

2nd Susa and Elam conference: History, Language, Religion and Culture

2^{ème} colloque Suse et Élam: Histoire, Langue, Religion et Culture

Program / Programme

Monday 6 July / lundi 6 juillet

09h00-10h00: Registration / Inscription

10h00-10h30: Introduction (Jan TAVERNIER)

10h30-11h00: Opening lecture: Elizabeth CARTER (University of California, Los Angeles)
Reassessing the Elamite contribution to the Luristan Bronzes

11h00-11h30: Coffee Break / Pause-café

Session 1: Interregional and International Contacts / Contacts interrégionaux et internationaux (Chair / Président de session: A. Tourovets).

11h30-12h00: Enrico ASCALONE (University of Salento)
Intercultural Relations among Elam, Jiroft and the Oxus Civilization

12h00-12h30: Kamran ZAND (University Heidelberg)
Mesopotamia and the East - The perspective from the earliest literary texts

12h30-14h30: Lunch

Session 1: Interregional and International Contacts / Contacts interrégionaux et internationaux (Chair / Président de session: A. Tourovets).

14h30-15h00: Luca PEYRONEL (Libera Università di Lingue e Comunicazione)
Scales and Balance weights from Susa and Ur: Metrological Interaction spheres between lowlands and highlands during Middle Bronze Age

15h00-15h30: Elynn GORRIS (Université catholique de Louvain)
Crossing Borders...Perilous Journeys for Elamite Diplomats and Messengers

15h30-16h00: Coffee Break / Pause-café

Session 2: Elamite Archaeology and Iconography / Archéologie et iconographie élamite (Chair / Président de session: G.P. Basello).

16h00-16h30: Alexandre TOUROVETS (Université catholique de Louvain)
The Elamite Architecture. A model for the development of the architectural forms during the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid periods ?

16h30-17h00: Steve RENETTE (University of Pennsylvania)
A New Chronology of the Godin III Ceramic Tradition and Its Implications for the Early Development of the Elamite world

17h00-17h30: Nabil IBNOERRIDA (L'Orientale University of Naples)
Elam and Persia: between the environment and land use, comparable models?

18h30-20h00: Opening Reception

Tuesday 7 July / Mardi 7 juillet

Session 2: Elamite Archaeology and Iconography / Archéologie et iconographie élamite (Chair / Président de session: W. Henkelman).

09h30-10h00: Reception / Accueil

10h00-10h30: Holly PITTMANN (University of Pennsylvania)
The Highland Origins of the Royal Iconography of the Old Elamite Dynasties of Shimaski and early Sukkalmah

10h30-11h00: Simin PIRAN (National Museum of Iran & Goethe University)

Contents of the Seal Impression: On the only found Proto-Elamite Tablet from Shahr-i Sokhteh

11h00-11h30: Coffee Break / Pause-café

11h30-12h00: Sharareh FAROKHNIA (Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organisation) & Katrien DE GRAEF (Ghent University)
The trade route of lapis lazuli in eastern parts of Iran during the third millennium BC

12h00-12h30: Babak RAFIEI-ALAVI (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main)
From Haft Tappeh to Chogha Zanbil: Comparison of the Metal Artifacts Assemblages in two Middle Elamite Cities

12h30-14h30: Lunch

Session 3: Suso-Elamite Religion / Religion suso-élamite (Chair / Président de session: G. Müller).

14h30-15h00: Giacomo Luigi MORANDO (Ca' Foscari University Venice)
The sacred landscape in Elam between the first and second millennium BC

15h00-15h30: Davide SALARIS (Macquarie University)
The Elymaean Temple of Bard-e Neshandeh

15h30-16h00: Yasmina WICKS (University of Sydney)
Female, Fish and Frying Pan: An Enigmatic Funerary Object Unique to Elam

16h00-16h30: Coffee Break / Pause-café

Session 4: Textual Sources and Language in Susa and Elam / Sources textuelles et langue en Suse et Elam (Chair / Président de session: K. Zand).

16h30-17h00: Gerfrid W.G. MÜLLER (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg)
A systematic Survey of the Elamite Lexicon -- an attempt

17h00-17h30: Michael MÄDER (Universität Bern)
Eine elamische Morphemanalyse: Humbannumenas Inschrift EKI 4

Wednesday 8 July / Mercredi 8 juillet

Session 4: Textual Sources and Language in Susa and Elam / Sources textuelles et langue en Suse et Elam (Chair / Président de session: K. Maekawa).

09h30-10h00: Reception / Accueil

10h00-10h30: Gian Pietro BASELLO (L'Orientale University of Naples)
Missing Evidence? The Case of Elamite Cuneiform Culture

10h30-11h00: Katrien DE GRAEF (Ghent University)
East of Eden. The Ups and Downs of a Wealthy Susian Family during the Sukkalmah Period

11h00-11h30: Coffee Break / Pause-café

Session 4: Textual Sources and Language in Susa and Elam / Sources textuelles et langue en Suse et Elam (Chair / Président de session: K. Maekawa).

11h30-12h00: Lieselot VANDORPE (Ghent University)
Libak hanik ⁴napipiki. Divine names in theophoric anthroponyms in Susa (1930-1450 BC)

12h00-12h30: Jan TAVERNIER (Université catholique de Louvain)
Kings with too many names: an Elamite onomastical imbroglio

12h30-14h30: Lunch

Session 5: Suso-Elamite History and Culture / Histoire et culture suso-élamite (Chair / Président de session: S. Gondet).

14h30-15h00: Kazuya MAEKAWA (Kyoto University)
Agricultural Production of the Ur III Girsu Institution at Susa

15h00-15h30: Dariush BORBOR (Research Institute and Library of Iranian Studies)
The Confederative Administration of Elam

15h30-16h00: Coffee Break / Pause-café

16h00-16h30: Mina DABBAGH (Université Lyon 2)
Les femmes dans la documentation de Haft-Tépé

16h30-17h00: Wouter HENKELMAN (EPHE, Paris)

The Susa charter reconsidered: scribal workshops and literary traditions in Darius' palace

18h30: Walking dinner

Thursday 9 July / Jeudi 9 juillet

Session 5: Suso-Elamite History and Culture / Histoire et culture suso-élamite (Chair / Président de session: H. Pittmann).

