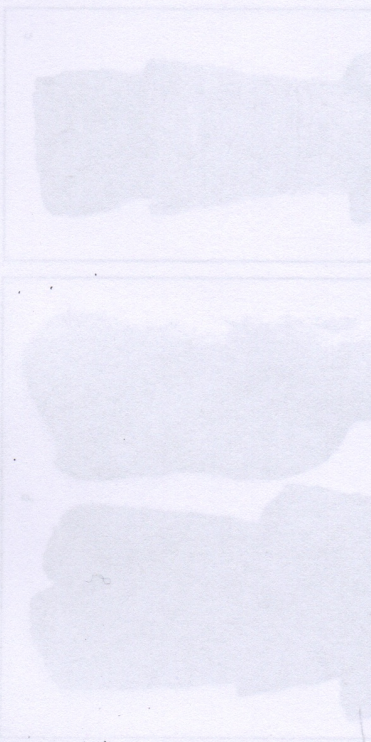


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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

ORIGINS OF MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE IN ELAM

Two case studies

Holly Pittman

Excavations on the Acropole of Susa by the French in the early decades of the twentieth century produced many remarkable works of sculpture through which its development can be reconstructed over three millennia. However, because the techniques of stratigraphic excavation were neither fully understood nor consistently practiced at the time, these works of art can only rarely be considered within a secure archaeological context. Rather, iconography, style and technical features are fundamental to our assessment of date and cultural identity. In some instances, later work using unpublished excavation records held in the Louvre has been able to establish greater contextual control (Amiet 1976a), but for the most part these objects must in any case be considered without contextual support. The most fundamental task of such considerations is assignment of date. The cultural attribution assigned to works by the early excavators has frequently been maintained in later scholarship, although details of style and iconography do not in all cases support a reconsideration (e.g. Pitman 2003). Without a secure understanding of the date of individual works of art, it is not possible to construct an accurate art history for the Elamites. This chapter will consider two distinct groups of sculpture from the second half of the third millennium BCE, re-evaluating the currently held assignments of date and offering new insights into historical and cultural processes.

The first discussion will focus on an inscribed sculpture of an individual named Eshpum, one of a group of sculptures belonging to the third quarter of the third millennium. The second discussion will scrutinize one of the sculptural objects in the extraordinary collection associated with the ruler Puzur Inshushinak, a contemporary of the Mesopotamian rulers Gudea and Urnamma at the end of the third millennium. Each of these case studies considers questions of iconography and style in the context of the unique relationship that Susa had with its western neighbors in southern Mesopotamia. Its proximity just to the east of Mesopotamia, reachable by boat and overland from the earliest periods, but also standing as the gateway and one of the cultural centers of the highland Elamite culture, had a profound effect on the arts of Elam as known from Susa beginning in the fourth millennium, long before such a political entity even existed (Amiet 1979). Even when Susa was under direct hegemonic domination of Mesopotamia, as it frequently was, Elamite artists maintained

both their own styles and emphasis in iconography. In the art historical literature, Elamite works are often characterized as “archaizing” or “peripheral” with relation to Mesopotamia, suggesting that they were solely derivative and never intentional. This discussion will replace that interpretative approach with one that seeks to define distinctly Elamite features of these works and what those features can tell us about Elam. In addition, in each of these considerations, the relationship between written text and visual image plays an important role in our interpretation of the objects within the larger body of Elamite sculpture. In particular, questions of recurring are raised in each of these case studies.

THE “AMAS DE MANISHUSHU”

The subject of this first case study, the sculpture of Eshpum, belongs to the earlier body of material retrieved from a context that Pierre Amiet (1976a) has carefully reconstructed from the unpublished notes of its excavator, Roland de Mecquenem. This is a disparate collection of objects apparently associated with a temple of Narundi, an early Elamite goddess who Shulgi named Ninmursag of Susa. As a group, the cluster of objects was referred to by the excavator as the “amas de Manishushu” on the basis of associated inscriptions invoking the name of the Old Akkadian ruler. As Amiet reconstructed it, the “amas” or group of objects consisted of 33 fragmentary works of sculpture, as well as works in bitumen mastic and an “archive” of seals and seal impressions as well as cuneiform tablets of Old Akkadian date. Although found in close proximity, the objects in this deposit are certainly not of one date. The earliest can be associated on the basis of form and style with the middle of the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia around 2600 BCE, while the latest certainly belong to the Old Akkadian period. This collection of earlier and later works within a sacred context is not unusual. Even under the best of controlled archaeological circumstances, the dating of individual works in similar depositional contexts can only be accomplished through stylistic and iconographic analysis because they were deposited together at some *terminus ante quem* which in this case would have been sometime in the Old Akkadian period after the reign of Manishushu.

