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978-1-107-01826-6 - Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia

Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre

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## EMPIRE, AUTHORITY, AND AUTONOMY IN ACHAEMENID ANATOLIA

The Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) was a vast and complex sociopolitical structure that encompassed much of modern-day Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan and included two dozen distinct peoples who spoke different languages, worshiped different deities, lived in different environments, and had widely differing social customs. This book offers a radically revised approach to understanding not only the Achaemenid Persian Empire but imperialism more generally. Drawing on a wide array of textual, visual, and archaeological material, Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre shows how the rulers of the empire constructed a system flexible enough to provide for the needs of different peoples within the confines of a single imperial authority and highlights the variability of their responses. This book examines the dynamic tensions between authority and autonomy across the empire, providing a valuable new means of considering imperial structure and development.

Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre is Associate Professor in the Classics Department at the University of Colorado Boulder. She has published articles in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Ars Orientalis*, *Anatolian Studies*, and the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. She is the author of *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* and *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society*.

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ACHAEMENID ANATOLIA

**Elsbeth R. M. Dusinger**

*University of Colorado Boulder*



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### WHY BOTHER?

“Why should people care about this book?” a scientist friend recently asked me. The answers to this are not limited to the simple “because it’s so interesting!” – which was my first response. The subject matter is interesting: how imperialism worked in the Achaemenid Empire; how people were folded into the empire; how that affected their lives and the ways they defined themselves; what differences and similarities are observed across the Anatolian peninsula and what explains those trends. Some of the artifacts recovered are exceptionally beautiful, a feature that conveys little information to a scholar but makes them a great pleasure to look at – this surely had an impact on their use and resonance in antiquity, even as it does today. Beyond this, though, I think it is important to understand how this ancient empire functioned – and not only because it can help us understand other ancient empires and the ways they were similar to or different from the Achaemenid. The book also matters because imperialism is scarcely a thing of the past.

Many of the problems people face in a situation that requires interaction with an empire remain fundamentally similar even if solutions to those issues change with time, geography, and cultural background. The actions of imperial authority in Achaemenid Anatolia, the ways people living in Anatolia reacted to or took on aspects of authority within an imperial context, the impact the empire had on how people lived and expressed themselves: these are important and valuable in analyzing modern societies too. Understanding autonomy and the situations in which people act autonomously within an empire matters as much as understanding the actions and motivations of top-down authority. When and where was autonomy granted by authorities? When did a person or group of

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people act autonomously without the authority to do so? What were the effects of these actions? It is extraordinary that enough material concerning Anatolia in the Achaemenid period is preserved that we can consider these behaviors in antiquity. If we wish, it can allow us a glimpse into our own lives as well.

## A NOTE ON EVIDENCE

An enormous amount of evidence exists concerning Achaemenid Anatolia. It includes literary documents, archives, and inscriptions in Anatolia and elsewhere. The residua of satrapal palaces have been unearthed, and so has the everyday detritus of non-elite people. Mortuary assemblages, structures, and art have been found across Anatolia. Sculptures, sealstones, paintings, and terracottas afford glimpses into people's lives and priorities. Sealed bullae attest to archives, military structures show us the army, temples indicate gods, and coins demonstrate ideology and practice combined in a single artifact. Ceramic assemblages indicate people's dietary behaviors and how they developed; comparing the assemblages used by living people with those interred with the dead can illuminate ideologies. Because I have organized this book by behaviors and actions rather than by material or region, these different categories of evidence are repeatedly revisited to shed light on each issue. This is important because sometimes we have little direct evidence for, say, the co-option of local elites into the new imperial authority, but by combining the understanding gained through the study of Greek historical texts, mortuary sculpture, the architecture of power, and imagery on sealstones we can get a sense of what was happening and how.

