THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ELAM

Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State

Elam was an important state in southwestern Iran from the third millennium BC to the appearance of the Persian Empire and beyond. Less well-known than its neighbours in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Levant or Egypt, it was nonetheless a region of extraordinary cultural vitality. This book examines the formation and transformation of Elam’s many identities through both archaeological and written evidence; it 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. This new edition includes material from more than 800 additional sources, reflecting the enormous amount of fieldwork and scholarship on Iran since 1999. Every chapter contains new insights and material that have been seamlessly integrated into the text in order to give the reader an up-to-date understanding of ancient Elam.

D.T. Potts is Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and History at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. He is the editor of The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran (2013) and the author of Nomadism in Iran: From Antiquity to the Modern Era (2014), as well as numerous other books and articles in scholarly journals.
CAMBRIDGE WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

SERIES EDITOR
NORMAN YOFFEE, University of Michigan

EDITORIAL BOARD
SUSAN ALCOCK, Brown University
TOM DILLEHAY, Vanderbilt University
STEPHEN SHENNAN, University College, London
CARLA SINOPOLI, University of Michigan
DAVID WENGROW, University College London
TIM PAUKETAT, University of Illinois

The Cambridge World Archaeology series is addressed to students and professional archaeologists, and to academics in related disciplines. Most volumes present a survey of the archaeology of a region of the world, providing an up-to-date account of research and integrating recent findings with new concerns of interpretation. While the focus is on a specific region, broader cultural trends are discussed and the implications of regional findings for cross-cultural interpretations considered. The authors also bring anthropological and historical expertise to bear on archaeological problems and show how both new data and changing intellectual trends in archaeology shape inferences about the past. More recently, the series has expanded to include thematic volumes.

RECENT BOOKS IN THE SERIES
ROBIN CONINGHAM AND RUTH YOUNG, The Archaeology of South Asia
CLAUDIA SAGONA, The Archaeology of Malta
FRANCES F. BERDAN, Aztec Archaeology and Ethnohistory
PETER MAGEE, The Archaeology of Prehistoric Arabia
KOJI MIZOGUCHI, The Archaeology of Japan
MIKE SMITH, The Archaeology of Australia’s Deserts
A. BERNARD KNAPP, The Archaeology of Cyprus
LI LIU AND XINGCAN CHEN, The Archaeology of China
STEPHEN D. HOUSTON AND TAKESHI INOMATA, The Classic Maya
PHILIP L. KOHL, The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia
LAWRENCE BARHAM AND PETER MITCHELL, The First Africans
ROBIN DENNELL, The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia
CHRISTOPHER POOL, Olmec Archaeology and Early Mesoamerica
SAMUEL M. WILSON, The Archaeology of the Caribbean
RICHARD BRADLEY, The Prehistory of Britain
Ludmila Koryakova and Andrej Epimakhov, The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages
David Wengrow, The Archaeology of Early Egypt
Paul Rainbird, The Archaeology of Micronesia
Peter M. M. G. Akkermans and Glenn M. Schwartz, The Archaeology of Syria
Timothy Insoll, The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ELAM

Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State

Second Edition

D.T. POTTS

Institute for the Study of the Ancient World
For Hildy, Rowena, Morgan and Hallam, with much love
CONTENTS

List of illustrations ........................................... page x
List of tables .................................................. xv
Preface to the second edition ................................. xix
Preface and acknowledgements ............................... xxi
Acknowledgements for photographic reproduction ....... xxvii
List of abbreviations ......................................... xxix
Note on transliteration and dating systems .............. xxxvii

1 Elam: what, when, where? ................................. 1
2 Environment, climate and resources .................... 14
3 The immediate precursors of Elam ...................... 47
4 Elam and Awan .............................................. 79
5 The dynasty of Shimashki ................................. 123
6 The grand regents of Elam and Susa .................... 148
7 The kingdom of Susa and Anshan ....................... 176
8 The Neo-Elamite period ................................... 249
9 Elam in the Achaemenid empire ......................... 307
10 Elymais ...................................................... 348
11 Elam under the Sasanians and beyond ............... 407
12 Conclusion ................................................... 428

References ....................................................... 441
Index .......................................................... 501
ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

