



تَجَرَه و *تَجَرَنَه:-

اصطلاحات مربوط به کاخ در نمونه تازه‌ای از کتیبه A²Sd و بایگانی باروی تخت جمشید
ووتر هنکلمن

چکیده

نمونه جدیدی از تحریر عیلامی کتیبه A²Sd در این مقاله ارائه می‌شود. این کتیبه سه‌زبانه و معروف هخامنشی به نام اردشیر دوم در شوش ساخته شده است. در این مقاله به ذکر واژه تَجَرَه و تعابیر احتمالی آن توجه ویژه‌ای می‌شود. در همین رابطه، ویراست‌های مربوط به سه متن عیلامی از بایگانی باروی تخت جمشید ارائه می‌شود که شواهد تازه‌ای از این اصطلاح و یک هم‌ریشه احتمالی یعنی *tacarana** به دست می‌دهند.

واژگان کلیدی: اردشیر دوم؛ شوش هخامنشی؛ عیلامی هخامنشی؛ تَجَرَه؛ هَدیش؛ کتیبه‌های سلطنتی هخامنشی؛ بایگانی باروی تخت جمشید.

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Tacara- and **tacara-*:

Palatial terminology in a new exemplar of A²Sd and in the Persepolis Fortification archive

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Abstract

Presented in the paper is a new exemplar of the Elamite version of A²Sd, a known Achaemenid trilingual inscription made in the name of Artaxerxes II in Susa. Special attention is given to the occurrence of the word *tacara* and its possible interpretations. In connection with this, editions of three Elamite texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive are presented that provide new attestations of the term and a possible cognate, **tacara-*.

Keywords: Artaxerxes II; Achaemenid Susa; Achaemenid Elamite; *tacara*; *hadis̄*; Achaemenid royal inscriptions; Persepolis Fortification Archive.

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A²Sd 07: Description and edition

The stone column base fragment published below was found at an unknown location at Šūš-e Dāniāl/Susa in 1962, remained in private hands for over sixty years, and has recently been deposited in the National Museum of Iran (inv. no. BK 11388).¹ It is 33 cm long, 13 cm high and 10 cm wide in its maximum dimensions; it weighs just over 6 kg and is made of grey limestone. Part of an original square column base, the artefact has been cut back with modern tools as shown by the smooth bottom, back, and upper surfaces of the fragment (fig. 1). What remains of the plinth of the column base is inscribed in Achaemenid Elamite script and language; the fragmentary text is recognisable as about half of a known four-line inscription by Artaxerxes II (404-358 BCE), A²Sd. With the new fragment, seven published exemplars of A²Sd_c are currently available.²

1. The fragment was found while French archaeologists (Roman Ghirshman and his team) were active at the site. This may have been during the 1962/63 season, which concentrated on the Ville Royale (Ghirshman, 1964). More precisely, the fragment was found “on the opposite side of a hill” from where the excavation took place (pers.comm. Krystal Lund, 10.I.2024), which could point to the Šāhūr complex, then still unexcavated, where most other A²Sd fragments were found (cf. below), but also to the ‘Donjon’ on the south side of the Ville Royale, where materials from the Elamite and Achaemenid periods (including an exemplar of A²Sb) were uncovered in secondary context (cf. Curtis, 1993, 10-11; the fragments that Loftus, 1852, pl. 6.2-3 [not: pl. 16] published of A²Sd_{b,p} are without stated provenance).

2. The list on p. 75 retains the conventions and order of exemplars (01-06) presented in Steve, 1987, 97; according to the conventions of the Italian DARIOSH project, the new exemplar would be “A²Sd/AE/7.” BK numbers refer to the National Museum of Iran in Tehran, Sb numbers to the Musée du Louvre in Paris, and “Šūš” to the Šūš-e Dāniāl/Susa museum. A²Sd 01 actually consists of two larger and several smaller fragments. I express my warmest thanks to Salman Aliyari Babolghani for providing me with precise information on the whereabouts of the various published exemplars. See also the table in Boucharlat & Labrousse, 1979, 57. Note that Steve (1974, 11 n.8) mentions



Fig. 1. back, top and bottom of the square column base fragment inscribed with the Elamite version of A²Sd (images W. Henkelman)

The Elamite, Akkadian and Old Persian versions of A²Sd are rather different, the Elamite version being the shortest (cf. below). That they do in fact belong to the same inscription is demonstrated by a column base in the National Museum of Iran, BK 346, which preserves all

a small fragment (“TS Chât. 18”) with the first line of, possibly, A²Sd_c. The fragment, found at the Šāhūr complex in 1964, has never been fully published (the other fragment mentioned in the same footnote, CH 71-1005.1, is from the Old Persian version of A²Sd). Dr. Aliyari additionally has identified a small group of unpublished exemplars of A²Sd_c in the reserves of the three museums mentioned above; he will publish these in the framework of the ongoing DARIOSH project. One such exemplar, a smaller fragment deposited in the Musée du Louvre, is presented in the doctoral dissertation by Marco Fattori (2024, 97), but not considered in this publication.

Siglum	inv./field no.	Publication
A ² Sd 01	Sb 10053+10054+	MDP 21 28 = Scheil, 1929, 91-93 (hand copy)
A ² Sd 02	BK 346	MDP 24 28 = Scheil, 1933, 127 (hand copy; see also Boucharlat, 2016, 69 n.11)
A ² Sd 03	CH.68-100.6 (Šūš)	RA 64, p.171 = Vallat, 1970, 171 (hand copy; see also Vallat, 1972, 205-09 and Labrousse & Boucharlat, 1972, 61, 85, fig. 41.10)
A ² Sd 04	CH.75-2786.1 (Šūš)	CDAFI 10, pp. 146, 150-51 = Vallat, 1979, 146, 150, 151 fig. 43.4 (hand copy)
A ² Sd 05	CH.76-3053.1(a) (Šūš)	CDAFI 10, pp. 146, 150-51 = Vallat, 1979, 146, 150, 151 fig. 43.5 (hand copy; mislabelled “fig.6” on p. 150); photograph in Boucharlat & Labrousse, 1979, 134 pl. 9c (mislabelled “77 3053.1” <i>ibid.</i> 96 fig. 21.1), Boucharlat, 2010, 404 fig. 470, and Boucharlat, 2016, 67 fig. 1)
A ² Sd 06	A ² Sd 06	CDAFI 10, pp. 147, 152-53 = Vallat, 1979, 147, 152, 153 fig. 44.2 (hand copy)
A ² Sd 07	BK 11388	<i>JNM</i> Vol 3. Nos. 1&2, Series 4&5, 2022

three versions (including A²Sd 02).³ Although most known exemplars are relatively small fragments these have allowed composition of complete texts of each version.

Among previous editions of A²Sd_c, the one given by Franz Heinrich Weissbach in 1937, when he had just been ousted from Leipzig University on account of his membership of a masonic lodge (Streck, 2009, 354), is recommendable for its precision and critical apparatus (Weissbach, 1937, 648-51). Also notable is the commented text given by Brandenstein (1932, 89-92, based on Scheil’s hand copy of A²Sd 01). Subsequent editions by Vallat (1977, 228-29; 1979, 146-47) and Steve (1987, 97) are based on more exemplars, but less helpful.

3. The same is true for CH.68-100.6, CH.68-100.7a and b, although these preserve only smaller portions of the three versions (see Labrousse & Boucharlat, 1972, 85; Boucharlat & Labrousse, 1979, 59). Parts of the Elamite and Old Persian versions occur together on CH.76-3053.1(a-b) and Sb 10053+10054+.

Schmitt (2010, 287) offers a text relying on previous editions, yet with extensive apparatus. A detailed, new edition is presented by Fattori in his as yet unpublished doctoral thesis (2024, 83-103, esp. 95-97).

The new fragment, A²Sd 07 (figs. 2), is well enough preserved to ascertain the line division, which varies between known exemplars. The text reads as follows:

- (01) ^{DIŠ}ú ^{DIŠ}ir-tak-ik-šá-áš-šá ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA ir-
^ršá [-ir-ra ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA-ip-in-na
^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA ^{DIŠ}da]-
- (02) a-ú-iš-be-na ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA ^{AS}mu-ru-^run^r [hi
uk-ku-ra ^{DIŠ}da-ri-ia-hu-iš^r ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA]
- (03) ^{MEŠ}-na ^{AS}šá-ag¹-gi¹ ^{DIŠ}ha[-ak]-^rka⁴ [-man
-nu-u-ši-ia ^{DIŠ}ir-tak-ik-šá-áš-šá ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA
na-an-ri]
- (04) [za-u]-^rmi-in ^{AN}[u-ra]-^rmas^r[-da-na ^{AS}da-
za-ra-um hi ^{DIŠ}ú hu-ud-da]

I, Artaxerxes (II), great king, king of kings, king of nations, king on this earth, son of king Darius (II), an Achaemenid. King Artaxerxes says: by the effort of Uramasda I made this *tacara*.

01. ^{DIŠ}ú: a faint trace of the margin line is visible to the left of the determinative (fig. 3).

