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Elam

Surveys of Political History and Archaeology

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Preface

The two surveys in this book are based on discrete kinds of primary sources, namely written evidence and material remains. The result is two distinct perspectives on ancient Elam that cannot be fully integrated but should not be isolated from each other. The parallel presentation of these studies offers a broader picture of the subject than either section could on its own, since the sources are complementary in some important respects.

Written records of Elamite history, for example, are biased by their origin in a limited area, but pertinent archaeological remains are more widely distributed. Texts tend to reflect the concerns of ancient elites, but other artifacts may represent behaviors of larger segments of society. For the earliest period covered here, c. 3500-2500 B.C., the archaeological record is rich and the usable written record rather poor, but by the latest periods treated, around the middle of the first millennium B.C., this balance is reversed.

Despite such complementarity, the sources differ in essential respects. The creation and preservation of ancient texts and of other artifacts result from--and therefore signify--different intentions, behaviors, and processes. More importantly, the construct "Elam" itself is distinct in its application to one or the other body of evidence. It is part of the literal contents of ancient texts and in its geographical, political, or cultural implications there are matters for interpretation. It is not an overt attribute of ancient artifacts but a conclusion drawn by modern interpretation of their provenience and affinities.

Furthermore, these surveys have undergone separate developments in style and form. Although they had a common beginning as articles prepared for the *Encyclopaedia Persica* in 1978-79, they soon outgrew the permissible limits of encyclopedia entries. Piotr Michalowski was the first to suggest combining them in a separate presentation, and others made the same suggestion independently. Since then, the survey of political history has not been changed much in form. New material has been incorporated, but the aim of the presentation has remained limited to giving a summary and a conservative, summary interpretation of textual evidence of the political history of the Elamite states. The notes are meant to supply references to the most important secondary literature, both analytical and argumentative, but the body of the text does not explore at length the terms and development of the issues under active debate. The survey of archaeology, however, has been considerably transformed from its original state. Its main purpose remains to summarize the development of archaeological investigation in those areas tentatively identified by its author as "Elamite" on the basis of ancient sources. The chapter provides an overview of the debate on numerous interpretive issues since these directly affect the reconstruction of the relevant archaeological sequences.

Given these differences in the sources, the governing assumptions, and the formal characteristics of the two surveys, we have not attempted to combine them on a narrow period-by-period or area-by-area basis. Indeed, we believe that doing so would require a host of unhappy compromises, would create a false unity, and would even conceal the most important issues in the study of ancient Elam.

As always in such endeavors, we owe many debts of gratitude for aid, criticism, encouragement, and hard labor. J. A. Brinkman, B. Bronson, the late G. G. Cameron, G. Dollfus, G. Frame, R. Henrickson, P. Michalowski, E. Reiner, P. Steinkeller, D. Stronach, W. Sumner, and H. T. Wright, Jr., read and commented on various parts and drafts of these essays. E. O. Negahban, D. Potts, W. Sumner, F.

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Matthew W. Stolper
Elizabeth Carter
September 1983

Abbreviations

AA	*Arts asiatiques*
AAA	*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology,*
AAI	E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (*1965*)
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (1892-1911)
Acta Antiqua	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AINX	H. Wright, ed., *Archaeological Investigations in Northeastern Xuzistan, 1976* (1979)
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AMI E	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband
AMI NF	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Neue Folge*
Annual Symposium	*Proceedings of the Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran.* Tehran
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series

ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (1926-27)
ARM	Archives royales de Mari (= Textes cunéiformes du Louvre 22 ff.)
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari (texts in transliteration and apparatus)
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
AS	Assyriological Studies, University of Chicago
Ashurbanipal I	A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal*, I Assyriological Studies 5 (1933)
BA	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*
BBSt	L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum* (1912)
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies, Yale University
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd rev. ed.
Corpus	E. Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagash* (1956)
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
DAFI	*Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran*
EKI	F. W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 16 (1965)
HEI	G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (1936)
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IA	*Iranica Antiqua*

IRSA	E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*. Littératures anciennes du proche-orient 3 (1971)
JA	*Journal asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
MCS	Manchester Cuneiform Studies
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse; Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Susiane; Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse; Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran (volumes under successive and slightly varied titles numbered in a single sequence)
MSKH I	J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, Vol. I: *A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty* (1976)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
Or NS	*Orientalia Nova Series*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*

PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
PKG	Propyläen Kunstgeschichte
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RE	W. Hinz, *Das Reich Elam* (1964)
Rép. géog.	*Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B/7
RIA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (by volume/fasicule)
RTC	F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes* (1903)
SAKI	F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (= Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 1)
SANE	Sources from the Ancient Near East Malibu
Sargon	*A. G. Lie*, The Inscriptions of *Sargon II, King of Assyria* (1929)
RIAA	L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantennaire à Bruxelles* (1925)
StOr	Studia Orientalia (Societas Orientalis Fennica)
Studies Oppenheim	*Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (1964)
Symbolae Böhl	*Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae*, Studia Francisci Scholten memoriaedicata 4 (1973)
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts

VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek (Leipzig)
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete/Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZDMG NF	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Neue Folge*

Part I

POLITICAL HISTORY

Matthew W. Stolper

INTRODUCTION

The modern name *Elam* is a European transcription of Biblical Hebrew *ʿêlām*. It corresponds to Sumerian elam(a), Akkadian *elamtu*, and Elamite *hatamti* and *haltamti*.[1] The names refer to a succession of loosely bounded political and cultural entities of ancient southwestern Iran, known chiefly from discoveries at Susa and nearby sites.

Ancient texts make it plain that Elamite states were among the leading political forces of the ancient Near East. But the documentary basis for an Elamite history is modest. Available texts are unevenly distributed in time and space. They do not yield a historical framework in any conventional sense, but a series of partially documented episodes, each surrounded by large areas of uncertainty. A survey of the historical fragments now extant requires prefatory stress on some general limiting features of the sources that will be drawn upon to compose the discussion that follows.

Many of the most valuable texts bearing on Elam originate in ancient states of neighboring Mesopotamia. They link Elam to a better-known historical continuum, but they are also colored by tendentious rhetoric, emphasize hostile contacts, and yield comparatively little precise information on developments beyond the varying radius of Mesopotamian political influence. This skewed perspective is only partially balanced by texts from Elam itself. The majority of these internal sources derive from Khuzistan, most from Susa. They document Susa's importance in Elamite history, but they also indicate that crucial political developments

occurred to the north and east of Susa, at the margins of exposure to Mesopotamian conquest. Texts from such outlying sites are still rare. Hence, although internal sources check or complement Mesopotamian data, they still show Elamite history from a monocentric, western perspective, which may distort ancient circumstances.

Inexact perception of Elamite historical geography hampers control of this distortion. Few of the Elamite toponyms given in ancient texts can be located with confidence. The intended reference of the geographical term *Elam* in ancient sources varied with political conditions and with the ancient author's perspective, whether Mesopotamian, Susian, or highland Iranian.[2] The boundaries of the territory that ancient authors recognized as Elam, and of the various political units within it, are not fixed. At a minimum, proveniences of texts and reliefs show Elamite presence throughout Khuzistan, south as far as Bushire (ancient Liyan), and east as far as the Marv Dasht (ancient Anshan). Geographical allusions in ancient sources show repeated Elamite penetration as far northwest as the Diyala River valley and several episodes of military conquest in southern, central, and northern Mesopotamia.

Elam in its largest historical extension therefore includes a lowland component, Khuzistan, subject to intimate contacts with Mesopotamian states. At times these lowlands took an essential part in Mesopotamian political development and were therefore conspicuous in the historical record. Greater Elam also includes an array of highland components, the widely spaced valley systems to the north and east of Khuzistan. These valleys, linked by few routes of easy communication, were accessible to Mesopotamian contacts but relatively insulated from Mesopotamian conquest; they were capable of independent political developments; at times they were powerful enough to dominate Khuzistan and take it out of the Mesopotamian political orbit. These areas were probably the true Elamite heartland; but they have been far less intensely explored than Khuzistan, and they are far less distinctly perceived in available sources. Susa was a boundary phenomenon in Elamite history, but for the present, the history of Elam is largely represented by the history of Susa and its environs (figs. 1-6).

The western orientation of available sources, however, permits Elamite history to be linked to Mesopotamian chronology. Absolute dates assigned to developments in Elam are based chiefly on occasional synchronisms with rulers and events in Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria.[3] For the Proto-Elamite period, however, absolute dates must be drawn from archaeological chronologies. The arrangement of known events that cannot be closely dated by synchronism, as will be seen below, remains a fundamental issue for the construction and interpretation of a historical framework.

In short, the spatial and temporal dimensions of Elamite history are full of uncertainties that arise from the distribution of sources. Available documents are legitimately subject to divergent interpretations. New discoveries will entail major reevaluations of prior data. Consequently, the following survey stresses the limits of available texts rather than issues of synthesis. It aims at a conservative construction of the textual record. It notes current discussions but does not, for the most part, enter the debate of open issues. Its primary concern is the evidence for Elamite political history, considering assessment of the scale and duration of Elamite states to be a precondition for fine perception of social and intellectual developments.

PROTO-ELAMITE (C. 3200 B.C.--?)

The earliest texts from Elam are largely undeciphered. They are a prelude to the documentary history of Elam and part of a wider set of linguistically anonymous archaeological issues. These first texts have nevertheless lent their name to the several archaeological complexes associated with them, to the time range within which they occur, and to the relationships inferred from their distribution. The label Proto-Elamite consequently has diverse reference; present evidence requires careful discrimination among three sets of texts, distinguishable on formal, functional, chronological, and distributional criteria. All have

been characterized as Proto-Elamite. Distinctive rubrics for the three sets are: numerical tablets; Proto-Elamite A administrative tablets; and Proto-Elamite B linear inscriptions. The date proposed here, c. 3200 B.C., is an estimate of the earliest occurrence of Proto-Elamite A tablets, type-fossils of the Proto-Elamite phenomenon on its narrowest construction;[4] associated archaeological complexes may begin some centuries earlier still.

Numerical Tablets

The earliest tablets found at Susa bear only numerals and seal impressions.[5] They are artifacts of a recording technique developed from the still older use of clay "bullae" (really hollow spherical envelopes) and counters, employed to verify administrative transfers of the goods that they accompanied, from agents identified by their seal impressions.[6] The numerical tablets are situationally specific devices for arithmetic and administrative control rather than durable records of language; their texts do not carry specific verbal information at any remove from the objects transferred or from the code of behavior that governed the transactions.

Comparable numerical tablets have been found at Chogha Mish,[7] at Tepe Sialk,[8] at Tall-i Ghazir,[9] and at Godin Tepe V[10] in contexts with other material evidence of contemporaneity with Susa documents. Suggested absolute dates fall between the middle and the end of the fourth millennium B.C. Functionally similar recording techniques, however, are also found elsewhere in the ancient Near East, well beyond the area of historical Elam.

Proto-Elamite A Administrative Tablets

The clay tablets called Proto-Elamite in the narrowest acceptance of the term are distinguished by the use of both numerical and nonnumerical characters. The nonnumerical signs include recognizable pictograms as well as geometrical and abstract patterns. Similar signs are often differentiated by diacritical additions or inserts. The size of the signary is indefinite: despite recognition of approximately 5,500 minimally distinctive sign forms[11] and 100 common signs,[12] recent analysis proposes 400-800 significantly distinct characters.[13] All estimates indicate a high incidence of logographic writing.

The earliest Proto-Elamite A tablets from Susa are certainly later than the earliest numerical tablets,[14] dating from c. 3200 B.C. The absolute dates of later uses of the script have yet to be established. There is no clear evidence that Proto-Elamite A and Mesopotamian cuneiform scripts were in use contemporaneously.[15]

The geographical distribution of Proto-Elamite A tablets is remarkable. The largest number by far come from Susa.[16] Smaller numbers of tablets and fragments that bear the same distinctive script have also been excavated at Tepe Sialk, near Kashan;[17] at Tepe Yahya, in Kerman;[18] at Tall-i Malyan, in Fars;[19] and at Shahr-i Sokhta, in Sistan.[20] Thus, closely comparable texts are found throughout and perhaps beyond the area of historical Elam.

Proto-Elamite B Linear Inscriptions

The third set of documents commonly termed Proto-Elamite includes nineteen texts on statuary, vessels, or large clay tablets, in a script of fewer than a hundred attested characters. Seventeen of the texts are from Susa;[21] one is from the cemetery of Shahdad, in Kerman;[22] and one is said to have been found in the Marv Dasht.[23] Three appear on the same objects as Old Akkadian cuneiform texts; the latter not only imply votive purposes but also date the accompanying Proto-Elamite B

texts to c. 2200 B.C.--as much as a millennium later than the Proto-Elamite A tablets. The Proto-Elamite B texts therefore belong in the historical context of the "dynasty" of Awan, for which other documentation is available.[24]

The remainder of this section is concerned only with the earlier text types, the numerical tablets and the Proto-Elamite A texts, which are the sole contemporary textual witnesses of their time from sites in Iran. Recent discussions of the connections among those sites marked by tablets have variously stressed economic contacts among nascent states in Iran and the cities of Mesopotamia, political extension or competition of Proto-Elamite states, or population movements among regions of southern Iran.[25] As long as they are neither deciphered in detail nor precisely dated in relationship to one another, the tablets alone offer little to support or refute such propositions. Several pertinent circumstances, however, bear passing mention.

First, the bullae and numerical tablets found in mid-fourth-millennium levels of western Iranian sites reflect recording techniques shared with greater Mesopotamia; contemporary material evidence shows close cultural ties between those sites and Mesopotamia.[26] The script of the Proto-Elamite A tablets is also comparable in general type to Archaic Sumerian writing from lower Mesopotamia; in spite of this general resemblance, the particular morphology of Proto-Elamite script is wholly distinct from Archaic Sumerian.[27] The two scripts almost certainly record different languages. Proto-Elamite writing is an independent development, specific to Elamite sites, not itself a direct reflex of western contacts. Its appearance marks the establishment of a cultural boundary between Mesopotamia and the area of historical Elam and of bonds between Khuzistan and the eastern highlands.

Second, the occurrence of blank tablets at Yahya IVC indicates that Proto-Elamite texts were locally produced rather than transported among sites. Mineralogical analysis of tablet fragments from Malyan also favors this inference.[28] Furthermore, the most plausible efforts at interpretation of Proto-Elamite A texts are founded on the premise that they served functions comparable to those of Archaic Sumerian texts:

the recording of administrative or contractual transfers among local institutions and individuals rather than documentation of interregional traffic. If this premise is correct, the texts mark the presence of administrative institutions and social constraints of similar complexity at the various sites. While the use of a single distinctive writing system in diverse kinds of settlement over a very large area certainly indicates cultural connections, the texts themselves as yet have no necessary implications for the particular economic or political relationships among Proto-Elamite sites.

Third, the succession of recording techniques, from counters and marked bullae to sealed numerical tablets to fully elaborated Proto-Elamite writing, is so far discernible in clear stratigraphic order only at Susa.[29] But it is by no means clear that the evolution of Proto-Elamite writing was original or specific to Khuzistan: the earliest Proto-Elamite A texts at Susa are contemporary with a major change in material culture.[30] It is still less sure that the Proto-Elamite cultural or political phenomenon spread from an original and dominant center at Susa.[31] At the height of the period, at least, Malyan, in highland Fars, grew to five times the size of contemporary Susa.[32] Malyan, site of the historic Anshan, is the largest known Proto-Elamite site. Its political influence is likely to have been commensurate.

Finally, it is likely that the language that Proto-Elamite script records is an early form of Elamite. If so, the geographical range of Proto-Elamite tablets marks the early establishment of an Elamite cultural area including at least the valleys of Fars, the lowlands of Khuzistan, and outposts or enclaves to the north and east of these regions. It is probable that this area supported several distinct states, as it did in later historical periods. And it is possible that the sites at which Proto-Elamite tablets are found were the precursors of Elamite polities named in later Mesopotamian texts. For the time being, however, the bearing of Proto-Elamite tablets on the history of Elam is more potential than actual.

EARLY DYNASTIC, OLD AKKADIAN AND AWAN (C. 2600-2100 B.C.) (TABLE 1)

Sources for the history of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia offer only modest improvement in documentation of Elamite history. They refer occasionally to Elam, generally ascribing to the third millennium B.C. the episodic warfare with Mesopotamia that also marked later periods. The literary character of the texts leaves the historicity of the events that they mention difficult to evaluate.

The Sumerian King List, compiled c. 2100 B.C., claims that En-Mebaragesi of Kish (c. 2600 B.C.) "carried away as spoil the weapons of the land of Elam."[33] Contemporary inscriptions confirm the historicity of the ruler, though not of his eastern conquests.[34]

A later section of the King List names as kings of Uruk the semidivine figures Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, Dumuzi, and Gilgamesh.[35] Sumerian literary traditions independent of the King List credit to all of them encounters with Elam. In the epic "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," the Sumerian hero sends to the ruler of Aratta repeated demands for precious metals, lapis lazuli, and craftsmen; since the envoy's route passes through Susa, Anshan, and the mountains beyond, Aratta is occasionally sought among the Proto-Elamite sites of eastern Iran.[36] In the "Lugalbanda Epic," the protagonist again journeys beyond the mountains of Anshan to Aratta[37] to conduct a siege.[38] Another fragmentary historical epic alludes to an Elamite invasion of Sumer in the time of Lugalbanda and Dumuzi.[39] Similarly, literary traditions of Gilgamesh refer to his martial exploits on the river Ulai (the modern Karkheh) and in the mountains beyond.[40] While these heroic tales may well be genuine reminiscences of long-range warfare and administered trade with late Proto-Elamite centers, their veracity and intended date elude impartial judgment.

Further on, the Sumerian King List attributes 356 years of sovereignty to a "dynasty" of Awan, naming three kings; all three royal names are broken in extant manuscripts.[41] Rulers of confirmed historicity named in adjacent sections of the King List imply that the

intended date of this "dynasty" of Awan is c. 2500 B.C.[42] Although the precise location of Awan is unknown, other texts identify it as a traditional Elamite political center. The rhetorical structure of the King List does not support the inference of long-lasting or widespread Elamite rule over Mesopotamia.[43] The entry in the King List does concur with the literary allusions, however, by including an Elamite center among the contending states of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia. The dedicatory inscription of an Early Dynastic king of Kish named Enna-il, not mentioned in the King List, likewise commemorates a battle with Elam.[44]

Early Dynastic inscriptions from Lagash offer a similar view. Eannatum of Lagash (c. 2450 B.C.) claims victory over Elam in general and Susa in particular.[45] In about 2370 B.C. an agent of Enetarzi of Lagash reports the defeat of a band of 600 Elamites and the recovery of goods pillaged from Lagash, an episode that apparently took place in Sumer.[46] Complementing these notices of reciprocal skirmishing, pre-Sargonic tablets from Lagash record commercial contacts between the two areas.[47]

With the formation of the Old Akkadian Empire in the twenty-fourth century, Mesopotamian texts for the first time provide a reasonably continuous record of warfare with eastern states. Their boasts of conquest can be checked at least in part against contemporary texts and later traditions from Susa.

Reliable Old Babylonian copies of inscriptions of Sargon of Akkad (2334-2279 B.C.) commemorate victories over Elam and Barahshi. The latter toponym, also spelled *Warahshe*, *Marhashi*, and *Parashe*, names a region in the highlands beyond Khuzistan. Its location is commonly sought in the western Zagros, north or northwest of Khuzistan,[48] but it is more likely that Barahshi/Marhashi was situated in the central or eastern Iranian plateau, north or east of central Fars.[49] Two of the copies of Sargon's inscriptions provide some detail: the vanquished leaders include Sanam-shimut, once called governor (ENSÍ) and once viceroy (GÌR.NITÁ) of Elam; Luh-ishan, son of the king (LUGAL) of Elam, Hishiprashini; two viceroys, a judge, and a brother of the king

of Barahshi; and several city governors (ENSÍ). Plundered cities include both Susa and Awan.[50] These details do not imply that Barahshi and Elam were constituted as "federated" states in any modern sense.[51] At most, they suggest that both polities, like Akkad, held general political control over extended territory governed by figures in whom Mesopotamian scribes recognized a range of subordinate and superordinate political roles.[52]

These same texts provide an essential reference point for a unique list of rulers found at Susa.[53] The list, approximately dated to the interval c. 1800-1600 B.C., opens with twelve personal names summarized in Akkadian as "twelve kings of Awan." Neither regnal years nor genealogical relationships among the rulers are supplied. The first seven names occur in no other known texts. The eighth, Luhishshan, is a minor orthographic variant of the name supplied by Sargon, Luh-ishan, son of the Elamite king. The ninth name, Hishep-ratep, is plausibly seen as an alternate form of Sargon's Hishiprashini.[54] The resemblances are sufficient to provide a synchronism.[55] Later tradition in Elam, then, viewed Sargon's Elamite adversaries as members of an established line and treated as the dynastic seat Awan, rather than Susa. If the list is interpreted as an unbroken succession, the line *may* reach as far back as c. 2500 B.C.; if so, it offers either an alternate, overlapping tradition of the "dynasty" of Awan entered in the Sumerian King List (see above, pp. 10-11), or else a record of a succeeding dynasty at the same seat. There is no assurance, however, that the Susa text provides a complete or fully sequential list of early Elamite rulers.

Whatever victory Sargon achieved was not complete; his successor Rimush (2278-2270 B.C.) repeated the war on Elam and Barahshi. Contemporary votive inscriptions allude to his victory.[56] Old Babylonian copies of inscriptions name among his adversaries a king (LUGAL) and viceroy (GÌR.NITÁ) of Barahshi, but no ruler of Elam or Awan.[57] After a decisive victory on a river "between Awan and Susa," Rimush dismantled the fortifications of Elamite cities, "tore the foundations of Barahshi from among the people of Elam," and so ruled Elam. To judge

by this connotative language,[58] the main contest was between Akkad and a highland kingdom, Barahshi; its object was control over the area that Akkadian sources recognized as Elam in a narrow sense, including lowland territory in Khuzistan and perhaps parts of Fars as well, an area that was not itself a major contender for influence. To secure Akkadian control, the governor of Umma constructed for Rimush a fortress at Sabum, one of the Elamite cities previously taken by Sargon.[59]

Akkadian domination of lowland Elam continued in the reign of Rimush's brother Manishtushu (2269-2255 B.C.). Thus, in the inscription on a statue dedicated at Susa the donor, Eshpum,[60] calls himself "servant of Manishtushu";[61] inscribed seal impressions of the same Eshpum entitle him "governor (ENSÍ) of Elam."[62] With the lowland around Susa pacified, Manishtushu campaigned farther east. In both contemporary versions and later copies, his inscriptions claim that he defeated Anshan, probably in Fars, and Sherihum, unlocated;[63] that he took thirty-two towns on the far side of the Persian Gulf; and that he brought back precious stones from the mountains across the gulf.[64] An Old Babylonian composition purporting to be an inscription of Manishtushu recounts the same events, adding the detail that a king of Anshan and Sherihum was captured; a Neo-Babylonian version of the latter text replaces Sherihum with the toponym Meluhha, suggesting that Sherihum, like Meluhha, lay somewhere to the east or southeast of Anshan, hence beyond eastern Fars.[65]

To the reign of Naram-Sin of Akkad (2254-2218 B.C.) a later literary composition ascribes the suppression of a general uprising of conquered lands.[66] Among the defeated rebels are kings of Meluhha, [Aratta?], Marhashi (= Barahshi), and of "the whole of Elam."[67] The traces of the Elamite king's name are enough to preclude identification with any of the twelve kings of Awan on the Susa King List.

It is probable that this Old Babylonian composition preserves some element of historical truth.[68] The theater of Naram-Sin's activity in the literary tradition, at least, is not far removed from that indicated by more reliable contemporary records. An Old Babylonian copy of an Old

Akkadian inscription insists on Naram-Sin's control of "all of Elam, as far as Barahshi and the land of Subartu" in the highlands of western Iran.[69] A short contemporary votive text likewise calls him "conqueror of Elam."[70] Finally, inscribed bricks from Susa appear to verify his dominion there.[71]

Akkadian influence was well entrenched at Susa. Old Akkadian texts attest the use of Mesopotamian languages, pedagogy, and administrative methods there;[72] and texts both from Susa and from Mesopotamian sites show commercial ties throughout the Sargonic period, Umma serving as an entrepot for trade with Khuzistan and points east.[73] Successive rulers of Susa, Epirmupi, and Ilish-mani, were, if not Naram-Sin's appointees, at least his political subordinates. Both bore the titles "governor (ENSÍ) of Susa" and "viceroy (GÌR.NITÁ) of the land of Elam."[74]

An Elamite text from Susa, however, tempers this appearance of close Akkadian control. Because the text invokes Elamite and Akkadian gods, names Naram-Sin repeatedly, and contains a phrase that can plausibly be rendered as "the enemy of Naram-Sin is my enemy, the friend[?] of Naram-Sin is my friend[?]," it is considered to be a treaty between the Akkadian king and an Elamite ruler.[75] The name of the Elamite party to the treaty is uncertain; so is the location of his political seat. Despite the fact that the text was preserved at Susa, some of the divine names invoked in the document are otherwise unattested, and Inshushinak, the great Susian god, is mentioned as only the sixth in the list of gods invoked by the text.[76] If the "treaty" is a genuine diplomatic compact, it indicates that its authors saw in Elamite relations with Akkad a degree of autonomy that is not evident in the rhetoric of Mesopotamian royal inscriptions. The vaunted Akkadian dominion over Elam may have been no more than an entente that freed Naram-Sin to deal with other adversaries.[77]

The sum of contemporary textual evidence and the analogies of other historical periods[78] favor this view of Elamite political conditions in the Old Akkadian period: from the times of Rimush and Manishtushu through the reign of Naram-Sin's successor, Shar-kali-sharri (2217-2193

B.C.), Susa and the surrounding plains were integrated into the Akkadian conquest state; local rulers held office as "governor of Susa" and "viceroy of Elam" under Akkadian patronage; beyond Elam was a persistently hostile kingdom of Barahshi; at the verges of Akkadian control, between Susiana and Barahshi, were other Elamite principalities; the Akkadian kings managed their relations with these autonomous polities by means of occasional warfare and diplomatic accord.[79] One such principality is probably reflected in Shar-kali-sharri's commemoration of a victory over Elamite forces at Akshak on the Euphrates.[80] The Elamite king Autalumman, known only from a Hurrian text from Boghazköy, may have ruled another.[81] The most conspicuous Elamite political center is not Susa, but Awan. At the dissolution of the Old Akkadian conquest state, Akkadian holdings in southwestern Iran apparently fell under Awan's control.

The twelfth and last king of Awan named on the Old Babylonian list from Susa is Puzur-Inshushinak. His career is attested in a series of Old Akkadian inscriptions, mostly from Susa;[82] and at least some of the Proto-Elamite B inscriptions date to his reign (see above, p. 7).[83] During the Akkadian collapse at the end of Shar-kali-sharri's reign, Puzur-Inshushinak embarked on independent political and military activity.[84] In two inscriptions he adopts explicitly royal titles: "mighty one" (*dannum*) and "king of Awan."[85] In another fragmentary inscription, he calls himself "viceroy" (GÌR.NITÁ) of Elam, like earlier rulers of Susa, but describes extensive wars of conquest occasioned by a "rebellion" of Hurtum (unlocated) and Kimash (between the Jebel Hamrin and the Lower Zab).[86] After naming seventy conquered places, the text concludes with the surprising claim that Puzur-Inshushinak received obeisance from a king of Shimashki, a locale prominent as the nominal seat of rulers of Elam a century later. This reference is a valuable indication that the territory of later Elamite states supported rival political units in the late third millennium B.C.

Puzur-Inshushinak's own conquests, however, were without apparent sequel, and the histories of these Elamite states cannot now be traced further. From the twenty-second century B.C., we have only two

brief references to Elam in texts of Gudea of Lagash (2143-2124 B.C.). Once Gudea claims a military victory over Anshan and Elam; once, that Elamites from Elam and Susians from Susa came to embellish temples of Lagash.[87] Like the Sumerian literary traditions of early kings of Uruk, Gudea's phrases hint at both warfare and peaceful exchange between Sumerians and eastern centers during a time of political fragmentation in both areas.

UR III AND SHIMASHKI (C. 2100-1900 B.C.) (TABLE 2)

At the beginning of the twenty-first century B.C., the Third Dynasty of Ur reunified southern Mesopotamia. Beginning in the middle of the reign of the Dynasty's second king, Shulgi (2094-2047 B.C.), rulers of Ur extended their control beyond Sumer to the north and east. Their wars are recorded in year-names and in a few commemorative inscriptions;[88] their diplomatic and political contacts are reflected in Sumerian administrative texts.[89] No overt record of Sumerian conquest of Susa survives, but Khuzistan was certainly under the control of Ur by the middle of Shulgi's reign. Building and votive texts from Susa attest Shulgi's rule;[90] administrative texts name subordinate city governors of Susa from Shulgi's thirty-fourth regnal year on[91] and perhaps of Adamdun--another Elamite center, probably near Susa--from his forty-third year on.[92] As in earlier times, Sumerian appointees used the two titles "governor of Susa" and "viceroy of the land of Elam."[93]

But rule over Susa did not give Shulgi control of all Elam. Even before the appearance of Sumerian governors at Susa, Shulgi sought diplomatic ties with the surrounding highlands. His eighteenth year is named for the elevation of one of his daughters as queen of Marhashi, certainly a diplomatic marriage.[94] A similar alliance took place in his thirty-first year, named for the marriage of another daughter to the ruler of Anshan;[95] another royal marriage, between a daughter of Shulgi and a ruler of Bashime, on the coast of Fars, was contracted by

Shulgi's forty-eighth year.[96] The fragility of such ties is evident from the thirty-fourth year-name, which commemorates a war on the Anshan.[97] In fact, installation of Sumerian provincial governors in lowland Elamite centers may have been a political innovation meant to secure transport and supply for a newly assertive policy toward highland states, a policy that combined diplomatic initiatives with shows of Sumerian arms.

In any case, by the reign of Shulgi's successor, Amar-Sin (2046-2038 B.C.), Khuzistan was fully incorporated into the provincial organization of the empire of Ur. Sumerian administrative records began to be kept at Susa,[98] and the city was put in the hands of a career administrator.[99] Military activity on the eastern frontier also continued, to judge by Amar-Sin's seventh year-name, which records war on Huhnuri.[100] At Girsu, now the chief Mesopotamian entrepot for communications with the east, the governor, Arad-Nanna, assumed the office of "grand regent" (sukkal.maḫ). In subsequent years he acquired general political authority over the eastern territories of the empire and responsibility for contacts with autonomous states on the frontier.[101]

At some time during the reign of Amar-Sin's successor, Shu-Sin (2037-2029 B.C.), another princess--apparently of Ur--traveled to Anshan, conceivably to renew the earlier alliance.[102] Nevertheless, by the sixth year of Shu-Sin, relations between Ur and the eastern highlands deteriorated. The outstanding military accomplishment of Shu-Sin's reign was a series of campaigns in western Iran, commemorated in later copies of his inscriptions.[103] The principal targets were areas prominent in the later political history of Elam, and especially prominent in the eventual fall of the empire of Ur: the lands of Shimashki, led by the territory of Zabshali;[104] the territory of the Su-people; and Anshan.[105] Shu-Sin's seventh year-name commemorates the events in abbreviated form, as a victory over Zabshali.[106] Alongside these records of war in the east, inscribed bricks from Susa attest Shu-Sin's continued rule in Khuzistan.[107]

Throughout the Ur III period, communications between Sumer and the east were intense. Numerous Sumerian administrative documents refer to couriers from Susa, Adamdun, Sabum, Marhashi, Huhnuri, Shimashki, Anshan, the Su-lands, and other regions.[108] Especially common are the memoranda called "messenger" texts, from the Girsu ("Lagash") and Umma archives, which record rations issued to official travelers passing among the same eastern sites, the entrepot at Girsu, and the capital at Ur.[109] Texts from the Girsu archives also note rations dispensed to crews of persons characterized as "Elamites" or "highlanders" (NIM), commonly specified as coming from one of the highland centers or from its governor (rarely from Susa or Adamdun) and moving among destinations in the highlands, Susiana, and Mesopotamia. Such groups were evidently mobile gangs of soldiers and workers, supplied by or recruited in highland territories of Elam to perform labor, security, and perhaps garrison duties under the general authority of the "grand regent" at Lagash.[110]

Such administrative texts also provide the names of local governors in various parts of Elam but not adequate material for local histories. References to city rulers prove insufficient to establish the degree of their political subordination to Ur. Sumerian inscriptions, like Old Akkadian texts, routinely treat eastern states as subjects or clients. In diplomatic marriages, Ur regularly took the stronger role of bride giver. But the alliances themselves, and the episodes of warfare, show substantial political autonomy on the Zagros frontiers. Documents recording crews of Elamite soldiers or workmen from highland centers reflect close liaison between eastern rulers and Sumerian administrative bureaus; supply of these personnel constituted acknowledgment of Ur's political preeminence, but not necessarily of its sovereignty. It is notable that Elamite crews from lowland cities, Susa and Adamdun, are extremely infrequent, while the highland centers are rare among towns that paid "tribute" (GUN) to Ur.[111] Some Ur III texts, like Gudea's building inscription (see above, p. 16), draw a distinction between "the land of Susa" and "the land of Elam."[112] In short, greater Elam in the Ur III period included a lowland area securely bound to the provincial

structure of the empire and a corona of highland states whose changing political alignments were articulated by constant diplomatic maneuvering.

The political balance of the eastern frontier was disturbed by Shu-Sin's wars. It broke down during the reign of his successor, Ibbi-Sin (2028-2004 B.C.), when the empire's internal disintegration was terminated by an assault from Elam. At Susa, texts dated by imperial year-names cease in Ibbi-Sin's third year.[113] His fifth year is named for the marriage of his daughter to a ruler of Zabshali, over which Shu-Sin had claimed decisive victory seven years earlier.[114] The ninth year is named for a war on Huhnuri.[115] The fourteenth year-name attests war still closer to the capital: the date formula claims resounding victory over Susa, Adamdun, and Awan in terms echoed in Ibbi-Sin's royal inscriptions.[116] Whatever success may have warranted these claims, ten years later a force of Elamites and Su-people captured Ur. The war is narrated in a Sumerian royal hymn from the reign of Ishbi-Erra of Isin (2017-1985 B.C., overlapping the reign of Ibbi-Sin);[117] and the Elamite predations are recalled in Sumerian lamentations and in later historical omens.[118] Ibbi-Sin himself, according to Old Babylonian and later literary recollection, was taken to Anshan, where he died.[119]

Thus far, Sumerian texts dominate the historical record of the twenty-first century B.C. In addition, texts from Susa preserve traces of an indigenous political tradition in Elam that partially occupies the same interval: the "dynasty" of Shimashki. The same Old Babylonian tablet that lists the "twelve kings of Awan" (see above, pp. 12, 15) concludes with a second list of twelve names, summarized as "twelve Shimashkian kings." Still later, Elamite texts of Shilhak-Inshushinak (c. 1140 B.C.) list three of the same names among early kings who built temples at Susa.[120] Most important, contemporary inscriptions of three of these rulers are extant;[121] one of these[122] corroborates the rubric of the Old Babylonian list with use of the title "King of Shimashki and Elam."

This parallel use of the toponyms, like Shu-Sin's earlier reference to "lands of Shimashki" (see above, p. 17), suggests that Shimashki

designates a region rather than a single site. Its location is unknown; although the vicinity of Khorammabad is commonly suggested,[123] the valley of Burujird may be a better guess in view of the distribution of second- and third-millennium sites surveyed there.[124]

The first three names in the Old Babylonian enumeration of Shimashkian rulers do not recur in other texts from Susa: Girnamme, Tazitta, and Ebarti.[125] Homonymous chiefs of eastern districts, however, do appear in Sumerian administrative texts from the reigns of Amar-Sin and Shu-Sin: (1) Kirname appears without title, but in parallel mention with named governors of Marhashi and the Su, in a single text from Shu-Sin's sixth year;[126] (2) Iabrat, the Su, occurs in the same text, and in others from Amar-Sin's seventh year through Shu-Sin's sixth;[127] (3) a contemporary of Iabrat is Dazite, called "man" of Anshan, in texts from Amar-Sin's eighth year and Shu-Sin's second.[128] Given that the leading adversaries of Shu-Sin's eastern wars included the lands of Shimashki, the Su, and Anshan and that the same territories took part in the later defeat of Ur, led by a Shimashkian king of Elam, this homonymy cannot be coincidental. It appears that the author of the Old Babylonian Susa King List arrayed coeval leaders of these regions as distinguished predecessors of the later Shimashkian rulers of Susa,[129] that the beginnings of the Shimashkian "dynasty" fall no earlier than c. 2030 B.C., and that the autonomous highland states coalesced through military or dynastic alliance into the Shimashkian monarchy during the period of Sumerian military and diplomatic probes in southwestern Iran. During the times of Ibbi-Sin of Ur and Ishbi-Erra of Isin, the Shimashkian Elamite state took control of Khuzistan, waged war on Ur and Isin, and eventually captured Ur.[130]

A fragmentary Sumerian hymn in honor of Ishbi-Erra (hence composed soon after the events) narrates the war.[131] It identifies Kindattu, the sixth ruler named on the Old Babylonian list, as the Elamite ruler who led the assault and almost certainly as the ruler who completed the conquest of Ur.[132]

The synchronism among Kindattu, Ibbi-Sin, and Ishbi-Erra fixes a chronological reference point for the Shimashkian dynasty. The several

documents naming Kindattu and his successors, however, show discrepancies in the sequence of rulers. The Old Babylonian list[133] names them in the following order: Kindattu, Idaddu (I), Tan-Ruhuratir, Ebarti (II), Idattu (II), without indicating filiation. The twelfth-century texts of Shilhak-Inshushinak[134] name Idaddu, his son Tan-Ruhuratir, and the latter's son Kindattu. Building inscriptions of the Shimashkians and contemporary inscribed seals and seal impressions name Indattu-Inshushinak, son of [*Bi*]-*e*-*bi*;[135] Tan-Ruhuratir, son of Idaddu;[136] and Idaddu, son of Tan-Ruhuratir.[137] The most likely arrangement of the Shimashkian rulers at Susa follows the evidence of the contemporary texts and the Old Babylonian list, with the proviso that there may be gaps in the sequence: Kindattu (c. 2000 B.C.), Idaddu I = Indattu-Inshushinak, Tan-Ruhuratir (c. 1975 B.C.), Idaddu II (c. 1935 B.C.).[138] On this reconstruction, the latter part of the Shimashkian "dynasty" spans the twentieth century B.C.

Apart from evidence of temple building at Susa, contemporary inscriptions supply little more than the rulers' titles. While the later texts of Shilhak-Inshushinak list the Shimashkians as "kings, my predecessors" (Elamite *sunkip uripupe*), Indattu-Inshushinak's own text uses only the subregal titles "governor" (ENSÍ) of Susa and "viceroy" (GÌR.NITÁ) of the land of Elam;[139] texts of Tan-Ruhuratir and his wife entitle him "governor" of Susa,[140] and her "great lady" (Sumerian nin.gu.la);[141] and texts of Idaddu (II) also call him "governor" of Susa.[142] A fragmentary text of Tan-Ruhuratir, however, names Idaddu I "king" (LUGAL) of Shimashki and Elam,[143] providing the earliest clear evidence of a practice well attested in later centuries of Elamite history: the division of general rule over Elam and local rule over Susa between successive generations of a royal family.[144] Shimashkian kings may have applied the same principle of multicentric rule by members of a single dynasty to still more remote areas of greater Elam, as a seal inscribed "Imazu, son of Kindattu, king of Anshan" suggests.[145]

Another indication of Shimashkian claims to royal status appears in a small group of administrative tablets from Susa dated "year in which

[or: "year after which] Iabarat became king."[146] There is disagreement on the ruler to whom these date formulas refer--whether the first or second Shimashkian Ebarti, or the *sukkalmah* Ebarat (see below, pp. &pageh-&pagei).[147] The orthography of the royal name, in any event, is comparable to spellings of the Ur III period;[148] and one of the texts applies the divine determinative to Iabarat's name,[149] a circumstance best paralleled in the spelling of the first Shimashkian's name on the Babylonian list (d.*Gi-ir-na-am-me*), in an inscribed seal impression of Idaddu II,[150] and above all in the practice of deification of Ur III kings.[151]

This trace of similarity in royal style between Ur and Elam is certainly a mark of the historical conditions of the time: after the fall of Ur, Elam under the Shimashkian rulers emerged as one of the successor-states competing for former imperial holdings. Relations between Elam and Mesopotamia continued to alternate hostility with alliance.

A Sumerian text from the twelfth year of Ishbi-Erra of Isin (2017-1985 B.C.) alludes to a victory over Elam;[152] Ishbi-Erra's thirteenth year (i.e., year x + 11) was named for another defeat of Elamites and Su-people.[153] These skirmishes, still prior to the Elamite sack of Ur, were also recalled in historical omens of the Old Babylonian period.[154] Ishbi-Erra's twenty-third year-name commemorates the expulsion of Elamites from Ur, apparently referring to a garrison left after the capture of the city ten years previously.[155] Unclear suggestions of less bellicose contacts are allusions to "letters from Anshan";[156] to a marriage between the king's daughter and an official with a seemingly Elamite name;[157] and to messengers, accompanied by entourages, coming from Kindattu and perhaps from Idaddu.[158]

Ishbi-Erra's successor at Isin, Shu-ilishu (1984-1975 B.C.), commemorated his return of the cult image of Ur's principal god, Nanna, from Anshan; the texts make no reference to warfare.[159] In northern Mesopotamia at about the same time, the ruler (ENSI) of Eshnunna on the Diyala married his daughter, Me-kubi, to Tan-Ruhuratir, the governor of Susa; her building inscription from Susa

supplies the names and titles of both her husband and her father.[160] The threat that made this dynastic alliance advantageous to the Elamites may be apparent in inscriptions of Anum-mutabbil, ruler (GÌR.NITÁ) of Der (modern Badrah), boasting of a victory over forces of Elam, Anshan, and Shimashki and an alliance with Barahshi.[161] In the following generation, Isin too sought alliance with the east: Shu-ilishu's successor, Iddin-Dagan (1974-1954 B.C.), married his daughter, Matum-niattum, to a king of Anshan, recording the event in the name of his first year.[162]

Mesopotamian documentary sources for Elam hereafter fall silent for forty years until the reign of Gungunum of Larsa (1932-1906 B.C.). His third and fifth years were named for wars against eastern Elamite territories: Bashime, at the southeastern margin of Khuzistan or on the coast of Fars, and Anshan, in highland Fars, respectively.[163] The single occurrence of Gungunum's sixteenth year-name on a tablet from Susa[164] suggests an interlude of Mesopotamian rule there; sustained control is unlikely.[165] It is chronologically plausible to suppose that Gungunum's deep military penetration was the stimulus for political change in Elam, bringing an end--or at least a drastic change--to the Shimashkian dynasty.[166]

Eighty years later, Elamite troops were once more active in Mesopotamia, allied with Zambia of Isin (1836-1834 B.C.); a defeat of the combined army is recorded in the fifth year-name of Sin-iqisham of Larsa (1840-1836 B.C.).[167] By the time of this event, however, a new political configuration had arisen in Elam, the state of the *sukkalmah*s.

THE SUKKALMAH PERIOD (C. 1900-1500 B.C.) (TABLE 3)

During and after the Third Dynasty of Ur, Mesopotamian campaigns in Elam had provoked military reaction. More important, they probably had also catalyzed political change, leading to the coalescence of alliances among highland states into larger political units and eventually to the formation of an extensive multicentric state, the kingdom of Elam and Shimashki. Dynastic alliances and diplomatic contacts marked the increasingly close involvement of Elam in Mesopotamian political competition. These features form the general background for the political florescence of Elam in the *sukkalmah* period.

The *sukkalmah* period is so called for the characteristic title used by Elamite rulers of the time: Sumerian sukkal.maḫ (= Akkadian *šukkalmaḫḫu*), approximately "grand regent." Its adoption as a royal title in Elam was probably fostered by the considerable political influence of the sukkal.maḫ of the Ur III Empire on eastern affairs and certainly favored by similarity between the Sumerian title sukkal and the Elamite word *sunkir* or *sukkir*, "king."[168]

This period is the most extensively documented in Elamite history. Sources include contemporary building, votive, and seal inscriptions, texts of the *sukkalmah*s recopied by Middle Elamite kings, and allusions in Middle Elamite building inscriptions. Fundamental to the period's absolute chronology and political history are references to Elam in Mesopotamian texts. Fundamental to relative chronology and socio-economic history are several hundred legal and economic texts from Susa, written in Sumerian and Akkadian.

Many of the Akkadian texts from Susa[169] include oaths sworn in the names of one or more Elamite rulers. These oath formulas, along with building and dedicatory texts, reveal an extraordinary system of rule divided among members of two generations of the royal family. The Susa texts show a tripartite scheme: a senior ruler, commonly entitled *sukkalmah*, "grand regent"; a senior co-regent, commonly entitled "*sukkal* [regent] of Elam and Shimashki" often a brother of the *sukkalmah*; and a junior co-regent, commonly entitled "*sukkal* of Susa,"

often a son or nephew of the *sukkalmah*. On the death of the *sukkalmah*, his throne passed first to the *sukkal* of Elam and Shimashki, and eventually, it appears, to the *sukkal* of Susa.[170] Opinions differ, however, on more precise definition of the principles of kinship and succession among these triumvirs.[171] Documents now available display this three-rank scheme only from the vantage of Susa. It is possible that local rulers of other major centers within the extensive territory controlled by the *sukkalmah*s (e.g., Anshan) also took roles, and so Elamite political articulation and the events of succession were more complex than the Susa texts alone reveal. The system has precedents among the Shimashkian rulers (see above, pp. 21-22). In Mesopotamia as well, junior members of ruling families during the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods at times served comparable political apprenticeships, for example: Shu-Sin of Ur, Ishme-Dagan of Isin, and the sons of Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria. In Elam under the *sukkalmah*s, however, the practice was institutionalized. Although the circumstances of inheritance varied from one generation to another, once this institution of divided rule was in effect the *sukkalmah*s obtained supreme authority only after prior experience as co-regents, and the Elamite state was insulated to a degree against the political shocks of dynastic struggles.[172]

Despite their apparently subregal titles, variations in style assure that the *sukkalmah*s were independent sovereigns. Both grand regents and junior rulers occasionally affected the title "king."[173] Similarly, Mesopotamian texts refer not only to *sukkal*s of Elam or of Susa but also on occasion to "kings."[174] One Old Babylonian letter refers to a "great king of Elam,"[175] a suggestion that Babylonian scribes viewed the *sukkalmah*, like other rulers of the day, as suzerain over lesser kings.

