥hor’s actions. Jursa (ii 112) notes that in terms of Babylonian protocols the absence of salutations in Aršāma’s letters would give him a quasi-regal status. (The same presumably applies not only to another satrap, Axvamazdā, but also to Vāravahyā and Virafša: but they are also ‘sons of the house’ like Aršāma—and, for all we know, Axvamazdā—which is doubtless an adequate qualification.)

All the greetings formulae in the Bodleian Aršāma archive can essentially be paralleled elsewhere (references to ‘peace’ [*šlm*] occur *passim*;¹⁰ the ‘I send’ trope recurs in A2.4, A2.7, A3.3, A3.4, A3.8, D7.1, D7.21 [CG 70], D7.22, ADAB B1–4, B6) and there are some rather close parallels.

- ‘I send you much peace and strength’: A6.3, A6.4 (Aršāma to Artavanta), A6.16 (Artaxaya to Nakht̥hor). Also in A3.8 (Hošea’ to Ḥaggus), ADAB A2a, B1, B2, B5 (restored); A3.3, A3.4 differ only in omitting ‘much’.¹¹ A2.4 substitutes ‘life’ for ‘strength’.
- ‘I send you much peace and strength. And now there is peace with me in this place; may there also be peace there before you’: A6.5, A6.7 (Aršāma to Artavanta). Also in ADAB B3, B4, B6. See also A6.7:1–2 n.

⁹ Tavernier 2017b: 363 renders as ‘your well-being may be effectuated by the gods and the king.’

¹⁰ It is the irreducible minimum one-word greeting in many ostrakon letters (D7.2, D7.3, D7.4, D7.8, D7.10, D7.11, D7.16, D7.20, D7.28, D7.31, D7.32, D7.34, D7.35). D7.5–6 have *šlmky* or *šlmkm*. The epistolographic formulae of ostraca (not only salutations) are discussed in Schwiderski 2012 and, briefly, Lemaire 2015: 53–4. The letters in Ezra have either no greeting (4.8–16) or *šlm* (7.17) or *šlm kl’* (5.7). Other relatively abbreviated *šlm*-formulae include ‘I send you peace’ (D7.1), ‘the peace of my brother at all times’ (D7.56–7: verb definitely absent).

¹¹ But Folmer 2017: 423 n. 38 notes that ‘much’ (*šgy*) could in fact appear in A3.3.

- ‘I send you much peace and strength. Here for me there is peace; may the gods appoint peace also there for you’: A6.6 (Aršāma to Artavanta).¹² The second part (‘here for me . . . there for you’) recalls A3.7, A4.2 (where the elements are in the reverse order) and A4.4. But instead of ‘seek after’ (*yšlw* or *yš’lw*), which occurs in A3.7, A4.2, and A4.4 (as well as being apparently standard in many other similar references to the gods: A1.1, A3.5–6, A3.10–11, A4.1, A4.3, A4.7//A4.8, A5.3, A6.1),¹³ we have ‘appoint’ (*yšmw*).

The Bodleian letters generally avoid putting the gods into a greeting formula: the exception is A6.6. (But see also A6.16:2(1) n., 2(2) n.) The gods also appear in the greeting of Haxāmaniš and his colleagues to Aršāma in A6.1. This reflects the fact that the addressors in that case are using a formula-type (‘may God/the gods seek after the peace . . .’) that occurs (either more or less exactly¹⁴ or with further extension¹⁵) in many other letters from Elephantine Judaeans and others (e.g. the Iranian Spantadāta). In truth, it is the norm for the gods¹⁶ to be mentioned (the other main relevant trope in use being ‘I bless you by DN’): the letters of Aršāma and Axvamazdā are matched by far fewer external items.

Driver 1965: 44 thought that the ‘I send you . . .’ trope had a Persian origin (in this following Rosenthal 1939: 27 n. 3), with analogies in the Sasanian period (Henning 1954: 477–8). If so, its use is not confined to Persians. (See A2.4, A2.7, A3.3–4, D7.1, D7.21 [= CG 70], D7.22.) In D7.21 the trope is directly combined with the ‘I bless you by DN’ formula found also in A2.1–6 and in slightly different form in A3.3;¹⁷ and in A2.4 and A3.3 the two tropes both occur, but in introductions to separate sections of the letter (A2.4) or in a sort of second start (A3.3). Driver 1965: 52 also cited a Phoenician turn of phrase (‘if you are well, I am well’, *wšlm ’t ’p ’nk šlm*: Aimé-Giron 1941: 442–3 = KAI

¹² ‘. . . that the gods shall appoint peace for you’ recurs at A6.16:5, at the *end* of a letter: A6.16:5 n.

¹³ I say apparently, because there *is* an element of restoration in some of these cases.

¹⁴ A3.5–6, A3.9–11, A4.1. D7.56–7 give an abbreviated version (‘the peace of my brother at all times’). CG 167, 186, 277 (= D7.30) are versions that name specific gods.

¹⁵ A1.1, A3.7, A4.2–4, A4.7//4.8, A5.3. The most extravagant extension, that of the Judaeans addressors in A4.7//8, who use a total of four salutations, nonetheless contains elements that have analogies in A4.3 and A5.3. A4.3 is addressed to the addressors of A4.7 by other Judaeans, and the greetings formula may reflect those addressors’ high status in the Judaeans community. A5.3 is addressed to an otherwise unknown, but potentially very important, Persian. Whether the fact that the writers wish the addressees favour variously before the God of Heaven (A4.3) and ‘Darius and the sons of the house’ (A4.7//A4.8) is tantamount to conferring the allure of divinity upon the Persian king and the sons of the house is a moot point. A4.7//A4.8 provides the only surviving example of a salutation mentioning the latter. (On ‘sons of the house’ see Tuplin iii 31–8.)

¹⁶ Several times unambiguously with a plurality of gods, even when the writers are Judaeans: of course, the monotheism of the Elephantine Judaeans is a matter of discussion (see Tuplin iii 362–3).

¹⁷ This formula is adapted from an Egyptian one: Depauw 2006: 179–80.

50) as a parallel for the second part of the formula used in A6.5 and A6.7 (as well as ADAB B3, B4, and B6); but the parallel does not seem particularly close.¹⁸ (It precedes a version of the ‘I bless you by DN’ formula.)

line 1(6) שררת...שלם, *šrm...šrrt*, ‘peace...strength’. Note the alliteration. On word plays cf. A6.12:2(8) n. For *šrrt* as ‘strength’, see Driver 1965: 44, Fales 1987: 459, against the tendency to see it more vaguely as ‘prosperity’ (e.g. Grelot). Fales notes a rather nice parallel between A4.7:3 (‘[May God] give you long life, and may you be happy and strong [*šryr*] at all times’) and LAS 278 (‘May the great gods bestow long days, physical health [*tūb šērē*] and joy upon the king my lord’).

line 1(7) [כעת], *w[kʔ]*, ‘and [now]’. A certain restoration, in the light of what is found *passim* in the Bodleian corpus as a marker at the start of the body of a letter (i.e. after internal address and greeting). Elsewhere *wkʔn* (A2.7:2), *kʔn* (A4.7:4) or *kʔnt* (A4.2:2) occasionally perform this function,¹⁹ but this never happens in the Bodleian letters or in those from Bactria. This preference for *wkʔ* is in line with TADAE I letters as a whole, in which *wkʔ* (or occasionally *kʔ*: A3.1v:2, A3.3:3, A3.9:1, A4.8:3) is the favoured opener. So what might be regarded as ‘official’ texts (the Bodleian letters, TADAE A6.1–2, ADAB A1–10) are not out of line with other letters on papyrus and leather, and the presence of *wkʔ* in both Axvamazdā’s and other writers’ letters in ADAB is in line too.²⁰ (*w*)*kʔn* is also not common in the Bodleian corpus at later points in the main body of a letter: it turns up in only three documents (A6.3:5, A6.7:8, A6.10:3, 5),²¹ whereas there are seven with *kʔ* (A6.3:6, A6.6:4, A6.8:2, A6.11:3, A6.13:4, A6.14:2, A6.15:3, 6, 9).²² A6.1–2 also use *kʔ*, not *kʔn*, within the main body of the letter; and there are actually few examples of medial *kʔn* in TADAE I as a whole, helped by the facts that (i) most A3 letters have *no* medial marker-words of this sort (A3.3 is the exception—and it uses *kʔ*, repeatedly) and (ii) the early Hermopolis letters (A2) all use *wkʔ* again (not *kʔ*) in the body of the letter. But in the Bactrian letters things are rather the other way round, i.e. there are more medial uses of *kʔn* than *kʔ*—though the uses of *kʔn* are not quite like those in the Bodleian letters, and it is the letters from people other than Axvamazdā that produce most of the relevant items. In the epistolary material represented (mostly on ostraca) in ATNS, CG, and TADAE IV, (*w*)*kʔ* is rather rare (CG 30, 240; D1.1, D1.3, D1.15, D1.32, D7.31, D7.41, D7.56, D7.57), *kʔn* extremely common (118 letters), and *kʔnt* (encountered only once in TADAE I, at A4.4:2)

¹⁸ Whitehead was unpersuaded by Driver’s claim in both cases (1974: 254, 1978: 134).

¹⁹ Note that *wkʔn* in A4.7:4 was actually changed to *wkʔ* in the second draft (A4.8:3). This is a clear sign that the choice has some significance in the eyes of letter-writers.

²⁰ *wkʔ* is also found in ADAB B1–4.

²¹ In A6.3:5 *kʔn* is actually within a message that is being quoted by the letter-writer.

²² In all cases *kʔ* marks the arrival of the letter-writer’s eventual order.

appears in thirty-one letters.²³ The battered and fragmentary state of much of this material makes complex analysis difficult; but even the raw figures suggest that the preference for *k't* initially and medially in the Bodleian corpus, though in line with papyrus letters from Egypt, is out of line with more informal epistolary practice in Egypt. The Bactrian material, taken as a whole, is somewhere between the two, though Axvamazdā's own letters broadly (if not altogether in detail) resemble Aršāma's in this matter.²⁴ For further discussion see Folmer 1995: 661–70, Bar-Asher Siegal 2011, Folmer 2017: 423–4.

The Elamite *ak am* ('and now') occurs in PF 1792, a letter in which (exceptionally for the PFA corpus) the author writes in response to a quoted message of complaint in a fashion exactly analogous to A6.3, but it marks the start of the reply, rather than the beginning of the body of the letter (a point that never has a special marker in Elamite letters), and therefore corresponds to Aršāma's use of *k't* ('now'). There is another case of *ak am* in PF 2071: 14, apparently marking the start of the second of two messages of complaint or report quoted by the author—who then marks the start of his eventual response (line 18) with *am* ('now'), like Aršāma. *Am* also occurs within the first of the two reports in PF 2071 and in a few other letters (PF 1853, PF 1860, NN 0702, NN 1137, NN 2057) which also variously deviate from the usual Persepolitan epistolary habit of simply issuing an instruction without further preamble. It is tempting to wonder if there is any connection between these phenomena and Aramaic (*w*)*k't*. A version of the latter certainly appears in Demotic form in P.BM EA 76274.1 (Appendix 3.1: p. 297) and P.Berl. Dem.13540.

line 1(8) **𐎧𐎱𐎠𐎢**, [*Ps*]mšk, 'Psamšek'. Egyptian *P3-s-n-mt̄k* (DemNB 212, Muchiki 1999: 128), Greek *Ψαμμήτιχος*. A Saite royal name (and an example of a relatively rare phenomenon, a personal name that does not include a theonym or recycle a divine epithet) also found in Aramaic texts outside the Bodleian letters (where the present individual recurs in A6.4:2,4, A6.8 *passim*, A6.10:1 (in the form Smšk), A6.15:2,4, D6.3 (a):6, D6.3 (b):1, D6.6 (m):1, and two different ones in A6.3:4) in B4.3:24, B4.4:20, B8.4:10, C3.8 IIIB:12, C3.18:4, C4.1:4, C4.3:11, C4.9:2, D9.10:8, D11.1:1, D23.1 Va: 5, 6, ATNS 11:5, 60:3, 64b:2. There is no necessity to think Psamšek is already *pqyd* (cf. below, line 5(1) n. and line 6(2) n.), and we should probably assume that that office is still held by 'Ankhoḥapi (A6.4:2). So Whitehead 1974: 21. Contrast Grelot 1972: 304, who assumes that

²³ In the letters in Ezra *k'n* (4.13, 14, 6.6) and *k'nt* (4.11) are also more common than *k't* (5.17), though the small numbers probably make this insignificant.

²⁴ ADAB A2:5 is worth note. The scribe first wrote *k'n mr 'hmzd k't* (i.e. 'now, Axvamazdā says, now') and then erased the *k't*—understandably, since his initial text corresponds to no attested usage. Elsewhere in these letters (A1:9, A6:4) medial *k't* is precisely *not* conjoined with *'mr 'hmzd* (whereas *k't ršm kn 'mr* is common in the Bodleian corpus), so the eventual text at A2:5 represents a deliberately distinct trope.

Psamšek is now *pqyd* and that the slaves are described as Ankhoḥapi's because they were tattooed with his name. The word *pqyd* does not appear at all in Porten's text (cf. below, line 1(10) n.). We do not therefore need to debate whether PN1 *šmh br* PN2 *pqyd zyly* attaches *pqyd* to PN1 or PN2. The temptation to think that the Psamtek of P.BM EA 76274.1 i 6–7 is identical with the son of 'Ankhoḥapi is natural, but it cannot reasonably be regarded as more than a faint possibility.

line 1(9) **שמה** **שך** **שמה** **[שך]**, *Psmšk šmh*, '(he) whose name is Psamšek'. Putting *šmh* (= 'his name') after a PN was attributed to Persian influence by Driver—a view he then retracted in the *corrigenda* (1965: 99)—and by Whitehead, who noted that it is only a feature of Imperial Aramaic, considered both Persian and Egyptian influence possible, but favoured Persian.²⁵ Possible counter-arguments are that Aramaic 'his name' is not exactly like OP *nāma-* = 'name' (not 'his name'),²⁶ whereas *šumšu* ('his name') is sometimes similarly used in Akkadian (cf. CAD *šumu* 1a.2–3: but the phenomenon does not seem commonplace, specially in late-period documents)²⁷—opening the possibility that it has a Semitic background. The fact that *šumšu* corresponds to OP *nāma-* in the Akkadian version of DB is of uncertain bearing (given that the Akkadian version was written first), as is the fact that a similar use of *hiše* (again, 'his name') is common in Achaemenid Elamite. (But the analysis in Giovinazzo 1989 makes clear that the latter phenomenon obeys certain protocols; and the protocols in question are somewhat reminiscent of those associated with *šmh*.) See also further A6.7:3–5(1) n.

Whatever its origin, *šmh* is not used in all Achaemenid-era Aramaic texts: it is absent in the ostraca of CG and in ADAB. The latter at least is remarkable given the linguistic and stylistic similarities that *do* exist between the Bactrian letters and the Bodleian collection. Nor is *šmh* attached to all names in the texts in which it is encountered. Sometimes one can characterize the persons to whose names *šmh* is attached.²⁸

- Subordinates as described by (much) higher-rank writers (whether or not a word such as *lym* is also present): A6.6, A6.9, A6.11, A6.12, A6.13, C2.1 IV:2, V:19, VII:31, 36, 39, VIII:52, XI:76, 77. Ezra 5.14, where Tattenai refers to Sheshbazzar receiving temple vessels from Cyrus, also belongs here, although he is not directly Tattenai's subordinate.

²⁵ The appearance of a Demotic equivalent (PN *rn=f*, 'PN his name') in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 2, front x+10, is certainly best explained as a consequence of Persian usage, presumably *via* Aramaic (Tavernier 2017b: 345, 360, Tavernier iii 86).

²⁶ Comparable Greek usage is of just *onoma*: Thuc. 4.133.3, 8.85.2, Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.2, *An.* 7.3.23, *Cyr.* 2.2.11 (personal names), Thuc. 6.4.1, Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15, *An.* 1.2.24, 4.4.11, 2.4.25, 28, 6.2.3 (geographical names).

²⁷ Driver cites just PBS 2/1 205:12.

²⁸ It can also be attached to geographical places, but this usage is peculiar to the Aramaic version of DB (C2.1 IV:9; V:12, 15, 25, VII:30, 41).

- Slaves: A6.3, A6.7, B2.11:4, 5, 9, 13, B3.3:3, B3.6:2, 4, B3.7:3, B3.8:3, B3.9:3, B8.3:1, B8.6:4, ATNS 55a:4, Lemaire and Chauveau 2008 fr. b,²⁹ WDSP 1:2, 3:1, 4:2, 5:2, 6:2, 7:1, 7:1', 2', 9:1, 10:2, 19:2, 36 fr.2, 4.
- Household personnel (*nšy byt'*): D6.8, if the persons named here (two of whom seem to have Iranian names) do belong in that category. (If D6.8 is a companion piece to A6.11, the people in question belonged to the household of Pamun.)
- Leading Elephantine Judaeans (self-description): A4.10. (See below, p. 72.)
- A *degel* member: ATNS 63:3, at least *prima facie*. The document contains some (probable) Iranian names, one also marked *šmh*, and perhaps also a version of the Iranian office title *hpthpt'*.
- Various officials in documentary sources:
 - Wašu or Vasu the judge: Laghman II.9 (Davary and Humbach 1974, Delaunay 1976a)—a post-Achaemenid text, but worth note given the absence of *šmh* from ADAB, our more direct evidence for East Iranian Aramaic in the (late) Achaemenid era.
 - Sundry persons in PFAT.³⁰ (In the majority of the quite numerous PFAT occurrences, however, there is no specific way to judge status. Many are ration-receiving travellers—which has some implications. A few have names that do not immediately look Iranian. But there is little reason to suspect servile or otherwise notably low status.)

But there are also plenty of cases where there are no very clear indications of status. The occurrences in D5.39 and D6.10 (c):1 are in completely fragmentary contexts. There is no way of telling why some but not all names in D8.2, C3.19:27, 30–6, and ATNS 60 have the annotation.³¹ In B8.5:8 [PN] *šmh'* appears adjacent to a reference to imprisonment, which may or may not be significant; a similar situation arises in A4.6 (where two Egyptian names are involved). D7.40 is restored as '[hou]se of Iddinnabu *šmh'*, which perhaps tells against slave status (but the restoration is uncertain). In ATNS 17:1 QNPY *šmh*

²⁹ If this is rightly understood as about a slave sale because of the presence of 'gave' and 'servant-girl' (*mh*).

³⁰ From information currently available to me I note (with varying degrees of confidence): 018, 190 (*pirradaziš*, 'fast messenger'), 053 (*rb 'sry*', 'chief of prisoners'), 181 and 232 (*rb swsh*, 'chief of horses'), 233 ('*nbrn*, ?'head of wine-cellar', taken as an abbreviation of **āprnbara* (Azzoni)), 253 ('*rštrny*, 'lance-bearer': on the terminology cf. Henkelman 2002). In 180, 195, and 259 '*rsrn*, *hd[r]*', and *prstk* function as though they might be titles. The usage also appears in the inscription on PFUTS 0019* (cf. Garrison & Henkelman ii 69, 72), where it applies to a priest (*kmr*).

³¹ One of the people *without* the annotation in B8.2 is a slave. Although ATNS 60 is very damaged one can tell *šmh* was sometimes not applied from line 1 ('*jmšk* his son and Nabu son of[]') where, whether *šmh* was being put before or after the patronymic, it ought to have appeared.

bears a name also known at Saqqara as that of a slave ('*bd*: B8.2, ATNS 50), albeit written with K, but that *is* a rather thin indication. (The rest of the document has references to the house of the king, the garrison [*hyl*], and oath-swearing.) Some (but not all) of the persons described on Persepolis green chert mortars as having 'made this mortar' are labelled *šmh* (whereas none of the officials—*sgn*, treasurer—are), but the status of these people is (precisely) uncertain.³² In D6.1 '[*name damaged*] *šmh*' occurs in line 1. The rest of the document has some resonance of C3.9–C3.10 (cf. TADAE IV p.135) in that (a) it contains the phrase 'great woman' (*'nth rbh*), reminiscent of 'great lady' in the other documents, and (b) two lines consist of 'PN his daughter under [...]', where the end could be restored 'under *mst*' as in the other documents. Porten–Yardeni's label for C3.9–C3.10 is 'fragmentary list of family units'. There is no reason to think them servile. 'PN son of *Ḥmtn*, by name, the Caspian' appears in C3.8 IIIA:6 (Memphis) alongside other names that lack *šmh*, but are assigned to a *degel*. Caspians are at home in Elephantine *degelin*. It is not very obvious why it is not only Ahiqar and Nadin (royal subordinates) but also King Esarhaddon who are so marked in C1.1 *recto* 1, 5, 18, and then the trope is not used again—unless it be precisely to mark figures central to the narrative.

That would correspond to the way that in (non-list discourse in) the Bodleian letters *šmh* is regularly attached just to the first occurrence of a given name/individual,³³ and even then only to someone who is in some sense being introduced as a new and important element—someone who is the distinctive object of the letter. A similar principle is seen in contracts in B3 (B3.3, 6, 7–9): *šmh* marks the name(s) that are so-to-say the highlighted subject/object of the transaction (though, as it happens, they are also all of servile status). And it may also have been at work in some texts now too fragmentary to assess properly. The decision whether or not to use the trope may be affected by the writer's view of the subject's relative status but it also interacts with the writer's willingness to 'objectify' the person as a topic of discussion or record. The writers of Aramaic tablets at Persepolis are not expressing their actual superiority

³² Bowman 1970: nos. 36, 90, 91, 112, 119, 152. 'Made this mortar' is the translation of Levine 1972: 77–8 (cf. Delaunay 1976b, 213); Bowman understood it as 'used this mortar'. 'Donated' is another suggestion (e.g. Segal 1972: 354). These texts remain somewhat puzzling. See Naveh and Shaked 1971, Levine 1972, Delaunay 1976b, Henkelman 2017a: 102–9, for whom the 'makers' are craftsmen or team-leaders of craftsmen operating in a workshop or production centres corresponding to the *kapnuškis* of the PFA (105). King 2019 persuasively argues that the green chert objects are effectively tax payments and that the 'makers' are the tax payers. Attachment of *šmh* to their names makes sense as they are indeed the distinctive object of the text (for that concept see the next paragraph). If their identity matters to the authorities in Persepolis they are perhaps quite high-status individuals.

³³ Similarly in DB (OP) *nāma* is attached to the first occurrence of a name and does not reappear until the recapitulatory lists of enemies (§52) and helpers (§68). Giovinazzo 1989: 21 notes the same thing with Elamite *hiše* in a number of Persepolitan account texts. Stephanie Dalley draws my attention to a similar phenomenon in Akkadian slave sales.

to what must be higher-status official functionaries but they are perhaps (not necessarily consciously) expressing their momentary bureaucratic control of the record about those functionaries. The Judaeen community leaders in A4.10 are enclosing themselves in a rather formal and perhaps somewhat self-abasing form (implicitly marking their actual subordination to Aršāma) in the hope that this will encourage him to take their bribe and finally authorize reconstruction of the temple. (See Tuplin iii 354.)

line 1(10) קבל... [י] עַחַפּ [י] בַר עַחַפּ [י]... *br ḥḥp[y]*... *qbl*, ‘son of ‘A(n)khoḥap[i]... complained’. Driver read/restored the end of line 1 as simply ‘... son of Aḥ-ḥapi [my *pqyd*]’. The longer reading ‘...son of ‘A(n)khoḥap[i] my servant has complained’ results from Porten–Yardeni’s identification of fragment 7.1 as belonging at the end of lines 1 and 2.

line 1(11) [י] עַחַפּ [י], *ḥḥp[y]*, ‘A(n)khoḥap[i]’. Egyptian ‘Ankhoḥapi (‘*nḥ-Ḥp*, ‘may Apis live’: DemNB 103, Muchiki 1999: 101). The name is written in Aramaic without a *nun* in all the references to Psamšek’s father (A6.3:1, 2, 7, A6.4:1, 2, 4, 7, A6.6:2, A6.15:2) and in ATNS 189, but with a *nun* in C3.14:21, C3.19:4, 9, D20.6. (The same variability occurs in Greek versions: Akhoapis, but also Agkhaphis, Agkhoupis, Agkhôphis: see Segal’s note on ATNS 189.)

line 1(12) עֲלִימָא זִילִי, *‘lym’ zyly*, ‘my servant’. This term is used by Aršāma of Psamšek here (where he is not yet described as *pqyd*), ‘Ankhoḥapi (A6.4:2, a reference to him in the past that does mention his erstwhile status as *pqyd*), Nakhtḥor (A6.6:2 + TADAE IV p. 150), two Cilicians and an artisan accompanying Nakhtḥor to Egypt (A6.9:4), Peṭosiri (A6.11:1, also *wršbr*), a potential other recipient of the Pamun/Peṭosiri land (A6.11:5), and Ḥinzani (A6.12). Nakhtḥor is also said to have ten servants (A6.9:3). By contrast, the miscreants in this letter and the Cilicians in A6.7 are ‘*bdn* (‘slaves’) and other lower-status persons are described as *garda* (A6.10, A6.12, A6.15) or ‘household personnel’ (*nšy byt*)’ (A6.11, A6.12), while the Cilicians of A6.15 are designated only as ‘persons’, *gbrn*.³⁴ A6.12:1–2 suggests that the terms servant (‘*lym*), household staff (*nšy byt*), and *grd*’ can overlap, but *grd*’ (who represent quite a diverse category) are not described with the term ‘*bd*’.³⁵ In the Bodleian texts, then,

³⁴ That word also appears in PFAT in relevant contexts. In the language of the Elamite portion of the Persepolis Fortification archive, *mardam* (OP **varda-*, ‘worker’) is associated with workers belonging to the House of a noble Persian—i.e. estates such as that of Aršāma can contain a special category of workers (Henkelman 2010: 710). There is no certain terminological analogue to this in the evidence about Aršāma (but cf. A6.5:2(2) n.). I hope to discuss the incidence of (and terminology for) slaves or servile persons in the Egyptian Aramaic evidence more fully elsewhere. See e.g. Porten 1968: 203–5, 219–21, 256–9, Porten 2003a: 871–5, Siljanen 2017: 181–7.

³⁵ On *grd*’ see A6.10:1(3) n., A6.12:2(2) n. Ḥinzani (A6.12) and the victims in A6.10 are not wholly comparable.

there is a fairly clear differentiation of *'lym* and *'bd*, one which it seems fair to capture with the translations 'servant' and 'slave'.

In Aramaic texts outside the Bodleian corpus (both in Egypt and further afield) things are slightly more complicated.

1. Deprecatory epistolary self-referencing always uses *'bd* (A1.1:1, 6, 8, A2.1:13, A2.4:1, A3.1*verso*:1, A3.7:1, 5, A3.9:1, 9, A3.11:1, A4.2:1, 17, A4.3:2, 12, A4.7:1, 4, 22, A4.8:1, 3, 21; A4.10:1, A5.3:1, A6.1:1, 5, D1.9:1, D1.14:1, D1.16:1, 3, D1.17:1, D7.21:1, CG 87). This normally occurs in conjunction with the use of *mr'*/*mr't* (sometimes restored) to refer to the honoured recipient of the letter (but see also A2.1:13, A2.4:1, A4.6:1). This on the whole confirms the lower-status connotations of the word: the writers are engaging in extreme self-abasement. (The usage is absent in the Bodleian letters, because none of the addressors is sufficiently subordinate to the addressee.) Outside this epistolary trope, contextual clues are often lacking that could establish whether we are dealing with (something like) slaves, but there are probably no instances in which such an understanding is plainly impossible,³⁶ and certainly some in which it is likely.³⁷

2. In a number of cases *'lym* is used of someone who is certainly or very probably a slave. This occurs most formally in B2.11, where Peṭosiri and Bela, described repeatedly as *'bdn*, become *'lymn* once in the phrase 'Taba, the mother of these *'lymn*' (line 13); but it is likely to be true of the *'lym* Yedanyah in B3.9:3, whom Porten 1968: 80 regards as a slave prior to the new arrangements being made in B3.9: those arrangements involve him not being liable to [re-]enslavement, and this perhaps accounts for the way he is labelled.³⁸ Other plausible instances are D7.9:6 (where branding or tattooing is in question) and D1.16:2 (where the description of the *'lym* as *tm[lym]*, i.e. 'unim[paired]', recalls the application of the term to a slave in WDSP 1:2, 2:1).³⁹ Otherwise the place of a *'lym* on the social scale can be both relatively high (by virtue of the status of

³⁶ I doubt that that would be the case with the putative hire or salary (*škr*) of *'bdn* in ATNS 101, even were that reading at all certain.

³⁷ See e.g. B2.11, B3.1:10, B3.9, B3.13:11, B4.3:18, B5.6:4, B8.2, B8.3, B8.7. Further afield it is the standard term in Samarian slave-sale documents. On the other hand *'bd* is absent at Makkedah, does not occur as a noun in ADAB, and is reportedly only attested at Persepolis in PFAT 177. Whether the verb *'bd* means 'employ' (without necessary servile overtones) in B8.1 ii:10, ATNS 34b:2, 52b:12, ³64b:9, 89:1 is moot.

³⁸ In these and a number of other cases (C3.6:37, C3.27:30–1, D3.16:6, D7.9:6, D23.1 II:13–14, Va:5, IX:7) Porten–Yardeni translate *'lym* as 'lad', in accordance with the etymology of the word. Compare Akkadian *qallu*, 'the little one', and the Greek use of *pais*; and note that Azzoni 2008: 261 proposes to translate (some) uses of *'lym* in PFAT as 'child', corresponding to Elamite *puhu*. Lindenberger's translation of *'lym zyly* as 'my man' in A6.3:1, A6.4:2, etc. has slightly disconcerting overtones to the English ear.

³⁹ It is also possible that C1.1 *recto* 178 implies that *'bd* covers both *'lym* and *lhnt*.

the person with whom the *ʿlym* is associated),⁴⁰ relatively low,⁴¹ and rather hard to assess.⁴²

3. Aramaic texts beyond the Bodleian corpus offer a number of other terms that may designate servants and/or slaves. The relatively commonplace *ʿmh* (handmaiden, servant-girl) appears in Egypt, Samaria, and Bactria, sometimes at least in contexts that seem to picture the person as a piece of property and/or subject to branding/tattooing.⁴³ Less commonplace are five words encountered in Egypt and Bactria: all are problematic in some degree. (i) The meaning and status of *ywr* (B2.11:4, C3.9, C3.10:2, frag.2) are quite uncertain.⁴⁴ (ii) *lḥnt*, which designates a concubine in Daniel 5.2, 3, 23 and the wife of a temple servitor in B3.12:2, perhaps means ‘female slave’ in Ahiqar (C1.1 *recto* 178), where it appears alongside *ʿlym* and *ʿbd*. (iii) It is tempting to wonder whether *šwšn*, a label appearing in a miscellaneous list of ration recipients in C3.26:15, renders Akkadian *šušānu*, the term for a species of semi-dependent labourer in Babylonia.⁴⁵ But why would such a person be in Egypt? (iv) The camel-drivers in ADAB A1 are *hnškr̄t*, identified as **hančya-kṛta* by Naveh and Shaked; that literally means ‘placed together’, but is taken to mean ‘apprentice’, that being the meaning of NP *šagird*. Imposing that particular connotation is far from necessary, but Vahuvaxšu does identify the men as ‘my *hnškr̄t*’, so it may be a servant-word of some sort. (It also occurs as a proper name.) (v) *rytkyʿ* in C4 evokes MP *redag* (young boy, servant), but appears in apposition to *ḥštrknt wʿngšn*, which Naveh and Shaked interpret (slightly desperately?) as ‘women of pleasure and musicians’, while re-branding the *rytkyʿ* as ‘young courtiers’. Whatever their merits and whatever is substantively involved, such cases at least remind us that

⁴⁰ That will be true of the *ʿlymn* of Sineriš the herald (A6.1:7), Djeḥo and Ḥor (A4.3:4, 8), and King Darius (C2.1 V:19, where it stands for OP *bandaka* and refers to Vahumisa). Compare also perhaps the servants of [...] in A5.1:5, who may be among the addressees of the letter, and certainly (further afield) Vahumati, the *ʿlym* of the satrap Axvamazdā, who, alongside Vahyātarva the *pqyd*, reports on Bagavanta’s misdeeds (ADAB A6:1). When Maʿuziyah tells his brother Maḥseyah to look after ‘the *ʿlymy*’ and my house’ (A3.5:6), the plurality of the former and the absence of a possessive adjective (the *ʿlymy*, not my *ʿlymy*) makes one wonder about their status: might they be jointly owned slaves?

⁴¹ C1.1 *recto* 63: an expendable eunuch (cf. also D23.1 Va:5); C1.1 *recto* 178: subject to corporal punishment; C3.27: a porter (though the translation is speculative); D3.16:6: perhaps a weaver. At Makkedah, EN 199 has been read as presenting *ʿlymtʿ* as tradable property. In Bactria we have *ʿlymn wʿmḥt dmydtknm* (C4:18), taken by Naveh and Shaked to be ‘the (male) slaves and the slave-girls, livestock-attendants’.

⁴² cf. C3.26:37, CG 97, 173, ATNS 68 ii 15, D23.1 II:13, 14, IX:7, as well as texts from the Levant (e.g. EN 198:1, 201:1, Dempsey 1993, TAOI A55.4, WDSP 13r:2) and Bactria (ADAB C3:21).

⁴³ B3.1:10, B3.6:3, 3.13:11, B4.6:12, B5.6:3, B8.2:2, Ahiqar (C1.1 *recto* 179), D1.12:6, Lemaire and Chauveau 2008: fr.b, WDSP 2:1, 7:7, 18:2.

⁴⁴ Porten and Lund list it as ‘a kind of slave?’, but Porten 1988: 36 saw it as a head of household and in 1993 Porten–Yardeni translated it ‘male’. In B2.11 Hofijzer and Jongeling take it to mean ‘mark’.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Stolper 1985: 79–82, Jursa, Paszkowiak, and Waerzeggers 2003–4: 258, MacGinnis 2012: 13–15, Kleber 2018a: 446–8. The possible presence of *šušānu* in C3.26 has also been mooted by Siljanen 2017: 137.

the terminological range of the Bodleian letters is restricted, the most striking oddity being the appearance of *grđ*.⁴⁶

4. By way of further context one may observe that in Egyptian, as in Aramaic, no word functions like Greek *doulos* as an unequivocal indication of slave status.⁴⁷ Terms that fail to do so include *b3k* (servant, worker), *ḥm* (labourer: the original sense is variously said to be ‘body’ or ‘those under command’), *mr.t* or *mrj.t* (dependant), *nd.t* (personnel), and *tpw* (heads), not all of which are attested in the Late Period.⁴⁸ (For example *ḥm* disappears after the tenth century: Loprieno 2012: 12.) What is perhaps the commonest generic (dependent-) worker term, *b3k*, can at all times be used of high-ranking people and as a self-deprecating description of the writer of a letter (Vittmann 2006: 32):⁴⁹ it thus resembles ‘*bd* and ‘*lym*. It is standardly said that ‘slavery’ in the sense familiar to Graeco-Roman historians was of no real economic significance in pharaonic Egypt⁵⁰ and noted (correctly) that Herodotus does not register *douloi* as a feature of Egypt, either formally (in his listing of social groupings) or elsewhere in his description or narrative. Some have even claimed that there was no private-ownership slavery at all in the Late Period (Menu 2005: 358), at least in purely Egyptian environments, apparent examples actually being individual service contracts, even if ones that are somewhat restrictive (despite acknowledging the legal existence of the slave’s family and property) and use a decidedly servile rhetoric.⁵¹ (Loprieno 2012: 13 speaks of ‘clientship.’) There is perhaps nothing in the Aršāma dossier that guarantees the opposite in any relevant sense: Aršāma’s people are a special category in any case (*grđ*); and the slaves (*bdy*) of ‘Ankhoḥapi might be a product of his status as *pqyd* (so not

⁴⁶ *grđ* appears in a few Aramaic texts from Persepolis (e.g. PFAT 168, 408, PFAE 0968, 02480, 2594nn), but not otherwise outside the Bodleian letters. So the term can only usefully be contextualized in reference to Elamite *kurtas* and Akkadian *gardu*, and there turn out to be contrasts between the Aršāma context and those in Persepolis and Babylonia (see A6.10:1(3) n.). Categorically speaking, the term discussed above that is closest in character to *grđ* is *šwšn/šušānu*.

⁴⁷ Nor is there a clear equivalent to *eleutheros*. The antonym of *b3k* is *nmḥw* ‘unencumbered’ (Cruz-Urbe 1982: 49–52), making one ‘une personne privée independante’ (Menu). We are perhaps closer to Greek *autonomos*.

⁴⁸ For a longer list see Vittmann 2006: 31–3. *Mr.t/mrj.t* is the term to which one might look for an Egyptian analogy to the attachment of *grđ* to an estate, because at least sometimes it connotes attachment to a piece of land or an institution: Lloyd 1983: 314, Allam 2004, Vittmann 2006: 32. But I am not sure that the parallel is particularly productive.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Smith and Kuhrt 1982, P.Berl.Dem.13539 (EPE C1), P.Loeb 1 (EPE C4), Smith and Martin 2009: no. 4 back 2.11 (with Appendix 3.1: p. 290) and perhaps no. 12: 2.1.

⁵⁰ Vittmann 2006: 31, Eyre 2010: 302. The assessment goes back to Bakir 1952. Another standard observation is that no comprehensive survey of Egyptian slavery has yet appeared to supersede Bakir’s volume.

⁵¹ So, for example, the slave, his children, and his current or future property will belong to the purchaser ‘for ever’ (P.Tsenhor 7) and cannot any more be free [*nmḥ*] in relation to the purchaser ‘ever until eternity’ (P.Tsenhor 8; cf. P.Ryl.Dem.7). But, ‘eternity’ notwithstanding, the situation subsists only until something else happens to change it (e.g. further sale or manumission), just as is the case when fields are sold ‘for ever’, and the encumbrance (the state of not being *nmḥ*) strictly speaking only applies between slave and purchaser.

relevant to ordinary Egyptian arrangements) or, in fact, contracted to him rather than being what a Greek observer would recognize as chattel possessions (cf. below line 6(1) n.). In the wider Aramaic documentation what look like slaves do occur at Elephantine (see recently Granerød 2016: 279–91). The cases are few and personalized, which gives a slightly cosy atmosphere, especially in the light of the interweaving of emancipation and adoption (B3.6, B3.9)—a phenomenon with Demotic analogies (Allam 2001: 296)—but, formulaically at least, slavery remains a dark status from which one is freed ‘into the sun’ (B3.6:8–10). How far the slave of a Judaeen property owner in Elephantine felt his or her status to differ from that of the subjects of the ‘slave-sale’ documents discussed in Cruz-Uribe 1982 and Menu 1985 is a legitimate question to which no answer can be given. In all of this it should not be forgotten that (again at least formulaically) dependent workers are a standard category in both Demotic and Aramaic documentation in the property of an individual that could be affected by inheritance or contractual default:⁵² if not chattels entirely without rights (Cruz-Uribe 1982: 62, Vittmann 2006: 31), they are certainly vulnerable assets, and one may doubt that many were in a position simply to walk away should a property transfer occur.

line 2(1) **בִּינְה**, *bznh*, ‘in this (place)’. cf. ‘th[ere]’ (*t[mh]*) in line 7 (for which cf. also A6.4:4). Aršāma and Psamšek are remote from where Artavanta is, but Psamšek is going to be in his presence later. But nothing establishes the size of the distance between them. See below, line 9(2) n. Grelot 1972: 304 suggests that Psamšek actually carried the present letter from Aršāma to Artavanta. On the word *bznh* see A6.7:1(2) n.

line 2(2) **כֵּן אָמַר**, *kn ’mr*, ‘says thus’. As Hilder observes (iii 98–102), Aršāma’s Bodleian letters follow one of two models. In model 1, exemplified here and in A6.6, A6.8, A6.11, and A6.13, Aršāma writes to A in response to a report or request from B which is quoted in direct speech (preceded by ‘B says thus’). In such cases, and only in them, Aršāma’s reply (polite, neutral, or threatening in tone) is also given in direct speech, preceded by ‘Aršāma says thus.’ (A6.2 is similarly formatted, though the report from B is very much more complicated than anything in the Bodleian set.) In model 2 (found in A6.4, A6.5, A6.7, A6.9, A6.10, and A6.12) the situation prompting the letter is presented to the addressee directly (without verbatim quotation of a third party,⁵³ and sometimes very briefly)⁵⁴ and Aršāma’s reply is framed as a simple (polite, neutral, or

⁵² Demotic: see Vittmann 2006: 39, Allam 2001: 295, Pestmann 1961: A 17 = P.Cair.30601. Aramaic: B3.1:10, B3.13:11. Something similar can reasonably be restored in B4.3:18, B4.6:12.

⁵³ Though within the description of the prompting situation Aršāma *can* directly quote something that he himself has said on a previous occasion (A6.10:4–8).

⁵⁴ In A6.12 it consists of no more than the naming and identification of Ḥinzani. A6.16 (Artaxaya to Nakhtḥor) does not conform to either model: see below, p. 258.

threatening) instruction. Vāravahyā's letter to Nakhtḥor (A6.14) follows this second model, but Virafša's multi-topic letter to the same recipient (A6.15) is more complicated. Lines 1–5 use model 1 exactly like Aršāma, but in lines 5–12 we have a mixture: the situation is framed as a complaint from a third party (Miçapāta) in direct speech quotation, but the response is a straightforward (and somewhat threatening) instruction. This is effectively a third model, and it is one also found three times among Axvamazdā's Bactrian letters (A1, A4, A6), where the other two models are only attested once apiece (model 1 in A2, model 2 in A5). On this evidence Aršāma imposed stricter formatting rules than other authors of comparable status. A curious semi-parallel to the formulaic use of 'says thus' is the rare use of 'PN₁ says to PN₂' at the start of Demotic letters in P.Ashm.1984–87, P.Berl.Dem.13540, and P.Berl.Dem.23584 (Vittmann 2015). The Berlin documents are letters of Achaemenid officials (Farnadāta the satrap and Raukaya the *rab ḥayla*, respectively), P.Berl.Dem.13540 was translated from Aramaic, and P.Berl.Dem.23584 has an Aramaic annotation on the *verso* (Zauzich 1971: 2.119–20 (no.211)), so it is tempting to detect Achaemenid chancellery influence here, especially as Elamite letters regularly start 'Tell PN₁, PN₂ spoke as follows'.

line 2(3) אנה הוית אתה, *'nh hwyt 'th*, 'I was coming.' For the son of a *pqyd* engaging in a journey on official business (which is presumably what Psamšek was doing) cf. A6.14. For journeys to and from Aršāma in general cf. A6.5:3(2) n.

line 2(4) מִרְאִי'.....[עב]רן, *mr'[y 'b]dn*, 'my lord...slaves'. Whitehead speculated that the gap might have contained a geographical name or the phrase *gbrn mšryn* (cf. A6.7:2). Grelot suggested *'dyn 'yty*, giving 'alors il y a', citing A6.7:6 for *kzy...dyn* ('quand...alors...').

line 2(5) זי אנה מיס, *zy 'nh m..*, 'whom I...'. This is another new reading resulting from fr. 7.1 (cf. line 1(10) n.). The presence of 'I' means that restoration of words meaning 'who were coming' at the end of line 2 (Driver, Grelot, Whitehead) is ruled out. The sense was perhaps something like 'whom I [was bringing]' (*m[hyth]*) (David Taylor).

line 3(1) אחרי על מראי, *'hry 'l mr'y*, '... after me to my lord'. Grelot rendered it 'à ma suite', Driver 'in my train' (supported by a note saying 'went after' = 'accompanied' and citing Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Syriac usage). In Egyptian Aramaic *'hry* is used both to mean 'after' (in time)—especially in the context of heirs (those who come after so-and-so)—and with the sense 'concerning, on the subject of'.

line 3(2) מראי, *mr'y*, 'my lord'. This terminology (used both in direct address and, as here, in third-person references) recurs of Aršāma in A4.5, A6.1, A6.4, A6.8, A6.13, and (presumably) in A4.10 and other fragmentary bits of the

Bodleian letter-set (D6.3 (a), D6.6 (d, e, h), D6.8 (f), D6.9 (a)). It is also applied to other Persians (A4.7//A4.8 (Bagāvahyā), A5.3 (Miθrāvahišta), A6.10 (unnamed estate owners); and cf. *mr'h* of Virafša's wife in A6.15) and non-Persians (A2.4, A3.1 (restored), A3.7, A3.9, A3.11, A4.2, A4.3, D1.9, D7.11, D7.21 = CG 70; and cf. *mr'h* in A3.7). The identity of the referent is unknown in A4.5, A5.2, B8.2, B8.5, D1.16, D1.22, D5.1, CG 87, CG 226, CG J3, and ATNS 58.⁵⁵ In the Bactrian letters the referents are certainly Persian in A1, A2, A6 (Axvamazdā), B6 (Dahyubarzana), C2 (Vaidyūra), and C4:56 (Sasan), and probably in B5. In a recurrent Elephantine legal formula precluding process 'before *sgn*' or lord' (B3.10, B3.11, B4.6), 'before *sgn*' or judge or lord' (B3.12) or 'before judge or lord' (B3.2, B5.4),⁵⁶ the word 'lord' does not specify a particular administrative status (any more than *sgn*' probably does) but is indicative of a category of person: it is as though the world contains officials (*sgnyn*), judicial folk and *important people*, the sort who might claim to exercise jurisdiction not by virtue of specific office but by virtue of status—people whose relationship to the (relevant bit of the) world is like that of an owner in substance or by right of use, which is one of the meanings of *mr'* (A3.10:2, A4.4:8, D7.15:3).⁵⁷ 'Lord' thus momentarily becomes a title-word of sorts—but only momentarily: the word in itself can create no presumption about e.g. the position (if any) occupied by Miθrāvahišta (A5.3) in the administration of Achaemenid Egypt. Its use in all contexts is simply a rhetorical product of the relationship between speaker and referent,⁵⁸ which is why the word's use is largely confined to broadly epistolary contexts.

lines 3–5 כּל... פּסַמְשֶׁכְּחַסִּי, *Psmškhšy...kl*, 'Psamšekḫasi... (in) all'. All the slaves seem to have Egyptian names; contrast the onomastically slightly mixed Cilicians of A6.7. There are various amendments to the TADAE I text in TADAE IV p. 150:

- 'Ankhoḥapi (3) is now son of *P[šnp]brḥp*. (Lindenberger forbears to print the new restoration, but reports it in a note.) TADAE I printed nothing, Driver thought the name was Psamšek.

⁵⁵ Outside letters and documentary material *mr'* in Egyptian texts refers to kings (Taharka (D23.1 Va: 9, 10), Sennacherib (C3.7 GVEx1 (TADAE III 166)), and Pharaoh (A1.1)), as well as to people of uncertain identity (C1.1 *recto* 73, 191, 197–8; C1.2:23–4; C3.7 GVEx1).

⁵⁶ We also get 'before *sgn*' or judge' (B2.3, B3.1). In a different jurisdiction we find preclusion of suits before 'king, satrap, or judge': PBS 2/1 21.

⁵⁷ One might compare a preclusion clause in BM 120024: 'before the king or a *dātabara*, a judge or *anyone else who has power*' (my italics). See also Tuplin 2017: 619, 632.

⁵⁸ Things are perhaps little different when *mr Prs* or *ḥrj Prs* ('Persian lord') is used of Aryāvraṭa (Posener 1936: nos. 31, 33–4) and *ḥrj* (lord) of Aršāma and Artaya in S.H5-DP 434 *verso* col.2:1,3,13 (see Appendix 3.2), though they may be complicated in the former case by the possibility that *mr Prs* and *ḥrj Prs* are meant to translate *srs Prs* ('*saris* of Persia'), the title used of Ariyāvraṭa's brother Āḥiyavahyā in Posener 1936: nos. 24–30.

- The man named after him at the end of line 3 (identified as son of Psamšek in 4) is *ʿhr*[*tys*]. Lindenberger neither prints nor reports this restoration.
- In the second half of line 4 we now have PN son of [Š]*ḥpmw*, Psamšek son of *Wḥpremaḥi*, PN son of *Wḥ*[*pr*]. Lindenberger does not print the first and third restorations but does incorporate them in his translation.

The (partly) decipherable names are thus as follows. (Underlined are the actual slaves, as distinct from slaves' patronymics.) A couple are otherwise unknown in Egyptian Aramaic.

- *Psmškḥsy*: *Psmšekḥasi* (*P3-s-n-mṯk-ḥsy*, 'Psammetichus is favoured'): Porten 2002: 320. Not registered in DemNB and not found elsewhere in Egyptian Aramaic.
- ..]twy: unidentified.
- *ḥḥpy*: 'Ankhoḥapi (see above, line 1(11) n.).
- *Pšnpbrḥp*: *Pšenpeberekhef* (*P3-šr-n-p3-bw-ir-rḥ*, 'the son of the one who is unknown': cf. DemNB 234). Not found elsewhere in Egyptian Aramaic texts, and apparently not registered in Muchiki 1999.
- *ʿhrtys*: *Aḥertais* (*ʿḤ-ī.īr-dī-s*, 'It is (the) moon who gave him/her': DemNB 57, Muchiki 1999: 65). Also in B8.4:19, C3.13:35, C3.19:16, ATNS 41:9. The name is feminine in B8.4, masculine in C3.13 and C3.19, and indeterminate in ATNS 41. The slave in the present document is presumably male.
- *Psmšk*: Psamšek (see above, line 1(8) n.).
- *Pšwbsty*: *Pšubaste* (*P3-šry-n-B3st.t*, 'the son of Bastet' [DemNB 233]). Not found otherwise in Egyptian Aramaic documents.
- *Ḥwry*: The name is attested in Aramaic in this form in A3.10:1,9, A4.2:13, 15, A4.3:6, A4.6:9, C3.15:43, 88, C4.2 (a):3, D5.35:2, D8.7:7, D8.9:11, D19.5:1, D22.10:1, D22.12:1. Muchiki 1999: 78 inferred a putative Ḥori (*Ḥr.y*) = 'he of Horus', but *Ḥwry* is better understood as a hypocoristic of Ḥor (*Ḥr*): see Porten 2002: 313. That name is also very well attested in Aramaic in the form *Ḥwr*: A4.3:4, 6, 8; B1.1:16, B3.7:8, B3.10:10, B3.11:6, C1.2:2, 3, 7, 8, C3.9:14, 19, C3.9 (a):1, C3.10:3, C3.14:16, C3.18:6, C4.2:10, C4.6:3, C4.8:7, D8.11:7, D18.17, D20.3:1, D22.18:1. The effective equivalence of *Ḥwry* and *Ḥwr* is shown by the fact that a single individual can be attested under both forms (A4.2:13, 15, A4.3, 4, 8).
- *Šḥpmw*: *Tjaḥapiemou* (*T3y-Ḥp-n.īm=w*, 'may Apis seize them': DemNB 1350–1, Muchiki 1999: 143). Also found in D7.13:5, CG 258, CG X4, and, written as *Šḥpmw*, in A5.4:1, C3.19:10, 13, ATNS 54:8, 164:1.
- *Psmšk*: Psamšek (see above, line 1(8) n.).
- *Wḥpr'mḥy*: *Wḥpre'makhi* (*Wḥpremaḥi*) (*W3ḥ-īb-R'-m-3ḥ.t*, 'Apries is in the horizon': DemNB 112–13, Muchiki 1999: 76). Also found in A6.2:1,

24, 27. The final *-t* of the Egyptian name is lost in transcription, perhaps because of oral transmission (Porten 2002: 284).

- Wḥpr': Waḥpre' (Waḥibre: Apries) (*W3ḥ-ib-R'*, 'Enduring of heart is Re': DemNB 113, Muchiki 1999: 76). Also in A2.1:14, A2.2:14, A2.4:5–6, B2.1:19, B8.2:27, C4.1:3, C4.2 (a):3, (c):1, C4.3:13, C4.9:1, D3.3:7, D3.30:2–3, D7.35:3, D9.10:7, CG 186, CG X6.

The slaves listed by name in the Mnesimachus inscription (Sardis VII.1 no. 1) as resident at Tobalmoura and Periasasostra are given patronymics, but to provide that information in the case of slaves would normally seem odd to a Greek (as Robert Parker has pointed out to me)⁵⁹ and it would be unusual, if not unexampled, in a Babylonian one. The contrast with the Mišpeh Thirteen in A6.7 rather underlines the point. The need to distinguish between plentiful homonymous Egyptians may be one aspect of the explanation. (There were presumably always many more Egyptians within the purview of Aršāma's Egyptian operations than of any other ethnic category.) One might also recall Cruz-Uribe's insistence (1982: 66) that in Demotic contexts slaves do not lose kinship rights as well as the way that parental names appear in some relevant documents—though they are precisely documents that Menu 1985 would say are not really about slaves (cf. above line 1(12) n., below line 6(1) n.). The metronymics of slaves appear in Aramaic documentation (B2.11, B3.9), concomitantly with the fact that slave status was inherited from a slave mother. (That is probably more immediately pertinent than the general importance of the mother's name in Egyptian nomenclature.)

line 5(1) לקחו וקרקו נכסי לקחו *nksy lqḥw wqrqw*, 'took my goods and fled'. Cazelles 1955: 91 imagined that this occurred when Psamšek tried to take possession of the land-grant of A6.4, thus assuming (which is not necessary) that Psamšek was already *pqyd* and neglecting Psamšek's own description of the circumstances as 'when I was coming to my lord'.

line 5(2) נכסי *nksy*, 'my goods'. See A6.10:1(5) n. The nature of this was not immediately germane to the letter's request and so remains uncertain. But it is a separate charge (Psamšek has not lost property just in the sense that some slaves have gone missing): the slaves are guilty of theft as well as flight.

lines 5–6 כען...יתעבר להם *k'n...yt'bd lhm*, 'now...done to them'. Whitehead says that Driver, Grelot, and Rundgren mistranslate line 6: 'This entire clause is the order to be delivered. *Srwsyt'*, modified by a subordinate clause, is the subject of *yt'bd'*. (Porten–Yardeni seem to take the same view.) What is at issue here is partly what is restored at the end of line 5 (see below, line 5(4) n.). The respective translations of 5–6 are:

⁵⁹ In the Erectheum accounts (IG i³ 476.183–248) and IG i³ 1032 slaves are identified with name + *owner's* name in the genitive.

- Whitehead: ‘Let word be sent to Artavanta [concerning the aforementioned servants whom] I shall present before him. Let the punishment which I order for them be meted out to them.’
- Driver: ‘Let (word) be sent unto Artawont [that if] I present [those men] before him, the punishment which I shall give orders (to inflict) be inflicted upon them.’
- Grelot: his version resembles Driver’s.
- Porten: ‘Let (word) be sent to Artavant [that those slaves whom] I shall present before him: the chastisement which I shall issue-an-order for them be done to them.’

Whitehead’s overall treatment of the matter is somewhat obscured by an erroneous translation of the parallel material in lines 7–8; he prints the Aramaic text of those lines correctly, but truncates/rearranges it in the translation. However, it is clear in the Aramaic text that here too he treats the words starting with *srwšyt* as a separate sentence, and the text could be translated accordingly, provided one recognizes that there is nothing in the text of lines 6–7 expressing ‘concerning’.

line 5(3) **הן על מראי טב**, *hn ‘l mr’y ṭb*, ‘if it (seems) good to my lord’: see A6.7:8(2) n.

line 5(4) **[כזי עבדיא] ארתונת**, *’rtwnt [kzy ‘bdy]*. The gap has been variously restored:

- Driver: [*kzy hn gbry*] *’lk* = ‘that if those men.’
- Whitehead: [.....*zy*]; but he translates ‘concerning the aforementioned servants whom’, which implies reading *’l ‘bdy* *’lk zy* (cf. more explicitly Whitehead 1974: 47).
- TADAE I: [*kzy ‘bdy*] *’lk zy* = ‘that those slaves whom.’
- TADAE IV p. 150, Lindenberger: [*kzy ‘bdy*] *’lky* = ‘that those slaves’. *Zy* disappears because the new fragment (11.20) is preserved to the edge of the page, and there is no *zy*. This slightly problematizes one’s understanding of the grammar: *prima facie* we do need a relative.

Driver (followed by Grelot) thus restores a conditional sentence—‘if I present those men’—whereas Whitehead and Porten–Yardeni do not. This is probably not a matter of space (it cannot be certain there would not have been room for *hn*). Perhaps it is a desire to have as close a parallel as possible to line 7, which has no conditional element—a good argument up to a point: but the problem is precisely that line 7 does have the relative pronoun that we miss in line 5. Driver’s instinct (that a subordinating conjunction is required) was right, but we can also achieve that by accepting the revised Porten–Yardeni text and taking *kzy* as ‘when’. There is an associated substantive issue: have the slaves already

been captured, or is the letter merely about what will happen if they are captured and Psamšek is in a position to bring them before Artavanta? Without *zy* at the end of line 5 and without a conditional or temporal conjunction, there is an especially stark suggestion that Psamšek is actually going to bring the slaves before Artavanta. Driver's 'if' prejudices the issue in favour of the slaves not yet having been captured. 'When' leaves it open.

line 6(1) סרושיתא, *srwšyt'*, 'punishment'. Iranian **sraušyatā-*, 'corporal punishment, chastisement' (Tavernier 2007: 448, after Benveniste 1954: 304 and Hinz 1975: 227). An alternative view is that we have Iranian **sraušyā-* (still meaning 'punishment') with an Aramaic feminine ending (*t'*). *Sraušyā-* appears without *-t'* in one of the Bactrian letters (ADAB C3.41), where wine is allocated < *l* > *srwšy* ('<for> punishment')—which the editors take to mean for an official responsible for punishment. This perhaps favours the alternative view of *srwšyt'*. (In either case the word is cognate with the name of the Zoroastrian god Sraosha, whose close companion is the goddess Ashi or 'reward', and whose own name means 'discipline': Benveniste 1945a: 13–14.) In Ezra 7.26 (Artaxerxes' rescript) we have *šršw* (Kethib) or *šršy* (Qere) as a punishment (*timōria* in 1 Esdr. 8.24); despite the initial *shin*, some think this the same word and translate 'flogging' (cf. Fried 2001: 85, citing Rundgren 1957; and Naveh and Shaked 2012: 196). Williamson 1985: 97 thinks it cognate with Hebrew *šrš* = 'uproot' and that it refers to banishment. (See also Greenfield 1982: 6–7, Shapira 2003: 233.) That slaves who run away merit punishment, provided that they did so willingly (contrast A6.7), stands to reason. Egyptian wisdom literature did suggest that, although disciplining slaves was a good thing, the master was under an obligation to keep them properly fed, clothed, and remunerated (Hoffmann and Quack 2007: 281, 288, 289), and one analysis of actual Late Period slavery includes the proposition that 'if the master does not provide subsistence for him, the slave is entitled to take his services elsewhere' (Cruz-Uribe 1982: 64). But that would not cover a case in which the slave had also (allegedly) stolen property and, in any case, might only be true in the rather specific contract-based situations highlighted by Cruz-Uribe and, with a slightly different slant, Menu 1985. (See also Lippert 2004: 163, 2008: 164, Vittmann 2006: 39.) We have, of course, no idea in what circumstances the individuals here became 'Ankhoḥapi's *bdn*, though since both he and the *bdn* were Egyptian, those circumstances need not be ones peculiar to the Persian occupation or 'Ankhoḥapi's status as Aršāma's *pqyd*, and the contrary need not be proved by the fact that Psamšek deploys the authority of Aršāma against the miscreants. (An alternative view would be that 'Ankhoḥapi had the slaves by virtue of his position as *pqyd* and that his and Psamšek's rights over them were limited by that fact.)

line 6(2) טעם... אנה אשים, *'nh šym... ṭ'm*, 'I shall order'. *'nh* is grammatically otiose, so Psamšek is perhaps pictured as laying special stress on his giving of

the order: so Muraoka and Porten 2003: 158. The *ʾnh* in line 2 (‘when I was coming to my lord...’), on the other hand, they regard as an aspect of colloquial speech (157 n. 26). Substantively (as becomes clearer in lines 7–8) the situation is that Psamšek can be pictured as issuing an order (not *just* making a request that someone else issue an order)—and yet Artavanta has to issue an order too for the punishment actually to happen, and it is for Aršāma, not Psamšek, to tell him to do so. Does this relate to the question of whether he is yet formally *pqyd*? Or would Artavanta’s intervention be required in any case?

line 6(3) טעם... אשימ, *šym... ʿm*, ‘order’. *šym ʿm* occurs in Egyptian Aramaic in A4.5:21, A6.2:22–3, 25, A6.3:6–8, A6.5:3, A6.7:8, C3.8 IIIB:7, 30, 34, ATNS 14, 15, as well as several times in Biblical Aramaic. These tend to involve more-or-less ‘official’ contexts, but it is hard to judge how far this makes the locution a *terminus technicus*. Perhaps the existence of the title *bʿl ʿm* and the subscript formula ‘PN know this *ʿm*’ (see below, pp. 272–3) point a little in that direction. It is also notable that in A6.13:5 we effectively have *šym ʿm*, but with *ʿm* omitted: that may at least indicate the degree to which *šym ʿm* was a cliché. The possibility has been raised that *šym ʿm* is an Aramaic calque of an Iranian phrase, for the original of which we have no precise evidence (Jan Tavernier). Perhaps relevantly *ʿm* itself is regarded by Kaufman 1974: 109 as a borrowing into Aramaic from Akkadian, because the sense ‘order’ is long-established in Akkadian and novel in Official Aramaic.

lines 6, 8(1) להם, *lhm*, ‘for them’. Note the way *lhm* is put between the verb (*šym*) and *ʿm*. That is even true in lines 7–8 where we also have the infinitive ‘to do’, to which *lhm* might more properly seem to be attached. (That is, we have *yšm lhm ʿm lmʿbd*, not *yšm ʿm lmʿbd lhm*—compare *ytʿbd lhm* in lines 6 and 8, ‘let it be done to them’.) Nothing similar occurs in other instances of *šm ʿm* in Porten and Lund 2002.

lines 6, 8(2) תעבד, *ytʿbd*, ‘be done’. Rundgren 1957: 404 (cf. Whitehead 1978: 134) thought *ytʿbd* a ‘loan translation’ from Persian (i.e. that it rendered *kar-* in a putative Persian phrase in which ‘do punishment’ = ‘punish’). Ciancaglini 2008: 48–52 discusses use of the lexeme +*ʿbd* to make a denominative verb, a phenomenon that is sporadic in Official Aramaic, but fully developed in Syriac: she cites *gst ptgm ytʿbd* (A6.8:3–4 (see note ad loc.), A6.10:9), *hndrz yʿbdwn* (A6.13:4, A6.14:3; and cf. ADAB A2:1, A4:1, A5:2, A6:6, 9, not yet available to Ciancaglini) and (from Daniel) *hdmyn ttʿbdwn* = ‘you will be directly punished’. Syriac examples include *rʿzʿ ʿbd* (conspire, literally ‘make a secret’ [**raza*]) and *nhšyr ʿbd* (‘hunt’, from **naxačarya* = ‘hunting’). Brock alleged Coptic influence, but Ciancaglini regards the phenomenon as having happened too early for that to be the case. As relevant to OP she cites *xšačam... adam patip-adam akunavam* (DB §14) and *adam gāθavā akunavam* (DSe §6), both signifying ‘which I put (lit. made) in its place’ (which are not exactly similar). She

does not seem to cite this case with *š*rausyatā*-. (Tavernier iii 85 cites neither this case nor *gst ptgm yt'bd.*) The participle *yt'bd* does not agree with the feminine subject; Driver is relaxed about this as something common enough when other words intervene between subject and predicate, and Whitehead makes no comment. Muraoka and Porten 2003: 278–9 (§76 bb) deal with some disagreements in gender involving passive participles, but do not cite the present case, and do not articulate the idea that the phenomenon is normal. (If one decides that *srwšyt'* is, after all, a masculine noun, the problems are not over, because there is another gender-agreement problem involving the word in line 8: see n. ad loc.) Some failures of grammatical agreement in the Bactrian letters are noted at Naveh and Shaked 2012: 53. See also A6.7:6(5) n., A6.10:3(1) n.

line 6(4) אַרְשָׁמ [כַּן] אָמַר, 'ršm [kn] 'mr, 'Aršāma says [thus]'. See above, line 2(2) n.

line 7(1) זְכִי, *zky*, 'that'. *Zky* is in principle a feminine form (Muraoka and Porten 2003: 57–8), as in A6.3:8, A6.8:2, B2.8:9, B5.1:4, 6; but here it refers to Psamšekḥasi, who is masculine. Other possible examples of 'wrong' *-ky* demonstratives are A4.7:21 (*mn zky w'd ywm*, 'from that [time?] until [this] day')⁶⁰ and A6.4:3 (*dšn' zky*, 'that grant'); but the gender of *dšn'* is not firmly established, and the lack of specified noun in A4.7:21 leaves room for uncertainty. (Folmer 1995: 200 compares the use of feminine pronouns in Biblical Hebrew when the action or circumstances referred to is vaguely defined.) Muraoka and Porten 2003: 166–7 note that it was once claimed that the gender of the addressee determined use of *zky* (and 'lky), but this is certainly no longer straightforwardly true in Persian-period Aramaic (cf. also Folmer 1995: 202, 207). Folmer 1995: 199–200 seeks to explain application of *zky* to Psamšekḥasi by taking *zky* to be appositive, not attributive, and then applying the Biblical Hebrew analogy (above). But this seems forced, and 'its reference to a male remains problematic' (Muraoka and Porten 2003: 58 n. 278). The unexpected grammatical form aside, the use of what can seem a slightly superfluous *zk* to mark the name of someone already mentioned earlier in the text is a stylistic feature of Aramaic letters:⁶¹ cf. A6.6:3 (that [name lost]), A6.7:7, 9 (that Pariyame), A6.11:4–5 (that Pamun), ADAB A1:4, 6 (that Bagavanta), A4.7:6 (that Vidranga).⁶² The same thing can happen with common nouns: A6.4:3 (that grant), A6.14:4 (that domain), A4.7:9, 10, 12 (that temple), ADAB A2:6 (that sand/vinegar), A4:5 (that locust), A4:3, 6 (that wall), B3:3 (that document),

⁶⁰ But the parallel version in A4.8:20 has *zk*.

⁶¹ And other types of document: e.g. B8.10:2, C1.1 *recto* 35. Porten 2003c: 58 cites the usage as a feature that contributes to the verisimilitude of the letter to Artaxerxes in Ezra 4.11–16.

⁶² The present case (A6.3:6–7) actually slightly differs from others in that a relative clause follows describing Psamšekḥasi, so that *zk* might be regarded as an antecedent to that clause rather than a mark that the man has been mentioned earlier. Compare ADAB 5:1, where 'that wall which it was commanded by me to build' is the first reference to the wall in the text.

B4:4 (that donkey).⁶³ This usage, sometimes described as anaphoric (Muraoka and Porten 2003: 58), should be distinguished from the more properly anaphoric *zk* in A6.3:8 (in reference to punishment), A6.8:2 (in reference to affair), A6.11:2 (in reference to Pamun), A6.11:2, 4 (in reference to a domain), A6.12:2 (in reference to Ḥinzani), A6.13:2 (in reference to domain), A6.16:3 (clothing).

line 7(2) וכנותה, *wknwth*, ‘and his companions’. A phrase found frequently in Achaemenid-era Aramaic texts (especially in Egypt), in connection with priests, heralds, judges and *dātābara*, scribes, foremen, ‘pressers’, accountants, and spearbearer-inquisitors,⁶⁴ but also gods (Xanthos Trilingual), the entire Judaeon garrison (A4.1:1, 10) and, in the present case, a group of miscreant slaves.⁶⁵ The last three examples (and perhaps also the slave ‘pressers’ of A6.7) are a reminder that the words we conventionally render as ‘and colleagues’ had no specific official overtone in themselves, any more than e.g. *hoi met’autou* would in Greek. ‘Companions’ (already in Lindenberger) is a more appropriate English term here. Similarly in A6.7:9 Lindenberger’s ‘co-workers’ is perhaps justified, though ‘companions’ is equally suitable. Whether his ‘associates’ is better or worse than ‘colleagues’ in A6.11:1, 7, A6.12:1, 4, A6.13:1, 6, A6.14:1—in reference to the accountants addressed along with Nakthor and Kenzasirma—is moot. (We prefer ‘colleagues.’) Oddly he sticks with ‘colleagues’ in A4.7:1//A4.8:1 (Yedanyah and his colleagues the priests) and A4.1:1, 10 (Yedanyah and his colleagues the Judaeon garrison): are priests and soldiers more collegial than accountants? Still, one should not lose sight of the fact that in the administrative world individuals are not entirely individual. The locution ‘PN and his companions’ (*akkayaše*) is omnipresent in the PFA. The formula is absent in the Bactrian letters and (less surprisingly) Egyptian Aramaic ostraca, but recurs in Demotic (*irm n3y=firy.w*) in Achaemenid official contexts (Tavernier 2017b: 360): Smith and Martin 2009: no. 2 front x+4–5 (scribes), no. 4 front 1:4, 1:6, back 2:7, 11–12 (office uncertain), P.BM EA 76274 i 12, ii 3, 8–9, 76281 (back). In the Murašû archive the cognate Akkadian term *kinattu* regularly designates people supported by the same fief (Cardascia 1951: 29,

⁶³ Outside letters cf. B2.1:4–7, 10, 2.2:5–7, 12–15. In contractual documents, of course, the usage is apt to seem less superfluous: one may expect such documents to be over-zealous in insisting that e.g. the wall under discussion is precisely the wall already mentioned. (If one translates *zk* as ‘the said’, it makes the point become clear.) And one may feel, after all, that something of the same ‘legalese’ quality is not necessarily inappropriate to satrapal letter-orders.

⁶⁴ Priests: A4.1:1, 10, A4.7:1, 4, 18, 22//A4.8:3, 17, 21, A5.4:3. Herald: A6.1:1, 5, 7. Judges: A6.1:1, 6, 7, B2.2:6, B7.1:3, B8.4:2, ATNS 79, 121, LSA03/143^a:2 (Lemaire and Chauveau 2008). *Dātābara*: D3.45:6. Scribes: A6.1:7. Foremen (*prmnkry*): A6.2:8, C3.8 IIIB:1. Pressers (*bšwkn*): A6.7:7, 9. Accountants: A6.11:1, 7, A6.12:1, 4, A6.13:1, 6, A6.14:1. Spear-bearers/inquisitors: PFAT 253.

⁶⁵ There are also generic uses: B3.8:38, B6.4:3, 4 (in an apparent circumlocution for conjugal rights: Porten 1968: 234, after Ginsberg 1954), WDSP 5:7 (preclusion clause), Ahiqar (C1.1 *recto* 99, 185) (proverbial utterance). Often, of course, the persons’ status is not now identifiable (B8.5:16, B8.6:3, 7, 11, D1.32:14, D1.34 (d):1, D5.46:2, ATNS 34a, 81, 97b, 99, PFAT 009, 021, 057, 064, 177, 188, 204, 208, 257, WDSP 32 fr. 2:2, 34 fr. 24, 36 fr. 28:1, Ahiqar (C1.1 *recto* 56), Sheikh Fadl (D23.1 Va:10).

CAD s.v. 2g2'), but neither there nor in earlier Akkadian texts does the word figure in a tag equivalent to *wknwth*. In Hellenistic Aramaic texts (C3.29:11, D7.56:2, Warka 16 [AO6489]) a different word (*ḥbr*) is occasionally used in a similar fashion, albeit once in reference to animals. (The word recurs in Jewish Aramaic, Punic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Hatran texts.) So *knwt* and the phrase *wknwth* are distinctively Achaemenid. Would it be over-whimsical to see the rather striking reference to 'King Darius and the princes' in A4.7:2–3//A4.8:2 as an extension of the trope of collegiality to the very pinnacle of the kingdom?

line 7(3) עברי, 'bdy, 'slaves'. See above line 1(12) n.

lines 8 זכי, *zky*, 'that'. If this refers to *ṭ'm* we have another example of the phenomenon mentioned above (line 7(1) n.). Alternatively it refers to *srwšt'*, a word that has its own gender problems (cf. lines 6, 8(2) n.).

line 9(1) [ברב יתא], *brb[yt]*, 'prince'. See Tuplin iii 31–8. The title is only used in external addresses of letters to Artavanta (A6.3, A6.4, A6.7; the relevant parts of A6.5 and A6.6 are lost). This may be an aspect of Aršāma's courtesy towards Artavanta: see Hilder iii 106–7. One should certainly not assume that information distinctively associated with external addresses (title, location, filiation) is present or absent in particular cases for practical rather than (broadly) rhetorical reasons: see next n. In A6.13:1, when applied to Vāravahyā in the body of a letter, *br byt'* is written as two words. But here, in A6.4:5, A6.7:10, and on Aršāma's seal (Garrison & Henkelman ii 49 (fig. 2.1)) it appears as a single word. Seal inscriptions regularly ignore word-division; perhaps the scribe unconsciously aped the style of the soon-to-be adjacent *bullā*.

line 9(2) [זי במצריין], [*zy bM[sryn]*, 'who is in Egypt'. For provision in the external address line of a geographical reference point for the addressee that is absent from the internal address cf. A6.7:10 (Aršāma to Artavanta),⁶⁶ A6.10:11 (Aršāma to Nakhtḥor), A6.11:7, A6.12:4, A6.13:6 (Aršāma to Nakhtḥor and others), A6.15:13 (Virafša to Nakhtḥor).⁶⁷ The same phenomenon occurs in ADAB A1–6 (Axxvamazdā to Bagavanta) and TADAE A6.1:5 (Haxāmaniš and others to Aršāma). There is also a geographical annotation ('in Egypt') in A6.2:27, but this time (and uniquely) it refers to the *addressor* (Aršāma), not the addressee. There are no such annotations in A6.8 (Aršāma to Armapiya), A6.16 (Artaxaya to Nakhtḥor), or ADAB B1–3 (between persons other than Axxvamazdā and Bagavanta). In ADAB A1–6 the annotation is naturally taken to imply that Bagavanta and Axxvamazdā are in quite distinct places (Khulmi and, presumably, Bactra). So do those in the Bodleian letters prove that Aršāma (and

⁶⁶ The same thing can reasonably be restored in A6.4:5, A6.5:4.

⁶⁷ The gap in line 6 means there would theoretically be room for 'in Egypt' to be restored in A6.14 after 'from Vāravahyā to Nakhtḥor and Hēndasirma'. But what appears just before the gap does not look like either the *w* of *wknwth* ('and his colleagues'), which is what one expects here, or indeed the *b* of *bM[sryn]*.

Virafša) were not where Artavanta and Nakhthor were, i.e. not in Egypt? This is the normal assumption (bolstered by other inferences from A6.9, A6.12, and Aršāma's known absence from Egypt in 410–407), and is sometimes elaborated with the idea that the 'in Egypt' address presupposes a central postal depot for the whole country from which the letter would then be forwarded to the actual addressee (Alexander 1978). The facts that 'in Egypt' can be attached to the addressor's name when the addressee is also in Egypt (A6.2) and that multiple addressors (who surely cannot *all* be outside Egypt) attach it to the addressee's name (A6.1) may give one slight pause.⁶⁸ Another thing that happens in external addresses but not internal ones is that titles are attached to the names of addressees (A6.10:11, A6.11:7, A6.12:4, A6.13:6, A6.15:13, ADAB A2:8, A5:4) and addressors (A6.1:5, A6.3:9, A6.4:5, A6.7:10).⁶⁹ Perhaps the geographical annotation (which is not a universal feature of Egyptian Aramaic letters: cf. p. 86 n. 67) is also quasi-titular (and confined to correspondence between certain types of person) and does not necessarily make an implicit statement about the extent of the physical distance between writer and addressee. One might compare (in a Demotic letter) 'Farnavā, he of Tshetres to whom the fortress of Syene is entrusted', where the first bit may mean that he is governor of Tshetres (cf. Tuplin iii 301 n. 40), though 'of Tshetres' is admittedly more geographically neutral than 'in Egypt'. The only letter from Aršāma known *not* to use a geographical annotation at all in the external address is that to Armapiya (A6.8). Rather than infer that this is the only one in the set written when Aršāma was in Egypt,⁷⁰ one might note that it is also the only one in which the addressor lacks an official title as well and conclude either that the scribe was simply being careless about 'badging' protocols or that something about Armapiya and his relationship to Aršāma made a distinct protocol appropriate: one might hold, for example, that complete omission of Armapiya's title is a mark of Aršāma's disdain and annoyance.⁷¹ In another (poorly preserved) letter 'who is in Egypt' occurs in the body of the text (A6.8:2), perhaps in reference to Aršāma's *pqyd* Psamšek (so TADAE), but in any case to someone who reports information that leads Aršāma to issue instructions. See Tuplin iii 39–45.

⁶⁸ In the former case Folmer 2017: 437 n. 86 simply infers that 'Arsames' presence in Egypt was not self-evident'. But to say that the phrase is used irrespective of Aršāma's actual whereabouts is arguably tantamount to treating it as a title.

⁶⁹ In the wider corpus of Egyptian Aramaic letters the external address line often adds filiation information about addressor and/or addressee. In the Hermopolis letters there is also an indication that the letter is to go to Syene or Luxor, but geographical markers are otherwise absent.

⁷⁰ Oddly, the 'knows this order' official named in the subscript is Bagasravā, otherwise known in that role only in a letter (A6.9) that is *prima facie* written in Mesopotamia or Susa. But a secretariat official of this sort can be wherever Aršāma happens to be at any given moment, so this does not help.

⁷¹ The only other letter in the Bodleian set in which external and internal address are exactly the same is A6.16. Here the addressor writes politely to Nakhthor, but perhaps assigns him no title because it would not be appropriate (Nakhthor is Aršāma's *pqyd*, not Artaxaya's).

TADAE A6.4 (DRIVER 2, GRELOT 62, LINDENBERGER 37)

Transfer of Grant to Beneficiary's Son

Summary

Aršāma instructs Artavanta that the grant given by king and Aršāma to Ankhoḥapi, Aršāma's *pqyd* in his domains in Upper and Lower Egypt, is to be carried on by Ankhoḥapi's son Psamšek, who has become *pqyd* in Ankhoḥapi's place.

Text

Whitehead 1974: 38 remarks that some fragments have been mounted in the wrong place and that he has mostly ignored them. Driver 1965: 20 already noted that some stray fragments were mounted together with documents they were thought to go with but that little could be done with them. More specifically (1965: 41) he noted a couple of scraps attached to the outside face of the letter that belong to the inside, one in line 3 (part of *dš[n']*) and one (reading *.b'*) of unknown location. (The suggestion in 1965: 22 n., 41 that there is a second scrap on the outside with the letters *dšn'* that belongs in line 1 of the main text seems to be false.) The fragment completing *dšn'* in line 3 is deployed already in TADAE I, which also added fragment 9.6 and the isolated fragment currently mounted at the bottom left of Pell.Aram.IV (Figs. 7, 34). Fragment 4.16 was added in the new drawing of the document in TADAE IV. (See Appendix 3.3.) Lindenberger essentially follows the TADAE text, but (a) does not print a full restoration of text for the gaps in the middle of lines 2 and 3, (b) differs in his placing of the square bracket marking the end of those gaps (and the one in line 1), and (c) brackets the second letter of *pqyd* at the start of line 3. None of this makes any substantive difference.

line 1(1) אר[תני]ת, *r[twn]t*, 'Artavanta'. See A6.3:1(4) n. Grelot 1972: 300 thought that Artavanta had previously refused Psamšek the *dšn*, prompting an appeal to Aršāma. There is no particular reason to think this.

line 1(2) לך...שלם, *šlm...l[k]*, 'peace...to you'. See A6.3:1(5) n.

line 1(3) דשנא, *dšn'*, 'grant'. Iranian **dāšna-*, 'gift, grant' (Tavernier 2007: 407). It survives as a word for 'gift' in later Aramaic (cf. Jastrow 1950 (who also cites it as meaning 'fat piece'), Sokoloff 2002: 355) and Syriac (Ciancaglini 2008: 159),⁷² but Achaemenid-era parallels are not numerous, and do not involve land-grants.

⁷² Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 cite nothing aside from the Bodleian Letters and ATNS 41.

- ATNS 41: ‘presents (*dšny*)’ for the birthday of *plnyh*. The word *bg*’ (cf. below, line 2(3) n.) appears two lines earlier, but given the specificity of ‘birthday’, this is perhaps chance. On the other hand, *ywmyld*’ = ‘birthday’ is attested only here, so perhaps there is an outside chance that the letters require some other interpretation. The *dšn* entry is followed by reference to a quantity of flour (1 *artaba*). That has some resonance with the next item.
- ADAB C5:3: ‘my present’ (*dšny*) to Elkam (*l’lkm*)...’, in Naveh and Shaked’s translation. This the third line of the first of the document’s two items, which are separated by a horizontal line. The second (lines 7–9) is a message from one Vahyazaya about men finding ‘the ration on the roads’ (*ptp’ brht*). The rest of the first (which is apparently addressed to Vahyazaya) includes some elements that look like food allocations to individuals (lines 4–6), and it is not impossible that line 3 is directly connected with one of these. In that case (and perhaps anyway) ‘present’ may be an unduly unofficial-sounding term.
- Ostrakon (second half of fourth century) from Nebi Yunis (Cross 1964): *B’lšd tq[ln x] // dšn*, ‘Ba’lišid, sheqels x, donation.’ A possible, but rejected, alternative reads the first word as *Ba’l Šur* = Lord of Tyre (an epithet of Baal), making the ostrakon the record of an anonymous donor’s gift to Baal.
- The alleged (Tavernier 2007: 407) occurrence of Elamite *dāšna*- in PF 0337 and NN 0366 is an illusion: *-dašna* in these texts is part of the spelling of the name of Auramazdā (cf. Henkelman 2008: 527, though without explicit comment on the matter).

Whitehead 1974: 40 speculated that *dšn* might be the *pqyd*’s income, i.e. the difference between what he collects and what he has to pass to Aršāma. Grelot 1972: 300 spoke of a ‘gratification’, that is ‘la perception d’une certaine somme allouée par l’administration (“par le roi”); bref, une sorte de traitement [i.e. salary] qu’on ne saurait toucher sans prouver son droit’. But Stolper (1985: 63, 65) correctly highlights an analogy with Babylonian arrangements. Aršāma’s bailiff held property within his estate (the *dšn* of the present text), as did other subordinate individuals (Peṭosiri in A6.11), and such property was liable to tax or service-obligations (*hlk*). In the same way Queen Parysatis’ bailiff (*paqdu*) held a fief within her estate (TuM 2/3 185), as did certain other ‘servants’ who were responsible to the bailiff (PBS 2/1 60); and *ilku* was due from bow lands in the estates of the Queen or the Crown Prince. The relationship substantively and/or as a matter of linguistic usage between bestowing a *dšn* and (as in A6.11, A6.13) a *bg* is debatable. Since the recipients in A6.11 (Peṭosiri) and A6.13 (the prince Vāravahyā) are of greatly different status one from another (and indeed from Psamšek), one might say that *bg* is the generic word for a portion of land,

while *dšn* focuses on the fact of its bestowal by a benefactor. The fact that the *dšn* (but not the *bgy* in A6.11,13) is said to be given by the king as well as Aršāma is not inconsistent with this. It is striking that, while the land-grants are described with Iranian words, the terminology for the mode of property-holding (*mhšsn*: 6.11:2, 3, 5) and fiscal product (*hlk* (6.11:5) and *mndh* (6.13:3, 4, A6.14:2, 3, 5)) is non-Iranian.

line 1, 3(1) מַלְכָּא וּמְנִי [מ], [*m*]n *mlk'* *wmny*, '(given) by the king and by me'. Is this simply an acknowledgment of *ultimate* royal authority? Another royal grant (with different terminology) in an earlier Egyptian context appears in B1.1, where the defension clause in a joint venture contract from 515 refers to the possibility that Padi, son of Daganmelek, might give to his partner Aḥa, son of Ḥapio, a field 'from my portion from the king (*mn hlq' lmlk*), except for a word of the king' (i.e. unless the king forbids it). In Babylonia *nidintu šarri* terminologically designates something as a grant made by the king, though one may wonder in any given case whether the king has recently personally and consciously done this in respect of any particular holder. The wording of the present text certainly entails that, should he so wish, the king could revoke the grant without reference to Aršāma (Henkelman 2018a: 52). For another reference to royal authority in a context where one might not expect the (distant) king to be involved see A4.2:14. This is one of the set of documents discussed by Van der Toorn 2018 (Tuplin iii 63 n. 215, Tuplin iii 347) and in his reconstruction a Persian official gives orders for the arrest of Šeha and Ḥor at the order of the king (*bšwt mlk'*: 14). Although the affair had perhaps engaged the interest of Aršāma (or at least his chancellery), direct royal involvement seems unlikely: is reference to the king being used formulaically to give special authority on a local official's action? (Note, however, that Van der Toorn's reconstruction of the absent second half of A4.2:13 is speculative, so the precise interconnection of royal order and the events recounted in the letter remains very uncertain. It is also unfortunate that *šwt* = 'order' seems to be without parallel in Imperial Aramaic.)

lines 1, 3(2) מַלְכָּא וּמְנִי יְהִב [מ], [*m*]n *mlk'* *wmny yhb*, 'was given by the king and me'. The grammatical construction here is an example of the so-called *passivum maiestatis* (Folmer 1995: 380–91), in which 'I did such-and-such' becomes 'such-and-such was done by (*mn*) me': see also A4.1:2, A4.7:24, A6.7:8, A6.2:6, A6.11:5, A6.13:1, A6.15:1, and (outside the Aršāma dossier), ATNS 26, ADAB A1:3–4, 6–7, A5:1–2, A6:2–3, 5, 7, 9–10. Kutscher 1969: 148–51 saw it as a Persianism, exemplified in OP by *tyašām hačāma ašanhya* 'what was said unto them by me' (DB §7 etc.), but Tavernier (iii 84–7) does not admit it to his list. The sobriquet *maiestatis* reflects the fact that it is strongly associated with cases in which the logical subject is the king or a satrap or in which the writer seeks to flatter an addressee (Artavanta in A6.7:8, Bagāvahyā in A4.7:24) by implying that the latter is of comparably high status. Perhaps

something similar is happening in ADAB A6:5, where Axvamazdā makes Vahya-ātar (the *pqyd* in Dastakani and Vahumati) the logical subject of the construction when referring to the report he has received from him about Bagavanta's failure to carry out an instruction to mend roofs:⁷³ figuring the *pqyd* in this fashion adds another element to the letter's rhetoric of criticism. Alternatively, by the mid-fourth century older rules about using the trope were losing their force: one might compare the appearance of another admonitory satrapal turn of phrase, 'let it be known to you', in ADAB B3:4 in an apparently private letter from Artainapāta to Vahuča (cf. A6.8:3(1) n.), though admittedly as a free-standing sentence, not the prelude to a threat.

lines 1, 4 ܘܗܒ, *yhb*, 'given'. Elsewhere in the Bodleian Letters (A6.11:5, A6.13:1), the wider Aršāma dossier (A6.1:3), and generally in Egyptian Aramaic we get *yhyb*, but the shorter form recurs in the Hermopolis letters (A2.2:8–10, A2.3:8) and perhaps CG 42.

line 2(1) [ܦܩܝܕ] *pq[yd]*, 'official'. Driver consistently uses 'officer' for *pqyd*, Grelot 'intendant', and Lindenberger 'steward' (except in A6.9, where he uses 'official'). The evidence about use of the term *pqyd* can be stated as follows.

1. The individuals in A6.3–A6.8 and A6.10–16 are concerned with the management of the private estates of Aršāma (Ankhoḥapi, Psamšek, Nakhtḥor), Vāravahyā (Aḥatubaste), Virafša (*Miçapāta)⁷⁴, and the unnamed 'lords' of A6.10:4.⁷⁵ Onomastically speaking they are variously Egyptian (Ankhoḥapi, Psamšek, Nakhtḥor), Iranian (*Miçapāta), and either Akkadian or Semitic-Egyptian (Aḥatubaste: see A6.13:3(1) n.). The possibility (it is no more than that) that Virafša's *pqyd* *Miçapāta (A6.15) recurs (without that title) in S.H5-DP 434 cannot pose any fundamental challenge to this view. (See A6.15:1(2) n. for the pros and cons of making the identification.) The fact that Artaxaya addresses Nakhtḥor politely in A6.16 may establish that, while Nakhtḥor is inferior to the likes of Artavanta (the only person whom Aršāma addresses politely), he is not of merely menial status. (See also A6.14:4(1) n.) But that is not inconsistent with his being an estate official, when the estate in question is that of a satrap and Son of the House.⁷⁶ It is true that we cannot be absolutely sure how many *pqydyn* might have been active at any one time in Aršāma's estates in Upper and Lower Egypt: the apparent uniqueness of (in succession) Ankhoḥapi, Psamšek, and Nakhtḥor might be misleading (cf. below, pp. 97–8, 135, 251, and

⁷³ I am assuming that Naveh and Shaked are right to restore <mm> before Vahya-ātar's name.

⁷⁴ Also visible in D6.7 (c) inside:2, (c) outside:1.

⁷⁵ By contrast A6.9 says nothing about what Nakhtḥor's status as *pqyd* will entail when he reaches Egypt.

⁷⁶ *Mutatis mutandis* one might recall the **vaçabara*-/*ustarbaru* status of estate managers associated with queens: cf. A6.15:1(2) n. (This title is now also attested in the Egyptian part of the Aršāma dossier: Appendix 3.1: p. 296.)

Tuplin iii 19). But we do not have to postulate such a multiplicity of them as would markedly reduce their individual status in relation to the likes of Artaxaya. In short, there is nothing so far to justify Driver's belief (1965: 15) that *pqydyn* were very senior officials, perhaps at the highest rank beneath the satrap in the administration of Egypt.⁷⁷ (On other occurrences of the word *pqyd* in Egypt, see below, p. 93.)

2. In ADAB A6 we meet Vahya-ātar (*Vayhātrva-: Tavernier 2007: 336), 'pqyd at Dastakani and Vahumati, my servant ('lym)' (i.e. Axvamazdā's). He has reported Bagavanta's failure to put roofs on buildings at Vahumati and Artuki that belong to Axvamazdā and to bring grain and sesame (for) sowing as seed to Axvamazdā's granary (*byt wsm*). Axvamazdā chides Bagavanta for not acting 'in accordance with my order (*ništāvana)' (6), tells him to carry out the relevant tasks, and adds that, if he does not, he will not be let off (*l' tšbq*) and will pay the whole amount 'from your own house to my house'. The context is plainly one involving Axvamazdā's estate, even if we do not follow Naveh and Shaked's suggestion (ad loc.) that Dastakani corresponds to JBA *dysqrt'/dsqrt'*, MP *dastkerd*, Armenian *dastakert*, and means 'estate'. (That *nštwn'/*ništāvana*—'instruction, decree'—recurs in TADAE A6.1:3 in the context of what seems to be state business is, of course, no counter-indication.) Perhaps this does not prove that Vahya-ātar is an estate official (rather than just an observant and interfering provincial official), but it is the natural conclusion and his possible recurrence in ADAB C1:46 does not point in any other direction. (Of course this does, interestingly, imply that the local governor—who also, hardly surprisingly, has an estate—has been given responsibility for activities that might have been thought within a *pqyd*'s remit. Perhaps there were resource implications that exceeded Vahya-ātar's reach. Although I doubt that Armapiya was a man of Bagavanta's status, we have a situation here somewhat reminiscent of TADAE A6.8. See below, pp. 131–2.)

3. More problematic are the *pqydyn* of A6.9, seven individuals who are (a) located in eight named places on a one-to-one basis (except that Upastābara is given three locations, while Frādafarnā and [?]Haumadāta share Damascus) and (b) also associated with provinces inasmuch as rations are to come 'from my estate which is in your province(s)' (*bmdyntkm*).

Their named locations are widely spaced (see the introduction to the commentary on A6.9); so, if Nakhthor and his fellow-travellers literally got rations a day at a time (which is what line 6 incites one to think), they got them from a much larger number of individual locations within a series of provinces.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁷ Compare, but also contrast, Whitehead's suggestion (1974: 23–4) that the *pqyd* occupied in relation to the estate the same position as the *b'l t'm* ('vice-satrap') in the official context of A6.2.

⁷⁸ Even if (against the norm in the Persepolis Fortification archive and the apparent implications of line 6) they sometimes took supplies for several days at once, there would still have to have been more than just seven supply-stations between central Mesopotamia and Egypt.

document must have ‘worked’ when read at unnamed places by people who are unidentified.⁷⁹ So *either* the named officials issued subsidiary authorization documents when Nakhtḥor and his companions arrived *or* the existing document was sufficient to work anywhere (so that, in effect, ‘to Bagafarnā the *pqyd* who is in Sa‘lam means ‘to whom it may concern in the province for/within which Bagafarnā at Sa‘lam is the *pqyd*’). The disadvantage of the former solution is that it requires that the *pqydyn*’s location is always at the edge of the province (for a traveller moving east-to-west),⁸⁰ so one may prefer the latter view.

A crucial characteristic of the *pqydyn* is thus that their name and location(s) together define a whole region.⁸¹ Since the region is labelled *mdynh* = ‘province’ (whereas the Egyptian *pqydyn* are linked with ‘Egypt’, ‘Upper and Lower Egypt’, or ‘Lower Egypt’, none of which is technically speaking a ‘province’: see below, line 2(4) n.), the simplest assumption is undoubtedly that they are provincial officials, whose writ runs systematically across a region in a way hard to imagine for estate managers.

Are there any analogies for this? The only certainly relevant Aramaic texts are A4.2 and A5.5, both of which link the term with Thebes: more precisely, A5.5 refers to a ‘*pqyd* of Thebes’, while A4.2 speaks of ‘Mazdayazna the *pqyd* of/ for the province’ (*pqyd lmdyn*) immediately after an allusion to ‘the province (*mdynt*) of Thebes’. Both texts are fragmentary (particularly A5.5), but both have an official allure and even, in the case of A5.5, a military one. The presence of the term ‘province’ (*mdynh*) makes for a *prima facie* resemblance to the Mesopotamian/Levantine cases.⁸²

⁷⁹ That is certainly true if A6.9 was the only document that Nakhtḥor was carrying; but it may actually be true even if it was not (for which possibility see pp. 156–7).

⁸⁰ For further discussion of the geography of the document see pp. 150–4.

⁸¹ As already noted Upastābara has *three* bases, whereas two people (Frādafarnā and Hw[...]. It = ?Haumadāta) share Damascus. If the *pqydyn* are Aršāma’s estate officials we could say that his Syrian estates were very large (so needed two *pqydyn*) but geographically quite concentrated around Damascus (so they could both be based there) whereas in heartland Assyria the estates were rather scattered but individually too small to justify more than a single *pqyd*. Whether a comparable argument is equally easily available if the *pqydyn* are state (provincial) officials is doubtful, but obviously one cannot be sure. (Henkelman ii 213 pictures Frādafarnā and ?Haumadāta as in charge of separate subsections of Beyond-the-River, but does not comment on the case of Upastābara.) The same, incidentally, probably goes for drawing any inferences from the names of the *pqydyn*. Two are Babylonian, the rest Persian. Are Babylonian state officials (regionally in charge of state-supplied foodstuffs) more or less improbable than Persian estate managers? One is tempted to say more, but we really cannot know.

⁸² Dupont-Sommer’s version of CG 44 = D7.10 (Dupont-Sommer 1963: 54) gives us a *pqyd* ordering that a prisoner be deprived of bread and water. But Porten–Yardeni interpret *pqyd* as verb-form (‘it would be commanded’), as well as inserting a ‘not’. Putative occurrences of *pqyd* in ATNS 64b and 85 are too uncertain and context-free to be of assistance. Bordreuil 1986 published a sealstone inscribed *lpqyd yhd*, inviting one to believe in a *pqyd* of the province of Judah. But the current view is that the object is from the seventh century and that the letters *pqydyhd* constitute a personal name (Avigad 1997: no. 838). In the eighth century Aramaic of Sefire III (KAI 224:4, 10), *pqyd* designates a royal official. And in the Hebrew of Esther 2.3 we do have the king’s *pqydyn*

Another potential source of illumination is Achaemenid Babylonia. Understanding of the material from this source has been radically changed by Pirngruber and Tost 2013.⁸³ They have established that there is in principle a distinction to be drawn between two related words, *paqdu* and *paqudu*, which were previously treated as largely interchangeable. The former (*paqdu*) is used in the Murašû archive (and other later Achaemenid texts from the Kasr archive and elsewhere) of (i) managers serving Iranian or occasionally (onomastically) Babylonian estate owners in the way that Psamšek or Nakhtḥor served Aršâma⁸⁴ and (ii) deputies of the foremen (*šaknus*) who oversee *ḥaṭrus* (fief-collectives)—a role also concerned with the management of real estate. The latter (*paqudu*) is used of officials of relatively low administrative rank fulfilling police functions both in major towns and in smaller places. Much of the evidence for these officials is from the earlier Achaemenid period, but they do also appear in the Murašû archive, notably in the case of the *paqudus* of Nippur. (It used to be held that Nippur was administratively construed as a *ḥaṭru*, and the appearance of the title explained accordingly as appropriate to *šaknu*-deputies: Stolper 1988.) That two words derived from the same root (meaning ‘entrust, care for’) can designate quite distinct functions is, of course, no great surprise.⁸⁵ By the same token, the field of application of Aramaic *pqyd* (from *p^eqad* = deposit, command) need not be sharply delimited and can embrace the exercise of subordinate authority in various contexts.⁸⁶

Where does all of this leave us with the *pqydyn* of A6.9, conceived as provincial officials? The answer seems to be that the *pqydyn* of A4.2 and A5.5 *might* count as analogies, but it is not clear that there is anything Babylonian that does. If, on the other hand, we chose to insist that *mdynh*, though generally translated ‘province’, *can* also mean ‘city’ (cf. ADAB A4:2) and then took the Babylonian evidence about *paqudus* to authorize identification of the men in A4.2 and A5.5 as city-*pqydyn*, the men in A6.9 would become unique. Since that text is in any case unique (as an official Achaemenid document about travel-provisioning that does not come from the Persepolis archive) that might not be surprising—but it brings us back to questions of process and the

collecting harem-girls from the provinces (*medinot*). Whether one categorizes that as state or estate business is a nice question.

⁸³ I refer the reader to their discussion for full documentation, including a number of items not previously readily accessible.

⁸⁴ For signs of the existence of similar people in the PFA (but without the *paqdu/pqyd* terminology) see below, nn. 207, 385.

⁸⁵ Hence the ‘royal courtier who is installed in Eanna’ (*ša reš šarri ša ina ajakki paqdu*) and ‘the royal Aramaic-scribe who is installed in Eanna’ (*sēpiru ša šarri ša ina ajakki paqdu*), in which titles *paqdu* is a verb-form meaning ‘installed’ (cf. Kleber 2008: 30). HRETA 132 = Dougherty 1923: 20–1 is evidently something else again: ‘28 workmen (*šābe*), the *puqudā*, who in the mountains became free. These are the *puqudā* whom their fathers gave to Innina of Erech and Nana for the *širkātu*.’

⁸⁶ Much later *pqyt* served in Pahlavi as an ideogram for *ōstāt* = expert (Driver 1965: 43, after Menasce 1954: 162), which seems a bit of a stretch.

question of whether the simple assumption (that the reason the *pqydyn* are treated as belonging to provinces is that they are provincial officials) is necessarily right. In other words, we cannot unambiguously establish what sort of people the *pqydyn* of A6.9 are simply by looking at attestations of the word *pqyd*. The answer depends on how we understand the mechanics of the system that will ensure that Nakhtḥor and his companions get fed: on this see below, pp. 154–63.

line 2(2) בִּין, *byn*, ‘among’. Since *byn* most distinctively means ‘between’,⁸⁷ some find its use here (where *b-*, ‘in’ might seem perfectly appropriate) surprising; and, since *byn* was the MP heterogram for *andar* = ‘in’, a proposed explanation is that *byn bgy*’ is an Iranian turn of phrase, *byn* being a response to OP *antar*: thus Naveh and Shaked 2012: 51, Tavernier iii 84 (anticipated by Driver 1965: 39, Whitehead 1974: 250).⁸⁸ A similar phenomenon is postulated in ADAB A8:1, *byn šnyh* = ‘in his grain (field)’, and A10a:8, *byn ywmm* 2 = ‘in two days’. In the latter case the use of similar expressions in A4.1:8, B3.4:20, B3.13:7, B4.5:7, B7.1:7 (legal documents from Elephantine, where there is no particular reason to expect an Aramaic calque of Iranian usage) might give one pause. Of course, in all those cases the reference is consciously to the passage of a period of time (‘during those days’, ‘within so-and-so-many days’), so the *byn* = ‘between’ is quite appropriate; but for all we can tell that was true in the fragmentary A10a:8 (as indeed in TADAE B8.7:8). ADAB A8:1 also occurs in a rather fragmentary text, so we cannot be sure that *byn* = ‘between’ was not a suitable choice. And there is certainly a case for regarding *byn* in *byn bgy*’ as having the overtone ‘among’ (see next note).

line 2(3) בְּנֵי, *bgy*, ‘domains’. Iranian **bāga-* (Tavernier 2007: 446). (The underlying root, *bag-/baj-*, also gives *baga-* ‘god’ and *bāji* ‘tribute, tax.’) *Bg* also appears in relation to Aršāma in line 3 here and in A6.5:2, A6.6:3, A6.7:5, always in the phrase *byn bgy*’, which qualifies *pqyd* in A6.4:2, 3 and ‘pressers’ in A6.7:5, is of uncertain reference in A6.5:2, and appears in the phrase ‘*dy mn byn bgy*’ *zy mr*’ = ‘was removed from within the domains of my lord’ in A6.6:3. There is no explicit description of a *pqyd* as *byn bgy*’ in any of the Nakhtḥor letters; but *bg* appears in A6.6:3 in what is probably a reference to Nakhtḥor (see A6.6:2 n. for the new reading of that document), and it is conceivable that the *byn bgy*’ formula appeared in the lacuna in A6.6:2. The turn of phrase *mn byn bgy*’ (rather than just *mn bgy*’) in A6.6:3 perhaps underlines the ‘setness’ of the phrase *byn bgy*’. In any event the choice of *byn*, properly ‘within, between,

⁸⁷ B2.1:13,14, B2.7:14, B2.10:7, B3.4:8, 10, B3.5:10, 11, B3.7:6, 11, B3.11:5, B3.12:19, 21, ATNS 26:7, 13 (physically between), C1.1 *recto* 40, 62, 205 (physically between/among), B7.2:8, 10 D20.5:4, C1.1 *recto* 161 (more metaphorically between/among), A3.10:2, B3.3:11–13 (of possessions ‘between X and Y’, i.e. jointly held by X and Y).

⁸⁸ *Antar* itself appears in Aramaic guise in ADAB A1:4, A2a:5 (*ntr*), though this does not in itself preclude the co-existence of an Aramaic calque.

among', may stress the multiplicity and discontinuity of the land-holdings involved (already clear, of course, from 'in Upper and Lower Egypt' in A6.4 and A6.7) rather than being an Aramaic calque (see above, line 2(2) n.).

Aside from these more or less formulaic phrases, reference to Aršāma's property in the Bodleian letters describes it as his *byt*, both in Psamšek letters (A6.8:2) and elsewhere.⁸⁹ The *bg'* or *bgy'* of others appear non-formulaically in A6.11:2–5 (formerly held by Pamun, and potentially now held by Peṭosiri) in the singular, and in A6.13:1, 3, 4 (held by Vāravahyā) variously in the singular (when reference is to its being given to him by Aršāma) and plural (when a source of *mndh*: A6.13:3(2) n.): the rationale for this variation is not very obvious (A6.13:1(5) n.). Other instances in Egyptian texts (mostly from Saqqara) could all refer to land-allotments and appear in contexts where the granting of land to foreigners could (as in the Bodleian letters) be in question:

- *bg'* D6.12 (e) (Bodleian fragment), as a single word on a mere scrap of leather.
- *bg* C3.6:8 (Saqqara: first half fifth century), a fragmentary document whose second column has a list of names each against the heading 'non-domain' (*l' bg*): the names are variously Egyptian, Babylonian (a patronym), Aramaean, or Hebrew.
- *bgy'* D3.39(b) (Saqqara: fragmentary); the text also mentioned a Chorasmian (with a Babylonian name), Mushezibnabu of the *degel* of Marya, and a Sidonian.
- *bg'* ATNS 41: in an odd list of 'commodities, next to a putative personal name, WSK, which Segal leaves unexplained but Tavernier 2007: 340 interprets as *Vasaka-, and two lines before putative birthday presents (*dšny'*: cf. above, line 1(3) n.).
- 'bg' ATNS 46: another obscure document. In Segal's translation line 5 reads 'and spread produce for the estates of', and there is a reference to the *hyl'* three lines earlier. But Segal actually prints *bgy'/_a* and the case is perhaps an uncertain one.

Outside Egypt, *bg* was restored in Xanthos Trilingual line 10 by Teixidor (1978: 182), although others read *byt*: the reference is to property given to the god Kandawats. It may also occur in the Kemaliye inscription—that much at least is agreed between Lemaire and Kwasman 2002 and Stadel 2010. It occurs next to a reference to *byt*: the line reads *mnd'm mn byt' bg'*, variously rendered as

⁸⁹ A6.10:2, 5, 7, 9, A6.11:6; and, outside Egypt, A6.9:2. It is also used of the estates of other high-rank people (A6.10:3, A6.15:7). Compare also A4.3:10 (potential reimbursement from the house of 'Anani) or ADAB A6:10–11 (payment owed from the house of Bagavanta to that of Axvamazdā). In the new British Museum papyri the term *tš* appears to be used (n. 230), while references to Aršāma's house(s) (*aw.y*) are to physical buildings.

‘whoever from the house/temple, the domain’ (Lemaire and Kwasman) and ‘irgendetwas aus dem Haus/Tempel, dem Bereich’ (Stadel). The next line mentions ‘the land(s), the vineyards and ???’ (Lemaire and Kwasman) or ‘die Landereien, die Weinberge (unklar)’ (Stadel). The relevant words are *’rqt’ krmy’ wn^{d/}, wn* (with many half-brackets, it must be said). *’rqt’* appears in A6.15:6, of grain-fields. *Krmy’* = vineyards is standard. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 offer no help with the third word, but it is strangely reminiscent of Akkadian *nudun-nû* (‘woman’s property, dowry’) represented in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic as *ndwny’* (Sokoloff 2002: 730) and Biblical Hebrew as *ndny* (Ezek. 16.33). The translators’ indecision between ‘house’ and ‘temple’ leaves open the possibility that this text, like Teixidor’s version of the Xanthos Trilingual, associates *bg* with a religious environment.

line 2(4) **בַּעֲלֵיתָא וְתַחְתִּיתָא**, *b[lyt’ wthtyt’]*, ‘in U[pper and Lower (Egypt)]’. The phrase (which is safely restorable here from e.g. A6.7:6, where it is also used in relation to domains) simply means ‘in the upper and lower’⁹⁰ and, as a way of describing Egypt (which is clearly what it is doing, despite the absence of the word) represents a way of putting things that is not Egyptian: for Egyptians the two parts of the country were nominally associated with plant types, not physical positions. Upper and Lower are, of course, familiar to us as a way of describing southern and northern Egypt formulated in terms of the upper and lower (particularly the Delta) stretches of the Nile. But is that what the Aramaic writer meant? In the descriptions of real estate at Elephantine ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ meant north and south (Kraeling 1953: 79, Porten 1968: 308–10), as they also did to the writer of the mid-eighth century Sefire inscription (KAI 222A).⁹¹ Could it be that when Aršāma speaks of domains in Lower (Egypt) (A6.10:4(1) n.) he actually means the south, i.e. at least the Nile valley (and probably the Nile valley south of Memphis) as distinct from the Delta? Egyptians viewed the Nile looking southwards, so the right bank was the west, not the east. Perhaps the Aršāma texts are similarly (from our perspective) back to front. In any event, the terms are not administrative ones; they simply conjure up an ancient idea of the kingdom (now satrapy) as the union of two lands. When a *pqyd* (here) or some Cilician workers (A6.7:6) are located ‘in my domains in Upper and Lower (Egypt)’, all that we can be sure about is that they are being placed somewhere in Egypt.⁹² When Nakhthor is associated specifically with Lower Egypt (A6.10:11), that is because the situation there is

⁹⁰ Whitehead 1974: 41 claims *lyt’ wthtyt’* designates ‘Upper and Lower (Egypt)’ when in emphatic form and is simply directional when in absolute form (though B3.7:11 does not fit).

⁹¹ It appears that the Elephantine usage applied an Aramaic linguistic association of upper and lower with north and south to an Egyptian tendency to list boundaries in a north–south–east–west order (Lyons 1907: 18–19).