09h30-10h00: Reception / Accueil

10h00-10h30: Javier ÁLVAREZ-MON (Macquarie University)

The Bow of Elam: the Mainstay of their Might

10h30-11h00: Margaux BOUSQUET (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)

Cultic Musicians in Susa

11h00-11h30: Coffee Break / Pause-café

Session 6: The Suso-Elamite Landscape / Le paysage suso-élamite (Chair / Président de session: H. Pittmann).

11h30-12h00: Rindert JANSSENS, Frieda BOGEMANS, Cecile BAETEMAN, Jan TAVERNIER
(Royal Institute of Natural Sciences & Université catholique de Louvain)

Identification of the sedimentary palaeo-environments in order to reconstruct the geographic history of Lower Khuzestan, SW-Iran

12h00-12h30: Ali ZALAGHI (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main)

New Evidence of Elamite Settlement Patterns in the Western bank of the Karkheh River in Lowland Susiana, Southwestern Iran

12h30-14h30: Lunch

Session 6: The Suso-Elamite Landscape / Le paysage suso-élamite (Chair / Président de session: E. Carter).

14h30-15h00: Evan CARLSON (UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology)

Refocusing Regional Interaction under the Kings of Anshan and Susa: A Study of City and Canal Construction in the Late 2nd Millennium BC

15h00-15h30: Kiumars ALIZĀDEH (University of Tehran)

Neo-Elamite Eastern Territories and Pastoralist People: The case of Persian tribes

15h30-16h00: Coffee Break / Pause-café

16h00-16h30: Leila MAKVANDI (University of Kashan)

Elamite realm in Achaemenid Persia: the case of textual and archaeological problems of toponyms in Elamite texts of the Persepolis archive

16h30-17h00: Sébastien GONDET (Université Lyon 2)

Cities around the Achaemenid palaces: cross-perspectives between Persia (Pasargadae, Persepolis) and Elam (Susa)

17h00-17h45: Concluding remarks / Conclusion (Katrien DE GRAEF)

Abstracts Susa and Elam/Résumés Suse et Élam

Neo-Elamite Eastern Territories and Pastoralist People: The case of Persian tribes

Kiumars ALIZĀDEH (University of Tehran)

From the ancient times, the Elamite highlands, especially Anšan, in Marv-Dašt Plain were a center of pastoralist and nomadic people. The mountains, rivers, and routes in the region and its remoteness from the centers of foreign threats, especially Neo-Assyrian Empire in the first millennium B.C., turned it into a huge natural castle. In the other hand, having fertile lands and sufficient water resources made it as a suitable region for pastoralist people. Furthermore, the region had a very important role as a good and safe place for the Elamite Kings, who were looking for some places to fight against or escape from their Mesopotamian's foes. The Mesopotamian sources relate that the Assyrian attacks forced the Elamite kings to run away and sheltered in inaccessible mountains, most of the time in eastern territories.

It seems these geographical features kept Persian tribes, who were indeed pastoralist (*but not all of them*), safe from the potentials threats and brought them a good situation for stockbreeding. While the Neo-Elamite Kings were encountering with the destructive power of Assyria, the natural geography of Neo-Elamite's Eastern Territories, especially the region of Anšan, alongside the Political circumstances, helped Cyrus' II ancestors to increase their power gradually. Finally, Cyrus II established his capital in Anšan, and it was from there that he revolted against Median King, Ištuviḡu. Based on historical and archaeological data, the aim of this paper is to analyze and discuss about the role of pastoralist lifestyle alongside the geographical features of the Neo-Elamite's Eastern Territories, especially the region of Anšan in rising of the Achaemenid Empire under Cyrus II and his ancestors.

The Bow of Elam: the Mainstay of their Might

Javier ÁLVAREZ-MON (Macquarie University)

Elamite political longevity hinged on a territorial grouping of lowland and highland regions and, as will be argued in this paper, the use of a formidable fighting force characterized by the use of bowmen and the composite flexed bow. In times of strength Elamite armed forces radically altered the fortunes of their neighbours—as reflected by eventful episodes of imperial reach such as the destruction of Ur in c. 2004; the omnipotence of the Elamite Emperor in the international arena during c. 1775-1761; the downfall of the Kassite dynasty and the sack of Babylon in c.1150; or the backlash suffered by Sennacherib's failed attempts at controlling Babylon (including the capture and possible execution of the Assyrian heir to the throne).

The main goal of this paper is to amend Elamite military and cultural history by following the little-examined cultural thread of Elamite archery. Based on the compilation and analysis of visual and textual evidence I will attempt to demonstrate that the manufacture and use of composite flexed bows were an integral part on Elamite history and a highly desirable specialized skill both dreaded and highly sought by neighbouring powers. Indeed, the celebrated words of the Prophet Jeremiah (49:35) pertaining to Elamite bowmen, “the mainstay of their might”, suggest the existence of a cultural tradition at the core of Elamite identity that fostered the teaching and training in the finest techniques of archery, together with the manufacture and administrative control of quality bows and related paraphernalia (quivers, strings, hand-protectors, arrows and arrowheads). To conclude this essay, I will emphasize the

ramifications of this study in shedding light on the rather exceptional historical dynamics, longevity and ability of Elamite society to withstand change.

Intercultural Relations among Elam, Jiroft and the Oxus Civilization

Enrico ASCALONE (University of Salento)

After twenty years new archaeological evidence in the so-called "Bactrian-Margiana Archaeological Complex" (= BMAC) have invited a change in our knowledge of the cultural relations between the Oxus civilization and Elam during the 3rd-2nd millennium BC transition. The new archaeological projects in southern and western Turkmenistan, well attested at Gonur Depe, have showed a wider and more articulated relational system in Asia Media, not only constrained to the movement of the Central Asia Bronze Age onto the Iranian plateau, Baluchistan, and western coast of the Persian Gulf. At the same time new research and excavations in the Jiroft Valley have demonstrated a new cultural horizon of the Iranian eastern area. In this perspective the new information from Oxus (Bactria and Margiana), Elam and Jiroft civilizations invite new interpretations regarding the historical background of our research. In particular it is possible to recognize southern Iranian objects or influenced materials by Elamite or Jiroft civilization in the Bactrian-Margiana archaeological complex.

Unpublished materials, placed in the Bastan Museum, are an important line of evidence for a reassessment of the historical relations among civilizations, representing a conceptual and ideological creation originated by the union of Elamite and Central Asian cultural developments. This evidence is a new and decisive contribution for the understanding of intercultural processes between the Oxus, Elam (including Susa) and Jiroft cultures; its presence confirms a homogeneous and related-artistic knowledge in a wide territory from Margiana and Bactria to the Lut, Jiroft, and Elam regions in a joint cultural source, but with different indigenous developments.

