

- Vallat, F. 1997. Le caractère funéraire de la *ziggurat* en Elam. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1997/38: 36–37.
- . 1998. Elamite Religion. In: Yarshater, E. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 8. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 335–342.
- . 2003. Un prêtre du feu à l'époque néo-élamite. *Akkadica* 124: 231–233.
- van Dijk, J. 1957. Textes divers du musée de Bagdad II. *Sumer* 13: 65–133.
- Wiseman, D.J. 1956. *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626–556 B.C.) in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.

#### FURTHER READING

- Bortéro, J. 1997. Les inscriptions cunéiformes funéraires. In: Gnoli, G. and Vernant, J.-P. (eds.) *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes, Actes du Colloque sur l'idéologie funéraire, Ischia, Cambridge, 1977*. Paris, 373–406.
- Ghijsman, R. 1968. *Tehoga Zambil (Dir Untash) II: Temenos, Temples, Palais, Tombes*. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran 40. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Grillot, F. 2001. Le monde d'en bas en Susiane. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 95/2: 141–148.
- Koch, H. 1995. Theology and Worship in Elam and Achaemenid Iran. In: Sasson, J.M. (ed.) *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* 3. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1959–1969.
- Labat, R. 1971. Elam III. Religion. In: *Cambridge Ancient History (CAH) II/2*, chapitre XXIX, Elam c. 1600–1200 B.C. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 399–416.
- Malbran-Labat, F. 2004. La fête en Elam dans le culte royal et les cérémonies populaires. In: Mazoyer, M., Pérez Rey, J., Malbran-Labat, F. and Lebrun, R. (eds.) *La fête. La rencontre des dieux et des hommes*, Collection Kubaba, Série Actes 4. Paris, 39–48.
- Miroschedji, P. de 1981a. Le dieu élamite Napirisa. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 74: 129–143.
- . 1981b. Le dieu élamite au serpent et aux eaux jaillissantes. *Iranica Antiqua* 16: 1–25.
- Ports, D.T. 2010. Elamite Temple Building and Appendix 2: Catalogue of Elamite Sources. In: Boda, M.J. and Novomy, J. (eds.) *From the Foundations to the Crenellations. Essays of Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 366. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 49–60 and 479–509.
- . 2011. Iran. In: Insoll, T. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 811–825.
- Vallat, F. 2003. Suse: G.I. La religion suso-élamite. In: Briand, J. and Quesnel, M. (eds.) *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 74: cols. 529–553.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

### ELAMITE FUNERARY PRACTICES

*Hermann Gasche and Steven W. Cole*

The term 'Elam' seems to designate a collection of ill-defined territories that extended over Susiana and the Zagros mountain range as far as the border of the central Iranian desert (Figure 3.6.1). At around 3000 BC, so-called Proto-Elamite texts appeared. These texts, still incompletely deciphered, were mostly written in Susa (Le Brun and Vallat 1978; Scheil 1900: 130–131, 1905: 57–129, 1908: 97, 1923 and 1935), but smaller numbers have been found in north, west and south Iran, from Tepe Ozbaki (Vallat 2003)<sup>1</sup> and Tepe Sofalin (Hessari 2011: 37, Figure 3.43–45) – near Tehran – to Shahr-e Sukhteh, close to the southern border with Afghanistan. Little is known about the political organization in this large area, and the geographical construct 'Elam' (𐎶𐎵𐎺𐎠) appears first only in late Early Dynastic Mesopotamian texts (Steve et al. 2002–2003: 422).

By the end of the third millennium, Elam's eastern limit may have been in the modern province of Kerman. Indeed, recent excavations have revealed possible Elamite linear inscriptions at Konar Sandal, some 25 km south of Jiroft (Madjidzadeh and Pittman 2008: Figure 14; Dessel 2014). This would locate the eastern border some 550 km from Anshan (Malyan) – Elam's highland capital – and some 1,000 km from lowland Susa, which became the main political center in the early second millennium. This enormous territory is nevertheless far from being a homogeneous entity (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2010b: 109). As for the southern border, the Gulf was a natural limit, although no pre-Parthian settlements are known along the narrow and inhospitable coastal strip between Bushire – ancient Liyan – and the Iranian Makran.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the northeastern limit seems to follow the western border of the Iranian central desert, but the extension beyond the modern provinces of Ilam and Luristan is more difficult to fix. However, during the less documented first half of the first millennium BC, the so-called Neo-Elamite period (ca. 1050–1539 BC according to Steve et al. 2002–2003: 470), Elam's territory shrank more or less to the northeastern lowland of modern Khuzestan before it finally became incorporated in the Persian Empire.

Within this area, a number of ancient sites have been investigated. Our survey of the excavations in this vast region reveals that graves were not found below private houses as in Mesopotamia but rather in cemeteries or on abandoned archaeological mounds. The one notable exception is in the lowland capital of Susa, where graves



Figure 36.1 Map of Iran showing archaeological sites mentioned in text.

are below houses in some residential areas.<sup>3</sup> Susa, however, was located near the western border of Elam and therefore would have been a natural destination for peoples migrating from the Mesopotamian plain when southern Babylonia became progressively deurbanized beginning about the 11th or 12th year of Samsuiluna's reign (1643 or 1642 BC)<sup>4</sup> (see Stone 1977: 270; Gasche 1989: 134–139, plan 8; Armstrong and Gasche 2014: 2 and Table 9).

Such migration is reflected in Ghirshman's *Chantier A* at Susa, where the number of domestic burials increased by some 400% between the middle of the 17th century and the middle of the 15th century BC. It is also interesting to note that in the second half of the 16th century BC Babylonian ceramic techniques were introduced in Susiana (Gasche 2013: 75, Figure 3). Some of the houses where sub-floor burials were found also exhibited architectural features that were in common with nearly contemporaneous houses in southern Babylonia, most notably at Ur. By contrast, during this same period, with the exception of two infant burials found in servant quarters, no graves were found below the floors of the large residences uncovered in Levels A XIV, A XIII and A XII (ca. 1640–1440 BC), all having a similar plan and all being located in the same area of *Chantier A*. We do not know the names of the owners of the residences found in Levels A XIV and A XIII, but the archive found in the A XIII residence (Figure 36.2) belonged to a notable Elamite, named Artaru-uktuh, who corresponded directly with the *sukkalmah*.

In the following section we offer observations on funerary practices within the extensive area described above as they appear in the archaeological documentation from approximately the mid-third millennium BC down into the first millennium.

In 1968, Ali Hakemi (1969, 1970; see also Amiet 1973) discovered a large site near Shadhad, formerly Khabis, a small town located 65 km east of Kerman on the fringes of the great Lut desert. Erosion and irrigation activities had brought to light many burials – mostly simple pit graves – in the area called ‘Cemetery A’. A total of 382 graves were excavated without reference to stratigraphic context and dated between 2750 and 2100 BC (Hakemi 1997: 47). Massimo Vidale (2008: 536) and Holly Pittman (1984: 11) have proposed more recent dates, between 2500 and 2000–1800 BC, but the end of this suggested period may well be later, as a very diagnostic globular jar found in Shadhad (Hakemi 1997: Figure 20) is paralleled in the Susa Middle Chronology Sequence of the 18th/early 17th century (Gasche 1973: Pls. 23: 36 and 24: 18).

The skeletons had suffered from highly saline soils, and strong wind erosion scattered or destroyed many graves that were located close to the surface. Despite these unfavorable conditions, unexpected objects were unearthed: 14 of the graves contained male clay statues in upright or seated position, measuring between 28 and 80 cm high. Three other graves yielded male clay heads. Smaller clay statues of standing or sitting women – 29 and 31 cm high – were found in three graves, while two contained female clay heads. Some of the Shadhad statues are painted or show traces of paint: hair, eyebrows and beard in black, face and body in yellow or dark yellow. Clay statues have not been found anywhere else in Elamite funerary contexts, although painted life-size clay heads of both women and men are attested in 15th century graves at Susa.<sup>6</sup> In addition, in nearby Haft Tepe, ancient Kabnak, two finely crafted life-size clay heads – one of a man and one of a woman – and a clay mask of a man were found in a late 15th century workshop (Negahban 1991: 37–39, Pl. 3a and

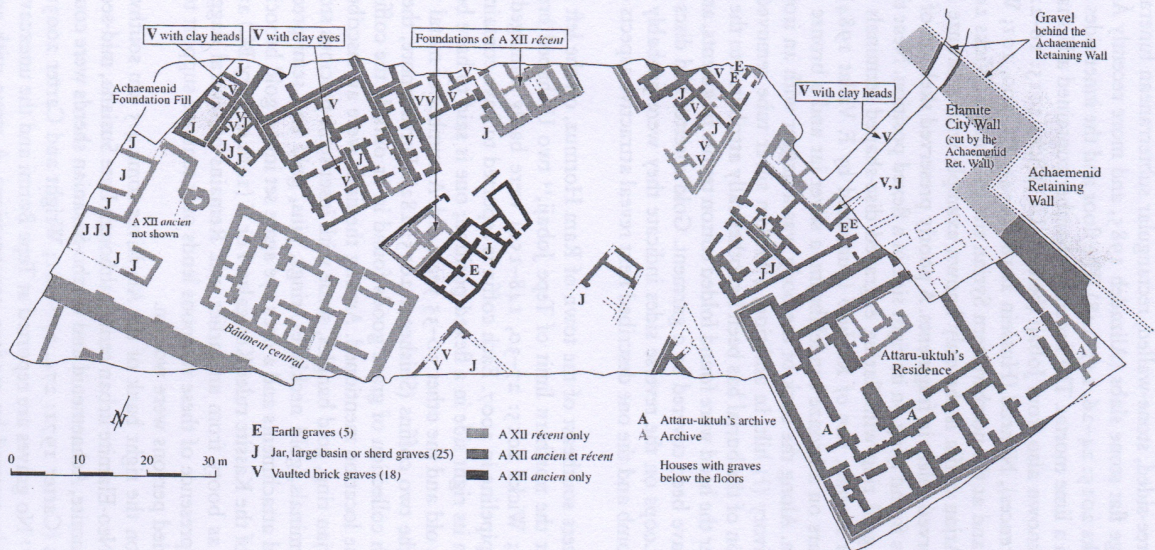


Figure 36.2 Susa, Ville Royale. Ghirshman's Chantier A. Levels XII *ancien* and *récent* (ca. 1500–1440 BC). Partially reconstructed plan.

