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Ethnic identity and ethnic labelling at Persepolis: the case of the Skudrians[*]

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1 Introduction

That the Achaemenids were aware of the ideological potential of their multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Empire is obvious from the royal inscriptions and reliefs, where the wide range of peoples constituting the Great King's realm is celebrated in lists and visualised in superimposed registers of gift bringers and platform-supporters (carrying the king), and from actual manifestations, such as the ceremonial army reviews and processions during which King of Kings paraded his ethnic riches.[1] Achaemenid awareness and recognition of ethnic identities existing within the Empire does not stop, however, at the message the king wanted to convey to his subjects, and to posterity. We find it again, though with different objectives and seen through a different lens, in many hundreds of tablets from the Fortification archive from Persepolis. Individual texts speak of workers, travellers and other individuals referred to as Indians, Babylonians, Carians, Arabs, Greeks, Egyptians, etc. Such ethnic labelling served administrative purposes, but may also have expressed some recognition of social and legal status. Beyond that, the archive illustrates another attitude found in the inscriptions: the acknowledgment of the fact that many languages were spoken by their subjects[2] and the embrace of a polyglot ideal in the creation of tri- and quadrilingual

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[*] Abbreviations used: EW = Hinz & Koch 1987; Fort. = Persepolis Fortification tablet in the National Museum of Iran edited by G.G. Cameron and collated by R.T. Hallock, C.E. Jones and M.W. Stolper (see fn. 4 below); NN = unpublished Persepolis Fortification tablet edited by Hallock; PF = Fortification tablet published in Hallock 1969; PFa = *idem*, in Hallock 1978; PFS = Persepolis Fortification seal; PN = personal name; PT = Persepolis Treasury tablet published in Cameron 1948; PT 1963 = *idem*, in Cameron 1965; qt. = quart (used for the measure written QA in Elamite texts and representing 0.97 lt.). See also fn. 150 below. As some readers may suspect, §3.1. of the original manuscript of this paper was drafted by Stolper, and the remaining sections by Henkelman. The present text reflects extensive discussions between its authors, however, and should therefore be considered our collective work.

[1] On the organisation and ideological purposes of the lists, reliefs and processions see (among others) Calmeyer 1982; *idem* 1983; *idem* 1987; Briant 2002: 172-180, 195-200, 908-11.

[2] Cf. *šar mātāti ša napḫar lišānu gabbi*, lit. "king of the lands of all tongues" in DE_a 15-6, etc. (cf. *CAD* L 214 *s.v. lišānu* 4c; Stolper 1984: 299 fn. 3).

texts with Elamite, Akkadian, Old Persian, Aramaic and Egyptian versions.[3] This attitude is, remarkably, reflected in the composition of the Persepolis Fortification archive: alongside a majority of Elamite texts and a substantial minority of Aramaic texts, we have single texts in Akkadian, Greek, Old Persian and, plausibly, Phrygian. The archive is therefore not only witness to a multi-ethnic Empire, it also constitutes a complex multi-lingual phenomenon of its own. Finally, the archive gives us, indirectly, some clues as to what constituted *Persian* identity amidst this abundance of cultures, traditions and identities.

Only a detailed, comparative analysis of all groups of non-Persians attested in the Fortification archive would allow the value of the tablets for understanding Persian attitudes towards multi-ethnicity to be fully appreciated. The sheer size and the unpublished state of parts of the archive keep us from proceeding along that road, however. Instead, we will give a brief survey of the Fortification archive and its relevance for the subject of this volume along with a case study of one particular group, that of the Skudrians, in an attempt to illustrate some of the possibilities and problems involved.

2 The empire at Persepolis

The Persepolis Fortification tablets, excavated in 1933/34 in the northeast Fortification section of the Persepolis terrace, are the remnants of an archive produced and kept by a large regional institution that had under its purview parts of present-day Fārs and a section of eastern Khūzestān. Their scope is largely limited to the intake, flow, storage and redistribution of locally produced edible commodities in years 13-28 of the reign of Darius the Great (i.e. 509-493 BC). Still, if only by the size of the surviving archive—nearly 5,000 out of an estimated 12,000 excavated Elamite tablets have been edited—the possibilities for quantitative research on life in the Achaemenid heartland are tremendous; these possibilities are just beginning to be exploited.[4]

Among edited and unedited Fortification documents, Elamite texts are most numerous. Second in size is a group of sealed but uninscribed tags; overlaps between the seals used on these documents and those on the Elamite ones, as well as their format and the fact that they were found with the Elamite texts, indicate that they form part of the same archive. The

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3 Royal inscriptions in other languages may have existed too; if we are to believe Herodotus, Darius I's two steles, one in Greek, the other inscribed with γράμματα ... Ἀσσύρια, were erected at the Bosporus (IV.87) and another one, perhaps also multilingual, was erected at the Thracian Tearos (IV.91); see West 1985: 281-2, 296, Schmitt 1988: 32-6. Compare also *Esther* 3:12 (royal decrees sent out in many languages and scripts).

4 Richard T. Hallock published 2,120 tablets (Hallock 1969; *idem* 1978). A small number of individual texts have been published by others. 2,699 additional texts have been edited by Hallock (or, in case of the 153 'Tehran texts,' edited by G.G. Cameron and and collated from photographs by Hallock). The edition of these texts in Arfaee 2008b appeared too late to be considered here. A full publication of the Hallock texts is under preparation. For an estimation of the total excavated corpus see Jones & Stolper 2008: 37-44. For surveys of the archive see Hallock 1985; Briant 2002: 422-71, 938-47; Henkelman 2008a: 65-179 (with full bibliography).

uninscribed tags are now starting to be published; their number may amount to as much as 4,500.[5] A third group is that of monolingual Aramaic texts, probably not more than *ca.* 700 in the total corpus.[6] These texts are to be distinguished from a small number of Aramaic dockets or endorsements written on Elamite tablets. Finally there is one text in Greek, one in a language and script identified as Phrygian, one in enigmatic script, one in Akkadian and one in Old Persian. Apart from the Akkadian legal text concerning a slave sale (Stolper 1984), all these unica seem to belong to the Fortification archive, at least in wider sense, as indicated by their shape, content, use of certain month names and/or seal impressions.[7]

As with all ancient archives, many things are taken for granted in the Fortification tablets. The scribes were uninterested in documenting the rationale behind what was just a daily routine for them, nor did they bother to write down details that would not serve the purposes of control and accountability—the two *raisons d'être* of the archive. A good example is the allocation of commodities for cultic purposes in the Elamite texts: in only a minority of cases (*ca.* 80 texts) are the divine beneficiaries actually named. Often just the *type* of offering is mentioned (*ca.* 110 texts) and in about one fourth of all cases sacrificial commodities are laconically said to be "for the gods" (*ca.* 60 texts).

Against this background it is surprising to find that the Persepolis scribes apparently had a keen eye for the Empire's ethnic diversity as it manifested itself in the accumulation of foreign workers, travellers and specialists in the region under their purview. For administrative purposes—at least as we understand them at first glance—it would have sufficed to identify groups of workers (*kurtaš*, from OPers. **grda-*, "domestic staff, workman") by the place where they were stationed and the official responsible for them. Instead we are often explicitly told that the workers were Lycians, Skudrians, Egyptians, etc.

2.1 Ethnonyms attested in the Fortification archive

In the available sample of nearly 5,000 edited texts, 26 ethnonyms occur, i.e. about as many as in the lists of nations in the royal inscriptions. No doubt, more are to be discovered in the unedited tablets. Quite regularly, we find groups and individuals travelling from distant parts of the empire to Persepolis or Susa (or 'the king,' i.e. the court). In such cases stating the origin of the travellers was, normally, sufficient for the administration. Once they had arrived and were staying for a longer period, however, we find them being referred to by ethnonym, 'Indians,' 'Arachosians,' etc. There are some cases in which there is documentation of a travel party from a named part of the empire for which the corresponding ethnonym is not

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[5] See Garrison 2008 for a preliminary survey; estimation of the number of uninscribed tablets: Jones & Stolper 2008: 44.

[6] On these tablets and the seals impressed on them see the provisional surveys by Azzoni 2008 and Dusinberre 2008; see Jones & Stolper *l.c.* for an estimation of the number of Aramaic monolingual texts.

[7] The Akkadian text (Fort. 11786) documents a slave sale and may be intrusive, although a transaction involving a slave girl is mentioned in an Elamite text (NN 2355:11-7). On the other unica see Stolper & Tavernier 2007 and Henkelman 2008a: 93-5, with bibliography. On the Phrygian text, see also below, §3.4. On multilingualism in the Fortification archive see Tavernier 2008. Akkadian, West-Semitic, Egyptian, Anatolian and Greek anthroponyms in the Fortification archive are discussed by *idem* 2002.

attested. Thus, on the basis of travel texts, one would expect stationary groups of Sagartians and Areians, but texts documenting such groups have not been identified as yet.[8]

In the table below, all ethnonyms attested in the edited Fortification tablets are listed.[9] The table only includes explicit cases: groups coming from, e.g., India, but not labelled as 'Indians' are not included here.[10] Some explanations and comments on the data in the table are given in Appendix 1.

	kurtaš	travellers	*puhu* & *libap*	specialists	other	total
Ākaufaciya?	/	/	/	1 /1	/	1/1
Arabs	/	195 /4	11 /1	/	/	206/5
Arachosians	/	/	/	/	3 /2	3/2
Arbelans	116 /3	/	/	/	/	116/3
Armenians?	44 /1	/	/	/	/	44/1
'Assyrians'	2,568+x /14	37 /1	/	1 /1	1 /1	2,607+/17
Babylonians	778+2x /11	186+x /8	604 /1	195 /18	6 /1	1,769+/39
Bactrians	172+2x /6	/	/	/	2x /2	172+/8
Cappadocians	850+x /12	1,166 /6	/	1 /1	/	2,017+/19
Carians	230 /2	/	/	/	x /1	230+/3
Carmanians	/	341+x /2	/	/	/	341+/2
Drangianians	/	7 /2	/	/	/	7/2
Egyptians	5 /1	1,427 /7	/	14 /5	2+x /4	1,480/17
Gandharians	290 /1	291 /1	/	/	1 /1	582/3
Greeks	>1125 /3	3x /3	/	/	17 /1	>1,142+/7
'Hattians'?	9 /1	/	/	/	/	9/1
Indians	52 /1	578+3x /19	/	/	1+x /2	399+/22
Lycians	2,563+6x /55	1,443 /6	/	/	40+x /4	4,046+/65
Macians	/	/	/	3 /3	/	3/3
Medes	/	/	/	291 /1	/	291/1

8 Texts on travel rations mention large groups of *taššup hallinup* (possibly military troops; cf. Koch 1993: 15) coming from Sagartia (PFa 31:2-4; NN 2040:4-6; NN 2261: 16-8, 19-21, 26-9), a group of 30 [*šalup*] (free men) and 27 *puhu* (servants) from Hyrcania (NN 2512; cf. Koch 1993: 34) and 588 men from Areia (PF 2056). The tablets also mention *labnan*, "the Lebanon," but only as travel destination (NN 1609; NN 1631).

9 Compare also Schmitt's pioneering study on named individuals with ethnic labels (1978).

10 Key to the table: in each column the number of persons and the number of texts are given (persons/texts). Stationary groups of *kurtaš* (workers) are listed under "*kurtaš*," whereas travelling *kurtaš* are listed under "travellers." Women receiving regular mothers' bonuses are included in the *kurtaš* category. Groups consisting only or for the larger part of *puhu* (lit. "boy(s)," but in this context "servants") or *libap* ("servants") are listed under "*puhu* & *libap*," unless they are travelling. "Specialists" are all individuals and groups not referred to as *kurtaš*, *puhu* or *libap*, and qualified in some way.

	kurtaš	travellers	*puhu* & *libap*	specialists	other	total
Paricani	/	40 /1	/	/	/	40/1
Parthians	/	/	/	85 /2	/	85/2
Persians	/	/	90 /4	/	/	90/4
Sardians	/	3 /1	/	9 /1	/	12/2
Skudrians	4,347+5x /52	1,340+x /5	159+3x /14	/	452+2x /7	6,298+/78
Sogdians	124+2x /4	/	/	/	168+x /2	292+/6

The numbers given in the table *are only of relative value*. They are based on an incomplete sample and do not take into account that the same group often occurs in more than one text.[11] Another problem is that some of the ethnonyms may be (partial) equivalents: the Paricani may also have been called Arachosians, 'Hattians' and Arbelans may both have been counted as 'Assyrians,' and Macians may have been understood to be Arabs. With these caveats in mind, the numbers still tell us that thousands of non-Persians flocked at the Achaemenid heartland at any given time during the period spanned by the Fortification tablets. More important, they provide us with an impression of the relative proportions of foreign groups within the institutional landscape. Thus, it appears that Skudrians by far outnumber all other groups[12]; they are followed by Lycians and 'Assyrians' (Syrians). Also, craftsmen, spearmen, scribes and other people with specialist professions occur more often among certain ethnic groups, notably those of the Egyptians and Babylonians.

2.2 Elamites, Medes and Persians

Perhaps most conspicuous in the table above (§2.1) are the absentees or near-absentees. Persians occur in only four texts that share the same specific context (Persian *puhu* copying tablets), Medes occur only once (quartermasters in PF 1262) and Elamites are not mentioned at all. It is probably no coincidence that these three *Iranian* groups remain largely unmentioned in the archive.

In the Fortification tablets, a host of deities is mentioned in texts on allocations for cultic purposes.[13] Among these gods is Adad, whose presence was the main ground for the long-held assumption that Babylonian gods were venerated at Persepolis and received state

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11 In some cases groups are easy to identify. There is no doubt, for example, that the 162 Arabs travelling to Makka(n) in PFa 17 are the same as those in PFa 29:54-5 (cf. Hallock 1978: 112). Similarly, we may follow the same group of 64-65 Cappadocians at Kaupirriš in years 22, 23 and 25 (NN 2470; NN 0513; NN 1720; PF 2039; PF 1016). In this particular case, the detailed evidence even shows us that four boys were promoted to a higher ration scale in August 499 and that, presumably, a fifth boy died between December 499 and June 497 BC. Such clear cases are regular, but form a minority. More often, groups can only be identified by a study of seals, connections between locations, personnel, etc., or cannot be identified with other groups at all. Given this uncertainty and in the absence of an encompassing study, we have opted for simply adding all numbers of foreigners given in the texts, even in those cases where this certainly implied double counting.

12 As already noted by Stolper *apud* Balcer 1988: 7 fn. 23.

13 See Henkelman 2008a: 305-51 for full discussion, with references and bibliography, of the subjects surveyed in this section.

sponsorship. This is not entirely accurate, however: Adad had been at home in Iran since the early second millennium and was worshipped by the Elamites down to the end of the Neo-Elamite period. When we meet him again at Persepolis, he occurs as a god with Elamite antecedents. All other gods mentioned in the tablets are of either Elamite or (Indo-)Iranian origin. This exclusivity deserves emphasis. Babylonians had been present in Iran from at least the later Neo-Elamite period onwards. Established communities, with their own internal organisation, existed at Neo-Elamite Hidali in western Fārs, at early Achaemenid Humadēšu/ Matezziš near the future location of Persepolis, and at Achaemenid Susa (cf. §2.4 below). There is a case to be made for the worship of Babylonian gods at such places, especially since Babylonian expatriate communities are known to have founded temples in western Iran.[14] Continued worship of Babylonian deities during the reign of Darius I seems only logical, but is not recorded in the tablets. Similarly, the votive graffito inscribed by Greek-speaking quarrymen on a rock in the limestone quarry near Persepolis and reading ΘΕΟΙΣ, "for the gods," provides elusive yet important evidence for the performance of sacrifices for Greek gods, but these deities remain, again, unmentioned in the tablets. So, though groups of Babylonians, Greeks, Egyptians, Lydians, etc. may have wished to venerate their proper gods and seem to have been allowed to do so by the authorities, they in any case received no state-sponsored commodities as sacrifices for their gods.

Despite the apparent exclusivity of the Persepolis pantheon, it has long been held that the Elamite gods belonged to a separate sphere and constituted a *Fremdkörper* that was tolerated, yet not wholeheartedly, by the authorities. In this view, Elamites were a subject population that clung to its old ('pagan') beliefs and cultic practices. The idea of two separate religious spheres, Elamite *versus* Persian, does not stand up to close scrutiny, however. Rather, we find that gods of Elamite and Indo-Iranian descent were treated indiscriminately, were served by people with Iranian and Elamite names and titles, and were often venerated at the same location. The background for this is undoubtedly to be found in the centuries of cohabitation of Indo-Iranian and Elamite groups on the Iranian plateau. In this view, a *Persian* identity and culture emerged, in the first place, from the acculturation and progressive integration of these two groups. The Persepolis pantheon may consequently be seen as truly Persian in the sense that it is both unitary in terms of identity (all the gods of Pārsa) and heterogeneous in the sense that the different cultural strands that contributed to it are still visible to us.

What is true for the divine, applies to the human world as well: 'Elamites' do appear in the Fortification tablets, but only as a travel destination, i.e. as a reference to the satrapy of Elam proper (Khūzestān; cf. Henkelman 2008a: 343-50). Nevertheless, there must have been a substantial minority of Elamite-speaking people in the region under purview of the archive. This is most clear in the case of the scribes of the Elamite tablets, some of whom (but certainly not all) were native speakers of the language. The circumstance that tablets

14 As the case of the Marduk sanctuary at Til Aššurî in northwestern Iran shows (see Henkelman 2008a: 337). Also, legal documents drawn up by the expatriate Babylonians sometimes invoke gods as guarantors of the agreements. Note especially BM 79013, from Ḫādalu = Hidali (Leichty 1983), a deposition recording the arrangement of a future inheritance before the "assembly of the Babylonians." The document invokes Šamaš and Ṣarpanitu, which could suggest the presence of divine symbols in this assembly.

from some regions within the institution's territory show a higher than average concentration of Elamite proper names and the use of Elamite month names are best explained from the assumed survival of milieus in which Elamite was the language of choice. It is a matter of speculation how many people spoke Elamite as their first language in the Achaemenid heartland at the time of Darius, but it would not be surprising to find that they outnumbered all the foreign groups of Babylonians, Egyptians, Skudrians, etc. The absence of 'Elamites' as a distinct group in the tablets is therefore most eloquent: Elamophony (and Elamonymy) was a present, but it was not a marker of an ethnic identity recognised in the administrative texts. Significantly, the only four cases where the ethnicity of the scribes of the texts is indicated, they are being described not as 'Elamites,' but as 'Persians.' That their ethnicity is indicated at all is, moreover, only to differentiate them from the frequently-mentioned *Babylonian* scribes (who wrote in Aramaic). Otherwise, 'Persians' do not occur, a logical circumstance in an archive predominantly dealing with Persians and Persian matters.[15]

That the ethnonym 'Mede' is also a great rarity may be explained by analogy with the 'Elamites.' It is hardly conceivable that speakers of Median dialects were as good as absent in the Persepolis economy—after all, many 'Median' forms and names are found transcribed in the Elamite of Persepolis—but their Median identity, if any, did apparently not matter for the administrators.[16] The single occurrence of "Median quartermasters" (PF 1262) may be explained as a means to distinguish them from *local* quartermasters, i.e. individuals who were employed within the Persepolis economy, who must have been considered 'Persian,' and whose ethnicity is therefore not indicated. The Median quartermasters, by contrast, seem to have been part of a group of *šalup* ("free men," *vel sim.*) and their servants who had come from abroad (Media) and stayed in Fārs for a limited time span.[17] If anything, these

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[15] Compare the Acropole archive from Neo-Elamite Susa (Scheil 1907 and *idem* 1911 n° 309) in which 'Elamites' occur only once ([BE]*ha-tam₅-ti-ib*[-*be*] in S 154:27) and 'Persians' (*parsip*) fourteen times (references in Vallat 1993: 210-1). For these *parsip*, and for the problem of the origins of Persian identity and its developments during the reigns of the Teispid and the early Achaemenid kings see also Henkelman [forthc. 2].

[16] Lewis (1980) suggested that the Datiya of NN 1809 be identified with Datis the Mede, the Persian commander at Marathon. If this Datis really was a Mede (Hdt. VI.94), it is certainly interesting that primary evidence from Persepolis does not identify him as such (but note that Plut. *Mor*. 305b, Paus. X.28.6 and *Suda* s.v. Δᾶτις call him a Persian; see also Briant 2002: 893). This case contrasts with that of Abbatema 'the Indian,' also a high-ranking individual travelling on the royal road (PF 0785, PF 1317 and PF 1558). Note that Abbatema's name can be interpreted as Iranian or Indian (Tavernier 2007a: 106 [4.2.57]). On Abbatema see Lewis 1977: 5 fn. 14, Koch 1986: 138, 140-1, *idem* 1993: 37-8, Giovinazzo 2000/01: 68-72, Bivar 1988: 205-6.

[17] The composition of the group of 118 *šalup* and 173 *libap* (servants), as well as the period they received flour (25 days rather than one or several whole months), is indicative of a travelling group whose stay in the region under purview of the Persepolis administrators was relatively short and temporary. Texts mentioning (Persian) quartermasters operating within the Persepolis economy: PF 0475, PF 0565, PF 1011, PF 1044, PFa 27, PFa 29:20-2. Compare the case of the 'Median' *bēl ṭēmi* in a text from the Eanna archive of Uruk (discussed by Stolper 1989: 302); here too the qualification seems geographical rather than ethnic and is explicable from the *administrative* context. For other (rare) references to 'Medes' in Achaemenid Babylonia see Jursa 2003: 171-2.

quartermasters were special because their affiliation with the Persepolis economy was temporary and indirect. They were outsiders in administrative terms, not because they were Medes. In other words: the label 'Median' was not used as ethnic, but as geographical qualifier. The Median quartermasters differed not only from their Persian colleagues, but also from groups of, e.g., Lycian *kurtaš* who were much more closely, and for a longer periods, incorporated in the institutional economy.

