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0521563585 - The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State

D. T. Potts

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The Archaeology of Elam

Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State

From the middle of the third millennium BC until the coming of Cyrus the Great, southwestern Iran was referred to in Mesopotamian sources as the land of Elam. A heterogeneous collection of regions, Elam was home to a variety of groups, alternately the object of Mesopotamian aggression, and aggressors themselves; an ethnic group seemingly swallowed up by the vast Achaemenid Persian empire, yet a force strong enough to attack Babylonia in the last centuries BC. The Elamite language is attested as late as the Medieval era, and the name Elam as late as 1300 in the records of the Nestorian church. This book examines the formation and transformation of Elam's many identities through both archaeological and written evidence, and brings to life one of the most important regions of Western Asia, re-evaluates its significance, and places it in the context of the most recent archaeological and historical scholarship.

D. T. POTTS is Edwin Cuthbert Hall Professor in Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity*, 2 vols. (1990), *Mesopotamian Civilization* (1997), and numerous articles in scholarly journals.

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PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, UK <http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk>

40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA <http://www.cup.org>

10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

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First published 1999

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Trump Mediaeval 10/13 pt. in QuarkXPress® [se]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Potts, Daniel T.

The archaeology of Elam: formation and transformation of an ancient Iranian state / D. T. Potts.

p. cm. – (Cambridge World Archaeology)

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 0 521 56358 5 (hardback). – ISBN 0 521 56496 4 (paperback.)

Elam – Antiquities. 2. Elam – History. I. Title. II. Series.

DS65.P68 1998

935 – dc21 98-41051 CIP

ISBN 0 521 563585 hardback

ISBN 0 521 564964 paperback

Cambridge University Press

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For Hildy, Rowena, Morgan and Hallam, with much love

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Of all the major constituents of the ancient Near East, Elam has surely proven one of the more difficult to come to grips with. For most students of antiquity Elam appears aloof, somewhat exotic – a place of hard-to-pronounce names, unfamiliar sites, a poorly understood language and a somewhat barbaric population to the east of Mesopotamia. Alternately subject to Mesopotamian domination or busily subverting it as best they could, the Elamites are present in the archaeological and written record for thousands of years, reacting to foreign aggression, forging local alliances of which we have few details, cropping up in the written record of their western neighbours, saying little of themselves in their own inscriptions. Archaeologists and historians have consciously or unconsciously regarded the brutal Assyrian campaigns against the Elamites in the seventh century BC as the final chapter in their troubled history, the rise of the Achaemenid Persians as a new dawn in Iranian antiquity which heralded the start of another era. Yet the Elamites and their language crop up in post-Elamite, ‘Persian’ Iran. Elamites appear in the histories of Alexander the Great and his Seleucid successors. In the guise of Elymaeans they fought for independence against the later Parthian dynasty. And in the early Medieval era ‘Elam’ became the name of an ecclesiastical province of one of the most important branches of eastern Christianity, the Nestorian church. Anyone interested in the creation of identity and ethnicity, in the past or the present, will find in the story of Elam a palimpsest of ever changing definitions of what it meant to be Elamite, glimpses of which are revealed in a patchwork of archaeological and epigraphic evidence as difficult to comprehend as any in the ancient Near East.

Numerous distinguished historians, sociologists, social theorists and anthropologists have recently explored the invention of national and ethnic consciousness and identity (e.g. Nash 1989; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Hobsbawm 1990; Fullbrook 1993; Teich and Porter 1993; Gillis 1994; Pickett 1996; Ross 1996; Bischof and Pelinka 1997), leaving us in no doubt that these are socially constructed and highly mutable. By the time the reader has reached the end of this book I would hope that not merely the artificiality of the construct ‘Elam’, but the notion that many Elams were constructed over time, no two of which were probably coterminous culturally, politically or geographically with each other, will have become clear. Every period – each in itself an artificial construct of modern scholars – is characterised by an Elam of the external written sources (initially Sumerian and Akkadian, later Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc.), an Elam of the indigenous archaeological and epigraphic sources, and an Elam of 20th century historiography. Why I have chosen to speak of the formation and transformation of Elam in the title of this study is precisely because of the mutability of Elam

through time, an entity which was constructed and recreated continuously by ancient participants in the Elamite cultural and linguistic community, ancient observers of the Elamites, and modern students of the subject.

