
Additional note 1. Elam and Elymais

One of the ancient sources which connects ‘Elam’ and ‘Elamites’ with Elymais is a Babylonian diary dated to 125/124 BC. In the text, the Parthian king, simply named Arsaces, leads a campaign against Elymais, where he finds the resistance of 15 000 Elamites under the command of Pittit [Potts 1999: 391]. The name of the chief is easily understandable as Elamite in etymology [Zadok 1984: 35, n. 186, ‘PITIT’; Hinz & Koch 1987: 225, ‘pittit’]. So, notwithstanding the Old Persian tradition of ūja (u-v-j, perhaps still surviving in the present name ‘Khuzistan’), already in Parthian period Elam was revived in the choronym ‘Elymais’.

Elymais and Elymaeans are attracting growing interest in the last years. The few related archaeological remains are coins and rock-cut bas-reliefs. At the 5th conference of the Societas Iranologica Europæa (Ravenna, 2003), Iranian archaeologist Jafar Mehr Kian spoke about the discovery of a new bas-relief, while the Japanese Haruta Seiro compiled an up-to-date list of known bas-reliefs and inscriptions [Haruta 2005; Mehr Kian 2005].

Josephus’ sources: Bloch 1879; Feldman 1998. Josephus knew the events related to the Seleucid struggle for Elymais (Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας, XII 358-359, without explicit mention of Elymais). Elymais and Elymaeans in the Greek (LXX) bible: Judith 1:6 (Ἄριωχ βασιλέως Ἐλυμαίων); Tobit 2:10 (εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαίδα); Daniel 8:2 (ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει ἣτη ἐστίν ἐν Ἐλυμαίδι); 1Maccabees 6:1 (Ἐλυμαίς ἐν τῇ Περσίδι).


Kuddakaka (Ŋku-ud-da-ka-sa-kā.), the most attested kurman in the Acropolis tablet, ‘could be the outcome of Olran. kutaka- “small” ... with a reduplicated final syllable’ (Zadok 1983: 117-118).

KURpar-su-a, KURpar-su-aš, KURpar-su-maš: ‘An inscription by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, which was written around 843 B.C., mentions the region of Parsua’; ‘Somewhat later, at the end of the eighth century, the Assyrian text mention the country of Parsu(a)mash, which was situated somewhat east of the present-day city of Sulaimaniya; i.e., to the northeast of Elam’ (Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 3); Waters 1999: 100, footnote 7. KURpar-su-ma-aš in Weidner 1931-1932: 4.

Elamite administrative tablets from the Acropolis of Susa: 298 tablets, MDP 9, 1-87 and 89-298 (Scheil 1907, Jusifov 1963); MDP 11, 309 (Scheil 1911). MDP 9, 88 is a letter.

Dating of the Acropolis tablets: 680 (Hinz 1987: 125-127) or 685 BC (Hinz & Koch 1987: 1327, ‘S’) according to HINZ; first quarter of the 6th century BC according to VALLAT (Vallat 1998a: 311); no earlier than the late 7th century BC according to STOLPER (Stolper 1984b: 8); ca. 650-550 according to DE MIROSCHEDEJ (Miroshedji 1982: 60ff), reign of Cyrus the Great and Cambyses according to CAMERON (Cameron 1948: 24, footnote 2). See also Steve 1986: 8, No. 2.

Cyaxares in the Acropolis tablets: a Median anthroponym (Scheil 1907: 118; Cameron 1948: 24, footnote 2); the Median king Cyaxares (Hinz 1987: 126). MDP 9, 132:7: PAPBEma-ak-iš-tur-ri du-iš; restored also in MDP 9, 95:17; BEma-a[k ...].


See Stolper 2004 for a brief introduction to Elamite grammar.

Additional note 2. The ‘Village perse-achéménide’
The so-called ‘Village Perse-achéménide’, located on the western flanks of the ‘Ville des Artisans’, was considered proof of the existence of a Persian community settled in the neighbourhood of Susa already in the 8th century BC. To support this thesis, Ghirshman put forward a number of links between the oldest layers of the ‘Village Perse-achéménide’ I and Iron II sites comparatively late like Sialk VI and Giyan I (Ghirshman 1954, especially pp. 71-74). Stromach showed that the ‘Village’ cannot be so ancient: it should be dated to the 6th century BC, preceded by an Elamite occupation starting from ca. 625 BC (Stromach 1974: 244; also Steve 1986: 9 and Miroshedji 1981a: 38-39). According to Boucharlat, the only traces of an Achemenid occupation went back to the end of the Achemenid period, as showed by subsequent soundings (Boucharlat 1990: 154; see also Dandamaev 1989: 2-3).