01. *tak*: the sign TAG (read *tá* by Weissbach, 1937, 650 and Schmitt, 2010, 287) has the same form in A²Sd 01 (l.3), 02 (ll.1, 3), 03 (l.1), 05 (l.3), and 06 (l.3); a comparable form already occurs in the Persepolis Treasury archive (Steve, 1992, 69). A related but distinct form occurs in A²Sb 01 (Loftus, 1852, pl. 16; Norris, 1953, pl. 7) and A²Sb 02 (Steve, 1987, 95 with comment; Steve’s hand copy is imprecise [pers. comm. Marco Fattori]); in all copies of A²Sa_c, TAG has a regular shape.

01f. [^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA ^{DIŠ}da]-a-ú-iš-be-na: the first determinative is present in A²Sd 02 and 05, but not in A²Sd 01 (according to Scheil’s hand copy); the second is present in A²Sd 01-02 but omitted in the reconstructed text given by Vallat (1979, 146). The first two signs of l.2 are only preserved in A²Sd 07. The sign *a* in ^{DIŠ}da-a-ú-iš-be-na is omitted in Vallat, 1977, 228.

02. [^{DIŠ}da-ri-ia-hu-iš]: HU is clear in A²Sd 02 and 05; it has a redundant horizontal wedge

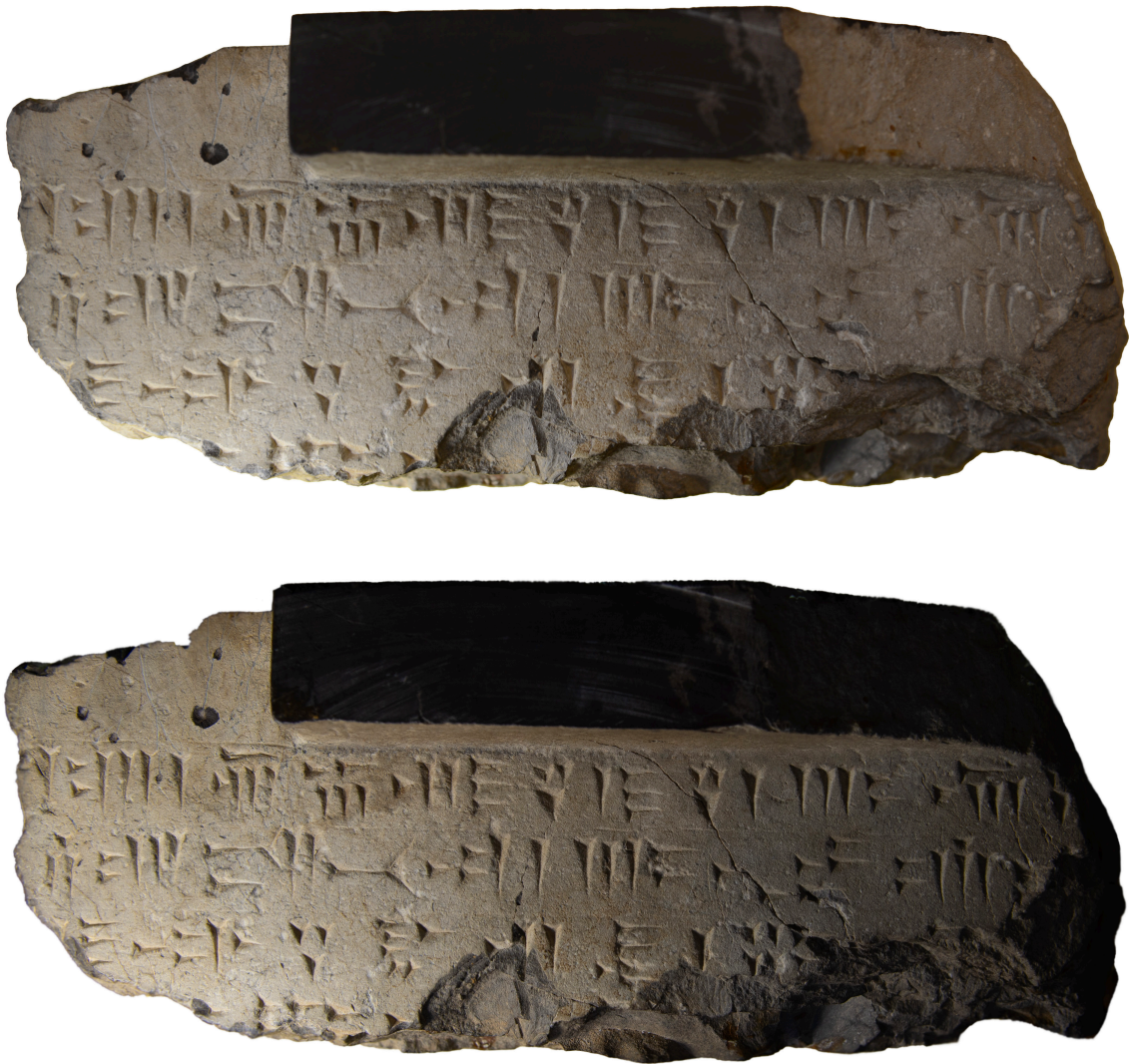


Fig. 2. The inscription A2Sd 07 under two different light conditions (images W. Henkelman).

in A²Sd 01, which presumably inspired Scheil (1929, 93; 1933, 127) to consider it a possible error for MĀ or MĀ-U (reading ^{DIŠ}*da-ri-ia-mà-u-iš*; compare ^{DIŠ}*da-ri-ia-hu-u-iš* in Vallat, 1977, 228). The correct reading is given in Weissbach, 1937, 650 (followed by Vallat, 1979, 147 and Steve, 1987, 97); on the spelling see Schmitt, 2010, 290 with n.8.

03. ^{MEŠ}: Scheil's [^{DIŠ}]EŠŠANA'-*áš-na* (in A²Sd 02; Scheil, 1933, 127, followed by Vallat, 1977, 228) is inexplicable (and analysed by neither Scheil nor Vallat). Weissbach, although printing *áš* (in superscript), recognized that the determinative ^{MEŠ} must be intended here (1937, 650, followed by Vallat, 1979, 146 and Steve, 1987, 97); the same is true for A²Sb 01-02 (see Weissbach, 1911, 24f. with note; hand copies in Loftus, 1852, pl. 16 / Norris 1953, pl. 7 and

in Steve, 1987, 95). In A²Sd 02 (and A²Sb 01) MEŠ and ÁŠ are almost indistinguishable, but the lowest horizontal wedge in MEŠ is placed slightly more to the left; the same is possible but not verifiable for A²Sd 07 (fig. 4). The reading EŠŠANA^{MEŠ} is remarkable in the *longue durée* of Elamite writing, which recognized the logogram EŠŠANA (sometimes rendered LUGĀL or SUNKI) for *sunki*, "king," as unique to the Elamite language; it did not require the addition of the determinative ^{MEŠ}, as common with real logograms (Sumerograms). From this perspective EŠŠANA could more properly be described as an 'Elamogram.' In Achaemenid Elamite, there is only one known case of EŠŠANA^{MEŠ} prior to the reign of Artaxerxes II, in the expression *hal-mi*^{HAL}EŠŠANA^{MEŠ}-*in-na* in PF-NN 0242, where the defec-

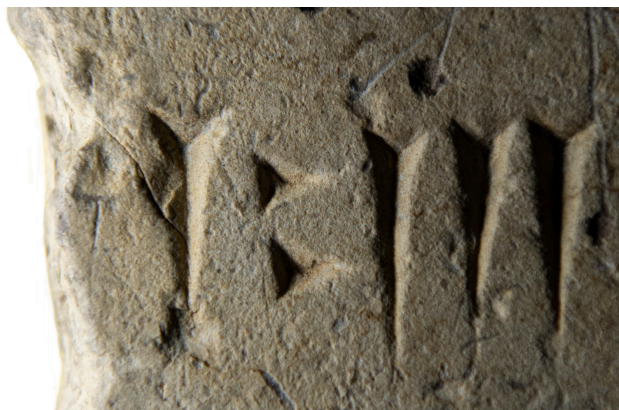


Fig. 3. A trace of the left margin visible in l.1 (image W. Henkelman).



Fig. 4. The sign MEŠ at the beginning of l.3 (image W. Henkelman).

tive form of EŠŠANA itself suggests that the ensuing ^{MEŠ} is a scribal mistake. In the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II, which generally demonstrate an evolved use of determinatives (Malbran-Labat, 1990; Schmitt, 2010, 289-90; Fattori, 2022a, 366-67), two notations of EŠŠANA occur. A²Sa_c uses the Elamogram nine times, each time marking it with ^{MEŠ} (AŠ.AŠ.EŠŠANA^{MEŠ}); the same appears to be true for A²Ha_c (Fattori, 2022a, 366; note that a Susa provenience is not excluded for this text [Henkelman, 2021a, 1222]). A²Sb_c and A²Sd_c use EŠŠANA without ^{MEŠ} (DİŠ.EŠŠANA) except in the expression PN DİŠ.EŠŠANA^{MEŠ}AŠ šá-ag¹(-gi¹), “son of king PN” (the passage is not preserved in any of the three known exemplars of A²Se_c; see Fattori, 2023, 13-17). Fat-

tori (2022b, 21 n.40) explains this single use of DİŠ.EŠŠANA^{MEŠ} in A²Sb_c and A²Sd_c as an adaptation of a text largely retaken from DSd_c.