Missing Evidence? The Case of Elamite Cuneiform Culture

Gian Pietro BASELLO (L'Orientale University of Naples)

The omen tablet A 12801, found in Susa during the excavations directed by Mecquenem, is considered to be the only extant "literary" text in Elamite. Published by Scheil on the *Revue d'Assyriologie* 14 (1917), the text corresponds partly to Neo-Assyrian omnia (K. 2278 and K. 7944), therefore representing a non-coterminous bilingual that has still to be exploited to improve our knowledge of Elamite language. The text is also relevant for its palaeography, spelling peculiarities and colophon.

After a reassessment of the contents and dating of the Elamite omen tablet, collated at the Louvre Museum in 2013, and a brief survey of literary and scholarly texts from Elam, a definition of the concepts of literature and culture according to the categories of the ancient scribes will be attempted. Since most of the documentation written in Elamite is represented by royal inscriptions and administrative tablets, we have to take into account also minor bits of evidence and include the Akkadian literary and scholarly texts drafted in Elam (especially Susa, Chogha Pahn West, Haft Tappeh, Tall-e Malyan). The resulting picture will shift towards a bilingual Akkadian-Elamite culture, just like the Sumero-Akkadian one which was at the core of Mesopotamian civilizations.

The Confederative Administration of Elam

Dariussh BORBOR (Research Institute and Library of Iranian Studies, RILIS)

As early as the 3rd or even 4th millennia B.C.E., Elam already had a sophisticated hierarchy of institutions and administration. This paper will argue that contrary to many claims of tribal associations, the Elamite administration was a confederacy of several city states of independent rule. The combination of these city-states instituted a confederated kingdom somewhat resembling the Swiss Confederation Helvetica or a rudimentary commonwealth of nations rather like the modern British Commonwealth or the European Union.

Beside the great king of Elam, there was a hierarchy of [independent] kings, governors, priest-princes and judges of the individual city states. Some city states had both a king and a governor. The royal title did not pass from father to son, and the kings were often elected from amongst lesser dignitaries. A treaty between a coalition of Elamite kings or princes with king Narām-Su'en of Akkad, often termed as the “earliest written document of diplomatic contents in world history” clearly shows the early confederal system of government in Elam and later ancient Iran. There was a sophisticated descending order of rule: the king of kings or the overlord was followed in descending order by city state rulers and other civil servants. The enthroning of the king of kings might have taken place on some sort of election procedure among the relatives of the previous king of kings. The same order existed both in the judiciary with a supreme court and [independent] judges for each city.

The city-state rulers were not appointed puppets, but active political figures and they would not hesitate to rebel against an unpopular king of kings. The population was mostly organized in the form of “kin communes” that united to set up “territorial communities”. These appear to have had popular “community assemblies”.

Cultic Musicians in Susa

Margaux BOUSQUET (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)

While terracotta figurines and plaques revealing popular tastes and interests proliferating in the Ancient Near East from the early second millennium BC, depictions of musicians developed in Susa. Among a large corpus of clay objects published by Spycket in 1992, males are depicted standing, wearing long robes down to their feet and ovoid head-dresses. Regarding their peculiar garments, these male subjects were identified as being part of a corporation dedicated to the Sukkalmah cult. Three main types are distinguished: males holding a curved stick; males playing a small lute; and males playing what might be a small harp. Both musical instruments attest of peculiar forms, unknown to Mesopotamian assemblages, and appear in Susa only with this specific iconography. Indeed, the identification of the small “harp” has led to many interpretations. This paper intends to present and analyze these musical instruments, and attempts at displaying their organological peculiarities, compared to Ancient Near Eastern instruments of the same period. Textual and iconographical evidence will be considered in order to suggest an aspect of Elamite music of the early beginning of the second millennium BC.

Refocusing Regional Interaction under the Kings of Anshan and Susa: A Study of City

and Canal Construction in the Late 2nd Millennium BC

Evan CARLSON (UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology)

In a 2014 article in the journal *Iran*, I examined the construction phases and social structure of the late 2nd millennium city Al Untash Napirisha (Chogha Zanbil) in order to elucidate interactive planning efforts among different segments of the population in constructing the city. This paper will offer further insights on Al Untash Napirisha and its role in Middle Elamite society through a focus on the region of Khuzestan at large at the time of the erection of this new city.

This city was founded at the time of both the Kings of Susa and Anshan and burgeoning territorial states throughout the Near East. These states founded new capitals, which, I argue for both Mesopotamian and Elamite cases, were to centralize a formally fragmented landscape of city-states around a centralized regional ruling authority. This paper will analyze the structure of the state and landscape in Khuzestan during the Middle Elamite period through the use of historic maps; existing settlement data; and Corona, multispectral, and high-resolution satellite imagery. These datasets will allow for a better understanding of the canal system used by the Elamites and the way their settlements were supported, connected, and integrated into a wider region. This paper will describe how Middle Elamite kings constructed canals and manipulated the settlement systems in order to better control the settled and natural landscape.

Reassessing the Elamite contribution to the Luristan Bronzes

Elizabeth CARTER (University of California, Los Angeles)

Classic Luristan bronzes of the early first millennium B.C. (Overlaet 2008, Piggot 2008) are known for their high level of technical skill, range of distinctive shapes and iconography. They are considered a “stylistic group” united by forms and decoration that often include animal and human figures combined to produce mixed beings. These beings decorate weapons, horse-trappings, “finials” or “standards”, whetstone handles, and a wide variety of pins (flat, openwork and solid).

Some scholars (e.g., Porada 1965, Moorey 1971) suggest that the smiths of Luristan were inheritors of earlier Middle Elamite metal working traditions. But there has been little detailed work on the possible mechanics of the transmission of these techniques, technologies and iconographies from Elam to Luristan.

This paper will reassess the evidence for ties between Elam and Luristan as reflected in the Luristan Bronzes from several points of view. First it examines the corpus from a chronological perspective based on the Pusht-i Kuh excavations. The development of the “classic” Luristan Bronze industry in the early first millennium BCE at a time when Babylonia and Susiana were in periods of marked population decline (Overlaet 2008) remains difficult to interpret. Secondly the paper presents an overview of the known archaeological contexts and distributions of the bronzes. Finally it looks at some key iconographic and stylistic features of the corpus and concludes that although the Luristan bronzes workers incorporated a number of Elamite motifs into their iconographic repertory, the metal working traditions of Luristan were primarily the result of a long local development.