⁹² The thirteen Cilicians ‘appointed in my domains in Upper and Lower (Egypt)’ are clearly actually all in one locality; so ‘my domains in Upper and Lower Egypt’ is a category title not a geographic expression.

germane to the letter; it certainly does not guarantee that he too could not be described (like ‘Ankhoḥapi and Psamšek) as ‘*pqyd* in my domains in Upper and Lower Egypt’ (after all, in A6.6 he is described simply as ‘in Egypt’) and it may not guarantee either that the estate for which he was responsible did not have components both in the Delta and the Nile valley or that he was the sole *pqyd* for the relevant domains.⁹³

line 2(5) **פס]משך ברה זי עחחפי** (**Ps]***mk brh zy ḥḥpy*, ‘Psamšek, the son of ‘A(n)khoḥapi’. We have *brh zy*, not just the normal patronymic formula, because here the relationship of Psamšek and ‘Ankhoḥapi is substantively important.

line 2(6) **כען**, *k’n*, ‘now’. For once (it is rare: Whitehead) *k’n* actually means ‘now’, rather than just serving as a structural marker (on which see A6.3:1(7) n.). A4.7:2–3 is another example: ‘favour... a thousand times more than now’; and perhaps ADAB B1:2.

line 3(7) **חלפויה...פקיד**, *pqyd...ḥlpwhy*, ‘official instead of him’. One imagines that father–son succession occurred not infrequently at various levels of the Achaemenid administrative system, though attestations tend to be at higher levels than this. The Pharnacid hold on the Dascylium satrapy is well-known (Lewis 1977: 52), but one can also point to comparable father–son successions involving Camisares and Datames (Nepos *Datames* 1), Rhosaces and Spithridates (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12, 15, Gusmani and Akkan 2004, Bosworth 1980: 111–12), Oudiasstes and Mitradates (Ctesias 688 F16[58]), Idernes and Teritouchmes (Ctesias 688 F15[55]), Bēlšunu and Marduk-Eriba (Stolper 1987: 224, Stolper 1999: 371–2, Stolper 2007: 254–5 no. 10) and perhaps Bagiya and Mardunda (Henkelman ii 212).⁹⁴ Otanes succeeded his father Sisamenes as royal judge (Hdt. 5.25), and it is likely that three generations of the same family

⁹³ cf. also A6.8:1(4) n. The only more precise geographical marker in the Bodleian letters of which independent sense can be made (contrast ‘Mišpeh in A6.7) is the possible indication in A6.15:6 that Nakhthor was active in Papremis—if that is the correct reading and if Papremis is not simply a brand-mark for the wine involved (see A6.15:5–6(2) n.). The exact location of Papremis is disputed (see A6.15:6(1) n.), but it is certainly in the north-west Delta. That would put Nakhthor in Lower Egypt in the conventional sense of the term.

⁹⁴ The association of Bronchubelus with his father Mazaeus in Transeuphratene (Curt. 5.13.11 with Briant 2002: 1013), Cranaspes with Oroetes in Lydia (Hdt. 3.126–7), and Gubaru and Napugu in Babylonia (YOS 3.137, 7.177, BE 8.87, Erm. 15439; Zadok 1977: 91, Stolper 1985: 102, Dandamaev 1992: 104) illustrates the possible background to such successions. Of course there could be wider family associations than just father and son: cf. Briant 1987: 26–7, citing Datames and Mithrobarzanes (Nep. *Dat.* 5.9, Diod. 15.91), Struthas and Tigranes (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.21), Artayntes and Ithamithres (Hdt. 8.130), Pharnabazus and Bagaesus (Plu. *Alc.* 39, Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.13), Memnon and his children (Diod. 16.52), Mentor and Pharnabazus (Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.3), to which add Artarius the satrap and his son Menostanes’ link with the royal storehouse (Stolper 1985: 102). Note also that Bēlšunu and Marduk-Eriba (above) may be descendants (grandson and great-grandson) of Ahušunu, *šākin ṭēmi* of Borsippa (Pedersén 2005: 146; Jursa 2010: 127) and that Šihā, the great-grandson of Tattanu, the governor of Transeuphratene, was a satrap at the start of Darius II’s reign (Jursa 2006: 170).

held the position of garrison commander in Syene-Elephantine.⁹⁵ The title ‘(royal) chamberlain’ (*ustarbaru*) could also be hereditary (Eilers 1940: 88–9; Dandamaev 1992: 110, 123; Henkelman 2003: 162; Jursa 2011a: 168). The issue informs a (fragmentary) story preserved at Qumran which concerns the attempt of the Jew Bagasravā to succeed to his father’s position as royal scribe at the court of Xerxes (Puech 2009: 4Q550).

line 3(8) תַּחַת[תִּירָא] [w]tḥ[tyt’], ‘and Low[er Egypt]’. The restoration of ‘Lower Egypt’ is confirmed in the new join reported in TADAE IV p. 150.

line 3, 4 לְמִנְשָׂא, *lmnsʾ*, ‘to receive’. *Nšʾ* is properly to ‘lift up’ or ‘take away’, so ‘carry on’ (Porten–Yardeni) may have an inappropriately strong overtone of continuity, and ‘take up’ (Driver; Grelot had ‘percevoir’) would arguably be a less ambiguous rendering. If this is a distinction that can properly be drawn in Aramaic, the language is gently marking the break between the two holders, however transitory it may have been in practice: Aršāma gives, and Aršāma can take away—or fail to go on giving.⁹⁶ This is solely an issue of language; the *dāšna* is a grant of usufruct with ‘inherent legal connotations of revocability with the option of renewal or reassignment to another’ (Szubin and Porten 1987: 43). But it is striking that Psamšek’s appointment as *pqyd* evidently does not *eo ipso* mean that he receives the *dāšna*: there is a distinction between the two things that is at least bureaucratically punctilious and presumably could theoretically have been substantive if, for example, Aršāma had decided that, as a new appointee, Psamšek only initially deserved a smaller remuneration package.

line 3 זְכִי, *zky*, ‘that’. cf. A6.3:7(1) n.

line 4 תַּמְה בַּמַּצְרַיִן, *tmh bM[s]ryn*, ‘there in Egypt’. There is no doubt that *tmh* distinctively means ‘there’ (note the intentional contrast with *tnh* = ‘here’ in e.g. A4.7:5–6, A6.7:1–2, and A6.13:1–2), and the conjunction of ‘there’ and ‘in Egypt’ certainly invites the conclusion that Aršāma is writing from outside Egypt. The only alternative is to understand the phrase to mean ‘there [sc. where it (already) is]’ or ‘there [where ‘Ankhoḥapi had it]’—i.e. as expressing a disjunction between the location of the writer (and the addressee) and the location of the *dāšnʾ*, not one between the location of the writer and the location of the addressee. For another argument of this sort cf. *štbq bgw* in A6.11:2, with A6.11:2(5) n. On the wider issue see Tuplin iii 39–45.

line 5 בַּרְבִּית[א], *brbyt[ʾ]*, ‘prince’. See Tuplin iii 31–8.

⁹⁵ Vidranga (A3.9, A4.3, B2.9, B2.10, B3.9: known dates 420–416) is certainly the father of the Nāfaina of A4.7:7//A4.8:6 (refers to 410), and probably the son of the Nāfaina of A5.2 (434/3).

⁹⁶ Incidentally, for a striking parallel to Job 1.21 cf. CT 22.247: ‘The king has given, the king has taken, the king is lord.’

line 6 External summary For external summaries (which are written in smaller script, characteristically very badly preserved and hard to read, and in which Driver consistently saw, or claimed to have seen, more than is recognized by Porten–Yardeni) cf. A6.5, A6.7, A6.8, A6.10, A6.12, A6.15 (in Aramaic), A6.11 (in Demotic). In A6.13 a Demotic annotation (read as the PN Ḥotepḥep) is added immediately adjacent to the Aramaic summary, and the same name is said to appear in A6.12, this time in the space in the address line between *mn* ('from') and *ršm* ('Aršāma').⁹⁷ It is possible that there was once a summary on the *verso* of A6.1, a letter from various functionaries to Aršāma, where, in a manner reminiscent of A6.12:4, some obscure marks (language, if any, uncertain) appear in the space between *l* and *mr'n ršm* previously occupied by the seal (Porten 1983: 414), and there was certainly an element of summary amongst the annotations between the end of the letter and the address and scribe/date lines in A6.2 (Aršāma's letter about boat-repair). In this case, in contrast to the Bodleian (Aramaic) items, we are not dealing with text written in a corner or in smaller letters. But the Aramaic summary *is* in a different hand from the letter, and the Demotic summary (only 'The boat...' survives) is necessarily written by someone other than the writer of the letter (perhaps the Sasobek whose name appears in Demotic immediately before). Folmer 2017: 440 takes it that the Demotic annotations were added at point of receipt (that is inevitable for anything written in the space designed for the seal), but the Aramaic ones at point of despatch.

The only items in the Bodleian set where the relevant part of the document survives (the left-hand extremity next to the address) but there is no sign of an Aramaic summary are A6.9 (an open letter, which therefore has no *verso* text), A6.11 (where there *is* a Demotic one written in *above* the address line: see A6.11:8 n.), A6.14 (Vāravahyā to Nakhtḥor), and A6.16 (Artaxaya to Nakhtḥor), of which only A6.11 is a letter from Aršāma. Summaries are not peculiar to Aršāma's own letters, however, since we have one on A6.15 (Virafša to Nakhtḥor).

The situation with the fragmentary Bodleian material in TADAE IV is problematic. In D6.7 (c) outside '[...] Miçapāta official of Virafša[...]' in line 1 *might* be part of an address (but is it very likely that anyone was writing directly to Virafša's agent?), but '[...sa]id to you, but the Cilicians... [...]' in line 2 certainly is not—and does not sound much like a summary either. Moreover, it is written in full-size letters, unlike the external summaries in the relevant items in A6.3–16. D6.10 (g) outside:1 ('[...][the Egyptians [...]]), again in full-size letters, also does not seem to conform to expectations from TADAE I about external text. It is hard to assess 'partner-in-[chattel]' on D6.14 (o): outside:2. On the other hand the

⁹⁷ To the untutored non-Demotist's eye the letter traces in these two places do not look particularly similar.

Demotic name *Htp-b3st.t* or (less likely) *Htp-is.t* in D6.11(h) could in principle correspond to the sort of Demotic annotation we find in A6.12 and A6.13.

At any point during initial transmission and/or subsequent storage when the letter was folded, the sort of summary we find in the Bodleian material in TADAE I allowed a quick insight into its content without the necessity of opening the document. A6.14 and A6.16 may be regarded as (relatively speaking) personal letters and the absence of summaries perhaps indicates that they were not intended to be filed formally for potential future reference. See also A6.15:14–17 n.

Where present, the external text of the Bodleian letters consists at most of an address and summary. The Bactrian letters also have external text, but here four elements are potentially present, not all of which would necessarily have been visible when the letter was fully folded (Folmer 2017: 432–3, 443): external address (A1–A6; B1, B1a, B2–B4), date (A1–A4; definitely absent in A5–A6, B1, B1a, B2–B4), brief summary (A1–5; definitely absent in A6, B1, B1a, B2–B4),⁹⁸ and the words ‘bring this letter’ (A1–A5, A8; definitely absent in B1, B1a, B2–B4).⁹⁹ ADAB A9 and A10 are more in the nature of *memoranda* than letters but, even so, A9 has a summary-like *verso* text (written across the narrow side) and A10 has a separate bottom line containing the word ‘disbursement’ (which clearly characterizes the content of the main text) followed by a gap (as if for a seal?) and the name Frādaka. Of the four elements present in epistolary *verso* texts all but the address (which is necessarily universal)¹⁰⁰ are peculiar to satrapal correspondence (the series A letters).¹⁰¹ Two of these (date and ‘bring this letter’) are unknown in the Bodleian letters (though dates *do* appear in other official letters to and from Aršāma: A6.1, A6.2),¹⁰² and the Bactrian summaries are of a different character from those in the Bodleian letters, being shorter and incorporated within a continuous piece of *verso* text that is fairly clearly all written at the same time. So the *praxis* of Axvamazdā’s office was not quite the same as (and to modern eyes at least looks somewhat tidier than) that of Aršāma’s—at least when the latter was dealing with estate matters. (I do not know whether the apparently aberrant TADAE IV Bodleian items noted above

⁹⁸ Whereas in the Bodleian letters the summary standardly starts with *l* (‘concerning’), Bactrian letters regularly use *b* instead (*l* only appears in A2), sometimes preceded by *zy* (A3, A5). In A5 there are two annotations—‘That which is to be built. That which concerns Kish’—both with *zy* but only the second with *b*.

⁹⁹ The existence and/or content of a *verso* text is impossible to judge in A7, A8, B5–10. The address is characteristically on a separate line from the other elements (though not in A5).

¹⁰⁰ But note that in Axvamazdā’s letters the external address does not identify him as the sender.

¹⁰¹ The same is true of the subscripts at the end of the letter-text (both in Bactria and Egypt). See pp. 269–83.

¹⁰² In A6.1 there are also some further letters written underneath the final words of the address line, printed by Porten and Yardeni as *pt̥hm* (Porten 1983 suggested that or *w̥t̥hm*). Folmer 2017: 434 n. 83 speculates about an Egyptian-named archivist.

hint that some Aršāma letters might have followed a different procedure. A6.1–2 prove that different procedure *could* occur.) Folmer 2017: 441 speculates that the ‘bring this letter’ annotation was peculiar to stored drafts of chancellery-produced letters (which is what the Bactrian items are) and therefore absent on the Bodleian letters and on A6.1–2 (all of which are despatched copies). A comparable annotation (‘it should be brought to Ofi/Syene’) on the Hermopolis letters—also despatched copies, albeit ones that got lost *en route*—does not contradict this: they were private documents and no draft copies were filed at the place of origin.

TADAE A6.5 (DRIVER 1, GRELOT 63)

Fragmentary Letter

Summary

Aršāma tells Artavanta to issue an order (t'm). Some people are to come to Aršāma. There is reference to a *wršbr* called Kosakan.

Text

The history/state of the text is complicated. (See Appendix 3.3: pp. 342–3.) Whitehead judged the four fragments (A–D, reading right to left) to be of different colour (light–dark–light–dark) and reckoned that the letters of B were smaller than those of A. (He does not comment on those in C, D.) In these terms Driver's text involved reading A–D horizontally as the remnants of a single text. He also imported some letters at the start of line 1 (*ršm*) and 2 ([*'n*]h [*mrt*]) from a scrap of leather wrongly mounted at lines 2–3 of his Letter V (i.e. A6.7, Pell.Aram.IV).

Whitehead printed the four fragments separately, and noted that a rational conjoining of the bits of salutation formulae in A1 and B1 would produce a very long line. (Driver and Grelot use unattested truncated versions of the salutation formula to avoid this.)

Porten thought A, B, and D were of similar colour and displayed similar handwriting. So he still did what Driver did with fragments A–B and D, but (a) C (*recto* and *verso*) became a separate document, described as Driver 1a (see below), and (b) A and B were placed further apart than in the original mounting (Figs. 11, 38): B more or less occupies the space next to D once taken by C. Removing C deals with Whitehead's problem about line length if the salutation formula is restored in accordance with A6.7.

Porten's version is clearly preferable inasmuch as it gets fragments A and B in the right relationship *vis à vis* the salutation formula; but it opens up a considerable gap in the middle of the document into which it would be entirely arbitrary to try to insert a conjectured text.

line 1(1) ארתונת, *rtwnt*, 'Artavanta'. See A6.3:1(4) n.

line 1(2) שלם...ךל, *šlm...lk*, 'peace... to you'. On formal greeting, crucial to the re-evaluation of the fragments, see A6.3:1(5) n.

line 1(3) לך וכעת, *lk wk'[t]*, 'to you... And now'. Porten–Yardeni's textual restoration in TADAE I is partially confirmed by a new join (fr. 12.8) in TADAE IV p. 150, preserving *lk wk'[t]*.

line 2(1) כוסכן, *Kwskn*, 'Kosakan'. Tavernier 2007 does not recognize this as Iranian, or even discuss the possibility. Grelot and Driver believed the earlier

reading, *Twskn*, to be Iranian, and there *are* names involving Tōsa- in Tavernier (*Tōsa-, *Tōsayā-, *Tōseča-). *Kauša- and *Kaušāna- are attested (as Elamite Kamša or Kamuša and Kamšana) at Persepolis (Tavernier 2007: 230), and one could in theory postulate that *Kaušaka- (a *ka* extension of Kauša) and *Kaušakāna- (patronymic ending) are possible names: *-w-* would be an appropriate rendering of *-au-*,¹⁰³ but the *-š-* is a problem. By contrast *Kāsaka- (represented by Elamite Kaššaka: Tavernier 2007: 230) plus an *-āna* (patronymic) ending, which solves that problem, would leave *-o-* unexplained. The part played by Kosakan in the matters to which the letter pertained is unstated: one could speculate that Aršāma is writing in reaction to some information about his domains sent by Kosakan.

line 2(2) 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴, *wršbr*, ‘plenipotentiary’. The word recurs in A6.11, of a man petitioning for a grant of land. Various Iranian explanations have been suggested. (I am greatly indebted to Elizabeth Tucker for advice about all of these.)

- **varčabara-*: Tavernier 2007: 433–4, understanding it to mean ‘worker’, perhaps ‘supervisor of the work’. The implied literal meaning would be ‘work-carrier’, and getting from ‘carrier’ to ‘supervisor’ seems a little venturesome—but necessary if this line is followed at all, since the land-grant recipient in A6.11 can hardly be a mere worker. But the approach is more fundamentally problematic. **Varč-* does not represent an Iranian root meaning ‘work’ (that would have to be **vard-*), but one meaning ‘energy, vital force’ (Old Indian *varča*, Avestan *varəčah-*)—so getting to the meaning ‘worker’ involves a debatable treatment of what should *prima facie* be an abstract term.¹⁰⁴ (Driver 1965: 67 already made a similar criticism of Henning’s suggestion that **varčabara-* denoted a *chargé d’affaires*, though that is perhaps a marginally easier interpretation of the putative underlying sense.)
- **varšabāra-*: mentioned in Driver 1954 (translating ‘mounted officer’) and approved by Menasce 1954: 162, but dropped in Driver 1965. Grelot accepted the idea, but with the translation ‘monteur d’étalons’ or ‘éleveur d’étalons’ and hence ‘palfrenier’.
- **varšabara-*: Driver 1965, with the translation ‘forester’ (Avestan *varəša*, ‘tree’). Gershevitch (ap. Hallock 1969: 39) took a similar view and offered ‘nurseryman’ as another possible translation. (In his view **varšabara-* corresponded to Elamite *maršabara*; but see below.)

¹⁰³ cf. *Asmaraupa- = ʾsmrwp, *Bagazauša- = Bgzwš, *Gaubar(u)va- = Gwbrw, Gaumāta- = Gwmt (= Elamite Kammadda as well), *Gauzaina- = Gwzwn, *Hambauja- = Hmbws, *Haumadāta- = Hwmdt, *Haumayāsa- = Hwmys, etc.

¹⁰⁴ This would make for a word strangely reminiscent of Hinz’s improbable interpretation of Elamite *hirakura* as ‘Energie-Macher’ (see Garrison & Henkelman ii 147–8).

- **varçabara*:- Hoffmann (ap. Altheim and Stiehl 1965: 566), with the translation ‘shield-bearer’ (cf. *vərəθhra* = shield). Tavernier 2007: 433 rejects this on the ground that there is another OP word for shield-bearer, *takabara*-. Since there can be more than one sort of shield, that is not a definitive argument. The suggestion is philologically sound.
- **xvaršabara*- = Elamite *maršabarra*: Hinz 1975: 140, accepted by Muraoka and Porten 2003: 344 (translating the word ‘plenipotentiary’, as already in Porten–Yardeni),¹⁰⁵ Lindenberger (translating it as ‘food-warden’ and taking this to designate the ‘administrator of a tenant farm’ (2002: 105) or plain ‘tenant farmer’ (2002: 92)) and Kottsieper (‘Verpflegungsmeister’). There are two problems: (i) *wršbr* would be a defective equivalent to **xvaršabara*-, because the *x* is ignored, whereas its representation by *ḥ* would be expected (Tavernier 2007: 433–4); and (ii) Elamite *maršabarra* really corresponds to *(*h*)*uvaršabara* or ‘quartermaster’—so there is no independent evidence for the word **xvaršabara*- in the first place (ibid. 426). The non-philologist will feel some temptation to suggest that, if *wršbr* is a defective writing of anything, it might be of (precisely) *(*h*)*uvaršabara*.

Setting philology aside for the moment, one may observe:

- The likelihood that Peṭosiri’s claim to his father’s land in A6.11 is not formally grounded on his being a *wršbr* (A6.11:1(4) n.) tells us nothing either way about the sort of title *wršbr* might be.
- The (onomastic) ethnicity of the title’s holders (Egyptian in one case, unknown in the other—but not to be assumed to be Iranian) is similarly not very helpful. It is not a status so elevated that it could only be held by an Iranian, but that does not impose a huge limitation.
- All of the senses suggested for *wršbr* seem more or less feasible in the context of Aršāma’s estate. If ‘forester’ may seem to have the wrong connotations for Egypt, the fact that the underlying word can be taken as ‘tree’ rather than ‘forest’ (so Tavernier indicates) means one *could* e.g. think of someone responsible for fruit-trees in Egyptian gardens. (The alternative rendering ‘nurseryman’ would be unproblematic.) ‘Shield-bearer’ and ‘mounted officer’ may seem contextually less likely than the other senses. But in view of the military overtones of A6.8, to take such a view may be to beg the question. (Moreover ‘shield-bearer’ at least is the sort of term whose semantics as a title could have moved some way from the word’s literal sense.)
- If *wršbr* connotes ‘worker’, the link of a *wršbr* with the estate of someone like Aršāma might call to mind the appearance of named individuals

¹⁰⁵ Was that influenced by Henning’s *chargé d’affaires*, even though that was prompted by a different putative Iranian original?

labelled as ‘workers’ (Elamite *mardam* = OP **varda-*, a category distinct from the common-or-garden *kurtasš*) in the environment of high-status putative estate holders in the Fortification archive (Henkelman 2010: 710). OP **varda-* is, of course, the expected correlate to Avestan *varəz-* ‘work’—the word to which Tavernier’s **varčabara-* cannot properly correspond. So, if one is going to have to tolerate philological inexactitude at all, the fact that the title *(*h*)*uvaršabara/maršabarra* designates an individual associated with the estate of Queen Irdabama (Henkelman 2018a: 32 n. 20, 52 n. 38) makes it a much more tempting explanation of *wršbr*.

There is no entirely satisfactory explanation of the title shared by Kosakan and Peṭosiri. We have kept Porten–Yardeni’s ‘plenipotentiary’ in our translation, but ‘quartermaster’ (or ‘food-manager’) is an attractive alternative.

line 2(3) **בניא**, *bgy*, ‘domains’. See A6.4:2(3) n.

line 2(4) **זי כלל**, *zy kl*, ‘which all’. The reference to Psamšek that Driver found towards the end of line 2 falls with Porten’s reworking of the text (which expels the relevant partly preserved name and title to a separate fragment outside of this document: TADAE I p. 106, ‘Driver 1a’), and this removes any basis (however slender) for speculating that Kosakan was Psamšek’s predecessor as *pqyd*. The traces—all marked as uncertain—that led Driver to have the interesting-sounding words ‘that they should be detained’ at the end of his translation of line 2 (viz. *k[z]y [y]klw*) are now reduced to *zy kl*. Porten–Yardeni translated just ‘which...’. But there is no particular reason not to regard *kl* as a complete word.

line 3(1) **עלי**, *ly*, ‘to me’. Driver’s belief that the gap before this contained a reference to Babylon was a mere conjecture based on the final words of the letter and an assumption about where Aršāma was.¹⁰⁶

line 3(2) **יאתו עלי**, *y’tw ly*, ‘let them come to me’. Other examples of journeys to and from Aršāma: A6.3, A6.9, A6.12, A6.13, A6.14. (In A6.15 it is clear that Virafša’s *pqyd*, now in Egypt, has been in Babylon, as indeed has Nakhtḥor.) In the perhaps remote case that *wršbr* refers to worker-management (see above line 2(2) n.), the travellers in this letter might be workers, and even a worker-group in some more interesting sense than that represented by the runaway slaves of ‘Ankhōḥapi in A6.3—one more reminiscent of the Miṣpeh Thirteen, perhaps. But in truth we have no idea what is going on here.

¹⁰⁶ Driver also discerned ‘to Babylon’ in the barely legible external summary. Porten–Yardeni forbear to make any suggestions about this piece of the text.

TADAE A6.5 BIS = 'DRIVER 1A'

Fragmentary Letter

All that survives is '[P]samšek the *pqy[d]*'. It cannot be said that the restoration of 'K[osakan]' as the addressor is strongly indicated by what remains of the first letter. In fact it depends heavily on an assumption that fragment C in some sense belonged with, even if it was not part of, A6.5.

TADAE A6.6 (DRIVER fr.5.1, 2, 5 + TADAE IV p.150)

Fragmentary Letter

Summary

Fragmentary piece in which Aršāma reports to [?]Artavanta (restored) something involving the statement (apparently made by Nakhtḥor) that someone was ‘removed from the domains of my lord...’ Aršāma’s instruction is entirely lost.

Text

By comparison with the text in TADAE I, fr. 5.2 has been removed and replaced by fragments 3.3 and 3.11, while fr. 5.6 has been added at bottom left (Appendix 3.3: pp. 345–6, TADAE IV pp. 135, 150). The changes have produced one significant substantive change: see line 2 n.

line 1(1) ארתונת, *rtwnt*, ‘Artavanta’. See A6.3:1(4) n.

line 1(2) שלם...שלם ישמו, *šlm...šlm yšmw*, ‘peace...appoint peace’. This greetings formula is not precisely paralleled, and the presence of the gods in such a context is unusual in the Bodleian corpus, though pretty normal across Aramaic letters as a whole. See A6.3:1(6) n., A6.16:2(1) n., 5 n.

Religious matters in general are not a feature of the Bodleian letters (assuming that it is correct to reject the claim that the ‘gods’ in A6.16:2 are a metonym for the king: see A6.16:2(2) n.), though the wider Aršāma dossier does, of course, raise substantial questions about Iranian religious attitudes via the story of the Judaeian temple at Elephantine (Tuplin iii 344–72, Granerød iii 329–43). The impact of religion in the Bactrian letters has been called ‘very limited’ by Tavernier 2017a: 119 (and it is certainly more limited there than in Naveh–Shaked’s readings of C1 and C3: cf. Tavernier 2017a: 103–15), but they still contain points of interest, such as (i) the worship of Bel in fourth-century Bactria, which is remarkable whether Bel is taken at face value or regarded as a denomination of Auramazdā, (ii) a possible allusion to the Zoroastrian calendar, and (iii) the onomastic impact of the local river-genius Vakhšū-, of a sort without parallel in the Bodleian corpus. Another point of contrast between the two datasets is that the proportion of Iranian personal names with religious connotations is somewhat higher in the Aršāma material (whether the Bodleian letters by themselves or the whole dossier) than in the Bactrian material. But how statistically significant this is, given that the total number of Iranian personal names is much smaller in the Aršāma material, is perhaps moot.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Tavernier affirms (2017a: 118–19) that 29 names out of 93 (31%) in ADAB have a religious colour, including 9 (10% of the total, 31% of religious items) that are potentially Zoroastrian. My

line 2 **נחחור...זי במצריין** [כעת], *w[kʰt]...Nħtħwr...zy bMšryn*, ‘and now...Nakhtħor...in Egypt’. The long gap was previously restored to contain a reference to Psamšek son of Ankhohapi. The new information in TADAE IV p. 150 shows that the reference was to Nakhtħor—and Porten–Yardeni raise the possibility that his patronymic might have been present (though it is still lost). How surprising would that be, considering that in all other Nakhtħor letters there is no mention of the patronymic? Psamšek is identified with a patronymic on three occasions; but in two of them (A6.3, A6.4) the substance of the letters involves the father as well as the son and in the third (A6.15) the writer is Virafša, so these may be special cases that cannot stand against a view that the *pyd*’s patronym would not normally be used by Aršāma.¹⁰⁸ (Moreover, Psamšek was an extremely common name, making further identification by patronymic quite tempting.) Hence one might even infer that A6.6 originally said something about Nakhtħor that substantively involved Nakhtħor’s father. But *br* PN remains a restoration, and strictly speaking nothing about the new fragment adds any weight to the original assumption that there was name and patronymic here—though it does not take it away either: it is after all rather more substantively confirmed that we have PN + š[*mh*] at this point, which was originally just a guess working back from the preserved end of line 2.¹⁰⁹ Grelot 1972: 315 n. 1 already speculated about a connection between this fragment (actually just fr. 5.1) and the situation dealt with in A6.10, essentially because

reading of the discussion in *ibid.* 115–19 is that the total should be 38: Tavernier seems to have miscounted the items in 2.4.2 and not counted the Vakhšu- names on p. 118. It is also not clear why we should not count *Margudāta- (p. 118), even if it is not Zoroastrian. This recalculation diminishes the proportion of Zoroastrian items among religious names (now 24% of religious names), and makes religious names account for 41% of the total onomastic haul. In the Aršāma material we have as religious names 8/16 names in the Bodleian items and 13/24 in the wider dossier. The total for both categories is 19/40 (two names are shared between the Bodleian letters and the wider dossier). The proportion is thus in any event higher than in ADAB. Across the Aršāma dossier there are a maximum of nine ‘Zoroastrian’ names, about 50% of religious names, and at least 23% of the total onomastic set—much higher than for ADAB. But this figure assumes that Bagafarnā and Frādafarnā are counted as Zoroastrian, which may be wrong. (In Tavernier 2017a Miθrafarnā and Baxtrifarna do not count as Zoroastrian, but Farnapāta (‘protected by the divine glory’) does: in the former name Naveh and Shaked 2012 translate *farnah* as ‘fortune’, in the latter as ‘divine glory’; Tavernier 2007: 250 and 2017a: 116 translates Miθrafarnā as ‘knowing splendour through Mithra’. So perhaps Farnapāta is special because *farnah* is treated as a deity, whereas elsewhere it can just be glory or splendour.) Discounting Bagafarnā and Frādafarnā we have a total of seven putatively Zoroastrian names, five of which are Arta- names. That is 7/40 of names and 7/19 of religious names, which is still a larger proportion than in ADAB. The contrast is very much due to the fact that there are no Arta- names in ADAB, apart from Artaxerxes. And there is an additional complication. If Artaxaya, Artāvahyā, and Artaya were all writings of the same name (cf. A6.10:10(2) n.), there would be only three distinct Arta- names, making a total of five, i.e. 5/40 (12.5%) of all names, and 5/19 (26%) of religious names. These (minimum) figures are much closer to ADAB, and whether the variations are statistically significant is again moot.

¹⁰⁸ Note that Peṭosiri is never called ‘son of Pamun’ in A6.11, even though the father–son relation is substantively central.

¹⁰⁹ I note that in Porten and Lund 2002: 259a (s.v. *lym*) A6.6:2 is restored without a patronymic: Nakhtħor is just ‘my servant’.

the fragment refers to something or someone being removed from his domains. The revelation that A6.6 named Nakhthor as a source of information to Aršāma perhaps sits a little ill with this, given that A6.10 criticizes Nakhthor for inactivity. But I suppose it is not impossible that we are here at some other stage in the story of the troubles alluded to in A6.10. Whatever the truth about that, there would probably be room here to restore the (*pqyd*) *byn bgy* ('in my domains') formula in the missing section. (Far too little of the text survives for it to cast any light on Aršāma's whereabouts.)

line 3 אַתְּעֲרִי מִן, 't'dy mn, 'removed from'. TADAE IV p. 150 (cf. p. 135) indicates that the anonymous individual removed from Aršāma's domain was the son of *Ynhrw* = Inharou (Inaros). (The Demotic form is *ir.t+n-Hr+r.w*, 'the eye of Horus is against them', pronounced *yinhāraw*: DemNB 72–3, 88, Quack 2006: 501–2, Quack 2016: 56–7). The name probably appears in A6.7:7 and is found in the Sheikh Fadl inscription (D23.1 Va: 11, IX: 4, 7; cf. Holm 2007: 201, after Vittmann and Ryholt) but is not otherwise certainly attested in Egyptian Aramaic. The suggestion that the man here might be a son of the mid-century rebel Inaros (hinted at in Holm 2007: 212) is perhaps over-adventurous. See also A6.7:7(3) n.

TADAE A6.7 (DRIVER 5, GRELOT 66, LINDENBERGER 40)

Release of Cilician SlavesSummary

When Egyptians rebelled (*mrdt*) the *hyl* ‘was garrisoned’ (*hndyz*). Thirteen Cilician slaves did not get into the fortress. The wicked ʾInḥarou seized them and they were with him. Aršāma instructs Artavanta (ʾArtahantaʾ) to issue an order that no one do anything bad to the slaves. ‘Let them be released. Let them do my work as formerly.’

Text

Apart from the usual disagreements about square brackets, Lindenberger adds a numeral between *šmh* and *Sdsbnz* towards the end of line 3. The scribe certainly ought to have written such a numeral (every other entry is of the form ‘PN *šmh* l’), but, although there is damage to the leather hereabouts, there is no doubt that (at least part of) any numeral that was present should have been clearly visible. See also Appendix 3.3: p. 342.

Position in Set of Letters

Unusually there is no reference to a *pqyd* either by title or name in this letter. Contrast A6.6, 9–16 (Nakhtḥor), A6.3–4, 5bis, 8 (ʾAnkhoḥapi/Psamšek). (A6.5 is too fragmentary to tell.) The positioning of the document in TADAE I presumes that it belongs with the Psamšek material on the basis that the rebellion of A6.7:6 is the one recalled in A6.10, which occurred when Psamšek was in office. Driver already took a similar view.

line 1(1) ארתהנת, *rthnt*, ‘Artahanta’. See A6.3:1(4) n.

lines 1–2 יוהי שלם... שלם, *šlm... šlm yhwyy*, ‘peace... before you’. Greeting formula: see A6.3:1(5) n. Note that the appearance of ‘and now’ (*wkʿt*) between the two parts of the salutation is not simply a scribal aberration (*pace* Whitehead) since a salutation like this recurs in ADAB B3, B4, B6—and can be restored in A6.5.¹¹⁰ (David Taylor remarks that it is as though the writer meant to start the real letter at *wkʿt* and then could not resist some further *politesse*.)

¹¹⁰ Porten–Yardeni also restore it in the highly fragmentary D1.3. A statement that things are well with the writer recurs in A4.2:2, D1.11:1 (and can be restored in A3.7:1, A4.4:1, and A6.6:1), each time in conjunction with a wish that the gods will ensure the addressee’s welfare. By way of parallel for A6.7: 1, Driver 1965: 51–2 adduced ‘and, if you are well, I too am well’, in a Phoenician letter found in Egypt (Aimé-Giron 1941: 442–3)—which is not *quite* the same. Closer is a Babylonian turn of phrase in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: no. 224:5–6, ‘Ich bin wohlauf. Ich hoffe, euch geht es gut.’ Fales 1987: 459 found a Neo-Assyrian precedent in LAS 79: ‘All is well here with the people who are in Nineveh. May the gods Bēl and Nabû provide you also with well-being.’

One wonders what Artavanta had done to deserve this.) There is a slightly parallel feature in A3.3. The writer issues a salutation and then (apparently) starts the letter's main body: 'And now (*wk't*) from the day that you went on that way, my heart was not glad. Likewise your mother.' But that thought then prompts him to another salutation/prayer: 'Now [*k't*], blessed be you by YHW the God, that he may show me your face in peace.' And then we start the letter again: 'Now (*k't*), from the day that you left [Lower] Egypt, salary has not been given...' The locutions *qdm*y ('before me') and *qdm*yk ('before you') involve a use of *qdm* that has been adjudged a Persianism: see Tavernier iii 85. (Fales 1987: 459 explained it differently.)¹¹¹

line 1(2) **בזנה**, *bznh*, 'here'. The word recurs in this sense in the damaged remnants of the same formula in D6.4 (a):1 (and is restored in A6.5:1), and in other contexts in A6.3:2, A6.13:1, A6.15:7.¹¹² The more normal word for 'here' is *tnh* or (in D1.11) *tn*; it is found in A6.6:1, A6.10:3, A6.14:1, and regularly elsewhere (Porten and Lund 2002 s.v.; add CG 2, 31, 35, 45, 58, 120, 226³): the occurrences include examples of the 'it is well with us here' trope (A4.2:1, A6.6:1, D1.11:1). Folmer 1995: 673–4 speculates that *bznh* reflects Akkadian influence (as did Fales 1987: 459, albeit with a different parallel in mind), but concedes that, since *bzh* occurs in Biblical Hebrew, *bznh* might be a parallel development purely within Aramaic. (The usage has no strong effect in post-Achaemenid Aramaic or other NWS dialects.) Her inference from the occurrence of *bznh* in A6.13 and *tnh* in A6.10, both of which name Rāšta as scribe, that the same scribe might use either form (implying that the choice was of no great importance) is not watertight: the subscript scribe is not necessarily the actual one.

line 2(1) **איתי**, *yty*, 'there are'. Driver thinks *yty* grammatically somewhat otiose before *mmnyn hww* (line 5) and cites A4.5:4–5, 6–7, and A6.11:1–2 as parallel. Perhaps it is better to say that in all three cases (as also in ADAB A6:2, C5:7) we have a stylistic trope for introducing and highlighting a new topic of discussion. Something similar appears in A3.10:2, 3–4, B2.3:23, B2.4:3, B2.9:5, B2.11:12, B4.5:2–3, B4.6:3, B8.7:5 where a *yty* statement introduces a new element in business situations of one sort or another; and what Muraoka and

¹¹¹ Fales sees it as a substitution of *qdm* for *l*, in the sense of 'for [the advantage of]' or 'regarding', tracing the phenomenon back to Aramaic endorsements on seventh-century Neo-Assyrian tablets. For this he cites Fales 1986, where it is claimed (86, 199) that in these documents *qdm* can stand for *ina muhli* 'over, against' (as in *zy qdm byt* of someone in charge of a household), *ina pani* 'debited to', and *ina pani* 'in front of', the first two of which are also expressed with *l*. I am not sure that the force of this is sufficient to rule out the Persian explanation.

¹¹² *Bznh* means 'about that which' in A4.7:30/[4.8:28] and 'as a result of this' in ADAB A1:3. The reading and/or sense are hardly certain in D1.12:5, ATNS 52b:10, ADAB C7:1, and C3.28:73 (a Hellenistic text). There are no examples in CG.

Porten 2003: 331 n. 1262 call the affirmative/asseverative force of *'yty zy* in B2.9:7 can be seen in the same way: the phrase can be rendered 'there is the fact that ...' and in context it introduces yet another element in the legal situation. (The *'yty zy* trope occurs in a fragmentary Bodleian text, D6.3 (e): 1, but with no surviving context.)

line 2(2) [חיל כין], *Hyl[kyn]*, 'Cilician men'. The restoration is certain in the light of line 10. Cazelles 1955: 93 held that, as the personal names include Egyptian and Persian ones (the former is not clear now) and as in A6.9 we find two 'Cilicians' and an *ummānu* (artisan) travelling together, *hlykyn* should be a trade designation and is a false writing of *hlqyn* = 'gardener'. There is not much to be said for this view, and Grelot 1972: 307 affirms that the phrase *gbrn hlykyn* shows that the second word must be a name of a people. He also notes that the archaic orthography recalls Akkadian *Hilakku* and is found in Ezekiel 27.11.

The repeated reference to Cilicians in these letters (also A6.9, A6.15) does not evoke any particularly rich independent evidence about Cilicians in Egypt or Cilician diaspora in general. (The topic does not appear to be addressed in e.g. Desideri and Jasink 1990, Vittmann 2003, or Casabonne 2004.) Relevant data might include:

- Cilicia appears in PFAT 195, an unpublished Aramaic travel text (perhaps as a destination?) and Cilician women travel from Media to Persepolis in Fort. 1993-102:15'–16' (Henkelman ii 222), but Cilicians seem otherwise absent from the Persepolis Fortification archive. It is hard to decide whether their general absence from the ranks of the foreign workers in Persepolis (where we do find Cappadocians, Carians, and Lycians) reliably demonstrates that the processes of labour-dstraint applicable elsewhere normally did *not* apply in Cilicia (at least in the reigns of Darius and Xerxes). Were they retained for labour in the naval base (see below)?¹¹³
- *Sktrsl*, son of *Srtn* in a pre-Achaemenid Aramaic text from Tayma has been claimed as potentially Cilician—but also Carian or Lycian (Müller and Al-Said 2001: 110). By contrast Hayajneh (2001a: 43–4 and 2001b: 87) claims the names are Babylonian.
- For Cilicians in Babylonia in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times cf. Joannès 1991, Zadok 2005. A total of 2,850 Cilician prisoners-of-war are recorded in Nabonidus 8 ix 31–2 (Langdon 1912: 284–5; Schaudig 2001: 527–8) and in general Babylonian military interaction with the region¹¹⁴

¹¹³ For Cappadocians, Carians, and Lycians see Henkelman and Stolper 2009. On Lycians in particular see Tavernier 2015. For the suggestion that Mišmina, who authorizes travel, was satrap in Cilicia see Hyland 2019: 163–6, Henkelman ii 202 n. 22, 210.

¹¹⁴ (a) Joint Babylonian–Cilician mediation between Lydia and Media in 585 (Hdt. 1.74), (b) Nebuchadnezzar's undated operations in Hūmē and Pirindu (Lambert 1965: 2), (c) Neriglissar's campaign against Appuašu of Pirindu (ABC 6, with Davesne, Lemaire, and Lozachmeur 1987),

is presumably a major historical background to the Cilician presence even later, for which note *inter alia* the Village of Cilicians near Sippar (Jursa 1998a: 26, 42, 92) and the people designated as Humaya in ration lists (MacGinnis 2012: 46). Cilicia was also a source of iron: Joannès 1991: 263–4. Even earlier, Cilician slaves appear in Assyria in ADD 1099.

- Syrian and Cilician volunteers (mercenaries?) fight in Cyprus in Diod. 16.42. No doubt there were various contexts in which Cilicians could end up outside Cilicia for military reasons: some went with Cyrus according to Diodorus (14.20). There is a particularly strong naval dimension. Wallinga 1991 postulated a major naval base in Cilicia (cf. *inter alia* Hdt. 5.108, 6.43, 95, Diod. 11.75,77, 14.39, 15.2), and Cilician ships figure in one source or another at Lade and Eurymedon, in Xerxes' Greek expedition, in Egypt and Cyprus in the mid-fifth century, in the fleet of 412/11, and under the command of Conon and Pharnabazus in the 390s.
- We may have to allow for some so-called 'Ionians', e.g. some of those in the Customs Document (Cottier 2012 would leave that open as a possibility), being other than Greek. (Zadok 2005 already discussed some 'Ionian' texts as an appendage to his treatment of explicit Cilicians.)
- Van Alfen 2004/5: 14 observes that the economic, cultural, and political ties between Cilicia and Egypt, the Levant, and Cyprus had long been quite close. That ought to be true; but it seems harder to demonstrate it than one might wish. One should not simply assume that the Cilician quarter of Hellenistic Arsinoe (*CPJ* 1.5 n. 14) had an Achaemenid-era origin.

Some of Aršāma's Cilicians are encountered in Babylonia (A6.15)—and (it seems) encountered as persons to be handed over for use in Egypt—and two others travel from Babylonia to Egypt with Nakhtḥor (A6.9:4), so we need not assume that their role in Aršāma's Egyptian estate is a wholly Eastern Mediterranean fact.

Identifying other comparable foreign workers in Achaemenid Egypt is not particularly easy. Dandamaev 1984: 574 drew attention to the fragmentary Memphis Shipyard Journal (C3.8), wherein we do find (besides Egyptians and Persians) people with Babylonian, Aramaean, and North-West Semitic names together with one man explicitly labelled Caspian.¹¹⁵ But some belong to a *degel*, so are unlikely to be relevant unless one holds that *hyl* and *dgl* can refer to regimented workers (which even Aimé-Giron 1931: 57–62 does not quite assert: cf. A6.8:1(4) n.), and all may be of too high a status to match the case of Aršāma's Cilicians. The same goes for Šamašillek and his colleagues

(d) Nabonidus' Cilician operations in 556/5 and 555/4 (ABC 7, Beaulieu 1989: 20 no. 1, Schaudig 2001: 3.3a IX.32).

¹¹⁵ Dandamaev actually spoke of Babylonians, Chorasmians, and Phoenicians, but his citation of Aimé-Giron 1931: 57–62 rather elides the distinction between the Journal and other bits of text.

the **framānakara*- in A6.2;¹¹⁶ and the Carian boatmen in the same document have Egyptian names and can readily be seen as members of a non-Egyptian community of some historical standing. Hinzani the image-maker (A6.12) is an odd case, a man with some degree of skill *and* dependent household personnel, but one also classified (for rations purposes) with *grd'*. Slaves (*'bdn*) or supposed slaves (even if not described as *'bdn*) encountered in Elephantine are generally Egyptians belonging to Judaeans (B2.11, B3.6, B3.9, B3.12, D7.9). Otherwise, the only *'bdyn* who might be relevant¹¹⁷ are all from Saqqara documents:

- A Cretan called Thibrachos (B8.3:1,6,7).¹¹⁸ The document also mentions a Hyrcanian called Shh = *Saxva- (Tavernier 2007: 311) and the theft of someone's daughter, whose name, *Thmpt*, may conceivably be Iranian (*Taxmapitā-),¹¹⁹ so we might claim to be in an Iranian bit of the Egyptian environment.
- 'Your slaves 'zk and *mwd/r[]*' (ATNS 59)—perhaps *Āzaka- (neither affirmed nor denied in Tavernier 2007) and a name starting *Mauda- (Tavernier 2007: 467).
- A slave called Wzn (ATNS 68) = *Vāzāna- (Tavernier 2007: 345).

As we know from A6.7, slaves with Iranian names need not be Iranians—but they will not perhaps in the first instance be thought to be Egyptians either.

lines 3–5(1) שמה... מוּסַרְם שמה... פּרִימָא, *Prym' šmh... Mwsrm šmh*, '(he) whose name in Pariyama... (he) whose name is name Muwasarma'. By contrast with the list of slaves in A6.3, all the names here have the *šmh* annotation (see A6.3:1(9) n.) but none has a patronymic, whereas in A6.3 only the first name has *šmh* but all have patronymics.

¹¹⁶ That title recurs at the Memphis shipyard (C3.8I IIB:1), without further contextual information.

¹¹⁷ Other *'bdn* are often susceptible of no comment at all. Of those that are, people who are slaves of a god (Khnum: B3.7:8; Nabu: B8.4:7) are plainly not relevant here; and what *might* be agricultural workers in C3.18:11 are ethnically undefinable. The putative hiring (*skr*) of *'bdn* in ATNS 101 is a bit too uncertain to justify dwelling too much on the presence elsewhere in the document of 'province' and a Mithra- name; and the *'bdn* are ethnically undefined.

¹¹⁸ Tavernier 2007: 426 takes *krtk* to be **kāratāka*- = 'traveller', not a Cretan (presumably making B8.3:1 mean 'PN by name, slave of a traveller of mine'). If the Cretan identity is eliminated, we are not obliged to find a Greek interpretation of the associated name [-]rḥš. But it is highly unlikely that [-]rḥš is not identical with the *tbrḥš* (also a slave) whose name is perfectly preserved in line 7 of the document, and Thibrachos (though a very rarely attested name) is the best explanation currently on offer. (The termination *rḥš* has a faintly Iranian allure—cf. *Rḥšn* (*Rauxšna-)—but the initial *tb* does not follow suit, so the name cannot readily be made to match the Iranian onomastics elsewhere in the document: see immediately below.)

¹¹⁹ Tavernier 2007: 533–4 prefers an Egyptian interpretation, though, since (i) it is not certain the woman is the Cretan's daughter (and anyway Tavernier does not believe there is a Cretan involved: see previous note) and (ii) male Iranian names sometimes turn up in other cases applied to women, his arguments are not perhaps watertight.

So far as the latter goes, perhaps Egyptians (in an Egyptian context) were more in need of the additional identification provided by a patronymic—especially when they stood to be punished—than were Cilicians.

As to *šmh*: In A4.6, which contains the remnants of a list, one cannot tell whether more than the first name had *šmh* (if indeed the first surviving name was the first name). In A4.10 all the addressors have *šmh* and patronymic in what is rather a formal list, rounded off with ‘Syenians *mḥhsn* in Elephantine the fortress’, and this may also have been true in the letter (from the Bodleian set) of which D6.8 is the battered remnant.¹²⁰ (Note incidentally that in A4.6 and A4.10 *šmh* comes after the patronym, by contrast with A6.3.¹²¹ The question does not arise in D6.8.) This may reinforce the (natural?) feeling that the list in A6.7 is more formally correct. Perhaps the scribe of A6.3 took the view that attaching it to the first name in A6.3 was (in conjunction with the preceding plural ‘slaves’) sufficient warning that a list of names was coming. On the *šmh* annotation more generally see A6.3:1(9) n.

Henkelman 2018a: 40 observes that the listing by name of slaves assigned to Aršāma’s estate evokes the listing by name (and patronymic) of slaves resident living at (and evidently institutionally belonging to) pieces of land at Tobalmoura and Periasasostra within the Mnesimachus estate (Sardis VII.1 no. 1).

lines 3–5(2) פרימא... מוסרם, *Prym’... Mwsrm*. *Bagafarnā- is certainly a Persian name (Tavernier 2007: 134, ‘God’s glory’), and *Sāraka- probably is too (ibid. 309, -ka hypocoristic of *sāra-* = ‘head’).¹²² Asmaraupa may well also be (ibid. 118, ‘stone-breaker’), though Goetze (1962: 56–7) thought it Anatolian (formed from *asimi-* ‘beloved’ plus an unidentified second element) and this view is followed in Porten and Lund 2002: 324. *K’* (Ka) was thought Egyptian by Driver 1965: 52 and Goetze 1962: 55, Hurrian by Driver 1965: 100 (cf. Goetze 1962: 52, 55 n. 15), and Anatolian by Kornfeld 1978: 115 (followed by Porten and Lund 2002: 364). The fourth name in the list was read *T’ny* by Driver, which would yield Anatolian Tu’anapiya (Goetze 1962: 56), but Porten–Yardeni plausibly think we actually have *T’ndy* or *T’nry*, which (however) Porten and Lund 2002: 420 still classify as Anatolian. (The potential link between *T’n* and the GN Tuḥana is unaffected, of course.) A more or less uncontroversially Anatolian explanation seems to be available for all the other properly preserved names (Goetze 1962: 55–7), and must surely be the best bet where that is the case (*Prym’* = Pariyame, *’mwn* = Ammun(a) or Ammuwana,

¹²⁰ Assuming that D6.8 (c), (d) at least indicate the presence of a list or lists. (D6.8 is what Porten–Yardeni identify as a companion letter to A6.11.) The situation in the other fragments of D6.8 and in ATNS 63 is less clear.

¹²¹ In WDSP 1:2, 3:1, 7:1 *šmh* precedes the patronymic, as does *nāma* in DB (OP). In C3.8 IIIA:6 it follows, as in A4.6, A4.10.

¹²² Goetze 1962: 56 and Driver 1975: 52 read *Srn* (Saran) and compared the putatively Anatolian *Sa-ra-an* in an Assyrian document (Ungnad 1913: no. 289).

Sdsbnz = Sadasbinazi, *Srmmnz* = Sarmanazi, *Pytr'nz* = Piyatarḥunazi, *Mwsrm* = Muwasarma). About [...]my and '[.]m it is hard to say: both could probably be Anatolian or Persian. The presence of Iranian names among Cilicians (and Cilician slaves at that) may be compared with a case in the Wadi Daliyeh texts (WDSP 10:2, Bagabarta son of Eli[]; cf. Tavernier 2007: 132). There is incidentally no sense that any of the names here (or in A6.3: 3–4) are intrinsically servile, a phenomenon sometimes encountered elsewhere (Vlassopoulos 2010, Hackl 2013).

line 5(1) אבשוכן, *'bšwkn*, 'pressers (?). The word has been variously interpreted as **abišavaka-* = 'presser' (Tavernier 2007: 415, after Shaked), **abišvāka* = 'mentioned before' (Eilers 1954–6: 332), 'deserter' (**abišavaka*: Driver, followed by Grelot 1972: 309), **abišyavaka* = 'who is coming back home' (Hinz 1975: 18, Kottsieper).

'Mentioned before' seems entirely superfluous. 'Deserter' sits ill with 'assigned/appointed in my domains'; 'returners-home' is little better.

Whitehead 1974: 56, prompted by the parallel structure of this document and A4.10, wondered if it was a GN: *'bšwkn* is thus interpreted as a GN *'bšw + kn* (as in A4.10 we have *Swn + kn* to make 'Syenian') and means 'men from *'bšw*'. The catch is that we ought to have a further *-n*, marking the Aramaic plural (cf. *Swknn* in A4.10). Whitehead dismisses that on ground that this is a foreign construction anyway, which seems a bit cavalier.¹²³ In any case, one cannot help feeling that, if they were all from this place they would have been called that in the first place, rather than 'Cilicians'.

In the end it is much more likely that the word indicates something about these persons' role in relation to Aršāma's domains and that it constitutes a function-designation, and in that regard 'presser' is the only possibility on offer. Readers of the Persepolis Fortification archive will recall some sign therein of people who press sesame for oil—though also that, rather disconcertingly, the phrase literally translated as 'he pressed oil' seems to be used metaphorically of conducting a strict investigation of something (cf. Hallock 1969: 39).¹²⁴ Eilers 1954–6: 328 reckoned that, since they are named, they were of great importance to Aršāma and must be high-class artisans of some sort, especially as two Cilicians travel with an artisan in A6.9. (See also A6.12:1(3) n.) Aršāma (or his bureaucrats) certainly knows the names of his servants—as does Psaṁšek the names of his father's slaves (A6.3)—but perhaps that was as

¹²³ The case is not quite like the treatment of *hndyz* as an indeclinable foreign term (A6.7:6(5) n.) because here it is only the *-kn* suffix that is foreign (Iranian).

¹²⁴ The literal meaning is certain in PF 1248, and seems probable in PF 1989, NN 0159, NN 1495, NN 2540:17. But there are many other PF texts where there is good reason to suspect that *mil hapiral/mil hapišda* refer to people making (perhaps rather vigorous) enquiries—which is the use reflected in the Elamite versions of DB (§8, §55, §63) and DNb (§4). See also below, p. 140.

much a function of the general process of assignment to his estate (cf. A6.10:6–8) as of the particular status of these individuals.

Is there an implication that they existed as whatever they are *before* being assigned to Aršāma's estates? For, though he calls them from the outset 'my slaves', that is what they became from his point of view when assigned to his estates.

line 5(2) מִמְנִיִן, *mmnyn*, 'appointed'. The word (*mnh*, *mny*) means 'count' in A4.1:3 (counting days) and Daniel 5.26 ('God has counted your kingdom and finished it', in the interpretation of *mene mene tekel upharsim*),¹²⁵ but 'appoint' in Daniel 2.24, 49, 3.12 (appointment of officials), A4.5 ('judges, police and hearers who are appointed in the province of Tshetres'), ATNS 15:2 ('that are of my *degel*, 1, appointed'—reference unclear), ATNS 26:7 ('now you appoint suitable men; between the gates let them guard strictly'), C1.1 *recto* 37 (the king appoints men to carry out a task), ADAB A1.7 (men 'appointed from the Gate of [the satrap]' to intervene in the camel-drivers dispute). As the word describing the thirteen Cilicians ('*bšwkn*) is of uncertain meaning, it might actually be safer to avoid the word 'appoint' (which has somewhat limiting overtones in English) and go for e.g. 'assign'—a translation that would work equally well in several of the other passages listed above.¹²⁶ (Whereas Porten and Yardeni render the current example simply as 'had been appointed', Muraoka and Porten 2003: 207 translate it slightly awkwardly as 'held appointment as pressers'. Is this a response to the presence of auxiliary *hww* after it?) In the light of A6.10 one might, of course, speculate that the process of attaching workers to the estate regularly included not only the marking of the body ('this one belongs to Aršāma?') but also the entry of a name in a register held in what Aršāma there calls the *trbš*. A theoretical alternative is that the '*bdn*' here are not directly parallel to the '*grd*' of A6.10 (who were to be press-ganged by Aršāma's *pqyd*), but had been less tumultuously assigned to work on Aršāma's domain under a *corvée* arrangement. There would be nothing odd in *corvée* workers being used in such a fashion, and it is not impossible that Aršāma might have regarded such people as 'my '*bdn*' and considered that they still owed him their labour even after the hiatus caused by their seizure by Inḥarou (Inaros). There is unfortunately no other clear evidence about *corvée* procedures within Egypt with which one could compare this scenario. The possibility that what are described in A6.3 as 'the '*bdn*' of my father 'Ankhoḥapi' were not fully the property of 'Ankhoḥapi or his son Psamšek but properly belonged to Aršāma and were simply assigned to his *pqyd* (cf. A6.3:6(1) n., Tuplin iii 58 n. 192) casts no certain light on the question, nor probably does any sense one has that 'within my

¹²⁵ Perhaps also in CG 41 and CG 244, but the cases are uncertain.

¹²⁶ Philochorus' description of the Asiatic Greeks as 'assigned to the king's house' (FGrH 328 F149) could be translated into Aramaic (*pace* Lewis 1977: 146) in some fashion comparable to A6.10:7 ('*bdw* 'lby' zylly) (and cf. A6.11:4–5, A6.15:7), but perhaps using *mny* instead of '*bd*'.

domains in Upper and Lower (Egypt)' is formulaic (cf. A6.4:2(3) n.). The estate of Mnesimachus (above, lines 3–5(1) n.) was subject *inter alia* to a *phoros lētourgikos*, but one cannot frame a direct analogy with the present text.

line 5(3) בניא *bg̃y*, 'domains': see A6.4:2(3) n.

line 6(1) בעליתא ותחתיתא *b'lyt' wthtyt'*, 'in Upper and Lower (Egypt)'. See A6.4:2(4) n., A6.10:4(1) n., A6.10.11 n.

lines 6–8 אחר... עמה הו *'hr... 'mh hww*, 'after... were with him'. There is no indication of Aršāma's source of knowledge about the adventures of the Mišpeh Thirteen. The same is true in A6.10 of his discovery that Nakhtḥor is being neglectful, though he does explicitly refer to having heard about it (*tnh kn šmy' ly*: see A6.10:3(3) n.). Contrast the epistolary type represented e.g. by A6.3 (Aršāma to Artavanta), A6.11, and A6.13 (Aršāma to Nakhtḥor and others) in which Aršāma quotes someone else's report/request and then in varying degrees repeats the report/request in endorsing it.¹²⁷ (A6.6 may have been similar.)¹²⁸ In A6.4 (Aršāma to Artavanta) and A6.8 (Aršāma to Armapiya) the source of the information on which Aršāma is acting is also made clear (in the latter case once again with quotation of the source, viz. Psamšek), but there is little or no mirror-repetition involved in the reply.¹²⁹ A6.15 (Virafša to Nakhtḥor) is similar, though here we have three distinct report + response items in succession.¹³⁰ In A6.12 Aršāma is not explicitly responding to a report or request,¹³¹ and in A6.9 (the food-supply authorization) we have a multi-recipient letter of a quite different sort. (Instead of a binary report + response structure there is, if anything, an element of ring composition.) In A6.10 Aršāma does quote something, but what he quotes is not someone's report to him, but his own earlier message to the recipient. In A6.14 Vāravahyā alludes to (but does not quote) his separate message to Aršāma (summarized in A6.13) as a basis for a related instruction to Nakhtḥor. Vāravahyā never says who told him about his *pqyd*'s failings—if indeed anyone did: perhaps it is *just* the *non-*

¹²⁷ A6.11 involves a particularly full, though still not complete repetition. For this general model cf. ADAB A6. But the rhetoric of repetition is not dependent on the report + response format: it is also present in A6.10, despite its virtual suppression of a report element.

¹²⁸ The officials writing to Aršāma in TADAE A6.1 start by quoting an order (*t'm*) sent to them and referring to a **ništāvana-*, but what followed is entirely lost. The petitioner to (perhaps) Aršāma in A5.2 gave a narrative account of the circumstances but (again) what followed is largely lost. Neither item, of course, naturally conforms to the report/request + response model anyway. On A6.2, which does, see n. 129.

¹²⁹ The same is true in ADAB A1 (in which Axvamazdā quotes Vahuvaxšu's complaint about Bagavanta at much greater length than ever occurs in the Bodleian letters—but cf. TADAE A6.2, which well exceeds ADAB A1 in length and complexity) and A2 and A4 (which, unlike any of the Bodleian letters, involves the writer quoting a message from the addressee).

¹³⁰ In both A6.8 and A6.15 the source of the report (Psamšek, Miçapāta) is not credited with making a request for specific action. To cite such a thing from a subordinate might have seemed demeaning to the writer.

¹³¹ For this cf. ADAB A5.

arrival of rent that prompts his letter (just as A6.16 is apparently prompted by the arrival of the wrong goods)¹³²—but, of course, we do not have his original letter to Aršāma, only Aršāma's summary of it.

Aršāma's failure to indicate who told him about the Mišpeh slaves and about Nakhtḥor's neglect might, therefore, be described as unusual. Grelot 1972: 309 assumes that it was Artavanta himself, writing to ask guidance on what he should do, and this is doubtless the most economical hypothesis.

lines 6, 7 אַחֲרַי, 'hr, 'after'. 'hr either (as here) marks the next step in a narrative (A4.7:6, 8//A4.8:6, 7, A6.15:3, B2.7:5, B2.9:8, B3.13:3, B8.2:25, B8.6:2, 6, 11, B8.10:2, B8.11:3, ADAB A1:3, 4, 7, A2:2, A4:2, B2:2, B4:4)¹³³ or, less frequently, appears in *apodosi* in conditional sentences (A6.9:6, A6.11:5, B2.11:10, B3.13:6, 7, 8, 10, ADAB A4:3, B3:4, KAI 264).¹³⁴ The absence of such uses in Old Aramaic and function of 'hr as an ideogram for *pas* = 'after' in MP have prompted the view (Driver 1965: 50, Whitehead 1978: 134, and others cited by Makujina 2013: 88; also Tavernier iii 84) that the influence of OP *pasava* is at work here. (It is duly used to translate that word in the Aramaic version of DB.) See also A6.7:6(6) n.

line 6(2) מִצְרַיִם, *Mšrym*, 'Egypt'. The present text speaks of 'Egypt' rebelling (*Mšrym mrdt*), with the plural form *Mšrym* (perhaps reflecting the conjunction of Upper and Lower Egypt) treated as a singular feminine noun (cf. Exod. 10.7, 12.33), whereas A6.10 has 'the Egyptians' doing so (*Mšry' mrdw*). In English usage it would be easier to maintain of the latter than the former that it alluded to nothing more than some small local difficulty, but one hesitates to assume this would be true in Aramaic. It would certainly be unwise to assume that A6.7 and A6.10 have to be referring to different events. The difference in language may be simply a matter of scribal taste.

line 6(3) מִרְדָּתָא, *mrdt*, 'rebelled'. *Mrd* is used persistently in DB (Aramaic) to mean 'rebel' (the action of those individuals and peoples who opposed Darius' kingship). The circumstances alluded to in the present letter—which were serious enough to involve the *hyl* being 'garrisoned' (*hndyz*: see below) and people taking refuge in a fortress and which it is not natural to think lay *very* far in the past at the time of writing—have to be set in the context of a number of similar items in late fifth-century Egyptian Aramaic texts.

¹³² This letter is more like the series B letters in ADAB, where there are no perceptible cases of report-quotation and not much even by way of scene setting, though B4 does have 'And now (concerning) the letter that you sent to me instead of (sending) the donkey...'

¹³³ Its appearance in the protasis of a conditional sentence in A6.8:3 and B2.4:8 essentially corresponds to the narrative-continuation use.

¹³⁴ Other occurrences in Egyptian Aramaic (B8.1 i:3, ATNS 16, 18, 26, 51, 60, 98, 163; CG 4, 260) are all too fragmentary or uncertain to be able to affect the picture reliably.

- A4.5 (from Elephantine) refers to *degelin* of Egyptians ‘rebelling’ using the same word (*mrđw*)—this is in reference to an occasion when by contrast the Judaeans did not leave their posts or do anything bad. They mention this as *Priamel* to reference to the events around the destruction of temple.¹³⁵ So it happened in/before 410 (as Lewis 1958 spelled out). Since the Judaeans are prepared to refer to what *did not* happen as long ago as 526 (A4.7/8, A4.9) in making their case about the temple destruction, we should not simply *assume* that the Egyptian ‘rebellion’ is recent (*pace* Grelot 1972: 298: ‘tout récent’): the (hard to answer) question is how far in the past a rebellion would have to be for the Judaeans’ loyal reaction to become less pertinent to the current situation than the non-destruction of the Judaeans’ temple over a century earlier in 526. Porten 1968: 279 and Kraeling 1953: 103 put the rebellion in A4.5 in 424/3 (the Year of Four Kings from which Darius II emerged as victor) and that is surely possible so far as the rhetoric of the Judaeans’ documents is concerned.
- A5.5 (from Elephantine) has the word *Imrđy* ‘(to the rebels)’ at the end of a fragmentary document that also alludes to soldiers (*hyl*), *degel*, chiefs of centuries, killing, and a fortress. No continuously sensible narrative survives, but the letter once reported a complex situation in some circumstantial detail and issued a consequential instruction, and it seems natural to assume that it deals with pretty recent events. But unfortunately we do not know the date of the letter, though Porten–Yardeni assign it to the late fifth century, presumably in part on palaeographical grounds.
- A6.10 contrasts ‘formerly when the Egyptians rebelled’ (*mrđw*) (when Psamšek was *pqyd* and protected Aršāma’s workers and property in Egypt) and the current ‘disturbances’ (or ‘rioting’: Porten and Lund 2002: 290) during which Nakhtḥor is allegedly under-performing by comparison with the *pqydy* in Lower Egypt. The word rendered as ‘disturbances’ or ‘rioting’ is *šwzy*. This is a *hapax legomenon* of uncertain linguistic affiliation; its precise sense is therefore uncertain, as is the necessary degree of seriousness of the event to which it refers. (See A6.10:4(2) n.) The ‘rebellion’ lies no further in the past than the start of Psamšek’s service as Aršāma’s *pqyd* (which *could* be quite a long time), while the ‘troubles’ are current.
- A6.11:2,4 uses *ywz*’ of the ‘unrest in Egypt’ during which Pamun perished. It is Nakhtḥor who has to deal with the consequences of Pamun’s demise and the abandonment of his domain (i.e. with Peḥosiri’s request to have possession of Pamun’s domain). It would be surprising if Peḥosiri had waited a very long time to try to recover his father’s property. *Ywz*’ is Iranian **yauza-*, ‘revolt, turmoil, rebellion’, and corresponds to OP *yauđa-*,

¹³⁵ On this see Tuplin iii 344–72, Granerød iii 329–43.

a word used in royal inscriptions of serious imperial disorder (see A6.11:2(1) n.).

There is thus a linguistic distinction between four references to ‘rebellion’ (*mrd*) and two references to ‘troubles’; and there were at least two actual (linguistically distinguished) events, because A6.10 draws a contrast between a past ‘rebellion’ and current ‘troubles’. The simplest solution (in the spirit of Occam’s Razor) is to postulate one ‘rebellion’ (mentioned four times—and in documents both from Elephantine and elsewhere)¹³⁶ and one other period of trouble (described variously as *šwzy* and *ywz’*: it would be even neater, of course, if we could believe that *šwzy* is an error for or a by-form of *ywz’*). None of the constraints on the dating of any of the events involved seems to preclude this solution.

A variant (retaining the distinction between *šwzy* and *ywz’*) would be to associate the *ywz’* with what is elsewhere called ‘rebellion’. Arguments in favour of this might be (i) the known association of OP *yauda-* with high-level disorder (as against uncertainty about the inherent implications of *šwzy*) and (ii) the fact that we are told of ‘*ywz’* in Egypt’, whereas the *šwzy* is arguably only associated with Lower Egypt (though this is debatable).¹³⁷ This view would tend to diminish the distance in time between the ‘rebellion’ and the troubles of A6.10 more than A6.10 in itself would require, but would make no other difference to the overall situation: there would still be (in these texts) one ‘rebellion’ and one set of ‘troubles’.

The simplest substantive alternative to the simplest solution would be to (a) link the *ywz’* and *šwzy*, not primarily because it might be possible to postulate a linguistic connection but rather because they appear in the same archive of

¹³⁶ Assuming, of course, that the Driver letters were not in fact found at Elephantine. Kraeling 1953: 103 linked A4.5 to 424/3 and indicated that this could be the rebellion to which ‘the Borchardt leather documents look back’. Porten 1968: 279, 287 assumes there can be a single rebellion context, whose date horizon might be either 424/3 or 410. Grelot 1972: 306 associates A6.7 with Amyrtaeus’ revolt in the Delta but also with the Persian scheming revealed in A4.5, 7–9 (i.e. the temple affray in 410), while locating the rebellion in A6.10 and A4.5 in 411/10. (About the ‘troubles’ of A6.10–11 he said nothing; and A5.5 is not in his collection. A 411/10 date for the rebellion in A4.5 is asserted on p. 313 *à propos* of A6.10; nothing is said in the comments on A4.5.) Amyrtaeus appears because of Grelot’s belief that the nationalist ‘agitation’ that was part of the background to the temple affray and was evident also in the Egyptian troops’ rebellion of A4.5 (cf. 1972: 298) was caused by the later pharaoh and started in 416 (44) or 414 (399). His argument for this is that, since Amyrtaeus II was the grandson of Amyrtaeus I and since Amyrtaeus I died c.449, his ‘ambitions’ must have started to show in 415–410—though I wonder if he was also influenced by old views about Amyrtaeus based on a Eusebian chronology that associates him with 413/12–408/7 or 411/10–406/5. I think Grelot assumes a single rebellion (in 411/10), but his treatment (split between different parts of his book) is less than wholly lucid.

¹³⁷ The question is whether Nakhthor is implicitly being associated with Upper Egypt—in which case disorder was not confined to one part of the satrapy. Incidentally, the fact that none of the letters shows any inclination to locate trouble more precisely than in one-half of Egypt does tell against any inclination to try to limit the scope of the disorders. Aršāma surely had every reason to say ‘the trouble in such-and-such a place’ if that is all there was.

documents and seem to give rise to similar results (harm to Aršāma's estate), but (b) re-open the possibility of there being two 'rebellions'.

It is tempting to think that two references to 'rebellion' in two Elephantine texts (A4.5 and A5.5)—albeit presumably from locally distinct sets of documents—are to the same event, though in one case (A4.5) we have a 'historical' reference for rhetorical purposes, in the other (A5.5) part of the business of responding to a situation actually created by the 'rebellion'. When that event might have been depends (so far as internal indications go) on constraints on Judaeans rhetoric and the palaeography of A5.5. But reference to rebellion in A6.10, by contrast, is not even remotely archivally linked with what is found in A4.5 and A5.5; and the only internal chronological constraint is provided by Aršāma's half-century association with Egypt and the letters' palaeography.¹³⁸ Students of Achaemenid Egypt have become very used to the idea that the Bodleian letters are from the late fifth century, but theoretically we might be dealing with two rebellions, both located no more precisely than within the time-frame 454–410, and, if so, there would be no guarantee against the Bodleian letters' rebellion being different from that in the Elephantine letters. It could in principle be either earlier or later—though, if later, its circumstances and (particularly) its impact in the south of Egypt country cannot have been such as to damage the rhetorical effect of the Judaeans' reference to the putatively earlier event.

The reason that we are all used to the idea of the Bodleian letters being late fifth century is that Lewis 1958 went for the simplest solution and then anchored it to a particular date horizon by deploying data entirely external to the Aramaic texts: more precisely, the 'rebellion' was a revolt in 411 alluded to by Diodorus 13.46.6 (Arabian and Egyptian kings plotting against *ta peri tēn Phoinikēn pragmata*). The proximity of 411 to the *terminus ante quem* of 410 provided by A4.5 may or may not count as a reason in favour of this solution. One possible reason for not following Lewis or for postulating that there are references to more than one rebellion is the worry that, on other evidence (from silence), the succession troubles of 424/3 generated no disturbance in Egypt. This seems surprising, but it is a tricky judgment to decide whether it is so surprising as to dictate a particular solution to our present problem. (See Tuplin iii 63–72.)

line 6(4) חילא, *hyl'*, 'the (armed) force'. Given the conjunction with *hndyz* and the direct parallel with A4.5:7, there is no reasonable doubt that this *hyl'* is military. See also A6.8:1(4) n.

line 6(5) הנריז, *hndyz*, 'garrisoned'. Iranian **handaiza-* (Tavernier 2007: 451, after Hinz and others), cognate with OP *didā-* = 'fort' and evidently conveying the idea of being gathered together in a fort. It is variously translated as 'posted'

¹³⁸ Naveh 1970 seems to leave quite a large target area here.

(Porten 1968: 244), ‘garrisoned’ (Porten–Yardeni), ‘consigné(es)’ (Grelot: glossed as ‘concentration des troupes’), ‘held in barracks’ (Driver), ‘mobilized’ (Lindenberger), ‘in Bereitschaft versetzt’ (Kottsieper). Although it functions as an adjective, *hndyz* does not have a plural adjective ending—i.e. the word is treated as an indeclinable foreign technical term. Compare A6.10:3(1) n.

Philologically speaking *hndyz*/**handaiza* is distinct from **handēsa* (represented by Akkadian *andēsu* in UET 4.109 (397 or 351) and reflected in Armenian *handes*), a word meaning ‘muster, mobilization’ (lit. ‘showing together’). The latter term is used of a royal muster (*andēsu ša šarri*) to which a bow-fief holder is arranging for someone else to go as his substitute. The occasion of the event is not particularly clear, but there is no reason to think that the gathering is a response to pressing military crisis of any sort. In A6.7, on the other hand, *hndyz*/**handaiza* does seem to mark a moment of real danger: there is a rebellion, the Mišpeh Thirteen cannot get ‘into the fortress’, and the natural assumption is that ‘the fortress’ is precisely where the *hyl* is *hndyz*. But other occurrences are rather more equivocal.

1. A4.5 (410 or slightly later) refers to a well from which (members of) the *hyl* drank when *hndyz*. The Khnum priests blocked it, as well as demolishing part of the royal barley-house and building a wall in middle of the fortress. It is next to impossible to tell whether being *hndyz* is envisaged as regular or exceptional. Porten–Yardeni’s ‘*whenever* [my italics] they would be garrisoned (there) they would drink...’ arguably imports an unwarranted suggestion of regularity, since the Aramaic simply has ‘if’ (so Grelot’s more neutral ‘si l’on était consigné, on buvait...’ is on the face of it more accurate).¹³⁹

2. B2.7 (17.11.446) refers to goods (worth five *karsh* of silver and eventually repaid with the gift of a house) borrowed by Maḥseyah from his daughter Mibṭaḥyah. As understood by Porten–Yardeni the father consumed the loan and did not find silver or gold to repay it ‘when I was *hndz*’. (The scribe of B2.7 uses an alternative writing of *hndyz*, omitting the yod.) As translated by Grelot the loan occurred ‘lorsque je fus consigné’, and Cowley had taken the same view about the reference of the temporal clause (though he translated it differently). Grelot’s translation entails that a soldier who was *hndz* was not *incommunicado* (unless the temporal clause is loose and really means ‘when the army was about to be *hndz*’), Porten’s might leave it open that he was.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ The relevant bit most literally translates as ‘so that if they will be *hndyz*, they drink (are drinking) water from that well’. Perusal of Muraoka and Porten 2003: 323–6 leaves me uncertain how significant the imperfective in the protasis actually is, i.e. whether we cannot translate the phrase in context as ‘so that if they were *hndyz*, they drank’ (dispensing with Porten–Yardeni’s awkward ‘would be garrisoned’).

¹⁴⁰ That Maḥseyah specifies the circumstances of the loan *perhaps* suggests they were germane to its being made—i.e. he is not just mentioning it as a chronological marker. (Such specification is not normal. No explanation is given in B3.1, B4.2, B4.3//B4.4, B4.5, B4.6. B3.13 specifies that ‘Anani came to the Syene house of Pakhnum to borrow emmer, but says nothing about why the loan was needed, nor do we learn the circumstances. There is also no explanation of the circum-

There was no separate fortress inside Elephantine. Instead the island city was surrounded by a wall dating from Dynasty XXI (von Pilgrim 2010: 267 and fig. 3); this is why domestic real estate changing hands can be described as ‘in Yeb the fortress’. So being *hndyz* meant being confined to the city and perhaps (cf. A4.5 on the well) unable even to get to the Nile bank to draw water. Since Maḥseyah’s daughter also lived in Elephantine there would *prima facie* be no impediment to their property transaction, and we do not have to think about him being *incommunicado*. It would be another matter if the *hyl* (or part of it) was being taken to some *other* fortress. B2.7 does not specify it was in Elephantine, and the fact that A4.5 proves *hndyz* can refer to Elephantine does not prove that it always does.

Porten’s translation may also suggest a quite prolonged period of *hndyz*—assuming that all the consumption occurred within it and was just for Maḥseyah’s benefit. (If he was spending it on a large group of people the time could be shorter. We cannot tell whether that might be the case.) The sum involved was, according to Porten 1968: 75, nearly three times the cost of a 400 m² house, though also less than the cost of two high-class woollen garments.¹⁴¹ Since the *nksyn* Maḥseyah is said to have borrowed are most likely to be perishables (Porten 2011: 186 n. 15), more specifically food (*’kl* does mean literally ‘eat’ in all Egyptian Aramaic texts where one can tell), more apparently relevant is Porten’s suggestion that fifty shekels would be rather more than four months’ income for a family of three. That figure is problematic and may (if anything) underestimate the situation, but this sort of calculation is perhaps a valid indication that the confinement-to-fort was long enough to suggest a degree of crisis.¹⁴² But there is much uncertainty here.

stances in which goods were taken on deposit in B2.9 (*bpqdn*). The *gifts* in B3.5, B3.10, and B5.5 are only cursorily explained.) On that view he needed the loan because he and the *hyl* were (about to be) *hndz*—and that may be true whichever translation of the passage one adopts.

¹⁴¹ The value of things at Elephantine does not entirely accord with modern expectations.

¹⁴² Porten’s calculation was based on Michell’s figure of 272 drachmae (= 136 shekels, on the assumption that the two-shekel ‘stater’ is a tetradrachm) for the annual cost of living in Athens (Michell 1957: 132), adjusted slightly to 144 shekels for ease of twelve-monthly calculations. But Michell’s figure is arguably ill-formed, being based on an *income* figure of three obols per day (juror *misthos*, assumed improbably to be earned for 354 days in a year) and admittedly arbitrary guesses about *outgoings* for non-food expenditure (totalling ninety-five drachmae). As he separately calculated the cereal (wheat) requirements of a family of four as costing sixty-eight drachmae *per annum*, he should have reckoned total outgoings as 163 drachmae, though the figure is still heavily informed by mere guesses. Brief contemplation of some more modern discussions (Markle 1985, Scheidel 2010, Ober 2015: 91–5, 341, Taylor 2017: 80–4, 123–4, 249–51) reveals that Markle calculated annual outlay on barley for a family of four as 100 drachmae *per annum*, while Scheidel’s claim that 429 litres *per annum* of wheat is a minimum subsistence requirement yields an annual expenditure of 191 drachmae *per annum* for four (at six dr. for a *medimnos* of fifty-four litres). Three obols per day (a juror’s *misthos*), if earned for 300 days per year (another assumption) would cover Markle’s estimate but not Scheidel’s—or indeed Michell’s (corrected) one. Since the three-obol figure was meant to be marginal in terms of practical subsistence (cf. its appearance as the *trophē* figure in Xenophon’s *Poroi*), that result perhaps makes sense. But both that and other propositions about income-levels and standard/cost of living seem

line 6(6) אַדַּיִן, *ʿdyn*, ‘then’. Makujina 2013 (followed by Tavernier iii 84) extends the claim of influence from *pasāva* (see above lines 6, 7 n.) to the case of *ʿdyn*. His argument is principally concerned with its use in Biblical Aramaic, but he fails to note an interesting feature of its use in Egyptian Aramaic, perhaps partly because his list of non-Biblical attestations ignores B3.6–B3.13 (documents originally in Kraeling). Most uses here are either *in apodosi* to a temporal clause (A6.7:6, A6.10:1, ADAB A4:6) or—much more commonly—in association with a calendar date (B2.9:1, B2.10:1, B3.6:1, B3.7:1, B3.8:1, B3.9:1, B3.10:1, B3.11:1, B3.12:1, 10, B3.13:1, B4.6:1, [B5.2:1, restored], B5.5:1, [B6.6:1 restored], D2.9:1). And the latter strongly recalls OP *avaθā* or *avaθāšām*.

line 7(1) לֹא שִׁנְיָו, *l’ šnšyw*, ‘were not able’. Driver claimed that *šnšy* = ‘to succeed’ is an Akkadian loanword (more specifically: the underlying Aramaic verb is the nasalized form of an equivalent of Akkadian *mašu* = ‘to be wide, suffice’ or more precisely of the causative equivalent *šumšû* = ‘make to attain, grant ways and means’). Kaufman 1974: 104 took a similar view: ‘a Babylonianized pronunciation... of a native Ar. form **šmšy*’. (He rejects any connection with Biblical Aramaic *šyšy*(?), an alternative to Driver’s explanation favoured by Pavlovsky 1955: 546. He also differs from Pavlovsky in judging that *šyšy*(?) is not influenced by Akkadian *ašû*.) Whitehead calls it the Shaf’el perfect 3MP of *mšy* (‘to be able’) but also thinks Akkadian origin is possible. But no such possibility is registered by Muraoka and Porten 2003.

line 7(2) בְּבִירְתָּא, *bbyrt’*, ‘into the fortress’. The spectacle of Aršāma’s workers expected (though failing) to find refuge in a fortress calls to mind Xenophon *Anabasis* 7.8.12–15 (where some *andrapoda* fail to secure protection from Xenophon’s bandit party in the *tursis* of Asidates), the estate-plus-fortress landscape in the *Cyropaedia* associated with Gadatas and Gobryas (Gobryas rules land surrounding a fortress, pays *dasmos*, and provides cavalry; Gadatas controls various *khōria*, at least one of which has villages around it, and can provide military forces),¹⁴³ a set of Persepolis texts involving a man called Ukama, fortresses and estates,¹⁴⁴ and the fact that in the Elamite version of DB §47 Arshada (in Arachosia) is both the estate (*irmadim*) of Vivāna and a

less than robust (Loomis 1998: 232–9 shows that it is dangerous to assume one drachma was ever a standard Athenian wage, in any sense of the word standard)—and insufficiently robust for the comparison Porten wanted to make. (But note that with any of these figures the fifty shekels = 100 drachmae represents a higher or much higher proportion of annual costs than Porten’s one-third.) By contrast it is safe (if less resonant) to say that it would have taken a late fifth-century Erechtheum worker or one of Cyrus’ mercenaries on their initial contract 100 days to earn the fifty shekels. In those terms Maḥseyah was borrowing more than three months’ wages.

¹⁴³ Gadatas: *Cyr.* 5.2.28, 5.3.12, 15, 26; 5.4.2–6, 9, 29, 39; Gobryas: *Cyr.* 4.6.2, 9.

¹⁴⁴ This involves associating (a) PF 0330, PF 2027, NN 1044, NN 1159, NN 1254, NN 1711, NN 1816, R558 = Jones and Stolper 2006: 19 with (b) PF 1857. See Tuplin 2014: 674–5. But, in fact, either (a) or (b) by itself already provides a linkage of estates and fortresses. See also p. 161.

fortress.¹⁴⁵ For a wider perspective on this see Tuplin 2014. Those inclined to identify the Inḥarou (Inaros) named just below with the rebel of the 450s have mooted an identification of the fortress with the White Fort at Memphis, where those supporting Persian rule took refuge after the Battle of Papremis (Thucydides 1.104, Diodorus 11.74). But the former view does not require the latter (as Dandamaev 1989: 243 acknowledges). There does not seem to be any prospect of re-reading *Mšph* in line 14 as *Mnpy* (Memphis) or something corresponding to ‘White Fort’ (*Īnb-ḥd*) or to the place’s putative alternative designation as Wall of Ptah.¹⁴⁶ See also below line 14 n.

line 7(3) 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤁, [y]n[h]rw, ‘[I]n[h]arou’. Driver read *n[d]rw*, interpreting it as Anu-daru, and Grelot followed suit. Neither paused to wonder whether the role assigned to the man in question would naturally belong to someone with a Babylonian name. Lewis 1958 (and Driver himself) already noted a suggestion from Henning and from Kahle 1949: 207 that we should be dealing with a form of the name Inaros, and Vittmann 1989: 216, 223 reconciled palaeography with Demotic and Aramaic philology to produce the reading [y]n[h]rw, also found in TADAE IV pp. 135, 150. (In TADAE I Porten–Yardeni printed *..n.^d/r,w* without further comment.) The new reading, accepted e.g. by Muchiki 1999: 89, Holm 2007: 209, and Quack 2016, seems secure, especially as the Aramaic form of the name is fully preserved in a different context in A6.6:3 (see n. ad loc.). The name is not so rare that we have to identify this troublesome Inḥarou (Inaros) with the Libyan insurgent of the 450s, though, since the date-horizon of the Bodleian letters is strictly speaking an open question, the identification is not entirely out of court (see above, p. 123, and Tuplin iii 18–19, 66–7). Another possibility is that the name was used as an appropriate *nom de guerre* in reference to the rebel of the 450s and/or the anti-Assyrian hero of the Inaros epic cycle. One might compare Amyrtaeus’ apparent adoption of the name Psammetichus, in reference to the Saite founder of the last autonomous pre-Persian dynasty.¹⁴⁷ Or perhaps a man actually called Inḥarou was stirred to militancy by the historical resonances of his given name? (For material on the Inaros cycle and its currency in Persian times see Hoffmann 1996, Hoffmann and Quack 2007, Holm 2007, Ryholt 2004, Ryholt 2010, Ryholt 2012: 28, 54–6, 152, Quack 2006, Quack 2009: 66–70, Rutherford 2016.)

line 7(4) 𐤏𐤁𐤏, *lly*, ‘wicked’. The word is used in Old Aramaic in KAI 222A:26, 222C:20 (generic evil, contrasted with the good and aligned with *ml* = affliction),

¹⁴⁵ Grillo-Susini, Herrenschildt, and Malbran-Labat 1993: 53.

¹⁴⁶ This alternative name is inferred from the regular epithet ‘south of his wall’, its replacement by ‘south of the White Fort’ in Verner 2006: 221 no. 50, description of the god as ‘Lord of the White Wall’ (P.Harris I: Grandet 1994), and the statement that Ptah built the White Fort (P.Berl. Dem.13603 II.28: Erichsen and Schott 1954: 315).

¹⁴⁷ Chauveau 1996: 47, on the basis of Ain Manawir ostraca, P.Berl. Dem.13571 and Diod. 14.35.3–4. Note also Ctes. 688 F13(10) with Lenfant 2004: lxx.

KAI 224:2 (an enemy's 'bad words') and in Achaemenid-era Aramaic in ATNS 26:17, 35:5, D7.48:7, D23.1 Va:11 (all of which are opaque), KAI 225:10 (the bad death, *mwt llh*, awaiting a tomb-desecrator), TADAE B1.1:6 ('the good and the bad [sc. of produce] we shall divide equally'), C1.1 *recto* 100, 130, 134, 139, 199 (the bad man or bad action in proverbial utterances), and A4.7//A4.8, A4.9, where it is the Judaeans' label for Vidranga. (The word disappears in other Aramaic dialects.) Many uses are rather vague and generic, but the Judaeans' description of Vidranga as *lhy*' must be intended as strongly negative, and the same applies in the present case. Other translations in one or other context include 'reprobate' (Driver), 'criminal' (Lindenberger), 'vaurien' (Grelot), 'Niederträchtige' (Rohrmoser 2014: 399). Porten 2011: 142 n. 27 compares it with the description of Haman as *hr*' in Esther 7.6.

line 7(5) אָהַד, *'hd*, 'seized'. Whitehead observes that what happened to the workers here is what Aršāma wanted Nakhthor to do in A6.10.

line 8(1) עִמָּה הָיוּ, *'mh hww*, 'were with him'. Lindenberger renders these words as 'and has kept them in custody' which, even by the standards of his often rather free translations, seems extreme. Aršāma's attitude to the Cilicians may presuppose his belief that they were under duress, but it is wrong to misrepresent the vagueness of the text in this fashion. That the Cilicians need to be released (line 9) is a function of what Artavanta (or his agents) have done with them in the meantime, not of their treatment by Inḥarou. The suspicion that the Cilicians had *not* been under duress would not be unnatural, of course: one of the ways we know about shortage of labour (see below, line 9(3) n.) is from evidence about workers absconding. For a spectacular dash for freedom by erst-while deported labourers in Anatolia cf. Hdt. 5.98.

line 8(2) הֵן עֲלֵיךָ כֹּת טָב, *hn 'lyk kwt ṭb*, 'if (it seems) like a good thing to you'. Compare A6.3:5 ('if (it seems) good to my lord'—*hn 'l mr'y ṭb* [Psamšek to Aršāma]), A6.13: 2 ('if it (seems) like a good thing to my lord'—*hn 'l mr'y lm kwt ṭb* [Vāravahyā to Aršāma]). For cases elsewhere (in the short form, without *kwt*) see A4.5:19, 21–2, A4.7:23 = A4.8:22, Ezra 5.17, Neh. 2.5. Also comparable is ADAB A1:9 (*hn 'l mr'y 'ḥmzd ṭb*, 'if (it seems) good to my lord Axvamazdā'). Benveniste 1954: 305 detected translation of a putative OP **yadyi θuvām avathā kamā* = 's'il te plaît ainsi, si tel est ton bon plaisir'. Whitehead thought the case inconclusive, and Tavernier iii 85 is non-committal. In A6.3 and A6.13 the phrase occurs in the mouth of a subordinate addressing Aršāma (albeit one quoted in Aršāma's letter). Even without 'lord', the trope seems a trifle odd when it is Aršāma himself addressing Artavanta. It is almost as though the scribe had in mind the missing (cf. above, lines 6–8 n.) letter to Aršāma reporting the Mišpeh Thirteen's problem and requesting Aršāma (if it pleased him) to order that they be spared punishment. The alternative view (cf. Jursa iii 117) is that Aršāma is choosing to be extremely courteous to Artavanta, with the implications that that would have for Artavanta's high status.

line 8(3) **איש... באיש**, *ʾyš... bʾyš*, ‘a person... bad’. Whitehead 1974: 187 notes the play on words. For other examples of word play cf. A6.12:2(8) n.

line 8(4) **איש מנרעם**, *ʾyš mndʾm*, ‘a person... anything’. Muraoka and Porten 2003: 173 regard *ʾyš mndʾm* here and in A4.7:14//A4.8:13 (‘and one did not damage anything in that Temple’) as linguistically speaking ‘a fossilised, cohesive unit’. Slightly different conjunctions of *mndʾm* and *ʾyš* appear in D20.5:2 (‘anything evil she did not do and the slander of a man she did not say at all’) and Kemaliye 7 (*ʾyš mndʾm yp[rk] lh n[b]* = ‘jemand beschädigt ihm/ihr etwas’: Stadel 2010: 162–3). *ʾyš* (‘man’) only rarely designates a specific person (C2.1 I:13, VIII:52), though in A2.1:9, A2.2:13, A2.4:11, A3.8:6, D1.12:3 a still-to-be-discovered person (messenger or house-buyer/purchaser) is fairly concretely envisaged. But in most cases the person is generic, in (a) legal formulae envisaging legal actors in lists (B2.3:11, 12, B2.9:10–14, B2.10:10–14, B3.5:19, B3.9:4–6, B5.2:9, D2.21:2, 3, WDSP 9:8) or otherwise (B2.3:16, B3.12:28, Xanthos Trilingual 20–6), (b) epigraphic warnings against damage (KAI 258 (Gibson 1975: no. 33), KAI 278 (Gibson 1975: no. 36), Gibson 1975: no. 37), (c) proverbial or prophetic statements (C1.1 *recto* 89, 95, 96, 99, 132, 145, 150, 162, 164, 173, 199, 217, C1.2:19–24) or (d) other discursive circumstances (B4.1:3, C1.1 *verso* H5, *recto* 49, C2.1 XI:64, CG 42, CG 233). In legal lists ‘woman’ occasionally appears alongside *ʾyš* (B2.3:11, B2.10:10–14) but it is not clear that this really compromises the generic and ungendered quality of *ʾyš*. On *ʾyš* in general see Folmer 1995: 717, 735–6, Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 115–21 (s.v. *ʾš*), Muraoka and Porten 2003: §§ 17, 44f, 44h. The usage does not occur in ADAB, but perhaps that is accidental.

line 9(1) **פירמא**, *Pyr̄m*, ‘Pariyama’. A misspelling of *Prym* (lines 3, 7), giving a result that looks like the Aramaic for ‘thurible’ (David Taylor).

line 9(2) **ישתבקו**, *ʾyšt̄bq̄w*, ‘let them be released’. See above, line 8(1) n. Pace Siljanen 2017: 184 there is no question of the word meaning that they are to be emancipated.

line 9(3) **עבדתא**, *ʾbydt*, ‘work’. The nature of the ‘work’ is undetermined by the word so that nothing emerges to limit the sort of role ‘pressers’ (see above, line 5(1) n.) might be filling. ‘*ʾbydt*’ occurs in Dan. 2.49, 3.12 in phrases saying that someone has been set over the affairs (‘work’) of a city/province; in Ezra 6.18 it refers to the ‘service of God’, and in A4.1:6 it is the work (presumably of any sort) that is not to be done on a holy day. It can even be used in A6.15:9 in a phrase translated as ‘it is no business of yours’ (*lit.* ‘you and my *grd*’, you have no work’—i.e. there is no task, again potentially unlimited in nature, that you and they might be doing together). Other cases include B2.4:10 (apparently in reference to building a house), and various items in Ahiqar, C1.1 *recto* 21 (work as counsellor), 127 (‘any work’ that can earn subsistence), 207 (the ‘work’ of an Arab and a Sidonian are different; the reference is to a Sidonian’s concern with

sea and an Arab's with—presumably—crossing deserts). Grelot 1972: 310 observes that, whatever the truth about the Cilicians' behaviour, it was prudent not to lose the use of their labour. Worker shortage, a historically endemic problem in Egypt (as Christopher Eyre has pointed out to me) and one very relevant to Aršāma's instructions in A6.10 as well, was not confined to that region: for Babylon see e.g. Stolper 2003, Janković 2005, Jursa 2010: 726.

line 10(1) **ברביִתא**, *brbyt'*, 'prince'. See Tuplin iii 31–8.

line 10(2) **יִ ב[מִצְרַיִם] אַרְתַּהַנְתַּ זִי**, *'rthnt zy b[Mšry]n*, 'Artahanta who is in [Egypt]': as elsewhere the question is raised of whether Aršāma is not in Egypt. See A6.3:9(2) n., Tuplin iii 39–45.

line 11 **עַל הִילְכִיָּא**, *ʿl Hylky'*, 'concerning the Cilicians'. Driver (followed by Grelot) read the subject-statement on the outside of the letter as saying 'concerning Cilicians who were on my domains who did not succeed in entering Mišpeh'. Of this Porten–Yardeni detect only the words in italics (with a question mark against the final one).

line 14 **לְמִצְפָּה**, *lmšph*, 'into Mišpeh(?)'. For some reason the Porten–Yardeni translation ignores *l-*, though its presence is clear. Theoretical alternative readings of the rest of the word are *mhw* or *mšwh* or *mhp* (but not *mnp*: cf. above, line 7(2) n.). The Hebrew word *mišpeh* = watchtower (Isaiah 21.8, 2 Chron. 20.24) was also used as a place name (BDB 859–60)—*inter alia* of the place (Tel en-Nasbeh) that was apparently the capital of Judah from the fall of Jerusalem until the time of Nehemiah—and the same might have been true of an equivalent Aramaic word (Cazelles 1955: 91), though no such word is independently known to have existed (Driver 1965: 51, Grelot 1972: 308). For a place in Egypt to have an Aramaic proper name (even if only as an alternative to an Egyptian name) seems to entail heavy Semitic presence. If this is the *byrt'* of line 7 (and that is only an assumption, though a reasonable one), this fortress takes on something of the allure of Elephantine or Daphnae, places known or postulated to have been garrisoned by Aramaeo-Judaean soldiers (though not known to have been given alternative names by those soldiers): indeed such a thought has doubtless helped editors to discern *Mšph* and find a Semitic explanation for it in the first place. It is perhaps marginally more likely that the person who wrote this external summary might have picked a Semitic proper name for the place than that he would suddenly have used an unattested Aramaic common noun *mšph* in place of the normal *byrt'*. But one is entitled to be a little sceptical about the whole thing. In this spirit (presumably—he makes not comment) Lindenberger prints *lmhw*, 'to be [...]'. (He also postulates a negative in the previous line, turning Porten–Yardeni's 'succeed' into 'were unable', though he does not insert *l'* into his text.)

TADAE A6.8 (DRIVER 4, GRELOT 65, LINDENBERGER 38)

Letter to a Military Commander

Summary

Aršāma tells Armapiya, a military commander, to do what Psamšek says in a matter concerning his estate.

Text

Essentially unproblematic. Lindenberger (as often) differs slightly from Porten–Yardeni in the positioning of square brackets, in this case at a couple of points in line 3.

Relations between Officials

Assuming that *hyl* designates a military group (and I see no good evidence to the contrary *pace* Aimé-Giron 1931: 57–62: see below, 1(4) n.), this letter raises the issue of the relationship of *pyd* and troops. Driver thought A6.9 (the travel-pass) and A6.15 indicated that the *pyd* was entitled to have ‘foreign, presumably mercenary’ troops under his command. The argument in the latter case is presumably that Nakhthor’s alleged misdeeds entailed the exercise of force.¹⁴⁸ So, one might add, does execution of the task imposed on him in A6.10; and Porten 1968: 55 speculated that military forces might be involved in A6.13/A6.14. But whether any force involved in these cases has to be exercised by *soldiers* is another matter; and I do not understand why A6.9 might be thought to *demonstrate* anything relevant. On the other hand, the possibility that CT 22.74 shows that in Babylonia there were *gardu*-soldiers (LU.ERIN₂.MEŠ *ša gardu*) should at least enter the discussion here, given that Aršāma’s estate is a *locus* for *grd*.¹⁴⁹ The assumption that A6.8 illuminates the interaction of the

¹⁴⁸ Ray 1988: 271 spoke of Nakhthor having his own militia, though he cites no references and was perhaps actually thinking of A6.8, but confusing Psamšek and Nakhthor.

¹⁴⁹ CT 22.74 is an important source for Babylonian military resources (and has even been claimed to be linked to military preparations for the eventual suppression of the Ionian revolt: Tolini 2011: 433, dating it to 496/5) but its precise interpretation is tricky and the translations of Ebeling 1949: 44–5, Oppenheim 1967: 143, Joannès 1982: 24–5 (cf. Briant 2002: 342), Abrahams 2004: no. 88, Joannès 1990: 187 (cf. Tolini 2011: 429) and Schmidl 2012: 112–13 differ in some respects. The *gardu*-soldiers are one of three groups of soldiers whom Guzanu (once administrator of Ebabbar but perhaps now already *šākin fēmi* of Babylon) considers himself authorized to instruct Marduk-našir-apli (an entrepreneur who in this matter is effectively his agent) *not* to allow to go with Liblut on a journey to Danipinu. The other two groups are (a) chariot-drivers and *tašlišu* and (b) soldiers of the *mār banē*, of whom the former are presumably the same as the ‘soldiers of my chariot-fief’ mentioned right at the end of the letter, while the latter (troops raised from, i.e. essentially paid for by, the notable citizens of Babylon) may have ‘belonged’ to Guzanu in his capacity as *šākin fēmi*. The *gardu*-soldiers (only encountered here) are presumably either *gardu*

public (military) and private (estate) spheres *might* be premature. That said, one might also be inclined to wonder whether Armapiya's resistance to instruction from Psamšek reflects his sense that—as part of the (public) military infrastructure—he should not be at the beck and call of an estate-*pqyd*. The sharpness or otherwise of the public–private divide at satrapal and local governor level is an issue also raised by the Bactrian Aramaic letters.¹⁵⁰ Fried 2013: 324 argues that Armapiya must be of quite high rank, which is why Psamšek needs to invoke Aršāma's authority, and pictures him as comparable with Bagavanta, in whose case also complainants have to go *via* the satrap. But Bagavanta and his local adversaries are all Iranians, which is true of neither Armapiya nor Psamšek, so the parallel is not obviously valid. For a full presentation of the military environment of Achaemenid Egypt see Tuplin iii 291–328.

line 1(1) מן ארשם על ארמפי, *mn ršm l' rmpy*, 'from Aršāma to Armapiya'. That Armapiya is not given a title in the internal address is unremarkable. But that he definitely neither has a title nor is labelled 'in Egypt' in the external address (5) makes him unique in the letters from Aršāma. (Damage to the papyrus carrying A6.2 leaves open the possibility that Waḥpremaḥi was given a title in the external address, though it is now lost.) Absence of title (though not 'in Egypt') characterizes the letters to Artavanta, and may be a sign of respect (A6.3:1(1) n.). Meanwhile, in the matter of titles, Artaxaya treats Nakhtḥor as Aršāma treats Armapiya, and, given Artaxaya's elaborate salutation tropes (A6.16:5 n.), one can read this too as a sign that he is being respectful to Nakhtḥor. But Aršāma is definitely not being respectful to Armapiya. But, of course, Aršāma and Artaxaya are addressors of very different status, and the rules may be different.

line 1(2) ארמפי, *rmpy*, 'Armapiya'. Armapiya is not Iranian (*pace* Eilers 1954–6: 327, still followed by Fried 2013: 324) or Egyptian, but bears an Anatolian name meaning 'given by the moon', already attested in Hittite sources (Laroche 1966: 39 no. 135).¹⁵¹ Grelot 1972: 460 specifically calls him a Cilician, presumably on the grounds that Goetze identified the name as Luwian and therefore potentially Cilician. But the proof that 'beginning with the sixth century, Cilician names are consistently Luwian' (Goetze 1962: 54) is not *in se* the proof that Luwian names are consistently Cilician; and this particular name (mostly written with an initial E-) is attested in Lycia (abundantly: thirty-four

actually mobilized as soldiers or soldiers paid for by income from *gardu*-held fief-land. It is interesting that it is adjacent to the reference to them that Guzanu threateningly invokes the authority of King Darius (cf. A6.16:2(2) n.): is this because the *gardu* are part of the royal environment, though also a matter of concern to the *šākin tēmi*? In Joannès 1990 *gardu* is translated 'les corvéables', which seems rather surprising.

¹⁵⁰ Fried 2013: 323, Tuplin 2014: 672. On this theme see also A6.11:7 n., A6.15:1(2) n.

¹⁵¹ A name of similar formation appears in the Xanthos Trilingual (Natrbbijēmi = Apollodotus).

individuals),¹⁵² Caria,¹⁵³ Pamphylia,¹⁵⁴ and Athens¹⁵⁵ as well as Cilicia.¹⁵⁶ The presence in other letters of (lower-status) people specifically identified as Cilicians should not over-influence us. Given the history of Carian mercenaries in Egypt, one might be tempted to stress the (early) Carian attestations of Ermapiya and give him that background.¹⁵⁷ But, statistically speaking, our Armapiya is most likely to be Lycian.¹⁵⁸ In any event, a man with such a name does not have to be a recent arrival in Egypt (any more than one with a Carian or Greek name need be); he might be the latest member of a long-established family of Egyptian residents. Consider, merely *exempli gratia*, one Pirapia (a name of similar formation to Armapiya's) on record in a bilingual Egyptian–Greek inscription of 600–550 putting himself under the protection of Amon and Mut (Lacaze, Masson, and Yoyotte 1984: 131–7)—especially as he seems to have an Egyptian mother.

line 1(3) שִׁלַּח, *šlh*, 'sent (word)'. For this (common) ellipse cf. e.g. TADAE A3.1: *recto* 2, *verso* 6, A3.8:10, A4.3:9, A6.3:5, A6.6:2, A6.10:5, A6.11:1, A6.15:1, 8, ADAB A1:5, A2:1, 4, A4:1, 4, A6:1, 5, B1:7, B3:5, 6, B5:7, B10:2, ATNS 26:12², ATNS 27:5³, CG 135², CG 195², Ezra 4.14, 6.13. The same is, of course, possible in Greek (LSJ s.v. πέμπω I 3–4) and Latin (L&S s.v. *mitto* IIA)—and indeed in other languages: 'never send to know for whom the bell tolls...'

line 1(4) חֵילָא, *hyl*, '(armed) force': cf. A6.7:6(4) n. Since Armapiya is (apparently) Lycian and certainly not Persian (above) and Psamšek considers (evidently rightly, given Aršāma's response) that, as *pqyd*, he is entitled to expect Armapiya's compliance in an estate matter, one should not perhaps take it without comment that the *hyl* consists of soldiers. It is true that in the *Tale of Ḥor bar Punesh* and the *Words of Aḥiqar* the word can mean strength (C1.2:4)¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² SEG 45.1809; SEG 48.1715; SEG 49.1924–5 (one individual); SEG 55.1491; SEG 56.1722, 1730 (two individuals), 1733 (= Schweyer 2002: 53: two individuals), 1735, 1739, 1751, 1752, 1771 (two individuals); SEG 57.1688; SEG 57.1689; Schweyer 2002: 49; LBW 1302 = CIG 4303 Add. h⁴: a4, 7, b6–7; Gardner 1885: 357 (121); TAM 1.139 (SEG 45.1788), 156, 176a, 515, 523, 530, 765 (three individuals); TAM 2.25; TAM 2.30; Petersen and von Luschan 1889: 108a (= CIG 4303 Add. e:2), 179; Masson 1990: 1.29; Zgusta 1964: 92 (a female form). Note also *Armpa* in TAM 1.68: Zgusta 1964: §97–17 n.365 seems dubious about the form, Melchert 1993 s.v. makes no demur, and neither broaches the relationship to Armapiya. The abundant attestation of the name in (almost always southern) Lycia is part of a larger phenomenon associating Arma-derived names with Lycia: Balzat 2012, esp. 258–66.

¹⁵³ SIG³ 46a39 (new text: Blümel 1993), I.Mylasa 12 (SEG 40.992), I.Mylasa 882. Hermapilos (I.Labraunda 69.25) might also be related.

¹⁵⁴ SEG 17.571.

¹⁵⁵ IG ii² 7316.

¹⁵⁶ Zgusta 1964: 92; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896: 165; Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 70 (no. 70). (There may be some overlap of family or individual between the last two items.)

¹⁵⁷ According to the list in Houwink ten Cate 1961: 132–4, Ermapis is the only Arma- formed name found in Caria. The frequency of Armapiya's attestation in Greek form contrasts with the lack of immediately apparent surviving Greek analogues to the Cilician names in A6.7.

¹⁵⁸ Kitchen 1965 found another possible Lycian in Kenzasirma/Kendasirma (A6.11–14): A6.11:1(1) n.

¹⁵⁹ Thus Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v. *hyl*, and recognized as one option in Porten 2004: 459.

or wealth (C1.1 *recto* 137),¹⁶⁰ that the *hyl'* of Assyria in C1.1 *recto* 55, 61 might be something other than its army, and in some Biblical contexts, whether Aramaic (Dan. 4.32) or Hebrew (1 Sam. 10.26, 1 Kings 10.2 = 2 Chron. 9.1), it may designate a non-military (or not wholly military) host. On the other hand *hyl'* is used repeatedly in the Aramaic version of DB to describe people fighting in battles. The *hyl'* of which we hear in Elephantine documents must be the one of which the Iranians entitled *rb hyl'* were in charge and, for all that they are regularly encountered in judicial functions, there can be no reasonable doubt the *hyl'* involved has a military character: it is surely service as soldiers that entitled the Syenian *hyl'* to receive food rations (C3.14). The fact that a list of donations for the god YHW in C3.15 describes the donors as the Judaeian *hyl'* or that Ḥananyah writes to the Judaeian *hyl'* about Unleavened Bread and Passover observance (A4.1:1) does not demilitarize the word. It simply parallels the way that individual Judaeans (even occasionally Judaeian women: B5.5:2) self-identify in contracts as belonging to a specific *degel* (an unimpeachably military term). *Mutatis mutandis* the same goes for the linkage between *hyl'* and agricultural land (cf. A6.13:3(2) n.)—another epiphenomenon of military organization, not a sign that the word *hyl'* is sufficiently devoid of intrinsic military reference to enable its use of entirely non-military groups. Similarly, although explicit soldiers are elusive in the Elamite texts of the Persepolis Fortification archive,¹⁶¹ it would beg questions to react to the presence of *hyl'* in its Aramaic texts (PFAT 051, 054, 186, 200) by seeking to generalize the word's semantic range to take in e.g. groups of workers (which, of course, abound in the archive), especially as (i) *rb hyl'* (PFAT 206, 210) and *degel* (PFAT 014) also occur and (ii) the Persepolis Aramaic texts already have perfectly good terms for workers (*gbr*, *grd'*).¹⁶² In short: we have no good reason to doubt that Armapiya was a commander of soldiers—though how many and of what recruitment-category we cannot tell. (See below, line 1(5) n.)

