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Exit der Posaunenbläser
On lance-guards and lance-bearers in the Persepolis Fortification archive.

Introduction - In Greek sources on Achaemenid Persia, δορυφόροι, 'lance-bearers' frequently occur. They formed a regiment in the Persian army and are appeared as such in royal processions. Some sources claim that they were an elite corps within the famous 10,000 'Immortals' and they are sometimes equated with the μηλοφόροι, 'apple-bearers' (named so after the pommel at the end of the lance). Elsewhere the lance-bearers are said to be of high rank and they appear to be closely linked to the Persian king. This may be the reason why Darius held the position (or title) of δορύφορος at the court of Cambyses and why Gobryas appears as 'lance-bearer of king Darius' in the royal inscription DNc (see **below**).[1]

[1]   For an overview and discussion of the classical sources see P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, 1996: 123-5, 197, 271-3, 321, 327, 343.

The function of 'lance-bearer' is attested in the Persepolis Fortification (PF) archive as well. The relevant texts reveal that they, as the Greek sources on the δορυφόροι imply, were closely linked to the Persian king. We do not find lance-bearers in military context *stricto sensu*, however, but they appear operating as inspectors of labour forces, controllers of roads and escorts of travel parties.

It needs no explanation that the Persepolis material is highly relevant to the study of the Achaemenid empire and the subject of the lance-bearers is surely no exception to that. Yet, as the Elamite lexicon remains poorly understood, the PF-texts are in many cases rather inaccessible. Sometimes words, and thereby complete texts, have been misread or misinterpreted. Such a case prompted this note in the first place. In order to render the corpus on lancemen more accessible, various terms used for 'lance-bearer' are discussed and all the texts in which one of these designations occur are presented in the **table** at the end of this note.

1 Evidence for a 'lance-guard'

Der Posaunenbläser - In PF 1343:3-4 a certain Muššadda is designated as ka$_4$-ši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra. A second occurrence, NN 0904:3-5, mentions Ukbarawiš the <ka$_4$->ši-ik-ka$_4$ ⌈ba⌉-gi-ra. A third text mentions a Ušbanuš whose designation may be related: ^{GIŠ}SI^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra (PF 1245:2-4). No other designations

ending with -*bag/kira* occur in the transliterated Fortification corpus.[2]

W. Hinz and H. Koch, the editors of the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (1987), only knew PF 1343 and PF 1245. In their dictionary s.vv. 'qa-ši-ik-ki.ba-ak-ki-ra' and 'GIŠ.SI.lg.ba-ki-ra' they explained $^{\text{GIŠ}}\text{SI}^{\text{MEŠ}}$ as the sumerogram for Akkadian *qarnu, qannu*, 'horn', corresponding to Elamite ga-az-zu, qa-as-su and kás-su whence the form ka$_4$-ši-ik-ki would have developed.[3]

The position of the *ElW* presents a number of difficulties. Firstly, the development of *kašikki* from *gazzu*, *qassu* or *kassu* cannot be explained in a satisfactory way[4] and there is no

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[2] Published texts: R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets,* 1969 [PF 1-2078]; *idem,* Selected Fortification Texts, *CDAFI* 8, 1978, 109-36 [PFa 1-33]. Hallock transliterated 2553 additional tablets that remain unpublished (NN 1-2553). A corpus of 151 PF-texts (now in the National Museum of Iran) transliterated by G.G. Cameron and colated by Hallock ('Fort.') remains unpublished as well.

[3] H. Koch previously proposed a different solution. Equating *kašikki* to *kasika* and *kaššaka* (= OPers. *$k\bar{a}\theta aka$-, 'semi-precious stone'), she explained *kašikki bakkira* as "Halbedelstein-Verwahrer" (AMI-Erg.bd 10, 1983: 40-1). Though formally not impossible, such a function is hardly conceivable. Moreover, it would leave $^{\text{GIŠ}}\text{SI}^{\text{MEŠ}}$ *bakira* unexplained.

[4] Note that the *ElW* explains $^{\text{HAL}}$kas-su-ip (PF 2040) as "wörtlich *Horn-Leute*, wohl = *Rinderhirten*, zu qa-as-su, kás-su *Horn* gehörig." It is remarkable that the dictionary seems to assume that the same word for 'horn' appears both in its

etymology given for *-bag/kira* ("-bläser" being a mere conjecture; cf. below). In addition to this, the context of the forms cited above do not seem to suggest a 'Posaunenbläser'.

In the first place, PF 1343 and NN 0904 are both sealed with PFS 0021, a seal belonging to (the office of) a *kurmin*-person named Karma and typically associated with the issue of daily rations to travelling parties. Secondly, all three texts deal with rations for one or several men or *šalup* (± 'free men', 'gentlemen') and a larger number of *libap* ('servants', 'slaves'). These designations and the ratio between them is typical for elite travelling parties and one may wonder why a Posaunenbläser would occur in such a company. Thirdly, NN 0904 deals with the issue of rations to Ušbanuš the $^{GIŠ}SI^{MEŠ}$-*bagira* and his servants. In this case it is explicitly stated that they travelled to the place Atuk where they made a *karamaraš,* 'registry'.[5] Hinz and Koch commented on this: "[der] Träger dieses Titels […] war also ein Vorgesetzter" (*ElW* s.v. 'qa-ši-ik-ki.ba-ak-ki-ra').[6] Even when it was a (military) title that had lost its original meaning, however, the

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original form (*kassu-*) as well as in secondary form (*kašikki*) for which no etymology is given. Moreover, the proposed meaning of *kassup* in PF 2040 is far from certain and the contexts does not seem to suggest herdsmen.

[5] See M. Stolper, *Bibl.Mesop.* 7, 1977: 259-66.

[6] Compare their comments s.v. 'GIŠ.SI.lg.ba-ki-ra' (on the same person in PF 1245): "Da dieser eine Musterung vornahm, dürfte das Stichwort einen militärischen Rang bezeichnen."

'explanation' of the *ElW* cannot be upheld. Given the fact that NN 0904 and PF 1343 deal with a group of six 'gentlemen' and 12 servants; date to the 9th (Elamite) month in the 22 year; and account for the issue of the same amount of flour (2.1 bar), there is little doubt that both texts are concerned with the same travel party. The person receiving the flour on behalf of his group is Muššadda in one case, Ušbanuš in the other, suggesting that their title was not used as a keyword for a formal leadership ('Vorgesetzter').

Alternative readings - In this note it is argued that the words explained as 'Posaunenbläser' are either misspelled or misread and that *kašikki* and [GIŠ]SI[MEŠ] should be removed from the Elamite lexicon as ghostwords. It is preferable to assume that in all three cases the scribe wanted to refer to an official otherwise known as a [HAL/GIŠ]ŠI.KAK[(MEŠ)]-ku-ti-ra, *i.e.* a 'lance-bearer' (see **below**). The first part of this word should, in the view of the present author, be taken as a pseudo-logogram (*šikak*).[7] If so, the form ka₄-ši-ik-ki (PF 1343) should probably be read as [GIŠ!]ši-ik-ki.[8] This solution leads to the second occurrence, <ka₄->ši-ik-ka₄ ⌜ba⌝-gi-ra (NN 0904). Here the

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[7] This would also explain why in a number of cases ŠI.KAK occurs without MEŠ. Occurrences of [GIŠ]ŠI.KAK: PFa 22, PFa 23, NN 1189. When preceded by HAL, ŠI.KAK is never followed by MEŠ: PF 1286, NN 0739 (see **table** below).