While most of the pieces of sculpture can be evaluated solely on the basis of their formal attributes, one sculpture carries an inscription that gives independent evidence for its date. It is a fragmentary three-dimensional image of a male figure (Figure 29.1a) which preserves his upper body from the waist. Across the figure’s back is an inscription in Akkadian which states:

Ma-an-ish-tu-shu
LUGAL
KIS
Esh-pum
IR-su
a-na
d Na-tu-ti
A MUNARU
Manishushu,
king of Kish,

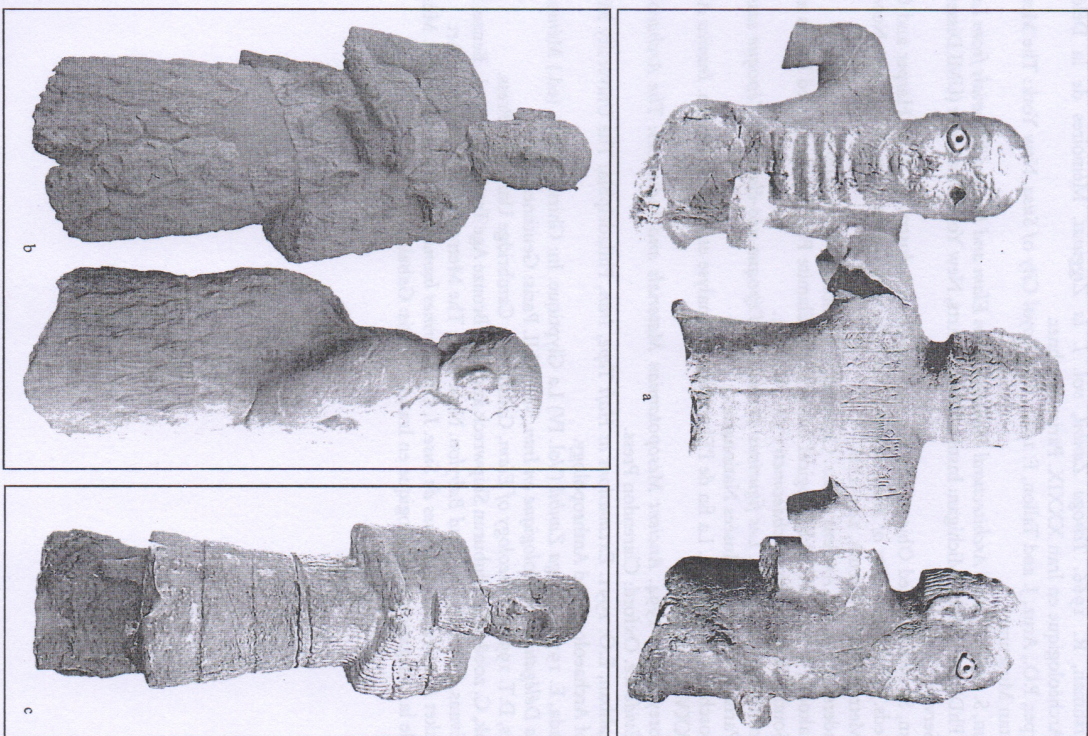


Figure 29.1 [a] Male statue. Inscribed. Eshpum (Louvre Museum Sb 82; Height 30 cm, width 22 cm; Grey alabaster); [b] Male statue holding goat (Louvre Museum Sb 84; Height 42, width 18 cm. Alabaster); [c] Statue without goat (Louvre Museum Sb 83; Height 50 cm, width 15 cm. Alabaster) (photographs courtesy J. Alvarez-Mon).

Eshpum,
his servant
to Narundi
donated

Many scholars who have discussed this sculpture in print (e.g. Amiet 1966; 1976a; 1976b; Bahrani 1992: 53; Spycket 1981: 73, no. 149; Eppihimer 2009; Alvarez-Mom, Chapter 30 in this volume) have accepted the evaluation offered first by Eva Strommenger (1959) who concluded on the basis of style that in spite of the inscription, this work could not be Old Akkadian in date. In her opinion, the work shares too many features of abstraction and stylization with Early Dynastic sculpture, while at the same time lacking any hints of the idealized naturalism so powerful in the royal images of Manishtushu. In her mind, the only explanation for this formal discrepancy was that it had to be an earlier work which Eshpum appropriated after he was appointed an official in the Akkadian court of Manishtushu in Susa. He would have had it recut and inscribed in preparation for its dedication to the goddess in her temple. Even following his careful consideration of the archaeological context in which this sculpture was found, Amiet continued to support this interpretation that on the basis of the style of the object, it had to be an earlier work that received a later inscription. Underlying this conclusion is the assumption that the official sculpture of Susa must have followed essentially identical patterns of development familiar to us from the more abundant evidence from Mesopotamia. They would be differentiated only by their peripheral or archaizing appearance. For the Early Dynastic period, the numerous sculptures from the temples in the Diyala valley serve to exemplify the stylistic development that must stand as the point of reference (Frankfort 1943; Evans 2012).

Over the past three decades or so, it has become increasingly clear that the transition between Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian periods in Mesopotamian political history cannot be precisely mapped directly onto a parallel evolution in contemporary material culture. For example, the ceramic traditions retain many features of the earlier phase into the later decades of the Akkadian period (Gibson and McMahon 1995). Distinguishing late Early Dynastic from early Old Akkadian in glyptic art is also often problematic (Mathews 1997). The most common hypothesis offered to explain the Early Dynastic features in Old Akkadian works is still the role of “archaizing” or the work of “old fashioned” craftsmen. Such explanations ignore the very real processes that underlie evolution in style and iconography and miss an opportunity to define more precisely the range of artistic expression that was practiced at any one moment. Because the Eshpum sculpture carries an inscription that associates it with a known Mesopotamian ruler, the work offers an opportunity to focus closely on the nature of Elamite art during the middle years of the Old Akkadian period, at a moment when the dynastic style associated with the Old Akkadian rulers becomes canonized.