In 1900 the French historian Henri Berr's 'terrible craving for synthesis' led him to establish the *Revue de synthèse historique* (Keylor 1975: 133; cf. Müller 1994: xvi-xvii), just as a desire for *histoire totale* eventually spurred Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch to found the journal *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* twenty-nine years later (Lyon 1987: 200). While presuming neither to class the present work amongst the many influential studies in *Annaliste* history which have emerged since *Annales* began appearing seventy years ago, nor wishing to join an avowedly *Annaliste* club of archaeologists (e.g. Bintliff 1991, Knapp 1992), I am nevertheless adamant in declaring that this is explicitly a work of synthesis which wholeheartedly embraces the tenets of *histoire totale*, and I am happy to be counted amongst those 'rash souls who wish to move outside the limits of what they themselves have studied and aspire to a comprehensive view' (trans. Keylor 1975: 133). Because I do not believe that one can arrive at a satisfactory understanding of Elam by chopping it into chronological bits or looking only at its art or texts, I have striven to cover all periods in Elamite history using all types of available evidence, whether architectural, ceramic, numismatic, radiometric, epigraphic, literary, environmental, religious, ethnographic, etc. In my view, we need the chronologically extended synthesis as much as the particular analytical focus sometimes referred to as microhistory (Egmond and Mason 1997). Without time depth and topical breadth we would be unable to chart the repeated restructuring of Elam through time. And because I can see no justification for terminating the story of the Elamites with the campaigns of Assyria and the emergence of the Achaemenid Persian empire, the present study ranges into the Seleucid, Parthian, Sasanian and early Islamic periods, eras which have traditionally been considered 'post-Elamite'. If some readers have difficulty in this attenuation of Elamite archaeology and history, they need not bother with the final chapters. But I hope that others will see, perhaps for the first time, that the story of Elam and the Elamites does not end with Assurbanipal or the coming of Cyrus the Great.

The quantity of data presented here may suggest that I have succumbed to a kind of naive historicism and abandoned the traditional concern of archaeologists with long-term trends and societal morphology. I trust I have not fallen prey to the former, but I freely admit that I have eschewed the latter. The amount of detail which confronts readers of this book is vital to the arguments outlined in Chapter 12, however, for while I may embrace the idea of *histoire totale* in this study, I conclude by rejecting the notion of the *longue durée*. These more theoretical views, however, are largely confined to this Preface and the conclusion of this book, and readers should approach the intervening chapters without fear of suddenly finding themselves on the ideological battleground of historical method. That is not the *raison d'être* of this book. It is still a study of Elam in its many manifestations, even if that study seems to me to raise important questions about how we interpret the past.

But apart from wishing to create an *histoire totale* of Elam, there is another impor-

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tant reason for writing a work of synthesis like this. If Elam today is not exactly a household word, then that is less a reflection of its role in antiquity than a by-product of two major linguistic problems. For on the one hand, the difficulties posed by the Elamite language have made Elamite texts much less amenable to translation and interpretation than those of Sumer, Assyria or Babylonia, not to mention Greece or Rome. On the other hand, the fact that perhaps two-thirds of the scholarship available on Elam is written in French and German has meant that Anglophone students and lay persons, in particular, have only had access to a very limited number of primary and secondary publications on Elam. This predicament is not unique to Elamite studies, but as I have taught the archaeology and early history of Elam off and on over the past seventeen years it has become increasingly clear to me that the subject is made inherently more difficult than, for example, North American or Australian archaeology, precisely because students 'doing' Elam will only ever get a very fractured view of the subject if they are limited to the literature available in English. I do not wish to imply, of course, that there are no good, accessible works in English on Elam already available. It is, nevertheless, true to say that those book-length, synthetic studies which already exist in English (e.g. Cameron 1936, Hinz 1972, Carter and Stolper 1984) have not nearly said the last word on the subject. None of them can be remotely considered up-to-date and each concludes with the rise of the Achaemenid empire, neglecting over a millennium of later Elamite history. In spite of the impossibility of conducting archaeological fieldwork in Iran today, journals each year continue to receive and publish numerous studies of a microhistorical type which are dedicated to Elam. But like Henri Berr, I cannot help but comment on the stubborn reluctance of many contemporary authors of *Elamitica* to stand up and demonstrate 'how obscure, marginal, or unusual cases can be used to address crucial historical issues' (Egmond and Mason 1997: 2–3). The study of Elam may not be long for this world if cogent, readable syntheses are not available with which to teach the subject. I have attempted to write such a study here. In an effort to guide readers unfamiliar with Elam through the maze of material assembled, I have offered text boxes at the beginning of each chapter which briefly summarize the matter to be discussed; an introductory map showing the sites mentioned in each chapter; and a summary chart at the end of each chapter which highlights the main points of interest within the lowlands, highlands, Mesopotamia and the entity 'Elam' in each period, and adds relevant dates for chronological orientation.