[8] The sign QA is clearly visible on the tablet, but the erroneous writing of QA instead of the similar GIŠ occurs sufficiently frequent in the Fortification archive to allow the reading [GIŠ!]ši-ik-ki.

initial QA has been supplied by R. Hallock, apparently on the basis of PF 1343. The conjecture is unnecessary, however, as ši-ik-ka$_4$ can again be explained as an alternative writing for $^{HAL/GIŠ}$ŠI.KAK$^{(MEŠ)}$. The third occurrence, ^{GIŠ}SI^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra (PF 1245), may be explained by assuming the omission of the sign KAK (DÙ), i.e. ^{GIŠ}SI<.KAK>^{MEŠ}. The spelling SI.KAK (instead of the regular ŠI.KAK) occurs elsewhere as well (PFa 30:8).[9]

Bag/kira - The analysis presented here still leaves -*bag/kira* an unexplained alternative for the normal -*kutira* (^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ}-ku-ti-ra). The *ElW* suggested '-*bläser*', without giving an etymology (s.v. 'qa-ši-ik-ki.ba-ak-ki-ra'). Yet, the editors seem to have hosted some reservations of their own. Thus, s.v. 'ba-ki-ra' they wrote "Grundbedeutung vielleicht *Bläser*, übertragen *Wächter*".[10] An interpretation of -*bag/kira* as 'protector' or 'guard' seems indeed to be suggested by the Elamite lexicon. In fact, given the above objections against the interpretation of *kašikki* and ^{GIŠ}SI^{MEŠ} as 'Posaune', no basis remains for interpreting -*bag/kira* as 'Bläser'.

The list below presents an overview of words derived from the possibly related roots *b/pak*- and *b/pah*-. The overview is not

[9] The spelling SI.KAK is a typical misunderstanding of a Sumerogram, paralled by such cases as Neo-Elamite E.GAL for É.GAL (see Stolper, Elamite [in press]: 69).

[10] Compare also Koch's suggestion on the "Halbedelstein-*Verwahrer*" (my italics; see **note 3 above**). In her *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft* …, 1990: 184, however, Koch retains the interpretation 'Hornbläser' for ^{GIŠ}SI^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra.

exhaustive and is merely intended to give a global basis for the interpretation of -*bag/kira*. Given the present knowledge of the Elamite lexicon it cannot be excluded that some of the forms quoted below are in fact unrelated.

1   ba-hi-ir (ME, NE)

    A. (Inšušinak …) **ba-hi-ir** su-un-ki-ip-ri
        ('*bahir* of kings').[11]

    B. (O Kiririša …) **ba-hi-ir** su-un-kip-ri
        ('*bahir* of kings').[12]

    C. (Tirutur …) **ba-hi-ir** su-un-ki-ip-ri
        ('*bahir* of kings').[13]

    D. ni ^{AN}in-šu-ši-na-ak na-pír-ú-ri, zu-un-ki-ir-ú-ri,
        a-ak **ba-hi-ir**-u-ri
        ('you, Inšušinak, my god, my king, my *bahir*').[14]

    E. [… **ba-h**]**i-ir** na-ap-pi ki-ki-ip a-ak mu-ri-ip
        ('*bahir* <of?> the gods of heaven and of earth').[15]

    F. ^{AN}na-pír (…) **ba-hi-ir** ^{AN}na-ap-pír-ra-na
        ('…of Napir/the God … divine *bahir*').[16]

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[11]   EKI 45:I.8; EKI 48A:4; EKI 48B:4-5 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I).

[12]   F. Grillot & F. Vallat, *IrAn* 19, 1984: 21-2, ll. 3-4 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I).

[13]   EKI 75:1 / W. Hinz, *Fs. Taqizadeh* 1962: nº 1:1 (Hanni of Aiapir).

[14]   EKI 66:9-11 (unknown ME ruler); cf. Grillot, *CDAFI* 3, 1973: 133.

[15]   EKI 73C:2 (Šuktruk-Nahhunte I).

[16]   EKI 75:20 / Hinz, *Fs. Taqizadeh* 1962, nº 1:20 (Hanni of Aiapir); cf. Grillot *CDAFI* 3, 1973: 139. Compare also the enigmatic phrase (Inšušinak) ba-hi-ir hi-iš hu-li-ri (EKI 44A:6; EKI 44B:5; EKI 46:7-8; EKI 47:5 / IRS 48:9; MDP 53 nº 19:6; all Šilhak-

Lambert (*RA* 49, 1955: 150): 'lumière, guide'; Hinz (*Fs. Taqizadeh* 1962: 106, 110): 'Schirmer'; Grillot (*CDAFI* 3, 1973: 133): 'protecteur'; Grillot & Vallat (*IrAn* 19, 1984: 22): 'protectrice'; *ElW* (s.v. 'ba-hi-ir'): 'Wohltäter'; Steve (MDP 53, 1987: 40): 'protecteur'; Malbran-Labat (IRS 48): 'protecteur'.

2 ba-ha-ar-ra (ME)

(Inšušinak) te-ip-ti ki-iz-zu-um-ú-še **ba-ha-ar-ra**
('lord, *bahar* of my sanctuary').[17]

Lambert (*RA* 49, 1955: 150): 'le brillant'; Grillot (*CDAFI* 3, 1973: 140): 'protecteur'; *ElW* (s.v. 'ba-ha-ar-ra'): 'die gute, gütige'.

3 ba-ha-ap-pi (ME)

A. hu-ut-ha-li-i[k-pi] na-ap**ba-ha-ap-pi**-ni
a-ha ta-at-táh
('I placed the images of the *baha*-gods here').[18]

B. e ^{AN}na-ap **ba-ha-ap-pi** ('o *baha*-gods').[19]

Inšušinak I). Malbran-Labat, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse* [IRS] 1995: 110 interpreted this as 'protecteur qui assemble le nom' (cf. Steve MDP 53, n° 19).

[17] EKI 45I:4-5 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I). Compare also ba-ha-[ar] in EKI 54 I:6-7 (see *ElW* s.v. 'ba-ha-[ar]') and ba-ha-ri in EKI 44A:4, EKI 44B:4, EKI 46:6.

[18] EKI 47:25 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I).

[19] EKI 54I:10 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I), cf. Grillot, *CDAFI* 3, 1973: 133-4, 140. Compare also EKI 89:7, ^{AN}ba-ha-ib²-be (Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak; see *ElW* s.v. 'd.ba-ha-ib(?)-be').

Lambert (*RA* 49, 1955: 150): '(les dieux) brillants'; Grillot (*CDAFI* 3, 1973: 133-4): 'protecteurs'; *ElW* (s.v. 'ba-ha-ip-pi'): 'die guten'

4   ba-ha (OE, ME, NE)

   ^{AN}maš-ti am-ma **ba-ha** ^{AN}na-ap-pír-ra-na
   ('Mašti, mother-*baha* of the gods').[20]

Lambert (*RA* 49, 1955: 149): '(la mère) brillante (des dieux)'; Hinz (*Fs. Taqizadeh* 1962: 113): '(der) guten (Göttermutter)'; Vallat (AMI Erg.bd. 10, 1983: 13): (mère) protectrice (des dieux)'; Stolper (*RlA* VII, 1987-1990: 278): 'protective (divine mother)'.

5   pa-ha-áš-pi-na (ME)

   pu-h[u ku-ši-ik-ú]-pe (…) **pa-ha-áš-pi-na**
   ('the children, born from me (…), may the [object x] *paha* them').[21]

Grillot (*CDAFI* 3, 1973: 161): 'puisse le … les préserve'; *ElW* (s.v. 'pa-ha-áš-pi-na'): 'es soll sie schützen!'.