There is currently more evidence for considering the lives of the elite in Achaemenid Anatolia than the non-elite, and this book reflects that bias. For instance, published mortuary material showcases the elite. Even a cemetery like Deve Hüyük, not one exclusively of the wealthy, is skewed in publication toward its more "valuable" contents (metals and jewelry rather than potsherds and skeletons), those being the materials for which people were willing to pay at the time it was dug. Recent excavations in Turkey are beginning to rectify this bias, but as yet the material is not fully available for study. This book therefore necessarily considers the lives and deaths of the elite in greater detail than those of the non-elite, although I have made every effort to include as much non-elite material as possible. The nature of the evidence varies according to place. Little mention is made in textual sources of Paphlagonia in the Achaemenid period, for instance, although there are archaeological remains. Grave stelae are common in some parts of Anatolia and so far unseen in others. Evidence for religious practice in Achaemenid Armenia is hard to find, although much evidence exists in other parts of the peninsula; evidence related to domestic architecture is hard to find in the published literature at all. Greek literary sources have a great deal

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to say about Lydia. The coins of Cilicia have been particularly well published. Intensive and extensive regional studies have been conducted in parts of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, with recent exemplary publications. Tombs with painted interiors have been published from Lydia, northern Lycia, and southwestern Phrygia. Gordion has had its entire ceramic assemblage discussed in detailed publications, by excavators who were already familiar with Iranian as well as local and Greek assemblages. These exigencies have an impact on what we can say about different areas. I have tried to weave together as much information as possible, to explore particular behaviors and to trace some of those issues to which different Anatolian regions found similar or sometimes different responses.

## WRITING THIS BOOK

My love affair with Achaemenid Anatolia began during my first season excavating at Sardis, just after I graduated from college, when a sherd turned up in my trench of a cup shape I had never seen before, painted with narrow horizontal stripes in lively white and red. When the project director, Crawford H. Greenewalt, jr., next came by I asked him what it was. "That," he said, "is a sherd of the so-called Achaemenid bowl." I was hooked. This feeling was reinforced in the following months when I began graduate school and took first a course on ancient Near Eastern archaeology and then a seminar on Achaemenid art with Margaret Cool Root. The clincher was the moment in February that year when Greenewalt sent me a picture of the impression left by an Achaemenid-period cylinder seal from Sardis (IAM 4581) and then allowed me to write my seminar paper on it for Root. I love that seal; it still makes my heart go pitter-pat every time I see an image of it. From that study came first an appreciation of Achaemenid art and then a fascination with the ideology and practice of the Achaemenid Empire. The years I have spent working in Turkey since have served only to increase my love of Anatolia and interest in Achaemenid imperialism. This book is thus the culmination of twenty years of research.

Research and writing were made possible thanks to an ACLS/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellowship, a Loeb Classical Library Foundation Fellowship, and a University of Colorado Graduate School Faculty Fellowship. A series of three-dimensional digital maps with exceptional resolution were made by Professor Karl Mueller of the Department of Geological Sciences at the University of Colorado Boulder; their creation was funded in part by a University of Colorado Faculty Research Fund, a University of Colorado Dean's Fund for Excellence Grant, and a University of Colorado Kayden Research Award. I wish I could thank adequately all those who have helped me with their thoughts and expertise; they include Catherine Alexander, Annalisa Azzoni, Tomris Bakır, Elizabeth Baughan, John Boardman, Pierre Briant, Nicholas Cahill,

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1. Impression left by cylinder seal from Sardis. IAM 4581. Courtesy Sir John Boardman.

Olivier Casabonne, Henry Colburn, Hasan Dedeoğlu, Keith DeVries, Edward Dusingberre, William Dusingberre, Susanne Ebbinghaus, Margherita Facella, Mark Garrison, Jennifer Gates-Foster, Crawford Greenewalt, Sebastian Heath, Wouter Henkelman, Robert Henrickson, Deniz Kaptan, Şehrazat Karagöz, Vahap Kaya, Halim Korucu, Noel Lenski, Marjorie McIntosh, Michael Metcalfe, Margaret Miller, Jacob Morton, Karl Mueller, İlknur Özgen, Andrew Ramage, Christopher Roosevelt, Brian Rose, Kenneth Sams, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, StJohn Simpson, Peter Sommer, Gil Stein, Matthew Stolper, David Stronach, Lâtife Summerer, Geoffrey Summers, Mikhail Treister, Christopher Tuplin, Michael Vickers, Mary Voigt, Matthew Waters, Emily Wilson, Bahadır Yıldırım, Cem Yücesoy, and Paul Zimansky. I am particularly indebted to Amélie Kuhrt, Margaret Cool Root, and the two reviewers for Cambridge University Press, who provided comments on various drafts of this book. Any errors that remain are my own.

