

Non-Elamite Individuals in Achaemenid Persepolis

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The Elamite Fortification and Treasury Archives from Persepolis, dating from the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes and Artaxerxes I ¹, offer scholars — despite the many questions related with them — a fabulous treasure of information on the socio-economic and linguistic history of the Achaemenid Empire. They also project an image of an ethnically mixed population, living in the Persepolis-Susa area in those days.

Three aspects show this. The first one is the linguistic diversity of the archives: the Fortification and Treasury Archives consist mostly of Elamite texts ², but include also about 700 Aramaic texts (Stolper 1984: 300), two Babylonian texts (one is PT 85; the other is published in Stolper 1984), one Greek text (Hallock 1969: 2) and one Phrygian text (Friedrich 1965; Haas 1966: 176).

The second aspect is the frequent occurrence of nations apart from Elamites, Persians and Medes. The Achaemenid administration employed also Arabians (e.g. PF 1477:8, 1507:4), Assyrians (e.g. PF 1009:4-5, 1799:5-6), Babylonians (e.g. PF 783:4-5, 1811:5), Carians (e.g. PF 123:2, 1123:5-6), Egyptians (e.g. PF 1814:5; PT 2:5), Greeks (called “Ionians”, e.g. in PF 2072:84; PT 15:6), Hattians (e.g. PFNN 2348:20), Indians (e.g. PF 1529:5, 2057:3-4), Kushites (e.g. PF 447:2), Lycians (called “Turmirians” ³, e.g. in PF 859:4, 1142:4), Lydians (called “Ispardians” ⁴, e.g. in PF 873:3, 1409:6) and Thracians (called “Skudrians” ⁵, e.g. in PF 1056:3, 1363:8).

Not only foreign population groups, but also foreign individuals are attested. This is the third aspect of the multi-ethnic character of Persepolis. People bearing Akkadian, West-Semitic, Egyptian, Anatolian and Greek names occur in the Archive.

1. Individuals with Akkadian names

1.1. Ammēni (cf. Tallqvist 1905: 6): An-me-na (Dandamayev 1975: 235).

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¹ The oldest text was drafted in 509 BC (= Darius I year 13), the youngest in 458 BC (= Artaxerxes I year 7).

² About 80 of them contain Aramaic dockets (Stolper 1984: 300).

³ The connection between Lycia and the El. “Turmirians” is probably the Termilai, who lived in Lycia (Hallock 1969: 29).

⁴ Sardes (Lydian *Šfarda*, OP *Sparda*) is the capital of Lydia (Kent 1953: 210, with literature).

⁵ Skudra is the Old Persian name of Thracia (ibid.).