This book was written at the University of Sydney, where I have taught Elam to Australian undergraduates. For the most part, my bibliographical resources have been those of Fisher Library. While this is undoubtedly the best library for a study of this sort in Australia, it cannot compare with major libraries in Europe or the United States. Though I might sometimes agree with Aby Warburg's motto that 'God is in the detail' (Egmond and Mason 1997: 2), I have had to learn to do without and not to regret it. Nevertheless, I have not been completely averse to e-mailing and faxing colleagues with long distance requests for bibliographical aid. For their gracious help with such matters, and for sending me offprints of useful literature, I would like to express my warmest thanks to A.B. Bosworth (Perth), P. Briant (Toulouse), J.A. Brinkman (Chicago),

A. Caubet (Paris), J. Córdoba (Madrid), R.K. Englund (Los Angeles), E. Haerinck (Gent), H. Hunger (Vienna), M. Jursa (Vienna), P. Kalensky (Paris), A. Kuhrt (London), P. Magee (Sydney), P. Michalowski (Ann Arbor), P.R.S. Moorey (Oxford), H.J. Nissen (Berlin), H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Groningen), R. Schmitt (Saarbrücken), M.W. Stolper (Chicago), J. Teixidor (Paris), and J. Westenholz (Jerusalem). In the end, there remain publications I would have liked to consult but which remained inaccessible. In this I take comfort from Henri Berr's observation on scholars 'who cannot think of science except in terms of detailed research, and who, since detail is infinite, push forward this research of theirs only to see the goal recede before them' (trans. Keylor 1975: 133). Perhaps it is just as well that I cannot consult everything I might wish to on the subject of Elam.

The maps illustrating site distributions which accompany each of the substantive chapters were prepared by Ms Michele Ziolkowski, a PhD candidate in Near Eastern archaeology at the University of Sydney, and I would like to express my sincerest thanks to her for the long hours of digitizing contour lines which went into their creation. If sites have been misplaced, the fault is my own. Likewise, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Mr Alex Stephens, a PhD candidate in Classics at the University of Sydney, whom I employed to prepare accurate English translations of Greek texts from Susa (Table 10.1).

To write a book is one thing, to publish it quite another. I would like to thank Professor Norman Yoffee (Ann Arbor) and the other members of the board of the Cambridge World Archaeology series for accepting this book for publication when it was only a rough outline with a bit of bibliography, and for persevering with it when it appeared to be something other than what they originally expected from me. I am sincerely grateful to the readers of an earlier draft, Professor M.W. Stolper (Chicago), Professor E. Carter (Los Angeles), Professor N. Yoffee (Ann Arbor) and Mr K. Abdi (Ann Arbor) for their many detailed comments and suggestions for improving the text. I have appreciated all of their remarks and have made many changes accordingly. Further, I wish to express my sincere thanks to Jessica Kuper of Cambridge University Press for her patience and goodwill. My family knows by the dedication of this book that I have appreciated their support more than words can say. I hope they have not regretted the fact that Elam entered their lives somewhat more than they might have wished.

Finally, I would like to say a word about Iran, as opposed to Elam. To begin with, I must thank two of my professors at Harvard whose influence may be expressed only indirectly in the pages of this book, but who in very different ways sowed the seeds of a lifelong interest in Iran in me as a student. C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky introduced me to both Iran and Iranian archaeology. Two memorable seasons of excavation at Tepe Yahya in 1973 and 1975 kindled an abiding interest in Iranian archaeology. Richard N. Frye introduced me to the pre-Islamic religions of Iran and first fostered my awareness of the incredibly rich historical, linguistic and spiritual heritage of Iran. The Iranian Revolution meant the interruption of my active involvement with the subject, but in 1995 and 1996 I was able to return to Iran with my wife and a group from the Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation of the University of Sydney. Those visits gave me the opportunity to visit Susa, Choga Zanbil, Haft Tepe, Kul-e Farah and numerous other

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sites of Elamite history for the first time. Parvaneh Sattari and the staff of Pasargad Tour in Teheran made both trips enormously successful and reminded me why I have spent so much of my adult life thinking about Iran's past.