1.1 Archaeological sites in western Iran, principally of the earlier periods.  
1.2 Detailed map showing archaeological sites in Luristan and Khuzistan of the earlier periods.  
1.3 Detailed map showing archaeological sites in Fars through the Bronze Age.  
1.4 Jean Chardin’s copy of Dpc.  
2.1 General map of Iran.  
4.1 Old Akkadian list of personnel from Susa (MDP 14 no. 18), including twenty-one Amorites and twenty-nine Marhashians.  
4.2 Ration text listing quantities of grain for Anamu and ‘the Marhashian’ (MDP 14 no. 23), possibly dating to the reign of Naram-Sin.  
4.3 Bone (?) cylinder seal from Susa with Harappan signs.  
4.4 Inscription (Sb 55; Table 4.12.1) on the lower portion of a statue of Puzur-Infushinak.  
6.1 Drawing of the Simut-Wartash inscription from Liyan.  
6.2 The Kurangun relief.  
6.3 Naqsh-i Rustam II, showing a scene of homage being paid to Bahram II, overcut on top of and partially obscuring an older Elamite relief.  
7.1 Fragmentary inscription of Shutruk-Nahhunte from Susa on sandstone enumerating tribute in gold, silver, copper and other commodities received from Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar, Akkad, Upi and other cities.  
8.1 Depiction of the city of Madaktu from slab 6, lower register, Room XXXIII in Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh, bearing Assurbanipal’s epigraph, KUR ma-dak-te ‘land of Madaktu’.  
8.2 ‘Assyrian warriors in a cart captured from the Elamites’.  
8.3 Alabastron from Susa with an inscription of Amel-Marduk reading ‘3 GAR 1/3 [qar] palace of Amel-Marduk, king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon’.
List of illustrations

8.4 Depiction of the figures on the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Sb 16) from Susa. 293
8.5 General plan of Izeh showing the locations of Kul-e Farah and Shikaft-e Salman. 297
8.6 Drawing of the Shikaft-e Salman II showing Hanni and his family. 300
8.7 Drawing of Hanni as depicted on the Kul-e Farah I relief. 301
9.1 Map of southwestern Iran showing the principal sites mentioned in Chapters 9–11. 309
9.2 Greek pottery from Susa. 322
9.3 Collated line drawing of PFS 93* on the reverse of table PF 692, from the Persepolis Fortification Archive. 334
10.1 Map of southwestern Iran showing the principal sites mentioned in Chapters 10 and 11. 350
10.2 Column base with Greek inscription from Susa. 356
10.3 Detail of the inscription on the column base found by Loftus. 356
10.4 Hung-i Azhdar. 385
10.5 Tang-i Sarvak III. 402

PLATES

1.1 Château Susa, the fortified excavation house begun on the Acropole by Jacques de Morgan in 1898. 9
1.2 View over the site of Susa taken from the Château. 10
1.3 View from the site of Susa towards the reputed tomb of the prophet Daniel. 10
2.1 The environment around Pol-e Murd in the mountains between Mamasani and Mary Dasht. 18
3.1 Susa II seal impressions showing a horned building (Sb 2125). 52
3.2 Visitors standing on top of the monumental city wall at Tal-i Malyan. 74
5.1 Tepe Surkhegan (Adamun?). 125
5.2 The Awan-Shimashki king list from Susa. 136
5.3 Seal impression of the seal of Kuk-Simut given by Idaddu II. 139
5.4 ‘Anshanite’ scene under a grape arbor; seal and modern impression in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, serpentine; 3.3 cm high. 142
6.1 Choga Pahn. 164
6.2 Tol-e Peytul (Liyan). 164
6.3 Incised greyware vessel from Susa, excavated 1937 by Roland de Mequenem and acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1948 by exchange for surveying equipment. 165
6.4 The Simut-Wartash inscription from Liyan. 168
6.5 The rock relief at Kurangun. 170
6.6 Close-up of the central panel at Kurangun. 171
6.7 The seated deity on a snake throne at Kurangun. 172
6.8 Attendant figures in procession at Kurangun. 173
6.9 Relief of Bahram II at Naqsh-i Rustam overcutting an earlier Elamite relief. 174
List of illustrations