6   ^{AN}ba-ha-hu-ti-ib-be *sive* DINGIR ba-ha-hu-ti-ib-be (ME)

   e DINGIR.GAL ^{AN}ki-ri-ri-ša a-ak **^{AN}ba-ha-hu-ti-ib-be**
   ^{AŠ}li-ia-an-ip-pá

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[20]   EKI 76:11, EKI 76F:7-8 (Hanni of Aiapir). Quoted from Hinz, *Fs. Taqizadeh* 1962: 113. For the OE and ME occurrences of *baha* see *ElW* s.v. 'ba-ha'.

[21]   EKI 54 I:63-5 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I).

('O Great God / Napiriša, Kiririša and *baha*-making gods of Liyan').[22]

Pézard (MDP 15, 1914: 45): 'les dieux "qui font la création du monde" '; Bork (*MAOG* 7.3, 1933: 25): 'die Schützer (des Ortes)'; Lambert (*RA* 49, 1955: 149): 'dieux Brillants locaux'; Hinz (*Orientalia* 31, 1962: 37): 'die (sonstigen göttlichen) Wohltäter'; *ElW* (s.v. 'd.ba-ha-hu-ti-ib-be'): '(göttliche) Wohltäter'; Malbran-Labat (IRS 21 [p. 59-60]): 'les (dieux) Protecteurs de la Terre' *sive* 'les dieux ses protecteurs'; Stolper (Elamite, [in press]: 83): "protect doers" > "protective gods".

7   pa-ha-nu (NE?)

pa-ha-nu (=) ru-bu-[u] NIM (=*elamû*).[23]

Frank (*MAOG* 4, 1928-9: 40) "wohl mit *paḫa-* (…) zusammenzustellen"; *ElW* (s.v. pa-ha-nu): 'Fürst'.

8   pa-ha-ah (NE)

ku-ku-un-nu-um … **pa-ha-ah**

('the temple … I *paha*-ed').[24]

Lambert (*RA* 49, 1955; 149): 'je le fis briller'; Grillot (*JA* 1970: 222): 'j'ai protégé'; *ElW* (s.v. 'pa-ha-h') 'ich beschützte'.

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[22]   EKI 4C:1 / IRS 21:1 (Huban-numena); see also EKI 4C:6 and 7.

[23]   From the Neo-Assyrian *malku* = *šarru* synonym list series; quoted from Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, 1963: 433 l. 36.

[24]   EKI 72:10; on the dating to Šutruk-Nahunte II see F. Vallat, *Fs. Spycket* 1996: 389.

9   ba-ha-ab-ba^{MEŠ} (NE)

(after a list of PNs) PAP 10 **ba-ha-ab-ba^{MEŠ}**

('in total ten *baha*-persons').[25]

ElW (s.v. 'ba-ha-ab-ba.lg'): "*Gute* (pl.), übertragen anscheinend *Brave*, *Tüchtige* im Sinne einer Berufsbezeichnung."

10   pak-ni, pá-ak-ni (NE)

A.   za-al-mu **pak-ni** ('he/she may *pak* the relief')

B.   za-al-mu-me a-h **pá-ak-ni**

('he/she may *pak* my relief here').[26]

Hinz (*Fs. Taqizadeh* 1962: 114): '(es) werde behütet'; *ElW* (s.vv. 'ba-ak-ni', 'pak-ni'): 'er möge behütet, beschirmt werden!'.

11   ^{BE}su-un-ki-ba-ku-iš, ^{BE}su-un-ki-ba-ki-iš (NE)

A.   1 ^{GIŠ}BAN^{MEŠ} **^{BE}su-un-ki-ba-ku-iš**-pè-ra du-iš

('1 bow the chief / representative of the king's *bakuš*-people received').[27]

B.   (various garments?) **^{BE}su-un-ki-ba-ku-iš** du-iš

('the *bakuš*-person of the king received').[28]

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[25]   MDP 11, n° 299:6.

[26]   EKI 76: 18-9 and 20-1 (Hanni). Quoted from Hinz, *Fs. Taqizadeh* 1962: 114.

[27]   MDP 9, n° 10: 10-11. Scheil reads ba-ki-iš, but the Winkelhaken of GI is lacking in his copy and the sign looks much more like KU (as in MDP 9, n° 94:11).

[28]   MDP 9, n° 94:11.

C. 1 ^{GIŠ}šu-kur-ru-um ^{BE}**su-un-ki-ba-ki-iš**

('1 spear the *bakiš*-person of the king [received]').[29]

Scheil (MDP 9, 1907: 15): 'le Sunkibakišien'; *ElW* (s.v. 'hw.su-un-ba-ki-iš'; taking it as a PN): 'für den König bläse (trompete)!'

12 UDU.NITÁ^{MEŠ} ba-ak-k[a₄-ri] (NE)

^{DIŠ}uz-zí-⌜x⌝-ku DUMU ^{DIŠ}tah-ha-⌜ha⌝

UDU.⌜NITÁ^{MEŠ}⌝ **ba-ak-⌜ka₄⌝[-ri]**

('Uzzi[…]ku son (of) Tahhaha, sheep-*bakkari*').[30]

ElW (s.v. 'UDU.NITÁ.lg ba-ak-q[a-ri]'): "*Schafhirt,* wörtlich vermutlich *Schaf-Bläser*" [*sic* !].[31]

Reviewing the attestations presented here of the root *b/pah-* in Middle-Elamite, it seems clear that the interpretation 'to protect' does fit the contexts of nos. 1-6 quite well. Thus the

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[29] MDP 9, n° 170:16. A ^{BE}ba-ki-iš occurs in MDP 9 n° 191:7 and MDP 11 n° 307:13-4, but in these cases the word is most probably a PN (the same name occurs in the Fortification archive).

[30] MDP 11, n° 307:1-2. the first PN was read ^{DIŠ}uz-zí-ih[?] (ku-tur) by Scheil and ^{DIŠ}uz-zí-[ik]-ku (DUMU) by the *ElW*.

[31] Note that a second occurrence of a UDU.NITÁ^{MEŠ} *bakkari*, quoted by the *ElW*, does not exist: MLC 1308:13 (publ. by Jones & Stolper, *Fs. Steve* 1987: 243-7) has an additional sign (read by the editors as im[?]) after UDU.NITÁ^{MEŠ}. One could read the following word as ba-ak-[ka₄][-(x)] on the basis of the copy by Jones & Stolper, but it seems preferable to keep to his reading im(?)-ba-⌜x-x⌝. A possibly related form is ba-ak-ka₄, occurring twice in an unclear context (MDP 9, n° 248:7; 276:9).

gods Inšušinak, Kiririša and Tirutir are labeled 'protector of kings' (1A-C). Inšušinak is also the 'protector of my sanctuary' (2) and Mašti is a 'protective mother of the gods' (4). Multiple deities or their images can be called 'protective' (3) or 'protection-makers' (6). An object (a magical charm, an amulet?) can be implored to 'protect' children. Obviously, 'to protect' is but a tentative and generalizing rendition of the various nuances of *b/pah-*.

In the Neo-Elamite period *b/pah-* continued to be used: Šutruk-Nahunte II states that he protected a sanctuary (8). The case of the ten *bahabba* listed in the Acropole texts (9) is not so self-evident, but nothing precludes an interpretation as 'protectors', *i.e.* 'guards'. If the case of the *bahanu* (7) (= Akk. *rubû*, 'ruler') is taken as the Akkadicized form of an Elamite title, it could be explained as 'Protector' (of the country). But it is certainly possible that this word is unrelated to the *b/pah-* discussed here.