24). The excavator viewed the clay heads as portraits of king Tepti Ahar (ca. 1400 BC), a contemporary of the Kassite Kadashman-Harbe I (Cole and De Meyer 1999) and of his wife, but the similarities these clay heads share with the slightly earlier examples from Susa suggests they were produced for funerary purposes, whether they were portraits or not.

In addition, terracotta model buildings were found in six graves at Shahdad, which Hakemi (1986; 1997: 48) interpreted as model temples. Other offerings consisted of local plain red ware jars, painted black on buff and orange ware jars, handmade pottery, chlorite vials, beakers, bowls and boxes like those found at Konar Sandal, stone and metal vessels, copper or bronze tools, weapons, pins and a mirror, one lead (?) funnel and one lead (?) mace, shells, beads, necklaces and one mat basket. Traces of textiles may indicate that the deceased had been clothed; in some graves the body was covered with matting or was laid on some kind of platform.

Some 200 km south of Shahdad is the modern town of Jiroft, located at the northern end of a plain irrigated by the Halil river. A significant number of sites were mapped in this plain, one of the most important being the late third, early second millennium archaeological complex of Konar Sandal with its monumental constructions, plundered cemeteries and their rich but mainly orphaned steatite or chlorite objects.<sup>7</sup> The poor state of conservation of the graves may be the reason why no information about the position of the skeletons is available. As for finds other than the chlorite objects, the excavator noted plain and painted vessels paralleled at Shahdad, Tepe Yahya and Shah-i-Sokhra, human and animal heads and torsos in marble, bronze statues of humans and animals, and model temples (?) similar to one of those found at Shahdad. The recent discovery of possible Elamite linear texts at Tepe Konar Sandal (Desset 2014) suggests this area may have belonged to the Elamite world.<sup>8</sup>

About 5.5 km northwest of Konar Sandal (North) is the roughly 75-hectare site of Qaleh Kutchek, which is composed of several mounds. Islamic, Seleuco-Parthian, Achaemenid and possible Bronze Age cemeteries are located outside the ruins to the east and northeast of the site (Azadi et al. 2012). The Bronze Age graveyard, which was unexcavated and had been heavily damaged by illicit excavations, may be associated with an Elamite community.

At Tepe Yahya, 90 km west of Konar Sandal, no domestic graves were found during the possible Elamite Period IVA that extended from about 2500 to 2200 BC (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970; Potts 2001).

In 1960–1961, approximately 300 kilometers west of Yahya, Feridun Tavallai excavated some 20 as-yet unpublished graves in a cemetery found at the surface of the prehistoric Tepe Jalyan. Mirroshehji (1974: 35) dated the pottery roughly to the second half of the third millennium BC. Each grave contained one skeleton lying on its side in a flexed position, the head facing the setting sun. One to five large jars decorated with mono- or duochrome geometrical and figurative patterns were deposited with each body. In some graves a drinking vessel with a long spout was found at the head of the deceased, and three burials yielded copper mirrors.

At Tall-e Zahhak, 23 km west of Tepe Jalyan, a surface grave probably of a child buried in a 'cauldron-like bowl' was found by Sir Aurel Stein (1936: 138–140) at the bottom of the central mound. The grave goods suggest a possible mid-second millennium BC context.<sup>9</sup> Further west, no domestic graves were found by Maurice Pézard (1914: 39–92) at Bushehr, ancient Liyan.

Although Tall-e Malyan, 47 km north of Shiraz, had been known as an archaeological site since at least the middle of the 19th century, Hansman (1972: 111–124) was the first to suggest its identification with Anshan. Erica Reiner (1973a) confirmed this identification on the basis of inscribed bricks found in March 1971 by Ilse Nicholson (1990: xiii) and Pierre and Bartyra de Miroschedji. After about 1100 BC, little is known from the site. In 1961, Ferayedoun Tavalloli briefly excavated at Malyan for the Archaeological Service of Iran, but there is no report of this work. From 1971 to 1978, the site was excavated by William Sumner (1987–1990, with detailed bibliography) and in 1999, Kamyar Abdi (2001), University of Michigan, conducted new investigations. Finally, the Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran and Dartmouth College dug at the site in 2004 (Alden et al. 2005). No domestic graves are mentioned in connection with any of these excavations. However, Elizabeth Carter (1996: 47) published three apparent surface graves found in Sector EDD. Only Burial 47 is of interest here, as it belongs to the early first millennium BC. The skeleton was found lying in a semi-flexed position, with the hands in front of the face. Four pins found near the neck indicate the deceased was clothed, or wore a shroud. There were also five bronze or copper bracelets on the arms, beads near the neck suggesting a necklace and a faience seal near the skull. A broken pot was situated in front of the forehead, near the left hand. A small pot and a larger one with a modest geometrical decoration (Carter 1996, Figure 46: 8) were deposited near the right forearm above the right knee. The last-mentioned vessel suggests a date around 800 BC based on the similarity of its shape with that of a pot of the same family found in Susa (Miroschedji 1981a: 144, Figure 48: 1 and Pl. XVII: 8). Finally, another small pot was found near the feet (Carter 1996, Figure 46: 9). According to Daniel T. Potts and Kourosh Roustaei (2006: 11) this burial 'provides indirect evidence for the use of the region by a mostly nomadic population in the early 1st millennium BC'. But as there was steep population decline during this period (Miroschedji 2003: 19, Figure 3-2; Carter 1994: 65; Sumner 1987–1990: 318), one cannot exclude the possibility that the mound was used as a cemetery by the remaining inhabitants.

No burials were found in the stepped test soundings made at the Neolithic to Post-Achaemenid Tol-e Nurabad or at Tol-e Spid, both sites being situated about 120 kilometers northwest of Shiraz (Potts and Roustaei 2006; Potts et al. 2009).

Excavations took place between 2000 and 2003 (Rezvani et al. 2007) and in 2008 (Jafari 2013) in the cemetery of Lama, located some 50 km northwest of Yasuj. The site had been damaged in 1999 along with others in the Behar River Valley<sup>19</sup> as a result of road construction activities there. A total of 74 stone-walled individual and collective burials were unearthed in the cemetery. Most had been covered by rubble or slabs, although some had gabled roofs. A number of the graves had been reused, with the latest buried individual usually being placed in a flexed position. The grave goods consisted mainly of pottery, bronze vessels, tools, bronze, iron and stone weapons; animal bones and even entire animals were found both within and outside some graves. The excavators conjectured that these burials belonged to a pastoral community and dated them between the late second and the early first millennium BC but a significant number of the illustrated pottery examples have earlier parallels in the Susa sequence.<sup>20</sup> It turns out that the Lama cemetery remained in use over a relatively long period.

The so-called Arjan tomb was discovered in 1982 on the left bank of the Marun River, close to the ruins of the medieval town of Arrajan, as crews did leveling work

associated with the construction of a dam in the vicinity. There is no known contemporaneous settlement related to this burial,<sup>21</sup> which has been recently re-dated between ca. 630 and 550 BC by Javier Alvarez-Mon (2015). The undisturbed burial consisted of a three-sided, stone-walled, rectangular subterranean funerary chamber covered with large flat stone slabs (Alizadeh 1985, and more recently Alvarez-Mon 2010, 2015; Wicks 2015: 24–26, 147–148). The floor and the inner sides of the walls were coated with a lime mortar. The funerary chamber contained a U-shaped bronze coffin of a type known also from Jobaji (below), Ur (Wicks 2015: 16–22, 146–147, with earlier references), Nimrud (Hussein 2016: 29–42, Pls. 100, 101; Wicks 2015: 5–16, 144–146) and at the northwestern Syrian site of Zincirli (Wicks 2015: 30–33, 150),<sup>22</sup> but the Arjan coffin is the only known example with a bronze lid. The lid, however, is preserved solely in fragments. A poorly preserved skeleton of a 40- to 50-year-old man was found lying on its right side in a flexed position. Near the forearms was an unusual gold ring with flaring engraved disc-shaped terminals bearing the inscription *Kidin Hurtram, son of Kurlush* (published by F. Vallat 1984). The same inscription appears on a bronze candelabrum, a silver jar and a bronze bowl found outside the coffin. Along the back of the body was a dagger with an iron blade and an ornamented ivory (?) hilt. In addition, a broken silver tube removed before the regular excavation of the burial has been hypothetically attributed to the tomb. Near the feet and under the head were found folded cotton textile fragments, and the upper body seems to have been covered by a garment. Gold rosettes and discs were found near the torso. Loops on the reverse sides indicate they were probably attached to garments. This tomb and the one described next reveal attractive aspects of late Neo-Elamite art.