From an institutional perspective, speakers of Elamite, Median or Persian were all considered to be 'us,' whereas the qualification of groups, travellers and specialists as Egyptian or Carian meant that, as much as they were part of the empire, they were considered foreigners in the heartland. But what did this imply in practical terms apart from the circumstance that their gods were not sponsored by the state?

2.3 Administrative labelling

One could imagine that labelling groups of *kurtaš* (labourers) and individual specialists as Lycians, Egyptians, etc. was simply a means to say that they were foreign to the Achaemenid heartland and therefore subject to different treatment. This is, however, certainly not obvious from the tablets: groups of workers with ethnic labels appear to be as diverse as groups without such labels. There are, in both categories, *kurtaš* receiving base rations that barely reach the subsistence level, and specialists who receive much higher allowances. There are foreign *libap* and *puhu* (servants), but also *šalup* (free men). Also, as is particularly clear in the case of the Skudrians, expatriate groups were also eligible for various bonuses, such as the gratuities for mothers of newborn children (cf. §3.3 below).

If a difference in treatment is not immediately obvious, it might be that ethnic labelling was primarily a phenomenon rooted in the organisation of work groups. Such is suggested by a passage from Herodotus describing the work at the Mt. Athos, where groups of workers were divided κατὰ ἔθνεα and were assigned to digging separate stretches of the canal.[18] At Persepolis too, the administration may indeed have deemed it practical to keep ethnic groups together as much as was possible. In this context, it is interesting to compare the evidence from the tablets with the so-called *Susa Charter* (DSf/DSz/DSaa), a family of building inscriptions celebrating the construction of Darius' palace at Susa as an accomplishment emerging from the joint labour of the empire's many nations and as a unity forged from precious materials retrieved from the farthest corners of the oecumene, the "earth wide and far" over which the King of Kings held sway. Two versions of the same inscription (DSf and DSz) describe the building history as a series of steps undertaken by *pairs* of foreign teams: Carians and Greeks, Greeks and Lydians, Medes and Egyptians (twice), and Lydians and Egyptians.[19]

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18 Hdt. VII.23; on the passage see Briant 2002: 401, 411, 454-5 and Kuhrt 2007 II: 818.

19 Though the charter applies to Susa and the tablets to Persepolis, the differences between the two are most likely to be explained from the fact that the former is not a precise documentary source, but an ideological statement, principally designed to accentuate the vastness of the empire (materials from far-away places) and the harmony and order created therein by the King of Kings' (work teams with a variety of ethnic combinations). It has been argued that DSf and DSz (and DSaa) are variations of one text or parts of the same inscription-family rather than texts with a different historical background (Henkelman 2003b; compare Kozuh 2003 on XPb and XPd).

In the Fortification texts, there are only a few cases of two ethnonyms appearing jointly in a single text. Most ethnonyms do not appear in combinations; the exceptions are Lycians and the Skudrians. Lycians appear twice with Bactrians and six times with Skudrians. Texts that mention Skudrians and Lycians often also mention professional (rather than ethnic) groups known as *harrinup* and *pašap*.[20] This may indicate that a special (bureaucratic) context lay behind the combined appearances. Apart from the aforementioned cases, there is only one further combination: that of Bactrians and Indians (NN 0939).[21] None of the teams from the *Susa Charter* is attested at Persepolis, though some of the workforces in the Fortification tablets certainly were involved in building projects. But more significant is the fact that among 296 texts, there are only nine that mention more than one ethnonym.[22]

That groups of foreigners were, at least bureaucratically, kept separate can also be illustrated by the following case. Large groups of Egyptians were on their way to Tamukkan in years 21 and 23 of the reign of Darius.[23] It seems that these Egyptians were primarily stonemasons (or quarrymen), although there were also painters among them. Their activity is not difficult to guess: the Tamukkan mentioned is probably the coastal town/region of that name, known in Greek as (Cape) Ταόκη and in contemporary Babylonian documents as Taḫ(u)makka and Taḫuka.[24] The toponym should be situated in the region around modern Borāzḡān, the sub-province of Daštestān, which hosts a number of archaeological sites from the (early) Achaemenid period, including columned structures south of Borāzḡān itself. This complex, often referred to as a 'pavilion,' may be the remains of a regional palatial and administrative centre.[25] The Egyptians may have been involved in the building or extending of this site or other sites in the region. They were not the only workers involved in the project, however: substantial groups of Skudrians, Cappadocians and Lydians were directed

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20 Bactrians and Lycians: PF 1947: 59-61, 64-5. Bactrians and Indians: NN 0939. Lycians and Skudrians: PF 1006, PF 1823. Lycians, Skudrians and *harrinup*: PF 1172, NN 1827. Lycians, Skudrians, *harrinup* and *pašap*: PF 1171, NN 0916. Skudrians, *harrinup* and *pašap*: PF 1091. Skudrians and *harrinup*: NN 1198. Skudrians and *pirrašanaš* ("polishers"): NN 1396. See also Uchitel 1991: 130-2, who takes *harrinup* as an ethnic designation and thus arrives at the (unwarranted) conclusion that ethnically mixed teams are frequently found in the archive.

21 One more combination is found in the Treasury Tablets: PT 15 has 'Hattians,' Egyptians and Greeks.

22 An unprovenanced Achaemenid Elamite administrative text, YBC 16813, mentions Assyrians and Egyptians together (cf. fn. 37 below).

23 A group of 547 Egyptian *kurtaš* travelled to Tamukkan in Dar. 21 (PF 1557); they may have been stonemasons, like the group of 690 Egyptians travelling to Tamukkan in IV/23? (NN 0480). Compare also the 106 Egyptian stonemasons who were sent from Susa (to Tamukkan?) and received travel rations somewhere in the Fahliyān region (NN 1922). A group of 29 Egyptian painters (*karsup*) came from Tamukkan in III/23; these workers may also have been on their return journey.

24 Ταόκη: Ptol. *Geogr.* VI.4.2 (cf. VI.4.3, VIII.21.15). Taḫ(u)makka/Taḫuka: Zadok 1976: 72, Wunsch 2003: 112-4 and Tavernier 2007a: 397-8 [4.3.218-9]. See Henkelman 2008a: 116-17, *idem* 2008b: 304-10 and Tolini 2008.

25 See Boucharlat 2005: 236; further references in Henkelman 2008b: 306.

to the same place.[26] It would seem that the separate documents drafted to account for the rations issued to these various groups means that they acted as ethnically defined teams in the building program.

The case of Tamukkan is illuminating, but also irregular in the sense that the coastal town of this name (as opposed to inland Tamukkan) may not have fallen directly under the purview of the Persepolis administrators. It is not the only such case, however: at Kurra (possibly Κόρρα in Ptol. *Geogr*. vi.4.6) too, we find the nations flocking together: Babylonians, 'Sardians' (Lydians), Cappadocians, Lycians and Skudrians. Some of these are specialists, such as the Lydian blacksmiths (PF 0873). Others have designated tasks that may not have required much craftsmanship, such as the Lydian *nutannuyap*, stockyard-workers (PF 1142) and, possibly, the Babylonian GIŠGIRMEŠ-*huttip* (PF 0868, NN 1385).[27] Others again have no designation at all; this is the case with the Skudrians (NN 0750, NN 1968) and the Cappadocians (NN 1166). There are no texts relating to Kurra that mention two ethnonyms, even though some of the dates coincide, i.e. several groups were present and working there simultaneously.

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26 A group of 150 (female) Skudrians travelled to Tamukkan in iii/23 (PF 1363, PF 2055 and PFa 18). No less than 980 Cappadocians were sent to Ušbaka at Tamukkan in ix/21 (PFa 30:11-3). Two groups of Lycians were sent in the same direction: 303 in vi/21 (PFa 30:14-6) and 161 in ix/23 (Fort. 9408). Compare also the 74 *kurtaš* (no ethnicity indicated) sent to Tamukkan in Dar. 24 (NN 1858) and the eight stonemasons who are escorted to the same place in viii/20 (NN 0111).

27 The meaning of GIŠGIRMEŠ-*huttip* could be "vessel-makers." In Akkadian writing, (dug)GÌR is the regular logogram for *kirru*, "large vessel (for liquids)," but dugGIR is also attested, in Old Akkadian (*CAD* K 408-10 s.v. *kirru*; Borger 2004: 364). In Elamite, the use of GIR for "vessel, jar" could either be old (i.e. loaned at an early date), or result from homophonic simplification (cf. Neo-Elamite E.GAL for É.GAL, or the Achaemenid Elamite writing of NUMUN, when split between lines, as NU+MAN). This second possibility is especially attractive when GIR is a pseudo-logogram which was actually pronounced /kir/ or /kirrum/ in Elamite. That the profession of the Babylonians is indicated, may imply that they were not performing simple base labour. If so, and if our suggestion is correct, the GIŠGIRMEŠ-*huttip* were probably producers of vessels made from stone or metal (cf. Akk. *kirru*). This also agrees with the fact that some "vessel-makers" occur as individual recipients and are introduced by name (PF 1946:79-80; PF 2079; NN 2493:4-5). Earlier, Hinz (1971: 295) suggested that GIŠGIRMEŠ means "Obst-Saft," hence his "Scherbetbereiter" (*sic*) for GIŠGIRMEŠ-*huttip*. EW s.v. GIŠ.GIR.lg.hh.*hu-ut-ti-ip* followed this explanation ("Mostmacher, Scherbetbereiter"), adding that the logogram should be considered a 'pseudo-Sumerogram' and that it stands for Elamite *annan* or *innan*, "Most." GIŠGIRMEŠ-*huttira* (sg.) and *innan* indeed appear in the same text (PF 2079), but in different positions; nothing suggests that the words are equivalents. In addition, the identification with *annan* would leave the use of the 'pseudo-Sumerogram' GIR unexplained after all. It is true, on the other hand, that *annan* is regularly collocated with wine and is itemised, in liquid measure, at the beginning of wine calculations in journals (e.g., PF 1954, NN 0548) and accounts (e.g., NN 0091, NN 2196). *annan* was sometimes used to process (conserve) fruit (e.g., NN 0695, NN 1004) and could be *ramiya* "fine, refined" (NN 1637). It may indeed be unprocessed juice from grapes or young wine (cf. EW s.v. *an-na-an*, "Rebsaft, Fruchtsaft, Most"). There are no *annan*-makers, however, as there are GIŠGIRMEŠ-makers. Incidentally, the case of "GIŠINMEŠ wine" in NN 2492:1-2 must be an error (GIŠINMEŠ is normally used for "straw"), probably for *in-na-an*.

The feature that makes Kurra particularly interesting for our present question is that some of the relevant texts identify those responsible for the teams of workers by name. These officials, characterised by the term *šaramanna*, drew up the ration lists for groups under their command and ordered suppliers at local storehouses to issue the necessary commodities. They probably also kept rosters and running lists of the ration scales.[28] At Kurra different *šaramanna* officials were responsible for individual foreign groups: Rašda took care of the Lycians, Išbaramišduma of the Babylonians,[29] and Iršena of the Lydians.[30] This suggests that expatriate groups were indeed kept separate and that the circumstance that the individual texts rarely mention more than one ethnonym is a reflection of this practice. In this respect it is interesting to note that Rašda, a high-ranking official with direct links to the royal house, had a variety of responsibilities—as appears from the nearly hundred texts that mention his name—but commanded only teams of Lycians, not any other group of foreign workers.[31]

That the foreign workers at Persepolis and other sites in Fārs were being put to work as separate units may in some cases be due not so much to specialist craftsmanship but to a pre-existing internal organisation and hierarchy. This was certainly the case for the group of forty farm workers from Uruk's Eanna temple who were sent, during the seventh (?) year of Cambyses, to Matannan in Fārs to help construct a "palace of the king."[32] The temple was responsible for recruiting workers for corvée labour, and organising and financing their journey to Iran. A certain Lâbâši was given the responsibility to escort the workers and was held responsible for effectuation of the labour at Matannan. Given this background, mixing the Babylonians with other foreign workers and then dividing them into new groups assigned to work at Matannan would unnecessarily complicate matters, especially since the Babylonian workers would be in Persia for a limited time.

It is tempting to extrapolate from this case to the reign of Darius and the Fortification contexts. It must be admitted, though, that we cannot be sure that the corvée labourers from Uruk would have been considered as regular foreign *kurtaš* by the Persepolis administrators.

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28 Such lists were presumably kept on waxed boards, as in Neo-Babylonian administrative practice. On *šaramanna* and its implications see Henkelman 2008a: 128-31, 143 (with bibliography).

29 Išbaramišduma is mentioned in NN 1385 with 150 Babylonian ^GIŠGIR^MEŠ-*huttip*. In PF 0868 an Išbarina occurs with 56 Babylonian ^GIŠGIR^MEŠ-*huttip*. Both text pertain to Kurra. Given the contexts, it is highly likely that 'Išbarina' is an abbreviated form of 'Išbaramišduma.' Confirmation is found in a third text, NN 1380, in which 154 ^GIŠGIR^MEŠ-*huttip* occur, this time without being qualified as Babylonians. The composition of the group is nearly the same as in NN 1385, the document pertains to Kurra and is has an impression of PFS 0797, also found on the other two texts. Whereas the responsible official in NN 1385 is called Išbaramišduma, the one in NN 1380 goes by the name Išbarina. No doubt the same individual is meant.

30 In other places, notably Rakkan, (the same?) Iršena is responsible for various foreign groups; cf. Uchitel 1989: 226-9.

31 PF 0860, PF 1003, PF 1004, PF 1005 and PF 1142. In PF 1005 the Lycians are said to be "of Irdabama," i.e. belonging to the domain of the most economically active royal woman. As Rašda seems to have operated as her steward and many *kurtaš* under his command worked for Irdabama, it is not unlikely that all the Lycians in the five texts just mentioned belonged to her domain. Other Lycians of Irdabama: PF 1002.

32 On the text see Henkelman & Kleber 2007 and Henkelman [forthc.] §4.

The matter hinges on the vexing problem of the status of the *kurtaš*—were they seasonal workers on corvée duty or rather a dependent and even exploited part of the heartland population including large permanent communities of deportees?[33]

Bearing the above caveat in mind, one possibility should not remain unmentioned. As stated above, workers recruited for corvée labour by Babylonian temples would travel with their own sustenance, i.e. either commodities in kind or silver, since the payment of rations was part of the temples' obligation.[34] If they had their own supplies, such workers would not show up in the Fortification archive, since this corpus deals with the circulation of locally produced commodities (to workers and others), not with workers and their labour as such. If, on the other hand, foreign workers came with silver in order to obtain the required commodities locally, their appearance in the archive would not be illogical: it is easily imaginable that, in lieu of their silver, foreign teams would be incorporated in the local redistribution system and receive their daily rations from the institution's stores. If that were the case, it would be important to keep a separate dossier for each foreign group, so that their account could be settled. If external finance was of some importance in the labour carried out by foreign workers at Persepolis, it would help to explain the ubiquitous use of ethnic labels. The problem with this view is, however, that we have no way of testing this hypothesis: apart from the gangs of workers sent by Babylonian temples, there is no comparable information on groups from other satrapies.

2.4 The case of the Babylonians

The Akkadian text (Fort. 11786) found among the Fortification tablets is a regular slave sale. The document is unusual because it was not only found outside Babylonia, but was also drafted locally, before a group of local witnesses. It is the product of a community "of Babylonian permanent residents at an imperial political centre, who produced their own transactions in Babylonian form" (Stolper 1984: 309). It may well be that this community had its own internal organisation and was, as a collective body, recognised by the authorities at Persepolis. There is some evidence to support this view. An Akkadian text drafted at Neo-Elamite Hidali (BM 79013) speaks of a local "assembly of the Babylonians." Such an assembly also existed at Achaemenid Susa (PBS 2/I 100+). Two other Babylonian legal texts (BM 30704 and BM 30682), drafted at Humadēšu/Matezziš near Persepolis in the early Achaemenid period, mention a "chief of the merchants" (*rab tamkārē*). A functionary with

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[33] The most fundamental discussion on *kurtaš* at this point is that by Briant 2002: 433-9, 505-7, 940-2 (also citing previous views). Briant reaches the conclusion (p. 439) that "All in all, this was a situation much closer to slavery than the 'helot' type of rural dependency, a system in which the local peasants (the *laoi* of the Hellenistic inscriptions) continued to live in their villages with their families and continued to own property." Compare also the reflections of Dandamaev (1976: 189-94, 1989: 158-77 and various earlier publications) and Zaccagnini (1983: 262-4), describing the *kurtaš* population as largely consisting of (foreign) slaves, but also including conscripted/semi-free people, of Uchitel, who believes that the foreign *kurtaš* were temporary conscripts, not permanent settlers (1991), and of Aperghis who describes the *kurtaš* as being slaves in all but name (2000).

[34] For a recent survey see Janković 2008.

the same title appears in the Akkadian text found among the Persepolis Treasury tablets (PT 85).[35]

The above evidence tells us that expatriate communities of Babylonians in western Iran had their own internal hierarchy and social cohesion as well as bodies with legal power. Since two documents were actually found at Persepolis, among the Fortification and Treasury tablets respectively, these Babylonians must in some way have been involved in the Persepolis economy. Their involvement may have been very direct: as the "Babylonian scribes on animal hides," i.e. the regularly attested functionaries responsible for some of the Aramaic recording within the administration (cf. Stolper 1984: 308). If this assumption is correct, the apparent internal organisation and legal autonomy of the resident Babylonian community is even more conspicuous as it operated right under the nose of the administration. Under such circumstances, it would be hard to avoid the conclusion that the community of Babylonians had some recognised legal standing and interacted as such with the Persepolis institution.

If our reconstruction is correct, the question that arises from it is, naturally, whether similar arrangements applied to other expatriate groups at Persepolis. In other words, is it true that "the many national and ethnic labels used in Achaemenid texts were not merely a device with which vainglorious rulers expressed the vastness of their domains, and not only reflections of a tactical convenience with which administrators organized working parties with shared languages, but were also the result of some reality of legal behaviour that was necessary for the management of a polyglot, continental empire and observed in the Persian homeland itself" (Stolper 1984: 10; cf. Briant 2002: 438, 506)?

Unfortunately, the tablets yield hardly any clues to the internal organisation of foreign groups at Persepolis. It is easily imaginable that some were organised in ways similar to the ethnic communities under the *ḫaṭru* system in Achaemenid Babylonia, but we just do not know.[36] The only bit of evidence apart from that cited above is an unprovenanced Elamite administrative text (YBC 16813) on flour rations for Egyptians and Assyrians handed out (for distribution) to the *tipira muzribena*, "the scribe of the Egyptians." The use of Elamite in combination with the month name *nušanna* (i.e. Akk. Nisannu or Aramaic Nisan) plausibly situates the text in western Iran, perhaps at Susa, where an Egyptian community is well attested.[37] Though the location may be different, the administrative context is very similar to the ones

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[35] For bibliography on these texts see Henkelman 2008a: 337-40, fnn. 789, 791-4. See also Tolini [forthc.], who argues that the identification of Humadēšu and Matezziš near Persepolis is problematic and proposes a location further west.

[36] On *ḫaṭru*s with ethnic names see Stolper 1985: 72-9 (including Arabs, Carians, Cimmerians, Indians, Phrygians, Sardians, Tyrians and Urartians). On the case of the Babylonian Carians (or rather Egypto-Carians) and their internal organisation and hierarchy see Waerzeggers 2006.

[37] The text was published by Jones & Stolper 1986: 247-53. As the editors point out, Aramaic month names are in use in the Aramaic (and Greek) Fortification texts. They are never used in the Elamite texts, however, which seems indicate a different provenance of YBC 16813. On the Egyptians at Susa see Joannès 1984: esp. 81 ("une communauté ethnique bien circonscrite ... regie par un droit matrimonial coutumier qui lui est particulier"). On the Egyptian *tipira* and the implications of his title see Tavernier 2007b and *idem* 2008: 64-74. On the Egyptian scribes at Neo-Assyrian Nimrud see Zaccagnini 1983: 260 (with references).

we regularly find for expatriate groups in the Fortification texts. The text therefore adds some evidence of a recognition of internal organisation of foreign communities in Iran.

2.5 Tribal identities

There is a parallel to the use of ethnonyms *stricto sensu* in the Fortification texts: the use of Persian tribal names as a qualifier of individuals as well as groups of workers. A striking sample is NN 1581, a previously unpublished text on a Patischorian:

NN 1581 (Fort. 05908)

box 1003

no seal, hole in right tip

transliteration A.M. Arfaee & R.T. Hallock (collated)

obverse

1.   3 ME *mar-ri-iš* ⌈GIŠ⌉[GEŠTIN?]

2.   MEŠ HAL*ma-um-*⌈*ba?*⌉[-x]-

3.   *ra hi-še* HAL*mar-*⌈*tam₅?*⌉

4.   HAL*ba-ti-iš-ma-*⌈*ri*⌉-

5.   *iš* HAL*kam-bar-ma šá-*

6.   *ra-ma hu-pír-*

7.   *ri* ⌈*du*⌉*-iš-da*

lower edge

8.   AŠ*ak-ku-ba-an-*

9.   *mar* AŠ*ap-pi-iš-*

reverse

10.   *tap-da-an ku-iz-za*

11.   AN ITI MEŠ AN*ba-gi-*

12.   *ia-ti-iš* AŠ*be-ul*

13.   21-*me-man-na* HAL*na-*

14.   *su-uk*⌉*-ka₄ a-ak* HAL

15.   *šá-ri-za du-*⌈*iš*⌉-

upper edge

16.   *da*

¹⁻² 3,000 qts. of wine, ²⁻⁵ a Patischorian workman named Mamba[…]ra, ⁵⁻⁶ for whom Gobryas is responsible, ⁶⁻⁷ he received (it). ⁸⁻¹⁰ He transported (the wine) from Akkuban (to) Appištapdan. ¹¹⁻³ Seventh month, 21ˢᵗ year. ¹³⁻⁶ Nasukka and Šarizza received (the wine at Appištapdan).

l.2   *-ba-*: written over erasure; probably not *-ma-*.

