

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	XVII-XVIII
Transliteration of Achaemenid Elamite	XIX-XX
Abbreviations	XXI-XXX
1. Bibliographic abbreviations; 2. Other abbreviations; 3. Sigla;	
4. Glyphs and editorial symbols.	
I. ĚJIYĀ AND PARSIP	1-63
§1.0. Introduction (p. 1).	
§1.1. A place of desolation (p. 2).	
§1.2. Elam in post-Assyrian times (p. 4).	
§1.3. Intermezzo: from Hanni to Xerxes (p. 8).	
§1.4. The State of Elam (p. 10);	
§1.4.1. Fragmentation revisited (p. 12);	
§1.4.2. The stability of the Elamite state (p. 14);	
§1.4.3. The Elders of Elam (p. 17);	
§1.4.4. The Princes of Elam (p. 20);	
§1.4.5. Elam's prosperity (p. 28);	
§1.4.6. Elam's regional network and trade relations (p. 35);	
§1.4.7. The State of Elam: a preliminary assessment (p. 39).	
§1.5. Ějiyā and Parsip (p. 41);	
§1.5.1. Living on the edge (p. 41);	
§1.5.2. Life in the highlands (p. 43);	
§1.5.3. Elamo-Iranica (p. 49).	
§1.6. Defining 'ancient Iranian religion' (p. 58).	
II. THE FORTIFICATION ARCHIVE	65-179
§2.0. Introduction (p. 65).	
§2.1. Discovery and study of the tablets (p. 69);	
§2.1.1. The Fortification wall (p. 69);	
§2.1.2. Uncovering the archive (p. 72);	
§2.1.3. Composition of the available sample (p. 75);	
§2.1.4. Representativeness of the available sample (p. 79);	
§2.1.5. Studying the archive (p. 83);	
§2.1.6. Missing archives (p. 83).	
§2.2. The multilingual Persepolis bureaucracy (p. 86);	
§2.2.1. Elamite texts (p. 86);	
§2.2.2. Aramaic texts (p. 89);	
§2.2.3. Akkadian, Greek, Phrygian (?) and Old Persian (p. 93);	
§2.2.4. Non-textual communication: seal impressions (p. 95);	
§2.2.4.1. Uninscribed tablets (p. 98);	
§2.2.4.2. Seal inscriptions (p. 99);	
§2.2.4.3. Seals with cultic imagery (p. 100);	
§2.2.5. Non-textual communication (<i>hiš</i>): tablet shapes (p. 102).	

- §3.1.3.6. Religious and secular contexts of *lašda* (p. 199);
- §3.1.3.7. Equivalents (p. 202);
- §3.1.4. Return to DBA (p. 203);
- §3.1.5. Summary (p. 206).
- §3.2. A monthly oblation for the gods: PF contexts of *lan* (p. 208);
 - §3.2.1. *lan* in Persepolis: a survey (p. 208).
- §3.3. Earlier explanations of *lan* (p. 214);
 - §3.3.1. Cameron and Hallock (p. 214);
 - §3.3.2. Enter Zarathuštra (p. 214);
 - §3.3.3. The triumph of Zoroastrianism (p. 215);
 - §3.3.3.1. *lan* and Auramazdā (p. 215);
 - §3.3.3.2. *lan* and geography (p. 217);
 - §3.3.3.3. Later publications by Koch (p. 218).
- §3.4. Koch on *lan*: a synoptic response (p. 220);
 - §3.4.1. A sacrifice for a particular god? (p. 220);
 - §3.4.2. Inventories (p. 222);
 - §3.4.3. Auramazdā and *lan* (p. 226);
 - §3.4.4. A remark on method (p. 228);
 - §3.4.5. A special sacrifice? (p. 229);
 - §3.4.5.1. The determinative (p. 229);
 - §3.4.5.2. Coverage (p. 230);
 - §3.4.5.3. Volume (p. 230);
 - §3.4.5.4. Regularity (p. 231);
 - §3.4.5.5. *lan* and *daušiyam* (p. 231);
 - §3.4.5.6. Involvement of the King (p. 231);
 - §3.4.5.7. Isolation of *lan* (p. 232);
 - §3.4.6. *lan* and the Iranians (p. 232);
 - §3.4.7. Animal sacrifices (p. 237);
 - §3.4.8. *lan* and geography (*bis*) (p. 238);
 - §3.4.9. A test case: Gisat and Matezzīs (p. 239);
 - §3.4.10. *lan* and the Elamites (p. 241);
 - §3.4.11. Summary (p. 242).
- §3.5. *lan* after Koch (p. 244);
 - §3.5.1. Endorsing the pre-eminence of Auramazdā (p. 244);
 - §3.5.2. Exit Zarathuštra (p. 245);
 - §3.5.3. Officiants or middlemen? (p. 246);
 - §3.5.4. Magian ‘titles’ (p. 249);
 - §3.5.5. Notions on Achaemenid religion (p. 249);
 - §3.5.5.1. The ethnicity of the Great God (p. 250);
 - §3.5.5.2. A jealously guarded ceremony (p. 251);
 - §3.5.6. *lan* and Elamite-Iranian acculturation (p. 251);
 - §3.5.7. *lan* as an autonomous term (p. 252).
- §3.6. Elamite *lan* (p. 254);
 - §3.6.1. Oblator in Middle Elamite (p. 255);
 - §3.6.1.1. Cultic activity at Hupšan (p. 255);
 - §3.6.1.2. *li-* and *liri-* (p. 258);
 - §3.6.1.3. Middle Elamite *lan-lema* (p. 259);
 - §3.6.2. Achaemenid Elamite *lankul* (p. 261);
 - §3.6.3. Month names with *lan* (p. 263);
 - §3.6.3.1. Lanlube (p. 263);
 - §3.6.3.2. Langilli (p. 265);