Seven kilometers southeast of the town of Ram Hormuz, on the left bank of the Ala River and at the northern limit of Tepe Jobaji,<sup>24</sup> two U-shaped bronze coffins (Shishegar 2015; Wicks 2015: 27–30, 148–150) were badly damaged during the excavation of a pipeline in 2007. Each coffin is reported to have contained a female skeleton lying on its right side in a flexed position; one is said to have been approximately 17 years old and the other 30–35 years old. A number of metal vessels were found between the two coffins (Shishegar 2015: 282). Furthermore, the excavation report lists a rich collection of grave goods found in or outside the coffins, but only rarely is a precise location mentioned. Among the finds were an inscribed gold ring similar to the Arjan ring, gold bangles, some with inset semi-precious stones or with animal head terminals, gold necklaces, rings, pins, gold and semi-precious beads, textiles with gold attachments and a cat's eye agate set into a gold brooch. The latter bears the name of the Kassite ruler Kurigalzu I or II (14th century BC) and may well have originated as booty from an earlier war. Remains of several daggers are also mentioned. The presence of these weapons lends only tenuous support to the notion that the two buried persons were women.

Tepe Borini, on the right bank of the Ala River some 4.5 km southwest of Ram Hormuz, was a Neo-Elamite urban center, although Late Susiana, mid-second millennium, Middle Elamite, Achaemenid and Partho-Sasanian sherds were counted among the surface finds (Carter 1971: 274, 277–281; Wright and Carter 2003: Figure 6-7: a, b, c, e and h).<sup>25</sup> No graves are reported at Tepe Borini and the unexcavated mound is now extensively covered by modern constructions. A stone with an inscription of Amar-Sin (1952–1944 BC) found on the site mentions the sack of the town of

Huhur. On this basis Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2005: 171) suggested identifying the ruin with this town<sup>16</sup> but no Ur III material is reported to have been found on the surface of the mound.

Near the northwest border of the Ram Hormuz plain, 1,500 m south of the Kupal River, is the multi-mound complex of Tall-e Geser, which was explored in 1948 by Donald E. McGown (1949; see also Perkins 1949: 54, Caldwell 1957–1971; Carter 1971: 256–274; Alizadeh 2014). The site seems to have been first occupied between the late sixth and the early third millennia, later during the *sukkalmah* and Middle Elamite periods and, after another gap, between the Achaemenid and Early Islamic eras. A number of earth graves, jar burials and brick-lined tombs were excavated (see Alizadeh 2014: Figure 3-7, 9–10, 14–15 and 23), but the stratigraphic relation between the grave pits and the occupation floors is unclear.<sup>17</sup> In the earth and brick-lined tombs, the skeleton had been placed in a stretched-out position, as at Susa during the 13th century BC, where the practice was not as generalized as in Geser.

No burials are known from the unexcavated Qaleh Tul located some 23 km south of Izeh, the occupation of which seems to have extended from the late 5th millennium to the Achaemenid period (Carter 1971: 255, n. 1).

Dur Untrash, the Akkadian name of modern Tehogha Zambil, was built as a royal town of some hundred hectares by Untash-Napirisha (ca. 1340–1300 BC) who was married to a daughter of the Kasite king Burnaburias II (1354–1328) (see Steve et al. 2002–2003: Tableau 1 and fn. 24 with references).<sup>18</sup> The eastern district of the site shelters the monumental city gate and three palaces. Of these, the so-called *Palais Hypogée* (Ghirshman 1968a: 59–74, plan XI) revealed five subterranean vaulted monumental brick tombs with their walls sometimes built slightly offset from those of the palace. This anomaly led Ghirshman (1968a: 60) to consider the possibility that the tombs were built before the palace, although no detailed stratigraphic analysis is available. One should also note that three tombs were built below the rooms of the northwest wing of the *Palais*, a storage-like area, while two tombs were found below the floors of a small domestic district only reachable from the large central courtyard of the building.

All five tombs had stairways with vaulted, very sloping access. After the interments in Tombs II to V, the stairway was filled with construction debris (Ghirshman 1968a: Figure 23: Tombs III and IV, pl. XXXIX: 2 and 3), while the access to the empty Tomb I was covered only with a provisional vault of one single course of bricks (Ghirshman 1968a: Figure 23, bottom). Where preserved, a lime mortar protected the inner sides of both the stairways and the funerary chambers (Ghirshman 1968a: Pls. XXXVII: 5 and XLIII) and bitumen was used to render them impermeable. Tombs II, III and V had two perpendicular funerary chambers, while I and IV each had one room. Their lengths ranged from 7.80 m for the smallest (T. V) to 16.90 m for the largest (T. IV). The widths were mostly around three meters and the heights of the vaults reached 3.70 to 3.90 m.<sup>19</sup> Seven clandestine pits were dug into Tombs II, III, IV and V (for the location of these pits see Ghirshman 1968a: plan XI), but surprisingly, no such pit had reached Tomb I; therefore, one might assume that the looters knew this tomb was empty and, by deduction, the plundering of the others occurred shortly after their construction.

Tehogha Zambil was abandoned at the latest during the reign of Shutrunk-Nahhunte (ca. 1190–1155 BC), since this king brought to Susa the stèles erected by

Untash-Napirisha at *sian-kuk*.<sup>20</sup> In the end, the site was in full use for only a little over a century. The novelty at Dur Untrash, however, is the practice of cremation, which is rarely attested in the Elamite world. In the first chamber of Tomb II was a heap of ashes and the half-burnt bones of three individuals were discovered, while the second chamber revealed those of five individuals; all were cremated with their grave goods (Ghirshman 1968a: Pl. XC), which included three “clay olives” inscribed possibly with a proper name or a title so that the deceased might have an identity in the afterlife (Steve 1967: 103, no. 61 and Pl. XXI: 1–3). Tomb III contained two heaps of ashes and burnt bones in each chamber but the surviving grave goods consisted only of two identical common jars (Ghirshman 1968a: 65, Pl. XC: G.T.-Z. 897). The one-room Tomb IV contained a brick platform<sup>21</sup> (Ghirshman 1968a: 67, Pl. XLIII) on top of which were two heaps of ashes and burnt bones apparently collected in a red painted wool tissue with a bronze bracelet and a number of more or less small fragments in bitumen, molten glass, bronze, gold, silver and lapis lazuli (respectively Ghirshman 1968a: p. 67, Pls. XLIV: 1, XCI: G.T.-Z. 972 and p. 67 and 71, Pls. XLIV: 2–3, XCI: G.T.-Z. 971, 975: a and b, 976: a and b, 977, 979 and 980). Beside the two heaps of ashes was the complete skeleton of a woman who had died at between 40 and 50 years of age (Fereimbach 1968). She rested on her left side with flexed legs, the left hand near the lumbar vertebrae and the right hand under the left cheek. Close to her feet was a common jar (Ghirshman 1968a: Pl. XCI: G.T.-Z. 986) identical to those found in Tomb III. Another common jar (Ghirshman 1968a: Pl. XCI: G.T.-Z. 985), three unpaired high-footed bowls containing charcoal (Pl. XCI: G.T.-Z. 982–984) and a small common bowl (Pl. XCI: G.T.-Z. 987) were deposited at the foot of the platform. It seems that the looters of Tomb V<sup>22</sup> brought the ashes and objects to the room above (Ghirshman 1968a: 71) in order to sort through what they were interested in. Because of the location of the tomb under the so-called “domestic wing” of the palace, Ghirshman (1968a: 71) believed that it was the burial place of the royal family, while he left unanswered the question of the status of the individuals buried in Tombs I to IV.

Cremations were also observed in the district of the so-called *Entrée Royale*,<sup>23</sup> which was the only known gate of the town. Three unregistered but probably open large vessels each contained the burnt bones of a child. No cover and no grave goods were reported, and one of the burials was at least partially dug into the wall of the gate. There is no other information about the stratigraphic relation with the building, which prevents us from proposing a date for the burials. Four earth graves and three subterranean one-room vaulted mud-brick tombs were excavated outside the central *Temenos* district (Ghirshman 1968a, 101–107; see Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2012a, Figure 8 for the location of the three vaulted mud brick tombs). The three mud-brick tombs were similar in shape, with a pit-like access and a deeper funerary chamber also coated with lime mortar. However, the upper parts of their vaults were shattered. Access to the funerary chamber of both Tombs 1 and 2 was blocked by a large stone slab, while access to Tomb 3 was open. According to the pottery therein, the three tombs are contemporaneous and belong to the occupation period of the site (late 14th and 13th centuries BC).