The oath formulas of the Susa legal texts, already mentioned, commonly name individual rulers jointly with their successors (i.e., junior co-regents) or their predecessors (i.e., senior co-regents). This unusual circumstance forms the basis for seriation of rulers.[176] Large parts of the series are well established. Variations in the form

and amount of information, likely breaks in sequence, and instances of homonymy among distinct rulers, however, leave areas of uncertainty in the overall framework. Reconstructions of the order and chronology of the *sukkalmah*s are consequently varied. Details of all provisional reconstructions will be subject to reappraisal as new texts become available, particularly texts of the *sukkalmah* period from excavations in the Ville Royale A of Susa[177] and texts from Haft Tepe that provide a *terminus ante quem* for the *sukkalmah* dynasty (cf. pp. 33-35).[178]

Three synchronisms between Elamite and Mesopotamian rulers provide fixed reference points for the absolute chronology of the period: (1) between the *sukkalmah* Shiruktuh and Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria, 1813-1781 B.C.;[179] (2) between the Elamite rulers Ṣiwe-palar-huhpak and Kuduzulush and the latter part of the reign of Hammurabi of Babylon, 1792-1750 B.C.;[180] and (3) between one of the *sukkalmah*s named Kuk-nashur and the first year of Ammi-ṣaduqa of Babylon, 1645 B.C.[181] Textually doubtful, though chronologically tenable, are proposed synchronisms between Addahushu of Susa and Sumu-abum of Babylon, 1894-1881 B.C.,[182] and between the Elamite Shilhaha and the end of the reign of Sumu-El of Larsa, 1894-1866 B.C.[183] These synchronisms fix the middle of the period in time but leave its initial and final dates open to debate.

The earliest documented triumvirate of the *sukkalmah* period includes Ebarat (= Eparti), Shilhaha, and Addahushu.[184] Middle Elamite building inscriptions appear to treat Eparti/Ebarat as the dynasty's founder, since they name him after the Shimashkian rulers but without filiation, and name Shilhaha as his son.[185] Nevertheless, it is Shilhaha who figures as the ancestor claimed by later rulers: texts of later *sukkalmah*s style their authors on occasion "sister's-son of Shilhaha";[186] Middle Elamite inscriptions[187] also attribute to some of the later *sukkalmah*s the same order of descent from Shilhaha, using the Elamite term *ruhušak*, "sister's-son"; and at least twice Middle Elamite rulers themselves are credited with the same descent, despite an interval of more than half a millennium.[188]

Although the most widely current estimate of the date of the first *sukkalmah*s is c. 1850 B.C., there are strong indications in favor of a higher date, c. 1900 B.C. or slightly earlier. In particular, three seal impressions from Susa all bear the name of Shilahupitir, scribe; two of these invoke the Shimashkian ruler Idaddu II;[189] the third invokes Addahushu of the first *sukkalmah* triumvirate.[190] If all three belong to a single scribe, the interval between the last Shimashkian ruler and the first *sukkalmah*s was less than a man's adult lifetime. Other suggestions that Addahushu's tenure of office was comparatively long[191] facilitate this higher date. Indeed, the combined use of the toponyms Shimashki and Elam in the titularies of later *sukkalmah*s evokes a degree of political continuity commensurate with their proposed chronological continuity. Furthermore, the proposal that the ninth ruler in the Old Babylonian list of Shimashkian kings, Ebarti (II), was the same individual as the nominal founder of the *sukkalmah* "dynasty"[192] is not subject to direct confirmation, but it is chronologically plausible.[193] In view of these indications of chronological overlap and titular continuity between Shimashkians and early *sukkalmah*s, it is inviting to speculate that Gungunum's wars (see above, p. 23) broke Shimashkian control over Susa at a time when Ebarat/Ebarti was paramount ruler and Idaddu II a local co-regent, c. 1925 B.C.; that Shilhaha reestablished Elamite control of Susa while Ebarat was still paramount in the highlands, shortly before 1900 B.C.; and that the appearance of the first *sukkalmah*s was not a sharp dynastic change but the reassertion of an existing political formation.[194]

The emergence of the *sukkalmah*s in Elam was in any case contemporary with a sustained period of political change in greater Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamian urban centers, dynasties asserting succession to the claims of the Third Dynasty of Ur gave way to new regimes that combined city rule with leadership of tribal federations and their interurban territories. A kindred assertion of simultaneous urban and territorial dominion appears in the titles that a unique inscription from Susa gives to the first triumvirate of the *sukkalmah* period:[195] the

text calls Ebarat "king of Anshan and Susa," Shilhaha "*sukkalmah* and father of the land[?] of Anshan and Susa"[196] and Addahushu "*sukkal* and magistrate[?] of the people of Susa."[197] Apart from these titles, however, testimonies to the history of the time include only references to Addahushu's building activity,[198] an allusion to his erection of a "justice stele" (Akkadian ALAM *kittum*) to regulate prices under divine sanction,[199] and a date formula that mentions a messenger from Zabshali, one of the "lands of Shimashki."[200]

Prominent among the new Mesopotamian royal houses of the late nineteenth century B.C. was that of Larsa under Warad-Sin (1835-1823 B.C.)[201] and Rim-Sin (1822-1763), both sons of a tribal leader with the apparently Elamite name of Kudur-mabuk, son of Shimti-shilhak. Despite suggestive similarities of royal succession and titulary in Larsa and Elam,[202] Cameron's suggestion[203] that Shimti-shihlak and the *sukkalmah* Shilhaha were identical and that the houses of Larsa and Elam were allied by blood has not received confirmation or acceptance.[204] Nevertheless, the seemingly Elamite names of the Larsa kings' forebears reflect some intercourse between populations of the adjoining states, an impression enhanced by traces of commercial links among Larsa, Eshnunna, and Susa;[205] by Rim-Sin's construction of a temple for the goddess Ninlil-of-Elam;[206] and by a letter from Rim-Sin, already mentioned (see above, 25), that implies that an unnamed "great king of Elam" was in a position to bring political pressure to bear on Eshnunna for the benefit of the ruler of Larsa.[207] These hints of Elamite influence in Mesopotamia are a prelude to increasingly frequent and detailed traces of Elamite expansion to the north and west in the early eighteenth century B.C.

The first such information appears in a letter from Shusharra, near modern Rania, in which the local ruler reports to his overlord Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria (1813-1781 B.C.) on the activities of Shuruhtuh, king of Elam.[208] The latter is certainly the *sukkalmah* whose name is spelled *Shiruktuh* in texts from Susa.[209] Shamshi-Adad's correspondent reports that the Elamite has readied an army of 12,000 troops and directed his attention toward the ruler of Gutium on the upper course

of the Lower Zab.[210] The text provides an essential chronological reference point, a geographical indication of the northern extent of Elamite political influence, and substantive evidence of growing Elamite military ambition. Further suggestion of military expansion occurs in a fragmentary stele written in Elamite and probably to be attributed to Shiruktuh;[211] the text records the conquest (Elamite *duh*: "I took") of more than seventy places--none identifiable with any precision.

Texts from Susa name as Shiruktuh's co-regents Shimut-wartash, Ṣiwe-palar-huhpak, and Kuduzulush. The latter two succeeded in turn to the grand regency.[212] Both appear in Mesopotamian sources: texts from the archives of Mari, on the middle Euphrates, dating from the first third of the eighteenth century B.C., name Sheplarpak (i.e., Ṣiwe-palar-huhpak) both as "king of Anshan" and as "*sukkal* of Elam," and Kudusulush (i.e., Kuduzulush) as "*sukkal* of Susa."[213] Other texts from the same source document continuing Elamite expansion, though the rulers' names are usually lacking.

In the reigns of Ṣiwe-palar-huhpak and Kuduzulush, at least, Elamite political and military influence continued to extend north through the Zagros and into Mesopotamia along the Diyala. Mari texts report that Ṣiwe-palar-huhpak took possession of Eshnunna,[214] that an unnamed *sukkal* of Elam was present at Eshnunna,[215] and that Elamite troops had returned from Gutium to Eshnunna.[216] In addition, texts probably originating at the border city of Malgium bear seals of officials called "servants of Kuduzulush."[217] These are signs that rulers of Elam held influence, if not suzerainty, over eastern Mesopotamian centers, as the letter of Rim-Sin cited above implies.

At the same time, Elamite agents took part in a diplomatic and commercial network that extended across Mesopotamia and northern Syria to the Mediterranean. Mari texts note supplies issued to Elamites, including messengers, present at court;[218] others refer to emissaries from the *sukkal* of Elam at the court of Hammurabi of Babylon;[219] others to exchanges of emissaries between Elam and the north Syrian court of Qatna;[220] and still others to Elamite participation in interstate tin trade.[221]

With access to Eshnunna, the *sukkalmah*s entered the competition among Mesopotamian states during an interval of far-reaching warfare and meteoric changes of alliance. The chronological succession of particular events is debatable, but Mari texts demonstrate that Elam and Eshnunna took advantage of the deterioration in Assyrian fortunes after the death of Shamshi-Adad I (1781 B.C.) and extended their control across former Assyrian holdings on the Tigris and in Upper Mesopotamia until their expansion was checked and reversed by Hammurabi of Babylon in the years following 1764 B.C.

Shortly after Shamshi-Adad's death, his successor, Ishme-Dagan, assured the Assyrian regent at Mari that Elam and Eshnunna were held in check.[222] During the following years, however, Assyria lost Mari. Elamite troops and the *sukkal* of Elam were quartered at Eshnunna,[223] evidently supported by allied forces from the Zagros regions.[224] The former Assyrian stronghold of Shubat-Enlil fell into the hands of an Elamite,[225] and Elamite troops moved against Ekallatum, another former Assyrian possession.[226] Combined armies of Elam and Eshnunna invaded Idamaraz on the Balikh or Khabur.[227] The allies besieged Razama, another city formerly under Assyrian control; anticipating relief of the siege from Mari, the attacking armies called for an invasion of Mari's territory by a second Elamite force.[228] The coalition suffered reverses at the siege.[229] Perhaps in a related engagement, an unnamed *sukkal* of Elam was defeated.[230] The ruler of Mari was able to name a year for a victory over Elam.[231]

The eventual beneficiary of these conflicts was Hammurabi of Babylon. His thirtieth year-name refers to the defeat in the preceding year (1764 B.C.) of the "army which Elam had raised en masse--from the frontier of Marhashi, including Subartu, Gutium, Eshnunna, and Malgium."[232] Securing Babylonia's northern and eastern marches against Elam took repeated campaigns: Hammurabi's thirty-second year is named for a war against Elam's former allies, Eshnunna, Subartu, and Gutium; his thirty-third for a defeat of Mari, Malgium, and Subartu. Even Hammurabi's successor, Samsu-iluna (1749-1712 B.C.), recorded a war against Idamaraz "from the frontier of Gutium to the frontier of Elam."[233]

While these Mesopotamian sources provide a rough indication of the northern and western extent of Elam's influence under the *sukkalmah*s, the state's eastern limit is less clear. A dedicatory inscription from Liyan names Shimut-wartash without title;[234] if he is the Elamite *sukkal* of that name, a younger contemporary of Shiruktuh, the text implies control of coastal Fars. Inscribed brick fragments from Malyan that bear the *sukkalmah* titulary[235] attest control of a major city in the Kur River Basin. The minimum geographical dimensions of the *sukkalmah* state rank it as one of the largest polities of the early second millennium B.C.

Nevertheless, after the mid-eighteenth century B.C. documentation of the political history of *sukkalmah* Elam diminishes radically in quantity and precision. Babylonian texts after Hammurabi continue to refer sporadically to commerce with Elam[236] and to the occasional presence of Elamite soldiers in Babylonian armies.[237] A Babylonian text found at Dilbat, dated in the first year of Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646 B.C.), records a land grant made by the *sukkalmah* Kuk-nashur;[238] while it indicates local recognition of a grant made by a foreign sovereign, it is certainly not firm evidence of Babylonian political suzerainty over Elam.[239]

The settled area of Susa and the population of its hinterland grew under the *sukkalmah*s.[240] Throughout the period, texts in Akkadian document elaborate legal and economic traffic. Problems of chronological arrangement restrict developmental hypotheses, but the Akkadian texts are the richest available source for Elamite--or at least Susian--social and economic history. They share some general features with contemporary records from Babylonia. "Private" legal texts, as against palace or temple records, are far more numerous than in earlier times. They imply progressive concentration of real property and debt titles through acts of purchase, credit, and inheritance and, consequently, progressive economic differentiation within the population of Susa. They document grants of state lands to government dependents; and they refer to royal intervention in economic trends in the form of remissions of obligations meant to ease perceived social inequities. At the same

time, the texts show an institutional framework with pronounced specific differences from those that governed legal behavior in contemporary Babylonia.[241] Together with occasional building inscriptions, the juridical texts supply names and titles of rulers for at least five reigns after Ammi-ṣaduqa's contemporary Kuk-nashur.[242] The *sukkalmah* dynasty therefore certainly lasted through the seventeenth, probably well into the sixteenth, and possibly as late as the early fifteenth century B.C.[243] The *sukkalmah* state was the most durable political formation in known Elamite history. Major political changes surely took place during its long tenure. But apart from the names and titles of rulers, little explicit evidence is now available to mark the course of the state's internal history, its foreign relations during its last two centuries, or the conditions under which the dynasty ended and the form of the monarchy changed.

MIDDLE ELAMITE (C. 1450-1100 B.C.) (TABLE 4)

Similar strictures apply to the early, "transitional" stages of the Middle Elamite period. In the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., successive Elamite "kings of Anshan and Susa" left pronounced marks in both Mesopotamian and Elamite records (see below, pp. 35-44). But even the names and titles of their predecessors in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. have been slow to emerge. Available information is still scarce.

Mesopotamian texts tell very little about Elam in this interval. A late Babylonian chronicle provides the isolated datum that Ea-gamil, last king of the first Sealand dynasty of southern Babylonia, "went to Elam," whereupon the Kassite Ulamburiash conquered the Sealand.[244] A fifteenth-century date for the episode is most plausible, but not certain.[245]

Labat, in the absence of well-dated texts from this period, speculated that Elam was fragmented among petty local rulers during the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.[246] Texts recently published

or reevaluated, however, point to the existence of an Elamite monarchy with greater titular pretensions and perhaps with greater political substance.

A seal impression on a tablet excavated in the Ville Royale AXII at Susa names in its Akkadian inscription Kidinu, entitled "king of Susa and Anzan"; it is dated by style and stratigraphy to the fifteenth century B.C.[247] An unexcavated cylinder seal, dated stylistically to approximately the same time, invokes Tan-Ruhuratir (II), also called "king of Susa and Anzan";[248] and the Akkadian text on brick fragments from the reconstruction of a building at Susa applies the same title to a ruler called Inshushinak-shar-ilani.[249]

Not one of these kings is yet attested in any other document. The absolute dates, and even the order, of the three kings are still uncertain. But the royal title applied to them is identical with that used in the early fourteenth century by Tepti-ahar, in the late fourteenth by Ige-halki and Attar-kittah, and on occasion in the early thirteenth by Untash-Napirisha. Antecedents of the titulary favored by rulers at the height of Middle Elamite strength were therefore present in Khuzistan as early as the mid-fifteenth century B.C. Despite the lack of extant documents, it is likely that the political foundations of the Middle Elamite kingdom were laid at the same time, both in Susiana and in the highlands of Anshan. But for the present this rather long formative period is an a vague postulate, without real detail. A clearer view becomes available only in the later fourteenth century B.C.

During the post-*sukkalmah* period, the area of occupation at Susa diminished; 20 km to the south the site of Haft Tepe grew to approximately 30 ha. The first few published items from more than 600 tablets and two inscribed steles excavated at Haft Tepe have begun to throw light on Elam in the early fourteenth century.[250] Early results can be summarized as follows.

Administrative tablets and a monumental stele from Haft Tepe name as king Tepti-ahar. Inscribed seal impressions provide his full title, "king of Susa and Anzan."[251] Tepti-ahar was known from three previously published texts: a brick inscription that, like the published

Haft Tepe stele, regulates the conduct and support of a local cult;[252] and two legal texts, formerly presumed to date to the late *sukkalmah* period.[253] One of the latter (MDP 22 76) is a so-called "Malamir" text--one of a group of tablets brought to Paris by an individual from Malamir and erroneously treated as documents original to eastern Khuzistan. The administrative texts from Haft Tepe now provide evidence for the date of Tepti-ahar's reign. On a text which names Tepti-ahar in its seal impression, the date formula refers to Kadashman-d.KUR.GAL, very probably the Kassite Babylonian king Kadashman-Enlil I, 1374 (or earlier)-1360 B.C.[254] Furthermore, detailed comparison between Haft Tepe and "Malamir" texts strongly indicates not only their contemporaneity but also their common origin at Haft Tepe.[255] Prior historical inferences about eastern Khuzistan in the late *sukkalmah* period, drawn from the assumed source and date of the "Malamir" texts, are therefore unwarranted.

The administrative texts provide some political information. They name a local governor, hence show traces of political administration beyond the usual limits of merely dynastic relationships.[256] Date formulas refer to exchanges of emissaries between the Babylonian and Elamite courts, to deteriorating diplomatic relations, and possibly to the repulse of a Babylonian attack on Elam.[257]

Date formulas of some tablets refer to construction of the temple whose cult the published stele fragment regulates; contents of others detail its supply.[258] They evidently deal with the mortuary temple and attached workshops excavated at Haft Tepe itself. They show the expenditure of precious materials and the application of administrative controls under crown authority and so exemplify the level of investment and control implicit also in the temples built by later Middle Elamite rulers.

Information emerging now therefore depicts a substantial state in fourteenth-century Elam: a monarchy controlling at a minimum both Susa and the nearby city at Haft Tepe (probably ancient Kabnak), with at least titular claim to Anshan, wealthy enough to organize and support cult and craft organizations and powerful enough to engage in

diplomacy and warfare with Babylonia. The royal title and contemporary personal names provide suggestive antecedents for the Middle Elamite monarchy of the early thirteenth century.

Subsequent political development in Elam was nevertheless interrupted. The late Babylonian text called "Chronicle P" records that the Babylonian king Kurigalzu II (1132-1308 B.C.) fought an otherwise unknown Hurbatila, entitled "king of Elammat," defeated him, and conquered Elam.[259] Votive inscriptions of Kurigalzu also record his conquest of Susa, Elam, and Marhashi.[260] Dedicatory texts of Kurigalzu have been found at Susa itself.[261] The extent and duration of Kassite domination over Elam are unknown. Kassite control of Susiana seems to have been only a brief episode, followed quickly by the rise of the Middle Elamite state.

There is comparatively abundant documentation of the rulers of Elam in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., the Middle Elamite period when Elam reemerged as a great power in competition with Mesopotamian kingdoms and extended its control to approximately the same limits reached by the *sukkalmah*s of the early eighteenth century. Internal sources for the period are chiefly royal inscriptions, most of them building and dedicatory texts in Elamite.[262] Their genealogical information establishes the succession of kings and thus the framework of relative chronology for the period. Mesopotamian sources--including Chronicle P, two royal grants, and a series of later literary allusions[263] --provide synchronisms that supply absolute temporal reference points. Chronicle P establishes contemporaneity between the Elamite Kidin-Hutran and the Babylonians Enlil-nadin-shumi (1224 B.C.) and Adad-shuma-iddina (1222-1217 B.C.).[264] A literary fragment[265] supplies a synchronism between the Elamites Shutruk-Nahhunte and Kutir-Nahhunte and the Babylonians Zababa-shuma-iddina (1158 B.C.) and Enlil-nadin-ahi (1157-1155 B.C.).[266] A royal grant[267] supplies an additional synchronism between the Elamite Huteludush-Inshushinak and the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 B.C.).[268] Lengths of reign of individual Elamite rulers being unknown, any dates assigned to each are approximations drawn from their genealogical relationships and these reference points.

The earliest members of the first Middle Elamite royal house are scarcely more than names cited by Shilhak-Inshushinak among the kings who preceded him in building the temple of Inshushinak at Susa.[269] The first two, named immediately after the *sukkalmah*s, are Pahir-ishshan and Attar-kittah, both sons of Ige-halki. They apparently preceded Kidin-Hutran by three generations,[270] and may therefore be dated toward the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the thirteenth century.[271]

Two exemplars of an inscription of Ige-halki, found at Deh-i No, confirm that he preceded his sons as king.[272] No contemporary inscriptions of Pahir-ishshan are extant. An Elamite text from the reign of Shutruk-Nahhunte reports that Pahir-ishshan performed some activity--not yet understood--in a district called Aahitek--not securely located--and that Attar-kittah continued the same activity at Susa.[273] The only inscriptions of Attar-kittah known as yet are on two mace-heads found at Chogha Zanbil;[274] they supply only the names of the ruler and his father and the title "king of Susa and Anzan," echoing the titular claims of Tepti-ahar.

Points of similarity between the names Ige-halki and Attar-kittah and personal names in the "Malamir" and Haft Tepe texts have provoked occasional comment.[275] The recent ascription of the "Malamir" texts to Haft Tepe leaves no grounds for inferring from these similarities that the Ige-halki family originated in eastern Khuzistan;[276] on the contrary, Tepti-ahar's monarchy and titulary, along with the names, suggest that the Middle Elamite monarchy's antecedents were in Susiana itself. Despite these suggestions, neither genealogical nor political kinship between Tepti-ahar and the Ige-halki family can yet be demonstrated.

Attar-kittah's son and successor was Humban-numena, whose construction of a temple at Liyan is commemorated in his own Elamite brick inscriptions[277] and in those of later kings.[278] At Susa, his rule is documented by a short Akkadian dedication found in secondary context in the Ville Royale[279] and by a brick fragment bearing only the king's name.[280] In addition, a brick inscription of Shilhak-Inshushinak

names Humban-numena as a prior builder of the Inshushinak temple at Susa and calls him a descendant (Elamite *ruhusak*) of the great *sukkalmah* Shilhaha. Similar rhetorical continuity with the *sukkalmahs* appears in Humban-numena's own Elamite inscriptions: they entitle him "king of Anzan and Susa," a slight variation from the title of his immediate predecessors and an echo of the style of the *sukkalmah* Ebarat; they add the epithet "enlarger of the kingdom," elsewhere used in the Elamite inscriptions provisionally assigned to Siwe-palar-huhpak and, perhaps, to Shiruktuh.[281] Such conquests as may have warranted this epithet, however, are undocumented.

Nevertheless, the comparative abundance of texts from the succeeding reign of Humban-numena's son Untash-Napirisha implies that by the latter's time the Elamite monarchy controlled sufficient territory, resources, and organization to mount widespread building projects and had the political power to embark on foreign war.[282] Untash-Napirisha's inscriptions are building and dedicatory texts. Most are in Elamite, regularly using the same title accorded to Humban-numena, "king of Anzan and Susa."[283] A smaller number in Akkadian[284] occasionally supply the variation "king of Susa and Anzan." Texts from Susa commemorate the renovation of a number of sanctuaries in the temple precincts there.[285] Other bricks and fragments record comparable public works at other local centers in Khuzistan: in Susiana at Chogha Pahn East (KS-102),[286] north of Shushtar at Gotvand (KS-172),[287] perhaps at Deylam (KS-47),[288] and near Ram Hormuz at Tepe Bormi.[289] The greatest number of Untash-Napirisha's texts, however, record the construction of an entirely new center, Al Untash-Napirisha, "the City of Untash-Napirisha," at Chogha Zanbil on a low ridge 40 km southeast of Susa. The new town's outer walls enclose an area of nearly 100 ha and an array of monumental structures--most notably a series of chapels and an extraordinary temple tower--that testify to an investment of major resources in ceremonial grandeur.

The ideology that governed the design of Chogha Zanbil changed during the site's construction. In an early phase, Elamite inscriptions

dedicated the central shrine to the Susian god Inshushinak. In a later, much expanded phase, accompanying inscriptions were addressed to two tutelary deities, Napirisha and Inshushinak, with the latter normally named second. The change is likely to have been as much political as religious. It may express not only promotion of Elamite culture against Mesopotamian or narrowly Susian influence but also the beginning of an effort to promote direct royal control over the dispersed districts of Anshan and Susa (see below, pp. 39-42) with an ideology of close union between highland and Susian deities.[290]

The single indication of foreign warfare in the reign of Untash-Napirisha is a fragmentary statue of the god Immeriya, taken to Susa as a trophy and supplied with an Akkadian commemorative inscription.[291] If the damaged text is correctly restored with the toponym [*Ṭ*]*uplias* as the statue's place of origin,[292] Elamite armies were once more pressing into the highlands above Der,[293] another echo of the events of past centuries and a prelude to more dramatic accomplishments in later reigns.

The immediate sequel of this probe, however, is unknown, as no sources are extant from the reign of Untash-Napirisha's successor, Unpahash-Napirisha.[294] The new king is named only in Shilhak-Inshushinak's lists of predecessors.[295] The lists call him a son of Pahir-ishshan, perhaps indicating descent through a collateral line from Untash-Napirisha's grandfather.[296]

Contemporary texts from Elam are also absent in the succeeding reign of Kidin-Hutran. Shilhak-Inshushinak's texts merely list Kidin-Hutran among the earlier kings, naming him as another son of Pahir-ishshan.[297] Mesopotamian sources, however, provide some information on Elam's external relations. Beginning with Kidin-Hutran's reign and intermittently throughout the next century, Elam grew deeply involved in Mesopotamian political and military affairs, as a competitor for power and as a catalyst of dynastic change.[298]

The background of these developments is the following: Assyria, during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 B.C.), had gained the upper hand in its conflicts with Babylonia. Among other

accomplishments, Tukulti-Ninurta's armies campaigned across the Lower Zab in the regions of Gutium, Lullumi, and Lallar[299]—areas of the northern Zagros that in earlier centuries had been the fringes of Elamite influence. In about 1225 B.C., Tukulti-Ninurta invaded Babylonia, deposed its king, Kashtiliashu IV, and controlled the Babylonian throne through client kings for seven years.[300]

The first of these clients, Enlil-nadin-shumi, at once fell victim to an Elamite raid, launched against northern Babylonia by Kidin-Hutran in 1224 B.C. Evidently passing through the territory raided by Untash-Napirisha, Kidin-Hutran sacked Der and its temple, crossed the Tigris and took Nippur, and deposed the Babylonian king.[301] During the reign of the third of Tukulti-Ninurta's Babylonian clients, Adad-shuma-iddina (1222-1217 B.C.), Kidin-Hutran attacked a second time, taking Isin and Marad.[302] Surprisingly, no Assyrian reprisals against Elam are documented.[303]

In the following decades, dynastic changes affected all three contesting states. In Babylonia, Adad-shuma-iddina was overthrown.[304] In Assyria, the assassination of Tukulti-Ninurta I[305] began several decades of internal disorder. In Elam, Kidin-Hutran's reign ended in unknown circumstances; an interval of forty to fifty-five years elapsed before the reign of the next directly attested Elamite king, Shutruk-Nahhunte. Elam emerged from this interval stronger than before.

Shutruk-Nahhunte's father, named both in the lists of Shilhak-Inshushinak and in Shutruk-Nahhunte's own inscriptions,[306] was Halludush-Inshushinak. There is no evidence of his relationship to preceding kings, nor of his tenure on the Elamite throne, if any.[307] No substantial evidence confirms the supposition that the new royal house originated either in Fars[308] or in Susa.[309]

To judge by Shutruk-Nahhunte's inscriptions, his territorial control in Elam was extensive. He refurbished the temple built by Humban-numena at Liyan.[310] He brought to Susa the stele of an unknown king from Anzan,[311] a stele of Untash-Napirisha from Dur-Untash (i.e., Chogha Zanbil),[312] and other ornaments and building materials from a

number of locales in the interior of Elam.[313] Beyond Elam, he carried out a devastating war on Babylonia.

Despite Babylonian political ascendancy in the decades after Kidin-Hutran's raid,[314] Babylonian power collapsed during the brief reign of Zababa-shuma-iddina (1158 B.C.). Assyria, under Ashur-dan I (1178-1133 B.C.) raided the border area between the Lower Zab and the Adhaim, capturing the locales of Zaban, Irriya, and Ugarsallu.[315] In the same year, Shutruk-Nahhunte attacked northern Babylonia and deposed Zababa-shuma-iddina. The event is recorded in a late Babylonian poetic text,[316] substantiated not only by Shutruk-Nahhunte's royal inscriptions but also by Babylonian trophies rededicated by him in the temples of Susa. An Elamite stele fragment records the crossing of the river Ulai and the capture of 700 towns;[317] another fragment lists tribute taken from northern Babylonian cities including Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar, Opis, and perhaps Akkad and Eshnunna.[318] From Eshnunna, Shutruk-Nahhunte took and rededicated a statue of Manishtushu and another statue;[319] from Sippar, the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin;[320] from Karaindash--perhaps in the vicinity of Karind, between Kermanshah and Sar-i Pul-i Zohab--he took another monument.[321] The conquests marked by his trophy collection thus extended from the highlands on the Great Khorasan Road across the Diyala region and the isthmus of Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates.

After these successes, according to the Babylonian literary fragment cited above, Shutruk-Nahhunte turned over conduct of the Babylonian war to his son and eventual successor, Kutir-Nahhunte. After three years, Kutir-Nahhunte defeated the last king of the Kassite dynasty, Enlil-nadin-ahi (1157-1155 B.C.), deported him and other inhabitants of Babylonia to Elam, and pillaged Mesopotamian cult centers.[322] In addition, he carried off to Elam the cult statue of Marduk from the temple of Babylon, along with other Babylonian gods, an act that brought him lasting opprobrium in Babylonian literary and religious tradition.[323] For all their impact on Babylonia, however, Kutir-Nahhunte's wars left no mark in the inscriptions from his reign, which commemorate further building activities at Susa and Liyan and call for

divine benediction on the king, his spouse Nahhunte-Utu, and his son Huteludush-Inshushinak.[324]

Kutir-Nahhunte's successor was his brother Shilhak-Inshushinak, whose numerous Elamite inscriptions[325] record the zenith of Middle Elamite expansion. His longest stele inscription[326] enumerates conquered places in eight discrete sections, which may report successive campaigns; shorter texts and fragments name additional conquests.[327] Identifiable toponyms among the captured places show the northern and western extent of Shilhak-Inshushinak's control; they include Yalman (Holwan); Ugarsallu, Irriya, and Lubdum (between the Lower Zab and the Adhaim, areas formerly taken by Assyria early in the reign of Ashur-dan I); Ebeh (Jebel Hamrin); Arrapha and Nuzi (in the vicinity of Kirkuk); and locales in Babylonia along the Euphrates.[328] Thus, in addition to seizing once again the Mesopotamian isthmus and the foot of the Euphrates route to the west, Shilhak-Inshushinak penetrated far north into the Zagros, across the Diyala region, and into the Assyrian heartland, perhaps precipitating the end of the long reign of Ashur-dan.[329] The geographical pattern of this burst of military expansion recalls the wars of the *sukkalmah*s six centuries earlier.

Some of Shilhak-Inshushinak's wars were perhaps aimed at expansion in the interior of Iran.[330] The resources that he lavished on widespread temple construction at least attest his general control within Elam. The temples of Susa were embellished to an unprecedented degree.[331] The shrine of Liyan was again refurbished.[332] A stele reports the installation of sanctuaries at twenty other sites.[333] Inscribed bricks from such structures have been recovered not only in Khuzistan[334] but also in the highlands between Khuzistan and the Marv Dasht.[335]

Shilhak-Inshushinak's building inscriptions are notable for their concern to name the king's predecessors and invoke blessings on his progeny. Such information provides a major part of the evidence for the ordering of prior rulers in Elam. It reveals as well that Shilhak-Inshushinak's spouse was his brother's widow, Nahhunte-Utu. This

quasi levirate apparently explains the odd insistence of the next Elamite king, Huteludush-Inshushinak, on descent from both Kutir-Nahhunte and Shilhak-Inshushinak,[336] although the former was apparently his biological father.[337]

Elamite texts from the succeeding reign of Huteludush-Inshushinak[338] attest continued temple building and therefore continued political control in and beyond Susa. A brick fragment alludes to construction at Shalulikki, an unlocated site in Elam.[339] A complete text commemorates a structure at Anzan;[340] exemplars of the latter text found at Malyan in the Marv Dasht assure the identification of that site as ancient Anshan or Anzan.[341]

A Middle Elamite building at Malyan[342] preserved about 250 administrative tablets and fragments. Most record transfers of gold, silver, copper, and tin; a few, transfers of hides or foodstuffs.[343] Their precise date is uncertain; they probably belong to the reign of Huteludush-Inshushinak or slightly later. Unlike the Haft Tepe texts, they are written in Elamite; like the Haft Tepe texts, they demonstrate the investment and organization that accompanied royal building projects commemorated in monumental inscriptions.[344]

During the tenure of Middle Elamite kings population in Khuzistan consolidated in moderate-sized towns. New settlements arose in valleys between Susa and Anshan. Inscribed bricks from local temples imply royal sponsorship or direction of this internal expansion. The widespread temple building is to be understood not simply as a work of piety but as a means of extending royal control. (See below, pp. 167-168).

At the same time, settlements in areas west of Susa were abandoned leaving a *cordon sanitaire*. Correspondingly, Elamite wars on Mesopotamia cannot be considered a real imperial expansion pushing the frontier to the west, but only punitive or plundering raids that capitalized on political weakness in Babylonia and Assyria.

Under Huteludush-Inshushinak, at least, Elamite territory included both Khuzistan and central Fars. Huteludush-Inshushinak's titulary is therefore all the more striking for its omission of the common epithet of

his predecessors, "king of Anzan and Susa." The political implications of this rhetorical change, and of the other archaic features of his texts, are scarcely clear.[345] An abrupt shock to Elamite power is nevertheless apparent from Mesopotamian sources, which record in unusual detail the Elamite war of Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 B.C.).

Nebuchadnezzar's war figures in a wide assortment of Mesopotamian texts. Two royal grants from his reign provide contemporary witness to the events' historicity. One[346] records the return to Babylon of the cult image of Marduk. The second[347] includes a detailed description of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion by way of Der, of the decisive battle on the river Ulai, and especially of the part taken by the grant's beneficiary Shitti-Marduk, governor of the Zagros territory of Bit-Karziabku.[348] The return of the Babylonian god and the success of the Babylonian ruler were also celebrated in literary texts and omens centuries later.[349]

But the effects of Nebuchadnezzar's victory are obscure. Shitti-Marduk's account relates specifically that "Hulteludish, the king of Elam, disappeared permanently"[350] and that Nebuchadnezzar plundered Elamite territory and returned to Babylon. Babylonian tradition regarded his restoration of the Marduk statue from Elam to Babylon as the inauguration of a political and cultural renaissance.[351] Yet there is no indication of any long-term Babylonian control of Elamite territory.[352] In fact, Mesopotamian texts make no further reference to Elam for three hundred years.

The suggestion that Huteludush-Inshushinak reestablished control over Susa after a temporary withdrawal to the highlands of Anshan[353] is tenable, but it cannot be confirmed without a more precise chronology of his inscriptions and of Nebuchadnezzar's raid. After Huteludush-Inshushinak, the sources of information from Elam fall silent. A Neo-Elamite inscription of the mid-eighth century B.C. refers to his half brother, Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar, as having been king;[354] but no identifiable texts from Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar's reign or contemporary references to him are extant. Elamite inscriptions reappear only after four centuries.

Surviving evidence, therefore, by no means implies that the great power that the descendants of Shutruk-Nahhunte had built in Elam underwent sudden and utter collapse; but the historical realities behind the long documentary eclipse, as well as the chronological and circumstantial connections between the end of the Middle Elamite monarchy and first-millennium population changes in Iran[355] have yet to be ascertained.

NEO-ELAMITE (C. 743-500 B.C.) (TABLE 5)

The Dynastic Chronicle describes the Babylonian king Mar-biti-apla-uṣur (984-979 B.C.) as a "remote[?] descendant of Elam."[356] This pedigree affords no real view into the obscurity of Elamite history in the tenth century B.C. Nor is the situation much clarified in the ninth century: in 814 B.C. a contingent of Elamite troops supported the Babylonian king Marduk-balassu-iqbi in a battle against the Assyrian Shamshi-Adad V (823-811 B.C.) at Dur-Papsukkal near Der.[357] This episode sets a pattern for events of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Elam repeatedly supplied military aid and political refuge to Babylonian opponents of Assyria while Assyrian armies strove to gain control over Babylonia and suzerainty over the Zagros highlands north of Khuzistan.[358]

For the hundred years after the mid-eighth century, an intimate relationship between the political histories of Mesopotamia and Elam finds clear expression in Mesopotamian sources, both contemporary and posterior. The Neo-Babylonian Chronicle series, the inscriptions of Assyrian kings, and contemporary political correspondence provide abundant information on Elam, unmatched for its detail by Elamite sources. They depict a brief resurgence of Elamite power, followed by a complex decline marked by territorial contraction, diffusion of political power, repeated usurpation, and intermittent famine. Not one of these features is perceptible in indigenous sources. Indeed, while Elamite inscriptions commemorate the reigns of only five rulers at Susa between

the mid-eighth and mid-seventh centuries, Mesopotamian sources record no fewer than fifteen claimants to the Elamite throne. Despite apparent political decay, however, Elam lasted almost a century as one of Assyria's bitterest opponents while the Assyrian Empire itself survived its triumph in Khuzistan by scarcely thirty years.

The chronological framework of the early part of the Neo-Elamite period derives from notices in the Babylonian Chronicle, a generally reliable source compiled in the Achaemenid period.[359] For the year 743 B.C., it records the assumption of the Elamite throne by Humban-nikash I.[360] No Elamite inscriptions from his long reign, 743-717 B.C., are extant. In 720 B.C., according to Mesopotamian texts, he sent an Elamite army to the aid of a Chaldean claimant to the Babylonian throne, Merodach-baladan II;[361] the Elamite army attacked forces of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) in the vicinity of Der. The several sources diverge in naming the victor. Sargon's official account boasts of overwhelming triumph; Merodach-baladan's building inscription claims credit for expulsion of the Assyrians; and the Babylonian Chronicle, the least prejudiced source, credits Humban-nikash both with the initiative and with unqualified success, adding that Merodach-baladan's forces arrived too late to participate.[362] As a result of this engagement, Assyrian armies remained distant from both Babylonia and Elam for a decade. Der, historically a pivotal point in warfare between the two regions, was apparently the limit of Humban-nikash's advance; no further gain of territory is recorded, but Elam may have profited by the interlude to extend its influence in the Iranian highlands.

At the death of Humban-nikash I, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, the Elamite throne went to his "sister's-son" Shutruk-Nahhunte II (716-699 B.C.).[363] Elamite and Akkadian inscriptions from Susa confirm his rule there.[364] Some suggestion of the diffusion of political power appears in other Elamite texts of the time, exceptional for their commemoration of nonroyal figures: a stele from Susa records the benefices of a priestly official, Shutruru;[365] and a group of rock inscriptions near Izeh record the tenure of a local ruler, Hanni, son of Tahhihi.[366]

Shutruk-Nahhunte's own texts use the epithets "king of Anzan and Susa" and "enlarger of the realm."[367] There was perhaps some merit in the claim since one of the texts may allude to a raid on Karaindash.[368] Mesopotamian texts, however, show that Shutruk-Nahhunte suffered considerable loss in Sargon's reprisals ten years after the battle of Der. In 710 B.C., Sargon's armies campaigned against strongholds in the highlands above Der and against towns and tribal areas in eastern Babylonia and western Elam. Shutruk-Nahhunte, according to the Assyrian report, fled to the mountains. Sargon was free to turn on his main target, Merodach-baladan. The latter sent lavish gifts to Shutruk-Nahhunte in an appeal for help. The Elamite ruler accepted payment but refused asylum to the Babylonian, who withdrew to a stronghold on the Elamite-Babylonian frontier. In 709 B.C., Sargon returned, conquered Merodach-baladan's remaining strong points, and assumed the Babylonian throne himself. He did not occupy Elamite territory; instead he fortified the border between Elam and Babylonia.[369]

Elam received another setback in 708 B.C. when the ruler of Ellipi, in modern Luristan, died. One of his sons appealed for aid and recognition to Assyria, another to Elam. Shutruk-Nahhunte sent troops to support his candidate, but superior Assyrian forces installed his opponent, securing Sargon's control over the flanks of the Khorasan Road.[370] Assyrian policy clearly did not yet aim at expansion into Elamite territory, but for the time being Elam had lost both its northern and its western buffer against Assyria.

But Elamite resources were not yet exhausted. When Merodach-baladan reclaimed the Babylonian throne in 703 B.C., Shutruk-Nahhunte once more sent an Elamite force to support him in exchange for payments. The new Assyrian king, Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), responded immediately, defeated the Elamite and Babylonian armies, and installed a new king of Babylon. In 700 B.C., Sennacherib returned to the south, installed his own son Ashur-nadin-shumi as king of Babylon, and drove Merodach-baladan and his remaining supporters into flight across the southern marshes.[371]

These repeated failures against Assyria cost Shutruk-Nahhunte his throne. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, he was deposed by his brother, Hallushu-Inshushinak (698-693 B.C.); a single Elamite building inscription confirms the new king's rule at Susa.[372] Only the final events of his reign are documented. Sennacherib launched an amphibious assault across the marshes of southern Babylonia against Merodach-baladan's last followers on the Elamite coast. While the campaign was under way, Hallushu-Inshushinak counterattacked against northern Babylonia; by the end of the seventh Babylonian month (Tashritu) he had captured Sippar. Babylonians took Sennacherib's son prisoner and sent him to Elam. Late in 694 B.C., Hallushu-Inshushinak installed a Babylonian ally on the Babylonian throne. But in midsummer of 693 B.C., the Assyrian army mounted a surprise counterattack, captured the new Babylonian ruler, and ransacked territories on Elam's northern border. At the end of Tashritu 693 B.C., Hallushu-Inshushinak, like his predecessor, was deposed and killed in favor of Kudur-Nahhunte.[373]

The brief reign of Kudur-Nahhunte is chiefly distinguished by the geographical problem that it introduces. No Elamite texts from his reign are extant. Sennacherib's annals locate Kudur-Nahhunte's residence not at Susa but at Madaktu; when the latter site was threatened, the Elamite withdrew to Hidalu.[374] In later decades, these two strongholds figure with increasing prominence in Mesopotamian records bearing on Elam whereas Susa goes almost unmentioned until its capture by the Assyrians in 646 B.C. Neither Madaktu nor Hidalu is yet located. The former is probably to be sought somewhat to the north of Susa;[375] the latter, in the mountains to the east, on the road to Fars.[376] It appears that in Elam, as in Babylonia, the bases of resistance to Assyria were no longer the old central cities, but strongholds on the geographical fringes. Susa, like Babylon, remained a ceremonial and cultural capital, too exposed to serve as a political or military base. But the marginal strongholds served better as refuges than as administrative centers, and the political authority of the unstable Elamite monarchy grew weaker. Local autonomy of such

strongholds may already have been common in earlier reigns. Kudur-Nahhunte, at least, was unable to establish general control. In 692 B.C., Sennacherib sent a campaign against Elam from the north; Kudur-Nahhunte withdrew to Hidalu. In the Assyrian report, the Elamite died violently after less than three months;[377] according to the Babylonian Chronicle, he was captured and killed in a local insurrection after ten months of rule.[378]

No Elamite inscriptions are extant from the reign of the succeeding ruler, Humban-nimena (692-689 B.C.).[379] Despite his predecessor's reverses, he again recruited an army and sent it to help the Babylonian king. At the battle of Halule on the Tigris in 691 B.C., the combined army that opposed the Assyrians was under Elamite commanders. It included not only Mesopotamian and Elamite troops but also contingents from the Iranian highlands: Ellipi, in Luristan; Parsuash (i.e., Persian territory) perhaps occupying parts of Fars; and Anzan, probably in Fars as well. If the Elamite monarchy no longer exerted real sovereignty over these areas, it was still able to recruit troops from them to help keep Assyrian forces engaged beyond its own borders.

Sources disagree on the outcome of the battle of Halule. Sennacherib's inscriptions claim victory; the Babylonian Chronicle gives the battle to the Elamite king. Elam at least forestalled invasion. But any setback to Assyria was minor: the Assyrian siege of Babylon began at once. When the city fell in 689 B.C., it was subjected to reprisals considered abominable even by contemporary standards, unparalleled until the sack of Susa forty years later.[380]

While Babylon was still under siege, Humban-nimena suffered a stroke; he died shortly after the city fell.[381] The new Elamite king, Humban-haltash I (688-681 B.C.), was apparently cordial to the government of Babylonia, perhaps returning captured gods to Uruk. His reign ended with a sudden illness, and he was succeeded by Humban-haltash II (680-675 B.C.).[382]

By the time of Humban-haltash II, Babylonian politics had deteriorated into a maze of local factional competitions. Assyrian armies campaigned in the north and west, while Babylonian governors

sanctioned by the Assyrian crown skirmished incessantly with other local leaders backed by anti-Assyrian parties. Comparable circumstances perhaps obtained in Elam; they became usual there in the following decades.

During the Assyrian succession crisis that followed the assassination of Sennacherib, a group of Babylonians tried to enlist Elamite support for the resistance against Sennacherib's son and successor, Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.). They sent sumptuous gifts to Humban-haltash II, but they were unsuccessful. In 680 B.C., in fact, Humban-haltash executed a captured Babylonian rebel who had sought asylum in Elam.[383] Yet the apparent entente between the Assyrian and Elamite kings was not lasting. In 675 B.C., Humban-haltash raided northern Babylonia himself and plundered Sippar.[384] Shortly afterward, he "died in his palace without becoming ill."[385] Like Sargon, Esarhaddon prudently fortified the border.[386]

Most commentators ascribe to the time of Humban-haltash II the enigmatic figure of Shilhak-Inshushinak II. He is attested as king by a single published building inscription from Susa;[387] other texts name him as an ancestor of the later king Tepti-Humban-Inshushinak.[388] Mesopotamian sources ignore him entirely, and his role in Elamite political history is consequently unknown.[389]

In Babylonian sources, Humban-haltash II's successor was his brother Urtak (674-664[?] B.C.).[390] He is the last Elamite ruler whose reign is noted in Babylonian chronicles; henceforth, Elamite regnal dates are uncertain. Since no Elamite texts from Urtak's reign are extant, the Elamite form of his name is unknown, as is the location of his residence. His accession may have been the result of Assyrian politicking. For the beginning of his reign and the remainder of Esarhaddon's, at least, relations between Assyria and Elam were surprisingly cordial. The two kings negotiated a treaty, and statues of Babylonian gods were returned from Elam;[391] the Elamite king resisted enticements to tamper in Babylonian disturbances.[392] Even after Esarhaddon's death, the Assyrian king, Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.), sent grain to Urtak to relieve famine in Elam.[393] Soon after, this placid situation deteriorated.

In about 665 B.C., Urtak launched a surprise attack against Babylonia, threatening Babylon itself. Assurbanipal sent an army and drove Urtak back to Elam. The Assyrian accounts describe Urtak's death a short time later in gleeful but vague terms.[394]

For ten years after Urtak's death, Assyrian armies were diverted to other fronts. Rule over Elam fell to Tepti-Humban-Inshushinak (664[?]-653 B.C.), a son of Shilhak-Inshushinak II; the new ruler's name is abbreviated in Akkadian texts to Te-Umman. His tenure as a local sovereign at Susa may already have begun during the lifetime of Urtak.[395] After Urtak's defeat, Te-Umman extended his control by murdering potential rivals. Three of Urtak's sons, along with other relatives and followers, fled to Assyria, where Assurbanipal harbored them despite demands for their extradition.[396]

During his ten-year respite from war with Assyria, Tepti-Humban-Inshushinak built new temples at Susa.[397] His texts recording these activities also allude to warfare,[398] but the area of his military operations is unknown. There is no direct evidence that he meddled in the affairs of Babylonia, now reasonably stable under the regency of Assurbanipal's brother, Shamash-shum-ukin (667-648 B.C.). Despite this seeming forbearance--or because of this seeming weakness--the Assyrian king attacked Elam in 653 B.C. Assurbanipal's army first secured Der and approached Elam from the north. Te-Umman advanced to meet it, then fell back to Susa; the battle took place nearby, on the river Ulai. The Assyrians won, aided by defections in the Elamite army. Tepti-Humban-Inshushinak was killed, as was an otherwise unheard-of king of Hidalu, apparently named Shutruk-Nahhunte (in Akkadian transcription, *Ištarnandi*). In their places, Assurbanipal installed his clients, the fugitive sons of Urtak: Humban-nikash II (in Akkadian transcription, *Ummanigaš*) at Madaktu; and Tammaritu at Hidalu.[399] Susa was spared capture. Although Assurbanipal claims to have installed Humban-nikash II both at Susa and at Madaktu,[400] most commentators ascribe to this time the tenure of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak, son of Hutran-tepti, as local sovereign at Susa.[401] Elamite dedicatory texts from Susa attest the latter's reign,[402] but Mesopotamian texts ignore him.

