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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE LAST CENTURIES OF ELAM

The Neo-Elamite period



Elynn Gorris and Yasmina Wicks

INTRODUCTION

Spanning the centuries from the fall of the powerful Middle Elamite Šutrukid dynasty (c. 1100 BCE) to the rise of the Achaemenid Persian empire (520 BCE) was the Neo-Elamite period, a time of rapid development in southwest Iran characterized by an increasing cultural diversity and political vitality. During this time, Elam is thought to have roughly encompassed today's provinces of Khuzistan and Fars, remaining as it had been throughout its history a dual highland-lowland cultural entity (Alvarez-Mon 2010: 4–5). Yet our picture of this unique personality remains rather unbalanced because surveys and excavations have focussed largely on the lowland areas, leaving the highland territories relatively unknown.

This overview of Elam in the first half of the 1st millennium commences with a review of Neo-Elamite periodisation and a presentation of the still much-debated dynastic sequences. It will then introduce the reader to the various sites that have produced material evidence for this period of southwestern Iran's history and finish with a brief commentary on Neo-Elamite society.

NEO-ELAMITE PERIODISATION

Scholars have yet to reach a general agreement on a suitable chronology for the Neo-Elamite period, and consequently there are several possible subdivisions based on archaeological, historical or philological material (Table 13.1). From the material evidence at Susa, Pierre de Miroschedji (1981b) determined two Neo-Elamite phases: NE I (1000–725/700 BCE) and NE II (725/700–520 BCE). Using historical data from textual sources, various other scholars have instead defined a tripartite division: NE I (c. 1100/1000–1760/743 BCE), NE II (760/743–653/646 BCE) and NE III (653/646–539/520 BCE). Based on internal linguistics Marie-Joseph Steve (1992: 21–23) established a relative chronology for the late NE III texts and further divided the late NE III period in two sub-phases, A (653–605) and B (605–539). The question of whether the Neo-Elamite period should be concluded at 539 with Cyrus II's ascent to power or with the suppression of the last Elamite revolts during 522–520

Table 13.1 Various periodizations proposed for the Neo-Elamite period

<i>de</i>	<i>Stevé</i>	<i>Vallat</i>	<i>Waters</i>	<i>Malbran-Gorris</i>	<i>Potts</i>
<i>Mirošchedi</i> (1992: 21–22) (1981b)	(1996)	(2000: 3)	<i>Labat</i> (2012)	(2014: 34–36)	(2016: 249–50)
NE I A	1000–900	1100–770	1000–743	1000–760	1100–760
NE I B	725/700	900–750			1000–744
NE II	725/	750–653	770–646	743–646	760–653
NE III A	700–520	653–605	646–585	646–539	653–539
NE III B		605–539	585–539		646–520
					646–539

by Darius I, as commemorated in his Bisitun inscription, remains open to debate, but in the absence of material evidence for Persian rule at Susa before the latter's reign, it is likely that some part of Elam, including Susa, was retained by Elamite rulers until c. 520 (Henkelman 2003b: 262).

NEO-ELAMITE ROYAL DYNASTIES

Two main groups of textual sources, one Mesopotamian and the other Elamite, and also some biblical references (Daniel 8:2; Jeremiah 49:34–39) provide information on Neo-Elamite history. With only a dozen kings attested in indigenous sources over 500 years, scholars have relied heavily on Mesopotamian documentation for their historical reconstructions. Yet these external sources – the Babylonian chronicles (ABC), the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (BIWA, RIMA, RINAP) and the Assyrian state correspondence (ABL; SAA; de Vaan 1995) – must be studied critically. The internal corpus comprises royal monumental inscriptions (EKI 71–73; EKI 77–89; IRS 57–62), inscriptions of Elamite officials (EKI 74–76; Basello 2013), administrative and legal texts (MDP 9; MDP 11 301–309; Weissbach 1902), omena (Scheil 1917: 24) and inscribed seals (Amiet 1973) and other objects (Henkelman 2003a; Alvarez-Mon 2010). Since they do not provide a consistent chronological framework, scholars can only establish a relative chronology for these sources based on linguistic and paleographical criteria.

The dark ages (c. 1100–760 BCE)

After the late Middle Elamite king Hutelurtuš-Inšušinak (c. 1120–1100) was defeated by Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar I at Ulaia River (RIMA 2 35:41–43), historical information on Elam is scant for over 300 years. Nevertheless, a group of Elamite economic texts from Tale-Malyan that may date to the early Neo-Elamite period (Stolper 1984: 7) and occasional Mesopotamian references suggest these Elamite “Dark Ages” are not so dark as they initially seem. The *Dynastic Chronicle* (984–979 BC; ABC 18:13; RIMA 2 87–89) describes a Babylonian king *Mār-bitī-apla-ūsur* as a remote descendant of Elam, and we learn that in 814 an Elamite garrison delivered military support to the Babylonian king *Marduk-balassu-iqbi* (818–813) against

Assyrian Šamši-Adad V (823–811) in the battle of Dur-Papsukkal (RIMA 3 A.o.103iv 38). After an Assyrian victory, it is reported that the people of Der, Parsumaš and Bit-Bunakki abandoned their cities and sought shelter in Elam (SAA 3 41). In the subsequent decades, a document dated to the reign of Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (811–783) mentions an Elamite ambassador at the Nimrud court and wine rations for Elamite court employees (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 145 iv 13, iv 26). Taken together, these references intimate a royal authority in Elam from the late 9th century onwards.

The first Neo-Elamite dynasty (c. 760–689 BCE)

Fifty years after the battle of Dur-Papsukkal, a *Chronicle* (CM 52, iii 7, 21) describes the transfer of inhabitants, women and/or precious gems to Elam on two different occasions by the Babylonian king Nabū-šuma-iškun (760–748). Although the name of an Elamite king is not mentioned, these lavish gifts indicate that Elam was already of great importance to Babylonia before the reign of Huban-nikaš I (743–717), the earliest Neo-Elamite king named in the Babylonian *Chronicle* (ABC 1 9–10), and that the first Neo-Elamite dynasty must have commenced before his accession (Henkelman 2003b: 253). Assurbanipal's *Annals* (BIWA 54 F v 34–39) present Huban-nikaš I as the son of Huban-tahra; perhaps he was the Elamite regent who initially sought rapprochement with the Babylonians, resulting in an alliance a generation later between Huban-nikaš I and Merodach-baladan II against Assyria in the battle of Der in 720.

The Babylonian *Chronicle* provides a sequence of kings from Huban-nikaš I to the accession of Utrak (675–664). The first king, Huban-nikaš I, was succeeded by his nephew or *mar alutišin*, Šutruk-Nahhunte II (717–699) (ABC 1, i 38–40). In the titulary of a text written on a Neo-Elamite foundation stone (EKI 72), an alabaster monumental horn (EKI 71), a stele (EKI 73) and a glazed wall figurine (Amiet 1967: 36–37), Šutruk-Nahhunte identifies himself as the son of Huban-immema who, being omitted from the Babylonian *Chronicle*'s dynastic sequence and the *Annals* of Assurbanipal (BIWA 54 F v 34–39, 241), seems to have been an Elamite nobleman who had married the king's sister (Gorris 2014: 46–53) and never ascended the throne himself (contra Vallat 1996: 389–340; Waters 2000: 16–18, 25–27).

In the Babylonian *Chronicle* (ABC 1, ii 32–4), Šutruk-Nahhunte II is succeeded by his younger brother “Hallušur” or Hallurtuš-Inšušinak I (699–693), who ruled Elam for six years. Yet these regnal years and descent – Huban-immema should be his father – do not correspond to the 15 Elamite bricks (EKI 77; IRS 58) on which Hallurtuš-Inšušinak nominates himself son of Huban-tahra or to a Babylonian adoption contract dating to his 15th regnal year (Weisberg 2003: 15; Tavernier 2014). Paleography and linguistic analyses, in fact, date the brick inscriptions to the Neo-Elamite III (Vallat 1996: 390, 393), making Hallurtuš-Inšušinak, son of Huban-tahra, nearly a century younger than the Hallušu of the Babylonian *Chronicle*. Since there must have been two Neo-Elamite kings with the name Hallurtuš-Inšušinak (Tavernier 2014), the legal text can now be attributed to the early 6th century reign of Hallurtuš-Inšušinak II. After Hallurtuš-Inšušinak I, the *Annals* of Sennacherib (705–681) (RINAP 3.1, 22 v 14–16) assign the Elamite throne successively to his sons Kurur-Nahhunte (693–692) and Huban-menanu (692–688), the latter ascending the throne after his brother was

taken prisoner in a rebellion and killed (ABC 1, iii 13'-14'). In 691 under his command, a coalition of Elamite and Babylonian military forces fought the battle of Halule against the Assyrians.