There is no question that the image of Eshpum is stylistically different than the images that we associate with his master, the Old Akkadian ruler Manishtushu (Eppihimer 2010). All aspects of his image are more schematic and abstract in keeping with stylistic norms of the Early Dynastic images. Significantly, however, the image of Eshpum also displays numerous stylistic features that are never seen in Early Dynastic

sculptures. There are, of course, two variables operating here. As stated above, the majority of relevant Early Dynastic sculpture was produced in Mesopotamia, therefore in a consideration of Eshpum, one must allow for the existence of an Elamite style in contemporary sculpture of any period. Further, there is no question that some of the sculpture found in the “amas” is certainly Early Dynastic in date. Many of these examples are essentially indistinguishable from sculpture found in the temples in the Diyala river valley.

Among the differences the Eshpum’s image has with Early Dynastic sculpture, the most prominent is his full head of hair which is worn in a short-cropped style without a central part. Male images with hair from the Early Dynastic period all show the hair parted in the middle, and invariably the hair is long and pulled over the shoulders to lie on the pectorals. On occasion, a third bunch of hair falls down the back. Strommenger (1959) and Amiet (1976b) both argue that the original hair style of the sculpture was originally of that type and that the hair was recut when the sculpture was repurposed by Eshpum. Such a radical re-fashioning of hair style could not have been accomplished without leaving trace indications either on the surface of the stone, or in its form. For one, the entire body of hair would have to have been recut to obliterate traces of the deep central part, and that would affect the shape of the head. Further, both the shoulders and pectorals would have been covered with hair which would also have had to be removed. Upon examination, there is nothing on the surface or the shape of the affected parts of the sculpture that indicates it had been recut before receiving its inscription which clearly and unequivocally dates the work to the reign of Manishtushu.

But how, then, do we account for the discrepancy in style between the image of Eshpum and what do we expect to be the court production of official sculpture during the middle of the Old Akkadian period? Must we simply understand this work as “archaizing”, implying an unconscious retention of earlier models (Braun-Holzinger 1991), or can it be understood as typical of Elamite artistic production at this moment, a stylistic choice that was intentional and indeed perhaps understood as innovative in one way or another? This is to say that there does not have to be anything “archaizing” or “old fashioned” or “incompetent” in the production of this work, but rather it can be understood as a stylistic expression that was different from the court style of Mesopotamia during the middle of the Old Akkadian period. We should understand it as an Elamite sculpture typical of the middle of the Old Akkadian period, intentionally distinguishing itself from the court style that was emerging around the Old Akkadian royalty.

There is now evidence to support this line of argument coming from the recent archaeological discoveries at the site of Abu Sheeja, in Iraq. Abu Sheeja is an 18-hectare site in central Babylonia close to the Iranian border approximately 100 kms due west from Susa. Iraqi archaeologists report (Hussein et al. 2010) the discovery of a temple dedicated to the god Shuda. Found installed in the temple was a carved and inscribed stele which tells us (Hussein et al. 2010: 57–58):

“For (the god) Shuda, Ishu rabi (of) Pashime, the soldier, brought in this statue. May the one who erases the name (on this inscription) not find an heir; may he not acquire a name (for himself).”

This inscription is significant for a number of reasons, the most important being that it allows the site to be identified as Pashime, a territory known from later

inscriptions to be part of the territorial holdings of the kingdom of Kindartu, ruler of Elam and Anshan (Van Dijk 1978: 193–194 ll. 22–23). Before this discovery, Pashime was thought to lie on the ancient coastline of the Persian Gulf, perhaps in the vicinity of the modern port town of Bushire. As Steinkeller (1982) observed, in ancient times the head of the Gulf extended much farther north than it does today, and while Pashime may have controlled part of its shore, it seems unlikely that it held territory all the way to Bushire. Joining Anshan, we can now be confident of another point in the historical geography of the Bronze Age Iranian world. While the grammar, paleogeography and orthography of the Abu Sheeja inscription dates it generally to the Sargonic period, Ishu rabi can be dated precisely to the reign of Manishtushu because he is identified as the governor of Pashime on the Manishtushu Obelisk (Hussein et al. 2010).

In addition to the inscription, the stèle also carries an image of the governor, which is relevant to our evaluation of the Eshpum image. When the two are directly compared, a virtually one-to-one similarity is immediately apparent. Ishu rabi is, in fact, a two-dimensional rendering of the three-dimensional Eshpum. The similarity includes the hair cut with the sharp ledge at the nape of the neck, the long beard that is shaved almost to the angle of the chin, the prominent eye socket, the large ear, the position of the hands directly beneath the beard, the tubular shape of the upper arms, the belt at the waist, and the nude torso. Because Ishu rabi mentions the image in the inscription, there can be no question that the stèle is earlier and the inscription added. Such close similarities shared among these images demands that we consider them as contemporary. Given their findspots, it is most likely that they were made in different workshops. If so, their shared features can be thought of as appropriate for the image of a certain high level of Elamite official working within the Old Akkadian hegemon. Rather than understanding the style of these two official works as backward looking (M. Gibson in Hussein et al. 2010: 56, fn. 13; Evans 2012), it is my view that the style of Eshpum and Ishu rabi should be considered as entirely consistent with accepted sculptural norms of the early Old Akkadian period. Indeed it is conceivable that the court style developed under Rimush and Manishtushu was forbidden for use by dependent officials and that the sculptors working for them developed their own distinctive visual language.