There are also derivations of a root *b/pak-* in the Neo-Elamite period. The interpretation 'to protect' is certainly plausible in the case of Hanni's inscriptions: 'may he/she protect the relief' (10). It also fits the case of the UDU.NITÁ^{MEŠ}-ba-ak-k[a_4-ri] in a late Neo-Elamite text (12): a 'sheep-protector', *i.e.* a 'herdsman'. Finally, it seems to the present author that the *sunkibaki/uš* (11) in the Acropole texts is not a personal name, but an occupational designation or title meaning 'king-

protector', *i.e.* 'king's guard'. Two texts (11A, C) record the issuing of weapons to these king's guards.[32]

The case of the Neo-Elamite *sunkibaki/uš* is of obvious relevance to the $^{GIŠ!}$ši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra, the ši-ik-ka$_4$ ⌈ba⌉-gi-ra and the ^{GIŠ}SI<.KAK>^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra discussed above. The correct interpretation for these three words seems to be 'lance-guard'. This 'lance-guard' is perfectly acceptable alternative to the $^{HAL/GIŠ}$ŠI.KAK$^{(MEŠ)}$-ku-ti-ra, 'lance-bearer'. Interestingly, one of the 'king's guards' mentioned in the Neo-Elamite Acropole archive receives a ^{GIŠ}šu-kur-ru-um, a 'lance'. As will be discussed below, this word occurs as a synonym to ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ} in the Fortification archive.

A remaining problem is the assumed but unproven relation (or identity) of *b/pah-* and *b/pak-*. Neo-Elamite shows a certain fluidity between /h/ and /k/ in that the locutive morpheme -*k* sometimes is written -*h*. As M. Stolper surmised, this may indicate spirantization of the velar.[33] The gradual change of

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[32]   The 'king's guards' are a welcome addition to the scarce evidence on the Susa-based monarchy in the period of the Acropole texts (cf. Vallat, *Fs. Spycket* 1996: 389 on king Ummanunu).

[33]   Stolper, Elamite (in press): 70. Vallat (*Fs. Spycket* 1996: 387) explains the phenomenon as an "amuïssement du *k* en *h*". Compare also ^{HAL}ka$_4$-⌈iš⌉-pu-uk-ka$_4$ and ^{HAL}áš-pu-uk-ka$_4$, variant spellings of the same PN (NN 620 and NN 690). In addition the following may be relevant as well. The suffix indicating fractions in Achaemenid Elamite is spelled kur-ma-ki (and variations thereof) or ir-ma-ki (e.g.,

Middle- and Neo-Elamite *b/pah-* to Neo-Elamite *b/pak-* (if that scenario may be assumed), seemingly presents a reverse development. Yet, a spirantization of the velar could indeed explain why Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid-Elamite scribes could write /bah-/ as ba-ak, ba-ku, ba-ki *etc.* This might also account for the consistancy of the rendering of OPers. /x/ (in CV- or VCV position) by Vg/k and g/kV signs.[34] Unfortunately, no definite answer to this problem can be given without a encompassing study on phonological development in Elamite.[35] In any case *b/pah-* and *b/pak-* do

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3-*irmaki*, 'one-third'). Hallock (*PFT*: 73) suggested that *k-* be taken as a phonetic completent and that -*kurmaki* would be used with fractions ending on -*k* (…*k*-*irmaki*. Indeed -*kurmaki* seems to occur only with the numbers 20- and 30-, but it should be noted that these numbers do also appear with -*irmaki* quite frequently (e.g., with 20-: PF 1117, PF 1118, NN 0187, NN 0194; with 30-: PF 1279, NN 0003, NN 0289, NN 0072:9; in NN 0130 20-ir-ma-ki and 30-kur-ma-ki occur side by side). Moreover, no phonetic completement occurs with cardinals (e.g., PF 1974:22 30-*ip-na ak* 30-*ip-na* 'each thirty [persons]'; compare also 20-*na* and 30-*na* in, e.g., PF 0259). This seems to allow for an alternative interpretation on the basis of the supposed phonetic development of the /k/ in later Elamite, but the matter needs further research before any conclusions can be drawn.

[34] Selected examples are: ^DIŠ^iš-ku-in-ka4 (DBk:1-2) = *Skunxa* ; ^DIŠ^ha-ak-ka4-man-nu-is-si-ia (DB I 4-5) = *Haxāmaniš*; ti-ik-ra-ka4-u-da (DNa 20-1 etc.) = *tigraxauda*; ^AN^mi-kán-na-iš, ^AN^mi-kán-na, ^AN^mi-ka4-na etc. (DB I:28, NN 2519:8-9; PF 0240:6 etc.) = *viyaxna* (examples taken from J. Tavernier's dissertation *Iranica in de Achaemenidische Periode*, 2002).

[35] Consider also the case of Old-Persian *upa-* that, in the majority of cases, is

indeed seem to be related semantically. Moreover, even if not related to *b/pah-* 'to protect', Neo-Elamite *b/pak-* seems to have had at least a similar meaning as appears from the occurrences presented above (10-12). For the moment the most plausible interpretation for ši-ik-ka₄⌜ba⌐ʲ⌝-gi-ra etc. is 'lance-guard'.

2 Lance-bearers and lance-guards in Persepolis

Apart from the three 'lance guards' discussed above, the Persepolis Fortification texts mention a number of individuals identified as ᴴᴬᴸŠI.KAK ᴴᴬᴸku-ti-ra or ᴳᴵ�Šᵛ̌ŠI.KAKᴹᴱˢ ku-ti-ra (13

rendered in Achaemenid Elamite as uk-ba-. Thus, the name of Upadarma in Bīsotūn is rendered u-p-d-r-m-h-y-a in the Old-Persian version (DB I.74) and ᴰᴵŠuk-ba-[tar]-ra-an-ma in the Elamite version (DB I.57). The Fortification archive provides quite a number of additional examples such as ᴴᴬᴸuk-ba-ti-ik-ra (P F 2073:18, 25 = OPers. *upatigra-*, see *ElW* s.v.), ᴴᴬᴸuk-ba-kur-na (PF 0046:2 etc. = OPers. *upakrna-*, see *ElW* s.v.). Some interesting variant spellings occur, *e.g.* uk-ba-še-taš (NN 1024:10, NN 1108:15), hu-ba-šá-a-taš (PF 1254:11) and ⌜ᴬŠ?⌝ú-ba-⌜šá-a-taš⌝ (NN 1110:13), all supposedly rendering OPers. *upa-saita* (Hinz, *Neue Wege* 1973: 80-1). Another example is OPers. *upāzaniya-* (Gerschevitch *apud* Hallock, *PFT*: 39), rendered variously as: ᴴᴬᴸuk-ba-za-nu-ia-ip (PF 1348:10), uk-ba-za-nu-ia (NN 0806:6), ᴬŠuk-ba-za-[nuʲ] (NN 0254:4-5), ᴴᴬᴸhu-ba-za-nu-ia-ip (PF 1061:7), ib-ba-⌜za⌝-nu (PF 1079:2-3) and ᴴᴬᴸib-ba-za-nu-ia-ip (PF 1279:3-4).