§3.6.4. Personal names with <i>lan</i> (p. 268); §3.6.5. Officials and cultic personnel (p. 270); §3.6.6. Humban and <i>lan</i> (p. 274); §3.6.7. Magical spells (p. 277); §3.6.8. Summary (p. 279).	
§3.7. The officiant's share (p. 281); §3.7.1. The state of affairs (p. 281); §3.7.2. Reconsidering the frequency of <i>lan</i> (p. 282); §3.7.2.1. Other regular offerings (p. 283); §3.7.2.2. A monthly sacrifice (p. 285); §3.7.2.3. <i>šumar</i> and <i>bašur</i> (p. 287); §3.7.2.4. The meaning of <i>gal</i> (p. 290); §3.7.3. Reconsidering the amounts reserved for <i>lan</i> (p. 291); §3.7.3.1. The ratio of grain and wine/beer (p. 291); §3.7.3.2. The scale of the allocations (p. 293); §3.7.3.3. <i>lan</i> in inventories (p. 295); §3.7.4. Allowance and ration (p. 296); §3.7.5. Elamite officiants and Achaemenid sacrifice (p. 298); §3.7.6. Title and designation (p. 298); §3.7.7. Parallels to <i>lan</i> (p. 299); §3.7.8. Summary (p. 303).	
§3.8. Evaluation (p. 304).	
IV. 'BABYLONIAN' GODS AND PERSIAN IDENTITY	305-351
§4.1. Adad (p. 305); §4.1.1. Mesopotamian roots (p. 306); §4.1.2. Adad in god-lists (p. 307); §4.1.3. An Elamite god (p. 308); §4.1.4. Continuity and change (p. 312); §4.1.5. A Persian god (p. 316).	
§4.2. Earth (p. 324); §4.2.1. Iranian antecedents (p. 327); §4.2.2. Elamite antecedents (p. 328).	
§4.3. Halma (p. 332).	
§4.4. The Persepolis pantheon (p. 334); §4.4.1. Elamite gods and Achaemenid sponsorship (p. 335); §4.4.2. The exclusivity of the Persepolis pantheon (p. 337); §4.4.3. Cherchez les Élamites (p. 343).	
§4.5. Summary (p. 350).	
V. HUMBAN AND THE KING	353-384
§5.0. Introduction (p. 353). §5.1. Humban's older history (p. 354). §5.2. Pre-Achaemenid popularity (p. 358). §5.3. Safe under the aegis of Humban (p. 364). §5.4. Humban in the Achaemenid period (p. 371); §5.4.1. A vegetarian god? (p. 374); §5.4.2. Zila-Humban (p. 376); §5.4.3. At the bank of the River Betir (p. 377); §5.4.4. The vocabulary of Humban's cult (p. 380). §5.5. Summary (p. 383).	