Although without inscriptions and therefore more difficult to associate with the old Akkadian period, it is possible that several other sculptures found in the “amas” of Manishtushu can be assigned to the Old Akkadian period. Included are two sculptures of male figures wearing flounced garments and carrying young sheep as offerings (Figure 29.1b, c). Both of these works are also commonly assigned to the Early Dynastic period.

It is important to remember that much of the Old Akkadian royal sculpture found at Susa was taken there as booty almost a millennium after the site was dominated by the Old Akkadian kings (Harper and Amiet 1992). However, Melissa Eppihimer (2009) has suggested that some of the Old Akkadian sculpture found at the site may in fact have been erected during the Old Akkadian period. If so, there would have been Mesopotamian models available for local sculptors and officials to have considered in developing their official style. Clearly they did not choose to emulate them. In any case, it is unlikely that the official royal sculpture of the Old Akkadian rulers was actually made at Susa. The one royal sculpture that we can be certain was at Susa

in the third millennium is the seated figure inscribed by Puzur Inshushinak (Amiet 1976b: Figure 35a–c). Some have argued that this work was appropriated by the later Elamite king, while others argue that detailed differences suggest that it was carved at Susa during his reign (Eppihimer 2009), intentionally drawing on Old Akkadian royal models. The discussion that follows tackles other aspects of the complicated visual program of that important Elamite ruler.

THE “GALET” OF PUZUR INSHUSHINAK

The second case study tackles a similarly knotty problem in Elamite sculpture, engaging with the sculptural works associated with Puzur Inshushinak, identified on the King List of Awan and Shmashki as the last king of the Dynasty of Awan. Although we have extensive artefactual as well as textual evidence for this Elamite king, his place in the history of Elam and Mesopotamia is still a matter of considerable debate and uncertainty (Sallaberger 2013; Steinkeller 2013).

While we are sure that Puzur Inshushinak claimed three distinct titles in his *cursum honorum* (governor of Susa, shakkanshum of the land of Elam, son of Shimpi’ ishuk and finally the mighty king of Awan, son of Shimpi’ ishuk), the land of his origin is still unclear. Some have argued that he was an Elamite king who seized control of Susa (Glassner 1988). Others suggest that he derived from Anshan (Steinkeller 2013), others assume that he was from Susa and rose locally in the ranks (Lambert 1991). Regardless of his origins, it is clear that Puzur Inshushinak took advantage of the power vacuum created by the collapse of the Old Akkadian state to capture control of vital routes linking the plateau and the alluvium. At the height of his power, he tells us that he controlled lands in western Iran. Inscriptions of Ur Namma report that Puzur Inshushinak also controlled cities in the Diyala as well as the city of Agade. Finally, it is certain that Puzur Inshushinak was defeated early in the reign of Ur Namma, who then consolidated his control over these regions.

What is less certain is the relative place, both chronologically and historically, of Puzur Inshushinak in relation to the Mesopotamian rulers Gudea and Ur Namma. Steinkeller’s (1988) proposal to see Gudea and Ur Namma as contemporaries has recently been challenged (Sallaberger 2004), allowing a return to an historical sequence that places Gudea’s reign earlier than that of Ur Namma. In this reconstruction, these Mesopotamian rulers overlap only briefly at the end of Gudea’s and the beginning of Ur Namma’s reign. The result of this re-dating allows Gudea to be understood as an independent actor in his relations with the East. This re-ordering of reigns through textual analysis has relevance for our understanding of relations between Susa and Mesopotamia, and it has further ramifications for our understanding of the monuments of Puzur Inshushinak found at Susa.

At Susa, Puzur Inshushinak is well documented through more than 20 inscriptions carried on objects as well as on tablets and other clay items (Amiet 1976b; Hinz 1969; André-Salvini 2006–2008). In the early excavations on the Acropolis at Susa, 12 works of sculpture were found in various locations that can be associated through inscriptions with his reign (Amiet 1976b). Some of the works carry an inscription in Akkadian, while others carry only still undeciphered Linear Elamite inscriptions. Three of them carry texts in both scripts, usually interpreted as bi-linguals. Because the Linear Elamite script is not deciphered, and we are not even positive that the underlying language

is Elamite, the relationship between the inscriptions is still unproven. In addition to human and divine images, which are discussed by Alvarez-Mon in Chapter 30 of this volume, two sculptures of lions are known (Amiet 1976b: Figure 59, 60), neither of which is inscribed. Further, there is a stone slab carved with the head of a lion (Amiet 1976b: Figure 61) that carries both Akkadian and Linear Elamite inscriptions. Finally, there are two large "galets" (boulders) which carry both imagery and inscriptions and have large holes in which a mast or pole could have been set. It is these monuments which are the focus of the discussion here. The most recent substantive treatment of the Puzur Inshushinak monuments was undertaken by Beatrice André-Salvini and Mario Salvini (1989), and this consideration builds on their contribution.

Similar to the discussion of Eshpum above, there is a question of the contemporaneity of the inscriptions and the imagery on these monuments. However, in this instance an opposite conclusion is reached. It will be argued here that at least the most elaborate of the galets (Figure 29.2a-e) was subjected to recutting which has, until now, gone unobserved and unconsidered. Incorporating this recutting into an interpretation of the monument allows us to understand more clearly both the monument itself and its historical context.