Tomb 1 is located in the southeast district, near the temple of Nusku. It contained two skeletons, each in a semi-flexed position, the hands in front of the face, lying on a platform built along the long walls of the chamber. One of the deceased was

wearing a necklace of semi-precious stone beads (Ghirshman 1968a: 104, Pls. LXIV: 4 and XCVIII: G.T.-Z. 1119), and two stone seals (Porada 1970: Nos. 161–162) were found nearby. The second individual had been entombed with an inscribed lapis lazuli cylinder seal bearing the name of its owner (Ghirshman 1968a: 104; inscription in Reiner 1970: 137, No. 109), four bronze bracelets and two rings (Ghirshman 1968a: 104, Pl. XCVIII: G.T.-Z. 1118a-d). A bronze lamp and three common jars (Ghirshman 1968a: Figure 43, Pl. XCVIII: G.T.-Z. 1120 and 1121a-b) were dispersed across the chamber (Ghirshman 1968a: 104, Pls. LXIV: 4 and XCVIII: G.T.-Z. 1119).

Tomb 2 is situated on the opposite side of the town, near what Ghirshman interpreted as a water reservoir.<sup>24</sup> The disturbed skeletons of at least three individuals were found on platforms built along the three walls of the chamber. A necklace of semi-precious stone beads, two silver braided hair rings, two bronze rings, and a small object in flint (Ghirshman 1968a, Figure 44, Pl. XCVIII: G.T.-Z. 1123 and 1122a-c) were discovered among the human bones on the northeast platform, while a bronze bracelet – covered with an elaborated bronze sheet – and two hollow bronze anklets were found on the southeast platform (Ghirshman 1968a: Figure 44, Pl. XCVIII: G.T.-Z. 1125 and 1126). Some broken objects were uncovered on the third platform, and 14 identical common jars were found in various locations in the chamber (Ghirshman 1968a: Figure 44, Pl. XCVIII: G.T.-Z. 1127 and 1124).

Tomb 3 is located in the same district as Tomb 2 but at some distance inside the northern corner of the city wall. On the platform in the back of the chamber a single skeleton was found lying in a flexed position, along with bones of a second individual, while the remains of at least seven skeletons were found on the adjacent platform of the long side of the chamber. Two bronze rings, three semi-precious stone beads, three bows, three oval shaped lamps and 25 common jars constituted the grave goods (Ghirshman 1968a: Figure 45 and Pl. XCIX: G.T.-Z. 1128, 1129, 1133, 1130–1132 and 1134–1136).

Finally, four earth graves were excavated in a test trench dug near the *Palais Hypogée*. However, these belong to the late 12th and 11th centuries and show that the site was used for internments after it had been deurbanized.

Seven and a half kilometers northeast of Tchogha Zanbil, on the right bank of the conjoined Loreh and Gelal Rivers, is the trapezoidal shaped Tepe Dehno, some 20 m in height and 5 ha in area (aerial view in Steve 1987: Pl. I: 2). The town seems to have been occupied during the first half of the fourth millennium BC, the mid-third millennium, the early- and mid-second millennium, and in the Parthian period (Steve 1987: 11–13). Strong rainfall erosion on the southeast side of the mound led Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2013) to excavate in this area, where he found a vaulted brick tomb that most probably belongs to the late *sukkalmah* – early Middle Elamite periods.<sup>25</sup> Three skulls and some postcranial bones – one of them with a ring – and 12 pots were found inside the tomb, while sheep or goat bones together with fragments of a large vessel were found in the grave pit.

Haft Tepe, ancient Kabnak, is located 13 km southeast of Susa. Ezat O. Negahban (1969, 1991) excavated large areas of the site between 1965 and 1979 following the fortuitous discovery of a brick wall that proved to belong to a building that Negahban arbitrarily interpreted as the *Tomb-Temple Complex of Tepiti Ahar* (Negahban 1991: 7–9, 20–22, Pls. 6–8),<sup>26</sup> a possible contemporary of the late 15th century Kassite king Kadashman-Harbe I (Cole and De Meyer 1999). Bezad Mofidi-Nasrabadi

(2012a: 266) also thought that Tepiti Ahar built the *Complex of Tepiti Ahar*, although he favored a later date for the actual deposition of the bodies. Some 25 years later Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2012a: Figs. 3–4) conducted a geomagnetic survey of the site that revealed large monumental buildings west and southeast of Negahban's field activities. He also excavated in three new areas (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2010a, 2011, 2012a, 2012b and 2014).

In the slightly older, small, dwelling-like district located west of the *Tomb-Temple Complex* Negahban (1991: 22–23) found a pottery sarcophagus (Negahban 1991: 22, Pls. 19: A-B and 20: A),<sup>27</sup> jar burials containing or covering the deceased (Negahban 1991: 22, Pl. 19: c) and earth graves (Negahban 1991: 23, Pls. 20: B and 21). However, no precise stratigraphic information is at hand. Negahban attributed the *Tomb-Temple Complex* to king Tepiti Ahar (and his family) based on a large fragment of an inscribed stele found in the courtyard of the building. However, according to Erica Reiner (1973b) this stele simply derived from a royal tomb. There is no allusion to a *Temple* in the inscription. On the other hand, Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2012a) drew parallels with the *Palais Hypogée* of Tchogha Zanbil.

The two adjacent northern rooms of the building each contained a vaulted brick tomb (Negahban 1991: 20–22, color Pl. 2: 2, plans 2–4; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2012a: 265, Figure 9; 266, Figure 11). The larger northeastern tomb (Negahban 1991: plan 4; incorrectly oriented; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2012a: Figure 11; 2012b: Figure 12, correct orientation) contained a long but low platform<sup>28</sup> with two long sections separated by a short one. In the long sections and in the southwest corner of the funerary chamber were the remains of some 20 skeletons, of both adults and children, mostly found in flexed or semi-flexed position. The overall picture suggests successive depositions, although the individuals found in the southwest corner of the chamber seem to have been laid down hurriedly near the entrance. The slightly smaller adjacent tomb presents a different picture. Fourteen individuals had been laid out side by side in more or less stretched-out positions; another nine skeletons had been placed on the chests and lower limbs of the former individuals. The orderly arrangement seems to indicate that all the individuals were buried together following an unusual event. Unfortunately, no study of the skeletons is available. No grave goods are reported from these two brick tombs, a circumstance which increases the likelihood that the bodies therein had been hastily laid to rest. According to Mofidi-Nasrabadi's (2012b: 99, Tab. 4) chronostratigraphic reconstruction the tombs were built during his *Bauschicht III* following a destruction observed in *Arsal I, II and III* of his excavations.

Finally, Mofidi-Nasrabadi excavated 22 Middle Elamite earth and jar-burials, one sarcophagus and one *Scherbengrab*.<sup>29</sup> These were all dug into or near the ruins of the so-called *Complex C* and the more southern *Administrative Building*. A second sarcophagus was found in an already uninhabited house located next to the *Administrative Building* (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011, esp. p. 152; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2012b: 98, 91–92, Grab 14; 95, Tab. 1 and 97). It contained an adult in a semi-flexed position, his skull and shoulder protected by a large broken jar. The grave goods were mostly found in the covered area of the tub and consisted of three small globular ceramic jars – a fragment of the same type was found near the pelvis –, one bronze cup, one glazed pyxis, two bronze rings, three silver pins, a number of gold and stone beads supposedly belonging to a necklace. Also among the grave goods were two Elamite cylinder seals with Akkadian inscriptions bearing the name Gimadu, a high official

of the king Inšūšinak-sunkir-nappir: According to Mofidi-Nasrabadi, none of the graves he excavated at Haft Tepe were dug below occupation floors.

The lowland metropolis Susa – founded around 4000 BC on the eastern bank of the perennial Karkeh River – shows a different picture. Several hundred third and second millennia BC burials were found by Roland de Mecquenem on the mound called Apadana, east of Darius I's palace (Mecquenem 1922: 117–123; for location of this operation, see Steve and Gasche 1996: Figure 1; see also Tavernier 2013); and at the Dojon (Mecquenem 1943: 74–137), the southern district of the *Ville Royale*. We will not consider these burials, however, because of insufficient stratigraphic information. For similar reasons, we will not deal with Ghirshman's mid-second millennium burials found in a trench opened in the 1950s at the very northern edge of the Apadana mound (for the location of this operation, see Steve et al. 2002–2003; Figure 5, no. 24 and for the unusual way this excavation took place, see Steve and Gasche 1990: fn. 7). Also, because there are insufficient field records of the burials found in Levels XI, X and IX (ca. 1440–1125 BC) of Ghirshman's *Chantier A* in the *Ville Royale* we consider here only the burials excavated in Level XV to Level XII (ca. 1700–1440 BC), for which we do have detailed stratigraphic information. Finally, Ghirshman transferred his activities to *Chantier B* after natural soil was reached in the western area of Level XV of *Chantier A*.<sup>30</sup> In *Chantier B* he attempted to complete the second millennium stratigraphy on one of the platforms of Mecquenem's enormous *II<sup>e</sup> chantier* (see topographic sketch and over-simplified cross section in Mecquenem 1934: 178, Figure 1, 219 Figure 64). In this area Ghirshman excavated portions of private houses dating to the mid-20th to mid-16th centuries BC (for a preliminary report, see Ghirshman 1968b; for a revised stratigraphy, Gasche 1973: 10–11 and Armstrong and Gasche 2014: Table 9). We will not deal with the burial data from *Chantier B*, however, because this evidence is much more limited and therefore much less informative than the evidence from *Chantier A*.<sup>31</sup>

Level XII *recent* and XII *ancien* (ca. 1500–1440 BC): 48 burials were uncovered in 15 houses of a total of at least 22 (see Figure 3.6.2). A brick tomb revealed two bitumen painted clay eyes found at some distance from the skull. There were eight life-size painted clay heads in two other brick tombs. One of these tombs was found in a small, elongated building with no preserved entrance on the west side of the *Chantier* and was disturbed by an Islamic well. The second tomb was uncovered in the evacuation trench leading to the dump on the opposite side of the *Chantier* and was well preserved. It contained three inhumations. The first is evidenced by a fragment of a clay head with a few human bones shoved to the side. The second and third are evidenced by the skeletons of a man and a woman, each with a painted clay head deposited on the skull (Ghirshman 1964: 10, Figs. 23–24; 1965: 5, Figs. 11–14. Amiet 1966: Figure 347). This practice continued in Level XI, where a painted but less nicely crafted clay head of a woman was uncovered in an earth grave. This head, however, was found on the abdomen of the deceased, the face turned down.