Vallat (*apud* Steve, Vallat and Gasche 2002/2003: 470-471) collected the kings from Huban-nikaš I to Tammariu together under a single dynastic name: the Hubanids. Since the textual sources are silent on the kinship between Huban-menanu and his successor Huban-haltaš I, however, their family ties cannot be proven (Gorris 2014: 73-79; contra Waters 2006: 499). Furthermore, on the relevant Babylonian Chronicle tablet (ABC 1, iii 27-31) a line indicating a new chapter marks a clear distinction between the two kings, suggesting that after a decennium of court intrigues it was Huban-haltaš I who founded the Hubanid dynasty.

The second Neo-Elamite dynasty: the Hubanids

Very little is known about the first two Hubanid kings except for their regal years which are reported in the Mesopotamian sources. Huban-haltaš I (688-681) remained in power for eight years before dying from a stroke. Although the crucial passage in the Babylonian Chronicle is damaged (ABC 1, iii 30'-33'), he and his successor Huban-haltaš II (681-675) were most likely related to each other in a lineage of first degree. If the missing sign in the text is to be read as the logogram DU_{UR}' son' (CM, 183; Gorris 2014: 74-76; contra Waters 2006: 499), then Huban-haltaš I had at least three sons: Huban-haltaš II, Utrak and Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak. During Huban-haltaš II's reign, Babylonia would become an unstable factor in the Assyrian Empire due to his ongoing involvement in the Sealand region, his attack on Šippar in 675 and his support to southern Mesopotamian tribes. In combination, the Babylonian problems inflicted by the Elamites and the sudden unexpected death of Huban-haltaš II (ABC 1, iv 11'; ABC 14, 16-17) may have prompted Esarhaddon to convince Utrak to commit a *comp d'etat* against his own nephews Kutur-Nahhunte (Kudurrū) and Paru, the two sons of Huban-haltaš II (BIWA 97b iv 81).

For a few years after the accession of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (669-627), Utrak (675-664) would uphold a pro-Assyrian policy (ABC 1, iv 17-18; RINAP 4, 1 v 26-33a; Frame 1992: 83 n. 99). But in 664, presumably under influence of Elamite court officials, including his younger brother Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, he conducted

an invasion of Babylonia, only to be forced into retreat by the Assyrian army. Even though his eldest son Huban-nikaš was actively involved in foreign Elamite politics, after Utrak's death the same year Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak I (664-653) ascended the throne (SAA 10, 341).

With Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak I, an anti-Assyrian faction came into power. The Elamite king Teumman who now enters the Assyrian sources was previously connected by scholars to the Elamite inscriptions of a Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak (EKI 79-85; RS 59-62), but François Vallat (1996: 393) and Jan Tavernier (2004: 33-39) have persuasively argued on linguistic and orthographic grounds that these inscriptions should be dated to the Neo-Elamite III period. Hence, the Teumman of the Assyrian sources will hereafter be designated as Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak I and the later Elamite king as Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak II. During the battle of Til-Tuba in 653 Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak I and his eldest son Tammariu were taken captive and decapitated (BIWA 300). Amongst the Elamite captives of Til-Tuba, there is possibly a first reference to Šurruk/Šurur-Nahhunte (Istamandi), the king of Hidalu (*-653), which is generally assumed to be the highland capital of the Neo-Elamite kingdom (BIWA B vi 49-51; BIWA 306). Although there is no conclusive evidence that Šurruk/Šurur-Nahhunte was a member of the extended Hubanid family (Fuchs 2003: 135), we might assume that he was a ruler from the same generation as the brotherhood of Huban-haltaš II, Utrak and Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak I. The nature of the kingship of Hidalu remains a subject of scholarly debate; it is difficult to say whether it should be understood as a governorship (Henkelman 2003b: 254-255; 2008: 12-13; Fuchs 2003: 135), a semi-autonomous political status (Potts 2010: 123) or an independent kingdom (BIWA F iv 57-58).

Following the battle of Til-Tuba, Assurbanipal installed the sibling kings Huban-nikaš II (653-652/1) and Tammariu (653-?), sons of Utrak, on the thrones of Elam and Hidalu, respectively (BIWA B vi 85-86). It was probably the Assyrian succession model that he imposed on these Elamite client kings (SAA 3, 31; contra Waters 2000: 56; Henkelman 2012: 432) who had been sheltering in his court against the wrath of their uncle Teumman for the ten years prior (Potts 2016: 269-270). Huban-nikaš II, however, quickly turned against Assyria, providing military support to Assurbanipal's rebellious brother Šamaš-sum-ukin in the battle of Mangisu (652/1) (BIWA F iii 6-9, C vii 128-129). The alliance was defeated.

The anti-Assyrian Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak I branch now regained power with Tammariu (652/1-650), not to be confused with the ruler of Hidalu (BIWA A iv 1-2; Frame 1992: 183). This Tammariu's father, Huban-haltaš, was a son of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak I (BIWA F iii 21-26, B vii 58-63) and had lived with his family in exile in the Elamite frontier fortress Bit-Imbi (BIWA F iii 57-61) (for a discussion on Tammariu's descent, see Gorris 2014: 92-99). Tammariu was soon dethroned after an internal revolt (BIWA A vi 11; F iii 19-20) and escaped with the royal family to Assyria where he was granted asylum by Assurbanipal (BIWA 315; de Vaan 1995: 252).

The Elamite rebel kings (650-645 BCE)

During the five years following the reign of Tammariu, Elamite internal politics escalated in a struggle for power between pro- and anti-Assyrian political and military factions. Assurbanipal took advantage of the internal impasse to strengthen his own

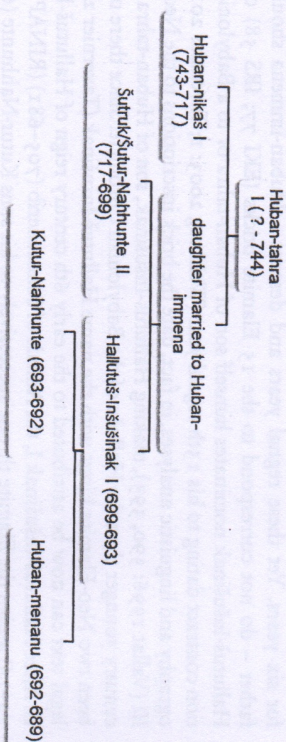


Figure 13.1 The First Neo-Elamite Dynasty.

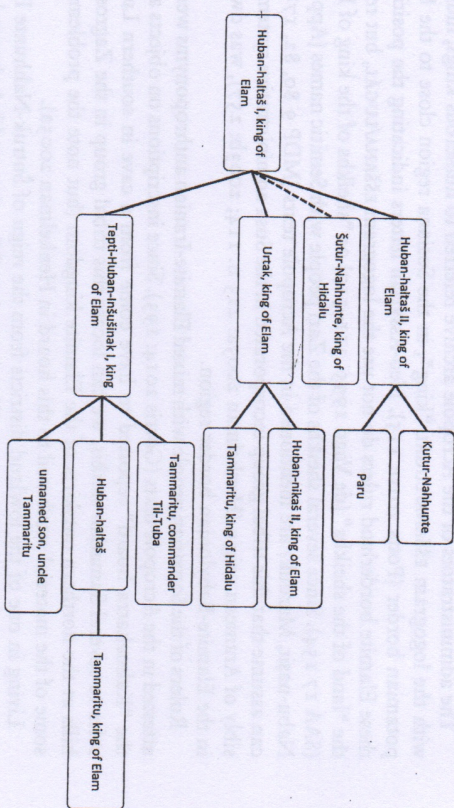


Figure 13.2 The Hubanid dynasty.

influence in Elam. Indapipi (650/649–648), a servant of Tamaritu (BIWA 42, 110), came into power after a *cont d'état* (BIWA B vii 54–78). But his refusal to extradite Nabu-bel-šumati, the rebellious prince of Sealand, caused Indapipi's pro-Assyrian policy (Waters 2000: 66) and his reign to come to an end (BIWA C ix 83).