7.1 Fragmentary seal impression (H.T.S. 153b) of Tepti-ahar from Haft Tepe. 180
7.2 View of Haft Tepe. 184
7.3 Goods from the grave of Ginadu at Haft Tepe. 187
7.4 Cylinder seal from the grave of Ginadu at Haft Tepe. 187
7.5 Funerary head from Susa. 188
7.6 Painted pottery from Haft Tepe. 189
7.7 Sword from Haft Tepe. 189
7.8 Inventory of silver objects in Akkadian (H.T. 05–13–134; 13.3 × 10 cm) from the archive room at Haft Tepe. 194
7.9 Female figurine from Haft Tepe. 195
7.10 General view of excavations at Deh-e Now. 202
7.11 Middle Elamite grave at Deh-e Now. 203
7.12 Tol-e Bormi. 205
7.13 Gold and silver male figurines from Deposit II at Susa. 211
7.14 The statue of Napir-Asu. 212
7.15 Detail of Napir-Asu’s hands. 213
7.16 The ziggurat of Choga Zanbil. 216
7.17 An inscribed brick in the façade of the ziggurat of Choga Zanbil. 216
7.18 Glazed ceramic wall plaque from Choga Zanbil. 217
7.19 The staircase of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil, looking upward. 218
7.20 The staircase of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil, looking downward. 219
7.21 The sit shamsi from Susa. 232
7.22 The moulded brick façade from Susa. 233
7.23 Middle Elamite brick ME 52.74.1 (7.92 × 13.64 × 22.53 cm) from Susa, with an inscription commemorating Hutelutush-Inshushinak’s renovation of the temple of Upurkupak at Shalulikki. 239
7.24 A view of Qal’e Geli. 245
8.1 Restored stele of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Sb 16, 93.5 × 65.6 cm) from Susa. 292
8.2 Photo of Hanni as depicted on the Kul-e Farah I relief. 298
8.3 Shikaft-e Salman II. 299
8.4 Kul-e Farah III. 302
8.5 Detail of worshippers supporting the platform at Kul-e Farah III. 303
8.6 Kul-e Farah II. 303
9.1 The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. 311
9.2 The winged genius of Gate R., Pasargadae. 312
9.3 The Bisotun relief. 313
9.4 The trilingual inscription in Palace P at Pasargadae. 315
9.5 Sar-i Pol 1. 317
9.6 The statue of ‘Penelope’ from Corridor 31 in the Persepolis Treasury. 320
9.7 Photograph of PFS 93* on the reverse of table PF 692, from the Persepolis Fortification Archive. 335
9.8 A Persian in court dress wearing an Elamite dagger at Persepolis. 337
9.9 A gold daric from Susa (8.31 g, 15.6 mm in dia.). 338
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>The Elamite delegation (upper register) bringing lion cubs and a leashed lioness, preceded by Persian attendants bearing Elamite daggers and duck-headed bows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.11</td>
<td>Detail of the relief on Grave 5 at Persepolis. An Elamite appears, third from the left, in the upper register of throne bearers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Gold stater of Alexander the Great, minted at Babylon (8.525 g, 18 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Silver tetradrachm (16.74 g) of Seleucus I’s trophy type minted at Susa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Bronze of Seleucus I minted at Susa with obverse head of Alexander wearing elephant-skin headgear and a reverse vertical anchor and legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Silver hemidrachm of Seleucus I minted at Susa (1.69 g, 12.5 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>Silver tetradrachm of Antiochus III, minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (14.09 g, 27.5 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>Copper of Molon minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (8.31 g, 22.5 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>The terrace at Masjid-i Solaiman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>The Heracles relief at Bisotun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>Silver tetradrachm of Antiochus IV, minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (14.09 g, 27.5 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.10</td>
<td>Silver tetradrachm of Demetrius II, minted at Abydos (13.33 g, 25.0 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Mithridates I (4.47 g, 19.6 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>Hung-i Azhdar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.13</td>
<td>Detail of Hung-i Azhdar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.14</td>
<td>Silver tetradrachm of Hyspaosines of Charax (16.68 g, 33.4 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Phraates IV (3.9 g, 22.6 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.16</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Gotarzes II (11.1 g, 27.3 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.17</td>
<td>The terrace at Bard-e Nechandeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.18</td>
<td>Copper of Orodes I of Elymais (3.67 g, 15.1 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.19</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Orodes II of Elymais (2.95 g, 14.6 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.20</td>
<td>Tang-i Sarvak II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.21</td>
<td>Tang-i Sarvak II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.22</td>
<td>Tang-i Sarvak III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.23</td>
<td>Tang-i Sarvak IV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Ardashir (3.71 g, 25 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Artabanus IV (3.57 g, 18.5 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Shapur I (3.99 g, 26.9 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>Aureus of Gordian III, minted AD 238–44 shortly before his capture by Shapur I (4.9 g, 21 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>Silver antoninianus of Valerian, minted in AD 257 at Mediolanum (Milan) (3.545 g, 21.5 mm in dia.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>Naqsh-i Rustam VI showing Shapur I’s triumph over Valerian (standing) and Philip the Arab (kneeling).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>Sasanian weir at Dizful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>Silver antoninianus of Aurelian, minted AD 270–5 at Antioch-on-the-Orontes (4.13 g, 25.1 mm in dia.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Shapur II (3.735 g, 26 mm in dia.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10</td>
<td>Silver drachm of Khusrau II (4.1 g, 31.5 mm in dia.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Elevation, rainfall and temperature data from southwestern Iran.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Relative distribution of ancient and modern village sites in environmental zones within the Mahidasht survey area.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through Chalcolithic) in Luristan.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through Chalcolithic) in Fars.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through early third millennium BC) in Khuzistan.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Distribution of minerals in Iran according to Chinese, medieval and early modern records.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Cultivars in early Khuzistan.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Aromatics (resins, gums and volatile oils) native to various parts of Iran.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>Hans Wulff’s ‘list of useful timber . . . compiled in conversations with woodworking craftsmen and peasants’ and archaeologically attested tree species from excavated sites in western Iran.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Distribution and characteristics of bullae and tablets in levels 18–16, Acropole Sounding 1, Susa.</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Comparison of the formal and structural characteristics of Mesopotamian proto-cuneiform (Jamdat Nasr/Uruk III period) and Susa III texts.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Summary of the conflict between Eannatum and regions to the east.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Elam and Elamites in pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash.</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Overview of the archaeological assemblages of the Pusht-i Kuh.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Principal sites of the Deh Luran plain in northern Khuzistan during the early third millennium BC.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Eastern regions named in the Old Babylonian copies of Sargon of Agade’s royal inscriptions.</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Eastern regions named in original and Old Babylonian copies of Rimush’s royal inscriptions.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Akkadian regents in Elam during the Old Akkadian period.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Elamite names attested at Susa during the Old Akkadian period.</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
xvi