NN 1531, obverse (3x), left edge and right tip, lower edge, reverse (3x) and upper edge.
Photographs Oriental Institute/Persepolis Fortification Archive Project

l.3   -*tam₅* (PÍR): only traces of two horizontal wedges remain, but they are comparable with *pír* in l.6. Hallock hesitantly read the sign as -*da*, but noted that DA is written differently in ll.7, 10, 16. At any rate, it is likely from comparison with PF 0047, PF 0048 and Fort. 3544 (also PF 0094) that a **varda-*, "workman" is referred to in our text. For final -*tam₅* expressing Iranian /-da/ compare *mi-ig-tam₅* for **migda-*, "fruit." Alternatively ^{HAL}*mar-⌈tam₅?⌉* may express the accusative **vardam*; generalised use of that case is not uncommon for Old Persian loans in Elamite writing, especially in words considered inanimate in Elamite (compare *da-at-tam₅* in DNa$_e$ 14-5 for *dātam*, *ka₄-an-za-um* for *ganza(m)* in NN 1564). It also occurs, occasionally, in anthroponyms (*ab-da-a-tam₅* for **Abdāta-* in NN 0742, perhaps ^{HAL}*ba-ri-iš-ka₄-na-um* in NN 2192; cf. Tavernier 2007a: 98-9 [4.2.1], 495 [5.3.3.20]). The spelling *mar-da-um* in PF 0048 and Fort. 03544 is another example and supports our ^{HAL}*mar-⌈tam₅?⌉*.

l.9   -*pi-* over erasure

l.15   -*ri-* over erasure

This text is conspicuous for various reasons: the fact that no supplier is mentioned (note that the tablet is also unsealed), the large amount of wine, the mention of Appištapdan, where a plantation frequented by the court was located, the involvement of Gobryas and, most interesting, the role of a *marda(m)*, "workman," introduced as a *batišmariš*, "Patischorian."[38]

Gobryas, mentioned as one of Darius' six helpers in the Bīsotūn inscription (DB$_p$ IV.84; cf. Hdt. III.70, 73, 78) and as the general who smote the Elamite 'rebellion' of Aθamaita (DB V.1-13), recurs in one of the captions on Darius' tomb at Naqš-e Rustam (DNc$_p$) as "Gobryas the *pātišuvariš* (Patischorian), lance-bearer of king Darius."[39] Gobryas, an in-law of the king (Hdt. VII.2), must have been a high-ranking Persian. This is corroborated by the Fortification tablets documenting the high rations received by him.[40] The combination of this evidence lead Briant to suggest that Gobryas might be a leading member of the (sub-)clan of the Πατ(ε)ισχορεῖς, mentioned as a Persian tribe by Strabo (XV.3.1).[41] This view seems now confirmed by NN 1581: the workman transporting the wine is a Patischorian, and probably for that reason acting under supervision of Gobryas (*kambarma šarama*). That the scribe needed to mark the tribal affiliation of the man was exactly to explain this jurisdiction. Seen as such, the mention of the tribal name 'Patischorian,' and probably also the use of the rare term *marda(m)*, "workman," serves as a tacit recognition of some different legal and social status possibly specific to certain social groups, perhaps Persian clans, that were in communication with but not fully integrated in the Persepolis economy (cf. Henkelman 2005b). The recognition of this status apparently was of importance for the Persepolis administrators.

38 The context does not support the idea that *batišmariš* is used as personal name (*pace* EW s.v. hh.*ba-ti-iš-ma-ri-iš*).

39 See Henkelman 2003a: 119-20. On the forms of the name Patischorian (*pātišuvariš*, **pātišxvariš*) see Eilers 1971, Tavernier 2007a: 29 [1.3.32], 62 [2.2.48], 74 [2.3.35]. In an unpublished Fortification text (Fort. 1904-101) ^{AŠ}*bat-ti-iš-mar-ra-an* occurs several times as the name of a place, perhaps a tribal town; on this text see Henkelman, Jones & Stolper [forthc.].

40 PF 0688 (100 qts. of wine during 3 days), NN 0210 (100 qts. of cereal products), NN 1133 (50 qts. of beer), NN 2533 (80 qts. of wine during 8 days). All these tablets are sealed with PFS 0857s, a remarkable seal discussed by Root 1991: 19-21 and Gates 2002.

41 Briant 1990: 83-4 (cf. *idem* 1984: 16).

As for *marda(m)*, it should be pointed out that the term occurs only in connection with prominent Persians: Kambarma/Gobryas, Karkiš/Gergis, Nariyapikna, and Bakabada. It is used very rarely and only in the phrase PN_1 *marda(m)* PN_2-*na*, "PN_1 workman of PN_2." Though a separate study is needed to establish the status of people designated as *marda(m)*, it can readily be concluded from the relevant contexts that the word probably points to people who are directly subordinate to high-ranking Persians, fell under their jurisdiction and were probably considered to be part of their Houses. From the perspective of the Persepolis administrators they were probably semi-external, hence their rarity in the archive.[42]

The single Patischorian of NN 1581 is not the only member of a Persian tribe mentioned in the Fortification texts. One could argue that the possible attestation an *ākaufaciya (^HAL*ha-ku-pi<-zí>-ia*), "dweller of the mountain land," in PF 1829 (cf. Appendix 1 q.v.) refers to a tribesman too, especially since the individual described as such is charged with the care of 280 head of livestock, presumably as a contract herdsman. Yet, *ākaufaciyā* appear in Xerxes' so-called Daivā inscription among the *peoples* (*dahyāva*) that constitute the Achaemenid empire (XPh_e 23/XPh_p 27). This perfectly illustrates that the boundaries between tribal and ethnic identities may be hazy at times. It also reminds us that a study of ethnicity and ethnic identities documented by the Fortification tablets would be incomplete without the references to groups recognisable as tribes, such as the *marappiyap* (Μαράφιοι), the *dapurip* (Ταπουραῖοι) and, perhaps, the *kušiyap* (Κοσσαῖοι).[43] And, finally, it indicates that the recognition of the status of Gobryas' Patischorian workman may be relevant for the presumed recognition of the legal status of Babylonians and other expatriate groups in Fārs.

2.6. The eye of the beholder

A sobering note may serve as conclusion to this section: though ethnicity is indicated often by the Persepolis scribes, it is not noted consistently. The Babylonian ^GIŠGIR^MEŠ-*huttip* (cf. fn. 27 above) of PF 0868 and NN 1385 are undoubtedly the same as the ^GIŠGIR^MEŠ-*huttip* of NN 1380, but in the last case their ethnicity is not explicit (cf. fn. 29 above). Similarly, the nine 'Spardian' blacksmiths at Kurra in XI-XIII/22 (PF 0873) may well be the same as the nine *kurtaš* who receive the same rations at the same place in VII-VIII/23 (NN 1309). Compare also PFa 17 and PFa 29:54-5, a rare case were we have both the original receipt and its summary as an entry in a 'journal' (register). In the former, travel rations for 62 Arabian *šalup* (free men) and 100 *libap* (servants) are mentioned; in the journal entry this has been summarised as 62 *šalup* and 100 *libap*. The last case is particularly intriguing: was the information of the

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[42] Compare Henkelman [forthc. 1] §5 on Karkiš and his *mardam* (Fort. 3544). *mardam* of Nariyapikna: PF 0048 (cf. PF 0047, *mardamardam*); *mardam* of Bakabada: PF 0094.

[43] *marappiyap* and *kušiyap* occur together in PF 0447, which lends credit to the interpretation Κοσσαῖοι for *kušiyap* (Uchitel 1991: 127 thinks of Nubians). *marappiyap*: PF 1797, NN 0203, NN 0363, NN 0862, NN 2065, NN 2165 (cf., as GN, Marappiyaš in PF 0909, PF 0910, PF 0911, NN 0546:32, NN 1211). *dapurip*: PF 0856, NN 2458. Though usually associated with the Caspian region, the Ταπουραῖοι are described as a tribe bordering Persis by Arrian (VII.23.1). On the Μαράφιοι see Benveniste 1958: 56-7, von Gall 1972: 263, 271, Schmitt 1978: 122, Henkelman 2003c: 213 fn. 115, Tavernier 2007a: 516 [5.4.2.35], 520 [5.4.3.4].

travellers' ethnicity no longer relevant at the time the journal was compiled?[44] This example nicely illustrates the need for meticulous analysis of all texts mentioning ethnonyms, as well as the related texts that do not, before exploring apparent anomalies.

3 Skudrians

Skudrians are not only the most numerous foreign group at Persepolis, they also appear in quite a number of different contexts. For this reason, a detailed case study on Skudrians and Skudrian affairs can shed some light on the particularities of ethnic groups at Persepolis and the reflection of their presence and activities in the institution's paperwork. Below, we offer a survey of Skudrians in Late Babylonian documentation, in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions and reliefs, and in the Fortification tablets. A table gathering the data from 78 Fortification texts that mention Skudrians is presented in Appendix 2. We also add some comments on the 'Skudrian question,' i.e. the thorny problem of the identity of the 'Skudrians,' which itself raises interesting issues of ethnic identity and ethnic perception.

3.1 Skudrians in Achaemenid Babylonia

It is striking that, whereas Skudrians are abundantly present in the royal inscriptions and in the Fortification texts, they seem to be virtually absent from the contemporaneous Babylonian record. We are not aware of any Achaemenid Babylonian legal or administrative text that mentions Skudrians, at least not with a recognizable form of the same ethnic term.

The most nearly comparable item is the personal name *Iskudurū* (*Uskudurū*), found in four texts from the Murašû archive of Nippur written between 6/VIII/31 Artaxerxes I and 17/VI/6 Darius II (BE 9 28a:5, 74:4; PBS 2/1 116:5, 122:7). It is the patronym of a man with an Iranian name, transcribed in Babylonian as *Ispatarū*. All four texts refer to a single individual. All are receipts for annual rent paid to proprietors of bow lands held on lease by the Murašû firm and family. The proprietors and their properties belonged to an organization called the *ḫaṭru ša Arūmaja*, also referred to in other texts from the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985: 72). Names and patronyms of other proprietors in the organization are Babylonian and Iranian, with Iranian names predominant among the patronyms (Zadok 1977: 113ff.).

Interpretation of the ethnic term *Arūmaja* eludes unanimity. The ascendant view, that it renders an Iranian name **Arva-* or **Arvaya-*, perhaps "brave one(s)" (formulated by Zadok and endorsed by Tavernier), suffers from an absence of any other mention of such an ethnicon. An older view, that it refers to people from Areia, Iranian *Haraiva-* (favoured by Eilers, Cardascia, and Dandamayev), suffers more from the fact that attested Babylonian transcrip-

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[44] Generally, ethnonyms are rare in journal entries. Of 296 texts mentioning ethnonyms, only 52 are journal entries and only three are accounts. This is, however, not really different from other text categories. Among texts (memoranda and journal entries) on travel rations, for example, only one out of eleven is a journal entry. This ratio is partly, but not exclusively due to the underrepresentation of journals in the edited sample. Compare the observations of Hallock 1969: 45 and 55 (though the numbers mentioned there are somewhat ameliorated by the larger sample of journal entries in the NN texts).

tions of Areia/*Haraiva*- have the expected vocalization *Ar(r)ēmu* (see Tavernier 2007a: 373 [4.3.12], citing earlier literature).

Interpretation of the personal name *Iskudurū* is also a matter of some uncertainty. Tavernier (2007a: 62 [2.2.50]) follows Schmitt (1994: 85) in rejecting the underlying form postulated by Hinz (1975: 225, *Skudrva-, that is, a form parallel to *Arva*-) as an "Unform," but retains the interpretation 'Thracian' (*Skudra-, the gentilic being identical to the ethnonym). Zadok (2004: 115) demurs even in this interpretation, suggesting that the name is wholly Iranian, representing an underling *Skauϑra-, "serious, grievous." Zadok's proposal makes the name etymologically compatible with the other patronyms found among this group of proprietors, and avoids the anomaly of an ethnicon thought to refer to the far northwest of the empire being used as a personal name or sobriquet by a member of a group thought to stem from the east or even far northeast.

The use of ethnic or geographical terms for personal names in these sources is not exceptional in itself: an apposite example is the hypocoristic *Arūmainā*, the patronym of another member of the *ḫaṭru* of *Arūmaja* mentioned in another Murašû text.[45] Nor is discrepancy between the ethnicon as name and the ethnicon as attribute without parallel: an apposite example is ᵐ*Muškaja* ᴸᵁ*Karkaja*, apparently "Phrygian, the Carian," one of a group of guarantors seeking release of a distrained debtor in a text from the Tattannu Archive fragment.[46] But if the name *Iskudurū* originated as (or was understood by a Babylonian scribe as) a reference to a population from northwestern Anatolia or even from Balkan Europe, and the ethnicon *Arūmaja* was a reference to a population originally from Iran, the geographical discrepancy seems improbably large.

Comparison between Elamite administrative texts from Persepolis and legal and administrative texts from Babylonia requires many caveats. For one thing, Babylonian documents, whether legal or administrative, mostly refer to members of a somewhat different socio-economic level of state dependents, to holders of property or holders of claims to income, not to teams of workers. For another, they normally use ethnic terms to identify named individuals or groups of named individuals, rarely to identify numbers anonymous workers, differentiated only by sex and ration allocations. Even so, considering that 'Skudrian' is the single most frequent ethnicon in the known Persepolis Fortification tablets, its apparent absence from a Babylonian textual record that represents a much wider span of time and social circumstances is startling, even more so if one anticipates a high frequency of references to originally western populations in Babylonian texts and a relatively higher frequency of references to eastern populations in Iranian texts. We may at least raise the possibility that for Babylonians, Skudrians might be subsumed under another ethnic term (e.g., 'Phrygians' or 'Lydians'), or represented by another, outwardly dissimilar term (like *Bannēšaja* beside *Karsaja*/*Karkaja* for 'Carians,' or *Ḫumaja* beside *Ḫilikaja* for 'Cilicians').

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45 BE 10 128:4, 22/--/7 Darius II, see Tavernier 2007a: 114 [4.2.113] with previous literature.

46 WZKM 97 280:2, 26/ıx/Acc. Darius II, see Jursa and Stolper 2007:260f. In a similar vein, perhaps, the landholding groups characterized as *Uraštaja u Miliduaja*, "Armenians and Melitenians," and as *Muškaja u Sapardaja*, "Phrygians and Lydians," (sometimes abbreviated as "Phrygians") in other texts from the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985: 78f.), or references to 'Greeks' with Lycian names (Zadok 2005:79, with earlier literature).

3.2 Skudrians in royal inscriptions and reliefs

Skudrians appear five times in the lists of lands/peoples in the royal inscriptions. As with most geographical names in these texts, there is some ambivalence between toponyms and ethnonyms:[47]

	Old Persian	Elamite	Akkadian
DNa	29. *s-k^u-u-d-r*	23f. ^{DIŠ}*iš-ku-ud-ra*	17. ^{kur}*is-ku-du-ru*
DNe	25. [...]	25. [...]	25. [...]
DSe	29. [...]	25. [...]	21. ^{kur}*is-ku-du-ur*
DSm	10. [...]	[...] [...]	10. [^{kur}*is-ku-du*]-*ru*^{ki}
XPh	27. *s-k^u-u-d-r«-a»*[48]	22f. ^{AŠ}*iš-ku-ud-ra*	22. ^{kur}*is-ku-du*<-*ru*>
A³Pb	25. *s-k^u-u-d-r*	25. ^{DIŠ}*iš-ku*<-*ud*>-*ra*	25. ^{lú}*is-ku-du-ru-a-a*

In the lists, *skudra-*/Skudrians is/are invariably collocated with (western) Scythians and/or Greeks; the name therefore logically refers to the northwestern part of the Empire.[49] A more specific location cannot be established on the basis of the royal inscriptions alone, since they cannot be regarded as precise documentary sources and since particularly the northwestern section of the empire is problematic in the lists. An additional problem is that, despite frequent assertions to the contrary, none of the royal inscriptions can be dated with precision within the reign of the king (notably Darius I) who commissioned them. Attempts at establishing a chronological sequence are often actually based on the lists of lands/peoples, an approach that easily leads to circular arguments.[50] Darius' Bīsotūn inscriptions form an exception to this rule. The main inscription does not mention *skudra-*/Skudrians among the 23 lands/peoples of the empire. If that absence is historically significant—which is not unlikely given the presence of Skudrians in every other list of lands/peoples—it provides a *terminus post quem* for the date the Skudrians came under Achaemenid control. The Fortification archive now adds the *terminus ante quem*: *puhu iškudrap*, "Skudrian boys/servants," appear in a Fortification text from Dar. 14 (508/7 BC).[51] Skudrians therefore may be assumed to have come under Darius' control sometime between 521 and 508/7 BC.

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[47] Cf. Vallat 1993: 115-6; Tavernier 2007a: 30 [1.3.37]. For DNe (formerly DN I-XXX) and A³Pb (formerly A³P) see Schmitt 1999: 1-25, *idem* 2000: 47-9, 119-22, and *idem apud* Calmeyer 2009: 35-41. There is also an Egyptian attestation, a caption (no. XVII) on the base of the Darius statue found at Susa reading *s₃-k₃-ṯ-rw-₃*, 'Skudra' (text: Kaplony-Heckel 1985: 612; statue inscriptions first published by Yoyotte 1972 and *idem* 1974). The known Canal Stelae, found in Egypt, presumably also had a caption identifying the Skudrian, but the text is not preserved on any of the published fragments (Posener 1936: 48-87, 181-9).

[48] See Schmitt 2000: 90 for an explanation of this form.

[49] Cf. Szemerényi 1980: 23-4. On the geographical organisation of the lists and the reliefs presenting the lands/peoples of the empire see Calmeyer 1982, *idem* 1983.

[50] As was stressed repeatedly by the late H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (e.g., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001).

[51] NN 2196 is an account text pertaining to Dar. 14-7. It mentions several expenditures for individual years. The *puhu iškudrap* appear in the first section (ll.21-2, 23-4); the allocations of wine are undated, but they are followed by a reference to Dar. 14. It is not entirely excluded that the alloca-

Achaemenid reliefs depicting the peoples of the empire add some valuable data regarding the Persian perception of *skudra-*. Apart from the base of the statue of Darius (cf. fn. 47 above), a Skudrian is represented as podium-bearer no.25 on the royal tomb reliefs; the identification is secured by the captions on tombs I and V (cf. DNe, A³Pb above).

Schmidt described the headgear of the Skudrians on tombs I, V and VI as "a Scythian hat with the characteristic cheek flap tapering under the chin," and a distinctive "bluntly pointed tip." Their clothing is described as "a Scythian cutaway coat," with fur-trimmed edges, and long trousers. On tomb IV, and perhaps II and III, the Skudrian wears a flat hat, a variation plausibly explained by Schmidt as an erroneous duplicate of the *petasos* of the adjacent Yauna takabara (26).[52]

It has repeatedly been observed that the Skudrians and the members of the so-called Scythian group are dressed in remarkably similar fashion. The cutaway coat with borders in combination with trousers is also worn by the Sogdian (7), the Choresmian (8), the Saka haumavarga (14), the Saka trigraxauda (15), and the Saka paradraiya (24). Another parallel is that of shoes with upturned toes worn by the Skudra, Choresmian and Saka paradraiya. The headgear of the Skudra, finally, is very similar (but not identical) to that of the Sogdian and the Choresmian. By contrast, the sculptors of the tomb reliefs clearly perceived the Yauna (23) and the Yauna takabara (26) as different from the Skudra.[53]

Possibly, Skudrians also appear as members of delegation no.19 on the Apadana staircase reliefs; they have the same headgear and spears, but there they wear a different costume.[54] The identification of Skudrians on some other Persepolitan reliefs is even less certain.[55] Tilia

tions date to Dar. 15, 16 or 17, but this does not seem likely. Note that there are also a number of texts dating to Dar. 18 that mention *iškudrap* (PF 1010, PF 1126, PF 1215, PF 1987:6-7, NN 0867, NN 2211:26-7, NN 2487:1-4).

52 Schmidt 1970: 150 and fig. 44 with table; cf. Roaf 1974: 130 and Hachmann 1995: 209 fn. 101.

53 For details see Schmidt 1970 figs. 39-52 (with tables) and, for tombs V and VI, Calmeyer 2009: 30-2 (with outstanding photographs in the plates section). See also Walser 1966: 55, and Herzfeld 1968: 348, 365. The Skudra of tombs II, IV and VI has a dagger attached to his belt, as the other members of the Scythian group do, but the Skudra of tombs I, III and V does not seem to carry one. Hachmann 1995: 211 interprets the dagger of the Skudrian as a sign that the Thracians were not really subjected to the King of Kings, but had concluded treaties with the Persians.

54 See Schmidt 1970: 150-1, cf. *ibid.* fig. 44 and pl. 103e. The Skudrians are the only ones in the 'Scythian group' to carry a pair of spears, an element that recurs with delegation 19. *Contra*: Roaf 1974: 130-2 (cf. fn. 55 below). For a description of the clothing of the 19th delegation see Walser 1966: 95-7 (comparing the shields to that of Thracian peltasts). See also Hachmann 1995: 197, 201-2, 209, 211.