The reign of Huban-haltaš III (648–645), a member of the Elamite military elite (Waters 2000: 69), was repeatedly interrupted by internal Elamite uprisings and Assyrian military campaigns against Elam. When he abandoned his capital, Madaktu, in the face of the approaching Assyrian army, Huban-habua (647), the local ruler of Puplu, temporarily seized power in the Susiana region (Waters 2000: 71; contra Fuchs 2003: 133). Soon afterwards, however, the Assyrian army reinstalled the Hubanid Tamaritu (647), who had received asylum in Assyria after his dethronement, as king of Elam (BIWA A v 21–22). After Tamaritu's rebellion against his Assyrian overlord (BIWA F iii 72–74; ABL 1311+), Huban-haltaš III, who had been hiding in his mountain stronghold, reclaimed the throne. His second tenure of office was overshadowed by the second Assyrian military campaign (BIWA F iv 17–18), which led to the battle at Dur-Uraš (BIWA F iv 29–66) and the sack of Susa in 646.

After the sack of Susa, another short-lived Elamite ruler named Pa'e arose (BIWA A vii 51–57), but shortly thereafter Huban-haltaš III recaptured the Elamite throne (BIWA A vii 9–15) for a third tenure (646–645). His continued rejection of Assurbanipal's demands to give up Nabu-bel-šumati (BIWA A x 6–7) induced one of his servants, perhaps the local ruler Huban-nikaš, son of Amedirra (de Vaan 1995: 240–241; contra Waters 2000: 73), to start a rebellion against him and he was taken alive by Assurbanipal in his mountain stronghold, Murbisi (BIWA A x 8–16). After his capture Elam was left destabilized but certainly not desolated as the Assyrians claimed. In any case, Mesopotamian sources now fall silent on Neo-Elamite royal power.

The Elamite kings after the sack of Susa (645–520 BCE)

While the Mesopotamian sources for the NE II period focused mainly on the royal authority of the Elamite kings in Susa (and Madaktu), the Elamite sources available for the NE III period give a better insight into Elamite state structure and royal power. In contrast to the Mesopotamian sources which present the Neo-Elamite kingdom as a centralized entity comparable with the Neo-Assyrian state structure (Waters 2000: 107; Fuchs 2003: 129), the late Neo-Elamite texts reveal a strong network of local rulers, especially in the border regions, who were bound by loyalty to the king of Anshan and Susa. This decentralized government does not signal the fragmentation of a once-unified Neo-Elamite kingdom (Henkelman 2008: 12–17) but rather represents an efficient system to bind together the various regions (highland-lowland) and tribal entities (Gorris 2014: 302–314).

The late Elamite kings at Susa

The oldest Elamite inscriptions of the NE III period – the Kul-e Farah I rock relief inscription (EKI 75) of Hanne, *Kutur* of Avapir, a cornelian bead (Vallat 2011), a gold “ring” from a tomb near Ram Hormuz (discussed below) and the so-called Jerusalem cylinder seal (Amiet 1973: n. 34) – are attributed to the reign of Šurur-Nahhunte. Tavernier (2004: 20–21) connected Šurur-Nahhunte to the Jerusalem seal, making him the son of Indada and father of Huban-kitin. If Indada had been a king, then Tavernier's proposed regnal date for Šurur-Nahhunte between 635 and 610 would be highly plausible, and Indada could bridge the gap with the last Neo-Elamite king, Huban-haltaš III, found in the Assyrian sources. As a consequence, Šurur-Nahhunte was probably the Elamite king who received the Elamite cult statues from Uruk returned by Nabopolassar II in 626 (ABC 2).

The second Hallutuš-Inšušinak (c. 598/93–583/78) must have brought considerable stability to the Elamite kingdom. The Babylonian adoption contract dated to the 15th year of his lengthy reign (Weisberg 2003: 1; Tavernier 2014) was probably written around 589–578, given its archaeological context and its relation to the Iqša archive, meaning that the beginning of his reign aligns with the early Iqša contracts dated between 598 and 593 (Gorris 2014: 136–142). Vallat (1996: 290, 393; 2002) and Tavernier (2004: 39) appropriately attributed a late NE IIIB date to the 15 Elamite inscribed bricks (EKI 77; IRS 58) and the wall knob (MDP 53 50–51 Pl. 9:6) of Hallutuš-Inšušinak II, since he must have ruled for several years before concluding his restoration works on the Inšušinak temple.

The Urru bronze plaque, a charter ordered in service of king Huban-Šururuk, son of Šati-bupiti, the paramount ruler of Elam at Susa (Bassello 2013: 258; contra Henkelman 2003b: 238; 2008: 315), dates to the early 6th century according to the glyptic style of its engraved pseudo-sealing (Amiet 1973: 10–11, n. 28). If Huban-Šururuk was the paramount ruler granting privileges to the principal person in the plaque's text, Urru, and the other Gīsatians, then Urru must have been the local ruler of Gīsati, an important cultic centre in the Elamite highlands (Henkelman 2008: 314–315, n. 729).

King Atra-hamiti-Inšušinak, son of Huran-Tepti, not to be confused with Atramenu of the Assyrian sources (Stolper 1992a: 199), can be dated to the first half of the 6th century based on the orthographic and paleographic features of an inscribed stele he

left behind at Susa (EKI 86–89). This regent adopts the traditional Middle Elamite title “King of Anshan and Susa” and refers to his military deeds against two cities Samaršišu and Pessime (EKI 86:12, 15). Gisat and Hinhur, two highland locations in the vicinity of the Elamite stronghold Hidalu, are also prominent in the text (EKI 88:4). Since these military campaigns were intended to (re)gain the loyalty of the highland lords, one could assume that his reign predates the Teispid dynasty, that is, 2nd quarter 6th century, excluding an identification with the late Elamite rebel king Aθamata (Gorris 2014: 154–155; contra Waters 2000: 85; Tavernier 2004: 24–30).

The activities of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak II, son of Šilhak-Inšušinak, are known to us through several inscribed bricks (EKI 80–84; IRS 59–62) and steles (EKI 79; EKI 85): he built a wooden portico (EKI 79) on the Inšušinak temple (EKI 82–84; IRS 59–62), constructed the Pingir temple, held a cultic feast in the groves (EKI 85) and conducted military campaigns against the Balahute and Lallari people (EKI 80; IRS 62), in southern Luristan (Vallat 1993: 33). Within a relative dating of the late Neo-Elamite royal inscriptions, these texts should be clustered with the Atra-hamiti-Inshushinak stele. Vallat (1996: 391–394) and Tavernier (2004: 27, 39) placed the reign of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak II around 550–530, which would make him a vassal king of the Teispid king Cyrus II the Great.

The listing of three Elamite revolts (522–520) in Darius I’s Bisitun inscription suggests that Elam, or at least the Elamite lowland, was not yet under complete Achaemenid domination before his reign (Henkelman 2003b: 262). After the highland revolt of Haššima (DBe, p.1:16) and Martiya (DB II.23) the Elamite Atra-hamiti-Inšušinak (*Aθamata* in Old Persian), who probably assumed the royal name of the last great Neo-Elamite king Atra-hamiti-Inšušinak to enforce his claim on the Elamite crown, marched against Darius (DBp v: 71). Upon his defeat Elam was incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire.

Local rulers of the Neo-Elamite period

The above-mentioned rulers of Ayapir, Gisat and Hidalu attest to a decentralized government system for the Elamite highlands. For the political situation in the lowlands, abundant information is provided by the Susa Acropole archive, which documents a Susa-based administrative network managing various goods (tools, weapons and textiles) for a short period in the late 7th to early 6th century (MDP 9; Basello and Giovinazzo Chapter 24 this volume). Vallat’s (1996: 389, 393) hypothesis that *smrki* (Elamite “king”) Ummannu was paramount ruler of Elam during the era of these texts is rather doubtful, because the particular text (MDP 9 165) in which he appears is related to the Zari people (MDP 9 158; MDP 11 305), has a Babylonian character (Basello 2011: 74–75) and has no geographical reference to Susa (Gorris 2014: 131). Ummannu was therefore presumably a local ruler under the authority of Hallutūš-Inšušinak or the Elamite king predating his reign (Gorris 2014: 128–132). If Vallat’s (1996: 389, 393; contra EKI, 169 n. 15) identification of Ummannu, Šilhak-Inšušinak’s father, with the Ummannu of the Acropole texts (i.e. end of the 7th century; MDP 9 165) is accepted, then Šilhak-Inšušinak must also have been a local king (Gorris 2014: 134–135). His votive inscription on a door socket (EKI 78) to DIL.BAT, a goddess venerated at the outskirts of the Neo-Elamite kingdom rather than in Susa, seems to prove this hypothesis.