List of tables

4.9 Elamite names attested in southern Mesopotamia during the Old Akkadian period. 103
4.10 Susa and Tepe Farukhabad during the late third millennium BC. 107
4.11 Diagnostic metal artifact types at Susa during the late third millennium BC. 108
4.12 Inscriptions of Puzur-Inshushinak. 113
5.1 Groups and countries constituting ‘Elam’ during the Ur III period. 127
5.2 Synopsis of relations between the Third Dynasty of Ur and Elam. 128
5.3 Expenditures for travellers to and from Elam at Puzrish-Dagan (Drehem) during the Ur III period. 131
5.4 Shimashkian kings attested in texts and cylinder seal legends. 137
5.5 Shimashkian kings attested during the Ur III and early Isin periods, with those named in the Shimashki king list. 138
5.6 Distribution of dated tablets belonging to the archive of the scribe Igibuni in Ville Royale B, level 7. 142
5.7 Kaftari site distribution in comparison to the growth of Malyan. 143
6.1 Tentative sequence of the sukkalmahs and their relationships to other high-ranking officials. 151
6.2 Relations between Mari and Elam according to texts from Mari. 159
6.3 References to sukkalmahs in texts from Ville Royale A, levels XI and XII. 162
6.4 Brick inscriptions showing the building activities of various sukkalmahs at Susa. 163
7.1 Summary of Haft Tepe stele 1. 185
7.2 Summaries of selected texts from the Haft Tepe temple complex. 191
7.3 References to Tepti-ahar and other high-ranking officials in the Haft Tepe texts. 196
7.4 Stratigraphic distribution of texts mentioning rulers from the Middle Elamite II and III periods at Susa. 198
7.5 Tentative family tree of the Ighalkids. 198
7.6 The ‘Berlin’ letter. 199
7.7 Selection of important Middle Elamite II inscriptions from Susa, Bushire and Deh-e Now. 200
7.8 Deities for whom Untash-Napirisha built or reconstructed various religious buildings. 206
7.9 Mesopotamian booty seized by Shutruk-Nahhunte and other Elamite kings which was recovered at Susa. 226
7.10 Shilhak-Inshushinak’s building works at Susa. 231
7.11 Shilhak-Inshushinak’s western campaign as related in Šil S 27 = EKI §54. 235
7.12 Radiocarbon chronology of Middle Elamite occupation at Tal-i Malyan. 241
8.1 Summary of Sargon II’s Elamite campaign. 256
8.2 Epigraphs elucidating the depictions of Assurbanipal’s triumph over Te’umman in Room XXXIII of Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh. 272
8.3 Synopsis of the content of Assurbanipal’s Elamite room (XXXIII) in Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh. 273
List of tables