Les femmes dans la documentation de Haft-Tépe

Mina DABBAGH (Université Lyon 2)

Le site de Haft-Tépé se trouve à une vingtaine de kilomètres au sud-est de Suse, dans la province de Khuzestân en Iran. Haft-Tépé ou ancienne ville de Kabnak (première hypothèse proposée par P. Herrero) est composée de plusieurs collines et contient les vestiges d'une grande ville de l'époque médio-élamite (1500-1300 av. J.-C.). Les premières fouilles ont été menées entre 1965 et 1978, sous la direction du Pr. E.O. Negahban. En 2001 un nouveau projet archéologique a démarré sous la direction de B. Mofidi-Nasrabadi avec l'appui de l'organisation iranienne du patrimoine culturel.

Les archives exhumées par E. Negahban comptent 1700 tablettes, ainsi que des inscriptions commémoratives sur pierre et des sceaux. Ces documents sont écrits en langue moyen-babylonien et consistent en différents genres de textes : administratifs, juridiques, royaux, scolaires et funéraires. Une série de 290 de ces documents ont fait l'objet d'une publication sous forme de copie cunéiforme par J.-J. Glassner et P. Herrero (*Iranica Antiqua* ; 1990, 91, 93, 96 et *DAFI* 6, 1976, pp. 93-116). On dispose aussi de l'étude d'une stèle publiée par E. Reiner (1973, *Afo24*, pp. 87-102)

Cette recherche s'intéresse aux mentions de femmes dans les archives de Haft-Tépé. Elle a pour objectif de présenter les fonctions et les métiers que les femmes occupaient, leur rôle à la cour et en tant que prêtresse ainsi que leur capacité à exercer certains droits notamment dans le cadre des transactions commerciales. Il sera également intéressant de les comparer aux hommes par rapport aux distributions dont elles bénéficient (rations de vêtements et bétails, etc.). Cette communication se penchera également sur les questions liées à l'onomastique à travers les nombreux anthroponymes féminins que l'on rencontre dans les textes de Haft-Tépé.

East of Eden. The Ups and Downs of a Wealthy Susian Family during the Sukkalmah Period

Katrien DE GRAEF (Ghent University)

In 1961, Léon De Meyer was able to reconstruct the genealogical tree of a wealthy Susian family of landowners over four generations, since known as the so-called Anih-Šušim family. Later on, Vallat (2000) was able to complete this family tree with two more generations. Five generations of this family can be dated during the reigns of nine rulers, from Kuter-Nahhunte to Kuk-Našur III, the last ruler of the Sukkalmah period (*ca.* 1650 - *ca.* 1450 BCE).

In this paper, I will reappraise the documents related to the Anih-Šušim family, taking *MDP* 23 321-2, a litigation recording the contesting of a part of the family inheritance as a starting point to explore the doings and dealings of preceding and later generations. Particular attention will be paid to (1) the archival context of the documents belonging to the dossier, (2) the family structure, including a brother adoption, (3) the social and business network of the family and last but not least (4) the chronology, sequence and interrelation of the rulers during whose reigns the family was active, especially in light of my new hypothesis on the state structure during the Sukkalmah period (De Graef 2012).

As such, I will offer a glimpse of the history of the Anih-Šušim family over 200 years, including the ups and downs they lived through.

The trade route of Lapis lazuli in eastern parts of Iran during the third millennium BC

Sharareh FAROKHNIA (Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization)

& *Katrien DE GRAEF* (Ghent University)

Archaeological and textual evidence has shed some light on the long distance trade and related concept of inter-regional and international commercial networks in the eastern parts of Iran (Khurasan Road), connecting Afghanistan to central Asia in prehistoric and historic periods. The Great Khurasan Road played an important role in importing tin, copper, and gold, as well as lapis lazuli, to Mesopotamia from Afghanistan. This trade route served as a trans-shipment area for the lapis lazuli, incoming overland from Afghanistan (Steinkeller 2012). In fact, one of the main sources of lapis lazuli, which is remarkably widespread in Iran, is in Badakhshan in the northeast of the Hindu Kush.

The Central Iranian Plateau, the northeast and eastern parts of Iran (Golestan, Semnan and Khurasan provinces), which connect to the great Khurasan road, have always been of great strategic value in commercial exchanges and the long distance trade with Afghanistan and central Asia.

In this paper, I will discuss the trade route running through eastern parts of Iran and the great Khurasan road which was a commercial and exchange network for lapis lazuli. In fact some processing centres or workshops such as Tepe Hissar and Shahr-e Sukhta, would clarify the role of this area in trading of lapis lazuli and production activities. It is also possible that materials such as semi-precious stones, which are rare and exotic, were particularly used to demonstrate the status of the owners. As such, it may be possible to recognize the elite class among the ancient societies during the third millennium BC.

Cities around the Achaemenid palaces: cross-perspectives between Persia (Pasargadae, Persepolis) and Elam (Susa)

Sébastien GONDET

(Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée/UMR 5133 Archéorient team; CNRS/Lyon 2 University)

Recent results from the Iranian-French and Iranian-Italian archaeological projects over Pasargadae and Persepolis have brought to light parts of the cities layouts revealed by combined excavations and surveys carried out from 2008 to 2014. Indeed, the known Achaemenid royal monuments are the visible remains of broader urban schemes sprawling over hundreds of hectares. The cities layouts do not show clearly defined centers and are made of several built sectors loosely distributed over urbanized territories. Integrated into common organization plans, the distribution of these sectors respects spatial separation between aristocratic buildings and ordinary settlements. Pasargadae and Persepolis were probably built as opened urban landscapes without clear limit between the cities and their hinterlands creating models of what we suggest to call “diffuse urbanism”. As demonstrated by the building of the Palace of Darius, the city of Susa has been deeply reshaped during the Achaemenid period. Shared architectural characteristics between Susa and Persepolis have often been stressed as well as common logics in the spatial organization of these “royal residences”. The Achaemenid city of Susa is so far poorly known despite several dozen years of excavations. However, the city was there because Susa remained the capital of the satrapy of Elam and obviously an important economic and administrative center. This lecture intends to draw parallel between Achaemenid Susa and the cities of Persia: the building of the Shaour Palace by Artaxerxes II, in the plain 500 m west to the Apadana, illustrates the large extent of the urban reorganization; the apparent lack of data concerning the presence of ordinary settlements around the palaces proves that they stood further and the royal buildings were isolated. These hints could demonstrate that Susa was

mapped out as an opened urban layout, difficult to reveal with excavations, following principles closed to Pasargadae and Persepolis.