In their restudy, André-Salvini and Salvini (1989) present a new reconstruction of the galet based on a secure join they were able to establish between fragments Sb 6 and Sb 177, to which they also associated a third small piece Sb 18446. While still very fragmentary, this join gives a clearer understanding of the monument's imagery, and it establishes that this object carried inscriptions in both (Figure 29.2c, d) Akkadian and in Linear Elamite. As it stands now, the ovoid boulder carries the image in a high relief of a snake coiled on its top. Along the outer edge of the serpent is part of a three-line Linear Elamite inscription. On the proper right side of the boulder, the newly established join allows the reconstruction of the back part of the body of a recumbent lion having an open mouth and a raised large front paw (Figure 29.2c). Across the haunch and belly of the feline is a two column Akkadian inscription cursing anyone who would damage the monument. Unlike the Linear Elamite inscription which was carefully placed around the outline of the snake, the Akkadian inscription was carved without regard for the sculptural integrity of the image of the lion. Clearly this differing placement reflects two fundamentally different attitudes toward the relationship between text and image on the monument.

The other image preserved on this galet is a vignette placed directly in front of the lion's gaping mouth showing a kneeling god holding a large foundation peg in front of a lama goddess. Two other hints of inscription are also present. Behind the lama goddess is the vertical line of a frame. André-Salvini and Salvini argue that this might have been the continuation of the Linear Elamite inscription. However, the narrow width of the line is more consistent with the frame surrounding the Akkadian inscription on the feline's body. Finally there is the corner of what may be another frame behind and above the head of the lion. Given the relationship of this frame to the snake's body, it is possible that this marked the continuation of the Linear Elamite inscription. Unfortunately, the other side of the ovoid block is entirely broken away. A second fragmentary galet (Sb 6733), certainly a pair with this one, was also found on the Acropole. On the remaining half of this monument, the only imagery is the coiled snake on the top similarly surrounded by a multiple-line Linear Elamite inscription (Figure 29.3a, b).

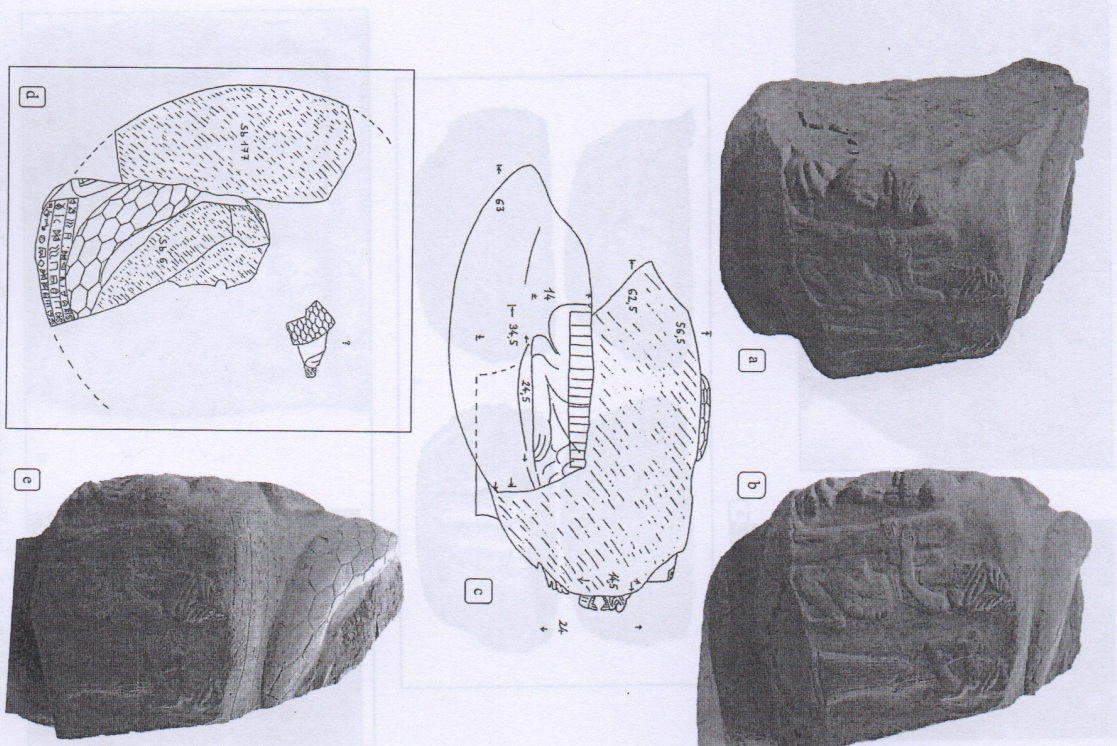


Figure 29.2. [a, b, e] Puzur Inshushinak galet (Louvre Museum Sb 6. Height 55 cm, length 39 cm) (photographs courtesy J. Alvarez-Mon); [c, d] Line-drawing reconstructions of restored galet Sb 6 and Sb 177 (after André-Salvini and Salvini 1989: 54 and 56, Figs. 1 and 2).