## ABBREVIATIONS

## ACHAEMENID TEXTS

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| DB  | Bisitun Inscription   |
| DNb | Lower register of Darius's tomb at Naqsh-i Rostam           |
| DNe | Names of peoples at Naqsh-i Rostam                          |
| DPd | Terrace Inscription of Darius at Persepolis                 |
| DPe | Terrace Inscription of Darius at Persepolis                 |
| DPf | Terrace Inscription of Darius (in Elamite) at Persepolis    |
| DPg | Terrace Inscription of Darius (in Babylonian) at Persepolis |
| DSf | Foundation Inscription of Darius at Susa                    |
| XPh | "Daiva" Inscription of Xerxes                               |
| XV  | Inscription of Xerxes at Van                                |
| PF  | Persepolis Fortification Tablet                             |
| PFS | Persepolis Fortification Seal                               |
| PT  | Persepolis Treasury Tablet                                  |
| PTS | Persepolis Treasury Seal                                    |

## CLASSICAL AUTHORS

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Ael. <i>De nat. anim.</i>   | Aelian, <i>De natura animalium</i>     |
| Ar. <i>Acharn.</i>          | Aristophanes, <i>Acharnians</i>        |
| Arist. <i>Analyt. post.</i> | Aristotle, <i>Analytica posteriora</i> |
| Arist. <i>De mundo</i>      | Aristotle, <i>De mundo</i>             |
| Arist. <i>Rhet.</i>         | Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i>            |
| Arr.                        | Arrian, <i>Anabasis</i>                |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Cic. <i>De senect.</i>  | Cicero, <i>De senectute</i>                             |
| Cic. <i>Poet. frag.</i> | Cicero, <i>Poetica fragmenta</i>                        |
| Ctes.                   | Ctesias, <i>Persica</i>                                 |
| Curt.                   | Quintus Curtius Rufus, <i>Historiae Alexandri Magni</i> |
| Dem.                    | Demosthenes   |
| Dio. Sic.               | Diodorus Siculus, <i>The Library of History</i>         |
| Hdt                     | Herodotus, <i>The Histories</i>                         |
| Hell. Oxy.              | Hellenica Oxyrhynchia                                   |
| Hom. <i>Il.</i>         | Homer, <i>Iliad</i>                                     |
| Isoc.                   | Isocrates   |
| Nepos <i>Alc.</i>       | Cornelius Nepos, <i>Alcibiades</i>                      |
| Nepos <i>Dat.</i>       | Cornelius Nepos, <i>Datames</i>                         |
| Plut. <i>Alc.</i>       | Plutarch, <i>Alcibiades</i>                             |
| Plut. <i>Alex.</i>      | Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>                              |
| Plut. <i>Artax.</i>     | Plutarch, <i>Artaxerxes</i>                             |
| Plut. <i>Mor.</i>       | Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>                                |
| Polyaen.                | Polyaenus, <i>Strategemata</i>                          |
| Ps.-Arist. <i>Oec</i>   | Pseudo-Aristotle, <i>Oeconomicus</i>                    |
| Strabo                  | Strabo, <i>The Geography</i>                            |
| Thuc.                   | Thucydides, <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>     |
| Xen. <i>Ages.</i>       | Xenophon, <i>Agesilaus</i>                              |
| Xen. <i>Anab.</i>       | Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>                               |
| Xen. <i>Cyr.</i>        | Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>                             |
| Xen. <i>Hell.</i>       | Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>                              |
| Xen. <i>Oec.</i>        | Xenophon, <i>Oeconomicus</i>                            |

## COLLECTIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| <i>FGrH</i> | <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>    |
| <i>FHG</i>  | <i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i>         |
| <i>IG</i>   | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>                    |
| <i>OGIS</i> | <i>Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> |
| <i>SEG</i>  | <i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>        |
| <i>SIG</i>  | <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i>          |
| <i>TAM</i>  | <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>                     |

## BOOKS/SERIES

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>Achaemenid Impact</i> | I. Delemen, ed., <i>The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.)</i> , Papers presented at the International Workshop Istanbul, 20–21 May 2005, Istanbul 2007 |
|--------------------------|--|