03. AŠ šá-ag¹-gi¹: the determinative AŠ is written close to the preceding -na. A²Sd 02, the only other exemplar to preserve the word completely, has AŠ šá-ag¹-gi (in A²Sd 01 the determinative is broken, *pace* Schmitt, 2010, 287). Vallat’s tacit correction of AŠ to DİŠ (1979, 146; Vallat, 1977, 228 confusingly prints AŠ^t) is unwarranted: the idiosyncratic use of AŠ has parallels in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II (see Malbran-Labat, 1990, 35); it is supported by AŠ šá-ag¹ in A²Sb_c. The sign reluctantly rendered here as ag¹ has an eccentric form (fig. 5), recurring in A²Sd 01-03 (read incorrectly in Vallat, 1970, 171) and in A²Sb 02 (Steve, 1987, 95).⁴ Scheil first read it as ag or ug (1929, 92-93), but later opted for ah¹ (1933, 127); Weissbach (1937, 650) preferred ag and was followed in this by subsequent editors. Whereas AŠ šá-ag-gi is indeed expected (cf. ša-ak), AG is written differently in the ensuing DİŠ ha-ak-ka₄-man-nu-u-šī-ia (the sign is preserved in A²Sd 01 and 02), as is UG in uk-ku-ra in l.2 (preserved in the same two exemplars). AH, as proposed by Scheil, is probably the best alternative in terms of sign form, but not easy to explain (unless AŠ šá-ah-gi is an attempt to indicate vowel length – otherwise not expressed in Elamite writing). As for the last sign, gi¹, it is written as two signs separated by a clear space (the same is the case in A²Sd 01-03, as Marco Fattori observes [pers.comm.]). Note that a single exemplar of, possibly, A²Ha_c, appears to have a GI split between two lines (so Fattori, 2022a, 368). An error for RI (šakri), 4. Norris, 1853, pl. 7, working from a cast supplied by Loftus, renders the same sign in A²Sb 01 as close to a regular Achaemenid Elamite AG, but comments on its unusual shape and observes that only the first two wedges are clearly visible (pp. 162-63), as indicated on Loftus’s own hand copy (1852, pl. 16). A²Sb 01 appears to be inscribed on a column base inventoried in the Louvre as AOD 14; images of this base actually show the same eccentric form of the sign, although the lower part is damaged (see collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010170722). The sign also occurs, in broken form, in one of the ‘Perserbau’ fragments from Babylon (see Fattori 2024, 26, assigning it to a second inscription, A²B²b).



Fig. 5. The sign read as AGⁱ in l.3 (image W. Henkelman).

as proposed by Brandenstein, 1932, 90, can be excluded. On the various forms expressing “his son” in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II see Schmitt, 2010, 292; the construction PN *sun-ki-na šaggi* (or *šahgi*) is a calque on a similar Old Persian construction (see *ibid.* 294; compare Henkelman, 2011, 591-92 n.51).

03. ^{DIŠ} *ha[-ak]-^rka₄^r[-man-nu-u-šī-ia]*: instead of *-nu-u-šī-* (so Scheil, 1933, 127, followed by Vallat, 1977, 228, Vallat, 1979, 146, and Steve, 1987, 146), one might alternatively read *-nu-šī-* (so Weissbach, 1937, 650, taking ‘U’ as an extra Winkelhaken of ŠI). The sequence is completely preserved only in A²Sd 02, but appears to recur in 01 (the ethnonym is spelled differently in A²Sa). Schmitt reads *-nu«-u»-šī*, “da sicher Fehlschreibung oder Fehlliesung” (2010, 287).

04. *[za-u]-^rmi-in^r*: written *šá-u-mi-in^r* in A²Sd 02, probably not a “Steinmetzfehler” (Weissbach, 1937, 650; cf. Scheil, 1933, 127) given *šá-u-mi[-in]* in the Babylonian ‘Perserbau’ fragment A²B2a = Wb 13[b] (Koldewey, 1913, 127 fig. 79; Weissbach, 1957, 49, no. 13[b], pl. 26; Vallat, 1989, 3-4 [who incorrectly implies that the variant spelling is standard in A²Sd]; Schmitt, 2010, 288), *šá-u-mi-in* in Fort. 0472-101:27-31 (unpublished), and *šá-u-ma* in Fort. 1954-102:11’ (Stolper, 2017, 791-93 with comment). Weissbach already identified the divergent spelling as reflection of a “lautliche Variante” (Weissbach, 1957, 49; see also Schmitt, 2010, 290-91). Compare Fattori, 2024, 188-

89 with n.72 on *hakamannaza* for expected *hakkamanušiya* in A²Sa_e.

04. ^{rAN} *[u-ra]-^rmas^r[-da-na]*: only a small trace of the upper part of the sign MAŠ remains.

04. [^{AS} *da-za-ra-um*]: the word is completely preserved only in A²Sd 02, where, however, SU is written instead of expected DA. Given *da-šá-ri* in A²Sd_e, this must be an error (as recognized by Scheil, 1933, 127).

04. *hu-ud-da*: Scheil restored *hu-ud[-da-ra]* in A²Sd 01 and *hu[-ud-da-ra]* in A²Sd 02 (1929, 92; 1933, 127). Brandenstein (1932, 90) and Weissbach (1937, 650) correctly saw that both exemplars lack space for this form and instead proposed *hu-ud[-da]* and *hu-^rud-da^r* for A²Sd 01 and 02. Likewise, Vallat reads [*hu-ud*]-^r *da^r* in A²Sd 05 (1979, 146 with n.3; his hand copy suggests [*hu*]-^r *ud-da^r*).

A²Sd and its context

Not a single exemplar of A²Sd (Elamite, Akkadian or Old Persian) was found *in situ* (which somewhat mollifies the absence of find information on A²Sd 07). Almost all published exemplars of all versions stem, however, from the Šāhūr (Chaour) palatial complex, some from the surface, some from stratified contexts at various parts of the site.⁵ That the inscription belongs to – and refers to – the complex or part thereof is very likely. The find contexts were indeed deemed firm enough evidence by the excavators to date the structures to the reign of Artaxerxes II.⁶ Everything else is much less certain.

To begin with, the Old Persian and Babylonian versions of A²Sd conclude with a prayer for protection directed to Auramazdā, Anahita (for Anāhitā) and Mitra; the Elamite version

5. See Labrousse & Boucharlat, 1972, 85-86; Vallat, 1972, 214-17; Boucharlat & Labrousse, 1979, 55-60, 96 fig. 21; Vallat, 1979, 150-53; also Schweiger, 1998, II, 505-10. For the excavations at the Šāhūr complex see the synthesis in Boucharlat, 2010, 390-407, 418-19, with references.

6. Despite Vallat (1979, 149), the date and authorship of the palace are not supported by Plut. *Art.* 23.7 (not: “33”), where a distance of 16 stades (almost 3 km) is cited as intervening between the palace used by Artaxerxes II and the temple of “Hera.” As Binder (2008, 315) rightly remarks, the scene is largely a product of literary imagination, designed to highlight Artaxerxes’ excessive behaviour; it cannot be located in any of the residences. Besides, the Šāhūr complex is situated at a mere 500 m from the Acropole.

leaves this formula out. The apparent reason is the need to limit each of the versions to only four lines of text: the available space on the plinth of the column base does not allow for more.⁷ “Aurmasda, Annahidda and Mišša” do in fact occur in the Elamite version of A²Sa (I.4).⁸

Secondly, the Old Persian version of A²Sd uniquely refers to a palatial structure or royal “seat, residence” (*hadis̄*) in relation with a “plantation” or “paradise” but the phrase in which *par(a)dayadām* (*p-r-d-y-d-a-m*) occurs and the term’s unexpected orthography have been the object of discussion since the inscription’s discovery a century ago.⁹ The ascendant view is that Old Persian *taya jivadi par(a)dayadām* qualifies the palace as a structure built (and completed) while king was alive (*jiva-*) and (set in) a plantation.¹⁰ More attractive in view of word order and the Elamite and Akkadian versions, the expression refers to a

structure *named* “truly (?) Living Plantation/Paradise.”¹¹ Not only do the Akkadian and Elamite versions lack the qualification of the palatial structure, they also use a different term instead of *hadis̄*: *da-šá-ri* and ^{AS}*da-za-ra-um* respectively, reflecting WOIr. *tacara-*. Weissbach insightfully opined that a *hadis̄* becomes a *tacara-* only if set in a plantation, meaning that the transcription of *tacara-* in the Elamite and Akkadian versions made a description of the building’s setting superfluous.¹² While a similar variation between *hadis̄* and *tacara-* in refer-

7. That A²Sd_c had only four lines is not in doubt: this is most clearly shown by A²Sd 02.

8. This is not the place to discuss the significance of the mention of Anāhitā and Mitra, but it may be pointed out that evidence for the mention of Anāhitā outside Susa is doubtful. The name occurs in A²Ha, but the Hamadan origin of that inscription remains debatable (despite Knappton, Sarraf & Curtis, 2001); the restoration of the name in A²B²a from Babylon is conjectural (despite Vallat, 1989, 5).