occurrences).[36] From the Old-Babylonian period onwards GIŠ.ŠI.KAK is widely attested as sumerogram for *šukurrum*, 'spear' in Akkadian texts. The latter word occurs twice in the PF corpus (PFa 19:4-6) and NN 1747:5-6). In PFa 19 Irdabada the ^{GIŠ}šu-kur-um ku-ti-ra receives flour for his group of six men who are inspecting the road (*datiš mušaš*). The same group of six men headed by Irdabada occurs in PFa 22 and PFa 23, but here the designation is ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK ku-ti-ra (sg.) and ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK ku-ti-ip (pl.) respectively. Moreover, PFa 22 again specifies their activity as inspecting the road (^{AŠ}KASKAL^{MEŠ} *hašašda*) apparently in anticipation of the king's advance to Susa. This leaves no doubt that ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ} and ^{GIŠ}šu-kur-um were used as equivalents in the PF corpus.[37]

Mannanda - The case of a certain Mannanda, ^{GIŠ}š[u-]kur-ra-um ku-ti-r[a] in NN 1747, confirms the equation with

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[36] *ElW* writes GIŠ.ŠI.DÙ.lg. It lists 9 occurrences s.v. 'GIŠ.ŠI.DÙ.lg.ku-ti-ra', including PFa 22:3 and Fort. 1553:3, but these last two sigla refer to the same text. NN 1189:2-3 is omitted. *ElW* s.v. 'GIŠ.ŠI.DÙ.lg.ku-ti-ip' refers to 4 occurrences, including PFa 30:8 and Fort. 8911:8, but these are again the same texts. The dictionary omits NN 2041. See the table **below** for full references.

[37] So also Hallock, *CDAFI* 8, 1978: 112. A fourth text (NN 2525), that may tentatively be linked to the previous three, mentions a ^{HAL}⌐ir⌐-[…-]da (suggested by Hallock to be Irdabada) with a group of four men designated as da-ti-ma-ráš⌐-be, 'road-inspectors'. On *dat š* (OPers. **dāt i-* = ^{AŠ}KASKAL^{MEŠ}) and *dat t imaraš-be*, see *ibid.* 114-5; Hinz, *Sprachgut* 1975: 86. On the inspection of the road before the king's advance see Koch *Achämeniden-Studien* 1993: 87.

GIŠŠI.KAK^MEŠ-*kutira* and adds another synonym:

NN 1747 (X-XII/Ø; period of 62 days)

receipt of flour by Dabada the writer and his companion Mannanda the ^GIŠ*šukurram kut ira* who were making an account/registry (⌈ha⌉-iš-šá-iš-da) of royal workmen at Šīrāz.

NN 2493:42-5 (IX-XII/19; period of 100 days)

receipt of wine by Mannanda the ^GIŠŠI.KAK^MEŠ-*kutira* together with his one companion; they came from the king to Persepolis; they accounted/made a registry (mu-ša-iš-da) of the workmen; they carried a sealed document from the king.

NN 2493:46-8 (IX, XI/19; period of 38 days)

receipt of wine by Dadda the writer-on-parchment and his companion Mannanda; they came from the king to Persepolis; they carried a sealed document from the king.

NN 2493:49-51 (XI-XII/19; period of 31 days)

receipt of wine by Dadda the writer-on-parchment and his companion Mannanda; they came from the king to Persepolis; they had been accounting/making a registry (mu-ša-iš-da) of the workmen; they carried a sealed document from the king.

NN 2522 (month X; year 22; period of 1 day)

receipt of wine by Mannada the ^GIŠiš-ti-bar-ra; he carried a sealed document from the king; he travelled from Matezzis to the king with a group of 3 'gentlemen' and 7 servants.

Although several individuals named Mannanda occur in the archive, these five texts almost certainly refer to a single person designated as ^{GIŠ}*šukurram kutira*, ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ}-*kutira* o r *ištibarra.* The latter (also spelled ir-iš-ti-bar-ra and ir-ti-bar-ra) is the Elamite rendition of OPers. * r̥štibara-*, either a 'lance-bearer' or a 'spear bearer'.[38]

OPers *r̥štibara-* occurs in DNc, where the Akkadian version has *nāšû azmarû,* 'lance carrier' (see CAD A/II s.v. 'azmarû'). This still does not solve the matter of 'spear bearer' vs. 'lance-bearer', but for convenience 'lance-bearer' is the preferred term in the present article.[39]

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[38] Gershevitch, *Fs. Pagliaro* 1969: 197; Hinz, *Sprachgut* 1975: 207; Tavernier, *Iranica* 2002: 696. The use of ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ}-*kutira* and *išt ibarra* as equivalents is also attested for Raštukka in PFa 15 (broken passage) and NN 2195:10-1 (see table **below**).

[39] Akkadian *azmarû* seems clear enough, but it is used as equivalent to OPers. *r̥št i-* in DNc and that word is in its turn used as equivalent to ^{GIŠ}*šukurum* = Akk. *šukurrum*, 'spear' in the PF archive. Note also that the modern distinction between a lance (used for stabbing) and a spear (used for throwing) is not automatically applicable to ancient Persia. The position of the *ElW* s.v. 'GIŠ.ŠI.DÙ.lg.ku-ti-ra' is too strong: "die Perser trugen (…) Lanzen, keine Speere". Yet, 'lance' may be preferable given the fact that neither the guards on the royal reliefs, nor the 'inspectors' in the archive would have much use of a throwing device. Incidentally, the elamite version of DNc has ^{GIŠ}si-ru-um ku-ik-ti-ra; the Elamite term *sirum* does not occur in the PF corpus.

One of Mannanda's duties apparently was (assisting at) making an account/inventory/registry of (royal) workmen together with an Aramaic scribe.[40] In NN 2522 he is travelling as a part of or escorting an elite travel party.

Activities of lancemen - The two, possibly related, functions identified for Mannanda are typical for the individuals designated as ^{GIŠ}*šukurram kutira*, ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ}-*kutira* or *ištibarra* in the PF archive. Of the 23 texts where these words occur, 13 mention a sealed document or order from the king.[41] The lancemen are either travelling with typical elite travel parties consisting of men or *šalup* ('gentlemen') and a larger number of boys or *libap* ('servants, slaves'), or (assisting in) conducting an inspection of labour forces or roads. Most commonly, lancemen are designated as *dat(t)imara(š)(be)*,

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40   ^{HAL}da-ad-da in NN 2493:42, 46; ^{HAL}da-⌈ba-da⌉$^{?}$ in NN 1747:3. The latter name does not appear elsewhere in the PF corpus. The context of the Mannanda texts suggests that the name should perhaps be read ^{HAL}da-ad!-da (the sign BA is in fact clear on the tablet). The Mannanda appearing in NN 0351 may be identical to the individual discussed here.

41   This percentage (about 57%) is relatively high. Compare the total corpus of travel texts (Hallock's category Q) that has only about 24% texts mentioning a sealed document from the king. When texts that do not mention any sealed document (*halmi* or an equivalent to it) are disregarded, the difference is even more conspicuous: from the total number of texts referring to a sealed document 31% mention a sealed document from the king against 87% in the texts mentioning lancemen.