- 1.2. Bēl-ēṭir (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 29a-30b) : Be-li-da-ir and Be-li-tur (OnP 145n.47 ; Dandamayev, loc. cit. ; Delaunay 1976 : 12 ; ElW 184).
- 1.3. Bēl-iddin (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 31b-35b) : Be-ul-ti-in (OnP, loc. cit. ; Delaunay 1976 : 13 ; Stolper 1984 : 303n.1 ; ElW 188). Dandamayev (loc. cit.) considers this spelling as a rendering of Bēl-dīni(-epuš).
- 1.4. Bēl-ittannu (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 37b-38a) : Be-li-da-an and Pi-li-da-an (Delaunay 1976 : 24 ; Stolper, loc. cit. ; ElW 184).
- 1.5. Bēlšunu (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 43a-44b) : Be-ul-šu-un (OnP 8.313 ; Delaunay, loc. cit. ; ElW 188).
- 1.6. Bēl-upāqu (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 47a) : Be-ul-pa-ak-ka₄ and Be-ul-pa-ik-ka₄ (OnP 145n.47 ; Dandamayev, loc. cit. ; Delaunay 1976 : 12 ; ElW 188).
- 1.7. Ešqu (abbreviation of a name containing *e/išqu*, “part”, cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 307a) : E-iš-ku-iš (Delaunay 1976 : 314 ; ElW 393).
- 1.8. Itti-Bēl (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 82) : Hi-ti-be-ul, Hi-ut-be-ul and Hi-ut-ti-be-ul-la (von Soden, apud OnP 310n.132 ; Delaunay 1976 : 14).
- 1.9. *Itti-Nabû⁶ : I-ti-na-pu-iš (Delaunay 1976 : 15 ; ElW 794).
- 1.10. Lāqip(u) (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 95 ; Stamm 1939 : 252) : La-ki-ip (Dandamayev 1975 : 235 ; Delaunay 1976 : 17).
- 1.11. Marduka (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 99a-100a) : Mar-du-ka₄ and Mar-du-uk-ka₄.⁷
- 1.12. Marduk-nāšir (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 103a-104a) : Mar-du-kán-na-sir (EW 879).
- 1.13. Nabû-ēpuš : Na-ba-pi-iš (Delaunay 1976 : 21). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1200) believes it is an Elamite name.
- 1.14. Nabû-mālik (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 137) : Na-bu-ma-li-ka₄ (OnP 8.1236 ; Delaunay 1976 : 22 ; ElW 977).
- 1.15. Nabû-ittannu (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 133a-134a) : Na-pi-da-an (Delaunay 1976 : 22 ; ElW 985)⁸.
- 1.16. Nanâ-iddin (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 159) : Na-na-a-ti-in, Na-ni-ti-en, Na-ni-ti-in and Na-ni-tin (Delaunay 1976 : 21).
- 1.17. Sin-qatēni (afkorting van Šin-qatēni-šabat) : Ši-in-ka₄-tan-na (Delaunay 1976 : 28). Hinz (1975 : 224) proposes Ir. *Singaḏana-. According to ElW 1158 it is an Elamite name.
- 1.18. Šamaš-girra⁹ : Šá-ma-iš-ki-la (PFNN 1993 : 2-3) and Šá-ma-iš-ki-ra (Delaunay 1976 : 26 ; ElW 1129).
- 1.19. Šamaš-ukîn (cf. Tallqvist 1905 : 195) : Ša-am-iš-ki-in (Mayrhofer OnP 8.1490 ; Delaunay 1976 : 26-27). This proposal is more likely to be the right one than Šamaš-kîn (Dandamayev 1975 : 236 ; Zadok 1977 : 79) since the latter only occurs in the older periods of Mesopotamian history.

⁶ This name is not directly attested in Babylonian texts, but can easily be explained as an abbreviated form of names such as Itti-Nabû-balāṭu or Itti-Nabû-guzu (Delaunay 1976 : 15).

⁷ Despite Hinz's opinion (1975 : 169) that we are dealing here with an Iranian name *Mrḏuka-, it is more likely that the Elamite spellings render an Akkadian name (OnP 8.974 ; Delaunay 1976 : 17-18).

⁸ This person was the owner of the seal PFS 1311s (Garrison - Root 2001 : 356-357).

⁹ This name is possibly attested in an Aramaic papyrus (Cowley 19 no.24:14 = TAD C 3.14:14) : Š[mš]gry.