9. No archaeological evidence has come to light that would positively support the setting of the Šāhūr complex inside a plantation or having an inner garden that could be referred to as such; at the same time, as Boucharlat notes, the terrain and the abundance of water from two rivers would make it a suitable location for a plantation (Boucharlat, 2016, 67-70).

10. Schmitt tentatively interprets the phrase *ima hadis̄ taya jivadi par(a)dayadām adam akunavam* as “... dies ist der Palast, den ich wirklich noch zu Lebzeiten (?) als Lust-/Jagdschloß (als Schloß im Park, im Grünen) errichtet (vollendet) habe” (Schmitt, 1999, 80-85; see also Schmitt, 2009, 194-95, normalizing *p-r-d-y-d-a-m* as *paradajdām*). In this, he understands *par(a)dayadām* as a pseudo-historical backformation from **pardēd* (+ *ām*), in analogy with *šāyatām* (A³Pa, for expected *šiyātīm*) < **šāt* (+ *ām*). As Schmitt notes, the Elamite transcription *partetaš* (i.e., **pardēda-* + *-š*, a generalized ending for loans from Old Iranian) lends crucial support to the proposal; the word is well attested in the Persepolis Fortification archive and its meaning “paradise” or more properly “plantation” is not in doubt (cf. Henkelman, 2021b, 135-36 with n.10, also reacting to Boucharlat, 2016, 62-65). Werba (2006, 279-85), building on Schmitt’s view, subsequently treated *p-r-d-y-d-a-m* as a novel but, in its late Old Persian context, regular notation for *pardēdam*. These important studies remain unmentioned by Malandra (2018), as do the Elamite evidence and the parallel existence of *two* dialectal variants (**pardēda-* and **pardēsa-*); Malandra’s interpretation is nevertheless close to that of Schmitt. Several other possibilities that have been proposed require adventurous emendation and create new syntactical

problems: see the critical reviews by Schmitt *l.c.* and Panaino, 2012, 140-44. See also Fattori, 2022b, on the possibility of backformations from Aramaic (in A²Sd and elsewhere) and Fattori, 2024, 191-94, for the understanding of *-di-* in *jivadi* as an enclitic personal pronoun, giving “questo (è) il palazzo che io, da vivo, l’ho reso un ‘paradiso.’”

11. Scheil (1929, 92-93) understood *jivadi par(a)dayadām* as “sans doute le nom même du palais” and tentatively rendered it “ce palais, *Paradis de vie* (?)” (cf. Weissbach, 1937, 650, “für das Leben”). Benveniste expressed doubts on account of *jivadi* (1930, 67) but retained the interpretation of *jivadi par(a)dayadām* as a name (Meillet & Benveniste, 1931, 222); Werba’s short review of the passage tends towards the same direction (Werba, 2006, 282-83 n.103). Scheil’s solution implies a noun and the use of nominative for genitive case. While the reduction of case is not excluded (see the examples listed in Schmitt, 1999, 115-16), taking *jiva-* as a noun additionally requires assumption of a non-expressed long *ā* (*jiva* for **jivā*). Panaino’s recent proposal is, by contrast, more simple: he reads *j-v-d-i-y* as *jivā^{n/m}diy* (i.e. as adjective to *par(a)dayadām*, the object of *akunavam*) and translates the phrase as “this is the palace [which] I built indeed as a living place of pleasure” or, with Scheil, “this is the palace (named) indeed ‘Living Paradise’” (Panaino, 2012, 144-48). Finally, Herrenschmidt (2014, 36) also subscribes to the idea that *jivadi par(a)dayadām* is a name, but she takes *jiva-* as a defective notation for **jivāhā* and translates “pour le vivant au-delà du mur,” which does not convince, if only for semantic reasons. Leaving aside its precise interpretation, the understanding of *jivadi par(a)dayadām* as a name of the *hadis̄* has a double advantage: it restores the structural correspondence between the three versions of A²Sd and inserts the inscription in a long tradition of naming buildings and other man-made structures. As to the first, interpretation of *jivadi par(a)dayadām* as a name yields a common sequence “this [structure (+ name)] I built” for the Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian versions (*ima hadis̄ taya... adam akunavam ~ dazaram hi u hudda ~ agā dašari [anāku epuš]*; cf. Filippone, 2018, 116). As to the second, Scheil (*l.c.*) cites the gate “Of All Nations” in XPa to which may be added, among Middle Elamite examples, *i hili abullu rabitu hiše*, “this gate named *Abullu Rabitu* (Great Gate)” (MDP 41 31:5). Most relevant is the case of the *partetaš Mišbašatiš Mateziš*, “the plantation (named) All Happiness (at) Matezziš” (Fort. 1899-101:36), a name suggesting not so much a typical Mazdaic experience (Herrenschmidt, 2014), but a royal ideology that accompanied concerted institutional efforts to plant thousands of fruit trees around Persepolis (see Henkelman, 2023a, 154 with n.38).

12. See Weissbach, 1937, 651; compare also Vallat, 1979, 148

ence to the palace of Darius I on the Persepolis terrace, which is not set in a plantation, speaks against this assumption (cf. below), the comment remains noteworthy. It may be, as Herzfeld first argued, that *hadis̄*, “seat,” had a broader meaning and could denote a palatial complex and its surroundings, whereas *tacara* referred to a more particular kind of structure (cf. below).

3. *The problem of tacara-*

The etymology and origin of *tacara-* (also *dacara-*) remain open to debate. Derivation from Indo-Iranian **tak-* (OIr. *tac-*), “to flow, to run,” enjoys most support but does little to clarify the practical use of the term in Achaemenid context.¹³

Wüst, adapting an idea introduced by Lassen in 1845, assigned decisive and probably excessive weight to NPers. *tağar*, “winter house.” He speculated that a *tacara-* was so named – and still understood in the Achaemenid period – because of its *moveable* heating (“Roll-Ofen”).¹⁴ This solution, still regularly cited, was crafted to appeal to National-Socialist sentiments by relating a building at the glorious site of Persepolis to the supposedly pan-Aryan notion of “Herd” (hearth); Wüst first presented it at the 1939 meeting of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, of which he served as curator and Heinrich Himmler as president.¹⁵ Its dubious background, reference

and Filippone, 2019, 116.

13. See Schmitt, 2014, 249-50 and Filippone, 2019, 111-12, with references. For Indo-Iranian **tak-* see Mayrhofer, 1992, 610-11 and for Iranian **tac-* Cheung, 2007, 372-75 (who distinguishes two homonymic roots, the second not attested in Old-Iranian). Note that many reflexes of **tak-* suggest rapid movement rather than any movement, complicating the analysis of *tacara-*.

14. See Wüst, 1966, 94-144, esp. 99-101, 110-15. Lassen (1845, 14-15) similarly highlighted NPers. *tağar* (“Winterquartier, Vorrathskammer für Lebensmittel”) in relation to *tacara-*, but focussed on storage as a common aspect on account of the reliefs on the staircases of the palace of Darius I.

15. Wüst himself explicitly refers to his lecture on May 31st, 1939, at the annual meeting of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* (Wüst, 1966, 110-11 with nn.105-107 on p.135; Anonymous, 1939). Although designated a *Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft*, Heinrich Himmler founded the *Ahnenerbe* to promote a pseudo-academic glorification and mystification of the Germanic nation and the Aryan race. Even if the 1939 conference included serious scholars, the context was far from a neutral. The same is true for Wüst’s seemingly technical discussion of the word *tacara* and the proposed semantic development “Roll-Ofen, Heizvorrichtung (als Herd und Haus), Palast (als Privat-Palais und Herren-Sitz).” This well-calibrated perspective catered to the *Ahnenerbe* ideology, slipped the notion of the ancestral hearth into the etymological discussion, and in

to a class of implements of questionable existence, and obvious *ad hoc* nature are not the only reasons, however, to be sceptical of “Roll-Ofen.”¹⁶ If *tacara-* is indeed an agent noun built on OIr. **tac-*, a more straightforward reading would make it a reference to a “moving, moveable” structure as a whole, rather than a fixture therein.¹⁷ This is what Itō proposed in giving “detached palace” (i.e., detached from the Throne Hall in the case of the palace of Darius I), an idea retaken by Filippone in reference to reflexes of *tacara-* in later Iranian and non-Iranian languages, most of which appear to share the notion of separateness.¹⁸ A third, related possibility would be to understand *tacara-* as “moving, moveable” because the famous stone structure of that name reproduced or cited a tent or pavilion design, thus alluding to a mobile residence.¹⁹

doing so sought to demonstrate, as Wüst had consistently attempted since 1933, the relevance of Indo-Iranian studies for National-Socialist ideology. Unsurprisingly, Wüst could not cite any Persepolitan, Achaemenid, or ancient Iranian evidence for a “Roll-Ofen” or similar device that could be considered to be “mit Lauf, Bahn verbunden, laufend” (Wüst, 1966, 119-22, 140 n.156). Just how forced the understanding *tacara-* as “Roll-Ofen” really is appears from his startling assessment that German “seinen Herd gründen” recalls “doch sehr stark” Old Persian *tacaram akunauš* and *tacaram akunavam* (Wüst, 1966, 116-17). In no way, Wüst’s reflections on *tacara-* can be regarded as a purely linguistic exercise; they should not be cited as a neutral reference (as they are in, e.g., Schmitt, 2014, 249-50 s.v. *tacara-*). For equally startling cases of Wüst’s pseudo-academic activity in the 1930s see Schreiber, 2008, esp. 37-53; for the *Ahnenerbe*, the 1939 conference, Wüst’s role, and his post-war attempt to pre-empt historical research on it see Kater, 1997, esp. 43-119, 525-26.