Building on his military association, some have wanted to see Armapiya as (also) some sort of local governor: so Fried 2013: 324, making him analogous

¹⁶⁰ Both have analogues in Biblical Hebrew (BDB 298–9).

¹⁶¹ For some probable implicit ones cf. A6.7:7(2) n. on Ukama. Nor are the fortresses associated with Ukama the only ones in the archive, and the existence of such places in general entails soldiers of *some* sort. Some of the archive's other *taššup* ('personnel': a word also linked with Ukama—and used in military contexts in the Elamite version of DB) could be military, even if the term does often have other references (Tuplin 2008: 369–71). It is a more intrinsically neutral word than *hyl'*.

¹⁶² Aimé-Giron 1921: 59 and 1931: 57–62 sought to problematize the word's purely military character, suggesting that, like Akkadian *šabe* (or indeed OP *kāra*), it might designate any (organized?) collection of people, and proposing that in Elephantine it should be translated 'colony' or even 'quarter'. Oddly he cited in support of this Herodotus' references to a *stratopedon Tyriōn* in Memphis (Hdt. 2.112) and the *stratopeda* in the Eastern Delta (Hdt. 2.154). These places, like Elephantine, doubtless involved a community, not just a group of adult male soldiers. But the Greek designation represents a contemporary perception that we have no reason to jettison—and Greeks were not in the habit of using *stratopedon* of non-military entities.

to Bagavanta in Bactria. To sustain that one would have to hold both that Psamšek defined him solely in relation to the *hyl* because deployment of military force was all that was relevant and that Aršāma simply followed suit in formulating his ensuing letter to Armapiya. *Perhaps* this is possible, but it is not greatly appealing.

A *hyl* also appears in A6.7 taking refuge in a fortress. Is it a reasonable application of Occam's Razor or just begging the question to suggest that this is the same *hyl* as that commanded by Armapiya? Can we assume that the Bodleian letters have a fairly narrow geographical horizon? Aršāma had estates in Upper and Lower Egypt, but are *these* letters only concerned with one part of the country—and indeed with one part of that part, the series of *pqydyn* involved actually being responsible for a relatively limited area? Porten 1968: 54–5 seemed to think differently—taking Nakhtḥor as *pqyd* for [all of] Lower Egypt, the 'Mazdaean' (actually, Mazdayazna) of A4.2 as *pqyd* for [all of] 'the province of Ne, Upper Egypt' (which I understand as identifying Ne and Upper Egypt) and Psamšek as having 'jurisdiction over estates in both Upper and Lower Egypt'—but A6.11 explicitly has a plurality of *pqydyn* in Lower Egypt, so it is not easy to sustain Porten's view. (On the geographical labelling of Egyptian *pqydyn* cf. A6.4:2(1) n.) But even on the alternative view we might still be dealing with a region large enough to embrace more than one military force. The fact that A6.7 is not linked with any specific *pqyd* does not make the problem any easier. On *pqydyn* in general cf. A6.4:2(1) n.

line 1(5) לִידָה זִי לִידָה אֶרְמַפִּי עִם חֵילָא זִי לִידָה, *'rmpy 'm hyl' zy lydh*, 'Armapiya with the (armed) force which is at his control'. We thus have a non-Iranian and non-Egyptian in some position of command in the military establishment within Egypt. Known analogies for such a situation—to be distinguished from that of the non-Iranian commanders of (i) non-Iranian contingents in royal or other field-armies operating across satrapal boundaries and (ii) non-Iranian forces operating in their own ethnic area (e.g. the Bithynians of Xen. *An.* 6.5.30)—are not that numerous. They include:

- Onomastically Babylonian *degel*-commanders at Elephantine.¹⁶³
- Trkmn' or Trkminh, the Pisidian *rbh* (D22.25, 27)—assuming he was either based in Abydos or visiting from elsewhere in Egypt *and* that *rbh* reliably connotes a *military* leader.
- Leonymus in Carian Caunus: *Hell. Oxy.* 23 (Chambers).

¹⁶³ Iddinnabu: B 2.6, B2.9, B3.6, B3.8, B6.1, B7.1; Nabukudurri: B3.12, B3.13, B4.5, B4.6, B7.2. Perhaps also Nabušežib at Saqqara (B8.4:13). We encounter an Akkadian-named judge in a supralinear addition in A5.2:6. We know of a Mannuki son of Bagaina (B3.2), albeit at least seventeen years earlier, so it is possible that he is an Iranian with a Babylonian name, and that the same is true of some or all of the other individuals in positions where our default expectation is to find Iranians. (B2.1:18 mentions a Bagadāta, son of Nabukudurri, who could theoretically be the *degel*-eponym's son.)

- Commanders of Carian and Greek troops in Phrygian Celaenae in Arr. *Anab.* 1.29.
- Betis in Gaza—if he is an Arab and if we do not regard Gaza as part-Arab (Plut. *Alex.* 25, Arr. *Anab.* 2.26–7, Curt. 4.6.7–31).
- The commander of the ‘Assyrian’ hoplites from Comania in the Caicus Valley (Xen. *An.* 7.8.15).
- Sectional commanders of Mardian, Chaldaean, Chalybian, and Taochian groups in Armenia (Xen. *An.* 4.2.4, 4.4.18), some or all encountered outside their native area.

It is a nice question whether Greeks encountered in Greek communities other than their own count, i.e. people such as Alexander the phrourarch in Polyaeus 6.10, Hippias in Thuc. 3.34, Lycomedes in Mytilene in Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.5, Cyprothemis in Samos (Harpoc., Phot., Suda s.v.), or Xenias and others in command of garrisons in ‘the cities’ (Xen. *An.* 1.1.6, 1.2.3, etc.).

The message of all such cases (when we can tell at all) is that the troops Armapiya commands are unlikely to include Iranians.

line 2(1) **בַּצְבוֹת מְרָאִי**, *bšbwt mr’y*, ‘in the affair of my lord’. In his reply (see next note) Aršāma rephrases this as ‘affair of my estate’ (*šbwt byt*).¹⁶⁴ So whatever it was, it is not primarily (presented as) a matter of official or satrapal concern. Perhaps this is why Armapiya has been initially resistant to doing what Psamšek tells him—though it may beg the question to assume either that the distinction matters much where a satrap is concerned or that Armapiya’s non-co-operation was reasonable in the first place. In the light of A6.10 one might postulate that Armapiya was being asked to help Psamšek precisely to assist in estate enhancement. The idea of soldiers being asked to do other than purely military things momentarily evokes the Bactrian letters, where ADAB A4 seems to speak of soldiers being allowed to go home to gather crops before a swarm of locusts arrive, while A2 perhaps speaks of soldiers protecting markets (and building walls). But these may only be rather inexact parallels for the present document (see Tuplin 2014: 672–3). Similarly, although students of Babylonian material may feel that the boundaries between military and labour service can seem rather porous, that also is not certainly relevant here. However, the *gardu*-soldiers of CT 22.74 (see above, p. 131) must be kept in mind. A different sort of analogy for the interplay between estate and state officials may be provided by ADAB A6, in which it emerges that the local governor Bagavanta has been told (but has failed) to do some tasks (house-roofing, delivery of grain) that appear to relate to the satrap Axvamazdā’s estate: at any rate, Bagavanta’s penalty, if he continues to fail to act, involves paying ‘the whole

¹⁶⁴ This rephrasing also guarantees that *šbwt*, originally ‘wish’, has already acquired the sense ‘affair’ (cf. Dan. 6.18), a development also seen in Akkadian *šibūtu*.

amount from your *byt'* to my *byt'*'' (ADAB A6.10). Psamšek could not control his father's slaves (A6.3) and now cannot keep Armapiya in line. Perhaps he sometimes had a problem exerting his authority—though evidently not always, on the showing of his success during the rebellion of A6.10. (But crises can be easier to deal with than ordinary business.)

line 2(2) צבֹות ביתא זילי, *šbwt byt' zyly*, 'the affair of my estate.' Lindenberger's translation has Psamšek speak of 'my lord's affairs' and Aršāma tell Armapiya to obey orders 'in *any* matter concerning my household' (my italics), thus generalizing Aršāma's instruction and (perhaps) the nature of Psamšek's complaint. Porten–Yardeni, by contrast, leave one to assume that a single specific issue is all that is at stake in this particular letter and therefore that Aršāma is not issuing a blanket instruction. (Grelot took the same view, as did Driver (probably) and Kottsieper.) It is interesting that Aršāma refers to something that Psamšek is going to tell Armapiya in the future (*ymr*); he does not just say 'obey Psamšek in the matter he has (already) told you about', which might tell in Lindenberger's favour. I am less sure whether the letter's failure to provide details of any specific issue (and the fact that the external summary is couched in such general terms that Armapiya is not even mentioned) prove that Psamšek is making a generic complaint and receiving general authority to order Armapiya about. But it has to be admitted that none of the other letters in the dossier is so vague about its subject matter,¹⁶⁵ and I wonder if we can reasonably assume that in the present case Aršāma, Psamšek, and Armapiya are all so clear about what is involved (either because it is at the front of their minds or because they can recover information easily from filed documents) that it does not need to be spelled out and/or that the topic was of such exceptional confidentiality that it could not be articulated (cf. Depauw 2006: 82–3, Eyre 2013: 96).

line 3(1) בן יד[י]ע' יהוה לך, *kn yd[y]' yhw h lk*, 'thus let it be known to you.' The turn of phrase recurs in A6.10:8, ADAB A6:8 (in both cases again as the preliminary to a threat), ADAB B3.4, Dan. 3.18 and Ezra 4.12, 13, 5.8, and perhaps 7.24 (Makujina 2001: 179), as well as further afield (see Whitehead ad loc., Folmer 1995: 391–3, and Makujina 2001). Although the phrase is functionally (and etymologically) identical to Babylonian *lū tīde/lū idū* etc. (Jursa iii 118 n. 22), Benveniste 1954: 305 suggested, without further comment, that this reproduces a putative OP turn of phrase **avaθātaiy azdā biyā* (presumably modelled on DNα §4: *adataiy azdā bavāti*), and is followed in this by Tavernier iii 85 and others. The Bactrian parallel underlines the feeling that we are dealing with a cliché of Persian bureaucratic style, and perhaps slightly improves the chances that it has a Persian linguistic background. (Tavernier 2017b: 360 detects a Demotic reflection in 'let them know it' in Smith and Martin 2009:

¹⁶⁵ It is in fact unique among Egyptian Aramaic letters more generally: even private letters that are highly allusive (as well as multi-topic) are allusive about something identifiable.

no.2 front x+3. See below, p. 291.) The fact that another admonitory cliché, *'nrwy 'lt'bdw* ('do not act in contrary manner'), encountered three times in the Bactrian letters (A5.2–3, A6.5, B7.3), contains what seems to be an Iranian loanword (*'nrwy* = **anya-ravi(a)*: Naveh and Shaked 2012: 105) may be noted here. Makujina remarks that what he rather charmingly calls the 'sense of sobriety and reverential warning' associated with use of the phrase is absent in the case of comparable Hebrew syntagms, suggesting that its Aramaic instantiation may be a special adaptation. Note that its appearance in ADAB B3:4 means that it is no longer confined in Official Aramaic to a writer of known satrapal status: compare A6.4:1, 3(2) n. on the *passivum maiestatis*.

line 3(2) אחר, *'hr*, 'afterwards'. See A6.7:6, 7 n.

line 3(3) קבלת, *qblt*, 'complaint'. The final *-t* of *qblt* is an archaic feminine sing. abs.: contrast *qblh* in A6.15:5, 11. *'grt* ('a letter': A6.13:2, A6.15:1) and *šrrt* ('strength': in the greetings formula in A6.3–7, A6.16) are other examples in the Bodleian letters. (The form also appears in the Hermopolis letters and in ATNS 55a:1.) See Muraoka and Porten 2003: 65, who reject the alternative explanation (endorsed by Whitehead 1974: 204, Folmer 1995: 257) that *qblt* is in the construct state preceding a preposition, as happens in Biblical Hebrew, and Gzella 2015: 148, for whom it is a diagnostic deviation from Official Aramaic. One might wonder whether its appearance in the Bodleian letters is affected by special circumstances: *'grt* is a loanword (whose original *igirtu* has a *-t-*) and *šrrt* is part of a formulaic cliché. If so, the suggestion (next n.) that *qblt* is effectively part of a cliché may be relevant as well: if we had a larger corpus of relevant material, the use of *qblh* in A6.15:5, 11 might turn out to be exceptional.

line 3(4) קבלת מנך ישלח עלי, *qblt mnk yšlh 'ly*, 'send me a complaint about you'. A6.15:5, 11 ('he has sent a complaint against you', 'so that Miçapāta shall not again send a complaint against you') are very similar. Elsewhere both Psamšek (A6.3:1) and Vāravahyā (A6.14:1) complain (*qbl*) about (respectively) runaway slaves and the *pqyd* Aḥatubaste. Porten 2011: 161 n. 14 (with a full list of attestations of the word) takes the view that, in the administrative/legal world of the Elephantine documents, making a complaint is a different thing from instituting a suit or process, and he thus at least implicitly ascribes to 'complaint' a distinct technical status. Is there an element of this in the language of the Bodleian letters—and indeed ADAB 1, where complaints are repeatedly made about Bagavanta? The fact that what Vāravahyā (A6.14:1) calls a complaint (*qbl*) is framed by Aršāma merely as something that Vāravahyā has said (*'mr*) to him (A6.13:1) might tell against, though hardly decisively. On the other hand, A6.8 arguably distinguishes between what Psamšek has done so far ('sent to Aršāma' about Armapiya's lack of co-operation) and might do in the future ('send complaint about you', *qblt šlh mnk*), marking the latter as more serious

and perhaps more formal;¹⁶⁶ and the apparent feebleness of A6.15:10–11 (Nakhtḥor is to restore goods to the *grd* of Virafša's wife 'so that Miçapāta will not send complaint again against you') when compared with 7–8, where Virafša tells Nakhtḥor to restore property to Miçapāta so it can be added to Virafša's estate 'lest, when you come here, you will pay damages for what you took and be called to account (*tšt'l*) about this' (not to mention the fact that this latter threat is the response to a complaint Miçapāta has already sent) might be mitigated if 'send a complaint' is understood to bear special weight as a technically specific act (albeit not one happening in a formal judicial context). The fact that we are here in a nexus of clichés (see below line 3(6) n.) may also favour this viewpoint. We should not, of course, forget that the nature of the Bodleian collection and the archives from Elephantine may privilege association of *qbl* and denunciation to officials of one sort or another. Still, the only apparent exceptions to such an association across *all* Egyptian Aramaic documents are CG 13 (too damaged and opaque to be judged) and A2.2:10, and in the latter text, although the complaint appears to be about a purely private matter, it is not necessarily being made privately (i.e. to other family members or friends): indeed, one could argue that the failure to say to whom complaint is made arises precisely *because* it is taken as given that there are appropriate external authorities to complain to.

line 3(5) מנך, *mnk*, 'about you'. On constructions with *qbl* see A6.13:1(2) n.

line 3(6) תשתאל, *tšt'l*, 'you will be questioned'. cf. A6.10:9 (next to the threat of a *gst ptgm*), A6.15:8 (next to a warning to avoid being the object of complaint), ADAB A1:3 (alongside the statement that as a consequence of interrogation a *ptgm* was sent to Bagavanta), and 10 (in Axvamazdā's eventual response to the litany of complaint about Bagavanta). These four letters are playing the changes on interconnecting clichés. Naveh and Shaked (2012: 51, 72), after Benveniste 1954: 304–5 and Driver 1965: 50, suggest that this use of *š'l* is a calque of an OP expression using the verb *fras-* 'which is often associated with judicial enquiry which ends in punishment' (with the result that MP *padefrac* actually = 'punishment'). The phenomenon is exemplified in *ufrastam aprsam* (DB §8), *ufrāštam aprsam* (DB §63), *ufrāštam prsā* (DB §55), and *ufrāštādīš prsā* (DB §64), all of which literally have the sense of 'questioning a good questioning', but must in context signify actual punishment—i.e. damaging action, not just penetrating interrogation—even if there is an ideological point in stressing the

¹⁶⁶ One may compare and contrast A6.10: Aršāma has previously 'sent' to Nakhtḥor (as Psamšek did to Aršāma) telling him to ensure the estate suffers no diminution and indeed acquires extra workers. Hearing that Nakhtḥor is being lax, Aršāma now threatens him with being called to account and receiving a 'harsh word', the same consequences held out before Armapiya. The difference in A6.10 is that Aršāma does not explicitly envisage the complaint (from a third party) that would trigger those unpleasant consequences—let alone picture *himself* as making a complaint.

prior investigative process (Stolper 2017: 747). The same goes for *pr̥sāmi* and *fraṭiyaiš* in DNb §4. How one reacts to Driver's suggestion is tied up with one's interpretation of *gst ptgm* (see below lines 3–4 n.). One may in any case reflect on the fact that the Elamite equivalent for 'questioning a good questioning' (*mil hapi-*)—terminology that is also normal in the less rhetorical environment of the PFA—literally means 'press the oil' or 'press the juice/blood' (cf. Henkelman 2017a: 159 n. 170). There is a danger of overstating the implications of what may be an Elamite cliché; but the metaphor would have to be *very* dead for there to be no implications at all.

line 3(7) 𐎧𐎢𐎠, *hsn*, 'forcefully'. The word recurs (written *hsyn*) in the same context in A6.10:9; it is also used (again written *hsyn*) of guarding property (A6.10:2, 4, 6) or gates (ATNS 26:7) and carrying out an instruction (ADAB A5:2). There is an element of official cliché here (see next note).

lines 3–4 𐎧𐎢𐎠 𐎧𐎢𐎠, *gst ptgm*, 'severe sentence'. Armapiya is told that, in the event of further complaints about his behaviour, 'you will be strongly questioned and a *gasta* **patigāma* will be done to you'. The same happens to Nakhṭhor in A6.10:9. *Gasta* and **patigāma* are certainly Iranian words but questions have been raised about their precise significance. There are two (in principle separate) issues: (a) how we should translate *gst ptgm* and (b) what the phrase signifies.

Gasta is directly attested in OP and can properly be translated 'evil'. Like the English word 'evil', it can apparently be used both as a noun and as an adjective.¹⁶⁷ It figures in various royal inscriptions in reference to the evil from which the king wishes to be protected or the evil that the reader should *not* think the command of Auramazdā to be.¹⁶⁸ This is ideologically high-level stuff, but it is not certain that the choice of *gasta* (or of the words used in the parallel Akkadian and Elamite versions)¹⁶⁹ is the choice of authors looking for vocabulary with an exceptionally strong colour.¹⁷⁰

Unlike *gasta*, **patigāma* is not directly attested in OP, but is reconstructed from its reflections in Elamite, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Armenian as well as from

¹⁶⁷ See DNa §5 (noun) and §6 (adjective).

¹⁶⁸ DNa §5 and §6, XPh §7, A²Sa §3 and A²Ha §2.

¹⁶⁹ In almost all cases the Babylonian equivalent is *bīšu* and the Elamite *mušnuḱ* or *mišnuḱ*, though in DNa §6 the Babylonian version renders the original more loosely: 'let the command of Auramazdā not seem *gasta*' becomes 'let what Auramazdā commands not cause you annoyance', using the verb *marāšu*, a very general word for causing concern, annoyance, trouble, illness, or the like. (Oddly enough the examples cited in CAD include YOS 3.63, a Neo-Babylonian document in which someone complains that his representatives are not doing what they should be. He tells them to give some cattle to Eanna, threatening that otherwise 'there will be trouble for you' (*janû ina muḥḥikunu imarruṣ*)—very similar to the DNa phrase but also oddly evocative of Aršāma threatening Armapiya and Nakhṭhor with a *gasta* **patigāma*.) None of these translations suggests that in itself *gasta* had a *very* special set of overtones.

¹⁷⁰ Still, Lincoln 2012: 249–50 detects a link between Akkadian *bīšu*, which *inter alia* means 'malodorous', and the derivation of *gasta* from Iranian **gand-* or *gant-* = 'to stink', the overtone being the stench of demonic activity.

later forms of Iranian. In texts from or directly related to the Achaemenid era it characteristically designates something that is said or sent as a ‘report’, ‘message’, ‘answer’, or ‘order’.¹⁷¹ The suggestion that in Daniel 3.16 and 4.14 it means ‘affair’ or ‘matter’ does not in itself seem specially cogent¹⁷² and the claim could not in any case stand against the unanimous impression of the many other texts that are much more directly relevant to the Bodleian letters.

In the light of all of this it seems natural to understand *gst ptgm* as referring to some sort of bad verbal communication, and this is reflected in the translations of *gst ptgm yt’bd lk* (literally ‘*gst ptgm* will be done to you’) as ‘thou wilt be... reprimanded’ (Driver) or ‘a harsh word will be directed at you’ (Porten–Yardeni). But other translations have, nonetheless, been proposed.

One approach is to change the relationship between *gst* and *ptgm*. This is exemplified by Whitehead’s translation, ‘sentence will be passed on you for your crime’, in which *gst* is treated as a noun, not an adjective.¹⁷³ The argument for this¹⁷⁴ is based on a parallel with Ecclesiastes 8.11. That text reads *ašer ên-na’sāh pitgām ma’asēh hārā’āh mähērāh*, which is literally something like ‘because not is-done a *pitgam* of the deed-of-evil quickly’ and is normally understood to mean ‘because sentence against an evil deed is not given/carried out quickly’.¹⁷⁵ The suggestion seems to be that *pitgām ma’asēh hārā’āh* is actually a reflection of *gst ptgm*¹⁷⁶ and therefore dictates how the latter phrase ought to be translated. Ecclesiastes certainly reached its current form late enough for this to be possible, but I cannot help feeling that, since *gasta *patigāma* is an

¹⁷¹ Tavernier 2007: 410. Elamite: *battikama(š)*, appears in many PFA texts in the local version of the letter-subscripts discussed below, pp. 269–83. In that context its effective Aramaic equivalent is *ṭ’m*, another word for ‘order’. Egyptian Aramaic: B8.8, D1.28, D1.32, D7.39. All these texts are very fragmentary, but at least three have an allure of officialdom: interrogation and a possible Persian name in B8.8; imprisonment in D1.32; a reference to Farnadāta—presumably the early fifth-century satrap of that name (P.Berl.Dem.13539, 13540, NN 1271, NN 2472, perhaps CG 93, 147)—in D7.39. The presence of both *ptgm* and interrogation (the same verb, *š/l*, found in the first part of the sentence in which *gst ptgm* appears in the Bodleian letters) in B8.8 is notable. Bactrian Aramaic: ADAB A1:4, describing something issued as a consequence of satrapal interrogation (*š/l* again). Biblical Aramaic: Ezra 4.17, 5.7, 11, 6.11. (In 6.11 it is contextually synonymous with *ṭ’m*. In 4.17, 5.7, 6.11 the reference is to reports or orders by a king or a satrap, whereas in 5.11 it describes the response of the Judeans to satrapal questions about the authorization for temple reconstruction, though whether that means it has to be translated ‘answer’ is perhaps debatable.) In post-Achaemenid Aramaic and in Syriac *ptgm* becomes a standard and fully naturalized word.

¹⁷² For Dan. 4.14 see below. In Dan. 3.16 cannot the text (*l’ ḥšhyn ’nhnh l dnh ptgm lhtbwtk*) mean ‘we do not need to respond to this command’ or (more plausibly?) ‘...return a *ptgm* to this’ (cf. Ezra 5.11)—in both cases preserving the association of *ptgm* with verbal communication? An apparently similar view, that *gst ptgm* means ‘bad thing’, is cited by Greenfield 1982: 9 from Kutscher 1944/45 (*non vidi*).

¹⁷³ A similar view is taken by Herrenschildt 1990: 203.

¹⁷⁴ Derived from Rabinowitz 1960. (Greenfield 1982 also discussed Eccles. 8.11 in this context: see below.) Rabinowitz also claimed that *ḥsn tšt’l* means ‘accused of violence’, rather than ‘strictly questioned’.

¹⁷⁵ The Masoretic pointing would give ‘because sentence is not carried out, the work of evil is quick’, but it is widely agreed that this must be emended. See e.g. Seow 1997: 286–7.

¹⁷⁶ Rabinowitz 1960: 74 spoke of the author of Ecclesiastes using a legal cliché.

Iranian phrase (and one used by an Iranian speaker, viz. Aršāma, albeit transmitted through an Aramaic environment) and since *gasta* can certainly be an adjective, we are entitled to wonder whether we need the Hebrew Bible to explain it to us—or at least whether it does so reliably.

A different approach is found in Greenfield 1982, whose view is that *gst ptgm* should be translated ‘punishment’.¹⁷⁷ The argument runs as follows.¹⁷⁸ (a) The sentence in A6.8 and A6.10 containing the phrase *gst ptgm* (‘you will be strictly questioned and a *gasta *patigāma* will be done to you’) must signify more than reprimand because the letters in question are already reprimands;¹⁷⁹ and even Driver acknowledged that, in ‘you will pay for what you took and will be questioned’ (A6.15), ‘you will be questioned’ might really mean ‘you will be punished’ (though he translated it ‘called to account’). It follows that *both* parts of the sentence in A6.8 and A6.10 mean ‘you will be severely punished’. (b) Ecclesiastes 8.11 indirectly demonstrates that *gst ptgm ‘bd* means to ‘execute punishment’. (c) Daniel 4.14 seems to mean (fairly literally) ‘by decree (*gzrt*) of the watchers (was) the **patigāma* and (by?) the word (*m’mr*) of the wise (was) the *š’lt’*’. Since the reference of this sentence is to the preceding dream-vision description of Nebuchadnezzar’s punishment, both *ptgm* and *š’lt’* must mean ‘penalty’ or ‘punishment’; and, since the co-appearance of *ptgm* and the root *šlt* recalls A6.8 and A6.10, the passage confirms that those texts must work in the same way.

But this argument is not decisively cogent. (a) In 6.8 and A6.10 Aršāma is indeed criticizing Armapiya and Nakhtḥor, but he is also offering them another chance to get things right. There is nothing about the logic of the situation that precludes that the phrase means ‘you will be questioned and a *gasta *patigāma* will be done to you’—two separate elements of a future eventuality—or that the second of those elements consists of some sort of more formal critical statement. Similarly the crucial sentence in A6.15 says what will happen in the future if Nakhtḥor does not do what Virafša is now telling him to do; and what will happen is that he *will* return the wine and grain that is in contention (i.e. Virafša’s current instruction *will* eventually be enforced) *and* that he will undergo something further. That something might be punishment—or it might

¹⁷⁷ Compare Grelot: ‘une sanction te sera appliquée’. Lindenberger’s ‘you will be severely disciplined’ seems to be in this tradition, though the presence of ‘severely’ suggests that for him *ptgm* by itself means ‘punishment’, which may indeed (cf. next n.) be what Greenfield means (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 73 take that to be his view of Ecclesiastes 8.11). Bar-Asher Siegal 2011: 217, who regards *gst* as an adverb (‘harshly’)—a feminine adjectival form used as an adverb (for the phenomenon, described slightly differently and *not* applied to *gst* cf. Muraoka and Porten 2003: 93)—is perhaps presuming a translation such as Lindenberger’s. (He does not say, being interested only in the grammatical point.)

¹⁷⁸ To some extent this is an interpretative gloss on Greenfield’s discussion, which is succinct and slightly obscure at some points.

¹⁷⁹ Grelot 1972: 305 note *d* makes a similar point and translates *gst ptgm* as ‘une sanction’, though he continues to think that the first part of the sentence means something different (‘tu en rendras compte’).

be further interrogation or accounting (with, no doubt, the prospect of punishment). The logic of the situation does not require one rather than the other, and the lexical meaning of *tš't'l* points to the latter.¹⁸⁰ Since *tš't'l* in A6.15 does not have to mean 'punished', the argument that *gst ptgm* must also mean 'punished' (on the grounds that 'punished and reprimanded' would be bathetic) does not work. (b) The claim here is that in Ecclesiastes 8.11 the Hebrew phrase '*asah pitgām* is an abbreviated equivalent of Aramaic phrase *gst ptgm 'bd*. But neither this nor anything else establishes that *ptgm* cannot mean 'sentence' or that we are forced to abandon the association of *ptgm* and verbal utterance.¹⁸¹ (c) In Daniel 4.14 Greenfield himself concedes that *ptgm* might be 'sentence' and there seems no obvious reason why *s'lt'* should not be 'accounting'. The fact the preceding verses give a metaphorical (dream-vision) account of Nebuchadnezzar's punishment does not rule out the possibility that this verse is entirely concerned with the decreeing of that punishment. If there is an element of tautology, it is not one about which Greenfield could complain, since he himself is content to postulate tautology.

If, then, we should stick with the basic translation 'bad report/order' for *gst ptgm*, there is still the (separate) question of what this signifies. Is this a threat to issue a formal reprimand or to issue an order for Armapiya and Nakhṭhor to be punished in some particular fashion (the nature of which would be specified in the *ptgm*)? Granted that *ptgm* connotes verbal utterance, what sort of utterance is it—statement or order?

One thing that has influenced answers to this is the verb *yt'bd*. In both A6.8 and A6.10 the threat is that 'a bad word will be done to you'.¹⁸² 'Done' is rather non-specific, but the fact that it is a doing-word, not a saying-word, might seem to indicate that something more than saying is involved—something in which Nakhṭhor will be the victim of hostile *action* not just of hostile words. But a moment's reflection suggests that this is not necessarily correct. One could just as well hold that '*bd* is a relatively neutral word and takes its content precisely from the saying content of *ptgm*.¹⁸³ To treat *yt'bd* as settling the issue between 'reprimand' and 'order-for-punishment' (*alias* 'sentence') is to beg the question.

¹⁸⁰ For the word (here in the form *s'ylt*) in a slightly different procedural context (and one that is more plainly formally legal) cf. B7.2: 6. Here too it means 'question' or 'call to account', though Rabinowitz 1958 gave it the more specific sense 'accuse'.

¹⁸¹ Note that Greenfield's point about Ecclesiastes 8.11 is different from Whitehead's. Whitehead is concerned with the relationship between *pitgām* and *maāsēh hārāāh* and does not doubt that *pitgām* means 'sentence' (i.e. is a species of verbal utterance), whereas Greenfield is wanting *pitgām* to become 'punishment'. But usage of the verb '*asah* (do, make) does not seem to require this.

¹⁸² In Bar-Asher Siegal's view (2011: 217), of course, we have 'an order [punishment?] will be done to you harshly'.

¹⁸³ That would be implicit in treating use of '*bd* here as an Iranism in its own right: cf. A6.3:6, 8(2) n.

In A6.8 and A6.10 *gst ptgm* occurs together with a threat of interrogation or being called to account (*tš'tl*). That conjunction may have occurred in the now fragmentary B8.8; the document certainly contained references to interrogation and used the word *ptgm*, but the inclusion of both ideas in a single sentence (so that someone is questioned and a *ptgm* is then uttered) is the result of editorial restoration. A more effective parallel occurs in one of the Bactrian letters (ADAB A1:4), where the result of questioning seems to be the uttering of a *ptgm*. But it is not a *gst ptgm* and its precise content is not clear. The word *ptgm* is used because it is an appropriate word for any authoritative utterance by a satrap. That is true in Aršāma's case as well, but it does not get us any further. One might be inclined in the light of evidence from Saqqara and Bactria to say that there is a formulaic (or cliché) quality to the conjunction of *s'l* and *ptgm*.¹⁸⁴ But that only underlines the extent to which the force of the cliché in this particular case depends on the precise import of adding *gst* to *ptgm*.

Because *gst ptgm* (unlike *tš'tl*) is linguistically Iranian it is tempting to take the observation about formulaic quality a step further and identify *gst ptgm* as a cliché or technical term in its own right, one whose content is a given for the author and recipient of the letter but not necessarily capable of being inferred by an outside observer. The use of *yt'bd* ('will be done') rather than *yt'mr* ('will be said') could certainly be seen as another sign of this: the more *gst ptgm* is (virtually) a code for something, the easier it is to understand that the operative verb means 'do' or 'execute'.¹⁸⁵ At the same time, although tempting, this approach is not perhaps absolutely necessary. Part of what is at issue here is the nature of the 'rules' that govern importation of Iranian words and phrases into the Aramaic text. Should we start from the presumption that what causes the composer of the Aramaic text to retain Iranian phraseology rather than translating it is normally that it has some technical quality? The answer to this is probably essentially in the affirmative, but that does not preclude occasional exceptions or half-exceptions. Is it possible, for example, that in the present case the *point* about *gst ptgm* is that it is opaque, a turn of phrase that might mean reprimand or might portend something nastier—a choice about which Armapiya and Nakhṭhor would be (precisely) in the dark? The best argument against this is probably that Aršāma uses it twice. But perhaps that only proves that it is a cliché still in the making.

The upshot seems to be, then, that we can translate *gst ptgm* but not be absolutely sure what it signifies. The strongest argument in favour of 'order for punishment' is that the alternative, 'formal reprimand', seems to entail that Armapiya and Nakhṭhor

¹⁸⁴ This also, incidentally, draws one's attention to the distinction between A6.8/10 and A6.15. In the latter case Virafša threatens Nakhṭhor with interrogation but not the utterance of a *ptgm* (bad or otherwise). Is that because he actually has no real authority over Nakhṭhor (who is Aršāma's *pqyd*) and therefore feels inhibited from threatening the determination of the case (in the form of a *ptgm*) that is Aršāma's sole prerogative?

¹⁸⁵ In ADAB A1:4, by contrast, we *do* have the verb *'myr*; but there it is only a *ptgm*, not a *gst ptgm*.

are functionaries with a service-record into which some sort of formal black mark can be entered. It is not impossible that there were parts of the administrative environment in which such a thing can be envisaged. But I am unsure whether Armapiya or Nakhtḥor belongs in one of those parts.¹⁸⁶ In the spirit of the suggestion made at the end of the previous paragraph one could, of course, speculate that, in threatening them with a *gst ptgm*, Aršāma was deliberately mixing categories and thereby leaving both troop-commander and *pqyd* uncertain about what he really meant. I suspect, however, that such speculation may be thought unreasonably imaginative. The safer conclusion is probably that Aršāma was threatening to issue an order for Armapiya (here) and Nakhtḥor (in A6.10) to be punished.¹⁸⁷

line 4(1) ספרא... בנסר, *Bgsrw... spr*, ‘Bagasravā... scribe’. For this formula see A6.9:6, A6.10:10, A6.11:6, A6.12:3, A6.13:5 and, elsewhere in the Aršāma dossier, A6.2:23 and P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 1, 11–12, with a further hint in S.H5–DP 434 *verso* col.2:3. (On these Demotic items see Appendix 3.1.) Subscripts of this sort recur in Farnadāta’s letter to the priests of Khnum (P.Berl.Dem.13540), the letters of Axvamazdā (ADAB A1–4, 5a, 6–7), and many letters (and some other documents) in the PFA. It is broadly clear that they reflect the process by which the wishes of a high-rank figure are formulated in a letter, that this process involves translation (as the letters are not in the native Iranian language of the senders), and that Aramaic plays a role even if the eventual letter is not in that language. See Tavernier 2008, 2017, Tavernier iii 87–96 and below, pp. 269–83. On Bagasravā see A6.12:1(4) n. People performing the function he performs in the present letter normally, like him, have Iranian names. A notable exception in the Aršāma dossier is ‘Anani in A6.2:23 (*bl ṭ’m*), who is, on the face of it, a Judaeen (from a Babylonian background?) active in Aršāma’s chancellery, and perhaps to be identified with the apparently influential ‘Anani of A4.3 (where van der Toorn 2018: 257 actually restores the title *bl ṭ’m* in line 8) and even with the brother of Vištāna mentioned in A4.7:18–19//A4.8:17–18. See also Tuplin iii 39 n. 135. For occasional individuals with non-Iranian names in

¹⁸⁶ In A6.10 the threat encompassed people besides Nakhtḥor (see below), but that is not true in A6.8, so the appropriateness of a black mark on a personal file does have to be assessed in relation to Nakhtḥor.

¹⁸⁷ If *gasta* *patigāma* means ‘an order for punishment’ (and in some measure even if it means a black mark or the like) then it is functionally similar to statements that the punishment of king or satrap or gods or city will be on a person (see Kleber 2008: 68–71, with a list of texts to which add e.g. YOS 6.151, YBC 7414, BM 74463), and formally similar to ‘the word or the *bagani* of the king is upon you’ (on both of these formula-types see A6.16:2(2) n.) or the message (*šipirti*) of Gubaru in YOS 3.111 or—though messenger is not quite the same as message—the messenger of the *Palastvorsteher* who ‘will come and imprison you’ (BIN 1.38). But it is different from ‘I shall tell so-and-so...’ (YOS 3.48, 106, CT 22.150, Millard and Jursa 1997/8: 164 lines 29–30) or the ‘my message will be a witness’ trope (YOS 3.25, 44, 63, 129, CT 22.104, 166), both of which are about what is said by the complainant, not the punisher. On the tropes of threat in Babylonian epistolography see Jursa iii 115–16.

Persepolis texts performing the same function as Bagasravā or ‘Anani see Tavernier iii 93–4.

line 4(2) אַחֲפֵפִי, *’hppy*, ‘Aḥpepi’. This reading (Driver, TADAE) gives the Egyptian name Aḥpepi (interpreted as *3h+ppy*, ‘Pepi is wonderful’: Grelot 1972: 463)—otherwise unknown and rather unexpectedly based on the name of a king of Dynasty VI. But the photograph and the TADAE drawing suggest that the third and fourth letters are not the same, and the alternative reading *’hwp̄y* (incorporated in Porten and Lund 2002: 320) is palaeographically attractive, though the resulting name is described in Porten 2003b: 174 as unexplained. If the current understanding of the subscript formulae is correct (see above line 4(1) n.), this (perhaps) Egyptian-named individual was responsible for producing the Aramaic draft of which A6.8 is the eventual fair copy. Another Egyptian-named writer of Aramaic may be present in P.Berl.Dem.13540, though the situation there is more debatable (see p. 275). Folmer 2017: 430 compares the appearance of an onomastically local individual as a subscript official with that of Daizaka and Hašavaxšu (men with distinctively Bactrian names) in the Axvamazdā letters.

line 5 מן [א]רְשָׁם עַל אַרְמַפִּי, *mn [ʾ]ršm ʿl ʿrmpy*, ‘from Aršāma to Armapiya’. See above line 1(1) n.

lines 7–8 לִי אֲמַר לֹא מִשְׁתַּמְנִי [עַן] לִי, *’mr l’ mštm[ʿn] ly*, ‘[Psamšek] said: “they do not obey me”’. Whitehead came up with a quite different reading, viz. *qbylh šlh ly* ‘[Psamšek] sending me a complaint’. The clearest letters in line 7 are certainly the *l* and *š* that the two readings have in common. Whitehead’s claim that there is not room for two letters between them (as postulated in the Porten–Yardeni reading) is not obviously right (and the photograph seems to show two letters), but that the second of them is a *m* is certainly debatable. Fitting five letters in after the *š* might also (as Whitehead says) be difficult.

TADAE A6.9 (DRIVER 6, GRELOT 67, LINDENBERGER 41)

Travel Authorization

Summary

Aršāma authorizes daily travel rations for Nakht̥or and thirteen others on a trip to Egypt.

Text

The text is generally well-preserved. But two toponyms, the name of one *pqyd*, and the identity of one element in Nakht̥or's daily ration resist interpretation.

The Character and Structure of the Document

This might be called an open letter in the sense it was not folded and sealed in the usual fashion—the reason presumably being that its contents had to be shown to various people in the course of the journey.¹⁸⁸ The concept of an 'open letter' appears in Nehemiah 6.5, where Sanballat sends a servant to Nehemiah with an open letter (*iggeret petuḥah*) written in his own hand, accusing Nehemiah of engaging in rebellion and asking (for the fifth time) for a meeting. In this case the openness is not a product of bureaucracy but a wish to ensure that the threatening content become widely known and/or to express contempt for Nehemiah (as a letter to such a prominent person ought to properly folded, sealed, and bagged). Whatever the merits of those explanations, A6.9's state is the practical consequence of the need for the document to be opened regularly. But there is a slight conundrum. Persepolitan provision-authorizations were sealed (at least, they were referred to as *halmi* = seal, hence sealed document) and one might wonder whether it is odd that Nakht̥or did not have to show something other than a document which (in principle) anyone could have written. Did he carry an imprint of Aršāma's seal separately? Perhaps the Persepolitan phrase 'he carried a seal of Parnakka' should be interpreted more literally? That is the view espoused by Allen 2013: 27, 29–30, fig. 2 (cf. Garrison & Kaptan ii 42), who suggests that Sigill.Aram.VIII, which has a quite unusual arrangement of strings, was the letter-*bullā* that accompanied A6.9 and was perhaps attached to it in a non-standard fashion.

The letter is not, of course, in the binary report-and-instruction mode. Rather there is an element of ring-composition, with

¹⁸⁸ This observation was already made in Whitehead 1974: 14 n. 1, 60, 157 n. 2. Of course, letters *can* be folded, opened, and reclosed (this has happened to one of the Bactrian letters recently), but doing so repeatedly would presumably endanger the document's integrity (Lindsay Allen).

And now, behold, (one) named Nakht^hor, my official, is going to Egypt. You, give him rations from my estate which is in your province, day by day

corresponding to

Give them this ration, each official in turn, according to the route which is from province to province until he reaches Egypt. And if he be in one place more than one day then for those days do not give them extra rations

This may have a bearing on interpretation of ‘until he reaches Egypt’: cf. below, line 5(3) n.

Long-Distance Travel

Whatever one’s view about the nature of the *pqydyn* and the precise relationship of the present document to state provision of foodstuffs to authorized travellers, this letter certainly enters the general dossier of evidence about (long-distance) travel in the empire and its logistical implications. See Almagor iii 147–85, Henkelman ii 193–253. Alongside the evidence provided by the Persepolis archive, archaeology, and Greek texts,¹⁸⁹ one may note the contribution of other Aramaic documentation.

The correct way to interpret the Arad ostraca (Naveh 1981) is not beyond dispute. It is possible that some of the outgoing recorded therein were given to people passing through the region rather than to residents (Naveh 1981: 175–6, Tuplin 1987: 186–7, Briant 2002: 365, 448, Briant 2009: 155) and even that these passers-by were sometimes military in character (there are references to *degel*-members). It must be acknowledged, however, that the probability that allocations were often for more than one day (this is the best explanation of what would otherwise be very high rates by Persepolitan standards) and the infrequency of allocations of flour (the usual commodity for those on the move) are potential counter-indications: we know for sure that commodities were issued at Arad and that the payment orders authorizing the issue (written on ostraca) were retained there, but the bureaucratic setting was such that the documents did not need to explain the purpose of the exercise. (See also n. 246.) The (direct) link between other South Palestinian document-sets

¹⁸⁹ Ps.-Them. *Epist.* 20 is particularly resonant, with its record of a trip by land and river undertaken by Themistocles under the authorization of Artabanus with two horses, two *oiketai*, and thirteen other Persians in charge of *hodos* and *epitēdeia* (and travelling on camels). This item differs in character from the rest of the collection of pseudo-Themistoclean letters, and Lindsay Allen has wondered whether it might conceivably be particularly directly informed by an authentic documentary source, even if not necessarily one about Themistocles. See also Henkelman 2017a: 58.

(Beersheba, Makkedah)¹⁹⁰ or material evidence¹⁹¹ and the sustenance of (official) travellers is on the whole even less clear: but an indirect link is always possible inasmuch as such documents reveal places at which foodstuff commodities were accumulated—and therefore might also have been disbursed or sent elsewhere for disbursement. Henkelman's location of Tel Jemmeh in a Persepolitan perspective is of exemplary importance here.¹⁹²

The Bactrian letters (ADAB), on the other hand, certainly enter the discussion, even if their information is, in various ways, tantalizing.

- C1 is a (long) list of the diverse provisions (*dwš'ḥwr* = **dauša-xwār(a)* = *viaticum*) received by Bys (*Bayaçā-)—i.e. Bessus—at Maithanka during a trip from Bactra to Varnu, including some that seem to be for religious purposes (*inter alia* libations, described with the Aramaic version of a word also used in this context in PFA). The procedural relationship of the document (a simple list of commodities received) to the provision of the material in question to Bessus is uncertain. (The fact that the names Vahya-ātar (46) and Artuki (49) also occur in A6, where Vahya-ātar is Axvamazdā's *pqyd* and Artuki the location of one of the houses Bagavanta is supposed to be roofing, casts no light on the vexed question of the status of the *pqydy*n in A6.9, since *inter alia* the Vahya-ātar of C1:46 appears as a recipient, not a provider.)
- In C3:44 the word *pšbr* = **pasābara*- (Tavernier 2007: 409; cf. Elamite *baššabara*), interpreted as 'provisions for the road', occurs as one entry in a long list of provisions otherwise designated as for camel-drivers, servants, superintendents (*sṛkrn*), an official in charge of penalties, a scribe, the untitled Bagaiča—and a divine gift for *fravartis*. The combination of secular and divine recalls C1, but there is no apparent overall link of the document as a whole to a particular journey. (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 36 speculate about a pilgrimage.)
- A2:1–2, 3, 6 refers to '*dwš'ḥwr* of the wayfarers (*'rḥ'*) and the horses (*rkš'*) or 'necessities (*'pyt'*) of the wayfarers and the horses' in the desert/steppe of Artadatana, though precisely what is being said about them is a little uncertain: one reading has soldiers collecting vinegar from the satrap's estate to form part of the stock of travel provisions. 'Wayfarers and horses' recalls the provision of (human) foodstuffs and fodder in Nakhthor's document. (Neither *'rḥ'* nor *rkš'* is grammatically plural, which rather

¹⁹⁰ Beersheba: Naveh 1973 and 1979. Makkedah: Ahituv 1999, Ahituv and Yardeni 2004, Eph'al and Naveh 1996, Lemaire 1996, 1999, 2002a, 2006, 2007, Lozachmeur and Lemaire 1996, Porten and Yardeni 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2014–20

¹⁹¹ From places such as Lachish, Tel es Hesi, Tel Jemmeh, Tel es-Serah, Tel Farah, Tel 'Ira, Tel el-Kheleifeh, and others, on which see Tuplin 1987, Bennet 1989, Hoglund 1992: 165–206, Edelman 2005: 281–331, Tal 2005, Betlyon 2005, Fantalkin and Tal 2006.

¹⁹² Henkelman 2017a: 86–97.

reinforces the sense that we are dealing with a bureaucratic designation—‘the wayfarer-and-horse-provisions.’)

- C5:8 reads ‘there are men who found the rations on the roads (*b’rht’*) and [they put (it?)] in a basket (*bgwn*)’ (or perhaps ‘in our midst’). The earlier lines of the document seem to refer to wine, white (flour), and sheep rations, and they start with a reference to Vahyazaya, who is also the person reported to have made the statement about ‘rations on the roads’. Is this a report that the wine, sheep, and flour had been received during a journey—and, if so, from what sort of suppliers?
- D1–18 are tallies recording that someone has received something from an official source (and is thus in debt to that source) but the context of receipt is unknown (workers? soldiers? mobile? stationary?). For a new interpretation see Henkelman and Folmer 2016.
- A further document, reported by Shaked in Paris in 2006 (but not included in Naveh and Shaked 2012) refers to someone being sent to the addressee and asks that he should receive food; there is reference to two *hophen* of white flour, seven *hophen* of ordinary flour, two *hophen* of wine, five *hophen* of ‘covered’ or ‘hidden’ calf-meat (this is supposed to refer to animals kept in an enclosure: there is an analogous term in the Persepolis records). The instruction is to ‘give him this food every day in full’. This sounds rather close to A6.9, making its non-publication particularly tantalizing.

Geography

Proper appreciation of the document depends on fixing the eight geographical reference points so far as possible.¹⁹³ Two of them, Arbela (the fourth) and Damascus (the eighth) are of uncontroversial identity and location and require no further comment, save to observe that they are provincial centres as well as cities (Henkelman ii 214). Other names in the list evoke Assyrian provinces, as Dalley 2014 emphasizes.

’/c[.]k^d/_r The name is very poorly preserved. It ended *kr* or *kd* and there are pretty certainly just two other letters, the bottom left tip of the first being apparent next to the introductory *b* (= in), the entirety of the second being absent. (Driver reckoned three other letters besides *k^d/_r* but we can discount that.) So, if Porten–Yardeni are right about the possibilities for the first missing letter (viz. aleph or gimel), we have four possibilities: *’xkd* (adopted by Lindenberger) or *’xkr* or *Gxkd* or *Gxkr*. There does not seem to have been much appetite for proposing identifications. The first of the four possibilities may momentarily evoke Akkad, but, although the idea is geographically

¹⁹³ This discussion is heavily informed by Dalley 2014.

appealing,¹⁹⁴ there is absolutely no reason to think *'kkd* a plausible Aramaic rendering of the name.¹⁹⁵

L'r, 'La'ir'. This plainly corresponds to Assyrian Lahiru (Driver, Dalley 2014), a term that denotes either a city or a region. The region in question was east of the Tigris, and the city perhaps corresponded to the modern Eski Kifri in the Diyala valley (Parpola and Porter 2001: 12 with Map 10, Dalley 2014: 173, Tolini 2011: 101–4). The opening of a text from 678 (SAA 6.225)—'seal of Idu'a, town-manager (LUGAL-URU) of Lahiru of the domain of the Queen Mother, owner of the people sold'—indicates that the queen mother, Naqia-Zakutu, owned an estate there. Nor is this the only sign of royal interest in Lahiru. Šamaš-šumu-ukin lived in Lahiru as crown prince (attested there in a deed concluded between the governor of Lahiru and Atar-ili, 'eunuch of the crown prince of Babylon', in April 670);¹⁹⁶ and two other legal documents (NALK 173–4) attest the purchase of land in Lahiru area by Milki-nūrī, the queen's eunuch, in 671 or 666 and in 668. The identity of the queen is uncertain in the first case (perhaps the mother of Šamaš-šumu-ukin, perhaps Libbali-šarrat, the wife of Ashurbanipal), but in the second it will certainly be Libbali-šarrat.¹⁹⁷

Dalley 2014 rightly draws attention to the estates held by Parysatis east of the Tigris in the same general area (which were looted by a Greek mercenary army in 401: Xenophon *Anabasis* 2.4.27) and plausibly suggests that they reflect continuation of a tradition from Late Assyrian times. These villages (rich in corn and animals) were six (desert) stages (thirty parasangs) north of the River Phycus and more or less immediately east of the river, and have been variously located (depending on differing views about 'Opis') at the Little Zab/Tigris confluence (Masqueray 1931/49: 169), around Al Fathah (Manfredi 1986: 158–9) in the vicinity of Kar-Issar or around Daur (Lendle 1995: 121), c.20 km south of Tikrit (Tagritanu), in an area also later noted for sheep-rearing (Barnett 1963: 25). The region from the Adheim to the Little Zab can be associated in whole or part with Neo-Babylonian royal holdings and pastoralism (Joannès 1995: 194–7), so royal villages and *probata* are well in place. Of course we are a fair way away from Lahiru; but the direct continuity from an Assyrian royal

¹⁹⁴ It would entail that Nakhtḥor was travelling from Babylon rather than Susa, but that is no particular problem: indeed there is in any case nothing to indicate the contrary. The place appears in (early) Persian-era documents, notably in the Cyrus Cylinder line 31 (Schaudig 2001: 553, 556) but also e.g. YOS 3.45, 81, 106 (see Stolper 2003: 281–6), YOS 7.91, Cyr. 267, Cyr. 360, Stigers 1976: nos. 26, 33, 36, CT 55.48, 95, 57.100, VS 5.62/63, 153, 157, VS 6.169.

¹⁹⁵ One spelling cited in Driver 1965: 58 is *Kdy* (used of the land of Akkad), which is not propitious.

¹⁹⁶ ADD 625 = AR 116 (11 April 670), with Parpola 1970–1983: 2.271. The translation of *ša rēši* as 'eunuch' is, of course, contentious. For the sceptical view see e.g. Dalley 2001, Pirngruber 2011. Kraus 2015 recently supported the conventional view by restoring a Hellenistic commentary on omens as affirming that the *ša rēši* or courtier (*mār ekalli*) was characteristically childless. (For a different restoration of the text see De Zorzi and Jursa 2011.)

¹⁹⁷ cf. Melville 1999: 15 and 62–3 with n. 14.

estate to an estate in the hands of the Achaemenid prince Aršāma is plainly a parallel phenomenon.

ʾrzwḥm, ‘Arzuḥin’. Arzuḥin denotes both a city and a district. The city was perhaps at Goek Tepe (Parpola and Porter 2001: 6 with Map 10, Dalley 2014: 173) on one of the upper branches of the Lower Zab river.

Ḥl[.]. This has been variously read as *Ḥlʾ* (Driver 1954) and *Ḥlš* (Driver 1965: Grelot 1972). Neither is associable with relevant known names. In particular, as Dalley 2014 points out, *Ḥlš* cannot properly be associated with the Assyrian province of Halzu. Dalley 2014: 173–4 further observes that a reading of *Ḥlh* would fit with what is left of the name’s third letter, yielding a reference to the province of Ḥalahḥu, lying to the north-east of Nineveh (for which cf. RLA s.v. Ḥalahḥu). This is surely correct.

Mtlbš, ‘Matalubash’. This is often considered (e.g. by Driver, Oates 1968: 59–60, Kleber 2008: 206) to correspond to the town Ubase (Tell Huweish), on the west bank of the Tigris just north of Assur. The form Matalubash supposedly derives from a combination of Ubase with the two determinatives *mat*/land and *alu*/city—a phenomenon for which (as Dalley 2014: 174 notes) no parallel seems to exist.¹⁹⁸ An alternative proposed by Mario Fales is that *Mtlbš* conceals Ma(t) Talbišu, in reference to a place on the Middle Euphrates, but there is no rational route from Ḥalahḥu to Talbiš and it strains credulity that a single *pyyd* could be responsible for an area embracing Arbela, Ḥalahḥu, and Talbiš. But this misfit to reality is as nothing compared with Driver’s idea, still noted in Grelot 1972: 311b as possible (though not preferable), that the third letter in *Ḥlx* might be *beth*, giving Haleb, alias Aleppo—to which he added the proposition that *Mtlbš* should be linked with Mardaböš, a town west of Homs. Whatever the merits of the latter idea (which appear scant), the former simply ignores the fact that *Ḥl[.]* denotes somewhere under the authority of a man who is certainly linked to Arbela.

The identification with Ubase is also noted by Dalley 2014, and may well be right. But another possibility is worth airing—one that echoes a feature of Fales’s suggestion but applies it elsewhere. Some 50 km north of Nineveh (and a similar distance from Ḥalahḥu) was the Assyrian provincial capital Talmusa (variously located at Gir-e-Pan or Dohuk: Dalley 2014: 176, 178). Granted the potential for slippage between ‘b’ and ‘m’—a phenomenon exemplified in the Middle Euphratan Talbišu, which also appears as Talmišu—one might speculate that *Mtlbš* represents Ma(t) *Talbusa. This would be easier if the final letter in the Aramaic form were *samek* rather than *šīn*, but the propitious location of Talmusa/*Talbusa makes the suggestion rather tempting (it is

¹⁹⁸ For *mātu* as the term used from the ninth century onwards for the small units of the Assyrian kingdom as given in royal inscriptions, see e.g. Postgate 1985: 95–101. For combination of *māt* and a name cf. Mazamua (*māt* + *Zamua*).

acknowledged as possible by Dalley 2014: 175–6), and the combination of *mat* and *Talbusa is more readily paralleled than the postulated *mat* + *alu* + Ubase.

S'lm, 'Sa'lam'. The reading is uncontroversial, but identification problematic. Driver noted Salamiyah, 45 km north-east of Homs, but considered it to be too near Damascus. I am not sure that is a particularly cogent problem, but it is always going to be hard to convince people of a connection between Aršāma's estate and any particular example of this relatively common Arab place name, especially as Salamiyah would have to be regarded as a Semitizing substitute for an originally non-Semitic name.¹⁹⁹

General remarks. Dalley 2014 observes that, in the light of the identifications suggested above, the estates of Aršāma through which Nakhtḥor as his agent was expected to travel unimpeded, collecting rations from them, included land on both banks of the Tigris where the heartland of Assyrian power had once lain (Porten 1968: 54, 71), and Nakhtḥor would have crossed the Tigris from the east bank to the west bank in the vicinity of Nineveh, reaching the crossing from the north-east rather than the south-east. The date of this journey, around the end of the fifth century, roughly a decade before Xenophon's visit in 401 (at least on the currently conventional dating of the Bodleian letters), shows that Achaemenid rule was firmly established in Assyria, and that travel through the region was normal. The itinerary implies a degree of prosperity and security at odds with the impression of impoverishment created by Xenophon.

These observations prompt two further remarks. First, so far as Xenophon is concerned, the fact that there is no *pyyd* denominated in reference to Nineveh (or Mespila, to use Xenophon's name) does mean that there is no evidence here *against* the suggestion that *that* city was in a poor state in 401. That may sound convoluted; the positive point is that what creates an impression of impoverishment in this region (if anything does) is the description of Nimrud-Larisa and Nineveh-Mespila as deserted cities (*Anabasis* 3.4.7, 10). Other indications are less gloomy. There are 'many barbarians from neighbouring villages' available to take temporary refuge in Nimrud (3.4.9), and a day north of Nineveh the Greeks found themselves in a village so full of provisions that they spent a whole day there stocking up (3.4.18).²⁰⁰

Second, there is the question of itinerary. Dr Dalley's formulation presumes that Nakhtḥor passed through all of Arbela, Ḥalahḥu, and Ubase, so that his

¹⁹⁹ The further hint in Driver's note that SAA 13.19 (ABL 726) mentions a place called Salammê in the same context as Arbela is misleading. What we have is a personal name Arbailaiu; and there would in any case be the same problem with Salammê as with Salamiyah, viz. that there is nothing in the name to correspond to the *ayin* in the non-Semitic *S'lm*. (I thank Stephanie Dalley for her guidance on this point.) Note, incidentally, that Sa-la- in ABL 174 is now read as Sa-ba- in SAA 15.69.

²⁰⁰ For fuller discussion of Xenophon's representation of this region see Tuplin 2003. On Dur Sharrukin, which now becomes relevant as the principal city of Assyrian Ḥalahḥu, see Dalley 2014: 174, 176–8.

overall itinerary took him northwards, though Lahiru, Arzuḥin, and Arbela to Ḥalahḥu and then sharply back south to Ubase—after which he is presumably to be imagined going west to the lower Habur around Dur Katlimmu and then reaching Damascus either *via* Hindanu and Palmyra or *via* Hamat. But do we *have* to assume that? Might we not take the view that Upastābara's three places define a region through which Nakhtḥor passes, just as (in fact) do the other *pqydyn* with their single toponymical references? In one sense it makes little difference. Whether Nakhtḥor actually goes to Ubase or simply passes westwards out of a region whose western edge lies no further east than a line between Ḥalahḥu and Ubase, it remains the case that Sa'lam, wherever it is, cannot reasonably be held to fill the entire gap between that point and Damascus. But *if* we take the latter view (and in particular suppose that Nakhtḥor does not necessarily go through Ubase itself), we are at liberty to imagine that his onward route after Upastābara's region (the Arbela–Ḥalahḥu–Ubase triangle) simply took him along either the northern or southern route across Upper Mesopotamia towards Harran and the Euphrates crossing at Thapsacus. That would mean that he was essentially following a rather standard route from Susa or Babylon to the west, going up the eastern side of the Tigris, across the river around or north of Nineveh and then west along the road that led either to Anatolia or (in his case) Transeuphratene. On this way of looking at things the awkward sense of Nakhtḥor zigzagging across the map can be eliminated. If, of course, *Mtlbš* actually were Talmusa, there would be no appearance of zigzag in the first place—which might be another consideration in favour of that identification.

The Nature of A6.9

There are three possible views of what sort of document A6.9 is. One is that it authorizes Nakhtḥor to collect provisions from the personally held estates of Aršāma in various parts of Mesopotamia and the Levant (e.g. Lewis 1977: 6). A second, espoused by Whitehead (1974: 64) is that it authorizes Nakhtḥor to collect provisions from the personally held estates of *other* Persian grandees on the basis that they will be reimbursed from Aršāma's estate 'through the central accounting system witnessed by the Elamite tablets' (sc. those in the Persepolis Fortification archive). A third is that it authorizes him to collect provisions from supply stations maintained by the state (Kuhrt 2007: 741, Henkelman ii 218–23). The choice is between a 'private' model, in which the document belongs administratively speaking entirely within the realm of the management of Aršāma's estates (Lewis), and a 'public' one, in which the document has traction within the administrative environment of the state's collection and disbursement of foodstuffs, either indirectly (Whitehead) or directly (Kuhrt). The second model (and specifically the version expressed by

Kuhr²⁰¹) is currently dominant. It may in the end be correct, but we need to be clear that it has weaknesses.

Aršāma was a satrap, so he was certainly in principle entitled to issue documents of the sort that are designated in the Persepolis texts with the word *halmi*, literally ‘seal’, but understood to stand for ‘sealed document’ (Henkelman ii 196–200). On the currently prevalent view (though not on Whitehead’s version of it) A6.9 is an example of such a *halmi*.

When reading Persepolis travel documents that end ‘PN₁ was carrying a sealed document of PN₂’ one does not normally think about what that sealed document said in detail. But the unspoken assumption is probably that it was rather curt: ‘PN₂ orders that PN₁ shall be entitled to take such-and-such a quantity of such-and-such a commodity per day from state resources.’ With the appropriate seal attached that ought to be sufficient to work anywhere in the system (and not just in the Persepolitan region). The result would be that food was disbursed and a debit was recorded against the food supply account— not against the royal estate *sensu stricto*, as that was something distinct (at least so current doctrine holds), but against the state’s estate.²⁰²

But Aršāma’s document is not quite so curt or *prima facie* so generally applicable, since it has a number of specific addressees. Their status is indicated by the word *pqyd*, but we must acknowledge that that does not in itself establish beyond all dispute what sort of officials they are. (See A6.4:2(1) n.)

The document has two fundamental characteristics. (a) The territories of the *pqydyn* do not exhaustively fill the space between Babylonia and Egypt (see above). (b) The instruction to provide food ‘from my estate’, taken at face value, indicates that Nakhtōr is being fed from Aršāma’s property and that the *pqydyn* are his estate managers, whereas the association of the *pqydyn* with ‘provinces’ (they are to give provisions ‘from my estate which is in your province(s)’) may seem to point towards the ‘public’ organization of imperial space and an identification of the *pqydyn* as state officials (the ‘public’ model). I am minded to think that insufficient attention has been paid to the first characteristic (geographical discontinuity) and that it has been too readily assumed that the conflict enshrined in the second characteristic can be resolved in favour of the public model.

One thing that is certain from discussion of the geography (see above) is that for the whole of the distance between the upper Tigris valley (whether the relevant most westerly point is Ubase or Talmusa) and the Egyptian border we have just two place names, Sa’lam and Damascus. No normal understanding of Achaemenid imperial space can imagine the entirety of that space to be

²⁰¹ Although Whitehead is often credited for promoting the case for the public model, his particular version is rarely addressed. I doubt that it has any distinctive advantages.

²⁰² On the general administrative system see especially Henkelman 2008: 126–61. For travel documents in particular see Henkelman ii 193–253.

administratively filled by two provinces called or defined by Saʿlam and Damascus. (The hypothesis in Henkelman ii 223, that Nakht̥hor got a new authorization at Damascus, does not entirely deal with this problem.) The *prima facie* conclusion is that Nakht̥hor cannot have been fed for the whole of his journey by the application of the order contained in A6.9—and there are no good reasons to question this *prima facie* conclusion. It would not help to suppose (for example) that after Damascus Nakht̥hor went to the coast and completed the journey by sea: not only would this not deal with the earlier gap in the itinerary, but it would require either that there was a second document authorizing provisions for a sea-journey, or that the Damascus officials authorized the supply of provisions for (much) more than a single day. But we have no good reason to discard the belief that the instruction to provide rations ‘day by day’ means what it says (see below line 3(1) n.). Nor does the reference to Egypt in A6.9:5 in any case assert (even implicitly) that the document is meant to cover every part of the trip (see below line 5(3) n.).

The fact that A6.9 cannot have kept Nakht̥hor and his companions fed throughout the whole of their journey has important implications. First, he must have had some other mechanism for securing provisions. Practically speaking, he and his companions either purchased food or disposed of another authorization-document that worked in areas not covered by A6.9.²⁰³ Second, whichever of those is the case, the ‘public’ model explanation of A6.9 becomes problematic. The whole point about the supply-station system, as normally conceived, is that it applied systematically, at any rate along some well-defined long-distance routes. The geography is consistent with the assumption that Nakht̥hor was at all times following a route that was well-defined in the relevant sense. If he was in principle entitled to sustenance from the public system (that is, if Aršāma was entitled to authorize him to draw from that system) and if A6.9 is the document that expresses that authorization, why is it not systematic?²⁰⁴

The only possible conclusion is that, if Nakht̥hor did have a document authorizing him to draw on the public system, A6.9 is not that document. The

²⁰³ Whitehead envisaged that Nakht̥hor had more than one document, but limited the applicability of the second one to the stretch after Damascus. (It has to be said that Whitehead does not discuss the geography of the letter at all.)

²⁰⁴ One might also ask why it needed to name *anywhere* between Babylon and Egypt. A traveller from e.g. Sardis to Persepolis arguably only needed a document with Artaphernes’ seal that named his destination as Persepolis. The relatively small number of defined origins and destinations in PFA travel texts, their function as administrative centres (cf. Henkelman 2017a: 213), and the generic terms in which they are often framed (e.g. ‘the king’ or ‘Arachosia’ rather than a particular place) seem at odds with the idea that the authorization documents bothered themselves with identifying stages along the way. It is true that travellers reaching Persepolis with an authorization from Susa might be completing a journey that began further west—in other words that they had been re-authorized from Susa. But that does not address the problem presented by A6.9. Its highly uneven spread of place names makes more sense as a reflection of the uneven distribution of Aršāma’s estates than as a by-product of the system implicit in PFA travel texts.

situation must rather be that A6.9 is what it appears to be, an authorization to draw on Aršāma's estates where that was applicable, and that, for when it was not applicable, he carried either money or a document that had traction in public storehouses or both. The situation reflects a judgment (interesting in its own right) that, as an estate manager, Nakhtor ought in the first instance to be supported by the estate and should only draw on other types of institutional resource when that primary option was not available.

Proponents of the public model have perhaps paid insufficient attention to the geographical problem. But they have not, of course, ignored the fact that Aršāma orders provisions to be given 'from my estate'. Their explanation is this: what Aršāma says really means 'give provisions from state resources on the understanding that the expenditure will be reimbursed from my estate'.²⁰⁵ That is in principle a perfectly reasonable speculative gambit for those who feel compelled for other reasons to adopt the 'public' model. But what degree of actual evidence is there for such a procedure?

The resource that is called in aid here is the Persepolis Fortification archive—which is not surprising, because that is where we certainly find plenty of documents about the provisioning of travellers and an administrative environment in which the interplay of 'public' and 'private' is a matter of interest. But it is desirable to try to be as clear as possible about what the PFA can and cannot *prove* about A6.9.

The general sense of bureaucratic hyperactivity evinced by the PFA no doubt makes credit–debit arrangements seem reasonable in principle. Still, the actual record-keeping and accounting structure represented by the memoranda, journals, and account-texts that form the archive is not performing that specific function. Indeed the suspicion has been expressed that the primary purpose of the processes that shape the archive is not to provide an informed basis for other bureaucratic procedures but simply to insist in a general (almost ideological) way upon the claims of central authority. It is true that attempts to explicate the procedures postulate information collection that is now lost to sight, so anything may be possible. But the mere existence of the archive does not illustrate the 'public' model for A6.9.

The question is whether, despite the archive's primary concern with managing the resources of the public economy, one can find reflections of the sort of credit–debit process we are interested in. Can we spot Persepolitan equivalents of A6.9's *pqydyn* (seen as state officials) making payments on behalf of or recovering their pound of flesh from the equivalent of Aršāma?

²⁰⁵ Briant 2006: 350: when Aršāma says provisions are to be given from his house 'cela veut dire sans doute que le compte dont il dispose à titre de satrape, sur la ligne de budget "frais de mission", sera débité ultérieurement, lorsque l'administration centrale fera le compte des entrées et de sorties (les *eisagogima* et *exagogima* du Pseudo-Aristote). En l'occurrence, la Maison d'Aršāma n'a rien à voir avec une série de "domaines ruraux" privés ou, en tout cas, ne peut être réduite à cet aspect.'

One can certainly detect the royal economy and points at which material passes between it and the main Persepolis economy, a process facilitated by the fact that Parnakka was probably in charge of both. But I do not find it easy to imagine that the king's estate was required to reimburse the public economy: he was the king and, without prejudice to legalistic niceties about 'ownership' of the empire, anything he took from the public economy was his due and anything he gave to it could be construed as regal beneficence.

Our interest must rather be in the activities of other estate holders. Even that is not straightforward. Are the king's wives in a different situation from the king? And, more pertinently, what about members of the extended royal family? Perhaps one should not beg questions by ruling out the idea that an Aršāma might have to settle his debts.

Investigation of 'private' estates in the PFA begins by looking for attestations of the three words that can be so translated—*ulhi* (royal family estates), *irmadim* (the most common word), *appišdamanna* (perhaps not 'estate' at all). That is fairly easy and (on currently accessible evidence) produces fifty-nine documents dealing with at least thirty-two (but potentially as many as fifty-seven) entities and at least thirty-two (but potentially as many as forty-one) owners.²⁰⁶ This would ideally be followed by an attempt to decide how much other estate-related activity is present in texts where the key words are not present. That would be a good deal more laborious, and is not attempted here. But inspection of directly attested estate activity reveals various things.

1. *Ulhis* are held by the king, royal women, and a couple of individuals (Karma, Ramannuya) of whom we can only say we do not know that they are *not* members of the royal family.²⁰⁷ Many other estate holders (those associated with *irmadims* or *appišdamannas*) are identifiable as persons of at least apportioner status. Speaking of *appišdamannas* Henkelman has wondered whether the people are estate holders with administrative duties or stewards tending crown-estates. In the wider group of apportioner-status *irmadim*-holders (who include two people also associated with an *appišdamanna*: Irtuppiya and Uštana)²⁰⁸ one inclines to the former view—indeed to the view that having an *irmadim* is a perk of being an official of that status.²⁰⁹ But it is conceivable that

²⁰⁶ The statistical uncertainties are caused by texts in which location and/or ownership are not stated. The highest alternative figures are likely to exceed the truth. The concept of estate workers (*irmadimbe*) occurs in Fort.1902A-101:10, where 347 of them appear in Carmania in 504/3: Henkelman 2017a: 167 n. 189 infers centrally organized transfer of workers as part of a large-scale effort to develop estates. On PFA estates see Briant 2002: 442–6, 460–3, Garrison & Henkelman ii 56–62, 143–6, 157–64.

²⁰⁷ Karma: NN 1133. Ramannuya: PF 1855. I do not include here Untukka (NN 1548) or Naktanna (PF 2075) who may be officials at someone else's *ulhi*, rather than *ulhi*-holders themselves.

²⁰⁸ Irtuppiya: PF 0330, NN 0290, NN 1711 (*irmadim*), PF 1527, NN 2157 (*appišdamanna*). Uštana: PF 2071 (*irmadim*), Fort.1705, NN 2556 (*appišdamanna*).

²⁰⁹ This view is now articulated by Henkelman 2018a: 48–50, Garrison & Henkelman ii 61.

individuals had different relationships to *irmadims* and *appišdamannas*.²¹⁰ Two estate holders have titles, *habezziš*-person (PF 1256: a court-title meaning ‘irrigator’) and *ansara* = ‘inspector’ (PF 2070), a title that tends to appear in texts dealing with royal food supply (*huthut*) or having other royal connections.²¹¹

2. As to content, some texts are simply mystifying, e.g. PF 2071, a letter about an obscure dispute involving an estate, a palace, and neglect of royal instructions.

3. Others mention estates as geographical reference points: Gobryas gets beer on a trip to ‘the estate of Karma’ (NN 1133), Irtašduna and her son Iršama consume commodities at three different *appišdamannas* of Napumalika (PF 0733-0734, PF 2035),²¹² and in PF 1527 and NN 2157 people travel to the *appišdamanna* of Irtuppiya. In the latter case they are gentlemen and servants whose purpose is unstated.²¹³ But in the former we have 1,150 workers—so we might say that labour resources of the standard economy were being (temporarily?) deployed to work elsewhere. How they would be provisioned there, we do not know. In NN 1022 grain is received by ‘hemp-workers’ at an *ulhi*-estate, and the grain seems to come from the normal economy.²¹⁴ Two other texts report payments on royal authorization to Teatukka the chamberlain and *karamaraš* at the *irmadim* of Bakabada the *habezziš* and to Kamezza and four *karamaraš* at the *appišdamanna* of Uštana, who are ‘counting *taššup*’ (people? officials? personnel?). If the recipients are coming to the estate to perform a task but then going away again, one might not categorize this as transfer of commodities from standard economy to estate economy. But Teatukka receives his ration for six months, so, if a visitor, he is a rather permanent one. Royal authorization puts both cases into a slightly special category.²¹⁵

4. Various Irtašduna letters and one from Ramannuya order provisions from an *ulhi* for recipients who sometimes have titles (nurseryman; accountant; *tidda*-maker, i.e. report-maker, assessor, or inspector), sometimes not. The addressees are presumably estate managers or the like (on one occasion they are accountants). These appear to be entirely internal to the *ulhi*-estate economy

²¹⁰ One possibility is that an *appišdamanna* was an institutional entity to which workers reported before assignment to specific tasks (Garrison & Henkelman ii 158; but contrast *ibid.* p. 67).

²¹¹ The relevant text involves animals belonging to people at his estate that constitute tax (*baziš*) income.

²¹² Beguilingly identified by Henkelman 2018a: 50–1 with Nabu-malik ‘the Mede’ who appears as a ‘chief accountant’ in BM 79541.

²¹³ They appear elsewhere simply described as going to Irtuppiya, a reminder that texts do not always specify that a special type of location is in question.

²¹⁴ Note, however, that the reading of *ulhi* in this text is uncertain: Garrison & Henkelman ii 145.

²¹⁵ PF 1256 (Teatukka), NN 2556 (Kamezza). Henkelman 2018a: 47 pictures Teatukka as conducting a royal audit of Bakabada and his estate.

(and make one think of the *pqydyn* in the Bodleian letters).²¹⁶ There are no parallels in the case of *irmadims*. Rather we have Parnakka telling *irmadim*-holders to issue commodities. This does not prove that *irmadim*-holders did not have estate managers or send them instructions. But such documents did not enter the archive, whereas ones from *ulhi*-holders did. Perhaps there is some structural reason for this.

5. We have a travel document in which 300+ workers going to Tamukkan get a day's rations at an unidentified estate. The supplier, Medumanuš, is otherwise unknown. The supplier-seal (PFS 0095) is once associated with Ištīmanka (a known estate holder, but also a supplier and apportioner in the standard system) but normally with Umaya, who is certainly an agent of the standard economy in the Kāmfirūz. Moreover, the estate is one at which the worker-chief Iršena the Anshanite apportions. He is a well-attested regional director within the main economic system; and Ištīmanka (just mentioned) regularly turns up as a commodity supplier using the same regional seal as Iršena. So, all things considered, this estate seems rather well-embedded in the main economy—perhaps unusually so, which is why it generates this unique text. The phenomenon—a normal process, here travel rations, exceptionally located at and drawing on an estate—recurs. We get it for example with a single category F (PF 0444) and a single category G text (PF 0581), respectively setting grain aside for seed and providing commodities for provisions, that, exceptionally, are located at an *irmadim* rather than a simple toponym. But the implied movement of material between estate and standard economy can be seen elsewhere. There are category C1 texts where 'use' or 'deposit' at an estate replaces more normal apportioning or deposit at simple place names (PF 0150–5, 0180). In NN 0290 animals are sent to Irtuppiya's estate.²¹⁷ NN 2369 lists various people sending grain from various places (or individuals), to a total of more than 300,000 quarts, and then says: 'flour *pirdubakaš* [meaning unknown] *irmadim tinkeka*' = 'sent to the estate.'²¹⁸ The hemp-workers mentioned above belong here too, perhaps. In the other direction Parnakka orders Ištīmanka to supply grain from his estate for religious use at Kaupirriš and the feeding of Babylonian workers cutting wood on a local mountain—men operating in an unusual location, whose immediate source of supply is most conveniently a non-standard one, so one might guess.²¹⁹ PF 2079 (category W) lists fruit coming into the normal economy from various places,²²⁰ including an estate, PF 1898 reports

²¹⁶ PF1835–7, NN 0761, NN 2523 (Irtašduna), NN 0958 (Iršama), PFa 27 (Irdabama), PF 1855 (Ramannuya). It should be noted that there are entirely parallel documents (in terms of addressor/addressee) that do not happen to mention the *ulhi* as such: PF 1838–9, NN 1137.

²¹⁷ The person sending them is otherwise unknown; and wherever animals are involved we are arguably in a special corner of the economic forest (even one with royal overtones).

²¹⁸ Hinz/Koch have 'sent from the estate', but it does not say that.

²¹⁹ PF 1802, NN 1999.

²²⁰ One of the others is Marriya the *marduš* (Saffhersteller, Weinbereiter: Hinz and Koch 1987: 879) of PN. In the light of NN 0522, mentioning Bakabaduš, *marduš* at the estate of PN, one may

wine acquired by a delivery-man from the estate of Marriya, NN 2271 records that a huge quantity of grain from the *irmadim* of Masdayašna was used at Persepolis, and grain from an estate (perhaps grain tax) is an income stream in an Akkuban account (PF 2075).

6. And then there is the case of Ukama. Six times Ukama and *taššup* (personnel) receive substantial amounts of flour, wine, or fruit at five or more different estates. The only close parallel for such a group (Karkiš and *taššup*) receiving commodities occurs at a *hapidanuš* (= water-reservoir?). The norm is for a named person to receive commodities at a toponym. So, what seem to be commodities belonging to the standard economy are being received by unusual groups (they may be soldiers: cf. Tuplin 2014: 674–5, Henkelman ii 216) at unusual places. But are the commodities coming from the estate economy or is the estate *simply* a geographical location? The case is complicated by Ukama's appearance in PF 1857 as author of a letter to Parnakka about an inventory of grain stored at a fortress in which there is reference to quantities of grain at seven sites, of which four are explicitly estates and a fifth is known to be an estate of Queen Irtašduna. So we have a series of estate holders who have to account for some grain from their holdings to the Persepolis bureaucracy. Specifically the information is about the amount of grain provided per unit set aside for seed; and that makes a link with NN 0001, where two tables of figures give similar information and each is followed by: 'this is the total (at) the estate of PN (of the) unirrigated grain (that was) provided for provisions'. Moreover, right at the end of this document we find: 'document/clay-tablet (about) unirrigated (grain) 60 of grain was provided by/for the *taššup*'. The maths is hard to follow, but the recurrence of *taššup* takes us back to Ukama and his *taššup*. What is going on here remains obscure. Are we to imagine some special obligation on estates to support the military?²²¹

Well, perhaps not necessarily: but it is clear that estates interacted with the general economy sufficiently to have some impact on the archive's records, and that the quantities of material involved were sometimes quite considerable. What remains absent is any direct sign that the cross-transfers are supposed to be a zero-sum game or that any particular transfers are retrospective reimbursements of earlier *ad hoc* transfers rather than the current or prospective execution of standard obligations (e.g. tax) or momentary planning. When we (think we) see an estate owner providing for an estate subordinate it is in documents that lie entirely in the estate setting and perhaps only turn up in the archive because they have a royal allure and Parnakka's dual role in royal and

wonder if Marriya represents another estate. That makes for an odd coincidence with PF 1898 (above) from four years earlier, but the two Marriyas are probably different. (The one in PF 1898 is additionally labelled 'of the Pururu and Kukazi people'.)

²²¹ Henkelman 2018a: 46 envisages that 'a tax in kind was levied from estate holders in order to sustain (local) armed forces, possibly as a nominal replacement of a service duty resting on the estate holders as members of the *taššup* class'.

standard economic systems made for archival cross-contamination. Of course, once one goes beyond documents explicitly about estates, one sees plenty of ‘economic activity’ (work being done by workers) that is under the aegis of royal women and that passes through the archive in the shape of regular worker-rations. Those rations are on the face of it supplied by the standard system just like the rations of all sorts of other workers. It is a perk of royalty that that is what happens, just as it is a perk of royalty or elite status that the Table of the King, of the Queens, and of a Carmanian satrap who happens to be in the Persepolis region is (partly) provided for by the standard system.

So, is there no sign of credit–debit? In fact, two hints do appear in Henkelman’s discussion of the provisioning of kings, queens, and satraps.²²²

1. In Fort.3544 Miturna, the ‘*mardam* of Karkiš’, transports wine to Parnuttiš as *ukpiyataš* of/for the king. The *mardam* is an agent of Karkiš’s estate (Karkiš being the Carmanian satrap); the wine supplier Ušaya is an agent of the Persepolis system; *ukpiyataš* is an income stream for the royal food supply. So the argument is that Karkiš owes an *ukpiyataš*-tax on his estate, pays it with wine from the standard system—and is presumably expected eventually to pay it back. If that is correct it presumably also applies to the transaction in PF 0048, where the *mardam* of Nariyapikna (a man otherwise known as an appor-tioner) takes wine to Parnamattiš for *ukpiyataš*.

2. The possibility of credit is also raised in relation to the texts about the entertainment of Irtašduna and Iršama at the *appišdamanna* of Napumilka (PF 0733–4, PF 2035) and to two further ones just about Irtašduna (PF 0732, PF 0454; re-edited in Henkelman 2017a: 198–202). A distinctive feature here is the unusual appearance of the verb *terika* in documents otherwise conforming to a standard pattern for supply of commodities for the Queen’s Table. The suggestion is that *terika* means ‘loaned’ and that Irtašduna is borrowing resources from outside her own domains—resources that she will have to pay back (Garrison & Henkelman ii 61).

If these *are* signs of credit–debit transactions, they are a meagre haul; and only the first involves the interaction of private estate and public economy.

To return to Nakht̄or and A6.9, the essential point is this. Those who go for the ‘public’ model are entitled to speculate about a mechanism for reimbursement of the state from Aršāma’s private resources. But it is only speculation; and arguably it is speculation prompted by a reading of the situation that is contentious for other reasons.

Of course, there remains the question of why Aršāma uses the term ‘province’. But this is not so difficult. The usage is not in principle very different

²²² See Henkelman 2010: 699–700, 710–11. See also Garrison & Henkelman ii 59–61, 157.

from the references elsewhere to *pqydyn* in Lower Egypt. I do not claim that ‘Lower Egypt’ is the name of an official province; on the contrary it may have consisted of more than one province. But that means that in the right circumstances (and when needing a bit more precision) one might quite reasonably refer to ‘so-and-so the *pqyd* in Thebes.’ The bottom line is that, if people saw the imperial space as made up of a series of provinces, then those are terms of reference that can be used even when one is not talking about structures of government.

line 1(1) מן ארשם, *mn ʾršm*, ‘from Aršāma’. Given Nakhtḥor’s direction of travel, it is natural to assume that Aršāma was in Elam or Mesopotamia when the letter was written. The Persepolis documentation does reveal cases of people travelling *towards* the (presumed) location of the person whose travel authorization (*halmi*) they carry (so-called ‘reverse authorizations’).²²³ But we do not know that the documents they carried were formulated like A6.9: that is, we do not know that, when someone travelled away from his authorizing official and then back again, he carried a different *halmi* on the return trip, one formulated as though written at the intermediate destination. (This is just one aspect of the larger fact that we do not *know* how A6.9 sits in relation to the processes seen in the Fortification archive: see above.) The inclination to make the natural assumption about Aršāma’s whereabouts when A6.9 was written is probably fuelled by a feeling that an Egyptian estate *pqyd* would be unlikely to be in Mesopotamia or Elam at a time at which his master Aršāma was somewhere else (particularly if that somewhere else were Egypt). But perhaps that feeling begs questions.

line 1(2) פקידא, *pqyd*, ‘the official’. Lindenberger also translates the word as ‘official’ (not ‘steward’) here. On their function/status see A6.4:2(1) n.

lines 1–2(1) ת[מר]ת... מרדך, *Mrdk... wHw[md]t*, ‘Marduk... and Hau[madā]ta’. Two of the officials (those closest to Babylonia) have Babylonian names. One is uncertain (*Hw[...]*t at Damascus)²²⁴ but can be restored as Persian, i.e. *Hw[md]t* = *Haumadāta, a name attested in Aramaic and Elamite at Persepolis (Tavernier 2007: 198: ‘given by Hauma’). The rest are uncomplicatedly

²²³ Some apparent cases of reverse authorization might arise because the authorizing official was temporarily not in his usual location. (If the Fortification archive covered the second half of the fifth century and contained a document in which someone went to Egypt carrying a *halmi* of Aršāma there would be a tendency to regard this as a reverse authorization; but we know that that need not be so.) But we cannot eliminate the category entirely.

²²⁴ Driver read this as *Gwzʾn* (putatively Babylonian Guzanu or Iranian *Gavazāna- or *Gauzāna-), Grelot as *Gwzyn*, putatively Iranian *Gawzīna/Gawzaina or *Gawzāyana- (1972: 472, 507). Tavernier 2007: 189 postulates *Gauzaina- or *Gauzēna-, additionally attested by Elamite Kamšena (NN 1277:3). But all this is beside the point if Porten-Yardeni’s new reading is accepted.

Persian: see Tavernier 2007: 16, 68 (*Zātavahyā: ‘born better’), 134 (*Bagafarnā: ‘God’s glory’), 180 (*Frādafarnā: ‘furthering glory’), 331 (*Upastābara-: ‘helper’). Schmitt 1987: 149 adduced the Aramaic writing of this last name (‘*pstbr*’) as a reason to reject Segal’s interpretation of ‘*wpst*’ in ATNS 45b as **upastā*- (help, support)—which is, however, accepted by Tavernier 2007: 404 and by Porten and Yardeni in their re-edition of the text as C3.18. The word recurs (in the same form) in C3.21, and appears to designate a category of land. (See Tuplin iii 48 n. 166.)

lines 1–2(2) כר... דמשק [ג.], G[.]kr... Dmšq, ‘[...]...Damascus’. On the identity and location of these places see above, pp. 150–4.

line 2(1) א[ה], [h], ‘behold’. The only occurrence of this word among Bodleian letters written by Aršāma, though it is also used once each by Vāravahyā (A6.14:4) and Virafša (A6.15:3). In ADAB it appears just once (B2:1), again not in a letter from the satrap. Neither corpus uses *hlw*, a word of similar meaning. Elsewhere seven of the other letters in TADAE use *h’* (A3.1, A4.2, A4.4, D7.15, D7.16, D7.27, D7.44) and fifteen use *hlw* (A2.2, A2.3, A2.6, D1.20, D7.1, D7.2, D7.4, D7.5, D7.8, D7.17, D7.20, D7.24–5, D7.44, D7.52). The level of use (and proportions between the two words) are comparable in the CG ostraca (*h’*: ten, *hlw*: twenty-seven). In contract documents *h’* (but never *hlw*) regularly marks the statements of the boundaries (B2.2, B2.7, B2.10, B3.4, B3.10, B3.12) or measurements (B3.5) of a house, but only appears rarely in other contexts (B2.11, B5.6). In short, these are words proper to relatively informal letter-writing (with *hlw* the preferred form). That the one occurrence among Aršāma’s own letters occurs in the formally distinctive open letter may be significant. In any event, the exceptionality of the usage perhaps affords Lindenberger some justification for turning ‘And now, behold, he whose name is Nakhtḥor, my official...’ into ‘This is to introduce my official, Nakhtḥor by name.’ (The pattern of use in contracts suggests that some writers might reserve it to mark things that required specially careful attention.) Meanwhile, it is possible that a Demotic equivalent is attested in PBM EA 76274.1 i 5–6 (Appendix 3.1: p. 297).

line 2(2) נחחור, *Nhḥwr*, ‘Nakhtḥor’. Egyptian *Nḥt-Hr*, ‘strong is Horus’ (DemNB 654). The name is not certainly attested in Egyptian Aramaic outside the Bodleian letters (A6.6, 9–16), though it might appear at ATNS 105:4.

line 2(3) שמה, *šmh*, ‘whose name is’. See A6.3:1(9) n.

line 2(4) ל מצרין [ז], [*z*]l *Mšryn*, ‘is going to Egypt’. Failure to specify a purpose of the journey is also characteristic of Persepolis travel documents. (Incidentally, PF 1544 seems to be the only Persepolis document about a trip to Egypt, one undertaken by Misdana (*Vištāna) and a companion in 499/8. Trips from Egypt, authorized by the satrap Parindadda [i.e. Farnadāta], occur in NN

1271 and NN 2472: see Hyland 2019: 162–3.) Since we know that *pqydyn* could travel to Babylon to take rent (A6.13), we cannot assume that Nakhtḥor’s trip here is on the occasion of his original appointment as *pqyd*. Another journey by an Egyptian estate manager to the heart of the empire may be reflected by the presence on an Aramaic document (unfortunately illegible) in the Fortification archive of the impression of a scarab(oid) seal inscribed ‘chief of Pe and overseer of (royal) mansions’ (PFATS 0424*: Garrison and Ritner 2010).²²⁵

line 2(5) 𐤏𐤍[𐤁], [*p*]tp, ‘rations’. Iranian **piθfa-*, ‘ration’ (Tavernier 2007: 410). The word, also used in the Aršāma correspondence in A6.12 of the rations given to Ḥinzani and his household (A6.12:1(6) n.), appears in various other places in Achaemenid-era texts, consistently referring to rations-in-kind, though not normally in a travel context. (ADAB C5:8 is an exception.) *Egypt (Elephantine)*: B3.13, B5.5, C3.14:38, 51 (all referring to rations for the Syene or Elephantine garrison—including their womenfolk—which are sometimes described as coming from the royal storehouse) and D3.12 (isolated word on a tiny papyrus fragment). Grelot restored the word in B4.4:5 as well, though Porten–Yardeni do not do so. (The text *is* clearly related to ration procedures.) *Idumaea*: EN 201, an early fifth-century text, not part of the main Makkedah archive, in which some individuals with Hebrew or Edomite names are said to be going to give *ptp* to the Egyptian-named servants (‘*lymy*) of [...]. *Persepolis*: PF 0858, 1587, 2059 (in Aramaic annotations on Elamite tablets) and PFAT *saepe*. The superscription on PFS 0066* (one of only three elite seals used for disbursement of commodities consumed at court: Henkelman 2010: 689–92) may refer to a **piθfakāna* named *Farnadāta- (information from Mark Garrison).²²⁶ The title perhaps describes the function of officials whom the Elamite texts mark with the word *kurmin* (‘allocation of...’). *Bactria*: ADAB B2:2 (here written *ptw*’, which is closer to an original **piθva-*), C4:10, 42, C5:8. A **piθfakāna* appears in Bactria as well (C1:47, C4:10). For a different office-title derived from **piθfa-* (**piθfabaga-*) see A6.12:2(2) n.

line 2(6) 𐤁𐤌𐤎𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤍, *bmdyntkm*, ‘in your provinces’. Outside of A6.9 *mdynh* (in Aramaic or Hebrew) designates the generality of imperial provinces in Ezra 4.15, Dan. 3.2, 3 and Esther (*passim*: there are 127 of them (1.1), so they are smaller than satrapies, and the number is not wholly implausible: Henkelman ii 214 n. 35) and is applied more specifically to Thebes (A4.2, C3.14, D3.19), Tshetres (A4.5, C3.14; and A5.2, B3.13, D1.26, D4.17 are also likely to be Tshetres,

²²⁵ The title is separately attested during the first Persian domination: Vercoutter 1962: 105–8. The seal is one of six Fortification archive seals with hieroglyphic inscriptions. For some unprovenanced Egypto-Persian seals cf. Giovino 2006. The wider phenomenon of the Egyptian personal or artefactual presence in Persis is surveyed in Wasmuth 2010 and 2017: 66–97.

²²⁶ PFS 0066* is distinctively associated with flour, so Henkelman 2010: 690 assigned the seal to the official responsible for milling the royal grain. See now Garrison & Henkelman ii 71–2.

given the provenance of the documents), Pamunpara (A6.1),²²⁷ Samaria (WDSP 4 and 5), Judah (Ezra 2.1, 5.8, Neh. 1.3, 7.6), Babylon (Ezra 7.16, Dan. 2.48–9, 3.1, 12, 20), Elam (Dan. 8.2), Media (Ezra 6.2), and Nihshapaya (ADAB A4). These are characteristically relatively or very large tracts of land.²²⁸ The exception is Nihshapaya which, since it is having a wall and ditch built around it, is evidently a town/city. This could also be true of the plural *mdynt'* in ADAB B8:2 (the letter is too fragmentary to assess).²²⁹ But the unidentifiable allusions in three Saqqara documents (D3.30, ATNS 103, Lemaire and Chauveau 2008 fr. a)—in the last of which the name seems to start with the letters PMB—are presumably to a province or provinces in Egypt comparable to Tshetres, Thebes, Pamunpara, and the other province in A6.1. Given the provenance of the documents we may be dealing *inter alia* with the province (whatever it was called) which included Memphis. The relationship between these Egyptian provinces and the traditional and nomes or districts²³⁰ is a moot point: the man in charge

²²⁷ The reading is uncertain: see Porten 1983: 413–14. (Other possibilities are apparently Pasunpara, Nasunpara, or Namunpara.) If correct, it may designate somewhere in the eastern Delta. (The name *P3-mw-n-p3-R'* seems to designate the Pelusiac branch(es) of the Nile: Gardiner 1918: 257–60, Montet 1957: 169–70, 179–80, 184, Gauthier 1925–31: 1.113, 3.30, Lloyd 1975–88: 2.86, Zauzich 1987: 87.) It is perhaps a little disconcerting that an Achaemenid-era province-name should be so elusive. A further province-name appeared in the text, usually supposed to have been lost in the damaged left edge of the papyrus. In fact some enigmatic letters appear beneath the words 'scribes of the province'. The positioning of these letters and of 'scribes of the province' in relation to the words to the right (they straddle their implied centre-line) and the fact that they are in slightly smaller script suggest they were written at the same time: the enigmatic letters are not a sublinear addition to an existing bit of text. Conceivably, then, the enigmatic letters represent the province name: the scribe realized there was insufficient room for the name to the left of 'scribes of the province' (if that were written at normal size) and so squeezed the whole phrase ('scribes of the province GN') into the space available rather than starting a whole new line. Without an agreed reading of the letters, of course, this proposal cannot be further assessed. (Porten and Yardeni discern eight letters—and there could have been more, given the damage to the edge of the papyrus—but identify only the first, as *w*.)

²²⁸ The word's application to very large areas (Media, Babylon, Elam) in some Biblical texts conflicts with the 127 provinces in Esther 1.1 and elsewhere. One cannot establish whether it might have occurred in Achaemenid-era documents. Henkelman (ii 227) suggests that Damascus (line 2) stands for the whole of Transeuphratene, which would be comparable. But on his view (in which *pqydyn* are state officials, not estate managers) the two *pqydyn* associated with Damascus might have different provinces within it, and there is no guarantee that Transeuphratene *alias* Damascus is being called a *mdynh*. Even so, of course, their individual *remits* would be much larger than that of the other *pqydyn*, even (perhaps) the one who oversees Arbela, *Hll[.]* and 'Matalubash'. (One wonders why the document does not name the putative subdivisions of Transeuphratene.) The truth is that both *pqyd* and *mdynh* are perilously fluid terms.

²²⁹ The reference of the word in one of the Arad documents (Naveh 1981: 157 [no.12]) cannot be securely determined. Naveh's reading *mdynt š[...]* invited a supplement referring to Samaria (whether city or province), but the alternative reading *mdynt'* (already envisaged by Naveh) is to be preferred. (I am most grateful to Bezalel Porten for information on this point.) The reference is probably to the province of Idumaea, but strictly speaking one cannot be sure. The word is (much later) used to mean town or city in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, but perhaps not in Palmyrene, *pace* Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v.: see Van der Spek 2015: 110–12.

²³⁰ Attested (using the term *tš*) in Achaemenid-era documents in P.Cair.50060, Pap. Meerman-Westreeianum 44, Bothmer no.66 (chiefs); S.H5-DP 434 = Smith and Martin 2009: no. 4 (scribes);

of a province (at least in Tshetres) was an Iranian (with an Iranian title, *frataraka*), so they are not *simply* identical, and it is possible that the Persians had imposed a new structure upon top of the (admittedly historically shifting) nomes. At least some of the ‘provinces’ in A6.9, by contrast, give the appearance of being closely descended from Assyrian provinces (see above, pp. 150–2). On the problem of the relationship between the *pqydyn* addressed in this letter and the provinces with which they are associated see A6.4:2(1) n. and the introductory note above (pp. 154–63) on the nature of A6.9. The official titles with which provinces are otherwise linked in documentary sources are *phh* or *frataraka* (at governor level)²³¹ and judges, scribes, *tpty*, and *gwšky* (at lower levels within the hierarchy).²³²

P.Cair.33174 (scribes and judges: but see Tuplin iii 32 n. 108); P.Berl.Dem.13552 (the *tš* of Osorwer: but see below); P.CattleDocs.7, P.Loeb 41, P.Tsenhor 16 (references to ‘Calasirians [soldiers] of the *tš*’), P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 7 (see below). The word *tš* forms part of the traditional term Tshetres (‘district of the south’) which becomes a province (*mdynh*) name in the Persian dispensation. More confusingly Egyptologists sometimes translate *tš* as ‘nome’, sometimes as ‘district’. If *tš* in P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 7 really designates Aršāma’s estate (Appendix 3.1: p. 295), one might consider the possibility that that is also the case in P.Berl.Dem.13552. (Osorwer’s house is a place for grain storage in P.Loeb 1.) The elusiveness of the term *tš* is illustrated by the fact that one can have the *tš* of Dush (O.Man.4980, 5482, 5493), the *tš* of the village/town (*dmi*) of Dush (O.Man.5562), and the *tš* of the lower side of Dush (O.Man.5435, 5437, 5451, 5584, 5509). One can hardly believe either that these are three distinct official circumscriptions or that they all describe the same thing.

²³¹ *Frataraka*: see above. (The term had a different reference in Bactria: see Tuplin 2017: 638.) *Phh*: this is the title of governors of Samaria (A4.7:29//A4.8:28, WDSP 7:17, 8:10, WD 22) and Judah (A4.7:10//A4.8:1, stamp impressions (Vanderhooft and Lipschits 2007), *bullae* (Avigad 1974: nos. 5 and 14)). Compare also the *phwt* of provinces in general in Esther 3.12, 8.9, 9.3, Dan. 3.2. These passages (plus Esther 1.3) also offer *sgny*, *sare*, and even ‘satraps’ as high-level ‘province’ officials, which one might (but perhaps optimistically) regard as evidence that *mdynh* is consciously a generic term embracing different categories of administrative region. The suggestion in Smith 1990: 296 that Saqqara S.H5-DP 450 contains a reference to a ‘satrap of the south’ has entirely disappeared in the definitive publication of that text in Smith and Martin 2009.

²³² See A4.5:9, A6.1:1, 6. *Typty*: Tavernier 2007: 431 notes a large number of proposed explanations, his own preference being **tipati-*, ‘supervisor, chief of guards’, linked with proto-Iranian **tai-* or **ti-* = ‘look, see’. The word recurs, as *tpt*, in Daniel 3.2–3, where Nebuchadnezzar summons satraps, prefects (*sgny*), governors (*phwt*), counsellors (*đrgzry*), treasurers (*gdbry*), judges (*dtbry*), *tpty*, and all the rulers of the provinces (*mdynt*). Schmitt 2006: 287–8 rejects Benveniste’s otherwise engaging idea (1945b: 67–8) that the name of Ctesias’ Tibethis (the eunuch who revealed that Tanyoxarcus had been replaced by an impostor) was cognate with the original Persian word, whatever its precise form. *Gwšky*: **gaušaka-*, ‘informer, spy’ (Tavernier 2007: 423), a term much discussed because it resonates with Greek talk of the King’s Ears and/or Eyes (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.10–12, 6.16, Hdt. 1.114, Ar. *Ach.* 91–2, 94, 124; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1287b29–30). Naveh and Shaked 2012: 23 render it ‘eavesdroppers’, which is in the spirit of Xenophon’s image of a network of loyalist informers, but not so suitable for provincial officials. See also Shaked 1982: 292–303 (eyes), Shaked 1995: 278–9 (ears), and below, pp. 187–8. Scribes of the province: below, p. 291 n. 6, Schütze 2017: 495–7. Schütze sees them as simply continuing an Egyptian institution; but that cannot be entirely true of the *typty* and *gwšky*, or indeed the *frataraka*: the use of Iranian terms must be of some significance—which is not to say Schütze is wrong about arrangements being different in Tshetres and Samaria (2017: 493).

line 3(1) יום ליום, *ywm lywm*, ‘day by day’: The instruction to provide rations ‘day by day’ and the more specific instruction that if the travellers are in one place for more than one day they are not to get further rations encourage one to believe that the travellers are only given one day’s ration at a time and have to keep moving. Any other view would entail a procedural environment in which the way a letter like this worked was understood by all involved to allow for the possibility that travellers *might* sometimes be given provisions for several days, on the basis that they could not claim further provisions until they had completed the appropriate number of days’ travel. That is tantamount to saying that everyone knew that a letter like A6.9 did not mean what it said. But there is little reason for us to say any such thing. It is true that the primary concern of A6.9 is to ensure that the travellers keep moving. But the postulated ‘understanding’ could thwart this, because it would make it possible for the travellers to stockpile provisions.²³³ The suggestion can only be entertained if there were parts of the journey where it was *known* that travellers had to go for, say, three days before they would come to the next provision point. The validity of that idea in the present context intersects with questions about the geography. But we can be sure that the space from Damascus to Egypt was not devoid of potential supply-points, so multiple provisioning will not help explain why *pqydy*n in Damascus are the last addressees of Aršāma’s letter, and we should have to be very sure about the existence of potential sections of poor provision earlier in the route to feel that this is an idea worth pursuing. In short, we should not entertain the idea that A6.9 authorizes anything but daily collection of a single day’s rations—certainly not unless and until other considerations leave no other option. In the Persepolis system travellers normally got food one day at a time because the Persepolis–Susa road plainly had daily provisioning points. (Note also the reference to ‘every day’ in the still unpublished new Bactrian document mentioned above, p. 150.) We should not *start* by assuming that the route Nakhthor followed was not like that.

lines 3–4 קמח חוריי... רכשה, *qmh hwry... rkšh*, ‘white flour... horses’. How do the figures here compare with the Persepolitan travel texts? The failure to specify an amount for the horses contrasts with the occasional appearance of specific amounts of grain (or even flour) allocated to horses, mules, camels—and even in one case dogs (NN 0317). The amounts vary—and vary within single documents: some horses in a party get more than others—and may represent a variably partial contribution to the animals’ sustenance. The vagueness in the Nakhthor document (which unlike the Persepolis documents *precedes* the moment of allocation) may be to allow for various local conditions

²³³ When travellers arrive somewhere and demand a day’s provisions as per the letter, how is the supplier to know if they picked up three days’ provisions at the previous supply-point?

and the availability of grazing. But when we turn to the human consumers things are clearer.

Since one *hophen* = one QA = 0.97 litres (see below, line 3(3) n.), in Persepolitan terms Nakhtōr is getting five QA of flour (even if of different grades) and two QA of wine/beer, while his servants are getting one QA. Their ration is entirely normal; but Nakhtōr's certainly is not. If one leaves aside occasional cases in which an individual is given a very large allocation because he is responsible for the subsistence of significant numbers of subordinates who are not registered in their own right in the official record—cases that are not parallel to Nakhtōr because in his case we *are* told about his fellow-travellers—his daily flour rate is only comparable with perhaps three cases. Most exact is NN 0663—Kampezza the Anshanite travelling Susa—Persepolis on royal authorization with fifty-one companions in the fifth month of an unknown year gets five QA. Straddling the target are (a) NN 1859 which records a group of Indians, one of whom gets twelve QA (while the other 100 get the basic one QA), and (b) NN 2569 in which Titrakeš travelling on royal authorization with eighty men, thirty horses, and eighty-eight mules in 494 gets four QA. Even if the five mixed-grade QA of flour were equivalent to only three Persepolitan QA, that adds only three more cases: (a) NN 0431 Zakurra the Gandarian, travelling with 190 companions, twelve camels, and thirty-one mules from Gandara to Susa (early 501); (b) NN 2047 Harmišda travelling with 160 companions in 494; and (c) NN 1944 Daukka, travelling from Susa in 500/499 (no companions mentioned).

Turning to wine and beer, the ration here is usually one QA or less. There are two other cases of a ration of two QA of beer (NN 2557, NN 2634) and up to eight with figures higher than that;²³⁴ and there are five cases of a two-QA wine ration and only two cases of a higher one.²³⁵ Some of the people involved are connected with Indians; others have titles that may mark them as of importance—Aššašturrana 'the quiver-carrier' (PF 1560) or Hašina, the *dattimaraš* of the lanceman (NN 0937).²³⁶ So: Nakhtōr is doing fairly well for alcoholic drink, even if not quite as well proportionately as in his flour allocation. By way of further context it is worth noting that there are far more records for travellers receiving flour than for those receiving wine/beer. That *might* just be a quirk of documentary survival, but is much more likely to be because only a minority of travellers were allocated alcoholic drink in the first place; that is in line with the

²³⁴ NN 0372 (3 QA), PF 1529, NN 2634 (4 QA), PF 1529, PF 1546, NN 2634, NN 2637 (10 QA), 1525 (20 QA). The last of these might be a quantity intended to be shared with others, as I assume is the case with the 356 QA for Aktama in NN 0716 and the seventy QA for Datiya in NN 1809 (cf. Lewis 1980). In NN 2637 rather remarkably we have a group of 114 individuals each receiving ten QA.

²³⁵ Two QA: PF 1552, PF 1559, PF 1560, 1562, NN 0622 (in the last case the *prima facie* figure of 1.905 must be an error for two). Higher are NN 0937 (six QA) and PF 1563–4 (ten QA).

²³⁶ On 'lancemen' cf. Henkelman 2002. I hope to discuss them elsewhere in the context of the search for soldiers in the Persepolis Fortification archive.

fact that Nakhtḥor's servants get no drink and it means we should not underestimate the status significance of Nakhtḥor's two daily quarts. Taken together with his five QA of flour they signal that, as the *pyd* of a *br byt'*, he lives rather well—provided he does what he is told (line 6) and keeps moving.

line 3(2) חוררִי, *ḥwry*, 'white'. This evidently designates white flour (for *ḥwry* = white see also Daniel 7.9, 'white as snow'). In the Bactrian documents the term is used of oil (C1:25) as well as flour (B4:6, C1:15, 34, 38, 40, 42, 44, 47, 50, C5:5; and the new document mentioned above, p. 150). (The reference in A9:5, D2:2 is rather unclear.) Could this word possibly be cognate with *ḥr* = noble? If that were feasible, it would resonate with the suggestion that a term used for *tarmu*-grain (i.e. emmer) in PFT, viz. *hadatiš*, is derived from **azāta*- = 'noble': Henkelman 2010: 753 n. 313. (*Ḥwry* is not otherwise recorded in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995; there is also nothing pertinent in Sokoloff 2002.)