2. Individuals with West Semitic names ¹⁰

- 2.1. Abīya (abbreviation of Abīyahu, cf. Hebr. 'Byh and 'Byhw): Ap-pi-ia (Lipiński 1977 : 101-102).
- 2.2. *Abī-Yāw : Ap-pi-ia-ma (Lipiński 1977 : 102).
- 2.3. *'Attar-nūrī : Ad-da-ir-nu-ri-iš, cf. Bab. At-tar-nu-ri-' (Delaunay 1976 : 10 ; Lipiński 1977 : 108 ; Zadok 1977 : 79). Dandamayev (1975 : 234) reconstructs *Adad-nūrī.
- 2.2. *'Attar-šūrī : At-tur-r[u-i]š-šu-ri-iš (Lipiński 1977 : 109).
- 2.3. *Banā-Bēl : Ba-na-be-ra (Lipiński 1977 : 102-103).
- 2.4. *Barīk-ʿĒl : Ba-ri-ki-la and Bar-ri-ki-ul (Delaunay 1976 : 11-12 ; Lipiński 1977 : 102-103 ; EIW 150).
- 2.5. *Barīk-Šemeš : Ba-ri-ik-sa-mi-iš and Ba-ri-ik-ti-mi-iš. The graphic variant between SA and TI is the visible result of the scribe's attempts to render the phoneme /š/ (Delaunay 1976 : 12 ; Lipiński 1977 : 103-104 ; Zadok, loc. cit. ; EIW 149).
- 2.6. *Gabriya (hypocoristic of Gabrī-ʿEl) : Ka₄-ab-ri-ia (Lipiński 1977 : 106), cf. Bab. Gab-ri-ia.
- 2.7. *Kabbūra : Ka₄-bu-ra (Lipiński 1977 : 107).
- 2.8. *Lāpā : La-ab-ba (Delaunay 1976 : 17).
- 2.9. Mattēn (cf. Phoenician Mtn, Benz 1972 : 356-357) : Ma-ti-e-na (Lipiński 1977 : 107). Hinz (1975 : 156) assumes an Iranian origin of the name.
- 2.10. Šamšōn (also attested in Akkadian) : Šá-mi-iš-šu-na (Lipiński 1977 : 111). Von Soden (apud OnP 310n.131) proposes Šamaš-šum-ibni, while Delaunay (1976 : 27) prefers Šamaš-šuma.
- 2.11. *Ṭāb-ili : Da-pi-l[i] (Zadok 1977 : 79 ; EIW 286).
- 2.12. Tamak-ʿEl (cf. CIS 2/1 94) : Da-ma-ki-ul (Zadok 1977 : 79). According to Dandamayev (1975 : 235) and Delaunay (1976 : 13) Da-ma-ki-ul represents an Akkadian name Damqilu. This is an abbreviation of the attested PN Damqilišu (without possessive suffix). Yet Zadok's analysis is more convincing since the name Damqilišu seems only to be attested in the Old Babylonian period. Two kings of Isin (20th century BC) and the Sea-Land (18th century BC) have this name (Weissbach 1938).

3. Individuals with Egyptian names

- 3.1. *Hrād- or *Hrād- (Eg. "child") : the name behind the spelling Ha-rad-du-ma (PT 1:5, cf. Hallock 1960 : 96) may contain this lexeme (Parker, apud Cameron 1948 : 84 ; Edel, apud OnP 311). The reason for expecting an Egyptian name is the profession of this person, being an "Egyptian woodworker" (mu-sir-ri-ia-ra GIŠ.GIŠ.lg.še-iš-ki-ra). Yet this does not rule out the possibility of a non-Egyptian name. It is generally known that name and ethnicity do not always match. Ha-rad-du-ma could also be Iranian, Semitic or something else.
- 3.2. P₃-dj-b₃š.t. (Eg.) : Bad-du-ba-iš-ti-iš (Schmitt 1988 : 81-82 ; Zadok 1992 : 146).

¹⁰ Aramaic *hzy* (PF 173:rev.) is not a personal name, as Lipiński (1977 : 107) claims, but probably an appellative (DNWSI 362).

4. People with Anatolian and Greek names

- 4.1. *Attapiya- (“given by the father”): Ad-da-pi-ia (PFNN 541:9). ElW 28 does not propose any etymology of this name. In my view El. Ad-da-pi-ia is most likely a representation of an Anatolian name, with reference to Hittite *atta-*, “father” and *piya-*, “given”.
- 4.2. Philippos (Delaunay 1976: 24; ElW 226-227): this is an accountant with a Greek name, spelled Pi-ul-pi-su in Elamite, a spelling resembling Late Babylonian Pi-il-pi-su (VS 15 17:5).