55 Throne-bearer no.23 (depicted on a number of reliefs in the Tripylon and the Hundred Column Hall) is sometimes identified as the Skudra, because he again wears headgear similar to that of the Skudra on the tomb reliefs (see, e.g., Hachmann 1995: 209). His costume is different from the tomb reliefs, however: a tunic combined with a mantle held by a fibula. By contrast, throne-bearer no.20 (cf. delegation 7 on the western staircase of Darius' palace) has, as Roaf points out (1974: 131), the same headdress and cutaway coat as the Skudrian on the tomb reliefs, but in some cases wears a tunic underneath his coat (Hundred Column Hall). Roaf goes on to observe that throne-bearer no.23 shares similarities with the members of delegation 19 (Apadana), who, in turn, share some characteristics with a fragment from a relief from the palace of Artaxerxes I and a fragment from

and others have identified some Ionian or Anatolian features in the costume of these pur-ported Skudrians, but since the identification remains uncertain, such features can hardly be used for a definition of 'Skudrian.'[56]

3.3 Skudrians in Persepolis

In the corpus of Elamite texts edited by Hallock, Skudrians occur 78 times in memoranda, letter-orders and journal entries. A detailed discussion of these texts, according to their geo-graphical association, and a synoptic table are presented in Appendix 2 below.[57]

A range of spellings occurs for Skudrians: [HAL/AŠ]*iš-ku-tar-ra-ip/-be*, [HAL]*iš-ku-tur-ra-ip*, [HAL]*iš-ku-ut-ra-ip/-ap/-be*, [AŠ]*iš-ku-ut-ráb-be*, [AŠ]*iš-ku-ut-tar-ra-ip*, [HAL]*iš-ku-ut-tur-ip*, [HAL/AŠ]*iš-ku-ut-tur-ra-ip*. All these forms express Elamite /skutrap/, with suffixed -*p* to indicate plurality. This is also true for [HAL]*iš-ku-tur-la-ap* (NN 1827, NN 1909), which is the result of either a scribal lapse (omitting the last two wedges of RA and thus writing LA) or of r/l variation, which occurs in Elamite, but can also point to an Iranian background of the scribe (i.e. a milieu where /l/ and /r/ are not clearly distinguished). [HAL]*iš-ku-tur-ráš-be* (PF 2069, etc.) has the final -*š* often added to Old Iranian proper names and common nouns. [HAL]*iš-ku-ut-ri-ia-ip* represents /skutriyap/ (< OPers. **skudriya-*), an adjectival formation with -*iya* occurring in the expression [HAL]*kur-taš* [HAL]*iš-ku-ut-ri-ia-ip*, "Skudrian workers" (PF 1215 and NN 0867; the contexts are very similar).

One of the clearest features of the Skudrian corpus is the concentration in the Fahliyān region. Not only are there many texts pertaining to this region (at least 33 out of 78), but the actual numbers of Skudrians are also significantly higher than those pertaining to the Persepolis region. Although multiple texts are likely to refer to (parts of) the same groups, it may be estimated that at least one thousand (and probably more) Skudrians were active in the Fahliyān region. More precisely, it appears that Skudrians were primarily active in the western part of the region, i.e. towards the areas of modern Behbahān and Rām Hormoz. Another noticeable concentration is found in the so-called 'northern cluster' of towns along the route to Media. Thirteen journal entries record allocations to Skudrian *puhu*, "servants," a category that occurs rarely in other texts on Skudrians.

All Skudrians were not treated alike: there were groups receiving base rations, groups in which the women received higher than average rations, and groups of Skudrian *puhu* who invariably received higher rations. On the other hand, Skudrians seem to have been integrated

the western staircase of Darius' palace. He concludes that delegation 19 cannot be that of the Skudrians. On the Persepolitan reliefs see also Walser 1966: 51-67, Calmeyer 1982, *passim*. The image of a Skudrian on the base of the Darius statue from Susa is securely identified by an inscrip-tion (see fn. 47 above); this Skudrian also wears a mantle, like his compatriots on the Persepolis reliefs, but his clothing seems otherwise simplified (Roaf *l.c.*).

56 Tilia (1972: 284-7, 311; figs. 129, 139-47) identified Skudrian tribute bearers on reliefs belonging to the palaces of Artaxerxes I and Darius I; these figures have the same headdress, but with a costume that is "of a most elaborate design," including a richly embroidered cape with ornaments that Tilia interpreted as an indication of Ionian or Anatolian influence. Cf. the objections of Roaf (1974: 130-2 and fn. 55 above).

57 See also Vallat 1993: 115-6 (add NN 0068) and Tavernier 2007a: 75-6 [2.3.42]. Uchitel 1991: 129-30 discusses two groups of Skudrians.

in the institution's system of bonuses and extra rations: gratuities for mothers of newborn children were awarded as well as a variety of other bonuses, sometimes in the form of special commodities. Even rare meat allocations are found: a sheep or goat was given to travelling Skudrian women.

The geographical analysis of the texts on Skudrians confirms the general impression sketched in §2.3 above: that groups with different ethnic backgrounds were treated separately by the administration even though they worked at the same location. Whenever Skudrians appear alongside other workers identified by an ethnic label, Lycians are invariably that other group. Though the reasons for the joint appearance in the Fortification records may be a purely bureaucratic phenomenon, it is intriguing that the combination Skudrians-Lycians occurs six times (cf. §3.4 below).

The lives and fates of the Skudrians largely escape us. We find them travelling from Media to Tamukkan at the Persian Gulf coast, to and from Elam, and even from Arachosia or Gandhāra to Persepolis. Sometimes a single group of Skudrians can be followed over a certain period, but it is hard to assess the small fluctuations in their numbers: were people re-assigned, or did they die? One meaningful piece of evidence is a text (NN 2137) that states that Skudrians received barley as "seed of their own," implying a middle- or long-term stay in Persis and a settled existence, perhaps in Skudrian villages.

In a few cases, the Skudrians have designations, such as "grain-producers/processors," "grain storers," "wine-makers," "grooms," and perhaps "cattle keepers." "Stone cutters/polishers" were active at Tikraš, a town with a clear royal profile including the presence of an *iyan*, "palace, court." The Skudrian *puhu* in the 'northern cluster' may well have had a specialised profession, but this is not indicated. The "Skudrian named Šedda" who receives barley on behalf of (Skudrian) *puhu* (NN 0728:10-1) may be the same as the one who appears as *šaramanna* official in PF 1215, implying that Skudrians themselves could be admitted to the ranks of the administration. Note also that Šedda had an Iranian name (*Xšaita-).

3.4 Skudrians, Thracians and Phrygians

Ferdinand Justi saw the Skudrians as Macedonians because of the homonymy between *skudra-* and Σκύδρα, a town in northern Macedonia.[58] Though this theory was long accepted by many, Szemerényi has argued that it is historically implausible since Σκύδρα, though attested since late antiquity, was never an important town and would hardly have served to name

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[58] Justi 1884: 390, explaining *skudra-* as referring to "Thraken und Makedonier, von der Stadt Skydra" and *idem* 1896-1904: 455, "Makedonien, Skydra in Eordaia." Earlier, Justi interpreted *skudra-* as denoting "Thraken" (1879: 57).

a region or its inhabitants.[59] In addition, Macedonia was hardly fully incorporated in the Persian empire after *ca*. 513 BC (the generally assumed date of the Scythian expedition); this happened only as a result of Mardonius' expedition in 492 BC.[60] Since *skudra-* appears in a number of Darius' inscriptions (which cannot all post-date 492 BC), and, more important, in the Fortification tablets from 508/7 BC onwards, the interpretation 'Macedonians' should be excluded.

An alternative theory, advocated by Hammond, takes *skudra-* as a Phrygian word that left its traces in toponyms in the presumed Phrygian homeland, i.e. in Macedonia (Σκύδρα) and Illyria (Albanian Scutari/Işķodra/Shkodër), that was remembered by the Phrygians in Asia as a name connected to their ancient homeland, and that was subsequently used by the Persians as the name for the Thracian or Thracian-Macedonian satrapy.[61] Problems abound in this approach: apart from the fact that Hammond's maximalist view of Persian occupation

[59] So Szemerényi 1980: 24-5. The oldest references are found in Pliny (*NH* IV.10/34; first cent. AD) Ptolemy (*Geogr*. III.12.36; later second cent.) and Ael. Herodianus (*Grammatici Graeci* III.1 p. 265 Lentz; *idem*). Steph.Byz. s.v. Σκύδρα quotes Theagenes (FGH 774 F14), an author of uncertain date, whose work on Macedonia mentioned at least another nine Macedonian towns and probably more. On Σκύδρα see Oberhummer 1927 and Detschew 1957: 462 q.v. For early doubts on Skudrians as 'Macedonians' see Herzfeld 1968: 348, 365, who points out that the clothing of the Skudra on the tomb relief is not Macedonian, but Scythian. Archibald (1998: 84 with fn. 29, apparently unaware of Szemerényi's objections) argues that the Skudrians, attested in large numbers in the Fortification tablets, could be Paeonians (deported by Megabazus in the wake of the Scythian expedition; Hdt. v.12-5, 98). This suggestion is partially based on the assumption that *skudra-* is related to Macedonian Σκύδρα. A similar view is held by Pająkowski 1983: 252. Balcer 1988: 9-10 also connects the deported Paeonians with the Skudrians attested in the Fortification archive, but he does not explain *skudra-* from Σκύδρα and uses only the fact that Paeonians were deported as an argument (while acknowledging that deportation was a common practice in the Achaemenid Empire). For Σκύδρα compare also Albanian Scutari (modern Shkodër, Ottoman Işķodra); see Clayer 2004.

[60] Hdt. VI.44.1. On the Scythian expedition and its traditional date (based on an ancient synchronism between the campaign and the murder of Hipparchos in the *Tabula Capitolina*) see Harmatta 1976: 15-7 (discussing the reliability of the synchronism and arriving at "between 515-513 BC" as the probable date range for the expedition), Balcer 1988, Hammond & Fol 1988, Briant 2002: 142-6, 156-7, 904-5, Archibald 1998: 80-7.

[61] Hammond 1972: 414 (following Πέτσας 1964: 9-10, 44-8), *idem* 1980: 58 fn. 20; cf. Hammond & Griffith 1979: 59-60, Fol & Hammond 1988: 246-7. Even if the toponym Κύδραρα (on the border of Lydia and Phrygia according to Hdt. VII.30) can be related to Macedonian Σκύδρα and Κύδραι (town of the Bryges; Strab. VII.7.9; cf. Zgusta 1984 §§641, 1399), it remains to be shown that the name is Phrygian and that it was used to refer to the Phrygian homeland. Also, Haas' tentative etymology of Κύδραρα (referred to by Hammond), takes it as a non-Phrygian form *derived* from Phrygian **udro-* (1966: 70-1), which, in turn, can hardly have resulted in *skudra-*. In addition, if assonance is the only criterion, one might explain *skudra-* just as well as Scythian on the basis of Κυδραῖος, the name of a Scythian king according to Ctesias (fr.7 Lenfant). For a tentative connection between Κυδραῖος and *skudra-* see Schmitt 2006: 248 (see *ibid*. 276-7 on the purported connection between Σκυθάρβης and *skudra-*).

of Thrace after 513 is debatable, 1) there is no confirmation that Macedonia/Illyria was the Phrygian homeland[62], 2) there are no arguments substantiating the claim that the Phrygians used *skudra-* to refer to their legendary homeland, 3) there is no explanation for the surprising (yet tacit) assumption that Persians would have loaned a *Phrygian* legendary name as ethnonym for Thracians or Macedonians-Thracians in Europe. Essentially were are left, as in the case of Justi's theory, with the implausible assumption that toponyms belonging to a region that, from a Persian perspective, must have been very remote, and that probably fell outside direct Persian control in 513 BC, would have been used to name a larger region within the empire and mentioned as such in the lists of lands/peoples.

Though Justi's etymology of *skudra-* and a connection with Macedonia appear to be problematic, the interpretation 'Thracians' remains theoretically possible for *skudra-* in the inscriptions and for *iškudrap* in the tablets. The place of *skudra-* in the lists of lands/peoples certainly does not contradict this interpretation, and parts of ancient Thrace, minimally its coastal regions, where indeed brought under Achaemenid control in 513 and the following years. Positive evidence is lacking, however, and the origin of the ethnonym remains mysterious. Even if Macedonian Σκύδρα was once a Thracian town, and even if this region was brought under Persian control in 513, it would still seem inexplicable why the Persians picked an ethnonym from the far west to denote the Thracians, many of whom they had encountered earlier during the Scythian campaign and probably before.

More important, the still generally assumed interpretation of *skudra-* and *iškudrap* does not clarify what 'Thracians' could have meant for the Persians. In this context, it may pointed out that 'Thracian' itself did not have a clear and stable meaning in Greek; likewise, 'Skudrians' does not necessarily describe a clearly defined cultural and/or ethnic group. That 'Skudrians' covers exactly what a sixth-century Greek would define as 'Thracian' seems *a priori* very unlikely.

Szemerényi also proposed an alternative etymology for *skudra-*, connecting it to PIE **skeu̯d-* and proto-Iranian **skuda-*, "archer" (cf. *sugda-*, "Sogdia").[63] He furthermore took the Scythian costume of the Skudrian on the tomb reliefs as confirmation of his idea that Skudrians belonged to the same group as the Sakā and the Sogdians. As for their localisation, he suggested eastern Bulgaria, towards Edirne. A similar idea was suggested by Livshits and Diakonoff, proposing that *skudra-* could stand for European Scythia.[64] Gerd Gropp recently took the debate one step further by arguing that the Scythian costume and name and the association of the Skudrians (in the lists of peoples/countries) with Anatolian populations, should be taken to imply that they were an Iranian group that considered itself to be Scythian

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[62] As Hammond deduces from Hdt. VII.73, VIII.138. Pajᑭkowski 1983: 249-53 argues that *skudra-* represents a Phrygian etymon (citing Haas 1966 [but see fn. 61 above]), from which the Macedonian toponym(s) is (are) also derived (Σκύδρα, Κύδραι); the Persian name for the 'satrapy' would be explicable from the assumption of a residual Phrygian population in parts of Macedonia: the Bryges and part of the Paeonians.

[63] Szemerényi 1980: 21, 26; cf. Tavernier 2007a: 30 [1.3.37].

[64] V.A. Livchits, quoted with approval by Diakonoff 1981: 138 fn. 65.

and that lived in Paphlagonia/Pontus, where classical authors locate some Scythian/Iranian groups.[65]

Though *skudra-* could indeed be Iranian, and though the Skudrian costume, at least as depicted on the tomb reliefs, appears to be similar to that of other members of the 'Scythian' group, this does not automatically imply that our Skudrians were or considered themselves to be Scythians.[66] The idea that *skudra-* could refer to, or include, populations in Anatolia, merits serious consideration, however.

There is no need to assume that *skudra-* was a stable denominator in Persian usage. Ethnonyms, especially those given by outsiders, are often given to a first group encountered and their usage is only later expanded to include populations of adjacent regions that appear to be similar. If such a scheme applied to the Skudrians, one could suggest as hypothesis that the ethnonym was first coined by the Persians for the people encountered in northwestern Anatolia and/or the region north of the Hellespont.

The Skudrian question presents a thorny problem. The evidence presented here in support of the above hypothesis is circumstantial and therefore not decisive, but may nevertheless add some fresh elements to the ongoing debate.

First, Pherecydes and Herodotus considered the (Bi)thynians to be immigrant Thracians.[67] This ancient claim is now amply confirmed by onomastic evidence from Bithynia (Corsten 2006; *idem* [forthc.]; cf. Vassileva 1995: 31). If 'Skudrian' could refer to populations of Thracian stock, the first Skudrians encountered by the Persians would have been inhabitants of Bithynia. In this context it is interesting to note that the only 'Thracians' listed in Herodotus' tribute list are the 'Thracians of Asia,' grouped with the Asian Hellespontians, Phrygians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and (Anatolian) Syrians (III.90).

At the same time, it should be stressed that the ethnic make-up of the propontic region was far from homogeneous. It is now commonly assumed that the Phrygians migrated, as Herodotus (VII.73) and Strabo (VII.3.2, VII fr.14 Radt) already knew, from the Balkan peninsula to Anatolia. More specifically, it is becoming increasingly clear that not all Phrygians

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65 Gropp 2001, referring to Cimmerian settlements near pontic Sinope (Hdt. IV.12; Gropp: "es ist […] keineswegs von der Hand zu weisen, daß sich ein Teil von Herodots 'Sinope-Kimmeriern' als Skythen, als Skudra bezeichnete") and the Τιβαρηνοί (Hdt. III.94, VII.78, Xen. *Anab.* V.5.1-3, Steph. Byz. s.v. Τιβαρανία = Ephorus FGH 70 F 43), east of Sinope, who, according to Σ Apoll.Rhod. II.378 (Wendel) were an ἔθνος Σκυθικόν (the scholiast claims the same for the Μοσσύνοικοι; also Σ II.1010).

66 Moreover, Gropp's argument is based on the assumption that the royal inscriptions reflect the historical and territorial reality of the Empire in such a precise way that they can be ordered in a relative or even absolute chronology. We are not convinced that the absence of *skudra-* in some of the inscriptions is necessarily as meaningful as Gropp takes it to be. Gropp notably interprets the absence of *skudra-* in DPh (mentioning the four furthest regions of the empire) as indication that the country of the Skudrians *must* have been located east of Lydia ("ohne Zweifel liegt Skudra östlich von Lydien!"), a *non sequitur* that overestimates the documentary value of the ideological expression.

67 Hdt. VII.75 and Pherecydes FGH 3 F27, the latter considering the Paphlagonians to be of Thracian stock too. Cf. Strabo XII.3.4. See also Hdt. I.2.8.1, Thuc. IV.75.2, Xen. *Anab.* VII.4.2, *Hell.* I.3.2, III.3.2-5, Arr. *Anab.* I.29.5. Some commentators also count the Mysians among the Thracian immigrants (e.g., Strabo VII.3.2, XII.3.3, XII.4.8). Survey: Brandis 1899: 510-4.

ended up in central Anatolia, but that Phrygian was also spoken in the northwestern regions. Two recently-published stelae (6th and 5th cent. respectively) and eight graffiti in Phrygian script and writing were found at Daskyleion/Ergili, another stele (5th cent.), inscribed in Phrygian and Greek, was excavated at Vezirhan (in the Sangarios valley), some 200 km ENE of Daskyleion. These sources have widened the geographical scope of the known Old Phrygian corpus to propontic Mysia and central Bithynia respectively.[68] The evidence not only agrees with the Phrygian presence in the area suggested by the classical authors,[69] but also suggests—through shared particularities in the syllabaries of the new documentation—a semi-autonomous, local ('para-Phrygian') tradition.[70] At Daskyleion, Phrygian culture is attested from the middle of the eighth century until at least the early Persian period; as the graffiti show, Phrygian script was still used in later fourth century.[71]

Phrygian is related to, yet distinct from Thracian; its genetic closeness to Greek was already noted by Plato (*Crat.* 410a).[72] In addition, Brixhe (2006) has recently argued, on the basis of the Thracian votive graffiti excavated at Zône, that certain similarities point to a Phrygian-Thracian-Greek *Sprachbund* in the archaic period; his study also discusses significant similarities between the Thracian and Phrygian alphabets.

The relative closeness of Thracian and Phrygian and of the alphabets used to write these languages, in combination with the apparent heterogeneous cultural climate of sixth-century Bithynia and Mysia opens two interesting possibilities. One is that some people who spoke a Thracian dialect may have used Phrygian to express themselves in writing. This would seem logical among Asian Thracians (rather than among their European kinsmen), since Phrygian writing was widespread in Anatolia. The other possibility is that the ethnonym *skudra-*, as used by the Persians, could, in principle, include people who spoke and wrote in Phrygian and perhaps considered themselves to be Phrygian. Both possibilities could explain a phenomenon that has hitherto remained enigmatic, the presence of a single text (A 29797) in Phrygian writing and script among the Persepolis Fortification tablets.[73] In a recent article, Tavernier expresses surprise that, whereas there this Phrygian tablet exists and seems to be part of the archive, the ethnonym 'Phrygian' is absent from the Elamite texts, as it is from the royal inscriptions (Tavernier 2008: 63). Perhaps the frequently attested Skudrians are the solution to the mystery, if the label 'Skudrian' could include people who spoke Phrygian

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[68] B-06 (sigla after Brixhe 2004), first Daskyleion stele: Bakır & Gusmani 1991, Vassileva 1995, Brixhe 2004: 68-73. B-07, second Daskyleion stele: R. Gusmani & G. Polat 1999, Brixhe 2004: 73-85. B-101 — B-108, graffiti from Daskyleion: Bakır & Gusmani 1993 (also publishing a Lydian graffito), R. Gusmani & Y. Polat 1999, Brixhe 2004: 85-93. B-05, stele from Vezirhan: Neumann 1997, Brixhe 2004: 42-67. On the historical significance of B-06 and the graffiti see Brixhe 1996.

[69] See, e.g., Hdt. III.90, Strabo XII.3.7, Xen. *Hell.* IV.1.1. Survey in Ruge 1941, esp. 788-9.

[70] See Brixhe 2004: 26-32, esp. 32: "on constate ... une autonomie partielle des abécédaires et des pratiques scripturaires de la région, par rapport aux autres secteurs épigraphiques." See also Vassileva 1995: 28 on the characteristics of 'para-Phrygian' inscriptions.