## ABBREVIATIONS

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>AchHist</i>                                  | <i>Achaemenid History</i>  |
| AES   | Archaeological Exploration of Sardis   |
| AMS   | Asia Minor Studien   |
| AOAT  | Alter Orient und Altes Testament   |
| <i>L'archéologie<br/>de l'empire achéménide</i> | P. Briant and R. Boucharlat, eds., <i>L'archéologie de<br/>l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches</i> , Persika<br>6, Paris |
| BAR   | British Archaeological Reports   |
| <i>CAH</i>                                      | <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>   |
| <i>CANE</i>                                     | J. Sasson et al., eds., <i>Civilizations of the Ancient<br/>Near East</i> , New York, 1995                                     |
| DJD   | Discoveries in the Judaean Desert  |
| <i>EncIr</i>                                    | <i>Encyclopedia Iranica</i>  |
| MDP   | Mémoires de la délégation en Perse   |
| OBO   | Orbis biblicus et orientalis   |
| OIP   | Oriental Institute Press   |
| SAOC  | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization   |
| SIMA  | Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology   |
| TSTS  | Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies  |
| UCPCS   | University of California Publications in Classical<br>Studies  |
| UMMAA   | University of Michigan Museum of<br>Anthropological Archaeology  |
| VAB   | Vorderasiatische Bibliothek  |

## JOURNALS

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| AA             | <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>   |
| AASA           | <i>Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica</i>                                  |
| AASOR          | <i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental<br/>Research</i>                |
| <i>AbhBerl</i> | <i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der<br/>Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i> |
| ACSS           | <i>Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia</i>                          |
| <i>ActArch</i> | <i>Acta Archaeologica</i>   |
| <i>ActIr</i>   | <i>Acta Iranica</i>   |
| <i>ActSum</i>  | <i>Acta Sumerologica</i>  |
| <i>AfO</i>     | <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>   |
| <i>AHB</i>     | <i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>   |
| AJA            | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>  |
| AJAH           | <i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>                                    |
| AJPh           | <i>American Journal of Philology</i>  |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>AJSemL</i>     | <i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>   |
| <i>AmAnt</i>      | <i>American Antiquity</i>   |
| <i>AmAnth</i>     | <i>American Anthropologist</i>  |
| <i>AMI</i>        | <i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>   |
| <i>AMT</i>        | <i>Archaeological Method and Theory</i>   |
| <i>AnatAnt</i>    | <i>Anatolia Antiqua</i>   |
| <i>AnatSt</i>     | <i>Anatolian Studies</i>  |
| <i>ANES</i>       | <i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>   |
| <i>ANSNNM</i>     | <i>American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>                                    |
| <i>AntCl</i>      | <i>L'antiquité classique</i>  |
| <i>AntJ</i>       | <i>Antiquaries Journal</i>  |
| <i>AntK</i>       | <i>Antike Kunst</i>   |
| <i>AnzWien</i>    | <i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse</i>                  |
| <i>ARA</i>        | <i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>  |
| <i>ArchEph</i>    | <i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i>  |
| <i>ArkeoAtlas</i> | <i>Arkeo-Atlas Dergisi</i>  |
| <i>ArsAsia</i>    | <i>Ars Asiaticus</i>  |
| <i>ArsOr</i>      | <i>Ars Orientalis</i>   |
| <i>ARTA</i>       | <i>Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology</i>   |
| <i>AS</i>         | <i>Arkeoloji ve Sanat</i>   |
| <i>AST</i>        | <i>Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>   |
| <i>AthMitt</i>    | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>                     |
| <i>AW</i>         | <i>Antike Welt</i>  |
| <i>AWE</i>        | <i>Ancient West &amp; East</i>  |
| <i>BAI</i>        | <i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>   |
| <i>BASOR</i>      | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>  |
| <i>BASP</i>       | <i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>  |
| <i>BCH</i>        | <i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>  |
| <i>BMCR</i>       | <i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review (<a href="http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/">http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/</a>)</i> |
| <i>BSA</i>        | <i>British School of Archaeology at Athens</i>  |
| <i>BSFN</i>       | <i>Bulletin de la société française de numismatique</i>   |
| <i>CA</i>         | <i>Classical Antiquity</i>  |
| <i>CAJ</i>        | <i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>   |
| <i>CAnth</i>      | <i>Current Anthropology</i>   |
| <i>CDAFI</i>      | <i>Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran</i>                                       |
| <i>CP</i>         | <i>Classical Philology</i>  |
| <i>CR</i>         | <i>Classical Review</i>   |
| <i>CRAI</i>       | <i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>                                |
| <i>CSCA</i>       | <i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>  |