This ethnically mixed character is already attested in texts from the Neo-Elamite period (in an archive from Susa) ¹¹. Only during the Achaemenid period, however, it would extend to the high degree reflected in the Elamite Fortification and Treasury Tablets. The reason for this is simple: the large territorial extent of the Achaemenid Empire (uniting the complete Near East) made travelling easier and consequently people moved and ended up in foreign regions. The Achaemenid kings rightly described themselves as *xšāyaθiya dahyūnām vispa-zanānām*, “king of lands (containing) all kinds of men” (DNa 10, DSe 9, DZc 5).

As already mentioned the interesting ethnic situation in fifth-century Persepolis is nicely illustrated by the corpus of personal names attested in the tablets. As the majority of the region’s population consisted of Elamites and Iranians (Persians actually), it is quite understandable that most personal names belong to either the Elamite or the Old Iranian language.

Although scholars have identified, discussed and explained most Iranian names in the tablets, there remain still various anthroponyms that haven’t been dealt with. Below some of these Iranian names will be studied ¹². All texts are attested in the Elamite tablets belonging to the Persepolis Fortification Archive. The only exception is no.12, which is inscribed on a seal, whose provenance is unknown.

1. Ab-da-um-ma (PFNN 1009:14, 2362:17)

ElW 23 notices the Old Iranian character of this name, but unfortunately does not offer further explanation. In all probability Ab-da-um-ma renders *Abda-va-, “outstanding”, cf. Av. *abda-* and MP *abd*. The stem **abda-* is followed by *-va-*, an adjectival suffix.

2. A-mu-sa (PF 436:2)

Two possible Iranian names behind this spelling have been brought forward: *Ham-uθa-, “the willing” (Gershevitch 1969: 176) and *Aiv(a)uθa-, “eines wollend” (Hinz 1973: 106 and 1975: 26, referring to Av. *aēuua-* and OP *aiva-*, “one”). Yet Mayrhofer (OnP 8.59) does

¹¹ The presence of Hattians (Ha-ti-be) in Neo-Elamite Susa is attested in some texts, e.g. S 94:rev. 15; S 111:3-4. Individuals with Akkadian names (ElW 72 and 879) are among others Aplaya (Ap-pa-la-a-a), Marduk (Mar-dúk), Mardukaya (Mar-dúk-ka-a-a), Marduk-nāšir (Mar-dúk-na-sir) and Marduk-šarranī (Mar-dúk-šar-ra-an). Examples of West Semitic names attested in the Susa Archive are Barīk-’Ēl (Ba-ri-ki-ul; Dandamayev 1975: 235; ElW 150) and Natan (Na-ad-dan; Zadok 1977: 79; ElW 966).

¹² It should be noted that the spellings attested in PFNN-texts are drawn from Hallock’s working transliterations, not from the original documents.

not give much credit to Gershevitch's *Hamuθa-. In addition, the etymology pleaded for by Hinz is not correct because the sign A cannot be a rendering of /ai/-. The reconstruction of the second element, *uθa-, "longing for" (Av. *usant-*) is likely to be correct. The first part of the name, however, is *av-, "water" (Av. *auuah-*). The complete name is *Avuθa-, "longing for water".

3. At-hi-ba-ad-da (PFNN 2084:5)

This spelling renders *Āθipāta-, "protected against misfortune", a form evolved from *Āθiyā-pāta-.

4. At-ti-hu-ba-ud-da (PF 1650:3-4)

Most scholars (Benveniste 1966 : 79 ; Hinz 1975 : 50) believe in a name *Āθiyāhupāta-, "well-protected against misfortune". A spelling At-ti-° is, however, not likely to represent Old Iranian *Āθiyā°, but rather corresponds to Old Iranian *Āθī°, the contracted form of *Āθiyā° (/iyā/ > /ī/).