VI. THE ‘RELIGIOUS JOURNAL’ (NN 2259)	385-452
§6.1. Introduction (p. 385).	
§6.2. Text (p. 387).	
§6.3. Translation (p. 389).	
§6.4. Comments (p. 390).	
§6.5. Koch on NN 2259 (p. 415).	
§6.6. Why was NN 2259 drafted? (p. 417);	
§6.6.1. The uniqueness of the text (p. 417);	
§6.6.2. Livestock allocations in PFT (p. 417);	
§6.6.3. Royal patronage (p. 419);	
§6.6.3.1. Poultry (p. 420);	
§6.6.3.2. Sheep and goats (p. 421);	
§6.6.4. A model for food tagging (p. 422);	
§6.6.5. The economic and ideological rationale of sacrifice (p. 424);	
§6.6.6. A showcase of royal largesse (p. 425).	
§6.7. Sacrifice in paradise (p. 427);	
§6.7.1. Etymology and use (p. 427);	
§6.7.2. Divergent contexts (p. 429);	
§6.7.3. The tomb of Cyrus (p. 430);	
§6.7.4. The garden(s) of Pasargadae (p. 433);	
§6.7.5. Paradise as a sacred place (p. 434);	
§6.7.6. An Elamite precursor to paradise? (p. 441);	
§6.7.6.1. Elamite <i>husa</i> (p. 441);	
§6.7.6.2. EKI 48 (p. 443);	
§6.7.6.3. EKI 85 (p. 445);	
§6.7.6.4. Physical remains of Elamite groves (p. 449);	
§6.7.6.5. Elamite groves in art (p. 450);	
§6.7.7. Persian paradise: summary (p. 452).	
CONCLUDING REMARKS	453-454
APPENDICES	455-510
App. 1. NN 2202 (p. 455);	
§1. <i>lan</i> and Humban? (p. 455);	
§2. Text (p. 457);	
§3. Translation (p. 459);	
§4. Comments (p. 460).	
App. 2. <i>lan</i> in Linear Elamite? (p. 465);	
§1. Introduction (p. 465);	
§2.1 The values <i>la</i> , <i>li</i> and <i>an</i> (p. 466);	
§2.2. Confusion of Mer. 25 and Mer. 26 (p. 466);	
§2.3. No <i>lan</i> in Linear Elamite (p. 468).	
App. 3. <i>zivan</i> (p. 469).	
App. 4. Cumulative values of sacrificial commodities (p. 475).	
App. 5. Offerings listed in inventories (p. 479).	
App. 6. Relative topography of <i>lan</i> offerings (p. 481);	
§1. Introduction (p. 481);	
§2. Fahliyān region (p. 481);	
§3. Between Fahliyān and Persepolis (p. 483);	
§4. Kāmfirūz region (p. 486);	
§5. Persepolis region (p. 487);	
§6. North of the Royal Road (?) (p. 493);	

§7. Undecided (p. 496); §8. Conclusion (p. 496).	
App. 7. Relative topography of offerings for Humban (p. 499); §1. Introduction (p. 499); §2. Hidali (p. 499); §3. Tašpak-Hišema (p. 501); §4. Between Fahlyān and Persepolis (p. 504); §5. Umpuranuš (p. 504); §6. Parmandan-Pirdatkaš (p. 506); §7. Hatarrikaš (p. 507); §8. Barniš (p. 508); §9. Tikraš (p. 509); §10. Conclusion (p. 509).	
TEXT ABSTRACTS	511-565
Introduction (p. 511). ¶1. <i>lan</i> , <i>lan-lirira</i> and <i>lankul</i> (p. 511). ¶2. <i>Adad</i> (p. 519). ¶3. Earth (p. 520). ¶4. Humban (p. 521). ¶5. Napir(i)ša (p. 524). ¶6. Šimut, Nabbazabba, Halma and Nah (Nahhunte?) (p. 526). ¶7. Auramazdā (p. 527). ¶8. Mišdušiš (p. 529). ¶9. Išpandaramatiš (p. 530). ¶10. Naršanka (p. 531). ¶11. Mariraš (p. 532). ¶12. Pirdakamiya (p. 533). ¶13. Irdanapirruțiš (p. 533). ¶14. Minamu and Šetrabattiš (p. 534). ¶15. Turme a (p. 534). ¶16. Mountains (p. 536). ¶17. Rivers (p. 539). ¶18. <i>hapidanuš</i> and <i>tikrakkaš</i> (p. 541). ¶19. <i>kusukum</i> (p. 542). ¶20. <i>šumar</i> and <i>bašur</i> (p. 546). ¶21. <i>ziyan</i> (p. 547). ¶22. <i>šip</i> , <i>unši</i> and <i>pumaziš</i> (p. 549). ¶23. <i>akriš</i> (p. 551). ¶24. Offerings for months (p. 552). ¶25. (The) Mišebaka (p. 554). ¶26. Offerings "for the gods" (p. 556).	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	567-616
INDICES	617-670
1. Index locorum (p. 618); 2. Index nominum (p. 644); 3. Index verborum (p. 660).	