The installation of Assyrian clients as rulers in Elam presumably weakened future efforts at concerted Elamite opposition to Assyria. It also drastically reduced what little political credit the Elamite throne still had and plunged Elam more deeply into factional competition without bringing respite from incessant wars against Assyria.

Between late 652 and 648 B.C., the Assyrian Empire underwent a civil war between Assurbanipal and his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, regent of Babylon. Like Aramean and Chaldean leaders, Elamites took advantage of the disorder to recoup prior losses. Even before the first encounters between Assyrian and Babylonian armies, Shamash-shum-ukin hired Elamite support. Humban-nikash II sent an army against the Assyrians and was defeated, again near Der. The defeat was the occasion for yet another revolt, and Humban-nikash's throne went to Tammaritu (652-649 B.C.)--perhaps a second ruler of that name.[403] Tammaritu continued to skirmish against Assyrian forces, in concert with the Chaldean Nabu-bel-shumati. His evident success notwithstanding, a new revolt in Elam unseated him in 649 B.C. He fled to the Assyrian court and became a client of Assurbanipal. The beneficiary of the revolt, Indabibi (or Indabigash) (649-648 B.C.), was still more ephemeral: when Assurbanipal threatened to invade Elam in reprisal for Elamite aid to Nabu-bel-shumati, Indabibi was murdered and supplanted by Humban-haltash III (648-?).[404] The title king of Elam, as applied in Mesopotamian texts, had obviously ceased to label a position of much real power or stability.

By 648 B.C., southern Babylonia was largely restored to Assyrian military control. The occasion for further war was Nabu-bel-shumati's resistance, conducted with impunity from refuges in Elam. The theater of war shifted deeper into Elamite territory. The new king, Humban-haltash III, favored extradition of the Chaldean rebel; though king in name, he could not enforce his policy over the opposition of Nabu-bel-shumati's Elamite sponsors.[405] In 647 B.C., Assyrian forces invaded. After brief resistance in the north, Humban-haltash abandoned Madaktu and fled to the mountains; another claimant to the kingship of Elam, Humban-habua, abandoned his own stronghold as well. Tammaritu was

installed again at Susa as king; Assyrian troops pillaged large tracts of Khuzistan.[406]

When the Assyrians withdrew, Humban-haltash returned. In 646 B.C., Ashurbanipal launched another offensive. Humban-haltash III was again driven from Madaktu and fell back to Dur-Untash (i.e., Chogha Zanbil). The Assyrian army overran Susiana and pursued the Elamite king to the eastern mountains, crushing the remaining political centers of Elam en route.[407] Rulers of highland territories east of Khuzistan, recognizing the complete destruction of the state that had served them as a buffer against Assyria, sent tribute and hostages to Assurbanipal. Among the new tributaries was Kurash, king of Parsumash, apparently a forebear of the Achaemenid kings.[408] This information in turn indicates that parts of Fars had for some time previously been beyond the political reach of the weakened Elamite monarchies and under autonomous Persian control.

On the return march from eastern Khuzistan, the Assyrians at last took Susa. They plundered it with a ferocity rarely equaled in Assyrian records. Assurbanipal's texts recount in triumphant detail the looting and razing of temples, the destruction of sacred groves, the desecration of royal tombs, the seizure of Elamite gods, the removal of royal memorials, the sowing of ruined ground with salt, and the deportation of livestock, population, and even rubble from the devastated sites.[409] The style of the long report hints that the destruction of Susa, like Sargon's pillaging of the Urartian religious center of Muṣaṣir in 714 B.C. or Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon in 689 B.C., was a calculated effort, meant to shock the world and proclaim the eradication of Elam as a political and cultural entity.

Despite this extraordinary gesture, remnants of an Elamite polity continued to exist. Humban-haltash III, more durable than many of his predecessors, returned and took up residence at Madaktu. Pa'e, another passing claimant to the Elamite throne, fled to Assyria. Humban-haltash belatedly arranged the extradition of Nabu-bel-shumati, but the latter brought his own life to an end before he fell into Assyrian hands.[410] At an uncertain later date, Humban-haltash himself

was driven from the throne, captured, and sent to Assurbanipal's court. Thereafter, Assyrian records dealing with Elam fall silent.

During the century between Humban-nikash I and Humban-haltash III, then, Elamite confrontation with Assyria was accompanied by radical political decay. At the beginning of the period, Elam appears as a relatively strong monarchy, able to recruit allies in the highlands beyond Khuzistan, to sell military assistance to Babylonian insurgents, and to hold the theater of conflict on a perimeter at some distance from Susa. By the end of the period, Elam appears in a political shambles. Rival claimants vied for a powerless crown, local warriors kept great freedom of independent political action,[411] and refugee leaders from Babylonia and punitive Assyrian patrols roamed Elamite territory.[412] Although lowland Elam was perhaps not reduced to an Assyrian province,[413] it was effectively dismantled as a state and left without a viable political center.

Babylonia was in comparable circumstances in the mid-seventh century; yet it underwent a political renaissance, collaborating with Media in the destruction and partition of the Assyrian Empire in the last quarter of the century. If any contemporary revival took place in Elam, it is not plainly documented. The last pre-Achaemenid century of Elamite history is marked only by few and equivocal allusions to Babylonian relations with its eastern neighbor.

The rapid growth of the Neo-Babylonian state began soon after Nabopolassar (625-605 B.C.) claimed the Babylonian throne. Among the first efforts of his reign was a new entente with Elam. A Babylonian chronicle notes that in his accession year Nabopolassar returned to Susa Elamite gods, which the Assyrians had carried off to Uruk.[414] At the time, Nabopolassar was still at war with Assyrian garrisons in northern Babylonia. His gesture seems to have been an attempt to find Elamite support for his insurrection, on the pattern of Chaldean insurgents in the previous century. Correspondingly, it appears that some sort of Elamite state, centered on Susa, had re-formed.

There is a suggestion of renewed Elamite military activity in the following generation. A damaged portion of the Neo-Babylonian

chronicle series records for the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar II (596 B.C.) a confrontation along the Tigris between the Babylonian army and another force, resulting in the latter's retreat without battle. The opposing ruler's title is damaged: "king of Elam" is a plausible restoration of the traces on the tablet.[415] It is also possible--though not yet subject to confirmation--that while Babylonian and Median forces were engaged elsewhere, an Elamite state pushed north from Khuzistan along Elam's traditional avenue of expansion east of the Tigris.[416]

Whether these supposed movements were preliminaries to Babylonian conquest of Elamite territory is moot. A scattering of fragmentary texts from Susa seems to imply that the city was in Babylonian hands in the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 B.C.), Amel-Marduk (561-560 B.C.), and Nergal-shar-uṣur (559-556 B.C.).[417] As the events of the previous century demonstrate, however, control of Susa was by no means synonymous with control of Elam; the extent and character of Babylonian control are not documented. Indeed, since the few Neo-Babylonian fragments from Susa may be only remains of Achaemenid trophies, even Babylonian occupation of the city is not a certainty.[418]

In fact, a variety of documents in Elamite bears indirectly on this period, including twenty-five fragmentary letters of uncertain provenience, allegedly from Nineveh;[419] some three hundred administrative texts recording transfers of arms, garments, and other materials, found at Susa under buildings of Darius I;[420] nine more administrative and economic documents, also from Susa;[421] and three fragmentary texts excavated at the Ville des Artisans of Susa.[422] Script, language, and phrasing show that most, if not all, of these texts are approximately contemporary. In the past, proposed dates have ranged between the late seventh century B.C. and the reign of Cyrus.[423] Recent stratigraphic, stylistic, and glyptic study dates the several text groups with more confidence to the very end of the seventh and the first half of the sixth century.[424] Consequently, the texts reflect the reestablishment of at least one Elamite state roughly contemporary with the period of Neo-Babylonian rule in Mesopotamia, and they document a revival of Susa as a political and administrative

center prior to the large Achaemenid installations of Darius I and his successors. In addition, a bronze plaque found at the Achaemenid ceremonial capital of Persepolis bears a long Elamite text referring in uncertain terms to rulers at Gisat (or Kesat). Since the same toponym occurs in Achaemenid Elamite administrative texts from Persepolis, Gisat was probably located in or near central Fars; and if the bronze plaque is, as its paleography suggests, approximately contemporary with the late Elamite tablets from Susa, it points to the exstence of another Elamite principality in the highlands.[425] The Susa tablets, at any rate exemplify the late use of the Elamite language for administrative recording and official correspondence, and prefigure in many details similar recording techniques adopted by later Achaemenid kings.[426]

By the mid-sixth century B.C., however, some eastern parts of formerly Elamite territory had been under Achaemenid rule for several generations. Inscriptions of Cyrus II the Great (559-530 B.C.) claim the title "king of Anzan" for him, and for his father Cambyses I, his grandfather Cyrus I, and his great-grandfather Teispes.[427] The claim to Anzan is verified in a number of contemporary and later documents.[428] But when and how Cyrus the Great took possession of Susa and Khuzistan is not documented. The event probably took place shortly before his conquest of Babylon.[429] The Akkadian text of the Cyrus Cylinder, at any rate, proclaims the reconstruction of sanctuaries east of the Tigris, from Ashur to Susa, including Eshnunna and Der;[430] it appears from this reference that Cyrus had taken Khuzistan and the trans-Tigridian-Diyala corridor before he entered Babylonia and did battle at Sippar, following the same line of approach as the Middle and Neo-Elamite invaders of Babylonia.[431]

Further direct evidence of political development in Elam is lacking until the reign of Darius I the Great (522-486 B.C.). The rebels whom Darius suppressed in his first year included two successive claimants to the Elamite crown.[432] The second of these, who assumed the throne name Ummanush, is described as a resident of a town in Fars, a further hint that the vestiges of political resistance in Elam were based as in the past on the margins of Khuzistan. Again as in the past, both

pretenders were unseated by defection within Elam. A third and final insurrection took place in Darius's third year, this time requiring a Persian army to suppress it.[433]

From the reign of Darius on, Elamite history is submerged in the history of the Achaemenid Empire. An Elamite satrapy was organized, called in Old Persian *Huja*, and centered on Susa. Susa itself was lavishly reequipped with palaces, to serve as one of the principal royal residences of the empire. In classical sources, in fact, Susa figures as the foremost capital city of the Persians, but Persepolis is almost unmentioned before the time of Alexander the Great.

Use of the Elamite language, of course, survived the Elamite state, preserved as an idiom of both display and administration. Achaemenid royal inscriptions were routinely supplied with Elamite versions. Two administrative archives found at Persepolis, including several thousand Elamite tablets from the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I, attest the continued use of Elamite recording and administrative techniques across southwestern Iran.[434] Of these, the Fortification archive, though housed at Persepolis, included documentation of transactions at numerous locales throughout Fars, southern Elam, and the routes between the east and Susa.[435] Thus, while Huja and Parsa were nominally distinct provinces, the two regions remained intimately connected both by language and by administrative and political links, as they had been repeatedly under Elamite states of the past.

EPILOGUE: LATE EMPIRES

Few mentions of Elam appear in cuneiform texts after the formation of the Persian Empire. Achaemenid Babylonian and Achaemenid Elamite documents use the name occasionally as a destination, a geographic term rather than a political one.[436] In Hellenistic and Parthian tablets, "Elam" is a rare archaism.[437] For the most part, texts for the later history of the region come from Greek and Roman sources and from coins.[438] They preserve the ancient name in the form "Elymais." Its specific reference is to territory and people on the eastern and northeastern fringe of Khuzistan.

The establishment of the Persian provincial system was a significant boundary in Elamite history. Elam had not apparently been a durable unit and Susa had not been its political center since Neo-Assyrian times. When the Persians rebuilt Susa as one of their empire's capitals, it was not the revival of an ancient Elamite polity; the Elamite satrapy was an institution of Persian rule per se.

But in another light, Persian rule only marked a boundary, not a terminus. Neither the Achaemenid Empire nor its successors put an end to long-standing tendencies in the relations among regions that had formed earlier Elamite states. A cursory survey of later events serves in lieu of summary to highlight some recurrent themes of Elamite history.

The Persian satrapy of Elam controlled Susiana, but Hellenistic and Roman sources describe the adjacent regions as occupied by peoples who were never entirely subject to close Persian rule: to the north, Cosseans, in the valleys of the Saimarreh-Karkheh drainage; to the southeast, Uxians, in the region of Fahlian; and most notably, to the east and northeast, Elymeans, along the upper Karun and Jarrahi.[439] Achaemenid kings made terms with these groups, conceding them substantial autonomy, granting them annual money payments, and receiving from them livestock and soldiers.[440]

How stable these accords were in Achaemenid times is uncertain. Alexander the Great, however, ended them. He made war on the

Uxians in 330 B.C. and on the Cosseans in 324/323 B.C.[441] The Seleucids in turn succeeded both to control of Susiana and to uneasy relations with the surrounding populations. The Elymeans in particular retained their autonomy throughout Hellenistic and Parthian times.[442] They were wealthy enough to attract raids by Antiochus III in 187 B.C. and by Antiochus IV in 164 B.C.; they were powerful enough to defeat both attacks.[443]

When Seleucid rule in the east deteriorated and the Parthians advanced into Media and Babylonia between about 150 and 140 B.C., Elymeans and Cosseans joined forces; they pushed into the plains against Susian and Babylonian resistance. In about 147 B.C., Susa itself fell to an Elymean ruler entitled (or perhaps named) *kamnaskires*, a word that seemingly preserves an Achaemenid Elamite title.[444]

The Elymean hold on Susa was short-lived. In about 141 B.C., the Parthians advanced from Babylonia and brought Susiana under their control. They did not subjugate Elymais itself. Two centuries later, a more impressive Elymean resurgence took place. As Rome and Parthia competed for influence in Mesopotamia during the first century A.D., an effectively independent "satrapy" of Elymais gained possession of Susa and subsequently extended its own political influence into parts of southern Babylonia and Persis.[445]

These events took place on Elamite territory, but they are an epilogue to Elamite history as such. The events were determined by the presence of empires that operated on a far different scale from earlier Near Eastern states. With the uncertain exception of the first century Elymean "satrapy," nothing comparable in scale or duration with the *sukkalmah* or Middle Elamite states emerged in a world dominated by these great late empires. But items in this epilogue still show instructive similarities to processes of formation and retrenchment in older Elam. As in earlier times, Susa was an entrepot, a cultural center, a center of potential control, and a prize contested between Mesopotamian and highland forces. The fringes of Khuzistan afforded refuge to unintegrated groups and presented targets for punitive raids from the west. Their populations were prosperous, politically adept,

militarily strong, and occasionally bellicose. At times of instability in contemporary great powers, piedmont and highland forces contracted alliances and made territorial gains in Susiana and even in Babylonia.

In general, two areas of interaction dominate the record of Elamite history and so pose its problems. One, mostly explicit, contains the diverse connections between Elam and Mesopotamia. The second, mostly tacit, contains the connections among regions in Iran that belonged to Elam itself.

Mesopotamian documents permit many episodes of Elamite history to be identified and interpreted. But the orientation of these sources has drawbacks. The texts are apt to disguise distinctive features of Elamite cultural and political institutions behind familiar Sumerian and Akkadian terminology; to present Mesopotamian reactions to Elamite history rather than a primary record of that history; to show Elamite states at their maximum extension but not often in growth or retreat; and to refer to "Elam" as if it were a monolothic entity.

Texts from the vicinity of Susa are sufficient to show that this undifferentiated appearance is an illusion. Like Mesopotamia, Elam experienced moments of political integration, long periods of division, movements of dominant political centers among regions, and changes in the form of political and cultural bonds. Despite strong Mesopotamian influences, in Elam these developments proceeded under conditions of terrain, resources, communications, and population distribution that were visibly different from those of contemporary Mesopotamia. Political processes and their historical results were equally different.

Characterizing, even identifying, the Elamite cities and regions named in ancient sources still involves far greater uncertainty than is the case in Mesopotamia. Comprehending the processes that bound and loosed those components still depends heavily on inferences from, rather than direct notices in, Mesopotamian and Susian texts. Finer and sounder inferences can still add much detail to the broken course of Elamite history and so add substance to the enduring general construct, Elam.

Notes

1. Poebel, *AJSL* 48 (1931), 20ff.; König, *EKI* (1965), 37, n. 3. Cf. Leibovici, *RA* 51 (1957), 23:20; Oppenheim, *RA* 63 (1969), 95:6.

2. For opinions on the specific reference of Elam in some ancient uses, see Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 197f.; Vallat, *Suse et l'Elam*, (1980); Miroschedji, *RA* 74 (1980), 137f.

3. The absolute dates employed here in general follow the system of Brinkman *apud* Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, rev. ed. (1977), 335-348; and Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 6-35.

4. Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 196.

5. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 104; Vallat, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 239; *DAFI* 3 (1973), 93ff.; Le Brun and Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 11ff.

6. Amiet, *Archéologia* 12 (1966), 20-22; Schmandt-Besserat, *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 1/2 (1977); Le Brun and Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 30ff.

7. Photographs in Porada, *Archaeology* 22 (1969), 58; Kantor, in *Oriental Institute Report for 1974-75*, 22.

8. Ghirshman, *Sialk* I (1938), pls. XCII-XCIII; *RA* 31 (1934), 115ff.

9. Whitcomb, "The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir, Iran" (1971), 105; Caldwell, *RIA* 3/5 (1968), 348.

10. Weiss and Young, *Iran* 13 (1975), 8-11.

11. Mecquenem, MDP 31 (1949), 44-146.

12. Brice, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 45 (1962), 27.

13. Meriggi, *La scrittura proto-elamica* I (1971), 15f.

14. Vallat, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 239f.; *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 193-195; *DAFI* 8 (1978), 30f.

15. Despite Mecquenem, *Revue biblique* 52 (1943-44), 136.

16. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 130; MDP 6 (1905), 57ff.; MDP 17 (1923); MDP 26 (1935); Mecquenem, MDP 31 (1949), 16-32; *RA* 50 (1956), 201ff.; Vallat, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 235-243.

17. Ghirshman, *Sialk* I (1938), 65-68, pls. XXXI, XCII, XCIII; *RA* 31 (1934), 115-119.

18. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Iran* 9 (1971), 88f.; *Kadmos* 10 (1971), 97-99; *Iran* 14 (1976), 172.

19. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 164, pl. IIIe; Stolper, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 89f.

20. Tosi, *Iran* 14 (1976), 168; Tucci, ed., *La città bruciata del deserto salato* (1977), 83, 320, 341f.

21. Scheil, MDP 6 (1905), 119-121; MDP 10 (1908), 11; Mecquenem, MDP 31 (1949), 5-15; *RA* 50 (1956), 200.

22. Hinz, *AMI NF* 4 (1971), 21-24.

23. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969), 11-27.

24. Pp. 6-10; on the issue of decipherment of Proto-Elamite B linear script, see: Hinz, *IA* 2 (1962), 1-21; *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969), 11-56; *JRAS* 1975, 106-115; Meriggi, *BiOr* 26 (1969), 176f.; *BiOr* 28 (1971), 171-173; *La scrittura proto-elamica* I (1971), 184-220.

25. E.g., Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Iran* 9 (1971), 87-96; *PBA* 59 (1973), 282-319; in *Le plateau iranien* (1977), 33ff.; *Antiquity* 52 (1978), 114ff. Alden, "The Question of Trade in Proto-Elamite Iran" (1973); "The Proto-Elamite Phenomenon," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Iran*, Hole, ed., forthcoming; *Current Anthropology* 23 (1982), 613-640; Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 195ff.; and others.

26. Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 196; Le Brun and Vallat, "Comment" to Alden, *Current Anthropology* 23 (1982), 633; below, pp. 112-114.

27. Meriggi, ZDMG Suppl. 1 (1969), 156-163; Vaiman, *VDI* 121 (1972), 124-133.

28. J. Blackman, personal communication.

29. Le Brun and Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 30ff.

30. Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 195f.; Le Brun, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 192; *DAFI* 9 (1978), 57; see below, 114-119.

31. Contrast, e.g., Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Antiquity* 52 (1978), 118; Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 199.

32. Alden, "The Proto-Elamite Phenomenon," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Iran*, Hole, ed., forthcoming. See below, pp. 123-124.

33. Jacobsen, AS 11 (1939), 82:35ff.

34. Edzard, *ZA* 53 (1959), 9ff.; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 39.

35. Jacobsen, AS 11 (1939), 86:7ff.

36. E.g., Majidzadeh, *JNES* 35 (1976), 105ff.; Hansman *JNES* 37 (1978), 331-336.

37. Cf. Edzard et al., *Rép. géog.* 1 (1977), 17.

38. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (1969).

39. Poebel, PBS 5 (1914), 20 rev. 14ff.; PBS 4/1 (1914), 117, 112.

40. W. G. Lambert in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, Garelli, ed., (1960), 47; cf. Hansman, *Iraq* 38 (1976), 23-27.

41. Jacobsen, AS 11 (1939), 94f.:6-16; Kraus, *ZA* 50 (1952), 34.

42. But see Kammenhuber, *Or NS* 48 (1979), 11 and Table 4.

43. Contrast Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 647; Hallo and Simpson, *The Ancient Near East*, 50.

44. The dedicatory text survives in an Ur III copy; the ruler's title and approximate date are supplied by a fragment of an inscribed statue. Goetze, *JCS* 15 (1961), 107f.; Moorey, *Kish Excavations* (1978), 168.

45. Sollberger, *Corpus* (1956), Ean. 1 rev. vi 9-vii 7'; Ean. 2 iii 12-19; Ean. 22 ii 3-7; cf. Sollberger and Kupper *IRSA* (1971), 47-61.

46. Sollberger, *Corpus* (1956), Enz. 1; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 75f; cf. Cooper, SANE 2/1 (1983), 9.

47. Cf. M. Lambert, *RA* 47 (1953), 62ff.; Leemans, *Foreign Trade* (1960), 116.

48. Edzard et al., *Rép. géog.* 1 (1977), 24f.; *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974), 127f.

49. Steinkeller, *ZA* 72 (1982), 246-255; *RA* 74 (1980), 9.

50. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 46f., Sargon b 9; 49f., Sargon b 13.

51. Contrast Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 648.

52. It should be emphasized that the translations "city governor" for ENSÍ and "viceroy" for GÌR.NITÁ are conventional. The titles alone are not evidence of political subordination; they were applied at times to rulers who were clearly independent sovereigns. "Prince" or "ruler" would be equally admissible renderings. ENSÍ is normally specified with a city name, GÌR.NITÁ with the name of a territory, but the titles are not mutually exclusive. In Old Akkadian and Ur III times, several individuals bore the complementary titles "ENSÍ of Susa" and "GÌR.NITÁ of Elam" (M. Lambert, *JA* 267 [1979], 15f.; Boissier, *RA* 23 [1926], 17).

53. Scheil, *RA* 28 (1931), 2 = Scheil, MDP 23 (1932), iv.

54. Cf. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 28, reading the latter name as Hisip-rashir.

55. The discrepancy in the order of names still offers difficulty: cf. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 28 and Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 649, for suggested resolutions.

56. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 10.

57. Ibid.

58. Cf. CAD I/J, 237 2b.

59. Foster, *Iraq* 39 (1977), 39.

60. Edzard, *RIA* 5/3-4 (1977), 199; Gelb, MAD 3 (1957), 74; Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 16, n. 161.

61. Scheil, MDP 10 (1908), 3 and pl. i; cf. Strommenger, *ZA* 53 (1959), 30ff.

62. Scheil, MDP 14 (1913), 4 and pl. iii, no. 1; Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres orientaux* I (1920), 58, no. 471; cf. Edzard et al., *Rép. géog.* 1 (1977), 44.

63. Cf. Edzard et al., *Rép. géog.* 1 (1977), 151.

64. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 9, 69, Manistusu b 1.

65. Cf. Sollberger, *JEOL* 20 (1968); Gelb, *JNES* 8 (1949), 346ff.; Gelb, *RA* 64 (1970), 2.

66. Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70 (1976), 103-121.

67. Ibid., 112, 115, 126.

68. Cf. Jacobsen, *AfO* 26 (1978-79), 1-14. A Sumerian literary narrative, also of Old Babylonian date, attributes to an Early Dynastic ruler, Lugalannemundu of Adab, conquests with striking similarities to those that the literary tradition credited to Naram-Sin, including subjugation of Elam and Marhashi; its historicity is

dubious; cf. Poebel, PBS 5 (1914), 75; Güterbock, *ZA* 42 (1934), 42ff.

69. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 72, Naram-Sin b 4.

70. Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 111.

71. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 56.

72. Legrain, MDP 14 (1913), 62ff.

73. Foster, *Iraq* 39 (1977), 39; M. Lambert, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 10-19; M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 19f.

74. M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 12-17. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 34, reading "Enammune" for Epirmupi, likewise dated him to the reign of Naram-Sin; Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 650, to the reign of Manishtushu; Boehmer, *ZA* 58 (1967), 302-310, to the period after the Old Akkadian dynasty.

75. Interpretation of the balance of the text is speculative; for extensive treatment, cf. Hinz, *ZA* 58 (1967), 66-96, summarized in *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 651; and Kammenhuber, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 172-175, 210-214.

76. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 34, suggested that the Elamite party was Hita eleventh king of Awan on the Susa King List; cf. Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 651; M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 28f.; Kammenhuber, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 180, proposes an otherwise unknown king Zigalugu. Cf. Vallat, *Suse et l'Elam* (1980), 5, on the location of the Elamite treaty partner.

77. Cf. Jacobsen, *AfO* 26 (1978-79), 13f.

78. Cf. Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 197f.

79. Cf. M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 19-29.

80. Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* (1903), 130; Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 28, no. 1; Edzard et al., *Rép. géog.* 1 (1977), 10.

81. Brandenstein, KUB 27 (1934), 38 iv 8f.; cf. Kammenhuber, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 167.

82. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 9ff.; Legrain, MDP 14 (1913), 7ff., 17ff.; Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1933), 258; cf. Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 124-128.

83. All cuneiform occurrences present the ruler's name in logographic spellings. Hinz, *IA* 2 (1962), 1-21, in consequence of his proposed decipherment of Proto-Elamite B script, renders the name as wholly Elamite in form, Kutik-Inshushinak. In view of continuing disagreement (cf. Meriggi, *BiOr* 26 [1969], 176ff., *La scrittura proto-elamica* I [1971], 206, reading PUZRI-Shushinak) an Akkadian form is retained here; cf. M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 25, n. 48.

84. M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 23f.; contrast Boehmer, *Or NS* 35 (1966), 345-376, dating Puzur-Inshushinak to the time of Naram-Sin.

85. LUGAL *A*!(text: ZA)-*wa-an*.KI; Scheil, MDP 10 (1908), pl. iii 1a 5-6, 2 5-6; cf. Gelb, MAD 2/2 (1961), 46; Boehmer, *Or NS* 35 (1966), 350, n. 2.

86. Cf. Edzard et al., *Rép. géog.* 1 (1977), 89; *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974) 100f.

87. Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* (1907), 70 vi 64, 104 xv 6-7; Falkenstein, AnOr 30 (1966), 49f.; *RIA* 3/9 (1971), 678.

88. Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1959-60), 1-32; Civil, *JCS* 21 ("1967," published

1969), 24-38; Sjöberg, *JCS* 24 (1972), 70-73; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 152f., 157f.

89. In general, Fish, MCS 4 (1954), 78-105; MCS 5 (1955), 1-26; Jones and Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts* (1961), 280-310; Hallo, "Ensi's of the Ur III Dynasty" (1953); Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963), 1-31.

90. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 82; MDP 4 (1902), 8; MDP 6 (1905), 20f.; Mecquenem, *RA* 47 (1953), 79-82; M. Lambert, *RA* 64 (1970), 70f.; cf. Hallo, *HUCA* 33 (1962), Šulgi 6, 12, I v; cf. Borger, *BiOr* 28 (1971), on later Mesopotamian literary portrayal of Shulgi as model conqueror of Elam.

91. Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* (1903), 329.

92. Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur* (1912), 384; Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963), 16; cf. Edzard and Farber, *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974), 3-5; cf. Michalowski, *ZA* 68 (1978), 38ff.

93. Cf. M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 30.

94. Schneider, AnOr 13 (1936), 14; Edzard and Farber, *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974), 127; cf. Sollberger, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 10ff.; Goetze, *Iraq* 22 (1960), 151ff.; Kienast, *JCS* 19 (1965), 54; Röllig, *RIA* 4/4-5 (1975), 283.

95. Schneider, AnOr 13 (1936), 15; Sollberger, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 10ff.; Goetze, *Iraq* 22 (1960), 151ff.; cf. Michalowski, *JAOS* 95 (1975), 716-719.

96. Steinkeller, *ZA* 72 (1983), 241 and n. 16.

97. Schneider, AnOr 13 (1936), 15; Sollberger, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 10ff.; Goetze, *Iraq* 22 (1960), 151ff.; cf. Michalowski, *JAOS* 95 (1975), 716-719.

98. Scheil, MDP 10 (1908), nos. 125, 126; MDP 28 (1939), nos. 424, 454, 467; cf. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 87, 133.

99. Hallo, *JNES* 15 (1956), 220-225; cf. Kutscher, *RA* 73 (1979), 81f.

100. Schneider, AnOr 13 (1936), 28; cf. Edzard and Farber, *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974), 76ff.; M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 33. Incorporation of Bashime as a province perhaps took place at this time: Steinkeller, *ZA* 72 (1982), 242 and n. 17.

101. Sollberger, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 37; Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963), 9; Wilcke, *ZA* 60 (1964), 64f.; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 163 contrast M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 36.

102. Virolleaud, *ZA* 19 (1905-06), 384f. = Virolleaud and Lambert, *Tablettes économiques de Lagash* (1968), 46a; cf. Michalowski, *JAOS* 95 (1975), 716, n. 8.

103. Poebel, PBS 5 (1914), 68; Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1959-60), 4-32; Civil, *JCS* 21 ("1967," published 1969), 24-38; Sjöberg, *JCS* 24 (1972), 70-73.

104. Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1959-60), 9:4, corrected by Kraus, *AfO* 20 (1963), 154; cf. M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 35.

105. Sjöberg, *JCS* 24 (1972), 71 ii 30; cf. the "tribute of Anshan" alluded to in Poebel, PBS 5 (1914), 68 i 5-15; Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1959-60), 2, n. 26.

106. Schneider, AnOr 13 (1936), 34f.

107. Scheil, MDP 4 (1902), pl. 1, no. 5, pl. 18 no. 1; MDP 10 (1908), 12; MDP 2 (1900), 56, 82; stratified exemplar: Vallat, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 135.

108. Cf. Edzard and Farber, *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974), *s.vv.*

109. Jean, *RA* 19 (1922), 1-44; Goetze, *JNES* 12 (1953), 114-123; Fish, MCS 4 (1954), 78-105; MCS 5 (1955), 1-26; Jones and Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts* (1961), 280-310.

110. Cf. Goetze, *JNES* 12 (1953), 116; Jones and Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts* (1961), 299-301; Fish, MCS 5 (1955), 1-26; Sollberger, TCS 1 (1966), 114; M. Lambert, *IA* 6 (1966), 39. The common translation "mercenary," however, is somewhat misleading in its connotations, since (1) methods of recruitment are unknown; Elamites characterized as coming from a local governor appear to have been assigned rather than hired; (2) pay, other than low rations, is unattested; (3) some "Elamites" clearly served as agricultural laborers (cf. Salonen, *Agricultura Mesopotamica* [1968], 166f.).

111. Cf. Michalowski, *ZA* 68 (1978), 48f.

112. Sigrist, *Revue biblique* 86 (1979), 240:4f. = Scheil, *RA* 14 (1917), 181f.; on contrasting reference of Susa and Elam, cf. Vallat, *Suse et l'Elam* (1980).

113. Jacobsen, *JCS* 7 (1953), 38.

114. Sollberger, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 43f.; Edzard, *Rép. géog.* 2, (1974), 242; cf. M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979), 38.

115. Sollberger, *RIA* 5/1-2 (1976), 6; contrast Reiner, *RA* 57 (1963), 173f.

116. Sollberger, *RIA* 5/1-2 (1976), 6; Gadd et al., UET 1 (1928), 289; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 157.

117. Van Dijk, *JCS* 30 (1978), 189ff.

118. Gadd and Kramer, UET 6/1 (1963), 124:30-36; Falkenstein, *WO* 1/5 (1950), 377-384; Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (1957), 50; Kramer, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 171f.; Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (1969), 33f.; Wilcke, *ZA* 60 (1970), 65ff.; Kramer, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Pritchard ed., 3rd ed. (1969), 611ff.; Rutten *RA* 35 (1938), 43.

119. Weidner, *MAOG* 4 (1928-29), 236; Jacobsen, *JNES* 12 (1953), 182f.

120. König, *EKI* (1965), nos. 48 §2, 48a §3, 48b §3, 39a-c II.

121. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 69, 72; MDP 4 (1902), 9; MDP 10 (1908), 13; MDP 14 (1913), 26f.; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 256-259.

122. Scheil, MDP 14 (1913), 26.

123. Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 654; Kupper, *Iraq* 31 (1969), 24-27.

124. Young, *JNES* 25 (1966), 228ff.; cf. Edzard and Farber, *Rép. géog.* (1974), map; contrast Vallat, *Suse et l'Elam* (1980), 9, suggesting a location in Kerman; Miroschedji, *RA* 74 (1980), 138, suggesting a location in southeastern Khuzistan.

125. But cf. W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 40, on Ebarti/Ebarat at Susa.

126. Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen* (1939), 6, no. 7:8; cf. Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 657; W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 39; contrast Van Dijk, *JCS* 30 (1978), 204.

127. Cf. Edzard and Farber, *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974), 172ff.; for formal identity between the names *Iabrat* and *Ebarti/Ebarat*, cf. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (1944), 102; W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 39f.

128. Genouillac, *Babyloniaca* 8 (1927), pl. vii, no. 30:3 (*Da-zi*!(text: GI)-*te*); Keiser and Kang, BIN 3 (1971), 477.

129. Contrast W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 40.

130. Stolper, *ZA* 72 (1982), 42-56.

131. Van Dijk, *JCS* 30 (1978), 189ff.; cf. Civil *apud* Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium B.C.* (1971), 22; reanalysis by D. Frayne in preparation.

132. So already Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 57ff.: contrast the historical reconstruction of Van Dijk, *JCS* 30 (1978), 199ff. Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 659; *RIA* 4/6-7 (1975), 527, nominated as conqueror of Ur Hutran-tepti--a name absent from the Old Babylonian list but supplied by the texts of Shilhak-Inshushinak (see above, p. 19; Scheil, MDP 24 [1933], 385) as a predecessor of the known Shimashkian rulers. This discrepancy among the sources at least cautions against interpreting the Old Babylonian list as a complete historical sequence.

133. Scheil, *RA* 28 (1931), 1ff. = MDP 23 (1932), iv.

134. König, *EKI* (1965), nos. 48 §2, 48a §3, 48b §3.

135. Scheil, MDP 6 (1905), 16ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* (1907), 180f.

136. Scheil, MDP 14 (1913), 26ff.; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 1675.

137. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 69; MDP 10 (1908), 13; MDP 14 (1913), 28f.; Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* (1907), 182f.; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 1677.

138. Cf. Hinz, *RIA* 5/1-2 (1976), 28. The status and chronological position of Ebarti II, ninth Shimashkian on the Old Babylonian list

of rulers, is debatable. No text from Susa unequivocally documents the reign of an Ebarti earlier than and distinct from the *sukkalmah* Ebarat (see pp. 26-28). If, as now appears likely, the Shimashkian Ebarti II was not only homonymous with, but actually identical with, the *sukkalmah* Ebarat (W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 [1979], 38f.; Stolper, *ZA* 72 [1982], 55), then Ebarti/Ebarat was an older contemporary of the Shimashkian Idaddu II, perhaps from a different branch of the ruling family; and the Old Babylonian list is no more to be interpreted as strictly sequential in its later part than in its presentation of the earliest Shimashkians.

139. Scheil, MDP 6 (1905), pl. 5:2-6.

140. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 80f.; MDP 4 (1902), 9; MDP 14 (1913), 24:10f.; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 257f.; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 1675.

141. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 1676.

142. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 69:5f., 72:5; MDP 14 (1913), 27:5f., 28:2f.; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 258; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), nos. 1677, 1678.

143. Scheil, MDP 14 (1913), 26:4.

144. For the supposed antiquity of this practice in Elam, cf. Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 649ff., 659ff.; *CAH* 2/1 (1973), 257ff.; *RE* (1964), 57; Nagel, *RIA* 4/4-5 (1975), 353.

145. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), 210, cf. no. 1679; Nagel, *RIA* 4/4-5 (1975), 353; contrast M. Lambert, *RA* 66 (1972), 70. A further indication of the same practice appears in a Sumerian administrative text from Isin, dated in year x + 13 of Ishbi-Erra (2002 B.C.); the text (Crawford, BIN 9 [1954], 382) mentions envoys, accompanied by retinues, from both *Ki-in-da-du* and *I-da-*[*du*?]. Although the

names are not accompanied by titles or toponyms, identity with the homonymous contemporary Shimashkians is most probable. If the identification is correct, then successive rulers on the Old Babylonian list were again partially contemporary with each other; and they were treating with Isin simultaneously, but not separately.

146. Scheil, MDP 23 (1932), nos. 291, 292, 295-302, 305.

147. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 62; cf. W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 40; Hinz, *CAH* 2/1 (1973), 260. It appears most economical, and chronologically most plausible, to attribute these tablets to the second Ebarti, ninth Shimashkian ruler on the Old Babylonian list, *and* to consider this Ebarti in turn to be identical with the first *sukkalmah* Ebarat; cf. Stolper, *ZA* 72 (1982), 55.

148. De Meyer, *Symbolae Böhl* (1973), 294, n. 1 and see above, pp. 20-20.

149. Scheil, MDP 23 (1932), 292:6.

150. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 2326.

151. Use of the divine determinative also favors attribution of an inscribed cylinder seal (W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 [1979], 15, no.42 to the wife of the same Ebarti/Iabarat named in the tablets.

152. Crawford, BIN 9 (1954), 152:4-7; Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (1957), 62.

153. Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 (1949), 75; Kienast, *JCS* 19 (1965), 53.

154. Goetze, YOS 10 (1947), 45 v 5f.; Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), 262f.; Rutten, *RA* 35 (1938), 43; cf. Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (1957), 64.

155. Crawford, *JCS* 2 (1948), 13-19; Kienast, *JCS* 19 (1965), 49f., 53; cf. Edzard, *RIA* 5/3-4 (1977), 174.

156. Crawford, BIN 9 (1954), 302:2-4, eleventh regnal year.

157. Ibid., 438:21-24, twelfth regnal year; cf. Röllig, *RIA* 4/4-5 (1975), 283.

158. Crawford, BIN 9 (1954), 382:8-14; see above, n. 145.

159. Gadd et al., UET 1 (1928), 100:8-10; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 172; cf. Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (1957), 56f.

160. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 80f.; MDP 4 (1902), 9; MDP 14 (1913), 24f.; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 257f.; cf. Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (1957), 72; Röllig, *RIA* 4/4-5 (1974), 284.

161. King, CT 21 (1905), 1 91084; Speleers, RIAA (1925), 4; Edzard, *Sumer* 15 (1959), 26, no. 12; Jacobsen, *AJSL* 44 (1927-28), 261ff.; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* (1971), 251f.; 4; Kupper, *JCS* 21 ("1967," published 1969), 124; von Soden, AHw, 972a; Steinkeller, *ZA* 72 (1982), 239. A date formula on tablets from Susa commemorates warfare in the time of one of the Shimashkians; the location of the place named is unknown (Dossin, MDP 18 [1927], 123, 124).

162. Kienast, *JCS* 19 (1965), 54; Goetze, *JCS* 19 (1965), 56; Owen, *JCS* 24 (1971), 17ff.

163. Groneberg, *Rép. géog.* 3 (1980), 18, 39; Ungnad, *RIA* 2 (1938), 155; Van Dijk, *JCS* 30 (1978), 197.

164. Scheil, MDP 10 (1908), 124.

165. Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (1957), 101; *RIA* 3/9 (1971), 699ff.; cf. Hinz, *CAH* 1/2 (1971), 661.

166. Cf. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 66; Stolper, *ZA* 72 (1982), 56.

167. Kraus, *JCS* 3 (1951), 20.

168. Cf. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles* (1957), 112-121; Reiner, *JCS* 7 (1953), 33-35; Edzard *RIA* 4/5 (1975), 341f. In sources from Elam, the titles are spelled only with the Sumerograms SUKKAL.MAḪ and SUKKAL; herein, they are transcribed in their Sumerian form rather than as the usual Akkadian equivalents *sukkalmaḫḫu* and *šukkallu*.

169. Scheil, MDP 22 (1930); MDP 23 (1932); MDP 24 (1933); MDP 28 (1939).

170. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 71ff.; Hinz, *Or NS* 32 (1963), 1ff.; Hinz, *CAH* 2/1 (1973), 257f.; Hinz, *RIA* 3/9 (1971), 654f.; Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen zur altelamischen Archäologie* (1970), 182.

171. Most recently reviewed in Yusifov, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 321-332.

172. There is, nevertheless, no assurance that a single dynastic line ruled in Elam without interruption for the entire *sukkalmah* period; cf. Miroschedji, *IA* 16, (1981), 22.

173. Cf. summary of titulary in Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 186f.

174. Cf. Dossin, *Syria* 20 (1939), 109.

175. Rowton, *JCS* 21 ("1967," published 1969), 269 A 7535:24.

176. The evidence is most conveniently arrayed in Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 188-210.

177. Cf. Ghirshman, *AA* 10 (1964), 6; *AA* 11 (1965), 4; *AA* 15 (1967), 5f.; 17 (1968), 4; *Iran* 5 (1967), 142. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 88-92.

178. The leading current reconstructions are the following: (1) Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 69-88, 229, deducing fourteen triumvirates over the interval c. 1870-1600 B.C.; Hinz, *Or NS* 32 (1963), 1-12, proposing twenty triumvirates over twelve generations, running c. 1850-1520 B.C.; Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 180-215, pls. 85-88, incorporating the results of orthographic study of E. Salonen, StOr 27/I (1962), 1-30, and deriving a series of twenty-four sets of rulers, c. 1900-1600 B.C. on the absolute chronology followed herein.

Not all texts from Haft Tepe necessarily postdate *sukkalmah*-period texts from Susa. There is some chronological overlap and some functional connection between the two groups of texts. An unpublished fragment from Haft Tepe bears the impression of a distinctive seal that was also impressed on a Susa text from the *sukkalmah* period; the latter text may be as old as the eighteenth century B.C.; cf. Miroschedji, *RA* 74 (1980), 134, n. 39; *IA* 16 (1981), 3, n. 7; Amiet, *AA* 26 (1973), 37, no. 48; cf. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), pl. 86.

179. Laessoe, AS 16 (1965), 190.

180. Dossin, *Syria* 20 (1939), 108f.; *RA* 64 (1970), 97; cf. Van Dijk, *AfO* 23 (1970), 63ff.

181. Ungnad, VAS 7 (1909), 67; cf. Rowton, *CAH* 1/1 (1970), 234.

182. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 204ff.; cf. W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 43.

183. Van Dijk, *AfO* 23 (1970), 64, n. 7.

184. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 190ff.; further co-occurrences of Ebarat and Shilhaha in Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 1685; De Meyer, *Symbolae Böhl* (1973), 293.

185. König, *EKI* (1965), 48 §2, 48a §3, 48b §3.

186. E.g., Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 74, 77f.; MDP 6 (1905), 27; MDP 23 (1932), 282; Ungnad, VAS 7 (1909), 67; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 2330; Scheil, *RA* 24 (1927), 41.

187. König, *EKI*, (1965), 48 §2, 48a §3, 48b §3.

188. Ibid., 39m; Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 98:17.; Miroschedji, *IA* 16 (1981), 22.

189. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 2326; Scheil, MDP 28 (1939), 44.

190. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 2327; cf. Miroschedji, *RA* 74 (1980), 134, n. 35.

191. Sollberger, *JCS* 22 (1968-69), 31f.

192. W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 41ff.

193. Idaddu II, tenth Shimashkian on the list, was the son of Tan-Ruhuratir, eighth on the list (Scheil, MDP 14 [1913], 27:4ff.; MDP 2 [1900], 72f.; MDP 10 [1908], 13; Amiet, MDP 43 [1972], no. 1677). The list enters Ebarti II between Tan-Ruhuratir and Idaddu II, seemingly considering Ebarti II senior to Idaddu II. Addahushu obtained power in Susa within a generation of Idaddu II (see, p. 21); he was the "sister's son" of Shilhaha (Scheil, MDP 28 [1939], 7, no. 4; Sollberger, *JCS* 22 [1968-69], 31); and Shilhaha was the son of Ebarat (König, *EKI* [1965] 48a §3, etc.). To judge by these

several traditions, therefore, Ebarat the *sukkalmah* belonged to the same generation as Ebarti (II) the Shimashkian.

194. Stolper, *ZA* 72 (1982), 56. The last two Shimashkians on the Old Babylonian list, however, are problematic. No contemporary inscriptions confirm the rule of Idaddu-napir (no. 11) or Idaddu-temti (no. 12) at Susa or elsewhere, but the personal name *Idaddu-napir* does occur, without title, on a tablet from Susa, from the time of Addahushu (Scheil, MDP 10 [1908], 21:4).

195. Scheil, *RA* 26 (1929), 2; MDP 28 (1939), 7; Sollberger, *JCS* 22 (1968-69), 31; M. Lambert, *JA* 259 (1971), 217f.

196. Reading AD.DA K[ALA]M, with Gelb *apud* Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 36, n. 2.

197. Reading <*te*>-*eb-bi-ir*, with Sollberger, *JCS* 22 (1968-69), 31.

198. Ibid., 31.

199. Scheil, MDP 28 (1939), 5.

200. Ibid., (1908), 32, 37, 41; Edzard and Farber, *Rép. géog.* 2 (1974), 242.

201. Dates following Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (1976), 1ff.; J. A. Brinkman, personal communication.

202. Cf. Koschaker, *Or NS* 4 (1935), 78ff.

203. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 70.

204. Cf. Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (1957), 168; *RIA* 6 3/4 (1981), 267.

205. Leemans, *Foreign Trade* (1960), 57ff.

206. Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (1957), 177.

207. Rowton, *JCS* 21 ("1967," published 1969), 269.

208. Laessoe, AS 16 (1965), 194:50ff.

209. Cf. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 193ff.

210. Cf. Hallo, *RIA* 3/9 (1971), 719.

211. Farber, *ZA* 64 (1975), 74ff.

212. Cf. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 193ff.

213. Dossin, *Syria* 20 (1939), 108-109; Miroschedji, *RA* 74 (1980), 139, n. 69. The spelling *Ṣiwe-palar-huhpak* occurs in Elamite inscriptions; unpublished Akkadian tablets from the Ville Royale excavations at Susa spell the name Ṣiwepalarpak (Steve et al., *IA* 15 [1980], 89). Shulshi-Kudur, called "king of Susa" in Mari texts, is not securely identifiable in texts from Elam; the name may be a mistaken Akkadian spelling of Kuduzulush: Birot, ARMT 16/1 (1979), 199.