What sort of cereal the flour Nakhtḥor and his companions got was made from is unstated. At Persepolis we encounter what are also the three most common cereal crops in Mesopotamia, viz. barley (ŠE.BAR) and two types of wheat, emmer (*tarmu*) and (much less commonly) bread-wheat or durum (ŠE.GIG) (Henkelman 2010: 750–3), and barley and wheat were also dominant in Palestine (judging at least by the Bible, where wheat is the more highly valued commodity), whereas the Bactrian documents speak of barley (*š'r*), wheat (*ḥnṯh*), and millet (*dḥm*), millet being given to servants and lower-status people (ADAB C4:14, 21, 26, 28)—though not always (C4:43)—and wheat being given to nobody (making one wonder whether its appearance in the listing of 'barley, wheat, and millet' in B6:8, C4:4 may be somewhat formulaic: so Naveh and Shaked 2012: 34). At Syene-Elephantine the garrison-troops receive rations in barley (C3.14 *passim*)²³⁷ or emmer (B3.13, C3.14:7, 16²³⁸). (I am not sure that the adjacent references to wheat and the *prs* of Jedoniah in CG 170 guarantee that his ration was ever in wheat.) Herodotus (2.36, cf. 2.77) contrasts those who live on wheat (*purōi*) and barley (*krithai*) with Egyptians living on *olura* ('which some call *zeiai*')—which must be emmer. (The Egyptian word is *bd*, and it was the chief crop between Dynasties XXII and XXVI: Lloyd 1975–88: 2.154–5.) This sharp contrast between Egypt and the rest of the world breaks down where the Aramaic evidence is concerned, since both wheat (albeit rarely)²³⁹

²³⁷ B4.3, B4.4 may also be indirectly relevant. One name for the royal storehouse at Elephantine was *ywdn* = **yaudāna*- or *yavadāna*- (A4.5:5), which some regard as meaning specifically 'barley-house' (Porten–Yardeni; cf. Naveh and Shaked 2012: 207, 209 in reference to other words with the root *yava*-).

²³⁸ In these two lines *š* (for *š'r*) at the start of a line which refers to a barley disbursement has been erased and replaced with *k* (for *knt*).

²³⁹ B4.1 (in a formulaic list; other such lists (B3.1:10, B4.6) mention just barley and emmer), CG 93, 150, 170, 215, D4.4:3, D7.39. (Both CG 93 and D7.39 also mention Farnadāta—perhaps the early fifth-century satrap?) Two further texts, C3.28, D8.11, are of Ptolemaic date.

and barley (rather frequently)²⁴⁰ are in evidence, as well as emmer.²⁴¹ But since so much of the relevant material relates to the Judaeen community at Elephantine, that is perhaps not entirely surprising. C3.26 does (neatly in terms of Herodotus' claim) record the disbursement of emmer to people with mostly Egyptian names (there are just a couple of Aramaeans and one Persian), and, although there are Egyptian-named members in the Syene garrison *barley* disbursement list (C3.14), an Egyptian name does not *prove* Egyptian origin: compare the *Aramaean* Pakhnum son of Besa, who lent emmer to 'Anani b. Haggai (B3.13), a loan that would be repaid from his official ration. But that transaction shows that emmer might enter the official food chain, irrespective of ethnicity, and the truth must be that both grains circulated at the first cataract, and it would be surprising if Egyptians did not sometimes consume barley. See also Porten 1968: 80–4.

line 3(3) חֲפֹנִן, *hpn*, 'measures'. The *hophen* (literally 'handful'; rendered 'measure' by Driver and 'cup' by Lindenberger) occurs regularly in other Egyptian Aramaic documents (to the list in Porten and Lund 2002 s.v. add ATNS 41, 68, 77a, 126, CG 58, 160, 219, 229 X16) and in the Bactrian letters (to the documents in Naveh and Shaked 2012 add the unpublished document mentioned above, p. 150), along with other units (1 *gwn* = 10 *'rdb* = 30 *gryw* or *s'h* = 300 *hpn*) not represented in the present letter.²⁴² It is properly a dry measure but its application to liquid goods in the present passage is paralleled in Bactria (e.g. ADAB C1:25, C3:41, 45 (variously wine or vinegar)) and Egypt (A2.2:13, A2.4:12, B2.6:15, B3.3:5–6, B3.8:20–1, D3.16:8–9 (all oil), CG 58 (commodity uncertain)). The occurrence of the *artaba* both in Egypt and at Persepolis allows one to work out that 1 *hophen* = 1 QA = 0.97 litres (Porten 1968: 71)²⁴³ and therefore to assess Nakhthor's rations by comparison with the levels found in the imperial heartland (see above, lines 3–4 n.). It appears that the Bactrian documents almost never allow one to calculate individual daily rations, though an official (apparently in charge of punishments) seems to get one *hophen* of wine in ADAB C3:41. At Elephantine, Porten 1968: 81 claims 1.5 *artabas* = 45 QA is a standard barley ration, even though it is the one received by fewest people in

²⁴⁰ Barley is the most copiously attested food stuff in the CG ostraca (Lozachmeur 2006: 89): CG 2, 14, 15, 22, 24, 25, 41, 46, 49, 52, 66, 93, 120, 122, 132, 144, 150, 152 (= D7.16), 155, 204, 212, 232, 263, J2. See also ATNS 85, TADAE A2.4, A4.4, A4.10:14 (the Judaeans' bribe to Aršāma), B4.3, B7.1, C3.13:34–43, C3.14, C3.16–17, D1.20, D1.33, D2.11, D2.27, D7.12, D7.39, D7.45, D7.50.

²⁴¹ B3.13, C3.8 IIIB:25, C3.14, C3.16, C3.17, C3.18, C3.25, C3.26, D3.1, D6.8 (c) (the putative companion letter to A6.11), CG 42. The reading is uncertain or of uncertain interpretation (there can be confusion with the Aramaic word for 'colleagues') in CG 20, 91, 121bis, 213.

²⁴² The word is cognate with Akkadian *upnu*, 'hollow of the hand; handful'. The phrase *pūt upni* designates a (rather special?) type of cup (cf. CAD 12.545–6).

²⁴³ Admittedly some might wish to qualify this blunt statement, given the uncertainties surrounding the *artaba* (see A6.11:2(4) n.) and Grelot's espousal of a distinct liquid *hophen* of 0.33 litres (1964: 64; 1970: 124: this is the value assigned by Erman to the Egyptian *d3*), apparently—but the note is not entirely clear—abandoned at 1972: 311–12 (note *h*).

the list in C3.14. The other ration levels are 30 QA and 75 QA. His figures for wheat would be 20, 30, and 50, the standard ration being therefore one *artaba* = 30 QA.

line 3(4) 𐤎𐤌𐤎, *rmy*, ‘inferior (?)’. The word appears several times in the Bactrian documents (ADAB B2:2, C1:16, 35, 48, C3:21, 22, 38) and at least once at Persepolis (PFAT 056: Azzoni 2017: 461), and may also occur (sometimes as *rm*) in CG 1:3, 10:1, 189:1 (though not in circumstances that can cast much independent light). There are two problems: how to read it (*dmy* is a possible alternative, *d* and *r* being hard to distinguish in Aramaic writing), and what meaning to give to each of the possible readings.

Rmy has been variously understood as ‘inferior’ (Driver (adducing Targum-Aramaic *ramyah* = ‘rejected’), Porten 1968: 81 n. 89, Porten–Yardeni; cf. Grelot ‘farine grise’)²⁴⁴ or ‘refined’ (= **ramya*-: Hinz 1975: 198, Lindenberger 2003: 91, Muraoka and Porten 2003: 345, Tavernier 2007: 406), the latter a word certainly used of cereal in the Persepolis texts (see below, p. 173). *Dmy* is understood as **dāmya*- ‘of the house, common’, hence ‘plain, ordinary, low-grade’: Tavernier 2007: 405, after Shaked 2004: 41. It is not in doubt that it is an inferior grade to ‘white’ (it is always given in larger quantities), and *dmy* is perhaps the simple way, linguistically speaking, of getting that effect. *Rmy*, by contrast, may seem too dismissive (‘rejected’) for something that is nonetheless being distributed to a relatively privileged recipient (Whitehead 1974: 68 observed that a *pqyd* surely should not be given inferior flour) or too euphemistic (‘refined’: OInd *ramyá* means ‘delicate, fine’) for something that is not highest grade. But it is hard to be sure about the semantics of such things. There is apparently a grade of flour even finer than ‘white’ in one of the Bactrian documents (ADAB C1:14), described with the unexplained word *smyd*, but, though interesting in its own right, that does little to resolve the present question. (A three-grade system for grain, both wheat- and barley-flour, recurs in Polyaeus 4.32.3, viz. pure or very pure [(*karta*) *katharos*], second-class [*deuteros*], third-class [*tritos*].)²⁴⁵ Similarly unhelpful is the complaint of Bagaiča- in ADAB B2 that he has been sent flour of such ‘ordinary’ (*dmy*) quality that he effectively has no usable ration at all, for we do not independently know how high a status Bagaiča- enjoyed or how self-regardingly pernickety he may have been.

At Persepolis at least five different words are sometimes used to describe flour. Three (*mariya*, *manuya*, and *battimanuya*), are found together on three occasions (PF 0699–0700, NN 0174). Since all three seem to connote high quality (‘excellent, exceeding, eminent’: Tavernier 2007: 406–7) and since in the three texts in question they describe a single lot of flour, not three different

²⁴⁴ Whitehead cites Segert 1956: 386 as giving ‘inferior’ for *rmy*, but this seems to be a false reference. (Segert there discusses ‘white’.)

²⁴⁵ One thousand *artabas* divides into 400, 300, and 300 in the case of wheat, and 200, 400, and 400 in the case of barley. Only in the case of the ‘very pure’ barley-meal do these figures suggest a significant distinction in quality.

lots, it is hard to see that they can represent three significantly different quality grades. (Were it so, the text ought to record the separate quantities for each grade.) Each of the words does also occur separately (and not only in reference to flour) and could evidently operate by itself as a marker of high quality. (The case of *mariya* is rather more complicated because it also appears—perhaps representing a different OP word—as the designation of a food product.) Henkelman 2010: 680 n. 35 suggests that, although all three words occurring together are to be ‘read as a whole, not as a grading scale’ (as an indication that the flour in question is really top quality?), ‘actual grades are . . . the explanation for the sequence *mariya*, *manuya*, *battimanuya*, even though the expression itself was not used in a literal sense’. This is said against the background of the tripartite flour-grading of Polyaeus and the Bactrian letters, but it is not entirely clear whether we are to understand that the three words describe those three grades or just that the rhetorical use of three words for excellence reflects an environment familiar with tripartite flour-grading. The other two flour-descriptions (though they too are not confined to flour) are *ramiya* and *bašur*, and, as they are found in the same document of two different lots of flour in three texts (PF 326, NN 0014, NN 0030), they can denote different qualities/characteristics. (*Bašur* also occurs alongside—and designating a separate lot from—*battimanuya* in NN 0905.) *Ramiya* simply means ‘fine’ (and might be one of the words used in A6.9). *Bašur* is more complicated: in at least two cases it is connected with a funeral monument (*šumar*) and seems to designate a place where offerings were put. (The word regularly has the logogram for place.) This raises the possibility that, as a designation for flour or other things, it is marking them as ‘offering-grade’, something distinct from (but also, as a species of description, in a different class from) both ‘fine’ (*ramiya*) and ‘excellent’ (*battimanuya*). I would certainly not suggest mapping *these* three grades on to the three grades of other sources. Leaving *bašur* to one side, the fact that one can have both *battimanuya* and (merely) *ramiya* does keep open the possibility that A6.9 refers to a second-level grade of flour as *rmy*.

line 3(5) חמר או שכר, *ḥmr ʿw škr*, ‘wine or beer’. Perhaps left open to allow for different local customs in the geographically diverse area covered by the journey as much as to give Nakhṭhor a genuine choice when both options are available. (*Škr* actually designates any non-grape-based alcoholic drink.) See Henkelman ii 219–20.

line 3(6) 𐤒[...], [...]*r*, ‘cheese (?) or lamb (?)’. The terminal letter could be *d*, but no foodstuff ending thus presents itself. (Lindenberger also opts for [...]*r* rather than [...]*d*, and offers no translation. Grelot omitted the word entirely from his translation.)

Lamb or cheese? The proposed translations presume restoration either of an Aramaic equivalent of **panīra*- = ‘cheese’ (a word attested for the Achaemenid era only in Elamite: Henkelman 2010: 734–5) or of *ʿmr* = ‘lamb’ (a word attested

as a gloss for Elamite *kariri* on PF 0695). Linguistically speaking both are slightly problematic—the only occurrence of cheese in a relevant Aramaic text (the rations of the satrap Bessus in ADAB C1:24) uses the word *gbn* (not e.g. **pnr*), while it seems surprising that a multi-use and multi-location ration document would specify lambs rather than the more generic sheep (*qn*: cf. ADAB C5)—but neither difficulty is perhaps insurmountable. Neither foodstuff is commonplace—meat rations are rare at Persepolis, especially in travel documents, and cheese only appears at the royal table and (in Bactria) in the rations of Bessus—so Nakhtḥor's group seems in any event to be of privileged status, which is of a piece with the scale of flour and wine rations. The absence of a (weight) measure does not preclude cheese, in view of the evidence of the Babylonian Aršāma contracts (Appendix 3.2; Van Driel 1993: 222, 241) and of Bessus' rations (Henkelman 2010: 735). The commodity in question appears at the end of the list of Nakhtḥor's ration: that might seem slightly more odd for meat than cheese, but perhaps that is just a carnivore's prejudice and one might as well say that the high status item (whichever one it is) is put after the more banal flour and wine/beer. In purely Persepolitan terms cheese is the less likely option, since it never appears as a travel ration, whereas meat does; and Bessus, who gets it in Bactria, is undoubtedly of much higher status than Nakhtḥor. But the norms in the Persepolis Economic Area and Eastern Iran may not be those of Mesopotamia and the Levant—and Nakhtḥor is, after all, the *pqyd* of someone of even higher status than Bessus. Henkelman (ii 209 n. 7) opts for lamb (cf. Driver: 'sheep'): he may well be right, but the case is not quite certain.

line 3(7) **וְלְעַלְיָמוּרֵי**, *wl'lymwhy*, 'and for his servants'. Nakhtḥor has servants, and the Cilicians and an artisan in line 4 are Aršāma's servants; but Nakhtḥor is not Aršāma's 'servant', at least not in the rhetoric of a document such as this—cf. A6.3:1(12) n.: Psaṁšek is only called a servant when he is not being called a *pqyd*. The tone in which Aršāma writes to Nakhtḥor elsewhere proves, of course, that 'servant' would have been an appropriate description for the relationship. Unlike some travellers in PFA texts, Nakhtḥor is not accompanied by a professional guide (*barrišdama* = **paristāva*: Tavernier 2007: 428). As a group-leader, however, he arguably resembles another Aršāma functionary, Bagasravā in A6.12 (A6.12:1(3) n.).

line 4(1) **עַמִּיר**, *'myr*, 'fodder'. The word rendered as 'fodder' (for which Driver and Grelot preferred a more specific identification as hay) is rare in Official Aramaic, being otherwise attested just in two Idumaeen ostraca, TAOI A15.17 = ISAP 549, A26.5 = ISAP 1615, which refer (respectively) to a load-and-a-half and a load of *'myr*. Nothing is said about the purpose to which *'myr* is to be put, but Porten and Yardeni translate it as 'fodder'. The word for load (*mwbl*) appears some thirty times in the Idumaeen material, where it is more usually used for wood: Porten and Yardeni 2014: 220, on A4.36). (*Mwbl* may also be used at Elephantine in CG 80, 205: the contexts are ill-preserved and unilluminating, but do not appear close to the Idumaeen ones.)

A passage in the Mishnah suggests that *'myr* is categorically similar to *tbn* and *šh*, inasmuch as the three are associated as food with (respectively) lambs, cows, and camels. *Tbn* and *šh* also turn up in Idumaea. They are measured not in loads but in what are identified as bales (*pḥlš*) or bundles (*mštl*), though neither word is well illuminated elsewhere, and on a couple of occasions they are explicitly associated (presumably as intended feed) with camels (TAOI A7.37 = ISAP 1802, A10.40 = ISAP 1853). *Tbn*, which is also found in TADAE C1.1 *recto* 160 and doubtfully in ATNS 23b, is normally said to be straw, though in the main text of TAOI I Porten–Yardeni render it as ‘chaff’. (But the TAOI concordance gives it as ‘straw’.) *šh*, otherwise apparently absent in Official Aramaic, is rendered as ‘(pea) stalks’ in TAOI. So we have respectively a cereal product and a legume product (cf. Porten and Yardeni 2014: 60–1, on A1.44 = ISAP 1244). In the Hebrew Bible *'myr* can be loaded on a wagon (Amos 2.13), dragged to a threshing floor (Micah 4.12), cut by the reaper (Jeremiah 9.21), and burned vigorously (Zechariah 12.6), and it too can very naturally be seen as a cereal product. (There is nothing inconsistent with its use as animal feed.)

The distinction between loads and bales/bundles does suggest that in the minds of Idumaeen scribes *'myr* is practically and/or semantically distinct from *tbn* and *šh*, and this is perhaps why Porten–Yardeni understand the reference to be to sheaves (TAOI Concordance) or fodder (TAOI main text) rather than to a botanically specific commodity, even if in practice a cereal product may be involved.

In A6.9 *'myr* is certainly not flour (the commodity given here to the humans and not infrequently to animals in PFA documents)—otherwise that would surely be stated—but, since an instruction is given about it, it is not simply a reference to letting the animals loose to graze. *Prima facie* the officials have to release material designated as *'myr* for Nakhtḥor’s horses, so it is something that is stored that (can) serve(s) as animal feed. If the Idumaeen evidence entitles us to see *'myr* as botanically non-committal, the imprecision in Arsāma’s instruction may acknowledge that one cannot predict what precise things appropriate for animals will be present at any particular supply-point. That would be consistent with a scenario in which the basic feed is not cereal at all and might take various other forms or with one in which the feed is or includes cereal but the official has discretion to decide what sort of cereal depending on stocks. But the fundamental point is that (like ‘fodder’ in fact) *'myr* puts into the reader’s mind a general idea of the sorts of things that might be involved without actually being specific. Another putative Official Aramaic word for fodder is *ksh*, attested in Ahiqar (C1.1 *recto* 204: *kstk* = your fodder: Lindenberger 1983: 203–4, comparing JA/Syriac *kiss^etā'*), though not universally so translated: Porten prefers clothing (cf. JA *k^esūtā'* ‘clothing’). Bowman detected the word in PFAT 196 (*kst lpršn*, fodder for horses), but this awaits confirmation. In PFA fodder is h.Úlg or *zi-ut*. There are many texts about setting aside grain for fodder (a sub-set of category F) or use of grain as fodder for unspecified purposes.

But some texts explicitly link fodder with horses (often horses of a particular type): PF 1651, PF 1652, NN 2643 (road horses), PF 1700, PF 2065, NN 0642 (*pirradaziš* horses), NN 0177 (royal horses), NN 2175 (unqualified horses).

line 4(2) לִקְבֹּל רֶכְשָׁה, *lqbl rkšh*, ‘in proportion to his horses.’ There are two apparent problems.

1. Why is the number of horses not specified? Was each member of the party to have (precisely) one horse, so that specifying the number was otiose? Or (on the contrary) was it taken for granted that the only horses in such a party would be one for Nakhtḥor to ride and a couple more as pack-animals, so that it was again otiose to say more? Persepolis travel documents only relatively rarely mention humans and animals travelling together²⁴⁶—nor is the haul of documents recording travel rations for animals alone (category S3) very large, though some S1 texts may actually belong to S3 (Hallock 1969: 50 notes one case). Among texts relating to equids and camels, there is considerable variation in the size of groups and the relationship in number between humans and horses. In travel texts reporting parties of a comparable size to Nakhtḥor’s, the number of horses and/or mules can be smaller (NN 0878, NN 2018, NN 2396) or larger (Fort.7110, NN 1076, NN 2115, NN 2547, NN 2656:1–4) than the number of humans, but the figures can also be equal (NN 1803: ten of each) or roughly equal (PF 1300, PF 1467, NN 1878: in each case one extra animal). No very precise conclusion can be drawn from this material about Nakhtḥor’s travel group.

2. Why is the food allocation for each horse not quantified? One’s expectation that it should be quantified is formed by one’s general expectation that bureaucracy likes exactitude and the specific fact that PFA documents relating to travel groups made up of humans and animals (cf. n. 246) quantify the ration due to the animals. But the relevance of that parallel is arguably problematized by the fact that the rations allocated for animals in such documents (and in ration documents about animals more generally) are systematically inadequate to meet the daily needs of the animals in question (cf. Gabrielli 2006: 35–62, 131–5, Potts n.d.). What the documents record are relatively modest allocations of grain, flour, or (occasionally) wine issued to *supplement* other sources of sustenance. One of those is no doubt grazing. But Aršāma’s instructions

²⁴⁶ See PF 1300, PF 1397, PF 1418, PF 1467, PF 1508, PF 1570, PF 1571, PF 1942:19–22, PF 2056, PFa 29:56–7, Fort.7110, NN 0431, NN 0878, NN 1076, NN 1656, NN 1803, NN 1878, NN 2018, NN 2115, NN 2326, NN 2396, NN 2547, NN 2569, NN 2580, NN 2658: 1–5, Fort.0208–102, Fort.1255–101. ‘Horsemen’ are mentioned without horses in PF 1367, PF 1370, NN 0667, NN 0980, NN 1515, Fort.7902. In the Arad ostraca commodity-allocation for more than one human recipient (Arad 8, 10, 22, 58) never include animals and those that include animals never have more than one human recipient. That is a different disjunction between animals and humans from the one in PFA travel texts and does not support interpretation of the Arad documents as traveller-allocation.

make one wonder whether it is also assumed that way stations will issue basic fodder (hay, straw, chaff, legumes) that did not require precise prior specification. Specification is necessary where discriminatory ration scales are involved. But this only arises for animals in relation to supplementary food (involving commodities that are also dished out carefully when they go to humans), so memoranda of completed transactions do not record disbursement of basic fodder which will in principle always be the same on any given occasion for any given type of animal. The sealed authorization (*halmi*) may have said that basic fodder should be provided, but the sealed authorizations of the Persepolis system are never preserved, so the fact is only visible in Aršāma's letter. A Persepolitan authorization will also have given instructions about supplementary allocations to animals, but Aršāma did not choose to order special rations for Nakhtḥor's horses, so the only thing his letter mentions is generic fodder. The fundamental point about 'in proportion to his horses' (glossed by Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 982 as 'as much as they need') is that there is an accepted view about how much basic feed particular types of animal need in particular circumstances—and perhaps a recognition that the particular circumstances matter enough to make predetermination of quantity (and even feed type: see previous note) inappropriate.

line 4(3) רכשה, *rkšh*, 'his horses'. For this word for 'horse' cf. A3.11:2,5 (context fairly opaque) and Naveh 1981: 155 no. 6 (Arad), a reference to twelve 'sons of horses' (*bny rkš*), i.e. colts, together with a quantity of barley (for their sustenance?)—a situation with vague resonances of that in the present document. (The normal word for 'horse' in Arad texts is *sws*.) The term *rkšh*, interpreted as 'horse-ranch', also occurs in the Idumaeen ostraca at EN 97 = TAOI 47.3 and AL 91 = TAOI 245.1. In A6.12:2 the term for the horse to be created (along with a rider) by the image-maker Ḥinzani is *swsh*. According to Fales 2012 Aramaic *rkš* (like the Hebrew equivalent) may once have designated draft-horses, as opposed to ones to be ridden (*sws*), but this distinction had disappeared by the fifth century, and Esther 8.10, 14 in due course uses (Hebrew) *rkš* in connection with Achaemenid royal messengers. (Fales is principally concerned with the connection between Aramaic *rkš* and the Assyrian words *rakkasu*, *raksu*, and ^{lu}*raksu*, the conclusion being that the last term designates a horse-trainer or horse-quartermaster, and presupposes the application of *rkš* to [riding] horses already in Assyrian-period Aramaic.)

line 4(4) חלכין, *Ḥlkyn*, 'Cilicians'. On Cilicians elsewhere in the Bodleian correspondence see A6.7:2(2) n.

line 4(5) אמן, *'mn*, 'artisan'. Grelot 1972: 312 says that the word elsewhere designates an architect or sculptor (citing Hebrew *'mon* and Akkadian *ummānu* = 'maître d'oeuvre'). In the present case he translates it as 'ouvrier', but glosses 'technicien du bâtiment'. (Cazelles 1954 already saw the *'mn* as 'peut-être un

architecte ou un maçon... en tout cas, un artisan.) The term recurs in A6.10, the instruction to assemble *grd 'mnn wšpzn* ('*garda* artisans of every kind')—which may suggest one should not restrict the possible range for *'mnn* too much. The term appears in PFAT 184, 193, 261 (cf. Azzoni 2008: 262). About PFAT 261 I have no information, but in the first two cases the *'mnn* or *'mny*' are ration receivers, divided (in a standard Persepolitan fashion) into 'freemen' (*hṛn*) and boys (*lymn*); and in PFAT 184 at least they are on a journey. A different generic word for artisan is alleged to appear at Makkedah in AL 15, viz. *hṛš*. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 do offer that meaning (entry 4), but only in Phoenician and Punic. The root is also associated with ploughing (entries 1 and 6)—the common idea is engraving or cutting a furrow (Greek *kharassein* may be related)—and the word has been postulated in Aramaic in B1.1:8 in the sense 'plough' or 'divide'. But TADAE declines to print a firm reading or translation there, and TAOI 2.34 rejects the reading *hṛš* in its re-edition of AL 15.

line 5(1) מן מדינה על מדינה ... מן מדינה על מדינה, *mn pqyd 'l pqyd... mn mdynh 'l mdynh*, 'from (one) official to (the next) official... from province to province'. On the implications for the link between *pqyd* and province see A6.4:2(1) n.

line 5(2) ארונה, *'dwn*, 'route'. This corresponds to Iranian **advan-*, 'path, travel route' (Tavernier 2007: 446). Greenfield 1982 drew attention in this context to the later Aramaic word *'awānā* (written *'wnn*', according to Jastrow 1950 and Sokoloff 2002: 86). This normally means 'station, dwelling, resting place (including in funerary sense)', but in Babylonian Aramaic its use is confined to (a) references to the measurement of distance by so-and-so-many stopping-places on a journey and (b) places where food can be got during a journey.²⁴⁷ (There is also a word *'wnkr*' = traveller, trader: Sokoloff 2002: 86.) For Rundgren 1965–6: 75–9 *'awānā* resulted from contamination between the Iranian words *āvahana* (village) and **avāhana* (a place where one unsaddles horses), but Greenfield suggested that it derived from **advana* through an intermediate **awānā*. If so, later usage might be thought to reinforce the suspicion that the appearance of the Iranian term **advan-* in the present document reflects Nakhtōr's use of a formally established and controlled route. In other words, there may be a quasi-administrative concept lurking behind *'dwn*'.

line 5(3) עד ימטא מצרין ... פתפא זנה, *ptp' znh... 'd ymt' Mšryn*, 'give them this ration... until he shall reach Egypt'. This is *prima facie* formulated as though the document exhaustively covers provisions for the whole trip—an effect that may seem to be underlined by the fact that it is followed by a further instruction about the rules governing supply of rations ('and if he should be in (any) one place more than one day then for those days you shall not give them

²⁴⁷ *'wn*' is also the name of a place on the Tigris (Jastrow).

further rations'). The reference to Egypt is not a casual one right at the end of the instructions but apparently well-embedded *in* those instructions. But the effect is mitigated if one recalls the letter's ring-composition structure (see above, pp. 147–8). Given the correspondence between lines 5–6 and lines 2–3, one may feel that 'until he reaches Egypt' is simply a differently phrased re-statement of Nakhtḥor's ultimate destination, a destination that may lie beyond the practical purview of the present document. On this view 'd ymṭ' *Mšryn* really only signifies 'on his way to Egypt'.²⁴⁸

line 6(1) יתיר מן יום חד *ytyr mn ywm hd*, 'more than one day'. cf. *ywm lywm* (line 3 with n. ad loc.). The stress on not stopping recalls the instruction in many Neo-Babylonian letters that a messenger should not stay overnight once he has delivered his message: cf. CAD s.v. *nubattu* A (2a).

line 6(2) אחר *'hr*, 'then'. See A6.7:6, 7 n.

line 6(3) ספרא... בנסר... *Bgsrw...spr*, 'Bagasravā knows this order. Rāšta is the scribe'. On Bagasravā see A6.12:1(4) n. *Rāšta-, 'right' (Tavernier 2007: 281), recurs in the same formula and function in A6.9–13.

²⁴⁸ It would be nice if one could *translate* the phrase as 'in order that he (will) reach Egypt'. But this would be an eccentric use of *d*—or rather we would expect to have *zy d* (A6.13:3, A4.7:27) or *d zy* (A4.8:26): cf. Muraoka and Porten 2003: 333 (with n. 1270).

TADAE A6.10 (DRIVER 7, GRELOT 68, LINDENBERGER 43)

Preserving and Enhancing an Estate

Summary

Aršāma tells Nakhtḥor to preserve and enhance his estate during a time of disturbance.

Text

There are no significant uncertainties (except in the external summary). As usual Lindemberger is more conservative in the placing of square brackets and the marking of letters as damaged though reasonably certain.

Structure and Tone of the Letter

Whitehead 1974: 184 rightly comments on the 2+2 structure of the letter and the repetition of a four-fold framework (guard my property; so there will be no loss; and seek more workers; and add to estate) as a notable example of the rhetorical force of repetition. See also A6.7:6–8 n. It is perhaps rather remarkable that, although he issues a threat, Aršāma also reasons with Nakhtḥor (with an appeal to precedent) rather than just giving instructions: cf. Jursa iii 118. (Contrast A6.8, where the threats are the same, but there is no attempt to reason with Armapiya.) A rather similar situation is found in ADAB A6. Here too Axvamazdā eventually threatens Bagavanta with dire consequences if he does not do what he is told. But the bluntness found in other cases (notably A1, A4, A5) is somewhat mitigated here by ‘if it is thus as was sent to me <by> the said Vahyātarva, you have not done well by acting in disobedience and by not acting according to my decree’ (4–6), ‘as was earlier ordered by me to you (to do)’ (7) and ‘which you are under duty to bring in to that granary building of mine in accordance with what you are obliged’ (8), which (at least formally) allow that the critical reports about Bagavanta might be incorrect or exaggerated and reason with the recipient at least to the extent of articulating the fact that he has obligations that he should recognize. This parallel is in line with the fact that Jursa’s analysis of Aršāma’s epistolary style is in general applicable to Axvamazdā.

line 1(1) מרדו, *mrdw*, ‘rebelled’. See A6.7:6(3) n. Note that Lindemberger begs questions by translating ‘during the *recent* Egyptian uprising...’ (my italics).

line 1(2) סמשך, *Smššk*. An alternative writing of Psamšek, found only here in Aramaic texts. Lindemberger regards it as a scribal error and prints <p>*smššk*, perhaps rightly.

line 1(3) 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠, *grd'*, 'personnel'. Iranian **grda-*, 'domestic staff, workman': Tavernier 2007: 423. (The word is cognate with OInd. *grhá-* = house, so **grda* is analogous to Greek *oiketēs*.) See in general Briant 2002: 429–39, 456–60, 940–2, 944–5. Also found in A6.12 and A6.15, at Persepolis (PFAT 168, 408, and Aramaic epigraphs on a number of cuneiform tablets,²⁴⁹ as well as *passim* in the Elamite form *kurtaš*) and (as *gardu*) in a number of Babylonian texts.²⁵⁰ VS 3.138 (= 3.139 = BM 42383) shows some *gardu* receiving rations in 497 (7.5.26 Darius I) alongside *magi* and 'palace officials (*mār ekalli*) of the Bit-hare' (cf. A6.12:2(2) n.). In the Murašū archive we encounter royal *gardu* (BE 10.127)²⁵¹ and the *gardu* are pre-eminently connected with the Crown Prince Estate (Stolper 1985: 94).²⁵² There is also a *ḥaṭru* of the *gardu* (10.92, PBS 2/1 2), which may interconnect with the idea of the land or fields of *gardu* encountered in some Babylonian texts (cf. n. 250). On the other hand in Darius' Bisotūn text (§14) one of the elements of the property Darius restored after the elimination of Gaumata comes out in Elamite as *'kur-taš a-ak ul-hi^{mes} mar²-ri²-ip-ma* or *ul-hi^{mes}-mar da²-nu²-ip-ma* ('workers and estate artisans' or 'workers and house/estate subjects'), which seems to dissociate *kurtaš* (i.e. *grd'*) from estates, and although one *might* read the OP and Akkadian versions (which in any case only contain *one* word referring to workers) as making a closer link, that would not plainly give us the authority to change our reading of the Elamite one.²⁵³ The *kurtaš* of the Persepolis archive, even if not explicitly associated with particular

²⁴⁹ NN 0486, NN 0495. Its presence has also been reported on a number of other epigraphs.

²⁵⁰ *Kurtaš*: see recently Tamerus 2018 (who reiterates the difficulty of tying down their exact status) and Henkelman 2018b: 239–43 (who stresses status differentiation within the *kurtaš* category and doubts that any of them are properly to be thought of as slaves). *Gardu*: Tavernier lists thirteen Babylonian texts: add BM 120024, BM 42383 (a duplicate of VS 3.138/3.139), CBS 5316 = Stolper 2001: 94–5 (arable land of the king and of the *gardu*-workers: the concept of arable land (*zēru*) of the *gardu* recurs in BE 9.101, 10.32, 92, 127, and that of fields (*eqlate*) of the *gardu* in PBS 2/1 2, 13, 160, 204) and BRM 2.41, 44 (Seleucid texts from 160 and 158). Compare also the title **grdapatiš*, preserved in Elamite *kurdabattiš* and Akkadian *gardapata/gardapatu* (Tavernier 2007: 424; add EE 111: the holders have non-Iranian names)—at least if this is taken as 'chief of **grda*-workers' rather than 'majordomus, steward' (on this cf. Tavernier 2007: 423–4, Stolper 1985: 57)—and the newly revealed, ill-understood but apparently high-status official, the *gardu-ambaru* in BM 120024, who is conceivably identical with a so-called 'satrap' in PBS 2/1 2. I am not entirely sure where the EN-a *ša gardu* (master of *gardu*) in IMT 32 fits in. On the Babylonian evidence see Dandamaev 1985: 568–84 and (much more up-to-date) Kleber 2018a: 457–8. Another function-title based on the word has emerged at Persepolis in Fort.1290-102 + 2177-101 (Stolper 2017: 777–82, esp. 780), viz. *kurtiyabarabarraš*, tentatively explained as a combination of **grdyā-* (the adjectival form of **grda*) and **bārabara* (porter).

²⁵¹ Just as there are *kurtaš* of the king at Persepolis: PF 1092, PF 1127, NN 1747, Fort.5466.

²⁵² Kleber 2018a: 457–8 even glosses the term as 'retainer of the royal family'. We can also locate some *gardu* in the vicinity of the 'town of the Carians' (BE 9.15, PBS 2/1 104).

²⁵³ As **grda-* is etymologically associated with 'house' (see above) and as the word for 'estate' is the same as the word for 'house', one might even feel an element of duplication in the Elamite. The alternative readings of what comes after *ul-hi^{mes}* derive respectively from Cameron 1960: 83–4 and Hallock 1969: 680. The latter is preferred in Henkelman 2018a: 25.

individuals' estates,²⁵⁴ are certainly the deployable property and resource of the state (one might say of the state's estate)²⁵⁵—indeed this is their distinguishing feature, and one for which the Babylonian evidence is on the whole parallel rather than contradictory (Stolper 1985: 58).²⁵⁶ The *grd'* in the present document are at least potentially branded or tattooed workers, and nothing in other Bodleian letters really contradicts what that implies about their (possible) status. The Persepolitan and Babylonian evidence affords no comparably direct view of the status of *kurtaš/gardu*, though (in an ancient context at any rate) we will not naturally think that large (sometimes very large) managed groups of workers are made up of individuals with much personal autonomy. The fact that Persepolitan *kurtaš* lived in family groups (if that *is* a fact we can properly infer from the presence of both genders and the records of parturition)²⁵⁷ does not much affect this. The attempt of Aperghis 2000 to demonstrate deliberate mistreatment (by under-feeding) of male *kurtaš* is perhaps not quite cogent in its own terms (cf. Tuplin 2008: 317–18), but his sense that *kurtaš* in general were more like slaves than anything else is understandable,²⁵⁸ and the possibility that even Persians might fall into *kurtaš* status²⁵⁹ need not be incompatible. Henkelman 2012, however, wishes to keep *kurtaš*- and slave status distinct (cf. n. 250), and holds that the rations recorded for *kurtaš* in PFA texts do not represent the entirety of their remuneration, rendering Aperghis's line of argument intrinsically invalid. (Henkelman 2018b: 239 specifies that they were 'expected to find at least a third of their income from outside resources'.) Jacobs has argued that Persepolitan *kurtaš* were characteristically the product of *corvée* systems, but Henkelman thinks that that is distinctively true (only) of *kurtaš*

²⁵⁴ For association of Persepolitan *kurtaš* and so-called 'estates' cf. PF 1368, which reveals a *kurdabattiš* who apportions at an estate (*irmadim*): he is actually the regional director for Fahliyan, so this is rather a high-level arrangement. The *tašsup* ('people?') who are 'written' by a registration officer (*karamaraš*) at an estate (*appišdamanna*) in NN 2556 are presumably not *kurtaš*. In NN 1022 DIN.TAR makers are provisioned from the normal state system at an estate (*ulhi*), but it is hard to know whether they belong to the estate permanently. The Babylonian wood-cutters provisioned from an estate in NN 1999 are pretty certainly a temporary presence. So too the 1,500 workers travelling to Irtuppiya's *appišdamanna* (PF 1527)? But note that Henkelman (2010: 699–700) entertains the possibility that Irtuppiya is a steward tending (part of) the royal estate—a Nakhtḥor-like figure?—which might change the situation.

²⁵⁵ Or 'institutional household' (Garrison & Henkelman ii 62).

²⁵⁶ Babylonian *gardu* can be seen as institutional slaves, like *širkutu* and *šūšānu* (Jursa, Paszkowski, and Waerzeggers 2003–4: 257, Kleber 2018a: 444–8, 457–8).

²⁵⁷ PFAT 100 speaks of five men, six women, and 'their boys' (*lymh*) but, while this probably guarantees that 'lym here means 'boy, child', not 'servant, slave' (Azzoni 2007: 261), I am not sure whether it (unconsciously) reveals something about social organization.

²⁵⁸ When selling a slave at Persepolis Bēl-iddin assumed guaranty against suits (brought by) improper or proper claimants (to the slave) (and against suits claiming) the status of king's slave [LÚ.ARAD.LUGAL], free citizen, temple oblate, (or) [unclear term] for the slave (Fort.11786, Stolper 1984: 302–3). Anyone selling a royal *kurtaš* would surely have infringed this provision.

²⁵⁹ Briant 2002: 334, on the assumption that the 'Persian boys' (*puhu*) who write texts are (like many other 'boys') *kurtaš*. He suggests such loss of status could be the result of punishment or impoverishment.

who are further designated as *rabbap*. The people seized, marked, and (apparently permanently) assigned to Aršāma's estate in the present document hardly sound like ordinary *corvée* products.²⁶⁰ But there is, of course, no reason why a word as comparatively generic as **grda-* should not designate different versions of 'household' staff in different places.

Stolper 1985: 59 wondered whether the appearance of *gardu* and associated officials in Babylonia implied the existence there of a royal economic apparatus comparable in type, scale and complexity to that in Persepolis. The issue of scale and complexity remains hard to assess, certainly, but the evidence of *grd'* in Egypt certainly in principle reinforces the belief that this sort of situation existed outside Fars (cf. Briant 2002: 456–9). But there are further observations to be made.

1. One thing that seems to differentiate the Persepolitan and Babylonian models is that in the latter *gardu* can be not only ration receivers (cf. A6.12:2(2) n.) but also land-allotment holders: cf. above, n. 250. (It is not clear that the occasional allocation of seed to foreign *kurtaš* noted by Henkelman 2018b: 239 fundamentally undermines this distinction. Explanation of *kurtaš hallinup* in NN 2344: 3–5 as evidence of *kurtaš* holding land-for-service remains conjectural.) Which model applied in Egypt is a nice question. The image-maker Ḥinzani (with the 'people of his household') might sound like a candidate for land-holding *grd'* (A6.12); but he is actually on record there as a ration receiver. (One thing, incidentally, that sets him apart from all the other *kurtaš* and *gardu* known to us is his lack of anonymity. See pp. 217–18.)

2. Persepolitan *kurtaš* and Babylonian *gardu* are institutional labour resources. But the *grd'* we actually see in Egypt are presented as belonging to Aršāma or to Virafša and his wife (A6.15) or more generally to other 'lords' (A6.10). There is no clear sign of the management processes represented by

²⁶⁰ *Corvée* arrangements are elusive in our Aramaic documentation. See A6.7:5(2) n. in reference to the Cilician Thirteen. Lemaire 2017: 478 detects *corvée* in the Makkedah material, but this belongs with an interpretation of that material in terms of taxation records that is controversial, and the discussion of the 'worker' (*p'l*) texts in Porten and Yardeni 2006: 473–85 does not see things thus. (It also argues that all the pertinent texts are of Hellenistic date.) Lemaire 2017 also postulates *corvée* in ADAB A4–5: possible, but hardly mandatory. Across Egyptian Aramaic documentation as a whole we see boatmen, (perhaps) ass-drivers, and (especially in ostraca) many indirect intimations of people moving various commodities around (animals, food, clothing, wood, rope, ink, baskets, containers, knives, thread, etc.); but the status of such people is entirely opaque or not obviously unfree: the boatmen in A3.10, for example, who work for a Persian-named boat-holder, look as much like entrepreneurs as slaves or people enduring *corvée*. Sadly we hear nothing of workers within the (royal) treasury or storehouses who might resonate with the work and workers of the craft-centres (*kapnuški*) of the PFA, but we do see, directly or otherwise, intimations of people working in agriculture and animal husbandry or as gardeners, bakers, merchants, builders, doctors, artisans, prostitutes, etc. (There is also quite a strong flavour of animal husbandry in the Bactrian letters.) But there are never any plain indications that the workers involved are giving their labour as a form of taxation.

‘apportionment’ or ‘assignment’ at Persepolis (the relationship expressed in the words *šaramanna* or *damanna*) or by the **grdapatiš* at Persepolis and in Babylonia.²⁶¹ Hinzani seems to have a long-term personal relationship with Aršāma (played out in Susa and in Egypt), and assimilation of the recruitment process of A6.10 to the Persepolitan and Babylonian situation begs a lot of questions.²⁶² One must stress again that **grda-* is in principle a generic term. Aršāma uses it precisely because it captures his sense of ownership: the people in question are (as a Greek might say) part of his *oikos*. Whether he might have applied the same term to the *‘bdn* of A6.7 is a question that it would be really good to be able to answer. The answer might interact with the speculation in A6.7:5(2) n. about the implications of those persons being described as ‘assigned within my domains’ (*mmnyn byn bgy’ zyly*).

line 1(4) **ונכסיה גרדה**, *grd’ wnksy’*, ‘personnel and goods’. The ‘goods’ (cf. next n.) appear regularly alongside the *grd’*, but not explicitly in the statements about *addition* to the estate, except in lines 2–3 in reference to Psamšek’s activities on the earlier occasion: *he* adds both explicitly. In Aršāma’s earlier message to Nakhtḥor on the present occasion (lines 6–7) only the gathering (and branding) of new *grd’* is specified; the parallel bits in 4–5 and 9 are simply vague. But it might be unwise to conclude that Aršāma now only wants new workers and not new goods.

line 1(5) **ונכסיה**, *nksy’*, ‘goods’. (The word recurs in lines 3, 4, 6, and 8.) An Akkadian borrowing (Kaufman 1974: 77; Muraoka and Porten 2003: 349): cf. *nikkassu*: CAD s.v. (3) p. 229. In Egyptian Aramaic texts *nksyn* and *nksy’* are portable (A4.4, B7.2; distinct from a house: D23.1 III–IV: 8, Va: 6),²⁶³ consumable (B2.7; perhaps specifically food in D1.11),²⁶⁴ and stealable by fugitive slaves (A6.3:5), and include clothing (but contrast ATNS 50) and assorted domestic items (e.g. mirrors, trays, utensils, furnishings, oil, non-precious metal). Silver is normally treated as distinct (A4.5, B2.6, B3.3, B4.6, B6.4, B7.3 [palimpsest]), though this is not the case in B2.8:4 and (perhaps) B3.8:23.

The word also appears in the Aramaic version of a notorious passage of DB (§14). Unfortunately the text is almost entirely lost; all that remains is *nksyhwmm wbtm* (their ‘property and houses’) and this does not map directly onto the better-preserved versions in other languages, precisely because they do not

²⁶¹ I do not think that assignment (*mmnyn*) in A6.7:5 (see A6.7:5(2) n.) is germane. Some think that *wšbr* designates a worker-chief or the like, but this remains uncertain (A6.5:2(2) n.). The claim that specifically worker-chiefs appear in Bactria as **frataraka* (ADAB A5) or **sarakara* (C3:40) is without much foundation.

²⁶² There is no telling that the branded people in Curtius 5.5.6 were institutional *kurtaš*. There are no identifiable and pertinent large worker-groups in the Bodleian letters or elsewhere in Egypt. (The 200 *gbm* of ATNS 24 do not come into that category.)

²⁶³ Presumably the confiscation of goods as a punishment in Ezra 7.26 *did* include real estate.

²⁶⁴ In the light of a prospective bribe consisting of silver and 1,000 *artabas* of grain (A4.10), one might wonder whether the ‘silver and goods [*nksyn*]’ in A4.5:4 and A4.8:5 included foodstuffs.

contain the sort of generic word for ‘property’ that *nksy*’ appears to be. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the order of items is different in the Akkadian version from that in the OP and Elamite; one may expect—but one cannot be sure—that the Aramaic version would resemble the Akkadian (as it certainly does in some other respects). The upshot is *either* (a) that *nksy*’ does *not* correspond to anything specific in the other versions and indeed may represent a simplification of the other versions, in which case it might embrace fields, animals, and (dependent) workers, *or* (b) that it corresponds to just one or other of fields or animals or (dependent) workers. To use *nksy*’ of real estate (‘fields’) would run counter to the indications of other Aramaic texts; but it is applicable to flocks of animals in some of the (later) non-Egyptian uses of the word in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, and one could speculate that, if it was applicable to flocks of animals, it might in principle be applicable to (so to say) flocks of dependent people.

In Aršāma’s letter, of course, there is a distinction between *grd*’ and *nksy*’, so of the possibilities suggested by DB §14 only animals would remain; and Grelot 1972: 314 did indeed (without comment) translate *nksn* as ‘troupeaux’ in line 3. But elsewhere in the letter he put simply ‘biens’, and this has to be the safest option.

line 2(1) זילנא... זילי, *zyln*’... *zyly*, ‘our...my’. A slightly unexpected plural: ‘the previous *pqyd* Psamšek guarded our *garda* and property in Egypt so that there was no diminution in my estate’. David Taylor (personal communication) says there is no likelihood of the ‘royal we’. Whitehead 1974 notes the plural, but makes no further comment. No one offers an explanation. Similar unexpected plurals in reference to Nakhtḥor (see below, lines 5–10 n.) can be speculatively explained as reflecting the existence of an entourage of colleagues. Does Aršāma momentarily see himself as one of a class of *garda*-and-property holders—which is, of course, what he was? The complaint in lines 3–5 involves reference to other ‘lords’ (i.e. involves placing Aršāma within the larger class, while distinguishing his experience as peculiarly bad). Perhaps that perspective is momentarily anticipated—if illogically so, since Psamšek was presumably just Aršāma’s *pqyd*.

lines 2, 4, 6, 9, חסן, *ḥsn*, ‘with force’, ‘forcefully’. See A6.8:3(7) n.

line 2(2) כסנתו, *ksntw*, ‘loss’. Perhaps Iranian **kasunaθva-* = ‘loss, decrease’ (Tavernier 2007: 444), though Elizabeth Tucker advises caution (personal communication). The word recurs in lines 6, 8.

lines 2–3 גרד אמנן וספזן, *grd ’mnn wspzn*, ‘personnel of artisans of every kind’. The same phrase recurs in lines 6–7. Whitehead 1974: 73 regards *grd* here and in 6–7 (as well as in A6.12:2 (*grd bdkrn*)) as absolute in apposition to the words that follow, not a singular construct, giving a translation ‘domestic staff, craftsmen of all kinds’. (Elsewhere in the present letter (4, 5, 6) and in 6.15:8–9

we have the emphatic *grd'*.) Lindenberger ignores *grd* here and in line 7, rendering simply 'artisans of all kinds'.

line 3(1) וְסַפְזַן, *wspzn*, 'of every kind'. Iranian *vispazana-* = 'of all kinds' (cf. line 7). *Vispazana* and its Elamite equivalent (*mišbazana*) = 'containing all tribes, all kinds of men' (Tavernier 2007: 34, 78) occur in DNa, DSe, DZc, and (Elamite only) DPa, in the royal titlature. The word is also used (in Elamite garb) in various Persepolis texts²⁶⁵ in reference to grain (PF 1223), fowl (PF 1747–9, NN 0574, NN 0790, NN 1544, NN 1664, NN 1674), horses (NN 0726)—and (as in the present text) workers (PT 79): indeed *marrīp mišbazana* (Hinz and Koch 1987 s.v.; Cameron originally took it as the name of the 'Gateway of All Races') is a rather close parallel to *'mnn wspzn*.²⁶⁶ Benveniste (1958: 60–1) went further and postulated **grda krnuvakā vispazanā* as an equivalent for the entire phrase *grd 'mnn wspzn*, and is followed in this by Tavernier 2017b: 344.²⁶⁷ The absence of endings on *wspzn* indicates that the word remains an unassimilated borrowing: was there an element of technical term or cliché about the use of *vispazana* in Persian bureaucratic language?²⁶⁸ Stolper 1997: 133 n. 2 questions Benveniste's view that in PT 79 the workers are 'of all kinds', not 'all races', insisting that, since PFA texts identify workers by nationality, it is likely that the 1,149 workers of PT 79 *did* include various nationalities.²⁶⁹ But (a) it seems less than obvious that different ethnicities is what Aršāma has in mind, and (b) **zana-* (for which Stolper wants to retain a specific connection with 'tribe' or 'race') seems to lack ethnic overtones when it appears as a loanword in A6.1:3 and so may not necessarily have had it in all OP uses.

line 3(2) וְעָבַד עַל בֵּיתָא זִילִי, *w'bd 'l byt' zyly*, 'made over to my estate'. See below, line 7(3) n.

²⁶⁵ Tavernier also cites NN 1517, but the relevant word does not appear there; this is a wrong reference for NN 0790, resulting from confusion between Fort.669-1 = NN 0790 and Fort.969-1 = NN 1517.

²⁶⁶ There is a chance that a similar phrase once appeared in BM 108963 (an Elamite administrative tablet of uncertain non-Persepolitan origin that entered the British Museum collection in 1914), though all that survives is *ma-iš-ba-za-na*: see Garrison, Jones, and Stolper 2018. The workers in PT 79 are 'upon [accounted to] the court (*īyan*)' (for this translation see Cameron 1958: 173), perhaps *mutatis mutandis* as Aršāma's are made over to his estate. See A6.10:7(1) n.

²⁶⁷ In DSf §13 OP *krnuvakā-* (line 47) corresponds to Elamite *marrīp* (line 41) and Akkadian *ummānu* (line 32). (For the texts cf. Steve 1987: 64–77.) Tavernier 2007: 427, dealing with indirect attestations of *krnuvaka* in Elamite *kurnuka* (PT 14, PT 31, PT 1963-1, PF 1611, NN 0434, NN 1216), renders it 'stonemason' (as does Schmitt 2009: 113), which would not suit the generality Benveniste ascribed to his phrase.

²⁶⁸ For the grammatical phenomenon cf. *hndyz* in A6.7:6, *hnskrt* in ADAB A1:2, and the comments in Naveh and Shaked 2012: 53 on similar but more problematic cases in other Bactrian texts.

²⁶⁹ Benveniste 1958: 63 also canvassed, but rejected, the possibility that the phrase designated 'ouvriers à tout faire', i.e. non-specialists.

line 3(3) שְׁמִיעַ לִי *šmy' ly*, 'heard by me.' The passive form perhaps reveals a calque of Persian idiom (Whitehead 1974: 73, 236; Ciancaglini 2008: 31; Gzella 2015: 173).²⁷⁰ Compare A3.3:13, *šmy' ln* = 'it was heard by us'—this time not a Persian official letter, but one between Judaeans, albeit ones connected with the Elephantine garrison. See also A6.4:1, 3(2) n., A6.15:1(3) n. Aršāma has heard of Nakhtḥor's failings—but from whom? The same question arises about the information about the Cilicians in A6.7 (cf. A6.7:6–8 n.). Elsewhere his source of information and/or requests for action is clearer: Psamšek (A6.3, A6.8), Nakhtḥor (A6.6—presumably: the text is damaged), Peṭosiri (A6.11), Vāravahyā (A6.13), a group of officials (A6.1), and a succession of officials and others (A6.2: the report from the boatmen in Elephantine has passed through two intermediaries). In the Bactrian letters Axvamazdā responds to information from Vahuvaxšu (A1) and Vahya-ātar the *pqyd* (A6), as well as responding to messages from Bagavanta (A2, A4). Both Psamšek and Vahya-ātar bear the title *pqyd*, which makes their denunciations of Armapiya (A6.8) and Bagavanta (A6) formally rather similar (though does not imply Armapiya and Bagavanta are of similar status: see A6.8:1(1) n.). Vahuvaxšu (who has a specifically Bactrian name and, unusually, is given his patronymic) has no title but stands in some relation to the camel-keepers whose problems are the burden of the letter (expressed by their being his *hnškr*, perhaps 'apprentice-servants'). In the Bodleian letters named sources are people with a clear stake in the matter at hand, whether as *pqydy*n or other officials whose job it is to make estate or other official business go properly²⁷¹ or as individuals who want their private interests served or protected (Peṭosiri, Vāravahyā), and the same clearly applies in the Bactrian letters. Perhaps it is deliberate that the source of information about Nakhtḥor's failings in A6.10 is not revealed to the object of complaint. (It is less obvious that there might be a reason for concealing the source in A6.7.) The (anonymous) informer is a stereotype of authoritarian regimes, but that is no reason to deny the validity of Greek perceptions that the Achaemenid king (and by extension his satrapal vice-gerents and other officials) depended on 'eyes' and 'ears'.²⁷² This does not mean that we should discover such people

²⁷⁰ Oddly, though, the Aramaic rendering of DB does not use this trope when translating an OP example (*manā krtam* in DB §10 becomes *'bdt* in C2.1 I:2). Kutscher 1969: 137 suggested that the idiom had not yet penetrated Aramaic at the time the translation was made.

²⁷¹ We see the same phenomenon indirectly in Miçapāta's denunciations of Nakhtḥor to Virafša (A6.15).

²⁷² Xenophon gives a good account in *Cyr.* 8.2.10–12 of the multiplicity of spies in the system. This does not preclude there being a spymaster (Herodotus' King's Eye: 1.114, 120), as Xenophon himself implicitly knows (8.6.16). Xenophon also knew (*Oec.* 4.6) that there was open inspection of subordinates' performance as well as reliance on self-interested denunciation. Since some of the objects of inspection were likely to be 'sons of the house', it is not surprising that the inspectors might be figured as sons or brothers of the king. But inspection and investigation of irregularity were (also) simple bureaucratic norms: see Henkelman 2017a: 158–9, Stolper 2017.

specifically in bearers of titles such as **azdakara* (A6.1) or even—a favourite in this context—**gaušaka-* (*gwšky*': A4.5:9: see above, p. 167).

line 4(1) **אֶת־תִּירְאָ** [בתח], [*bth*] *tyt*', '[in Low]er (Egypt)'. Lewis 1958 suggested that line 4 should refer to officials in Upper Egypt, not Lower Egypt, (a) in order for there to be a contrast between Nakhtḥor, who is definitely in Lower Egypt (line 11), and the other officials, and (b) for reasons of spacing (which he did not articulate).

As to sense: there is a contrast between Aršāma's *pqyd* and those of other lords (*mr'yhm* = 'their lords'), so the point may be precisely that Nakhtḥor is in the same region of Egypt as the successful *pqydyn*. (The reading *mr'yhm* is not in doubt, as the word recurs in line 5. The fact that Driver's translation had 'lord's' [sc. staff, estate], not 'lords', may have caused misunderstanding.)

As to reading: Driver and Porten–Yardeni read [*bth*] *tyt*'. Porten–Yardeni put dots on the *yod* and *aleph*; Driver has bars over the *tavs* and the *yod*. (His bars are supposed to mean that a letter is broken.) Lewis's alternative would be *b'lyt*', one letter shorter. On the face of it the presence of two *tavs* is assured, in which case Lewis cannot be right. But the Bodleian photograph suggests that, while *t*' at the end is fairly reliable (though Porten–Yardeni dot the *aleph*), the rest is lost or arguable. It does seem highly unlikely that a *lamed* was present; that should project well above the line and into a part of the document that is well-preserved. The mark before the *t* of *t*' might be a *yod*. But I have to say that the mark before that is not obviously part of another *tav* (any more than of a *lamed*). One wonders if either reading is at all certain. What is not entirely clear is whether Porten–Yardeni actually claim to have discerned the lower part of a second *tav* where the photograph shows nothing.

The question is substantively important, since Lewis's reading would explicitly locate current 'disturbances' in both parts of Egypt. It would also have a bearing on how we understand the labelling of Nakhtḥor as *pqyd* in Lower Egypt in line 11. (See Tuplin iii 52–3.)

On the meaning of Upper and Lower Egypt in these texts cf. A6.4:2(4) n. Any reference to Papremis in A6.15 would *prima facie* put Nakhtḥor in (the conventional) Lower Egypt. Historians are also very ready to believe in disturbances in the Delta—again Lower Egypt, in conventional terms.

line 4(2) **שׁוּיָא**, *šwzy*', 'disturbances (?)'. Whitehead remarked that, so far as context goes, *šwzy*' could be a GN. Kottsieper rejects that idea on the grounds that no appropriate GN is attested, but then suggests that we have an equally unattested *terminus technicus* for (private) estates or landholdings. The more normal view is that it means 'troubles, disturbances'. Considered possibly Iranian by Porten and Lund 2002 s.v. and Muraoka and Porten 2003: 345, it is not recognized as such in Tavernier 2007. Driver compared Syriac 'wzy, 'calci-travit'. Grelot thought it of Akkadian origin, drawing attention to *ezzu* = furious, *ezēzu* = be furious. *Šūzuzu* = 'make furious' would be particularly close.

The similarity to *ywz'* = **yauza-* in A6.11:2 is tantalizing. David Taylor (personal communication) has speculated that *šwzy* and *ywz'* might both be attempts at same word, with the first letter of *šwzy* identified as an Akkadian causative prefix. On the substantive reference of *šwzy'* see A6.7:6(3) n. and Tuplin iii 63–72. Note that Lindenberger again (cf. A6.10:1(1) n.) speaks of ‘recent outbreaks’ (my italics), thus both adding something that is not in the text and rather occluding the distinction between the troubles here, which are current, and those in line 1, which lie in the past.

lines 5–10. The shift between plural (5, 6, 7, 9) and singular second person (8, 10) is notable. (See above, line 2(1) n. for a similar shift.)²⁷³ The plural is not used as a standard form of *politesse* in Aramaic; when Aršāma addresses plural people he has in mind a plurality, effectively Nakhtḥor and his staff or other associates;²⁷⁴ he switches to singular in lines 8, 10 when he issues very direct threats at him personally (even though in the middle of doing so he reverts to plural forms in line 9). Grelot 1972: 315 seems to have taken the plurals in line 5 to show that there had been a previous letter to all the *pqydyn* (‘tous les régisseurs des domaines’): I assume that this is what he means by ‘un détail de la ligne 5’. But this does not take account of the fact that the plural ‘you’ is already encountered in ‘you are not doing this’ (which must mean Nakhtḥor). Grelot also speculated that what is now A6.6 (= Driver frag. 5.1) belonged in this context, perhaps even (he means?) was this earlier letter. A6.6 does refer to something being removed from Aršāma’s domains, but since it is now claimed that the person whose message to Aršāma is mentioned in this fragment was Nakhtḥor, the relationship probably cannot be what Grelot imagined it might be.

lines 6–7 **ביתא זילי... מן אתר אחרן**, *mn 'tr 'h'rn... byt' zyly*, ‘from elsewhere... my estate.’ Aršāma tells Nakhtḥor not just to guard existing *garda* and goods but to seek additional ‘personnel of artisans’ and bring them to ‘my courtyard’, brand them, and make them over to his estate. One would like to be sure whether this is merely a specific application of a standing requirement for *pqyd* or one peculiar to the time of disturbance. Endemic labour shortage (A6.7:9(3) n.) rather favours the former (Henkelman 2018a: 21 n. 7 follows this view), though clearly acquisition of new resources will always be easier when the general situation is uneasy. Some would hold in any case that a sharp dichotomy between disturbance and normality is false. Eyre 1996 argues that the disorderly landscape of Roman Egypt is not peculiar to that period but was

²⁷³ See also A6.15:6 for a further possible (but unlikely) case.

²⁷⁴ One may initially think of Kenzasirma and the accountants (A6.11–14); but just because we hear of them in those letters does not necessarily mean they are relevant in this one. Given the imputation in A6.14 that the responsibilities of a *pqyd* could be carried out by a brother or son (and the fact that the function of *pqyd* might pass from father to son), the unspoken objects of threat might even include family members. On the issue of ‘colleagues’ cf. A6.3:7(2) n.

a structural feature in the pharaonic era too, not least because of the propensity of tax-collecting to lead to violence (189–90): ‘le désordre rural, je crois, a toujours été normal en Égypte’. This can presumably apply in the Persian era too, though direct evidence is scarce. (The violence about which we hear directly—the troublemakers of P.Loeb 1, the sufferings of Peteesis in P.Ryl.Dem.9: 1.1–5.12 or of an ibis-shrine/farm functionary in OI 19422 (Hughes 1958), events associated with the temple destruction in Elephantine (A4.5, A4.7–A4.10), other (alleged) acts of forcible entry and/or physical violence in Elephantine (B7.2) and Memphis (B8.4, B8.6, D2.32, ATNS 189)—tends to have a broadly urban setting. It is perhaps noteworthy that, on the whole, violence does not seem to be a significant topic in the world of private letters.²⁷⁵) Nor was the particular behaviour Aršāma enjoined upon Nakhtḥor necessarily something alien to Egyptian tradition imported by a foreign conqueror. When the First Intermediate Period butler Merer of Edfu affirms, ‘I acquired cattle, I acquired people, I acquired fields, I acquired copper. I nourished my brothers and sisters’ (Černý 1961, Lichtheim 1973/80: 1.87), he gives, in a rather matter-of-fact way, a valuable insight into what had probably always counted as reasonable, even virtuous, action for those whose station gave them the opportunity to enhance their wealth. (For a wider contextualization see Moreno García 2000.)

line 7(1) ארבעה, *trbš*, ‘courtyard’. This reproduces Akkadian *tarbašu* (Kaufman 1974: 107; Muraoka and Porten 2003: 350), a word variously used of animal-pens or the court of a temple or palace (CAD 18.217–21 (meaning 1))—a combination reminiscent of the range of associations of Greek *aulē*, a word that moved from the farmyard to the palace.²⁷⁶ In Egyptian Aramaic *trbš* recurs in B3.4:4, B3.7:4, B3.10:4, 7, 14, 15, B3.11:3 in reference to part of a house, for which the equivalent Egyptian term (sometimes used instead of *trbš*) was *hyt*. Elsewhere in the Achaemenid empire *trbš* is found in a fourth-century Lydian text (Gusmani 1964: 1 = KAI 260) as part of the property of a future tomb-desecrator against which the destructive vengeance of Artemis Coloe and Artemis of Ephesus is invoked: *trbšh byth qynnh tyn wmy n wmn d'mth wbdwrnh wyrth*, i.e. ‘his *trbš*, his house, his possessions, earth, water, and whatever is his they are to destroy and his inheritance’ (*wyrth* seems an afterthought).

²⁷⁵ Detention or imprisonment (A4.2–A4.4, B8.5, D1.32–3, D7.10 = CG 44, ATNS 26) is also potentially violent, and that perhaps goes for the ‘interrogation’ encountered in a number of texts. Putative references to killing in CG 21, CG 136 and burning in CG 226 are of uncertain significance, while the whips and flagellation of Dupont-Sommer’s version of CG 195 have gone in Lozachmeur 2006. I set aside the Demotic ‘battle’ text (Smith and Martin 2009: no. 5).

²⁷⁶ KAI cite Hebrew *trbš* = animal shelter in Ezek. 25.5, Zeph. 2.15 (but BDB 918 reads it as *mršš*) and Syriac *tarbašu* = ‘atrium’. Driver notes Targ.-Aram *trbš* = ‘hall’. Most strikingly Sokoloff 2002 records both *tarbiša* = ‘type of irrigated field’ and *tarbaša* = ‘courtyard, study hall’: the tension between an architectural form and something associated with one or another aspect of productive farming seems very relevant to the problem of interpreting Aršāma’s *trbš*. Interestingly Jastrow’s (1950) version of the first meaning is ‘garden near a house’ (my italics).

As an architectural feature in the documents in TADAE II, it is variously seen as a courtyard (Porten–Yardeni) or porch (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v.), the latter translation being prompted specially by the connotations of Demotic *hyt* (cf. Glanville 1939: xxxiii, Erichsen 1954: 377 ('Vorhalle, Eingang'), Porten 1968: 95 n. 173, 98 n. 185).²⁷⁷ In the present letter the term is translated 'court' or 'cour' by Driver, Grelot, and Porten–Yardeni, as it is by Lemaire in the Lydian text²⁷⁸ (cf. KAI's 'Hof', Driver's 'courtyard'),²⁷⁹ but a question remains about what it signifies.

Driver seems to have thought of it as the court of the satrap *qua* representative of the king, rather as though it were equivalent to the metonymic use of 'gate(s)' to mean palace.²⁸⁰ If *trbš* could be understood to mean 'porch', this is not perhaps linguistically impossible. (And compare the later *rb trbš* below.) But we are not dealing with satrapal business as such and, although we should not assume satrapal and personal business were hermetically sealed (and this very letter has the sort of subscript also bureaucratically appropriate to 'state' business), we should also not too readily assume they were simply undistinguished.

Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v. take Aršāma to be referring to a specific building where slaves/workers were lodged (the precise physical nature of which perhaps remains uncertain) and then, on that basis, suggest that in the Lydian text *trbš* is a metonymy for slave personnel, i.e. the people who live in a *trbš*. (A similar idea already appears in Grelot 1972: 314, though without reference to the Lydian text.)

An alternative view might be that in both texts *trbš* represents the enterprise of which the slaves—but also other people and resources—are part: the translation 'farm' might capture this, since it can be both a physical place and an economic entity. Aršāma would be saying the new recruits should be brought to his farm (that is: to one or another specific place within the farming operations in Nakhtḥor's area of activity—we need not assume there was only one locale), tattooed/branded, and registered as estate property. In the Lydian text *trbš byt*

²⁷⁷ In the text discussed by Glanville it denotes the entrance into the actual house from the courtyard (not the entrance into the courtyard from the street).

²⁷⁸ <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/aramaic/lydie01.pdf>

²⁷⁹ Lindenberger, however, turns 'bring them to my *trbš*' into simply 'attach them to my service', which captures the sense but not the meaning of the phrase.

²⁸⁰ Royal inscriptions: DB §§32–3. Greek: Hdt. 3.117, 119, 120, 140, Xen. *Cyr.* 2.4.4, 8.1.6, 8, 8.3.2, 8.6.10, 8.8.13, *An.* 1.9.3, 2.1.8, 2.5.31, *Hell.* 1.6.7, *Ctes.* 688 Flπ, *Dem.* 10.34, *Theopomp.* 115F124, *Plut. Them.* 26, 29, *Diod.* 9.31, 14.25. Akkadian: VS 6.128, VS 6.185 with BM 120024 (Jursa and Stolper 2007: 261–2), PBS 2/1 105, 133, YOS 3.46, BE 10.84, 128, Nbk. 183, *Ner.* 55 (cf. Van Driel 1993: 241), YOS 17.316, 318, GCCI 2.383, YBC 9123, BOR 4.132, CT 22.201. More generally for Akkadian references to the palace gate in the context of officials or official functions cf. CAD s.v. *bābu* A1b2'. (Something similar happens with temples and cities: *ibid.* 1c4', 1d3'.) Hebrew: *Esther* 2.19, 21, 3.2, 3, 4.2, 6, 5.9, 13, 6.10, 12. Aramaic: TADAE C1.1 *recto* 9, 17, 23, 44, D6.7 (a fragment from the Bodleian collection), ADAB A1:7. In Egypt the temple gate is a *locus* for legal process: Sauneron 1954, Van den Boorn 1985, Manning 2012: 117–18.

captures the economic and domestic aspects of the man's property (viewed as real estate and assumed to have an agricultural component), *qny*n (cf. BA *qn'* = acquire) are moveable acquisitions, 'earth and water' metaphorically represent the bases of subsistence, and (the afterthought) 'inheritance' (cf. *y^eret* = 'inherit') focuses on receipt and transmission. Hoftijzer and Jongeling adduce in favour of their understanding the title *rb trbš* in KAI 276, a Sasanid-era text in which it is effectively equated with *epitropos* and (perhaps inaccurately)²⁸¹ *bṭḥš* = *pitiaxou*. The reference is, in any case, to the *rb trbš* of a king, so it is not *directly* relevant to the Egyptian and Lydian cases; and insofar as it has an indirect bearing (e.g. in view of the fact that *epitropos* can denote an estate manager) it does not support one view rather than the other.

On the alternative view, then, *trbš* does function rather like 'Gate(s)'—an architectural feature standing *pars pro toto* for a larger architectural feature and metonymically for an institution associable with that larger feature—but in a different sphere.²⁸² The analogy with *aulē* (see above, p. 190) is to be recalled. Also relevant is Elamite *iyān*, which can designate a palace-building (PT 9, with Henkelman 2017b: 277), but also the 'court' or 'palace' as an economic institution that has animals (PF 0281, NN 1480, NN 2181), receives food commodities (PF 0407, PF 0800–2, NN 0552, NN 1562) or gold (PT 83), is responsible for worker-remuneration (PT 12, 13, 15, 18, 22, 77, 79, PT 1957-1), and has accountants (PT 48a).²⁸³

line 7(2) וסטרו בשנתא זילי, *wstrw bšnt' zyly*, 'mark them with my brand'. The practice of marking the bodies of slaves or the like is well-paralleled and perhaps essentially unremarkable. But there are some questions to broach here.

First, there is the choice to be made between branding and tattooing: Driver favoured the former, Grelot the latter, Lindenberger is non-committal ('my mark'). Jones 1987 made a case for widespread use of tattooing in the Graeco-Roman world. What should we suppose Nakhṭhor was meant to have done?

- Egyptian Aramaic texts give no very clear steer: the references to slaves marked with *l* and the owner's name (B2.11, B3.6; cf. B5.6) perhaps postulate a verbal mark that is insufficiently complex to rule out a branding iron. The temptation to think differently of *ktb* ('write', 'something written') in D7.9 may be unjustified.²⁸⁴ The text written on the woman 'inscribed in Egyptian' (who turned up in Sippar in 484 and is known from a Babylonian

²⁸¹ Frye 1956. *Bṭḥš* is the word Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 83–5 linked through *epitropos* to Herodotus' Patizeithes (*epitropos* of the royal house).

²⁸² As evidence that 'Gate' and 'estate' can be interchangeable one may cite the alternative titles of Nabu-mit-uballit in BE 10.97, TuM 2/3 185 ('judge of the estate of Parysatis') and PBS 2/1 105 ('judge of the Gate of Parysatis').

²⁸³ Other allusions are fragmentary (PT 3a) or obscure (PF 1859), but probably also refer to the institutional *iyān*.

²⁸⁴ cf. also Isaiah 44.5, KAI 233:12.

text: NBC 6156, Stolper 1997) is of unknown content and complexity. Pharaonic evidence of (much) earlier date seems to offer examples both of branding and tattooing.²⁸⁵ *Kharaktēr* and *kharassesthai* in Ptolemaic contexts (P.Hibeh 198: 86–7; III Macc.2.9) are taken by Jones 1987 to refer to branding; but UPZ 121.8 = P.Paris 10 (*estigmenos ton dexion karpon grammasi barbarikois dusin*) is perhaps a case of tattooing. The nature of the mark (*rwšm*) mentioned in WDSP 2:1 is not intrinsically clear, though the fact that the (cognate) words in Hebrew, Judaeen Aramaic, Babylonian Aramaic, and Syriac are apt to entail wounds or incisions (Dušek 2007: 134) may slightly favour a brand.

- The talk of *šimtu parzilli* or the like in several Babylonian texts entails actual branding-irons (GCCl 2.194, YOS 6.11,150, YOS 7.128, TEBR 37:14) and may tell in favour of marks described with *šimtu* and its cognates as brands (e.g. YOS 3.125, 6.14, 7.13, Cyr.307, 312, BM 25098; see Stolper 1997: 136 n. 12). Inasmuch as there are apparently often figurative marks—a star, for example (YOS 6.79/80, 129, 224, Arnaud 1973) or a spade and stylus (BE 8.106)—that is plausible, and WHM 1536 (in Pearce 1996) may refer to the actual star-shaped branding tool. The association of *šendu* with marking of animals—where branding is the presumed method—should also be noted (CAD Š/2 288; BM 94789 = Waerzeggers 2010: no. 169). At the same time, some have insisted that, since *šindu* can mean ‘paint’, tattooing is or, at any rate can be, involved (San Nicolò and Ungnad 1935: 100).²⁸⁶ The quite frequent texts that use the word *šaṭratu* and talk about writing on the body in Aramaic or Akkadian letters (YOS 6.163, AnOr 8.74, Camb.143, Dar.492, BM 64240) bring us back to the uncertainty of how long a text would have to be for it to be not plausibly the product of a branding iron: in particular, where does the name of the owner (e.g. PBS 2/1 65, 113, UET 4.24, YOS 6.129, Fort.11786 = Stolper 1984) stand in this regard? If the Akkadian words *šindu* and *šaṭratu* have any bearing on the Aramaic phraseology (which is not certain: see below,

²⁸⁵ Medinet Habu I pl.42 = Nelson and Hoelscher 1929: 34–5, with fig. 25 shows functionaries using a tattooing pen on the shoulders of prisoners (cf. Menu 2005: 340–1), and the Petrie Museum has what may be examples of such a tool (Booth 2001). But various texts (P.Harris 77.5–6, P. Anastasi V 7(6) = Caminos 1954: 230–1, P. Anastasi V 10(1) = Caminos 1954: 232–3, P. Bologna 1094 9.6 = Caminos 1954: 24–6, Abu Simbel Stele of Year 35 (Rameses II) = Brugsch 1876: 36) are usually taken to refer to branding (the presence of a determinative for burning rather points in that direction), though Menu 2005: 340 seems to question this. Hdt. 2.113 speaks of runaway slaves taking refuge in a temple of Heracles having marked themselves with sacred *stigmata*—on the face of it tattoos, though Lloyd 1975–88 ad loc. adverts to the branding of slaves and animals. Poon and Quickenden 2006 discuss decorative (and perhaps erotically charged) tattoos found on Egyptian and Nubian (female) mummies and on some related artworks in the Middle and New Kingdom.

²⁸⁶ Note that *šindu*, *šendu*, and *šintu* are phonetic variants of *šimtu*.

pp. 194–5) they perhaps tend to pull us in opposite directions on the branding/tattooing issue.

- Herodotus uses the word *stizein* (*prima facie* = tattoo: Bremmer 2015: 140) in certain Persian contexts (5.35, 7.35, 7.233), of which only the last is entirely straightforward as a story. Taken together they do seem to entail the belief that Persians might tattoo slaves or delinquents (and that some such tattoos might be ‘royal’),²⁸⁷ and such a view is also arguably encoded in a Megarian funerary inscription, describing Persians as *stiktai* (Corcella 1995). People disagree as to whether this is also presumed in Curtius 5.5.6 (*inustis barbararum litterarum notis*), assuming Curtius has not just used historically incorrect terminology, and the detail is irritatingly absent in the parallel narratives in Diodorus 17.69.3–4 and Justin 11.14.11. (For all three sources the amputation of noses, ears, and limbs is of much more interest as a sign of Persian brutality.)

It cannot be said that a clear conclusion emerges from these data. We have opted for branding in our translation without complete confidence.

Second, there is a linguistic issue. The words *wštrw bšnt*’ have a decent number of parallels in Egyptian Aramaic texts, either as a pair (in texts from Saqqara: B8.2:3–4, B8.3, B8.6:2, B8.9) or individually (*šnt* in texts from Elephantine (B2.11:4, 5, B3.6:3, B3.9:6, 7, 9) and Saqqara (ATNS 97a, 164a), *štr* in a text from Saqqara (B5.6:3)), all of which could refer to slaves or the like (at least when one can tell).²⁸⁸ But, while *šnt* can readily enough be compared with Akkadian *šimtu/šindu*, the word *štr* does not sit perfectly with the speciously similar Akkadian *šaṭāru*, for two reasons. (1) The shift between *s* and *š* is at first sight worrying. (2) The conjunction of *šnt* with Akkadian *šimtu* and *štr* with Akkadian *šaṭāru* would involve the conjunction of two Akkadian words which, though both associated with body-marking, actually tend not to be used together—or, if used together (e.g. YOS 6.129:6–7, Arnaud 1973), are perhaps so used because they refer to two different things (a figurative mark signifying dedication to a divinity; and some sort of written mark involving words). Of these problems the first is perhaps worse than the second (because there need be no reason that the Aramaic usage should match the Akkadian in detail)—and may not be a real problem, since forms of the verb *šaṭāru* are sometimes written with *s*.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Tattooing as a form of punishment is proper to a Greek environment. A peculiar Hellenistic literary *jeu d’esprit* based on this is the so-called tattoo elegy (Lloyd-Jones 2005: no.970), in which the writer threatens to tattoo mythological scenes on the body of an erotic rival (Bernsdorff 2008, 2015). Otherwise for Greeks tattooing was a barbarous custom heavily associated with Thracians (see recently Tsiafakis 2015) and found among the exceptionally barbarous Mossynoeci (Xen. An. 5.4.32).

²⁸⁸ The preposition *b* (which recurs in the Saqqara parallels) seems slightly surprising.

²⁸⁹ See CAD s.v. *šaṭāru* v., 1b1’, 2a4’, 2a7’, 3a3’, 3c, 3d. I am grateful to Stephanie Dalley for drawing this to my attention.

Driver's alternative explanation for *štr* (based on a Syriac word meaning 'concidit, dissecuit') calls in support three Babylonian texts (Camb.290, Dar.492, GCCI 2.194) that use the Akkadian term *uṣṣuru* = 'drawn, engraved, incised' (derived from the verb *eṣēru* = 'draw'). Stolper 1998: 136 believes (rightly I suspect) that the first two refer to ornamental tattooing or scarification (not property marks), and the third, which also has the word *šindu*, may be saying that a blacksmith made a design ('drew') on a branding iron (*šindu par-zilli*). Once again the main problem here is not really that the contexts of use in these three texts are different from that in the Aramaic documents but that the connection between *štr* and *uṣṣuru* is not conspicuously obvious. It would be better, perhaps, to depend solely on the Syriac parallel. But Kaufman 1974: 101 doubts its cogency.²⁹⁰

Third, on a more substantive issue, Stolper has speculated that slaves marked as 'royal' were generally protected against sale on the open market (as, he takes it, was the case with those marked as a deity's property). There is no evidence on the point, but it prompts the thought that, if it were so, it might also apply to the marked property of a 'son of the house.' The attachment of these new acquisitions to Aršāma's estate may be a more permanent arrangement than the commercial slave transactions in some of the other pertinent evidence. Since they are not (it would seem) commercial transactions—there is a sharp contrast between the orderly registration of slave sales in Babylonia (Stolper 1989) or Samaria (Lemaire 2015: 79) and Aršāma's more robust acquisition of *grd*—that would not be surprising.

line 7(3) **ועברו על ביתא זילי**, *w'bdw l byt*, 'and make (them) over to my estate'. Lindenberger translates this as 'put them to work on my estate'. It is not clear to me whether this is a deliberate re-interpretation of *'bdw* or just another piece of rather free translation. Wesselius 1984: 705 found a parallel for the turn of phrase (which recurs in A6.15: 7) in ATNS 31, *lm'b^d, l byt mlk* ('make over to the house of the king [i.e. treasury?]',) in a text also referring to fields belonging to a *ḥayla* and to something being brought (*hyty*) to the house of the king.

line 8 **בן ידיע יהוי לך**, *kn ydy' yhwy lk*, 'thus let it be known to you'. See A6.8:3(1) n.

line 9(1) **ומן אתר אחרן לא תבעון**, *wmn 'tr 'hryn l' tb'wn*, 'and from elsewhere you should not seek'. Lindenberger's 'and you do not seek out replacements' seems to limit Nakthor's obligation to making good of any losses, whereas the rest of the letter seems to assume that *pqdyn* should be adding extra resources (and Lindenberger himself spells that out in his translation of line 2).

line 9(2) **תשתאלון**, *tšt'lwn*, 'questioned'. See A6.8:3(6) n.

²⁹⁰ [*štr*] is related to *seṯrā*, 'side' < *štr*, and were the derived verb to occur this early it would be spelled with "š". Babylonian Aramaic has *štr* = 'to move aside' (Sokoloff 2002: 799).

line 9(3) גַּסְתָּ פְתוּגָם, *gst ptgm*, ‘severe sentence’. An Iranian phrase which recurs in A6.8:3 in an exactly similar context. See A6.8:3–4 n.

line 10(1) אֲרַחְיָא...סַפְרָא, [*r*]thy...spr’, ‘Artaxaya...scribe’. See below, pp. 269–83.

line 10(2) אֲרַחְיָא, [*r*]thy, ‘Artaxaya’. Tavernier 2007: 304–5 reconstructs this as *Rtaxaya- (compare Elamite Irdakaia and Greek Artakhaiēs), a two-term hypocoristic of *Artaxšaça- or *Rtaxraθ/tu-. This name recurs in the Bodleian letters as that of the writer of A6.16, but it is quite distinct from *Rtāvahyā-, the Iranian original of *rtwy* (Tavernier 2007: 303), the name that appears in letter- subscripts at A6.11:6, A6.12:3, and A6.13:5 in exactly the same way that *rthy*/*Rtaxaya- appears in the present letter (i.e. as the one who ‘knows this order’). On the face of it, therefore, we have two individuals, one attested as subscript-official and letter writer (*Rtaxaya-), the other just as subscript-official (*Rtāvahyā-). To complicate things further we encounter the phrase ‘*3rty* knows this order’ in Demotic in S.H5-DP 434 *verso* col.2:3 (Smith and Martin 2009: no. 4): this is not formally in the subscript of a document, but it is apparently part of a citation by Aršāma of one of his earlier orders and must be evidence that *3rty* could have figured in such a subscript. (See Appendix 3.1: pp. 289–91.) *3rty* can be reconstructed as *Rtaya-, a -ya-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Rta- name (Tavernier 2007: 306) that is attested elsewhere in Elamite (Irdaia/Irdeia) and Aramaic (*rṭy*).²⁹¹ So now we have *three* people with similar names (*Rtaxaya-, *Rtāvahyā-, *Rtaya-) active in exactly the same role in Aršāma’s chancellery. Is that too much of a coincidence?

One might be tempted to reduce it to two by equating *3rty*/*Rtaya- with one of the others, on the assumption that the Demotic scribe has miswritten (by simplification) the name. One could be encouraged in this direction by the fact that *recto* col.1:3 of the same document mentions someone called *3rṭ*, whom Smith and Martin (followed by Tavernier 2007: 306) take to be the same person: if the scribe can cut *3rty* to *3rṭ*, perhaps he could already have cut *Rtaxaya- or *Rtāvahyā- to *3rty*/*Rtaya-. But it should be acknowledged that (a) the man in *recto* col.1:3 is described as *hry* (‘lord’) which may be a grander designation than is suitable to a subscript-official (it being the one that is applied to Aršāma himself), (b) *3rṭ* could represent the distinct name *Rta-, attested in Babylonian and Aramaic (Tavernier 2007: 292), and (c) abbreviating *3rty* to *3rṭ* (i.e. missing out the last letter) is not quite parallel to the reduction of *Rtaxaya- or *Rtāvahyā- to *3rty*/*Rtaya-. So the case remains unclear. If we accept the identity of *3rty*/*Rtaya- with (at least) one of the subscript-officials in the Bodleian

²⁹¹ Agut-Labordère 2017: 681 reports that ‘Artaya’ (he does not specify the Demotic form) may occur in Saqqara S.H5-DP 503 *recto* 1.x+10. It does not appear in the edition of the text at Davies and Smith 2005: 116–17.

texts, then, since the Demotic document appears to belong to Aršāma's work as satrap, we would have formal evidence that particular subscript-officials could figure in any part of his activities—i.e. that he did not have an entirely separate personal secretariat/administrative entourage for estate business. But we might be inclined to suspect that anyway. (It is, of course, clear that people named as 'knowing this order' did sometimes carry out other functions—cf. A6.12:1(4) n.—but that is a different matter.)

As for *Rtaxaya- and *Rtāvahyā-: the case is not like the two spellings of the name of Artavanta/*Rtavanta- (A6.3:1(4) n.) and we must in general proceed on the assumption that Aramaic scribes knew what they were doing in their renderings of Iranian names. If we felt that, with only five letters with subscripts (all, moreover, with the same scribe), we ought to minimize the number of persons said to 'know this order', we would do better to say that the writer of A6.10 simply made a mistake and wrote down the wrong name (*Rtaxaya- instead of *Rtāvahyā-) rather than that he was using an alternative form of the same name. But we have no real reason to doubt that three different functionaries could be represented in five letters.

line 11 בתחתיתא במצריין, *bMṣryn bthtyt'*, 'in Egypt, in Lower (Egypt)'. A precious more precise indication of Nakhtḥor's whereabouts (but cf. A6.4:2(4) n.). The words have normally been translated simply 'in Lower Egypt'. But *bthtyt'* already signifies 'in Lower (Egypt)' in itself, and the second *b* would be quite redundant if the phrase were really meant to bear the normally assumed meaning. The effect is that Nakhtḥor is first described as 'the *pqyd* who is in Egypt' as in other texts, and a further specification is then added. This rather underlines the formulaic nature of 'who is in Egypt'. It is as though it would not have been acceptable in an external address line just to write *bthtyt'*—and it did not occur to the scribe to solve the problem by using an adjective to qualify 'Egypt' directly (perhaps because *bthtyt'* was also a well-entrenched cliché).

lines 12–13... על הנדרזא זי, *ʿl hndrz' zy...*, 'concerning the instruction which...'. Driver discerned a different external summary ('concerning there being (any) loss from my estate which is in Egypt')—one that is on the face of it far too long for the number of written marks visible on the Bodleian photograph. Porten–Yardeni's belief that *hndrz* figures here, as in the external summary to A6.13 (where Driver also saw it), is credible.

line 12 הנדרזא, *hndrz'*, 'instruction'. From Iranian **handarza* = 'instruction, order' (Tavernier 2007: 408). The word recurs in A6.13:3–4, 7, A6.14:3, and several Bactrian letters (ADAB A2:1; A4:1; A5:2; A6:6; A6:9), and was evidently a fairly standard word for a satrapal instruction/command—though in A6.13 and A6.14 it is an order that the satrap or the prince Vāravahyā tells someone else (Nakhtḥor and others) to issue.

TADAE A6.11 (DRIVER 8, GRELOT 69, LINDENBERGER 42)

Assignment of Domain

Summary

Aršāma authorizes the assignment to Peṭosiri of a domain previously held by Peṭosiri's father.

Text

The text is well-preserved, with no problematic *lacunae*. Even the content-summary (here in Demotic) is legible.

line 1(1) כנזסרם, *Knzsr̄m*, 'Kenzasirma'. This individual is also encountered in a similar role in A6.12–14, though he appears as *Kndsyr̄m* and *Ḥndsyr̄m* in A6.14:1, 6, a letter from Vāravahyā, so certainly not written by one of the scribes responsible for A6.11–13. (He is restored in D6.8, on the grounds that that is a 'companion letter to A6.11': cf. below, 2(7) n.) Some have sought an Iranian etymology linked with **ganza-* = treasure (Driver 1954: 26, Shapira 2003: 224 n. 19, the latter citing J. R. Russell, and referring to Armenian *ganjasar*), and Wouter Henkelman (personal communication) still thinks there is something to be said for this. But the existence of variant writings is a little surprising (Aramaic scribes ought not to have had a problem with an Iranian name) and the name is generally thought to be Anatolian (Goetze 1962: 57, Driver 1965: 101, Tavernier 2007: 527), though differing explanations have been advanced: **Kindasarma* or **Kindisarma* (Kitchen 1965; cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 149–50, Zgusta 1964: 233–4, Grelot 1972: 476),²⁹² *Kunza-Sarma* = '(Belonging to) Kwanza and Sarruma' (Yakubovitch 2013–14: 283, noting, however, that the development of Kwanza to Kunza is surprising at this early date). Driver originally thought that the word was not only Iranian but also a title (**ganzasāra-*, lit. 'head of treasure'), not a PN (1954: 26), but recanted in the appendix to his second edition (1965: 100–1).²⁹³ The idea was already criticized by Eilers, 1954–6: 326 and Menasce 1954: 162. If *Knzsr̄m* (*Kndsyr̄m*, *Ḥndsyr̄m*) were a title, it would either (a) have to be a second title of Nakht̄hor or (b) represent a second individual only referred to by title. But (a) it does not seem particularly likely that Nakht̄hor had a second title that was only used in address-lines and the idea is in any case excluded by A6.14:1, 6 where an 'and' appears between

²⁹² Kitchen suggested that it was specifically Lycian. For another (somewhat more certain) case of a Lycian in these letters cf. Armapiya: A6.8:1(2) n.

²⁹³ The reliably attested title is **ganzabara-*: cf. A6.13:5(3) n. Shapira 2003: 224 n. 19 failed to note Driver's recantation.

‘Nakhtḥor’ and ‘Kndsyrm/Ḥndsyrm’; and (b) the phrase ‘Nakhtḥor, the ‘treasure-chief, and his colleagues’ is not readily paralleled.

line 1(2) פְּטוֹסִירִי, *Pṭwsry*, ‘Peṭosiri’, Egyptian *P3-di-Wsīr*, ‘the one whom Osiris gave’ (DemNB 298, Muchiki 1999: 113). Also found in C3.9:13, C3.11:11, C4.2:7, D7.5:8, D7.13:4, D7.39:5, ATNS 41:7, 92:1, CG 9(= J1), 18, 33, 141?, 228, 240; and in B2.11:4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 17 (written as *Pṭwsry*). Two different writings of it appear in lines 3 and 5 of the present document—a surprising instability for a common name? Or something that happens precisely because it is common?

line 1(3) וְרִשְׁבַּר עֲלֵיִם זִילִי, *wršbr ʿlym zyly*, ‘plenipotentiary, my servant’. Note that Peṭosiri is classified as ‘*lym* (and cf. line 5, where ‘*lym* is used of a potential other recipient of the *bg*’) and well as being given the title *wršbr*. One may contrast the way that use of the labels *pqyd* and ‘*lym* seem to be mutually exclusive (A6.9:3(7) n.).

line 1(4) וְרִשְׁבַּר, *wršbr*, ‘plenipotentiary’. See A6.5:2(2) n. for the various explanations of this title. What relationship is there between Peṭosiri’s status as *wršbr* and the petition he makes here? The distinctive ground for the petition is certainly resumption of a property-assignment that had been enjoyed by Peṭosiri’s father, Pamun, and lost by him through no fault of his own. Was the father also an *wršbr* and holder of the property on that ground? It would surely have been in Peṭosiri’s interest to mention his father’s status, so belief that Pamun was a *wršbr* entails belief that the writer of the present letter left it out when reproducing the content of Peṭosiri’s message to Aršāma—an omission for which there is no obvious cause. One might, of course, say that the fact that the formulation of Aršāma’s reply fails to identify even Peṭosiri as *wršbr* indicates that the letter-drafter is being careless about titles—but, if so, that is most likely to be because the title did not really matter in relation to the substantive issue, i.e. was not formally relevant to the petition. So perhaps it is safest to assume that Aršāma (or his letter-drafter) mentions Peṭosiri’s title at the outset as a means of identification—not least because Peṭosiri was a rather common name—and/or because Peṭosiri used the title of himself in his original petition. From Peṭosiri’s point of view, the title may, of course, have been an additional claim on Aršāma’s good will (even precisely one that his father had *not* had)—though how likely that is does depend on what we do not really know for sure, viz. what the title signified.

line 1(5) אִי־יֵי, *ʾyty*, ‘there is’. See A6.7:2(1) n.

line 1(6) פַּמּוֹן, *Pmwn*. i.e. Pamun (*pa-ʾImn*, ‘he of Amun’: DemNB 350). Also found in one of the fragmentary Bodleian Aršāma items (D6.14 (p):2), conceivably in reference to the same man, as well as in C3.5:7, C3.6:7, C3.12:9, C3.25:8,

C4.3:14. Some occurrences of *Pmn* (C4.9:3, D7.5:7, D8.3:16, ATNS 60:3, CG 42, 228) might be writing this name rather than Pamin ('he of Min').

line 2(1) 𐎧𐎢𐎢, *ywz'*, 'unrest (?)'. The term (which recurs in D6.12 (g)) represents Iranian **yauza-* 'revolt, turmoil, rebellion' (Tavernier 2007: 452). Compare Av. *yaoza-* = 'excitement' (Yasht 13.95; Lincoln 2012: 131), and more pertinently OP *yaud-* 'to be in turmoil', a word used in DSe §5, DNa §4, and XPh §4 of the 'commotion' of lands or of the earth to which Darius or Xerxes, with Auramazdā's assistance, put an end. In DNa this is certainly the situation obtaining at the time of Darius' accession, because it is explicitly Darius' becoming king that puts an end to it. In DSe and XPh the setting is less specific: Darius is simply celebrating the fact that he has ensured that men do not smite one another, that everyone is in his place, and that fear of his *dāta* prevents the strong from smiting the weak; Xerxes is reporting that, after he became king, there was a land that had to be put back in its right place. (He goes on to speak of a(nother) land where they worshipped *daevas*.) In any event, OP *yaud-* certainly *can* be associated with major upheavals, and the same could be true of Aramaic *ywz'*: the choice of vocabulary does not require us to downplay the importance of the event. At the same time it probably does not require us to insist that it was an event of great scope.²⁹⁴ See further A6.7:6(3) n.

line 2(2) בנה, *bgh*, 'his domain'. See A6.4:2(3) n. The *bg'* here is designated a *byt* just afterwards in the phrase *byt zr' 30 a(rdab)*.

line 2(3) זי הוה מהחסן, *zy hwh mhḥsn*, 'which he... was occupying (as heir)'. Compare Porten–Yardeni's 'had been holding-as-heir' and contrast the plainer translations in Driver ('was in possession'), Grelot ('détenait') and Lindenberger ('held'). *Mhḥsn* here corresponds precisely to Peṭosiri's request ('*hḥsn*: 3) and Aršāma's order *yhḥsn* (5). We are dealing with various forms of *hḥsn*: viewed as a Haphel of *ḥsn*, this literally means 'cause to be strong' (*ḥsn* and *ḥsyn* have various associations with strength or force: cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v.; see also A6.8:3(7) n.), but both the simple verb (*ḥsn*) in Daniel 7.18, 22 and the Haphel (*hḥsn*) in a range of texts from Elephantine, Saqqara, Makkedah, Samaria, Bahardili, and Bactria²⁹⁵ are used to mean 'possess', where what is

²⁹⁴ Rather strangely Eilers 1954–6: 334 speculated about a connection between *yauda-* and the word *yw³/*, used in B2.11:4, 5 to label a slave.

²⁹⁵ *Elephantine*: A5.2:2 (field held by *degel*), A5.5:9 (object unclear: and perhaps we should take the papyrus reading *mḥsn* at face value as meaning 'being strong' and exclude the text from the current investigation), A6.2:3 (boat), B2.3:25 (document), B2.9:7 (deposited goods), B2.11:14 (slaves), B7.3:6 (ass). In A4.10:1, B2.3:2, B3.12:5, ³B4.3:3, B7.2:2 individuals are given the quasi-title '*mḥsn* in Elephantine the fortress': the participle has no expressed object. *Saqqara*: ATNS 1:9 (villages), ATNS 3:5–6 (joint-holding of a *degel*), ATNS 75a:1 (perhaps *mindh* = tribute/rent; fields are mentioned in the next line). ATNS 4:7, 10a:2, 151:2, 169 are too fragmentary for assessment. *Makkedah*: EN 199, with *mḥsn* restored as in Lemaire 2000: 143 n. 64 and 2002a: 228 (a debt). *Samaria*: WDSP 3:4 (slave), WDSP 6:6, 7:9 (*štr'* = contract). *Bahardili*: KAI 278 = Gibson 1975: no. 36: city (possessed by Cybebe). *Bactria*: ADAB A7 (leather, *perhaps* in the possession of *hyl*; the

being possessed can be a variety of objects. Perhaps ‘be strong’ is taken to imply ‘be stronger than someone/something else’ or ‘have power over someone/something else’, whence ‘be in control or in possession of someone/something else.’ The reason for the causal force is not very obvious (except in the unusual case of B7.3:6, where *hḥsn* seems to mean ‘give as a possession’, i.e. cause to possess), but the phenomenon is paralleled in Hebrew *ḥzq* (‘be strong’) and *hḥzq* (‘take’, ‘keep hold of’), as Muraoka and Porten 2003: 191 n. 855 note.

A *prima facie* slightly different use occurs in the Aramaic version of the Xanthos Trilingual (line 19) in a troublesome but rather important sentence about *dāta* = ‘law.’²⁹⁶ The relevant sentence is *dth zk ktb zy mhḥsn* and has been variously translated.²⁹⁷ The latest suggestion (Kottsieper 2002: 210) is ‘jenes Gesetz ist ein Autorisationsedikt’—a translation based on the view that the sentence literally means ‘this law is a piece of writing which has provided confirmation’ and thus exemplifies a straightforward application of the Haphel ‘cause to be strong’. But one might get a similar eventual effect while sticking closer to the general usage of (*m*)*hḥsn* by understanding ‘this law is a piece of writing which has taken possession’, i.e. taken control (of the situation).²⁹⁸ In any event, the Xanthos case underlines the relatively broad applicability of (*m*)*hḥsn*: where possession is involved, it is not obvious that the word is intrinsically limited to a particular context of possession.

The situation in A6.11 involves an element of inheritance (father–son) and of abandonment (the estate was abandoned at the violent death of Pamun)—factors that evoke Szubin and Porten 1982, a discussion that sought to establish that *hḥsn* connotes hereditary possession and did so *inter alia* in reference to a document about a once-abandoned house. Questions that arise include the cogency of that hypothesis in relation to the documents that originally gave rise to it (which did *not* include A6.11), its extensibility to other documents, and any wider ramification the word may have in the administrative sphere. The

editors, perhaps rather fancifully, think of the use of inflated skins as a means of crossing rivers). [*yhh*]*snw* is also restored in the fragmentary Bodleian item D6.14 (n), but this casts no independent light on anything.

²⁹⁶ On *dāta* in general see Tuplin 2015. The record about *dāta* at Persepolis (ibid. 79–81) must now be supplemented by Fort.1954-102, newly published by Stolper 2017: 791–3, and other documents listed at ibid. 793, though the remarks there do not advert to my discussion. Stolper suggests that allusions to *dāta* might be functionally equivalent to more ‘conversational’ references elsewhere to the king’s desire or command (Stolper 2017: 760–1). But at the very least the decision to speak specifically about *dāta* is rhetorically significant.

²⁹⁷ Dupont-Sommer 1979: 137: ‘cette loi-ci, il (l)’a inscrite, (lui) qui est maître (de la décision)’. (Dupont-Sommer originally thought the sentence meant ‘cette loi-ci, il l’a inscrite pour qu’on la garde’, though he later withdrew this.) Lemaire 1995: 430 ‘the property-holder has written this law’. This seems substantively unlikely if the subject of the sentence is taken to be the priest Simias, who was hardly in a position to write *dāta*. (Lemaire 2000 allows for the possibility that Simias has caused the *dāta* to be written, which mitigates but does not eliminate the problem.) Teixidor 1978: 184: ‘This edict (hereby) inscribed is the one that conveys the title of property.’

²⁹⁸ This resembles Dupont-Sommer’s translation (previous note) but applies ‘maître’ to the *dāta*, not the writer of the inscription.

hypothesis depends heavily upon two things: (i) a view of the rhetoric of the final documents in the mini-dossiers relating to two pieces of real estate (B2.3, B3.12), viz. that the central figure Maḥseyah calls himself *mhḥsn* to insist on an entitlement to possession (and an ability to transmit that possession to an heir) for which there was no proper documentary paper-trail; and crucially (ii) lexicographic arguments drawn from outside Imperial Aramaic (texts in the Bible and Targum). By contrast the concept of hereditary ownership does not seem a *necessary* postulate in other Egyptian (or indeed non-Egyptian) Aramaic documents in which the verb appears.

Grelot (1974: 92, 184) and others have thought the term *mhḥsn* could (at Elephantine) denote a military *colonus*:²⁹⁹ the idea is that the term occurs in the records of members of the Judaean garrison because it was structurally characteristic of a garrison community—a type of holding proper to people who are getting land in return for service.³⁰⁰ In this regard the recurrence of the term in connection with a boat whose repair at state expense is the subject in A6.2 attracts attention. The *mhḥsnn* in A6.2 are the current holders of something, viz. a boat, that *belongs* to someone else (the state). Inheritance is certainly not *prima facie* an issue here; rather (one might assume) the holders have beneficial use of the boat (i.e. access to the income it could provide them) in return for some obligation to the Persian administration—perhaps precisely to put the boat and themselves at its disposal when required.³⁰¹ Pamun and Peṭosiri are arguably in a broadly similar situation in A6.11. Aršāma bestows the land but would have been entirely free not to do so (Pamun's holding has conferred no *right* of inheritance upon Peṭosiri) and the property owes *hlk*—*prima facie* the Aramaic equivalent of Akkadian *ilku* (see below, line 5(4) n.), which was in origin and essence a service tax. What might seem to distinguish the case is that the *hlk* is owed to Aršāma's estate, not to the state (or e.g. the King's House). But, given what we know from Babylonia of the way in which land owing a service obligation could be embedded in large Persian-owned estates that are then the channel for payment of incumbent taxes, this may not be as much of a distinction as it looks. This does not make Peṭosiri a military *colonus*, of course, merely the holder of a land-allocation that has a particular fiscal character. Nor do we have to assume that, because the state had to arrange and pay for the fabric of the boat in A6.2, Aršāma was responsible for infrastructure expenses associated

²⁹⁹ Cases where the subject of *hḥsn* is a *degel* (and the object a field (A5.2:2) or 'joint-holding' (ATNS 3:5–6, with Tavernier 2007: 443)) may give further colour to this. On the other hand, the possibility that soldiers hold something made of leather (*hyl mšk' zy mhḥsnn*) in ADAB 7:1 (cf. n. 295) contributes little or nothing.

³⁰⁰ That *hḥsn* might connote less than full ownership is not inconsistent with the implications of B2.9:7 (where it involves more than non-beneficial holding of something for temporary protection). At the same time there is no guarantee that *hḥsn* always connotes less than complete ownership.

³⁰¹ For what may be a different model of boat management (but one involving Iranian owners) cf. A3.10, with Briant 2002: 607.

with the land held by Pamun and Peṭosiri (tools? buildings?). To draw such a close parallel might be to beg questions.

This is all speculative. But I doubt that any persuasive rhetoric on Maḥseyah's part is wrongly inducing us to take *mḥḥsn* as a technical term when it was never anything of the sort and, if the verb (when used of possessions) *does* have a special overtone, it is more likely to be to do with the administrative context of property-holding than the application of the hereditary principle.

line 2(4) 20-10 **בית זרע א**, *byt zr' ' 30*, 'a seed-place of 30 *a(rdab)*'. Porten–Yardeni's 'of 30 ardab seed capacity' accentuates the literal meaning of *zr'* ('seed') and associates it closely with the figure 30 ardabs (so too Ginsberg 1969: 633 and Naveh 1985: 115). By contrast 'a farm of 30 ardabs' (Driver), 'une ferme de 30 ardabes' (Grelot), 'a 30 ardab plantation' (Lindenberger), 'terre d'une capacité de 30 *ardabes* de production' (Nutkowicz 2017: 192) all treat *byt zr'* as a composite term (Driver supplies some Targum Aramaic evidence),³⁰² to which the measurement '30 ardabs' is then attached. Our translation tries to be non-committal. There is in any event an issue about the meaning of the phrase.

Is the measurement one of produce or of seed requirement? Tel el-Far'ah 1 = Naveh 1985: 114–16 (land-lots requiring three and thirty-five *kor* of seed), Leviticus 27.16 (the assessment of a land-holding is to be according to its seed requirement), Isaiah 5.10 (ten acres of vineyard will yield but one *bath*, a *homer* of seed will yield [only] an *ephah*), ATTM 322, DJD 2 30.2, 14 (both describing land measured in seed-requirement terms), Sardis VII.1.no.1:15–16, SIG³ 302 (discussed in Thonemann 2009) and abundant Akkadian evidence (CAD s.v. *bītu* 5 and s.v. *zēru* 2) all illustrate and tell in favour of the latter option. But one can also test the issue by asking what each possibility would imply about the size of the estate.

Assessing that entails considering the size of an *artaba*. The *artaba* (properly **rdba*–: Tavernier 2007: 449) is encountered in various places and forms.

- *Persepolis*. A figure of 29.1 litres (30 QA @ 0.97) is widely assumed (Hinz and Koch 1987: 11, Wiesehöfer 1996: 69, Henkelman 2010: 667).³⁰³ Archaeological evidence led Schmidt (1957: 108–9) to suggest that the QA lay in the range 0.9204–0.9499, giving an *artaba* of 27.612–28.497. (The midpoint figures would be 0.9532 and 28.056.) Powell and Van den Hout (RLA 7.503) rather pessimistically postulated a 10% margin of error, giving (on the basis of Schmidt's maximum figure) a possible range of 0.85–1

³⁰² Contrast, however, the examples of *byt zr'* in phrases referring to seed requirement in DJD 2.30.2 and ATTM 322 (cited in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995). Kaufman 1974: 44 is undecided about whether *byt zr'* might be borrowed from Akkadian *bīt zēru*.

³⁰³ Pommerening 2005: 163 n. 325 attributes this figure to Hallock 1969: 72–4, but it does not seem to appear there. Bivar 1985: 638 reckoned the *artaba* as 27.90 litres (30 × 0.93), just under Schmidt's midpoint figure.

litres and an *artaba* of 25–30 litres. I think one may reasonably think of the Persepolitan *artaba* as roughly 28 or 29 litres (respectively Schmidt's mid-point figure and Hinz and Koch's figure); and for the purpose of indicative calculations I adopt the latter (specifically 29.1 litres), since it is the one current in Persepolitan scholarship.

- *Herodotus*. In his description of Babylonia Herodotus equates an *artaba* with 51 choenices (1.192). If this is an Attic choenix and if we are guided by the cotyle sizes in the archaeological material collected in Lang and Crosby 1964: 39–55 (viz. 267–300 cc: p. 48) we get figures for a choenix from 1.068 to 1.200 litres (4 cotylae = 1 choenix). That makes the Herodotean *artaba* 56.1–61.2 litres, or 1.98–2.16 Persepolitan *artabas*. It is, therefore, tempting to think that he mistakenly made the *artaba* twice as large as it should have been—or, to put it another way, was talking about a double-*artaba*.³⁰⁴
- *Babylonia*. The *artaba* is almost invisible in Achaemenid-period Babylonia (only two texts appear to be known: Camb.316 and Stolper 2001: no. 12) and only slightly more visible in post-Achaemenid Babylonia, where it is confined to a particular archive in Borsippa (Stolper 2006b: 233, 242–3). Its size cannot be independently established in the Achaemenid-period texts, and in the Hellenistic ones *ardabu* functions simply as a verbal synonym for Babylonian *mašīhu* ('measure'), not as the denomination of a distinct metrological standard. The word may have been more current under Persian rule than now appears from surviving texts, but in the environment from which those texts come there was no systematic introduction of a non-Babylonian *artaba*-standard: it was merely a question of informally using the word *ardabu* in reference to a Babylonian standard. That this might happen reflected (of course) awareness of the existence of the *artaba* as a distinct standard, and that might be indirect evidence for its use in some other environment(s) in Babylonia. The upshot is that in Achaemenid Babylonia, depending on context, one might have encountered a genuine *artaba* (which we can only rationally identify as the Persepolitan one) and a pseudo-*artaba* (a weight that was *ardabu* by name but not in reality). We lack good evidence that the incidence of either phenomenon was great but, since we entirely lack *Persian* archives from Babylonia, we have no way of knowing that the *artaba* was not common in official circles.
- *Achaemenid Egypt*. Outside A6.11, the *'rdb* is encountered in the Judaeans' offer of a bribe of 1,000 *ardabs* of barley (A4.10), a contract between two

³⁰⁴ That view (expressed by Hinz 1961: 237, and endorsed by Pommerening 2005: 164) was rejected by Porten 1968: 71 because he assessed the Persepolitan and Herodotean *artabas* as (respectively) 30 and 51 quarts, giving a ration of only 1:1.7.