Acknowledgements for photographic reproduction

It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge the kind permission of Annie Caubet, Conservateur général in charge of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre Museum to reproduce the twenty-five plates marked © Musée du Louvre, Antiquités Orientales. The remainder of the photographs published here were taken by the author during visits to Iran in 1995 and 1996.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Siglum of texts in the Louvre Museum
A ^{1-3S}	Artaxerxes I–III, Susa inscriptions
AAASH	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AAM	Archives administratives de Mari
ABL	Harper, R.F., <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> , London and Chicago: University of Chicago, 1892–1914
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AH	<i>Achaemenid History</i>
AcIr	<i>Acta Iranica</i>
AIO	De Meyer, L. and Haerinck, E., eds. (1989), <i>Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalia: Miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe</i> , Louvain: Peeters
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
Amorites	Buccellati, G. (1966), <i>The Amorites of the Ur III Period</i> , Naples: Ricerche 1
AO	<i>Der Alte Orient</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
AS	<i>Assyriological Studies</i>
Bab. 8	De Genouillac, H. (1924), 'Choix de textes économiques de la collection Pupil', <i>Babyloniaca</i> 8 (1924), 37ff.
BAI	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
BAH	<i>Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique</i>
BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BBVO	<i>Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient</i>
BiMes	<i>Bibliotheca Mesopotamica</i>
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies, Yale University

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<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BM	British Museum
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
C	Cyrus
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CANE	Sasson, J.M., ed. (1995), <i>Civilizations of the ancient Near East</i> , vols. I-IV, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons
CC	Sigrist, M. and Gomi, T. (1991), <i>The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets</i> , Bethesda: CDL Press
CDR	Gasche, H., Tanret, M., Janssen, C. and Degraeve, A., eds. (1994), <i>Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommages à Léon de Meyer</i> , Gent: Peeters
CHI	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
CNIP	<i>Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications</i>
CNRS	<i>Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique</i>
<i>Collectanea</i>	Gasche, H. and Hrouda, B., eds. (1996), <i>Collectanea Orientalia: Histoire, arts de l'espace et industrie de la terra, études offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket</i> , Neuchâtel/Paris: Civilisations du Proche-Orient Serie 1, Archéologie et environnement 3
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CST	Fish, T. (1932), <i>Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library</i> , Manchester
CT	Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets . . . in the British Museum
CTNMC	Jacobsen, T. (1939), <i>Cuneiform texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, chiefly of economical contents</i> , Copenhagen: C.T. Thomson
DB	Darius, Behistun inscription
DAFI	<i>Délégation archéologique Française en Iran</i>
DN	Darius, Naqsh-i Rostam inscriptions
DP	Darius, Persepolis inscriptions
DP	Allotte de la Füye, F.-M. (1908–20), <i>Documents présargoniques</i> , Paris: E. Leroux
DS	Darius, Susa inscriptions
DV	Drevnosti Vostocnyja, Moscow.
EKI	König, F.W. (1965), <i>Die elamischen Königsinschriften</i> , Graz: AfO Beiheft 16
<i>EnIr</i>	<i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i>
EW	<i>East and West</i>
FAOS	<i>Freiburger Altorientalische Studien</i>
FGH	Jacoby, F. (1923–), <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin: Weidmann
FHE	De Meyer, L., Gasche, H. and Vallat, F., eds. (1986), <i>Fragmenta</i>