214. Dossin, *RA* 64 (1970), 97, n. 3.

215. Jean, ARM 2 (1950), 73:27ff.

216. Ibid., 26:5ff.

217. Van Dijk, *AfO* 23 (1970), 63-65.

218. Bottéro, ARM 7 (1956), 221; ARM 9 (1960), 149, 217, 288; Dossin et al., ARM 13 (1964), 31, 32.

219. Bottéro, ARM 2 (1950), 72:29ff., 73:7ff.; Birot, ARM 14 (1974), 122:10ff.

220. Kupper, ARM 6 (1954), 19:4ff., 22:6ff.

221. E.g., Bottéro, ARM 7 (1954), 233, 236; Dossin, *RA* 64 (1970), 100; cf. Muhly, *Copper and Tin* (1973), 294ff.

222. Dossin, ARM 4 (1951), 20.

223. Jean, ARM 2 (1950), 26, 73.

224. Kupper, ARM 6 (1954), 27.

225. Birot ARM 14 (1974), 101.

226. Ibid., 124.

227. Kupper, ARM 6 (1954), 66; cf. Hawkins, *RIA* 5/1-2 (1976), 29.

228. Kupper, ARM 6 (1954), 51, 52, 54; Birot, ARM 14 (1974), 104; cf. Kupper, *RA* 42 (1948), 35-52; Lewy, *Or NS* 25 (1956), 338, n. 5; Sasson, *RA* 66 (1972), 177-178. Birot, *RA* 72 (1978), 185f.; contrast Dalley et al., *Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah* (1976), 5ff.

229. Birot ARM 14 (1974), 104.

230. Jean, ARM 2 (1950), 121.

231. Dossin, *Studia Mariana* (1950), 55; cf. Birot, *Syria* 55 (1978), 335f.

232. Ungnad, *RIA* 2 (1938), 180; Jacobsen, AS 6 (1934), 7; Van Dijk, *AfO* 23 (1970), 65.

233. Poebel, *AfO* 9 (1934), 241f.; Hawkins, *RIA* 5/1-2 (1976), 29.

234. Pézard, MDP 15 (1914), 91.

235. Stolper, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 96; *ZA* 72 (1982), 59ff.

236. Leemans, *Foreign Trade* (1960), 175.

237. Cf. Harris, *RA* 70 (1976), 146; *Ancient Sippar* (1975), 88f.

238. Ungnad, VAS 7 (1909), 67.

239. Hallo, *Royal Titles* (1957), 120; contrast Hinz, *CAH* 2/1 (1973), 268.

240. Ghirshman, *AA* 15 (1967), 4f.

241. Cf. Hinz, *CAH* 2/1 (1973), 271ff.; Klima, *ArOr* 28 (1960), 5ff.; *RA* (1972), 39ff.; Koschaker, *Or NS* 4 (1935), 38-80; *ZA* 43 (1936), 221ff.; Oppenheim, *WZKM* 43 (1936), 241ff.; Yusifov, *Klio* 38 (1960); *Beiträge zur Sozialen Struktur des Alten Vorderasien* 1 (1971), 61-68; *Altorientalische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 45-61; Schacht, *Population and Economic Organization in Early Historic Southwest Iran* (1973), 68-83.

242. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), 200f.

243. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 33; Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 91.

244. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (1907), II, 22f.:11-13; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 156:12-14; Weidner, *AfO* 3 (1926), 68, n. 1.

245. Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 318.

246. *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 382 f.

247. Steve et al., *IA* 15, (1980), 92-94, 139f.

248. Reiner *apud* Porada, *Expedition* 13 (1970), 32; Amiet, *AA* 26 (1973), 21; Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 95f.

249. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 120f.; Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 95.

250. Reiner, *AfO* 24 (1973), 87ff.; Herrero, *DAFI* 6 (1976), 93ff.; Vallat, *Vth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming.

251. Herrero, *DAFI* 6 (1976), no. 7.

252. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 121f.; MDP 4 (1902), pl. 18 no. 3; Reiner, *AfO* 24 (1973), 87ff.

253. Scheil, MDP 23 (1932), 248; MDP 22 (1930), 76 = MDP 4 (1902), 191.

254. Herrero, *DAFI* 6 (1976), 102, no. 6, 112; cf. Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 144f.; cf. d.KUR.GAL = d.*Enlil*, Labat and Edzard, MDP 57 (1974), 1 i 7, iv 38.

255. Vallat, *Vth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming.

256. Herrero, *DAFI* 6 (1976), no. 6.

257. Ibid., no. 6: 11f.; Vallat, *Vth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming. The nuance "repulse" suggested for Akkadian *suḫḫuru* is still questionable.

258. Herrero, *DAFI* 6 (1976), 106ff., 114, nos. 8-9.

259. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 174f. iii 10-19.

260. Scheil, *RA* 26 (1929), 7 = MDP 28 (1939), 9; Hilprecht, BE 1 (1893), 43; cf. Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 209f., 223.

261. Scheil, MDP 14 (1913), 32f.; MDP 6 (1905), 30; the character of the documents, it should be noted, does not entirely exclude the possibility that some or all of these events belong to the time of Kurigalzu I, prior to 1375 B.C., and so prior to Tepti-ahar's reign; cf. Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 205ff., 418ff.

262. König, *EKI* (1965), nos. 4-79; Steve, MDP 41 (1967); Steve, *Or NS* 37 (1968), 290ff.; M. Lambert, *JA* 258 (1970), 243ff.; M. Lambert, *RA* 66 (1972), 61ff.; Sollberger, *JCS* 19 (1965), 31f.; Vallat, *IInd Annual Symposium* (1973), 64ff.; *DAFI* 8 (1978), 98ff.; Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 278f., 442; Walker, *Iran* 18 (1980), 79; Stolper, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 89ff.; Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions* (1981), nos. 192-214; Vallat, *IA* 16 (1981), 27; *IA* 18, (1983), in press; information on unpublished inscriptions courtesy of F. Vallat, W. Van Soldt, and H. T. Wright.

263. Cf. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 170ff.; Brinkman, *JCS* 16 (1962), 87f.; Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 321f., 327f., 13f.; Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976) 108, 123, 321.

264. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 176f. iv 14ff.

265. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* I (1861), 38 no. 2.

266. Cf. Tadmor, *JNES* 17 (1958), 138ff.

267. King, *BBSt* (1912) no. 6.

268. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 10 (1913), 98.

269. König, *EKI* (1965), 48 §2, 48b §3.

270. Cf. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 386f.; contrast Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 104.

271. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 230: Pahir-ishshan c. 1310, Attar-kittah c. 1295-1286; Hinz, *RE* (1964); Ige-halki 1350-1330, Pahir-ishshan 1330-1310, Attar-kittah 1310-1300; Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 383f.: Pahir-ishshan probably contemporary with Nazimaruttash of Babylon (1307-1282), Attar-kittah with Kadashman-Turgu (1281-1264); Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 101f.: Ige-halki c. 1325; Attar-kittah c. 1290-1275.

272. Unpublished; cf. Vallat, *Suse et l'Elam* (1980), 12, n. 50; Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 100.

273. König, *EKI* (1965), 28A §§18-19; cf. Grillot, *JA* 258 (1970), 227, 235, n. 31.

274. Steve, MDP 41 (1967), 112f.

275. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 383; Vallat, *Vth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming.

276. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 383; but cf. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 101.

277. König, *EKI* (1965), 4B, 4C; cf. Hinz, *RIA* 4/6-7 (1975), 493.

278. König, *EKI* (1965), 19 II, 13 II.

279. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 384.

280. König, *EKI* (1965), 4A.

281. Cf. Farber, *ZA* 64 (1975), 77ff.

282. For the correct reading of the second element of the name Untash-Napirisha, formerly transcribed as Untash-d.GAL or Untash-Humban, cf. Hinz, *JNES* 24 (1965), 351ff.; M. Lambert, *RA* 65 (1971), 181 sub 11; M. Lambert, *RA* 66 (1972), 67; Reiner, *RA* 67 (1973), 62, n. 1.

283. König, *EKI* (1965), nos. 5-15; Steve, MDP 41 (1967), nos. 1-61.

284. Steve, MDP 41 (1967), nos. I-VIII; Scheil, MDP 10 (1908), 85ff.

285. Cf. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 390f.

286. KS-102; H. T. Wright, personal communication.

287. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 82.

288. Vallat, *IInd Annual Symposium* (1973), 63ff.; *AMI NF*, 15, in press. Although the Deylam bricks were found reused in a wall of Parthian or Sassanian date, they are not likely to have been brought to the site from very far away.

289. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 278f., 442.

290. Miroschedji, *IA* 16 (1981), 14f.; Vallat, "Le complexe religieux de Tchoga Zanbil," unpublished paper.

291. Scheil, MDP 10 (1908), 85ff.

292. Reiner *apud* Rowton, *CAH* (1970), 1/1, 218.

293. Cf. Parpola, AOAT 6 (1970), 358.

294. Reading the name with Reiner *apud* Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 48, n. 3, against the common reading Unpatar-Napirisha/d.GAL.

295. König, *EKI* (1965), 48 §2, 48b §3.

296. Cf. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 386f.; Hinz, *RE* (1964), 99.

297. König, *EKI* (1965), 48 §2, 48b §3.

298. Cf. Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 86ff.

299. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und siener Nachfolger*, AfO Beih. 12 (1959), 4, no. 1 iv 24ff.

300. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 175f. iv 1-8; Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 86; Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 18ff.

301. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 176f. iv 14-16; the Babylonian text, Chronicle P, spells the Elamite king's name Kidin-Hutrudish, perhaps reflecting an extended form Kidin-Hutran-untash; cf. Hinz, *RE* (1964), 99.

302. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 177 iv 17-22; cf. Borger, *BiOr* 28 (1971), 23, on literary allusions to these wars.

303. Despite Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 389; cf. Rowton, *JNES* 25 (1966), 252f.

304. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 176 iv 8-9.

305. 1207 B.C.; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 176 iv 10-11.

306. König, *EKI* (1965), 18-28; Eilers, *AMI NF* 8 (1975), 43.

307. Cf. Hinz, *RIA* 4/1 (1972), 61.

308. Cf. Hinz, *RE* (1964), 100; M. Lambert, *RA* 66 (1972), 74f.

309. Cf. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 482.

310. König, *EKI* (1965), 19.

311. Ibid., 20.

312. Ibid., 21.

313. König, *EKI* (1965), 28A; cf. Hinz, *RE* (1964), 101f.; Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 106f.; Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 484.

314. Cf. Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 88.

315. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* I (1972), §932; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 162:9-12; Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 88; Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 321.

316. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* III (1870), 38, no. 2:2'; Tadmor, *JNES* 17 (1958), 137f.

317. König, *EKI* (1965), 28C II.

318. Ibid., 28C I.

319. Ibid., 24b, 24c; Scheil, MDP 10 (1908), pls. I, III.

320. König, *EKI* (1965), 22.

321. König, *EKI* (1965), 23; cf. Brinkman, *MSKH* I (1976), 258.

322. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* III (1870), 38 no. 2:3ff.; Tadmor, *JNES* 17 (1958), 137ff.; Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 88.

323. Cf. Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 80f.; for references to the Elamite captivity of Marduk that do not name Kutir-Nahhunte, cf.

Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* III (1870), 61, no. 2:21'f.; Borger, *BiOr* 28 (1971), 7, 16; texts of the Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal, written after 640 B.C. and alluding to the capture of Babylonian gods by an Elamite ruler named Kudurnahundi 1,635 years earlier (Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Nineveh's* [1916], 59f.:107ff., 178f.:12ff.), are more likely to refer to the twelfth-century Kutir-Nahhunte (so Cameron, *HEI* [1936], 59, 111. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 487) than to a homonymous *sukkalmah* of the seventeenth century B.C. (Hinz, *CAH* 2/1 [1973], 266).

324. König, *EKI* (1965), 29-31; Steve, *Or NS* 37 (1968), 298f.; M. Lambert, *JA* 258 (1970), 243ff.

325. König, *EKI* (1965), nos. 32-59; Steve, *Or NS* 37 (1968), 290 ff.; Sollberger, *JCS* 19 (1965), 31f.; Stolper, *DAFI* 8, (1978), 89ff.; F. Vallat, personal communication; Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions* (1981), nos. 211-213.

326. König, *EKI* (1965), 54.

327. Ibid., 54a, 54b, 55; unpublished texts, F. Vallat, personal communication.

328. Cf. in detail Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 491ff.; Cameron, HEI (1936), 113ff.

329. Cf. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 118f.; Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 492.

330. Cf. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 492f.

331. Cf. in detail Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 121ff.; Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 494ff.

332. König, *EKI* (1965), 57-59.

333. König, *EKI* (1965), 48 §§22-29.

334. KS-3, Chogha Pahn West; Stolper, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 89ff.; Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions* (1981), no. 213.

335. Tulaspid: König, *EKI* (1965), 41a; cf. Herzfeld, *Persian Empire* (1968), 177.

336. König, *EKI* (1965), 60, 61, 63, 65.

337. Cf. M. Lambert, *JA* 258 (1970), 246, n. 2.

338. König, *EKI* (1965), 60-65, 67; M. Lambert, *RA* 66 (1972), 61-76; Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 97ff.; cf. Hinz, *RIA* 4/6-7 (1975), 525.

339. König, *EKI* (1965), 64; cf. Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 106, n. 570; cf. Zadok, *BiOr* 34 (1977), 79, on the toponym Shulakke and congeners.

340. M. Lambert, *RA* 66 (1972), 61ff.

341. Reiner, *RA* 67 (1973), 57ff.

342. See below, pp. 172-174.

343. Carter and Stolper, *Expedition* 18 (1976), 37ff.; Stolper, *Texts from Tall-i Malyan* I, in press.

344. Apart from the Malyan texts, tablets--that is, nonmonumental texts--from later Middle Elamite times are rare. About fifty scholarly, legal, and administrative tablets and fragments dated stratigraphically to late Middle Elamite were excavated at the Ville Royale of Susa: Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 103. Three fragments written in Elamite, thought to come from Susa, appear in Walker, *Iran* 18 (1980), 76ff.

345. Cf. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 500; Hinz, *RE* (1964), 111; Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 103f.

346. King, *BBSt* (1912), no. 24.

347. Ibid., no. 6.

348. On the governor's name, cf. Borger, *AfO* 23 (1970), 8.

349. Cf. in detail Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 13f., 19f., 105ff., 328f.

350. King, *BBSt* (1912), 6 i 41; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 10 (1913), 97f.

351. Finkelstein, *Propaganda and Communication* I (1978), 85ff.

352. Cf. Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 109.

353. Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 194f.; cf. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 105f.

354. König, *EKI* (1965), 72 II; cf. Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 105; contrast Yusifov, *Palestinskii Sbornik* II (1964), 9ff.

355. Cf. Labat, *CAH* 2/2 (1975), 506; Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 56f.; M. Lambert, *RA* 66 (1972), 75f.

356. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 143 v 13; Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 165.

357. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* I (1861), 31 iv 37-42; Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, 259 §726; Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 209.

358. Cf. Brinkman, *JNES* 24 (1965), 161-166; *Power and Propaganda* (1979), 230; *Or NS* 46 (1977), 308; Malbran-Labat, *JA* 263 (1975), 7.

359. Cf. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 10ff. The Chronicle provides a single series of Elamite kings in chronological succession. There is reason to believe that this arrangement is procrustean; that early in the Neo-Elamite period, as was certainly true later, competing local rulers claimed the royal title in Elam simultaneously; that some kings listed in the Chronicle had longer local reigns than the Chronicle acknowledges (D. B. Weisberg, personal communication, citing A 33248, an Akkadian legal text that Weisberg is editing; the text is dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Hallushu, king of Elam, although the Chronicle only allows Hallushu a reign of five years; cf. Cameron, *HEI* [1936], 157). For want of better information, regnal dates indicated by the Chronicle are supplied here; recognition in the Chronicle is presumed to mark political ascendancy in Elam.

360. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 71 i 9f.; cf. Hinz, *RIA* 4/6-7 (1975), 492; the Elamite form of the ruler's name is postulated from Akkadian spellings.

361. Marduk-apla-iddina; cf. Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* (1964), 6-53.

362. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 73f. i 33-37; Gadd, *Iraq* 15 (1953), 123:17f.; Lie, *Sargon* (1929), 6:20; Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* (1964), 13f.

363. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 74f. i 38-40; the name is transcribed as *Is-tar-hu-un-du* in the Chronicle (ibid., 77f. 32-34), and as *Su-tur*-d.*Na-hu*-(*un*)-*du*/*di* in inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib (Lie, *Sargon* [1929], 53f.:6, 367; Luckenbill, OIP 2 [1924], 49:7).

364. Konig, *EKI* (1965), nos. 71-73; Amiet and M. Lambert, *Syria* 44 (1967), 37, 47ff. Orthographic and genealogical variations among

these texts leave some ground to doubt whether all first-millennium allusions to Shutruk- or Shutur-Nahhunte refer to a single ruler; cf. Amiet and M. Lambert, *Syria* 44 (1967), 47-51; Hinz, *RE* (1964), 116ff.; Hinz, in *A Locust's Leg*, ed. Henning and Yarshater (1962), 108; Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 61.

365. König, *EKI* (1965), 74.

366. Ibid., 75-76; Hinz, *A Locust's Leg* (1962), 105-116. In the light of the late second-millennium date now proposed for some or all of the Izeh reliefs (see below, pp. 170-172) the uncertain number of Elamite rulers named Shutur- or Shutruk-Nahhunte (above, n. 364), and paleographic and grammatical evidence forthcoming in Middle Elamite tablets from Malyan (above, p. 42), the date of the Hanni--Shutruru inscriptions needs reappraisal.

367. König, *EKI* (1965), 71-73, I.

368. Ibid., 72 IV; cf. Hinz, *RE* (1964), 118.

369. Lie, *Sargon* (1929), 54:371-58:15, 64:16f.; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 75 ii 1-5; Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* (1964), 18-22; *JNES* 24 (1965), 163f.; *Power and Propaganda* (1979), 235 and n. 90.

370. Lie, *Sargon* (1929), 72-75; Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 161; Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), 96; Levine, "Sargon's Eighth Campaign," in *Mountains and Lowlands*, Levine and Young, eds., (1977), 148f.

371. Luckenbill, OIP 2 (1924), 48f.:34f.; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 77 ii 26-31; Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* (1964), 24-27; *JNES* 24 (1965), 164f.; Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), 10; Brinkman, *Or NS* 46 (1977), 316.

372. König, *EKI* (1965), 77; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 77f. ii 32-35; cf. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 163, n. 21.

373. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 78f. ii 36-iii 12; Luckenbill, OIP 2 (1924), 38:73-76; Brinkman, *Or NS* 34 (1965), 244f.; *JCS* 25 (1973), 91f.; *Power and Propaganda* (1979), 236; Hinz, *RIA* 4/1 (1972), 61f.; Parpola, *Iraq* 34 (1972), 21ff.

374. Luckenbill, OIP 2 (1924), 40f.: 3-5.

375. Cf. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 165.

376. Cf. Hinz, *ZDMG NF* 35 (1961), 250; *RIA* 4/4-5 (1975), 391; Hallock, OIP 92 (1969), 40, n. 35.

377. Luckenbill, OIP 2 (1924), 39ff. iv 54-v 13.

378. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 80 iii 13-15.

379. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 80 iii 15, 221; Hinz, *RIA* 4/6-7 (1975), 493; Brinkman, *Or NS* 46 (1977), 316; the Elamite name is postulated from the Akkadian spellings *Me-na-nu* and *Um-ma-an-me-na-nu*.

380. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 80 iii 16-22; Luckenbill, OIP 2 (1924), 42-47, 91f.; Grayson, AS 16 (1965), 342; Brinkman, *JCS* 25 (1973), 92-95; Grayson, *AfO* 20 (1963), 94f.

381. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 80f. iii 20-25.

382. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 81 iii 27-33; Hinz, *RIA* 4/6-7 (1975), 492; Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), 28f.; no Elamite inscriptions of either ruler are extant. Restoration of the place name "Elam" in Grayson, TCS 5 (1975) 81 iii 29 is questionable. The passage does not mention Humban-haltash explicitly.

383. Weidner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 5-9; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 82 iii 39-42.

384. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 83 iv 9. This passage of the Babylonian Chronicle, however, may be corrupt (J. A. Brinkman, personal communication).

385. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 84 iv 11-12, 126:16-17.

386. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* (1956), 53 A iii 80ff.

387. Konig, *EKI* (1965), 78.

388. Ibid., 79-85.

389. Cameron, *HEI* (1936) 167f.; Hinz, *RE* (1964), 125f.

390. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 84 iv 13, 126:18.

391. Ibid., 84 iv 17f., 126:21f.; Dietrich, CT 54 (1979), 480; *WO* 4 (1968), 245; AOAT 7 (1970), 164.

392. *ABL* 918, etc.; cf. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 168f.; Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), 58; Malbran-Labat, *JA* 263 (1975), 11f.

393. Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal* I (1933), 54ff. iv 20-26; Harper, *ABL* (1892), 295.

394. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), cccxii; Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal* I (1933), 58ff. iv 27ff.; cf. Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), 77; Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 186ff.; Brinkman, *Power and Propaganda* (1979), 247, n. 116.

395. So Hinz, *RE* (1964), 126ff.; Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 186ff.

396. Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal* I (1933), 60ff. iv 74-99; Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), 15 obv. 2f.

397. König, *EKI* (1965), 79-85.

398. Ibid., 79 vii, 80 II-III.

399. Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal* I (1933), 60-70, 72f.; Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), 324f., cf. cccxiiff.

400. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), 328f.

401. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 190f.; Hinz, *RE* (1964), 130, et al.

402. König, *EKI* (1965), 86-87.

403. Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal* I (1933), 76f.; Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), cccxviff., 32ff., 180f., 126ff.; Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), 19; Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), 79, n. 1; Malbran-Labat, *JA* 263 (1975), 15f.

404. Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 192ff.; Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal* I (1933), (1933), 78ff; Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), cccxviii-cccxxvii, 142ff.; Hinz, *RIA* 5/1-2 (1976), 90; Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), 27f.; Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), 106f.; Malbran-Labat, *JA* 263 (1975), 27f.

405. Harper, *ABL* (1892), 281.

406. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), 42ff.; Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 197ff.

407. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), 46ff.

408. Weidner, *AfO* 7 (1931), 3f.; Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933), 86, 95, 115ff.; Stronach, *Iraq* 36 (1974), 248. The toponyms written *Parsuash, Parsumash, Parsua, and Parsamash* in various sources of

the Neo-Assyrian period are etymologically identical with one another, but they refer to at least two different regions: one in the central Zagros and the other in Fars. The latter is certainly indicated in the text cited here, and it is the more likely referent in texts of Sennacherib cited above, p. 48 and n. 380. Cf. Parpola, AOAT 6 (1970), 274f. and Levine, *Iran* 12 (1974), 106-112.

409. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (1916), 50-59.

410. Ibid., 60ff.; cf. Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), 125; on Nabu-bel-shumati's career: Malbran-Labat, *JA* 263 (1975), 7ff.

411. Harper, *ABL* (1896), 521, 460, 839, etc.

412. Harper, *ABL* (1896), 520, 1000, etc.

413. But see Cameron, *HEI* (1936), 211; cf. Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 62.

414. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 88:15-17.

415. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 102:16-20.

416. Cf. Amiet and M. Lambert, *Syria* 44 (1967), 51; Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 61f., suggesting Shutur-Nahhunte as the name of an Elamite ruler of this period.

417. Scheil, MDP 2 (1900), 123ff.; MDP 4 (1902), pl. 18; MDP 5 (1904), xxiii; MDP 10 (1908), 96; MDP 14 (1913), 60; cf. Mecquenem, *RA* 21 (1924), 109; Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 9 (1912), 24; a fragmentary reference to a goddess of Elam in a royal inscription of Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.) is without useful political implications; cf. Langdon, VAB 4 (1912), 276 iii 40-43.

418. Cf. Amiet, *AA* 28 (1973), 5.

419. Weissbach, *BA* 4 (1902), 168-201.

420. Scheil, MDP 9 (1907).

421. Scheil, MDP 11 (1911), 301-307, 309.

422. Paper *apud* Ghirshman, MDP 36 (1954), 79-82.

423. Amiet, *AA* 28 (1973), 4.

424. Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 60f.

425. Schmidt, OIP 69 (1953), 64f. and pls. 27f.; Hallock, OIP 92 (1969), 713 s.v. *Kesat*; Hinz, *Or NS* (1970), 428.

426. Other late Elamite texts of uncertain date and provenience: Walker, *Iran* 18 (1980), 79f. BM 56302 and 62783.

427. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* V (1880-1909), 35:21; cf. Weissbach, VAB 3 (1911), 4f.; Gadd et al., UET 1 (1928), 194.

428. Cf. Amiet, *AA* 28 (1973), 29, no. 28; Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* V (1890-1909), 64:29 = Langdon, VAB 4 (1912), 220; Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 106 ii 4.

429. But cf. Zadok, *Iran* 14 (1976), 61f. An Akkadian historical-literary text, perhaps written at the time of Alexander the Great's invasion of Asia Minor, appears to refer to Cyrus as "king of Elam" when he conquered Babylonia: Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Litterary Texts (1975)*, 32 ii 17ff.; cf. ibid., 25.

430. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* V (1880-1909), 35:30f.

431. Cf. Grayson, TCS 5 (1975), 109 iii 12-16.

432. Cf. Kent, AOS 33 (1953), 118ff. DB §§16-17, 121ff. DB §§22-23.

433. Ibid., 134 DB §71.

434. Cameron, OIP 65 (1948); Hallock, OIP 92 (1968); *DAFI* 8 (1978), 109-136. Elamite recording techniques and language were also used in other Iranian provinces of the empire, as an Achaemenid Elamite tablet fragment excavated at Kandahar, in Afghanistan, shows (S. Helms, personal communication).

435. Cf. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets" (1971), 11.

436. Dandamayev, *Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* (1968), I, 258-264; Hallock, OIP 92 (1968), 694, s.v. *Hatamtip*.

437. Pinches, *Old Testament* (1903), 483, 484; cf. Olmstead, *Classical Philology* 32 (1937), 13; Debevoise, *Political History of Parthia* (1938), 24, n. 103, 40; Le Rider, MDP 38 (1965), 356, n. 1.

438. Le Rider, MDP 38 (1965).

439. Briant, *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon*, Ser. 2, 188 (1976), 167ff.; Briant, *État et pasteurs* (1982), 62ff.; Le Rider, MDP 38 (1965), 261.

440. Briant, *Etat et pasteurs* (1982), 81ff.; Strabo, XI.13.6, XV.3.4

441. Ibid., 94ff.

442. Strabo, XVI.1.18.

443. Le Rider, MDP 38 (1965), 308, 311, 323, 353f.

444. Achaemenid Elamite *kapuškir*, "treasurer." Le Rider, MDP 38

(1965), 349ff.; Briant, *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon*, Ser. 2, 188 (1976), 213; Henning, *Asia Major NS* 2 (1952), 158ff.

445. Le Rider, MDP 38 (1965), 42ff.; Keall, *JAOS* 95 (1975), 630; Wenke, *JAOS* 101 (1981), 306ff.

Part II

ARCHAEOLOGY

Elizabeth Carter

INTRODUCTION

The terms *Elam* and *Elamite* are used in this study in their broadest sense. They describe the western and southern areas of the modern Iranian state and the peoples who occupied them from the early third millennium B.C. to the middle of the first millennium B.C. In modern geographic terms ancient Elam corresponded to Khuzistan, Fars, and parts of the Kerman, Luristan, and Kurdistan provinces (figs. 1 and 4).

The major geographic component consisted of the central Zagros Range.[1] The two largest plains, the middle plains of central Khuzistan located on the southwestern flanks of the Zagros, and the Kur River Basin approximately 500 km to the southeast of central Khuzistan in western Fars province, had the greatest agricultural potential in the central Zagros and adjacent regions. Susa in central Khuzistan was the dominant lowland center and Anshan (modern Tall-i Malyan) was the largest pre-Achaemenid settlement in the highlands.

The definition of Elam used here is based on a coincidence of cuneiform sources that indicate the existence of political ties between Anshan and Susa and a loose unity observable in the material culture of the regions. Some texts suggest that Elam, *sensu stricto,* was the name of the highland polity.[2] The designation more commonly refers to the peoples of Susiana[3] and of various adjacent and occasionally far distant parts of the highlands. An apolitical, general usage is employed here except when specifically indicated.

The history and archaeology of Elam have been documented almost exclusively through the work of the French Archaeological Mission at Susa and in Susiana. Thus, there is a definite bias in the available evidence toward the Elamite-Mesopotamian border zone. The rich agricultural lands around Susa and the settlement's intermediate position between highland Iran and lowland Mesopotamia contributed to its development as a major political and economic center--a locus of interchange between the mountain folk of the Zagros and the inhabitants of the Mesopotamian alluvial plain.

At times Susa appears the most Elamite of the Mesopotamian city-states; less often it seems to be the most Mesopotamian of the Elamite towns. Nevertheless Susa's almost unbroken record of settlement from c. 4000 B.C. marks it as a fixed point in a fluctuating frontier area. This continuity of occupation led to the development of a separate regional identity in and around the city.

The highland Elamite regions are not as well known since they have only recently become the object of systematic investigations. On present evidence they have less continuous sequences than Susa. Thus, the emphasis in this part is on the culture of the lowlands. The survey of archaeological materials is organized both chronologically and regionally. Each major chronological division begins with a description of the discoveries from Khuzistan. Finds from Fars, the Kerman Range, Luristan, and Kurdistan are described and then compared with the Khuzistan assemblages. This process offers an indirect means of evaluating contacts among the settlements that are considered to constitute the Elamite culture area at various times. The goal here is to document the episodic cultural unity among these geographically diverse regions called "Elam."

Physical Geography

Khuzistan

Khuzistan province is an extension of the Mesopotamian plain. It is divided into lower, middle, and upper zones by discontinuous hill chains that form insubstantial boundaries. The outer hill chain runs southeast from the Jebel Hamrin at the foot of the Zagros to the west of the Karkheh River. It passes near Ahwaz and runs southeast to the Behbehan plain. The inner chain runs across the middle plains of central Khuzistan and rises up east of the Diz River where it continues from Shushtar to the eastern edge of the Ram Hormuz plain (fig. 4).

The lower plains lie between the Persian Gulf and the outer hill chain. They include the Tigris marshes and the coastal plains. Few Elamite sites have been discovered in this area. North of the outer chain and south of the central Zagros foothills lie the middle plains of Khuzistan. They stretch from the Deh Luran plain in the northwest to the Ram Hormuz region in the southeast. The rainfall in these valleys ranges from 250 to 380 mm yearly, and soils are for the most part well drained and relatively rich. Dry farming is possible, but yield is greatly improved by irrigation.[4]

North of the middle plains and separated from them by the foothills lie the high Zagros valleys. These small plains in the mountains are well watered and have rich soils. Of this group only the Izeh plain has been investigated.[5]

The main natural route from Khuzistan to Fars runs across the badlands east of Ahwaz to Ram Hormuz or follows the eastern edge of the inner chain to Shushtar. It then crosses the plains of Dogumbadan and Behbehan and follows the Zorreh River through Fahlian and down into the Kur River Basin (fig. 4).[6]

Fars

The Kur River Basin is an internal drainage basin that covers an area of 2,200 km²--roughly equivalent in size to Susiana. Half of it is fully arable, and 22 percent is moderately salinized today. It lies between the high ridges of the Zagros mountains at an elevation of about 1,600 m. Precipitation is adequate for most cereal crops although some irrigation is preferred. The Kur River and its major affluent the Sivand (Pulvar) River flow from the mountains into the Niriz playa (dry lake) at the southeast end of the plain. The landscape of the region is typical of interior drainage basins common in the arid Near East. Saline marshes, salt flats, alluvial plain, talus, and piedmont form concentric zones around the lake bed.[7]

A pass not far from Zargan leads south into the Shiraz area from the Kur River Basin.[8] A road through the mountains goes from Shiraz to Kazerun, and from that point it is possible to travel south to Bushire on the Persian Gulf or northwest following the Shapur and Zorreh River valleys to Khuzistan. Communications between Anshan in the northwestern sector of the Kur River Basin and Susa in Khuzistan presumably followed the route through Fahlian, Dogumbadan, and Behbehan.[9]

The Kerman Range

The Kerman Range provides a kind of corridor running southeast to northwest between the Dasht-i Lut and Dasht-i Kavir (the great salt deserts of central Iran) on the east and the desertic interior drainage basins of central Iran to the west (fig. 2). This section of the Zagros can be described as a subcentral axis of mountains that runs for 1,200 km from Qum in the northwest to Pakistan in the southeast.[10] It is generally arid, but the mountain streams and springs provide enough water for farming in various of the more favored valleys. The region is a major source area for copper and other minerals such as

steatite/chlorite, gold, and lead. The sites of Tepe Sialk, Tepe Yahya, Tall-i Iblis, and Shahdad lie in this zone (fig. 2).[11] Roads leading east from the Shiraz area and passing through the Fasa and Darab valleys link Fars and Kerman. A second route goes from the Kur River Basin via the southern end of Lake Niriz and crosses the mountains near Sirhan and on into the Kerman Basin. It joins the road that skirts the desert edge linking the northern and southern portions of the Iranian plateau.

Luristan-Kurdistan

The most prominent features of the area are the central Zagros. These ranges run in a northwest-southeast direction beginning at the Qazvin-Hamadan road (the Great Khorasan Road).[12] Elamite material has not been discovered north of this east-west route through the mountains. The Kabir Kuh Range divides the Luristan-Kurdistan province in two: southeast of the range is the Pusht-i Kuh (land in back of the mountains) and northeast of the range is the Pish-i Kuh (or land in front of the mountains). The Pish-i Kuh is further subdivided into a warmer and lower region (the *garmsir* or winter quarters of the tribes) west of the Kuh-i Sefid Range and a colder and higher (*sardsir* or summer quarters of the tribes) region to the northeast of the same mountain chain.

Access to the intermontane valleys of Luristan from Khuzistan is gained by following the Karkheh River and then proceeding along the Kashgan to the northeast or the Saimarreh to the northwest.[13] Remains found at such sites as Tepe Guran, Surkh Dum, Baba Jan, and Godin Tepe in the Pish-i Kuh indicate that they, at times, belonged to the Elamite culture area (fig. 3).

Archaeological Research in Elam--An Overview

The history and archaeology of Elam remain firmly bound to the Susa sequence not only because Susa was an important, if not always the most important, Elamite city, but also since the site has been surveyed, tested, and excavated for nearly a century (fig. 13). Susa was identified by W. K. Loftus in 1850.[14] From 1884 to 1886 the French architectural historian, Marcel Dieulafoy, and his wife Jane, explored the Achaemenid city wall and the Apadana.[15] They laid the groundwork for further French work at Susa.[16] The French Archaeological Mission under Jacques de Morgan began work on the site in 1897. His tunneling and later trenching of the Acropole brought to light the first substantial body of Elamite monuments.[17]

The French Mission's excavations at Mussian in the Deh Luran plain 60 km northwest of Susiana in 1903 and on the gulf at Bushire, Elamite Liyan, in 1913[18] added to the impression scholars had gleaned from the texts that the country had extended both to the northwest and southeast of its lowland center in Khuzistan (fig. 4).

Roland de Mecquenem, Morgan's successor, worked on the Acropole. He also excavated below the courtyards of the palace of Darius and east of the Apadana, in the Ville Royale (Chantier I and II) and in the area of the site fancifully dubbed "Donjon." He found large numbers of Elamite graves and objects but seldom published the archaeological contexts or associations of his finds. The skills necessary to excavate mud-brick structures had not yet been developed by the French teams, and thus Elamite architecture remained more or less unknown. The inability to find mud-brick buildings and the Elamite practice of intramural burial led Mecquenem to the false conclusion that much of Susa, outside the Acropole and Apadana, had been an enormous cemetery[19] rather than city quarters with areas of architectural complexes and intramural burials.

Roman Ghirshman, director of the French Mission from 1936 to 1967 put Elamite archaeology on a sounder footing. His early work at Tepe Sialk near Kashan[20] produced the first Proto-Elamite material found on

the Iranian plateau. His monumental excavations in the Ville Royale at Susa[21] and at nearby Chogha Zanbil (ancient Al Untash-Napirisha)[22] have provided an unparalleled view of Elamite material culture during the second millennium.

Jean Perrot took over the leadership of the French Archaeological Mission in 1968. One of the primary goals of his program of excavations has been the establishment of a stratigraphic sequence for Susa and Susiana.[23] G. Dollfus[24] has excavated several prehistoric settlements in Susiana. These small sites predate the foundation of Susa and provide a picture of the area prior to the establishment of the town as a regional center c. 4000 B.C. Soundings on the Acropole and in the Ville Royale (fig. 13--Acropole I, II; Ville Royale I, II) have produced stratigraphic sequences spanning much of the fourth and third millennia B.C.[25] The second millennium sequence can be established on the basis of Ghirshman's work in the Ville Royale A and B excavations.[26] The first-millennium occupation is currently under investigation by P. de Miroschedji.[27]

Elsewhere in Khuzistan, major excavations at the sites of Chogha Mish under the direction of P. Delougaz and H. Kantor[28] and of Haft Tepe (Elamite Kabnak?) under the direction of E. O. Negahban[29] promise to fill key gaps in the Elamite sequence. Surveys and smaller excavations both in central Khuzistan and to the east and west of Susiana have led to the reconstruction of local sequences and settlement patterns for Elamite times throughout much of the Khuzistan province (figs. 4 and 5).[30] Vanden Berghe[31] and Sumner have outlined an archaeological sequence for the Kur River Basin of Fars (figs. 4 and 12). The material culture of the basin can be tied into the better-known lowland sequence in most of its phases. Recent regional surveys and excavations at Malyan, now identified as the Elamite city of Anshan, have added a new dimension to our understanding of highland Elam.[32]

Sites in the Kerman Range exhibit cultural ties to the settlements farther to the west at various times. Tepe Yahya in the Soghun valley, excavated by Lamberg-Karlovsky, has yielded the most complete

sequence.[33] Some of the materials found in the Ghirshman excavations at Tepe Sialk and by Caldwell in Tall-i Iblis also show clear lowland ties.[34] Finds from burials discovered by Hakemi[35] on the western edge of the Lut indicate that the city had far-reaching contacts both east and west of its position on the main route skirting the desert.

The work of the Italian Mission[36] in Sistan and the excavations of De Cardi[37] in Baluchistan have increased our understanding of the mechanics of trade and exchange among contemporary settlements east of the central plateau. The cultural assemblage from these sites, however, is sufficiently distinct that they have not been included in this discussion.

Excavations and surveys in Luristan and Kurdistan to the northwest of Khuzistan[38] have also begun to elucidate a much more complicated relationship between these areas and Susiana than could be documented through an isolated lowland sequence.

The great distances between sites and the lack of any continuous archaeological sequence spanning the entire Elamite period outside Susa are immediately apparent from the maps (figs. 2 and 3) and the chronological overview provided at the end of this part (fig. 15). The preponderance of lowland evidence no doubt introduces considerable distortion into any reconstruction of Elamite culture history. The absence of information from certain regions (e.g., Khorammabad, Isfahan) or time periods (e.g., the early first millennium) all too often creates a false impression of diminished importance.

Susa and Susiana--The Prehistoric Background

The prehistory of Susa and Susiana provides the background for the rise of the state in the Elamite lowlands. Le Breton[39] outlined a sequence for Susa and the surrounding region that spanned the interval between the fifth and the late third millennium B.C. His study tied Susa to the better-known Mesopotamian sequence and was therefore utilized in the majority of the subsequent discussions of pre- and protohistoric Susiana.

The results of recent excavations[40] have not radically modified Le Breton's 1957 seriation of each find class. Stratigraphic and architectural sequences, information on the economic basis of settlement, and new sets of associations among the various categories of objects are being recovered.

Soundings at several small sites in Susiana have extended the sequence backward into the eighth millennium B.C. when the first experiments in plant and animal domestication were taking place.[41] Moreover, the excavations at Chogha Mish, 26 km east of Susa, have revealed a major center possibly surrounded by a rampart whose construction preceded the establishment of Susa by almost a millennium.[42] A relatively complex pattern of local exchange in the fifth millennium is suggested by finds from Chogha Mish, Djaffarabad, and surface remains on the sites in Susiana.

Fig. 15 outlines the Susa sequence from its beginning in the late fifth millennium and compares it with the major contemporary sites in Khuzistan, Fars, Kerman, and Luristan. The scheme of periodization used here for Susa follows that proposed by Le Brun[43] and extended by Carter and Miroschedji.[44]

Le Brun[45] identified twenty-seven levels in the southeastern section of the Acropole at the juncture of Morgan's *témoin* and Mecquenem's *sondage 2* (fig. 13). His analysis resulted in the description of three periods dating from the late fifth through the early third millennium B.C.

Susa I

Susa period I remains have been identified in two soundings: Acropole I levels 27-23 and Acropole II levels 11-7. Both previous and current excavations have established that Susa was founded in this period. It was called "Susa A" by Le Breton and is here referred to as "Susa I." A terrace or platform (80 x 80 x 10? m) set on a socle was constructed in Susa during this first major occupation.[46] It was

associated with an enigmatic structure built before it but broadly contemporary with it known as the *massif funéraire*, in which an estimated 2,000 bodies were interred.[47] These structures and burials establish Susa's position as the preeminent settlement of the region by c. 4000 B.C.,[48] a place it maintained throughout most of Elamite history.

The ceramic assemblage of the Susa I period includes dark-painted buff wares and a series of well-made red and buff plain wares.[49] This ceramic group shares shapes, motifs, and manufacturing techniques with the Middle (c. 4800-4200 B.C.) and Early (c. 5200-4800 B.C.) Susiana assemblages and represents the culmination of a primarily local craft tradition whose roots can be traced back into the fifth and possibly the sixth millennium B.C.

Susa II

There appears to be no substantial break in the occupation in the area cleared in Acropole I between periods I and II. However, all the relevant levels (22-19) have not been completely excavated. The painted buff and red-burnished wares characteristic of levels 27-25 decline in popularity in 24-23 and are replaced by plain wares with close parallels to Mesopotamian Uruk period types. Le Brun[50] divides the material as follows: Susa I equals Acropole I levels 27-23; Susa II equals Acropole I levels 22-17. Johnson[51] suggests a division of the sequence into four phases: Susa A equals Acropole I levels 27-25; Terminal Susa A equals Acropole I level 24; Early Uruk equals Acropole I level 23; Middle Uruk equals Acropole I levels 22-18; and Late Uruk equals Acropole I level 17. Further excavation is needed to establish the contents and duration of these smaller segments of the sequence, which for the moment are based primarily on surface collections from sites in Susiana and the Acropole I sounding.

Period II at Susa can be described on the basis of finds made in Acropole I levels 22-17 and Acropole II levels 6-1.[52] The nature of the

transition between periods I and II is still unclear at Susa. Although several phases of destruction, abandonment, and reconstruction of the terrace are found near the end of period I, it is not until late period II that this monumental structure falls into complete ruin.[53]

Levels 18-17 of the Acropole I sounding have yielded remains of well-built private houses that contained pottery, tablets, sealings, and imported stone objects in place on their floors. The ceramic assemblage includes beveled-rim bowls, pouring-lip bowls, jars with twisted or strap handles, spouted jars and bottles, and four-lugged jars. These forms are for the most part closely paralleled in the Mesopotamian Late Uruk (c. 3400-3100 B.C.) assemblage.[54] Detailed analyses such as those carried out by Johnson[55] would probably show variations between the Khuzistan and Mesopotamian assemblages. Nevertheless, the closeness of the Susa II and Uruk assemblages is striking.[56]

Administrative techniques used in the Susa II period were also closely linked to, if not directly borrowed from, contemporary Mesopotamia.[57] Hollow unbaked clay balls (bullae), solid pointed clay ovals shaped like clay sling missiles, and numerical tablets, all impressed with seals, formed part of the domestic inventory from the houses of level 18.[58] The clay balls contained small clay tokens of various geometric shapes. The exterior surfaces of the balls were sealed with one or more seals, and several of them were impressed with signs corresponding to the shape and size of the tokens (calculi) contained inside. Since the number of tokens and the impressions on the surface were found to match, Le Brun and Vallat[59] argue that the tokens represent numerals. Schmandt-Besserat has compared some token shapes to archaic sign forms found in the Mesopotamian Uruk IV tablets and suggests that certain tokens represent specific commodities--three-dimensional pictograms.[60] In Susa the use of clay balls as contracts or receipts appears to precede or lead to the development of the numerical tablet since level 18 produced several numerical tablets that might be the result of flattening the clay balls and marking the exterior surface only--a logical elimination of redundant recording.[61]

The clay balls and clay pointed ovals were generally impressed with at least two seals. The tablets were normally impressed with a single seal. Thus, the former seem to have been functionally separate record-keeping devices. Later when a fully developed writing system appeared, capable of noting the difference between various types of documents, the clay balls and ovals (*scellements fusiformes*) were abandoned.[62]

In level 17 of the Acropole I sounding few clay balls were found, and the relatively large number of sealed numerical tablets discovered (often of a slightly different shape from those common in level 18) indicates a further modification in record keeping at Susa. Tablets with Proto-Elamite A signs appear first in level 16.[63]

The common use of administrative artifacts at Susa and smaller sites in central Khuzistan combined with evidence of a system of local production and exchange and the presence of a three-level settlement hierarchy in the surrounding Susiana plain may well be signs of an emergent state level of social organization.[64] Thus, both on the specific level of artifact styles[65] and on the general scale of social organization the Susa II period can be considered the equivalent of the Uruk period in Mesopotamia. The many similarities are nevertheless marked by difference in settlement size and density--Uruk at this time was well over three times the size of Susa, and it was only one of several major city-states of southern Mesopotamia.[66]

THE PROTO-ELAMITE PERIOD (C. 3400/3200-2600 B.C.)

The term *Proto-Elamite* is used variously to describe writing systems[67] and to designate an archaeological period dated from approximately 3400/3200 B.C. to early in the third millennium. The archaeological period is characterized by an artifact assemblage and artistic style that has a distribution stretching from Khuzistan in the west to Kerman in the east. Shared features of the Proto-Elamite assemblage include administrative texts, written in undeciphered Proto-Elamite script (Proto-Elamite A);[68] a distinctive glyptic art known through impressions on inscribed tablets and sealings; ceramics, particularly the ubiquitous beveled-rim bowl of presumed Mesopotamian invention; and various stone and metal objects made from raw materials mined and/or worked in the Iranian highlands and shipped to points east and west of their source areas.

Typological comparisons with the lowland Mesopotamian sequence suggest that the Proto-Elamite period overlaps the Late Uruk through Early Dynastic I-II periods in the areas to the west of Elam.[69] Absolute dates are still too scattered to allow more exact correlations between Sumer and Susiana, although it now appears possible that the Late Uruk of Mesopotamia is earlier than typologically similar developments observed to the east in Khuzistan.[70]

Excavated Iranian sites sharing some or all of the characteristics of the Proto-Elamite assemblage in one or several occupations are Susa, Chogha Mish, Tall-i Ghazir, Tepe Sialk, Tall-i Malyan, Tall-i Iblis, Tepe Yahya, and Godin (fig. 2). The Godin V, Ghazir Proto-Elamite, Sialk IV 1, and Susa Acropole I 18-17 settlements belong to the initial phase of the period. They are distinguished from the later Proto-Elamite sites by the use of an almost exclusively numerical system of recording and the strong lowland affinities of their glyptic and/or ceramic styles (fig. 7).