Level XIII (ca. 1570–1500 BC): 24 burials were found in 11 houses of a total of at least 22. In addition, two burials had been dug below public domains but close to the houses' facades and one burial was found in an area disturbed by later large pits. In a brick tomb two life-size bitumen painted clay eyes were found near the left shoulder of one of the two undisturbed skeletons (Ghirshman 1965: 5, Figs. 15; 4 and

18; above).<sup>32</sup> However, Ghirshman's (1965: 5) hypothesis that these eyes were part of a mask is unsupported by the evidence.

Level XIV (ca. 1640–1570 BC): 12 burials were uncovered in five houses of a total of at least 10.

Level XV (ca. 1700–1640 BC): five fetuses or newborn babies were buried together below the floor of one house, and an older child was found below another house. The floors of Level XV, however, were not thoroughly investigated (see above).

Level Pre-XV (ca. 1750–1700 BC): no burials were discovered but the area excavated was small.

The reader will observe that there was a 400% increase in the number of domestic burials between Levels XIV and XII (ca. 1640–1440 BC), coinciding with the period when southern Babylonia was progressively deurbanized beginning in year 11 or 12 of the reign of Samsuiluna, king of Babylon between 1653 and 1616 BC (Armstrong and Gasche 2014: 2 and Table 9). Moreover, these burials were found only in the smaller houses in these levels. No burials were found under the large residences, which most probably belonged to Elamite notables,<sup>33</sup> with the exception of a fetus or newborn baby and an infant less than one year old interred in the service areas of the large Level XIII residence on the eastern extremity of *Chantier A*. These were perhaps the children of local servants. In summary, eight painted clay heads and two pairs of clay eyes were found in four burials. All belonged to Levels XII and XIII. These clay heads and eyes are the only such items from recorded stratigraphic contexts. Those found by Mecquenem have no context; we do not even know where they originated. The deposition of such items with deceased individuals is reminiscent of the earlier practice evidenced in the Shadhad cemetery, where painted life-size clay busts and heads were unearthed in contexts dating at least some 150 years earlier. The two life-size clay heads and clay mask uncovered in a late 15th century workshop at Haft Tepe may have been crafted for similar purposes. The practice of placing effigies in tombs is relatively widespread in the ancient Near East. Their purpose is obscure, although one can imagine that the heads and eyes were meant to lend perception to the deceased in the afterlife.

The ruins of Tepe Sharafabad, which cover an area of about two hectares, is located some 15 km northeast of Susa and two kilometers east of the Dez River. Excavations conducted in 1971 (Schacht 1975; Schacht and Wright 2010) revealed a relatively continuous occupation between ca. 5500 and 2800 BC and, in our opinion, between the 17th and the early 14th centuries BC based on the published pottery and terra cottas (Schacht 1975; Figure 6, 7 and 9: a-f). Apart from late surface graves, no burials under occupation floors are mentioned.

Excavations at the North Mound of Tehogha Mish revealed an "Old Elamite" fort of some 95 m by 140 m with some occupational remains (Delougaz and Kantor 1996: 18–25). The most characteristic sherds found in the fort are paralleled in the Susa sequence of the early/middle *sukkalnah* period (Delougaz and Kantor 1996: Pls. 77: A, J and 78: A-G. See Gasche 1973: Pls. 3: 7; 23; 28; 25; Levels B V and VI). No burials are related to the fort, but two undated graves, both unpublished, were dug into the southern slope of the North Mound (Delougaz and Kantor 1996: 22).

Along the piedmont, some 95 km northwest of Susa, Gautier and Lampre (1905) excavated at Tepe Musyan and also surveyed a number of sites in the surrounding area. At Musyan itself, two burials of probable mid-second millennium date are

mentioned, but there is no stratigraphic information available. In 1977, east of Tepe Musyan, Miroscbedji (Miroscbedji 1981b: 172–174, 184, Figure 60; 1986: 216–220, Figures 1–4) conducted a survey in the part of the Patak plain that is situated along the left bank of the Duwairij River. According to the published report, there were five or six Middle Elamite sites in this region, including Tepe Patak, but no burials are mentioned.

Some 12 km north-northwest of Tepe Musyan, on the left bank of the Mehneh River (= Tib River in Iraq), lies the site of Farukhabad, where the excavators uncovered three burials in the second-millennium BC layers (Wright 1981: 197–198). Abu Sheeja, ancient Pašime<sup>14</sup> has been recently localized on the Mehneh River, some 7.5 km inside present-day Iraq. Pottery of the mid-*sakkaḥ* period<sup>15</sup> was found in a pit and in a grave dug into the debris of a possible Akkadian- and Ur III-period temple dedicated to the Elamite god Šuda, which perhaps reflects a tradition of using abandoned sacred places for burying the dead.

In conclusion, the Elamites did not bury their dead below the floors of their houses – except at Susa, where Mesopotamian influence was often pronounced.

## NOTES

- 1 A clay tag or label found more to the east, at Tepe Hissar, has three inscribed signs or symbols that are unlikely to be Proto-Elamite (Dyson 1987: 659).
- 2 The only pre-Parthian site in this area is the fourth millennium Tall-i Pir, located 20 km off the coast, behind a mountain range running east of the Partho-Islamic settlement and grave complex of Siraf, ancient Taheri. Second and first millennium BC remains from Qeshm Island, southwest of Bandar Abbas, have been reported by Rad (1969–70), but no other information is available. The opposite Arabian coast, by contrast, has been settled since the 7th millennium (Rice 1994: 327–331, Beech et al. 2016). However, because present climatic and marine conditions point to the possible existence of harbors on the Iranian coast (see for example During Caspers 1971: Figure 1), new surveys of the eastern littoral of the Gulf might yield interesting results.
- 3 See also hereafter the ambiguous situation at Tall-e Geser.
- 4 All dates introduced hereafter refer to the chronology proposed in Gasche et al. 1998. Supporters of the Middle Chronology must add 96 years to the dates of the First Dynasty of Babylon and 93 years to those of the Third Dynasty of Ur.
- 5 The earlier residence of Level A XV was only partly excavated.
- 6 For a well-preserved example found by Meequenen at Susa, see Amiet 1966: Figure 350. For an inventory of the heads found at Susa and Haft Tepe, see Alvarez-Mon 2005.
- 7 The Musée du Louvre analyzed the strait/chlorite objects found at Susa and established that they are chlorite (Miroscbedji 1973: fn. 3; see also his Figures 6 and 13 for the distribution in Iran, southern Mesopotamia and the Gulf area before the discoveries at Jiroft). For the grave goods, see Madjidzadeh 2003a, 2003b; Perrot 2003; Cleuzou 2003; Perrot and Madjidzadeh 2005; Madjidzadeh and Pitman 2008. However, Muscarella (2001: 182–189) and Amiet (2002: 96) draw attention to a number of forgeries or probable forgeries among the objects published by Madjidzadeh (2003a) who, in turn, defends their authenticity (Madjidzadeh and Pitman 2008: fn. 19). In addition, Amiet (2002) strongly rules out Madjidzadeh's (2003a: 6) offhand hypothesis that a considerable part of the Sumerian art may have originated in southeastern Iran, in the region of the present province of Kernan.
- 8 According to Steinkeller (2006: fn. 4), Madjidzadeh's (1976; 2003a: 12, 19) attempts to locate the mythical land of Aratra in the region of Jiroft is completely unlikely.

- 9 See Stein 1936, Pls. XI: Figure 10; XIX: 8; XX: 17–20; XXIX: 42. The sherds illustrated on Pls. XXVIII: 5 and XXIX: 1 (glass) and 29 are not grave goods but were probably displaced by erosion.