[71] Bakır & Gusmani 1991: 159. Phrygian cultural influences/presence: Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1995: 271-3, *idem* 1997. See also the useful survey on Phrygian Daskyleion in Wittke 2004: 315-9 and the reflections on the Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone by Vassileva 1995.

[72] Survey in Haebler 2000 and Wittke 2004: 194-5, 215-6, 225-6.

[73] Most recent edition: Brixhe 2004: 118-26 (siglum: HP-114), with complete bibliography.

or could refer to people from northwestern Anatolia ('Thracians') who used Phrygian for writing.[74] Along the same lines, one could easily imagine that a heterogeneous cultural background would have provoked the use of different ethnonyms for the inhabitants of the same region: people who appeared to the Persians as 'Skudrians' might have been 'Phrygians' in the eyes of others. If so, that would explain the *absence* of any certain attestation of the label 'Skudrian' and the *presence* of the label 'Phrygian' in the contemporary Babylonian record,[75] a circumstance that is the exact reverse of that of the Fortification archive, where 'Phrygians' are absent—yet a Phrygian text exists—but 'Skudrians' are numerous.

At the risk of becoming repetitive, we stress that the above does not mean that 'Skudrian' simply equals either 'Phrygian' or '(Asian) Thracian.' Rather, we hypothesize that the name, as we find it used in Persian sources, is an outside denominator referring to what actually was an ethnically and culturally diverse complex including Thracian and Phrygian elements.[76] In this context it is no longer surprising that yet another cultural background manifests itself in the costume of the Skudrian on the tomb reliefs, reminiscent of the costume worn by the Sogdian, the Choresmian, the Saka haumavarga, the Saka trigraxauda, and the Saka paradraiya. Iranian or 'Scythian' cultural influences in the region where the people called 'Skudrians' by the Persians lived (i.e. in any case close to the European Sakā), would not be unexpected. Anatolian pockets of Iranian or Scythian culture may also have played a role, as Gropp suggested, but given the constant flux of peoples (Phrygians, Thracians, and others) crossing the Hellespont and the Bosporus, the influences may have come from the north. Particularly tantalising in this context is Thucydides' remark that the (Thracian) Γέται, who lived in the hinterland of the western Black Sea shore, were not only neighbours of the Skythians, but were also equipped in similar fashion (II.96.1). Note also that the 'obstinate' Γέται were defeated and enslaved by Darius in the course of his Scythian campaign (Hdt. IV.93).

[74] Compare the use of Elamite in the Fortification archive by scribes the majority of whom must have been iranophone, or the use of Greek for administrative purposes by the Thracian Odrysians (Archibald 1998: 4, 229-31). As for the context prompting the use of Phrygian (in an archive of Elamite tablets), one could imagine that the document was drafted to account for a receipt of commodities at a time or place where no scribe of Elamite happened to be at hand. The same may be true for the Greek text found among the Fortification tablets (cf. §2 above). Note that foreign groups in the Iranian heartland could include scribes, such as the *tipira muzribena*, "the scribe of the Egyptians" in YBC 16813 (cf. §2.4 above).

[75] 'Phrygians' are attested (ʟú *muškaja*), though admittedly not very often, in Achaemenid Babylonia (cf. Stolper 1985: 79). Their rarity is not very surprising, since the Late Babylonian documentation generally deals with different social levels and does not concern groups of anonymous workers (cf. §3.1 above). What is noticeable is that, amidst thousands of Late Babylonian documents, 'Phrygians' do occur, but Skudrians do not and that the reverse situation is found at Persepolis. Note that a landholding group known as "Phrygians and Lydians" is sometimes abbreviated as "Phrygians" (cf. fn. 46 above).

[76] Compare Strobel's remarks (2001) on the intricacies of the denominator 'Phrygian.'

When Darius crossed to Europe at the start of his Scythian campaign, he took the route via the Bosporus (IV.89).[77] It is in this region that an alternative for Macedonian Σκύδρα as explanation for the ethnonym *skudra-* may be found. The name of the Byzantine town of Σκουτάριον (Lat. Scutari, present-day Üsküdār, the Asian part of İstanbul) is attested only from the 13th century onwards (Yerasimos 2000), but it may continue, perhaps *via* popular etymology, the same toponym/ethnonym that underlies *skudra-*.[78] A hint to that effect may be found in the name of the town Σκούδρα, mentioned in the seventh-century *Vita Theodori* (141), located at the Sangarios, in Galatia or Bithynia.[79] Perhaps Uscudama, the ancient Thracian name of Hadrianopolis (Edirne), may also be compared,[80] as may Κύδραρα, mentioned by Herodotus as a town on the border of Lydia and Phrygia.[81]

If *skudra-* derives from a local, northwest Anatolian toponym or ethnonym, 'Skudrian' may be understood as a name that the Persians learned from or gave to people they first encountered in Bithynia or an adjacent region. Its use was subsequently expanded to groups that were (in Persian eyes) related, but lived across the Bosporus. This would imply that 'Skudrian' could indeed include groups that Greeks would consider to be 'Thracian,' but also that both Phrygian and Scythian cultural influences have to be reckoned with, if not that groups actually considering themselves to be Phrygian or Scythian could be summarised under the label 'Skudrian.' In other words: 'Skudrian' reflects a distinctively Persian outlook, just as 'Thracian' is largely a Greek construct. Though there may be an overlap with what Greeks understood to be 'Thracian,' it would be unwise to translate *skudra-* as such. Retaining 'Skudrian' preserves what is most precious in the royal inscriptions and the Fortification archive: a Persian perspective.

[77] Perhaps this does not imply full or stable control over the region, since it is reported that Otanes took Chalcedon and Byzantium in the wake of the Scythian expedition (Hdt. V.26).

[78] We have not been able to find earlier literature on the suggested connection between Σκουτάριον/ Scutari and *skudra-*, an idea privately communicated to Stolper by G.G. Cameron. An alternative etymology is suggested by Yerasimos 2000 (tracing the name back to a Frankian term), but his proposal could point to popular etymology of an existing name as well. The town was previously known as Χρυσόπολις (Kazhdan 1991), but that does not preclude that Σκουτάριον is based on an existing toponym or ethnonym.

[79] Text: Festugière 1970 I: 111, II: 115-6. See Zgusta 1984 §1236 (suggesting a Celtic etymology) and §44-6 (on the toponyms in the *Vita Theodori*).

[80] Amm.Marc. XIV.11.15, XXVII.4.12; see Detschew 1957: 349 (interpreting the name as "Wasserburg") for further references.

[81] Hdt. VII.30; cf. 55 above.

Appendix 1: Ethnonyms and pseudo-ethnonyms in Persepolis[82]

■ *Ākaufaciya* — Schmitt (1978: 120) proposed an emendation of ^{HAL}*ha-ku-zí-ia* in PF 1829 to ^{HAL}*ha-ku-pi<-zí>-ia*, comparing ^{AŠ}*ha-ku-pi-zí-ia*, 'Ākaufaciyā' in XPh_e 23. EW (s.v. hh.*ha-ku-zí-ia*) alternatively suggests emending the form to ^{HAL}*har-ku-zí-ia*, 'Arachosian' (apparently implying an aural mistake). The spelling *^{HAL}*har-ku-zí-ia* is not attested elsewhere, however.[83] The text also contains of a tantalising reference to king Darius, unfortunately in broken context.

■ *Anšanites* — That 'Anšanites' occur in the Fortification archive is debatable. ^(HAL/AŠ)*an-za-an-ra* has been explained to refer to inhabitants of Anšan/Anzan (see, e.g., Vallat 1993: 15), but there are a number of arguments against this supposition (see Henkelman 2008a: 348 fn. 817).

■ *Arabs* — We take the 11 ^{HAL}⸢*pu*⸣*-hu li-ba-ip ha-ra-*⸢*be*⸣ in PF 1011 to be "Arabian servants" (cf. EW s.v. *ha-ra-be*); *ha-ra-be* is probably an imprecise spelling for the usual ^(HAL)*har-ba-a-be*, 'Arabians.' Other occurrences: PF 1477, PF 1507, PF 1534 and PFa 17 (cf. PFa 29:54-5). On Arabs (and Maka) in the Fortification archive see De Blois 1989.

■ *Arachosians* — The two cases in which Arachosia is not the origin or destination of travellers (as usual) are: ^{HAL}LÚ^{MEŠ AŠ}*har-ra*ʾ*-ma*ʾ[*-ti*ʾ*-iš*ʾ] (NN 0065:49) and PN ^{AŠ}*ha-ra-ma-ti-iš* (NN 0547:22). Note also the *kurtaš* sent from Arachosia in NN 0881 and NN 2062.[84]

■ *Arbelans* — Three texts refer to two groups of ^{HAL}*kur-taš* ^{HAL}*har-ber-ra-an*: a group of 50/52 (NN 1001; NN 2342:27-31) and a group of 14 (NN 1739). Šuddayauda was responsible for both groups. Hallock (ms.) considered these people as 'Arbelans,' presumably thinking of ^{AŠ}*har-be-ra*, 'Arbela, Erbīl,' in the Bīsotūn inscription (DB_e II.66). EW (s.v. h.*har-be-ra-an*) thinks of an "Ortsname in der Persis" distinct from Arbela, but adduces no arguments against Hallock's identification.[85] Vallat hesitantly listed both *harbera* and *harberan* under the same heading (1993: 82) and may be right in doing so: the place Harberan is never referred to as such in the Fortification tablets; it only occurs in the combination ^{HAL}*kur-taš* ^{HAL}*har-ber-ra-an* (note the personal determinative ^{HAL}, rather than locative ^{AŠ}). We see therefore no reason to consider it as a separate place and follow Hallock in taking the workers as 'Arbelans.'

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82 The following comments are not exhaustive and primarily intended as explanations of the data presented in the table in §2.1.

83 Expected is *^{HAL}*har-ku-ut-ti-ia*, *^{HAL}*har-ku-ti-ia* [*vel sim.*], based on **Haraxūtī*-; see Tavernier 2007a: 69-70 [2.3.14]. On the Ākaufaciyā see Schmitt 1985.

84 See Vallat 1993: 81 for complete references. See also Vogelsang 1985: 82-87.

85 EW also lists just one attestation, which is misread as ^{AŠ}*har-be-ra-an* (for ^{HAL}*har-be-ra-an*).

■ *Areians* — Though not as yet attested as ethnonym in the archive, there are six texts on people coming from and going to Areia.[86] Some of these may have been Areians.

■ *Armenians* — The *har-man-nu-ia-ip* of NN 1344 have been taken to be 'Armenians' by EW (s.v. *har-man-nu-ya-ip*) and Vallat (1993: 86). The spelling is unique, but is in itself not problematical. Alternatively, but less likely, the form may be a variant spelling of *har-ri-nu-ip*, a regular qualification of labourers. Though this variation would be irregular, it is true that groups of *harrinup* are often predominantly female, as is the group of *kurtaš harmanuyap* in NN 1433.[87]

■ *Assyrians* — The 'Assyrians' are mostly likely Syrians. Groups of ^{HAL/AŠ}*áš-šu-ra-ap* (also *-ip*, *-ia-ip*, *-ia-ip*, *ha-šu-ra-ap*, *-ri-ia-ip*) are sometimes qualified as ^{GIŠ}GIR^{MEŠ}*-huttip*, *numakap* and ^{GIŠ}DIN.TAR^{MEŠ}*-huttip*.[88]

■ *Babylonians* — ^{HAL/AŠ}*ba-pi-li(-ia)-ip* occur frequently in the archive.[89] The ^{HAL}*ba-pi-ia-ip* in NN 0572 (6x) may belong here too; in l.11 of the same text, the destination of the *bapiyap* is ^{AŠ}*ba-⌈x-pí?-ia?-ri?⌉-iš*. Both forms might be unusual spellings, without *-li-*, for 'Babylon(ian).'[90] Babylonians also occur in PT 1963-20 (stonemasons).

■ *Bactrians* — Bactrians occur at least seven times in the archive: five times as ^{HAL}*ba-ak-ši-ia-ip*, and once as ^{HAL}*ba-ak-ti-ia-ip*.[91] In addition, the letter-order NN 1507 mentions *kurtaš* "who have come from Bactria," and who were presumably also Bactrians, as recipients of 46 sheep/goats.

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86 PF 1361, PF 1438, PF 1540, PF 2056, PFa 29:56-7, NN 1713. NN 1997 refers to a local town named Harruma, probably not to Areia (*pace* Vallat 1993: 84). See Vallat *ibid*. for the various spellings of the GN.

87 In NN 1433, there are 15 men and boys against 29 women and girls. Compare PF 1153, on female *harrinup*, also with Harmišda as supplier and impressed with PFS 0003.

88 Cf. fn. 27 above on ^{GIŠ}GIR^{MEŠ}*-huttip*. *numakap* has been explained from OPers. **nōvaka-* "yarn-spinner" (see Tavernier 2007a: 427-8 [4.4.7.78]), but an explanation from **nāvaka-*, "person connected with canals, irrigation-worker" may be also considered (see Rollinger & Henkelman, this volume). ^{GIŠ}DIN.TAR^{MEŠ}*-huttip* remains mysterious. Occurrences of 'Assyrian' as ethnonym: PF 0867, PF 1009, PF 1799, PF 1842, PF 1843, PF 1844, NN 0034, NN 0155, NN 0502, NN 0622, NN 0977, NN 1062, NN 1160, NN 1185, NN 1589, NN 2571, Fort. 5205. See also Vallat 1993: 22-3 (including PNs and Assyria as travel destination).

89 See Vallat 1993: 28-30 for references (in NN 2141 and NN 2445 ^{HAL}*ba-pi-ru-iš* is a personal name) and compare Henkelman 2008a: 340 (with bibliography).

90 Cf. ^{AŠ/HAL}*ba-pi-li-ia-ip*, ^{HAL}*ba-pi-li-ia-ra* and ^{HAL}*ba-pi-ru-iš*.

91 ^{HAL}*ba-ak-ši-ia-ip*: PF 1947: 59-61, 62-3, 64-5, NN 0939, NN 2513. ^{HAL}LÚ^{MEŠ} *ba-ak-ši-ia-áš*: NN 1858. PF 1592 has ^{HAL}*ba-ak-ti-ia-ip*, which we consider to be a variant spelling of *bakšiyap* (despite Hallock 1969: 443, 673-4 and Vallat 1993: 32 s.v. Baktiš). Compare NN 2513, also from Dar. 28, also sealed with PFS 0003, and mentioning *bakšiyap*. On Bactrians/Bactra see also Hallock 1959: 179.

■ *Cappadocians* — Cappadocians occur in 19 texts, mostly as *kurtaš* without further designation.[92] In NN 0596, five men designated as ⌜^AŠka_4⌝-at-pu-tuk-kaš-be kur-da-ši-ka_4-ra-ap receive flour for travel rations; their guide is a certain Irtena (dated III/23). This group must be the same as that of five ^HALkat_7-ba-du-kaš-be ^HAL*kam-*⌜*be?-šá-da-ak-ka_4-iš-*⌜*be*⌝ who receive wine during eight days (presumably for travel rations); they are accompanied by Irtena (dated II/23). There is no convincing interpretation for either *kurdašikarap* or *kambešadakkašbe* (see Tavernier 2007a: 508 [5.3.4.35]; EW s.v. hh.*kam-[b]e-šá-da-ak-qa-iš-be*), but the contexts suggest that the meaning of the two appellatives must be similar. Otherwise, the high number of travelling Cappadocians noted in the table in §2.1 is largely the result of the group of 980 *kurtaš* travelling from Rakkan to Tamukkan (presumably coastal Taoce; PFa 30:11-3). An unusual case is that of 66 Cappadocians driving livestock to Persepolis (NN 2349:16-8).

■ *Carians* — The texts are PF 0123 (^HAL*kur-ka_4-be*), PF 1123 and NN 1822 (^HAL*kur-ka_4-ip*; same group). Carians are also mentioned in PT 37 and PT 1963-2. Compare Waerzeggers 2006 on the Carians in Babylonia.

■ *Carmanians* — In NN 2206:13-6, Bagiya the Carmanian travels with 200 men and 140 *puhu*, "servants," from Kurmana to the King.[93] We assume these people were Carmanians, like Bagiya, and we make the same assumption for the unknown number of *taššup hallinup*, perhaps armed forces, headed by Karkiš the Carmanian, who went from Sagartia to Kurmana/ Kermān (NN 2261:16-8). Given the amount of livestock allocated (291 head), the number of Karkiš' forces may have been very high: with portions of about 1/10 the amount could feed 2,910 men. Lower portions existed as well: also in NN 2261 (ll.4-8), a portion of as little as 1/100 is given to 259 boatmen. If this low ration scale applies to the Kermanians, Karkiš may have commanded nearly 30,000 troops. Karkiš was the *šakšabama*, "satrap" in Kurmana.[94] Note also the groups of servants (*puhu*) coming from Kurmana/Kermān (though not labelled as Kermanians) and travelling to Susa/to the King.[95]

■ *Cypriotes* — Groups of ^HAL/AŠ*ku-pír-ri-ia-ip* have been excluded from the table, because we take this term as an appellative built on a loan from Akk. *kupru*, "bitumen," rather than an ethnonym from **kupriya* or **kufriya*-, "Cyprus, Cypriote."[96] The *kupirim-huttira* of PT 11 (coll. Cameron 1958: 165-6 fn. 9) can hardly be a "Cypriote-maker." He may be a bitumen-producer (i.e. who refines or processes bitumen). This should be given full weight

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92 NN 1382 has 14 Cappadocian *kurtaš* referred to as *numakap hušuttip*. Compare Mannizza the Cappadocian *ušu-huttira* of NN 2253. For other references see Vallat 1993: 136-7.

93 On Bagiya see Henkelman 2008a: 414.

94 See extensive discussion in Henkelman [forthc. 1] §5, with earlier literature.

95 PF 1399, NN 0809 and NN 2139 (100 p.); NN 0946 (4 men and 36 p.); PF 1330 (10 p. of Ukama); PF 1377 (100 p. of Bagiya); PFa 14 (72? p. of the Abbamuš and of Irtaštuna). On these 'elite servant task groups' see Henkelman 2003a: 133-6.

96 *Pace* Koch 1993: 39; Lewis *apud* Tuplin 1996: 95 fn. 54. For *kupirriyap* as "bitumen-workers" cf. Gershevitch 1951: 139, Hinz 1973: 98, *idem* 1975: 153, EW s.vv. *ku-pi-ri-bat-ti-iš*, hh.*ku*(?)-*pi-ri-um.hu-ut-ti-ra*, h.*ku-pír-ri-ya-ip*, *ku-pír-ri-ya-iš*, Tavernier 2007a: 535 [5.5.2.2-3], 537 [5.5.3.10-1] (hesitant).

in the interpretation of *kupirriyap*; the difference in the spelling between *kupirim-huttira* (*ku²-pi-ri-*) and *kupirriyap* (*ku-pír-*) is a regular type of variation. Secondly, the *kupirribattiš* of NN 0851 is more likely to be a "chief of bitumen-workers" (cf. Hinz 1975: 153) than a "chief of Cypriotes" (Koch 1993: 39) if only because *-battiš* (Old Persian *-pati-š*), though a regular element in Old Persian loans in Achaemenid Elamite, is never attested with ethnonyms. Thirdly, the *kupirriyap* of NN 1612, qualified as *partetaš nuškip*, "plantation-caretakers" (same group in NN 2409), stand under responsibility of Daušakama. The same man is responsible for a group of bronze-makers in a plantation at Persepolis and for *marrip*, "artisans," also at Persepolis.[97]

■ *Drangianians* — In NN 0690 Ašpukka the $^{HAL}zir_o{}^!$-*ra-an-ka₄* receives wine (for himself and four *puhu*, "servants") on his journey from the court (back) to Drangiana. In NN 0620 a certain Kašpukka ($^{HAL}ka_4$-*iš-pu-uk-ka₄*), perhaps the same person,[98] is also labelled "the Drangianian." He receives flour rations for himself and another person on his way from the court to a person named Manza[...].[99]

■ *Egyptians* — Several groups of travelling Egyptian stonemasons/quarrymen and painters are heading towards, or coming from, coastal Tamukkan. Other Egyptians are qualified as goldsmiths and *hasup*.[100]

■ *Elamites* — Elamites are conspicuously absent from the Fortification archive: the ethnonym occurs, but apparently only as a reference to the satrapy of Elam.[101]

■ *Gandharians* — Zakarna the $^{AŠ}kán$-*da-ra* in PF 1139 is not a "storekeeper," as Hallock proposed, assuming that the word was a variant of *kantira*, "storekeeper" (1969: 330-1), but a "Gandharian." Zakarna receives fruit for 290 *kurtaš*; his group recurs in NN 0431, where Zakurra the $^{HAL}kán$-*da-ra* (obviously the same man) receives travel rations for himself and 290 men (and 12 camels and 31 mules) and is said to have come from Gandhāra (cf. EW s.v. hh.*gán-da-ra*). A third text, NN 0457:20-1, mentions Ramakšara the Gandharian ($^{AŠ}kán$-*da-ri-ia*). Gandhāra occurs as destination and origin of travellers as well, as does ^{AŠ}ba-*ra-ú-ba-ra-e-za-na*, "Paropamisus" in NN 0944.[102]

■ *Greeks* — See Rollinger & Henkelman, this volume. Unfortunately, none of the texts about travelling Greeks indicates their number. In NN 2108 a group of ⌜^{HAL}ia⌝-*u-nu-*

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97 Bronze-makers: PF 1815, NN 0948, NN 1280, NN 1368; cf. Henkelman 2005a; 2008a: 429 fn. 988.
    Artisans: NN 2165.