'road inspector(s)'.[42] Their activity is also expressed by *datiš muš i š* (PFa 19, 'they accounted/inspected the road'), ᴬˢKASKALᴹᴱˢ *hašašda* (PFa 22, 'they controlled the road') and ⌜ᴬˢ⌝KASKALᴹᴱˢ *haš ip* (NN 2041: 14-7, 'road controllers/ inspectors'). When they are involved in making a registry or inspection of workmen, the phrase specifying the lancemen's activity is: *kurtaš sunki-na haššašda* (NN 1747, 'they made an account/registry of royal workmen') or *kurtaš mušašda* 2493:42-5, 49-51, 'they accounted/made a registry of the workmen'). In NN 2265:10-2 Pidukurda the ᴳᴵˢˣŠI.KACᴹᴱˢ ᴴᴬᴸku-ti-ra is described as a ᴴᴬᴸpír-ra-sa-ka₄ interrogating ᴴᴬᴸmar-ka₄-da-ra-ip (*hapax*, meaning unknown). The word *pirrasaka* is the Elamite rendition of OPers. *fraθaka(ra)-*, a word occurring in Akkadian as *iprasakku* and to be interpreted as a 'question-maker', i.e. an 'investigator'.[43] The role of the lanceman as 'investigator' may be related to his involvement of making a registry/inspection of workmen. Finally, Saupirra the ᴳᴵˢˣŠI.KAC⌜ᴹᴱˢ⌝ ku-ti⌝-ra recipient of wine in NN 2465, ᴬˢpár-ri-ba-taš ᴴᴬᴸEŠŠANA-na zí-⌜ia⌝-iš-da, "saw (i.e. inspected) the royal *parribataš*". The context of other occurrences of the word *parribataš* (OPers. *Paribāda-*, lit. 'protective enclosure')

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42 PF 0588, PF 0937, PFa 15, PFa 30:8-10, PFa 31:23-4, NN 1647, NN 1863, NN 2525, Fort. 6749.

43 Hinz, *Sprachgut* 1975: 97; Stolper, *Bibl.Mesop.* 7, 1977: 263-4. The word has three additional occurrences in the PF corpus: pír-ra-šá-kur-ra (NN 0217, reflecting the full form of the OPers. word), [ᴴᴬᴸ]pír-ra-iš-šá-ik-ka₄ (NN 0540) and ᴴᴬᴸpír-ra-šá-kur-ra (Fort. 3568).

strongly suggests that it was a 'sheepfold', thus providing an unique case of a lanceman involved in inspecting a herd of small cattle.[44]

Exit der Posaunenbläser - Returning once more to the initial question of the 'Posaunenbläser', it is clear now that the contexts in which these individuals occur, fit the activities of *lancemen* quite well. Ušbanuš the ^{GIŠ}SI<.KAK>^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra (PF 1245) has been making a registry (*karamaraš huttašda*) and is accompanied by 3 ^{HAL}pu-hu li-ba-ap ('boy servants'). Muššadda the ^{GIŠ!}ši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra (PF 1343) is part of a travelling group of 6 *šalup* ('gentlemen') and 12 *libap*.[45] As discussed before, Ukbarawiš the ši-ik-ka₄ ⌈ba⌉-gi-ra (NN 0904) travels with an identical number of 6+12 people, undoubtedly the same group. Finally, both PF 1245 and NN 0904 mention a sealed document from the king, which is a regular feature of the lancemen-texts (see **above**).

ripi-kutip - Three texts mention a ^{AŠ}ri-pi-k[u]-ti-ra⌉ (NN 1657:3-4), ^{AŠ}ri-pi ku-ti-i[p] (NN 0516:7) or ri-pi ku-ti-ip (PF 1247:4-5). The *ElW* s.v. 'h.ri-pi-.ku-ti-ip' comments: "*Lanzenträger* (pl.) für sonstiges G IŠ.ŠI.DÙ.lg.ku-ti-ip." This interpretation takes *ripi* as the Elamite equivalent for ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ}

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[44] See PF 2025 and PF 2070. For the interpretation of *parribataš* as OPers. **pari-bāda-* see I. Gershevitch *apud* Hallock, *PFT*: 675.

[45] It is possible that Muššadda is in fact identical to Miššadda the *irt ibara* / *išt ibara* (NN 0588, NN 0937, NN 1863; see table **below**).

but does not provide any arguments for this. As *ripi* is not attested elsewhere in Elamite, only a contextual analysis can throw some light on the matter.

In NN 0516, Bašizza and Kamezza, recipients of wine, are described as ^{HAL}ba-ir-taš-be ('Persians'?), ^{AŠ}ri-pi ku-ti-i[p] (…), mu-iš-šá-ap ('accountants'). The name Kamezza occurs frequently in the PF archive and was certainly used by at least two individuals.[46] Among these occurrences there is a text (NN 2556) in which a Kamezza receives beer for four men *karamaraš-be* ('registrars'; cf. above) carrying a sealed document from the king. Several times lancemen are designated as 'registrars'. Moreover, the term may well be equivalent to *muššap* ('accountants') in NN 0516. In another text (NN 2041:14-7) a Kamezza and two companions receive wine - they are designated as ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ HAL}ku-ti-ip who inspected the road (⌈^{AŠ}⌉KASKAL^{MEŠ} *hašip*; see **above**). It is tempting to connect these three texts, perhaps adding PF 1415 in which a Kamezza received flour in a travel party consisting of two *šalup.* There is no means of proving that in these four occurrences the same individual is referred to,[47] but it does

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[46] In NN 0516 the name is written ^{HAL}ka₄-ma-a-za. This OPers. name, reconstructed as *kāmaiča-, is most frequently rendered as ^{HAL}ka₄-me-iz-za. This type of spelling variation is quite common with Iranian names ending in -*aiča-*. Compare har-be-iz-za, har-ba-a-iz-za (*arbaiča-), da-ri-iz-za, da-ra-iz-za (dāraiča-), etc.

[47] It should be noted, however, that none of these four texts bears an impression of PFS 0009* or PFS 0011*, seals that are impressed on most tablets mentioning

seem quite likely, which would support the interpretation of the *ElW* for ^{AŠ}ri-pi ku-ti-ip.

A certain Tamšakama is introduced in NN 1657 as ^{HAL}ba-ir-da ^{AŠ}ri-pi k[u-]ti-ra ^{HAL}še-ir-šá da-ma ('Persian, *ripi*-bearer, sent by Xerxes').[48] His travel party, proceeding from the king to Persepolis, consists of 3 men and one boy/servant - again a sealed document from the king is mentioned. A Tamšakama travelling with 6 *šalup* (PF 1506) and with 20 *šalup* and 60 boys/servants (NN 1465) respectively may be the same individual. Also, a Tamšakama son of Kambezza (cf. above) is mentioned as travelling alone from Persepolis to Susa, receiving a large ration (5 bar) of flour.

Lastly, Zamuš and his companion, ri-pi ku-ti-ip in PF 1247, are introduced as *irdumartiya dama mušap* ^{HAL}EŠŠANA *seraš* ('accountants sent by Irdumartiya, the king ordered it'). Their

Kamezza. PF 1415 has no seal, NN 0516 has an unidentfied seal different from PFS 0009* and PFS 0011*. NN 2556 has PFS 0055, a seal that is firmly associated with small travelling parties. The unidentified seal on NN 2041 is not relevant to the discussion, as this text is a journal with multiple entries.

[48] The reading *Šerša dama* (not a second PN 'Šeršadama') can acertained by the calculation of total amount of flour in the text. As for ^{HAL}ba-ir-da: the interpretation 'Parthian' may seem more attractive, but Parthians do not occur elsewhere in the archive and in the royal inscriptions they are always referred to as ^{DIŠ}pár-tu-maš-be, ^{DIŠ}pár-tu-ma-ip, etc. *Barda* for 'Persian' is supported by ^{AŠ}pa-ir-za (PF 1546, NN 0493) and ^{AŠ}pár-du-mar (NN 0428).
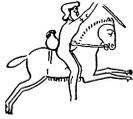
activity is clearly related to that of Bašizza and Kamezza in NN 0516. Zamuš occurs once more, in NN 3016, with 3 men and 6 boys/servants, probably a travel party.