The administrators of the Acropole archive referred to numerous kings, indicated with the logogram eŠKAN/LUGÁL “king”, in the Susiana region close to the Mesopotamian border (Potts 2010: 115). Neo-Assyrian letters indicating the position of these Elamite borderland rulers do not use the logogram eŠKAN/LUGÁL, but refer to the “land of the sheikhs” (de Vaan 1995: 311–317) or “sheikhs of the king of Elam” (SAA 17 154). Since several sheikhs of the Zari people with Semitic names (Appalaya, Nabu-našir, Marduk) are mentioned in the Acropole texts (MDP 9 80, 82, 178), we can assume that this tribal group incorporated in the Susa administrative system, possibly of Aramean origin (Henkelman 2003a: 213 n. 114; 2003b: 257), was dwelling in the Elamite-Babylonian border region.

Rulers of the Samatian people with mixed Elamite-Iranian anthroponyms were also attested in the Acropole texts (Gorris 2014: 193). Since inscriptions on objects among the “Kalmakarra hoard” reported to have come from a cave in southern Luristan refer to several Samatan *smrki*s, we can locate this tribal group in the Zagros foothills at the northern outskirts of the Elamite kingdom (but note the problems with some of the material attributed to this hoard in Henkelman 2003a).

Living in one of the lowland districts from the reign of Šutruk-Nāhunte II were the people of Zamīn (EKI 74), an Elamite region (Nin 5) most likely located in the Tupliš area near the Babylonian border (SAA 17 152:5; Gorris 2017: n. 6). The ruler of Zamīn (Nin 1; 10; 14; Gorris 2013; MDP 9 88) was a sheikh Bahuri (Nin 25:5; 11; MDP 9 281; Steve, Vallat and Gasche 2002/2003: 481) who commissioned the Elamite Nineveh letters (c. 630–620). In one letter (Nin 13:1–5), Bahuri forwards messages of the sheikh of Harat(n), probably an Elamite fortress in the Araši region connected by road to Zamīn and Susa (Gorris 2017).

NEO-ELAMITE MATERIAL REMAINS

A brief journey around the archaeological vestiges of the Neo-Elamite world now takes us from the lowland plain of Deh Luran onto the large tell of Susa in Susiana and then into the Zagros foothills and onto Malyan in the more isolated highlands to the east (locations indicated in Figure 13.3). Ceramics with Neo-Elamite comparisons have also been found around Tole-e Peyru (ancient Liyan) on the marshy coast to the southwest near Bushehr where a second-millennium Elamite presence is already recognised (Carter et al. 2006: 89–94; Potts 2016: 15), but these finds and their significance require further study. With the exception of the few inscribed objects noted above, it is almost impossible to match the people and events found in textual sources with the material evidence from the various sites with attested Neo-Elamite presence, or even to locate the mentioned toponyms on the ground. The discussion, therefore, proceeds quite independently from the historical outline, following de Miroschedj’s bipartite NE/NE II division established through excavations at Susa.

The lowlands

Traditionally a key location along an important foothill route linking Susa with the Diyala and Upper Mesopotamia, Deh Luran has no attested settlement at the outset of the first millennium but appears to have been (re-)established shortly thereafter (Wright and Neely 2010: 114). Although excavations have yet to be undertaken in

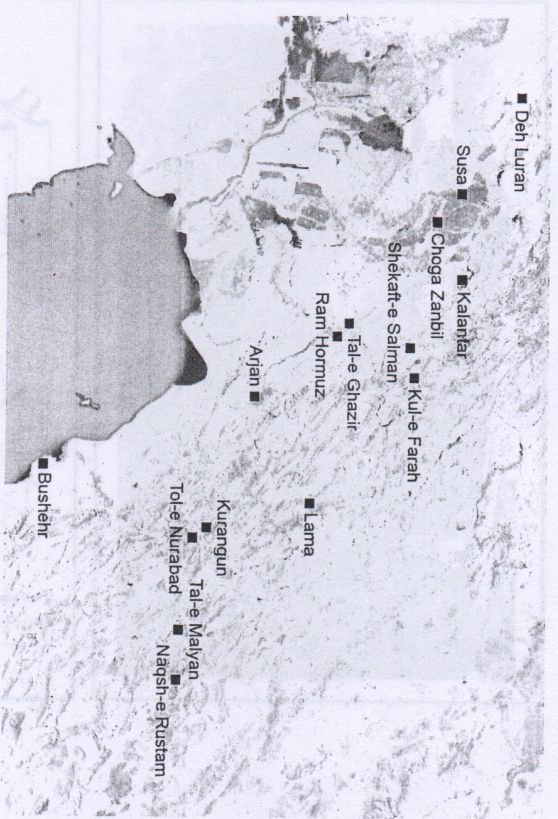


Figure 13.3 Map indicating main sites mentioned in text (Google Earth 2016).

the area, ample Neo-Elamite sherds have been collected particularly around Tepe Patak, Yam Kosh and Gārān (Carter and Wright 2010: 15). These three sites are regularly distributed from east to west approximately 16–17 km apart, pointing to a transport route along the northeastern slopes of the plain (Wright 2010: 91).

Progressing south onto the Susiana plain, surveys have identified 20 sites with indications of NE I habitation and six with NE II (de Miroschedji 1981c: 170–171, Figs. 55–58). An intensification of settlement on the southeastern side, east of the Dez river, along the road to Ram Hormuz suggests Susiana’s inhabitants were deserting the more exposed parts of the plain (Carter 2007: 143–144, 146). Despite its vacillating fortunes, the lowland Elamite capital of Susa continued to be inhabited throughout this period. Comprised of four mounds – the Acropole, Apadana, Ville Royale and Ville des Artisans – its imposing tell was the focus of large-scale excavations by the French archaeological delegation from the late 19th century (see Figure 13.4). In the early years of investigation, Jacques de Morgan reached Neo-Elamite layers on the Acropole in his trenches 7, 8, 13 and 15–18 (de Miroschedji 1978: 213), where he yielded the fragments of two inscribed steles dating to Šutruk-Nahhunte II’s reign, the famed bitumen relief depicting a seated elite woman spinning thread, and the fragments of Atta-Hamiti-Inšūšinak II’s inscribed stèle depicting the elaborately costumed regent seated before another elite individual (recently identified as an Elamite lord; see Gorris 2014: 156). This mound had long served as the cultic hub of Susa and its continued religious importance is signalled by a rare Neo-Elamite architectural find: a square, single-room temple on its southeast side housing an “altar” decorated with griffins, horses, lions, winged scorpions and vegetal motifs (Amiet