98 But note Hallock's alternative reading ^{HAL}ud-*da-pu-uk-ka₄*, accepted by Tavernier 2007a: 212
    [4.2.834].

99 EW (q.v.) proposes ^{HAL}man-*za*[*-na*].

100 See Wasmuth, this volume and compare Henkelman 2008b on Tamukkan. References and spellings
    in Vallat 1993: 190-2, including attestations in Treasury texts.

101 See Henkelman 2008a: 343-50 and §2.2 above.

102 Gandhāra as travel destination: see Vallat 1993: 125-6; on the name Baraubarezana see Tavernier
    2007a: 494-5 [5.3.3.18], with bibliography.

⌜*ia*⌝-*ip* (*yaunuyap* = *yaunap*, 'Greeks') receives *kudagina*, "candied dried peaches/plums/ damson."[103] One sheep (or goat) was given to Greeks at Kabaš, on their way to Persepolis (NN 2261:33-4).[104] In NN 2486:57-9, the total number of Greek *kurtaš* receiving fruit is only partly preserved: 1 ši 1[...], i.e. at least 1,100 (ši = 1,000), and probably more. Greeks are also mentioned in PT 15.

■ *Hattians* — The contexts in which the GN Attiya (ᴬˢ*at-ia*, ᴬˢ*at-ti-ia*, ᴬˢ*ha-ti-ia*) occurs (PF 0243; PF 1970; PF 2084) forbid a location outside the region under purview of the administration and a connection with 'Hatti' (*pace* Hallock 1959: 179; *idem* 1969: 68). By contrast, the ᴴᴬᴸ⌜*kur-taš*⌝ ᴬˢ*at*-⌜*ti?*⌝[*-ip?*] in NN 2348:20-3, could be "Hattian workers" given the parallel with PT 12:6°, PT 15:5 (ᴴᴬᴸ*kur-taš* ᴬˢKURᴹᴱˢ *at-ti-ip mu-zir₀-ia-ip a-ak* ᴴᴬᴸ*ia-u-na-ip*, "workers (from) the land (of the) Hattians, Egyptians and Greeks"), and PT 22:5 (⌜ᴴᴬᴸ⌝LÚᴹᴱˢ*-ip-na* ᴬˢKURᴹᴱˢ⁈ *at-ti*-⌜*ip*⌝*-pan-na*, "for men (from) the land (of the) Hattians"). Presumably, "Hattians" and "men (from) the land of the Hattians," refer to workers from northern Syria.[105]

■ *Hyrcanians* — No explicit references Hyrcanians are known to date, but a group of 57 persons travelling from ᴬˢ*mi-ir-ka₄-an* to Pārsa/Persepolis is attested in NN 2512 (cf. Koch 1993: 34).

■ *Indians* — Indians are a frequent phenomenon in the Fortification archive; they mostly occur en route to or from India.[106] Among prominent Indian travellers Abbatema (cf. fn. 16 above), Karabba (PF 1397), Hapiziš (PF 1437), and Apmama (NN 2195:8-9) may be mentioned. The last one was coming from Kurmana/Kermān and was travelling from Persia to Media; he received a rather high wine ration of 60 qts. Indian *kurtaš* are rare (NN 0939, with Bactrians).

■ *Lycians* — Lycians (ᴴᴬᴸ*tar-mi-ri-ia-ip*, ᴴᴬᴸ*tur-mi-ra-ip*, ᴴᴬᴸ*tur-mi-la-ap*, etc.) are numerous in the archive, especially as *kurtaš*. Some Lycians receive seed (PF 0463, PF 0484), which points to a longer stay in the Persepolis region. The royal woman Irdabama had her own teams of Lycian *kurtaš* (PF 1002, PF 1005). Lycians regularly occur together with Skudrians

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103 See Henkelman [forthc. 1] Appendix s.v. *kudagina*.

104 Kabaš is probably to be identified as Gabae (cf. Henkelman 2008b: 310-12).

105 Cf. Cameron 1948: 204, EW s.v. *at-ti-ip*, Vallat 1993: 93.

106 For references see Vallat 1993: 97-8. See also Vogelsang 1992: 166-9, Bivar 1988: 205-8, Giovinazzo 2000/01, Henkelman 2008a: 500 fn. 1158. Among the Indians listed by Vallat, Hinduš in 'NN 2303' should be marked as personal name. This text (proper designation: MMA 36.30.62) was purportedly excavated at Qaṣr-e Abu Naṣr near Shiraz; see Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2006. In NN 2393:2 Vallat has misread Hallock's manuscript (*recte*: ᴴᴬᴸ*ir?-du¹-iš*-x). In PF 1410, Hallock proposes to emend PN ᴴᴬᴸ*ak-ka₄ hi du-iš-da* to PN ᴴᴬᴸ*ak-ka₄ hi-du-iš* <*du-iš*>-*da*, "PN the Indian received" (assuming haplology; Vallat *l.c.* does not cite the form as an emendation). Emending the text to PN ᴴᴬᴸ*ak-ka₄*<*-ia-še*> *hi du-iš-da*, "PN (and) his companion received it/this" would be less convincing, since the combination *hi dušda* does not occur elsewhere. The text seems to pertain to travellers and is included as such in the table in §2.1.

(PF 1006, PF 1171, PF 1172, PF 1823, NN 0916, NN 1827) and twice with Bactrians (PF 1947: 59-61, 64-5). A number of designations occur with Lycians such as *marrip*, "artisans, craftsmen" (PF 1049).[107]

■ *Macians* — No actual inhabitants of Makkaš/Makkan (Makā) are attested in the edited Fortification texts, but there are three tablets that mention a *šakšabama* ("governor, satrap") of that region: Irdumasda in PF 0679 and NN 2135, and Zamašba in PF 0680 (cf. sub Carmanians above on Karkiš). De Blois has argued that the Arabs travelling to Makkaš in PFa 17 and PFa 29:54-5 make an identification with Oman rather than with the Makrān coast in southeastern Iran likely (1989). This agrees with the use of Qadê for Makā in the Akkadian versions of the royal inscriptions and Neo-Assyrian evidence on the city of Izkī (Potts 1985a-b). The GN may, however, have referred to territories on both sides of the Straits of Hormuz (cf. Potts 1985b: 83-5; *idem* 1986). This would agree with the observations that the Arabs mentioned above are travelling from Susa to Makkaš, *via* the Fahliyān region.[108]

■ *Medes* — PF 1262 is a receipt for flour rations issued to Daddapirna for 118 *šalup* ("free men," *vel sim.*) and 173 *libap* ("servants"). They are qualified as ᴴᴬᴸ*mar-šá-⌈pár-ra⌉-be* ⌈*ma*⌉-*da-be*, "Median quartermasters."[109] Medes also occur in the Akkadian Treasury text PT 85 and, perhaps, in PT 1963-4 (context broken). The single appearance of the ethnonym in the Fortification archive may have a bureaucratic background (cf. §2.2 above); normally, Medes were not referred to as such.

■ *Paricani* — A group of 40 ᴴᴬᴸ⌈*kur*⌉-*taš ba-ri-ka₄-na-be*, "Barikanian workers," is mentioned in NN 0645; they were travelling to Puzantiš (Βυζάντιον??; not attested elsewhere) and received two sheep/goats during a period of two days. Compare Herodotus' Παρικάνιοι (III.92, 94; VII.68) and Aramaic *prkn* (frequent in Aramaic mortars and pestles texts from Persepolis), both representing Old Persian **parikāna-.*[110] Cameron (*apud* Bowman 1970: 21) already suggested that Aramaic *prkn* was a place name in Arachosia; Bernard (1972: 171-2) subsequently drew attention to the Herodotean form and suggested a location in Gedrosia/Baluchistan (further bibliography in Vallat 1993: 203-4). Apart from the 40 travelling Paricani, there are six texts in which the region is the destination or origin of travellers (cf. Vallat *l.c.*). In one of these (PF 1495), travellers were carrying a *halmi* ("sealed document, authorisation") from Bakabaduš. Elsewhere this Bakabaduš is the authority handing out *halmi* to people travelling from Arachosia (PF 1351, NN 1898) and Gandhāra (PF 1358); he must therefore

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107 See references in Vallat 1993: 286-7 and compare Uchitel 1991: 127-9. On Irdabama's Lycians cf. fn. 31 above.

108 The supplier mentioned in PFa 17 (his name is restored in PFa 29:63), Karma, is probably based at or near Kurdušum (PF 0423), a way-station that must be located in the western section of the Fahliyān region, hence close to Khūzestān (cf. Henkelman 2008a: 503 fn. 1170, with references). On Makkaš/Makan see Vallat 1993: 163-4, Koch 1993: 20-2. The ᴬˢ*ma-kaš* of PF 2050 denotes another place, *pace* Vallat *l.c.*

109 On the appellative, a loan from Old Persian **(h)uvaršabara-*, see Tavernier 2007a: 426 [4.4.7.67] (with bibliography).

110 Hinz 1975: 179-80 and Tavernier 2007a: 389-90 [4.3.151], with bibliography.

be either a satrap of a wider region, or a governor who renewed travel documents for those travelling through the area of his jurisdiction.[111]

■ *Parthians* — Henkelman has argued (2008a: 346 fn. 811) that the lance bearers (*ripi kutip*) of NN 0516 and NN 1657 are likely to be Parthians rather than Persians. The former text speaks of (80) ^{HAL}*ba-ir-taš-be*, the latter of PN ^{HAL}*ba-ir-da*, head of a group of five, assigned by Xerxes and sent from the king to ^{AŠ}*ba-ir-da*. If these forms would render Old Persian *pārsa*, as has been assumed until now, they would be the only ones with *-t/d-*. This oddity, and the very similar contexts in which they occur, suggest that they rather reflect **parϑa-*.[112]

■ *Persians* — All four attestations (PF 0871, PF 1137, NN 1485 and NN 1588) pertain to ^{HAL}*pu-hu* ^{HAL}*pár-šib$_o$-be* (a group of 16 and a group of 29) who are copying tablets (i.e., presumably *Elamite* texts). In other cases 'Persians' is only used as an alternative for 'Persia.' Unequivocal attestations of 'Persians' are absent from the Treasury tablets.[113]

■ *Sagartians* — Explicit references to Sagartians are not yet attested in the archive, but there are five journal entries on what seem to be military troops coming from ^{AŠ}*áš-šá-kur-da* and travelling to various destinations (cf. fn. 8 above). Sagartia also occurs, once, as travel destination (PF 1501).

■ *Sardians* — PF 0873 lists nine ^{AŠ}*iš-pár-ti-ia-ip*, 'Sardians, Lydians,' who are blacksmiths; PF 1409 mentions three travelling Sardian *halapzi* makers (^{GIŠ}*ha-la-ap-zí hu-ut-ti-ip*; the appellative is a *hapax*). Sardis also occurs as travel destination and point of departure (PF 1321, PF 1404).

■ *Skudrians* — Skudrians are the most numerous of the foreign groups in the Fortification archive. See discussion in §3 above and survey in Appendix 2 below.

■ *Sogdians* — $^{AŠ/HAL}$*šu-ug-ti-ia-ip*, ^{HAL}*šu-ug-da-be* (etc.), 'Sogdians,' occur as *kurtaš* and without designation.[114] Sogdia is not as yet attested as destination or origin of travels.

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[111] Compare Vogelsang 1985: 82-7, Bivar 1988: 205 and Koch 1993: 23; see also Hallock 1985: 591.

[112] The forms suggest **parϑa-*, not *parϑa-va*. *bartašbe* is a regular formation based on **parϑa-*, with addition of *-š* (normal in loans from Old Persian) and the plural marker *-p* (*-be*). See discussion in Henkelman & Tuplin [forthc.].

[113] See Henkelman 2008a: 345, 348-50 and §2.2 above.

[114] Sogdians as *kurtaš*: PF 1118, PF 1175, PF 1629 (*kurtaš* implied by the term *zamip*) and NN 0862; no designation: PF 1132 and NN 2555. Vallat 1993: 245 cites the Elamite forms as *su$_e$-ug-* and *su$_e$-ig-*, but we see no reason to assume a *su$_o$* for šu. Note also that the attestations under ^{BE}*su$_e$-ug-da* are all PNs.

Appendix 2: Skudrians in the Fortification archive

■ *Skudrians in the Kāmfīrūz region* — The Kāmfīrūz region was a smaller administrative unit, between the larger Fahliyān (to the northwest) and Persepolis (to the southeast) regions. The use of PFS 0003, a seal used by the regional director, links certain groups of Skudrians to this region.[115]

A barley supplier named Turpiš, himself based at Kurištiš, provided base rations for three groups of Skudrians: one at Muran (NN 0823, NN 0780, PF 0853), one at Baktiš (Fort. 2562), and one at Kansan (PF 0851).[116] Also employed at Baktiš, during the same month (1/23), was a group of Cappadocians (PF 0850); these *kurtaš* also received their barley from Turpiš, but were apparently accounted separately. Likewise, Cappadocians are found at Kansan (NN 0741; date destroyed), another location where Skudrians were active. No designation is given for any of the groups, except for the Skudrians of Baktiš, who were GIŠ⌈GEŠTIN⌉<MEŠ> HAL*hu-ut-ti-ip*, "wine producers."[117]

At Kurra, one group of about 125 Skudrian *kurtaš* received base barley rations from two different suppliers (NN 0750, NN 1968). The same town hosted groups of Babylonians, 'Sardians' (Lydians), Cappadocians, and Lycians (cf. §2.3 above).

Finally, Kaupirriš, the central town of the Kāmfīrūz region, hosted one group of Skudrians (NN 2170), as well as Cappadocians (PF 1016, PF 2039, NN 0513, NN 1720).[118]

■ *Skudrians the Persepolis region* — Contrary to what one might have expected, Skudrians are not best represented in texts pertaining to the Persepolis region.[119] There is evidence for no more than 300 *kurtaš* with this ethnic label in the central region; contrast this find to the Fahliyān region (cf. below), where at least one thousand Skudrians could be found.

A first cluster of texts actually only partially pertains to the Persepolis region. Two letter-orders from Ziššawiš, the deputy director of the economic institution centred on Persepolis, pertain to a group of Skudrian HAL*áš-gi-ti-iš-be* at Uzik(ur)raš, a town located in the Kāmfīrūz region (PF 1813, NN 1870).[120] The person supervising this group, Baraddumawiš,

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115 See Henkelman 2008a: 118, 132 and *idem* 2008b: 313, with bibliography.

116 The group at Muran consisted of 64 men and women during I-II/23, but increased to 66 in III/23 (addition of two boys).

117 Uchitel 1991: 130 observes that Kansan and Muran both hosted an *irmatam*, "estate," and deduces from this that the Skudrians may have been "employed in agriculture." The relevant text, PF 1857 specifies that Kansan was a village (*humanuš*) within a larger *irmatam*; Muran is also mentioned, but not in connection with an *irmatam*.

118 A text provisionally edited by C.E. Jones (NN 2631) mentions Skudrian women receiving natal gratuities from Mazamanna, the supplier who also gave barley to the Skudrians at Kaupirriš.

119 This region also included Batrakataš/Pasargadae, Tirazziš (at or near modern Šīrāz) and Narezzaš (plausibly at or near modern Nīrīz).

120 *ašgitišbe* was explained by Hinz (1970: 435) as "Vieh-Veredler." Whereas Elamite *aš* may indeed mean "livestock" or "cattle," the meaning of the second component is more difficult to establish. "Cattle-keepers" would be an alternative possibility. Bactrian and Indian *ašgitišbe*, also at Uzik(ur)raš, are

is, however, also connected with a group of 24-27 Skudrian *kurtaš* at Mandumattiš. This town belongs to the Persepolis region, perhaps to its northwestern section.[121] The *kurtaš* at Mandumattiš also received rations on direct orders from Ziššawiš.[122] The same is true for Skudrian and Lycian še.bar⌈ᴹᴱˢ *nu*⌉-*ti-ip*, "grain-storers," at Barniš, a town plausibly to be situated in the northwestern part of the Persepolis region, hence probably not far from Uzikraš (and, perhaps, Mandumattiš).[123] It is certainly noticeable that these three groups of Skudrians in what seems to be more or less the same area all were the subject of letter-orders, a category of documents usually dealing with special or irregular transactions. Also, though groups with other ethnic backgrounds are found at the same locations, performing the same work, they were clearly kept separate: they are subject of separate letter-orders and were supervised by different *šaramanna* officials.[124]

mentioned in NN 0939, again a letter-order from Ziššawiš to Pirratamka. Though working at the same location in the same year, and having the same designation, these *ašgitišbe* had a different supervisor (Bakunda). Uzik(ur)raš was situated in the Kāmfirūz region as appears from its collocation with seal PFS 0003 (PF 0744, PF 0963, etc.). Arfa'i [Arfaee] 1999: 40 estimates that it was probably located in the eastern part of the region, i.e. not far from the Persepolis region, but he later argued that it was close to the Fahliyān region (*idem* 2008: 86, without reference to his previous position). See also Henkelman 2008a: 486.

121 The texts are NN 2078, PF 1819, PF 1820, Fort. 3566, PF 2069, NN 0259. Only PF 2069 mentions Mandumattiš. The name of this place is collocated with seal PFS 0001* (Persepolis region) in PF 0905. There is a link with Batrakataš/Pasargadae *via* grain supplier Hitidda (NN 0105, PF 0774) and with Matezziš, Rakkan, and a few other places *via* the wine supplier Maraza (PF 0760, PF 0905, PF 0906, PF 0907, PF 1112, NN 0562, NN 1138, NN 1140, NN 1330, NN 1666, Fort. 8864). See also NN 0760 and NN 2492 (connections between Mandumattiš, Persepolis and other places).

122 Uchitel 1991: 129-30 (who had only published texts at his disposal) has suggested that the 16 men at Uzik(ur)raš, mentioned in PF 1813, are the same as the 16 men who are part of a larger group of Skudrians at Mandumatiš mentioned in PF 1819, PF 1820 and PF 2069. The dates of the texts indeed allow for a transfer of the 16 men from Uzik(ur)raš to Mandumatiš at the beginning of year 23. Uchitel reads PF 1813 as a text on Thracians *and* people qualified as *ašgitišbe*, an interpretation based on Hallock's translation (1969: 496), where the conjunction is supplied between parentheses. In the Elamite text, however, *ašgitišbe* is clearly an apposition to "Skudrian workers" (see above). Uchitel's inference that, by the end of Dar. 22, one boy disappeared from the group of "Thracians and *ašketiš.p*," which then became "exclusively Thracian" is therefore misguided. If we are dealing with the same group, the only change is the omission of a designation in the texts pertaining to Mandumatiš. Note that the supervising official, Baraddumawiš, occurs once more, in NN 1106 (ɪ-vɪ/22). There, he is the supervisor of a group of 41 *kurtaš* (no further qualification) receiving wine rations. On the face of it, these 41 *kurtaš* could be the 17 (PF 1813, NN 1870) + 24 (NN 2078, PF 1819, PF 1820) Skudrian *kurtaš* discussed here. This would mean that the occurrence of 16 men in both groups is a coincidence.

123 On Barniš see Henkelman 2008a: 508-9, with fn. 1198.

124 Ziššawiš issued one letter-order (NN 0939) on Bactrian and Indian *ašgitišbe*, who worked, like the Skudrian *ašgitišbe*, at Uzikurraš, but under different supervision (Bakunda). Several letter-orders from his office (PF 1821, PF 1822, NN 1036, NN 1839) pertain to Babylonians at Barniš, who, like

Rakkan is the centre point of a second cluster of texts pertaining to the Persepolis region: it hosted a group of 220 Skudrian *kurtaš* (PF 1946:15-6) and at this town, or in its vicinity, two Skudrian *puhu*, "servants," of Ukbazirma, received rations as well (PF 1946:19-20, 21-2). Another (?) group of Skudrian *puhu* received flour/barley rations at Aštinukka, near Rakkan (PF 1947:76-7). All these Skudrians were given rations in accordance with sealed orders (*halmi*) from Iršena, a high-ranking official.[125]

A third set of texts pertains to Tikraš, where a group of 46 "stone cutters/polishers and Skudrians" received base rations (NN 1396). Regardless of the conjunction the Skudrians may in fact be the craftsmen mentioned.[126] A smaller group, of Lycians and Skudrians, worked at the same location (PF 1006).[127] The men in both groups receive base rations, some women receive higher rations of 30 qts./month (instead of 20 qts./month). As with the groups at Rakkan, Iršena was involved in the organisation of the work at Tikraš, in this case as *šaramanna* official. Tikraš provides a special case, since it can be demonstrated that the crown manifested itself at the place: an *iyan*, "palace/court" (PT 083) was located here, as was a large plantation of fruit trees. Various high-ranking officials with ties to the crown, as well as the royal woman Irdabama, had connections to Tikraš. The activity of stone polishers, plausibly constructing of a palatial building, obviously fits the elite profile of the town.[128]

■ *Skudrians in the Fahliyān region* — The clearest case of Skudrians active in the Fahliyān region is that of a corpus of ten texts, all sealed with PFS 0002, the seal of a sub-regional director, Irtuppiya, who was active in the western Fahliyān.[129] This corpus can be extended *via* the officials and place names mentioned. The direct involvement of Irtuppiya is conspicuous: he receives barley on behalf of Skudrians (NN 0271, NN 0955, NN 1428, NN 0860), issues sealed orders (*halmi*) for the allocation of flour and barley (PF 1056, NN 1909, PF 1057 [cf. NN 1405]) and is the addressor in a letter-order concerning a rare allocation of sesame for Skudrians (PF 1847). On a lower administrative level, we find Indapipi, Kad(a)uka, and Ašparna, officers who were responsible for the ration lists and rosters of work teams (recognisable by the term *šaramanna*):

— Indapipi is responsible for a group of Skudrians at the town of Kurdušum (PF 1056); he also receives flour on behalf of the same group, at Kurdušum (NN 0175; sealed with Indapipi's seal).

the Skudrians at the same location, worked as grain-storers, yet again under different supervision (Takšena, Uštana).