Judaeans and an Egyptian from Taḥpanes (Daphnae) about grain and lentils to be brought to Syene and distributed at the King's House (B4.3//B4.4), various disbursement or account lists (C3.14, C3.18, C3.25–8, perhaps D1.34), and a couple of private letters (D7.8, D7.50). All clearly belong within the ambit of the Syene-Elephantine garrison. The *ʾrdb* is divided into *grīw* and *ḥpn*, but its size is not, of course, immediately apparent from these documents. There is no direct evidence of *artabas* in non-Aramaic textual material from pre-Hellenistic Egypt (Malinine's claim to the contrary has been abandoned),³⁰⁵ and the prevailing view is that the *artaba* is not mentioned in Egyptian-language texts before the Ptolemaic era, and that non-Aramaic Egyptians continued to use the *oipe* = 40 *hin* = c.20 litres as their basic measure. See Černý and Parker 1971, Cruz-Uribe 1990, Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming 2005: 805–8, Pommerening 2005: 158–64. The situation has now changed inasmuch as Chauveau 2018 claims that the *artaba* occurs (along with the *kapithē* = **kapiča*-) in a Demotic annotation on the base of a presentation *alabastron* (Teheran MNI 152), found at Persepolis and dating from the reign of Xerxes. (On this type of object see Posener 1936: 137–60, Schmidt 1957: 81–93, Qahéri 2012, Wasmuth 2017: 212–14.). Given the find-spot, this is still at best indirect evidence (though the object *is* of Egyptian manufacture), and the rather special context means that it is not robust evidence for widespread and standard use of the *artaba* in Egypt. Taken in conjunction with Chauveau's new reading of an annotation on an *alabastron* in Yale (replacing the reading in Ritner 1996), the annotation on Teheran MNI 152 implies an *artaba* of 36 litres.

- *Ptolemaic Egypt*. There seem to be a bewildering range of *artabas* (Vleeming 1980, Vleeming 1981, Pommerening 2005: 164–73), variously figured as of 48, 60, or 64 *hin* or 28, 29, 30, or 40 choenices, and variously interpreted by modern students of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. (The problem is that there is no text that states an equivalence between *hin-artabas* and choenix-*artabas*, the size of the choenix is not independently known, and any belief that the *hin* remained at its traditional size—which is anyway variously computed—comes under pressure.)
- *Hellenistic Lydia*. The Mnesimachus inscription (Sardis VII.1.1) refers to *paradeisoi* and house-plots (*oikopeda*) annotated as *sporou artabōn* plus a numeral (3 or 15). This is *prima facie* exactly parallel to the description in A6.11 (as Henkelman 2018a: 41 notes); and it is noteworthy that the

³⁰⁵ Malinine 1950 found a reference to a 40-*hin artaba* in P.Strasb.Dem.4:2 (35 Darius) and P. Louvre E9293 (24 Darius). Moreover, although 40 *hin* should be an *oipe*, the conjunction of P. Louvre E7846 and E7849 with P.Berl.Dem.13614 was supposed to show that this Persian-era *artaba* was equated with a *khar* (sack)—which involved a devaluation of the *khar*. But all of this has been superseded.

terminology is associated precisely with a distinctively Persian type of land (the *paradeisos*). The document establishes nothing about the size of the *artaba*.

(1) We have direct evidence from Persian-period sources (Persepolis documents and, once an error is corrected, Herodotus) about the size of a Persian *artaba*. We know that that measure was used in Persepolis. That it was used anywhere else is something that is not known but must be guessed or proved. Herodotus' association of a mistakenly doubled version with Babylonia hardly counts as proof of its use there. But informal seepage of the term into some Babylonian discourse might constitute indirect evidence for the presence of the (presumably) Persian *artaba* somewhere in the picture. (2) We have direct evidence of the *use* of an *artaba* in Achaemenid Egypt: in that respect Egypt differs from Babylonia, though the fact that the Egyptian evidence centres round an official environment corresponds with what we might guess about the *artaba* in Babylonia. We also have abundant indirect post-Achaemenid evidence for the presence of the *artaba* in Achaemenid Egypt, in the shape of the fact that something called an *artaba* was in common use in Ptolemaic and Roman times. In this respect also Egypt differs from Babylonia. It is this indirect evidence that may cast a specifically Egyptian light on the size of the Persian-period Egyptian *artaba*. One type of post-Achaemenid *artaba* (the 60 *hin* one, with the *hin* reckoned at around 0.48 litres) can be made to correspond to the Persepolitan *artaba*. The question is whether the existence of *other* types of which this is not true requires us to postulate the use of a non-Persepolitan *artaba* in pre-Hellenistic (and specifically fifth-century) Egypt. Of course, Chauveau's understanding of the *alabastra* annotations (if correct) suggests that it does.

The Babylonian situation illustrates the possibility of a Persian metrological term being applied to a non-Persian measure, but the facts that (a) this only certainly happens in post-Hellenistic texts, (b) the *ardabu* has only very limited impact in such texts (which makes the Babylonian and Egyptian data-sets very different in character), and (c) we cannot securely quantify the measure in question mean that the impact of Babylon on our treatment of Egypt is limited. For the question we confront is not whether people might sometimes informally have used the term *artaba* when measuring things according to some established Egyptian scale that differed from the Persepolitan *artaba*, but whether such a substitution would occur in the environments represented by Elephantine documents—reflecting the processes of the Royal Storehouse—and land-allocations within Aršāma's estate. If we choose to believe this (despite the fact that local arguments from analogy are not encouraging),³⁰⁶ we have to

³⁰⁶ The Persian *karsh* (83.3 g) entered Egypt in its own right, not as a name to be applied to an Egyptian weight. On Porten's view attention was sometimes actually drawn to the difference between the *karsh* and Egyptian weights by a special annotation (1968: 305–7). On Vargyas' view

believe that the substitution occurred rather systematically, in effect that the term *artaba* was officially attached to a quantity substantially different from that of a Persepolitan *artaba*.³⁰⁷ Until the appearance of Chauveau 2018, the only rational way to identify such a quantity was by assuming it to be represented by one of the (other) *artabas* in the Hellenistic and Roman record. But, of course, as has already been intimated, the question of the size(s) of Ptolemaic *artabas* is a matter of great complexity. Perusal of Vleeming 1981 (especially if taken with the treatment of the Ptolemaic material in Shelton 1977) might leave one feeling able to postulate the currency in Achaemenid Egypt of (a) something like the Persepolitan *artaba* and (b) an equivalent of the undoubtedly common nominal 40-choenix *artaba* which, with any version of the choenix on offer would be at least 15% and perhaps as much as 35–40% larger. Pommerening's calculations (2005: 164–73) make things look much more complicated because they are so elaborate. But our only interest in the matter (which, to reiterate, is as a way of knowing what sort of interpretations to put on Pamun's 30-*artaba* land-holding) remains whether her results presuppose the currency in Egypt in pre-Hellenistic times of an *artaba* significantly different in size from the Persepolitan one. The only points at which such a thing shows up in Pommerening's table of results are in the shape of (i) a 22.70-litre *artaba* (representing either 48 *hin* @ 0.473 litres or 50 *hin* @ 0.458 litres) and (ii) a 'large' *artaba* of 35.14–37.84 litres (representing 80 *hin* at various different sizes). It is not immediately clear how incumbent it is upon us to believe that either of these were actually current in Achaemenid times (by the concluding part of her discussion that is not Pommerening's concern), but (if either was) it is surely more likely to have been the 'large' *artaba* (which represented an accommodation of the nominal *artaba* to the Egyptian tradition of measuring in a 40-*hin* unit (the *oipe*) and a 160-*hin* unit (the 'sack')) than the 22.70-litre *artaba* which seems by contrast to be much more to do with the Greek choenix—and this does seem to be Pommerening's position earlier in her discussion (2005: 162–3). (It is also not in the end very different from the impression

(2009) the annotation meant something unrelated, but the *karsh* and the *kite* nonetheless remained quite separate.

³⁰⁷ Briant (2002: 414, 935) was prepared to envisage this, suggesting that, by figuring tax demands in *artabas* that were really tied to the Egyptian 'sack', the Persians could raise taxation levels without appearing to do so. But the mechanics of this are not entirely clear (and he was under the influence of Malinine's discredited treatment). A pharaonic tax liability of x 'sacks' re-expressed as x *artabas* would bring in *less* (on any credible figure for the Persian *artaba* available to us) or exactly the same (if a 'sack' was simply renamed an *artaba*). A trick of this sort could have been tried by the Ptolemies. If the Persepolitan *artaba* was in established use in pre-Hellenistic Egypt, redefining the *artaba* as thirty or forty choenices (something that rulers arriving from a Greek environment might do) *would* increase the income represented by a historical tax demand expressed in *artabas*. The fact that the *artaba* was persistently important in post-Achaemenid Egypt in a way that it was not elsewhere surely demonstrates that it was deliberately retained.

created by Vleeming's treatment.) The coincidence between this conclusion and Chauveau's revelation of a 36-litre *artaba* is, of course, very striking.

The upshot is that, in assessing Pamun's landholding, we can regard the *artaba* either as a Persepolitan one (of c.29 litres) or an Egypto-Persian one (of 36 or 35.14–37.84 litres). Nothing outside that range (c.29–38 litres) is likely to be relevant.

If the 30-*artaba* figure is a statement of produce, the land produced either minimally 873 litres or maximally 1,135.2 litres. On the bottom-level Persepolis ration scale of 1 *artaba* per month those figures represent a single person's ration for either 30 months (irrespective of the size of the Persepolitan *artaba*) or 38 months. On the ration scales attested in C3.14 at Elephantine of 1, 1.5, and 2.5 *artabas* per month (cf. Porten 1968: 72, 81), 30 *artabas* would last 30, 20, or 12 months. But Peṭosiri would presumably be supporting more than just himself, which makes such figures only a starting point—and leaves one wondering whether, even if we work with the 'large' *artaba*, the land would be adequate for a family and household personnel, especially given the possibility that an *wršbr* (whatever one was) would be entitled to more than rock-bottom provision.³⁰⁸ Of course, it is not impossible that the landholding was only part of a portfolio of support and remuneration, in which case this line of argument fails.

If, on the other hand, the 30-*artaba* figure is a statement of seed requirement the calculations are rather different, and can proceed in two different ways.

The first assumes that the figure of 30 *artabas* is a real figure. The question is therefore how much seed is actually required for a given area of land and how many people a piece of land requiring 30 *artabas* might support. These are tricky things to tie down. Schnebel 1925: 125–6 suggests a rate of 1 *artaba* per *aroura* as a norm, though the actual attested figures he is working with vary rather considerably either side of that (from 0.54 to 1.29 *artabas*), and Vleeming 1981 cited him as giving 1.0–1.5 or 1.2–1.3 *artabas* per *aroura* as a guideline figure (which is a hint at how disturbingly flexible these data can seem to be). Nor does Schnebel seem to define which *artaba* he assumes to be involved. Still, if one ignores that question and takes the 1 *artaba* per *aroura* figure, Peṭosiri's land would be 8.25 ha in area (an *aroura* being 0.275 ha). The discussion in Thonemann 2009 (not conducted on the basis of Egyptian material) suggests a seed figure of 170 litres per hectare and, if one computes that in terms of Persepolitan and Egypto-Persian *artabas*, one gets figures of roughly 5.0 or 6.7 ha. Beyer (commenting on ATTM 322) quotes an estimate equivalent to around 150 litres per hectare, producing plots of roughly 5.7 or 7.6 ha.

³⁰⁸ One gets some perspective on this by observing that an Athenian citizen of the zeugite class (with an 'income' of 200 *medimnoi*) would receive 9–12 times the 30 *artabas* under discussion here.

The second approach, advocated by Henkelman 2018a: 40–1, is that the seed-*artaba* here (and in the Mnesimachus inscription) is not an actual amount of seed but a measure of surface based on a standardized theoretical amount of seed required for a standard plot of land: in effect, the modern guesstimates in the previous paragraph are replaced by the assumption that there was a standard official guess in use in the Achaemenid era comparable to the Babylonian *kurru*, a method of calculation whose currency outside Babylonia is perhaps distantly attested by the appearance of the *gōro* in a fourth- or fifth-century AD Bactrian document. On this basis, and on the further assumption that a seed-*artaba* was six times the size of a (field-surface) *kurru*—that being the ration between the two as units of capacity—Peṭosiri's plot would be 5 *kurru* = 6.25 ha.

What all these calculations have in common (apart from their rather uncertain basis and *ad hoc* character) is that the plot-sizes they produce should be viable for Peṭosiri the *wršbr* and his household.³⁰⁹ This tends to confirm that one should understand '30 *artabas*' as indicating seed requirement, not output.

line 2(5) אַשְׁתַּבַּק בְּנֹו, *štbq bgw*, 'was abandoned within (Egypt)'. This translation follows Whitehead's suggestion that *bgw* (literally 'within') means 'in (Egypt)', and is an annotation added because Aršāma was not in Egypt at the time. His ground for saying this is that the logical antecedent of the word *bgw* is 'Egypt' (in the phrase 'when there was unrest in Egypt...'). But, even if that be so, it is not entirely clear that anything follows about Aršāma's whereabouts, since this part of the letter is actually quoting Pamun's message to Aršāma. (When the substance of that message is repeated in Aršāma's voice in A6.11:4–5, prefacing a statement of his decision on the matter, *bgw* is absent.)³¹⁰ Driver translates it as 'then', explaining it in his note as short for *bgwh* = 'within it', by analogy with Akkadian *ina libbi* for *ina libbišu* 'therein, thereupon' (cf. also Whitehead 1974: 255). Ginsberg suggested 'in the course of it [sc. the rebellion]'; which is probably what Porten–Yardeni mean by their 'therein'. Grelot ignored it, while Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 216 (s.v. *gw*₂) suggest 'and in consequence'.

line 2(6) אַשְׁתַּבַּק... אַבְדִּי [bdw], 'abandoned...perished'. As presented here the unrest led to the death of Pamun and the household personnel—and then to nothing: the land was neither reclaimed nor reassigned by Aršāma nor seized by the people responsible for the disorder; and there is no

³⁰⁹ For local comparison Egyptian *makhimoi* reportedly got a 3 ha plot (Hdt. 2.168), while the plots in P.BM EA 76281–2 (some of which belong to Calasirians or Hermotybians) are typically between 0.55 and 1.65 ha. See Gallant 1991: 84, 87, Moreno 2007: 61. Still, returning to the Athenian comparison (previous note), the Athenian zeugite would (on the figures in Van Wees 2013: 229–32) have nearly 14 ha of land.

³¹⁰ For a more probable argument of this sort see *tmh bMšryn* in A6.4:4, with note ad loc. See Tuplin iii 39–45 on the wider question.

suggestion that it was significantly damaged. Is this perhaps surprising? It would not appreciably ease the problem if *'bdw* were taken to mean 'were lost' (e.g. because seized by someone else) rather than killed. But line 4 (Pamun 'perished with the people of his household') probably tells against that reading. In Babylonia we encounter the idea of unassigned bow-fiefs in various Murašû texts (see Stolper 2001: 98; add PBS 2/1 217), YBC 11564 (Stolper 2001: 97 no. 7), and Bellino 1 (Stolper 2004: 533). Stolper 2001: 98 draws attention to the analogy with the present case. Whether those cases were the result of violent disturbances we cannot readily tell, though they certainly do not all post-date the upheavals of 424–423.³¹¹ On the re-assignment of (higher status) estates in the context of regime change or other upheaval see Henkelman 2018a: 27–31.

line 2(7) **נְשֵׁי בֵיתָן**, *nšy bytn*, 'people of our household'. This corresponds to Akkadian *nišē bīti* (Ginsberg 1969: 633 n. 4, Kaufman 1974: 78, Muraoka and Porten 2003: 21, 350). See CAD s.v. *nišû* (3a), pp. 287–8, where the phrase is translated 'retainers', a term also used by Kleber 2018a: 456. (*Nišû* can also denote *glebae ascripti* and family-members. Limet 2000: 41 observes that it denotes 'people' in the sense in which aristocrats once spoke of their 'people'.) The Aramaic phrase is applied to people associated with Hinzani in A6.12, and appears a couple of times in the battered remnants of D6.8, (presumably) contributing to Porten–Yardeni's view that that is a companion letter to the present text.³¹² (In D6.8 they belong to whoever is addressing Aršāma: i.e. here as in A6.11–12 the term does not describe anyone who is part of Aršāma's household/estate.) But in A4.7:15, 20, 26 // A4.8:14, 19, 25 *nšy* by itself apparently = 'wives'; and the word *nšn* means 'lady, woman' in a series of texts in TADAE II–III (where it is used as an honorific title attached to the name of an individual woman) and in PFAT 100 and PFAT 189 in lists of rations for men, women, and children (cf. Azzoni 2008: 261). Consequently Driver and Grelot took *nšy byt'* to signify 'women of the house' in the present text. But, although all wives/women might be household personnel, not all household personnel have to be wives/women, and the Driver/Grelot view seems unduly restrictive. (It also neglects the fact that the phrase *nšy byt* reflects *nišē bīti*: the word *nšy* here is not simply functioning as a part of '(y)š = 'man, woman', as it is in the generality of Aramaic documents.) 'People of our household' is preferable. There

³¹¹ At a higher level of society, if the Mardonius of BM 64535 (5 July 478), published in Stolper 1992, is the famous one, then part at least of his landed estates (viz. that for which Ki-Bel acted as LÚGAL É) had not been reassigned nearly a year after his corpse disappeared on the battlefield of Plataea (Hdt. 9.84)—a possibility envisaged by Stolper, though with no strong conviction. The upheavals of which the story of Masistes' wife is the Herodotean reflex (9.108–13) might provide a background—not to mention what one might surmise to be the king's displeasure with the brother-in-law who had urged but failed to deliver the conquest of Greece. (This, of course, assumes that, even within the royal family, authorization of the ultimate property-owner—the king—was needed.)

³¹² The remains of D6.8 include some names that suggest it was no means entirely like A6.11. The relationship of A6.15 and D6.7 looks closer.

is at least a verbal contrast between Aršāma's perception that disorder threatens *grd' wnkšy'* (A6.10:1 etc.) and Peṭosiri's that it leads to the destruction of *nšy byt'*: the latter perhaps sounds more like the wife, children, and *andrapoda* at risk when Asidates is attacked in Xen.An. 7.8.9, 12 than Aršāma's *grd'*, but this may be an illusion. (An Egyptian might or might not have described both as *mr.t/mrj.t*: cf. A6.3:1(12) n.) Other terminology for household includes *'nwšh* in D8.4:24 ('household' (Porten–Yardeni, Porten and Lund 2002)), *'nšth* ('his household' (Porten–Yardeni) or 'his people?/wife (Porten and Lund 2002)) in A2.1:14 and A2.4:3,³¹³ and even *byt'* in A3.3:6 ('household' (Porten–Yardeni)) and perhaps A3.5:6 or A5.1:3 (though in these places Porten–Yardeni have 'house').

line 2(8) כָּלָא *kl'*, 'all'. Driver 1965: 69 understood *kl'* adverbially ('perished altogether'), on the basis that it is associated with a feminine noun in the present passage but a masculine one in A6.15:6–7. His reasoning was already rejected by Fitzmyer in 1957, shortly after the publication of the first edition of Driver's book (cf. Fitzmyer 1979: 211), and there seems to be no other compelling reason in favour of the adverbial reading. See also A6.15:7(1) n.

lines 2–3 לֹא יָהִיב... אֲהַחֲסֵן [l' *yhyb*]...*hḥsn*, 'was not given...let me occupy (it as heir)'. Note the unusually staccato effect of the three requests. And, as Whitehead 1974: 185 observes, there is another very brief sentence in line 5 ('You, notify him'). One might also compare *kn 'bdw kzy ly thdnw* ('thus do that you gladden me') in A6.14:3–4 or the fairly peremptory *kn ydy' yhw h lk* ('thus let it be known to you') in A6.8:3 and A6.10:8 (as well as Bactrian letters and the OT: cf. A6.8:3(1) n.), though these are more isolated in their immediate contexts. Another curt phrase, *'nrwy 'l t'bdw* ('do not act in contrary manner'), encountered three times in the Bactrian letters (A5:2–3, A6:5, B7:3) is not a feature of Aršāma's epistolary style. The narrative style of Vahuvaxšu, as reported in one of Axvamazdā's letters to Bagavanta (ADAB A1), highlights Bagavanta's failings and his own intervention in brief sentences: 'Therefore I inform (sc. my lord). Thereafter Bagavanta was interrogated by my lord' (A1:3–4), 'I again complained to my lord' (A1:4), 'That Bagavanta did not wish to release the men. I again complained to my lord' (A1:6). There is *ad hoc* repetition here, but 'therefore I inform (sc. my lord)' is perhaps a cliché of report composition (cf. A6:4, 'concerning that I inform my lord'), though (again) not one found in the Aršāma correspondence. Perusal of TADAE A2–A5 (and cf. also ADAB B1:1–2, B5:8–9) suggests that short sentences are in general more common in non-official letters, partly because they are more prone to be multi-topic and this strains the limitations of space (especially when written on ostraca).

³¹³ Note that *nš* = 'person, someone, individual, mankind'; *nth* = 'woman'.

line 3(1) אַהַחְסַן, *ʾhḥsn*, ‘occupy (it as heir)’. See above, line 2(3) n.

line 3(2) הוּ כְנָם הוּ, *hm knm hw*, ‘if it is thus’. Aršāma is effectively inviting the addressees to check the relevant files. But he does not do so explicitly: it is not generally part of the rhetoric of these letters to emphasize the bureaucratic process. The presence of subscripts, as here in line 6, is a notable exception, but one presumably dictated by need—at least in theory: and yet there may be some element of rhetorical choice about their presence or absence (see below, pp. 279–83.). Other possible exceptions—all debatable—are the detailed display of process in A6.2 (if that is thought to exceed the practical needs of the case), Virafša’s invitation to Nakhtḥor to check an actual letter of Aršāma to Psamšek (if that is what A6.15:4 means: the alternative view is that Nakhtḥor is merely being invited to ‘pay attention to’ the letter), and the memorandum in A6.12:2 (if indeed such a thing is mentioned there: see A6.12:2(3) n.).

line 3(3) פֶּטְסוּרִי, *Pṭṣry*. An abbreviated writing of the name, also found in D22.20. For another oddity see line 5.

lines 4–5 לֹא עָבִיד [וְעַל בֵּיתָא זִילִין], [*wʿl bytʿ zyly*] *lʿ byd*, ‘[to my estate] it was not made over’. Peṭosiri had just said that Pamun and the household personnel perished and the domain was abandoned. Aršāma’s words effectively attribute to him the further facts that the domain was neither reincorporated in Aršāma’s *byt* nor reassigned to another *ʿlym*; and he adds a condition upon granting the request that Peṭosiri had not articulated, viz. a requirement to pay *hlk*. That Peṭosiri did not mention *hlk* is probably because he takes it as read (it may be implicit in *mḥḥsn*: line 3), not because he thinks that by saying nothing he will end up not having to pay it; and the request for grant of the domain does entail the assumption on Peṭosiri’s part that it was and remained truly abandoned. So the additional items in Aršāma’s rehearsal of the facts and determination of the issue add nothing unexpected or untoward from Peṭosiri’s point of view. But the drafter of the letter, while adopting the repetitive mode, has not seen fit to make the request literally match the response. (See also A6.7:6–8 n.)

line 5(1) אַחַר, *ʾḥr*, ‘then’. See A6.7:6, 7 n.

line 5(2) פֶּטְסוּרִי, *Pṭṣwry*. A metathetic writing of *Pṭṣwry*, presumably simply erroneous (Porten 2002: 285). For another metathesis cf. A6.7:2, 9 (*Prym*, *Pryrm*).

line 5(3) יַהַחְסַן, *yḥḥsn*, ‘occupy (it as heir)’. See above line 2(3) n.

line 5(4) הַלְכָא, *hlkʿ*, ‘tax’. This designates something the *mḥḥsn* must provide to the owner of the estate within which the lease was held. The Aramaic word also appears in:

- Ezra 4.13, 20 and 7.24: a tax in Transeuphratene (along with *blw* and *mndh*).
- ADAB A1: a complaint is made that Bagavanta and his associates had extracted a land-related *hlk* from certain camel-keepers in an improper fashion.
- D6.13 (d):1, where, according to Porten and Lund 2002: 222, we have *h]lk wmdh*, though TADAE IV prints only *]k mndh*. If correct this gives us two (potential) ‘tax’ words together, *hlk* and *mndh* (as also in Ezra), but far too little survives to provide any intelligible context. On *mndh* see A6.13:3(2) n.

Hlk inevitably evokes Akkadian *ilku* (Kaufman 1974: 58), though some worry about the philological niceties of the connection: see variously Henning 1935 and 1958: 41 (for whom the connection is indirect) and Driver 1965: 70 (for whom it does not exist, *hlk* being derived instead from *alāku* = ‘go, do service’).³¹⁴ This is surely unnecessary, since *hlk* actually appears in reference to *ilku* in two Aramaic epigraphs on cuneiform texts (Delaporte 1912: nos. 73, 78).³¹⁵ *Ilku* is a portmanteau term, embracing various sorts of service or tax obligation—in Borsippa (for example) transport of the royal food supply, *urašu*-service, ‘the front of the bow’ and (on one occasion) *hišarû*, in the Murašû archive ‘soldier of the king, flour, *barra*, and the other dues of the royal house’.³¹⁶ It is in essence representative of, and even sometimes actualized in, personal service obligations, and the basis of liability—often unclear—can certainly include estate-holding: that is classically the case in the Murašû archive, but also in other contemporary Babylonian contexts. There is certainly a broad analogy between Peṭosiri and people in Mesopotamia.

Whitehead, while offering ‘pay the land tax’ in his translation, in the commentary properly notes that *ilku* could be service, payment in kind, or payment in money, and initially glosses line 5 as ‘Let him . . . the *ilku* service to my estate’. And perhaps—especially since *ḥšl* is so opaque (see below, next n.)—one *should* not entirely forget the possibility that *hlk* designates something other than cash payment.

The Bactrian text *might* be consistent with service, e.g. making the camel-drivers *do* something with their camels. Bagavanta took things from the camel-drivers, detained them in prison, and extracted an unwarranted *hlk*. What he

³¹⁴ *Hlk* = ‘go, walk’ appears in Egypt in B8.3, C1.1 *recto* 40 (‘walking among the vineyards’) and CG 44 (*’hk* = ‘j’irai’), 204 (*yhk* = ‘il ira’), J3 (*’hk* or *yhk* = ‘j’irai/il ira’), J6 (*yhk* = ‘qu’il aille/il ira’).

³¹⁵ The connection of *hlk* and *ilku* is also assumed by Schwartz (2003: 26, 2004: 144). CAD s.v. *ilku* A (at p. 80) regards *hlk* as an Aramaic calque on *ilku*. Aramaic *hlk* has been seen as the origin of a putative OP word **harak/*harkā* whose existence is inferred from Armenian, Bactrian, Prakrit, Sogdian, Pahlavi, and MP words meaning variously tax, rent, or work (Schwartz 2003: 26).

³¹⁶ Jursa 2010: 248–54, 647–56, Jursa 2011b: 441. Borsippa: Joannès 1989 (especially L 4720), Jursa 2009: 254–65. Murašû archive: Cardascia 1951: 99.

took initially is not plainly identified, though later he took some animals (not camels) from them and imposed a ‘surcharge’ (?) (*nḥmrnyt*, a putatively Iranian word) ‘more than on another land (*mt*)’. There is perhaps nothing here that guarantees the *hlk* is monetary: even if the *hlk* was extracted literally while the drivers were detained, there is no guarantee that there were not other people (servants of the drivers) who could have performed some service. (Even if the *hlk* was monetary, payment of it must have involved action by people other than the detainees.)

line 6(1) **חַשְׁל**, *ḥšl*, ‘pay’. This word describes the making over of the *hlk* to the estate. In Egypt it appears otherwise in:

- D14.7: ‘Ezer 1 *ḥšl* 2’, a reading described as uncollated, uncertain, and doubtful.
- CG 156: *ḥšl* appears alone in the fragmentary final line of an ostrakon and is rendered ‘je paierai (la taxe)’ for no purely contextually imposed reasons.
- CG 200:]*bt ḥšl*/_h /₁], rendered ‘en cette maison d’impôts/en payant une taxe l?’; again nothing else in the ostrakon necessarily points at a context concerned with tax.

Porten–Yardeni render ‘pay’ (with some doubt), Whitehead 1974: 84 says its meaning remains unclear, which means the nature of the transfer and what is being transferred (i.e. the content of *hlk*) are unclear. Driver sought an explanation in Akkadian *ḥašālu*, a word for which CAD gives only the meaning ‘crush’ (cf. also Dan. 2.40),³¹⁷ but which Driver persuaded himself might mean ‘deliver’. Kaufman 1974: 54–5 was unimpressed and produced a suggestion of his own: *ḥšl* might be related to a suggested alternative reading of VS 6.188:13 to produce *i-ha-ša-la-*’ instead of (the *hapax*) *i-ha-la-la-*’, in a context that also concerns the performance/payment of *ilku ša šarri*. Grelot 1972: 317 thought it probably of Akkadian origin but failed to specify one (I am unsure that his allusion to Driver entails endorsement). Muraoka and Porten 2003: 348–51 note no putative Akkadian explanation. Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 412 produce nothing.

line 6(2) **ספרא... ארתוהי**, *rtwhy...spr*, ‘Artāvahyā...scribe’. cf. A6.10:10(2) n. and pp. 269–83.

line 7 **המרקריא**, [*hmrk*]ry’, ‘accountants’. Iranian **hamāarakara* (Tavernier 2007: 424; and cf. 444 for the adjectival **hamāarakarnaya*, indirectly attested in

³¹⁷ Dupont-Sommer duly contemplated treating *ḥšl* in CG 200 as something to do with smithing or forging (cited in Lozachmeur 2006: 349).

ATNS 49:4).³¹⁸ The restoration is certain thanks to the parallel annotation in A6.12:4, A6.13:6. Fuller titulature is reserved for the external address, as in A6.1. The OP term recurs in Egypt in A6.2:4, 23³¹⁹ and D3.28:2 (a mere fragment), at Persepolis (PF 0281: an Aramaic annotation) and in Babylonia: Tavernier cites ten texts, to which add BM 61583 (12/3/28 Darius) in MacGinnis 2006: 95–7.³²⁰ Some Babylonian **hamāarakaras* have quite high associations (connected with the royal *bīt mīksu* (ROMCT 2.35) or Artahsar, one-time controller of the *nakkandu šarri* (PBS 2/1 84), or just plain ‘royal’ (BE 10.130)), others are less well-defined (BE 10.59, 80, 82, 97, EE 108, IMT 110, Eilers 1940: 56). In BM 61583 the term applies to three witnesses known elsewhere as scribes in Sippar.³²¹

The Bodleian letters in which accountants are mentioned concern assignment of territory within the estate (A6.11), rations for the image-maker Ĥinzani (A6.12), and the extraction of *mndh* from the estate of someone other than Aršāma (A6.13–14)—all contexts about income or disbursement. One could imagine them having a role in the context of estate enhancement (A6.10) or the return of the Mišpeh Thirteen to work or (certainly) Pšamšek’s *dšn* (A6.4); but the latter two letters are addressed to Artavanta, so may be seen as belonging at a higher bureaucratic level; and A6.10 is, as formulated, a rather individual reprimand to Nakhtḥor (though, cf. A6.10:5–10 n., other unnamed persons are involved to some degree). Porten 1968: 46 thought the people in the Bodleian letters were public officials who also worked in the private sphere. But private business men had accountants too (as we see in the Murašû archive), and so did queens: Irtašduna orders that a wine-ration be issued from her estate at Kuknaka to Kamšabana the accountant (*muššan zikkira*: PF 1837), and Irdabama tells ‘accountants at Šullakke’ to look at the sealed document *in re* a transaction involving a nurseryman and ‘draft the respective account’ (PFA 27).³²² A6.11 and A6.12 are consistent with the accountants mentioned therein being officials whose remit is no larger than Aršāma’s (personal) estate. Nor does their involvement in Vāravahyā’s problems imply anything different; if Aršāma can give Nakhtḥor authority to interfere in someone else’s estate, he

³¹⁸ The root word, *(*h*)*amār-* = calculation, (ac)count, appears in the Sultaniye Köy inscription (Altheim-Stiehl, Metzler, and Schwertheim 1983), in the phrase saying that Aryabama has paid for the stele for Adda/Ara, and in an obscure context in ATNS 26:13.

³¹⁹ They are specifically treasury accountants (*hmrkry’ zy gnz*) in line 4. Their ‘reckoning’ (*wpkrt = *upakṛta-*) is what underlies Aršāma’s order that the boat be repaired.

³²⁰ **Hamāarakara* may also appear in abbreviated Akkadian form as *amura* (OECT 12 C6, with Jursa 2013: 7) and (in the plural) *ammarani* (VS 6.223, with Tolini 2011: 340).

³²¹ For something of the post-Achaemenid history (Parthian, Sasanian, Syriac, Hebrew, Palestinian Aramaic) of the word cf. Greenfield 1970 and 1977: 115–16.

³²² See Garrison & Henkelman ii 154, noting that Irdabama’s staff (and perhaps their counterparts working for other royal family members) worked in both Elamite and Aramaic. (PFA accountants can also be scribes-writing-on-leather: Fort.1909A-101, Fort.2016-101.) The Demotic annotation on the present letter indicates a similar bilingualism in the management of Aršāma’s affairs.

can do the same for his private accountants. At the same time, it may be unrealistic, when dealing with a figure such as Aršāma, to draw sharp private–public distinctions: cf. Fried 2013: 324, 328, who draws a parallel between the accountants here, in the context of land-holding transfers, and those involved as witnesses in the transfer of ownership of slaves in fourth-century Samaria.

line 8. Demotic Annotation. Lindenberger omits this from his text (perhaps defensibly in what is primarily an anthology of Aramaic and Hebrew letters) but less defensibly does not even draw attention to it in his notes. (Oddly, in A6.13 he does draw attention to the existence of a Demotic annotation.) This annotation provides a brief summary of the document’s content (parallel in type to the Aramaic summaries found in A6.4–5, A6.7–8, A6.10, A6.12–13). *šḥ* is a basic and anodyne word for ‘field’, so there is no attempt to find a Demotic term capturing the particular ‘domain’ status of the land in question. The position of the annotation is noteworthy. It lies above the line containing the (Aramaic) external address, but largely runs adjacent to the space left (as usual) between *mn* (‘from’) and the addressor’s name (here Aršāma) to accommodate the sealing. The same phenomenon occurs with the (briefer and categorically different) annotation in A6.12, where (moreover) the Demotic lettering is actually on the same line as the address, and so sits exactly where one would expect the seal to be placed. In A6.13, by contrast, the Demotic annotation is adjacent to (and slightly overlaps) the Aramaic summary at the extreme left-hand end of the address line.³²³ In the first two cases it is rather as though the annotation was added after the sealing had been removed (always assuming that a seal had ever been attached), while in the third it was certainly not added as part of the same process that produced the Aramaic summary. Both observations would suit a moment after the receipt and opening of the letter. On the presence of Demotic annotations see below, pp. 270, 273–4, 276, 280.

³²³ Nothing can be said about the precise original location of Demotic name *Ḥtp-b3st.t* or (less likely) *Ḥtp-is.t* in D6.11(h). For writings of *Ḥtp-b3st.t* see DemNB 848.

TADAE A6.12 (DRIVER 9, GRELOT 70, LINDENBERGER 46)

The Image-Maker Ḥinzani*Summary*

Aršāma authorizes rations for the sculptor Ḥinzani and his household personnel.

Text

The principal areas of uncertainty are the name of the subject of the letter (line 1), *bdykrn/brykrn* (line 2), and the small lacuna in the middle of line 2. As usual Lindenberg is more conservative in the placing of square brackets and the marking of letters as damaged though reasonably certain.

Commissioning of Artistic Work

In general terms the letter evokes a famous letter of the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil I (1374–1360) to the pharaoh Amenophis, ordering artworks (cf. Kuhrt 1995: 342–3),³²⁴ not least for its pressing urgency (cf. line 3 here), or a document recording the apprenticing of a slave of Cambyses (before he was king) for four years to learn the art of seal-cutting (Cyr.325: 28 February 530). One might also, for contrast, note IG i³ 476.158–67, listing artisans, the objects they are making, and the sum paid:

Phyromachos of Cephisia, the young man next to the *thorax*, 60 drachmas.
Praxias who lives in Melite, the horse and the man who shows his back, 120 drachmas.
Antiphanes from Kerameis, the chariot and the young man and the horse that is hitched, 240 drachmas
(tr. Erietta Bissa)

Root 1979: 23 cites the present letter as presumptive support for the idea of sculptors being brought to the royal court to confer with the king about the planning of imperial commissions.

Various artisans, linked with gold, stone, wood, paint, etc. and certainly or possibly engaged in the decorative arts, appear in the Susa building texts (DSf, DSz) and in PFA and PTA texts. Most immediately relevant to A6.12 are two sets of people.³²⁵ The first consists of those said or conjectured to be making

³²⁴ “There are skilled craftsmen where you are. Let them represent a wild animal, either a land or river creature, lifelike, so that the hide is exactly like that of a live animal. Your envoy shall bring it to me. But if the old ones are ready and available, then, when Shindishugab, my envoy, arrives at your court, let him immediately, posthaste, borrow chariots(?) and get here. Let them make some new ones for future delivery.’ We know of sculptors being sent from Babylonia to Hatti (Zaccagnini 1983: 251, citing KBo 1 10+ rev.58–61).

³²⁵ Since there is no unanimity about the nature of Ḥinzani’s name or therefore his origin, we cannot make any headway by looking for other artisans of similar ethnic origin.

images in wood or stone.³²⁶ The second consists of artisans who stand out like *Ḫinzani* by virtue of being named or (if anonymous) mentioned by themselves.³²⁷ The first group are merely generically analogous, but the second in principle brings us a little closer to a craftsman sufficiently important to be the subject of specific orders from someone of *Aršāma's* status. Among the relevant individuals one might pick out the following because of the presence of other notable features: Dadda the *zarnupirra* (NN 2515) and the anonymous KÜ.GI *kazira* (NN 1361), each of whom receives a ration of a sheep a month, *Manišdadda* the copper-hammerer who gets 1.2 *marriš* of wine a day, *Dandumanda* the stone-mason/stone-dresser who travels with one servant all the way from *Susa* to *Arachosia* (rather as *Ḫinzani* travelled from *Susa* to *Egypt*),³²⁸ and *Haradduma* the Egyptian wood-worker (GIŠ-*šeškira*) who has centurion status,³²⁹ receives 6.5 shekels a month, and also stands out on the basis that 'non-Persian individuals are only mentioned by name if there is a special reason for it, usually because they are important or singular individuals.'³³⁰ Whether all or any of these might have found themselves in *Ḫinzani's* shoes must remain a matter of speculation, but their existence does perhaps provide some substantive context for his case.

³²⁶ Wood: GIŠ *šeškip battikurraš huttip* (PT 17, 20, 24, 26, 1957-1, 1963-5), *malu-šaškip zila-huttip* (PT 27: new reading by Henkelman), GIŠ *šeškip ak zila huttip* (PT 25: *zila* = figure, shape), and (conjecturally) the wood-worker in PT 01 (see just below). Stone: makers of *battikurraš* in PT 24, 26, 73, PT 1957-1, ¹PT 1963-3, and conjecturally the Egyptian 'makers of stone [...] who are making the inscription(s) on the columned hall' in PT 09. Also relevant is the allusion to *simmānū ša uširtum* (materials for images/reliefs) in DSaa §3 (Henkelman 2017b: 279). For discussion of various descriptions of artisans see Giovinazzo 2012, Henkelman 2017b: 277-8. Distinguishing potential artists from more mundane workers can be a delicate business. The special PFA ration arrangements for *ḪAR-huttip* (lit. 'stone makers') suggests that they may have more specialized skills than the literal meaning of their designation might suggest: Henkelman 2018b: 238.

³²⁷ (1) *Haradduma* the Egyptian wood-worker (GIŠ *šeškira*): PT 01. (2) *Akhet* the wood worker (GIŠ *šeškira*): PF 1246. (3) *Tuzaza* the goldsmith [KÜ.GI *kazira*] (Elamite name?): PF 1519. (4) Dadda the gold-? (*zarnupirra*, a word whose meaning is uncertain, beyond that *zarnu* = gold): NN 2515. (5) *Addarnuriš* the Assyrian who handles cedar wood: PF 1799. (6) *Eškuš*, foreman (*pirramanakarra*) of the woodworkers: PT 75. (7) ¹*Nukurkatiriš*, stone-remover at Persepolis: NN 0111. (8) *Hamadadda* the stone-remover: NN 0130. (9) *Du* [...] the stone remover: NN 1516. (10) *Dandumanda* the stone-mason/²stone-dresser (*HAR mazzira*): NN 2503. (11) *Manišdadda* the copper-hammerer (GIŠ.ZA.BAR.MEŠ *tukkira*): NN 2492. There are also some now anonymous single individuals: (12) A gold-? (*zarnupirra*) in NN 1361, (13) a goldsmith (KÜ.GI *kazira*) in *Fribourg A*, (14) a foreman ³ornament-maker (*hatena hutтира*) in PT 78, and (15) a silver-maker in NN 2203.

³²⁸ The journey of *Du*[...] from *Hunar* to *Persepolis* is rather more ordinary.

³²⁹ The foreman-status of a woodworker (PT 75) and ²ornament-maker (PT 78) is not quite as impressive, and their remuneration is unremarkable.

³³⁰ Henkelman 2017b: 297. Others in the list in n.327 above might, of course, benefit from this principle but lack other putative indicators of status. Henkelman 2017b: 277 pictures *Haradduma* as a wood-sculptor, not just a common-or-garden wood-worker, though truthfully one cannot be sure that his institutional status reflects special artisan skills rather than other managerial qualities.

line 1(1) ^{oo}הנזני, *Hnzny*, ‘Hinzani (?)’. The third and fourth letters are rendered uncertain by damage to the leather. Porten–Yardeni indicate that the name might also theoretically be read as *Hnhby*, *Hnhpy*, *Hnhny*, *Hnzby*, or *Hnzpy*. The general favour for Hinzani is due to its evocation of the toponym Hinzanu/Hindanu in the middle Euphrates, south of the Habur (RLA 4.415–16, Zadok 1994), since this provides *some* handle on what is otherwise a philologically puzzling name.³³¹ (Hinzani occurs as a gentilic in Dar.379:32.) If this is right, the image-maker is onomastically not Egyptian. Eilers 1954–6: 328 was tempted to assign Hinzani to Cilicia or a neighbouring part of Anatolia, but A6.7:2–5 and A6.9:4 are not good enough reasons in default of a convincing south-east Anatolian etymology.

line 1(2) פתכרכר, *ptkrkr*, ‘sculptor’. Iranian **patikarakara-*, ‘maker of statues’ (Tavernier 2007: 429). See below, line 2(4) n. on *ptkr* = *patikara-*.

line 1(3) זי בנסרו היתי שושן, *zy Bgsrw hyty šwšn*, ‘whom Bagasravā brought to Susa’. Note that when Hinzani went to Susa he was taken there by one of Aršāma’s officials; he does not travel independently. Compare the ‘artisan’ (*mn*) who is in Nakhthor’s party in A6.12:4. (See A6.9:3(7) n.) If Hinzani’s name is not Egyptian (see above), there is no absolute necessity to assume that Bagasravā brought him to Susa *from Egypt* just because Egypt is plainly where he now is (since it is Egyptian officials who are to feed him). The fact that Bagasravā appears in letter subscripts (A6.8, A6.9) makes no difference to this: indeed, if the relevant letters were written from somewhere in the heart of the empire—and that is *prima facie* the case with Nakhthor’s travel document (A6.9), though not with A6.8—Bagasravā need have had no direct association with Egypt at all. It is not immediately obvious why Hinzani’s earlier trip to Susa needs to be mentioned, but there was presumably some back-story that was clear to Nakhthor. One possibility is that Aršāma, who seems to have been in Susa when Hinzani came there (*hyty*, lit. ‘caused to come’, points that way), is (still) there (see below, line 3(1) n.), but that would not entirely resolve all the problems. For, whether or not Hinzani was Egyptian and/or had not previously been in Egypt, one wonders why he had been sent there now if Aršāma was still in Susa, especially given Aršāma’s insistence that Hinzani’s new work reach him as soon as possible. The same question would arise even if Aršāma were in some third place (perhaps Babylon?), as Root 1979: 23 supposed. Fleischer 1983 inferred that Hinzani was to use a raw material only, or best, available in Egypt, and suggested stone of some sort. That would tell against Hinzani being a seal-cutter (cf. below, lines 2–3 n.), since the requisite precious or semi-precious stone for that purpose was surely as available in Susa or Babylon as anywhere else, but does not necessitate an eventual product as large-scale as the Penelope

³³¹ Lindenberger prints *Hnz[n]y*, but comments that name and derivation are uncertain.

of which Fleischer speaks elsewhere in his paper (see below, line 2(9) n.).³³² Another possibility is that Aršāma, though absent from Egypt at the time of writing (and the time of Ḥinzani's arrival there), expects to be in Egypt in the relatively near future and wants Ḥinzani to be there precisely because it will make for rapid delivery of his work.

line 1(4) בנסרו, *Bgsrw*, 'Bagasravā', i.e. Iranian *Bagasravā- (Tavernier 2007: 139, 'Baga's fame'). A homonym of the man who 'knows this order' in the subscripts to A6.8 and A6.9, and there seems no strong reason to deny their actual identity: there is no reason why a man involved in the transmission of Aršāma's verbal orders should not also carry out other tasks. (This does mean that A6.8 and A6.9 cannot have been written while Bagasravā was bringing Ḥinzani to Susa: but that trip could, of course, have been some time in the past.) On the more problematic case of Artaxaya/Artāvahyā/Artaya cf. A6.10:10(2) n.

line 1(5) שושן, *Šwšn*, 'to Susa'. There is no preposition expressing motion towards a GN, as also happens with Babylon in A6.13:5 (*lhytyh Bb'l*), A6.14:2 (*mhytyn Bb'l*), and A6.14:5 (*y'th 'ly Bb'l*) and with Egypt in A6.9:2 (*'zl Mšryn*). (These are the only examples of motion towards a named place in the Bodleian letters.) By contrast 'in Babylon' in A6.15:5 is *bBb'l*, though not in A6.15:1, 2 (where it is *Bbl*, with no preposition).

line 1(6) פתפא, *ptp'*, 'rations'. See A6.9:2(5) n. and A6.12:2(2) n. It is a pity that we do not discover the scale of Ḥinzani's rations or (therefore) whether he did as well as some of the artisans named in the PFA (see above, pp. 217–18). The artisan travelling with Nakhtḥor in A6.9 does not get an enhanced ration. (Nor does Dandumanda on his journey from Susa to Arachosia: above p. 218) There is no guarantee that Ḥinzani did much better when on the road with Bagasravā—nor yet any guarantee that, though anonymous in A6.9, Nakhtḥor's companion could not have been the subject of the sort of more personalized communication we have in A6.12.

line 2(1) גשי ביתה, *nšy byth*, 'people of his household'. See A6.11:2(7) n. Since the surviving letters are the final fair copies for actual transmission the words 'and to the people of his household' presumably represent something accidentally omitted in copying from a draft rather than an afterthought during dictation/composition. Either way it was substantively important they were included (contrast A6.15:1), and the reason is that it affects the level of ration payment. Perhaps the addressors are assumed to have specific information about the size of Ḥinzani's household; or perhaps they will simply authorize what was a standard ration level for individual-plus-household, the number of

³³² The idea of a seal-maker moving back and forth between the imperial heartland and Egypt does resonate in very general terms with the existence of Persepolitan seals with Egyptian or Egyptianizing features (Garrison and Ritner 2010).

extra recipients being, in effect, a matter for the individual. In the PFA ration payments presented as for single individuals are sometimes clearly meant for consumption by a larger group (in the individual's retinue/household), and it may be that in some associated documentation the ration for ẖinzani would simply have his name attached to it. Perhaps, indeed, such a background casts light on the initial accidental omission of *wlnšy byth* here.

line 2(2) גרד, *grd*, 'personnel'. See A6.10:1(3) n. Even leaving aside *bdykrn/brykrn* (next n.), there is no doubt that the sculptor *alias* servant ('*lym*) ẖinzani and the 'people of his household' are assimilated to the category of *grd*, at least so far as ration receipt is concerned. But the possible conjunction of *kurtaš*-status and technical skill is plainly evidenced in the Persepolis documentation (Rollinger and Henkelman 2010: 338), and is perhaps implicit in Darius' account of the building and decoration of Susa (DSf). We should not assume that craftsmen would be free and/or providing their skills voluntarily.³³³

**Grda-/kurtaš* are, of course, ration consumers in Persepolis, the relevant Aramaic word being precisely *ptp*. (Most of the evidence is, of course, in Elamite.) Association of **piθfa-* with *grd*' can also be paralleled in Babylonia in (a) VS 3.138/3.139 = BM 42383, where dates are provided for *gardu*, *magi*, and courtiers (*mār ekalli*) of the Bit-hare,³³⁴ and (b) the appearance of officials designated **piθfabaga-* in charge of *gardu*' (BE 9.15, PBS 2/1 160; named without title in PBS 2/1 2) or **piθfabaga-* of *gardu*' (BE 10.95): the first is an agent of a canal-manager and collects dates from *gardu*-fields; the second collects rents on land belonging to the Crown Prince Estate, acting at the behest of the estate's *paqdu* (who is himself associated with a *gardapatu*). The putatively ration-apportioning character of the **piθfabaga-* might call to mind the standard association of Persepolitan groups of *kurtaš* with a named person who (in Hallock's rendering) is their apportioner (*šaramanna*) or assigner (*damanna*) (Stolper 1985: 58). A similar comparison has been drawn between these Persepolitan officials and the **piθfakāna-* attested in Bactria (ADAB C1:47, C4:10, 25), one of whom collects rations for *rytky* = 'servant-boys' (Henkelman

³³³ We have evidence of *prisoners* making a statue of Nabonidus in the royal *biit šutum* (storehouse) of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar (BM 62602; MacGinnis 1995), perhaps the very statue Nabonidus is known to have commissioned in the second year of his reign (Beaulieu 1989: 134–5). (We hear about them, it seems, because they had managed, temporarily, to abscond. Zaccagnini 1983: 247, 250 notes the tendency of craftsmen in Mari or Anatolia to do just that.) For deportation of craftsmen cf. 2 Kings 24.14 (craftsmen and smiths taken from Jerusalem); Diod. 1.46 (Cambyses takes Egyptian craftsmen to Persepolis, Susa, and Ecbatana). Cyr.325 (see above, p. 217) exemplifies a pattern (even if not a widespread one) of craft-skilled slaves earning income for their owners (Zaccagnini 1983: 261, Dandamaev 1984: 298). For general discussion of the independence or otherwise of craftsmen in the second and first millennia see Zaccagnini 1983.

³³⁴ Meaning uncertain (CAD s.v. *harû* E). The CAD suggests a sanctuary. The title *mār ekalli* is extremely rare at this period too: the only other example known to Jursa is in BM 42607 (cf. Jursa 1998b)—which might not be Achaemenid. The *mār ekalli* is mentioned alongside a *rab kāširi* (treasurer), a *rab urâte* (chariot-commander: for the title cf. the Murašû archive often), and a *tuššar ekalli* (scribe of the palace: cf. Dar.198, Wunsch 1993: 214). They are all paying a tithe.

2008: 128). In broad terms the connection is legitimate, but one may wonder whether that the people in Persepolis are not more remote from the day-to-day business than the Babylonian and Bactrian figures. (It might make as much sense to see the Persepolitan **piθfakāna*- as the officials who make actual allocations (described by the Elamite term *kurmin*): see A6.9:2(5) n.) In all of this it should also be remembered that Henkelman 2012 argues that the rations for *kurtaš* recorded in PFA texts do not necessarily represent the totality of their remuneration. The same could be true of Hinzani's rations.

line 2(3) זילי or בריכרן זילי or *bdykrn zyly* or *brykrn zyly*, 'my stonemillers' or 'on my memorandum'. The alternative possible readings have attracted various explanations, though with an understandable preference for producing the meaning 'artist', given that we are in any case dealing with an 'image-maker'.

Brykrn. It is tempting to link this with **bāryakara*/**bārēkara*-, a word also represented in Elamite *barekurraš* or *barekurriš* in PF 0865, PF 0866, NN 1524 (lists of treasury workers at Shiraz in the first two and unlocated—but possibly Shirazian—treasury-workers in the third). Hallock rendered the term 'attendants', citing Gershevitch for **parikara*- (cf. Sanskrit *pari-kara*),³³⁵ but, in the light of the other people who appear in these texts, it is perhaps a little hard to believe in such an anodyne category.³³⁶ Tavernier 2007: 417 preferred 'artisan, artist', citing Henning ap. Driver 1965: 72 and Hinz (1975: 64). These earlier discussions actually introduce several different justifications for the translation.

Henning saw a possible connection with Pahl. *brā(h)*- = Persian *b^urāh* = 'splendour', giving 'maker of splendour', hence 'artist'. Menasce 1954: 162 (cited with approval by Hinz) proposed either *bārīk-kār* = 'polisseur (de pierres)' (accepted by Grelot 1972: 318) or a connection with Pahl. *burritan* = Pers. *buridan*, *burridan* = 'trancher'. Since *bārīk* apparently just means 'nice, pretty', it seems a bit over-specific to speak of a 'polisher', but in any event we are being offered a 'maker of nice things' or a 'cutter'. Hinz 1973: 41 additionally argued that, since the **ramyakara* who appear in the Shiraz texts mentioned above could be interpreted as 'makers of fine things' (Tavernier 2007: 406, 430: **ramya*-, **ramikara*-), the **bāryakara*- (who get higher rations) might be the 'makers of super-fine things'.

³³⁵ Hinz claimed (1973: 41) this should have given Elamite *barrikurraš*, with two 'r's—presumably (as Elizabeth Tucker points out to me) simply because the Iranian prefix/preverb is regularly transcribed as *barri*- in Elamite.

³³⁶ The categories mentioned (in PF 865–6) with their ration levels are: keeper of *atna* (Schmuck-Hüter) (6), scribe (4), *etip* (commodity-handling official elsewhere) (4), *tapmikilkira* (??) (4), *barikurraš* (male and female) (4), *kapnuškip* (treasury-worker) (3.5), *ramikurraš* (male and female) (3), handlers of *hazarna* (**ačarna*-: Möbel, Inventar) (3), *mulatap* ('Hausdiener': Hinz and Koch 1987) (3), female chief (*araššara*) (5), female *ammalup* ('Ammen, Kindergärtnerinnen': Hinz and Koch 1987) (2), female ration makers (2).

Bdykrn. Driver noted Nyberg's suggestion that **bitya-kara* might mean assistant (literally 'second worker'), but rejected it on the reasonable grounds that one would expect Aramaic *btykr*. Instead he mooted **badi(ya)kara-/bazi(ya)kara-*, on the basis of Elamite *bazikara*, understandably attracted by the *kurtaš bazikaraš* in PT 41 which would be a precise equivalent to *grd bdkr*. (Benveniste 1954: 308 had already noted this.) But (a) *bazikara* (a well-attested word) is cognate with *baziš* (another well-attested word), meaning tax (so the *kurtaš bazikaraš* are putatively tax-handlers); and (b) Aramaic *bdykr*, with a dalet is not what one would expect from OP **bājīkara-*. Muraoka and Porten 2003: 342 identify *bdykr* as **badikara-*, translating 'artisan' (a term also used by Lindenberger). They cite Hinz 1975: 64 in justification, but that passage is actually about **bāryakara*, and **badikara-* seems to be a phantom. (Porten–Yardeni similarly print *bdykr*, while translating 'artist', albeit in capitals to indicate uncertainty.)

A quite different explanation (suggested by David Taylor) is that *bdykrn* = *b* + *dykrn*, the latter being a possible alternative writing for *dkrn* = 'memorandum'. The phrase (*bdkrn zyly*) would then mean 'in or according to my memorandum' and the reference would be to some sort of document that establishes or records payment rates. There is perhaps no *precise* parallel to this postulated use of the word among its quite numerous (at least thirteen) appearances in Achaemenid-era texts in the Bible and from Egypt, Idumaea, Persepolis, and Bactria, and the spelling with *d* rather than *z* is much less usual.³³⁷ But these are hardly definitively cogent counter-arguments, and in particular 'memorandum' is intrinsically a concept of potentially wide application. Even if it be true, as Azzoni and Stolper 2015: 21 propose, that *zkrn* or *dkrn* characteristically designates a secondary administrative record (one that compiles or reports on other documents), Aršāma could surely be referring to something that in fact satisfactorily answered that description.

³³⁷ Ezra 4.15 ('the books of memoranda of your fathers' show that Judah is a rebellious province), 6.2 (Cyrus' decree for the restoration of the temple is described as a memorandum), TADAE A4.9 (memorandum of the decision of Bagāvahyā and Delayah about the Elephantine temple), C3.13 (eight memoranda about different things—lists of cups; list of grain disbursements to women; bits of wood; jars etc.—each one headed *zkrn*), C3.8 IIIB.16 (memorandum about Bagafarnā), 28, 34 (other ones without preserved context), D3.1, 19, 21 (in accounts fragments), ISAP 1653 + 1623 (Yardeni and Porten 2008: memorandum of the barley of Wahabi, followed by a list of things owed by various people), ISAP 1625 (mentioned *ibid.* 738; but this *might* be a miswritten personal name), ISAP 1395 = AL 267 = M101 (memorandum of lots [*hlqn*] belonging to Arta), PFAE 2043:01: 'memorandum' (*zkrn*), ADAB C4:52 (small list of commodities headed *ldkrn* = 'as a memorandum': one of three isolated entries on the *verso* of the main document), a post-Achaemenid text from Sharjah (Teixidor 1992, Puech 1998: 38–48: *dkrn* in reference to a tomb or the act of remembrance represented by a tomb). The word is only written with D, not Z, in D3.1 (early fifth century), ISAP 1653 + 1623, ISAP 1625 (late Achaemenid), ADAB C4.52 (Alexander), and the post-Achaemenid Sharjah text. The equivalent Hebrew word (attested e.g. in Esther 6.1, where a wakeful Ahasuerus hears readings from the 'book of the memorandum, the words of days'—a somewhat similar context to Ezra 4.15) also has a *zayin*.

At this point a grammatical issue needs discussion. Grammatically speaking *grd* is in the absolute or construct state, so if *bdykrn* is an Aramaic plural we have ‘a/the worker of {whatever}’. This seems rather odd, but *grd* *’mnn* (6.10:2–3: ‘personnel of artisans’) would be a parallel.³³⁸ Effectively *grd* + plural noun = ‘worker-{whatevers}’, and the pair of words virtually operates as a plural noun agreeing with the preceding word *’hrnn* (other). Lindenberger translates as ‘artisans on my staff’.

If *bdykrn zyly* = ‘in a memorandum of mine’, we have ‘like the other [plural]’ followed by the absolute or construct singular *grd* followed by ‘in my memorandum’. Is that grammatically feasible?

Elsewhere *grd* appears with a final aleph (*grd*’ = the *garda*) in A6.10:1–4, 5, 8, A6.15:8, 9, 10, and without one in A6.10:2, 6 (in both cases with *’mnn*: see above). It never appears with a plural ending; but contextually a multiplicity of persons is surely what is normally intended, so the word is actually treated as a grammatically singular collective.

Collective nouns *are* referred to by plural pronominal morphemes (Muraoka and Porten 2003: 185), but the issue is the treatment of adjectives, for which see Muraoka and Porten 2003: 281. First, they cite C3.15:1 *hyl Yhwdy*’, but that may be affected by the fact that the whole phrase of which it is part is about the names (plural) of Judaeans soldiers. Then the footnote draws attention to the reference in A4.7:8 to *hyl*’ *’hrnn*. This is further discussed on p. 284, where they argue that it does not just mean ‘the other troop(s)’ (though that is how it is translated in Porten–Yardeni) or for that matter ‘d’autres militaires’ (Grelot), but that *’hrnn* is an accusative of specification or in apposition. But what *that* underlines is that back in A6.12 it is, after all, apposition that we are dealing with—though an apposition the other way around. That is, if *’hrnn* was supposed to qualify *grd* it surely ought to follow it (despite Muraoka and Porten 2003: 238 on dialects where that might *not* happen with precisely this adjective). So what we are really (hypothetically) dealing with here is ‘like others, *viz.* *grd*, in my memorandum’ (cf. Whitehead 1974: 88 for the apposition). That seems to me sufficiently feasible for the whole idea to be taken seriously.³³⁹ If it is accepted, the passage would be referring to a separate document laying out ration levels, and would be an exception to the general avoidance of specific reference to bureaucratic process (cf. A6.11:3(2) n.). If it is rejected, on the other hand, and preference is given to postulating a word designating some sort of artist or skilled artisan, we should remember that, if the word’s semantic field is narrowly defined, we are effectively inferring that Aršāma had a signifi-

³³⁸ But see n. ad loc. for an alternative suggestion that *’mnn* is in apposition to *grd*.

³³⁹ Since the scribe made an error in line 2 in initially omitting the words ‘and the people of his household’, the possibility might be entertained that there is an error in the set of words we are concerned with here. But I do not think we could reasonably say that he ought to have written *grdn* or *grdy*’, there being no evidence he might ever have thought of doing so. And the difference between *grd*’ (which he *might* have written) and *grd* is not substantive for the present purposes.

cant number of highly specialized ‘creatives’ in his service. So there may be something to be said for keeping the semantic field as wide as possible.

line 2(4) פתכרן, *ptkrn*, ‘statues’. Iranian *patikara-*, ‘statue’ (Tavernier 2007: 35, Porten–Yardeni) or ‘sculpture’ (Tavernier 2007: 79, Driver, Grelot), a word directly attested in DB §65–6 and DN a §4. The Aramaic word appears otherwise in KAI 258 (a text from Keseçek Köyü in Cilicia, variously said to be fifth- or fourth-century, in which someone has erected a *ptkr* and anyone who damages it invites divine punishment),³⁴⁰ CG 121bis (a shattered ostrakon, one side of which may in successive lines have ‘for the statue’ and ‘for you 10 *karsh*’) and—as an element in a compound word—in ADAB C6:5, C7:4, where *ptkrw* (Iranian **patikaravant-*) describes a harness as ‘decorated by a picture.’³⁴¹ In none of these cases is there any obvious special reason why the writer resorted to a Persian loanword.³⁴² The same word is represented by Elamite *battikarum* in the Bisotūn text (DB (Elamite) §53 = OP §§65–6), where it refers to stone reliefs,³⁴³ and *battikuraš* in PT 17 (wooden), 24 (stone and wood), 1957-1 (stone and wood), 1963-5 (wood), where Cameron renders it variously as sculptures (17) or reliefs (24, 1957-1, 1963-5). Since **patikara-* literally means ‘reproduction’ (Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt, and Malbran-Labrat 1993: 58 n. 160, Schmitt 2009: 231–2; cf. Grelot 1972: 318)³⁴⁴—and perhaps in any case—it is debatable whether we can greatly limit the range of things Ḥinzani might have been making (or their scale) on purely linguistic grounds.³⁴⁵ Nonetheless, Rollinger 2018: 595–6 takes it that Ḥinzani was producing a statue, relief, or stele, and not a piece of *Kleinkunst*, precisely because *patikara* (rendered as *šalmu* in Akkadian) appears in DB, DN a, DSab in reference to reliefs or a statue.

³⁴⁰ Various restored and translated as: ‘Dieses Bildnis hat aufgerichtet NNST vor Adrason, weil er beschützt hat meine Seele, die ihm gehört. Wer aber Böses mit diesem Bildnis vornimmt: S(h)HR und Shamash mögen (es) von ihm fördern’ (Donner–Röllig) or ‘Ce relief, Nanasht (l)’a érigé devant/en faveur de ’D/RM/RSW/PN/R et la demeure funéraire qui est à lui. Et quiconque ferait du mal à ce relief, alors que le recherchent Sahar et Shamash’ (<http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/aramaic/cilicie05.pdf> (Lemaire)). Lipinski had Nanašta erecting figure in front of an oak.

³⁴¹ That is the translation in Naveh and Shaked 2012: 217, 222–3. But is not the reference more likely to be to three-dimensional decorations on the harness-straps?

³⁴² Other pertinent Aramaic terms include *šlmh* (Elnaf stele, Daniel 2.31–5, 3.19)—Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v. indicate that this can be statue, relief, or even painting (at Hatra)—and *šml’* (Sultaniye Köy stele): statue or image (Hoftijzer and Jongeling s.v., otherwise citing only Phoenician/Punic items). Coincidentally, an apparently purely Aramaic word *ptyk*, perhaps meaning ‘adorned’, appears in Bowman 1970 nos. 9, 13, 14, 17 (cf. Naveh and Shaked 1971: 456).

³⁴³ DB §§65–6 is where Darius tells the viewer not to destroy ‘these inscriptions and these reliefs’. The Elamite text uses the word *innakqanuma* (‘Wirklichkeitsdarstellung’: Hinz and Koch 1987 s.v.) but in §65 it glosses this with *battikarum*. The Babylonian text uses the word *šalmu*.

³⁴⁴ The MP and Parthian versions of **patikara-* are used of royal relief-busts in Sasanian inscriptions. In modern Persian the word is variously said to mean ‘figure, model portrait, effigy’. The fundamental etymological connotation of the word at any date is counterfeit or reproduction.

³⁴⁵ Sokoloff 2002: 948 glosses *ptkr* as ‘image, idol, spirit’ (cf. Jastrow: *p^etakra* = idol, painted thing).

But, so far as vocabulary alone is concerned, one might as well adduce the Bactrian harness as evidence that Ḥinzani was making e.g. precious metal stitch-on decorations for elite clothing.

lines 2–3 ופתכרן אחרנן... סוסה עם רכבה... פרש... *prš... swsh 'm rkbh... wptkrn 'hrnn*, ‘horsemen (?) ... horse with its rider ... and other statues.’ What is Ḥinzani to produce? There are *prima facie* three elements: *prš*, *swsh 'm rkbh*, and *ptkrn 'hrnn*. The last is oddly vague. (Were it not for the *vav* in front of *ptkrn* one might perhaps understand the ‘other statues’ to be the things that Ḥinzani made previously.) The other two are at first sight ‘horseman’ and ‘horse with its rider’. Grelot’s version of line 2 (below) and Whitehead’s treatment of *rkb* (below) are *inter alia* attempts to eliminate a perceived tautology. Another might be to distinguish between a man on horseback (*prš*) and a dismounted man next to a horse (*swsh 'm rkbh*). (Aršāma’s own seal had an unmounted horse. Of course, it had already long existed when A6.12 was written, and the scene it shows is rather more complex than ‘horse-with-man.’)³⁴⁶

The question of what he is producing is not only one of subject matter but also scale. The idea that sealstones are involved has been in the literature at least since John Boardman’s suggestion to that effect, reported by Michael Roaf (1980: 72, 74 n. 3), though one might wonder why Aršāma needed a multiplicity of seals. For those who are sure Aršāma is in Babylon or Susa at the time of writing this has *prima facie* attractions in terms of portability. But we should perhaps keep an open mind about Aršāma’s whereabouts (on this topic see Tuplin iii 39–45), and, in any case, not only is there nothing in the language of the letter that imposes any limit on the size of Ḥinzani’s products, but the logistical resources at Aršāma’s disposal were surely such that we cannot preclude the transport of quite substantial objects from Egypt to the heart of the empire. Rollinger 2018: 595–6 envisages something analogous to the representation (*šalmu*) of two men and two horses on a base or socle mentioned in Sargon’s account of the overthrow of Rusa (and perhaps distantly reflected in Herodotus 3.88)—an object that Sargon was certainly able to carry off.

The inclination to be surprised that the letter is not more specific on the topic should be tempered by the recollection that its primary purpose is to issue orders about rations and that both Aršāma and Ḥinzani knew what was on order. What is said defines what is involved quite adequately (perhaps more than adequately) for managers and accountants. The thought that the definition might seem more than adequate for managers and accountants prompts a further thought: is it less likely that this arguably superfluous information would be provided if it was just a question of the distinction between seal

³⁴⁶ One of the surviving letter-*bullae* (Sigill.Aram.VII) is rolled in such a way as to make central a horse image (Garrison & Kaptan ii 8); it would be pleasant if this had been attached to the present letter, but since the privileged horse is that of the adversary, not of the Iranian victor, perhaps one should forbear to pursue this idea.

designs or other items of *Kleinkunst* than if the horseman and horse-with-rider were substantial objects?

line 2(5) פֶּרֶשׁ, *prš*, ‘horsemen (?)’. *Prš* only occurs here in Egyptian or Biblical Aramaic, but is also encountered in the Achaemenid era in some Arad ostraca (7, 8, 11) and PFAT 196, where it means ‘horseman’ or (in the plural form) ‘horsemen’, and in various earlier or later texts. In the Bible the Hebrew word occurs in the singular in Nahum 3.3, but is normally plural and means ‘horsemen’. (It often appears alongside *rekeb*, a grammatically singular collective term for ‘chariotry’. Some think that in some cases *pršym* refers to chariot-crews.) In allied languages we also have *prš* = horseman (with the plural form regularly attested) in Targum Aramaic (Jastrow, Sokoloff), Nabataean (Starcky 1971: 151: *rb pršy*, ‘captain of horsemen’; J 227: *šm prš*, ‘Ašem, the horseman’; J 246: *pršy ntryn*, ‘guard-horsemen’) and Palmyrene (SBS 51.3f: *prsy b’br dy* PN = ‘horsemen of the wing of PN’). The only sign that *prš* might be a singular collective for ‘cavalry’ is the seventh-century Afis Stele (KAI 202B = Gibson 1975: no. 5), where the words *lrkb wprš* are variously understood as ‘for rider and horse’ (Gibson) or ‘for chariots and cavalry’ (KAI). (The inscription is damaged hereabouts, and the words are isolated, so immediate context is not available to cast light on the proper translation.)

line 2(6) יהוין [...] פתכרן זי פרש *ptkrn zy prš* [...] *yhwwn*, ‘statues [on] which there shall be horsemen (?)’. There is room for at most three letters in the lacuna. Driver (rightly rejecting impossible suggestions from Mittwoch and Henning) translated ‘sculptures of a horseman, (which) shall be...’. Lindenberger’s ‘statues of a horseman [...]. They should be [...]’ is effectively similar. Porten–Yardeni (‘statues of a horseman... will be’) left the gap unfilled. Grelot sought to fill it by reading *ptkrn prš <bhm> yhwwn* = ‘sculptures sur lesquelles il y aura de la cavalerie’, where *prš* is taken as a collective (as perhaps, but not necessarily, in KAI 202B: see previous note), and therefore given a plural verb. (For some this translation may evoke a mental image of the groups of horsemen on the Limyra heroon reliefs,³⁴⁷ but there is no guarantee that we should be thinking of a product on that scale. Sealstones could be cut to show more than one horse—Aršāma’s own seal being an example—so the proper translation cannot perhaps be limited by purely material considerations.) Whitehead 1974: 88 doubted the reading *yhwwn* (retained in Porten–Yardeni, albeit with dots), suggesting *yhwnt* and wondered if it was a PN, giving the translation ‘reliefs of a mounted soldier of PN’. But he did not fill the lacuna.

line 2(7) רכבה, *rkbh*, ‘its rider’. Whitehead suggested that, if *swsh* = horse (as it must: this at least seems to be nearly a fixed point in debates about the current

³⁴⁷ Borchhardt 1976: 49–80, figs. 12–15, pls. 20–6.

passage),³⁴⁸ *prš* must mean something else (so horseman—which would be the natural assumption: see above) and therefore *rkbh* must mean something else again, e.g. chariot.

In Egyptian Aramaic *rkb* is attested (i) as a verb meaning either to ride—on a horse (*swsh hd*: C1.1 *recto* 38) or horses (*swsyn*: C2.1 VII:44, VIII:59) or an ass (C1.1 *recto* 203)—or to shoot an arrow (C1.1 *recto* 126, 128, 190; because one ‘mounts’ the arrow on the bow) and (ii) a noun meaning ‘the act of riding’ (C1.1 *recto* 204). More problematic is the phrase *rkbyn swsyn* in ATNS 62. Segal suggested ‘charioteers, horsemen’, whereas Hoftijzer and Jongeling seem happy to take it to designate ‘horses for riding’ (treating *rkb* as a verbal adjective?). Alternatively both A6.12:2 and ATNS 62:2 may be evidence for the noun ‘rider’ (giving for ATNS 62, ‘riders, horses’). In any case, to retreat from *swsh* = ‘horse’ without seriously cogent evidence seems an unattractive option, and ATNS 62 (like most of the Saqqara texts) is unfortunately too fragmentary to be cogent evidence for much.

In Biblical Hebrew *rākab* = mount/ride, but *rekeb* is regularly a collective noun meaning ‘chariotry’ and occasionally either a singular noun meaning ‘chariot’ (1 Kings 22.35, 38, 2 Kings 9.21, 24, 2 Chron. 35.24; and perhaps Exod. 14.6) or a plural one meaning ‘chariots’ (Ct. 1.9). A Sendjirli text (KAI 215:10 = Gibson 1975 no. 14) has *b’ly rkb* which has been rather variously interpreted, with *rkb* taken both collectively and as meaning ‘a chariot’: it is certainly hard to see that it can mean ‘rider’. By contrast, and tantalizingly for the reader of A6.12, we have the Palmyrene text SBS 48:6, where we meet *šlm mrkb swsy* and its Greek equivalent *ephippon an[dria]nta*.

The upshot is that *rkb* = ‘rider’ is only rather elusively attested;³⁴⁹ but A6.12 and ATNS 62 *might* support one another, and the Palmyrene text is highly pertinent. There is also the separate question of whether ‘a horse and its chariot’—especially if this really means one without driver or other occupant—seems a likely subject for Ḥinzani’s skills. We might think, but without much conviction, of the empty chariot of Zeus in Hdt. 7.40: its *eight* white horses would be a lot to fit on a sealstone at any rate (see above, lines 2–3 n.). Of course, it may simply be taken for granted that a chariot attached to a horse must have a driver.

line 2(8) לְקַבֵּל זֵי קִרְמָן עֶבֶר קִרְמִי, *lqbl zy qdmm ‘bd qdmy*, ‘just as previously he made before me’. Whitehead notes this as one example of word play in the letters, comparing A6.7:8–9 (*yš* and *b’yš*), A6.11:2 (*wbgh... bgw*), and A6.14:2 (*mndt’ mnd’m*).³⁵⁰ The phenomenon is not confined to Aršāma: cf. A4.7:16

³⁴⁸ Only nearly: Segal wanted *rkbyn swsyn* in ATNS 62:2 to mean ‘charioteers, horsemen’ (see below).

³⁴⁹ Sokoloff 2002: 1083 registers only verbal uses of *rkb*. Jastrow 1950: 1479 finds one example of the noun.

³⁵⁰ He actually cites all of A6.13:1–2, 3, 4–5 and A6.14:2, 3, 5, but this overstates the case.

(*klby*' and *kbl*'). Nor should one forget the alliterations of *šlm* and *šrrt* in greeting formulae in Aršāma's letters and elsewhere (A6.3:1(6) n.).

line 2(9) קדמן עבד *qdmn 'bd*, 'previously he made'. Fleischer 1983 observed Ḥinzani was being asked to make more of something he had already made before, found an analogy for the situation in the Mourning Penelope statue from Persepolis (conceived as a repetition [*Wiederholung*] of an existing statue),³⁵¹ and speculated about how the new Ḥinzani piece(s) might have differed from the existing one(s), especially if he was doing them from memory (i.e. if the existing one[s] was/were in Susa/Babylon): a situation of 'freie, nicht massgleiche Wiederholung', albeit somewhat constrained by the strict 'Typenbindung' of Achaemenid art. This is a rather overheated reaction to the master-patron-employer's simple demand for 'more of the same'. Aršāma's instruction to Ḥinzani is no more about the fundamental nature of Achaemenid art than is the Judaeans' wish for the Elephantine temple to be built as it was before (A4.7:25//A4.8:24).

line 3(1) והושרו יהיתו עלי *whwšry yhytw 'ly*, 'and send (them and) let them bring (them) to me'. Aršāma is remote from the whereabouts of Ḥinzani and Nakhtḥor. We might infer from the reference to Susa in line 1 that he is actually in Susa, that being the explanation of the otherwise (indeed perhaps still) rather inconsequential piece of information about Ḥinzani's trip there. But this is not absolutely certain: cf. above line 1(3) n.

line 3(2) לעבק ולעבק *l'bq wl['b]q*, 'with haste and haste'. Compare A3.8:13—unless in that case, with Whitehead (*contra* Driver 1965: 74), one takes one *l'bq* with the preceding imperative and one with the following one. (For a different repetition-trope cf. *zn zn* = 'of each kind' in A6.1:3.)

line 3(3) ספרא... ארתוהי *'rtwhy...spr'*, 'Artāvahyā... scribe'. cf. A6.10:10(2) n. and pp. 269–83.

line 4 חמריא *hm[r]kry'*, 'accountants'. See A6.11:7 n.

line 9 Ḥotepḥep: see A6.4:6 n., A6.11:8 n. and pp. 270, 274.

³⁵¹ Not necessarily entirely correctly. Palagia 2008 takes the view that the two versions could be contemporary; the idea that the Persepolis one is later derives from a judgment that the Roman copies presuppose a more archaic style—a judgment Palagia questions, because one cannot assume that Roman copyists were so historically picky. For some more recent observations on the Penelope see Hölscher 2011, Settis, Anguissola, and Gasparotto 2015, and Razmjou 2015 (publications from an exhibition held successively in Milan and Tehran).

TADAE A6.13 (DRIVER 10, GRELOT 71,
LINDENBERGER 44)

Securing Domain-Income (1)

Summary

Aršāma tells his *pqyd* Nakhtḥor and other officials to ensure that Vāravahyā's *pqyd* sends rent-income to Babylon.

Text

The text is well preserved. Even Lindenberger finds little occasion to identify more uncertainty than Porten–Yardeni.

Place of Letter in the Set

This letter from Aršāma is a pair with A6.14, written by Vāravahyā to Nakhtḥor on the same subject. Compare the relationship between A6.15 (Virafša to Nakhtḥor) and the fragmentary D6.7 (Aršāma to Nakhtḥor). The precise interrelation between A6.13 and A6.14 is theoretically open to question. Is A6.14 Vāravahyā's private back-up to the letter that (he assumes) Aršāma is already writing (A6.13) as the result of the complaint mentioned in A6.14:1? Or did Vāravahyā first solicit Nakhtḥor's help directly in A6.14 (the complaint to Aršāma not having resulted in any action by the satrap) and, only when that failed because Aḥatubaste was disinclined to acknowledge Nakhtḥor's authority, appeal again for Aršāma's intervention (A6.13:1), this time successfully? The former is the parsimonious solution, and probably favoured by the fact that Vāravahyā writes not just to Nakhtḥor, but also to Kenzasirma and his colleagues: *prima facie* he is aping Aršāma's (comparatively) official missive. The mismatch between A6.13:4–5 and A6.14:4–5 on the question of whether Aḥatubaste must come in person to Babylon (see below, line 5(2) n.) and the failure to mention in A6.14 that transport of Vāravahyā's *mndh* should occur at the same time that Nakhtḥor is making a similar trip are probably not adequate reasons to adopt the second solution.

line 1(1) וררררר, *wrrwhy*, 'Vāravahyā. We follow Tavernier 2007: 338, who opts for the reconstruction *Vāravahyā-, 'better at will', in preference to *Varuvahyah, 'far better', the view espoused by Eilers 1954–6: 332, Hinz 1975: 257, and Porten 2003b: 184. Driver 1965: 14 n. 8 suggested that he was a son, or some other relative, of Aršāma. In this he was following Lewy 1956: 292, but Lewy's correct observation that the son of a prince might describe his father as 'my lord' does not make it 'logical to see in [Vāravahyā] a close relative, most probably a son,

of Aršam': it merely does not preclude a supposition for which there is, however, no positive evidence.

line 1(2) כן אמר ורודהי... *wrwhy... kn 'mr*, 'Vāravahyā... says thus.' Vāravahyā speaks in A6.14:1 of complaining to Aršāma, but Aršāma merely provides a direct speech quotation of what Vāravahyā has said to him. Whether this has any bearing on the idea that the word 'complain' (*qbl*) sometimes marks a comparatively formal process (see A6.8:3(3) n.) is debatable: Aršāma may simply not choose to see the *démarche* in the same light that Vāravahyā does. (This is true however we envisage the chronological and causal relationship between A6.13 and A6.14: see above.)

line 1(3) בר ביתא *br byt'*, 'prince'. See Tuplin iii 31–8.

line 1(4) בינה *bznh*, 'in this (place)'. That is in Babylon (line 5; and A6.14:5). Aršāma is also definitely not in Egypt at the time, but in Babylon. In a similar situation in D6.7 (c) inside:1 (as restored), Aršāma seems to have reported Virafša's complaint to him about Nakhtḥor as occurring specifically 'here at my Gate' (*tnh bt'r' zly*). (For this locution cf. A6.10:7(1) n.)

line 1(5) בגא *bg'*, 'domain'. See A6.4:2(3) n. Vāravahyā speaks of Aršāma having given him a domain (*bg'*) in the singular, but when asking for his *mndh* in line 3 he switches to the plural (*bgy'*), and Aršāma repeats the plural in his reply (line 4). In A6.14:4 it becomes singular again (when the *mndh*-demand is not, apparently, under discussion). Aršāma's domains always appear in the plural (albeit in a formulaic phrase), while Peṭosiri always (modestly?) speaks of his father's domain in the singular (A6.11).

line 1(6) מן מראי *mn mr'y*, 'by my lord'. It is notable that, whereas in A6.4:1 Ankhohapi's *dšn* is given by the king and Aršāma, the higher-status Vāravahyā apparently gets his domain from just Aršāma. Perhaps the rhetoric of the situation leads Vāravahyā to highlight the link with Aršāma, since it is Aršāma whom he is asking to intervene on his behalf.

line 2 הן על מראי למ כות טב *hn 'l mr'y lm kwt tb*, 'if it (seems) like a good thing to my lord': cf. A6.7:8(2) n. It is notable that here and in the previous line one 'son of the house' refers to and addresses another as 'my lord'.

lines 3, 4(1) הנדרזי *hndrz*, 'order': see A6.10:12 n. Presumably the assumption is that Nakhtḥor, as agent not just of any royal prince but of the one who is satrap of Egypt, will have special authority. (In what way the accountants add to that authority, except by force of numbers, is not clear.) Nakhtḥor (and the accountants) also have the advantage of being, unlike Vāravahyā, on the spot—or at least somewhere in Egypt. Vāravahyā, by contrast, is (cf. A6.14:2, 5) in Babylon. The assumption is also that Aršāma is not on the spot. (See Tuplin pp. 39–45.) For the putatively Persianizing phrase *hndrz* 'bdw cf. A6.3:6, 8(2) n.

lines 3, 4(2) **זי עד... הַנְּרָז**, *hndrz... zy 'd*, ‘an order... to the effect that’. (In the parallel passage in A6.14:4 we have just *hndrz... zy*.) The word-order of *zy 'd* is odd. Contrast ADAB A4:1, A6:9 where we have (more expectedly) *hndrz... 'd zy*. (C1.1 *recto* 49 has *'d zy* in a purely temporal context meaning ‘until’; the import of *'d zy bMnpy* ‘until at Memphis’ in ATNS 104:1 is opaque.) The unexpected *zy 'd* appears in A4.8:27 as well. This time it is not with *hndrz*, but the context involves a possible official instruction: the writers request that Bagavahya send a letter facilitating rebuilding of the temple, and say that ‘if you do thus until that Temple be rebuilt, you will have merit before YHW...’ (TADAE translation), so the situation is partly parallel to that in the present passage and those in ADAB, especially if one translates *zy 'd* as ‘in order that’ rather than ‘until’. Confusingly, however, what appears in A4.8:27 is an alteration of the version in A4.7:28, where we have ‘if they [sc. the Judaeans] do thus until (*'d zy*) that temple is rebuilt, you will have merit before YHW...’, with *'d zy* in the expected order. It rather looks as though in the process of correcting ‘they’ to ‘you’, the writer miscorrected *'d zy* to *zy 'd* (Porten 1998: 238, with other examples of similar disimprovement). The alternative would be to suppose Official Aramaic treated both *'d zy* and *zy 'd* as acceptable forms, even if illogically: the fact that *'d* often functioned as a conjunction by itself might perhaps have led to some colloquial carelessness in cases where *zy* was added. There certainly seems little benefit in Driver’s idea that *zy 'd* in A6.13:3, 4 (though not A4.8:27, which for Driver is a mere error) is ‘an imitation of N.-Bab. *ki adi* or *ki adi/ê* “that surely” after verbs of swearing’: as Muraoka and Porten 2003: 333 n. 1270 observe, the relevant nuance is absent in A6.13 and A4.8. See also Folmer 1995: 404–5 n. 558.

line 3(1) **חַתּוּבְסְתִי**, *Ḥtwbsty*, ‘Aḥatubaste’. For Porten and Lund 2003: 322 (after Muchiki 1999: 65) the name (which appears as *Ḥtwbsty* in A6.14) combines Aramaic *ḥh/ḥtw* with the Egyptian god-name Bastet, giving the meaning ‘sister of Bastet’. (It does not seem to figure anywhere in Porten 2002, presumably because deemed to be a hybrid.) Others have postulated an Akkadian name *Ḥātu-bāšti or *Aḥātu-bāšti, appealing to the analogy of Ḥā-bāšti/Ḥā-bāsti/Aḥi-bāsti/Ḥā-bāssi (PNAE 2.1: 435–6) and more generally to the existence of other names containing one or the other component.³⁵² The authors of the PNAE entry take this to mean ‘the brother is my pride’ (so *Ḥātu-bāšti/*Aḥātu-bāšti would be ‘the sister is my pride’),³⁵³ but other interpretations are cited, linking it variously with Aramaic *ḥbš* = ‘to bind’ (Zadok) or—once

³⁵² Driver 1965: 76, 79, Grelot 1974: 460, 474, specifically citing Tallqvist 1914: 15 (for Ḥā-bāsti etc.), and Stamm 1939: 126 and AHW 112b (for other *-bāsti* formations). How cogent the analogies are for later fifth-century onomastics is perhaps debatable.

³⁵³ Driver and Grelot adopted a different meaning for the second element (the same word, *bāštu*, is in question), giving ‘the (divine) sister is my guardian angel’, ‘La Soeur est mon Esprit protecteur’.

again—Egyptian Bastet (Lipinski). On the Porten and Lund view we are perhaps dealing with a native Egyptian of mixed background, whereas the other view might point at an outsider (cf. Virafša's Miçapāta in A6.15).³⁵⁴

line 3(2) מִנְדָּתָא, *mndt*, 'revenue'. Also variously translated as 'rent' (Driver, Porten–Yardeni, Lindenberger) or 'taxe' (Grelot). Briant 2006: 351 describes it as 'le résultat foncier propre de la mise en valeur des terres (dans le cadre d'une saine gestion de sa Maison: *ta idia*), déduction faite des impôts et taxes qu'il doit en tout état de cause verser au trésor royale'—which sides with the former interpretation, while acknowledging that tax might be due. (Herodotus' notion that the uniquely valued Zopyrus was given Babylon *atelea nemesthai* (3.160) rather assumes that tax would be owed by less exceptionally honoured beneficiaries.) Our 'revenue' seeks to be as non-committal as (perhaps) *mndh* was.

The word (probably derived from Akkadian *maddattu*)³⁵⁵ is known in various other Achaemenid contexts. (I leave out of account the arbitrary restoration of the word in ATNS 31:3 by Wesselius 1984: 705.)

- Ezra, where it is one of the three taxes of Transeuphratene along with *belo* and *halak* (4.13, 20, 6.8, 7.24), but is also used by itself in reference to the global tax of that region (6.8).
- The Egyptian Customs Document (C3.7), where it is collected from ships and goes to the King's House.³⁵⁶
- ADAB A8:2, which refers to royal *mndh*, as something to be brought to the letter-writer (³Axvamazdā) at the fortress Zarimpi—i.e. (if *Zrympy* were an error for *Zryspy*) Zariaspa, the fortress at Bactra. Naveh and Shaked 2012: 30 suggest that *mlk'* sometimes actually denotes the satrap (adding the 'camels of the king' in A1:3) but do not comment on the implications of this view for the character of the *mndh*. But their adoption of the translation 'rent' (2012: 120) may suggest that they are thinking of income from Axvamazdā's estates. One might well regard all of this as over-influenced by assumptions derived from the prevalent reading of A6.13.

³⁵⁴ I am grateful to Heather Baker and Stephanie Dalley for help with this item.

³⁵⁵ Kaufman 1974: 67. For the meaning of the word CAD s.v. *maddattu* gives: (1) tribute (MA, NA, Ach.), (2) work assignment (MB), (3) endowment capital (Ugarit), (4) compensation for slaves (also temple oblates) paid by the slaves or their employers to their owners (NB), (5) rent (for fields etc.), additional fee (a usage peculiar to Murašû texts: cf. Stolper 1985: 140) (LB). The word is used of tribute in the Akkadian version of royal inscriptions, but also appears in PT 85 (an Akkadian tablet from Persepolis) where its precise reference is uncertain: Tamerus 2016: 255 suggests that '(obligatory) payments' is the only safe, if evasive, rendering.

³⁵⁶ The term is replaced by *mšr'* (tithe) in some parts of the document (G col.3.2, 9, 4.1, 14; K col.5.1, 8, GG col.3.3, F col.1.8), and at F col.2.12 we have both *mndt'* and *mšr'*. The title of castor oil in ATNS 92 is thus no longer the only tithe attested in Egyptian Aramaic. But the Customs Document *mndh* is a fixed levy not a tithe, so the appearance of *mšr'* there is somewhat puzzling.

- An Elephantine document, where it may be the income that could be had from leasing out a slave (B3.6)—though the text is not easy,³⁵⁷ and the possibility of a parallel in B8.11 should not be relied upon.³⁵⁸ This slave-related use of *mndh* would, of course, broadly correspond to use of Akkadian *mandattu* to designate a payment to the owner of a slave made by the slave himself or someone employing him in compensation for the fact that the slave is currently working for someone other than his proper owner.³⁵⁹
- A number of other fragments from the Bodleian archive, Elephantine, and Saqqara. *Mndh* is an isolated word in the Bodleian fragment D6.13 (d), from a supposed private letter. CG 164, 168, and 273 are also quite unhelpful (even if the presence of *mndh* is rightly recognized in the first place). C3.5:7 and ATNS 24:11 both refer to *mndt hyl*. The rest of the remnants of these two documents offer no clear hint about what this might mean (ATNS 24 also mentions a group of 200 men, alabaster, natron, and some other commodity (all in huge amounts) and a quantity of silver, while C3.5 is a list of quantities of silver, perhaps from a variety of sources: ‘priests in the houses of god’ are mentioned in line 11) but, since *hyl* and *degelin* can be linked with land-holding,³⁶⁰ *mnd[t]* no doubt *could* denote land-related payments—perhaps marginally more likely to be tax owed by the *hyl* than rent owed to it?³⁶¹ In B8.5:3 *mndh* is one of two non-contiguous surviving words in a line. The other word is *gnz*’ (treasure/treasury), which also appears in the previous line. The near-contiguity of these two words recalls the present text, in which the *mndh* is going to be brought to Babylon at the same time as *gnz*, but the coincidence offers no clear help in understanding B8.5, not least because the reference of *gnz* in A6.13 is debatable. The document (which Porten–Yardeni label as a ‘Court Record re Rent, Imprisonment, Payment’) also mentions a *rb dgl*, a man with an Iranian

³⁵⁷ After Tapmet and Yehoyišma are manumitted nobody is entitled ‘to traffic with you (for) payment of silver (*lmzky mndt ksp*)’ (Porten–Yardeni) or ‘évalueur contre paiement d’argent’ (Grelot 1972: 226) or ‘sell thee for payment of silver’ (Kraeling 1953: 181, 184). The verb is identified by Kraeling and Grelot as *zll* or *zwl*. It recurs in A4.3:5 (where Porten–Yardeni render ‘lavish’ [i.e. spend generously], Grelot ‘évaluez des biens’). In JBA *zll* = ‘to debase, disgrace, become cheap; treat with disrespect; establish a low price etc.’ and *zwl* = ‘low price’ (Sokoloff), and Grelot considers these overtones to be present in B3.6 as well, whereas (judging by their rendering of A4.3:5) Porten–Yardeni do not. (Kraeling notes them, but does not incorporate them in his formal translation.) Porten and Lund 2002 do not appear to list the verb; and Porten 2011: 222 n. 14 concedes that *lmzky mndt* is ‘difficult to translate precisely’.

³⁵⁸ Segal’s version of this document (ATNS 21) mentioned slaves and *mndh*. But the reading in B8.11 has removed any reference to slaves, and *mndh* is translated non-committally ‘rent’.

³⁵⁹ Dandamaev 1985: 113–14, 379–83, 531–2; Jursa 2010: 230, 234, 236–7, 279, 683, 779. In PTS 2113, more unusually, the payment is for use of the *huṭāru* (divine messenger staff), perhaps by someone collecting dues on behalf of Eanna: Kleber 2018b: 145–6.

³⁶⁰ A5.2, A5.5, B8.10, ATNS 31:1, ATNS 46:2.

³⁶¹ ATNS 31:1 could be read as indicating that something goes from the *hyl* to the royal treasury (*byt mlk*).

name (Tiryapāta), and someone making a payment, but it is possible that they are part of a distinct section within the record and have nothing to do with *mnd*[*t*] and *gnz*.³⁶²

It does have to be said that the evidence in this material for *mndh* being tribute or taxation is more unequivocal than that for it being rent.³⁶³ (Driver's wish (1965: 76) to link *mndh* specifically with *nadānātu*—another derivative of the same root meaning 'give' encountered in contemporary Murašû texts—does not help with this, since that word also designates an element of tax due to the King's House, and it seems groundless in any case.) But the eagerness of Vāravyā to receive the *mndh* of his domains does seem more natural if it is income for his benefit rather than tax for the royal treasury: unless we are misestimating the degree of impatience he is displaying, it exceeds what one would think necessary for a 'son of the house' facing the possibility of missing a deadline for payment of tax-dues. This is not to say that elite estates were necessarily free of obligations (cf. Henkelman 2017a: 166, 2018: 39–40), just that it is not clear that A6.13–14 is direct evidence for the phenomenon. (Henkelman 2018a: 40 notes that the Mnesimachus inscription is the best evidence for taxation of estates, elite or otherwise.)

There is a temptation to suppose that the *mndh* paid by domains to their high-level Iranian owners interlocks with the *hlk* paid to those owners' estate by people like Peṭosiri (A6.11:5(4) n.); the terms are kept distinct in Ezra, but that is all right, because they relate to different parts of the process of enriching Aršāma and his like. Terminologically speaking one might even say *mndh* going to 'sons of the house' matches *mndh* going to the king, and perhaps whether we choose to call it 'tax' or 'rent' is from one point of view a matter of somewhat anachronistic choice. (But I am inclined to assume that the obligation on Aḥatubaste and Nakhtḥor to 'disburse' [*hnpq*] the *mndh* is an obligation that lies upon them *qua* administrators, not *qua* individual leaseholders, *pace* Szubin and Porten 1987: 46 and Thonemann 2009: 369.)

line 3(3) ויהייתך והנפק, *yhnpq wyhyth*, 'disburse and bring'. More literally, 'make it go out and make it come'. Whitehead saw this as hendiadys, the only difference being the point of reference (source or destination). Perhaps that over-states the case, the difference being significant: our translation (like

³⁶² The word for payment is 'gr, also found in A3.10 ('rent' of a boat), B1.1:14 (apparently 'hire', as opposed to using one's own), C1.1 *recto* 100 (*bl gr*, 'master of wages' [Porten–Yardeni]—i.e. employer?), and ATNS 10 (translated 'hire', but a note suggests 'rent' or 'lease' as alternatives: the context is opaque). One sees why the general environment would incline Porten–Yardeni (mindful also, doubtless, of B3.6) to take *mndh* as rent rather than tax. ('gr is cognate with Akkadian *agāru* 'to hire' and *igru* 'hire, rent wages': cf. Kaufman 1974: 33. I thank Stephanie Dalley for drawing this to my attention.)

³⁶³ Such ambiguity is not without parallel. Monson 2016: 1628 notes that Demotic *šmw* and Greek *ekphorion* can both mean either a harvest tax due to the king or rent in private leasehold contracts.

Porten–Yardeni’s ‘release...bring...’) makes a decent substantive distinction, as (in a different way) does Driver’s observation that ‘the first verb refers to the exaction or collection of the rents in Egypt while the second refers to their delivery in Babylon.’ In line 5 the pair of instructions is extended to include the order to Aḥatubaste to come (to Babylon), and—since *wyhyth* does not necessarily have the overtones of ‘bring’—that is a genuine further requirement (see line 5(2) n.).

line 4 אַסְפְּרָן, *ʾsprn*, ‘in full’. Iranian **usprna*- (Tavernier 2007: 406–7, reporting on a debate as to whether the proper form is that or **asprna*), ‘in full, entire’. It is also attested in KAI 263 (the Abydos weight which is ‘completely according to the silver stater’) and (as *ʾsprn*) on a damaged weight in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ledrain 1886). The *ušbarnašbe* in PT 12, 13, 15, 18, and 1957-1 were originally understood as labourers who were ‘up-carriers’, but then as labourers ‘die vollständig [zu Lasten der Krone verpflegt werden]’ (Hinz and Koch 1987 s.v., after Cameron 1958).

line 5(1) הַדְּבָגָו, *hdʿbgw*, ‘(accrued) interest’. Iranian **hadābigāva*-, ‘interest included, with interest, accrued increment’ (Tavernier 2007: 443). ‘Interest’ (also in Driver, Grelot, Lindenberger) at first sight suggests that the *pqyd* is bound by a contract, with delivery date and penalty clauses. ‘Increment’ (Porten–Yardeni) might, by contrast, be something owed in any event (like payment ‘in full’)—an obligation upon the ultimate sources of *mndh*. But the same *could* actually be true of interest, if mismanagement meant tenants had not paid their dues on time (cf. A6.14:4(3) n.).

line 5(2) וַיָּתְהוּ, *wyʿth*, ‘and should come’. Aḥatubaste does not merely have to hand the *mndh* over for someone else to transport. But this is not quite true, since (A6.14:4–5) Vāravahyā was actually prepared to allow Aḥatubaste to be substituted by his brother or son. Is this an actual change of mind between the writing of two letters that were presumably composed at almost exactly the same time? Is Vāravahyā offering a concession (softening a demand that Aršāma had made which exceeded Vāravahyā’s original request: cf. above, line 3(3) n.)? Or is the suggestion that, having offended his master, Aḥatubaste might send his brother or son actually a form of blackmail, trading on Aḥatubaste’s unwillingness to expose others of his family to danger? If, on the other hand, A6.14 preceded A6.13 and represented an earlier (failed) intervention, one could see the requirement in A6.13 that Aḥatubaste come in person as a hardening of Vāravahyā’s demands. That might be a neater story, but not so much so as to impose this view of the letters’ chronological relationship.

line 5(3) גַּנְזָא, *gnz*, ‘treasure’. Iranian **ganza*-, ‘treasure’ (Tavernier 2007: 443, a putative Median form) recurs in Egyptian Aramaic texts (in A6.2:4, 13, B8.5:3), as well as in Elamite (PF 1442, NN 1564, Fort.7862) and Greek. **Ganzabara*-/**gandabara*- are also found in Aramaic, Akkadian, and Elamite

form: see Tavernier 2007: 422, and add e.g. Tel 'Ira no.8 (Naveh 1999: 412–13, with Lemaire 2002a: 227 or 2002b: 140), Naveh 1981: 166 (no.37), ADAB B10:2, PFAT 064, '234, PFS 0981* (Henkelman ii 227 n. 64).³⁶⁴

Earlier we read of Aršāma's *mndh* travelling alongside that of Vāravahyā (3–4). Now what Vāravahyā's *mndh* accompanies is called 'treasure'. Is this simply an alternative designation for Aršāma's *mndh*? Or does Aršāma use *gnz* because he knows that Vāravahyā's *mndh* will accompany what was already planned as a more diverse convoy, one including both Aršāma's *mndh* and other things besides? The argument for the first view would be that Vāravahyā's request was for his *pqyd* to be told to disburse the *mndh* and bring it along with the *mndh* that Nakhtḥor is bringing (implying that such a convoy has already been ordered by Aršāma) and that Aršāma's response (Nakhtḥor should tell Vāravahyā's *pqyd* to disburse the rent and bring it with the 'treasure' which Aršāma has ordered brought to Babylon) should correspond one-to-one with that request: the 'treasure' is thus another way of describing Aršāma's own *mndh*. The counter-argument would be that Aršāma is not replying directly to Vāravahyā, so that the principle of epistolary symmetry need not apply exactly. Aršāma alludes to a separate order already issued about transfer of 'treasure', an order that could have referred to something of which the transfer of *mndh* was only part: Vāravahyā was only interested in *mndh*, knew that Aršāma was expecting to receive *mndh* as well, and phrased his request simply in those terms; but Aršāma saw a larger picture. If we take this second view, it does entail believing that, in formulating the letter to Nakhtḥor, Aršāma punctiliously records in the first part of the text what Vāravahyā said, not what his request amounted to in reality. Henkelman 2018a: 35 favours the second view and further affirms that Vāravahyā's *mndh* was going to travel with the satrapy's annual tribute.

The idea of transporting 'treasure' (*gnz*) has a precise verbal parallel in at least seven PFA documents (some with multiple entries).³⁶⁵ The distances involved in such trips are substantial (from Media, Babylonia, Susa, Hyrcania, Parthia, or Maka to or through the Persepolis region) and/but the size of the travel groups involved can be very modest.³⁶⁶ The physical nature of the 'treasure'

³⁶⁴ See Stolper: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ganzabara->. Another apparent derivative of the root is *gnzkh* in Lemaire and Chauveau 2008: 151–3 fr. c.

³⁶⁵ PF 1357 (Babylon to Matezziš), Fort.1901A-101: 51 (Ecbatana to Persepolis), Fort. 0895-101: 3–7, Fort.2173-101: 6–9 (Hyrcania to Antarrantiš), Fort.1253-101: 2, Fort.1316-101, Fort.1912-103: 36 (Media to Persepolis), 'Fort.1901A-101:42 (Parthia to Antarrantiš), Fort.1901A-101: 12, 14, 28, 29 (Susa to Persepolis), Fort.1912-103: 48, 50, 51, 52 (from Susa), Fort.1912-103: 44 (from Maka). For PFA 14 and NN 0809 see below. The normal word for treasure is *kantaš* or *kanza*, but PF 1357, Fort.0895-101, and Fort.2173-101 use *kapnuški*. Apart from PF 1357 the only items fully published are Fort.1901A: 51 (Henkelman 2017a: 133) and Fort.0895-101 and Fort.2173-101 (Stolper 2018). A provisional text of Fort.1253-101 is available in the OCHRE database.

³⁶⁶ 9 (PF 1357), 6 (Fort.1901a-101: 13), 2 (Fort.2173-101), 1 (Fort.0895-101).

is not revealed. Many of the texts are not currently fully accessible, so it is difficult to provide a systematic account of e.g. dates, identity of agents, size of groups, or subsistence rates. But there is a (speculative) case for connecting two of them with operations within the ambit of the estate-holdings of Queen Atossa³⁶⁷ and ‘treasure’ (*kapnuški*) is certainly conveyed by servants of Queens Irdabama and Irtašduna (PFa 14), even if there is uncertainty about its nature (see below, n. 373)—which would make for quite a close analogy with A6.13–14.

One could just leave it at that. But (not least because of uncertainty about the nature of the ‘treasure’) it is hard not to go a little further and note that these seven treasure transport documents evoke various other items in the archive, whose potential to illuminate treasure transport must at least be considered.

1. First, there is the trip of the treasurer (*kazabara*) Mannuya from Susa to Matezziš in 22 Darius, attested in two documents.³⁶⁸ He travels with a small company (a total of four persons) and is said to be carrying silver. Since it is hard to deny that silver can be described as ‘treasure’ (even if not all treasure need be silver), it is tempting to add him to the dossier of treasure transports.³⁶⁹ It should nonetheless be stressed that none of those carrying ‘treasure’ is ever called ‘treasurer’ or the like: this is important because we should not prejudge the relationship between so-called ‘treasure’ transport and the treasuries of the institutional economy. Those carrying ‘treasure’ might be moving valuables that are entirely part of the estate economy of members of the elite.

2. Next there are further references to journeys by treasurers or individuals with treasury-related titles in which it is not always specified that they are carrying anything, let alone that it is silver or treasure. Here one might distinguish between (a) PF 1358, NN 1081, NN 1684, Fort.0328-101³⁷⁰ and (b) NN 1564,

³⁶⁷ Fort. 0895-101: 3–7, Fort.2173-101: 6–9, with Stolper 2018.

³⁶⁸ PF 1342 (IX/22), Fort.7862 (X/22).

³⁶⁹ There is another link with one of the treasure-transport texts. Mannuya seems to travel rather slowly: having drawn sixteen days’ rations at Kurdušum in 22/9 (PF 1342: already a most unusual thing, since travellers are normally given a day’s rations at a time), he is still on the move in the same western part of the PFA region the following month (Fort.7862). Relatively slow progress recurs in Fort.8095-101: this records, after the event, that Mardukka spent 100 days bringing treasure from Hyrcania to Antarrantiš (near Persepolis) on an authorization issued by Kinnadadda, Queen Atossa’s estate manager. Whether this parallel is more than fortuitous is hard to say: it seems counter-intuitive that those carrying valuables should not travel as speedily as possible, so perhaps there were special circumstances in each case that were not sufficiently closely related to the precise nature of the cargo to entail anything about that nature.

³⁷⁰ PF 1358: journey of a *kanzaba* (**ganzapa*: treasury-keeper/guard) in a group of eight from Gandhara to Susa. NN 1081: *kapnuški* (treasurers? or just treasury-workers?) appear in a journey from Parnakka (Persepolis) to Bakabana (Susa) that also involves *šalup* (‘gentlemen’). The numbers involved are unclear. NN 1684: persons attached to the treasury (*kanza*), one gentleman and two servants, travel from Persepolis to Susa. Fort.0328-101: two men take something (word lost) from Persepolis to Susa, carrying a letter-order of Atossa. One of them, Zirmazziya, is labelled treasurer (*kandabara*) in another entry in the same journal document. None of these documents, except perhaps PF 1358, is straightforward.

PFa 14, NN 0809.³⁷¹ Group (a) resembles the treasure transport documents and the journey of Mannuya in involving small travel groups. In each case if one were to find a further document about the same journey which specified the carrying of silver or treasure it would be no great surprise: perhaps we should not too readily assume that treasury-related individuals never travelled in other circumstances, but the relatively small number of documents showing such people on the move suggests we should not recklessly multiply entities either.³⁷² In group (b), by contrast, we encounter large or very large travel groups: 260 men and servants travelling from Persepolis to Susa in NN 1564 (with Mitrabada the treasurer), and seventy-one boys and 100 ‘boys of Abbamuš and Irtašduna’ travelling from Carmania to Susa in respectively PFa 14 and NN 0809. Mannuya and Mitrabada may both be treasurers, but their two trips cannot have been of an entirely identical sort. As for PFa 14 and NN 0809, there is a further complication. On one view what they record is actually that a named individual (Ben...; Hindukka), the chief (*irsara*), and a large group of ‘boys’ were taking treasure from Carmania to Susa—in which case they actually belong with the ten documents at the start of this note, and prove a treasure transport trip can involve quite substantial numbers of people. But the alternative reading is that they say that a treasury-chief is taking the boys to Susa: on this view the boys are a commodity, and we have a treasury-related person (though not literally a treasurer) conveying, not silver (as Mannuya did), but human resources.³⁷³

3. Finally, there are five texts that mention neither treasure nor treasurers, but do involve transport, in this case of *baziš*.³⁷⁴ The travel groups are larger than for some of the treasure transports and treasurer trips, but smaller than for the texts just mentioned: they are also differently configured, being entirely

³⁷¹ NN 1564 (edited at Henkelman 2017a: 191–5): Mitrabada the treasurer (*kanzabara*) travels to the king in Susa on an authorization from Parnakka (Persepolis) in a group of 260 persons (107 gentlemen, 153 servants). There is also a reference to the treasury at Hidali. Henkelman suggests that they are carrying valuables thence to Susa, and (98–9) assimilates the case to treasure transports. (The same journey appears in PF 1295, where Mitrabada is untitled.) On PFa 14 and NN 0809 see the description in the main text.

³⁷² In the light of treasure-transport texts, Henkelman 2017a: 212 associates PF 1358 with the movement of tribute.