5. Ba(?) -u(?) -ri-iš (PFNN 1209:2)

There is no etymology concerning this personal name in EIW 174 (see also nos. 1 and 2). Nevertheless it seems more than probable that Ba(?) -u(?) -ri-iš is a reflection of *Bauriš or *Bauriš. The former is an i-patronymic of *Baura-, "the red-haired" ¹³, the latter developed through contraction (-iya- > -ī-) from *Baur-ya-, a hypocoristic form of *Baura-. The sign iš indicates the Iranian nominative.

6. Da(?) -uk-ka₄-a (PFNN 304:2-3)

This spelling is probably a representation of *Taukaya-, a hypocoristic of *Tauka-, "offspring" (Gershevitch 1969 : 235 ; OnP 8.1602 ; Hinz 1975 : 235).

7. Har-man-iz-za (PFNN 340:3)

Gershevitch (1969 : 182) reconstructs *Arman-(a)iča-, "little troublemaker" and refers to NP *armān*, "trouble, grief". Alternatively he mentions *Arman-niža-, "washing away troubles or grief", with a reference to Av. *naēg*. By reconstructing *Armān-aiča- Hinz (1975 : 37) clearly prefers the first proposal. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.461) expresses some doubts concerning this explanation. In my view the Iranian name behind this spelling should be *Arv-ān-iča-, "the brave one" or *Arva-n-iča-. The first name is a hypocoristic form of *Arvāna-, itself a patronymic of *Arva-, "brave" (see Skt. *árvant-* and Av. *auruua-*, with epenthesis). The latter is a so-called *zweistämmige Koseform* ¹⁴ *Arva-n(aya)-iča-, "leading the brave" (Av. *nay-*).

8. Kur-pa-iš (PFNN 1445:2-3)

In EIW 528 this spelling is merely listed as an anthroponym. A plausible Iranian name, however, is *Kṛpa-, "external appearance, visible form" (Av. *kəhrp-*, MP *karp*). *Kṛpa- is not

¹³ See Gershevitch (1969 : 218) and Hinz (1975 : 66).

¹⁴ On this particular type of Iranian hypocoristics, see Schmitt (1972).

the only name containing this lexeme. In the Aramaic tablets of Persepolis the spelling Krpyš renders *Krpaiča-, a hypocoristic form (suffix *-aiča-*) of *Kṛpa- (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 98; Hinz 1975: 152).¹⁵

9. Man-kam (PFNN 644:13)

Man-kam is a rendering of an Iranian personal name *Vankāma-, “with a desire to win”. This name is composed of *van-, “to win, to overcome” (cf. Av. *van-*) and *kāma-, “desire” (cf. Skt., Av. and OP *kāma-*).

10. Mi-zí-ra (PFNN 2276:10)

EIW 546 recognizes the Old Iranian character of this spelling, but does not venture to propose an etymology. Mi-zí-ra probably represents *Vī-jīra-, “thoroughly smart” (cf. Av. *vī-*, “thoroughly” and *jīra-*, “smart”).

11. Mu-iš-ti-m[a]r(?) -da (PFNN 2201:8)

In EIW 950 it is suggested that this is an Old Iranian name. One of the possibilities is *Mušti-var-da-, “fist-grow” (Av. *mušti-*, “fist”). Yet the element *var-da- can have several meanings (such as “worker”, “growth” or “sowing-seed”) and as a consequence a name *Muštivar-da- may be explained in more than one way.

12. Pír-a-a-ti-iš (Ward 1910: 331 no. 1076)

This name is attested on a seal (cf. supra). The proposal *Frait-ī-š, “walking on” (EIW 208), based on Av. *fraēta-*, is correct, despite the fact that one could expect a spelling Pír-ra-a-ti-iš, since Ir. /fra/- is mostly rendered by pír-ra-. Again there is a contraction (*iya > ī*; cf. nos. 3-5).

13. Sa-iz-za-na (PFNN 1534:3)

Probably Sa-iz-za-na denotes a name *Θaičāna-, “orphan”. This is the Old Persian¹⁶ form of *Saičāna-, an -āna-patronymic of *Θai-ča-, which itself is a hypocoristic form of Av. *saē-*, “orphan”.