125 On Rakkan see Henkelman 2007 (with bibliography) and fn. 30 above. The Skudrian *puhu* of PF 1946:19-20 and 21-2 are described as ^{HAL}pu-hu $^{HAL}iš$-ku-ut-tur-ip ^{HAL}uk-ba-zir_0-ma-na. Hallock (1969: 536, 767, followed by EW q.v. and Tavernier 2007a: 510 [5.3.4.60]) considered *ukbazirma* to be an appellative (of uncertain meaning), but it may well be a personal name: "servants of Ukbazirma." On the commodity (flour or barley) issued in PF 1947 see Henkelman 2008a: 552.

126 For *pír-ra-sa-na-iš*, "stone-cutter, stone-polisher" (OPers. *$fra\vartheta\bar{a}na$-*) see Benveniste 1958: 60, Hallock 1969: 744 q.v., Hinz 1975: 99 and Tavernier 2007a: 421 [4.4.7.44].

127 Compare NN 1356, on two Lycians at Tikraš who also receive barley (as seed) from Bakabad(d)a in Dar. 22.

128 On the royal character of Tikraš see Henkelman 2008a: 318-23.

129 Henkelman 2008a: 199 (with bibliography).

— Kada(u)ka once receives flour on behalf of a hundred Skudrian men (NN 1909), perhaps the same as the 104 Skudrians for whom he was responsible (*šaramanna*) four years earlier (PF 1126) and who received beer from ᴴᴬᴸ*ti-ti-kaš-be*, "report-makers, supervisors, inspectors" at the place Dašer.[130] Kada(u)ka is twice mentioned as officer supervising (*šaramanna*) what may be one and the same group of 42/47 Skudrians (PF 1085, PF 1847) receiving sesame and supplementary flour rations.

— Ašparna receives barley for Skudrians (NN 1405, PF 1057) and supervises the same group in a text documenting the allocation of flour (NN 1646). Once the group is described as ᴳᴵˢka_4-*ar hu-ut-ti-ip*, "grain producers/processors" (NN 1405); the barley given to them is described as seed.[131]

Some of the Skudrians in the above corpus receive higher rations than the base standard of 30 qts. of barley for men and 20 qts. for women. Six texts mention 30 qts. rations for women (see table below). Additional rations of 1 or 1⅙ qt. of flour per month are also issued (NN 0175, NN 1646, PF 1085, NN 2237) as are special or bonus ration issued as *zippi* and *kamakaš* (NN 0785, PF 1176).[132] One text, the last in this corpus, documents high rations of 45 qts. issued to men, women and boys alike—a very unusual constellation (NN 0606).

Other groups of Skudrians can be located in the same (western) part of the Fahliyān region. Skudrians, together with female *harrinup* and *pašap* workers, received extra flour rations from *titikašbe* ("supervisors"), presumably at Dašer or Kurdušum (PF 1091).[133] Beer rations were given to Skudrians, Lycians and female *harrinup*, presumably at Dašer or Uttitibena (NN 1827).[134] Note that the listing together of different types of workers does

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130 *titikašbe* is a loan (with Elamite plural ending) from OPers. **didāka-* (also attested in Akkadian, as *didakku*); see Tavernier 2007a: 419-20 [4.4.7.33]. Dašer, probably the westernmost town under purview of the Persepolis administration, may be identical to the Tasarra mentioned by Assurbanipal (see Henkelman 2008a: 112 fn. 245, 500 with references).

131 For *kar* = OPers. **kāra-* see Hinz 1973: 85, Tavernier 2007a: 456 [4.4.19.6].

132 NN 1646, PF 1085, NN 2237 (and NN 0785) are sealed with PFS 1043, which is collocated with Kada(u)ka in PF 1085 and with Ašparna in NN 1646. Other binding factors are the supplier Karma (Karru) and the deliverer Ruzziš (see table). PFS 1043 seems to be the supplier seal used by Karma (Karru) and Irdabada (NN 0785). Karru (supplier), Ruzziš (deliverer), Kada(u)ka (*šaramanna*) and PFS 1043 recur in NN 1695, a receipt of flour for Lycians (ø/22, no GN). As for PF 1176, the supplier seal on this text, PFS 1117, is also impressed on NN 0962, where it is collocated with the supplier Irdabada, a grain supplier in the Fahliyān region, who, among other places, was active at Hutpirri (PF 1188, PF 1189, NN 1223). He is undoubtedly the same as the Irdabada who issued flour to Skudrians in Hutpirri and Šursunkiri in the above mentioned text NN 0785. In other words, the anonymous supplier in PF 1176 must be Irdabada and this texts is closely related to NN 0785.

133 The supplier mentioned in PF 1091 is Mitmanu, a person elsewhere connected to Kurdušum and Dašer (NN 0137, NN 0802, NN 0803).

134 The supplier mentioned in NN 1827, Kabba, is elsewhere associated with Dašer (PF 0664) and Uttitibena (NN 1433, perhaps PF 0733). Kabba and female *harrinup*: NN 1434, NN 1741, NN 2252. Note that the supplier seal used on NN 1827, PFS 0021 (seal collation M.B. Garrison, pers.comm.), is elsewhere connected with Karma, a supplier at Kurdušum (see fnn. 108, 132 above); collation of NN 1827 shows that the reading of the name 'Kabba' is certain.

not necessarily mean that they were actually employed together: it may just be a bureaucratic device (cf. Henkelman 2008a: 222-3).

Another related cluster of texts pertains to Šullaggi and Zakzaku; one of the suppliers involved, Halluba, is also connected with Dašer, suggesting that we are still in the western Fahliyān.[135] Beer is given as natal gratuity to Skudrian women at Zakzaku (NN 0064) and the same commodity is issued from Zakzaku for a group of 338 Skudrian *kurtaš* (NN 0343) in answer to a sealed document (letter-order) from Daddana. An additional delivery of beer, apparently for the same group, is documented by PF 1278, again mentioning a letter-order from Dadda(na).[136] At nearby Šullaggi, a group of mothers received natal bonus rations of beer and *tarmu* (perhaps "emmer"; PF 1215, NN 0867). In the same area, *tarmu* was issued to a large group of 520 Skudrians (PF 1010), whereby women received 30 qts./month (i.e. higher than the standard of 20 qts.).[137]

A third cluster of texts pertains to Liduma (plausibly in the central part of the Fahliyān region), where a certain Enduš received rations of *tarmu* and bonuses in wine and figs on behalf of female *harrinup* (and *pašap*) workers as well as Lycians and Skudrians (not necessarily employed together; see above).[138]

Finally, there are five texts that can be connected to the Fahliyān area in a more general way. They report on beer and sesame rations received by Tiriya on behalf of large groups of Skudrian *kurtaš* (NN 2484, PF 1186), sesame rations for smaller groups (NN 0583, NN 1198),

135 Halluba is the supplier who issues beer for Skudrians under supervision of Kada(u)ka, at Dašer (PF 1126; see above); he shared a supplier seal, PFS 0080, with Piyala and Azzakra. The same Halluba, sealing with PFS 0080, occurs in NN 0064, where beer is given as natal bonus to Skudrian women at Zakzaku. PFS 0080, used by Azzakra and Piyala respectively, is collocated with Šullagi twice (NN 0867, PF 1215).

136 PF 1278 gives an amount of 1,120 + 80 qts. for ten days, without specifying the number of recipients. The 80 qts. are (left over) from a previous withdrawal. If the workers receive ⅓ qt./day, as in NN 0343, there would be 3×112 = 336 or 3×120 (112+8) = 360 recipients. Note that the allocation of NN 0343 is for three months and 21 days. The allocation of PF 1278, for ten days, is exactly enough to complete the fourth month.

137 For Šullaggi see Henkelman 2008a: 426 fn. 981 (with references) and *idem* [forthc. 2] (on its special connection with the royal woman Irdabama). On *tarmu*, "emmer?," see *idem* [forthc. 1] Appendix s.v. *tarmu*. That Šullaggi and Zakzaku were in each other's vicinity appears from the use of supplier's seal PFS 0080 for both locations. Similarly, PF 1010 must pertain to the same area since it mentions the same supplier of *tarmu*, Azzakra who occurs in NN 0867 (Šullaggi). PF 1010 is sealed with supplier's seal PFS 0157, elsewhere connected with Kurdušum (PF 0036) and Zakzaku (PF 0039, PF 1233). On various categories of *puhu* see Henkelman 2003a: 129-37.

138 PF 1172, PF 1171, NN 0916. Enduš is a *haturmabattiš*, which is usually interpreted as "high priest" (*āϑravapatiš). Individuals with this designation never appear in cultic context in the archive, however. The same Enduš occurs in NN 2391 (*tarmu* for female *pašap* workers). Atti, the wine and fruit supplier mentioned in PF 1171 and NN 0916, is elsewhere connected to Liduma (PF 0201, PF 0258, PF 0613, PF 1616, PF 1617, NN 0834, NN 1147 [Attiya], NN 1171, NN 1475 [also Tandari and Pulabeli]).

and beer issued as bonus rations during two years (during which, apparently, one Skudrian died; NN 1948).[139]

■ *Skudrians in the 'northern cluster'* — Apart from the three main administrative regions (Persepolis, Kāmfīrūz and Fahliyān), there are two clusters of towns and villages that appear to be situated along the road that descended from Media to Kabaš/*Gaba- (Gabae), crossed the Susa-Persepolis road in the Kāmfīrūz region, and continued further to Tamukkan (Taoce) and the Persian Gulf coast. This road thus connected the βασίλεια at Gabae and Taoce, mentioned by Strabo (xv.3.3). In a recent, tentative reconstruction a 'northern cluster' (places connected to Kabaš on the road to Media) and a southern 'sub-Fahliyān cluster' (around the road to the Gulf region) have been identified.[140] Skudrians are present in the northern cluster and are found travelling to and from Tamukkan in the south (see next section).

One intriguing aspect of texts pertaining to the northern cluster is that the great majority consists of journal entries. This is also the case for the 13 texts on Skudrians in the northern cluster. In addition, these Skudrians are not referred to as *kurtaš* but almost always as *puhu*, (in two cases they are just called 'Skudrians'). The literal translation "boy(s)" does probably not apply here: these Skudrians were (specialist) "servants" or "pages" and they were given high barley rations of 45 qts./month.

In two texts, Šarizza/iš receives wine and barley for 10 Skudrians: once they are called *puhu* (PF 1954:1-3), and once they are merely referred to as Skudrians (PF 1955:8-10). The barley rations are higher than the average (45 qts./month). Another or the same group of 10 Skudrian *puhu* received the same barley rations two years earlier (NN 2211:26-7) and a group of 10 Skudrians, presumably also *puhu*, received wine rations of 10 qts./month (NN 2349:21-2), like the Skudrians in Šarizza/iš' group.

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139 NN 2484 and PF 1186 belong together (Tiriya receiving commodities on behalf of Skudrians) and are both sealed with PFS 0706* (impression on NN 2484 collated by M.B. Garrison; pers. comm.), a seal elsewhere connected to Hunar (PF 0480). The supplier seal used on the former tablet is PFS 0033, variously collocated with Hidali (NN 1532, NN 1907), Šursunkiri (NN 1537) and Liduma (NN 1907); all these places are located in the Fahliyān area. Mastezza, who receives sesame on behalf of nine Skudrians in NN 0583, could be the same as the Mastezza mentioned in NN 1563 (receiving barley for *kurtaš*), a text impressed with PFS 0002, the sub-regional seal used in the western Fahliyān (see above). The same Mastezza as in NN 1563 occurs in NN 0157, receiving sesame for *harrinup* workers (same seals, same supplier). The Parnini who receives sesame for 46 Skudrians and *harrinup* workers might be the same as the one mentioned (reading uncertain) in PF 1950:21-2 as someone who has exchanged barley for *tarmu* and who was based at Rappišbenu. This village or town (also Rappišbena) is to be located in the Fahliyān, as appears from combined appearances with Kurdušum (PF 1950, NN 2254), Zakzaku (NN 2006), Kurkatuš (NN 1738), Liduma (PF 0055, NN 1868) and Harkupi (PF 1950) and from the impression of sub-regional seal PFS 0002 on NN 0525 (*tarmu* delivered at Rappišbena). Pururu (NN 1948), finally, receives beer for 117 and 116 Skudrian *kurtaš* in regnal years 21 and 22 of Darius respectively, plausibly implying that one Skudrian had died (or been assigned to another group). This may be the same person as the Pururu who delivers flour at Kurdušum (Fahliyān) in NN 2254.

140 See Henkelman 2008b esp. 313-4 (with references) and *idem* 2008a: 119.

The wine supplier who issued wine for 10 Skudrian *puhu* in PF 1954:1-3 was a certain Šukkuš; he occurs again in two entries in the same journal dealing with wine rations for 12 and x Skudrian *puhu* (NN 2196:21-2, 23-4). Presumably, the two entries pertain to the same group of 12 *puhu*.

A group of 15 *puhu* is found in two journal entries; they receive 45 qts./month barley rations. The officials who receives the barley on behalf of the Skudrians are Masana (NN 2487:1-4) and Dayukka (NN 2479:5-7). The latter recurs, in the same function, in an entry on wine rations for 30 Skudrian *puhu* (NN 2265:13-4).

Two entries deal with Skudrian *puhu* qualified as *mudunip*, a term that describes people involved in the care of horses ("grooms"). One entry names two such *puhu* (PF 1957:10-1), another mentions just one *puhu iškudra mudunra* (NN 2184:3-4). These three *puhu* all receive 45 qts./month barley rations.[141] Given the amount of 600 qts. received by "a Skudrian named Šedda" on behalf of [x] *puhu* and the ration scale of 45 qts./month in NN 0728:10-1, which equal the amount and scale in PF 1957:10-1, it is possible that the same two *puhu* are referred to.[142] Note that PF 1957 is a journal centred on Hatarrikaš, which was located in the Kāmfirūz region, but which also had connections with the northern cluster (hence its inclusion here).[143]

Finally, a group of 60 Skudrian *puhu* receives extra or bonus rations of *kazla*, a kind of fruit (PF 1987:6-7).[144]

■ *Skudrians on the road* — Six texts deal with travelling groups of Skudrians. One is an entry in journal NN 2261, an in various ways exceptional document dealing with livestock allocations at and around Kabaš (Gabae) at the crossroads of routes linking Sagartia, Media

[141] Takmašbada, who receives barley on behalf of the Skudrian *mudunip* in PF 1957:10-1, is elsewhere responsible for, or receiving rations for, horses (PF 1957:9, PF 1960:12-4, NN 0728:4-7, NN 2184:20-3) and camels (PF 0331, PF 1957:7-8); he also appears in NN 0757, an account on camels, cattle, asses and ducks.

[142] The same or another Šedda was responsible for Skudrian *kurtaš* in the Fahliyān region four years earlier (PF 1215; see above).

[143] On Hatarrikaš see Henkelman 2008a: 493-4, 507-8. NN 0728 is centred on Namakanuš, which also had connections with towns in the northern cluster and actually may have been located there (cf. *ibid*. 494).

[144] The towns mentioned in the journals to which the 13 entries cited here belong are Mezama (PF 1955), Šaramanda (PF 1954, NN 2196 [2x]), Memanaka (NN 2211), Marzina (NN 2349), Pandumana (NN 2487), Tappušna (NN 2479), Akkurna (NN 2265), Hatarikkaš (PF 1957), Namakanuš (NN 0728) Kurakkan (NN 2184) and Dazzarakka (PF 1987). The transactions mentioned in the entries logically took place at or near these towns. For Akkurna, Kurakka(n), Mezama, Memanakaš see Henkelman 2008a: 493-6; on Kurakka(n) see also *ibid*. 312 fn. 718 and on Dazzarakka *ibid*. 414-5, 426. For Hatarrikaš and Namakanuš see fn. 143 above. Marzina was a stop on the road to Media, hence situated in the northern cluster (NN 2349:1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-2, 13-5, 19-20). It is indirectly linked with Pandumana: both are mentioned in the same journal (NN 1019:1, 2). Tappušna/-uš is collocated with Eyana (PF 1958:9, 13, PF 1961:13, 25, NN 0762:23, 24) and with Masdakuš (PF 1958:3, 9, PF 1961:13-31, NN 0762:24, 32) in three journals. Eyana and Masdakuš can be situated in the northern cluster (Henkelman 2008a: 493-6).

and Persis.[145] In ll.30-2 an allocation of one sheep/goat to a group of female Skudrians travelling under supervision of Bagina is mentioned. The women are heading to Persepolis and they carry a travel authorisation from Bakabaduš, who was satrap in Arachosia-Gandhāra (cf. App. 1 sub Paricani above). Livestock allocations are rare in the Fortification archive, but that is not the only feature that makes these Skudrians special: coming from the northwest, sent to the eastern provinces and subsequently heading to Persepolis itself, these women had seen enormous parts of the Empire. Unfortunately, we can only guess what the context of their travels may have been.

A clearer case is that of 150 Skudrian *kurtaš* travelling to Tamukkan (PF 1363, PFa 18, PF 2055).[146] There are two places of that name in the Fortification archive (as there are in the Greek sources); here coastal Tamukkan in the modern Borāzğān region is meant, where work teams from various satrapies were sent to build palatial and other structures (cf. §2.3 above). Although there is little doubt that the three relevant texts deal with the same group of 150 Skudrians, the fact that they were women is mentioned only once (PFa 18). The Skudrians, who were travelling with three guides and their nine servants, came with a travel authorisation from Miturna, the satrap in Media.[147] They received flour rations of 1.5 qt./day (=45 qts./month) as well as beer or wine rations.

Two texts document travels of Skudrians to or from the satrapy of Elam. NN 1126 is a receipt for beer given to no less than 1,014 Skudrian *kurtaš* coming from the otherwise unknown place Aksuštiš (presumably in Elam) and carrying a travel authorisation from Bakabana, the satrap residing at Susa. A group of 26 Skudrians travelled in opposite direction in the same year: they received various special kinds of grain on their way to 'the Elamites,' *viz* the satrapy of Elam (PF 1575).[148]

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145 On this journal see Henkelman 2008b: 310-1 and *idem* 2008a: 119, 417.

146 *Pace* Uchitel 1991: 129, the 150 *kurtaš* at Tamukkan mentioned in PF 1098 are probably not the same as the 150 travelling Skudrians who were heading to Tamukkan. First, the *kurtaš* at Tamukkan are not labelled 'Skudrians' and have a different designation: workers of the (royal) woman Irdabama. Secondly, they receive rations in II, IV, VI, VIII, X and XII/23, i.e. also in a period that the travelling Skudrians were still on the road (III/23). Thirdly, the Tamukkan mentioned in PF 1098 appears to be the inland town of that name, not coastal Tamukkan. A strong indication to this effect is provided by the supervisor Rašda. In NN 0534, Rašda appears in the same position, supervising a number of transactions at, among other places, Tamkan (Tamukkan) and Kutkuš, the latter situated in the eastern Persepolis region (Henkelman 2008a: 490; see also *idem* 2008b: 306-8).

147 Miturna/Mitarna in Media: NN 2041:2-4, 5-7, 11-3, NN 2195:12-3, 14-5, NN 2349:1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-2. The supplier Kasakka (=Katukka) mentioned in PF 1363 was active in the eastern Fahliyān or western Kāmfirūz region (see Henkelman 2008a: 158, 506) and the town where he resided (possibly Pirdatkaš) was therefore a logical stop for people travelling from Media to the Persian Gulf. Seal PFS 1620 on PFa 18 was identified by M.B. Garrison (pers.comm.).

148 From the respective supplier seals impressed on the texts it appears that the 1,014 Skudrians travelling away from Elam (NN 1126, with PFS 0107) probably received their beer rations at or near Kurdušum in the Fahliyān region (compare NN 1883, impressed with PFS 0107, at Kurdušum). The group of 26 heading to Elam received various kinds of grain from Mirayauda, a well-known supplier whose seat may have been Umpuranuš, also in the Fahliyān region (cf. Henkelman 2008a: 505 with fnn. 1178, 1180).

■ *Skudrians at unknown locations* — Given the complexity of assigning texts to certain regions and sub-regions, it is not surprising that a few cases remain for which no reliable geographical affiliation can be established at present:

— NN 2137 is a receipt for barley issued to one Šulla, who received it on behalf of 31 Skudrian men. These Skudrians ⌜NUMUN⌝MEŠ ⌜du?⌝-*un-ma* ⌜nu⌝-*ti-man-pi*, "are storing it as seed of their own."[149] Another text that mentions seed for Skudrians is NN 1405 (see above), but there it is not explicitly stated that it was for their own use.

— NN 2227 records natal gratuities for Skudrian women

— NN 0068 is a badly broken text on *tarmu* (emmer?) for HAL*kur-taš* HAL[x x x]-⌜ra⌝-*be* HAL*har-*[x x x x]; a plausible restoration is HAL[*iš-ku-ud*]-⌜ra⌝-*be* HAL*har*[-*ri-nu-ip*], "Skudrians (and) *harrinup*" (cf. PF 1172). The supplier is Karkiš, but it is impossible to determine which individual of that name is referred to; at present there is no indication that he should be identified with the Karkiš issuing barley to Skudrians in the northern cluster (PF 1955:8-10; see above).

All 78 texts on Skudrians discussed above are summarised in the table below.[150] We thank our colleague and fellow PFA project member Mark B. Garrison for collating the seal impressions on the tablets listed here.

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149 Restorations plausible (collated).