- 10 The 'cauldron-like bowl', could be related to the large vessels of Group 35, Variant b of Gasche 1973: 49–50, Pl. 44 = Group 265 A<sub>3</sub> of Armstrong and Gasche 2014: 69, Pl. 124. Tai Amr (excavated in 2012, see [www.betasad.com/fa/content/view/10214/](http://www.betasad.com/fa/content/view/10214/)), Mahmoundabad, Dorhan, Chenar Barz and possibly more, see Jafari 2013: 59.
- 11 For Rezvani et al. 2007, p. 83; 11, compare Gasche 1973: Pl. 31: 4 and for p. 83: 17, compare Gasche 1973: Pl. 14: 12; for Rezvani et al. 2007, p. 99: 4 see Gasche 1973: Pl. 20: 2. For Jafari 2013, Figure 20: 7103289, see Gasche 1973: Pl. 22: 26. The Susa parallels are dated between the mid-16th and the early 14th centuries BC.
- 12 See Gaube (2011) for the history and dating of the medieval town. According to Tawhidi and Khalilian (1982: 242), prehistoric pottery was found at the surface of the medieval mound, but there was no material contemporaneous with the burial.
- 13 Other comparable coffins or fragments – mostly unexcavated – were found in Susa or said to be found near Khorramabad (certainly not Parthian in date as written in [www.cais-soas.com/News/2006/April2006/07-04.htm](http://www.cais-soas.com/News/2006/April2006/07-04.htm)), in northwest Iran (including one at Ziwiye), in north Iran (Amlash area) and in eastern Anatolia.
- 14 Tepe Jobaji is a large site consisting of several mounds with Middle Elamite, Neo-Elamite and possibly Achaemenid sherds, see Alizadeh 2014: 240–241, 291 (RH-058), Pl. 51 (location) and 120 (surface pottery). See also Shishegar 2015, Henkelman 2008: 32, fn. 82 and Alvarez-Mon 2013: 467–468.
- 15 During a survey conducted in 1977, Miroscbedji (1981b: 170 and fn. 10) found a fragment of brick with a Neo-Elamite inscription at Tepe Boromi. The inscription was published by Vallat in 1981. Another six mounds of the western Kam Hormuz plain were also occupied during the Middle Elamite period (Wright and Carter 2003: Figure 6.6).
- 16 Followed by Alvarez-Mon (2010: 204) and Henkelman (2008: 17, fn. 29, 245). Alizadeh (2014: 238, fn. 84) doubts this identification but formulates no other hypothesis. Duchêne (1986) suggests locating Huhur at Arrajan.
- 17 On the maps, the graves are shown with the layers in which they were found, not with those from which they were dug.
- 18 Tehogha Zanbil lies 33 km southeast of Susa on the northern edge of the Haft Tepe anticline (see Cole and Gasche 2007: Figure 68) close to, but some 35 to 40 m above, the Dez River. The site was sounded between 1936–1939 and during a few days in 1946 by Meequenen and Michalon (1953: 1–5), widely excavated by Ghirshman between 1951 and 1962, and has been reinvestigated since 1999 by Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2007) in the frame of a UNESCO Project for the preservation of the monument (see Mofidi-Nasrabadi's plan 2 for the location of his excavated areas A, B and C and plans 3 to 9 for the location of the districts he surveyed).
- 19 All measures are those of Ghirshman's published plans, not those given in his descriptions, often inaccurate.
- 20 For the equivalence Dur Umash = *šivan-kuḫ* see König (1977: 75–76) and Grillo and Vallat (1978: fn. 3).
- 21 Compare the platform found in the northeast burial of the so-called *Tomb-Temple Complex of Tepi Ahur* at Haft Tepe.
- 22 The vaults of the stairway of the first funerary chamber were partly destroyed (Ghirshman 1968a: 71, Figure 30 and Pl. XLV: 1).
- 23 They are only mentioned on plan XV of Ghirshman 1968a.
- 24 See now the arguments of Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2007: 25–28) and Badamchi (2015) for a different interpretation of this structure.



- 25 Compare Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013: Pl. 10: D.N. 12-1227-59 and 60 with Negahban 1991: Figure 3: 31 and Gasche 1973: Pl. 21: 28 (late Level A XIII = ca. 1500 BC) and Pl. 22: 3 (Level A XII = ca. 1500-1440 BC). Carter's (1979) attempt to re-date Ghirshman's second millennium Levels XIII to IX of *Chantier A* (see Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013: 102 and fn. 21) was firmly rejected 36 years ago by Steve et al. 1980: 49-65.
- 26 Tepti Ahar was probably the last of the "Kidinnuid" rulers (Steve et al. 2002-2003: 452-457). However, the succession, eventual filiation and lengths of the reigns of the "Kidinnuids" are unknown. Although Haft Tepe was a significant Middle Elamite urban center, the pottery found by Negahban shows that the site was already occupied at least during the 19th and the early 18th centuries BC: compare, for example, Negahban (1991: 30, Figs. 8: 77-83 and Pl. 23: 84) with Gasche 1973: Pl. 25: B-VI. See now Armstrong and Gasche (2014: 12 and Table 9) for the chronology of B V and B VI. A recent interpretation of the chronology of the Middle Elamite occupation at Haft Tepe is based on 25 C14 analyses (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2015). Unfortunately, the results are not homogenous and are hardly convincing.
- 27 This type of sarcophagus is attested from the 19th to the early 16th centuries BC in the still unpublished graves excavated in Levels B VI to A XIV at Susa.
- 28 Compare the platform found in Tomb IV of the *Palais Hypogée* at Tchogha Zanbil.
- 29 A further incomplete skeleton of a 30-35 year old woman (?) was found next to a wall that seems to be contemporaneous with Negahban's *Tomb-Temple Complex of Tepti Ahar* (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2012b: Tab. 4); the skeleton was progressively covered with later debris and no grave pit was noted (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2012b: 94 and Pl. 35: 6). For a view of a great number of skeletal remains heaped up in a street *between the dwellings of the final building layer* of the town, see also [www.pasthorizonspr.com/index.php/archives/1/1/2015/](http://www.pasthorizonspr.com/index.php/archives/1/1/2015/)
- 30 Older houses appeared in a small area of this level. These houses were later considered to belong to a Level 'Pre-XV' (Armstrong and Gasche 2014: 12 and Table 9). However, they contained no burials.
- 31 One should consider the following listing as approximate, as many of the houses extended beyond the limits of *Chantier A*. Furthermore, some of the numbers are slightly different from those of Gasche (2013: 77) due to a reexamination of the data.
- 32 These eyes did not belong to a clay head as maintained by Spycket 1992: 136, No. 85.
- 33 The large Level XII residence on the east side of *Chantier A* (Figure 36-2), for example, belonged to a man named Atarun-uhruh, who was almost certainly an important Elamite notable based on the evidence of his correspondence with the *sukkalmah* (Steve et al. 1980: 126-127). This house rests on older Level XIII and XIV houses with a very similar plan.
- 34 Pašime was formerly localized along the northeastern coast of the Gulf (Steinkeller 1982: 240-243; Vallat 1993: CXXXV-CXXXVII).
- 35 Compare Hussein et al. 2010: Figures 54 and 55 with respectively Gasche 1973: Pls. 24: 21 and 11.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdi, K. 2001. *Malyan 1999*. *Iran* 39: 73-98.
- Alden, J.R., Abdi, K., Azadi, A., Beckman, G. and Pitman, H. 2005. *Fars Archaeology Project 2004*. Excavations at Tall-e Malyan. *Iran* 43: 39-47.
- Alizadeh, A. 1985. *A Tomb of the Neo-Elamite Period at Arjan, Near Behbahan*. *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 18: 49-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. Ancient Settlement Systems and Cultures in the Ram Hormuz Plain, South-western Iran: Excavations at Tall-e Geser and Regional Survey of the Ram Hormuz Area. *Oriental Institute Publications* 149, Chicago.
- Alvarez-Mon, J. 2005. Elamite Funerary Clay Heads. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 68/3: 114-122.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. *The Arjan Tomb: At the Crossroads of the Elamite and the Persian Empires*. *Acta Iranica* 49, Leuven: Peeters Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. Elam in the Iron Age. In: Potts, D.T. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, New York: Oxford University Press, 457-477.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. Arjan Tomb. *Encyclopædia Iranica* (online).
- Amiet, P. 1966. *Elam*. *Anvers-sur-Oise*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1973. En Iran central, la civilisation du désert de Lut. *Archéologia* 60: 20-27.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. Review of Madjidzadeh 2003a. *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 96: 95-96.
- Armstrong, J.A. and Gasche, H. 2014. *Mesopotamian Pottery: A Guide to the Babylonian Tradition in the Second Millennium B.C. Mesopotamian History and Environment*. Memoirs VI. Ghent, Chicago.
- Azadi, A., Ascalone, E. and Peyronel, L. 2012. The First Season (2009) of Archaeological Research by the Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition at Qaleh Kuchek, Halil Valley (Jiroft, Kerman Province, SE Iran). In: Matthews, R. and Curtis, J. (eds.) *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East: 12 April-16 April 2010, The British Museum and UCL, London* 3: *Field Work & Recent Research*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 277-302.
- Badamchi, H. 2015. Water Reservoir in Chogha Zanbil and its Epigraphic Evidence. *Elamica* 5: 1-3.
- Beech, M., Strutt, K., Blue, L., Khalfan al-Kaabi, A., Awad Omar W., Abdulla al-Haj El-Faki, A., Reddy Lingareddy, A. and Martin, J. 2016. Ubaid-Related Sites of the Southern Gulf Revisited: The Abu Dhabi Coastal Heritage Initiative. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 46: 9-23.
- Caldwell, J.R. 1957-1971. Ghazir, Tell-i. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 3: 348-355.
- Carter, E. 1971. *Elam in the Second Millennium B.C.: The Archaeological Evidence*. Chicago: Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. Elamite Pottery, ca. 2000-1000 B.C. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38: 111-128.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. Bridging the Gap Between the Elamites and the Persians in Southeastern Khuzestan. *Achaemenid History* 8: 65-95.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. *Excavations at Anshan (Tale Mahan): The Middle Elamite Period*. *Malyan Excavations Reports* 2. *University Museum Monograph* 82. Philadelphia, PA.
- Cole, S.W. and De Meyer, L. 1999. Tepti-ahar, King of Susa, and Kadsāman-škurgal. *Akkadica* 112: 44-45.
- Cole, S.W. and Gasche, H. 2007. Documentary and Other Archaeological and Environmental Evidence Bearing on the Identification and Location of the Rivers of Lower Khuzestan and the Position of the Head of the Persian Gulf ca. 1200 BC - 200 AD. *Aktadica* 128: 1-72.
- Cleuziou, S. 2003. Jiroft et Tarrut. Plateau iranien et péninsule arabe. *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 287: 114-125.
- Delougarz, P. and Kantor, H.J. (A. Alizadeh ed.) 1996. *Chogha Mish 1. The First Five Seasons of Excavations 1961-1971*. *Oriental Institute Publications* 101. Chicago (2 vol.).
- Dessert, F. 2014. A New Writing System Discovered in 3rd Millennium BC E Iran: The Konar Sandal 'Geometric' Tablets. *Iranica Antiqua* 49: 83-109.
- Duchène, J. 1986. La localisation de Huhur. In: De Meyer, L., Gasche, H. and Vallat, F. (eds.) *Fragmenta Historiae Elamiticae. Mélanges offerts à M.-J. Steve*. Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 65-74.
- During Caspers, E.C.L. 1971. New Archaeological Evidence for Maritime Trade in the Persian Gulf during the Late Protoliterate Period. *East and West* 21: 21-44.