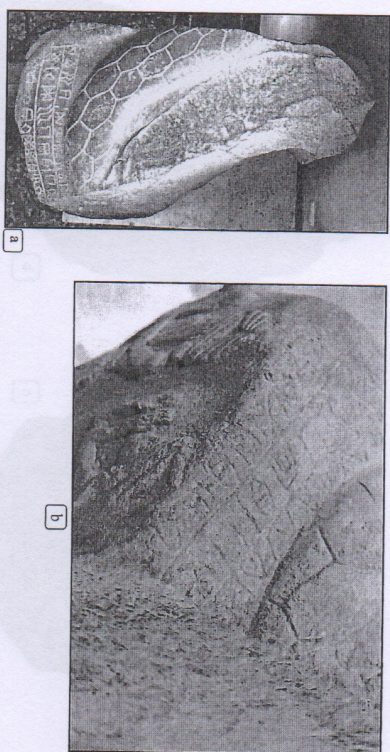


Figure 29.3 [a] View from the top of the Puzur Inshushinak galel (photo by the author); [b] Detail of erasing of the inscription (photo by the author); [c] Cup, with lion confronting bull; three snakes for handle (National Museum of Iran MT 513; Alabaster Gypsum, Susa, found in a terracotta sarcophagus. Diameter 17 cm) (photo courtesy J. Alvarez-Mon); [d] Lions from the statue of the goddess Narundi (Louvre Sb 54 plus head. Statue inscribed by Puzur Inshushinak Akkadian and Linear Elamite inscription. Height without head 84 cm. width 47 cm) (photo courtesy J. Alvarez-Mon).

The vignette of the peg god and the lama has been the primary focus in discussions of the galel of Puzur Inshushinak. The Mesopotamian and more precisely Neo-Sumerian reference in this scene is obvious. It has been used repeatedly to consider the date of Puzur Inshushinak and the monument. Before the textual evidence for the link between Puzur Inshushinak and Ur-Namma from Isin was known (Wilcke 1987), the scene was used by Strommenger (1959; 1960) to argue for a post-Akkadian date for the ruler. Eppihmer (2009), in her study of the legacy of Old Akkadian art, has used the scene to define one of three visual streams that she believes Puzur Inshushinak employed in his artistic program to express both his Elamite identity and the competition he felt from Mesopotamia. By her lights, Puzur Inshushinak combined Neo-Sumerian visual references with the visual and verbal legacy of the Old Akkadian depiction of royal power. The Iranian/Elamite thread to which Eppihmer refers is the still poorly known highland world which is more clearly expressed through the use of Linear Elamite than it is in the existing corpus of imagery (Pittman 2002; Suter 2008).

As has been long observed, the peg god and lama vignette is entirely Mesopotamian and can be dated with confidence to the Lagash II dynasty and the reigns of Ur-Bau and Gudea. Foundation figures identical to the one rendered on the galel were found at Girsu associated with those kings (Strommenger 1964; Figure 146, left). Further, a rendering of such a peg god is preserved on one of the fragments of Gudea's stele from Tello (Suter 2000: ST 55). When Steinkeller (1988) argued on the basis of names and year names that Gudea and Ur-Namma were contemporary and that they acted together in foreign adventures, this clouded the clear association of the kneeling peg god with the Lagash II dynasty and Gudea and expanded the visual reference to necessarily include the reign of Ur-Namma. Basing her dating of Puzur Inshushinak's monument on Steinkeller's equation of Gudea and Ur-Namma, Eppihmer's insightful analysis requires her to conflate the three independent threads that she associates with Puzur Inshushinak's monuments into a single program. The re-dating of Gudea and Ur-Namma offered by Sallaberger (2015) allows a reconsideration of the process that might have led to this strange palimpsest of imagery.

It is the relationship between the lion and snake image and the vignette of the peg god and lama that is problematic. This combination is totally incongruous and unparalleled either in Elamite or Mesopotamian art. These visual elements do not belong together iconographically, stylistically or culturally. Only Amiet (1976b) has even attempted to interpret all the elements as an integrated scene by reconstructing the roaring lion as tethered to the peg which would have emerged from the top of the galel. There exists no comparanda for such a reconstruction. In addition to the incongruity of the subject matter, the composition which posits images of completely different scales in relation to each other makes the work incomprehensible as a single visual expression.

In fact, a close inspection of the monument itself makes clear the incongruous relationship between the vignette with the lion and the rest of the monument. The surface of the boulder upon which the body and the head/paw of the lion as well as the snake and the Linear Elamite inscription were carved is smooth, slightly irregular and rounded, clearly following the original contours of the boulder. The same is true of its mate, which never received any additional imagery along the sides. Rather than following the same curved surface of the boulder, the surface on which the vignette was

carved is flat. When viewed from the top (Figure 29.3a), it is obvious that this surface does not continue the original rounded surface of the boulder but was prepared by flattening the original curve of the boulder. The fact that this flat surface is secondary is further evident because the act of flattening erased the bottom half of the signs of the Linear Elamite inscription on the right-hand side (Figure 29.3b). This physical relationship between the vignette of the peg god and lama and the original surface of the boulder combined with the clear intervention into the Linear Elamite inscription makes it clear that the vignette was a later addition to the monument. It is likely that the Akkadian inscription on the back of the lion was added at the same time.