14. Sa-kur-ra (PFNN 2280:34; 2366:6-7)

EIW 1061 considers this name to be a short form of a name containing *θāigra-, “garlic”. Yet a connection with the attested name *Saxra-, “the strong one” (El. Šá-kur-ra; see Gershevitch 1970: 89, OnP 8.1483 and Hinz 1975: 220) is more likely. In that case one is dealing here with the Old Persian form (*Θaxra-) of this Median name.

¹⁵ Eilers also offers an alternative possibility: *Kāra-paiša-, with reference to Av. *Us-paēšata-*, a family name whose meaning is still not known (Mayrhofer 1979: I/85).

¹⁶ That Sa-iz-za-na is a representation of an Old Persian name was already postulated by EIW 1060.

15. Tu^{ma}mar-re-me-a (PF 1829:2-3)

Hinz (1975: 241) divides this form in two parts, related by him to Av. *θβāuuant-*, “someone like you” and Av. *raēva-*, “rich”. Consequently he translates “some one who is rich, just like you”.

This is, however, a rather implausible anthroponym. A more likely alternative is an Iranian name *Tava-rēvaya-, “who is strong and rich”, cf. Av. and OP *tav-*, “to be strong” and *raēuua-* / *raiva-*, “rich”, of which **rēvaya-* is the monophthongized form (/ai/ > /ē/). The postulated transpositions El. Cu-ma(C) = Ir. Cava and El. Ce-a = Ir. Caya (with C = consonant) are also attested in other names, e.g. Old Persian *Artavardiya* - Elamite *Ir-du-mar-ti-ia* and Old Persian *Dārayavauš* - Elamite *Da-re-a-ma-u-i[š]*.

16. U-da-a-a

According to EIW 1198 the Iranian name behind this spelling is *Auḍaya-, the Old Persian form of *Aujaya-, “strong” (cf. Skt. *ójas*, Av. *aojah-*). As a consequence of this the latter form *Aujaya- would have to be Median and precisely there the main problem with this theory is situated.

The dialectological feature used by EIW to describe this name as Median deals with the development of Proto-Indo-European /ǵ^(h)/ to /dz/ in Proto-Iranian. This sound became /z/ in Avestan and /d/ in Old Persian (Geiger 1898-1901: 414; Meillet - Benveniste 1931²: 8; Kent 1953: 33-34; Brandenstein – Mayrhofer 1964: 38; Mayrhofer 1968: 10; OnP 299; Hinz 1973: 38; Oranskij 1979: 99-100; Sokolov 1979: 243; Schmitt 1989: 89), e.g. PIE *ǵ^hés-to-, “hand” (cf. Skt. *hásta-*, Proto-Ir. **dzhasta-*, Av. *zasta-*, Med. **zasta-*, OP *dasta-*, Sogd. *δst*) and PIE *ǵónh₁-o-, “human being, man” (cf. Skt. *jána-*, Proto-Ir. **dzana-*, Av. *zana-*, Med. *zana-*, OP **dana-*). In this particular case, however, we are dealing with Av. *aojah-*, which is the palatalized form of *aogah-*. The latter is the original form, which evolved from PIE **h₂éug-es-* (Mayrhofer 1992: 278), a word clearly without any */ǵ/. Consequently this lexeme does not apply for the dialectological equivalence of /d/ and /z/; the proposal by EIW should be discarded.

Alternative possibilities are *Auta-ya-, “the cold one” with reference to Av. *aota-* or *Audaya-, connected with Av. *aoḍa-*, “source”. Although these ideas are not certain either, they are at least more acceptable than the one in EIW.

17. Ú-iš-da-ma (PFNN 2211:4)

This is the Elamite spelling of the Ir. name *Uštāma-, for which two meanings can be proposed: either *Ušta-ama-, “having the desired strength” or a theophoric name *Ušta-Ama-, “desired by Ama”.

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