The image presented by the three texts on *ripi-kutip* suggests at least the possibility that they were lance-bearers as well. This appears from their association with the king (*halmi*, order from the king), their partaking in elite travel parties and their activity as *muššap* ('accountants'). Related texts on Kamezza in particular add to the evidence linking the *ripi-kutip* to the lancemen identified thus far. It may be, however, that the *ripi-kutip* held a higher status than the other lancemen as two of the three texts identify them explicitly as 'Persian(s)' - a highly unusual epithet in the PF corpus.[49] In this context, the text on Tamšakama, son of Kambezza receiving a high amount of flour may be relevant (NN 1465, cf. above).

Bakadad(d)a - In NN 0885:3-4 Hallock transliterates ^{HAL}ba-ka₄-da-ud-da hi-še ^{GIŠ}si-ut k[u]⌈ti-ra⌉, rejecting his earlier reading si-ka₄. On the character read as either QA or UD he commented in the margin of his manuscript: "possibly KAK? See SI.KAK as error for ŠI.KAK", but he later rejected this comment as well. His second reading si-ut is glossed "rubble"

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49   Otherwise only attested in texts on 'Persian *puhu* ('boys', 'servants', 'pupils') copying tablets' (PF 0871, PF 1137, NN 1485, NN 1588) and as a destination or point of departure for journeys ('to/from the Persians', perhaps = Fārs; 7 occurrences in NN 2195).
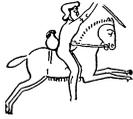
in the manuscript, which would make Bakadad(d)a a 'rubble carrier'. Now, QA and UD are often hardly distinguishable in the PF texts, but inspection of tablet NN 0885 indeed shows that UD is the preferable reading. Moreover, ^{GIŠ}si-ut would have a parallel in ^{AŠ}si-ut that occurs in DSf 22, 23 and DSz 22 for Old-Persian *θikā,* 'rubble' (referring to the rubble used for the foundation of Darius' palace).

A 'rubble carrier' would, however, constitute a *hapax* in the Fortification archive and this may have prompted Hinz and Koch to opt for Hallock's initial reading (*ElW* s.v.), accepting the word as a "Fehlschreibung für G IŠ.ŠI.DÙ.lg ku-ti-ra" (^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK-*kutira*). The contents of NN 0885 support this position. Bakadad(d)a receives flour from Mirayauda, which is consumed by 6 men and 12 boys or servants (*puhu*), and he carries a *halmi* ('sealed document') from the king. Such a *halmi* is not expected in the context of menial labour, nor is the ratio of 6 men and 12 *puhu*.[50] Both these factors are, however, quite common in texts on elite travel parties with

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[50]   At the end of NN 0885 it is stated that (Bakadad(d)a) pá[r²-d]u² mu-šá-is, 'he accounted the …'. The word *pardu* does not occur elsewhere (except for the GN ^{AŠ}pár-du-mar in NN 0428). The *ElW* s.v. 'ba[r-d]u' comments: "*Straße* (?), entspricht offenbar ap. *dātiš = KASKAL." Given the uncertainty of the reading and the absence of both additional attestations and an etymology, it seems better, however, to leave *pardu* untranslated. On the other hand, the verb *mušaš* does imply the activity of accounting or inspecting and is more befitting of a lance-bearer than of a rubble carrier.
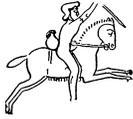
men or *šalup* accompanied by a larger number of *puhu* or *libap* ('servants, slaves'). In fact, a Bakadad(d)a occurs in PF 1297 where 6 men and 12 boys, travelling to Persepolis and holding a *halmi* by Bakabana, receive flour.[51] Moreover, there is a second text in which, like in NN 0885, a Bakadad(d)a receives flour from Mirayauda (PF 1396) and in this case he is again member of a travelling group.

Given the background described above, it seems unlikely that NN 0885 deals with a 'rubble carrier'. On the other hand, the reading ^{GIŠ}si-ka$_4$ ku-ti-ra, when interpreted as a variant to ^{GIŠ}SI.KAK^{MEŠ}-*kutira*, would fit the context quite well given what was said earlier on the activities of the lance-bearers. Additional arguments are:

1   Among the various individuals named Bakadad(d)a in the Fortification archive, at least one Bakadad(d)a is identifiable as a regular traveller, sometimes escorting certain groups or transporting ^{AŠ}*baziš* ('tax, tribute'; NN 2149, NN 2580).[52]

2   Perhaps the same Bakadad(d)a is designated twice as a

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51   The 12 boys/servants are omitted in this text, but their number is needed to explain the total amount of flour (see Hallock, *PFT*: 368). Other travel parties with 6 *šalup* and 12 *libap*: PF 1307, PF 1343, PFa 15, NN 0904.

52   Bakadad(d)a travelling: PF 1297, PF 1298, PF 1299, PF 1396, PF 1536, NN 0351, NN 0515, NN 0786, NN 1713, NN 2149, NN 2367, NN 2580 (possibly related: PF 1196, PF 1599, NN 0774, NN 1875, NN 2502, NN 3056).

pirraššaka / pirrašakurra, 'investigator' (NN 0217, NN 0540), a function elsewhere connected to a ^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ} *kutira*, 'lance-bearer' (NN 2265, cf. above with note 42).

3   Bakadad(d)a's group of 6 men and 12 boys or servants in NN 0885 may very well be the same group occurring in PF 1343 and NN 0904. These texts mention 6 *šalup* and 12 *libap*, receiving the same amount of flour as the group in NN 0885 and dated to the same month and year (IX/22). Incidentally, these texts mention a 'lance-guard': Muššadda the ^{GIŠ!}ši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra (PF 1343) and Ukbarawiš the ši-ik-ka₄ ⌜ba⌝-gi-ra (NN 0904). Interestingly, the word for 'lance' in all these three texts is written syllabically (not with the usual pseudo-logogram ŠI.KAK).

Taken together, the arguments presented here forcefully suggest that the reading ^{GIŠ}si-ka₄ ku-ti-ra should be adopted in NN 0885:3-4 and that (this) Bakadad(d)a should be counted among the lance-bearers identified thus far.

3 Synopsis

The following conclusions can be drawn from the various discussions above:

1   The word ka$_4$-ši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra in PF 1343:3-4 should be read $^{GIŠ!}$ši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra.

2   The word <ka$_4$->ši-ik-ka$_4$ ⌈ba$^!$⌉-gi-ra in NN 0904:3-5 should be read ši-ik-ka$_4$ ⌈ba$^!$⌉-gi-ra.

3   The word ^{GIŠ}SI^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra in PF 1245:2-4 should be read ^{GIŠ}SI<.KAK>^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra.

4   There is no such function as a 'Posaunenbläser' in the PF corpus; the *ElW* s.vv. 'qa-ši-ik-ki.ba-ak-ki-ra' and 'GIŠ.SI.lg.ba-ki-ra' should be corrected accordingly.

5   The ME and NE root *b/pah-* can plausibly be interpreted as 'protect'. The NE root *b/pak-* is possibly related and seems to convey a similar meaning.

6   The word ^{BE}su-un-ki-ba-ku-iš (^{BE}su-un-ki-ba-ki-iš) occurring in the Acropole archive is not a personal name, but an occupational designation for 'king's guard' .