16. Compare Tuplin’s startled reaction (2021, 405 n.9) to the “Roll-Ofen” hypothesis and its reception (“worryingly this is called the most plausible explanation”).

17. For qualification as agent noun see Wüst, 1966, 115 (giving “mit Lauf, Bahn verbunden, laufend,” whence “Roll-Ofen”), Itō, 1969, 79 (“running (out), flowing (out), derived, detached, separate”), Itō, 1971, 22 (“running out flowing out (of what may be regarded as main building), detached palace”), and Schmitt, 2014, 249-50 (“sich bewegend”).

18. See Itō, 1969, 79 (“structure detached”), Itō, 1971, 22 (“detached palace”), and Filippone, 2019, 119-21. Filippone also discusses and refutes (*ibid.* 117-20) the idea by Razmjou (2010, 240-41; also Razmjou, 2020, 106-07) that *tacara-* means “temple,” on the ground that this meaning, as attested in Armenian and other Caucasian languages, is secondary. There is reason to assume that a stone installation added to the northwestern corner of the palace of Darius served a ritual purpose (Razmjou, 2020), but that does not make a *tacara-* a temple.

19. A study by Paul proposes, with *caveat*, “Bewegliches Zelt, Wanderburg, Wagenburg,” for *tacara-*, with preference for “Wanderburg” (Paul, 1939, 5-6, 62). Note that this publication, like that by Wüst (see n.15), was written and published in heavily nazified context; Otto Paul himself would later di-

Achaemenid monumental architecture is often believed to have been consciously cited in the design of mobile pavilions (rectangular layout, use of tall poles, similar dimensions) used during the court's regular movements and on military campaigns. The relation between stone and tent architecture may, however, have been more complex in the sense that some stone structures referenced mobile antecedents. Such a possibility should not be argued from an imagined (recent) nomadic past of the Achaemenid dynasty, but from an inherited tradition of royal representative tent architecture in Assyria, Elam, and elsewhere.²⁰

Like the etymology of the word, the occurrences of *tacara-* (and *dacara-*) in the Old Persian versions of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions and its transcriptions in Elamite and Babylonian are not necessarily helpful for defining its meaning or function.²¹ The three lan-

rect the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt, a creation of Alfred Rosenberg (see Rupnow, 2011, 85-100, esp. 98-99). Wüst elaborately discusses Paul's idea – extending it to “Wohnwagen” and reviewing evidence for the use of caravans in Indo-Iranian antiquity – but ultimately rejects it (Wüst, 1966, 106-08, 131-34 nn. 87-89).

20. Departing from a suggestion by Hans Henning von der Osten, von Gall (1977, 120-22; also 1973, 704-05) argued that the palatial structures of Pasargadae, with their high inner rooms and broad porticoes, referenced royal tent architecture that traced its origins back to pre-Achaemenid tradition. He similarly described the Hall of Hundred Columns in Persepolis – a building with multiple open doorways, a square layout with a forest of tall columns, and, in v. Gall's view, a shallow pyramidal roof – as, on the one hand, a reference to earlier “textilen Architektur” and, on the other, as an inspiration for the formal tent of Xerxes (von Gall, 1977, 122-28, 132; 1979 [citation p.462]). Rossi's insightful discussion on Achaemenid building terminology and its pitfalls hints at the potential importance of a nomadic background, yet without explicitly referencing tent architecture (Rossi, 2003, 696). Such a background has, of course, frequently been invoked in the context of the movements of the royal court, an egregious example being the “deep-set instinct in the Persian psyche” (*sic*) that moved the Achaemenids (“essentially nomads”) to adopt or continue “relocation patterns typical of nomadic peoples generally” (Llewellyn-Jones, 2013, 79-80; royal tents are discussed in the same context, pp. 88-92). Just as Charlemagne's itineraries were not a reflection of a Frankish nomad mentality, the mobility of the Achaemenid court found its rationale in economic, political and ideological considerations; it was fundamentally different from short-range vertical transhumance as practised in the Zagros and elsewhere.

21. For occurrences and correspondences see the useful surveys in Filippone, 2019, 110, 112-15 and Tuplin, 2021, 411-12. Vallat's reconstruction of *dazaram* in A²B²a (Babylon), wisely left out of the discussion by Filippone, rests on the unproven assumption that this fragmentary inscription is identical

guage versions of a given inscription typically do not use the same term and the correspondences vary. Thus, DPa_{p-e-b}, from the palace of Darius I at Persepolis, have *tacara* ~ *dazaram* ~ É (*bītu*) while XPc_{p-e-b}, from the same building, have *hadiš* ~ *ulhi* ~ *bīt(u)*. Such divergences have previously led to the assumption of “confusion” in architectural terminology or to the postulate of full synonymy between *tacara-* and *hadiš*.²² As has been repeatedly underlined, however, context and choice of perspective are key in the royal inscriptions: it is pointless to force the corresponding terms in a single inscription into the same semantic definition or to posit an unchanging meaning for any term across the corpus. With this *caveat* in mind, Herzfeld's observation that, on a relative scale, *hadiš* probably references a broader context (“seat, residence, palatial complex”) whereas *tacara-* functions as a more restrained and perhaps technical term, retains its attraction.²³ In this context the sequence *tačara* ~ *dazara*

to A²Sd (“une servile copie,” Vallat, 1989, 4-5); while the preserved part of the text follows A²Sd, it is well possible that it had a shorter or different ending.

22. Vallat, in reference to A²Sd, speaks of a “confusion entre le termes *hadiš* et *tačara*” that had already existed at the time of Darius I and Xerxes, but nevertheless translates both as “palais” (Vallat, 1979, 146, 148). Steve similarly treats *hadiš* and transcriptions of *tacara* in A²Sd_{e,b} as synonyms, contrasting with *apadana* (Steve, 1987, 97-98). Fattori's suggestion that the divergent phrasing of the three versions of A²Sd results from the re-use of DSd for the Elamite and Babylonian versions implies that the occurrence of *dazaram* and *dašari* is nothing but a product of slavish scribes (Fattori, 2022b, 21 n.40 and 2024, 85, 228-29, 329 s.v. *tazara*, following an earlier suggestion by Vallat, 1989, 3 n.8). While the re-use of older material is only natural in scribal workshops, Fattori himself notes that A²Sd was adapted in certain details; the scribes could easily have adapted the architectural term, too. In any case, it would be wrong to ascribe the use of *dazaram* and *dašari* in A²Sd_{e,b} to a misunderstanding of palatial building terminology or simple disinterest, especially given the ambitious nature of Artaxerxes II's building project at the Šāhūr.

23. See Herzfeld, 1908, 46 (“Also ist *hadiš* als der weitere, *takara* als ein engerer, niederer Begriff zu fassen”) as well as Itō, 1969 and 1971, who argues that the terms *hadiš* and *tacara-* operate on different levels. More recently, Basello *et al.* (2012, 44-47), in their discussion of XPc and related texts, cautiously propose that *hadiš* refers “to the whole palatial complex, the external space (porticos, gardens etc.) included, i.e. to the whole site including several buildings, as well as to single parts of that complex, while *tačara-* only referred to a closed/detached area with specific (but still unknown) functions.” See also Tuplin, 2021, 405. For the importance of context and perspective in the royal inscriptions see the fundamental study by Rossi (2003). For the etymology of *hadiš* see Mayrhofer, 1996, 693 s.v. *sádas*.

~ É (*bīt*) *taššari* (XPj/XPm_{p-e-b}) is of special interest, as the Babylonian version appears to describe a *tacara-* as a special kind of palace. Bearing in mind Weissbach's interpretation of the inscription, A²Sd could fit the same model: *hadīš* (A²Sd_p) occurs as a broad term and is qualified by *jivadi par(a)dayadām*, the explanatory name or designation of the wider palatial complex, whereas *dazaram* (A²Sd_e) and *dašari* (A²Sd_p) refer to a more precisely defined structure, perhaps here understood as an “outbuilding,” i.e., a term that by itself evokes a green or landscaped environment.