Later Proto-Elamite sites include Susa, Acropole I 16-13 and Ville Royale I 18-13; Banesh phase Malyan; Sialk IV 2; and Tepe Yahya IVC. Tablets with Proto-Elamite A signs have been discovered at these sites,

and glyptic and ceramic styles show an increasing stylistic distance from the Mesopotamian-related types common early in the period (fig. 8).[71]

Tall-i Iblis VI-IV lack distinctive administrative artifacts and can be only roughly placed in relation to Sialk IV and Yahya IVC on the basis of shared ceramic types.[72] Surface finds from Shahdad suggest that it also was a major settlement in this period.[73] Bampur in Baluchistan and Shahr-i Sokhta in Sistan also have settlements that are considered to be contemporary with Yahya IVC and Iblis VI-IV on the grounds of comparable artifacts.[74] The discovery of a Proto-Elamite A tablet and sealings in Shahr-i Sokhta I indicates the participation of the eastern plateau in relations with the west, seemingly in connection with the procurement of lapis lazuli and carnelian.[75]

Khuzistan

The Origins of Proto-Elamite Culture in Susiana

Susa remains the site of reference for any discussion of the Proto-Elamite period since recent stratigraphic control work has led to a more exact definition of its assemblage and earlier excavations produced more than 1,400 Proto-Elamite A tablets.[76]

During the Susa II period the high terrace was maintained.[77] The city, however, was no longer the only major population center in the region. Chogha Mish, 28 km to the east, and Abu Fanduweh, 12 km to the south, cover areas that indicate that they had populations in the same range as that of Susa.[78]

At the end of period II certain stylistic traits appear in the Susa assemblage, primarily in Acropole I 17. These features distinguish it from the earlier Susa II levels and point to links with settlements to the east and north of Susa, particularly with Godin V, Sialk IV 1, and the Ghazir Proto-Elamite. These traits include a tall variant of the beveled-rim bowl; pots with trough spouts; miniature zoomorphic stone

objects and vessels; and sealed, cushion-shaped numerical tablets, some with scattered signs (fig. 7).[79]

At roughly the same time as these changes took place in the artifact assemblage, Susiana declined in population. Johnson[80] estimates that by late in period II (his Late Uruk) only 41 percent of the area occupied in the earlier part of the period remained settled. Population was concentrated in the towns of Susiana, and the Susa and Chogha Mish areas were separated by a zone, 14 km wide, free of settlements at the end of period II (Late Uruk). The abandonment of small settlements and the distance between centers suggest the outbreak of hostilities on the plain and a breakdown of the local exchange system in operation earlier in period II. The appearance of scenes of organized warfare in the iconography of contemporary seal impressions has been seen as independent confirmation of this interpretation of the changes in settlement patterns.

Excavated evidence from Susa confirms the existence of a disruption at the end of period II. Most striking is the final collapse and abandonment of the high terrace at the center of the Acropole.[81] A stratigraphic break between levels 17 and 16 occurs in the Acropole I sounding,[82] and an erosion layer dated to approximately the same period was identified by Steve and Gasche on the top of the ruined Acropole terrace.[83] The cause, nature, extent, and duration of these disturbances in and around Susa at the end of period II remain obscure.

It now appears that Susiana slipped out of the Mesopotamian cultural sphere for a time around 3000 B.C.[84] Loss of population in Susiana may have been tied to the unprecedented period of urban agglomeration attested in Sumer to the west and related to the rise of a strong highland polity centered around Malyan (the later site of the historic Elamite highland capital of Anshan) in the Kur River Basin of Fars province some 470 km to the southeast.[85]

Stratigraphy and Architecture

After a short period of abandonment following level 17, Acropole I was reoccupied. Susa period III is considered to begin with level 16 of Acropole I. The *témoin* narrows in Acropole I, after level 14, into a small isolated pillar of earth.[86] A second stratigraphic control operation at the edge of the Ville Royale about 100 m south of the Acropole I sounding provides the continuation of the period III sequence.[87] Ceramic parallels between the assemblages of Ville Royale I levels 18-17 and levels 14B-13 of Acropole I show that these occupations were probably contemporary.[88] The Ville Royale I excavations indicate that Susa expanded at the end of period III since levels 18-17 were founded on sterile soil.[89] Only fragmentary domestic architecture has been discovered in these operations.

The end of Susa period III (Ville Royale I levels 18-13) and the beginning of period IV (Ville Royale I levels 12-7) is based on changing ceramic styles and the stratigraphy of the small Ville Royale I sounding. The division at level 12 is tentative. A final date for period III of c. 2700-2600 B.C. has been suggested on the basis of ceramic parallels alone.[90]

Ceramics (fig. 8)

Ceramic type fossils of period III include coarse-ware goblets, trays and pinched-rim bowls; mineral-tempered ware basins and jars often covered with a red slip or wash; and beveled-rim bowls. Bands of white paint on red-slipped wares appear for the first time in Susa Acropole I 17 and remain a distinctive decorative feature throughout most of period III.[91] Coarse-ware goblets, pinched-rim bowls, and trays decline in popularity before the end of period III; carinated bowls and vats decorated with finger-impressed bands appear to belong to the final phase of period III at Susa.[92] Painted wares are uncommon throughout periods II and III, although scattered examples of black and

red (Jemdet Nasr style) painted wares have been discovered in the period III levels.[93] A series of buff-ware vessels decorated with a band or several bands of black paint are relatively common in the final phase of period III.[94] Finds of elaborate polychrome pottery primarily from burials that Le Breton[95] used as the basis for his ceramic seriation are extremely rare in stratigraphically excavated contexts and cannot be tied into this sequence at present.

Other Archaeological Materials

Proto-Elamite tablets with signs (Proto-Elamite A) appear for the first time in Acropole I 16.[96] Associated with these is a new glyptic style characterized by the use of deep linear engraving outlining each figure's component parts. Humans are rarely shown, but animals in human posture are prominent in late Proto-Elamite (Susa III) seal impressions.[97] A second glyptic style was also in use: seals of "glazed" or "burnt" steatite or chlorite heated to a temperature that caused the surface of the stone to vitrify. These seals are decorated with geometric patterns that are occasionally combined with schematized renderings of plants and animals. Le Breton[98] noted the distribution of this style along the piedmont between Mesopotamia and Iran. Finds of similar seals and impressions at Malyan (Banesh phase), Tepe Yahya IVC, and Shahr-i Sokhta I indicate that these seals were in use in the eastern highlands as well. The glazed steatite seals were apparently primarily used to mark lumps of clay placed over door locks, and the figurative style seals were used in preparing documents.[99]

The Deh Luran Plain

Outside Susa, whose period III size has been placed at 10-21 ha, only two sites in central Khuzistan appear to have had permanent occupations.[100] Low settlement density in Susiana stands in contrast to

the relatively high population levels attested in both western and eastern Khuzistan in period III times.[101]

Surveys in the Deh Luran plain, 60 km northwest of Susiana, show that during the late fourth and early third millennia settlement reached a peak unsurpassed before Achaemenid times. Excavated sites in the region are Tepe Mussian (14 ha), Tepe Farukhabad, Tepe Khazineh, and Tepe Aliabad. Mussian and Farukhabad were settlement sites; Aliabad and Khazineh were probably contemporary cemetery sites.[102] Plain wares found at these sites include solid-footed goblets, conical cups and bowls, single-lugged jars, braziers, and spouted pots--all forms easily paralleled in the Diyala Jemdet Nasr-Early Dynastic I contexts.[103] Painted pottery similar to Diyala style Early Dynastic I-II "scarlet wares" but with a distinctly local appearance has also been discovered in the Deh Luran region.[104]

The site of Aliabad produced a series of mud-brick communal tombs furnished with ceramics that are near duplicates of Diyala Jemdet Nasr-Early Dynastic I forms.[105] The burials themselves, rectangular pits lined with mud-brick and vaulted, are similar to those found in the Khafajeh houses and the cemetery site of Kheit al-Qasim in the Hamrin region.[106]

Rare examples of Mussian style painted ware have been found at Susa.[107] The common plain ware forms in use in the Deh Luran region were Mesopotamian style, mass-produced ceramic types (conical cups, solid-footed goblets). The presence of variant Proto-Elamite forms (pinched-rim bowls and goblets) in contemporary contexts in Susa indicates that a border between the two culture areas existed somewhere between the Deh Luran and Susiana plains in the early third millennium.

During the Susa II period both the Susiana and Deh Luran regions shared ceramic and other cultural traditions with Mesopotamia. In the Susa III period the Deh Luran plain appears more closely related to the Diyala and Hamrin regions to the northwest than to Susa and southeastern Iran. Mussian (14 ha) was at least as large as, if not larger than, contemporary Susa and, like it, controlled an important border zone.

The Izeh and Ram Hormuz Regions

The Izeh plain at the northeastern edge of Khuzistan in the Zagros mountains is on a traditional road to Isfahan. Regional surveys show that it was surprisingly well settled during the Susa III period with most of its permanent population in a large town of 12.6 ha[108] Two other towns of the Proto-Elamite period are known in eastern Khuzistan: Qaleh Tul, 25 km south of Izeh; and Tall-i Ghazir, in the Ram Hormuz plain about 150 km southeast of Susiana.[109] The six major mounds of Tall-i Ghazir are clustered around two large natural springs about 650 m apart. Located along a historic route linking central Khuzistan and Fars and with easy access to the Izeh-Isfahan high road, the site has a nearly unbroken history of occupation that stretches from the final phases of the prehistoric down to the present day. The Proto-Elamite occupation was concentrated on the main mound, Mound A.[110]

A step trench in the south flank of Mound A traversed all periods of pre- and protohistoric occupation on the site. Painted black-on-buff wares (levels 1-6) somewhat similar to Susiana d-Susa I styles are replaced gradually (levels 7-15) by an unpainted ceramic assemblage related to that known from Susa II, Acropole I 23.[111] In levels 16-27 at Ghazir the first true beveled-rim bowls appear along with reserve slip and crude punctation.[112] Vessels with reserve slip and true beveled-rim bowls first appear in Susa, Acropole I levels 22-19; thus Ghazir 16-35 seem to correspond roughly to Susa Acropole I levels 22-19.

In levels 36 and 37 of the Ghazir step trench drooping spouts and flaky red-slip wares were found along with other ceramic traits that distinguish this assemblage from that discovered in the preceding levels. These features include the common use of red-slipped wares decorated with white painted bands, trough-spouted vessels, carinated and beaded-rim basins, and chalices. Level 38 is regarded as a mixed deposit.[113]

Part of a large building was excavated on the north side of Mound A in the Stake Trench, and further remains of the Proto-Elamite period were identified in an adjacent test trench (T1).[114] A series of large,

four-lugged jars with geometric painted decoration were found in this structure. These vessels are like the storage vessels discovered in similar contexts at Malyan ABC II, and in Yahya IVC (see below, pp. 127-128). The arrangement of rooms, brick sizes, and the use of bricks to level an earlier structure in preparation for a new construction are parallel between the Ghazir and Malyan Proto-Elamite constructions.[115]

The ceramic assemblage[116] of Proto-Elamite Ghazir includes both coarse and decorated wares that have close parallels with Susa Acropole I level 17, and Sialk IV 1 (fig. 7). Also found at Ghazir were red-ware carinated bowls that are seemingly identical to the Terminal Lapui and Initial Banesh phase examples (see below, pp. 123-126) from the Kur River Basin 300 km to the southeast.[117] The chalices discovered at Ghazir have parallels in Sialk III 6-7 and Sialk IV 1, and along with the other Sialk IV 1-related forms suggest contact with the sites to the northeast on the Iranian plateau.[118]

A fragmentary tablet from Ghazir is comparable with examples from Susa, Acropole I 17 and Sialk IV 1, as are two small Jemdet Nasr geometric style seals.[119] Miniature and zoomorphic vessels and amulets of fine, white, alabasterlike stone were found. The stone is native to the mountains adjacent to the Ram Hormuz plain, and its use may well be linked with the appearance of similar objects in late Susa II contexts.[120]

Typological comparisons with Susa Acropole I 17 and Sialk IV 1 suggest that the Ghazir Proto-Elamite (found in step trench levels 36-37) is for the most part, contemporary with these settlements. The strong similarities in architectural forms between Malyan ABC II, Yahya IVC and the Stake Trench building at Ghazir indicate an overlap with these later occupations. Since none of the distinctive, Proto-Elamite coarse-ware forms (goblets and pinched-rim bowls) and no Proto-Elamite tablets with signs have been found, it is possible that most of the excavated Proto-Elamite material from the step trench dates to sometime before Susa Acropole I 16.[121]

Fars

No information on the Proto-Elamite occupation in the mountainous country between eastern Khuzistan and Fars is available. Survey and excavation in the Kur River Basin of Fars province have led to the reconstruction of a relatively complete ceramic and cultural sequence for the prehistoric through Middle Elamite phases.[122]

Five earlier ceramic phases precede the Banesh phase (c. 3400-2600 B.C) which is the sixth ceramic phase identified in the valley. It is divided into five subphases and is cross dated with the late Susa II and Susa III periods of central Khuzistan.[123] Excavations at Malyan (figs. 2 and 14), located roughly halfway between Susa in Khuzistan and Tepe Yahya in Kerman, have not produced a long prehistoric sequence like those known from Susa, Tall-i Ghazir, and Tepe Yahya; yet by the early third millennium the estimated area of the settlement was 50 ha--approximately five times the size of contemporary Susa.[124]

Two major exposures at Malyan (operations ABC and TUV) have revealed Middle through Late Banesh phase remains at the site. A series of large, possibly public, buildings have been excavated in ABC. These were constructed on a near-sterile layer that capped a much earlier Neolithic deposit.[125] An erosion layer sealed the top of the Banesh phase deposit and separated it from a thick trash layer of the Kaftari phase (c. 2200-1650 B.C.).[126]

The Banesh mud-brick buildings of levels V-II cleared in ABC are constructed of rectangular mud-bricks. The walls are often well plastered and sometimes painted. Built-in fireplaces and ovens were common features. Each structure excavated in levels V-III had been intentionally leveled and filled in preparation for the succeeding construction. ABC level V is poorly known; level IV consists of a rectangular building built behind a curved double wall that is founded on large boulders transported to the site from the surrounding mountains.[127] The level III structure is remarkable because of its precise construction and the extensive use of interior wall paintings. All of the excavated rooms were painted either in red or white;

doorjambs were either white or yellow and floors were white. Several rooms produced large fragments of wall paintings having various geometric and figurative patterns in red, yellow, black, and white.[128]

Building level II consists of part of a large structure that extends in all directions beyond the 26 x 16 m exposure. The largest of several rooms surrounded by a long corridor contains twelve painted pithoi, empty of their original contents. They are over 1 m high and placed on specially constructed mud-brick platforms. Other finds include a cache of worked and unworked dentalium shells and scattered bits of mica and mother-of-pearl.[129] Associated with levels IV-II are Proto-Elamite style seals, sealed tablets inscribed with signs and numerals, and jar sealings that are closely comparable with types known from Susa.[130]

On the northeastern edge of Malyan, just inside the ancient city wall, lies a small mound that was part of the Banesh phase city.[131] Several levels of architecture characterized by domestic installations and craft activity areas have been discovered immediately beneath the surface of this mound in the TUV excavation.[132] These buildings also contain Proto-Elamite A tablets and sealings in both the naturalistic and geometric styles.[133] Pottery from the ABC and TUV operations includes coarse wares (goblets, trays, pinched and beveled-rim bowls) and grit-tempered wares (painted and plain) that are similar to Susa III and Ghazir Proto-Elamite types. Among the distinctive Banesh decorative techniques found at Malyan are the use of dark-painted designs on a white-smoothed slip and the application of bands, and animal and plant figures in relief on both plain- and painted-ware vessels.[134]

Settlement Patterns

Between thirty and forty Banesh phase settlements have been identified in the Kur River Basin. The growth of the Banesh city at Malyan was originally seen by Sumner[135] as the result of an absorption of the more numerous small settlements of the earlier Bakun (c.

4500-3800) and Lapui (c. 3800-3400 B.C.) phases--rough equivalents of the Susa I and early Susa II periods. Alden's[136] resurvey of the region, using a more refined set of ceramic indicators, suggests that the emergence of Malyan as a town or city took place in the Late Middle Banesh phase (c. 3050-2900 B.C) and was the result of immigration from the lowlands. Alden's phases are based on a small sounding and seriations of surface collections in the region and cannot be correlated precisely with the Malyan Banesh sequence until the latter is published in greater detail.[137]

In the Kur River Basin the Initial Banesh phase (c. 3400-3300 B.C.) is marked by low settlement density (ten small sites with a total population of approximately 1,000 people). Close parallels among Susa II, Ghazir Proto-Elamite, and Banesh phase ceramic assemblages support the proposition that foreigners, possibly engaged in long-distance trade, settled in the region at previously established sites.[138] In the following Early and Early Middle Banesh phases (c. 3300-3050 B.C.) population gradually increased. Settlement patterns demonstrate that there was no dominant population center in the region. Surface finds on several sites in the area indicate a specialization in ceramic production; a settlement with numerous stone vessel fragments has been identified as a transshipment point and local distribution center in a long-distance trade network. The situation of these sites leads to the suggestion that the Kur River Basin functioned as a single economic unit whose manufacture of ceramics and stone vessels was centrally administered but not centrally located.[139]

The Late Middle Banesh phase (c. 3050-2900 B.C.) is the high point of population growth in the Banesh phase of the Kur River Basin. The area occupied by Malyan town increased from approximately 10 to between 40 and 50 ha in a short period. Erosion and test excavations reveal that a massive city wall founded on large boulders was constructed at this time.[140] Evidence of ceramic production or stone vessel transshipment has not been discovered on the small sites of this phase and may indicate[141] a breakdown of regional economic organization in favor of a concentration of both production and administration in Malyan.

The new city became a population center larger than contemporary Susa for a time around 3000 B.C., and its growth may be linked to a considerable increase in demand for raw materials and goods generated by the equally rapid and roughly contemporary rise of the Mesopotamian city-states. Alden[142] reconstructs a migration into the valley at this time from Khuzistan. Support for this reconstruction is found in: (1) increasing similarities between the artifact assemblages of Susa and Malyan, (2) the distribution of Proto-Elamite settlements east and west of Malyan along the natural routes linking it with the source areas of minerals and the Mesopotamian lowlands, (3) Susa's position at the western edge of the Proto-Elamite culture area (see above, pp. 119-120), and (4) the marked decline in population observed in Susiana coincident with the period of florescence in the Kur River Basin.

The growth of an urban center in highland Iran may originally have been stimulated by contact with the lowlands during the late fourth millennium, but shortly after 3000 B.C. the prosperity of Malyan depended on a highly developed local power base. By the Late Banesh phase (c. 2900-2600 B.C.) there was a slight decline in the population of Malyan and the Kur River Basin.[143] The development of distinctly local ceramic styles without close lowland parallels in the Kur River Basin strongly suggests separate developments in Khuzistan and Fars during the last half of the third millennium.

The Kerman Range

The sites of Tepe Yahya, Tall-i Iblis, Shahdad, and Sialk lie in the Kerman Range along the fringes of the great central deserts of the Iranian plateau. Large deposits of copper-bearing ores have been identified throughout this geographic zone and in areas adjacent to these settlements.[144] Sialk IV, Iblis IV-VI, and Yahya IVC are dated to the Proto-Elamite time range and are linked both to each other and to the west by shared ceramic forms and types of administrative artifacts. All seem to have assemblages composed of local and Proto-Elamite style

artifacts. Whether these mixtures are the result of colonization from the west, an expansion of a mercantile elite, or the adoption of foreign forms by local populations who sought access to the richer, more highly developed Proto-Elamite world to the west is debated.[145]

Tepe Yahya

Tepe Yahya is located in the Soghun valley, which lies at an elevation of 1,500 m surrounded by peaks that reach altitudes of over twice that height. The plain covers an area of 200 km² and provides ready access both to Fars and the eastern Iranian plateau.[146] The gulf is also only a few days' walk away. Near the 19.8 m high tell are large deposits of chlorite, commonly called "steatite,"[147] used in the IVC period in the production of "glazed steatite" seals and in period IVB for the manufacture of vessels and decorative objects for export. There are sources of copper in the vicinity.[148]

A single large building in one trench and fragmentary domestic structures in another exposure constitute the architectural evidence of period IVC (Proto-Elamite) Yahya. Finds from the large building included coarse wares (goblets, trays, beveled-rim bowls) and mineral-tempered wares (carinated bowls and pithoi) similar to those found in Susa, Malyan, and Ghazir (fig. 8). In the house area the plain and painted ware diagnostic of the earlier period V continued into period IVC.[149] The lack of period V (local) ceramic types in the large building along with its distinctive, Susian-related assemblage suggests to Lamberg-Karlovsky[150] that it was an outpost of foreigners in an otherwise sparsely settled region.

Twenty-six complete and near-complete Proto-Elamite tablets and eighty-four blank tablets were found in period IVC contexts. The inscribed tablets are comparable with the tablets found in Malyan and Susa Acropole I 16. Two seals and forty-two sealings have been recovered in, or in association with, the same structure. Some of the sealings were made by glazed steatite seals, and two seals carved in

this style were found. The rest of the seal impressions depict processions of cattle and caprids amidst vegetation, lions, gazelles, and demonic creatures, all rendered in classic Proto-Elamite style.[151]

The in-site distribution of the finds and the restricted settlement in the region suggest that Yahya,[152] like Godin (see below, pp. 130-131), contained an indigenous population that co-existed with a nonlocal group whose administrative technology and material culture were closely linked to, if not imported from, the major Proto-Elamite centers farther to the west.

Tall-i Iblis

A similar situation may have prevailed at Tall-i Iblis approximately 150 km to the northwest of Yahya. Iblis periods VI to IV are described on the basis of local ceramics that include small percentages of Mesopotamian-related types (e.g., beveled-rim bowls, spouted pots), which parallel Chogha Mish and Tepe Sialk IV 1 vessels.[153] The first beveled-rim bowls in Iblis IV appear in association with a bichrome painted ware called "Aliabad ware." This distinctive ceramic is placed by Lamberg-Karlovsky[154] in the gap between period VA and IVC at Tepe Yahya. Iblis V is known primarily from surface finds; Iblis VI pottery shows similarities to Ghazir, Proto-Elamite, Sialk IV 1 and Susa, Acropole I 17. Thus, the Iblis IV-VI pottery appears to predate the Yahya IVC ceramics, whose closest western ties are with Susa, Acropole I 16-13 and Ville Royale I 18-17. No tablets or sealings have been recovered from Iblis. Copper smelting and working were practiced at Iblis as early as the fifth millennium. Finds from period IV levels show that metallurgy continued to be important at the site throughout Proto-Elamite times.[155]

Tepe Sialk

Copper, gold, and lead ore sources are located near the site of Tepe Sialk 650 km northwest of Iblis, near the modern town of Kashan. The site lies near the junction of the Great Khorasan Road and a traditional route linking the northern and southern regions of the Iranian plateau.[156] Situated on the edge of the Dasht-i Kavir at an elevation of about 1000 m, Tepe Sialk consists of two major mounds.[157] Excavations revealed a long sequence of settlements primarily distinguished by architectural levels.[158] The final period III level, III 7, is separated from the first period IV constructions by a thick deposit of ash. This destruction layer and the presence of several disarticulated skeletons possibly indicate a violent end to the period III settlement at Sialk.[159]

The stratigraphic break between periods III and IV is accompanied by a change in the cultural assemblage. The painted black-on-buff wares of the preceding period are much less common in period IV 1,[160] and lowland ceramic types (e.g., beveled-rim bowls, spouted pots) appear for the first time.

Among the Sialk IV finds were eighteen tablets and fragments found in the rooms of the early IV 1 building. Ten of these were pierced. The Sialk IV 1 tablets were inscribed with numerals and a few scattered signs. Most of them were sealed. The style of these impressions may be transitional between Susa II (Late Uruk) and Proto-Elamite styles.[161] A single tablet from Sialk level IV 2 is written in the Proto-Elamite A script and is similar to those found in Susa, Acropole 16-13, Malyan Banesh phase levels, and in the Yahya IVC Proto-Elamite building.[162]

Copper/bronze tools and weapons are common in period IV contexts. Jewelry (earrings, pendants, beads) using sophisticated inlay techniques and a wide variety of exotic materials (carnelian, shell, lapis lazuli, agate, frit, chalcedony, gold, silver) is an outstanding feature of period IV finds that is unknown in the preceding periods.[163] The sudden appearance of these luxury goods at Sialk indicates increased contacts with the eastern source areas. The rest of the archaeological assemblage reflects stronger ties to the Elamite lowlands.

Luristan-Kurdistan

Godin Tepe lies approximately 300 km west of Sialk along the primary natural route linking the Mesopotamian plain and the northern part of the Iranian plateau. Excavations[164] at Godin have revealed a series of settlements ranging in date from the fourth to the first millennium. The period V (Proto-Elamite) settlement can be cross-dated with Sialk IV 1 and Susa, Acropole I 17, on the basis of shared ceramic and glyptic types (fig. 7). However, no late Proto-Elamite material comparable to finds from Susa III, Malyan Banesh, Yahya IVC, or Sialk IV 2 contexts has been identified at Godin or elsewhere in the western Zagros.

Period V (Proto-Elamite) architectural remains recovered from Godin Tepe include a planned compound surrounded by an oval wall on the highest part of the main mound and, in a low-lying area of the settlement, some private houses. The period V ceramic assemblage consists of a black-on-buff painted ware, a continuation of earlier local ceramic traditions, and a newly introduced plain-ware component. The new elements in the Godin V assemblage are closely related to the Late Uruk assemblages known from Uruk Eanna IV, and Nippur Inanna XIX in Mesopotamia and Susa Acropole I level 17 in Khuzistan.[165] The painted buff wares are similar to those from Sialk III 6-7.

Inside the oval wall about half the ceramics recovered were Late Susa II (Late Uruk) types, and the rest were typical of the earlier period VI painted wares. In the private houses only 20 percent of the assemblage consisted of Mesopotamian-related pottery types.[166] Forty-three tablets and fragments were found in the oval compound, none in the private houses. The texts are predominantly numerical, although a single pictographic sign appears on one tablet. Godin V glyptic art finds its closest parallels with Susa and Sialk IV 1 sealings classed by Amiet on the basis of stylistic analysis as belonging to a transitional series immediately preceding the classic Proto-Elamite style.[167]

It seems then that a influx of foreign cultural influence arrived at Godin late in period VI times and co-existed with the earlier locally

developed culture for a short time. The arrival of new groups from the north (Early Transcaucasian Culture) during period IV displaced this southern influence.[168] Weiss and Young have also argued that the Proto-Elamite settlement at Sialk IV represents the reestablishment of Susa's trade with the east after the flow of goods through the mountains of Luristan and Kurdistan had been interrupted by the movements of the Transcaucasian peoples into the Godin region. Since Godin V and Sialk IV 1 appear to have been roughly contemporary, further chronological refinements are needed before the Weiss-Young explanation is accepted.[169]

Summary

Several centuries before 3000 B.C. scattered settlements in Khuzistan, Kurdistan, Fars, and the Kerman Range participated in a supraregional network first based on economic interdependence, and later leading to or incorporating religious, political, and military alliances. The primary role assigned to economic factors in this development is a supposition based on the differential access to natural resources in highland and lowland areas. The establishment of large cities with elaborately decorated temples and of complexly administered systems of production and exchange in Mesopotamia and Khuzistan during the Susa II (Uruk) period further support this reconstruction.

Studies of glyptic art and the distribution of certain classes of ceramic finds[170] illustrate the increasing interconnections among Sumer, Susiana, and the west during the late Susa II (Late Uruk period--c. 3400-3100 B.C.). The spread of several specific ceramic forms and the introduction of numerical tablets and distinctive glyptic styles in Godin V, Sialk IV 1, and Ghazir also point to the growing external contacts between Susiana and the mountainous areas northwest and southeast of central Khuzistan. It is this expansion of lowland culture that marks the first phase of the Proto-Elamite period. The origins of the early Proto-Elamite period on the plateau are contemporary with the growing

internationalism evidenced in Mesopotamia, Syria, the Levant, and Egypt in the Late Uruk period.

The second phase of the Proto-Elamite period is distinguished by the growth of a highland city (50 ha) at Malyan--the site of historic Anshan. A sharp decline in the number and size of settlements around Susa in central Khuzistan during the Susa III period suggests movement away from the region toward the Mesopotamian plain or into the central Zagros where populations seem to reach new and unusually high levels early in the third millennium.

Tablets written in the Proto-Elamite A script come into use, and various new ceramic and glyptic styles appear which are increasingly distinct from their Mesopotamian prototypes.[171] Variants of this cultural assemblage are found as far west as Susa (see above, pp. 119-120) and as far east as the Kerman Range. A tablet and some sealings found in Shahr-i Sokhta in Sistan east of the Lut point to as yet unspecified links to areas farther afield. The distribution of sites in Susiana, Fars, and the areas in between suggests that the foundations of the highland-lowland union characteristic of the historic period were first laid in the early third millennium.

THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

Proto-Elamite administrative texts and their associated glyptic styles fell into disuse sometime between 2900 and 2800 B.C. at sites in the Kerman Range.[172] In the Kur River Basin stratigraphic and C-14 evidence from Malyan indicate that there was a break in the occupation of the site after the Banesh phase (c. 3400/3200-2600 B.C.). Malyan was not reoccupied on an urban scale until the Kaftari phase (c. 2200-1650 B.C.).[173]

Excavations and surveys in the Ram Hormuz and Izeh plains indicate a parallel decrease in occupation following the Proto-Elamite period.[174] Should the pattern of decline and even desertion observed at these settlements be more than an artifact of limited evidence, then the

abandonment of sites in the Kerman Range, Fars, and eastern Khuzistan is probably related to: (1) the reabsorption of Susa into the Mesopotamian cultural, economic, and political community in the last half of the third millennium; (2) the rise of powerful polities centered at Shahdad and Shahr-i Sokhta in eastern Iran; and (3) the expansion of Sumerian maritime contact with the east bypassing the overland routes.[175]

Khuzistan

Stratigraphy and Architecture

Excavations at Susa indicate a continuous occupation throughout the third millennium (Susa IV).[176] The Mesopotamian style and character of the votive sculptures and wall plaques discovered on the Acropole by the early excavators established the presence of a Mesopotamian style sanctuary of Early Dynastic through Akkadian period date on the highest part of the site.[177] Fragmentary architectural remains cleared in adjacent areas include the foundations of a "granary" of Akkadian period date beneath the later temple of Ninhursag.[178]

Ceramics (figs. 8-9)

Soundings in Ville Royale I and excavations on the Acropole[179] document the following change in the ceramic assemblage that took place at the end of Susa III (Proto-Elamite) period; simple banded wares characteristic of late period III go out of fashion. Pots and jars decorated with geometric (triangles, cross-hatching, vertical lines) and figurative (birds, plants, leaves) motifs first appear in the early Susa IV period (c. 2600-2400 B.C.). These monochrome painted wares and associated plain wares (semicarinated cups, open forms with finger-impressed bands) find their closest parallels with pottery from

Kurdistan and Luristan--Godin III and Baba Jan IV. Painted wares gradually become less common in Susa IV and there is a marked trend toward the adoption of Mesopotamian styles in ceramics during the last part of the period, IVB. Common Akkadian period types found in Susa include conical bowls and ribbed-shouldered jars.[180]

Other Archaeological Materials

Objects dated to the Susa IV period on the basis of their Mesopotamian parallels include seals, sealings,[181] votive wall plaques, and sculptures.[182] Carved chlorite vessels, imports from the east, are also dated to period IV on the basis of similar pieces found in Mesopotamian temples and tombs of Early Dynastic II-III date.[183] Supports and plaques of bitumen decorated with carved designs are rendered in a style linked to the Shahdad finds[184] although the raw material may have come from the Deh Luran plain or eastern Khuzistan where sources of bitumen are not uncommon.

The dates of the last use of the Proto-Elamite A script (see above, pp. 5-9) and of its associated glyptic styles at Susa are similarly difficult to establish. Susa has yet to yield administrative texts written in Early Dynastic Sumerian, although a few seals, possibly imports, and a sealing, considered to be highland Elamite, show that the Susians were not entirely ignorant of Sumerian administrative practice.[185]

In view of the areas excavated and the Proto-Elamite and Old Akkadian administrative texts found, it seems unlikely that the absence of pre-Sargonic Sumerian texts is entirely accidental. Whether Proto-Elamite A administrative practices were in use until the standard Old Akkadian record-keeping system was adopted (c. 2400 B.C.) or whether there was an interval or overlap between the end of one and the beginning of the other administration at Susa cannot be established until excavated documents are discovered in stratified third-millennium context.

The increasing popularity of Akkadian glyptic[186] and ceramic types[187] late in period IV (IVB) and the disappearance of the earlier monochrome painted wares and the Proto-Elamite glyptic style coincide with the cultural and political dominance of Susa by the successors of Sargon as documented in Mesopotamian texts (see above, pp. 11-16).

Settlement Patterns

Survey data indicate that settlement in Susiana gradually returned to fourth-millennium levels. Susa grew from an estimated 10 ha early in period III to approximately 46 ha by c. 2400 B.C. Outside Susa there were approximately thirty-two sites ranging in size from 0.2 to 0.7 ha These settlements appear relatively isolated with two small clusters observed around Susa and Chogha Pahn (KS-3), east of the Diz.[188]

Sixty km northwest of Susa in the Deh Luran plain, Mussian remained a large town (14 ha) and previous high population levels appear to have been maintained. Surface finds of monochrome painted wares and other characteristic Susa IV horizon markers suggest that the region was more closely linked to contemporary cultures in Susiana than it had been in the Susa III period. No evidence of permanent settlement dating to this period has been identified in eastern Khuzistan.[189]

Fars

The last half of the third millennium is marked in the Kur River Basin by a gap in occupation of undetermined length falling between the Banesh (c. 3400/3200-2600 B.C.) and the Kaftari phase (c. 2200-1650 B.C.). This hiatus is seen at Malyan; the Proto-Elamite building found in the ABC operation was abandoned and capped by an erosion surface, and the TUV mound was also abandoned at this time (fig. 14).[190] Malyan was not a major center of settlement between c. 2800 and 2200 B.C.

Pottery found in large communal, stone-built tombs at Jalyan, 150 km southeast of Shiraz, is dated to this interval because the style of its painted decoration falls between known Banesh and Kaftari types. Moreover, several specific parallels with Susa IVA vessels can be identified.[191] The location of tombs separated from settlement sites and their construction parallel characteristics of the *lihaq* or stone-built chamber tombs common in the third millennium in Luristan (see below, pp. 141-142). Since the Jalyan cemetery mound is unassociated with any known occupation sites and the elaborate painted wares in the burials are unattested in the region around the site and in the Kur River Basin, any relative dating is difficult to establish.[192]

Kerman Range

Tepe Yahya

Some 275 km southeast of Jalyan at Tepe Yahya there was a gap in the occupation of the excavated area after the end of period IVC. This is best attested in the IVC (Proto-Elamite) building that was abandoned and used as a dump (IVC1). The following period, IVB6, was defined on the basis of a series of floors and walls capped by the building of the so-called Persian Gulf Room (IVB5). This construction was succeeded by a series of highly compact floors and fragments of buildings (IVB4-1), including a ramp and a circular structure. Comparative stratigraphy suggests a date of c. 2800/2600-2300 B.C. for period IVB levels.[193]

The "Persian Gulf Room" (IVB5) contained several cylinder seals, a Gulf-style stamp seal, and a number of complete pots with strong gulf affinities. Potts suggests it may have been the house of a merchant in contact with the areas to the south of Yahya.[194] Excavation in the IVB4-1 levels has revealed a series of floors where large numbers of chlorite bowls, beads, and plaques in every stage of manufacture were discovered.[195]

Tepe Yahya is near several sources of chlorite, and numerous examples of this stone carved in the elaborate "intercultural" style have been found in IVB levels. Distinguishing features of this style are decoration that completely covers the surface; lack of ground lines when representational motifs are used; and curvilinear patterns and set stylistic conventions for framing the designs. Characteristic motifs include combatant snakes, humpbacked bulls, date palms, lion-headed eagles, and various geometric patterns possibly representing construction materials such as reed mats or bricks.

Similar vessels found in temples (e.g., Nippur Inanna) or tombs (e.g., Ur) of Early Dynastic II-III date in Mesopotamia provide the main evidence of a connection between Yahya IVB and the lowlands. X-ray diffraction analyses of various samples may suggest that chlorite vessels found at Susa and Mari in Syria came from the workshop at Yahya. The analyses of other pieces from sites both east and west of Yahya indicate a multiplicity of sources for the vessels.[196]

Glyptic art, administrative texts, and distinctive ceramic forms tied the Yahya IVC settlement to the western Proto-Elamite centers. In period IVB Yahya's contacts to the west were limited to a specific luxury item: the chlorite vessels. The pottery of IVB included some types that continue IVC forms along with wares found commonly at sites to the east and south of Yahya. Black-on-gray painted wares; combed ware; white-filled incised gray wares imitating the chlorite vessels; snake-cordoned-ridged jars; and black-on-red-orange wares decorated with palm fronds, humpbacked bulls, and meandering hatched lines were discovered in IVB levels. The latter have close parallels in Bampur V-VI, and the snake-cordoned-ridged jars have parallels in the gulf and Afghanistan. The black-on-gray wares appear to belong to a tradition of ceramic manufacture best known in the Indo-Iranian borderlands.[197]

Several period IVB cylinders show pairs of divinities sprouting vegetation or wings and horns.[198] These distinctive deities are matched with those on cylinders from Yahya and from the burials of Shahdad on the western edge of the Dasht-i Lut, 250 km to the northeast of Yahya.[199] Both these cylinder seals and a chlorite stamp seal from

Yahya IVB, showing a human-headed bull, have been dated to the Akkadian period on the basis of similarities to Mesopotamian glyptic art.[200] Despite these lowland features, the glyptic art of Yahya has no close parallels outside Shahdad and is an original style.

Two stamp seals of Persian Gulf type were found in Yahya IVB. The distribution of similar seals and chlorite vessels at various sites on the Persian Gulf and in Susa perhaps bears witness to the popularity of the water route between eastern Elam and Mesopotamia. The relatively strong links among Yahya IVB, Bampur, and other sites to the east indicate a more active participation in the cultures of the eastern plateau than during period IVC.[201]

Tepe Yahya IVA (c. 2400/2200-1800 B.C.) follows directly after IVB.[202] Plain handmade brown ware bowls and jars with marks placed on the lower third of the vessel by incising or impressing with a stamp seal appear in IVA. The majority of these pots are best paralleled by examples found at Shahdad, 250 km northeast of Yahya. These plain wares also find parallels in eastern Fars in the Fasa region.[203] The distinctive compartmentalized stamp seals used to mark some of these vessels have been discovered at sites in Kerman, Sistan, Baluchistan, Turkmenistan, Bactria, and Gurgan.[204] Sherds of painted buff wares said to resemble Kaftari painted buff wares (see below, p. 152) have also been recovered from the IVA levels. Chlorite objects from IVA including hemispherical bowls with dot and circle decoration just below the rim, and spindles decorated with painted circles, have parallels that date to c. 2200 B.C.[205]

Surveys suggest that the Jiroft Valley to the southeast was well settled in this period. However, aside from the stamp seals, two etched carnelian beads, and two Indus type sealings, few imports have been found in IVA levels.

The finds from Yahya suggest that in period IVC settlers from the Proto-Elamite centers to the west occupied Tepe Yahya, introducing a new administrative technology and perhaps formalizing trade with Anshan and Susa. During IVB times Yahya apparently was a center specializing in the production of chlorite objects, possibly with ties to

Bampur and various sites in the Persian Gulf; in IVA Tepe Yahya grew to its maximum size and moved within the sphere of influence of the Shahdad culture. The latter reached its peak in the last half of the third millennium.

Shahdad

Shahdad (Xabis) lies on a plain between the Kerman Range and the edge of the Lut Desert. The site today consists of a series of widely scattered and heavily disturbed mounds that range in date from the beginning of the fourth millennium through the Islamic period.[206] Most of the excavated finds come from tombs. Funerary gifts included sculptures, stone pottery and metal vessels, stamp and cylinder seals, copper/bronze tools, and weapons. These objects date from the early third through the early second millennium.[207] No tomb groups have been published and no archaeological sequence can be reconstructed.

Alabaster and chlorite vessels from Shahdad similar to examples found at Susa, Bahrein, Hissar, and in Bactria bear witness to the exchange in valuable objects among various distant settlements from the middle of the third through the first centuries of the second millennium.[208] Surface survey on the site has led to the discovery of several areas with concentrations of semiprecious stones such as carnelian, agate, chalcedony, calcite, and chlorite. These raw materials were in various stages of production and were associated with the tools used to work them. Small grooved blocks of lapis lazuli and waste flakes were also collected. Copper/bronze objects found in the Shahdad burials and dated from the mid-third through early second millennium B.C. also can be paralleled in widespread locales from Susa to Tepe Hissar. Traces of the production of these objects (slag and furnaces) were discovered in a broad area northeast of the cemetery. The large number of objects, the site's proximity to abundant metal and stone sources, and its location on a major natural route linking the eastern and western plateaus suggest it was a center of production and/or exchange for these items throughout the period.[209]

Ceramics also show parallels with sites to the east and west of Shahdad. The closest links are with Yahya IVA brown wares distinguished by their stamped or incised markings ("potter's marks"). The relationship of the markings to the Proto-Elamite A script is debated.[210] One of the Shahdad pots appears, however, to have a short inscription written in Proto-Elamite B script.[211] The "potter's marks" and stamp seals may represent a record-keeping system different from that of the Proto-Elamite A tablets and cylinder seals in use earlier in the Kerman Range. This distribution of stamp seals primarily on sites to the northeast of Shahdad also stands in contrast to the earlier Proto-Elamite patterns.

Characteristic features of the Shahdad seal designs are a vegetation god(?), a kneeling, shapeless figure sprouting plants from hips, arms, shoulders, and head; and his sometime companion deity who wears horns on her head and wings on her shoulders. A sealing from Susa shows that these highland divinities occasionally made an appearance in the Mesopotamia dominated lowlands.[212]

The location of Shahdad and the quantity and quality of the third-millennium objects recovered from the graves have led some scholars to identify Shahdad with Aratta of Sumerian legend or with Marhashi. Others see it as the center of Shimashki.[213] Links to the east (ceramics, stamp seals, various exotic stones) and west (cylinder seals, stone and ceramic vessels, a Proto-Elamite B inscription) are evident in the Shahdad assemblage. However, the originality of much of the art argues stongly in favor of a highly developed and complex culture, perhaps initially stimulated by the earlier Proto-Elamite presence in the Kerman Range but ultimately part of the Turanic cultures of northeastern Iran and southern central Asia.

The richness of the Shahdad burials and the presence of surface indications of specialized production of copper, lapis lazuli, carnelian, and ceramics appear to reflect its far-flung contacts with both the Turanic region of the eastern plateau and with lowland Elam. Many of the eastern plateau sites such as Namazga and Altyn in Turkmenia, Hissar and Tureng Tepe in the Elburz region, and Shahr-i Sokhta and

Mundigak in the Helmand valley reached their maximum size at slightly different times after 2500 B.C.[214] Shahdad's position along a major natural route linking the central and eastern regions of the Iranian plateau, and the similarities in assemblages indicate that the growth of Shahdad was part of this phenomenon.

Luristan-Kurdistan

Vanden Berghe has excavated a series of stone-built tombs and cist graves in the Pusht-i Kuh, which he dates to the third millennium. The collective mud-brick tombs found at Aliabad near Mussian may be ancestral to the megalithic underground chambers, called *lihaq*, common in southern Luristan from c. 2600 to 2400 B.C. Burials of this type found at Bani Surmah, Kalleh Nisar, and in the Abdanan region which contained black and red painted vessels--variants or derivatives of the original Diyala or Mussian style--support this proposition.

These long (6-13 m) chamber tombs contained multiple interments and were grouped together in small numbers separate from settlement sites.[215] Characteristic gifts included copper/bronze weapons and pots that have close parallels with Susa IVA, Baba Jan IV and Godin III (early) types.[216] They date primarily to the period between c. 2600 and 2400 B.C. although some of the tombs are earlier and many were reused later.[217]

The large tombs were gradually replaced by individual stone-built graves grouped in cemeteries around 2400 B.C. Two main types of small burials have been identified: those with four stone walls and those with only three stone-faced sides. The diversity in tomb types suggests the presence of different tribes or ethnic groups in the Pusht-i Kuh during the third millennium.[218]

To the northwest in the Mahi Dasht region on the other side of the Kabir Kuh excavations at Chogha Maran have yielded several occupation levels dated to the first half of the third millennium. The earliest of the third-millennium phases is characterized by the presence of

polychrome painted wares similar to the Early Dynastic I-II "scarlet wares" of the Diyala, Hamrin, and Pusht-i Kuh. The second phase is marked by the presence of plain wares with few easily recognizable parallels. Sealings and a few sherds of Godin III-6 (early Godin III) indicate a date of c. 2700-2600 B.C. for the assemblage.[219]

Mortensen[220] found "no evidence of human activity" in the Hulailan valley 200 km northwest of Susiana on the Saimarreh River from the middle of the fourth through the first half of the third millennium. Surveys and excavation at Baba Jan in eastern Luristan suggest that the "Jemdet Nasr" phase in Mesopotamia is not represented by a culture change in the mountains.[221]

Farther northeast in the Giyan and Godin regions Young[222] reports Uruk and local style ceramics followed by Early Bronze Age Gray Wares (Godin IV). The presence of the latter is thought to represent the arrival of new groups from the north known as the "Early Transcaucasian (Yanik) Culture" (c. 2950-2400 B.C.). By 2400 B.C. Godin III-style ceramics predominate in the settlements in the area and remain in use until replaced by Iron I wares in the last half of the second millennium (see below, pp. 176-179).

Goff[223] noted that the adoption of stone-built collective tombs separate from living sites was associated with a new settlement pattern and the introduction of a new (Susa IV-related) ceramic style in southern Luristan. Since the new settlements were located at the edges of the valleys next to springs along traditional migration routes and pastures, rather than adjacent to prime farming land, she argues that these archaeologically observed changes were the result of a shift from agriculture to stock breeding in the early third millennium.

Summary

The archaeological evidence leads to the following reconstruction. After the disappearance of the Proto-Elamite administrative communality,[224] Susians intensified their relationships with the peoples living in the Deh Luran plain, Luristan, and Mesopotamia. A distinct and rather rich culture had developed along the western Zagros piedmont during the Jemdet Nasr-Early Dynastic I period, possibly reaching its peak during the Early Dynastic II period. Some of these foothill folk may have settled in western Luristan adopting a transhumant lifestyle and possibly supplying the lowland cities along the foothill road with livestock and raw materials from the plateau. These groups may have moved east and north pushing out the Early Bronze Age Gray Ware peoples and laying the foundations for the prosperous Godin III settlements that have been identified from Kermanshah to southern Luristan.

We can only speculate whether these mountaineers of the Zagros should be called Elamite, Guti, Lulubi, or some other name. How they are related to the dynastic houses of Awan and Shimashki recorded in the Susa King List is unknown.[225] Written sources, differing burial customs, settlement patterns, ceramic styles, and ethnographic analogy confirm the presence of various ethnic groups and political alliances in the central Zagros during the third millennium but do not as yet permit any certain identifications.

Malyan, which had been a major center of settlement on the plateau during the Proto-Elamite period, declined in importance between c. 2800 and 2200 B.C. It was possibly at this time that Shahdad on the edge of the Lut became a large city on the western frontier of the Turanic region. The apparent change in cultural orientation at this time from west to east at Tepe Yahya may reflect the rising power of the Turanic cultures in central Iran.

THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

Early in the second millennium, Susiana and the trans-Tigridian corridor were controlled by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. These Mesopotamian rulers employed diverse diplomatic and military strategies, aided by a highly developed administrative technology, to secure access to the more distant Elamite regions and their valued raw materials.[226]

At the fall of the Ur III empire, local dynasts in the Shimashki lands and Anshan, emulating the superior organizational techniques of their former masters or allies, formed a successful independent state that united the lowlands of Susiana and various of the highland polities. Despite their heritage and political independence, the Shimashki and Sukkalmah dynasties ruled using Mesopotamian models. This is evident in the continuing use of Sumerian and Akkadian to write administrative texts in Susa and possibly Anshan in the first half of the second millennium. The last half of the second millennium was marked by the resurgence of a separate Elamite culture that is most clearly reflected in the use of the Elamite language for both royal inscriptions and administrative texts.

Since Mesopotamian influence in Elamite cultural history appears to diminish at about the middle of the millennium the discussion has been divided into two parts: (1) Early Second Millennium (c. 2100-1600/1500 B.C.) and (2) Late Second Millennium (c. 1600/1500-1000 B.C.). Four archaeological phase names are utilized in the presentation of the Khuzistan finds: (1) Shimashki (c. 2100-1900 B.C.), (2) Sukkalmah (c. 1900-1600/1500 B.C.), (3) Transitional (c. 1600/1500-1300 B.C.), and (4) Middle Elamite (c. 1300-1000 B.C.). Each phase has been defined on the basis of typological studies of ceramic finds from the major excavated lowland sites of Susiana--Susa, Haft Tepe, and Chogha Zanbil.[227] The terms are used as chronological referents and no direct links between political changes and the archaeological record should be inferred. Each phase represents an arbitrary division of a continuous ceramic sequence.

Certain pottery types are referred to by these phase names.[228] The ceramic types have been used to date sites, and the resulting settlement pattern analyses are summarized below since they provide information on the changing structure of the Elamite state during the second millennium. These subdivisions are only one of several possible interpretations of the evidence in the absence of fully quantified and published data.[229] In cases where other classes of artifacts (e.g., seals, figurines) were found in association with datable ceramic types, they have been referred to by the phase name.

Steve et al. have compared the various schemes of periodization in current use and proposed an alternative to the one outlined here.[230] Their divisions are based primarily on the historical record[231] and thus would not be expected to correspond exactly to the terminology used here where the focus is on the archaeological record. The major difference between the two schemes is that Steve et al.'s *Moyen élamite I* (c. 1475-1325 B.C.), *Moyen élamite II* (c. 1325-1075 B.C.), and *Moyen élamite III* (c. 1075-1000B.C.), separable on historic grounds, cannot be subdivided as yet on archaeological information. The Transitional phase (c. 1600/1500-1300 B.C.) refers to ceramics and certain other archaeological materials which show features of a stylistically intermediate nature between the better known Sukkalmah and classic (c. 1300-1000 B.C.) Middle Elamite forms. Additionally, the terminology reflects the continued use of Akkadian in Susiana in both administrative and royal inscriptions until c. 1300 B.C. This usage is carried over from former administrations. However, the reintroduction of the title "king of Susa and Anshan" and the increasing appearance of Elamite divine names presage well-known Middle Elamite practices.[232] Until more archaeological information is available for the period between the end of the Sukkalmah Dynasty and the beginning of Middle Elamite rule in Susiana, this neutral terminology is adequate.

THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM (C. 2100-1600 B.C.)

Khuzistan--Shimashki and Sukkalmah Phases (c. 2100-1600 B.C.)

Stratigraphy and Architecture

Ghirshman's excavations A and B in the Ville Royale (fig. 13) have produced a sequence spanning much of the second millennium.[233] Architectural remains of the early second millennium include private houses found in the Ville Royale A and B excavations at Susa.[234] These buildings were built of mud-brick and consisted of rooms arranged around a central courtyard contained within a square or rectangular enclosure wall. The houses of Shimashki (Ville Royale BVII-VI) and early Sukkalmah phase (BV and AXV) are smaller, less formal buildings than those of a slightly later period excavated in AXIV-XIII. A neighborhood shrine with a niched altar, not unlike those found in the Larsa houses at Ur, was discovered in AXV.[235] The structures of AXIV-XIII were extensive constructions, with complexly organized interior space around large paved courtyards. Ghirshman[236] relates the disappearance of the small houses of AXV and their replacement by the larger formal structures of AXIV-XIII to indications found in contemporary texts that suggest that small property holders were bought out by large ones in the course of the first centuries of the second millennium.

The Ville Royale AXV-XIV excavations provide a unique view of Susian town planning in the early second millennium. Two streets intersecting at an acute angle formed a major crossroads. The larger streets were joined by various alleys leading to closely spaced housing. Final publication of the finds will provide new information on the domestic activities of the urban dwellers of second-millennium Susa. Ghirshman[237] reports identifying school, workshop, and kitchen areas in the "house of Attaru-uktuh." The earliest construction phase of this house dates to the first half of the second millennium, and its final phase dates to c. 1400 B.C.

The dead were usually buried beneath house and courtyard floors. Plain earth burials of third-millennium type[238] were still common, but shortly after 2000 B.C., graves in which the skeleton was covered over with a sarcophagus of terra-cotta shaped like an inverted bathtub were introduced. Studies of the finds from the Donjon sarcophagus graves suggest that the first use of these bathtub coffins in the late Shimashki/early Sukkalmah phases[239] coincides with the appearance of bitumen vessels (see below, p. 149), Isin-Larsa incised gray wares, and copper/bronze axheads with wing-shaped butts as funerary offerings. Slightly later in the Sukkalmah phase the baked-brick vaulted tomb, often used for multiple (family?) burials, appears for the first time. This mode of interment remained common in Susiana until the middle of the first millennium. Publication of the tomb groups from Ville Royale A and B is pending.[240]

Elaborate administrative and religious buildings of the second millennium once crowned the Susian Acropole and possibly the Apadana area.[241] These Elamite structures were pillaged by the Assyrians, then damaged by deeply implanted Achaemenid-Seleucid period foundations. Thus, few remains of Elamite public buildings have survived at Susa. Mecquenem reports that he excavated a well-preserved, mud-brick structure in the Ville Royale that he identified as a temple on the basis of several terra-cotta lions near it.[242] These guardian lions can be compared with similar beasts from a temple entryway found at Tell Harmal (ancient Shaduppum) in the Diyala valley where they are dated to the Old Babylonian period.

In addition to the domestic architecture from Susa, excavated remains dated to the first half of the second millennium in Susiana include a substantial building with painted walls placed on the highest part of the Chogha Mish mound 30 km east of Susa. This structure is dated to the early Sukkalmah phase[243] and may have been a fortified manor and/or religious center. Excavations at Sharafabad, 15 km northeast of Susa, have revealed wall fragments dated from the late Sukkalmah phase through the following Transitional phase. The site may have been a farming village belonging to a Susian official.[244]

At Tepe Farukhabad, 60 km northwest of Susiana in the Deh Luran plain, part of a rampart overlooking the banks of the Mehmeh River and dating to the first centuries of the second millennium has been excavated. This installation may have controlled traffic moving along the foothill road linking Susiana and central Mesopotamia.[245]

Ceramics (*fig. 10*)

Shimashki and Sukkalmah phase buff wares can be closely paralleled in assemblages found in contemporary Mesopotamian sites.[246] Common Shimashki phase forms include upright-indented-band-rim bowls,[247] small jars with multiple-grooved rims,[248] double-angled jars,[249] and jars with ridges on the neck and/or body.[250] These types reached their peak of popularity in BVII-VI of the Ville Royale around the turn of the millennium.[251]

New in the Sukkalmah phase assemblage are cups and bowls with complex contours,[252] cylindrical goblets,[253] Elamite flasks,[254] and gray wares.[255] The flasks and goblets are types common in the contemporary Kaftari phase assemblage known from Fars.[256]

Other Archaeological Materials

The glyptic art dated to the Shimashki phase is scarcely distinguishable from Ur III Mesopotamian types.[257] The presentation scene becomes the primary motif. Of great importance for dating the glyptic style of the Shimashki phase in Susa and at other sites are the sealings in this style whose inscriptions mention Me-kubi, daughter of Bilalama of Eshnunna, and her husband, Tan-Ruhuratir, one of the last kings of the Shimashki Dynasty. These have been recovered in level BVI of the Ville Royale.[258] Also to be dated to the Shimashki phase are Persian Gulf-style seals found in Susa.[259] Some made from steatite are considered imports, and others of bitumen are considered local products.[260]

Few Sukkalmah phase seals or sealings have been found in context at Susa. The seals and impressions show scenes of worship of Old Babylonian Mesopotamian types. These vary in quality ranging from imports and skillful copies to mediocre imitations.[261] Contemporary with, but probably outlasting, the seals inspired by Mesopotamian styles of the early second millennium is a group of cylinders made of bitumen or other soft stones.[262] These pieces were carved using a series of deeply incised lines rather than solid modeled forms. A limited number of themes (e.g., banquet, animal file, and dance), some derived from contemporary Mesopotamia, others original creations, were employed.[263] Sometimes simple inscriptions consisting of poorly rendered cuneiform signs flank the figures.[264] The banquet scene typical of this seal class continues through the Middle Elamite phase.[265]

Bitumen[266] and chlorite vessels[267] were distinctive Elamite exports of the early second millennium. The former often have handles, feet, or spouts carved in animal form[268] and are dated to a relatively restricted time range by close parallels found in securely dated Larsa period contexts in Mesopotamia.[269] The latter include bowls, flasks, or compartmentalized boxes decorated with simple bands of dotted circles or incisions. Miroschedji[270] suggests that the distribution of these vessels and their association with Persian Gulf-style seals indicate the existence of trade between southern Mesopotamia, including Susa, and settlements on the gulf and in the south of Iran during the last half of the third millennium, particularly during the Ur III period (c. 2100-2000 B.C.). Similar pieces of chlorite have been found at Tepe Yahya, in IVB and IVA levels, and at Malyan.[271]

Characteristic of the popular arts of the period and perhaps artifacts representative of Elamite household cults are moldmade, terra-cotta female figurines. They are, for the most part, models of naked or near-naked women wearing elaborate headdresses, jewelry, and occasionally beaded girdles. Shimashki phase figurines tend to be stylized[272] and have rather shapeless bodies and outstretched arms; Sukkalmah phase types are rendered in a more naturalistic manner.[273]

Settlement Patterns (figs. 4 and 5)

During the Shimashki phase (c. 2100-1900 B.C.) Susa was the only city on the middle plains of central Khuzistan. Twelve towns (4-10 ha) and eight small villages (0-4 ha) were scattered across the natural roads traversing the region. In the Sukkalmah phase (c. 1900-1600 B.C.) twenty new villages were established in the area and three sites on the plain outside Susa can now be classed as cities (more than 10 ha). Some time late in the nineteenth century Susa expanded to the east. The city occupied approximately 85 ha during this period.[274] The settled area had doubled since the third millennium and new settlements of all sizes were established in Susiana.

Early in the second millennium the population in the Deh Luran plain declined from the high point reached shortly after 3000 B.C. when Mussian was one of the largest settlements in Khuzistan.[275] By 1600 B.C. the site had been abandoned and Tepe Goughan (DI-34) had replaced Mussian as the center of settlement. In contrast to the Deh Luran region, the Ram Hormuz and Izeh plains in eastern Khuzistan appear not to have been permanently settled between c. 2800 and 1900 B.C. Two Sukkalmah phase villages totaling less than 5 ha in the Ram Hormuz region[276] and villages found in the Izeh area indicate resettlement after almost a millennium's desertion.[277]

The combined evidence of archaeology and history suggests the following reconstruction. The Mesopotamian kings of the Ur III Dynasty who controlled Susa seem to have viewed central Khuzistan and the Deh Luran regions as a kind of corridor through which valuable highland commodities could be channeled and transshipped to points northwest along the foothill road or eastward into the Zagros valleys.[278] The Ur III texts indicate that barley and oil were exported to Elam. Silver, timber, and various types of materials used in building were imported from Elam into Mesopotamia. The latter are highland products not native to Susiana but possibly sent through or stored in that town on their way from the mountains.[279] The former could easily have been produced or stored in Susiana. The absence of settlement in the

mountains to the southeast of Khuzistan and the presence of extensive habitation in the Kur River Basin and in the gulf suggest that the sea route from Mesopotamia to Bushire[280] was a well-traveled course in the late third and early second millennium.

After the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Susiana became independent of Mesopotamian political control and provided a lowland base for the Shimashkian rulers. They were eventually displaced by the Sukkalmah. This dynasty may have entered Susiana from Fars,[281] but they established themselves in Khuzistan. Political strife and the cumulative effects of an ongoing ecological crisis in Sumer during the first half of the second millennium perhaps contributed to the rapid growth of Susiana.

Regardless of their origins, the inhabitants of central Khuzistan prospered under the dynasty of the Sukkalmah. The economy was based on the successful use of Susiana's considerable agricultural resources. Political power rested on the union of the Elamite hinterlands and Susiana. The cultural items, many of lowland origin, shared with eastern Khuzistan and Fars mirror the influence of Susiana on the highlands attested in the royal titularies of the period.

Fars

A similar, although earlier, pattern of intensification of agricultural production and population growth has been observed during the Kaftari phase (c. 2200-1650 B.C.) in the Kur River Basin.[282] Late in the third millennium the site of Malyan regained its position as the regional center of settlement. Later texts found there allow us to identify Malyan with some measure of certainty as Anshan, the co-capital and perhaps the original home city of the Sukkalmah dynasty.[283]

Stratigraphy and Architecture

Published Kaftari phase remains from Malyan come chiefly from a trash deposit.[284] After a gap of undetermined length following the Banesh phase, the ABC area became an open space, in which several wells were sunk and trash was allowed to accumulate. Approximately 20 m northwest of this open space a portion of a substantial building has been uncovered in operation GHI. It may well have been in part the source of the Kaftari trash found in operation ABC.[285] Several smaller exposures of Kaftari phase date are known elsewhere on the site. Tests near the city wall indicate that it was maintained during the period.[286] The hiatus between the Banesh (c. 3400/3200-2600 B.C.) and the Kaftari (c. 2200-1650 B.C.) phase occupations is apparently corroborated in the results of surface surveys of the site and the surrounding area.

Ceramics (fig. 10)

Kaftari ceramics are characterized by a painted buff ware decorated with rows of birds facing left on the body of the vessel. These were placed in a frame of dense geometric patterns.[287] Similar forms decorated with black geometric patterns on a buff background are also common.[288] Examples of this pottery have been found in Susiana[289] to the west and in Yahya IVA to the east.[290] Plain and painted red wares and plain buff wares with Susian parallels are also important components of the Kaftari assemblage.[291] A few sherds of Isin-Larsa white-filled incised gray ware have been found at Malyan.[292] Close parallels between Susiana Sukkalmah phase types and Kaftari phase pottery from the Kur River Basin underscore the cultural links between the two regions during the first half of the second millennium.[293]

Other Archaeological Materials

Seals and sealings found in Kaftari contexts are closely comparable to the common style (*série populaire*) identified at Susa (see above, pp. 148-149).[294] Unpublished sealings of more typically Mesopotamian styles have also been discovered in Kaftari contexts at Malyan.[295] The Malyan seals of the common style show a figure (worshiper?) standing before a table laden with food. An enthroned personage (deity?) is seated behind the table. Stamp seals show similar but abbreviated versions of the same scenes. Terra-cotta female figurines appear in the Kaftari phase levels at Malyan. Although moldmade types can be compared with examples from Mesopotamia and Susiana, cruder handmade figures have no close parallels outside the region. They are possibly to be seen as a local imitation of an imported tradition. The handmade figurines are characterized by the use of black paint on a red surface to show turbans, eyes, headdresses, belts, harnesses, and necklaces.[296]

Cuneiform documents from Malyan confirm the presence of a scribal school and the use of pedagogical devices indigenous to Mesopotamia. Kaftari phase scribes at Malyan wrote documents employing both the languages and format usual in Mesopotamia.[297] To date no texts of the Kaftari phase written in the Elamite language have been found at Malyan.

Settlement Patterns

Surveys of the region show that the Kaftari phase (c. 2200-1650 B.C.) was a time of population growth and intensive settlement in the area. The site reached its maximum extent of approximately 150 ha, and three other sites in the basin were organized in a clear four-level hierarchy.[298] The distribution of Kaftari phase sites leads Sumner[299] to conclude that irrigation was never more highly developed in the region and would not be equaled until Achaemenid times.

Excavations at Tell-i Nakhodi[300] near Pasargadae and at Liyan on the gulf at Bushire[301] have established the Kaftari presence north and south of the Kur River Basin. Surveys in the Fasa and Darab regions southeast of Shiraz have yielded both Kaftari ceramics and pottery similar to Yahya IVA and Shahdad plain wares. This indicates contact between the Kur River Basin and Kerman during the early second millennium.[302]

Shrines

Two rock carvings, once parts of outdoor shrines, are tentatively dated to the late Kaftari phase on the basis of parallels with seal impressions of the seventeenth-century Susian rulers.[303] They shed light on Elamite religious practices and iconography. The most impressive of these installations lies 200 m above the Fahlian plain not far from the Susiana-Anshan high road which passes through Kurangun. Three flights of descending stairs lead to a platform in front of the central relief. The stairs were probably used in religious processions since figures were carved on the adjacent cliffs.[304] The central scene shows a divine couple seated between worshipers who stand before and behind them. The male god wears a double-horned crown and is seated on a coiled or "folded" serpent throne. He carries a staff and ring in his right hand and a serpentlike sceptre in his left. The goddess, seated on an animal-shaped throne and carrying a similar serpent staff, is shown behind and slightly lower than the god. The divine couple sits under a canopy of streams, which flow over them from the hands of their attendants.

A second relief at Naqsh-i Rustam appears to have been part of a similar shrine. However, a carving of the Sasanian period has obliterated most of the central scene. A row of worshipers approaches the divine couple who were seated on serpent thrones. Only the lower portions of these figures are preserved. The divine attributes of a serpent with flowing streams have been identified as those of Napirisha

or Inshushinak.[305] Regardless of which god was shown on these reliefs, their locations indicate that the Elamites sought to establish their presence and the protection of their gods over the main lines of communication leading to Susiana (Kurangun) and the plateau (Naqsh-i Rustam) from the Kur River Basin.

Luristan-Kurdistan (fig. 4)

Several local cultures, distinguished by painted ceramics, have been identified in Luristan and Kurdistan at numerous sites dated to the first half of the second millennium. Their ceramic assemblages are distinguished by painted wares that are stylistically related to earlier decorated wares. These regionally distinct, but linked, ceramic traditions are grouped loosely under different names, Godin III or Giyan IV-III.[306] Numerous second-millennium settlements (some such as Godin or Girairan were major towns) have been identified in northern Luristan and southern Kurdistan northeast of the Kuh-i Sefid. Smaller habitation sites have been found in the region between the Kabir Kuh and Kuh-i Sefid, the *garmsir* (summer quarters) of the present-day tribal groups.[307] Only a few second-millennium burials have been found in the Pusht-i Kuh south and west of the Kabir Kuh.[308]

These settlement patterns, combined with the expansion of inhabited areas and population in lowland Khuzistan during the early second millennium,[309] indicate that the Pusht-i Kuh was a buffer zone between the lowland city-states of Eshnunna, Der, and Susa and the highland polities farther east which may have been part of the Shimashki lands.[310] Large towns such as Godin, Girairan, and Giyan of the eastern Pish-i Kuh date in part to the early second millennium, but aside from isolated finds very few links to the Elamite lowlands can be seen in the material culture of Luristan and Kurdistan.[311] The close relationship evident in the shared ceramic traditions of the late third millennium had disappeared by the first centuries of the second millennium.[312]

THE LATE SECOND MILLENNIUM (C. 1600-1000 B.C.)

The gaps in both the archaeological and historical record make the period between the end of the Sukkalmah Dynasty and the rise of the Middle Elamite kings of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries poorly known. Thus, although Elam twice reached unprecedented heights of political and military power late in the second millennium under the kings of Anshan and Susa, it is difficult to trace a coherent picture of the processes involved in the formation of their kingdom.[313] Clear evidence of a continuous development from the early through the late second millennium is lacking in both Khuzistan and Fars. Historical records show the kings of the Middle Elamite Empire attacking deep into Mesopotamian territory and controlling the hinterlands of Susiana, the Persian Gulf, and Fars. This picture of conquest is reflected by the distribution of archaeological sites and finds. The use of the Elamite language and the development of distinctive art and architectural forms underscore the rise of Elam as a nation-state--a rival of contemporary Babylonian and Assyrian polities.

Khuzistan--Transitional and Middle Elamite Phases (c. 1600-1000 B.C.)

The period between the last of the Sukkalmah Dynasty (early sixteenth century) and the reign of Tepti-ahar (c. 1375 B.C.) is poorly documented (cf. see above, pp. 32-35) Archaeological remains dating to this time range, however, have been discovered in Susa, Ville Royale A levels AXII-XI and Ville Royale II level 13,[314] and at Tepe Sharafabad.[315] Excavations at Haft Tepe 15 km southeast of Susa have revealed monumental architecture dated to the time of Tepti-ahar (c. 1375 B.C.).

At least two and possibly more levels of second millennium date have been identified below the level of the principal constructions excavated at the site.[316] The royal city of Al Untash-Napirisha 30 km southeast of Susa is the major monument of the Middle Elamite phase.[317]

Stratigraphy and Architecture

Archaeological evidence for religious buildings of the late second millennium from Susa consists of inadequate plans based on fragmentary records left to us by the early French excavators.[318] Large numbers of inscribed, baked bricks recovered on the site recount that the Acropole temple of Inshushinak, the Susian god, was remodeled by various Elamite rulers.[319] The best known of these inscriptions were left by Shilhak-Inshushinak (c. 1140 B.C.). His scribes compiled lists of "predecessors" whose names were found inscribed on steles, door sockets, and baked bricks. These texts commemorate the piety of earlier kings who had maintained and renovated the religious buildings of the chief god of Susa's pantheon.[320]

Parts of what may have been a temple facade composed of molded, glazed frit bricks were recovered in the early excavations on the Acropole. These fragments appear to have belonged to a frieze which depicted members of the royal family and can be dated on the basis of an inscribed piece to the time of Kutir-Nahhunte (1155 B.C.).[321]

Also worthy of note is the molded-brick facade of another temple of Inshushinak reconstructed from the bricks reused for an aqueduct in the Achaemenid palace.[322] The decorative technique used in this construction built by Kutir-Nahhunte and Shilhak-Inshushinak is similar to that employed in the Uruk temple built by the Kassite ruler, Karaindash (c. 1413).[323]

One of the formal houses found in the Ville Royale originally constructed in the eighteenth century continued in use at least to the fifteenth--the east complex or "house of Attaru-uktuh." The other major building of level XIV, central complex, was abandoned, and the site was used first as a kiln area (AXIII), and then in AXII around 1600 B.C. the *grand bâtiment central* was erected.[324] This building was distinguished from earlier structures in this city quarter by its deep foundations, isolation, and orientation, with sides instead of corners oriented toward the cardinal points.[325] Trümpelmann interprets the *grand bâtiment central* as a beer hall and brothel associated with the

cult. The unusually large numbers of band-rim jars that were found installed below the floor level, combined with the discovery of 200 terra-cotta figurines in an open space between the building and a large niched wall, lead him to this conclusion.[326] The figurines included naked females, bed models with and without occupants, table models full of food, bowlegged musicians, and humpbacked bulls.

A certain uniformity is seen in the large houses excavated in Ville Royale AXIV-XI. These dwellings consist of a court or courts surrounded by a series of rooms--a plan generally similar to Mesopotamian structures. The use of a large, rectangular, thick-walled room with four pilasters near the short walls and a wide doorway in the long wall opening directly off the courtyard distinguishes them from the usual Mesopotamian-style house plan. These "reception rooms," or *salles à quatre saillants*, as they have been called, appear before the middle of the second millennium. It has been argued that they are ancestral to similarly placed and proportioned reception, audience, or throne halls of Assyrian and Babylonian architecture of the early first millennium and were subsequently adopted in Darius's palace at Susa, in the Persian palace at Lachish, and in Persepolis in the fifth century B.C.[327] The function of the four pilasters may have been to create niches at the ends of the rooms.[328]

The city quarter excavated in Ville Royale A was apparenty sparsely settled after AXI, and finds from Haft Tepe and Chogha Zanbil fill the hiatus in the Susa sequence during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.[329]

Fourteen major visible mounds constitute the ancient settlement of Haft Tepe. An area of at least 30 ha is a reasonable estimate for the size of the central city at the time of Tepti-ahar (c. 1375 B.C.) and only a small fraction of that has been excavated.[330] To date, no private houses have been excavated from this period. Three major building complexes are known: a funerary temple and two mud-brick terraces with their associated rooms. The ground plan of the temple consisted of two long halls, an open portico, and a courtyard;[331] Below ground level two vaulted, baked-brick tombs were attached to the construction.

the ziggurat was an open court surrounded by rooms (67.20 m^2).[338] Every eleventh course of the exterior baked-brick casing consisted of inscribed bricks. These proclaimed Untash-Napirisha's dedication of the edifice to the "Lord of Susa," Inshushinak.[339] The second building phase was marked by the infilling of the original court from the ground up with solid mud-brick terraces of staggered dimensions that were faced with baked brick. Some of the rooms of the first stage were blocked off; others were used as storerooms or shrines.[340] This stage formed the lowest of three preserved stories of what has been reconstructed as a five-story temple tower. The ziggurat was crowned by a temple dedicated to Inshushinak and Napirisha.[341]

At the foot of the ziggurat along the northwest facade was a temple complex with shrines dedicated to Napirisha, Ishnikarab, and Kiririsha. The Kiririsha temple (east) contained workshops where frit and ceramic objects were manufactured. A smaller shrine to the same goddess contained large numbers of votive stone mace-heads and bronze weapons. Near the outer enclosure wall were two other temple complexes dedicated to the gods and goddesses of the realm. These installations contained manufacturing and domestic areas.

The buildings in the sacred precinct were well built and lavishly decorated. Baked brick and gypsum plaster were widely used. Glazed tiles were once attached to the doorjambs and fastened with decorated pegs of the same material. Wooden doors incorporated panels of multicolored glass beads. Winged griffins and bulls made of glazed frit stood guard over vaulted stairwells[342] that led to the summit of the ziggurat.

In the eastern corner of the city near the town wall, excavation revealed a group of three monumental buildings with large courts surrounded by long halls and storerooms. The most interesting of the "palaces," known as the *palais hypogée*, was planned to include five underground tombs. These vaulted structures of baked brick set in bitumen and plaster are larger versions of the Haft Tepe burial chambers. The Haft Tepe tombs and similar burials from Susa appear to have been family vaults. They were commonly used more than once

with skeletons sometimes pushed aside to make space for later additions. At Chogha Zanbil all the bodies in the tombs below the *palais hypogée* had been cremated with a single exception. Ghirshman posits that cremation was a royal prerogative and that the single female skeleton found in *tombe construit 4* was a royal wife of foreign origin.[343]

The parallels between Haft Tepe and Chogha Zanbil indicate that both towns were centers of major funerary cults. Ghirshman[344] interprets the Chogha Zanbil building as a hypogeum, a type of burial structure known in Mesopotamia from the Neo-Assyrian levels at Assur. A similar funerary complex possibly existed[345] on the Susian Acropole in the time of Shilhak-Inshushinak.

The other palaces appear to date to the time of Untash-Napirisha and perhaps served as quarters for the royal entourage. The material found in the *palais hypogée* or hypogeum indicates that it was used at a later period.[346]

Some scholars[347] think that Chogha Zanbil served as a kind of large federal sanctuary in which the principal divinities of the realm were brought together--a visible symbol of the unity of Anshan and Susa verbally expressed in the royal titulary. Whether or not this interpretation of the monument is accepted, Susa's preeminence as the dominant regional center was seriously challenged in the last half of the second millennium. The transfer of royal cults associated with substantial resources and personnel by the rulers of the period must have left Susa poorer and less powerful. The lack of written sources and other finds as well as the abandonment of the Ville Royale A after level XI seem to suggest a decline in Susa.[348] Haft Tepe and Chogha Zanbil were not just religious centers but also contained industrial areas where ceramic, metal, glass, and glazing workshops were discovered. At Deh-i No (in ancient Hupshen?), 6 km northwest of Chogha Zanbil a series of inscribed bricks and the configuration of the mound suggest that a major religious complex, including a ziggurat, was founded by the Shutrukid family on the opposite bank of the Diz.[349] It is therefore tempting to see this establishment as a successor to Haft Tepe and Chogha Zanbil--possibly one built by a new ruling house along the Diz

south of Susa. Chogha Zanbil, Haft Tepe, and Deh-i No were not the only temple complexes established during the last half of the second millennium. Indications of similar installations occur in the form of inscribed baked bricks found at sites such as KS-102, KS-172, and KS-3 in central Khuzistan (fig. 5).

Ceramics (fig. 11)

Excavations at Susa, Haft Tepe, and Chogha Zanbil permit the formation of a tentative ceramic sequence for the last half of the second millennium. Pending the final publication of the Ville Royale A, Ville Royale II, and Haft Tepe excavations, any description of the pottery of the Transitional (c. 1600/1500-1300 B.C.) or Middle Elamite (c. 1300-1000 B.C.) phases remains subject to revision.

Ceramics characteristic of the Transitional phase include a variety of round-shouldered, button-, stump-, or pedestal-based jars or goblets. These vessels range from a squat round-bellied form[350] to a slightly more elongated and angular vessel[351] to an extremely elongated ovoid jar.[352]

Other forms of this phase include step-shouldered goblets or jars, which are difficult to distinguish from earlier Sukkalmah phase types.[353] The final date of these forms appears to have been c. 1300 since they are unknown in the Chogha Zanbil assemblage but found in Haft Tepe and AXI of the Ville Royale.[354]

A final type, also hard to distinguish from its prototype and belonging to the Transitional phase, is the cylindrical goblet.[355] This was by far the most common form found in AXIV (c. 1750-1675 B.C.). It becomes much less popular in AXII when a variant appears which lacks the groove separating the body from the neck of the vessel.[356]

Steve et al.[357] begin their *Moyen élamite I* at c. 1475 B.C. and end it at c. 1375 B.C. The longer date range suggested here for the roughly contemporary Transitional phase is based on the first appearance of forms that continue in the Haft Tepe assemblage (e.g.,

Gasche, MDP 47 [1973], groups 20a, b) and on the presence of recognizable Sukkalmah phase variants that show continuity with earlier assemblages. This interpretation of the ceramic sequence is presented in figs. 10 and 11.

Pottery from the sites in the Deh Luran region has close parallels with Kassite Babylonian forms. In contrast, ceramics from the areas to the southeast of Susiana included a higher percentage of painted buff wares similar to the Qaleh painted wares of Fars.[358]

A simplification of the ceramic repertory took place in Susiana during the course of the second millennium.[359] Conical bowls, Elamite goblets, carinated pots, band-rim jars, and funnel-base vats were the major types known to date to the period between c. 1300 and 1000 B.C.[360] This tendency toward uniformity and simplicity could well reflect an increasingly centralized system of ceramic production in Susiana coincident with increasing urbanism in the Middle Elamite phase.

The sounding in Ville Royale II[361] provides new information on the final date of this assemblage. In level 10 Miroschedji found that Elamite goblets became extremely elongated and were made in a coarser ware than earlier examples. He also observed a decrease in their frequency (32-35 percent) in level 11 compared with 11-14 percent in level 10 and a corresponding increase in squat carinated pots which were first found in level 11.[362] This confirms Ghirshman's observation[363] made in the sounding in the court of the Ishnikarab temple at Chogha Zanbil where these extremely elongated vessels were found on the third and final occupation floor. Ghirshman[364] had associated the final occupation phase of the temple with the destruction of the city by the Assyrians in 646 B.C. and had dated the material accordingly. The Ville Royale II sounding shows no hiatus between levels 11 and 10, and there appears to have been marked continuity in the two assemblages. Miroschedji[365] therefore rejects Ghirshman's date and assigns his level 10 to c. 1100-1000 B.C. Confirmation of this dating is found in the EDD excavation in Malyan (see below, pp. 172-174). Pottery from EDD level IVA (c. 1300-1100 B.C.) closely parallels that found in VR II level 11. The ceramics from EDD level III (c. 1000 B.C.), which follows EDD

level IVA with little interruption, can be compared with the VR II level 10 assemblage.

Other Archaeological Materials

The glyptic art of the seventeenth through the fourteenth centuries is composed of several distinct groups that can be dated on the basis of inscribed seals and sealings and comparisons with dated Mesopotamian glyptic styles.[366] A deity seated on a coiled serpent throne is a characteristic motif of Elamite royal seals from Susa of the seventeenth to fifteenth centuries. Similarly enthroned divinities are depicted on rock reliefs in Fars at Kurangun and Naqsh-i Rustam (see above, pp. 154-155). This image continues through the Middle Elamite period and is possibly to be associated with the chief Elamite deity.[367]

Other glyptic styles of middle second-millennium Susa are similar to Old Babylonian and Kassite style seals from Mesopotamia. A "late Old Babylonian" group, distinguished by its use of the drill, dated from the seventeenth to sixteenth centuries, is found on documents from Susa together with distinctively Elamite sealings. The latter feature a divinity wearing a high crown with horns protruding front and rear, seated or astride an animal-shaped throne.[368]

Several related but distinct groups of seals similar to the Elamite style imprints of the Susa tablets, but rendered in a much more schematic fashion, also can be dated to the middle of the second millennium.[369] The most distinctive of these stylistic subgroups is little known at Susa. These seals are composed in the Kassite manner with a worship scene flanked by a long inscription. The title "king of Susa and Anshan" in association with a seal of this type[370] suggests that the group dates to around the time of Tepti-ahar, who uses the same title. The latter ruler's reign appears to fall in the early fourteenth century.[371]

Middle Elamite phase seals and sealings from Susa show banquets, hunting scenes, mythical beasts, and geometric patterns.[372] Similar

examples have been found at Chogha Zanbil, but none has been published from Haft Tepe. These seals were commonly made of faience or glazed frit, and the major scene was often framed by a ladderlike band at either end of the cylinder.

More than 160 seals were found in chapels at the base of the Chogha Zanbil ziggurat. Some of these are "pseudo-Kassite" cylinders of glass depicting scenes of worship. Cruder Middle Elamite seals mostly of faience, showing banquets, hunting, and worship scenes were found with the more elaborate seals.

Many of the faience seals were originally dated to the Neo-Elamite period on the basis of five seals of the type found in Ville Royale A IX. This level of the Ville Royale was dated to the sixth century B.C., but its beginning date is now placed at c. 1075 B.C. Thus, these seals, once thought to show strong continuity with earlier traditions, have been redated to the Middle Elamite phase.[373] The final date of c. 1000 B.C. for AIX is far from certain and it is possible that the frit seals of this style continued in use through the Neo-Elamite I period (c. 1000-725/700 B.C.).[374]

Some of the monumental stone and metal sculptures found by the early excavators at Susa were of the mid- to late second millennium date. A sandstone victory stele with low relief carving is dated to the middle of the second millennium B.C. on the basis of similarities with the Elamite style seal impressions.[375] The goddess of the principal scene and the warrior deity astride a lion on one of the edges can also be compared with similar figures on a bronze plaque found at Haft Tepe and dated to the middle of the millennium.[376]

Middle Elamite artists have left behind them monumental stone sculptures and cast bronzes. The fragmentary serpent-framed sandstone stele of King Untash-Napirisha depicts him and his family in religious procession in the middle registers. The god is shown in the preserved part of the top register; "mermen" and "sheepmen" formed parts of the lower register.[377] More significant are the works of cast bronze that include the statue of Napirisha (wife of Untash-Napirisha), the serpent offering table, and the "sit shamshi."[378] These pieces leave

no doubt as to Middle Elamite mastery of metalworking. The "sit shamshi" (Elamite for "the creation"?) is an inscribed three-dimensional cast bronze model made for Shilhak-Inshushinak (c. 1140 B.C.). It was perhaps used as a "foundation deposit" to ensure the proper performance of the funerary cult. The piece shows two men performing a rite next to a "sacred precinct." The setting of this ritual scene between a ziggurat and a temple recalls the arrangement of cultic installations discovered at the foot of the ziggurat at Chogha Zanbil[379] or those presumed to have existed on the Acropole.[380]

A group of statuettes and miscellaneous small luxury objects made of gold, bronze, glazed frit, and semiprecious stone was discovered on the Acropole near the temple of Inshushinak. These objects were apparently part of a funerary offering made in the temple of Shilhak-Inshushinak.[381] Metalwork, glass, faience, and glazing technologies were highly developed during the Middle Elamite phase.

The terra-cotta female figurines and plaques, common earlier, continue through the second millennium. Small round tables holding food (offerings?) made of terra-cotta have been found in the Ville Royale AXII and at Haft Tepe.[382] Terra-cotta bed models are also typical of the second millennium but, unlike the model tables and humpbacked bulls, do not appear to continue in use through the end of the Middle Elamite phase. Some of the bed models are empty;[383] others depict a single female or embracing couple.[384] Figurines of humpbacked bulls were the most common type found in levels XII-IX of the Ville Royale.[385] The full-hipped female figurines and humpbacked bulls, once dated to Neo-Elamite period on the basis of their presence in Ville Royale AX-IX, should probably be redated to the Middle Elamite period.[386] These objects suggest a continuity of popular religious beliefs throughout much of the second millennium.

To the far right (west) KF V shows a large figure presiding over a sacrifice of humpbacked bulls going on before him. This carving is comparable in style and subject matter with KF II.[408]

Dating these reliefs with precision is impossible on present evidence. Their inscriptions place them in the Neo-Elamite period. The banquet scene (KF IV) can be compared with Middle Elamite seals.[409] The goblets shown on the table and in the fourth register do not appear to have been in use past c. 1000-900 B.C. Two of the most common terra-cottas of the last half of the second millennium, the humpbacked bull and the small round table laden with food, also suggest a date before c. 1000 B.C. On the other hand, some iconographic features seem to presage conventions found in the art of the Achaemenid Empire.[410] The shrines of Izeh were probably first sculpted in the last half of the second millennium but continued in use during the first half of the first millennium. They illustrate Elamite ritual practices, including processions, animal sacrifices, banquets, and music. These activities may have taken place outside at sacred locations adjacent to water sources. Control over such places would have been essential for Elamite communications.

Fars--Qaleh-Middle Elamite and Shogha-Teimuran Phases (c. 1600-1000 B.C.)

Stratigraphy and Architecture

At Malyan the final Kaftari levels date to c. 1650 B.C.[411] The next well-dated occupation levels have been discovered on the highest point of the EDD mound and appear to date to the period between c. 1300 and 1000 B.C.--the Middle Elamite phase. As yet unpublished excavations in the GHI area have produced several levels (I-II) of domestic architecture directly above more substantial Kaftari (III) phase buildings. The seal impressions found in the level III building suggest that it dates to around 1650 B.C.[412] Since there appears to be no

substantial hiatus between levels III and II, the finds from GHI may eventually fill the gap that now exists in the Malyan sequence around the middle of the second millennium.

A variety of constructions have been cleared on the summit of the Malyan mound. More than 1000 m^2 of a monumental building have been excavated without establishing its limits. Portions of adjacent constructions indicate that a complex of public buildings stood on the highest point of Malyan in the Middle Elamite phase (c. 1300-1000 B.C.). Five C-14 determinations fix the date of the major building level IVA within the Middle Elamite phase. Soundings in several rooms point to a foundation date somewhat earlier. Fire destroyed nearly all of the level IVA rooms excavated.[413] Parallels with Khuzistan finds and the C-14 evidence indicate a date just before 1100 B.C. for level IVA destruction.

Shortly thereafter in level IIIB, the eastern edge of the building was used as a ceramic production area. The kilns of IIIB were abandoned, and some of the standing walls of the original (IV) building were reused in level III A in a less formal, presumably domestic structure. These reuse levels (IIIB, A) date to some time shortly after 1000 B.C.[414]

The core of the level IV structure consists of an unroofed, rectangular courtyard surrounded by a long, narrow corridor; rooms or suites open off the corridor.[415] The plan of the major structure excavated (IVA) can be compared with Palais II at Chogha Zanbil[416] although the Malyan building was composed of considerably smaller units.

Cuneiform texts found in the building suggest part of the complex was used to hold the records of an administrative authority capable of disbursing, receiving, and storing large amounts of precious metals, foodstuffs, and animal products.[417] Many of the Malyan tablets found in IVA were impressed with a single distinctive punctate seal (fig. 11). The design is composed of a series of deeply impressed points arranged in intersecting diamond patterns. The closest parallels with respect to the seal design come from sealed tablets found in Nippur and dated to

the reign of Nazi Marutash.[418] The Malyan impressions, however, are made by a seal of this type; the Kassite impressions were apparently produced using only the granulated gold seal caps found on seals of the period.

Several other sealings show punctate patterns composed in the shape of cuneiform signs. A cache of sealings from IV consisted mainly of flat tags(?). The imprints on these pieces show rows of fish, stars, flowing vases, and animals. Fragmentary sealings from IIIA indicate that this less formal glyptic style continued in use in that level.[419] Several glazed frit seals that have parallels with Middle Elamite seals from Khuzistan have also been found at Malyan.[420]

Ceramics (*fig. 11*)

Two traditions in the ceramic assemblage of the late second millennium B.C can be identified at Malyan: (1) Susian-related plain wares;[421] and (2) painted buff wares that are local in origin. The ceramic assemblage from GHI I-II has not been studied in detail. However, the painted buff wares of levels I-II are similar to those found in the EDD building excavated on the highest part of the mound and to the kiln structures excavated in nearby BB 33. This pottery is called "Qaleh painted buff ware" after the site on which it was first discovered. Qaleh painted wares are stylistically linked to earlier Kaftari pottery since they utilize similar forms and many of the same geometric patterns. They are distinguished from Kaftari painted buff ware by the smaller scale and restricted placement of their painted decoration. The all-over decorative scheme on Kaftari ceramics was replaced by painting confined to vessel shoulders and rim. Painted buff wares of the Qaleh type continued in use throughout the Qaleh-Middle Elamite phase at Malyan.[422] Related painted buff wares have been found in the Ram Hormuz and Izeh regions of eastern Khuzistan, and a few sherds are known from Haft Tepe.[423]

A new ceramic tradition appears in the Kur River Basin in the last half of the second millennium. Called "Shogha-Teimuran" after the sites where it was first discovered, it has been described on the basis of excavated samples from the site of Darvazeh Tepe 80 km southeast of Malyan on the southern shore of Lake Niriz.[424] Shogha wares are orange in color and were frequently decorated in black-painted designs that include animal (fish, birds, and goats), plant, and geometric forms that are often rendered in hatched rather than solid lines. Teimuran pottery is wheel made, unlike the handmade Shogha wares, and was decorated primarily with sharply ruled horizontal lines and occasional solid triangles. The two wares are associated with each other in excavations and surface collections. Qaleh pottery forms a small percentage of the primarily Shogha-Teimuran assemblage excavated at Darvazeh Tepe in all phases except its initial phase where Qaleh wares are absent.[425] No Kaftari wares have been discovered at Darvazeh.

Assuming that the Qaleh, Shogha, and Teimuran ceramic traditions overlapped, it is possible to compare this pattern with the Kaftari phase when local painted buff and red wares were used along with lowland-related plain-ware forms in the Kur River Basin. Unlike the Kaftari phase when all wares appear in use throughout the basin, the distribution of the various ceramic wares of the late second millennium suggests much less contact between the eastern and western sections of the area than had existed in the early second millennium.

Settlement Patterns

Outside Malyan no trace of Susian style artifacts has been recovered in the Kur River Basin, although inscribed bricks and pottery from Bushire on the gulf and bricks from Tulaspid, not far from Fahlian (90 km northwest of Malyan), indicate that the Middle Elamite rulers controlled the major routes west during the late second millennium as they had during the period of the Sukkalmah.[426] Shogha-Teimuran occupations are concentrated east of the Kur River; west of the river

only a few sherds of Shogha-Teimuran wares have been discovered. In addition to Malyan a maximum of sixteen sites of Qaleh date have been found west of the Kur River.[427] Three kilns excavated at Malyan, where Qaleh wares were made, and one kiln found at Darvazeh, where Shogha pottery was manufactured, led Jacobs[428] to postulate that Shogha pottery, produced at Darvazeh Tepe, was traded among a small group of sites in the southeastern end of the basin whereas Qaleh wares, produced at Malyan, were exchanged in a local network in the northern end of the valley.

Settlement pattern studies suggest that the regional population declined significantly after c. 1600 B.C. although Malyan itself remained a city of 50 ha with lowland ties. Fewer than thirty sites in the Kur River Basin can be assigned to the last half of the second millennium. This stands in contrast to the Kaftari phase when Malyan reached its maximum extent (150 ha) and a minimum of seventy-three sites existed in the surrounding area. Whether the appearance of the Shogha-Teimuran ceramic complex indicates that a new ethnic group or groups entered the Kur River Basin during the second millennium remains an open question.[429]

Luristan-Kurdistan

Archaeological remains and written documents attest the cultural and political ties between Khuzistan and Fars during the last half of the second millennium. On the other hand, the highlands northwest of Khuzistan show few direct links to the Elamite culture of Susiana during the same time span.

In the Pusht-i Kuh Vanden Berghe[430] reports having found no tombs of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000-1600 B.C.) and only one of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600-1000 B.C.). A crudely built stone grave was found at Tepe Sarab Bagh in the Abdanan region about 50 km north of the Deh Luran plain. It contained buff-ware button-base goblets that have parallels in Haft Tepe and in Kassite levels of various

Mesopotamian sites. These plain ware vessels were accompanied by painted vessels which can be compared with Giyan II, Qaleh, and Haft Tepe forms.[431] Similar plain ware vessels have been found in Tepe Farukhabad in the Deh Luran region but are unaccompanied by painted wares.[432]

Excavations at Tepe Guran revealed several phases of domestic architecture and burials dated from c. 1500 to 700 B.C.[433] The earliest phase of Bronze Age occupation is known only by a stone cist grave that contained bronze toggle pins and a painted pottery vessel. The second phase is represented by both tombs and mud-brick buildings. Pottery painted in geometrical designs is associated with this occupation.[434] A tomb of this phase contained simple toggle pins and bronze mugs along with pottery including tripod and ridged-shouldered beakers.

Phase three is marked by the use of stone foundations and portions of a town wall may belong to this construction phase. Painted pottery is reported to be no longer a significant part of the assemblage at this time. In the fourth phase pottery recovered from well-built houses includes some painted ware (unpublished) although plain ware goblets (illustrated in photographs) are described as the most typical vessels of the domestic inventory. These compare well with Elamite goblets known from Khuzistan and Fars dated to the late Middle Elamite phase.[435] The next phase is reported to have "uncharacteristic pottery," and the sixth phase has ceramic types comparable with Sialk VI (Cemetery B) examples. It is dated to c. 940-990 B.C. ±100 on the basis of C-14 evidence.[436] Phases seven to nine date to the eighth through the seventh centuries B.C.

Thus, the Guran assemblage, in which lowland-related plain wares and local painted types co-exist, is essential to our understanding of the late second-millennium sequence in the mountains of Luristan vis-a-vis Khuzistan and Fars. In the Pish-i Kuh, west of the Kuh-i Sefid, the last centuries of the second millennium were marked by a certain continuity of settlement. Goff[437] points to various sites in addition to Guran in the Saimarreh valleys and suggests that the boulder ruins located by Schmidt in that area should be dated to this period.