This observation allows us to posit at least two phases for the production of this intriguing monument. The first carried the image of the snake similar to the pair with snake and inscription. At some time, perhaps together with the snake, but perhaps in a further elaboration, the roaring lion was carved on the proper right side of the large boulder. Before returning to the implications of the addition of the vignette, it is useful to consider what might possibly have been the remainder of the program carried on the boulder before the addition of the vignette. In this effort, we are assisted by a decorated bowl (Figure 29.3c) found at Susa and now in the Tehran museum.

The cup, carved in alabaster, was found at Susa in a sarcophagus (Mecquenem 1934: 231–232). No other information about the contents of the sarcophagus is reported. Amiet (1966) dates the cup to the early part of the second millennium, but without any justification. Even if the sarcophagus is of early second millennium date, that provides only a *terminus ante quem* for any object in the burial. The imagery of the vessel presents a striding and roaring lion confronting a bull. Originally the cup had a handle, which is now at least partially broken away, formed by three snakes whose heads peeked over the rim of the vessel. It is the imagery and its style that allows for a reconsideration of the date of this cup.

A comparison of the features of the lion on the cup to images of lions associated with Puzur Inshushinak allow us to move it to the later part of the third millennium. While a comparison with the lion on the galat can be made, the lions on the throne of statue of Puzur Inshushinak's image of the goddess Narundi (Figure 29.3d) are more useful because they are complete. The close stylistic comparison of features include the open mouth with bared teeth, the outline surrounding the open mouth, the patterning on the muzzle, the comma shape of the shoulder muscle with a hair whorl in the joint, the lappet pattern of the belly hair with contrasting diagonal forms of the upper body hair. All of these similarities make clear the very close stylistic connection between the cup and the monuments of Puzur Inshushinak. Facing the lion on the bowl is the image of a bovid whose lowered head threatens the feline with powerful horns. Behind the confronted creatures are the remains of a handle made up of snakes whose heads curve up over the rim. I believe this combination of imagery makes plausible the reconstruction of the original program of the galat as a roaring feline facing a threatening bull in the presence of a snake.

The imagery of the lion confronting the bull is strongly associated with Iran beginning with the Proto-Elamite period where it frequently occurs on cylinder seals (Amiet 1972: e.g. 949, 950, 1000, 1012, 1013) but never is combined with the image of a snake. While not documented at Susa in the post-Proto-Elamite period, this theme continues into the second half of the third millennium on the plateau where it is repeated frequently in the soft stone imagery of the Halil River Valley (Figure 29.4a).

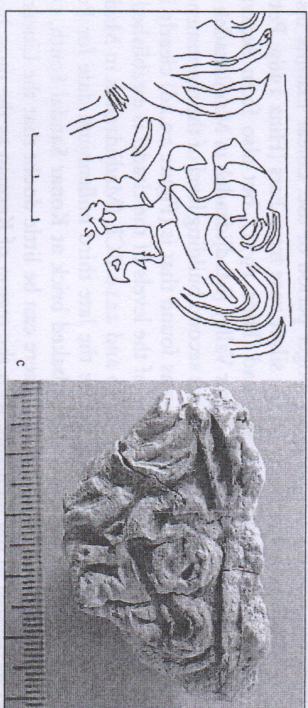
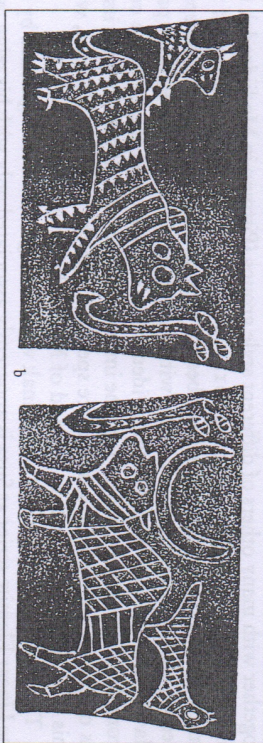
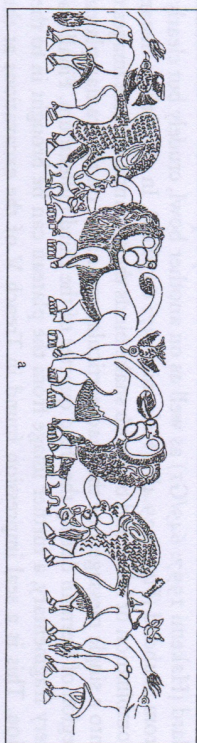


Figure 29.4 [a] Line drawing of seal impression with lion and bull. Confiscated from looters. Kerman Museum (photo courtesy Y. Madjidzadeh). [b] Carved bowl from Shaddad (after Hakemi 1997: 607/Pl.1). [c] Seal impression from Konar Sandal South Tr. V-402 no. 40 (length of seal impression 4 cm, frag. height 2.5 cm) (seal impression and drawing by the author). [d] Baked brick with Linear Elamite inscription from second citadel level of Konar Sandal South (photo courtesy Y. Madjidzadeh and H. Pittman).