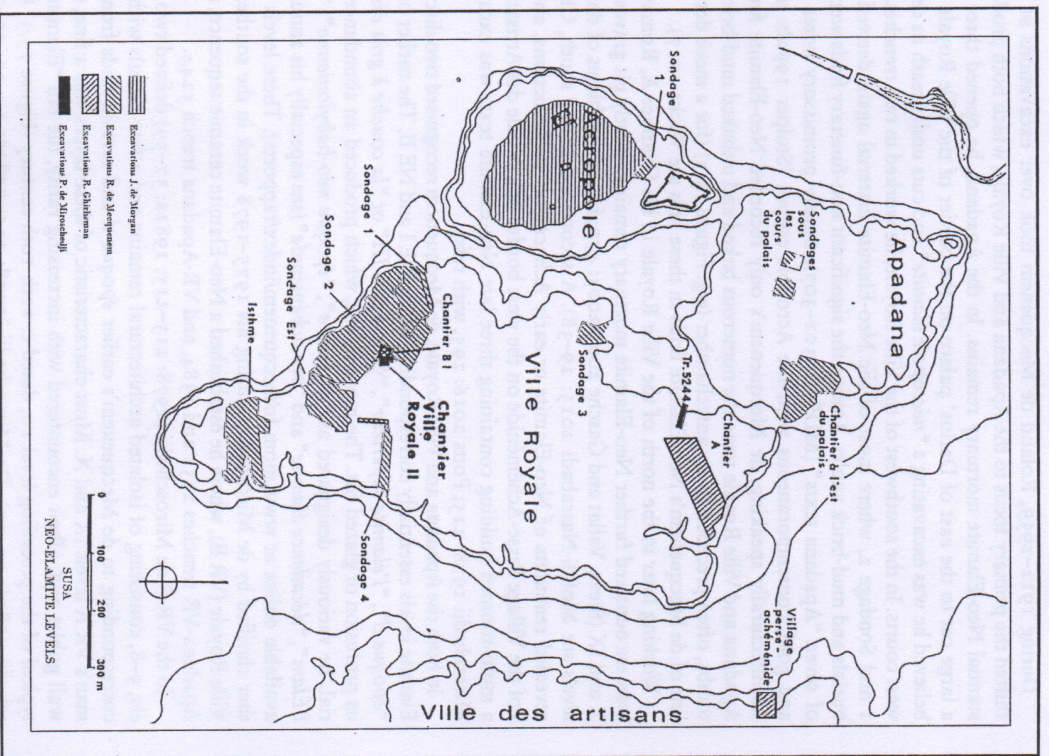


Figure 13.4 Plan of tell of Susa indicating excavation areas (from de Miroschedji 1978: Figure 48).

1966: 505, 518–522). Associated inscribed glazed bricks suggest its dedication by Šutruk-Nahhunte II and Hallurtuš-Inšūšinak II to the principal Susian deity Inšūšinak (Steve 1987: 50, n. 154). Nearby, the Acropole texts were found in what was evidently a Neo-Elamite building (Alvarez-Mon 2010: 198, Pl. 100).

During 1912–1939, Roland de Mecquenem took over excavations at Susa and shifted the primary focus to the Apadana and Ville Royale, which both produced substantial Neo-Elamite mortuary remains. In the Apadana, he opened three trenches: a large cut to the east of Darius' palace on the border of the Ville Royale where he believed he was excavating a "néropole élamite" and cuts underneath its central and west courts. In the southwest of the Ville Royale, he worked in two trenches, Sondage 1 and Sondage 2, where most of the Neo-Elamite material again derived from pit burials and mud-brick vaults. Among the significant non-funerary finds were a group of seven "Apadana texts" (MDP 11 301–307), mostly promissory notes for silver and gold, contemporaneous with the Acropole corpus (Stolper 1992b: 267–268). Architecturally speaking, de Mecquenem's only recorded Neo-Elamite finds in the Apadana and Ville Royale were the numerous baked and unbaked mud-brick vaulted tombs, often preceded by an antechamber (e.g., Figure 13.5) (for a more detailed outline of de Mecquenem's Neo-Elamite finds in these tells see Wicks 2017).

Working later in the north of the Ville Royale in his Chantier A, Roman Ghirshman encountered further Neo-Elamite mortuary remains, mostly pit graves, in levels X and IX (Steve, Vallat and Gasche 2002/2003: 470; for the problems of dating these levels see Mofidi-Nasrabad 2013: 29–38). A second cut in the south, Chantier B, revealed remnants of Neo-Elamite or early Achaemenid constructions, and in level I of the Village Perse-Acheménide on the west border of the Ville des Artisans, part of a multi-roomed building containing three late Neo-Elamite texts was excavated (de Miroschedji 1978: 215; Potts 2016: 295, with refs).

In both the Apadana and Ville Royale, de Mecquenem recognised two discrete Neo-Elamite levels essentially corresponding to the NE I and NE II. The earlier he labelled "époque d", "l'élamite supérieur", "Suse-Élam III" or "la couche à grès cérame" for its profusion of glazed frit. The more recent, which produced an abundance of material, he variously designated as "époque e", "époque neo-babylonienne", "la fin de l'Élam", "décadence élamite" and "pre-achéménide" (see especially his annual reports available online at www.mom.fr/mecquenem/index/trapports). These levels were further clarified by de Miroschedji during his 1975–1978 work in the southeast of the Ville Royale (VR II), where he established a Neo-Elamite ceramic sequence, and in his Apadana-VR trenches 2351 and 2384, and VR-Apadana trench 5244.

In the VR II de Miroschedji (1978: 213–215; 1981a: 37–39) defined two NE I levels, 9–8, consisting of isolated architectural remains and a few burials with material corresponding to de Mecquenem's earlier *époque d* and certain finds from Ghirshman's VR A levels IX and X. Most characteristic of these layers was a fine, moulded-wall goblet and, albeit encountered with increasing rarity, the tall "Elamite beaker" typical of the preceding level 10, dated c. 11th–10th century (Figure 13.5) (de Miroschedji 1981a: 21, 37). De Miroschedji (1978: 225; 1981a: 19, 23, 37–38) noted a trend towards coarser ceramics and a rarity of metal and stone objects, and like de Mecquenem witnessed a proliferation of bowls, pyxides, small bottles and other objects in frit, often glazed white, blue or green (e.g., Figure 13.5); a stark contrast with the marked decline in frit production elsewhere in the Near East during the 1st millennium (Heim 1992: 203). Level 8 yielded the earliest stratified glazed vessels made of baked clay (de Miroschedji 1981a: 20), corresponding with de Mecquenem's (1924: 112–113) observation that glazed frit was typical of *époque d* and glazed baked clay of *époque e*.

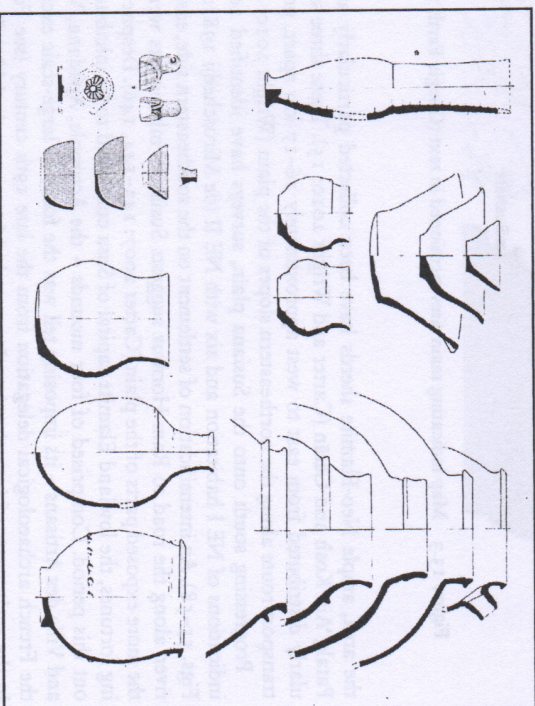
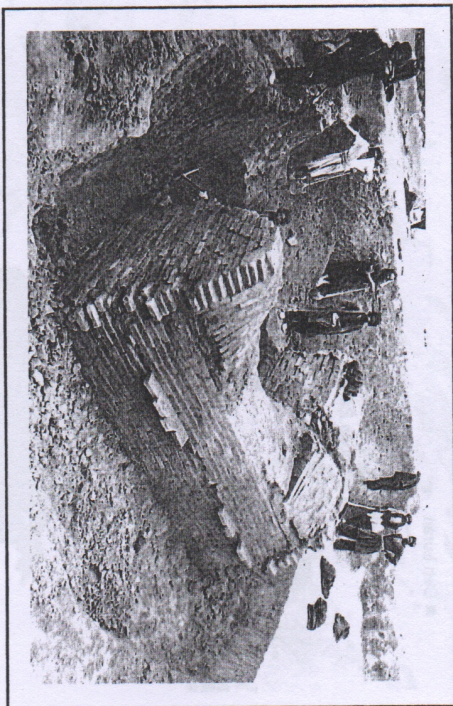


Figure 13.5 Top: Vaulted mud-brick tomb in the Apadana cut to the east of Darius' palace at Susa (from the archives of R. de Mecquenem www.mom.fr/mecquenem/index/photos, accessed 15 Sept 2015); bottom: characteristic NE I material (line drawings of objects after de Miroschedji 1978: Figure 52–53; drawings of objects in frit after de Miroschedji 1981a: Figure 27; objects not to scale).