Crossing Borders...Perilous Journeys for Elamite Diplomats and Messengers

Elynn GORRIS (Université catholique de Louvain)

Although some reports on foreign policy exist for Ancient Near Eastern states in the first millennium BC, studies illuminating on the diplomatic behaviour between an early Iranian state and the Mesopotamian empires are scarce. Nevertheless, the Elamite texts and Akkadian royal correspondence (8th-6th century BC) does give regular hints on the efforts of the Elamite diplomats and messengers to optimize the international relations between Elam on the one hand and the Babylonian and Assyrian rulers on the other. This paper will therefore explore the role of the Elamite officials in the international diplomatic relations of the Neo-Elamite kings with the neighboring states Assyria and Babylonia.

The Susa charter reconsidered: scribal workshops and literary traditions in Darius' palace

Wouter M.W. HENKELMAN (EPHE, Paris)

The foundation inscriptions describing the construction of Darius' palace at Susa are sometimes taken as referring to different architectural sections, different building phases or reflecting different historical circumstances. The available manuscripts of DSf and DSz render this assumption unlikely and seem to argue for an inscriptional family created by a scribal workshop that introduced slight variations if the available space, format, etc. required this. Perhaps more fundamental, however, is the question whether the 'charter' should primarily be read as a documentary source. Comparison with relevant texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive indicate the contrary, as does a contextualisation of the material within the tradition of Elamite building inscriptions.

Elam and Persia: between the environment and land use, comparable models?

Nabil IBNOERRIDA (L'Orientale University of Naples)

The Achaemenid Empire has been influenced by neighboring cultures, we know only a little of this vast empire, but we can identify the fixed points at the beginning of its history; Cyrus the Great since it appears had the title of King of Anshan. The link with Anshan indicates a link with the Elamite's world .

The few (*claims that*) archaeological remains of the period Elamite and the Achaemenid empire shown a situation about continuity of settlement, these include the region of the province of Busher and Mamasan, and the plain of Marvdasht; The first offers an interesting view of how the area has been exploited both, in Elamite period with the testimony of the Lyan's site, and the Achaemenid period with the buildings of Borazjan, whereas the Mamasani province data of the latest research lead us to think of a connection area between Susa and Malyan and later, between Susa and Persepolis. These two examples bring with them the continuity housing very interesting that suggest a gradual transition from Neo-Elamite to the Achaemenid period with cultural influences. One of the most interesting is the plain of Marvdasht that in addition to having certificates of Achaemenid period we attestation Elamite site Malyan. The study of the

territory and the environment as a whole can lead to a more broadens the various settlements and propose or understand the movement of the different population in the territory. Overall a study not only the environment but also archaeological in this sense it is useful to increase our knowledge of the Achaemenid period and also the last Elamite period.

Identification of the sedimentary palaeo-environments in order to reconstruct the geographic history of Lower Khuzestan, SW-Iran

Rindert JANSSENS, Frieda BOGEMANS, Cecile BAETEMAN, Jan TAVERNIER
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The southern part of the Mesopotamian plain was of immense importance toward the development of our modern civilisation. Since long archaeologist and historians have conducted research on ancient writings and archaeological findings in this lowland area. Unfortunately little work has been done on the evolution of the palaeo-environment along the Iranian side. Shifting rivers, changing coastlines as well as climate fluctuations are, amongst others, important factors which have had and have an impact on the production of the natural sustenance and thus ancient, historical and modern settlements.

This study focusses on the palaeo-environmental reconstruction of Lower-Khuzestan in southwest Iran throughout the Holocene. The study of the sedimentary and mineralogical properties of the sediments up to 12m beneath the surface, in combination with radiocarbon dating make the reconstruction of the geographic history of Lower Khuzestan during the Holocene possible.

Eine elamische Morphemanalyse: Humbannumenas Inschrift EKI 4

Michael MÄDER (Universität Bern)

Untersucht wird eine von König Humbannumena (ca. 1350 v. Chr.) verfasste Bauinschrift des Kiririša-Tempels in Liyan (Bušehr). Mit der Morphemanalyse können erstens einige Schwierigkeiten des mittelelamischen Wortkunde und Grammatik aufgezeigt werden. Zweitens ist sie ein Schritt hin zu einem lemmatisierten Korpus des Elamischen. Nicht zuletzt erlaubt der resultierende Übersetzungsvorschlag Rückschlüsse auf die politischen Verhältnisse des Ighalkiden-Dynastie. So zeigt die Untersuchung von EKI 4 IV, das sein Wort *men* 'Krone' nicht vorkommt, womit der Hauptgrund wegfällt, Humbannumena als Usurpator oder Regent einer parallelen Monarchie zu sehen. Weitere Argumente für die "Double-monarchie"-These werden kritisch besprochen.

Agricultural Production of the Ur III Girsu Institution in Susa

Kazuya MAEKAWA (Kyoto University)

Girsu-Lagaš, a southern province of the Ur III state, opened its administrative branch at Susa in Šulgi's 30s year of reign (Maekawa, "Susa and Girsu-Lagaš in the Ur III period," *Ancient Iran: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Cuneiform Studies* [December 6-7, 2014, Kyoto]). In Šulgi 36, eighty-five men of this organization held prebend plots in Susa (Maekawa, ASJ 4 Text 17). In winter in that year, barley was cultivated in the domain fields of this institution whose area reached 1,133 ha (Maekawa, ASJ 2 Text 5). In summer, sesame was planted both in those fields where barley had been reaped and in the fields left in fallow.

A large part of the barley, reaped and threshed within the Susa fields, was brought to Girsu and was mainly “consumed for the king,” only a small part being left in the “storehouse(s) of Susa” (MVN 6 130).

Sesame plants, reaped in the Susa fields, were transported by ship to Guabba in Girsu. There, they were threshed, and oil was eventually pressed out of sesame seeds. This seems to be related with a large scale consumption of oil at Guabba.