³⁷³ The first view is that of Hallock (in the edition of PFa 14) and recurs in Tamerus 2016: 258. The second view appears in Henkelman 2003: 133 and Tuplin 2008: 328–9 (extending it from PFa 14 to NN 0809). Henkelman 2018a: 34 notes both views, but in practice seems to prefer the first. See also Henkelman 2017a: 52 n. 8 for Hindukka as a *irsara kapnuški*, ‘head (of) the treasury’.

³⁷⁴ Miššabadda takes the *baziš* of Udana from Barrikana to Susa in a group of thirty-two (PF 1495) or the *baziš* of Humana from Arachosia to Susa in a group of twenty (NN 1898). (King 2019 identifies him with the *Mtrpt* (*Miθrapāta-) named as a *sgn* on some of the Arachosian green chert objects in Persepolis, and speculates that Udana is in the position of the ‘makers’ of those objects: cf. p. 71 n.32.) Bakadadda takes *baziš* from Arachosia to the king (NN 2149, NN 2580): in the first case he is in a group of ten, in the second the text is unclear: it may indicate eleven men plus a lost number of horses. Both documents relate to month 12 of year 22, so it should be the same group in each case. Rather different is PF 0057 which reports that four of an unidentified commodity were taken (as) *baziš* from Maturban to Susa.

composed of men plus (in one case) horses. Since *baziš* is *prima facie* a tax word, there is a potential resonance with *mndh* in A6.13–14. So both of the ways in which transported valuables are described in the Aršāma correspondence have analogies in PFA, though (of course) that for *gnz* is much closer, since the same word is involved. But while both occur in a single letter in A6.13 (albeit with an uncertain inter-relation), there is no demonstrable overlap of ‘treasure’ and ‘tax’ documents in PFA at all.³⁷⁵ One thing they do have in common is that the nature of the *baziš* (what it physically consists in) is no more specified than is that of the treasure. The only further specification is that the transported *baziš* is twice ‘of PN’, whereas the ‘treasure’ is once ‘Babylonian’. In that respect also, then, there is a formal distinction between *baziš* and ‘treasure’. It hardly proves that ‘treasure’ and *baziš* could not designate the same sort of thing (or, more accurately, that *baziš* might be an example of treasure), but it does nothing to enjoin the reverse view—that ‘treasure’ must be tax-related. Complicatingly, it has been envisaged that the *baziš* of Humana or Udana could be estate revenue anyway, not tax³⁷⁶—thus replicating the uncertainty about *mndh* in A6.13–14.

Things and people were for ever on the move across imperial space: these are not even the only texts that (effectively) refer to transported ‘tax’, since the superscriptions on the Arachosian green chert vessels from the Persepolis treasury describe them in such terms (*škr*, *bz(y)*: see King 2019). Nor should we forget animals: there is a strong association elsewhere in PFA between *baziš* and animals, and the people taking royal sheep from Persepolis to Susa in PF 1442 are ‘attached to the treasury (*kanza*)’, a phrase that is also used of Mannuya (Fort.7862) and the anonymous travellers in NN 1684. Whatever one may think of the logistics, it is not technically impossible that the *baziš* of Humana and Udana (and that convoyed by Bakadadda) consisted of or included livestock.³⁷⁷ It is certainly what has been assumed about the four items of *baziš* moved the shorter distance from Maturban to Susa in PF 0057. Animals (for

³⁷⁵ Mannuya (the Susa treasurer in PF 1342) might once have been a *matira* (i.e. *bazikara*)—one such is attested three years earlier in PF 1942—but since treasurers do not demonstrably ‘carry treasure’ this is very indirect as well as being prosopographically speculative.

³⁷⁶ Henkelman 2017a: 165–8 and 2018: 36–9, with the further suggestions that (a) Udana = (H) utāna- could be Otanes, one of Darius I’s fellow-conspirators and father of the Unapa, son of Udana, mentioned in Fort.0472-101 and (b) the date of PF 1495 (the last month of year 22) opens the possibility that the *baziš* was due for delivery in Susa at New Year. (The same argument could apply to NN 2149 and NN 2580: see n. 374.)

³⁷⁷ Henkelman 2017a: 123 notes a calculation in Hinz 1971: 291 that 100,000 animals could have been on the move from Persepolis to Susa in PF 1442. The underlying estimate that there were 700 herdsman is based on the possibly flawed assumption that the document records a single day’s rations. But even if it recorded a month’s rations, the number of animals would be quite impressive (and larger than the 1,600 animals explicitly on record in NN 2349 going from Media to Persepolis). My earlier scepticism (Tuplin 2008: 329) was perhaps over-hasty. But the truth is that we cannot know. What is envisaged here is, of course, of a quite different nature from the offering of exotic animals as quasi-tributary gifts: see recently Llewellyn-Jones 2017.

consumption) could have played a role in the general phenomenon of commodity transport from Babylonia or Fars to Susa (to sustain the royal presence there)—a substantial aspect of the extraction of surplus for the benefit of the ruling power. If there was a technical term associated with this it was **upayāta*, but perhaps it could have been classified as an aspect of the *bāji-* (i.e. *baziš*) of royal inscriptions. Since the view has been expressed that such material might have embraced both produce of royal domains and taxes on temple estates (Jursa 2017: 719, 726, Henkelman 2017a: 126), any description may, of course, have elided what we might see as important institutional distinctions.³⁷⁸ How appropriate the blunt term ‘treasure’ would have been for a relevant convoy is hard to say: the involvement of people ‘attached to the treasury’ does not necessarily make anything they touch ‘treasure’.

In the end none of this really resolves the question of what A6.13 means by *gnz*. On the most (but probably too) generous reading of the evidence, it might embrace silver, workers, animals, and food. On the most pedantic reading we can say nothing at all. The direct parallels with which we started do at any rate suggest that, in using the term *gnz*, Aršāma’s scribe was not just randomly reaching for a word to capture the idea of ‘valuables’ but using bureaucratic language: and the thing about bureaucratic language is that sometimes only bureaucrats know exactly what it means. In particular, we cannot *prove* that Artāvahyā and/or Rāšta (the officials responsible for the formulation of this particular letter) would have considered *gnz* a fitting term to describe a simple consignment of *mndh* representing purely private estate revenue. The best actual argument that they would have done is the connection of treasure transport with the private wealth of Queens Atossa, Irdabama, and Irtašduna, but whether this adds much independent force to mere *a priori* speculation is debatable. (Henkelman 2018a: 36 is happy to envisage that ‘treasure’ means different things in different circumstances.) As for the physical character of the *gnz*: if the word denotes an institutionally diverse convoy, the chances increase that it was physically diverse as well. (We know nothing of the size of group that would travel with it, so there is no check from that direction—not that the variety in this matter in PFA documents gives a very precise steer on the relationship between group-size and content.) It is natural to assume that *mndh*, especially transmitted over long distances, was silver rather than (at least partly) some bulkier commodity. But it is an assumption based on more general assumptions about the silverization of the economy for the benefit of the empire and its elite: Mannuya’s Babylonian silver would better be regarded an example of that than as a piece of evidence directly relevant to A6.13–14.

³⁷⁸ Revenue of royal estates, if involved, would then represent a kind of parallel to the situation in A6.13–14. See Henkelman 2018a: 34–5, comparing PFA 14 with the Aršāma documents.

line 5(4) שִׁים, *šym*, ‘was issued’. An abbreviation for *šym tʿm*; cf. A6.3:6(2) n. Note that Aršāma does not threaten interrogation or a *gst ptgm* in this letter where he is only acting on the complaints of someone else outside his estate (albeit another Persian estate owner).

line 5(5) בַּבְּאֵל, *Bbʿl*, ‘Babylon’. cf. A6.12:1(5) n. We should keep an open mind about whether the completion of the Nile–Red Sea canal and despatch of ships with tribute from Egypt to Persia in the late sixth or early fifth century invites us to envisage that those charged with moving Vāravahyāś and Aršāmaś cargoes might have used a sea-route to Babylon. Klotz 2015 may be right to question excessive stress on the purely symbolic character of the canal enterprise (Tuplin 1991), but in the end our actual evidence about travel *via* the southern tip of Arabia is restricted to the time of Darius I. However much effort was put into fostering good relations with the coastal inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, one may suspect that the trip by land over the managed network of royal roads would seem a safer option.

line 5(6) אֲרַתְוַהַי... סַפְרָא, *ʾrtwḥy... spr*, ‘Artāvahyā... scribe’: cf. A6.10:10(2) n., pp. 269–83.

line 6 הַמְרַכְרִיא, *hmrkry*, ‘accountants’. cf. A6.11:7 n.

line 11 Ḥoteḫḫep: see A6.4:6 n., A6.11:8 n. and pp. 270, 274.

TADAE A6.14 (DRIVER 11, GRELOT 72,
LINDENBERGER 45)

Securing Domain-Income (2)

Summary

Vāravahyā writes to Nakhtḥor and other officials on the issue also dealt with in A6.13.

Text

Lindemberger's text displays the usual sort of variations from Porten–Yardeni's. There are no substantive implications.

line 1(1) לְאַרְשָׁם, *l'ršm*, 'to Aršāma'. Use of *l* in reference to the recipient of a complaint occurs in A3.3:4 (*lphwt*: 'to the officials'), in a preclusion formula in B3.1:12, B3.10:19, B3.12:28, B4.6:14 (*lsgn*, 'to the prefect') and in ADAB A1:1, 4, 6 (*lmry*, 'to my lord'). Elsewhere (including in other versions of the same preclusion formula) the recipient appears without a preposition (A4.2:3, B2.3:13, B3.2:7) or after *qdm* (B2.2:5–6, B3.1:12–13, 18–19, B5.4:2, 7). *ʾ* is the normal marker for the person complained about (A2.2:10, A3.3:4, A6.14:1, A6.15:5, 12, B2.2:5, 16, B2.3:13, B3.1:12–13, B3.2:4–6, B3.10:19, B3.11:12–13, B3.12:28, B4.6:14, B5.4:2, B7.2:4, CG 13), though *mn* also occurs (A6.8:3, ADAB A1:1). See also Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 979–80.

line 1(2) אַחַתְבַּסְתִּי, *Ḥtbsty*, 'Aḥatubaste'. See A6.13:3(1) n.

line 2(1) מִנְדַעַם [מְנַדְתָּ] *m[nd]t['] mnd'm*, 'any re[ven]u[e]'. See A6.13:3(2) n.

line 2(2) מִנְדַעַם [מְנַדְתָּ] אַחַתְבַּסְתִּי אַחַתְבַּסְתִּי *m[nd]t[']... ḥ[r.....].t mhytyn bb'l*, 're[ven]u[e]. Oth[er officials (??)] are bringing [revenue (?)] to Babylon'. Whitehead queries restorations (like that in Porten–Yardeni, followed here) which put *mndt'* in the gap towards the start of the line—slightly oddly, since he is separately struck by word play in these letters, of which the best example would be this phrase with *mndt'* restored (A6.12:2(8) n.). He also has a suggestion for the second part of the line, where Driver introduced a reference to a letter and Porten–Yardeni forbore to insert anything. Whitehead suggests: 'and the tax which you have despatched, they are bringing to Babylon'—which does not at first sight make much sense in the context. We might suppose that some time has passed since A6.13, and that the second half of line 2 indicates that a convoy despatched by Nakhtḥor bringing *mndh* from Aršāma's estate (but, despite A6.13, not *mndh* from Vāravahyā's estate) has reached Babylon. But, if so, the plan in A6.13 that Nakhtḥor should travel with

the convoy would have to be supposed to have been abandoned. And I wonder whether the tone of A6.14 would not be less placid—for on this scenario Nakht̥or has already failed once to exert effective pressure on Aḥatubaste. More suitable to the situation is the suggestion incorporated in our translation (Vāravahyā would then be drawing the sort of contrast that Aršāma draws in A6.10). Whether it matches the space and the letter-traces after the lacuna is debatable.

line 2(3) [בבֿׁ׃אֵל], *Bb[ʿl]*, ‘Babylon’: cf. A6.12:1(5) n.

line 3(1) הַנְּדָרִי, *hndrz*, ‘order’. See A6.10:12 n., A6.13:3, 4(2) n.

line 3(2) זִי ... הַנְּדָרִי, *hndrz...zy*, ‘an order...so that’. See A6.13:3, 4(2) n.

line 4(1) תְּהַדְּוִן, *thdwn*, ‘please’. Driver had *thhdwn*, Whitehead *t{h}hdwn*. For the verb cf. A3.5:2, A6.16:2–4, C1.1 *recto* 90. Is the invitation to do something in order to please Vāravahyā to be interpreted as a friendly request? Or is there a veiled threat in the event of Nakht̥or’s failure? How polite is Vāravahyā *really* being under a veneer of good manners? Jursa’s answer (iii 112), in the light of a general understanding of epistolographic *mores*, is effectively that he is being more polite than he would perhaps wish to be, because he is venturing a potentially ‘face-threatening’ request for a favour. The implication is that, as Aršāma’s *pyqd*, Nakht̥or is relatively immune to simply being ordered about by someone else, even another Son of the House. One may compare Artaxaya’s *politesse* in A6.16 (another letter where ‘pleasing’ the addressor is an issue), but also contrast Virafša’s rather hard tone in A6.15: but in that case Aršāma’s authority is invoked, a complaint has already been made (cf. A6.8:3(4) n.), and further complaint is possible: the existing situation makes Nakht̥or more vulnerable. (There is nothing quite comparable to A6.14 or A6.16 in the Bactrian corpus.)

line 4(2) הָא, *hʿ*, ‘behold’. See A6.9:2(1) n.

line 4(3) לֹא כִשְׂר ... אֶף, *p...l kšr*, ‘also...was not suitable’. In the rest of this line Porten–Yardeni make out more text than Driver, but not sufficient to produce a clear picture. *kšr* = ‘(be) suitable’ recurs in C3.22, which seems to be about land being suitable for some purpose. (The purpose is described as *šk*, which Segal thought might mean ‘estate’, ‘allotment’, or the income from an allotment, citing Akkadian *isqu*. Porten–Yardeni leave the word untranslated. They also eliminate an alleged second occurrence in ATNS 6:4 in their edition at B8.12.) Is Vāravahyā noting that he is particularly desirous of getting his *mndh* because the domain has not been functioning properly for some time? Lindenberger spells out such an idea by translating ‘As you know [the finances of] that estate have not been in order for many years’—or (an alternative on p. 105) ‘that estate has not produced its proper [rent] for many years’. (No new Aramaic text is proposed to match these.)

line 5 אֶחָוְהִי אִו בְּרָה, *ʿḥwḥy ʿw brh*, ‘his brother or his son’: cf. A6.13:5(2) n.; and, for sharing tasks within the family, A6.3:2(3) n., A6.4:3(7) n., p. 189 n. 274, p. 248.

line 6 נַחְתְּחֹר וְחַנְדַּסִּירָם פְּקִיָּא [יִדְיָא], *Nḥtḥwr wḤndsyr̄m pq[ydy]*, ‘Nakhtḥor and Ḥendasirma, the off[icials]’. This establishes that Kenzasirma/Ḥendasirma is not a title of Nakhtḥor, but presents a problem. After Ḥendasirma’s name Driver read just *w* (‘and’) and restored ‘[his colleagues the accountants who are in Egypt]’: this matches the external addresses of A6.11–A6.13 (and the presence of the word ‘colleagues’ in the internal address of the present letter), but is probably too long for the lacuna. (‘His colleagues’ or ‘his colleagues the accountants’ or ‘his colleagues who are in Egypt’ would fit.) By contrast, Porten and Yardeni discerned the letters *pq* (marking the *q* as uncertain), but ignored them in their translation. If *pq* is the correct reading, it is very tempting to restore some form of *pqyd*. (The lacuna is large enough to admit the addition of ‘who are in Egypt’. But since there is already deviation from A6.11–A6.13, it is perhaps unjustified to make any further addition.) But with this restoration both Nakhtḥor and Ḥendasirma are given the title *pqyd*, whereas the other letters establish that the latter was actually an accountant. So, if the restoration stands, we must assume that Vāravahyā’s scribe has made a mistake: he knew it was proper to include titles in the external address, but he got the wrong title.

TADAE A6.15 (DRIVER 12, GRELOT 73,
LINDENBERGER 47)

Nakht̥hor's Misdeeds

Summary

Virafša tells Nakht̥hor to produce five Cilicians (in line with Aršāma's instructions) and to return misappropriated goods.

Text

As usual Lindenberger is more conservative in the placing of square brackets and the marking of letters as damaged though reasonably certain.

The Letter as Object

The letter is written on a (rather neatly) mended piece of leather, and the final two full lines and a word are written perpendicular to the rest of the text in the right margin: in other words the piece of leather selected for the letter was not only damaged but also not quite large enough for the letter—which is the second longest of the Bodleian collection (A6.10 is slightly longer). Might one legitimately feel that this is of a piece with some signs of carelessness in the formulation of the text of the letter? (Outside the Bodleian set, scribes were happier to continue a text on the *verso*: see A6.2, ADAB A1.) Lindsay Allen has speculated that Sigill.Aram.IV belongs with this letter: if that is right, Virafša not only had a less-than-perfect piece of leather but tied it up with string of different quality from that in most of Aršāma's letters (the one associated with Sigill.Aram.VI may be an exception) and deployed a rather unimpressive seal: Garrison & Kaptan ii 22–6, Garrison & Kaptan ii 167–71. A fine seal enhanced the impact and authority of a letter, but perhaps Virafša felt that his verbal message was already adequate by itself.

Position of Letter Within the Set

D6.7 dealt with the same subject matter as this letter. Virafša, Miçapāta, Cilicians, Babylon, wine, and the prospect of someone being called to account all figure in the remnants of what Porten–Yardeni restore as a letter from Aršāma to Nakht̥hor—so that A6.15 and D6.7 have the same sort of relation as A6.13 and A6.14.³⁷⁹ Unfortunately what remains is too exiguous to cast sub-

³⁷⁹ The fact that 'wine' appears in (d):2 and (e):3 is important because it links D6.7 to more than just the Cilician issue. That precludes what would anyway be a rash, if exciting, speculation that it is a copy of the letter to Psamšek mentioned in A6.15:1.

stantive light on the episodes rehearsed by Virafša in A6.15. The only hint of extra information is an allusion to two or more *karsh* of silver (D6.7 (d)), but there is no way of knowing where this might have belonged in the record of Nakhtḥor's misdeeds.

line 1(1) ורפשא, *Wrps̄*, 'Virafša'. Iranian *Virafša- (Tavernier 2007: 349: the name means 'abundance'). The letter introduces us to a third Persian with an estate in Egypt. D6.7 (c) inside:1 is restored to make him a *bar bayta*, like Aršāma and Vāravahyā, which seems a reasonable guess. Note that Vāravahyā does not use the title when writing to Nakhtḥor (A6.14), so its absence in the present letter is probably not a counter-indication. (It is true that the tone of the two letters is different: Vāravahyā is asking for help with a problem not of Nakhtḥor's making, whereas Virafša is issuing demands and open threats. But I am not sure that this makes much difference. It is begging the question to assume that Virafša should have waved his royal status around because he was angry.) There is a conceivable reference to a 'servant of Virafša' in B8.6, a document from Saqqara understood by Porten–Yardeni as containing a list of court-decisions. But the reading 'Virafša' (*Wrps̄*) is uncertain (Porten–Yardeni acknowledge *Wr.by* as a possible alternative) and it is debatable whether it is made more likely by the fact that someone bearing his *pyyd*'s name is also encountered at Saqqara (see next n.).

line 1(2) מיספאת, *Msp̄t*, 'Miçapāta'. Unlike Aršāma and Vāravahyā, Virafša has a *pyyd* with an Iranian name, though there has been disagreement about what the name is. Grelot (1972: 478) and Hinz (1975: 161, 165) went for *Masapāta- ('protected by the great ones'),³⁸⁰ whereas Tavernier 2007: 246–7 favours *Miçapāta- ('protected by Mithra': equivalent to Mithrapates), a name found at Persepolis as Miššabadda (often) and Mšbd (Aramaic annotation on PF 1791)³⁸¹ and (more immediately interestingly) at Saqqara as *Msp̄t* (Demotic: S.H5-DP 434 *verso* col.2:7,11 (see Appendix 3.1: pp. 288–90) and *Mššpt* (Aramaic: ATNS 13:2).

Both Saqqara documents are fragmentary. In the first *Miçapāta- has colleagues, is mentioned next to 'Harmeten and his colleagues' and to the scribes of the nome,³⁸² and (in a separate passage) next to some judges. In the other *Mššpt* is not far from a reference to chiefs of the *dātabara* (law officers of some

³⁸⁰ Partly on the basis of Greek *Μασαβάτης* (Plut. *Artox.* 17), a name whose status as purely Iranian has, however, been questioned (Werba 1982: 266, Schmitt 2006: 163–6): the suggestion is that it is an Anatolian-Iranian hybrid corresponding to Bagapates (*Bagapāta-) in Ctes. 688 F16(66). See also Binder 2008: 253–5, for whom 'Masabates' perhaps reached Plutarch from Dinon.

³⁸¹ A writing that *prima facie* yields *Miçabāda- but is better seen as a version of *Mšpt* influenced by Elamite *Miššbad(d)a* (Tavernier).

³⁸² Officials also attested in P.Ryl.9:7.1, 16.2–3, 17.13, P.Wien D10151, D10152, P.Cair.50086 and elsewhere (Vittmann 1998: 2.412). They perhaps also appear under a different title as 'representatives (*rd.w*) of Thebes' (Vittmann 1998: 412, Depauw 2000: 91). They are arguably associated with the registration and taxation of real estate (Pestmann 1994: 73, Depauw 2000: 98–9).

sort). It is plainly tempting to identify these two individuals. Smith and Martin 2009: 39 go further and identify him also with Virafša's *Miçapāta-, on the grounds that he too is a Persian high official and one associated with Aršāma (like the man in S.H5-DP 434, a document involving Aršāma).

But is an estate-*pqyd* a 'Persian high official'? Or, to put the matter less loadedly, is the *Miçapāta- operating (with colleagues) in some sort of official context in 435 likely to turn up as an estate-*pqyd* a quarter-century or more later (on a conventional view of the Bodleian letters' date)—or indeed at any date? One's instinctive reaction is that this would be a confusion of categories; but the fact that we are in any case dealing with an Iranian *pqyd*, not an Egyptian one, and that we cannot actually be entirely sure of the status of the *Miçapāta- of the Saqqara documents should perhaps give one pause. We do not know how being a prince's estate manager might fit into the *cursus honorum* of middle-rank Persians (if indeed that term is appropriate)—though we recall that Nakhthor gets pretty good rations when travelling to Egypt (A6.9).

A further complication is the debate that surrounds the status of the (mostly Iranian-named) *pqydyn* in A6.9, but since there is no evidence for *Miçapāta- being anything but an estate-*pqyd*, that debate is only really relevant for its effect on the number of analogies for Iranian-named estate-*pqydyn*. If we decide that the *pqydyn* of A6.9 are (state) provincial officials, not Aršāma's estate agents, then *Miçapāta- can be viewed as a unique case *qua* estate-*pqyd* and it becomes easier to believe in his identity with the Saqqara man (on the principle that once you have one oddity you might as well have several). But if we do not decide things that way, and therefore allow that many estate-*pqydyn* were Iranian, we might then ask ourselves where men like Aršāma recruit *pqydyn* of any sort except from the pool of potentially competent individuals who serviced the administrative needs of the imperial system and its component areas.³⁸³ Expertise was surely necessary. It was that fact that made it perhaps advantageous in institutionally complex regions such as Babylonia or Egypt to have *pqydyn* of local origin: but the likes of Psamšek and Nakhthor did not enter the role without specific prior experience as well. In the case of Psamšek we can suspect that the prior experience included training by his father and predecessor,³⁸⁴ but that need not have been the sum-total of his credentials and cannot have been the only way to become a candidate. An estate owner might as well look to fellow-Iranians who had a familiarity with the conditions in a given region that came from actual local administrative experience. The more such estate owners were absentee, the more they absolutely depended on the skill of people drawn from the *in situ* administrative *cadre*. To regard that *cadre*

³⁸³ For an Iranian *paqdu* in Babylonia cf. Miθradāta in TuM 2/3 147.

³⁸⁴ In Babylonia Stolper 1985: 94 n. 97 notes that Labaši, *paqdu* of Crown Prince's Estate, might be the son of Nabu-mit-uballit, *šaknu* of the *ḥaṭru* of army-scribes—representing, perhaps, an improvement in status between the generations (cf. Stolper 1985: 54, 60–1), if only because of the presumably greater prestige of the Crown Prince's Estate.

as falling into hermetically sealed public and private sectors would also be a category error.³⁸⁵

line 1(3) **שְׁלַח עִלַּי**, *šlh 'ly*, 'sent (word) to me'. The interlinear correction may seem less than vital, since the text makes complete sense without it. That it was made is perhaps a tribute to the scribe's sense of *šlh 'ly kn 'mr* (cf. A6.6:2, A6.8:1, A6.11:1) as an epistolary cliché that should not be accidentally truncated. But there is also a substantive issue: omitting it might seem to imply that Miçapāta was at Virafša's side, and precluding that false impression was a matter of accuracy. (Of course, *kn 'mr* would have been inadequate in *that* case too, since the word *bznh* should have appeared as well, as in A6.3:2, A6.13:1: cf. also A6.10:3, where 'I have heard here' entails '[someone] said to me here'.) *Šlh* duly re-appears in lines 5, 8 below in connection with Miçapāta's further complaints.

lines 1–5. The Cilician Episode. Whitehead (like Driver) restored a figure 5 (not 10) at the end of line 2 and understood the situation thus (1974: 101–2). There are two incidents. (1) On the authorization of a letter from Aršāma, Psamšek gave five Cilicians to Miçapāta, the *pqyd* of Virafša. This happened in Babylon. (2) Nakhthor failed to give five Cilicians to Miçapāta, presumably in Egypt. The same Aršāma authorization is regarded by Miçapāta and Virafša as applying on this second occasion, and in relation to a different five Cilicians. Nakhthor's failure to co-operate might have been justified on the grounds (a) that Psamšek was no longer *pqyd* or (b) that the letter only applied to transfers in Babylon or that (c) it only applied to the original five Cilicians. The problem with all of this is that, whatever we say about the others, this final justification alone seems so obviously valid that it is hard to see how Virafša and Miçapāta could possibly claim otherwise.

To evade that problem one tries to envisage the situation as one in which the original promise/instruction was for delivery of ten Cilicians, of whom only five had so far been forthcoming. This would be quite easy if the first numeral in line 2 could be ten; but, since what is preserved shows [x+]1, that is impossible. Porten–Yardeni's restoration of the numeral 10 at the end of line 2

³⁸⁵ The fact that the estate managers of Queen Parysatis used the title **vaçabara- /ustarbaru* (Stolper 1985: 63; Stolper 2006a: 465; Jursa 2011a: 168) is a marker of relatively high status and membership of an ethnically diverse category of 'königlichen Beamten oder königsnahen Personen' (Jursa 2011a: 170). For further details about Babylonian holders of this title see Henkelman 2003: 162–165, Jursa 2011a: 168–71, Tolini 2011: 1.508, 512, Tavernier 2014. The same title is now attested for Šalamana, estate manager of Queen Irtašduna (Henkelman 2010: 698–9 n. 112), on his seal (PFS 0535*: information from Wouter Henkelman). The seal depicts a court ceremony. Rather strikingly Rašda, a comparable figure in Queen Irdabama's entourage (Henkelman 2010: 694), used an Elamite heirloom seal (PF 0077*) that depicts an audience scene with enthroned female figure. Disappointingly, the known seals of Datukka (perhaps Šalamanna's deputy: Henkelman 2010: 698) and Kinnadadda (Queen Atossa's equivalent functionary: Stolper 2019), respectively PFS 0105s and PFS 0085ab*, are of a different design: Garrison n.d. figs. 48, 64. The seal of Ušaya, another similar person, associated with Iršama and Irtašduna at Matannan (Garrison & Henkelman ii 56–7, 143), is not apparently identifiable.

(followed by Lindenberger and in this edition) is intended to produce the right effect by different means (being understood as the total number of Cilicians that *should* have been delivered), but it still leaves Miçapāta's reported message ill-formulated, since he inescapably says that five were to be given and that five were given. Lindenberger's translation of 2–3 adds some words that are not in the original—'he [sc. Psamšek] gave me five *additional* Cilicians in Babylon—[ten] men in all. Later, Nakhṭhor was asked for *the other* five Cilician men, but he did not give them to me' (my italics)—but, although this is partly informed by line 5 (with *štr mn*, 'apart from', glossed as 'over and above'), it does not really clarify the situation to any great degree: indeed 'additional' seems the wrong word (or the right word, but in the wrong place). At this point it is more a question of what has already been given (to which something might then be added later): hence our suggestion that 'already' is to be understood in the statement about what was given (that word itself being a restoration) in Babylon. But the truth is that we can only satisfactorily get the desired result by postulating that, although the scribe wrote the numeral 5 in the middle of line 2, he *should* have written 10.

Even with that amendment the difficulties are not quite at an end, since Virafša's instruction to Nakhṭhor in lines 3–4 also fails to express the situation with perfect clarity. Here, too, it should say that Aršāma's letter was about giving Virafša ten Cilicians and then go on to demand the delivery of five in addition to the five already delivered in Babylon. Instead it only speaks of Aršāma promising five Cilicians. Perhaps the scribe simply made the same mechanical mistake as in line 2 again. Or perhaps we can imagine that Virafša actually expressed himself badly: primarily concerned about the five Cilicians he had *not* got despite Aršāma's instructions, he carelessly described the instructions as though they related just to those five persons before (so to say) correcting himself by distinguishing between the missing five and the five handed over in Babylon. But, if there can be a mistake in Virafša's instruction to Nakhṭhor in lines 4–5, perhaps there can be a mistake in his summary of the situation in lines 1–3 (i.e. in his report of the content of a message to him from Miçapāta). The point may not be that the scribe should have written ten in the middle of line 2, but that Virafša should have said ten (but actually said five, which the scribe then dutifully wrote down)—a carelessness perhaps prompted by the (now irrecoverable) terms in which Miçapāta's message was actually framed.

That the mistake is repeated (line 2 and line 4) may seem worrying: solving a problem by postulating two mistakes is inelegant. But the alternative (i.e. the scenario as Whitehead envisaged it) is sufficiently awkward to warrant even a quite messy solution, and the epistolary trope of parallel report and instruction does mean that the repetition of a mistake is not quite as messy a situation as might first appear. That said, it remains true that this part of the letter is not well put together.

line 1(4) מן ארשם... בבבל, *Bbl... mn 'ršm*, ‘in Babylon... from Aršāma.’ This must mean Aršāma was in Babylon at the time, a place where we also find him in A6.13 (cf. A6.14). Whether he is there at the time Virafša writes to Nakhtḥor is another matter, and one on which the obscurity of the affair of the Cilician slaves (see previous n.) does not make it any easier to get a purchase. But the association of the start of that affair with a letter to Psamšek does appear to put it some time in the past—assuming that we regard him as having now been succeeded by Nakhtḥor, just as Psamšek had succeeded his father Ankhoḥapi.

lines 1, 2 בבבל, *Bbl*, ‘in Babylon.’ cf. A6.12:1(5) n., and contrast line 5 below (*bBb'l*). We discern here a visit of Aršāma’s *pyd* to Babylon: cf. line 7 below and A6.13:4 for anticipated trips there by Nakhtḥor, and A6.5:3(2) n. for other journeys to and from Aršāma.

line 2(1) פס[מש]ך בר עחחפי, *Ps[mš]k br 'ḥḥpy*, ‘Psamšek son of Ankhoḥapi.’ Nakhtḥor’s predecessor (A6.3:1 etc.). The first of Virafša’s complaints touches on a matter left over from the previous *pyd*’s period of office. On the use of the patronym see A6.6:2 n. Once again, as in A6.10, there is an element of contrast between the qualities of Psamšek and Nakhtḥor—though, if the circumstances are interpreted as above, Psamšek had not in fact produced all the Cilicians he was supposed to.

line 2(2) חלקין, *Ḥlkyn*, ‘Cilicians.’ See A6.7:2(2) n. Notice that Cilicians are available to Aršāma in Babylon: the role of Cilicians in the Bodleian letters need not be a specifically *Egyptian* fact. The fact that the Cilicians here are given no other label apart from *gbrn* (people) is probably no guarantee that they are not as much slaves (*bdn*) as those in A6.7 (who are also *gbrn*).

line 3(1) אחר, *'ḥr*, ‘after.’ See A6.7:6, 7 n.

line 3(2) שאל, *š'l*, ‘he asked.’ What one expects is *š't* = ‘I asked’, which Driver restored (as an emendation). Kottsieper suggests that the writer has momentarily forgotten that he is reporting Miçapāta’s message *verbatim* and lapsed into reporting its content in indirect speech. The existence of a problem here is unfortunate given the other uncertainties about the story of the Cilician slaves (see above, lines 1–5 n.). Driver’s suggestion that, if *š'l* is *not* emended, its subject could be Psamšek would only help if the letter from Aršāma gave him instructions to tell Nakhtḥor to give slaves to Virafša. But that is not what Miçapāta is quoted as saying that it said, so we are still left with a problem of poor formulation.

line 3(3) ה, *h'*, ‘behold.’ See A6.9:2(1) n.

line 4 פסמשך על אנרת... חזי, *hzy 'grt... 'l Psmšk*, ‘look at the letter... to Psamšek.’ Taken literally this assumes that Nakhtḥor has access to a copy of the letter at which he can look (Whitehead 1974: 27, who infers that, if the Bodleian

letters represent an archive *proprie dictum*, it is the *pqyd's* archive). Or perhaps *hzy* means just 'pay attention to', and Virafša is assuming that his assertion is good enough evidence that a letter had existed.

line 5 בַּבְּבֹאֵל, *bBb'l*, 'in Babylon.' In contrast to elsewhere (cf. A6.12:1(5) n.) Babylon is here preceded by a preposition. It is also spelled with a medial aleph, by contrast with lines 1–2 (*Bbl*), but as in A6.13:5, A6.14:3. The abbreviated spelling is thus confined to (a) text reported in the voice of Miçapāta and (b) cases where the word is at the start of a clause; whether either of these facts is more than purely coincidental is debatable.

lines 5–6(1) לִקַּח...נַחְתְּחֹר חַמְרָא, *ḥmr'...Nhtḥwr lqh*, 'the wine... Nakhtḥor has taken.' OSV is a rare word-order in (Egyptian) Aramaic:³⁸⁶ see Muraoka and Porten 2003: 307, citing otherwise only A3.10:1, A4.7:1 (in greetings formulae),³⁸⁷ A4.7:30 (an emphatic statement of Aršāma's complete ignorance about the destruction of the Elephantine temple), C1.1 *recto* 21, 62, 66 (Aḥiqar), to which one may add D17.1, the Syene garrison-commander's dedication ('this *brzmdn'* PN the *rb hyl* of Syene made).³⁸⁸ These other cases are mostly ones in which the object plainly deserves some stress, and the same applies in A6.15 inasmuch as object-fronting highlights a new subject in the litany of complaint.³⁸⁹ The same thing actually occurs at lines 8–9 (*grd'...zy mr'ty ktš w nksn lqh*, 'the *garda* of my lady he assaulted and goods he took'), though in the absence of an expressed subject this simply exemplifies an OV word-order.³⁹⁰

lines 5–6(2) זִי בַפְּרִמִּים...חַמְרָא, *ḥmr'...zy bPprm*, 'the wine which is in Papremis (?). Wine is regularly designated by the GN of its place of origin, and you do not have to visit Bordeaux to steal an English aristocrat's claret. So is there any guarantee that Virafša is talking about (a) wine appropriated at some GN rather than (b) wine-of-GN appropriated somewhere else? If the third to seventh letters of line 6 are read as *b* + GN, we have 'the wine that is in GN' and (a) is the preferable option. Otherwise we have 'wine of GN' and option (b) becomes possible.

³⁸⁶ Missed by Folmer 1995: 524, who says that OSV is absent in the Aršāma correspondence (cf. 535)—a term that, for linguistic purposes, can properly apply to all the Bodleian letters, not just those where Aršāma is addressor (as Folmer recognizes when using A6.15 as an example of 'official correspondence' at 551, 559, and elsewhere).

³⁸⁷ Probably also to be restored in A3.1:1–2, A3.5:1, A3.6:1, A3.9:1, A4.1:1, A4.2:1, A4.3:2, A4.8:1–2, A6.1:1–2, D7.35:1–2, CG 277:2–3.

³⁸⁸ At Memphis (KAI 268), Keseçek Köyü (KAI 258, Gibson 1975: no.33, Lemaire at <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/aramaic/cilicie05.pdf>) and Limyra (KAI 262, Lemaire at <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/aramaic/lycie05.pdf>) we have OVS.

³⁸⁹ Adjusting for lexically determined exceptions, SOV is arguably the dominant word-order in Aršāma's correspondence (Folmer 1995: 533, 543, 551, 575–6), so the present sentence can properly be seen as a simple example of object-fronting for stress.

³⁹⁰ There are no examples of OSV in the Bactrian letters, but also very few sentences where the question might arise. OV occurs in A1:9, 11, A2:5, A4:5, A5:1, A6:3–4.

line 6(1) **בפּרמ**, *bPprm*, ‘in Papremis(?)’. Driver seems to have regarded the reading *pprm* as pretty uncontroversial. But Whitehead underlines it, indicating some doubt (though the precise force of underlining seems not to be explained either at p. 28 or in the abbreviations list to which reference is made on p. 28); and Porten–Yardeni suggest that we might also have *ydkm*—or presumably any combination of the relevant letters, provided only that the final one is *m*. (The problem is that there is a small gap in the leather in the lower part of the relevant letters. The *b* and *m* are largely unaffected and reasonably certain.) Among the potential alternative readings *bydkm* could theoretically be treated as an Aramaic phrase and translated as ‘in your possession’—though since the plural ‘your’ (*km*) would be unexpected (the remark is being made by Miçapāta to the singular Virafša) this interpretation would present problems. Papremis has probably occurred to editors as a possibility (and been universally accepted as a reading) particularly readily because of its historical familiarity.

Papremis was a city of the western Delta (Hdt. 2.59, 63, 71, 165),³⁹¹ noted for the ritual battle at its festival of the god ‘Ares’ (identity uncertain: Hdt. 2.63, with Lloyd 1975–88: 2.285) and as the site of Inaros’ defeat of Achaemenes at the start of the mid-fifth-century Egyptian rebellion.³⁹² There is a problem about precise location. Suggestions include:

- Kherbeta = Andrupolis: Bresciani 1972: 299–303. She claims Papremis = **Pa-p3-rmṯ*, but Ray objects that latter would be Papromis in Greek (cf. Hdt. 2.143 on *piromis* = *p3-rmṯ*).
- Sekhem = Letopolis: Altenmüller 1964: 271–9. This is based on explaining Papremis as *Pa-p3-rm(wy)*, where *rmwy* is the name of a canal associated with the Sachebu area in P.Westcar 9.16–18 (Erman 1890), but seems to be ruled out by P.Oxy.1380:22 (see below).
- Nome 7, Lower Egypt: Lloyd 1975–1988: 2.271, 3.188. Lloyd eschews specification of a precise site but has the Papremite nome correspond in whole or part to the seventh of Lower Egypt in the north-west Delta. This is based on P.Oxy.1380:22, which mentions *Pephremis* [*sic*] between the Gynaecopolite nome (opposite Naucratis) and Buto³⁹³ and immediately invalidates Altenmüller’s view, since Letopolis is near the apex of the Delta.

³⁹¹ I discount Nibbi’s suggestion (1985: 79, 90) that Papremis was between Heliopolis and Bubastis, which is based on a methodologically flawed assumption that Ctesias’ Byblos can be equated with Papremis, and Salmon’s revival (1965: 144–6) of an old claim of Sourdille (1910: 88–95) that Papremis was identical with Pelusium at the eastern extremity of the Delta, which takes resistance to the multiplication of entities to an absurd degree.

³⁹² For those inclined to a date for the Bodleian letters not long after the Inaros revolt of the 450s (see Tuplin iii 18–19, 67), the reference to Papremis—albeit for wine rather than fighting—has special resonance.

³⁹³ The proximity of Gynaecopolis to Naucratis comes from Strab. 17.1.22, and it may be at Kom Firin, near Delingat, ten miles south-west of Naucratis: Lloyd 1975–88: 1.25 n. 99.

The available canonical nomes are 3, 6, and 7; in favour of 7 is that the hippopotamus cult of Papremis (Hdt. 2.71) would be in place there (Borchardt 1904: 86). It is admitted that no city of this nome has a name remotely resembling Papremis. (He does not refer to the putative reference to the place in A6.15.)

- Sachebu: Ray 1981: 58. North of Letopolis, south of Terenuthis = Kom Abu Billo. Sachebu has no known Greek name unlike other suggestions—and no known second Egyptian name either (Late Period towns regularly had a hieroglyphic and a vernacular name)—and its association with Re‘-Horus might account for Herodotus’ idea of Ares having a cult in Papremis. Ray was aware that P.Oxy.1380 might be a problem for Altenmüller’s view—hence his selection of another place that is in broadly the same region and so consonant with Altenmüller’s *Pa-p3-rm(wy)*. He does not comment on Lloyd’s suggestion, which is incompatible with his own conclusion.
- Kom-Firin: Yoyotte ap. Perdu 2006: 187–8. The name *Pr-rm3* (**P-remi*) is now attested in Berlin ÄM 17700 (Perdu 2006: 172–5 [doc.8]), and Yoyotte maintains that Firin derives from Papremis.

One thing in favour of reading *Pprm* (Papremis) is that vineyards were indeed a feature of the western Delta (Meyer 1986: 1169, 1173, Yoyotte ap. Perdu 2006: 187).³⁹⁴

line 6(2) עבֹרָא, ‘*bw̄r*’, ‘grain’. The generic word for cereal crops (cf. A2.2, A3.8, A3.10, B2.8, B2.9, B3.13, B4.3, B4.4, C3.14, C3.28, D6.8 (c), D7.2, D7.56), applicable to barley, emmer, or wheat. It is most likely to be barley or emmer (cf. A6.9:3(2) n.) but there is no way of knowing which: even if the grain here comes from Persian-owned estates, that offers no guarantee in favour of one type or another (what was grown might be dictated by historical practice and in any case, on Persepolitan evidence, Persians valued barley and emmer equally).

line 6(3) אַרְקִתָּא, ‘*ʾrqt*’, ‘of the lands’. ‘*rq* and ‘*r*’ are used of specific lots of land (B2.2–2.4, B3.4:5, D2.10) but also more generically of land (‘sow the land with salt’: D23.1 Va:13), the ground (‘demolish to the ground’ (A4.7:9//A4.8:8), ‘from the ground upwards’ (B2.1:5)) or the earth (‘Heaven and Earth’ (A1.1),

³⁹⁴ Athen. 33DE reports that the wine was particularly good from Anthylla, the place given to Persian queens for their *zōnē*. Other appreciations of Delta wines: Strab.17.1.4, Plin.*HN* 14.75. In pre-Graeco-Roman times wine (always red: Meyer 1986: 1175) also came from Memphis and the oases, but not from other parts of the country. Herodotus (2.77) affirmed that Egypt did not produce wine but, although there was certainly a very large import trade (cf. the Customs Document of 475), this is not true. The disbursements in C3.12 include Egyptian as well as imported wine. See in general Murray, Bouton, and Heron 2012. Defernez 2012: 391–405 discusses Late Period viticulture, including the perhaps misleadingly modest signs of Egyptian wine-container production (amidst the mass of imported Levantine or Greek containers).

‘what he has on the face of the earth’ (B2.6:19), ‘tread the earth as a free man’ (C1.1 *recto* 92)).³⁹⁵ In the present case the plural number properly entails that the sense is ‘the plots of land’, but whether the reference is intentionally specific (i.e. ‘the plots of land that constitute my estate’) or generic (‘the plots in which grain is habitually grown’) is hard to say. Lindenberger’s translation (‘field grain’) presumably opts for the latter. (I am not sure I understand his proposed alternative translation (2003: 105) ‘seed grain.’) It is also hard to say how far the plural number militates against the suggestion of Fales 1995: 127–8 that *’bwr ’rqt* is a calque of Assyrian *ēbur māti*.

line 6(4) עבר לנפשה, *’bd lnpšh*, ‘made (it over) to himself’. The accusation is of personal appropriation, not e.g. of making it over to Aršāma’s estate (cf. A6.10:3, 7). (Fittingly, Virafša’s contrasting instruction is that the grain and wine, when returned, will be made over to *his* estate: line 7.) A similar turn of phrase (always in conjunction with *lqh*) occurs in A4.5:18 (probably), A4.7:13//A4.8:11–12 and B7.2:6, and Benveniste 1954: 305 (followed by Rundgren 1957: 400, Driver 1965: 83, Whitehead 1978: 134, Tavernier iii 85) detected a calque of OP (*h*)*uvāpaišiyam akunauš*.³⁹⁶ Whether the existence of a somewhat similar phrase in a late sixth-century Demotic text (*i.ir-f n-f n hp* = ‘has made over to himself by law’: Hughes 1958: 5 (line 7)) rules this out is moot. Yaron’s view, to the contrary, was that the Demotic phrase also reflected Persian usage (Yaron 1961: 128).³⁹⁷

line 6(5) כעת, *k’ṭ*, ‘now’. Although the report + response structure continues, the other two response sections (6–8, 9–12) start just with ‘now’ and omit the phrase ‘Virafša says thus’ which appeared in line 3.

line 7(1) כלא, *kl’*, ‘all of it’. Muraoka and Porten 2003: 93 understand *kl’* here adverbially (‘give [it] entirely to M.’). Driver 1965: 69 (on A6.11:2) thought this also true in the previous line, where the word-order surely makes such a view difficult—and in both lines he actually translated it as ‘all (of it)’, though in the first edition he had put ‘altogether’. (In other words he adjusted the rendering of A6.15:6–7 without consequentially amending the note on A6.11:2.) But there seems no compelling reason to take either line adverbially (Fitzmyer 1979: 213, Folmer 1995: 584–5). See also A6.11:2(8) n.

lines 7–8 למה... זיני תשלם, *lmh... zyny tšlm*, ‘lest... you shall pay damages’. Whereas Aršāma says to Armapiya and Nakhthor ‘do X; if you do not do so, such-and-such will happen’ (A6.8:3–4, A6.10:7–10), Virafša prefers ‘X should

³⁹⁵ Possible occurrences in CG 118, 121*bis* are of unclear reference.

³⁹⁶ cf. DB §12, *uvāpaišiyam akutā* (‘made his own’), of Gaumata seizing the kingdom—so also (as in Aramaic) with a negative overtone.

³⁹⁷ An Assyrian turn of phrase in which someone acquires something ‘under the shadow [sc. of the king]’ and ‘makes it into his own estate’ (Postgate 1969: nos. 9–12) is a rather more remote parallel.

be done lest (*lmh*) such-and-such happen' (A6.15:7–8) or 'X should be done, so that such-and-such will not happen' (*kn kzy...l'*) (A6.15:9–12).³⁹⁸ Rhetorically speaking, this is perhaps (marginally) less abrupt. Axvamazdā adopts Aršāma's approach in ADAB A6:8–11. In A1:9–12, on the other hand, he warns Bagavanta that there *will* be an interrogation about things that have *already* happened, but says nothing about the consequences of Bagavanta's failure to carry out new instructions; and in A5:2–3 he underlines instructions about wall-building by saying 'do not act in a contrary manner' without adding threats about the consequences of disobedience.

line 7(2) לְמַהּ, *lmh*, 'lest'. This sense (rather than 'why') appears otherwise in an ostracon letter (D7.16:3 = CG 152) and a couple of literary texts (C1.1 *recto* 126, 200², D23.1 II:12³), though in the ostracon it could also be translated 'because'. Dušek renders the isolated word *lmh* in WDSP 13 *recto*: 7 as 'de peur que...ne', on the grounds of it being more suitable in a presumed contractual document.

line 7(3) תִּתְּךָ בִּזְנִי, *t'th bznh*, 'when you come to this (place)'. It is impossible to know whether a specific trip is already anticipated or Virafša is simply making the assumption that sooner or later Aršāma's *pqyd* will have to visit him in Babylon.

line 8(1) זִינִי, *zyny*, 'damages'. Iranian **zyāni-*, 'loss, damage' (Tavernier 2007: 445). The use of a loanword is perhaps a sign that we are dealing with a quasi-legal technical term.

line 8(2) תִּשְׁתָּאֵל, *tšt'l*, 'you will be questioned'. See A6.8:3(6) n. Virafša's confidence on this point presumes Aršāma's willingness, for which D6.7 (g):1 can reasonably be adduced as independent evidence.

line 8(3) זֵי מְרִאתִי...גְּרָדָא, *grd'...zy mr'ty*, 'the personnel of my lady'. The association of workers (see A6.10:1(3) n.) with Virafša's wife (the natural identification of 'my lady') would be no surprise: there is abundant evidence from Persepolis and Babylonia that women of the elite class had estates and, therefore, the human and other appurtenances that went with them.³⁹⁹ In the present case there is the slight problem that in the next line Virafša describes the *grd'* in question as his (*grd' zyly*). Did the *pqyd* misrepresent the situation because Virafša's workers happened to have been doing something that specifically related to his wife? Or do we have here a piece of Achaemenid elite male chauvinism?

³⁹⁸ cf. Ezra 4.22, 7.23.

³⁹⁹ For some specific associations of elite women and *kurtas* see PF 1236, PF 2049, NN 0279 (Irtasūduna), PF 0849, PF 1002, PF 1005, PF 1028, PF 1029, PF 1041–3, PF 1098, PF 1109, PF 1198, and many more texts in the NN series (Irdabama). For the wider context of workers associated with Achaemenid royal ladies cf. Brosius 1996.

line 9(1) נכסן, *nksn*, ‘goods.’ cf. A6.10:1(5) n.

line 9(2) עבירה לא איתי לך, *bydh l’ ’yty lk*, ‘it is no business of yours.’ See A6.7:9(3) n. It may seem odd that Virafša does not respond more directly to the specific accusation that Nakhthor ‘assaulted’ (*ktiš*) the *grd*.⁴⁰⁰ Perhaps he is unconcerned for their personal hurt (as they are mere workers); and/or perhaps he assumes that, had any of them been sufficiently harmed to be rendered unfit for work, Miçapāta would have said so.

line 11(1) בן כזי... לא ישלה, *kn kzy...l’ yšlt*, ‘so that Miçapāta... shall not again send a complaint.’ See above, lines 7–8 n.

line 11(2) קבילה... ישלה, *qbylh...yšlh*, ‘send a complaint’: cf. A6.8:3(4) n.

lines 14–17. *External Summary.* External summaries are a feature of letters from and (in A6.1) to Aršāma and, in the slightly different form encountered in ADAB, of letters from Axvamazdā. On our evidence, then, they are characteristic of satrapal letters (official or otherwise, inasmuch as this is a valid distinction), and they are certainly generally absent in other Aramaic letters. The present example is, therefore, remarkable. If the summaries were added at point of despatch, one might infer that, after all, Virafša was someone who had staff producing letters for him in much the same way as Aršāma did and was actually of comparable standing. (In view of content and tone this would be unsurprising.) Against this would be the absence of a subscript, another feature of letters of Aršāma (ones addressed to the likes of Nakhthor anyway) that reflects the way in which letters were produced: it is as though the person producing the letter knew it was not the sort that ought to include a subscript (since it is hard to articulate the rules that governed that decision, we cannot rule this out), but someone else in the office got confused and added a summary. If the summaries were added at the point of receipt, Virafša’s office is irrelevant, and the contrast between this letter and A6.14 and A6.16 (which lack summaries) may say something about Nakhthor’s different reactions to the letters in question: Virafša’s letter was marked because it was more likely that it would need to be recovered from wherever it was filed. Both scenarios seem a little forced. It may be that our data-set of Aramaic letters from Persian addressors (in the general environment represented by letters found in Egypt) is insufficiently large and varied for us to be able to see that, outside the ambit of satrapal addressors, the appearance of external summaries was somewhat random.

⁴⁰⁰ The term connotes fairly robust violence in B7.2:5, 9, B8.4:5, B8.6:10. (D2.32 (a):2, (b):2 are too fragmentary to tell.)

TADAE A6.16 (DRIVER 13, GRELOT 74,
LINDENBERGER 48)

Artaxaya on the Delivery of Goods

Summary

Artaxaya complains that Nakhtḥor has sent unwanted goods.

Text

The document consists of three separate fragments. The Porten–Yardeni edition differs from Driver’s in postulating a larger gap between the main fragment and that to its left, resulting in additional restored letters within the latter part of lines 1–3—three in line 1 ([’n]t), four in line 2 ([hyty]), and four in line 3 ([hdyt]). They are clearly right about this: Driver behaved as though the two fragments virtually joined, which they plainly do not. Considerations of symmetry also argue for more space for writing both before and after the end of lines 2–5 than Driver assumed. (Enough remains of the left-hand fragment to show that the writing in line 1 did not extend as far to the left as in subsequent lines; and the start of line 1 is reliably restorable.) This has significant impact at the join of lines 3 and 4 (see lines 3–4 n.) and leaves an unrestorable gap in lines 4–5, where Driver produced a continuous text. Lindenberger follows Porten–Yardeni, with the usual slight variations about square brackets. (He also does not print Porten–Yardeni’s restorations in lines 2, 3, and 4, though they are reflected in his translation.)

Structure of Letter

The letter is certainly not constructed on the binary report-and-response model so prevalent elsewhere in the Bodleian letters (model 1 in A6.3:2(2) n.), and it does not really fit model 2 either, since—after the opening greeting—it *begins* with an instruction (or exhortation). Perhaps this corresponds to the fact that (although there are turns of phrase that recur in more formal letters: see below, lines 1–2 n.) we may here be dealing with a particularly private piece of correspondence. (Admittedly any abiding uncertainty as to whether the letter is criticizing or praising Nakhtḥor makes assessment of its character a delicate matter.) There were perhaps other such things in the cache: D6.13, in which someone—might it be a *pqyd*?—apparently writes to his sister Eswere (though the name of Aršāma was mentioned too), is designated by Porten–Yardeni as a ‘fragmentary private letter’.

line 1(1) [ʾ]𐤍[𐤍]𐤍, ṛ[t]h[y], ‘Artaxaya’. See A6.10:10(2) n. If this is the same as the subscript-official in A6.10, we note that he addresses Nakhtḥor in the

present letter quite respectfully—which is specially striking if he is actually complaining about Nakhtḥor’s actions, as Porten supposes. This may have some implications for the status of the *pqyd*. See A6.4:2(1) n.

line 1(2) לך...שלם...*šlm...lk*. On greetings formulae cf. A6.3:1(5) n. See also line 2(1) n. and line 5 n.

lines 1–2 [י] תחדר [י] כן עבד כזי...אתנצח, *’tnšh[...]kn ‘bd kzy...tḥd[y]*, ‘be diligent [...] in order that...you should please...’ Driver read/restored *b[šbwty w]kn* at the start of line 2 (‘in [my affair and]’), which makes good enough sense but presupposes a *b* at the beginning of the line that is frankly not visible. On the analogy of A6.14:3–4 (‘be diligent and make an order to my official so that the revenue of those domains he should bring to me to Babylon. Act thus in order that you might please me’) we should expect an imperative instruction in the lacuna (between ‘be diligent’ and ‘act thus...’). But even at its maximum length the lacuna hardly leaves room for a complex instruction; and, since Yardeni’s drawing suggests that the end of line 1 (after ‘be diligent’) contained nothing, there may be at most a couple of words missing. (It could, so far as space is concerned, be something as anodyne as *wbkl ‘dn*, ‘and at all times.’) The instruction to be diligent recurs not only in A6.14 (where Lindenberger turns ‘be diligent and make an order’ into ‘give strict instructions’) but also in A6.10:5 (cf. 4) and a characteristically damaged and opaque ostracon (CG J10:6). The verb (*nšh*) is also used of Darius himself (C2.1 III:4) and his helpers (C2.1 XI:75) in the Aramaic version of the Bīsotūn text, and in an unclear context in ATNS 82. See below, lines 3–4 n. Benveniste 1954: 305 thought *nšh* a calque of OP *ham-taxš*, a word used for co-operation and/or vigorous action in DNb and DB. Driver 1965: 65 and Whitehead 1978: 134 n. 105 deny this, in Whitehead’s case because *ham-taxš* is used absolutely, while *nšh* is used in conjunction with another verb defining what sort of diligent action is involved (Driver supplies no explanation), and it does not figure in more recent discussions of Iranisms in Aramaic. Of its two occurrences in the Bīsotūn text, *nšh* does not correspond to *ham-taxš* in the OP version at C2.1 XI:75 and is almost wholly restored in C2.1 III:4, where it would so correspond.

line 2(1) [י] לאלהיא ולארשם תחדר [י], *l’lhy’ wl’ršm tḥd[y]*, ‘please the gods and Aršāma’. Whitehead 1974: 110 contrasts Vāravahyā’s instruction to Nakhtḥor just to ‘gladden me’ (A6.14:3–4) and infers that Artaxaya is of lower status. The conclusion is likely (Vāravahyā is a prince, Artaxaya is presumed to be a bureaucratic official), and the turn of phrase is doubtless consistent with this. Given the apparent absence of any substantive instruction in addition to the exhortation to be diligent (see previous note), one might feel that *wk’t...tḥd[y]* almost functions as an unusual, even eccentric, extension to the initial greeting *šlm...lk*. For *wk’t* in between two greetings formulae cf. A6.7:1–2 (n.) and for reference to the desired attitude of the gods cf. A6.6:1.

line 2(2) אֱלֹהֵי, *l'ly*, 'to the gods'. Driver, after Eilers 1936: 161–9, claimed 'the gods' here and in the phrase *'lhy' šlm yšmw lk* (may the gods grant you peace) in line 5 (below) and in A6.6:1 might really mean '(kingly) majesty', on the grounds that *'lhy'* is a Pahlavi ideogram for *bagan* = majesty.⁴⁰¹ Grelot accepted Driver's view in the present line, though he treated line 5 as referring to the gods and had no occasion to comment on A6.6. Whitehead 1974: 249–50 doubted the claim about the Pahlavi ideogram (on the grounds that Nyberg 1964/74 did not mention it), and asserted that 'gods' means what it says. It surely does in the peace-wishes in A6.6:1 and A6.16:5 (the interconnection with other greetings formulae makes this the natural assumption, even if A6.16:5 comes at the end not the start of a letter), and it is hard to feel convinced it does not do so in the present place as well.

It is certainly true that in Sasanian times the king could be described as *bay* (MP), *baγ* (Parth.) or *theos*, and as 'born from divine family' (*kē čihr az yazdān* (MP), *kē čihr až yazdān* (Parth.), *ek genous theōn*)—though he was never called *yazad* (MP) or *yazd* (Parth.) (cf. Rollinger 2011: 21). Eilers claimed that the phenomenon went back at least to Hellenistic Persis, this being the alleged explanation of the words *zy 'lhy'* on certain coins. More precisely, coins from Baydad to Vadafrad I have *prtrk zy 'lhy'*. Humbach claimed that this meant '*fratarak* of the god', with 'god' referring to the king. Wiesehöfer 1994: 136 was prepared to contemplate this, but on the basis that Antiochus III had introduced (retrospective) ruler cult, so that 'gods' referred to him and his Seleucid predecessors. Since the crucial question is whether whatever post-Achaemenid evidence there may be casts any light on Achaemenid conditions, the availability of this explanation of the Hellenistic material renders it valueless. The case has to be made on Achaemenid evidence.

Eilers's Achaemenid evidence consisted in the phrases *bagani' Dariamuš šarru ina muḥḥika* (CT 22.74) and *bagani Darimuš šarru ina muḥḥikunu* (CT 22.244), wherein *bagani*(') might be derived from OP *baga-* = 'god'. The earlier view was that the phrase (only attested in these passages)⁴⁰² meant 'the command of King Darius is over you', carrying an implicit threat, should the addressee not behave in the appropriate fashion. Eilers objected that there are other OP words for 'command' and that the absence of *ša* between *bagani* and the king's name rules out the translation '{something} of Darius'. Hence the suggestion, inspired by Sasanian evidence for *bag* as a royal designation, that it

⁴⁰¹ He also compared the formula 'gods/king and Aršāma' with the *dšn* given by 'the king and by me [Aršāma]' in A6.4: but this passage in itself does nothing to countenance the interpretation of 'gods and Aršāma'.

⁴⁰² But used by two different authors—Guzanu (*šangu* of Sippar and then *šākin tēmi* of Babylon: presumably the latter in the present letter) and ³Ubar (not identified)—so it is not simply an idiosyncratic quirk. On the other hand there is conceivably a substantive link between the letters if the Bagavira mentioned in CT 22.244 and known as a *rab birtu* in BM 54205 were identified with the *rab dūri* in CT 22.74. But that is a very long shot.

means ‘Majestät Darius, der König, ist über dich/Euch’ (1936: 182, 187).⁴⁰³ This interpretation was accepted by Ebeling (1949: 45, 130) and is reflected in translations of CT 22.74 by Abrahams 2004: 369 (‘royal dignity’) and Joannès 1982: 24 and 1990: 187 n. 60 (‘majesté’). The view of CAD (B 28 s.v. *bagani*), on the other hand is that it means ‘curse?’ (the word being described curtly as an Aramaic loanword), and that translation is found in Oppenheim 1967: 143 (cited in Briant 2002: 342).⁴⁰⁴

Functionally speaking, the phrase (conceived as a threat of royal punishment) recalls a much more common one (found in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid texts referring to a variety of contexts) which alludes to people ‘bearing punishment of the king’ (*hiṭu ša šarri šadādu* or *zebālu*)—and not only the king but also variously the gods, the gods and the king, Gobryas (Cyrus’ satrap of Babylonia), the city (once: uncertain), and even Nabu-šarru-ušur, the *ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti* of Eanna (acting in a private context). These are thoroughly discussed in Kleber 2008: 68–71, who lists sixty-two relevant texts (and there are more) but does not broach the question of *bagani*’ *Dariamuš*. CT 22.244 involves *dullu ša šarri* (royal work) and 22.74 is about a dispute about military forces; both deal with issues in which the threat of royal punishment is entirely appropriate.

Another parallel to consider is the ‘word’ (*amat*) of the king—a concept of wide currency in Assyrian and Babylonian texts, including contexts where to ‘speak the word of the king’ is to invite the king to settle a dispute by issuing a definitive order.⁴⁰⁵ A particularly interesting text is TuM 2/3 261.9 (from year 22 of an unidentified king), where we find *amat šarri ina muḥḥika* (‘the word of the king is upon you’)—the same formula as in CT 22.74, 244, with *amat* instead of *bagani*. In TuM 2/3 261 the context is relatively mundane (a loan of money and the pawning of a slave), and the royal word may represent a judicial determination consequent upon appeal. So the situation is not particularly like that of the *bagani*’ *Dariamuš* texts, but it illustrates a locution that may have some bearing on those texts, and it is precisely on this basis that Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 152 give the literal meaning of the phrase as ‘der Ruf von

⁴⁰³ Eilers 1936: 184 debates whether this signifies ‘Majestät Dareios, der König, ist hinter Euch her, gibt auf Euch acht’ or ‘Majestät Dareios komme über Euch’/‘Vor Majestät Dareios nehme ich Euch beim Wort’, but in any event it is threatening. Subsequently Eilers (1969: 11) went so far as to claim that *baga vazraka* (‘great god’) on the handle of a dagger actually referred to the Great King.

⁴⁰⁴ Oddly Abrahams refers her readers to CAD, without noting that its view on the word differs from the one she incorporates in her translation. The putative Aramaic link reflects the use of *bgn* at Hatra (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 143–4). For another curse locution attested in an Achaemenid context see DB §57: ‘I will take Auramazdā’s anger (*ragam*) upon myself’. (The Elamite and Babylonian versions express themselves differently at this point.)

⁴⁰⁵ Note also ‘word of the king’ in B1.1 (‘except for the word of the king’ meaning ‘unless a royal *diktat* prevents it’).

Darius ist gegen euch ergangen, although in their translations of the two letters in question they render it as ‘du bist/Ihr seid König Darius verantwortlich.’⁴⁰⁶

The rarity of *bagani* ‘*Dariamuš*’ does suggest that, if not a single author’s idiolect (see n. 402), it was for some reason only very passingly fashionable. It certainly does not appear that the Assyriological community has yet decisively resolved the problem of the word’s meaning or slight incidence in surviving texts. CAD postulates an Aramaic origin but does not seek to identify it more closely. Tavernier 2007 perhaps agrees, since he does not acknowledge *bagani* as an Iranian loanword, but, as he does not even let it into his *Incerta*, he offers no comment on the matter.

Whatever the upshot, however, these two early Achaemenid Babylonian texts would be scant reason to take Artaxaya’s words to Nakhtḥor at anything but face value. For a different formula conjoining gods and an authority figure that may have at least as good a chance of being (albeit distantly) relevant cf. ‘may your *širi* be made by the gods and the king’, i.e. ‘may your wishes be fulfilled by the gods and the king’ (PF 1832, PF 1857–60, PF 2079, NN 0394, NN 0702, NN 2544)—a piece of *politesse* used only in letters (on rectangular tablets) sent among officials or from officials to superiors, not on letter-orders to inferiors (Henkelman 2010: 670; A6.3:1(5) n.). Rather than seeking to turn the gods into the king, we should perhaps reflect that the conjunction of gods and Aršāma might seem to cast the latter in quite an elevated role.

line 3(1) [𐤁]𐤏𐤁𐤏, *thd[w]*. Driver postulates a non-Semitic name (but the preceding lacuna seems rather large for this to be the patronymic of Ana..., *pace* Grelot) or—reading *r* as the third letter—a derivation from a postulated Aramaic borrowing of Egyptian *hrr* = ‘bundle’ (after Cazelles 1955: 96–7). Lindenberger opts for *thrw* but offers no interpretation. Whitehead suggests *thdw* as a form of *hdy*, ‘you [plural!] will make me happy’ or *thww* as pael of *hwy* = ‘show, notify’.

line 3(2) 𐤏𐤎, *ktn*, ‘tunic’. Cognate with Greek *χίτων*. The word (sometimes written *ktwn*) occurs quite frequently as the name of a piece of clothing in other Aramaic letters from Egypt (A2.1–2, A3.3, A3.8, D7.7 [= CG 16], D7.14, D7.18, D7.55, CG 108, 159, 237, 241, 253, ATNS 51 [*kytwn*]), very often (as here) in contexts involving the procurement or despatch of garments, and once (A2.1:4–6) complete with the writer’s complaint that the *ktn* arrived ‘frayed and he does not like it—echoing one understanding of Artaxaya’s message to Nakhtḥor.’⁴⁰⁷ In D7.18 it has been thought to be a religious garment, because there is also reference to the House of YHH. See Rohrmoser 2014: 224–5.

⁴⁰⁶ Slightly differently Schmidl 2012: 113 just had ‘ich berufe mich bei König Darius gegen dich.’

⁴⁰⁷ The word also signifies linen or flax in A3.2:5, A3.3:11 (a linen tunic, *ktn zy ktn*), A6.2:14, 20, B2.9:5, B3.8:11, 12, 13, B4.1:2, B8.2:19, C3.11:4, 12, ATNS 52a (*qtn*), 64a, 81 (*qtn*). Garments of other sorts as well appear in private letters (A2.1–4, A2.6, A3.2–3, A3.8, D1.28, D7.21, various

Grelot adduced the garments of the Ba'al priests (2 Kings 10.21–2), since he believed the Elephantine Judaeans were syncretistic in their habits, and identified the object as a linen skirt (ephod) as in 1 Sam. 2.18. Rohrmoser thinks it more likely to be a dress (Rock) like Joseph's coat of many colours (*ktnt*: Gen. 37.23) or the (long) garment of Tamar (*ktnt*: 2 Sam. 13.18), since Ex. 28.38, 29.5 proves that such things can be sacral as well as profane. We can, of course, be confident that in A6.16 we are dealing with secular garments, and the same goes for the garments or clothing material that are a repeated subject (sometimes of complaint) in the Hermopolis letters (A2.1–4, A2.6: cf. Nutkowicz 2017: 196–7)—a reminder that clothing is a commodity to worry about on a regular basis, something also reflected in the Elephantine ostraca (to the references to *ktwn* above one may add D7.21 (= CG 70), CG 17, 42, 61, 73, 80, 112, 114, 115, 117, 139, 155, 199, 212, X6). See also above, p. 125.

line 3(3) גלדי תולע, *gldy twl'*, 'skins of purple'. The colour is that of, or extracted from, worms: cf. CAD s.v. *tūltu* 1c and the Septuagint translation of Hebrew *twl'* with *kokkinos* (Isaiah 1.18) or *kokkos* (Lam. 4.5). For *gld* see D7.5 (= CG 228), where it also refers to a commodity. (The word also occurs in Ahiqar: C1.1 *recto* 167, 210.) Red sheep-skins of unstated purpose appear in YOS 3.195 = NbBU 195; there is also talk of the 'darkening' of skins (for which cf. BIN 1.26 = NbBU 226). Both Driver and Whitehead canvass the possibility that these might be for writing-leather (Driver citing Arab evidence for the dyeing/perfuming of such things). On the other hand, alongside a reference to a linen tunic (*ktn*), the use of coloured leather to make shoes (Herod. 7.25–7, 58, 61) may (as Driver notes) be pertinent. (One of the types of shoe is even called *kokkis*: 7.61.) The skins (*mšky*) requested in A2.4:7–8 are for a garment (*lḅš*: cf. D4.4:4), while those in A4.2:10 (like the *gld* of D7.5 = CG 228) are of unstated purpose—save that they are among various commodities that seem to constitute a potential bribe, (Others in the list are honey and oil, which appear as bribes in P.Ryl.Dem.9:16,17–18.)

lines 3–4 ונהיתי עלי זי לא חסרת, *w[hyty 'ly zy l' ḥ]srt*, 'and [he brought to me what I was not la]cking'. Driver read the lacunose section at the line join as '[ly kl zy] ḥsrt ('to me all that I lacked': so too Grelot). Whitehead followed suit, save for preferring *mh* to *kl* (giving '... what I lacked'), on the parallel of *mh zy* in A6.15:8, 9. Porten–Yardeni saw that the dimensions of the fragment entailed (or at least permitted) a longer gap, and suggested *w[hyty 'ly zy l' ḥ]srt* ('and he brought to me what I did not lack'). This, together with (i) restoration of *l[.]* later in line 4 as *l'* ('not') rather than *lk* (Driver, Whitehead) and (ii) replacement of Driver's *lḥl'* in line 3 (allegedly = 'all right', partly on the basis of an interpretation of *ḥl'* in B3.6:9 which no longer holds sway) with *lhn l' [ḥdyt]* ('but [I was]

CG items listed in Lozachmeur 2006: 90, ATNS 50, 146), as well as in legal or contractual documents (B2.6, B2.9, B3.3, B3.8, B3.13, B6.1–2, D3.16) and fragments of uncertain type (D4.10, D4.22).

not [gladdened]), entirely changes the import of the letter: Artaxaya is now complaining—despite the fact that the latter part of line 4 (still) has him say that Nakhtḥor is praiseworthy. The gap at the join of lines 4 and 5 is rather large (after ‘...praiseworthy to me and’ there is room for up to eighteen letters, of which only four are at all preserved, in line 4 and a further three or four at the start of line 5 before the restored *kzy*), so it might theoretically have contained something substantive that cast light on this *prima facie* contradictory situation. Alternatively one must suppose that all of 4–5 conformed to the indications of approval of Nakhtḥor that we find in its preserved beginning and end (i.e. that Artaxaya spent some time praising Nakhtḥor and wishing him well) and is meant to indicate that Artaxaya does not blame him for what had not gladdened him—apparently the despatch of things that he did not need (instead, presumably, of some that he did). On this reading (a) Artaxaya is being extremely complaisant to Nakhtḥor; and (b) it is assumed that Nakhtḥor will know what to do next (i.e. what things he *should* send) without being told anything more explicit than that he should be diligent so as to gladden the gods and Aršāma. It has to be said that the parallels for the instruction ‘be diligent’ (cf. above, lines 1–2 n.) create a peremptory impression that is not quite in keeping with this reading of the letter as a whole.

line 4 פתִּטְוּ, *ptstw*, ‘praiseworthy’. Iranian **patistāva*- ‘praiseworthy, praised’ (Tavernier 2007: 406). It is striking that the Bodleian letters also produce Iranian loanwords for punishment and ‘bad report’ (see A6.8:3–4 n.). Lindenberger’s ‘You have always given me excellent service’ makes more explicit the supposition that writer is here contrasting historical satisfaction with current dissatisfaction. (The *s* is uncertain. Driver originally read *ptytw*, postulating a predecessor to Pahlavi *patēt*, ‘compensation, satisfaction’. The suggestion of Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 22–3 that *ptstw* represents **patyastō*, ‘obedient’ falls because of the absence of *-y-* in the Aramaic word.)

line 5 אֱלֹהִים, *’lhy*, ‘the gods’. See above, line 2(2) n. The wish that the gods grant peace (*šlm*) to the addressee figures in a greetings formula at the start of a letter in A6.6 (Aršāma to Artavanta). Perhaps, taking also into account the unusual features of 1–2, one may say that Artaxaya has a generally idiosyncratic way with salutation formulae. In any event the start and end of the main body of the letter seem to run in a kind of parallel: ‘be diligent (as always?) so as to gladden the gods and Aršāma’ is answered by ‘I praise (what you have done and wish that) the gods grant you peace’. This is structurally effective irrespective of whether the sentences in between express satisfaction or dissatisfaction. If it is the latter, the way in which it is sandwiched between positive sentiments makes the writer’s position seem particularly insecure. See also Jursa iii 112–13 on the character of *’nt...lk* as a whole, and with the suggestion that the missing verb in line 5 was *šly* ‘to pray’.

TADAE D6.3–D6.14

The arrangement of some of the fragmentary Bodleian material in TADAE IV⁴⁰⁸ produces twelve items (D6.3–D6.14), none of which yields any significantly continuous text. Rather than offer line by line commentary, it seems more useful to say something about the way in which these fragments sit in relation to the well-preserved letters—the resonances and the novelties. In doing so I treat the TADAE restorations of damaged word(s) as correct without (normally) further comment but it should be understood that there is a significant element of uncertainty about much of what follows. Moreover, this element of uncertainty sits on top of the further uncertainty that must attend the reconstruction of tiny non-joining fragments into putative distinct documents.

Resonances

There are certainly plenty of resonances, both verbal and substantive. I summarize these under seven headings:

Locutions. The salutations in D6.4 (a) and D6.5 (a) resemble those in A6.3:1 and elsewhere (see A6.3:1(5) n.). The phrase ‘my lord’ occurs in D6.3 (a), D6.6 (d, e, h), and D6.8 (f), as often in A6.3–A6.16 (see A6.3:3(2) n.). ‘You will be called to account’ (D6.7 (inside g)) echoes the threats to Nakht̥or in A6.8:3, A6.10:9, and A6.15:8 (see A6.8:3(6) n.). ‘take thought for us’ (D6.8 (f)) recalls A6.11:3 (Peṭosiri’s appeal to Aršāma), ‘is made (‘over)’ in D6.8 (n) evokes things or people being made over to Aršāma’s estate in A6.10:2, 7 and A6.11:4–5, and an order is perhaps ‘issued’ (*šym*) in D6.12 (h) as it is in A6.3:6–8, A6.5:3, A6.7:8 (cf. A6.3:6(2) n.). Something is perhaps allocated per person (*lgb*) in D6.8 (c) as it is in A6.9:4–5, though not apparently in a travel context. *Byd ʾnw[-]*, ‘in the hand of Anu ...’ (D6.3 (a)) nearly matches *byd nʾ* in A6.16:2, but (although the aleph in the latter text is barely preserved) I doubt that we should contemplate changing the reading to *n[w]*, especially as A6.16 is connected with Nakht̥or, whereas D6.3 mentions Psamšek and there is therefore no ground to imagine that the two documents are substantively linked. In A6.16:2 the reference is apparently to something having been literally brought by the

⁴⁰⁸ But only some of it: see Tuplin iii 22 nn. 66–7. D6.3 = Driver Fr. 1; 3.1, 6, 9; 7.5; 9.9, 10+16, 13; 10.5, 13; 11.9, 18 (Pell.Aram.XV + Fragments III, VII, IX, X, XI). D6.4 = Driver Fr. 3.8, 11–12, 5.3, 9; 7.6+7.8; 10.11–12 (Fragments III, V, VII, X). D6.5 = Driver Fr. 2.1+2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 (Pell.Aram. XI). D6.6 = Driver Fr.12.1–7, 9–10, 19–20, 22, 24–5 (Fragment XII). D6.7 = Driver Fr. 2.13, 15, 17, 20, 23–5 (Pell.Aram.XI). D6.8 = Driver Fr. 3.2, 4–5, 13, 14+6.2; 3.16; 4.17c; 6.1, 4+5, 6–7, 9–10; 9.17 (Fragments III, IV, VI, IX). D6.9 = Driver Fr. 4.1, 3–7, 9–13, 15, 17–18 (Fragment IV). D6.10 = Driver Fr. 9.1–4, 5+12, 10–11, 14, 15+19, 18, 20–1 (Fragment IX). D6.11 = Driver Fr. 10.1–4, 8, 13, 17–18 (Fragment X). D6.12 = Driver Fr. 11.2–3, 6–8, 11–12, 15–17, 19, 21–3, 26 (Fragment XI). D6.13 = Driver Fr. 8 (Fragment VIII). D6.14 = unpublished (Fragment XIII) Fr. a–p.

hand of An', but in the absence of further preserved context in D6.3 (a), *byd* 'nw[–] could also theoretically mean 'in the possession of/at the disposal of Anu...' or 'in the power of Anu...' It probably does not mean 'under the authority of', for which *lyd* might be expected (as in A6.8:2).

Epistolographic features. The salutations mentioned in the previous section are, of course, an epistolographic feature as well as a turn of phrase. Another is the presence of a Demotic annotation at D6.11 (outside h), a phenomenon also found at A6.11:8 (see A6.11:8 n.), A6.12:9, A6.13:11. The latter two cases closely resemble D6.11 in that the annotation takes the form of a personal name (Ḥetpubaste or Ḥetpeese).

Names. Names form another category of overlap. Aršāma (D6.7 (inside f), D6.8 (a), D6.13 (g)), Virafša (D6.7; cf. A6.15), Masapāta/Miçapāta (D6.7 (inside c)//A6.15), Artavanta or Artahanta (D6.4 (f,g); cf. A6.3:1(4) n.), Rāšta (D6.3 (i); cf. A6.9:6(3) n.), Psamšek (D6.3 (a), (b) D6.6 (m); cf. A6.3:1(8) n.) and Nakhtḥor (D6.8 (a); cf. A6.9:2(2) n.) all recur. It is notable that—if the TADAE reconstructions are correct—both forms of Artavanta/Artahanta appear to occur within one and same document (D6.4 (f, g)) and, by contrast with A6.9–A6.13, Rāšta does not seem to figure in D6.3 (i) as part of a letter-subscript. It is nonetheless probable that the same individual is in question, whereas the Pamun of D6.14 (p) can hardly be assumed to be the deceased father of the appellant Peṭosiri (A6.11:1–6). D6.8 seems originally to have contained quite a lot of names (almost all now lost), and perhaps even to have had a list or lists of names: cf. (h):2, 'all (told) [x] persons' with A6.3:5 and A6.7:5, where the formula comes at the end of a list. In those cases we are dealing with slaves, in D6.8 they are *perhaps* 'household personnel' (*nšy byt*).

Human categories. Household personnel, mentioned in D6.8 (a), (e), (f), are also encountered in A6.11:2 and A6.12:2 (cf. A6.11:2(7) n.), where they are associated with individuals (Peṭosiri and Ḥinzani): D6.8 (a), by contrast, seems to quote a message from a plurality of addressors about 'our household personnel'. Other overlapping social or institutional human categories are slaves (D6.3 (a); cf. A6.3, A6.7), Cilicians (D6.7 (inside d, f, outside c); cf. A6.7, A6.15:1–5) and *pqyds* (D6.7 (inside c and outside c), D6.8 (i); cf. A6.4:2(1) n.). The Cilicians are one of the more distinctive and unexpected features of the well-preserved documents (A6.7:2–5 n.), and they recur in a context that seems to be closely connected with A6.15.

Institutional phenomena. Three notable technical terms turn up again: *bg'* in D6.12 (g) (cf. A6.4:2(3) n.), *mndh* in D6.13 (d) (cf. A6.13:3(2) n.) and *mḥhsn* in D6.14 (n) (cf. A6.11:2(3) n.). These attestations cannot, unfortunately, cast any further light on the interpretative problems associated with the latter two words, and (in particular) there can be no assumption that the reference of *mndh* in D6.13 (d) is the same as that in A6.13–14.

Miscellaneous. Other points worth noting are that (i) wine and grain, which occur together in A6.15:5–6, occur separately in (respectively) D6.7 (inside e)

and D6.8 (c), (ii) Babylon is named in D6.7 (inside f) as it is in A6.13:5, A6.14:2, 5, A6.15:2, and (iii) unrest ([y]wzʿ) conceivably turns up at D6.12 (g): this is the word encountered in A6.11:2 (A6.11:2(1) n.), in a document that (like D6.12, as reconstructed in TADAE) also refers to a *bgʿ* (that of Pamun and, then, Peṭosiri).

Documentary links. Postulating a specific link between A6.11 and D6.12 on the grounds just mentioned would be adventurous, to say the least. But the editors of TADAE IV do label D6.7 and D6.8 as companions to (respectively) A6.15 and A6.11. In the latter case the presence of household personnel and the locutions ‘take thought of us’ and ‘made (over) to’ (which do recall A6.11) have to be set against the fact that D6.8 as reconstructed seems to have listed personnel by name in a fashion not paralleled in A6.11: any overall resonance is therefore of a rather general nature. In the case of D6.7, by contrast, we have Virafša, his *pqyd* Masapāta/Miçapāta and some Cilicians—all attested on the two sides of fragment (c) before we get to the other non-contiguous fragments assigned to the same document—and there is a rather specific link to A6.15:1–3, to which Babylon in fragment (f) also corresponds. The wine in D6.7 (d) takes us to another part of A6.15 (the wine of Papremis in line 5–6)—but the silver (in an earlier line in the same fragment) has no connection with the material of A6.15. If D6.7 is a properly formed document (and its components were already assembled, as Pell.Aram.XI, at the time of Driver’s first edition) and if the opening is correctly restored, what we have is the letter that Aršāma wrote to Nakhtḥor in parallel to the letter from Virafša preserved as A6.15—a situation that resembles the relationship between A6.13 (from Aršāma) and A6.14 (from Vāravahyā). But the topics broached by Aršāma were not all and only those broached by Virafša.

Novelties

Not everything in the fragments echoes A6.3–A6.16. Again I summarize some of the divergences under a number of (partly similar) headings.

Locutions. The well-preserved letters never have occasion to talk about building things (contrast D6.14 (b)) and Aršāma does not refer to his ‘gate’ (contrast D6.7 (inside c)). There is a mysterious word at D6.3 (a), *sddyn* or *srryn*, tentatively interpreted in TADAE as ‘rows/grates/hangings’. Perhaps most interesting is the salutation in D6.13 (a), ‘the welfare [of my sister(s)] may the gods, all of them [seek after at all times]’. This is of a type that is very common *outside* A6.3–A6.16: see A6.3:1(5) n. (especially p. 66, nn. 14–15) and its presence reflects the fact that this is a quite unusual letter by the standards of the rest of the set.

Epistolographic features. What is unusual is that it is a letter to a woman (or even women: TADAE leaves open the possibility of multiple addressees), and

the form of salutation allows one to postulate that it is of a more private nature than those in A6.3–A6.16, which either have a different form of salutation or no salutation at all: at any rate, the interpersonal dynamic of addressor and addressee is clearly distinct. That we are dealing with a letter from one of the Egyptian *pqydyn* to his sister (Tuplin iii 21) seems a reasonable speculation. A different epistolographic feature of another sort seems to appear in D6.7. The outer side of fragment (c) has the remains of two lines written in script of similar size which read (in the TADAE translation) as follows: '[...] Masapata official of Virafsha [...] / [...*sa*]id to you, but the Cilicians..[...]' One might take the first line to be the external address, but in none of the other Bodleian letters does the external address have another line beneath it. Any further annotations on the outer side of the document are normally written to the left of the address line and in (much) smaller size. The only exception is A6.11, where there is a Demotic annotation *above* the (Aramaic) address line. Whether the second line in D6.7 (outside c) is suitable as part of a (content?) annotation is perhaps debatable. But in any event the formal configuration of this letter seems distinctive.

Names. The fragmentary letters offer us a variety of personal names not encountered in A6.3–A6.16. One is certainly Persian, *Āyaza- (D6.8 (e); cf. Tavernier 2007: 130), and one might be, *'htyzyr* (D6.8 (c)): so Porten 2003b: 181 (citing Shaked), but the case is not recognized in Tavernier 2007. Four are Egyptian: Npṭkhons or Ppṭkhons (D6.3 (a)), Waḥpremineit (D6.8 (l)), Ḥetpubaste or (less probably) Ḥetpeese (D6.11 (outside h)), and Eswere (D6.13 (a)). One has a Babylonian allure: Anu... (D6.3 (a)). *Tyrn...* (D6.8 [c]) is of uncertain character, though Shaked (ap. Porten 2003b: 186) thought it might be Persian.

Commodities. The unambiguous presence of grain in D6.8 (c) leads the TADAE editors to venture the restoration of e[mmer] in D6.8 (c) (*k[ntn]*), a form of grain used for rations at Syene-Elephantine (B3.13, B3.14:7, 16) and in Persepolis (A6.9:3(2) n.). More certainly silver appears twice, in D6.3 (a) (perhaps '[bought] for silver': cf. *bksṣ* in B3.10:3) and D6.7 (inside d). The latter reference sits alongside a reference to weight in *karsh*, something very familiar in other Egyptian Aramaic sources but not in the Bodleian letters.

Institutional phenomena. Finally, D6.14 (outside o) may contain the word *hng[yt]*, i.e. **hangaiṭa-*, 'partner-in-chattel' (cf. B3.6:5, B3.10:18, B3.11:12, B3.12:27, B5.5:9). The same document (as presented in TADAE—it is the previously unpublished Bodleian Fragment XIII: see Tuplin iii 22 n. 66) contains an instance of *mḥhsn*, but there is no ground to postulate any close relation between the two. *Hngyt* appears elsewhere in Aramaic texts only in legal formulae, not as a reference to a specific person or situation, but that seems a rather unlikely context for the outer side of a letter. But (as we have seen above) in these documents unusual things can happen in that location.

ENDNOTE: LETTER SUBSCRIPTS

The subscripts in Aramaic letters from Egypt and Bactria have to be placed in the context of (very) similar phenomena in other documents from Egypt and Persepolis. Understanding of what is involved was much advanced by Tavernier 2008, who rightly stressed the desirability of dealing with the Persepolitan material (much the most voluminous) in the light of that from elsewhere.⁴⁰⁹ His conclusion was that the subscripts (which are overwhelmingly, but not exclusively, associated with letters) reflect a procedure for creating a letter in one or more languages other than Old Persian that—expressed in terms of the phraseology of Persepolitan letters (see below, p. 272) but applicable *mutatis mutandis* elsewhere—runs as follows:

- An official dictates an order (**patigāma*) in OP to PN(1)
- PN(1) ‘delivers the order’ to PN(2) who makes an Aramaic version
- PN(2) gives this Aramaic version (the *dumme*) to PN(3)—who thus ‘receives the *dumme* from PN(2)’
- PN(3) ‘writes’ (*tallišta*) a version of the *dumme*.

In the PFA letters this final document is in Elamite, and the word for writing (*tallišta*) is the one appropriate for inscribing cuneiform.⁴¹⁰ Elsewhere the final document may be in Demotic or (still) in Aramaic. It is explicitly left unclear whether PN(2) also creates any Elamite or Demotic version that is required, so that PN(3) is merely an appropriate copyist, or PN(3) actually creates the translation (as well as writing it down). At the earlier stage it is presumably the function of PN(1) to articulate the wishes of the official in a specific verbal form, so that PN(2) can render it into Aramaic. Tavernier’s use of ‘dictate’ for what the official does is therefore rather misleading. If anything, it is PN(1) who dictates to PN(2).

Data

The directly relevant data come from Aramaic letters from Egypt and Bactria, a Demotic letter from Egypt, and Elamite letters from Persepolis and may be summarized as follows.

(a) The final part of A6.2 contains the following elements:

- ‘Anani the scribe (*spr*) *b’l t’m*, Nabu‘aqab wrote (*ktb*)’ (23–4).

⁴⁰⁹ See also Tavernier 2017 and Tavernier iii 87–96. For brief remarks on the subscripts in the Bactrian documents see Naveh and Shaked 2012: 23–4.

⁴¹⁰ Writers in (alphabetic) Aramaic are by contrast described as *teppir*, an Elamized version of Akkadian *sepiru* or Aramaic *spr* (Tavernier 2017: 353).

- ‘Sasobek wrote’ (25): this is written in Demotic.
 - ‘Nabu‘aqab the scribe’ appears in the date/scribe lines (28)
- (b) A6.8–13 have a regular formula and occasional Demotic annotations:
- PN(1) knows this order, PN(2) is the scribe (*spr*’).
 - PN(1) is Bagasravā (6.8–9) or Artaxaya = Artāvahyā (6.10–13)
 - PN(2) is Aḥpepi (6.8) or Rāšta (6.9–13)
 - Demotic annotations
 - A6.11 (external: a subject summary)
 - A6.12 and 13 (external: the word ‘Ḥotepḥep’)

It is clear that ‘PN(2) is scribe’ does not entail that PN(2) actually wrote the document, since not all those associated with Rāšta are in same hand. The presence of a third person (the actual writer) is therefore implied.⁴¹¹

- (c) We find much the same in the Bactrian letters, except that the ‘scribe’ and the person ‘who knows this order’ are usually the same individual:⁴¹²

A1:12 Hašavaxšu the scribe knows this order

A2:7 Daizaka is scribe and Āθfiya (is) *bl ḫ m*⁴¹³

A3:3–4 [...] the scribe knows this order

A4:6 Daizaka the scribe knows this order⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ See also the next n. If the doctrine developed here is correct, we can find Iranians actually writing Elamite—albeit a rather Iranized Elamite (Henkelman 2011: 586–95, 614–22)—at Persepolis (for most of those who ‘wrote’, *tallišta*, have Iranian names), Iranians responsible for producing Aramaic versions at Persepolis (some of those who create the *dumme* have Iranian names, though many have Babylonian or West Semitic ones), in Bactria and in Aršāma’s office (so-called ‘scribes’), but no Iranians actually writing Aramaic or Demotic: for the Iranian-named Aramaic-writing scribe of B3.9, Rwhšn (*Rauxšna-: Tavernier 2007: 285) has a Semitic patronymic (Nergalušežib), and ‘Magava s. of Miθrabara the scribe’ (P.Mainz 17: Vittmann 2009: 103–4) need not be a copyist-scribe.

⁴¹² Once again letters associated with the same ‘scribe’ do not appear to be in the same hand (this is certainly true of A4 and A7: Folmer 2017: 429 n. 67). This is quite consistent with the fact that A2 is written over an erased letter (A2a) addressed to the ‘scribe’ in question (Daizaka). Our copy of A2 was plainly made in what we might call Daizaka’s office space on a piece of leather that was naturally to hand there.

⁴¹³ That the scribe is named first (by contrast with what we find in the Bodleian letters) perhaps reflects the fact that the local norm is for both functions to be performed by the same individual and in such cases the scribal function is habitually mentioned first.

⁴¹⁴ Folmer 2017: 429 suggests that Daizaka’s combination of both roles here (by contrast with A2:7) represents a promotion in the intervening years. But if, as she also maintains (431), the Bactrian norm (same person as order-knower and scribe) represents a general simplification of administrative system by comparison with that in the Bodleian letters, A2 might simply represent an occasional aberration and tell us nothing about Daizaka’s status (or indeed that of Āθfiya). Still, the Bactrian norm has antecedents predating the Bodleian letters, and speaking of a simplification

A5:3 Nurafratarā the scribe knows this order

A5a:5 [...] knows this order

A6:11 Nurafratarā the scribe knows this order

A7:2 Daizaka the scribe knows this order

(d) P.Berl.Dem.13540 has the following formula

PN(1) knows this order, PN(2) is he who wrote this letter, PN(3) wrote

PN(1) has an Iranian name, PN(2) and PN(3) have Egyptian ones. It is agreed that there are linguistic signs that the Demotic text we now possess actually corresponds to/translates an Aramaic version that we do not possess (Hughes 1984). This is an important sign that Aramaic played a role in the bureaucratic process even in a context in which it was *prima facie* linguistically irrelevant to the particular act of communication involved—in this case with Egyptian-speaking priests in Elephantine. (Concomitant indications are the use of the Semitic loanword *dumme* in PFA letters and the relatively high number of persons with Semitic names among those responsible for passing on the *dumme*.) A comparable situation has now turned up in P.BM EA 76274.1 (Appendix 3.1: pp. 297–8). Here too PN(1) has an Iranian name (*Yatabara-), but exactly what happened in the rest of the subscript is left unclear by the fragmentary state of the text. (That the subscript is retained in what appears to be an excerpted copy of a letter, whereas the address and salutations are not, is an interesting tribute to the perceived importance of subscripts.)

(e) A large number of PFA documents (mostly, but by no means all, letters)⁴¹⁵ have subscripts. These contain two or more of the following formulae:

of procedures (as though there were a clear chronological development) is perhaps misleading (cf. Tavernier 2017: 377).

⁴¹⁵ There is a large number of subscript letters: they are all written by Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Irdumartiya, or Ašbazana, all letters written by these individuals have subscripts, and all such letters simply order the issue of a commodity in circumstances that vary but are assimilable to one or other of Hallock's memorandum categories, specifically E, H, K1, K2, K3, L1, L2, L3, M, P, R, S1. (The only apparent exceptions are NN 2057 letter of Parnakka that is perhaps not an entirely standard issue-order, and Fort.1740-001, a standard issue-order by Ziššawiš that apparently does not have a subscript.) More than thirty-five similar letters ordering commodity-issue also exist by other officials, but these do not have subscripts. Letters that are not simple commodity-issue orders but instead are case-specific and often complicated (PF 1856–60, 2070–1, PFa 28, NN 0394, NN 0614, NN 0702, NN 1018, NN 1786, NN 2544, Fort.1665-101, Fort.1681-003; perhaps Fort.8865, but it is not certain that it is a letter) never have subscripts. Subscripts also occur in over ninety non-epistolary documents in categories C2, C4, C6, D, E, G, H, K1, L2, M, and P—with H (especially) and P being the most frequent. (Neither is well-represented in the corpus of subscript or non-subscript letters ordering commodity-issue.) There is a wholly consistent connection between such documents and Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Irdumartiya, or Ašbazana, either explicitly (because the text names one of them) or because of seal-associations. (NN 0685 seems to be the only case where one cannot prove this connection independently.) Whereas in the case of letters there is a near perfect match between letters with subscripts and letters written by one of the four high officials, in the case of non-epistolary subscript documents one can find at least fifteen comparable

- PN(1) delivered the order (**patigāma*)
- PN(3) received the draft (*dumme*) from PN(2)
- PN(3) wrote (*tallišta*)

Tavernier 2008, who provides a full list of relevant texts, labels these respectively as the P, D, and T formulae. On one occasion (PF 1790) the first of these (P) is replaced by ‘PN(1) knew about this’—a phrase that immediately recalls the Bodleian letters, the Bactrian letters, and the Demotic letter of Farnadāta. In texts from Darius’ reign fewer than ten persons are recorded in P formulae, nearly thirty in D formulae, and over sixty in T formulae. That may suggest the comparatively great individual importance of the P-individuals. It is true that in any one year there are generally two and occasionally three different persons on record doing the P-function (the two years with only one person are years that produce very few texts), but there is a strong correlation between particular P-individuals and particular principals (letter-writers or other points of reference: people like Parnakka or Ziššawiš), so this modest multiplicity does not perhaps seriously compromise the impression that, normally speaking, a single person controls delivery of orders for a particular high rank giver of orders.

Indirect reflections of formulae of this sort can be found in (at least) two places. One of these is straightforward: in the Aršāma document from Saqqara the phrase ‘Artaya knows this order’ appears, not as a subscript, but (apparently) as part of a reference in the body of a document to an earlier order (Saqqara S.H5-DP 434 = Smith and Martin 2009: 31–9; Appendix 3.1: pp. 289, 291). The other is slightly less so.

Ezra 4.7, 18 pictures a letter denouncing the Judaeans being sent to Artaxerxes by Reḥum the *bʿl tʿm* and Šimšai (or Šamšai?) the scribe (and by other officials in Samaria and Beyond-the-River); and 4.23 pictures Artaxerxes replying to Reḥum and Šimšai, who then go to Jerusalem and make the Judaeans stop building. (Confusingly, initially in 4.7 the letter is actually said to be from Bišlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions.)

The phrase *bʿl tʿm* appears (a) in ADAB A2:7 (where other letters have ‘knows this order’ (*ydʿ tʿm znh*)) as well as in isolated remnant of the palimpsest A5a, and (b) in the context of a subscript in TADAE A6.2: it is there attached to someone who is also entitled scribe, and this person is named alongside another person who *prima facie* (actually) wrote the document.⁴¹⁶ On this showing *bʿl tʿm* is functionally equivalent to the Aramaic formula about ‘knowing this order’. What inference should we draw from this? One possibility is that the

documents linked to Parnakka and/or PFS 0009* that do not have a subscript: PF 0253, NN 1962, NN 2378, NN 2397 (Category C2), PF 0267, PF 0273, NN 0102 (Category C4), NN 1226 (Category C6), PF 0314 (Category D), PF 0663, PFa 04, NN 0818, N1899, NN 2164 (Category H), NN 1139 (Category M). So adding subscripts to documents that are at one remove (at least) from an underlying letter-order is in practice not absolutely *de rigueur*.

⁴¹⁶ On this see below, pp. 276–9.

compiler of Ezra has wrongly elevated names from an ordinary subscript line to the position of being among (indeed at the head of) the addressors of the letter (Lewis 1977: 10). The other possibility is that *b'l t'm* is a real and distinctive title, one that designates someone who is more important than those who ordinarily 'know this order' (even if in A6.2 this high-ranking person is as a matter of fact carrying out the function of someone who 'knows this order'), and that the bearer of this title is a quite appropriate lead addressor of a letter to the king. The only external check on the question is provided by three Babylonian documents in which we encounter people in the environment of the satrap of Babylon and Transeuphratene with the title 'scribe (and) *bēl tēmi*' (BM 74554)⁴¹⁷ or *bēl tēmi* (Michigan 89, BM 47479). In the first case, where (moreover) *two* people are involved, we are not far at all from the world of the letter subscripts (the accumulation of titles exactly recalls 'Anani in A6.2). In the second this is less clear, but I doubt that the text requires us to elevate the individuals in question—one is described as a Mede, but his name is lost, the other is one Šamšaya—to any significantly different level of importance. (We are in any case dealing with individuals operating in the close entourage of satraps.) The view that Ezra 4.8 misuses an ordinary satrapal letter subscript can therefore stand.⁴¹⁸ Insofar as *bēl tēmi* is a real title (and not just a phrase that means the same as 'knows this order')—and Michigan 89 *is* perhaps evidence for that (whereas BM 74554 is not)⁴¹⁹—its holder's function and status were heavily (though doubtless not exhaustively) defined by the function of order-transmission represented in the subscripts.

Analysis

Various questions arise. The first is the significance of the Aramaic items in their own terms and how they relate to the annotations in Demotic and Elamite

⁴¹⁷ There is only one determinative LÚ, so the two terms arguably make a single two-part title, 'scribe-*bēl tēmi*' (Stolper 1989: 300).

⁴¹⁸ The fact that Josephus (*AJ* 11.22, 26) renders *b'l t'm* as *ho panta ta prattomena graphōn* or *ho graphōn ta prospiptonia* shows an awareness that the title designates someone (*inter alia*) involved in the process of written communication (Tuplin 2017: 626). Sandowicz 2018: 45–8 speculates that the name of Šimšai (or Šamšai) in Ezra was borrowed from the Šamšaya of BM 47479, which seems a bit of a stretch. A fourth Babylonian *bēl tēmi* is reported in BM 67669 in the environment of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar (Sandowicz 2018: 46).

⁴¹⁹ So is A4.3:8, if Van der Toorn 2018: 257 is right to fill a lacuna to make Ma'uziah use *b'l t'm* to stand for the name 'Anani (who is named elsewhere in the letter without any title). But this is necessarily uncertain. For another title containing *tēmi* cf. *šākin tēmi*, a city governor. *B'l t'm* in A6.2 is not a simple title; 'nny spr' *b'l t'm* means 'Anani the scribe as a *b'l t'm*' or 'A. the scribe is a *b'l t'm*': so Kottsieper 2013: 144, deducing this from the undetermined state. For a somewhat different treatment of *b'l t'm* and *bēl tēmi*, see Fried iii 285 n. 14. Oddly enough a literal Demotic translation of *b'l t'm*, viz. *nb šyn* 'master of the order' (cf. *nb wd* with the same meaning) would refer to the god Thoth: Zauzich 2006/7.

documents. The second and third are what the annotations signify procedurally and why it is necessary sometimes to include them in the document.

Implicit in A6.2 and the Bodleian letters are (a) the theoretical distinction between order-knower, scribe, and actual writer, (b) the possible combination of the first two in one person,⁴²⁰ and (c) the lack of necessity to mention the third. It is not internally obvious what the function of the non-writing ‘scribe’ (i.e. the Rāšta figure) might be; but one is looking for an executive/disseminating role that is grander than the mere copying of a particular document.

The presence of various Demotic annotations in A6.2 and A6.11–13 in principle suggests the presence of Demotic scribes around the letter-producing process, and might be understood as a reflex of the existence of a Demotic version of the letter. ‘Sasobek wrote’ (A6.2) is particularly close to that conclusion (cf. Schütze 2009: 383), and one might wonder if ‘Ḥotepḥep’ (A6.12–13) is short for ‘Ḥotepḥep wrote’. The annotation ‘the boat’ on A6.2 and the subject summary on A6.11 show a Demotic writer engaging with the content of the letters.⁴²¹ But in the latter case (and in A6.12–13) there is some indication that the annotations post-date receipt of the letter (A6.11:8 n.).⁴²²

The Farnadāta letter confirms the threefold distinction implicit in the Aramaic texts: that is, we certainly see two other writing-related people in addition to the order-knower; there may be an issue about what they do (see below) but their separateness is undoubted. The Elamite texts also have a threefold distinction:

- one heading (P formula) certainly corresponds to the order-knower in Egyptian and Bactrian documents
- another (T formula) must correspond to one of the other two Egyptian/Bactrian headings; establishing which depends on a view of the Elamite items *in se*. The answer turns out to be that the D formula logically precedes the T formula so, if scribe and actual writer are distinct (and they are), D must correspond to the ‘scribe’ and T to the actual writer. Verbally speaking the implication of the statement that PN(2) creates a *dumme* is not quite parallel to the presence of writing-related words in the equivalent place in the Aramaic and Demotic model.

So things ought to be straightforward. To be specific: the Persepolis and Farnadāta items each provide three functions which can be matched off with one another: order-knower = P, he who wrote this letter = D, and wrote =

⁴²⁰ One naturally assumes this in A6.2 and the Bactrian documents show that it is a possibility.

⁴²¹ As a reverse example of this sort of annotatory reflex of a missing other version one might compare the report that the *verso* of P.Berl.Dem.23584 has the sender’s name in Aramaic.

⁴²² One wonders, incidentally, whether it is mere coincidence that Demotic annotations occur in the Bodleian letters in all and only the letters addressed not only to Nakhtḥor but also Kenzasirma and his colleagues the accountants.

T. A6.2 has these three, but with the first two represented by a single person ('Anani),⁴²³ the Bactrian and Bodleian letters only articulate the first two (in the Bactrian case often both done by one person),⁴²⁴ but the third (the actual writer) is demonstrably implied in the Bodleian letters by the variable handwriting of texts associated with Rāšta as 'scribe' and by a similar phenomenon in the Bactrian letters (above, nn. 411, 412). But there are still some things that need to be addressed.

The Demotic letter subscript. The PN(2) figure in the Farnadāta (Demotic) letter, Peftuaneith, has an Egyptian name but by direct application of the parallel is responsible for producing an Aramaic text (Porten 2011: 297 n.16). We know there *was* an Aramaic version lying behind the extant Demotic text (Hughes 1984); and I have no problem with there being Egyptians who could understand OP and write in Egyptian and Aramaic.⁴²⁵ Alternatively, we might assume that Peftuaneith actually made a Demotic translation from an Aramaic version that someone else had produced.⁴²⁶ In the Aramaic version of the letter that someone else would have been named as the PN(2) figure, whereas in the Demotic text Peftuaneith is named. The fact that as many as five persons have been involved in producing the two letters ('Satibara,⁴²⁷ Peftuaneith, an unnamed Aramaic composer, Waḥibre, an unnamed Aramaic writer) does not have to be reported in both versions.⁴²⁸ A possible implication of either view is that production of a non-Aramaic version belongs at the level of PN(2): so there is a case for saying that the choice Tavernier left open as to whether an Elamite or Demotic version was produced by PN(2) or PN(3) (above, p. 269) is best decided in favour of the former option, leaving PN(3) as simply the writer of the actual document. But, whatever the truth about that (and the process might have varied depending on the particular skills of the personnel available

⁴²³ But see below, pp. 276–9, for some slight complications.

⁴²⁴ A combination of functions on this sort can be compared with the fact that among Persepolitan functionaries Kamēca, Varāza, Ribaya, and Dātenā were all capable of both P and D activities, even if they do not perform them at the same time. See also Tavernier 2017: 373–4.

⁴²⁵ This is the view taken in Tavernier 2017: 379, where Peftuaneith produces both an Aramaic and a Demotic version.

⁴²⁶ Contrast the view of Schütze 2017: 505, that Peftuaneith just produced an Aramaic version, which someone else then translated into Demotic.

⁴²⁷ Interpretation of the Demotic Ṣṭbr is uncertain: alongside *Satibara-, other possibilities are *Sadābara-, *Satabara-, *Sātābara-, and *Ṣātibara-; and it is also possible that the Demotic should be read Yṭbr, giving (perhaps) *Yātābara: see Tavernier 2002, Tavernier 2007: 488–9. *Satibara is reported to recur in a Demotic document from Hermopolis, P.Mallawi 489 (Schmitt and Vittmann 2013: 85–6 no. 54, Agut-Labordère 2017: 682). Chronology is not against it being the same person, but one can hardly be sure. The name *Yātābara- is now attested (in Demotic form) in P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 12 (for the reading cf. Martin 2019: 188), where (moreover) it occupies the same position in a letter subscript as Ṣṭbr/Yṭbr in the Pherendates letter. But the two individuals cannot be the same if the letter in P.BM EA 76274.1 was really written on 9 June 422 (Appendix 3.1: p. 293) and (even if that date were not correct) their identity is unlikely on any reasonable dating of the British Museum document-set.

⁴²⁸ This seems to be the view taken in Tavernier 2008, though he did not spell out the implication that the lost Aramaic version had some different names in its subscript.

and/or the demands of workflow), it is clear that an Aramaic draft is produced no later than at the stage represented by PN(2). It is worth stressing that we never have that draft, even when the version that we *do* have is in Aramaic: and this is true even when what we have are only draft-copies of the final Aramaic letter, as is the case in Bactria. Handwriting proves that they are not (characteristically) written by the nominal ‘scribe’. Instead they are mock-ups of the eventual despatched letter, prepared perhaps precisely to be stored as draft copies in the despatching office, but nonetheless prepared by professional scribes (whose names are not recorded).

A6.2 and the problem of *Nabu‘aqab*. In A6.2 the situation should be that ‘Anani is both order-knower and ‘scribe’, while *Nabu‘aqab* writes the actual text. There is in principle no problem with this, both because the Bactrian letters show the order-knower/scribe function being done by one person and because at Persepolis the two functions are sometimes done by the same person, though on different occasions (n. 424). But the position of *Nabu‘aqab* does require a little more comment.

