

26) Two phonetic complements in Achaemenid Elamite Iranica – In 1989 the French scholar François Vallat published an article¹ in which he pointed out that some Elamite words and variant spellings used phonetic complements to clarify the character of a CVC-sign. Examples are ^dha-na-ma-kaš vs. ^dha-na-ma-kaš^{iš}, pa-ráš-da vs. pa-ri-ráš-da and pa-ráš^{iš}-da, ^mRa-tin-da vs. ^mRa-tinⁱⁿ-da, etc.

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

1) Ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še

The word ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še is found in an unpublished Fortification text (PFNN 2264: 5).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

In order to get to a better understanding of this word, it is useful to have a look at the context in which it occurs. Information on this was supplied by Hinz & Koch, according to whom the text is dealing with an *amma* (account) of 21390 units of barley (line 3). In line 4 1700 of these 21390 units are being dispensed (ma-ka-ka₄). Finally line 5 mentions 170 units and the word ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še. Accordingly this word is being used to designate one tenth of the dispensed barley.

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

¹ F. Vallat, “Les compléments phonétiques ou graphiques en élamite achéménide”, *AION* 49 (1989), 219-222.

² W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch (AMI. Ergänzungsband 17)*, Berlin 1987, p. 19.

³ The numbers quoted are the ones from Hallock’s MS of the NN texts, collated on the tablet by M.W. Stolper.

the exact rate of the *abbabarka* is not known, but it could very well be one tenth of the dispensed barley.

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

The *abbabarka* appears in the same contexts as the *abbakana* and can thus be considered a special tax too. Now that the context is known better one can look for the Old Iranian word, which is rendered by *ab-ba-bar-ka₄-še*. In my view the reconstruction **apabarga-* of Hinz & Koch is not tenable. A more plausible reading is revealed, when one considers the sign BA to be a phonetic complement, yielding a reading *ab-^babar-ka₄-še*. Such a reading can easily render an Old Iranian **apārga-*, a compound of the prefix **apa-*, “away”⁵ and **arga-*, “value, worth”⁶. This etymology fits well the contextual (fiscal) meaning of the word.

2) ^{AŠ}Ku-rák-ka₄⁷ and ^{AŠ}Ku-ra-rák-ka₄⁸

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

⁴ H. Koch, “Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis”, ZA 70 (1980), 125-126.

⁵ OInd. *apa-* and Gr. ἀπό.

⁶ Cf. OInd. *árh-*, “to be worth”, Av. *arəg-*, “to be worth(y)” and NP *aržidan*.

⁷ Attested in PF 514: 5; PFNN 2121: 11-12.

⁸ Attested in PF 1969: 18,22, 2084: 14; PFNN 2372: 34.

⁹ R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Texts* (OIP 92), Chicago 1969, p. 715; W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 519.

¹⁰ W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 519, avoid any reconstruction. H. Koch, *Verwaltung*, p. 114, mentions **Kurakka-*, but adds a question mark to it.

¹¹ Spelled ^{HAL}Ku-rák-ka₄ (PF 791: 1-2; PFNN 1207: 2).

¹² I. Gershevitch, “Amber at Persepolis”, *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata*, vol. 2, Roma 1969, p. 201; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Tafelchen* (SÖAW 286), Wien 1973, 8.863; W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (GOF Ir. 3), Wiesbaden 1975, p. 154.

In her study on the Fortification texts, Koch situates Kurakka in the Persepolis-district, while Kurarakka should be situated in the south-western district.¹³ Kurarakka was a larger place, where several officials were at work: *Āθrava-, *Bagafarnah-, *Rašnuka-, Šimut-ap, and *Vinduka.¹⁴

Unlike the relatively large amount of information on Kurarakka, the information on Kuraka is very scanty. This place is attested in only two texts (PF 514 and PFNN 2121) and the persons, connected with Kuraka, cannot with certainty be related to another place: Kelizza as well as *Parθara- do not occur elsewhere and *Bagadāta is a name that widely spread that one cannot connect it with only one individual. The only remaining personal name in PFNN 2121, *Arbamiθra-, might bring one a little bit further. This person is named in connection with some other place names such as ^{Aš}An-tur-ma, ^{Aš}Pír-mi-ia and ^{Aš}Zí-ka₄-ra. Koch does not situate ^{Aš}An-tur-ma, but she does situate ^{Aš}Zí-ka₄-ra in the south-eastern district and ^{Aš}Pír-mi-ia in the south-western district,¹⁵ the same district where one has to look for Kurarakka.

Conclusively we can assume that both texts, mentioning Kurakka, do not give any clue to a connection between Kurakka and the Persepolis district. Nevertheless PFNN 2121 might lead one towards a connection between Kurakka and the south-western district, although this is very uncertain. It is thus perfectly possible that both names, Kurakka and Kurarakka, refer to the same place. In this case one just has to read ^{Aš}Ku-r^rák-ka₄ with -ra- as a phonetic complement.

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¹³ H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden (Beihefte zur Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften 89)*, Wiesbaden, 1990, pp. 261 and 279.

¹⁴ H. Koch, *Verwaltung*, pp. 114 and 279.

¹⁵ H. Koch, *Verwaltung*, p. 72 n. 325, 90 n. 394, 274 and 287-288.