King Šulgi ordered Girsu to exploit fields in Susa probably in his early 30s when he adopted harsh foreign policies. He made Susa pivotal in his strategy against southern and northern Khuzistan and the Zagros regions.

Some Girsu records dated Šulgi 34 and 35 nicely illustrate that the Susa sesame cultivation was a state enterprise. They calculate the amount of the manpower which one fishermen group offered for maritime activities of the Ur III state, including Šulgi’s military action against Anšan. A part of the manpower was consumed for sesame transportation, and we now know this was the sesame imported from Susa.

Elamite realm in the Achaemenid Persia: the case of textual and archaeological problems of toponyms in Elamite texts of the Persepolis archive

Leila MAKVANDI (University of Kashan)

The core of Achaemenid Empire has been main part of the Elamite realm. When Persians got the power, the Elamite were still around as we can see the role of Elamite culture and language in Persepolis administrative texts specifically in Fortification archive, which dates to the reign of Darius I (509-493 B.C). As a new corpus of primary evidence, it has the potential to shed new light on manifold aspects of daily life, economic activities and administrative structures in the heartland of the Achaemenid Empire, i.e. in an area roughly defined by central and western Fars and eastern Khuzestan. One of the most important aspects of the archive is hundreds of toponyms mentioned in texts, which some of them known from earlier Elamite sources, As well as their interrelations, have excited scholars with their promise of vast new insights in the historical geography of the Empire’s core and maybe some light on older Elamite cities, but when it comes to place the toponyms on the map, uncertainty still abounds. There are four main presented maps: 1. Hallock divided the region under purview of the Persepolis administration in three parts, 2. Koch subdivided the administrative territory in six areas and placed the toponyms within these areas, 3. Arfaee adopted Hallock’s approach, but in turn attempts to connect some of the ancient toponyms to known sites and (early) modern toponyms. Finally, Aperghis exclusively focused on the Royal Road and the stations alongside it. Taken together, the proposed maps are often contradictory; there is hardly any unanimity about the location of the toponyms and sometimes clash of their opinions got you confused. Also, all those maps suffer from a nearly-complete ignorance of archaeological data. This paper is not much concerned to re-drawing the new map of toponyms in the Persepolis Elamite Texts, instead aims to re-assess previous research and offer new viewpoint about locating the toponyms.

The sacred landscape in Elam between the first and second millennium BC

Giacomo Luigi MORANDO (Ca’ Foscari University Venice)

Recent studies (D.T. Potts, J. Álvarez-Mon) have started to highlight the existence of deep relationships between some supposed sacred Elamite places and the surrounding natural landscape. Evidences, in this vein, suggest that rock reliefs were voluntarily located in mountain

valleys, because the natural scenario held the sacred value by itself, recognized as worth of being honoured.

Moving from these hypotheses, the research intends to test them by broadening up the analysis to all Elamite evidences related to the theme “sacred places” from the II and I millennium BC, applying a more comprehensive semantic, including all references, yet to natural yet to urban “sacred places” - the latter conceived as the result of human work.

The research therefore aims to provide a deeper understanding of the “idea” of sacred place in Elam, detangling the relationships between the natural and anthropic features.

The study exploits in this vein mixed methods. On one hand, archaeological evidences are explored through the methodologies of archaeology of religion, with approaches such as the archaeology of perception and cognitive archaeology. On the other, epigraphic evidence are treated through rhetorical and argumentative theories. All the evidences are ultimately detected according to the methodologies of the comparative-religious studies, delivering also a comparative study, that considers other contemporary religious cultures, mainly from Mesopotamia and the Hittite world.

The study provides in this way innovative understandings about the Elamite identity and religion. The joint perspective on the landscape and the sacred strengthens the archaeology of religion, by achieving the identification of both material and ideological patterns related to this theme in Elam. The tradition of comparative-religious studies across the different cultures allows, then, to assess these patterns on the background of the religious beliefs of the surrounding cultures, and therefore to recognize specific element of the Elamite religious beliefs and identity.

A systematic Survey of the Elamite Lexicon -- an attempt

Gerfrid G.W. MÜLLER (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg)

In connection with my work on a glossary I would like to try a systematic survey on the Elamite lexicon for the conference. There meanings of lexemes have been established not only by comparison with parallel bi/trilingual texts, but also by the imagination of those interpreting the texts. The systematic review might help to show us where we stand on safe ground, where the limits are and which approaches might lead us further.

Scales and balance weights from Susa and Ur: Metrological interaction spheres between lowlands and highlands during Middle Bronze Age

Luca PEYRONEL (Libera Università di Lingue e Comunicazione)

Hundreds of balance weights and several scales have been found at Susa and Ur, retrieved in funerary contexts allowing an evaluation of scale-sets placed in the burials, but also coming from private and public buildings. The evidence shows a widespread and differentiated use in both town and testifies for the adoption of similar metrological procedures. The paper deals with the materials dating from the Ur III and Old Babylonian/Old Elamite periods, taking into account distribution, archaeological context, association with other findings. The metrological analysis (several specimens bear marks, numerals and cuneiform inscriptions) will be also presented suggesting the use of different weight systems, with the predominance of the sexagesimal Mesopotamian system based on a shekel of c. 8,4 g and a mina of c. 470. That metrological interaction was surely the consequence of interregional contacts of different nature (gifts exchange, trade, booty) in which Ur and Susa were involved, including sea-faring trade

in the Gulf, exchanges in the Iranian plateau, north-south movement of goods and raw materials along the Euphrates and Tigris, westward connections as far as the Levantine coast. Therefore the corpora of weights from Susa and Ur, which are two of the largest groups in the ancient Near East, offer the best case-study for a comparison of metrological and exchange activities in that crucial period spanning from the Neo-Sumerian control over Susiana to the emergence and expansion of the Old Elamite kingdom.