The confrontation of feline and bull is also clearly represented on the Shahdad standard (Hakemi 1997: 649/Gr) as well as on another bowl, crudely but clearly carved, from Shahdad (Figure 29.4b) (Hakemi 1997: 607/Fd1). In all of these instances, the combination of feline and bull with snake binds the semantic of Iranian plateau together into a single message, one that had particular resonance on the Iranian plateau in the region of Kerman during the third quarter of the third millennium. Finally, although very fragmentary, a further image from the plateau can be brought in to the discussion. This is a seal impression found in Trench V of the excavations at the site of Konar Sandal South in the Halli River Valley (Figure 29.4c). This impression, found together with many others of different style groups (Pittman in Madjidzadeh and Pittman 2008; Pittman 2012; 2014a; 2014b) immediately evokes the image of the lion on the boulder. On what must have been a very large cylinder carved exceptionally deeply, we can see the head of a lion with gaping mouth and a raised open paw with claws extended in a manner almost identical to that seen on the galef. To conclude from this discussion, it is clear that the imagery on the galef, if not the galef itself, had its origins in the highlands, and more specifically in the region of Kerman, which by this time can be identified as the land of Marhashi (Steinkeller 2006).

The association of Puzur Inshushinak with the highland is strengthened by the fact the Linear Elamite script at Susa is apparently associated only with his reign, while on the highland it had a considerably longer period of use. Linear Elamite inscriptions are now documented not only on the silver vase from Fars (Hinze 1969; Potts 2008), and on the pottery rim from Shahdad (Hinze 1971), but also from excavations at Konar Sandal South in the Halli River Valley (Madjidzadeh in Madjidzadeh and Pittman 2008; Madjidzadeh 2011). In the second building level of the monumental structures on the citadel, a baked brick was found that is (Figure 29.4d) clearly inscribed with Linear Elamite script. The date of the levels of the citadel is established through radio carbon dating to between 2290 and 2210 BCE (Madjidzadeh in Madjidzadeh and Pittman 2008: 79), falling before the late third millennium date for Puzur Inshushinak. With the discovery of the baked brick at Konar Sandal South, combined with the inscription from Shahdad, there can be little doubt that the Linear Elamite script developed in the highland, with the region of Kerman as the most likely location of its invention. More excavation is needed to bring evidence to this conclusion.

What remains is to consider why the vignette of the peg-god and lama as well as the Akkadian inscription were added to this apparently highland monument? For this, the newly established chronological relationship of Gudea and Urnamma, discussed above, can be brought to bear. Steinkeller (2013) proposes that it was an alliance of Gudea and Urnamma that brought the expansion of Puzur Inshushinak to an end. Under that scenario, the inscriptions describing Urnamma's defeat of Puzur Inshushinak and Gudea's defeat of Anshan and Elam would have been one combined, extended effort by southern Mesopotamia to end the Elamite control of lands vital to access to trade routes onto the plateau. Under this scenario, perhaps the vignette could be understood as a detachment of Puzur Inshushinak's monument. Alternatively, Puzur Inshushinak altered his monument to expand its reference to include Neo-Sumerian as well as Akkadian visual tropes adapting the logic of Epplheimer.

With the understanding that Gudea had his own relationship with the eastern highlands prior to Urnamma, it is possible to suggest another explanation for the curious addition of this imagery. Following that historical reconstruction, Sallaberger

(2015: 125), elaborating on his comments, has suggested that “Gudea, in an alliance, perhaps never marched to Anshan himself, but his troops cooperated with Puzur Inshushinak – who in this undertaking achieved rule over Anshan” (pers. comm.). This would allow us to hypothesize that after securing the alliance, Gudea built a temple near Shushar in a friendly territory. Further, Gudea provided Shimshush's (the father of Puzur Inshushinak) men with supplies in Girsu, not as prisoners following Puzur Inshushinak's defeat (Steinkeller 2013) but as members of the alliance between Girsu and Elam. Finally, there are recorded a large number of easterners at Girsu during the reign of Gudea (Schrakamp 2014). Sallaberger suggests that “the presence of foreigners is mostly a sign of good diplomatic contacts which result in the exchange of many persons (like in Ebla, or in Ur III)”. Finally, Puzur Inshushinak was able to achieve his rapid and extensive victories over 80 cities in the Zagros lands north of Susa because “he had no trouble on the Girsu border (the most important Mesopotamian border)” (Sallaberger pers. comm.). Gudea's interest was not in expanding his personal control over northern Babylonia; he was instead eager to have access to the lucrative and vital trade routes leading to the riches of the Iranian plateau, riches that he needed in order to fulfill his obligation to Ningirsu. An alliance with an effective and powerful Elamite ruler would have secured those routes to the benefit of both.

When we look at objects associated with Gudea's reign, several stand out for their Iranian character. Most obvious is the steatite beaker of Gudea with standing mushshu dragons on either side of the twisted snake standard or the steatite lid with entwined snakes (Frankfort 1970: Figs. 101, 102). Both the dragon and the snake are important images known earlier on the Iranian plateau (Pittman 2014a). It is entirely consistent with this historical reconstruction that the alliance between Puzur Inshushinak and Gudea would have been promulgated in both text and images. Puzur Inshushinak's ascendancy to *damm*, king of the four regions, and king of Awan, at the pinnacle of his power, would have included his ally in arms, Gudea of Girsu. Gudea welcomed to his temple those Elamites and other highlanders who had secured for him access to the riches needed to properly outfit the temple to Ningirsu. Each following their own historical mandate, perhaps facilitated somehow by positive personal chemistry, these two rulers converged in a unique, and probably quite brief, moment of alliance that allowed each of them to achieve their personal goals. The galef of Puzur Inshushinak visualizes that alliance, one that has not yet been clearly recorded in texts.

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