The starting point is that the words ‘*Nabu‘aqab wrote*’ (*Nbw‘qb ktb*: 23) are in a different hand from, and represent an addition to, the rest of the document. Nor is it the only addition in Aramaic. (a) Immediately before the Demotic annotation (‘*Sasobek wrote*’ and ‘the boat’) in 25–6 there is an Aramaic content-annotation in lines 24–5,⁴²⁹ written in a very rough hand and apparently added by someone other than the person who added ‘*Nabu‘aqab wrote*’.⁴³⁰ Moreover, the final word of this roughly written annotation is *ktb*; so the (now hardly legible)⁴³¹ annotation also perhaps once said something about the creation of the document.⁴³² (b) Kottsieper 2013 has claimed that the annotation about ‘Anani (*‘nny spr’ b’l t‘m*) is *also* an addition, but in another hand, distinct both from the main text and from *Nbw‘qb ktb*. His idea is that each of the two annotations was added by the person to whom it refers. The content-annotation (which was presumably added when the letter was received) is not particularly important for present purposes. Kottsieper’s claim is more interesting, but in some respects it leaves the fundamental issue unaffected: we still have to explain the relationship of *spr’ b’l*

⁴²⁹ The Aramaic content annotation is perhaps the same sort of thing we find on the outer side of the Bodleian letters so far as content goes (cf. A6.4:6 n.); but here it is not clear that it was on a conveniently visible outer surface. Whitehead 1974: 157 says it was not. In any case we are dealing with a letter written on two sides of the papyrus, not one in which the ‘address’ material is by itself on the *verso*.

⁴³⁰ Naveh 1970: 33 distinguishes lines 24–5 from (all of) the rest of the letter in terms of Aramaic palaeography, and everyone seems to agree that the lines are distinct. Unfortunately Naveh does not seem to comment specifically on the ‘*Nabu‘aqab wrote*’ annotation in line 23 at any point.

⁴³¹ There *are* more letters visible in these lines than Porten–Yardeni venture to transliterate.

⁴³² It appears straight before the Demotic ‘*Sasobek wrote*’. It is almost as though it is there for *Sasobek* then to fill his name in Demotic as the subject of the verb (though he then also put *sh = wrote!*). But perhaps that is too speculative a notion.

ṭ'm and *ktb* (the functions predicated of the two individuals) to one another and to the subscripts in other letters, and we still have to decide whether *ktb* ('[he] wrote') means what it says. Granted that *nbw'qb ktb* was written by someone who wrote no other part of A6.2 and that it was added to a text that already contained the words 'nny spr' b'l ṭ'm, analysis of these questions works in much the same way whoever wrote those words. There are essentially two possibilities.

1. Until the words *Nbw'qb ktb* were added, A6.2 was formulated (as the Bodleian and Bactrian letters are) to mention just two functions, the ones known in the Bodleian and Bactrian letters as order-knower and scribe—though here the order-knower was called *b'l ṭ'm* and he and the scribe were one and the same person (as in the Bactrian letters). Then, someone added the fact that the letter's actual writer was Nabu'aqab—a fact already noted in the address/date lines in the form 'Nabu'aqab the scribe', where 'scribe' signified the actual writer of the document and not (as in normal subscript formulae) a person involved in the formulation of the letter's contents (in Persepolitan terms the PN(2) figure).⁴³³ On Kottsieper's view of the palaeography, this scenario can, of course, be excluded: the hand that wrote *Nbw'qb ktb* was Nabu'aqab's hand and that is not the hand that wrote the bulk of the letter. If Kottsieper's view is not correct (and 'nny spr' b'l ṭ'm was part of the original text), one still needs to explain why *Nbw'qb ktb* was added. Tavernier's idea that Nabu'aqab was the writer of a *second copy* of the letter might come in here: 'Anani drafted and wrote the letter himself, which could be the reason why he is called both *spr'* and *b'l ṭ'm*, while Nabu'aqab probably made another copy' (Tavernier 2008: 70). If there *were* two copies, perhaps the identity of each copy was marked in the address/date line (in the other copy a different *spr* would have been named at this point) and someone then thought to insert the information in the body of the letter as well.⁴³⁴ But this still does not explain why that insertion was necessary: the suggestion shifts the problem but does not solve it. Moreover, it is accompanied by an explanation of 'nny spr' b'l ṭ'm (that 'Anani was the actual writer of the letter) which the Bactrian letters show to be

⁴³³ Cowley 1923: 97 floated the possibility that *ktb* = 'wrote' occurred in the lost latter part of line 27, giving us *ktb Nbw'qb spr* in 27–8 with the meaning 'Nabu'aqab wrote (*ktb*) the document (*spr*); and Tavernier 2008: 77 adopts the idea. But Porten–Yardeni's rejection of the reading (albeit unexplained) probably means there is no point in pursuing this possibility (cf. Folmer 2017: 425 n. 54). The appearance of '[PN] servant of Sineriš the **azdakara*' in the equivalent spot in the address/date lines of A6.1 to that occupied by Nabu'aqab *spr* in A6.2 is tantalizing, but cannot cast any certain light on Nabu'aqab.

⁴³⁴ This scenario could also have the merit from Tavernier's point of view that the unemended letter (just naming 'Anani as *spr* and *b'l ṭ'm*) obeyed his principle that the number of functions noted in a subscript matched the number of languages involved in the process—three in PFA documents (OP, Aramaic, Elamite) and the Farnadāta letter (OP, Aramaic, Demotic), but only two in the Bodleian and Bactrian letters (OP, Aramaic)—though for this to be true he should strictly speaking not have suggested that 'Anani actually wrote the first copy.

unnecessary: that is, the presence of the words *'nny spr' b'l t'm* in itself offers no support for the idea of multiple copies.

2. 'Anani's description as 'scribe' should be ignored as a random piece of unneeded information. (The writer of the phrase thought of the individual as 'Anani the scribe' and let the sobriquet slip in where it was potentially misleading.⁴³⁵ Perhaps this works better if the writer of the phrase was 'Anani himself, as Kottsieper thinks, but it is not essential.) Nabu'aqab was actually the 'scribe' in the terms proper to an Aramaic subscript formula (in Persepolitan terms the PN(2) figure), but his name was either wrongly left out of line 23 and later inserted by someone other than the main actual writer (whose name on this view remains unknown) or—on Kottsieper's view—inserted by Nabu'aqab himself immediately after 'Anani had made a similar insertion about his own function. But, despite the fact that Nabu'aqab was correctly entitled 'scribe' in the address/date lines, his function was described in line 23 with the potentially misleading word *ktb* ('he wrote'). One would have to justify this lexical glitch either on the general grounds that *ktb* does not always mean what it appears to say (Whitehead 1974: 27, 173)⁴³⁶ or, perhaps better, on the specific grounds that in the Farnadāta letter the phrase 'wrote the document' is used as a Demotic equivalent for 'scribe' in the Bodleian and Bactrian letters, and that *ktb* could therefore in principle function similarly in Aramaic. (Whether this works better if the annotation was written by Nabu'aqab himself is a moot point.) But the fact that it was thought necessary to insert the information into the subscript formula in the first place is readily explicable as a piece of bureaucratic punctiliousness—not least in a document that is notable for that quality in other respects as well.

⁴³⁵ In this spirit Folmer 2017: 426–7 suggests that 'Anani could belong to a scribal family from Elephantine, either a brother of Ma'uzyiah b. Natan or to be identified with the 'Anani b. Ma'uzyiah of C3.15:67. (He is also widely assumed to be the 'Anani of A4.3.) See Tuplin iii 39 n. 135.

⁴³⁶ Contracts characteristically have both (i) a statement that PN1 wrote the document *lpm* or *'l pm* PN2 and (ii) a statement (in an endorsement on the *verso*) that the document was written by the party-of-the-first-part for the party-of-the-second-part. (This is not just true of the Elephantine contracts but also in B1.1, a document of 515 from Korobis.) In B4.3//B4.4 there are two parties-of-the-first-part and one party-of-the-second-part; one of the former writes the document at the instruction of the other, and then both are said to have written it for the latter. This is an exceptional case of a party to a contract also acting as writer. (B4.2 may be another – this depends on restoration of text – and here the writer is said to write at the instruction of the witnesses.) In several cases the actual writer works *lpm* of more than one person (B2.9,11, B3.12, B6.4) because there are two parties-of-the-first-part. In B3.8 he is said unusually to work *lpm* the party-of-the-first-part *and* the party-of-the-second-part. All cases with *lpm* + more than one person indicate that *lpm* need not literally refer to verbal dictation. Porten–Yardeni render 'at the instruction of', which seems right. The endorsement statements effectively mean 'the document which PN1 caused to be written for PN2'. All of which said, it remains the case that *ktb* is associated with the actual writing of documents, and *spr* does not appear (Schütze 2009: 384).

Neither of these explanations is free of peculiarities.⁴³⁷ The first does have the merit of mapping the subscript as it now stands neatly onto the three functions (order, formulation, actual writing) implicit in all subscripts. Given that there could clearly be variation in actual process (the contrast between the Bodleian and Bactrian letters shows that) and in annotation (the contrast between PFA or Farnadāta and the other items in terms of the number of functions mentioned shows that, as does the fact that Bactrian letters include a delivery annotation that is absent elsewhere),⁴³⁸ it is not impossible that those responsible for A6.2 saw fit to use the actual scribe's name as a marker (even if those responsible for other Aramaic letters did not) and that the belated addition of the information in the subscript formula was also (after all) a sign of bureaucratic punctiliousness.⁴³⁹ But both views remain possible—that is only not so if we accept Kottsieper's assessment of the palaeography and are therefore driven to the second view⁴⁴⁰—and both presume that broadly analogous processes are involved across time, space, and language in the production of certain types of (more or less) official communication.

Explanations for the presence of subscripts. Letter subscripts are always associated with what we know or can reasonably assume to be satraps or satrap-level officials.⁴⁴¹ Moreover, when they appear in non-epistolary Persepolis documents, they are always associated either textually and/or *via* seals with exactly the same limited group of people.⁴⁴² Subscripts are absent for both higher status people (queens) and lower (but still important) status people (department heads).⁴⁴³ So the association is really rather specific. At the same time the rules in the Aramaic corpus of letters seem to be different from those in the Elamite one: subscripts do not *have* to appear when a satrap writes

⁴³⁷ Nor is a compromise between the two proposed by Folmer 2017: 426 (and accepted by Tavernier 2017: 376). In this 'Anani is not the 'scribe' in the normal subscript sense, but Nabu'aqab *ktb* refers to his being the actual writer, though he was *also* the procedural 'scribe' (which is what the entry in the address/date line refers to). This compromise is excluded on Kottsieper's view, since Nabu'aqab cannot be the actual writer.

⁴³⁸ It recalls but differs from the annotation *halmi (hi) lika* ('the/this authorization has been delivered') found in some of the Elamite letters alongside the date.

⁴³⁹ It is then not necessary to follow Tavernier in postulating multiple copies, an idea also criticized by Folmer 2017: 432.

⁴⁴⁰ Rohrmoser 2014: 54 also takes this view.

⁴⁴¹ That is, the director or vice-director of the Persepolis economic system, Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Irdumartiya, and Ašbazana—assuming that last two were respectively Parnakka's predecessor and successor.

⁴⁴² Textually (and sometimes also by seal): many Category H texts. Also NN 0086, NN 1727 (category C6), PF 0317 (category D), NN 0561 (category K1), NN 0789 (category L2), NN 0152, NN 0835, NN 1689, NN 1740 (category P). By seal only: PF 0268, PF 2025, NN 0768, NN 1186, NN 1759 (C4), PF 0247, PF 0254, NN 0769 (category C2), NN 0719, NN 2061 (category C6), PF 0614, NN 0685 (category G), PF 1182 (category M).

⁴⁴³ Estate-related letters from Irtašduna (PF 1835–9, NN 0761, NN 2523) and Irdabama (PFA 27) lack this feature. (We do not have equivalent letters directly from the king, so cannot tell what his procedure was.) Aside from queens, there are some twenty-eight authors of letters in PFA and 8 in PTA who do not use subscripts.

a letter (Aršāma to Artavanta, on whose status see A6.3:1(4) n.), their appearance does not seem to be limited to ‘official’ contexts (since it occurs in letters from Aršāma to his estate-*pqyd* on what are private estate issues), and it is certainly not limited to the banal context of commodity-issue (cf. n. 415)—indeed the absence of subscripts in Elamite letters dealing with special situations stands in sharp contrast to their presence in Aramaic ones which characteristically deal with special situations.

Even if subscripts do as a matter of fact enshrine some information about the production of non-OP text, that cannot be what necessitates their presence in the text of a particular letter, since the production of non-OP text is common to all the documentary output of Achaemenid bureaucratic systems.⁴⁴⁴ The actual formulation and inscribing of Aršāma’s Aramaic letters must have been done by exactly the same (sort of) people whether or not there is a subscript: for we surely do not imagine that Aršāma wrote the non-subscripted letters himself, or that Vāravahyā or Virafša personally wrote letters sent in their names.⁴⁴⁵ (The fact that Artaxaya, being a ‘scribe,’ might have been able to write A6.16 is accidental.)

Could their presence be dependent on a plurality of languages *other* than OP being involved? That could as a matter of fact be the case in Persepolis and with the letter of Farnadāta (once we accept the postulate that Persepolis subscripts reflect multilingualism in the first place). It could also apply to Aršāma’s subscripted correspondence, at least where the presence of Demotic annotation can be taken as an indirect sign of parallel Demotic scribal activity at the point of origin—which is possible in the case of A6.2 but a good deal more debatable in the case of the relevant Bodleian letters (cf. A6.11:8 n.). But will it work in Bactria? What other language would we think the correspondence of Axvamazdā might have been written in? We can now see clearly that there was once an analogue to the Persepolis Fortification Archive (and to the bureaucratic system it presupposes) in Arachosia (Fisher and Stolper 2015), but it would surely be unreasonable to imagine satrapal letters were being written in Elamite in Bactria in the last generation of the empire. In any case, the proper equivalent to the situation in Egypt or Persepolis would be the writing of correspondence in a local Bactrian language. But what language would that be? And (more importantly) would it be remotely justified to postulate that there was a writing system for it?

Does the annotation—or the substantive process it represents—in some sense mark the document as comparatively ‘official’ and give it an allure of

⁴⁴⁴ The very fact that the terminology of the subscripts says nothing explicit about translation already points this way. Translation is merely implicit in the fact that the written documents are not in the presumed spoken Iranian language of the original source of the order.

⁴⁴⁵ Kottsieper 2013: 147 judges that the handwriting of A6.3–4 (letters to Artavanta, without subscript) and A6.8 (letter to Armapiya, with subscript) is the same: subscript and non-subscript letters come from the same office.

formality (even threatening formality?) that is inappropriate when Aršāma addresses a functionary such as Artavanta for whom rhetorical *politesse* is (for whatever reason) also appropriate?⁴⁴⁶ Is the inclusion of the subscript perhaps as much a rhetorical as a procedural fact?

Do subscripts after all convey *information* the recipient needs to know? Surely not in most imaginable circumstances. What the recipient needs to know is the content of the message and the fact that it comes from (and with the authority of) Parnakka or Aršāma or whoever. One would be on stronger ground saying that the subscripts preserve information which the sender might want to have access to, so that in the event of subsequent developments it was possible to reconstruct who exactly in the secretariat had processed the great man's instruction.⁴⁴⁷ But it is hard to see why that should be substantively less important just because the letter is going to Artavanta. This rather reinforces a feeling that, in epistolary contexts, the placing of the subscript in the letter is a rhetorical choice related to the interaction of letter and recipient: it is as though the annotation to the effect that there are participant witnesses to the message and its contents confers upon it some special documentary authority, but the decision to exploit this effect is governed by convention.

Nonetheless Kottsieper 2013 wants to retain a substantive procedural significance for the subscripts. His notion is that subscript letters constitute a *ṭ'm* (a *rechtsverbindliche Anordnung*) in themselves, whereas non-subscript letters do not, because they are not written by the right sort of person and/or because their intrinsic content is not suitable—i.e. because, although orders may be involved, the letter is not itself issuing the right kind of *ṭ'm*. (So, in the letters to Artavanta, Artavanta is a sort of judge who is not directly subordinate to Aršāma and whom Aršāma politely asks to utter *eine rechtskräftige Anordnung*—the letter requesting this is not itself a *rechtsverbindliche Anordnung*, merely a request that someone else utter one.) The point of the subscript is to name people who can stand as witness to the validity of the document as a *ṭ'm*—presumably essentially because they have been party to the process of producing it. (This is specially personalized when the officials insert their own names, as allegedly in A6.2.) In order to have solid proof of this thesis one would need to have two letters from the same addressor to the same addressee, one with and one without subscript, in which the contents of the letter were of an appropriately different type. Lacking such proof, one can observe that Kottsieper's analysis works quite well for A6.3 and A6.7, where Aršāma explicitly invites Artavanta to issue a *ṭ'm* (so arguably is not formally issuing one himself), and for A6.8–13, the relevant Bactrian letters (A1, A2, A4, A6), and P.Berl.Dem.13540, in which

⁴⁴⁶ As Kottsieper 2013: 147 and Folmer 2017: 423 note, well-wishing and subscripts are mutually exclusive.

⁴⁴⁷ Schütze 2017: 506 observes that the presence of the phrase 'Artaya knows this order' in the body of the Demotic Aršāma text from Saqqara (above, p. 272) does suggest that the information in subscripts was potentially significant enough to leach out into other contexts.

Aršāma, Axvamazdā, or Farnadāta certainly issue direct instructions in their own name; and, if it is less immediately obvious why this does not apply to A6.4 (where Aršāma's intentions are also very clear), it may be that the fact that the instruction is 'let Psamšek . . . be permitted to carry on that grant there in Egypt', not simply 'let Psamšek carry on that grant . . .', makes a significant difference: the definitive order still has to come from Artavanta. The question that remains is whether a thesis formulated in relation to Aramaic letters (or an indirectly Aramaic letter in the case of P.Berl.Dem.13540) is applicable to the subscripts in PFA.

At Persepolis the subscripts are wholly associated with what one might call the *magna nomina*. In terms of personal status that puts them in exactly the same areas as the Aramaic letter subscripts. But they do not only appear in letters, and the letters they appear in are not only very uniform but also, being simple orders for the issue of commodities, rather mundane—so mundane, indeed, that Persepolitan letters that are less standardized in character (letters that deal with individual case-specific circumstances) are not written by the *magna nomina* and do not have subscripts. But, although A6.9 and A6.12 are orders for the issue of rations (and A6.9 may count as an example of a type of document—the sealed travel authorization—frequently mentioned at Persepolis), the other relevant Aramaic (and Demotic) letters are case-specific dispositions of different sorts and in that respect (at least in general terms) more reminiscent of the non-subscript Persepolitan letters. I do not, of course, doubt that the *magna nomina* had occasion to write letters of this sort: the point is merely that they did not end up in the PFA. All of this tends to accentuate a feeling that the subscript letters are of a peculiarly formal character: styled as personal instructions, they could as well be mere office-products. The subscripts might be seen as a marker of that fact, but they are a marker that only applies to office-products from a rather specific background. Letters from lesser officials are also office-products (at the very least someone other than the addressor characteristically had to write the Elamite on a tablet), but the office is not required or permitted to advertise itself with a subscript.

I use that term deliberately: whether or not the subscripts provided validating evidence in Kottsieper's sense, their inclusion does have what might be called a certain rhetorical flavour: all letters have a named addressor and a seal, but these letters are further individualized and enhanced in status by an additional bit of text.⁴⁴⁸ One might feel that their appearance on memoranda is another sign of this. If the inclusion of a subscript on a memorandum (a document that records that a transaction actually occurred) characteristically reflects inclusion of a subscript on the letter-order that underlay that transaction, one might say that its appearance is more a symbolic secondary acknowledgment of the

⁴⁴⁸ *Mutatis mutandis* one might recall the way that certain other letters are picked out by the inclusion of a particular greetings formula.

status of the transaction—a response to the rhetoric of the letter—than something that was procedurally necessary: the fact that the response did not always occur would make sense in such a situation. It is, of course, difficult to be sure whether the absence of secondary subscripts is sufficiently frequent to be more than evidence of occasional bureaucratic carelessness, and it may after all be the case that those who eventually processed the memoranda needed to know that one bearing a subscript had to be processed differently from the generality. But why that should be so—beyond the basic fact that its content had been a matter of direct interest to the office of one of the *magna nomina*—is hard to say: dispositions made on the basis of sealed documents from such people can end up in journal texts like everything else, so there was certainly no firm accounting apartheid in play. And, procedurally important or not, the rhetorical choice involved in validating an order not just by adding a seal (as anyone might) but by naming one or more of the processing officials, can be appreciated by recalling that Irtašduna and the elder Aršāma apparently did it both similarly and differently by naming a single official (the *hirakurra*).⁴⁴⁹

Although the subject matter associated with Persepolitan subscripts is in a sense restricted by comparison with the much smaller corpus of Aramaic/Demotic letters and hardly involves anything one would naturally describe in terms of *Recht* and although there is no sign of a personal touch in the relevant Persepolitan letters, the relevant documents do (directly or indirectly) entail firm orders from persons of satrap-equivalent status for immediate action by some other official. To that degree we are in the same world as with the subscripted Aramaic/Demotic items. But Persepolis offers us no parallel for Aršāma writing to Artavanta: if the unsubscripted NN 2057 is not quite a standard commodity-issue order, it is still a firm and unmediated order (even a slightly peremptory one: ‘do this personally’), and wholly non-standard letters come from people who never use subscripts. So, if Kottsieper’s strictly formal (indeed *Recht*-related) explanation is not disproved by anything at Persepolis, it is not positively validated by it, and the suspicion remains that the simple advertisement of status (and power) plays a role. In any event, it should not be forgotten that the evidence of P.BM EA 76274.1 (above, p. 271) suggests that, once included for whatever reason, a subscript was thought to be an important feature of an epistolary text.

⁴⁴⁹ **irakara* = ‘commissioner’: Tavernier 2007: 426. The term is found only in this context. For a quite different interpretation see Garrison & Henkelman ii 147–8. If they are right, Irtašduna and Aršāma dispensed altogether with a subscript in the sense under discussion here—which is perfectly possible.

3

Appendix

3.1

The Egyptian Documents

H. S. Smith, Cary J. Martin, and Christopher J. Tuplin

Four Egyptian-language texts explicitly mention Aršāma.¹ One of them, P. Mainz 17, admits of no more comment than is already registered in Vittmann 2009: 103–4, Tuplin iii 38 n. 129, and above, p. 270 n. 411: certainly no continuous transliterated text or translation can be offered. The second, Saqqara S. H5-DP 434, has, by contrast, been fully published (Smith and Martin 2009: 31–9). The third and fourth, P. BM EA 76274.1 and P. BM EA 76287, have not reached that stage but are the subject of preliminary description and comment in Martin 2019. What follows says nothing more about P. Mainz 17 and confines its attention to the other three items. In the case of Saqqara S.H5-DP 434, the text and translation of the *editio princeps* are accompanied by some brief comments drawing attention to points of substantive interest. These comments are very much indebted to the fuller commentary in the *editio princeps*, to which reference should also be made for all issues of a more purely palaeographical and/or linguistic nature. In the case of the two British Museum items (which arguably belong to a single documentary context) a summary presentation of the relevant data is offered that is entirely dependent upon Martin 2019 and on other information from Dr Martin. (It uses similar analytical headings to those employed for the Saqqara document.) The eventual full publication of the whole set of documents of which the two mentioning Aršāma are part is eagerly awaited.

¹ The name Aršāma (*3ršm*) appears in Saqqara H5-DP 503 [4945] line 7 (Davies and Smith 2005: 116–17, summarized in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 15), but not in reference to the satrap (Tuplin iii 53 n. 179).

A. SAQQARA S.H5-DP 434

Recto (writing parallel to the fibres)

Column 1

Transliteration	Translation
1 ...] ḥry ¹ 3ršm	...] lord Aršāma.
2 ...]...	...] (faint traces)
3 ...] ḥry ¹ 3rt	...] lord Artaya.
4 ...] [... ¹ ḥrm n3y=f ḥry.w n3.w	...] They are ... and his companions.
5 ...] [... ¹ (space) ḥ.t=f	...] ... (space) Its content:
6 ... n3y=f] ḥry.w n3 rmt(.w) nty rḥ n3 nty ḏḏ	... his] companions are the men who know those who say
7 ...] [... ¹ ḥp3 ¹ tš r n3 ḥ.t.w	...] ... the nome to the houses/tombs
8 ...] [... ¹ n p3 tmy	...] ... to/of the town
9 ...] ḏḏ	...] said
10 ...] [... ¹ ḥ.ḥr n3 ¹ [... ¹ p3 hrw ¹ [... ¹	...] ... It is today that
11 ...] ḥb n=k i ḏi.t rḥ=w [s ¹ ... t3y [wnw.t ¹	...] to send (word) to you to cause it to be known ... now
12 ...] ḥr]r=w ḏi.t ¹ p3 w3ḥ ḏḏ 3ršm my ḏḏ=w s n=w	...] they hesitated to give the order. Aršāma said: 'Let them say it to them.
13 ... m]y in=[w] st i.ḥr n3 prst.w w ḥrm	... have] them brought into the presence of the <i>frastāvā</i> -officials with
14 ...] [... ¹ mtw=w ḥr i-ḥ p3 nty ḥn p3 nty mtw=w	...] ... and they are to act in accordance with that which the one who is with them wishes.
15 ...] [p3 w3ḥ ¹	...] the order.
16 ...] [... ¹	...] (traces)

Column 2

1 ḥ3.t-sp 30 ibd-2 3ḥ.t sw-[16 ¹ [... ¹ [...	Regnal-year 30, 2nd month of <i>Achet</i> , day 16 ... [...]
2 nty [sḥ ¹ [Km ¹ n t3 ḥmwḏ[n ...	which is ,written, (in) Egypt in the <i>hemudje</i> [n ...

Verso (writing across the fibres)

Column 1

Transliteration	Translation
x+1 ...]-mtn	...]-meten.
x+2 ...H] [k3-t3y=f ¹ -nḥt.t	... He]katefnacht.
x+3 ...] [... ¹ [sḥ ¹	...] ... Written.
x+4 ...] [š ¹	...] ...
x+5 ...] [... ¹ -ms	...]...-mes.
x+6 ...] sḥ	...] Written.
x+7 ...] Sm3-t3.wy-m-ḥ3.t	...] Sematauiemhat.

x+8	...] Hr-mtn	...] Harmeten.
x+9	...]-[Hnsw ¹	...]-chonsu.
x+10	...] [... ¹	...]

Column 2

1	p3 w3h dd 3ršm p3y my dī=w ¹ n3 wpt ¹ [y.w ...	The order. Aršāma said this: 'Let them give the jud[ges ...
2	[m]y ir=w i-h-n p3 nty hn p3 nty n.mtw=w ¹ [...] [...	[L]et them act in accordance with that which the one who is with them wishes ... [...
3	[my ¹ dd=w s 3rty rh p3y ¹ w3h ¹ [...	Let them say: 'Artaya knows this order [...
4	wt [r-db3 ¹ p3 tm hb=[w ¹ r.ir=w [...	send on account of their failure to send (word) [...
5	n n3 prst ¹ w.w ¹ i-h.t=s ¹	to the <i>frastāvā</i> -officials, accordingly.
6	sw 8 (space) h.t=f	Day 8 (space) Its content.
6a	sh	Written.
7	r.dd=f Mspt ¹ [irm n3y=f iry ¹ [.w ...	What he said (to) Miçapata and his colleague[s ...
8	n3 wpty.w ¹ [irm ¹ [...	the judges and [...
9	3ršm r in=w [htr ¹ [...] [...] [in ¹	Aršāma to bring them (by) force ... [...] ...
10	n t3y hmwdn h.t=f	in this <i>hemudjen</i> . Its content.
10a	Hr	Horos.
11	hrw-b3k M[s]pt ¹ [irm [n3y=f iry.w Hr-Mtn ¹	Voice of the servant Mi[ç]apata and his colleagues (and) Harmeten
12	irm n3y=f iry.w irm n3 sh.w-[tš hn=w ¹ [...]	and his colleagues, and the scribes of the nome among them, ...
13	Pr-nb-[ntr(.w) ¹ m-b3h ¹ [p3y=n ¹ hry 3ršm [...] [...]	(in) Pernebnetru before our lord Aršāma ... [...]
14	[...] hn=w ¹ [s ¹ dd p3 š'r n t3/n3 [...] [sh ¹ [...]	... wishes it, saying: 'The price of the [...]. Written ...
15-16	(traces only)	(traces only)

Comments

There is writing on both sides of the papyrus, one of which (the *verso* as identified here) is a surface from which a previous text has been expunged. The identification of *recto* and *verso* depends on the assumption that the *recto* is the side with writing parallel to the fibres (Smith and Martin 2009: 31). One effect of this identification is that, since the *recto* text ends after the date and place of writing in the first two lines of col. 2, the *recto* and *verso* texts are not continuous. Points of interest in the document can be summarized under seven headings.

1. *Date*. A date of writing of 24 or 26 January 435, depending on whether it is day 16 or 18, is given at *recto* 2.1. This is the earliest attestation of Aršāma in Egypt.

2. *Named personnel in addition to Aršāma*. Most of the personal names are Egyptian, but we have two or three Iranians who (perhaps accidentally) evoke individuals in the Aramaic documentation.

In *recto* 1.3 and *verso* 2.3 we find respectively *3rṭ* and *3rṭy*, which could be two different names for two different people or two writings (the first sloppy) of the same name (whether or not for the same person). Either way it/they call(s) to mind Artaxaya (A6.10:10, A6.16) and Artāvahyā (A6.11:6, A6.12:3, and A6.13:5) in the Bodleian letters, especially as the form of words linked with *3rṭy* (see below A §5) recalls the function exercised by both Artaxaya and Artāvahyā. See A6.10:10(2) n.

Mspṭ (*Miṣapāta), who appears twice (*verso* 7, 11), on both occasions along with colleagues, recalls Virafša's homonymous *pqyd* in A6.15. On the question of whether they might be the same person (and the same as Mšṣpt in ATNS 13) see A6.15:1(2) n. His designation as *b3k* (servant) in *verso* 2.11 recalls the self-deprecation of epistolary *politesse* (cf. A6.3:1(12) n.). The formula 'voice of PN₁ before PN₂' is appropriate at the opening of a letter: see e.g. Smith and Kuhrt 1982, P.Berl.Dem.13539 (EPE C1), P.Loeb 1 (EPE C4), in all of which the recipient is a Persian official and the addressor self-designates as *b3k*, and Depauw 2006: 127–32 for the Demotic corpus in general.² The document before us does not itself appear to be a letter, but it is as though it is here citing either a letter or configuring the report of an actual meeting in epistolary terms.

3. *Location designations.* The word *tš* = nome (*recto* 1.7, *verso* 2.12) is comparatively banal. More interesting are Pernebnetru (*verso* 2.13) = 'house-of-the-lord-of-gods', a previously unknown toponym, apparently designating a place where people appear before Aršāma, and (especially) *t3* or *t3y ḥmwḏn* (*hemudjen*) (*recto* 2.2, *verso* 2.10), an apparently non-Egyptian word, written with a house determinative, perhaps designating a type of building or settlement. A connection with *ḥmwṣn* in ATNS 27:1,4 is very tempting, not just on the grounds of verbal resemblance but because that document mentions judges (like the present document) and Garšapāta the *frataraka* and so belongs firmly in a Persian official environment.³ Moreover lines 3–4 read (in Segal's interpretation) 'thus it was written [...] year 5 of Darius the king at *ḥmwṣn*, which is strikingly reminiscent of our document's 'regnal year 30, 2nd month of Achet, day 16... [...] which is written (in) Egypt in the *hemudjen*' (*recto* 2.2).⁴ The occurrence of the term in *verso* 2.10 is arguably at the end of a (short) section (see below A §6), but this time there is probably insufficient lacunose space for the *hemudjen* to be the location at which a document has been written. But

² Vittmann 2012 republishes another example, CG 50067 + 50087, which may come from the First Domination, though he prefers a fourth-century date.

³ As emphasized by the editors: Smith and Martin 2009: 35. Vittmann 2017: 258 has recently underlined the potential connection between the two documents.

⁴ For the apparent association of date-formula and another location word see Smith and Martin 2009: no. 7:2 (*inh* = courtyard). For a more unexpected accompaniment to a date formula see Smith and Martin 2009: no. 9: 8–9, where a postscript proverb is postulated. (But there is some uncertainty about this, and a house determinative may be present.)

if, as the editors see it, it is the place to which someone is to be brought forcibly, that may simply reveal its official status in a different fashion. What its relation to Pernebnetru might be we cannot tell: the nature of the overall document does not perhaps guarantee that the use of *hemudjen* in two contexts and Pernebnetru in a third is a deliberate differentiation that means that they are entirely distinct places.⁵

4. *Labels and official titles.* The title *hry* = ‘Lord’ (*recto* 1.1, 3) is normal Egyptian, but functionally reminiscent of *mry*’ in Aramaic and a ground for identifying the *3ršm* of this document with the satrap. The *frastāvā* officials (*recto* 1.13, *verso* 2.5) are otherwise unattested. The term, etymologically analogue to *prostatēs*, is to be distinguished from other words that may initially come to mind, **fratama* (if it be a title: Tuplin 2005) or **frataka* (A5.2) and **frataraka* (B2.9, A4.5, A4.7//A4.8, ATNS 27:5, ADAB A1:8, A5:4) (cf. Tuplin 2017: 638–9). Judges (*wpty.w*: *verso* 2.1, 8) are commonly encountered in Persian official contexts. These ones might be nome-related like the scribes: for such judges cf. A4.5:9, A5.2, Lemaire and Chauveau 2008 fr. a, P.Cairo 31174: *verso* 6. The scribes of the nome (*verso* 2.12) have Achaemenid-era Demotic analogues in P.Wien D10150:3 (EPE C28) and P.Wien D10151:1 (EPE C29),⁶ and Aramaic ones in A6.1 (Peṭeisi and colleagues, Ḥarudj and colleagues), a text in which they write to Aršāma (their co-authors are Iranian-named ‘heralds’ and judges),⁷ and Lemaire and Chauveau 2008 fr. a. See above p. 166 n. 230 and Schütze 2017: 495–7. There are several references to companions (*recto* 1.4, 6, *verso* 2.11, 12), which is no surprise in an Achaemenid official environment: see A6.3:7(2) n.

5. *Turns of phrase.* ‘Artaya (*3rty*) knows this order’ (*verso* 2.3) matches a feature of epistolary and other subscripts (see above, pp. 269–83): indeed it is this parallel that encourages the editors to render *w3ḥ* as ‘order’ rather than ‘answer’ (Smith and Martin 2009: 34). It is almost as though what is recorded in subscript formulae is presented in more discursive form: instead of a mere annotation recording ‘PN knows this order’, we have a positive injunction to the recipient to be aware of PN’s role. The same could perhaps be said of ‘to send (word) to you to cause it to be known’ (*recto* 1.11): is this the ‘let it be known’ trope (A6.8:3(1) n.) in discursive mode?⁸ The remnants of actual subscripts appear in the new British Museum material (see below, B §5).

⁵ Contemplation of the places of jurisdiction in New Kingdom and Late Period texts surveyed in Allam 2012 offers no substantive assistance; and what is envisaged in the present text may precisely not correspond to the institution of the ‘house-of-judgment’ (*‘wi n wpy.t*) putatively in existence since the start of the Saite era.

⁶ The title does not appear in P.Cairo 31174: *verso* 4 (see Tuplin p. 32 n. 106), although the word ‘scribes’ does appear just afterwards in *verso* 5.

⁷ The topic of the letter is the (fiscal) ‘share’ (*mnt*) of the province, which matches the presumed association of Demotic scribes of the *tš* with money and land as well as the presence of the word ‘price’ in this section of the present document.

⁸ ‘Let them know it’ appears in Smith and Martin 2009: no.2: front x+3.

6. *Sectioning*. The recurrent word ‘written’ punctuates *verso* 1 and *verso* 2: the editors explicitly judge ‘written’ in 6a (a supralinear/marginal addition) to mark the start of a section (37), and the same presumably applies in other cases. Also recurrent is ‘its content’ ($\underline{h.t=f}$: *recto* 1.5, *verso* 2.6, 10), in the first two cases after a space and in one (2.6) before an occurrence of ‘written’. The editors (37) take ‘its content’ as a heading to what follows both in 2.6 (the day-date before the space being part of that heading as well) and in 2.10 (the following marginally added *Horos* being also part of the heading-marker). The same presumably applies in *recto* 1.5. If one were to reverse the identification of *recto* and *verso* (see above, p. 289), ‘written’ in *verso* 2.14 could start a section that continued in *recto* 1.1–4.

7. *Overall character*. The combination of quotation of statements (*recto* 1.12–14, *verso* 2.7–10, 11–14; and perhaps *recto* 1.7–12 too—a scrappy section, but with two occurrences of \underline{dd} = ‘said’) and the apparent punctuation of the document with headings marking new material (see above, A §6) makes the document look like a record (perhaps even a compilation of records?) of official proceedings, and the presence of judges entitled the editors to add ‘judicial’ to their headline characterization. Since *verso* 1 seems closer to being a list of (Egyptian) names than any other part of the document (the ones we see may all be patronyms), it may be that the types of record amassed here are not of an entirely uniform sort, although, if the Harmeten of *verso* 1.x+8 is the same as the Harmeten of *verso* 2.11, there may still be some substantive connection.⁹ On the other hand *recto* 1.6–14 and *verso* 2.1–5 definitely seem to have points in common. *Recto* 1.6–14 reads as though a report has been sent to Aršāma to which he responds. It also looks as though the report concerned a situation about which people on the spot hesitated to order action without an *imprimatur* from the satrap. (It is vaguely reminiscent of Bagavanta seeking an *imprimatur* from Axvamazdā in ADAB A4.) A similar situation presents itself in *verso* 2.1–5, inasmuch as Aršāma produces a similar response—*verso* 2.2 (‘let them act in accordance with that which the one who is with them wishes’) repeats *recto* 1.14—and also alludes to the *frastāvā* officials in both cases. The editors take it that this is a second response about the same situation (38). It is hard to say whether the fact that *recto* and *verso* texts (as currently identified) are not continuous argues in favour or against this view.

⁹ The possible recurrence of Harmeten as an official with colleagues in *verso* 2.11 makes it tantalizing that the name Sematauiemhat (*verso* 1.x+7) recurs in CG 31174: *verso* 4–5 at the head of a list of scribes. But one can hardly dare assume that they are the same individual. (CG 31174 is associated with an unnamed king’s regnal year 5: if the king were Darius II sixteen years have passed since the present document.) For another list, this one of soldiers, see Smith and Martin 2009: no. 8.

B. P. BM EA 76274.1 AND P. BM EA 76287

The papyri PBM EA 76274.1 and EA 76287 belong with a set of fifteen papyri (P.BM EA 76273–87) of unknown provenance registered by the British Museum in 2000 and now (since 2016) fully conserved and available for study. A number of different hands are present, but some are very similar and may be identical. All are early Demotic. Two papyri, 76281 and 76282, appear (on grounds of fibre match and an apparent join) to belong to the same nearly two-metre-long text. Although the circumstances of acquisition are unknown, the consecutive numbering tempts one to think that they arrived together and both this fact and their shared concern with land survey suggest they are in some degree a coherent set, especially as four of them are linked to Heracleopolis. Although Aršāma is only named in two of them, it is not unreasonable to think that they may all have some more or less direct connection with him, but only a full decipherment and interpretation of the entire set could validate such a supposition. The points of interest in this material that is currently available can be summarized under six headings.

1. *Date.* The date indications are (i) three regnal years (6, 11, 14) of an unnamed king in 76281–2, (ii) a date formula in 76274.1 i 1 without regnal year but locating that document on day 28 of the third month of *Peret*, and (iii) a date formula in 76274.1 ii 11–12 which fairly certainly refers to 12 Sivan in year 2 of Darius. If the Aršāma mentioned in 76274.1 and 76287 is the fifth-century satrap, the Darius in question must be Darius II, and the date is 9 June 422. If the same king is involved in 76281–2 we are in 419–418, 414–413, 411–410, a series of years that (like 422) fit unproblematically into the range uncontroversially attested for Aršāma's years in Egypt. Since 76281–2 are separate documents from 76274.1 (and different in type) it is, of course, theoretically possible that they belong in a different king's reign. The only practical alternative is the reign of Artaxerxes I, giving 460–459, 455–454, 452–451. But the first of these is before the end of the Egyptian revolt that precedes Aršāma's period of office, whether on the conventional chronology or Kahn's earlier one (Kahn 2008) and, although someone of Aršāma's status might theoretically have possessed estates in Egypt even before he was satrap, there is no plain reason to pursue the implications of that possibility. Whether we are in the reign of Artaxerxes I or Darius II, the calendar date in 76274.1 would fall in July.

The fact that an Egyptian-style date appears at the start of 76274.1, but a Babylonian style in the date formula at ii 11–12 is explicable. 76274.1 is a compilation of the texts of two letters preceded by an introduction (see below, pp. 298–90). The Babylonian date is that of the second of the two letters, whereas the Egyptian date belongs with the introductory section and may indicate the date at which the compilation was made: it is consistent with this that the date (July) is later in the year than that of the letter (June). In what was originally an Aramaic letter emanating from an official environment (as indicated by the

subscript: see below, pp. 297–8) the appearance of a Babylonian date is not in principle surprising. But one may wonder why the process of translation did not lead to substitution of an Egyptian equivalent, as happened in the case of the Pherendates (Farnadāta) letter (P.Berl.Dem.13540). We are, of course, dealing with an unusual situation—not actual letters, just copies of parts of letters. Perhaps the excerpts were made from drafts of the Demotic version of the Aramaic original that were retained as file copies, as may have happened with Axvamazdā's letters in Bactria.¹⁰ The Bactrian items have imperfections that were presumably corrected in the final despatch copy, so the presence of a Babylonian date might be a similar first-draft imperfection. Such an explanation does depend on it not being too easy for a Demotic translator to substitute an Egyptian for a Babylonian date for him not to do it. One might imagine that someone working with both Aramaic and Demotic texts in an administrative office always knew what day it was in both systems, so that he would change 12 Sivan into the Egyptian equivalent almost without thinking. But perhaps, though easy, it was not quite instinctive.

2. *Named persons.* We proceed on the assumption that the Aršāma named in 76274.1 and 76287 is the fifth-century satrap and estate-owner: the general character of 76274.1 makes any other assumption unreasonable. Apart from Aršāma there may be as many as twelve other Persian names in the document-set as a whole, though putatively secure cases are perhaps limited to *Kṛk-iča- (76274.1 ii 7-8), *Yata-bara- (76274.1 ii 11, with Martin 1988: 188), *Miθraxa- (76274.1 i 12), *Arnāpā- (76281 back iv), *Bardana (76282 front iii x+15). (For other cases see Martin 2019: appendix 1.)

Two Egyptian names are reported in 76274.1, viz. Khonsuertais son of Padiamun (76274.1 i 4) and Psamtek (76274.1 i 5,6,12). The role of Khonsuertais is unstated. He is named at the end of the five lines that precede the texts of the two letters reproduced in the document. Those lines should have said something to label those letters more exactly, e.g. by identifying the author(s) and recipient(s). Could Khonsuertais be a recipient? (The rendering of an Aramaic letter into Demotic might seem to entail an Egyptian recipient.) Or did he play some role in whatever circumstances necessitated the copying of the two letters?

The only reasonably clear thing said about Psamtek is that he is going to load something at the storehouse/granary (*wḏ3*) of Aršāma. It is, of course, tempting to wonder about the relationship between Psamtek and Aršāma's *pqyd* Psamšek: but Psamšek/Psamtek is a rather common name, and the identity of the two individuals is perhaps a long shot. It is, nonetheless, an interesting coincidence

¹⁰ 76274.1 can, of course, be a file copy of the letters in any case, even if we do not postulate filed copies of the individual letters. For the Bactrian letters as file copies see Naveh and Shaked 2012: 17. For the apparently relatively thin evidence of daybooks and file copies in what passes for Pharaonic bureaucracy see Eyre 2013: 317–24.

that the Saqqara document also contains personal names (in that case Iranian) that evoke people in Aršāma's Aramaic correspondence.

Many other persons with Egyptian names appear in 76281–2, generally as cultivators of plots of land, a role not shared by the occasional Persians encountered in those two texts.

3. *Location designations.* Heracleopolis is named in 76274.1, 76279, 76283, and the Heracleopolite temple-domain of Herishef appears in 76282. The reference in 76274.1 comes in the date formula at the very start of the papyrus (i 1), so (at least) the compilation of the letters putatively relating to Aršāma's estate affairs is linked with Heracleopolis. It is natural to assume that the whole document-set has such a link, that the land-plots described in other individual documents belong in that region, and that Aršāma had estate interests there. The most striking other geographical name so far identified is *Bbr* = Babylon in 76282 front iii x+15. An obviously tempting explanation of this surprising fact is that a reference was made to Aršāma's estate interests in Babylonia. Three further Egyptian place-names of (currently) unknown location are also present: *Pr-nb-nby*, *P3-ʿwy-pr-št-Ḥnsw*, *Ḥ.t-dtme*. (See Martin 2019: appendix 2.) Nothing precludes their being in the vicinity of Heracleopolis.

Other terms denoting locations are 'house' (the house or houses of Aršāma in 76274.1 ii 7 and 76287 [back]); a 'southern house' in 76274 ii 5), *tš* (perhaps designating Aršāma's estate) in 76274.1 ii 7, and the storehouse/granary (*wḏ3*), again said to be 'of Aršāma', in 76274.1 i 6–7. The last-named might evoke Axvamazdā's *byt wsm* = 'granary building' in ADAB A6, but the coincidence is probably not particularly terminologically significant. *Tš* normally designates a province or nome (as in the Saqqara document), i.e. a relatively large administrative area: its application to Aršāma's estate—if this *is* what is in question here¹¹—perhaps reflects the latter's size and administrative complexity. Aršāma's house in these documents is (in terms of normal Demotic usage) a physical building rather than an institutional establishment (as in the case of Aramaic *byt*), though the building(s) in question may nonetheless be of institutional rather than (or additionally to) residential type. One might compare the 'house of the **visapuθra*- (i.e. crown prince)' in P.Cairo 31174, again linguistically a building, but appearing in a context that also involves grain, taxation, and the 'pharaoh's house' (certainly analogous to the Aramaic *byt mlk*) and inevitably evoking the Babylonian Crown Prince Estate or the tantalizing attestations of a 'house' and a *tš* of Osorwer in P.Berl.Dem.13552 and P.Loeb 1 (see pp. 166–7 n. 230).

4. *Labels and official titles.* Aside from a reference to the king in 76274.1 and 76281 back iii 3, four items of interest present themselves.

¹¹ The reasoning is that *tš* would not be appropriate to describe the entire satrapy and it is hard to see what other sort of entity would naturally be described as Aršāma's *tš*.

- i. *šhn* appears three times, (a) a reference to the *šhn* of the king (76274.1 ii 6), (b) a reference to the *šhn* of Aršāma (76274.1 ii 10), and (c) with no clear further specification but in the plural (76274.1 ii 4). The term is intrinsically ill-defined (a ‘cameleonic [*sic*] title’: Vleeming 1991: 75 n. 7). CDD (S 344) glosses it as “‘administrator” w[ith] range [of] financial, military &/or judicial powers/responsibilities’, noting that Greek equivalents include *oikonomos*, *arkhōn*, *nomarkhēs*, and *phrontistēs*. Literally it connotes someone with authority (*Bevollmächtiger*), and the associations can be military/policing as well as administrative/financial (Vittmann 1998: 479–80). Other Achaemenid-era attestations include an agricultural commissioner (P.Loeb 45: 497 BC) and the administrator of Hardai (P.Cairo 31174). (The date of the administrative official of Dush in O. Man.6857 is uncertain.) In the present text one plainly tempting possibility is that it is the equivalent of *pqyd*. The plurality in ii 4 is not necessarily a problem: nothing precludes Aršāma having had more than one *pqyd* at a time in different areas. Nor perhaps is the allusion to a royal *šhn* (ii 6): in Babylonia one can have *paqdu*s not just of princes (like Aršāma) or the Crown Prince Estate but also of Queen Parysatis (TuM 2 185, PBS 2/1 50), so a *paqdu* (or *pqyd*) of the king is not perhaps inconceivable. But *pqyd* is not the only title associated with Aršāma’s estate (Tuplin iii 56–7) and there is no reason to think that all possibilities are already known to us, so the question must probably be left open for the moment.
- ii. *p3 wstrbr* = **vastrabara*-/**vačabara*- (chamberlain) appears in 76274.1 ii 2. The title is well-attested in Babylonia (Tavernier 2007: 434–5, Jursa 2011a) as a marker of status and is held *inter alios* by individuals associated with the management of royal family estates (see p. 249 n.385). Its appearance in the present document (the first attestation of the Demotic form) is therefore unsurprising.
- iii. The tag ‘and his companions’, found already in the Saqqara document and a common marker of Achaemenid official environments (A6.3:7(2) n.), recurs here in 76281 back (in connection with both Persian and non-Persian names) and three times in 76274.1 (i 12, ii 3, 9). In 76274.1 ii 8–9 they are companions of **Krk-iča*- and the group is described as ‘the men who take *hrš*’ (perhaps but far from certainly ‘bundles’). The same designation is attached to ‘... and his companions’ in ii 3 and it is tempting to think that the missing name is again **Krk-iča*-.
- iv. Five Calasirians and two Hermotybians are mentioned in (respectively) 76281 front iv and 76281 front iv 12, v 1, as cultivators (at any rate titular ones) of plots of land. More strikingly in 76274.1 ii 3 the **vastrabara*- is said to have instructed the addressor of the second letter to ‘send (the) *kalasiris*’, perhaps directly in conjunction with ‘PN and his companions, the men who take *hrš*’ (who are mentioned almost immediately afterwards)

and in any case (more broadly) in an affair concerning *ḥrš* and Aršāma's 'houses'. These references are a further contribution to the small but growing number of attestations of the terms Calasirian and Hermotybian in Achaemenid-era documents, and the one in 76274.1 ii 3 adds to the still smaller number of items where Calasirians have some sort of individual agency other than as property-holders (Tuplin iii 308–13).

5. *Turns of phrase.* The currently visible points of linguistic interest all relate to epistolary usage.

- i. There are three examples in 76274.1 i 5,7, ii 2 of the phrase *n t3y ḥty* ('in this moment' = 'now'). This phrase is already attested in the Pherendates letter (P.Berl.Dem.13540) as the Demotic equivalent of the Aramaic (*w*)*k't* or (*w*)*k'n* = '(and) now' that is a feature of epistolary style: A6.3:1(7) n. Aramaic users sometimes distinguish between 'and now' at the start of the letter (after internal address and salutation) and 'now' at later points, notably at the point at which a response and/or order is articulated—this is the norm in Aršāma's letters, with only A6.10:3 as an exception—and they certainly prefer to start a letter with 'and now', but Demotic translators were evidently unimpressed by these niceties.
- ii. At 76274.1 i 5–6 we find these words: 'You wrote to me as follows. Look, Psamtek passed by again (?)'. Comparing this with A6.15:3 ('now Virafša says thus: "Behold, (as for) you, look at the letter...")', it seems clear enough that Demotic 'look' is the start of the quotation of what 'you' wrote and corresponds to Aramaic *h'* (behold). Use of *h'* is not characteristic of Aršāma's own letters (A6.9:2 is the only case, in a slightly unusual type of letter) and is generally at home (along with *hlw*, which has the same meaning) in more informal letters written by non-Persians. But its appearance in a letter of Virafša (just cited) and in one of Vāravahyā (A6.14:4) means it is not wholly out of place—and there is no guarantee that the letter cited in 76274.1 is from Aršāma.
- iii. 76274.1 ii 11–12 apparently contains the following: '*Yatabara- PN is the one who wrote on day 12 Sivan, year 2, Darius the pharaoh'. These are surely the elements of a letter-subscript (above, A6.8:4(1) n. and pp. 269–83). In the only other letter subscript in Demotic (the Pherendates letter: P.Berl.Dem.13540) three officials are named: the first 'knows this order', the second '(is) the one who wrote this letter', and in the case of the third we have 'wrote Wahibre in year 30, Choiak, day 30'. Traces of writing are preserved in the gap after the name of *Yatabara- but it is not clear what they represent or whether there is sufficient space for the name of another official and a description of his part in the process. It is therefore uncertain how closely this example parallels the Pherendates letter, though there is in any event at least a slight difference in phraseology. Since we are

dealing with a copy of the original letter, one has to acknowledge the possibility that the situation is complicated by an error in transcription. (Despite flexibility in the treatment of dates in subscripted letters—the date does not come until after the *external* address in A6.2 and ADAB A1–4—we can, at least, be certain that no part of the subscript came after the date.)

The certain presence of a subscript at the end of the second letter draws attention to the words *p3 i.ir* in ii 1 (the penultimate line of the first letter). These clearly recall *p3 i.ir sh n sw 12* ('is the one who wrote on day 12') in ii 11 and indicate that there was a subscript (now otherwise lost) in the first letter as well.

It is, of course, remarkable that, having already seen a hint of a letter subscript in the Saqqara document (above, p. 291), we now have the remnants of two actual ones in this new material. It is also noteworthy that the copies reproduce the subscripts, but have suppressed the internal address and any greetings there may have been. The closing formula is treated as a substantive part of the letter in a way which the opening ones are not. (Of course, the fact that a date is built into the closing formula may have contributed to this.)

6. *Overall character.* 76274.1 begins 'Copy of the letters in Aramaic writing which... has taken...'. The words 'one' and 'another' in respectively i 5 and ii 2 confirm the implication of 'letters' (plural) that two letters are reproduced in this document (in i 5–ii 1 and ii 2–12 respectively, the two being separated by a gap), preceded by an introduction in i 1–4 that is lost save for a date at the start and the name of Khonsuertais son of Padiamun at the end (see above, p. 294). The epistolary turns of phrase (see above, pp. 297–8) are, of course, in agreement with this conclusion; and the words 'in Aramaic writing' confirm that the Demotic letters before us now were originally written in Aramaic: this makes explicit the process that Hughes 1984 inferred in the case of the Pherendates letter. But of the content of these letters one gets (from what has currently been deciphered) only a spasmodic sense.

In the first letter the clearest thing is that Psamtek is going to load something at the storehouse/granary (*wḏ3*) 'of Aršāma'. That comes between the two occurrences of '(and) now' and is presumably part of a situation reported by the (current) addressee to the addressor, to which the latter is now responding. Of the substance of that response nothing clear emerges, though there are references to 'offerings for today' (i 9)¹² and 'expense' (i 11).

In the second letter the overall articulation of the text is less clear. The starting point (ii 2–3) is that the (current) addressee has written to the (current) addressor reporting that the **vastrabara-* had given him (the addressee) instructions involving (the) Calasirian and 'PN (?*Kṛk-iča) and his companions, the men who take *ḥrs*' and starting with the word 'send'. The idea of sending

¹² The word might also be rendered 'income' or 'delivery' (CDD s.v. *fy*).

*Krk-iča and his companions, ‘the men who take *hrš*’, recurs in ii 8–9, and in ii 9–10 the letter ends relatively *en clair* with: ‘That which it will be appropriate to do for us (is) to take *hrš* to the houses of Aršāma. Do it with the official (*shn*) of Aršāma.’ So delivery of *hrš* is the overarching topic of the letter, and ‘us’ presumably refers to the addressor and addressee, both of whom are apparently acting in the light of an instruction to one of them from the **vastrabara*-. The problem is that, in the absence of a second ‘(and) now’ (or an appropriate gap into which it can be inserted uncontroversially), it is not immediately clear where the substance of the addressor’s reply begins: distinguishing initial situation from response is therefore difficult, though the words in ii 9–10 just quoted are clearly part of the response, and may well be its most important part—which makes uncertainty about the meaning of *hrš* vexing: it may mean ‘bundle’ but Martin 2019 leaves open the possibility that the writing represents some other hitherto unattested word. Other components of the situation include (a) Aršāma’s *tš* (estate?) and ‘houses’, (b) officials (*shn*), variously ‘of [...], of Pharaoh, and of Aršāma’ (in each of the latter two cases it is a single such official), and (c) ‘the rest of the ?share (*dni.t*)’.¹³ But the narrative glue that holds it all together is elusive. We can reasonably say that the overall topic is commodity handling (rather than e.g. judicial decision-making or, indeed, land measurement) and that various officials are involved, but not a great deal more.

Of the content of 76287, the other papyrus that contains Aršāma’s name, and of most of the other papyri in the set no specific impression is yet available. But two of them—76281 and 76282 (two parts of an originally single large document: see above, p. 293)—are the object of further comment in Martin 2019. They are unusual in that they intersperse lists of land-surface measurements (characteristic of the document-set as a whole) with discursive reports. No detail is supplied about the report in 76282 front iv–v, but the one in 76281 back iii–iv (which is itself about land measurement) apparently involves a series of conversations. Persian names appear as well as the tag ‘and his companions’ (with both Persian and non-Persian names), so we are presumably in a broadly similar institutional environment to that in 76274.1, even if the latter does not apparently deal directly with land measurement.

Given the character of 76274.1 (excerpted letters), there is a slight temptation to wonder whether the combination of categorically distinct material in some of the other papyri in the set means that they too were excerpting material from separate primary documents and even to compare the excerpting of memoranda into journals in the PFA. But the parallel is perhaps inexact and it is better to await full publication of the British Museum document-set before pursuing such speculations.

¹³ Both letters thus contain what might loosely be described as financial terminology (cf. above at n. 12).

3.2

The Akkadian Documents

Reinhard Pirngruber

This appendix provides an edition and translation of the documents pertaining to the Achaemenid prince Aršāma in the Late Babylonian record.¹ Since in most cases this is the first time that these texts have been made fully accessible, indices of personal names (selective), place names, and hydronyms, and important key words (titles and technical terms) are also provided.² For most of the tablets, a photograph and metadata are published on <http://cdli.ucla.edu/>. In each case, CDLI's P-identifier is provided. The most important earlier discussion of this material is Stolper 1985: 64–6.

With one exception, the texts relating to Aršāma belong to a single archive of agricultural entrepreneurs from the city of Nippur, the Murašû family. The core of this dossier is constituted by nine herding contracts (*Viehverstellung*) concerning small cattle, i.e. sheep and goats, and styled in dialogue form (*Zwiegesprächs-surkunde*). In all these texts, Aršāma appears in a passive role: he is simply designated as the owner of the livestock. It is his bailiff (*paqdu*) Enlil-supê-muhur who leases out the animals to the individual herdsman via the herd supervisor (*rab būli*) Šamahtāni.

The terminology of the texts and most of the stipulations of the contracts—the quantities of wool and goat hair to be delivered, the number of offspring expected ($66\frac{2}{3}$) per one hundred ewes as well as the death toll permitted (ten per cent)—are conventional and also encountered in the earlier

¹ The following abbreviations should be noted. U.E. = upper edge, L.o.E. = lower edge, R.E. = right edge, L.E. = left edge, rev. = reverse. In the translation of EE 11 the unit for quantities of cereals and other commodities is the gur (*kurru*) and fractions are shown in conventional sexagesimal notation: thus, e.g. 130 gur = 130;0, 6 gur 3 (pi) 2 bān = 6;3.2, and 2 (pi) 3 bān = 0;2.3.

² The index of personal names includes members of the Murašû family and their subordinates, officials, other individuals of some prominence, and protagonists with Iranian personal names.

documentation of the ‘long sixth century BC’ from the Eanna temple in Uruk (see Kozuh 2014: 69–75, 183–90). Other clauses are either new, especially the obligation to provide a variety of dairy products, or have become more demanding (the delivery of one young goat per she-goat). The numbers of sheep and goats are considerable, oscillating usually between 286 (PBS 2/1 148) and 488 (BE 10.130) animals. Exceptional is BE 9.1 which records 1,333 sheep and goats.

All livestock contracts were written by the same scribe, Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. The herd supervisor in the service of Aršāma, responsible for the conveyance of the animals to the herders, is also the same in all instances, Šamahtāni/Isināya. The documents are the latest texts in the Murašû archive, dating between 413 and 404, and are thought to constitute an appendix of sorts. Following a suggestion by M. W. Stolper (1985: 23–4), it seems that after the dismantling of the Murašû business a former agent of theirs, Enlil-supê-muhur, entered the service of the Achaemenid prince Aršāma, acting as his bailiff in Babylonia. Note that these nine texts are the only herding contracts found in the Murašû archive.

In addition to the aforementioned contracts, Aršāma is also mentioned in four more records. EE 11 and IMT 9 are leases of arable land, dating to years 40 and 35 of the reign of Artaxerxes I respectively. In the former text, several parcels of land, one of which is specified as belonging to Aršāma, are rented out by Enlil-šum-iddin, one of the protagonists of the Murašû archive. The second text mentions a certain Šamaš-ibni, who is said to be ‘of the household of Aršāma’, as the owner of a neighbouring plot of land in the section specifying the rented field’s location. EE 109 + IMT 105 dating to the accession year of Darius II is a legal record, in which Šiṭa’, a slave of Aršāma, sues Enlil-šum-iddin for having illegally confiscated his property in collusion with the Nippureans; upon payment of 500 *kurru* (c.90,000 litres) of barley by Enlil-šumu-iddin, the case is dropped. Tolini 2011: 1.506–31 provides a detailed discussion of this text and BE 10.9, another legal record with a similar context. (See also Tuplin iii 49–52.) In the latest text of the dossier, TCL 13.203, dating to 403/2, a record of a division of agricultural land, Aršāma is again mentioned as the owner of a plot of land adjacent to the field at issue.

Hence, in addition to owning herds of small cattle of considerable size, it is clear that Aršāma also owned landed estates in the Nippur region in central Babylonia.

1. TCL 13 203

CDLI-number: P387268

Transcription

1. *ṭup-pi* še.numun *zaq-pi* u ka *šul-pu* gú id *šal-la*
2. ká *e-lu-ú* u ká *šap-lu-ú* še.numun gú id ^d30
3. ù še.numun gú id ^{ld}ag-ke-šir é ^{gis}ban *šá* [^{ld}ká-šeš-lib-ši]
4. a *šá* ^lú-bar ^lru-ti-^dmaš u ^lla-ba-ši a ^{mes}šá ^{ld}[me.me-mu-giš]
5. u ^{ld}maš-pab a *šá* ^lmu-gur-šu ina *hu-ud lib-bi*-[*šú-nu*]
6. *a-di* 15.ta mu.an.na ^{mes}i-zu-[zu[?]-[?]]
7. še.numun *zaq-pi* u ka *šul-pu* gú id *šal*-[*la*]
8. *ul-tu mi-šir šá* ^lar-ša-am-mu ^{ld}du[mu é]
9. ^ršá^r ^{ld}maš-su a ^{ld}en-líl-m[u[?] (~5-7 signs)]
10. [... ..] še.numun é ^rda^r-lu *šá* ^l[... .. (~5-7 signs)]
11. [... ..] mu.an.na [... .. (~5-7 signs)]
12. [... .. ^l] ^dmaš-pab *a-di* 1[5? mu.na.na ^{mes}(?)]
13. ha.la *šá-ni-tu*₄ še.numun *zaq-pi* [u ka *šul-pu*]
14. gú id *šal-la ul-tu mi-šir* [*šá*]
15. ... *a-di* še.numun *nak-kan-du* lugal *ul-tu* [... ..]
16. *šá* ^{ld}en-líl-mu-mu a *šá* ^{ld}nusku-^rmu^r [... .. ki]
17. en ha.la-šú-nu *a-di mišir šá* ^lin-šal^r-[... ..]
18. *meš-hat* [*šá*]-*ni-tu*₄ še.numun *zap-pi* u ka *šul-pu* gú id [*šal*]-*la*
19. *ka-as-lu ul-tu mi-šir šá* ^len-šú-nu a *šá* ^lman-nu-ki-i-^dna-na-a
20. *a-di mi-šir šá* ^lnumun-kit-ti-giš a *šá* ^len-šú-nu *ul-tu* kaskal^{ll} lugal
21. *a-di* id ^{ld}ag-ke-šir .. *meš-hat* [*šá*]-*ni*-*(text: lib)*-*tu*₄ še.numun é *ap-pa-ru*
- rev. *ul-tu* še.numun *šá* ^{ld}en-a-ùru a *šá* ^{ld}en-tin-su *a-di* ^rid^r ^d30
23. ù *ul-tu mi-šir šá* ^{ld}maš-pab a *šá* ^lsi-lim-dinger ^{mes}
24. *a-di mi-šir šá* ^lkit-ta a ^{ld}maš-šeš^{mes}-su u šeš^{mes}-šú-nu
25. *an-na-a* ha.la *šá* ^{ld}ká-šeš-lib-ši a *šá* ^lú-bar
26. ^lru-^dmaš u ^lla-ba-ši a ^{mes}šá ^{ld}me.me-mu-giš *pa-ni-šú-nu*
27. *a-di* 15.ta mu.an.na ^{mes}id-dag-gal
28. *man-nu ina* ha.la-šú *a-di* 15.ta mu.an.na ù-šú-uz-zu
29. *man-nu ina muh-hi* ha.la-šú lugal *i-pal-lah*
30. ki *a-ha-meš i-šir-ru-ú* mu [... .. c.7-9 signs]

31. ki a-ha-meš xx-x-' ina mu.an.na [... .. c.5 signs]
 32. tak-pu-uš-tu₄ x x^{meš} šá ina pa-ni x x x^{ld}ká-šeš-lib'-šī'
 33. ^lru-ti-^dmaš x x x x x [... .. c.7 signs]
 34. ma.na kù.babbar ina-an-din 1-en [pu-ut 2-i na-š]u^l-ú
 35. ^{lú}mu-kin₇
 36. ^lnumun-kit-ti-gi [a šá] ^l[en-šu-nu]
 37. ^{ld}en-líl-gin-a a šá^l[... ..]
 38. ^{ld}en-dan-nu a šá^{ld}[... ..]
 39. ^{ld}maš-sig₅-iq a šá^l[... ..]
 40. ^lmu-mu a šá a-a ^{ld}maš-šeš^{meš}-[. a šá]
 41. ^lsu-^den-líl a šá^{ld}en-líl-it-tan-nu
 42. ^lsi-ta-a a šá^{ld}[... ..]
 43. ^{lú}umbisag ^lki-din a šá^{ld}maš-tin-su en.lí^{ki it i}kin ud.10(+[?]).kam mu.2.kam
 44. [^lar^l-tah-šá-[as]-su lugal kur.kur šu-pur ^{ld}ká-šeš-lib-šú
- Edges: ^{na4}kišib ^l[num]un-kit-[ti]-gi a šá ^len-šu-nu – ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}en-líl-pab a šá^l[.. ..] – un-qa ^{ld}maš-su / [... ..] a šá^{ld}maš-su [... ..] ^lsu-^d[en-líl] a šá^{ld}en-líl-it-tan-nu – un-qa ^lna- din a šá^lIna-gissu-^dmaš – ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}maš-sig₅-iq a šá^l ^rx x-a^r – ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}[... ..] a šá^lšeš x – un-qa ^{ld}[..]

Translation

(1–6) Tablet of the arable field, planted (with date palms) and cultivated for cereals on the banks of the Šalla canal, upper sluice to (lit: and) lower sluice, arable field on the banks of the Šîn-canal, and arable field on the Nabû-kēšir-canal, the bow land of Bābu-aha-libši, son of Ubār, Širikti-Ninurta and Lābāši, sons of Gula-šum-līšir, and Ninurta-nāšir, son of Mutīr-gimilli, which they divided by choice (among themselves) for 15 years.

(7–12) The arable field, planted (with date palms) and cultivated for cereals on the banks of the Šalla canal, from the border of the *mār bīti Aršāmu* [... ..] of Ninurta-erība and Enlil-iddin [... ..] a field irrigated with water drawn from a well of [... ..] yearly [... ..] Ninurta-nāšir for 1[5 years]

(13–27) The other share, arable field, planted (with date palms) and cultivated for cereals [... ..] on the banks of the Šalla canal, from the bor[der] until the field of the royal storehouse, from [... ..] of Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Nusku-iddin [... .. with] their co-owners until the border of Inšal-[... ..] the other measured area; arable field, planted (with date palms) and cultivated for cereals on the banks of the Šalla canal, land irrigated by ditches (*kaslu*), from the border of Bēšunu, son of Mannu-kī-Nanāya until the border of Zēr-kitti-līšir, son of Bēšunu, from the royal road until the Nabû-kēšir-canal [... ..] the

other (?) measured area until the reed marsh; from the field of Bēl-apla-ušur, son of Bēl-bullissu, until the Sîn canal and until the border of Ninurta-nāšir, son of Silim-ilī, until the border of Kitta, son of Ninurta-ahhē-erība and Ahhēšunu. This share of Bābu-aha-libši, son of Ubār, Širikti-Ninurta and Lābāši, sons of Gula-šumu-lišir, will have it at their disposition and own it for 15 years.

(28–34) Each will cultivate his share for 15 years, each will perform the service for the King incumbent on his share (*zitti šarri*). Together they will prosper[...] and together [...] yearly an equalizing payment (*takpuštu*) before [...] Bābu-aha-libši, Širikti-Ninurta [...] minas of silver he will give [...]. One will stand guarantee for the other.

(35–44) Witnesses: Zēr-kitti-lišir, son of Bēlšunu—Enlil-mukīn-apli, son of [...]—Bēl-dannu, son of [...] – Ninurta-mudammiq, son of [...]—Šumu-iddin, son of Ninurta-ahhē-[.. son of ..]—Eriša-Enlil, son of Enlil-ittannu—Sitā [son of ..]. Scribe: Kidin, son of Ninurta-bullissu. Nippur, 10(+?) *ulūlu* (VI), year 2 of Artaxerxes, king of the lands. Fingernail of Bābu-aha-libši.

Edges: Seal of Zēr-kitti-lišir, son of Bēlšunu—Seal of Enlil-nāšir, son of [...]—Ring of Ninurta-erība / [...] son of Ninurta-erība [...] Eriša-Enlil, son of Enlil-ittannu—Ring of Nādin, son of Ina-šilli-Ninurta—Seal of Ninurta-mudammiq, son of [...]

Comments

This text was conventionally dated to the reign of Artaxerxes I (e.g. Driver 1954: 52). But, considering the chronological distribution of the other Babylonian texts referring to him, an attribution to the reign of Artaxerxes II is much more likely. Aršāma is thus attested in the extant cuneiform record between 430/29 and 403/02 (rather than between 463/2 and 413/12).

2. EE 11 (CBS 5205)

Copy and transcription: Stolper 1985: 175, 235–6

CDLI-number: P261398

Transcription

1. ¹mu-mu A šá ^{1d}maš-mu ^{1d}en-lil-it-tan-nu u šeš[^{mes}]-šú a^{mes} i^d-en ¹ba-rik-il-tam-meš A šá
2. ¹ki-rib-tú-^den ¹ad-a-a-qa-ri a šá ¹zi-[ti] ¹mu-mu a šá ¹la-ba-ši u ^{li}ki-na-at-ta-ti-šú-nu
3. gab (copy: ga)-bi šá ina ^{ur}hu-uš-še-e-tú šá ¹za-ru-^rut^r-tu₄ ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu a-na ^{1d}en-lil-mu-mu a ¹mu-ra-šu-u

4. *ki-a-am iq-bu-ú um-ma* še.numun^{mes} k[a šul-pu šá] ¹ar-šá-mu
še.numun^{mes} ka šul-pu uz-ba-ri
5. šá ¹ÍD¹ ^dud.sar.[še].ga še.numun ka šul-pu šá ¹ki-^dud-din še.numun^{mes}
ka šul-pu šá ¹ú.má.lah⁴^{mes}
6. še.numun^{mes} ka šul-pu KU[?] DU[?] DA[?] AM HU šá ina ta-mir-tu₄ šá ¹hu-
ma-a-a u hu-uš-še-e-tú šá ¹za-ru-ut-t[u₄]
7. ta mi-šir šá ^{ur}é [..] x a-di g[ú] ^{id}1ta-lim u a-di ka-as-lu šá é ¹ki-ki-i
8. še.numun ka šul-pu é [rit]-ti šá dumu^{mes} uru šá hu-uš-še-e-tú šá ¹za-ru-
ut-tu₄ 40 gu₄ ¹um¹-man-nu
9. šá 10 ^{gis}apin a-di ú-[nu-ti]-šú-nu [gam-ri] u ana še.numun 1 me 30 gur
še.bar 6 gur 3 (pi) 2 bán še.gig.ba
10. 12 gur še.¹zíz.àm¹ [4 gur še.sum.sikil] 1 gur še.sum.sar.sikil u 70 gur
še.bar ana he-ru-tú [šá ^{id}mes]
11. [ana ^{gis}bar 3^(?).ta mu.an.na^m]^{es} bi-in-na-an-na-šim-ma u ina mu.an.na
ina ^{iti}g[u₄]
12. ¹1 lim 3 me gur¹ [še.bar 1 me še.gi]g.ba [1] me gur še.zíz.àm pab 1 lim
5 me g[ur ebur]
13. 2 gur sah-lé-e [2 (pi) 3 bán ú.ebur.sar 12] gur še.sum.sar.sikil u [.. ..]
14. ina ^{gis}ma-ši-hu gal-u ina muh-hi ^{id} [30 u man-dat-tu₄ 1-en gu₄ x udu.
níta.nita u 1 ..]
15. nid-dak-ku ár-ki ^{id}en-líl-mu-mu iš-m[e-šú-nu-ti-ma] še.numun^{mes}
mu^{mes} gu₄^{mes}-a₄ 40 um-man-nu]
16. a-di ú-nu-ti-šú-nu til-ti u ana še.numun 1 me¹ 3[0 gur še.bar 6 gur 3
(pi) 2 bán še.gig.ba 12 gur še.zíz.àm]
- rev. 4 gur še.sum.sikil 1 gur še.sum.sar u 70 gur še.bar ana he-r[u-tú šá
^{id}mes id-daš-šú-nu-ti-ma]
18. ina mu.an.na ina ^{iti}gu₄ 1 lim 3 me gur¹ še.bar 1 me še.gig.ba [1 me gur
še.zíz.àm pab 1 lim 5 me gur ebur]
19. 2 gur sah-lé-e 2 (pi) 3 bán ú.ebur.sar 12 gur še.sum.sar 4 gur [.. .. .]
20. ina ^{gis}ma-ši-hu gal-u ina muh-hi ^{id} [30¹ u man-dat-tu₄ 1-en gu₄ x udu.
níta.nita u 1 [..]
21. i-nam-din-¹ 1-en [pu-ut 2-i ana kar na]-šú-u šá qé-reb kar ta ^{iti}sig₄ šá
mu [40].kam ¹gis¹bar [mu^{mes}]
22. [ina] ¹igi-šú-nu¹
23. ¹úmu-kin₇ ¹arad-[^dmaš a šá ^{id}]mas-din-iš ^{id}maš-mu A ^{id}maš-su
24. ^{id}maš-pab u ^{id}maš-mu-tir-r[i]-šú a^{mes} šá ^{id}ag-šeš^{mes}-mu ^{id}en-líl-ki-šir a
šá ¹[arad-^den-líl]
25. ¹mu-^damar.utu a šá ¹tin-su-^damar.utu ¹su-^den-líl a šá ^{id}en-líl-ba-na ¹mu-
mu a šá¹tat-ta[n-nu]

26. ^la-a a šá ^{ld}en-líl -tin-su-e ^{ld}en-líl-du-a a šá ^lka-šir ^{ld}en-it-tan-nu A šá
 27. ^{ld}en-tin-su ^lkal-a a šá ^lmu-d[u] ^lba-la-ṭu a šá ^len-šú-nu ^larad-ia a šá
^{ld}maš-šeš-mu
 28. ^lumbisag ^lta-qiš-^dme.me a šá ^lmu-^den-líl en.líl^{ki} ^{itir}sig⁴ ud.10.kam
 mu.40.kam ^lar-tah-šá-as-su lugal.kur.kur

Translation

(1–4) Šum-iddin, son of Ninurta-iddin, Enlil-ittannu and his brothers, sons of Nā'id-Bēl, Barik-Iltammeš, son of Kiribti-Bēl, Abi-yaqari, son of Napišti, Šum-iddin, son of Lābāši and all his colleagues in the town of Huššētu-ša-Zaruttu spoke by choice to Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, thus:

(4–15) arable land, cultivated for cereals, of Aršāmu, arable land, cultivated for cereals, crown land of the Simmagir canal, arable land, cultivated for cereals, of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, arable land, cultivated for cereals, of the *malāhu*-boatmen, arable land, cultivated for cereals, [x x x x] in the irrigation district (*tamirtu*) of Humāya and Huššētu-ša-Zaruttu, from the border of the town of Bīt-[...] until the Talīmu canal and until the unploughed strip of the estate of Kiki, arable land, cultivated for cereals, the *bīt ritti* of the inhabitants of Huššētu-ša-Zaruttu, as well as 40 plough oxen and 10 ploughs with full equipment and seed: 130;0 barley, 6;3.2 wheat, 12;0 emmer, [1;0 *šamaskillu*] and [4];0 *šūmu* as well as 70;0 barley for digging canals give us for [x] years against a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and every year in the month of *ayyar* we will deliver to you at the Sîn canal 1300;0 barley, 100;0 wheat, 100;0 emmer—total: 1,500;0 of crop yield—2;0 cress [0;2.3 fenugreek 12;0] *šamaškillu*, and [... ..] in the big measure.

(15–22) Thereupon, Enlil-šum-iddin agreed and gave to them these fields and aforementioned 40 [plough] oxen, with full equipment and seed: 130;0 barley, 6;3.2. wheat; 12;0 emmer, 4;0 *šamaškillu*, 1;0 *šūmu* and 70;0 barley for the canal-digging. Every year, they shall give in the month of *ayyar* 1300;0 barley, 100;0 wheat, 100; emmer—a total of 1500;0 crop yield – as well as 2;0 cress, 0;2.3 fenugreek, 12;0 *šūmu*, 4;0 [... ..] in the big measure. They shall stand surety for one another, whoever is available will acquit. From the month of *simanu* year 40 of Artaxerxes, the fields are at their disposition.

(23–8) Witnesses: Arad-Ninurta, son of Ninurta-uballiṭ—Ninurta-iddin, son of Ninurta-eriba—Ninurta-nāšir and Ninurta-mutīr-gimilli, sons of Nabû-ahhē-iddin—Enlil-kēšir, son of Arad-Enlil—Iddin-Marduk, son of Bullissu-Marduk—Erib-Enlil, son of Enlil-bana—Šum-iddin, son of Tattannu—Aplāya, son of Enlil-bullissu-iqbi—Enlil-mukīn-apli, son of Kāšir—Bēl-ittannu, son of Bēl-bullissu—Aqara, son of Šum-ukīn—Balāṭu, son of Bēlšunu—Ardīya, son of Ninurta-ah-iddin.

Scribe: Taqīš-Gula, son of Iddin-Enlil. Nippur, 10 *simanu* (III), year 40 of Artaxerxes, king of the lands.

Comments

1. *Šamaškillu* has been identified by Stol 1987: 59–62 as a variety of the onion, but doubts persist. Wunsch 1993: 21 translates the word as garlic and conversely, *šūmu*, identified as garlic by Stol, as onion. Based on analogy with lines 17 and 19, the writing *še.sum.sar.sikil* in lines 10 and 13 seems to be erroneous for *še.sum.sar*.

2. The delivery at the *Sin*-canal specified in line 14 is a reference to the dense network of canals, which were used both for irrigation purposes and for transportation of bulky goods (Jursa 2010: 62–4).

3. Stolper 1985 (Text 11, pp. 235–6) tentatively reads [4]1 in line 21; this should be amended to 40 as is clear from the date formula. Transactions and their recording usually take place in close chronological proximity.

3. IMT 9 (NI. 523)

Copy and commented transcription in Donbaz and Stolper 1997: 23, 85–6.

Transcription

1. *še.numun nak-kan-du lugal é^{gis}bar¹ mi-it-ra-ni-’ šá ana [muh]-hi*
2. *^{gis}bar šá id^d30 ta muh-hi ni-bi-ri šá^{uru} gaba-^l i⁷-ni*
3. *a-di^{id} u-hi-a a-di^{id} ha-ba-lu-a-ha-’ a-di mu[h-hi] še.numun*
4. *šá^{ld} utu-dù šá É¹ ar-šá-am-mu u a-di a-di muh-hi še.numun*
5. *šá^{ld} maš-šeš-id^d-din šá ina igi^{ld} en-líl-mu-mu a šá¹ mu-ra-šu-⁷ ú⁷*
6. *^{ld}en-líl-mu-mu še.numun mu^{mes} a-na^{gis} bar ana mu.an.na*
7. *10 gur še.bar a-na¹ ba-rik-ìl-tam-meš A šá^{ld} na-na-a-kám id-⁷ din⁷*
8. *ma-la še.numun šá ina lib-bi ip-pu-uš a^{mes} ^{ld}en-líl-⁷ mu-mu⁷*
9. *a-na¹ ba-rik-ìl-tam-meš i-nam-din še.⁷ bar⁷ [-a₄] 10 gur^{gis} bar [a.šà]*
10. *ina^{gis} ma-ši-⁷ hu šá^g [i^{is}? bar² ina] itⁱ gu₄ šá m⁷ u⁷. [36. ?] kam¹ ar-tak-šat-su lugal*
11. *ina^{uru} gaba-li-ni^r ba-rik-ìl-⁷ [tam-meš ina-a] n-din ta^{iti} bár*
12. *šá mu. [36.] kam še.numun ina igi- [šú 1-en ta].⁷ àm] šá-⁷ tar^r ti-⁷ ú⁷*
- rev. *^{lu} mu-kin₇ ¹ arad-^d en-líl a [šá¹ ru-tì-^d maš^{ld} maš-mu a šá]*
14. *^{ld} maš-su ¹ ú-bar a šá^d b^r u⁷- [ne-ne-dù¹ x x x A šá]*
15. *¹ ni-qud¹ su-^{dr} en-líl a šá⁷ ^{ld} en-líl-ba- [na] ¹ a-^r a šá⁷*
16. *^{ld} en-líl-tin-su-e^{ld} utu-din-i⁷ a šá¹ ti-ri-^r ia⁷-ma*
17. *[¹] a-a a šá^d ká-ba-šá¹ ina-é. sag. il-ra-a-šú a šá^{1r} ki⁷- [na-a]*
18. *^{lu} umbisag^{ld} maš-pab a ¹ ir-^d en-líl en.líl^{ki} itⁱ še ud.15.kam*

19. mu.35.kam ¹ar-tah-šá-as-su lugal kur.kur
^{na4}kišib ¹ba-rik-il-tam-meš / A šá ^{1d}na-na-a-kám

Translation

(1–7) A field belonging to the royal storehouse, rented property of Miθrēna, the (*ša*) *ana muhhi sūti* of the Sîn canal, (which extends) from the ford of the town of Gabalīni until the Uhia-canal, until the Habaluaha' canal, until the field of Šamaš-ibni from the household of Aršāmu, and until the field of Ninurta-ah-iddin, (and which is) at the disposition of Enli-šum-iddin, son of Murašū: Enli-šum-iddin gave these [*sic*] fields for a fixed rent of 10 *kurru* of barley per year to Barik-Iltammeš, son of Nanāya-ēriš.

(8–12) Enli-šum-iddin will provide Barik-Iltammeš with water for as much land as he will cultivate. Barik-Iltammeš will deliver aforementioned 10 *kurru* of barley in the *sūtu*²-measure in month II of year 36(?) Artaxerxes in the town of Gabalīni. From month I of year 36 Artaxerxes, the field is at his disposition. Each took a copy.

(13–19) Witnesses: Arad-Enlil, son of Širikti-Ninurta—Ninurta-iddin, son of Ninurta-erība—Ubār, son of Bunene-ibni—PN, son of Niqud—Erīb-Enlil, son of Enlil-baba—Aplāya, son of Enlil-bullissu-iqbi—Šamaš-uballiṭ, son of Tiryāma—Aplāya, son of Bābu-iqīša—Ina-Esangil-rāšū, son of Kīnāya.

Scribe: Ninurta-nāšir, son of Arad-Enlil. Nippur, 15 *addar* (XII), year 35 of Artaxerxes, king of the lands.

Seal of Barik-Iltammeš, son of Nanāya-ēriš.

Comments

The provision with water specified in 8–9 and the low rental price seems to indicate that no rights to the use of a canal (e.g. the Uhia canal mentioned in line 3) were part of this agreement. On rentals of water rights see Stolper 1985: 130–3.

4. EE 109 + IMT 105 (NI. 12993+CBS 12957)

Commented transcription and translation in Donbaz and Stolper 1997: 152–4, Tolini 2011: 2.207–9; copies in Stolper 1985: 225 (EE 109), Donbaz and Stolper 1997: 75 (IMT 105). The underlined text of the transcription belongs to fragment IMT 105.

CDLI-number (EE 109): P267560

21. [mu.sag.nam.lugal.e ¹da-ri.ia-m]u-uš lugal kur.kur šu-pur ¹hu-ú-r[u
ku-um ^{na4}kišib-šú] – [^{na4}kišib] ^{lú}sipa šá ¹d[a[?]-...-...]—[^{na4}kišib PN] a
šá ¹[PN] ^{na4}[kišib ¹en-it-tan-nu] ^{lú}us-tar-r[i-bar-ri] a šá ¹en-tin-iš

Translation

(1–4) Šiṭa', the son of PN, slave of Aršāmu spoke on day x of month y in the accession year of Darius, king of the lands, to Bammuš, the *mār bīti*[?], thus: 'Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, his slaves, his agents, and the people of Nippur confiscated my property in the town of Nippur!'

(4–12) Then, from before Bammuš, PN the satrap, Ispitama', the *mār bīti* of Patēšu, Hūru [filiation/title], Bagadātu, the slave of Ispitama', and Marduka [filiation/title] and their leather scrolls concerning this lawsuit [came to Nippur] to litigate [against (?)] Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, his slaves, [his agents, and the people of Nippur before?'] Bēl-ittannu, the *ustabaru*, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, Nabû-haḳabi, son of PN, Madānu-iddin, the *šaknu* of the *šušānu* of the foremen, Aplāya, son of Ea-ibni (and) Sangilu, son of Bēl-bullissu, the Babylonians, [and xx]-Marduk, son of Bēl-ab-[uṣur[?]], the *mār banê*.

(12–19) Those possessions with Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, his slaves, his agents, and the people of Nippur [... ..] Enlil-šum-iddin gave 500 *kurru* of barley to Šiṭa' for his not filing a complaint. Šiṭa' has received aforementioned 500 *kurru* of barley from Enlil-šum-iddin and [neither Šiṭa' nor his sons] and brothers will ever return and litigate against Enlil-šum-iddin, his son, his slaves, his agents, and the people of Nippur. The oath of the gods and the king they swore: 'We will not come back to this lawsuit!' Šiṭa' guarantees the [... ..] will not litigate [... ..].

(20–1) Scribe: Ninurta-nāšir/Mannu-Enlil-dāri. Nippur, month *addar* (XII), day 9, accession year of Darius, king of the lands.

Nail impression of Hūru, instead of his seal. Seal of Bēl-ittannu/Bēl-uballiṭ, *ustabaru*. Two additional almost completely erased seal inscriptions

Comments

1. Some restorations in the beginning of lines provided by Donbaz and Stolper 1997 are problematic. For example, they add only the PN [¹šī-ta-'] at the beginning of line 16, but in the light of the clearly visible *ù* preceding the *šēš^{mes}* on tablet IMT 105, there must have been something else. I tentatively suggest to amend *dumu^{mes}-šú*. Also the [*arad^{mes}-šú*] at the end of the same line is not indicated on the copy.

2. On the negative assertory oath in lines 17 and 18 and the abbreviative phrasing *ina ilī u šarri temû* see Sandowicz 2012: 40–1, 383 (O.358).

3. The use of the Aramaic language and concomitantly of leather scrolls (^{kuš}*šiprētu*, line 7) or wooden ledgers as medium of choice in Babylonia had been a central feature of the bureaucracy since the Neo-Babylonian period. See e.g. Jursa 2005: 170–8.

5. BE 9.1

CDLI-number: P261570

Transcription

1. ^{Id}*qu-su-ia-a-ha-bi* ^{lú}*sipa* a ^{ša} ^{Id}*ma-re-e* *ina hu-ud lib-bi-šu ana*
^{Id}*en-líl-siskúr-mu-hur*
2. ^{lú}*paq-du* ^{ša} ¹*ar-ša-am* *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* 1 me 6 ^{udu}*pu-hal* 72 *udu*
mu 2-[ú]
3. 1 me 52 *udu* *dumu*^{meš} *mu.an.na* 6 me 3 *u*₈ *gal-tú a-lit-tú* 1 me 52
^{udu}*par-rat*
4. *pab* 1 *lim* 92.ta *še-en babbar*^{meš} 41*máš.gal* 19 *máš* 37 *máš.Γtur*⁷
5. 1 me 4 *ùz gal-tú a-lit-tú* 37 ^{mi}*áš.gàr* *pab* 2 me 38 *še-en ge*₆^{meš} *nap-har*
pab
6. 1 *lim* 3 me 33.ta *še-en babbar*^{meš} *u ge*₆^{meš} *gal-tú u tur-tú* ^{ša} ¹*ar-ša-am-*
mu *dumu é*
7. ^{ša} *ina* *šu*^{II}-*ka a-na* ^{giš}*bar a-na* *mu.an.na a-na* 1 me *u*₈ 1+*šu* 6 2.ta *šu*^{II}^{me}
8. ^Γ*tam*⁷-*lit-tú a-na* 1-*et UDU-tu*₄ 1½ *ma.na sík gi-iz-za-as-su a-na* 1-*et* *ùz*
9. 1-*en tam-lit-tú* 5/6 <*ma.na*> *sík* *ùz gi-iz-za-as-su a-na* 1 me *udu-tu*₄
a-lit-tú 1 me *gub-Γna-tú*⁷
10. 1 *silá hi-me-tú bi-in-nam-ma ina* *mu.an.na ina* ^{iti}*gu*₄ *a-na* 1 me *u*₈ 1+*šu*
6 2.ta *šu*^{II}^{meš}
11. *tam-lit-tú a-na* 1-*et udu-tu*₄ 1½ *ma.na sík gi-iz-za-as-su a-na* <1-*et*> *ùz*
1-*en tam-lit-tú*
12. 5/6 *ma.na sík* *ùz gi-iz-za-as-su a-na* 1 me *udu-tu*₄ *a-lit-tú* 1 me *gub-*
na-tú 1 *silá hi-met*
13. ^{giš}*bar* *še-en mu*^{meš} *lud-dak-ka ina* *mu.an.na a-na* 1 me *še-en* 10 *še-en*
14. *mi-qit-tu*₄ *mu-un-na-’ a-na* 1-*en udu*¹ *mi-qit-tu*₄ 1-*en kuš* 2 ½ *gín sa*
lud-dak-ka
15. *ár-ku* ^{Id}*en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur iš-me-šu-ma* ^{udu}*pu-hal* *a’* [1 me 6 72 *udu*
mu] 2-ú

16. 1 me 52 udu dumu^{meš} mu.an.na 6 me 3.ta ^{udu}lah-ri^Γ gal-tú a-lit^Γ-tú 1 me 52 ^{udu}par-rat
17. pab 1 lim 97.ta še-en babbar^{meš} 41 máš.gal 19 máš 37 máš.tur
- rev. 1 me 4.ta ùz gal-tú a-lit-tú 37.ta ^{mi}áš.gàr pab 2 me 38 še-en ge^{meš} pab pab
19. 1 lim 3 me 33.ta še-e-nu še-en babbar^{meš} u ge^{meš} gal-tú u tur-tú šá ¹ar-šá-am-mu
20. dumu é šá ina šu^{II}-šú a-na ^{gis}bar id-daš-šú ina mu.an.na ana 1 me udu lah-ri^I+šu 6 2.ta šu^{II} me
21. tam-lit-tú a-na 1<-et> udu-tu₄ 1½ ma.na sík gi-iz-za-as-su a-na 1-et ùz 1-en tam-lit-tú 5/6 ma.na sík
22. gi-iz-za-as-su a-na 1 me udu-tu₄ a-lit-tú 1 me gub-na-at 1 s[ila hi-me-tú ^{gis}bar] še-en mu^{meš}
23. ^{Id}qu-su-ia-a-ha-bi ana ^{Id}en-líl-siskúr-mu-^Γhur^Γ [sum-in ina mu].an.na a-na 1 me
24. še-en 10 še-en mi-qit-tu₄ ú-man-na-áš-šú a-na 1-en mi-q[it-tu₄ 1-en] kuš 2 ½ gín sa
25. ina-an-din pu-ut sipa-i-tu₄ su-ud-du-du u en.nun šá še-en mu^{meš} ^{Id}q[^u-su]-^Γia-a-ha-bi na-ši^Γ
26. ta ^{iti}du₆ mu.1.kam ¹ar-tah-šá-as-su lugal še-en mu^{meš} ana ^{gis}bar ina igi-šú
27. ina igi ^{Id}en-it-tan-nu ^{lú}di.kud šá íd ^d30
28. ^{lú}mu-kin₇ ^{Id}maš-mu a šá ¹na-din ^{Id}en-da-nu a šá ^{Id}en-din-su ¹šeš-šú-nu a šá
29. ¹šeš-mu-^damar.utu ^{Id}ag-na-din dumu é šá ^{Id}en-i-bu-ka-áš ^{lú}us-tar-ba-ri
30. ¹an.šár-šeš-mu dumu é šá ^{Id}en-i-bu-ka-áš ^{lú}us-tar-ba-ri
31. ¹mu-šal-lim-^den ^{lú}paq-du šá ^{Id}i-šum-mar-du-³
32. ^{lú}umbisag ¹ni-din-tú-^den-líl a šá ^{Id}maš-mu en.líl^{kiiti} du₆ du.28.kam mu 1.kam
33. ¹ar-tah-šá-as-su lugal kur.kur
- L.E. un-qu ^{Id}en-da-nu – ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}en-it-tan-nu ^{lú}di.kud íd ^d30
- R.E. un-qu ^{Id}ag-na-din – un-qu ¹an.šár-šeš-mu – šu-pur ^{Id}qu-su-ia-a-ha-bi
- Lo.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}maš-mu – un-qu ¹šeš-šú-nu – ^{na4}kišib ¹mu-šal-lim-^den

Translation

(1–15) Qoš-yahab, the shepherd, son of Marē, spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu thus: 106 rams, 72 two-year old sheep, 152 sheep

born this year, 603 adult mother-sheep, 152 female lambs—a total of 1,092 [*sic*] ('white') sheep, and 41 adult bucks, 19 goats, 37 young goats, 104 adult nanny-goats, 37 female kids—a total of 238 ('black') goats; total sum: 1,333 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small, of prince (*mār bīti*) Aršāmu under your control give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*) of yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, as well as 1 offspring and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and per 100 mother-sheep 100 cheeses and 1 litre of ghee, and every year in the month of *ayyaru* I will give you $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, as well as 1 offspring and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and per 100 mother-sheep 100 cheeses and 1 litre of ghee. Every year allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, and for every dead sheep I will give you one hide and 2.5 shekels of tendons.

(15–27) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him for a fixed rent (*sūtu*) aforementioned 106 rams, 72 two-year-old sheeps, 152 sheep born this year, 603 adult mother-sheep, 152 female lambs—a total of 1,097 [*sic*] ('white') sheep, and 41 adult bucks, 19 goats, 37 young goats, 104 adult nanny-goats, 37 female kids—a total of 238 ('black') goats; total sum: 1,333 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small, of prince (*mār bīti*) Aršāmu under his control. Every year, Qoš-yahab [will give] to Enlil-supê-muhur $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, as well as 1 offspring and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat, and per 100 mother-sheep 100 cheeses and 1 litre of ghee, the fixed rent (*sūtu*) of said small livestock. Every year he will allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, and for every dead sheep he will give one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons. Qoš-yahab guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From the month of *tašritu*, year 1 of king Artaxerxes said small livestock is at his disposal for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). In the presence of Bēl-ittannu, the judge of the Sîn-canal.

(28–33) Witnesses: Ninurta-iddin, son of Nādin—Bēl-dānu, son of Bēl-bullissu—Ahušunu, son of Ah-iddi-Marduk—Nabû-nādin, *mār bīti* of the *ustabaru* Bēl-ibukaš—Issar-ah-iddin, *mār bīti* of the *ustabaru* Bēl-ibukaš—Mušallim-Bēl, *paqdu* of Išum-mardu'.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 28 *tašritu* (VII), year 1 of Artaxerxes, king of the lands.

Seals: Ring of Bēl-dānu—Seal of Bēl-ittannu, judge of the Sîn-canal / Ring of Nabû-nadin—Ring of Issar-ah-iddin—Fingernail of Qoš-yahab / Seal of Ninurta-iddin—Ring of Ahušunu—Seal of Mušallim-Bēl.

Comments

1. The calculation in the text is slightly off. While the sum for goats (238) is correct, the total for sheep actually amounts to 1,085 while the text gives variously

1,092 and 1,097. Also, the grand total should be 1,323 rather than the text's 1,333, the latter number presupposing a total for sheep of 1,095. It seems that something went awry in the process of counting the sheep.

6. BE 10.130

CDLI-number: P261459

Transcription

1. ¹l̄-tam-meš-zálag-i' dumu šá ¹arad-^dmaš ina hu-ud li[b-bi-šú a-na]
^{1d}en-líl-su-pe-e-[mu]-hur ^{1ú}paq-du
2. šá ¹ar-šá-am ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma [43 ^{udu}]pu-hal 36 udu.níta mu 2-ú
3. 2 me 47.ta u₈ gal-ti a-lit-ti 64 [udu.níta dumu mu.a]n.na 64.ta ^{udu}lah-
rat dumu.mí mu.an.na
4. 4 máš.gal 3 máš mu 2-ú 16.[ta ù]z gal-ti a-lit-ti 5 máš dumu 6.ta mí.áš.
gàr
5. pab 4 me 88.ta še-en bab[bar^{mes} u ge₆^m]^{es} šá¹ar-šá-am a-na ^{gis}bar
bi-in-nam-ma
6. [ina mu.]an.na a-na [1 me u₈ 66] 2.ta šu^{II mes} mi-il-du a-na 1-et ùz 1-en
mi-il-du
7. [a-na 1-et im-mer]-^rtu₄ 1 ½^r [ma.na] sík^{hia} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík
ùz gi-iz-za-tu₄ a-na
8. [1-et im-mer]-tu₄ a-lit-tu₄ 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me udu.níta-tu₄ a-lit-
tú 1 síla ì.nun.na
9. ^{gis}bar še-en mu^{mes} lud-dak-ka a-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tu₄
mu-un-na'
10. a-na 1-en mu-ut-^rta-tu₄^r 1-en kuš^{hia} 2 ½ gín gi-da-a-tú lud-dak-ka
ár-ki
11. ^{1d}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur iš-me-e-šu-ma^{udu}pu-hal-a₄ 43 36 udu.níta mu 2-ú
12. 2 me 47.ta u₈ gal-ti a-lit-ti 64 udu.níta dumu mu.an.na 64.ta ^{udu}lah-
rat
13. dumu.mí mu.an.na 4 máš.gal 3 máš mu 2-ú 16.ta ùz gal^r-ti a^r-lit-ti
14. 5 máš dumu 6.ta mí.áš.gàr pab 4 me 88.ta še-en babbar^{mes} u ge₆[^{mes}
gal]-ti u qal-lat
15. a-[na ^{gis}bar id-daš-šú ina mu.an.na ana 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II mes}] mi-il-du
a-na

16. 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du a-na 1-et udu.níta-tu₄ 1 ½ ma.n[a sík^{hi}.]^a a-na
1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz
17. gi-iz-za-tu₄ a-na 1-et udu.níta-tu₄ a-lit-ti 1-et gub-<na>-tu₄ [a-n]a 1
me udu.níta-tu₄ a-lit-tú
18. 1 síla ì.nun.na ^{giš}bar še-en mu^{mes} 1^ll-tam-meš-zálag-i' ana [^{Id}en-líl si^(l)]
skur-mu-hur ina an-din
19. a-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tu₄ ^{Id}en-líl-sískur-mu-hur ú-man-na-
áš-šú
20. a-na 1-et mu-ut-ta-ti 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gín gi-da-a-tú ina-an-din pu-ut
sipa-i-tu₄
21. su-ud-du-du u en.nun šá še-en mu^{mes} 1^ll-tam-meš-zálag-i' na-a-ši ul-tu
22. ud.21.kam ^{iti}kin mu.11.kam še-en mu^{mes} ina igi-šú še-en mu^{mes} šá ina
šu^{II}
23. 1^ša-ba-ah-ta-ni-³ ^{lú}gal bu-ul dumu šá 1^{pa}.še^{ki}-a-a
24. ^{lú}mu-kin₇
25. 1^{mu}-^damar.utu u 1^{šeš}-zálag-i' dumu^{mes} šá 1^{tin}-su-^damar.utu 1^{kal}-a dumu
šá 1^{sum}-na-a
26. ^{Id}maš-gál-ši dumu šá ^{Id}en-líl-ki-šir ^{Id}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá
27. 1^{lu}-ú-i-di-ia ^{Id}maš-tin-iṭ a šá ^{Id}en-mu
28. 1ⁱ-^dmaš u ^{Id}50-tin-iṭ / ^{na4}kišib
29. a^{mes} ša 1^{la}-ba-ši 1^{en}-šu-nu / ^{Id}maš-tin-iṭ
30. a šá ^{Id}50-tin-iṭ 1^{šir}-ki-^den / un-qu
31. ^{lú}šak-nu šá ^{lú}taš-li-šá-nu šá 150 a 1^{en}-šu-nu / 1^{en}-šu-nu
32. 1^{gissu}-a-a dumu šá 1^{na}-din
33. 1ⁿⁱ-din-tu₄-^den-líl ^{lú}umbisag dumu šá ^{Id}maš-mu en.líl^{iti}kin ud.21.kam
mu.11.kam
34. 1^{da}-ri-ia-a-muš lugal kur.kur
- U.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá 1^{lu}-ú-i-di-ia – ^{na4}kišib 1^{arad}-^dme.me
dumu šá ^{Id}maš-dù
- rev. šu-pur 1^ll-tam-meš-zálag-i' – un-qu 1^ša-ba-ah/-ta-ni-³ – ^{na4}kišib 1^{gissu}-
a-a ^{lú}am-ma-ru-a-kal šá lugal dumu šá 1^{na}-din – ^{na4}kišib 1^{šir}-ki-^den
^{lú}šak-nu šá ^{lú}taš-li-šá-nu
- Lo.E. ^{na4}[kišib 1^m]u-^damar.utu dumu šá 1^{tin}-su-^damar.utu – ^{na4}kišib 1^{šeš}-zálag-i'
dumu šá 1^{tin}-su-^damar.utu
- L.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}maš-gál-ši dumu šá ^{Id}en-líl-ki-šir- ^{na4}kišib 1^{kal}-a dumu šá
1^{sum}-na-a
- R.E. ^{na4}kišib 1ⁱ-^dmaš

Translation

(1–10) Iltammeš-nūrī, son of Arad-Ninurta spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu, thus: 46 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 247 adult mother-sheep, 64 sheep born this year, 64 female lambs born this year, 4 adult bucks, 3 two-year-old billy-goats, 16 adult nanny-goats, 5 young goats, 6 female kids: a total of 488 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, of Aršāmu give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*) of yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee I will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Every year allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, and for every dead sheep I will give you one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons.

(10–23) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him aforementioned 46 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 247 adult mother-sheep, 64 sheep born this year, 64 female lambs born this year, 4 adult bucks, 3 two-year-old billy-goats, 16 adult nanny-goats, 5 young goats, 6 female kids: a total of 488 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, Iltammeš-nūrī will give $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee to Enlil-supê-muhur. 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats he will allow, for every dead sheep he will give him one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons. Iltammeš-nūrī guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day 21, month of *ulūlu*, year 11 of king Darius said small livestock is at his disposal; said small livestock (he has received) from the overseer of the herds Šamahtānī, son of Isināya.

(24–34) Witnesses: Iddin-Marduk und Ah-nūrī, sons of Uballissu-Marduk—Aqara, son of Iddināya—Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir—Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Ninurta-uballiṭ, son of Bēl-iddin—Nā'id-Ninurta and Enlil-uballiṭ, sons of Lâbâši—Bēšunu, son of Enlil-uballiṭ—Širki-Bēl, *šaknu ša tašlišānu ša šumēlu*, son of Bēšunu—Šillāya, son of Nādin.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 21 *ulūlu* (VI), year 11 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Seal of Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Seal of Arad-Gula, son of Ninurta-ibni / Fingernail of Iltammeš-nūrī—Ring of Šamahtānī—Seal of Šillāya, the *ammarukal*-official of the king, son of Nādin—Seal of Širki-Bēl, the *šaknu ša tašlišānu* / Seal of Iddin-Marduk, son of Uballissu-Marduk—Seal of Ah-nūrī, son of Uballissu-Marduk / Seal of Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir—Seal of Aqara, son of Iddināya / Seal of Nā'id-Ninurta.

Comments

The total of livestock is again off (by three animals) and should amount to 491 rather than 488. Note that sheep ‘born this year’ are not at issue in this text.

7. BE 10.131

CDLI-number: P261329

Transcription

1. ^lšeš-šú-nu dumu šá [^{Id}e]n-sur i-na hu-ud lib-bi-šú a-na ^{Id}en-<líl>-su-pe-e-mu-hur ^{lù}paq-du
2. šá ^lar-šá-am ki-[a-am] iq-bi um-ma 9 ^{udu}pu-hal 27 udu.níta mu 2-ú
3. 1 me 44.ta u₈ gal[-ti a-lit-]tu₄ 37 udu.níta dumu mu.an.na 38.ta ^{udu}lah-rat dumu.mí mu.an.na
4. 25 máš.gal 9 máš mu [2-ú 5]0.ta ùz gal-ti a-lit-ti 17 máš dumu 17.ta mí.áš.gàr
5. pab 3 me 73.ta še-en babbar^{m[^{es} u ge]₆^{mes} šá ^lar-šá-am a-na ^{giš}bar bi-in-nam-^rma⁷}
6. ina mu.an.na a-na 1 me u₈ 66 [2].ta šu^{II mes} mi-il-du a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du
7. a-na 1-et im-mer-tu₄ 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hi.a} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz gi-iz-za-tu₄
8. a-na 1-et im-mer-tu₄ a-lit-tu₄ 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me udu.níta-tu₄ <a-lit-tú> 1 síla ì.nun.na
9. ^{giš}bar še-en mu^{mes} lud-dak-ka a-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tu₄ m[u-un-]na-’ a-na
10. 1-en mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gín g[i-da]-a-tú lud-dak-ka ár-ki
11. ^{Id}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur iš-me-e-šu-ma^{udu}pu-hal-a₄ 9 17 udu.níta mu 2-ú
12. 1 me 44.ta u₈ gal-ti a-lit-ti 37 udu.níta du[mu mu.]an.na 38.ta ^{udu}lah-rat dumu.mí
mu.an.na
13. 25 máš.gal 9 máš mu 2-ú 50.ta ùz gal-t[i] ^ra⁷-lit-ti 17 máš dumu
14. 17.ta mí.áš.gàr pab 3 me 73.ta še-en babbar^{mes} u^rge⁷₆^{mes} gal-ti u qal-lat a-na
15. ^{giš}bar id-daš-šú ina mu.an.na ana 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II mes}] mi-il-du a-na 1-et ùz

16. 1-en mi-il-du a-na 1-et udu.níta-tu₄ 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hi.a} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz
17. gi-iz-za-tu₄ a-na 1-et udu.níta-tu₄ a-lit-ti 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 im-mer-tu₄ a-lit-tú
18. 1 síla ì.nun.na ^{giš}bar še-en mu^{mes} 1^yšeš-šú-nu ana ^{Id}en-líl-s^ru-p^e-e-mu-hur sum-in
19. a-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tu₄ ^{Id}en-líl-sískur-mu-hur [ú-]man-na-áš-šú a-na-1-en
20. mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gín gi-da-a-tú in-nam-din [pu-ut] sipa-i-tu₄
21. su-ud-du-du u en.nun šá še-en mu^{mes} 1^yšeš-šú-nu na-ši ta ud.21.kam ^{iti}kin mu.11.kam
22. še-en mu^{mes} ina igi-šú še-en mu^{mes} šá ina šu^{II}ša-ba-ah-ta-ni-’
23. ^{lú}gal bu-ul dumu šá ^{pa.še}ki-a-a
24. ^{lú}mu-kin₇ ^{mu-d}amar.utu u ^ššeš-zálag-i’ dumu^{mes} šá ^{tin-su-d}amar.utu ^{kal-a} dumu šá
25. ^{sum-na-a} ^{Id}maš-gál-ši dumu šá ^{Id}en-líl-ki-šir ^{Id}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá
26. ^{lu-ú-i-di-ia} ^{arad-d}gu-la dumu šá ^{Id}maš-ib-ni
27. ^{Id}maš-tin-iṭ a šá ^{Id}en-mu ^{lú}arad šá ^{pur-ru-uš-ti-iš}
28. ^{šir-ki-d}en ^{lú}šak-nu šá ^{lú}taš-li-šá-nu šá 150 a ^{en-šu-nu}
29. ^{i-d}maš {dumu šá} u ^{Id}en-líl-tin-iṭ dumu^{mes} ša ^{la-ba-ši} ^{en-šu-nu}
30. dumu šá ^{Id}50-tin-iṭ / un-qu
31. ^{gissu-a-a} dumu <šá> ^{na-din} / ^{šá-ba-ah-ta-ni-’}
32. ^{ni-din-tu₄-d}en-líl ^{lú}dub.sar dumu šá ^{Id}maš-mu en.líl^{ki} ^{iti}kin ud.21.kam mu.11.kam
33. ^{da-ri-ia-a-uš} lugal kur.kur
- U.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{mu-d}amar.utu dumu šá ^{tin-su-d}amar.utu – ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá ^{lu-ú-i-di-ia} – ^{na4}kišib ^{arad-d}me.me dumu šá ^{Id}maš-dù
- Lo.E. ^{na4}kišib ^ššeš-zálag-’ dumu šá ^{tin-su-d}amar.utu – ^{na4}kišib ^{i-d}maš
- L.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}maš-gál-ši dumu šá ^{Id}en-líl-ki-šir – ^{na4}kišib ^{kal-a} dumu šá ^{sum-na-a}
- R.E. un-qu ^{en-šú-nu} – ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}maš-tin-iṭ

Translation

(1–10) Ahušunu, son of Bēl-ētir spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu, thus: 9 rams, 27 two-year-old sheep, 144 adult mother-sheep,

37 sheep born this year, 38 female lambs born this year, 25 adult bucks, 9 two-year-old billy-goats, 50 adult nanny-goats, 17 young goats, 17 female kids: a total of 373 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, of *Aršāmu* give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee I will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, for every dead sheep I will give you one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons.