**Unseen contents of the seal impression:
On the only found Proto Elamite tablet from Shahr-i Sokhteh**

Simin PIRAN (National Museum of Iran & Goethe University)

Many tablets related to the Proto Elamite dating back to late fourth and the early third millennium BC from Susa, and some less from Choga Mish, Tal-i Ghazir, Malyan, Godin, Yahya, Sialk, Sofalin and just one from Ozbaki and one from Shahr-i Sokhteh have been discovered. The Proto Elamite tablets are with numerical notations. On some of them, besides the numerical notations, some seal impressions can also be seen. Seal impressions on tablets indicate the identity of the owner, and are not related to the type and quantity of goods. In the southeastern Iran excavations, these types of tablets have just been reported to be discovered just some from Tepe Yahya and a unique tablet from Shahr-i Sokhteh. Since the excavations in southeastern Iran are very few, to show the exact range in which these tablets were used in trading and paying taxes needs more excavations. The text of this tablet has been studied by P. Meriggi. Tablet is in roughly rectangular shape, inscription is on the upper part of the obverse with two signs and five vertical notches. Underneath, trace of a cylinder-seal impression is obliterated. On the reverse, impression is obliterated too.

As a curator in the National Museum of Iran, while documenting and photographing some tablets in day light and suitable time and angle, I noticed a motif on a seal which was not clear and distinguishable at all in its published image and motif was not mentioned by Amiet and Meriggi either. In this article, while introducing the seal impression, in order to identify this tablet, I will try to compare its motif with other introduced and published motifs and impressions discovered in other sites related to this site.

**The Highland Origins of the Royal Iconography of the Old Elamite Dynasties of
Shimaski and early Sukkulmah**

Holly PITTMANN (University of Pennsylvania)

Excavations at the site of Konar Sandal South in the Halil River Valley of the Kerman province of Iran produced a remarkably rich assemblage of glyptic art as residue of commercial activity at the site involving actors from Southern Mesopotamia (Ur) and Susa as well as at least six distinct communities on the plateau. This glyptic corpus is well controlled archaeologically and can be securely dated relatively to the Late Early Dynastic period (and perhaps the very beginning of the Akkadian period) in southern Mesopotamia. Among the glyptic types is a linear style that can be identified as “official” through its imagery which depicts human and divine actors in relations of power. This paper will present the stylistic and iconographic characteristics of this style and situate it within the poorly understood period of late third millennium Elam. Further it will present clear iconographic associations within the Konar Sandal South corpus with the later royal seals of Idaddu II, Ebarat II and other Old Elamite officials known through impressions from Susa as well as from actual seals which, although unprovenanced, can be associated with the ruling lines of Shimashki/Sukkulmah through

inscription. The paper will speculate on the mechanics behind these features of iconographic continuity.

**From Haft Tappeh to Choghazanbil:
Comparison the Metal Artifact's Assemblages in Two Middle Elamite Cities**

Babak RAFIEI-ALAVI (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main)

This paper attempts to compare the metal artifacts assemblage of two main Middle Elamite cities, namely Haft Tappeh and Choghazanbil, which the heyday in the first one was in the first half of the Middle Elamite period and the other in the second half, respectively. There are different reasons as to why these two cities are suitable for comparing: They belong to a same geographical context; they both have relatively vast and diverse assemblages of metal artifacts which their main corpus covers a limited time span; and although chronologically not synchronic both are dated closely one after another in the Middle Elamite period.

The main concern of this article is to investigate if it is possible to detect any fine diachronic transformation and differences in a same type of metal artifact in the limited time span. I am also going to ask why a particular type of metal artifact has been found with more frequency in one city than the other, what is the reason for the presence of an special metal type in one and the absence in the other, and finally, how the answers to these questions might give us a way to gain some insights into the some of the aspects of lifestyle and its differences between these two cities.

**A New Chronology of the Godin III Ceramic Tradition and Its Implications for the
Early Development of the Elamite World**

Steve RENETTE (University of Pennsylvania)

Almost 80 years after Aurel Stein's pioneering archaeological exploration of western Iran and 30 years after R. Henrickson's update, it is time to yet again evaluate the present state of our understanding of the western Zagros region during the Bronze Age. While only very little new fieldwork has been undertaken during the past thirty years, new technologies and detailed studies of old datasets provide additional insights into the early history of the northern reaches of Elam. In addition, new results from the recent surge of fieldwork in Iraqi Kurdistan need to be integrated with those old datasets.

Much of our understanding of the western Zagros region during the Early Bronze Age hinges on the chronology of the Godin Tepe III sequence. This chronology is based on the dating of a group of imported painted sherds from al-Hiba, ancient Lagash, in southern Iraq. Following the analysis of these unpublished sherds, I propose a redating of the Godin III:6 and III:5 phases. In this paper, I will combine the results from my analysis of the Godin III sequence with data from the Mahidasht Survey Project (undertaken by L. Levine in the 1970s), new data from my own fieldwork at Kani Shaie in southern Iraqi Kurdistan, and a regional study of routes and mobility through the Zagros Mountains. I will explore the implications of these recent studies for our understanding of the early development of the Elamite world and the interactions between Elam and Sumer.

The Elymaean Temple of Bard-e Neshandeh. A New Interpretation

Davide SALARIS (Macquarie University)

Perched on the heights of the Zagros Mountains in the current province of Khuzestan, arranged on artificial terraces set up through substructures walls of irregular stone blocks, the sanctuary of Bard-e Neshandeh represents a most significant archetype of sacred architecture in what was known in the Classical sources as the Hellenistic and Parthian Elymais. This elusive area in southwestern Iran is characterized by a complex geography of narrow gorges and incised valleys which created refuge areas for marginalized and isolated populations. Within one of these tortuous valleys rises *the shrine* of Bard-e Neshandeh, based on a typology defined by R. Ghirshman as sacred terrace, also exemplified by monumental sanctuary of Masjed-e Soleyman.

Specifically, this study addresses the function of the tetrastyle temple built on the lower terrace of the sacred complex with particular attention to the issues concerning its interpretation. On the basis of a careful analysis of the planimetric and photographic documentation - and unlike the statements given by R. Ghirshman who interpreted the tetrastyle-style temple as a place of Zoroastrian worship - I will attempt establishing affinities with Mesopotamian sacred architecture.

Together with the presence of a defining architectural plan, the remote and isolate location of the sanctuary of Bard-e Neshandeh suggests cult practices closely tied to local religious traditions. In this paper, I will further examine this marriage between Mesopotamian religious culture and the possible existence of local cults and deities in this evasive area of ancient Elymais. According then, a re-evaluation of the tetrastyle temple will be proposed so that it will yield new insights and progress or understanding on the cultic monumental apparatus of Elymais, in the expectation that an even more precise assessment may be made possible by new evidence coming from future excavations.

The Elamite Architecture. A model for the development of the architectural forms during the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid periods?