7 ^{GIŠ}SI<.KAK>^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra, $^{GIŠ!}$ši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra and ši-ik-ka$_4$

⌜ba⌐-gi-ra should be interpreted as 'lance-guard'.

8   The activities of the 'lance-guards' are very similar to those of the other lancemen.

9   ^{HAL}ŠI.KAK ^{HAL}ku-ti-ra (^{GIŠ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ} ku-ti-ra), 'lance-bearer' is equivalent to ^{GIŠ}šu-kur-um ku-ti-ra (^{GIŠ}š[u-]kur-ra-um ku-ti-r[a]).

10   ^{HAL}ŠI.KAK ^{HAL}ku-ti-ra (etc.) and ^{GIŠ}šu-kur-um ku-ti-ra (etc.) are equivalents to ^{GIŠ}iš-ti-bar-ra (and related forms).

11   These three terms should preferably be translated as 'lance-bearer' (not 'spear bearer').

12   The activities of the lancemen in Persepolis include:
A.   escorting or partaking in elite travel parties;
B.   (assisting in) inspections of workmen;
C.   inspecting the (royal) road;
D.   inspecting the royal sheepfold.

13   Texts on lancemen reveal a strong connection to the king and the royal domain.

14   The function of the ^{AŠ}ri-pi ku-ti-ip is clearly related to that of the lancemen. They may represent a special group of lance-bearers.

15   The reading ^{GIŠ}si-ut k[u]⌜ti-ra⌐ in NN 0885:3-4 should be
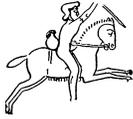
rejected in favour of the reading $^{GI\check{S}}$si-ka$_4$ k[u]⌐ti-ra⌐. The Bakadad(d)a involved should be counted as 'lance bearer'.

Further research - The corpus of texts on lancemen discussed in this note can easily be expanded by prosopographic study and contextual analysis to some 100 texts, creating a corpus that has the capacity to increase the knowledge of the Persian homeland military in a considerbale way. To facilitate such research, all the lancemen explicitly identified as such by one of the terms discussed in this article are listed in the table on the following pages.[53]

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[53]   In the column headed by 'halmi' two cases are included where instead of *halmi* an equivalent to that term is used: NN 0937 (*miyatukka*) and PF 1247 (^{HAL}EŠŠANA *šeraš*).
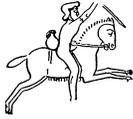
text	date	PN	OD	halmi
PFa 30:8	VII/21	Ambaduš *c.s.*	SI.KAK^{MEŠ} ku-ti-ip (*dat tšmarraš-be*)	Ø
NN 0885:3-4	IX/22	Bakadad(d)a	^{GIŠ}si-ka₄ k[u]-⌈ti-ra⌉ (*pá[rˀ-d]u mu-ša-iš elite travel party*)	king
PFa 19:4-6	Ø/Ø	Irdabada	^{GIŠₓ}šu-kur-um ku-ti-ra (*dat š mušiš*)	Parnaka
PFa 22:2-3	Ø/22	Irdabada	^{GIŠₓ}ŠI.KAK ku-ti-ra (^{AŠ}KASKAL^{MEŠ} *hašašda*)	king
PFa 23:1-4	Ø/Ø	Irdabada *c.s.*	^{GIŠₓ}ŠI.KAK ku-ti-ip (*unspecified*)	king
NN 2041:14-5	Ø/19	Kamezza *c.s.*	^{GIŠₓ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ HAL}ku-ti-ip (⌈^{AŠ}⌉KASKAL^{MEŠ} *hašip*)	Ø
NN 0516:3-7	XII-II/23	Bašizza & Kamezza	^{AŠ}ri-pi ku-ti-i[p] (*bart aš-be … mušǎp*)	Ø
PF 1286:3-4	II/22	Kaumakka	^{HAL}ŠI.KAK ^{HAL}ku-ti-r[a] (*elite travel party*)	Ø
NN 0900:1-3	Ø/Ø	Kuršabana *c.s.*	^{GIŠₓ}ŠI.KAK⌈^{MEŠ}⌉ ^{HAL}ku-ti-ip (*unspecified*)	king
NN 1747:5-6	X-XII/Ø	Mannanda	^{GIŠₓ}š[u-]kur-ra-um ku-ti-r[a] (*kurt aš … hašašda*)	Ø
NN 2493:42	IX-XII/19	Mannanda	^{GIŠₓ}ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ} ku-ti-⌈ra⌉ (*kurt aš mušašda*)	king
NN 2522:2-4	X/22	Mannanda	^{GIŠₓ}iš-ti-bar-ra (*elite travel party*)	king
NN 0588:3-4	Ø/Ø	Miš(š)adda	ir-ti-bar-⌈ra⌉ (*dat imara*)	Ø
NN 0937:1-5	Ø/Ø	Miš(š)adda	^{HAL}·iš-ti-bar-ra (*dat t imaraš*)	king
NN 1863:3-4	Ø/Ø	Miš(š)adda	⌈ir-ti⌉-bar-ra (*dat imara*)	Ø

text	date	PN	OD	halmi
PF 1343:3-5	IX/22	Muššadda	^{GIŠ!}ₓši-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra (elite travel party)	Ø
PFa 31:23	Ø/22	Nakmanda	^{DIŠ}ir-iš-ti-bar-ra (*dat t imaraš-be*)	Ø
NN 2265:10	Ø/20	Pidukurda	[^{GIŠ}]ŠI.KAK^{MEŠ HAL}ku-ti-ra (*pirrasaka*)	king
PFa 15:3-4	Ø/15	Raštukka	[iš-ti-bar]-ra (*dat t imara*; elite travel party)	Ø
NN 2195:10	Ø/Ø	Raštukka	^{GIŠ}⌈ŠI.KAK⌉^{MEŠ} ku-ti-ra (travelling alone)	king
NN 2465:3-5	Ø/17	Saupirra	^{GIŠ}ₓŠI.KAK⌈^{MEŠ} ku-ti⌉-ra (*parribat aš ... ziyašda*)	king
NN 0739:3-4	II/22	Šatarma (Šaturma)	^{HAL}ŠI-KAK ^{HAL}ku-ti-ra (elite travel party)	king
NN 1657:3-4	III/24	Tamšakama	^{AŠ}ri-pi k[u-]ti-ra! (elite travel party)	king
NN 1189:2-3	VIII/22	Tarpiš (Turpiš)	^{GIŠ}ₓŠI-KAK k[u-ti-ra] (elite travel party)	king
NN 2195:12	Ø/Ø	Tiriya	^{GIŠ}ₓŠI.KAK^{MEŠ} ku-ti-⌈ra⌉ (travelling alone)	Mitarna
NN 1647:3-4	Ø/Ø	Ubaruda	ir-ti-bar-⌈ra⌉ (*dat imara*)	king
NN 0904:3-5	IX/22	Ukbarawiš	ši-ik-ka₄ ⌈ba!⌉-gi-ra (elite travel party)	king
PF 1245:2-4	VI/Ø	Ušbanuš	^{GIŠ}SI<.KAK>^{MEŠ} ba-ki-ra (*karamaraš hut t šda*; elite travel party)	king
PF 1247:3-5	V-VI/22	Zamuš c.s.	ri-pi ku-ti-ip (*mušap*)	king
NN 2195:4	Ø/Ø	⌈HAL⌉x y -⌈man-⌈na⌉?	^{GIŠ}ₓŠI.KAK^{MEŠ} ku-ti⌉-ra (travelling alone)	king

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