***tacara-* and its reflexes in the Persepolis Fortification archive**

Two toponyms occurring in the Elamite texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive are recognisable as reflexes of *tacara-* transcribed into Achaemenid Elamite. *Dazzarakkaš* (and variants), a *-ka* extension of *tacara-*, was a central place somewhere in the so-called “northern cluster” (along the road to Media). It appears in registers and accounts on barley, fruit, and wine and is occasionally identified as a *halmarraš*, “fortified place.” None of this information reveals the potential significance of the name.²⁴ The case of *Parrudazzaran* is more illuminating, as this toponym, reflecting **parutacara-*, occurs in connection with apparent preparations for the royal table and with a landed estate where armed troops received wine rations, presumably in the framework of a tax obligation. The estate, held by the high-ranking Persian Mišparma, is of particular interest as it supports the interpretation “having many outbuildings,” rather than Eilers' fanciful “mit vielen Schlössern, reich an Prunkgemächern.” The visit by the royal court to *Parrudazzaran*, situated in the Fahliyān

region, may have been associated with one of the local country residences, or have depended on a collective contribution by the various residents. It is, however, also possible that the name of *Parrudazzaran* (originally) referred to an encampment “with many tents,” the summer or winter quarters of pastoral nomads.²⁵

Apart from these two toponyms, *tacara-* itself occurs twice in Elamite transcription in the Fortification archive:

PF-NN 0602 (figs. 6)

Location and inventory number: Tehran, National Museum of Iran, BK 7383

Original box number: 0530; Fort. number: Fort. 02377

Condition: complete; not baked

Format: tongue-shaped; two string holes on either side of the left edge

Seals: PFS 2635s left edge; PFS 2636s reverse; PFS 2637 upper edge²⁶

Document type: B.1.2.1²⁷

Edition: R.T. Hallock (manuscript edition) and W.F.M. Henkelman (collation, translation, notes)

25. *Parrudazzaran* occurs only three times: in PF 2027 (^{AS}*pār-ru-da-za-ra-an*; estate of Mišparma), PF-NN 0968 (label on barley at ^{AS}*pār-ru-da-iz-za-ra-an*), and, presumably, PF-NN 0830 (transport of wine for royal reserves at ^{AS}*pār-ru-za-za-raš*, probably an error for *^{AS}*pār-ru-da-za-raš*). Eilers' interpretation (1955, 231 n.2 [reacting to Cameron, 1948, 43 n.12, 208, pl. 46d.g]) is retained by Hinz (1972, 387; 1975, 182), and Tavernier (2007, 391 [4.3.157]); Benveniste (1958, 57) more cautiously gives “aux nombreux *tačaras*.” The location in the Fahliyān area appears from the wine supplier Hašina (PF 2027), who elsewhere is connected with Zappi (Fort. 3544). He also supplies wine for workers at or near Ambanuš (Fort. 1569-101), which in turn is connected with Mišparma (PF 1103) and with seals PFS 0045* (PF 0633) and PFS 0089 (PF 1103). The two seals unambiguously point to the Fahliyān region (PFS 0045*: PF 0024, PF 0476, PF 0523, etc.); PFS 0089: PF 1090). Hašina also provides wine for sacrifices by Rak(k)uš (PF 0351), who recurs in a context locatable in the Fahliyān region through the grain supplier Utira (PF 0359; cf. PF 0022). On some of these connections see Koch, 1990, 84 with n.369, 191; Henkelman, 2008, 312 n.717, 507-08 with nn.1193-94. The barley sent from Ambanuš to Pārsa (PF-NN 0248) must have covered a long distance, which is not exceptional for shipments to the centre. For Mišparma and his connections to the court see Henkelman, 2018, 49 (translating *Parrudazzaran* as “having many mansions/palaces”); the name, **Vēšpar(u)va-*, is the same as that of the father of Vindafarnā (Intaphernes) in the Bisotūn inscription (Tavernier, 2007, 64 [2.2.63]) and identity should be considered (so already in Hinz, 1972, 387).

26. Seal identifications given here and in the following are kindly provided by Mark B. Garrison.

27. Here and in the following document types refer to the formal typology given in Garrison & Henkelman, 2020, 181-82.

24. Attested spellings are ^{AS}*da-iz-za-raḳ₀-ka₃*, ^{AS}*da-iz-za-raḳ₀-kaš*, and ^{AS}*da-iz-za-raḳ₀-ka₄-an*; *-š* is a generalized nominative ending for Old Iranian loanwords transcribed in Elamite, whereas *-n* marks adaptation to Elamite morphology. Hinz was first to relate the toponym to *tacara-* (1973, 80; 1975, 231) and was followed in this by Tavernier (2007, 397 [4.3.209]). *Dazzarakka* occurs, sometimes several times, in PF 1974 (*halmarraš*), PF 1987, PF-NN 0776 ([*halmarraš*]), PF-NN 1057, PF-NN 2263, Fort. 0153-101, Fort. 0361-101, Fort. 0362-101, Fort. 0517-002, Fort. 1335-101, and Fort. 2354-101. See Henkelman, 2008, 414-15, 426 n.980 for location in the northern cluster. On the town see also Koch, 1990, 124-26, 280-81 and Tuplin, 2008, 319-20.



Fig. 6. Left edge, obverse (4x), lower edge (2x), right tip and reverse of PF-NN 0602 (images Persepolis Fortification Archive Project).

Obverse

- (01) ʾ10ʾ(+)⁶ G^{IS}KI+MIN ZÍD.DA^{MEŠ}
 (02) ^{AS}da-ka₄-na-mar tin-
 (03) gi-ka₄ ^{AS}da-za-ra
 (04) du-ka₄ ^{HAL}zÍ-te-
 (05) ʾkuʾ-ut-ʾraʾ a-ak^{HAL}

Lower edge

- (06) ak-ka₄-ia¹-ʾšēʾ du-iš
 (reverse uninscribed)

16 measures (160 l.?) flour was sent from Dakana and received (at) the *dazara*; Zitekutra and his companion received (it).

01. KI+MIN: the ditto sign is out of place here, suggesting that it was erroneously copied from a list of receipts at the *tacara* in which the measure was repeated with ditto signs. The same error occurs in PF-NN 0696. The implied measure is most likely G^{IS}BAR^{MEŠ} (c. 10 l.), but G^{IS}ir-ti-ba (c. 30 l.) is also possible. Phrasing carried over from underlying documentation is better known in case of registers, which draw on the contents of memoranda. To name one example: as a rule, registers (and accounts) only use Old Iranian month names, but exception-

ally the scribe copied an Elamite month name from a memorandum (Fort. 2009-102+:42-43, Fort. 0819-101:27, 60).

02. ^{AS}da: written over erasure.

Dakana: the placename (for possible etymologies see Tavernier, 2007, 397 [4.3.214]) occurs in a handful of other contexts (PF 0607, PF 2004, PF-NN 2350, PF-NN 2662, Fort. 8960; in PF 2077:19 Hallock's ^{AS}ap-ka₄-na is perhaps to be read ^{AS}da¹-ka₄-na). These suggest connections with Rašinuzzan (Rašnumattiš; PF 2004), Turrurkurtiš (PF-NN 2350, PF-NN 2662) in the so-called sub-Fahliyān or southern cluster, but also with places in the adjacent Persepolis region, such as Tikrakkaš (PF 2004) and Pārsa itself (PF-NN 2350). For the geographical context see Henkelman, 2008, 484-86, 504; see also Koch, 1990, 112 n.472, 117 and Tuplin, 2008, 351, 380-81 n.186.

04f. Zitekutra: the name (on which see Tavernier, 2007, 157 [4.2.418]) is attested only here, in PF-NN 0696 (below), and in PF-NN 1526. In the last text, he and two others (Ikmađa, Baraša) receive barley transported from Tikrakkaš (cf. above ad l.2) to Kardaruš. While Kardaruš is not well attested, it occurs once as a travel destination (PF-NN 2339:12-13), suggesting some importance. Its connection with Kurakka (PF-NN 2655:25) suggests inclusion in the (southern part of the) so-called northern cluster (Henkelman, 2008, 312-13 n.718; 2023b, 174-75 with n.30). Zitekutra and his anonymous colleague are probably associated with the seals on the reverse (PFS 2636s) and upper edge (PFS 2637), both of which are inconspicuous and are attested only here and on PF-NN 0969. The same is true for the seal on the left edge (PFS 2635s), which may have belonged to the anonymous supplier at Dakana.

06. iš: written on the right edge.