	<i>Historiae Elamicae: Mélanges offerts à M.J. Steve</i> , Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
H.T.	Haft Tepe text
<i>IrAnt</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
IRS	Malbran-Labat, F. (1995), <i>Les inscriptions royales de Suse: Briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'Empire néo-élamite</i> , Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux
IRSA	Sollberger, E. and Kupper, J.-R. (1971), <i>Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes</i> , Paris: Littératures du Proche-Orient 3
ITT	(1920–21) <i>Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée impérial ottoman</i> , Paris: E. Leroux
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>
<i>JRGS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der Kleine Pauly</i>
KZ	Ka'ba-i Zardosht inscription of Shapur I at Naqsh-i Rostam
M	unpublished Mari text
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MCS	Manchester Cuneiform Studies
MDP	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Susiane, Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran</i> (for specific text refs. acc. to vol. number see in general under Scheil 1900–39 below)
<i>MHEOP</i> 1	De Meyer, L. and Gasche, H., eds. (1991), <i>Mésopotamie et Elam</i> , Ghent: Mesopotamian History and Environment Occasional Publications 1.
<i>MJP</i>	Vallat, F., ed. (1990) <i>Mélanges Jean Perrot</i> , Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations
MSKH	Brinkman, J.A. (1976), <i>Materials and Studies for Kassite History I: A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty</i> , Chicago: The Oriental Institute
<i>MSVO</i>	<i>Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients</i>
MVN	Materiali per il vocabolario neo-sumero
<i>NABU</i>	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NH	Pliny's <i>Natural History</i>
Nik.	Nikolskij, M.V. (1908), <i>Dokumenty chozjajstvennoj otchetnosti drevnejsej epochi Chaldei iz sobraniija N.P. Lichaceva</i> , St Petersburg
<i>OECT</i>	<i>Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>

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<i>OrAnt</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OSP 1	Westenholz, A. (1975), <i>Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia Chiefly from Nippur</i> , Malibu: <i>BiMes</i> 1
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania.
P	Persepolis (used for seals)
PDT	Çig, M., Kizilyay, H. and Salonen, A. (1954/56), <i>Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen</i> , Teil I: Nrr. 1–725, Helsinki, and Yildiz, F. and Gomi, T. (1988), <i>Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen</i> , Teil II, Wiesbaden
PF	Persepolis fortification text
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie Orientale</i>
RA 8	Delaporte, L., 'Tablettes de Dréhem', <i>RA</i> 8 (1911), 183–98
RCS	Harper, P.O., Aruz, J. and Tallon, F., eds. (1992), <i>The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre</i> , New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art
RCU	Royal Cemetery of Ur
RE	<i>Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften</i>
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
RN	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
RTC	Thureau-Dangin, F. (1903), <i>Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes</i> , Paris: E. Leroux
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente</i>
SH	Tell Shemshara text
STH	Hussey, M.I. (1912), <i>Sumerian Tablets of the Harvard Semitic Museum</i> , Cambridge: HSS 3
<i>StIr</i>	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
STTI	Donbaz, V. and Foster, B.R. (1982), <i>Sargonic Texts from Telloh in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum</i> , Philadelphia: Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 5
<i>Susa</i>	Anonymous, (no date), <i>Susa, site et musée</i> , Teheran: Ministry of Culture and Arts
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TAD	Langdon, S.H. (1911), <i>Tablets from the Archives of Dreheim</i> , Paris: Geuthner
TEN	Sigrist, M. (1983), <i>Textes économiques néo-sumériens de l'Université de Syracuse</i> , Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
TMO	<i>Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient (Lyons)</i>
TrD	Genouillac, H. de, (1911), <i>La trouvaille de Dréhem</i> , Paris: Geuthner
TRU	Legrain, L. (1912), <i>Le temps des rois d'Ur, recherches sur la société</i>

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	<i>antique, d'après des textes nouveaux</i> , Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 199
TS	Tablette (de) Suse
TuM 5	Pohl, A. (1935), <i>Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte</i> , Leipzig: Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection 5
UET	Ur Excavation Texts
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i>
VR	Ville Royale (of Susa)
XP	Xerxes, Persepolis inscriptions
XS	Xerxes, Susa inscriptions
YOS 4	Keiser, C.E. (1919), <i>Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty</i> , New Haven: Yale Oriental Series 4
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>

Note: Articles in *NABU* are cited by their article, not their page number, e.g. *NABU* (1997), 6 = note number 6 in *NABU* (1997), not page 6.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATING SYSTEMS

As this book is aimed primarily at archaeologists and students of archaeology, rather than Assyriologists, I thought it simplest to forego the use of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, Aramaic, Syriac, Persian and Arabic words (principally personal names and placenames). I have not sought to impose a single, uniform system of transliteration but have used those forms most current in the archaeological and Assyriological literature today. Where I have cited Elamite and Akkadian terms, these are italicized. Sumerian words and phrases are given in bold.

As for the stipulation of dates, radiocarbon dates when cited are always given in their calibrated form. Absolute dates when cited for individual Mesopotamian rulers conform to the so-called 'Middle chronology' and follow Brinkman 1977.