Alexandre TOUROVETS (Université catholique de Louvain)

The Iron Age Architecture in Iran (especially the one showed by the sites of the Zagros) has been considered as reflecting the material culture taken by the newcomers of the Iranian migrations. By no means this theory can be taken for granted.

The architecture of the Iron age in the Zagros area appears too sophisticated for these new comers who didn't left any examples of such an architecture outside Iran before their arrival in Iran.

Moreover the great number of architectural similarities between buildings existing in different sites is puzzling because it doesn't fit with the extreme variety of the material culture of the newcomers of during the IA I.

Some years ago we believed that the influence of the Urartean architecture must be very important or dominating (if not deciding) to explain the sudden (!) development of a great scale architecture in the Zagros. This opinion has been sustained by the existence of architectural parallels and similarities giving the impression that some of the Urartean buildings could have been used as models. Unfortunately, such parallels were limited both in scale and number.

The solution must be other and a careful analysis of the Elamite architecture and more precisely the analysis of the use of space in the architecture of Elam give more possibilities to establish connections with the architecture of the Zagros.

Kings with too many names : an Elamite onomastical imbroglio

Jan TAVERNIER (Université catholique de Louvain)

This paper will concentrate on the Elamite royal names Humpan-imena and Humpan-umena and some related names. It will thereby make use of both Elamite and Akkadian sources and will try to establish order in the actual chaotic way modern scholars refer to the kings behind these names.

Libak hanik ^dnapipiki. Divine names in theophoric anthroponyms in Susa (1930-1450 BC)

Lieselot VANDORPE (Ghent University)

The ancient Iranian civilizations and certainly the city of Susa are examples of multilingual societies with an evolving use and changing proportions between different cultures and languages: Sumerian, Akkadian and Elamite. The aim of this paper is to portray this multicultural landscape via the analysis of divine names in the Susian anthroponyms during the Sukkalmah regime. Some peculiar names as well as hybrid names will be analyzed in more detail, highlighting the compromises made between the culture intrinsic traditions in the name giving process. The results of the study will be compared with some conflicting overall ideas of the first half of the second millennium in Iran. Should Susa be considered rather as a Mesopotamian colony or do can we bring forward the picture of a bi- and/or multicultural society? Some considerations will be brought forward based on our onomastic study.

Female, Fish and Frying Pan: An Enigmatic Funerary Object Unique to Elam

Yasmina WICKS (University of Sydney)

In the spring 1963 edition of *The British Museum Quarterly* Richard Barnett published a review of acquisitions, which briefly mentioned a small bronze figurine of a seated woman with a rear fish-tail protrusion said to have come from Tang-e Sarvak, approximately 60km from Ramhormoz. This “fish-tailed goddess” was attributed a thirteenth century date, described as having “Babylonian appearance” and, based on the presence of holes through the fish tail and lower section of the skirt, assumed to have been riveted to a box or item of furniture. At this time no comparable objects had been discovered to help shed further light on this unusual fish-woman.

In 2007, however, the chance find of the richly equipped late Neo-Elamite Jubaji tomb revealed the existence of several analogous figurines in bronze and silver. Photographs taken during the excavation indicate that at least one had been deposited in a heap with other metal vessels between the tomb’s two bronze coffins. These new examples showed that each of the fish-women had once been affixed atop the long handle of a shallow, frying pan-like vessel characterised by concentric rings progressing down towards a protruding omphalos.

This paper will analyse the possible identity of the women represented by these figurines, exploring the significance of their clothing, adornment, gesture and fish tail, as well as the purpose of the vessels to which they were attached, particularly taking into account their occurrence in a funerary context on the bank of the Ala River. A concluding survey of other known fish-women hybrids and “frying pans” will highlight that these vessels were completely unique to Elam and perhaps even specifically associated with the Ramhormoz area.

New Evidence of Elamite Settlement Patterns in the Western bank of the Karkheh River in Lowland Susiana, Southwestern Iran

Ali ZALAGHI (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main)

The lowland Susiana Plain has been the object of numerous archaeological surveys for more than 100 years, and the results of these surveys have shed considerable light on the change and continuity of the settlement systems and demographic trends in southwestern Iran during Elamite periods. Yet surprisingly, the region on the western banks of the Karkheh River was never subjected to the same kind of thorough systematic survey.

Between 2004 and 2005 we conducted a four-month intensive survey of the region that resulted in discovering 81 settlements ranging in date from prehistoric to Islamic periods. Our data not only complement the existing Susiana survey database, but offer new insights into the long-term patterns of change and continuity in the region.

Accordingly, this paper focuses on the development of the settlement systems and historical associations during the old, middle and late Elamite period in the western banks of the Karkheh River. The GIS modeling of settlements from this area, shows major changes in the number of settlements and different patterns in the middle-to late Elamite period. Besides, the distribution model of settlements during the second millennium BC in this region is compared with other areas of Susiana and the buffer zone of Deh Luran plain to provide a more comprehensive conceptualization of the relations between these regions.

Mesopotamia and the East - The perspective from the earliest literary texts

Kamran ZAND (University of Heidelberg)

The tablets from Fara and Tell Abu Salabikh, which are dated to the ED IIIa Period (ca. 2600-2500 BC) are the oldest attested corpus of literary texts. Already at this early date, a wide range of literary genres are attested: myths, epics, hymns to gods and temples, incantations and proverbs. They offer us a unique insight in the worldview of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia concerning to their homeland as well as their perception of foreign countries.

In my paper I will examine the perspective that these oldest texts have on the lands to the east of Sumer. The most prominent country in the east is the state of Aratta. Contrary to Mittermayer's analysis in "Enmerkara und der Herr von Arata", the texts show definitely that an eastern localization of Aratta is not an invention of the Old Babylonian Period, but already attested in the ED IIIa-period. I will discuss the relations between Mesopotamia and Aratta, the main gods involved, e.g. Inana, Amašumgal and Utu, and the main human protagonists, Lugalbanda and the lord of Aratta, both also known from later texts.

The god-lists from Fara show that the Mesopotamians had limited knowledge of the religious landscape of the Susiana and Elam, yet direct secure evidence for these locations in the literary texts is scarce and will be discussed. It will be seen that the difficult relationship between Mesopotamia and the eastern lands does not start with the first attestation of military campaigns in the royal inscriptions of the I. Dynasty of Lagaš, but that even in the ED IIIb-period the two regions had a long and complicated history, barely visible to us.