PF-NN 0696 (figs. 7)

Location and inventory number: Tehran, National Museum of Iran, BK 7477

Original box number: 0558; Fort. number: Fort. 02835

Condition: complete; not baked

Format: tongue-shaped; two string holes on either side of the left edge

Seals: PFS 2635s left edge; PFS 2636s reverse;

PFS 2637 upper edge

Document type: B.1.2.1

Edition: R.T. Hallock (manuscript edition) and W.F.M. Henkelman (collation, translation, notes)

Obverse

(01) 50 ^{GIS} KI+MIN⁷ ZÍD.DA⁷ MEŠ⁷

(02) ^{AS} ap² [-x]-ki-iš-tuk-

(03) kaš¹-⁷ mar⁷ tin-gi-ka₄

(04) ^{AS} da-za-ra⁷ du⁷-

(05) ka₄^{HAL} zī-te-⁷ ku⁷-

Lower edge

(06) ut-ra a-⁷ ak^{HAL} [ak-ka₄]-

(07) iá¹-šé¹ KI+MIN

(reverse uninscribed)

50 measures (50 l.?) flour was sent from Ap[...] kištukkaš (?) and received (at) the *dazara*; Zitekutra and his companion received (it).

01. KI+MIN: cf. above, ad PF-NN 0602:01.

02f. ^{AS} ap² [-x]-ki-iš-tuk-kaš: Hallock suggested that ⁷ ap² could alternatively be read ⁷ du⁷ (but note that ⁷ du⁷ in l.4 has a different shape). None of the known toponyms ending on -tukka(š) (Aktukkaš, Atukka, Parritukkaš, Tiptukkaš, Upirtukkaš, Uratukkaš, etc.) can be recognized in PF-NN 0696.

05f. Zitekutra: cf. above, ad PF-NN 0602:04f.

07. KI+MIN: repeats *duka* (ll. 4f.); PF-NN 0602 has *duš*.

It is possible that PF-NN 0602 and PF-NN 0696 refer to the king's "palace" in general, administrative sense, as an indication of the royal domain within the wider Persepolis economy (so Hinz & Koch, 1987, 303 q.v.). This would make the two texts rather vague in terms of location. Taking *dazara* as an abbreviation of the placename *Dazzarakkaš* is unlikely given the geographical context (cf. above n.24 and ad PF-NN 0602 ll.2, 4f.). More attractive is the solution, reflected in the above translations, that takes *dazara* as reference to a concrete structure (cf. Filippone, 2019, 116). This may be the palace of Darius I at Persepolis – in which case the flour of PF-NN 0602 was transported over some distance – or to the royal tent.



Fig. 7. Left edge, obverse (4x), lower edge (2x), reverse and upper edge of PF-NN 0696 (images Persepolis Fortification Archive Project).

Finally, PF-NN 1950 includes a unique reference to the *dazaranam* of the king:
 PF-NN 1950 (figs. 8)
 Location and inventory number: Tehran, National Museum of Iran, BK 8728
 Original box number: 1122; Fort. number: 07704
 Condition: complete; baked
 Format: tongue-shaped; two string holes on either side of the left edge
 Seals: PFS 3228 (illegible) left edge; PFS 3229

reverse

Document type: B.1.2.1

Edition: R.T. Hallock (manuscript edition) and W.F.M. Henkelman (collation, translation, notes)

Obverse

(01) 9 QA ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ}

(02) HAL¹ *ir-da-mi-iš-ša du-iš-^r da*

(03) 3 GÌR.RU^{MEŠ} *un-ra*

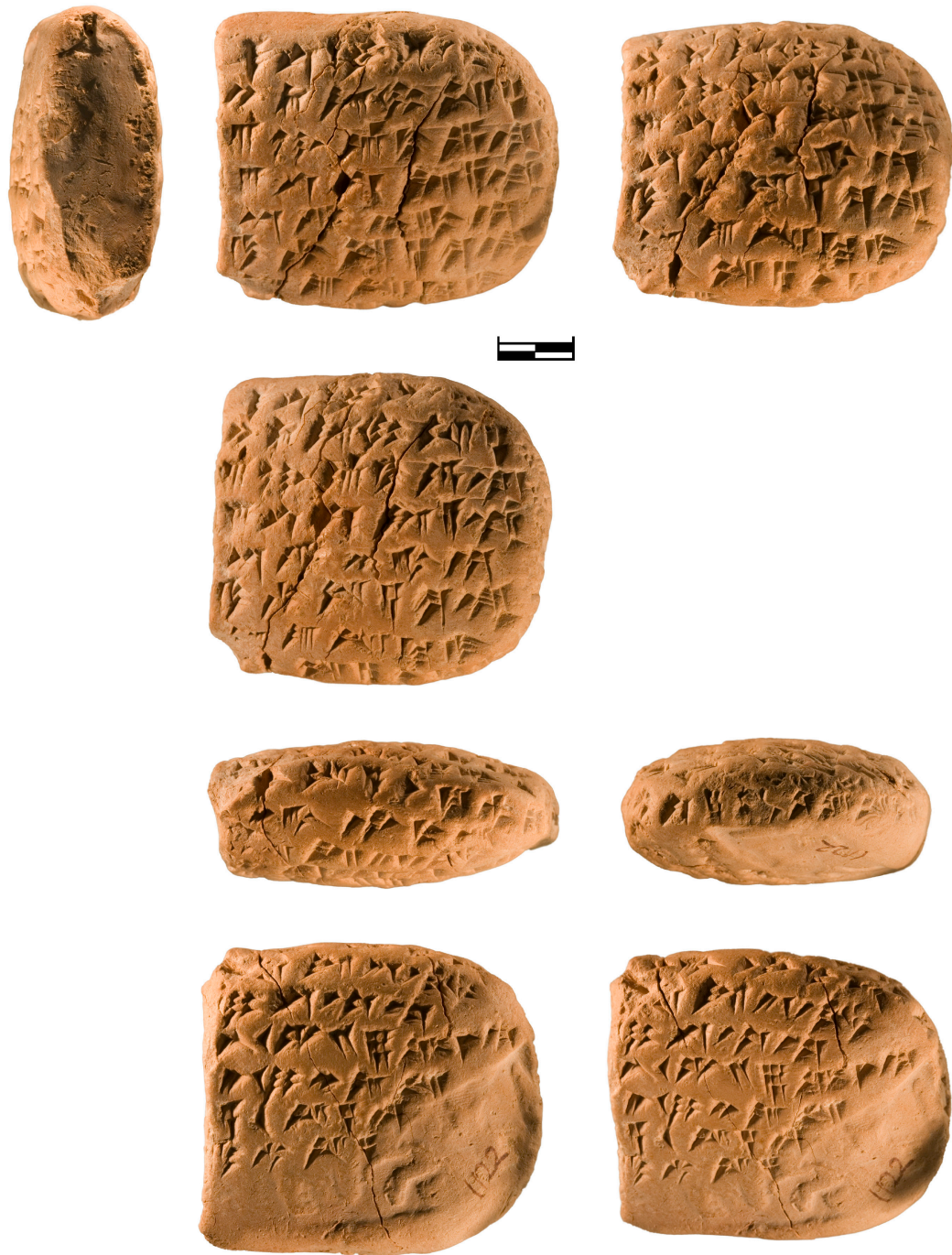


Fig. 8. Left edge, obverse (3x), lower edge, right tip and reverse (2x) of PF-NN 1950 (images Persepolis Fortification Archive Project).

(04) 3 QA-^rna^r da-za-ra-

(05) na-um^{HAL}EŠŠANA-na

(06) ku-ti-iš-šá ba-ra-

(07) ^rda^r-zí-iš-ma ku-

Lower edge

(08) ^rtí-iš-šá^{AS} ma-ti-iz^l-za-^rmar^r iz-zí-iš-^rda^r

(09) ^{HAL}EŠŠANA-ak pa-ri-

Reverse

(10) ^riš^r-da^{ANITI}^{MEŠ}

(11) mi-ka₄-na-na

(12) be-ul 28-um-me-na

(13) hal-mi^{HAL} zí-iš-

(14) šá-u-iš-šá-na

(15) ku-ti-iš-šá

⁰¹ 9 l. barley, ⁰² Irdamišša received: ⁰³⁻⁰⁴ 3 mules (!) each (consumed) 3 l. ⁰⁴⁻⁰⁶ They transported (lit. carried) the *dazaranam* of the king, ⁰⁶⁻⁰⁸ they

transported (it) in the express service.⁰⁸⁻¹⁰ They came from Matezziš and went to the king.¹⁰⁻¹² Twelfth month, 28th year (March/April 493 BCE).¹³⁻¹⁵ He (Irdamišša) carried a sealed document (travel authorisation) from Ziššawiš.

01. ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ}: the sign ŠE is preceded by an erasure; BAR is written over and followed by an erasure.

02. Irdamišša: name of various individuals in the Fortification archive. The present Irdamišša is probably identical with the professional guide or messenger found on the royal road in Fort. 0901-101 (XI/21; Pārsa → King): PF 1473 (Ø/21; Pārsa → Susa), PF-NN 2656:40-41 (Ø/22; Pārsa → King), and PF 1474 (IV/23; Arachosia → king; return authorisation).

02. *du-iš-da*: written on the right edge in smaller and less deeply impressed script.