## ABBREVIATIONS

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <i>DHA</i>       | <i>Dialogues de l'histoire ancienne</i>   |
| <i>EA</i>        | <i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>  |
| <i>EW</i>        | <i>East &amp; West</i>  |
| <i>HSCP</i>      | <i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>                                   |
| <i>HZ</i>        | <i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>  |
| <i>IAMY</i>      | <i>İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Yıllığı</i>  |
| <i>IEJ</i>       | <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>   |
| <i>IJAIS</i>     | <i>International Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies</i>                         |
| <i>IrAnt</i>     | <i>Iranica Antiqua</i>  |
| <i>IstForsch</i> | <i>Istanbuler Forschungen</i>   |
| <i>IstMitt</i>   | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul</i> |
| <i>JA</i>        | <i>Journal asiatique</i>  |
| <i>JAS</i>       | <i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>  |
| <i>JCS</i>       | <i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>   |
| <i>JdI</i>       | <i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>                         |
| <i>JEA</i>       | <i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>  |
| <i>JEOL</i>      | <i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>   |
| <i>JESHO</i>     | <i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>                 |
| <i>JFA</i>       | <i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>   |
| <i>JGS</i>       | <i>Journal of Glass Studies</i>   |
| <i>JHS</i>       | <i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>  |
| <i>JMA</i>       | <i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>                                     |
| <i>JNES</i>      | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>  |
| <i>JPolPhil</i>  | <i>Journal of Political Philosophy</i>  |
| <i>JRAS</i>      | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>                                     |
| <i>JRS</i>       | <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>   |
| <i>JSA</i>       | <i>Journal of Studies on Alcohol</i>  |
| <i>KF</i>        | <i>Kleinasiatische Forschungen</i>  |
| <i>KST</i>       | <i>Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>  |
| <i>LAAA</i>      | <i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>                         |
| <i>MDAFI</i>     | <i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran</i>                |
| <i>MDAIK</i>     | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>    |
| <i>MesArch</i>   | <i>Mesoamerican Archaeology</i>   |
| <i>MIAA</i>      | <i>Material Issues in Art and Archaeology</i>                                   |
| <i>MJBK</i>      | <i>Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst</i>                                    |
| <i>MKKS</i>      | <i>Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri</i>  |
| <i>NAPR</i>      | <i>Northern Akkad Project Reports</i>   |
| <i>NC</i>        | <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>   |
| <i>OAJ</i>       | <i>Oxford Art Journal</i>   |
| <i>OCTS</i>      | <i>Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies</i>                                      |

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|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| <i>OJA</i>      | <i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>                                 |
| <i>ÖJh</i>      | <i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i>    |
| <i>OpAth</i>    | <i>Opuscula atheniensi</i>   |
| <i>PAPhS</i>    | <i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>             |
| <i>PCPS</i>     | <i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>             |
| <i>QDAP</i>     | <i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>       |
| <i>RA</i>       | <i>Revue archéologique</i>   |
| <i>RAN</i>      | <i>Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise</i>                            |
| <i>RBibl</i>    | <i>Revue biblique</i>  |
| <i>RdÉ</i>      | <i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>   |
| <i>REA</i>      | <i>Revue des études anciennes</i>                                    |
| <i>REG</i>      | <i>Revue des études grecques</i>                                     |
| <i>RhM</i>      | <i>Rheinisches Museum</i>  |
| <i>SM</i>       | <i>Schweizer Münzblätter</i>   |
| <i>StIr</i>     | <i>Studia Iranica</i>  |
| <i>StTroica</i> | <i>Studia Troica</i>   |
| <i>TTK</i>      | <i>Türk Tarih Kurumu</i>   |
| <i>TürkAD</i>   | <i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>  |
| <i>ZA</i>       | <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i> |
| <i>ZÄS</i>      | <i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>         |
| <i>ZDMG</i>     | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>       |
| <i>ZPE</i>      | <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>                    |
| <i>ZVS</i>      | <i>Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung</i>                 |