The next two VR II levels, 7–6, belonged to the NE II and contained some structural remains and burials with assemblages comparable with those of de Mecquenem's *époque e* (de Miroschedji 1978: 215), which were typified by various stlix and

iron objects, large pointed-base amphorae (Figure 13.6a) and small glazed baked clay objects (e.g. Figure 13.6b) (de Meequenem 1924: 112–113; de Miroschedji 1981a: 29). Contemporary material was found also in the VR-Apadana trench 5244, VR A and Village Perse-Acheménide level I (de Miroschedji 1981a: 38). Levels 7–6 saw

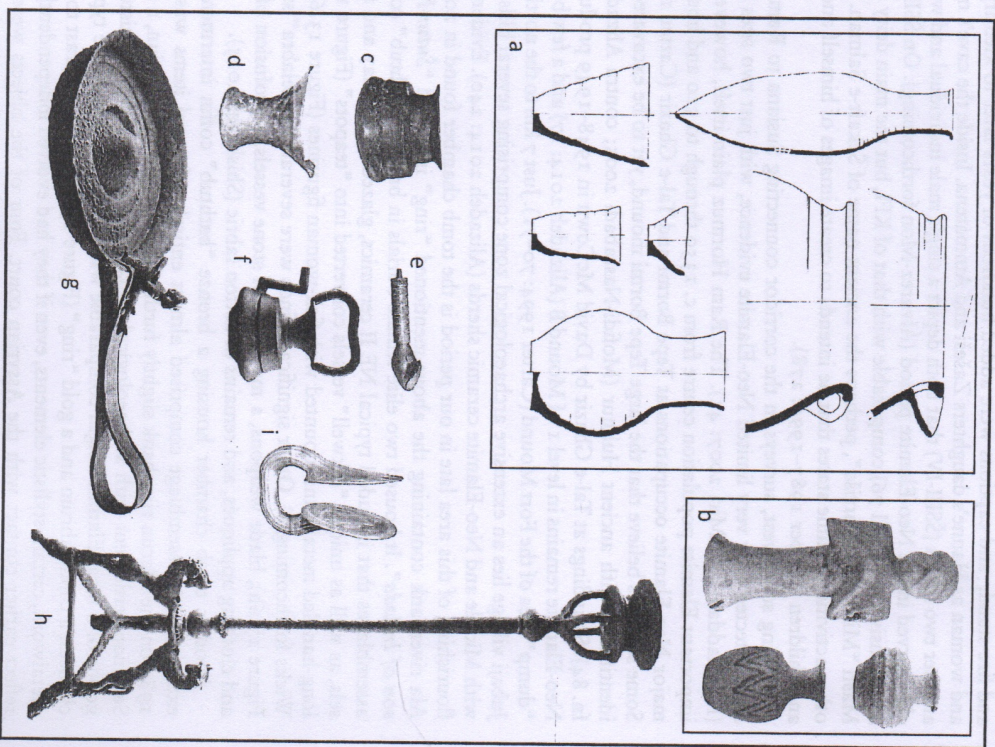


Figure 13.6 Characteristic NE II material [a] ceramics (line drawings after de Miroschedji 1978; Figure 5.4); [b] glazed vessels and figurine from Susa and [c] “inkwell” from Susa (photographs Y. Wicks, courtesy of the Louvre Museum); [e, f, g, h] metal objects from Jubaji and [d, i] metal objects from Arjan (photographs J. Alvarez-Mon, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran; objects not to scale).

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the return of metal vessels, including the distinctive carinated “inkwell” familiar from Luristan Iron Age III (c. 800/750–650) cemeteries (Figure 13.6c) (Wicks forthcoming a) and the bronze “chalice” with outwards flaring walls (Figure 13.6d). Another novel metal product was the iron-stemmed clothing pin with precious metal-covered bitumen head (Figure 13.6e) (de Miroschedji 1990). The pronounced changes in NE II material coupled with “disjunctions in stratigraphy” signal a disruption between the NE I and II phases (Carter 1994: 73), but from now until the reign of Darius, a continuity in material culture attests to the city’s quick recovery after 646 (Henkelman 2003b: 253). More than merely surviving, Susa evidently thrived during these late years of Elamite history with religious institutions, administrative systems and artistic traditions that would be inherited by the Persian Empire (see Alvarez Mon and Henkelman in Part VIII of this volume).

Barely 30 km to the southeast of Susa lay the Middle Elamite religious centre of Choga Zanbil, ancient Dur-Untaş, where Ghirshman (1966: 38, 91) recognised a Neo-Elamite presence especially in the Išmekarab temple, an assertion confirmed by ceramic comparisons with Susa and typical Neo-Elamite glazed frit objects (Alvarez-Mon 2013a: 460). More recently, in his areas B and C, Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2007: 45–46, 90–91) discerned two building layers, 2 and 1, dated c. 10th–9th century and 8th–7th century, respectively, as well as c. 9–8th century sherds in the debris of area A. He also emphasises that the inclusion of Dur-Untaş as a “royal city” in Assurbanipal’s enumeration of plundered towns is ample evidence of its continued importance into the 7th century (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013: 28).

The foothills and highlands

Explorations further east into the Khuzestan foothill zones preferred as political bases during the period of confrontation with Assyrian kings (Stolper 1992a: 199) have produced limited but valuable evidence. A significant recent discovery around 70 km from Susa in the Upper Gorvand Dam catchment area is a settlement referred to as Kalantar 4, where rescue excavations uncovered residential architecture and two stone-lined tomb chambers yielding ceramics with comparisons in de Miroschedji’s Susa VR II levels 9–7 (Valipour et al. 2011).

Progressing southeast, tucked away in the Izeh-Malamir valley, are two remarkable outdoor sanctuaries, Kul-e Farah and Šekaf-e Salman, distinguished by their rock-carved reliefs. These sites were clearly singled out for special ritual use due to their natural features, especially water sources, and are believed to have been venues for the events shown on the reliefs themselves: ceremonies involving prayer, animal sacrifice, feasting and musical processions. Although no associated Neo-Elamite settlements have been detected in the Izeh-Malamir valley, the reliefs themselves attest to the ritual use and political exploitation of the area until the end of Elamite history (Alvarez-Mon 2013a: 465).

Six separate reliefs ranging probably from the 9th to 6th century in date are carved onto Kul-e Farah’s cliff faces (KF I, IV, V) and boulders (KF II, III, VI) (Alvarez-Mon forthcoming). Manufactured c. 9th–8th century and measuring 17.70 m wide x 6 m high, KF IV is both the earliest and most monumental, incorporating 141 individuals arranged around a large central figure (a king?) seated on a high-backed chair beside two tables laden with food and drink (Figure 13.7). Some of the more notable

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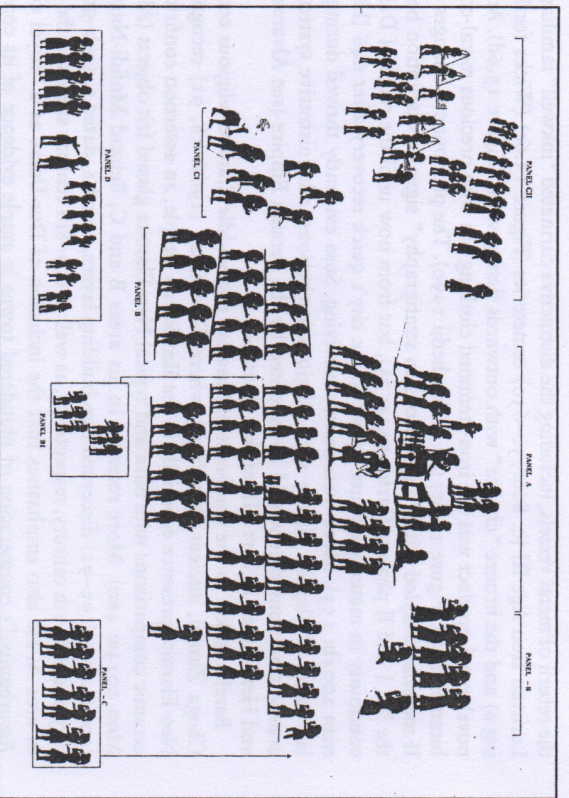


Figure 13.7 Line drawing of Kul-e Farah IV (from J. Alvarez-Mon 2013b; Figure 16).