03. GÌR.RU^{MEŠ}: lapsus for *pa-ru*^{MEŠ}, “mule” (< Akk. *parû*, “mule”). In Elamite, ANŠE is commonly written PA+GÌR (and regularly split between lines in the Fortification archive, with 45 known cases). This probably informed the error in PF-NN 1950 and a similar one, ANŠE. RU^{MEŠ} for *pa-ru*^{MEŠ}, in PF 2056 and Fort. 0412-101 (cf. Hallock, 1969, 635).

03f. The distribution formula lacks a verb (like *makiš*, “they consumed”), for which there are a few parallels (e.g., PF-NN 1823, also with *unra*). It is clear from the use of *unra*, “each,” that the total of 9 l. barley was consumed by the three animals. The text implies the existence of a second record documenting provisions for Irdamišša (and his assistants, if any).

04. *da-za-ra-na-um*: see discussion below.

06f. *ba-ra-da-zí-iš*: unique spelling for regular (HAL) *pír-ra-da-zí-iš*, reflecting WOIr. **frataciš*, “express messenger, express service” (cf. Tavernier, 2007, 421 [4.4.7.40]). The Elam. suffix *-ma* makes it clear that the express *service* is meant here (cf. *AŠ pír-ra-da-zí-iš-ma*, “in the express service,” in PF 1285); for the Persepolis administration this means evoking a particular logistic and bureaucratic mode. Hallock first suspected a possible abstract use of *pírradaziš* (1969, 42), a notion further explored by Lewis (1980; cf. Henkelman, 2023b, 161).

08. *AŠ ma-ti-iz'-za*: irregular spelling for common *AŠ ma-tc(-iz)-z'-iš*. Whereas the toponym is sometimes written with TI, TU or TUM (*AŠ ma-ti-z'-iš*, *AŠ ma-tu-z'*, *AŠ ma-tu₄-z'-iš*), the use of ZA is unique to PF-NN 1950. For Matezziš, WOIr. **Huvādēca-* (cf. Akk. *Ḫumadēsu*), see Tavernier, 2007, 71 [2.3.22] and Henkelman, 2023a, 164-65 (with references).

08. *-iz'-za-mar' iz-z'-iš-da'*: written on the right and upper edge; *da'* is written over erasure.

13f. Ziššawiš: name of the longtime deputy satrap of Pārsa and deputy director of the Persepolis economy under Irdumartiya, Parnakka and Ašbazana. See, most recently, Garrison, 2017, 333-85 and Henkelman, 2023c, 236 with n. 3, 246 n.32 (both with further references).

Lines 3-6 of the above text have been subject to divergent interpretations. The reading advocated here is based on the – elliptic (cf. ad ll.3f.) – distribution formula that shows that it were the mules that consumed the barley, hence that PF-NN 1950 was a regular receipt for animal fodder. This reading discourages interpretation of *dazaranam* as a rare transcription of the Old Iranian genitive plural *-ānām*, i.e., **ta-carānām*, “of/for the *tacaras* (of the king),” as it would be out of place as a qualification of the animals. Instead, word order makes it hard to take *dazaranam sunki-na* as anything but the object of *kutišša* (l.6). This finite form of *kuti-* is a first conjugation third person singular or plural with either Irdamišša (“he transported, brought”) or the mules (“they carried, transported”) as subject.²⁸

If the understanding of its syntactic role is reasonably transparent, the meaning of *dazaranam* is not. The Elamite term appears

28. The interpretation given here is briefly stated in Henkelman, 2017a, 188. Azzoni and Stolper (2015, 50) take *dazaranam* as genitive plural with dative sense: “he transported (mules?) to royal palaces.” Filippone (2019, 116), likewise takes the mules as object of *kutišša* and translates *dazaranam sunki-na* as “(from?/to?/of?), the *dazara*(s?) of the king,” apparently also considering the possibility of a genitive plural. The use of *kuti-* as such is not diagnostic: in Achaemenid Elamite driving or bringing animals may be expressed with *tingi-*, “to send, escort, drive” (see, e.g., PF-NN 1727, Fort. 1912-103:50') and with factitive *laka-*, “to cause to be sent, to drive” (see, e.g., PFa 31:05-07, PF-NN 2349:16-18, Fort. 1335-101:15'-16') but also with less specific *kuti-*, “to bear, bring, transport, guard,

to transcribe WOIr. **tacarana-*, with nominal suffix *-ana-*. As such it would resemble such forms as *āyadana*, “place of cult,” *ustacana-*, “stairway,” and *Vrkāna-*, “Wolf-land, Hyrcania.”²⁹ The problem, however, is that *tacara-* itself is usually understood as an agent noun with nominal suffix (*tac-ara-*) and *-ana-* is normally suffixed directly to a verbal root, meaning that **tac-ara-(a)na-* would be without formal parallel. Perhaps the current analysis of *tacara-* as an agent noun should be revisited in this light.³⁰ Be that as it may, the form **tacarana-* clearly is intended to mark a distinction from *tacara-*; perhaps the latter was perceived as a functional description of a class of structures, whereas **tacarana-* referred to a concrete manifestation or subset thereof. The fact that it could be carried by three mules and was transported to the king in the express service may suggest a private tent, distinct from the larger state pavilions, or part of such a mobile residence.

The above discussion illustrates the ongoing cross-fertilization between the Persepolis archives and the Achaemenid inscriptional corpus. Even though no definitive interpretations are offered here for the occurrences of *dazara* and *dazaranam*, or for the toponym Parrudazzaran, the available contexts allow for references to tents or outbuildings. As such they call for renewed analysis of *tacara-* as a relatively precise yet variably used term in administrative and royal-ideological contexts. Most important, the archival material provides a welcome background for the appearance of the term in A²Sd, an inscription that commemorates a

protect” (see, e.g., PF-NN 0447, PF 1394, PF 1442).

29. The ending *-um* of the Elamite transcription reflects a generalized use of *-m* (besides *-š*) for Iranian loans, mostly with neuters, but also with other forms (see, e.g., ^{HAL}*mar-da-um* for **varda-*, “workman”). See Schmitt, 2014, 147-48, 266, 282-83 on *āyadana-* (*ā-yad-ana-*, “Kultstätte, Opferplatz”), *ustacanā-/ustacana-* (*us-tac-anā/ana-*, “Ort wo man hinaufaufen kann, Treppenaufgang” [for interpretation as a neutre see Fattori, 2022b, 27-28]), and *Vrkāna-* (*vřka-ana-*). Compare also *Hagmatāna-* (and variants), where the suffix follows a pluperfect participle (Schmitt, 2014, 185f., reading **han-gmata-ana-*; see Henkelman, 2017b, 322-23 for the variant forms). The toponym or locale ^{AS}*mi-sa-an-na* in PF-NN 2333 appears to reflect **viθ-ana-* “royal house, palace” (cf. Tavernier, 2007, 401 [4.3.257]); a parallel form **viθ(a)-ka* is reflected in ^{AS}*mī-šī-ik-ka*₄ (PF-NN 2273; cf. Tavernier, 2007, 401 [4.3.258]) and ^{AS}*mī-šā-ka*₄ (Fort. 1912-103:54’, *mišaka sunki-na*).

30. I thank Marco Fattori for his helpful comments on this issue.

critical architectural and landscaping project initiated by Artaxerxes II at the bank of the river, below the rising walls of Susa.

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Repatriating the inscription to Iran

The inscription here published was found at Susa in 1962 by an engineering geologist involved in the construction of the Dez dam in northern Khuzestan. An archaeology enthusiast, he kept the stone, brought it with him when he left Iran, and displayed it prominently on his office desk. Although he later developed the idea to give the object back to Iran – and reached out to the British Museum in the 1970s to find more information about its date and inscription – he died in 1986 without being able to carry out this plan. The stone inscription remained in storage until 2020, when it was found by his daughter, Teresa Pyl. She and her sister Krystal Lund decided to make an effort to give the object back to Iran, reached out to get advice, and eventually were brought into contact with Wouter Henkelman in August 2022. They immediately agreed with his suggestion to involve the National Museum of Iran, which, in the person of its director, Dr. Jebrael Nokandeh, reacted immediately and positively to the idea of trying to repatriate the artefact.

Throughout the process of returning the Artaxerxes II stone inscription to Iran, Krystal Lund and Teresa Pyl have been vocal about their motives. As Krystal Lund wrote to Henkelman in November 2022, “mostly it is my intent to show the people of Iran some friendship; that not all Americans are hateful towards them. A small kindness that will (with luck) start a series of small kindnesses, possibly even a big kindness or two.” More recently (January 2024), she stated, also on behalf of Teresa Pyl, “Teresa and I are gladdened to be able to return this artifact back to the people of Iran in the spirit of peace and friendship. It is not our history but theirs. We hope that this small act might spur others who have similar objects to return them to the lands they came from.”

Krystal Lund, Teresa Pyl and Wouter Henkelman express their warmest thanks to all those who made possible the eventual return of the item to Iran in September 2024, but who wish to stay anonymous.