- Dyson, Jr., R.H. 1987. The Relative and Absolute Chronology of Hissar II and the Proto-Elamite Horizon of Northern Iran. *BAR International Series* 379 (ii). Oxford: 647–678.
- Ferembach, D. 1968. Le squelette du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère de la tombe royale de Tchoga Zambil près de Suse (Iran). *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 40. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 127–144.
- Gasche, H. 1973. *La poterie élamite du deuxième millénaire a.C. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 47. Leiden, Paris: Brill.
- . 1989. *La Babylonie au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère: approche archéologique, problèmes et perspectives. Mesopotamian History and Environment. Mémoires I*. Ghent.
- . 2013. Transferts culturels de la Babylonie vers Suse au milieu du 2<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. n. ère. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* 58. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 71–82.
- Gasche, H., Armstrong, J.A., Cole, S.W. and Garzadyan, V.G. 1998. *Dating the Fall of Babylon. A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology. Mesopotamian History and Environment. Mémoires IV*. Ghent, Chicago.
- Gaube, H. 2011. Arrājan. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (online).
- Gautier, J.-E. and Lampre, G. 1905. *Fouilles de Moussian. Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* 8. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur, 59–148.
- Ghirshman, R. 1964. Suse. Campagne de fouilles 1962–1963. Rapport préliminaire. *Arts Asiatiques* 10: 3–20.
- . 1965. Suse du temps des *sakalmah*. Campagne de fouilles 1963–1964. Rapport préliminaire. *Arts Asiatiques* 11: 3–21.
- . 1968a. *Tchoga Zambil (Dur-Untash) II: Temenos, temples, palais, tombes. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 40. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- . 1968b. Suse au tournant du III<sup>e</sup> au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire avant notre ère. Travaux de la Délégation archéologique en Iran – Hiver 1966–1967. Rapport préliminaire. *Arts Asiatiques* 17: 3–44.
- Grillo, F. and Vallat, F. 1978. Le verbe élamite "pi(š)si". *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 8: 81–84.
- Hakemi, A. 1969. Etudes archéologiques de la lisière du désert de Lout. *Bastan Chenassi va Honar-e Iran* 2: 4–25.
- . 1970. Shāhādāt. *Iran* 8: 187–188.
- . 1986. Les maquettes de Shāhādāt: modèles de bâtiments sacrés du troisième millénaire. In: De Meyer, L., Gasche, H. and Vallat, F. (eds.) *Fragmenta Historiae Elamiticae. Mélanges offerts à M.-J. Steve*. Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 45–49.
- . 1997. Shāhādāt. Archaeological Excavations of a Bronze Age Center in Iran. *Istituto Italoiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche. Reports and Memoirs* 25. Rome.
- Hansman, J. 1972. Elamites, Achaemenians and Anshan. *Iran* 10: 101–124.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2008. *The Other Gods who are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts. Abameinid History* 14. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Hesari, M. 2011. New Evidence of the Emergence of Complex Societies Discovered on the Central Iranian Plateau. *Iranian Journal of Archaeological Studies* 1/2: 35–48.
- Hussein, A.M., Hamza, H.A., Taher, A.K., Kadhum, S.J., Hashem, M., Taha, H.M., Alawee, M.R. and Studevent-Hickman, B. 2010. Tell Abu Sheija/Ancient Pašime: Report on the First Season of Excavations, 2007. *Akkadica* 131: 47–103.
- Hussein, M.M. 2016. *Nimrud: The Queen's Tombs*. Translation and initial editing by Mark Alawee, editing and additional notes by McGuire Gibson. Chicago: A Joint Publication of the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, Baghdad and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Jafari, M.J. 2013. Report of the Third Season of Archaeological Excavation at Lama Cemetery, Iran. *Journal of Iranian Archaeology* 4: 58–77.
- König, F.W. 1977. *Die elamischen Königinschriften. Archiv für Orientforschung* Beiheft 16. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag.
- Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. 1970. Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran 1967–1969. Progress Report I. *American School of Prehistoric Research, Bulletin* 7. The Asia Institute of Babluvi University Monograph 1. Cambridge MA.
- Le Brun, A. and Vallat, F. 1978. L'origine de l'écriture à Suse. *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 8: 11–59.
- Madjidzadeh, Y. 1976. The Land of Aratta. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35: 105–113.
- . 2003a. *Jiroft. The Earliest Oriental Civilization*. Tehran: Iran National Library.
- . 2003b. La première campagne de fouilles à Jiroft dans le bassin du Halli Roud (janvier et février 2003). *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 287: 65–75.
- Madjidzadeh, Y. and Pirman, H. 2008. Excavations at Konar Sandal in the Region of Jiroft in the Halli Basin. First Preliminary Report (2002–2008). *Iran* 46: 69–103.
- McCown, D.E. 1949. The Iranian Project. *American Journal of Archaeology* 53: 54.
- Mecquenem de, R. 1922. Fouilles de Suse. Campagnes des années 1914–1921–1922. *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 19: 109–140.
- . 1934. Fouilles de Suse 1929–1933: Ville Royale. *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse* 25. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 177–237.
- . 1943. Fouilles de Suse, 1933–1939. *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran* 29. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 3–161.
- Mecquenem de, R. and Michalon, J. 1953. *Recherches à Tchoga Zambil. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran* 33. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Miroschedji de, P. 1973. Vases et objets en stéatite suseiens du Musée du Louvre. *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 3: 9–79.
- . 1974. Tépé Jalyan, une nécropole du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. au Fars oriental (Iran). *Arts asiatiques* 30: 19–64.
- . 1981a. Observations dans les couches néo-élamites du tell de la Ville Royale à Suse. *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 12: 143–167.
- . 1981b. Prospection archéologiques au Khuzistan en 1977. *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 12: 169–192.
- . 1986. La localisation de Maadaku et l'organisation politique de l'Elam à l'époque néo-élamite. In: De Meyer, L., Gasche, H. and Vallat, F. (eds.) *Fragmenta Historiae Elamiticae. Mélanges offerts à M.-J. Steve*. Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 209–225.
- . 2003. Susa and the Highlands: Major Trends in the History of Elamite Civilization. In: Miller, N.F. and Abdi, K. (eds.) *Yeki Bud, Yeki Nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner* Monograph Series 48. Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 16–38.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, B. 2005. Eine Steinschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappah Borini (Iran). *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 95: 161–171.
- . 2007. *Archäologische Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Cogā Zambil*. Münster: Agenda Verlag.
- . 2010a. *Vorbericht der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der Kampagnen 2005–2007 in Haft Tappah (Iran)*. Münster: Agenda Verlag.
- . 2010b. Herrschaftstitulatur der Könige von Susa und Anšan. *Akkadica* 131: 109–119.
- . 2011. The Grave of a *puhu-teppu* from Haft Tappah. *Akkadica* 132: 151–161.
- . 2012a. The Spatial Order in the Tomb Buildings of the Middle Elamite Period. In: Plätzen, P., Nier, H., Pernicka, E. and Wissing, A. (eds.) *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009. Qatna Studien Supplementa. Übergreifende und vergleichende Forschungsaktivitäten des Qatna-Projekts der Universität Tübingen* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 261–270.