Miroschedji,[449] using archaeological evidence, divides the Neo-Elamite period in two: (1) Neo-Elamite I dated from c. 1000-725/700 B.C., and (2) Neo-Elamite II dated from c. 725/700-520 B.C. This chronology differs in several important respects from that which he originally proposed:[450] (1) The Middle Elamite phase has been extended to c. 1000 B.C., and there is no gap in the sequence around the turn of the millennium. (2) The ceramic assemblage that was dated to a post-Assyrian conquest phase (c.646-550/520 B.C.) is now seen as spanning the period from c. 725/700-520. In short, contrary to earlier assumptions, the destruction of Susa in 646 B.C. had little effect on the evolution of ceramic or other artifact styles.[451] The continuity of the period has been established on the basis of Neo-Elamite II ceramics found with seals and other objects of seventh-century date in Ville Royale II levels 7-6 and the discovery of a similar ceramic assemblage and a sealing of sixth-century date in levels immediately beneath the foundations of a palace of Darius I in Ville Royale/Apadana Trench 5233.[452]

Khuzistan

Stratigraphy and Architecture

Thirteen archaeological levels (numbered from the top down) have been identified at the southwest edge of the Ville Royale adjacent to Mecquenem's sondage 2 and Ghirshman's Ville Royale B I excavations (fig. 13).[453] In the Ville Royale II sounding, eight levels have been excavated that date from the last half of the second through the first half of the first millennium. A short gap in occupation followed level 10, the final Middle Elamite level. Fragmentary surfaces and rooms have been discovered in levels 9-8 that are dated to the Neo-Elamite I period (c. 1000-725/700 B.C.). The Neo-Elamite II levels 7-6 (c.725/700-520 B.C.), were disturbed and most of the finds came from a vaulted mud-brick tomb and burials. Pottery similar to that found in

and II ceramics.[472] The beginning date for Neo-Elamite I ceramics is derived from parallels of associated finds to objects of seventh-century date; the final date for Neo-Elamite II pottery is established stratigraphically.

Other Archaeological Materials

Recent stratigraphic control operations have yielded few nonceramic objects, and thus the internal ordering of these classes is still based primarily on stylistic criteria. Neo-Elamite glyptic styles range from products made in older Middle Elamite traditions to imports and imitations of contemporary Mesopotamian and highland styles. A final phase of seal carving that combined Mesopotamian techniques and Susian tastes is known to have developed in the period after the Assyrian conquest and before Darius (c. 625-525 B.C.).

No stratified seals or sealings of the Neo-Elamite I period exist and even unstratified finds that can be reasonably assigned to that period on stylistic grounds are few and far between.[473] Seals that were made of bitumen showing rampant goats or bulls on either side of a sacred tree probably date to the turn of the millennium;[474] pieces with designs of rampant griffins with incurving wings and elongated bodies may date to the Neo-Elamite I period.[475] Similarities with the Luristan bronzes and paintings on Sialk Cemetery B pottery as well as the lack of local antecedents indicate that these seals could just as easily be of highland origin as of Susian manufacture.[476]

Neo-Elamite II glyptic from Susa can be divided into two overlapping groups: (1) Imported seals or those made in imitation of Mesopotamian styles characterize the early phase.[477] Seals made in imitation of the Assyrian linear and drilled styles are known,[478] but seals crafted in the Babylonian modeled and cut styles were more common.[479] (2) Studies of sealed administrative texts written in Neo-Elamite found in the Acropole and beneath the palace of Darius on the Apadana have led to the description of a post-Assyrian conquest phase (or late Neo-

Elamite phase) of glyptic art (c. 625-525 B.C.). The seals, often inscribed in Elamite with the name and abbreviated geneaology of the owner, depict genii, animals, and monsters fighting with each other or honoring a sacred tree.[480] These impressions show that many of the seals were executed with skill and delicacy in the modeled style characteristic of contemporary Mesopotamian products. They can also be compared with sealings on Elamite administrative texts discovered at Persepolis.[481] Amiet's suggestion that the style had its origins in Anshan under Cyrus I and flourished in Susa after the Assyrian conquest of that city is not as yet supported by archaeological evidence from Fars.[482]

The birth of an original and highly skilled glyptic art style may mirror the resurgence of Susa's artistic traditions. However no monumental art of the period has survived. Glazed frit tiles, vessels, and small objects continued to be produced, but their exact dates are difficult to establish.[483] Terra-cotta female figurines common in the Middle Elamite phase appear to become less popular.

A final class of finds not from Elam but from Mesopotamia is deserving of mention in a discussion of the archaeology of the Neo-Elamite phase. Assyrian palace reliefs from Nineveh dated to the reigns of Sennacherib(?) and Assurbanipal provide certain details of Elamite material al culture (e.g., dress and hair styles, chariot types, and architectural practices).[484] Most prominent among the reliefs showing Elamites is the cycle of compositions depicting Assurbanipal's campaign against Tempti-Humban-Inshushinak (Te-Umman). The main scenes show the Assyrian army chariots, cavalry, and helmeted infantry overpowering the Elamites, recognizable by their knotted headbands, who have broken ranks and are in retreat at Til-Tuba on the Ulai (probably the modern Karkheh River). In a later scene, Humban-Nikash II ("Ummanigash") an Elamite prince, is shown being installed as the ruler of "Madaktu and Susa." Madaktu is represented,[485] but Susa itself was probably not shown. An inferior version of a similar cycle seems to have been carved around 645-640 B.C. in Assurbanipal's own palace. Reade[486] suggests that this time, however, the city shown is Susa with its "horned ziggurat."[487]

date of EDD IIIA appears to be c. 1000-900 B.C. although slightly earlier and later dates cannot be excluded.[501]

Two rock reliefs whose dates are uncertain, located at the western (Kurangun) and eastern end (Naqsh-i Rustam) of Fars province, are the only other indications of a Neo-Elamite presence in the area. It is possible that the Persian migrations into the region led to the decline of Malyan as the regional center. Assuming that Malyan was already an isolated outpost of lowland cultural affiliation at the turn of the millennium, the ties between the Elamite populations of Susiana and Fars may have become even looser during the middle of the first millennium. The rise of eastern Khuzistan in the Middle Elamite period appears to have lasted through the first half of the first millennium, and it is possible that these mountain valleys of eastern Khuzistan were refuge areas for some of the Elamites peoples of Susiana and Fars.

By the late eighth century Susa had regained its position as a regional center. It was once again able, with its highland or Babylonian allies, to face Assyria. The lowland Elamites found themselves pressured by the Assyrians and Babylonians on the west, the Medes to the northeast, and the Persians to the southeast. Written sources pertinent to the first millennium far exceed the archaeological evidence for it. The description of the period and the documentation of the decline, fall, and eventual absorption of the various Elamite areas by the Achaemenid Empire remain major research questions of Elamite archaeology.

Notes

1. Fisher, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran* Vol. 1, (1968), fig. 7.

2. Vallat, *Suse et l'Elam* (1980), 2-18.

3. Susiana is defined as the area between inner hill chain and the Zagros foothills and the Karkheh and Karun Rivers (see figs. 1 and 5).

4. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 10-12; Wright, "The Susiana Hinterland During the Era of Primary State Formation," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Iran*, Hole, ed., forthcoming.

5. Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979).

6. Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran* (1940), 1-170.

7. Sumner, "The Development of an Urban Settlement System in the Kur River Basin, Iran," in *First USA/USSR Archaeological Exchange, Harvard University, November 9-14, 1981*, ed. by Lamberg-Karlovsky, forthcoming; Alden, *Regional Economic Organization in Banesh Period Iran* (1980), 20-31; Ehlers, *Iran: Grundzüge einer geographischen Landeskunde*, Wissenschaftliche Länderkunden 18 (1980), 38-45.

8. Fisher, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran* Vol. 1, (1968), fig. 8.

9. Stein, *Old Routes* (1940).

10. Caldwell, ed., *Investigations at Tal-i-Iblis*, Illinois State Museum Preliminary Reports 9 (1967), 25-27.

11. Ibid., 327-389; Berthoud, *Etude par l'analyse* (1979), map no. 2.

12. Fisher, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran* Vol. 1, (1968), fig. 7.

13. Goff-Meade, *Iran* 6 (1968), 105-108.

14. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (1857).

15. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse d'après les fouilles exécutées en 1884-1886* (1893).

16. Dyson, *Expedition* 11 (1969), 39-47. The article provides a brief history of the early Susa excavations. A bibliographic outline of the work at Susa up to 1977 is found in Vanden Berghe, *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (1979), 91-98.

17. Morgan, Jéquier, and Lampre, MDP 1 (1900); Scheil, MDP 2 (1900); MDP 3 (1901); MDP 4 (1902); MDP 5 (1904); MDP 6 (1905); and Morgan et al., MDP 7 (1905).

18. Gautier and Lampre, MDP 8 (1905), 59-149; Pézard, MDP 15 (1914).

19. Mecquenem, MDP 20 (1928), 99-133; MDP 29 (1943), 3-161; *Revue biblique* 52 (1943-44), 133-42.

20. Ghirshman, *Sialk* I (1938).

21. Ghirshman, *AA* 10 (1964), 3-20; *AA* 11 (1965), 3-21; *AA* 15 (1967), 3-27; *AA* 17 (1968), 3-44; Ghirshman and Steve, *AA* 13 (1966), 3-32; Gasche, MDP 47 (1973); Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 49-154.

22. Ghirshman, MDP 39 (1966); MDP 40 (1968).

23. Parrot, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 133-139.

24. Dollfus, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 141-167.

25. Le Brun, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 177-192; Carter, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 197-211.

26. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 107-116, 150-152 list Ghirshman's archaeological activities in Susiana and the publications resulting from his work.

27. Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 213-228; *DAFI* 12 (1981), 9-136, 143-168. I am grateful to Miroschedji for giving me the *DAFI* 12 references and a resume of his conclusions in advance of their publication.

28. Kantor, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 23-41; *Iran* 15 (1977), 11-14.

29. Negahban, *IIIrd Annual Symposium* (1975), 171-178; *Rāhnemāh-ye Muzeh va Hafāri-ye Haft Tepe* (1351/1972); *A Guide to the Haft Tepe Excavation and Museum* (1977).

30. Adams, *Science* 136 (1962), 109-122; Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971). Schacht, *Population and Economic Organization in Early Historic Southwest Iran* (1973); *JFA* 2 (1975), 307-329; Kantor, *Iran* 15 (1977), 11-14; Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979); *An Early*

Town on the Deh Luran Plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad. Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, no. 13 (1981).

31. Vanden Berghe, *L'archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (1959), 41-44.

32. Sumner, *Cultural Development in the Kur River Basin* (1972); *Iran* 12 (1974), 155-180; *Iran* 14 (1976), 103-115; Carter, *IIIrd Annual Symposium* (1975), 163-170; Carter and Stolper, *Expedition* 18 (1976), 33-42; Carter, *VIth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming; Alden, *Regional Economic Organization* (1979); Jacobs, *Darvazeh Tepe* (1980).

33. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran, 1967-69* (1970); *Iran* 9 (1971), 87-96; *PBA* 59 (1973), 1-43; *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976); Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi, *East and West* 22 (1973), 21-57; Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980).

34. Caldwell, ed., *Iblis* (1967); Hakemi, *Catalogue de l'Exposition: Lut Xabis* [*Shahdad*], (1972).

35. Hakemi, *Catalogue de l'Exposition: Lut Xabis* [*Shahdad*], (1972).

36. Tosi, *East and West* 18 (1968), 9-66; *East and West* 19 (1969), 283-386; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi, *East and West* 22 (1973), 21-57; Tucci, ed., *La città bruciata del deserto salato* (1977).

37. De Cardi, *Excavations at Bampur* (1970).

38. Young, *Excavations at Godin Tepe* (1969); Young and Levine, *Excavations of the Godin Project* (1974); Weiss and Young, *Iran* 13 (1975), 1-16; Goff-Meade, *Iran* 6 (1968), 105-132; Goff, *Iran* 9 (1971), 131-152; *Iran* 14 (1976), 19-40; Meldgaard et al., *Acta Archaeologia* 34 (1963), 97-133; Thrane, *Acta Archaeologia* 35 (1964), 153-169; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologia* 79 (1975), 61, with references; *IA* 14 (1979), 1-38 and 39-50.

39. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 79-124.

40. Dollfus, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 17-161; *DAFI* 5 (1975), 11-220; *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 141-167; Steve and Gasche, MDP 46 (1971); Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 163-216; *DAFI* 9 (1978), 57-154; *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 177-192; Carter, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 197-211; *DAFI* 11 (1980), 7-134.

41. Hole, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 229-232.

42. Kantor, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 28; Dollfus, *DAFI* 5 (1975), 61.

43. *DAFI* 1 (1971), 211.

44. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 70-116; *DAFI* 11 (1980), 7-134; Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 226; *DAFI* 12 (1981), 9-136 and 143-168.

45. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), fig. 32.

46. Canal, *DAFI* 9 (1978), 27-40, figs. 1-7.

47. Morgan, MDP 7 (1905), 7; Canal, *DAFI* 9 (1978), 39, suggests that the *massif funéraire* may be the foundations for a round structure similar to the "tholoi" at Arpachiyah and Gawra.

48. C-14 determinations for contexts associated with Susa I (A) ceramics have been collected by Weiss, "Periodization, Population and Early State Formation in Khuzistan," in *Mountains and Lowlands*, Levine and Young, eds. (1977), Tables I-III. A date range of c. 4200-3800 B.C. is suggested for the Susa I(A) period; Terminal Susa I(A) is dated to c. 3800-3700 B.C.

49. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 172-176; Dollfus, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 30-51.

50. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 211; *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 181, 190-192.

51. Johnson, *Local Exchange* (1973), Table 7.

52. Canal, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 173.

53. Canal, *DAFI* 9 (1978), 26-30, 50.

54. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), figs. 45-53 with parallels; *Paléorient* 4 (1978), figs. 32-33; *DAFI* 9 (1978), 57-98.

55. Johnson, *Local Exchange* (1973), 113-129.

56. Cf. Dyson, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Ehrich, ed. (1965), 223-224.

57. Le Brun and Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 11-59.

58. Ibid., 11-22.

59. Ibid., 30-34; Vallat, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), fig. 37; cf. Amiet, *Akkadica* 15 (1979), 9. He illustrates a clay ball that contains more tokens than surface markings along with two animal-shaped tokens.

60. Schmandt-Besserat, *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 1/2 (1977).

61. Le Brun and Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 31-32.

62. Amiet, *Akkadica* 15 (1979), 9-10.

63. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 190-191.

64. Wright and Johnson, *American Anthropologist* 77 (1975), 267-289.

65. E.g., Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 94-113.

66. Adams and Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside* (1972), 17, fig. 7 and p. 90; Adams, *Heartland of Cities* (1981), fig. 15. Cf. Wright and Johnson, *American Anthropologist* 77 (1975), 270, fig. 2.

67. See above, pp. 5-9 for a description of Proto-Elamite writing systems.

68. See above, p. 7.

69. Alden, "The Proto-Elamite Phenomenon," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Iran*, Hole, ed., forthcoming. "Proto-Elamite period" as used here follows Alden's definition and refers only to the local extent of occupation by users of Proto-Elamite tablets and related items of material culture.

70. Adams, *Heartland of Cities* (1981), 60.

71. Alden, "The Question of Trade in Proto-Elamite Iran" (1973), 8-78.

72. Ibid., 40-42.

73. Salvatori, "A Brief Surface Survey at Shahdad, 1977," n.d.; Meder, *Klimaökologie und Siedlungsgang auf dem Hochland von Iran in vor- and frühgeschichtlicher Zeit*, Marburger geographische Schriften 80 (1979), 65-83.

74. Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi, *East and West* 22 (1973), 38-41.

75. Ibid.; Tosi, *Iran* 14 (1976), 168; Tosi and Piperno, *Expedition* 16 (1973), 15-23.

76. Meriggi, *La scrittura proto-elamica, Ia*: *La scrittura e il contenuto dei testi* (1971), 5, n. 1.

77. Canal, *DAFI* 9 (1978), 44-50.

78. Johnson, *Local Exchange* (1973), 64-81. Regional cultural orientation in Susiana was strongly Mesopotamian throughout period II (ibid., 49-59); Wright and Johnson, *American Anthropologist* 77 (1975), 267-289, refer to it as the Uruk period for this reason.

79. LeBrun, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), Table I, 181; Le Brun and Vallat, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 31-32. In the Susa Acropole I sounding only numerical tablets have been discovered in levels 18-17. Amiet, *Akkadica* 15 (1979), 10-15, notes several tablets with similar seal impressions and single signs. Similar tablets are known from Godin V and Sialk IV 1. Thus a "transitional phase" between completely numerical tablets and the Proto-Elamite A tablets appears to be missing in the Acropole I sounding. The exceptional nature of sealed tablets with scattered signs at Susa may indicate that they are to be correlated with the period of abandonment attested in the various excavations on the Acropole.

80. Johnson, *Local Exchange* (1973), 143-152.

81. Canal, *DAFI* 9 (1978), 50.

82. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 210, fig. 32; Le Brun, *DAFI* 9 (1978), 57-58.

83. Steve and Gasche, MDP 46 (1971), 10, plan 2, coupe C; plan 7, coupe 4.

84. Amiet, *Antiquity* 53 (1979), 199; *Akkadica* 15 (1979), 15.

85. Johnson, *Local Exchange* (1973), 156; Alden, *Regional Economic Organization* (1979), 78-81; Alden, "The Proto-Elamite Phenomenon," forthcoming.

86. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 166-167.

87. Carter, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 197-211; *DAFI* 11 (1980), 7-134.

88. Carter, *AJA* 83 (1979), 452; *DAFI* 11 (1980), 20 and n. 20.

89. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 13.

90. Ibid., 13, 25-26.

91. Le Brun, *DAFI* I (1971), 192-205; *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 192, fig. 36.

92. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 20.

93. Ibid., figs. 13:2, 14:15-17; cf. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), fig. 64:10-12.

94. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), fig. 15.

95. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 114, pl. 26.

96. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 210.

97. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 108; Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne* (1961), 41-43.

98. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 108.

99. Amiet, *Akkadica* 15 (1979), 12.

100. Alden, "The Proto-Elamite Phenomenon," forthcoming.

101. Wright, ed., *Farukhabad* (1981), 189-195; Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979), 93-97.

102. Wright, ed., *Farukhabad* (1981).

103. Gautier and Lampre, MDP 8 (1905), 73-80; cf. Delougaz, OIP 63 (1952), 139-140 and pl. 65; Wright, ed., *Farukhabad* (1981), figs. 45:l, c, f, g; 53:a; 63:l.

104. Delougaz, OIP 63 (1952), 139-140.

105. Ibid.; Wright, ed., *Farukhabad* (1981), 111-125.

106. Delougaz, Hill, and Lloyd, OIP 88 (1967), Table 1, records 28 of the 33 tombs found as dating to ED I-II period. Forest, *Sumer* 35 (1977), 497-499.

107. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), pl. 26:6,9.

108. Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979), 93-99, 127.

109. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 253-256.

110. Ibid., 257.

111. Caldwell, *RIA* 3/5 (1968), 349; cf. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), 175-178.

112. Caldwell, *RIA* 3/5 (1968), 350-352; cf. Le Brun, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), Table 1, 181-183. Acropole I levels 21-19 are not completely excavated.

113. Caldwell, *RIA* 3/5 (1968), 351; Whitcomb, "The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir" (1971), 21-31.

114. Whitcomb, "The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir" (1971), 16-20.

115. Alden, "The Question of Trade in Proto-Elamite Iran" (1973), 55, fig. 5.

116. Whitcomb, "The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir" (1971), 21-30.

117. Ibid., pls. VI:E-VII:B; cf. Alden, *Regional Economic Organization* (1979), figs. 52:13, 15-16, 29. Note that the use of white bands on fine red-slipped wares is known in both regions.

118. Whitcomb, "The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir" (1973), 45-46, and Caldwell, *RIA* 3/5 (1968), 351, point out that Ghazir had relatively easy contacts with Sialk via the Isfahan road.

119. Whitcomb, "The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir" (1973), 31-32, pl. XI:A, E, F; cf. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), figs. 43:4, 44:20.

120. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), fig. 54.

121. Some of the Ghazir Proto-Elamite material may date to the time period between levels 17-16 in the Acropole I sounding.

122. Vanden Berghe, *L'archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (1959), 41-44; Sumner, *Cultural Development in the Kur River Basin* (1972); Alden, *Regional Economic Organization* (1979); Jacobs, *Darvazeh Tepe* (1980) are all studies of the Kur River Basin. Miroschedji, *Ist Annual Symposium* (1972), 1-7, deals with the Fasa and Darab regions to the southeast.

123. Sumner, ed., "Problems of Large Scale, Multi-Disciplinary Regional Archaeological Research: The Malyan Project" (1980), Table I; *Iran* 12 (1974), 156; Alden, *Regional Economic Organization* (1979), 60-63.

124. Ibid., 70, 207, fig. 12; cf. Alden, "The Proto-Elamite Phenomenon," forthcoming, for an estimate of contemporary Susa's area.

156. Ibid., 340-375.

157. Ghirshman, *Sialk* I (1938), 5-8.

158. Ibid., 58; cf. Majidzadeh, *Iran* 16 (1978), 93-101, who demonstrates the lack of continuity in the Sialk III sequence and reorders some of the ceramic finds using stylistic criteria and stratigraphically excavated ceramics from Qabristan, near Qazvin.

159. Ghirshman, *Sialk* I (1938), 65-68.

160. Ibid., 61.

161. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne* (1961), 39.

162. Ghirshman, *Sialk* I (1938), 67.

163. Ibid., 68-71.

164. Young, *Excavations at Godin Tepe* (1969); Young and Levine, *Excavations of the Godin Project* (1974).

165. Weiss and Young, *Iran* 13 (1975), 1-7.

166. Ibid., 6.

167. Ibid., figs. 4-5, and Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne* (1961), 41, 107. For Amiet the term Proto-Elamite refers to the Proto-Elamite figural glyptic style associated with Proto-Elamite A tablets only. The Godin excavators use the broader definition followed in this text.

168. Weiss and Young, *Iran* 13 (1975), 15.

169. The finds from the late Proto-Elamite settlement, Sialk IV 2,

indicate contacts with the southeast through the Kerman Range corridor.

170. Kantor, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Ehrich, ed. (1965), 8-14, figs. 4-8.

171. For seals, cf. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne* (1961), 40-43. The use of the "elongated triangular nose lug," pinched-rim bowls, and goblets common in the late Proto-Elamite period provides some documentation of this phenomenon, which needs further investigation.

172. Ghirshman, *Sialk* I (1938), 68; Caldwell, ed., *Iblis* (1967), 112, 199-200; Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Iran* 14 (1976), 172; Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980), 501-503.

173. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 156; "The Malyan Project" (1980), Table II. An as yet unpublished test in operation GHI suggests that there was a shorter hiatus in the sequence than indicated by the results of the ABC operation.

174. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 283; Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979), 99, 128, fig. 52.

175. See pp. 136-139.

176. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 20-21.

177. Amiet, *DAFI* 6 (1976), 52-53.

178. Steve and Gasche, MDP 46 (1971), plan 2.

179. Ibid., 59-131; Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 7-134; *AJA* 83 (1979), 452.

180. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 24-26.

181. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 117-119; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), 173-183.

182. Amiet, *Elam* (1966), 174-192, figs. 184-192; *DAFI* 6 (1976), 47-60; Pelzel, JNES 36 (1977), 1-16.

183. Miroschedji, *DAFI* 3 (1973), 9-26.

184. Porada, PKG 14 (1975), 366.

185. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), 184.

186. Le Breton, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 119.

187. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 25.

188. Schacht, "Early Historic Cultures," in *Archeological Perspectives on Iran*, Hole, ed., forthcoming.

189. Personal observation in the Deh Luran region; for eastern Khuzistan see Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979), 96-99.

190. Sumner, *Iran* 14 (1976), 106.

191. Miroschedji, *AA* 30 (1974), 19-64.

192. Miroschedji, *Ist Annual Symposium* (1972), 3-5.

193. Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980), 507-510. In earlier publications IVB-2 was equated to the Persian Gulf Room, and IVB-1 was linked to open areas without architecture where chlorite objects were manufactured. Why the Persian Gulf Room, which produced material of mid- to late third-millennium date, should be stratigraphically earlier than the workshop areas where vessels dated from the early to mid-third millennium were discovered

270. Miroschedji, *DAFI* 3 (1973), 27-42, fig. 13.

271. Ibid.; Lamberg-Karlovsky, *PBA* 59 (1973), fig. 5:F, H.

272. E.g., Ghirshman, *AA* 17 (1968), 33, fig. 21.

273. Ibid., 19; cf. Amiet, *Elam* (1966), figs. 224-227.

274. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 182.

275. Ibid., 240-242; Steinkeller, *ZA* 72 (1982), 237-265, has suggested that Urua, an Elamite city known from pre-Sargonic, Old Akkadian and Ur III texts, was located in the Deh Luran region. If this suggestion is accepted, then Mussian's size and date range make it the most likely candidate for identification with Urua.

276. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium,* (1971), 282-285.

277. Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979), 99.

278. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 182-185.

279. Leemans, *Foreign Trade* (1960), 116, 175.

280. Steinkeller, *ZA* 72 (1982), 237-265, tentatively identifies Bushire with Bashime of the Ur III texts. It is not impossible that the Kur River Basin and Mesopotamia maintained independent contact via the overland route to Bushire and then by sea to Ur, by-passing eastern Khuzistan and Susiana. The sea route to points farther east was also used in the third millennium.

281. Stolper, *ZA* 72 (1982), 54-56; Miroschedji, *RA* 74 (1980), 141.

282. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 156; "The Development of an Urban Settlement System in the Kur River Basin, Iran," forthcoming.

283. See above, pp. 26-28.

284. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 164-173.

285. Sumner, "The Malyan Project" (1980), 7-8.

286. Sumner, "The City Wall," unpublished ms.

287. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 164-166, fig. 6:i, 7:i-m, pl. 4d.

288. Ibid., fig. 6:c, e, g, j, k, pl. 4c.

289. E.g., Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), pl. 30:3-4a-c; Lamberg-Karlovsky, in *Le plateau iranien* (1977), 42-43.

290. Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980), 579-580.

291. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 168-169, figs. 8, 9.

292. Ibid., fig. 10:a-c; cf. Delougaz, OIP 63 (1952), 119-120; pls. 124-125.

293. Carter, *JNES* 38 (1979), fig. 3.

294. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 172, fig. 12:a-h; cf. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), pl. 69:53; pl. 72:82-85; pl. 73:83.

295. H. Pittman, personal communication.

296. Nickerson, "The Study, Analysis and Interpretation of the Human and Animal Figurines from Tal-e Malyan (Anshan), Iran," unpublished B.A. honors paper, Ohio State University (1979), 49; 62-63, figs. 3-9, 14.

297. Stolper, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 91.

298. Sumner, "The Malyan Project" (1980), 5. He considers villages = 3 ha or less; small towns = 4-5 ha; towns = 6-8 ha.

299. Sumner, "The Development of an Urban Settlement System in the Kur River Basin, Iran," forthcoming.

300. Goff, *Iran* 1 (1963), 53, figs. 1-38; *Iran* 2 (1964), 46-48, fig. 7.

301. Pézard, MDP 15 (1914), pls. IV:10, 12, 18, 23, VI:1.

302. Miroschedji, *Ist Annual Symposium* (1972), fig. 6:14-15; Lamberg-Karlovsky, in *Le plateau iranien* (1977), 42-43.

303. Miroschedji, *IA* 16 (1981), 7-9; Amiet, *Elam* (1966), figs. 294-295.

304. Vanden Berghe, *IA* 3 (1963), 33, suggests that these figures were added in the Neo-Elamite period. See p. 187.

305. Amiet, *AA* 26 (1973), 17; Miroschedji, *IA* 16 (1981), 23-25.

306. Goff, *Iran* 9 (1971), 147-148; Young, *IIIrd Annual Symposium* (1975), 27-30; Levine, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 287-290.

307. Goff, *Iran* 9 (1971), fig. 8; Stein, *Old Routes* (1940), 233-313.

308. Vanden Berghe, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 3 (1973), 26; *Archéologia* 63 (1973), 34-35.

309. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 303-309.

310. Stolper, *ZA* 72 (1982), 42-54; and see above, pp. 17-20. Henrickson ("Shimashki, Godin III, and Central Western Iran," paper presented at the 193rd meeting of the American Oriental Society, March 1983) points to the increasing ceramic uniformity among the valleys of the central western Zagros during the late

third and early second millennium. Whether this increasing cultural unity reflects the political phenomenon, Shimashki, remains an open question.

311. Young, *Excavations at Godin Tepe* (1969), 11-23; Stein, *Old Routes* (1940), 280-285; Conteneau and Ghirshman, *Fouilles du Tépé Giyan* (1935), pl. 22, 36:11-12.

312. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), 22-26.

313. See above, pp. 32-35.

314. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 78; Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 213-227; *DAFI* 12 (1981), 36.

315. Schacht, *JFA* 2 (1975), 307-329. Two dates from construction phase III (TUNC 34: 3270 ± 130, MASCA corrected date = 1420 B.C.; TUNC 35: 3298 ± 144, MASCA corrected date = 1448 B.C.) are the only C-14 dates available from Khuzistan for this period.

316. Negahban, *Iran* 7 (1969), 177.

317. Ghirshman, MDP 39 (1966); MDP 40 (1968); Steve MDP 41 (1967); Porada, MDP 42 (1970).

318. Amiet, *Elam* (1966), 390-391, fig. 582; *DAFI* 6 (1976), 47-52.

319. See above, pp. 35-42.

320. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 20.

321. Amiet, *AA* 32 (1976), 13-28, interprets the composition as a visual representation of the genealogical inscriptions of Shilhak-Inshushinak.

arrangements in Mesopotamian palaces and suggests this architectural form marks the *bīt kispim*, a palace funerary quarter.

345. Amiet, *Elam* (1966), 390.

346. Ghirshman, MDP 40 (1968), 31; and see above, pp. 181-185.

347. Ibid., 1, 38; Miroschedji, *RA* 74 (1980), 142-143; Vallat, "Le complexe religieux de Tchogha Zanbil: Le reflet d'une révolution politique," n.d.

348. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 76-78.

349. Ibid., 101.

350. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), group 20b--first found in AXII; Schacht, *JFA* 2 (1975), fig. 6m.

351. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), group 20a--first found in AXII and similar to Chogha Zanbil and Haft Tepe types; cf. Negahban, *Guide* (1977), figs. 27-28; Ghirshman, MDP 39 (1966), pl. 64:7 = pl. 96:G.T-Z. 52.

352. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 45-97. The attributions of illustrated Susa examples should be corrected according to Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), figs. 3-11, n. 28. The Susa pots come from AXI or later; cf. Negahban, *Guide* (1977), figs. 27-28, 31.

353. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 97-98; Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 225; Schacht, *JFA* 2 (1975), fig. 6:a-c, h-j.

354. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), group 21b, plan 8, pl. 22.

355. Ibid., group 19b, plan 8, pl. 20.

356. Ibid., pl. 20:2 This form continues in AXII (pl. 19:8) and is so modified in AXI (pl. 19:6, 7) that it is difficult to reconize it as the same type. Unpublished examples of the latter are known from Haft Tepe. There are no published examples from Chogha Zanbil.

357. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 78.

358. See pp. 174-175; Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 300-301, figs. 38, 56.

359. Carter, *JNES* 38 (1979), 127.

360. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), plans 7-9 group 1, pl. 1; group 19c, pl. 19; group 20a, pl. 21; group HGE, pl. 31:1 6, 7, group 29, pl. 34; group 30, pls. 37-38; group 35b, pl. 44. Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), figs. 51-52.

361. Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 217-227.

362. Ibid., 225.

363. Ghirshman, MDP 39 (1966), 91-92.

364. Ibid., 8-9

365. Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 218-227.

366. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), 258-259; *AA* 26 (1973), 16-18.

367. Amiet, *AA* 26 (1973), 17-18, opts for Napirisha; Miroschedji, *IA* 16 (1981), 15-25, argues for Inshushinak.

368. Amiet, *AA* 26 (1973), 19 and pl. XII. Seal impressions of this type have been discovered on dated Nuzi tablets of the fifteenth century (Porada, *JNES* 5 [1946], 257-259). It is possible that the

type have been discovered on dated Nuzi tablets of the fifteenth century (Porada, *JNES* 5 [1946], 257-259). It is possible that the Elamite style seals in use at Nuzi were heirlooms or that Elamite seals of the seventeenth-sixteenth continued to be used in the fifteenth century.

369. Amiet, *AA* 26 (1973), 20-21.

370. Ibid., 21 and pl. XIII: Z; Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 139.

371. Porada, *Expedition* 13 (1971), fig. 6; Herrero, *DAFI* 6 (1976), no. 7.

372. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 140-147; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), 265-272 and nos. 2054-2120.

373. Steve et al, *IA* 15 (1980), 140-147; cf. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972). Only nos. 2135-2137, 2143 of the series 2131-2147 originally assigned to the Neo-Elamite period are now thought to belong to it. The rest have been redated to the Middle Elamite phase.

374. E.g., Porada, *AAI* (1965), 50-51, figs. 25, 29; MDP 42 (1970), 61; Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), nos. 2063-2064, 2131. Seal 2131 was found in AIX fosse 100 possibly in association with ceramics similar to those found in Ville Royale II 9-8; cf. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), fig. 1: 6-7.

375. Amiet, *Elam* (1966), fig. 232.

376. Cf. Negahban, *Rāhnemāh*, (1351/1972), fig. 37.

377. Amiet, *Elam* (1966), figs. 282-285.

378. Ibid., figs. 280, 291, 297.

404. De Waele, *IA* 16 (1981), fig. 5; Vanden Berghe, *IA* (1963), 3, pl. 9.

405. De Waele, *IA* 16 (1981), fig. 9.

406. De Waele, *Revue des archéologues* 5 (1972), fig. 3; AMI E 6 (1979), 94-95, figs. 1-3 and 9.

407. Vanden Berghe, *IA* 3 (1963), 29-30, saw these principals as the king (south side) and queen (north side) leading the faithful in procession. De Waele, *Archéologia* 60 (1973), 37-38; AMI E 6 (1979), 96-100, suggests that the large figure on the south is a divine statue and identifies the king with the figure shown on the north face. Cf. Calmeyer, *AMI NF* 6 (1973), 141-152, who presents arguments against this interpretation.

408. De Waele, *IA* 16 (1981), figs. 7-8;

409. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), nos. 2062, 2063; Porada MDP 42 (1970), 57-74.

410. Calmeyer, *AMI NF* 6 (1973), 149-152.

411. Sumner, "The Malyan Project" (1980), Tables II, IIIA.

412. H. Pittman, personal communication.

413. Carter and Stolper, *Expedition* 18 (1976), 40-41.

414. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 175; Carter, *VIth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming.

415. Carter and Stolper, *Expedition* 18 (1976), 34.

416. Ghirshman, MDP 40 (1968), plan 13.

417. Stolper, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 91-94.

418. Cf. Clay, BE XIV (1906), pl. XIV: 40-42. I am grateful to U. Seidl for bringing this parallel to my attention.

419. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 172, fig. 12: m-o.

420. Carter, *IIIrd Annual Symposium* (1975), fig. 5; *VIth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming.

421. Carter and Stolper, *Expedition* 18 (1976), 40, figs. 1-6; cf. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), groups 19c, 30b, 35b, and pl. 31:1, 7.

422. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), 174, fig. 13:k-o; Carter, *VIth Annual Symposium*, forthcoming.

423. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 268-270; Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979), 106-113.

424. Jacobs, *Darvazeh Tepe* (1980), 63-83.

425. Ibid., 115-116.

426. Cf. above, pp. 28-44.

427. Only one sherd of Shogha ware has been recovered from the Middle Elamite building at Malyan. Kaftari red wares and Shogha wares may be linked in much the same way that Kaftari buff painted and Qaleh painted wares now seem to be related.

428. Jacobs, *Darvazeh Tepe* (1980), 167.

429. Sumner, "The Malyan Project" (1980); "The Development of an Urban Settlement System in the Kur River Basin, Iran," forthcoming.

430. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologia* 63 (1973), 34-35.

431. Ibid., 35; cf. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), figs. 38, 10:13.

432. Wright, ed., *Farukhabad* (1981), figs. 90:c, 89:e-f, r-t.

433. Meldgaard et al., *Acta Archaeologica* 34 (1963), 121-133; Thrane, *Archaeology* 23 (1970), 26-35; *Actes du VIIe congrès international des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques, 1966* (1970), 124-127.

434. Meldgaard et al., *Acta Archaeologia* 34 (1963), fig. 25.

435. Whether the Guran goblets are closer to lowland Elamite or Mesopotamian Kassite ceramics cannot be answered without full publication of the Guran material. The published examples appear to be slightly more rounded and their shoulders better defined than contemporary Kassite vessels of similar type. Thrane, *Archaeology* 23 (1970), 31; cf. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), group 19c, pl. 19:16-20; Carter and Stolper, *Expedition* 18 (1976), 40.

436. Thrane, personal communication, MASCA corrected dates.

437. Goff-Meade, *Iran* 6 (1968), 126-127; Goff, *Iran* 9 (1971), 132.

438. Goff-Meade, *Iran* 6 (1968), 127; Goff, *Iran* 9 (1971), 150-151; Young, *IIIrd Annual Symposium* (1975), 26-27.

439. Goff, *Iran* 9 (1971), 150-151.

440. Goff, ibid., reports finding goblets similar to Guran phase four examples in the Mahi Dasht. Levine, *IVth Annual Symposium* (1976), 286-290, however, does not record these types in his preliminary publication on the resurvey of the area.

441. Brinkman, AnOr 43 (1968), 104-110, 315-318, 387-389.

442. Moorey, *Catalogue of the Ancient Persian Bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum* (1971), 288-290.

443. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologica* 65 (1973), 16-29; *IA* 10 (1973), 2-52.

444. Moorey, *Iran* 9 (1971), 119; *Catalogue* (1971), 302-309; Porada, *AAI* (1965), 78-89.

445. Goff-Meade, *Iran* 6 (1968), 130.

446. Moorey *Catalogue* (1971), 288-299.

447. See above, p. 153.

448. Porada, *AAI* (1965), 45-73; Amiet, *Elam* (1966), 467-569.

449. Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 60-63.

450. Miroschedji, *Paléorient* 4 (1978), 225-227, Table 3.

451. Miroschedji, *DAFI* 12 (1981), 9-136.

452. Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 56-59; *DAFI* 12 (1981), 143-168.

453. Miroschedji, *DAFI* 12 (1981), 9-136.

454. Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 59, n. 35.

455. Ghirshman, MDP 36 (1954), 15.

456. Morgan, MDP 8 (1905), 34; Amiet, *Elam* (1966), fig. 380; Amiet and M. Lambert, *Syria* 44 (1967), 27-30.

period, whereas concave-sided vessels with incised decoration and knobs should perhaps be dated to a later period. Cf. Muscarella, *JFA* 8 (1981), 349-351. On the difficulties involved in dating the tiles, see Porada, MDP 42 (1970), 45, n. 2 and "Nomads and the Luristan Bronzes," in *Dark Ages and Nomads*, Mellink, ed. (1964), 30-31. Small frit bowls are known on the basis of excavated evidence to be characteristic of the Neo-Elamite I period; cf. Miroschedji, *DAFI* 12 (1981), 38.

484. Reade, *AMI NF* 9 (1976), 97-106.

485. Ibid., pl. 24:1

486. Ibid., 101, pls. 24:2, 25.

487. See above, pp. 46-52.

488. Vanden Berghe, *IA* 3 (1963), 22-39; Amiet, *Elam* (1966), figs. 421-423; De Waele, *Archéologia* 60 (1973), 31-45; *IA* 16 (1981), 45-62.

489. Porada, *AAI* (1965), 66-67; Amiet, *Elam* (1966), figs. 426-428.

490. Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium* (1971), 257; Miroschedji, *DAFI* 12 (1981), 174, reports Neo-Elamite material from Tepe Patak (DL-35) and from several site to the southeast of the Deh Luran plain on the road to Susiana.

491. Wright, ed., *AINX* (1979), 128.

492. De Waele, *Revue des archéologues* 5 (1972), 28-31; Miroschedji, *RA* 76 (1982), 61-62. We have no certain way to identify this ruler, who has been equated with Shutruk-Nahhunte II (c.717-699 B.C.). See above, p. 45, and n. 366.

TABLE 1

Principal Mesopotamian and Elamite Rulers, Old Akkadian and Awan
(c. 2350-2150 B.C.)

Akkadian	*Elam/Susa*	*Kings of Awan* (OB Susa List King)	
	Sanam-shimut (governor, viceroy of Elam)		
Sargon (2334-2279)	Luh-ishan (prince of Elam)	Luhishshan	(8)
	Hishiprashini (king of Elam)	Hishepratep	(9)
Rimush (2278-2270)			
Manishtushu (2269-2255)	Eshpum (governor of Elam)		
Naram-Sin (2254-2218)	Epirmupi (governor of Susa, viceroy of Elam)		
	Ilish-mani (governor of Susa, viceroy of Elam)		
Shar-kali-sharri (2217-2193)	Puzur-Inshushinak (viceroy of Elam, king of Awan)	Puzur-Inshushinak	(12)

TABLE 2

Principal Mesopotamian and Elamite Rulers, Ur III and Shimashki
(c. 2100-1900 B.C.)

Isin	*Ur*	*Elam/Shimashki* (OB Susa King List)		*Date*
	Shulgi (2094-2047)			
	Amar-Sin (2046-2038)			
		Girnamme	(1)	
		Ebarti (I)	(2)	c. 2040
	Shu-Sin (2037-2029)	Tazitta	(3)	
	Ibbi-Sin			
Ishbi-Erra ⟷ (2017-1985)	(2028-2004) ⟷	Kindattu	(6)	c. 2005
		Idaddu I	(7)	
Shu-ilishu (1984-1975)		Tan-Ruhuratir	(8)	c. 1970
		Ebarti (II)	(9)	
Iddin-Dagan (1974-1954)		Idattu (II)	(10)	c. 1925

TABLE 3

Principal Mesopotamian and Elamite Rulers, Old Babylonian and Sukkalmah (c. 1900-1500 B.C.)

Assyria	*Babylon*	*Larsa*	*Elam*	*Date*
		Gungunum (1932-1906)	Ebarat Shilhaha Addahushu	c. 1900
	Sumu-abum (1894-1881)	Sumu-El (1894-1866)		
		Sin-iqisham (1840-1836)		
		Warad-Sin (1835-1823)		
		Rim-Sin (1822-1763)		
Shamshi-Adad I (1813-1781)	←	→	Shiruktuh	c. 1800
			Shimutwartash	
	Hammurapi	←	Ṣiwepalarhuhpak	
Ishme-Dagan I	(1792-1750)	→	Kuduzulush	c. 1765
	Samsu-iluna (1749-1712)			
	Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646-1626)	←	→ Kuk-nashur	c. 1646

TABLE 4

Principal Mesopotamian and Elamite Rulers, Middle Elamite
(c. 1450-1100 B.C.)

Assyria	*Babylonia*	*Elam*	*Date*
	(*a*) *Early Middle Elamite*		
		Kidinu	
		Inshushinak-shar-ilani	c. 1450(?)
	Ea-gamil	Tan-Ruhuratir (II)	
	Ulamburiash		
	Kadashman-Enlil II (1374-1360)	Tepti-ahar	c. 1365
	Kurigalzu II (1332-1308)	Hurbatila	c. 1330
	(*b*) *Ige-halkid Line*		
		Ige-halki	c. 1320
		Pahir-ishshan	
		Attar-kittah	
		Humban-numena	c. 1275
	Kashtiliashu IV	Untash-Napirisha	
Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207)	(1232-1225)	Unpahash-Napirisha	
	Enlil-nadin-shumi (1224)	←→ Kidin-Hutran	c. 1215
	Adad-shuma-iddina (1222-1217)		
	(*c*) *Shutrukid Line*		
		Halludush-Inshushinak	
	Zababa-shuma-iddina (1158)	←→ Shutruk-Nahhunte	c. 1165
Assur-dan I (1178-1133)	Enlil-nadin-ahi (1157-1155)	←→ Kutir-Nahhunte	
		Shilhak-Inshushinak	
	Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104)	←→ Huteludush-Inshushinak	c. 1120
		Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar	

TABLE 5

Principal Mesopotamian and Elamite Rulers, Neo-Elamite
(c. 750-500 B.C.)

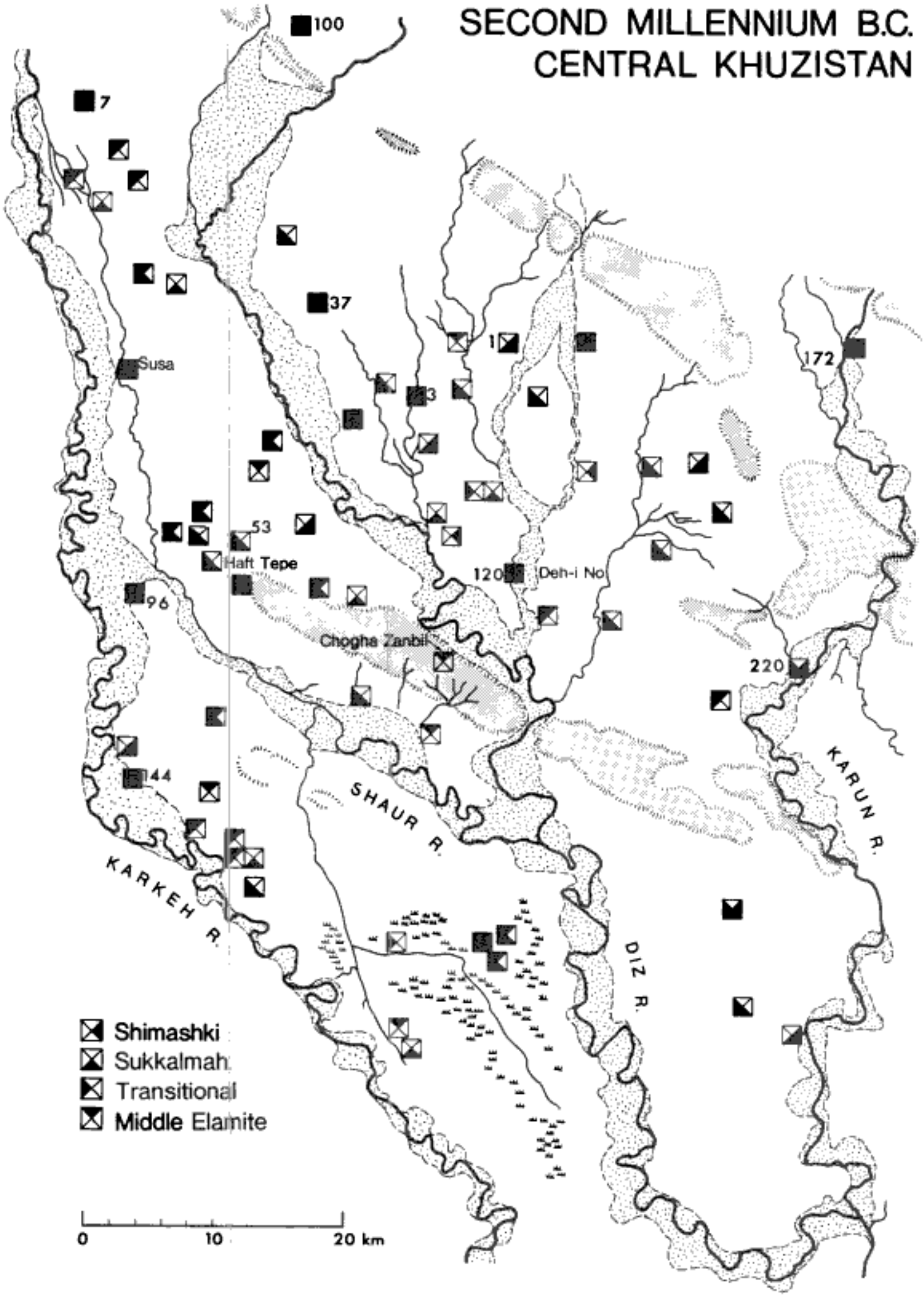
Assyria	*Babylonia*	*Elam*	*Elam (local)*
		(*a*) *Neo-Assyrian/Neo-Elamite*	
	Mar-biti-apla-uṣur (984-979)		
Shamshi-Adad V (823-811)			
		Humban-nikash (743-711)	
Sargon II (721-705)	Merodach-baladan (721-710, 703)	Shutruk-Nahhunte II (716-699)	(Hanni)
Sennacherib (704-681)		Hallushu-Inshushinak (698-693)	
		Kudur-Nahhunte (693-692)	
		Humban-Nimena (692-689)	
		Humban-haltash I (688-681)	
		Humban-haltash II (680-675)	(Shilhak-Inshushinak II)
Esarhaddon (680-669)		Urtaki (674-664?)	
	Shamash-shum-ukin (667-648)	Tepti-Humban--Inshushinak (664?-653)	
Assurbanipal (668-627)		Tammaritu (652-649?)	(Humban-nikash II) (Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak)
		Indabibi (649-648)	
		Humban-haltash III (648-c. 642?)	(Humban-habua, Shutur-Nahhunte, Pa'e)

Figure 1: Map of Iran showing provincial boundaries.