8.4 Early Achaemenid genealogy according to Herodotus, the Bisotun inscription, the Cyrus Cylinder and P. de Miroshchdji. 281
8.5 Objects inscribed by Neo-Babylonian kings from Susa and Persepolis. 286
9.1 Development of the Bisotun monument. 314
9.2 Selection of Persepolis fortification texts of various types mentioning Susa. 321
9.3 Selection of Persepolis fortification texts of various types mentioning Elam. 321
9.4 Summary of Darius’ inscriptions from Susa. 324
9.5 Elamite deities attested in the Persepolis fortification texts. 341
9.6 Elamite personal names with theophoric elements in the Persepolis fortification texts. 342
10.1 Greek inscriptions from Susa published in CII II/1. 358
10.2 Babylonian astronomical diaries, 145–77 BC, mentioning Elam. 371
10.3 Main features of Elymaean coinage. 397
10.4 Chronological distribution of Elymaean rock reliefs. 403
11.1 Chronological and spatial distribution of early Christian and Nestorian (post AD 409) bishops in Khuzistan. 418
More than fifteen years have passed since the original publication of *The Archaeology of Elam* in 1999. Much of relevance to Elamite studies has occurred in the intervening years. In addition to the hundreds of new publications that have appeared (for compilations of bibliography see Haerinck and Stevens 2005; De Schacht and Haerinck 2013; Jahangirfar 2015; Moﬁdi-Nasrabadi 2015), many older works have been consulted here that were not incorporated into the original edition, amounting to an augmentation of the references list by more than 800 titles. Moreover, several important conferences on Elam and Iranian archaeology have taken place. But perhaps most importantly, fieldwork in Iran has been conducted by both Iranian teams and joint expeditions involving Iranian and American, Australian, British, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Polish and other scholars (see e.g. Azarnoush and Helwing 2005). These have investigated a wide range of topics touching on nearly all aspects of Elam’s history and archaeology.

As a result of these developments, Asya Graf, Archaeology and Renaissance Studies editor at Cambridge University Press, and I decided, in the autumn of 2013, that a second, revised edition of *The Archaeology of Elam* was warranted. My thanks go to Cambridge University Press, and Asya Graf in particular, for facilitating this revision. While I have no wish to alter the dedication of this book to my family, I would like to acknowledge the large number of colleagues, particularly in Iran, who have shared their knowledge of Elam with me over the years, and furthered the study of this subject. Iranian history and archaeology are nothing if not diverse. I would not wish to suggest that Elam is more worthy of study than many other aspects of Iranian antiquity. Yet having embarked in earnest on the trail of the ancient Elamites many years ago, I am happy to travel down that path yet again, this time with considerably more data at hand than was previously the case.
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 Arsacid 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 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 twentieth-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 re-created 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* spurred Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch to found the journal *Annales d’Histoire Economique et Sociale* twenty-nine years later (Lyon 1987: 200). While not presuming to class the present work amongst the many influential studies in *Annaliste* history which have emerged since *Annales* began appearing, 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 or ethnographic. 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 important 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 laypersons, 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 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 more than 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; maps showing the sites mentioned in the text; 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 taught Elam to Australian undergraduates, and revised at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. Initially, my bibliographical resources were those of Fisher Library, undoubtedly the best library for a study of this sort in Australia. By the time this revision was made, the world had changed and websites like the Internet Archive (archive.org), Academia.edu, Google Scholar and Google Books, not to mention JSTOR and online journals, had made literature available which was simply not accessible to me in the 1990s. For their gracious help in sending me offprints and pdfs of useful literature, I would like to acknowledge with thanks the late A.B. Bosworth (Perth), P. Briant (Toulouse), J.A. Brinkman (Chicago), A. Caubet (Paris), J. Córdoba (Madrid), R.K. Englund (Los Angeles), E. Haerinck (Ghent), H. Hunger (Vienna), M. Jursa (Vienna), P. Kalensky (Paris), A. Kuhrt (London), P. Magee (Bryn Mawr), P. Michalowski (Ann Arbor), B. Mofidi-Nasrabadi (Mainz), the late P.R.S. Moorey (Oxford), H.J. Nissen (Berlin), D. Prechel (Mainz), the late H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Groningen), R. Schmitt (Plön), M.W. Stolper (Chicago), J. Teixidor (Paris) and the late J.G. Westenholz (Jerusalem).