(10–23) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him aforementioned 9 rams, 27 two-year-old sheep, 144 adult mother-sheep, 37 sheep born this year, 38 female lambs born this year, 25 adult bucks, 9 two-year-old billy-goats, 50 adult nanny-goats, 17 young goats, 17 female kids: a total of 373 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, Ahušunu will give $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee to Enlil-supê-muhur. 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats he will allow, for every dead sheep he will give him one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons. Ahušunu guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day 21, month of *ulūlu*, year 11 of king Darius said small livestock is at his disposal; said small livestock (he has received) from the overseer of the herds Šamahtānī son of Isināya.

(24–33) Witnesses: Iddin-Marduk und Ah-nūrī, sons of Uballissu-Marduk—Aqara, son of Iddināya—Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir—Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Arad-Gula, son of Ninurta-ibni—Ninurta-uballiṭ, son of Bēl-iddin, slave of the woman Parysatiš—Širki-Bēl, *šaknu ša tašlīšānu ša šumēlu*, son of Bēlšunu—Nā'id-Ninurta {son of} and Enlil-uballiṭ, sons of Lâbâši—Šillāya, son of Nādin.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 21 *ulūlu* (VI) year 11 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Seal of Iddin-Marduk, son of Uballissu-Marduk—Seal of Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Seal of Arad-Gula, son of Ninurta-ibni / Seal of Ahu-nūrī, son of Uballissu-Marduk—Seal of Nā'id-Ninurta / Seal of Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir—Seal of Aqara, son of Iddināya / Ring of Bēlšunu—Seal of Ninurta-uballiṭ.

8. BE 10.132

CDLI-number: P261560

Transcription

1. ^lha-an-na-ni-' a šá ^ldùg.ga-ía u ^len-za-bad-du a šá ^lbi-ša-a ina hu-ud
lib-bi-šú-nu a-na
2. ^len-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur ^lu paq-du šá ^lar-šá-am ur₅.gim e-ú um-ma
3. 85 ^udu pu-hal 36 udu.níta mu 2-ú 2 me 29.ta u₈ gal-tú a-lit-ti
4. 58 udu.níta d[umu m]u.an.na 58.ta ^udu lah-rat dumu.mí mu.an.na
5. pab 4 me 69.[ta] še-en babbar^{meš} šá ^lar-šá-am a-na^{giš}bar bi-in-na-an-
šim-ma
6. ina mu.an.na a-na 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II meš} tam-lit-ti a-na
7. 1-et ^rudu^l.níta-tu₄ 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hi.a} gi-iz-za-as-su a-na 1-et udu.níta-
tu₄ a-lit-tú
8. 1-et gub-na-[tu₄] a-na 1 me še-en 1 síla ì.nun.na ^{giš}bar še-en mu^{meš}
lud-dak-ka
9. a-na 1 me še-en 10.ta mi-qit-tú m[u-un-]na-an-áš-šú a-na 1-et mi-qit-tú
10. 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gín sa nid-dak-ka ár-ki ^len-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur
11. iš-me-e-šu-nu-ti-ma ^udu pu-hal-a₄ 85 udu.níta-a₄ 36 mu 2-ú
12. u₈-a₄ 2 me 29.ta udu.níta-a₄ 58 dumu mu.an.na ^udu lah-rat-a₄ 58
13. pab 4 me 69.ta še-en babbar^{r meš} šá ^lar-šá-am a-na^{giš}ba[r id-]daš-šú-
nu-ti
14. ina mu.an.na ana 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II meš} ta[m-lit-t]i a-na 1-et udu.
níta-tú
15. 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hi.a} gi-iz-za-as-su a-na 1-et udu.níta[-tu₄ 1-]et gub-na-tú
16. a-na 1 me še-en 1 síla ì.nun.na ^{giš}bar še-en mu^{meš} ina[-an]-din-nu-'
17. a-na 1 me še-en 10.ta mi-qit-tú un-da-ta-na-áš-šú-<nu> a-[na] 1-en
mi-qit-ti
18. 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gín sa sum-in-nu' pu-ut sipa-i-tu₄ su-ud-du-du u en.nun
19. šá še-en mu^{meš} ^lha-an-na-ni-' u ^len-za-bad-du il-ú
20. ta ud.29.kam ^{iti}sig[?] mu.13.kam še-en mu^{meš} ina igi-šú-nu še-en mu^{me}
21. šá ina šu^{II} ^lša-ba-ah-ta-ni-' ^lu gal bu-ul šá ^lar-šá-am a šá ^lpa.še^{ki}-a-a
22. ^lu mu-kin^r ^lu nusku-mu a šá ^larad^d.me.me [^len-šú-nu (filiation?)] ^len-
da-nu a šá ^len-tin-su ^lu maš-mu-gur-su a šá

23. ^{Id}ag-pap^{meš}-mu ^lkal-a a ^{šá} ^lsum-na-a ^{Id}en-líl-tin-su a ^{šá} ^lla-ba-a-ši
 24. ^lmu-^den-líl a ^{šá} ^lba-la-^{tu} ^lba-šá-a a ^{šá} ^lmu-mu^l
 25. ^{lú}umbisag ^lni-din-tú-^den-líl a ^{šá} ^{Id}mas-mu en.líl^{ki iti} sig ud.29.kam mu
 13.kám
 26. ^lda-ri-ia-a-muš lugal kur^{me}
 R.E. *šu-pur-šu-nu*
 rev. ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}nusku-mu – ^{na4}kišib ^len-šú-nu
 U.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}en-da-nu a ^{šá} ^{Id}en-tin-su – ^{na4}kišib ^lba-šá-a a ^{šá} ^lmu-mu
 L.E: ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}maš-mu-gur-su a ^{šá} ^{Id}ag-šeš^{me}-mu – *šu-pur ša-ba-ah-ta-ni-'*
 Lo.E. ^{na4}kišib ^lkal-a a ^{šá} ^lsum-na-a – ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}en-líl-tin-su a ^{šá} ^lla-ba-ši –
 un-qu [...]

Translation

(1–10) Hannani', son of Tābia, and Bēl-zabbadu, son of Bišā spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu, thus: 85 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 229 adult mother-sheep, 58 sheep born this year, 58 female lambs born this year, a total of 469 'white' small livestock, of Aršāmu give us for a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 sheep 1 litre of ghee we will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Allow 10 dead animals per 100 livestock, for every dead livestock we will give you one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons.

(10–21) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave them aforementioned 85 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, aforementioned 229 adult mother-sheep, 58 sheep born this year, 58 female lambs born this year: a total of 469 'white' small livestock of Aršāmu, for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, they will give $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 sheep 1 litre of ghee. 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats he will allow, for every dead sheep they will give him one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons. Hannani' and Bēl-zabbadu guarantee for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day 29, month of *simanu*, year 13 (of King Darius) said small livestock is at their disposal; said small livestock (they have received) from the overseer of the herds of Aršāmu, Šamahtāni son of Isināya.

(22–6) Witnesses: Nusku-iddin, son of Arad-Gula—Bēšunu, [son of ..(?)]—Bēl-dānu, son of Bēl-bullissu—Ninurta-mutir-gimilli, son of Nabû-ahhē-iddin—Aqara, son of Iddināya—Enlil-bullissu, son of Lābāši—Iddin-Enlil, son of Balātu—Iqīša, son of Šum-iddin.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 29 *simanu* (III), year 13 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Seal of Nusku-iddin—Seal of Bēšunu / Seal of Bēl-dānu, son of Bēl-bullissu—Seal of Iqīša, son of Šum-iddin—Seal of Ninurta-mutīr-gimilli, son of Nabû-ahhē-iddin—Fingernail of Šamahtānī—Seal of Aqara', son of Lābāši—Ring of [...]

Comments

1. As was the case in BE 10.130, the total of livestock is wrong by three animals, the text recording 469 rather than the mathematically correct 466 as total. In the present text, only sheep and no goats are recorded.

2. Uniquely, Šamahtānī/Isināya is specified to be the *rab būli* of Aršāma.

9. PBS 2/1 144

CDLI-number: P267458

Transcription

1. ^{Id}il-te-ri-ia-a-ha-bi dumu šá ¹hi-in-nu-ni-' ina hu-ud- lib-bi-^ršú^r
2. ana ^{Id}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur ^{lú}paq-du šá ¹ar-šá-am ki-a-am iq-bi u[m-ma]
3. 25 ^{udu}pu-hal 22 udu.níta mu 2-ú 1 me 44.ta u₈ gal-tú a-lit-tú 34 udu.n[ita]
4. dumu mu.an.na 34.ta ^{udu}par-rat dumu.mí mu.an.na 7 [máš].gal 4 máš mu 2[-ú]
5. 26.ta ùz gal-tú a-lit-tú 10 máš.tur 8 mí.áš.gàr pab3 [me] 14.ta še-en
6. babbar^{meš} u ge₆^{meš} šá ¹ar-šá-am a-na ^{giš}bar bi-in-nam-^rma i^rna mu.an. na a-na
7. 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II meš} mi-il-du a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du
8. a-na 1-et udu.níta-tu₄ 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hia} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz
9. gi-iz-za-tu₄ a-na 1-et im-mer-tú a-lit-tú 1-et gub-na-tu₄ {a-na 1 me udu.níta-tu₄}
10. a-na 1 me im-mer-tú a-lit-tú 1 síla ì.nun.na lud-dak-^rka a^r-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tú

11. *mu-un-na-’ a-na 1-et mu-ut-ta-ti 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gìn [gi]-da-a-tú lud-dak-[ka]*
12. *ár-ki^{ld}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur iš-me-e-šu-ma 25^{udu}pu-hal 22 udu.níta mu 2-ú*
13. *1 me 44.ta u₈ gal-tú a-lit-tú 34 udu.nita dumu mu.an.na 34.ta^{udu}par-[rat]*
14. *dumu.mí mu.an.na 7 máš.gal 4 máš mu 2-ú 26.ta ùz gal-ti a-lit-[tú]*
15. *10 máš.tur 8 mí.áš.gàr pab3 me 14.ta še-en babbar^{mes} ge₆^{mes} gal-tú [u qal-lat]*
16. *a-na^{siš}bar it-taš-šú ina mu.an.na a-na 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II mes} [mi-il-du]*
17. *a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du a-na 1-et im-mer-tú 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hi.a} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz]*
18. *[5/6 ma.na sík ùz gi-iz-za-tu₄ a-na 1-et im-mer-tú a-lit-tú 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me im-mer-tú a-lit-tú]*
19. *[1 síla ì.nun.na ana^{ld}en-líl-su]-pe-e-mu-hur i-nam-din a-na 1 me še-[en 10 mu-ut-ta-tú]*
20. *[^{ld}en-líl-su-pe]-e-mu-hur ú-man-na-áš-ši a-na [-et mu-ut-ta-ti 1-en kuš^{hi.a}]*
21. *[2 ½ gìn g]i-da-a-tú sum-in pu-ut sipa-i-tu₄ [su-ud-du-du u en.nun]*
22. *[šá še]-en mu^{mes}^{ld}il-te-ri-ia-a-ha-bi na-[ši ta ud.x.kam]*
23. *[^{iti}]kin mu.1.kam še-en mu^{mes} ina igi-[šú]*
24. *[^ú]mu-kin-nu^lkal-a u^{ld}en-líl-ana-en.líl^{ki}-gi dumu^{mes} šá^lna-din {a} ^la. ba-[..]*
25. *^lmu-^damar.utu u^lšeš-nu-ri-’ dumu^{mes} šá^ldin-su-^damar.utu*
26. *^lnusku-mu dumu šá^larad-^dgu-la^{ld}u.gur-mu-ùru dumu šá^larad-^d50*
27. *^len-šú-nu dumu šá^{ld}en-líl-mu-gin [^l]a-ba-ši^r dumu^l šá^{ld}en-tin-su*
28. *^{ld}maš-mu-gur-su dumu šá^{ld}ag-šeš^{mes}-mu [^{ld}]utu-šeš-mu dumu šá^{ld}30-it-tan-nu*
29. *[^l]ú-bar dumu šá^lna-din^lkal-a dumu šá^lsum-na-a*
30. *[^l]šír-ki-^den^{lú}š[ak-nu] šá^{lú}taš-li-ša-nu šá 150 dumu šá^len-šú-nu [^{ld}]en-su*
31. *^{lú}šak-nu šá^{lú}muš-ka-[a]-^ra^l u^{lú}sa-par-da-a-a [du]mu šá^lšeš-šú-nu^{ld} en-líl-^rtin^r-[su dumu] šá^l[.. ..]*
32. *^lni-din-tu₄-^den-líl^{lú}dub.sar dumu šá^{ld}maš-mu en.líl^{ki}^{iti}kin ud.18.kam [mu.]^r1^r[1.kam]*
33. *^lda-ri-ia-a-muš lugal kur.kur*
- U.E. *^{na4}kišib^{ld}utu-šeš-[mu] dumu šá^{ld}30-[it]-tan-nu – ^{na4}kišib^lkal-a [dumu šá^lsum-na-a]*

- Lo.E. ^{Id}en-líl-ana-en.[líl]^{ki}-gi' [dumu šá] ¹na-[din]
 L.E. ^{na4}kišib [... ..] dumu šá ^{Id}[... ..] – ^{na4}k[išib ¹mu-^d]amar.utu u [¹šeš-nu-ri-'] dumu^{<meš?>}
 šá ¹tin-su-^damar.utu – x x x x ¹nusku-mu dumu šá ¹arad-^dgu-la – ^run^r-qu an.bar ^dmaš-
 [mu]-gur-šu
 R.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{Id}en-su ^{lú}šak-nu šá ^{lú}muš-ka-[a]-^ra^r u ^{lú}sa-par-da-a-a – un-qu zabar ^{Id}il-te-ri-ia-[a-ha-bi]

Translation

(1–11) Ileri-yahab, son of Hinnuni', spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu, thus: 25 rams, 22 two-year-old sheep, 144 adult mother-sheep, 34 sheep born this year, 34 female lambs born this year, 7 adult bucks, 4 two-year old billy-goats, 26 adult nanny-goats, 10 young goats, 10 female kids—a total of 314 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, of Aršāmu give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee I will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, for every dead animal I will give you one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons.

(12–23) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him 25 rams, 22 two-year-old sheep, 144 adult mother-sheep, 34 sheep born this year, 34 female lambs born this year: 7 adult bucks, 4 two-year old billy-goats, 26 adult nanny-goats, 10 young goats, 10 female kids—a total of 314 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small, for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, he will give $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 sheep 1 litre of ghee to Enlil-supê-muhur. 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats Enlil-supê-muhur will allow, for every dead sheep he will give him one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons. Ileri-yahab guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day x, month of *ulūlu*, year 1 (of King Darius) said small livestock is at his disposal.

(24–33) Witnesses: Aqara and Enlil-ana-Nippur-šullim, sons of Nādin [...]—Iddin-Marduk and Ah-nūrī, sons of Uballissu-Marduk—Nusku-iddin, son of Arad-Gula—Nerga-šum-ušur, son of Arad-Enlil—Bēšunu, son of Enlil-apli-mukin—Lâbâši, son of Bēl-bullissu—Ninurta-mutir-gimilli, son of Nabû-ahhē-iddin—Šamaš-ah-iddin, son of Sîn-ittannu—Ubār, son of Nādin—Aqara,

son of Iddināya—Širki-Bēl, *šaknu ša tašlišānu ša šumēlu*, son of Bēšunu—Bēl-erība, *šaknu* of the Phrygians and Lydians, son of Ahušunu—Enlil-bullissu, son of [...].

Scribe: Ndinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 18 *ulūlu* (VI), year 11 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Seal of Šamaš-ah-iddin, son of Sin-ittannu—Seal of Aqara, [son of Iddināya] / Seal of Enlil-ana-Nippur-šullim, son of Nādin—Seal of [... ..], son of [... ..] —Seal of Iddin-Marduk and [Ah-nūri (?)], son<s?> of Uballissu-Marduk – x x x x Nusku-iddin, son of Arad-Gula—Iron ring of Ninurta-mutir-gimilli—Seal of Bēl-erība, *šaknu* of the Phrygians and Lydians, son of Ahušunu—Bronze ring of Il-tēri-yahab.

Comment

The total given by the text (314) is lower than an addition of the individual animals actually would have it (316).

10. PBS 2/1 145

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Transcription

1. ¹*da-hi-il-ta-'* [dumu] ¹*ša* ¹*ha-za-'*-dingir^{mes} *ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú a-na*
[^{1d}*en-lil-su-pe-e-mu-hur*]
2. ^{1a}*paq-du šá* ^{1a}*[r-šá-am]* *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma 22* ^{udu}*pu-hal 3[6 udu.nita*
mu 2-ú]
3. 2 me 55.ta [u₈ gal- tu]₄ *a-lit-tu*₄ 63 udu.nita dumu mu.an.na 63.ta
^{udu}*par-_rrat_r*
4. dumu.mí mu.an.[na 8 máš].gal 3 máš mu 2-ú 11.ta ùz gal-*ti a-lit-tú* 4
máš.tur
5. 4.ta mí._ráš.gà_r pab 4 me 69.ta *še-en babbar*^{mes} *u ge*₆^{mes} ¹*ar-šá-am*
6. *a-na* ^{gis}*bar bi-in-nam-ma ina* mu.an.na *a-na* 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II} ^{mes}
mi-il-du
7. *a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du a-na 1-et im-mer-tu*₄ 1/2 ma.na sík^{hi.a} *a-na*
1-et ùz

8. 5/6 ma.na [sík ùz] *gi-iz-za-tu₄ a-na 1-et im-mer-ti a-lit-tú 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me*
udu.níta-tu₄
9. *a-lit-tú 1 síl[a ì.nun.]na* ^{gis̄}*bar* *še-en mu^{mes} lud-dak-ka [a-n]a 1 me* *še-en*
10 mu-ut-ta-tú
10. *mu-un-na-’ a-na [1-et mu-ut-t]a-tu₄ 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gìn* ^ṛ*gi^ṛ-da-a-tú*
lud-dak-ka
11. *ár-ki* ^{ld}*en-líl-su-p[e-e-mu-hur iš-me-]e-šu-ma* ^{udu}*pu-hal 2<2> 36 udu.*
níta mu 2-ú
12. 2 me 55.ta [u₈ ga]l-ti [*a-lit-tú 63*] *udu.nita [dumu mu.an.]na 63.ta*
^{udu}*par-rat dumu.mí*
mu.an.na
13. 8 máš.gal 3 m[áš] mu 2-ú 11.[ta ùz gal-ti *a-lit-tú*] 4 máš.tur 4.ta mí.áš.
gàr
14. pab 4 me 69.[ta] *še-en babbar^{mes} [u ge₆^{mes} gal-tú u qal-lat] a-na* ^{gis̄}*bar*
it-taš-šú
15. *ina mu.an.na a-[na 1] me u₈ 66 2.[ta šu^{II}]^{mes} mi-i[l-du a-na 1]-et ùz*
1-en mi-il-du
16. *a-na 1-et udu.níta[-tú 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hi.a}] a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 [ma.na sík ùz]*
gi-iz-za-tu₄
17. [*a-na*] 1-et *udu.nít[a-tú a-lit-tú 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me udu.níta-*
tú] a-lit-tú 1 síla
ì.nun.na
18. [^{gis̄}*bar* *še-en-mu^{mes} ^{ld}da-hi-il-ta-’ ana ^{ld}en-líl-su-pe-e-]mu-hur sum-in*
19. [*ina mu.an.na a-na 1 me* *še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tú ^{ld}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur]*
ú-man-na-áš-šú 20. [a-na] 1-et mu-ut-ta-tu₄ [1-en kuš]^{hi.a} 2 ½ gìn
gi-da-a-tú i-na[m-din] pu-ut sipa-i-tu₄
21. [*su-]ud-du-du u en.nun šá* *še-en mu^{mes} ^{ld}da-hi-il-[ta-’ na-š]i ul-tu*
22. ud.21.kam ^{iti}*kin mu.11.kam [^{ld}da-ri-ia-a-muš lugal* *še-en mu^{mes}] ina*
igi-šú
23. *še-en mu^{mes} ina šu^{II} ^{lú}šá-[ba-ah-ta-ni-’ ^{lú}gal bu-ul a šá ^l]pa.še^{ki}-a-a*
24. <^{lú}> *mu-kin₇ [... ..]*
25. ^l*mu-^damar.utu u ^lšeš-[nu-ri-’ dumu^{mes} šá ^ltin-su-^damar.utu] ^lkal-a dumu šá*
26. ^l*sum-na-a [^{ld}maš-gál-ši dumu šá ^{ld}en-líl-ke-šir] ^{ld}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá*
27. ^l*lu-ú[-i-di-ía ^larad-^dgu-la dumu šá] ^{ld}maš-ib-ni*
28. ^{ld}*maš-tin-iṭ dumu šá ^{ld}en-mu [^lšir-ki-^den ^{lú}šak-nu šá ^{lú}taš-li-šá-nu]*
29. *dumu šá ^len-šu-nu ^li-^dmaš / ^{na4}kišib / ^ṛ ^{na4}kišib ṛ*

30. [u ^{ld}en-líl]-tin-iṭ a^{mes} šá ^lla-ba-ši / ^{ld}maš-tin-iṭ / ^lšir-ki-^den
31. [^len]-šú-nu a šá ^{ld}50-tin-iṭ / ^{lú}šak-nu
32. [^lgi]ssu-a-a a šá ^lna-din / šá ^{lú}taš-li[-ša-nu]
33. ^lni-din-[tu₄-^den-]líl ^{lú}dub.sar dumu šá ^{ld}maš-mu en.líl^{ki}iti^{kin} ud.21.
kam mu.11.kam
34. ^lda-^rrī^l-ia-a-muš lugal kur.kur
- U.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá ^llu-ú-i-di-ía – ^{na4}kišib ^larad-^dgu-la
dumu šá ^{ld}maš-dù
- LoE. [^{na4}kišib] ^lmu-^damar.utu dumu šá ^ltin-su-^damar.utu – ^{na4}kišib ^lšeš-
zálag-^r dumu šá ^lšeš- zálag-^r (!)
- L.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}maš-gál-ši dumu šá ^{ld}en-líl-ke-šir – ^{na4}kišib ^lkal-a
- R.E. ^{na4}kišib ^li-^dmaš – un-qu ^len-šú-nu
- rev. un-q[u ^l]gissu-a-a [^{lú}a]m-ma-ru [..] – šu-pur ^lda-hi-il-ta-^r

Translation

(1–10) Dahilta', son of Haza'-ilī, spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu, thus: 22 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 255 adult mother-sheep, 63 sheep born this year, 63 female lambs born this year, 8 adult bucks, 3 two-year-old billy-goats, 11 adult nanny-goats, 4 young goats, 4 female kids—a total of 469 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, of Aršāmu give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee I will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, for every dead animal I will give you one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons.

(11–23) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him 22 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 255 adult mother-sheep, 63 sheep born this year, 63 female lambs born this year: 8 adult bucks, 3 two-year-old billy-goats, 11 adult nanny-goats, 4 young goats, 4 female kids—a total of 469 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small, for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, Dahilta' will give $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 sheep 1 litre of ghee to Enlil-supê-muhur. 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats Enlil-supê-muhur will allow, for every dead sheep he will give him one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons. Dahilta' guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day 21, month of *ulūlu*, year 11 (of King Darius) said small livestock is at

his disposal. (Said small livestock he has received) from the overseer of the herds, Šamahtānī son of Isināya.

(24–34) Witnesses: Iddin-Marduk and Ah-nūrī, sons of Uballissu-Marduk—Aqara, son of Iddināya—Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir—Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Arad-Gula, son of Ninurta-ibni—Ninurta-uballiṭ, son of Bēl-iddin—Širki-Bēl, the *šaknu ša tašlišānu*, son of Bēlšunu—Nā'id-Ninurta and Enlil-uballiṭ sons of Lābāši—Bēlšunu, son of Enlil-uballiṭ—Šillāya, son of Nādin.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 21 *ulūlu* (VI), year 11 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Seal of Ninurta-uballiṭ—Seal of Širki-Bēl, the *šaknu ša tašlišānu*—Seal of Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Seal of Arad-Gula, son of Ninurta-ibni / Seal Iddin-Marduk, son of Uballissu-Marduk—Seal of Ah-nūrī, son of Uballissu-Marduk / Seal of Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir—Seal of Aqara / Seal of Nā'id-Ninurta—Ring of Bēlšunu / Ring of Šillāya, the *ammaru[kal]*-official—Fingernail of Dahiltā.

11. PBS 2/1 146

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Transcription

1. ^{Id}en-e-tè-ru dumu šá ¹[¹pa.še^{ki}(?)]-a-a ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú a-na ^{Id}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur
2. ^{lú}paq-du šá ¹ar-šá-[^{am} ki-a-am] iq-bi um-ma 39 ^{udu}pu-hal 36 udu.níta mu 2-ú
3. 2 me.ta u₈ gal- ti a-[^{lit}-tu₄ 51[?] udu.]nita dumu mu.an.na 51.ta ^{udu}par-rat dumu.mí mu.an.na
4. 21 máš.gal 9 [máš mu 2-ú 36[?].ta] ùz gal-ti a-lit-tú 13 máš.tur 13.ta mí.áš.gàr
5. pab 4 me 69.ta š[e-en babbar^{meš} u ge₆]^{meš} šá ¹ar-šá-am a-na ^{gis}bar bi-in-nam-ma
6. ina mu.an.na a-nal[me u₈ 66 2.]ta šu^{II meš} <mi-il-du> a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du a-na
7. 1-et im-mer-tu₄ [1 ½ ma.na sík]^{hia} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz gi-iz-za-tu₄ a-na

8. 1-et im-mer-tu₄ a-[lit-tú] 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me im-mer-tu₄ a-lit-tú 1 sila ì.nun.na
9. ^{giš}bar še-en mu[^{meš}] lud-dak-ka a-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tu₄ mu-un-na-’
10. [a-na 1-et mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en] kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ gìn gi-da-a-tú lud-dak-ka ár-ki
11. ^len-líl-su-pe^l-[e-mu-hur iš-me-]e-šu-ma ^{udu}p[u-hal]-a₄ 39 36 udu. níta mu 2-ú
12. 2 me.ta u₈ gal-[ti a-lit-tú 51’ udu.]nita dumu mu].an.na 51.ta ^{udu}par-rat dumu.mí mu.an.na
13. 21 máš.gal 9 m[áš mu 2-ú 3’+]6’.ta ù[z gal-ti a-lit]-ti 13 máš.tur 13 mí.áš.gàr
14. pab 4 me 69.ta [še-en babbar^{meš} u] ge^{meš} gal-t[i u qal-lat] a-na ^{giš}bar it-taš-šú
15. ^rina mu.an.na a-na^l [1 me u₈ 6]6 2.ta šu^{ll}[^{meš} mi-]il-du a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du
16. [a-na 1-et udu.níta[-tú 1 ½ ma.na sí]k^{hi.a} a-[na 1-et ùz 5]/6 ma.na sík ùz gi-^riz-za-tu₄^r
17. a-na 1-et [udu.níta-tú a-lit-tú 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na] 1 me im-mer-tu₄ a-lit-tú ^r1 sila ì.^rnun.na
18. ^{giš}bar še-en [mu^{meš} ^{ld}en-e-ṭè-ru ana ^{ld}en]-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur i-nam-din
19. a-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tu₄ [^{ld}en-líl-s]u-pe-e-mu-hur ú-man-na-áš-šú a-na
20. [1-et] mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ [g]ìn gi-da-a-tú i-nam-din
21. pu-ut re-[-’-i-tu₄] su-ud-du-<du> u en.nun šá še-en mu^{meš} ^{ld}en-e-ṭè-ru na-ši
22. ul-tu ud.[21.kam ^{itir}kin^r mu.11.kam še-en šu-a-ti ina igi-šú
23. še-en [mu^{meš} in]a šu^{ll}šá-ba-ah-ta-ni-’^{lú}gal bu-ul dumu šá ^lpa.še^{ki}-a-a
24. <^{lú}> mu-kin₇ ^l[mu-^damar.utu u] ^lšeš-[nu-ri-’ dumu^{meš} šá] ^ltin-su-^damar.utu ^lkal-a dumu šá
25. ^lsum-na-a [^{ld}maš-gál-ši dumu šá] ^{ld}en-líl-ke-šir ^{ld}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá
26. ^llu-ú[-i-dí-ia] ^larad-^d[gu-la] dumu šá ^{ld}maš-ib-ni
27. ^{ld}maš-tin-[it] a šá ^{ld}en-m[u ^{lú}arad šá] ^fpur-ru-uš-<ti>-iš ^lšir-ki-^den
28. ^{lú}šak-nu šá ^{lú}taš-[li-šá-nu] šá 150 dumu šá [^len-šu-nu ^li]-^dmaš u ^{ld}en-líl-tin-it

29. dumu^{meš} šá ¹la-ba-ši ¹en-šú-nu dumu šá ^{1d}50-tin-iṭ ¹gissu-a-a a šá ¹na-din
30. ¹ni-din-tu₄-^den-líl [^údub.sar dumu šá] ^{1d}maš-mu en.líl^{ki} ^{iti}kin ud.21. kam mu.11.kam
31. ¹da-^rri^ṽ-ia-a-muš lugal kur.kur
- U.E. un-qu ¹en-šú-nu – ^{na4}kišib ^{1d}maš-tin-iṭ – ^{na4}kišib ¹ⁱ-^dmaš
- Lo.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{1d}maš-ana-é-šú dumu šá ¹lu-ú-i-dí-ia – ^{na4}kišib ^{1d}maš-gál-ši dumu šá ^{1d}en-líl-ke-šir
- rev. un-qu ¹šá-ba-ah-ta-ni-[?] – ^{na}[⁴kiši]b[?] ¹gissu-a-a
- L.E. ^{na4}kišib ¹mu-^damar.utu dumu šá ¹tin-su-^damar.utu – ^{na4}kišib ¹šeš-zálag-[?] dumu šá ¹tin-su-^damar.utu
- R.E. ^{na4}kišib ¹arad-^dgu-la – ^{na4}kišib ¹kal-a dumu šá sum-na-a

Translation

(1–10) Bēl-eṭēru, son [Isin]āya(?), spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu, thus: 39 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 200 adult mother-sheep, 51(?) sheep born this year, 51 female lambs born this year, 21 adult bucks, 9 two-year-old billy-goats, 36(?) adult nanny-goats, 13 young goats, 13 female kids, a total of 469 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, of Aršāmu give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee I will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, for every dead animal I will give you one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons.

(10–23) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him aforementioned 39 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 200 adult mother-sheep, 51 sheep born this year, 51 female lambs born this year: 21 adult bucks, 9 two-year-old billy-goats, 36(?) adult nanny-goats, 13 young goats, 13 female kids—a total of 469 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small, for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, Bēl-eṭēru will give $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 sheep 1 litre of ghee to Enlil-supê-muhur. 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats Enlil-supê-muhur will allow, for every dead sheep he will give him one hide and 2.5 shekels of tendons. Bēl-eṭēru guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day 21, month of *ulūlu*, year 11 (of King Darius) said small livestock is at his disposal. (Said

small livestock he has received) from the overseer of the herds, Šamahtānī, son of Isināya.

(24–31) Witnesses: Iddin-Marduk and Ahu-nūri-nūrī, sons of Uballissu-Marduk—Aqara, son of Iddināya—Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir—Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Arad-Gula, son of Ninurta-ibni—Ninurta-uballiṭ, son of Bēl-iddin, slave of Parysatis—Širki-Bēl, *šaknu ša tašlišānu ša šumēlu*, son of Bēlšunu—Nā'id-Ninurta and Enlil-uballiṭ, sons of Lābāši—Bēlšunu, son of Enlil-uballiṭ—Šillāya, son of Nādin.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 21 *ulūlu* (VI) year 11 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Ring of Bēlšunu—Seal of Ninurta-uballiṭ—Seal of Nā'id-Ninurta / Seal of Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Seal of Ninurta-ušabši, son of Enlil-kēšir / Ring of Šamahtānī—Seal of Šillāya / Seal of Iddin-Marduk, son of Uballissu-Marduk—Seal of Ahu-nūri-nūrī, son of Šamahtānī-Marduk / Seal of Arad-Gula—Seal of Aqara, son of Iddināya.

12. PBS 2/1 147

CDLI-number: P267434

Transcription

1. ^{Id}en-na-tan-nu a šá ^lpa.še^{ki}-a-a ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú a-na ^{Id}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur
2. ^{lú}paq-du šá ^lar-šá-[am ki-a-am] iq-bi um-ma 21 ^{udu}pu-hal
3. 23 udu.níta mu 2-ú 1 me 66.ta u₈ gal- tú a-lit-tu₄ 42 udu.nita dumu mu.an.na
4. 41.ta ^{udu}par-rat dumu.mí mu.an.na 7 máš.gal 2 máš mu 2-ú 2.ta ùz
5. gal-tú a-lit-tú 1 máš.tur 1-et mí.áš.gàr pab 3 me 6.ta š[e-en babbar^{meš} u ge₆^{meš} gal-tú
6. u qal-lat šá ^lar-šá-am a-na ^{gis}bar bi-in-nam-ma ina mu.an.na a-na 1 me u₈
7. 66 2.ta šu^{II}meš <mi-il-du> a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du a-na
8. 1-et im-mer-tu₄ [1 ½] ma.na sík^{hi.a} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz gi-iz-za-tu₄
9. a-na 1-et im-mer-[tu₄ a-lit]-tú 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me im-mer-tu₄ a-lit-tú
10. 1 síla ì.nun.na ^{gis}bar še-en mu^{meš} lud-dak-ka a-na 1 me še-en

11. 10 *mu-ut-ta-tu₄ mu-un-na-'a-na* 1-et *mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en* kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ ġin sa^{meš}
12. *lud-dak-ka* egir ^{ld}*en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur iš-me-e-šu-ma* ^{udu}*pu-hal-a'* 21
13. [23 *udu.níta mu 2-ú1 me*] 66.ta u₈ *gal-ti a-lit-tu₄* 42 *udu.nita dumu mu.an.na*
14. [41.ta ^{udu}*par-rat dumu.mí*] *mu.an.na* 7 máš.gal 2 máš *mu 2-ú2.ta ùz*
15. [*gal-ti a-lit-ti* 1 máš.tur] 1-et *mí.áš.gàr pab* 2 me 6.ta *še-en babbar^{meš} u ge^{meš} gal-tú u qal-lat*
16. [*a-na* ^{giš}bar] *it-taš-šú ina* *mu.an.na a-na* 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta *šu^{llmeš}*
17. [*mi-il-du a-na* 1-et ùz 1]-*en mi-il-du a-na* 1-et *im-mer-tu₄* 1 ½ *ma.na sík^{hi.a}*
18. [*a-na* 1-et ùz 5/6 *ma.na sík ùz <gi-iz-za-tu₄>*] *a-na* 1-et *im-mer-tu₄ a-lit-tú 1-et gub-na-tu₄*
19. [*a-na* 1 me *im-mer-tu₄ a*]-*lit-tú* 1 síla 1.nun.na ^{giš}bar *še-en mu^{meš}*
20. [^{ld}*en-na-tan-nu ana* ^{ld}*en-líl-su-pe-e*]-*mu-hur ina-an-din a-na* 1 me *še-en* 10 *mu-ut-ta-tu₄*
21. [^{ld}*en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur ú-man-na*]-*áš-šú a-na* 1-et *mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en* kuš^{hi.a} 2 ½ ġin sa^{meš}
22. [*i-nam-din pu-ut sipa-i-tu₄ su-ud-du-du*] *u en.nun šá še-en mu^{meš} ld*-*en-na-tan-nu na-ši*
23. [*ul-tu ud.24.kam* ^{iti}kin *mu.11.kam*] *še-en ina igi-šú še-en mu^{meš} ina qa-ti*
24. [^{šá}*ba-ah-ta-ni-'lúg]al *bu-lim a šá* ^{pa.še}ki-a-a*
25. ^{lú}m[*u-kin*]
26. ^{šir}ki-d[en ^{lú}šak-nu š]á *taš-li-šá-nu šá* 150 *dumu šá* ^{en}šu-nu
27. ^{ld}maš-tin-iš *dumu šá* ^{ld}en-mu ^{lú}arad ^{šá} ^{pur}ru-uš-ti-iš
28. ^{en}šú-nu *dumu šá* ^{ld}en-líl-mu-gin ^{ld}[..] ^{rumu} [šá ..]
29. ^{su}-^den-líl *dumu šá* ^{ld}en-líl-ba-na ^{na}din *dumu šá* ^{šá}[-..]
30. ^{bi}-ba-a *dumu šá* ^{ba}rik-ki-*il-tam-meš*
31. ⁱq-[*qar*]-^den-líl *dumu šá* [...] ^{a'} ^{e'} ^{arad}-^dme.me *dumu šá* ^{ld}maš-mu
32. ⁿⁱ-*din-tu₄*-^den-líl [^{lú}umbisag *dumu šá*] ^{ld}maš-mu *en.líl* ^{ki} ^{iti}kin *ud.24.kam mu.11.kam*
33. ^{da}-^rri⁻ia-a-*muš lugal kur.kur*
- U.E. *un-qu* ^{bi}-ba-a *dumu šá* ^{ba}rik-ki-*il-tam-meš* – ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}maš-[*tin-iš*] *dumu šá* ^{ld}en-mu
- ^{lú}arad ^{šá} ^{pur}ru-uš-ti-iš – ^{na4}kišib ^{šir}ki-d^{en} ^{lú}šak-nu ^{šá} *taš-li-šá-nu*

Lo.E.	<i>un-qu</i> ^{ld} maš-dù dumu <i>ša</i> ^{ld} ag-šeš ^{meš} -mu
R.E.	^{na4} kišib ^l iq-qar- ^d en-líl
L.E.	^{na4} kišib ^l en-šu-nu dumu <i>ša</i> ^{ld} en-líl-mu-gin
rev.	^{na4} kišib ^l arad- ^d me.me – <i>un-qu</i> ^l ša-ba-ah-ta-ni-’ – <i>šu-pur</i> ^{ld} en-na-tan-nu

Translation

(1–12) Bēl-natannu, son of Isināya, spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of **Aršāmu**, thus: 21 rams, 23 two-year-old sheep, 166 adult mother-sheep, 42 sheep born this year, 41 female lambs born this year, 7 adult bucks, 2 two-year-old billy-goats, 2 adult nanny-goats, 1 young goat, 1 female kid, a total of 306 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, of **Aršāmu** give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and yearly $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and $\frac{5}{6}$ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee I will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, for every dead animal I will give you one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons.

(12–24) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him aforementioned 21 rams, 23 two-year-old sheep, 166 adult mother-sheep, 42 sheep born this year, 41 female lambs born this year: 7 adult bucks, 2 two-year-old billy-goats, 2 adult nanny-goats, 1 young goat, 1 female kid—a total of 306 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small, for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, Bēl-natannu will give $66\frac{2}{3}$ offspring per 100 ewes as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas of wool per female sheep, and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 sheep 1 litre of ghee to Enlil-supê-muhur. 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats Enlil-supê-muhur will allow, for every dead sheep he will give him one hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of tendons. Bēl-natannu guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day 24, month of *ulūlu*, year 11 (of King Darius) the small livestock is at his disposal. Said small livestock (he has received) from the overseer of the herds, Šamahtānī son of Isināya.

(25–33) Witnesses: Širki-Bēl, *šaknu ša tašlišānu ša šumēlu*, son of Bēlšunu—Ninurta-uballit, son of Bēl-iddin, slave of Parysatis—Bēlšunu, son of Enlil-šum-ukin—[.], son of [..]—Eriḫa-Enlil, son of Enlil-bana—Nādin, son of [..]—Bibā, son of Barik-Iltammeš—Iqqar-Enlil, son of [..]—Arad-Gula, son of Ninurta-iddin.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 24 *ulūlu* (VI), year 11 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Ring of Bibā, son of Barīk-Iltammeš—Seal of Ninurta-uballiṭ, son of Bēl-iddin, slave of Parysatis—Seal of širki-Bēl, *šaknu ša tašlišānu* / Ring of Ninurta-ibni, son of Nabû-ahhē-iddin / Seal of Iqqar-Enlil / Seal of Bēlšunu, son of Enlil-šumukīn—Seal of Arad-Gula—Ring of Šamahtāni—Fingernail of Bēl-natannu.

13. PBS 2/1 148

CDLI number: P267471

Transcription

1. ¹man-nu-tan-ni-ia-a-ma dumu šá ¹tin-e^{ki} ina hu-du lib-bi-šú ^{1d}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur
2. ^{1ú}paq-du šá ¹ar-šá-amki-a-am iq-bi um-ma 13 ^{udu}pu-hal
3. 27 udu.níta mu 2-ú 1 me 52.ta u₈ gal- ti a-lit-tú 50¹ udu.nita dumu mu.an.na
4. 40.ta ^{udu}par-rat dumu.mí mu.an.na 1 [má]š.gal 1 máš mu 2-ú 1.ta ùz gal-ti a-lit-tú
5. 1-en máš.tur pab 2 me 76.ta še-[en b]abbar^{meš} u ge₆^{meš} gal-ti u qal-lat
6. šá ¹ar-šá-am a-na ^{gis}bar bi-[in-n]am-ma ina mu.an.na a-na 1 me u₈ 66 2.ta šu^{II}meš
7. mi-il-du a-na 1-et ùz 1-en m[i-il-du] a-na 1-et im-mer-tu₄ 1 ½ ma.na sík^{hi.a}
8. a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ge₆ g[i-iz-za]-tu₄ a-na 1-et im-mer-tu₄ a-lit-ti
9. 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me im-mer-[tu₄ a-lit-tú] 1 síla ì.nun.na ^{gis}bar še-en mu^{meš}
¹lud-dak-ka¹
10. a-na 1 me še-en 10 mu-ut-ta-tu₄ [mu-un-na]-' a-na 1-et mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en kuš^{hi.a}
11. 2 ½ gìn sa^{meš} lud-dak-ka á[r-ki^{1d}en]-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur iš-me-e-šu-ma
12. ^{udu}pu-hal-a' 13 27 udu.níta [mu 2-ú] 1 me 52.ta u₈ gal-ti a-lit-ti
13. 40 udu.nita dumu mu.an.na 40.ta [^{udu}par-rat] dumu.mí mu.an.na 1 máš.gal 1 máš mu <2>-ú
14. 1.ta ùz gal-tú a-lit-tú 1 m[áš.tur] pab 2 me 76.[ta] še-en babbar^{meš} u ge₆^{meš}
15. gal-tú u qal-lat šá ¹ar-šá[-am] ¹a-na ^{gis}bar it-taš-šú ina mu.an.na a-na

16. 1 me u₈ 66.2.ta šu^{lme}[^s mi]-il-du a-na 1-et ùz 1-en mi-il-du
17. a-na 1-et im-mer-tu₄ 1 ½ ma.[na] sík^{hi.a} a-na 1-et ùz 5/6 ma.na sík ùz ge₆
18. a-na {a-na} 1-et et im-mer-tu₄ a-[lit-tú] 1-et gub-na-tu₄ a-na 1 me et im-mer-tú a-lit-tú
19. 1 síla ì.nun.na gíš^lbar še-en-m[u^{mes}] ^lman-nu-tan-ni-ia-a-ma ana ^{ld}en-líl-su-pe-e-mu-hur
20. ina-an-din a-na 1 me 10 mu-ut-ta-t[u₄] ú-man-na-áš-šú a-na 1-et mu-ut-ta-tu₄ 1-en kuš^{hi.a}
21. 2 ½ gín sa^{mes} ina-an-din pu-ut sipa-[i]-tu₄ su-ud-du-du u en.nun šá še-en mu^{me}
22. ^lman-nu-tan-ni-ia-a-ma na-ši ta ud.[25].kam ^{iti}kin mu.11.kam še-en ina igi-šú
23. še-en mu^{mes} šá ina šu^{ll}šá-ba-ah-[ta-n]i-^{lú}gal bu-lim a šá ^lpa.še^{ki}-a-a
24. ^{lú}mu-kin₇
25. ^lla-ba-ši a šá ^{ld}en-tin-i^ltin a šá ^{ld}en-líl-mu-gin
26. ^{ld}maš-ana-é-šú a šá ^llu-ú-i-dí-ia ^{ld}en-líl-gin-a a šá
27. ^{ld}maš-pab ^{ld}en-líl-tin-i^ltin a šá ^lšeš-šú-nu ^liq-qar-ia a šá ^{lr}ki^l-din
28. ^{ld}maš-pab a šá ^len-šú-nu
29. ^lni-din-tu₄-^den-líl ^{lú}umbisag a šá ^{ld}ma[š-mu e]n.líl^{ki} ^{iti}kin ud.25.kam mu.11.kam
30. ^lda-ri-ia-a-mu[š] lugal kur.kur
- U.E. ^{na4}kišib ^lla-ba-ši a šá ^{ld}en-tin-i^ltin – un-qu ^ltin a šá ^{ld}50-mu-gin – ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}en-líl-tin-i^ltin
- L.E. ^{na4}kišib ^{ld}en-líl-gin-a a šá ^{ld}maš-pab – ^{na4}kišib ^lim-bi-ía a šá ^{lr}ki^l-din
- Lo.E. ^{na4}[kišib] ^{ld}maš-ana-é-šú
- rev. ^lsu-pur [^l]man-nu-ni-ia-a-ma

Translation

(1–11) Mannutan-Iama, son of Šulum-Bābili, spoke by choice to Enlil-supê-muhur, the bailiff of Aršāmu, thus: 13 rams, 27 two-year-old sheep, 152 adult mother-sheep, 50 sheep born this year, 40 female lambs born this year, 1 adult buck, 1 two-year-old billy-goat, 1 adult nanny-goat, 1 young goat—a total of 286 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, of Aršāmu give me for a fixed rent (*sūtu*), and yearly 66²/₃ offspring per 100 ewes and 1 offspring for each nanny-goat; as well as 1¹/₂ minas of wool per female sheep, and ⁵/₆ minas of goat-hair for each nanny-goat; and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per

100 mother-sheep 1 litre of ghee I will give you as fixed rent (*sūtu*) of aforementioned animals. Allow 10 dead animals per 100 sheep and goats, for every dead animal I will give you one hide and 2½ shekels of tendons.

(11–23) Then Enlil-supê-muhur agreed, and gave him aforementioned 13 rams, 27 two-year-old sheep, 152 adult mother-sheep, 40 sheep born this year, 40 female lambs born this year: 1 adult buck, 1 two-year-old billy-goat, 1 adult nanny-goat, 1 young goat—a total of 286 small livestock, (white) sheep and (black) goats, big and small, of Aršāmu for a fixed rent (*sūtu*). Every year, Mannutan-Iama will give 66⅔ offspring per 100 ewes as well as 1½ minas of wool per female sheep, and for each mother-sheep 1 cheese and per 100 sheep 1 litre of ghee to Enlil-supê-muhur. 10 dead animals per 100 Enlil-supê-muhur will allow, for every dead sheep he will give him one hide and 2.5 shekels of tendons. Mannutan-Iama guarantees for the herding, taking care, and watching of said livestock. From day 25, month of *ulūlu*, year 11 (of King Darius) the small livestock is at his disposal. Said small livestock (he has received) from the overseer of the herds, Šamahtānī son of Isināya.

(24–33) Witnesses: Lābāši, son of Bēl-uballiṭ—Balāṭu, son of Enlil-šumukīn—Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lū-idia—Enlil-mukīn-apli, son of Ninurta-našir—Enlil-uballiṭ, son of Ahušunu—Iqqaria, son of Kidin—Ninurta-nāšir, son of Bēlšunu.

Scribe: Nidinti-Enlil, son of Ninurta-iddin. Nippur, 25 *ulūlu* (VI), year 11 of Darius, king of the lands.

Seals: Seal of Lābāši, son of Bēl-uballiṭ—Ring of Balāṭu, son of Enlil-šumukīn—Seal of Enlil-uballiṭ / Seal of Enlil-mukīn-apli, son of Ninurta-nāšir—Seal of Imbia, son of Kidin / Seal of Ninurta-ana-bītišu—Fingernail of Mannutan-Iama.

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Issar-ah-iddin (*mār bīti* of Bēl-ībukaš): BE 9 1:30

Kidin/Ninurta-bullissu (scribe): TCL 13 203:43

Miθrēna (*ša muhhi sūti ša nār Sîn*): IMT 9:1

Mušallim-Bēl (*paqdu* of Išum-mardu'): BE 9 1:31

Nabû-nādin (*mār bīti* of Bēl-ībukaš): BE 9 1:29

Nidinti-Enlil/Ninurta-iddin (scribe): BE 9 1:32; BE 10 130:33; BE 10 131:32; BE 10 132: 25; PBS 2/1 144:32; PBS 2/1 145:33; PBS 2/1 146:30; PBS 2/1 147:32; PBS 2/1 148:29

Ninurta-nāšir/Arad-Enlil (scribe): IMT 9:18

Ninurta-nāšir/Mannu-Enlil-dāri (scribe): EE 109:20

Ninurta-uballit/Bēl-iddin: BE 10 131:27; PBS 2/1 146:27; PBS 2/1 147:27 and U.E. (seal) (slave of ʿPurruštiš)

Patēšu: EE 109:5

ʿPurruštiš (Parysatis): BE 10 131:27; PBS 2/1 146:27; PBS 2/1 147:27 and U.E. (seal)

Šillāya/Nādin (*ammarukal*): BE 10 130: 32 and rev. (seal); BE 10 131:30; PBS 2/1 145:32 and rev. (ring); PBS 2/1 146: rev (seal)

Šamahtānī/Isināya: BE 10 130:23 and rev (seal); BE 10 131: 22-3; BE 10 132:21 and L.E. (nail imprint); PBS 2/1 145:23; PBS 2/1 146:23 and rev (seal); PBS 2/1 147:24 and rev (seal); PBS 2/1 148:23

Šamaš-ibni (*šá bīt Aršāmu*): IMT 9:4

Širki-Bēl/Bēlšunu (*šaknu ša tašlišu ša šumēlu*): BE 10 130: 30-1 and U.E. (seal); BE 10 131:28; PBS 2/1 144:30; PBS 2/1 145:28-9 and rev (seal); PBS 2/1 146:27-8; PBS 2/1 147:26 and U.E. (seal)

Šiṭa'([x] (slave of Aršāma): EE 109:1

Taqīs-Gula/Iddin-Enlil (scribe): EE 11:28

Key Terms

ahšadrapānu (satrap): EE 109:4

ammarukal-official: BE 10 130: rev. (seal) (*a. ša šarri*); PBS 2/1 145 rev. (seal)

bīt qašti (bow land): TCL 13 203:3

bīt ritti: EE 11:8

dayyānu (judge): BE 9 1:27 and L.E. (seal)

harrān šarri (royal road): TCL 13 203:20

malāhu-boatman: EE 11:5

mār banê: EE 109:12

mār bīti: TCL 13 203:8 EE 109:2,5; BE 9 1:6, 19, 29, 30

nakkandi šarri (royal storehouse): TCL 13 203:15; IMT 9:1

paqdu (bailiff): BE 9 1:2,31; BE 10 130:1; BE 10 131:1; BE 10 132:1; PBS 2/1 144:2; PBS 2/1 145:2; PBS 2/1 146:2; PBS 2/1 147:2; PBS 2/1 148:2

rab būli (overseer of the herds): BE 10 130:23; BE 10 131:23; BE 10 132: 21 (*r.b. ša Aršāmu*); PBS 2/1 146:23; PBS 2/1 147:24

ša (ana) muhhi sūti ša ^{id}x: IMT 9:1–2

šaknu: EE 109:10 (*š. ša šušānu ša šaknūtu*); BE 10 130:31 and U.E. (seal), BE 10 131:28, PBS 2/1 144:30, PBS 2/1 145:28 and rev. (seal); PBS 2/1 146:28; PBS 2/1 147:26 (*š. ša tašlišānu ša šumēlu*); PBS 2/1 144:31 and R.E. (seal) (*š. of the Phrygians and Lydians*)

šušānu: EE 109:10

takpuštu (equalizing payment): TCL 13 203:32

ustabara: EE 109:9; BE 9 1:29, 30

uzbara (crown land): EE 11:4

zitti šarri (king's share): TCL 13 203:29

3.3

Photographic Record

Christopher J. Tuplin

The acquisition and initial conservation of the Bodleian letters is an ill-documented affair (see above, pp. 12–18). But at some point much of the material was mounted in two-sided framed glass slides. Some of the decisions that were made then about what to mount where are now seen to be incorrect. The result is that (without an extensive process of reconservation) there are many cases in which it is not possible to provide a photograph that corresponds exactly to the edited text published in this volume. In place of this we offer here two sets of photographs of the Pell.Aram. items (as currently conserved) that form the basis of TADAE A6.3–6.16. The first is a set of colour photographs made in 2012 (Figs. 1–27), the second is a set of infra-red photographs made in the 1980s (Figs. 28–53).¹ The infra-red photographs provide a rather clear image of the Aramaic text: their clarity is comparable with, and sometimes (especially where the leather is damaged) exceeds, that of the fine but antiquated black-and-white images provided in Driver's *editio princeps* (Driver 1954). The colour photographs do not present the Aramaic text itself so immediately clearly, but they offer a far more vivid sense of the documents as objects than either Driver's plates or the infra-red images. Taken together, the two sets of

¹ In the case of Pell.Aram. I, II, VI, VII, VIII, X, XII, and XIII the condition of the documents as shown in the infra-red and colour photographs seems identical. In other cases, however, there have been slight changes in the disposition of elements within the mounted slides. As far as one can tell, these changes arise because the glass mounting is not always tight enough to keep small pieces of leather firmly in place. (1) Pell.Aram. III. The stray fragments mounted in the inlay on the left of the slide (Inside view) have shifted. A small triangular fragment in line 1 of the text (bearing the letters *zy* from the word *zyly*) is disposed differently in the two photographs. In neither case are the letters properly aligned with those adjacent to right or left. (The drawing in TADAE I corrects this.) (2) Pell.Aram. IV. Items within the four smaller inlays of fragments mounted below the main document have shifted. (3) Pell.Aram. V. Small fragments in the middle inlay to the left (Inside view) have moved position, as has a tiny fragment at the bottom of the left hand half of the document. (4) Pell.Aram. IX. A triangular fragment in line 1 of the text (just after the vertical gap through the middle of the letter) bearing the letter *h* in the word *wrwhy* (Vāravahyā) has moved slightly. (5) Pell.Aram. XIV. A fragment two thirds of the way through line 1 (lying between *wbbl* and *ly* in the edited text) has shifted.

photographs constitute the richest photographic record of the existing state of the collection that has yet been published in permanent form.²

The photographs that follow embrace Pell.Aram. I–X, XII–XIV, and Fragment 5. The colour set consists of twenty-seven images, two each (Inside and Outside) for Pell.Aram. I–X and XII–XIV, but only one (Inside) for Fragment 5, where there is no text on the Outside face of those pieces of leather that form part of A6.6 (see below). The infra-red set survives in a slightly incomplete state: the Inside view of Fragment 5 is missing. There are therefore just twenty-six infra-red images. Two further points should be noted:

1. There is also no text on the Outside face of Pell.Aram. VIII (A6.9), but in this case we *have* included photographs. The reason is that the absence of writing on the Outside face of Pell.Aram. VIII is not an accident of fragmentary preservation (as in the case of Fragment 5 / A6.6). Rather it is the product of the exceptional character of the document: as a ration-authorisation to be displayed on a series of occasions, not a letter intended for a single recipient, the document remained unfolded, unsealed, and unaddressed. The absence of text on the Outside is therefore a substantive feature of the object as carrier of a particular type of document.
2. In the case of Pell.Aram. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and XII the photographs (both colour and infra-red) of the Outside view of the document are inverted, so that the typed museum label appears upside down at the bottom left of the image. This is to ensure that the Aramaic text is correctly oriented and reads from right to left. The inversion is necessary because in these cases, when the mounted documents were labeled, the conservators paid no attention to the fact that the Aramaic text on the Outside face of a document is upside down in relation to the Aramaic text on the Inside face. (That is a function of the way in which letters were folded and addressed: see Porten 1979.) They got this point right in the case of Pell.Aram. IX, X, XIII, and XIV, and the Outside views of those documents are not inverted.³ In all cases, therefore, the pair of images for the Inside and Outside of a document exactly matches the layout of the drawing of the relevant document that appears in TADAE I and TADAE IV (foldout 9), and we hope that this will facilitate direct comparison between photographs and drawings.

In the case of Pell.Aram. I–II and Pell.Aram. XIV there is an uncomplicatedly perfect match between what is seen in the photograph (Figs. 1–4, 25–6, 28–31,

² The colour photographs were made available on a web-site hosted by the Bodleian Library (2013–20) together with related materials (see above, p. 4). This was taken down for technical reasons. At the time of writing they are only accessible in an archived form (<https://wayback.archive-it.org/org-467/20190828083642/http://arshama.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>), a reminder of the potential impermanence of scholarly resources online.

³ In the case of Pell.Aram. VIII, where the Outside carries no text (see above), the question of right or wrong orientation does not arise. The relevant photograph is therefore printed in the orientation adopted by the conservators.

52–3) and the contents of the corresponding edited texts (A6.10, A6.8 and A6.15). But in all other cases there is a greater or lesser degree of mismatch. Details of this mismatch are provided in the catalogue that follows.

PELL.ARAM. III [A6.12] (FIGS. 5–6, 32–3)

The small fragment mounted separately at the left of the slide (Inside view: Figs. 5, 32) has no connection with the edited text of A6.12.

PELL.ARAM. IV [A6.7] (FIGS. 7–8, 34–5)

There are three points to note here.

- (a) A damaged word towards end of line 7 shown in TADAE I as ..*n*.^d/_r*w* is now read as [*y*]n[*h*]r*w*. This does not involve adding anything to the document.
- (b) There is a small extraneous piece of leather overlying the very end of lines 2–3 of the text on the Inside (Figs. 7, 34). The letters on this were read by Driver as *ʾršm* (line 2) and [*ʾn*]h [*ʾmrt*] (line 3) and (wrongly) imported into his version of the opening of A6.5.
- (c) Of the four smaller fragments mounted at the bottom of the slide, the three smaller ones to the right (Inside view: Figs. 7, 34) have no connection with the edited text of A6.7. The larger one to the left is now joined to Pell.Aram. XII as part of A6.4 (see below).

PELL.ARAM. V [A6.14] (FIGS. 9–10, 36–37)

The three fragments mounted separately at the left of the slide (Inside view: Figs. 9, 36) have no connection with the edited text of A6.14.

PELL.ARAM. VI [A6.5 AND 6.5 BIS (= DRIVER 1A)]
(FIGS. 11–12, 38–39)

The edited texts of A6.5 and A6.5bis have a complicated relationship to Pell.Aram.VI, involving removal, re-arrangement and addition.

- (a) Some of the pieces of leather are entirely discarded. This applies to (i) the four pieces (one of them very small) at the top left of the Inside view (Figs. 11, 38), (ii) the piece below the second-from-the-left of those four pieces, (iii) the two pieces at top right, (iv) the small isolated piece sitting between larger pieces to its right and left and roughly below the “VI.” of “Pell. aram. VI. int.,” and (v) the pieces at bottom right (the entirely separate one at the extreme bottom right and the piece to its left that is faintly joined to the piece of leather that runs from top to bottom in the middle of the slide).
- (b) This process leaves four elements, designated as fragments A-D (going from right to left). Of these C was dissociated by Porten and Yardeni in TADAE I to constitute the slender remnants of a separate document, Driver 1a (= A6.5 bis). The remaining three items (A, B, D) constitute A6.5, but B is moved to the left, further from A and closer to D.
- (c) Finally, a small fragment (12.8) is placed in the middle of line 1 of A6.5, in the centre of the gap now opened up between fragments A and B. This fragment can be seen in Driver 1954: plate XXII, at the right hand end of the first line of items from fragment 12.

The current understanding of the document is shown in a new drawing in TADAE IV Foldout 9 (bottom left).

PELL.ARAM VII [A6.3] (FIGS. 13–14, 40–41)

The edited text of A6.3 involves five additions to Pell.Aram.VII.

- (a) Frag. 7.1 is added at the top left of the slide (Inside view: Figs. 13, 40), containing the letters *’lym’ zyly qbl*. This addition is already made in TADAE I.
- (b) Frag. 7.3 is added at the end of lines 3–4, containing seven letters and a numeral on line 3 (*brhp 1 ’hr*) and five letters on line 4 (*y br wh*).
- (c) Frags 10.9 and 11.1 are added in the middle of line 4, containing nine letters and a numeral (*hpmw 1 psmšk*).
- (d) Frag. 11.20 is added at the end of line 5, containing the letters *’lky* (where the text in TADAE I had already restored *’lk*).
- (e) Frags 7.2 and 11.5 are also assigned to the document, but their placement is uncertain. They are shown at the left side of the Foldout 9 drawing, outside the actual frame of the document and listed separately at TADAE IV p. 150. They contain the letters *hs* (7.2) and *qt’* (11.5).

These fragments can be seen in photographs in Driver 1954. 7.1–3: plate XX (first, second and third items from the left in the first row of items from fragment 7), 10.9: plate XXI (fourth from the left in the second row of items from fragment 10), 11.1, 5: plate XXII (the first and fifth items in the first row of items from frag. 11), 11.20: plate XXII (the third item down in the third column of items from fragment 11).

The current understanding of the document is shown in a new drawing in TADAE IV Foldout 9 (top right).

PELL.ARAM. VIII [A6.9] (FIGS. 15–16, 42–3)

The small fragment mounted separately at the right hand side of the Inside view of the slide (Figs. 15, 42) has no connection with the edited text of A6.9.

PELL.ARAM. IX [A6.13] (FIGS. 17–18, 44–5)

The two halves of the document actually join: there is no gap in the middle of the edited text.

PELL.ARAM. X [A6.16] (FIGS. 19–20, 46–7)

The small fragment mounted separately at the bottom right of the slide (Inside view: Figs. 19, 46) has no connection with the edited text of A6.16.

PELL.ARAM. XII [A6.4] (FIGS. 21–2, 48–9)

The edited text of A6.4 involves three amendments to Pell.Aram. XII.

- (a) The large fragment mounted separately at the bottom left of the Pell. Aram. IV slide (see above: Figs. 7, 34) and Frag. 9.6 are added in the middle of line 1, providing nineteen letters (*t šlm wšrrt šg[y]’ hwšrt l*). This addition is already made in TADAE I. Fragment 9.6 can be seen in Driver 1954: plate XXI (sixth item from the left in the first row of items from frag. 9 *inside*).

- (b) Frag. 4.16 is added in the middle of line 3, containing two letters (*th*). This fragment can be seen in Driver 1954: plate XVIII (fourth item down in the fourth column of items from frag.4).
- (c) A small fragment bearing the letters *dšn* is attached to the Outside of the document (Figs. 22, 49: bottom edge, about a quarter of the way along from the bottom right corner and just to the right of a small gap separating two adjacent pieces of leather) but belongs just before the resumption of line 3 after the gap in the middle of the Inside face of the document, where it was already restored in TADAE I. There is a similar stray at the extreme top left corner of the piece of leather mounted separately at the top left of the slide as shown in Figs. 22 and 49. The readable letters are *b'*, but the fragment is of unknown original location.
- (d) It should also be noted that (i) the piece of leather placed separately at top right in the Inside view (Figs. 21, 48) should be immediately adjacent to the top right section of the main body of leather below it; and (ii) the four small sets of leather mounted at the bottom of the slide have no connection with the edited text of A6.4.

The current understanding of the document is shown in a new drawing in TADAE IV Foldout 9 (top middle).

PELL.ARAM. XIII [A6.11] (FIGS. 23-4, 50-1)

Frag. 9.8 is added at the end of line 1, giving five letters that confirm the restoration of the text already proposed in TADAE I, so that *šm[h 'by kzy]* becomes *šm[h ']by kzy*. This fragment can be seen in Driver 1954: plate XXI (first item in the second row of items from frag. 9 *inside*).

The current understanding of the document is shown in a new drawing in TADAE IV Foldout 9 (bottom right).

FRAGMENT 5 [A6.6] (FIG. 27)

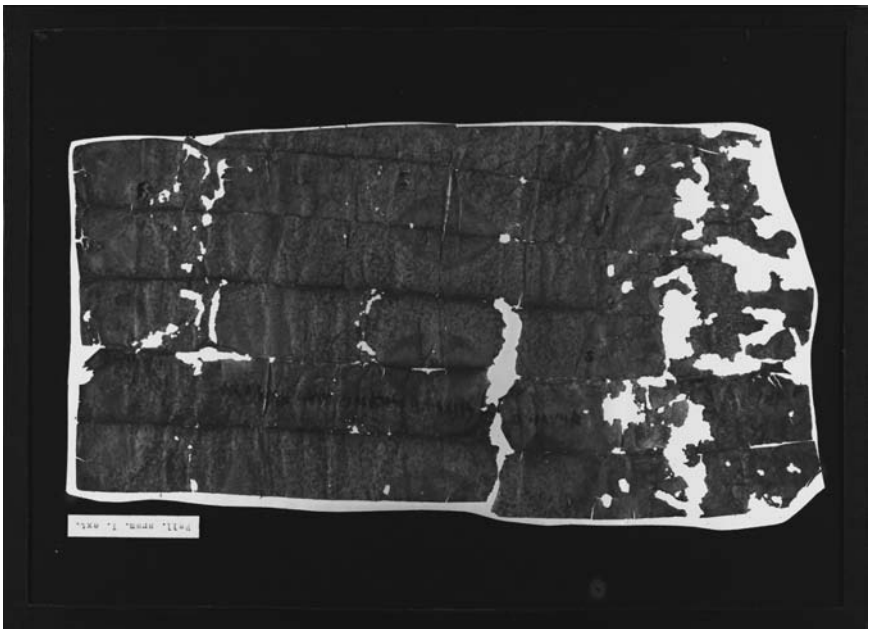
Of the eleven pieces of leather shown on Fig. 27 only four are treated as part of A6.6, namely those at the four corners of the slide. But the one at bottom right, though shown in the Porten and Yardeni drawings in TADAE I and on TADAE IV Foldout 9, carries no writing, so in practice only the other three (5.1, 5.5, and 5.6) contribute to the edited text, providing letters from the start and end of lines 1-4 (frags. 5.1, 5.5) and—an addition to the text in

TADAE I—two letters (*nt*) at the end of line 6 (frag. 5.6). In TADAE I Porten and Yardeni also included 5.2 (the fragment at top middle of the slide), providing five letters in the middle of line 1, but they have now discarded this and replaced it with fr.3.3 and 3.11, supplying a total of twenty-two letters from the middle of lines 1–4 (*rt lk tnh / nḥtḥwr š / br ynḥrw / ḥ*). The fragments can be seen in Driver 1954. 3.3, 3.11: plate XVIII (middle of the first row and end of the second row of items from frag.3), 5.6: plate XIX (the lower item in the first column of items from fragment 5).

The current understanding of the document is shown in a new drawing in TADAE IV Foldout 9 (top left)—but note that frag. 5.5 (on the right-hand side) is wrongly called 5.6 in this drawing.



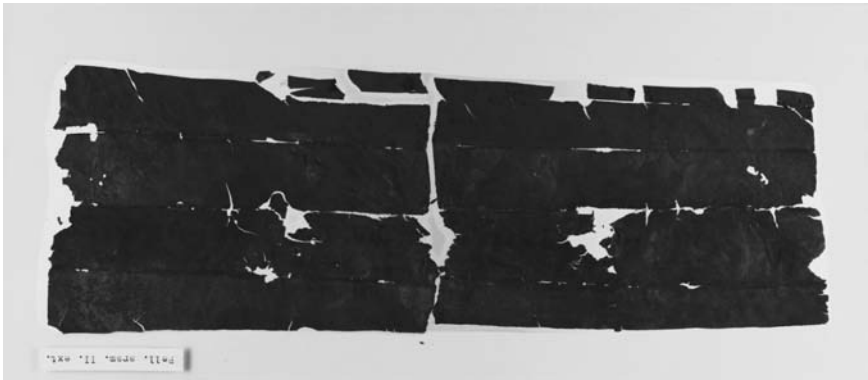
1. Pell.Aram.I Inside (A6.10). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



2. Pell.Aram.I Outside (A6.10). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



3. Pell.Aram.II Inside (A6.8). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



4. Pell.Aram.II Outside (A6.8). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



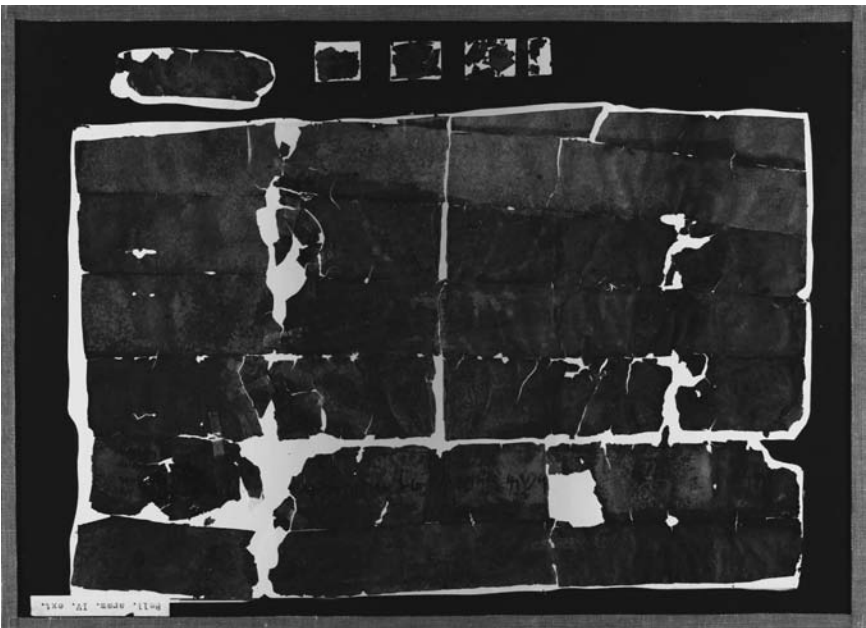
5. Pell.Aram.III Inside (A6.12). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



6. Pell.Aram.III Outside (A6.12). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



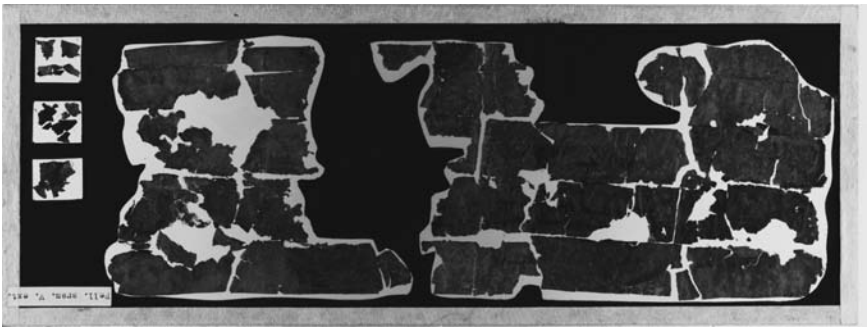
7. Pell.Aram.IV Inside (A6.7). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



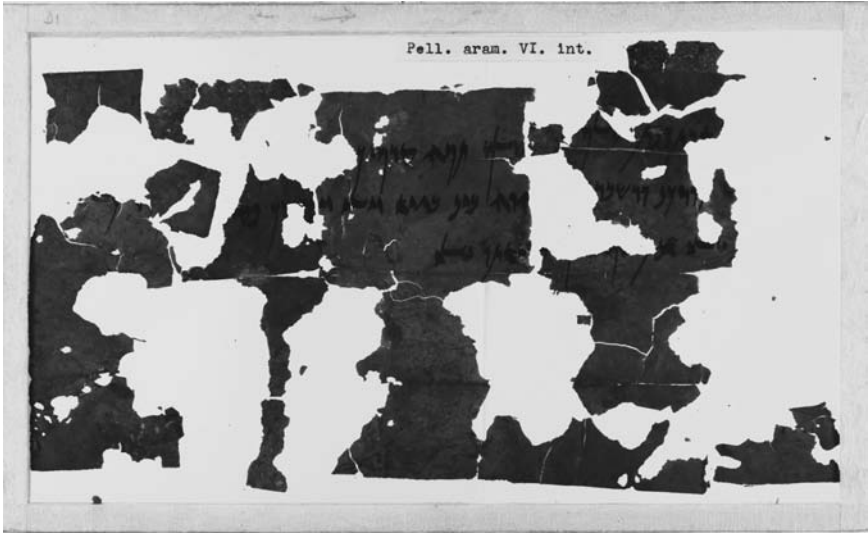
8. Pell.Aram.IV Outside (A6.7). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



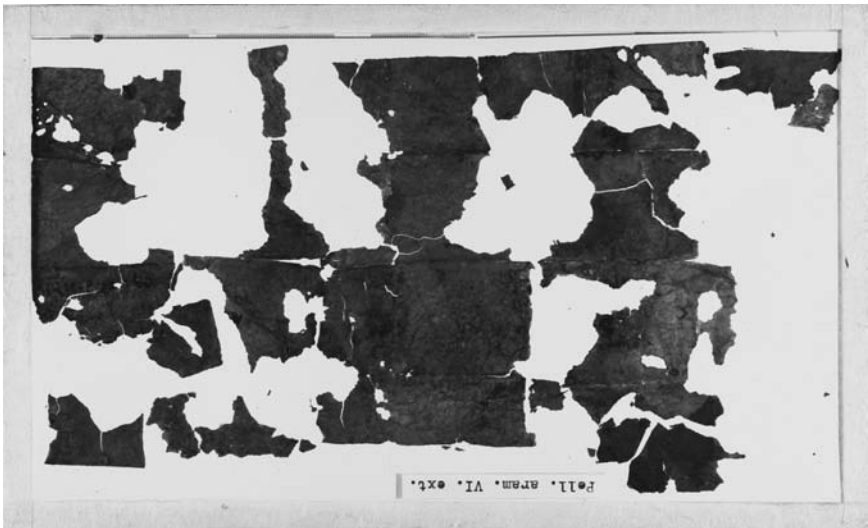
9. Pell.Aram.V Inside (A6.14). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



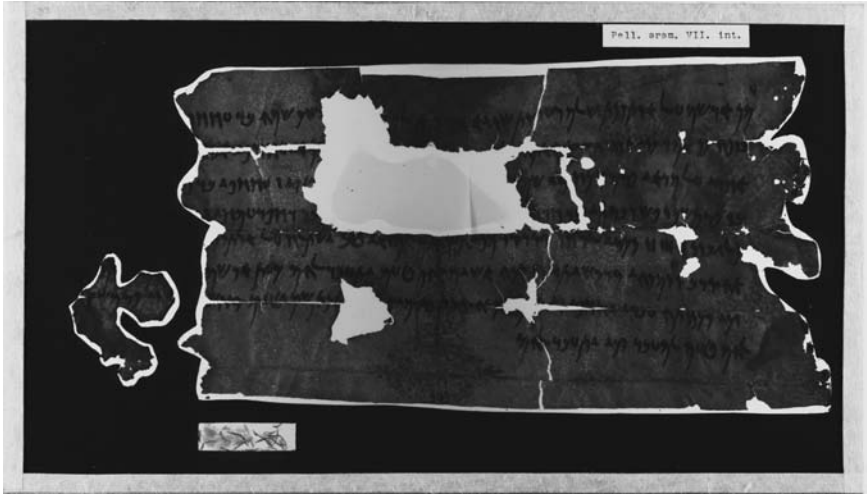
10. Pell.Aram.V Outside (A6.14). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



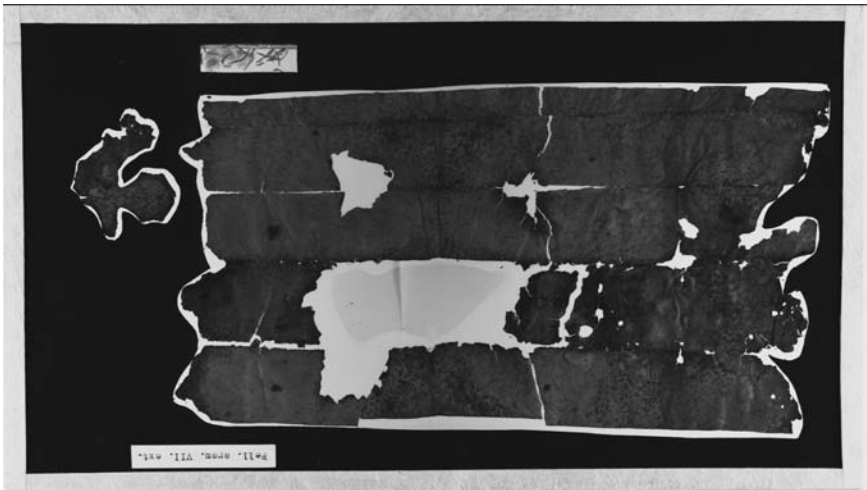
11. Pell.Aram.VI Inside (A6.5). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



12. Pell.Aram.VI Outside (A6.5). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



13. Pell.Aram.VII Inside (A6.3). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



14. Pell.Aram.VII Outside (A6.3). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



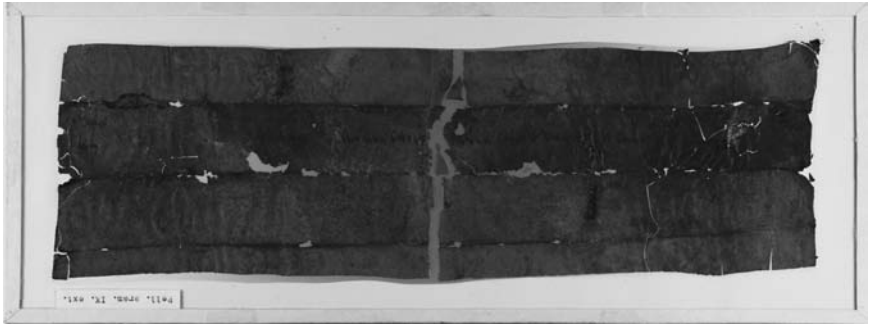
15. Pell.Aram.VIII Inside (A6.9). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



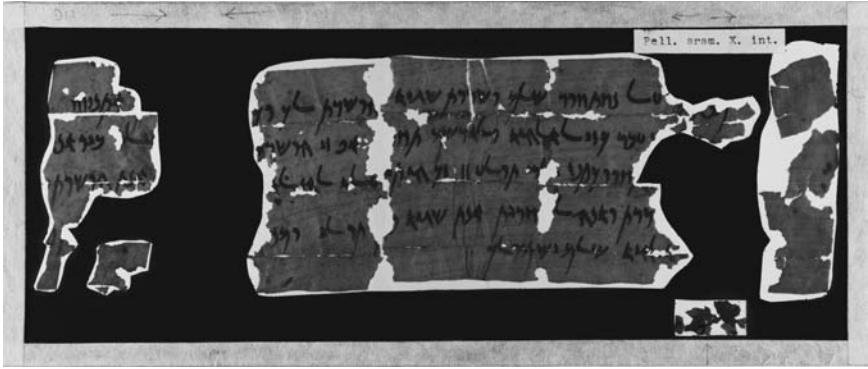
16. Pell.Aram.VIII Outside (A6.9). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



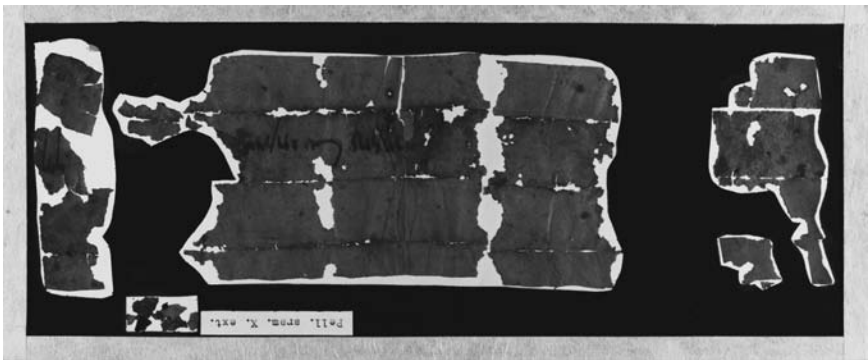
17. Pell.Aram.IX Inside (A6.13). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



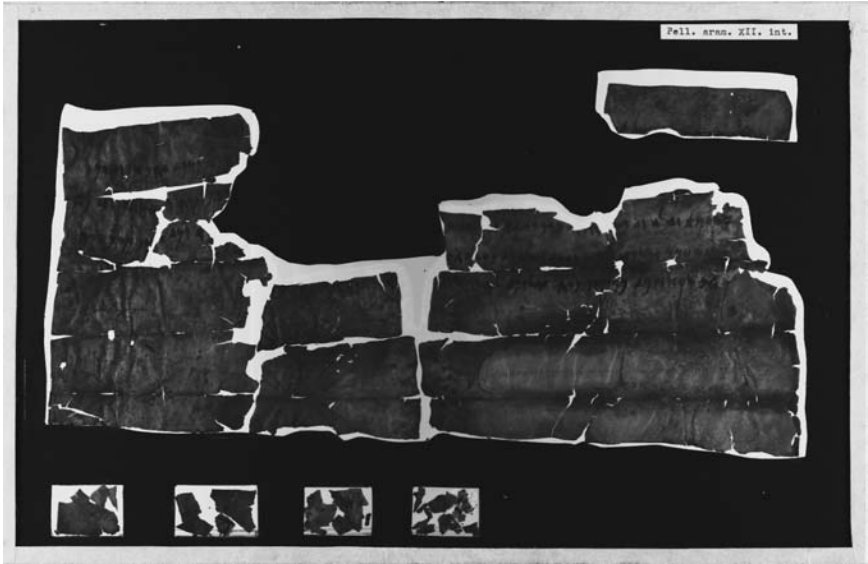
18. Pell.Aram.IX Outside (A6.13). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



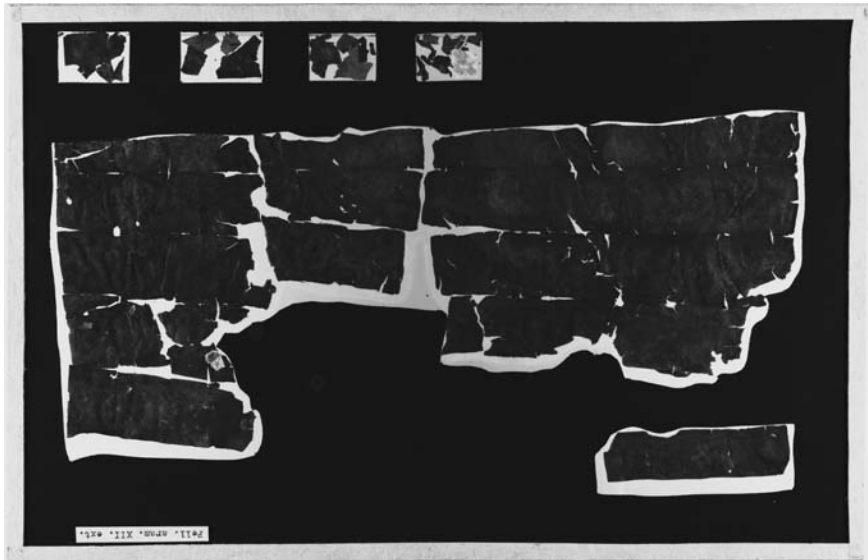
19. Pell.Aram.X Inside (A6.16). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



20. Pell.Aram.X Outside (A6.16). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



21. Pell.Aram.XII Inside (A6.4). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



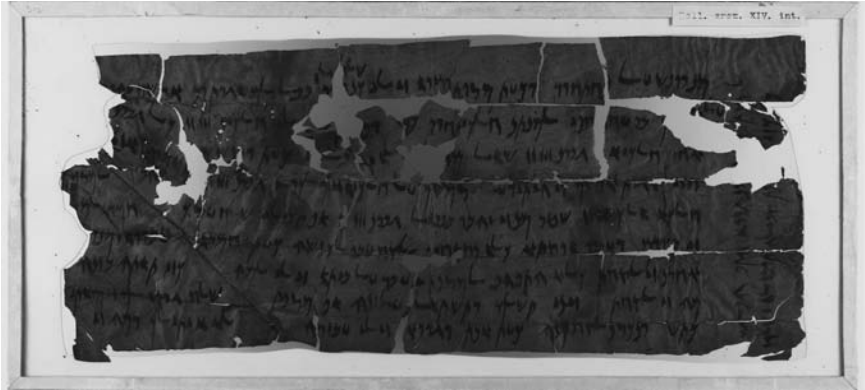
22. Pell.Aram.XII Outside (A6.4). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



23. Pell.Aram.XIII Inside (A6.11). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



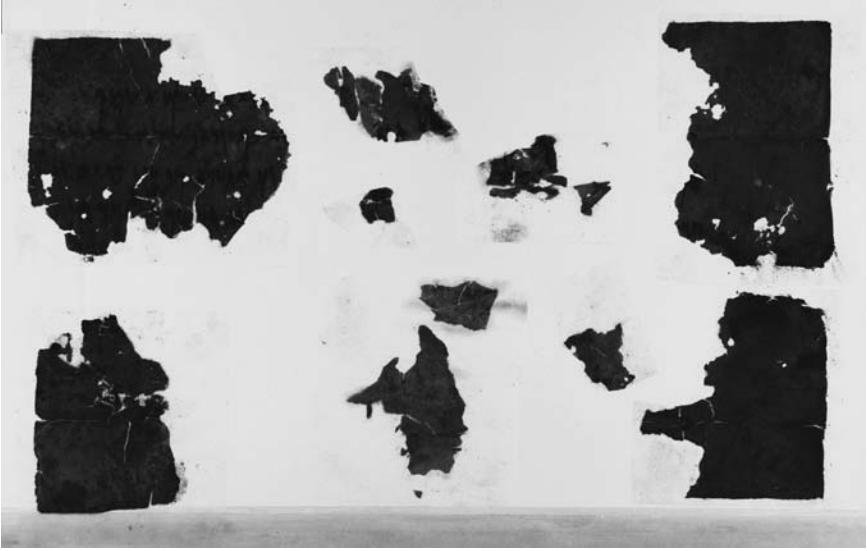
24. Pell.Aram.XIII Outside (A6.11). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



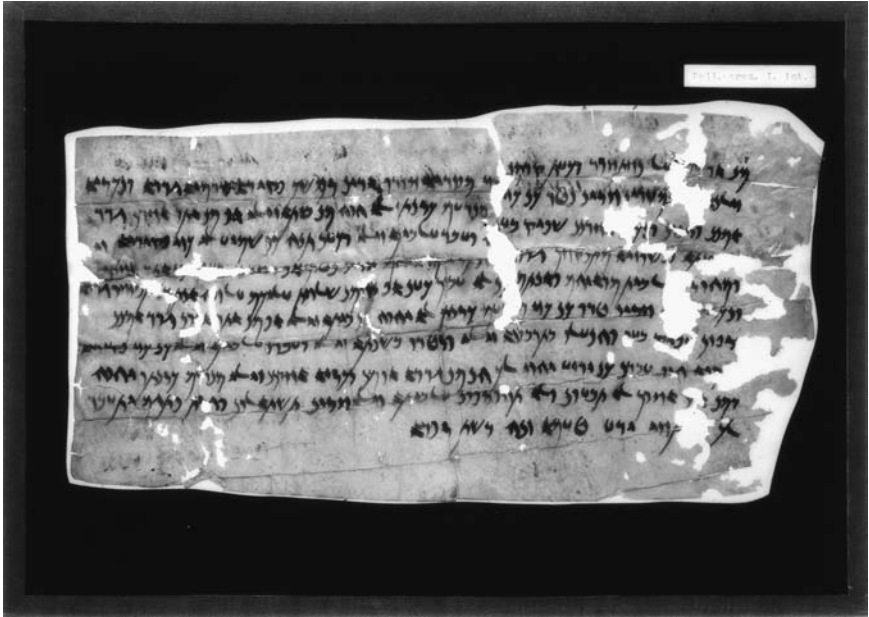
25. Pell.Aram.XIV Inside (A6.15). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



26. Pell.Aram.XIV Outside (A6.15). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



27. Pell.Aram. Fragment 5 Inside (A6.6). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



28. Pell.Aram.I Inside (A6.10). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



29. Pell.Aram.I Outside (A6.10). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



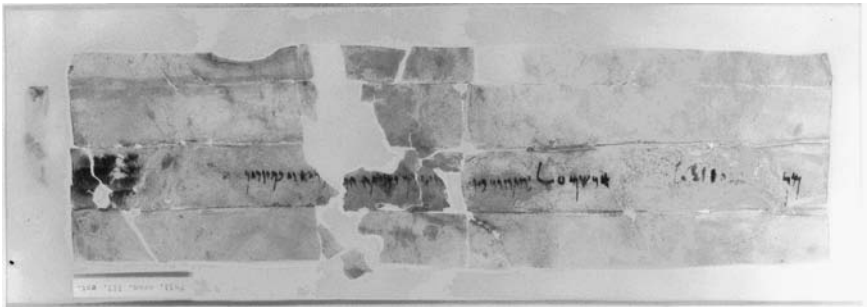
30. Pell.Aram.II Inside (A6.8). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



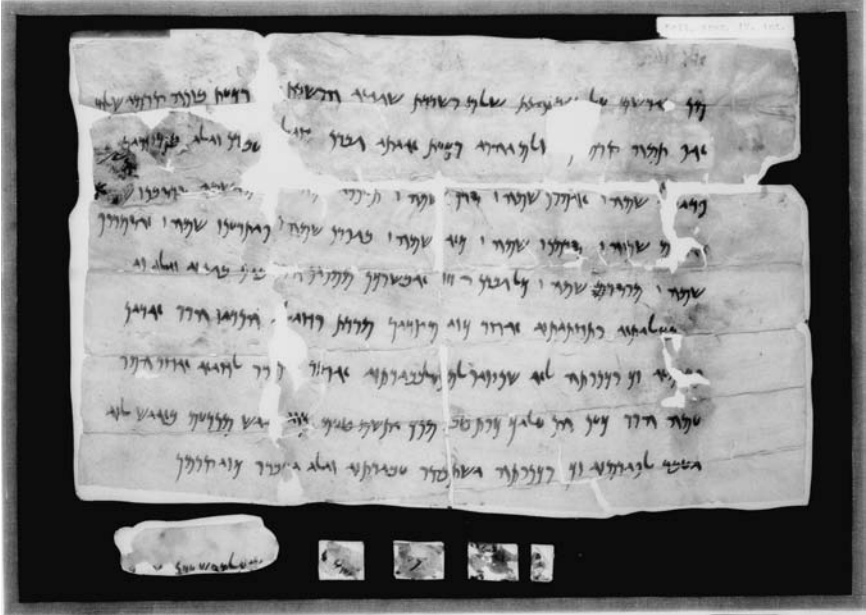
31. Pell.Aram.II Outside (A6.8). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



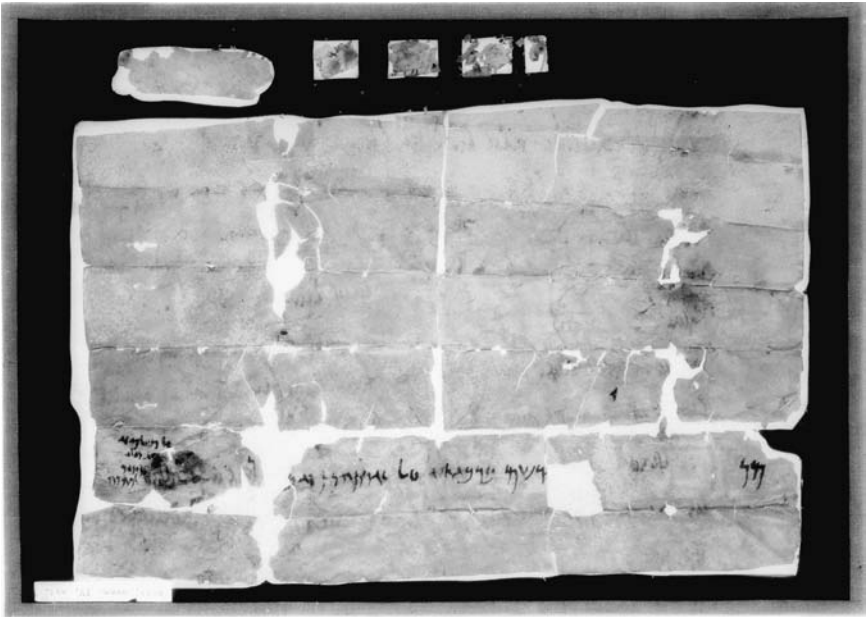
32. Pell.Aram.III Inside (A6.12). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



33. Pell.Aram.III Outside (A6.12). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



34. Pell.Aram.IV Inside (A6.7). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



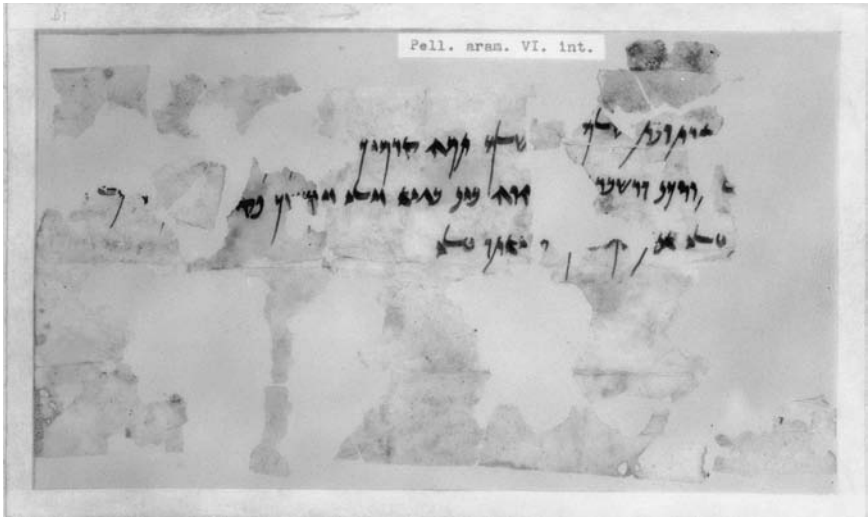
35. Pell.Aram.IV Outside (A6.7). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



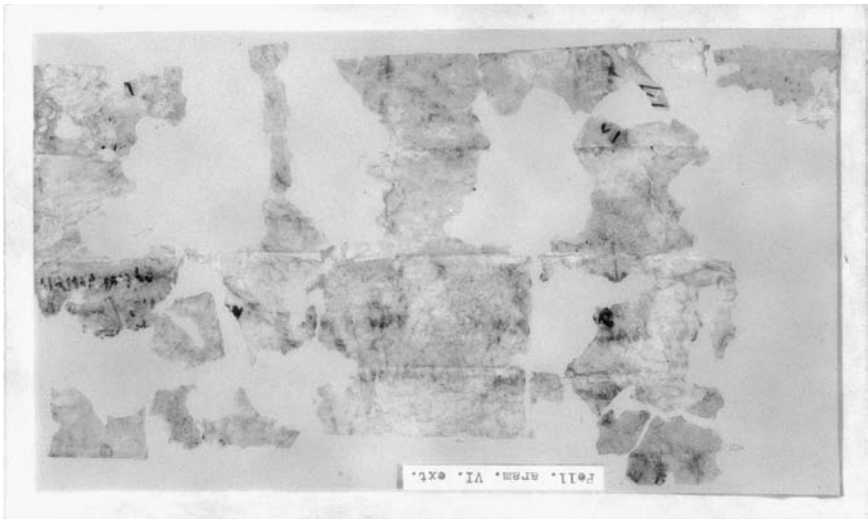
36. Pell.Aram.V Inside (A6.14). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



37. Pell.Aram.V Outside (A6.14). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



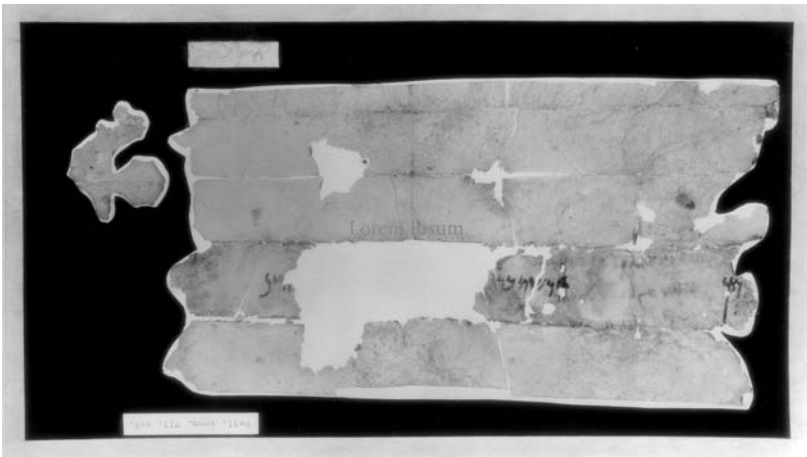
38. Pell.Aram.VI Inside (A6.5). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



39. Pell.Aram.VI Outside (A6.5). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



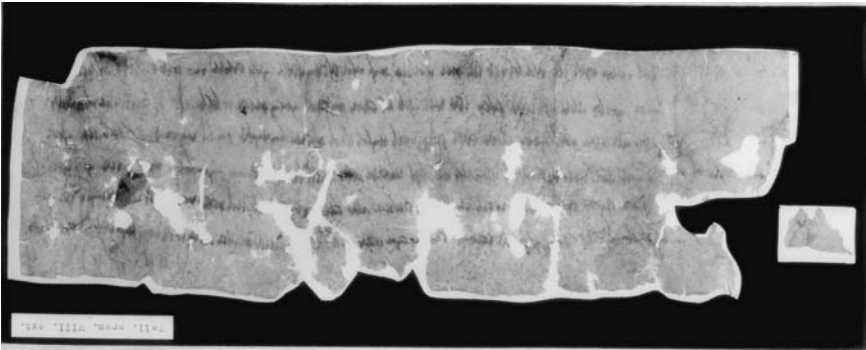
40. Pell.Aram.VII Inside (A6.3). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



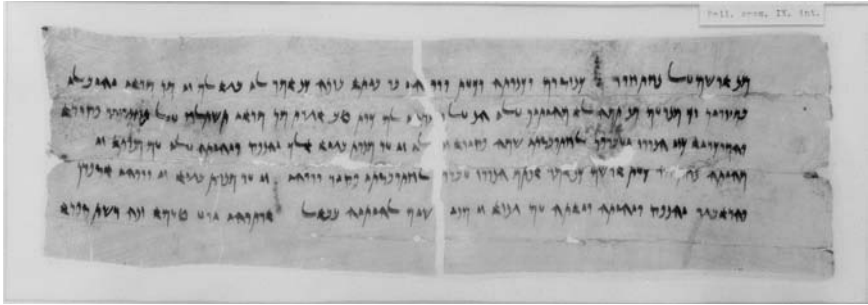
41. Pell.Aram.VII Outside (A6.3). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



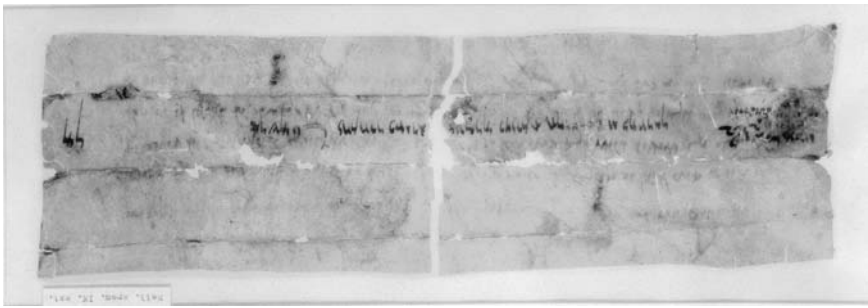
42. Pell.Aram.VIII Inside (A6.9). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



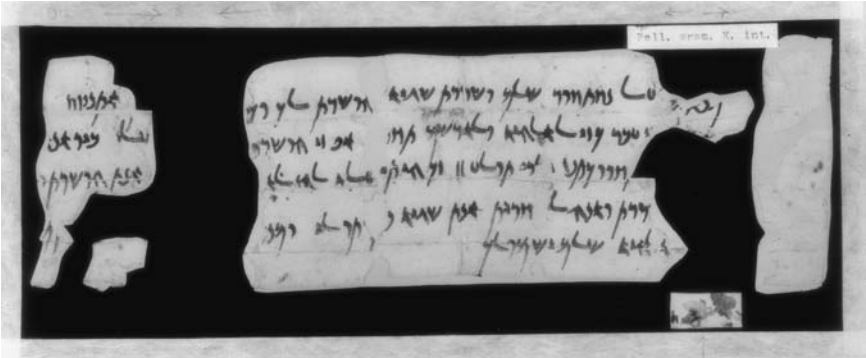
43. Pell.Aram.VIII Outside (A6.9). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



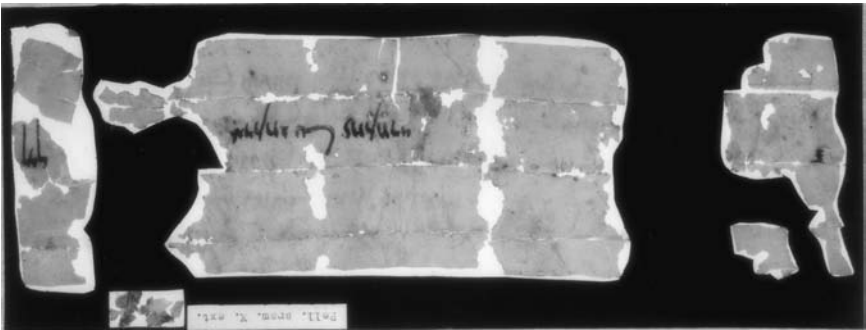
44. Pell.Aram.IX Inside (A6.13). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



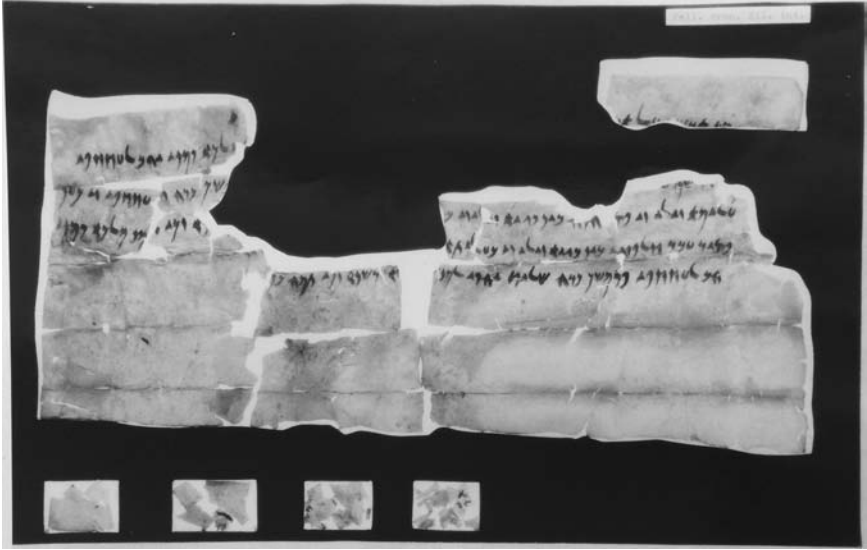
45. Pell.Aram.IX Outside (A6.13). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



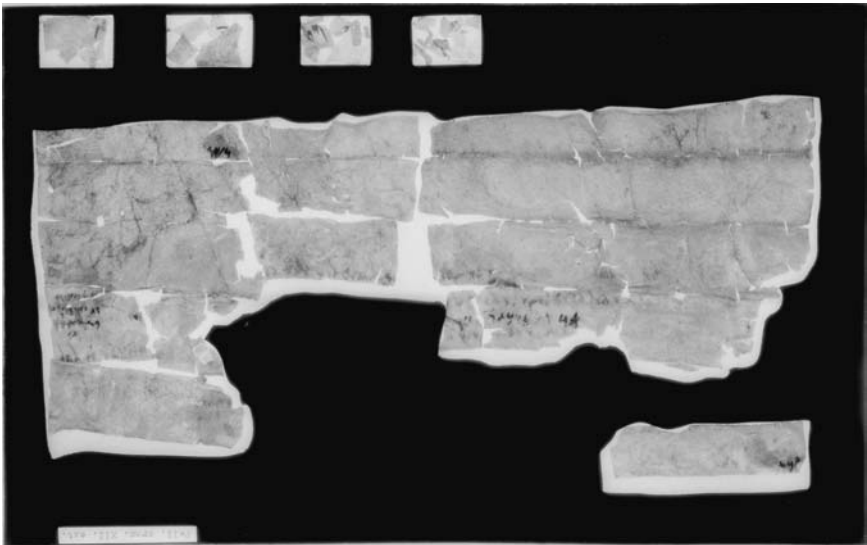
46. Pell.Aram.X Inside (A6.16). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



47. Pell.Aram.X Outside (A6.16). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



48. Pell.Aram.XII Inside (A6.4). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



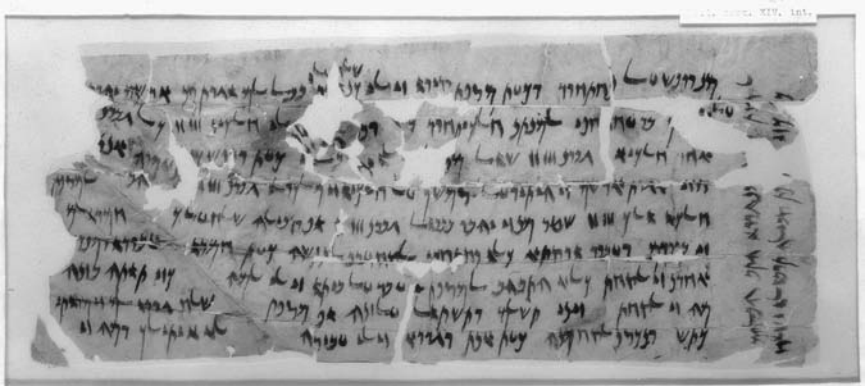
49. Pell.Aram.XII Outside (A6.4). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



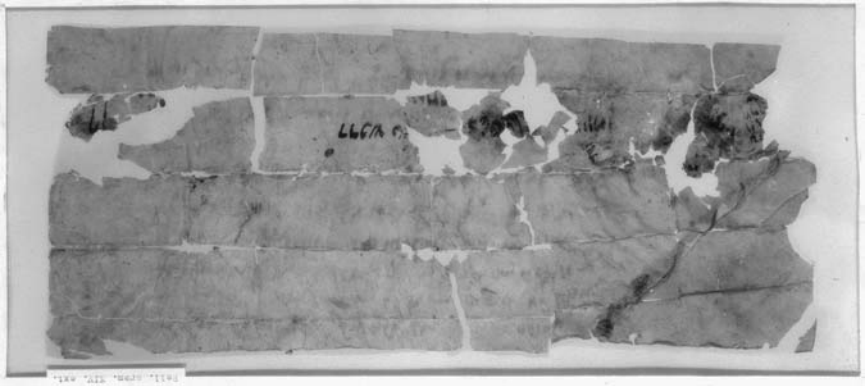
50. Pell.Aram.XIII Inside (A6.11). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



51. Pell.Aram.XIII Outside (A6.11). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



52. Pell.Aram.XIV Inside (A6.15). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



53. Pell.Aram.XIV Outside (A6.15). Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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