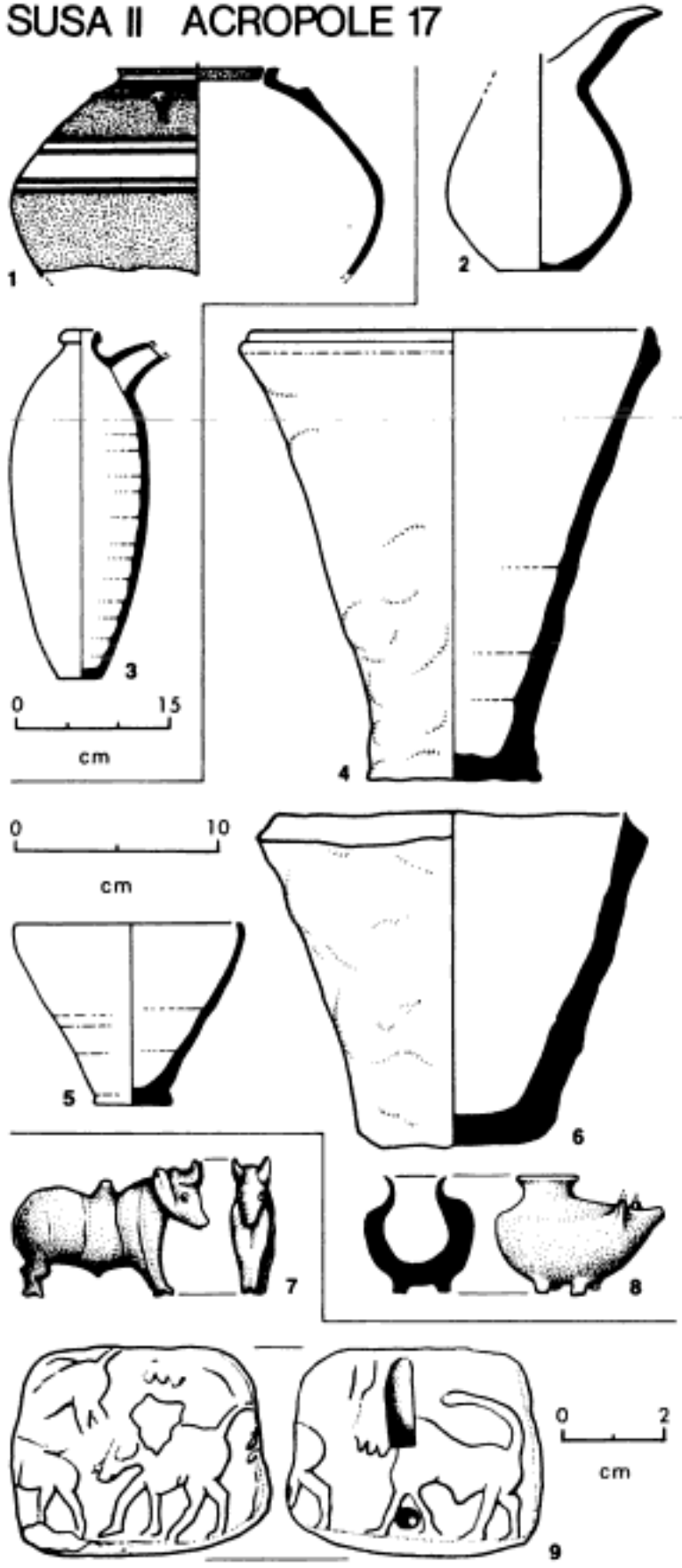

U. S. S. R.
Caspian Sea
T U R K M E N I S T A N
Oxus R.
Chardzhou
Tbilisi
Yerevan
Azerbaijan
LAKE VAN
TURKEY
LAKE URMIA
Gilan
ELBURZ MOUNTAINS
Ashkabad
Mashad
Mosul
Great Zab R.
Little Zab R.
Tigris R.
Tehran
Mazandaran-Gurgan
Central Province
Kurdistan
DASHT-E-KAVIR
Tedzhen R.
Qom
KUH-I-KURSEFID
PISH-I-KUH
KABIR KUH
PUSHT-I-KUH
Isfahan-Yazd
Khorasan
I R A N
AFGHANISTAN
Baghdad
Diyala R.
Euphrates R.
Shatt al Gharraf
Luristan
ZAGROS MOUNTAINS
Isfahan
DASHT-E-LUT
Helmand R.
Karkheh R.
Dez R.
Karun R.
Khuzistan
Ahvaz
Marun
Abadan
Zohreh R.
I R A Q
Shiraz
Kur R.
Kerman
PAKISTAN
Sistan
Fars
Persian Gulf
SAUDI ARABIA
BAHRAIN
QATAR
M A K R A N
Gulf of Oman
0 50 100 200 300 km
0 50 100 200 mi

Figure 3: Map of archaeological sites c. 2000-640 B.C.

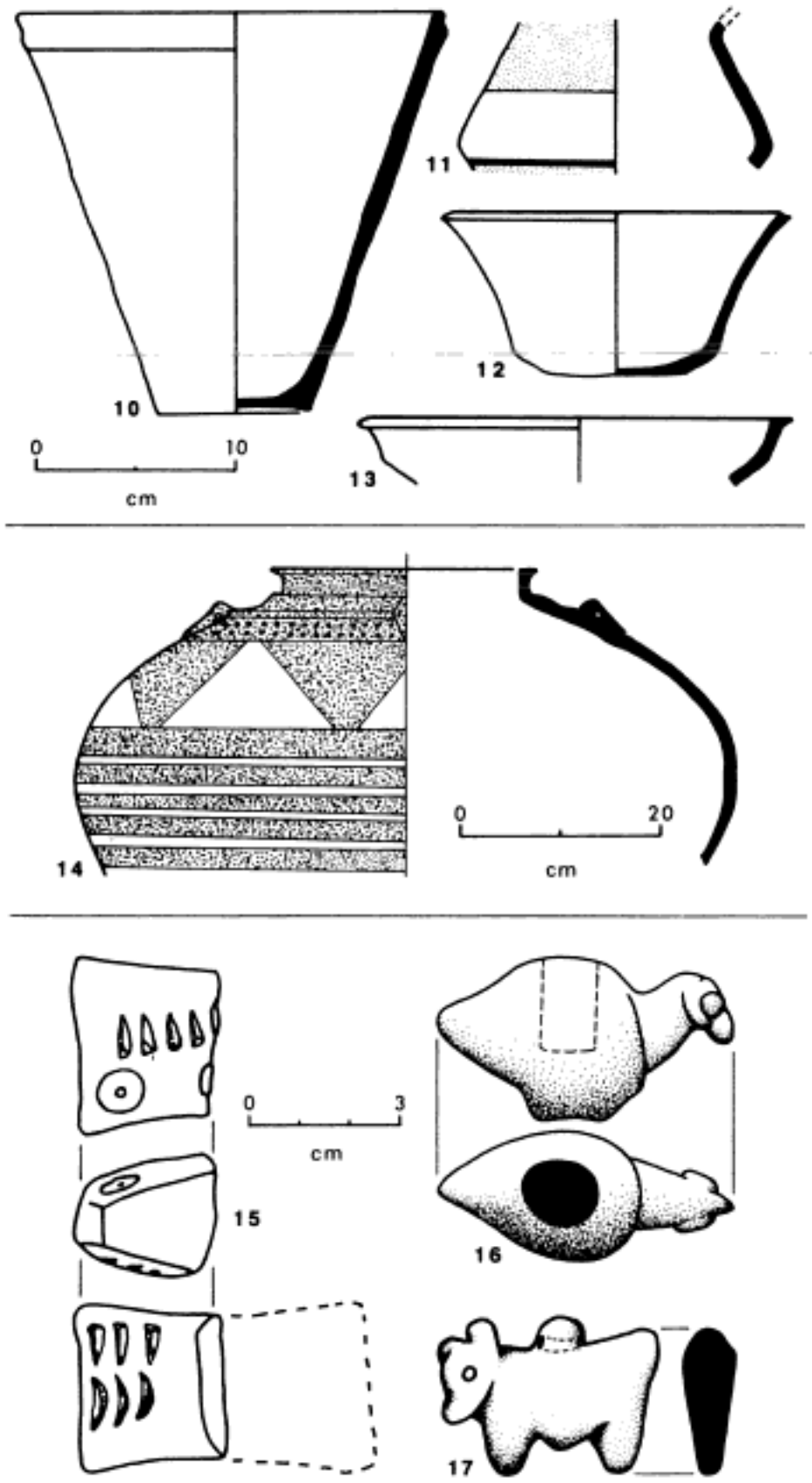
SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.
CENTRAL KHUZISTAN



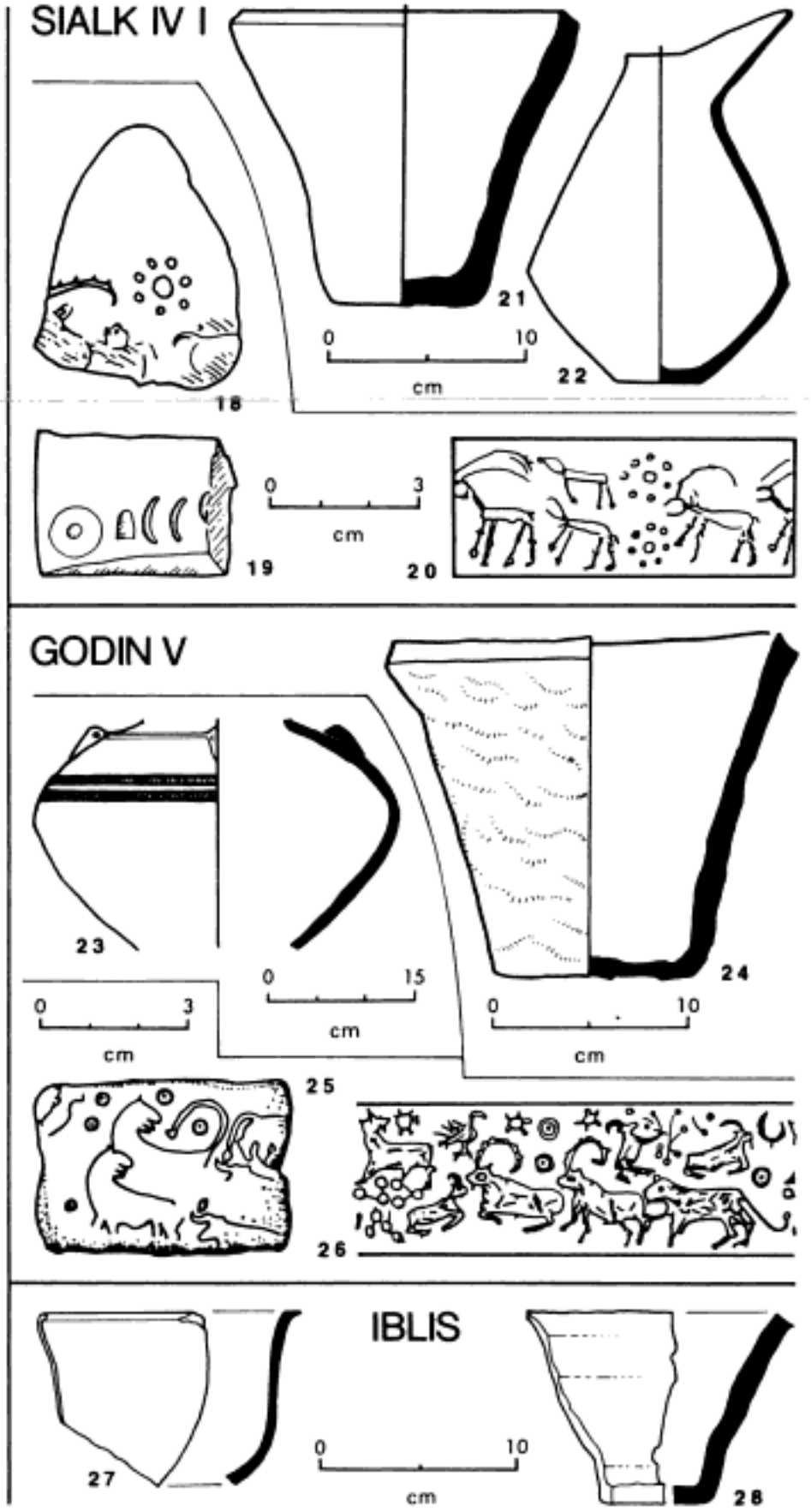
SUSA II ACROPOLE 17



GHAZIR PROTO - ELAMITE



SIALK IV I

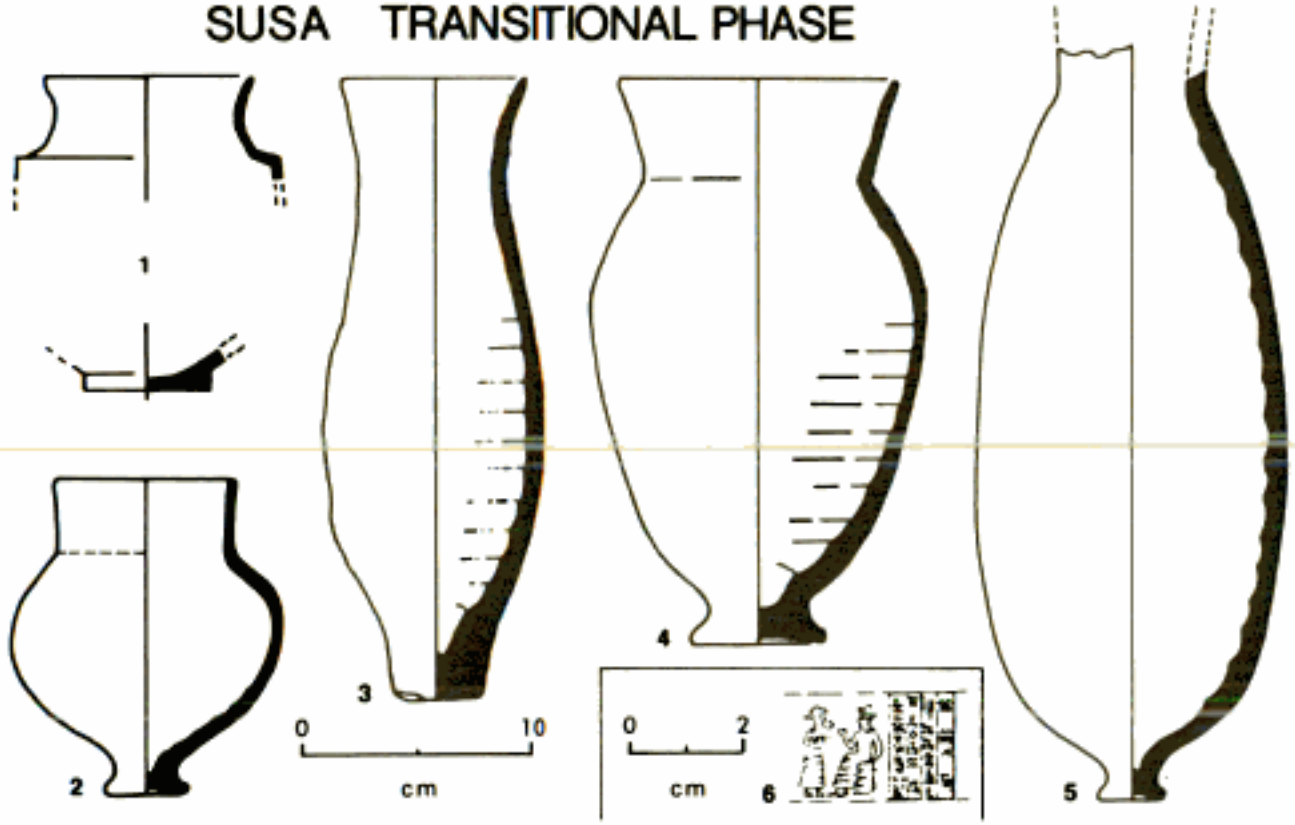


GODIN V

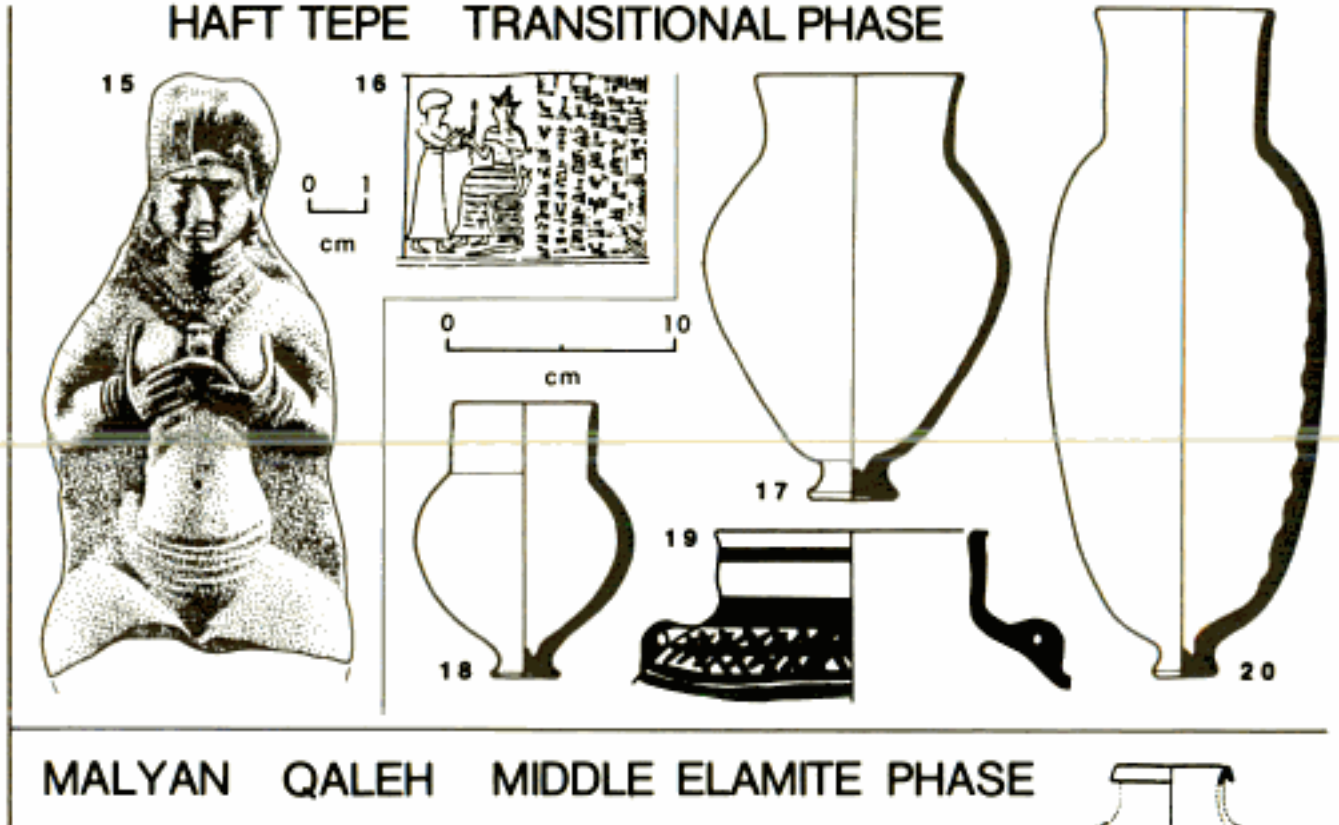
IBLIS

Figure 10: Characteristic artifacts of the early second millennium.

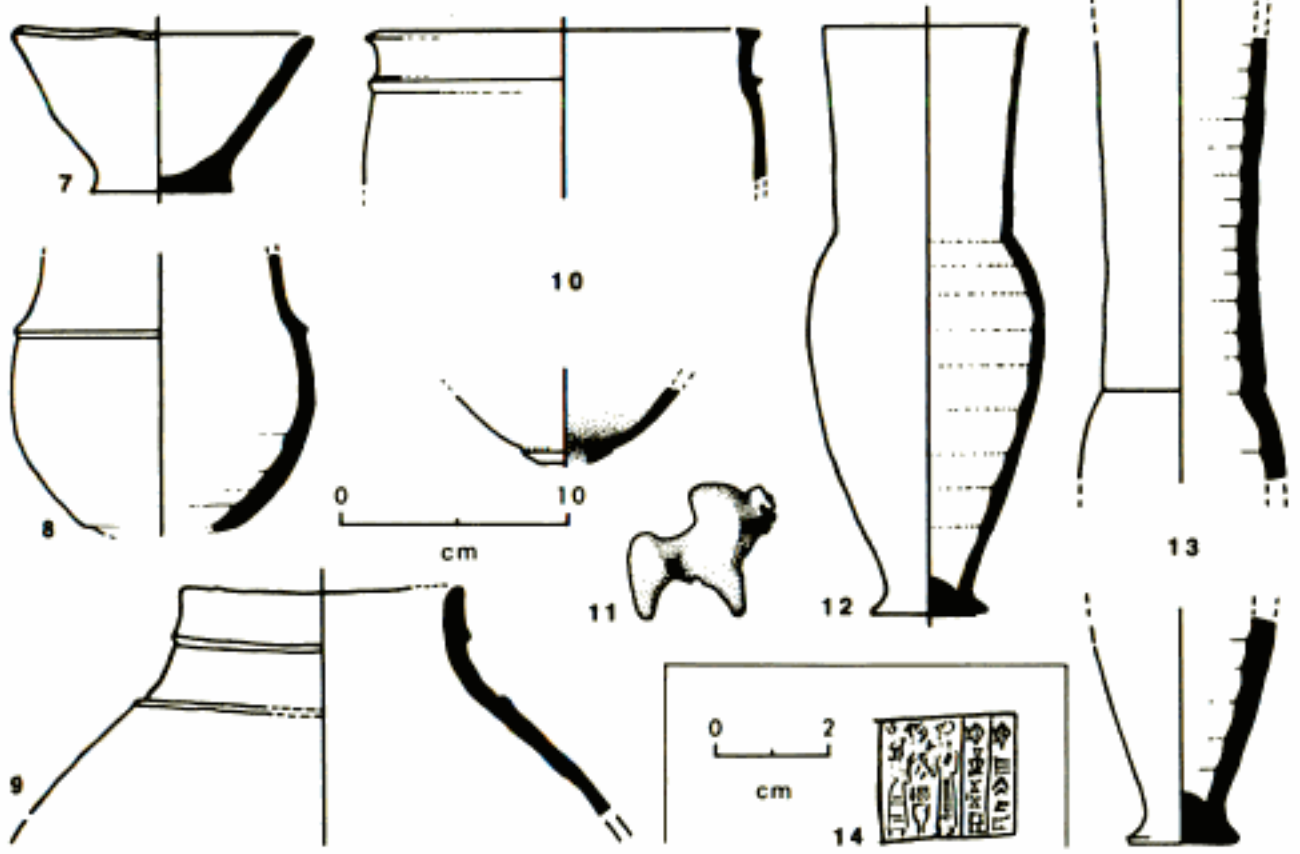
SUSA TRANSITIONAL PHASE



HAFT TEPE TRANSITIONAL PHASE



SUSA MIDDLE ELAMITE PHASE



MALYAN QALEH MIDDLE ELAMITE PHASE

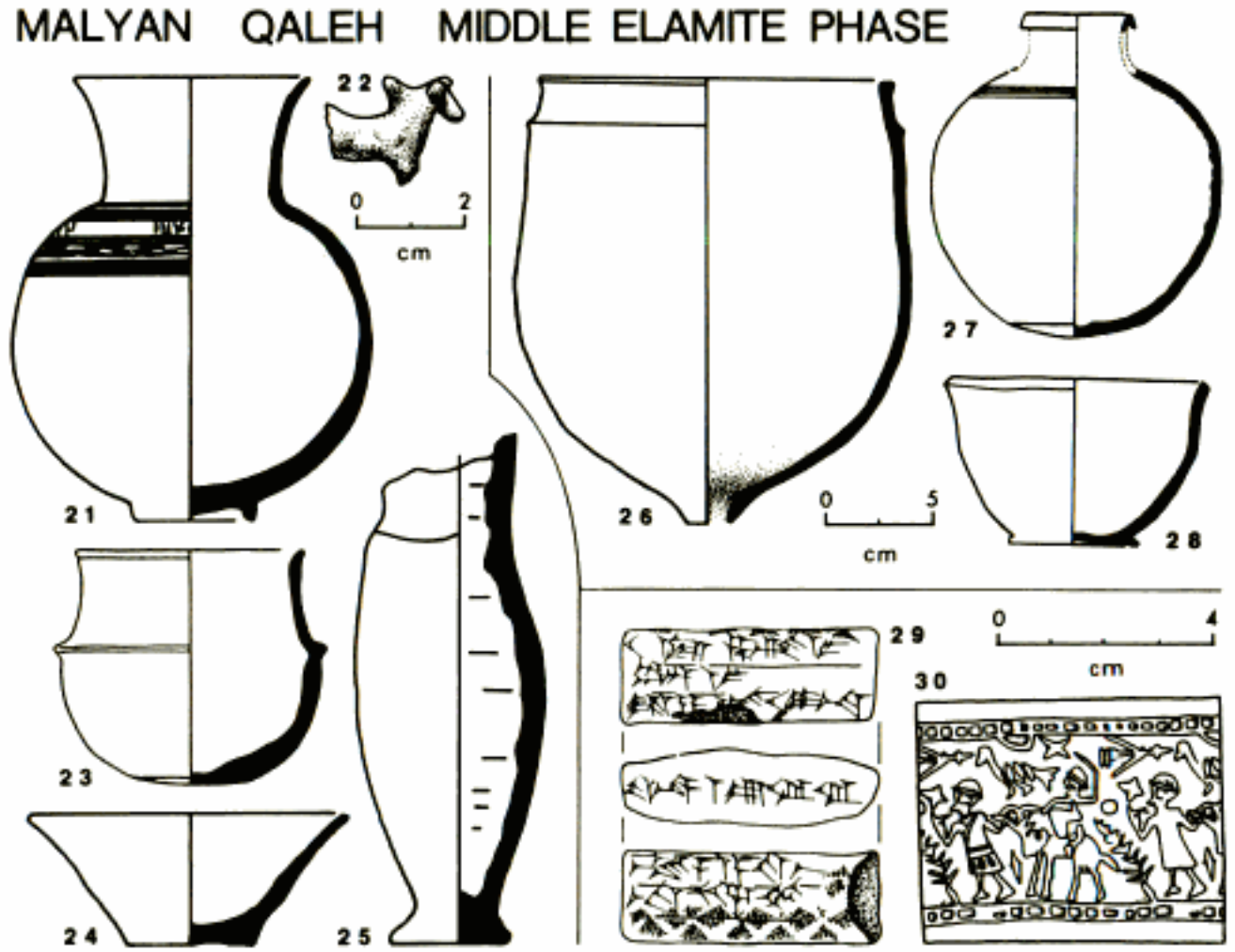
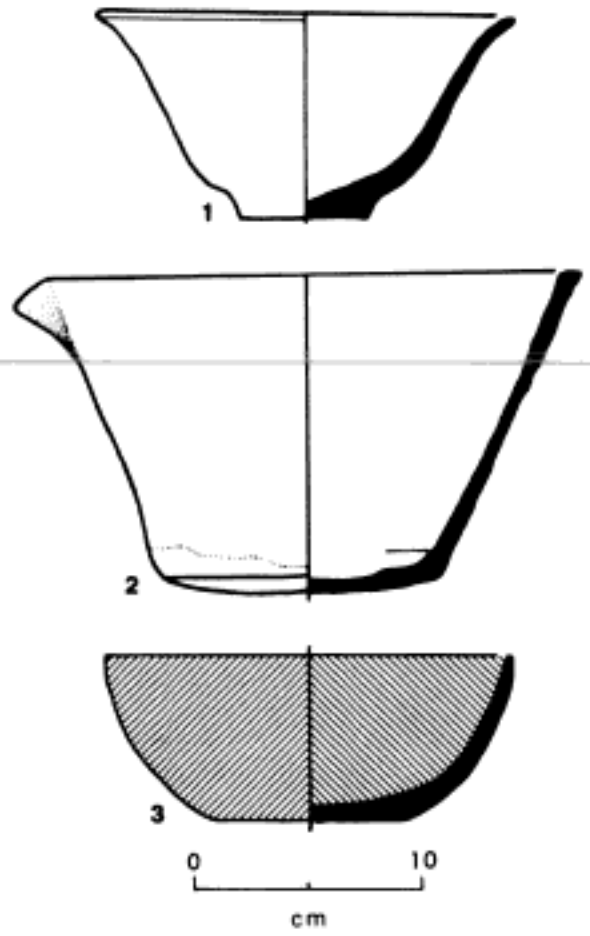
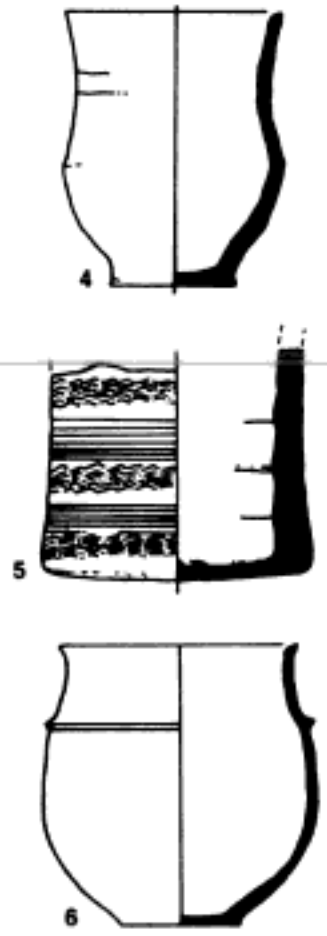
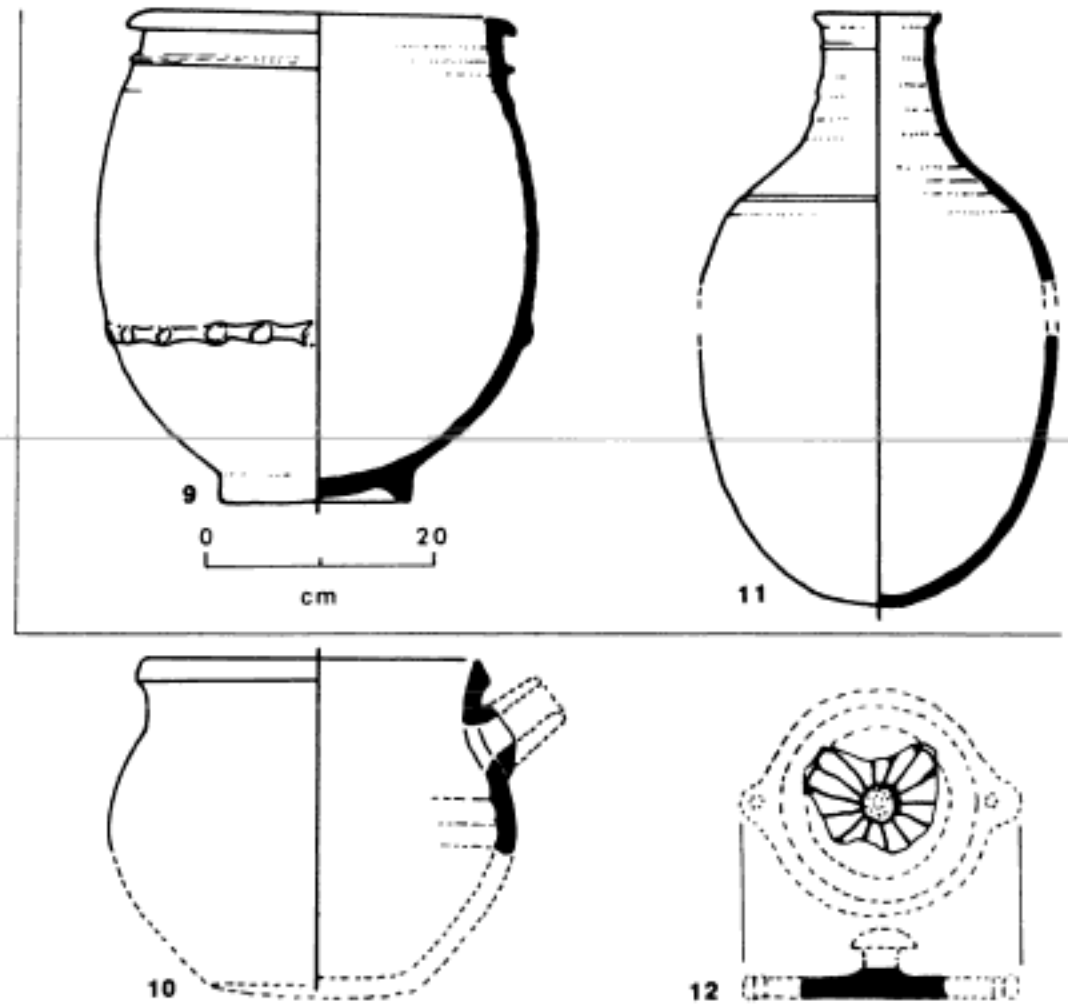


Figure 12: Characteristic artifacts of the early first millennium.

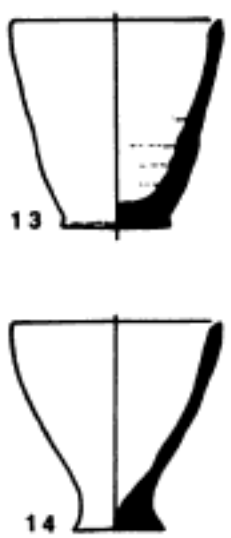
SUSA NEO ELAMITE I PHASE

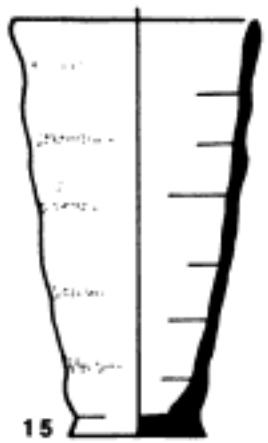


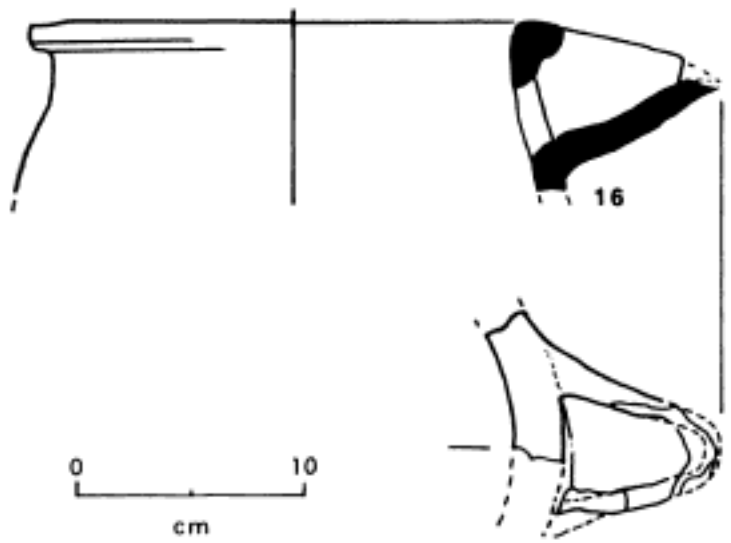


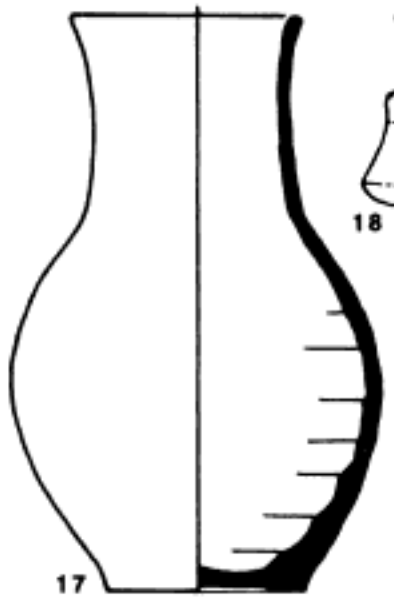


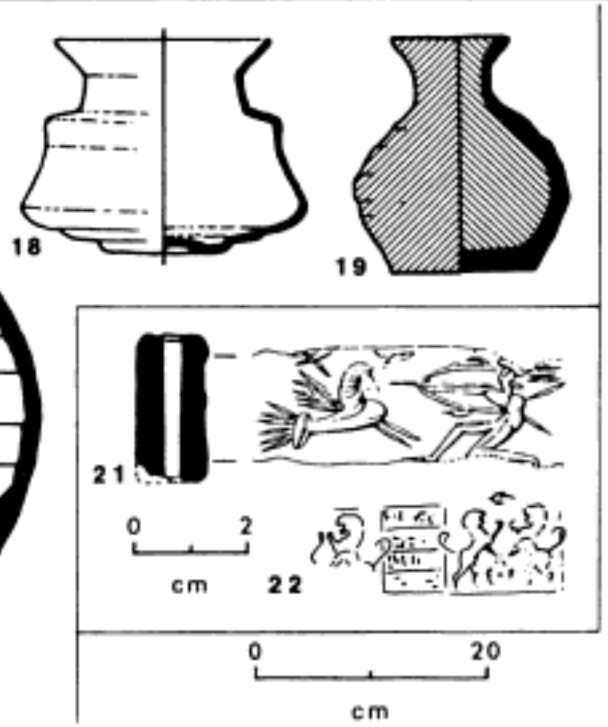
SUSA NEO ELAMITE II PHASE











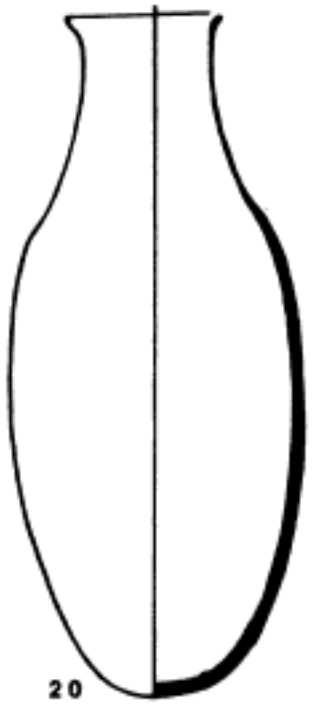


Figure 14: Plan of Malyan (Anshan).

Figure 15: Chronological overview.

Sources for the Figures

Fig. 7: Characteristic Artifacts of the Early Proto-Elamite Period

Susa II

1. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), fig. 53:4, 17.
2. Le Brun, *DAFI* 9 (1978), fig. 24:10, 17B1.
3. Ibid., fig. 30:12, 17B1.
4. Ibid., fig. 20:9, H.S.
5. Ibid., fig. 19:13, H.S.
6. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), fig. 47:11, 17B.
7. Le Brun, *DAFI* 9 (1978), fig. 41:18, 17B2
8. Ibid., fig. 37:2, 17B1.
9. Le Brun, *DAFI* 8 (1978), fig. 8:1, 17B2.

Ghazir, Proto-Elamite

10. Whitcomb, "The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir" (1971), pl. VIII:F, IK.
11. Ibid., pl. VI:E, IK.
12. Ibid., pl. VII:C, TI-5.
13. Ibid., pl. VII:E, I J-6.
14. Ibid., pl. III:A, I J-6.
15. Ibid., pl. XI:A, T-1.
16. Ibid., pl. XI:C, 8-9 surface.
17. Ibid., pl. XI:D, 7-7.5, L2.

Sialk IV 1

18. Ghirshman, *Sialk I* (1938), pl. XCIV, S. 1614.
19. Ibid., pl. XCIII, S. 1623.
20. Ibid., pl. XCIV, S. 48.
21. Ibid., pl. XC, S. 537.
22. Ibid., pl. LXXXVIII, S. 41.

Godin V

23. Weiss and Young, *Iran* 13 (1975), fig. 3:2.
24. Ibid., fig. 3:5.
25. Ibid., fig. 4:5.
26. Ibid., fig. 5:8.

Iblis IV-VI

27. Caldwell, ed., *Iblis* (1967), fig. 39, upper, Iblis VI.
28. Ibid., fig. 39, lower, Iblis VI.

Fig. 8: Characteristic Artifacts of the Late or Classic Proto-Elamite Period.

Susa III

1. Le Brun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), fig. 60:9, Acropole I 15B.
2. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), fig. 13:2, VR I 18.
3. LeBrun, *DAFI* 1 (1971), fig. 61:2, Acropole I 14B.
4. Ibid., fig. 60:4, Acropole I 16.
5. Ibid., fig. 63:1, Acropole I 15.
6. Ibid., fig. 61:13, Acropole I 15.
7. Ibid., fig. 60:17, Acropole I 15.
8. Ibid., fig. 65:9, Acropole I 14A.
9. Ibid., fig. 64:8, Acropole I 15B.
10. Ibid., fig. 58:6 and fig. 59:14, Acropole I 15A.
11. Ibid., fig. 59:9, Acropole I 15A.

Malyan Banesh

12. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), fig. 5:e, ABC II.
13. Ibid., fig. 5:i, ABC IV.
14. Sumner, *Iran* 14 (1976), fig. 8:e, TUV II.
15. Ibid., fig. 6:e, TUV I, mf. 1256.
16. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), fig. 5:j, ABC IV.
17. Ibid., fig. 4:h, TT-F.
18. Ibid., fig. 5:f, ABC II.
19. Unpublished, ABC, III, mf. 02616.
20. Unpublished, TUV III, mf. 1858.
21. Sumner, *Iran* 12 (1974), fig. 12:r, ABC II, mf. 0623
22. Sumner, *Iran* 14 (1976), fig. 5:f, TUV II, mf. 1880.
23. Ibid., fig. 4:l, ABC, II/III, mf. 1572.

Yahya IVC

24. Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980), fig. 39:3, IVC2.
25. Ibid., fig. 38:A3, IVC1.
26. Ibid., fig. 35:E3, IVC1.
27. Ibid., fig. 37:A3, IVC2.
28. Ibid., fig. 29:VI:6.
29. Ibid., fig. 33:G1, IVB6.
30. Ibid., fig. 33:A1, IVC1.
31. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Iran* 9 (1971), fig. 1:1 and 1A, IVC.
32. Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980), fig. 61:b, IVC.
33. Ibid., fig. 62:a, IVC.

Fig. 9: Characteristic Artifacts of the Third Millennium.

Susa IVA (?)

1. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), fig. 29:9, VR I 9.
2. Ibid., fig. 28:14, VR I 9A.
3. Ibid., fig. 25:6, VR I 12.

4. Ibid., fig. 29:4, VR I 9.
5. Ibid., fig. 28:1, VR I 12.
6. Ibid., fig. 24:3, VR I 11.
7. Ibid., fig. 25: 1, VR I 9B.
8. Ibid., fig. 28:7, VR I 10.
9. Ibid., fig. 28:5, VR I 11.

Susa IVB (?)

10. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), fig. 34:3, VR I 8.
11. Ibid., fig. 35:4, VR I 7.
12. Ibid., fig. 33:2, VR I 8.
13. Ibid., fig. 33:1, VR I 8.

Godin III/Baba Jan IV

14. Young, *Godin, First Progress Report* (1969), fig. 20:13.
15. Goff, *Iran* 14 (1976), fig. 11:10.
16. Young, *Godin, First Progress Report* (1969), fig. 20:9,
17. Ibid., fig. 18:2.
18. Goff, *Iran* 14 (1976), fig. 10:3.
19. Young and Levine, *Godin, Second Progress Report* (1974), fig. 28:1.

Pusht-i Kuh

20. Vanden Berghe, *IA* 18 (1983), in press, Dar Tanha.
21. Ibid., in press, Dar Tanha.

Jalyan

22. Miroschedji, *AA* 30 (1974), fig. 11:4.
23. Ibid., fig. 9:4.

Yahya IVB-IVB

24. Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980), fig. 49:D, Yahya IVB1.
25. Ibid., fig. 49:H, Yahya IVB1.
26. Ibid., fig. 49:I, Yahya IVB1.

27. Ibid., fig. 52:1, Yahya IVA4.
28. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Tepe Yahya*: *Progress Report I* (1970), fig. 24:A, Yahya IVB.
29. Potts, *Tradition and Transformation* (1980), fig. 51:L, Yahya IVA (possibly IVA4).
30. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Tepe Yahya*: *Progress Report I*, (1970), fig. 21:A, Yahya IVB.
31. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Iran* 9 (1971), fig. 2:E, Yahya IVB.
32. Ibid., fig. 2:A, Yahya IVB.

Fig. 10: Characteristic Artifacts of the Early Second Millennium

Susa: *Shimashki Phase*

1. Carter, *DAFI* 11 (1980), fig. 49:9, VR I 3-4(?).
2. Ibid., fig. 46:4, VR I 3.
3. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), pl. 18:7, group 18a, VR BVI.
4. Ghirshman, *AA* 17 (1968), fig. 15 bis :19, VR BVII cut from BV.
5. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), pl. 6:13, group 5b, VR BVI.
6. Ibid, pl. 15:9, group 15b, VR BVI.
7. Steve et al., *IA* 15 (1980), 135, no. 3, VR BVI.

Susa: *Sukkalmah Phase*

8. Ghirshman, *AA* 10 (1964), fig. 16, VR AXII. Scale approximate.
9. Gasche, MDP 47 (1973), pl. 20:12, group 19b, VR AXIV.
10. Ibid., pl. 15:3, group 13, VR AXIV.
11. Ibid., pl. 23:27, group 21b, VR AXIV.
12. Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen* (1970), pl. 69, fig. 53, Inshushinak Temple.
13. Amiet, MDP 43 (1972), no. 1899.
14. Steve et al. *IA* 15 (1980), 137, no. 7, VR AXIV.

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