The maps were prepared by Dr. Thomas Urban (Dr. Urban & Partner, Archäologie und Denkmaldokumentation, Birkenwerder, Germany). Dr. Alex Stephens (Sydney Grammar School) prepared English translations of selected 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 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 Dr. K. Abdi (Tehran), 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 my original editor, Jessica Kuper, for her patience and goodwill, and Asya Graf, for encouraging me to undertake this revised edition.

My family knows by the dedication of this book that I have appreciated their support more than words can say.
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. The late 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, 1996 and 2001 I was able to return to Iran with my wife, children Rowena and Morgan, 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 sites of Elamite history for the first time. Parvaneh Sattari and the staff of Pasargad Tour in Tehran made both trips enormously successful and reminded me why I have spent much of my adult life thinking about Iran's past. Subsequently, I was privileged to survey and excavate in the Mamasani region of Fars Province in collaboration with the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research and with funding from the Australian Research Council. Many Iranian and Australian colleagues and students took part in our expeditions between 2002 and 2010, but I would particularly like to thank Kourosh Alamdari, Karim Alizadeh, Sheler Amelirad, Alireza Askari Chaverdi, Amanda Dusting, Tom Ellicott, Jalil Golshan, Ardešir Javanmardzadeh, Matthew Jones, Alireza Khosrowzadeh, Arash Lashkari, Bernadette McCall, Kat McRae, Hasan Fazeli Nashli, Cameron Petrie, my wife Hildreth Potts, Kourosh Roustaei, Alireza Sardari, Lloyd Weeks, Edna Wong, Afshin Yazdani and Mohsen Zeidi for making these seasons both memorable and successful. The late Massoud Azarnoush facilitated our work in many ways. My sons Morgan and Hallam were able to participate in the 2003 season as well, and it is safe to say that all who participated in this work had an unforgettable experience.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION

In addition to my own photographs, I have been fortunate to be able to use images from a number of other sources. These include photographs taken by Erik Smekens for the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, kindly supplied by Dr. Bruno Overlaet (Brussels); the late Baroness Marie-Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University, through the kind assistance of Joanne Bloom Toplyn, Photographic Resources Librarian; and the late Professor Machteld Mellink, Bryn Mawr College, made available through the Artstor Digital Library. Several images of objects in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, available for academic use through Artstor, have also been used, as have more than a dozen images of Seleucid, Roman, Elymaean, Arsacid and Sasanian coins in the Yale University Art Gallery. A number of friends have allowed me to reproduce their own photographs or drawings, and for this assistance I would like to warmly thank Prof. Javier Álvarez-Mon (Sydney), Dr. Gian Pietro Basello (Naples), Prof. Mark Garrison (San Antonio), Dr. Wouter Henkelman (Paris/Berlin), Dr. Trudy Kawami (New York), Dr. Brian Kritt (Burtonsville) and Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi (Mainz).
ABBREVIATIONS

A Siglum of texts in the Louvre Museum
A1–3S Artaxerxes I–III, Susa inscriptions
AAASH Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AAM Archives administratives de Mari
AcIr Acta Iranica
AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
AH Achaemenid History
AION Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
AIT Archäologie in Iran und Turan
AJA American Journal of Archaeology
AJPA American Journal of Physical Anthropology
AMI/AMIT Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan)
AO Der Alte Orient
AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF Alterorientalische Forschungen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AOS</td>
<td>American Oriental Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARM</td>
<td>Archives royales de Mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ArOr</td>
<td>Archiv Orientální</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Assyriological Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bab. 8</td>
<td>Genouillac, H. de (1924), ‘Choix de textes économiques de la collection Pupil’, Babyloniaca 8 (1924), 37ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAH</td>
<td>Institut Français d’Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAI</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BaM</td>
<td>Baghdader Mitteilungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAR</td>
<td>British Archaeological Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBVO</td>
<td>Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BiMes</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Mesopotamica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIN</td>
<td>Babylonian inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies, Yale University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BiOr</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Orientalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSOAS</td>
<td>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Cyrus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAH</td>
<td>Cambridge Ancient History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDAFI</td>
<td>Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique Française en Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDLB</td>
<td>Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDLJ</td>
<td>Cuneiform Digital Library Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDLN</td>
<td>Cuneiform Digital Library Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHI</td>
<td>Cambridge History of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CII</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNIP</td>
<td>Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNRS</td>
<td>Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAIBL</td>
<td>Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>