figures are attendants in long garments, a weapon-bearer and a conductor leading six harpists. The rest are uniformly represented with long, braided hair and short garment, and all stand with their left hand outstretched and right hand holding a morsel of food (meat?) up to their mouth. The complex hierarchical structure of this ritual banquet is created through composition – the relative size of the individuals, their arrangement across multiple registers and their proximity to the central figure – and is further refined by costume, gesture and activities performed (Alvarez-Mon 2013b). A well-articulated hierarchy is also visible in the other reliefs, particularly the c. 8th–7th century KFIII boulder whose entire surface is covered with a procession of around 200 people. The ritual scenes on these and the remaining four reliefs, all dated c. 7th–6th century, variously depict animal sacrifice (KEIII, KEV, KFI, KFI), worship at a fire altar (KEV, KEI, KEI, KFI, KEIV) and worshipping gestures (KEI–VI). Only KFI offers names for the people shown. The main figure, Hanne of Ayapir, stands with hands clasped at his waist, wearing long, braided hair and an elaborate garment bordered by rosettes and fringes. Behind him stand two smaller-scale figures, the weapon-bearing military general Šuturu and Hanne’s vizier and cupbearer Šuturuura (Potts 2016: 296). In the accompanying 24-line inscription (EKI 75), Hanne invokes several Elamite deities and introduces himself as son of Tahhi, the *katir* (“leader/chieft”) of Ayapir and vassal of King Šutur-Nahunte, son of Indada. He dedicates the relief to Tiruti, probably gives an account of his military victories and various pious acts and finishes with a request for divine protection for the image and inscription and a curse against any potential vandals (Stolper 1987–1990: 277).

At Šekaf-e Salman on a cliff face beside a cave, creek and waterfall which together served as the ritual focus of the site, are another four reliefs bearing inscriptions by Hanne. Two (ŠSI–II) are earlier-dated 12th-century carvings depicting the Elamite royal family: on ŠSI two men, a boy and a woman stand in line before a fire-stand making various gestures of worship; ŠSII depicts the same group minus the lead male and fire-stand, and captions were added hundreds of years later to identify the boy and woman as Hanne’s daughters Zāšēši and Ammatena. Inside the cave’s mouth are another two reliefs (ŠSIII–IV) that both depict a single male individual and were probably carved in the Neo-Elamite period (Alvarez-Mon forthcoming). On ŠSIII there is an extensive text (EKI 76) comparable with that of KFI, but the main deity is instead Mašti “Mistress of Tarrīša”, perhaps the ancient name of Šekaf-e Salman. Amongst other activities, Hanne states that he intends to create images of himself and his wife and children (Stolper 1987–1990: 278).

Moving southwest, surveys in the corridor connecting Susiana to Ram Hormuz have detected only very limited Neo-Elamite evidence, with just two sites identified (Moghaddam and Miri 2007: 41). The Ram Hormuz plain itself, however, was an important Elamite population centre from c. 1350 through to 520 and home to two major Neo-Elamite occupations at Tepe Boromi and Tale-Ghazir (Carter 1994: 68). Some scholars believe that the large Tepe Boromi mound, yet to be excavated, may be identifiable with ancient Huhur (Moñdi-Nasrabadi 2005; contra Alizadeh 2014: fn. 84). Soundings at Tale-Ghazir by David McCown in 1948–1949 produced some Neo-Elamite remains in level I of Mound B (Alizadeh 2014: 17) and a few burials in a “dump” area of the Fort Mound (Carter 1994: 70–71). Just 7 km to the northeast near Jubaji village lies an extensive archaeological zone comprising several hills scattered with Middle and Neo-Elamite ceramic sherds (Alizadeh 2014: 240). Evidence for the flourishing of this area late in our period is the tomb chamber found in 2007 on the flourishing containing the above-mentioned “ring” inscribed “Šutur-Nahunte, Ala riverbank containing the above-mentioned “ring” inscribed “Šutur-Nahunte, son of Indada”. It housed two elite female burials in bronze “bahrub” coffins with assemblages that included typical NE II ceramics, glazed baked clay and metal vessels, as well as unique “inkwell” vessels converted into “teapots” (Figure 13.6f) and long-handled metal pans mounted with fish-woman figurines (Figure 13.6g; and see Wicks forthcoming b). Other significant finds were several “candelabra” stands (e.g. Figure 13.6h), blade weapons, a multitude of stone vessels, a profusion of jewellery and clothing appliques, and remains of cotton fabric (Shishhegar 2015).

Another tomb chamber housing a bronze “bahrub” coffin interment with an extraordinary assemblage comprised almost entirely of metal items was found in 1982 on the Marun riverbank slightly further south near ancient Ariyan, a significant Sasanian settlement with archaeological remains going back into prehistory. Grave goods of a local Elamite origin comparable with the Jubaji finds were typical NE II chalices, a candelabrum and a gold “ring” (Figure 13.6i). Yet in contrast to the Jubaji metalwork, certain stylistic elements, even if they had evolved independently in Elam, reflect earlier contact with the Assyrian court. Four of the objects were engraved with the same inscription “*Kidin-butran, son of Kurtus*”, perhaps naming the male interred in the coffin (Alvarez-Mon 2010). The hitherto unseen range and wealth of goods found here and in the Jubaji tomb supports the assertion that the centres of power had shifted into the more protected foothill zones in the later part of the period, enabling a remarkable Elamite resilience.

Further into the highlands, in the Beshar Valley in Kuhgiluyeh-Boirahmed province, a cemetery comprised of stone-lined, gabled-roof chambers dated late 2nd–early 1st millennium was detected in 1999 near the village of Lama. Middle Elamite ceramic parallels with Susa have been established for the earlier graves, while the later ones instead show Shogha and Teimuran influences (Jafari 2013). From these, it is difficult to determine whether the site remained within the Elamite sphere, but as noted for late 2nd millennium ceramics exhibiting a Mamasani-Kuhgiluyeh-Boirahmed–corridor regionalism, ceramic styles could evolve locally and quite independently of (Elamite) political hegemony (Potts 2013: 132).

In Mamasani itself, an early 1st-millennium presence has been detected at eight sites during surveys in the Dash-e Rostam-e Yek and Dash-e Rostam-e Do valleys north of Nurabad, and excavations at Tol-e Spid and Tol-e Nurabad have both brought forth Neo-Elamite ceramics. The nature of habitation at these sites remains to be clarified (Potts et al. 2009: 136, 181), but the evidence at Nurabad in particular is promising. Work here yielded pottery comparable with lowland Neo-Elamite ceramics and thick walls of a building in Trench B (Phase B9), probably transitional Middle to Neo-Elamite in date, and another thick mud-brick wall directly over it belonging to a Neo-Elamite structure (Phases B8 and B7a-b) (Potts et al. 2009: 72).

Fars has otherwise produced little evidence for Neo-Elamite presence except at Tal-i Malyan, sector EDD, on the Marv-Dasht plain where early NE I occupation and three slightly later burials with handmade ceramic types unrelated to lowland types are documented (Carter 1996: 47). This large settlement's decline and abandonment in the early first millennium is usually seen in terms of a rather problematic model of increasing pastoral nomadism linked to migrant Iranian populations (Alvarez-Mon 2013a: 470, with refs). Malyan is recognised as the ancient city of Anshan, the traditional Elamite seat of power named together with lowland Susa in the royal titular “king of Anshan and Susa”. Its importance in the Elamite psyche over the *longue durée* as both a place and concept is witnessed in the continued employment of this royal title after the tell's abandonment (Alvarez-Mon, Garrison and Stromach 2011: 13).

Two important additional pieces of evidence indicate that highland Fars had remained within the Neo-Elamite sphere. At the open-air sanctuary of Naqsh-e Rostam, later an Achaemenid royal burial site, a Neo-Elamite royal (?) male and a crowned female were added to a 17th century relief. Likewise at Kurangun a series of Neo-Elamite style worshippers were added to an older relief of approximately the same date. Both additions point to a continuity in religious tradition and political authority in the area down into the first millennium (Potts et al. 2009: 12; Alvarez-Mon 2013a: 469–470).