Synopsis of the occurrences of parsas as collective designation:
P type: MDP 9, 11 (Zampegir), 49 (Huri), 51 (Datiyana), 94 (Zampegir), 187 (Datiyana), 246 (Datiyana?), 281:20, 281:29 (Datiyana);
S type: MDP 9, 121;
O type: MDP 9, 166:4, 166:25; fragmentary: MDP 9, 185, 233, 272 (S type?);
[proper name: MDP 9, 47 (or S0 type?), 97 (or O type?), 117 (or S0 type?).]


Additional note 3. Products related to the occurrences of Persian people
Among the products related to the occurrences of Persian people, one can find kuku, ‘overalls’, BABBAR.BABBAR ‘white’ and dabantine ‘blue’, tuki tain ‘light-grey (i.e. made in wool [Hinz & Koch 1987: 268, s.v. ‘ta-in’]) clothing’, likkina another clothing, ri-tú.hu-el-ip perhaps a ‘skirt’, and weapons such as šukurrum ‘spears’, BAN ‘bows’ and sa-ah GI ‘arrow-heads’. The translations follows the (somewhat hypothetical) proposals by Hinz and Koch (1987; see also Hinz 1967).
Elamite administrative tablets from Tall-e Malyān (ca. 1000 BC): published in Stolper 1984b.


**Fig. 1:** Model of demographic development in south-western Iran from 5th to 1st millennium BC (after Miroschedji 1990: 63, fig. 4). Curve No. 1: global population, including nomadic groups; curve No. 2 (thick): sedentary population in Susiana; curve No. 3 (dashed): sedentary population in the Marv Dasht plan.


**Additional note 4. Collective designations in the Persepolis tablets**

In the Persepolis tablets, the number of collective designations did not increase, but single designations changed: Persians are no longer mentioned explicitly (neither Elamites are), and, instead of unknown* peoples, we find Egyptians and Indians (Giovinazzo 1987b e 2001), from end to end of the Persian-centric world. The most substantial difference is the function assumed by groups of people: not receivers of goods or clothings as in Susa, but team of workers (kurtaš), foreigner settled in the heart of Persis (Uchitel 1991), not involved in at par exchanges but in services demanded as immigrants or convicts (Dandamaev 1975a; Koch 1983), whose knowledge we have because of the food rations they received.

* Although it should be mentioned [*BE*]EŠŠANA AS mi-ri-[pᵉ]-na ‘king of Egyptians(?)’ in MDP 9, 158: r5-6.

Please note that in the handout ‘...’ marks omitted text (for sake of conciseness) while ‘[...]’ marks missing (i.e. damaged) text.

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Selected bibliography


Abstract

References to Persians before the Achaemenid period are known not only from Mesopotamian sources: as gentilic designation, ‘Persian’ occurs at least 11 times both in singular and plural form (Elamite pār-sīr-(ra) and pār-sīp) in the neo-Elamite administrative tablets from the Acropolis of Susa (V. Scheil, MDP 9). In 6 occurrences, the plural form is in concord with people named after a locale; in another occurrence the singular form singles out an individual; in 2 occurrences it seems to mark items as of Persian kind. Often some proper names are related to these occurrences, and most of them are clearly Iranian. According to R. Zadok (Beiträge zur Namenforschung, n.F. 18 (1983)), even the name of the most prominent superintendent (designated as kurman) of the administration, Kuddakaka, might be Iranian. However, the most striking insight is not the presence of Persian people in neo-Elamite sources, but the evidence for their relationships with the administrative apparatus both as individuals and as a group. Unfortunately, the dating of the tablets is much debated (W. Hinz: 685 BC; F. Vallat: first quarter of the 6th century BC; G.G. Cameron: coeval to Cyrus the Great and Cambyses) and the exact meaning of the technical language of administration is still unclear.