150 Abbreviations used in the table: ᵉˡ (in dates) = Elamite month name (only in texts from the Fahliyān region), m. (sub "group") = men, b. = boys, w. = women, g. = girls, t. = total, Sk. = Skudrians, m. (sub "contents") = month, qt(s). = quart(s), šar. (sub "jurisdictions") = *šaramanna* (a term characterising officials responsible for rationing and keeping rosters of work teams), LEd (sub 'seals') = left edge damaged. Seals preceded by a bullet (•), as in "•PFS 0002," indicate seals impressed on the flattened left edge of the tablet (in case of memoranda and letter-orders). The texts are grouped in (loose) thematic order and are discussed in the same order in Appendix 2. Closely related texts (e.g., mentioning the same group of *kurtaš*) are presented together; such clusters are separated by blank lines. Linking factors (name of supplier, place name, etc.) within groups of (closely) related texts, and sometimes across several clusters, are indicated in bold face.

Skudrians in the Kāmfīrūz region

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
NN 0823	I/23	barley 1,380 qts.	m. 30, w. 34 t. **64**	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	**Turpiš** (Kurištiš)	**Muran**		•PFS 0003
NN 0780	II/23	barley 1,380 qts.	m. 30, w. 34 t. **64**	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	**Turpiš** (Kurištiš)	**Muran**		PFS 0003; LEd
PF 0853	III/23	barley 1,640 qts.	m. 30, b. 2, w. 34 t. **66**	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	**Turpiš** (Kurištiš)	**Muran**		•PFS 0003
Fort. 2562	I/23	barley 1,630 qts.	m. 25, b. 2, w. 42, g. 2 t. 71	*kurtaš* Sk., wine makers	receipt, base rations	**Turpiš** (Kurištiš)	**Baktiš**		•PFS 0003
PF 0852	II–III/23	barley 1,640 qts.	m. 16, b. 1, w. 16, g. 1 t. 34	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	**Turpiš** (Kurištiš)	**Baktiš**		•PFS 0003
PF 0851	I/23	barley 460 qts.	m. 9, b. 1, w. 9 t. 19	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	**Turpiš** (Kurištiš)	**Kansan**		•PFS 0003
NN 0750	XII/22	barley 3,100 qts.	m. 58, w. 68 t. 122 (**126!**)	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	Umaya (Kurra)	**Kurra**		•PFS 0003
NN 1968	VII–IX/23	barley 9,090 qts.	m. 59, b. 3, w. 62, g. 1 t. **125**	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	Masdayašna° (Dumayan)	**Kurra**		•PFS 0003
NN 2170	III–IV/22	barley 3,960 qts.	m. 36, b. 4 w. 43; g. 2 t. 85	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations	Mazamanna (Bakakkan)	Kaupirriš		•PFS 0003
PF 1813	XII/22	flour 495 qts.	m. 16, b. 1 t. 17	*kurtaš* Sk. *ašgitišbe*	letter-order to **Pirratamka**: base rations to be issued from the flour that came from the (stock of royal) requirements	∅	**Uzikraš**	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	•PFS 0011*
NN 1870	XIII/22	flour 495 qts.	m. 16, b. 1 t. 17	*kurtaš* Sk. *ašgitišbe*	letter-order to **Pirratamka**: base rations to be issued from the flour that came from the (stock of royal) requirements	∅	**Uzikraš**	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	apparently no seal (tablet baked)

Skudrians in the Persepolis region

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
NN 2078	III/23	barley 640 qts.	m. 16, w. 8 t. 24	*kurtaš* Sk.	letter-order to Šiyatizza: base rations to be issued	∅	∅	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	•PFS 0011*
PF 1819	V/23	barley 640 qts.	m. 16, w. 8 t. 24	*kurtaš* Sk.	letter-order to Šiyatizza: base rations to be issued	∅	∅	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	•PFS 0011*
PF 1820	VII/23	barley 640 qts.	m. 16, w. 8 t. 24	*kurtaš* Sk.	letter-order to Šiyatizza: base rations to be issued	∅	∅	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	•PFS 0011*
Fort. 3566	XI/23	barley 690 qts.	m. 16, w. 10, g. 1 t. 27	*kurtaš* Sk.	letter-order to Šiyatizza: base rations to be issued	∅	∅	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	•PFS 0011*
PF 2069	[x]/23?	barley 645 qts.	m. 16, w. 8, g. 1 t. 25	*kurtaš* Sk.	letter-order to Šiyatizza: base rations to be issued	∅	Mandumatiš	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	•PFS 0011*
NN 0259	XI/24	barley 690 qts.	m. 16, b. 1, w. 9, g. 1 t. 27	*kurtaš* Sk.	letter-order to Šiyatizza: base rations to be issued	∅	∅	order from Ziššawiš; **Baraddumawiš** *šar.*	no seal; LEd
PF 1823	I/24	barley 485 qts.	b. 8, w. 14, g. 5 t. 27	*kurtaš* Sk. and Lycians, grain-storers	letter-order to Upirradda: base rations to be issued	∅	Barniš	order from Ziššawiš; Ramiyauka *šar.*	•PFS 0011*
PF 1946:15-6	III ([x] d.)/(21)	barley [x] qts.	m. 86, b. 16, w. 102, g. 16 t. 220	'he received' (Iršena?) for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, (base?) rations (1[+x?] qt./d. = 30 qts./m.)	Appukka the *tumara*	**Rakkan**	*halmi* from **Iršena**; Iršena *šar.*	no seal; LEd
PF 1946:19-20	IV-V/21	barley 120 qts.	*pubu*: 2	*pubu* Sk. of **Ukbazirma**	receipt; base rations	Appukka the *tumara*	(at or near **Rakkan**)	*halmi* from **Iršena**; Uštana the [...] *šar.*	no seal; LEd
PF 1946:21-2	X-XII/21	barley 180 qts.	*pubu*: 2	*pubu* Sk. of **Ukbazirma**	receipt; base rations	Appukka the *tumara*	(at or near **Rakkan**)	*halmi* from **Iršena**; Uštana the [...] *šar.*	no seal; LEd
PF 1947:76-7	1 m.,/(21)	flour/barley [x] qts.	*pubu*: [x]	*pubu* Sk.	receipt; base rations	Appukka the *tumara*	Aštinukka (near **Rakkan**)	*halmi* from **Iršena**; Irtabbawukša *šar.*	no seal; LEd
NN 1396	VI/22	barley 1,030 qts.	m. 14, b. 11, w. 19, g. 1 t. 46	*kurtaš pirrasanaš* (polishers) and Sk.	receipt, base rations except 1 w. (30 qts.)	Yamakka	**Tikraš**	Iršena *šar.*	•PFS 0075
PF 1006	IX-XI/22	barley 480 qts.	m. 2, w. 5 t. 7	*kurtaš*, Lycians and Sk.	receipt, base rations except 5 w. (30 qts.)	Bakabada	**Tikraš**	Iršena *šar.*	•PFS 0075

Skudrians in the Fahliyān region

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
NN 0721	XI-I/(19)-20	barley 9,000 qts.	m. 100, w. 100 t. 200	**Irtuppiya**, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, partial rations (m. 20 qts., w. 10 qts./m.)	Kamišdana	∅		•PFS 0002
NN 0955	II-XII/20	barley 660 qts.	m. 1, w. 1 t. 2	**Irtuppiya**, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations except 1 w. (30 qts.)	∅	∅		•PFS 0002
NN 1428	II-VII/22	barley 9,960 (10,020!) qts.	m. 33, b. 15, w. 12, g. 2 t. **62**	**Irtuppiya**, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations except 12 w. (30 qts.)	∅	∅		•PFS 0002
NN 0860	VIII-XII/22	barley 8,300 (8,350!) qts.	m. 33, b.15, w. 12, g. 2 t. **62**	**Irtuppiya**, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations except 12 w. (30 qts.)	∅	∅		•PFS 0002
NN 0175	7?m./∅	flour 931 qts.	t. 133	**Indapippi**, he fed it to *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt of flour (1? qt./m.)	Haturdada	∅		•PFS 0010; PFS 2181
PF 1056	XI-el/(21-)22	barley 11,130 qts.	m. 60, b. 9, w. 59, g. 5 t. 133	Skudrians	receipt, base rations except 59 w. (30 qts.)	**Karru** (Karma)	**Kurdušum**	*halmi* from Irtuppiya; **Indapippi** *šar.*	•PFS 0002
PF 1126	6m./18	beer 310 qts.	t. 104	*titikašbe* (supervisors) acquired; fed it to *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, beer rations (0.5 qt./m.)	Halluba	Dašer		•PFS **0080**; PFS 0101; PFS 0276
NN 1909	VIII-el (10d.)/22	flour 1,000 qts.	m. 100 t. 100	**Kada(u)ka**, for men Sk.	receipt, base (rations), for *bet*?	**Karru** (Karma)	∅	*halmi* from Irtuppiya	•PFS 0002
PF 1085	6m./22	flour 329 qts.	t. 47	*kurtaš* Sk. (**Ruzziš** c.s. delivered)	receipt, flour as *satki* ($1^1/_6$ qt./m.)	**Karru** (Karma)	∅	**Kada(u)ka** *šar.*	•PFS **1043**
PF 1847	∅/23	sesame 416 qts.	t. 42	*kurtaš* Sk.	letter-order to Umišduma; sesame to be issued	∅	∅	order from Irtuppiya; **Kada(u)ka** *šar.*	•PFS 0002
NN 1405	IV-XII-el/22	barley 930 qts.	m. 14, b. 7, w. 3, g. 1 t. **29**	**Ašparna**, for *kurtaš* Sk. *kar buttip*	receipt, base rations except 7 w. (30 qts.); barley issued as seed	**Karma** (Karru)	∅		•PFS 0002
PF 1057	XIII-el/22	barley 770 qts.	m. 14, b. 6, w. 7, g.1 t. **28**	**Ašparna** (coll. RTH), for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations except 7 w. (30 qts.), 1 g. (20 qts.)	∅	∅	*halmi* from Irtuppiya	•PFS 0002
NN 1646	6m./22	flour 203 qts.	t. **29**	*kurtaš* Sk. (**Ruzziš** deliverer)	receipt, flour as *satki* ($1^1/_6$ qt./m.)	**Karma** (Karru)	∅	**Ašparna** *šar.*	PFS **1043**; •PFS 2168
NN 2237	6m./22	flour 643 qts.	t. 92	**Ruzziš**, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, flour ($1^1/_6$ qts./m.) as *sat* and *kašapme*	**Karma** (Karru)	∅	Zama *šaramamma*	PFS **1043**; •PFS 2169
NN 0785	12m./23	flour 2,107 qts.	t. 301?	**Ruzziš** c.s., for Sk.	receipt of flour, (including?) [x+]9 qts. (as) *zippi* (bonus/extra)	**Irdabada**	Šursunkiri, Hutpirri		PFS **1043**; LEd

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
PF 1176	6m./23	ŠE.SA.A^MEŠ (roasted barley) 200? qts.	not specified	Karšaka, for Sk.	receipt, *kamakaš* (bonus)	∅ (= **Irdabada**)	∅		PFS 1116; •PFS 1117
NN 0606	I–II/22	barley 24,300 qts.	m. 105, b. 58, w. 107 t. 270	*kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	∅	∅		•PFS 0002
PF 1091	4m./∅	flour 1,728 qts.	female *pašáp*: 170 female *barrinup*: 130 Sk.: 60 t. 360	*titikašbe* (supervisors) acquired, they fed it to *kurtaš*: female *pašáp*, female *barrinup*, and Sk.	receipt, flour ration (1 qts./m.), plus *karmaziš* (additional ration; 0.2 qts./m.)	Mitmanu	∅ (Dašer or Kurdušum)		PFS 1046; •PFS 1047
NN 1827	∅/∅	beer 160 qts.	not specified	Indutašda, for female *kurtaš barrinup*, Sk., Lycians	receipt, beer	Kabba	∅		•PFS 0021; PFS 2170
NN 0064	∅/∅	beer 230 (250?) qts.	mothers of b. 14 mothers of g. 22 t. 36	*titikašpe* (supervisors) acquired, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, for women who have given birth as *zizal* (expected: 10 qts. for a boy, 5 qts. for a girl)	**Halluba**	**Zakzaku**		•PFS 0080; PFS 0101; PFS 0276
NN 0343	VII–IX, X^cl (21d.)/∅	beer 12,400 qts.	t. 338	Kurratikka, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, beer rations (10 qts./m.)	(from **Zakzaku**)	∅	*balmi* from **Daddana**	•PFS x; PFS y
PF 1278	10d./∅	beer 1,200 qts.	not specified (336 or 360)	Pirraddakka, for Sk.	receipt (including 80 qts. from a previous withdrawal)	**Halluba**	∅	*balmi* from **Dadda<na>**	PFS 1216^s; •PFS 1222
NN 0867	∅/18	*tarmu* (emmer) 220 qts.	mothers of b. 9 mothers of g. 4 t. **13**	*titikašpe* (supervisors) acquired, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, for women who have given birth as *zizal* (pres. 20 qts. for a boy, 10 qts. for a girl)	**Azzakra**	**Šullaggi**		•PFS 0080; PFS 0101; PFS 1044
PF 1215	∅/18	beer 110 qts.	mothers of b. 9 mothers of g. 4 t. **13**	*titikašpe* (supervisors) acquired, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, beer for women who have given birth as *zizal* (pres. 10 qts. for a boy, 5 qts. for a girl)	Piyala	**Šullaggi**	**Šedda** *šar.*	•PFS 0080; PFS 0101; PFS 1044
PF 1010	II^cl/18	*tarmu* (emmer) 10,000 qts.	m. 250, b. 18, w. 220, g. 32 t. 520	Šakada, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, base rations except 220 w. (30 qts.), 25 g. (20 qts.) (⅔ rations)	**Azzakra**	∅		•PFS 0157; PFS 0996

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
PF 1172	VII–XII/22	*tarmu* (emmer) 700 qts.	not specified	**Enduš** the *haturmabattiš*, for Sk., Lycians and female *harrinup*	receipt	∅	∅		•PFS 1109; PFS 1110
PF 1171	∅/23	wine 110 qts.	not specified	**Enduš** the *haturmabattiš*, for *kurtaš*: female *pašap*, Sk., Lycians, female *harrinup*	receipt, *kamakaš* (bonus)	**Atti**	∅		•PFS 1108
NN 0916	∅/23	figs 1,300 qts.	not specified	**Enduš** *haturmabattiš* for *kurtaš*: female *pašap*, female *harrinup*, Sk., Lycians	receipt of figs as *kamakaš* (bonus)	**Atti**	∅		•PFS 2171; PFS 2172
NN 2484	I–II/22	beer 11,860 qts.	t. 588	**Tiriya**, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, beer rations (10 qts./m.)	∅	∅		•PFS 0706*
PF 1186	I–X/22	sesame 27,00 qts.	t. 270	**Tiriya**, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, sesame (1 qt./m.)	∅	∅		•PFS 0033; PFS 0706*
NN 0583	12m./23	sesame 8 qts. (80?)	m. 5, b. 1, w. 3 t. 9	Mastezza, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, sesame (m. 1 qt./m., b. [x], w. [x])	Atrašda	∅		PFS 2173; •PFS 2174
NN 1198	1y./23	sesame 552 qts.	(t. 46)	Parnini, for *kurtaš*: *harrinup* and Sk.	receipt, sesame (1 qt./m.)	∅	∅		•PFS 2173; PFS 2174
NN 1948	24m./21-22	beer 1,400 (1,398!) qts.	t. 117 (yr. 21) t. 116 (yr. 22)	Pururu, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, beer as *kamakaš* (bonus; pres. ½ qt./m.)	Pirriyašba	∅		PFS 2177

Skudrians in the 'northern cluster'

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
PF 1955: 8-10	2m.+11d./(20)	barley 1,065 qts.	t. **10**	**Šarizza/iš**, for Sk.	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	Karkiš	(at or near Mezama)		•PFS 0027*
PF 1954: 1-3	5m.+6d./(20)	wine 520 qts.	*pubu:* **10**	**Šarizza/iš**, for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, wine rations (10 qts./m.)	**Šukkuš**	(at or near **Šaramanda**)		PFS 0027*
NN 2211: 26-27	9m./18	barley [4,050] qts.	*pubu:* **10**	Mi[...]ipra, for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	Parrudasa	(at/near) Memanaka		•PFS 0027* / PFS 0178
NN 2349: 21-22	2m.+27d./(20)	wine 290 qts.	t. **10**	Kumaša, for Sk.	receipt, wine (10 qts./m.)	Makammuka	(at or near Marzina)		•PFS 0027*
NN 2196: 21-2	3m./(14?)	wine 360 qts.	*pubu:* 12	Duš[...]?, for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, wine rations (10 qts./m.)	Šikuš (**Šukkuš**)	Šakka (near **Šaramanda**)		PFS 2098*
NN 2196: 23-4	[...]	wine [x] qts.	*pubu:* [...]	[PN], for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, wine rations [...]	Šikuš (**Šukkuš**)	Maššan? (near **Šaramanda**)	Durakka *šar.*	PFS 2098*
NN 2487: 1-4	5m.+22d./(18)	barley 3,600? qts.	*pubu:* **15**	Masana for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	Badda & Murkaziya	(at or near Pandumana)		•PFS 0027*
NN 2479: 5-7	4m.+23d./(20)	barley 3,210 qts	*pubu:* **15**	**Dayukka** for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	Mira[...] the *tumara*	(at or near Tappušna)		PFS 0108; •PFS 0513
NN 2265: 13-4	10m./(20)	wine 2,000 (3,000?) qts.	*pubu:* 30	**Dayukka**, for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, wine rations (10 qts./m.)	Kappudda	(at or near Akkurna)		PFS 0108*; •PFS 0513
PF 1957: 10-11	6m.+20d./(22)	barley **600** qts.	*pubu:* 2	Takmašbada for *pubu* Sk. *mudunip*	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	Battiš	(at or near Hatarikkaš)		PFS 0027*; PFS 0108*
NN 0728: 10-11	Ø/(22)	barley **600** qts.	*pubu:* [x]	**Šedda** the Sk., for *pubu*	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	Irdazana	(at or near Namakanuš)		PFS 0027*; •PFS 2100
NN 2184: 3-4	12m./(22)	barley 540 qts.	*pubu:* 1	Wukka, for *pubu* Sk. *mudunra*	receipt, high rations (45 qts./m.)	Ratikka	(at or near Kurakkan)		PFS 0027*; •PFS 2098
PF 1987: 6-7	1m./(18)	*kazla* (fruit) 20 qts.	*pubu:* 60	Hakuma, for *pubu* Sk.	receipt, *kazla* as *zippi* (⅓ qt./m.)	Mišširyama	Dazzarakka		•PFS 0513; PFS 1591; PFS 1662

Skudrians on the road

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
NN 2261: 30-2	Ø/(22)	sheep/goats 1 head	not specified	Bagina, for female Sk.	receipt, livestock	Kussizza &? [...]zana	(at or near Kabaš)	*halmi* from Bakabaduš	•PFS 0027*
PF 1363	III/23	flour (grain) 238 qts.	**kurtaš: 150** guides: 3 *puhu:* 9	**Ulbate/iya** the guide, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, travel provisions (1½ qt./d. for *kurtaš* and guides, 1 qt. for *puhu*); party travelling to (coastal) Tamukkan	Kasakka	Ø	*halmi* from **Miturna**	no seal; hole
PFa 18	III/23	flour (grain) 238.5 qts.	female *kurtaš*: **150** guides: 3 *puhu:* 9	**Ulbate/iya**, for female *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, travel rations (1½ qt./d. for female *kurtaš* and guides, 1 qt./d. for *puhu*); party travelling to (coastal) Tamukkan.	Ø	Ø	*halmi* from **Miturna**	PFS 1620; LEd
PF 2055	III/23	beer/wine 50 qts.	t. **150**	**Ulbate/iya** c.s., for *kurtaš* Sk. whom he escorted	receipt, travel provisions (⅓ qt./ d.); party travelling from Miturna (PN) to (coastal) Tamukkan.	Ø	Ø	*halmi* from **Miturna**	PFS 1620; •PFS 1621
NN 1126	Ø/21	beer 338? qts.	t. 1,014	Pirraduš, for *kurtaš* Sk.	receipt, travel provisions (⅓ qt./d.); party coming from Aksuštiš	Ø	Ø	*halmi* from Bakabana	PFS 2178; •PFS 0107
PF 1575	IV/21	ŠE.SA.A^MEŠ (roasted barley), *mitli* and *hamarram* 20 qts.	t. 26	Maupirrada for *kurtaš* Sk. whom he escorted	receipt, *kamakaš* (bonus), travel provisions; party travelling to Elam (i.e. the satrapy)	Mirayauda	Ø	*halmi* from Parnakka	•PFS 0018; PFS 1459

Skudrians at unknown locations

text	date	commodities	group	recipients	content	supplier	GN	jurisdiction(s)	seals
NN 2137	Ø/22	barley 3,100 qts.	m. 31 t. 31	Šulla, for Sk.	receipt, "they are storing it as seed for themselves" (NUMUN^MEŠ *duuma nutimanpi*)	Ø	Ø		no seal; LEd
NN 2227	Ø/23	flour: 70 qts. *mitli:* 70 qts.	mothers of b. 4 mothers of g. 6 t. 10	[PN_1] & [PN_2], for women Sk.	receipt, for women who have given birth (20 qts. for a boy; 10 qts. for a girl)	[PN]	Ø		•PFS 2179; PFS 2180
NN 0068	1/[20+]	*tarmu* (emmer) 6,100 qts.	m. x, b. x, w. x., g. x t.: x (305?)	[PN], for *kurtaš* [Sk.?]	receipt, base rations	Karkiš	Ø		PFS 2034; LEd

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