NEO-ELAMITE CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Our understanding of Neo-Elamite culture and society remains rather modest, particularly for the large segment of the population represented by the common people. We know little about, for example, precisely where and how they lived, worshipped, worked and ate, the myths they told, or how childhood and gender roles were conceived. At best, in view of the tribal groups occupying Elam's permeable territorial fringes and the significant Iranian presence documented in later textual sources, we

can be assured of this society's diversity. A progressive Iranian-Elamite acculturation undoubtedly contributed to the evolving face of southwest Iran throughout the Neo-Elamite period and has attracted much scholarly interest in recent years (e.g. see Tavener, Chapter 9 in this volume), but pinpointing the visible changes in the archaeological record that reflect this interaction, and likewise relations with border groups, remains an avenue for future research. Also demanding consideration is the close contact of the Elamite royal families with their elite counterparts in southern Babylonia, including at least two attested intermarriages (Henkelman 2008: 36, with refs), and with the Assyrian court.

Our best iconographic evidence for Neo-Elamite society is offered by the Izeh-Malamir reliefs with their highly politicised depictions of sometimes large numbers of people gathered in the presence of the gods for a ritual event to reinforce loyalty to a single, central individual. Perhaps the product of a complex political system relying on a network of loyalties, the socio-political hierarchy still emblazoned today across the rocky faces of Kul-e Farah was a highly articulated one. Participants were carefully positioned and painstakingly detailed with variations in garment, headdress, hair, adornment, props, gesture and roles played, all of which undoubtedly inter-acted to designate the multiplicity of ranks, titles and positions documented for the Neo-Elamite court, military, religious and civilian hierarchy (as outlined by Henkelman 2008: 20–28). Much remains to be achieved in the field of Elamite social history, but Hanne's inscriptions, even if by and large poorly understood, offer fascinating glimpses into the importance assigned to women and children, or at least the royal family unit, in public political life.

These open-air pilgrimage sites, together with the sanctuaries at Kurangun and Naqsh-e Rostam, also provide our most compelling evidence for Neo-Elamite cultic practice. The depicted fire altars, animal slaughter and worshipping gestures seem to represent an adaptation by the ruling class of urban-based temple rituals into a natural setting (Alvarez-Mon 2014: 26). Their objective may have been to gather tribal (agro-)pastoralist groups occupying areas outside the major centres and in border areas of Khuzistan's west, north and east to reinforce their relations with the king (Henkelman 2003b: 258–259; 2011: 128–133). Evidence for places of worship in the urban centres is fairly circumscribed, comprising only the square temple on Susa's Acropole and scattered bricks inscribed by Neo-Elamite kings claiming to have built or restored temples to various gods (IRS 59–62). The religious city of Choga Zanbil also reveals evidence for Neo-Elamite occupancy, but little can be said of cultic practices here at this time.

As diverse as Neo-Elamite society was the pantheon of its gods. An Elamizing trend commencing in the second millennium continued during our period with the addition of many previously unknown gods, including Hanne's Mašī, to the principal divinities Inšušinak, Napiriša, Lagamal, Pinigir, Nahunte and particularly Huban who we have already witnessed in many royal names (Vallat 1998). This diversity is accompanied by a rich mythological and religious visual repertoire preserved in the mediums of glazed frit and clay (Alvarez-Mon 2010: 237–261), late Neo-Elamite glyptic (Garrison, Chapter 32 in this volume) and metalwork from the Arjan and Jubaji tombs (Alvarez-Mon 2010; Shishegar 2015). Relations between Elamites and their divinities – especially the rulers who enjoyed their special protective *kitin* – are a major theme in the preserved monumental inscriptions. The longer texts on the steles

and reliefs are generally poorly understood, but of particular interest is Tepti-Huban-Insūinak II's stele (EKI 85) inscription, which allocates cattle and sheep/goats to various cultic officials, including a "high-priestess of the 'aside' temple of Huban" to be slaughtered for a ceremony in the *hnsa* ("grove"), a location regarded by some scholars as a burial site for the Elamite dead, particularly royalty (Henkelman 2008: 27, 441–452). In our period, the netherworld aspect of Insūinak becomes particularly pronounced (Steve 1987: 51), but there is no confirmed association between his temples and burial sites.

Even though the vast majority of Elamite archaeological material was retrieved from mortuary contexts, Elamite funerary practices have failed to attract much scholarly attention. Except for a few isolated child cremations deposited in jars at Choga Zanbil, the Neo-Elamite lowland burials were either primary, multiple (consecutive) inhumations in vaulted mud-brick tombs or single inhumations in pits, jars or brick-lined pits. In the mountainous zones, the Elamite dead have been found interred in pits or stone-lined chambers. The Neo-Elamite use of coffins is so far isolated to Arjan and Jubajī, and these examples can be linked to a U-shaped bronze coffin of Assyrian origin found in funerary contexts at Nimrud and Ur (see Wicks 2015). In terms of burial location, the Arjan and Lama burials attest to extramural burial, but otherwise targeted archaeological excavations of tell sites have favoured the discovery of intramural burials. In these urban areas, the practice of residential (i.e. subfloor) interment is usually taken for granted, although this ignores the general inability of archaeologists to recognise direct connections between tombs or graves and the buildings above. To the contrary, evidence for non-residential burial as, for example, in the above-mentioned Tale-Ghazir Fort Mound, has been more forthcoming (Wicks 2017).

The deceased were generally accompanied by a fairly standardised range of goods. They were sometimes adorned with jewellery and occasionally provided with weapons, but most common were vessels for serving and for short-term storage and pouring of liquids, both used for provisioning food and perhaps other ritual acts such as libations. Further evidence for food offerings is provided by larger liquid and dry storage vessels found in tombs, animal bones (usually of sheep/goats), and even date remains (e.g. de Miroschedji 1981a: 27). The NE II burial assemblages, with the Arjan and Jubajī tombs at their pinnacle, reveal substantially more wealth and greater variety in material production than those of the NE I. Like the intensification of building activities boasted by kings and the movement of goods attested in the Acropole texts, these changes are no doubt linked to favourable socio-political and economic circumstances. One can point especially to Elam's success in controlling important long-distance trade routes, which must have provided significant impetus for its Babylonian alliances, and its ability to maintain relations with the agro-pastoralist groups occupying its border areas (Henkelman 2008: 35–39).

CONCLUSIONS

The conception of the Neo-Elamite period as one of decadence and decline has been outmoded by the recent unveiling of a vital and fascinating cultural landscape inherited by the Achaemenid Persians. Yet our understanding of Elam at this time, as in

all periods of its history, is still largely reliant on the results of investigations in the lowland areas, particularly at Susa. This situation negates the possibility of recreating the true character of its lowland-highland identity, particularly at a time when the foothills were the preferred power bases. As the number of chance finds gradually accrues with development works in these zones, and planned excavations of promising sites are carried out, a more complete picture of Neo-Elamite Elam will undoubtedly continue to crystallize.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ABC Grayson, A.K. 1975. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locust Valley: Augustin.
- ABL Harper, R.F. 1892–1924. *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K(orymbik) Collection(s) of the British Museum*, 14 vol. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BIWA Borger, R. 1996. *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipls. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C, K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- CDAFI Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran.
- CM Glasner, J.J. 1993 [2004¹]. *Chroniques mésopotamiennes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- DB Darius, Bisitun inscription.
- DL H.T. Wright and J.A. Neely (eds.) 2010. *Elamite and Achaemenid Settlement on the Deb Luran Plain: Towns and Villages of the Early Empires in Southwestern Iran*. Ann Arbor: Regents of the University of Michigan.
- EKI König, F.W. 1965 (=1977²). *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, AÖ Beihefte 16. Graz: Biblio Verlag.
- EP J. Alvarez-Mon and M.B. Garrison (eds.) 2011. *Elam and Persia*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- IRS Malbran-Labat, F. 1995. *Les inscriptions royales de Suse. Brigues de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'empire néo-élamite*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.
- MDP *Mémoires de la Délégation française en perse; Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran*.
- Nim *The Elamite Nineveh Letters*, numbers given by Weissbach (1902).
- RCS Harper, P. O., Aruz, J. and Tallon, F. (eds.) 1992. *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- RIMA The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Period, Toronto.
- RINAP The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, Toronto.
- RIA *Reallexicon der Assyriologie und vordereasiatischen Archäologie*.
- SAA The State Archives of Assyria, Helsinki.
- SE K. De Graef and J. Tavernier (eds.) 2013. *Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives. Proceedings of the International Congress Held at Ghent University, December 14–17, 2009*, MDP 58. Leiden: Brill.
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

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PART IV
CLOSE ENCOUNTERS
ON THE EASTERN AND
WESTERN FRONTS