- 2012b. Vorbericht der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der Kampagnen 2008–2010 in Haft Tappeh (Iran). *Elamica* 2: 5–115, 41 plates and 1 plan.
2013. Neue archäologische Untersuchungen in Dehno, Khuzestan (April–Mai 2012). *Elamica* 3: 89–132.
2014. Vorbericht der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der Kampagnen 2012–2013 in Haft Tappeh (Iran). *Elamica* 4: 67–168.
2015. Ergebnisse der C14-Datierung der Proben aus Haft Tappeh. *Elamica* 5: 7–36.
- Muscarella, O.W. 2001. Jiroft and "Jiroft-Aratta". A Review Article of Yousef Maqida-zadeh, Jiroft: The Earliest Oriental Civilization. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* New Series 15: 173–198.
- Negahban, E.O. 1969. Haft Tepe. *Iran* 7: 173–177.
- . 1991. *Excavations at Haft Tepe, Iran*. University Museum Monograph 70. Philadelphia, PA: The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Nichols, I.M. 1990. *The Proto-Elamite Settlement at TUV*. *Malyan Excavations Reports* 1. University Museum Monograph 69. Philadelphia, PA: The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Perkins, A. 1949. Archaeological News. *American Journal of Archaeology* 53: 36–57.
- Perron, J. 2003. L'iconographie de Jiroft. *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 287: 96–113.
- Perron, J. and Madjidzadeh, Y. 2005. L'iconographie des vases et objets en chlorite de Jiroft (Iran). *Paléorient* 31/2: 123–152.
- Pézarid, M. 1914. *Mission à Bender-Bouchir. Documents archéologiques et épigraphiques. Publications de la Mission Archéologique de Perse* 15. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur.
- Pittman, H. 1984. *Art of the Bronze Age: Southeastern Iran, Western Central Asia, and the Indus Valley*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Porada, E. 1970. *Tehoga Zambii (Dair-Utiash) IV: La glyptique. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 42. Paris: Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner.
- Portis, D.T. 2001. *Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran 1967–1975: The Third Millennium. American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin* 45. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.
- Portis, D.T. and Roustaie, K. (eds.) 2006. *The Mammasani Archaeological Project Stage One. A Report on the First two Seasons of the ICAR – University of Sydney Expedition to the Mammasani District, Fars Province, Iran*. BAR International Series 2044. Oxford.
- Rad, B. 1969–1970. Prospections archéologiques dans le littoral du Golfe Persique et les îles. *Bastan Chertassi va Honar-e Iran* 4: 17–18.
- Reinert, E. 1970. Légendes des cylindres. *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 42: 133–137.
- . 1973a. The Location of Anšan. *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 67: 57–62.
- . 1973b. Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 24: 87–102.
- Rezvani, H., Roustaie, K., Azadi, A. and Ghezelbash, E. 2007. *Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations at Lamā Cemetery, Yasudi-Kohgiluyeh va Boyer-Ahmad*. *Archaeological Report Monograph Series* 12. Tehran: Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (in Persian with an English abstract).
- Rice, M. 1994. *The Archaeology of the Arabian Gulf c. 5000–323 BC*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Schacht, R.M. 1975. A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tepe Sharafabad, 1971. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 2: 307–329.
- Schacht, R.M. and Wright, H.T. 2010. Sarafābād. *Encyclopædia Iranica* (online).
- Schell, V. 1900. *Textes élamites-sémitiques. Première série*, Délégation en Perse. *Mémoires* 2. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur.
- . 1905. *Textes élamites-sémitiques. Troisième série*, Délégation en Perse. *Mémoires* 6. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur.
- . 1908. *Textes élamites-sémitiques. Quatrième série*, Délégation en Perse. *Mémoires* 10. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur.
- . 1923. *Textes de comptabilité proto-élamites (Nouvelle série)*, *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse* 17. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur.
- . 1935. *Textes de comptabilité proto-élamites. Troisième série*, *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse* 26. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur.
- Shishegar, A. 2015. Tomb of the Two Elamite Princesses of the House of King Shurur-Nahunte Son of Indada [in Persian with English summary]. Tehran: Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization.
- Spycket, A. 1992. Funerary Heads. In: Harper, P.O., Aruz, J. and Tallon, F. (eds.) *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*. New York, 135–136.
- Stein, A. 1936. An Archaeological Tour in the Ancient Persia. *Irak* 3: 111–225.
- Steinkeller, P. 1982. The Question of Marhashi: A Contribution to the Historical Geography of Iran in the Third Millennium BC. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 72: 237–265.
- . 2006. New Light on Marhashi and its Contacts with Makkam and Babylonia. *Journal of Magan Studies* 1: 1–17.
- Stève, M.-J. 1967. *Textes élamites et accadiens de Tchogha Zanbil*, *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 41. Paris: Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner.
- . 1987. *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques. Inscriptions royales de Suse et de la Susiane. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 43. Nice: Éditions Serre.
- Stève, M.-J. and Gasche, H. 1990. Le Tell de l'Apadana avant les Achéménides: Contribution à la topographie de Suse. In: Vallat, F. (ed.) *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran. Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*. Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 15–60.
- . 1996. L'accès à l'Au-delà, à Suse. In: Gasche, H. and Hrouda, B. (eds.) *Collectanea Orientalia. Histoire, arts de l'espace et industrie de la terre. Études offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket*. Civilisations du Proche-Orient. Série I. Archéologie et Environnement 3. Neuchâtel, Paris, 329–348.
- Stève, M.-J., Gasche, H. and De Meyer, L. 1980. La Susiane au deuxième millénaire: à propos d'une interprétation des fouilles de Suse. *Iranica Antiqua* 15: 49–154.
- Stève, M.-J., Vallat, F., Gasche, H. and Julien, C.F. 2002–2003. Suse. *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 73–74: 359–652.
- Stone, E.C. 1977. Economic Crisis and Social Upheaval in Old Babylonian Nippur. In: Levine D. and Young, T.C. Jr. (eds.) *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 7. Malibu: Undena Publications, 267–289.
- Summer, W.M. 1987–1990. Maljān, Tall-e. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7: 306–320.
- Tavernier, J. 2013. Elamite and Old Iranian Aferite Concepts. In: De Graef, K. and Tavernier, J. (eds.) *Susa and Elam: Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives. Proceedings of the International Congress held at Ghent University, December 14–17, 2009*. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* 58. Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 471–489.
- Tawhid, F. and Khalilian, A.-M. 1982. Gozāreš-e barrasi-e āšyā-e ārāmgāh-e Arjān, Behbahān. *Ātar* 7–9: 233–286.
- Vallat, F. 1981. Un fragment de brique de Tepe Boromi inscrit en élamite. *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 12: 193–196.
- . 1984. Kidin-Hutran et l'époque néo-élamite. *Akkadica* 37: 1–17.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. *Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites*, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 11. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. Un fragment de tablette proto-élamite découvert à Ozbaki, au nord-ouest de Téhéran. *Akkadica* 124: 229–231.
- Vidale, M. 2008. *Sahdād. Realexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 11: 535–537.
- Wicks, Y. 2015. *Bronze 'Bathub' Coffins in the Context of 8th-6th Century BC Babylonian, Assyrian and Elamite Funerary Practices*. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology.
- Wright, H.T. (ed.) 1981. *An Early Town on the Deh Loran Plain: Excavations at Tepe Farkhabad*, Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan 13. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Wright, H.T. and Carter, E. 2003. Archaeological Survey on the Western Ram Hormuz Plain. In: Miller, N.E. and K. Abdi (eds.) *Yeki bund, yeki nabud. Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*, Monograph Series 48. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 60–82.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

### WOMEN OF ELAM



*Aurelie Daems*

#### INTRODUCTION

The discussion of women in the Elamite world is a potentially charged one. The areas and eras under consideration are vast, the evidence is relatively scarce, and the focus is traditionally placed on royal imagery and texts. This chapter attempts to present a *status quaestionis* of certain aspects of women in Elam and raise hitherto unprec-edented questions, hoping to open new avenues for future research into Elamite women. Direct evidence in the form of artistic and textual remains are adduced, as well as indirect evidence such as the remains of household activities and even craft specialization, which may give insights into aspects of women's activities within Elam.

What has been excavated and researched is not always an accurate reflection of times past but rather of the selective focus of investigation. In the case of Elam, discourses have centered on royal lineages, elite and divine residences, sumptuous statuary, and monumental rock reliefs, and they have generally failed to speak of the participation of women in society. On the rare occasions that they do, they tend to favor an extremely small percentage of the population – the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of the royal houses who peddled the kingly grandeur of Elam – hindering the formation of a more holistic picture. The largest portion of the female population would have been engaged in mundane, religious, ritual and festive activities that confirmed or (re)negotiated their gendered roles. As well as the traditional “female” tasks of nursing and childrearing, their roles would have extended far beyond to activities such as tending animals, harvesting crops, milling grain, preparing food, spinning, weaving textiles and baskets, making jewelry, processing ceramics, and perhaps trading these goods. Potentially they had even been engaged in activities generally associated with men, such as scribal work and other specialized crafts. The relative poverty of our knowledge about the lives of Elamite women is an imbalance that future research should attempt to redress.

#### NAKED WOMEN

Imagery of Elamite women, ranging from small statuettes to large rock-cut reliefs, offers a valuable source of direct evidence for their study. Yet the depicted women